

I INTRODUCTION

The ibdāl genre: a brief history¹

The history of the ibdāl studies begins — as do the other philological genres — in the mists of the orally transmitted knowledge in the late 7th and the early 8th centuries. The earliest authorities known to have given more than passing attention to the phenomenon and who are quoted in the later ibdāl literature belong to the generation of al-Kisā'ī and al-Aṣma'ī. Still, the variant readings of the Qur'ān and the rare variants in the ancient poetry must have already drawn attention to some cases of ibdāl earlier, but this was probably directed more towards the individual cases and their explanations rather than to the general phenomenon, and are thus outside the genre of ibdāl studies.

Of the first generation of linguists interested in ibdāls two, Abū 'Ubayda (d. between 207/822 and 213/828) and al-Aṣma'ī (d. 213/828), are reported to have written a monograph on the subject. Al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805), Abū 'Amr ash-Shaybānī (d. about 205/820), Abū Zayd (d. 225/839), Ibn al-A'rābī (d. about 231/846) and al-Liḥyānī (d. 207/822 or later) are often quoted as authorities in later ibdāl works (e.g. Ibn as-Sikkīt's *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl*) though they are not reported to have written anything on the subject, and Abū 'Ubayd (d. 224/838) dedicated a short chapter to the phenomenon in his *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaḥ*².

The reference to Abū 'Ubayda's monograph on ibdāls (*Kitāb al-ibdāl*) comes solely from Yāqūt's *Irshād*³, and no such work has been preserved. Whether there existed a *K. al-Ibdāl* by him seems dubious; the few and scattered examples given on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda by Ibn as-Sikkīt in his *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* are far from proving the existence of a monograph by Abū 'Ubayda on the subject. As a matter of fact, they are more easily used to prove the opposite; if there had been a monograph by Abū 'Ubayda on the subject, and *if* he had known it, Ibn as-Sikkīt would surely have profited much more from it than the about 20 quotes that are found in *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* would indicate⁴. If the attribution of a *K. al-Ibdāl* to Abū

¹ This chapter anticipates and summarizes many of the results of the present study; detailed evidence for each hypothesis or claim is not repeated here and the reader is kindly asked to refer to the relevant chapters in this study.

² See Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-ḡarīb al-muṣannaḥ*, p. 58. The chapter takes only one or two pages in the Tunisian manuscript used by Abdel-Tawab.

³ *Irshād* VII:169. The others lists, e.g. the very thorough list in *Fihrist*, p. 79-80, do not mention such a work. Sezgin, *GAS* VIII:69, believes that the Abū 'Ubayda quotes in Ibn as-Sikkīt's *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* come from this monograph but this is not possible.

⁴ Similarly, one would suppose that there would be more ibdāls in the ibdāl chapter of *al-Gharīb al-*

‘Ubayda is not a simple mistake, as it may well be, it is probably an overstatement and only means that Abū ‘Ubayda dealt with the subject in his lectures and that some of his students may have written down some scattered notes. It is very hard to believe that a finished, complete monograph of Abū ‘Ubayda on the *ibdāls* ever existed.

The situation with al-Aṣma‘ī’s *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl* is very different. It is given in all lists of his works⁵ and, what is even more convincing, an internal analysis of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl* strongly supports the hypothesis that his work is based on a monograph by al-Aṣma‘ī (see below) and that the al-Aṣma‘ī quotes which begin almost every chapter of IS-Y are in fact the *ibdāl* work of al-Aṣma‘ī, or at least a major part of it. This would fit well with the general tendency of Ibn as-Sikkīt to make new recensions of al-Aṣma‘ī’s works⁶. It thus seems that al-Aṣma‘ī’s work is at least partly reconstructable.

The liveliest period of *ibdāl* studies is the third century A.H. (mid-9th to mid-10th century A.D.), beginning with the most influential work of this genre, *Ibn as-Sikkīt’s* (d. 243/857 or soon after) *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl* (abbreviated IS-Y), and ending with the largest, *Abū’-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī’s* (d. 351/962) *K. al-Ibdāl*⁷ (abbreviated AṬ).

Ibn as-Sikkīt based his work on the now lost *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl* of al-Aṣma‘ī and more than doubled its size with extra material presumably at least partly drawn from oral tradition (cf. the list of his authorities). The importance of his work has so far been underestimated, mainly because the *tahdhīb* of this work was edited as the original by Haffner (abbreviated *IS-tahdhīb*) and remains in use as such among scholars. In fact, IS-Y, which is about two thirds of the size of *IS-tahdhīb*, has almost been canonized by the later philologists; its material has been adopted by later *ibdāl* works in toto⁸. *Al-Qālī* (d. 356/967) takes the text as such with few additions to his *al-Amālī* (abbreviated Q) whence it also finds its way into *Ibn Sīda’s* (d. 458/1066) *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (abbreviated Mukh.). A large selection of it is given by *as-Suyūṭī* (d. 911/1505) in his *al-Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luġha* (abbreviated Muzhir), an encyclopaedia of linguistic science, with additions from other sources. The large *ibdāl* collection of *Abū’-Ṭayyib* is written using it as a basis, and it contains the whole text of *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*, though from the point of view of the number of articles Ibn Durayd’s *al-Ġamhara* is a more important source for him⁹. Most of the great Arabic dictionaries, and through them the Western dictionaries, take almost all of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s material, among others *al-Ġawharī’s* (d. 393/1003 or later) *Tāġ al-luġha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabīya* (abbreviated *Ṣiḥāḥ*), *al-Azharī’s* (d. 370/980) *Tahdhīb al-luġha* (abbreviated TL),

muṣannaf, especially as we know that Abū ‘Ubayda was the most influential teacher of Abū ‘Ubayd.

⁵ GAS VIII:73.

⁶ See below.

⁷ I have preferred this form of the name although it is very likely that it is meant to be read as *K. al-Abdāl*, see El Berkawī, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 21-22, but the name *K. al-Ibdāl* is deeply rooted in the scholarly literature.

⁸ Except the two final chapters which do not deal with *ibdāls*. — The unconditional acceptance of the material of IS-Y into later works has been blurred by the confusion of modern scholars between IS-Y and *IS-tahdhīb*.

⁹ The relationship of *Abū Turāb’s* *ibdāl* collection to IS-Y is more problematic, see below.

aṣ-Ṣaghānī's (d. 650/1252) *at-Takmila wa'dh-dhayl wa'ṣ-ṣila* (abbreviated *Takmila*) and *al-ʿUbāb az-zākhir wa'l-lubāb al-fākhir* (abbreviated ʿ*Ubāb*), *Ibn Manzūr's* (d. 711/1311) *Lisān al-ʿarab* (abbreviated *Lisān*) and *az-Zabīdī's* (d. 1205/1791) *Tāğ al-ʿarūs* (abbreviated T^ʿA, T^ʿA²¹⁰). — A notable exception is *Ibn Durayḍ's* (d. 321/933) *al-Ġamhara* (abbreviated ID) which does not show any influence from IS-Y.

At the same time as the *ibdāl* genre developed and influenced the dictionaries, much independent work was done by the compilers of the dictionaries and other philologists, collecting Bedouin vocabulary and incorporating earlier lexical collections into new compilations. It is obvious that during this active period many *ibdāl*s were codified in dictionaries, *sharḥ*s, etc. outside the sphere of *ibdāl* studies as a genre. All the dictionaries mentioned above contain much *ibdāl* material, both derived from *ibdāl* and other philological works. Already *K. al-ʿAyn*, ascribed to *al-Khalīl* (d. in late 2nd/8th century), although the attribution is fraught with difficulties, contains much *ibdāl* material. From the point of view of *ibdāl* studies the most interesting dictionary is *Ibn Durayḍ's al-Ġamhara*. This large and relatively independent dictionary contains much *ibdāl* material, and it has served as a rich mine for Abūʿ-Ṭayyib who derived a large part of the material of AṬ from it.

Somewhat earlier than ID is a lost but reconstructable monograph on the *ibdāl*s which has hitherto almost escaped the notice of modern scholars¹¹, viz. *Abū Turāb's* (d. in the late 3rd/9th century) *Kitāb al-Iʿtiqāb*. The work itself has long been lost — I have been unable to find unequivocal evidence for its use in the second millennium — but it can be partially reconstructed from the extensive quotes in TL and the occasional reference to it in *Ṣiḥāḥ*. The reconstruction is made possible by al-Azharī's conscientious habit of indicating his sources with a mention of both immediate and ultimate authorities as well as by the fact that the only work of Abū Turāb used by al-Azharī is *K. al-Iʿtiqāb*¹².

The reconstruction of the fragments of *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* makes it clear that the work was larger than any of the *ibdāl* monographs with the possible exception of AṬ. That it received little attention outside TL is probably due to geographic factors: *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* is the only *ibdāl* work written outside the Baghdād—Aleppo circle¹³, and it probably became known only when TL had achieved a wide circulation, but by then the original *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* had already been lost and general interest in lexical monographs had

¹⁰ I have had the first 25 volumes of the new Kuwait edition (abbreviated T^ʿA) at my disposal. For the last part of the work I have used the old edition (abbreviated T^ʿA²) of which professor Heikki Palva kindly lent me his personal copy.

¹¹ It is mentioned only in passing by El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 49 and note 138. In GAS VIII:192 it is characterized as "ein gross angelegtes Synonymenlexikon", which is a misunderstanding as the reconstruction of the fragments clearly shows. Wild, p. 24 note 85, has recognized the true nature of this work, but as he was interested in *K. al-ʿAyn*, he did not pay any more attention to it.

¹² This is stated explicitly by al-Azharī in the Preface to TL (I:26 = Abū Turāb no. 352) and it is further confirmed by an analysis of the contents of the quotes.

¹³ The final redaction of IS-tahdhīb also probably comes from outside this circle, viz. Egypt, but it, too, had little later influence.

decreased. Thus its material did not reach the authors of the 10th century ibdāl monographs, especially AbūʿṬ-Ṭayyib, to whom it would have been a welcome addition. Yet its material did continue to have an influence through the great lexica: almost all the Abū Turāb quotes of TL found their way into Lisān and TʿA and many also into Takmila and ʿUbāb as well as, anonymously and in a very abbreviated form, into Qāmūs.

In Persia *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* was highly appreciated in the century following its compilation. In the Preface to TL (I:26 = Abū Turāb no. 352) al-Azharī writes with great esteem of Abū Turāb, and *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* was also used by *al-Khāzranjī* in his dictionary (see TL I:33 = Abū Turāb no. 353) which has, unfortunately, also been lost.

K. al-Iʿtiqāb is relatively independent of the earlier tradition as its author collected material directly from the so-called “eloquent Bedouins” who were the paraphernalia of the Ṭāhirid court in Nishapur.

Some time, probably half a century, after the compilation of *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* a curious little ibdāl work, *K. al-Ibdāl waʾl-muʿāqaba waʾn-nazāʾir* was written by *az-Zaḡḡāḡī* (d. 337/949 or soon after). More than any other of the ibdāl works, it stands alone in the tradition; it is equally difficult to locate any of its sources and to find traces of it in later literature¹⁴.

The last and largest independent ibdāl collection is *AbūʿṬ-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī’s Kitāb al-Ibdāl* which is known from one slightly defective copy which has three lacunae. It is based on the material of IS-Y which has been included in it in toto (with very few exceptions, see below), and is supplemented by excerpting ID, the numerically most important of its sources, and some other sources of less importance. AṬ’s later influence was slight which may partly be explained by the fact that its author died prematurely, and copies of it were probably destroyed in a Christian attack on Aleppo. Of at least equal importance is, though, the fact that very early in the second millennium interest in ibdāl monographs, as well as other lexicographical monographs gave way to the compilation of larger dictionaries much in vogue in that millennium and culminating in the gigantic *Tāḡ al-ʿarūs*. It also marked the beginning of an endless stream of commentaries, supracommentaries, etc. In some of these, e.g. the commentaries of Ibn Qutayba’s *Adab al-kātib*, ibdāl material was discussed in passing¹⁵.

At the start of the second millennium, only two works dealt more closely with the ibdāl material. The first is an anonymous redaction, possibly the work of *an-Naḡīramī* (d. 423/1031-1032), and probably written about 1 000 A.D. in Egypt. The work was published in 1905 by Haffner who erroneously ascribed it to Ibn as-Sikkīt, a regrettable and serious mistake which has curiously evaded correction for nearly 80 years and has been frequently repeated in the scholarly literature. The fact that it is a later redaction of *K. al-Qalb waʾl-ibdāl* was recognized by M. Sharaf in his edition of IS-Y

¹⁴ See below. Naturally there is some overlap with the other ibdāl works but it is confined to the most common ibdāls.

¹⁵ Thus e.g. al-Baṭalyawsi’s *al-Iqtidāb* (I:234) where the ibdāl chapter receives only minimal commentary. No commentaries were written to the pure ibdāl monographs.

(1978), but this has gone virtually unnoticed.

The other work which dedicates considerable space to ibdāls is *Ibn Ğinnī's* (d. 392/1002) *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a*, a study on the letters of the alphabet and their use as phonemes and, especially, morphemes. Its main source in the field of ibdāls is IS-Y which was eclectically used by Ibn Ğinnī, who was more interested in the grammatical than the lexical ibdāl (for the difference, see below). Ibn Ğinnī also marginally deals with the ibdāls in his other magnum opus, *al-Khaṣā'iṣ* (especially II:84-90 < IS-Y), and he is known to have planned a commentary on IS-Y although the plan never materialized¹⁶. A third work of Ibn Ğinnī, his lost¹⁷ *K. Ta'āqub al-ʿarabīya*, does not seem to have dealt with ibdāls despite its title¹⁸.

After Ibn Ğinnī little attention was given to the ibdāls. *As-Suyūfī* dedicated some chapters in his *Muzhir* to the matter, and after him the following and last old-fashioned scholar to discuss ibdāls was *Aḥmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq* (d. 1890) in his *al-Ġāsūs ʿalā l-Qāmūs* and *Sirr al-la'āl*.

In modern times ibdāls, especially those of IS-tahdhīb (thought by the scholars to be Ibn as-Sikkīt's original work), have been used as a source for phonological studies of Arabic by several Semitists and Arabists, among others Brockelmann (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen I*) and Fleisch (*Traité de philologie arabe I*), but no Western Arabist has discussed the phenomenon in a monographic form; both the aforementioned and many other studies just select material from the lexica or the ibdāl monographs to illustrate the questions they are investigating, and they have not focused on the ibdāls or the ibdāl literature as such.

Arab scholars have paid a little more attention to the subject. One should especially mention the Introductions of M. Sharaf (to his edition of IS-Y) and ʿI. at-Tanūkhī (to Z and AṬ) and El Berkawy's German dissertation on AṬ and the ibdāl genre (*Das Kitāb al-Ibdāl des Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī*). Unfortunately, none of these works goes deeply enough into the questions of the development of the genre and the sources of the individual works. None of these nor other¹⁹ studies give a systematic and coherent picture of the ibdāl tradition and the relations of the works belonging to this genre both with each other and other philological works (sources; later influence) nor do they adequately discuss the lexico-phonological implications of the phenomenon.

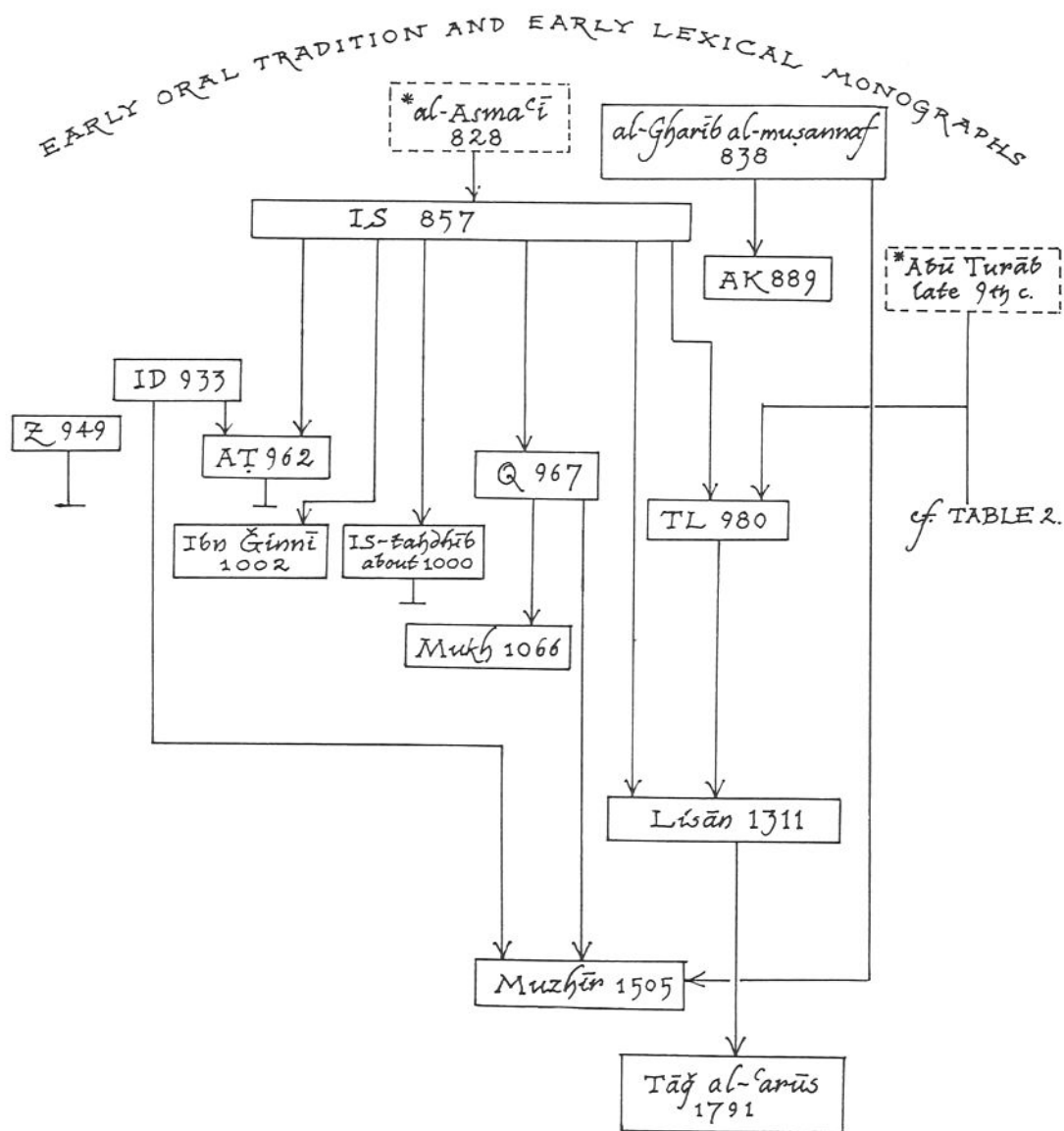
¹⁶ GAS VIII:133.

¹⁷ It was used by Ibn Sīda in his *Mukh.* who mentions it in his Preface as among the sources of his dictionary (*Mukh.* I:13).

¹⁸ Cf. Ibn Ğinnī's own quotations of it in *al-Khaṣā'iṣ* I:265 and 267 and GAS IX:179. El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 49, mentions it as an ibdāl work but does not discuss its contents. Why he in the same place mentions Ibn ʿAsākir's *K. al-Abdāl* (sic!; the work deals with the badal saints) only to refute himself in note 137 is curious.

¹⁹ The standard histories of Arabic lexicography (e.g. Naṣṣār, *al-Mu'ġam* and Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*) do not discuss the ibdāl works.

TABLE 1. *Mutual dependence of the main ibdāl works*



Notes to the Table. The above Table gives the main lines of the ibdāl tradition. The later influence of the works is discussed in more detail in separate chapters. The date after the name of the works refers to the death of the author, except in the case of IS-tahdhīb where it refers to the probable date of composition.

Definitions of *ibdāl*

The term *ibdāl* is used in the Arabic philological literature to denote certain consonantal changes and variations²⁰. It is used in two basically different senses. Grammarians mean the so-called grammatical *ibdāl* (*ibdāl naḥwī*), i.e. certain morphophonological changes in the paradigms of verbs, nouns and particles, whereas lexicographers use the term to refer to the so-called lexical *ibdāl* (*ibdāl lughawī*), i.e. the existence of phonologically and semantically related doublets in the lexicon.

The grammatical *ibdāl*²¹ is confined to certain letters²² of the alphabet. Several grammarians, starting with Sībawayhi, have given slightly differing lists of these *ibdāl* letters²³. Common to all lists are the weak letters (ʾ, alif, W, Y) which form the core of grammatical *ibdāl*, and several consonants which take part in the assimilations of verbs (VIII stem -t-; the endings of perfect, etc.).

In the field of grammatical *ibdāl*, one usually differentiates between a) cases where one phoneme (letter) changes to another (*ibdāl* proper, e.g. *tasdīr*—[*tazdīr*]), and b) cases where one phoneme (letter) is represented by an allophone (written by the same letter) which differs from the usual allophones (*muḍāraʿa*, e.g. *ashdaq*—[*aždaq*])²⁴.

The lexicographical *ibdāl*, the subject of our present study, has on the contrary received little theoretical attention either in Mediaeval or modern studies²⁵. None of the *ibdāl* writers has adequately defined it in their works. Ibn as-Sikkīt has given no definition at all, nor has the redactor of *IS-tahdhīb*, nor Ibn Durayd. *Az-Zağğāğī* confines himself only to a short note at the beginning of his work (Z, p. 253):

wa-minhā [i.e. the *ibdāl* letters] mā yağūzu baʿḍuhu makāna ḥarfīn wa-
thnayni wa-thalāthatin wa-laysa kullu l-ḥurūfi kadhālika

»Some of the *ibdāl* letters are interchangeable with one, two or three letters, but not all letters are so» — but he fails to mention which letters (phonemes) are interchangeable²⁶.

²⁰ In the field of morphology and syntax it has other uses which do not concern us here. In the works of early philologists, *ibdāl* (and *abdala*) is also used as simply “change; permutation” (of any kind) without any technical meaning.

²¹ See also El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 27ff. The respective article in *EI*² (*ibdāl*) is written by the editors of *EI*² and is not very informative.

²² In conformity with Arab Mediaeval philologists, I often use the word “letter” in the present study, though linguistically speaking we should of course use “phoneme”. The field of *ibdāl*, as all fields of lexicography and grammar, depends heavily on the *written* language, not the spoken.

²³ See also the lists in *Lisān* I:344 s.v. *BDL*; *Qāmūs* s.v. *BDL*; *Mukh.* XIII:267ff.; *al-Baṭalyawsī*, *al-Iqtidāb* I:234 etc.

²⁴ Cf. *Mukh.* XIII:271ff. (< Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb* II:476ff.).

²⁵ Cf. e.g. El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 37-38; *EI*² article *ibdāl*.

²⁶ The passage has been misunderstood by the editor of Z, note to Z, p. 253. What *az-Zağğāğī* means is the interchangeability of one letter with one or more in general (e.g. the interchangeability of T with D and Ṭ), not that one, two or three letters in *one* word may be changed (i.e. not SK^c—ŞQ^c).

The only definition given in Q (II:186) concerns grammatical *ibdāl*. The now lost Introduction of AṬ seems to have contained some kind of theoretical discussion of lexical *ibdāl*, part of which has been preserved in the quotes of Ḥāḡḡī Khalīfa and as-Suyūṭī. Ḥāḡḡī Khalīfa quotes AṬ in the following way²⁷:

hādhā kitābun dhakarnā fihi min kalāmi l-‘arabi mā ḡā’a min ḥarfin yaqūmu maqāma ghayrihi fi awwali kalimatīn aw waṣṭihā aw ākhirihā...

»In this book we have mentioned cases where in the language of the Bedouins one letter takes the place of another at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the word.»

The quote from AṬ runs as follows in Muzhir (I:460)²⁸:

»Abū’Ṭ-Ṭayyib said in his book: By *ibdāl* we do not mean that the Bedouins have changed one letter with another on purpose. What we mean is that different dialectal words are used to denote the same meaning so that two words denote the same thing in two different dialects and are [phonetically] close to one another so that they differ in only one letter. [Abū’Ṭ-Ṭayyib] went forth: The proof of this [viz. that the *ibdāl* pairs come from different dialects] is that one tribe does not pronounce a word now with hamza, now without it, nor now with ṣād, now with sīn. So also is the case of the change [*ibdāl*] of the lām of the article to mīm and of the initial hamza to ‘ayn as when they say “‘an” instead of “an”. In none of these cases do the Bedouins mix [the two variants]; nay, some people say it in one way, others in another way. End of quote.»

Thus, Abū’Ṭ-Ṭayyib’s theoretical definition of *ibdāl* includes the following points:

1. An *ibdāl* pair consists of words of a) identical meaning with b) only one differing consonant²⁹.
2. The *ibdāl* consonant may be in any position in the word (initial, medial, final).
3. The phenomenon of *ibdāl* is to be explained as dialectal differences, not as variation within one dialect³⁰.

In practice, this definition can be considered inadequate in describing the material collected by Abū’Ṭ-Ṭayyib in his work.

²⁷ The quote is given here from El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 38.

²⁸ The Arabic text is given below, p. 70.

²⁹ The principle that the words of an *ibdāl* pair may differ in only one consonant is in practice accepted by every *ibdāl* writer as will be seen from an analysis of the contents of their works. The root system of Arabic makes this more or less a prerequisite for *ibdāl* studies as the material would otherwise expand ad absurdum. Note that in reduplicated biradical roots ($K^1K^2K^1K^2$) and in geminated roots and morpheme types, the change of one consonant in two positions, whether adjacent or not, is taken as a change of one consonant only (e.g. AṬ II:7 *wadhwadha*—*wazwaza*). The variation of identical 1st and 3rd radicals in a triradical root is not acceptable to the *ibdāl* writers if we rely on negative evidence (although as there are very few cases they may be missing by chance); thus e.g. AṬ II:76 lists *ḡariḡa*—*ḡaliḡa* as an *ibdāl* pair and explains it as *qaliqa*, but no pair *ḡaliḡa*—*qaliqa* is found in the chapter Ğ—Q; *ḡalaḡ*—*qalaq* would further have been available to Abū’Ṭ-Ṭayyib from ID, p. 1003.

³⁰ Actually not part of the definition, but interpretation of the phenomenon.

The phenomenon of *ibdāl*: an analysis of the material incorporated in different *ibdāl* works

As the lexical *ibdāl* writers have given scant attention to the theory of *ibdāl*, one has to extract their views on *ibdāl* from their works and the material therein, as well as from the material that is *not* given there.

Abūʿt-Ṭayyib’s theoretical definition quoted above gives us a good starting point for our study. Before analyzing the material in the different *ibdāl* works individually, we should briefly consider some general aspects.

1. The *ibdāl* studies are concerned only with consonantal variation, not with vocalization³¹. It must be remembered that the semi-vowels W and Y (together with alif, dealt with as a semi-vowel in the Arab tradition) are considered consonants in the Arab philological system. Thus the variations of ī—ā—ū and aw—ay are considered in many works to belong to *ibdāls*, as they are analyzed as iY—aALIF—uW and aW—aY.

2. On the other hand, the vocalization of the words of an *ibdāl* pair has to be identical³². Thus e.g. the pair ḥabilat—ḥamalāt is never considered as an *ibdāl* in our sources.

3. Both words of a pair have to be in use, at least theoretically³³. The few initial W—T variations form an exception to this rule, cf. below.

4. From the point of view of historical linguistics, we may add that the term *ibdāl* includes only word pairs both members of which are felt to be *faṣīḥ*, i.e. belonging to the early and formative periods of Classical Arabic (pre-Classical and Classical vocabulary). If one of the pair is a later innovation, it is called *laḥn*, and the pair belongs to another philological genre, the *laḥn al-‘amma* literature. In certain details, though, different authors have varying opinions about where to draw the line between *laḥn* and *ibdāl* in individual cases; e.g. several S—Ṣ pairs which are given by Ibn as-Sikkīt in his *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, a work broadly speaking belonging to the *laḥn al-‘amma* genre, are included by Abūʿt-Ṭayyib in his *ibdāl* work.

5. The line between an *ibdāl* and an *itbā‘* (Reimwort³⁴) is shadowy, too. In theory, the *ibdāl* writers do not accept cases which they interpret as *itbā‘*s in their works, but in practice even the same author may give a pair as an *itbā‘* in one work, as an *ibdāl*³⁵ in another, not to mention different authors and their different

³¹ This is in accordance with the general trend of Mediaeval Arab philology which is concerned with the written, rather than spoken language and therefore tends to disregard both vowels (which are not marked in the written text) and allophones of consonants.

³² Excluding the cases ī—ā—ū. This was made explicit by Ibn Ğinnī in his *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā‘a*, p. 765 (speaking about whether *shiyara* is a badal of *shağara*): “anna *shīna* “*shağara*” *maftūḥatun wa-shīna* “*shiyara*” *maksūrātun wa’l-badalu lā tughayyaru fihi l-ḥarakātu innamā yūqa‘u ḥarfun mawqi‘a ḥarfin wa-‘alā dhālika ‘āmmatu l-badali fī kalāmihim...*”.

³³ In practice, though, many *ibdāl* words live only in philological works and belong to the *rara et curiosa*. Yet they are felt to be part of the corpus of the Arabic lexicon by the philologists.

³⁴ A word pair in which one, usually the latter, word is made to conform with the meaning and form of the other to make a rhythmical and rhymed pair (e.g. *ḥasan basan*).

³⁵ E.g. AṬ I:136 = Abūʿt-Ṭayyib, *K. al-Itbā‘*, p. 29 (tākk—fākk); AṬ II:232 = Abūʿt-Ṭayyib, *K. al-*

attitudes³⁶.

6. A major problem in the modern analysis of *ibdāls*, which will be dealt with in detail in the forthcoming second part of the present study, is the question of the reality of many of the rare variants given in the *ibdāl* literature. The texts themselves draw a clear distinction between *ibdāls* and *taṣḥīfs* (spelling mistakes)³⁷ and a less clear difference between *ibdāl* and *lathgha* (individual speech defect), but the texts make no contrast between real, “living” vocabulary and humorous or parodistic vocabulary used in poetry, especially in *rağaz*. Many of these ghostwords tend to become canonized within the genre as the mass of examples is taken from one work to another. To take but one example of this phenomenon, the case of *nāt*—*nās* will be extensively discussed as it shows the importance of tracing the origins of a given case in the early philological literature.

As-Suyūfī gives the following *ibdāl* in his *Muzhir* (I:464):

wa-mina t-tā'i wa's-sīni...wa'n-nāsu wa'n-nātu wa-akyāsun wa-akyāt

The pairs are given without any comment and they might draw one to some conclusions about early Arabic phonology³⁸. Yet they are derived from a *shāhid* poem given by earlier philologists; e.g. Ibn as-Sikkīt, *IS-Y*, p. 104 gives them on the authority of al-Farrā':

yā qabbaha llāhu banī s-si'latī

‘Amra bna Yarbū‘a shirāra n-nātī

laysū a‘iffā'a wa-lā akyātī

Abūṭ-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (*AṬ* I:117-118) and al-Ġawharī (*Ṣiḥāḥ*, p. 269), among many others, explain this as a *lughā*, but the further back we go, the more critically the writers consider them; Abū'l-Ḥasan, in his additions to Abū Zayd's *an-Nawādir* (p. 345) calls *an-nātī* and *akyātī* simply “*min qabīḥi ḍ-ḍarūrāt*”. It seems evident that the verses are either a parody or, less probably, a very clumsy effort to evade *ikfā'* in a poem rhyming in *-ātī*³⁹.

Itbā', p. 80 (*shamāğ*—*lamāğ*).

³⁶ Thus e.g. *T'A* IV:565 adds after Abū Turāb no. 141 “*wa-qīla: huwa itbā'.*”

³⁷ Naturally, many words given as *ibdāl* variants in Classical literature are suspected of being *taṣḥīfs* in modern studies, but still, in theory, the line between them is clear.

³⁸ These pairs may have been in F. Corriente's mind when he wrote about the aspirated pronunciation of /t/, see his *From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through the Pre-Islamic Koine: some notes on the native grammarians' sources, attitudes and goals*. *JSS* 21, 1976, p. 62-98, p. 75 note 1, though there are also some other, equally suspect cases of *nāt*—*nās*, see the following note.

³⁹ To give the reader an idea of the wide circulation of these verses, I give a list of occurrences which I have happened to note during my studies: Abū Zayd, *an-Nawādir*, p. 344-345 and 423; *IS-tahdhīb*, p. 42; *Q* II:68-69; *Mukh.* XIII:283 and III:26; *Z*, p. 458; *ID*, p. 842; Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf*, p. 119; Ibn Ġinnī, *al-Khaṣā'iṣ* II:37; Ibn Ġinnī, *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a*, p. 155; *az-Zamakhsharī*, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, p. 368; Ibn Fāris, *aṣ-Ṣāhibī*, p. 109; al-Bakrī, *Simt*, p. 703; *T'A*² 8:18; *T'A*² 9:247; *Ṣiḥāḥ*, p. 2141; al-Ma'arrī, *al-Fuṣūl*, p. 210; al-Ġāhiz, *K. al-Bighāl* II:238; *at-Tanūkhī*, *K. al-Qawāfi*, p. 145; *ad-Damīrī*, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* I:555; Ibn abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahğ al-balāgha* V:731; *aṭ-Ṭabarsī*, *Mağma'* *al-bayān* II:436. References in European literature: Kofler, *Reste*, *WZKM* 47, p. 90; Ullmann, *Rağaz*, p. 80 and p. 225; *WKAS* s.v. *kayyis*; Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, p. 12 and *Nachträge* 12/6; Fischer - Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, p. 40b and 41a. The list could easily be prolonged. — Other relevant material: *Muzhir* I:222; *Lisān* XIII:319; Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Irtishāf* I:156-157; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* IV:409 (humorous *an-nāth*); *EL-*

To these six points one may add that the *ibdāl* writers also differ in their attitude towards the phonological similarity of the *ibdāl* words. Ibn Ğinnī, like many other grammarians, prefers to accept only phonetically related letters (phonemes) as interchangeable (“*ibdālable*”, e.g. T—D—Ṭ). Others, the most prominent of whom is Abūʿt-Ṭayyib, accept any pairs as long as they differ in only one consonant and are synonyms, regardless of how improbable such a pair may be phonetically⁴⁰.

Another aspect to be emphasized is the tendency towards canonizing the *ibdāl* corpus: the same examples are taken from one work to another, and the cases which did not originally find their way into the *ibdāl* monographs, had a good chance of going unnoticed even in systematic collections like AT.

Analysis of the selection of material in the different *ibdāl* works; the “practical definition” of *ibdāl*⁴¹

1. IS-Y

The last two chapters of IS-Y (XXXV +M and XXXVI +N⁴²) do not belong to the sphere of *ibdāl* and the words therein certainly were not considered *ibdāls* by Ibn as-Sikkīt. Why they have been appended to IS-Y, is unknown and inexplicable to me. That they do indeed belong to the original IS-Y is made probable by the parallel tradition and the internal evidence (similar formulation, the same authorities).

The main body of the work (chapters I-XXVIII) contains material which falls into two categories, viz. doublets explicable on phonological and orthographical grounds, i.e. pairs whose origin may have been caused by phonetic (“*ibdāl proper*”) or orthographic (*taṣḥīf*⁴³) factors. All the chapters can be accounted for phonetically except for IX Ğ—Ḥ (*taṣḥīf*) and XII T—S⁴⁴. Chapters X (Ḥ—KH), XVI (‘—GH) and XXIII (Ṣ—Ḍ) can be explained both phonetically and orthographically.

The latter part of the work (chapters XXIX-XXXIV and the two non-*ibdāl*

Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 187-188 etc. — For a similar case of a linguistic curiosity used for the sake of parody in *rağaz*, see my *The lost rağaz of Abūn-Nağm on the defeat of Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab by Maslama ibn ‘Abdalmalik*. *Acta Orientalia* 54, 1993, p. 46-52.

⁴⁰ N.B. to Abūʿt-Ṭayyib the *ibdāl* words are not due to any changes or variation within one dialect (cf. the general reluctance of Arab philologists to consider the possibility of historical change in Arabic). Seen from this angle, phonetic probability loses its relevance; if at the beginning of time it occurred to Allāh to create *ibdāl* pairs which are phonetically unexplicable, who are we to argue with Him?

⁴¹ Those works wholly dependent on IS-Y (IS-*tahdhīb*, Q and Mukh.) are not discussed here, nor the *ibdāl* chapter of Muzhir which is a simple compilation from its sources without any attempt by the author to be selective.

⁴² I.e. chapters on words where the last radical is a suffixed M or N.

⁴³ Including cases in which both members are well attested but which look like *taṣḥīfs*. For Ibn as-Sikkīt none of these cases was a *taṣḥīf*, i.e. mistake, but they were accepted as real words.

⁴⁴ Of the four cases in this chapter, two are from a parodistic poem, discussed above, one (*tūs—sūs*) may have been caused by phonetic factors.

chapters) differs from the first part. The place of these chapters at the end of the book implies that they were considered by Ibn as-Sikkīt⁴⁵ as only marginally belonging to the field of *ibdāl*. The chapters include two on weak letters (XXX ʾ—Y only initial cases; XXXI ʾ—W mainly initial cases)⁴⁶. Chapter XXXIII (D—DH) is a typical *ibdāl* chapter and another explanation should be found for its late place in the book (see below, pp. 84-85). The last *ibdāl* chapter (XXXIV *ḥurūf mukhtalifa*) is a *varia* chapter which includes all the cases to which no individual chapter has been dedicated. It includes cases with no phonetical nor orthographical probability (e.g. Ğ—N; L—H), one *ibdāl* triad (p. 145 GHBN—KHBN—KBN) and a more or less clear *itbāʿ* (p. 146 *shaykhun tākkun wa-fākk*⁴⁷).

Chapters XXIX *al-muḏāʿaf* and XXXII *Bābu l-wāwi tuḡlabu tāʿan* differ more from the *ibdāl* proper. The chapter *al-muḏāʿaf* contains cases of morphophonemic alterations of med. gem. II and V stem > tert. inf. II and V stem (e.g. p. 133 *taẓannantu—taẓannaytu*)⁴⁸. Chapter XXXII⁴⁹ falls outside the usual definition of *ibdāl*, as most of the examples in it do not form pairs, only one of the words (with initial T) being in use, the other being mere etymological speculation (e.g. p. 139 *turāth—WRTH/*wurāth*)⁵⁰.

Turning now to the negative side of the selection of material in IS-Y, we see the absence of most of the grammatical *ibdāls* (e.g. assimilations of VIII stem infix), including the alterations of weak consonants ʾ—W—Y in medial and final positions as well as initially for grammatical reasons⁵¹ (i.e. after prefixes)⁵². The alterations of long vowels are accordingly missing from IS-Y. Some of these alterations are dealt with by Ibn as-Sikkīt in his *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq* whence they are taken into AṬ.

Some other doublets which are usually included in *ibdāl* works, are used by Ibn as-Sikkīt in his *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq* rather than in his *ibdāl* monograph. The most conspicuous example of this is the absence of a chapter S—Ṣ⁵³ from IS-Y. It is instead

⁴⁵ Or by *al-Aṣmaʿī* if the order of the chapters is due to the fact that the core of the first 28 chapters came from his *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl*.

⁴⁶ These chapters are closely paralleled by the respective chapters of *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq* (p. 159-160, 160). It is possible that they were added to IS-Y as a kind of appendix from *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, either by Ibn as-Sikkīt or some 9th century redactor; in the tenth century they were part of IS as can be seen from the parallel tradition.

⁴⁷ Classified as *itbāʿ* in several works, e.g. *Abūʿ-Ṭayyib, K. al-Itbāʿ*, p. 29, though also taken by him from IS-Y to his AṬ I:136. — Note also T^cA² 7:169 (*wa-ḥakā Yaʿqūb [=IS-Y, p. 146]: shaykhun fākkun wa-tākk. ḡaʿalahu badalan wa-lam yaḡʿalhu itbāʿan*).

⁴⁸ Note also p. 134 *surrīya* (root SRR; also in *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, p. 302), p. 135 *yaʿtamī* in rhyme for *yaʿtammu*. P. 135 *qaṣaṣtu—qaṣṣaytu* looks like an example chosen to represent the general phenomenon in many dialects.

⁴⁹ As also *surrīya*, p. 134, in chapter XXIX, see preceding note. The example *ta-llāhi—wa-llāhi* (p. 139) has been added to the text by the editor and should be deleted.

⁵⁰ Some of these words may, on the other hand, have been found in the *rara et curiosa*, as, e.g. *wukalatun tukala* in a saying (Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* III:472 l. 11).

⁵¹ The ʾ—W—Y variations given in IS-Y (e.g. p. 138 *dhaʿā—dhawā* and the cases in chapters XXX-XXXI) are for the most part lexicographical, i.e. not caused by grammatical factors.

⁵² On the other hand the articles in chapters XXIX (*al-muḏāʿaf*) and XXXII (*Bābu l-wāwi tuḡlabu tāʿan*) might well be classified as grammatical *ibdāls*.

found in *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*, though there the question is naturally seen from another point of view, that of *laḥn al-‘amma*. The chapter has been added by the redactor of *IS-tahdhīb* (not from *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*).

2. *Abū Turāb’s K. al-I‘tiqāb*

The fragmentary character of the reconstruction of *K. al-I‘tiqāb* makes it difficult to know in detail how *Abū Turāb* selected his material. This must be kept in mind especially when considering what he did *not* include in his book.

As it now stands, *K. al-I‘tiqāb* contains much non-ibdāl material, too⁵⁴. Some general statements on phonological phenomena — such as the *quṭ‘a* of Ṭayyi’ (no. 323) and other pausal phenomena (no. 325) — may well come from the Introduction to the work, although they could also have been mechanically analyzed as ibdāls.

In several quotes, *Abū Turāb* seems to be discussing only one word, not a pair. In most cases the quote obviously includes only a part of the original article which contained an ibdāl pair⁵⁵. In others, it is possible that the quote may have come from a commentary to some *shāhid* or the like, in which case the word discussed does not belong to the phenomenon of ibdāl at all⁵⁶.

K. al-I‘tiqāb also contains ibdāl triads (especially Z—S—Ṣ), as well as some semantically arranged series (e.g. no. 273; cf. also no. 194) which remind one of the early *nawādir* style which was further developed in the *alfāz* works. At least some ibdāl triads were separated by *Abū Turāb* to form ibdāl pairs (cf. no. 51a and 51b) which also betrays his rather systematic attitude⁵⁷.

Due to this attitude, it need not surprise us that *Abū Turāb* did not demand his ibdāl pairs to evince any phonetic or orthographic probability, as even the most curious pairs are included in *K. al-I‘tiqāb* (e.g. no. 12 and 13). The ibdāls of the weak letters are few (e.g. no. 321 *shawwaṭa—shayyaṭa*; no. 322 *kawthar—kaythar*; note also no. 296 *mufliq—mufiq*) and none of them falls within the category of grammatical ibdāl. On the other hand, no. 187 (*iḍṭaḡa‘a—iḷṭaḡa‘a*) and no. 326 (*iddāraka*) fall within the sphere of grammatical ibdāl. One other case, viz. no. 1 *ḥala‘tu—ḥalattu* resembles grammatical ibdāl (assimilation of the last radical with the -t of the perfect ending) though to *Abū Turāb* it was more probably an example of root variation (ḤL’—ḤLT) and thus within the sphere of lexical ibdāl. Some cases of *ikfā’* are included (no. 84, 107, 292)⁵⁸.

⁵³ Already noted by *as-Suyūṭī*, *Muzhir* I:469.

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. no. 56 and no. 19.

⁵⁵ This is very clear when the pair is known from other ibdāl works.

⁵⁶ Similar non-ibdāl material is discussed also, e.g. in *IS-Y*.

⁵⁷ This is a feature which he shares with the greatest systematizer of the ibdāls, *Abū Ṭ-Tayyib*.

⁵⁸ Cf. also *AK* and the additions of *IS-tahdhīb*.

3. Az-Zağğāğī's *K. al-Ibdāl wa'l-mu'āqaba wa'n-nazā'ir*

Even a superficial glance at Z shows that its selection of material differs considerably from that of IS-Y and K. *al-I'tiqāb*; Z begins with four chapters on the *ibdāl*s of weak letters (I W—>—Y; II W—alif; III Y—alif; IV W—Y)⁵⁹ which together make up a third of the book. The importance of these chapters, which border on grammatical *ibdāl*, fits in well with the fact that az-Zağğāğī was a grammarian, not a lexicographer, and that he wrote only two other lexicographical works⁶⁰. In these chapters az-Zağğāğī incorporated much material that differs from the usual (lexical) *ibdāl* material, viz.:

a. Changes of long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. p. 256 *zinqīr—zi/anqār—zunqūr* (i.e. *zinqīYr—zi/anqaALIFr—zunquWr*); p. 260 *sukūt—sukāt*; p. 263 *adhīn—adhān*; p. 257 *yawğal—yāğal—yayğal* (or *yīğal*) which seems to stand for the whole class of these verbs. Many of these variations are simply variation of morpheme type (*fi'līl—fu'lūl*, etc.).

b. One case of orthographical change, viz. p. 256 زابر - زوبر - زوبر though it is possible that the hamza is a normalization made by some copyist, and that we should read *zābar—zībar—zūbur* instead of *za'bar—zi'bir—zu'bur*.

c. Variation of roots mediae- W/Y and tertiae-W/Y, e.g. p. 273 *yađīru—yađūru*, and of tertiae-W and tertiae-Y, p. 275ff.

d. Cases of variation in the vocalization of I stem verbs, e.g. p. 258 *dahā*⁶¹—*dahiya—dahuwa*.

It is also evident from some of the examples above that he often disregarded the rule that an *ibdāl* pair may differ only in one consonant, but not in vocalization⁶². The examples in the first four chapters (especially the fourth) and the chapters XVIII (D—Z) and XIX (S—Ş) contain much material also given by Ibn as-Sikkīt in his *Işlāḥ al-mantīq*, although the similarities are not great enough for *Işlāḥ al-mantīq* to be considered as one of his sources.

Chapters V-XXXIII of Z, with the few exceptions mentioned above, are similar in tenor to, though different in material from, IS-Y. Most chapters contain examples which are phonetically explicable, and the remaining few are orthographical. Unlike the other *ibdāl* works, Z includes many chapters on *ibdāl* triads (I W—>—Y; VIII T—D—Ṭ; XXI Z—S—Ş)⁶³. The last three chapters form a group of morphological

⁵⁹ Az-Zağğāğī does not make any difference between hamza and alif, cf. e.g. p. 256 (*zinqīr—zanqār* or *zinqār—zunqūr*) and p. 258 (*musā'ala—musāyala—musāwala*) given in the same chapter, nor between W and ū, Y and ī (e.g. p. 273 *yađīru—yađūru*; p. 273 *bily—bilw* in the same chapter).

⁶⁰ K. *al-Anwā'* and *Mukhtaşar az-Zāhir*, see GAS VIII:105.

⁶¹ For az-Zağğāğī, *dahā* naturally stands for *dahaALIFa*.

⁶² In one case, viz. p. 275 *thunyā—thanwā*, this is due to the copyist or the editor; for the latter word, there is also another vocalization, *thunwā*, given, e.g. in Lisān II:143 and AṬ II:478.

⁶³ Chapter I is followed by three chapters in which the respective *ibdāl* pairs are discussed (i.e. W—alif; alif—Y; W—Y), the same goes for chapter VIII (T—D; D—Ṭ; T—Ṭ), whereas chapter XXI is followed only by XXII Z—S, the remaining chapters being given elsewhere (XIX S—Ş; XXVII Z—Ş). This need not mean that the book is not a finished work, but a draft: many early monographs are in the same way

ibdāls, viz. XXXIII Ĝ—Y⁶⁴ in nisba; XXXIV SH—K in second person feminine possessive suffix; and XXXV T—K in perfect endings.

4. *Abūʿt-Ṭayyib's K. al-Ibdāl*

The most conspicuous feature of Abūʿt-Ṭayyib's ibdāl work is its attempt at maximum comprehensiveness; it is a huge, systematic compilation arranged according to the letters of the alphabet where at least a few ibdāls have been sought for each possible combination. Accordingly Abūʿt-Ṭayyib has not been over-scrupulous in accepting word pairs as ibdāls, so that there is, e.g. some overlap between AṬ and his *K. al-Itbā*⁶⁵.

It follows that AṬ is confined neither to phonologically nor to orthographically explicable cases, though it is but natural that these form the majority in the book, and that the respective chapters are usually longer than chapters like KH—M.

The sources used and excerpted by Abūʿt-Ṭayyib contained many ibdāl triads and longer series of ibdāls. Usually these have been “undone” by him to produce several articles on ibdāl pairs; thus, e.g. a set of four ibdāls ABCD gives in AṬ six ibdāl pairs AB, AC, AD, BC, BD, and CD each given in the appropriate chapter. In some cases, though, the series is also retained in at least one place, e.g. AṬ I:288 chapter Ĝ—SH ḡanāḡin—sanāsin—shanāshin, but also in chapters Ĝ—S and S—SH.

Abūʿt-Ṭayyib has accepted the ibdāls of the weak letters⁶⁶ (as radicals), and a few cases of variation in morpheme type and similar cases, e.g. AṬ II:496 chapter W—Y/final (< Iṣlāḡ al-manṭiq, p. 139) muḡūw—muḡīy (MDW/fuʿūl with either an assimilation of the weak radical to the preceding vowel or of the vowel to the radical); AṬ II:477-478 W—Y/medial (< Iṣlāḡ al-manṭiq, p. 144) ʿabawtharān—ʿabaytharān; and AṬ II:477 W—Y/medial (< Iṣlāḡ al-manṭiq, p. 137) ḡīqā—ḡūqā and kīsā—kūsā⁶⁷.

Grammatical ibdāls are well represented in these — as well as some other — chapters, e.g. AṬ II:473 W—Y/medial mawāthīq (pl. of mīthāq, based on the deep form WTHQ/mifʿāl) vs. mayāthīq (based on the surface form miYthāq)⁶⁸. Other cases of grammatical ibdāl include AṬ I:361 chapter D—DH iddikār—idhdhikār; AṬ II:283 chapter Ṭ—Ḍ iṭṭafara—iḏḏafara. The whole chapter Ĝ—Y is based on cases of nisba, to which are added a handful of purely lexical ibdāls, chapter T—K has six cases of the variation of 2nd person feminine possessive suffixes (AṬ I:141-142 also anta—anka), and chapter SH—K has the case of -ki — -shi (AṬ II:230) from “Sībayhi and others”. — Chapter T—W contains several “etymological” ibdāls, e.g. AṬ

slightly unsystematic even though they represent the final versions by their authors.

⁶⁴ This can naturally also be explained phonetically.

⁶⁵ E.g. AṬ II:232 = *K. al-Itbā*⁶, p. 80 (shamāḡ—lamāḡ).

⁶⁶ The chapter W—Y is divided into three sub-chapters according to the position of the permuted consonant (initial, medial, final). The last two chapters depend heavily on Iṣlāḡ al-manṭiq.

⁶⁷ The variation of mediae geminatae and tertiae infirmae is also amply represented in different chapters consonant—W and consonant—Y, e.g. AṬ II:152 Z—W nazza—nazā.

⁶⁸ Cf. also the plural of riḡ (aryāḡ—arwāḡ) AṬ II:480.

I:150 tayqūr (root WQR, no *wayqūr).

The cases of partial assimilation of N to a following B are similar to the grammatical ibdāls found in many grammatical works⁶⁹, e.g. AṬ II:435 ġunbukh—ġumbukh and ʿanbar—ʿambar⁷⁰.

Abūʿt-Ṭayyib has also accepted cases of *darūrāt* as ibdāls⁷¹, e.g. AṬ I:329 chapter Ḥ—Y where we have the hemistich

maḥḥa dahrun wa-ḥubbuhā ghayru māḥī.

Here māḥī has been analyzed as a *tertia infirmae*⁷².

In several cases in the chapters dealing with weak letters and H, we can see how Abūʿt-Ṭayyib has been preoccupied with and dominated by the written form of the language, its consonantal skeleton; many examples differ in one consonant *and* vocalization, e.g. AṬ II:530 chapter H—Y hādhī—hādhihi which differ in the Arabic script only in one consonant, the final vowel being left unmarked:

hdhy but hādhīy (hādhī)
hdhh hādhihi⁷³

Similarly, AṬ II:535 gives the pair aghāma—aghyama which forms another orthographical ibdāl pair:

ʿghʾm but aghāma
ʿghym aghyama

The latter case is similar to AṬ II:531 (chapter H—Y) where we have a case of a “deep structure ibdāl”, viz. yatasanna vs. yatasannah⁷⁴. On the surface level the ibdāl pair should actually be Ø—H:

yatasannaØ
yatasannah

but in the deep structure we have *yata+SaNNaH—*yata+SaNNaY, apocopates of *yata+SannaH+u and *yata+SaNNaY+u.

⁶⁹ E.g. Sībawayhi, al-Kitāb II:342; az-Zamakhsharī, al-Mufaṣṣal, p. 366.

⁷⁰ Dissimilation of a geminate also produces ibdāl pairs (e.g. AṬ II:94 dhurrūḥ—dhurnūḥ) but these are considered as cases of lexical ibdāls by the lexicographers.

⁷¹ Naturally there are also several cases which are originally cases of poetic licenses (forms such as sādi for sādis and khāmī for khāmis, AṬ II:217 and II:218) but these are not taken as such by Abūʿt-Ṭayyib.

⁷² What we really have here is the shortening of the geminate to avoid an overlong syllable; morphologically speaking māḥḥin (realized in rhyme as [māḥḥi]) has been shortened to māḥin (realized in rhyme as [māḥi]).

⁷³ But cf. Sībawayhi, al-Kitāb II:314 which gives a variant hādhih which would make an ideal ibdāl pair with hādhīy.

⁷⁴ In fact the H in the form yatasannah is a phonetically conditioned pausal H, but this need not concern us here.

Table showing some principles in the selection of material in the four main ibdāl works⁷⁵:

	IS-Y	Abū Turāb	Z	AṬ
phonological or orthographical probability	+ ⁷⁶	-	+	-
grammatical ibdāl; changes in normal paradigms	-	-	-	(+)
abnormal morphophonemic changes ⁷⁷	(+)	-	+	+
variation of weak letters as consonants	+ ⁷⁸	(+)	+	+
variation of weak letters as long vowels (ī—ā—ū)	-	- ⁷⁹	+	(+)
“etymological” W—T variation (initial)	+	-	- ⁸⁰	+ ⁸¹
variation in rhyme (ikfā’)	-	+	-	-

⁷⁵ For details, see above.

⁷⁶ Except in chapter XXXIV *Varia*.

⁷⁷ E.g. 2nd person sg. poss. suffix -ki—shi; nisba -yy—ğğ.

⁷⁸ Mainly initial ʾ—W and ʾ—Y.

⁷⁹ But cf. above.

⁸⁰ But note the few “etymological” deep forms, cf. above.

⁸¹ For some cases Abūṭ-Ṭayyib introduces a ghostword to retain the pair as normal ibdāl, e.g. AṬ I:149 tuğāh—wuğāh.