

THREE TYPES OF INTER-SYSTEMIC RESTATEMENT IN ARABIC

(A Contribution to the Study of the Arabic Collectives)

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The aim of the present paper is to describe three types of what we call inter-systemic restatement each of which is, in one way or another, related to the derivational system of collective and unit nouns (CN – UN in what follows) in Arabic. Analyzing word-formational and inflectional properties of nouns alternatively classifiable as members of several linguistic systems (hence the 'inter-systemic' dimension adopted for the present inquiry) will provide, it is hoped, some new angles for viewing the highly variable and elusive patterns of interaction between features tending to maintain the structural identity of linguistic systems, and those operating in an opposite sense.

Despite the invariable occurrence of the CN-UN system in all types of restatement subsequently examined, the part played by it in relation to the other linguistic systems involved may substantially vary from one type to another. In this relation, the CN-UN system will occur either as an underlying or as a resulting system. The three particular cases briefly analyzed in what follows are:

(1) a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN-UN as members of the sex-gender relationship);

(2) a derivational system reclassified as a derivational system of different type (the derivational system of *ḥaccāl – ḥaccāla* restated in terms of the CN-UN relationship);

(3) a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN-UN reinterpreted in terms of what will be later defined as an autonomous singular-plural relationship).

1. CN-UN as sex-gender pairs.¹

1.1. It is a well-known fact that the derivational markers $-\phi/ -a$ of the CN-UN system display the derivational class value of collectiveness (any number, possibly the whole notional class of what is referred to) and unitness (one item thereof) respectively. In nouns denoting sexless entities these derivational markers formally coincide with gender markers, masculine and feminine respectively, in maintaining the derivational identity of the CN-UN system:

derivational marker:	$-\phi$	$-a$
derivational value:	collectiveness	unitness
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inflectional marker:	$-\phi$	$-a$
inflectional value:	masculine ² (singular)	feminine (singular)
As in:	CN <i>waraq</i> 'leaf, leaves, foliage'	UN <i>waraqa</i> 'a leaf'
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number (N):	singular ³	singular
numeric value (n.v.):	any number	one
gender (G):	masculine	feminine
sex:	sexless	sexless

When referring to the affixes $-\phi/ -a$, associated with the CN-UN system (as well as any other system exhibiting the same derivational-and-inflectional affiliation, e.g.: *ḥaccāl - ḥaccāla* in what follows), as derivational markers, an abstraction is made of all possible terminological and interpretational implications of this

¹For a more ample description of this phenomenon see our paper 'Collective and Unit Nouns as Sex-Gender Pairs in Arabic', *Asian and African Studies*, X (Bratislava, VSAV 1975), 41-48.

²The gender class membership, however, may show some variability: in Classical Arabic prevalingly masculine (for particulars see e.g., W. Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*. (Wiesbaden 1972, p.49, n. 1), in modern colloquial variants exclusively masculine.

³In a number of recent descriptions of Colloquial Arabic, the CN is frequently interpreted in inflectional terms, as a plural, in view of the prevailing and more immediately recognizable numeric value of the latter.

formal coincidence. Since there are no exclusively derivational markers, relevant to the matter, represented in the present paper, as against the derivational-and-inflectional ones, the latter type of markers will simply be referred to as derivational markers in contrast to the inflectional ones.

1.2. Typically, the same derivational and inflectional values may be stated with nouns denoting living entities of extra-human reference (collective nouns of human reference do not form part of the CN-UN system), irrespective of whether the sex distinction of what they denote is communicatively relevant or not. By communicative relevance purposes of general, i.e. nontechnical communication of the average language users are here understood. In order to illustrate the typical treatment of the sex-gender relationship in nouns denoting living beings which constitute part of the CN-UN system, a contrastive statement will be made between them and nouns of the same extra-linguistic reference which are unrelated to this system:

nouns classifiable in terms of the CN-UN relationship:		nouns unclassifiable in terms of the CN-UN relationship:	
<i>ḥamām</i>	<i>ḥamāma</i>	<i>kalb</i>	<i>kalba</i>
'pigeon(s)'	'a pigeon'	'dog'	'bitch'
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N: singular	singular	singular	singular
n.v.: any number	one	one	one
G: masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
sex: male(s)	male or	male	female
	and/or		
	female(s)		

1.3. Atypically, however, the extra-linguistic category of sex may be associated with the inflectional category of gender even in nouns alternatively classifiable as members of the CN-UN system. As a result of the newly constituted sex-gender relationship, the derivational identity of the CN-UN system is lost. That is:

CN-UN unrestated:		CN-UN restated:	
<i>ḥamām</i>	<i>ḥamāma</i>	<i>ḥamām</i>	<i>ḥamāma</i>
'pigeon(s)'	'a pigeon'	'(male) pigeon'	'(female) pigeon'
<hr/>		<hr/>	
N: singular	singular	singular	singular
n.v.: any number	one	one	one
G: masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine

sex: male(s) female male male
 and/or
 female(s)

Some examples (only the sex-gender application is illustrated):
 Classical Arabic:

(verse)... *wadakkaranī ṣṣibā bacda ttanā' i – ḥamāmatu 'aykatin tadcū ḥamāman* 'and a female pigeon of a thicket, calling a male pigeon, reminded me of youth, after estrangement' (Lane, *Lex. I*, 636-7).⁴

Takrūna Arabic (a rural variety of Tunisian Arabic):

ḥmām 'male pigeon': *xallāni nānci mētl-əlḥmām frīd* 'il m'a laissé réduit à gémir comme le pigeon male qui a perdu sa compagne'; *hmama* 'female pigeon, dove',⁵ etc.

Maltese:

ḥamiem (male of the species): *iz-zakak jaqbeż u jitfarfar, iżda l-ḥamiem iżoqq u jgargar* 'the wagtail hops and flaps its wings, but the male dove feeds and coos';⁶ or the sex-gender opposition in:

wiżża – wiżż 'goose – gander' (CDMP, 43), as against the Classical Arabic *wazz* ('iwazz) 'goose, geese', simultaneously operating both as a CN and as a UN (like e.g. *ṭayr* 'bird(s)'); the *wiżża – wiżż* sex-gender distinction is seemingly due to the post-Classical UN formation within a regular CN-UN relationship which constitutes the derivational basis for this restatement.

Typically, however, as is the general case in all varieties of Arabic to which the Maltese language is historically related, nouns belonging to the CN-UN system tend to maintain their derivational identity in resisting the sex-gender reinterpretation, as in:

CN-related *ḥamiem*:

risq fil-ḥamiem, bini bla tmiem 'luck in pigeons, numberless building'; *dar u ḥamiem, farag bla tmiem* 'one's home and pigeons are endless consolation' (CDMP, 543: XLV, 203); *il-ḥamiem li jaḥda, is-seqer itemmu* 'the trusting pigeon is destroyed by the hawk' (ibid, 440: XXXV, 21; the Maltese CN is here rendered

⁴ The possible lexical rendering of the sex-gender opposition in nouns belonging to the CN-UN system is here disregarded (viz., the Classical Arabic *ḥamāma dakar* 'male pigeon' – *ḥamāma 'unīā* 'female pigeon', or various colloquial reflexes thereof).

⁵ Marçais, W. et Guïga, A., *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, II. *Glossaire* (T, in what follows). Vols. I-VIII. Paris 1958-1961. The extremely involved allophonic transcription adopted by the authors is here considerably simplified. For the example quoted see vol. 2, 925-6.

⁶ Aquilina, J., *A Comparative Dictionary of Maltese Proverbs* (CDMP henceforth). The Royal University of Malta 1972, p. 213 (XVII, 184). Maltese examples are quoted in the official orthography.

by the English generic singular), etc

UN-related *ḥamiema*:

kull ḥamiema li bla ḥjiema jtemmba s-seqer 'every guileless dove is destroyed by the hawk' (ibid., 48: IV, 46).⁷

As far as this particular example is concerned (viz. *ḥamiem-ḥamiema*), a rather specific connotation seems to be associated with it in Maltese, that of 'grown-up, mature pigeon(s), dove(s)' as against *beccun* (*bciecen*) 'pigeon fledgling(s)', as in:

sabiḥ il-ḥamiem għax jagħmel il-beccun 'doves are nice because they make pigeons' (ibid., 255: XXII, 20); *il-beccun ma jżoqqx il-ḥamiem* 'the pigeon does not feed the dove' (ibid., 595: XVI, 2 Add; CN rendered by the English generic singular); *il-beccun isir ḥamiem* 'pigeons become doves' (ibid., 171: XVI, 3), etc.

2. *faccāl* – *faccāla* as CN-UN.⁸

2.1. Synchronically, the derivational pattern *faccāl* may conveniently be classified as an intensive pattern of the participial *fācil*.⁹ When substantivized, it usually generates nouns denoting members of various professions and trades. In this case, the derivational value of intensiveness is reinterpreted in terms of 'repeated action', hence 'usual or professional activity'. The pattern *faccāla*, derivationally related to the pattern *faccāl*, modifies the basic derivational value of intensiveness in a number of ways, most currently in terms of instrumentality. The former derivational value, representative of the pattern *faccāl*, will simply (although if not quite unambiguously) be referred to as 'agentialness', in contrast to the derivational value of 'instrumentality', typically associated with the pattern *faccāla*. E.g.:

fācil: *gāsil* 'washing' (participial)

faccāl: *gassāl* 'washer, washerman, laundryman' (and its feminine inflection *gassala* 'washerwoman, laundress')¹⁰

⁷Nevertheless, the latter example, the unique at our disposal, is not quite conclusive to our purpose, since the UN-featuring of *ḥamiema* may quite well happen to be not so much lexically as rather syntactically conditioned (viz., *kull*).

⁸For a detailed statement of the word-formational and inflectional properties of the patterns *faccāl* and *faccāla*, see our paper 'Derivational Patterns *faccāl* and *faccāla* in Arabic', *Graecolatina et Orientalia*, VII-VIII (Bratislava, SPN 1976).

⁹For Classical Arabic see J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. (Leipzig 1889), p. 48. See also H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*. Vol. I. (Beirut, 1961), p. 366. For the etymological background of the problem see Barth, op. cit., pp. 11, 40.

¹⁰Unless otherwise stated, the English equivalents of the Modern Written Arabic examples are quoted after H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wehr, henceforward), edited by J.M. Cowan. (Wiesbaden, 1971). The English equivalents of the examples quoted are given in a full or in

faccāla: ḡassāla 'washing machine',¹¹ etc.

Or, analogically, even some denominative patterns, such as:
nominal basis: *talj* 'snow; ice; artificial ice'

faccāl: *tallāj* 'ice vendor'

faccāla: *tallāja* 'refrigerator, icebox', etc.

As evident from the foregoing statement, the agentially-featured intensiveness of *faccāl*, as well as the instrumentally-featured intensiveness of *faccāla*, depend upon the derivational (for the somewhat simplified terminology used see 1.1 above) markers *-Ø/-a* which, in turn, formally coincide with those related to the CN-UN system.

2.2. Typically, the derivational identity of both systems is quite well maintained in relation to each other. In a number of cases, however, as a matter of atypical development, the derivational values associated with the patterns *faccāl* and *faccāla* may be restated in terms of collectiveness and unitness respectively. The latter type of re-systemization may occur (1) as a phenomenon of derivational history, linking together several stages of the word-formational procedure, or else (2) be related to the same word-formational level as a result of an accidental coincidence both elements of which are freely co-occurring with each other. Both cases may be illustrated as follows:

Re (1):	<i>faccāl</i>	<i>faccāla</i>
stage (i):	<i>raccād</i> 'electric ray' (zool.)	unrepresented
der. value:	intensiveness, viz. 'making tremble', ¹² allusion to the physiological effect of the electric discharge produced by the animal	
stage (ii):	CN <i>raccād</i> 'electric ray(s)'	UN <i>raccāda</i> 'one single specimen thereof'

a somewhat reduced quotations. The transcription is slightly adapted to the system of writing followed in the present study.

¹¹ For a comprehensive treatment of various types of derivational and/or inflectional formal coincidences displayed by these patterns see our paper quoted in n. 8.

¹² Typically, the pattern *faccāl* may be related to the derived verbal forms, as well (here to the Form IV). The intensiveness, in this particular case, may be interpreted in semantic terms like 'making tremble violently', and the like.

Similarly:

šammām 'muskmelon(s), cantaloupe(s)' – *šammāma* 'a muskmelon, a cantaloupe', or

šawwān (CN) – *šawwāna* (UN) 'flint; granite', etc.

Takruna Arabic:

xəffāf (CN), possibly interpretable as a generic term (viz., 'nom générique collectif') – 'liège' ('cork'); – 'nuages vaporeux qui parsèment le ciel et finissent par se rassembler en une masse aux contours nets' ('a variety of clouds'): *īāmi-lxəffāf* '(ciel) qui se charge de nuages formant peu à peu une masse';

xəffāfa (UN) 'rondelle de liège' ('cork-float in an (oil-) lamp'); 'veilleuse (dont la mèche est posée sur une rondelle de liège flottant sur l'huile)' ('an oil-lamp with a wick located on a cork-float'); – 'un nuage blanc aux formes nettes' ('a white cloud with distinct forms') (T3, 1142);

nəššāf (CN) – *nəššāfa* (UN) 'éponges' ('sponges') (T8, 3974), etc.

Re (2):

(unresystemized)	<i>faccāl</i>	<i>faccāla</i>
e.g.:	<i>sajjād</i> 'worshipper (of God)'	<i>sajjāda</i> 'prayer rug; rug, carpet'
derivational value:	agentialness	instrumentalness ¹³
(resystemized)	<i>faccāl</i> /CN	<i>faccāla</i> /UN ¹⁴
	<i>sajjād</i> 'prayer rug(s); rug(s), carpet(s)'	<i>sajjāda</i> 'prayer rug; rug, carpet'
derivational value:	collectiveness	unitness

2.3. The relevant features of both the 2.2(1) and 2.2(2) sub-types of the restatement examined may summarily be presented in terms of the following tabular statement:

¹³The connotation of 'instrumentalness' should, of course, be understood in the traditional sense in which this term is used in Arabic grammars.

¹⁴Here, the process of resystemization spreads in a sense from UN to CN only. The process cannot be oriented in an opposite sense, since the nouns exhibiting a human-centered agentialness, like that of *sajjād* 'worshipper', cannot be members of the Arabic CN-UN system.

<i>faccāl</i> - <i>faccāla</i> (unresystemized)		<i>faccāl/CN</i> - <i>faccāla/UN</i> (resystemized)	
N: singular	singular	singular	singular
n.v.: one	one	any number	one
G: masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
sex: male or sexless	female or sexless	male(s) and/or fe- male(s) or sexless	male or female or sexless

3. Particular members of the CN-UN system reclassified as those of an autonomous singular-plural relationship.

3.1. The present type of restatement is based on two different ways in which the inflectional system of the Arabic number classes is related to the derivational system of CN-UN. In this respect, it may (1) either co-occur with any particular constituent of the CN-UN system as a satellite relationship which does not affect the derivational identity of the CN-UN system, (2) or operate as a fully autonomous inflectional relationship, independent of the CN-UN system, which does affect the derivational class membership of the nouns involved and may lead to substantial changes of their semantic content. Since the distinction between the both is of chief importance for purposes of the present inquiry, it will be reflected in the terminology adopted, too. In the former case, the inflectional system of number classes will simply be called 'a singular-plural relationship' (the dual being implicitly included therein). In the latter case, it will be referred to as 'an autonomous singular-plural relationship', in what follows.

3.1.1. As far as the derivational identity of the CN-UN system is maintained, the inflectional system of number classes is related to two derivational classes, CN and UN, which radically differ from each other by their respective ability to inflect for the plural (dual). While the CN does not normally inflect for the plural (dual), or it does so under special conditions only, the UN does inflect for number as freely as any Arabic count noun. E.g.:

(CN) *šajar* 'tree(s)' (i.e., any group, class etc. of trees; as a generically reinterpreted term, possibly including the whole species or the whole notional class of what is referred to), relatable to a plural '*ašjār*'¹⁵ 'trees', as a mere matter of formal analogy with

¹⁵ Meta-linguistic niceties of the traditional grammar which cannot con-

cases like *maṭār*, plur. 'amṭār; *camal*, plur. 'acmāl, etc. The formal relationship, statable between *šajar* and 'ašjār, for instance, allows of no analogous notional distinction of numeric values as that typically associated with the true singular-plural relationship of the Arabic count nouns (viz., 'one' to 'more than two' respectively; the numeric value of 'two' being typically associated with the dual), as against:

(UN) *šajara* 'a (= one) tree', plur. *šajarāt*,¹⁶ etc. Since any UN invariably displays a CN-UN and a singular-plural relationship, the derivational 'oneness' of *šajara*, for instance, due to the derivational value of unitness, differs in some respects from that implied by the inflectional value of singulamess. Notably, in producing different patterns of numeric correlations in accordance with the derivational or inflectional affiliation of the noun involved. The difference between the both may best be stated as follows:

UN: 'one' related to 'any number' of the CN
 singular: 'one' related to 'more than two' of the plural.

3.1.2. The loss of the CN-UN identity in some nouns originally relatable to the CN-UN system and their restatement in terms of an autonomous singular-plural relationship is paralleled, as a rule, by various modifications of the underlying semantic value related to

vincingly be supported by linguistic data, such as the distinction between plurals of paucity (*jumūc al-qilla*) and plurals of multitude (*jumūc al-katra*), are here disregarded. What is, however, of importance, is a number of various context-controlled lexical connotations associated with these CN-related plurals, as in the Classical Arabic *ḥaṭab* 'firewood', plur. 'aḥṭab '(particular, different, considerable, etc. quantities, qualities, sorts, etc. of) firewood'. Or the Tākruna Arabic plural *sāḥār* (= 'ašjār) 'beaucoup d'arbres; des arbres luxuriants' ('many trees; splendid, gorgeous trees') (T4, 1993); or the plural *tbān*, related to a CN *tbān* 'straw', 'qualités diverses de paille; quantités de paille' ('various qualities of straw; (particular) quantities of straw') as opposed to the plurals *tbūna* and *tbūnāt*, related to the same CN, 'des masses de paille' ('massive quantities of straw') (T1, 471), etc.

¹⁶ The plural *šajarāt*, on the other hand, is frequently denoted as 'individual plural' (cf., Fischer, op. cit., §83, p. 49: 'Baume /als einzelne/'. As against the 'paucal' interpretation of 'ašjār, the 'individual' interpretation of *šajarāt* is in full harmony with the linguistic evidence provided by the main evolutionary stages of Arabic from Classical up to modern colloquial variants, and it may be identified with what Mitchell calls 'counted plurals' for Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, for instance. For the latter, see T.F. Mitchell, *Colloquial Arabic. The Living Language of Egypt* (London 1962), p. 42.

them. The type of multiple meaning relationship, resulting in this way, will rather arbitrarily be referred to as 'inter-systemic' polysemy.¹⁷ The latter type of polysemous meaning relationship, associated with the present type of inter-systemic restatement, may occur with the CN, or with the UN member of the underlying CN-UN system.

3.1.2.1. Autonomous singular-plural relationship occurring with the CN constituent of the underlying CN-UN system. E.g.:

(i) CN-UN: *ṣaxr* – *ṣaxra* (possible satellite plurals: *ṣuxūr*, *ṣuxūra*, *ṣaxarāt*), 'rocks, solid rock, boulders, rock formations' as against

(ii) autonomous singular-plural relationship: *ṣaxr* (singular) – *ṣuxūr* (plural), 'rock (geol.)'.

Similarly:

(i) *karm* (CN) – *karma* (UN) (possible plural: *kurūm*), 'vine, grapes, grapevines',

(ii) *karm*, plur. *kurūm*, 'vineyard; garden, orchard', etc.

3.1.2.2. Autonomous singular-plural relationship with the UN member of the underlying CN-UN system. E.g.:

(i) *cadās* (CN) – *cadasa* (UN) (possible satellite plural: *cadasat*),¹⁸ 'lentil(s)',

(ii) *cadasa*, plur. *cadasāt*, 'lens; magnifying glass; object lens, objective'; or

(i) *xarrūb* (CN) – *xarrūba* (UN), 'carob, locust; carob bean, locust pod, St. John's bread',

(ii) *xarrūba*, plur. *xarrūbāt*, 'kharouba, a dry measure (E.g. = 1/16 *qadab* = .1291)'; etc.

It should be noted that the inflectional system we call autonomous singular-plural relationship may be, in some instances, represented by a singular-dual opposition, as in:

(i) *lawz* (CN) – *lawza* (UN) (possible plural: *lawzāt*), 'almond(s)',

(ii) *lawza* (singular) – *lawzatāni* (dual),¹⁹ 'tonsils (anat.)', etc.

¹⁷ As against current cases of polysemy, statable within structural limits of one word, as in *maktab* 'office; school; desk, etc.'

¹⁸ Not stated explicitly in Wehr's *Dictionary*.

¹⁹ In some colloquial variants, however, in spite of the notional duality, the plural is used instead, as in the Egyptian Arabic *liwaz* (plural of *lōza* 'tonsil') in e.g., *liwazak wama* 'your tonsils are swollen'; for the latter example see Mitchell, op. cit., 78.

Takruna Arabic:

(i) *sbūl* (CN) – *sbūla* (UN) (possible plural: *sbūlāt*), 'épi(s)' ('ear(s) of corn'),

(ii) *sbūla* (singular) – *sbūlāt*, *sbūil* (plural), 'fiole à parfums (*cfūṛāt*), constitué par un tube de verre ou de cristal à parois épaisses, de la grosseur et de la longueur d'un doigt' ('a kind of small glass or crystal bottle to contain perfumes'); 'poignard fixe à la lame mince' ('a kind of poniard') (T4, 1769-70), etc.

3.2. When viewed from a diachronic angle, the present type of restatement may even be described, in some single instances, as a case of resystemization proceeding in an opposite sense, i.e., from an autonomous singular-plural relationship to the CN-UN system. The example which follows, involves two rather vaguely defined evolutionary stages of Arabic: classical and post-classical. E.g.:

(i) autonomous singular-plural relationship relatable to Classical (and Modern Written) Arabic:

ḥajar, plur. '*aḥjār*, *ḥijāra*, *ḥijār* 'stone',²⁰

(ii) CN-UN system relatable to post-classical varieties of Arabic

ḥajar (CN) – *ḥajara* (UN), or what may equal them in individual colloquial varieties of Arabic, (possible satellite plurals: in accordance with the variety concerned), as in:

Egyptianized Standard Arabic in the early 19th century presentation:

ḥajara – *ḥajar*, plur. *ḥijāra*, '*aḥjār* 'pierre' ('stone');²¹

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic:

ḥagaṛ (CN) – *ḥagaṛa* (UN); plur. *ḥagaṛāt*, *ḥigāra*, '*aḥgār* 'stone';²²

²⁰ Wehr, 157. Lane quotes the following plurals for Classical Arabic: (of pauc.) '*aḥjār*, '*aḥjur*; (of mult.) *ḥijār*, *ḥijāra* (vol. 2, 517). It should be noted, however, that an exclusive inflectional classification of *ḥajar*, as a noun displaying an autonomous singular-plural relationship, is not always confirmed by the lexicographical evidence provided by some recent author who attempt to deal with the 'current usage' in the linguistic domain of Standard Arabic. For *ḥajar* 'stone (material)', in contrast to *ḥajara* 'stone (single piece of rock)', see N.S. Doniach, ed., *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage* (Oxford 1972), p. 1208.

²¹ E. Bochor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*. Revue et augmenté par A. Caussin de Perceval. II. vols. (Paris 1828-1829). See vol. II, 161.

²² T.F. Mitchell, *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (London – New York, 1960), p. 202. Instead of Mitchell's vowel-marked emphasis in words containing *r*, the symbol *ṛ* has been used.

Takruna Arabic:

The two-stage evolutionary history of *ħajar* is reflected in this colloquial variety as a form of cultural variation statable at the same synchronous level. That is:

(i) autonomous singular-plural:

ħzər (singular) – (plural unrepresented), in: *ħzər-ləswəd* (*ləscəd*) 'la pierre noire de la Kacba' ('the Black Stone of the Kaaba'),

(ii) CN-UN system:

ħžər (CN) – *ħžra* (UN); plur. *ħžrāt*, 'pierre(s); roche(s), rocher(s), etc.' ('stone(s); rock(s)'), as in: *yistāhəl-əlħžər* 'il mérite d'être lapidé' ('he deserves to be stoned to death'); *tuṇəs təbnāt-bəlħžra* 'Tunis a été bâtie pierre à pierre' ('Tunis was built stone by stone') (T2, 736-7), etc.

Maltese:

The autonomous singular-plural relationship with *ħaġar* 'stone(s)', as well as with the synonymously used *ġebel*, is missing altogether. The CN-UN featuring is apparently the only possible one:

ħaġar (CN) – *ħaġra* (UN),²³ as well as

ġebel (CN) – *ġebla* (UN), which is another case of an evolutionary restatement of the Classical Arabic autonomous singular-plural in terms of the CN-UN system (viz., *jabal*, plur. *jibāl*, 'ajbāl' 'mountain'). E.g.:

ħaġra (UN):

pappi llum u pappi ġhada; imbaġhad ċiċci ħajt, pappi ħaġra, 'you eat today and you eat tomorrow; then you sit down by a wall and eat a stone' (CDMP, 356: XXIX, 98);

ġebla/ħaġra (UN):

wieħed jixħet (ixewlah, jitfa') il-ġebla (ħaġra) u jaħbi idu, 'he throws the stone, then hides his hand' (ibid., 57: V, 13);

ġebla (UN), the numeric value of 'one' lexically emphasized:

fuq ġebla waħda tibni sur, 'you build a bastion on one stone' (ibid., 401: XXXII, 98);

²³For *ħaġar* (CN), interpreted as a mass term, viz. 'stone', at the same level as *laħam* 'meat', see J. Aquilina, *The Structure of Maltese. A Study in Mixed Grammar and Vocabulary* (The Royal University of Malta, 1959), p. 149; for a true collective interpretation of *ħaġar*, explicitly related to the CN-UN system, viz. *ħaġar* – (*ħaġra*) 'stones', see J. Aquilina, *Teach Yourself Maltese* (London 1965), p. 47.

ġebel (CN);

min ikun tajjeb minn qaddisu jibkih sal-ġebel ta' pajjiżu, 'he who is good by nature, shall be moumed by the very stones of his country' (ibid., 246: XXI, 33), etc.

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