

II THE IBDĀL MONOGRAPHS AND OTHER RELATED WORKS: PRESENTATION

Al-Aṣma‘ī and his Kitāb al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl

Al-Aṣma‘ī

Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abdalmalik ibn Qurayb *al-Aṣma‘ī* al-Bāhili⁸² was born in 122/740 in Baṣra. He studied under the leading philologists of his time (including Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Alā’ and al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad) and profited very much from the Bedouins. He was summoned to Baghdād by the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd where he became, together with Abū ‘Ubayda, the most influential of the philologists. He died in 213/828.

Al-Aṣma‘ī was a prolific compiler of Bedouin *nawādir*, *akhbār* and *lugha*, and he wrote very many works, most of which have later disappeared. The question of the authenticity of the extant works is very problematic, and it seems to me that many of the works known now under his name are in fact later redactions made by his students, Ibn as-Sikkīt among them. For the list of his lexicographical works, see below, pp. 30-47.

K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl

All the lists of al-Aṣma‘ī’s works mention a *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*⁸³. This work has been lost, but, as will be shown later, we have reasons to believe that its material has been included in Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*, probably in toto. It is true that elsewhere in the philological literature very many, probably hundreds of, *ibdāl* cases which are not found in IS-Y are quoted on the authority of al-Aṣma‘ī. Yet this has nothing to do with his *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*; due to his enormous influence in all fields of lexicography, al-Aṣma‘ī quotes were a welcome addition to any monograph, and his works — and the oral tradition stemming from him — were excerpted by many later lexicographers in whatever field they wrote. It is also evident that his monograph on *ibdāls* must have been relatively short — cf. all his other lexical monographs — and the 172 cases of IS-Y which probably come from al-Aṣma‘ī’s work (see below pp. 82-88) would fit in very well with the general paradigm of his works in comparison with other, later works, e.g. those of Ibn as-Sikkīt.

In GAS VIII:73 Sezgin refers not only to IS-Y but to Muzhir I:478-479 as a possible quotation from al-Aṣma‘ī’s *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*. The passage deals with metathesis⁸⁴, and it has been compiled from ID. Its attribution to al-Aṣma‘ī’s work is

⁸² GAS VIII:71-76.

⁸³ GAS VIII:73; Fihrist, p. 82 (> al-Qifī, *Inbāh* II:203; the editor of *Inbāh* erroneously refers here to Haffner’s edition of IS-tahdhīb as al-Aṣma‘ī’s work); *Bughya* II:113.

⁸⁴ Thus it seems that Sezgin, too, has thought of the work as consisting of *ibdāls* and metatheses, cf.

a misunderstanding; in Muzhir I:478 as-Suyūfī quotes one word, *ḍumārīz*, on the authority of al-Aṣma‘ī, and then lists 32 more cases of metathesis (Muzhir I:478-479). The whole passage comes, in fact, from ID; as-Suyūfī himself introduces the list (Muzhir I:477) as “this [the preceding list derived from ID, p. 1254-1255, chapter al-ḥurūfu llatī qulibat] is what he mentioned in this chapter. Elsewhere in his book he mentioned the following cases:..”. The al-Aṣma‘ī quote is taken from ID, p. 1211-1212.

Ibn as-Sikkīt and his works

Ibn as-Sikkīt

Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb *ibn* Iṣḥāq *as-Sikkīt*⁸⁵ was born in 186/802 in Baghdād where he lived until he was executed on the order of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 243/857 or a few years later⁸⁶. Among his teachers were his father, as-Sikkīt, himself a student of al-Kisā‘ī (d. 805), and later many of the leading lexicographers: Abū ‘Amr ash-Shaybānī, Quṭrub, al-Farrā’, al-Liḥyānī, and, marginally, Ibn al-A‘rābī⁸⁷. Indirectly, i.e. via their students, he learned also from al-Aṣma‘ī (cf. below), Abū Zayd and Abū ‘Ubayda. He also drew from the eloquent Bedouins⁸⁸. Of his students one may mention Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī.

His most important work is on lexicography, though one should not forget his eminent role as a commentator on ancient poetry and compiler of *dīwāns*. The most famous of his books is without doubt *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*, about which dozens of commentaries were later written. Other works worth mentioning in this context are *K. al-Alfāz*, several monographs on semantically defined subjects (camels, plants, etc.), and *Kitāb al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*, the earliest extant *ibdāl* monograph, and the most influential in the history of the genre.

Relations with al-Aṣma‘ī

Al-Aṣma‘ī, the foremost representative of the Basran school of his time, was called by the Caliph to Baghdad where he died in 828⁸⁹. Ibn as-Sikkīt was born probably in 802⁹⁰, so he was 26 at the death of al-Aṣma‘ī and thus could have studied directly under his guidance.

The biographical sources are somewhat vague as to the relationship between al-

below on the nature of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s work.

⁸⁵ GAS VIII:129-136.

⁸⁶ Almost all biographies tell the dramatic story of his death. For the date of his death, see GAS VIII:129.

⁸⁷ Cf. Abū‘t-Ṭayyib, al-Marātib, p. 152.

⁸⁸ Cf. Abū‘t-Ṭayyib, al-Marātib, p. 152; this can also clearly be seen in his works where e.g. Abū Ṣā‘id al-Kilābī is often quoted.

⁸⁹ GAS VIII:71.

⁹⁰ GAS VIII:129.

Aşma‘ī and Ibn as-Sikkīt. The articles on Ibn as-Sikkīt are regrettably uninformative; the anecdote about his death usually takes about half of the article, whereas his teachers are listed only very briefly. Al-Aşma‘ī is given in many lists, usually towards the end of the list, after the mainly Kufan teachers of Ibn as-Sikkīt. E.g. Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII:300-302, reads:

fa-akhadha ‘an Abī ‘Amr ash-Shaybānī wa’l-Farrā’ wa-Ibn al-A‘rābī wa’l-Athram wa-rawā ‘an-i l-Aşma‘ī wa-Abī ‘Ubayda

The formula rawā ‘an is normally used for indirect teacher—student relation. Similarly, al-Azharī writes (TL I:23):

He (Ibn as-Sikkīt) met al-Aşma‘ī, I think; he often mentions him in his works

Bearing this evidence in mind, especially when we recall that there is a solid isnād between al-Azharī and al-Aşma‘ī (TL I:23: al-Azharī – Abū’l-Faḍl al-Mundhirī – al-Ḥarrānī – al-Aşma‘ī)⁹¹ and one would suppose him to have been well informed had there been an important, direct connection between al-Aşma‘ī and Ibn as-Sikkīt, it seems that they probably had no more than a casual relationship, if that.

On the other hand, we know that Ibn as-Sikkīt studied with several direct students of al-Aşma‘ī, e.g. Abū Naşr⁹² and al-Athram⁹³, both known as “şāhib al-Aşma‘ī”. This may at least in part explain the enormous significance and influence that al-Aşma‘ī’s work had on Ibn as-Sikkīt, something which is usually underestimated in both Classical and modern studies. In fact, a study of al-Aşma‘ī’s and Ibn as-Sikkīt’s works on *lughā* shows that Ibn as-Sikkīt depended heavily on al-Aşma‘ī; in several cases, Ibn as-Sikkīt’s works seem to be no more than new editions of al-Aşma‘ī’s.

A comparison of the list of works of al-Aşma‘ī and Ibn as-Sikkīt shows how dependent Ibn as-Sikkīt is in general on al-Aşma‘ī. The following list gives the lexicographical works of the two scholars⁹⁴:

Ibn as-Sikkīt	al-Aşma‘ī
A. Works on the morphology of words:	
Işlāḥ al-mantiq	—
K. al-Baḥṭh	—
K. at-Tawsi‘a	—
K. az-Zibriğ	—
K. al-Muthannā	—

⁹¹ Al-Ḥarrānī is said to have accompanied Ibn as-Sikkīt for 21 years (TL I:23; al-Qifī, *Inbāh* IV:62).

⁹² See Tha‘lab, *Mağālis*, p. 46-47.

⁹³ See the passage quoted above from *Irshād*, and Tha‘lab, *Mağālis*, p. 48-49. Yet it should be remembered that this passage of Tha‘lab’s *Mağālis* as well as the one referred to in the preceding note, concerns sessions on poetry, not *lughā*. These stories, as well as many others, show Ibn as-Sikkīt as a very ambitious young scholar.

⁹⁴ Cf. GAS VIII:71-76 and IX:66-67 (al-Aşma‘ī) and VIII:129-136 and IX:137-138 (Ibn as-Sikkīt). The grouping of the works is mine. The extant works are in bold characters. — In his *al-Mişbah al-munīr*, p. 92, al-Fayyūmī also mentions a K. aḍ-Ḍād wa’z-zā’ by al-Aşma‘ī.

K. al-Mağāz	—
K. ad-Du‘ā’	—
K. al-Abnā’	—
K. al-Maqṣūr wa’l-mamdūd ⁹⁵	K. al-Maqṣūr wa’l-mamdūd
K. al-Mudhakkār wa’l-mu’annath	K. al-Mudhakkār wa’l-mu’annath
K. Fa‘ala wa-af‘ala	K. Fa‘ala wa-af‘ala
K. at-Taṣghīr	—
—	K. al-Maṣādir
—	K. al-Hamz

B. “Technical” monographs:

K. al-Alfāz	K. al-Alfāz
K. al-Aḍḍād	K. al-Aḍḍād ⁹⁶
K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibḍāl	K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibḍāl
K. al-Aḡnās	K. al-Aḡnās
K. Mā ttafaqa lafzuhu...	K. Mā khtalafat alfāzuhu...

C. Subject-oriented monographs:

K. al-Aṣwāt	K. al-Aṣwāt
K. Khalq al-insān	K. Khalq al-insān
K. al-Farq	K. al-Farq
K. al-Wuḥūsh	K. al-Wuḥūsh
K. al-Ibil	K. al-Ibil
K. al-Ḥaṣharāt	—
K. aṭ-Ṭayr ⁹⁷	—
K. an-Nabāt wa’sh-shaḡarāt	K. an-Nabāt wa’sh-shaḡarāt
K. as-Sarḡ wa’l-liḡām	K. as-Sarḡ wa’l-liḡām
K. al-Anwā’	K. al-Anwā’
K. al-Ayyām wa’l-layālī	K. al-Awqāt
K. al-Arāḍī wa’l-ḡibāl... ⁹⁸	—

D. Other works

K. an-Nawādir	K. an-Nawādir
K. al-Amthāl	K. al-Amthāl
K. Gharīb al-Qur’ān	—

⁹⁵ According to GAS IX:137 in Medina there is one manuscript which may be this work of Ibn as-Sikkīt though this is not sure.

⁹⁶ For this work, see below.

⁹⁷ Only in some lists.

⁹⁸ Only in some lists.

As we see from the lists, groups B and C are remarkably similar, especially when we consider that two of the three monographs of Ibn as-Sikkīt which are without a parallel in the works of al-Aṣma‘ī (*K. at-Ṭayr*, *K. al-Arādī*), are not given in all lists of his works and their authenticity may well be questioned. The comparison of the material in the individual monographs is complicated by the fact that in only one case (*K. al-Aḍḍād*) both the work of al-Aṣma‘ī and of Ibn as-Sikkīt are extant, and even this case is dubious and very problematic: the monographs of al-Aṣma‘ī and Ibn as-Sikkīt resemble each other very closely, but several facts point to the conclusion that the so-called aḍḍād book of al-Aṣma‘ī is in fact only another redaction of the aḍḍād book of Ibn as-Sikkīt⁹⁹.

Yet some kind of comparison can be made on the basis of an internal analysis of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s works, as will be done for *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl* in this study¹⁰⁰, and on the basis of quotations from the lost works in some dictionaries. Especially valuable in the latter case is the large subject-oriented dictionary of Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*. Ibn Sīda quotes his authorities relatively conscientiously, although only by the author’s name without any indication of the work from which the quote comes. This is compensated for by the fact that in most cases Ibn Sīda is obviously only quoting from monographs dealing with the same subject as the chapter he is writing. Thus in chapter X one usually finds quotes from monographs on X.

If we compare the quotes attributed by Ibn Sīda to Ibn as-Sikkīt in the chapter *K. al-Wuḥūsh* (Mukh. VIII:21-91)¹⁰¹ with the monograph by al-Aṣma‘ī on the same subject, we can discern a remarkable similarity in the material. This is especially clear in the chapters *al-Wu‘ūl* and *Asnān awlād al-baqar* (Mukh. VIII:29-35) which parallel al-Aṣma‘ī’s *K. al-Wuḥūsh*, p. 369-370 and 363-364.

In the light of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s strong dependence on al-Aṣma‘ī, it is no surprise that his *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl* will be seen to be based on al-Aṣma‘ī’s work, cf. below.

Kitāb al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl

For a long time, the text edited by Haffner in his *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie* (p. 3-65) was held to be Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *Kitāb al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*¹⁰². In fact, the text

⁹⁹ See Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-ġarīb*, p. 94 (and the references given in GAS VIII:133).

¹⁰⁰ Also a comparison of the two *K. al-ibdāl* works of al-Aṣma‘ī (published by Haffner) shows that at least one of them, viz. the larger, is a later redaction, though we cannot say for sure by whom.

¹⁰¹ The present writer has made a provisional reconstruction of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Wuḥūsh* on the basis of *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and other sources (unpublished).

¹⁰² It seems that most scholars — even those writing in the field of *ibdāl* — still believe so. Thus, e.g. El Berkawy in his *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl* (1981) is totally ignorant of the nature of Haffner’s text; cf. e.g. p. 117 (writing about the chapter S—Ṣ of AT): »Hier stellt sich die Frage, warum Abū ṭ-Tayyib so viele Beispiele in seinem *K. al-ibdāl* nicht erwähnt hat, obwohl ihm das *K. al-Qalb wa-l-Ibdāl* zur Verfügung stand. Wahrscheinlich [sic] aber hat Abū ṭ-Tayyib das Kapitel S—Ṣ bei Ibn as-Sikkīt nicht gesehen, da es nämlich in einigen [sic] Abschriften des *K. al-Qalb wa-l-Ibdāl* fehlt.« El Berkawy goes on citing the passage of Muzhir to the effect that there was no chapter S—Ṣ in *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*. Here, in fact, as-Suyūfī was perfectly correct; the chapter S—Ṣ is found only in *IS-tahdhīb* which to all probability was

published by Haffner (= MS-Laleli 1903/2, fol. 24a-76b), is not the work of Ibn as-Sikkīt but a later redaction, *tahdhīb*, of it, in which much new material — which often does not meet the high philological standards of Ibn as-Sikkīt — has been added and the chapters and the examples within the chapters have been reorganized. As far as I know, the first to realize this was M. Sharaf, the editor of IS-Y who based his edition (1978) on the Yeni Cami manuscript¹⁰³ (Yeni Cami 1195/3, fol. 110a-147b) which contains the work of Ibn as-Sikkīt without the later additions¹⁰⁴. — For the *tahdhīb*, see the next chapter.

The original work of Ibn as-Sikkīt consists of 34 chapters on *ibdāl* pairs¹⁰⁵, and two chapters (the 35th and 36th) on words formed by adding M or N as the last radical. The chapters of the first half are loosely organized according to alphabetical and phonological factors¹⁰⁶.

In his introduction to the edition of IS-Y, M. Sharaf (p. 27-29) assumes¹⁰⁷ that the manuscript he is editing is only the second part of what Ibn as-Sikkīt originally wrote, and that the lost first part was a tractate on metathesis, as Sharaf understands the term *qalb*. This supposition is based on his incomprehension of correct significance of the term *qalb*. In fact, the meaning *qalb* “metathesis” became established only in later linguistic usage. For the early philologists, *qalb* means simply “changing”, whether, as usual, of one consonant to another (= *ibdāl*) or, more seldom, of the order of the consonants (metathesis)¹⁰⁸. It is true that the same mistake had already been made by as-Suyūfī who writes (Muzhir I:476):

wa-qad allafa Ibn as-Sikkīt fī hādhā n-naw‘i [speaking of *qalb* =
metathesis] kitāban yanqulu ‘anhu ṣāhibu ṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ.

written after the death of Abū‘-Ṭayyib. — The nature of Haffner’s text also seems to be unknown to Sezgin (cf. GAS VIII:133, published 1982) and the editors of WKAS (who use Haffner’s edition with no comments), etc. The fact that Haffner’s text is a later *tahdhīb* causes many changes in questions concerning K. al-Qalb’s later influence. To take but one example: Th. Bauer in his important monograph *Das Pflanzenbuch* writes (p. 115): »Zu Ibn as-Sikkīts al-qalb wal-‘ibdāl finden sich, bedeutet man den geringen Umfang und das Thema dieser Schrift, relativ viele Übereinstimmungen mit dem Buch *Dīnawarī*.« Of the three “Übereinstimmungen” found by Bauer, two (DN I:287 = IS-*tahdhīb*, p. 22 ḥamzal—ḥanzal; DN I:392 = IS-*tahdhīb*, p. 22 *dimdim*—*dindin*) do not belong to the original work of Ibn as-Sikkīt, and the third (DN I:156 and I:256 = IS-Y, p.126 and IS-*tahdhīb*, p. 35 *thūm*—*fūm*) in which the exact wording differs from IS-Y, is among the commonest *ibdāls* as it has a *shāhid* in the Qur‘ān, and is found in tens if not hundreds of works ranging from lexicography to *tafsīr*. So we see that the “Übereinstimmungen” are with a work written a century after *ad-Dīnawarī*.

¹⁰³ Sharaf compared the text with MS-Laleli but not with the other two manuscripts (Selimaga and Ambrosia) nor systematically with the works which incorporate the material of IS-Y.

¹⁰⁴ The present writer reached the same conclusion in 1989 when working on this study and comparing the text of Haffner with the parallel tradition.

¹⁰⁵ The 34th chapter (*ḥurūf mukhtalifa*) is a *varia* chapter including all the *ibdāls* to which no separate chapter has been dedicated.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the organization of az-Zağğāğī’s K. al-*Ibdāl* (see below, p. 52) and p. 129-130 where a table showing the order of the chapters of IS-Y together with some other *ibdāl* works is given.

¹⁰⁷ As before him, e.g. M. Tawfīq (see El-Berkawī, p. 50) and others.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also El Berkawī, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 43ff., especially p. 50-52.

As-Suyūfī seems to have been misguided partly by the example lağiz—laziğ which he gives in his Muzhir I:480:

wa-fī ṣ-Şihāḥ: al-lağizu maqlūbu l-laziğ. qālahu Ibn as-Sikkīt fī Kitāb al-Qalb¹⁰⁹

This, as already shown for the first time by aṣ-Şaghānī, Takmila 158a-b (also in ‘Ubāb/hamza, p. 35) and then by Haffner, Texte, p. 17 (of the German text) and El Berkawy, Das Kitāb al-ibdāl, p. 51-52, is based on a taṣḥīf in Şihāḥ, p. 894 s.v. LĜZ, a passage which is taken from IS-Y, p. 106, where the verse is quoted as a shāhid for the word sa‘ābīb, not for the rhyme word (lağin, misread by al-Ġawharī as lağiz; aṣ-Şaghānī quotes other verses from the poem which rhymes in N). Thus there is no reason to assume a binary character for *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* nor an independent work on metathesis by Ibn as-Sikkīt on the basis of either the information given by as-Suyūfī or the title of the book.

There are also a few other cases in philological literature where words found neither in IS-Y nor in IS-tahdhīb are quoted as if coming from *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl*. The clearest case comes from TL V:163 s.v. ḤYŞ:

wa-fī kitābi Ibn as-Sikkīt fī l-qalbi wa'l-ibdāli fī bābi ṣ-şādi wa'ḍ-ḍād:
yuqālu: ḥāṣa wa-ḥāḍa wa-ğāḍa bi-ma‘nan wāḥidin wa-kadhālika nāṣa wa-nāḍa.

A few pages earlier (TL V:159) we read s.v. ḤYḌ:

wa-qāla l-Liḥyānī fī bābi ḍ-ḍādi wa'ş-şād: ḥāḍa wa-ḥāṣa bi-ma‘nan wāḥid.
wa-qāla Abū Sa‘īd: innamā huwa ḥāḍa wa-ğāḍa bi-ma‘nan wāḥid.

The passages have been taken from TL to Lisān (s.v. ḤYŞ and ḤYḌ). T‘A XVIII: 313-314 confusingly mentions ḥāṣa—ḥāḍa on the authority of “al-Farrā’ in the chapter şād and ḍād”.

Neither IS-Y nor IS-tahdhīb knows of any combination of ḥāṣa—ḥāḍa—ğāḍa but the pair nāṣa—nāḍa does come from IS (IS-Y, p. 121; IS-tahdhīb, p. 49-50). The parallel tradition of IS-Y is ignorant of any such pair with the exception of Q II:23 which reads in the middle of articles taken from IS-Y: “wa-qāla l-Aṣma‘ī: ḡāṣa wa-ğāḍa ay ‘adala”. Thus it appears possible that in the early tradition of IS, a (group of) manuscript(s) may have existed where there was an additional case of Ş—Ḍ, either ḥāṣa—ḥāḍa or ḡāṣa—ğāḍa¹¹⁰.

Al-Baṭalyawsī reads in Iqtidāb, p. 238-239:

wa-dhakara [Ibn Qutayba] fihi [bāb al-maqlūb]: sha‘anī wa-shā’anī bi’sh-shīni mu‘ğamatan idhā ḥazanaka wa-fī Kitāb Sībawayhi: sa‘anī l-amru wa-sā’anī bi’s-sīni ghayri mu‘ğamatīn...wa-dhakarāhumā Ya‘qūb ibn as-Sikkīt fī Kitāb al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl wa-anshada:

marra l-ḥamūlu fa-mā sha’awnaka naqratan / wa-laqaḍ arāka tushā’u bi’l-az‘ānī

¹⁰⁹ In older literature, the title of Kitāb al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl is often shortened to *K. al-Qalb*. Thus, e.g. al-Ma‘arrī writes (R. al-Ghufrān, p. 339): “Abū’l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī...wa-qaḍ naḥā bihi [his book *K. al-Ibdāl*] naḥwa kitābi Ya‘qūb fī l-qalb” — here the reference is clearly to the ibdāl monograph of Ibn as-Sikkīt. The whole name is also used in older literature, cf. e.g. Şihāḥ, p. 998.

¹¹⁰ In al-Gharīb al-muşannaf there is a pair ḡāḍa—ḥāṣa, see Muzhir I:541.

In Iqtiḍāb, p. 196 (and cf. p. 237) he reads:

qad ḥakā l-Khalīl: kā‘a yakī‘u kay‘an idhā ḡabuna wa-qad anshada
Ya‘qūb fī l-Qalb wa‘l-ibdāl:
ḥattā staqānā nisā‘u l-ḥayyi dāḥiyatan / wa-aṣḥaba l-mar‘u ‘Amrun
muthbitan kā‘ī

wa-qāla: arāda kā‘ī‘an fa-qallaba...

Both passages and the shāhids quoted therein are missing from IS-Y, IS-tahdhīb and Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq, nor are they found in, e.g. at-Tibrīzī’s Tahdhīb Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq. The first passage has been adopted by Ibn Qutayba from Abū ‘Ubayd’s al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf¹¹¹. Al-Ġawharī (Ṣiḥāḥ, p. 1278) gives kā‘a on the authority of al-Kisā‘ī and adds “ḥakāhu ‘anhu Ya‘qūb”.

In addition to these passages which are explicitly presented as if from Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Qalb wa‘l-ibdāl*, the philological literature contains several other cases of ibdāl and qalb/metathesis given on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt. These include the following¹¹²:

Muḥkam I:326a (= Lisān VI:47): za‘la—ṣa‘la “wa-ḥakā Ya‘qūb annahu badal”¹¹³.

Muḥkam II:82a (= Lisān IX:158 = T‘A XIV:152b):

“..anshadahu Ya‘qūb¹¹⁴ fī l-badal:

wa-mā kuntu mimman ‘arrafa sh-sharra baynahum / wa-lā ḥīna ḡadda l-
ḡiddu mimman taghayyabā
fa-laysa “‘arrafa” fīhi min ḥādhā l-bābi [i.e. lemma ‘RF] innamā arāda
arratha fa-abdala l-alifa li-makāni l-hamzati ‘aynan wa-abdala th-thā’a
fā’an”.

Lisān I:112: “wa-ḥakā Ya‘qūb: innahu la-fī irthi maḡdin wa-irfi maḡdin ‘alā l-badal”, and I:121: irf—irth “ḥakāhu Ya‘qūb fī l-mubdal”¹¹⁵. Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Alfāz* knows only irth ṣidq (p. 157).

al-Muḥkam II:267a (= Lisān XIV:331): a verse with nā‘ī = nā‘ī‘ “anshadahu Ya‘qūb fī l-maqlūb”.

al-Muḥkam IV:162a: mushab—musham¹¹⁶ “wa-ḥakā Ya‘qūb anna mīmahu badal wa ḥakā l-Liḥyānī: raḡulun mushimu l-‘aqli. qāla: wa-huwa ‘alā l-badali ayḡan”

al-Muḥkam VI:177b: qabbaṭa—qaṭṭaba “maqlūbun..ḥakāhu Ya‘qūb”.

al-Muḥkam VI:356b: faqā—qafā “ḥakāhu Ya‘qūb fī l-maqlūb”.

Mukh. XIV:27 (in chapter al-Maqlūb): biṭṭikh—ṭibbikh and da‘ā—adā “Ibn as-Sikkīt”

Mukh. XIV:28 (in chapter al-Maqlūb): muṣammat—muṣattam, ahdhaba—ahbadha and gharasa—raghasa¹¹⁷ “Ibn as-Sikkīt”.

¹¹¹ Cf. Muzhir I:479.

¹¹² The list could be expanded by a systematic hunt for these passages.

¹¹³ The word ṣa‘la (without variant za‘la) was discussed in Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Wuḥūsh*, see quote in Mukh. VIII:53.

¹¹⁴ In one manuscript of al-Muḥkam: “Tha‘lab”, see al-Muḥkam II:82, note 2.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the same formulation e.g. in T‘A² 9:195 (on dathīna—dafīna) = IS-Y, p. 125.

¹¹⁶ The pair is also found in AT I:60 without authority, not in the block taken from IS-Y.

Lisān II:239: ġardama—ġardaba “wa-qāla Ya‘qūb: mīmuḥu badalun min bā’i ġardaba wa-anshada: hādhā għulāmun lahum muġardimū / li-zādi man rāfaqahu muzardimū” — the pair ġardaba—ġardama is found in IS-Y, p. 76 (and in IS-tahdhīb, p. 16), but without the shāhid¹¹⁸.

Lisān II:194: ġakḥkhāf—ġaffākh “‘an Ya‘qūb ḥakāhu fī l-maqlūb”.

Lisān XI:38: “wa’l-qatān: al-ghubāru ka’l-qatām. anshada Ya‘qūb: ‘ādatunā l-ġilādu wa’ṭ-ṭi‘ānū / idhā ‘alā fī l-ma’ziqi l-qatānū wa-za‘ama fīhi mithla mā za‘ama fī qātin”. The pair qatām—qatān and the shāhid are missing from IS-Y and its parallel tradition¹¹⁹, whereas the pair qātin—qātim, alluded to in the last phrase, is found in IS-Y, p. 83.

T‘A I:177: “sahmun ġash’: khafif. ḥakāhu Ya‘qūb fī l-mubdal” + a shāhid.

T‘A VI:580b: “wa-fī l-Muḥkam: aṭ-ṭalḥu lughatun fī ṭ-ṭal‘i bi’l-‘ayn. dhakarahu Ibn as-Sikkīt fī l-ibdāl wa-huwa ṣ-ṣaḥāḥ”. The passage is *not* found in Muḥkam III:176-178 (s.v. ṬLḤ; here we only have a note on ṭalaḥ in a verse of al-A‘shā, taken from Iṣlāḥ, p. 80) nor in I:341-342 (s.v. ṬL‘). Lisān VIII:180 also gives ṭal‘—ṭalḥ on the authority of Ibn Sīda but without reference to Ibn as-Sikkīt.

T‘A XI:483b: pl. āsar of su‘r and a shāhid “wa-anshada Ya‘qūb fī l-maqlūb”.

T‘A XV:290-291 quotes a poem with l-qanaṣ in rhyme and continues: “yurīdu l-qanaṣ. qāla Abū ‘Amr: wa-sa’altu a‘rābīyan ‘an akhīhi fa-qāla: kharaġa yataqannazu ay yataqannaṣ. ḥakāhu Ya‘qūb fī l-mubdal”. The verse is found in IS-tahdhīb, p. 45, where the text continues: “yurīdu l-qanaṣ. wa-innamā qālahu bi’z-zāyi li-anna sh-shi‘ra muqayyad” (with nothing on taqannazu). In AṬ II:126 the passage is found amidst the IS-Y block.

This seemingly impressive list of ibdāls and qalbs given on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt, and especially the two cases which al-Baṭalyawsī explicitly stated as coming from his *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*, may lead one to think that the recension as we have it today is defective, or alternatively, that the extant manuscripts represent an abbreviated or earlier recension whereas the authors quoted above had a larger or later recension at their disposal. Yet the unanimous testimony of the parallel tradition and the manuscripts of IS is a strong counter-argument; it is difficult to explain how al-Baṭalyawsī and Ibn Sīda had a recension unknown to the writers of the ibdāl monographs at their disposal. As far as the two quotes from al-Iqtidāb go, they are far too meagre evidence for a hypothesis that the nature of the work was dual (ibdāl and qalb/metathesis). The other quotes are easy to explain as they do not directly refer to *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*; Ibn as-Sikkīt wrote several commentaries to various dīwāns and many other lexicographical works in which he also dealt with ibdāls¹²⁰. It is also

¹¹⁷ The last two pairs are also found in the respective chapter of *Adab al-kātib* (p. 492ff.), *ahdhaba—ahbadha* also in Q II:271.

¹¹⁸ The verse is found in the margins of the *Yeni Cami* manuscript. That the verse does not belong to the original work is shown by the fact that it is missing from the parallel tradition (IS-tahdhīb, AṬ, Q).

¹¹⁹ The verse, but not the pair itself, is found in the margins of the *Yeni Cami* manuscript which makes it obvious that the verse is a later addition. It is possible that this verse and that referred to in the preceding note may in fact have been taken from the *Yeni Cami* manuscript into the dictionaries.

possible that the quotes in al-Iqtidāb are simply mistakes; as al-Baṭalyawsī knew Ibn as-Sikkīt had written a *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl*, he may well have falsely attributed cases of qalb/metathesis to this particular work if the source he used gave them on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt “fī l-maqlūb”¹²¹.

One may also take a similar case which is likely to generate confusion; Ibn Manzūr quotes (Lisān XIII:64) a case of ibdāl intriguingly introducing it “al-Aṣma‘ī fī bābi l-mubdal”. Yet in TL (XV:87), which is the immediate source of Lisān here, the same ibdāl is given on the authority of “Abū ‘Ubayd ‘an-i l-Aṣma‘ī fī bābi l-mubdal”. Here Ibn Manzūr has, as is his wont, abbreviated the isnād by referring only to the ultimate source and has interpreted the bāb al-mubdal as al-Aṣma‘ī’s work, not as a chapter of *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*.

The tahdhīb of K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl

As has been shown, the text published by Haffner as Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* is in fact a later tahdhīb of the original work. There are a few new chapters (DH—Z; Ğ—KH; KH—GH; F—K; S—Ş; Ğ—Ṭ; a chapter “wa-mimmā ḡā’a bi’l-khā’ wa’l-ḡā’ bi-khtilāfi l-ma‘nā”) all of which (except for S—Ş and the last mentioned chapter) correspond to articles in the Varia chapter of IS-Y¹²². Numerically the most important of these chapters is the chapter S—Ş (16 articles).

In almost all chapters there are several additions which tend to come towards the end of the chapter; to the 355 articles of IS-Y, the redactor has added 185 new ones, i.e. an enlargement of 52.1%. Also the individual articles of IS-Y have often been enlarged by adding new shāhids etc. That all these additions really are later additions, rather than omissions from the Yeni Cami manuscript, is shown by two kinds of evidence, the first of which has already been noted by Sharaf¹²³:

1. Internal evidence: In the text of IS-tahdhīb there are five quotations of Ibn Durayd (p. 6 twice, 13, 35, 40)¹²⁴ and two of al-Muhallabī (p. 4 and 7). Ibn Durayd was only about 19 when Ibn as-Sikkīt died so there can be no question of him quoting Ibn Durayd’s magnum opus. For al-Muhallabī, see below.

2. External evidence: A comparison¹²⁵ of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s book with the parallel tradition (AṬ, Q > Mukh., Muzhir and the great lexica) unambiguously proves that

¹²⁰ Cf. e.g. his *K. al-Wuḥūsh* quoted in Mukh. VIII:53 (hiḡaff—hizaff), and, probably via Mukh. in Lisān XV:88 on his authority. The quote in Mukh. almost certainly comes from *K. al-Wuḥūsh*, not from IS-Y (though the pair is also found there, p. 144) as Ibn Sīda usually quotes only from monographs having the same subject as the chapter he is writing.

¹²¹ It should be noted that it is common in the philological literature to come across references to works in which the passages in question are not found.

¹²² For details, see below, p. 129-130. Note that the redactor of IS-tahdhīb has partly rearranged the order of the chapters.

¹²³ Introduction to IS-Y, p. 7-10 and 37-41.

¹²⁴ All are to Ibn Durayd’s *al-Ġamhara*: IS-tahdhīb, p. 6 = ID, p. 506 s.v. DHN and p. 1148; IS-tahdhīb, p. 13 = ID, p. 466 s.v. RĠM; IS-tahdhīb, p. 35 = ID, p. 661 s.v. ‘QD; IS-tahdhīb, p. 40 = ID, p. 57 s.v. ṢSS (only partly).

¹²⁵ For details, see below.

Abūʿt-Ṭayyib and al-Qālī (> Mukh.) have included in their books all the *ibdāl* material of Ibn as-Sikkīt's *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* which was at their disposal. In spite of this, al-Qālī quotes next to none of the additions of IS-tahdhīb — and never on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt — and Abūʿt-Ṭayyib, whose work is a gigantic compilation, gives only some of them, always dispersed among other material whereas the examples taken from IS-Y are usually given in coherent blocks, see below. As-Suyūfī, who selects *ibdāls* for his *Muzhir*, always when quoting from Ibn as-Sikkīt, uses the material found in IS-Y. Similarly the great lexica do not give the material of the additions to IS-tahdhīb on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt.

The isnāds of IS-Y and IS-tahdhīb

IS-Y and IS-tahdhīb have approximately the same isnāds. IS-Y, p. 60, reads:

rawāhu Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Khurrazādh qirāʿatan ʿalayhi qāla: akhbaranī Abūʿl-Ḥusayn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī bi-qirāʿatī ʿalayhi fī shahri Ramaḍān sanata ihdā wa-sabʿīna wa-thalāthamīʿa. qāla l-Qāsim ibn Mukhtār ʿan Dāʿūd ibn Muḥammad al-Marwarrūdhī ʿan Yaʿqūb...

IS-tahdhīb, p. 3, reads:

ṣunʿatu Abī Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāq as-Sikkīt riwāyata abīʿl-Ḥusayn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī akhbara bihi ʿanhu sh-shaykh Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Khurrazādh an-Naḡīramī. bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. akhbara bihi sh-shaykh Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Khurrazādh qirāʿatan ʿalayhi qāla: akhbaranī Abūʿl-Ḥusayn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī bi-qirāʿatī ʿalayhi fī shahri Ramaḍān sanata ihdā wa-sabʿīna wa-thalāthamīʿa. qāla l-Qāsim ibn Mukhtār ʿan Dāʿūd ibn Muḥammad al-Marwarrūdhī ʿan Yaʿqūb...

We see that both works have the same chain of authorities: Ibn as-Sikkīt > 1. Dāʿūd ibn Muḥammad al-Marwarrūdhī > 2. al-Qāsim ibn Mukhtār > 3. Abūʿl-Ḥusayn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī > 4. Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Khurrazādh (an-Naḡīramī); the last mentioned read the text to his teacher in Ramaḍān 371/981.

The isnād shows that the recension belongs to the Egyptian tradition. The following summarises what is known of the scholars of the isnād:

1. Dāʿūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Šāliḥ an-Naḥwī al-Marwarrūdhī Abūʿl-Fawāris. Abūʿl-Fawāris was a student of Ibn as-Sikkīt — Yāqūt calls him “šāḥib Ibn as-Sikkīt”¹²⁶ — who left Iraq for Egypt where he died in 283/896¹²⁷.

¹²⁶ Irshād II:397 (where his nisba is given “al-Marwazī”) as also in al-Qifṭī, Inbāh IV:158. The passage, in the article on Thābit ibn abī Thābit, also gives him as a[n indirect] student of Thābit (rawā ʿanhu). From Irshād this passage is taken to ʿAbdalqādir al-Baghdādī, Ḥāshiya I:423.

¹²⁷ Al-Qifṭī, Inbāh IV:158; az-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt, p. 147 (where correctly al-Marwarrūdhī), whence it is taken to Bughya I:562 (erroneously al-Marwazī). As-Suyūfī supplements the article of az-Zubaydī with information taken from Ibn Yūnusʿ Taʿrīkh Miṣr. — Abūʿl-Fawāris is given in GAS VIII:48 erroneously

2. al-Qāsim ibn Mukhtār.

Unknown.

3. Abū'l-Ḥusayn¹²⁸ 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī.

According to Yāqūt, al-Muhallabī was a prominent philologist among whose students was Abū Ya'qūb an-Nağīramī¹²⁹. Al-Muhallabī himself was a student of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm an-Nağīramī¹³⁰. His influence in Egypt was considerable¹³¹ and he died there in 385/995¹³². An oral tradition links him with Ibn as-Sikkīt¹³³. Aṣ-Ṣafadī hesitatingly — and erroneously — identifies him with Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī¹³⁴.

4. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ismā'īl ibn Khurrazādh an-Nağīramī.

An-Nağīramī, also known as aṣ-Ṣa'tarī¹³⁵, belonged to a famous family of Egyptian philologists¹³⁶ and he was well known in Egypt, where he died in 423/1031-1032¹³⁷. His main teacher was the aforementioned 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī¹³⁸.

Thus both works belong to an-Nağīramī and his teacher al-Muhallabī. IS-tahdhīb, which contains two al-Muhallabī quotes, is most probably the recension of an-Nağīramī who here cites the comments of his teacher on the main text or al-Muhallabī himself. On the other hand, it is interesting to see that also IS-Y — if the isnād given there is correct¹³⁹ — stems from an-Nağīramī. Provisionally we could take it as representing an earlier stage of an-Nağīramī's activities, and that he first copied (in the class room from his teacher's dictation?) the main text (= IS-Y), then elaborated it with material from other sources (> IS-tahdhīb) including the lessons of al-Muhallabī. This would date the redaction of IS-tahdhīb to about 1000 A.D.

There are also some other, admittedly vague, indications as to the date of the redaction:

1. Both Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib (d. 962) and al-Qālī (d. 967) used the older redaction — although this in itself does not exclude the possibility of an earlier redaction of IS-tahdhīb, it shows that the IS-Y redaction was in wide circulation in the first half of the 10th century.

as one of the "sprachkundige Gelehrte aus der Bādiya" on the basis of IS-tahdhīb.

¹²⁸ In Irshād V:81-82 and al-Qiftī, Inbāh II:222 Abū'l-Ḥasan (but in Inbāh II:356 Abū'l-Ḥusayn).

¹²⁹ Irshād V:81-82.

¹³⁰ Irshād V:81-82. For Abū Ishāq, see GAS VIII:243 and 244 (article Abū-'Alā'). His Amālī were known to 'Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī (Hāshiya I:427).

¹³¹ See al-Qiftī, Inbāh II:222.

¹³² Irshād V:81-82. Bughya II:147 erroneously has 335, but the passage is taken from Irshād so that we have here a simple mistake, not a variant tradition.

¹³³ Al-Qiftī, Inbāh II:222.

¹³⁴ Al-Wāfi VIII:53. For Abū'l-'Abbās, see Fihrist, p. 125 and GAS IX:206. Whether the al-Muhallabī who quotes Ibn Durayd in Lisān III:380 is "our" al-Muhallabī remains open, though one should bear in mind that the Ibn Durayd quotes in IS-tahdhīb most probably come from him.

¹³⁵ Takmila III:30a.

¹³⁶ Al-Qiftī, Inbāh IV:72.

¹³⁷ GAS VIII:246. He is quoted three times in Lisān, II:11, IX:438 and XIII:195. The last mentioned quote comes via Ibn Barrī (d. 1186; GAS VIII:218 sub no. 9), himself an Egyptian.

¹³⁸ Bughya II:147 and II:364. — Cf. also the chain of authorities in al-Qiftī, Inbāh II:356 and I:81.

¹³⁹ And not, e.g., copied by the scribe from another manuscript containing the IS-tahdhīb recension.

2. The ID quotes show that the redaction must have taken place after ID was in circulation. As Ibn Durayd died in 933¹⁴⁰ — almost a centenarian then — the terminus post quem for the redaction is about 900, more probably a little later. On the other hand, al-Ġamhara was later superseded by other dictionaries, especially *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Ġawharī (d. about 1003), which makes the late 10th century or early 11th the most probable date for the redaction, i.e. the time when al-Muhallabī taught the work to an-Naġīramī — who, it should be remembered, also gave lessons on *al-Ġamhara*¹⁴¹.

3. The absolute terminus ante quem is the date of the Laleli manuscript (7th century A.H.¹⁴²), and, as the additions have already been imbedded in the matn, probably at least one or two manuscript generations earlier, i.e. not much later than about 1200.

All this evidence considered, the probable date of IS-tahdhīb may be fixed to about 1000.

The later influence of IS-tahdhīb

IS-tahdhīb was not very influential before the edition by Haffner, after which it has taken the place of the original work. The only philologist who, to my knowledge, has used IS-tahdhīb before Haffner's edition is 'Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī in his *Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ "Bānat Su'ād"* I:534 where his text reads:

wa-ra'aytu fī Kitāb al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl li-Ibn as-Sikkīt: yuqālu li'l-qushūri llatī fī uṣūli sh-sha'ar: ibriyatun wa-hibriya. al-Aṣma'ī yaqūlu: itma'alla s-sanāmu wa-tmahalla idhā ntaṣaba. al-Farrā': izma'arrat 'aynuhu wa-zmaharrat idhā ḥmarrat wa-hayhāta wa-ayhāta. intahā.

The text shortens IS-tahdhīb, p. 25-26:

...wa-yuqālu li'l-qushūri llatī fī uṣūli sh-sha'ar: ibriyatun wa-hibriya...al-Aṣma'ī: yuqālu: itma'alla s-sanāmu wa-tmahalla idhā ntaṣaba...al-Farrā': yuqālu: izma'arrat 'aynuhu wa-zmaharrat idhā ḥmarrat wa-hayhāta sh-sharru wa-hayhātu/i wa-ḥukiya ayhāta sh-sharru wa-ayhātu/i...

The text of *Ḥāshiya* differs from that of IS-Y where the relevant part goes (p. 88-89):

..<..wa-yuqālu li'l-qushūri llatī fī uṣūli sh-sha'ar: ibriyatun>¹⁴³ wa-hibriya...wa-yuqālu: itma'alla s-sanāmu wa-tmahalla idhā ntaṣaba..

In IS-Y the latter part of the passage of *Ḥāshiya* is missing.

In the same connection 'Abdalqādir also quotes from az-Zaġġāġī's K. al-Ibdāl, on which see below. These quotations are the only ones from IS-tahdhīb and Z in

¹⁴⁰ GAS VIII:101-102.

¹⁴¹ M. Sharaf, Introduction to IS-Y, p. 46. Sharaf quotes the muqaddima of al-Ġamhara which is not reproduced in the edition of al-Ġamhara at my disposal.

¹⁴² GAS VIII:133.

¹⁴³ The passage in brackets is missing from the Yeni Cami manuscript, but this is an error by the copyist of that manuscript as can be seen from the parallel tradition where this passage — which in addition is demanded by the sense — is found (IS-tahdhīb, p. 25; Q II:68; Mukh. XIII:274; also in Z, p. 436; al-Aṣma'ī, Khalq, p. 175; Thābit ibn abī Thābit, Khalq, p. 175).

Hāshiya¹⁴⁴. In *Khizānat al-adab* there are no quotations from IS-tahdhīb nor from IS-Y¹⁴⁵ even though in his Preface ‘Abdalqādir mentions “*Kitāb al-Qalb wa’l-idghām* [sic] li-Ibn as-Sikkīt” among his sources (I:26), and the work was, at least later, in his possession (Hāshiya I:247, here correctly *K. al-Qalb wa’l-ibdāl*).

Kitāb al-alfāz

Another work of Ibn as-Sikkīt which is relevant for ibdāl studies is his *Kitāb al-alfāz*¹⁴⁶, a dictionary of synonyms. Much ibdāl material also found in IS-Y is contained in its different chapters besides a lot of other material, including ibdāls not included in IS, an unmistakable indication of the power of the genre in early philological literature; in his ibdāl monograph Ibn as-Sikkīt clearly relied on a monograph (that of al-Aṣma‘ī) belonging to the same genre. The anonymous *Ziyādāt* printed at the end of the edition (p. 674-695) contain much ibdāl material, too.

Although *K. al-alfāz* contains many ibdāls, it has not been used by later ibdāl scholars (Abū’-Ṭayyib and the redactor of IS-tahdhīb come to mind as possible candidates), nor is there any evidence that other works of the alfāz genre (e.g. al-Hamadhānī’s *al-alfāz al-kitābīya*) were any more used by the ibdāl writers, contrary to the rather superficial claim of El Berkawy (p. 137); e.g. the blocks coming from unidentified sources in AṬ do not show any semantic organization nor do the examples coincide except incidentally with the examples in *K. al-alfāz*, *K. Tahdhīb al-alfāz* or *K. al-alfāz al-kitābīya*.

Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq

The third work of Ibn as-Sikkīt relevant to our study is his famous manual of correct writing, *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*. It contains ibdāl material scattered throughout the work, but especially in the following chapters:

- p. 135-138 Bābu mā yuqālu bi’l-yā’i wa’l-wāwi min dhawāti th-thalātha
- p. 138-144 wa-mimmā yuqālu bi’l-yā’i wa’l-wāwi min dhawāti l-arba‘a
- p. 159 Bābun hamazahu ba‘ḍu l-‘arabi wa-taraka hamzahu ba‘ḍuhum wa’l-aktharu l-hamz
- p. 159-160 wa-mimmā yuqālu bi’l-hamzi marratan wa-bi’l-wāwi ukhrā¹⁴⁷
- p. 160 wa-mina l-asmā’
- p. 160-161 wa-mimmā yuqālu bi’l-hamzi wa-bi’l-yā’¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Hāshiya I:245-246 comes from Ibn as-Sikkīt’s *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, p. 88, not from IS-tahdhīb, p. 63, as the context shows. Other quotations of Ibn as-Sikkīt in Hāshiya and *Khizāna* are mostly to *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq* and *K. al-Mudhakkār wa’l-muthannā*.

¹⁴⁵ This has been confirmed by reading through this voluminous work; it is *not* based only on the Index.

¹⁴⁶ *K. al-alfāz* has been published by Cheikho together with at-Tibrīzī’s commentary (*Tahdhīb al-alfāz*) but the main text has been clearly differentiated from the tahdhīb in the edition.

¹⁴⁷ This and the next chapter contain most of the examples also found in IS-Y chapter XXXI ’—W.

¹⁴⁸ All the articles in this chapter plus some additional material are found in IS-Y chapter XXX ’—Y.

- p. 183-185 mā yutakallamu fihi bi'š-šādi mimmā yatakallamu bihi l-^ʿāmmatu
bi's-sīni wa-mimmā yutakallamu fihi bi's-sīni fa-yatakallamu fihi l-
^ʿāmmatu bi'š-šād.
- p. 185-187 Bābu mā yughlaṭu fihi yutakallamu fihi bi'l-yā'i wa-innamā huwa
bi'l-wāw

Many of the examples from these chapters have found their way into later ibdāl works¹⁴⁹.

Ibn as-Sikkīt's K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl and the great lexica

The decisive influence of IS-Y is evident not only in the later ibdāl works but also in that much of its material has found its way into the great lexica, which have been extensively used at different times and have thus helped the material from IS-Y to circulate more widely than in the mere genre of ibdāl; to name but the three most influential, al-Ġawharī's *Šiḡāḡ*, al-Azharī's *Tahdhīb al-luġha* and Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān* (usually via TL) quote from IS-Y at length, although they may dispose with the identification of their immediate source, IS-Y, and confine themselves to the ultimate source only (al-Asma^ʿī etc.). That the material really comes from IS-Y is shown in many cases by the wording; often the same piece can be discovered in the same work once with and once without attribution to Ibn as-Sikkīt, showing clearly how prone the compilers were to drop the name of their immediate authority¹⁵⁰. On the other hand, IS-Y was of course not as vitally important to the compilers of the general lexica as it was to the later ibdāl writers. IS-Y is always excerpted by the compilers of the great lexica after their main sources, earlier general lexica, and thus several ibdāls are first quoted from sources other than IS-Y, and then, when the compiler came to IS-Y, he omitted the case as it had already been taken from some other source.

In the light of the frequent IS-Y quotes in other lexica, it is striking to note that not even once¹⁵¹ does Ibn Durayd quote from IS-Y (nor, for that matter, from any of Ibn as-Sikkīt's other works) in his *al-Ġamhara*. This is shown by a close study of its material¹⁵², and a comparison with IS-Y. Why Ibn Durayd did not use IS-Y, remains an open question¹⁵³. Though ID is slightly earlier than, e.g. Q and AṬ, it is probable that IS-Y was already well known at the time of the compilation of ID¹⁵⁴.

¹⁴⁹ Especially AṬ, see below. — In al-Ma^ʿarrī's *R. al-Ghufrān*, p. 59, Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib is quoted as saying that he had learned *Iṣlāḡ al-manṭiq* by heart.

¹⁵⁰ This seems at least partly to be a deliberate effort to minimize the merits of their predecessors and to give an illusion of going *ad fontes*, being in a way spiritual students of the old masters themselves.

¹⁵¹ At least as far as I have been able to note. There are of course some coincidences — Ibn as-Sikkīt had no monopoly on the ibdāl material of the earlier philologists — but there is no evidence whatsoever that any of these few ibdāls were taken from IS-Y.

¹⁵² That Ibn as-Sikkīt is not quoted by name (except in one later marginal note, p. 106), does not of course prove anything; he is, for example quoted explicitly only three times in AṬ (II:356, 422, 459) though practically all the material of IS-Y has been adopted by Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib.

¹⁵³ Yet one should note that his work stands isolated from other lexical tradition in many other respects, too, thus rendering it extremely valuable for all kinds of lexical studies despite the inaccuracies it contains, which already were criticized by al-Azharī, TL I:31.

The following Table illustrates the dependence of *Şihāḥ*, TL and *Lisān*, the three most influential dictionaries, on IS-Y¹⁵⁵, and the independence of ID. The Table is based on a comparison of the first 20 articles of IS-Y chapter I (L—N) with the relevant lemmata of the dictionaries¹⁵⁶. — A similar comparison of any other part of IS-Y would produce similar results.

IS-Y I:1¹⁵⁷ hatala—hatana

<i>Şihāḥ</i> s.v. HTL	¶	< al-Aşma‘ī
TL s.v. HTL	=	< Ibn as-Sikkīt < al-Aşma‘ī
<i>Lisān</i> s.v. HTL	¶	
ID	differs	

IS-Y I:2 sudūl—sudūn

<i>Şihāḥ</i> s.v. SDN	differs	
TL s.v. SDL	¶	< al-Aşma‘ī
TL s.v. SDN	differs	< Ibn as-Sikkīt (!)
<i>Lisān</i> s.v. SDL	¶	< al-Aşma‘ī ¹⁵⁸
ID	differs	

IS-Y I:3 katal—katan

<i>Şihāḥ</i> s.v. KTN	only katan	
TL s.v. KTL	differs	
<i>Lisān</i> s.v. KTL	¶	
<i>Lisān</i> s.v. KTN	¶	< Ibn as-Sikkīt ¹⁵⁹
ID	KTL is missing, KTN differs	

IS-Y I:4 lu‘ā‘a—nu‘ā‘a

<i>Şihāḥ</i> s.v. L‘‘	¶	< al-Aşma‘ī (only L‘‘)
<i>Şihāḥ</i> s.v. N‘‘	¶ ¹⁶⁰	< Ibn as-Sikkīt

¹⁵⁴ It is of course to be remembered that in theory, Ibn Durayd as well as az-Zağğāğī belonged to the Başran school of studies, Ibn as-Sikkīt to the Kufan, but this difference did not have such great significance in the 10th century as it may have had earlier.

¹⁵⁵ The same dependence can also be seen in *Takmila*, ‘*Ubāb*, *Muḥkam* and *T‘A* not included in the Table.

¹⁵⁶ *Şihāḥ*, TL and *Lisān* are quoted by lemmata, ID is quoted also by lemmata when referring to the main part (the anagrammatic-alphabetical part), but otherwise by page number. When both/all the relevant lemmata of a dictionary differ from IS-Y, no indication of lemma or page is given. The sign = means “identical or with minimal differences”, ¶ means “some differences in the wording but contains more or less the same information”.

¹⁵⁷ The first ten examples come from al-Aşma‘ī. For the attribution of the articles in IS-Y to different authorities, see below.

¹⁵⁸ One of the *shāhids* is given on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt though it differs in a crucial point from IS-Y (which coincides with Q II:42).

¹⁵⁹ That this comes directly or indirectly from IS-Y is made particularly clear by the commentary attached to one *shāhid* which is taken as such from IS-Y.

TL s.v. L ^{cc}	¶	< al-Aṣma‘ī
TL s.v. N ^{cc}	¶ ¹⁶¹	< Abū ‘Ubayd < al-Aṣma‘ī
Lisān s.v. L ^{cc}	¶	
Lisān s.v. N ^{cc}	¶	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
ID s.v. L ^{cc}		the same shāhid but no nu‘ā‘a
IS-Y I:5 rifann—rifall		
Ṣiḥāḥ s.v. RFL	differs	
Ṣiḥāḥ s.v. RFN	¶	
TL s.v. RFL	¶	< Ibn as-Sikkīt < al-Aṣma‘ī
Lisān s.v. RFL	¶	
Lisān s.v. RFN	¶	
ID s.v. RFL	¶	
ID s.v. RFN	¶	
IS-Y I:6 ṭabarzal—ṭabarzan (a very short article)		
Ṣiḥāḥ s.v. ṬBRZDH ¹⁶²	=	< al-Aṣma‘ī
TL s.v. ṬBRZL	=	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
Lisān s.v. ṬBRZDH ¹⁶³	=	< al-Aṣma‘ī and Ibn as-Sikkīt
ID		no lemmata ṬBRZDH/L/N
IS-Y I:7 rahdana—rahdala		
Ṣiḥāḥ s.v. RHDL	differs	
TL s.v. RHDL/N	=	< al-Aṣma‘ī
Lisān s.v. RHDL	¶	< Tha‘lab
Lisān s.v. RHDN	¶	< al-Aṣma‘ī wa-ghayruhu ¹⁶⁴
ID, p. 1147	differs	
IS-Y I:8 uṣaylālan—uṣaynānan		
Ṣiḥāḥ s.v. ṶṢL	¶	
TL s.v. ṶṢL	¶	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
Lisān s.v. ṶṢL	¶	
ID		ṶṢL is missing
IS-Y I:9 la‘alla—la‘anna		
Ṣiḥāḥ s.v. ‘LL	differs	
TL s.v. ‘LL	=	< al-Ḥarrānī < Ibn as-Sikkīt ¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Much abbreviated.

¹⁶¹ Much abbreviated and only nu‘ā‘a.

¹⁶² No lemmata sub -L and -N.

¹⁶³ Identically also s.v. ṬBRZL and ṬBRZN.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Manẓūr adds: “wa-qad tubdalu n-nūnu lāman..kamā qālū: ṭabarzanun wa-ṭabarzalun wa-ṭabarzadh”; it does not seem to be a pure coincidence that he here mentions two consecutive pairs of IS-Y.

Lisān s.v. ʿLL ID	¶ differs	< Yaʿqūb ¹⁶⁶
IS-Y I:10 daḥin—daḥil		
Şihāḥ s.v. DḤN	¶	< Abū ʿAmr
TL s.v. DḤL	¶	< al-Liḥyānī < Abū ʿAmr and < Abū ʿUbayd < al-Aşmaʿī ¹⁶⁷
Lisān s.v. DḤL	¶	< al-Azharī
Lisān s.v. DḤN	¶	< al-Azharī, shāhid < Ibn as- Sikkīt
ID	differs	
IS-Y I:11 ghiryān—ghiryāl		< Abū ʿAmr and al-Aşmaʿī
Şihāḥ s.v. GHRL	=	< Abū ʿAmr and al-Aşmaʿī
TL s.v. GHRL	¶	< al-Liḥyānī < Abū ʿAmr
Lisān s.v. GHRL	=	< Thaʿlab
Lisān s.v. GHRN	=	< Thaʿlab and Yaʿqūb
ID, p. 782 and 1168	differs	
IS-Y I:12 damāl—damān		< Abū ʿAmr
Şihāḥ s.v. DML	only damāl	
TL s.v. DML	only damāl	
Lisān	differs	
ID	differs	
IS-Y I:13 shathn—shathl		< al-Farrāʾ
Şihāḥ s.v. SHTHL	=	
Şihāḥ s.v. SHTHN	=	
TL s.v. SHTHL	=	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
Lisān s.v. SHTHL	=	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
ID	both roots are missing	
IS-Y I:14 kabn—kabl		< al-Farrāʾ and al-Aşmaʿī
Şihāḥ s.v. KBL	¶	
TL s.v. KBN	=	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
Lisān s.v. KBL	¶	< Yaʿqūb
ID	differs	
IS-Y I:15 atana—atala		< al-Farrāʾ
Şihāḥ s.v. ʾTL	¶ ¹⁶⁸	

¹⁶⁵ The article is longer than that of IS-Y.

¹⁶⁶ The article is longer than that of IS-Y.

¹⁶⁷ The verse is quoted from Ibn as-Sikkīt s.v. DḤN.

Şihāḥ s.v. ʾTN	¶	
TL s.v. ʾTL	¶	< Abū ʿUbayd < al-Farrāʾ
Lisān s.v. ʾTL	¶	< al-Farrāʾ
Lisān s.v. ʾTN	¶	< al-Farrāʾ
ID		differs; no lemma ʾTL
IS-Y I:16 dhaʾālīl—dhaʾālīn		
Şihāḥ s.v. DHʾL	=	< al-Farrāʾ
TL s.v. DHʾL		< Ibn as-Sikkīt
Lisān s.v. DHʾL		differs
ID	=	< Yaʿqūb
		differs
IS-Y I:17 maʾana—maʾala		
Şihāḥ s.v. MʾN	¶ ¹⁶⁹	< al-Liḥyānī < al-Kisāʾī
TL s.v. MʾN		< al-Kisāʾī
Lisān s.v. MʾL	¶	differs
ID		< Yaʿqūb
		differs
IS-Y I:18 ḥanak—ḥalak		
Şihāḥ s.v.		differs
TL s.v. ḤLK		differs
Lisān s.v. ḤLK	¶	< Ibn as-Sikkīt < Ibn al-Aʿrābī
ID s.v. ḤLK	¶	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
		< Abū Ḥātim
IS-Y I:19 zulma—zunma, zalma—zanma		
Şihāḥ s.v. ZLM	=	< al-Kisāʾī
TL s.v. ZLM	=	< al-Kisāʾī
Lisān s.v. ZLM	=	< Ibn as-Sikkīt
Lisān s.v. ZNM	=	< al-Liḥyānī ¹⁷⁰
ID, p. 1155	¶	< al-Liḥyānī
IS-Y I:20 ʿunwān—ʿulwān		
		(< al-Farrāʾ)
Şihāḥ s.v. ʿLW	¶	
Şihāḥ s.v. ʿNW	¶	
TL s.v. ʿLW	¶	
TL s.v. ʿNN	¶	
Lisān s.v. ʿNW	¶ ¹⁷¹	
ID, p. 1238 ¹⁷²	¶	

¹⁶⁸ Only atala.

¹⁶⁹ Only maʾana; there is no lemma MʾL in Şihāḥ.

¹⁷⁰ Note that the names of al-Kisāʾī and al-Liḥyānī are often changed in the isnāds, cf. below p. 89.

¹⁷¹ The article is longer than that of IS-Y.

¹⁷² Cf. also ID, p. 955.

It can be seen from the Table that clearly more than half of the examples of IS-Y have been taken into each dictionary except for ID, which shows only minimal similarities with IS-Y, all of which can easily be explained without having to postulate any influence from IS-Y on ID. Though in many cases the question about the exact source of an article in *Şihāh* or TL is open to discussion¹⁷³, the overall picture is clear enough: *Şihāh* quotes IS-Y in a little more than half of the cases though seldom explicitly, TL quotes about three quarters of the articles of IS-Y, in about half of the cases explicitly¹⁷⁴, and Lisān quotes almost all the articles of IS-Y, very often explicitly¹⁷⁵.

Abū ‘Ubayd and his *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*

Abū ‘Ubayd

Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām al-Harawī¹⁷⁶ was born in the early 770s in Herat. He studied in Basra and Kūfa under the leading scholars of his time, including Abū Zayd, Abū ‘Ubayda, al-Aṣma‘ī, al-Yazīdī, Ibn al-A‘rābī, Abū ‘Amr ash-Shaybānī, al-Kisā‘ī and al-Farrā’¹⁷⁷. He died in Mecca in 838.

Abū ‘Ubayd’s main work was the large lexical compilation *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* which is subject oriented and contains a chapter on *ibdāls*. Of his other works one may mention in this connection his *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* which became one of the standard monographs in the field of ḥadīth lexicography.

The ibdāl chapter of al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf

Al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf contains a short chapter on *ibdāls* (*Bāb al-mubdal min al-ḥurūf wa’l-muḥawwal*, pp. 357-358 in the Tunisian manuscript¹⁷⁸). The work has not been edited¹⁷⁹, but the *ibdāl* material of this chapter has been adopted by as-Suyūfī into his *Muzhir* I:461-462¹⁸⁰. The passage in *Muzhir* is introduced by “wa-qāla Abū

¹⁷³ And will remain so; a definitive answer as to the sources of each dictionary cannot be given however detailed the study, as many of the early monographs of al-Farrā’, al-Aṣma‘ī, Shamir, Abū Sa‘īd aḍ-Ḍarīr and others have disappeared, and there can be no question of an analysis of the order of examples — which, as may be seen in the present study, often reveals the real source of a given text — as the words of a dictionary are arranged according to its own overall system. — Lisān depends heavily on TL, *Takmila* and Ibn Barrī’s works and the older authorities are often indirectly quoted in it through these sources.

¹⁷⁴ Usually via al-Ḥarrānī, the usual mediator between Ibn as-Sikkīt and al-Azharī, see TL I:23.

¹⁷⁵ As Lisān depends heavily on TL, it is natural that some of the IS-Y quotes in Lisān come from it.

¹⁷⁶ See GAS VIII:81-87 and R. Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-ḡarīb al-muṣannaf*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ta’rīkh Baghdād* XII:403.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-ḡarīb*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹ And I have not had a manuscript at my disposal.

¹⁸⁰ As-Suyūfī has excerpted *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* before other sources, as can be seen from the order of the *ibdāl* quotes in *Muzhir*, as well as from the fact that when the material taken from *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* is duplicated in, e.g. IS-Y, the words are quoted on the authority of Abū ‘Ubayd and they are dropped from the list of words quoted from IS-Y. There are also other *ibdāls* quoted on his authority in

‘Ubayd fī l-Gharīb al-muṣannaf: Bābu l-mubdali mina l-ḥurūf”, which makes it obvious that it is taken precisely from this chapter.

On the basis of Muzhir, one sees that all the ibdāl cases given by Abū ‘Ubayd in the ibdāl chapter (20 cases) are also to be found in IS-Y. Of these examples Ibn as-Sikkīt gives 9 on the authority of al-Aṣma‘ī, 4 on the authority of Abū ‘Ubayda (all in chapter muḍā‘af), 3 on the authority of al-Farrā’, 2 on the authority of Abū ‘Amr and one each on the authority of al-Aḥmar and al-Qanānī respectively.

That the material of IS-Y and al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf coincides indicates that there is some sort of relationship between the works. As many of the al-Aṣma‘ī quotes which are common to both works belong to the “initial al-Aṣma‘ī blocks” (for which, see below, pp. 85-86) in IS-Y and thus very probably come from the ibdāl monograph of al-Aṣma‘ī, it is almost impossible that they could have come to IS-Y from al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf. Almost equally unlikely is that the older Abū ‘Ubayd would have profited from the work of his younger contemporary (Abū ‘Ubayd was some thirty years older than Ibn as-Sikkīt, who was only 36 when Abū ‘Ubayd died). Thus it seems very probable that they used some common sources¹⁸¹, which may include the ibdāl monograph of al-Aṣma‘ī.

Ibn Qutayba and his Adab al-kātib

Ibn Qutayba

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh ibn Muslim *ibn Qutayba* ad-Dīnawarī¹⁸² was born in 213/828. He studied in Baghdād, acted later as a qāḍī in Dīnawar and retired to Baghdād where he died in 276/889¹⁸³. One of his works, *Adab al-kātib*, contains much ibdāl material in certain chapters, and several others, which are mainly dealing with the vocabulary of the Qur’ān and ḥadīth (*K. Mushkil al-Qur’ān*; *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur’ān*; *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*), sporadically contain much material.

Ibn Qutayba’s main teachers in the field of philology were Abū Ḥātim and ar-Riyāshī, but worth mentioning are also ‘Abdarraḥmān ibn akhī al-Aṣma‘ī¹⁸⁴ and, especially, Abū Sa‘īd aḍ-Ḍarīr¹⁸⁵. Ibn Qutayba was highly valued for his reliability as a traditionist of what he had received from his teachers, but rather suspect when on

Muzhir, viz. I:471, I:474, I:539-565 (several short quotes each of which contains one or two ibdāls), and I:544-545 (D—DH ibdāls; these quotes probably come from the chapter ad-Dāl wa’dh-dhāl of al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf which takes up one page, p. 341, in the Tunisian manuscript, cf. Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-garīb*, p. 58 — that these quotes do not come from the ibdāl chapter of al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf but from another chapter, is explicitly stated by as-Suyūṭī). These are obviously excerpted from other parts of his work.

¹⁸¹ Whether there was an ibdāl chapter in an-Naḍr ibn Shumayl’s *K. aṣ-Ṣifāt*, which is said to have been one of Abū ‘Ubayd’s main sources, is unknown.

¹⁸² For his biography, see GAS VIII:161-165, and the monograph of G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba. L’Homme, son œuvre, ses idées*. Damas 1965.

¹⁸³ For the date of his death and the problems connected thereto, see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, p. 37-38.

¹⁸⁴ Abū’-Ṭayyib, *al-Marātib*, p. 136.

¹⁸⁵ TL I:31 and Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, p. 66.

his own ra'y¹⁸⁶. Abū't-Ṭayyib (al-Marātib, p. 137) goes as far as censuring him for writing works such as Mu'ğizāt an-Nabī, Ta'bir ar-ru'yā, and even his al-Ma'ārif, 'Uyūn al-akhbār and K. ash-Shu'arā'.—

Adab al-kātib

*Adab al-kātib*¹⁸⁷ is a manual for correct writing and belongs to a different genre than the ibdāl monographs, being closer to the genre laḥn al-āmma and works like Ibn as-Sikkīt's Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq; Ibn Qutayba is interested in correcting the language of the scribes, not in codifying ancient (nor contemporary) Bedouin usage. The work is divided into four parts, *K. al-Ma'rifa*, *K. Taqwīm al-yad*, *K. Taqwīm al-lisān* and *K. al-Abniya*. All the chapters that have to do with ibdāl are found in the third part, *K. Taqwīm al-lisān*. The chapters are¹⁸⁸:

p. 485-587 Bāb al-mubdal

p. 487-489 Bāb ibdāl al-yā' min aḥad al-ḥarfayn al-mithlayn idhā ḡtama'ā¹⁸⁹

p. 489-492 Bāb mā ubdila mina l-qawāfi'¹⁹⁰

p. 568-569 Bāb mā yuqālu bi'l-yā' wa'l-wāw

p. 569-570 Bāb mā yuqālu bi'l-hamz wa'l-yā'¹⁹¹

p. 570 Bāb mā yuqālu bi'l-hamz wa'l-wāw¹⁹²

The main chapter of lexical ibdāl (bāb al-mubdal) is very concise and its articles are given with little if any comment. Its material closely resembles the ibdāl chapter of Abū 'Ubayd's *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*¹⁹³; of the first 12 articles of *Adab al-kātib* (p. 485), 11¹⁹⁴ are identical with those of *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* and partly in the same order. As *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* gives only 15 ibdāls of sound consonants according to the quote in Muzhir, this means that more than two thirds of its material is also to be found in *Adab al-kātib*. Similarly, the following chapter, med. gem.—tert.-Y of *Adab al-kātib* begins with four cases, all of which are among the respective five ibdāls of *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* (Muzhir I:462). This makes it highly probable that there is a direct

¹⁸⁶ Cf. e.g. TL I:31.

¹⁸⁷ For a detailed exposition of manuscripts, commentaries, etc., see Lecomte, Ibn Qutayba, p. 102-107.

¹⁸⁸ There are other chapters in *Adab al-kātib* which contain material relevant to ibdāl studies, but which strictly speaking belong to laḥn al-āmma. The chapters are: Bāb mā taṣaḥḥafa fihi l-āwāmm (p. 385-386), Bāb mā ḡā'a bi's-sīn wa-hum yaqūlūnahu bi's-šād (p. 386), Bāb mā ḡā'a bi's-šād wa-hum yaqūlūnahu bi's-sīn (p. 386-387) and Bāb mā yunqaṣu minhu wa-yuzādu fihi wa-yubdalu ba'ḍu ḥurūfihi bi-ghayrihi (p. 403-418). Some of the cases given in these chapters are classified as ibdāls in the ibdāl literature, e.g. qirqis—ḡirḡis AK, p. 408 = AT I:244 (< ID, p. 1162); multakhhk—mulṭakhhk AK, p. 412-413 = AT I:126-127; qarqal—qarqar AK, p. 403 = Abū Turāb no. 85 etc.

¹⁸⁹ After this comes the chapter Bāb al-ibdāl mina l-mushaddad (p. 489). With this Ibn Qutayba means reduplicated biradical verbs deriving from med. gem. roots/verbs (e.g. takamkama—kummat-).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the additions inserted by the redactor of IS-tahdhīb to the text, though the material is not the same in the two works. Some of the same material is found in at-Tanūkhī's *K. al-Qawāfi'*, p. 139-144.

¹⁹¹ Contains mainly cases of initial ya—a-.

¹⁹² Contains mainly cases of initial wi—i-.

¹⁹³ Cf. Muzhir I:461-462, where this chapter is quoted in toto.

¹⁹⁴ To these one may add one pair, ṭāma—ṭāna, which is given on p. 486.

relationship of dependence between the works, viz. that Ibn Qutayba has used al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf as a base for the ibdāl chapters of his work.

Although the ibdāl list of Adab al-kātib consists mainly of well-known ibdāls, it has one case worth noting, viz. saḥaka—saḥaqa (p. 487) as it disagrees with the general rule that the members of an ibdāl pair may differ in only one consonant¹⁹⁵. He also includes many cases which are usually considered as laḥn al-‘amma into the ibdāl sphere.

Az-Zağğāğī and his K. al-Ibdāl

Az-Zağğāğī

Abū'l-Qāsim ‘Abdarrahmān ibn Ishāq az-Zağğāğī¹⁹⁶ was a prolific writer, mainly known for his studies on naḥw¹⁹⁷. In the field of luḡa he wrote a few works, among them one on ibdāl, *Kitāb al-Ibdāl wa'l-mu‘āqaba wa'n-nazā'ir*. He was born in aṣ-Ṣaymara which he early left for Baghdād and Aleppo. In the latter city he may have been acquainted with Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib who was approximately of his age¹⁹⁸, but we have no direct evidence of their meeting although they had one teacher in common, viz. aṣ-Ṣūlī. Later he went to Damascus, Mecca (where he wrote his famous *al-Ġumal*) and lastly to Ṭabarīya, where¹⁹⁹ he died in 337/949 or a few years later.

Among the teachers of az-Zağğāğī²⁰⁰ one may firstly mention Ibrāhīm az-Zağğāğ, from whom he got his nickname, Ibn Durayd, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazīdī and Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī, whose students also included Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib.

Among az-Zağğāğī's literary and teaching activities, it should be mentioned that he wrote on Ibn as-Sikkī's *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*²⁰¹ and lectured on his *al-Ḥurūf*²⁰². He also wrote a commentary on Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-kātib*²⁰³.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. above. Note also that it may have been felt by Ibn Qutayba to be a marginal case, which would explain its final position in the chapter. Cf. also Muzhir I:564.

¹⁹⁶ GAS VIII:105-106; IX:88-95; at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to Z, p. 241ff.; al-Mubārak, Introduction to az-Zağğāğī, al-īdāh, Introduction, p. 1ff.

¹⁹⁷ His *al-Ġumal* was extremely popular and widely used, and it is said that 120 commentaries were written on it in the Maghrib alone, cf. GAS IX:89 (with a list of more than 50 commentaries, IX:89-94).

¹⁹⁸ At-Tanūkhī, Introduction to Z, p. 242, also mentions Ibn Ġinnī as a possible acquaintance of az-Zağğāğī, but this is of course a mistake as Ibn Ġinnī was not yet born when az-Zağğāğī was in Aleppo.

¹⁹⁹ According to az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 119, he died in Damascus.

²⁰⁰ See at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to Z, p. 242-243.

²⁰¹ GAS VIII:105.

²⁰² See ‘Abdattawwāb (ed.), *Ibn as-Sikkī, al-Ḥurūf*, p. 35.

²⁰³ Muzhir I:551 mentions a *Sharḥ Adab al-kātib li'z-Zağğāğī*; cf. also Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, p. 104; a quote in Muzhir I:546.

This relatively short²⁰⁴ tractate on ibdāl has come to us in at least two manuscripts²⁰⁵, the older of which has been the basis of the edition of at-Tanūkhī (RAAD 37, 1962²⁰⁶). This manuscript of Reisūlkutab is undated, but probably originates from the 10th century A.D.²⁰⁷. It has been carelessly copied²⁰⁸, even though the copyist has had at least two manuscripts at his disposal as becomes evident from a passage in p. 444:

wa-banātu ṭamāni wa-ṭabān: ad-dawāhī. wa-fī nuskha: ṭamāri wa-ṭabāri
bi'r-rā'i lā bi'n-nūn

The tractate contains 290 cases of ibdāl, and it is arranged in chapters resembling those of IS-Y²⁰⁹. The chapters themselves are partly organized according to two systems, alphabetical and phonetic. The tractate begins with a block of chapters (1-4) on weak consonants (alif—W—Y; alif—W; alif—Y; W—Y), continues with two chapters on the ibdāls of hamza (ʾ—H; ʾ—ʿ), one of B (B—M), and then four chapters on T and the other dentals. Then come TH, Ḥ and H, each with one chapter. The latter part of the book is less coherently organized²¹⁰ (sibilants and nasals each form a more or less solid block) with totally unorganized chapters interspersed. The last three chapters (Ġ—Y in nisba; SH—K in sg. 2.f. enclitic pronoun; T—K perf. sg. 2.m. ending) form a block of morphophonemic ibdāls.

The material within chapters has been collected without any obvious principle of arrangement (alphabetic, according to first or third radical; phonetic; anagrammatic), and it does not show any significant similarities with the order of the other ibdāl works.

Az-Zağğāğī, in fact, stands isolated in the tradition of the ibdāl genre, at least as far as we can know on the basis of the extant works. The material given by him differs very much from the material in IS-Y (Z has only 67 cases in common with IS-Y, i.e. rather less than a quarter — 23.1% — of the 290 cases in Z), and many of his examples are missing even from AT²¹¹. It is possible that az-Zağğāğī has taken some of his examples from living Bedouin usage, as they cannot be found in any other philological works. Thus we have in Z, pairs such as sāqa—sāka (p. 607-608)²¹².

²⁰⁴ At-Tanūkhī, Introduction to Z, p. 244 and 247 fruitlessly speculates on the possibility that az-Zağğāğī published his work in three recensions (short, middle and long), but he does not adduce any evidence whatsoever for his hypothesis.

²⁰⁵ GAS VIII:105.

²⁰⁶ Also printed separatim, Damascus 1962.

²⁰⁷ GAS VIII:105; at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to Z, p. 249.

²⁰⁸ See the list of these errors collected by at-Tanūkhī in his Preface, p. 249-250. Astonishingly, at-Tanūkhī has let these errors stand in the text without note, so that the reader has to peruse the Preface before using the text.

²⁰⁹ Unlike Ibn as-Sikkīt, az-Zağğāğī has three chapters on ibdāl triads, instead of ibdāl pairs, viz. alif—W—Y; T—D—Ṭ; Z—S—Ṣ.

²¹⁰ Cf. the similar situation in IS-tahdhīb.

²¹¹ As we know that Abū'Ṭ-Ṭayyib valued quantity more than quality, it is obvious that he had neither Z nor its sources at his disposal.

²¹² Though in this case az-Zağğāğī quotes a shāhid, and it is possible that he has collected at least some examples from early, now lost dīwāns and their sharḥs.

As az-Zağğāğī was primarily a naḥwī, not a lughawī, it is not surprising that in many cases the examples given by him are part of the grammatical tradition, thus pairs like aflata—aflata (Z, p. 448) and fustāt—fustāt (Z, p. 450) are also to be found e.g. in Abū Ḥayyān's al-Irtishāf (I:125 and I:158-159). In several other cases, it should be mentioned that Z coincides not with the ibdāl tradition, but with the laḥn al-‘amma literature, e.g. the pair ‘unṣur—‘unṣul (Z, p. 472) is not found in the other ibdāl works, but instead in Ibn al-Gawzī's K. Taqwīm al-lisān, p. 158, and al-Gawālīqī's Khaṭa', p. 138.

The later influence of Z has been very slight. The only indisputable quotation from it known to me comes from ‘Abdalqādir al-Baghdādī's Ḥāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ “Bānat Su‘ād” I:534-535 (= Z, p. 433-437 in an abbreviated form). In his Preface (p. 243 and 251) at-Tanūkhī, the editor of Z, mentions that the work was read to ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb al-Khaṭṭābī. The origin of this information is not indicated. Al-Khaṭṭābī is a somewhat obscure grammarian²¹³, but he is usually dated to the early 9th century²¹⁴. If the information given by at-Tanūkhī is correct, this date should be changed radically, but owing to the dearth of information about its source one cannot reach any conclusions in this case²¹⁵.

Al-Qālī and his al-Amālī

Al-Qālī

Abū ‘Alī Ismā‘īl ibn al-Qāsim *al-Qālī*²¹⁶ was born in 280/893 in Manāzğird whence he went to Mosul in 915. In 917 he moved to Baghdād, where he studied under several leading scholars, among whom was Ibn Durayd. Al-Qālī quotes Ibn Durayd passim in his al-Amālī, and he is the most important of his teachers from our point of view. Another of his teachers was the son of Ibn Qutayba, with whom he read several works of Ibn Qutayba²¹⁷.

The Caliph of Córdoba invited him to Spain where he arrived in 942. In Spain he wrote his two main works, *K. al-Bāri‘*, a lexicon based on *K. al-‘Ayn* and partly preserved, and *K. al-Amālī* together with its two sequels, *K. an-Nawādir* and *K. Dhayl al-Amālī*²¹⁸. He died in 356/967.

²¹³ See Bughya II:54; aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi XVII:528; Fihrist, p. 104, al-Qifṭī, Inbāh I:392. None of these sources provides any dates for his activities or death.

²¹⁴ E.g. Sezgin, GAS IX:134-135 presumes that he died before 225/840.

²¹⁵ Is it possible that at-Tanūkhī has confused some other al-Khaṭṭābī with his earlier and more famous namesake?

²¹⁶ His biography in GAS VIII:253-254 is based almost solely on az-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt, p. 185-188, which is the most trustworthy of the biographical articles on him; az-Zubaydī was a student of al-Qālī, and the article also contains a short curriculum vitae by al-Qālī himself.

²¹⁷ Cf. az-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt, p. 187 (autobiographical passage). Al-Qālī also knew Adab al-kātib well, cf. e.g. S.A. Bonebakker, Two manuscripts of al-Qālī's redaction of Ibn Qutayba's Adab al-kātib. Actas I. Congr. Estudios Ar. Isl., Madrid 1964, p. 453-466. — According to an anecdote, Irshād II:354 = aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi IX:192, he owned a copy of al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf.

From our point of view, al-Qālī's most important book is his *al-Amālī*, a compendium of philological adab. It contains the whole text of Ibn as-Sikkīt's K. *al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* with few²¹⁹ additions²²⁰. His interest in ibdāls was already noted by az-Zubaydī in his *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 186, who speaks about his *an-Nawādir*, i.e. *al-Amālī*:

wa-fīhi abwābun mina l-lughati mustaqṣātun...wa-fīhi l-ibdālu wa'l-qalbu
mustaqṣan wa-fīhi tafsīru l-itbā^ʿ...

The ibdāl chapters are all in the second part of *al-Amālī*, interspersed within other material as follows:

p. 22-23	Ş—D
p. 34-35	TH—F
p. 41-44	L—N
p. 52-54	B—M
p. 67-68	Ḥ— ^ʿ
p. 68	ʾ—H
p. 68-69	T—S
p. 77-78	Ğ—Y
p. 78	Ğ—Ḥ
p. 78-79	ʾ— ^ʿ
p. 89-91	M—N
p. 97-98	Ḥ—H
p. 111-112	Ḥ—KH
p. 112	T—D
p. 113-114	Z—Ş
p. 114	TH—S
p. 119-120	TH—DH
p. 125-126	S—SH
p. 134	^ʿ —GH ²²¹
p. 139	Q—K
p. 145-146	R—L
p. 146-147	Ğ—K
p. 155-156	Ş—Ṭ; KH—H; D—Ṭ; T—Ṭ; D—L
p. 160	ʾ—Y
p. 166-167	ʾ—W

²¹⁸ The three works, *al-Amālī*, *an-Nawādir* and *Dhayl al-Amālī*, are often confused. E.g. az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, seems to know only *an-Nawādir* but when he describes it, e.g. p. 186, he is clearly referring to *al-Amālī*, perhaps taking it together with the two other works.

²¹⁹ Note that in the field of ibdāls there are no traces of the influence of Ibn Durayd, one of al-Qālī's most important teachers. He was interested in ibdāls, as can be seen from the great amount of ibdāls in ID, a major source for AT.

²²⁰ Some relevant ibdāl material is naturally also to be found in al-Qālī's explanations on the poems and sağ^ʿ passages.

²²¹ This chapter has been confusingly divided into three parts by the editor of *al-Amālī*.

p. 171	med. gem.—tert. inf.
p. 171-172	D—DH; F—K; DH—Z; ʿ—H
p. 177-178	varia
p. 184	varia
p. 185-186	Z—S

The ibdāl chapters are quoted either on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt himself (twice: II:22 — the first ibdāl passage — and II:156; in the middle of the other ibdāl chapters Yaʿqūb, i.e. Ibn as-Sikkīt, is also quoted now and then as the authority for an individual ibdāl) or (in all other cases²²²) on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt's informant without a mention of al-Qālī's immediate source, viz. Ibn as-Sikkīt (e.g. II:34, II:41 etc. qāla l-Aṣmaʿī; also al-Liḥyānī, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Farrāʾ etc.).

Regrettably al-Qālī never gives an isnād for the IS-Y passages, although elsewhere he very often provides passages with a detailed isnād, Ibn Durayd and Ibn al-Anbārī being the two most frequently quoted of his teachers. Perhaps this should be interpreted as meaning that al-Qālī did not receive IS-Y orally from his teachers (oral scholarly tradition) but relied solely on a written source, a manuscript of K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl at his disposal (written scholarly tradition)²²³.

After the last of the ibdāl chapters taken from IS-Y, al-Qālī summarises the difference between lexicographical and grammatical ibdāl (II:186):

qāla Abū ʿAlī: al-lughawīyūna yadhhabūna ilā anna ḡamīʿa mā amlaynāhu ibdālun wa-laysa huwa kadhālika ʿinda ʿulamāʾi ahli n-naḥwi wa-innamā ḥurūfu l-ibdāli ʿindahum ithnā ʿashara ḥarfan; tisʿatun min ḥurūfi z-zawāʿidi wa-thalāthatun min ghayrihā...

After this he goes on to a concise discussion of the grammatical ibdāl (II:186-187).

Ibn Sīda and his al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ

ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad (or Muḥammad or Ismāʿīl) *Ibn Sīda*'s (d. 458/1066)²²⁴ gigantic dictionary *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* contains several chapters which are relevant to ibdāl studies. The lexicographical ibdāls come — with very few exceptions — from Q (and thus indirectly from IS-Y). The ibdāl chapters of *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* are:

XIII:267	bāb al-badal
XIII:267-268	ḥurūf al-ibdāl thalāthatu ʿashar
XIII:269-270	hādihā bāb ḥurūf al-badal min ghayri an tudghima ḥarfan fī ḥarfin wa-tarfaʿa lisānaka min mawḍiʿin wāḥid
XIII:271-272	bāb al-ḥarf alladhī yuḍāriʿu bihi ḥarfun min mawḍiʿihi wa'l-ḥarfu lladhī yuḍāriʿu bihi dhālika l-ḥarfu wa-laysa min mawḍiʿihi

²²² In II:160 no authority is given but this is a mistake; the passage is taken almost verbatim from IS-Y, p. 136-137, which gives al-Aṣmaʿī as the ultimate authority. In al-Amālī, l. 2 of this chapter, the words wa-qāla ghayruhu show that the first line originally contained the name of an authority, i.e. al-Aṣmaʿī.

²²³ The work of Ibn as-Sikkīt also had an independent tradition in Spain, see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, p. 381-382.

²²⁴ For his biography, see as-Suyūfī, *Bughya* II:143.

- XIII:272-273 bāb mā tuqlabu fihi s-sīnu šādan fi ba‘ḍi l-lughāt
 XIII:274-286 bāb al-ibdāl: bāb mā yağrī‘u maqūlan bi-ḥarfayni wa-laysa badalan²²⁵
 XIII:287-288 wa-mimmā yağrī mağrā l-badal
 XIII:288-290 bāb al-muḥawwali mina l-muḍā‘af
 XIV:11-13 wa-mimmā yuqālu bi’l-hamzi marratan wa-bi’l-wāwi ukhrā
 XIV:17-18 wa-mimmā yuqālu bi’l-hamzi wa’l-yā²²⁶
 XIV:19 wa-mimmā yuqālu bi’l-hamzi marratan wa-bi’l-yā’i mimmā laysa bi-awwal
 XIV:19-26 wa-adhkuru l-āna shay’an mina l-mu‘āqaba²²⁷

Ibn Sīda’s other dictionary, *al-Muḥkam*, contains most of the material of Ibn as-Sikkīt’s ibdāl monograph, but it is organized in an anagrammatic order and does not discuss the ibdāls in a separate chapter²²⁸.

Abū Turāb and his K. al-I‘tiqāb

Abū Turāb

Ishāq ibn al-Farağ Abū Turāb is a little known philologist²²⁹ from 9th century Persia. Even the fact that Abū Turāb is the same person as Ishāq ibn al-Farağ — the two names with which he is quoted in TL and other works — has often gone unnoticed²³⁰. This identification is, though, certain²³¹. Sezgin (GAS VIII:274-275) gives the following reasons for it:

a. Variants of TL sometimes read Abū Turāb for Ibn al-Farağ and vice versa.

b. In TL I:375 (Abū Turāb no. 224a) the main text reads: ‘Ishāq ibn al-Farağ Abū Turāb’.

²²⁵ The main chapter on lexical ibdāl. “wa-laysa badalan” means here “and is not (grammatical) ibdāl”.

²²⁶ This chapter contains the cases of initial ’—Y variation.

²²⁷ W—Y variation mainly from Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq, a work on which Ibn Sīda is said to have written a commentary (Sharḥ Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq, see Bughya II:143). This work is missing from the list of commentaries on Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq in GAS VIII:131-132.

²²⁸ In the very concise list of the sources of al-Muḥkam, Ibn Sīda mentions monographs on “al-mubdal wa’l-qalb” (I:15) which may in fact be a reference to IS-Y, as there are no traces of the other ibdāl monographs in al-Muḥkam.

²²⁹ Of the Mediaeval biographical dictionaries, only al-Qifṭī’s Inbāh and an-Nadīm’s Fihrist dedicate an article to him. In Irshād (II:65) he is mentioned in passing. In GAL there is no article on him. There is no reason to identify him with the equally obscure Abū Turāb al-A‘mash who is mentioned in Ta’rikh Baghdād IX:370 = al-Anbārī, Nuzha, p. 125. — T^cA² 7:55 reads: “rawāhu s-Sulamī wa-huwa Abū Turāb”, but this is a simple mistake caused by az-Zabīdī having misunderstood the various sources of Abū Turāb no. 296. In Lisān this reads: “as-Sulamī: shā‘irun muflīqun wa-muflīq”, whereas in Takmila V:142a we have: “wa-qāla Abū Turāb: shā‘irun muflīqun wa-muflīq”. These two passages have led az-Zabīdī to equate Abū Turāb with as-Sulamī, though in fact the latter is Abū Turāb’s informant as is clear in the respective passage of TL (IX:341: “wa-qāla Abū Turāb: qāla s-Sulamī: ..”) which is the source of both Lisān and Takmila, variously abbreviated by the two later authors.

²³⁰ In, e.g. the Index of Lisān they are listed separately.

²³¹ Sezgin is too hesitating when he writes (GAS VIII:274): ‘Abū Turāb. Er scheint mit Ishāq b. al-Farağ identisch zu sein...’.

- c. The quotes from Abū Turāb and Ibn al-Faraġ are similar in form and content. To Sezgin's arguments one may add that
- d. Lisān often reads Abū Turāb for TL's Ibn al-Faraġ and vice versa;
- e. Abū Turāb's and Ishāq ibn al-Faraġ's informants are the same;
- f. Al-Azharī, who is very conscientious with giving his sources in the Preface, has written a rather detailed passage on Abū Turāb (see Abū Turāb no. 352-355) but fails to mention Ibn al-Faraġ at all, which is hard to explain if we suppose that they are two different persons; and
- g. The passage TL III:395 (=Abū Turāb no. 125) strongly implies that they are one and the same person: 'Ibn al-Faraġ says: [follows a passage on alḥiq-i l-ḥiss bi'l-iss]. Abū Turāb gives it in the Chapter Shīn and Sīn and their ta'āqub'. The passage indicates that the Ibn al-Faraġ quote comes from Abū Turāb's book which further implies that Ibn al-Faraġ is Abū Turāb²³².

Very little is known about Abū Turāb's life. He was little known outside Persia; an-Nadīm puts him in the Chapter 'Names of persons from various countries whose names and biographies are not exactly known' (p. 124)²³³; thus it seems possible that the error in the manuscripts of the Fihrist (Abū Tawwāb instead of Abū Turāb) may well have its origin with an-Nadīm himself. One reason for his obscurity is without doubt the fact that no oral tradition developed around K. al-I'tiqāb or his other work; al-Khāzraṅī directly admits (Abū Turāb no. 354) that he has not heard K. al-I'tiqāb but bases himself solely on written tradition, al-Azharī (Abū Turāb no. 352-355) gives the impression that the same goes for him²³⁴, and al-Ġawharī says in two cases (Abū Turāb no. 311b and 334) out of the four which he quotes (the other two are Abū Turāb no. 243 and 339) that he has taken them from K. al-I'tiqāb 'min ghayri samā'. Only Abū Turāb no. 351 seems to come to him orally (via al-Mundhirī < Ibn Ḥammawayhi), but the passage probably does not come from K. al-I'tiqāb (cf. my comments on no. 351).

The most important passages on his life and works are the two mentions of him in the Preface of TL. The first of them runs (TL I:26²³⁵=Abū Turāb no. 352):

Abū Turāb, the author of K. al-I'tiqāb came to Herat in order to benefit from Shamir and he wrote down a lot from him. In Herat he dictated several parts of K. al-I'tiqāb. Then he returned to Nishapur and dictated the rest of the book there. I have read his book and found it good; I have not noticed him to

²³² Cf. also Abū Turāb no. 48.

²³³ Dodge (Fihrist/Dodge, p. 183) translates it as '...Whose Names and Biographies Are Not Based on Research' and comments (note 58): 'This probably means that the author learned about these scholars, who lived near his own time, by personal contact and word of mouth rather than merely by study of books.' This is a misunderstanding; the persons mentioned in this chapter are all little known (e.g. Fihrist/Dodge, p. 185: 'Mikhnaf. I know nothing of him except this, that his books were: ...').

²³⁴ Note also Abū Turāb no. 349 and 350 which clearly refer to a written tradition, although they do not of course rule out the possibility of an oral tradition.

²³⁵ From the aṭ-ṭabaqa ath-thālitha, the third generation of lexicographers, which also includes persons such as Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (TL I:19), Ibn al-A'rābī (I:20), al-Liḥyānī (I:21), ash-Shaybānī (I:22), as-Siġistānī (I:22) and Ibn as-Sikkīt (I:23) among others.

be rash in what he writes nor does he make taṣhīfs.

The second reads (TL I:34=Abū Turāb no. 355):

And now, concerning Abū Turāb, he was in the presence of Abū Saʿīd aḍ-Ḍarīr for many years and heard from him a great number of books. Then he travelled to Herat and heard from Shamir some of his books. This is in addition to the words he heard from the eloquent Bedouins and the locutions he memorized directly from their mouths.

Abū Turāb's *K. al-Iʿtiqāb* is also mentioned in *Fihrist*²³⁶ together with another book of his, *Kitāb al-Istidrāk ʿalā l-Khalīl fī l-muhmal waʿl-mustaʿma*²³⁷. These works are also mentioned in al-Qifṭī's *al-Inbāh* (IV:102-103 = Abū Turāb no. 357) in the short article on Abū Turāb:

Abū Turāb. Khurasanian lexicographer who wrote corrections on al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's *K. al-ʿAyn*. Scholars have countered him; he accused al-Khalīl of mistakes in several places, and added words which he claimed that al-Khalīl had left out of the chapters [of his dictionary], and deleted others which he claimed al-Khalīl had included in wrong places. He revised it and claimed it was correct. He wrote some works among which are *K. al-Iʿtiqāb*, a large work on lexicography, and *K. al-Istidrāk ʿalā l-Khalīl*.

The article continues with a passage taken from TL I:26 (cf. above).

Abū Turāb seems to have been Shiite or at least pro-ʿAlid, as his name, a cognomen of ʿAlī²³⁸, seems to indicate, as well as his Iranian background, and the fact that although he seems to have quoted only a few ḥadīths, one of them comes from Abū ʿ-Ṭufayl, who was more popular among the Shiite traditionists than Sunnites. He probably died towards the end of the 3rd century²³⁹.

The most important of Abū Turāb's teachers was *Abū Saʿīd aḍ-Ḍarīr*²⁴⁰ al-Baghdādī²⁴¹, which is evident from the passages cited earlier and the fact that Abū Saʿīd is very often quoted in *K. al-Iʿtiqāb*²⁴². For his other teachers and informants, see the Index of linguistic authorities.

Besides philologists, Abū Turāb drew on Bedouin informants whose importance can be seen in the frequent references to them²⁴³. Abū Turāb usually quotes them

²³⁶ P. 24 = Abū Turāb no. 356 (in *Fihrist/Dodge*, p. 184 the name of the book is misunderstood). Cf. also Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 232 (Abū Tawwāb).

²³⁷ This book seems to have been lost without leaving any traces in the philological literature. Still, one may play with the thought that some of the passages which have been taken into *K. al-ʿAyn* but which probably come from Abū Turāb may in fact have also been in his *K. al-Istidrāk*, a book which it would have been natural to excerpt for additions to *K. al-ʿAyn*. Similarly, it is possible that some material of *K. al-Istidrāk* may have been anonymously borrowed by later literature.

²³⁸ Cf. also the other Abū Turābs mentioned, e.g. in *Tāğ al-ʿarūs* II:70-71.

²³⁹ Sezgin (VIII:192) writes: 'Er starb vermutlich um 275/888'; this seems to be pure guesswork based on the dating of his teachers and the authorities that are cited in the Abū Turāb quotes in TL.

²⁴⁰ Abū Turāb no. 66 and 329.

²⁴¹ Abū Turāb no. 177.

²⁴² A total of 22 quotes, thus second only to al-Aṣmaʿī (51 quotes), cf. the Index to *K. al-Iʿtiqāb*. — In Abū Turāb no. 251 the text of both TL and *Lisān* is corrupted (the order of the authorities being reversed, so that it seems that Abū Saʿīd quotes Abū Turāb), but the text can be reconstructed from *Tāğ al-ʿarūs*.

with the formula 'sami'tu X yaqūlu' (cf. Abū Turāb no. 4, 6, 16a, 20, 24, etc.); as we have no grounds for suspecting him of forgery²⁴⁴, this means that he had personally met his informants and got his data from them directly, not through some mediator²⁴⁵.

As a scholar Abū Turāb was a very accurate collector of Bedouin nawādir, which makes him a valuable source on the Bedouin Arabic of the 9th century. In no. 49 we see him carrying out investigations to verify the reports he has received:

wa-qāla Abū Turāb: sami'tu Zā'ida al-Bakrī yaqūlu: al-^ʿarabu tad'ū alwāna ṣ-ṣūf: al-^ʿihn ghayra banī Ğa'far fa-innahum yad'ūnahu l-^ʿithna bi'th-thā'. qāla [i.e. Abū Turāb]: wa-sami'tu Mudrik ibn Ghazwān al-Ĝa'farī wa-akhāhu yaqūlāni: al-^ʿithn: ḍarbun mina l-khūṣa...wa-qāla Muḥtakir: wa-hiya shaḡaratun ghabrā'u dhātu zahrin aḡmar.

Here we see how Abū Turāb uses his Ĝa'farī informants to check the data given to him by a Bakrī concerning their dialect. In another case, no. 220, he receives an ibdāl pair ḡa'ḡa'—ḡafḡaf together with a verb yataḡafḡaf from Abū'r-Rabī' al-Bakrī, one of his informants. Then he says: "wa-aradtuhu an yaqūla: yataḡa'ḡa'" but the informant refuses to accept that form in the same sense. Here we have the exact opposite of, e.g. Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib's habit of completing the paradigms by inventing new forms "alā l-qiyās".

Kitāb al-I'tiqāb

An analysis of the contents of the fragments of Kitāb al-I'tiqāb shows that the work was a pure ibdāl work²⁴⁶, very similar to the extant works of the genre. About 320 ibdāl quotes are known via TL (included in this number are also the few taken from Lisān and other dictionaries). As al-Azharī quotes Abū Turāb only as a secondary source after excerpting his main sources²⁴⁷, almost all the ibdāl articles of IS-Y seem to be missing from K. al-I'tiqāb, among them most of the "usual" ibdāls found in almost all of the works of the genre as well as in many other lexicographical and grammatical works²⁴⁸. It is evident that this imbalance in the ibdāl material of the extant fragments

²⁴³ See Index.

²⁴⁴ Cf. also the passage TL I:34 = Abū Turāb no. 355 translated above. — Still, it is admittedly disturbing to note that Abū Turāb no. 160 (wa-qāla Ibn al-Faraḡ: sami'tu l-Ghanawī yaqūlu: al-munaqqishatu wa'l-munaqqilatu mina sh-shiḡāḡi llatī tanaqqalu minhā l-^ʿizām) is almost verbatim identical with K. al-Ġīm III:270 (wa-qāla [al-Kilābī, referred to in the preceding page]: al-munaqqilatu mina sh-shiḡāḡ: allatī tanaqqalu minhā l-^ʿizāmu wa-hiya l-munaqqisha). Yet the passage is so short that hasty conclusions should not be drawn from this unique coincidence.

²⁴⁵ It is worth mentioning that some of the Bedouins quoted directly by Abū Turāb are also quoted in K. al-^ʿAyn, a clear proof that even larger parts of K. al-^ʿAyn than has usually been thought come from redactors later than al-Khalīl (d. in the last quarter of the 8th century) and al-Layth (d. about 805, see GAS VIII:159).

²⁴⁶ Not a "Synonymenlexikon" as characterized by Sezgin in GAS VIII:192.

²⁴⁷ Cf. the place of the Abū Turāb quotes which usually come towards the end of the article in TL, frequently as the last item, which in the Arabic lexicographical tradition means that it was excerpted only after the other sources.

²⁴⁸ One of the very few exceptions to this is Abū Turāb no. 287 (khāmil—khāmin) = IS-Y, p. 69; AT

of K. al-I^ʿtiqāb is largely due to its having been excerpted after, e.g. IS-Y, so that the material of K. al-I^ʿtiqāb that duplicated IS-Y was naturally omitted by al-Azharī. This hypothesis is corroborated by a few passages from K. al-I^ʿtiqāb which are quoted in TL because they provide additional information to that given in IS-Y. Thus, e.g., IS-Y, p. 72-73, gives an ibdāl pair sabbada—sammada:

wa-qāla Abū ʿUbayda: qad sammada shaʿrahu wa-sabbadahū. waʿt-tasbīd:
an yastaʿšila shaʿrahu ḥattā yulṣiqahu biʿl-ḡild (etc.).

TL XIII:370-371 gives this ibdāl from several sources among which is IS-Y. Immediately before the passage taken from IS-Y comes Abū Turāb no. 34 which reads:

wa-qāla Abū Turāb: samiʿtu Sulaymān ibn al-Mughīra yaqūlu: sabbada r-
raḡulu shaʿrahu idhā sarraḡahu wa-ballahu wa-tarakahu. qāla: waʿsh-
shaʿru lā yusabbidu wa-lākinnaḡu yusabbad.

As this quote does not contain an ibdāl pair, it is clear that it is only a part of what was in the corresponding article of K. al-I^ʿtiqāb. As sabbada—sammada is one of the most common ibdāls²⁴⁹, it is quite reasonable to assume that Abū Turāb no. 34 comes from the chapter B—M. Since al-Azharī had already taken the pair from other sources, there was no need to copy the whole of the K. al-I^ʿtiqāb article — in fact, had it not been for the additions in this article, there would have been no reason for al-Azharī to quote K. al-I^ʿtiqāb at all in this article of his dictionary²⁵⁰. This was probably the case in many ibdāl articles where K. al-I^ʿtiqāb did not have anything crucially new to add.

It also seems that TL, in fact, contains more material derived from K. al-I^ʿtiqāb than is apparent at first glance; the same authorities and informants that are quoted in the Abū Turāb fragments, are also quoted in TL without reference to Abū Turāb. Some of these quotes evidently come from sources other than K. al-I^ʿtiqāb (e.g. the works of Abū Saʿīd, who partly profited from the same informants as Abū Turāb), but some, especially among those containing ibdāls²⁵¹, are likely to come from K. al-I^ʿtiqāb; even though al-Azharī is on the whole very conscientious in naming his immediate authorities, it is evident that in cases where he quotes the Bedouins of the 9th century directly, he is in fact relying on earlier books. Thus a passage in TL III:342 (Abū Turāb no. 213d) is given on the authority of Zāʿida al-Bakrī only (wa-qāla Zāʿida al-Bakrī:...). In this case a comparison with TL VIII:229 (Abū Turāb no. 213a, “wa-qāla Ibn al-Faraḡ: samiʿtu Zāʿida al-Bakrī yaqūlu:...”) shows that both passages in fact come from K. al-I^ʿtiqāb²⁵².

II:403; IS-tahdhīb, p. 9; Muzhir I:565; Q II:44; Mukh. XIII:283. It may be symptomatic that the example is the last in the chapter L/N of IS-Y.

²⁴⁹ IS-Y, p. 72-73; IS-tahdhīb, p. 12; Q II:53; AṬ I:45-46; Adab al-kātib, p. 485; Ibn Qutayba, Tafṣīr Gharīb al-Qurʿān, p. 217; Muzhir I:463; Mukh. XIII:285; etc.

²⁵⁰ Cf. also, e.g. Abū Turāb no. 284 (lāṣa—nāṣa), which is quoted in TL only because it adds the ibdāl pair of the first stem, whereas the ibdāl usually given has only the fourth stem (alāṣa—anāṣa).

²⁵¹ Ibdāl material quoted on the authority of Abū Turāb's informants is found, e.g. in TʿA XXIII:182a-b (Mudrik al-Qaysī, cf. the Mudrik's mentioned in K. al-I^ʿtiqāb, see Index of linguistic authorities: takhaḡrafa—takhaḡrama); TL VIII:86 = TʿA XXIV:369a (Nawādir al-aʿrāb: dalagha—dhalagha); Takmila I:195a (Khalīfa al-Ḥuṣaynī: muṣlaḡhibb—muṣḡlaḡhibb).

Similarly, we have some cases where the attribution to Abū Turāb is missing from TL (both the printed main text and the manuscript variants recorded in the notes), but where Ibn Manẓūr gives him as the authority in the respective article of Lisān — although he takes the passage from TL²⁵³! In these cases, the TL quotes in Lisān represent another manuscript tradition of TL in which Abū Turāb was named. A clear case of this is Abū Turāb no. 259, where al-Azharī reads (Abū Turāb no. 259a):

wa-qāla Abū Zayd fī bābi l-hā'i wa'l-fā':...khudh 'annī hidyatāka wa-fidyatāka²⁵⁴...

Lisān has instead (Abū Turāb no. 259b):

...fī hidyatika wa-qidyatika...wa-rawāhu Abū Turāb: fī hidyatika wa-fidyatika bi'l-fā'.

Here the identification given in Lisān is without the slightest doubt correct: Abū Zayd did not organize his works according to anything that could be labelled “Chapter of H and F”, whereas in K. al-I‘tiqāb, as is shown by numerous citations of the chapter headings, cf. below, this is just the usual type of chapter heading.

Besides these more or less accidentally dropped mentions of Abū Turāb, it is probable that al-Azharī has occasionally given only the ultimate authority on purpose leaving the immediate authority (Abū Turāb in this case) unmentioned, a procedure which is very common in the philological literature.

Thus it is probable that the original K. al-I‘tiqāb was considerably larger than the collection of fragments published here²⁵⁵; one may also refer here to al-Qifī who describes (Inbāh IV:103 = Abū Turāb no. 357) the work as big (kabīr). Similarly, the organization of K. al-I‘tiqāb according to ibdāl letters (cf. below), makes one think of a more or less systematic collection rather than a group of stray notes on ibdāls.

Discussing the original length of K. al-I‘tiqāb, one also has to take into account the following fact. Al-Ġawharī gives four Abū Turāb quotes in his *Ṣiḥāḥ*, two of which (Abū Turāb no. 243 and 311b) are given on the authority of “Abū Turāb in his K. al-I‘tiqāb”, one (no. 339) on the authority of “Abū Turāb” and one (no. 334) as “from K. al-I‘tiqāb”. None of these four coincides with any of the about 350 Abū Turāb quotes in TL. If one postulates that al-Azharī included most articles of K. al-I‘tiqāb in his dictionary (be it 70%, 80% or more), one comes up with a statistical inconvenience; the probability that at least one of the four quotes given in *Ṣiḥāḥ* would coincide with a quote in TL would be considerable. We can understand the lack of coincidence between the two works only if we postulate that TL contains a very limited selection of articles originally found in K. al-I‘tiqāb²⁵⁶.

²⁵² Cf. also Abū Turāb no. 265 where one manuscript of TL has dropped the name of Abū Turāb.

²⁵³ In these cases the contents of the quote are also in harmony with the contents of K. al-I‘tiqāb.

²⁵⁴ The reading adopted by the editors of TL is based on only one manuscript and is clearly inferior.

²⁵⁵ In passing one may also draw attention to the fact that there are some ibdāl letter pairs which are not attested at all among the fragments (e.g. all the ibdāls of T until F are missing, as well as the ibdāls of KH until H), although there is no reason to assume that they were not attested in K. al-I‘tiqāb.

²⁵⁶ The fact could naturally also be explained if we could find a convincing reason for why al-Ġawharī would have purposely excluded those cases given in TL, but I cannot find any such reason, it being difficult to argue that a) al-Ġawharī did not want to duplicate TL in these quotes or, b) he did not have

All considered, one may venture the following conclusion: the number of ibdāls quoted on the authority of Abū Turāb in the philological literature, especially TL, and the probability that only a part of K. al-I‘tiqāb has been included in TL (and of these, a minority may be unidentifiable as they are not given on Abū Turāb’s authority), point to the solution that the total amount of ibdāls in the original K. al-I‘tiqāb must have been considerably larger than in the reconstruction published here. Whatever the exact total, K. al-I‘tiqāb — which even in its present condition is almost the same size as IS-Y and about two thirds of the second largest extant ibdāl collection, IS-tahdhīb — must have been larger than all the other ibdāl works with the possible exception of AṬ.

Organization of the material in K. al-I‘tiqāb

As the material of K. al-I‘tiqāb is quoted in TL in fragments scattered among articles arranged according to the scheme of TL itself (i.e. phonetical anagrammatic order), the question of the organization of K. al-I‘tiqāb is fraught with difficulties. Luckily enough, al-Azharī has now and then given the heading of the chapter of K. al-I‘tiqāb which he is using. Due to this information we know that the work was arranged according to the ibdāl letters. The following chapter headings are mentioned in TL and Lisān:

bāb al-bā’ wa’t-tā’ mina l-I‘tiqāb	no. 10a (B/T)
bāb i‘tiqāb al-bā’i wa’dh-dhāl	no. 16d (B/DH)
bāb al-mīm wa’l-bā’	no. 30 (B/M)
bāb at-tā’ wa’l-mīm	no. 40 (T/M)
bāb al-ḡīm wa’l-ḥā’	no. 51a (Ḡ/H)
bāb al-ḡīm wa’l-khā’	no. 51a (Ḡ/KH)
bāb al-kāf wa’l-ḡīm	no. 58 (Ḡ/K)
bāb al-ḥā’ wa’l-kāf	no. 69 (Ḥ/K)
bāb az-zā’ wa’z-zāy	no. 114 (Z/Z)
bāb ash-shīn wa’s-sīn wa-ta‘āqubihimā	no. 125 (S/SH)
bāb aṣ-ṣād wa’l-fā’	no. 169 (Ṣ/F)
bāb al-kāf wa’l-fā’	no. 247 (F/K)
bāb al-hā’ wa’l-fā’	no. 259a (F/H)
bāb al-‘ayn wa’l-ḥā’	no. 349 (H/‘)
bāb mā ta‘āqaba min ḥarfay-i ṣ-ṣād wa’ṭ-ṭā’	no. 350 (Ṣ/Ṭ)

Besides these 14 chapters, we may surmise that there were separate chapters for all independently attested ibdāl pairs, i.e. at least some 120 chapters²⁵⁷.

those parts of K. al-I‘tiqāb at his disposal that al-Azharī had already used or, c) that K. al-I‘tiqāb circulated in such widely divergent forms (cf. e.g. the passage of TL I:26 quoted above to the effect that Abū Turāb dictated part of his work in Herat, part in Nishapur) that even the material in the different recensions did not coincide. Explanations a) and b) seem to me downright impossible, and c) could be accepted only if we did not have an easier explanation available.

²⁵⁷ See Index of ibdāls which has 151 different ibdāl letter pairs. It is possible that not all of these were given an independent chapter in K. al-I‘tiqāb, as some have been extracted from an ibdāl triad, and perhaps

On the other hand, if we can trust the accuracy of the quoted chapter headings, it would seem that their organization was not very fixed: had they been arranged alphabetically as in AṬ (i.e. beginning with the ibdāls of hamza or B, T, TH, etc.) or phonetically (i.e. beginning with the ibdāls of ʿ, Ḥ, etc.), this organization would probably have been taken into account in the chapter headings and would shine through in the chapter headings quoted in TL and Lisān. Thus in an alphabetic system one would rather have *bāb az-zāy wa'z-zā' and *bāb al-ǧīm wa'l-kāf than bāb az-zā' wa'z-zāy and bāb al-kāf wa'l-ǧīm, etc., and in a phonetic system *bāb al-ḥā' wa'l-ǧīm rather than bāb al-ǧīm wa'l-ḥā', etc. To this one may add the occasional ibdāl triads and other groups of ibdāls which are more reminiscent of the ibdāl collection of az-Zaǧǧāǧī than of Abūṭ-Ṭayyib's work with its rigorous systematics. Perhaps we should think of K. al-I'ṭiqāb as something like a huge collection of ibdāl miscellanies only loosely organized with many exceptions to the organizing principles.

The organization of the material within the individual chapters of K. al-I'ṭiqāb is unknown and it is unlikely that the question could even be solved on the basis of the evidence we have at our disposal. It is probable that the ibdāl cases were either given within each chapter as a more or less chaotic mass of examples or they were loosely organized according to the authorities as is the case in, e.g. Abū ʿAmr ash-Shaybānī's K. al-Ǧīm, Ibn as-Sikkīt's Kitāb al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl or Abūṭ-Ṭayyib's Kitāb al-ibdāl, although no concrete evidence can be adduced for this.

Material of K. al-I'ṭiqāb

In its selection of ibdāl material²⁵⁸, K. al-I'ṭiqāb resembles AṬ and differs from IS-Y and Z. The authors of the latter two works mainly collect cases with some kind of phonetic probability²⁵⁹, whereas Abū Turāb and Abūṭ-Ṭayyib collect any words which differ only in one consonant²⁶⁰ however phonetically improbable the pair might be (chapters such as B—SH etc.).

K. al-I'ṭiqāb also contained some itbā' s²⁶¹, one of which may have been defined this kind of material was given in K. al-I'ṭiqāb only once. — The original chapter headings probably resembled those of no. 125 and 350, and were shortened by al-Azharī to the schematic Bāb al-X wa'l-Y when quoted in TL.

²⁵⁸ The lack of the most common ibdāls in the extant fragments of K. al-I'ṭiqāb has been explained above.

²⁵⁹ In addition, there are naturally chapters for what are obviously taṣḥīfs, e.g. Ğ/Ḥ and Ğ/KH.

²⁶⁰ In passing, it should be remembered that all ibdāl works are commonly confined to word pairs which differ in only one consonant. In all the books, clear cases of etymologically connected roots which differ in two consonants are not discussed. Thus, e.g. SHQ—SHK (e.g. Tahdhīb al-alfāz, p. 127; Ibn Qutayba, Adab al-kātib, p. 487) and SK'—SQ' (e.g. Tha'lab, Maǧālis, p. 244) which in many lexicographical works are given together are not discussed as ibdāls in any of the ibdāl monographs (in IS-Y, p. 117, SHQ is given as an explanation of SHK—SHĠ, which is the ibdāl pair, Ġ—K, dealt with in the passage). — The few cases which look like exceptions to the rule are to be explained differently; thus, e.g. in Abū Turāb no. 72 the printed text of TL reads ǧadafa—kadhafa, but the original pair is without doubt, as in Lisān, ǧadafa—ǧadhafa. Similarly, Abū Turāb no. 310b (maraṭa—harada) is explained by no. 310a where we have the missing links (haraṭa and marada besides harada—maraṭa).

by Abū Turāb himself²⁶² as an *itbā'*, viz. no. 56:

wa-qāla Abū Turāb: yuqālu: huwa ġibsun 'ibsun libs: *itbā'*.

There are also a few cases which are based on dialect variation and, it seems, theoretically accepted by Abū Turāb as belonging to the subject of his work. The most interesting of these is no. 49, which was quoted above.

There is another phenomenon which finds a place in K. *al-I'tiqāb*, viz. the changes of consonants affected by pause²⁶³. Two Abū Turāb quotes deal with this phenomenon: no. 323 (the *quṭ'a* of Ṭayyī', i.e. cases like *yā abā'l-Ḥakā* instead of *yā abā'l-Ḥakam*) and no. 325 (variants *ful* and *fulāh* for *fulān* in the vocative)²⁶⁴.

As to the relationship of the material of K. *al-I'tiqāb* with that of the other *ibdāl* works, it has already been noted that the common *ibdāls* are absent in the extant fragments, but this can be explained by al-Azharī's method of excerpting. However, this does not contradict the fact that a considerable part of the material of K. *al-I'tiqāb* is independent of the tradition of the genre²⁶⁵, partly at least because Abū Turāb received much material from the Bedouins in Iran in the 9th century. This should also be borne in mind when using the material of K. *al-I'tiqāb* for illustrating the linguistic situation of early Arabic dialects.

The influence of K. al-I'tiqāb on later literature

Abū Turāb's K. *al-I'tiqāb* did not leave any traces in later *ibdāl* literature; it seems that neither Abū Turāb's monograph nor al-Azharī's dictionary, the main mediator of Abū Turāb quotes to later generations, was used by the two later *ibdāl* writers, az-Zaġġāġī and Abū't-Ṭayyib.

K. *al-I'tiqāb*'s fame did not cross the borders of Iran, even though its material did. There are, to my knowledge, four works in which K. *al-I'tiqāb* has been directly used; the main channel in the tradition is al-Azharī's TL, which contains about 350 quotes from K. *al-I'tiqāb* and is also an important transmitter of the material (cf. below). Also al-Khāranġī had K. *al-I'tiqāb* at his disposal when compiling his *at-Takmila*. Al-Ġawharī uses it marginally in his *Ṣiḥāh*, and it seems that K. *al-I'tiqāb*, traditionally, but incorrectly often attributed to al-Khalīl, also contains several passages ultimately — and possibly immediately — deriving from K. *al-I'tiqāb*. These four channels are discussed below in order of decreasing importance.

²⁶¹ Some *itbā'*s are also to be found in AT, but as its author wrote another work dealing specifically with *itbā'*s (K. *al-Itbā'*) it is natural that at least in theory he drew a more clear distinction between *ibdāl* and *itbā'* than the other *ibdāl* writers. — See also El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 265ff.

²⁶² Naturally one has to take into account the possibility that the identification of the triad as *itbā'* was added by al-Azharī, but this seems to me rather improbable.

²⁶³ Already called *badal* by Sībawayhi, see El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 30.

²⁶⁴ In this Abū Turāb finds a parallel in Abū't-Ṭayyib, who included similar considerations into his Preface, see below.

²⁶⁵ Almost half of the cases are not known from other *ibdāl* works, and many are known solely on the basis of K. *al-I'tiqāb*; the seemingly ample documentation of many a word in the dictionaries is ultimately found to be based solely only on K. *al-I'tiqāb* from which the word has spread through TL to *Takmila*, 'Ubāb, Lisān, Qāmūs and T'A.

TL and K. al-I‘tiqāb

Al-Azharī, who values Abū Turāb very highly (cf. the passages from the Preface of TL quoted above), has excerpted from the work rather thoroughly and even used it as a reference book to seek for words he could not find in other sources (cf. Abū Turāb no. 349 and 350). The great value placed on K. al-I‘tiqāb is also shown by the number of Abū Turāb quotes in TL.

Through TL this material was passed on to many philological works, though often without reference to Abū Turāb; as a rule Ibn Manẓūr has borrowed the text of TL in toto with occasional abbreviations into his Lisān, so that most of the Abū Turāb quotes are also found there as can be seen from the critical apparatus of the Reconstruction of K. al-I‘tiqāb. In many cases Ibn Manẓūr omits the name of Abū Turāb and only quotes the ultimate authorities and, sometimes, al-Azharī.

From Lisān, the material of K. al-I‘tiqāb has been taken into Tāğ al-‘Arūs; although az-Zabīdī has also used TL, his normal procedure was to excerpt from Lisān first. Thus, many quotes which seem to be from TL in fact come through Lisān. E.g. Abū Turāb no. 196 is given in T‘A II:294a on the authority of al-Azharī but in fact this attribution derives indirectly from Lisān III:223. In very many quotes the wording proves that the direct source of T‘A is Lisān, not TL²⁶⁶.

TL was also used by aṣ-Ṣaghānī in his Takmila and ‘Ubāb which explains the occasional Abū Turāb quotes in them. Aṣ-Ṣaghānī was, though, less systematic in his compilatory work than Ibn Manẓūr so that only a part of the material of K. al-I‘tiqāb found its way into his two dictionaries. As az-Zabīdī used the works of aṣ-Ṣaghānī in the compilation of T‘A, it is natural to meet some Abū Turāb quotes in T‘A via aṣ-Ṣaghānī, as explicitly mentioned, e.g. in T‘A V:76 (= Abū Turāb no. 25b).

Since T‘A is built around the text of *Qāmūs*²⁶⁷, it is evident that its exact wording often differs from its sources, which sometimes renders it impossible to know the specific source of a given Abū Turāb quote.

Al-Khārzanğī’s at-Takmila and K. al-I‘tiqāb

Al-Khārzanğī says in the Preface to his *at-Takmila*²⁶⁸, preserved in a quotation in TL I:33 (= Abū Turāb no. 353), that he used K. al-I‘tiqāb as a source for his dictionary. This is confirmed by the contents of the al-Khārzanğī quotes in Ibn ‘Abbād’s *K. al-Muḥīṭ* which sometimes give on the authority of al-Khārzanğī passages that very

²⁶⁶ On the other hand, we see that, e.g. no. 225 has been adopted by az-Zabīdī (T‘A XX:563) from TL, not from Lisān, where the attribution “wa-qāla Nuṣayr fīmā rawā lahu Abū Turāb”, found in both TL and T‘A, is not found.

²⁶⁷ It should be mentioned in passing that *Qāmūs*, too, contains material ultimately deriving from K. al-I‘tiqāb but the material is, as far as I can see, always quoted without reference to Abū Turāb and mostly in the extremely abbreviated form typical of al-Firūzābādī.

²⁶⁸ This work has been lost except for a short unpublished fragment (see GAS VIII:195), which has not been at my disposal. Al-Khārzanğī was severely criticized by al-Azharī (TL I:32ff.) but his harsh comments were countered by al-Qifī, *Inbāh* IV:99.

closely resemble K. al-I^ʿtiqāb, though neither the name of Abū Turāb nor that of his book are ever mentioned. Cf. my comments on Abū Turāb no. 210, 218, 273 and especially 324a-c.

Aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ and K. al-I^ʿtiqāb

Al-Ġawharī cites K. al-I^ʿtiqāb four times in his dictionary (see Abū Turāb no. 243, 311b, 334, 339). He used a copy of K. al-I^ʿtiqāb without having received the work through the learned oral tradition, as he twice remarks (cf. above). These four quotes have found their way to Lisān from Ṣiḥāḥ (see the critical apparatus) and one of them also to Muzhir (no. 311b). Chronologically, al-Ġawharī (d. 1003 or later) is the last author known to have had K. al-I^ʿtiqāb at his disposal; all the later authorities who quote Abū Turāb do it through intermediate sources, usually TL. Ṣiḥāḥ's position is also in another way more important than the mere number of quotes would lead one to suppose; as in K. al-^ʿAyn and in Ibn ʿAbbād's quotes of al-Khāzranġī, Abū Turāb is not mentioned by name, these sources can provide us no "new" Abū Turāb quotes, they simply duplicate cases known from TL. Ṣiḥāḥ, on the other hand, contributes four new quotes.

K. al-^ʿAyn and K. al-I^ʿtiqāb

At first glance, it would seem an absurdity to look in K. al-^ʿAyn, a work attributed to al-Khalīl, for traces of influence from K. al-I^ʿtiqāb, written almost a century after the death of al-Khalīl. Yet, as the scholars working in this field well know, both the attribution of K. al-^ʿAyn to al-Khalīl and the manuscript tradition of K. al-^ʿAyn are questions fraught with difficulties.

As an analysis of the text of K. al-^ʿAyn shows, and as St. Wild has demonstrated in his study of it²⁶⁹, only two things are certain; that the phonological theory requiring the phonological scheme used in K. al-^ʿAyn comes from al-Khalīl, and that there are very many later additions in the text preserved in the manuscripts of K. al-^ʿAyn, which, moreover, differ from each other to a greater extent than usual in the manuscript tradition of one work.

Against this background, one need not be astonished to find vestiges of K. al-I^ʿtiqāb in K. al-^ʿAyn, a work compiled in Iran. The former was in circulation in Iran when K. al-^ʿAyn received its present form. There are a few cases when K. al-^ʿAyn and K. al-I^ʿtiqāb have similar material²⁷⁰, and some of these are almost certainly taken from K. al-I^ʿtiqāb²⁷¹. A clear case is, e.g. Abū Turāb no. 323 (= TL I:196 s.v.

²⁶⁹ St. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-^ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*. 1965. — It should be emphasized that despite the very important monograph by Wild, the study of K. al-^ʿAyn is, on the whole, still in its infancy. A major problem discussed neither by Wild nor by other scholars who have written on the early phases of Arabic lexicography is which passages in the dictionary (besides its Preface) come from al-Khalīl, and what are the sources which have contributed to the tradition of K. al-^ʿAyn.

²⁷⁰ See also my notes to the text of K. al-I^ʿtiqāb.

QT^c) which reads:

wa-qāla Abū Turāb: al-quṭ^catu fī Ṭayyi' ka'l-^can^canati fī Tamīm wa-huwa
an yaqūla: ya abā'l-Ḥakā yurīdu: yā abā'l-Ḥakami fa-yaqṭa^cu kalāmahu.

K. al-^cAyn reads (I:137):

wa'l-quṭ^catu²⁷² fī Ṭayyi' ka'l-^can^canati fī Tamīm wa-hiya an yaqūla: yā
abā'l-Ḥakā wa-huwa yurīdu yā abā'l-Ḥakami fa-yaqṭa^cu kalāmahu ^can
ibānati baqīyati l-kalima.

It goes without saying that the two passages are in connected²⁷³ in some way. If we exclude the hypothetical possibility of a common source — which would be a useless complication, as the two works were written in the same period and in the same country — then one of the passages has to be the source for the other. If the passage had been taken from K. al-^cAyn to K. al-I^ctiqāb, why should al-Azharī, who always excerpts K. al-^cAyn first (the whole TL being built like a gigantic tahdhīb of K. al-^cAyn), not take it from there but had to resort to K. al-I^ctiqāb, a less important source for him and usually used only later. The other way is unproblematic.

Even clearer is the case of Abū Turāb no. 58; TL I:387 begins the article ^cBĜ with the explicit note “ahmalahu l-Layth” and then proceeds to give an ibdāl pair ^cabaka—^cabaġa with the isnād “Ishāq ibn al-Faraġ said: I heard Shuġā^c as-Sulamī say:...”. The passage is in fact missing from the edition of K. al-^cAyn by al-Makhzūmī and as-Sāmarrā'ī, yet in the edition of Darwīsh which is partly based on other manuscripts²⁷⁴ we find the same passage (I:273) given without an isnād. Here we have, without the slightest doubt, a case of a late addition to K. al-^cAyn. Whether it comes from K. al-I^ctiqāb directly or through TL has to be left open; in any case the addition was not found in the manuscript of K. al-^cAyn used by al-Azharī, although this does not exclude the possibility that it was taken into some recensions in relatively early times.

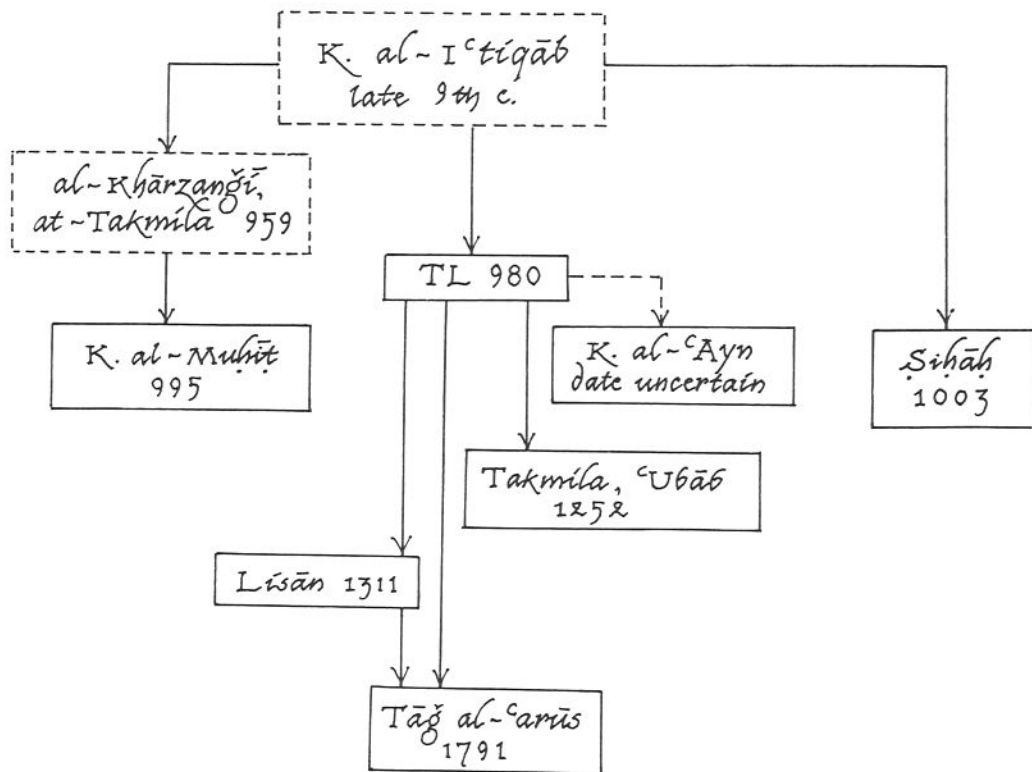
²⁷¹ Here, of course, one has to make the reservation, that Abū Turāb may have repeated himself when writing K. al-I^ctiqāb and K. al-Istidrāk; the latter work would of course be an ideal source for somebody making a new recension of the material amassed in K. al-^cAyn.

²⁷² So vocalized in the edition by Darwīsh (I:156). In the edition of al-Makhzūmī and as-Sāmarrā'ī “l-qit^ca”.

²⁷³ I have not found any other, independent reports on quṭ^ca in the lexicographical literature. Also Rabin, p. 194-195, quotes only Lisān, which in this case copies TL (= K. al-I^ctiqāb). — Cf. also Anīs, Lahaġāt, p. 134-135.

²⁷⁴ Darwīsh's edition is on the whole clearly inferior to that of al-Makhzūmī and as-Sāmarrā'ī.

TABLE 2. Influence of *K. al-I^ctiqāb*



Abūʿ-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī and his Kitāb al-Ibdāl

Abūʿ-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī

ʿAbdalwāḥid ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Lughawī *Abūʿ-Ṭayyib*²⁷⁵ was born in the latter half of the 9th century in ʿAskar Mukram²⁷⁶. He studied in Baghdād, whence he went to Aleppo, the main place of his linguistic activities. He never left Aleppo and died there in 351/962 in an attack of the Domesticus²⁷⁷. Many of his works were probably lost at the same time, as reported by Abūʿl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī in his *Risālat al-ghufrān*, p. 340²⁷⁸.

The most important of his teachers in Baghdād were Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūlī and Abū ʿUmar az-Zāhid, known as Ghulām Thaʿlab²⁷⁹, with whom he read al-Faṣīḥ of Thaʿlab and *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq* of Ibn as-Sikkīt²⁸⁰. His probable co-students included al-Qālī and Ibn Khālawayhi.

The most important of Abūʿ-Ṭayyib’s works are *Kitāb al-ibdāl*²⁸¹, *Kitāb al-Aḍḍād*, *Kitāb al-Itbāʿ* and the biographical dictionary *Marātib an-naḥwīyīn*.

Kitāb al-ibdāl

Kitāb al-ibdāl is a large collection of ibdāls arranged in chapters according to the ibdāl letters. The chapters are in strict alphabetical order (B—DH; B—R, etc.). For the arrangement of material within chapters, see pp. 106-107.

The work has been preserved in only one manuscript published by ʿIzzaddīn at-Tanūkhī. The manuscript also contains Abūʿ-Ṭayyib’s *K. al-Muthannā*, and both

²⁷⁵ GAS VIII:177-178; at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to AṬ, p. 43-71.

²⁷⁶ Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī (and later Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī) also came from this same, rather obscure town. At-Tanūkhī (Introduction of AṬ, p. 44) is rather confusing when writing about the two al-ʿAskarīs. Abū Aḥmad is contemporary with Abūʿ-Ṭayyib (and is not his teacher, as at-Tanūkhī assumes without giving any evidence for his claim). Still, it is interesting to see the influence of Ibn Durayd and his al-Ġamhara on this fellow citizen of Abūʿ-Ṭayyib (cf. GAS VIII:181).

²⁷⁷ Bughya II:120 (< aṣ-Ṣafadī); at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to AṬ, p. 56.

²⁷⁸ See also Bughya II:120. — The Christian attacks at this time seem to have been total disasters which caused irreparable damage to the cultural heritage. Aleppo and its surroundings had been very active in the field of literature. Al-Qifū, speaking about al-Maʿarrī’s works (Inbāh I:101), describes the losses in Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān in the following way: »Most of these books of Abūʿl-ʿAlāʾ [listed above] have been lost; only those works survived that had spread outside Maʿarra before the attack of the infidels on the city, the killing of people and the plundering of their belongings. His voluminous books which had not spread outside Maʿarra were lost; if they have not been totally lost, then only a fragment of each work is known.»

²⁷⁹ See Thaʿlab, Maḡālis, Introduction, p. 13. He also lectured on the Maḡālis (ibid., p. 24).

²⁸⁰ Al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-ghufrān*, p. 59. The information comes from Ibn al-Qāriḥ, who is called his student, though he was probably not a direct student of Abūʿ-Ṭayyib, for he seems to be too young for it (probably born in 962, cf. e.g. Abūʿl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *L’Épître du pardon*. Traduit par V.-M. Monteil. 1984, p. 23ff.).

²⁸¹ It seems (cf. El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 21-22) that the name should actually be read “Kitāb al-abdāl” “Book of badals”, but the name *K. al-Ibdāl* has been established in scholarly literature.

works were written in the same hand. The manuscript has no date, but it has been dated by at-Tanūkhī on the basis of the script to the 6th or 7th century A.H.²⁸². The text of K. al-Ibdāl has three lacunae; in the beginning (the text starts in the middle of chapter B—DH), middle (chapter D—^ʿ and the remaining chapters of D are missing) and at the end (the text ends in the middle of the chapter Y—alif). Although both the beginning and the colophon are missing and the name of Abūʿt-Ṭayyib is not mentioned in the text, the attribution is certain even on the basis of internal evidence; some of the marginal notes mention Abūʿt-Ṭayyib when obviously referring to the main text. The manuscript is a copy of an already damaged manuscript as can be seen from the few blanks left by the copyist in the text (e.g. I:12 l. 2-3).

In the extant literature there are some quotations from the now lost introduction of Abūʿt-Ṭayyib (the first lacuna). The longest passage comes from an indirect²⁸³ quotation in Muzhir I:460²⁸⁴:

wa-mimman allafa fī hādhā n-naw^ʿi [referring to ibdāl studies] Ibn as-Sikkīt wa-Abūʿt-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī. qāla Abūʿt-Ṭayyib fī kitābihi: laysa l-murādu biʿl-ibdālī anna l-^ʿaraba tata^ʿammadu ta^ʿwīḍa ḥarfin min ḥarfin wa-innamā hiya lughātun mukhtalifatun li-ma^ʿānin muttāfiqatin tataqārabu l-lafzātāni fī lughatayni li-ma^ʿnan wāhidin ḥattā lā yakhtalifā illā fī ḥarfin wāhid. qāla: waʿd-dalīlu ^ʿalā dhālika anna qābilatan wāhidatan lā tatakallamu bi-kalimatin ṭawran mahmūzatan wa-ṭawran ghayra mahmūzatin wa-lā bi^ʿṣ-ṣādi marratan wa-bi^ʿs-sīni ukhrā wa-kadhālika ibdālu lāmi t-ta^ʿrīfi mīman waʿl-hamzati l-muṣaddarati ^ʿaynan ka-qawlihim fī naḥwi “an” “an”. lā tashtariku l-^ʿarabu fī shay^ʿin min dhālika. innamā yaqūlu hādhā qawmun wa-dhāka ākharūn. intahā.

There are two other quotations from AṬ, both in Abū Ḥayyān’s al-Irtishāf, which have hitherto gone unnoticed²⁸⁵. The first goes (I:130):

qāla Abūʿt-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī: wa-qabāʿilu min Qays abdalū min hamzati “in” wa-“an”. qālū: “in” wa-“an”.

The text of al-Irtishāf continues with a quote from al-Khalīl[’s K. al-^ʿAyn] which does not seem to belong to the AṬ quote.

The other quotation reads (al-Irtishāf I:121):

wa-ammā ḥasastu fa-qāla Abūʿt-Ṭayyib ^ʿAbdalwāhid al-Lughawī: al-ḥiḡāzīyu yaqūlu fī ḥasastu “ḥasaytu” yu^ʿawwiḍu mina s-sīni yāʿan waʿt-tamīmīyu lā yu^ʿawwiḍu fa-yaqūlu “ḥastu”.

²⁸² Introduction to AṬ, p. 63ff. The handwriting is Andalusian naskhī, cf. the plates given in the Introduction after p. 74.

²⁸³ See below.

²⁸⁴ The passage is also quoted by Ḥāḡḡī Khalīfa. Here the quote begins (taken from El Berkawy, *Das Kitāb al-ibdāl*, p. 130): hādhā kitābun dhakarnā fīhi min kalāmi l-^ʿarabi mā ḡāʿa min ḥarfin yaqūmu maqāma ghayrihi fī awwali l-kalimati aw wasṭihā aw ākhirihā...inna l-^ʿaraba fī akhari hādhā lam tata^ʿammad (etc. as in Muzhir).

²⁸⁵ Note that Ibn Maktūm, the one-time owner of the manuscript, see below, was Abū Ḥayyān’s student which is enough to explain the source of the quotations.

The text continues with a passage on the loss of hamza and the form *istahā* (< *istahyā*) which, I believe, is Abū Ḥayyān's own addition and not part of the AṬ quote. The pair *ḥasastu—ḥasaytu* is not given in AṬ chapter S—Y²⁸⁶, but there is a marginal note by Ibn ash-Shiḥna (on whom, see below) given by the editor on II:218 (notes):

wa-mimmā lam yadhkurhu l-muṣannifu fī tarġumati s-sīni wa'l-yā': aḥsastu
bihi wa-aḥsaytu bihi wa-ḥasastu bihi wa-ḥasaytu bihi. dhakara dhālika l-
Ġawharī fa-qāla fī Ṣiḥāhihi:...

All three AṬ quotes without doubt come from the lost Introduction. Whether the beginning had already disappeared by Ibn ash-Shiḥna's time or whether he only happened to quote the pair *ḥasastu—ḥasaytu* from Ṣiḥāḥ instead of the Introduction has to be left unanswered.

The later influence of AṬ

The later influence of AṬ was minimal which is at least partly due to the general decrease in interest in the lexical monographs in the second millennium. It is also probable that some of the few²⁸⁷ copies of it were destroyed during the Christian attack on Aleppo in 962 (cf. above). Whatever the cause(s), the manuscript tradition of AṬ is extremely weak so that only one manuscript has come down to us. Among its former owners²⁸⁸, there are two philologists, Ibn Maktūm (d. 749/1348²⁸⁹) and Ibn Shiḥna (9th or 10th century A.H.²⁹⁰), both of whom have left their marginal notes to the manuscript.

The first who is positively known to have used AṬ in his writings is Abū'l-Qāsim ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā²⁹¹ (d. 436/1044). In a little *Risāla*, composed as an answer to some grammatical *alghāz* and preserved for us in Muzhir I:593-621 (background given in Muzhir I:591-592), ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā mentions the phenomenon of *ibdāl* and in this context mentions the *ibdāl* work of "our companion, Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī whose book is ten times as large as that of Ya'qūb [Ibn as-Sikkīt]. He organized it according to the letters of the alphabet"²⁹².

Ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā originated from the Eastern part of the Islamic world from where he travelled to Egypt visiting several Syrian centres on the road, among them, it would appear, Aleppo²⁹³ where he may have acquired — or at least been acquainted

²⁸⁶ Note that Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib often follows his sources slavishly; as IS-Y has the pair *tazannantu—tazannaytu*, so has AṬ (chapter N—Y example 1), and as *ḥasastu—ḥasaytu* is not given, neither is it found in the corresponding chapter of AṬ.

²⁸⁷ AṬ does not seem to have ever been in wide circulation, and it has not left traces in, e.g. the works of Ibn Ġinnī, though he spent some time in Aleppo during the lifetime of Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib, cf. below.

²⁸⁸ For a discussion of the owners of the manuscript, see at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to AṬ, p. 64ff.

²⁸⁹ Bughya I:326-329 > GAS VIII:144.

²⁹⁰ There are four members of this family who may come into question, see at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to AṬ, p. 65. — The marginal notes of Ibn Maktūm and Ibn Shiḥna have been given by the editor with their own siglas in the notes,

²⁹¹ GAL II:597-598; Irshād V:173-179; Bughya II:162.

²⁹² Muzhir I:604, the original text is quoted below.

with — a/the copy of AṬ.

The next to have profited from AṬ is, to my knowledge, Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344), who quotes from the now lost Introduction of AṬ twice in his *al-Irtishāf*, cf. above. It seems possible that he has used AṬ (in addition to Ibn Ğinnī's *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a*, his main source) in the short passage dealing with *ibdāls* (I:158-160) although it is difficult to prove this due to the extreme brevity of his *ibdāl* examples — usually no more than the two words which form the pair, with no additional commentary — the absence of *isnāds* or other mentions of authorities and the eclectic nature of the passage (almost all the pairs of the *ibdāl* letters are represented by only two exemplary cases, except for the pair Ğ—Y where almost twenty cases are given). Yet this is made probable by the fact that we know from the above-mentioned passages that he did have AṬ at his disposal. Several of the *ibdāl* pairs quoted in *al-Irtishāf* would have been most conveniently accessible to him in AṬ as many of them are rather rare in other sources. Let it suffice to mention (all in *al-Irtishāf* I:159) *ibbān*—*iffān*²⁹⁴ (= AṬ I:24), *biskil*—*fiskil* (= AṬ I:19), *yada* (d-dahr)—*ğada* (d-dahr) (= AṬ I:261)²⁹⁵, and *ghulāmiğ*, *dāriğ* for *ghulāmī*, *dārī* (=AṬ I:260).

That the two quotes from the Introduction of AṬ have come directly from AṬ — and not through some intermediary source, as is the case of the quote in *Muzhir* — is rendered very likely by the fact that Abū Ḥayyān was a teacher of Ibn Maktūm, the early owner and annotator of the unique manuscript of AṬ (see above). The quote of Ibn Maktūm's *at-Takmila* in *Muzhir* I:555 (on *dūdamis*—[*durdamis*]) shows that he, too, used AṬ as a source for his own works:

wa-fāta dhālika 'Abdalwāhid al-Lughawī fī Kitāb al-Ibdāl fa-lam
yadhkurhu fī bābi r-rā'i wa'l-wāwi wa-huwa min shartīhi

The next person known to have possessed the manuscript and to have furnished it with marginal notes, is Ibn Shiḥna²⁹⁶, but, as far as I know, he has not written any works which could show the influence of AṬ.

The last philologist who has profited from AṬ is as-Suyūṭī who once cites its Introduction in his *Muzhir* (I:460, the text is given above) besides mentioning it in *Muzhir* I:555 via Ibn Maktūm (quoted above). He also mentions it in *Muzhir* I:604²⁹⁷:

²⁹³ Among his works (listed in *Irshād* V:174) there are two tractates, *Kitāb al-Masā'il al-ḥalabīya al-ūlā* and *Kitāb al-Masā'il al-ḥalabīya al-akhīra*, which make it probable that he visited Aleppo — though naturally the *masā'il* could also be sent by mail, but this seems less probable in his case — and was, as so many other famous persons, pestered with different questions there. — It should be mentioned in passing that *ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* was a student of Abū Usāma (*Muzhir* I:591; *Irshād* II:426-427; *Bughya* I:488-489 < *Irshād*) who himself was a student of Abū Ishāq an-Nağīramī (*GAS* VIII:243).

²⁹⁴ As the text of *al-Irtishāf* is full of printers' errors, which are usually easy to correct, I have indicated the corrections only when necessary in this study.

²⁹⁵ For this extremely interesting *ibdāl* and the Persian etymology for *yada/ğada*, see Hämeen-Anttila, *An Early Arabic loan*.

²⁹⁶ *At-Tanūkhī*, Introduction to AṬ, p. 65, identifies him with Ibn Shiḥna al-Aṣghar (d. 890/1485) but there are also other members of the family who may come to question; see *at-Tanūkhī*'s discussion of the problem.

²⁹⁷ *Muzhir* I:591. The fact that this is an indirect quote (the *risāla* of *ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* collected by his pupil 'Abdalḥamīd ibn al-Ḥusayn) in *Muzhir* has been ignored both by M. Sharaf, Introduction to IS-

(...) wa-bayna ahli l-lughati khulfun fī l-ḥaddi lladhī yusammā l-ibdāla laysa hādhā mawḍī‘uhu. wa-li-Ya‘qūb fīhi kitābun ma‘rūfun wa-li-ṣāhibinā Abū‘t-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī fīhi kitābun ‘ashratu amthāli kitābi Ya‘qūb fa-innahu ḡā‘a bihi ‘alā ḥurūfi l-mu‘ḡam

Thus we see that there is actually one quote (Muzhir I:460) of AṬ which is not explicitly stated as indirect. It seems probable that even this quote does come via some other, as yet unidentified source, as it is hard to understand why as-Suyūfī would not have profited more from this specialized and large collection of ibdāls, if he had had it at his disposal.

Ibn Ğinnī and his works

Ibn Ğinnī

Abū‘l-Faṭḥ ‘Uthmān *ibn Ğinnī*²⁹⁸ was born in 330/942²⁹⁹ and was to become one of the most illustrious, original³⁰⁰ and influential grammarians of the 10th century. As a relatively young man he is said to have taught grammar in Mosul, but after meeting Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī³⁰¹ there he became his student and accompanied him, according to the legend for 40 years, on his travels. With Abū ‘Alī, Ibn Ğinnī spent at least some time in Aleppo when Abū‘t-Ṭayyib was still alive³⁰². Abū ‘Alī stayed there even longer³⁰³ so that Ibn Ğinnī doubtlessly had good contacts with the Aleppan school tradition. After leaving Abū ‘Alī, Ibn Ğinnī taught in Baghdād where he died in 392/1002.

Ibn Ğinnī wrote many grammatical monographs in which he quotes ibdāls in passing, but he writes on the subject more profusely only in two works, *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā‘a* and *al-Khaṣā‘iṣ*³⁰⁴. On the whole, he is more interested in the grammatical than the lexical ibdāl, but despite this there are also several discussions on lexical ibdāls in his works.

Y, p. 32, and at-Tanūkhī, Introduction to AṬ, p. 67).

²⁹⁸ GAS IX:173-182.

²⁹⁹ Thus according to Sezgin, GAS IX:173. Yāqūt, Irshād V:15, says he was born before 330 without specifying the year.

³⁰⁰ Ibn Ğinnī was principally responsible — in both the good as well as bad sense — for the genesis of al-ishtiqāq al-kabīr, “the greater etymology”, as an individual branch of linguistic science.

³⁰¹ The legend of their meeting is repeated in almost every biographical source.

³⁰² In al-Khaṣā‘iṣ III:265 Ibn Ğinnī refers to what Abū ‘Alī said in Aleppo in [3]46, i.e. five years before the death of Abū‘t-Ṭayyib. Cf. also al-Khaṣā‘iṣ II:90 (translated above).

³⁰³ Ibn Ğinnī says in his *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā‘a*, p. 562, that Abū ‘Alī wrote him letters from Aleppo after their separation.

³⁰⁴ He also wrote a work at-Ta‘āqub fī l-‘arabīya (or al-Muta‘āqib). The work is lost but it probably had nothing to do with our field of studies — cf. GAS IX:179 and the references to it in al-Khaṣā‘iṣ II:265 and II:267 — even though one should note the marginal note in AṬ I:258 where hamhām and ḡamḡām are given from K. Ta‘āqub al-‘arabīya.

Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa is a grammatical work which discusses the use and specialities of different letters (equalling sounds in modern usage) in alphabetical order. At the beginning of each chapter dedicated to a single letter, Ibn Ğinnī gives some phonological features of the letter and briefly discusses both its grammatical and lexical ibdāls. Thus the ibdāl material is found scattered throughout the work.

Although Ibn Ğinnī may have been acquainted with Abūʾṭ-Ṭayyib and his ibdāl monograph, no traces of it can be found in his work, perhaps because AṬ was not circulated by its author, at least not when Ibn Ğinnī was in Aleppo. Instead, his main source of lexical ibdāls is Ibn as-Sikkīt's *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl*. According to the index of *Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa*, Ibn as-Sikkīt is quoted 26 times (i.e. more often than anybody else except for Sibawayhi and Ibn Ğinnī's master Abū ʿAlī), his *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* three times by name³⁰⁵ (pp. 239, 353, and 354), and his *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq* once (p. 239)³⁰⁶.

Even these numbers do not do full justice to the importance of Ibn as-Sikkīt and his *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl* in *Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa*, as for every explicit quotation there are several quotations which are not explicitly attributed to Ibn as-Sikkīt, usually given on the authority of Abū ʿAlī only with no further isnād. E.g. p. 189³⁰⁷ reads “qaraʿtu ʿalā Abī ʿAlī...”. The ultimate source for this ibdāl is without the slightest doubt IS-Y, p. 108 which contains all the three articles given by Ibn Ğinnī (*Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa*, pp. 189-190). In the same way, the whole IS-Y chapter Ğ—Y (IS-Y, pp. 95-96) has been adopted by Ibn Ğinnī to *Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa* (pp. 175-177) with only minor changes and additions, etc. The case of *Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa*, p. 213, clearly shows how Ibn Ğinnī plays down the role of Ibn as-Sikkīt: the passage is obviously derived from IS-Y, p. 123, but it is introduced as “wa-akhbaranī Abū ʿAlī yarfaʿuhu ilā l-Aṣmaʿī qāla...” thus tacitly overlooking the (direct and written) source of Abū ʿAlī.

On the other hand, due to his different (viz. grammatical) view of what ibdāl as a phenomenon is, Ibn Ğinnī has used IS-Y eclectically, without striving to include all its items; especially the longer chapters of IS-Y (TH—F; L—N etc.) have been quoted only sparingly, just to give the reader an idea of what lexical ibdāls there are.

As an example of how Ibn Ğinnī quotes Ibn as-Sikkīt explicitly one may give the isnād found in *Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa*, p. 175:

qaraʿtu ʿalā Abī ʿAlī ʿan Abī Bakr ʿan baʿḍi aṣḥābi Yaʿqūb ibn as-Sikkīt:
qāla:...

As the isnād shows, Ibn Ğinnī quotes IS-Y here (as well as in other cases) via Abū ʿAlī. It is regrettable that the last links of the isnād are always left curiously anonymous: “baʿḍ aṣḥāb Yaʿqūb”.

³⁰⁵ The editor of *Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa* has in fact overlooked two quotations of “Ibn as-Sikkīt...fi bāb al-ibdāl” (p. 236-237 and 553), both actually quotes from *K. al-Qalb wa'l-ibdāl*.

³⁰⁶ One quote of Ibn as-Sikkīt (p. 378: “qaraʿtu ʿalā Abī ʿAlī bi-isnādihi ilā Yaʿqūb”) seems to go back to *K. al-Alfāz*, p. 339.

³⁰⁷ Similarly also, e.g. p. 195 (= IS-Y, p. 131), p. 213 (=IS-Y, p. 123: wa-akhbaranī Abū ʿAlī bi-rafʿihi ilā l-Aṣmaʿī — thus overlooking Ibn as-Sikkīt!).

Ibn Ğinnī has not profited from the other *ibdāl* works under study here, and even Ibn Durayd's *al-Ġamhara* has only very marginal importance for him; *al-Ġamhara* is only once mentioned by name (Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a, p. 569) and even there it is not quoted³⁰⁸. In fact, Ibn Ğinnī quotes *al-Ġamhara* only once, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in his *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a*, viz. p. 432 < ID, p. 578 s.v. DKHSH.

Ibn Ğinnī's works (*Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a* as well as *al-Khaṣā'iṣ*) were used by later authors — of those now under investigation Ibn Sīda³⁰⁹ and *as-Suyūṭī* — but not as a source for lexical *ibdāls*, so that we can leave the question of this influence aside in the present study.

Al-Khaṣā'iṣ

Ibn Ğinnī's other work of in which he touches the subject of lexical *ibdāl* is his *al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, in which he deals with the theory of lexical *ibdāl* in one chapter, viz. *Bāb fī l-ḥarfayn al-mutaqāribayn yusta'malu aḥaduhumā makāna ṣāhibihi* II:84-90, and also gives elsewhere in his work individual cases of *ibdāls*. The scanty material he presents is mainly taken from IS-Y to illustrate his theoretical discussion of how to discern between cases where one letter is (secondarily) used instead of another (*ibdāl al-ḥarf makāna l-ḥarf*) and cases where both the words are independent units (*aṣliyat al-ḥarfayn*). The method used by him is relatively sound, though he uses it rather mechanically. According to him, the unequal use of the words and lacunae in the paradigm of one of the roots tell us that the less used is a *badal* of the more frequent, whereas equal use and full paradigms signify that both roots are *aṣls* themselves.

At the end of the chapter (*al-Khaṣā'iṣ* II:90) Ibn Ğinnī describes his relationship to the lexical *ibdāls* in a passage which deserves to be quoted here in full, and in which he also mentions his intention to write a commentary to IS-Y, a plan that never materialized:

We have the firm intention, if we can only find the time, to write a commentary on the work of Ya'qūb ibn as-Sikkīt on *qalb* and *ibdāl*, because to know this [viz. the rules by which *aṣl* and *badal* are discerned] is more important than to know ten times as much lexicographical material; a single case of analogy [*qiyās*] is more important and noble in the eyes of the real people than a whole lexicographical monograph. The late Abū 'Alī [*al-Fārisī*] said in Aleppo in [3]46: »Make a mistake in fifty questions of lexicography, but don't make a single mistake in analogy.«

³⁰⁸ In p. 569 Ibn Ğinnī mentions his plan to write a book on corrections to K. *al-'Ayn* and *al-Ġamhara*. The plan never materialized.

³⁰⁹ Cf. the Introduction to *Sirr aṣ-ṣinā'a*, p. 27, and the Introduction to *al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, p. 31, for Ibn Ğinnī's influence on Ibn Sīda's *al-Muḥkam*.

As-Suyūṭī and his Muzhir

As-Suyūṭī

Ĝalāladdīn ʿAbdarraḥmān ibn abī Bakr *as-Suyūṭī*³¹⁰ (d. 1505) was a very prolific writer and compiler, and one of the last great scholars of the Mediaeval Arabic world. As he based his works almost solely on written sources, there is no need to concern ourselves with his life and teachers in this context. His written sources in the field of ibdāl studies are dealt with below. From the perspective of ibdāl studies, his most important work is his *al-Muzhir*³¹¹.

Al-Muzhir

As-Suyūṭī's *Muzhir* is a large encyclopaedia of linguistic science and is extremely important for the study of the different phenomena of Classical (and pre-Classical) Arabic. It deals with ibdāl material in three chapters:

naw^c 32 (I:460-475) Ma^crifat al-ibdāl

naw^c 37 (I:537-556) Ma^crifat mā warada bi-waġhayni bi-ḥaythu yu^cmanu fīhi t-taṣḥīf

naw^c 38 (I:556-566) Ma^crifat mā warada bi-waġhayni bi-ḥaythu idhā qara^cahu l-althaghu lā yu^cābu

The last two chapters belong to the sphere of ibdāl despite their misleading titles. As-Suyūṭī himself states this explicitly (I:538):

wa-ʿlam anna hādhā n-naw^ca [naw^c 37] wa'n-naw^ca lladhī ba^cdahu min ġumlati l-ibdāli wa-akkhartuhumā limā mtāzā bihi mina l-fā'ida.

— They are thus separated from the main chapter only for practical, if not pedagogical, reasons.

Most of the material in these chapters comes directly from IS-Y. As-Suyūṭī excerpted from Abū ʿUbayd's *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* first — as can be seen from the place of the quotes taken from it as well as from the fact that when a pair is given both in *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* and, e.g. IS-Y, it is quoted from *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* — but numerically IS-Y, and to a lesser extent, Q are more important. Other sources excerpted by as-Suyūṭī in the ibdāl chapters are³¹²:

Ibn Durayd, al-Ĝamhara
al-Ĝawharī, aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ
al-Fārābī, Dīwān al-adab
al-Fīrūzābādī, al-Qāmūs³¹³

³¹⁰ For his biography, see E.H. Sertain, *Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 1 (study on his life) and 2 (edition of his autobiography). University of Cambridge Oriental publications 23-24. Cambridge 1975.

³¹¹ Quoted as "Muzhir" in this study.

³¹² The relationship of Muzhir with IS-Y, Q, AṬ and *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* is discussed later. — The list given above is complete.

³¹³ His *taḥbīr al-muwashḥīn* is only mentioned — together with an anonymon — in Muzhir I:537.

Ibn Sīda, al-Muḥkam
 [az-Zubaydī], Mukhtaṣar al-‘ayn
 Ibn Fāris, Fiḥ al-luḡha and al-Muḡmal
 Tha‘lab, al-Amālī³¹⁴
 Ibn as-Sikkīt, Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq and K. al-Aṣwāt
 Ibn al-A‘rābī, an-Nawādir
 ath-Tha‘ālibī, Fiḥ al-luḡha
 Abū ‘Amr ash-Shaybānī, an-Nawādir
 al-Farrā’, K. al-Ayyām wa’l-layālī
 Ibn al-Qūṭīya, K. al-Af‘āl
 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Muraṣṣa‘
 al-Qālī, K. al-Maqṣūr wa’l-mamdūd
 Abū Ḥayyān, Sharḥ at-Tashīl
 al-Baṭalyawṣī, K. al-Farq bayna l-aḥruf al-khamsa and Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ
 Ibn Khālawayhi, Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ and Sharḥ ad-Durayḍīya
 at-Tibrīzī, Tahdhīb al-Iṣlāḥ
 Ibn Maktūm, at-Tadhkira
 az-Zaḡḡāḡī, Sharḥ Adab al-kātib
 an-Naḥḥās, Sharḥ al-mu‘allaqāt

Some of the older works of this list may actually have been quoted by as-Suyūṭī at second hand, though he gives the impression of having used the old sources directly. Besides lexicographical works the list contains some unrelated philological works which have been excerpted by as-Suyūṭī for his Muzhir.

Ibdāl material in other works

Almost all lexical and many grammatical works contain some cases of ibdāls within other material, but in most cases they are not defined as ibdāls. Excluding the works of the ibdāl genre, ibdāl material which is given in the text and defined as such is especially found in the great dictionaries which contain both much independent material and material derived from the ibdāl monographs, above all from IS-Y³¹⁵. Worth mentioning also are the *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* and *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* works and the genre of philological adab (*maḡālis*, *amālī*, *nawādir*, etc.). Qur’ānic commentaries and the *sharḥs* of the dīwāns are often valuable in giving the ibdāl cases in situ, together with context, and the grammatical works contribute some ibdāls, too, though when discussing ibdāls per se they usually only give a handful of the most well-known cases which have become the common property of the grammatical tradition.

The *laḥn al-‘amma* literature, the term taken loosely so as to include also manuals of correct writing³¹⁶, is an adjacent genre to the ibdāl literature, and the laḥn

³¹⁴ The name by which as-Suyūṭī quotes his al-maḡālis. The recension used by as-Suyūṭī differs from that published by ‘Abdassalām Muḥammad Ḥārūn, but the additions have been printed at the end of the edition.

³¹⁵ See above. The work of Abū Turāb survives only within the dictionaries, see below.

works often contain material which in ibdāl literature is defined as ibdāls³¹⁷.

Valuable, too, are the early lexical monographs, works of scholars such as al-Aṣma‘ī, al-Kisā‘ī and Abū Zayd, especially when they give earlier independent information, e.g. about the exact meanings of the words.

³¹⁶ For two works of this genre, *Adab al-kātib* and *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*, see above.

³¹⁷ Theoretically speaking, a case cannot be both a laḥn and an ibdāl since laḥn is defined as incorrect Arabic whereas ibdāls are, at least for the Mediaeval scholars, correct rarities of Bedouin language.