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A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

To

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By

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

[The following bibliography lists (a) the publications of papyri etc. which have been used for the compilation of this thesis, and (b) works dealing with philological subjects which have been referred to in the accompanying notes. Several items referred to once only or on rare occasions are not listed here; particulars are given where such a work is first indicated.

As far as the papyri etc. are concerned, this list of sources is, I believe, very nearly complete. A few items, however, I have been unable to consult; these have not been used for the writing of the present work and are therefore not recorded here.

The following list contains only primary sources and such discussions, e.g. reviews, as throw light on the textual form of the documents, or provide helpful photographic reproductions. Thus, I have not included any references to work dealing with e.g. the economic or administrative information provided by the papyri. Nor have I considered it worthwhile to record titles which simply reproduce papyrus texts from earlier publications, without contributing anything new to the subject which concerns us here. For this reason, I have omitted to point out e.g. that the text first published by De Sacy, Journal des Savans 1825, 463, reappears in L.-J. Bresnier, Cours Pratique et Théorique de Langue Arabe ..., (Paris, 1855), 121, or that PSR iii no.V is given again in J. Ruska's Zur Ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1917/2, 39.]

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wissenschaft, einschliesslich der
ethnologischen Rechtsforschung

INTRODUCTION

I The Problem

Despite the fact that Arabic is the best known of the classical Semitic languages, and in the present state of things is likely to remain so, there persist nevertheless many problems connected with its long and complicated history that still await solution, and in some cases even recognition.

To anybody familiar with C(lassical) A(rabic) even the most superficial acquaintance with any one of the many modern colloquials is bound to provoke certain questions as to the linguistic and historical connections between the two. As far as the colloquials are concerned the matter is fairly clear and their status can be safely established, for here we have to do with an audible entity of which we can collect authentic specimens as the occasion requires, and, if necessary, the results may be checked by a native speaker. But with CA the case is very different. It is the mother-tongue of nobody and for its study the philologist is entirely dependent on written sources of varying age and authenticity. What exactly is it? Where does it come from? Who, if anybody, spoke it? How old is it? Does it represent one dialect or a fusion of several? What is its relationship to the Arabic spoken today?

These and similar questions have customarily been approached, by both Muslim scholarship and, in close depen-

dence, by the European Orientalist tradition, from an examination of CA as reflected in four main sources: Pre-Islamic poetry, the Quran, the Prophetical literature (hadīth, sīra, correspondence¹), and the narratives of the Ayyām al-ʿArab. The results to which the examination of these sources has led are by now familiar and, with little variation, are set forth in the many handbooks on the subject. Yet, when one considers more closely the nature of these categories of material, the date of their redaction and the manner of their transmission, one may well feel entitled to entertain certain misgivings regarding their value as a fully reliable witness to the Arabic language as it was written and spoken immediately before and after the appearance of Islam, for it can by no means be taken for granted at the outset that these works in the form in which they are presently available are genuine, inviolate products of the periods to which they are held to refer. Certainly in terms of manuscript attestation there is nothing to force one to make such an assumption, and even within the MS. tradition itself the textual problems connected with these writings are of such moment as to oblige one to proceed with extreme caution.

Among the more obvious difficulties one may mention the following interrelated circumstances as deserving of

¹ C.Rabin, EI² I, 565b, separates hadīth from the correspondence of the Prophet and thus distinguishes five categories. This is merely a matter of preference.

serious consideration:

(i) There is no contemporary documentary evidence for any of the four categories of material mentioned above. The earliest MSS. of these works date from the 3rd century A.H. or later, i.e. contemporaneously with or posterior to the activities of the Mesopotamian philologists, who had set themselves the task of codifying CA as the Islamic lingua sacra, and of deciding in just what linguistic form the Muslim inheritance was to be handed down to posterity. By the time the classical works of Arabic literature appear in their present form the canons of the Islamic lingua sacra had been discussed, decided and prescribed. To what degree this body of literature reflects the linguistic situation antedating the editorial supervision and rhetorical ideologies of the Abbāsīd philologists remains to be established. That the present form of the texts of the Jahīlī diwans, the Quran, the Prophetical literature etc. is a faithful representation of pre-normative Arabic has very frequently been assumed; it has never, however, been demonstrated¹.

It is true that some fragments of this literature, e.g. Quran and Jahīlī poetry, are preserved in fairly early copies, but one must not be tempted by this circumstance to overlook the facts that (a) the texts of these few early copies are frequently in conflict with what later became the standard versions, and (b) that the existence

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Cf. already the remarks of J.G.Wetzstein, Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft 7 (1871), 462/3.

of an early copy of part of any one text does not by any means prove that the same text as it later came to be known was in circulation in its entirety at the same time. In this connection it is significant to note that the two longest Arabic texts on papyrus, PSR Heid. Arab. 23 (= Khoury) dated 229 A.H. and Ibn Wahb's JāmiC from the late 3rd century A.H. are both written in a type of language which very often deviates from CA.

(ii) There are, as far as I am aware, no linguistic criteria according to which a Jahīlī may be distinguished from an Islamic poem. This observation is made despite anecdotes such as that reported in Kitāb al-Aghānī VI (Cairo, 1935), 88, where Dhū al-Rumma is said to have been able to make a distinction of this kind (معرفة كلام (احمد الجاهلية من كلام احمد الاسلام). The attribution of pre-Islamic origin to any given poem must therefore appeal to extra-linguistic factors, usually of a pseudo-biographical nature, and it should not pass unremarked that neither Muslim nor Orientalist scholarship has yet succeeded in establishing an agreed corpus of Jahīlī poetry. To a very large extent these same problems of authorship and, hence, dating apply to post-Islamic poetry also. As a striking, yet by no means atypical, example of the kind of problem with which an editor will often be confronted I refer to Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 97n., where a line of poetry is quoted from three different sources, in each of which the verse in question is attributed to three different authors and occurs in as many quite different compositions. Only when some means has been devised of

overcoming difficulties of this kind can the production of a genuinely reliable corpus of datable pre- and early Islamic poetry become a realistic possibility.

(iii) Allegations of forgery are a commonplace in Arabic literature and have for long been a source of acute embarrassment to Muslim and Orientalist scholarship alike. Yet, although the existence of forgeries may readily be conceded in principle, it is no easy matter to define and identify such productions and hence exclude them from consideration. For a selection of references dealing with this subject see e.g. W. Ahlwardt, Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte ... (Greifswald, 1872); I. Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien II (Halle, 1890), 88ff.; D.S. Margoliouth, The Origins of Arabic Poetry, JRAS 1925, 417ff.; Fück, cArabiya, 58; Grohmann, Der Islam 33, 218/9.

(iv) Even more serious than these questions regarding the authorship and date of many early Arabic writings is the problem of the textual form of the compositions themselves. How is one to choose on any kind of scientific basis between the often quite bewildering number of variant forms in which a given line of verse or Prophetical utterance has been handed down?

It is, of course, quite a simple matter to edit what appears in a certain MS. and to record in the apparatus, or even include in the text itself, whatever variants may be attested in other sources; but it is evident that a text so constructed, with little or no critical evaluation of its constituent parts, can hardly serve as a basis for detailed philological enquiry. Is it in fact possible to

reach behind the process of editorial manipulation?

I quote in this connection C.Rabin, Studia Islamica iv (1955), 21: "Pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. With regard to the former, doubts have been raised as to authenticity, and we must, even if we consider the corpus as a whole authentic, reckon with the possibility of any individual verse or poem being a later forgery. Both pre-Islamic and early Islamic poems have been revised by editors, as can be seen not only from the extensive variants, but also from the not infrequent cases where verses are quoted by grammarians for some linguistic oddity, while on looking up the Dīwān we find the same line slightly reshaped so that the oddity is eliminated".

These difficulties notwithstanding, Rabin goes on to conclude: "Nevertheless, we possess here a first-class source for the study of the pre-Islamic language". In the present state of textual research this is surely true in principle only; just how the genuine is to be distinguished from the false is not made clear. In this respect the textual study of early Arabic writings has made very little progress over the last one hundred years; many of the problems discussed by Nöldeke in his essay "Zur Geschichte und Kritik der altarabischen Poesie" are today no nearer solution than when that essay was first published as the introduction to his Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber (Hannover, 1864).

In setting down these few brief observations it is not at all my intention to claim that the texts of a number of the classical works of Arabic literature cannot in their present form be fruitfully made the subject of

philological investigation; I do maintain, however, that to base one's studies of early Arabic on these sources, and these sources alone, cannot but lead to results which may at worst be erroneous, at best somewhat one-sided. This is not the place to enlarge upon these matters; for a sustained critique of those results see now J. Wansbrough, Qur'anic Studies, Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation, Oxford, 1977, Ch. III, "Origins of Classical Arabic".

II The Material

Were the four categories of material mentioned above the only sources available for the study of early Arabic, there would be every justification for the reverence they have been accorded; indeed, no other approach to the subject would have been possible. But other source materials are available, available in abundance, and it is to the linguistic investigation of one category of these materials, the papyri, that the present work is mainly devoted.

The papyri represent but one, albeit the most important, class of documentary material which has survived from the early centuries of Islam. The total number of such papyrus documents extant in the libraries of Europe, the Middle East and the United States runs to perhaps some 16,000,¹ to which must be added c. 33,000 items written on paper,

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The exact numbers of texts available are difficult to

as well as several hundreds of texts written on materials such as leather, parchment, linen and wood. Beside this already considerable mass of source material written on perishable stuffs there is also available a large corpus of early coins and inscriptions, and, to a lesser, extent, inscribed glass-weights, marble slabs, ostraca etc.

Contemporary documentation of Arabic during the Islamic period begins as early as 22 A.H., from which year there are extant two papyri, PERF 558, a completely preserved Greek-Arabic bilingual first published by Grohmann, *Aperçu*, 41, and P. Berol. 15002, of which a plate is given *idem*, HO, Tafel II,2. From later in the first Islamic century we have e.g. the archives of Nessana (54-70 A.H.) and Aphrodito (mainly 90-91 A.H.), as well as a number of bilingual Greek-Arabic protocols such as those published in *APEL* I, 1-18¹. From the end of the first century A.H.

estimate, and figures vary considerably. These estimates are taken from Grohmann, *FWAP*, 2, and refer, apparently, to moderately well preserved documents (the figure of 10,000 papyri given *idem*, HO, 51, is a misprint for 16,000).

By counting separately each minute fragment the totals become quite enormous; thus S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I (Berkeley - Los Angeles, 1967), 397 n.29, gives for the Erzherzog Rainer Collection in Vienna alone the following figures: 40,000 papyri and 50,000 papers. In a private communication dated 25/3/1976 Dr Helene Loebenstein informs me that the total of inventoried documents in the Rainer Collection at the end of 1975 was 8558 papyri and 9465 papers.

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Cf. the list of papyri from the first century A.H. known up to 1958 in Grohmann, *Der Islam* 33, 221/2 n.32.

I have left out of consideration in this work the few extant documents attributed to the Prophet Muhammad; these have been collected and translated by M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la Diplomatie Musulmane à l'Époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*, Paris, 1935.

The Arabic texts were published by him in a separate work under the same title, *Le Caire*, 1941 (Arabic title: *Majmu'ca al-Wathā'iq al-Siyasiyya fī al-ʿAhd al-Nabawī wa-l-Khilāfa al-Rāshidiyya*).

onwards the flow of Arabic papyri steadily increases, and the wealth of material is such that by the third century A.H., when the use of papyrus was at its peak, almost every year is represented by at least one dated document. It is also to this century that most of the many undated texts are very probably to be attributed. Thereafter papyrus as a writing material begins very quickly to lose ground in favour of paper, of which the earliest specimens bearing Arabic writing date from the late second century A.H. During the the fourth Islamic century the use of papyrus was sporadic only; the latest dated instances are from 370 A.H. and, less certainly, 480 A.H. (APRL XV 63 and X 10 respectively)¹.

For climactic reasons the great bulk of extant Arabic papyri and papers have been, and continue to be discovered in Egypt, the country which has also produced by far the greatest number of papyri in languages other than Arabic. One must assume that other centres of the early Islamic world employed papyrus in broadly similar quantities for both official and private business, but the fact is that very few documents written on this material, or, indeed, on paper, parchment etc., have yet been found outside the Nile Valley. The most significant non-Egyptian finds are the early collections from Nessana and Khirbet el-Mird in Palestine; there are also a handful of texts available from Syria and Iraq.

In extent these materials range from minute fragments

¹ See Grohmann, Einführung, 70/1 and idem, Paläographie I, 66b, n.2.

bearing traces of perhaps only a single letter or word, to fairly well preserved literary codices, of which the longest is the codex of 87 folios containing the Jāmi^c of Ibn Wahb. Outside the field of literary texts the longest Arabic papyrus thus far known is the letter from 141 A.H. recently discovered by J.Plumley's expedition to Nubia (see §10 n.11). This document contains c. 700 words in 69 lines; the formerly longest Arabic papyrus letter, PSR iii No. III from 91 A.H. contains c. 450¹ words in 90 lines .

With few exceptions, such as the Jewish letter published by Jahn, AO ix, 18ff. No. 10 (see §220) or the Christian text edited by Fathers Anawati and Jomier in Mélanges Islamologiques ii, pp. 91-102, the early Arabic papyri² and papers are of Muslim origin . Literary papyri, Quran, poetry, hadīth, grammar etc., though in extent sometimes quite substantial, are in number relatively few; the great bulk of the extant material is of a documentary character, represented by business and private letters,

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This state of affairs does not compare very favourably with that prevailing among the similar, but later and more extensive Judaec-Arabic material from the Cairo Geniza; there the longest known letter contains c. 4,000 words, see S.D.Goitein, op. cit., opposite p. 20; idem, Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders (Princeton, 1973), 138/9.

2

I have not noted any linguistic features which can be with certainty interpreted as indices of confessional affiliation; for a possible case see §118 n.1.

legal deeds, marriage contracts, administrative surveys, economic lists and registers, passports, petitions, tax-receipts, demands for payment etc.¹

It would be superfluous to describe here these source materials in greater detail; this has already been done on several occasions with great authority by Grohmann in the relevant portions of his Allgemeine Einführung, FWAP, Einführung, HO and Paläographie. All the necessary information will be found there.

It is an axiomatic prerequisite of any philological research that the starting point for enquiry should be a sound and reliable text; the editorial ideal is to reconstruct as nearly as possible the text as the author himself composed it. It is precisely in this regard that the value of the Arabic papyri is greatest. Whereas a great deal of CA literature has been edited, revised and embellished for the edification of posterity, copied and recopied to satisfy a constant demand, and is available only in comparatively late MSS., the papyri represent a corpus of original documents. With the probable exception of some of the literary papyri, none of this material has been rewritten or recopied², and may therefore be

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See for a brief survey of the types of document available J.Sauvaget, Revue des Etudes Islamiques 1940, A. 77-79, where a break-down is given of the contents of APEL I-III.

2

Forgeries of Arabic papyri are rare, see on this Grohmann, Einführung, 35. Legal formularies, a class of composition often compiled by transcribing earlier documents with omission of proper names and other specific details, have not yet been found among the Arabic papyri, cf. Grohmann, op. cit., 113 n.2.

accepted without misgiving as directly representative of the Arabic language at the time at which it was written, free from editorial interference of any kind.

Indeed, the practical, day-to-day nature of most of the extant texts precludes the need for any such activity, and herein lies a second important advantage. Most of the CA sources belong to the genres of poetry and ornate prose, surely very far removed from the Old Arabic usus loquendi, which may be thought much more likely to be reflected in the material studied in the present work. This is particularly true of the large number of business and private letters, many of which represent fine examples of early vernacular Arabic.

Against these very important advantages of the papyri and cognate materials, however, one must mention several factors which somewhat limit their usefulness and restrict the contribution they are able to make.

A number of them are too fragmentary to be of any use whatever for the main purpose of the present investigation; pieces such as the Aphrodito fragment discussed by Littmann et al. apud E. Rabel, Papyrusurkunden der Öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität zu Basel, 6/7 or the protocol in P.E. Kahle, Balaḡizah II, 795 may be of interest to the palaeographer, but have very little indeed to offer the philologist. Others, although fairly well preserved in general, may be broken or damaged at a crucial point in the text. This is a continual source of frustration.¹

1

Some documents can hardly be used for serious investigation. I have in mind pieces such as the amulet consisting entirely of Quranic and liturgical phrases published by Dietrich, Der Islam 33, 49. This text, short

A great variety of handwritings is represented in the papyri, ranging from the finely executed hand of the professional scribe engaged to copy a literary text to the abominable scribble of a tax-receipt. Vowel marks are rarely used¹, ~~at~~ if at all only sparingly, and the great majority of the texts from which examples are quoted in the following pages are written not only without signs for the vowels, but also without the diacritical points which in later forms of Arabic script customarily serve to distinguish homographic consonants. When one considers the highly cursive nature of Arabic writing, it will be appreciated that the decipherment of these documents is thereby made an exacting and very time-consuming task. Texts such as these cannot be read freely; each item requires hours of patient attention, and a considerable background of experience in this type of work is necessary before satisfactory decipherment is possible. Inevitably, there remain enigmas which not even the most skilled and experienced palaeographer is able to resolve².

Quite apart from the handicap of these cruces interpretationis, the manner in which most Arabic papyri are written means that these documents have but little to contribute towards alleviating a difficulty from which

as it is, is replete with curious forms; some indeed could be accommodated within the paragraphs of the present study, but to include them would seem to serve no useful purpose, and would merely result in a list of garbled liturgical formulae.

¹ Almost exclusively in literary papyri.

² I cannot omit to mention here the name of A. Grohmann, whose remarkable skill and phenomenal industry have produced most of the publications upon which this thesis is based. His brilliant studies in this field are quite without peer.

the linguistic study of Arabic necessarily suffers: the absence of vocalization. The only early text which is able to supply information of this kind is the remarkable parchment published by B. Violet, Psalmfragment, containing portions of Psalm 78 in parallel columns of Greek and Arabic, the latter being transcribed into Greek uncials.

III The Present Work

The first publication of Arabic papyri dates from as long ago as 1825, when De Sacy edited two early passports in the Journal des Savans of that year, but since that time the study of these and other early Arabic remains has almost entirely been relegated to the specialist departments of palaeography, papyrology, numismatics etc., i.e. areas well outside the mainstream of Arabic studies. Their contribution to the history of the Arabic language has never been properly discussed - in fact it has been woefully neglected. Until quite recently the most that was available were the few notes given by Becker, PSR iii, 30-33 and the scattered quotations from some of the Aphrodito documents included in Brockelmann's GVG and Reckendorf's Syntax. During the post-war period the position improved somewhat with the publication of the more detailed, but still only sketchy, grammatical notes by Grohmann, FWAP, 88/9, 94-98; Einführung, 100/1, 103-107; EO, 96-100; Dietrich, DAB, 10-12 and especially Blau, Scripta, 220-

224; Emergence, 123-132, 203/4¹. As an indication of this neglect one need do no more than point out the fact that a recent and very important contribution to Arabic philology, Fück's Arabiya, mentions papyri hardly at all, and then only at second hand, despite the circumstance that these texts are virtually the only contemporary witnesses to the problems discussed in at least the first half of his book. The present work is intended as a first step in putting right this state of affairs.

It is clearly impossible within the scope of one thesis to lay under contribution all the source materials that have been mentioned above, and the study which follows is therefore based principally on the papyri, the great majority of which are datable to the first three Islamic centuries, and on those documents on paper which can either certainly or probably be dated to the same period. Texts from the fourth century A.H. and later have been used also, but coverage of these is by no means exhaustive. I have relied mainly on published sources for the information given in the following pages, but examples have also been quoted from documents which I have deciphered myself. As far as the papyri and early papers are concerned, I believe I have covered nearly everything that is available in print; a small number of publications, however, I have not been able to consult. A list of sources used is given in the bibliography.

1

Despite long searches I have been unable to locate the study carried out in Cairo under Grohmann's supervision by one 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dālī; this is referred to by Grohmann himself in Der Islam 34, 206, but is known to me from no other source.

Phenomena from early sources other than papyri and papers have also been adduced where I have been in a position to do so. Coverage of documents written on parchment etc. and the few extant ostraca is, I believe, complete, and I am not conscious of having overlooked any publications in these areas; coins, glass-weights and inscriptions, on the other hand, have not been investigated in anything like a thorough manner, and I have used these sources only incidentally.

This work is in no sense a systematic grammar of the Arabic language as it appears in these early documents. What I have done is to single out for mention those features which seemed to me the most noteworthy, paying particular attention to those which deviate from the accepted norms of CA and referring in the notes to parallels from other strata of Arabic. I have no doubt that somebody else studying the same corpus of material would have found occasion to mention phenomena which do not find a place in the present work.

The resultant collection of perhaps somewhat arbitrarily selected examples has been ordered according to Blau's splendid ASP, which for its arrangement and lucidity has constantly been before me as a model of excellence to follow. Blau's work serves at the same time as an encyclopaedia of Arabic philology, and for bibliographical information I have therefore at all points simply referred to his footnotes, where all essential details of this kind will be found set out in full. Additional bibliographical references I have supplied as the occasion seemed to require.

As far as reasonably possible, all examples quoted in this study have been verified according to the original documents. In many instances¹ it was found necessary to correct the readings and interpretations given by the editors, and I venture to hope that my work will also be found to have contributed something towards the textual criticism of Arabic papyri.

The examples are quoted in chronological order according to the datings suggested by the editors. In some cases where the editor has not cared to commit himself I have suggested approximate datings myself; wherever a date is not specific, i.e. the document in question is undated, such indications should be taken as no more than informed guesses.

The following editorial conventions, customary in editions of Arabic papyri have been employed:

- [...] for lacunae and suggested restorations.
 - [[...]] for erasures or cancellations in the original.
 - <...> for omissions, e.g. haplographies.
 - (...)
 - {...}
- for solutions of abbreviations.
superfluties, e.g. dittographies.

1

This has been pointed out on each occasion.

IV Conclusions

From the data collected in the present work the most important result is undoubtedly the recognition that in almost every case in which the language of the Arabic papyri deviates from CA, it deviates unmistakably in the direction of Middle Arabic, typologically akin to most of the modern colloquials. This language, therefore, lies fully within the mainstream of Middle Arabic, of which it is the earliest representative. A large proportion of the features attested later in mediaeval Jewish, Christian and, to a lesser extent, Muslim Middle Arabic, many of which are familiar today from modern dialects, occur here for the first time. This fact speaks for a very impressive continuity in colloquial Arabic usage, and the roots of the modern vernaculars are thus seen to lie very deep. This conclusion may also be supported by pointing to items of vocabulary, such as كويس "good" FWAP 164, 10 and التلى "always" §136, both very common in modern dialects, but almost unknown in literary Arabic.

No certain cases of chronological or dialectal cleavage have been detected in the mass of somewhat heterogeneous material studied here. It is true that some phenomena are attested only or predominantly in certain groups of papyri or in certain types of context (see e.g. §§67; 145a), but at the present state of research into these matters it would be unwise to believe that the same phenomena may not yet be found elsewhere. For a possible case of dialectal difference according to confessional affiliation see §118 n.1.

1

Foreign influence has nowhere been identified ; not even in the Greek-Arabic bilinguals have I been able to discover any feature which cannot be adequately and convincingly explained from within Arabic itself. In this respect the papyri enjoy an important advantage over much of the Christian Arabic material treated by Blau in his ASP, for a number of phenomena described in that book are the the result not of internal Arabic development, but merely reflect faulty or stilted translation from texts in Aramaic or Greek.

Impressions of the type of Arabic studied here have varied. Becker, PSR iii, 30, regarded the language of the Qurra correspondence from Aphrodito as "ein wundervolles klassisches Arabisch"; W. Fischer, ZDMG 117 (1967), 59, on the other hand, believes, much as I do, that the papyri already represent Middle Arabic (ebenfalls Formen des neuarab. Sprachtyps haben). Blau, however, the most experienced and learned authority in this field, has recently expressed the view that the language of these documents contains "only a slight Neoarabic admixture"². It is my belief that the documentation provided in the present work shows that appraisal of the Middle Arabic component to be something of an underestimation.

. . .

¹ Face the case of Persian influence maintained by Karabacek, MPER 1, 108.

² Afroasiatic Linguistics 4/4, 17.

PART I

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONETICS¹

§ 1.

- a. Many of the details of the sound pattern of early Arabic must of necessity remain obscure. This is particularly true of the vocalization, which in most cases is fully concealed by the Arabic script. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the great majority of the documents on which the present description is based are written not only without diacritical signs for the vowels, but also without those for the consonants². Clues to the pronunciation, therefore, rest largely upon those instances which exhibit a deviation from the orthographical norm; in such cases the pronunciation can sometimes be established with a fair degree of probability by a careful comparison with phenomena known from other strata of Arabic.
- b. A source for the pronunciation of early Arabic, which has as yet barely been exploited, is represented by a large body of contemporary transcriptions into other languages. Most notable among these are the transcriptions into Greek. These are of particular value in that they consistently indicate the vocalization. For the most part these transcriptions concern only proper names³, but in one case a continuous Arabic text has been preserved in Greek uncial⁴, and others occasionally contain isolated

5
 words or phrases . To a lesser extent relevant
 matter can be found in Coptic, Syriac, Iranian,
 Latin, Hebrew and Armenian. To collect and evaluate
 all this material would be a lengthy and complicated
 undertaking; with a few notable exceptions it has been
 left out of account in the present work.
 6

...

THE VOWELS

THE SHORT VOWELS

§ 2

- a. A feature common to all non-Classical varieties of Arabic is the general absence of short vowels in final position. That this is also the case in the material studied here is strongly suggested on the one hand by the lack of mood distinctions in the verb (§§ 65a,b; 81a,b; 82d-f) and, on the other, by the absence of case differentiation in the noun (§§ 161ff.). In many cases this phenomenon is hidden by the Arabic script, in which short vowels are not ordinarily indicated. Its occurrence, however, is explicitly confirmed by the transcriptions of Violet's Psalm-fragment (c.800 A.D.) e.g. ψ 78,20 : ἰεκ.δip = يَقْدِر "he is able"; οκχουβζ = وَفَبَز "and bread (acc.)." etc. For an exception s. § 5; this does not, of course, apply to reflexes of CA tā? marbūta in status absolutus for which s. § 47a.

REMARK: The final short vowels of the perfect of the verb were also affected (§ 61a), as were, presumably, all other final short vowels (cf. § 80 n.10, end).

b. It seems that the elision of short vowels in open (unstressed) syllables outside final position was also widespread, for this phenomenon was doubtless much more frequent than the available evidence allows one to infer. It is indicated (i) by transcriptions of Arabic words into Greek, and (ii) by the occurrence of prosthetic alif in words which in CA contained an open (unstressed) syllable in initial position¹.

i. In the early bilingual protocol texts the regular transcription of Amīr al-muḥminīn is Amīr κλμουμνιν with elision of the vowel in the penultimate syllable, as e.g. APEL I 1,8 (86-96A.H.). Much less common is the writing Amīr κλμωμουνιν as in the contemporary document APEL I 9, n. to l.2 and the references there. A detailed examination of the Greek transcriptions would certainly reveal many more examples.

ii. Examples of prosthetic alif in cases where it does not occur in CA are not very plentiful: خمسة الحمور "five asses" PERF 600,9 (early 2nd cent. A.H.) in Grohmann, Aperçu, 90 n.2, representing humūr > hmūr > ahmūr², and, similarly, عشرة اسياط "ten strokes of the whip" APEL III 170, 2/3³; خمسة اقزاز "five glass containers" Grohmann, FWA 2,3 (both 3rd cent. A.H.) (cf. 87d) and s. also § 7 n.4. For اغدا "tomorrow" s. § 4 REM.B and for prosthetic alif in derived forms of the verb §§ 72; 73a, b; 74⁴.

c. A distinct but related feature is the presence/absence of alif before words beginning with ḥayn. While most

instances of prosthetic alif in ASP may be explained by a shift in the syllabic structure, it is nevertheless noteworthy that it is before ḥayn that many of the examples occur⁵; less common are those occasions when alif does not occur before ḥayn where one would expect to find it⁶. Such a state of affairs prevails also in the papyri⁷.

i. Alif occurs before ḥayn: القاضى عمرو "the judge
cAmr" AFEL I 51,23 (195 A.H.)⁸; اعلت ibid.
V 322,5 (3rd cent. A.H.), probably means, si vera
lectio⁹, "you know" rather than the editor's "I have
been informed"¹⁰. Cf. § 72 n.7.

ii. Alif is absent before ḥayn: اعلى اشمون وعلى انصنى
"Upper Ashmūn and Upper Anṣinā" AFEL IV 266,12 (3rd
cent. A.H.)¹¹; ما عمله ibid. V 291,44 (4th cent.
A.H.) means, pace the editor, "what I should do" (cf.
1.39)¹² بما عمله . Cf. § 70 n.4.

REMARK. It is perhaps this lack of certainty as to when and when not to write alif before ḥayn that led to the (hyper-correct?) form المزق الله¹³
"may God honour you!" DAB 26,1 (3rd cent. A.H.) .

§ 3

With the general absence of diacritical points most documents naturally are unable to throw any light on the question of the quality of short vowels; the main source of information are, therefore, the transcriptions. Of these the most important is Violet's Psalmfragment, which serves to confirm the existence of two important features:

a. Imāla of short a¹. It seems that Violet col. 41 (as against col.35) was wrong in his opinion that the marking of CA ā by either κ or ϵ is arbitrary and unsystematic. On the contrary, the factors governing the occurrence of imāla throughout the fragment seem to tally very closely with those obtaining in Syrian and Levantine dialects today. With minor inconsistencies and exceptions, the state of affairs can be summed up as follows² : (i) Imāla never occurs in the neighbourhood of the seven hurūf mustacliya (s, d, t, z, q, h, ġ)³ e.g. $\phi\acute{\kappa}.\delta\kappa\tau$ $\Psi 78,20 =$ فاعنت as against $\phi\kappa\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\tau$ ibid. = فالت . (ii) As in modern dialects of the same area imāla sometimes occurs and sometimes does not in the neighbourhood of the labials b, f, m, w⁴, the pair r and l⁵, the pharyngals h and ç⁶ and in initial position where CA shows the syllable ā-⁷. In these surroundings the fragment renders CA a now by κ and now by ϵ ⁸ e.g. : $\beta\kappa\chi\epsilon\rho$ $\Psi 78,60 =$ بشر as against $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\lambda$ ibid.v.54 = جبل or $\mu\kappa\epsilon\rho$ v.23 = امر ; $\beta\acute{\kappa}\chi\rho$ v.53 = بحر as against $\phi\kappa\tau\epsilon\chi$ v.23 = فتح ; $\kappa\kappa\epsilon\lambda\sigma\upsilon$ v.29 = الكوا as against $\epsilon\sigma.\kappa\epsilon\nu$ v.60 = اسكن (but with initial κ at $\Psi 78,55!$). When none of these factors applies the vowel corresponding to CA ā regularly appears as ϵ . For fecil < facil(a) s. §64b.

b. Taltala. That the transcription of Violet's text operates consistently in marking by κ the vowel corresponding to CA a in the neighbourhood of any one of the hurūf mustacliya allows the identification of another important phenomenon: in common with many other

varieties of non-classical Arabic, the vowel of the imperfect prefix was i rather than a (taltala)⁹.

The only exception to the principle that CA a contiguous to one of the hurūf mustacliya is written with κ is عك. سٲ ψ78,20 = يقد. This is therefore best interpreted not as an aberrant writing of a, nor as an example of CA a > e¹⁰, but rather as an instance of the taltala phenomenon, reflecting not a > e¹¹ but i > e under the influence of the following q.

Another example is perhaps عخ. فκ. سو ψ78,56 = عنقوا¹².

- c. Outside these transcriptions¹³, indications of change in the quality of the short vowels are very rare, for the vowel signs, when they do occur, are generally applied in accordance with classical usage. Cases such as ملى "fullness" (pointed so, < ملى §20b) Ibn Wahb 4,13 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) are extremely uncommon¹⁴.

§4

Lengthening of short vowels and scriptio plena. It is difficult, if not impossible, to make a neat distinction here between those cases which attest to a genuine phonetic process and those which simply exhibit a peculiarity in the orthography; for the sake of convenience, both cases are treated together.

- a. The vowel a. I have noted only one certain example of scriptio plena of this vowel: ان ي "indeed, that" Ibn Wahb 29,10 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹. In ASP the writing fāl- for CA fal- is not uncommon²; possibly related to this may be الله "so God"

DAB 51,7 (4th cent. A.H.)³. For the spelling شاي
"thing" s. §15d.

b. The vowel i. To be interpreted as exhibiting a genuine long vowel and not scriptio plena is the form ايزا "shawl" Grohmann, TWÄ 3,9 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴. Here belong also FWAP 199,2 (3rd cent. A.H.), where يفتن (apoc.) "will relieve from want" of Quran 4,130 appears as يفتني in accordance with §82d (but cf. § 9a); امسى (read so?) "yesterday" DAB 1r,15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁵; المنزلة "the house" ibid. 12a,4 (after 304 A.H.)⁶. For another possible case s. §7 n.4. For the spellings مية/مائية and كنتي , انتي s. §59a; 64c; 101 and for the plural faḥālīl in place of faḥālīl s. §87a.

c. The vowel u. Scriptio plena of short u⁷ I find only in AFRE VII 5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) الدنيا "this world" 1.12, يا وفتي "O my sister!" ibid.1.13 (point so with § 27d for يا وفتي (?), and in the spelling عدنان بن اودد n. pr. hom., for the more usual اودد , Ibn Wahb 1,12 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

REMARK A: The word for "hand", containing in CA a short vowel, appears in the papyri, as in many modern dialects, in a form with a lengthened vowel, i.e. īd⁸. The following are probably the earliest attested occurrences of this phenomenon: ايديلن AFRE V 313,2 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)⁹; ايدهم ibid., IV 222 r, col.A, 4 and ايدوا ibid., col.B,10 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁰.

REMARK B: غدا "tomorrow" is also recorded in a lengthened form: اغدا¹¹ PERT 691,3 (2nd - 3rd

cent. A.H.) in FWAP, 148¹².

§5

It appears, contrary to §2a, that final -a may not necessarily have been dropped after the (geminated) semi-vowels w(w) and y(y). How far this may or may not have been the case cannot be estimated, but it is suggested by two isolated spellings.

- a. انت هو "you are the one" Khoury 142,2
(229 A.H.)¹.
- b. وقد وصل اليه الكتاب PERF 882,5 (10th cent. A.D.
according to Karabacek ad loc. but perhaps earlier)
means, if I am not mistaken, "the letter reached me"².

§6

Anaptyxis. Until a study of the transcriptions of Arabic words into vocalized scripts is undertaken, information on this subject is unobtainable, although anaptyctic phenomena are likely to have been quite widespread. Cf., for instance, APFL III 167,82
(137-40 A.H.)¹ where αμερ = عمر of 1.93².

...

THE LONG VOWELS

§7

Imāla naturally affected the long ā also. This is clearly indicated by the transcriptions, especially those of the Psalmfragment¹, and is suggested by various features of the orthography.

- a. In Violet's text imāla of long \bar{a} takes place in conditions similar to those described at §3a for short a. Some examples: $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\nu\kappa\rho$ = والنار ; $\epsilon\lambda\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta$ = التراب ; $\sigma\kappa$ = ساق (Ψ 78vv. 21,27,52), as against $\iota\nu\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ = انسان ; $\gamma\epsilon\beta$ = جاب ; $\kappa\epsilon\nu$ = كان (Ψ 78 vv. 25,29,30).
- b. Imāla is suggested, but hardly proved, by the alternation in spelling between alif and yā in the following cases: (i) Alif maqsūra in words which in CA tend to be spelled with alif can in the papyri be spelled with yā (§ 12e). (ii) CA forms ending in alif mamūdā can also be spelled with yā (§ 21b). (iii) Alif maqsūra spelled with yā can be preserved before pronominal suffixes (§ 12f). For $\text{اهدتها} / \text{اهدتها}^2$ and $\text{اولتها} / \text{اولتها}^3$ s. §§91b; 104.
- c. The only occasion outside these categories on which I have noted the possible representation of imāla by a spelling with yā³ occurs in the word تبيعة "subsequent claim" which appears in BAU 12,5 (382 A.H.) but is not recognized by the editor⁴.

§8

It is open to question whether a conditioned shift $\bar{a} > \bar{o}(\bar{u})$ before n_1 , such as occurred in a number of Aramaic dialects, can be identified for the period of Arabic studied here. There exist in the papyri a number of proper name doublets of the kind همدان : همدون , the one showing a suffix $-\bar{a}n$, the other a suffix $-\bar{o}/\bar{u}n$. For همدان s. e.g. ADEL IV 255,6 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); *ibid.* I 43,6 (306 A.H.), and for the commoner همدون ADEL IV index s.v. and the

references given by Grohmann, Islam 26,277. The fem.

هدونة also occurs, e.g. Jahn, 11,5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.). Other names ending in - o/ūn paralleled by forms in -an are: ²سعون AO xviii/3,98,4 (223 A.H.);

هيون (read so!) Wessely 20,8 (3rd cent. A.H.); ³سعون APRL III 4,3 (299 A.H.); ³سعون ibid. XV 19,2

(presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.) and further references ⁴ in Giessen, 5. Many such doublets exist to this day .

The point at issue is whether one has to do here with a separate suffix ⁵-ūn, or whether these forms are developments from those with -an by way of a possible intermediary *-ōn. Perhaps an examination of transcriptions of Arabic proper names into vocalized scripts would be able to throw light on the question.

REMARK: Possibly ā > ō can also be detected in Grohmann, TWÄ 19,6 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.) if the editor is correct in reading and understanding "capers". The standard form is generally ^{كبور} but ^{كبير} كبار is also known (e.g. Dozy, Supplément, s.v.) and is perhaps reflected here.

According to Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,137 n.59 عافواك = عافاك "may (God) give you health!" is to be read in Jahn 17,30 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§ 9

- a. In many modern dialects and other non-classical strata of Arabic the distinction between long and short vowels at the end of a word does not exist ¹. In view of the close affinity that the language of the early papyri bears to these varieties of the language, it is very likely that here, too, final long vowels were shortened, although there is not a great deal to prove that such was the case. The transcriptions of Violet's text

are of no help². Some indication, however, can be seen in the fact that spellings with ālif maqsūra, ālif mamdūda and ta marbūta alternate³; this is unlikely to have been possible were ālif maqsūra and ālif mamdūda pronounced as anything but $-ā$ ⁴. Cf. also §14b.

b. Unlike CA, long vowels in final closed syllables in forms of verba med. w/y were not shortened (§81a).

c. Again, in common with many modern dialects⁵, it is very probable that medial long vowels were sometimes shortened in open unstressed syllables⁶. This phenomenon is particularly frequent in patterns of the kind CaCāCīC⁷, and it is here that it can very likely be assumed for our material. Cf., however, the very frequent occurrence of scriptio defectiva of $-ā-$ (§10a), which could also account for the examples suggested below: ثلثين "thirty" and ثمانين "eighty" are decidedly commoner than ثلاثين,

ثمانين; some early examples e.g. PSR iii, Anh.b,5; e,1; 1,7 and NFAF XIII-XVI, 4 (all 91 A.H.); دينار "dinars" (passim) is quite regular from the earliest texts, whereas دينار⁹, e.g. APEL IV 237,5-9 (249 A.H.), is rather uncommon. Further instances: قرير "carats" in FERF 573 (57A.H.) in Grohmann, Einführung, 184; ثلاثة منديل "three kerchiefs" Ab. Wien Denkschr. 62/1, 67,5 (1st cent. A.H.).

The plural of سرويل "trousers" appears in two different forms in the same document AO xviii/3,117,6 and verso, 2, (3rd cent. A.H.), where سرويلات and سرويلات, each showing the shortening of a different long vowel, occur together. سرويل itself appears in

1.7. Cf. §87e, REM.B.

REMARK: The names ابراهيم and اسماعيل, usually written without alif e.g. APEL III 167,94 (137-40 A.H.)¹⁰, ibid. 168,6 (159 A.H.) might also belong here¹¹.

- d. Other cases of the shortening of long vowels, as the spelling of في "in" simply with fā', occur only very sporadically¹². Cf. also سئلك "what is your name?" §49f. For the shortening /scriptio defectiva of vocative yā s. §27d and for يخزو representing perhaps yakhdhū' < yākhdhū < yākhudhū < ya'khudhū
§77b REM.

§10

Scriptic defectiva of medial ā, restricted for the most part to nominal forms, is extraordinarily frequent in the early papyri, where it alternates freely with scriptio plena. Some common words, it is true, such as those of §9c are preponderantly written without alif, but in general "eine Regel ist nicht zu erkennen" (Becker, PSR iii, 27). This feature is much commoner¹ here than in any other branch of Arabic; I have collected without difficulty hundreds of examples evenly² distributed over the first three Islamic centuries. In a number of cases (§9c) it is difficult to decide whether we are dealing with scriptic defectiva or with a genuine shortening of the long vowel. The following is a classified selection of examples:

- a. Nominal forms³: اصحاب "companions" Grohmann, Aperçu, 41,7 (22 A.H.); والسلام "and peace" Abbott, Kurrah I,14 (90 A.H.); BAU 2,2 (143 A.H.); دينير "dinar"

PAF IX, 8 (90 A.H.) and passim; صحب "companion"
 PSR iii, I,3 (91 A.H.) and often; كتي "my letter"
 PSR iii, II,35 (91 A.H.) and كتب "document"
 APEL III 174,2 (103 A.H.); ارب خمسة "five
 irdabbs" PSR iii, Anh.c,7 (91 A.H.); انسلخ "end
 of the month" APEL III 175,8 (112 A.H.), Grohmann,
Papiri... Milano I,8 passim (113-5 A.H.); صحب
 "needful" Jahn, 10,10 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); الاسلام
 "Islam" APEL I 56,16 (239 A.H.); شدة "his testimony"
 ibid., II 93,8 (251 A.H.);⁵ وولده "and his mother"
 ibid., IV 222r, col. A,3 (3rd cent. A.H.); لمة
 "well-being" ibid., V 295,16 (3rd cent. A.H.) etc. For
 الف "thousand (s)" s. §203, where other apparent
 cases of singular counted nouns after the numerals
 3-10 are dealt with, and for ميدة "table" etc. §24a.

REMARK A: The form التور "Torah" occurs several times
 in the literary text published JNES v, 172 (3rd cent.
 A.H.); it is best taken not as scriptio defectiva
 but as a reflection of the Hebrew orthography (as also
 the same spelling in GQ III,55). Cf., however, §47i.

REMARK B: Scriptio defectiva of medial \bar{a} occurs
 not only in cases where the corresponding CA forms
 have original \bar{a} , but also in words which in CA show
fatha + hamza, i.e. $a \gg \bar{a}$, thus demonstrating the
 absence of the glottal stop (§§ 19,20a)⁶. The only
 example I have of this is اللة "the garden" APEL
 IV 238r., 1 and verso, 1 (3rd cent. A.H.) for which
 the editor prints الملة; the plural ميال occurs
 several times, s. the references in APEL IV,99 as
 well as APRL XI 11,4 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) as corrected

by Grohmann, Anzeiger der Österr. Ak. d. Wiss.,
Phil.-hist. Kl., 85, 240.

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b. Nomina propria :

- i. الحارث , خالد "al-Hārith", "Khālīd" Nessana 60, 2, 4
(54 A.H.); Hilāl "Hilāl" Jahn 4, 5 (c. 127 A.H.); ZDMG
34, 686, 2 (169 A.H.); صالح "Ṣāliḥ" APRL IV 2, 3
(133 A.H.); DAB 25r, 4 (3rd cent. A.H.); إسحاق "Ishāq"
APEL II 91, 1 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); هرون "Hārūn" *ibid.*,
I 48, 10 (233 A.H.); معاوية "Muḥāwīya" *ibid.*, II 80, 3
(236 A.H.) etc. For ابراهيم , اسمعيل s. 9c, REM.
- ii. This spelling is extremely common in proper names
ending -ān : رمضان "Ramādān" PAF X, 7 (90 A.H.),
نعمان "Nucmān" PSR iii, II, 42 (91 A.H.); عثمان ,
سفيان "cUthmān", "Sufyān" APEL IV 249, 8, 9
(2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); مروان "Marwān" AO xvii/3,
100, seal of no. 9 (223 A.H.); سليمان "Sulaymān" APEL
I 48, 12, 14 (233 A.H.) etc.
- c. Verbs: Absence of alif marking ā in verbal forms is,
on the other hand, quite rare; I am able to record
only the following examples: اردوا "they wished"
NPAF II, 17 (90/1 A.H.); تبرك الله "God be blessed!"
Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions 6, 7/8 (probably 207 A.H.)¹⁰;
احتج "they need" APEL V 294, 6 (3rd cent. A.H.);
ليت "I paid attention" DAB 12, 12 (3rd cent. A.H.);
شرط apparently = شرط "made a contract" Islam
22, 37, 4 (295 A.H.). It occurs several times in forms of
the optative عافى "may (God) give health!" as
(!) عافك Jahn I, 31 (c. 100 A.H.); عافنا ZDMG 34,
688, 5 (early 2nd cent. A.H.); عافانا (read so!)
Hirbet el-Mird 43v, 1 (c. 127 A.H.); عفاك BIÉ,

Deuxième Série i,15,4 (date ?)¹¹. Cf. §78a.

- d. اِه "Oh!", of frequent occurrence in ASP (Blau, ASP, 78/9) seems not to occur in the papyri. The spelling of ya as ya, however, while not known from ASP, is attested several times¹² : يسدي "O my master!" Jahn 7,6 and PERF 615,5,11 in FWAP, 186/7 (both 2nd-3rd cent. A.H.) and probably also DAB 36,8 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.); يرسول الله "O messenger of God!" Ibn Wahb 97,2 (late 3rd cent. A.H.). For scriptio defectiva of words beginning with alif after this particle s. §27d; 49b,ii.
- e. Most, if not all, of the examples given above can also be found written plene, as كتابي (read so!) PAF III, 3 (c. 90 A.H.); هارون APEL IV 249,4 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); رمضان PAF II,16 (90 A.H.), APEL II 77,9 (178 A.H.) etc. The alternation is so arbitrary that even the same document sometimes spells the same word in two ways: APEL IV 261,7 (3rd cent. A.H.) has ثمانية "eight" but l.17 spells ثمانية¹³; DAB 4,7 (3rd cent. A.H.) القاسم "al-Qāsim" as against scriptio plena in l.1; ibid. 22,13 (3rd cent. A.H.) دينير "dinars" but l.14 دنانير.
- f. In a few documents, however, there are signs of some convention behind the alternation of ā spelled now with alif and now without. APEL IV 237 (249 A.H.) is such a document, and is quite consistent in always spelling the plural دنانير "dinars" with alif but the singular and dual without. The same convention is followed by DAB 7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§11

Scriptio plena of ā can also appear in words which in CA^{are} customarily written without alif as a mater lectionis.

الرهبان¹ is rare : JEA xii, 173 (697 or 712 A.D.); AO xvii/3, 91,4 (339 A.H.). Commoner are examples involving the demonstratives هنا, ذلك², which are sometimes written هاذا, ذالک. هاذا : APEL I 48,32 (245 A.H.); *ibid*, IV 291,22 (4th cent. A.H.); هاذين : Wessely 3,10 (3rd cent. A.H.); APRL IX 4,13,18 (250 A.H.); APEL I 49,5 (297 A.H.); Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.) e.g. 35,3; JESHO viii, 173,11 (310 A.H.); Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I,3,8 (338 A.H.); ذالک : Giessen 9,5 (c.178 A.H.); *ibid*. 10v,2 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 288,14,17f. (c.236 A.H.) alternating with ذالک in l.20; Grohmann, TWÄ 4,9 (3rd cent. A.H.) and further references in DAB,145. هاكذا "thus" occurs Ibn Wahb 74,9 (late 3rd cent. A.H.), and for هؤلاء etc. "these" s. §61g.

§12

As in other branches of Arabic, alif maqsūra spelled in CA with yā is very frequently found spelled with alif as well as with yā¹. Again, where two scribal conventions exist side by side (cf. the case of scriptio plena/defectiva of ā above §10e) both alternate quite promiscuously, even within the same document.

- a. Nominal forms: قرى "villages" APEL III 153,8-9 (91 A.H.); السمي "named" *ibid*., I 56,12 (239 A.H.); مولا "lord, master" Nützel, Katalog, no.2177 (178 A.H.); CPR III,158,12 (229 A.H.); اعمال "highest" DAB 13,2,12 (3rd cent. A.H.); دعوا "claim" APRL X 3,3 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.) as against دعوى Anzeiger

der Österr. Ak.d.Wiss., phil.- hist. Kl., 85, 239, 9=
APRL X 2 (227 A.H.), etc.

- b. Nomina propria: اعلا اشمون "Upper Ashmūn" APEL III 175,3 (112 A.H.) but اعلى اشمون in 1.5; انتينا "Antinoe" AO xviii /3, 98,7 (223 A.H.) as against انتيني PSR iii, XXII,2 (90-1 A.H.) or APEL II 117v,3 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)²; هليسا "Helīṣā" (< ٤٤٢٢٠) is consistently spelled with alif in APEL I 56 (239 A.H.), but the same person appears only as هليسى ibid. 48 (233 A.H.);
جمادا (read so with Dietrich, Islam 25,189) "Jumādā" Abbott, Fayyūm I,32 (335 A.H.) etc. For ظلى alternating with ظلى s. Giessen 5 n.6.
- c. Verbs: تولا "undertook" Giessen 9,5 (c.178 A.H.);
يكنا "named" APEL II 98,8 (236 A.H.); ينرا (point so!) "winnowed", ibid., V 288,10 (c.236 A.H.); لم يبقا (read so!) "did not remain" ibid., II 114,14d (241 A.H.);
ادعا "brought a claim" APH 3,3 (297 A.H.); اكترا "rented" APEL II 92,2,3 (3rd cent. A.H.); اشترا "bought" BAU 10, Fortsetzung, 2,3 (405 A.H.) etc.
- d. Particles: حتا "until" is very frequent, as Hirbet el-Mird 23,15 (2nd cent. A.H.) and further references ibid., 25 n. to line 15; الا "until, up to" Jahn 10,3 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); عا "perhaps" idem, 11,3 (late 2nd cent. A.H.), DAB 24,6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.);
فتا (miswritten فتى) "and if/when" APEL I 37,9 (393 A.H.).
- e. Much rarer is the inverse phenomenon whereby alif maqṣūra written in CA with alif is rendered by a spelling with yā³. Here belong كذى وكذى "such and such" APRL IX 1,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); Ibn Warb (Late 3rd cent. A.H.) 19,4 (! كذا وكذى); 49,3; 52,15⁴

and ما ذى "what?" ⁵ ibid. 73,3; 91,16; 103,2 .

- f. The yā of alif maqsūra is occasionally preserved before pronominal suffixes : عافينا الله "God give us health!" Jahn 3,4 (127 A.H.), JESHO xiv, 1,4 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.); اكرها "he has leased it" APEL II 89,3 (209 A.H.); هيها "may He keep them alive!" APH 6,12 (322 A.H.).

REMARK. Special attention is due to the feminine forms of اول and احد when connected with pronominal suffixes, for their interpretation is a matter for delicate consideration. At APEL II 86,8 and 87,7 (both 312 A.H.) appears the word اولسن "the first of them". Since this is written, as is quite usual, in unpointed script, the identity of the antepenultimate letter is left in doubt. Is it yā, in which case اولسن would stand for CA اولهن and would therefore belong to this paragraph, or is it rather tā, i.e.

اولتن , representing a suffixed form of the sub-standard اولة "first", in which case the word would belong not here but to §104? The balance of probability seems to be with the latter alternative. Not only does the comparative rarity of the preservation of the yā of alif maqsūra before pronominal suffixes make the former possibility rather unlikely ⁷, but also the interpretation as اولتن is distinctly favoured by the explicit (pointed) occurrence of this form in DAB 11a,3 (probably 304 A.H.). Similar considerations apply to the unpointed اولسا "one of them (fem.)" ⁸ APRIL IV 3,4 (127 A.H.), ibid., 4,4 (134 A.H.), 5,5 (contemporary?) ⁹, which could stand either for CA اولها or for the non-Classical

اولتها ¹⁰

§ 13

As in CA, ā in a small number of words can be marked by wāw as well as by alif¹: الصلاة "prayer" Khoury 68,12 (229 A.H.); APEL VI 394v,B,12 (?) (3rd cent. A.H.) as against ā DAB 2,9 (probably 205/6 A.H.).
Further cases e.g. ā "their lives" Ibn Wahb 14,10; ā "his prayer" *ibid.*, 22,8 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

§ 14

Scriptio defectiva/shortening of long vowels other than ā is very rare.

- a. For medial ī I have noted only ī "Deputy of God" on a coin of 75 A.H.¹
- b. In Quranic orthography ī in final position is often, especially in the case of pronominal suffixes of the first person singular, written defectively²; as such it occurs in the papyrus mentioned above §10 n.11, 1.11, (141 A.H.) quoting Quran 2,40: ī "fear me"³.
- c. I have found no example so far of the tendency to avoid double wāw or yāw⁴. The two wāws, however, in ā (§ 77 REM.) "that they should not give shelter" NPAF V, 11 (91 A.H.) are perhaps to be regarded as a shortened form of a spelling with three (CA yūwū, ā).

...

§ 15

- a. To judge from the transcriptions of Violet's Psalm-fragment ay and aw are preserved and not contracted:
οελεουδιεῦ = ā, ā "and the rivers"; φκουκ = ā "above" ψ 78,20,23; ā = ā "upon them"; ā ā ā = ā "tabernacle"

of Shilon" Ψ 78,27,60.

- b. Long diphthongs resulting from the elision of inter-vocalic hamza were often shortened¹ i.e. $-\bar{a}\bar{y}i- > \bar{a}yi- > -\bar{a}y- > -ay-$, as عيشة "c'Ā'isha" FWAP 199,4,8 (3rd cent. A.H.)². S. further §24a.
- c. For the contraction of diphthongs the only possible case is one of $ay > \bar{a}$ in Jahn,17,13 (3rd cent. A.H.): $\bar{a} \bar{y} \bar{a}$ "beast of burden" (so, with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 136 n.46)³.
- d. The spelling $\bar{a}y$ for $\bar{a}y$ "thing" is not rare in the papyri, and may reflect $ay > \bar{a}y$, or rather, if shayy⁴ is posited as a likely pronunciation of the word $ayy > \bar{a}y$ ⁵. Some examples of $\bar{a}y$: NPAF I,13; APEL III 153,13 and 158,17 (all 91 A.H.); and as accusative: NPAF I,18; PAF IV,8 (where read so!) (both 91 A.H.); Grohmann, Aperçu,90 n.2,11 (early 2nd cent. A.H.); JESHO xiv,2,23 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.)⁶.

§16

To describe such an elusive phenomenon as stress on the basis of written records only is at best a precarious undertaking, and in the case of the present material an almost impossible one. From an unvocalized script without accentual markings of any kind no reliable information concerning stress-patterns is likely to be forthcoming. The only text which might be made to yield some data in this connection is Violet's Psalm-fragment. This has been studied by Elau, BSOAS xxxv 480/1, where a theory of Maghribi stress is attempted. The argument, however, must be considered somewhat

inconclusive; at any rate such a reconstruction cannot be said to emerge clearly from the material for the following reasons: (i) the very existence/non-existence of a number of the diacritical signs is doubted by the editor himself, the only person to have actually seen the document¹; (ii) the signs are applied inconsistently (e.g. the plural suffix of the verb is sometimes written - oû with circumflex, as in the cases cited Blau, loc. cit. 480, but sometimes without as ψ 78, 57); (iii) there are exceptions to the theory of oxytone Maghribi stress (ibid., 481); (iv) some of the phenomena adduced can be explained differently in accordance with Eastern stress-patterns (as ibid., 481, § 4.2)². Moreover, it is easy to overstate the role of stress in the formation of syllabic structure³, a defect from which many of the explanations in e.g. Vollers, Volkssprache suffer. In view of this state of affairs, therefore, it seems unwise to make any general statement as to the stress-pattern(s) obtaining in the language of the early Arabic papyri.

CONSONANTS

§ 17

Geminate consonants in final position were sometimes pronounced as single¹. This is made explicit only by the transcriptions of Violet's text: λελκλ = لعل² "perhaps"; ελρκβ = الرب² "The Lord" ψ 78, 20, 21, as against e.g. γεδδκ = جدا³ "very" where the geminate is clearly marked in medial position.

§ 18

Devoicing of final consonants seems perhaps to be reflected in some strata of Greek transcriptions of Arabic words, but not in others (as Nessana or Violet's Psalmfragment)¹. E.g. κλουλιτ "Al-Walīd" APEL I 1,7 (86-96 A.H.) and the frequent μκκμετ² / μκμετ "Muhammed" of the early protocol texts.

§ 19

For all practical purposes it can be stated quite plainly that in the language of the early papyri hamza, the glottal stop, barely exists, being weakened to such an extent as to be either disregarded completely (usually in those cases where in CA hamza has no kursī), or absorbed into the categories of words containing w or y¹. This is a phenomenon common to all non-Classical varieties of Arabic². Exceptions to this state of affairs are rare indeed; the sign for hamza is extremely uncommon in these texts, and as it occurs (so far as I have noticed) almost exclusively in late or literary papyri³, it seems not unreasonable to regard it mainly as an intrusion from the CA tradition. Accordingly, I tend to believe that the absence of hamza in these documents is better interpreted not as an innovation,⁴ but rather as an inherited feature, continuing the situation prevailing in those dialects of Old Arabic which formed the basis of the CA orthography. The latter, as is well known, reflects a variety of the language which had already lost the glottal stop⁵. The few attempts to indicate the glottal stop by means other than the hamza sign are also either quite late,

or confined to literary texts, again suggesting the influence of CA. Here belongs the writing of double alif to mark a glottal stop adjacent to a long \bar{a} ⁶ :
 متى تات "when she wishes" Islam 22,34,4 (287.A.H.)⁷ ;
 برات "quittances" Wessely 47r,2 (440 A.H.)⁸ .

Possibly in this way should be understood the practice peculiar to the papyrus text of Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.) whereby the glottal stop in final position after \bar{u} is marked not as in CA by the hamza sign without kursī, but by alif, as لولا "pearls" (gen.) 71,17.
 More likely⁹, however, is that these are simply instances of alif fāsila (§§ 20a;50a,iii) comparable to those given in GQ III,47/8, and thus attesting more to the disappearance of the glottal stop than to its preservation; i.e. luḥluḥ > lūḥū (§20a) written, like any other final $-\bar{u}$, with wāw and alif¹⁰ .

On the other hand, at least partial preservation of hamza (and with it the case endings) is suggested by cases such as ساوه "its water" (nom.) PAF IV,7 (91 A.H.) or ساوها APRL I 18,13 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.) as against the more regular treatment (§21a) ساه Grohmann, Aperçu, 85n.5 (176 A.H.). For further examples s. §21c.

§ 20

- a. Post-vocalic hamza, when not followed by another vowel, is omitted, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened¹. Thus, for رأس "head" e.g. APFL IV 261, passim (3rd cent. A.H.) one can posit as the most likely pronunciation: rās, a supposition which derives

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some support from the occurrence in roughly contemporary texts of the plural رُوس , i.e. rūs (§ 25c) as e.g. AO vi,385,4,5. Explicit attestation of this feature is, in unpointed script, naturally rather uncommon; for رُوس > رُوس I note بين الراي "what a bad opinion!" (c. mid 1st cent. A.H.) ; بيت المرأة "what a bad woman!" SALP III,2 v,10 (late 3rd cent. A.H.); شيت "you wished" Ibn Wahb 15,8 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) and, rather later, VBPS 5,441,1,2 (11th - 12th cent. A.D.)³ - all four cases pointed with yā. The development رُوس > رُوس is very probably to be deduced from the spelling لؤلؤا "pearls" Ibn Wahb 71,17 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) where the terminal alif is best explained (§ 19) as alif fāsila occurring after final ū (in this case ū < u with absence of the case vowel according to § 2a).

- b. It is a result of this change that verba tertiae hamzatae merged with the category of verba tertiae yā (§ 79): qarā (قرأ) > qarā (قرى)⁴. This adaptation of roots IIIu to roots III (w/y) can also be seen in noun forms of the patterns fa/i/u derived from roots IIIu. Here two treatments are possible: the final hamza (in CA without kursī) can either be deleted altogether (§ 23), or the word can be visibly rederived from a root III(w/y). In the latter category I note only بدو الخلق "the beginning of creation" JNES v,172,2 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁵ and ملئ (sic with damma) § 3c)⁶ "fullness" Ibn Wahb 4,13 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) .
- c. If, however, the preceding vowel was long, the hamza was simply omitted, and the resultant long vowel in final position was, at least in nominal patterns ending

in CA with alif mandūda, shortened, i.e. - \bar{a} > - \bar{a}
 -a (§9a) - . The resultant spelling with alif only
 of all these classes of words which end in CA with
 ة| - is almost too common to require illustration.⁸
 A few examples: عطا "wages" PSR iii,I,8 (91 A.H.)⁹
 and, as n. pr.hom., APEL II 114,12 (241 A.H.); ان شاء الله
 "if God wills" PSR/iii,I,10,25 (91 A.H.), BAU 2,2 (143
 A.H.) et passim; سودا "black" DAB 38,8 (early 3rd cent
 A.H.); وفا "faithfully" (= CA wafādan) in the
 papyrus mentioned above §10 n.11,1.16 (141 A.H.); هؤلاء
 "these" APEL I 51,10 (195 A.H.) etc.

The same principle naturally holds good for hamza
 preceded by long vowels other than \bar{a} , as سو "evil"
 e.g. DAB 26,4 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§ 21

- a. It was as a result of §20c that alif mandūda and alif
maqṣūra coalesced as - \bar{a} (> -a §9a), naturally and
 predominantly (s. however, below, b) spelled with alif
 (§12). The subsequent identity of these two endings¹
 extends also to forms containing a pronominal suffix:
 عطا صهيهم "their stipend" (acc.) PSR iii,I,25 (91 A.H.);
 حريفانك "your clients" (gen.) DAB 24,6 (early 3rd cent.
 A.H.); (؟) ابنا "our sons" *ibid.*, 30,4; فضال
 "your reticence" (gen.) *ibid.*, 43,9 (both 3rd cent.
 A.H.); وراءه "behind him" Ibn Wanb 32,14 (late 3rd
 cent. A.H.); ردائي "my cloak" *ibid.*, 32,5³; for verbs
 cf. e.g. the common اذا ياتي "when there reaches you"
 as NPAF V,12 (91 A.H.)

- b. Beside the very many cases where the reflex of CA

alif mamdūda is written with alif (§20c), there are also a number where the spelling is with yā⁴. Some examples: كرى "rent" BAU 4,5 and 6 (202 A.H.); Grohmann, TWÄ 14,4 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); AO xviii/3, 113,3 (3rd cent. A.H.) as against كرا e.g. APEL II 89,5 (209 A.H.)⁵; اهرى "hirelings" Wessely 19,1 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); العزى "the virgin" BIFAO lix,153,8 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.); سودى "black" APEL II 81,3 (253 A.H.)⁶ as against سودا e.g. ibid., 82,3 (same date); انتقى "full receipt" APEL I 42,4; انتقى "end" ibid.; همرى "red" ibid., VI 394r,B,5; غلى "high price" FWAP 139,5 as against غلا NPAF IV,4 (91 A.H.). These last examples are from the 3rd cent. A.H.; from the late 3rd cent. and 4th cent. A.H. we find: بن الكوى n. pr. hom. Ibn Wahb 7,1 (cf. ibid., II,20); استوى "reconciliation" DAB 1,8; كسى "clothing" and ردى "cloak" Wessely 67,4 and 8.

In some documents both spellings, even of the same word, occur side by side: APEL VI 391 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.) همرا "red" in 1.5, but همرى in 1.6; ibid., 365 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) يوم الاربعى "Wednesday" in 11.11,15 as against يوم الاربعى in 11.12,13,16. For هولى etc. "these" s. §61g.

- c. Alif mamdūda can be spelled before pronominal suffixes not only with alif alone and with elision of the glottal stop (above, a), but also with alif + wāw/yā⁷, in a manner conforming to the conventions of CA. These spellings seem to indicate quite clearly at least a partial preservation both of the glottal stop and of

the case-system (cf. §19 end). Alif + wāw for the nominative: ساره "its water" PAF IV,7 (91 A.H.); ابراوهم "the absolving of them" Studia Sinaitica XI, lxx,14 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); هل تناوه "May He be greatly praised!" (point and translate so) APRL I 39,2 (264 A.H.) انتقناوهن "their expiry" Islam 22,34, 5 (287 A.H.); ساره "its water" APRL I 18,13 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

In several cases instances of the genitive spelled with alif + yā alternating with alif alone for the accusative, apparently bear witness to the functionings of a case-system⁸ - this is of some significance, as the other available evidence points unequivocally to the conclusion that the case-system in the Arabic of the papyri had broken down, and was already at a stage comparable to that of the modern colloquials (§161). Some examples: علاهم "their stipend" (acc.) PSR/iii I,25 (91 A.H.) but بعلاهم in the contemporary NPAF II, 22 which is from the same archive; دماك "your blood" in the text mentioned 10 n.11,1.6 (acc.), but دماك (gen.) in I.12; بتاك "your life" and بتاه (acc.) DAB 59,1 and 2 (3rd cent. A.H.) but بتاك (gen.) in 11.2,3.

Some documents, on the other hand, make no such distinction, using the spelling with alif alone quite indifferently: APRL VI 19 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.) بتاك acc. in 1.1 as against gen. in 1.4.

REMARK. It is perhaps worth stating explicitly that I have so far not found any example of the hypercorrect application of these spellings with wāw or yā as documented by Blau, ASP, 90/1. Cf. §47 n.17.

- d. A most unusual feature in any branch of Arabic is the writing of alif + yā for alif mamdūda when that ending is not followed by a pronominal suffix⁹. In the papyri I have noted two instances which, outwardly, seem to illustrate this phenomenon: هولاء النفر "these people"¹⁰ Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I,2,4 (3rd cent. A.H.); رجاي الملك n. pr. hom. (gen.) Wessely 84,2; 85,2 (399 A.H.)¹¹. What lies behind these spellings is not fully clear. I rather doubt whether an explanation either in terms of diphthongization of final -ā, or as a quite artificial abstraction from suffixed forms written with alif + yā is applicable here¹². It seems, rather, on the basis of these examples, that the yā should be seen as a glide, and the spelling a phenomenon of (external close) juncture¹³. This would tally well with the circumstance that the first case is of a demonstrative followed by its noun and the second a status constructus. Juncture of a different kind (internal close) is perhaps exhibited by ابتدايا "beginning" APRL IX 1,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁴.
- e. For noun forms ending in ءا- (mamdūd munsarīf) CA is slightly hesitant as to how the hamza should be represented when no longer in word-final position (nisba, feminine, dual, sound plural), recommending for the most part that hamza be retained, but at the same time allowing for ibdāl to w or y as in the case of ءا-¹⁵. What seems to be a clear instance of such a spelling with wāw¹⁶ occurs in Grohmann, TWÄ 20,5 (3rd cent. A.H.): بنارين¹⁷ "two builders". The more expected spelling with yā appears in Grohmann, Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens, In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann... 302, passim (also 3rd

cent. A.H.), and cf. القايين (unpointed) "the water-carriers" Wessely 91,2 (4th cent. A.H.)¹⁸.

§ 22

Total assimilation of the glottal stop is no more common in the papyri than in other strata of Arabic. Regressive assimilation is illustrated, at least outwardly, by آمن "trust", occurring several times in Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.), e.g. 66,9; 73,2¹. For a possible example of progressive assimilation s. §73 n.2².

§ 23

A glottal stop in final position preceded by a vowelless consonant was probably simply elided¹: امر القيس
 n. pr. hom. Hirbet el-Mird 33,11 (1st - 2nd cent. A.H.)²
 ; المر "the man" NPAF I,9 (91 A.H.), apparently also DAB 4,6 (3rd cent. A.H.), Ibn Wahb 50,1 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³.

§ 24

Intervocalic hamza between heterogeneous vowels becomes w/y:

- a. ai > yi is attested by a number of examples, some of them made explicit by the pointing of yā, in CA the kursī for hamza, with two dots¹. Words of the pattern faʿīl develop through fayīl into fayyil², a process for which I find only one example: base³
 "base" Ibn Wahb 50,3 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³. More readily available are cases exhibiting the development āi > āyi > āy which, through shortening of the

long diphthong (§15b), resulted in ay ($\sqrt{e}?$)⁴.

This development is perhaps reflected in one of the two extant papyri from 22 A.H.: كتيبة "his squadrons" Grohmann, Aperçu 41,7⁵. Some more assured examples:

الويلي (pointed so) "al-Wā'ilī" APEL III 167,93 (137 - 140 A.H., s. APEL IV, 251); اربعة نطيف "four velvet covers" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 62/1,67,4 (1st cent. A.H.)⁶; مخيط "field" ibid. 33/1, 230,4 (203 A.H.)⁷;

n. pr. mul. "A'isha" Grohmann, FWAP, 199,4 and 8 and Einführung, 121 n.2 (both texts 3rd cent. A.H.)⁸; ملكه "angels" MPER 1,103,23 (253 A.H.), VBPS 5, 12,16 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁹; حيط "wall" APRL VI 15,10 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); ميدة "table" FWAP 174,5 (4th cent. A.H.)¹⁰.

The shift ai > ay (and probably also > ay) is further demonstrated, it seems, by several words in Violet's Psalmfragment (c. 800 A.D.): μκίσεύ "table" ψ78,20¹¹; ελμελεικε [ύ] "the angels" ibid. v.25¹²; κ.βκ.ι.ύμ "their fathers" v.57¹³. For القائين "the water-carriers" Wessely 91,2 (4th cent. A.H.) s. above §21e. and for واول etc. §61g.

As an example of the intrusion of this y arising from ai > ayi into other forms of a paradigm, I can cite, (apart from the case mentioned §21 n.14), only ترى "to see one another" Ibn Wahb 21,8 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁴.

b. Uai > uyi is hardly exemplified by the form سئل "he was asked" (pointed so) which appears in Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.) e.g. 16,6, though this is the opinion of Blau, Emergence, 125¹⁵.

c. ai > ay after i is also, but rather sparsely attested in

these documents. فليته "his sin" Khoury 80,10 (229 A.H.) exemplifies īḍa > īya > īyā¹⁶ as does also مة (presumably an error for ميه) "will" APEL V 291,23 (4th cent. A.H.). In this latter document لأن "because" appears with suffixes as لينا, ليني, لينه (all pointed with yā) 11.40,57,63¹⁷, and the same word is spelled ليان DAB 42a,3,5 (c.304 A.H.)¹⁸. Cf. also للا "that not" APRL VIII 6,6 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁹. For forms such as ميجيل "your coming" APEL V 310,11; Giessen 11,9 (both 3rd cent. A.H.) and ميجي "my coming" (pointed so) APEL V 291,62 (4th cent. A.H.) cf. the remarks of Blau, ASP,97,REM.C.

- d. The remaining combinations of hamza flanked by heterogeneous vowels are very rare indeed: uḍa > uwa is responsible for the passage of verbae primae hamzatae into the category of verba primae wāw (. §77a); au > awu is perhaps represented in مونة "provisions" Wessely 91, 1 and 4 (4th cent. A.H.), but for iḍu > iyu I can produce no example²⁰.

§ 25

Hamza between homogeneous vowels is elided and the complex resolved into the corresponding long vowel:

- a. Aa > ā¹ is represented by the following instances:
امرته "his wife"² occurring already in PERF 575,3 (mid 7th cent. A.D.)³; امرت سرجه "Serge's wife" APEL IV 250,3 (3rd cent. A.H.), as against the commoner امراة etc. as PSR iii, IV,8 (90/1 A.H.); Islam 22,30,1 (2nd cent. A.H.) and often; براة "quittance" PERF 585,3⁴ (75 A.H.); PAF X,5 (90 A.H.); BAU 4,2 (202 A.H.);⁵
 Grohmann, TWÄ 12,2 (260 A.H.) and frequently مما ينينيو

"secure"⁶ in the papyrus mentioned above §10 n.11
 1.16 (141 A.H.); ¹ "he saw" Ibn Wahb e.g. 13,12
 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁷, ⁷ رآها "he saw it" Wessely 56,10
 (4th cent. A.H.).

For forms which, externally, exhibit this shift, such
 as ¹ جاءك "there came to you" s. §21a, and for the
 passage of verba mediae hamzatae to verba mediae w/y
 s. §78a⁸.

b. i > ī may be reflected in ¹ مجي "my coming" cited
 above §24c.

c. For u > ū I have noted only ⁹ روس "leaders" APEL
 III 167, 96 (137 - 40 A.H.); Khoury 140,12 (229 A.H.);
⁹ جزيرة روس "their poll-tax" AO vi, 385,4 and 5 (2nd
 cent. A.H.), and in APRL XIV 2,2 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)
 read: ¹⁰ روس for the edited روس .

§26

Post-consonantal hamza is omitted with no further
 change¹. This is attested several times in ¹ مرة <
² امرأة "woman", which appears in the following forms:
² Hirbet el-Mird 18,7 (second half of 1st cent.
 A.H.); ³ مرة Khoury 150,19 (229 A.H.); APRL XI 4,2 and
³ المرة 1.6; ibid. XV 1,2; ³ امرتاك ibid., Omissum, p.221,20
 (these three texts are undated by the editor, but belong
 to c. 3rd cent. A.H.); ⁴ مرتة PERF 885,14 (297 A.H.).
 It is also responsible for the development of the plural
ārus < arus "heads" at §88d. Extremely common is
 the absence of post-consonantal hamza in derivatives
 of the root سأل "to ask" (cf. §78a): ⁴ يسأل NPAF
 VIII,5 (91 A.H.)⁵; ⁵ اسأل Jahn 3,6 (127 A.H.); ⁵ يسألني

Hirbet el-Mird 20,2 (137/9 A.H.); نزل Jahn 5,4
 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.); اسل Byzantion xvii,214,5
 (238 A.H.)⁶ etc.; ملة DAB 26,1; 38,6 (3rd and
 early 3rd cent. A.H. respectively). Outside this root
 I have noted this phenomenon in a verb only in يُكِب
 "he is distressed" DAB 33r,6 (early 4th cent. A.H.),
 and, probably, in تَحْرَن (§73a).

§27

There are several details to be recorded concerning
 the glottal stop in initial position:

- a. The shift ḥu > wu¹ is probably to be recognized in
 the n. pr. hom. وسامة, Jahn 5,7 and 8 (mid 2nd cent.
 A.H.), representing "Usāma"². For the passage of
verba primae hamzatae > primae wāw s. §77.
- b. Initial hamza is elided after an inseperable prep-
 osition³ in: ليش "why?" Islamica 4,251,4 and بذن الله
 "with God's permission" ibid., 264,D . Elision after
 a seperable preposition occurs in الى ابو صير⁵ "to Abū
 Ṣīr" Jahn 16,3 (3rd cent. A.H.) and in على قرار
 (read so with Dietrich, Islam 24,94) "to the acknow-
 ledgement of" APEL I 59, 12 (341 A.H.).
- c. Elision of the glottal stop after the definite article⁶
 takes place in: البوصيرين "from Abū Ṣīr" Wessely
 70,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); الحمرة "the asses" APEL VI
 365,12 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); كتاب الربون⁷ "Book
 of Mortgages" FWAP 174,6 (4th cent. A.H.); الول
 "first"⁸ Islamica 4,250,7⁴.
- d. The writing of only one alif when the word following

vocative yā begins with hamza is exceedingly frequent in the papyri; it would be a simple task to list dozens upon dozens of examples. It is in the nature of things that most instances occur before nouns denoting family relationships: اب / ابه , ام , اغ , اجت . The following is a brief selection of references: Jahn 9,4; 10,2 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); JESHO viii,305,10; Grohmann, TWÄ 10,2 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁰ ; Byzantion xvii,214,4 (238 A.H.)¹¹ ; APEL V 292,12; DAB 12,11 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); Mélanges Massignon III,376,6 (?); Ibn Wahb 55,9¹² (both late 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 320,2 (328 A.H.); DJD II 287 e.g. 7,14 (4th cent. A.H.); APRL II 5,6 and 8; *ibid.*, VI 1,4 and 18; VII 11,4 (dates not estimated by the editor, but probably c. 3rd cent. A.H.). This spelling occurs also before the vocative يا¹³ : Hirbet el-Mird 23,5 (2nd cent. A.H.); AO i,207 (3rd cent. A.H.); Islamica 2,223,3 (400 A.H.).

Exceptions to this convention are rather scarce; I have at hand only APEL V 303,4 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁴ and BIFAO xxx,40,8,14,19 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.)¹⁵ .

- e. The omission of hamza after wa¹⁶ is exemplified by وام الله "and may God preserve!" BIFAO xxx,39,2 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.)¹⁷ ; وفواتك¹⁸ "and your sisters" DAB 33v,9 (early 4th cent. A.H.)¹⁸ ; ويها¹⁹ "and also" Islamica 4,267 no.4 e.g. 2^{4,19} ; and after fa by فنتا²⁰ "then its indemnification" APEL I 54,10 (448 A.H.) .

- f. Initial hamza is also elided in other cases as well,

21

including absolute initial position. Both ناس and اناس occur, the former already in PAF XII 6 (90 A.H., s. APEL III no.150)²², the latter e.g. APEL IV 238r,5; *ibid.*, 239,3; 241r,1,3; Wessely 21,3,5 (all 3rd cent. A.H.), and the two alternating in identical contexts APEL VI 377 (288 A.H.) where in 11.22,26,30 من ناس شتى "from various people" is written, as against من الى اناس²³ in 11.9,71. Further examples: نقاذ "indemnification" JAOS 56, 289,10 where read so with Abbott, *ibid.*, 57,314 (205 A.H.); APEL I 56,16 (239 A.H.)²⁴; بو صير n. pr. loc.²⁵ APEL IV 224,1 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); بو مريد n. pr. hom. APEL IV 250,5 (3rd cent. A.H.); بو تير n. pr. hom. Krall, Koptische Texte no.CII (4th cent. A.H.)²⁶; بر صير (read so!) n. pr. hom. Études... Lévi-Provencal II,511,8 (263 A.H.)²⁷; نحو "brother" Muséon lxxv 262,4 (4th-5th cent. A.H.); رينا "also" Islamica 4, 250,7⁴. For ر < ر s. §91c.

REMARK. Some (loan-) words which are written in CA both with and without initial hamza are also written thus in the papyri: ارز "rice" APEL VI 423,11 as against رز Grohmann, TWÄ, 2,9 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); اوقيتين "two ounces" in the late text Islam i,244,15 as against وقية Grohmann, TWÄ 2,10 (3rd cent. A.H.)²⁸. Cf. also قنير / اقنير "goblet" Grohmann, Einführung, 106,170; Hirbet el-Mird 48/9.

§28

Initial hamza is the result of dissimilation (?) of cayn before hā in اهودا "pacts" Islamica 4,262,2¹.

§ 29

Although spirantization of b is recorded for a number of Arabic dialects¹, its presence in earlier times cannot be deduced from sporadic transcriptions of Arabic b by Greek υ as $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\delta$ (si vera lectio) = عبد الله الوليد APEL I 9,2 (86-96 A.H.); such spellings are to be explained from within Greek itself².

§ 30

- a. The shift th > t, nowadays a characteristic feature of many sedentary colloquials¹, is attested for Palestine already in the middle of the first century A.H. in نبعت (pointed so) "we send"², but not in Egypt until the 3rd century A.H.³, at which period there appear a number of instances where CA ش is explicitly pointed as ت: APEL III 202,2,3,10; IV 216, passim; Grohmann, TWÄ 16r,7; JNES v,172,6 (clearly pointed تلتين). Later examples: APEL VI 365, passim (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) and frequently in the collection published Islamica 4,249 ff⁴.
- b. There are some indications, admittedly of a rather inconclusive kind, that devoicing of d > t took place in final position (§ 18). This suggestion is made purely on the basis of certain transcriptions into Greek, and I know of no example in Arabic itself of the kind adduced by Blau, ASP,106.
- c. dt > tt⁵ occurs in حمت الله "I praised God" occurring in an unpublished Michaelides papyrus (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); ارت "I wished" DAB 53,5 (early 4th cent. A.H.)⁶ and رت اذا (divide so with § 70) "if you

wish" Islamica 4, 263 recto, A,1; 264 recto, B,1⁷.

- d. dht > tt⁸ : Since dh has very probably, at least in some strata of early Arabic, passed > d (§34), apparent cases of dht > tt perhaps represent only an extension of the assimilation dt > tt (above, c):
 وَاخْت "and I took" DAB 38,10⁹ (early 3rd cent. A.H.), and similarly اَنْتَا APEL VI 389,5 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- e. tht > tt¹⁰ : Again, since th has shifted to t (above, a) a case such as كَت بَت "I sent" APEL V 334,7 (before 278 A.H.) does not differ in principle from the phenomenon described by Wright I,56, §90 REM.a. The shift tht > tt, or rather, perhaps, t (< th) + t written with only one tā (cf. §54c) may also lie behind those cases where تلات / تلت is used in contexts which in CA would require تلاتة / تلة¹¹ (§§193c,ii; 195b-d) as تلات ارباع "three quarters" WZKM 54,52,9; تلت ايام "three days" Wessely 94,7¹² (both 3rd cent. A.H.); تلت عشر "thirteen (dinars)" APEL VI 390,6 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
- f. thth > tt, or rather, similarly, t + t (< th + th) > tt spelled with a single tā, occurs in تلتى (so MS.) "third of an eighth" APEL III 202,2,10 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹³.

REMARK: متت "coerced" BAU 13,3 (458 A.H.) is not, as it appears to be, a fifth form of dhd in accordance with §41, but a hyper-correct spelling of muttihad (for which s. §40c). Since tt < tt/tt (§40a,b), the spelling tt was transferred to render tt even when the letter was of different origin

APEL IV 217,2 (2nd cent. A.H.) as against سرقى *ibid.*, 220,3 (3rd cent. A.H.), I 60,3 (406 A.H.); سرقى n. pr. hom. APEL VI 365,6 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) as against سرقى *ibid.*, IV 250,3 (3rd cent. A.H.), I 37,4 (393 A.H.).

This conclusion, however, tempting as it may appear at first glance, is fraught with difficulties:

- i. سرقى is a hapax legomenon, and so, it seems, are سرقى and سرقى.
- ii. Even assuming the identification of the Coptic equivalents of the latter two names to be correct, it must be noted that the Coptic spellings themselves are not stable, but fluctuate in a similar way, s. APEL I,190; *ibid.*, VI,15.
- iii. Words containing g can be adopted in Arabic with both ج and ق, s. e.g. Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, xviii/xix, 121; Blanc, qāl-gāl, 20.
- iv. Words originally containing k adopted in Arabic are also known to fluctuate similarly, s. e.g. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 230, 275/6.
- v. Even if it is admitted that (in some contexts) reflexes of ق and ج were similar (or identical), it does not follow that ج was therefore a plosive as in modern Cairo; ق could conceivably have been fronted, cf. Blanc, *art. cit.*, 22.
- vi. The Cairene g seems, in fact, to be of quite recent origin, s. Blanc, *ibid.*, nn. 12, 77, 99 (where read /g/ for /g'/ and vice versa).

§ 33

In Islamica 4, 249, 3 is printed the word: سرقى trans-

lated "be washed"¹. This is certainly to be repointed with khā and interpreted as the common Maghrebi/Egyptian kh-s-l < gh-s-l (khs < ghs)².

§ 34

That the interdentalals had shifted to plosives, at least in some early dialects, is clear from the case of th > t (§ 30a), and phonological symmetry requires dh to have been affected by a similar shift, i.e. dh > d¹. This, of course, cannot be demonstrated from unpointed texts², but remains a safe enough assumption.

§ 35

The assimilation zb < sb is attested by the doublet
 كزبرة "coriander" APEL VI 423,9 (3rd cent. A.H.)
 and كسبرة ibid., 420,6 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.);
 426,4 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹.

§ 36

- a. For an early example of the shift s > s¹ I have noted only سوف "wool" APRL VI 11,11 (date not estimated by the editor, but c. 2nd cent. A.H.)². In several documents from the 5th cent. A.H. the word āi (آية ?)³ occurs: APEL I 61,3 (423 A.H.); ibid., 62,3 (429 A.H.); BAU 21,4 (447 A.H.); ibid., 20,3; APEL I 54,3 (both 448 A.H.); ibid., 67,5 (450 A.H.); the spelling with s appears rather more rarely, as APEL I 63,4 (434 A.H.).
- b. Grohmann, APEL VI,242 cites an instance (date?) of the spelling كسيرة "tragacanth", thus demonstrating

the development th > s (cf. above §31)⁴.

§37

A curious and somewhat confusing feature of some documents is that sīn appears to be differentiated from shīn by the very same diacritic device as is used to differentiate shīn from sīn, i.e. three dots (or a dash)¹. A good example of such a text is APEL III 170 (3rd cent. A.H.) which, by explicitly writing عشرة "ten strokes of the whip" and المساحة "surveying", clearly gives the impression that s and sh had coalesced. Now, the loss of the s:sh contrast is a phenomenon not altogether unknown from modern dialects, where examples range from sporadic cases of dissimilation to more or less regular shift². Is it entirely idle to ponder the possibility of a connection between these two states of affairs, or is this usage of the diacritical points to be reckoned purely as a phenomenon of orthography?

§38

The shift s > ṣ¹ occurs in the following cases:
 • قَسَمْنَا "we measured (it)" DAB 8r,6,10 (3rd cent. A.H.)²;
 • پنجاه (?) "Pentateuch" Ibn Wahb 15,11 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³;
 • السطح "the terrace" Abbott, Fayyūm I,5,15³ (335 A.H.);
 • نحاس "copper" APEL III 119,6 (348 A.H.)³.
 For the alternation س / س̣ s. §36a and for further examples Grohmann, Einführung, 104⁴.

§39

- a. There are no direct indications as to the pronunciation of س̣ in the period of Arabic examined in this study¹.

Two attendant circumstances, however, enable one to draw what seems to be a fairly safe conclusion concerning its realization: (i) ظ and ظ had already merged early in the second century A.H. (s. below, b and §41); and (ii) the interdental ظ and ظ had passed to the corresponding plosives (s. §§ 30a,34). Now, since th and dh had shifted to t and d , it stands to reason that ظ , the third member of the interdental triad, had also shifted to the corresponding ("emphatic") plosive, presumably therefore d^2 . Further, since within the history of the language it was ظ that was absorbed into ظ and not vice versa³, it must follow that the pronunciation of ظ too was plosive, not spirant, and that this process was complete in some dialects by the early second century A.H.⁴. Such a reconstruction would be fully in accord with the situation obtaining in most modern dialects, where reflexes of ظ are pronounced as plosives in dialects which have lost the interdentals, and as spirants in those which have not⁵. At least for a later period, this realization d for ظ can be directly demonstrated in ظنفس "eleven" (below, c) and is probably (but not certainly!) reflected in $\text{dt} > \text{tt}$ (§§ 30 REM.; 40c).

- b. The earliest certain occurrence of $\text{ظ} < \text{ظ}$ ⁶ is from 101 A.H.: واظنن "and keep!" WZKM xxxii,277,14⁷. Further examples: عظنن "great" in an unpublished Michaelides papyrus (early 2nd cent. A.H.); انتظرت (read so!) "I was expecting" Jahn 5,7 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.) and another instance of the same root in 1.8⁸ (recorded in the apparatus): ظننا ظنروا وانهن

"you can argue the matter, and I can ascertain" DAB
 4,7; ⁹ *مناجاة* > "strung pearls" JNES v,176,10¹⁰
 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); *أعياض* (read so!) "great"
 APRL p.222,21 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); *الذئبية* (?)
 "the pure" APEL V 329,3 (4th cent. A.H.)¹¹.

- c. The only example I have found of the shift $\underline{d} > \underline{d}$,
 and at the same time the only direct evidence for the
 plosive pronunciation of *د* (above, a)¹², unfort-
 unately occurs in a rather late document (s. §27 n.4):
أعياض "eleven" Islamica 4,267,4,4¹³.

§40

- a. $\underline{tt} > \underline{tt}$: *هل تتر* "do you seeomens?" Ibn Wahb 98,2
 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹. Cf. §73a.
- b. $\underline{tt} > \underline{tt}$ may be present in *عياضك*² "care of you both"
 DAB 31,6 (early 4th cent. A.H.).
- c. $\underline{dt} > \underline{tt}$: *مك* "constrained" BAU 22,4 (407 A.H.)³.

§41

Since *د* and *ط* had coalesced in pronunciation
 (§39a), the resultant sound, in most cases probably
 \underline{d} (ibid.), could be spelled with either letter. Cases
 of *د* for CA *ط* are listed at §39b; the inverse
 phenomenon, *ط* for CA *د*¹ occurs as follows: *نظله*²
 "His bounty" ZDMG 34,688,8 (early 2nd cent. A.H.);
قبظته (read so!) "you have received it" JESHO xiv,
 6,12 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.)³; *نظلت* "so went astray";
نظا "forenoon" Khoury 154,1;5 (229 A.H.)⁴; *ومحظنه*
 (so, with *و*) "and in his presence" APEL II 98,11 (236
 A.H.) and the same word again BAU 21,29 (447 A.H.)

where wrongly transcribed with $\frac{dā}{6}$ ⁵; $\frac{qā}{6}$ "settlement"
 APEL V 291,18 (4th cent. A.H.) .

§42

- a. $\frac{h}{1} > \frac{c}{1}$: $\frac{bīrūc}{1}$ "mandrake" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 33,236,
 5 (3rd cent. A.H.) .
- b. A very widespread feature in modern Arabic dialects is the dissimilatory disappearance of $\frac{c}{2}$ in the numerals 14,17 and 19 . The earliest example, so far as I know, of this phenomenon is found in $\frac{arbatn}{1}$ "fourteen" APEL VI 365,10 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) (cf. §95a).

§43

- a. For the alternation of $\frac{q}{1}$ with $\frac{g}{1}$ s. above §32 .
- b. The Turkish name Tughj, held by the founder of the Ikhshīd dynasty and generally spelled with ghayn in Arabic sources, is plainly written with qaf AO xviii/3, 85,6 (328-33 A.H.)¹ .

§44

It is probably somewhat optimistic to expect Greek transcriptions of Arabic words to provide any information on such a delicate subject as tafkhīm (taghlīz) of ll in the pronunciation of $\frac{qā}{1}$, but what small hints there are seem to suggest that the position was not uniform. On the one hand, the transcriptions of Violet's Psalmfragment (c. 800 A.D.) $\beta(\lambda\lambda\kappa\upsilon$ (Ψ 78,22) = $\frac{qā}{1}$; $\kappa\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\acute{\upsilon}$ (ibid., vv.31,59) = $\frac{qā}{1}$ (as against $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}$ (v.56) = $\frac{qā}{1}$) apparently intend

Allāh with a back vowel, i.e. Allāh with tafkhīm², while, on the other hand, transcriptions of عبد الله as $\kappa\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\kappa/\epsilon$ ³, i.e. with a front vowel before (and occasionally after) the ll, might well be thought to reflect a pronunciation without it⁴.

For the assimilation nl > ll in ال s. § 51e and for the assimilation of the l of the definite article to sun-letters s. § 52b,c.

§ 45

- a. As in CA, final n of the apocopate of كان after ل may disappear¹, e.g. NPAF X,8 (90 A.H.); PSR iii,IV,7 (90/1 A.H.); likewise after ان "if": Ibn Wahb 65, 15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.). Unlike CA, however, disappearance of final n also occurs in the papyri after ay in the status absolutus of the dual. (§ 85d).
- b. Tanwīn on rare occasions is written with nūn: اصلى "roots" ZDMG 92,131,9 (c. 241 A.H.) alternating with اصلا in 11.8,10; مكن "lodgings" APEL II 97, 9 (356 A.H.)². In only two words is this spelling found in CA³; one of these, اذن "then"⁴, appears in PSR iii,III,85 (91 A.H.) and SALP I,6r,4 (2nd cent. A.H.). The only indications of tanwīn being pronounced as in pause, i.e. without the final n, are $\gamma\epsilon\delta\delta\kappa =$ بما "very" Violet, Psalmfragment, Ψ 78,29 (c.800 A.D.) and perhaps (?) اول "first" DAB 31,4 (early 4th cent. A.H.) for which s. § 47b,REM.
- c. Final n is written as m in PAF X,3 (90 A.H.), where باب اليوم < $\beta\alpha\beta\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$ n. pr. loc.⁵, and likewise probably PSR iii,XIII,4 (contemporary).

- d. The dissimilated form انبا "reverend" < $\kappa\beta\beta\alpha$,
 $\kappa\tau\kappa$ appears already in PSR iii X,6 (91 A.H.);
 Hirbet el-Mird 46, address (2nd cent. A.H.).

§46

- a. Disappearance of final - h is demonstrated not only
 by the alternation of alif mamdūda / maqṣūra with tāḍ
marbūta, i.e. -ah > -a (§47b ff. and cf. §9a)¹,
 but also by the marking of final -a by hāḍ in other
 cases as well (§5)².
- b. Elision of intervocalic h seems to take place in ايهم
 "their hands" APEL V 314,4 (3rd cent. A.H.)³.

...

§47

- a. The behaviour of tāḍ marbūta was very similar to that
 current in most modern dialects, i.e. -a/e (not -ah,
 § 46a) in status absolutus¹, as against a/et in status
constructus. This is made quite clear from the trans-
 criptions of Violet's Psalmfragment (c.800 A.D.), where
 the st. abs. is regularly rendered by -ū, but the st.
constr., when it occurs, by -τ. Of the latter there is
 only one example: $\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\ \sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu =$ نوم سيلم
 "tabernacle of Shiloh" Ψ 78,60². This alternation is
 only very rarely visible in documents in Arabic script:
 JAOS 56,289,2 (205 A.H.) سولهم (read sol)
 "allotment" (constr.) as against 1.7 آلهل (! §61d) إل
 "this allotment". It is, however, confirmed by
 the fact that the spelling of the fem. ending in st.
constr. with ه is not uncommon³, particularly in

the formula رحمت الله "mercy of God"⁴, whereas the same spelling for the fem. ending in st. abs. appears not to occur at all.⁵ Some examples: سنت الهدي⁶ "year thirty-one" JRAS 1930,322,7 (31 A.H.); خلفت الله (! 14a) "Deputy of God" Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld, 158 (75 A.H.); ضرائب الطعام⁷ "food taxes" PAF X,3 (90 A.H.); رحمت الله "mercy of God", Arabic and Islamic Studies... H.A.R. Gibb 23,13 (106 A.H.), BAU 2,3 (143 A.H.), DAB 7,17 (3rd cent. A.H.), all three cases to be read so; امرت سرجه⁸ "wife of Serge" APEL IV 250,3 (3rd cent. A.H.), and, from later times, Islamica 4,261,7 فرقت الصغار⁹ "parting from the young ones".

The pronunciation of tā marbūta in st. constr. as t is further borne out by the very rare transference of this t from the numeral to the counted noun, s. §93.

REMARK: The frequent spelling ابنت "daughter" as opposed to ابنة in status constructus is probably not to be reckoned among those cases where CA ة is spelled ت in st. constr., although it was certainly influenced by them.¹⁰ However, it is only in st. constr. that I have noted this form in the papyri:¹¹ Hirbet el-Mird 48,2 (1st cent. A.H.)¹²; AO xii,110,2,5 (2nd cent. A.H.); APEL II 91,2 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); ibid., I 48,25 and 56, passim (233 A.H. and 239 A.H. respectively); AO vi, 390,2 (249 A.H.); Studia Sinaitica XI, lxix-xx, passim, (early 3rd cent. A.H.); Giessen nos.7,8 passim (279 A.H.); Islam 22,37,4 (295 A.H.); BAU 10, Fortsetzung,3 (405 A.H.) etc., alternating with ابنة, which is less common, in the same position, e.g.: APEL I 51,5

(195 A.H.); *ibid.* IV, 241,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); Ibn Wahb 18,1 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) and the very much later text (749 A.H.) in Grohmann, Studi...Calderini ...II,501,3; 502,1. When connected to pronominal suffixes or in forms of the dual, the two spellings are, of course, indistinguishable: APRL I 5,11 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP 171); APEL IV 254,10 (c.280 A.H.); Islam 22,37,2 (295 A.H.); ZDMG 95,62,8 (336 A.H.) and, for a case of the dual, JESHO viii 174,8 (310 A.H.).

In some documents the spellings *أبي* / *أبى* / *أب* occur side by side. Thus ZDMG 34,688,2 (early 2nd cent. A.H.) uses *أب* in st. constr. but has *أبى* و 689,18 in status pronominalis; APH,1 (342 A.H.), on the other hand, employs just the opposite practice:

أبى for st. constr. (11.2,4,13) as against *أب* in st. pron. (11.2,7,12). Jahn 12,2 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.) uses *أبى* in st. constr., whereas on verso the same woman's name is written apparently, with *أبى*.

- b. After the loss of final hamza the termination alif mandūda coalesced with that of alif maqsūra as -ā (§21a) > a (§9a); tāʾ marbūta was also pronounced (outside status constructus) as -a (above, a). The result of these developments was that reflexes of all three endings, alif mandūda and maqsūra and tāʾ marbūta (including alif + tāʾ marbūta) became identical, and each could therefore be spelled with the orthography of, or pass into the category of the other ¹³. For alif mandūda and maqsūra behaving in this fashion s. §12;21b.

REMARK: It is possible that in one case hāḍ/tāḍ marbūta may mark a reflex of CA tanwīn alif, such as occurs in JA (Blau, JA,152) but not, apparently, in ASP (Blau, ASP,323 REM.). DAB 31,4 (early 4th cent. A.H.) reads وستحق الحمد اوله. It is hard to be certain from Taf. xi that اوله and not simply اول is written. If the former is read then it seems not unlikely that it represents اولا and should be translated "deserving of praise first and foremost" (Dietrich: "an erster Stelle"). In support of this could be cited the JA examples (likewise adverbs) as well as والحمد لله اولاً وافراً DAB 68,4 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.). It seems less likely that اوله should represent CA اول (s. e.g. Wright I,260*) with §5.

c. Tāḍ marbūta for alif maqṣūra¹⁴ : اخره "other" Grohmann, TWÄ 3,10 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁵. For اوله "first" and the question of احده "one (f.)" s. §§ 12f, REM.; 91b; 104.

d. Alif + tāḍ marbūta for alif maqṣūra¹⁶ occurs, as far as I have observed, only in status pronominalis, thus demonstrating not merely a spelling variant of final -a (as below, e), but a genuine passage from the category of alif maqṣūra to alif + tāḍ marbūta. This is how I prefer to interpret APEL IV 234,1 (270 A.H.); وما يجرى¹⁷ مجاتها "and what follows its course", and perhaps also Mélanges Islamologiques ii,92,9 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁸.

e. Alif (maqṣūra) for tāḍ marbūta¹⁹ is simply a spelling variant of tāḍ marbūta pronounced in st. abs. as -a (above, a). It may occur ZDMG 92, 111,5 and 122,5 (241 A.H.) in الابنية "the buildings (?)". Cf. further

the spellings of the phrase (§35a) *مِفْعَةٌ / مِفْعَةٌ*
 واحدة "with one striking of the hands" occurring
 frequently in deeds of sale. *مِفْعَةٌ* in this expression
 is also written *مِفْعَةٌ* : APEL I 61,3 (423 A.H.);
 ibid., 54,4 (448 A.H.); 67,5 (450 A.H.), partly by
 attraction to *مِفْعَةٌ* which generally follows ²⁰.
 A late example (s. §27 n.4) of this feature in
status pronominalis (involving therefore not merely
 variant spelling but genuine morphological transfer)
 appears in *مِفْعَةٌ* "its night" *Islamica* 4,250,15
 (as against *مِفْعَةٌ* ibid., 251,4).

f. Tā marbūta for alif mamdūda ²¹ is rare: *كثيرة*
 "tragacanth" APEL VI 444,3 (3rd cent. A.H.) with further
 references given ibid., 242, and *يوم الأربعاء* "Wednesday"
 is recorded by Grohmann, *Einführung*, 101,222 n.5 ²².

g. Alif + tā marbūta for alif mamdūda ²³ : *كِرَاة* "rent"
 almost certainly (pace the editor) occurs beside *كِرَاة*
 JESHO xiv,22,12 (208 A.H.) and also APEL VI 391,11
 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); *البيضاء* "white" Grohmann,
Papiri... Milano I,3,4 (338 A.H.) and *السوداء* "black"
 ibid., 1.6; *مِفْعَةٌ* n. pr. mul. APEL I 37,7 (393
 A.H.); *قَوْرَاة* "spacious" ibid., I 61,3,7 (423 A.H.) ²⁴.

h. Alif (maqsūra) for alif + tā marbūta ²⁵ ²⁶ I find only
 in *الرعاة* "shepherds" Jahn 17,15 (3rd cent. A.H.).

i. Tā marbūta for alif + tā marbūta can be recognized
 in *امْرَأَة* "woman" < *امْرَأَة* (^(ة) §25a) ²⁷, and, perhaps,
 in *التوراة* "Torah" §10a, REM.A.

j. A form which occurs fairly regularly in legal deeds
 is *بمعرفة* "with his knowledge", existing beside the

more frequent معرفة : APEL II 93,3 (read so?), 11
 (251 A.H.); *ibid.*, 129,2,3 (272 A.H.); BAU 11,16
 (276 A.H.); Giessen 7,12,16 (279 A.H.); APEL I 46,2
 (3rd cent. A.H.). This spelling may perhaps be taken
 as an example of the omission of tāḍ marbūṭa before
 a pronominal suffix²⁸. Another case which may be
 included here is افئيرها plausibly taken as = افئيرها
 "its fore-courts" APEL I 54,6 (448 A.H.) and افئيه
ibid., 67,12 (450 A.H.)²⁹. For حيا لكا s. §40b³⁰.

k. It is not only in JA that the marking of final -t in
 the 3rd person feminine singular of the perfect by
tāḍ marbūṭa occurs³¹. The earliest example I have come
 across is بقية "remained" BIFAO ii,122,6 (224 A.H.)³².
 Further توفية "she died" *ibid.*, 128, no.9, 4/5 (263
 A.H.).

l. The alleged occurrence of tāḍ marbūṭa for final t in
فيا = فياط "tailor" Grohmann, *TWÄ* 4,8 (3rd cent.
 A.H.) is, I believe, quite impossible³³.

§48

The expression of tashdīd not, as in CA, by a diacritical
 sign¹, but by the writing of the relevant consonant
 twice, is very uncommon. In one case occurs the morph-
 emic spelling whereby the final radical of the verb and
 the first of the suffix are not united, but written
 separately²: عنتم (= عنتم of Quran 9,128)
 VBPS 5,422,21 (3rd cent. A.H.). Otherwise I have so
 far found this phenomenon only in the later (s. §27 n.4)
 texts Islamica 4,251,10 قنينة مطينة "bottle daubed
 with clay"; *ibid.*, 253,6 الطيب "good, pure"³.
 For الذي Jahn 17,24 (3rd cent. A.H.) read: الذي.

- a. For a discussion of alif al-wasl in the transcriptions of Violet's Psalmfragment s. Blau, ASP, 125, where the suggestion is made that it was pronounced in verbs but not in nouns.
- b. The presence / absence of alif al-wasl in the writing of ابن "son" is not always in accordance with the conventions (in[as] much as such can be said to exist) of CA:
- i. Alif al-wasl is absent after (separable) prepositions¹ after الی APRL XV, 38r 13 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); after بین APEL V 298, 9 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); after عن JNES v, 176, 18; after من Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I, 5, e.g. 1.6 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).
- ii. It may also be absent after vocative yā. (cf. for alif al-qatc §27d): يا بن عم "O cousin!" DAB 65, 6, 14 (late 1st - early 2nd cent. A.H.);² يا بنی ibid., 33 e.g. recto, 3 (early 4th cent. A.H.) can, but need not, be regarded as = yā bunayya.
- iii. After wa, ibn is written without alif al-wasl in APEL VI 392, 14 (3rd cent. A.H.); APRL I 16, 4 (?) (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 291, 33 (4th cent A.H.). (Cf. for alif al-qatc §27e)
- iv. and in other cases as well: وقد ولي بن ملىح "Ibn Malih has been appointed" APRL I 5, 16 (1st cent. A.H., s. Fs. FWAP, 171); سفن بن امير المؤمنين "the ships of the son son of the Amīr a [1-Muḥminīn]" PSR iii, XXII, 3 (90/1 A.H. A.H.); كان بن الزبير يصلى "Ibn al-Zubayr used to pray" Mélanges Massignon III, 376, 12 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);

... الله بن خطاب "... God, Ibn Khaṭṭāb" APPEL V 291,24 (4th cent. A.H.). (For alif al-qatc s. §27f.).

v. Ibn, spelled without alif, may stand at the beginning of a line : FWAP 137,20³ ; AO vi, 389,5 (both 237 A.H.); APH 2,21,23 (295 A.H.); *ibid.*, 3,3 (297 A.H.); 4,5 (314 A.H.).

vi. Some cases of ibn spelled without alif at the beginning of a line occur in absolute initial position (usually in lists of names)⁵ : Hirbet el-Mird no.33, *passim* (1st - 2nd cent. A.H.); APPEL IV 250,1,5,9; *ibid.*, 252,5 (alternating with ابن in the same position); *ibid.* VI,402,6; 434,4,8,13; 439,3,7 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); VI 396, e.g. 8 (4th cent. A.H.).

vii. On the other hand, ibn may also be spelled with alif in cases where CA orthography omits it, i.e. when occurring between the name of the son and that of the father : Jahrb. d. Ost. byz. Ges. ix,3 (22-54 A.H.) where read so; Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I, 6c, recto,8 (1st cent. A.H.); Mélanges Islamologiques iii,18 no.42 (105-16 A.H.); *ibid* 33 no.114 (c. 125 A.H.) Hirbet el-Mird, 46 address (2nd cent. A.H.) where read so; APPEL IV 271,10 (c. 273 A.H.); Islam 22,40,27 (295 A.H.); APPEL IV 277, 7 (alternating with CA orthography in the same line); *ibid.*, V 336,1 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); AO xviii/3,89,8 (337 A.H.); APPEL VI 387,2 (4th - 5th cent. A.H.)⁷.

c. بسم الله "in the name of God" is regularly spelled in CA without alif. In one case, occurring in a rather obscure magical text, this formula is spelled with alif: APPEL XIII 3,7 (probably c. 3rd cent. A.H.), and in another, JESHO viii,202,1 (3rd cent. A.H.) the alif appears in the wrong place: ابسم الله.

- d. Alif al-wasl may also be omitted after wa: وسمه
 "and his name" ZDMG 34,689,14 (early 2nd cent. A.H.);
 (! 66) وقرون "and greet!" *ibid.*, 16; وجذر
 "and beware!" APEL V 314,5 (3rd cent. A.H.); رستقا الما
 "and the drawing of water" APEL II 97,6 (356 A.H.),
 and after fa: فستري "so buy!" APEL V 311,2 (3rd -
 4th cent. A.H.)⁹. Less certain are فاتجه (= فأتجه
 "departed"?) APEL III 203 between 11.16/17 (3rd cent.
 A.H.) and فأختلج "there stirred (?)" (= فأختلج ?)
 ASAE ix, 194,4 (date ?).
 For alif al-qatc absent in this position s. 27e,
 for the wasl of ibn, above, b, iii and for that of the
 article 52c.
- e. There seem to be no clear early examples of the omission
 of alif al-wasl after a preposition, as of the only
 two cases I have noted one is the problematical reading
 of Hirbet el-Mird 49,5 (97c) and the other from the
 late (s. 27 n.4) text Islamica 4, 252,2: على اثنين
 "on two".
 Cf. الى ليت below 52 n.9 where a possible example
 of the absence of alif al-wasl of the definite article
 after بن is also mentioned.
- f. Quite without parallel is Ibn Wahb 9,11 (late 3rd cent.
 A.H.): سما (pointed, apparently, so) "what
 is your name?", presumably the result of mā smuk >
masmuk (9d) > musmuk (3c).
 For spellings of امراة s. 25a; 26; 47i; for
ابنت / بنت s. 47a REM., and for the numeral "two"
 s. above, e, and 92a.

- a. Alif fāsila very frequently appears in cases where it would not be usual in CA¹ (though, admittedly, the position there is by no means uniform²). Some examples:
- i. Outside the 3rd person plural of verbs: فَارِجُوا "so I hope" APEL V 288,19 (c. 236 A.H.); *ibid.*, 298,7 (read so!) and verso,2 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); نَرِجُوا DAB 24,13 (early 3rd cent. A.H.), and very commonly in this verb³; ادْعُوا "I summon" APRL XV 38v,10 (c.3rd cent. A.H.).
- ii. In nomina propria: frequently in ادفوا "Edfu" as DAB 2,9,19 (probably 205/6 A.H.); *ibid.*, 3,8⁴ (3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 312,8 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.). In other nomina propria: DAB 24,8 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); *ibid.*, 1r,11⁵ (late 3rd cent A.H.).
- iii. In nouns I have only noted this spelling in Ibn Wahb, for which s. the editor's introduction p.v and also above §§ 19;20a. It appears to be restricted in this text to those nouns which in CA end in wāw + hamza.
- b. Alif fāsila may also be absent, against CA, in the 3rd person plural of verbs; the spelling with final alif is, however, much more frequent: أَلَا يُوو "that they should not give shelter" (= CA yuwū, §77 REM.) NPAF V 11 (91 A.H., s. APEL III no. 151); لَا يَنْعَو "they do not pay" (point so and translate the verb with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,131) Jahn 9,4 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); جَاو "they came" DAB 26,5; فَلُو "(days) had passed" Grohmann, TWÄ 21,2 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); يَقْرُو "they greet" APRL VI 20,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

- c. Some texts are quite inconsistent in their writing of alif fāsila, so, e.g. ZDMG 34,688,10 (early 2nd cent. A.H.): فَاكْتُبُوا ثُمَّ ادْفَعُوا "write and then deliver!" and APEL V 291 (4th cent. A.H.).
- d. In one case what is presumably alif fāsila is added in the wrong place (pseudo-correction?): فَادَاو "they paid" DAB 30,1, and in another unpublished document from the Michaelides collection it is maintained before a pronominal suffix: امرواني "they ordered me" (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

§51

- a. The end of a line need not, and frequently does not, coincide with the end of a word ¹.
- b. Combinations involving ما as their second element can be written as one ²: فيما "about that which" Hirbet el-Mird 18,5 (second half of 1st cent. A.H.), DAB 13,12 and 20,3 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); عما "on account of that which" APEL II 77,7 (178 A.H.), BAU 5,4 (213 A.H.), APRL III 1,4 (295 A.H.) and passim in tax receipts e.g. APEL III nos. 181 ff.; عما MPER 2/3 167,3 (390 A.H.) ³; كل "everything that" ⁴ APEL II 114,9 (241 A.H.), *ibid.*, V 289,9 (3rd cent. A.H.), APRL IX,8v (presumably contemporary): معما "with that which" APEL VI 379,11 (248 A.H.) *ibid.*, V 292,5 (3rd cent. A.H.); مما "from that which" APEL I 53,7 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.) as against من Jahn 10,2 (late 2nd cent. A.H.), AO xviii/3 101,3 (265 A.H.).
- c. So also combinations with second element من ⁵: من

"of whoever" in the papyrus mentioned 10 n.11 (141 A.H.) and also ^{منى} APEL V 291,11 (4th cent. A.H.); ^{كلى} "whoever" Byzantion xvii,214,5 (241 A.H.), APRL VII 1,16 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.), *ibid.*, 18,3 (presumably contemporary); ^{فمن} "concerning whom" APRL VII 5,9 (?) (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

d. Status constructus relationships may be written as one word⁵; this is common only in numerical expressions:

i. compounds of "one hundred" are usually written separately, but the writing of the two components as one is by no means rare⁶, especially in later texts e.g. ^{لثماية} "three hundred" BAU 12,8 (382 A.H.)⁷, and in some documents both spellings even occur side by side, as APEL IV 261 (3rd cent. A.H.).

ii. Fractions of fractions may be written together: ^{نص من ثمن} "half of an eighth" Wessely 14,6 (261 A.H.), APEL IV 265 8,10 (262 A.H.), *ibid.*, 216,10 (3rd cent. A.H.) where pointed with tā for thā (§30a); ^{نص من ثمن} "half of a sixth" *ibid.*, 1.5; ^{ثلث من ثمن} "third of an eighth" APEL II 88,1 (261 A.H.), *ibid.*, 196,6 (262 A.H.), III 202,2,10 (3rd cent. A.H.) where spelled and pointed ^{ثلث من ثمن} (§30f).

iii. The numerals 11-19 had developed into compounds and are sometimes spelled as such (§95a).

iv. That the units and the counted noun had amalgamated into a compound is shown by the very rare transference of the t of tā marbūta from the end of the numeral to the beginning of the following counted noun, (§93). For ^{لثمن / لثمن} s. § 62b,c; 27b.

e. Both ^{لا} and ^{لا} "that not" occur: ^{لا}⁸: PSR iii

III, 41, 79, NPAF V, 11 (both 91 A.H.), APEL II 88, 2 (261 A.H.); لا ان : Jahn I, 5 (c.100 A.H.), DAB 35, 7 (3rd cent. A.H.), *ibid.*, 31, 7 (early 4th cent. A.H.). I have not come across لا ان in the meaning "except", for which I find only الا as e.g. PSR iii, III, 77 (91 A.H.).

f. Other cases: ان شاء الله "if God wills" APRL VI, 7/8 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)⁹; ان كان "if" APEL V 291, 15 (4th cent. A.H.)¹⁰; كتبت (and variants) "written in" *ibid.*, II 89, 7 (209 A.H.)¹¹; كتبت شهادته (and variants) "has written his testimony" *ibid.*, II 98, 7 (236 A.H.)¹²; كتبت بخطه "written in his own handwriting" *ibid.*, II 96, 8 (227 A.H.)¹³; خطيه "in his own handwriting" BAU II, 20 (276 A.H.) where read so with Karabacek, WZKM xi, 17; جعلتك رهناء "may I be made your ransom!" Mélanges Islamologiques ii, 92, 10 (3rd cent. A.H.) BIFAO xxx, 34, 8; 35, 12, 18 (late 3rd - early 4th cent A.H.). For vocative يا being written together with the following word s. § 27d; 49b, ii and for جاء "he brought" § 79d. A possible case of the preposition لي + pronominal suffix amalgamating with the preceding verb is recorded at § 221.

g. و "and" is sometimes written at the end of the first rather than at the beginning of the second of the two words it joins: ثلاثون وخمسين "fifty-three" APRL XI 16, 1 (253 A.H.); (so!) الواحد وسبعون "thousand and seven"¹⁴ APEL IV 261, 7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§ 52

a. When the definite article is prefixed to a word beginn-

ing with lām only one lām is written¹ : البيت n. pr. hom.
 "al-Laythī" APEL III 167,93,94 (137-40 A.H.²) as against
 البيت ibid., 168,7 (159 A.H.); البيت n. pr. hom.
 "al-Layth" Grohmann, TWÄ 12,4 (260 A.H.) as against البيت
 in 1.9 and in APEL V 314,3, ibid., VI 414,5 (both 3rd
 cent. A.H.); البيلة "night" JNES viii,132^b,3 (early 3rd
 cent. A.H.), DAB 42a,6 (after 304 A.H.); البيل "night"
 APRL XV 38v,10 (c.3rd cent. A.H.), Islamica 4,261,8³;
 والبويا "and the beans" APEL V 300,9 (4th cent. A.H.).

- b. Sometimes only alif of the definite article is written
 before "sun" letters, thus demonstrating the complete
 assimilation of the lām⁴ : ادرهم "the dirham"
 Jahn 10,8 (late 2nd cent. A.H., but 9th cent. A.D.
 according to Karabacek, PERF 651); ادرهم "the dirhams"
 APEL VI 404,7,11 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁵; ادرهم "the dirhams"
 (§ 10a) PSR 109 B,3 quoted AO xiv, 175- (date ?)⁶.
- c. On rarer occasions the definite article before "sun"
 letters is not visible at all, a spelling combining
 the phenomena of § 49d and above,⁷ b. Here belongs
 APEL VI 419,2 (3rd cent. A.H.) where it stands to reason
 that the phrase there should be read and understood as
 من الدينير ودرهم = min al-dananīr⁸ (§ 9c) waddarāhim⁹
 (§ 10a) "of dinars and dirhams".

§ 53

In CA the only survival of the Nabataean practice
 whereby nomina propria are spelled with final wāw is
 عمرو¹ "CAmr" as against عمر "Cumar". This practice is
 attested several times in pre-Islamic Arabic inscrip-
 tions², but the only example besides عمرو yet recorded
 from Islamic times is the n. pr. hom. عمرو Grohmann,

Aperçu, 41,8³, occurring in a papyrus dated 22 A.H.⁴.

§ 54

The phenomenon of involutio, whereby a sign required twice is written only once, has received detailed treatment elsewhere¹. There are some additional cases in the papyri where such a phenomenon may have been a significant factor in the spelling.

- a. Sometimes only one alif is written where one would expect to find two. The main category to be subsumed under this rubric is the very frequent spelling with one alif of the combination of vocative yā with a word beginning with alif (§§ 27d; 49b,ii). Other cases might include ما عمله (§ 2c,ii); لا فتح (§ 25 n.8) and the spelling له for the demonstrative occurring (though not exclusively) before the definite article (§ 61d)².
- b. Occasionally one upright stroke seems to do duty for two. This may possibly account for cases such as الله "God", Grohmann, Aperçu,41,4 (22 A.H.)³; الغنى "oppression" PSR iii,III,68 (91 A.H.) (§ 39 n.7) or لعل (read so!?) "may (God) preserve you!" Wessely 94,5 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴.
- c. Other instances might be thought to be س Islam 22,34,6 (287 A.H.) representing سبيل⁵ "ways / practices" which is required by the formula , or the forms described at §§ 30e,f; 57 n.6; 65a,ii.

REMARK: For اذان "then", an instance of involutio / assimilation occurring freely in CA⁶ and which is matched by comparable cases in the papyri⁷, I find

only إلى Islam 22,37,3 (295 A.H.).

§55

A problem of palaeography occasionally noted¹, but never, to my knowledge, discussed in detail, concerns the writing of final yā after lām². In many (perhaps most) cases, what is written is unambiguously لى - , but at the same time there are also many other instances where the final yā seems not to be represented at all³. This latter spelling, i.e. with apparant omission of the final yā, not uncommonly occurs in words where comparison with the orthography of CA would lead one to expect it. How is the editor or grammarian to proceed in such a case? Is it that we have to do with a purely orthographical convention whereby final ل may, if necessary, be read as لى⁴, or is it that the yā is indeed absent, and the question therefore a linguistic one?

This dilemma is by no means as trifling as it might at first appear, for there are occasions when it is precisely by this ambiguity ل / لى - that important grammatical distinctions are obscured. The following examples will illustrate the point:

- i. عل "on" apparently occurs freely beside على⁵. Is one justified in editing MS عل as CA على, or does the spelling represent cal, a form well known from a wide range of modern dialects⁶?
- ii. Similar considerations apply to ال "to" beside الى (§ 107a).
- iii. The gender of some month-names fluctuates (§ 83d,i). What is the gender of e.g. الجمادى الاولى "the first

Jumā'ā"?

- iv. At DAB 24,5,11 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) appears the word غال "expensive". Is one to point غال as CA would require, or is one to understand غَالِي with §82g⁷?
- v. Is لا نخل "we shall not neglect" of APRL I,1,12 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) to be accounted a hyper-correct jussive (§82f) or, as would seem more probable, a long imperfect (i.e. نخلى)⁸?
- vi. PERF 823,8 in AO xviii/3,107 (265 A.H.) clearly reads عامل, but the context requires it to be interpreted as a dual construct, i.e. عاملي "the two finance-officers"⁹.

It does not seem possible to reach any finality of interpretation on this point; the case of لـ / لـ must be added to the many ambiguities already inherent in the type(s) of Arabic script in which most papyri are written¹⁰. In general each document / scribe tends towards consistency in the manner of writing final -ly, but scribal practice is often quite haphazard. Instructive, for example, is a comparison of PSR iii, X, APEL III, 154 and 155, three letters all on much the same subject, and all written by Muslim b. Lubnān, a clerk of Qurra b. Sharīk, in the year 91 A.H. The writing of calā in identical phrases is as follows:

APEL III,154	PSR iii,X	APEL III,155
<u>على</u> (1.12)	<u>عل</u> (1.7)	<u>عل</u> (1.9)
<u>على</u> (1.14)	-	<u>عل</u> (1.12)
<u>على</u> (1.20)	<u>عل</u> (1.11)	<u>على</u> (1.17) (?)

The usage of this particular scribe would plainly seem to rule out the possibility of understanding عل as cal. The spelling must therefore be taken as an

example of a scribal convention according to which final ج is to be read as جي wherever the language requires it¹¹. There the situation is fairly clear-cut; in other cases the ambiguity remains¹².

§56

It is of interest to note that the metathesized root جيس (< جيس) "despair"¹, which is typical of (but not confined to) later Arabic², also occurs in the papyri: Giessen 11,8 (3rd cent. A.H.) where read ايت "I despaired".

§57

Of haplology¹, which cannot, in some cases, be neatly distinguished from involutio (§54), the following examples occur: انا / اني "that I / we" passim²; derivatives of اسطاع "to be able"³ as Hirbet el-Mird 25,11 (1st - 2nd cent. A.H.)⁴, Jahn 17,5 (3rd cent. A.H.); ليلتين "when two nights (had passed)" APEL IV 282,2 (3rd cent. A.H.), i.e. = للليتين as *ibid.*, V 307r,2 (4th cent. A.H.). Similarly, امكني (read apparently, so) "it was possible for me" DAB 3,7 and فاكنا "may He cause us to dwell! (?)"⁵ *ibid.*, 7,11 (both 3rd cent. A.H.)⁶. In a case such as يلوني "they ask me" DAB 26,5 (3rd cent. A.H.) it is impossible to insist upon the presence of a haplology⁷.

REMARK: Haplology of ta in the imperfect of the Vth or VIth forms of the verb, which is not rare in CA, has not yet been recorded in the papyri. For Ibn Wahb 98,2 s. §40 n.1.

In common with collections of similar material, be it in Arabic or any other language, early Arabic papyri and papers (and inscriptions) naturally contain many examples of scribal lapses, dittographies, haplographies, etc. as well as of abbreviations. The cases adduced in this paragraph do not belong to orthography or grammar proper, but are included simply to illustrate a few characteristic features often encountered in reading these documents. The list could easily be amplified:

- a. Dittography: فانه لو قد {لو قد} اجتمع عندي المال
 "had the money been accumulated with me" PSR iii,I,
 22/3 (91 A.H.); ελσε/σκμκ = السما "heaven"
 Violet, Psalmfragment, Ψ 78,23 (c. 800 A.D.);
 حميد بن {بن} عبید n. pr. hom. APEL I 56,32 (239 A.H.).
- b. Haplography²: و <ر> - و "and the messenger"
 Abbott, Kurrah I,11 (90 A.H.); سنة خمسة <واربعين> ومائتين
 "year two hundred and forty-five" APEL I 48,33/4
 (245 A.H.).
- c. Lapsus: ثمانية "eight" PERF 573,14 in Grohmann,
Einführung, 184 (57 A.H.)³; لصالته Jahn 10,3
 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) is, apparently, to be understood
 as لصلاته⁴ "to his prayer".
- d. Words added later: علموا ما عليهم "they know what is
 due from them" added between the lines at NPAF II,15a
 (90-91 A.H.)⁵; كتبت هذا "this letter of
 mine" PSR iii,I,11 (91 A.H.).
- e. Abbreviations: بالظ = بالظاظ "in Fustāt" BAU
 3,10 (late 2nd cent. A.H., Karabacek WZKM xi,7);⁶

ع = $\frac{عشر}{7}$ "ten" APEL IV 218,6 (2nd - 3rd cent.
A.H.) etc. .

...

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

PRONOUNS

§59

- a. The form أنتى¹ for the second person feminine singular appears in Mélanges Islamologiques ii,92,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); Ibn Wahb, 15,3 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)².
- b. I have noted only one occurrence of the pronoun for third person masculine singular spelled as هو³ : Khoury 142,2 (229 A.H.), for which s. above §5a.

§60

- a. It is very probable that the pronominal suffix of the third person masculine singular was mostly -uh / hu in all positions, as against the CA alternation -hū/hī¹ according to the case of the noun to which the suffix is attached. This, of course, is never visible in unpointed Arabic script, but is suggested (i) by comparison with middle and modern Arabic to which the language of the papyri is closely akin, and (ii) by the transcriptions of Violet's Psalmfragment (c.800 A. D.)². The relevant forms in this text are as follows:
 λι{χ}χειγ. βύι = لىه³ "for His people"; γκλκ
 χκλκκου[ε?] = على⁴ "in His salvation"; βη κουετύ
 = بقوته⁵ "in His power"; γεβ[ελ] κκδ.σ[. ?] = جبل
 قده "the mountain of His holiness" (Ψ 78,vv. 20,22,25,54). The reading and interpretation of some of these forms is far from clear, and they do not appear at all to reveal a uniform system in the structure of the pronominal suffixes. Significant, however, is

βη κουετῦ = بقوته in particular, as it points quite unequivocally to an invariable third person masculine singular suffix, perhaps -uh, a form which has parallels in many modern dialects. For the masculine singular of the pronominal suffix occurring in place of the feminine s. §147b.

- b. The transcriptions of the Psalmfragment also bear witness to an invariable suffix of the third person masculine plural, probably -hum (as against CA -hum / -him)⁷, even in cases where that suffix is preceded by a clearly marked i of the genitive.⁸ The forms containing a suffix of the third person masculine plural which in CA would be -him, are these: γαλειῦμ = عليهم "on them"; οκοστ [χ]κο.κερ ῦμ = وسط معركهم "middle of their camp"⁹; χκυλ χη ἐμ.ῦμ = حول خيامهم "round their tents" (ψ 78,27;28); μιθλ κ.βκ.ι.ῦμ = مثل آبائهم "like their fathers"¹⁰; β [.]κυ.θάν.ῖῦμ = باوثانهم "with their idols"; βη.μεν.χουτέ.τη.ῦμ = بمخواتهم "with their graven images"¹¹ (ψ 78,57;58)¹².

§61

- a. هذا "this (these)" may be used with reference to feminine nouns (or inanimate plurals)¹: اربع الدراهم هذا "these four dirhams" APEL V 359,4; هذا الاسعار (corrected to هذه ?) "these prices" *ibid.*, 292,10 (both 3rd cent. A.H.)². Cf. also §83 n.25.
- b. Conversely, هذه occurs, though only rarely, with masculine nouns: هذه النصف فدان "this half faddān" DAB 7,6 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴; هذه النصف المتاجر "this half shop" APEL IX 3,4 (305 A.H.)⁵; هذه العشرين دينار "these twenty dinars" *ibid.*, 7,14 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)⁶.

- c. ⁷ هذه may also refer to a dual: هذه الثنائين "these two faddāns" APEL V 292,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- d. A demonstrative ⁸ هذ (also spelled هاذ ⁹) occurs as follows: (i) before the definite article: ¹⁰ هذ المصابة "this allotment" JAOS 56,7 (205 A.H.); ¹¹ هذ الدينر (read so?) "this dinar" JESHO xiv,21,6/7 (208 A.H.); ¹¹ هذ الكتاب "this document" ASAE ix,202,9 (256 A.H.); ¹¹ هذ الكتاب "this deed", and ¹² هذ الثمن "this price" Abbott, Fayyūm II,9,10 (336 A.H.); (ii) separately: ¹² هذ مما امر به الامير "this is what the Amīr ordered" CPR III 38,12 (89-90 A.H.); ¹² وهاذ من "and this is from" Ibn Wahb,39,17 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) and the rather later example ¹² كتابي هذ "this writing of mine" VBPS 5, 434,2/3 (4th - 5th cent. A.H.).
- e. Whether a demonstrative (or presentative) ¹³ hā/e (hay?) can be identified in ¹³ هذ الكرا ابست به APEL V 305,7 (3rd cent. A.H.) seems rather doubtful; translate: ¹⁴ "And as for that rent, send it!" (?) .
- f. There is little to record in connection with ¹⁵ ذل as "that" (alternating with the less common ¹⁵ ذان as Jahn 5,7,9 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.); FWAP,187,11 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)), except to point out that it does not refer to an inanimate plural ¹⁵ in Grohmann, TWÄ 1,3 (3rd cent. A.H.); the word there is to be read ¹⁵ الفون "medical powder" ¹⁶ . (Incidentally, in the same line of that document occurs the only example I have noted of the dual ¹⁶ ذينك "those").
- g. The plural demonstrative "these" is written in a number of different ways: ¹⁶ هولاى النفس "these people"

Grohmann, Fapiri... Milano I,2,¹⁷ (3rd cent. A.H.) ;
 ها¹⁸ APRL IX 2,19 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); APH
 1,18 (342 A.H.); هولا APRL I 51,10 (395 A.H.); DAB
 40,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); هاولى¹⁸ APRL II 75,15 (5th
 cent. A.H.); هولى¹⁹ Khoury, 27 (229 A.H.) .

§ 62

- a. Madhā "what?" occurs in the spelling ماذى (§ 12,e).
- b. I have not noted اى¹ "what?" from the papyri, but the contraction ايشى², a typically vernacular feature, occurs a number of times: PERF 857r,15; PERF 882,6 (both unpublished)³; APRL VII 51,6 (all three c. 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 32,4 (before 314 A.H.); APEL V 291,49 (4th cent. A.H.)⁴ .
- c. ليشى⁵ "why?" I find only in the late text (s. § 27 n.4) Islamica 4, 261,14.

§ 63

شى¹ "thing" occurs as an indefinite pronoun :
 فليكن حقّه اكبر شى فيها "let his obligation concerning them be the most important thing" FWAP 161,4/5 (3rd cent. A.H.)²; فلم ارا لى منها جواب "I have not seen a reply to any of them" DAB 32,4 (before 314 A.H.);
 وثوب شى جديد "and a garment, a new one" APEL V 308,
 3 (4th cent. A.H.)³ .

...

THE VERB

§ 64

- a. As in all non-classical strata of Arabic final shor:

vowels are absent in the conjugation of the perfect of the verb¹. (i) This is made full¹ (and consistently) explicit by the transcriptions of Violet's Psalmfragment, and, though never visible in unpointed Arabic script, can safely be assumed to have been the case elsewhere.

Some examples from the Psalmfragment (c.800 A.D.)²:

κμκρ = امر "ordered"; φκτεχ = فتح
 "opened" (ψ 78,23); κμ.ταρ = امطر "caused to rain"
 (vv.24,27); βάχαθ = بعث "sent" (v.25);
 κ.ύάχ = اجاع "roused" (v.26); σκκ = ساق
 "drove" (v.52) etc. (ii) It is also suggested by
 the cases mentioned above §57 n.6 (for the parallel
 phenomenon in the imperfect s. below §65a,ii)³.

b. The only source which reveals the internal vocalization of the perfect is again the Psalmfragment. The transcriptions of this text establish the existence of the assimilated form fecil < facil(a)⁴. Of this phenomenon there are two examples:

σέμιγ = سمع "heard" (ψ 78,
 21; 59); χεβιγού = شبعوا "were sated" (v.29)⁵.

c. The Christian text published in Mélanges Islamologiques ii,92 is unique, so far as I know, among Arabic papyri in marking the suffix of the second person feminine singular of the perfect as -ty (cf. for scriptio plena §§ 4b; 59 n.2)⁷:
 كنتي⁸ "you were" l.5; قرأتی "you read" ibid. (3rd cent. A.H.).

§ 65

a. In accordance with §2a and as in the case of the perfect (§64a), final short vowels are absent in the imperfect¹. (i) This is made fully clear by the transcrip-

tions of the Psalmfragment² : $\text{قَدْر} = \text{قَدْر}$ "He is able"; $\text{يُؤَدِّعِي} = \text{يُؤَدِّعِي}$ ³ "He prepares"⁴ (v.20).

(ii) It is also suggested by the fact that should an imperfect verb and with the same consonant as that with which its suffix begins, the relevant consonant need be written only once⁵ : وَتُرْسِلُنَا "and you will send them" Grohmann, TWA 3,6 (3rd cent. A.H.).

b. The corollary of this circumstance, namely the absence of mood distinctions in the imperfect is visible principally in verba mediae / tertiae w/y (§§ 81a,b; 82d-f), but in the strong verb only in forms of the plural (§138a); examples^{of the} second person feminine singular seem not to be available.

c. At least in the dialect of Violet's Psalmfragment (c.800 A.D.), the vowel of the prefixes of the imperfect was e (i?) (marked ϵ , §3b). It is probable that this feature can be assumed also in cases where it is not visible (i.e. in documents in Arabic script).

d. That an N- form for the first person(s) of the imperfect⁶ can be identified in the papyri is exceedingly doubtful. Jahn 9,5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.!) reads اني ليسى $\text{بدرجل نبي الله في ما على الناس}$, and translates, with no word of explanation, "dass ich nun über kein Einkommen verfüge, bis dass Gott für mich bereitstellt, was ich den Leuten schulde". Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 132, on the other hand, proposed to read "innī laysa yurjā hattā yahib Allāh lī..." which is said to mean "... there is no hope for me, unless God gives me what I owe to certain persons". This can scarcely be regarded as an improvement. Is it possible that the third word

be ⁷ نرئيل / نذفيل "I cannot go home / leave", i.e. an N- imperfect?

JESHO xiv,2,12 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.) gives ⁸ كما نحبوا, translated without comment as "comme nous le souhaitons". Is this in fact an N-imperfect of the first person plural, as the editor evidently believes, or should we not rather repoint ⁸ نحبوا ?

- e. For the possible neutralization of gender in the second person singular of the imperfect s. §83i.

§66

In one case what is plainly intended as a plural imperative ends, against CA, in ¹ -ūn and is also without initial alif ²: ³ وقرّون "and greet!" ZDMG 34, 689,16 (first half of 2nd cent. A.H.) .

§67

In most modern dialects of Arabic a form corresponding to the CA modus energicus is lacking; this absence is also very characteristic of the papyri. An exception to this state of affairs, however, is provided by the official correspondence of the Aphrodito archive, for it is only here that the energetic appears with any regularity ("eine sehr beliebte Form" Becker, PSR iii, 30) ¹. From this very limited source I have noted at least fifteen instances, e.g. NPAF XII,10; Abbott, Kurrah I,12; APEL III 150,13 (all 90 A.H.); PSR iii, I,14; NPAF VIII,14; Abbott, Kurrah II,13 (all 91 A.H.), whereas from many hundreds of other papyri I can record only ² لا نقلنه APEL V 301,4 (3rd cent. A.H.) .

§68

There is little to record from the domain of the infinitive:

- a. Unique is the form of the infinitive in *فاكتب الى* *بوصولها اليك* "write to me that they have reached you" DAB 24,3 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); on all other occasions the infinitive of this verb is *وصول*.
- b. The pattern *faCil*¹, a vernacular form¹, occurs in *حقيق*² "pounding" *Islamica* 4, 249,3 (for the date s. §27 n.4).²

§69

A characteristic of most modern colloquials¹ and, earlier, of many strata of Middle Arabic², is the disappearance, or at least severe restriction, of the internal passive. In the papyri, on the other hand, no such recession appears to have taken place, and the internal passive is of by no means rare occurrence. It is particularly common in set phrases introducing a further or closer identification: *يقال له* "is called" in the papyrus mentioned at §10 n.11, e.g. 1.28 (141 A.H.); APBL VI 379,29 (248 A.H.); *تدعى / تدعى* "named" AO vi, 392,7 (180 A.H.); APBL IV 261 *passim* (3rd cent. A.H.); *تعرف* "known as" *ibid.*, I 53,13 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); *يكنا* "whose *kunya* is" *ibid.*, II 98,8 (236 A.H.), or in other set formulae, such as the extremely frequent epistolary *بهلت فذاك*³ "may I be made your ransom!" DAB 10,7 (3rd cent. A.H.) *et passim*, and the common *وكتب*⁴ "and it was written". Other examples, e.g.: *يجزى* "is rewarded" NPAF I,9 (91 A.H.); *صو نحتيم* "agreement has been

reached with you" in the text above §10 n.11,1.5
 (141 A.H.); ¹ استيعت "was purchased" APEL VI
 377 e.g. 1.9 (288 A.H.); ² اخبرت "I have been
 told" DAB 28,8 (3rd cent. A.H.) etc.

§70

Form I of the verb, particularly in verba mediae
geminatae and mediae infirmae, sometimes occurs where
 CA would have used form IV: ¹ من هببتك "whoever you
 wish" ZDMG 34,689,17 (early 2nd cent. A.H.); ² هبك الله
 "may God love you!" APEL V 321,4 (3rd cent. A.H.);
³ وداع الله "and may God prolong!" BIFAO xxx,39,2
 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.); ⁴ قر "he
 acknowledged" APEL V 291,15 (4th cent. A.H.); ⁵ رت
 "you wished" (§30c) Islamica 4,263,1; 264, recto B,1;
⁶ عطى "was given" ibid., 269,27. Cf. also §72
 REM.

§71

- a. Form II of the verb occurs very rarely instead of form
 I: ¹ [روعت] DAB 35,1 (3rd cent. A.H.), translated
 "Ich ging" by the editor, must be held very uncertain;
 much more probable is ² المقام والترويح "to stay
 or to go" ibid., 48,7 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. More common is the supplanting of form IV by form II ³:
⁴ تسريني "you will please me" DAB 7,15,25 (3rd
 cent. A.H.); ⁵ خبرتنا "you informed us" ibid.,
 44,11 (3rd cent. A.H.). In the frequent greeting
 formula of private letters ⁶ اتم نعمته عليك "may
 He fulfil His favour towards you!", the variant ⁷ تمم

sometimes occurs⁶, thus reflecting the disappearance of form IV in this verb⁷. Similar is the alternation⁸
 متع / امتع "may He grant enjoyment!"

- c. Blau, ASP, 155/6 cites instances of the form تفعيل appearing as تفعل in status pronominalis. Such a feature may occur in the late text (598 A.H.) published by Grohmann, Islam 22, no.13,12: تاريخه "its date"⁹.

§72

More common than the occurrence of form I for CA form IV (§70) is the inverse phenomenon, viz. IV for CA I:
 1 "I fined him (?)" PSR iii,II,11 (91 A.H.)²; واعدء "and promise him!"³ Jahn 10,6 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); اوعدتيني "you promised me."⁴ JNES viii,132,6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); وابع "and sell!" JESHO xiv, 6,12 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.);
 5 "so sell!" Jahn 10,8 (late 2nd cent. A.H.)⁶; واطرفوا "and they recognized" idem 17,19 (3rd cent. A.H.);
 اعدت "there have been counted" PER Ostrakon 5,3⁸; فاسرني "so please me!" DAB 20,2; اعلمت "you know" APEL V 322,5⁹ (all likewise 3rd cent. A.H.);
 اعنيت "I intended" Ibn Wahb,6,10 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁰. For اخصى < اخصى "to do especially" e.g. DAB 22,17 (3rd cent. A.H.) s. the various forms¹¹ of the expression discussed ibid., 110 and APEL V,84, and for قام < اقام "come forward, present oneself" e.g. APH 4,4 (314 A.H.) s. APEL I,116 and APH,30 where examples are given of these two forms¹² alternating within the same locution. For ارايتني s. §78b,ii and for reflexes of جاء with prosthetic

alif §79c. JESHO xiv,9,4 (256 A.H.) probably also belongs here (s. §85 n.9).

REMARK: It sometimes happens that an intransitive form I construed with a preposition (usually bi-) to mark what in English appears as the direct object is felt as a transitive construction in its own right, and the phraseology consequently modified. This development is generally prompted by the existence of a transitive form IV of the same root. The commonest case involves examples of the kind

أ. أخرج "he took it out" being a blend of

أ. أخرج = أخرجه¹³. Here the result of the

contamination is IV + bi-, but the inverse phenomenon,

i.e. I without bi- is also possible. Such a case

is بالزبد عن مأمون بلى ميمتا "to relieve

Maḥmūn of a deathly misery" DAB 36,9 (3rd - 4th

cent. A.H.)¹⁴.

§73

- a. That the vowel of the ta- prefix of form V was elided,¹ as is generally the case in non-classical Arabic, seems to be clear from the isolated example لا تتخرن "do not remain in arrears" NPAF I,10 (91 A.H.). The development of this form can be presented schematically as follows: tataḥkharan(na) > tatḥkharan(na) (§2b) > takhkharan(na) (§26)². The same process is probably exhibited by تظير³ "you see omens" Ibn Wahb 98, 2 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) for which s. above §40a. For متظير, externally form V, s. §30 REM.

- b. For form V opening with prosthetic alif, thus necessarily

demonstrating the absence of the vowel of the prefix ta-⁴, I can produce no example from the papyri, as واتعرفه JESHO xiv,23,1 (c.208 A.H.) rendered, hesitantly, by the editor "et reconnais-le", is too uncertain to be considered.

- c. It is very unlikely that تبرك⁵ mentioned above §10c is an example of form V for VI; it is surely a case of scriptio defectiva.

§74

The corresponding absence of the vowel of the ta- prefix in the VIth form of the verb may be assumed in many cases, even though it is not generally visible in the orthography. In only one example noted so far can this process be demonstrated quite unequivocally: اتراض¹ "mutual consent" Abbott, Fayyūm II,11 (336 A.H.), exhibiting the development tarād(in)₂ > trād(in) (§2b) > itrād(in) (§2b,ii) .

§75

- a. Form VII as the equivalent of an intransitive form I¹ occurs in انفسد "was spoiled" APEL V 306,12 (c.334 A.H.).
- b. Form VII as the passive of form I² is not yet attested from the papyri, as the text of APEL V 291,36 (4th cent. A.H.), edited as containing انزرع "was sown", is to be divided differently (§§ 143 n.15; 275c).

§76

- a. Of the jussive and imperative of verba mediae

geminatae both uncontracted and contracted forms occur,¹ apparently indiscriminately, side by side. Uncontracted: واهنز لحيته "and shave his beard!" PSR iii, III, 53 (91 A.H.)²; ولم يحسه (?) "and he did not perceive it (?)" Hirbet el-Mird 51,5; فاردداها "so send them back!" Wessely 54,6³; فاكف عن "so desist from!" *ibid.*, 95,4 (all 3rd cent. A.H.). Contracted (the commoner case): وهمهم "and urge them!" Abbott, Kurrah II,6 (91 A.H.); ومت "and hasten!" APFL V 305,8⁴; فاقره "so safeguard it" BAU 15,11⁵; لم يصح "it was not correct" DAB 3,5; وسرني "and please me!" *ibid.*, 27,6; لم الح "I did not insist" APFL VII 2,5; ولصب "and pour!" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 33,236,8 (all 3rd cent. A.H.) etc.

b. The perfect of verba mediae geminatae before suffixes beginning with a consonant is generally formed after the regular CA pattern, hence e.g. رددنا "we paid back" ZNW 37,53,3 (1st or early 2nd cent. A.H.).

Similarly Hirbet el-Mird 18,7 (late 1st cent. A.H.); APFL V 307,4; Wessely 56,6 (both 4th cent. A.H.) etc.

In only one case⁶ have I noted formation after the pattern of verba mediae infirmae,⁷ occurring in an unpublished 3rd cent. A.H. papyrus from the Michaelides collection: اعتلت علة صعبة "you were very ill"⁸.

§ 77

a. According to the development mentioned at § 24d the imperfect and participle of verba primae hamzatae in forms II and III became identical with those of verba

primae wāw. From here the identity of these two verbal categories spread to include not only the perfect, but other derived forms as well, a process which resulted in later stages of Arabic in the widespread disappearance (or partial disappearance) of the whole class of verba primae hamzatae¹. The papyri provide the earliest attestations of this development: فوديت "so I paid" APEL V 334,5 and similarly 1.7 (before 278 A.H.);

ودي "he has paid": Mélanges Islamologiques ii, 112,3 where read so! (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); BAU 12,9 (382 A.H.)² and also in two unpublished documents from the Michaelides collection, one a 3rd cent. A.H. papyrus, the other a paper dated 455 A.H. The only other examples I have noted of this feature concern form VI: توامروا "they took counsel together" APRL IX 1,3 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); توأنا "became brothers" Ibn Wahb 27,1 and the corresponding participle ibid., 32,7 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³.

- b. This absorption of verba primae hamzatae within the category of verba primae wāw is also illustrated by the form VIII اتمن "confide", which occurs a number of times in Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³, e.g. 66, 9; 70,6; 73,2⁴. Cf. §22.

REMARK: The form يخذو "they take" APEL V 291,44 (4th cent. A.H.) presumably does not reflect the absence of the first radical as if conjugated on the model of verba primae wāw, but rather the shortening of the long vowel of the first syllable (§9d). The pronunciation would therefore have approximated very closely to the form in use in Egypt today, i.e. yakhdū⁽⁻⁾, s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 160.

(Note, however, that the full spelling with alif occurs in 11.19,40). Grohmann, APFL V, 22 n.44 was therefore probably correct in his view that this is a "vernacular spelling".

Nor is the first radical unrepresented in الايو "that they should not give shelter" NPAF V,11 (91 A.H.), for the verbal form is not I (Becker, NPAF, 258), but IV, corresponding to CA yuḡwū (Littmann, ZDMG 94,300).

- c. The imperative of أخذ spelled with alif after fa- is contrary to CA orthography : فأخذه⁵ "so seize him!" Hirbet el-Mird 19,4 (1st cent. A.H.)⁶. On the other hand, in the case of مر "order!" the retention of alif after wa- or fa- is in accordance with CA : وامروا⁵ : نامروا JESHO viii,305,7 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.); نامروا Grohmann, TWÄ,4,10 (3rd cent. A.H.), alternating with forms without alif as APFL IX 9,3 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- d. Blau, ASP, 171/2 records cases where the imperfect of form II of verba primae hamzatae is spelled not with wāw, as in CA, but with alif. I have noted only one rather late example of this feature: ان يايده⁷ "that He give him support" DAB 6v,4 (5th cent. A.H.).

§78

- a. Since saḡal passed to sāl in accordance with §25a, one must suppose that verba mediae hamzatae had been absorbed, if only partially, within the category of verba mediae w/y¹, though it is hard to be fully sure of this on the basis of the extant examples. The

shift is suggested by cases such as *سأل* (read so!) "I asked you" APEL V 292,5, alternating with the commoner (historical?) spelling with alif, e.g. *سالت* JESHO xiv, 2,12 (both 3rd cent. A.H.). Here, too, probably belongs *سأل* (read, apparently, so) "what he asked" APEL V 288,20 (c. 236 A.H.)². Documentation of this point is very scanty indeed; nothing can be deduced from the imperfect forms of these verbs described at §26 (alternating with spellings with alif), nor from the imperative, for which I find only *سأل* "ask!" as BIFAO lix,153,12 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 5,9 (3rd cent. A.H.). Cf. also §20a.

b.

- i. Also as a result of §25a (q.v.) *رأى* "to see" developed into *رأى*³; in addition to the cases mentioned there, this may also be reflected in *رأيتها*, Hirbet el-Mird 53,4 (1st cent. A.H.) if this is to be translated "and I saw her/it" (?).
- ii. The form *أرايتني* "you saw me" DAB 33r,10 (early 4th cent. A.H.)⁴ is to be accounted a pseudo-correction, combining both the alif (hamza) of the CA form and the prosthetic alif of the vernacular⁵.
- iii. The imperfect *يرأى*⁶ (presumably form IV?) occurs NPAF I,29 (91 A.H.).
- iv. For *ترأيا* "to see one another" s. §24a, end.
- v. Very peculiar and of uncertain explanation is *فأرأى* "so show your opinion in that matter!" PERF 600⁸ (2nd cent. A.H.).

§79

- a. The loss of hamza according to §20b was responsible

for the passage of verba tertiae hamzatae to the category of verba tertiae vā¹. Some examples from many:

واقر "and greet!" Hirbet el-Mird 52,3 (126 A.H.)²; اقري
 "greet!"³ ibid., 44,4 (early 2nd cent. A.H.);
 Jahn 12,15 where read so with Levi della Vida, JAOS
 64,133 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); فقري "so he read"
 Khoury 74,23 (229 A.H.); وابرت "and she released him"
 APEL I 56,11 (239 A.H.) and similarly وابرت ibid., 49,
 4 (297 A.H.)⁴; يقرؤا "they greet" DAB 7,16,17⁵;
 يقريل "greet you" ibid., 35, e.g. 11 (both 3rd cent
 A.H.); اخطيت "you (translate so?) did wrong" APEL
 V 328,6 (4th cent. A.H.)⁶; فليت "so I filled" ASAE
 ix,194,9 (date?) etc.

REMARK: The curious form سنبرل APEL V 335,3
 (c. 434 A.H.), said to correspond to CA sa-unabbiduka
 "I shall inform you", is too uncertain for any con-
 clusion to be drawn from it. This interpretation is
 highly dubious, but I am unable to offer an altern-
 ative.

- b. With the disappearance of the glottal stop after a long vowel (§ 20c), CA جاء and شاء developed into jā, shā (and fairly certainly in some cases further to jā, shā with § 9a⁷). This is reflected in the following examples (a few out of many):
 جاء "came to you"⁸
 e.g. PSR iii,I,10 (91 A.H.); باتني (point so!) "she came to me" JESHO xiv,1,8 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.); جاو "they came" DAB 26,5 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁹; ان شاء الله "if God wills" is ubiquitous, e.g. PSR iii,I,10 (91 A.H.) and cf. also شيت "you wished" § 20a.

REMARK: Examples of the maintenance of hamza in these verbs are extremely rare; for شات "she wished" in a text which is somewhat sensitive with

regard to the glottal stop s. §19 n.7, and for
APRL VII 31,5 below,d.

- c. In several strata of Arabic reflexes of CA جاء occur with the addition of prosthetic alif¹⁰. What would appear to be an imperfect of such a form occurs in $\text{يَاجُونَ يَذُوبُونَ}$ "they come and go" Semitica iv,68,3¹¹ (mid 3rd cent. A.H.).
- d. The absence of the glottal stop in this root is further indicated by the existence of the new verb $\text{jāb} < \text{jāba}$ ¹² bi- "to bring", of which the earliest example known to me occurs in Violet's Psalmfragment (c.800 A.D.): $\chi\epsilon\beta$ ψ 78,29¹³. It is perhaps to be detected also in APRL VII 31,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁴.

§80

- a. The retention of the first radical in i- imperfects of verba primae wāw is attested, but is rare¹: ولا تورم "and do not swell!" Semitica iv,68,9 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.)²; يُوصِل "it will reach" APRL V 300,328, Address^{3 4} (both 4th cent. A.H.).
- b. The inverse phenomenon, viz. the absence of wāw where CA requires it⁵, seems to be present in يُصِل "he will deliver it" (form II or IV) APRL VI 9,15 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.). This is probably to be accounted a pseudo-correction, born from a desire, in this case misconceived, to avoid the sub-standard feature mentioned above,a.
- c. In one case the imperfect passive of form I loses, contrary to CA, the first radical⁶: يُجِد "there exists"

Ibn Wahb 7,15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁷.

d. For the passage of verba primae wāw to mediae infirmae⁸
 s. لم نجد "we did not find" PERF 600 (2nd cent. A.H.)⁹.

e. An imperative of form I prefixed by prosthetic alif¹⁰
 I find only in the early document in FWAP 163,14
 فاغن عنه "so grant him a deduction!" (2nd cent. A.H.
 but earlier according to Karabacek, PERF, 568).

§81

a. As in ASP, forms of verba mediae infirmae containing
 a long vowel in contexts where CA requires a short
 vowel (jussive and imperative) are extremely frequent,
 and well outnumber those cases where shortening takes
 place as in CA¹. Some examples: واصيبك بمعرفت
 "and I shall grant you favour" NPAF I,5²; وليكتال
 "and may they receive (corn)" PSR iii iii,34 (both 91
 A.H.); فاذا تصيب "and if you meet" DAB 28,10³
 (3rd cent. A.H.); فلم نصيب "but we did not find"
 APRL I 18,4 (presumably contemporary); لم يكون "was
 not" APRL I 5,20 (1st cent. A.H.; s. FWAP,173); ibid.
 VI 11,11 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); APRL V 306,7 (c. 334
 A.H.); ibid., 291, e.g. 12 (4th cent. A.H.) and fre-
 quently; وليكون "and let it be" Wessely 83,4 (3rd
 cent. A.H.); وقل له "and tell him!" Jahn 10,9
 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); وابع "and sell!" JESHO
 xiv,6,12 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.); لم ابيع "I did
 not sell" Grohmann, TWÄ 3,9 (3rd cent. A.H.); ولا تقبض
 "and do not fester!" Semitica iv,8,9 (mid 3rd cent.
 A.H.)⁷; لم اسطيع "I was not able" Jahn 17,5 (3rd cent
 A.H.).

b. Much rarer is the occurrence of short imperfects of verba mediae infirmae where CA requires the long form.⁸ So far I have recorded this phenomenon only with يكن⁹: ZDMG 92,111,13 (?) (241 A.H.); *ibid.*, 130,12 (c.241 A.H.); هتا يكن "so that it will be" FWAP 164,8; نل يكن "we ask that there should be" APRL VI 15,14/5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

c. As in CA, some (mainly denominative) verba mediae infirmae are inflected strongly¹⁰. This is attested also, but rarely, in the documents studied here:

فاز وجرها "and he married her" APRL I 39,3 (264 A.H.); ولا تحوهم "and do not force them" APRL II 5,9 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

For haplology in forms of استطاع s. §57.

§82

a. It is most surprising that no examples of the development of verba tertiae wāw > tertiae yāw have yet been found in the papyri. As this is a very well attested phenomenon within Arabic, documented from CA and old dialects down to modern vernaculars¹, it seems that this absence is due simply to accident (or oversight)². For this reason, not too much importance should be attached to it³. On the other hand, examples of the independence of the category verba tertiae wāw are not rare: ارجو "I hope" NFAF 1,20 (91 A.H.) and often in this verb: Abbott, Kurrah II, 3 (91 A.H.); Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri... Bodleian Library I,5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.⁴); APRL V 310,4; *ibid.*, VI 389,5; DAB 7,7; شكوت "I complained" APRL VI 4,2; دعوت "I called" DAB 22,5 (all these c. 3rd cent. A.H.); لا فلو

"may I not be deprived!" APEL V 325,4 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.)⁵.

- b. The shift $-iya > -\bar{a}$ in the perfect⁶ occurs in two documents in the verb بَقِيَ "remained": FWAP 131,4 (91 A.H.); APEL VI 421,6 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁷.

REMARK: رَأَيْتَ Abbott, Fayyūm II,11 (336 A.H) is not a dual perfect of rdy VI as if attesting to a shift $-aya > -\bar{a}$; read أَسْتَيْتَ with Dietrich, Islam 25,189.

- c. In one case the imperfect/ imperative of form I ends not as in CA in $-\bar{i}$, but in $-\bar{a}$ ⁸: $\text{فَاعْلَمْ ذَلِكَ وَادْرَأْهُ}$ "know that and take note of it!" Grohmann, Studi... Calderini... II,508,4 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁹.

- d. Extremely common is the occurrence in the jussive and imperative of verba tertiae infirmae of non-apocopated forms which, according to CA, should have contained a short vowel¹⁰. As in the case of the parallel phenomenon in verba mediae infirmae (§81a), shortening¹¹ of the jussive and imperative is of decidedly less frequent occurrence than the longer forms¹². Some examples from many: سَلِّ "pray!" Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions 57,6 (2nd cent. A.H.)¹³; فَا مَضِ "then go!" BAU 15r,10 (early 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁴; DAB 5,9 (3rd cent. A.H.); فَا قَضِ "then judge!" BIE, Deuxième Série i,13,4 (early 2nd cent. A.H.?); $\text{اَسْتَوْصِ ... فَيَا}$ "deal favourably (with so and so)!" ibid., 13,6 and similarly Jahn 10,6 (late 2nd cent. A.H.)¹⁵; فَا اشْتَرِ "so buy!" BIFAO lix,153,6 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.); similarly APRL VIII 14,6 (where read so!); FWAP 164,16 (both c. 3rd cent.

A.H.); APEL V 311,2 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); *فلا تتري*
 "and do not buy!" APRL VII 23,3 (presumably c. 3rd
 cent. A.H.); *فلم اعطيه* "so I did not give him"
 APEL V 295,5; *ولا تتوانا* "and do not tarry!"
 (translate so!) *ibid.*, 305,8; *لم ارا* "I did not
 see" *ibid.*, 339,5: similarly DAB 35,7; APRL XV 16r,6;
لم يبقا "there did not remain" APEL VI 389,16;
ان لم ترضاهما "if you are not satisfied with them"
 Grohmann, TWÄ 2,6/7; *لم اودي* "I did not pay" DAB
 26,11; *وان لم ياتي به* "and if he does not produce
 it" APRL VII 6,4; *فلا تناني* "then do not forget
 me!" *ibid.*, XV 38v,11; *ولا تدمأ* "and do not bleed¹⁶!"
Semitica iv,68,9 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.) etc.

REMARK: Occasionally, both the long and short forms
 of the imperfect of verba tertiae infirmae appear side
 by side in the same document; thus APEL II 114 (241
 A.H.) where *لم يبق* "there does not remain"
 occurs in ll. 5/6, 14b as against *لم يبقا* (read
 so!) in 14d.

- e. Verbs which secondarily came to belong to the category
 of verba tertiae infirmae in accordance with §79a
 also behave in similar fashion. Derivatives of qr²
 are discussed above §79 n.3; cf. further e.g.

اقرا / اقري "greet!" Jahn 10,9 (late 2nd cent.
 A.H.); DAB 35,9 (3rd cent. A.H.); *لم اقرا* "I
 have not read" JESHO xvi,4,2 (3rd cent. A.H.) and often.
 Although through lack of diacritical points it is im-
 possible to insist that yā² (or wāw) may not be
 interpreted as kursī for hamza, it stands to reason
 that cases such as the following are also to be
 reckoned as long imperfects of verba tertiae infirmae

rather than as regular CA forms of verba tertiae hamzatae: لا تلجيني "do not force me!" PSR iii, III,82 (91 A.H.) and similarly with this verb APEL V 305,9: ولا تبطي "and do not be slow!" ibid. 305,8¹⁷; 310,10 where point and translate so! (these three examples are all from the 3rd cent. A.H.).

f. Of much less frequent occurrence than these long forms of verba tertiae infirmae against CA are short forms where CA requires a long. As in the case of the parallel feature in verba mediae infirmae (§ 81b) ¹⁸ such instances are to be accounted pseudo-corrections. Examples: احببنا نرك "we wish to see you" APRL p.221, Omissum,10; ان تتر بها "that you buy with it" APEL V 301,8¹⁹; فتتر لي "so buy for me!" JESHO viii,302,3²⁰; هتا ياتي "until there reaches me" Jahn 17,10 and similarly perhaps JNES v,176,8, though the context there is broken and the status of ياتي therefore uncertain (all these examples 3rd cent. A.H.)²¹.

g. Indefinite derivatives of stirpes tertiae infirmae ending in CA in tanwīn -in (spelled without yā) occasionally, as often in non-classical varieties of Arabic, end in -ī (spelled with yā)²². This phenomenon is not particularly well attested in the papyri: مراعى "pasture - tax" APEL III 212, e.g. 1.6 (3rd cent. A.H.); ibid., IV 233, recto 3, verso 8 (?) (late 3rd cent. A.H.)²³; rendered by the editor: "without any controller or gabbāl of his harvest" APEL IV 270,23²⁴; اربعة سواقي "four irrigation canals (or water-wheels ?) Jahn 17,27 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); منادى "herald (acc.)" Ibn Wahb

23,3 (late 3rd cent. A.H.); راضى "satisfied"
Islamica 4,261,12 (for the dating s. § 27 n.4)²⁵.

...

THE NOUN

§83

Considerable variation and inconstancy can be observed in the gender of nouns, reflecting not only the often fluid state of affairs obtaining in this regard in CA, but also further development¹.

- a. The material is not extensive enough to allow a definite pronouncement, but to judge from the available examples there exists a tendency for nouns of indifferent gender in CA, but lacking any external sign of the feminine, to be used as masculine². Thus: ستة اذرع "six cubits" Wessely 55,6 (2nd cent. A.H.); ثمانية اذرع³ "eight cubits" FWAP 138,3 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); هذا الدكان⁴ "this shop" APEL II 92,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); الطريق الذى فيه "the road along which" APRIL IX 8,4 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.); بالبلد كله "in the whole country" APEL V 312,5 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) for both of which cf. §147b; هذا البلد⁵ "this country" ibid., 291,23 (4th cent. A.H.). For هذا الدار "this house" s. above §61 n.1.

- b. This, however, is by no means always the case and such nouns are also attested as feminine: اجمعه في قدر وطبق راسها وصب فيها "Put it together in a pot, close the lid and pour into it!" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 33,236, 7/8 (3rd cent. A.H.); الدنيا "the lower heaven"⁶ Ibn Wahb 23,3/4 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

c. Contrary to this tendency for nouns of indifferent gender in CA to be used as masculine are to be mentioned a number of cases where nouns exclusively (or very predominantly) masculine in CA appear in the papyri as feminine.

i. Sometimes this shift of gender is effected by the influence of a synonym⁷. Thus the feminine use of

لا تدع ... (point so!) تعجل المتاع ... لا تدع ...
 ... على وليكن فيها ... "Do not omit... to hasten
 the goods to me, and let there be among them...!"

AO xviii/3,116,5 (3rd cent. A.H.) may have been influenced by اشياء⁸ or, perhaps, simply بضائع⁹.

The gender concord of تلطان حميرتان "two Himyarī knives" APEL VI 423,6 (3rd cent. A.H.) is clearly due to the impact of the feminine كين⁹ in

the same meaning, and that of كتبين ولم ارا لواحدة كتبين
 "two letters, and I have not seen a reply to either" ibid., V 339,6 (3rd cent. A.H.)

perhaps owes its origin to interference from the synonym رسالة¹⁰.

ii. درع "woman's shirt" is feminine in Jahn 5,6 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.):

الدرع (read so!) قد جاني بها
 رسالة - (W)usāma brought me the woman's shirt"¹¹.

The word, however, in CA is masculine in this meaning and has plainly been influenced here by درع¹³ "coat of mail", which is predominantly feminine¹².

iii. In other cases a shift of gender from masculine to feminine seems to have taken place with less apparent reason: ... الكتان التي¹⁴ "the flax which" Wessely 70,5 (3rd cent. A.H.);

احدى البابين "one of the two gates" Ibn Wahb 17,4 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁵.

فدان s. above 61 n.4.

3. In the case of certain nouns the gender fluctuates. This may take place either (i) generally, or (ii) within the same document.
- i. The gender of the month names Rabīʿ and Jumādā is not constant. CA usage, in as far as it is stable in this respect, generally construes Rabīʿ as masculine and Jumādā as feminine, but instances occur in which either one may assume the gender of the other. This is particularly the case with Jumādā¹⁶. Many instances involving Rabīʿ I and Jumādā I are ambiguous for the reason given above §55 (iii)¹⁷; for Rabīʿ II and Jumādā II the matter is clearer. Thus we find ربيع الأفره¹⁸ APEL II 89,7 (209 A.H.); APH 3,40¹⁹ (297 A.H.)²⁰ and جمادى الأفره²¹ APEL V 324,6/7 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); *ibid.*, I 45,21 (461 A.H.)²¹.
- ii. Fluctuation of gender within one and the same document can be observed in the following cases²²: نار خفيفة²² "a light fire, not blazing" *Islam* i,148,2 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent.A.H.) where the adjective is feminine but the verb explicitly, but perhaps merely carelessly, pointed as masculine²³; البير وارصنيه²³ "the well and its land(s) *Mélanges Islamologiques* ii, 104,5 (253 A.H.) and similarly 11.11/12²⁴, alternating with البير وارصنيتها²⁵ (read so!) 11.9/10²⁵; نخلة²⁶ "palm plantation" is of inconstant gender in APRL IX 2 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.), for whereas it is construed as feminine in most cases e.g. هذه النخلة²⁶ "this palm plantation which Abd Allah gave in trust" 1.12, in 1.3 it appears as masculine: النخيلين المحبين²⁷ "the two palm plantations given as a pious foundation". Cf. also §61 n.5.

e. It is worth recording explicitly that I have not so far noted in early papyri a shift to the feminine of a noun ending in -t after the analogy of ukht, hint etc. ²⁸, for in FWAP 161,9 (2nd cent. A.H.) the correct reading is بَيْتَيْنِ خَالِيَيْنِ. "two empty houses", not فَالِيَيْنِ ²⁹ as given by the editor.

f. Nouns of feminine gender but not morphologically marked as such, may receive the addition of tā ³⁰ marbūta. The best known, and best attested, such case is zawja "wife" ³¹, which occurs in the following places: APEL I 56,10 (239 A.H.); Islam 22,37,4 (295 A.H.); Wessely 81,10 (?) (3rd cent. A.H.); APEL II 125,5 (319 A.H.). This phenomenon is probably responsible for النخلتين المعروفتين (read so!) "the two palm plantations known as..." APRL IX 2,17 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.), where it appears that the feminine use of نخل elsewhere in the document (above, d) has induced an externally feminine form identical with the nomen unitatis ³² even where the nomen unitatis is not intended ³³.

The opposition masculine: feminine is sometimes marked in CA not morphologically but lexically. In the case of one such pair viz. himār: atār ³⁴ the tendency described here to mark feminine nouns explicitly as such by the addition of tā marbūta has ousted the latter from the language, the word for "female ass" thus being همارة ³⁵: DAB 38,8,10,11 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) ³⁶; JESHO xiv,2,13 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.).

الحالة "the condition" DAB 9,2 (3rd cent. A.H.), though well known in CA also, may also be mentioned here.

g. A very widespread feature outside the CA tradition is the suppression of the feminine plural by the masculine³⁷. This occurs in the papyri also. Thus one unpublished document from the Michaelides collection dated 102 A.H. is a letter from a man to four women who are addressed, without exception, in the masculine plural, e.g. اكتبوا الينا بخبركم وملاصتكم ولا

تغفلوا عن الكتب "write to us about your news and health, and do not omit to send letters!" Similarly consistent in this matter is the letter published in ZDMG 34,688/9 (early 2nd cent. A.H.), written by two women to three others, e.g. فاكتبو ثم ادفعوا كتابكم

38 "so write and then deliver your letter!" ll. 10/11 .

Further: وان ام الحارث وام جنادة وام نايلا
يقرون عليكم السلام "and Umm al-Ḥarīth, Umm Junāda and Umm Nāyila send you greeting" Jahn 5,9 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.)³⁹ : وكيل حاوولا الاربع نسوة المسنون في
هذا الكتاب "the agent of the four women mentioned in this document" APRL IX 2,19 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)⁴⁰ .

h. Since the dual has largely been supplanted by the plural in the language of the papyri (§ 84a ff.), the occurrence of the masculine plural with reference to two females should also be mentioned here⁴¹ : ونحن سالمون صالحون

"we are well and in good health" ZDMG 34,688,7 (early 2nd cent. A.H.)⁴² ; مريم وابنتها يقرون عليكم السلام

"Maryam and her daughter send you greeting" *ibid.*, 688, 18/19³⁹ ; ام ابو القاسم وام ابو علي يقروا
عليك السلام "Umm Abū al-Qāsim and Umm Abū cAlī send you greeting" DAB 7,16 (3rd cent. A.H.).

i. It is possible that traces may be found in the papyri of the coalescence of the feminine with the masculine

in the second person singular of the imperfect, i.e. tfc1 may stand for either gender⁴³. Documentation of this feature is unfortunately rather meagre; it may occur as follows⁴⁴: تأمره "you (f.) will order him" ZDMG 34,689,15 (early 2nd cent. A.H.)⁴⁵; ان تأمرني ذلك معك "that you (f.) bring it with you" APRL VII 41,5 (c. 2nd cent. A.H.)^{46 47}.

§84

- a. In a large number of instances the dual has either (i) been superseded by, or (ii) may alternate with the plural¹.
- i. The dual is superseded by the plural: ان تسمع كلامه "that you hear his case and that of his brother-in-law and bring them to the truth" Giessen 9,6 (c. 178 A.H.); وعبد الرحمن واخوه يتروك السلام "and Abd al-Rahmān and his brother send you greeting" Jahn 12,14/15 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.)²; JAOS 56,289 (205 A.H.), a deed of sale in which the two vendors are always referred to only in the plural; ادى ملك ومرقس عما يلزمهم منه (read so!) الخراج "M. and M. have paid of the tax encumbent upon them..." APRL III 182,3 (241 A.H.); ... شهد على اقرار عبد الله وعلى اقرار القاسم ... بعد ان قرى عليهم فعرفوا واقرؤا بمعرفته ورضه "testified to the acknowledgment of Abd Allāh... and to the acknowledgment of al-Qāsim ... after it had been read to them and they had understood it and assented to knowledge and comprehension thereof" Islam 22,38,9/10; لنفسه ولانوته جعفر وعائشة "for himself and for his brother and sister Ja'far and 'A'isha" APH 2,2/3³ (both 295 A.H.); ولا توفّر منهم ابدا "and do not hold either of them (both) back!" Giessen 20,3; واشخصي

محمد وطيب الادلا وأصحاب المصادرة ولا توغروهم
 "and bring Muhammad and Tayyib the guides and bailiffs,
 and do not hold them back!" APEL III, 178, 4-6; (both
 3rd cent. A.H.); من عند عطا او جبارة او غيرهم
 "from ʿAṭā or Jubāra or anyone else" APEL V 291, 11
 (4th cent. A.H.); "the sons of ʿAtīq, (namely) ʿAbd al-Rahmān and his brother"
 ibid., 1.14.

In the case of the inanimate duals, plural concord is
 rarer, but not uncommon (the regular agreement being
 feminine singular, sometimes alternating with the dual
 s. below, b): "and two small
 red silk tunics" in which feminine singular and plural
 concord alternate, APEL VI 391, 6 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)⁴;

دینارین مثنائیل "two mithqāl dinārs" ibid., I
 49, 4 (297 A.H.); المنزل والدار الذین فیهم
 "the dwelling and house in which..." APEL IX 2, 12; ومندیلین
 "and two excellent shiqqa kerchiefs"
 FWAP 164, 8/9 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

ii. The dual alternates with the plural: ولها من العراض والمخبزة

على وقد انضيا فيهم translated by the editor "and they
 both own the open areas and the bakery, according to
 their partnership" APEL I 53, 20/21 (2nd - 3rd cent.
 A.H.); انكما سلتوني (read, I think, so) وطلبتما الى ان
 اكرمني --- على ان تزرعوهما (read so!)
 "you have both asked and petitioned me that I lease
 to you... that you may cultivate it" ibid., II 80,
 4-7 (236 A.H.)⁵; اشخص الي ما قبلنا يحيى وموسى
 ابني قير --- ولا ترخصي لاهل منهم في الخلف
 "Bring before us Yohannes and Moses the two sons of
 Qīr... and do not allow for either of them a sub-
 stitute!" ibid., III 177, 2-4; ابراهيم كرموه وولده

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"Ibrahīm H. and his mother,
 what was in their hand(s)" *ibid.*, IV 222, recto A,
 3/4 as against a resumptive pronominal suffix in the
 dual *ibid.*, B,10 (*بايدهما*); A,16,20 (*بيدهما*);
لا تجعلا له علة وعجلوا سراحه
 against him, but hasten his release!" *ibid.*, V 323,9;
 the letter published in AO xviii/3,116/7 begins in
 elevated style with greetings in the dual to the two
 addressees, but by line 2 has already lapsed into the
 plural and continues in the singular, presumably add-
 ressing only one of the two recipients (all these 3rd
 cent. A.H.); *سالتماي وطلبتم [الى]*
 and petitioned [me] AO xviii/3,85,8 (328-33 A.H.);
عقولهما وابدانها ... انفسهم
 and bodies.... their consciences" APH 1,9-11 (342
 A.H.)⁷; *فاني متطلع الى علم فبركا عليكم مني السلام*
 "I look forward to learning your news, and from me to
 you both greetings!" DAB 31,7/8 (early 4th cent. A.H.)⁸.

- b. Duals of inanimate objects very frequently take agreement
 as if they were plural, i.e. in the feminine singular⁹.
 Some examples: *دينارين متقايين مغسولة*¹⁰
 "two washed mithqāl dinars" BAU 5,2/3 (213 A.H.) where dual and
 feminine singular concord stand side by side; *فدانين*
*بور من ارض القاسم تزرعها قمح*¹¹
 "two faddāns of
 fallow ground from the land of al-Qāsim which you will
 sow with wheat" APFL II 144,5 (217 or 219 A.H.)¹¹;
هاذين الحانوتين... خالية من الكان نقية (?) من التراب
كما قبيلتها
 "these two shops... empty of tenants
 and free of dirt, just as he received them" APRL IX 4,
 18-20 (250 A.H.), again with dual and feminine singular
 concord in alternation; *دينارين مجلدة*
 "two dinars
 to be paid at once" Islam 22,39,17 (295 A.H.); *هذه*

الذائنين "these two faddāns" APEL V 292,6/7¹²;

ساقيتين تسقى للقرط وساقيتين تسقى للقمح

"two irrigation canals (or water-wheels?) giving water to the clover, and two giving water to the corn"

Jahn 17,27/8; الدينارين التي لي "the two dinars belonging to me" Wessely 60,6 (all 3rd cent. A.H.);

الدينارين التي "the two dinars which..." APEL V 330,2; دينارين مشرقية "two oriental dinars"

ibid., VI 403,5/6 and verso,2; قدمين فليفية "two Caliph cups" FWAP 174,8¹³ (all 4th cent. A.H.).

c.

i. The coalescence of dual and plural is also reflected in the fact that جميعا¹⁴ "all", unusual in CA with reference to a dual, may in the papyri appear quite regularly in that function: امرتهما جميعا "I

ordered them both" Hirbet el-Mird 18,8 (second half of 1st cent. A.H.); ورعنيا جميعا "and both were

satisfied" ZDMG 34,686,8 (169 A.H.); وتعرفنا جميعا "and the cognizance taken by them both" APEL I 56,14

(239 A.H.); نرنا جميعا "of them both" Mélanges Islamologiques ii,104,16 (253 A.H.); اقرارهما جميعا بجميع "the acknowledgment of them both

concerning all that is in this deed" APEL I 52,14/15 (274 A.H.); عليهم جميعا "upon them both" APRL

IX 7,15/16 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); واذا هلكا جميعا غلقا

"and if both die, both (doors) will be closed" Ibn Wahb 17,4 (late 3rd cent. A.H.); وهما جميعا

"and both of them" APEL I 57,3 (341 A.H.) and similarly BAU 16,2 (418 A.H.) etc.

ii. For جميعا¹⁵ construed with the plural, though in fact referring to a dual, representing the complete

recession of the category of dual, I can quote only

ترا هبوا جميعا ... كل واحد منكم
 "they were both satisfied ... each of them" APH I,4/5 (342 A.H.).

- d. Emphasis of the dual by the addition of ithnayn to either the dual or the plural ¹⁶ seems not to occur in the papyri. An inscriptional example of ithnayn + plural however, occurs in لائنين ايام "when two days (had passed)" BIFAO ii,135 no.18,2 (334 A.H.)

e.

- i. In the case of some nouns, mostly those denoting paired parts of the body, vernacular Arabic in all its varieties has extended the historical dual into the domain of the plural, with the result that a form etymologically dual comes to be used with reference to numbers above two ¹⁷. As in ASP ¹⁸, this feature has been so far recorded in the papyri ¹⁹ only in the case of "hand" ²⁰: [..] في يدي اهل "in the hands of the people of [..] APEL II 79,10 (c. 250 A.H.); على يدي ناسي شتى "by various persons" ibid., IV 235,2;12 (270 A.H.); على يدي الطولونية "by the Tulūnids" APRL I 6,19 (second half of 3rd cent. A.H.) ²¹.

- ii. Contrary to this tendency to extend the dual at the expense of the plural, are to be listed a few cases in which the singular has intruded into the domain of the dual ²². Again, the only noted examples are of certain stock expressions containing "hand". Thus APEL IV 222, passim reads بيده "in his hand(s)/ possession", but the singular is maintained before the suffix of the dual ibid. recto, A,16;20;B,14 (بيدهما);

B,10 (²³بايد صما , for which s. §4 REM.A.), and of the plural ibid., recto A,4 (²³بايد صم) ; ²³على يد "by means of / through" alternates with ²³على يدى ibid., 278 (both 3rd cent. A.H.), the former occurring 11.3,5 the latter 1.6²⁴ ; ²⁴وقد كتبت اليك كتاب على يد يوسف "I have written you a letter to be delivered by Yūsuf" ibid., V 291,26 (4th cent. A.H.) and similarly 11.28, 31. Cf. also ²⁴يداك and ²⁴يدك alternating in identical contexts DAB 26,2 (3rd cent. A.H.) as against ibid., 34,3 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

REMARK: Problematical is the passage Ibn Wahb 56,16 (late 3rd cent. A.H.): ²⁵اربعة شفتاتي وامساني "four, my two lips and my (two rows of) teeth". The MS. points the last two letters of "lips" clearly as ²⁵-ty, but there is also a sublinear correction to the expected ²⁵شفتاتي . Is this word to be interpreted as it stands as a plural *shafatāt²⁵, or should one rather repoint ²⁵شفتاتي (perhaps intended to be in rhyme with ²⁵امساني ?), in which case it would belong to §85c?

f. A further indication of the recession of the category of dual may be seen in the number of nouns preceding a pronominal suffix in the dual. In CA a dual noun may occur before a suffix of the dual, but is often replaced in this position by the plural (less often by the singular)²⁶ . In the papyri, on the other hand, dual nouns seem to be unknown in such a context, only singular and plural being so far attested. Singular: ²⁷في جزيتما (read so!) ²⁷ومشيتما "to pay their poll-tax and to find their subsistence" Journal des Savans 1825,463,6 (133 A.H.); ²⁷اصل المعرفة بها

عقلها و بدنهما: "people who know them both, by sight and by name" APH 3,12 (297 A.H.); عقلها و بدنهما "their minds and bodies" *ibid.*, 11.12/13. Plural: عقلها و بدنهما "their minds and bodies" *ibid.*, 4,5 (314 A.H.); 1,9 (342 A.H.) and not uncommonly in this expression.

REMARK: When the genitive dual is not in the form of a pronominal suffix this restriction appears not to apply ²⁸: رزقه و رزقی هاشيته و عماله "his provisions and those of his following and officials" Islam 33,39,8/9 (90 A.H.) for which s. below §175.

- g. To denote a "pair" CA uses the dual of زوج generally reserving زوج itself to mark one of two similar or identical objects. The use of زوج with reference to a "pair" is not common in CA and is disapproved by many grammarians ²⁹; in other strata of Arabic ³⁰ and in modern dialects ³¹, on the other hand, the word is widely attested in that meaning. A similar usage occurs also in the papyri: ستة ازواج طومار "six pairs of tūmārs (of papyrus)" JESHO viii,305,5 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.), and similarly زوج طومار قرطاس "two tūmārs of papyrus" APEL VI 423,2/3 ³²; زوج قرطاس "two rolls of papyrus" Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 49 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); زوج طومار "two tūmārs" *ibid.*; زوجین نعال β "two pairs of sandals,2" ³³ APEL VI p.221 (dates?) .

§ 85

- a. In common with the general trend of non-Classical varieties of Arabic, in both the dual and sound masculine plural (§86a) there are no distinctions of

case, the only genuine endings of these categories¹ being reflexes of the CA casus obliquus.

i. The earliest² attested examples of this important phenomenon in the status rectus of the dual are from the late first - early second centuries A.H.: ونظييين "and two carpets" (translate as dual!) occurring in a list of textiles Hirbet el-Mird 39,2 (1st - 2nd cent. A.H.);

وبعنه فاليين "with two moles on his neck" APEL III 175, 4 (112 A.H.); سنا من جزية راسك دينرين "two dinars thereof are for your poll-tax" *ibid.*, 180,7/8 (113 A.H.);

وفيرا بيتين فاليين (read so with §83e) "and therein are two empty houses" FWAP 161,9 (2nd cent. A.H.). Further:

وجميع حقوقها من ذلك الثلثين كاملين ولها ايضا الثلثين من ... "and all their rights thereof are two thirds, complete, and they also have two thirds of ... " APEL I 53,4/5;

ولها الثلثين من ارض الزرع "and they have two thirds of the arable land" *ibid.*, 1.12; خرج في اللحم درهمين "two dirhams were spent on meat" *ibid.*, VI 420,3 (both 2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); والشاهدين "and the two witnesses

are ... " ZDMG 92,111,5 (241 A.H.); احمد ... دينرين

"Ahmad ... two dinars" occurring in a list of payments

APEL IV 237,8 etc.³; الليج فدانين "brassica: two faddāns"

ibid., 265,8 (262 A.H.); وبقي الصرتين "and there remain the two purses" *ibid.*, V 334,9 (before 278 A.H.); وقد

وصل الي القفتين حالوم "and the two baskets of cheese have reached me" DAB 22,6;

الهن دينارين "the price is two dinars" APEL VI 389,11,13;

وعندك قيراطين "and you have two carats" Grohmann, TWÄ 3,5 and similarly *ibid.*, 4,7

(all 3rd cent. A.H.) etc.

ii. -ay for -a in status constructus of the dual⁴ is also attested at a very early period: وتلتي دينار [...

"([and the price of] ... is eighteen) and two thirds of a dinar" Nessana 64,1-4 (56 A.H.); *فجمعته تسعة وسبعين* "and the total thereof is two hundred and seventy-nine modii of corn" *ibid.*, 18/19 and similarly *ibid.*, 65,15-17 (55 or 56 A.H.); ... *انه اصابكم* "there has fallen due from you ... two hundred artabas of corn" PSR iii V,3-5 and similarly *ibid.*, Anhang k,3; 1,5 and 6; APEL III 160,6 (all 91 A.H.)⁵; Further: *ابني حميه* "the two sons of Homise" APEL IV 222,recto,A,15; (read, apparently, so) *هنين* "Hunayn and Muhammad, the sons of Faraj the lawyer" *ibid.*, 267,12, both occurring in lists of names; *وعنده لثني دينار* "and he has to his own credit two thirds of a dinar, $\frac{2}{3}$ " *ibid.*, V 336, 3; *الذي وصل اليه... مايتي حمزة* "that which was delivered to him was ... two hundred bundles" *ibid.*, VI 367,2/3; *الثمن ثلثي دينار* "the price is two thirds of a dinar" *ibid.*, 389,12 (all 3rd cent. A.H.). For *اثنا عشر* s. §97a.

- b. The hyper-correct occurrence of the casus rectus of the dual where in CA casus obliquus would have been necessary is rather uncommon. The following are the only examples known to me: *جزى الله خيرًا والجزى بكنه* (21b) "May God reward - for to reward is in His power - two companions who alighted at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad!" Khoury 152,16 (229 A.H.)⁷; *فضربه على ضربه صلك درعاه* "so cAlī struck him a blow; he broke his two coats of mail" *idem*, 172, 2/3⁸; *بعد ان اشهد عليها شاهدان* "after he had called two witnesses to testify on her behalf" JESHO xiv,9,4 (256 A.H.)⁹; *بسط الله بكل*

عارفة يداك "May God open your hands to perform every kindness!" DAB 26,2 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁰ ; امرفا البايعين (!)

"the two vendors have acknowledged receipt of the price from the two buyers" APEL I 60,1 (406 A.H.); اقرار القومين المقران "the acknowledgment of the brother and sister who acknowledge" ibid., II 138,14 (412 A.H.) (alternating with اقرار الرجل والمرأة المقرين "the acknowledgment of the man and woman who acknowledge" in ll.17/8). For the numeral "two" s. below §92c and for "twelve" §97 n.4.

c.

- i. The identification of cases in which the nūn of the dual is preserved in status constructus¹¹ is complicated by the fact that final yā and nūn are often very hard, sometimes even impossible, to distinguish (cf. above n.2). As an example of this difficulty one may quote the expression in use denoting "the two districts of al-Ushmunayn": in APEL III 181,7 (233 A.H.) this is edited as كورتين الاشمونين, but the same phrase appears ibid., II 88,1/2 (261 A.H.) as بكورتى .
الاشمونين . The palaeographical justification for this distinction is small indeed, and it seems, to me at least, that in these two cases either reading might with equal validity be substituted for the other¹² .
This circumstance should be borne in mind in evaluating some of the following examples. The earliest occurrences of this phenomenon may be detected in the Nessana papyri referred to above §1 n.5 (54,56,57 A.H.) in the phrase σκκρκειϛ ρκβ η /ι "the two months of Raṯīc", though one cannot overlook the fact that in the only text where the corresponding Arabic is preserved the reading is clearly شسرى ربيع (no.60,6 dated

54 A.H.). Further: *عائنين ابن العباس* "the two finance-ministers of Abū al-ʿAbbās AO vi, 388, 5 (244 A.H.)¹³; *بعضة فلينتين (?) بعضر ... والعل* "in the presence of the two representatives of Jaʿfar... and al-ʿAlā ibid., 391, 5 (248 A.H.)¹⁴ and similarly SBAWW 153/V 25, 6 (264 A.H.)¹⁵; *ثلثين دينار* "two thirds of a dinar" APEL V 322, 7 and likewise JESHO xvi, 4, 4 (both 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁶. The preservation of nūn occurs a number of times in the numeral "two hundred"¹⁷: *مائتين قط* "two hundred qist" Grohmann, TWÄ 5, 4; ibid., 6, 4 and 5 (3rd cent. A.H.); *مائتين دينار* "two hundred dinars" APRL II 9, 13 (presumably contemporary)¹⁸.

For a later instance (s. §27 n.4) cf. *اصبعين رجليين* "two toes" Islamica 4, 258, 4. Cf. also below, §97b.

- ii. Another difficulty in identifying cases in which the nūn of the dual is preserved in status constructus is caused by the frequent absence of alif in the indefinite accusative singular (§167b); this circumstance often makes it impossible to distinguish between a status constructus and an appositional relationship. Thus, in constructions involving weights and measures such as *رطلين لحم* "two pounds of meat" Miles, Glass Weights, 85 no. 32 (116-24 A.H.) it is difficult to decide whether this should be regarded as corresponding to CA ratlay lahmin, in which case the example would belong here, or to ratlayn lahman, in which case it would not¹⁹. On the whole, probability seems to favour the interpretation of such constructions as appositional rather than genitival²⁰, but as the possibility exists that nūn in similar cases may be preserved in status constructus²¹, examples are given

here: فرائين بور "two faddāns of fallow land" APEL II 144,5 (217 or 291 A.H.); اردبين قسح "two artabas of wheat" *ibid.*, V 340,4 (3rd cent. A.H.); درصمين رمان "two dirhams of pomegranates" Wessely 78, 5 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); زوبين نعال β "two pairs of sandals,²" above §84g, end (date?).

Apposition also seems more likely in similar combinations involving specification of material²²: قراطين

ذهب "two gold carats" Grohmann, TWÄ 11,3/4 (2nd cent. A.H.); وهبتين هنز "and two garments of silk" APEL VI 391,6 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.);²³ وتوبين

شرب "and two garments of linen / silk" *ibid.*, 389,13 (3rd cent. A.H.).

- d. A feature for which the papyri offer abundant documentation is the absence of final nūn in the status absolutus of the dual²⁴. Although the identification of this feature is beset (at least partly) by the same palaeographical difficulty as that of other phenomena relating to the dual²⁵, there remain a fair number of secure instances²⁶. It appears to be restricted to numerals and measures; very common is مايتي (and variant spellings, s. §101b) "two hundred", which occurs as follows²⁷: Nessana 67,14 (70 A.H.)²⁸; APEL V 344,5 (207 A.H.)²⁹; *ibid.*, I 48,13 (233 A.H.); CPR III 175,3 (250 A.H.); APEL II 93,7 (251 A.H.); *ibid.*, 81,9 (253 A.H.); JESHO xiv,9,7 (256 A.H.) where read so (cf. above n.25); APEL IV 265,5 and 6 (262 A.H.)³⁰; Études... Lévi - Provençal II,511,4 and 8 (263 A.H.); APEL II 99,8 (272 A.H.); Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I, 4,9; APEL IV 261,14 (both 3rd cent. A.H.);

ibid. V 306,19 (after 334 A.H.). In fractions I find absence of nūn only in the case of ثلثي "two thirds"³¹: Hirbet el-Mird 36,1 (?) (2nd cent. A.H.); APEL IV 265,8 (262 A.H.) ibid., III 202,3; IV 266,8; 282,6³²; VI 393,5 and 11 (all 3rd cent. A.H.) MPER ii/iii 164,5 (344 A.H.)³³. اثني "two" also seems to occur³⁴: APEL II 88,4 (261 A.H.); ibid., VI 389,14; 392,5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); IV 280,1 (342 A.H.).

الفى³⁵ "two thousand" has been found thus far only in APEL IV 261,21 and 26 (3rd cent. A.H.). With nouns of measure the phenomenon occurs in وبيتي "two waybas"³⁶ WZKM viii,293,4 (2nd half of 1st cent. A.H.) and, less certainly, in Grohmann, TWÄ 2,9 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§86

- a. Parallel to the general absence of the status rectus in the dual (§85a) is the occurrence of the same phenomenon in the sound masculine plural, where the only living ending is a reflex of the CA casus obliquus, viz. -īn used irrespective of case¹. The existence of a single form only in each of these two categories (i.e. dual: -ayn, sound masculine plural: -īn) is one of the key features separating the language of the papyri (and all other varieties of vernacular Arabic) from CA. The very nature of the extant texts means that this phenomenon is particularly well documented for the decads 20-90, but it is very frequent in other cases besides². Some examples: فصحته سبعين مدي قمح³ "and the total thereof is seventy modii of wheat and the same of oil" Nessana 60,17 (54 A.H.) and the similar cases ibid. 61,16; 63,12 (both 55 A.H.);

64,18 (56 A.H.); 66,11 (57 A.H.); 67,14 (70 A.H.);

واليكताल القبائين "and let the Qabbāl officials⁴ receive measure (of corn)" PSR iii III,34 ; ما يستوفى

"what the Qabbāl officials receive" *ibid.*, 46/7; انه اصحابكم من جزية سنة ... اربع باية دينار واحد; وستين ونصف دينار عدا ومن جزية الطعام مئتي⁵ انا سالمين "there has fallen due from you of the poll-tax for the year... dinars to the number of four hundred, sixty-one and one half, and of the food-tax two hundred and seventy artabas of corn" *ibid.*, V,3-6 and similarly the texts *ibid.*, Anhang, a-e , g, i-1; NPAF XIV - XVI⁷ (all 91 A.H.);

صالحين "that we are well and in health" *Hirbet el-Mird* 42,5 (1st cent. A.H.);⁸ وصى عشرين فدانا "and that is twenty faddāns" MBZP 19,338,8 (179 A.H.) and likewise *ibid.* 339,6 (180 A.H.); فجميع ذلك اثنين "and the total thereof is fifty-two and one half dinars" FWAP 161,10/11 (2nd cent. A.H.); وصى اربع وتسعين آية "and it is ninety-four verses" occurring in a Quranic rubric dating perhaps from the second century A.H. in Wright,⁹

Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles, Pl.lix; فجميع ذلك

"and the total thereof is fifty dinars and one sixth" APEL IV 237,10 (249 A.H.);

ibid., III 214 *passim*, in a list of artisans (early 3rd cent. A.H.); الجملة ثلاثة وعشرين الفو (51g) سبع مائة

وثمانية وثمانين راسا "the total is twenty-three thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight head" *ibid.*,

وصو مائة وثمانين بوزة; IV 261,7 and *passim* in this text; "and they are^{one} hundred and fifty walnuts" *ibid.*, V 303

4; VI 392 *passim* (in an account); "and ونحن ملزومين "and we are obliged" DAB 7,5 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); وصى ثلثين

100

دينارا "and that is thirty dinars" *ibid.* lv,4 (late 3rd cent. A.H.); وصمهم فعننا محتاجين "and they are poor and needy" *ibid.*, 32,8 (before 314 A.H.) etc.

REMARK: I have not come across so far any example of this feature in status constructus, for which cf. Blau, ASP,224; Schen, JSS 18,76.

- b. Examples of the hyper-correct application of the sound masculine plural -ūn in contexts where CA usage would have required -īn do occur¹⁰, but, as it seems, only in variants of one particular legal locution: اقرار "the acknowledgment of these persons named in [this deed] Grohmann, Papiri...Milano I 2,4/5 (3rd cent. A.H.); وكيل حاولا "the agent of the four women named in this deed" APRL IX 2,19 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) and likewise *ibid.*, X 11,9 (324 A.H.); على حاولا نفر المسومون المذكورين (read so!) في هذا الكتاب "upon these persons named and mentioned in this deed" APRL II 74,8 (344 A.H.) where hyper-correct casus rectus alternates with the expected casus obliquus.

- c. Whether any examples occur of -n of the sound masculine plural being preserved in status constructus seems somewhat doubtful¹¹. It may be exemplified by the following two cases: الى متقدمين بابه APEL VI 369,2 which is rendered by the editor: "until the preceding (days) of Bâbe"¹²; قصابين القوط "surveyors of the clover crop" (editor's translation: "trefoil-reapers") *ibid.*, 429 v,4¹³ (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

§87

There are certain points to be noted in the domain of the broken plural:

- a. Faḥālīl for CA faḥālīl¹: الخواتيم² "the seals (?)"
APRL XIII 1,17 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); الدوانيق³
"the dāniqs" APEL VI 397,17 (4th cent. A.H.).
- b. Faḥālīl for faḥālīl⁴ may occur in ثلاث كارج⁵ "three
bowls" FWAP 174,8 (4th cent. A.H.).
- c. Faḥālīla for faḥālīl⁶ is represented by نراتية⁶ "sail-
lors": ZA 22,150,3 (95 A.H.); Byzantion xvii,214,5
(241 A.H.); APEL VI 379,19 (248 A.H.); Giessen 16,14
(4th cent. A.H.)⁷.

REMARK: Another case is perhaps ضرايبت الطعام⁸
"food-tax" PAF X,3 (90 A.H.) if it reflects *ضرايبة⁹;
it may, however, belong rather below, e. Cf. §47 n.7.

d.

- i. CA fiḥāl > *fḥāl > afḥāl with prosthetic alif
(§ 2b,ii)⁸ is exhibited by اغياط⁹ "meadows" AO
xviii/3,101,4 (265 A.H.); عشرة اسياط⁹ "ten strokes
of the whip" APEL III 170,2/3 (3rd cent. A.H.) for which
s. above §2 n.3.

- ii. A similar process fuḥūl > *fḥūl > afḥūl¹⁰ occurs in
خمسة اهور¹¹ "five asses" cited from an early second
century A.H. document above §2b,ii¹¹.

- e. The addition of the sound feminine plural ending to
a broken plural¹² is rare: ابنياتهم¹² "their buildings"
Arabic and Islamic Studies... H.A.R. Gibb, 23,10
(106 A.H.); موالياته (pointed so) "his clients"
APRL IX 2,10 and perhaps also 1.8 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)

where the reference is to four women.

REMARK A: A possible example might also be *هنرايت*
 الطعام "food-tax" PAF X,3 (90 A.H.) mentioned above
 § 47 n.7; 87 c, REM.

REMARK B: The forms *سرويلات* and *سراولات*
 "trousers" (§ 9c) in AO xviii/3,117,6 and verso,2
 (3rd cent. A.H.) do not, synchronically at least,
 belong here, as the singular "one pair of trousers"
 in this text is *سراويل* (not *سروال* or *سرويل*).
 This is borne out by l.7: *فان ما منا احد له سراويل*
 "not one of us has a pair of trousers". This
 singular occurs also at APEL VI 394r,B,20 (3rd cent.
 A.H.), and s. also *ibid.*, p.126 n.20 where *سراويلين*
 "two pairs of trousers" is mentioned.

f. The CA conventions (in as much as they are systematically
 applied) governing the use of plurals of paucity are
 not always observed¹³ : *خمسة احمور* "five asses"
 Grohmann, *Aparçu*, 90 n.2 (early 2nd cent. A.H.)¹⁴ ;
عشر اسياط "ten strokes of the whip" APEL III 170,
 2/3 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁵ .

g. Dozy, Supplément I,220 observed that *جنان*, in CA
 the plural of *جندة* "garden", is in the "modern
 language" used as a singular¹⁶ . This transition had
 already taken place by the 3rd cent A.H., as is shown
 by the papyrus published in JESHO viii,282/3:

الجنان الذي ... رسموه "the garden which...
 they recorded it" ll.5-12¹⁷ . For *سراويل* "trousers"
 as singular s. above, e, REM.B.

§88

Several examples of unusual plural forms occur in the papyri¹.

- a. *بحرون* "barns" APEL V 289,15; APRL XI 2,6 and XI 3 passim (but perhaps here in a different sense) for the more usual *بحران*² which occurs APRL VI 15,8 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. *بوالب* "slave-traders" as plural of *بالب* rather than the commoner *بالب*. AO xviii/3,97,5 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- c. *بحنة* "gardens" JESHO viii,304,2 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.); APH 12a,5 (c. 294 A.H.); Giessen 4r, 14 (3rd cent. A.H.)³ perhaps belongs to the singular *بحنة*⁴ at §87g rather than to *بحنة*.
- d. *اربعة / ثلثة ارس* "four/three head (of cattle)" APEL VI 366,3;6 (3rd cent. A.H.) represents, or so it would appear, the plural *ārus* (< *arūs* §26)⁵.
- e. *ارابع* "quarters" ZDMG 92,123,16 (241 A.H.) is probably, provided that the interpretation is correct, a mere scribal error for *ارباع*.
- f. *ساقيات* "irrigation canals/water-wheels" occurs AO xviii/3,90 ult.; 91,5 and 10 (339 A.H.); the more expected *سواق* (i.e. = *سواق* §82g)⁶ is found in Jahn 17,27 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- g. For *شفتاتي* "my lips" s. §84 e, REM.
- h. For *طرا* plural of *طري* "fresh" s. the references at §142b, REM.

- i. Most unusual is ستة اقراط "six carats" DAB 22,7 (3rd cent. A.H.); قرايط APEL III 191,4, on the other hand, is doubtless simply a scribal error and قراويط ⁷ Wessely 74,2 (both 3rd cent. A.H.) a misprint.
- j. قلال "water-jugs" for the commoner قلال : FWAP 164,16; APRL VI 12, 17 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.)⁶.
- k. نجبان as plural of نجيب "noble" is reported from an unpublished text by Grohmann, Einführung, 106.

§89

- a. The development of the nisba termination -iyyun/ īyun > -i_I as in ASP and in non-classical Arabic generally may also be assumed for the language of the papyri. This may be presented schematically and in a somewhat simplified manner as follows: -īyun/ iyyun > īy/iyy (§161) > ī/iy (§17) > i (§9a).
- b. The nisba ending -ānī² is of very limited occurrence: سنبجاني "from Ṣanhāj" APEL VI 389,9 (3rd cent. A.H.) and the much later example النوقانية "upper" APEL I 54,16 (448 A.H.)³.

§90

The irregular relatives افير and افير of CA are incorporated within the afcal pattern of the relative category to which they belong:

- a. افير ¹ : افير ممانت "better than you are" and افيركم "the best of you" in an unpublished papyrus of the Michaelides collection (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); Ibn Wahb 65,18 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)².

- b. ³ اشتر : "we should have come to blows or worse" Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri... Bodleian Library, I, p.2,8/9 (late 2nd cent. A.H.);
 لا اظن ركب الناس اشتر منه "I do not think anyone has ever ridden a worse" *ibid.*, II,22 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

. . .

THE NUMERALS

§91

- a. For احدا / احدى instead of CA احد s. §169a; 198b and for واحد / واحدة in place of احدى / واحدة § 198a-c.
- b. It seems not at all impossible that the feminine of احد in status pronominalis was formed from (an as yet unattested) احدة (< احدى with ¹ §47c). For a discussion of this possibility s. above §12f, REM.
- c. For the loss of initial alif² of احد in forms of the numeral "eleven" s. §96 (i)-(iii).

§92

- a. Forms of the numeral "two" without prosthetic alif are rather scarce:
- i. Masculine: تئين (referring, however, to the feminine سنة, s. §199a) JESHO viii,289,6 (202 A.H.) alternating with اثنتين (read so!) in l.10; تئين (sic) Islamica 4,252,2 (for the date s. §27 n.4 and cf. above §49e).
- ii. Examples of the feminine lacking prosthetic alif¹ have

not been found in papyri², but only on coins, as Walker, Catalogue ii, 89 no. 294 (92 A.H.) and elsewhere.

- b. For the numeral "two" lacking final n in status absolutus s. above §85d.
- c. Pseudo-correct اثنان for اثنتين (§85b, and in this case representing CA اثنتين with §199a) occurs in عشرين ومائة³ سنة اثنان "the year one hundred and twenty-two" Mélanges Islamologiques iii, 25, no. 78 (122 A.H.)⁴.
- d. For زوج in the meaning "two/pair" s. §84g.

§93

A feature well known in modern dialects is the tendency to regard tā marbūta in the numerals 3-10 (pronounced -t in status constructus, §47a) as part of the counted noun rather than of the numeral itself when the former begins with a vowel (cf. §51d, iv)¹. The earliest documented cases of this displacement occur in the text APEL VI 387 (4th - 5th cent. A.H.) 11.1, 9, 12/13:

خمسة تنول² , ثلاث تنول / تنول "five looms", "three looms".

§94

For the possible epicene use of ثمان "eight" s. §194. Cf. also §99.

§95

- a. The cardinal numerals 11-19 tend to develop into a compound (cf. §195), a fact occasionally reflected in the spelling¹. Thus: اربعتس (؟) (read so!)²

"fourteen" Herzfeld, Samarra, 276 no.18 (date?);
 (sic, with §30a) اثنعشر "twelve" APEL VI 365,2;3
 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) where also (1.10) اربعتشر
 (sic, §42b) "fourteen" and اتمتشر "fifteen"
 passim; ستشر "sixteen" Islamica 4, 267 no. 4,3
 and اتمتشر (s. §95c) ibid., 1.4³ (for the date of
 the last two examples s. §27 n.4).

- b. A spelling of very frequent occurrence in papyri (and other early monuments) is that of اعشر "ten" in the numerals 11-19⁴. Perhaps the earliest case is found in [؟ اعشر] اربعة "fourteen" WZKM viii, 293,9 (mid - late 1st cent. A.H.). Further examples:
 اءد اعشر : APRL VII 48,7; ibid., VIII 9,3; XI 17,5 (all presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL VI 403 v,1 (4th cent. A.H.)⁵; ثلت اعشر⁶ : Wessely 51,5; ثلاثة / ثلاثة اعشر : JESHO xvi, 4,5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); APRL X 13 (313 A.H.); اربعة اعشر : DAB 63,3; APRL VI 20,7 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); خمسة اعشر : JESHO xiv,6,14 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.); JNES v,176,3 and 14; AO xviii/3, 116,3; خمس اعشر WZKM 54,51,6; ست اعشر ibid., 1.7; سبعة اعشر : APEL V 339,9 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); ثمانية / ثمانية اعشر : Mélanges Islamologiques iii,20, nos. 52-3; 21 nos. 54-6 (early 1st cent. A.H.); Grohmann, TWÄ 3,4; تسعة اعشر : JESHO xvi,4,8 (both 3rd cent. A.H.). For "eleven" and "twelve" s. below §96,97.

- c. Common to a wide spectrum of modern dialects is the acquisition of emphasis in the numerals 11-19, whereby the reflex of CA ta marbuta of the unit is realized not as t, but as ṭ⁷. In many dialects d of the numeral

"eleven" is affected similarly, and comes to be pronounced as $\frac{d}{8}$. An early case of this latter phenomenon occurs in هشعة "eleven" cited §39c and above, a.

d. I have not traced any example in which final r is absent in the numerals 11-19⁹; Herzfeld, Samarra, 276 no.18 (date?) is misread and should be corrected with Grohmann, above, n.2 and for هدهشي "eleven" ZDMG 92,123 note to 1.14 (241 A.H.) s. above n.3 where the correctness of the reading is doubted.

e. Very rare is the use of و to connect the ten with the units¹⁰. For the numeral "twelve" constructed in this manner s. §97c; otherwise I find only سبع/تسع "seventeen/nineteen" Mélanges Islamologiques iii,24 no. 76¹¹ (117 or 119 A.H.) and تسعة وعشرة "nineteen kharrūbas" Miles, Glass Weights, 110, no.71 (141-3 A.H.).

§96

The numeral "eleven" has developed into a compound invariable as regards gender (§ 196) and presumably to be realized for the most part along the lines of $\text{(i)hd}^{\text{c}}\text{shar}$. The compound can be spelled in a number of different ways¹:

- i. هدهعشر ² : APEL VI 399,8 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.)
- ii. هدهعشر : above, §95c.
- iii. هدهعشر : cited from an unpublished Berlin papyrus by Grohmann, Einführung, 105.
- iv. اهدهعشر ³ : APEL VI 403v,1 (4th cent. A.H.).
- v. اهدهعشر : Mélanges Islamologiques iii,18, no. 44 (111 A.H.); 20, no.50 (early 1st cent. A.H.).
- vi. [[هدهعشر]] : JESHO viii,295, versc,5 (211 A.H.),

where it appears that tāʾ marbūṭa has been erased.

§97

- a. The numeral "twelve" has also developed into a compound, invariable for both case and gender (§ 197) and for which the most likely pronunciation will have been along the lines of it(h)naʿshar. This compound is reflected in the following spellings :
- i. ² اثنا عشر : cited from an unpublished document by Grohmann, Einführung, 105.
 - ii. ³ اثنا عشر : cited above §95a (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
 - iii. ⁴ اثنا عشر : APEL VI 399,4 where referring to a feminine noun and also governed by the preposition li (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
 - iv. ⁵ اثني عشر : BIFAO ii,122 5/6 (224 A.H.).
- b. In الاثني عشر الدينار "the twelve dinars" JESHO viii, 289,1 (202 A.H.), which appears to accord with §85c,i, the first word must be read الاثني ; cf. however, BIFAO ii,136,10 (347 A.H.) where a similar form is said to occur. Cf. below,c.
- c. Hirbet el-Mirā 49,5/6 (2nd cent. A.H.) reads لثني [و عشرة] ليلة "when twelve nights (had passed)". For the first word I read لثني (§92 n.2) with §197b,iii . Whether the editor is correct in supplying و in the lacuna (§ 95e) cannot be decided; this example, therefore, may belong above, b. A clearer case of the two components of "twelve" being joined by و would seem to be اثني وعشرة PSBA, June 1887, 333,4 (412 A.H.).

§98

Very peculiar is ^{ثلاثة عشر} "thirteen" BAU 5,9 (213 A.H.); it is likely to be either a scribal error¹ or due to a fault in the reproduction.

§99

Both long and short forms of the numeral "eighteen" occur:¹ ^{ثمانى عشرة} APRL XII 2,4 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); ^{ثمان عشر (!)} APEL III 195,3 (318 A.H.)².

§100

a. For the numeral "one" in connection with the decads, CA usage hesitates between ^{واحد} and ^{واحد}¹. The preference of the papyri is quite unequivocally in favour of ^{واحد} / ^{احدى} in this position: Twenty-one: FWAP 153,2; APEL IV 216,6 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); thirty-one: PSR iii, Anhang b,5 (91 A.H.)²; forty-one: APEL VI 392,12; APRL VII 1,16 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.); fifty-one: APEL IV 265,6 (262 A.H.); ^{ibid.}, 261,25 (3rd cent. A.H.)³; sixty-one: PSR iii, V,4 (91 A.H.)⁴; seventy-one: APEL II 124,6 (271 A.H.); ninety-one: APEL III 146,35 (91 A.H.)⁵. These examples could be multiplied at will.

b. Exceptions to this state of affairs are very uncommon. I am able to quote only ^{واحد وسبعون} (read so!) "seventy-one" APRL X 1,3 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.), where it is not possible to understand ^{واحد} as = ^{واحد} (cf. above nn.2,3). The plate of APEL V 327,3 (4th cent. A.H.) is not fully clear; could one read ^{واحد} ^{واحد وعشرين} for the editor's ^{واحد وعشرين} ?

§101

- a. The following are the various forms of the numeral "hundred" which have been recorded¹ :
- i. مائة² : Nessana 62,17 (55 A.H.); PERF 573 quoted by Grohmann, Einführung, 184 (57 A.H.)³; PSR iii,III, 28; *ibid.*, Anhang a,5; k,2 (all 91 A.H.); APEL III 174,6 (103 A.H.); JESHO xiv,12,10 (156 A.H.); APEL VI 398,9 (3rd cent. A.H.) etc.
- ii. مائة : PSR iii,V,4; *ibid.*, Anhang b,5; NPAF XIII, 4 (all 91 A.H.); APEL III 180,6 (113 A.H.); *Hirbet el-Mird* 21,3 (120-29 A.H.); BAU 2,7 (143 A.H.); APEL III 168,8 (159 A.H.); AO vi,380 (164 A.H.); APEL I 51,6 (195 A.H.) etc.

REMARK: There is no discernible principle governing the distribution of these two spellings. Thus PSR iii, Anhang a,5 reads مائة but *ibid.*, b,5, an almost identical document written by the same scribe in the same month of the same year (Šafar 91 A.H.), has مائة . The two spellings may even occur within the same document, as JESHO xiv,12,10 مائة as against 13,17 مائة (156 A.H.) or APEL VI 398, 9 المائة as against مائة occurring frequently elsewhere in the text (3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. "Two hundred"⁴ (selection of references):
- i. مائتين : APEL I 48,11 (232 A.H.).
- ii. مائتي : BAU 4,8 (202 A.H.) where read probably so; APEL I 48,13 (233 A.H.)⁵.
- iii. مائتين⁶ : APEL III 183,2 (248 A.H.); BAU 7,9 where read so⁷ (260 A.H.); Grohmann, *TWÄ* 5,4; 6,4 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).
- iv. مائتي⁸ : APEL II 144,8 (217 or 219 A.H.) and

alternating with مائتين in the same document APPEL IV 265,5/6 (262 A.H.).

- v. ميتين : PERF 701 (205 A.H.) in Grohmann, Einführung, 101; APH 13,5 (c. 294 A.H.)⁹.
- vi. ميتين : Nessana 64,2 (56 A.H.); *ibid.*, 67,10 (70 A.H.)⁹.
- vii. ميتين : APPEL II 96,6 (227 A.H.)¹⁰.

§102

The sequence in compound numerals of the (thousands), hundreds, tens and units is not constant¹.

- a. The date of a text is generally given in the order of units, tens, hundreds as e.g. وذلك في رجب من سنة مائتين وسبع وتسعين "and that was in Rajab of the year two hundred and ninety-seven" APPEL I 49,5 (297 A.H.). The order of hundreds, units, tens in such a context is extremely uncommon, and has been noted only in سنة ميتين (101, b, vii) وسبعة وعشرين "the year two hundred and twenty-seven" APPEL II 96,6 (227 A.H.)².
- b. When preceding a counted noun, however, this latter order of hundreds, units, tens is rather the norm. The contrast is very well illustrated by APPEL IV 265 (262 A.H.) where, l.4, the date is given as سنة مائتين وثمانين (85d) "the year two hundred and sixty-two", but a similar numeral before a counted noun appears in the following line as مائتي واحد "two hundred and fifty-one faddāns". Further examples: مائتين (read so!) وثمانية وعشرين دنا "two hundred and twenty-eight dann" ZDMG 92,131,7 (c.241 A.H.); مائة واربع وثلثين راسا "one hundred and thirty-

four head (of livestock)" APPEL IV 261,17 (3rd cent. A.H.); *مائتين واحد واربعين ديناراً ونصف* "two hundred and forty-one dinars and one half" APPEL VII 14, 4 (presumably contemporary); *مائة واثنين واربعين ملفاً* "one hundred and forty-two wrappers" Wessely 56,3 (4th cent. A.H.). For a later example s. §103 b,iii, end.

- c. When "thousand" is involved I have noted only the order of thousands, hundreds, units, tens as *الجملة ثلاثة وعشرين الفوا (519)* "the total is twenty-three thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight head (of livestock)" APPEL IV 261,7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§103

There is a certain degree of inconsistency in the employment or non-employment of connective *و* in compound numerals:

- a. For the use of *و* against CA in the numerals 11-19 s. above §95e.

- b. More frequent is the non-occurrence of connective *و*¹ in cases where in CA it is obligatory:

- i. Between the tens and the units: *اثنان وعشرين* "twenty-two" Mélanges Islamologiques iii,25 no.78 (122 A.H.); *خمسة وعشرين* "twenty-five" PERF 600 in AO vi,148 n.3 (early 2nd cent. A.H.); *خمسة / ثمانية*³ "thirty-eight/five" APPEL IV 216,5/6; *احد وستين*⁴ "sixty-one jars" APPEL XII 2,7 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.); *ستة وعشرين*⁵ "twenty-six" APPEL II 107,8 (527 A.H.). S. also below, iii.

- ii. Before fractions: *ستة عشر ربيع* "sixteen and

one quarter" APEL IV 216,4 and likewise 1.27 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴; اربعين سدس "two artabas and one sixth" ibid., II 108,10 and likewise 1.9 (527 A.H.).

- iii. Other cases: مائة سبع/عشرة مائة "one hundred and seventeen/nineteen" Mélanges Islamologiques iii,23/4, nos. 69-75 (117 or 119 A.H.); مائة مائة سبعين مائة "the year two hundred and seventy-six" Kühnel in Documenta Islamica Inedita, 164⁶ (276 A.H.) and similarly elsewhere in these tirāz texts; مائة مائة واربعين درهم "one hundred and forty-six dirhams" Islamica 4,267, no.4,4 (for the date s. §27 n.4)⁷.

§104

The form اولى¹ "first" instead of CA اولة occurs in DAB 4b,1 and 2 (3rd cent. A.H.) and in status pronominalis ibid., 11a,3 (probably 304 A.H.) where the word is pointed اولتن² "the first of them".

§105

The use of فرد to express the indefinite "one" is attested only once, the earliest instance of this widespread colloquial phenomenon¹: فرد بطانة حمرا "and a/one red lining" APEL VI 391,5 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.).

• • •

PREPOSITIONS

§106

Alā athar/ithr¹ "after" occurs in an unpublished papyrus from the Michaelides collection in the phrase انا على اثر ذلك = اما بعد "as for what comes after" (102 A.H.) and also in انا على اثر كتابي هذا

(read so!) "and I shall arrive after this letter of mine" Jahn 5,7 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.): ² في اني in the same sense appears in Khoury 138,11 (229 A.H.).

§107

- a. It has already been remarked (§ 55) that final ل and final لي are not readily distinguishable in a number of cases. The preposition ilā is often written with reverted yā or quite plainly as الى as one would expect, but there are also cases where the same word appears equally plainly as ال, so. e.g. PSR iii VIII,5 (90A.H.). The question therefore arises whether one is dealing here with a mere phenomenon of orthography, in which case ال may, without further ado, be simply read as الى, or whether this spelling is intended to represent a form of the preposition without the final vowel¹. If it is admitted that the latter alternative is at least a possible one, one may be justified in proceeding to detect the same form of the preposition in status pronominalis². Thus, for example, AO xviii/3,114,9 or JESHO xvi,4,9 (both 3rd cent. A.H.) seem clearly to offer ال "to you" rather than الى³.
- b. I have not noted any certain example of the supersession of li by ilā⁴. The only possible case is the very doubtful passage APEL V 289,16 (3rd cent. A.H.) read as وما ذلك ينبتى اليه and translated: "and what is suitable to you". This is hardly likely to be correct, but I am unable to suggest a better reading.

§108

Wadiyyā "with"¹ : وجعل ثوابنا وإياكم الجنة برحمته "and may He in His mercy make our reward to be with you in paradise!" ZDMG 34,688,6 (early 2nd cent. A.H.)².

§109

Bi- instead of fī¹ : بجميع ما بهذا الكتاب الصداق "with all that is in this dowry-contract" Islam 22,39,19 (295 A.H.)²; and for ملكه بالمدينة "his property in the city" APEL IV 275,11 (3rd cent. A.H.) fī might have been a more natural choice in CA.

§110

Badal for CA badalan min "instead of"¹ seems to be present in the fragmentary context of APRL II 6,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.): بدل ذلك "instead of that".

§111

There is a slender possibility that barra(n) can "except, outside of"¹ occurs in the barely legible passage ... برا عما لا سنة APEL II 77,7 (178 A.H.) said by the editor to mean "save what is due for water for the year...".

§112

As in CA, bayna "between" is sometimes replaced by fīnā bayna¹ : اعلني انه كان قاسم فيما بينه وبين سلفه "he told me that he had shared out between himself and his brother-in-law" Giessen 9,4 (c. 178 A.H.); صرت الى "I went to the plot which is between myself and Abū 'Abd Allah" APEL V 288,14 (c. 236 A.H.).

§113

Min jihat- "on behalf of, because of" is not typical of CA ; it occurs, however, in the material studied here: (؟) من جهة اخرى "on behalf of ajlry (؟)" APEL IV 278,4 (3rd cent. A.H.); من بسببه "because of it" DAB 33r,12 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

§114

Of the various by - forms of the preposition hawla "about"¹, only حوالي has been so far recorded in the papyri: حوالي "around it" APRL VI 15,10 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); حوالي Islamica 4,258,2 (for the date s. §27 n.4).

§115

Khārij "except" is said to occur in APEL IV 246,17 (3rd cent. A.H.): خارج اب "except herbage"¹.

§116

Khalā "except" rather than mā khala¹: ما احببت من "whatever types of crop you wish, with the exception of indigo and sugar-cane" Wessely 4,8 (246 A.H.).

§117

Bi- sabab "concerning": وافبرني ابو عثمن بسبب ابو عبد الله: "and Abū cUthmān gave me news of Abū cAbd Allah" APEL V 288,4/5 (c. 236 A.H.)¹.

§118

Suhbat- "in the company of, with" is not common and confined it seems, to quite late texts: صحبتہ "with

him" Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 6,15 (c. 1100 A.D.);
Islamica 4,269,29 (for the date s. §27 n.4)¹.

§119

- a. For the spelling عل for علي and the possibility that it may represent cal rather than calā s. §55¹.
- b. The price of an article, usually marked in CA by the preposition bi-², is marked by calā in وقد بعثت العسني and I sold the butter for six and one quarter carats" على ستة اقراط (i) §88! وربع" DAB 22,7 (3rd cent. A.H.). A little earlier is the construction ويجدها الله عليه "and may God bring him and it (the female ass) together!" DAB 38,11, likewise with calā³ rather than bi-.
- c. I have not come across the supersession of ilā by calā⁴, for in BIFAO xxx,39,3 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.) read اليل for عليك.

§120

Unusual is عن rather than من in the phrase عن كفر بيهنون "from the village of Bayṣanūn(?)" DJD II,284,2/3 (327 A.H.). Perhaps "on behalf of" may¹ be a more suitable rendering?

§121

Common in CA is the combination من عند¹ "from", and this occurs in papyri too, e.g. NPAF XII,8 (90 A.H.); Byzantion xvii,214,6 (241 A.H.); APEL V 309,9 (3rd cent. A.H.). الى عند "to", on the other hand, is characteristic rather of the later language, is condemned by the normative tradition of CA and is typically vernacular:² قبل سين الى عندك "before his

journey to you" APEL V 291,32 (4th cent. A.H.);

نحضر الي عندك "we shall come to you" ASAE ix,197,4
(date?).

§122

a. In arithmetical combinations "minus/less" is expressed not only as usually in CA and most modern dialects by

إلا¹, e.g. APEL VI 366,4; DAB 22,15 (both 3rd cent. A.H.), but also by

ثلاثين (85) دينار غير²: غير³ "two thirds of a dinar less one third of a carat" APEL V 322,7;

دينارين وثلاث وقيراطين غير⁴ "two and one third dinars and two carats less

one third" *ibid.*, VI 392,10 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

Further examples: DAB 13,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); APEL VI 422,4 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); *ibid.*, 364,28 (317 A.H.); 412,6 (4th cent. A.H.).

b. غير⁵ has also developed into a preposition "without" in the expression غير مانع (read so!) "without fail/willy-nilly" Jahn 14,8 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§123

Egyptian lighāyet- "until"¹ seems to be reflected in

إلى غاية كتابنا اليك "up to (the time of) our letter to you" DAB 7,3 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§124

a. fī for bi-¹ I note only in ولا يوصى له في المقام "and should not enjoin it upon him to remain" APEL V 290,4 (3rd cent. A.H.).

b. Rather unusual is fī in a terminative temporal sense

انما الحصاد ان شاء الله في اربعين ليلة او قريب
 "the harvest, God willing, will take
 place in forty nights or thereabouts" APEL III 147,
 8-10² (91 A.H.). One might rather have expected baCd
 here .

{125

Characteristic of the papyri is the widespread use of
 the preposition qibal, which occurs, or so I have the
 impression, with greater frequency here than in CA¹.

Some examples:

- a. As a synonym of calā in the recording of debts or
 obligations: ما قبلك "what you owe" PSR iii,I,15
 (91 A.H.); ليس لمحمد بن ابي حنيفة قبل عينة
 "there is not in favour of Muhammad b. Abū Hanīfa to
 the debit of Ḳā'isha (§ 24a) any..." FWAP,199,4 (3rd
 cent. A.H.).
- b. As a synonym of cinā: صحت قبله "was approved by
 him" APEL V 290,3/4 (3rd cent. A.H.). In the comb-
 ination min qibal²: واذا اتى ... من قبل من يلي امرهم
 "and if there should come ... from whoever is in charge
 of them" PSR iii,III,68-71 (91 A.H.); هذا كتاب براءة
 "this is a quittance for Ahmad ...
 from the Amīr" Wright, Palaeographical Society,
Facsimiles, pl.xxxiv,2 (c. 259 A.H.)³ and likewise the
 identical phraseology in the roughly contemporary text
 in FWAP,121.
- c. Resolved after another preposition into a relative
 clause⁴: الى ما قبلكم / قبلكم "towards you" BIFAO
 xxx,35,14; 40,17 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.)
 and similarly DAB lr,6 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

§126

Vernacular in appearance is the use of calā qadr¹ in
 على قدر انصيا فيهم "according to their partnership"
 APEL I 53,21 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.).

§127

Quddām "before" is characteristic of Middle and Modern
 Arabic rather than of CA¹. The sole example I have
 encountered occurs in قدام ابو القاسم "before Abū
 al-Qāsim" DAB 4,7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§128

- a. Li- and ilā in some letter headings may be interchanged
 with indifference; thus, while إلى is the preposition
 generally used in the headings of the Qurra corres-
 pondence from Aphrodito, as من قرية بن شريك الى اهل
 مدينة اشقوه "From Qurra b. Sharīk to the people
 of the town of Eshqawh (Aphrodito)" PAF X,2 (90 A.H.),
 ل also occurs in a very similar context: هذا كتب من قرية
 بن شريك لاهل مدينة
 "this is a letter from Q. b. Sh.
 to the people of Pedias" PSR iii,V,2/3 (91 A.H.). A
 similar alternation of these two prepositions, this
 time within the same text, very probably occurs in
 APEL V 289 (3rd cent. A.H.), where in ll.8,10 is
 written كتبت اليك "I wrote to you" as against
 كتبت لك¹ of ll.11/12.
- b. Li- may supersede ilā entirely²; فاجسرو لنا³ في ذلك
 "and they treated us well in that" APEL V 288,18 (c.
 236 A.H.); assigned to her" المنوب لها "Islam 22,38,8
 (295 A.H.); وأكتب لسيدى "and write to my lord"
 APEL V 316,2 (4th cent. A.H.).

§129

Ka-nithl "like" is not common¹: وعليها فيها من الضريبة كمثل ما
 "and in it (i.e. that year) you will be liable to tax just the same as all the people of the district of Lower Ashmūn" APRL IX 6,9/10 (182 A.H.).

§130

- a. The use of mac pregnantly in the sense of "through/¹ by means of", known from both CA and ASP occurs also in papyri: كتبت الي مع ام اياس بنت (read so!) معارك فيما ... "You have written a letter to me, borne by Umm Iyās b. Muḥārīk, concerning..." Hirbet el-Mird 18,5 (mid-late 1st cent. A.H.); راكب الي مع الجندي "and write a letter to me, to be delivered by the soldier, about what happens to..." APEL V 290, 6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.): Mac in this sense after verbs of sending is in fact quite common: NPAF XII,7 (90 A.H.); PAF III,6 (90/91 A.H.); DAB 26,7; APEL V 301,4 (both 3rd cent. A.H.) etc.
- b. An example of مع where one might have expected e.g. مع باب منزلنا : "at the door of our house" DAB 12,5 (3rd cent. A.H.) .

§131

"Since" is well attested both as mundh and as mudh¹; the former e.g.: APEL III 150,8 (90 A.H.); *ibid.*, 148, 13 (90/1 A.H.); V 295,10; 305,5; DAB 8r,8; *ibid.*, 12,5; APRL VI 18,4 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); the latter e.g. APEL V 294,4; DAB 25v,2; APRL VI 5r,8; *ibid.*, 20,4 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 1r,4 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);

ibid., 31,5 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

. . .

ADVERBS

§132

a. Unusual for "yesterday" is the expression *امس هذا اليوم* DAB 16,4 (315 A.H.).

b. *اول امس*¹ "the day before yesterday" is used in DAB 44,9; Giessen 11,4 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

§133

Through ellipsis of *مرة* "time" *ثانية* alone acquires the meaning "again"¹: Wessely 54,7 (3rd cent. A.H.); Islamica 4, 250,7 (*ثانية* with §30 and cf. in 1.8 *تالته* "for a third time"; for the date s. §27 n.4); *الثانية* with the article: ASAE ix,194,5 (date?), where also *الثالته* in the following line.

§134

Beside *آلان* as in *من الان* "in the future" DAB 26,10 (3rd cent. A.H.), "now/at once" is very often expressed by *الساعة*¹: Wessely 53,9 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 23,8; FWAP 148,4; ibid., 182,8; APRL VI 1,6; ibid., 7,3; VIII 6,5 (*الساعة الساعة*) and similarly XV,2,4 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.). *في الساعة* also occurs: FWAP 146,5/6 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§135

a. The demonstrative force of the article when prefixed

to nouns of time as in the preceding paragraph is seen also in العام¹ "this year" Abbott, Kurrah II,2 (91 A.H.).

- b. "Last year" is generally expressed by عام اول :
 Giessen 14,7; PER Ostracōn no.5,6² (both 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 45,5 (before 308 A.H.); APRL V 291,39 and 41 (4th cent. A.H.). However, in Giessen 16,11 (4th cent. A.H.) this expression appears as عام الاول³.

§136

Most noteworthy is the use of al-tamallī "always" in APRL VI 14,5 where التملی is in co-ordination with مرة بعد اخرى¹ (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

...

PART III

SYNTAXPERFECT AND IMPERFECT

§137

- a. Through blend between the expectation of an event to take place and its actual occurrence¹, the perfect after أن² is sometimes used in place of the imperfect. Such a case is فأهتجت أن وجهت "I was obliged to send" DAB 26, 6 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. The perfect may also be used to express a resultative future: لا اعرفن ما افرت "let me not discover that you are in arrears" FSR iii, I, 14 (91 A.H.)³; قد اردت ان اعلفنا هتتا اتاني كتابك في بيع القروط "I had wished to feed them (but shall wait) until I have received your letter concerning the sale of the clover" Jahn 17, 10/11 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴.
- c. The perfect in the function of optative is in the process of being replaced by the imperfect⁵ (§138c), but nevertheless remains very common:
- i. عافانا الله وايمان باحسن عافيته (read so!) ودفع عنا وعنك بكاره الدنيا والاخرة "may God grant us and you the best of health and avert from us and you the calamities of this world and the next!" BAU 3, 4/5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.)⁶;
اطال الله بقاصما "may God prolong the lives of them both!" APBL II, 79,7 (early 3rd cent. A.H.);
لا عدمتك ولا خلوت منك ابدا "may I never lose you or be deprived of you!" *ibid.*. V 225,4 (3rd-4th

cent. A.H.) etc. often.

- ii. In CA the optative is expressed by the perfect followed by the subject, but in later periods of the language the order of the components is reversed and the place of the perfect is taken by the imperfect (§138c). An intermediate stage⁷ in this process is seen in
- (! §40b) قاله اطال حيا طكنا
- "may God continue long to protect you both!" DAB 31, 5/6 (early 4th cent. A.H.); where the use of the verbal form is in conformity with CA whereas the word order is not. Cf. §138 n.23.

§138

- a. To a very large extent the moods of the verb have disappeared from the language of the papyri; as far as the non-suffixed forms of the imperfect are concerned, this is made clear at §65b. This state of affairs is demonstrated further by the distribution of the suffixed forms of the imperfect plural y/t --- w(n).
- i. As in most strata of Arabic outside CA¹, the imperfect suffix -ū, continuing the CA subjunctive and apocopate, has ousted -ūn(a), the CA indicative, and comes to be used indifferently in all syntactic environments². Some further examples of -w forms where CA would have required -wn³ : انى اذنت زينا : ينطلقا الى الصعيد في فريتهما (read so!) "I have granted them both permission to go to Upper Egypt to pay their poll-tax" Journal des Savans 1825, 463, 5/6 (133 A.H.)⁴ ; ثم تكتبو "then you should write" ZDMG 34, 638, 12 (early 2nd cent. A.H.) and similarly

ibid., 689,15; *وَأرسلوا إلى الجذائين يبيتوا في الدار كل ليلة وينقلوا (read so!) النهار إلى اجنتهم*
 "and send message to the gardeners to spend the night at home and to go in the daytime to work in their gardens" (translate, it seems, so) ⁵ JESHO viii, 304,1/2 (late 2nd-early 3rd cent. A.H.); *كما تجبوا* (point so with §65d) "as you would like" JESHO xiv,2,12 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.); *ليس يحتاجوا إليه* "they/you do not need it" in an unpublished Nessana papyrus; *فانكم ترجو* "you hope" Mélanges Islamologiques ii, 92,9; *ولا بد من اشخاصه إلى ادفوا قدام ابو القسم وتتناهنروا* "and he must be brought to Edfū before Abū al-Qāsim where you can argue the matter" ⁷ DAB 4, 6/7; *وانما ينظروا* "they only see" ibid., 7,8 and likewise 22; *أم ابو القسم زام ابو علي يقرأوا عليك السلام* "Umm Abū al-Qāsim and Umm Abū 'Alī send you greeting" ibid., 1.16; *يعضوا بها* "they take it away" Giessen 14,4 (fragmentary, but a fairly certain example); *وهم يقرأوا عليك السلام كثيرا* "and they send you their best wishes" APRL VI 20,5 and ibid., 1.12 read *يملطوهم* "they give them" for the editor's *يملطونهم*; *انهم يخبروا* "that they inform" ibid., VII 20,2 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); *كنا نتوقعكم* "we were expecting you to come" BIFAO xxx, 34/5,8/9; *ما يحتاجوا إليه* "what you need" ibid., 35,15; 40,18 (both late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.); *انهم يتوقعوا* "they await" DAB 16,7 (315 A.H.); *مقدار ما يشربوا* "the amount they imbibe" ¹⁰ Islamica 4, 254,9 (for the date of which s. §27 n.4).

ii. Much less widely attested is the hyper-correct use

of an imperfect in -wn where CA would have required the form ¹¹ -y. It occurs most frequently in literary papyri ¹², as one might expect, but otherwise is rare:

وهمهم ما يستوفون من أهل الارض حتى يدفعونه الي
 "and make them responsible for the full
 measure of what they receive from the people of the
 land until/so that they deliver it to those in
 charge of the granaries" PSR iii III, 31-4 (91 A.H.)¹³;
 وقد امرت ... النواظير في القرأ (read so!) ان
 "I have ordered... the wardens in the
 villages to count..." Margoliouth, Ar. Pap.... Bodleian
 Library, II,5,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); على ان تؤدون
 "on condition that you pay" AO xviii/3, 91,7 (339
 A.H.); لم تسيرون "you did not go" APEL V 327,
 10 (4th cent. A.H.).

b.

i. Characteristically frequent is the use of the imper-¹⁴
 fect rather than the imperative to express command :

وان كان شأنه غير ذلك فكتب الي به
 "and if his affair is otherwise, write to me about
 it!" PAF I, 11-13¹⁵; فكتب الي به "so write to
 me about it!" NPAF VIII, 15/17 (both 91 A.H.);
 ثم تكتبه "then write a letter to be deliv-
 ered by him!" ZDMG 34, 688/9, 12/13 (early 2nd cent.
 A.H.); فتامر "so give order!" Jahn 6,11 (2nd -
 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁶; تحضر (point so!) الديوان
 "present yourself to the tax-office,
 God willing!" APEL III 176, 2/3 and similarly AO
 xviii/3,97,3 (but here, apparently, form II of the
 verb); وكتب الي "and write to me!" Wessely
 59,5 (all 3rd cent. A.H.). For the question of fa-

before this imperfect = imperative in the apodosis of conditional clauses s. §251 RFM.; 252 a,ii.

- ii. In some documents the imperfect in this function and the imperative alternate. Imperfect continues

imperative: فَاكْتُبِ الِى ... تَشْتَرِى مَا بَقِيَ عِنْدَ مَهَابِهِ
 "so write to me..., buy whatever remains
 with its owner and proceed¹⁷ with insight!" DAB 24,

4/5 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); وَقُلْ لِابْنِ بَكْرِ يَعْجَلْ بِشَرِّ الْحَاجَةِ; وَقُلْ
 لِابْنِ بَكْرِ يَعْجَلْ بِالَّذِى رَسَلَكَ
 "and tell Abū Bakr to hurry and buy what is needed, and you yourself hurry as much

as you can!" APRL VI 1, 15-17 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁸. Imperative continues imperfect:

تَكْتُبِ ... ثُمَّ اغْسِلْهُ "tell me... and quote!" JNES viii,
 132,5/6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); تَاخِذْ
 "write... then wash it!" APRL XIII 1,2;

"take!" continued later by imperatives in Ak.Wien Denkschr. 33, 236,2 and 7/8 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

- iii. Other documents, however, employ consistently either the imperative or the imperfect to the exclusion of the other. Thus PAF IX (90 A.H.) uses only the imperative, whereas PERF 1072 (4th cent. A.H.) in FWAP, 173/4 has only the imperfect in this function.

- c. For the expression of the optative the trend of development within Arabic is to invert the CA construction: Perfect + Subject into: Subject + Imperfect¹⁹. While the perfect as optative is still the norm (§1.37c,1). the mechanics of this process are well illustrated by papyri.

- i. The later construction Subject + Imperfect has so far been noted in only two cases, in one of which it stands in co-ordination with an example in which the

same components appear in the reverse order:

تفديك نفسي (so:) من كل سوء والله يبقيك

"May my soul stand ransom for you from all evil, and may God preserve your life!" JESHO xiv,20,2 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.); تفديك نفسي "may my soul stand ransom for you" occurring in a contemporary unpublished Michaelides papyrus.

ii. Much commoner is the arrangement exemplified by تفديك

نفسى of the first example in preceding section.

i.e. Imperfect + Subject²⁰ : "may God have mercy on you!" Jahn 4,1 (c. 127 A.H.); FWAP

162, 4/5 (2nd cent. A.H.)²¹ ; ويجمعها الله عليه

"may God bring him and it (the she-ass) together!"

DAB 38,11 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).

iii. Such an imperfect may be continued by a perfect:

فكان يشهد الله فكننا به سيدا اسر الكتب

"and it was - may God bear witness and may He suffice as Master!²²

- the most pleasing of letters" APRL V 291,3 (4th cent. A.H.).

iv. Inversely, an optative perfect may be continued by an imperfect:

عافك (read so with 10c?) الله

"may يا افضى (read so!) ويجزيك خيرا

God keep you in health my sister, and reward you with good!" APRL VI 11,6 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

On the basis of this evidence it would seem that

in the development of the construction of the

optative, the change Perfect > Imperfect took

place before the reversal of the word order >

Subject followed by Verb. This may be presented

schematically in the following stages: (i) Perfect

+ Subject = CA, (ii) Imperfect + Subject = intermediate

stage²³, (iii) Subject + Imperfect = the later

construction with § 330b.

CONCORD

§139

Much rarer than one would expect in view of its widespread distribution throughout the history of Arabic, is the occurrence of the so-called lughat akalūnī al-barāghīth, i.e. agreement in number¹ between a verb and its following plural subject. Thus far, this phenomenon has been encountered in only two documents: فعد اقبلوا الولاة في مصر "the prefects have already arrived in Egypt/Cairo" DAB 33v,5 (early 4th cent. A.H.); وطلبو القوم ياخذوا القوة "and the people requested to take the madder"; وقالو جماعة المزارعين "and all the farmers said" APFL V 291,40 and 41 (4th cent. A.H.).² In all cases the subject is a personal one.

§140

- a. Collectives denoting persons are generally construed¹ ad sensum as plurals: Ahl: فان اهل ارضك قد فرغوا من زراعتهم "the people of your district have already finished their work in the fields" PSR iii I, 16/17; اهل الارض... امرهم فان ذلك خرابهم "the people of the land... their affair, that will be their ruin" *ibid.*, III, 69-72; فان زراع اهل الارض راس امرهم "cultivation by the people of the land is their first priority" Abbott, Kurrah II,

13/4 (all. 91 A.H.); أهل الضيعة وغيرهم "the people of the estate and others" APRL I 17,8 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.); Al: وعلى اله الزنا حريمين "and on his (CALI's) pure kinsfolk" APEL V 324,4 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.); Jamāca: الجماعة المسين "the said group" Studia Sinaitica xi, lxx, 17 (first part of 3rd cent. A.H.); Jund: عطا الجند وعيالهم "the stipend of the troops and their families" NPAF II, 4/5 (90 or 91 A.H.); فخر به بعض الجند "then some of the military caught up with him and arrested him" DAB 13,3 (3rd cent. A.H.); Qawn: وطلبو القوم يافزوا القوة "and the people sought to take the madder" APEL V 291,40 (4th cent. A.H.) and cf. *ibid.*, 17ff; Nafar: حاولوا النفر "these people" APH 1,18 (342 A.H.).

- b. The construction of such collectives as singular is very unusual: [واهل البيت يقربك السلام] "and the people of the house send you greeting" APRL VII 32,10 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.), where the singular verb is perhaps due to the proximity of the non-collective bayt.

{141

The rules and preferences of CA in the matter of the concord of verbs with following subjects in the feminine are not always followed by the papyri.

- a. Against CA¹, the verb immediately preceding a naturally feminine subject in the singular stands in the masculine: ادى صيوا الارملة عن نفسها "Hewa (Eve), the widow paid on her own behalf" APEL

IV 241,8 (3rd cent. A.H.)²; *يقول اسطور صيدوه ابنت سرجيوس*
 "Isturheu, daughter of Sergius says..." *ibid.*, I 37,4
 (393 A.H.).

b. Also against CA³ is the masculine singular of the
 verb before a feminine subject in the dual: *وبقى*
الهرتين "and the two purses remain" APEL V
 334,9 (before 278 A.H.).

c. In CA subjects which are morphologically feminine
 and refer to animals require the verb preceding them
 to appear in the feminine singular, even though the
 male species may be intended⁴. This rule is cont-
 ravened by *ولر امكنى دابة* (57) "had
 I been able to acquire a riding-beast" DAB 3,8 (3rd
 cent. A.H.).

d. In the case of subjects which are grammatically but
 not naturally feminine, the agreement of the
 immediately preceding verbal predicate fluctuates in
 CA between masculine and feminine singular, prepond-
 erance perhaps tending towards the latter⁵. Several
 examples of masculine concord occur in the papyri:

وبقى حمزه "and these remain" APEL V 323,4;

وبقا درهم عند الحسنه "and of dirhams there
 remain with al-Hasana: 40" *ibid.*, VI 421,6; *وقد بلغتني*

وفاة موسى بن وليد "I have heard the news of the
 death of Mūsā b. Walīd" Jahn 14,13 (all 3rd cent. A.H.);

متا ادركك خصومة او تبينة (70!) "point so with

"if you should suffer either contention or a
 subsequent claim" BAJ 12,5 (382 A.H.).⁶

- a. Several examples occur in which nomina relativa¹ (nisba) have become invariable for gender and number :

قميصين بغدادى "two Baghdādī shirts" in an unpublished Michaelides papyrus and probably also in
 ساع صنهاجى "X² from Ṣanhāg" APEL VI 389,9 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); سنة ارطال حبن
 "six pounds of cheese, two thereof being Algerian" APEL V 347, 2/3³; خمسة
 ارطال لىتى عنب "five Laythī pounds of grapes" *ibid.*, 348,3 (both 3rd-4th cent. A.H.). Cf. {174 n.5.

- b. This invariability as regards concord seems to have been extended in some cases to other adjectives ending in -ī⁽⁻⁾, i.e. participles of verba tertiae infirmae⁴ :
 فى السنة الماضى "last year" APEL IV 222v, col.A, 10; Col.B,11,13 as against فى السنة المائنة
ibid., 3⁵; [م] اول مرة والثانى "the first time 96 and the second [2] "Grohmann, Studi...
Calderini...II, 507,3 (both 3rd cent. A.H.);
 اجرتة الباقى "the rest of his wages" Giessen 16,5 (4th cent. A.H.).

REMARK: APEL I 49,4 (292 A.H.) may also belong here:
 دينارين متاقيل طرى حيااد "two mithqāl dinars, freshly minted, excellent pieces".

طرى here appears to be invariable; one cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the spelling with yā might represent the plural طرا (for which s. APEL I, p.71) according to

{21b. In general on this word s. Grohmann, Einführung, 200 and especially S.M.Stern, Studi Medievali xi (1970), 177ff. I have not yet found

the plural طرا in an Arabic dictionary.

§143

Other words may also be invariable as regards concord in gender:

- a. Adjectives which by the very sense they convey can refer only to females need not receive the feminine ending¹: هامة له سودا مقرب "a she-ass of his, black and near to giving birth" DAB 38,8 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); امراة بكر بالغ "a woman, a virgin, of marriageable age" Islam 22,37,3 (295 A.H.) and similarly APEL I 42,8 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. Conversely some nouns / adjectives in CA, although provided with tā marbūṭa² are of epicene gender. An example of such a word occurs in ربعة "of medium size" APEL IV 260,4,8,12 (2nd cent. A.H.).
- c. Some adjectives of the pattern facīl may remain without tā marbūṭa³ when referring to a feminine noun. Among such words are قليل "few" and its opposite كثير⁴: for قليل see a possible case in the example from DAB quoted below, d; ومستعلك⁵ (= musānaṣatuka with §10a) على كثير "and your affability towards me is great" *ibid.*, 45,3 (before 310 A.H.)⁶; otherwise I can quote only اربعة طرز هفية ملبح الرقعة "with four pieces of Ḥaffī embroidery, with pretty trimmings" APEL V 308,2 (4th cent. A.H.).
- d. Some passive participles may be invariable as to gender⁷: وقصصه سراويله "and

a shirt and trousers, dyed yellow " APEL VI 391,7
 (2nd → 3rd cent. A.H.) ; ⁸ [عشرة ثلثة مشدود]
 " []teen garments, bound up" ibid., 389,8;
 "two shiqqa handkerchiefs,
 of special quality" FWAP 164,7 ⁹ (both 3rd cent. A.H.);
 "partly with a ¹⁰ قليل بافتخار وقليل مشوش
 feeling of pride and partly feeling uneasy" DAB 33v,
 4 (early 4th cent. A.H.), where the reference is to
 the writer herself, a mother addressing her son ;
 "a velvet turban" FWAP 174,5 (4th
 cent. A.H.) ¹¹ ; but sheer carelessness is probably
 responsible for " neither
 compelled nor coerced" APEL I 37,5 (393 A.H.)

- e. The pattern afCalu when not expressing the elative
 sometimes remains, against CA, unchanged for gender.
 This usage is perhaps to be accounted a pseudo-
 correction, wrongly modelled after the invariability
 in many contexts ¹² of the elative afCalu in CA.

Examples: وفي رزمة الرباط الاحمر المرتفعة ثلثة
 "and in a bale the thin red garments,
 amounting to thirty-three items" APEL VI 392,4 ¹³ ;
 "dry soil" Wessely no.26, p.275, 14/5 ¹⁴
 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.); ستة الادب اهر لك
 "six other artabas for you" APEL V 291,34 (4th cent.
 A.H.) ¹⁵ .

{144

In constructions involving the numerals 11-99 and a
 following counted noun appearing in the accusative
 singular, the conflict between form (the singular
 noun) and notion (th plural number) is responsible in

CA for a certain fluctuation as regards the concord of such arrangements; if the counted noun denotes inanimate objects agreement may be either in the feminine singular ad sensum, or the masculine singular according to form¹; less common is agreement in the plural². All three possibilities are attested by the papyri³:

a. Agreement is most commonly in the feminine singular⁴:

فاقبضوا ... خمسين رطل حديد ... فاصنعوا منها
"so take... fifty ritls of iron... and make out it...!"

PAF IX, 2-4 (90 A.H.); بعشرين دينارا وازنة

"for twenty full-weight dinars" MBZP 19, 338,9 (179

A.H.) and likewise *ibid.*, 339,6 (180 A.H.); العشرين

دينارا التي ضمنها يحيى "the twenty dinars for which Yahya stood surety" APEL II 114, 2/3 (241 A.H.); العشرين

قنطار كتانا منقوض فاكتب الي بومرلها (68a) اليك

"...the twenty qintars of stripped flax, so write to me whether they have reached you!" DAB 24, 2/3 (early 3rd cent. A.H.);

الثلاثمائة دينار والخمسين الدينار التي

"the three hundred and fifty dinars which..." APEL V 290,3; *ibid.*, VI 390, 17,

19;393, 12/13; APEL VII 1,18; JESHO viii, 302, 4/5

(all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); الثلاثين دينار الاخرى

"the other thirty dinars" DAB 1 v,5 (late 3rd cent.

A.H.); *ibid.*, 11a, 5/6 (probably 304 A.H.); APEL VI

390,5 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.); *ibid.*, 403,5 (4th cent.

A.H.); ستة عشر دينارا عزيزية "sixteen

cAzizī dinars" BAU 12,4 (382 A.H.); APEL II 113,3

(4th-5th cent. A.H.) etc.

b. Rarer is agreement in the masculine singular:

"fifty خمسين دينارا وستين دينار الذي اخذ

dinars and one sixth which have been taken...." APFL

IV 237, 10 (249 A.H.)⁵ "fifty washed
دِينَار مَسْوُولٌ : ٥٠

dinars" AO xviii/3, 88,5 (337 A.H.); اثنَين وعشَرين

"twenty-two washed carats" APFL VI

396,27 (4th cent. A.H.)

- c. And rarer still is concord in the plural⁶: The "twenty
qintars of stripped flax" quoted from DAB 24,2/3 (early
3rd cent. A.H.) above, a, are, it appears⁷, referred to
in the plural there in 1.4. نَاكِبَ إِلَىٰ أَنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ قَدْرَ
"and write to me whether God has allowed (you)
any gain on them!"; "twenty asses, I
shall despatch them" Giessen 16,15 (4th cent. A.H.) as
against 1.12, where the twenty asses are construed in the
singular.

- d. Counted nouns in the singular after the numerals 100
and 1000 may also be construed ad sensum as plurals,
concord being either in the feminine singular or in the
plural⁸. Both types of concord appear together in the
document published JESHO viii, 279 (3rd cent. A.H.):

"the hundred
دينار مِائَةِ الدِينَارِ الَّتِي آتَانِي بِهَا تَفْتِيحَةٌ (31) !
dinars for which I received a bill of exchange" 11.6/7⁹;

"six thousand
سِتَّةَ آلَافِ دِينَارٍ عَدَدَ وَزَنِهِمْ . . . فَاقْبَلْتُمُ
dinars, correctly counted, weighing ... so take them!"

11.8/9; "three thousand
ثَلَاثَةَ آلَافِ دِينَارٍ دَاخِلَةٌ فِيهَا
dinars, dākhil, among them ..." 11. 9/10.

§145

- a. In CA when inanimate plural nouns do not exceed the
number of ten concord may take place in the feminine
plural rather than the feminine singular¹. This is
the case in the papyri also, though restricted to

certain stock expressions connected with the calendar: خمسة سنين اولهن² (read so: شهر ربيع
 "five years beginning from the month of Rabi'c" APEL I 38,8/9 (259 A.H.)³ and similarly ibid II 145, 4 (271 A.H.); انتقناوهن "their expiry" referring to "ten years" Islam 22,34,5 (287 A.H.); الى انتقنى ثمانية الى انتقنى ثمانية "until the expiry of eight consecutive years, the first of which is to be reckoned from the date of this document" APEL I 42,4/5 (3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly APRL IX 3,2 (306 A.H.)⁴; Islam 22,45,6 (4th-5th cent. A.H.).

ثلاثة ايام فلولن "when three days had passed" MPER i,105 n.4 (192 A.H.) and AO xiii/3,109,7 (264 A.H.); لعشر بقين من جمادى الاولى "with ten (nights) remaining of Jumādā I" APEL V, 325, 3 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

REMARK: This use of feminine plural of the verb is extended in APEL VI 399 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) to mark the date even when the number of days elapsed exceeds ten, as 1.8: يوم الاحد لت عشر فلولن "Sunday, when sixteen (nights) had passed". As a matter of fact, the very use of the verb فلا here would be unusual in CA, which prefers (but does not demand) the verb بقى for dates falling in the second half of the month, s. Hariri, Durra, 75/6; Grohmann, HO, 20/1. In the present example CA would have employed فلولن rather than بقيت. Cf. also لاثني عشرة فلولن "when twelve (nights) had passed" Wessely 92,2 (also 3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

b. When, however, the plural denotes objects of

indefinite number or exceeding the limit of ten,
 concord in the plural is contrary to the usage of
 CA, which here requires feminine singular⁵. Never-
 theless plural agreement in such cases is well
 attested in the papyri⁶: "four اربعة دينار كانوا
 dinars which were..." FWAP 186,6 (2nd - 3rd cent.
 A.H.); "various dinars" APRL III 11,3
 دنائير شتى⁷ (250 A.H.) and this same word also in دفعات شتى
 "various payments" APRL IV 278,2 and باسعار شتى
 "at different prices" ibid., V 292,8 (both 3rd cent.
 A.H.); اربعة دنائير مثاقيل طرا بياد وازنة
 "four mithqāl dinars, freshly minted, excellent and
 of full weight" APRL I 38,6 (259 A.H.) where plural⁸
 and feminine singular concord occur side by side ;
 "ten عشرة الدنائير مثاقيل. نصف من دينر
mithqālī dinars less one eighth of a dinar" ibid., V
 301,7/8⁹; "the kharājī
 القرى الخراجيات
 villages" ibid., 314,4; خمسة دنائير ينقصوا ثلثين دينار
 "five dinars minus two-thirds of a dinar" ibid., 322,
 6/7; "we found among them" ibid.,
 وجدنا فيهم
 VI 363,5 i.e. "the sheep" which are
 referred to in the feminine singular in 1.3 and by ذلك
 in 1.5 (below §147a); والبقاقي سبقوا منذ ايام
 "and the remaining (e.g. fields) have already been
 (e.g. dealt with) days ago" DAB 8r.7; فاولهم
 "but the most important of them" i.e. the affairs to
 be attended to, ibid., 10,6¹⁰; اقباض بياد
 "excellent baskets" ibid., 27,4; يانذهم ويتولا بهم
 "he will take them and undertake to sell them"
 referring to اشيا "items" of the previous line,
 اربعة قلال منقار للجارية تستقى بهم الا
 ibid., 35,3; فاني اقباض اليهم
 "four small jugs for the servant-

girl for her to serve water in, for I need them"

FWAP 164, 16/7; اربعة واربعين من الكبار
 "forty-four large ones" referring to كباش "rams"
 PER Ostrakon no.5,4¹¹ (all these 3rd cent. A.H.)
 with which cf. APEL VI 364,3 (317 A.H.) and APH 5,7
 (320 A.H.); وتودعهم نار قوية "and put them
 (the ingredients) on a fierce fire" Islamica 4, 254,
 10 etc. (on the date s. §27 n.4)¹² .

§146

As in CA and elsewhere in the language¹ a subject -
 pronoun may be congruent not with the subject, but
 with the predicate: واتق الله فيما تلى فانما هي
 "and fear God in your governorship,
 for that is what you have been entrusted with and
 your religious duty!" PSR iii, III 63/4 (91 A.H.);
 مصابيت (read so!) امر ... وهو المنزل الذي
 "the allotment of Anf/qar... namely the dwelling which..."
 JAOS 56,289,2-4 (295 A.H.); وما سله فما هي بقیة
 rendered by the editor "And what he has asked is no
 trifle" APEL V 288, 20/1 (c. 236 A.H.); انما الدالة
 "it is an indication to you" ibid., 301,5
 (3rd cent. A.H.)² .

§147

When referring back to a noun or nouns already
 mentioned, concord is often rather loose, the masculine
 singular being used in cases where one would have
 expected to find feminine singular.

ثمانية الدنانير مضمولة وتأخذوا بذلك براءة

"eight washed dinars, and get a receipt for them!"
APEL V 324,9/10 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

b. Sometimes a singular pronominal suffix occurs in the masculine in cases where CA would have required the feminine :
5
أرضه التي زرعه "his land

which he sowed" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 33,230,3 (203 A.H.);

وصلت رقعتك ... التي بعثت على به ذكرت فيها

"your note arrived ... which you sent me, and wherein you mentioned..." where masculine and feminine

6
reference alternate APEL V 292,3/4 (3rd cent. A.H.);

الرقعة التي كانت معي ضاعت الا اني ذكرت بعضه

"the note I had with me got lost, but I remembered part of it" BIFAO xxx,40,14/15 (late 3rd - early 4th

6
cent. A.H.); من الثياب وغيره "of clothes and other items" Wessely 56,7 (4th cent. A.H.); or

the dual: دينار ونصف دفعه "one dinar and a half which he has paid" BAU 4,3 (202 A.H.). Cf.

two examples at §83a and *ibid.*, d,ii.

§148

For matters connected with the concord of the dual s. §84.

§149

a. It is possible that in certain optative formulae a syntactical blend may have taken place along the lines of "I + you (=we)" X

"we" > "we + you", resulting in a construction which is, strictly speaking, illogical. Potential

examples of this phenomenon are as follows: *عافانا*
الله واياك يا احسن عافيتهم وددفع عنا وعنك كاره الدنيا والافرق (read so!)
 "may God grant us (=me?) and you the best of health
 and avert from us (=me?) and you the evils of this
 world and the next!" BAU 3,4/5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.)^{2 3};
and may He unite *ونممع بيننا وبينك في الجنة*
 us (=me?) and you in paradise!" APRIL VII 5,10/11
 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

b. For the use of the first person plural for the
 singular referred to in the preceding note s. *فانا*
قد امرنا "we have ordered" PSR iii III,13 (91 A.H.)
 alternating with *فاني قد امرت* in 1.36;
ونحن نله ... ان ينقل (ينفذ) الى
 "and we ask him... to transmit to me" APEL V 293,6
 (4th cent. A.H.).

c. Transition from the third to the first person takes
 place in the change from what was presumably first
 intended to be oratio obliqua⁴ in *شهد شبيب بن*
شباب بن حجاج ان مكنت ... اشهدني "Shabīb b. Ḥajjāj has testified
 that Makēnas... called me to witness" APEL II 104,3
 (241 A.H.). Similar shifts of person in testimony
 clauses: *and al-* *وكتب الحرث بن الليث بخطي*
Hārith b. al-Layth wrote in my (=his) own handwriting"
شهد العباس بن Grohmann, TWÄ 12, 8-10 (260 A.H.);
al-cAbbās b. Muḥammad bore *اشهادتي في ذى الحجة*
 witness... and my (=his) testimony was in Dhū
والحسين ... وكتب al-Ḥijje..." APH 2,16/17 (295 A.H.);
and al-Ḥusayn (testified)... *اشهادته ... وشهادتي في ربيع شهر*
 and wrote his testimony... and my (=his) testimony
 was at the end of the month of..." *ibid.*, 3,17/18
 (297 A.H.).

- d. Should the subject of a sentence be of the first or second person and the predicate qualified by a further clause or phrase, pronominal reference in that clause or phrase will generally be in the first or second person also. This has been well documented for the relative clause ⁵, but would seem to apply to other cases as well. It is therefore perhaps worth noting the third person pronominal reference in the following example : فلا تكونن افر العمان بعنا
قوله "do not be the last of the officials to send what he owes" APHEL III 148,27/8 (90 or 91 A.H.).

§150

Cases of attraction are scarce:

- a. An adjective agrees with the nomen rectum rather than with the nomen regens of a status constructus :
صوف نعمة طيبة is surely more likely to mean "pure ewe's-wool" rather than the editor's "la laine d'une brebis pure" Semitica iv, 68,8 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. In one doubtful instance a verb agrees with the psychological, i.e. extraposed (§ 262b) rather than with the grammatical subject: اولاد فالتى علمت²
جميع اهل ارمانت بهم "my aunt's children, all the people of Armant know about them" IAB 7,19/20 (3rd cent. A.H.).

...

DISJUNCTIVES AND INTERROGATIVES

§151

- a. In strict CA a distinction obtains between the use of the disjunctives أَمْ^1 and أَوْ^1 . Since أَمْ is used to enquire which of two alternative possibilities should apply in any given case, the employment of أَوْ in this function requires notice:
- ان الله تبارك وتعالى
 اعلم انى² ارجع او لا
 (read so!)
- "for God, may He be blessed and exalted, knows whether I shall return or not" JESHO viii 286,15 (actually 14)/16 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. The use of أَمْ in disjunctions resulting from the blend of conditional and interrogative clauses³ is exemplified as follows:
- كما هي ام مات ولم اراه
 زرعت ام عطلت
 فترابه لازم
- "just as I did not see him, either alive or dead" DAB 35,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.); "whether you cultivate or are idle the land-tax will still fall due" AO xviii/3,83,12 (326 A.H.).

§152

Interrogative كَمْ followed by مِنْ rather than the accusative is not a favoured construction in CA¹. I have encountered this combination only in

كم دون لسانك من طبق

"behind how many layers is your tongue?" Ibn Wahb 56,15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

. . .

NEGATION

§153

- a. The form of the word أب "father" after lā li-nafy al-jins is not constant in CA; لا أب is recorded but لا أبا (with or without tanwīn) is preponderant¹. In the papyri I find only the latter form: FWAP 186,8 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.).

REMARK: The dual after this generic negative generally retains final nūn; cases without it are rather rare in CA s. e.g. Wright II, 95 REM.a; Reckendorf, Syntax, 118 n.3. This phenomenon is not yet attested in the papyri as the text cited above appears to contain a misreading.. Instead of

لا أبابا لا والدي لي translated as "I have no father, no parents" Pl.XVa seems to offer لا أبابا لا والدي "I have no father, no parent".

However, since Karabacek at PERF no.615 also has "Nun habe ich keinen Vater, keine Eltern mehr" the reading deserves to be examined more closely from a new photograph, FWAP Pl.XV a being rather blurred and unclear.

- b. ولا + Perfect may continue a negative which does not refer to the past²: ولا امرغن ما افرت ما "and let me not learn that you are in arrears with what you owe, or that there has been any withholding of it" PSR iii I 14/15³ (91 A.H.); similarly ولا امرفن ما عجرت ولا قهرت "and let me not learn that you have been inadequate or fallen

short of what is required, or come to me leaving any of the money behind" APEL III 146,11-14 (both 91 A.H.)⁴

- c. Curious is the repetition of bi after ولا continuing
بلا "without"⁵ in بلا صرف ولا نحر

"without change or loss" (instead of the more usual

بلا صرف ولا نحر⁶) Islam 33,42,5 (294

A.H.); MIFAO lxviii,10,6 (297 A.H.).

- d. In one case the negative preceding a co-ordinated

ولا is missing:⁷ دين ولا نحر ولا عين

ولا متاع "neither debt nor fine, money nor goods"

FWAF 199,6 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§154

- a. There is very little material to illustrate the

recession of lā in favour of mā, despite the fact

that this is the trend of development throughout the

history of Arabic¹. Some examples occur in which

the imperfect is negated by ما but in all cases,

in accordance with CA², the present is intended, not

the future³: والنورع الذي بعث به عبد القام ما

يسوا قليل ولا كثير "and the threshing-sledge which Abd

al-Qā'im sent is worth nothing, neither little nor

much" APEL V 289,18; فما نقدر "we cannot" *ibid.*,

301,6 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); ما اقوم ولا اتعد "I

can neither stand up nor sit down" DAB 33r,5 (early

4th cent. A.H.); ربانله ما احمده نفسي في هذا على كناية

"and by God I cannot myself enough for that" APEL V

291,29 (4th cent. A.H.); فما تجيبني (point so!)

عنه بحرف "you don't answer me a single

letter thereto" *ibid.*, ll.44/5 etc.

- b. In many modern dialects, and, earlier, in several strata of Middle Arabic, mā, or another negative particle, may be complemented later in the sentence by shay "anything"⁴; should the former be omitted, as is sometimes the case,⁵ this shay alone comes to assume the function of negative particle.⁶ One example of this may perhaps occur in the papyri. Ibn Wahb 43,8 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) reads: قال من عملى (read so with {55}) شى اوثق عندى من ...
- "He said: 'no deeds of mine inspire more confidence⁷ in me than...'. Is this a mere scribal omission or a genuine example of negative shay?

{155

- a. Contrary to one's initial expectation is the very frequent occurrence of ل, a particle which has largely disappeared from modern dialects as already perhaps from ASP and JA.¹ Some examples of ل followed by the indicative rather than the apocopate have been given at §§81a; 82d; other cases of could be supplied at will.
- b. Since ل still belongs to living speech it figures only very rarely in pseudo-correct constructions.² I have noted only one occasion on which is followed by the perfect³: (read so!) ل بقا
 "there did not remain" JESHO xiv,21,10 (208 A.H.).

{156

- a. While lays(a) often agrees with the noun to which it refers, there is a fairly strong tendency for it to

become invariable². This may take place

i. Preceding an imperfect: فليس نجس ادماء² "we hold nobody back" PSR iii III,14/5 (91 A.H.) ;

وليس ايتاج "and I do not need" Mélanges Islamologiques II,92,9; ليس اعرف "I do not know" in an unpublished Michaelides papyrus;

ليست اجتاجوا اليه "they / you do not need it" in an unpublished papyrus from Nessana mentioned above § 138 n.6 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.). For Jahn 9,5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) s. above §65d.

ii. In a nominal sentence³: فليس لاحد علة⁴ "nobody has an excuse" PSR iii III,18 (91 A.H.) ; فليس

لهم ارمنت بدار⁵ "Armant is no place for them to stay" DAB 7,23 (3rd cent. A.H.). For the possibility of including here Jahn 9,5 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) s. §65 n.7.

b. Blau, ASP, 309 collected examples of the very peculiar occurrence of ليست in place of the expected لت . If I am not mistaken this also appears in مع اني ليت (read so?) ادع⁶ "although I always continue to ask after you" DAB 38,6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).

c. وليس بمسوه اتى⁷ negates the perfect : ليس بنهوره⁸ "Biheu did not come to Banhüre" DAB 5,12 (3rd cent. A.H.) .

d. وانا اعلم انه⁹ ليس يذهب لي عندك شي may refer to the future : "and I know that nothing I have with you will go amiss" AO xviii/3,113,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.); وليس سيرك في حزة الجمدة "none but this mount will carry you

this week" APRIL VI 1,11-13 (presumably contemporary);

فليس يناهى أبو عبد الله ... لما يعرف من الحال
بينى وبينك "and Abū 'Abd Allah will not
divulge what he knows of the situation between me
and you" DAB 17,5/6 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁰.

§157

أبدا "ever", as occasionally in CA, need not
appear in a negative sentence:¹ وصل عن هذه
والثيا فى القرية أبدا "and make constant enquiry
about these sheep in the village" DAB 5,9/10 (3rd
cent. A.H.).

§158

Likewise بعد "yet" need not appear in a negative
sentence:¹ وقد أخذوا منهم بعد أربعة وعشرين
"so far they have taken from them twenty-four" DAB
7,29 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§159

A feature not often mentioned in works on Arabic
grammar is the use of كل "all" rather than أى¹
in conjunction with a negation in the meaning "any".
This is known in CA in paronomastic arrangements
of the kind لا يؤمن العبد كل الإيمان "the servant
will not have any faith" Ibn Wahb 72,11/12 (late 3rd
cent. A.H.)² but occurs elsewhere too:³ أنى ما ادع
"that I do not omit to pray for the lives of you all at any
time or place" Mélanges Islamologiques 13,92,11/2

(3rd cent. A.H.); ان لا يتطوع عنى فبكم في كل وقت
 "that I should not be cut off from hearing news of
 you both at any time" DAB 31,7 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

{160

I have not encountered any certain cases of pleonastic
 negation after verbs of fearing¹; what may well have
 been an example occurs in a broken context in فاناف
 [...] لا "I fear that (not?) [...]" Glessen
 15,10 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

...

THE CASES

§161

With certain minor exceptions (§§ 19 end; 21c; 85 n.1; 86 n.2) it is quite clear that the language treated in this study was characterized by the absence of a case-system, a feature held in common between all varieties of Arabic outside CA¹. That this is so has already been indicated by the phenomena mentioned above §2a (absence of final short vowels), §§ 20c, 21, 47b (disappearance of alif mamdūda), §30f (absence of the case-vowel between similar or identical consonants), §60 (structure of pronominal suffixes according to Violet's Psalmfragment), §82g (invariable ending -ī in words from stirpes tertiae infirmae ending in CA in tanwin -in), §85a (invariable ending -ayn as the suffix of the dual), §86a (invariable ending -īn as the suffix of the sound masculine plural), §93 (-t of the status constructus of a numeral transferred to the following counted noun). Cf. also below §186 (definite article attached to adjectives only) and §206 n.1. This state of affairs is well illustrated by the transcriptions of the Psalmfragment (c. 800 A.D.)² and will be further documented in what follows.

§162

Ab "father" in status constructus and pronominalis may be inflected as in CA, e.g. عبد الأعلى بن أبي حكيم
 "Abd al-Aclē b. ABŪ Ḥakīm" transcribed as Αβδελκλε

ذکر ان ابنا محمد¹ Aβiakχiη PAF VIII,2 (90 A.H.); "he mentioned that Abū Muḥammad..." DAB 26,8 (3rd cent. A.H.)², but commoner by far is the unchangeable abū in all syntactical positions³. The following examples of this extremely frequent feature could very easily be multiplied:

a. Unchangeable abū in status constructus:

- i. Abū for CA abi⁴ (the most frequent case): الی ابو عبد الله "to Abū 'Abd Allah" Ḥirbet el-Mird no.93 (2nd cent. A.H.); الی ابو علی "to Abū 'Alī" Krall, Koptische Texte, no. ccxxviii (8th cent. A.D.) and similarly Wessely 62,2 (205 A.H.); BAU 5,6 and 8 (213 A.H.); APEL V 288,5 and 14 (c. 236 A.H.); PER Inv. Ar. Pap. 960 quoted by Grohmann, APEL II, p.238; APEL III 206,8; *ibid.*, IV 245 v,17; 250,1; *ibid.*, V 340,3; DAB 4,7; أم ابو القاسم وأم ابو علی "the mother of Abū al-Qāsim and the mother Abū 'Alī" *ibid.*, 7,16 (all these 3rd cent. A.H.).

In some instances ابو is altered by the scribe to ابی⁵ so as to accord with CA: APEL II 126,7 (225 A.H.); *ibid.*, V 289,15 (3rd cent. A.H.), and in others CA and non-CA usages alternate: in addition to the two documents just referred to s. e.g. APEL I 39,25 (264 A.H.) اقرار محمد بن راشد ابو الزوج "the acknowledgment of Muḥammad b. Rāshid, the bridegroom's father" as against the same phrase with ابی in 1.28 (same document but different scribe), من ابو جعفر "on behalf of Abū Ja'far" Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I, 5v, 6/7 and similarly 1.12, but من ابی جعفر "from A.J." in 1.14 (3rd cent. A.H.). S. also 153 n.3.

- ii. Abū for CA abā⁴ : فان ابو عمر "and Abū 'Umar"
 WZKM xxxii, 278,15 (101 A.H.)⁷; قد بعثت اليك
 "I have sent to you my messenger Abū
 Qīr" BAU 3,11 (late 2nd cent. A.H.)⁸; كنيه تدعى
 "a church called Abū Quzmān" APEL II
 126,3 (225 A.H.)⁹ and similarly ibid., IV 261, 26
 (3rd cent. A.H.); وافقت ابو جعفر "I made an
 agreement with Abū Ja'far" ibid., V 306,16 (after 334 A.H.)¹⁰.

b. Unchangeable abū- in status pronominalis:

- i. Abū- for CA abī-⁴ : "To our
 father the Reverend Magnillios" Hirbet el-Mird 46,
 Address (2nd cent. A.H.)¹¹; "from their
 father" JAOS 56,289,3 (205 A.H.); الى الغلام وابوه
 "to the servant and his father" DAB 5,11; further
 ibid., 25r,3 (?); AO xviii/3, 117,1¹² (all 3rd cent.
 A.H.); APEL V 306,41 (after 334 A.H.); APH 1,14 (342
 A.H.); BAU 10, Fortsetzung,3 (405 A.H.).
- ii. That I have not noted abū- for CA abā- in status pronominalis is certainly a mere accident.

c. Some examples of abī and abā against the principles of CA are probably to be accounted as pseudo-corrections¹³ :

- i. Abī for CA abū¹⁴ : وابن سليم وابن بكر وابن يوسف
 "and Abū Salām (?), Abū Bakr, Abū Yūsuf, Abū Ja'far and
 all our friends send you greeting" DAB 25,5/6¹⁵ ;
 ابن قير النخال "Abū Qīr the palm-merchant"
 standing alone in a list APRL XII 1,6 (both c. 3rd
 cent. A.H.); "Abū Bakr was
 called 'cAtīq'" Ibn Wahb 11, top of the page
 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁶; قد توجه الي ما قبلكم

أبي الرازي "Abū al-Rāzī has gone to you"

BIFAO xxx,35,14/5; 40,17 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.).

ii. Abī for CA abā¹⁷ : أبلغني أبي عبد الله السلام¹⁸ "greet Abū cAbd Allah" JESHO viii,279,20 ; فكلمني أبي القاسم "so tell Abū al-Qāsim!" (translate so!) ibid., 292,5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); أقرني أبي جعفر [السلام] "greet Abū Ja'far!" APRL VII 39,17 (perhaps late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.)¹⁸ .

iii. No example of abā for CA abū has yet been recorded in the papyri¹⁹ .

iv. Abā for CA abī²⁰ : صالح مولى أبا شبيب "Sālih, freedman of Abū Shu'ayb" APEL IV 243 v,24 as against the same phrase with أبي at recto, 1.2; عند أبا أيوب²¹ "with Abū Ayyūb" Grohmann, TWÄ 24,1²² ; إلى أبا كميل "to Abū Khael" JESHO viii, 309v,1 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); فليت النبي وأبا بكر "behind the Prophet and Abū Bakr" Mélanges Massignon III, 376,7 (latter half of 3rd cent. A.H.), but this may be wāw al-maḥiyya.

{163

a. Similar considerations apply to the word akh "brother" in status constructus and pronominalis; while this may be inflected for case as in CA, it may also remain invariable as akhū(-)¹ :

i. Akhu (-) for CA akhī (-) : من سماك أخو فر [...] "from Samāk brother of F.r[...]" , an incomplete but certain example in the fragmentary context of Abbott, Kurrah V,11 (90 or 91 A.H.); من أخوتي "from your brother" DAB 8v, 8; واينما على يدي يحيى "and also by Yohannes brother of Cyril"

APEL IV 278,5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); قرأت عليك
 "I greet you, your son and your
 brother" ibid. V 306,32-6 (after 334 A.H.)²;
 مع سيدى;
 اهلوك ابى سيدى ايدىك الله و صلح اسم اهلوك ابو صلح
 "with my lord your brother Abū Maḥdī -- may God give
 you both support! - and the name of your brother
 Abū Ṣāliḥ has been confirmed" ibid., V 325, 4/5
 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.)³.

ii. Akhū(-) for CA akḥā(-): ان اخوه "that his
 brother" APRL VI 10,7 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); لقد
 اذعرت عطا و هبارة و حسين اولاد عتيق عبد الرحمن و اخوه
 "and I summoned ḥAṭā and Jubāra and Ḥusayn and the
 sons of ḥAṭīq, (namely) ḥAbd al-Raḥmān and his
 brother" APEL V 291,13/14 (4th cent. A.H.)⁴.

b. No pseudo-correct occurrence of akhī or akḥā⁵ has
 yet been found in the papyri.

§164

Dhū, which I have noted only in a few stock expressions,
 may be (a) inflected as in CA, (b) fossilized as
 invariable dhū, or (c) used pseudo-correctly as dhī
 or dḥā¹.

a. Inflected as in CA: فى ذى القعدة "in Dhū
 al-Qaḥda" Nessana 60,8 (54 A.H.)²; فى ذى الحجة
 "in Dhū al-Ḥijja" PAF VIII,7 (90 A.H.) etc.

b. Invariable dhū: كتاب ذو القرنين "The Book of
 (the Romance of) Alexander" FWAP 174,6 (4th cent.
 A.H.); فى ذى الحجة "in Dhū al-Ḥijja" cited by
 Grohmann, Einführung, 104 ult. from P. Berol. 8177
 which is dated 449 A.H. (s. ibid., 232 n.1)³.

c. Pseudo-correct dhī and dhā⁴ :

- i. Dhī for CA dhū: في كبرين وهو ذى القعدة "in the month of Khoiak, that is Dhū al-Qa'ḍa" APEL VI 364, 22 (317 A.H.) and similarly APH 6,14 (322 A.H.) where read هو for هذا . S. also §213 n.3.
- ii. Dhā for CA dhū/dhī: this occurs several times in the fossilized form of the name Dhū al-Nūn⁵ as Grohmann, Papiri... Milano I,3,8 (338 A.H.) and another example from P. Berol. 9159 cited ibid., p.248 (date?); APH 1,14/5 (342 A.H.)⁶ .

§165

The absence of the case endings (§161) is seen most clearly in the many instances in which tanwīn alif₁ which would have been obligatory in CA is missing . This takes place in all syntactic environments with great regularity, and though I am not in possession of any statistics to illustrate its occurrence and distribution, I have the impression that cases showing absence of tanwīn alif are certainly as frequent, if not even more so, as those in which it is maintained as in CA. It stands to reason that those forms lacking tanwīn alif reflect the spoken language; those in which tanwīn alif is maintained are to be ascribed to the influence of CA.

§166

Despite the fact that the case-system had broken down and had already in the earliest texts reached a stage similar to that obtaining in many modern dialects (§161), cases of tanwīn alif are by no

means rare. The following is but a selection of the categories in which it occurs as in CA.

- a. Adverbs : ¹ عددا "in number / counted" PSR iii V, 5 (91 A.H.) and often; ² سريعا "quickly" APRL I 5,7 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 173); $\gamma\epsilon\delta\kappa\alpha$ = جدا³ "very" Violet, Psalmfragment, Ψ 78,29 (c.800 A.D.); كثيرا "much" APRL VI 20,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) and often; ⁴ اولا "firstly" DAB 68,4 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.); ايننا "also" passim.
- b. Various adverbial accusatives : ⁵ ومثله زيتا "and the same amount in oil" Nessana e.g. 60,17 (54 A.H.); قبه بعنا بما قبله "in sending what he owes" NPAF II,24 (90 or 91 A.H.); $\text{وفا بعدنا وصدقنا لقولنا}$ "true to our promise, honouring our word, trusting in our Lord and believing in our Prophet" in the papyrus mentioned §10 n.11 (141 A.H.); (read so!) $\text{على نسختين نقا واحدا}$ "in two copies, identically" Wessely 7,6 (4th cent. A.H.).
- c. Mafcūl mutlaq: $\text{وادهر ... دهر شديدا}$ "and ward off... firmly" PAF 11,12/3 (90 A.H.).
- d. Direct object: $\text{ولا تؤخرن منه اردبا واحدا}$ "and do not delay a single artaba thereof" PSR iii III,12/3; اصابوا ربنا حسنا "they will make a good profit" NPAF IV,6; كان يسل نبطيا "he was demanding from a Nabaṭī" ibid., VIII,5 (all 91 A.H.); $\text{لم يضربرا لهم قليلا ولا [كثيرا]}$ "they had prescribed them neither too little nor [too much]" APRL III 167,98 (137-40 A.D., s. §6 n.1).

- e. Predicate of *لمن كان عاجزا مضييا : كان*
 "indeed, whoever is unable or neglectful" PSR iii
 III,20/1; *فان كان ما اخبرتني بقا* "and if what
 he told me is true" *ibid.*, X,7/8; *[ان] يكون هذا*
[that] "this year be... a
 well-blessed year" Abbott, Kurrah II, 3-5 (all 91
 A.H.).
- f. After *ان* : *ان عاملا من عمال* "any official"
 Abbott, Kurrah IV, 6/7 (90 or 91 A.H.); *فان*
ناسا من الجند "some army people" APEL III 150,6
 (90 A.H.).
- g. After numerals: *ثلاثين دينرا* "thirty dinars"
 PSR iii III,54; *سبعين اردبا* "seventy artabas"
ibid., V,6 (both 91 A.H.).

REMARK: It is not uncommon for forms with and without tanwīn alif to occur side by side in the same document and even in the same sentence e.g.

عشرة الديناير وزن الما قيل الجديد عينا ذهبيا نقد بجمية
 "ten dinars of the new standard weight, in gold
 pieces, good currency" APEL I 48,3/4 (233 A.H.);

ان اكريل اربعة عشر فداننا ارضن طيبة سودا
 "that I should lease you fourteen faddāns of good
 black soil" *ibid.*, II 82,2/3 (253 A.H.). At AO
 vi,394,4, on the other hand, the correct reading is

واحدنا (3rd-4th cent. A.H.). Cf. for
 similar cases Blau, ASP, 324.

§167

Tanwīn alif may be absent in every syntactic
 environment in which it would have been obligatory

¹
in CA . This is an important feature distinguishing the language of the papyri from CA and will therefore be documented in some detail in what follows:

a. Adverbs² : وقرون (66!) لنا اللهم على سلامة واربنا كثيرا
"and greet Salāma and her mother greatly on our behalf!" ZDMG 34,689,16/7 (early 2nd cent. A.H.) and similarly DAB 35,11, 13/4 (3rd cent. A.H.) in free alternation with فاجبنوا لنا في ذلك ايضا ; كثيرا³
(read so!) جميل "and they acted favourably towards us in that also" APFL V 288,18 (c. 236 A.H.) ;

داخل فيه وخارج منه "inside it and outside it" ibid., I 56,3 (239 A.H.) and likewise II 73,5 (320 A.H.) , I 57,6 (341 A.H.); وانما عجلت اليك سابقا
"and I only (sent) quickly to you on the previous occasion... (translate along these lines!) ibid., V 289,3 ; غدا او بعد غد "tomorrow or the day after" JESHO xiv,2,16 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

b. Various adverbial accusatives⁸ : انما وجرتني شريك
(read so!) "you sent me only to be a partner with him" Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri... Bodleian Library, I,19 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); مصدر "going upstream" APFL VI 12,9 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); تزرعها قمح
"you will sow it with wheat" APFL II 144,5 (217 or 219 A.H.) and likewise l.10, ibid., 80, 7/8 (236 A.H.)¹⁰ ; 81,4/5 and 82,4 (both 253 A.H.); حرف بحرف
"letter for letter" cited by Grchmann, Einführung, 104 from PBRF 749 (227 A.H.); APFL II 98,9 (236 A.H.)¹¹ ; باطل "in vain" APFL V 305,6 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

Cf. also cases such as التفتين حالوم والقلة سمون
"the two baskets of cheese and the pot of butter"

DAB 22,6 (3rd cent. A.H.), for which cf. §85c,ii and 167h, REM.

- c. Mafcūl mutlaq: تفرحنا بذلك فرح شديداً "you will cheer us greatly thereby" H̄irbet el-Mird 42,13 (1st cent. A.H.); يغمني ذلك (read so!) غم شديداً "that distresses me greatly" Jahn 14,14 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- d. Direct object: [فاعطوا في اهر كل نو] بجز دينيين وفي اهر كل رجل ... وفي اهر نبطي نبحار دينر وثلت "and give as wages to each shipbuilder (= ναυπηγός) two dinars, and as wages for each man... and as wages for a native carpenter one dinar and one third!" PAF VIII 5/6¹²; فاعطوا دينر "then give one dinar!" ibid., IX,8¹³ (both 90 A.H.); ان يرى احد "that anybody should see in your administration anything of which he may disapprove" NPAF I,17/8 (91 A.H.); ونخذ منه رهون "and take a pledge from him" WZKM xxxii,277,12 (101 A.H.) and in the same document 278,15/6 ان يجد عليك سبيلا "that he should find a way against you"; فاعط راسد "give a mount to Rāshid!" APRL IV 1,3 (136 A.H.) and similar examples in this section of APRL¹⁴; هتي تجدد "so that you may meet us again"¹⁵ Jahn 12,20 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); اكرت ملك السودان منزل "Malak the black has rented a dwelling in this compound" APEL II 91,3; فادفع ... 4 "hand over... 1½, one and a half!" ibid., V 342,3-5 (both 2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); وان لم تبيع شي "and if you have not sold anything" DAB 2,13; فافذ "he took a dinar from him" DAB 37;11 (both texts probably 205-6 A.H.); وافقد امارا

"and he lost a black she-ass of his, close to giving birth" DAB 38,8 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); "وسالت شعيب" and I asked Shu'ayb" APEL V 288,8 (c. 236 A.H.)¹⁴; "اشترت ... منزل له" "she bought... a house of his" *ibid.*, I 56,2 (239 A.H.); "ادى مطلق ومرقى ... نصف وثلت" "Meṭok(os) and Marcus have paid ... one half and one third" *ibid.*, III 182,3-5 (241 A.H.); "اشهدت له شهود" "she called witnesses for him" *ibid.*, I 38,4 (259 A.H.); "ادفعا ... دينار واحد" "you two hand over ... one dinar!" *ibid.*, V 351, 2-4 (262 A.H.). Further cases: APRL VI 12, e.g. 1.8 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.); *Ak. Wien Denkschr.* 33,236,14; APEL III 177,2¹⁴; *ibid.*, 178,4¹⁴; 202,13; APEL V 289,18; *ibid.*, 295,9; 301 11.4,8; 339,6; 350, 8/9; 356,5/6; DAB 7,4; *ibid.*, 12,11.5,7,12; 22,11; 23,4-6; 26,11; 28,8; 40,14; APRL II 4,4/5; Grohmann, TWÄ 2, 11.10,11 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); "ولا عرفت لك خبر" "and nor have I learnt anything of your news" DAB 1r, 4/5 (late 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 306,13 (after 334 A.H.); *ibid.*, 291 e.g. 13/4 (4th cent. A.H.) etc.

e. Second object (and similar constructions): فاسل ان

"and I ask Him to make it blessed water" Grohmann, TWÄ 25,2 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); "الا يطالبني شي من الخراج" "that he should not ask me for any tax" DAB 2,19 (probably 205-6 A.H.); "ع" "perhaps God will allow us to profit something by them" *ibid.*, 24,6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); "ولا يطعمني طعام" "and nor does he give me any food" Giessen 12,3; "يرزقني فيه شي" "He will provide me with something thereby" APEL V 301,9 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); "فلم تعرفني من امره شي"

"you did not inform me of anything concerning it"

DAB 1r,9 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

- f. After ¹⁶ *كان* and its sisters : *فجبل ما كنت باعت به* :
 "so hasten what you were going to send!" (translate along these lines!) APEL III 147,10/11 (91 A.H.)¹⁷ ;
كانت انا صبي صغير "I was a young lad" FWAP 186 5/6 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); *فارجهوا ان يكون اقل ما*
فدان "I hope that the least ... will be a faddān" APEL V 288,19/20 (c. 236 A.H.); *وصار مال*
من مالها "and became part of her property" APEL I 56,12 (239 A.H.) and similar phrases *ibid.*, 57,11 (341 A.H.), 61,10 (423 A.H.); *كان حاج* "he was a pilgrim" DAB 38,7 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 289,5 (if the restoration is correct); *فلم تزل مبارك (?)*
ولو كان "you have always blessed (?)" *ibid.*, 301,9; *ولو كان*
سرج من ذهب "even if it were a saddle of gold" *ibid.*, 305,5; *يكون دينار ونصف*
وكن متوكلا "that makes one dinar and a half" *ibid.*, VI 393,13; *ولو كنت حاضر*
فانا كنت عارم على "and had you been present" *ibid.*, 8v,5; *وكن*
الركوب "I was resolved upon a ride" APRL IV 6,3; *وكن*
بذلك سرور "and I should be happy with that" *ibid.*, p.221, Omissum,17; *كنت جالسا*
لو كان حاضر "had he been present" Giessen 20,3; *لو كان حاضر*
 Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri... Bodleian Library, I, p.2, 1.4 (all these late 2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); *كان اسمه قليل*
 "his name was Galil" Ibn Wahb 9,14 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁴ ; *صار دينار* "that makes one dinar" APEL V 327,5 (4th cent. A.H.).

- g. After ¹⁸ *ان* : *ان له شأن غير ذلك* :
 "that he has a different matter" NFAP IX,13 (91 A.H.); *واعلم ان رجل*

"and they informed him that a man ..." DAB 38,8

(early 3rd cent. A.H.); وقد بلغنا ان عند رجل

شيء جيد ... "and we have heard that with a man...
is something excellent" APEL V 310,6/7 (3rd cent.

A.H.); ان حسن اعلمني "Hasan told me" APRL VI 21,7

(presumably contemporary); فقال ... ان هباب اسم شيطان

"and he said ... that Ḥubāb was the name of a demon"

Ibn Wahb 9,11/12 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) and likewise

ibid., 10,1^{14 19}

h. After numerals : ثلاثة عشر دينار "thirteen

dinars" Nessana 65,17 (55 or 56 A.H.) as opposed to

ثمانية عشر دينارا ibid., 64,20 (56 A.H.) in two
very similar documents possibly even written by the

same scribe; ثلاثون دينار "thirty dinars" ibid., 56,3

(67 A.H.); ثلاثة وثلاثين رطل وثلاث رطل مائير

"thirty-three and one third pounds of nails" PAF IX

4/5 (90 A.H.)²¹; اربعين دينار "forty dinars"

Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts... John

Rylands Library, no.214 (late 1st-early 2nd cent.

A.H.); (read so!) ثلاثين قيراط "thirty

carats" Mélanges Islamologiques iii,19 no.48 (early

2nd cent. A.H.); اثنين وثلاثين قنطار "thirty-two

qintārs" APEL II 122,13 (272 A.H.); اربعة واربعين دينار

"forty-five dinars" ibid., 101,2 (273 A.H.); ثلاثة

...²² وعشرين الفو "twenty-three thousand and..."

ibid., IV 261,7 (3rd cent. A.H.). Further examples:

APEL V 323,6; ibid., 336,2; 338,7; VI 389,14; 392

passim; DAB 7,29; ibid., 22,10; 27,3; Jahn 17,18;20

(all these 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL V 324,11 (3rd-4th

cent. A.H.); ibid., 306,19/20 (after 334 A.H.);

خمسين نفس "fifty people" APEL V 291,25 (4th

cent. A.H.) as against خمسة وسبعين رجلا

"seventy-five men" in the preceding line, but tanwīn alif is missing also in similar constructions in ll.32, 42.

REMARK: It is frequently very difficult to decide in numerical constructions involving counted materials and measures whether we have to do with a status constructus or an apposition / tamyīz, cf.

§ 85c, ii. In the example above n.20 one is quite at liberty to understand a status constructus, i.e.

CA khamsīna ritla hadīdin rather than the absence of tanwīn alif against CA. But in other cases such an analysis is impossible:

ثلاثين رطلا عنب

"thirty pounds of grapes" (the editor's "two thirds" is a slip) PERF 839 in FWAP 144,4 (274 A.H.);

عشرين أردبا قمح

"twenty artabas of grain" Wessely 6,3 (288 A.H.).

i. After illā²³: لم اسأل الا يسيرا "I ask of you only a little" JESHO xiv,6,18 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.);

الا اعامل الا واحد "that I should deal with only one" Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri ... Bodleian Library, I, p.2,1.6 (late 2nd cent. A.H.)²⁴;

بعته غلتي بدرينر الا قيراط "you sold my crop for one dinar less one carat" APRL VIII 7,2 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

§168

The special status of tanwīn alif with adverbs (§§166 n.1; 167 n.2) is illustrated by the fact that this tanwīn may remain as an integral part of the word even when the adverb in question is governed by a preposition.¹ I have so far noted this only in the fossilized use of غدا² "tomorrow": اليوم وغدا

غداً "today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow" WZKM xxxii, 277,10/11 (201 A.H.)³ ; غداً يوم السبت وبعده غداً يوم الأحد "tomorrow, Saturday, and the day after tomorrow, Sunday" FWAP 161/2,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§169

أهلاً and شياً may appear with tanwīn¹ alif irrespective of the case required by the syntax :

- a. فلا يكاد يجد (80c) (! في آل هزيم أهلاً :² أهلاً "hardly anyone was found among the people of Ḥazm called Muḥammad" Ibn Waḥb 7,15³ (late 3rd cent. A.H.); possibly also لم يكن فيها أهلاً "there was nobody therein" APRL I 18,12 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.) but the context is broken and the sense not entirely clear⁴ .
- b. ولم يصبه شياً : شياً "and nothing struck him" Ibn Waḥb 38,2 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁵ ; من كان فيه من الكذب شياً "whoever has ever told a lie" *ibid.*, 71,17⁴ ; عليه أو على شياً منه "concerning it or concerning any part thereof" APEL I 54,9 (448 A.H.)⁶ ; لأنه شياً لا بد منه "because it is something inevitable" DAB 6v,11 (5th cent. A.H.)⁷ .

§170

Tanwīn alif occurs in the papyri in a number of syntactic categories in which it would not have been possible in CA; most of the following cases are to be attributed to pseudo-correction¹ :

- a. Nominal predicate² : ما صدنى فظما وعيلا حقا
 "what was an error on my part and a duty on yours"
 Ibn Wahb 45,10/11 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³ ; وهو لول ...
 "and he is grateful to you ... and
 mindful of your favour" DAB 34,5 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.);
 "and your opinion concerning
 that will be irreversible" *ibid.*, 32, 15 (before 314
 A.H.)⁴ ; "اللاموزة التي هي ملكا لسا بى
 the mill which belongs to my master" AO xviii/3,94,3
 (427 A.H.)⁵ .
- b. In classes beginning with ان and other particles
 which in CA necessitated the appearance of the
 following subject in the accusative⁶ : لقد كنت اظن ان
 "I had thought your adminis-
 tration more successful and better than what I see it
 to be" Abbott, Kurrah IV,19-21 (90 or 91 A.H.);
 "not an evil cmen, but a good
 one" Ibn Wahb 91,3/4 (late 3rd cent. A.H.); possibly
 also "لانه شيا لا بد منه
 DAB 6v,11 (5th cent.
 A.H.) cited above §169b.
- c. In circumstantial clauses⁷ : "واقيتها وانا سالما
 reached it in good health" DAB 2,9 (probably 205-6
 A.H.); "وهم سما طير، رعبدا (read so?)
 على الطريق
 "and they were in two rows, lying in wait by the
 way" Khoury 140,4 (229 A.H.)⁸ .
- d. The reason for believing that most occurrences of tanwīn alif against CA adduced in this paragraph are to be attributed not to living usage but to pseudo-corrections (above, n.1), lies in the fact that the most important syntactic category in which the use of

tanwīn survived (and survives) in several strata of Arabic, viz. that of an indefinite noun followed by an attribute, is without certain representation in the papyri⁹. Had this feature been an integral part of the language one would certainly have expected it to be attested by a more convincing selection of examples than is presently available; as it is, most potential cases so far noted may be interpreted otherwise¹⁰:

فلا يكونن في امرن عجز ولا تأخير ولا تجبأ بما قبلك
 "and let there not be in your affair deficiency, delay or withholding concerning what you owe" PSR iii I, 20-22 (91 A.H.) belongs below, f, j; the regimen of a preceding numeral is perhaps responsible for العشرين
 "the twenty qintārs of stripped flax" DAB 24r, 2/3 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) and also for ديناراً مؤخر
 "dinars to be paid later" APEL I 42, 4 (3rd cent. A.H.); فلا يكاد يجد ... احداً يسما محمد
 "hardly anyone was found ... called Muhammad" Ibn Wahb 7, 15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) has been mentioned already at §169a (and s. also *ibid.*, n.3); درهما واحداً
 "one dirham" AO vi, 394, 4 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.) is misread and is to be corrected to درهما واحداً with §166 REM.; الطاحونة التي هي ملكا لصاحبي
 "the mill which belongs to my master" AO xviii/3, 94, 3 (427 A.H.) may be interpreted as above, a, and APEL I 54, 9 (448 A.H.) and DAB 6v, 11 (5th century A.H.) owe the use of tanwīn probably to invariable شياً, above §169b. Below, §171a two cases are cited of tanwīn alif attached to diptotes, but both appear in syntactical environments necessitating an accusative in CA and probably owe the use of tanwīn to this very circumstance. This leaves only Ibn Wahb 19, 8 and 63,

- 13 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) for which s. §172b. Cf. also §171 REM.
- e. After ^{حل} : قال فهل فيها لبنا "he said 'is there any milk in it?'" Khoury 150,24 (229 A.H.)¹¹.
- f. Subject of ^{كان} (and its sisters)¹² : فلا يكونن في امرن : "let there not be in your affair deficiency, delay or withholding concerning what you owe" PSR iii I,20-22¹³ ; وانا ارجو "and I hope that you will show trustworthiness, action and efficiency in your office" NPAF I,20-22¹⁴ (both 91 A.H.); اذا لم يكن دونه ابا "if there is no other father besides him" Ibn Wahb 12,9 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁵. Cf. §169 a and b, n.4.
- g. After ^{الا}¹⁶ : وان ليس قبلكم الا فيرا¹⁷ "and if you have only good" BIFAO xxx,35,11. as against ان ليس ثم الا فير "if there is not anything but good" ibid., 40,11, a letter written by the same scribe (both late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.).
- h. Subject of an active verb¹⁸ : فلم ياتيني فيها "there came to me no news" (read and translate sc!) APEL V 302,5 (4th cent. A.H.)¹⁹.
- i. For the subject of a passive verb ending in tanwīn alif s. §169 n.3.
- j. Enumerations²⁰ : to this category may belong PSR iii I, 20-22²¹ and NPAF I,20-22 (both 91 A.H.) quoted above, f.
- k. After ^{كل}²² : this usage is peculiar to the late

انت تجعل ... من (s. §27 n.4) text Islamica 4,262: "that you bring about... relief from all vexation" 1.3, followed by several similar cases.

1. Hirbet el-Mird no.35 (first part of 2nd cent. A.H.) employs a strange construction to denote quantities of certain goods, first stating the commodity, then the measure ارطال "pounds" in the accusative plural irrespective of the numeral which follows, e.g.
 - 1.11 الجبين اربالا فلان "538 pounds of cheese".
- m. Apposition to a noun in the genitive ²³: وذة نبيه محمدا : "and the obligation of His prophet Muhammad" Islam 2? ²⁴ 38,7 (295 A.H.) .

§171

Tanwīn alif further appears in a number of morphological categories in which its occurrence would not have been possible in CA. As in the case of the examples cited in the preceding paragraph, pseudo-correction is to be accounted the motivating factor:

- a. Diptotes ¹: فاعد لك تجافيفا من اليقين "then prepare for yourself mail-coats of certainty!" ² Khoury 138,18 (229 A.H.); فقد كنت اذت منه سافجا "I had received from him some bills of exchange made out by the Sultān" DAB 11,6 (probably 304 A.H.).
- b. Nomen rectum of a status constructus ³: ثلث دينرا "third of a dinar" APRL IV 237,2,5 (249 A.H.) and ونخذ ابو محمدا ⁴; سدس دينرا "sixth of a dinar" ibid., 1.9; "and take Abū Muhammad" APRL VI 1,9 (presumably c.

3rd cent. A.H.) showing the fusion of nomen regens and rectum into one syntactical unit, but at *ibid.*, VI 9 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) the end of l.6 is broken off and يا ابا كذا "O Abū Aktham!" seems to be misread; read perhaps يا ابا عثمان "O Abū 'Uthmān!".

c. In one late example (347 A.H.) from an inscription what appears to be tanwīn alif is even affixed to a noun determined by the article: ارحمهم الله الملكى
 "have mercy on Ahmad al-Makkī!" BIFAO ii,136,6 .

REMARK. بجبال من said to mean "in the hills of..." ZDMG 92,122,2 and 124,1 (c. 241 A.H.) seems most improbable and hardly an example of tanwīn alif attached to nouns governed by a preposition (for which cf. Blau, ASP, 342). Nor will it be considered to belong to §170d.

§172

a. A most important feature typical of, but not entirely restricted to JA is the development of tanwīn into a separate word: لـ¹. Were it not for the fact that the commonest use of this on, viz. as a link between an indefinite noun and its immediately following attribute, is not securely attested in the papyri (§170d), one might have been tempted to seek such a case in قنا دينا ان كان عليها "discharged a debt encumbent upon them both" Ibn Wahb 14,10 (late 3rd cent. A.H.). But this seems unlikely; not only would this be the sole example from such an early period, but the assumption would also fail to explain adequately ان دينا ان with tanwīn represented twice in place of the expected ان دينا ان. Accordingly, ان

here is probably a mere lapsus due to unconscious assimilation to the common collocation ان كان
 $\begin{matrix} 2 & 3 \\ \text{"if"} \end{matrix}$.

- b. Blau, Emergence, 176/7 shows how this newly developed independent tanwīn may be re-interpreted as the definite article, a process which evidently began when the attribute following the tanwīn began with a sun-letter, but which may have become productive and extended to moon-letters as well. Two possible cases from Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.) are quoted *ibid.*, 203:

لزمان الطويل "for a long time" 19,8 and
 في صورة الحسنة "in a beautiful form" 63,13.

Nevertheless, in view of the absence of independent tanwīn not only elsewhere in this particular text but also in the papyri in general, these cases belong more probably to §186. Certain examples of this feature are available only from a later (s. §27 n.4) period:

وسحق سحقاً الجيد "and be
 pounded thoroughly" Islamica 4, 249,3;⁴ في نار القوية
 "in a blazing fire" *ibid.*, 249,5;⁵ نار الدس
 "a fire of hot ashes" 253,18 (as against في نار دس
 250,14).

- c. It is ^{also} only in late texts that the emergence of independent $\text{ان} < \text{tanwīn}$ can be documented:⁶

"and be turned into an amalgam on a flat stone by being pounded well" Islamica 4,250,12/13 (for the date s. §27 n.4);
 يوم ان كامل "a whole day" *ibid.*, 253,15.

In constructions opening with اي "whatever":⁷

من اي جسد (point so) ان اجتمعت اي *ibid.*,⁸
 251,20; في اي موضع ان تبيت "in any place you

land watered by the irrigation-channel (or water-wheel?) south of the canal of Hôr" APPEL II 80,6/7 (236 A.H.); [. . .] "the village which is east of [. . .] " ibid., 79,9 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); القبالة المعززة التي بيد اسحق بن حمدان البادسي [. . .] "the tenancy of goat-pasture occupied by Ishāq b. Ḥamdān al-Bādīsī east of the [. . .] " ibid., IV 270,4/5 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁵; وقد لخصته "and I have summarized it at the bottom of my letter" Grohmann, Papiri ... Milano I,10,3 (3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly 1.5.

REMARK A: Here may also belong وذكر لي ان له "and he mentioned to me that he had (put) a brand-mark on its left nostril" DAB 38,9 (early 3rd cent. A.H.). But this is not the only possibility of interpretation: the expression may be elliptical for وذكر فيها علامة محرقة الانف الايمن "and he mentioned... (and that it i.e. the she-ass) was branded on the left nostril" and Dietrich, *ibid.*, 167 suggests:

Calāmatun muharragatu l-anfi l-aimani.

In لل ولاية مصر وبرقة والاسكندرية "office is given to you in Miṣr, Barqa and Alexandria" Grohmann, *Apercu* 27n. (242 A.H.), مصر etc. (so, not مصر as in FWAP 119,6) are probably explanatory appositions rather than adverbials. Different from all these cases as being directly dependent on a verb is هلا نيمتي ام معبر "they both settled at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad" Khoury 152,16 (229 A.H.) for which cf. Wright II,111*.

REMARK B: The accusative instead of a prepositional

phrase when marking a specified time (as opposed to place) is in harmony with CA: وكتب طليق

"and Ṭulayq wrote (it) at the beginning of Dhū al- Hijja" APEL III 175,11 (112 A.H.), where there is accordingly no need to restore the preposition < في > ; عذاة يوم الاربعاء
 "on Wednesday morning" ibid., V 325,3 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) as against في عذاة غد "tomorrow morning" in l.6.

• • •

STATUS CONSTRUCTUS

§175

As in CA¹, the nomen regens of a status constructus may stand in the dual when followed by two nomina recta² :

رزقه ورزقي هاشميه وعماله "his provisions and those of his following and officials"

Islam 33,39,8/9 (90 A.H.); بحضرة خليفة جعفر بن محمد

والعلاء بن هاشم عالمي ابي الحسن "in the presence of the representative of Ja^cfar b. Muḥammad and that of al-^cAlā b. Hāshim, the two finance-officers of Abū al-Ḥasan" AO vi, 391,5/6 (248 A.H.); بحضرة خليفة

الهد بن عمرو والحسن بن علي عالمي ابي عيسى "in the presence of the representative of Ahmad b. ^cAmr and the representative of al-Ḥasan b. ^cAlī, the two finance-officers of Abū ^ʿIsā" AO xviii,3, 107, 7/8 (265 A.H.)³.

For the singular of the nomen regens in such a case s. e.g. the example mentioned at §180.

§176

Two, or sometimes three, nomina regentia may precede, contrary to CA, one nomen rectum¹, but this construction has thus far been noted almost exclusively in

combinations involving fractions: ونصف وربع اردب

"and one half and one quarter of an artaba" PSR iii, Anhang e,3; ونصف وثلاث دینر "and one half and one third of a dinar" ibid, Anhang k,2 (both 91 A.H.)²;

اربعة واربعين دینرا وثلاثي وثمان دینر "forty-four dinars and two thirds and one eighth of a dinar" APEL IV 266,14³; وستة اقداح ونصف رز "and

six gadahs and one half of rice" Grohmann, TWÄ 2,9⁴
 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); ثلثي وربع دينار "two
 thirds and one quarter of a dinar" MPER ii-iii, 164,
 5/6 (344 A.H.)³; نصف وربع فدان "one half
 and one quarter of a faddān" APEL VI 400,3 (3rd-4th
 cent. A.H.); نصف وربع دينار "for one half
 and one quarter of a dinar" BAU 16,4 (410 A.H.)⁵.

Three fractions may precede a single nomen rectum:

نصف وثالث وثمان شقال "one half, one third and
 one eighth of a mithqāl" APEL III 184,7 (249 A.H.);
 نصف وربع وسبسي ثمن "one half, one quarter
 and one sixth of an eighth" *ibid.*, IV 265,11 (262
 A.H.) and similarly APEL III 1,5 and 2,5 (both 295
 A.H.); APEL IV 282,12 (3rd cent. A.H.); Wessely 15,3
 (302 A.H.).

This construction is less often attested in cases not
 involving fractions as nomen regens: وذلك لما

والخراج سنة ثلث وخمسين ومائتي "and that
 is for the water and land-tax of the year two hundred
 and fifty-three" APEL II 81,8/9 (253 A.H.); درهم
 ودائق كافور مصاد (read so!) "a dirham
 and a dāniq of sublimated camphor" Grohmann, TWÄ 2,11
 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁵.

§177

It is possible that cases exist in which the nomen
 regens is separated from the nomen rectum not by a
 second nomen regens as in the preceding paragraph, but
 by an attribute to it, which in CA would have
 appeared after the nomen rectum¹. In most such
 instances, however, it seems more reasonable to
 suppose that the construction represents a tamyīz

§180

The question of the presence ; absence of the definite article with the nomen regens of an improper annexation (idāfa ghayr haqīqiyya) can in certain cases in CA be a complicated one. This is particularly so in the case of active participles acting as the equivalent of imperfect (not perfect) verbs and governing a genetivus objectivus as nomen rectum. Such participles are defined by the article provided that the nomen rectum is already so defined, but should the nomen rectum or such a genetivus objectivus construction not be defined by the article, then the nomen regens may receive the definite article only if it happens to be a sound masculine plural or a dual¹. Even in this case, however, the addition of the article is by no means necessary². In the papyri I have noted one example of such a construction in which the nomen regens does in fact receive the definite article:

أقار الحسين بن صالح الزجاج وقامه ابنت ادریس
 "the acknowledgment of al-
 Husayn b. Ṣāliḥ the glass-maker and of Qāme daughter
 of Idrīs, both of whom dwell in the town of Ashmūn"
 APEL I 52, 3/4 (274 A.H.)³.

§181

In some cases the status constructus relationship has developed into a compound noun, with the result that the definite article may appear, against CA, (a) with the nomen regens alone, and (b) with the nomen rectum as well as with the nomen regens.

a. The definite article with the nomen regens alone ¹ :

i. For the period of Arabic dealt with in this study this occurs only in constructions containing a fraction preceded by the demonstrative ² هذا / هذه :

 هذه (61b) النصف فدان "this half-faddān" DAB 7,6³ ;
 هذا الربع فدان كرم "this quarter-acre vineyard" ibid., 12, 13 (both 3rd cent. A.H.);
 هذا الربع دينار "this quarter-dinar" BAU 20, 5 and 6 (448 A.H.).

ii. Cases such as ⁴ الماورد "the rose-water", not preceded by a demonstrative are, it would seem, available only from a later period; الماورد itself is cited by Grohmann, APEL VI, p.207 from a document dated to the 11th cent. A.D. .

b. More commonly the definite article appears with both nomen regens and rectum of a status constructus compound ⁵ :

i. ⁶ ومن قام بالذکر الحق "and whoever presents the document" APEL I 48, 6 (233 A.H.) and similarly PERF 764 (242 A.H.) quoted by Grohmann, Studi... Calderini... II, 506 à propos of ibid., 504, Fragment b, 3 (3rd cent. A.H.). The corresponding undefined expression is ⁶ ذکر حق which occurs also in APEL I 48 (1.2); ibid., II 103, 2 (3rd cent. A.H.); APH 4, 1 (314 A.H.). Beside ⁶ طریق المارة "throughfare" (lit. "the way of the pedestrians") e.g. APEL I 57, 7; 58, 5 (both 341 A.H.); Wessely 9, 9; 17 (4th cent. A.H.) and, in the plural, ⁶ طرق المارة APEL I 70, 11 (459 A.H.) there also occurs ⁶ الطريق المارة as APEL I 59, 5 (341 A.H.); BAU 10, Fortsetzung, 10/11 (405 A.H.); APEL I 60, 6 (406 A.H.); BAU 21, 8 (447 A.H.); APEL I 54, 4 where read so with Dietrich, Islam 24, 94

(448 A.H.)

REMARK: In APEL I 69,11 (c. 459 A.H.) occurs

طرق مارة, in a context where it is evidently required to be grammatically defined. The editor remarks that مارة is "obviously a scribal error for مارة". But might this not be a case of pseudo-correction? Could it not be that the scribe, aware that the vernacular form of this expression contained an extra occurrence of the definite article as compared with CA, in wishing to classicize his language went too far, and deleted the article from the nomen rectum as well as from the nomen regens?

ii. More commonly attested are cases of status constructus

compounds being doubly defined in this way after a preceding demonstrative⁷: هذا الكتاب الكرى (§21b)

"this deed of hire" APEL II 93,7 (251 A.H.); *ibid.*, 90,4 (274 A.H.); PER Inv. Ar. Pap. 4593 quoted by Grohmann, MBZP 19, 349n. and APEL II, p.82 (date?);

هذا الكتاب النكاح "this marriage contract" APEL I 39, 20 (264 A.H.), بهذا الكتاب الصداق "in this dowry contract" Islam 22,39,19 (295 A.H.) and similarly APEL I 46, 2/3 (3rd. cent. A.H.); هذه (§61b) النصف الحانوت⁸ "this half-shop" APEL IX 3,4 (306 A.H.).

iii. Other similar instances are possibly better thought of as appositions⁹:

كل هذه [النبيعة] القمح DAB 5, 14/5, plausibly restored by the editor and rendered "diese ganze Weizen [domän]e";

هذه القطعة الارض "this piece of land" Wessely 52,4; القطعة البور "the plot of fallow ground" APEL IV 270,16 (all 3rd. cent. A.H.);

والبنجرة التين "and the jar of figs" DAB 33v,2 (early 4th cent. A.H.); الجنان النخل "the palm-garden(s

§87g)" Wessely 9,16: التلافة الذهب "the gold-necklace"

ibid., 56r, 5 (both 4th cent. A.H.).

- iv. Remaining cases are probably due to nothing more than scribal error¹⁰ : بن [. . .] (القَطَّالِين (!)) "the two finance-officers of [. . .] b. al-Faraj and al-Husayn b. Ahmad" AO vi, 388, 4/5 (244 A.H.); المَكْرُوهِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ "the evil of this world and the next" APRL VII 5, 11/2 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)¹¹.

§182

Sā'ir in CA generally meaning "the rest of" may be used in the sense "all"¹ in حَفِظَ سَائِرَ أَشْيَائِهِ "the maintenance of all his affairs" DAB15, 9 (c. 308 A.H.).

REMARK: DAB 38, 10 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) does not belong here, although it is so interpreted by the editor who reads: رَأَيْتَ (30d) سَارَ and renders "und übernahm alles von ihm" taking, p.168, سَارَ as = سَائِرَ with reference to Lane, Lexicon I/4, 1484 c. This would involve an unexpected shift $\bar{a}'i > \bar{a}$ (but cf. Rabin, AWA, 139) and is also palaeographically unsatisfactory. Abbott, ZDMG 108, 208 suggested the reading رَأَى سَائِرَ "hoping to recover his stolen property". Perhaps what is written is رَأَيْتَ سَائِرَ "and I undertook his affair".

§183 In many strata of Arabic غَيْرِ governing an indefinite noun is used in the meaning "another/¹ more than one". This is the case in the papyri as well: كَتَبْتُ إِلَيْكَ غَيْرَ كِتَابٍ "I have written you

more than one letter" APRL XV 135; FWAP 164, 13/4
and similarly APRL VII 42,6 and an unpublished
Michaelides papyrus; "وقد اعلتلك غير مرة
and I have informed you more than once" APRL XV 91,3
(all c. 3rd cent. A.H.)

§184

As in CA, an adjective may govern as nomen rectum
the noun to which it refers¹: "صالح خبرك
"your good news" DAB 38,5 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); محمد
"Muhammad His dear messenger" APRL
VI 11,4 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

§185

Emphasis of an idea may be achieved by the constru-
ction of كل governing a paronomastic infinitive
as nomen rectum¹: "لقد نحمدنا بعدك كل الغم
"after your departure they caused us all manner of
distress" DAB 8v,6 (3rd cent. A.H.); ويراهم بامر
"and will attend fully to his business"
ibid., 56,3 (6th cent. A.H.)². Similar is الحمد لله
"praise be to God, His best praise!"
AO xviii/3,111,1 (4th cent. A.H.)³.

. . .

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE ETC.

§186

In accordance with a construction very widespread in modern dialects of Arabic, the definite article may be present on an adjectival attribute, but absent from the noun to which the latter refers¹ : *سبيل المستقيم* "the straight path" cited in a Quranic passage (!) VBPS 5,417,3 (c. 100 A.H.); *مقال فلى الكبير* "the weight of a/the large fils" Miles, Glass Weights, Supplement, no. 9 (116-24 A.H.); *مكيده مكنون الابيض* "measure of white cumin" *ibid.*, no. 16 (136--58 A.H.); no. 23 (141-3 A.H.)² ; (read so!) *نقد الخراجي* BAU 5,3 (213 A.H.) translated "Baargeld des Charâdschî - Einkommens" by Karabacek, WZKM xi,9³ ; *اراضي الخراجية* "the lands for which kharāj is payable" APEL II 78,5 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴ ; *صلاة الوسطا* "the middle prayer" Mélanges Massignon III, 377,2 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁵ ; from a much later period: *مرصم النخلى* "palm-oil" Islam 1, 242,9. For *ربيع الاول* etc. s. §83 n. 20 and for this phenomenon in cases involving other ordinal numerals §212.

§187

A usual manner of expressing the superlative in CA is the construction of the relative governing an indefinite singular noun as nomen rectum (type: afḍalu rajulin); much less commonly is the relative found governing a definite singular noun as nomen rectum¹ (as opposed to a definite plural noun, which is very frequent²). This construction is uncommon in the papyri as well:

"I shall punish him with the severest punishment and fine him the heaviest fine" NPAF III, 1-3 (90 or 91 A.H.), a sentence which at the same time exemplifies the unusual use of the paronomastic object defined by the article³. Here may be mentioned also فكن عند احسن ظني بكن "so live up to the best opinion I have of you" *ibid.*, I, 22/3 (91 A.H.). For awwal "first" being construed in this way s. §205.

§188

In a large number of cases a numerical expression which is by context and English translation indefinite, nevertheless appears with the definite article. This occurs occasionally in the case of fractions, a feature already noted for CA¹: ولهما ايضا الثلثين من جميع النخل "and the two of them also have two thirds of the whole palm-grove" APEL I 53, 5/6 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly 1.12; اربعة اعمامى "forty per cent." DAB 2, 13/4 (probably 205/6 A.H.).

It is much commoner, however, in constructions involving the numerals 3-10², sometimes alternating with the expected indefinite form. The manner in which the definite article often tends, with no apparent reason, to follow these numerals is clearly seen in APEL VI 378r, 10/11 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.): ودفع الى نصير في اربعة المئتين من مئتين ربيع الاول دينارين ودفع الى

"and there was paid to Nuṣayr as his maintenance for half of the month ثلاثة الدنانير

Rabīc I: two dinars; and there was paid to Muḥādir
the guard: three dinars" where the dual دينارين
remains indefinite as one would expect, whereas ثلاثة

الدنانير is provided with the article. The same
principle is observed consistently throughout the
document: ³ the numerals 3-10 are followed by the
article, other numerical expressions remain indefinite.

Further: عليه عشرة الدنانير "he owes ten dinars"
APEL I 48,3 (233 A.H.); العشرين ديناراً التي ... قد
قبض منها ستة عشر ديناراً ولم يبق له من ذلك
الا اربعة الدنانير "the twenty dinars

which ... he has received thereof sixteen and there
remain outstanding to him only four dinars" *ibid.* II
114,2-6 (241 A.H.)⁴; صرفوا عشرة الدنانير "the
equivalent thereof is ten dinars" *ibid.*, VI 382,7;

فذلك خمسة الدراهم وثلاث
and one third" *ibid.*, 418,12⁵; اربعة الدراهم "four
dirhams" WZKM 54,52,9 in a text where all other
numerical constructions are indefinite; further
Grohmann, TWÄ 3,3 (where read ! بتة) - 5;
APRL VIII 8,3; *ibid.*, XI 10,9; DAB 28,6 (all c. 3rd
cent. A.H.); اجرة البنائين ستة الدراهم ونمذاهم درهم واحد
"the wages for the two builders are six dirhams, and
their subsistence one dirham" APEL VI 386, 5/6 (3rd-
4th cent. A.H.) etc.

Outside monetary contexts this usage is rare:

(§27e) ثمانية "eight asses" APEL VI
365,12 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.) as against عشر حمار
in l.15.

§189

The conflict between the notional and grammatical definition described at §188 occasionally resulted in the circumstance that a formally definite numerical expression or counted noun could be construed according to notion and not to form. Thus such an expression may be followed by an indefinite attribute¹: *وجميع أقصا*; "and all their rights thereto are two full thirds" APEL I 53, 4/5 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); *ثمانية الدنانير مفضولة* "eight washed (§84 n.10) dinars" *ibid.*, V 324,9 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.)² or an asyndetic relative clause (§288): *ستة الدنانير منها خمسة لي*. "the) six dinars, of which five are for me and one for Haytham" AO xviii/3, 116,2 (3rd cent. A.H.)³.

§190

Sometimes the definite article is missing where one would have expected to find it¹: *وفي آخر نبطي نجار*; "and for the wages of a native carpenter: one dinar and a third" PAF VIII,6 (90 A.H.). As there is only one *najjār* in question and as he has in all probability been mentioned earlier (Becker's restoration of 1.4), this is odd². *Rabb* "the Lord" is indefinite³ in *لا يعرفون ربا ولا يؤمنون ببعث* "they do not know the Lord or believe in resurrection" quoted from the papyrus mentioned at §10 n.11, 1.22 (141 A.H.) and in *سبحان وجهه رب وولا* "praise be to the glory of the Lord and Master!" DAB 35,12 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴. Cf. further: *ولا تترك مكان* "and do not leave the place!" Jahn 9,7 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); *في حارة كنيسة تدعى* "in the quarter of the church named Abū

Quzmān" APEL II 126,3 (225 A.H.)⁵; عندي رسم كتاب
Byzantion xvii, 214,8 (241 A.H.) seems much more likely
 to mean "I have a copy of the letter", i.e. the letter
 just mentioned, with Grohmann, FWAP, 122 than "a letter"
 as translated by the first editor; يوم كله "all of
 the day" Giessen 11,8; مع يوم APRL VI 1,7 (both
 these c. 3rd cent. A.H.) is probably to be understood
 as "during the course of the day"⁶ rather than the "in
 one day" of Margoliouth, followed by Grohmann, FWAP, 178.

§191

Defined and undefined expressions may occur in alter-
 nation¹. This occurs quite commonly in constructions
 involving numerals, for which examples have been given
 at §188 (and cf. also the last example in §209), but
 is by no means restricted to them. Some examples:

"there² فخرج في لحم درهمين والمزبن درهمين واهم وزعفران
 was spent on meat: two dirhams; and on dough : two
 dirhams; and (on) red (dates) and saffron ..." APEL VI
 420,3 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.)³; الاساك بالمعروف والتسريح

"to keep favourably and to release amicably"
 باسان⁴ Islam 22, 37/8, 6/7 (295 A.H.)⁴; في الجالية وما واكل
 "concerning the tax, water and food" DAB 8v,7; لا

"he gives⁵ لا يطعني طعام
 drink nor food to eat" Giessen 12,3 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).⁵

REMARK: Mention should also be made here of the
 convention according to which the greeting formula
 at the opening of a letter should contain سلام
 without the article, whereas the greeting at the end
 of the letter should contain the defined form السلام.⁶
 This is in accordance with CA⁶, and is also observed

(always?) in the papyri:

سلم على اوليا الله

واهل ماعتاه "peace be to those of God and the people who obey Him!" in the papyrus mentioned above §10

n. 11, 2/3 (141 A.H.) which ends, ll. 67/8, with the

same locution, but opening with والسلام ; BAU 3

(late 2nd cent. A.H.) and Jahn 12 (late 2nd- early

3rd cent. A.H.), both of which open with سلم عليك

and close with السلام عليك .

...

NUMERALS

§192

The papyri, by their very nature, offer rich documentation concerning the syntax of the numerals; as is the case with all other strata of Middle and Modern Arabic, it is in this area that syntactical deviations from the CA norm are perhaps the most conspicuous¹.

§193

- a. There is a strong tendency for the numeral ending in tā'marbūta to precede feminine as well as masculine nouns¹. In some modern dialects this occurrence of the historically "masculine" form of the numeral before feminine nouns depends to a great extent upon the shape of the following counted noun and is thus conditioned by phonetics rather than by syntax². In the papyri, on the other hand, no such conditioning factor can be identified; a numeral ending in tā'marbūta may govern a feminine noun as nomen rectum³ irrespective of the phonetic shape of the latter:
- i. The counted noun contains a long vowel in the first syllable: -I have noted only ثلاثة سقيات "three irrigation-canals/water-wheels" AO xviii/3, 90 ult., 91,5 and 10 (339 A.H.).

It occurs fairly regularly with the word wayba: ثمانية وبيات "eight waybas" APRI I 5,8 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 173) and similarly Grohmann, TWÄ 14,3 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); 73) APRI VI 372,5 (3rd cent. A.H.); *ibid.*, 396 *passim* (4th cent. A.H.). Other cases: أقل من ثمانية بيات "less than cent. A.H.). Other cases: أقل من ثمانية بيات "less

eight grains" Wessely 65,8; وثلاثة شقات "and three garments" APEL VI 389, 14,15; سبعة مرات "seven times" APRL XIII 1,3 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.)

iii. The counted noun begins with a short open syllable:

(§24a) اربعة قطنية "four velvet covers" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 62/1, 67,4 (1st cent, A.H.); خمسة سنين "five years" APEL I 41,6 (279 A.H.); منها عشرة اناث⁴ وعشرة ذكورة "of which ten are female and ten are male" PER Ostracon no.5, 8-10⁵; ثمانية لبح متواليات "eight successive years" APEL I 42,4; ثلاثة مائة "three hundred" ibid., IV 261,8,25⁶ and similarly V 313,2; FWAP 161,4 (where read ستة, with Dietrich, Islam 31, 86); وثمانية شقات "and eight garments" APEL VI 392,10; ثلاثة شقات "three garments" Grohmann, TWÄ 15,5,10; خمسة قلال زيتون اسود "five jars of black olives" APRL VI 12,17; اربعة سواقي "four irrigation canals/water-wheels" Jahn 17,27; ثمانية حزم برا "eight linen straps" Grohmann, TWÄ 2, 7/8; ثمانية غلابيل "eight robes" ibid., 15,10; خمسة فتيات "five beams" ibid., 21,4 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.) etc.

iv. It is certainly due to mere accident (or oversight)

that I am unable to produce a certain example of a numeral 3-10 + tā' marbūta⁷ preceding a feminine counted noun opening with a vowel, as the instances involving

اذرع at §83a (and elsewhere) need not be so interpreted.

b. But the numeral ending in tā' marbūta need not govern⁸ the feminine counted noun as nomen rectum :

i. The numeral follows: This is very commonly the case after

سنة "year": في سنة ستة وثمانين "in the year eighty-six" APEL I 12,13 (86 A.H.); لينة (?) ثلاثة وعشرين

ومايتين "for the year two hundred and twenty-three"
 AO xviii/3,99,8 (233 A.H.) and similarly APEL II 96,6
 (227 A.H.); *ibid.*, 80,8 (236 A.H.); AO vi 390,4 (249 A.H.);
 APH 9,4 (285 A.H.); APRL X 13 (313 A.H.) etc. Otherwise
 I have to hand only اثات مئار اربعة ك "small
 females: four,4" APEL VI 364,24 (317 A.H.).

10

ii. The numeral forms a compound with a following decad :

اربعة وعشرين فرودة "twenty-four kharrūbas" Mélanges
Islamologiques iii,19,nos. 45-7 (early 2nd cent. A.H.).

c. But the inverse phenomenon, viz the "feminine" form of
 the numeral with reference to a masculine counted noun,
 is by no means uncommon ¹¹. It seems, however, that
 some cases in this category may be ascribed to phonetic
 causes; most conspicuous is the fact that a significantly
 large portion of the examples I have collected include
 numerals ending in ṣayn, i.e. "four", "seven" and "nine" ¹².

ثلاثة / ثلاث / ثلت for the expected ثلاثة / ثلثة
 can with more probability be accounted for by phonetic
 factors (§30e).

i. The numeral without tā'marbūta ends in ṣayn: The manner
 in which this factor appears to operate is most clearly
 seen in cases of alternation of the following kind:

اذرع تسع / سبع اذرع "nine/seven cubits" Grohmann, FWA 21,
 6,7 as against اذرع ثلاثة / ستة in ll. 7,8 ¹³; سبع / تسع

فدادين "seven/nine faddāns" *ibid.*, 27 as against

ثلاثة / ثمنية / ستة preceding this word in the rest of
 the document; اربع دنانير "four dinars" APEL VI 392,
 13 but ثمسة دنانير in the following line (all 3rd cent.

A.H.); خمسة (1) وسبع اقراع "five waybas and seven

gadahs" *ibid.*, 396,22 (4th cent. A.H.); FWAF, 150 (date?)

where artabas "ارادب" is preceded by ¹⁴سبع وتسع واربع
 but also by عشرة in the space of six lines .
 Additional cases: ¹⁵بسة (! so!) الدنانير الا سبع الدراهم
 "(the) nine dinars less (the) seven dirhams" Grohmann,
 TWÄ 3, 3; والسبع اثواب "and the seven garments"
 APRL VIII 8, 5; واربع كتب "and four books" JNES
 v, 172, 5; اربع الدراهم "(the) four dirhams"
 DAB 28, 12; WZKM 54, 52, 9; APEL VI 359, 4 (all c. 3rd
 cent. A.H.); وسبع قاريط "and seven carats" APEL
 V 324, 11 and similarly *ibid.*, VI 375, 7 (both 3rd-4th
 cent. A.H.); اربع قناطر "four quintals" *ibid.*, V
 291, 42 (4th cent. A.H.).

The numeral ending in cayn forms a compound with a
 following decad: مائة واربع وتلتين راسا

"one hundred and thirty-four head (of livestock)"
 APEL IV 261, 17 (as against l. 21); سبع وعشرين
 ثوب (read so!) "twenty-seven garments" *ibid.*,
 VI 392, 18 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

On one occasion such a numeral follows the counted
 noun: اركانه الاربع "its four corners" APEL I
 56, 4 (239 A.H.)

- ii. Some cases of ثلاث / ثلت for CA ثلاثة
 have already been given at §30e; further: ثلت الدراهم
 "the three dirhams" APEL VI 12, 11 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)
 as against ثالث الدراهم in l. 14; ثلت اقتراح¹⁶
 "three qadaḥs" APEL VI 396, 8 (4th cent. A.H.) .

- iii. Other examples of "feminine" numerals referring to
 masculine nouns: العشر دنانير "the ten dinars"
 APRL VI 6, 3 (where read so with F'WAP, 178);
 خمس الدنانير " (the) five dinars" DAB 28, 6¹⁵ ;
 عشر قاريط "ten carats" APEL VI 356, 5 and

similarly AO xviii/3, 117, 6; فيس وعشرين عاما
 "twenty-five years" JNES v, 172, 14 (all 3rd cent.
 A.H.); عشر طيار "ten asses" APEL VI 365, 15
 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.).

- d. In the preceding sections some examples have already
 been presented of fluctuation in the gender of
 numerals within one and the same text. Some further
 instances: سنة refers to سنة (understood)
 JESHO xiv, 12, 10 (156 A.H.) but ست (read so!)
 in l. 18; اربع هزم "four bundles" APEL VI 367,
 4 (3rd cent. A.H.) as against اربعة هزم in l. 7 etc.

§194

On the basis of a very few examples in which ثمان
 appears in place of CA ثمانية, it seems possible,
 on the assumption that such cases do not belong to
 §193c, that the numeral "eight" was sometimes
 represented in the papyri, as in some other strata of
 Arabic, by unchangeable thamān¹: ثلاثة
ثمان راس (so, with §51g) الثو "three thousand and
 eight head (of livestock)" APEL IV 261, 13²;
فذلك ثمان الدراهم "that makes (the) eight dirhams"
 ibid., VI 426, 8 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); ثمان ارادب
 "eight artabas" FWAP 160, 4 (date ?)³.

§195

The numerals 11-19 have already in the papyri
 developed into compounds, very much along the same
 lines as in modern dialects. This fact is sometimes
 indicated by the spelling (§95-7¹) and is further
 reflected in the circumstance that all manner of

combinations of ten + unit are attested which would have been impossible in CA². In the numerals 13-19 the tendency is for forms of the type *اربعة عشر* (the masculine form in CA and the ancestor of the corresponding invariable numeral in most modern colloquials) to become fossilized and hence be applied with reference to feminine nouns also. One supposes this type *اربعة عشر* to have been the only form current in the spoken language; other forms or constructions impossible from the point of view of CA³ are most likely to be attributed to pseudo-correction³.

- a. The unit ends in *tā marbūta*, the ten in zero with reference to a feminine noun⁴ : *ثلاثة عشر ربية*
 "thirteen waybas" FWAP 135, 16; *سبعة عشر خشبة*
 "seventeen beams" Grohmann, TWÄ 21, 21 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); *ستة عشر ابلوجة* "sixteen sugar-loaves" APEL VI 399, 4 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.) and similarly passim; *سنة اربعة عشر وثلاثماية*
 "the year three hundred and fourteen" APH 4 (314 A.H.) where this phrase appears seven times but with *اربعة عشر* only once in l.10⁵; *جملة*
عشر "the total of females thereof is thirteen" APEL VI 364, 23 (317 A.H.);
 The spelling *اعشر* (95h) also occurs in this context⁶ *ثمانية عشر خردوبة* "eighteen *kharrūbas*" *Mélanges Islamologiques* iii, 20/1, nos. 52-6 (early 2nd cent. A.H.); *وسبعة عشر جرة* "and seventeen jars" APEL V 339, 9 (3rd cent. A.H.); *سنة ثلاثة*
اعشر "the year three hundred and thirteen" APRL X 13 (313 A.H.).

REMARK: Perhaps the peculiar form (98) in

سنة ثلاثين وساتين (?) "the year two hundred

and thirteen" BAU 5, 9 (213 A.H.) represents an invariable compound of a similar type.

- b. Both the digit and ten end in tā marbūta, a form impossible in CA with reference to either gender. Since this combination is attested only once in both ASP and JA⁷ its relative frequency in the papyri is somewhat surprising⁸. I have collected the following instances: ثلاثة عشرة درهما "thirteen dirhams" APEL VI 420, 2 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly Grohmann, EWÄ 24, 3 (3rd cent. A.H.); ثلاثة عشرة دينارا "thirteen dinars" APEL IV 237, 11 (249 A.H.); سنة وثلاثمائة وسبعة عشرة "the year three hundred and seventeen" *ibid.*, VI 364, 10, 18 (317 A.H.); ثمانية عشرة دينار "eighteen dinars" *ibid.*, 397, 18 (4th cent. A.H.). Cf. also the strange example from Miles, Glass Weights, 110, no. 71 (141-3 A.H.) quoted at §95e.

- c. The unit ends in zero, the ten in tā marbūta with reference not, as in CA, to a feminine noun, but to a masculine one⁹. I am able to quote only one instance: ثلاث عشرة درهما "thirteen dirhams" APEL V 359, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹⁰.
- d. The unit and the ten end in zero, an impossible form in CA with reference to either masculine or feminine¹¹:

اربع عشر ثوب "fourteen robes" APEL VI, 392, 9 (3rd cent. A.H.); سنة عشر دينار منها ثلث عشر تم "sixteen dinars of which thirteen are complete (?)" *ibid.*, 390, 5/6; ثلاث عشر ليلون "when thirteen (nights) had passed" *ibid.*, 399, 5 and similarly لست عشر, لثمن عشر, ولاربع عشر of the following lines, occurring in a text where

other examples of the numerals 13-19 belong to the type described above, a (both 3rd-4th cent. A.H.)¹² ;

سنة ثمان عشر <و> ثلثاية
 "for the year three hundred and eighteen" *ibid.*, III 195, 3
 (318 A.H.)¹³ .

The spelling اعشر (§95b) also occurs in this context: خمس اعشر درهما "fifteen dirhams" WZKM 54, 51, 6 (3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly ست اعشر درهما
ibid., 51/2, 7/8¹⁴ .

§196

The numeral "eleven" has developed, as in most modern dialects, into a compound (i)hdaCshar (or something approximating thereto), which is invariable for gender. The various ways in which this compound is spelled have been listed at §96; that it is invariable is demonstrated by the fact that it may be used with reference to feminine nouns as well as masculine ones¹ :

سنة احدى عشر ربية
 "the year one hundred and eleven" Mélanges Islamologiques iii, 18 no. 44 (111 A.H.)² ; احدى عشر

"eleven kharrūbas" *ibid.*, 20 no. 50
 (early 1st cent. A.H.); سنة احدى عشر [ة] ومائتي
 "the year two hundred and eleven" JESHO viii, 295,
 verso, 5 (211 A.H.) where it appears that the tā

marbūta has been erased; لا احدى عشر فلولون
 "when eleven (nights) had passed" and احدى عشر ابلاوية
 "eleven sugar-loaves" occurring together in APEL VI 399, 3, 8 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.), a document remarkable for its construction of the numerals and from which examples have been cited already at §195a, d;

نقرة "eleven silver pieces" Islamica 4, 267, no. 4, 4 (for the date of which s. §27 n. 4).

§197

In a similar fashion the numeral "twelve" has also developed into a compound whose pronunciation will have been something along the lines of it(h)na^cshar and which can be spelled in any of the ways indicated at §97a.

a. This compound is invariable as regards both gender and case ¹:

i. اثنا عشر / اثنا عشر may refer to a feminine noun: اثنا عشر
 "twelve kharrūbas" Mélanges Islamologiques

iii, 63 no. 242 (c. 180 A.H.); لاثني عشر ليلة
 من ذي القعدة (تتية §47k!) "when twelve nights remained of Dhu al-Qa^cda" BIFAO ii, 122, 5/6

(224 A.H.); إلا اثنا عشر حزمة "except twelve bundles" APEL VI 367, 3 and similarly JESHO viii, 309, recto 1 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

ii. اثنا عشر may occur in syntactical contexts

which in CA would have demanded casus obliquus

(cf. §97 n. 4): [اثنا عشر شهرا] "for twelve months"

APEL II 89, 3 (209 A.H.); في اثنا عشر جلا (?)

"by twelve jalls (?)" ZDMG 92, 122, 8 (241 A.H.);

سنة كاملة واحدة (read so?) اثنا عشر شهرا

"for one (?) full year, twelve months" Études ...

Lévi-Provencal II, 511, 3 (263 A.H.); لاثنا عشر زلزلون

"when twelve (nights) had passed" APEL VI 399, 4

(3rd-4th cent. A.H.)³; ادفع اثنا عشر قادوس

"Deliver ... twelve buckets!" Mélanges Islamologiques

ii, 110, 1/2 (324 A.H.).

REMARK: I have not yet found in the papyri an example of the inverse phenomenon i.e. اثني عشر used in contexts in which CA would have required casus rectus. For this s. Blau, ASP, 240 n. 193; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 95.

b. Other combinations occur, impossible from the point of view of CA, in which the digit component of the numeral "twelve" has masculine form but feminine reference:

- i. اثنا / اثني عشرة refers to a feminine noun:
 لاثني عشرة ليلة فلت "when twelve nights had passed" APEL VI 428, 2 (first half of 3rd cent. A.H.);
 لاثني عشرة فلون "when twelve (nights) had passed" Wessely 92, 2 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.); سنة اثني عشرة وثلاثمائة "the year three hundred and twelve" APEL III 192, 7/8 (312 A.H.)⁴.

Such a hybrid combination is attested also with reference to a masculine noun: اثنا عشرة رطل "twelve pounds" APEL VI 395, 8 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);
 دراهم اثنا عشرة "dirhams: twelve" (apparently accusative, cf. above a, ii) *ibid.*, 397, 16 (4th cent. A.H.).

- ii. For لاثني عشر مئتين "when twelve (nights) had passed" BIFAO ii, 136, 10 (347 A.H.) s. §97 b.
 iii. For [واحدة] لاثني عشر Hirbet el-Mird 49, 5/6 (2nd cent. A.H.) and سنة اثني عشرة "the year twelve" PSBA, June 1887, 333, 4 (412 A.H.) s. §97c.
 c. I have noted only one case of the hybrid form of the numeral "twelve" in which the digit has feminine form whereas the ten ends in zero⁵: لاثني عشر

ليلة بقيت "when twelve nights remained"

WZKM xxxii, 281, 6/7 (102 A.H.), where, to judge from the facsimile, the reading عشر is quite clear and there is no need to restore [عشرة] with the editor.

{198

- a. اهد may refer to a feminine noun outside a negative sentence, the only context in which this occurs in CA¹. Thus far, however, this phenomenon has been noted mainly in cases in which اهد is co-ordinated with a following decad²: سنة اهد واربعين: "the year two hundred and forty-one" APREL II 104, 2 and 4 (241 A.H.) and similarly ibid., 124, 6/7 (271 A.H.)³; اهد وعشرين وربة "twenty-one waybas" PBR Inv. Ar. Pap. 560, 2/3 in FWAP, 153; اهد ستين (103 b, i) جرة⁴ "sixty-one jars" APREL XII 2, 7 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.); اهد وعشرين فضة "twenty-one silver coins" APREL VI 396, 12 (4th cent. A.H.).

اهد is also found with feminine reference⁵ when followed by a pronominal suffix of the dual:

الكفين تنقن اهدهما الاخرى "... two palms, one cleans the other" Ibn Wahb 27, 5/6 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);

اثنتين اما اهدها ... واما الاخرى "two things, as for one of them ... and as for the other ..." ibid., 43⁶

8/9 .

- b. اهدى referring to masculine nouns probably does not represent a misapplied CA feminine but rather, perhaps, vernacular ihdā⁷. For اهدى البابين "one of the two gates" Ibn Wahb 17, 4

(late 3rd cent. A.H.) s. already §83 n.15. A more decisive example occurs in the same text: ⁸ *أجس* *الكاذبين* "one of the liars" *ibid.*, 73, 8 .

- c. The occurrence of *واحد* with feminine reference is uncertain. Some cases of the expression *صفتة واحدة* / *صفتة* "with one striking of the hands" are cited, with a different explanation, at §47e; cf. also *صفتة واحد* APEL I 63, 4 (434 A.H.).

§199

اثنين "two", the masculine form in CA, may in ¹ the papyri be used to refer to a feminine noun .

- a. It is probably due to the very nature of the available material that this phenomenon is attested almost exclusively after *سنة* "year" indicating the date ² . The earliest case I know occurs on a coin from 82 A.H.: *سنة اثنين وثمانين* "the year eighty-two" Walker, Catalogue II, 83 ³ but from a papyrus the earliest example yet noted occurs twice in *سنة اثنين وثمانين ومائة* "the year one hundred and eighty-two" Florilegium ... de Vogüé, 413, 7, 10 (182 A.H.) ⁴ . Further instances: MPER i, 105 n. 4 (192 A.H.); BAU 4, 8 (202 A.H.); APEL II 88, 4 (261 A.H.) ⁵; *ibid.*, IV 255, 5 and V 351, 6 (both 262 A.H.); *ibid.*, II 129, 1 (272 A.H.); APH 1, 11. 11, 16, ⁵ 23 and AO xviii/3, 112, 3 (both 342 A.H.); BAU 12, 8 (382 A.H.) ⁶ .

- b. Otherwise I can attest this feature only in an

example where ⁷ اثنان precedes a decad with which it forms a compound numeral :

مائة واثنين "one hundred and forty-two coverings"

Wessely 56r 3 and similarly 1.4 (4th cent. A.H.).

§200

Awwal "first" is occasionally found to refer to a feminine noun ¹ :

(read so! ² سنة من اولين)

سنة ربيع "five years, the first of them

(beginning from) the month of Rabīc" APEL I 38,

8/9 (259 A.H.) and similarly *ibid.*, II 145, 4 (271

A.H.); I 42, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.), where اولين refers

to ³ سنة "years". All these examples are quoted above §145a.

§201

واحد "one" occurs in a negative sentence (against CA which uses احد ¹ in such cases) in الا عامل

الا واحد "that I should deal with only one"

Margoliouth, Arabic Payri ... Bodleian Library,

I, p. 2, ll.5/6 (late 2nd cent. A.H., s. §90 n.4).

REMARK: Levi della Vida, JAGS 64, 135 n.40

proposed to read Jahn 16, 9 (3rd cent. A.H.) in a

manner which would have produced احد in a

positive sentence, a phenomenon largely foreign

to CA (s. e.g. Blau, IOS iii, 210). This احد

however, should be disregarded and preference given

to Jahn's reading of the word in question as نهر.

§202

Only rarely does the counted noun after mila

"hundred" and alf "thousand" appear in the accusative singular¹.
 سَاتِي اَرْدَبَا شَعِير "two hundred artabas of barley" (translate so!) APFL VI 378r, 18 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.);
 مَائِي رَاسَا "two hundred head (of live-stock)" *ibid.*, IV 261, 14 (3rd cent. A.H.); (الفو 51g)
 اَرَب مَائِي رَاسَا "one thousand and four hundred head" *ibid.*, 16. Cf. above §85 n.17.

§203

- a. The accusative singular of the counted noun after the numerals 3-10 is very rare indeed¹; I can cite only two examples:
 ثَلَاثَةُ الْفُو (الفو 51g and below, b, ii) (!) ثَمَان رَاسَا "three thousand and eight head (of live-stock)" APFL IV 261, 13 (3rd cent. A.H.)²; لَيْلَا فَيَلُون "when six nights had passed" *ibid.*, VI 412, 2 (4th cent. A.H.).
- b. Much more frequent is the singular not marked as accusative in this position³:
- i. The noun denotes a coin or a measure⁴: مَعْنِيَّة (58c) دِينَار "eight dinars" PERF 573 in Grohmann, Einführung, 184 (57 A.H.)⁵ and similarly APFL II 104, 1, 4 (241 A.H.); *ibid.*, IV 266, 14; JESHO viii, 302, 6; APFL V 2r, 3, 7 (?) as read by Grohmann, Anzeiger der Österr. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 85, 234; تِسْعَةَ دِينَار "nine dinars" APFL VI 366, 4 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.)⁶; ثَلَاثَةُ دِرْهَم "three dirhams" Jahn 9, 6; (read دِرْهَم) (!) خَمْسَةَ دِرْهَم "five dirhams" BAU 3, 12 (both late 2nd cent. A.H.) and similarly Grohmann, TWA 14, 11. 2, 5 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); APFL IV 282, 3 (3rd cent. A.H.). عَشْرَةَ قِيْرَاط *ibid.*, VI 392, 2 cannot be included here; s. the correct reading given there p.245. For such a singular after "two" s. §84 n.32.

- ii. The counted noun is ⁸ أربعة الف "thousand" : "four thousand" APEL VI 379,20 (248 A.H.) and similarly ibid., IV 261, ll. 8,10,13 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- iii. Other counted nouns: For ثلاثة منديل "three kerchiefs" Ak. Wien Denkschr. 62/1, 67,5 (1st cent. A.H.) s. §9c where منديل is accounted scriptio defectiva; a more certain case is تسعة فدان "nine faddāns" Wessely 5,6 (273 A.H.).

§204

The plural of the counted noun after the numerals 11-19 occurs in the following examples¹. تسعة عشر قريرب "nineteen carats" PERF 573 in Grohmann, Einführung, 184 (57 A.H.)²; تسعة وعشرة خروبات (!?) "nineteen kharrūbas" Miles, Glass Weights, 110, no. 71 (141-3 A.H.) mentioned above §95e; 195b; خمسة عشر اراب قمح "fifteen artabas of grain" MBZP 19, 339,10 (180 A.H.); احدى عشر (?) "eleven dinars" Wessely 65,6 (3rd cent. A.H.)³; ثلاثين اباليج "thirty sugar-loaves" APEL VI 400,5 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.).

§205

أول "first" is found governing a grammatically definite nomen rectum¹: فإنه ليس بأول معروفك الي "for it would not be the first favour you have done me" Jahn 1,6 (late 1st-early 2nd cent. A.H.)²; وأول النبي "and the first prophet of the children of Israel was Moses" JNES v, 176,5; أول السنة "the first request" DAB 26,1; من أول كسبنا ومن الثاني "from our first earnings, and from the second ..." ibid., 28,5 (all 3rd cent. A.H.). Cf. §187.

§206

- a. Numerals which govern the counted noun in status constructus may receive the definite article, which also appears with the nomen rectum¹ : وبالاربعة الدينير "and the four dinars" APEL III 152, 5/6 (90 A.H.); "and these ten dinars" *ibid.*, I 48,4 and similarly III 181,13 (both 233 A.H.); "the hundred dinars" JESHO viii,279,6/7; "with the three dirhams" APRL VI 12,14 as against *بالتلك الدراهم* in 1.11 (both 3rd cent. A.H.). For an example of nisf "half" construed in this manner s. above §181b,ii,end.
- b. But there are also cases in which only the numeral receives the definite article³ : "the thousand dinars" ZNW 37,53,3 (1st-early 2nd cent. A.H.); *الاربعة* (read so!) "the four dinars" JESHO xiv,12,8 (156 A.H.); "the three hundred and fifty dinars" APEL V 290,3 where single determination (against CA) and double determination (with CA, §208b) alternate; "per one hundred branches" *ibid.*, VI 398,9; "these four women" APRL IX 2, 19⁴ (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); "and the seven garments" *ibid.*, VIII 8,5 (presumably contemporary); *هذه*⁴ "these five months" *ibid.*, IX 3,6 (306 A.H.). For fractions construed in this manner when preceded by a demonstrative s. above §181a,i.

§207

In the case of a single numeral governing a counted noun in the accusative, in CA the article may be

attached either to the numeral alone or to both the numeral and the counted noun¹. In the papyri I have recorded only the former possibility: العشرين ديناراً "the twenty dinars" APPL II 114,2/3 (241 A.H.). For the situation with regard to compound numerals s. the next paragraph.

§208

In constructions involving compound numerals (i.e. consisting of more than one element) governing the counted noun in the accusative, the definite article may be prefixed (a) to the first element of the numeral alone or (b) to both the numeral(s) and the counted noun.

a. The article appears with the first numerical element only¹ :

i. The unit has the article, but the ten has not² :

السبعة وعشرين ديناراً "the twenty-seven dinars" JESHO viii,302,4/5; الستة واربعين ثوباً "the forty-six garments" APPL VII 1,16 and الخمسة وستين ديناراً "the sixty-five dinars" *ibid.*, 1.18 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

ii. "Hundred" as the first element receives the article:

مائة واربعين ملفاً (199b) "these one hundred and forty-one coverings" Wessely 56r,4 (4th cent. A.H.).

b. Both the numerical element(s) and the counted noun receive the article³ : الاثني عشر الدينار (read so with 97b) "the twelve dinars" JESHO viii,289,1 (202 A.H.);

الثلاثة والخمسين الدينار (1) "the three

hundred and fifty dinars" APEL V 290,3 (3rd cent. A.H.).

{209

Very commonly a counted noun is not repeated after a fraction¹: [دينير] ونصف دينار نجار دينار " [dinar] and a half; and as wages for a native carpenter one dinar and one third monthly" PAF VIII 6/7 (90 A.H.); عشر دينير ونصف "ten dinars and a half" *ibid.*, I,5 (91 A.H.); ثمانية وثمانون "eight waybas and a half" APRL I 5, 8 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 173) and similarly often e.g. FWAP 161,10/11 (2nd cent. A.H.); BAU 4,3 (202 A.H.); APEL II 89,4 (209 A.H.); *ibid.*, 88,1 (261 A.H.); *ibid.*, III 202,6; DAB 28,5; Grohmann, TWÄ 4,7 (all 3rd cent. A.H.).

Repetition does occur, but it is less frequent:

مائة دينير واحد وثلاثين دينيرا وثلاث دينير
 "one hundred and thirty-one dinars and one third" PSR iii, Anhang b, 5/6 (91 A.H.); هذا الدينير ونصف دينار (61d)²
 "this dinar and a half" JESHO xiv, 21, 5/7 (208 A.H.).²

{210

As in CA¹, the counted noun may or may not be repeated after the elements of a compound numeral.

The former possibility: مائة دينير واحد وثلاثين دينير وثلاث دينير
 "one hundred and thirty-one dinars and a third" PSR iii, Anhang b, 5/6 (91 A.H.)². The latter: ستة مائة وسبعة عشر وثلاثي ارب قمح
 "six hundred and seventeen and two thirds artabas of wheat" APEL IV 286,14 (87 A.H.).

§211

Numerical disjunction is expressed by the conjunction ¹
aw in ثلاثة أو يومين "two or three days" DAB 44,12;

بأربعة أيام أو خمسة "in four or five days"

Wessely 57,5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

Asyndetic disjunction, as in CA and modern dialects ²,

I find only in the later text (§ 27 n.4) Islanica

4,254,7: (§ 30a) دفتين ثلاثة "two or three times".

§212

An ordinal numeral may receive the definite article ¹
whereas the noun to which it refers does not .

ربيع الاول etc. and عام الاول have
already been dealt with at § 83 n.20 and 135 n.3

respectively. Other instances: ويوم الثاني

"and the second day" Grohmann, TWÄ 20,5; *ibid.*, no.21

contains a whole series of such constructions from

يوم الثاني to يوم التاسع (both 3rd
cent. A.H.); يوم الاول "the first day" APRL

XV 55,4 (presumably contemporary).

§213

- a. In CA the day of the week/month and the month of
the year are normally indicated after the pattern

عشر فلان من رجب "when ten (nights) had
passed of Rajab", i.e. the day is introduced by li-
and the month by min ¹ ². But in the papyri the day

and the month are quite regularly simply juxtaposed
with no intervening or preceding preposition:

١٤ مكيه "Sunday, 15th Mekhir" APPEL IV 285,
 7; similarly VI 415 passim (both 2nd - 3rd cent.
 A.H.); ١٥ مكيه "Monday, 26th Mesori"
 ibid., III 182,1 (241 A.H.). Further: ibid., IV
 235,1 (270 A.H.); ١٦ مكيه "Wednesday,
 6th Dhū al-Hijja" 240,1; VI 369 passim (both 3rd
 cent. A.H.); ١٧ مكيه "Saturday, 5th Dhū
 al-Hijja" IV 279v,3 (301 A.H.) etc.

b. In one case the preposition bi- is perhaps used:

٢٠ مكيه "the twentieth of Sha'ban"
 4
 APPEL IV 265,10 (262 A.H.) .

• • •

PRONOUNS

§214

Neither in CA nor in the papyri is usage consistent concerning the employment of the pronominal copula.

a. The pronominal copula is used in an environment in which it may have been omitted:

i. After a subject introduced by ¹ : لقد كنت ان
 اظن ان عملك هو انجح وفيها (170b) مما رايت

"I had thought your administration more successful and better than what I (now) see it to be" Abbott, Kurrah IV, 19-21 (90 or 91 A.H.).

ii. Before an attributive prepositional phrase ² : وكل حق

هو لنا المنزل "and every right pertaining to this dwelling" APEL I 59,4 (341 A.H.) and elsewhere in this formula of property contracts as BAU 10, Fortsetzung,5 (405 A.H.); APEL I 60,7 (406 A.H.).

In ³ الذي انه من ثبيت القوصي "that which is from Thubayt al-Qūsī" APEL VI 406,2 (3rd cent. A.H.) inna + pronominal suffix appears in this function.

b. The pronominal copula is absent between subject and predicate when both are grammatically definite ³ :

هذا القبلي القبالة المعروفة "its southern boundary is the tenancy known as..." APEL IV 270,16/7 (3rd cent. A.H.) and not uncommonly in boundary specifications of this kind as *ibid.*, I 57,6 (341 A.H.).

§215

quite commonly personal pronouns are juxtaposed

with verbal forms with no discernible emphasis resulting from this double mention of the subject:

- a. The personal pronoun precedes the verb¹: **وانا ارجو** "and I hope" NPAF I, 6/7,20 (91 A.H.); **وانت تعلم** "and you know" DAB 2,10 (probably 205/6 A.H.) and *ibid.*, 38,5 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); **وانت تعرفه** "and you know it" DAB 24,9 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) and **وانحن نرجوا** "and we hope" *ibid.*, 1.13; **وانحن نحتاج** "and I saw" APEL V 289,12; **وانحن لا يمنع** "and we require" DAB 8r,9; (read so!) **وانا اعلم** "and he will not be prevented" Jahn 14,9 "and I know" AO xviii/3,113,6/7 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); **وانا اسأل** "so I ask" APEL VIII 8,3 (presumably contemporary); **وانا رجعت والت** "I came back and returned" DAB 36,5 (3rd -4th cent. A.H.). For conditional clauses s. § 309a.

- b. Less commonly does the personal pronoun follow the verb²: **يزعمون هم** "they claim" Abh. d. Königl. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1875, 137, 14; **كنت انا صبي صغير** "I was a young lad" FWAP 186,5/6 (both c. 2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); **ولقد كنت انا** "and I used to..." APEL V 291,19/20 and **ان بقيت انا** "I remained" *ibid.*, 1.22 (4th cent. A.H.).

§216

A certain degree of emphasis is perhaps implicit in the addition of the personal pronoun to inna + pronominal subject¹ in **انى انا انسان مكين** "(Indeed) I am a poor man" Jahn 7,4 (2nd - 3rd A.H.)².

§217

An anticipatory personal pronoun refers to a prepositional phrase¹ in (§138a,i) *وقسم يقرؤ في المنزل* "and those at home send you their best wishes" APRL VI 20,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.). For damīr al-shaḥn s. §262.

§218

For fluctuation of person in epistolary and legal style s. Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 19; DAB, 37 and 160 and above §83 n.45; 149¹.

§219

Co-ordination of a noun to a pronominal suffix of the genitive is contrary to the usage of CA¹. I find two cases only in the papyri: *ان تسمع كلامه ولسنه* "that you hear both his case and that of his brother-in-law" Giessen 9,6 (c. 178 A.H.)²; *قرات عليك* "I greet you and your son³ and your brother" APEL V 306, 32-6 (after 334 A.H.)³.

§220

Sometimes a noun is repeated instead of being referred to by a pronominal suffix (cf. §178 n.1)¹: *باغض اليه اشرا واهل اشرا* "Asher and his family being hateful to him" (read and translate, I think, so; the letter is evidently Jewish) Jahn 10,4 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); *وانما الحلفا لنا وعلماني والبرائت*; *الذين همسوا ذلك الحلفا* "the halfa grass belongs only to us, to my servants and the farmers who

cropped it" DAB 3,4 (3rd cent. A.H.)².

{221

Owing to the nature of Arabic script, which effectively conceals many linguistic features about which one would like to be informed, no certain cases are identifiable of indirect pronominal suffixes, i.e. cases which exhibit the amalgamation of li + pronominal suffix into one stress-unit with the preceding verbal form¹. Possibly واقِلْ لَهَا "and I shall say to her" Ibn Wahb 71,9 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) reflecting something like agúllaha should be viewed in this light² rather than in accordance with §81b. A case such as لم يَبْتَالِي "there did not remain for me" spelled, or at least printed, as one word at AFEL VI 389,16 (3rd cent. A.H.) may also exemplify this phenomenon³.

{222

The typically Egyptian post-position of the demonstrative¹ is not certainly attested in the papyri, for in ادْفَعْ اِلَىٰ هَاهُ الْخَزْدَلِ اَرْبَعِ الدِّرْهَامِ هٰذَا وَافْزِ مِنْكَ "Pay to the mustard-dealer these four dirhams, and he has taken from you..." AFEL V 359, 3/4 (3rd cent. A.H.), the post-position of هٰذَا² is in accordance with CA usage. Nevertheless, it will be noticed that the word-order in this example is at variance with the usual manner of construing a demonstrative with a numeral + counted noun found elsewhere in these documents, s. some examples in §206.

§223

No case occurs in the papyri of a demonstrative coupled with an indefinite noun¹ as *لك حاجة لك* BAU 3,13 (late 2nd cent. A.H., s. Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7) should be corrected to *لك حاجة لك*. "about any need you may have" with Fraenkel, ZDMG 51,170.

§224

Although demonstratives preceding proper names which are not defined by the article are well attested in several strata of Arabic¹ I prefer to interpret

وهذا ابو محمد قد امر APEL V 289,10 (3rd cent. A.H.) as containing presentative² *هذا* (§261a): "and now Abū Muhammad has gone and ordered...".

§225

The occurrence of *ذلك* "that" instead an expected¹ (or possible) personal pronoun is uncommon: *من ذلك* "thereof" APEL IV 261,10 alternating in identical contexts with *منه* 11.13,23 with reference to head of livestock; *دين واحد فاني احتاج الى ذلك الساعة* "... one dinar, for I need it now" DAB 23,6-8.

In one instance the noun in question is itself repeated preceded by *وانما الحننا . . . الذين همسوا : ذلك* *الحننا* "the halfā grass... (those) who cropped that halfā grass" DAB 3,4 quoted above §220 (all 3rd cent. A.H.).

§226

I have found no example in the papyri of the construction

of ba^cd... ba^cd mentioned by Bla^u, ASP, 407 §295.2¹.
Only the CA arrangement seems to occur as APRL XIV 2,
Col.ii,4 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 32,15 (before 314
A.H.).

* * *

PREPOSITIONS

§227

ilā:

- a. The non-CA construction ¹min ... wa-ilā "from ... until"² has been noted but once: من قبل وإلى هذه الغاية "from time past until now" DAB 10,5 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. Somewhat unusual is ilā in the temporal sense exemplified by ان افترغ مما انا فيه الى ايام قليلة "that I shall be finished with my present business in a few days" DAB 1r,7 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)³; الى كم ترسلها "how long will it be before you send it?" *ibid.*, 33v,3 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

§228

Bi-:

- a. Repetition/distribution may be expressed by two identical nouns, the second being introduced by bi-¹: حرف بحرف "letter for letter" APFL II 98,9 (236 A.H.) for which expression s. §167 n.11; كل يوم بيوم "each day" APFL XII 2,2 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. Bi- introduces the subject of a nominal clause² in الذي له على ولده دين "whose son owes him a dinar" Grohmann, TWÄ 12,6 (260 A.H.).
- c. For the strange use of bi- to mark the day of the month s. §213b.
- d. For bi- used to introduce animate as well as inanimate objects after verbs of sending s. §333 n.1.

{229

After the model of baʿd ... baʿd (§226) repetition of bayn serves to express reciprocity: بينهم¹ بين.
 "among themselves" DAB 8v,2 (3rd cent. A.H.) .

{230

Li:

a.

i. The preposition li- is occasionally and for the circumlocution of the definite direct object ¹:

اربعة سواقي ساقيتين تسقى للقرط وساقيتين تسقى للقمح
 "four canals (water-wheels?), two irrigating the clover and two irrigating the wheat" Jahn 17,27/8

(3rd cent. A.H.); ليس ينأهني أبو عبد الله ... أنا
 "and Abū ʿAbd Allah... will not divulge what he knows of the situation

between us" DAB 17,5/6²; لن تستطيعوا أن تسعوا

"you will not be able to suffice people with your wealth" Ibn Wahb 65,8; يخطب للناس³

"preaching to the people" ibid., 71,3⁴ (all late 3rd cent. A.H.) .

ii. Li- marks one of the objects of a verb usually

construed in CA with two direct objects ⁵: بعته لي

"sell me (§312a,ii) two hundred artabas!" DAB 2,12 (probably 205-6 A.H.).

b. Li- + pronominal suffix construed with a noun of time and a circumstantial complement indicates the period elapsed since a certain state of affairs first took effect ⁶:

أني وقعت من فوق السطح رقعة عظيمة
 "I fell heavily from the roof of a large hall" اليعوم أن شهر مطرودة علن بيني

from the roof, and today it is a month that I have been laid out on my side" DAB 33r,4/5 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

- c. Li- used to circumscribe the status constructus ⁷ hardly occurs in the papyri; DAB 3,3 *انه حمل حلفنا* *لنعم الى ساقينا* is translated by the editor: "dass er Halfa, welches (anderen) Leuten (gehört), zu unserem Bewässerungskanal gebracht habe" (3rd cent. A.H.).

§231

Min:

- a. There is no consistent practice with regard to the use of min to indicate the year of the date; it is present or absent according to no discernible principle. Thus in *في شهر من سنة احدى وتسعين* "in Šafar of the year ninety-one" PSR iii V,7 and VI, 6/7 the preposition is used, whereas in the otherwise identical phrase PAF I,16 and NPAF VIII,20/1 it is not (all 91 A.H.).

According to Reckendorf, Syntax, 259 ¹ this min between the month and the year is obligatory when the month in question is one of the four which are accompanied by an adjectival attribute. This is not so in the papyri, at least in those from the Aphrodito archive. Thus we find *شهر ربيع الاول من سنة*

تسعين "in the month Rabīc I of the year ninety" APEL III 150,22/3 (90 A.H.) as against *في شهر ربيع الاول سنة احدى وتسعين* PSR iii I,30/1 and II,42-4 (both 91 A.H.).

- b. Peculiar to the document published by Grohmann, TWÄ 20 (3rd cent. A.H.) is the construction of numeral + min + counted noun: أربعة من الأجر "four hired workers" ll.4 and 9; ستة من الأجر "six hired workers" ll.5/6².
- c. Min occurs after a demonstrative³: في ذلك من الأجر "during such a period" APEL III 175,9/10 (112 A.H.) and similarly Journal des Savans 1825,463,8 (where it can be safely restored), 464,7 (both 133 A.H.).

§232

In strict CA mundhu "since" is followed by the nominative when in construction with an undefined expression denoting the time elapsed¹. The genitive, however, in منذ أربعين سنة "for forty years" APEL III 150,8/9 (90 A.H.) and منذ يومين "two days ago / for two days" DAB 12,5 (3rd cent. A.H.) is not a peculiarity in any way connected with the construction of this particular word², but simply reflects the disappearance of the whole category of nominative from the morphology of the sound masculine plural (§86a) and the dual (§85a).

§233

There is little consistency in the matter of repetition : non-repetition of prepositions in parallel members¹ :

- a. The preposition is not repeated: وأما الحلفا لنا وعلماني
والجراس "the halfā grass belongs only to us, my servants and the ploughmen" DAB 3,4 (3rd cent. A.H.);

تحت النبي و ابا بكر "behind the Prophet and Abū Bakr" Mélanges Massignon III, 376, 7 (latter half of 3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. The preposition is repeated: الى سلطان كورتك والى الى
 موازيت القرى "to the treasurer of your district
 and to the headmen of the villages" NPAF III, 27/8
 (90 or 91 A.H.).

But the repetition need not be consistent when more than two members are co-ordinated²:
 اكتب الى بخران : و حالك و بما يكون لك من حاجة
 "write to me about your news and state of affairs, and about what you need!" BAU 3,8/9 (late 2nd cent. A.H.^{3 4}).

- c. Bayn "between" may be repeated even between two nouns⁵:

الحد الفاصل بين ارض سفا و بين هذا الساف
 "the boundary dividing the land of Safrā from this row"⁶ APEL I 53,15-7 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.);
 و فلى "and leave the agent of Hāda (?) and his crop alone!" APRL II 8,10/11;
 بين هذه البقعة و بين منيلا و
 and between Manhalāwe" APEL IV 270,11 and similarly 1.19 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

Cf. also فقد مر بيني و بين ابن الفوارس طمان و بين اول
 "there occurred some hostility between me and between Abū al-Fawāris, and between last year's guarantors" APEL V 291,39 (4th cent. A.H.), where, however, the first bayn is provided with a pronominal suffix.

members¹ is very rare in the papyri; the only cases I have so far encountered are

اقدم على "come to me ... I ordered you to come to me" Abbott, Kurrah IV,15-7 (90 or 91 A.H.) and the rather doubtful example APEL V 289,11

(3rd cent. A.H.) which is read by the editor من ابن العباس وكيل ومن قبل ابن محمد ربه and rendered by him: "from the side of Abu'l-Abbās an agent and from Abū Muhammad one man". But the papyrus is a little damaged at this point and the reading hence suspect; وكيل may be "and Chael", a frequent name in the papyri, and behind قبل one may well detect a further proper name.

§235

The succession of two prepositions is avoided by employing a relative clause¹. Examples of fīmā bayn have been given at §112 and of ilā mā qibal at §125c. Some further instances of the latter locution: APEL III 177,2; *ibid.*, V 339,8 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); DAB 1r,713 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

REMARK: Cases such as من قبل "from" APEL VI 403,4 (4th cent. A.H.) and §125b, من / الى عند "from/to" §121 and من فوق "from on" DAB 33r, 4 (early 4th cent. A.H.) do not belong here, s. e.g. Wright II,189; Reckendorf, Syntax,222.

§236

The price of a commodity per measure for sale may be expressed by mere juxtaposition of the constituents without the use of a preposition: سنة عشر غرابيل

and all "at the rate of ten carats per
hundred branches" APEL VI 398,9 (3rd cent. A.H.)¹.

• • •

§237

There is no trace in the papyri of the recession of qad, which is used ever more sparingly in the development of colloquial Arabic and in many modern dialects has disappeared altogether.¹

- a. Before the perfect qad is extremely frequent from the first century A.H. onwards: فانه قد ذهب من "you know how much time has passed, and the tax is late"² PSR iii I, 5-7 (91 A.H.) etc. For قد construed with كان and the perfect s. §238b.
- b. Before the imperfect, on the other hand, the occurrence of qad is not securely attested³: قد يصل Jahn 12,8 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) is an error and should be read قد دخل "so he entered" with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 133; for the very peculiar وقد بناولك ابوك الساج translated "And the boy of thy father has bought us the frying-pan" by Grohmann, FWAP, 168 (3rd cent. A.H.), Dietrich, Islam 31,86 offers وقد بناولك ابوك الساج "Vielleicht wird Dein Vater Dir den sāg aushändigen", cf. §162 n.12.
- This leaves only the broken context of APBL VI 374, 12 (3rd cent. A.H.): وقد يومل الى زرع فدان which is said to mean "and for sowing one faddân there has arrived ...". The editing of the text here is suspect.

AUXILIARY VERBS

§238

- a. Kān(a) followed by the perfect need not always be translated as past perfect ¹: ما كان عبد الله بن عبد الملك قسم عليهم من رزقه "of what 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Malik (has) distributed among them of his provisions" NPAF XII 2-4 (Becker: "auf sie verteilt hatte" ²); فانظر على استغنى كورتك "look into what is still outstanding from the bishop of your district" Abbott, Kurrah I, 6-8 (both 90 A.H.). For conditional clauses s. §313b and for hypothetical clauses cf. §§317; 318b.

- b. Nor need the combination of qad with kān and the perfect denote past perfect, although in some cases this will be the most suitable interpretation:

- i. Qad separates kān from the perfect: كنت قد سرت "I had departed" APEL V 291,21 (4th cent. A.H.). This is probably the commonest sequence of components in CA ³, but, apparently, is less frequent in the papyri than the following arrangement:
- ii. Qad precedes both kān and the perfect: ولا انهار ذلك "and I cannot but think that has reached you" NPAF III, 3/4 (90 or 91 A.H.); وقد كنت اعلمتك "I have already informed you" APEL V 292,5; وقد كنت كتبت اليك كتاب قبل هذا "I have already written you a letter before this one" *ibid.*, 301,4 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); وقد كان وافا الى الرخلة "and he has already ... arrived in al-Dākhila" APEL V 291, 23/4 (4th cent. A.H.), the same document as that cited above, i.

§239

The combination kān + imperfect in addition to expressing a durative past as frequently in CA, e.g. لقد كنت اظن ان "I was under the impression that ..." Abbott, Kurrah IV,19 (90 or 91 A.H.), is used also for hypothetical statements: ¹ والله ما كنت احببه على ذلك "By God, I would never have thought it of him!" Jahn 10, 4/5 where read and translate so; negated: فما سمعني ما لم اكن والله "he gave me to hear words which I would not, by God, have tolerated even from his master had he been present" Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri Bodleian Library I, p. 2, 3/4 (both late 2nd cent. A.H. ²). Cf. also كان يشتري "he ought to buy" in the later Geniza text in Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 6,16 (cf. *ibid.*,21). For kān + imperfect referring to the present in the protasis of conditional clauses s. §313a.

§240

An yakūn(a) + perfect corresponds to a perfect subjunctive ¹: وارهبوا ان يكون الله ... قد وصب لى العافية "and I hope that God ... has given you health" FWAP 184, 10/11 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); وارهبوا ان تكون قد فعلت "and I hope that you have already done that" APEL V 298v,2 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.). For yakū(n) + perfect in the protasis of conditional clauses s. §313c.

§241

An unusual phenomenon is the employment of yakūn as an index before the imperfect ¹: دفتار ملاح (?) اكون اقرا فيها "books of a sailor(?) which I can read" APEL V 309, 5/6 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§242

APEL V 302,12 (4th cent. A.H.) rendered by Grohmann as "do not take it (read: ¹ لا تأخذها لنفسك؟ S.A.H.) for yourself" is in my opinion much too uncertain to be included as an example of kun preceding an imperative (in this case prohibitive) ¹.

§243

I can attest the combination of kun + participle as periphrasis of the imperative ¹ by only one example:

وكن متوكلا على الله "and be trusting in God!" DAB 7,10 (3rd cent A.H.).

§244

Invariable kān ¹ is very rare: كان تشهد "she used to testify" occurring on a tombstone in BIFAO ii, 127, 12/3 (256 A.H.); وكان عماد والدتك حية in the sentence from Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.) quoted below §246.

§245

Auxiliary raja ¹ "to do again" occurs only in the late (s. §27 n.4) example (§30a; 133) وترجع تعمله تالته "and you will do it again, a third time" Islamica 4, 250, 8.

§246

The unique occurrence of cād "still/yet" as an adverb presupposes the use of the same root as an auxiliary verb ¹; the auxiliary will have become invariable ² and have developed into an adverb ³: فقال عماد والدتك حية "so he said 'Is your mother still alive?'. He said 'No'. He said 'If your mother were still alive, I would have told you'"

Ibn Wahb 12,18-13,1 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁴.

§247

The extension of function whereby ingressive verbs develop into duratives¹ is exhibited by *ولو ذهبت اصف لك كل مالي* "and were I to set about describing to you all that has happened to me, it would be a long story"²
 APRL VII 50,2 (c.3rd cent. A.H.).

§248

The language of the Arabic papyri makes very little use of any explicit markers of the future; the time reference of any particular verb is generally quite clear from the context, sa- and sawf(a) are of rather rare occurrence, for the former s. e.g. APRL XV 34,2, the latter Jahn 14, 7 (both presumably 3rd cent. A.H.).

In one instance the future is expressed, or so it would appear, by srād(a)¹ construed asyndetically (§269i) with a following imperfect: *تظن انك تريد عمله باطل* "you think you would be going to work at it to no avail" APEL V 305, 6 (3rd cent. A.H.).

. . .

ASYNDETTIC DISTRIBUTIVE REPETITION

§249

As in CA and other varieties of Arabic asyndetic repetition of two nouns expresses a distributive meaning :

حرفنا حرفنا "letter by letter" APEL I 39,11 (264 A.H.); APH 14,8 (270 A.H.); APEL II 122,6 (272 A.H.); *ibid.*, I 41,15 (279 A.H.); APH 3,13 (297 A.H.); باسم رجل رجل "in the name of each man" APH 13,8 (after 294 A.H.); قرية قرية "village by village" APEL IV 261,3 (3rd cent. A.H.); تحت نخلة نخلة "under one palm-tree after another" APEL V 291,29 (4th cent. A.H.); *م م* "bushel by bushel" *ibid.*, l. 30. But this is not the only means of denoting distribution in the papyri; the same effect may be achieved by the preposition bi- (§228a) or by fa- (§250) or wa- (§225).

. . .

FA- AND WA-

§250

In addition to the asyndetic arrangement documented in the preceding paragraph distributive meaning is achieved by the linking of two identical nouns with fa-¹ : بالاول :
 : بالاول² "installment by installment" NPAF II, 12 (90 or 91 A.H.); PSR iii I, 12/13 (91 A.H.).

§251

No certain examples have yet been recorded of otiose fa-¹ introducing the apodosis of a conditional clause .

REMARK: One could be tempted to include here وان
 "and if his affair turns out to be different, then write to me about it!" PAF I, 11-13 (91 A.H.). But this example presumably belongs among those cases in which the apodosis "ein affirmativer oder negativer Heischesatz ist" (Reckendorf, Syntax, 499) and is thus indeed accounted by Reckendorf, op. cit., 487, despite the fact that the main clause here does not, at least from a formal point of view (cf. §138b,i and Blau, Emergence, 129 n.1) contain an imperative. Nevertheless, this category of "Ausdrücken befehlenden und wünschenden Sinnes" (Reckendorf, SV, 702), of main clauses "expressing a desire, wish, command, or prohibition" (Wright II, 346) is a somewhat vague and arbitrary criterion and appears to apply, outside the imperative and prohibitive, mainly to forms of the prefix-conjugation (but cf. Wright II, 3B). Thus in conditional

structures involving "Das Perf(ekt) des Haupts
(atzes) in auffordendem Sinne" the apodosis need not
be introduced by fa- (Reckendorf, Syntax, 485/6).
Examples of this latter construction are given
below §312a,ii.

§252

On the other hand, the absence of fa- from the
apodosis of a conditional clause which, according to
CA, should have been introduced by this particle, is
quite securely attested¹. This takes place:

a. After ان :

i. The apodosis is an imperative: وان اردتم يكتب لكم او
يقرا لكم سلوه "if you want him to write or to
read a letter for you, ask him!" ZDMG 34,689,13
(early 2nd cent. A.H.); فان يعرف همارته سلمها اليه
"and if he recognizes his she-ass, give it back to
him!" DAB 38,11 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); فان يكن
فخرج الى ما قبلك عرفني "and if he has gone to
you, let me know!" DAB 1r,12/13 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);
فان كانت لكم حاجة اكتبوا اليه ايشي هي
you need anything, write to me (!§5b) what it is!"
PERF 882 cited by Grohmann, Islam 22,43 (for the
dating s. §5b).

ii. The apodosis is an imperfect in the function of
imperative (§§138b; 312a,i)³: ان كنت نيمي
نايمة تحمديني بالحديث الذي اوعدتيني واهمربني
"if you are not asleep, tell me the story you promised
me, and relate...!" JNES viii,132,4-6 (early 3rd

(both texts 91 A.H.).

An earlier example, from the middle of the first century A.H., of this construction occurs in an unpublished Nessana text⁵: فامر (§77c)

"so order Banī Sa'ad b. Mālik to send (?)...". فامر بنو سعد بن مالك فليسوا (?)

Such a jussive introduced by fa- may also appear after imperatives other than وانظر النصف : امر

"and see that they sell the remaining half!" PSR iii II, 29-31 (91 A.H.). فليبيعوه الباقي

For the corresponding negative construction s. PSR iii III, 76/7 (91 A.H.); مراهل ارضك فلا تحملوا "order the people of your land not to carry...!".

§255

Repetition / distribution is sometimes effected by repeating the noun in question with connective wa-¹.

Thus, beside the asyndetic construction mentioned at §249, APEL V 291 (4th cent. A.H.) also employs wa- in distributive function: في كتابه وكتاب "in letter after letter" 1.44.

§256

When the complement of اياك "beware thou!" is an an-clause, in CA syndetic and asyndetic constructions both freely occur, i.e. اياك وان and اياك ان¹; but when the complement is a substantive, the asyndetic construction is distinctly less common and not approved by the normative tradition². It seems, however, to occur in the papyri:

"and be careful! وذر (§49d) اياك التقصير

Beware of short-measure dealing!" APEL V 314,5 (3rd cent. A.H.)³.

§257

No certain example of wa- introducing the apodosis of a conditional clause¹ has yet been recorded in the papyri; the only possible case appears in the rather opaque situation depicted in APEL V 291,15/16 (4th cent. A.H.):
 فيالله انكان (§ 51f) واحد منهم قر لي .
 بعد واحد فضلا عما سواه وقاموا وبقيت الدنانير بين يدي .
 What is meant here is somewhat obscure and I cannot make sense of the translation proposed by the editor: "But by God, when one of them had secretly promised me one bushel (mudd) irrespective of what might be its (monetary) equivalent, they rose, and the dinârs remained lying before me...". Perhaps it means something along the lines of: "And by God, if one of them grants (§ 313b) me a single bushel, not to mention any other quantity, they will rise and the dinars will remain before me..."²?

"and if you don't like them, give them back!" Grohmann, TWÄ 2,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.) cannot be included here; the correct reading is
 ردديها (§§ 30 n.7; 76 n.6).

§258

Very characteristic of the papyri is the paratactic construction according to which a wish or a command to be carried out is introduced by wa-¹, not by a dependent clause as would have been usual in CA (cf. § 254). This is very often the case after forms

of the verb tafaddal(a) "to be so kind as to..."²:

تَفَضَّلُوا . . . وَتَدَبَّلُوا إِلَيْهِ كِتَابَ أَبِي نَعْسٍ "that you should be so good as to... pass on to him Abū Naṣr's letter"

DAB 37, 15-17 (probably 205/6 A.H.); أَحِب . . . أَنْ

أَحِبُّهُ إِلَى تَفَضَّلُوا "I should like... you to be kind enough to send me..." APEL V 321,4/5; فَتَفَضَّلُوا

أَعِزَّنِ اللَّهُ وَتَبِعْتِ بِهِ إِلَى "so be kind enough - God honour you! - as to send him to me" DAB 3,9; فَإِنْ

أَنْ تَفَضَّلُوا وَإِنَّمَا بَكْتَابِ "so if you see fit ... to be good enough as to have a letter sent..." ibid., 12,16 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); أَنْ

تَفَضَّلُوا وَتَخْرِجَ لِي رَقِيمَةً "that you be kind enough to produce a list(?) for me" APRL II 3,3 and further ibid., VII 2,3/4; VII 13,6 (all presumably c. 3rd cent

A.H.); أَنْ تَفَضَّلُوا وَتَجِبْ إِلَى الْمَسِيرِ إِلَى مَنْزَلِكِ "that you do me the favour of taking the trouble to go to your house" DAB 39,2 (late 4th cent. A.H.).

In two cases an imperative is thus connected to

tafaddal³: فَتَفَضَّلُوا وَزَيْدِي "please give me more!"

APRL VI 3,1 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.);

وَكَتَبِ "be so good... as to write!"

APEL V 316,2 (4th cent. A.H.). Cf. §268 n.4 for asyndetic imperatives offer this verb.

But tafaddal is not the only verb to figure in such

constructions: فَأَتَمَنِي أَمَّنَ اللَّهُ بِكَ أَنْ تَحْسَنَ وَتَحْمِلَ

أَتَمَنِي إِلَى "and I wish - may God give you pleasure! - that you will be kind enough to bring me a sack" BAU 3, 9/10 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) as read

and dated by Karabacek, WZKM xi,7; تَأْمُرُ مَنْ يَرْتَدُّهُ

إِلَيْهِ وَيَقْرَأُ السَّلَامَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُ أَنِّي مَرْجُوهُ إِلَيْهِ بِالْمَقْتَنَةِ "order whoever will deliver it to him to greet him

and tell him that I am sending him the veil." BAU 15r,7
 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).⁴

§259

A subordinate clause is linked by wa- with a preceding conjunction:¹

كما هي ام مات ولم اراه فنت عليك
 يا بني ان لا تراني ولا اراك بتا موت او تموت

"just as I have not seen him either alive or dead, I fear for you, my son, that you will not see me and I shall not see you until I die or you die" DAB 35,6-8 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§260

Various features connected with wa- :

a. For the presence / absence of wa- in certain numerals
 s. §§95e; 97c; 103.

b. Some strange cases involving wa- are due to nothing more than scribal omissions:
 محمد بن عبد الله
 [...] "and Muhammad b. cAbd Allah al-Ṣadafī < wrote it > , and he wrote [...]"
 APEL III 167,100 (137-140 A.H.);¹ محمد علي ذلك
 وايوب بن موسى "and there testified thereto <so-and-so> and Ayyūb b. Mūsā" ibid., II 96,6/7 (227 A.H.).

c. Pleonastic wa-² : "and I complied with you in that, on condition that you ... " AO xviii/3, 91, 7 (339 A.H.)³

PRESENTATIVES

§261

Presentatives are of very rare occurrence in the papyri:

a. Hādḥā¹: وهذا أبو محمد قد أمر أينا "and look, Abū Muḥammad has also ordered" APEL V 289,10 (3rd cent. A.H.)².

b. Is it possible to find presentative هـ (hā, hē, hay?) in APEL V 305,7 quoted above §61e?

. . .

ISOLATION (EXTRAPOSITION)

§262

Isolation of the natural subject ("extraposition" in the terminology of O. Jespersen¹) occurs quite commonly in Arabic papyri, but perhaps not as commonly as one might expect considering the very widespread occurrence of this phenomenon in all other varieties² of non-Classical Arabic.

- a. *فان الارض لا تيسر لها على الظلم* "the land has no resistance against oppression" PSR iii III, 66-8;
فان الارض اذا زرعت عمرت "if the soil is sown it will flourish" Abbott, Kurrah II,10 (both 91 A.H.);
وكلن (§51c) قدروا عليه انفذوه "and they took everybody they were able to" Byzantion xvii, 214,5 (241 A.H.);
والحجزة قد فرغ منها "and the shearing is over" APRL VI 20,5/6 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. The natural predicate is introduced by fa-, a construction particularly favoured when the predicate contains an imperative³:
فمن كان بارهك من "whatever merchants there are in your district... order them!" PSR iii II, 12-15;
فما كان له من حق فاستخرجه له "whatever right he may have, procure it for him!" ibid., X,9/10^{4,5}
 (both 91 A.H.); *فاوصل اليه* "and send to Abū Ishāq b. Abū Zur'ca!" (translate so!)
 DAB 28,11 (3rd cent. A.H.); *والدراهم التي اخذتها*
فادفعها "and hand over the dirhams you have taken!" APRL V 325,8 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
 But the natural predicate may equally well be

introduced by fa- when it does not contain an imperative⁵ :
 وَاِبْرَ الْحُسَيْنِ ... فَلَمْ آتِفْ لَهُ عَلَى فَيْبِ ...
 "and I have heard no news of Abū al-Husayn ... and as for the lands of Babdīqau (?),... he has nothing to do with them" *ibid.*, 1r, 10/11 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);
 وَالِدِرَاهِمِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ ... فَقَدْ كَتَبَ أَبُو مَهْدِي بَانَهَا كُلَّهَا لَهُ
 "and as for the dirhams which were... Abū Mahdī has written ...that they all belong to him" APRL V 325, 9/10 (3rd -4th cent. A.H.).

- c. Extraposition also takes place in object clauses

introduced by ان : فَاِنِّي اَخْبِرُكُمْ ان الدرع
 (§83c,ii) " [e.g. and I inform you] that Usāma (§27a) has brought me the woman's shirt" Jahn 5,6 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.);
 اَقْرَ عبد الله ... ان العشرين ديناراً التي ... قد قبضت
 منها ستة عشر ديناراً "Abd Allah has acknowledged that of the twenty dinars which ... he has received sixteen" APRL II 114,1-5 (241 A.H.);
 وَيَعْلَمُ ان اولاد ان غالتى علم⁷ بجميع اول ارميت بهم
 "and he informs you that all the people of Armant know about my aunt's children" DAB 7,19/20 (3rd cent. A.H.);
 وَاَعْلَمُ يَا هَبِي ... ان هذا زمان ليس يصير فيه
 "and note, my brother, ... that this is a time in which nobody can get any money" APRL V 325,7 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

- d. Similar to the construction just mentioned above, c,

is that in which the extraposed element is at the same time the direct object of a preceding verb :

وَلَا اَعْرِضُكَ مَا هَيْسَنَا بِمَا تَبْلُكُ "and let

me not learn that you have withheld from us what you owe" NPAF II,12-14 (90 or 91 A.H.)⁹; وانظر النصف والباقي فليبيعوه "and see that they sell the remaining half!" PSR iii II,29-31; واني لم ارك "and I can only imagine that you have received it" *ibid.*, III,10/11 (both 91 A.H.); فاحب ان تتفضل تنظر (read so!) الذي يبقي تدفعه الي "and I should like you to do me the favour of seeing that you send what remains to..." APEL V 322,8/9 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§263

Quite common is the occurrence of damīr al-shaḥn in the form of a pronominal suffix after ان sewing to introduce sentences (and clauses):

- a. فانه لو قد قدم الى المال "for had the money reached me..." NPAF II,19-21 (90 or 91 A.H.) and similarly فانه لو قد {لو قد} اجتمع عندي مال "and had I (the) money collected with me" PSR iii I, 22/3 (91 A.H.)²; فيزعم ان النبطي مات وانه افد ماله "and he asserts that the peasant has died, and that another peasant from his village has taken his property" NPAF VIII,8-10; فانه والله لا يفعل ذلك احد "and, by God, nobody does that" *ibid.*, I,14; ... انه اجابكم من جزية سنة "there has fallen due from you as tax for the year..." PSR iii V,3/4² and *ibid.*, Anhang, *passim* (all 91 A.H.); فافبرته انه لا يفضل له شي "so I told him that there would be no surplus in his favour" APEL V 288,10/11 (c. 236 A.H.) وانه ورد

ابن ابى الحسين وعمري بن حمولة الى رجبوس

"and there came down to Mamjūs Ibn Abū al-Ḥusayn and cAdī b. Hamala" APRL I 12,4/5 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. A masculine pronominal suffix in the function of damīr al-shaḥn must refer to the following sentence as a whole when the subject of that sentence is a feminine noun³ : فانه تسرنى لمبعة (read so!) كتابك
 "for a sealed letter from you would please me" APRL VI 11,9 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- c. Damīr al-shaḥn may precede the (natural) subject,⁴ strictly, therefore, being redundant : فانه من
 "God will help anyone who effects prosperity and sees that he is trustworthy" NPAF I,28-30 (91 A.H.).

§264

Well attested in the papyri is the extraposition of adverbials, the rest of the sentence being introduced by fa-¹. In CA proper, however, this phenomenon is almost entirely restricted to cases in which the following main clause contains a virtual or actual imperative²; the only exceptions to this state of affairs which have so far been documented involve baḥd (hādḥā)fa-³ introducing clauses not containing an imperative. Further examples of baḥd (...) fa- before narrative clauses occur in the papyri:

فانا اصبير اليك "further: I shall come to you" DAB 44,11; ويعد اعزك الله فقد توجه "also, God honour you, there has departed" APRL V 339,8 (both 3rd cent. A.H.); ويعد ايديك الله فقد استخرت الله

"furthermore, God give you both support, I sought counsel from God" *ibid.*, 324,4/5; *وبعد فاسل*
 "moreover, I ask" DAB 47,4 (both 3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
 But *baCd* ... *fa-* may also be used before imperatives as in CA: *وبعد فانما سلم الله حامل كتابي هذا*
... فاقبض منه "also: if God grants a safe journey to the bearer of this letter of mine to you, then take from him...!" APEL V 301,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.)⁴.
 Further: *والان ايدك الله فقد قيل لي* "and now, may God support you, I have been told" APEL V 302,6 (4th cent. A.H.) and, with an extraposed prepositional phrase, *ومع الرجل ففلانة ابني عبد الله* "and with the man is a certain slave-girl belonging to Abū cAbd Allah" DAB 38,12 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).

§265

Sometimes the grammatical subject is linked to the predicate by *fa-*:

- a. *وما سله فما هي بتيه* APEL V 288,20/21 (c. 236 A.H.) translated by the editor as "And what he has asked is no trifle"; *والحجارة فقارحة والرجل فعبيد*
 "the she-ass is full-toothed and the man a young slave" DAB 38,10 (early 3rd cent. A.H.);
 (read so with §4b ?) *وابر اليسر فقد انحدرا الى امسى*
 "and Abū al-Yusr (or Yasar with Dietrich?) came down to me yesterday" *ibid.*, 1r,14/15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)².
- b. The extraposed grammatical subject linked by *fa-* may also be an independent personal pronoun³: *وانت ايدك*
الله فلم تعرفني من امره شي
 "but you, God give you support, told me nothing about it" DAB 1r,9 (late

3rd cent. A.H.)⁴; وانا يا اخي اعزك الله فراجع
 "and I, my brother, may God honour you, am going to
 return" APEL V 325,5/6 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.);

وان نحن اعزك الله فنحب ان
 "and we, may God
 honour you, wish that..." DAB 32,12 (before 314 A.H.).

§266

No examples have yet been found of amma "as to"
 without a following fa-¹.

REMARK: Jahn 5,8 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.) cannot be
 included here; the editor's واما ما قدمه ولا
والله ما انتظر الا وسامة said to mean "Was aber
 das anbetrifft, was er geboten hat, so bei Gott,
 ich erwarte nur den Wasāma" makes no sense and the
 suggestion of Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,130 is no
 improvement. The papyrus actually seems to offer
الا rather than الا, but I cannot
 complete the sentence satisfactorily.

§267

Some cases seem to occur in which the isolated
 natural (and at the same time grammatical) subject is
 linked to the predicate by wa-¹: والممتع في التنايد
والاسفاط وهي لك عندي الى ان ... APEL VI 389,17 (3rd
 cent. A.H.) which Grohmann seems correct in translating
 as "and the goods in wrappings and baskets are in
 my care for you, until...". It must, however, be
 mentioned that the papyrus is a little damaged at
 this point and the interpretation hence a little
 uncertain. Less clear is قوم يتدرون عليهم

... ان ... APEL V 291,17 (4th cent. A.H.) for which the editor offers "People, to whom the price is offered, will demand that...".

• • •

ASYNDETTIC CLAUSES

§268

In comparison with CA where such constructions are fairly restricted, asyndetic clauses are quite common in the papyri, a circumstance which the language studied in this work shares with all other varieties of Middle (and colloquial) Arabic ¹.

- a. A co-ordinate asyndetic clause after a verb of motion ² is of doubtful occurrence in ان محمد بن يحيى معارضني (?) "Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā has come to me (?? Grohmann: hat sich bei mir eingefunden) - he is my servant - and has informed me that he..." ³ Giessen 9,4 (c. 178 A.H.).

- b. Two co-ordinated ⁴ imperatives: وانظر اهرز باللاتنا "and see and take care that you do not forget my land and leave it fallow!" (read and translate so!) Jahn 14,2/3; وانظر الدرهم الذي "see that you send me the dirham you owe to me!" Grohmann, Studi... Calderini...

فتفضل يا ابا القاسم . . . وجهه الى الساعة II,508,5;
 بالبحارية "be so kind, Abū al-Qāsim..., send me the
 slave-girl at once!" APRIL VI 1,4-6;
 فتفضل اذفع "so be good enough to hand over to the
 boy...!" ibid., VIII 2,5⁵ (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.);
 واكتب ومرقني "and write and tell me!" DAB 33v,
 8 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

§269

Asyndetic object (and second object¹) clauses in the
 imperfect are extremely frequent in the papyri. Since
 this feature clearly marks off the language of the
 papyri from CA, placing it within the mainstream of
 Middle Arabic², and is at the same time abundantly
 attested, it will be documented in some detail in
 what follows:

- a. انى اذنت لهما ينطلقا الى الصعيد "to allow": اذن
 "I have given them both permission to go to Upper
 Egypt" Journal des Savans 1825,463,5 and ibid., 464,4
 one may safely reconstruct [ينطلق] له انى اذنت له
 "I have given him permission [to go] ; انا
 "we have allowed him to work" Wright,
Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles, Pl. V,5³ (all
 133 A.H.) ; اذن لى اجيبه "allow me to answer
 him!" Khoury 1.24,2 (229 A.H.) ; ان ياذن لها تلب
 "that he should allow her to play" Ibn Wahb 53,14
 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly 1.15⁶.
- b. "you
 ordered him not to hand over" and امرنى اذفع
 "to order": امر "he ordered me to hand over" Wessely 55,4 and 5 (2nd

- cent. A.H.)⁷; وامروا شندوة البندان يذهب
 "and tell Shenūte the gardener to go!" JESHO viii,
 305,7 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.); وامرني
"and he ordered me to count the palm-
 trees" APEL V 289,4; ومر يوسف يذهب
 order Yūsuf to go!" (translate so with Levi della
 Vida, JAOS 64,133) and سوف يامر يخرج
 order him to go out" Jahn 14,4 and 7; واسر (?)
"and I should be
 pleased (?), my sister, if you would order Sa'īd to
 buy..." APRL VI 11,10 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- c. وتركته يبرد "to leave"⁸ : ترك
 it cool" Islam 1,148,3 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- d. اهبنا نراك (82f) في "to wish/want": اهب
 "we wish to see you well" APRL p.221, Omissun, 10
 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.); لم اكن اصب اقولها
 did not wish to say it" Ibn Wahb 47,15 (late 3rd cent.
 A.H.)⁹; وما اصب اصف لك (read so!)
 not wish to describe to you" APEL V 298,8/9 (3rd -
 4th cent. A.H.).
- e. واظنه (/ be able¹⁰) "to do well"
اعطا كتابه من لا يحسن يقرأ فقرأ له بما لم اكتب
 "and I imagine he gave his letter to somebody who
 could not read properly, so he read out to him
 something I never wrote" APEL V 295,8 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- f. ليس احتاج او صيكنم فيه شي "to need"¹¹ : اجتاج
 "I do not need to counsel you concerning him"
Mélanges Islamologiques ii,92,9/10 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- g. لو ذهبت "to proceed to do something"¹² : ذهب

لأن "were I to proceed to describe to you"
APRL VII 50,2 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) quoted above §247.

h. رای "to see fit" followed by an asyndetic imperfect is said to occur in فلم ار اقطع شي من امره Jahn 16,4 (3rd cent. A.H.) translated there as "ich hin jedoch nicht der Ansicht, irgend etwas von seiner Sache entscheiden zu können" and similarly rendered by Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,135. Pl.XXII, however, shows rather (?) فطم ارا فطمع and the above interpretation may not be correct.

i. وان اردتم يكتب لكم او يقرأ لكم¹³ "to wish" اراد :
"and if you want him to write or to read a letter for you..." (translate so with §252 n.2) ZDMG 34,689 (early 2nd cent. A.H.)¹⁴ ; انك تريد تبيع "that you wish to sell" DAB 2,11 (probably 205-6 A.H.)¹⁵ ; وقد "and I wished to enter" ادخل (§30c)
ibid., 53,5 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

j. "and I asked him to come to me" قالته يقدم علي¹⁶ "to ask" سال :
DAB 8v,3 as against the syndetic construction of the same verb ibid., 10,4; (§81b) نل يكن "we ask that there should be" APRL VI 15,14/5 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); اسلك
"I ask you to make" انت تجعل Islamica 4,262,3
(for the date s. §27 n.4).

k. فكيف "to allow / be generous":
تسمح ننوسم يلفو شي "how can they allow themselves / be so generous as to lend something?"
(translate along these lines!) APRL V 291,19 (4th cent. A.H.).

- l. وطلبوا القوم ياخذوا القوة "to seek": طلب
 "and the people sought to take the madder" APEL V
 291,40 (4th cent. A.H.).
- m. لم اطيع (57 ك) ابيع "to be able": استطاع
 "I could not sell" Jahn 17,5 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- n. عا الله يطعمنا فيهم شي¹⁷ "perhaps" عسى
 "perhaps God will allow us to gain something thereby"
 DAB 24,6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).
- o. ان تتفضل "to be so kind as to...": تتفضل
 "that you be kind enough to pay" Wessely 58,2;
 (read so!) "and I should
 like you to be good enough to see..." APEL V 322,8;
 "and be so
 good, Abū al-Qāsim, as to be with the slave girl!"
 APRIL VI 1,18/9; "that you be
 kind enough to inform me" ibid., VI 13,5; واجب
 "and I should like you to be
 kind enough to order your servant..." ibid., VI 18,
 8/9 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- p. لا اقدر اكتب "to be able": قدير
 "I
 cannot write" Byzantion xvii,214,8 (241 A.H.)¹⁸ ;
 "Mūsā cannot open" فان موسى لا يقدر يفرج
 APEL V 289,15; "and I could
 not come" DAB 40,3; "I
 cannot go on the pilgrimage" Jahn 14,9 (all 3rd cent.
 A.H.); "and I can go up" وانا اقدر اصبعد
 DAB 42a,5 (c. 304 A.H.).
- Perhaps one may find form II of this verb so construed
 in DAB 2,12 (probably 205-6 A.H.) by reading: فان قدر
 بيع (cf. §230a,1?) الله لك

above, n.15).

- q. وقل لابى بكر - يعجل "to say": قال "and tell Abū Bakr to hurry!" APRIL VI 1,15 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- r. كنت نسيت امسى (read so!) انبرك باامر الحمار "to forget": نسي "I forgot yesterday to tell you about the donkey" Jahn 8,6 (second half of 2nd cent. A.H.); ونسيت اذكر لك "and I forgot to mention to you" APEL V 291,64 (4th cent. A.H.).
- s. فلم تدعه يعلم شى "to let/allow": ودع (point so with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,136 n.56) "then do not let him know anything!" Jahn 17,22 (3rd cent. A.H.); ولا تدع ابو عبد الله ... ولا احد من "and do not let Abū cAbd Allah... or any one of his colleagues teach!" AO xviii/3,113,4/5 and ولا تدعهم يتادوه "and do not let them pay (?) it!" *ibid.*, 1.6, both examples to be read and translated, I think, so; ... (point so!) لا تدع تجمل المتاع على "do not omit... to send me the goods quickly!" *ibid.*, 116,5¹⁹; فلا تدعيه يقتل بك "so do not let him be killed on your account!" APRIL II 9,14 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- t. كنا نتوقعكم تقدموا "to wait for": توقع "we were expecting you to arrive" BIFAO xxx,35, 8/9 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.).

§270

In the case of asyndetic clauses dependent on nouns it is not easy to distinguish between object and

attributive clauses¹. All such instances are listed together here: ... *ورضاها بوكالة قاسم ... يزورها من*

"and her acceptance of the agency of Qāsim... to marry her to..." Islam 22,38,13/4 (295 A.H.) and likewise 39,15/6² ; *ان تتفضل وتامر بكتاب منك الى كيد*

ياخذ ... "that you should be kind enough to order a letter (to be sent) from you to Kayl ... to the effect that he should take" DAB 12,16/7 and similarly

وقد كتبت اليك غير كتاب تبعت (point so!) الى بالقلة
"and I have written you a letter before to the effect that you send me the jug" FWAP 164, 13/4³ (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

An attributive asyndetic clause can be seen in

وفرح الى حد لولا اني اغضيت عليه لمرنا الى القتال وانشى
"and he went to such a point, that had I not shown him forbearance, we should have come to blows"

Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri... Bodleian Library, I, p.2, 8/9 (late 2nd cent. A.H., s. §90 n.4).

§271

Asyndetic clauses containing a verb in the perfect may occur as second objects after verbs of perception and supposition¹ :

ولا اغان ذلك الا قد كان بلغان
"I cannot but think that you have heard that" NPAF III,3/4² ; *فوجدته بقى عليك مال عظيم*

I have found that there is outstanding from you a large amount of revenue" (pace the editor's translation)

Abbott, Kurrah IV,2/3 (both 90-91 A.H.); *واني لم*

ارك الا قد اهدت ذلك "and I can only imagine that you have received that" PSR iii III,10/11 (91 A.H.);

وانه اعطى كتابه من لا يحسن يقرا

imagine he gave his letter to somebody who cannot read properly" APRL V 295,8; ان رسولك اصابني قد دفعت

"that your messenger found I had paid" APRL VI 6,7 (both 3rd cent. A.H.; for the letter s. FWAP,178);

واصابوا الزوج الذي كان على القربوس قد اتسد

"and they found that the pair which were in the crab (κκαρβουτ) were spoiled" APEL V 306,12 (after 334 A.H.).

But such asyndetic perfects need not serve only as second object clauses: ولا اظن ركب الناس اشر منه

"and I do not believe anyone has ever ridden a worse" Margoliouth, Arabic Papyri ... Bodleian Library, II, p.4,22 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.)³.

REMARK: Very peculiar is وقد شا حب صيدي القاضي

... APEL V 306,12/3 (after 334 A.H.)

which is translated there as "My lord the judge... would like to write a letter for me". The whole construction here is odd in the extreme and one cannot but suspect a misreading of the text.

§272

Asyndetic subject clauses are very rare¹. I can cite examples only following

- a. لا به² : لا به تسرني بذلك "you would certainly please me thereby" APEL V 301,10 (3rd cent. A.H.) and the much later example لا به يقضى حاجة "he must see to his (§338b) needs" DAB 56,2/3 (6th cent. A.H.).

- b. لا يحل³ : لا يحل لعلم يصارم افواه "it is not permissible for a Muslim to break off relations

with his brother" Ibn Wahb 36,3 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁴.

REMARK: Perhaps here belongs also انما الرأية عليك
 هذا APEL V 301,5 (3rd cent. A.H.)
 which may possibly mean: "it is a presumption (?)
 on your part to constrain us to do more than this".
 The editor's translation is: "Verily, it gives you
 a hint (that) you make us request more than this".
 Cf. §146 end.

§273

Asyndetic predicate clauses are also very scarce¹:

ظنى بك ورجائى نيك لا تدع (!) ... تجل
 "I have hope and trust in you that you will not omit
 ... to send speedily..." AO xviii/3,116,5 (3rd cent.
 A.H.).

§274

I have not found any examples of asyndetic genitive¹
 clauses in the papyri other than those dependent
 on nouns of time, a construction occurring quite freely
 in CA². Thus, asyndetic genitive clauses appear
 commonly after ساعة "(the hour) when", for
 instances of which s. §305b.

REMARK: This construction has very likely been
 contaminated with a relative clause in APEL V 295,
 10/11 (3rd cent. A.H.): منذ يوم رغببت فيه ما زهدت

فيه الى اليوم for which the editor suggests:
 "since the day on which I desired what I disregarded
 till today". For this phenomenon s. Reckenjorf,
Syntax, 390 n.1; Blau, ASP, 503 n.51.; the same

possibility exists also for the contemporary DAB
25v, 3/4, s. above §173 n.3.

§275

Asyndetic preposition clauses are very sparsely
represented by the papyri ¹:

- a. Very uncertain is [ب] قرى عليه كتابي هذا
" [aft] er this letter of mine had been read to him"
APEL III 171,5 (242-7 A.H.); more assured examples of
asyndetic clauses after ² بعد occur in بعد
"after Ṣadaqa had bought it" APEL V
299,7 and بعد احمد من قيس "after he had gone
up from Qays" *ibid.*, 300,4/5 (both 4th cent. A.H.).

REMARK: A case such as الى انسلخ الحرم
"until the end of Muḥarram" APEL III-175,8 cannot
be included here; انسلخ is not a verb in the
perfect but an infinitive spelled with scriptio
defectiva according to §10a.

- b. Sometimes the subject at the head of a subordinate
asyndetic clause is governed by a preposition which
would ordinarily have governed the verb of that sub-
ordinate clause ³. Under this rubric I am inclined to
record واشترى لي اربعة قلال صغار للجارية تسقى
هم اليا FWAE 164,16 (3rd cent. A.H.) which is
most naturally, I think, taken: "and buy me four small
jugs, so the servant girl can fetch water with them!".
But one may also render: "and buy me four small jugs
for the servant girl; she can fetch water in them",
الجارية being thus understood as a prepositional
attribute to اربعة قلال صغار .

c. Blau, ICS vi, 160 quotes a JA sentence wa-mašaw tūla
nahārihim ḍila -l-Cašiyyi (?) nazalū "and they
 walked the whole day until evening, then they stopped"
 where ilā + noun is followed asyndetically by a
 verb.⁴ An earlier example is found in فاسلفنى ثلثة ارادب
قمح (من) او شعير الى الغلة بعث به اليك
 "then lend me three artabas of grain or barley until
 harvest time, then I shall send it to you" Jahn 12,
 17/8 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) and occurs also in وامرهم
بان يزرعوا لنا اربع فدادين الى السنة الاخرى نزرع
(divide so! s. §75b) ان شا الله ظعنى (§41 n.6) ذلك
 "and I ordered them to sow for us four fad-
 dāns until next year, when, God willing, we shall
 sow twice that amount" APEL V 291, 35/6 (4th cent.
 A.H.).

§276

ما لك is followed by an asyndetic clause¹ in
ما لك يتسلى وجهك "why is your face beaming with
 delight?" Ibn Wahb 43,8 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

§277

An asyndetic (indirect) question¹ occurs in ولا ادري
خرج الى اسوان ام لا "and I do not know whether he
 has gone to Aswān or not" DAB lr, 10/11 (late 3rd
 cent. A.H.).

CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSES

§278

A verb of perception and its direct object is followed by a circumstantial clause introduced by wa-¹:

لانى ومبتلك رالانى بك تمام يورنا هذا "because I found you to be friendly all of today" DAB 36, 6/7 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

. . .

SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES

§279

Above §173 some examples were given of ^(w) 1 used in ways not customary in CA. Additional instances,

probably reflecting the fusion of أَنَّ , أَنَّ
and إِنَّ :

- a. أَنَّ may introduce a non-fact clause² : تظن أنك
 تسير عمله باطل "you think you would be going
(§ 248) to work on it in vain" APEL V 305,6 (3rd cent.
A.H.).
- b. لأن "because", reflecting an al-mukhaffafa³
rather than the more usual CA لأن ⁴ : لأن ³
 $\text{ليس أحد من أخوانك عندك}$ [becau]se
not one of your brothers with you [...] " DAB 26,11
(3rd cent. A.H.).
- c. أنا introduces a main clause⁵ : أما إن يعطيهما
 الجملة "he would only (§ 324) give them both
together " APEL V 295,14 (3rd cent. A.H.).

{280

The preposition governing a clause opening with أنا
may, as in CA also,¹ be omitted: برجل حبس طمأنه
 أنا "about a man who has withheld his grain
from sale" PSR iii II, 10/11 (91 A.H.); أذنت له أنا
 يعمل "I have given him permission to work" APEL
III 175,6 (112 A.H.) with which cf. the examples above
§ 269 a; $\text{فأني أحتاج أن أبعث به}$ "for I need
to send it" APEL V 321,7/8 and with the same verb
(§ 137a) فأهتجت أن وأمرت "and I was obliged
to send" DAB 26,6; $\text{وأمرت أبا الكرام أن يناظرك}$
"and I have ordered Abū al-Karrām to confer with you"
ibid., 1.10 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

§281

The supersession of ان by a final particle (usually li-) documented by Blau, AST, 522ff. is perhaps to be detected in the broken context of PAF V 14 (90 A.H.), for which the editor suggests:

[وتقيد / فابذل] لتوفقي (point so!) ما [امرتك به]
 " [drum gib dir Mühe,] dass du [meinen Befehl]
 zu meiner Zufriedenheit erfüllst".

REMARK: On the other hand, this phenomenon cannot be identified in a case such as . . . فهم
 وليتجروا . . . فليجروا "so order... that they hasten... and choose!" PSR iii III, 22-5 (91 A.H.), for the second of the two verbs following فهم must be analysed as l(i) + jussive not subjunctive. This is made clear by وليتجروا for which s. above §254.

§282

The conjunction $\text{ان}^{(w)}$ may occur twice in the same sentence; thus is repeated after the extraposition of an element of the subordinate clause (§262c) in انها عنده . . . واعلموه ان رجل "and they informed him that it was with a man..." DAB 38,8 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).

§283

الذي introduces substantive clauses:

- a. The only possible cases I have encountered of the type al-hamdu lillāhi alladhī... "thank God that..." are not decisive enough to establish the existence of the

phenomenon in the papyri, since in both cases ^{الذی} may be interpreted as the relative particle rather than as a subordinating conjunction: ^{والحمد لله الذی}

"thank God that he (He) didn't change your mind" or "praise be to God, who..." Jahn 10,5

(late 2nd cent. A.H.) for which the editor offers:

"Gott sei Lob, der Deine Meinung nicht ändern möge" ²;

(MS. appa- ^{ماطکم} (read so!) ^{الذی} ^{على سلامتکم})

"thank God for your well-being, that He has kept you in health" or perhaps

"..., who has kept you in health" APRL VI 15,4/5 (c.

3rd cent. A.H.).

b. ^{الذی} "as" ³ seems to occur only in variations of a certain epistolary formula: ^{ونحن سالمون}

"and we are well and healthy, as you will be pleased to know" ZDMG 34,688,7 (early

2nd cent. A.H.); ^{ونحن الذی} ^{تحب} [...] "and we are as you would wish [...]" Jahn 3,5 (127 A.H.),

where point and translate so along the lines suggested by Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,130. ^{الذی} must

also be read for ^{الذین} in Jahn 5,4 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.).

^{الذی} in this locution alternates with ^{کا} as ^{انه یحیر کا تحبوا} (point so with §65d)

"that he is well, as you will be pleased to learn"

JESHO xiv,2,12 (mid. 3rd cent. A.H.).

§284

a. Characteristic of the Aphrodite papyri is the use of

^ل to introduce substantive clauses ¹; all examples

I have to hand are object clauses ² dependent on

ولا اعرفنك ما "let me not know": لا اعرفن
 "and let not know that you have
 withheld from us what you owe" NPAF II, 12-14; ولا
 "and let me not know that you
 have been in arrears" PAF III,12 and similarly NPAF
 III,20/1 (all 90 or 91 A.H.); PSR iii I,14³; NPAF I,
 11/2; *ibid.*; V,15 (all 91 A.H.).

b. Perhaps best interpreted as a subject clause is the

mā-clause in والذى بينى وبينك يا بنى ما له
 من المقطار ما تحب من هجرته هذه الغيبة
 "and, my son, what is between us is not so important
 that because of it you should stay away so long" DAB
 33r,11-13 (early 4th cent. A.H.).

For mā-clauses after بعد etc. s. §302a; 303b.

§285

فما ان اطلقه¹ follows U. "when": ان
 "when he had let him go" and فلما ان ليس من الدينار²
 translated as "Als nun der Dīnār ausblieb" DAB 12,7
 and 8 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§286

Among the various constructions possible with biḍsa
 "to be bad" (and niḥma "to be good") there seem to be
 no attested cases of biḍsa followed immediately by a
 verb, without the intervention of mā¹. Grohmann is
 probably, therefore, correct in supplying ما in
 "bad is what
 he had done and badly has he administrated" APEL III
 146,16 (91 A.H.). Cf. also Becker, NPAF, 250.

§287

It is only rarely in the papyri that a syndetic relative clause occurs after an undefined antecedent¹.

I have noted the construction on only two occasions:

ثلاثة فدادين . . . من ارض التي في يدي بمسور
"three faddāns . . . of (the) land which is owned by Pa-Hôr"

APEL II 80,5/6 (236 A.H.) and a less clear example

زوج في الجزيرة وزوج الذي في الرمل
"one pair on the island and another pair which is on the sand"
ibid., V 306,11 (after 334 A.H.).

§288

More commonly attested are asyndetic relative clauses following formally definite antecedents¹:

موسى بن :
"Mūsā b. cAbd Allah whose nickname is Bejōsh" and
اسماعيل بن قادم يكنى ابا الحسن
"Isma'īl b. Qādim who is surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan" APEL

II 98,2/3 and 8 (236 A.H.); والشجاعة والجهن يكون
"and the courage and cowardice which are in mankind" JNES viii,132,8/9 (early 3rd cent. A.H.);

سنة الدينار منها خمسة لى ودينار لى
"(the) six dinars, of which five are for me and one for Haythan" cited already at §189 and

لا بعثت بانثوب به التراب
"when you have sent the garments in which the carats will be" AO xviii/3,116,2 and
ibid., 117, verso 1/2² (3rd cent. A.H.),
كثرة

الشغل اشغلنا وانا
"the amount of work which has occupied you and us" DAE 32,6 (before 314 A.H.).

§289

Invariable *الذی*, a very typically Middle Arabic and vernacular feature, is amply attested¹:

- a. *مصائب* (read so!) *انقر* : *التي* for CA *الذی* (MS. *ورثوها* (درونها) *الذی* ... "the allotment of Anf/qar which... had inherited" and *مدود لونه* < *المصيبة* > *الذی* "the boundaries of this < allotment > which Ifyade (probably < *φικδης*) has bought" JAOS 56,289,2/3 and 10/11 (205 A.H.) as against *المصيبة التي* (§61d) *هذه* "this allotment which..." *ibid.*, 1.7; *المائة الدينر الذی اتانى بها* "the hundred dinars for which I received a bill of exchange" JESHO viii,279,6/7 where the feminine suffix of *بها* shows that the sum of money as a whole is construed as feminine and *الذی* hence invariable (cf. §144d); *فان الشقاق الذی* "for the *shigga* kerchiefs which you sent are very poor" FWAF 164,9; *الذی* [...] *اعرف انها عندي* "the books [of? ...] which I know are with you" APEL V 309,7; *الذی* *الجارية* "the slave-girl which you handed over" APRL VII 29,4 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.); *الذی* *والجرة التي* *ذكرتها* "and the jar of figs which you mentioned" DAB 33v,2/3 (early 4th cent. A.H.)²; *الذی* *والنخلة* "and the palm-tree which ..." APEL II 74,4 (344 A.H.); *الذی* *الاحوال* "the conditions which you explained" *ibid.*, V 291,6 (4th cent. A.H.) described there as a "scribal error"; *الكلمات الذی* *نظقت بها الملايكة* "at the words which the angels uttered" *Islamica* 4,259,26/7 for the date of which cf. §27 n.4.

- b. بزیدنك المخلطين: اللذين (dual) for CA الذي
 "and those two mixtures which remain" الذي بقيا
 Grohmann, TWÄ 1,3/4 (3rd cent. A.H.)³.
- c. التجار الذي (plural): الذي
 "the merchants about whom I/you wrote" كتبت عليهم
 BIE, Deuxième Série 1, 15,6 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.?) .

§290

For the only possible case yet noted in the papyri
 of (pseudo-correct) التي for expected الذي¹,
 "the flax which ..." الكتان التي Wessely 70,5
 (3rd cent. A.H.), s. above §83 n.14.

§291

In CA ما forms only substantive relative clauses,
 while الذي, as well as serving in this function,
 is generally used attributively to an antecedent.
 It is characteristic of the papyri, particularly of
 the early archive from Aphrodito, that الذي is
 used for substantive relative clauses to a very
 considerable degree; whereas in CA such clauses are
 fairly uncommon, at Aphrodito they are quite normal¹:

a. General cases:

- i. على نحو الذي كانوا يودون "according to what
 they have been accustomed to pay" NPAF III,13/4;
 في تأخير الذي عليك "in delaying what is due
 from you" Abbott, Kurrah IV, 23 (both 90 or 91 A.H.);
 فليجئوا حمل الذي عليهم "let them hasten to bring
 what is encumbent upon them" PSR iii III,24 and further
 ibid., II.51, 56², 60,86 (91 A.H.).

But this usage is attested also outside Aphrodito:

"that that which
 has reached me ... is five dinars ... " APEL V 322,
 5/6 and similarly *ibid.*, VI 403,4 (both 3rd cent.
 A.H.).

- ii. In some documents both *الذي* and *ما* occur
 side by side: thus NPAF III (90-91 A.H.) quoted
 above, a,i, has in 11.12/3: *بما قد قبضت منهم*
 "considering that which you have collected from them".

b. *الذي* . . . من :

- i. *فانظر الذي كان بقي*
 فانك قد علمت الذي كتبت اليك به من جمع المال والذي قد حضر
 "you know what I have written to you
 concerning the collection of the money and concerning
 what has fallen due of the troops' stipend" NPAF II,
 1-4 (90 or 91 A.H.)³; . . .
فانظر الذي كان بقي
 "look into what remains outstanding
 ... of what he imposed upon him!" Abbott, Kurrah I,
 6-8 (90 A.H.) and further *ibid.*, IV, 4/5 (90 or 91
 A.H.); NPAF I, 3 and 10/11; Abbott, Kurrah II, 11
 (both 91 A.H.).

This combination, however, is by no means limited to
 the Aphrodite papyri: *وقد كنت اعلمتك الذي بيني*

"I have already told you of
 the brotherly friendship between myself and

Helistus" Jahn 1,9/10 (late 1st - early 2nd cent.
 A.H.); *فقد عرفت الذي مولتكم عليه والذي جعلتم علي*

"you know the terms upon which
 agreement has been made with you and the fidelity
 which you have bound upon yourselves" occurring in
 the papyrus mentioned at §10 n.11 (141 A.H.), 11.
 5/6 and s. another example *ibid.*, 1.11. For further

cases s. e.g. APEL VI 363,2; 367,2; 385,13; 421,3
(all 3rd cent. A.H.).

- ii. In some documents both *من ... الذي* and *ما ... من* are found side by side: thus in NPAF II (90 or 91 A.H.) quoted above, b,i, as containing *من ... الذي*, ll.10/11 read *مجل الى بما اجمع عندك من المال* "hasten to send me the money which has been accumulated with you!"

Even the same sentence may contain both constructions ⁴:

بعد الذي ترسل مما قد جمعت من الجزية
"after that which you are going to send of the tax you have collected" NPAF III,22/3 (90 or 91 A.H.) and similarly APEL VI 414,2 (3rd cent. A.H.).

- c. *الذين* rather than *من* refers to persons:
اقدم على مال ارضك وبالذين امرتك ان تقدم اليهم
"bring me the revenue of your district and those persons of the people of your district whom I ordered you to bring!" Abbott, Kurrah IV,15-18 (90 or 91 A.H.).

§292

It would be a fact of great importance if the relative pronoun illi, current in a large number of modern dialects, could be identified for the period of Arabic covered in this study. I have encountered only one passage where the word may occur: DAB 8r,4 (3rd cent. A.H.) reads: *الطين والطوب التي في الاساس* "the mortar and bricks which are in the foundation", in which the feminine singular relative pronoun will be judged according to §84b. In the note to this line, however, it is revealed that what the MS.

gives is in fact *التي* not *التي*. Only an examination of the original will establish for certain whether we indeed have here the earliest attested example of the relative pronoun *التي*.

§293

Sometimes *ما* is found with reference to persons ¹:
وما بارضك من التجار الذين "and whatever merchants there may be in your district who..." NPAF IV, 12/13² as against the almost identical phrase with *من* in PSR iii II, 12/3; *ما كان له بارضك من حالته* "what fugitives of his there are in your district" NPAF V, 13/4³ (all 91 or A.H.); *واقرا على ما قبلكو السلم* "and greet those people who are with you!" Jahn 5, 10 (mid 2nd cent. A.H.) as against a similar expression with *من* in e.g. FWAP 183, bottom (3rd cent. A.H.); *اللهم اغفر للبطاشي (?) ... ووالديه وما ولد* (read so!) "O God, pardon al-Bitāsh(?)... and his parents and those he has fathered!" Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions 5, 2 (probably 177 A.H., but not later than 199 A.H.); *وجميع ما فيل بجال عافية* "and all those with me are in a state of health" BIFAO xxx, 34, 5 and 40, 6 (both late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.).

§294

As elsewhere in Arabic, the use of *من* with reference to objects ¹ is much rarer than that of *ما* for persons. I can cite only *مجملة من فريج* "the total of what has been produced of Abū Salāba's crop" FWAP 159, 1 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§295

ما¹ may be construed as feminine singular :
 وما كانت لكم من حاجة تأتيكم
 "and you will obtain
 anything you require" ZDMG 34,688,9/10 (early 2nd
 cent. A.H.) and similarly ibid., 689,17; ونسيت
 ان اخذ ما معي اليوم فابعت بها الى الساعة
 "and I forgot to take today what I had with me, so
 send it on to me at once!" FWAP 182, 6-8 (3rd cent.
 A.H.).

§296

فانظر فمن كان¹ :
 فانظر فمن كان :
 "so look into the
 matter, and whatever merchants there may be in your
 area ... order them ...!" PSR iii II, 12-5 (91 A.H.);
 من كان في المنزل صانهم الله
 "whoever is in
 the house - may God preserve them!" DAB 1r,15 (late
 3rd cent. A.H.); او غيرهم ممن اعلم ان عندهم شيا
 "or anybody else that I know has got some" APEL V 291,
 11 (4th cent. A.H.).

§297

As sometimes in CA the resumptive pronominal suffix¹
 in a relative clause (cā'id) may be missing :

a. The accusative cā'id is missing:

i. In a syndetic attributive relative clause² : وهي الارض :

(read so!) : وهي التي كرى
 "and that is the land which
 he leased" BAU 5,7 (213 A.H.) on which s. above

§ 174 n.4.

ii. After ما and من³ : ... مما كان عبد الله

"of ⁴ قسم عليهم من رزقه ووزقته ماشيته وعماله
 what 'Abd Allah (has) ... distributed among them
 of his provisions and the provisions of his following
 and his officials" NPAF XII, 2-5 (90 A.H.); مع من يعرف
 "with somebody he knows" ZDMG 34,688,12 (early 2nd
 cent. A.H.).

iii. After ^{اي} : باي سعر اهبو "at
 whatever price they wish" APEL V 291,15 (4th cent.
 A.H.).

b. The prepositional cā'id is absent:

i. When the relative pronoun (or its antecedent) is
 already governed by the same preposition that would
 have been expected to govern in its turn the cā'id ⁵ :
 ... ^{اي} ^{الى} ^{من} ^{يقول} ^{الى} ...
 "and tell Shenute the gardener to go to ... with the
 vegetables he was going to bring to us!" JESHO viii,
 305,7/8 (late 2nd -early 3rd cent. A.H.).

ii. After a noun of time ⁶ : ⁷ كتابي عليك ⁸
 "at the time when my letter reaches you" Jahn 16,12
 (3rd cent. A.H.).

{298

There occur in the papyri a small number of examples
 which may be interpreted as containing demonstrative
 pronouns in correlative function ¹ :

a. ^{هذا} : بهذا السعر الذي ذكرت لك "for the
 price I have mentioned to you" Grohmann, TWÄ 2,7;
 هذا النبيذ الذي بقي "the date-wine which
 remains" PERF 857,9/10 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

b. ^{ذلك} : ذلك الدينير الذي معك "the dinar

which is with you" FWAP 148,2/3 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§299

The resumptive pronoun in a relative clause does not always agree with the antecedent¹, s. some of the examples given at §147b.

§300

I have encountered one case which seems to result from the contamination of a substantive relative clause and an indirect question¹: (so! §39b) وانظر

"and I can see who the halfā-grass has gone to" DAB 4,7 (3rd cent. A.H.), which is best regarded as combining من همار الحلفا (relative clause) and لمن همار الحلفا (indirect question)².

...

TEMPORAL CLAUSES

§301

إذا :

- a. Two possible cases of إذا followed immediately by the subject of the following clause are too uncertain to establish this feature in the papyri¹ :

[. . .] الذي إذا ذلك is all that appears in Abbott, Kurrah V,5 (90 or 91 A.H.) and فاذا
[. . .] كل ليلة القدر من JNES v,172,17 (3rd cent. A.H.) is likewise too fragmentary to allow any firm conclusion to be drawn.

- b. The protasis of a conditional structure introduced by إذا contains an imperfect² : فاذا تصيب
"if you find the herald, send him to the wife of Jirj!" DAB 28,10 (3rd cent. A.H.).

For imperfects after ان s. §311a; after من
§ 314.

- c. No certain example of the perfect after إذا referring to the past³ has yet been noted, since
DAB lv,3 (late 3rd cent. A.H.) translated there as "Wenn er Dir dies übergeben hat, teile (es) mir mit" may also be rendered: "when he delivers that to you, inform me!".

§302

Temporal clauses after الى "until" are¹
attested with both the perfect and the imperfect :

a. Perfect after ² إلى ما : "until we came" DAB 50,4 (4th cent. A.H.).

b. Imperfect after إلى ان يأتيه كتاب : "until a letter reaches him" APPEL V 289,4 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§303

As in CA, both ¹ بعد ان and (من) بعد ما "after" are attested :

a. بعد ان :

i. With the perfect: وبعده ان كتبت هذا الكتاب "and after I had written this letter" APPEL V 306,40 (after 334 A.H.).

ii. With the imperfect: بعد ان تغرمه "after you have fined him" PSR iii III,54/5 (91 A.H.)².

b. (من) بعد ما³ :

i. With the perfect: من بعد ما قرأه "after he had read it" JNES viii,141,2 (266 A.H.)⁴; بعد ما اخذ "after he had taken" APPEL VI 400,5 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.).

ii. With the imperfect: ويخرج بعد ما يبرد "and it should be taken out after it has cooled" Islamica 4,250,6 (on the date s. §27 n.4).

§304

a. Noteworthy is the use of the imperfect (hardly subjunctive) referring to the past after temporal.

ولم افرغ القلة حتى اعلم وزنها فاكاتب اليك¹ حتى "and I did not empty the pot until I had found out its weight, so I could write to you" DAB 22,3 (3rd

cent. A.H.)². For the perfect after *حتى* where one might have expected an imperfect *s*. the second example at §137b.

- b. For *حتى* apparently equivalent to *fa-*³ cf. *كنا*
نتوقعكم تقدموا . . . حتى انبرنى ابو عبيد الله
 "we were expecting you to come . . . when Abū 'Ubayd Allah told me . . ." BIFAO xxx,34/5, 8-10 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.).

§305

ساعة in the papyri is popular not only for adverbial expressions (§134) but also for introducing temporal clauses¹. This has been noted as follows:

- a. As antecedent to a syndetic relative clause² :
كتابي عليك (read so!) "at the time when my letter reaches you" Jahn 16,12 (3rd cent. A.H.) discussed above §297b,ii.
- b. More commonly governing an asyndetic³ genitive clause⁴ :
ساعة كتبت اليك "when I wrote to you" APEL V 289,10;
ساعة رايته "as soon as I saw him" DAB 10,6 (both 3rd cent. A.H.);
ساعة ياتيكي كتابي "when my letter reaches you" APRL I 4,4/5 (presumably contemporary);
ساعة تقرا كتابي هذا "when you read this letter of mine" DAB 18,3 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);
ساعة تصل اليك "when she reaches you" APEL V 335,5 (c. 434 A.H.). Giessen 10r,3 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) doubtless also belongs here, but the context is broken.

Once *من ساعة* is used thus: *من ساعة*
يصل اليك كتابي هذا "from the time this letter of

mine reaches you" Wessely 83,2/3 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§306

عندما "when / while" is typical of later Arabic rather than of CA¹. It does, however, occur in the papyri, probably always spelled as one word (cf. §51 n.2): $\sigma\kappa$. $\gamma\iota\nu\delta$. $\mu\kappa$. $\kappa\epsilon\nu$. $\epsilon\lambda$. $\tau\kappa\chi$. $\kappa\mu$. $\phi\eta$. $\phi\kappa$. $\acute{\upsilon}$. $\acute{\upsilon}$. μ (§60 n.12) representing (?) $\text{عندما كان الطعام في فاهم (?)}$ "and while the food was yet in their mouth(s)" Violet, Psalmfragment, Ψ 78,30 (c.800 A.D.)²; عندما باعوا "when they sold" JAOS 56,289,6 (205 A.H.); عندما عتد بها "when he concluded his marriage contract with her" Islam 22,37,4/5 (295 A.H.); عندما رجع "when he returned" APFL V 289,7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§307

- Ⲙ "when":
- a. Ⲙ with the perfect refers to the future¹: فانظر عندما بعثت "so I shall look into how much you owe us when you have sent the garment" AO xviii/3,117,verso,1. (3rd cent. A.H.)².
- b. Ⲙ with the imperfect refers to the past³: $\text{عندما حملتم سلعكم في المراكب}$ "when we heard that you had carried your goods into the ships" BIFAO xxx,35,9/10 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.). But perhaps this Ⲙ is better taken as limā: "because of what we hear to the effect that you...".

e. For لا ان s. §285.

§308

In CA the dividing line between conditional and temporal اذا can be very hard to draw, and اذا to a very considerable extent has become synonymous with ان¹. In some of the later documents the conditional import of متى "when" has in a similar way overshadowed its purely temporal associations:² "and متى اصاب هذا الحائط عدم if any damage should befall this wall" APEL I 52, 10/11 (274 A.H.); (read so منا ما ادركن حسومة او تبينة with 7c) "if you should suffer either contention or a subsequent claim concerning this donkey, it will devolve upon me to compensate you" BAU 12,5/6 (382 A.H.); فمتا "and should any son ... make a claim, then his claim will be in vain" APEL I 37, 9-12 (393 A.H.).

...

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES ETC.

§309

ان may be followed not by a verb but by the ¹ subject of the conditional clause :

- a. A separate personal pronoun follows ان and precedes the verb of the protasis : ² ان انتم وفيتهم
 "if you are faithful" in the papyrus mentioned at § 10 n.11, 11.5/6 (141 A.H.); فان انا قضيته او صنعت
 "and if I execute or make" APEL III 173,4 (270-282 A.H.). For independent personal pronouns preceding verbal forms outside conditional clauses s. §215a.

- b. In one case in introducing an indirect question (§ 327) is even followed by a pronominal suffix ³ :
 ان الله تبارك وتعالى يعلم اني ارجع او لا
 "God - may He be blessed and exalted - knows whether I shall return or not" JESHO viii,286,15 (actually 14) /16 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.) where اني is perhaps due to the influence of the more frequent construction of clm with syndetic object clauses, i.e. the writer thought here of yaclam anna and added the pronominal suffix accordingly ⁴ .

§310

I have not observed in the papyri any example of ان introducing a nominal sentence as the protasis of a conditional structure ¹, for in Jahn 10,10 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) the correct reading is: (Jahn: ان رايتك رايبك)
 ان تبعت الينا بالعلم (point so!) فعلت
 "if you see fit to send us news, do so!", exactly the

same construction as in Grohmann, *TWÄ* 1,3/4 (3rd cent. A.H.) where understand *فعلت* with §§ 76 n.6; 312 a,ii.

§311

The protasis of conditional *ان* :

- a. The protasis of a conditional clause introduced by *ان* generally contains, as in CA, either the perfect or the jussive (apocopate). Now the language of the papyri does not, by and large, possess distinctions of mood in the verb (§ 138 a-b), and the term "jussive" here is used simply to be able to formulate the matter within the framework of CA. It stands to reason that many cases which in unvowelled script appear to represent the CA jussive are in fact better described simply as imperfects; explicit examples of verbal forms in the protasis which must, according to CA, be understood as imperfects are of course available (in the singular) only in verba mediae or tertia w/y (§ 65b)¹. Thus far I have found such overt imperfects only after *وان لم* : *ان لم*

"and if you do not sell any-
thi *تبيع شي ووجدت*
"and if you do not
find the sheep" *فان لم تصيب الشياه* *وان لم تصيبها* *ibid.*, 5,11;
"and if you do not like them" Grohmann, *TWÄ* 2, 6/7
"and if you do not like them" Grohmann, *TWÄ* 2, 6/7
(both 3rd cent. A.H.). On these examples cf. §§ 81a;
82d.

For the imperfect after *اذ* s. § 301b; after *ن*
§314.

- b. In CA ² ليس may not occur after conditional إن²; this construction occurs nevertheless in the old text Hirbet el-Mird, 42,10 (1st cent. A.H.):
 "and if we have no alms(?) this year", alternating with وإن كان ليس in the preceding line as CA usage requires (§313d).

§312

The apodosis of conditional إن :

- a. Very commonly the imperative occurs in the apodosis of a structure introduced by إن (cf. §252a,i) as وإن أبيت ... فافعل "and if you wish ... then do so!" APEL V 296,7/8 (3rd cent. A.H.), but other verbal forms also occur in this function:
- i. The imperfect ¹ (< jussive? ², cf. §311a):
 "and if his affair is different, then write to me about it!" PAF I, 11-13 (91 A.H.) for which s. above §138b,i and 251 REM. ³; وإن كنت غير نائمة تحدثيني بالحديث ... واضربني ;
 "if you are not asleep, tell me the story... and relate...!" where imperfect and imperative are coordinated, JNES viii,132,4-6 (early 3rd cent. A.H.), mentioned already at §138b,ii;252a,ii.
 This imperfect may be negatived by إن دفعوا : لم ⁴
 إليك فمن ترضاه بالتمر والا لم تبيع الا مقدار ما أبتاع اليه
 "and if they offer you for the dates a price with which you are satisfied, (well and good §325), but if not, then sell only the amount I require!" DAB 2,22/3 (probably 205-6 A.H.); وإن كان عندك سروس ;
 "so if Cyrus is with you, do not let him know anything!"

Jahn 17,22 (3rd cent. A.H.).

- ii. The Perfect in the apodosis of ⁵ **ان** has imperative function: Two examples have already been given at § 310; further: **فان رايت . . . فعلت** "and if you see fit to . . ., then do so!" Jahn 1, 4/5 (late 1st - early 2nd cent. A.H.) and similarly idem, 4, 1/2 (c. 127 A.H.)⁶; (read so **فان قدر الله لك تبيع** with **بيعت لي** with §269p ?) "if God enables you to sell, sell me . . .!" DAB 2,12 (probably 205-6 A.H.) with additional examples in 11.14,16; **وان لم يصب ذلك عندك عملت . . . بما وافق الحق** "and if that does not seem right to you, act . . . according to what is proper!" ibid.,3,5/6; **فان رضيتمها** (read so with §30 n.7) **وان لم ترضها رددتها** "if you like them, keep them; but if you do not like them, send them back!" Grohmann, *TWÄ* 2,6/7 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. It is rare for the apodosis of a conditional clause to contain an imperfect⁷: **وان اجد عندك الذي اريد من الامر وحسن الجلب احسن اليك واصيبك بمعروف** "and if I find with you what I should wish respecting efficiency and orderly remittance, I shall be good to you and do you favour"⁸ NPAF I, 3-5 (91 A.H.). This sentence belongs to §252a,iii.

REMARK A: In FWAP 199,2/3 (3rd cent. A.H.) Quran 4,130 is quoted in a manner which belongs to this section: **قال الله في كتابه وان يتفرقا يعني الله لان**

من الله "God said in His book: 'and if the two separate, God will provide for each one out of His bounty'". Since, however, the Quranic text has **يعني** here, I have treated this as a case of scriptio

plena (§4b).

REMARK B: There is, of course, nothing unusual about the occurrence of the imperfect in an apodosis introduced by fa- (s. e.g. Wright II, 345*) as: زان اجهد عملاك على غير ذلك فانما يحجزى المر بعلمه "and if I find your work (= administration) otherwise, then a man is rewarded only according to his works" NPAF I,8/9 (91 A.H.). The idea expressed here is Quranic (cf. e.g. Q.37,39) but the latter part of the sentence is not actually a quotation. Similarly (read so!) وان عشت وانهر "and if I live and God prolongs the term, then I, by God will derive benefit for myself and for you" APEL V 291,22/3 (4th cent. A.H.).

- c. The modus energicus preceded by la- in the apodosis occurs when the protasis is introduced by lavin, exactly as in CA⁹ : لين انهرت [. . .] ليهيبين [. . .] "if you are in arrears [. . .] the V, 11/12 (90 A.H.); (! 138a, ii) لين لم تباركونه "if you do not obviate him soon you will certainly get..." Khoury 132,12/3 (229 A.H.). لين من قريب ليكنن لكم "if you do not obviate him soon you will certainly get..." Khoury 132,12/3 (229 A.H.).

§313

Auxiliary كان in the protasis of conditional clauses:

- a. Sparsely attested is the construction of kān + imperfect after ان¹ : وان كنت تريد "and if you want" APRL VII 8, Margin,2; فان كنت تامرنا ان نمرت

"and if you order us to till" *ibid.*, VII 47,2 (both presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. Kān + perfect in the protasis referring to the present is not a combination current in CA² and in other strata of the language must often be held to reflect the transition of in kān³ to an independent, invariable conditional particle. A possible example of this might be detected in the strange sentence APEL V 291,15/6 (4th cent. A.H.) mentioned at §257; where ان + كان is even spelled as one word (§51 n.10).

REMARK: Kān + perfect in a protasis with reference to the past, on the other hand, is quite regular in CA (s. e.g. Wright II, 15/6; Reckendorf, Syntax, 486) and occurs freely in the papyri also: فان
 فان ان كان اخذ "and if he has taken" Hirbet el-Mird,19,5 (1st cent. A.H.); ان كان وقع ورد⁴
 "if any rose (-water) (?) has arrived" Jahn 10,8/9 (late 2nd cent. A.H.); DAB 24,4 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) where in kān + perfect occurs in an indirect question (§327).

- c. Yakū(n) + Perfect⁵ refers to the past in فان يكن خرج⁶
 "if he has gone out"; in the negative: فان لم يكن قدم
 "if he has not arrived" NPAF X,8 (91 A.H.).

- d. In CA ليس may not by itself appear in the protasis of a conditional clause, but must be introduced by كان⁷ as in وان كان ليس عندنا
 "and if there is not with us" Hirbet el-Mird,42,9 (1st cent. A.H.). The same construction without كان, however, occurs in the following line (§311b).

a hypothetical condition is more probable here:
 "had any money been collected ... I would already
 have paid...". Accordingly, Becker, PSR iii, 31 top
 (followed by Reckendorf, Syntax, 498n.) is probably
 correct in his view that ان شا الله in this
 sentence is, strictly speaking, illogical. Very
 similar to this example is NFAF II, 19-23 (90 or 91
 A.H.), where again the لو-clause should be under-
 stood as hypothetical², followed by an illogical
ان شا الله³.

REMARK: For illogical ان شا الله cf.

فنت عليك يا بني ان لا تراني ولا اراك هتا امرت او
 "I fear for you, my son that
 you will not see me, nor I you, until I die or you
 die, God willing" DAB 35,7/8 (3rd cent. A.H.);

"habe ihn. aber (noch)
 nicht ausgejätet, so Gott will" ibid., 16,15 (315
 A.H.). Cf. also §326 n.3.

{317

The verb following law in the protasis is generally
 the perfect (I have not found any example of law
 preceding the imperfect¹) as e.g. APEL V 292, 12
 or a negated jussive, ibid., 1.6 (3rd cent. A.H.).
 But kān + perfect also appears in this position:²

"and had he written to me"
DAB 25v,3 (3rd cent. A.H.).

For kān + imperfect in the protasis of law³ s. ولو
 "and had I known" APEL V 337,4 (2nd -
 3rd cent. A.H.).

The apodosis of law:

a. Noteworthy is the imperfect in the apodosis of لو in
 ولو لم ادع يدي على الفوة واعطى (read so!) القوم خطي
 ... "and had I not put my
 hand on the madder and given the people my signature
 ... they would have taken the madder" APFL V 291,
 43/4 (4th cent. A.H.). S. §317 n.1.

b. Kān + perfect, in addition to appearing in the protasis
 of لو (§317)₁, may also, as in CA and especially in
 modern dialects, appear in the apodosis: ولو كان كتب
 الى في طلقه ان يوم كتب الى فيه كان قد صار اليه
 "and had he written to me to despatch it, it would
 have been sent off to him the day he wrote to me about
 it" DAB 25v,3/4 (3rd cent. A.H.) for which sentence
 cf. above §173. For kān + imperfect for hypothetical
 statements cf. §239.

c. As in CA², there is no discernible consistency in
 the employment or non-employment of la- to introduce
 the apodosis of law:

i. With la- (the most frequent case) ولو اني قدمت
 "and had I gone to town I should
 have paid you a visit" Jahn 12,21 (late 2nd - early
 3rd cent. A.H.), to be read so with Levi della Vida,
 JACS 54,133. Further: DAB 3,8; *ibid.*, 8v,5; 22,16
 (lawlā); APFL VII 50,2 (all c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

ii. Without la-³: APFL V 337,5 (2nd-3rd cent. A.H.).

iii. Both possibilities even within the same document:
 APFL V 292,7 with la- as against l.l4 without la-
 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§319

وَدَّ لو "to wish that" is a quite usual construction in Quranic Arabic, but otherwise hardly occurs at all in CA prose. It occurs, however, in papyri: ¹ **والرجل** (point sc!) **يود لو يناشنا** "and the man wishes to dispute with us" APRL VII 6,5 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) in a letter, and in the literary text Ibn Wahb 5,15 (late 3rd cent. A.H.): **وايم الله لوددت لو ان الله** "and by God, I wish that God...".

§320

لولا "were it not" has been noted only followed by ¹ **ان**, the usual construction in CA also: **ولولا** "were it not for the fact that the halūm cheese had reached me" DAB 22,16; **دلولا ان** "and were it not that the problem is urgent" APRL VII 2,5 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
 REMARK: **لو** is also attested in the papyri followed by an an(na)-clause as in CA (s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 497/8); s. examples given above §318c,i and below §321b.

§321

Concessive clauses are introduced by **وان** or by **ولو** in exactly the same manner as in CA:

- a. **وان** : **وان كان قد خرج منها شيء** "even if some of it has already been disposed of" DAB 24, 3/4 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).
- b. **ولو** : **ولو كان سرج من ذهب** "even if it were a saddle of gold" APRL V 305,5; **ولو انه لم يرفد منه**

"even had it not been taken from him" DAB 26,9
(both 3rd cent. A.H.).

§322

a. According to Brockelmann, GVG II,650, circumstantial clauses after **الا** "except" introduced by **و** are less frequent than those from which this **و** is missing¹. To judge from the examples presently available, this is not so in the papyri:

i. Without **و** : **الا سالت اهلها** "without asking its inhabitants" APEL III 150,14 (90 A.H.); **ولا**
ان قال ذلك الا قد كان بلغك "and I do not imagine that that has not reached you" NPAF III, 3/4 (90-91 A.H.);
لا يفعل ذلك احد الا عرف "nobody does that without knowing..." *ibid.*, I,14/5 (91 A.H.).

ii. With **و** : **الا وقد بعثت** "without you sending" NPAF III,17/8 (90-91 A.H.), a document which also uses the construction without **و** (s. above, a,i); **الا وقد صار** "without it going" APH 3, 10 (297 A.H.); **الا وانا اذصب** "without me going" DAB 43,7 (3rd cent. A.H.).

b. An an- clause occurs after **الا**² : **الا ان يكون**
شانه نحيه ذلك "unless his affair be different" NPAF VIII,15/6 (91 A.H.).

c. For asyndetic second object clauses after **الا** s. two examples at §271.

d. In one case **الا** followed by fa- seems to denote suddenness³ : **الا** (point so, with DAB, 153) **فلم نصيب**
فنجى في اليقين في بلد عزيز "we suddenly found ourselves indeed in a sad country" APRL I 18,14/5 (presumably

c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

§323

إلا أن¹, not preceded by a negative sentence may mean "but": إلا انه اثبت شهادته "but he affirmed his testimony" APEL V 289,6/7 (3rd cent. A.H.); الرقعة التي كانت معي ضاعت إلا اني ذكرت² بعينه "the note I had with me got lost, but I remembered part of it" BIFAO xxx,40,14/5 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.).

§324

إلا¹, through elision of the negative preceding it, comes to mean "only": ثم² لم¹ إلا نفسك "then blame only yourself!" NPAF I,19/10 (91 A.H.) and إنما ان يعطيا¹ إلا جملة "he would only give them both together" quoted already at §279c from APEL V 295,14 (3rd cent. A.H.), where it seems most improbable to find negative إن .

§325

In CA the apodosis of the first of two mutually exclusive conditions may be omitted when its sense is provided without difficulty by the context, the second clause being introduced by ¹ وإلا . This takes place in the papyri as well: وان هملاوا "and if they bring this money (well and good), but if not..." APEL III 170,1 (first half of 3rd cent. A.H.) and similarly DAB 2,22 (probably 205-6 A.H.); APRIL VI 6,11/2 (3rd cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 178/9 (where read ¹ وإلا and point ¹ الدنير

ibid., VII 20,10 (presumably contemporary).

But this (و) "otherwise" may also occur when a statement, not a condition precedes² :

ولم ابيع
من هذا الخالوم حتى الا ان كتبت اليك

"I have not sold any of this cheese; otherwise I would have written to you" DAB 22,11 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§326

Sometimes the apodosis of a conditional or hypothetical clause is missing (cf. §325):

a. After ان¹ فان رايت ... ان تتفضل وتامر :
"if you see fit ... to be kind enough to have a letter sent from you to ... (then do so!)"
DAB 12,16/7 (3rd cent. A.H.), where the editor supplies "(so wäre das gut)".

b. After ان² preceded by an oath :
فبجياتي يا ابا الفضل ... ان خلفتها عنى ان شا الله
"By my life O Abū al-Faḍl ..., if I have left it behind (= I hope I have not left it behind), God willing"
DAB 62,2/3 (3rd cent. A.H.)³ ;
بحقى عليك ... ان قصرت في هذا الشى فاني محتاج اليه
"By my right over you, ... if you fall short (= do not fall short!) in this matter (that would be very bad), for I need it" APEL V 327,8/9 (4th cent. A.H.).

c. After لو⁴ لو رايت ما الناس فيه عندنا اليوم :
من التخليط والسخره
"if only you could see the confusion and pressure which the people with us are now in!" Byzantion xvii,214,4 (241 A.H.).

§327

Conditional ¹ ان introduces indirect questions :

وأكتب الي مع وسامة ان كانت ولدت ما جنة ام لا

"and write to me via Usāma (§ 27a) whether Mājida has given birth or not!" Jahn 5,8/9 (mid 2nd cent.

A.H.); فأكتب الي ان كان الله قد اطعم فيهم شي

"and write to me whether God has allowed any profit to be made on them!" (translate, I think, so!) DAB

24,4 (early 3rd cent. A.H.) .

Sometimes an interpretation as an indirect question is less obvious ² : ... وانظري ... ان كان البلد حادى

"and see ... if/whether the land is quiet ...; but if the land is

in disturbance ... then keep ...!" APRL VI 22,5-7

(c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

For this ان "whether" occurring with pronominal suffixes s. §309b.

...

1
WORD ORDER

§328

The occurrence of an indefinite noun opening a sentence² has been noted so far only in the somewhat obscure context of APEL V 291,17 (4th cent. A.H.):

قوم يعرض عليهم الثمن ويطلبون (§267) ان
translated there as: "People, to whom the price is offered, will demand that ...".

§329

For the rare phenomenon of an adjectival attribute preceding its noun¹ s.

وفي اجير نبطي نجار
"and for the wages of a native carpenter" PAF VIII,6 (90 A.H.) and cf. *ibid.*, 3/4².

§330

1
The subject precedes its verb. :

- a. This is not at all uncommon in the greeting formula at the end, or towards the end, of many letters:

وعبد الرحمن واهله يقرؤك (§84a,i; 138a,i) السلام
"and 'Abd al-Rahmān and his brother greet you" Jahn 12,14/5 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.);
واهلوك
"and علي المودن يقرى عليك السلام الكثير
your brother 'Alī the muezzin sends you many greetings"
APEL V 322,13 (3rd cent. A.H.). Further DAB 7,15-7;
ibid., 35,11-14; APRL XV 11,4 (all c. or presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

- b. Other cases: . . . والامير . . . قد فرج الى المحلة

"and the amīr ... ha left for al-Maḥalla" Byzantion
 xvii, 214, 6 (241 A.H.); وما ذلك ينبغي (read so?)
اليه "and what that requires" (translate so!)
 APEL V 289, 16; فالجسد عندنا قد طبع عليه
 "and we have printed the saffron-dye onto it" DAB
 25v, 1²; اللّٰه يعلم انك ترضى بذلك
 "God knows that you would please me thereby" *ibid.*, 43, 2
 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); الرقعة التي كانت معي مناعت
 "the note I had with me got lost" BIFAO xxx, 40, 14/5
 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.). For this word
 order in optative constructions s. §137c, ii; 138c, i.

REMARK: There is nothing unusual about this word
 order in circumstantial clauses as وما كنا
تزلنا فيها منذ سنين "our governor ... having
 settled us there years ago" BIE, Deuxième Série,
 1, 12 ult. (early 2nd cent. A.H.?). Cf. on this
 e.g. Bloch, Vers und Sprache, 100.

- c. The pronominal subject of نعم "how good!"
 precedes : وهو نعم العبد لله "and what a
 good servant of God he is!" ZDMG 34, 689, 13/4 (early
 2nd cent. A.H.).

§331

An interrogative is placed in final position :¹
 (§12e) فاعل ماذي "doing what?" Ibn Wahb 78, 3
 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).

§332

The word order Verb - Object - Subject occurs as in
 CA, i.e. when the object is already known from the

context whereas the subject is new¹: فيزعم ان
 "and he النبطي مات وانه اخذ ماله نبطي من اهل قريته
 claims that the nabatī had died and that another
nabatī from his village has taken his property" NPAF
 VIII, 8-10; واذا اتى اهل الارض الظلم والا مفاعاة
 "and if oppression and ruin should befall the people
 of the land" PSR iii III, 68-70 (both 91 A.H.); [وولي
عقدة] نكاح عباسة بنت سري ابواسري بن عبد الله
 "[and there contracted] the marriage of ʿAbbāsa
 b. Sarī her father, Sarī b. ʿAbd Allāh" APEL I 39,3
 (264 A.H.); وتى اصاب هذا الحائط عدم
 "and if (§308) any damage should befall this wall"
ibid., 52,10/11 (274 A.H.).

§333

Word order of prepositional elements:

- a. For the late position of the prepositional phrase in
علم (read so with §150 n.2) جميع اهل ارمانت بهم
 "all the people of Armant know about them" DAB 7,19/20
 (3rd cent. A.H.) cf. Bloch, Vers und Sprache, 110ff.
- b. Position of prepositional elements after verbs which
 govern their complements by means of the preposition
bi-:
 - i. If such a verb governs as complement bi- + pronominal
 suffix and there is present at the same time in the
 sentence an indirect complement introduced by الى/على
 (almost always + pronominal suffix), there is a strong
 tendency for the bi- element to precede: فاذا رقع
"and when عندنا غير كتبت به اليك سريريا
 we hear any news, I shall write to you about it

quickly" APRL I 5,6/7 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 173) and similarly 11.20/1; فابعت به الى "so send it to me!" APEL V 319,4; فقد وجهت به اليك¹ "I have sent him to you" DAB 10,5 (both 3rd cent. A.H.). Further examples: DAB 24,7 (early 3rd cent. A.H.); *ibid.*, 3,9; 59,2; Grohmann, TWÄ 3,8; AO xviii/3, 113,4; APRL II 8,4; *ibid.*, VI 7,7; VI 21,12 (all c. or presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

The reverse sequence of elements is rare: ما نحب "what we wish and pray to God for" Jahn 1,13 (late 1st - early 2nd cent. A.H.)²; بعثت على به "send it to me!" Grohmann, *Studi ... Calderini ...* II,508,5; بعثت على به "you sent it to me" APEL V 292,3 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

- ii. But should the complement introduced by *bi-* not be a pronominal suffix, then the tendency is for the

فائل ان element to precede: الى / على
تبعت الى بذلك النوف (6lf) "and I ask that you send me that powder" Grohmann, TWÄ 1,3; وكتب الى بما يلزمهم "and write to me about what they owe!" APRL II 8,7 (a text quoted already above b,i); وجهه الى الساعة بالجارية¹ "send me the slave girl at once!" *ibid.*, VI 1,5/6;
وانا باعت عليك الباقي "and I am sending you the rest" *ibid.*, VIII 8,4 (all c. or presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).

An exception is provided by وعجل بذلك علينا "and sent that to us quickly!" AO xviii/3,117,7 (3rd cent. A.H.). This, however, is something, perhaps, of a borderline case since *dhālik* here occurs in place of an expected pronominal suffix (cf. § 225).

c. A grammatically definite prepositional phrase precedes the grammatically indefinite noun to which it serves as attribute : perhaps one may include here ³ *أن يجد*

"that he should find a way against you" WZKM xxxii, 278, 15/6 (101 A.H.) and *فلم آف له*
 "and I heard no news of him" DAB lr, 10
 (late 3rd cent. A.H.)⁴.

d. Reversal of components in the mā ... min construction⁵ is not at all common; I have noted only *قد ذهب*
 "you know how much time has passed" PSR iii I, 5/6 (91 A.H.).

§334

Very common is *أيضاً* "also" preceding the word¹ (or sentence) to which it refers : APEL VI 401 passim (2nd cent. A.H.); *وايضاً دينارين* "and two dinars" *ibid.*, II 117,5; *وايضاً جبة عنابية* "and also a jujube-coloured robe" *ibid.*, VI 391, 8/9 (both 2nd-3rd cent. A.H.); *وايضاً دفع اليك حسن* "and my son Hasan has also paid you four dirhams" *ibid.*, VI 416,9 (3rd cent. A.H.).
 Further: APEL VI 368 passim; 372,5 and 6; 385,11; 388,6; Grohmann, TWÄ 15,14; *ibid.*, no. 27 passim; APRL XI 10,7; WZKM 54, 51, 4 (all 3rd cent. A.H.); APEL I 68, 21; *ibid.*, 70, 27; 71, 34 (all 459 A.H.) and elsewhere frequently.

§335

In CA subordinate clauses introduced by hīna "when"¹ generally stand after the main clause ; in the

Aphrodito papyri this occurs also as NPAF XII,7
(90 A.H.); PSR iii II,22,35 (91 A.H.), but hīna -
clauses are also attested there in initial position:

[وَلَمَّا تَنْظُرْ فِي [القمى فلا] تَوْفِرَ مِنْهَا
[شياء] " [and wh]en you have
inspected (cf. §304 n.2) [the shirts, do not]
delay (sending) [any] of them!" PAF V,6-8 (90 A.H.).

§336

Very rarely does the apodosis of a conditional clause
precede the protasis¹: فَاغْرِزْ بِذَلِكَ دَمًا وَأَمْوَالَكُمْ

in the papyrus mentioned at §10
n.11,6/7, translated by Hinds and Sakkut, JEA 61,
242 as: so preserving your blood and property if
you fulfil [it] ".
...

1

DIFFERENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN PARALLEL MEMBERS

§337

2

Different tenses in co-ordination :

- a. Perfect and imperfect alternate in the apodosis of a temporal clause³ :

واذا انفذت التوب حملته
 "and when I get the garment
 I shall deliver it to him and take the dinars from
 him" APEL V 307,5 (4th cent. A.H.).

- b. "if" followed by a negated jussive is continued by the perfect⁴ :
- وان لم تبيع شي ووجدت
 "and if you do not sell, and find..." DAB 2,13 (probably 205-6 A.H.) and similarly ibid., 11.14/5.

- c. For the alternation of imperfect and imperative s.

§138 b,ii.

- d. For the alternation of optative perfect and imperfect

s. §138c,iii,iv.

§338

Suppression of pronominal suffixes:

- a. A pronominal object appears with only the second of the two verbs governing it¹ :

فان لم ينفق في الارض
 "and if he is unable to
 sell (it) in the land, then let him take it to
 Fustat" PSR iii II,32/3 (91 A.H.).

- b. In CA, when two nouns are shared by one pronominal suffix, that suffix should appear with both nouns;

if one occurrence of the suffix is suppressed, it is generally absent from the second noun. Suppression of the pronominal suffix on the first of two coordinated nouns is rare². I note this phenomenon only in the late text DAB 56, 2/3 (6th cent. A.H.):

لا بد يتقضى حاجة ويسمى بأمر كل الاضام

"he must see to (his) needs and attend fully to his affair".

§339

Infinitives or ordinary substantives alternate with an(na)- clauses¹:
 ونحب ان تؤخر الامر . . .
 "and we would like you to delay the matter . . . and to inform (us) of your news and state of health" DAB 1r, 16/7 (late 3rd cent. A.H.);

وذكرت . . . امر القمح وشدة حاجتك اليه وان اتلفت لك
 "and you mentioned . . . the matter of the grain and the urgency of the need you have for it, and that I should borrow for you . . ." APEL V 291,10; ويعرفه

افتلال حاله وان الاسفار [. . .]
 "and inform him of the confusion of his condition and that the travellers (?) [. . .]" *ibid.*, 307v,2 (both 4th cent. A.H.).

§340

Syndetic and a syndetic clauses alternate¹:
 فاني قد امرت اصحاب الامرا ان يتوفوا . . . ولا يزيدوا عليه شيئا
 "I have ordered the granary officials to receive . . . and not to exceed it by any amount" BSR iii III, 36-40 (91 A.H.)²
 ان يطلقه ولا يوصى له في (124a) المقام;
 "that he should release him and not enjoin him to

stay" APPEL V 290,4 (3rd cent. A.H.). Cf. also the examples at §153b.

...

CONTAMINATION

§341

Some phenomena which may be explained as having arisen through blend of two constructions have already been noted in the preceding sections (as §§149a; 274 REM.; 300); cf. also *فلا ادري ما صدق ذلك من كذبه* "so I cannot tell what of that is true and what is false" APPEL III 150,10/11 (90 A.H.), which seems to represent a contamination of *فلا ادري ما صدق ذلك* with *فلا ادري صدق ذلك من كذبه*.

...

NOTES

PART I ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONETICS

§1

- 1 It is not a practical course to attempt the separation of orthography from phonetics; in a work of this kind the two are so closely bound together that they are best treated as one, cf. Blau, ASP, 61 n.3. A work on the history of Arabic orthography is in preparation by W. Diem, s. Orientalia 45 (1976), 260.
- 2 For the system of diacritics to be found in these texts s. Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 70ff.; FWAP, 82ff. and Abbott, Rise, 38ff. Decipherment is also beset with other serious problems of a palaeographical nature; two of these are mentioned at §§ 55; 85c,i.
- 3 S. e.g. Bell, Greek Papyri in the British Museum IV; Rémondon, Papyrus Grecs and Nessana, passim, all of which are rich in transcriptions from Arabic. For nomina propria s. Littmann's appendix to Preisigke, Namenbuch; Heuser, Personennamen, 111ff. (Coptic) and Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschennamen.
- 4 Violet, Psalmfragment, to be dated probably before rather than after 300 A.D.; s. on it Blau, ASP, 31. The few extant examples of Arabic texts in Coptic letters are all from a rather later period than that which concerns us here; information on them will be found in a paper by J. Blau to appear in the new Jerusalem Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies. For the earliest known examples of karshuni s. Blau, Emergence, 42 n.1. Arabic texts in Roman script, such for the sound pattern of early Arabic await detailed K.V. Zetterstéen, Leinvestigation. Imala is discussed by Karabacek, MFE belong to periods 199ff. and the transcriptions of Theophanes by Wellh specimens of Arabic Nachr. v. d. königl. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, other hand, probably hist. Kl., 1901, 445ff. Violet's Psalmfragment was s. Ch. Robin, Semitic examined in detail by the editor himself, cols. 22f therefore, that the investigation of the transcriptions of the Ness papyri by Isserlin, Ann. of Leeds Univ. Or. Soc. vii months of Arabic", e months of Arabic", to elucidate a problem of Arabic phonology by systematic byz. Gesellschaft ix, 7. The same phrase appears also in the contemporary texts 64, 9 and 66, 8, s. § 85c,i.
- 5 E.g. Nessana 60, 13 is not very satisfactory. One of the very few attempts to elucidate a problem of Arabic phonology by systematic byz. Gesellschaft ix, 7. The same phrase appears also in the contemporary texts 64, 9 and 66, 8, s. § 85c,i.
- 6 The philological implications of these transcriptions for the sound pattern of early Arabic await detailed investigation. Imala is discussed by Karabacek, MFE 5, 59ff. and the transcriptions of Theophanes by Wellhausen, Nachr. v. d. königl. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1901, 445ff. Violet's Psalmfragment was examined in detail by the editor himself, cols. 22ff. The investigation of the transcriptions of the Nessana papyri by Isserlin, Ann. of Leeds Univ. Or. Soc. vii, 17ff. is not very satisfactory. One of the very few attempts to elucidate a problem of Arabic phonology by systematic

reference to transcriptions was made by M. Rodinson in Mélanges Marcel Cohen (The Hague-Paris, 1970), pp. 298-319.

§2

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 62/3.
- 2 It is hardly an occurrence of the plural afʿūl as identified by Corriente, JSS 20, 47/8. The papyrus quoted here also appears in AO vi, 148 n.3. For this word cf. § 87d, ii.
- 3 Cited FWAP, 96; Grohmann, Einführung, 106 and HO, 99. The development here is siyat (the CA plural) > *syat > asyat, with the elision of the short vowel in the initial open syllable of siyat. It is clear that we are not dealing here with a direct morphological transfer from the plural form fical > afcal (for which s. Blau, ASP, 228); such a process could have yielded only aswat, an attested CA alternative. That all these examples occur after numerals, as is also the case with some of those cited by Blau, loc. cit., could suggest that they bear some affinity to the phenomenon described at §95b.
- 4 On the other hand, ابراة "quittance" (< barāḏa) Abbott, Fayyūm I, 11 (335 A.H.) does not belong here; read: براة with Dietrich, Islam 25, 139. From a later period cf. e.g. cases such as المحمد "Muhammad", Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions 98, 1 (646 A.H.).
- 5 Blau, ASP, 62 §3.3; 157ff. §57; 228 §116; 237/8 §131.
- 6 Blau, ASP, 104 §11.6.1.5; 105 §11.6.2. REM.; 229 §117.
- 7 Cf. in general Blau, Emergence, 124 and note also the spellings discussed by Abbott, SALP III, 80; R.B. Serjeant, JNES 36 (1977), 57/8; Corriente, Sketch, 57, top.
- 8 The same word, however, is spelled regularly elsewhere in the document.
- 9 The word is unclear in Pl. xiv; one would prefer to read اعلم "I inform you".
- 10 APRIL VII 15, 3 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) is not an example; read: تعبير.
- 11 This example belongs also to §27e.
- 12 Is this perhaps an instance of involutio (§54a)? A further example is found in the Geniza document ed. S.D. Goitein, Eretz-Israel 10 (1971), 107, 1 (c. 1029 A.D.): عنا "his enemies" (as well as elsewhere in documents from the Cairo Geniza).
- 13 The expected form, however, occurs in ll. 5, 9.

§3

- 1 Literature on imāla is listed by Cantineau, Études, 97. S. further H. Fleisch, EI (second ed.) s.v. imāla. The whole subject is now treated by Levin, imāla.
- 2 The details concerning imāla in Violet's Psalmfragment have been worked out in a separate paper; I give here only the results of that investigation.
- 3 These are the seven sounds traditionally said to prevent imāla; s. e.g. Sibawaihi II, 285ff.; Cantineau, Études, 23, 98; Fleisch, Traité, 226/7; Levin, Imāla, 15ff.
- 4 S. e.g. Bergsträsser, Damaskus, 23ff.; Cantineau, Palmyre I, 44ff.; idem, Hōrān, 86, 89ff.; Études, 30, 87; Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 53ff.; Levin, Imāla, 223ff.
- 5 S. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 48ff. and the literature listed there; further Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 62ff.; Jiha, Bismizzin, 124/5; Levin, Imāla, 217ff. For 1 s. e.g. C.A. Ferguson, Language 32 (1956), 446ff.
- 6 S. e.g. Cantineau, Palmyre I, 64/5; idem, Hōrān, 128ff.; Études, 74; Levin, Imāla, 214ff.
- 7 S. e.g. E. Mattsson, Études phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth (second ed., Upsal, 1911), 67, 71; Cantineau, Palmyre I, 69; Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 72.
- 8 In some of the examples several of these factors are at work together, while in others it is hardly possible to discern why or why not imāla should occur in any particular case within these categories. This is closely paralleled by the present-day situation, where the data concerning the occurrence of tafkhīm and the concomitant qualitative changes in the vowels seldom admit of any neat systematization. One notes with interest in this connection the remark of Jiha, Bismizzin, 125, himself a native speaker of Arabic: "Ich muss aber anmerken, dass ich selber in vielen Fällen nicht eindeutig feststellen kann, ob ein r emphatisch ist oder nicht".
- 9 S. e.g. Vollers, Volkssprache, 129; Brockelmann, GVG I, 561; Rabin, AWA, Index s.v.; Ferguson, Language 35, 621/2; A. Bloch, ZDMG 117 (1967), 22ff.; Cohen, Études, 120/1.
- 10 So Blau, ASP, 64.
- 11 On this effect of q s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 195.
- 12 It is not impossible that {ε} [x [] ψ78,53 = يجزعو is also an example of our phenomenon; for i being written with ε in this text s. Violet, col. 35 and Blau, ASP, 64. It may, on the other hand, also reflect the prefix ya-.
- 13 The quality of short vowels in the Psalmfragment is discussed in greater detail by the ed. himself cols. 33ff. and by Blau, ASP 63/4.
- 14 In this particular example the u may simply be the result

of assimilation to m; cf. Blau, ASP, 64 n.12, and, for another instance, below §49f. Such assimilations are rare also in JA, for an example similar to this s. S.D. Goitein, A Mediterranean Society I (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 433 n.39, and for the principle Brockelmann, GVG I, 199/200.

§4

- 1 For the same phenomenon in ASP s. Blau, ASP, 69/70; note, however, that the expected ل occurs in the following line.
- 2 Blau, ASP, 70.
- 3 The spelling of the future marker sa as sa, frequent in ASP (Blau, ASP, 68/9), does not seem to be represented in the papyri, where only sa occurs, as APRL XV 34,2 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.). الاعان "right" Semitica iv, 68,7 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.) does not belong to this paragraph; read: الاعان with W. Marçais apud Semitica v, 103.
- 4 For the long vowel in the first syllable of this word s. especially R. Dozy, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes (Amsterdam, 1845), 32 and also Lane, Lexicon 1/1, 53a; Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 10. For a JA example from 1080 A.D. s. E.J. Worman, JQR xx (1907-8), 458 ult.
- 5 On the other hand, I prefer to read اسى for اسى at APRL V 359,5 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- 6 يا بى "O my father" Grohmann, TWÄ 10,2 (2nd - 3rd cent. A.H.) is presumably to be read يا بى with FWAP, 147, ult. Scriptio plena of i seems to be unrecorded for ASP, and in JA is rather uncommon s. Blau, JA, 23.
- 7 Cf. Blau, ASP, 73.
- 8 For it s. Blau, ASP, 71 n.45; Corriente, Sketch, 42 (Spanish Arabic).
- 9 This could theoretically also be a plural, but probability is on the side of the interpretation given here. For a similar problem of identification s. Blau, ASP, 72.
- 10 Comparison with recto col. B, 14 and col. A, 16, 20 of the same document, all of which read بيدما, makes it impossible to regard these examples as containing a plural. On the other hand اسم PSR iii, II, 6 (91 A.H.) and اسم APRL I 5, 9 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 173) are certainly plurals rather than duals.
- 11 For it s. Blau, Emergence, 33 n.1; idem, ASP, 73 n.55; Corriente, Sketch, 59 n. This example is apparently the earliest yet found. It occurs also in the much later Geniza document T-S 10J27.7v.
- 12 The ed. princeps of this document, Grohmann, TWÄ no. 10 does not indicate that the MS reads اغنا not غنا.

§5

- 1 For this spelling in JA, s. Blau, JA, 57. It doubtless reflects a pronunciation huwa (huwwa) or something similar, for which cf. Kofler, WZKM xlvii, 254; Rabin, AWA, 71 and the references given there.
- 2 For this spelling (representing ilayva or something similar) cf. Blau, ASP, 75/6.

§6

- 1 For the dating of this document s. Abbott, Rise, 15/6 n. 89, accepted by Grohmann, APEL IV, 251.
- 2 S. also the Coptic version, 1.8. Further examples in Wellhausen, Nachr. v. d. Königl. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1901, 446.

§7

- 1 S. above §3a and Blau, ASP, 65. Cf. in general for the reflection of imāla in transcriptions Karabacek, MPER 5, 59ff.
- 2 Brockelmann, GVG II, 277 n.1 finds imāla reflected in the writing شاي for شي, for which s. §15d. There seems no real need for such a view.
- 3 On this feature in JA s. Blau, JA, 19; idem, Emergence, 73; Goitein, op. cit., above §3 n.14, 422 n.84.
- 4 This word occurs as باعة APEL I 58, 10; 59, 9 (both 341 A.H.) and as اباعة (§ 2b, ii) ibid., 57, 15 (also 341 A.H.). One cannot, however, quite exclude the possibility that this spelling may represent not tiba^{ca} with imāla but tabi^{ca} (which appears in APEL I 61, 14 from 423 A.H.) with scriptio plena with §4b.

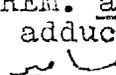
§8

- 1 S. Brockelmann, GVG I, 203; Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik, (second ed., Leipzig, 1898), §44; idem, Arabisches Grammatik (Halle, 1875), §20; J. Cantineau, Le Nabatéen II (Paris, 1932), 212.
- 2 This, however, perhaps reflects يونه rather than اون.
- 3 Similarly, this name may well be Σολομων rather than ول.
- 4 S. the lists in A. Socin, ZDMG 53 (1899), 496/7; G. Kampffmeyer, ibid., 54 (1900), 634 ff. and E. Littmann, Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen Dicata (Hauniae, 1953), 194/5 and cf. also Rhodokanakis, Dofâr II, 210/1. A list of such names occurring in Geniza texts can be found in S.D. Goitein, Studies in Islamic History and

Institutions (Leiden, 1966), 327.

- 5 S. Brockelmann, GVG I, 394; Rabin, AWA, 29 and Fleisch, Traité, 453/4.

§9

- 1 S. e.g. the references in Blau, ASP, 65 n.19; Brockelmann, GVG I, 74/5.
- 2 Blau, ASP, 65 REM.
- 3 S. §47b ff. and cf. Blau, ASP, 117.
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 117 and also Grohmann, APEL I, 197. Not much can be inferred from the shortening of interrogative mā, common in CA (Wright I, 274/5), which is also, though rarely, attested in the papyri: Khoury 138,3 (229 A.H.).
- 5 Cf. in general, Brockelmann, GVG I, 75/6; Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 30, 44ff., and for JA Blau, Emergence, 71.
- 6 This is suggested for ASP by Blau, ASP, 66 and for an earlier period cf. idem, Emergence, 124 (to which s. Addenda 215), 125 n.1.
- 7 S. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 80 n.1, 81 n.2; Bergsträsser, Damaskus, 29/30; Grotzfeld, Syrisch - Arabische Grammatik, 10 referring to §64c and the examples in Cowell, Reference Grammar, 226ff., 230. Cf. also Blau, Pseudo-Corrections, 101 n.298 and, for JA, idem, JA, 107.
- 8 Perhaps these cases, and the many like them, simply represent the defective orthography mentioned in Wright I, 257 REM. a. In favour of scriptio defectiva could also be adduced e.g. PAF IX, 4/5 (90 A.H.) where  "nails" appear in adjacent lines. I have no statistics, but I have the impression that it is only later, in the 3rd cent. A.H., that the fuller spelling of these words with alif becomes at all common, and even then the spelling without alif is much more frequent.
- 9 That the singular of this word is generally written not  but  could again be seen as an argument in favour of scriptio defectiva rather than the shortening of the long vowel. This might even be quite likely in a word of such frequent occurrence cf. Blau, Emergence, 71/2 n.4. For  cf. ibid., 124.
- 10 For the dating s. §6 n.1.
- 11 The spelling of these names with alif is fairly uncommon, and some of the examples in the editions are simply misprints; so e.g. APEL VI 392, end (3rd cent. A.H.); Abbott, Fayyum II,14 (336 A.H.).
- 12 Examples in FWAH, 88; Grohmann, Einführung, 100 and Blau, Emergence, 124.

§10

- 1 For it s. the literature listed in Blau, ASP, 77 nn. 73-5, and also Khoury, 27. I am unable to agree with the opinion of Grohmann, Einführung, 101 that this feature occurs "nur selten" (similarly FWAP, 88); much nearer the truth is his corrected statement HO, 96, that it is "häufig belegt".
- 2 For the later frequency of scriptio plena s. §9 n.8.
- 3 Some of the words listed here appear also in Blau, ASP, 77/8.
- 4 This example may alternatively exhibit the singular of the counted noun after the numerals 3-10 (§203b,i).
- 5 The same word is cited from earlier documents by Grohmann, Einführung, 101 and FWAP, 88.
- 6 As in Quranic orthography, GQ III,32/3.
- 7 For some of the names here cf. Wright I,10; scriptio defectiva of proper names also occurs in later times, s. e.g. Guest, Kindī, 52.
- 8 Cf. Wright I, 10.
- 9 I do not understand Grohmann's pointing of this word as ازدوا in the re-editions of this text APEL III 148, 21 and FWAP, 127,21.
- 10 I clearly recall having seen this form elsewhere on coins or glass weights but am unable at present to locate the examples. Cf. §73c.
- 11 Another example is found in an unpublished papyrus (141 A.H.) citing Quran 16,91 فعل. This document is to be edited in the near future by M. Hinds and H. Sakkūt; meanwhile a translation by them is given apud Plumley, JEA 61, 241 ff. I should like to thank Dr M. Hinds for making his transcript of this text available to me. S. further for some Quranic examples Grohmann, Islam 33,226.
- 12 For it s. Blau, ASP, 79 n.83; further idem, Emergence, 71, 124, 125 n.; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 8 n.2; Khoury, 27 where more examples are given.
- 13 For this word cf. Wright I,10 REM. a, 254 REM. a.

§11

- 1 Cf. GQ III, 31 n.2.
- 2 S. Grohmann, Einführung, 101; FWAP, 88 and 234 n.332; DAB, 11. In later times this spelling becomes quite common in Maghrebi MSS.

§12

- 1 S. the bibliography listed by Blau, ASP, 81n. and also Bittner, Brief Christi, 190; Khoury, 25/6. Included here are those formations from verba tertiae inf. ending in -an spelled in CA with ya.
- 2 Cf. PSR iii, 20 n.3.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 82/3. Is imāla (§7b) responsible for this spelling or is the phenomenon one of hyper-correction (cf. §21 n.4)?
- 4 This spelling, however, is also known from CA sources, s. Blau, ASP, 83. For another similar alternation of spelling within CA s. Wright I, 214, REM, b for which cf. Rabin, AWA, 70.
- 5 Recorded already by Blau, Emergence, 125.
- 6 Cf. Blau, ASP, 83 and Wright I, 11 Rem. c. It is possible that imāla (§7b) is a contributory factor to this spelling.
- 7 All the examples known to me are given in this paragraph. In other branches of Arabic, too, it is rather scarce; in ASP it occurs only "very rarely" (Blau, ASP, 83).
- 8 Read so! The correct reading appeared in Margoliouth's earlier publication of this text in Florilegium ... de Vogué, 408.
- 9 For اخبار APRIL IV 2,4 (133 A.H.) the earlier publication of the document in Florilegium ... de Vogué, 409 offers اخبار. The plate in neither publication is clear. APRIL IV 1,5 (136 A.H.) is also said to read اخبار.
- 10 For which s. Blau, ASP, 237; Corriente, Sketch, 88 top and below §91b. The form under discussion here is pointed اخبار without further ado by Blau, Emergence, 125, followed by idem, ASP, 237 n.178.

§13

- 1 S. e.g. GQ III,41; Rabin, AWA, 105ff.; idem, apud F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt 4 (Berlin, 1967), 8ff.; Fleisch, Traité, 215, and especially A. Spitaler, WZKM 56 (1960), 212ff. It seems rather doubtful whether this orthographic convention should have anything to do with the subject of §8.

§14

- 1 Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld, 158. Cf. Miles, ibid., n.7 and Walker, Catalogue II, ciii. For façalil instead of façalil s. §87b.
- 2 S. GQ III, 33ff.

- 3 This is probably to be judged in accordance with §9a (cf. GQ III, 24/5). Cf. also Fleisch, Traité, 170/1 for which s. Blau, BSOAS xxxv, 482/3.
- 4 As in Blau, ASP, 79/80.

§15

- 1 As in ASP; s. Blau, ASP, 67.
- 2 On this name s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 58; Blau, ASP, 94 n.47 and Fück, Carabiya, 64/5.
- 3 For ay > ā in general cf. Rabin, AWA, 65/6, 88, and for this word in particular, Fleisch, Traité, 69n.
- 4 Cf. Blau, Emergence, 75; ASP, 93 n.41, 100 n.93.
- 5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 71.
- 6 On شاي s. Brockelmann, GVG II, 277n. who regards the spelling as a reflection of imāla (cf. §7 n.2); GQ III, 49, 56/7, 255; Rabin, AWA, 140 where the explanation is offered that the alif is intended to obviate the pronunciation shī; Blau, Scripta 222; idem, Emergence, 127 and various works of Grohmann: APEL I, 154; FWAP, 88; Einführung, 101 and HO, 96. For the pronunciation shay suggested here cf. the alternation -ayy / ay known from a number of modern dialects as e.g. Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 74.

§16

- 1 Violet, col. 32: "Diese Zeichen sind meist so undeutlich und verblichen, dass nur leichte Schatten zu sehen sind und man deshalb nicht viel Gewicht auf dieselben legen darf. Ich möchte selber auf Existenz oder Nichtexistenz einiger dieser Häkchen und Strichelchen nicht schwören."
- 2 Also, the occurrence in ASP of fa^calīl for CA fa^calīl (ibid., 480) could with more probability be understood in the light of the development fa^calīl > fa^calīl (§9c) and thus be seen as examples of oxytone stress of the Eastern type.
- 3 Cf. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 120.

§17

- 1 For this fairly widespread tendency in spoken Arabic cf. e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 21.
- 2 S. Blau, ASP, 66 REM. D.
- 3 To what extent final geminates were simplified cannot be estimated; against the assumption cf. the possible (but by no means certain) reconstruction of شاي as shayy suggested at §16d. Even, however, if this

reconstruction is correct, it may conceivably have been restricted to semi-vowels only (but cf. §89a).

§18

- 1 For isolated occurrences in ASP s. Blau, ASP, §§12.2, 13.2 (with a different explanation in n.134), and for modern dialects e.g. Bergsträsser, Damaskus, 36; Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 60; idem, Negev, 116, 122. For Spanish Arabic s. Corriente, Sketch, 38/9.
- 2 References in CPR III, 310 s.v. This name is also written with final θ as PERF 79 (65-86 A.H.) cited by Becker, PSR iii, 103 n.6.

§19

- 1 Grohmann, Einführung, 104: "Hamza ist nicht berücksichtigt". Loss of the glottal stop is further clearly indicated by the occasional pointing of yā^2 as kursī with two dots, as e.g. in the papyrus mentioned above §10 n.11, 1.20: من أرقابنا "of our slaves" (cf. Blau, ASP, 84 n.4). For a general account of the situation in the early material s. Blau, Emergence, 125/6 and for a survey of the similar state of affairs prevailing in Spanish Arabic, Corriente, Sketch, 58ff.
- 2 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 84 n.2 and the literature cited throughout ibid., §11; for modern dialects s. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 84/5.
- 3 S. the scanty documentation in Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 73; FWAP, 233 n.327 and Khoury 18,22. An additional instance of the hamza sign seems to occur in DAB 32,5 (c. 314 A.H.). S. also SALP III,6 (where the editor's dating to the 3rd cent. A.H. seems to me to be far too early) and 7. I am not at all convinced that a hamza is marked in SALP II,2 as stated to be the case, and nor do I see an example in SALP III,1. Karabacek appears to have been in error in stating that hamza is written "in der ursprünglichen Form als ϵ " in PERF 735 = SALP III,2. All(?) other cases are simply editorial additions.
- 4 This is very likely true also of ASP, pace Blau, ASP, 84.
- 5 For the West-Arabian dialects without the glottal stop s. Rabin, AWA, 130ff. and the references given there; Fleisch, Traité, 113/4; for the absence of the glottal stop being reflected by CA orthography s. e.g. already Ewald, Grammatica I, 49; Wright I, 72/3n.; Fleisch, op. cit. 98ff.
- 6 Cf. Wright I, 24 §22 REM. a; Blau, ASP, 105 and Addenda 622; Guest, Kindī, 54.

- 7 This document is rather sensitive about hamza; for انقنا وحن of 1.5 s. below §21c.
- 8 Cf. also قرأته "you have read it" APOL V 301,4 (3rd cent A.H.), which, if the reading is correct, is presumably a blend between CA قرأته and vernacular قرأته (§ 79a).
- 9 Pace David-Weill, Ibn Wahb I, v where more examples are given, followed by Grohmann, FWAP, 233 n.327.
- 10 Cf. Vollers, Volkssprache, 86. This word also appears in the list of words spelled with alif fasila in Blau, ASP, 128 top.

§20

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 86 and the literature given there, and also above §10a, REM.B.
- 2 I cite this example from an unpublished papyrus of the Nessana archive (recto = Nessana no.77) as read from a photograph (no.13.373) supplied by the Israel Dept. of Antiquities and Museums, whose kind assistance is hereby acknowledged. On this word cf. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 217 n.3, and, for i > ī, Schen, JSS 17, 235.
- 3 For this word cf. Blau, ASP, 86 n.13 and below §79b.
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 87.
- 5 For similar spellings of this word within CA s. e.g. A.J.Wensinck et al., Concordance et Indices ..., I (Leiden, 1936), 149/50 and for a discussion of words of this kind Blau, ASP, 87/8 REM. In this particular example it is difficult to know whether the form has arisen as a result of adaptation to a root IIIw, or from the analogy of cases such as جزء < جزء "part", where the final waw is apparently of anaptyctic origin and coloured by the u of the first syllable (Blau, loc. cit.). For ASP the former possibility is made unlikely by the fact that there roots IIIw have already merged with IIIy. But for the papyri this need not be the case, for here, to judge from the available material, it seems that the category of IIIy < IIIw does not (yet?) exist (§ 82a). On the face of it, therefore, the way seems open to explain برو < بر in this example as a direct result of the development IIIy > IIIw, which took place before the category of verba tertiae waw had disappeared. However, despite the lack of documented cases and in view of the general affinity of the language of the papyri to ASP and other varieties of Middle Arabic, I am more inclined to ascribe this absence of any example of IIIw > IIIy in the earlier material to nothing more than chance. Accordingly, analogy of the type جزء > جزو is to be considered the more probable explanation.
- 6 Cited by Blau, Emergence, 125. Perhaps the commonest word of this class viz. جزء "part" I find only in the very late text Islam I, 242 ult. (13th - 14th cent. A.D.,

cf. *ibid.*, 238 and Dietrich, *Drogenhandel*, 5). Other examples can be found in al-Kindī, *Kitāb Kimiyya* al-*ḥitr* *Wat-taṣḥīḍat*, ed. K. Garbers, *Abh. F. d. K. d. Morg.* xxx (Leipzig, 1948), *passim* (in a MS. dated 405 A.H.) and s. G. Bergsträsser, *Islamica* 4 (1931), 298 n.2, 299 n.5; Corriente, *Sketch*, 60. *هَرزِه* "his share" (acc.), however, possibly occurs in APEL V 354,2 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).

- 7 Cf. Blau, ASP, 88.
- 8 S. e.g. the list in Khoury, 22/3. For the absence of final short vowels s. above §2a.
- 9 The final hamza of this word printed by the editor, as also in the republication of the text by Grohmann, FWAP, 124/5 is not, of course, in the original (cf. above §19 n.3). The same is true of many other examples, and it is not necessary to point this out on every occasion.

§21

- 1 For the coalescence of these two endings s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 88 n.22 and Fleisch, *Traité* 318/9 and for the suffixed forms cf. Blau, *ibid.*, 89, and also GQ III, 55; Schen JSS 17, 235; Blau, *Emergence*, 125. For possible cases of alif maṣūra in this position spelt not with alif but with yā s. §12f REM.
- 2 S. §19 n.3.
- 3 These two examples are cited by Blau, *Emergence*, 125. For the latter cf. also *idem.* ASP, 89 n.26; however, the word may also be read *رہائی* as also Khoury, 142, 17 (229 A.H.). Conversely *رہائی* "my hope" is a possible reading of AO xviii/3, 116, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.) for the editor's *رہائی*.
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 90 and the literature quoted in n.28; further Schen, JSS 17, 235 (a > ā spelled with yā); Khoury 26/7 and cf. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, Nachträge, n.3 to p.6. Whether this spelling has anything to do with imāla (s. §7b and Blau, *loc. cit.*) seems to me, at least as far as the papyri are concerned, very doubtful. If the reason were of a phonetic nature, one would certainly expect it to be applied more consistently, and such an assumption would not well explain how spellings of the same word should occur with both alif and yā in the same document. The reason is rather to be sought in the circumstance that after alif mamdūda and alif maṣūra had merged, either ending could be spelled in either manner. Alif generally prevailed (§§ 12, 20c), and the writing of alif mamdūda with yā is very probably to be accounted a pseudo-correction: a false restitution of CA alif maṣūra spelled with yā into a word in which it never properly belonged.
- 5 Cf. Dozy, *Supplément* II, 462 s.v.; Guest, *Kindī*, 53. For another spelling of this word s. §47g.
- 6 Cited by Blau, *Emergence*, 125.

- 7 As also in ASP, Blau, ASP, 91f.
- 8 Cf. Brockelmann GVG I, 460.
- 9 S. the discussion in Blau, JA, 28 n.10 and ASP, 90/1 n.30. Bannay forms also occur in the Maghrib (Marçais Tlemcen, 36); it is unlikely that they have any direct bearing on the matter discussed here, presumably being rederived from the pl. bannayin.
- 10 For this and other spellings of this word s. §61g.
- 11 Cf. from a very much later period (746 A.H.) the spelling علاى الدين in M. van Berchem, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum I (Paris, 1903) no. 138.
- 12 For these suggestions s. Blau, ASP, 90/1 n.30 and for diphthongization of final -ā cf. further, Fleisch, Traité, 318 n.1.
- 13 Cf., mutatis mutandis, e.g. Fleisch, Traité, 105/6.
- 14 Whether one can infer from this that the absolute form was ابتداى is very doubtful. Admittedly, the spelling runs counter to §25a according to which a2a > a, but y here is perhaps due to the influence of forms such as بداية; themselves the result of the shift III₂ > III₁ (§79a), but also influenced in this case by the antonym نهاية for which cf. Blau, IOS vi, 164). Cf. also §24a, end.
- 15 S. e.g. Wright I, 157; 183/4 REM. a; 183/9 REM c; 194.
- 16 Or is it perhaps a hyper-correction? Cf. the discussion of مولودين in Blau, ASP, 121 REM. and Addenda, 623; as alif mamdūda had merged with alif maqsura in the papyri as well (§21a), the same explanation could also apply here.
- 17 S. on this word DAB, 181, and for the phenomenon in question, as well as the sources cited ibid., n.1, further e.g. Zamakhshari, Mufaṣṣal, 74 230; Lisan al-ʿArab (Beirut, 1955f.) I, 21; Howell, Grammar Pt. I, 850ff. §230 and Fleisch, Traité, 133, which also deal with ʔ > w/y before the suffix of the dual.
- 18 This is the form that exists in most modern dialects, e.g. Egyptian, s. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 61. It would be most unrealistic to take the first yā in these cases as the kursi for hamza, s. §24a.

§22

- 1 Cited by Blau, Emergence, 125, and s. for this feature Brockelmann, GVG I, 177; Cantineau, Études, 82; Fleisch, Traité, 106 as well as the literature cited by Blau, ASP, 170 n.130. In view, however, of the rarity of total assimilations of hamza in all varieties of the language, one might well doubt whether the explanation of this, and similar, forms is to be seen as a straight-

forward case of ittaman(a) > ittaman(a) at all. It seems, perhaps, more likely that after the disappearance of the glottal stop and lengthening of the preceding vowel (§20a), itaman(a) > ittaman(a) possibly through some kind of Quantitätsmetathese or, more probably, through adaptation to the pattern of verba primae waw (§77b). For the alternation of forms of this kind cf. Blau, ASP, 183, §82. (I see now that a similar explanation has been offered already by G. Krotkoff, WZKM 59/60 (1963/4), 240/1.)

- 2 Possibly the second case described in §23 belongs here as well.

§23

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 93, and for CA e.g. Cantineau, Études, 81; Fleisch, Traité, 116. For another treatment of these forms s. §20b, and for a general discussion of hamza in final position Birkeland, Pausalformen, 60ff. and Kofler, WZKM xlvi, 248ff.
- 2 On this name s. in detail A. Fischer, Islamica 1 (1924), 1ff., 365ff. and the references given there. Although the glottal stop is lost here at the end of the word, this example could also belong to §24b.
- 3 Another possibility for this word is that the pronunciation was marr (s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 157 after Vollers, Volkssprache, 92; Cantineau, Études, 82; Rabin, AWA, 134; Fleisch, Traité, 106); but whether this is due directly to the assimilation of hamza is quite another matter (cf. §22 n.1). Cantineau, loc. cit., even goes so far as to claim that such cases "ne peuvent être interprétés autrement". An alternative, even preferable, explanation would be that after the loss of the final glottal stop (i.e. marʔ > mar) the resultant form, like many other biliterals, was adapted to the rhythmic pattern of roots mediae geminatae by the doubling of the second consonant (for the principle s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 72 n.50; Corriente, Sketch, 82).

§24

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 93 ff. and the literature cited ibid., n.42. For an example of yaʔ < hamza provided with dots s. above §19 n.1.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 93/4 and also Brockelmann, GVG I, 79; Schen, JSS 17, 235; Corriente, Sketch, 83.
- 3 Cited already by Blau, Emergence, 125.
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 94; Cantineau, Études, 104; Schen, JSS 17, 236; Corriente, Sketch, 31. It seems most unlikely to regard this feature entirely as scriptio defectiva of ā (§10): this factor may well be operative in some cases, but in general the phenomenon is one of phonetics, not of

- orthography. Incidentally, the process outlined here is formulated differently by M. Hartmann, OLZ xii (1909), 73n., who prefers to understand e.g. hait < haijit.
- 5 This is a case where scriptio defectiva, widely employed in this particular text, might provide a more plausible explanation (cf. the preceding note).
 - 6 Another 1st century example is cited by Grohmann, Einführung, 101 from PERF 569 (as far as I know unpublished).
 - 7 For this word s. DAB, 159 and Blau, ASP, 94 n.47. هايت occurs (unpointed) DAB 36,5 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
 - 8 Cf. for this name Brockelmann, GVG I, 58; Fück, cArabiya, 64/5 and Blau, ASP, 94 n.47.
 - 9 S. however, the interpretation of Blau, ASP, 94 n.50.
 - 10 On it s. Blau, ASP, 94 n.48. According to Karabacek, WZKM xi, 17, في n. pr. hom. of BAU 14,7 (404 A.H.) = فائد and would therefore also belong here. Could the n. pr. loc. تل الدين (si vera lectio) ZDMG 92, 122,3 (241 A.H.) for which the editor, p.126, suggests Madyan, possibly be Tell al-Madain?
 - 11 Equated with ميدة by Blau, ASP, 94.
 - 12 Pace Blau, ASP, 94 n.49 this could well reflect malayka rather than mala'ika. Not too much weight should be given to the fact the word is apparently written with t and not i; firstly, for the reason cited above §16 n.1, and, secondly, because the statement of Kahle, Bibelübersetzungen, xiv, to the effect that ṭ and y are always differentiated (by t and i respectively) is something of an exaggeration (cf. Violet, col.32).
 - 13 S. the interpretation of Blau, ASP, 90/1 n.30.
 - 14 Noted already by Blau, Emergence, 125.
 - 15 Rather than suyl, the pronunciation is more likely to have been something like sil (cf. Rabin, AWA, 138), derived from sal (< sapal §25a). Cf. also Blau, ASP, 63 and n.9.
 - 16 Cf. Blau, ASP, 95 n.59. Further literature concerning this shift is given ibid., n. 58. S. also Cantineau, Etudes, 79; Fleisch, Traité, 104.
 - 17 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 96 REM. B. Is it because of a desire to avoid this substandard spelling لين (= lian) that DAB 34,6 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) spells لان when quoting Q.14,7, even though the word there is لئن (lain)?
 - 18 Goitein, JQR, NS xlvii, 378. Cf. بيان quoted Blau, ASP, 96 n.64.
 - 19 On it cf. Blau, ASP, 96 n.64.
 - 20 For it s. e.g. Fleisch, Traité, 105.

§25

- 1 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 97 n.72, and for CA, s. also Fück, Carabiya, 81; Fleisch, Traité, 104.
- 2 S. on this form Blau, ASP, 98/9 and below §47i.
- 3 This is the dating of Grohmann, HO, 91. The papyrus is reproduced ibid., Taf. v, but the text is, I believe, unpublished.
- 4 S. the reproduction in Grohmann, HO, Taf. iv. As far as I am aware, the text has never been published.
- 5 The hamza which is often printed in this word is merely editorial (cf. §19 n.3).
- 6 Cf. Blau, ASP, 98, where the background to such a spelling is explained.
- 7 Given already by Blau, Emergence 125.
- 8 A possible instance of this feature may occur in APEL V 320,3 (328 A.H.) across the boundary of two words: ولا متع
"I shall not make a claim". However, it is not clear exactly what the document reads, as the edited text conflicts with the apparatus, according to which the original has متع. Cf., for an alternative possibility, §54a.
- 9 For the dating s. above §6 n.1.
- 10 On this word s. Blau, ASP, 99 n.85; Vollers, Volkssprache, 95/6; Rabin, AWA, 137.

§26

- 1 S. the literature cited by Blau, ASP, 99 n.88 and also Fück, Carabiya, 43; Fleisch, Traité, 107.
- 2 ا itself also occurs: Jahn 12,4 (late 2nd - early 3rd cent. A.H.) where read so with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64,133; APRL VII, 24v (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.). For other forms of this word appearing in the papyri s. §§25a; 47i and for ا Blau, ASP, 99 n.89.
- 3 This is presumably the occurrence cited by Blau, Emergence, 125. For DAB 35,4 (3rd cent. A.H.) s. §47 n.30.
- 4 This example is taken from Grohmann, Einführung, 104 (followed by Blau, Emergence, 125). I have not checked the original, which is unpublished.
- 5 The hamza sign printed on this word here and in the republications of the text APEL III 154,7; FWAP 129,7 stems, of course, from the editors and is not present on the original (cf. §19 n.3).
- 6 Read so, despite FWAP 122,5.

- 1 Cf. for it Blau, ASP, 101.
- 2 The vocalization proposed by Karahçcek, PERF 632, and, following him, by Jahn is Wasama; the suggestion adopted here was first made by Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 130 n.14. An alternative, but in my view less probable, possibility is that here the original w of the root has been preserved, and that the change of initial w > ʔ never in fact took place. For the case of the n. pr. mul. ʔAsma < Wasma s. Vollers, Volkssprache, 44; Brockelmann, GVG I, 232; Rabin, AWA, 84.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP 101/2.
- 4 The documents published here by Margoliouth and Holmyard are for the most part undated, and no indications of their age are furnished by the editor(s). The only dated text among them is from 523 A.H., but the presence also of a papyrus in the collection suggests that at least some could be rather earlier. The present whereabouts of these documents is not known to me and I am therefore unable to pronounce on their appearance, but to judge from the language and content, they very probably belong to a period several centuries later than that which is of direct concern to this study. The date 523 A.H. is hence perhaps not untypical of the collection as a whole.
- 5 Further references to Bū Sir can be found in Grohmann, AO xiv, 195/6 and APEL IV, 49/50. For this name appearing with elision of hamza after the article s. below, c and for the form bū < abu in absolute initial position below, f. In view, however, of the etymology of Bū Sir (s. e.g. Pauly - Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie III (Stuttgart, 1899), 1073) it is impossible to insist that here بو < أبو, and the form may well not belong to this paragraph at all.
- 6 Cf. Blau, ASP, 102/3.
- 7 On the various forms of this word s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/5, 1994b; Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, 190.
- 8 Cf. Blau, ASP, 103 and Addenda 622; G. Weil, ZA 19 (1905-6), 36; Vollers, Volkssprache, 149; Brockelmann GVG I, 50; Fleisch, Traite 108 where similar cases are discussed.
- 9 S. the examples and literature in Blau, Emergence, 125/6; idem, ASP, 103 n.113; further Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 23; Wright I, 295 REM. a; Brockelmann, GVG I, 45; Guest, Kindi, 53; Khoury, 22; Schen, JSS 17, 236, and cf. below §49b, ii. It is hardly possible to regard this writing of only one alif as an extension of §10d where ya is spelled defectively before words not beginning with alif (cf. Blau, Emergence, 125n.). It may, however, owe its popularity to the principle of involutio (so Grohmann, Islamica 2, 223), for which s. §54a.

- 10 Read: يا as in FWAP, 147.
- 11 Read: يا with FWAP 122,4.
- 12 This quite misunderstood by the editor; read: يا.
- 13 Cf. e.g. Spitta - Bey, Grammatik, 23n.; Guest, Kindī, 53; GQ III, 32.
- 14 I have not checked the reading of this document; it could well be merely an unconscious transcription of the CA form by the editor; some apparent exceptions are indeed due to nothing more than faulty transcription, so e.g. SALP I, 6r,4 (2nd cent. A.H.).
- 15 On the other hand in Semitica iv, 68,8 (mid 3rd cent. A.H.) read: الله with Levi della Vida, ibid., v, 103.
- 16 Cf. Blau, ASP, 104 and above §2 n.11.
- 17 Read so? There seems to be no trace of an alif on what is otherwise a very clear reproduction. Assuming that this suggestion is correct, the form could also exhibit the passage IV > I (§70).
- 18 For the absence of initial hamza in اغ "brother" s. below, f., and for توات in ASP s. Blau, ASP, 104/5.
- 19 Cited also by Grohmann, Einführung, 104. For ينا in absolute initial position s. below, f.
- 20 On this word lacking the glottal stop in absolute initial position s. below, f.
- 21 Cf. Blau, ASP, 104/5 and also below §58 n.7.
- 22 For this form s. Blau, ASP, 104 and the reference to Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 15/6; further Wright I, 233; Vollers, Volkssprache, 90; Nöldeke, Belegwörterbuch, 43b; Blau, 105 vi, 186.
- 23 In view of the early occurrence of ناسي it seems unnecessary to class these examples with those of §27b where, formally, they belong.
- 24 Cf. above, e.
- 25 Cf. above, n.5
- 26 Further examples of اي are given by Grohmann, APFL I, 154 and Dietrich, Le Muséon lxxv, 269 n.28. For its occurrence in JA, modern dialects and elsewhere s. Blau, Emergence, 62 and Addenda and Corrigenda 214; Schen, JSS 18, 83. Relevant also are Wellhausen, Nachr. v. d. königl. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil - hist. Kl. 1901, 447 (transcriptions), and Moritz, Sinai Kloster, 13.
- 27 For its occurrence today s. A. Socin, ZDMG 53 (1899), 479.
- 28 I have not troubled to check the orthography of

the references given by Grohmann, Einführung, 149 n.2.

§28

- 1 Cf. Brocklemann, GVG I, 240 who cites (from where?) a similar example from this same root. For the dating of this text s. §27 n.4.

§29

- 1 S. Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 54; Cantineau, Études, 31; Corriente, Sketch, 32/3 and in general idem, JQR NS 1x (1969-70), 147 ff.
- 2 Cf. e.g. E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik I (München, 1949), 198, 207; M. Lejeune, Traité de Phonétique Grèque (second ed., Paris, 1955), 46, 201.

§30

- 1 For it s. e.g. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 12; Rabin, AWA, 127/8 and for modern dialects Cantineau, Études, 44ff. and the literature in Blau, ASP, 106 n.131. For Spanish Arabic s. Corriente, Sketch, 44.
- 2 This example is from an unpublished papyrus of the Nessana archive, of which the Greek verso is given in Nessana as no.77. I am reading the text from a photograph (no.13.373) supplied by the Israel Dept. of Antiquities and Museums.
- 3 It can be regarded as certain that this shift had already taken place considerably earlier, but remained concealed behind the orthography.
- 4 For the dating of the documents in Islamica 4 s. above §27 n.4. Further examples, mostly from the 4th-5th centuries A.H. are listed by Grohmann APEL I, 64, and VBPS 5, 256 n.4.
- 5 Cf. e.g. Wright I, 16, 56/7; Cantineau, Études, 34; Fleisch, Traité, 92, and Blau, ASP, 105.
- 6 Cited by Grohmann, HO, 98.
- 7 The date of these two examples is not clear, but almost certainly quite late, s. §27 n.4. وردتها "so mügst Du sie zurückgeben" seems to have been interpreted as dt > tt by Grohmann, TWÄ 2,7 (3rd cent. A.H.); read, however: وردتها with Dietrich, Islam 31,87. (The same error is repeated FWAP, 169,7.)
- 8 Cf. e.g. Wright I, 16, 56/7; Brockelmann, GVG I, 172; Cantineau, Études, 42/3.
- 9 Cited by Grohmann, HO, 98, and for a similar example s.

DAB, 168. For this form in JA s. Blau, Emergence, 77.

- 10 Cf. e.g. Wright I, 16, 56/7; Brockelmann, GVG I, 172; Fleisch, Traité, 92.
- 11 S. Blau, ASP, 369 n.9 and the references given there.
- 12 This example is cited, with this explanation, by Blau, Emergence, 131n.
- 13 Cf., mutatis mutandis, Blau, ASP, 318.
- 14 It is quite properly dismissed by Vollers, Volkssprache, 119 as "ganz inkorrekt".

§31

- 1 But not, it appears, in others such as Violet's Psalmfragment (c. 800 A.D.) where tha is regularly transcribed by θ (as against ta which is written with τ).
- 2 Cf. the parallel phenomenon of etymological z being written as dh in Blau, Pseudo-Corrections, 78/9.

§32

- 1 On this word s. Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, 187 and the references in DAB, 79/80.
- 2 Cf. Corriente, Sketch, 51 n.69.

§33

- 1 This text is probably to be dated outside the period dealt with in this work, s. above §27 n.4.
- 2 For it s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 26; Brockelmann, GVG I, 162; Cantineau, Études, 72; Corriente, Sketch, 55 and for its occurrence in JA, E. Mainz, JA cccxxvii (1949), 73, f.12r, 10 (c. 16th cent?). It is not clear whether the pointing of this MS is original or stems from the editor(s); in any case the suggestion offered above seems preferable to assuming that in this word gh > j (g?).

§34

- 1 For it s. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 44ff. and the references given by Blau, ASP, 108 n.137. For Spanish Arabic s. Corriente, Sketch, 45. The argument from phonological symmetry, however, is not entirely watertight, for while it is true that the great majority of modern dialects treat the old interdental s in a uniform

fashion, this is not always the case. For a Lebanese dialect behaving in this way s. J. Aro, Actes du XXIX^e Congrès International des Orientalistes. Etudes arabes et islamiques II/1 (Paris, 1975), 24.

2 Cf. Blau, ASP. 107/8.

§35

1 For the alternation of these two forms s. e.g. Dozy, Supplément II, 463a; Lane, Lexicon I/7, 2608c; I. Löw, Die Flora der Juden III (Wien und Leipzig, 1924) 446/7; M. Meyerhof, Sarḥ Asma' al-Uḡḡar, un glossaire de matière médicale composé par Raimonide (Le Caire, 1940) 91 no. 183. The etymology of the word (cf. e.g. W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch I, Wiesbaden, 1965, 486a) shows that the spelling with s is the original one.

§36

1 For it s. Cantineau, Études, 48 and the references in Blau, ASP, 109 n.146 and Addenda, 623; Corriente, Sketch, 50.

2 Accepted by Grohmann, FWAP, 95; Einführung, 104; HO, 97/8, but does APRL pl.9 really allow such a reading? In PSR iii, VI, 4 (91 A.H.) Becker 85 n.4 is correct in reading not  but "ein verunglücktes ".

3 For this root cf. Blau, ASP 110 n.149. Although forms with s seem to occur more frequently than forms with š (and are also original), I have ventured to include them here rather than under the rubric s > š (§ 38). Incidentally, the occurrence of spellings with s both here and in ASP (Blau, loc. cit.) makes it unnecessary to look to Hebrew influence to account for the same phenomenon in JA (Blau, JA, 36).

4 This is to be interpreted along the same lines as the similar case in Blau, Emergence, 76. There are, however, Arabic dialects where s is the regular reflex of th, s. O. Jastrow, ZDMG, Supplementa I/2 (1969), 686; idem, Daragözu, eine arabische Mundart der Kozluk-Sason-Gruppe (Südostanatolien) (Nürnberg, 1973), 15.

§37

1 S. Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 72; FWAP, 86/7, and HO, 96. Cf. also Blau, ASP, 122.

2 S. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 234/5; Cantineau, Études, 63/4; Cohen, Tunis II, 20ff. and s. for some earlier examples Blau, JA, 37. Cf. also for Spanish Arabic, Corriente, Sketch, 49,50. Brockelmann, ibid., 132 Ann. reports on the authority of Littmann that the shift sh > s is operative in modern

22

Nablus. How systematically this takes place is not, however, made clear and requires further investigation; it may be that no more than sporadic fluctuation s/sh (perhaps in only some speakers) is involved. The same information is given again by Littmann, Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen (second ed., Tübingen, 1924), 28. I am happy to acknowledge a letter on this subject from Prof. H. Blanc dated 9/10/1973. Cf. also Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften II: 587 and, for a Yemeni vernacular, S.D. Goitein, Le Muséon lxxiii (1960), 363/4.

§38

- 1 For it s. Cantineau, Études, 47/8 and the extensive references in Blau, ASP, 111/2 n.163 and Addenda, 623; Corriente, Sketch, 48/9.
- 2 This is not the interpretation of the editor who translates "wir haben... abgetrennt" / "schneiden... wir", i.e. understanding a root qss. S. on this below §76 n.6.
- 3 Cited by Blau, Emergence, 126.
- 4 These examples are also listed elsewhere by him: VBPS 5, 257 n.1; APEL II, 158 n.6; FMAP, 95; MO, 97.

§39

- 1 Violet's transcriptions are of no immediate help, s. Blau, ASP, 113 n.175 (cf. however, below n.4). The same is doubtless also true of other transcriptions; no transcriptional device could be anything more than a very imperfect means of representing the Arabic sound, however it was pronounced.
- 2 This is the most probable, if not the only, possibility. Voiceless reflexes of ḥ (and ḥ < ḥ) are seldom more than sporadic and something of a rarity, s. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 41, 45.
- 3 S. Blau, ASP, 114 n.178 and Addenda, 623.
- 4 Cf. the discussion in Blau, ASP, 113. It may be objected that this reconstruction makes a certain number of (quite justifiable) assumptions, and that it probably underestimates the degree of dialectal variation, but in general I think it to be sound. It is not, in any case, meant to show that a spirant pronunciation of ḥ did not also exist in other dialects of the same period; for Violet's Psalmsfragment, written in a dialect preserving the interdental (631 n.1), this may even be thought very likely (as against Blau, loc. cit., n. 175).
- 5 S. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 56; Ferguson, Language 35,

630; Cohen, Études, 118.

- 6 For it s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 113 n.176 and Addenda, 623; G. Wiet, Syria v (1924), 219 n.3; GQ III, 52; Ferguson, Language 35, 630; S. D. Goitein, Le Muséon lxxiii (1960), 363 n. and cf. Corriente, JSS 20, 47; for the papyri s. also VBPS 5, 257 n.2; Grohmann, Einführung, 104. The confusion of these two in Jewish History and Literature I (Cincinnati, 1931), 670/1 where some interesting information is presented.
- 7 This is a well-known example and has already been cited several times in the literature on the subject: Grohmann VBPS 5, 257 n.2; idem, Einführung, 104; FWAP, 95; HO, 97; Blau, Scripta, 222 n.45; idem, Emergence, 126; ASP, 113 n.176. It is possible that an earlier example occurs in PSR iii, III, 68 (91 A.H.) where الغنى = "oppression". The same word, however, is spelled with ب immediately before and after (ll. 66,69) and Becker, ibid., 27, is probably right in his view that the word is a "reines Verschreiben".. But why was it this word that the scribe mis-spelled? Could involutio (§54b) provide an explanation?
- 8 Later examples of this root being written with ص are found in Grohmann, Einführung, 104 (427-87 A.H.) and Islamica 4, 268/9, 17,18, 27 (for the date of which s. § 27 n.4).
- 9 This interpretation of the text seems to me greatly superior to that of the editor who points: تبتا صروا and translates "dass Ihr durch beiderseitige Bemühungen hinter die Wahrheit zu kommen sucht und ich (dann) sehe". The rendering of the first word in particular is forced in the extreme, and the pointing of the second overlooks the fact that n-z-r in a judicial sense is quite common in the papyri from Aphrodito onwards (e.g. PSR iii, II, 12) whereas b-s-r is rather rare (offhand, I recall only APRL I 1,11 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.), as باضر (read so!) SALP I, 6r, 17 (2nd cent. A.H.) could well be n-z-r rather than b-s-r despite Dietrich, Islam 34, 205).
- 10 Face the editor (p. 179) this is the only realistic way to reconstruct the text.
- 11 This word again in Islamica 4, 264, verso, B, 2 and cf. also ibid., 256,4: منجنبل "colocynth". For the date of these examples s. §27 n.4. Other possible instances are suggested at §54b.
- 12 Cf. the similar JA case in Blau, Emergence, 76.
- 13 The word is quoted by Grohmann, Einführung, 105, and, after him by Blau, Emergence, 126, where it is assigned to the twelfth century. For similar forms in modern dialects s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt. 90.

§40

- 1 This could alternatively, but less probably (s. §57 RIM.), exhibit haplology of ta in form V of the verb, for which s. e.g. Wright I, 65; Brockelmann, GVG I, 261; Rabin, AWA, 147/8; Fleisch, Traité, 149 and cf. Corriente JSS 20, 42n. For the assimilation tt > tt s. e.g. Brockelmann, ibid., 171; Cantineau, Etudes, 35, 38.
- 2 Assuming the word not to be an error, the suggestion made here seems to provide a reasonable explanation of the form (cf. for tt > tt e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 157; Cantineau, Etudes, 34), though I do not know of another old example quite like it; for a similar case in a modern dialect s. e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 163. It hardly belongs to §47j, but haplology (in accordance with Brockelmann, ibid., 262) is a possibility which could be considered.
- 3 That this word is to be pronounced muttahad (and not muddahad with §41) seems to be made clear from the spelling مطهه discussed above 30 RIM. The assimilation dt > tt, however, is rare in GA, s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 178; Cantineau, Etudes, 56; Fleisch, Traité, 96, but seems to exist in JA, as زحزح "turmoil" Tarbiz xx (1949), 179, 4 (1015 A.D.), though a realization as dd (in accordance with Blau, JA, 39 §23) cannot be excluded. The expected مطهه occurs e.g. BAU 14,5 (404 A.H.); Islam 22,64,5 (448 A.H.).

§41

- 1 For it s. the references in Blau, ASP. 114 n.178, also Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 48; Schen, JSS 17, 235, and for Spanish Arabic, Corriente, Sketch, 46. In Grohmann, Einführung, 104 the phenomenon is rather clumsily formulated: "Umgekehrt ist d zu t geworden". This describes only the written appearance of our feature in unpointed script; the letter in question is, of course, zād not ṭāṭ. The same manner of expression is also used by him in FWAP, 95 and HO, 97. The zād is sometimes even explicitly pointed as such, e.g. طه below.
- 2 Cited by Grohmann, Einführung, 104. This same word occurs also in the contemporary Michaelides papyrus from which عظيم "great" was cited above §39b.
- 3 This is the editor's dating; to me, at least to judge from pl.ii, the document seems earlier, perhaps 1st cent. A.H.
- 4 These two examples occur in a poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit corresponding to Diwan ed. W.N. Ḥarafat I (London, 1971), 464 no.290, 2; 7. Cf. also Khoury, 29.
- 5 S. also Grohmann, Einführung, 104 for further examples of this word.
- 6 This document contains more instances of طه < طه than have been edited: 1.31 طه "they added it"; 1.36

*25

دلالة طرفى "twice that" and perhaps others as well.
 For some later examples (s. §27 n.4) Islamica 4, 251, 9
مخونج "churned" (as against ibid., 257, 7); 261, 12
راضى "satisfied".

§42

- 1 The word is attested in this form by Pedro de Alcala, Vocabulista arauigo en letra castellana (Granada, 1505) fol. 173b (= ed. de Lagarde, Petri Hispani de lingua Arabica Libri Duo, Gottingae, 1883, 306) where it is written yabroa (mandragula yerua); cf. Dozy, Supplément II, 848 s.v.; Corriente, Sketch, 57.
- 2 On the various forms that this dissimilation can take, s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 240/1.

§43

- 1 It is not clear to me what, if anything, is to be made of this. Does it follow that ق was voiced, or had (partly) merged with ع (cf. e.g. Cantineau, Études, 70ff.)? On the alternation in the spelling of this name s. Karabacek, MPER i, 107 n.2; ibid., ii-iii, 272. Information on qaf drawn from early material in transcription can be found in the article by M. Rodinson mentioned above §1 n.6.

§44

- 1 On it s. especially A. Fischer, Islamica I (1925), 544ff., and further Cantineau, Études, 51; Fleisch, Traité, 224n. (both with references to further literature) and cf. Rabin, AWA, 145/6 as well as J. Blau, JSS 17 (1972), 175ff.
- 2 This text is consistent in marking imāla of ā whenever it occurs (§§ 3a, 7a); had this word contained ā one would certainly not have expected it to be written with alpha. Cf. Violet, col. 35.
- 3 References e.g. in CFR III, 310 s.v., but is κβδελλε ibid., 44, 5 (86-90 A.H.) really a "Verschreibung"? Cf. also for this name PSR iii, 86/7 n.10.
- 4 It is quite impossible to regard these spellings as reflecting عبدالاله; عبدالاله occurs in the very same (bilingual) texts as κβδελλε, and عبدالاله is in any case exceedingly rare (s. Schwarz, Umar, 103 n.4). For the pronunciation of this name without tafkhim cf. the discussion of the Lebanese n. pr. loc. CAbdelle in Féghali, Syntaxe, 201 ff. with notes by W. Marçais (summarized by S. Wild, Libanesische Ortsnamen..., (Beirut, 1973), 165) and for another possible indication s. below §54 n.3.

§45

- 1 S. e.g. Wright I, 82 REM., II, 379; Brockelmann, GVG I, 83; Fleisch, Traité, 138/9. This occurs also in JA, e.g. Siddur R. Saadja Gaon, ed. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, B.I. Joel (Jerusalem, 1941), 42, 8, 10; 96, 3; further Blau, JA, 87.
- 2 There seems no point in listing here late mis-spellings in the liturgical formulae of charms, incantations etc. as Islamica 4 263, 5 where وَنَمِينِ = وَنَمِيَةٍ of Quran 44, 27. Tanwin written with nun also occurs in the likewise rather later text (1064 A.H.?) published by A. Saaristo, Studia Orientalia v/1 (1933), Arabic text, 3, 17.
- 3 For كاس s. e.g. Lane Lexicon I/1, 134a; Wright I, 276 REM. c.; GQ III, 29. Cf. the spelling with alif of the energetic, Wright I, 61 REM. c., II, 369; Birkeland, Pausalformen, 99/100.
- 4 On it s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/1, 41; Wright I, 284, 292, II, 369; Birkeland, Pausalformen, 100.
- 5 Whether this has anything to do with neutralization of m:n in final position I do not know. Such a phenomenon does occur in Arabic (Brockelmann, GVG I, 136/7; Kofler WZKM xlvii, 79/80; Cantineau, Etudes, 29; Corriente, Sketch, 33 bott., 36, 41) and possibly lies behind the Qur'anic rhymes ending indifferently in -m/n (for which s. Vollers, Volkssprache, 55ff. and against him at length R. Geyer, GGA 171 (1909), 20ff. and cf. also idem, WZKM xxii (1908), 265ff.) Outside Arabic, this neutralization is an important feature of some layers of Palestinian Aramaic and post-Biblical Hebrew, s. the discussion by E.Y. Kutscher (relevant also to Arabic) in Tarbiz 23 (1951-2), 38ff., now available in English: Studies in Galilean Aramaic (Ramat-Gan, 1976), 58ff. Perhaps, however, باب اليوم is simply a popular etymology with no bearing on phonetic matters.

§46

- 1 As in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 61 n.2. For the loss of final -h cf. Brockelmann, GVG I, 47/8; Corriente, Sketch, 57/8.
- 2 Again as in ASP, Blau, ASP, 75 nn. 64-5.
- 3 Assuming, of course, that the word is not a misprint (it does not appear in the list of Errata in APÉL VI, 243). For the loss of h in forms of the pronominal suffixes s. e.g. Cantineau, Etudes, 75; Blau, JA, 59 n. 15.

§47

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 115. This is also reflected in Byzantine and Syriac transcriptions of Arabic names, for which s.

Th. Nöldeke, Abhandlungen d. königl. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil. - hist. Cl., 1887/II, C n.3 (cited by Vollers, Volkssprache, 157 and Rabin, AWA, 206) and further A. Loberg, The Book of the Himyarites (Lund, 1924), lxxx/1 (MS. dated 932 A.D.) with the review by Nöldeke, GGA 187 (1925), 155/6.

2 Cited also by Blau, ASP, 115.

3 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 115 nn. 183-4 and, for examples from papyri and other early material, idem, Emergence, 127 n.; Grohmann, Einführung, 101; FWAP, 88; idem, Paläographie II, 51 b (in these latter two places it is pointed out that this spelling also occurs in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions); Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 64.

4 For it s. Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 64 and the references to its occurrence in inscriptions and papyri given by Grohmann, Einführung, 101; FWAP, 88; Hirbet el-Mird, 28 n.13; Expédition Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens en Arabie, II/i, Arabic Inscriptions (Louvain, 1962), 31, and Paläographie II, 51b n.7.

5 The only possible exception I have noted is APEL I 38, 16 (259 A.H.) for which Grohmann prints: اللات. It seems, however, that Dietrich, Islam 24, 94 was correct in preferring to read taḥ marbūṭa. In JA and ASP, too, this feature is most uncommon, s. Blau, JA, 41, (اللات) and the discussion there in n.62; idem, ASP, 116, ("of very rare occurrence") and n.187.

6 Cited by Grohmann e.g. Einführung, 101; further references to this word in idem, Paläographie II, 51b n.5.

7 Assuming that the word belongs to §87c. It may, however, belong to §87e with scriptio defectiva (§10a).

8 Further examples in Grohmann, Einführung, 101.

9 Peculiar is APH 1,2 (342 A.H.): أبي أبيه "his daughter's portion". Is it a compromise between sub-standard أبي and CA أبي or a plain error caused by the preceding أبي?

10 Cf. Blau, ASP, 116, and on this spelling s. the literature cited ibid., nn. 191-2 as also Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 64. For papyri s. already Blau, Emergence, 127n. Cf. in addition Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, 326/7.

11 This spelling does occur in status absolutus in other branches of Arabic, s. e.g. Blau, ASP, 116/7. That I have not found as yet any example of it in the papyri (or, indeed, of أبي in st. abs.) is surely due to mere accident (or oversight).

12 Cf., however, ibid., 65v where the name of the same woman is spelled with أبي.

13 So e.g. in ASP, Blau, ASP, 117; cf. also Fück, Arabiya, 181; Corriente, Sketch, 87/8.

- 14 Cf. Blau, ASP, 117/8 and the literature cited there.
- 15 For this word s. Blau, ASP, 117/8 n.196 and Addenda 623; Bittner, Brief Christi, 190.
- 16 For it s. Blau, ASP, 118; Schen JSS 17, 234; *ibid.* 18, 73.
- 17 The editor prints: مجرأها, presumably understanding a shift from alif maqsura > mamdūda. In this case, however, one would have to reckon with a (hyper-correct) writing of alif mamdūda in st. pron. with a kursī for the hamza in a syntactical context requiring the kursī to be absent, a phenomenon which does not otherwise occur (§21c, REM.). For this reason I have reprinted the word in question with تا; it is hardly likely to represent a suffixed form of a spelling with alif + ya for alif maqsura of the kind reported by Guest, Kindī, 53, where معلی = معلی.
- 18 The word written on the papyrus, دناك, is clearly to be understood as a form of دنیا. The only point at issue is whether the scribe intended to write دناك i.e. دنیاك which would belong to this § (cf. in JA, Blau, JA, 44 top), but wrote only one hook instead of two at the beginning of the word, or whether the intended form is the expected دنیاك with the hook before the kaf in the wrong place. The latter alternative is perhaps the more likely. For a problem of identification similar to that discussed here and above n.17 s. Blau, ASP, 118/9.
- 19 For it s. Blau, ASP, 119 with n. 200 (cf. also *ibid.*, 115 n.186) and Bittner, Brief Christi, 190; Corriente, Sketch, 58 n.80.
- 20 Examples of واحدة: APFL I 62,3 (429 A.H.); BAU 21,4 (447 A.H.); *ibid.*, 20,3 (448 A.H.). It seems somewhat less likely that this spelling belongs to §198c.
- 21 Cf. Blau, ASP, 119 and the literature *ibid.*, n. 203 (s. also Addenda, 623); Schen, JSS 17, 234.
- 22 I have not yet checked the reading of this document, nor do I know its date.
- 23 For it s. Blau, ASP, 119/20 and Grohmann, VBPS 5, 257, 444. In FWAP, 95 this feature is rather misleadingly described; the phenomenon is not due to a shift د > h, but to the coalescence of the endings al and al as -a (above, b).
- 24 Cited by Grohmann, VBPS 5, 444; FWAP, 95: Einführung, 104; HO, 98.
- 25 For it s. Blau, ASP, 120/1 among whose examples عأ is also found.
- 26 The example quoted by Blau, Emergence, 127n. (referred to *idem*, ASP, 120 n.208) from MO xxviii, 48 n.3 cannot be included here. There is a lacuna in the MS. at this point (s. the plate at the end of Mélamède's article or that accompanying Khoury's edition) and there is no

reason to suppose that the word was not written with taḥ marbuṭa.

- 27 Cf. Blau, ASP, 98/9, 118. For this feature in JA s. Blau, JA, 42 and, for a very much later example (c. 18th cent.) G. Graf, Orientalistische Studien, Fritz Hommel... II (Leipzig, 1918), 183, 20: عدوة "enemies".
- 28 On this s. Vollers, Volkssprache, 156 and Blau, ASP, 121. Some of Vollers' examples were interpreted differently by Brockelmann, GVG I, 262, but it is interesting to note that the present word is among those listed by him.
- 29 S. APEL I, 152 where another example of the same word is given.
- 30 It is highly improbable that مرءة DAB 35,4 (3rd cent. A.H.), for which Dietrich (ibid., 157) remarks: "Man würde مرءة erwarten", has anything to do with this phenomenon. The writing of this letter is most unskilled (s. ibid., Taf. 1); could the combination printed by the editor as المرءة perhaps be read المرءة "the poor woman"?
- 31 For it s. Blau, JA, 41/2; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 76 and Grohmann, VBPS 5, 257. In the text published in the latter place taḥ marbuṭa is even written for the taḥ of the first person of the perfect as نظرت = نظرت "I looked" 261, 10. This spelling occurs also in JA (T-S 10 J31. 13) and is quite widespread among semi-educated Arabs today; an acquaintance of mine from Jedda regularly writes every final -t with taḥ marbuṭa, irrespective of its origin.
- 32 Abbott, Fayyūm III, 2 (336 A.H.) is not an example; read: قطعت with Dietrich, Islam 25, 189. Cf. however قطعة هذه الزاوية "l'extraction de cette pierre d'angle" Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe 10 (Le Caire, 1939), no. 3819, 1 (c. 615 A.H.) for which Littman, Arabic Inscriptions 45 reads قطعت "This corner-stone was cut".
- 33 This word does not appear in the edited text, but only in the apparatus.

§ 48

- 1 Such a sign is used only rarely, s. Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 73; FWAP, 87 and 233 n.328.
- 2 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 122.
- 3 This latter word is spelled in this way in the Geniza text T-S Ar.42.168 (second half of 11th cent. A.D.).

§ 49

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 126, some of whose examples belong to

the categories described in the following sections. Many further cases can be found in Khoury and Ibn Wahb; cf. also Hariri, Durra, 200/1. For alif of the glottal stop being omitted in this position s. §27b.

- 2 It is theoretically possible, but I think very unlikely, to see in this spelling scriptio defectiva of a and, hence, retention of alif al-wasl, cf. §27 n.9.
- 3 Against Wright I, 23 REM. a.
- 4 This line is missing in the edition of the text AO xii, 104.
- 5 In such cases (and also in some of those listed in the foregoing) it is not at all impossible that the spelling بن is not due to ignorance of the orthographical conventions of CA, but is intended to represent the form ben (or something approximating thereto), nowadays a characteristic feature of Maghrebi dialects (cf. Blau, JA, 52, where a similar question of interpretation is discussed).
- 6 As in JA, s. Blau, JA, 52.
- 7 I do not think one would be justified in finding this spelling in one of the two extant papyri from 22 A.H.; for in the line بن خليفة ثذرق ابن ابو قير الاصغر من خليفة امطفن ابن ابو قير الاكبر "from the representative of Theodorakios (for the name s. AFEL III, 201), the younger son of Abu Qir, and from the representative of Stephen, the elder son of Abu Qir" (Grohmann, Aperçu, 41, 6 = EWAP 114,6) there is very likely a pause after ثذرق with ابن ابو قير الاصغر to be understood as a parenthesis rather than as a mere continuation of the man's name. Some printed occurrences of the spelling against CA with alif are simply due to faulty copying by the editor; e.g. Mélanges Massignon 376,10 (late 3rd cent. A.H.).
III,
- 8 This spelling is, I believe, certainly an orthographical calque of Hebrew/Aramaic, from which language(s) the formula was borrowed, as e.g. Ps. xx,6; Ezra v,1. This is implied, but not stated explicitly, by Wright I 23; cf. also the suggestive hybrid T-S A39. 12: עיר ארם עיר ארם. For a possible occurrence in Khoury 142, 20 (229 A.H.) s. Kister, BSOAS xxxvii, 549 and Khoury's reply *ibid.*, xl, 19.
- 9 Cf. Blau, ASP, 126 n. 22, and for another possible case below §82 n.20.

§50

- 1 S. the references given by Blau, ASP, 127 n.28 as well as Guest, Kindī 52/3; Khoury, 28/9.
- 2 S. e.g. Ewald, Grammatica I, 47; Wright I, 11, 251 REM.
- 3 The spelling without alif fāsila is much less frequent in this word, as e.g. ARL VI 20, 4 (c.3rd cent. A.H.).

- 4 For the spelling without alif fāsila s. e.g. APRL IX 9,3;6 (presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.).
- 5 Cf. شَلُو سَا "Solomon" in a letter of c. 1039 A.D. published by S.D. Goitein Eretz-Israel 10 (1971), 107,9.

§51

- 1 S. the references in DAB, 146 top, also Grohmann, Einführung, 102; HO, 97 (where the phenomenon is said to be especially frequent in the first two Islamic centuries); Khoury, 17. Cf. too Hariri, Durra, 202/3.
- 2 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 128 n.38 and Wright I, 15/6. There is, of course, nothing unusual about conjunctions etc. formed in this way being spelled as one word; this is also the case in CA (s. e.g. Wright II, 14), and such combinations are therefore not recorded here.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 45 n.47.
- 4 As well as Blau, ASP, 128 cf. also Schen JSS 17, 236.
- 5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 129.
- 6 For CA s. e.g. Wright I, 258 REM. h and for JA Blau, JA, 55.
- 7 For the pointing of the second element of this word with ya rather than hamza s. §101 n.2.
- 8 Cf. Wright I, 16; Brockelmann, GVG I, 173 and for يا in the shahāda s. A. Fischer, Islamica 4 (1931), 517, where references are given to early examples.
- 9 This is the only published instance I have at present to hand, for Florilegium... de Vogtlé 410,7 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) is to be read يا with APRL VIII 2,7; I have, however, seen a number of examples in unpublished papyri of the Michaélides collection. For JA cf. Blau, JA, 55 and e.g., CUI Or. 1080 J. 129 penult. (first half of 13th cent. A.D.). It is of interest to note that this ligature later became popular in both Persian and Turkish.
- 10 Presumably representing a fossilized conditional particle inkan, cf. §313b. For JA cf. يا (pointed so) T-S Ar. 24.97, 2v., and for a much later (c. 18th cent.) example G. Graf, Orientalistische Studien Fritz Hommel..., II (Leipzig, 1918), 184,22.
- 11 Further references are given by Grohmann, APRL II p.73 n. to 11.3-4.
- 12 Further references are given by Grohmann, APRL II p.82.
- 13 S. further Grohmann, APRL II p.104.
- 14 Together with that mentioned at §193 n.8, these are the

only published examples I have noted, but further instances occur in some unpublished texts of the Michaelides collection. Cf. on this phenomenon GC III, 54.

§52

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 124; Wright I, 15.
- 2 For this dating s. §6 n.1.
- 3 This is a rather late example, s. §27 n.4.
- 4 This phenomenon occurs regularly in the JA papyrus PERF 876 (now = H34), probably from the 9th cent. A.D.
- 5 I am strongly inclined to believe that assimilation of the article is also the explanation of the identical JA example ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ cited by Blau, JA, 108, where the suggestion is made that the form exhibits the development $\text{fa}^{\text{c}}\text{alil} > *f^{\text{c}}\text{alil} > \text{af}^{\text{c}}\text{alil}$ with prosthetic alif. For the unexpected appearance of the definite article in cases such as this s. §188.
- 6 Perhaps Jahn 9,7 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) also belongs here. The reading of the editor is ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ said to mean "in diesem meinem(!) Jammer". Levi della Vida, JAOS 54, 132 suggested "as-say" "this thing" for the last word, but this seems definitely excluded by an examination of Jahn's Pl. xixb. Could not the phrase be understood as ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ "this winter", in accordance with §21b? This, at least, is how the word is pointed.
- 7 For JA s. Blau, JA, 53.
- 8 The editor reads: ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ and translates "of dinār(s) and dirham(s)".
- 9 Do ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ APEL V 288,7 (c.236 A.H.) and ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ibid., 289,7 (3rd cent. A.H.) belong here, or are they both cases of the n. pr. hom. "Layth" without the definite article? For the definite article preceding this name being spelled with only one ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ s. above, a. Another possible example of the definite article not being graphically expressed may be ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ "as for your paying the dinars to the man" APEL V 328,5 (4th cent. A.H.), i.e. ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ = ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ , but an interpretation as ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ in an indefinite sense (cf. Reckendorf, SV, 432) is also possible. The editor translates "to the man" (and also "two dinars", representing an acceptable, but not the edited reading).

§53

- 1 S. e.g. Wright I, 12 REM.b. This name also occurs frequently in the papyri, e.g. Grohmann, WÄ 17,8 (2nd cent. A.H.).

- 2 S. e.g. the list in Grohmann, Paläographie II, 51/2.
- 3 Cited e.g. Grohmann, Einführung, 101; FWAF, 88/9; Paläographie II, 51b.
- 4 On the background of this convention in Nabataean and pre-Islamic Arabic s. e.g. Rabin, AWA, 56/7 and especially W. Diem, ZDMG 123 (1973), 227 ff., where the whole question is discussed in detail and the present example also quoted (p.237). Cf. also الله cited from Ibn Ishaq/Ibn Hisham, Sira, ed. Wüstenfeld, 776,6 by Vollers, Volkssprache, 157 (in later Cairo printings of the Sira alif fāsila does not appear in this name). It is much to be doubted whether الودود Hirbet el-Mird 52,3 (126 A.H.) belongs here; the و is rightly bracketed by the editor for deletion as an inadvertance induced by the common greeting formula والسلام (which appears in the following line).

§54

- 1 Karabacek, SBAW 135/v. The subject is mentioned briefly by Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 81/2; CFR III, xxi; Einführung, 100/1; FWAF, 88; HC, 96. This phenomenon is but a type of haplography (§58b).
- 2 The feature documented by Blau, ASP, 128, §28.1 could also be seen in the same way.
- 3 This spelling is not unique, cf. Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 82 n.3 referring to Crum, Catalogue... British Museum, no.1050 or Jahn 1,11 (c. 100 A.H.), and was quite usual in Nabataean Arabic names (s. W. Diem ZDMG 123 (1973), 203 n.39). Is it absurd to suspect that this writing could be connected with the pronunciation of Allāh without tafkhīm (taghlīz) as suggested at §44?
- 4 Cf., however, §39b.
- 5 Cf. the not dissimilar instance CFR III, 136, 2 (164 A.H.) where س = سین "sixty", as suggested already by Karabacek, SBAW 135/v, 5.
- 6 S. e.g. Wright I, 284 and cf. Blau, ASP, 130.
- 7 S. APEL I, 184 and the restatement in Grohmann, Einführung, 101.

§55

- 1 E.g. by Karabacek, WZKM xi, 19; Becker, FSR iii, 27 (referred to by Abbott, Kurrah, 39), and Grohmann, AO xviii/3, 108. The anonymous contributor to ECB 1897, Nr.1, 26, had nothing of value to offer on this subject; he did however, perceive the linguistic (and not only palaeographical) side of the problem.
- 2 To a lesser extent is final yā after letters other

- than lām concerned (cf. e.g. Becker, PSR iii, 27).
- 3 A good example of how even the most skilled palaeographer can be uncertain of how to interpret such a case is provided by Grohmann, TWA 26,2 (3rd cent. A.H.). There the man's name is given as الخولى "al-Jiwalī", whereas in the re-edition of the text FVAP, 158, ابجول "Apa Gōl" is preferred.
 - 4 This seems to be the (tacit) assumption of all editors of Arabic papyri.
 - 5 Attention was drawn to this spelling already by Loth, ZDMG 134, 686 n.a, who decided to print the form as على. This practice is, in fact, followed by all editors of Arabic papyri. The only exception I have come across is APBL IV 272, 1 (3rd cent. A.H.) where عل appears in the text but is passed by without comment.
 - 6 I have not been able to isolate any conditioning factors behind the alternation عل / على (such as a following definite article for which cf. Rabin, AWA, 73; Wright II, 381; Brockelmann, GVG I, 263; Sibawaihi, Kitāb II, 481 (pointed out to me by Prof. H. Blanc); Fleisch, Traité, 152 and the references in Blau, ASP, 245 n.19). Usage in this matter is quite unsystematic (s. below). Further, the identification of cal (< cala) in older layers of Arabic (with the exception of JA) is rendered problematic for the very reason discussed in this §. Accordingly, the example from Eretz-Israel 7 (1964), 106 n.31 (c. 400 A.H.) cited by Blau, loc. cit. cannot be regarded as in any way certain.
 - 7 This instance can serve as an example of the editorial practice of "restoring" words to their CA counterparts. It should be understood that there is little, if anything, of a palaeographical nature to support the editing of على (not عل) at the beginning of l.5 as against غال (not غالى) nine words later on. On palaeographical grounds alone, غالى ... عل would have been equally possible.
 - 8 This is, of course, assuming that the editor's reading and interpretation are correct, which I am not sure is the case. Whatever the correct decipherment may be, there seems to be no reason for editing نجل here as against على in l.5 (MS. عل).
 - 9 Cf. the similar text MPER i, 99, 6 (247 A.H.), where عامل is edited by no less a palaeographer than Karabacek, who also edited عامل in the ed. princeps of the document cited here (SBAW 135/v, 25,7). It is most unlikely that the word could be a singular, cf. §§ 84f. REM.; 175.
 - 10 This particular ambiguity of the script, however, is not peculiar to the papyri; it also affects the interpretation of a number of phenomena in ASP. Some of these can be found in Blau, ASP, 138 REM. (where the similarity of final l and ly is taken into account); 195/6, REM.; 198/9, §100.3; 218, §109 end; 323 n.20

and 374/5, §254 (cf. above, example iii). Cf. also nn. 6 and 11.

- 11 That this عل = على also occurs in much later chancery documents (s. e.g. J. Wansbrough, BSOAS xxiv (1961), 206 n.1 in a text dated 877 A.H. or the Fatimid petition published by S.M. Stern, Oriens 15 (1962), 173, 16) where such a blatantly vernacular feature is hardly to be expected, would tend to support such a conclusion. Recognition of this principle would also have removed the need for the addition "(sic)" to عل (i.e. على) in the edition by J. Sourdél-Thomine, Eretz-Israel 7, 113*, 6 and 11, of an inscription dated 282 A.H. An interesting case is عل على "on CALLI" APPEL V 324, 3 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.).
- 12 In this work I have followed the precedent set by all editors of Arabic papyri and given with final ly all those words which require such an ending according to the canons of CA, even when the original seems to write final l alone. Cases in which a question of language is involved are pointed out where necessary.

§56

- 1 There can be no doubt that yos is the original sequence of radicals. Firstly, verba med. w/y with a strong second radical are predominantly denominative (s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 617), a circumstance which strongly favours ayisa < yayisa rather than vice-versa, and, secondly, yos is confirmed by the Hebrew root עא.
- 2 "nach neuerem Sprachgebrauch" (H.L. Fleischer apud Hariri, Durra, Einleitung, 48). أيس is deplored by Hariri, ibid., 186/7. For this word in Quranic codices s. GQ III, 49/50, 56 and Rabin, AWA, 142; it is recorded also by Nöldeke, Belegwörterbuch, 57b and cf. in addition Blau, ICS v, 297.

§57

- 1 Cf. in general e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 259ff., and Fleisch, Traité, 149ff.
- 2 These forms are current also in CA, s. e.g. Wright I, 285; Fleisch, Traité, 152, and are the norm for the papyri; I have no statistics, but have the impression that the full forms i.e. اننى etc. e.g. APPEL V 318, 4 (3rd cent. A.H.) are distinctly rarer.
- 3 For which s. e.g. Wright I, 68; Rabin, AWA, 148; Fleisch, Traité, 150.
- 4 To judge from Pl.xii, the MS. reads rather اننى (?).
- 5 I have followed here the suggestion of Dietrich, ibid., n.11, and translated the verb as active rather than

the passive "so werden wir... untergebracht". Note, however, سكننا in 1.9.

- 6 These spellings presumably represent amkannā / faskanna (i.e. amkan + ni in accordance with §64a), and strictly speaking may therefore not be haplogical, but examples of a geminate being written only once, not twice as usual in CA (cf. §§ 30e, f; 65a, ii). On such writings cf. Wright I, 102 n.; Vollers, Volkssprache, 144; Brockelmann, GVG I, 257, and Blau, ASP, 148, §41.4.
- 7 I.e. as if سكنوني, for which principle s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 261 and the literature in Blau ASP, 264 n.6. The explanation could also be sought in the disappearance of the moods of the imperfect (§ 65b). The same applies to Ibn Wahb 8,2 (late 3rd cent. A.H.), referred to by Blau, Emergence, 130 n.2.

§58

- 1 Cf. Violet, *ibid.*, col. 24n. and Blau, ASP, 64 n.10. This dittography is simply a technique to fill out the end of the line for aesthetic reasons when insufficient space remains to allow completion of the word.
- 2 A subdivision of haplography is mentioned above under involutio (§ 54). In NPAF I, 9 = APEL III 146,9 (91 A.H.) both Becker and Grohmann are wrong in detecting a haplography; s. § 324 n.2.
- 3 I have excluded the possibility that this double writing of ya be intended to mark consonantal y in the manner documented for JA by Blau, JA, 49.
- 4 Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 132.
- 5 S. APEL III, Pl. i a.
- 6 So Karabāček, *loc. cit.* Fraenkel, ZDMG 51, 170 read بالخا which seems quite impossible.
- 7 Abbreviations are listed in greater detail in Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung, 74; CPR III, xxvi; APEL II, 127; NPAF, 37/8; Einführung, 101; HO, 96, and DAB, 73. For abbreviations in CA texts s. e.g. Wright I, 25 REM. d. On the linguistic side, it should be noted that دا عن APEL III 208 *passim* (early 3rd cent. A.H.) may not be an abbreviation of دا عن "has paid on behalf of" but a spelling of ادى عن (cf. Littmann, ZDMG 94, 301), in which case it would belong to § 27f.

PART II MORPHOLOGY

§59

1. On it s. Blau, ASP, 133 and the literature referred to there; Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen, 55 n.2. For its occurrence in Middle Arabic s. also H. Wehr, Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsamen Geschichten (Wiesbaden, 1956), 241 ult.
2. Both these examples (I know of no others from the first three centuries A.H.) have already been recorded by Blau: the former in ASP, 133 n.1 (s. *ibid.*, 34, §1.4.4.3); the latter in Emergence, 130. Neither this word, nor the examples cited at §64c are exceptions to §2a dealing with the decay of final short vowels; anti, kunti etc. are the ancestors of the corresponding forms in many modern dialects, not CA anti, kunti; s. e.g. Cantineau, Horân, 196; Blau, ASP, 145 n.8.

§60

1. For this feature s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 134 n.7, to which add e.g. Fück, Arabiya, 58; Corriente, JSS 20, 48, and for unchangeable -hu e.g. Rabin, AWA, 99, 151; Fück, *op. cit.*, 56 and Blau, JA, 60.
2. The suffixed forms in this text are discussed by Violet himself, cols. 21/5, 33 and by Blau, ASP, 318 n.3; Pseudo-Corrections, 79/80.
3. In view of βη κουετὺ = قوته (below) I do not see the need to restore iota at the end of this word as is done by Kahle, Bibelübersetzungen, 32 n.6, followed by Blau, ASP, 318 n.3 (where misprinted) and *idem*, Pseudo-Corrections, 80. Iota may of course, have stood there (s. Violet, col. 25), but it is certainly not necessary for it to have done so. The matter can only be resolved by a re-examination of the fragment.
4. It appears that Kahle, Bibelübersetzungen, 33 n.12 was unjustified in restoring a final iota here; cf. the remark of Violet, col. 25, concerning this word: "wo schwerlich t ausgefallen ist".
5. The first word here is restored according to its transcription later in v.54; the reading of the second is uncertain. According to Violet, col. 25 n.1, it may be κκε.σού, followed by Blau, ASP, 318 n.3; *idem*, Pseudo-corrections, 80 (where misprinted).
6. S. e.g. the references above n.1. Other items in this list are probably to be explained in terms of pseudo-correction, for which s. the references to Blau, above n.2. The suggestion that the suffix be posited as -uh is made despite §46a and Blau, Pseudo-

Corrections, 80 ("something like... -hu").

- 7 This again is quite in keeping with the position in modern dialects. For this feature in various stages of Arabic s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 180; idem, in Handbuch der Orientalistik III / 2 and 3 (Leiden, 1954), 217; Rabin, AWA, 99; Blau, JA, 61.
- 8 S. the discussion in Blau, ASP, 318 n.3. Violet's Psalmfragment contains the text of Ψ 78, 20-31 and 51-61; vv. 32-50 are missing. It appears that somewhere in the course of this missing section the scribe altered his system of transcription, for all the cases of noun + 3rd person masculine plural suffix in the earlier part of the text omit the relevant case-ending, whereas all similar instances in the latter part include it. This is probably no more than an attempt to classicize the language of the translation; the genuine vernacular form was zero + hum (or something similar).
- 9 The first letter of the second word can only be gamma with Kahle, Bibelübersetzungen, 34 n.2.
- 10 Cf. Blau, ASP, 91 n.30, where a pronunciation ḡabāyhum is suggested.
- 11 So, with h not kh as Blau, ASP, 318 n.3; BSOAS xxxv, 481.
- 12 The form $\phi\kappa.\acute{\sigma}.\acute{\sigma}\mu$ (?) "their mouth" Ψ 78,30 is problematic, and may not belong here (s. Blau, ABP, 322). The Arabic equivalent is given as فاهم by Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 173 (where the Greek is misprinted); Kahle, Bibelübersetzungen, 35; Blau, op. cit., 322, 453, 583, but, hesitantly, as فاهم by the original editor, cols. 10, 24.

§61

- 1 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 135 n.12 and idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 80. Examples from papyri etc. have already been noted by him in Emergence, 130, and are not repeated here; note, however, that هذا البار cited there from APEL II 73,5 (320 A.H.) need not be accounted an example, as بار in CA is also attested as masculine (Wright I, 180 REM.). A possible example from al-Qalqashandī is given by Blau, 105 vi, 169.
- 2 Some apparent cases of this phenomenon in edited texts are to be disregarded; thus APEL I 49, 3 (297 A.H.) and Abbott, Fayyum III, 10 (336 A.H.) should be corrected with Dietrich, Islam 24, 94 and ibid., 25, 190 respectively.
- 3 Cf. Blau, JA, 62; idem, Emergence, 112; Pseudo-Corrections, 80.
- 4 Is it possible that فدان here is feminine as was

the Syriac etymon of the Arabic word (Nöldeke, Syrische Gramm., (second ed.) Leipzig, 1898, 56) and that the demonstrative has been attracted to it? A probably more plausible explanation is offered by Blau, Emergence, 130, but cf. the following example.

- 5 As هنا may be feminine (Wright I, 182) it is not unlikely that this is the reason for the feminine demonstrative here (for the gender of a status constructus relationship being determined by the second member s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 167/8); the same phrase, however, appears as masculine in 1.7.
- 6 In constructions involving a numeral 11-99 and a counted noun CA is rather hesitant as to concord; agreement may be either with the plural number or with the singular counted noun (below § 144). Accordingly, هذه in this example may refer not to دين but to عشرين.
- 7 This example has nothing to do with the gender of فان (s. above n.4) but reflects the supersession of the dual by the plural (§ 84b); cf. Blau, Emergence, 131, where a similar case from Ibn Wahb (late 3rd cent. A.H.) is recorded. It is interesting that the example here is taken from the same document quoted above, a.
- 8 Ibn Wahb 39, 17 (late 3rd cent. A.H.). For the spelling cf. above § 11.
- 9 For the absence of final -ā in such forms cf. Blau, ASP, 136. Incidentally, could not لماذا "why?" = لماذا recorded there be due to imitation of CA لماذا = لماذا in the same meaning?
- 10 Assuming this not to be a mere scribal error (as is اقرا 1.14 = pace the editor, اقرار), the fact that here هنا occurs before a feminine noun (i.e. = CA هنا) seems to rule out involutio (§ 54a) as a possible explanation of this phenomenon. What appears more likely is that the examples so far listed in this paragraph attest the existence of an unchangeable demonstrative, whose realization could well have been something like *hadhā (so Blau, e.g. Emergence, 112). Such a form would then have been reduced to هنا before the definite article in accordance with the process outlined by Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen, 72; the examples below d, i merely represent an extension of this development.
- 11 This is the probable reading, but some of the vertical fibres of the papyrus are missing at this point and the alif may once have stood there. What is said in the preceding note is not intended to exclude the presence of involutio in every example, but only as an explanation of the phenomenon as a whole. This is a case in point; cf. هنا الدين in 1.9.
- 12 Read so with Dietrich, Islam 25, 189.
- 13 For which s. at length Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen, 41ff., and as presentative Blau, ASP, 465,

and the literature there.

- 14 The editor renders simply: "and as for the rent...".
- 15 Cf. Blau, ASP, 136 REM.; Ewald, Grammatica II, 187; Schen, JSS 18, 65; Corriente, Sketch, 131 n.223. Such a case of س for CA س occurs in the 13th cent. A.D. literary piece published by T. Seif, Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien... (Wien, 1926), 749, D, 1/2: س "those stones".
- 16 Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 128 n.6, accepted by Grohmann, Paläographie I, 114 n.8.
- 17 On this spelling s. Blau, ASP, 136/7; Guest, Kindī, 53 and cf. above §21d.
- 18 A variant of the following spelling in accordance with §11.
- 19 For all these spellings s. the references in Blau, ASP, 137/8.

§62

- 1 For it s. Blau, ASP, 141 n.46 and further e.g. Dozy, Supplément I, 46; Wright I, 276; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Rechendorf, Syntax, 33 n.4; Nöldeke, Beleiwörterbuch, 57b; Schen, JSS 18, 65/6. Instances from the Kitāb al-Aghānī are listed by Corriente, JSS 20, 53. and for the papyri s. Grohmann, e.g. FWAP, 96; DAB, 145.
- 2 It does occur in CA (s. the preceding note) but "Classisch im strengen Sinn ist das Wort aber nicht" (Nöldeke, WZKM viii (1894), 263 n.2).
- 3 The second text is assigned to ^{the} 10th cent. A.D. by Karabacek ad loc., and the example cited in full by Grohmann, Islam 22, 43.
- 4 A further example from the Schott-Reinhardt collection in Heidelberg is cited at DAB, 145 (date?).
- 5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 140/1; Schen, JSS 17, 236; *ibid.*, 18, 66.

§63

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 142; Rechendorf, SV, 435/6; *idem*, Syntax, 263/4; Brockelmann, GVG II, 85/6.
- 2 Read so with Dietrich, Islam 31, 86. Such constructions of relative + shayʿ are common also in CA, s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 64 and particularly Wehr, Elativ, 582.
- 3 The precise nature of this construction is not fully

clear. Most probably شاي is to be seen simply as an attribute to شئ but could it not also be a nomen rectum to it? In other words, is this an early instance of the shay + undefined noun (i.e. genitive) construction common in so many colloquials as an expression of the indefinite? For it s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 473; Féghali, Syntaxe, 339/40; Grotzfeld, Syrisch-arabische Grammatik, 25; it occurs also in JA, s. Blau, JA, 65/6. The CA parallel to this construction seems always to be shay + min + (defined or undefined) noun, though the elements need not necessarily appear in that order (s. the examples in the sources quoted above n.l.).

A less likely analysis would be to take شئ together as qualified by شاي; this is not impossible, as there are dialects where it is the norm for shay in such expressions to follow the indefinite noun to which it refers, not to precede it, so e.g. H-J. Sasse, Linguistische Analyse des arabischen Dialekts der Khallamiye in der Provinz Mardin (Südost-Türkei), Inaugural - Dissertation (München, 1971), 127/8.

§ 64

- 1 S. above §2a and Blau, ASP, 144.
- 2 Additional to the cases cited by Blau, ASP, 144.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 144.
- 4 For the development facil > ficil s. e.g. Vollers, Volkssprache, 16; Brockelmann, GVG I, 180; Cantineau, Horan, 208 and, at greater length, Le comte de Landberg, Etude sur les verbes فجل, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1939:6. The presence of this feature in the Psalmfragment has already been identified by Blau, ASP, 144/5, where the following examples also appear.
- 5 In one case this assimilation does not take place in a form corresponding to CA facila, viz. سأى [.] = سأى "went up" (v.21). The dialect of the Psalm-fragment therefore has reflexes of these three verbs very similar to those of modern Egyptian, where we find shib simic but sacad (so e.g. Spiro, Dictionary, s.v.). It may be doubted whether it is the pharyngeal c that is responsible for this prevention of the assimilation (so Blau, ASP, 145). As c does not otherwise prevent the shift a > e in this text, the cause may well be rather the initial s which does, in fact, have this effect (s. § 3a,i).
- 6 I very much doubt whether the fact that this papyrus is of Christian origin has any significance for the evaluation of the phenomenon mentioned here.
- 7 The rare spelling انتى for the corresponding independent pronoun also occurs in this text (§ 59a).
- 8 For this spelling s. Blau, ASP, 145/6 where the phenomenon is discussed and the present examples also

quoted (=Anawati, s. ibid., 34. §1.4.4.3). Cf. as well Guest, Kindi, 53, where in 1.14 read "second" for "third".

§65

- 1 This, again, is a feature which sets the language of the papyri apart from CA and classes it together with the various strata of Middle and Modern Arabic. For it, cf. Blau, ASP, 147/8
- 2 S. Blau, ASP, 148. In view of the general absence of moods visible in verba mediae w/y and tertiaae w/y (below, b), it is quite safe to assume that the final short vowels of the imperfect (and therefore the moods also) were absent in texts other than the Psalmfragment.
- 3 So Violet. Kahle, Bibelübersetzungen, 32 n.2 places spiritus asper on the penultimate iota, in consonance with his rather exaggerated view (s. §24 n.12) that consonantal y should always be accompanied by such a sign; Blau, ASP, 148 also spells the word in the same way.
- 4 These are the only relevant examples available; for them s. Blau, ASP, 148.
- 5 Cf. for the perfect §64a,ii. S. on this Blau, ASP, 148 (and cf. also the similar phenomena described ibid., 318, 398/9). In a wider context this feature is but an aspect of the elision of a short vowel between identical or similar consonants; e. e.g. Vollers, Volksprache, 126ff., 128, 144; Cantineau, Études, 34ff., 42/3, 108; Fleisch, Traité, 82ff., 146ff.
- 6 A fine account of this phenomenon, with full bibliography, is given by H. Blanc, 10S iv (1974), 206ff.
- 7 I do not somehow consider it likely that ⲛⲓⲛ = bi-dakhil with §10, though this is not impossible and would produce a meaning similar to the one suggested here. An explanation in terms of the B-imperfect (s. the literature in e.g. Blau, ASP, 149 n.20) also seems improbable.
- 8 This possibility is mentioned also by the editor. If this reading is adopted, the example will then belong to §138a,i. For the formula cf. e.g. Jahn 3,5 (127 A.H.); ibid., 5,4 (late 2nd cent. A.H.) on which s. Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 130; BAU 3,7 (late 2nd cent. A.H., s. Karabacek, WZKM xi,7).

§66

- 1 For this example therefore belongs, apparently, to Pseudo-collections, 97.
- 2 This example therefore belongs, apparently, to §49d.
- 3 The form is all the more peculiar as this text elsewhere

not only uses -i forms for the imperative (1.10) but also for the imperfect (§138a,1); in 1.18, however, an imperfect in -un is used. (Such is also the case in the example referred to above n.1.). Furthermore, although addressed to three women, this document regularly employs the masculine for the feminine plural (§83g); could وقرون perhaps be an attempt at a second person feminine plural imperative modelled on CA forms of the type ادعون? Even this suggestion, however, is problematic, as in the papyri the root qr has developed into a verbum tertiae y not w (§79a); this makes it difficult to see how a verb. tert. w could have served as a pattern.

§67

- 1 This seems to be one of the very few cases among Arabic papyri of dialectal (stylistic?) cleavage. It is quite possible that I have overlooked other occurrences of the energetic, or that further cases will be found in unpublished documents, but the almost exclusive restriction of this feature to the Qurra texts from Aphrodito remains most conspicuous.
- 2 But even here the context is broken and the reading far from certain; the editor renders "I had certainly transmitted it to him".

§68

- 1 On it s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 356; it is very typical of Maghrebi dialects, s. Ph. Marcais, EI, I, second ed., 579/80.
- 2 The more expected سوق occurs in the same text 250,12.

§69

- 1 But by no means all, s. e.g. C. Reinhardt, Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Zanzibar..., (Stuttgart, 1894), 154 ("sehr häufig... gebraucht") and the references in Blau, ASP, 150 n.23.
- 2 S. Blau, ASP, 150 and the literature cited there.
- 3 The active construction فعلنى (...) is also of frequent occurrence e.g. DAB 11a,2 (304 A.H.)
- 4 A discussion of how to read this expression is given, with many references, in DAB, 74.

§70

- 1 Exactly as in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 152/3, where extensive references to this phenomenon, from CA to modern dialects, are given. Cf. also Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Fück, Arabiya, 74 n.8, 75, 94, 119 n.39; L. Kopf, Studia Islamica v (1956), 48; Schen, JSS 18, 67; Corriente, Sketch, 103/4 n.161.
- 2 This is the probable reading; s. above §27 n.17 where another possibility is suggested.
- 3 This word is among the examples in Blau, ASP, 153.
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 154 n.46 and also above §2c,ii.
- 5 For the date of the texts in Islamica 4 s. above §27 n.4.
- 6 وعزى "and may He honour you!" JNES viii, 137,6 (3rd cent. A.H.) is not an example; read: وعزى in accordance with the formula discussed in DAB, 28/9.

§71

- 1 References to further literature in Blau, ASP, 154/5 and cf. also A. Spitaler, Grammatik des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Maclula (Antilibanon), Abh.f.d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxiii/1 (Leipzig, 1938), 198.
- 2 The editor renders hesitantly, and most improbably: "dazubleiben und für Ruhe zu sorgen (?)". I am not convinced that ان يرح "that he should move" FWAP 122,8 (241 A.H.) is to be included here; Levi della Vida, Byzantion xvii, 215 translated "to give rest".
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 155.
- 4 Accordingly, it is unnecessary to characterize this form as "fehlerhaft" as does Grohmann, HO, 99. One might even hazard the guess that it was because form I (active) of srr was intransitive ("be happy") in the dialect of this writer that he used form II here ("make happy"); such a usage of form I occurs in ASP (Blau, ASP, 151) and appears in JA already in the writings of Saadya Gaon (s. D. Baneth, Mose ben Maimon, Epistulae, Fasc.I (Jerusalem, 1946), 71 n.3). For this example cf. below §76 n.1.
- 5 It is true that form II of this verb also occurs in CA, but form IV is certainly more frequent there.
- 6 References in DAB, 107, further e.g. Grohmann, TWA 4,5 (3rd cent. A.H.). In BIFAO xxx, 35, 11.3, 11, 19 (late 3rd - early 4th cent. A.H.) forms II and IV of this root appear together in the same document.
- 7 Cf. Blau, ASP, 152 and n.33.
- 8 S. the references and discussion in DAB, 107/8. Form IV is distinctly more frequent in formulae involving

this verb; for form II s. also JESHO viii, 292,9 (3rd cent. A.H.).

- 9 If this reading and interpretation are correct, the vocalization of the word as ta'arruh (i.e. V) proposed in DAB, 181 will require to be modified. On examining the plate however, it seems that the reading تا'ار is not at all impossible; it might even be thought more likely.

In JA I know of this phenomenon only in the word تا'ار "his support" as e.g. T-S 8J19.11, which also occurs as تا'ار in addresses (generally in Arabic script) of JA letters from the Cairo Geniza, as T-S 8J 13.33 (both mid-late 11th cent. A.D.). But is not scriptio defectiva the operative factor here (cf. Blau, ASP, 79/8)?

§72

- 1 S. the literature and discussion in Blau, ASP, 157ff.; I. al-Yaziji, Lughat al-jarā'id, Cairo n.d., 17ff., where the early beginnings of this feature are noted; Schwarz, cUmar, 122 n.2; Fück cArabiya, 119; Schen, JSS 18, 68/9. For the implications of this feature as regards the nature of stress in old Arabic s. Blau, BSOAS xxxv, 479 (where the formulation is slightly different from that given idem, ASP, 157 n.64). To the various motivating factors lying behind this development should be added the impact of IVth form verbs of similar (or opposite) meaning, for which cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 292.
- 2 S. the discussion of this word ibid., 64/5 n.11; it occurs also in the contemporary text APEL III 158,11 where it is clearly pointed انبت (excluding انبث considered by Becker, loc. cit.).
- 3 Translate as imperative with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 132.
- 4 On this word s. Blau, ASP, 158 n.67; 181 n.188 and Hariri, Durra, 142, top.
- 5 Translate as imperative with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 133 and Blau, Emergence, 129. For the long vowel s. §81a.
- 6 Cases such as لم ابيع "I did not sell" may, but need not, be examples of IV < I (§81a).
- 7 Cf., however, for this and the following three examples, above §2c,i.
- 8 As far as I am aware this text is unpublished; I am reading the word from the plate of the ostrakon in Grohmann, Einführung, Pl. xv or idem, Paläographie I, Pl. xvii. As this is the only case I have noted of IV < I in the passive perfect, the papyri are unable (at this stage) to throw any light on the theory advanced by Blau, AST, 160; Pseudo-Corrections, 82.
- 9 Assuming that the reading is correct; cf. above §2n.9.

- 10 Adduced by Blau, Emergence, 124; the form also occurs in ASP, Blau, ASP, 158.
- 11 That form IV in this particular root had become genuinely productive is proved by the occurrence of the infinitive قراها cited by Dietrich, loc. cit., who correctly remarks that "Hassa IV ist ubrigens selten".
- 12 Some apparent cases of IV < I are due to editorial error; thus in APRL VI 6, 10 read: قراها "you have read it" (3rd cent. A.H., s. FWAP 178/9, where the mistake is repeated), and in APRL V 291,22 (4th cent. A.H.) read: قراها for قراها.
- 13 S. Fück, Carabiya, 172; A. Spitaler apud DAB, 159; Blau, ASP, 162; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 83; A.F.L. Beeston, BSOAS xl (1977), 291.
- 14 This is the analysis of Spitaler apud DAB, 159. Is this contamination of I + bi- x IV - bi- also behind the alternation of قراها and قراها mentioned above?

§73

- 1 For this feature s. e.g. the literature in Blau, ASP, 163 n.95; Brockelmann, GVG I, 530/1; Rabin, AWA, 147.
- 2 This explanation is in conflict with that offered by Becker, NPAF, 250 and Grohmann, APRL III, 4 n.10, both of whom suggest form VIII on the analogy of اتخذ; form VIII of this verb, however, does not appear to exist, and consequently the word is to be regarded as form V, well attested from the earliest times down to modern dialects (s. e.g. the paradigm in Cowell, Reference Grammar, 87). This is not, of course, to deny that -ta- here could have developed > -tt- after the pattern of اتخذ (cf. §22), i.e. producing tattakhkharan(na). But even if one assumes this to have taken place, the disappearance of the vowel of the ta- prefix is not thereby affected. That this word should be understood as tatakhkharan(na) with §25a and spelled defectively in accordance with §10c I consider to be highly improbable. On this word cf. Blau, ASP, 163 n.96 and idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 83.
- 3 But cf. in this case (where the verb begins with a dental) e.g. Wright I, 64/5; Fleisch, Traité, 142/3.
- 4 S. e.g. the references in Blau, ASP, 163 n.95.
- 5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 164 and Schen, JSS 18, 69 for the alternation of these two forms.

§74

- 1 Quoted by Grohmann, e.g. Einführung, 106.
- 2 For this s. e.g. the literature in Blau, ASP, 164 n.106;

§75

- 1 For which s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 165 n.109.
- 2 References in Blau, ASP, 165 n.113; Schen, JSS 18, 69.

§76

- 1 This is as in CA, s. e.g. Wright I, 70; Rabin, AWA, 161/2. Uncontracted forms do not seem to occur outside the jussive and imperative (for which phenomenon s. Blau, ASP, 167 and the literature there), since تسرني DAB 7, 15, 25 (3rd cent. A.H.) is best interpreted as form II rather than I (s. §71 n.4).
- 2 For the pointing of this word s. Becker's note, *ibid.*, 73 n.53.
- 3 For this example cf. e.g. Wright I, 70, §122.
- 4 For this intransitive use of ت s. Dozy, Supplément, s.v.
- 5 For the dating of this document in the third century A.H. s. L. Abel apud Erman and Krebs, Aus den Papyrus..., 288 and David-Weill, Adda, Cahen, JESHÖ xvi, 2.
- 6 Some cases edited as such are to be interpreted differently. Thus, فعلت in Grohmann, TWÄ 1,4 (3rd cent. A.H.) does not mean "denn ich bin krank" (c11) but is simply فعلت (fcl) as pointed out by Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 128 n.6; the second word in Grohmann, *ibid.*, 2, 7 (3rd cent. A.H.) is to be read رددتها (§30 n.7), and for قلسا DAB 8r, 6, 10 1 prefer to understand qys with §38. All these words are listed in DAB, 60. If my explanation of قلسا is accepted, this example should be deleted from Grohmann, Islam 34, 206; *idem*, HO, 99; Blau, Emergence, 130; *idem*, ASP, 168n.
- 7 For which s. the references in Blau, ASP, 167/8 n.124; DAB, 60/1; Fleisch, Traité, 151; Schen, JSS 18, 69/70. Incidentally, some of the examples listed by Blau, ASP, 167/8 need not illustrate this phenomenon; thus ردت may be interpreted as radatt(a), exemplifying the assimilation described *ibid.*, 105, bottom.
- 8 The circumstances described in this section make it extremely improbable that one could read an unpointed word such as هبيت ZDMG 34, 639, 17 (early 2nd cent. A.H.) as habbetum (or something similar), even though on a theoretical level one might otherwise have been justified in doing so. So far no example of verba mediae geminatae being formed according to the pattern of verba tertiae ya has been recorded in the papyri (and nor in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 168n. where

references to this feature are given; on it cf. also Ferguson, Language 35, 623). The statement of Levi della Vida on this subject, JAOS 64, 136 n.51, is simply a misunderstanding.

§77

- 1 S. the discussion and literature in Blau, ASP, 97, 169; G. Weil, ZA 19, 22; Fück, Arabiya, 116; Fleisch, Traité, 118; Schen, JSS 17, 236; ibid., 18, 70, etc.
- 2 Ahel, presumably as an attempt to justify the initial waw instead of CA alif (cf. §27a), pointed this word as passive. It is, of course, active, with the dinars as the object.
- 3 Noted already by Blau, Emergence, 125.
- 4 For this feature cf. Blau, ASP, 92 bottom, 169/70 and the literature ibid., n.130.
- 5 S. Wright I, 76, §138.
- 6 However, اٰ appears in 1.6 as expected, and one doubts whether the interpretation of اٰمري as imperative is correct, particularly as no similar occurrence has yet been found. The word is probably a perfect.
- 7 The explanation of Dietrich, ibid., 43 n.4 is that the spelling here has been influenced by the more commonly used derivatives of this root اٰمري and اٰمري, both of which are spelled only with alif.

§78

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 172 and the references given there.
- 2 That is on the assumption that the example belongs to §10, REM.B and c. This explanation, however is not entirely satisfactory, and it may be preferable to think in terms of a purely graphic transference to the perfect of the spelling of the imperfect forms of the type اٰ (§26).
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 173.
- 4 Along the lines suggested by Blau, ASP, 174, REM., where a similar case is so explained. Cf. also idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 76.
- 5 Dietrich was therefore unjustified in bracketing the initial alif of this word as "verschrieben". For forms of this word with initial alif s. Blau, ASP, 174 and the references cited there. This is the only example of this phenomenon that I am able to adduce.
- 6 Against CA, s. e.g. Wright I, 94, REM. c. For this spelling in form I s. ibid., 93 bott.; Blau, ASP, 174

n.156 and idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 76.

7 This is also the reading of Grohmann, AFEL III 146, 29; it is noteworthy, however, that the same document writes قري / قري (form I) in 11.17, 32. For an alternative proposal s. §80 n.4.

8 Partly published by Grohmann, Aperçu, 90 n.2 and idem, AO vi, 148 n.3.

§79

1 References to this feature in many strata of Arabic are provided by Blau, ASP, 177 n.167; s. further e.g. Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Fück, Arabiya, 79, 116 n.18; Schen, JSS 18, 70; Blau, 10S v, 296. Examples from papyri are given in DAB, 11 (for قري there cf. Blau, ibid., n.168); Blau, Emergence, 125; Grohmann, HO, 98, and are not repeated here.

2 I.e. with apocopation after the pattern of verba tertiae infirmae.

3 In CA both I and IV of this root occur in expressions of greeting similar to those from which these examples are taken (s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/7, 2052 c). It is therefore arguable that the forms cited here may represent IV rather than I, thus being seen to retain the hamza (cf. also §72). However, since in the papyri قرا (impf.) and قرا (impv.) are of frequent occurrence and can only be taken as form I e.g. APRL XV 53, 3; ibid., VII 24, 3 (both presumably c. 3rd cent. A.H.), it is fairly certain that قري here is also of form I (in accordance with §82e) rather than form IV, i.e. something along the lines of iqri (tert. inf.) rather than qagri (tert. hamz.). The same holds true for other examples involving this root. Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 133 appears to regard this spelling as illustrating the feature mentioned above §12e; this does not seem to me likely.

4 Scriptio defectiva with §10a, REM.B and c would be a most far-fetched explanation, though theoretically a possible one.

5 That the wāw should serve here as kursī for hamza (cf. Fleisch, Traité, 101/2) is extremely unlikely.

6 But قرا "I read", apparently, in 1.4.

7 The reason for assuming shortening of the long vowel in these verbs is not only that this took place in corresponding nominal forms (§§ 9a; 20c), but may also be deduced from the occurrence of the form قرون (below, c), being presumably an imperfect derived from the new perfect * قرا (not yet recorded from the papyri) with prosthetic alif. Now if, as seems very probable, the raison d'être of prosthetic alif in this form is none other than to adapt the monosyllable to the rhythmic pattern of other verbs in the language (s. e.g. Cantireau, Palmyre I, 170; Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen,

192 n.), then one may assume that this need was felt precisely because the pronunciation was ja rather than ja.

- 8 For the hamza in this word as it appears here and in FWAP, 125, 10 cf. above §19 n.3. Other examples here also appear in the editions with an added hamza; such additions are to be ignored. The spelling ج occurs already in the Nemara inscription (328 A.D.); it is surely contrary to all probability to insist that alif there is the kursi for hamza (i.e. j with scriptio defectiva) as do F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt IV (Berlin, 1967), 5.
- 9 For this spelling s. Blau, ASP, 81; 127 n.30.
- 10 S. e.g. the references in Blau, ASP, 179 n.179; Brockelmann, GVG I, 610, Anm.2 and cf. above n.7 and §72.
- 11 As this is the only case so far noted, it would be unwise to generalize on the basis of it. Whether one can conclude from this spelling that the first syllable contained a long vowel (for which cf. e.g. Cantineau, Horân, 245/6) remains uncertain.
- 12 For it s. e.g. the references in Blau, ASP, 179 n.180; Ferguson, Language 35, 629.
- 13 Cited already by Blau, ASP, 144.
- 14 The editor prints جينا. This is in itself improbable (above, b) and as there appear to be three hooks in the word and not two, it could be that the word is in fact a derivative of jâb.

§80

- 1 Literature on this feature is given e.g. by Blau, ASP, 180 n.187.
- 2 For the translation cf. Levi della Vida apud Semítica v, 103.
- 3 One cannot, of course, be sure that these forms are not passives of either II or IV. However, when this verb does occur in the addresses of letters, the form that appears is generally ج; this, at any rate, is the case with the earliest dateable correspondence from the Cairo Geniza (11th cent. A.D. onwards for which s. E.J. Worman, JQR xix (1906-7), 721ff. and the notes there-to by Goldziher, REJ 55 (1908) 54ff.) which is more or less contemporary with the examples cited here. For this reason it seems to me very probable that ج in this context is in fact form I active; for a similar JA alternation s. e.g. T-S 8J40.8 with ج rather than the regular ج. The pronunciation of this word may accordingly have been along the lines of fusal, occurring in a number of modern dialects, for which s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 598; Cantineau, Horân, 233.

- 4 Here would also belong NPAF I, 29 (91 A.H.) if the reading يوأى "he promises" is correct (cf. Becker, *ibid.*, 250). This is in fact, what seems to be written (s. APEL III Pl. i,b), but is rejected by both Becker (on the advice of Goldziher) and Grohmann, APEL III 146, 29, in favour of يرأى, for which s. above § 78b, iii. Against this, however, it should be observed that elsewhere in the document the imperfect of رأى is written يرى not يرأى; s. § 78 n.7.
- 5 The absence of wāw in imperfects of verba primae wāw in cases where CA demands its presence seems to be known otherwise only in the imperfect passive of form I; s. below, c.
- 6 For this phenomenon s. the discussion and references in Blau, ASP, 181/2 n.191 and Fück, Arabiya, 172.
- 7 Already noted by Blau, Emergence, 130.
- 8 S. the discussion and references in Blau, ASP, 183/4 n.195. Perhaps some of the examples in Corriente, Sketch, 61, top, and 115, top, are to be explained in the same way.
- 9 The text is published (in part) by Grohmann, Aperçu, 90 n.2 and again *idem* AO vi, 148 n.3. Scriptio plena (§ 4b) provides a less attractive (and less likely) explanation of this spelling; cf. § 87 n.11.
- 10 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 184 n.196.

§ 81

- 1 This feature clearly demonstrates the loss of mood distinctions in the verb (§ 138a); for it s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 185 n.198; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191. Some examples from papyri have already been assembled by Blau, Scripta, 224; *idem*, Emergence, 129/30; DAB, 12 and are not, for the most part, repeated here.
- 2 This example occurs in the apodosis of a conditional clause; for it s. Blau, Emergence, 129.
- 3 Point as first person plural with DAB, 153.
- 4 Cited by Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 21 n.86.
- 5 These words are clearly visible on the papyrus but were not deciphered by the editor.
- 6 For the alif here s. § 72.
- 7 For the translation cf. Levi della Vida apud Semitica v, 103.
- 8 This is clearly a case of pseudo-correction; cf. Blau, ASP, 187/8; *idem*, Pseudo-Corrections, 84 and cf. Fück, Arabiya, 57. I have not considered it necessary to

record cases of the short imperfect used in accordance with CA.

- 9 In ASP too this is the most frequent case; s. Blau, ASP, 188 and Addenda, 624. Scriptic defectiva (§14) does not seem a reasonable explanation. For a possible case of اقول for اقول s. §221.
- 10 S. Brockelmann, GVG I, 617; Blau, ASP, 189 n.209.

§82

- 1 Literature on the subject is listed by Blau, ASP, 190 n.214; cf. also Schen, JSS 18, 71.
- 2 Cf. above §20 n.5.
- 3 Nothing can be concluded from ^{عنت} "you collected (tax)" PSR iii I, 27 (91 A.H.) as jby and jby exist side by side in CA.
- 4 The dating is that of Caetani, Annali II/1, opposite p.704, where the end of the document is reproduced.
- 5 For further examples s. §50 a, i.
- 6 For 236 For it s. Blau, ASP, 191 n.218; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, Co. 23; Guest, Kindī, 53; Rabin, AWA, 207; Blau, Pseudo-
- 7 The verb appears in this form in many modern dialects, including Egyptian, s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 621.
- 8 Cf. Blau, ASP, 192 REM.A and n.228.
- 9 This verb also has an -a imperfect in modern Cairene, a telling example, therefore, of the continuity of colloquial usage; s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 179; for the long vowel s. below, d.
- 10 For this feature, a clear proof of the absence of mood distinctions in the verb, s. the literature and discussion in Blau, ASP, 194 n.236; further, Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 11 and Nachträge, 128b, n.3; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Guest, Kindī, 53/4; Schen, JSS 18, 71; Khoury, 27/8; Corriente, JSS 20, 50; Blau, 10S v, 281. The examples adduced by Blau, Emergence, 129, are not repeated here.
- 11 I have not considered it necessary to record cases of verba tertiae infirmae apocopated in accordance with CA.
- 12 The long forms became so prevalent that in one case a long imperfect was substituted for the apocopate even when quoting a passage from the Quran, s. above §4b.
- 13 This word is not rare in funerary inscriptions; s. Littmann, ibid., 52; Salmon, BIFAO ii, 121 n.
- 14 The dating is that of Abel apud Erman and Krebs, Ausg

den Papyrus der k niglichen Museen, 288.

- 15 Where translate along these lines with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 132.
- 16 Translating the verb with Levi della Vida, apud Semitica v, 103.
- 17 In the edition the last letter of this word is bracketed as a restoration; however, as the tail of the reverted ya is plainly visible (s. Pl. ix) the reading is fully certain.
- 18 Cf. Blau, ASP, 196; idem, Pseudo-Corrections; 84. For unusual short forms in CA s. also Brockelmann, GVG I, 75. Scriptio defectiva (§§ 10c; 14) is hardly to be held responsible for this phenomenon.
- 19 The context prevents one from reading تسريها "you buy it", which one might otherwise have been very tempted to do.
- 20 Is this example influenced by the equivalence of the imperfect and imperative (§ 138b) and hence (pseudo-correctly) apocopated as in the CA imperative? Alternatively, might one not read this as فستر (49d)?
- 21 I have not succeeded in locating in Khoury the example referred to by Blau, Emergence, 129 n.3 end, which would seem to belong here. Another possible case is given at § 55(v).
- 22 S. the references to this feature in Blau, ASP, 197 n.249; Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxvi (in a MS dated 554 A.H.); Guest, Kindi, 53; Schen, JSS 18, 72, 83.
- 23 References to this word, which occurs more often with the definite article, are to be found in Giessen, 10 n.6.
- 24 The syntactical status of راعى is not clear here. If it is in status constructus co-ordinated with قبائل (§ 176) which is plainly a nomen regens the ya at the end of the word would present nothing unusual. It is included here on the assumption that the translation is: "without a shepherd, and (without) a weighing-officer for his crop".
- 25 For the case of غالى / غالى "expensive" s. above § 55 (iv), and for an inscriptional occurrence of ثمانى "eight" s. B. Roy and P. Poinsot, Inscriptions arabes de Kairovan I, (Paris, 1950) p.116, 6 (258 A.H.). Another possible instance from the papyri is mentioned at § 186 n.4.

§ 83

- 1 S. e.g. Wright I, 180ff. for a list of nouns of common gender in CA; Rabin, AWA, 167/8 and, more generally, the references in Blau, ASP, 201 n.1. It is not always an easy matter to pinpoint the cause of a shift in gender;

- in some cases several factors may be operative at the same time, and the following presentation is therefore of necessity in points somewhat arbitrary.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 202/3 (where it should be noted that the cited examples are all of epicene gender and not exclusively feminine in CA, s. Wright I, 180 REM.; 182, and for فرد, Lane, Lexicon I/3, 1056a); Schen, JSS 18, 72/3.
 - 3 In CA this word is "generally feminine" according to Wright I, 182, as indeed one would expect of a paired part of the body. It is possible, however, that these examples belong to §193 a, iv. Nothing reliable concerning the gender of this word can be deduced from Grohmann, TWÄ 21 (3rd cent. A.H.), a document in which the numerical constructions are in complete disarray (s. e.g. §193 n.13).
 - 4 Interpretation according to §61a is precluded by the clearly masculine attribute to this word in 1.4.
 - 5 Unless to be interpreted with §61a?
 - 6 This expression is Qoranic (e.g. Sūra 41, 12) a fact doubtless responsible for its appearance here. The word is feminine also in another literary text: SALP I, lv, 1 (early 3rd cent. A.H.).
 - 7 For this phenomenon s. the references in Blau, ASP, 203 n.21.
 - 8 This word is not feminine in APRIL VII 1,20 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.). There are a number of incorrect readings here; for التى in this line the correct reading is rather انى (التى is also wrong in 1.18; read: الى = ilayya, not the relative pronoun).
 - 9 Cf. Blau, ASP, 206 top.
 - 10 I do not, however, recall off-hand an instance in the papyri of this word in the meaning of "private letter"; the regular word for this is كتاب, which is also attested, though very rarely, as a feminine in CA, s. Ullmann et al., Wörterbuch, 41a. It is surely much less probable to connect this example with the insensitivity to gender which may be observed elsewhere in various forms of the numeral "one", for while واحد, واحدة, and اول occur in various layers of Arabic with reference to either gender (s. below §§ 198, 200 and Blau, ASP, 373/4), واحدة used for the masculine is exceedingly rare (I know only of the case mentioned by J. Blau, Tarbiz 23 (1951-2), 28 n.12).
 - 11 The meaning "coat of mail" strikes me as unlikely here; Jahn is surely correct in following Karabacek, PERF 632, with the rendering "Frauenhemd". The suggestion of Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 130 to read المرزوق is impossible.
 - 12 According to Wright I, 180 REM.
 - 13 S. e.g. Wright I, 180 and REM.

- 14 This example may, on a theoretical level, alternatively exemplify a pseudo-correct application of the feminine relative pronoun instead of the masculine similar to the cases in Blau, ASP, 552; it would, however, be the only such instance I have noted in the papyri and it is therefore preferable to believe that the word is in fact feminine as sometimes in modern Egyptian, s. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 126.

- 15 This may, however, belong to 198b. I have included it here because it is attested as feminine elsewhere in Arabic, s. Blau, JA, 96. The suggestion of a Berber substrate to account for this shift proposed there (and again in Emergence, 215) is unnecessary, as the word is also known as feminine in some modern dialects outside N. Africa; so in Baghdad, s. Blanc, Communal Dialects, 148 and the Georgetown Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English s.v. Accordingly, the inclusion of this example as illustrative of أحمدى referring to a masculine noun in Blau, Emergence, 131 may not be justified.
 As to the origin of this usage one may suggest influence of the morphologically similar forms أمر and أمر (in this case also semantically similar), both of which are regularly feminine.

- 16 For Jumādā as masculine s. H.L. Fleischer, ZDMG 9 (1855), 259/60; Lane, Lexicon I/2, 452a; G. Wiet, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum I/2 = MIFAO 52 (Cairo, 1930), 37 (where it is stated that Jumādā in inscriptions is generally masculine) and the references ibid., n.l. Cases in which RabiC is feminine are much harder to come by; cf. however, Qalqashandī, Subh al-Acsha II (Cairo, 1913), 365 top.

- 17 Though, of course, by no means all; so e.g. Jumādā is plainly feminine in the earliest completely preserved Arabic papyrus (22 A.H.): جمدى الأولى Grehmann, Aperçu, 41, 8. The ambiguity applies only to those cases where أول seems to be masculine, but might be feminine.

- 18 It is masculine, however, in the same text, l.7. Despite this and despite the fact that the papyrus is very faded at the crucial point (and the plate almost illegible), I see no reason to doubt the reading of the editor.

- 19 Although ربيع الأفر occurs elsewhere in this document, it seems unnecessary to bracket the ta marbuta of أفرة for deletion.

- 20 These are the only cases of RabiC as feminine that I have immediately to hand; a closer search would surely reveal more. Nevertheless they are of considerable grammatical importance in that they seem quite plainly to indicate that the relationship between these two words is one of attribution, not of nomen regens and rectum as is the view of most (all?) Arab grammarians. The fact that أفرة agrees in gender with RabiC, which has here become feminine, through the influence of Jumādā, is a clear proof of the attributive nature of

this construction, which was first analysed correctly by de Goeje apud Wright II, 233*, followed by Brockelmann, GVG II, 209; Reckendorf, Syntax, 60 n., 140/1; Fück, Arabiya, 175. These examples (and presumably all others of Rabi' I and II) belong therefore to §§186, 212. In Modern Standard Arabic there appears to be no consensus of opinion concerning the grammatical status of this combination; Wehr, Dictionary, 323 vocalizes as status constructus, whereas in e.g. F.J. Ziadeh and R. Bayly Winder, An Introduction to Modern Arabic (Princeton, 1957), 156 an attributive interpretation is preferred. The latter, surely, reflects more closely the instinct of most native speakers; the former was never anything but academic.

- 21 Again, these are the only examples I have to hand; it should not be difficult to find earlier cases. Cf. above n.16.
- 22 Cf. already above nn.18,19.
- 23 For ل as masculine s. Blau, ASP, 202/3 n.14.
- 24 The word is also known as masculine elsewhere, s. Wright I, 183 REM.b. For the justification for pointing ب rather than ب s. §20a. Cf. for the masculine pronoun suffix §147b.
- 25 The demonstrative here may accordingly belong to §61a.
- 26 For the fluctuating gender of collectives of this kind s. e.g. Wright I, 180.
- 27 In l.17 read: الثلثين المعروفتين, for which s. below, f.
- 28 For the principle s. the references in Blau, ASP, 202 n.11.
- 29 This papyrus is now held at Cambridge University Library, where I have had the opportunity of studying it. In any case, it would not have been possible to be certain that the final -t was in fact the (only) motivating factor behind this putative shift of gender. Equally possible as an explanation would have been to assume the influence of the feminine synonym dar, i.e. just the opposite process to that described by Blau, JA, 96, where dar has become masculine through the influence of bayt.
- 30 For this s. the literature indicated by Blau, ASP, 206 n.36; Fück Arabiya, 183; Fleisch, Traité, 338; Schen, JSS 18, 73. For a similar feature concerning CA diminutives s. Wright I, 170/1; Fleisch Traité, 326.
- 31 On this word s. Blau, ASP, 206 nn. 37-8; further Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 20 n.3; Fück, Arabiya, 38; L. Kopf, Studia Islamica v (1956), 48; Fleisch, Traité, 338 n.2; Blau, 105 v, 296.
- 32 S. e.g. Wright I, 147, 180.
- 33 For a similar case s. Blau, ASP, 206 n.40. This account seems

- less problematic than assuming that ^{نخل} in the rest of this papyrus is used of a "palm tree" rather than a "palm plantation".
- 34 For which s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 416; Fleisch, Traité, 311.
- 35 For this word elsewhere in Arabic s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 417 (according to whom it is characteristic of "die spätere Sprache"); Fleisch, Traité, 338; it is common also in modern dialects, s. e.g. Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 176; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 49. An example from Spanish Arabic is quoted (for another purpose) by Corriente, Sketch, 86. ^{التاة} "she-ass" also occurs, s. Nöldeke, Belegwörterbuch, 5b.
- 36 It is of interest to note that the adjective ^{مقرب} "near to giving birth" here in 1.8, which refers only to females, remains without ta marbūta in accordance with e.g. Wright I, 187 REM.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 60, whereas garih "full toothed, mature" which in CA may refer to either gender (s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/7, 2512 a) is provided with ta marbūta in 1.10. Hence ^{الراحة} belongs to this section also.
- 37 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 206 n.41; Schen, JSS 18, 80/1; Corriente, Sketch, 89/90.
- 38 For the strange ^{وقرون} "and greet!" of 1.16 s. above § 66.
- 39 ^{يقرون} here will not be thought a 3rd person feminine plural of *qrw < qr for the reason given at § 66 n.3.
- 40 This is a clear case of hypo-correction; ^{المون} contains one vernacular feature (the masculine for the feminine) and one CA feature (the nominative case s. § 86b, though of course here applied wrongly).
- 41 The relative chronology of this process is not clear. The development would seem to be feminine dual > feminine plural > masculine plural, but I have not been able to find as yet an example of the "missing link" i.e. a feminine dual with feminine plural concord. It is possible, therefore, to argue that the feminine plural had already disappeared (supplanted by the masculine), in which case there would be no need to postulate any such intermediary. The material to hand, however, is too limited either to confirm or refute such speculation. Feminine plural concord with an animate feminine dual occurs in Blau, ASP, 212 n.62 (alternating with masculine plural); Schen, JSS 18, 74 etc.
- 42 Although this letter is sent by two women (cf. above, g) it is possible that their families are included in this statement, which may not necessarily refer only to the two women themselves. For women speaking of themselves in the masculine, s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 298 n.1, 417 n.2; II, 97/8; Reckendorf, Syntax, 30; Blau, BZ, 181.
- 43 For this phenomenon, which seems to be attested only from the Arab West s. e.g. Nöldeke, WZKM viii (1894),

258; Marçais, Tlemcen, 61; idem, Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 14 (1906-8), 724/5 later re-issued as Le dialecte arabe des Oulâd Brâhîm de Saïda (Paris, 1908), 76/7; Brockelmann, GVG I, 566; M. Cohen, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger (Paris, 1912), 182; Ph. Marçais, Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (Paris n.d. [1956]), 144/5; G. Colin, El (second ed.) s.v. al-Andalus, 502b; Cohen, Tunis II, 94, 96. It is generally paralleled by a similar loss of gender distinction in the second person of the pronoun, cf. e.g. Corriente, Sketch, 97 n.135, 100, 148 n.241.

44 It would be a fact of importance if the identification of this feature as suggested here were correct, particularly as this coalescence of masculine and feminine has not, so far as I see, yet been recorded in JA, whose documents constitute the most important source for the earlier history of the Maghrebi dialects. The presence of such a blatantly Maghrebi feature in Egypt at this period would serve to emphasize that the question of the eastern boundaries of "Maghrebi" as against "Egyptian" Arabic is, and always has been, an extremely complicated one, cf. e.g. Blau, Emergence, 56ff.; H. Blanc, IOS iv (1974), 206.

45 The syntax of the letter at this point is not fully clear, and this example is far from certain. The letter is sent by two women to three others, who are regularly addressed in the masculine plural (above, g); that the singular appears here may (assuming it is not a plain error) be taken as an indication that the main addressee is intended; such, at least, is the view of the editor, ibid., 690 n.2. This point of view may be supported by observing that similar fluctuation of gender/person is by no means rare in the correspondence of the Cairo Geniza, s. S.D. Goitein, op. cit. below §162 n.14, 221 n.2. Cf. §218.

46 This letter is unfortunately a mere fragment; however, that a woman is being addressed seems clear from ي لا تترك ذلك "do not omit that" occurring in the following line. I am unable to agree with the remark of Margoliouth ad loc. that "The genders of the verbs are, as often, careless"; this phenomenon is, in fact, extremely rare.

47 ان تصلي "that you come to me" Mélanges Islamologiques ii, 92, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.) occurring in a letter from the Superior of a convent to her daughter (or at least to a younger woman), cannot be included here. The correct reading is تصلي, Blau, ASP, 145 n.8.

§84

1 Extensive references to this feature are provided by Blau, ASP, 210 n.54; s. further Brockelmann, GVG II, 79 Anm.2; Cohen, Etudes, 115/6; Schen, JSS 18, 74/5; Blau, IOS iii, 198/9; Corriente, JSS 20, 50. For the papyri s. already Grohmann, Einführung, 106; Blau, Emergence,

- 128, 131 with examples.
- 2 Cited by Grohmann e.g. Einführung, 106 and Blau, Emergence, 128.
- 3 In CA أقوان is used in this context, s. e.g. Wright I, 190.
- 4 البتين here seems to have been altered to جبة, but the original concord allowed to stand.
- 5 This reading is given according to APEL II, Pl.v, where read 80 for 76; the last word may, in fact, be تزرعوه rather than تزرعوا suggested here, but whatever the form of the suffix the verb is clearly plural. This example is cited already by Blau, Emergence, 131.
- 6 Cf. on this DAB, 139 and above §83 n.45.
- 7 On the plurals before the dual pronominal suffixes here s. below, f.
- 8 In 1.5 it seems that انتركتا may, in fact, be the correct reading (cf. ibid., 139).
- 9 S. for this the literature referred to by Blau, ASP, 214 n.17 and also idem, Emergence, 131; 108 iii, 198; ibid., v 281; Corriente, Sketch, 130. For concord with such words in the plural, s. above, a (i) end, and, for the same feature in modern dialects s. at length H. Blanc, Language 48 (1970), 49ff, and in Spanish Arabic s. Corriente, loc. cit.
- 10 The meaning of this word with reference to dinars is not clear; it is generally understood as maḥsul and translated "correct" or something similar, s. the discussion given by Grohmann, Einführung, 201/2. However, since the word مواش "washed" with reference to coins occurs in a Hebrew deed from the Cairo Geniza dated to 969 A.D. (S. Assaf Tarbiz ix (1937-8), 205 l.7) it has been very plausibly suggested that instead of maḥsul, one should in fact, point the word as maghsul, i.e. "washed" (s. M.K. Friedman, Jewish Marriage Contracts in the Palestinian Tradition..., Dissertation presented to the University of Pennsylvania, 1970, 159/60).
- 11 Perhaps, however, the feminine pronominal suffix is due to attraction to the gender of ارض.
- 12 S. above §61c and ibid., n.7.
- 13 As against دينارين مغولين in the same text 11.5/6.
- 14 S. Blau, ASP, 215 n.78 for references to this feature; Schen, JSS 18, 75.
- 15 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 215 and n.78; s. also a Spanish example in Corriente, Sketch, 130.
- 16 Cf. Blau, ASP, 215/6 and 624, Addenda to p.216
- 17 S. the references supplied by Blau, ASP, 216 n.83;

- Corriente, Sketch, 89. The whole question is studied in detail by H. Blanc, Language 46 (1970) 42ff. where (p.45) the term "pseudo-dual" is proposed to describe this phenomenon; Blau, IOS iii, 199 n.94 suggest "ex-dual". S. also idem IOS vi, 164. Here belong also cases such as سامع "ears", Brockelmann, GVG II, 61 and 701, Nachträge ad loc.; Bloch, Vers und Sprache, 71n.
- 19 Earlier examples from inscriptions (155 A.H. and 167 A.H.) are quoted by Blau, Emergence, 131.
- 20 For يدي as plural (i.e. pseudo-dual) in CA and its use it stock expressions (tending therefore to indeclinability) s. Reckendorf, Syntax, 216/7 n.2 and the references there. The preposition يدي may also belong here if Landberg's proposed etymology is correct, cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 383; Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 116 n.1.
- 21 Naturally, the plural also occurs in similar contexts, e.g. PSR iii, II, 6 (91 A.H.); APRL I 5,9 (1st cent. A.H., s. FWAP, 171ff.) both of which contain أيديهم "their hands" (hardly a dual of يد, for which s. 4 REM. A. and below e, ii).
- 22 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 218 and n.88.
- 23 It is not clear exactly what is to be made of these examples, particularly as CA usage sometimes fluctuates with regard to the number of "hand" in similar expressions (cf. e.g. علي يدي beside علي يدي in the same meaning below, n.24). What seems to have happened here is that "hand" has become etymologically obscured (cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 413), and that yad/id in these examples has simply acquired the meaning "possession, control" and does not therefore require to be declined as would have been necessary had it denoted a part of the body. This seems more probable than to assume that yad/id is singular before the suffix of the dual in accordance with e.g. Wright I, 253 REM d. (cf. below, f).
- 24 علي يدي and علي يدي exist side by side in CA also, s. Reckendorf, SV, 29; Wright II, 172. Yad is also singular in a number of CA idioms where one might have expected the dual (s. the dictionaries); against this background then, there need not be anything particularly noteworthy about the examples adduced here. For the alternation of singular and dual/plural in this word cf. also Blau, IOS v, 281 and cases such as Yaqūt, Muḥjam al-Baldan, ed. F. Wüstenfeld I (Leipzig, 1869), 599 where one finds, 1.19, في أيديهم (i.e. the Franks) but في يدي الفرنجة in 1.21.
- 25 There is a great variety of forms in use as the plural of "lip", s. the survey in Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 128/9 (to which add شفتان from Schiaparelli, Vocabulista, 447 s.v. "labium"); *shafatāt, however, appears not to be amongst them. If this form is correct, shafatāt would exemplify the adaptation of shafa to the triradical system by incorporation of ta marbūta as the third radical (for which cf. Brockelmann, GVG I, 426) as took

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- place in Hebrew (Nöldeke, op. cit., 127). For the plural instead of the dual in nouns denoting paired parts of the body s. e.g. Reckendorf, SV, 30 top; idem, Syntax, 138 n.1; Fück, Arabiya, 145; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 367; Blau, 103 iii, 198 n.90.
- 26 On this s. Reckendorf, SV, 392/3; idem, Syntax, 138; Wright I, 253 REM. d; Brockelmann, GVG II, 234; Fück, Arabiya, 145. Modern Standard Arabic has apparently reversed this trend, s. Blau, 103 iii, 206/7; *ibid.*, vi, 179. For JA cf. $\mu\alpha\delta\theta\iota\omega$ "their souls" T-S GL.5a (second half of 11th cent. A.D.) which closely parallels the last example in this section.
- 27 In conformity with the formula of the passports APEL III nos. 174-5; cf. already Becker, PAF, 103.
- 28 Cf. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 138 for the pronominal suffix as conditioning factor.
- 29 S. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/3, 1267a; Nöldeke, SBAWW 142/v (1900), 69; idem, Neue Beiträge, 44; Fück, Arabiya, 184 after Ḥariri, Durra, 185.
- 30 For JA s. J. Blau, Tarbiz xxvii (1957-8), 88, and idem, R. Moses b. Maimon, Responsa, vol. III (Jerusalem, 1961), 81, §71; For other early Maghrebi examples s. idem, Emergence, 117, especially the reference to G. Colin, Hesperis x (1930), 119; Corriente, Sketch, 88.
- 31 S. e.g. Nöldeke, ZDMG 58 (1904), 907 n.4; Brockelmann, GVG I, 484; Féghali, Syntaxe, 175ff.; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 240; Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 129 s.v.; Blau, BZ, 56.
- 32 The singular طومار here probably belongs to §203 b,1 which deals with coins and measures appearing in the singular after the numerals 3-10, for in dialects where زوج "two/a pair" is used, it generally behaves with regard to the counted noun in just the same way as do the numerals 3-10. Cf. also, however, the construction of tneen etc. with the singular, for which s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 273; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 240 (where, n.1, the reference to Spitta is to his Grammatik, p.321) and Blau, ASP, 377 n.40 (?).
- 33 For zawj signifying "one of a pair" as in CA it is probably quite by chance that I have noted only the late example "the bride and groom" APEL I 45, 20 (461 A.H.). This expression is Quranic, e.g. Sura 53, 45.

§ 85

- 1 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 218 n.90; Grohmann, Einführung, 105. I have been unable to trace the example from Sira (i.e. Khoury, 118ff.) mentioned by Blau, Emergence, 126. The ending -an for the dual does indeed occur in the papyri in conformity with CA usage, e.g. the example quoted above §83c,i from APEL VI 423, 6 (3rd cent. A.H.), but is very much rarer than the ubiquitous -ayn and I have not considered it necessary

to record such cases. For the dual ending -ān appearing in contexts in which CA requires -ayn s. below, b.

- 2 An example from PSR iii, V, 5 (91 A.H.) has frequently been cited in the literature, s. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 4/5 n.3: Blau, Scripta, 220; idem, Emergence, 126, 131; ASP, 378 n.44. An inspection of PSR iii, Taf. vi, however, makes it fairly clear that ميتي (st. cstr.) is in fact the correct reading here (despite the fact that final nūn and ya are often difficult to distinguish, cf. e.g. PSR iii, VII, 5 as against the correct reading in PAF VIII, 6). This would likewise apply to the similar examples ibid. Anhang, k,3; 1,5 and 6, which are written in the very same month and year and by the same scribe as PSR iii, V. These examples properly belong, therefore below, ii.
- 3 It is hardly likely that the casus obliquus here should depend on an understood verb of payment, for in the singular the document uses دينر; the دينارا with which it alternates is presumably due to pseudo-correction (§ 171 n.4).
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 219.
- 5 These examples are included here on the assumption that ميتي is the correct reading rather than the ميتين of the editor, s. above n.2
- 6 References to this are provided by Blau, ASP, 220 n.95. S. also idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 92; Schen, JSS 18, 75. The uninflected dual -ān discussed e.g. by Rabin, AWA, 67/8, 156/7; Corriente, JSS 20, 52/3 does not seem to me likely to be the cause of the casus rectus in the examples cited here.
- 7 This line can be found e.g. in F. Wüstenfeld, Das Leben Muhammad's ... I (Göttingen, 1859), 330 or Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Diwān, ed. W. ʿArafat, I (above § 41 n.4), 464.
- 8 The second متره (unpointed) may, however, be read as darabahu rather than darbatan. It seems improbable that ديعه could be taken as the subject and متره as passive. The editor's translation is not quite accurate: "und ʿAlī versetzte ihm einen Schlag, der dessen beide Kettenpanzer zerriss". Both these cases are mentioned by the editor p.28.
- 9 This example is by no means certain. It is possible, indeed even likely, that شاهان is the subject and that اشد is to be interpreted according to § 72 (s. also Dozy, Supplément I, 793 s.v. شاهان IV). This is also the interpretation of the editor who translates: "après que deux témoins eussent témoigné pour elle".
- 10 For yadā against CA in status constructus and pronominalis in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 221.
- 11 On this cf. J.G. Wetzstein, Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft 7 (1871), 476 (who first drew attention to the now well-known passage of

al-Muqaddasi on this subject); Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Rabin, AWA, 34 and Blau, ASP, 222/3, n.107. Cf. also Corriente, JSS 21, 92; idem, Sketch, 90.

- 12 Is one to infer from Grohmann, Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des Frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten. (Ak. Wien Denkschr. 77/2, 1959), 43b, n.7 that he later preferred the reading كورتين in both places? This question of palaeography also affects the identification of the similar phenomenon in the sound masculine plural (s. below §86c).
- 13 That this word is perhaps more likely to be عاملي is suggested by the phenomenon mentioned at § 55vi and ibid., n.9; 175. This text also contains an example of كورتين الاشمونين discussed above.
- 14 Karabacek, MPER i, 99 read خليفة at this point and translated as status absolutus rather than constructus; Grohmann here does in fact edit خليفة and translate as status constructus.
- 15 Karabacek here edited خليفة and from his translation "zweier Stellvertreter des Ahmed" it is clear he regarded the word as status constructus; Grohmann, AO xviii/3, 107, 7, on the other hand, offers خليفة (cf. ibid., Pl.iii a).
- 16 S. Blau, JA, 104/5 for a similar example.
- 17 It does not seem realistic to regard the counted noun in these cases as reflecting the accusative rather than the genitive; cf. § 202 and Blau, ASP, 223 n.109. For this word retaining nun in status constructus in other branches of the language s. Blau, ibid., n.108.
- 18 Pace the editor مايتي is the probable reading in APEL VI 367, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.) as suggested by 1.3. Status Constructus;
- 19 For these possibilities s. e.g. Philippi, 89 n.5, 94; Wright II, 124/5, 230; Reckendorf, Syntax, 68, 95/6, 141. The matter is treated in greater detail by Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften II, pp.1ff. Cf. below § 167h, REM.
- 20 This is suggested on the one hand by cases such as خمسة ارطال لثي عنب "five Laythi pounds of grapes" APEL V 348,3 (3rd - 4th cent. A.H.) which can hardly be genitival, and, on the other hand, by instances doubly defined by the article as والجرة التين "and the jar of figs" DAB 33v, 2 (early 4th cent. A.H.) which are fairly certainly appositional (§ 181b,iii). Examples of the type ستة اقداح ونصف رز "six and a half qadahs of rice" Grohmann, TWA 2,9 (3rd cent. A.H.) may also belong here, but cf. §§ 176, 177. This need not, however, be taken to imply that apposition was the only construction in use, for in some modern dialects (which present very similar problems of identification) both modes of expression exist side by side, so e.g. in Cairo, Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 230 or Damascus, Grotzfeld, Syrisch-Arabisches Grammatik, 92/3. That the

genitive construction was in use o.g. at Nessana is suggested by the examples referred to below §86a.

- 21 Cf. for modern dialects e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 258; Blau, BZ, 42 where examples similar to the following are presented as genitival. The former is clearly aware of the alternative interpretation: "Es kann nun, da der Status constructus hasserlich oft bloss eine Nebeneinandersetzung ist, bei manchen Fällen zweifelhaft sein, ob wir ein Genetiv-oder Appositionsverhältnis vor uns haben" (cf. also *ibid.*, 280/1). It will be admitted, however, that with a variety of Arabic lacking a case-system (§ 161) such speculation is largely beside the point.
- 22 As suggested by e.g. التلافة الذهب (§ 181b,iii) "the gold necklace" Wessely 56,5 (4th cent. A.H.); an example such as this, however, need not indicate that the corresponding undefined construction was also appositional, cf. Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften II, 23; Reckendorf, SV, 94; Brockelmann, GVG II, 249. Cf. also ثمانية هزيم بنا "eight linen straps" Grohmann, TWA 2, 7/8 (3rd cent. A.H.). These combinations in modern dialects are interpreted by some scholars as representing status constructus (Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 258 as against 280/1) and by others as representing apposition (Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 236; Brockelmann, *ibid.*, 213); some dialects, in fact, possess both possibilities side by side, s. e.g. Féghali, Syntaxe, 207; Blau, BZ, 156 Anm., 159 n.2. For the usage(s) of CA in this matter s. e.g. Wright II, 229, and in greater detail the two studies of Fleischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff., 16ff.
- 23 Apparently altered to هبة, cf. above § 84 n.4.
- 24 For similar cases in CA (or at least reported in CA sources) s. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 11 (but for the first example there cf. Brockelmann, GVG I, 619 bottom and Corriente, JSS 21, 80 n.3); Corriente, *art. cit.*, 92. The occurrence of this phenomenon in papyri (where I have noted it only in the case of -ay, never -ā) has been pointed out on a number of occasions: as Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, 456; Grohmann, Einführung, 105 (where the doubts expressed by Littmann, ZDMG 94, 296/7 are shown to be without foundation); Blau, Emergence, 132 n.3; *idem*, ASP, 223 n.115, 378. It occurs also in JA, but I have noted it there almost exclusively in the word ثلثين "two thirds": T-S K15.114 *passim* (second half of 11th cent. A.D.); CUL Or. 1080J. 239 (1220 A.D.), T-S NS J.56; T-S NS 325.11 etc.
- 25 S. above c,i and cf. Littmann, ZDMG 94, 297 (referred to in the preceding note). There exist, however, some clear examples written with reverted ya thus admitting of no ambiguity, so e.g. مايع CPR III p.171 (250 A.H.); JESHO xiv, 9, 7 (256 A.H.), where read so! Cf. below n.32.
- 26 This absence of nūn in status absolutus of the dual is attested sporadically throughout the history of Arabic (cf. n.24) down to modern dialects, as in Egyptian, s. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 132, 164; Willmore, Spoken

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Arabic of Egypt, 60 (restricted apparently to fractions). It is well documented also in Spanish Arabic s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 456; further Pedro de Alcalá, ed. de Lagarde (above 42 n.1) e.g. p. 206 s.v. "dos" and especially Corriente, Sketch, 41, 88. The cause of this phenomenon seems to be a phonetic one, viz. the decay of nun in final position (cf. above §45a and Fleisch, Traité, 138), particularly when preceded by the diphthong ay. This is the interpretation of G. Colin, El (second ed.), I, 502a, and cf. for a parallel to the development -ayn > -ay, Kutscher, op. cit., above 45 n.2, 43ff. = Tarbiz xxii (1950-1), 185ff. where the same process in Galilean Aramaic is discussed. H. Stumme, too, Maltesische Studien (Leipzig, 1904), 86 speaks of "der recht häufige Schwund von n ... am Wortschlusse", giving among his examples juméi "two days" (cf. Brockelmann, loc. cit.). In the light of this it would appear that Blau, Emergence, 132 n.3 was not correct in his suggestion that this spelling represents "only an orthographic device". A different explanation, viz. extension of status constructus forms, is given by Sachau Alberuni's India, xxxiv-xxxv who gives examples of this feature from a MS. dated 554 A.H.

- 27 S. further the list of occurrences in Grohmann, Einführung, 105, and for inscriptions, idem, Paläographie II, 52a. Cf. also Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxv; Zetterstéen, Beiträge, 24. The form occurs also in Maltese, s. A. Borg, ZDMG 124 (1974), 300 (who also (p.301) mentions the similar case of elfey "two thousand") and for a 17th cent. Egyptian example s. C.H. Becker, Festgabe für Theodor Nöldeke (Göttingen, 1916), 14 ult. For this form in JA I can quote only سنتين from T-S 13J4.4r, 19 (1229 A.D.).
- 28 This is the earliest dated example in which nūn is absent in the status absolutus of the dual: سنتين وسبعين "two hundred and seventy". The reading is quite beyond doubt and I should like to thank the Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, for making a photograph of the papyrus available to me.
- 29 For a very nearly contemporary example in an inscription s. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Eretz-Israel 7 (1964), 112*, 23 (206 A.H.). This word, here written with reverted ya, is quite common in Arabic epigraphy.
- 30 But سنتين is edited in 1.10.
- 31 Cf. for this word in modern Egyptian the references to Spitta and Willmore above n. 26; examples from JA given above n.24, and cf. also Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxv, and below §176 n.3.
- 32 Here quite unambiguously written with reverted ya (cf. above n.25).
- 33 The text here reads ثلثي وربع دينار "two thirds and one quarter of a dinar", with two constructs before the nomen rectum (§176). It is possible, therefore, though it does not seem to me at all likely, that ثلثي here and in some of the examples above which appear in

similar contexts (even though the nomen rectum be not expressed as in فانين وثلاثي ونسعتين "two faddāns, two thirds and half of one eighth (of a faddān)" APPEL IV 265, 8) may reflect the CA status constructus. Such an assumption could not, however, explain the absence of nūn in the dual in cases which can only be understood as standing in status absolutus.

- 34 Cf. Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxv; Guest, Kindī, 54 (الثنتي); Zetterstēen, Beiträge, 23 and Blau, ASP, 374 n.28.
- 35 For the form in modern Maltese s. above n. 27. It occurs also in earlier times, s. Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxiv-xxxv; Zetterstēen, Beiträge, 21. Is the example from al-Ghazālī in Brockelmann, GVG II, 230, 1.8 from bottom to be included here?
- 36 This feature is described by Karabacek there (p.294) as being one of the "bekannte Eigentümlichkeiten der Faijūmer Papyrus". The example is recorded by Brockelmann, GVG I, 456 and Grohmann, e.g. FWAP, 96; Einführung, 105 and is unmistakably written with a reverted ya.

§86

- 1 That this feature occurs in early papyri has been remarked on a number of occasions, e.g. Grohmann, Einführung, 105; DAB, 11; Blau, Scripta, 220; idem, Emergence, 126/7; for more general references s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 224 n.116; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Guest, Kindī, 54 etc. In one case this phenomenon is quite at home in CA, viz. the pl. relative pronoun الذين, for which s. e.g. Wright I, 271/2 (الذون) is of only marginal occurrence; on it cf. Wright, loc. cit.; Brockelmann, GVG I, 324 n.2; Rabin, AWA, 89/90).
- 2 The sound masculine plural ending in -ūn, on the other hand, though it does occur, is in fact very rare: [...] ثلاثون دينار " [e.g. there remained] thirty dinars" Nessana 56, 3 (67 A.H.; this is the correct date, but the last line of the Arabic text said to contain it is misread); و نحن سالمون و صابون "and we are well and healthy" ZDMG 34, 688, 7 (early 2nd cent. A.H.); APRL X 1, 3 (c. 3rd cent. A.H.) where read سبعون. A case such as وانا اليه راجعون "and we return to Him" Jahn 14, 16 (3rd cent. A.H.) is strictly formulaic (cf. Quran 2, 156 and similar passages) and, therefore less surprising, being typical only of the most elevated speech, not of the sermo vulgaris. In APPEL IV 266, 1 (3rd cent. A.H.) read عشرون for عشرين.
- 3 The restoration of فجسته here is quite certain, as is proved by other Nessana texts where the word is fully visible. In only one of the examples referred to below is this word absent, viz. 67, 14.
- 4 Cf. Becker *ibid.*, 30, referred to by Fück, Arabiya, 92 n.26. As a matter of interest, in the whole volume PSR iii not one case occurs of casus rectus in either the

- dual or sound masculine plural.
- 5 For this reading s. above §85 n.2.
- 6 Anhang, b, 4-6 is cited, for a different purpose, by Reckendorf, Syntax, 96.
- 7 In NPAF XV, 4 read ديرا with APEL III, 162, 5.
- 8 As against ZDMG 34, 688, 7 cited above n.2.
- 9 The rubrics in this MS (B.M. Or. 2165) are dated to the 9th cent. A.D. by Wright, loc. cit., and by C. Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts..., (London, 1894), 38a, both of whom place the writing of the main text in the 8th cent. A.D. On this document cf. also Karabacek, WZKM v (1891), 324 and Abbott, Rise, 24.
- 10 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 225 n.121, also Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Guest Kindi, 54; Blau, Pseudo-Corrections, 92.
It has already been mentioned (above, a) that the absence of case distinction in the sound masculine plural (and the dual) was one of the most characteristic features of non-Classical Arabic; how sensitive an area this was can be gauged from the form شباطون, reported in several CA sources and discussed by Fück, Carabiya, 27/8. The non-inflected sound masculine plural -in had evidently become so widespread that the stigma of sub-standard usage attaching to the ending -in was extended even to words where that ending had nothing whatever, besides an acoustic similarity, to do with the sound masculine plural. This is the best known example of such a hyper-correction in CA; similar cases are given by Corriente, JSS 21, 89. Incidentally, this phenomenon also provides evidence for the absence of final short vowels (§2a); shayāṭin(u) (broken plural) could not have been re-interpreted as shayāṭin(a) (sound masculine plural and hence > shayāṭūn(a)) had those vowels been pronounced.
- 11 For this s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 226 n.123; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Brockelmann, GVG I, 452.
- 12 Even assuming that the sense of this line is correct, the exact reading of منقرمين would presumably (I have not checked the original as no plate is provided) have to be considered in the light of the palaeographical difficulty mentioned above §85 n.2, c(i), d.
- 13 Besides the reservation mentioned in the preceding note (presumably applicable here also) القرط here could possibly be thought of as accusative in accordance with e.g. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 75; cf. also Blau, ASP, 226 n.123. This however, seems rather improbable, particularly as this construction occurs mostly "in dichterischer Sprache" (Nöldeke, *ibid.*).

§87

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 228 n.130; Wright I, 299 REM.a; Schen JSS 18, 75 and for implications of stress Blau, BSOAS xxxv, 480. The explanation in terms of hyper-correction given in the latter place is scarcely convincing; the occurrence of fa^{ca}lil for fa^{ca}lil could equally well indicate final (Eastern) stress after the pattern of fa^{ca}lil (§9c). For the (very marginal) possibility of scriptio plena s. §4b.
- 2 This may well, however, be the plural of ^{ناتام} rather than ^{ناتام}, in which case the formation would be quite regular; cf. e.g. Wright I, 229, REM.a. It is included here simply because ^{ناتام} is probably more common in CA than ^{ناتام}.
- 3 Although ^{دوانيق} (and the singular ^{داناق}) are listed in the dictionaries (as Lane, Lexicon I/3, 920 b), the word occurs, so far as I have noted, in the papyri only as ^{دانتق} with the corresponding plural ^{دوانق} (both in APEL VI 438 from the 3rd cent. A.H.).
- 4 Cf. Blau, JA, 108 and the references there in n.10; A. Steiger, Contribución a la Fonética del Hispano-Arabe., (Madrid, 1932), 81; Fuck, Arabiya, 82, 116; Cohen, Etudes, 110 where it is listed as a typically sedentary feature; Corriente, Sketch, 82. It seems unlikely here to think in terms of scriptio defectiva (§14a).
- 5 It seems unnecessary to read ^{سكاريج} with Grohmann, ibid., n.8; for these two plural forms occurring side by side s. Dozy, Supplément I, 668 s.v.
- 6 Cf. Blau, ASP, 228.
- 7 According to a plausible conjecture by Grohmann, APEL VI p.68 this form is a blend of ^{نراتي} and ^{نوتية}. ^{نراتية} is fairly rare in literary sources (s. Levi della Vida, Byzantion xvii, 218 n.27 who cites an example from Maqrizi's Khitat) but is attested in various other layers of the language; for JA s. S.D. Goitein, Tarbiz xxxvii (1967-8), 180, 8 (كأروك نراتي) in a document dating from c. 1030 A.D. and idem, op. cit. above §3 n.14, p. 313; it occurs also in a Geniza document in Arabic script (1036-94 A.D.) ed. S.M. Stern, Oriens 15 (1962), 174, 11.7, 11 as well as in Ibn Baṭṭūta, Travels (Beirut, Dar Sader, 1964), 189, 12.
- 8 Cf. the examples and literature in Blau, ASP, 228.
- 9 This is probably the plural of ^{غائط <} (غائط) for which ^{غياط} is listed in the dictionaries beside the more usual ^{غيطان}.
- 10 For this phenomenon cf. Blau, ASP, 62, 228.
- 11 Although this document spells ^{لم نجد} "we did not find" (§80d) which may possibly represent scriptio plena, it seems to me somehow improbable that ^{المورد} here should be explained in terms of scriptio plena

of a posited afcul form.

- 12 Cf. Blau, ASP, 229; Wright I, 232; Brockelmann, GVG I, 433; Fleisch, Traité, 497; Corriente, Sketch, 94.
- 12 Cf. Blau, ASP, 229; Wright I, 232; Brockelmann, GVG I, 433; Fleisch, Traité, 497; Corriente, Sketch, 94
- 13 Cf. Blau, ASP, 229/30; Schen, JSS 18, 76; Blau, 10S);
 strict CA usage would have required اسوار .
- 15 The form is a development of siyat (§2b, ii; above d, i); strict CA usage would have required اسوار .
- 16 For this process cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 437; Fleisch, Traité, 496; Corriente, Sketch, 93/4. In this particular case the emergence of a new singular "garden" is very likely due to the specialization of جنة in the sense "Paradise". The plural of this word is perhaps الجنة (below §88c). Face S.D. Goitein op. cit. above §3n.14, p.428 n.47 jinān as singular appears also in the JA document T-S 13 J 13.27.
- 17 It is the pronominal concord in the 3rd person masculine singular in this text that proves the singular number of بنان, not the use of the relative الذي as the editor believes (p. 284), for this word, having become invariable (§ 289a) need not prove anything in terms of gender or number.

§88

- 1 Cf. for unexpected plural forms in other layers of Arabic Blau, JA, 108; idem, ASP, 230; Schen, JSS 18, 73/4; Corriente, Sketch, 93.
- 2 Cf. Dozy, Supplément I, 189. جرور is the only plural listed in E. Bocthor, Dictionnaire Français-Arabe, revu et augmenté par A. Caussin de Perceval (third ed., Paris, 1864), s.v. "Grange". S. also C. Denizeau, Dictionnaire des Parlers Arabes de Syrie, Liban et Paléستine (Paris, 1960), 81, s.v.
- 3 Further examples are given by Grohmann, Islam 26, 280 and Einführung 106. For it s. also Schiaparelli, Vocabulista, 505 s.v. "Ortus", where it is vowelled أبنة (cf. Corriente, Sketch, 92 bott.)
- 4 Although in the Vocabulista (s. preceding note) where this plural is recorded, بنان is not given as the singular.
- 5 On this development s. Wright I, 210; Vollers, Volkssprache, 94; Brockelmann, GVG I, 240. اروسين itself occurs APEL VI 364, 27 (317 A.H.); APE 6,10 (322 A.H.).
- 6 Both plurals are given in J.G. Hava's Farāhid, s.v.

7 Strange forms of both the singular and plural of this word occur in the JA document published by S.D. Goitein, Tarbiz xxxvii (1967-8), 180/1. (singular: ٥١٤٧ ; plural: ٥١٤٧).

§89

- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 230/1; Ferguson, Language 35, 627/8; Cohen, Etudes, 117.
- 2 S. the references cited by Blau, ASP, 231 n.145; Fück, Arabiya , 172; Fleisch, Traité, 446; Schen, JSS 18, 76.
- 3 It is perhaps analogy with this ending that has produced beside يماني "Yemenite" the form يماني which occurs JNES V, 172, 1 (3rd cent. A.H.); Islamica 4, 254, 3 (for the date s. §27 n.4). Both forms, however, occur in CA; for يماني / يمان s. e.g. Wright I, 154, REM. e; Brockelmann, GVG I, 80; Fleisch, Traité, 445 n.

§90

- 1 S. the documentation in Blau, ASP, 233 n.154; Fleisch, Traité, 412 n.1; M. Ullmann, Untersuchungen zur Ragazpoesie (Wiesbaden, 1966), 196; Corriente, Sketch, 95 n.134.
- 2 Cited by Blau, Emergence, 131.
- 3 S. the documentation in Blau, ASP, 233 n.156; Corriente, Sketch, 95 n.134.
- 4 The dating is that of Caetani, Annali II/1, opp. p. 704 where a plate of part of the text is published. The reading والش cannot be excluded.

§91

- 1 The form may equally well, however, represent merely the addition to the masculine ٥١٤٧ of ta marbuta, cf. Blau, ASP, 237 n.177.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 236.

§92

- 1 In the feminine of this word, as opposed to the masculine, forms with (ithnatani) and without prosthetic alif (thintani) occur side by side in CA. The former of these two is the more recent, s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 484; it is of interest,

therefore, to note that it is the only form in use in the papyri from the earliest documents (22 A.H., Grohmann, Aperçu, 41, 8) onwards.

- 2 The reading سنة ثمان in Merx, Documents, 55, 8 (mid - late 1st cent. A.H.) is incorrect (s. Karabacek, WZKM viii, 293) and at Hirbet el-Mird 49,5 (2nd cent. A.H.) read with {97c (?) ثنين (hardly لثنى).
- 3 It is not necessary to restore و here, s. {103 b,i.
- 4 For the reading of Merx, Documents, 55,8 s. n.2.

§93

- 1 On this s. Blau, JA, 56 and Emergence, 119 and the literature cited there; further F. Kern, Innisâou-lcâlimât (i.e. Les femmes savantes), (Leipzig, 1898), 70/1 n.2; Ferguson, Language 35, 625; Blanc, Communal Dialects, 91, 194 n.110; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 171 n.2; C.A. Ferguson, M. Ani et al., Damascus Arabic (Washington D.C., 1961), 071; A. Borg, ZDMG 124 (1974), 294 n.12. For a similar displacement of -t s. GQ III, 31, top.
For further documentation in JA cf. the similar phenomenon in the numerals 13-19 as اربعون , اربعون "fourteen", "eighteen" T-S Misc. 8.2; اربعون "seventeen" T-S Ar.54.74 (1197 A.D.); اربعون "and the fifteen dirhams" T-S 10J 18.22 (first half of 13th cent. A.D.) paralleled by cases such as اربعون (§ 95c) اربعون "fourteen dirhams" T-S 8J22.4v. (cf. on this G. Colin, Islamica 4 (1931), 167).
- 2 Another early example is ثلث تربع دينار "three quarters of a dinar" T-S Ar.42.192.

§95

- 1 For such cases s. the references in Blau, ASP, 238 n.182; Fleisch Traité 512 n.1. Most of the following examples have already been noted by Blau, Scripta, 222 n.45; idem, Emergence, 124 n.5; Grohmann, FWAP, 96; idem., Einführung, 105; HO, 98. Cf. also Blau, E2 With Grohmann, Erasmus 4, 178; Islamic Quarterly 1, 129.
- 2 With Grohmann, Erasmus 4, 178; Islamic Quarterly 1, 129.
- 3 The alleged occurrence of اربعون "eleven" in ZDMG 92, 123, 14 (241 A.H.), apparently thought of there as a compound (cf. the note to 1.14), seems somehow rather improbable.
- 4 For the same spelling in ASP s. Blau, ASP, 237/8; idem Pseudo-Corrections, 77 and for JA s. اربعون

(new line) ثلاثة عشر ألف "thirteen thousand" T-S Ar.6.34;
 ثلاثة عشر أميال (apparently one word) ثلاثة عشر أميال "and thirteen miles" T-S Ar.30.221. For its occurrence in papyri and other early texts s. Karabacek, WZKM viii, 294; Grohmann, Einführung, 105; idem, HO, 21 n.l.; DAB, 215/6; SALF II, 94; Blau, Scripta, 221/2 n.44; idem, Emergence, 124.

The explanation of Blau is that such a spelling has arisen from metanalysis of compound numerals as described in the preceding section. In this connection it is worth pointing out that it is not only in the case of these numerals 11-19 that such a prosthetic alif appears at the head of the second member of the combination; a very similar phenomenon is doubtless also a contributive factor in the emergence of the plural forms mentioned at §§ 2h, ii; 87d.

- 5 The division of words in some of these examples, however, is perhaps uncertain, s. § 96 n.2.
- 6 Perhaps representing tht > t̄t̄ with §30e.
- 7 S. on this e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 241; Cantineau, Palmyre I, 217; idem, Hörän, 372/3 (with further literature); Ferguson, Language 35, 625/6; Blanc, Communal Dialects, 92; Bismizzin, 166; Cohen, Etudes, 122 and for JA, Blau, JA, 39, 114; idem, Emergence, 102, 126 n.2. Cf. also above §93 n.1, end, to which add ثلاثة عشر , ثلاثة عشر . T-S K25.43.
- 8 Thus e.g. Blanc, North Palestinian Arabic, 61.
- 9 For which s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 267; Blanc, Communal Dialects, 91/2; Corriente, Sketch, 96.
- 10 Such arrangements are in general extremely rare, s. Brockelmann, GVG I, 489 n., where the example referred to corresponds to Abū Nuwās, Diwan, ed. E. Wagner, I (Wiesbaden, 1958), 282, 8. Cf. Goldziher, ZDMG 49 (1895), 210ff.
- 11 Perhaps the following item, no.77, belongs here also, but the reading is not certain.

§ 96

- 1 Cf. the survey of the similar state of affairs in Blau, ASP, 238/9, as well as idem, Emergence, 103, 131.
- 2 In this as in some of the following examples it is not possible in the absence of facsimiles to state whether the form is written as two separate words or as a compound. Even when facsimiles are available the question is frequently difficult to decide, cf. Blau ASP, 238, §132.2. This particular spelling appears apparently as a compound in Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions no. 108 (462 A.H.); for its putative occurrence in ZDMG 92, 123, 14 (241 A.H.) s. above § 95 n.3.

3 Nos. iii and iv may belong to §95b.

§97

- 1 Cf. the very similar situation prevailing in ASP, Blau, ASP, 239/40. Forms such as التنيرة inflected as in CA are not common: APEL III 175, 12 (112 A.H.); BAU 2,5 (143 A.H.).
- 2 Cf. Blau, Emergence, 124 n.5.
- 3 This form, pointed with tāḍ not thāḍ, occurs also in Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, no. 101 (712 A.H.).
- 4 In many cases it is impossible to decide whether this should be read as one word, i.e. التنيرة or as two, cf. above §96 n.2.
This is the dominant form in the papyri as well as in ASP - since it occurs in syntactic environments in which CA usage would have demanded the casus obliquus (§197a, ii) the form must be understood as representing it(h)naḥshar and not as in accordance with §85b (cf. Blau, ASP, 240).
- 5 I have not yet, however, noted this spelling in a context in which CA would have demanded casus rectus, cf. on this spelling Blau, ASP, 240 n.193.

§98

- 1 So Karabacek, WZKM xi, 9 n.

§99

- 1 Cf. Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, 330/1; Wright I, 256 REM. a; Brockelmann, GVG I, 267; Fleisch, Traité, 511 n.2. The short form presumably represents scriptio defectiva (§14b) rather than thaman (§194).
- 2 For the digit and the ten lacking tāḍ marbūṭa s. §195d.

§100

- 1 Wright I, 257, bottom gives only أمر, but both possibilities are recorded at II, 236. S. also Reckendorf, SV, 265 n.; idem, Syntax, 294/5 n.4; Fleisch, Traité 514.
- 2 The strict format of these texts requires one to understand وأمر not وأمر (with Reckendorf, Syntax, 96 where this example is quoted).
- 3 It seems very much less likely that the text should be understood as وأمر rather than وأمر, cf. the preceding note.

- 4 Cf. above, nn. 2,3.
- 5 For "eighty-one", however, I have no instance ready to hand.

§101

- 1 On the spelling of this word s. e.g. Wright I, 258, REM.a; Brockelmann, GVG I, 487; Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 153 (on which s. Brockelmann, op.cit., II, 277 n.); Grohmann, Paläographie II, 52a, where a survey is given of spellings occurring in early Arabic inscriptions; W. Diem, Orientalia 45 (1976), 258.
- 2 The word is explicitly pointed with ya in JESHO xiv, 12, 10 (156 A.H.) and I have pointed accordingly whenever examples of this word occur. Cf. §19 n.1.
- 3 The reading of this text may be checked from the plate in Grohmann, HO, Tafel IV.
- 4 Some of the following examples lacking final -n are to be understood as standing in status absolutus with § 85d. For ASP spellings of the numeral "two hundred" identical with some of those listed here s. Blau, ASP, 377/8.
- 5 S. also the references ibid., p.116 ad loc. and Grohmann, Einführung, 105.
- 6 Cf. Wright I, 258, REM. a.
- 7 With Karabacek, WZKM xi, 12.
- 8 S. also the references ibid., p. 233 ad loc. and Grohmann, Einführung, 105.
- 9 On the occurrence of this form in PSR iii s. above § 85 n.2.
- 10 Further references ibid., p.103 ad loc.

§102

- 1 This is the case in CA as well; s. e.g. Wright I, 259; Reckendorf, Syntax, 206; Fleisch, Traité, 515/6.
- 2 Cited by Grohmann, Einführung, 105. Naturally, this order also occurs elsewhere in the language, even alternating with the order of units, tens, hundreds within the same text; thus e.g. Ibn al-Tiqtaqā, Fakhrī, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860), 186 سنة مئة وست or T-S Misc. 8.66 where سنة مئتين وأربعين ومئة and سنة مائة وأربعين occur side by side.

§103

- 1 Cf. the JA examples in J. Blau, Tarbiz 23 (1951-2), 33.
- 2 Since this asyndetic arrangement is known also from some modern dialects, as Damascus, for which s. Grotzfeld, Syrisch-Arabische Grammatik, 69/70, it is likely to represent a living feature rather than plain carelessness to which some of the examples below, ii and iii are perhaps attributable. For the absence of connective wa in ordinal numerals s. Dozy's note apud Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, 697/8.
- 3 Note, however, الستين وستين "sixty-two" elsewhere in the document.
- 4 Occurring, however, beside a number of cases where the و appears as expected.
- 5 In ZDMG 92, 122, 8 (241 A.H.) read, perhaps ثمسة وعشرين.
- 6 Whether such cases belong to the living language is difficult to judge; they contradict, at any rate, the principle operative in many modern dialects that the final number in a series should be connected by wa to the number preceding, cf. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 161; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 91, bottom. The second example here belongs also above, i. S. also §195 n.13 and Zetterstéen, Beiträge, 24.
- 7 Cited by Grohmann, e.g. Einführung, 105; it seems improbable that a case such as APRL VII 14, 4 cited above §102 b should be included here, since واحد there probably represents واحد rather than واحد for the reason given at §100a.

§104

- 1 For it s. the references in Blau, ASP, 240/1 n.194; Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 161 n.; Nöldeke, Belegwörterbuch, 52b; Schen, JSS 18, 77.
- 2 This latter form is discussed above §121. REM. where other likely examples are given; it does not seem likely that the pointing of this word is due to the influence of الآخرين "the last of them" with which it is conjunction. A later example of the same pointing occurs in T-S Ar.7.38 (421 A.H.).

§105

- 1 On it s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 241 n.197; Brockelmann, GVG I, 473; Féghali, Syntaxe, 171/2; A. Levin, IOS v (1975), 271/2.

§106

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 241; Lane, Lexicon I/1, 19a; Reckendorf, Syntax, 223; Schen, JSS 18, 78 n.6.
- 2 For it s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 223.

§107

- 1 Such forms (in some cases better analyzed as < li with prosthetic alif) occur also outside the papyri, as in JA, Blau, JA, 118/9 and Karshuni, F. Salomon, ZA 22 (1909), 248. Since there is a certain tendency for الی and ل to coalesce (§128), is it possible that ال = الی could be seen as a "Zwischenstufe" in the fusion process of the two? However tempting such an assumption may appear, it must be doubted whether it is correct. This is suggested by a case such as APEL III 155, 16 (91 A.H.) where ال = ilayya and must therefore be read as الی ; for if ال = ilayya is to be read here as الی there is no reason why ال = ila may not be read as الی elsewhere. This being so, the problem is best regarded as a matter of orthography, not of language. Nevertheless, there is another explanation which is not entirely impossible, viz. that ال originally serving to mark il(a) (spelled الی in CA), was extended to mark ilayya as well (also spelled with the homograph الی in CA). In other words: CA ال could be spelled ال regardless of how the word in question was to be pronounced. Cf. §119 n.1.
- 2 I.e. forms similar to those in the paradigm in e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 479.
- 3 It must, however, be remarked that the identification of such forms is rendered extremely precarious by the fact that ال and الیل are often more or less indistinguishable in hasty, unpointed script; moreover, l.2 of the former document cited here plainly reads الیل in the same formula, a fact which greatly increases the probability of reading the word in l.9 the same way.
- 4 It is also of only marginal occurrence in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 251 n.40 (where the second example may be due to the impact of الی (أبنت الی) . For the inverse phenomenon s. below §128b.

§108

- 1 For it s. e.g. Wright II, 84; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 42 and Nachträge, 114 ad loc.; idem Belegwörterbuch, 55b; Brockelmann, GGA 161 (1899), 971; idem, GVG II, 324; Corriente, JSS 20, 50/1.
- 2 This would seem to be the most natural, if not the only way of interpreting the sentence, though it

might be admitted that ^لل, here may be (partly) due to parallelism with the preceding line where ^لل, is accusative, not as here. The editor renders: "und uns und euch das Paradies zum Lohn geben nach seiner Barmherzigkeit!", which conveys the sense but not the structure.

§109

- 1 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 242 n.3, and for the inverse phenomenon below, § 124a .
- 2 This very common locution appears everywhere else with ^لل, as APEL I 39, 28 (264 A.H.) et passim.

§110

- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 242 n.7.

§111

- 1 On this word s. the references in Blau, ASP, 254 n.2 and cf. ^لل Dozy, Supplément I, 61; Schen, JSS 18, 78.

§112

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 180; Brockelmann, GVG II, 409/10; Reckendorf, Syntax 223/4 n.3.

§113

- 1 Such a meaning for this combination seems to be restricted to the later forms of the language, cf. the examples in Dozy, Supplément II, 787. It occurs also in JA, T-S 12.594 (1144 A.D.), T-S 20.138; in Modern Standard Arabic, Wehr, Dictionary, 1052 as well as in modern dialects, as e.g. Iraqi, for which s. the Georgetown Dictionary, 488.

§114

- 1 S. e.g. Reckendorf, SV, 209.

§115

- 1 Cf. on this word Blau, ASP, 242/3 n.7. Elsewhere

in papyri ع ل (and ع ل) occur only in a clearly local sense and followed by prepositions (§ 167a).

§116

- 1 For CA s. e.g. Wright II, 342; Brockelmann, GVG II, 576; Reckendorf, Syntax, 76.

§117

- 1 This is the rendering adopted by the editor, and, indeed, seems to be the most natural way of understanding the sentence; however, the context is broken and the more usual connotation "because of" cannot be excluded. For fī/bi-sabab cf. Blau, ASP, 245.

§118

- 1 In earlier (Muslim) documents the preposition used for e.g. "to send s. th. with s.o" is generally mac, never, so far as I have noted, subbat-. Now, the text published by Dietrich is of Jewish origin, and since subbat- in this usage is extremely frequent in the contemporary JA correspondence of the Cairo Geniza, there may be some truth in the suggestion of Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 21 that the use of this preposition (at least at this period) may be characteristic of Jewish Arabic. It does, however, occur outside JA, s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/4, 1652; Spiro, Dictionary, 256; Wehr, Dictionary, 504. The text published in Islamica 4, 268/9 quoted here is Christian. The present documentation does not allow any firm conclusion, but could it be that the popularity of subbat- is governed by confessional affiliation?

§119

- 1 It is suggested there that this ع ل is to be read as ع ل wherever the occasion seems to require it, and that the whole question is a matter of orthography not grammar. While this conclusion must in general stand, it is possible that this first arose to mark cal (perhaps e.g. before the definite article or in some other specific environment, cf. § 55 n.6), but that its function was later extended to mark the same preposition, ع ل = calā, also in cases where the putative original conditioning factor no longer applied. A similar process in the case of ال = ال is suggested, with great reserve, at §107, n.1, end.

- 2 S. e.g. Wright II, 161; Brockelmann, GVG II, 366.
- 3 The functions of bi- and cala overlap to a certain extent also in CA, cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 392. For this particular case s. the note of Spitaler apud DAB, 168/9.
- 4 For which, in modern dialects, s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 207 n.2; Féghali, Syntaxe, 393, and in JA, Blau, JA, 117, top. For the interchange of these two prepositions s. e.g. Blau, op. cit., 115; Schen, JSS 18, 78. The construction of baCath "send" with calā (e.g. APEL V 292, 3) as well as with ilā (e.g. ibid, 319,4 - both 3rd cent. A.H.) need not illustrate the ousting of the latter preposition by the former as both combinations are well attested in CA also, s. the dictionaries.

§120

- 1 For the interchange of min and can cf. Wright II, 143, REM. b.

§121

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 189; Brockelmann, GVG II, 427; Reckendorf, Syntax, 222.
- 2 For it s. Wright II, 190, REM. b; Brockelmann, GVG II, 428; Reckendorf, Syntax, 223; Féghali, Syntaxe, 360 n. (where li = ilā, s. ibid. 358); Blau, JA, 181; Schen, JSS 18, 78.

§122

- 1 Cf. for modern dialects e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 95, §110; 253, §361; L. Bauer, Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch der Umgangssprache in Palästina und im Libanon (second ed., Wiesbaden, 1957), s.v. "Cin".
- 2 This does occur in CA, but I have the impression it is rather less common there than yi, s. an example in Reckendorf, Syntax, 203 and other cases in Goldziher, ZDMG 49 (1895), 215 ff. (should one rather point ghayra in accordance with the prepositional use of the word outlined by Reckendorf, op. cit., 243?) This usage is attested also

in JA as T-S 12.513, penult. or T-S 20.152, and also in modern dialects, where it seems to be characteristic of the Maghrib, as J. Lerchundi, Rudimentos del Árabe Vulgar que se habla en el Imperio de Marruecos (fourth ed., Tànger, 1908), 122; R.S. Harrell, A Basic Course in Moroccan Arabic (Georgetown, 1965), 222/3 (to the exclusion of يا ?).

- 3 The editor's "three carats" is a slip.
- 4 Alternating in this text with يا in ll. 2 (for which s. the correct reading on p.245), 21.
- 5 In CA من غير or بغير serve in this function, s. e.g. Wright II, 163, REM. c.

§123

- 1 For it s. e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 388; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 207, and for its penetration into Modern Standard Arabic, Wehr, Dictionary, s.v.

§124

- 1 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 246 n. 26; Schen, JSS 18, 77. Cf. for this word Dozy, Supplément II, 814. For the inverse phenomenon s. §109.
- 2 Punctual fī , on the other hand, occurs very frequently, as in this very text, l. 16: في شهر ربيع الأول "in the month of Rabi' I".

§125

- 1 For it s. e.g. Wright II, 180, REM. c.
- 2 For min Cind s. above §121. Cf. for CA, Reckendorf, Syntax, 222.
- 3 For the reading and dating s. Karabacek, MPER i, 105.
- 4 Cf. in CA e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 227 and fīmā bayn above §112. This expression appears also in JA as T-S 10 J 20.1 (second half of 11th cent. A.D.); for further cases s. §235.

§126

- 1 For this combination in modern dialects s. e.g. Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 640 (qadd) and in Modern Standard Arabic, Wehr, Dictionary, 745. A JA example occurs in T-S 16.339 (c. 1050 A.D.):
 ٢٢٦٦٢ ٢٢٦ ٢٢٦ "according to demand" quoted in Goitein, op. cit. above §3.14, p. 375.

§127

- 1 For it s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 247/8 n.29; Schen, JSS 18, 78.

§128

- 1 The latter, however, occurs at the beginning of a slightly damaged line, and it may be that the alif which might once have preceded ل has fallen away with some of the fibres; the resultant form ل would then have to be judged in accordance with §107a. But this does not seem to be likely.
- 2 For this phenomenon, of which that noted above, a, would seem to be the first stage, s. the references in Blau, ASP, 251 n. 39; Féghali Syntaxe, 358; Schen, JSS 18, '77, and for a possible case of ilā superseding li- s. above §107 b.
- 3 This is the division of the text adopted by the editor and seems to be the most likely; nevertheless, a division and reading الينا فاسنو with §50b is also possible.

§129

- 1 For it s. the references in Blau, ASP, 248 n.32.

§130

- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 252; Brockelmann, GVG II, 413/4. It will, however, be admitted that the dividing line is by no means always clear between what constitutes a "prägnante Verbindung" (Brockelmann) and what does not.
- 2 For ع in this local signification cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 414.

§131

- 1 On the various forms of this word s. e.g. Wright I, 280/1; Rabin, AWA, 187.

§132

- 1 S. a CA example in Nöldeke, Belegwörterbuch, 40 b; Lane, Lexicon s.v. gives only اول من امسى in this meaning and Wehr, Dictionary, only امسى الاول. However combinations similar to or identical with that quoted here occur quite freely in many modern dialects, s. e.g. Féghali, Syntaxe, 467/8; Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 14 and the Georgetown Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic, 16.

§133

- 1 For this feature in modern dialects s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, pp. 93, 208, 248 penult. اول مرة qualifying الشيء occurs in [β] "the first time 96 and the second [2]" Grohmann, Studi ... Calderini ... II, 507, 3 (3rd cent. A.H.) quoted below § 142b. For CA cf. some of the examples in Brockelmann, GVG II, 300; Reckendorf, Syntax, 80 (and also 211, § 118.2).

§134

- 1 For this form s. Blau, ASP, 363 n.25 where further literature is quoted; Schen, JSS 18, 79. A survey of similar formations in modern dialects is given by Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen, 149.

§135

- 1 Cf. e.g. Reckendorf, SV 178/9; idem, Syntax, 178; Brockelmann, GVG I, 469 and for modern dialects, Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 110, REM. d. 225.
- 2 I am reading the text from the plate of the ostracon published by Grohmann, Einführung, Pl. XV or idem, Paläographie I, Pl. XVII.
- 3 On this s. the literature referred to by Blau, ASP, 383 n.62 and s. below § 212. Another, much earlier, example not improbably occurs in Abbott, Kurrah I, 10 (90 A.H.), where there appears اول [2] "and collect the first (amount)". This seems somewhat forced, and introduces the verb جمع which does not, as I recall, occur elsewhere as a technical term in the tax-collection vocabulary. I believe the reading عام الاول fits the traces

well and produces a better sense: "Look into what remains outstanding on the account of your district - bishop of what 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Malik imposed upon him last year, and send it quickly ...". This interpretation might gain in probability when it is observed that this document dates from the first weeks of Qurra's governorship and that 'Abd Allah, his immediate predecessor, had left office only very shortly before. There is perhaps not room enough here to restore ^{الاول} ^{سنة} ^{الاول} for which s. an example, ^{سنة} ^{الاول} in T-S 18J4.18, alternating with ^{سنة} ^{الاول}.

The native philologists were not at all certain as to the relationship between the two components of this expression, s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/5, 2202 and cf. further Wright I, 260*; Bröckelmann, GVG I, 467; Reckendorf, Syntax, 196 n.; Féghali; Syntaxe, 468; Nöldeke, Belegwörterbuch, 52b. It is clearly the analogy of ^{سنة} ^{الاول} that engendered the expression (so!) ^{سنة} ^{الاول} "next year" quoted from Ibn Sa'd by Reckendorf, Syntax, 197 middle.

§136

- 1 Mentioned also by Grohmann, e.g. Einführung, 105, bott. and for the occurrence of tamalli in modern dialects s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 208; Féghali, Syntaxe, 471. This early instance should be borne in mind when considering the Turkish etymology of the word which has been proposed by several scholars as Spiro, Dictionary, 99; Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 93, E. Saussey, Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas (Section des Arabisants), I (1929), 126 (but tamalli is not included in the list of Turkish words in Egyptian Arabic given by Littmann, Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag ..., (Wiesbaden, 1954), 107 ff.). Different derivations are suggested by Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 235, top; A. Frayha, A Dictionary of non-Classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon (Beirut, 1947), 22.

PART III SYNTAX

§137

- 1 Cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 603 Anm.
- 2 References to this phenomenon are given by Blau, ASP, 516 nn. 18, 19; s. also Wright II, 25/6; Blau, IOS v, 289/90 and cf. below § 254 n.1, end.
- 3 Quoted by Reckendorf, Syntax, 11.
- 4 Reading and understanding the text with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 136.
- 5 The use of the perfect is an archaic survival not only in the papyri but also in CA, cf. J. Blau, Linguistics 15 (1965), 102/3.
- 6 Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7.
- 7 Or perhaps, rather, a pseudo-correction containing one CA feature (the use of the perfect) and one vernacular feature (the pre-verbal position of the subject), cf. Blau, ASP, 274 REM. B.

§138

- 1 Some modern dialects, notably those of Iraq, form an exception to the principle outlined here, cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 567; Blau, Emergence, 63.
- 2 For this feature in papyri s. already DAB, 231, Nachtrag to p.12; Khoury, 27 n.3; Blau, Emergence, 128, 130 and in general s. the references adduced by him, ASP, 259/60 n.1; further, Guest, Kindī, 54; Blau, Pseudo-Corrections, 68 ff.; idem, IOS v, 280/1; Schen, JSS 18, 79.
- 3 For the dual - ā for CA - ān (i) an example (late 3rd cent. A.H.) is given by Blau, Emergence, 130, but for the second pers. fem. sing. imperfect; where a similar phenomenon would be expected to occur, no examples are at present available.
- 4 To judge from the amount of space in the lacuna at the end of the second document, ibid., 464, 4 (also 133 A.H.) one may safely reconstruct ^{اني} اذنت له ينطق there as well. The similar text (passport) APEL, III 175, 5/6 (112 A.H.) has ^{اني اذنت له ان يعمل} "I have allowed him to work", but the asyndetic imperfect occurs again in 133 A.H. in the passport given in Wright, Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles, Pl. V, 5: ^{انا اذنا له يعمل بالفسطاط} "we have granted him permission to work in Fustat."

- The construction here is to be interpreted in accordance with Reckendorf, Syntax, 384, § 188.7; 388, § 189.6, i.e. as indicative rather than subjunctive, for it seems that the formulation of Wright, II, 26/7, according to which the subjunctive in such constructions remains after the omission of ان, is mistaken, or at best questionable. The distinction here is in any case little more than an academic exercise, as it may well be thought probable that this asyndeton (wherever it occurs) merely reflects a variety of Arabic, in which only one form of the prefix-conjugation had currency; in such circumstances to talk of indicative: subjunctive distinctions serves only to obscure the issue, cf. Blau, ASP, 264/5 n.7.
- 5 An independent jussive: "send message to the gardeners: let them spend the night ..." does not seem probable here; such a jussive in any case is rare, s. Blau, ASP, 271 n., end.
 - 6 This example is quoted by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums from a photograph numbered 13.361.
 - 7 For the pointing and translation of this word s. § 39 n.9. Perhaps, however, this example contains wāw al-ma'iyya and the subjunctive, cf. e.g. Wright II, 32/3; Reckendorf, Syntax, 462.
 - 8 In addition to the lack of mood distinctions this example also demonstrates the recession of the dual (§ 84 a,i) and 3rd pers. fem. plural (§ 83h).
 - 9 The reading الذين يقعدوا "who sit/dwell" ibid, 1.11 is not clear to me from Pl. 11.
 - 10 Nothing is to be deduced from a case such as جاؤ يسألوني "they came to ask me" DAB 26, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.) for the reason given in Blau, ASP, 264 n. 6; idem, Emergence, 130 n.2; Brockelmann, GVG I, 261 (haplology); for the possibility of involutio s. § 54.
 - 11 Cf. on this at length Blau, ASP, 260ff.; further idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 68; IOS v, 280/1; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191.
 - 12 S. the examples in Blau, Emergence, 130 and the list in Khoury, 27/8.
 - 13 The question of the indicative or subjunctive regimen of حتى in CA is bound up with much scholastic casuistry, e.g. Sibawaihi, Kitab I, 367ff., suitably summed up by Reckendorf, Syntax, 457n. and often open to dispute, cf. Wright II, 30, REM.b. Whether the present example is indeed a genuine hyper-correction may perhaps be doubted; it is, at any rate, somewhat unusual. This sentence is quoted by Reckendorf, op. cit., 477/8 along with four further and not very apposite examples of حتى followed by the indicative; of these, two can be interpreted as contracted subjunctives and the remaining two are conditioned by the rhyme.

- 14 Cf. the literature documenting this feature indicated by Blau, ASP, 270/1 n.17; further idem, LOSv, 280; Schen, JSS 18, 79; Corriente, Sketch, 147.
- 15 Quoted by Reckendorf, Syntax, 487 and Blau, Emergence, 129 n.l.
- 16 This is the dating of Grohmann, FWAP, 184, not that of the editor.
- 17 This verb is translated here as an imperative of form V; it may, however, be an imperfect of form I and the meaning possibly "and come back with information".
- 18 ^{تفصيل} here may be influenced by the preceding ^{تفصيل} which is dependent on ^{قل}, not co-ordinate with it, s. §269p.
- 19 For this s. the references in Blau, ASP, 272 n.19; further Schwarz, Umar, 126; Fück, Arabiya, 105; Schen, JSS 18, 79/80, 96; Blau, LOS vi, 165; Corriente, Sketch, 146.
- 20 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 273 and the literature cited there; further, Fück, Arabiya, 82 n.58 giving references to a CA example; Blau, LOSv, 280. According to Corriente, JSS 20, 53 such an imperfect in ^{يرحمك الله} "may God have mercy on you!" and similar phrases is used to denote that the recipient of the wish is still alive; this interpretation, however, is not always borne out by the evidence and does not tally very well with the circumstance that ^{الله}, etc. may also, but rarely, be used with reference to persons still living, s. Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 35 (where the reference to van Berchem should read: p.462), 59.
- 21 But APRIL VII 41, 3 (c. 2nd cent. A.H.) is not an example, read: ^{برحمته}.
- 22 The editor does not translate as optative: "God knows (it) and He suffices as Lord".
- 23 For an example of Subject + Perfect, which does not fit neatly into this scheme and is possibly therefore a pseudo-correction rather than a genuine intermediate stage, s. above §136 c,ii.

§139

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 275 ff. especially the literature referred to in n.1; Schen, JSS 18, 80; Corriente, *ibid.*, 20, 53. In Modern Standard Arabic, however, this natural concord is in marked retrogression, s. Blau, *IOS* vi, 170/1, and according to V. Cantarino, Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, I (Bloomington-London, 1974), 84n. has quite disappeared.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 276 n.4.

§140

- 1 This is also quite regular in CA, s. e.g. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 81/2 and Nachträge to this section, 152/3; Brockelmann, GVG II, 175/6; cf. also Blau, ASP, 278/9; Schen, JSS 18, 80.
- 2 For this word taking plural concord s. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, Nachtrag 4 to p.82 and Spitaler's note there.
- 3 The editor points فَجَرَهُ "nahmen ihn fest".

§141

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 281 and the references given there; *idem*, *IOS* v, 281; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 80. Cf. also below § 244.
- 2 But in this example the verb is very likely influenced by أدى of the preceding line, where it refers to a man, as well as by the format required by such lists of payment beginning with this expression, for in these texts the masculine is of course preponderant. This applies also to the following example.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 282 and the references given there.
- 4 Reckendorf, Syntax, 25, top.
- 5 S. e.g. Wright II, 289; Nöldeke Zur Grammatik, 80; Brockelmann, GVG II, 173 and the relevant sub-sections in Reckendorf, Syntax, 24 ff. The suggestion that the feminine in such cases is more frequent in CA is nothing more than a moderately well informed guess, and a statistical investigation could easily shown it to be mistaken.
- 6 On the other hand, أُدِّيَ هذه الدنانير *ibid.*, 1.9 is not an example; the verb is active and the dinars the object, s. § 77 n.2.

§142

- 1 This is a very widespread feature outside CA, for which s. the references in Blau, ASP, 282 n.26; further, Wright II, 229/30: Fück, Carabiya, 122, 175, A. Spitaler, BO × (1953), 149a, top; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 242/3; Féghali, Syntaxe, 146; Cantineau, Palmyre I, 234); Schen, JSS 18, 73; Blau, 106 iii, 199, etc. The development of this indeclinability of the nisba-adjectives, which originated in substantivized appositions to nouns denoting materials, measures etc. (so e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 204, Anm.) can be traced throughout the history of the language, from Nabataean onwards, where the earliest examples of this phenomenon occur, perhaps under the impact of Arabic. Some Nabatean examples: G.A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford, 1903), ⲁⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲛ "one thousand Hārithī drachmas" no. 80, 9 and similarly nos. 81, 8; 85, 9; 86, 7; 88, 6/7; 89, 8; 90, 8; J.T. Milik and J. Starcky apud F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (Toronto, 1970), 153, 7 and 8. If the suggestion is correct that this phenomenon in Nabataean is of Arabic origin, it should be added to the list of Arabic influences assembled by Cantineau, op. cit. above §8 n.1, 171/2 (on which cf. F. Rosenthal, Die Aramäische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen (Leiden, 1939), 90/1).
- 2 This work is not deciphered by the editor, but from its shape it must surely be a plural, whence it follows that the following nisba must be invariable.
- 3 But ⲁⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲛ here, as it does not occur among the epithets of riṭl in Grohmann, Einführung 149, probably refers, as the editor suggests, to ⲁⲓⲕ rather than to ⲁⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲛ, in which case the word would not exemplify invariable nisba. In the following example, however, the nisba plainly refers to ⲁⲓⲕ.
- 4 Cf. Féghali, Syntaxe, 138, 193 (tāni for tānye); Blau JA, 134 n. 25 (atī for ātiya). For another JA example s. ⲁⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲛ "the remaining garments" in the text published by S.D. Goitein, Tarbiz 34 (1964-5), 166, 18 (c. 1016 A.D.).
- 5 The recto, whose phraseology is almost identical, always gives ⲁⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲛ; it may well be that ⲁⲓⲕ of the verso is influenced by ⲁⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲛ with which it alternates, but which is noticeably absent from the recto.

§143

- 1 Exactly as in CA, s. e.g. Wright I, 187, REM.; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 20 (where exceptions to the principle are given); Brockelmann, GVG I, 416/7; Reckendorf, Syntax, 31, 60; Fleisch, Traité, 311, 337/8, and modern dialects, Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 245.
- 2 For these words of a mostly pejorative or admirative character s. e.g. Wright I, 139/40; Brockelmann, GVG I, 420/1; Fleisch, Traité, 326/7, 460 ff.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 282/3 and the literature given there in n.28; further e.g. Wright I, 186; Schen, JSS 18, 81.
- 4 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 283 and Wehr, Elativ, 573, n.1.
- 5 But at APEL V 292, 7 (3rd cent. A.H) read:
قليلة .
- 6 I cannot agree with the remark of Dietrich, *ibid.*, 188 that this occurs "wie häufig in den papyri"; invariability of facīl is, on the contrary, very rare.
- 7 S. on this the literature indicated by Blau, ASP, 283 n. 33; Brockelmann, GVG II, 96, Anm. cf. also Reckendorf, Syntax, 59 n.2.
- 8 It does not seem very likely that "dyed yellow" can only refer to "trousers", especially in view of the fact that all the items in this list are qualified in some way and such an interpretation would leave "shirt" without a closer definition. The idea plainly seems to be "a yellow suit", i.e. سراويل refers to only one pair of trousers, cf. §87e, REM. B.
- 9 As against مديين ثقات بياد *ibid.* 8/9 with the adjective in the plural with §84, a, i, end.
- 10 For women referring to themselves in the masculine (plural) s. above §83, n.42.
- 11 But this could well be a substantivized apposition, cf. Dozy, Supplément I, 406, s.v.
- 12 The syntactic contexts in which this takes place are best set out by Wehr, Elativ, 572; for the tendency to extend the application of the feminine fucla s. Blau, 109 iii, 212 and the references given there.
- 13 Though here the relative would have had to agree with رباط in CA, as the example belongs to the scheme of Wehr, Elativ, 572, sec. 5.

- 14 As against e.g. *عمامة حمراء* "a red turban" APEL VI 394r, B, 5 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- 15 But in l.36 of the same document the division of the text should, I think, be made differently with §75 b; 275c.

§144

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 238.
- 2 S. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 277, Anm.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 206, whose example, however, (quoted also by Brockelmann, loc. cit.) should be considered in the light of Blau OS iii 209 (but cf. A.F.L. Beeston, JSS 20 (1975), 65/6).
- 3 And also in modern dialects as Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 274; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 242; Féghali, Syntaxe, 190; Blau, BZ, 56; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 504.
- 4 A case such as *خمسين كبت من كباتك [و?] عليها طابعك* "fifty of your rams with your brand-mark upon them" Jahn 17, 18/19 (3rd cent. A.H.) probably belongs here, but *عليها* may refer rather to *كباتك*.
- 5 But the relative pronoun and verb probably reflect the gender of *رئيس* only.
- 6 This plural concord is merely an aspect of the phenomenon treated below §145b.
- 7 The text is also understood in this way by Dietrich, *ibid.*, 67.
- 8 It is to be supposed that feminine singular concord in such cases is also permissible in CA, though I do not at present find any explicit statement that this is so; cf. the Middle Arabic example in Schen, JSS 18, 72. Perhaps the case in Wright II, 298* should be regarded in the light of this paragraph.
- 9 *الذي* here belongs to § 289a.

§145

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 293, REM.; Blau, ASP, 285 n.45.
- 2 With Dietrich, Islam 24, 94 For awwal here and elsewhere in this section referring to a feminine noun s. §200.
- 3 As against *سنة اشهر اولها* EAU 4,7 (202 A.H.).
- 4 As against *الاشهر المذكورة* "the five aforementioned months" in l.6.

- 5 On this phenomenon of feminine singular agreement with inanimate plurals cf. A.F.L. Beeston, JSS 20 (1975), 65/6, where it is argued that such concord is a neologism in Arabic, and that in pre-Islamic poetry plural agreement is the norm. I have not myself observed that this is the case.
- 6 Cf. Blau, ASP, 285 ff. and the references in n.44; this feature is documented from papyri in DAB, 67 and examples from Spanish Arabic are given by Corriente, Sketch, 130. For some of the instances cited below apposition rather than attribution is a possibility to be considered; s. also above §144c.
- 7 But شئ with references to inanimate plurals occurs also in CA and is Quranic, s. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/4, 1502 a.
- 8 Epithets of coins not uncommonly behave in this way, s. e.g. APFL I, 71 and cf. a very similar example in Blau, JA, 133, §188.
- 9 Analogy with APFL V 322, 6/7 quoted below suggests that بنقى should perhaps be read as a verb, i.e. تنقى, in which case plural and feminine singular concord would alternate here as in the previous example.
- 10 Cf. Blau, ASP, 290/1.
- 11 I quote this unpublished text from Grohmann, Einführung, Pl. XV.
- 12 انه اذت قرا في ارضه بالذي عليهم من الجزية
 "that you have fined some of the villages in your district because of the taxes due from them" cannot be included here; this is without doubt a constructio ad sensum and the reference is to persons, either the inhabitants of the villages in question or the official(s) in each responsible for forwarding of the taxes.
- §146
- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 285.
- 2 But could one read أما instead? Cf., however, §272b REMARK for a possible different translation.
- §147
- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 288; Schen, JSS 18, 81; Corriente, Sketch, 147 (where, middle, some phrases containing عن in this function are quoted for a quite different purpose). Cf. below §225.

- 2 It does not seem reasonable to suppose that اللّٰه refers only to الذي / ما of the mā/alladhī... min construction.
- 3 Cf. on this §144 b.
- 4 This numeral has been omitted in printing the Arabic text.
- 5 Cf. the suppression of س by س, Wüstenfeld, Jacut, 61; Sachau, Alberuni's India xxxvi; Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 21 and cf. also Blau, ASP, 573/4.
- 6 The masculine here is probably a mere slip, possibly induced by the commoner كاتب "letter".

§149

- 1 On which s. H.J. Polotsky, Orientalia N.S. 31 (1962) 276 n.1 and the literature cited there. An example similar to those given below may perhaps also be seen in اللّٰه واياك "may God have mercy on us (= me?) and you" to which references are given by Fück, Arabiya, 82 n.58. For modern dialects cf. C. Correll, ZDMG 122 (1972), 57 where, sec. 41, appears ṭhanaṭ ḏana wiyyā, "I argued with him" followed by ṭhanaṭ na nḥna wiyyā in sec. 42, though in each case only two people are involved in the dispute.
- 2 Thus Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7.
- 3 As this belongs to a more or less fixed formula it may be unwise to insist that such instances exemplify the phenomenon outlined here. However, the fact that the writer continues in the first pers. singular might suggest that this is so. Alternatively, the plural could be seen in terms of a pl. reverentiae/majestatis or some such usage, for which cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 61, Anm.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 278; Megheli, Syntaxe, 129; Blau BZ, 7 and in general e.g. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen I, 98 ff. I. This does in fact occur in papyri, s. below, b.
- 4 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 276/7.
- 5 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 563 n.70.

§150

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 292 and the references given there.
- 2 This is the editor's reading and it is purely on the basis of this that the sentence appears here; I am certain, however, that the correct reading is علم.

§151

- 1 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 296 n.2.
- 2 On this انى s. §309b.
- 3 S. the literature given by Blau, ASP, 299 n.18.

§152

- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 301 n.25 and Addenda, 625. For this construction in Modern Standard Arabic s. Blau, IOS iii, 210 (on which cf. also ibid., vi, 178) and for its occurrence in the writings of Jāhiz idem, IOS v, 283 (this author uses the construction elsewhere also as in Kitāb al-Tarbi' wa-l-Tadwīr, ed. C. Pellat (Damas, 1955), 26, §39 end).

§153

- 1 S. e.g. Lane, Lexicon I/1, 10/11; Wright II, 95, Rem. a.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 302; idem, IOS v, 282.
- 3 This sentence is correctly translated by Reckendorf, Syntax, 338/9 as a co-ordination; both the original editor "und nicht soll es zurückgehalten werden" and Grohmann, FWAP, 126 "and there may be no holding back" take the second part as an independent negated optative.
- 4 Neither of these is a particularly telling example, since in both cases the negative لا continues لا امرؤن whereas the perfect following ولا continues not امرؤن but a perfect which need not indicate an event in the past but rather a state in the present (§137 b). Accordingly, it is preferable to treat these examples as cases of breviloquence i.e. لا امرؤن ما عجزت ولا --- قصرت along the lines of Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 90/1. To be explained similarly is فاني لست ممن يعتذر بالعلل ولا يعتذر بها "I am not one to believe in excuses or pardon them" Abbott, Kurrah IV, 29-31 (90 or 91 A.H.) (unless this has arisen through contamination of لست ممن يعتذر بالعلل ولا يعتذر بها with لست ممن يعتذر بالعلل ولا يعتذر بها).
لست ممن يعتذر بالعلل ولا يعتذر بها
- 5 Cf. the similar case in Reckendorf, Syntax, 338, sec. 6, beginning, to which one may add دينا بلا فقه ولا يكاتب "a religion without law or scripture" al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashraf V, ed. S. D. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936), 270.4.

6 Cf. e.g. Grohmann, MIFAO lxviii, 11.

7 Cf. the example in Brockelmann, GVG II, 497, middle; but here the ellipsis of the negative may be a peculiarity of constructions containing the verb khallā, cf. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 300, § 542. Ellipsis of the first of two negatives occurs quite commonly in colloquial Arabic, s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 112, 184; Willmore, op. cit., 298, § 534; Blau, BZ, 195 and cf. below § 324. This example may therefore contain a genuine feature, not merely a scribal lapse.

§ 154

- 1 Not much weight need be given to the occurrence of interrogative أليس (§ 62 b), instead of لا, a development reflecting the removal of لا from the domain of the interrogative into that of the negative (s. Blau, ASP, 139, n.35, 303), since أليس is quite widely attested in CA also, where interrogative لا is still fully alive. A fact, however, which indicates that negative لا had not yet spread as widely as one might have supposed is the still frequent occurrence of لا, which in later Arabic tended to disappear (§ 155).
- 2 S. e.g. Wright II, 20/21. Nevertheless, one cannot but suspect that the hospitality accorded in CA, to لا negating an imperfect referring to the present is but a device designed to admit a vernacular (and also Quranic) feature into the system. This was the thin end of the wedge; later لا ousted لا almost entirely, as is now the case in many modern dialects.
- 3 For which s. Blau, ASP, 303 n.10; Schen, JSS 18, 82.
- 4 S. Blau, JA, 144/5 and the references in n.28; Schen, JSS 18, 79; Corriente, Sketch, 144 n.236.
- 5 For the omission of a preceding negative cf. لا = "only" at § 324 and above § 153d.
- 6 S. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 298; Brockelmann, GVG II, 112, 184; Blau, BZ, 195.
- 7 As would seem to be suggested by the parallel passage from the ibn Sa'ad quoted by David-Weill, ibid., II, 90: ... قال ما من عملى

§ 155

- 1 S. respectively Brockelmann, GVG II, 153/4; Blau, ASP, 304; idem, JA 142 and Emergence, 106.
- 2 Pseudo-corrections centering around the use of لا

are quite common where this particle no longer belongs to living speech but represents only an intrusion from CA, s. e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 169/70 n.; Brockelmann, GVG II, 184 Ann.; Blau, Emergence, 106; Corriente, Sketch, 144/5.

- 3 For which cf. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt 301; Brockelmann, GVG II, 154 top; Feghali, Syntaxe, 78/9; Blau, Emergence, 106; idem, ASP, 304/5 n. 18.

{156

- 1 For this phenomenon s. the extensive references in Blau, ASP, 305 n. 19; idem, 105 v, 282/3.
- 2 This example is recorded already by Reckendorf, Syntax, 300; Blau, Emergence, 132.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 306 ff.
- 4 While a case such as this may exemplify invariable lays(a), this is not necessarily so, cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 24, sec. 5 and the similar Quranic example cited by Brockelmann, GVG II, 112.
- 5 Some examples of inflected forms: فاني لست
 "I am not" Abbott, Kurrah IV, 29 (90 or 91 A.H.);
 لست امل "I do not ask" APEL V 288, 9 (c.236
 A.H.); ولنا نؤمن "and we are not sure" DAB 13,
 11 (3rd cent. A.H.)
- 6 The editor gives لست, but from an inspection of Taf. XV I tend to prefer ليست.
- 7 Literature on this is given by Blau, ASP, 305 n.20 and cf. idem, 105 v, 286.
- 8 It is the perfect not ليسوا that is negated by ليس here (cf. Blau, ASP, 305, n.20, beginning, for the interpretation of ليس in such a position). This example is cited by Grohmann, e.g. HO, 99.
- 9 This is against CA, s. Blau, ASP, 310 n.35. In some cases it is admittedly a moot point whether the future is in fact intended rather than a vague present.
- 10 The editor regards U here as = "because", but this interpretation leaves يئانجى without an object (s. § 230a), in addition to its intrinsic improbability.

§157

- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 312 n.40; Schen, JSS 18, 83.

§158

- 1 S. Blau, ASP, 312 n.42; Schen, JSS 18, 83; Blau, IOS v, 283.

§159

- 1 This is a widespread phenomenon in many Semitic and non-Semitic languages; for Semitic s. e.g. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar ..., trans. A.E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910), 478/9; C.F.A. Dillmann, Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae (Lipsiae, 1865), 815 and for its occurrence as a Semitism in the New Testament s. F. Blass and A. Debrunner A Greek Grammar of the New Testament ..., trans. R.W. Funk (Chicago-London, 1961), 159, § 302. A general survey is given by Wackernagel, Vorlesungen II, 273 ff. For a probable case of kull with this meaning in a positive sentence, s. § 223.
- 2 Examples of this are collected by Spitaler apud Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 141 a.
- 3 S. Dozy Supplément II, 480 s.v.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 154/5; Ullmann et al., Wörterbuch 294a and for modern dialects W.M. Erwin, A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic (Georgetown, 1963), 296/7.

§160

- 1 On it s. e.g. the literature in Blau, ASP, 313 n.46

§161

- 1 That this state of affairs must already have obtained fairly generally in the first Islamic century has been observed by Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 10. Since that time a large literature has developed on the subject of how, why and when this came to be. The following is but a selection of references to works dealing with this topic: Vollers, Volkssprache, 165 ff.; Fleisch, Traité, 281/2; idem, Études d'Arabe Dialectal (Beyrouth, 1974), 22 ff.; Blau, Emergence, 168/9; idem, ASP 45; Pseudo-Corrections, 56/7; Dawud 'Abdo, Abhāth fī al-Luġha al-ʿArabīyya (Beirut, 1973), 97 ff.; A.A. Ambros, WZKM 63/4 (1972), 105 ff. and the exchange between Corriente

and Blau in JQR NS lxxi (1971-2), 20 ff.; *ibid.*, lxxiii (1972-3), 29 ff.; lxxiv (1973-4) 154ff. Further bibliography will be found by referring to these sources.

- 2 S. above § 2a, 60 and for more details Blau, ASP, 317/8.

§ 162

- 1 Cf. the remark of Becker ad loc. "die griechische Form beweist, dass Abū im Genitiv flektiert wurde, nicht nur in der Schrift, sondern auch noch in der Sprache".
- 2 Also in De Sacy, Journal des Savans 1825, 463, 4 and 464, 4 (both 133 A.H.) read أبي for أبو as in his later publication of the same texts in Mémoires de L'Institut Royal de France ..., 68 and 70.
- 3 This is a very well attested phenomenon, s. the references (including references to literature dealing with papyri) in Blau, ASP, 319 n.5, further Wright I, 244*; J. Sperber, Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stämme Arabiens, Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen ... Berlin, xix/2 (1916), 47/8; Littner, Brief Christi, 191; Vollers, Volkssprache, 166/7; Guest, Kindī, 54; Moritz, Sinaikloster, 13; Grohmann, Islam 22, 43; *idem*, e.g. Einführung, 104/5; Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 21, 29, 38; Mück, Carabiya, 63 top, 67, 92 n.26; Schen, JSS 18, 83 and for Modern Standard Arabic, Blau, IOS iii, 196.

An exception to the general prevalence of invariable abū may be represented by cases in which abā occurs in the vocative as وقر وجهت إليك أبا صالح "I have sent to you, O Abu Sālih" BAU 15r, 6 (early 9th cent. A.D., L. Abel apud Erman and Krebs, Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen, 288) or يا أبا علي "O Abū 'Alī!" Mélanges Islamologiques ii, 92, 10 (3rd cent. A.H.). Such instances perhaps belong to a fixed locution, a supposition supported by the occurrence in the latter text, l. 8, of عند أبو علي "with Abū 'Alī" (quoted by Blau ASP, 319 n.5) contrary to CA usage. Were it not for this example of invariable abū, one would have been inclined to attribute the use of abā in the vocative in the same document to the influence of CA (s. e.g. Wright II, 86). Since, however, the writer's knowledge of CA was deficient enough to let him write يا أبا علي, the accusative in يا أبا علي is possibly better seen as a "feste Redewendung" than as evidence of mastery of CA grammar. Against this however, cf. the alternation mentioned below, a, i, end, of forms in accordance with and against CA.

In most of the examples adduced in what follows, it is Abū of the ḥunya that has become invariable, cf. e.g. Wright, loc. cit.

- 4 Cf. Blau, ASF, 319.
- 5 But the non-CA أبو in 1.3, cited below, ii, was allowed to stand.
- 6 But the alternation of CA and vernacular usage in 1.9 was allowed to stand: وقد دفعت كتاب أبو نصر إلى أبي العباس "I have handed Abū Naṣr's letter over to Abū al-^cAbbās."
- 7 Noted already by Blau, Emergence, 128.
- 8 Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7.
- 9 But كنيسة أبي قزمان "the church of A.Q." in 1.7; cf. above n.5.
- 10 Although this document also contains examples of abū for CA abī, e.g. 1.21 and below, b,i, the address (1.45) has abī in accordance with CA. Is this because an address, which would be read not only by the addressee, was considered to require a more formal register, i.e. CA? The document also contains an example of invariable akhū- s. below §163 a,i.
- 11 أبونا in this technical sense is surely already fossilized, cf. E. Littmann, Festgabe für Theodor Nöldeke zum achtzigsten Geburtstage (Göttingen, 1916), 105 (= Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1916, 105).
- 12 But ولد أبونق "your father's son" is rather strange and is eliminated in the reading offered by Dietrich, Islam 31, 86 (ad FWAP, 167).
- 13 Cf. Blau, ASF, 319/20; Pseudo-Corrections, 85/6 and, in a more modern context, Féghali, Syntaxe, 140n.
- 14 While pseudo-correction is perhaps the most likely explanation of the occurrence of abī in all cases, it is worth mentioning that such usage has also been identified in some strata of (Maghrebi) JA by S.D. Goitein, Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders (Princeton, 1973), 79 n.37; 310 n.21. The same state of affairs is said to have prevailed in at least some varieties of pre-Islamic Arabic by Rabin, EI, I (second ed.), 562 a. This question requires further investigation.

- 15 The genitive here has perhaps been prompted by recollection of the four occurrences of abī in accordance with CA in the preceding line, cf. Dietrich's note ad loc.
- 16 Referred to by Blau, Emergence, 128.
- 17 As well as Blau, ASP, 320 cf. Schen, JSS 18,83.
- 18 Perhaps induced by the commoner expression (و)على (أبي) نزلان السلام.
- 19 Cf. Moritz, Sinai Kloster, 13. The use of invariable abā may also have a basis in living speech; to the references adduced by Blau, ASP, 320 n.8 add Corriente, JSS 20, 52, 57/8.
- 20 In addition to Blau, ASP, 320 cf. Fuck, Arabiya, 55.
- 21 Cited by Grohmann, Einführung, 105.
- 22 This is a Coptic name and ^{ⲁⲓ} therefore probably represents Coptic apa (< ⲁⲡⲁ, ⲕⲁⲓⲕ); since, however, this word is often represented by the Arabic ^{أبي} (s. W.E. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, Oxford, 1939, 13a) the example may belong here.

§163

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 320.
- 2 For invariable abū- in this text s. §162, n.10.
- 3 Although akhū- here remains invariable, note the alternation of CA abī and non-CA abū, in the very same line (cf. above §162 a, i, end).
- 4 The distribution of the copula in this example makes it fairly clear that this is the correct translation (s. §84 a, i) rather than "... and the sons of CAṭīq (and the sons of) CAbd al-Rahmān and his brother". In the latter interpretation ^{ⲁⲡⲁ} would belong above, i.
- 5 For this cf. Blau, ASP, 321; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 85.

§164

- 1 The distribution of this word, confined to a small number of set expressions, notably contain month-names, and its manner of employment confirm the surmise of Blau, ASP, 321; Pseudo-Corrections, 86, that it had disappeared from living speech.
- 2 Cf. 1.12 of the Greek: Δουλακ(κ) δ(κ) suggesting that this month name was in fact fully declined. Cf. also above §162 n. 1.
- 3 Had dhū genuinely belonged to living speech (s. above n. 1) one would certainly have expected this invariable form to occur more frequently than in these two cases, which are the only examples I can quote. Both instances undoubtedly reflect the tendency for proper names to remain unchanged (s. e.g. Wright I, 244*; Blau, 105 iii, 196/7).
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 321/2; Pseudo-Corrections, 86.
- 5 For nomina propria tending to indeclinability s. above n. 3.
- 6 Cited by Grohmann, Einführung, 105.

§165

- 1 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 323 n.19, and, for papyri, idem, Scripta, 221/2; Emergence, 127/8; Grohmann, Einführung, 104.

§166

- 1 As in ASP, however, the status of adverbs seems to be rather different from other cases in which tanwīn alif is maintained, s. Blau, ASP, 323/4, 327 and below §§ 167, n.2; 168. The same applies to JA, s. e.g. Blau, Emergence, 170/1.
- 2 Further occurrences are listed by Grohmann, APEL II, 47.
- 3 Elsewhere in this text tanwīn alif is uniformly neglected; it is here preserved in adverbial function. On this word s. Blau, ASP, 318, 323 n.20.
- 4 For و, s. the references in Blau, ASP, 324 n. ; Harīrī, Durra, 126/7. For the possibility of this word being spelled و s. §47b, REM.
- 5 This category cannot be neatly separated from the preceding, and even under the heading "adverbial accusatives" several quite distinct phenomena are subsumed; there seems little point in subdividing the examples presented according to the manner of "adverbial accusative" involved. This

applies also to the cases adduced below §167 b.

§167

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 323 ff.; Schen, JSS 18, 83/4, 85 and the literature above §165 n.1. Some of the examples from the last three sources given in §165 n.1 are repeated below.
- 2 Tanwin alif is maintained more often in adverbs than in other functions, and adverbs for this reason occupy a rather special position in the case-system. This is true of other branches of Middle Arabic also, s. above §166 n.1.
- 3 For this word remaining invariable s. §143 c. Another example may be contained in DAB 37, 5 (probably 205-6 A.H.) قَدَرِدَع كَثِير if that passage is understood as "he has desired greatly"; the editor, however, interprets the word as a n. pr. hom. translating "Katir ist begierig".
- 4 Unless, of course, فَيْدِل is taken as a direct object "favour"; but this seems unlikely.
- 5 The MS. in fact reads خَارِج for خَرَج.
- 6 Both these cases are noted by Blau, Emergence, 128.
- 7 For modern dialects s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 209.
- 8 Several quite distinct phenomena have been lumped together under this heading, cf. above §166, n.5. S. also §§85 c, ii; 177.
- 9 On the dating, s. above §90 n.4. I am not at all inclined to believe that this example should represent sharīkan maḥu > sharīkammaḥu, i.e. -n m- > -mm- with e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 173. Nor will such a process be held to apply in any other cases given in this paragraph in which theoretically it may be possible.
- 10 For the reading of the verb here s. §84 n.5.
- 11 As opposed to عَرَفْنَا عَرَفْنَا §249. For JA cf. عَرَفْنَا عَرَفْنَا T-S 28.6 (1074 A.D.).
- 12 All the sums mentioned here are objects dependent on the restoration فَاعَلُوا; that this reconstruction of the text is correct is made clear not only by the imperatives of the accompanying Greek but also by comparison with the contemporary PAF IX etc.
- 13 As against دِينَا ... فَاعَلُوا PAF I 5/6 written by the same scribe in the same year.
- 14 Reflecting also the tendency for nomina propria to remain invariable, for which s. §164 n.3.
- 15 Translating with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 133.

- 16 Cf., in addition to Blau, ASP, 326; Rabin, AWA, 173/4 with further literature.
- 17 The word left unpointed here by Grohmann and, earlier, by Becker, NPAF IV, 9/10 is evidently باعث (so Littmann, ZDMG 94, 299).
- 18 Cf. Rabin, AWA, 173.
- 19 This phenomenon is fairly common in inscriptions in formulae involving the phrase وان محمد "and that Muhammad ..." as in Littman, Arabic Inscriptions, 23, 7 (date ?).
- 20 Some apparent examples of this feature are not to be admitted as such, thus at NPAF XV, 4 (91 A.H.) read: ثلثين دينارا as in the re-edition APEL III 162, 5. Commonly quoted as an early instance of lack of tanwīn alif is PSR iii VIII, 3 (90 A.H.): خمسين رطل حديد rendered there as "fünfzig ritl, neue, ...". In the full edition, however, PAF IX, 3 the context and reading are made quite clear by the accompanying Greek text: خمسين رطل حديد حزين "fifty pounds of raw iron", i.e. a status constructus reflecting ritla hadīdin rather than ritlan, cf. below REM. This example may therefore be deleted from PSR iii, 30 and the derivative sources Reckendorf, Syntax, 206 n.1; Fück, Arabiya, 93. Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 21 n. 85; (Grohmann, Einführung 105); Blau, Scripta, 221; idem, Emergence, 127. The instance from the following line, however, quoted in this section, cannot be explained away in this manner with such ease, s. the following note. For some early examples in CA s. Reckendorf, loc. cit.
- 21 Cited already by Fück, Arabiya, 93 n.31 (where read: 3, 4 for 34); Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 21 n.85; (Grohmann, Einführung, 105 is not explicit as to whether it is this passage he intends or that mentioned in the preceding note); Blau, Scripta, 221; idem, Emergence, 127. It seems perhaps less likely that this example should be judged according to §176, thus removing the need to regard رطل as = رطلا.
- 22 For the ligature النو s. §52g. This text contains further cases of the absence of tanwīn alif after numerals, e.g. 1.17.
- 23 The rules governing the case of the exception of illā in CA are rather elaborate, and, to a certain degree, fluid, s.e.g. Wright II, 330 ff.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 503; Rabin, AWA, 176/T, 181/2; cf. also Fück, Arabiya, 63 top. But in the following examples the accusative would nevertheless be expected. For tanwīn occurring after الا s. §170 g.
- 24 For this dating s. §90 n.4.

§168

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 327 and the literature cited there in n.27. This is but one aspect of the tendency widespread in many languages, Semitic and non-Semitic, for adverbial expressions to become congealed, cf. e.g. H. Blanc, IOS iv (1974), 217 (legāyet bellāl "until evening"); H. Bauer and P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache ... (Halle, 1922), 528; P. Jouon, Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique (Rome, 1923), 224/5 (both on the Hebrew hē locale); Wackernagel, Vorlesungen II, 225 ff.
- 2 Fossilized لح is also known from elsewhere in Middle Arabic as well as in modern dialects, s. Blau, Emergence, 171, 203; Schen, JSS 18, 84; Corriente, Sketch, 86; Barthélemy, Dictionnaire, 571.

§169

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 327/8 and the literature indicated there in the notes.
- 2 In addition to Blau, ASP, 327 n.32 cf. also Nöldeke, Beiträge, 7; Bittner, Brief Christi, 190; Brockelmann, GVG I, 473 and for Modern Standard Arabic, Blau, IOS vi, 163.
- 3 Cited by Blau, Emergence, 130 (for a different purpose), 203; but one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that لح be an example of the kind recorded idem, ASP, 336 (subject of passive verbs provided with tanwīn alif for which cf. also Brockelmann, GVG II, 126; H. Fleisch, Mélanges Massignon II (Damas, 1957), 161 ff.; Schen, JSS 18, 84; Blau, IOS iii, 196). An interpretation according to §170 d could also be considered.
- 4 But tanwīn alif may be present here according to §170 f.
- 5 This hardly belongs to §170 h.
- 6 Unless the accusative is to be judged according to §170 d.
- 7 This example is noted by Grohmann, Islam 34, 206. It may belong to §170 b, d also.

§170

- 1 The nature of this pseudo-correct tanwīn contrary to CA is neatly characterized by Bauer and Leander, op. cit. above §168 n.1, 528 n. "Auch im späteren Arabisch wird die Akk.-Endung von Ungebildeten nicht selten als Zierrat

- verwendet". Cf. Blau, ASP, 329 ff.; Scripta, 222/3 and in particular Emergence, Appendix iii where the whole phenomenon is analysed in detail and many of the present examples already quoted (pp. 203/4). Some instances can be ascribed to more than one category.
- 2 Cf. Blau, Emergence, 180 ff., 196 ff., 203 ff.; ASP 329/30.
 - 3 But هنا may be due to the desire to achieve a rhythmical or rhyming effect.
 - 4 The editor appears to regard this expression otherwise: "So (bilde Dir) diesbezüglich Deine feste Meinung". Cf. also ibid. ll, 8/9 (probably 304 A.H.): موقفا ... فرائل and similarly 40, 17/18 (3rd cent. A.H.). The syntax of these formulae is not yet fully clear, on them cf. DAB, 20 n. to 1.17.
 - 5 This may belong also below, d.
 - 6 Cf. Blau, Emergence, 182/3, 204, 206; ASP, 330 ff. For CA s. the references in idem, Emergence 182 n.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 124 n.; Wright II, 83, REM. h; Mück, Arabiya, 80 n.45. This case is but a sub-category of that treated above, a.
 - 7 This again is but an aspect of the wider phenomenon of tanwīn alif occurring with the nominal predicate; for it cf. Blau, Emergence, 183, 204, 206/7; ASP, 332/3; Schen, JSS 18,84.
 - 8 Khoury 142 n.7 is not correct in regarding يَقَان in وانتم يقان "while you were awake" as = يَقَان; this word is the plural of يَقَان vocalized here يَقَان in accordance with Wright I, 222 REM. One will not, therefore, be tempted to seek here a further example of tanwīn alif in circumstantial clauses against CA; in any case the plural يَقَان does not seem to be in use.
 - 9 As also in ASP, Blau, Emergence, 207 ff.; ASP, 329. With this is confirmed the opinion of Blau, Emergence, 203, 207; Pseudo-Corrections, 86 concerning the absence of this feature in Muslim Middle Arabic.
 - 10 On this particular type of tanwīn s. Blau, Emergence, 173 ff.; 193 ff. Cf. also Bittner, Brief Christi, 191 top, where this phenomenon seems to be intended; Guest, Kindī, 54.
 - 11 Cf. the tanwīn occurring in existential sentences in Blau, Emergence, 183/4, 199, 207; ASP, 333/4. What must plainly be the present example is cited wrongly idem, Emergence, 204.

- 12 Cf. Blau, Scripta, 222/3; Emergence, 184/5, 204 (where all the present cases are cited), 207; ASP, 334/5 and, for Modern Standard Arabic, idem, 10S vi, 163. Cf. also below, g.
- 13 This case could also perhaps belong above, d or below, j. It should be mentioned that Wellhausen, GGA 169, 168 denies that تنينا is a noun with tanwin, preferring to regard it as a negated modus energicus spelled according to Wright I, 61, REM. c. This example is quoted also by Reckendorf, Syntax, 343.
- 14 The alif of تنينا is bracketed for deletion in the edition by Grohmann in APEL III 146, 22; cf. also Einführung, 105. This case could also be considered in the light of section j below.
- 15 Alternating with اذا لم تكن ام دونها "if there is no other mother besides her" in the same sentence.
- 16 As against §167 i; cf. Blau, Emergence, 185/6, 209; ASP, 337.
- 17 This could also be considered as belonging above, f. It is very noticeable that it is also نينا that appears in all the examples in Blau, ASP, 337; is tanwin alif here lexicalized as above §169?
- 18 Cf. Blau, Emergence, 185, 209/10; ASP, 337/8, 340; Schen, JSS 18, 84.
- 19 I am not at all inclined to include here the first example cited at §169 b.
- 20 Cf. Blau, ASP, 340 ff.
- 21 This example bears a marked resemblance to those in Blau, ASP, 341, §226.4.
- 22 This has nothing to do with the Central Asian kul yûmin in Blau, Emergence, 200 or the N-Arabian Bedouin kil lêletin, ibid., 190.
- 23 Cf. Blau, Emergence, 209; ASP, 339.
- 24 This bears a curious resemblance to نينا cited from an inscription dated 183 A.H. by Blau, Emergence, 204.

{171

- 1 For it s. the references in Blau, ASP, 337 n.73; Schen, JSS, 84.
- 2 Read and translate so with Kister, BSOAS, xxxvii, 547.

- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 343.
- 4 In this document, a list of payments, the amount paid sometimes stands pseudo-correctly in the accusative with tanwīn alif, freely alternating with cases devoid of tanwīn alif: ^{درجے سے قلندر ہون} "Darrāj from Qalandiyūn: one dinār" 1.8 as against ^{ذکر سے من صدر دینر} "Zikrī from Hūr: one dinār" 1.13. It seems very unlikely to assume in such instances the influence of an unexpressed verb of payment; this, in any case, would not be able to account for the appearance of tanwīn alif with the nomen rectum of a status constructus, the main point at issue here. Cf. §85 n.3.
- 5 This may, however, be merely a device to make the accusative more explicit, not to mark tanwīn.

§172

- 1 For details s. Blau, Emergence, 174 ff. This word also appears as ^{فك} on very rare occasions: ^{فك كعك} "fine festivals" TS 8J 22.25 (1052 A.D.), a phrase completely misunderstood by J. Braslavsky (correct so!), Studies in Our Country, its Past and Remains (Tel-Aviv, 1954), 120/1.
- 2 That ^{ان} should mean "if" here is intrinsically improbable and excluded by the parallel ^{لم يقضى دينا كان عليها} in the following line.
- 3 APEL II 97, 9 (356 A.H.) reads: ^{ورسنا له سكنى} "and we have allotted him lodgings in one of the houses belonging to the mosque". I am not inclined to see here an intermediate stage in the development into a separate word of tanwīn before the attribute to an indefinite noun, i.e. spelled with nūn but still attached to its substantive, s. §45 b. This might have been a possible point of view had ^{سكنى} not occurred in a context demanding CA accusative.
- 4 This interpretation is confirmed by the occurrence in the same text 250, 12/13 of ^{سكنى ان بيوت} (below, c) and cf. ^{سكنى سكنى} 251, 2.
- 5 Note that in neither of these two cases does the attribute begin with a sun-letter.
- 6 For other strata of Arabic to which the phenomenon occurs s. Blau, Emergence, 193n., 196 n.; Corriente, Sketch, 121/2. The examples adduced in the following will be discussed in the forth-

coming article of J. Blau mentioned §1 n.4.
 I have also noted this feature in T. S. Ar.
 42.168 (second half of 11th cent. A.D.), a
 letter in Arabic script, but written by one
 Jew to another (Nahoray b. Nissim) and there-
 fore to be considered as JA: خبر ان طيب (!)
 "good news"; خبر ان اسر به "news at which I can
 rejoice"; بحاجة ان تكون له "any need he may have".

- 7 S. Blau, Emergence, 224a, index, s.v. Tanwīn,
 ayy shay tan kân, especially 196 n.; Further
 Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 150; Willmore, Spoken
Arabic of Egypt, 112, 275. It is perhaps this
 phenomenon that lies behind ḥayyu mataran in
 Fück, Arabiya, 59.
- 8 There is little doubt that this is a genuine
 example, even though by understanding ان <
tanwīn the text seems to make little sense.
 The editor(s) translate(s) this ان as
 "if": "... of any metallic body. If they
 come together the change will ensue".
 A fresh examination of the original is necessary.
- 9 This ان is taken by the editor as = "if".

§173

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 343/4; 511 ff. with further
 literature; Schen, JSS 18, 84. S. also below
 § 279.
- 2 I do not think it possible to find negative ان
 in this sentence as if ان could be a reversal
 of CA ان for which, s. e.g. Reckendorf,
Syntax, 49.
- 3 This example is not fully certain and may be
 interpreted in different ways. For the purpose
 of the present paragraph I am assuming,
 although ان is followed by a noun here, that
يوم is not in fact the ism inna but merely
 adverbial "on the day on which he wrote",
 with ان introducing the whole sentence and
فيه meaning "concerning it". It is, however,
 possible to regard this يوم as the ism inna,
 in which case يوم would be an extraposition
 in the subordinate clause and فيه its pronominal
 reference: "(as for) the day on which he wrote
 to me, on that day (فيه)...". It is also possible
 that this فه could be interpreted according to
 Reckendorf, Syntax, 390 n.1, but this is incidental
 to the point at issue here (s. §274 REM.).

§174

- 1 S. e.g. Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, 569/70; Wright II, 111/2.
- 2 S. on this Blau, ASP, 344/5 n.100 and the references there. Wright II, 112 explicitly states this phenomenon to be a feature of "later Arabic".
- 3 Cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 338/9.
- 4 S. on this passage Karabacek, WZKM xi, 9/10; I prefer, however, to take كرى as a verb (with § 70 and cf. Dozy, Supplément II, 461b) assuming the absence of a referential suffix in the relative clause (§297a,i). Karabacek renders: "welches ein Mjethobject (Gemiethetes) ... ist", i.e. understanding كرى in accordance with §21 b. For و به and ناهية in this function, s. Wright II, 112.
- 5 Against these examples cf. the use of the preposition in في غربي المدينة "to the west of the city" Byzantion xvii, 212 (241 A.H.): (read so!) في شرقي مدينة الاشمونين "to the east of the city of al-Ushmunayn" APRL VIII 16, 2 and في الشرقي من المنزل "to the east of the house" ibid., IX 2, 9 (both c. 3rd cent. A.H.)
It is noticeable that in all three cases here the nisba adjective denoting the direction remains unchanged despite the fact that it refers to a feminine noun; this is exactly as in modern dialects. Comparison with an example cited by Brockelmann, GVG II, 266 §185a in which such a nisba agrees in gender with its noun suggests therefore that these instances should be referred to §142 a.

§175

- 1 S. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 168/9.
- 2 But not, apparently, when preceding a pronominal suffix in the dual, s. §84 f.
- 3 On the correct reading of عاملي in these examples s. §55 (vi); for مدينتي rather than مدينتين s. §85 n.14.

§176

- 1 For which s. the literature indicated by Blau, ASP, 345 n.2; further, Reckendorf, Syntax, 345 n.2; Pück, Carabiva, 175; Blau, IOS v, 283/4; Corriente, Sketch, 126 and, for Modern Standard Arabic, Blau, IOS iii, 183/4 with additional

literature, including references to modern dialects.

- 2 For another possible contemporary example s. §167 n. 21.
- 3 The form ثُلث here, however, need not be that of a status constructus, s. §85d. especially nn. 31, 33. A very similar case occurs in ثُلث وثلث درجہ "two thirds and a fifth of a degree" Caussin, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi ... 12 (1831), 266, 1 in a MS. attributed to the 14th cent. A.D. by Le Baron de Slane, Bibliothèque National, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes (Paris, 1883-95), no. 2489.
- 4 In cases of this type it is often hard to decide whether one is dealing with a status constructus or an accusative (tamyiz) construction, cf. §§85 nn. 20, 21; 177. In a language without a case-system, however, (§161) this distinction is of much less real significance than is the case in CA; nevertheless, status constructus is perhaps the less likely alternative.
- 5 This is the date given by Abel apud Erman and Krebs, Aus den Papyrus, 289 (1019 A.D.); the text in BAU gives 418 A.H.
- 6 Another possible example is mentioned at §82, n.24.

§177

- 1 Cf. e.g. Wright II, 222 ff; Brockelmann, GVG II, 231; Reckendorf, Syntax, 136/7.
- 2 Cf. §§85 n. 20; 176 n. 4. For similar constructions in JA cf. e.g. ثُلث وثلث درجہ "one pound and a third of silk" T-S 20.69v, 26 (1048 A.D.).
- 3 But the form وثلث need not be that of a status constructus, s. §85 d.

§178

- 1 "falls nicht der Gen. selbst wiederholt wird." Reckendorf, SV, 495. Cf. §220. The circumstances of this procedure are not usually made plain in the grammars. If the nomen rectum is grammatically definite, the second nomen regens will generally be added with the necessary referential suffix i.e. سيف الملك "the king's sword and spear", but repetition

of the nomen rectum is also possible, although statistically very uncommon i.e. سيف الملك ورمح الملك; but if the nomen rectum is grammatically indefinite and requires to be shared by two nomina regentia, then the only possibility would seem to be repetition of the nomen rectum i.e. سيف ملك ورمح ملك "a king's sword and spear", not سيف ملك ورمح * since a pronominal suffix may represent only a definite noun and necessarily makes definite the noun to which it is attached, cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 192. But this is a very cumbersome mode of expression and in such cases one will therefore not use a status constructus arrangement at all, but a circumlocution, probably with the preposition li- in the manner discussed by Reckendorf, op. cit., 250.

§179

- 1 Literature on this is indicated by Blau, ASP, 347, n.8; cf. also idem, LOS vi, 179.

§180

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 66; Reckendorf, Syntax, 186.
- 2 S. Blau, LOS v, 284 (where for "same" read "sane" i.e. sanus).
- 3 This is greatly superior to supposing that belongs to § 85d and سيف الملك to § 174. الساكنى

§181

- 1 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 350 n.18; Corriente, Sketch, 124, 150 and for the numerals s. below § 206b.
- 2 Since fractions may be determined in this manner in all periods of the language, as e.g. Wright II, 244†; Blau, JA, 167, middle; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 224 second REM., it is not necessary to assume that the article in such cases is due solely to the preceding demonstrative, although this is of course a contributory factor in the examples quoted here, cf. Blau, ASP, 351; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 93 and for modern dialects, Fagnoli, Syntaxe, 198/9. S. also below § 206 nn. 2,4.
- 3 Quoted by Blau, Emergence, 132.
- 4 PERF 1190. For this word s. e.g. Wright II, 245, REM.; Brockelmann, GVG I, 481 and the references there: سيف الملك T-S 12.487 (576 A.H.).

- 5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 150/1 and the literature given there; J. Schacht, Das kitāb adkār al-huqūq wa- ruhūn ... des abū Gāfiar Ahmad ibn Muhammad at-Tabāwī (Heidelberg, 1927), vii, referred to in this connection by Grohmann, Islam, 22, 43. For numerals s. below §206a.
- 6 That ذكّر حق has developed into a compound is shown by the plural ذكّر حقو mentioned in Lane, Lexicon I/3, 969c (beside ذكّر حق), to which an exact parallel is offered by cases such as كركر على "our capital" T-S 12.784 (11th cent. A.D.), plural of راسى مال "capital", a well-known compound (s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 481; Blau, Emergence, 108).
- 7 Cf. above n. 2. Again, the presence of the demonstrative is certainly a factor contributing to the addition of the definite article to the following nomen regens, but is not the sole cause.
- 8 For the single use of the article in compounds opening with نصف s. above, a, i, and for the double employment of the definite article as here cf. e.g. Blau, JA, 167; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt 224 and below §206a.
- 9 For this question s. in general Philippi, Status Constructus, 84 ff.; cf. also above §85 c, ii with nn. 19-22; 167 h, RBM.; 177. Cases similar to those presented below are discussed e.g. by Wright II, 229 (against the interpretation of Ewald, Grammatica II, 25); Brockelmann, GVG II, 213/4, 236; Corriente, JSS 20, 50 and, for modern dialects, Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 230; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 507.
The whole matter of the relationship status constructus : apposition in Arabic and the role played in such constructions by the definite article requires a new study.
- 10 Cf. Blau, ASP, 352.
- 11 Both these cases could be accounted for by an explanation suggested by Ewald, Grammatica II, 21, who quotes an example الامرات المدينة "the confederates of Medina".

§182

- 1 S. the references adduced by Blau, ASP, 357 n. 41; further Dozy, Supplément I, s.v.; Fück, Arabīya, 174; Blau, IOS v, 284.

§183

- 1 References are given by Blau, ASP, 358 n.50; further idem, BZ, 49; LOS iii, 194.

§184

- 1 S. the references in J. Blau, LOS ii (1972), 75 and the discussion of the construction there; Wright II, 219, REM. b.

§185

- 1 Cf. for CA Ewald, Grammatica II, 179; Wright II, 279, REM. b; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 47; Reckendorf, Paronomasie, 93; idem, Syntax, 153.
- 2 For the article with the paronomastic object s. §187 n.3.
- 3 Cf. for CA e.g. Fleisch, Traité, 409 n. and the literature given in n.1.

§186

- 1 S. the literature indicated by Blau, ASP. 359 n.1; further e.g. Ewald, Grammatica II, 29 (who anticipated the explanation of M.M. Bravmann apud Blau, Emergence, 107 and noted the frequency of the construction outside CA); Philippi, Status Constructus, 65; Bittner, Brief Christi, 190 n. 3; Rhodokanakis, Dofar II, 198b; Fück, Arabiya, 175; S. Wild, Libanesische Ortsnamen (Beirut, 1973), 57/8; Corriente, Sketch, 123, 125 n. 213.
In some modern dialects this construction has been re-interpreted as what, externally, it appears to be, viz. a status constructus, s.e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 462; O. Jastrow, ZDMG Supplementa I/2 (1969), 688. The emergence of the construction is to be seen against the background of the absence of the case-endings, s. the references to de Goeje et al. above, §83 n.20.
- 2 It seems most improbable that such cases should be attributed to §172b, q.v.
- 3 It may be that فراجهي here is on the way to becoming substantivized, but this is not favoured by the following example nor by instances such as P. Berol. 15099 (date ?) cited by Grohmann, APEL II, p.37 or الإرمن الخراجية ibid., IV 269, 4 (3rd cent. A.H.) in which the word is plainly attributive.

- 4 The final yā' of أراني is not evidence of an omitted article, i.e. أراني < أراني; the word probably belongs to §82g (unless the phrase has been understood as status constructus, cf. above n.1).
- 5 This is included here despite Wright II, 233. صلاة الوسطى is well attested beside the Quranic الصلاة الوسطى (Quran 2, 238), s. e.g. the references in A.J. Wensinck et. al., Concordance (§ 20 n.5) VII (1969), 207/8.

§187

- 1 S. Reckendorf, Syntax, 148; Wehr, Elativ, 572, 583 (Typus 4, where the comparative rarity of the definite singular noun in this construction is not mentioned). Cf. also Blau, ASP, 362; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 93/4.
- 2 This is the "definite and partitive" construction of Wright II, 226; s. the examples *ibid.*, 227 for a selection of instances involving plurals and collectives.
- 3 For which s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 83; cf. also the examples above §185; DAB 33v, 12/3.

§188

- 1 Reckendorf, Syntax, 179. Cf. also Blau, JA, 162 bottom.
- 2 For a similar phenomenon cf. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 222/3 but in CA the use of the definite article in such cases appears to be restricted to approximate or abstract numbers, s. Wright II, 243; Reckendorf, Syntax, 182/3. Brockelmann, GVG I, 473 remarks: "bei dem aber, wie bei vielen anderen Zahlbegriffen (s. Syntax) der Artikel steht"; I do not know to what section(s) of GVG II this refers. Blau, ASP, 381, REM., end, records one case of this kind عشر الدراهم. This, however, seems due to metanalysis: عشرة دراهم (the original reading, preserved as a variant) = cašarat darāhim > cašaraddarāhim in which the gen inate was reinterpreted as representing the definite article, i.e. عشر الدراهم. Although most of the following cases involve the counted nouns danānīr and darāhim, to the initial d- of which the -t of the preceding numeral might easily have been assimilated, I doubt whether a similar process can be identified for the papyri (cf. however, §193 n.15). Firstly, that danānīr and darāhim occur frequently with the definite article after a numeral has nothing to do with the fact that these words

open with a dental, but is due simply to the nature of the extant material; secondly, the preceding numeral generally appears in a form with tā marbūṭa, not in a form consisting merely of the bare stem as in the ASP example and as the theory would require. This latter objection would seem to stand despite

§193. Even less likely is it that this phenomenon be connected with the appearance of the "article" on (indefinite) nouns after certain numerals in a number of Western dialects; this feature seems to be of quite different origin. For wāhid + al s. e.g. W. Marçais apud Féghali Syntaxe, 170 n.; Blau, Emergence, 193/4 n., and for the numerals 11-19 e.g. Nöldeke, ZDMG 58 (1904), 906; D. Cohen, Le dialecte arabe Hassāniya de Mauritanie (Paris, 1963), 169 n.1; A. Börg, ZDMG 124 (1974), 302.

- 3 And in other texts also, as APEL IV 237 (249 A.H.).
- 4 Since, however, the outstanding sum can only be four dinars, it is arguable that أربعة الدينار is already definite by context. With such cases may be compared, mutatis mutandis, the use of the "actualizing" demonstrative as applied to nouns on the borderline of definite and indefinite, s. J. Blau, Henoch Yalon Memorial Volume (Jerusalem, 1974), 24 ff.
- 5 As against e.g. فذلك اءه وثلاثين درهما "and that makes thirty-one dirhams" APEL VI 423, 14 (3rd cent. A.H.).

§189

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 360/1 and the references there; further Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften III, 439 (involving kāmil as in the first case below); Corriente, Sketch, 122/3.
- 2 But it is possible that apposition not attribution is exemplified here. Note however, Reckendorf, Syntax, 72 "Die indet. Appos. hat jedoch wohl immer eine nähere Bestimmung"; such a restriction would seem in that case not to be operative in these two examples.
- 3 This is admittedly not a very convincing example, cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 414 n.

§190

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 362/3 to some of whose categories the examples below may correspond. further e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 63, 66; Schön, JSS 18, 85; Blau, IOS vi, 179; Corriente, Sketch, 123.
- 2 Does this refer to a standard rate of pay for "any carpenter", cf. Becker's "und für den Lohn jedes eingebornen Schreiners"?

- 3 This belongs to the section "Prägnante oder emphatische Indetermination" of Reckendorf, Syntax, 199/200.
- 4 Noted already by Dietrich, *ibid.*, p.12.
- 5 Despite the asyndetic relative clause, a rendering "in a/the quarter of a church ..." seems most unlikely; since the church is mentioned here solely, it would appear, to identify the quarter in question one would certainly have expected it to be definite and hence to take the article.
- 6 Cf. مع الليل "during the night" Dozy, Supplément II, 601 b; Brockelmann, GVG II, 414. For nouns of time being used without the article yet in a definite sense (as عام اول above §135 b) s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG I, 466/7; Reckendorf, Syntax, 196/7; Corriente, Sketch, 123.

§191

- 1 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 347; Blau, ASP, 364 ff. with further literature; Schen, JSS 18, 85.
- 2 Grohmann's "barber" (muzayyin) is very out of place; obviously a commodity of some kind is intended. For lack of a better suggestion and in order to give a smooth translation I am assuming that we have here a recurrence of ^{مزين} "dough (?)" (< $\mu\kappa\zeta\iota\omicron\nu$) of PAF IX, 3 (90 A.H.).
- 3 Whether ^{لبي} does or does not contain the article is not clear for the reason given at §52c.
- 4 In the immediate Quranic model for this expression (Quran 2, 229) both maḥrūf and ihsān are indefinite, as against 2, 178 where the distribution of the definite article is as here.
- 5 Unless this is to be understood as some kind of maḥūl mutlaq with §167c?
- 6 So e.g. Harīrī, Durra, 208; al-Qalqashandī, *op. cit.* § 83 n.16, VI (Cairo, 1915), 229/30, where this usage is explained according, as it were, to Reckendorf, Syntax, 179 sec. 6. The Aphrodito papyri, however, do not open with a greeting containing ^{سلا}, but regularly end with the Quranic ^{والسلام على من اتبع الهدى} "and peace upon him who follows the guidance"; this, strictly speaking, is against Harīrī's reasoning that salām at its first appearance should be without the definite article.
- 7 For the date of EAU 3 s. Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7.

- 8 Both سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ and سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ are in use today, s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 222 bottom; Wehr, Dictionary, 425, but whether there is any distinction of usage I do not know. It is possible that some cases of سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ do not genuinely reflect salām without the definite article, but are due to phonetic causes (or mis-hearing) for which cf. e.g. Rhodokanakis, Dofār II, 111 referred to by Brockelmann, GVG II, 66 Anm. 3, end (concerning initial ss- > s-).

§192

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 366 §246; a brief treatment of some of the changes that occurred in the syntax of the numerals in the papyri is given by Grohmann, e.g. Einführung, 105; Blau, Scripta, 221 n.; idem, Emergence, 131/2. Some of the examples in these sources are quoted also in the following. A more general statement of developments in this area will be found in W. Cowan, Glossa 6 (1972), 131-46.

§193

- 1 S. the references given by Blau, ASP, 366 n.2; Ferguson, Language 35, 624/5; Cohen, Etudes, 119/20; Corriente, Sketch, 96. In CA itself irregularities in the gender of numerals are very scarce, s. for isolated cases Féghali, Syntaxe, 178/9; Blau, IOS v, 285; أربعة زوايا "its four corners" Kitāb al-Aghānī X (Bulaq, n.d.), 131, 24 (but changed in the Cairo ed., 1938, vol. XI, 356, 5 to أربع).
- 2 S. e.g. Féghali, Syntaxe, 177; Blau, ASP, 368 n.6.
- 3 For parallels to the following categories s. Blau, ASP, 367 ff.
- 4 The original has أنا ; this I am assuming to be an error for أنا which is the form that appears in parallel texts (as AFEL VI 354 dated 317 A.H. e.g. l.24). The ostrakon contains other mistakes as well, so فحولة for فحولة "males" in l.5.
- 5 For this text s. §72 n.8; 135 n. 2. Perhaps, however, أنا and ذكر are predicates not nomina recta, a possibility indicated by the translation. In this case the example should be allocated below, b.
- 6 But combinations of the type "three hundred" everywhere else in this list show the expected absence of tā marbūṭa on the unit, whether the two words are written separately or as one (§ 51 d,i).

It is only on the basis of CA that اَل is included here as opening with a short vowel; the actual pronunciation might well have been otherwise, cf. the survey of spellings at §101.

- 7 Cf. e.g. Blau, ASP, 368; it is in such cases that the -t of tā marbūṭa is often preserved in numerals in modern dialects.
- 8 For a possible case of the relationship subject : predicate between the numeral and the counted noun s. n. 5 above.
- 9 Some edited cases do not belong here, so APEL VI 377, 4 (288 A.H.) where read: اَيُّ اَيُّ in accordance with §51 g. This phenomenon is common also in later times, thus e.g. Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, no. 99 (700 A.H.).
- 10 In addition to Blau, ASP, 369 s. an example in Guest, Kindī, 54 (from a MS. dated 624 A.H.).
- 11 For it s. Blau, ASP, 369; Guest, Kindī, 54; Schen, JSS 18, 85.
- 12 This may, of course, be due to chance, but it is true of ASP also, for out of the 19 instances adduced by Blau, ASP, 369, 16 contain numerals ending in ḥayn. Of the remaining three, two have variant readings showing the expected gender - an explanation of one of these is offered above §188 n.2. It should be remarked that ḥayn has already been seen elsewhere to exert an influence of its own upon the structure of some words in which it appears (§2 c). It remains, however, very problematical to explain why an ḥayn should have the effect of eliminating a following tā marbūṭa; this could be made intelligible only on the assumption that -t in some combinations of numeral + counted noun was not pronounced in status constructus (against §§47a; 93) and that the difference in pronunciation between e.g. arbaḥ and arbaḥa was minimal. Is it possible that the relationship obtaining between numeral and counted noun was sometimes one of plain juxtaposition rather than status constructus? In some circumstances this method of numeral construction is quite frequent in a number of modern dialects, s. e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 321b; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 89/90, 252 §351; Brockelmann, GVG II, 275; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 510. But in CA it is very rare (Reckendorf, SV, 276; *idem*, Syntax, 207).
- 13 But the restriction does not apply here to اَل in 1.10; for the gender of اَل s. §83a. A case of اَل beside اَل in the same text is mentioned below, d.

- 14 For ثان here also s. §194.
- 15 For such instances cf. perhaps §188 n.2.
- 16 But ثلاثة ارباع "three quarters" Grohmann, TWA 2, 8 (3rd cent. A.H.) does not belong here, read: ثلاثة ارباع.

§194

- 1 For which s. Blau, ASP, 57/8, 370 with further literature; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 94; for modern dialects further references are given e.g. by Cantineau, Hōrân, 370. Whether thamân is also reflected in a case such as ثان (§99) is rather doubtful.
- 2 However, the form with tāḥ marbūṭa occurs elsewhere in the text as one would expect; also ارباع appears for expected اربعة in l. 17 (§193 c, i).
- 3 For other numerals in this document s. §193 c, i.

§195

- 1 Cf. also §93 n.1 where the displacement of -t clearly shows the numeral to have been pronounced as a compound.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 370/1 and the literature indicated there.
- 3 Cf. e.g. Blau, Emergence, 102/3; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 94.
- 4 In addition to the references in Blau, ASP, 370 n. 13 s. Schen, JSS 18, 85. Some of the cases given in the following sections stand in alternation with the more expected regular forms.
- 5 This is cited with the gender confused by Grohmann, Einführung, 105 after Dietrich, ibid., 28 n. to l. 10.
- 6 As in the examples in Blau, ASP, 371.
- 7 Blau, ASP, 371; idem, Emergence, 102. For an epigraphic example (619 A.H.) see Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, no. 97.
- 8 But in APEI II 81, 2 (253 A.H.) read اربعة عشر; this example should therefore be deleted from Blau, Emergence, 131 (as also the cross-reference on p. 102).
- 9 This is a very rare phenomenon in Arabic;

it has not yet been recorded in ASP or JA, but an isolated instance is given by Schen, JSS 13, 85.

- 10 There seems to be no advantage in interpreting this ثلث with §30 e; this would produce an equally impossible CA combination عشرة ثلاثة for which type s. below, d.
- 11 For such cases s. J. Blau, Tarbiz 23 (1951-2), 28; idem, Emergence, 102 and ASP, 371.
- 12 Perhaps, however, ثلث and ت in these examples are susceptible of a phonetic explanation; for the former s. §30e and for the latter Blau, ASP, 369 n.9 and the references there; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 69/70. Cf. also نقرة (§95a) ستة عشر "sixteen silver pieces" Islamica 4, 267 no. 4, 3 (of uncertain date, s. §27 n. 4).
- 13 I have altered the round brackets of the edition to angular ones as, the و is presumably intended to be supplied (but cf. §103b, iii). Whether thamān is reflected here is uncertain, cf. §194 n.1.
- 14 In view of the preceding example nothing is gained by interpreting ت here as تة by means of a phonetic process (s. above n.12). Nor does this seem likely.

§196

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 371/2. An example from an inscription dated 111 A.H. is cited idem, Emergence, 131.
- 2 This and other examples of الهدى عشر referring to feminine nouns will not be considered as representing CA الهدى عشرة, but merely a variant spelling of the compound ihdaCshar modelled upon the CA feminine unit الهدى; this is made clear by the fact that the same form may refer to a masculine noun also; الهدى عشر درهما "eleven dirhams" BAU 19, 4 (450 A.H.). Cf. Blau, ASP, 372 § 249. 2 and, for الهدى alone referring to masculine nouns, below §198 b.

§197

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 372/3 and the literature provided there; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 95. Cf. also cases such as سنة اثني عشر وست مائة "the year six hundred and twelve" Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 64, 6/7 (612 A.H.).
- 2 Grohmann here restores [عشرة]; the present

restoration is that of Blau, Emergence, 131.

- 3 For other numerals 11-99 in this text s. above §195 a, d; 196.
- 4 In hasty script it is difficult to distinguish ^{اثنى} and ^{اثنى}. However, in view of §197 a, i, ^{اثنى عشرة} applied to a masculine noun mentioned further on in that section and other cases in which masculine "two" refers to a feminine noun (§199), there seems no reason to doubt the validity of the examples quoted here; to prefer the reading ^{اثنى} would be gratuitous.
- 5 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 372 n.23.

§198

- 1 For this and the other phenomena mentioned in this paragraph cf. Blau, ASP, 373/4 and the references indicated there.
- 2 Exactly as in some modern dialects the unit "one" is invariable in this position, s. e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 91 REM. a; Féghali, Syntaxe, 183.
- 3 S. a similar case in an inscription dated 341 A.H. from the Dahlak Islands published by H. Wehr in Altheim-Stiehl, op. cit. above §13 n. 1, vol 5/2 (Berlin, 1969), 281 no. 36: ^{سنة احدى واربعين وثلثمائة}
- 4 Cf. very similarly in JA ^{ثلاثون واربعة ابريق} "thirty-one jars" T-S Ar. 18 (1). 127 occurring in a list dated 1230 A.D. containing several such examples.
- 5 But APRIL IV 3, 4 (127 A.H.) does not belong here, s. §12 n. 8.
- 6 Both these cases are pointed out by Blau, Emergence, 131.
- 7 Similarly in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 236/7, 373. Cf. also above §196 n. 2.
- 8 Both examples are adduced by Blau, Emergence, 131/2 (where read "liars" for "two liars").
- 9 Cf. Blau, ASP, 373/4. In some modern dialects this word in a function approaching that of an indefinite article may also remain unchanged for the feminine, s. e.g. Ph. Marçais, EI (second ed.), s.v. ^{Arabiyya}, 580 a; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 245 n.3; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 510.

§199

1. This is a widespread tendency in Arabic, s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 374 n. 28, and the feminine of the numeral "two" has in Spanish Arabic even disappeared altogether (Corriente, Sketch, 96). The phenomena mentioned above § 197 a-b are further aspects of this tendency for the masculine form of the numeral "two" to oust the feminine. Cf. also below n. 7 and Cowell, Reference Grammar, 510.
2. Some examples from papyri are adduced already by Blau, Emergence, 131. According to Grohmann's reading of PERF 558, 8 given in FWAP, 114 this phenomenon occurs already in 22 A.H.; the ed. princeps, however, idem, Aperçu, 41 has correctly الثنتين. The other extant papyrus from 22 A.H. P. Berol. 15002 also clearly has الثنتين s. Grohmann, Islam 33, Pl. II b and idem, HO, Pl. II, 2. Nor does JESHO viii, 289, 10 (202 A.H.) belong here, read: أثنتين.
3. Cf. S. Lane-Poole, Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie ..., Fasc. I, Coins of the Amawī Khalīfahs (Hertford, 1874), 24.
4. Noted already by Blau, Emergence, 131. In the later publication of this text, APRL IX 5, Margoliouth retained the first أثنتين, but changed the second, for no apparent reason, to الثنتين. In hasty writing these two words may be very difficult to distinguish, and some cases may, perhaps, not be genuine examples.
5. أثنى edited here should be interpreted in accordance with § 85 d.
6. For later cases in inscriptions s. e.g. Littmann, Arabic Inscriptions, 108, 4 (462 A.H.); 27, 3 (492 A.H.?). 42, 12 (622 A.H.); 87, 6 (642 A.H.); 88, 5 (702 A.H.).
7. As in some modern dialects; cf. Wéghali, Syntaxe, 183 n. 2 who remarks "Ceci montre que le féminin tentain est en train de céder partout la place au masculin tnain".

§200

1. The examples of this feature in Blau, ASP, 374/5 are not particularly convincing for the reason given above § 55 n.10.
2. With Dietrich, Islam, 24, 94.
3. Scriptio defectiva (§10a), i.e. أوليين = ulāhunna hardly comes into the question here as a possible explanation.

§201

1. S. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 293; further, Blau, ASP, 375.

§202

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 377/8 and Addenda, 625; idem, Pseudo-Corrections, 75. Cf. also Goldziher, ZDMG 49 (1895), 24 n. 4.

§203

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 378.
- 2 ل after "two hundred" is quoted from this document in the preceding paragraph; for rās remaining in the singular after 3-10 in a modern dialect s. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 252 REM.
- 3 But in some of the following examples scriptio defectiva must be taken into account as a possible explanation. This will be pointed out where necessary.
- 4 In modern dialects cf. e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 321; Marcais, Tlemcen, 159; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 89, 252; Cohen, Alger, 357; Cohen, Tunis II, 229/30; T.F. Mitchell, Colloquial Arabic, The Living Language of Egypt (Teach Yourself Books, London, 1962), 61; Cowell, Reference Grammar, 510.
- 5 دينار and دينار (§9 c) are not always easily distinguishable and perhaps the latter should be read here; s. the reproduction of the document, Grohmann, HO, Pl. IV/2. Observe, however, that this early text construes the number of the counted noun in a manner exactly contrary to CA; here "dinars" appear, it seems, in the singular after "eight"; in the next paragraph is quoted the example of "carats" appearing in the plural after "nineteen"!
- 6 That "dinar" is here written plene دينار i.e. unequivocally singular will make one cautious of reading دينار instead of دينار in the preceding examples. Cf. the preceding note.
- 7 In these and the following examples the spelling may be scriptio defectiva for darāhim; thus Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7.
- 8 In including such cases here I am following the opinion of Feghali, Syntaxe, 185/6, according to whom the spelling دينار after a numeral 3-10 does indeed represent the singular. While this may be so (and ثلاث مئة etc. would, on this

theory, have provided the model), it is not the only possibility; الف may also represent (Wright I, 259) or scriptio defectiva (§10a) of الألف (Blau, ASP, 378). As Wright, loc. cit., remarks, this spelling is quite frequent in MSS., s. for examples e.g. Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxiv (MS dated 554 A.H.); Guest, Kindī, 54 (MS. dated 624 A.H.); Féghali, loc. cit., citing the edition of a MS dated in the early 8th cent. A.H.); Schen, JSS 18, 77 (MS. dated 610 A.H.). Cf. also عشرة الف الف درهم T-S NS 327.3 corresponding to عشرة الف الف درهم in Ibn Khordādhbeh, Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, ed. M.J. De Goeje (Lugduni-Bataavorum, 1889), 34 ult. (identification by J. Sadan) and passim in this fragment. S. also two apparent cases in Ewald, Grammatica II, 98 middle and 100 middle.

§204

- 1 For this phenomenon s. Blau, ASP, 378/9. In CA this feature is known, it seems, in only one Quranic example (Q 7, 160) which is cited several times in the literature, e.g. Wright II, 237; Fleisch, Traité, 520.
- 2 S. the reproductions of the document given by Grohmann, HO, Pl. IV/2.
- 3 But hardly anything of this line can be made out from Pl. VIII.

§205

- 1 On this type, s. Blau, ASP, 379 n. 50.
- 2 In CA this would presumably have meant something like "the first part/installment of your favour", i.e. with أول substantivized; similarly with the following examples.

§206

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 179/80 and the literature referred to there; Sachau, Alberuni's India, xxxvi; Fück, Arabīya, 94 (on which cf. A. Spitaler, BO x (1953), 148 b). This construction is attested quite early in CA, e.g. التسعة الأعراف "the nine letters" al-Yacqubi, Ta'rikh I, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Lugduni-Bataavorum, 1883), 93 top, a fact which is significant in the light of the recognition of Brockelmann, GVG II, 279 that such arrangements post-date the loss of the case-endings.
- 2 In view of عشرة الدنانير in the preceding line it

seems quite possible that the double determination here is prompted by the desire to have the demonstrative هنا followed, as would normally be the case, by the definite article, cf. §181 nn. 2.7, but note 1.6 where no demonstrative precedes! This example is given in Blau, Emergence, 132.

- 3 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 380 n. 53; further Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; Blau, Pseudo-Corrections, 93 n.243; idem, 10S iii, 183 and ibid., v, 285; Corriente, Sketch, 122.
- 4 For these two examples cf. above, n.2.

§207

- 1 S. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 279; Reckendorf, Syntax, 212/3. That examples of the kind عشرين الرجل* on the analogy of the construction of the numerals 3-10 hardly seems to occur in Arabic does not support the suggestion of Blau, ASP, 379, that the arrangements described in §206 are due to analogy with the construction of the numerals 11-99. Since the numerals 3-10 are almost certainly those that occur most frequently in the language, one would rather expect any such analogical process to have worked in the opposite direction; i.e. the type عشرين الرجل should on this theory have been more commonly attested than the type الثلثة الرجل. That this is patently not the case would seem to rule out analogy as a significant factor in the development of the constructions given in §206. The explanation is probably to be sought in a tendency to regard the numeral with its counted noun as a compound (cf. Blau, op. cit., 380 n. 53, 382) and hence to add the definite article first and foremost to the numeral and then only optionally or incidentally to the counted noun along the lines documented in §181.

§208

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 382 and the references there (where, however, the presence/absence of the article as far as the counted noun is concerned is not taken into account).
- 2 This is against Wright II, 245 top.
- 3 The article with the counted noun in such cases is in accordance with CA, s. Reckendorf, Syntax, 213 top.

§209

- 1 For which s. Blau, ASP, 381/2, and for modern dialects e.g. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 95 REM. b. For CA s. Reckendorf, SV, 497.
- 2 For the absence of the definite article here from سنة cf. Blau, ASP, 381 n.

§210

- 1 Wright II, 239; Reckendorf, Syntax, 207, 348.
- 2 Quoted by Reckendorf, Syntax, 207.

§211

- 1 This seems to be uncommon in CA.
- 2 For this construction in CA s. Wright II, 235*; Reckendorf, Syntax, 208; in modern dialects, Blau, BZ, 58 and the references there; Brockelmann, GVG II, 467 (where the restriction to modern dialects is inaccurate); Cowell, Reference Grammar, 398.

§212

- 1 This construction is but an aspect of that described above §186; for it s. the literature referred to by Blau, ASP, 383 n.60 and for modern dialects e.g. Rhodokanakis, Dofâr II, 143b.

§213

- 1 The example is taken from Wright II, 249. li- is not missing from ليلتين APEL IV 282, 2 (3rd cent. A.H.); the form is haplogical, s. §57.
- 2 And sometimes also elsewhere, s. Schen, JSS 18, 85 bottom; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 253.
- 3 It is more than likely that these two cases belong to §164 c, i.
- 4 But the correct reading may be سببان only.

§214

- 1 Cf. on this Wright II, 259/60. In this case the pronominal copula also precedes an clative as predicate, for which cf. ibid., 259B.

2 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 281/2.

3 Cf. in CA e.g. Wright II, 258/9; Brockelmann, GVG II, 103; Reckendorf, Syntax, 281.

§215

1 Cf. on this Blau, ASP, 389/90 and the references indicated there; further idem, LOS v, 281 and ibid., vi, 162 for CA and Modern Standard Arabic respectively; Schen, JSS 18, 86. The judgement as to whether or not any emphasis of the subject is indeed present is largely, of course, a subjective one.

2 This is the less frequent alternative in other strata of Arabic as well, s. Blau, ASP, 390 and n.5; Schen, JSS 18, 86.

§216

1 For this cf. Blau, ASP, 390/1 and n.7.

2 Jahn translates "Wahrhaftig, ich bin ein armer Mensch" and Grohmann, FWAP, 186 (whose dating is here followed) "Indeed I am a poor man".

§217

1 For anticipatory pronouns and pronominal suffixes in general cf. Blau, ASP, 39 ff., but none of the examples there quite parallels this instance.

§218

1 For CA cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 274/5.

§219

1 Cf. Ewald, Grammatica II, 259; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 93 and the relevant Nachträge on p.160; Wright II, 326; Brockelmann, GVG II, 225; Reckendorf, Syntax, 344/5; Féghali, Syntaxe, 305; L. Kopf, Studia Islamica v (1956), 47; Blau, ASP, 347 n. 7, 422 REM. B.

2 The normal procedure in CA and the papyri is to repeat the noun (or preposition) to which the suffix is attached as a nomen regens as in
 أن تكتب أن تكتب
 (read so!) "that you write to me about your news and about the news of Umm Hafs" Byzantion xvii, 214, 3 (241 A.H.).

- 3 This is the most likely understanding of the text and it is taken so by the editor whose translation is followed here; it is less probable that والنون وولدك are co-ordinated subjects in accordance with e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 331.

§220

- 1 Cf. Reckendorf, Paronamasie, 50 ff.
 2 This example also represents the phenomenon mentioned at §225.

§221

- 1 S. on this the references provided by Blau, ASP, 398 n. 32 and Addenda, 625; Brockelmann, GVG I, 94; Schen, JSS 18, 71, 86; Corriente, Sketch, 127. For modern dialects s.e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 480 ff.; H. Blanc, IOS iv (1974), 215. This occurred in some Aramaic dialects also, s. The Story of Ahikar, ed. F.C. Conybeare et al. (second ed., Cambridge, 1913), Syriac text, 39 n.2; G.R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. (abridged ed., Oxford, 1957), 84.
 2 So Blau, Emergence, 130 n.1.
 3 I. e. representing something like yabqāli; but the -ā- may be long here not because it is stressed as being in an open syllable before the indirect suffix, but for the reason given in §22d where this example has already been included. Very little weight should be attached to the fact that the two components here appear together; word boundaries are often very difficult to identify in Arabic papyri (§96 n. 2) and this instance may be a mere misprint in any case.

§222

- 1 S. the references in Blau, ASP, 399 n.36 and cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 79 middle. But this construction is not exclusively Egyptian, s. Rhodokanakis, Dofār II, 108 quoted by Rabin, AWA, 75.
 2 Because اربع does not have the article, cf. Blau, ASP, 400 n. 38; Pseudo-Corrections, 93 n. 243.

§223

- 1 Cf. Rabin, AWA, 75/6; Blau, ASP, 399.

§224

- 1 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 400 n.38; Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen, 66; Schen, JSS 18, 86; Blau, IOS vi, 181.
- 2 Though admittedly the borderline between demonstrative and presentative function is often hard to draw; the editor prefers the former alternative: "And this Abū Muhammad has ordered...".

§225

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 400 and the references there. The distinction, however, between "normal" and "abnormal" usage in the matter of reference by means of a demonstrative rather than by a personal pronoun (i.e. usually a suffix) is, of course, largely impressionistic. Cf. some of the examples in § 147 a.

§226

- 1 S. further idem, IOS iii, 194.

§227

- 1 Brockelmann, GVG II, 385 Anm.: "in der jüngeren Sprache".
- 2 For it s. the literature adduced by Blau, ASP, 410 n. 1; idem, IOS iii, 225.
- 3 Cf. tamūtu ɔila sanatin "you will die within a year" cited by Brockelmann, GVG II, 385.

§228

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 411.
- 2 For the predicate of a nominal clause being introduced in this way s. Blau, JA, 178 and the references there.

§229

- 1 On this expression s. Dozy, Supplément II, 137b and for modern dialects cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 409.

§230

- 1 Cf. Blau ASP, 413ff., with the literature referred to there in n.15; further Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 367 n.; Schen, JSS 18, 86/7; A. Levin, IOS v (1975), 270/1; Blau, ibid., 285; idem, ibid. vi, 166/7; Corriente, Sketch, 126.
- 2 My understanding of this sentence differs from that of the editor, s. §156 n. 10.
- 3 The examples from Ibn Wahb are noted by Blau, Emergence, 127 n.
- 4 In some instances what appears to be written as two lāms (i.e. preposition + definite article) may well be simply alif + lām; such cases would naturally have to be excluded from consideration here.
- 5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 418 n.32; Schen, JSS 18, 87; Blau, IOS vi, 166/7. But byc is already construed so in CA, s. Lane, Lexicon I/1, 284c.
- 6 For this phenomenon s. the references given by Blau, ASP, 421 n.44 and cf. T-S Ar. 30.163:
 له عشرة أيام يتمشى "he has been wandering about for ten days"; ولنا يومين ما افطرننا على فبز "and we have not had anything for breakfast for two days".
 From colloquial Arabic this construction has even penetrated late literary Syriac, s. the quotation from Bar Hebraeus in A. Bloch, Die Hypotaxe im Damazenisch-Arabischen (Wiesbaden, 1965), 71.
- 7 On which cf. Blau, ASP, 422 and the references there; idem, IOS iii, 219.

§231

- 1 Some of his examples there are in fact taken from the Aphrodito papyri quoted here, but this is not stated, contrary to his normal practice of indicating the sources.
- 2 The use of min in these examples is contrary to CA as formulated by Wright II, 235 REM. c, according to whom min should be used only when the counted noun is an adjective or participle (apart from the case mentioned ibid., 236/7, §98). One doubts, however, that this principle is strictly observed in practice.
 For this construction in Spanish Arabic s. G. Colin, Islamica 4 (1931), 168.
- 3 Cf. on this feature Reckendorf, Syntax, 261/2 where the nuance of the construction vis à vis the regular arrangement without min is noted.

§232

- 1 S. Wright II, 173*; Brockelmann, GVG II, 401; Reckendorf, Syntax, 269; Rabin, AWA, 189; Blau, IOS v, 284 and the literature referred to in these places.
- 2 Even though the nominative : genitive distinction came to be obscured outside CA proper, s. Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, 408 ff.; Wright II, 173*.

§233

- 1 This is true of most (all ?) varieties of Arabic, s. Blau, ASP, 426 ff. and the literature given there in the notes.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 426/7 for similar cases.
- 3 Karabacek, WZKM xi, 7.
- 4 Unless khabar wa-hāl is to be considered a hendiadys?
- 5 This is not usual in CA, s. the literature listed by Blau, ASP, 427 n. 64.
- 6 On the meaning of لاني in the papyri, s. DAB, 34 n.

§234

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 428/9.

§235

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 430 REM.

§236

- 1 This construction also occurs in JA: ١٤٨١ ١٤٨٢ ١٤٨٣ "the price of honey is five dinars per qintār" T-S 52.7, where several similar examples. In Arabic script: عشرة دراهم الجمدة T-S NS J.221 "ten dirhams the lot".

§237

- 1 S. e.g. Blau, ASP, 430. The most notable exceptions to this trend are the dialects of Spain and Yemen, where gad, far from disappearing, has even enlarged its domain compared with the state of affairs in CA, s. respectively Corriente, Sketch, 129; Blau, Emergence, 65. Cf. below n. 3.

- 2 I understand istaḥkharat here rather than the istaḥkharat of Becker followed by Grohmann, FWAP, 127.
- 3 As qad before the imperfect is much less common than before the perfect in CA there is no reason to believe that the lack of certain cases of qad + imperfect reflects the disappearance of the word from speech.

§238

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 433 and n.13; Schen, JSS 18, 87.
- 2 Similarly rendered as past perfect by Dietrich, Islam 33, 40: "ihnen auferlegt hatte".
- 3 This impression is gained from e.g. Wright II, 5. Qad preceding both auxiliary and main verb is also less common in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 434.

§239

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 434/5 and n.21; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 292; Brockelmann, GVG II, 510; Feghali, Syntaxe, 261 ff.; Corriente, Sketch, 140/1. Cf. kān + perfect in the apodosis of hypothetical clauses at §318 b.
- 2 For the date of the second document s. §90 n.4.

§240

- 1 S. the references to this feature in CA given by Blau, ASP, 436 n. 25; Wright II, 22 REM.; Brockelmann, GVG II, 511.

§241

- 1 For which s. Blau, ASP, 436 n. 26.

§242

- 1 For this exceedingly rare construction s. Blau, ASP, 439. For kun preceding an imperfect s. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 73/4.

§243

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 438 n.36. This periphrastic

imperative is much rather a feature of Aramaic and Hebrew than of Arabic, s. J.C. Greenfield, Israel Exploration Journal 19 (1969), 199 ff.

§244

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 439/40 and the literature referred to there. For invariability of other verbs cf. §141.

§245

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 441 n.48.

§246

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 442 n.49; Schen, JSS 18, 88. For this usage in Modern Standard Arabic s. Blau, IOS iii, 221 and the possible explanation suggested *ibid.*, vi, 185.
- 2 As in the case of kān above §244; further e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 511 ff.; Blau, BZ, 175 ff.
- 3 This process is quite regular in Arabic, s. in general e.g. Blau, BZ, Index s.v. Adverbia < Hilfsverba and the references provided in the relevant sections of that work. Such fossilized verbs may further be provided with pronominal suffixes marking the subject of the sentence in which they appear: kād "almost" so construed occurs already in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 443 and further on this Brockelmann GVG II, 265; for mā dām and mā zāl "as long as" with pronominal suffixes, s. e.g. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, 264, 573. CAd itself, the word in question here, is a frequent adverb of this kind, as well as one of the earliest attested, s. e.g. Blau, ASP, 442; *idem*, BZ, 143.
- 4 This passage is quoted by Blau, Emergence, 132; s. also Ibn Wahb II, 32/3.

§247

- 1 On this s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 443 nn. 55, 56. A more general account of this phenomenon in Semitic is given by him in Lešonenu xxxii (1967-8), 53 ff.

- 2 This is the earliest example I have noted of an epistolary formula which later becomes very common in the Arabic correspondence of the Cairo Geniza, cf. e.g. S.D. Goitein, Eretz-Israel 10 (1971), 107, 4/5 (Arabic script, c. 1039 A.D.); idem, Tarbiz xxiv (1954-5), 44, recto, 1 ff. (Judaeo-Arabic, 12th cent. A.D.).

§248

- 1 Though not generally accepted in CA, this construction is attested there (and is even Quranic, s. Q. 18, 77); in addition to Blau, ASP, 445 n.63 s. Wright II, 107. It occurs also in modern dialects, e.g. Reinhardt, op. cit., above § 69 n.1, 278 and Modern Standard Arabic, for which s. Blau, IOS vi, 185 where further literature on the development of verbs of volition > markers of the future is given. For this phenomenon in general s. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen I, 194 ff.

§249

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 446 and the references there; Ewald Grammatica II, 181; Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 94.

§250

- 1 For this construction in CA s. Ewald, Grammatica II, 257; Brockelmann, GVG II, 459/60; Reckendorf, Syntax, 320 on which s. O. Rescher, ZS 3 (1924), 82/3.
- 2 This is the most probable rendering; Becker translates: "Sendung auf Sendung" and Grohmann (APEL III 148, 16 and FWAP 126, 12 respectively): "remittance upon remittance". A similar translation is also implied by Reckendorf, Syntax, 320 where the second occurrence of the phrase here is referred to. An interpretation "immediately" would make, nevertheless, good sense and could be supported by reference to Féghali, Syntaxe, 471 n.

§251

- 1 Cf. on this Blau, ASP, 446 n.1; idem, IOS v, 294/5.

§252

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 447 ff. and the references given there; Schen, JSS 18, 88, 94; Blau, IOS v, 294.
- 2 My understanding of this sentence is different from that of the editor, who takes ^{يكتب} as the apodosis (p.690); for the construction here s. §269 i.
- 3 For the problem of fa- introducing such main clauses s. §251 REM.
- 4 While it is true that from a formal point of view this ^{يكتب} corresponds to the CA jussive, it may equally well correspond to a CA imperfect in accordance with the phenomenon documented by Blau, ASP, 264 n.6.
- 5 Noted already by Blau, ASP, 448 n.8. Cf. §301c.

§253

- 1 S. on this the references in Blau, ASP, 450 n.12; Schen, JSS 18, 88.

§254

- 1 There are several possibilities, in CA of construing a dependent clause after ^{ان} : (i) with a jussive (jawab amr), s. Reckendorf, SV, 680/1; idem, Syntax, 492; Wright II, 37/8; Brockelmann, GVG II, 473; Rabin, AWA, 186; Bravmann, Studies, 126 ff.; Spitaler apud Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 149b; (ii) with an imperfect, s. e.g. Nöldeke, op. cit., 105; Brockelmann, op. cit. 525; Reckendorf, Syntax, 384, 388; E. Beck, Orientalia N.S. 14 (1945), 366; Rabin, op. cit., 185/6; (iii) with a particle governing the subjunctive, s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 455, 459 and the literature in Blau, ASP, 522 n.36 (for the subjunctive without such a particle as given by Wright II, 26/7, REM. b. cf. Blau, op. cit., 264/5 n. 7 and above §138 n.4, and for ^{ان} followed by the perfect not the subjunctive, Ewald, Grammatica II, 113n.; Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, 525/6. Cf. also the construction with hatta + Perfect in Brockelmann, op.cit. 540 Ann.).
- 2 This is regular in CA only when fa- is followed by the perfect, indicating that the command has actually been carried out, s. the references in Blau, ASP, 456 n. 30; Reckendorf, Syntax, 316/7. Cf. §258.

- 3 The grammars appear to record only one example of this construction in CA, from Bukhārī; this is adduced in several sources: Reckendorf, SV, 464; idem, Syntax, 316; Brockelmann, GVG II, 487; E. Kuhr, Die Ausdrucksmittel der konjunktionslosen Hypotaxe in der Ältesten hebräischen Prosa (Leipzig, 1929), 48. For ASP cf. Blau, ASP, 488 n.5.
- 4 This construction was remarked upon by Becker, PSR iii, 30.
- 5 Photograph no. 12.374 quoted by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

§255

- 1 For CA cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 459/60; Reckendorf, Syntax, 324.

§256

- 1 The latter is used "less correctly" according to Wright II, 75 and cf. also Lane, Lexicon I/1, 136b; no such judgment is given by Reckendorf, Syntax, 408.
- 2 Thus by Ḥarīrī, Durra, 22/3 echoed by Wright II, 76 REM. a.
- 3 I take وذر here as imperative of form I and this appears to lie behind Grohmann's translation "and beware of insufficiency"; it seems less likely to try to find in اياك the object of وذر. For a similar sentence s. Brockelmann, GVG II, 16/17.

§257

- 1 For which phenomenon s. Blau, ASP, 450 nn. 15,16, and for wa- introducing the apodosis of law s. Brockelmann, GVG II, 643 § 426b, first example; Schen, JSS 18, 94.
- 2 Does this have anything to do with the sitting and standing business procedures mentioned by Goitein, op. cit. §3 n.14, 193 ?

§258

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 456/7; the examples to be adduced in what follows resemble quite closely that cited ibid., §349 where an imperfect is linked paratactically with another imperfect. In CA parataxis after verbs of command etc. is typical only of constructions involving the perfect, indicating that the command

has actually been carried out, s. above §254 n.2. For constructions of this "try and go" variety in Modern Standard Arabic s. Blau, IOS iii, 203; *ibid.*, vi, 172/3. Cf. more generally Wackernagel, Vorlesungen I, 62/3.

- 2 This occurs in JA as well, as ما شاء الله ... فكتب "May he be so kind as ... to write" T-S NSJ. 243 (mid 12th cent. A.D.) and cf. the paratactic construction with wa after the perfect of this verb in وتتمنى وقضى العمل "and he was good enough to finish the business" T-S Ar.40.126.
- 3 With which cf. the identical construction after iCmil maCruf "do (one) the kindness of ... " in modern Egyptian, s. Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 321/2.
- 4 The date is suggested not only by the appearance of the document but also by the fact that there is mentioned in the same papyrus one Abū Hurayra who is thought to have flourished at this time, cf. David-Weill et al., JESHO xvi (1973), 11 ff.

§259

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 457 and the references given there. The example of this phenomenon quoted here is significant in that the verb of the subordinate clause, introduced by wa is separated by three words from the conjunction و.

§260

- 1 On the date s. the opinion of Abbott accepted by Grohmann, APEL IV, p.251.
- 2 Cf. e.g. Blau, ASP, 459; *idem*, IOS iii, 223; *ibid.*, v.287.
- 3 This وعلى ان has nothing to do with that mentioned by Blau, Emergence, 145.

§261

- 1 For it s. the references in Blau, ASP, 463 n.6; further Wright II, 278; Brockelmann, GVG II, 49 and 79 Anm. 1 (where the example adduced by Reckendorf, SV. 406, bottom, is correctly interpreted; on this particular instance, misinterpreted also by Fischer, Die demonstrativen Bildungen, 66 s. also Blau, op. cit., 400 n.38); Reckendorf, Syntax, 288 n.; Blau, IOS v, 286. In modern dialects cf. in addition E. Galtier, BIFAO ii (1902), 215; Rhodokanakis, Dofar II, 108 and for Modern Standard

Arabic s. an example in F.J. Ziadeh, A Reader in Modern Literary Arabic (Princeton, 1964), 53, 32.

§262

- 1 S. e.g. O. Jespersen, Analytic Syntax (London, 1937), 45.
- 2 It is true that CA also makes use of this procedure, but it is of the varieties of the language outside CA that it is really characteristic, s. Blau, ASP, 470 ff. and the literature referred to there.
- 3 Cf. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 372; Blau, ASP, 479/80, REM.
- 4 But fa here may also be interpreted as introducing the apodosis according to e.g. Wright II, 346, § 187 (c).
- 5 This sentence is quoted by Reckendorf, Syntax, 491.
- 6 This occurs in CA also, s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 372 and very commonly outside CA, s. e.g. some of the examples in Blau, ASP, 474 ff.
- 7 Read, very probably, so with §150 n.2.
- 8 Cf. in CA Brockelmann, GVG II, 531/2; Reckendorf, Syntax, 541/2, G. Bergsträsser, Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen (München, 1928), 145.
- 9 This example is cited by Reckendorf, Syntax, 542. Cf. NPAF I, 11/12 (91 A.H.) where, in a very similar sentence, the subject of the object clause is not made to serve at the same time as the object of the preceding verb.

§263

- 1 This is quite regular in CA too, s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 375/6. In some cases it is impossible to tell whether damir al-sha'n refers to a following noun only or anticipates the whole sentence, cf. Reckendorf, op. cit., 376, § 184.5d; Blau, JA, 202 n.8.
- 2 Referred to by Reckendorf, Syntax, 376, §184.5d.
- 3 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 376, § 184.5c. For unchangeable anno in modern dialects s. e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 357, example 3, 543; Grotzfeld, Syrisch-Arabische Grammatik, 102 n.
- 4 Cf. Blau, ASP, 475/6 and the references there.

§264

- 1 The whole phenomenon of extraposed adverbials in all strata of Arabic is now treated in detail by Blau, Adverbial Construction, 53 ff.
- 2 S. Blau, ASP, 476 n.17. The construction is also possible before an optative perfect, thus idhāⁿ fa- is so followed by al-Nābigha al-Dhabyānī in W. Ahlwardt, The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets ... (London, 1870), 8, 2.
- 3 For this construction occurring in the writings of al-Jāhiz s. Blau, IOS iii, 177 n.19; idem, ibid., v, 288; Adverbial Construction, 54; for additional cases s. al-Jāhiz op. cit. §152 n.1, beginnings of §§14, 19, 21.
- 4 The fa- in فَاتِقَةً is to be interpreted as fa- of the apodosis after idhā (according to e.g. Wright II, 346, §187 (c)); although the imperative here is some distance from the beginning of the sentence (cf. the cases in Reckendorf, Syntax, 318/19), this example still corresponds to CA usage.

§265

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 479 ff. and the literature indicated there.
- 2 This example is referred to already by Blau, ASP, 479 n.20.
- 3 Cf. Blau, ASP, 481/2 and the references there.
- 4 This example is noted already by Blau, ASP, 481 n.24.

§266

- 1 References to this phenomenon are provided by Blau, ASP, 482 n.28.

§267

- 1 For which s. the references given by Blau, ASP, 482 n.28; further idem, Adverbial Construction, 53 ff. Another CA example occurs in أَلَا مَوْمِنٌ نِيَا زَعِيمِي وَبَرْصَمٌ بَأْسَكُ أَرْبَعُونَ "Did forty men, as you claim, put to flight two thousand of the faithful at Āsak?" (metre: wāfir) in Th. Noeldeke, Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum (Berolini, 1890), 90 ult. and cf. cases such as kell dayca wlaħa laħje "each village has its own dialect" (I have simplified the transcription) in Féghali, Syntaxe, 413, bearing a different nuance from the same sentence without the w.

§268

- 1 In general cf. e.g. Blau, ASP, 48; 487 ff. On the other hand, a striking exception to this general state of affairs is presented by the feature described at §254 where a syndetic clause appears as jawāb al-amr (cf. Blau, op. cit., 488 n.5)
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 488 ff. and the literature given there; Schen, JSS 18, 90.
- 3 This is a rather uncertain example and insufficient to establish the existence of the phenomenon in question; the reading سارحن does not seem clear at all, and in any case might not imply motion of any kind.
- 4 The differentiation between co-ordinate and subordinate asyndetic clauses can sometimes be problematic, cf. e.g. Blau, Emergence, 92 n.2 and ASP, 487, and the distinction can be established only by means of the introduction of some kind of yardstick against which to measure each instance. Even so, the matter cannot always be decided unequivocally; thus in the examples below containing an imperative after the imperative of tafaddal "to be so kind as to ..." one might compare the constructions described at §258 where the complement (imperfect or imperative) of this verb is introduced by wa- and conclude that the second imperative is co-ordinate with the first. On the other hand, it is equally possible that we have to do here with what Eravmann, Studies, 127 calls a "subordinate imperative", a point of view which could be supported by referring to the construction of tafaddal with a following asyndetic (object-) clause at §269o.
While not being unaware of this difficulty, I have nevertheless lumped together here all the examples I have collected of one imperative being followed asyndetically by another. For other cases cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 474; Blau, JA, 209; Schen, JSS 18, 90.
- 5 Cf. the preceding note. The construction is mentioned also by Dozy, Supplément II, 266a.

§269

- 1 It is not clear to me exactly in what the examples given by Blau, ASP, 498, §392 "Asyndetic Clauses as Second Objects" differ from those quoted *ibid.*, 492 ff., §390 which govern an object and an asyndetic clause in just the same way as the examples of §392. It is true that actā and callama, to take two of the verbs figuring in the examples at §392, take two accusatives in CA, but then so

does wa'ada "to promise" which is included at §390.24, cf. e.g. Wright II, 48. In what follows asyndetic object and second object clauses in the imperfect are not distinguished.

- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 492 ff. and the literature referred to there; Schen, JSS 18, 90/1; Corriente, Sketch, 132/3. For asyndetic object clauses in CA cf. further Ibn Sa'īd, Tabagāt, V ed. K.V. Zetterstéen (Leiden, 1905), 3, (أسر), 4, (أزاد), 15 (أبي), 24 (سأل), 43 (كتب) etc.; for modern dialects e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 345 ff. and for Modern Standard Arabic, Blau IOS vi, 171.
- 3 In the editio princeps of this text by J.T. Reinaud in Silvestre's Paleographic Universelle, Première Partie, opposite the first plate of the section "Textes Arabes" the reading يعمل is suggested, but is correctly given by Wright as يعمل.
- 4 As against these examples note that in the similar text (passport) APFL III 175, 6 (112 A.H.) the syndetic construction with ان is employed, s. §280.
- 5 This pointing correctly appears in the publication of this part of the text by Mélamède, MO xxviii, 50, 7; Khoury's edition has a nonsensical أبته; the sentence is given correctly by Blau, Emergence, 130.
- 6 These last four references have already been given by Blau, Emergence, 132; the additional reference there to Sira, 7.24, probably corresponding to Khoury 150, 24/5, should, it seems, be deleted.
- 7 These two examples are referred to already by Blau, Emergence, 132. Another example from the second century A.H. might occur in ZDMG 34, 689, 15, cf. ibid., n.l., but cannot be taken as certain.
- 8 Like أذن above, a, this word belongs to the "Verben des Lassens", also sometimes construed asyndetically in CA, s. Rockendorf, Syntax, 384 § 188. 7 and 388. § 189.5 and cf. Blau, ASP, 498 n.35. Other verbs in this category are included below, k, s.
- 9 Pointed out already by Blau, Emergence, 132.
- 10 In Modern Standard Arabic and modern dialects this verb may mean simply "to be able" rather than "be able to do something well" s. e.g. the dictionaries of Wehr and Barthélemy, and, for earlier times Dozy, Supplément I, s.v. Such a sense is not particularly suitable for the example quoted here but may also be identified in CA, cf. Kitāb al-Aghānī (ed. Rulaq) X, 132, 9/10: أغني ثلاثة آلاف صوت ... أنا والله أغني أكثر من ذلك which is rendered most naturally: "How many songs do you think I can sing? Three thousand ...?"

- By God, I can sing more than that!", i.e. ahsana = "to be able" rather than "to do well"; the same might apply to the examples of this construction given by Reckendorf, Syntax, 385 top and Blau, IOS v, 288.
- 11 For this verb being construed with a direct object s. Dozy, Supplément I, 333a and cf. Blau, ASP, 494 n.23 and below §280.
 - 12 Cf. this verb in the meaning "avoir l'intention de" etc. in Dozy, Supplément I, 490 a.
 - 13 That scribes were sensitive to the fact that the use of asyndetic object clauses was one of the features distinguishing Middle Arabic from CA can be deduced from أراد يداوي "he wishes to treat" Ibn Wahb 45, 17 (late 3rd cent. A.H.), where ان has been added above the line, presumably in a self-conscious attempt to bring the sentence into line with CA.
 - 14 Referred to by Blau, Emergence, 132.
 - 15 This is the reading which seems required; the editor prints تبع, i.e. an infinitive, which although perhaps favoured by an inspection of Taf. XIII, fits the context less well. I believe one may read تبع here and have quoted the example accordingly. Cf. below, p, end.
 - 16 Cf. an example in Guest, Kindī, 54.
 - 17 The construction of this verb with a subject and following asyndetic imperfect occurs in CA only rarely, s. Reckendorf, SV, 291; Wright II, 108 and cf. Harīrī, Durra, 90/1. The syndetic construction can be found in Jahn 11, 3 (late 2nd cent. A.H.).
 - 18 Read so! The an in Levi della Vida's text, followed by Grohmann, FWAP 122, 8 is not present in the original.
 - 19 Point تبع also in the re-edition in FWAP 167, 5; Dietrich, Islam 31, 85 preferred to read تبعيل, thus destroying the construction of the asyndetic imperfect. This seems to me a less satisfactory reading.

§270

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 497 n.
- 2 This case might well best be termed an asyndetic object clause, as ألا belongs to the category of non-infinitive abstracts which behave syntactically in the same way as infinitives in that they may govern an object, s. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 173; Wright II, 60.

- 3 But here, as opposed to the preceding example, the asyndetic imperfect may be dependent on ^{كَيْت} with §269, not on ^{كَيْت}. For this construction in CA cf. Ibn Sa'īd, op. cit. §269 n.2, 269, 25/6 and cf. ^{كَيْت} "to send" used thus in Blau, ASP, 497 and in JESHO viii, 304, 1/2 above §138 a.i.
- 4 Cf. the similar example in Reckendorf, Syntax, 379 bottom.

§271

- 1 Cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 531/2; Reckendorf, Syntax, 386/7.
- 2 On this type involving a negative + ^{يَا} cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 507.
- 3 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 380 ff., but this example does not quite correspond with any of those cited there.

§272

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 499 ff. and the literature indicated there.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 501/2.
- 3 Asyndetic clauses as the subject of this verb occur also in other layers of Arabic, s. Reckendorf, Syntax, 377 and Blau, ASP, 499/500.
- 4 This example is pointed out by Blau, Emergence, 132.

§273

- 1 As in other branches of the language, s. Blau, ASP, 502 with further literature; idem, LOS v, 288 and cf. ibid., vi, 171 REMARK.

§274

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 503 and the references there.
- 2 For which references are provided by Blau, ASP, 503 n.48.

§275

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 504 ff. with references to further literature; Schen, JSS 18, 91.

2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 504/5.

3 On this phenomenon s. the references listed by Blau, ASP, 506 n.64 and for the example referred to there by n. 66 cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 384, bottom.

4 On related constructions involving الى s. Bravmann, Studies, 104 ff.; Blau, JA, 177; idem, Emergence, 117/8; 10S v, 292/3; ibid., vi, 159 ff. and the literature referred to in these places.

§276

1 On which s. Blau, ASP, 508 with further literature; Reckendorf, SV, 559/60; Schen, JSS 18, 91.

§277

1 This occurs in CA as well, s. e.g. Wright II, 306; Reckendorf, Syntax 312, and also in modern dialects, as Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 294/5; Grotzfeld, Syrisch-Arabische Grammatik, 104 Anm.

2 For a similar construction introduced by هل s. ولا ادري هل فرنتت من ذلك ام لا "and I do not know whether you have finished with that or not" Jahn 12, 6/7 (late 2nd cent. A.H.).

§278

1 As also in CA, s. e.g. Reckendorf, SV, 515; idem, Syntax, 386 n.1.

§279

1 On this word in Middle Arabic cf. the remarks of Blau, ASP, 510/11; Corriente, Sketch, 133. Cf. below §309 n.4.

2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 513/4 and idem, 10S vi, 180, but for the construction of this particular verb ظن s. Reckendorf, Syntax, 455 n.3.

3 S. e.g. Reckendorf, Syntax, 125/6.

4 Cf. in Middle Arabic, Blau, ASP, 515 n.16.

5 Cf. Blau, ASP, 516/7.

§280

- 1 References to this are given by Blau, ASP, 519 n.30; Wright II, 193.

§282

- 1 S. on this the references given by Blau, JA, 200 n.3; further idem, ASP, 472 n.7; IOS v, 289 and, more generally, W. Havers, Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax (Heidelberg, 1931), 174.

§283

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 525 ff. and the literature provided there; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futūḥ Miṣr, ed. C.C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 30*; Schen, JSS 18, 93.
- 2 Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 132 proposes: "And - God be praised- nothing in it will disappoint you".
- 3 On it cf. Blau, ASP, 527/8.

§284

- 1 In CA cf. e.g. Wright II, 220/1; Brockelmann, GVG II, 603 ff.; Reckendorf, Syntax, 394 ff.; cf. also Corriente, Sketch, 134 for Spanish Arabic.
- 2 Cf. in CA e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 612 sec. g; Reckendorf, Syntax, 405 and for modern dialects e.g. Cowell, Reference Grammar, 349.
- 3 Quoted already for this purpose by Reckendorf, Syntax 405.

§285

- 1 For references to this feature in all layers of Arabic s. Blau, ASP, 531 n.64.
- 2 The reading of the verb here is uncertain; for the editor's ^{ليس} Abbott, ZDMG 108, 207 suggested ^{اسى}, said to mean "despaired".

§286

- 1 S. in particular the surveys of Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 217 ff.; H. Wehr, ZDMG 101 (1951), 107 ff. and Blau, ASP, 533/4.

§287

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 541 ff. and the references provided there in the notes; Corriente, Sketch, 142.

§288

- 1 In ASP and JA, on the other hand, this phenomenon is much rarer than that described at §287; for references to the construction s. Blau, ASP, 547/8; Schen, JSS 13, 91/2. For asyndetic relative clauses after antecedents defined by the generic article s. the references in Blau, ASP, 541 n.3; J.G. Wetzstein, Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft 7 (1871), 473.
- 2 The writer seems to have been a little confused here as هو was first omitted and then added above the line. I have followed Grohmann here and inserted هو before القراريط; it may, however, have been intended to come after that word.

§289

- 1 For it s. the extensive bibliography in Blau, ASP, 549 nn.28, 29; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191; G.S. Colin, Islamica 4 (1931), 166; Schen, JSS 18, 65; Corriente, Sketch, 98.
- 2 Dietrich, *ibid.*, p.150 (cf. also p.12) is wrong in thinking the masculine الذي is attracted to the masculine التين and that the feminine suffix of ذكرتها refers to الجمرة; there can be no doubt, as he also suggests there, that the sentence contains invariable الذي. The example is referred to by Grohmann, HO, 99.
- 3 Pointed out already by Dietrich in DAB, 150 and Blau, Emergence, 132.

§290

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 552/3; Pseudo-Corrections, 98.

§291

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 554 ff. and the literature indicated there.
- 2 Quoted for this purpose by Reckendorf, Syntax, 430 (where read: Pap. Schott 3, 56).

- 3 Quoted for this purpose by Reckendorf, Syntax, 440.
- 4 In CA cf. an example in al-Balādhurī, op.cit.
§153 n.5, 219, 11.

292

- 1 For it s. Blau, ASP, 556 (the passage quoted there is also discussed idem, Emergence, 117) and n.47; Bittner, Brief Christi, 191. This illī may also, perhaps, lie behind invariable إلى as documented above §289, cf. Blau, ASP, 549.

§293

- 1 A feature documented by Blau, ASP, 559 n.53; Reckendorf, SV, 610/11; Schen, JSS 18, 65. It is not without interest to point out a similar usage in Nabataean: 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 /# "whatever male offspring may be born to this Khalaf" G.A. Cooke, op. cit. §142 n. 1, no. 89, 2 quoted (for a different purpose) by Brockelmann, GVG II, 581.
- 2 Quoted already by Brockelmann, GVG II, 571.
- 3 Referred to already by Brockelmann, GVG II, 571 and Reckendorf, Syntax, 434.

§294

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 559 and the literature there; for this feature as a regular phenomenon in the colloquial Arabic of Khuzistan s. B. Ingham, BSOAS xxxvi (1973), 549.

§295

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 560 n.57; Nöldeke Zur Grammatik, 80; Wright II, 289 REM. b; Brockelmann, GVG II, 446; Reckendorf, Syntax, 269 sec. f.; Schen, JSS 18, 95 (all these latter places dealing with partitive nā ... min constructions).

§296

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 560 n.59 for references to this feature; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 83.

§297

- 1 Cf. in general Brockelmann, GVG II, 557/8, 583; Reckendorf, Syntax, 418 ff., 428 ff.; Blau, ASP, 561; Corriente, Sketch, 142.
- 2 Cf. in CA Ewald, Grammatica II, 232/3; Brockelmann, GVG II, 583; Reckendorf, Syntax, 429.
- 3 Cf. in CA Brockelmann, GVG II, 583; Reckendorf, Syntax, 434/5.
- 4 Read so with Dietrich, Islam 33, 39, 8; cf. above § 175.
- 5 On this construction in CA s. Ewald, Grammatica II, 234; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 97/8 and the further documentation in the relevant Nachtrag, 161b; Reckendorf, SV, 530/1, 620/1; Wright II, 323/4; Brockelmann, GVG II, 557.
- 6 I follow here Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 97 in assuming that the absent resumptive suffix would have been governed by a preposition, even though his formulation there, made à propos of what he regarded as (asyndetic) relative clauses after indefinite nouns of time, has been accepted by neither Reckendorf, SV, 508/9 and Syntax, 379, who prefers to analyse such constructions as representing asyndetic attributive clauses, nor Brockelmann, GVG II, 557/8, who speaks in terms of the missing "akkusativische Rückweis", a possibility also considered by Nöldeke, loc. cit.
- 7 Read so with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 135 n.44.
- 8 This example hardly belongs above b, i; for a CA case of a defined noun of time serving as antecedent to a syndetic relative clause without a resumptive pronominal suffix s. Reckendorf, Syntax, 429 sec. b, end; but such words may also be resumed by an caûid in the relative clause as in the first example in Blau, ASP, 582 §467.

§298

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 565/6; idem, IOS iii, 189/90; Schen, JSS 18, 95. I do not myself understand, except in the most obvious cases, the difference between the demonstrative which is a "demonstrativisches vorwegnehmendes Korrelativum" and that which is "noch echtes Demonstr(ativ)" (Reckendorf, Syntax, 444).

§299

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 573/4.

§300

- 1 Cf. the very similar example in Blau, ASP, 574 §456.
- 2 *al* is hardly to be judged according to §230a, and a blend with the type of relative clause described by Blau, ASP, 563 §448 is improbable if only for the reason that such constructions have not yet been recorded in the papyri.

§301

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 577/8 and the references there; further Féghali, Syntaxe, 277/8; A. Spitaler, BO x (1953), 149a bottom; Blau, IOS v, 293; idem, *ibid.*, vi, 188.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 579 n.6; Wright II, 10/11.
- 3 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 580 n.11.

§302

- 1 As in CA, s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 627; Reckendorf, Syntax, 480.
- 2 On it s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 586 n.32, and for a possible example of *u < لا الى* s. below §307 n.2.

§303

- 1 Cf. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 628/9; Reckendorf, Syntax, 475/6.
- 2 Referred to by Reckendorf, Syntax, 456.
- 3 It is ba^cd mā rather than ba^cd an that has survived into most modern dialects s. e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 629; Féghali, Syntaxe, 442 ff., Blau, BZ, 238. It occurs also in ASP, s. Blau, ASP, 129.
- 4 Written here apparently as one word. cf. §51 n.2. I cannot say whether ba^cd mā is written as one or two words in the other examples quoted here. not having examined the originals.

§304

- 1 Cf. in CA Reckendorf, SV, 668, 734 ff.; Wright II, 30 REM. b; Brockelmann, GVG II, 540.
- 2 It seems somehow unlikely that *اعل* here has been influenced by the following *اعل*; more probable is that this *اعل* represents the

phenomenon noted by Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 69: "Das Impf. steht in ziemlich grossen Umfang in temporalen Nebensätzen, die einen Zustand in der Vergangenheit ausdrücken", a feature treated all too briefly by K. Aartun, Zur Frage altarabischer Tempora (Oslo, 1963), 98. Cf. in ASP, Blau, ASP, 581 §466.1 and 584 on such an imperfect after hīna and fīmā respectively. A good example of this tendency in modern dialects is the imperfect after qablma "before" when referring to the past, s. e.g. Blau, BZ, 239; Cowell, Reference Grammar 359; A. Bloch, op. cit. above § 230 n.6, 38/9; Grotzfeld, Syrisch-Arabisches Grammatik, 107; M. Piamenta, Studies in the Syntax of Palestinian Arabic (Jerusalem, 1966), 73/4.

3 Cf. in CA Reckendorf, Syntax, 477 ff.

§305

- 1 Cf. e.g. Blau, ASP, 582 and for a modern dialect s. the examples from Khuzistan in B. Ingham, BSOAS xxxvi (1973), 537/8.
- 2 Cf. the first example in Blau, ASP, 582 §467.
- 3 I have not found in the papyri examples of لأ governing syndetic clauses with ان or لأ, for the former s. e.g. an example in Brockelmann, GVG II, 620 top, for the latter Schen, JSS 18, 95 and an instance from Spanish Arabic quoted by Corriente, Sketch, 137 n.
- 4 This is but an aspect of the common feature of nouns of time governing asyndetic clauses (s. § 274); nevertheless, I have the impression that لأ in this construction is not particularly frequent in CA, s. an instance in Reckendorf, Syntax, 390 antepenult.

§306

- 1 S. the literature in Blau, ASP, 582 n.20.
- 2 Quoted by Blau, ASP, 583.

§307

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 585 n.1.
- 2 Grohmann renders: "So will ich denn unsern Anspruch zu Deinen Lasten aufschieben, wenn Du den Stoff sendest, ..." and similarly in FWAP, 168. Now, to find in فانظر the meaning "to grant respite/credit" is very plausible indeed, but in

that case the translation "wenn" makes no sense; what is needed is "until". Could it be that what we have here is an example of lammā < ilā mā "until" (§302a) so common in many modern dialects (on it s. the references in Blau, ASP, 586 n.32)?

- 3 For lammā with the imperfect marking repeated action in the future, often with a conditional nuance, s. the references in Blau, ASP, 585 n.31; IOS iii, 194/5 and in modern educated conversation an example in H. Blanc, Stylistic Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Interdialectal Educated Conversation, in Contributions to Arabic Linguistics ed. C.A. Ferguson (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 128, 3. For lammā followed by an imperfect in the function of historical present s. Blau, IOS vi, 165.

§308

- 1 S. Wright II, 12 REM. b; Reckendorf, Syntax, 463 n., 484/5 and for conditional bi in modern dialects Brockelmann, GVG II, 638 sec. e, Anm.
- 2 This is attested elsewhere in Middle Arabic as in Usāma b. Munqidh, Kitāb al-Ictibār ed. P.K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), 104 antepenult: ما به باس. بل. "There is not much wrong with him, but if he is wounded again he will die" and for Spanish Arabic s. Corriente, Sketch, 139. Cf. also قدام انه متى ردتم تارت فتنة "he realized that if he were to send them away, strife would arise" Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, Niswār al-Muhādara ed. D.S. Margoliouth (London, 1921), 210, 12.

§309

- 1 S. the literature on this subject referred to by Blau, ASP, 589/90.
- 2 Further to the references in Blau, ASP, 589 nn. cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 557 Anm. 1; Fāghali, Syntaxe, 277/8; A. Spitaler, BO x (1953), 149a bottom; Blau, IOS v, 293.
- 3 Cf. on this Blau, ASP, 397 n.28. I have noted this construction in JA also: أنا لا أعرف ما إذا ذهب إلى القاهرة أم إلى دمشق "and I (sic) do not know whether he has gone to Cairo or to Damascus" T-S 10 J 13.10.
- 4 Could it be that ان reflecting CA ان, ان and ان (s. the references above § 279 n.1) may reflect CA ان as well?

§310

- 1 For which cf. Blau, ASP, 590/1 and the literature indicated there.

§311

- 1 For the imperfect in the protasis of conditional clauses in CA s. Blau, ASP, 591/2 and the notes there, especially n.11 which applies also to Brockelmann, GVG II, 636 sec. b.
- 2 S. Reckendorf, Syntax, 485.

§312

- 1 Cf. in CA Wright II, 39 bottom.
- 2 For a clear case of the jussive in this position cf. فان لم ينق في الارض فليجده الى النطاق
"and if he cannot sell (it §338a) in the land, let him bring it to Fustat" PSR iii II, 32/3 (91 A.H.).
- 3 This example is quoted as "Apok. des Nachsatzes in aufforderndem Sinne" by Reckendorf, Syntax, 487, but is described by Blau, Emergence, 129 n.1 as an "imperfect instead of the imperative". Incidentally, the remark of Reckendorf, loc. cit., to the effect that this phenomenon is frequent in papyri is somewhat misleading; it is quite true that the imperfect often appears for the imperative (s. §138 b), but in the apodosis of a conditional clause such replacement is quite rare - in this position the imperative is without doubt the norm.
- 4 This is a purely formal classification based on the fact that lam is followed here by the prefix-conjugation; it may on other grounds be preferable to see this construction as the negative counterpart to the perfect in the function of imperative discussed in the next section.
- 5 This is the "Perf. des Haupts. in aufforderndem Sinne" of Reckendorf, Syntax, 485/6.
- 6 All these are very similar to the instance adduced by Reckendorf, Syntax, 486 top.
- 7 For which phenomenon in CA s. the literature in Blau, ASP, 447 n.4, and for Modern Standard Arabic idem, IOS iii, 197/8.
- 8 Quoted already by Blau, Emergence, 129.
- 9 S. e.g. Wright II, 42 §19 e; Reckendorf, Syntax, 499.

§313

- 1 For CA, s. e.g. Wright II, 16; Reckendorf, Syntax, 488. So far I have found in the papyri only conjugated not invariable kān in this construction (but for this kān after law s. the second example in § 244); cf. with the following examples those in Blau, ASP, 593 § 482.1.
- 2 But s. Reckendorf, Syntax, 486 n.1, on which cf. Bravmann, Studies, 79 n.1.
- 3 On which s. the references furnished by Blau, ASP, 593 n.16; Féghali, Syntaxe, 270 n.; Corriente, Sketch, 138/9.
- 4 Jahn read here ورود, offering no translation; Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 133 suggested wadūd "gallium aparine", translating: "If there happens to be (with you) some wadūd". But the mark above the line which Jahn took as rā seems to me to be nothing but a smudge.
- 5 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 487.
- 6 Pace Dietrich who translates: "Sollte er hinauskommen".
- 7 S. Wright II, 15*; Brockelmann, GVG II, 638 Anm.1 referred to by Reckendorf, Syntax, 48ⁿ n.2.

§314

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 593.
- 2 Quoted by Blau, Emergence, 129/30.

§315

- 1 S. Reckendorf, SV, 699. For the rare occurrence of a nominal sentence after in s. Blau, ASP, 590/1 with the literature given there.

§316

- 1 For which s. the literature given by Blau, ASP, 595 n.22; Schen, JSS 18, 94.
- 2 Thus the original editor as well as Grohmann, APEL III, 14; FWAP, 128 and Littmann, ZDMG 94, 299.
- 3 I do not think that ان شاء الله can belong in either of these two cases to what follows rather than to what precedes, i.e. as if NPAF II, 22/3 should be divided as ان شاء الله فلا تكونن "If God wills, you will not be ...".

§317

- 1 But an imperfect continuous lam + jussive following law in the example quoted below § 318 a. This, however, has nothing particularly to do with the fact that it happens to appear in the protasis of law, but belongs to § 82 d.
- 2 For CA cf. e.g. Wright II, 7/8; Reckendorf, Syntax, 495/6.
- 3 For CA cf. e.g. Wright II, 8; Reckendorf, Syntax, 496.

§318

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 8 top and Willmore, Spoken Arabic of Egypt, 292; Féghali, Syntaxe, 259 ff. respectively.
- 2 S. e.g. Wright II, 348/9.
- 3 In CA la- may not occur in the apodosis of law when this is introduced by lam (Wright II, 349); this is the case in the papyri as well, as APEL V 305, 5; 310, 4 (both 3rd cent. A.H.).

§319

- 1 " وَدَّ لَوْ , das sonst im Altarabischen selten zu sein scheint"; "In gewöhnlicher Prosa kommt لَوْ وَدَّ kaum vor" (Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 20, 237). Cf. further Blau, ASP, 595 § 488 and for Modern Standard Arabic, idem, IOS iii, 222.

§320

- 1 S. Reckendorf, Syntax, 495.

§321

- 1 S. e.g. Wright II, 17 REM. b. end, 40 top; Brockelmann, GVG II, 646/7; Reckendorf, Syntax, 513/4.

§322

- 1 Cf. also Wright II, 339; Reckendorf, Syntax, 508/9; for modern dialects Féghali, Syntaxe, 429 ff.
- 2 Cf. e.g. Wright II, 339; Brockelmann, GVG II, 650; Reckendorf, Syntax, 507/8.

- 3 This particular combination seems to be new; cf. on Y in this function A. Spitaler, Serta Monacensia, Franz Babinger zum 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss dargebracht, ed. H.J. Kissling, A. Schmaus (Leiden, 1952), 171 ff.; Blau, BZ, 246/7; M. Bravmann, Le Muséon lxxxiv (1971), 499 ff. , all of which adduce further literature. I have not checked the original of the text quoted here, and it may be that wa- should be read for fa-.

§323

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 597/8 and the references given there.

§324

- 1 Cf. on this Blau, ASP, 598 and the literature there; further Schwarz, cUmar, 159 (Kosegarten's Grammatica referred to there has not been available to me); Blau, IOS iii, 186; idem, ibid., v. 295; Corriente, Sketch, 132, 147.

For the elision of the preceding negatives cf.

§§ 153 d; 154 b.

- 2 Both the original editor, Becker, and Grohmann, APEL III 146, 9 add Y to this sentence; that this is unnecessary is pointed out by Blau, ASP, 598 n.39.

§325

- 1 S. e.g. the references in Blau, ASP, 599 n.43; Reckendorf, Syntax, 515/6.
- 2 Cf. the literature given by Blau, ASP, 599 n.44 and, for Modern Standard Arabic, idem, IOS iii, 187.

§326

- 1 In addition to Blau, ASP, 603 cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 657.
- 2 This construction is exceedingly rare in CA, s. Brockelmann, GVG II, 657 quoting Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 114.
- 3 Dietrich translates: "bei meinem Leben ..., habe ich sie nicht ohne mich zurückgelassen, so Gott will!". For the possibly illogical الله لا يموت cf. §316 REM.
- 4 Cf. in CA e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 657/8; Reckendorf, Syntax, 516.

§327

- 1 For this phenomenon cf. Blau, ASP, 601 ff. with references to further literature; s. also e.g. Spitta-Bey, Grammatik, 434; Féghali, Syntaxe, 271; Blau, IOS iii, 188/9 and idem, ibid., vi, 182
REMARK, last example.
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 601.

§328

- 1 Some aspects of this topic have already been touched upon in what precedes, such as the order of components in optative constructions (§ 138 c), and the position of cad when in conjunction with kan + perfect (§ 238 b).
The question of word order in CA has never been thoroughly investigated. Most works dealing with Arabic syntax, the present one included, do little more than offer a selection of more or less random observations; the nearest approximation to a comprehensive treatment of the subject is Bloch's Vers und Sprache (cf. also the section De ordine et vi vocabulorum in enunciatione in Ewald, Grammatica II, 162 ff.).
- 2 Cf. Blau, ASP, 604; idem, JA, 261; IOS vi, 180/1; Schen, JSS 18, 96. For existential sentences beginning thus cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 37; Reckendorf, Syntax, 356; Blau, IOS v, 278.

§329

- 1 Cf. in ASP (apparently only in translations) Blau, ASP, 604; further e.g. Brockelmann, GVG II, 202; Corriente, Sketch, 123/4.
- 2 On these cases s. Fraenkel, ZA 20, 196 and cf. above § 190, beginning.

§330

- 1 Cf. on this the references in Blau, ASP, 606 n.13; Bloch, Vers und Sprache, 100 ff. with further literature; Fück, Arabiya, 92; Schen, JSS 18, 96.
- 2 Or does a case such as this represent rather isolation of the natural subject (§ 262 a)?
- 3 Cf. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 222.

§331

- 1 Cf. on this phenomenon, which applies particularly to Blau, the literature in Blau, Emergence, 67 n.1; idem, IOS vi, 170; Wright II, 312*.

§332

- 1 Cf. Brockelmann, GVG II, 434; Reckendorf, Syntax, 134; Bloch, Vers und Sprache, 105; Blau, ASP, 608.

§333

- 1 According to Harīrī, Durra, 21, bi- should not be used in cases such as these in which the object of the verb of sending is a human being capable of self-transportation, not needing to be "sent" in the same way as would have been an inanimate object. An earlier example Arabiya "that he send them both" Krackovskaja and Krackovskij, Sogdiiskii Sbornik, 55, 11 (99-101 A.H.) is referred to by Fück, Arabiya, 145 n.10. This text also uses the recommended construction: فأرسلت عليه فدا "I shall send my servant on it", l. 13.
- 2 Point and translate so with Levi della Vida, JAOS 64, 129.
- 3 Cf. on this Blau, ASP, 608 n.16.
- 4 On this type representing a "Verschiebung der Satzgliederung" cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 230/1; Bloch, Vers und Sprache, 64/5.
- 5 For CA cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 441.

§334

- 1 On this cf. Blau, ASP, 613 and the references given there; further idem, IOS v, 287; ibid., vi, 167. Postpositive bi- also occurs in the papyri as APFL V 289, 10 (3rd cent. A.H.) quoted above § 261a, but I have the impression that it is far less frequent.

§335

- 1 This is explicitly stated by Reckendorf, SV, 661; idem, Syntax, 470.

§336

- 1 Cf. in CA Reckendorf, SV, 688/9, 729.

§337

- 1 Some phenomena which might have been included here have already been mentioned at appropriate places in what has preceded, e.g. the fluctuation of person at § 218.
- 2 For this phenomenon in general in CA cf. Reckendorf, SV, 687 (perfect and jussive alternating after ان); Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 68 (narrative perfect continued by imperfect); Reckendorf, Syntax, 333/4, 519/20; in Middle Arabic, Blau, ASP, 615 and the references there; Schen, JSS 18, 97.
- 3 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 519/20.
- 4 For which cf. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, 94; Reckendorf, SV, 490; *idem*, Syntax, 337/8.

§338

- 1 Cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, 341.
- 2 Reckendorf, Syntax, 346.

§339

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 617 and the literature provided there in n.4; Schen, JSS 18, 93.

§340

- 1 Cf. Blau, ASP, 619 n.6; Reckendorf, Syntax, 523.
- 2 I am not inclined to find in ولا يزيدوا an independent jussive; this is in any case a rare phenomenon, s. the references given by Blau, ASP, 272 n., end.

ADDENDA ET EMENDANDA

- P. 7 §4b: Add: أرضه "its land" Mélanges Islamo-
logiques ii, 108, note to 1.5 (253 A.H.),
but this might be the plural according to
§10a, despite the أرضه which occurs later
in the document.
- Pp.13/14 Cf. يأخذو "they take" at §77b, REM., which
§10a, REM.B: need not illustrate aʔ > ā spelled
defectively, but more probably a genuine short
vowel aʔ > ā > a in the (newly) closed
syllable. Cf. also the forms of the verb أأ
at §78a as well as §§73 n.2; 79 n.4.
- P. 19 §14b: Cf. also عنان at §99.
- P. 30 §24a: الحيط "the wall" occurs also at APEL VI 386,
2 (3rd-4th cent. A.H.).
- Pp.36/7 §30: There should have been mentioned the possi-
bility that a case such as سعر §95a
may reflect *sittt > sitt, for which cf.
Elau, ASP, 369, n.9.
- P. 40 §36a: After آفة add: "clasp of the hands".
- Pp.46/7 §47a: Concerning tāʔ marbūta pronounced in status
constructus as -t cf. the reservation
expressed at §193 n.12.

ADDENDA ET EMENDANDA

- P. 87 §82a: For م بيتا APEL VI 389, 16 a different, but on the whole less likely explanation is discussed at §221 n.3.
- P. 111 §88: Add: عقات, plural of عقة APEL VI 389, 14 and 15 (3rd cent. A.H.).
- P.143 §143c: Another example occurs in FWAP 164, 9 quoted for a different purpose at §289a.
- P. *1 §1 n.4: Three lines from the bottom of the note read: ... probably do fall ...
- P. *60: §84 n.18 has dropped out. Add: Blau, ASP, 216/7.
- P.*61 §84n.33: After "late example" add: الزوبين.
- P. *72 §95n.7: The author's name, viz. Jiha, has dropped out before Bismizzin.
- P.*91 §145 n.12: Add the reference to the source: APEL III 153, 8-10 (91 A.H.).
- P. *103: §168 n.3 has been omitted. It reads:
Recorded already by Grochmann, Einführung, 105; Blau, Scripta, 223; idem, Emergence, 203.

ADDENDA ET EMENDANDA

- P. *145: The latter part of §288 n.1 is missing. Add:
On the problem of identifying these asyndetic
relative clauses s. the remark of Reckendorf,
Syntax, 414n., which may apply to some of the
cases given in what follows.
- P. xxix The full entry for CRUM, W.E. and BELL, H.I.,
Wadi Sarga ... should be: Wadi Sarga, Coptic
and Greek Texts from the Excavations undertaken
by the Byzantine Research Account, Edited by
W.E.C. and H.I.B., with an Introduction by R.
Campbell Thompson, Coptica, Consilio et
Impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstediani Edita III,
Hauniae, 1922.