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Foot notes.

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A MAMLŪK TEXT
ON THE ORTHOGRAPHICAL DISTINCTION
OF *DĀD* AND *ZĀ'*

BY

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I. INTRODUCTION.

The orthographic distinction between the Arabic letters *d* and *z* (ض and ظ) has been a point of uncertainty and confusion all through the known period of Arabic writing. Even today, uncertainty often reigns in the minds of educated Arabs; one sees works by reputable authors from reputable presses with these two letters interchanged (the substitution of *d* for *z* being rather more common than the reverse, doubtless because of the greater frequency of *d* and its consequent assimilative influence) (1).

This is not the place to discuss the thorny problems of phonetic definition and pronunciation of the two consonant phonemes in question. It seems, however, reasonably safe to define both of them as velarised (*muṭbaq* in the terminology of the Arab grammarians) (2), voiced fricatives, *z* being interdental and *d* probably being latero-interdental or lateralised in some

(1) In Middle Arabic Judaeo-Arabic texts (see on the position of Judaeo-Arabic in the general question under discussion, below, p. 4), the spelling *d* for *z* is frequent in all types of text, but the opposite *z* for *d* is much rarer; see J. BLAU, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic* (Oxford 1965), 76.

(2) The grammarians used this term for the four "emphatic" consonants ض, ط, ص and ظ, which they subsumed under the wider phenomenon of *mufaḥḥam* "strengthened" consonants, which included خ, غ, ق and, in certain conditions, ر and ل. Cf. J. CANTINEAU, *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre. I. Grammaire* (Beirut 1934), 37 ff.

degree. It has been stressed by, amongst others, Cantineau, that z (ظ) is the *muṭbaq* version of the voiced interdental fricative \underline{d} (ذ) — as is clearly stated by Sībawayh and his commentator Ibn Ya‘īš — and that the transcription common amongst western orientalists of this phoneme as z is misleading: a rendering \underline{d} would be more accurate (3). Cantineau attributed this usual transcription of ظ as z , implying that ظ is the velarised version of the voiced interdental fricative z (ز), to Arabic pronunciations of recent times, affected by the Turkish rendering of ظ in the Ottoman pronunciation of Arabic words (4). On the other hand, careful articulation (as in *tağwīd*, the art of Qur’ānic recitation) does preserve the original pronunciation of ظ as a velarised, voiced, interdental fricative (5).

But the confusion of the two consonants arose well before so much of the Arab world passed under Turkish and Ottoman rule. From the earliest decades of the Arab conquests, the language of the victors — themselves a minority in the conquered lands — became affected by the speech habits of the “new Muslims” or *mawālī*, Syriac-speaking Nabaṭīs, Coptic-speaking Egyptians, Iranian-speaking Persians, and so forth. To all of these, the nuances of the pronunciation of \underline{d} , the letter which the Arabs regarded as one of the *ḥaṣā’is*, special characteristics of their tongue (6), were alien. Except

(3) Nevertheless, since the present article is not concerned primarily with phonological questions, the conventional rendering z has been retained in preference to the phonetically more correct \underline{d} .

(4) This could be true for later times. But virtually nothing is known about the pronunciation of Arabic words in early Ottoman. Before the establishment of a general system of madrasa education in Turkey itself, the early Ottoman ulema tended to study at places like Cairo and Damascus. One would accordingly expect that a careful, purist pronunciation of Arabic and of Arabic loan words in Turkish would prevail; but this is pure surmise.

(5) CANTINEAU, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, in *Etudes de linguistique arabe, mémorial Jean Cantineau* (Paris 1960), 54-6; *idem*, “Esquisse d’une phonologie de l’arabe classique”, in *ibid.*, 168-9, 189 (originally in *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, XLIII [1946], 96-8, 115); *idem*, “Le consonantisme du sémitique”, in *ibid.*, 283-5 (originally in *Semítica*, IV [1951-2], 84-6); H. FLEISCH, *Traité de philologie arabe. I. Préliminaires, phonétique, morphologie nominale* (Beirut 1961), 57, 228-9.

(6) As is implied in the famous *ḥadīṭ* of the Prophet, “I am the most eloquent of those who speak with *dād*”, sc. of the Arab race, and in the verse of Mutanabbī, “Through them

for the Syriac-speaking fellow-Semites of the Arabs, *iṭbāq*, velarisation or emphatic articulation was foreign; and the pronunciation of both *ḍ* and *ẓ* alike, and the maintenance of the phonetic distinction between them, was difficult for the *mawālī* (7).

Blau notes that the earliest instance of the *ḍ/ẓ* confusion in orthography known to him comes from 101/720; a papyrus document from Fustāt, dated to that year, contains the phrase *wa-ḥfaz mā qablaka* ‘‘hold fast to what has gone before you’’, written as *واحصص = واحفض* standing for *واحفظ* (8). In discussing *lahn*, incorrect pronunciation (9), Ğāḥiẓ cites a man of Baṣra who had a slavegirl called *Ẓamyā* ‘‘dark-skinned’’, ‘‘having darkish, dry and bloodless lips’’, or ‘‘having narrow-lidded eyes’’, see *Lisān al-‘arab*¹, XIX, 250, *Tāğ al-‘arūs*, X, 232, but he was unable to pronounce her name except as *Ḍamyā*, and this led Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to remonstrate with him. Ğāḥiẓ comments that the Umayyad governor of Ḥurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār, used to advise people (sc. the local Persians) not to give their slaveboys names (meaning Arabic ones) which they were unable to pronounce properly themselves (10). A tale narrated by Abū Sa‘īd as-Sīrāfī in his *Aḥbār an-naḥwīyyīn al-baṣriyyīn* and by Ibn an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* makes the confused pronunciation of *ḍ* and *ẓ* by the *mawālī* the stimulus for the proto-grammarians Abū l-Aswad ad-Du‘alī’s laying down the bases of the science of Arabic grammar. A Persian convert had come to Baṣra to see

[sc. my tribe] is the vaunting of all those who speak with *ḍād*, the refuge of the one who has committed an offence and the succour of the one who has been cast out’’, with the gloss of Wāḥidī, *ad-ḍād li-l-‘arab ḥāṣṣatan* (cited by A. FISCHER, in *ZDMG*, LIX [1905], 837-8).

(7) On this emergence of a post-classical Arabic, markedly influenced by the speech habits of the non-Arabs in the Islamic empire, see J. FÜCK’s magistral *‘Arabīya, recherches sur l’histoire de la langue et du style arabe*, French tr. Cl. DENIZEAU (Paris 1955), chs. II-V, and on the difficulties over *ḍād* and *ẓā* encountered by the new Muslims, pp. 89-90.

(8) Th. SEIF, ‘‘Zwei arabische Papyrusurkunden’’, *WZKM*, XXXII (1925), 277, 279; A. GROHMANN, *Einführung und chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* (Prague 1955), 104.

(9) More exactly, ‘‘deviation from the norm’’; see FÜCK’s appendix on $\sqrt{lh n}$ and its derivatives, in *‘Arabīya*, 195-205.

(10) *al-Bayān wa-t-tabayīn*, ed. ‘Abd as-Salām Muḥammad HĀRŪN (Cairo 1380-1/1960-1, 4 vols.), II, 211.

Abū l-Aswad and had told him that his horse was *dāli* ‘“acting tyrannically”’ instead of the correct *zāli* ‘“limping”’; Abū l-Aswad reproved the laughing bystanders and pointed out that the Arabs had a duty to teach the new Muslims correct Arabic speech (11).

It is abundantly clear that the confusion in pronunciation of *d* and *z* and indeed, the tendency towards a merging of the sounds of these two consonants, are generalised features of Middle Arabic, including the Christian Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic and Samaritan Arabic forms, the first two of which have been studied closely in this present century by scholars like Joshua Blau and Georg Graf. According to Blau, in South Palestinian Christian Arabic the sound *d* merged into *z*, and *d* possibly passed to the fricative *ḏ* in the earlier period and then to the plosive *d* in the later one. In orthography, the use of *d* and *z* for representing the merged sound seems to have been a matter of indifference, depending on the feeling of the writer. In Judaeo-Arabic, the sounds *d* and *z* likewise merged, and in orthography *d* was generally chosen, forms written with *z* being usually the result of hypercorrection. But in South Palestinian Christian Arabic again, spelling of *d* for classical *z* and vice-versa seen to be more restricted, although the spelling of *z* for *d* is certainly attested (12). An analysis of the mutations of *d* and *z* in the various Arabic dialects would require a separate monograph. Suffice it to cite a single example here, in the form of Landberg’s comments on this phenomenon in the south-western Arabian dialect of Daṭīna: that *d* and *z* are everywhere confounded in pronunciation, with the insignificant proviso that amongst the Bedouins, « la différence existe, mais il est fort difficile de la saisir ». What Landberg says, however, does go to confirm the later exposition of Cantineau, etc.

(11) Cited by Khalil I. SEMAAN in his *Linguistics in the Middle Ages. Phonetic studies in early Islam* (Leiden 1968), 22-3.

(12) BLAU, *Diqdūq ha-‘arabī ha-yehūdīt šel yemē hab-binayim* (“A grammar of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic”) (Jerusalem 1961), 38-9, §§ 21 a,b, 23; *idem*, *A grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South-Palestinian texts from the first millenium*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vols. 267, 276, 279 = Subsidia 27, 28, 29 (Louvain 1966-7), Fasc. I, 113-14. Blau’s statements on the orthographical mutation of *d* and *z* in Christian texts seem to be somewhat contradictory here; if this mutation is a restricted phenomenon, one can hardly impute indifference to the scribes over which consonant they chose to write.

that *z* is basically the velarised version of *ḏ*, and that « ce ne sont que les Ḥaḏar de la Syrie et de l'Égypte qui prononcent *ḏ* comme un *z* emphatique » (13).

As may be readily deduced from the few comments above, confusion in orthography was the inevitable concomitant of confusion in the pronunciation of *ḏ* and *z*. The Arabic philologists considered this confusion a solecism of the vulgar classes, of non-native Arabic speakers and of less careful indigenous Arabic speakers, but we may be sure that these speech practices were rife amongst levels of society outside the ranks of the grammarians and pedants themselves. Hence an enunciation of the differences between the two phonemes forms an aspect of the extensive *ḥaṭa' al-'āmm* literature and of works of a didactic and pedagogical nature. Ḥarīrī in one of his celebrated *maqāmāt*, the very elaborate 46th one of Aleppo, gives a list of the commoner words in the Arabic language (excluding, he says, the rarer ones, *siwā n-nawādir*) containing *z*. In this *maqāma*, the narrator al-Ḥarīṭ b. Hammām comes upon a schoolmaster (who, of course, turns out to be Abū Zayd as-Sarūḡī) with a class of ten children, all prodigies in their knowledge of language; one of these children recites a didactic poem of nineteen verses in the *ḥafīf* metre which contains all these common words with *z* (14). Many works of a lexicographical or philological nature take care expressly to explain to the reader those forms written with *ḏ* and those written with *z*. For instance, Maḡd ad-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭīr in his lexicon of the more unusual words in the corpus of Islamic tradition literature, *an-Nihāya fī ḡarīb al-ḥadīṭ wa-l-aṭar*, expressly distinguishes s.v. $\sqrt{\text{ } z b b}$ between *ḡabīb*, *ḡuba* “sword point” and *ḡabīb* “haemorrhage from the mouth or elsewhere”, and s.v. $\sqrt{\text{ } f y ḏ}$ he discusses the question of the spellings *fāḏa* versus *fāza* in the expression *fāḏat nafsuḥu* “he died” (15). Ibn Mālīk, author of the *Alfyya* (d. 672/1274), also composed a didactic verse work on this topic, *al-I'tidād*

(13) C. de LANDBERG, *Glossaire Daḡinois* (Leiden 1920-42, 3 vols.), III, 2234 ff., see also 2163-4.

(14) *Maqāmāt* (Beirut 1893), 504-7; tr. T. CHENERY and F. STEINGASS, *The assemblies of al Ḥarīrī* (London 1867-98, 2 vols.), II, 153-4 (translates the first half of the poem only).

(15) Ed. Ṭāhir Aḡmad az-Zāwī and Maḡmūd Muḡammad aṭ-ṬANNĀḤĪ (Cairo 1383/1963, 5 vols), III, 155, 485.

fī-l-farq bayn az-zā' wa-d-dād, which comprised 62 verses in the *basīṭ* metre, together with a brief commentary by the author himself and appendices on words which could be written with *d* and *z* indifferently and with *ṭ* or *z* indifferently (16).

It was thus natural for the Egyptian author Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Qalqaṣandī, author of one of the supreme products of Mamlūk Arabic literature, his manual of secretaryship the *Ṣubḥ al-a'šā fī ṣinā'at al-inšā'* (completed in 814/1412) (17), to include in his book a section on words written with *z*, for the ability to write ornate and elegant prose, unmarred by solecisms, was a *sine qua non* for the secretaries in the royal chancery (*kuttāb ad-dast*, *kuttāb ad-darġ*) and in the financial *dīwāns* (*kuttāb al-ḥisāb*) alike. Before this section in the *Ṣubḥ* (III, 222-6), Qalqaṣandī had already included a section on the linguistic knowledge necessary for a secretary, including an injunction to avoid [Egyptian] dialectical forms (*mā talḥanu fīhi al-'amma*), such as vowel mutation, as in *ġifn* for *ġafn* "eyelid", *qubūl* for *qabūl* "act of receiving", *darḥim* for *dirham*, *tumsāḥ* for *timsāḥ* "crocodile", etc.; and consonant mutation, as in *waḍīfa* for *wazīfa* "official position, job", and *bayza* for *bayḍa* "egg" (I, 161-2). Further on, in a section on "the art of speech", *ṣan'at al-kalām*, he had given interesting information on *tanāfur al-kalimāt* "the incongruity or incompatibility of words". In this, he noted such trends in popular pronunciation (all of them widely attestable from the history of Arabic dialects) as the avoidance of repetition of identical consonants, producing such forms as *ġa'allaka* for *ġa'ala laka*, *taḍribūnnī* for *taḍribūnanī*, *amlaytu* for *amlaltu*, etc. (II, 262-3) (18).

The section on words which are written with *z*, and of which some are often confused with those written with *d*, occurs in a section devoted to

(16) H. FLEISCH, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*² Art. "Ibn Mālik"; BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I², 363, Suppl. I, 526 (the work is still unedited).

(17) Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Rasūl IBRĀHĪM (Cairo 1331-40/1913-22, 14 vols.); W. BJÖRKMAN wrote an indispensable guide to this monumental work, his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburgische Universität Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet des Auslandskunde, Band 28 - Reihe B. Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen. Band 16 (Hamburg 1928).

(18) The use of many elisions and assimilations like these is nevertheless sanctioned by *taġwīd*.

questions of calligraphy, script and orthography in the second chapter of the first discourse, a chapter devoted to the practical aspects of the secretary's art, as opposed to the theoretical ones dealt with in the first chapter. It is rather less full than, for instance, Ḥarīrī's list in the *maqāma ḥalabiyya*, but has the added interest of a lexicographical commentary and frequent reference to the occurrence of the words in the text of the Qur'ān. A translation of the section is therefore given below, together with lexicographical comments on the words therein treated.

II. TRANSLATION OF *Ṣubḥ al-A'šā*, III, 222-6.

The fifth section of the second chapter of the first discourse, concerning words which are written with *z*, together with an exposition of words which are written with *ḍ* but concerning whose spelling doubt frequently arises.

z rather than *ḍ* has been singled out for mention simply because *z* occurs infrequently whereas *ḍ* occurs frequently. Moreover, words written with *z*, and not those written with *ḍ*, have been singled out because the orthographic shapes of *d* and *ḍ* are identical, so that any error over them by the scribe is not apparent. But the opposite is the case with *z* and *ḍ*, since they have different orthographic shapes, and thus the errors and shortcomings of the scribe regarding them become obvious. Hence there has arisen a solicitude to make people aware of what should be written with *z*, but not of what should be written with *ḍ*.

I have set forth my list in alphabetical order for ease of utilisation.

Letter alif.

Included here is *azallahu š-šay'u* ("the thing shaded him") when it covered him over. But in regard to *aḍallahu* ("he lost it") from *aḍ-dalāl* ("wandering astray"), when he lost his beast at the time it ran away, this is written with *ḍ*.

Letter bā'.

Included here is *bahazahu l-amru* ("the affair placed a crushing burden on him") when it tired him out. Also included is *al-bazr* ("clitoris"), which

is the fleshy protuberance hanging down in a woman's vulva and which is cut in circumcision (19).

Letter tā'.

Included here is *at-taqrīz*, which means "the act of praising". Also, *at-talammuz*, which means "moving round one's lips after eating in order to swallow down what has been taken in for masticating between the teeth" (20).

Letter ġīm.

Included here is *al-ġawwāz* ("the person who struts in a haughty fashion"), which refers to an ill-mannered, haughty person or to a glutton (21). Also *al-ġaḥūz*, which is the bulging and prominence of the eye; from this root come [the names of] Abū 'Uṭmān al-Ġāḥiẓ and Ġaḥza al-Barmakī.

Letter ḥā'.

Included here is *al-ḥifz* ("keeping in mind"), the opposite of forgetting. Also, *al-ḥafīza*, meaning "anger". Also, *al-ḥazz*, which means "abundance of wealth, share of good luck"; it is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "Indeed, he [sc. Korah] is a man of mighty fortune (*la-dū ḥazz*ⁱⁿ 'azīmⁱⁿ)" (22), and in "The male receives the share (*ḥazz*) of two

(19) Also, any fleshy protuberance, e.g. on the upper lip, as in the *ḥadiṭ* of 'Alī quoted by IBN AL-AṬĪR, *Nihāya*, I, 138, also in *Lisān al-'arab*¹ [hereafter *LA*] V, 137, where Šurayḥ [b. al-Ḥārīṭ al-Kindī, the famous Qādī of Kufa] is called *al-'abd al-abzar* "the slave with a long, fleshy protuberance on his upper lip"; and by extension, a loquacious woman is described as *biẓrīr* "as if her tongue were likened to a clitoris" (*LA*, V, 136).

(20) Almost the same wording in *Tāġ al-'arūs* [hereafter *TA*], V, 263, "running the tongue round the mouth or over the lips in order to pick up particles of food remaining on the lips or between the teeth", also in *Nihāya*, IV, 271, and *LA*, IX, 342.

(21) The lexica give a wide range of meanings for this word, e.g. *LA*, IX, 318, and *TA*, V, 248: rough, ill-mannered; fat, pot-bellied, short-bodied; loud-mouthed; strutting haughtily; etc. All these meanings, says *TA*, *loc. cit.*, can be used to explain the *ḥadiṭ* of the Prophet, "the people in hell fire are all *ġawwāz*", also in *Nihāya*, I, 316.

(22) *Sūrat al-Qiṣaṣ* = xxviii, 79.

females" (23). As for *al-ḥaḍḍ*, with the meaning of "incitement, urging on", this is written with *ḍ*; the root is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "... And does not urge (*wa-lā yaḥuḍḍu*) the feeding of the destitute" (24). Also, *al-ḥuẓwa* ("favour, esteem"), which means "elevated status". Also, *al-ḥazr*, which means "restraining, holding back"; the root is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "We extend to each one, these and those, some of the bounty of your Lord, and your Lord's bounty has not become confined (*mahẓūr^{an}*)" (25). and in His Word, "Like the dry sticks (or rubble) of one building an enclosure (*al-muḥtaẓir*)" (26). Connected with this meaning is *al-ḥazīr* ("enclosure"), which is a pen made from wattles and suchlike. As for *al-ḥudūr* ("being present"), the opposite of absence, this is written with *ḍ*. Also, *al-ḥanzal* ("colocynth", *Citrullus colocynthis*); this is the well-known, bitter-tasting plant (27).

Letter šīn.

Included here is *aš-šaẓīyya*, which means "a piece of a thing" (28), and *aš-šīzāz*, which are thin wooden sticks by means of which two

(23) S. an-Nisā' = iv, 12/11 (where two different verse numbers are given, the first refers to that of the Flügel text, and the second to that of the Egyptian so-called "royal" Qur'ān).

(24) S. al-Mā'ūn = cvii, 3.

(25) S. al-Isrā = xvii, 21/20. *Mahẓūr* is explained in *Nihāya*, I, 405, as frequent in *ḥadīḥ* with the meaning *ḥarām*, because the verb *ḥazara* = *harrama* "make forbidden, debar, prevent".

(26) S. al-Qamar = liv, 31. For the word *al-muḥtaẓir*, Ṭabarī and Bayḍāwī have in their commentaries, and *LA* has in V, 279, the variant *al-muḥtaẓar* (sc. the *ism al-makān*) "enclosure", the verb *ḥtaẓara* being explained in *LA*, *loc. cit.*, and *TA*, III, 150-1, as "he built an enclosure for himself", whether of freshly-cut thorns or scrub, or of wood, or of wattles.

(27) See *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, *Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, ed. and tr. H.P.J. RENAUD and G.S. COLIN, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, XXIV (Paris 1934), 80, No. 177.

(28) More exactly, a splinter of wood, of a reed, of silver, or of bone; and by extension a bow, because a bow is made of wood which has been split (*šaẓīyat* = *fuliqat*) (*LA*, XIX, 162-3; *TA*, X, 199). *Nihāya*, II, 476-7, and *LA*, *loc. cit.*, add further that it also means "a flash of fire", because Iblīs's wife was created by God from a *šaẓīyya min an-nār* which sprang out of Iblīs when he was in a fit of anger.

saddlebags are joined together (29). Also, *aš-šazaf*, which means “hardness of life” (30). Also, *aš-šawāz* (“smokeless flame”), which refers to the flames of a fire; it is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, “There will be sent against you both a flame of fire, and molten brass” (31). Also, *aš-šayzam*, which means “a long-backed horse” (32). Also, *aš-šanāzī*, which are the peaks of mountains (33).

Letter zā’.

Included here is *az-zann*, which means “conjecture, doubt”, and *az-zinna*, meaning “suspicion”. As for *aḍ-ḍann*, with the meaning “avariciousness”, this is written with *ḍ*. The Word of God, He is exalted, “He is not uncommunicative (*bi-ḍanīn^{tn}*) regarding the unseen” (34), may be read with either *ḍ* or *z*, according to either of these two meanings, because both of them point to the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, since he was neither niggardly nor suspect (35). Also included is *zalla*

(29) This is actually a singular, pl. *ašizza*. *LA*, IX, 325, and *TA*, V, 253, define *aš-šizāzān* (i.e. the dual form) as two bent pieces of wood, with pointed extremities, placed through the loops or handles of sacks when they are loaded one on each side of a camel.

(30) The basic idea here is of dryness and hardness caused by dessication, see *LA*, XI, 77-8, and *TA*, VI, 156.

(31) *S. ar-Rahmān* = lv, 35.

(32) According to *LA*, XV, 215, and *TA*, VIII, 358, when this is applied to horses only it means “having a long or tall and muscular body”, but it can also be used of camels, horses and men with the same general meaning of “tall, strong-bodied, youthful”, and is also said to be applicable to full-grown hedgehogs and to lions; Ibn Manẓūr not surprisingly concludes with a despairing *wa-llāh a’lam*.

(33) Sing. *šunzuwa*, defined in *LA*, IX, 320, and *TA*, V, 253, as the higher slopes of a mountain, its peaks or its flanks.

(34) *S. at-Takwīr* = lxxxi, 24.

(35) *Ḍanīn* is literally “niggardly”, hence “uncommunicative, grudging of information”. According to *LA*, XVII, 130, and *TA*, IX, 266, *bi-ḍanīn^{tn}* was read by Zayd b. Ṭābit, ‘Aṣim and the Ḥiğāzīs, and this reading, with the meaning of *baḥīl* “concealing what has been revealed to him”, was considered by many philologists and exegetes as the best. But there is a well-attested variant *bi-zanīn^{tn}*, which is referred to here by Qalqašandī and which Richard BELL considered to have been the original reading when the passage referred to Muḥammad; BELL therefore translated this as “opinionative”, i.e. opinionated (*The Qur’ān translated* [Edinburgh 1937-9, 2 vols.], II, 639 and n. 2). *LA* XVII, 144, and *TA*, IX, 272, attribute this reading to ‘Alī, with its general meaning as being that of

yaf'alu kadā ("he went on doing such-and-such") when he kept on doing it all day; it is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "And they were to mount up through it continuously (*fa-zallū ... ya'ruḡūna*)" (36), in "And you would be left jesting with each other (*fa-zaltum tafakkahūna*)" (37), and in "Look towards your god, to whom you continued to cleave (*zalta... 'ākiḡ^{an}*)!" (38) As for *dalla* ("he went astray") from *aḡ-dalāl* ("wandering astray"), the opposite of "correct guidance", and *dalla š-šay'u* ("the thing went astray") when it got lost, this is written with *d*.

Also included is *az-zill* ("shade"), the opposite of heat wherever it occurs, and the various derivatives from it. Also, *az-zulm* ("oppression") and the derivatives from it. Also, *az-zalām* ("obscurity") and the derivatives from it. Also, *az-zalm*, which means "glowing whiteness of the teeth" (39). Also, *az-zalīm*, which means "the male ostrich". Also, *az-zaby* ("gazelle") the singular of *az-zibā'*, and its feminine *az-zabya*. *Az-zabya* further means "she-camel's pudenda". Also, *az-zuba*, which means "the blade or point of a sword" (40). Also, *az-zarf*, which means "a fine

muttahaḡ "suspect", and they further give the meaning of "weak, untrustworthy, helpless" = *zanūn*.

(36) S. al-Ḥiḡr = xv, 14.

(37) S. al-Wāqī'a = lvi, 65. BELL, *op. cit.*, II, 557, translates this phrase as "ye would be left twitting each other", but in n. 2 he gives an alternative translation "ye would be left wondering", the usual interpretation but an unusual sense for the word, A. J. ARBERRY, *The Koran interpreted* (London 1955, 2 vols.), II, 256, follows Bell's line by translating "you would remain bitterly jesting". *TA*, IX, 403, gives the standard interpretation of this passage, that *tafakkaha* = *ta'aḡḡaba* "he wondered"; it also attributes to this verb the further meaning of *tanaddama* "he repented, was regretful", and mentions a variant reading *tafakkanūna*, said to be a dialectical form of the B. 'Ukl and thus pronounced by Tamīm also.

(38) S. Ṭā-hā = xx, 97.

(39) The sense of this derivative of $\sqrt{-} z l m$ makes it, as it were, a *didd* of such forms as *zalām* "obscurity" and *zulma* "darkness". The lexica give several fanciful explanations for this apparent incongruity, e.g. in *LA*, XV, 270, and *TA*, VIII, 385, *zalm* is defined as by Qalqašandī and it is said that the intense whiteness makes one see on the surface of the teeth dust-like specks or darkish marks, resembling the wavy lines on a swordblade. It is else here stated that *zalm* is also the glitter of gold and silver, and IBN AL-AṬĪR, *Nihāya*, III, 161, and IBN MANZŪR, *loc. cit.*, quote a *ḡadīṭ* about the Prophet, that he refused to enter a *muzallam* house, i.e. one decorated or gilded.

(40) Defined either in wide sense as the blade or point of a sword, spear, arrow or

vessel" (41). Also, *az-za'n*, which means "journey"; it is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "on the day that you journey (*yawma za'nikum*) and on the day that you make camp" (42). Also, *az-zirāb*, which means the same as *al-hidāb* ("low hills") (43). As for *ad-ḍirāb* ("the act of fighting with someone"), the verbal noun from *ḍārabtuhu* ("I came to blows with him"), this is written with *ḍ*. Also, *az-za'ina*, which means "woman" (44).

Also, *az-ẓilf* ("cloven hoof"); this is to cows and sheep like the hoof to horses. Also, *az-ẓalaf*, which means "abstemiousness of character" (45). Also, *az-ẓufur* ("claw, talon"), the singular of *al-azfār*. Also, *az-ẓafar*, which means "victory"; as for *ḍafr aš-ša'r* ("tress of hair") and those words connected with it, these are written with *ḍ*. Also, *az-ẓi'r*, which means

dagger, pls. *zūbāt*, *zībūn*, *zūbūn* (*LA*, XIX, 247, s.v. $\sqrt{\text{ } z b w}$), or more narrowly as the striking-point of the blade four fingers' width from the point (Abu Riyāš in *LANE*, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, I, 1908).

(41) According to the 11th/17th century writer on foreign loanwords in Arabic (*mu'arrabāt*), Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-ḤAFĀĠĪ, the vulgar pronunciation of this word was *ẓurf*; see his *Šifā al-ḡalīl fīmā fī kalām al-'arab min ad-daḥīl*, ed. Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Mun'im ḤAFĀĠĪ (Cairo 1371/1952), 182.

(42) *S. an-Naḥl* = xvi, 82/80.

(43) *Zirāb* are defined in *LA*, II, 57-8, and *TA*, I, 360, as "projecting, pointed stones" or "low hills", sing. *zarīb*. The same definition occurs earlier in *Nihāya*, III, 156, when the invocation of the *ḥadīṭ al-istisqā'* (prayer for rain) is cited, "... O God, over the hills, the low mountains (*zirāb*) and the valley bottoms...". The definition of *hidāb*, sing. *ḥaḍba*, is similar: "low hills; long hills; hills made of one compact mass of stone; solid rocks; isolated, inaccessible hills" (*LA*, II, 283; *TA*, I, 515).

(44) Originally, "what is loaded up" (the basic meaning of *za'ana*, as shown by cognate forms in the other Semitic languages, being "he loaded up [a camel]," cf. *raḥala* "he saddled [a beast]" > "he set off on a journey"; NÖLDEKE, in *ZDMG*, XLIX [1895], 719), hence "a camel on which one journeys", or "a litter loaded on a camel's back"; then, by extension, "a woman, whether in a litter or not" (*LA*, XVII, 141; *TA*, IX, 271). The purists amongst earlier grammarians had, however, insisted that the term should only be applied to a woman actually in a howdah or litter, e.g. ḤARĪRĪ in his *Durrat al-ḡawwāš fī awḥām al-ḥawāšš*, ed. H. THORBECKE (Leipzig 1871), 19; see also GOLDZIEHER, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden 1896-9, 2 vols.), I, 123-4.

(45) The two main strands of meaning here, both closely related, seem to be firstly, "coarse, hard existence or way of life", and secondly, "a rough terrain, where horses dislike going and where a man leaves behind him no permanent traces" (*LA*, XI, 134-5; *TA*, VI, 187-8).

“wet-nurse”. Also, *az-zahr* (“back”), the well known part of the body; as for *aḍ-ḍahr*, which denotes a rock on a mountain of a different colour from the mountain itself, this is written with *ḍ* (46). Also, *az-zahīr*, which means “helper, assistant”; and *az-zahīra*, which is the middle of the day (47). Also, *az-zamaʿ*, which means “thirst”. Also, *az-zirār*, plural of *zīrr*, which means “rough ground” (48); as for *aḍ-ḍarīr* meaning “blind”, this is written with *ḍ*. Also, *az-zarībān* (“polecat” (49), which is a little animal with a disgusting smell. Also, *az-zalaʿ*, which means “defect”; one speaks of a *nāqa zālīʿ* (“she-camel with a limp”) when it has an impediment in its walk (50). As for *aḍ-ḍilaʿ* (“rib”), the singular of *al-aḍlāʿ*, this is written with *ḍ*; from it is derived the common phrase *faras ḍālīʿ* (“a sturdy [literally, “stout-ribbed”] horse”).

Letter ‘ayn.

Included here is *al-‘azm* (“bone”), which is well-known, and *al-‘azama*, meaning “hauteur”, and other derivatives of the root in common usage. Also, *‘azzahu ḍ-ḍahru* (“the vicissitudes of fate buffeted him”), and *‘azzathu l-ḥarbu* (“the trials of war afflicted him”). As for *al-‘aḍḍ* (“biting”) with the teeth, this is written with *ḍ*. Also, *al-‘azl*, which means “severity, intensity”; from it comes the phrase *taʿāzul al-ḡirād wa-l-kilāb fī-s-sifād* (“the pressing together of locusts or dogs in copulation”) (51). As for *al-‘aḍl* with the

(46) As well as the meaning given here by Qalqašandī, this is said to mean “tortoise” (because of the variegated colouring of the tortoise’s shell?), “flask” and “the summit of a mountain” (*LA*, VI, 175; *TA*, III, 354-5).

(47) More exactly, this and its synonym *zuhr* refer to midday and the time just after it when the sun begins to decline from its meridian; see *LA*, VI, 200, and *TA*, III, 373 and in greater detail, *IBN AS-SIKKĪT, Tahdīb al-alfāz*, ed. L. СНЕИКО (Beirut 1895), 424.

(48) More precisely, “stone” (in the general sense); a broad, smooth stone, which a man breaks off and uses for slaughtering a beast; a rounded stone; a pointed one”; hence by extension, “rugged, stony ground” (*LA*, VI, 189; *TA*, III, 367-81).

(49) Or perhaps “skunk”; the lexicographers merely remark on this animal’s nasty smell, very difficult to get rid of, emitted from [glands near] its anus.

(50) *Zalaʿ* is defined in *LA*, X, 115, and *TA*, V, 446-7, as “diverging from the truth, having feeble faith” > “crime, fault, defect”, whereas *zalʿ* is the *maṣḍar* of *zalaʿa* “it limped”, applicable to camels, dogs, horses and men.

(51) The basic idea here is of “sticking fast, pressing something together”, cf. *taʿazzalū*

meaning "keeping back, refusal", this is written with *ḡ*; the root is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "Do not debar them (*fa-lā ta'ḡulūhunna*) from marrying their husbands" (52), and in the current saying *a'ḡala l-amru* ("the affair became difficult") when it became hard. Connected with this last is *ad-dā' al-'uḡāl* ("chronic disease") (53). Also, there is the fair of 'Ukāz, a fair which was held for the Arabs in the pre-Islamic period; the basic meaning of *al-'akz* is "holding back".

Letter ḡayn.

Included here is *al-ḡayz*, meaning "rancour, violent rage", and its various derivatives; as for *ḡāḡa l-mā'u* ("the water sank down into the earth") with the meaning "it disappeared from view", and *al-ḡayḡa*, which is the place where trees grow in water, these are written with *ḡ*. Also, there is *al-ḡilaz* ("coarseness") and the various derivatives of that word in use.

Letter fā'.

Included here is *al-faḡāza*, which means "hardness of heart"; the root is found in the Word of God, He is exalted, "And if you had been harsh (*faḡḡan*) and hard-hearted" (54). As for *infidād al-ḡam'* ("the dispersing of the group of people"), this is written with *ḡ*; the root is found in the Word

= *izdahamū* "they crowded together". Hence the uses of *ta'āzala*, *'āzala* and *i'tazala* to express the concept of "pressing together in copulation" (*LA*, XIII, 483; *TA* VIII, 24). *Ta'āzul* and *mu'āzala* are also technical terms of *balāḡa* or rhetoric, meaning the same as *taḡmīn*, the introduction of a verse or phrase by another poet into one's own verses, or meaning "deliberate obscurity of expression", the "crowding and pressing together" of elements of meaning so that extreme compression and obscurity result; see QUDĀMA B. ḠĀ'FAR, *Kitāb naḡd aš-šī'r*, ed. S.A. BONEBAKKER (Leiden 1956), text 103-5, quoting in his turn Ṭa'lab.

(52) S. al-Baqara = ii, 232/231. The phrase "do not debar them" is usually taken to refer to the woman's relatives, if she agrees to return to her former husband, but it would more naturally refer, according to BELL, to her former husband, in case she elected to marry someone else (*The Qur'ān translated*, I, 33). Both explanations are given in *LA*, XIII, 478, and *TA*, VIII, 21.

(53) So-called, according to the lexicographers, because it wearies physicians in their attempts to cure it (*LA*, XIII, 479; *TA*, VIII, 21-2).

(54) S. Āl 'Imrān = iii, 153/159.

of God, He is exalted, "They would certainly have scattered (*la-nfaḏḏū*) from around you" (55). Likewise written as the preceeding is *iftiḏḏāḏ al-bikr wa-l-kitāb* ("defloration of a virgin or unsealing of a document"). Also, *al-fazī'*, meaning "horrible". Also, *fāza r-raḡulu* ("the man passed away") when he died; as for *fayḏ al-inā' wa-d-dam'* ("overflowing of vessel or of tears" with the meaning of "a torrent", this is written with *ḏ*. Accordingly, it is permissible to write either *fāzat nafsuhu* with *z*, meaning "his spirit went forth", or to write [*fāḏat nafsuhu*] with *ḏ*, meaning "his spirit flowed away" (56).

Letter qāf.

Included here is *al-qayz*, meaning "intense heat", and the derivations from it in use (57). As for *al-qayḏ*, which denotes the outer shell of an egg, this is written with *ḏ*; in the same way, there is the phrase *qayyaḏa llāhu lahu kaḏā* ("God decreed for him so-and-so"), i.e. He foreordained for him (58). Also, *al-qaraz*, meaning the fruit of the Egyptian acacia (*as-sant*, *Acacia* or *mimosa nilotica*), used for tanning leather (59). As for *al-qarḏ*, meaning "the act of cutting off", this is written with *ḏ*; from it comes the phrase *qarḏ al-māl* a "financial loan".

(55) *Loc. cit.*

(56) According to ABŪ 'UBAYDA, in *LA*, IX, 334, and *TA*, V, 258, *fāzat nafsuhu* was the form in the dialect of Qays, whereas Tamīm said *fāḏat nafsuhu*; but al-Farrā' attributed the first to the Ḥiḡāz and to Ṭayyi', and the second to Quḏā'a, Tamīm and Qays; and there were yet other opinions. The general idea seems to be that of the "pouring fourth" of the soul at death; IBN AL-AṬĪR, in *Nihāya*, III, 485, says that *fāḏat nafsuhu* refers to the saliva which dribbles from a man's lips when his soul leaves the body.

(57) Properly "intense heat of the summer quarter", defined by the *Ṣaḡāḥ* of ĞAWHARĪ in *TA*, V, 259, cf. also *LA*, IX, 336, as the heat of the period from the rising of the Pleiades to the rising of Canopus.

(58) ḤARĪRĪ, *Durrat al-ḡawwās*, 79, says that in correct usage, the phrase *quyyida lahu kaḏā* "such-and-such was pre-ordained for him" should only be used of bad things.

(59) The lexicographers dispute over whether this is the name of the tree or its fruit, and whether the tree in question is the *sant* or the *salam* (*Mimosa flava*), cf. *LA*, IX, 234-5, and *TA*, V, 258-9. According to the *Ṣaḡāḥ*, cited in LANE, I, 2518, the Yemen was called *bilād al-qaraz* because of the tree's commonness there.

Letter kāf.

Included here is *al-kazm*, meaning "suppression of grief". Also, *al-kazz*, meaning "intense warfare" (60). Also, *kazīma*, the name of a place in al-Baḥrayn (61).

Letter lām.

Included here is *Lazà*, one of the names for hell (62). Also, *al-lazz*, meaning "cleaving to something"; from it comes the phrase *alizzū bi-yā dā l-ḡalāl wa-l-ikrām* ("stick to [the invocation] O Mighty and Noble One!"), i.e. keep on repeating this designation in personal petition and private prayer to God. Also, *al-laḥz*, which means "looking out of the corner of the eye". Also, *al-lamaz*, which means "a white mark on the lower lip of a horse"; from it comes the phrase *faras almaz* ("a horse having this marking"). Also, *al-lafz* ("utterance"), which is well-known, and all the derivatives from that which are in use.

Letter nūn.

Included here is *an-nazm* ("arranging in order"), and the various derivatives of it in use. Also, *an-nazar bi-l-'ayn* ("looking with the eye") and the various forms of it in use; and *an-naẓir*, meaning "equivalent, like". As for *an-naḍāra*, meaning "splendour", this is written with *ḍ*; it is found in the

(60) The connection with warfare seems to be a secondary one; the basic idea is that of being choked with food or drink, leading to the idea of being distressed, choked with grief, anger and worry (*LA*, IX, 337-8; *TA*, V, 260-1). Associated with this is the idea of "crowding together" (*Nihāya*, IV, 177: *kazīz* = *ziḥām*), hence *kizāz*, *mukāzza* "great skill in warfare" and "fighting fiercely in a tight spot of the battlefield" (*LA*, IX 838; *TA* V, 260).

(61) Said by BAKRĪ, *Mu'ḡam mā sta'ḡam*, ed. Muṣṭafā SAQQĀ' (Cairo 1364-70/1945-51, 4 vols.), IV, 1109-10, to be a brackish spring three days' journey from Basra in the territory of the B. Šaybān, but said by YĀQŪT, *Mu'ḡam al-buldān* (Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, 5 vols.), IV, 431, to be a place on the Gulf shore having sweet wells.

(62) This is said to mean "pure flame" and to be the hottest part of hell fire (*LA*, XX, 114; *TA*, X, 327). In S. al-Ma'āriḡ = lxx,15, it is used as a name for hell; one commentator, Baḡawī, says that it is the part of hell reserved for Christians who have refused to acknowledge Muḥammad as a true prophet (T.P. HUGHES, *A dictionary of Islām* [London 1885], 171, 292).

Word of God, He is exalted, "On that day, faces shall be radiant (*nāḍīra*)" (63). The etymology of the name of the Banū n-Naḍīr comes from this, and the same idea is found in *an-nuḍār* ("that which is pure, bright, unalloyed"), a name for gold. Also, *an-naẓāfa* ("cleanness"), the opposite of "dirtiness".

Letter wāw.

Included here is *al-wazīf*, which is the part of the leg above the pastern in hoofed animals (64), and *al-wazīfa* ("official position, job"), which originally meant "regular allowance of food", but which was then used in a more general sense (65).

Letter yā'.

Al-yaqaẓa ("wakefulness"), which is the opposite of "sleep".

(63) S. al-Qiyāma = lxxv, 22.

(64) As defined here for horses and camels, or according to some authorities, for all quadrupeds (*LA*, XI, 274; *TA*, VI, 267).

(65) *Waḍīfa* for *wazīfa* is mentioned in *Ṣubḥ*, I, 162, as being a common error of the vulgar, with the reverse process exemplified in *bayẓa* "egg" for *bayḍa*.