ASSICAL ARABIC HUMANITIES IN THEIR OWN TERMS

FESTSCHRIFT FOR WOLFHART HEINRICHS ON HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY

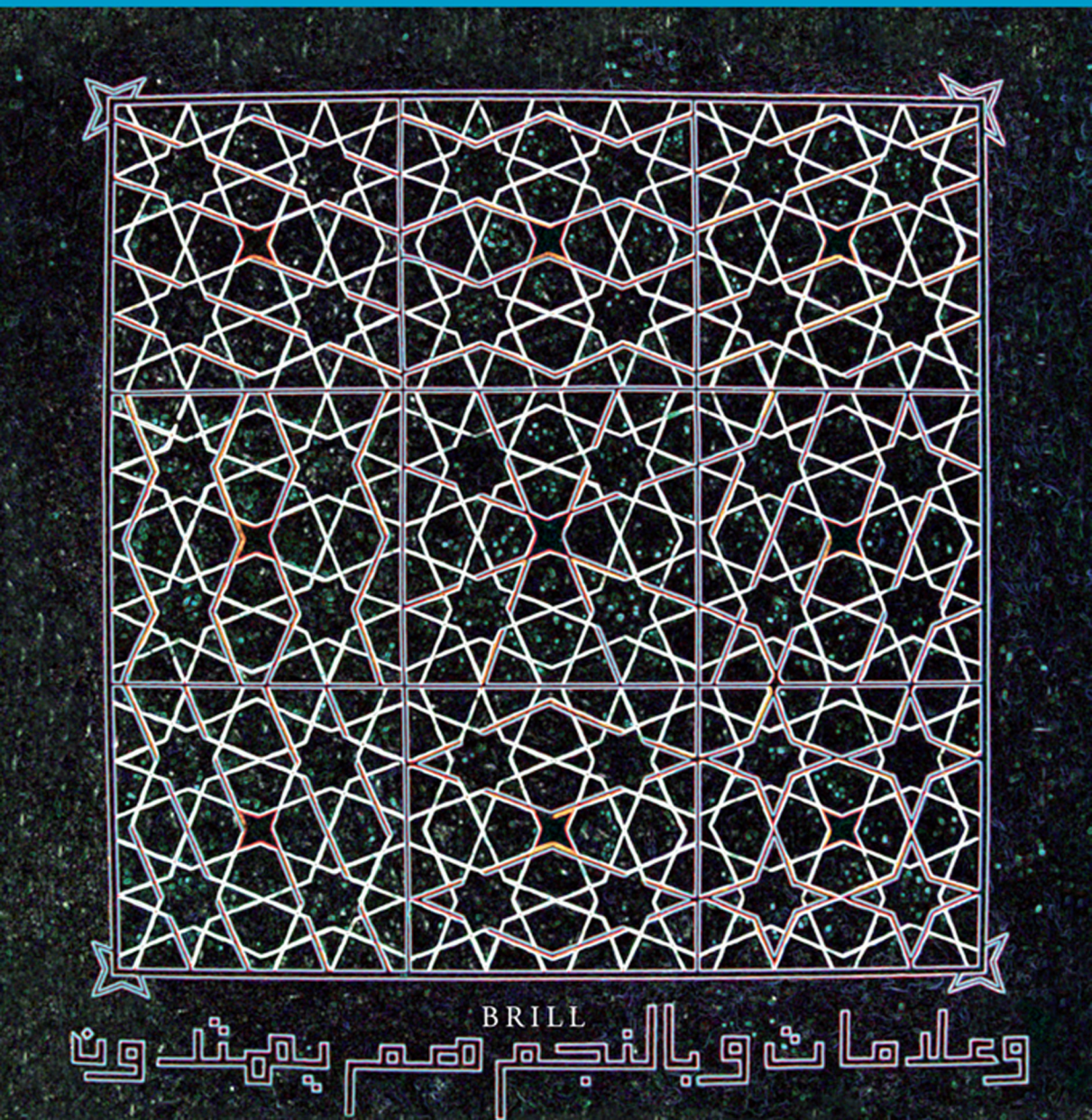
PRESENTED BY HIS STUDENTS AND COLLEAGUES

Edited by

BEATRICE GRUENDLER

With the Assistance of

MICHAEL COOPERSON



BRILL

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume is the work of many hands. Wolfhart Heinrichs' 65th birthday, on October 3rd, 2006, seemed a propitious occasion to pry loose articles that might otherwise never have seen the light of day. The list of contributors is long and varied: it includes Wolfhart's colleagues and doctoral students at Harvard University as well as his former colleagues in Europe. A tribute to Wolfhart by Shukri B. Abed, entitled *Focus on Contemporary Arabic* (New Haven and London, 2007), has appeared separately. Two articles by Emeri van Donzel on Abraha the Ethiopian (under review for *Aethiopica*, Hamburg) and by Estiphan Panoussi on the Senaya verbal system will appear separately. Wasmaa Chorbachi contributed the artwork for the cover. The editor apologizes to those friends and colleagues who could not be included—and acknowledges the good intentions of those whom circumstances forced to withdraw.

Wolfhart is an encyclopedist three times over. His foundational articles in poetics and law cover a range of critical Arabic terms (*badīʿ, istiʿāra, muḥdath, majāz, naqd, naẓm, takhyīl, sariqa* and the like), reconstructing what the thinkers who coined the terms are likely to have had in mind when they did so. Second, for a quarter of a century, Wolfhart oversaw as editor and author the completion of the second *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Finally, Wolfhart's encylopedic knowledge, though carried lightly, becomes evident to anyone who asks him about even the remotest corners of Arabic-Islamic civilization. For these reasons, it seemed only fitting to offer him a gift in the form of a mini-encyclopedia, or rather a *kashkūl* of terms from *-aat* to *zarāfa*, gleaned in what I hope is a pleasantly haphazard manner from many fields of pre-modern Near Eastern studies.

The terms derive mainly from the areas of linguistics, literature, literary theory, and prosody, with a few items from religion, ritual, economics, and zoology. The contributions deal not only with Arabic but also with the adjacent fields of the Old Iranian, Persian, Greek and Byzantine written traditions. Some take as their point of depar-

ture a particular Arabic word—such as cat (*qiṭṭa*) or giraffe (*zarāfa*)—or morpheme (*bi-*). Others explore literary genres and subgenres, including the oration (*khuṭba*), the ode (*qaṣīda*, *qaṣīda ghazaliyya-khamriyya*), the macaronic poem (*mulammaʿ*), and the travel narrative (*safar*); figures within them, such as the trickster (*ʿayyār*) and the devil (*iblīs*); motifs such as clothing (*libās*); and poetic or musical meter (*hazaj*, *īqāʿ*). Here too are cultural concepts such as wishing (*tamannī*), gift-giving (*tahādī*), and discourse (*khiṭāb*), along with aspects of broader phenomena, such as the role of gender in dream interpretation (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*) or the relative merits of luxury goods and mass-produced commodities in economy (*iqtiṣād*). For some authors, the lexicon format made it easier to focus on a specific problem, as Benedikt Reinert describes in his letters: "Die Arbeit drehte sich ja eigentlich nur um das Vorstrafenregister eines Metrums, das längst den Status einer unantastbaren prosodischen Diva erlangt hat, und ich gebe zu, daß mir das Wühlen in diesem Sündenpfuhl nicht nur Mühe sondern auch Spaß gemacht hat.... Ich war daher sehr dankbar, mit meiner Genese eines neupersischen Metrums an einer kleinen, aber überschaubaren Ecke einmal beginnen zu können und nicht gleich mit Ṭālib Āmulīs Türe in den komplexen motivgeschichtlichen Palast fallen zu müssen." As a result, not a few of the contributions are the first fruits of larger monographs.

It is certainly in the spirit of the honoree, who has fruitfully used Harvard's Widener Library for three decades, to thank those individuals whose long-standing professionalism, dedication, and expertise in changing technologies have placed the books we depend upon at our disposal. I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Harvard's librarians, among them Michael Hopper, head of the Middle Eastern Division, and Thomas Bahr, Brenda Briggs, Mary E. Butler, Mike Currier, Linda DiBenedetto, Eugenia Dimant, Edward Doctoroff, Ellen Harris, Larisa Kurmakov, Walter Ross-O'Connor, and Shoban Sen at the Access Services.

It remains for the editor to thank all those who had a share in bringing this volume into being. I thank Alma Giese for her invaluable advice on all matters. If anything can make editing a pleasure it is a dependable production editor, and I have been more than spoilt in this regard by the technical expertise, elegant layout and unfailing precision of Thomas Breier. I am grateful to Gudrun Schubert for turning Benedikt Reinert's typescript into computerized form, to Tara

Zend for smoothing the English style in record speed, to Olaf Köndgen for facilitating the volume's acceptance by Brill, and to Trudy Kamperveen for directly supervising its production and for keeping her eye on the deadline. Due to factors beyond the control of these good people, this volume arrives (as some of our term papers did) a year after the due date, a delay for which I ask our honoree's well-known lenience.

Beatrice Gruendler

PREFACE

Scholars in our field are often asked why they chose to study Arabic, or Persian, or Islam, or whatever the case may be. Many of us find the question irritating. For one thing, an honest answer often requires us to bare our souls—or, worse yet, to attempt to bare the soul of the person we were twenty or thirty or forty years ago. For another, it implies that our choice of subject matter somehow requires an explanation or, worse yet, a defense. We cannot speak for all of Wolfhart Heinrichs's colleagues and students, but, speaking only for ourselves, we cannot recall him ever asking us this question, or offering any explanation for his own choice of vocation. From our first encounter with him, we understood—without having to do anything so awkward as discuss the matter—that, whatever the contingent details of personal circumstance, all of us were studying Arabic philology because it was worth studying for its own sake. In this respect, it was no different from other linguistic and literary traditions—a good many of which, as we learned, Professor Heinrichs had also studied. The biographical sketch that follows will necessarily present a good many contingent details of personal circumstance, but disavows any attempt to explain the origins of a scholarly commitment that has always been sufficient unto itself.

Wolfhart Heinrichs was born on October 3rd, 1941 in Cologne into a family of philologists. His father, H. Matthias Heinrichs, was professor of ancient Germanic studies at the University of Giessen and the Freie Universität Berlin, and his mother, Anne Heinrichs, was a lecturer on Old Norse. Anne Heinrichs completed her licentiate thesis (*Habilitation*) at the age of 70, and was made professor at the Freie Universität at the age of 80.

Wolfhart Heinrichs attended the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasium in Cologne, where he studied English and French in addition to Latin and Greek. For Hebrew he took lessons with Hans Kindermann. In 1960, he embarked on his university career. His major field was Islamic studies, with a first minor in Semitic languages and a second in

philosophy. At Cologne, where he spent three semesters, he studied Arabic with Werner Caskel, Islamic legal texts with Erwin Graef, Hebrew with Hans Kindermann, and African languages with Oswin Koehler; he also studied Persian with Otto Spies in Bonn. At Tübingen, where he spent two semesters, he studied Arabic theological texts and Syriac with Rudi Paret, ancient Arabic poetry with Helmut Gätje, Semitics with Otto Rössler, and Old South Arabian and Ethiopic with Maria Höfner. After receiving a scholarship from the King Edward VII British-German Foundation, he spent a year at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. There, his teachers included R.B. Serjeant, with whom he read Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Misers*; John Burton, with whom he studied radio Arabic; Walid Arafat, who taught Islamic studies; and Bernard Lewis, who taught Arab history. He also read ancient Arabic poetry with David Cowan, Persian texts with Ann Lambton, Ottoman texts with C.S. Mundy, and modern Arabic literature with Jarir Abu Haidar.

In the meantime, Wolfhart's parents had moved to the University of Giessen. He was unable at first to continue his studies there because the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, including the Department of Oriental Studies, had been closed by the Americans after World War II and was only gradually being re-opened. He therefore continued his studies at Frankfurt, where he studied Arabic with Rudolf Sellheim and medieval Hebrew with Ernst Ludwig Dietrich. After one term in Frankfurt, he was able to begin a new round of studies in Giessen. His teachers there included Ewald Wagner, in Arabic, Islam, Persian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Semitics; Klaus Roehrborn, in Old Uigur; and Helmut Brands, in Ottoman. He also began working with Fuat Sezgin on the *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, consulting manuscripts in Istanbul and Damascus, and proofreading the volumes in the series. (Volume II of the *GAS*, on poetry, is dedicated to him.) In 1967, he received his doctorate, for his dissertation on Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī's reception of Aristotelian poetics. He spent the next year at the Institute of the German Oriental Society in Beirut. On the way, he stopped in Istanbul to read Helmut Ritter's manuscript work on Ṭūrōyo (Neo-Aramaic) with the author. After listening to tapes and meeting speakers of Ṭūrōyo, he joined the Institute in Beirut and saw part of Ritter's work through the press. After his return, he assumed a post at Giessen, first as an assistant professor (*Assistent*; 1968-72) and then as associate profes-

sor (*Dozent*; 1972-8), teaching Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Syriac, and Ethiopic.

In 1971, he was invited by Gustav von Grunebaum to attend the Third Levi Della Vida conference at UCLA, where he delivered a paper on "Literary Theory: The Problem of Its Efficiency." Six years later, he was invited by the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University to spend a year as visiting lecturer in Arabic. The purpose of the invitation was to determine his suitability for the position vacated by George Makdisi. On the strength of his lecture on "*Istiʿārah* and *Badīʿ* and Their Terminological Relationship in Early Arabic Literary Criticism," he was offered a full professorship in Arabic.

In 1980, Wolfhart married Alma Giese. The two had met for the first time in London, at a party held by a mutual friend, but neither realized this until, years later, they discovered that they had been in London at the same time and had attended the same event. Alma is a fellow scholar: she studied Islamic cultures, Semitic linguistics, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, anthropology, and psychology at the universities of Freiburg and Giessen, and received her doctorate from Giessen in 1980. Working as an independent scholar, she has produced acclaimed German translations of some of the most daunting Arabic authors, including al-Jīlānī, al-Qazwīnī, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn ʿArabī, as well as studies of literary, mystical, and zoological topics. A bibliography of her work is appended.

With the retirement of Muhsin Mahdi in 1996, Wolfhart was appointed to the James Richard Jewett chair in Arabic. During the 1980s, he served as department chair for three years, and as acting chair for one. Beginning in 1989, he served as co-editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, a position that necessitated travel to such picturesque destinations as Leiden and Morigny (south of Paris) where, however, enjoyment of the local attractions was attenuated by the need to complete enormous quantities of proofreading. In addition to his editorial work, he wrote fifty articles himself; these include not only major topics such as *naqd* (literary criticism) but also such rarities as *taʿawwudh* (saying *aʿūdhu bi-llāh*, "I take refuge in God") and *washm* (tattooing).

Those fortunate enough to have studied with Wolfhart Heinrichs credit him with instilling a sense that all linguistic behavior, no matter what its source, or how recalcitrant its appearance, is rule-

governed, and therefore amenable to analysis. Put differently, if one human being can say it or write it, another human being can figure it out, and—if properly trained—appreciate it. Admittedly, we cannot claim to have heard Prof. Heinrichs articulate this principle in so many words; rather, it was simply assumed, and acted on, in the little classroom on the third floor of the Semitic Museum on Divinity Avenue. It has often been remarked that Edward Said's critique of Orientalism fails to address the study of Near Eastern traditions in the German-speaking world. Without insisting that Prof. Heinrichs be labeled a German Orientalist, one might nevertheless note that his approach to texts was based on the (as usual, tacit) principle that meticulous reading, far from being an exercise in "mastery," is the highest form of respect one can show to the products of another human mind. Understood in this sense, philological rigor has nothing in common with pedantry; rather, it is the only adequate response to what James Baldwin once called the "human weight and complexity" of others—or, to use a term Prof. Heinrichs would doubtless regard with genial skepticism, the Other.

As for the substance of a fledgling thesis, for a long time no guiding comment would come forth—until one was deep into the middle of writing. This silence was not uncaring, nor was it part of a considered strategy; rather, it reflected a trust in graduate students' intellectual creativity as well as a desire to give them the space to develop it. When it came, the comment (in our minds, the Comment) forced us to revisit our new-fangled ideas and decide whether we actually believed in them and could stand up for them. Then, after much ink had been spilled on a problem, a student's direct question (summoned up with much courage) would pry loose an offhand comment, lapidary as a caliphal apostille (*tawqīʿ*), that would unfailingly strike at the core of the conundrum.

In inverse proportion to pronouncements on content, dissertation chapters came back adorned with penciled lacework that would have made any medieval *ḥāshiya* pale with envy. Occasionally the entire rewriting of a translation would end with the comment "I do not mean to imply that your translation was incorrect." More commonly, the annotations were reticent, using the conditional, the subjunctive, or other modes of understatement—"less than crystal clear" and the like—but which the students well knew how to translate. (Wolfhart is, after all, what he himself calls a metaphorologist.) In some cases, *ījāz*

(abbreviation) might take the form of a targeted lapse into the vernacular: Alma reports finding comments such as "Whazzat?" "Whaddayakno!" and "Peleeze!" on the margins of her manuscripts. On occasion, Wolfhart had a co-author named Oskar, who left a Qurʾānic type of brown diacritic dotting on the page, glossed by the impassive adviser as "Cat spilled coffee and was severely reprimanded."

Idiosyncratic annotations aside, Wolfhart is a prolific *Doktorvater*. The number of his advisees and the diversity of their research attest to his wide-ranging expertise and his willingness to let his students develop and identify their own interests. Here is a list, with published theses given in their published form and ordered accordingly.

- Kevin Lacey (1984), *Man and Society in the Luzūmiyyāt of al-Maʿarrī*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Pauline E. Eskenasy (1991), *Antony of Tagrit's Rhetoric Book I: Introduction, Partial Translation and Commentary*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Shoukri Boutros Abed (1991), *Aristotelian Logic and the Arabic Language in Alfārābī*, Albany: SUNY Press (Ph.D. thesis 1984).
- Lisa A. Karp (1992), *Sahl b. Hārūn: The man and his contribution to adab*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Magda al-Nowaihi (1993), *The Poetry of Ibn Khafājah: A literary analysis*, Leiden and New York: Brill (Ph.D. thesis 1987).
- Peter Heath (1996), *The Thirsty Sword: Sīrat ʿAntar and the Arabic popular epic*, Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press (Ph.D. thesis 1981).
- Kristen Brustad (2000), *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A comparative study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti dialects*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press (Ph.D. thesis 1991).
- Michael Cooperson (2000), *Classical Arabic Biography: The heirs of the prophets in the age of al-Maʾmūn*, Cambridge UK and New York: Cambridge University Press (Ph.D. thesis 1994).
- Stephanie B. Thomas (2000), *The Concept of Muḥāḍara in the Arab Anthology with Special Reference to al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Beatrice Gruendler (2003), *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry: Ibn al-Rūmī and the patron's redemption*, London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon (Ph.D. thesis 1995).

- Bruce G. Fudge (2003), *The Major Qurʾān Commentary of al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1154)*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Bazat-Tahera Qutbuddin (2005), *Al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī: A case of commitment in classical Arabic literature*, Leiden and Boston: Brill (Ph.D. thesis 1996).
- Ahmad Atif Ahmad (2005), *Structural Interrelations of Theory and Practice in Islamic Law: A study of Takhrīj al-Furūʿ ʿalā al-Uṣūl literature*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Sinan Antoon (2006), *Poetics of the Obscene: Ibn al-Ḥajjāj and Sukhf*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.

Wolfhart also served as second advisor on the following theses:

- David Grochenour (1983), *The Penetration of Zaydī Islam into Early Medieval Yemen*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Aron Zysow (1984), *The Economy of Certainty: An introduction to the typology of Islamic legal theory*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Sandra Naddaff (1991), *Arabesque: Narrative structure and the aesthetics of repetition in The 1001 Nights*, Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press (Ph.D. thesis 1983).
- Nargis Virani (1999), *"I am the Nightingale of the Merciful": Macaronic or Upside-Down? The Mulammaʿāt of Jalāluddīn Rūmī*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Chase F. Robinson (2000), *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The transformation of northern Mesopotamia*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press (Ph.D. thesis 1992).
- Angela Jaffray (2000), *At the Threshold of Philosophy: A study of al-Fārābī's introductory works on logic*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- Maria Mavroudi (2002), *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic sources,* Leiden and Boston: Brill (Ph.D. thesis 1998).

These notes are written in the past tense only because their authors completed their studies with Wolfhart some time ago: longer, indeed, than we enjoy admitting. As of this writing, he is still teaching and writing with undiminished vigor, and—at the all-too-infrequent occasions when conferences bring all of us together—appears hardly to have aged. We delighted by the thought that new generations are,

even now, trooping up to the third floor of the Semitic Museum, where their transliterations will be picked apart, their translations chuckled over, and their flights of fancy checked with a reminder that certain questions pertaining to the nature of the circumstantial clause remain unresolved. Equally delightful is the thought that the newcomers will be initiated into the arcana of click languages and the Harvard Yard Joke—both fixtures of the dissertation defense "roasts" where recent graduates are honored (or lampooned, or both) by limericks of Wolfhart's own composition.

It is a commonplace of classical Arabic biography to remark of a great scholar that *intahā ilayhi l-ʿilm*, "all the knowledge available in his generation ended up with him." From an American perspective, it certainly seems that much of twentieth-century Arabic philology (among other fields) ended up with Wolfhart Heinrichs, who, most fortunately for us, has always been willing to share, no questions asked.

Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Shukri B. Abed, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.
Ali Asani, Harvard University
Ahmad Atif Ahmad, University of California, Santa Barbara
Sinan Antoon, The Gallatin School, New York University
Maroun Aouad, CNRS, Paris
Thomas Bauer, Universität Münster
Peri Bearman, Harvard University
Thierry Bianquis, Université Lumière-Lyon II
C.E. Bosworth, Emeritus, University of Manchester
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Hans Hinrich Biesterfeld, Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Kristen Brustad, University of Texas
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Alnoor Dhanani, Institute of Ismaili Studies
Emeri van Donzel, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New. Ed., Leiden
Gerhard Endress, Emeritus, Ruhr-Universität Bochum
John Flanagan, Bensenville, Illinois
Bruce Fudge, Ohio State University
Geert Jan van Gelder, University of Oxford
Isabella Gerritsen, Brill Publishers
Lois Giffen, Emerita, University of Utah
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William Granara, Harvard University
Beatrice Gruendler, Yale University
Dimitri Gutas, Yale University

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Wael Hallaq, McGill University
Andras Hamori, Princeton University
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James Montgomery, University of Cambridge
Roy Mottahedeh, Harvard University
Suleiman Mourad, Amherst College
Sachiko Murata, Stony Brook University
Sandra Naddaff, Harvard University
Eckhart Neubauer, Emeritus, Universität Frankfurt
Racha El Omari, University of California, Santa Barbara
Bilal Orfali, Yale University
Eva Orthman, Universität Bonn
Estiphan Panoussi, Emeritus, Gothenburg University
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P. Oktor Skjaervo, Harvard University
Wheeler Thackston Jr., Emeritus, Harvard University
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Alexander Treiger, Yale University
Nargis Virani, The New School of Social Research
Frank Vogel, Emeritus, Harvard University
Ewald Wagner, Emeritus, Universität Gießen
Robert Wisnovski, McGill University
Aaron Zysow, Princeton University

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-ĀT
DRINK YOUR MILKS!
-ĀT AS INDIVIDUATION MARKER IN LEVANTINE ARABIC

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The suffix *-āt* is well known as a plural marker across varieties and registers of Arabic[1] for many feminine nouns, words of foreign origin, and certain other morphological classes of nouns with a fair degree of predictability.[2] Levantine Arabic yields, for example, *ḥayawān* 'animal' pl. *ḥayawānāt* and *bsayne* 'cat' pl. *bsaynāt*.[3] Two additional Levantine examples demonstrate the use of *-āt* as a plural for singulative nouns formed by adding *tāʾ marbūṭa* to generic and abstract nouns: *samke* 'a fish' pl. *samkāt* 'fishes' and *ṭabkha* 'a cooked dish' pl. *ṭabkhāt* 'dishes.'[4] The singulative form and meaning of nouns like *samke* and *ṭabkha* gives their *-āt* plurals a relatively high

[1] This essay focuses on urban Levantine Arabic and relies exclusively on Lebanese informants, but occasional references will be made to other registers and varieties of Arabic for comparative purposes. I am grateful to the Al-Batal and Kasbani clans, Amina Mouazen, and Kamil Hamade for their enthusiastic participation as informants, thank Mahmoud Al-Batal and Rima Semaan for additional examples as well as invaluable comments and corrections, and retain responsibility for all errors myself.

[2] See Wright 1898, 197 and Fischer 2002, 39 and 126 for the classes of nouns that take *-āt* plurals in Classical Arabic. Wright remarks that some grammarians permit any word ending in feminine singular *-a(t)* to take the plural *-āt*.

[3] The transcription here is roughly phonemic, owing to the wide range of vowel phonemes in Levantine speech, and follows most of the conventions of Cowell 1964. On the phonetics of Levantine Arabic see Cowell 1964, 1–33 and Fischer and Jastrow 1980, 174–182. The symbol * indicates structures that informants rejected as ungrammatical or not used.

[4] Cowell uses the term singulative as an umbrella term for both the unit noun (*ism al-waḥda*) and the instance noun (*ism al-marra*), 1964, 297. It is convenient to group singulative nouns together in opposition to generic or collective nouns, and unnecessary for our purposes here to distinguish subcategories of either group; we are likewise not concerned here with abstract nouns; this *-āt* is not an abstract plural, as we shall see.

degree of individuation, meaning that they will tend to refer to specific, prominent, individual entities.[5] Each singulative noun has a corresponding generic or abstract noun from which it was formed; in formal Arabic, this generic noun often has its own broken plural (*jamʿ taksīr*). A full set of concrete nouns in formal Arabic thus includes a count singular and plural and a collective or mass singular and plural: *samaka* 'a fish' pl. *samakāt* 'fishes,' in contrast to *samak* 'fish (collectively)' pl. *asmāk* 'groups or types of fish.' Of these two types of plurals, *-āt* is associated with individuals and small numbers, the so-called *jamʿ al-qilla* 'the plural of paucity,' whereas broken plurals tend to refer to groups as collectives or large numbers, *jamʿ al-kathra* 'the plural of abundance,' in both Classical and Levantine Arabic.[6] In Levantine, *-āt* sometimes constitutes one of a pair of plurals of the same singular noun that have little apparent distinction in meaning and usage, such as *meṣriyyāt* or *maṣāri* 'money,' both plural forms of the obsolete Levantine singular *meṣriyye* 'an Egyptian coin.' Even if we identify the former as a plural of paucity and the latter as a plural of abundance, what does that mean? Is there some amount of money below which one uses *meṣriyyāt* and above which one uses *maṣāri*?

More often, Levantine generic nouns tend to take *-āt* plurals rather than broken plurals. A number of broken plurals of the pattern *afʿāl* are judged by my informants not to belong to the colloquial Levantine register: **asmāk* '(types of) fish' and **awsākh* '(piles of?) dirt' are both deemed to belong to the formal register only. A more typical Levantine pattern of generic word formation is a singular collective or generic noun, a singulative formed from that generic noun if appropriate semantically, and an *-āt* plural:

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[5] The individuation continuum is a proposed cluster of features of which nouns have a greater or lesser degree depending on both context and speaker perception. The features that constitute individuation include definiteness, specificity, agency, contextual (textual or physical) prominence, qualification, and quantification. Speakers tend to mark nouns that have a relatively high degree of individuation with certain "optional" nominal markers such as definite and indefinite specific articles or plural forms and agreement. See Khan 1988 and Brustad 2000, 18–26 and 52–61 for a more detailed discussion of these concepts.

[6] See for Levantine, Cowell 1964, 369, and for Classical Arabic, Fischer 2002, 53–64 and Wright 1898, 1:233–4. The paucity vs. abundance distinction in Classical Arabic is also associated with different types of broken plural patterns, with the patterns *afʿāl*, *afʿul*, *afʿila*, and *fiʿla* classified as plurals of paucity and the rest as plurals of abundance.

samak ‘fish’	*samke* ‘a fish’	*samkāt* ‘fishes’
wasakh ‘dirt’	*waskha* ‘a spot of dirt’	*waskhāt* ‘dirt’

The plural *samkāt* is semantically logical, since individual fishes can be counted; the plural *waskhāt* is a bit less so, since it does not refer to quantifiable ‘spots of dirt,’ and begs explanation. The function of *-āt* in Levantine Arabic in the title expression of this essay makes even less sense:

shrāb ḥalībātak!
Drink that milk [literally, your milks]!

The use of *-āt* on this generic noun seems to fly in the face of reason: *ḥalībāt* ‘milk(s)’ is not by nature a countable substance, unless one were referring to servings, or glasses, or perhaps cow “milkings,” but here it surely does not refer to more than one serving of milk that the poor addressee must consume. Why does the speaker of this imperative choose to use this form rather than *ḥalīb* ‘milk’? Moreover, if *-āt* constitutes a plural of paucity or a count plural, then it is difficult to explain the choice of *samkāt* in the following expression, the point of which is that the fish are too many to count:

bḥibbik ʾadd il-baḥr u-samkātu!
I love you as much as the sea and its fishes!

The function of *-āt* in these two contexts seem quite different, since one refers to a small quantity of a substance and the other to an infinite amount of individual entities. Do these two plurals have anything in common?

Wright remarks that broken plurals differ “entirely” in meaning from sound plurals, “for the latter denote several *distinct* individuals of a genus, the former a number of individuals viewed *collectively*, the idea of individuality being wholly suppressed.”[7] This observation provides an important clue to the distinction in meaning between *-āt* plurals and broken plurals. This statement may be reformulated as a general principle in Arabic, that plurals formed by suffixation tend to be marked for individuation. In the case of Levantine *-āt*, however, individuation does not appear to include quantification, and if this *-āt* is a plural of paucity, its function does not extend to count plural.[8]

[7] Wright 1898, 1:233, emphasis in original.

[8] This finding provides strong counter-evidence to the role of quantification in the continuum of individuation as described in Brustad 2000.

My informants confirm that these plurals may not occur with numerals, and reject forms such as **tlatt waskhāt* 'three piles of dirt' and **tlatt ḥalībāt* 'three milks.' Cowell gives for *laḥmāt* a meaning my informants reject, 'pieces of meat,[9] (e.g., **tlatt laḥmāt* 'three meats') in favor of *tlat shuʾaf laḥᵉm* 'three pieces of meat.' Similarly, they corrected **tlatt khubzāt* 'three breads' to *tlat tirghfit khubᵉz* 'three loaves of bread.' Cowell also cites two plurals for *ramᵉl* 'sand': *rmāl* 'sands' and *ramlāt* '(a batch, or batches, of) sand,' but notes that **tlatt ramlāt* 'three batches of sand' is not permissible. He assigns the meaning *'grains of sand' to *ramlāt* as a count plural, a meaning not recognized by my informants, who prefer *ḥabbāt ramᵉl* 'grains of sand.'[10] They assign the meaning 'a particular patch of sand' to *ramlāt*, as in:

> *mā ʾidirna nuˣud ʿa ha-r-ramlāt laʾinnon wiskhīn.*
> We couldn't sit on this (particular patch of) sand because it is dirty.

In addition, they attest that *ramlāt* cannot be used to specify quantity; though one may say, for example, **shwayyit ramlāt* 'some sand,' the preferred form is *shwayyit ramᵉl*. But if the function of *ramlāt* is not to specify count or quantity, then what is its function? Other particles are available to mark specificity; why the plural?

A number of Levantine *-āt* plurals are formed from generic nouns like *ḥalībāt* that have no singulative. Levantine Arabic in particular allows this formation of *-āt* plurals from generic nouns; examples include *zarrīʿāt* 'plants,' from the generic singular *zarrīʿa* 'plants,' and *ḥummṣāt* 'hummus.' Cowell identifies this plural as one of "identification and indefinite quantification" and observes that these generic nouns "have plurals (in *-āt*) designating a certain batch or indefinite quantity of that substance."[11] He explains the difference between the singular and the plural forms as one of classification (the singular) as opposed to indefinite quantification or identification (the *-āt* plural). His explanation is partly right: the plural does identify a "certain batch" of the substance. In the title example, 'Drink your milk(s)!,' the speaker is clearly referring to a particular 'batch' or serving of milk that is definite and very specific. Other generic nouns with *-āt*

[9] Ibid.
[10] Cowell 1964, 368.
[11] Ibid., 370.

occur in similar contexts; the next example highlights a very specific batch of bread:

ḥammṣī-li ha-l-khubzāt.
Toast this bread for me.

In this idiomatic expression, *zāytātu* 'his oil' is used metaphorically, but it is nonetheless a very specific "batch:"

khilṣu zaytātu.
His oil is all used up (i.e., he died).

The prominence and specificity of these nouns makes them highly individuated, and hence good candidates for some kind of individuating marking. It is this role that *-āt* appears to play here, and it is precisely because generic nouns are uncountable that the choice of the *-āt* plural provides a felicitous form to express individuation, since *-āt* is not serving in any other capacity in these contexts. These nouns will be called here *ḥalībāt* plurals.

It will be argued here that *ḥalībāt* nouns constitute a functional category rather than a lexical or semantic category. It is important to note that a few count *-āt* plurals serve both as *ḥalībāt* plurals and as regular count plurals. The noun *shaʿrāt* 'hair(s),' for example, can be used either as a count plural, as in (a), or a *ḥalībāt* plural, as in (b):

(a) *bāʾī-lu tlatt shaʿrāt ʿa rāsu*
He has three hairs left on his head.

(b) *lēsh ʾaṣṣetīhon la-shaʿrātik ya Rīm?*
Why did you cut your hair, Rime?

Here, the number 'three' in (a) identifies *shaʿrāt* 'hairs' as a count plural, whereas *shaʿrāt* in (b), although highly individuated, does not refer to a quantity of hair but to a specific "batch." For *-āt* nouns formed from singulatives, then, it is thus the context that will determine their interpretation as count plural, the primary function of *-āt*, or a *ḥalībāt* plural, a secondary, extended function.

The primary function of *-āt* as a count plural occurs in grammatically obligatory contexts. In other words, when counting hairs, one must use *shaʿrāt*. In contrast, the *ḥalībāt* plurals constitute optional forms. As such, they are under the control of the speaker; that is, the speaker chooses to use a *ḥalībāt* plural rather than another plural or a generic noun. The remainder of this essay will explore the features that motivate speakers to choose this form of a word. From approxi-

mately forty examples elicited from Lebanese speakers, several features emerge:

1. Plural *-āt* nouns must be modified with plural verbs and adjectives.[12] Feminine singular agreement is deemed ungrammatical by my informants, who confirm *hawayāt ḥilwīn* 'beautiful breeze,' reject **hawayāt ḥilwe*, and verify the following judgments:

> *il-ḥalībāt illi bi-l-barrād ḥayintizʿu!* (not **ḥatintiziʿ*)
> The milk that's in the refrigerator will spoil!
>
> *lēk, iz-zarrīʿāt ʿam bimūtu!* (not **ʿam bitmūt*)
> Hey, the plants are dying!

The use of plural verb forms rather than feminine singular underscores the specificity and contextual prominence of 'this milk' and 'these plants.'

2. As Cowell points out, the *-āt* plurals tend to occur on nouns modified with possessive pronoun suffixes, such as *trābātu* 'its dirt' and *meṣrīyyātna* 'our money' in the following:[13]

> *trābātu mnāh—mā beddon taghyīr!*
> It's [the planter's] dirt is good—it doesn't need changing!
>
> *ḥaṭṭayna meṣriyyātna bi-l-bank.*
> We put our money in the bank.

In fact, informants confirm that the second example cannot be expressed with the plural *maṣāri*:

> **ḥaṭṭayna maṣārīna bi-l-bank.*
> We put our money in the bank.

Nor is it permissible to say **maṣārīhon* 'their money,' or **maṣārīkon* 'your (pl.) money,' or assign any specific monetary possession with *maṣāri*. Conversely, *meṣriyyāt* is not used to refer to money in general, only to a particular "pot" of money belonging to a known person or institution, and it carries no implications about the amount of money involved. The high degree of correlation between possessive marking and *-āt* provides further evidence that the individuation of a noun plays a role in the choice of plural marking in spoken Arabic,

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[12] Cowell attests that plural agreement "almost always" goes hand-in-hand with paucal plurals, "especially plurals of unit nouns," 1964, 425.

[13] Ibid., 371.

and that, in cases where two plurals exist of the same noun,*-āt* marks a relatively high degree of individuation rather than paucity.[14]

3. *ḥalībāt* plurals are regularly modified with the anaphoric demonstrative article *ha*, [15] which marks entities that are exactly identifiable to both interlocutors and that have contextual prominence:

khayy! ma-aḥla ha-l-brūdāt!
Ahh! How beautiful this cool air is!

shīlū-li ha-l-waskhāt min hōn!
Get this dirt out of here (for me)!

Similarly, *ḥalībāt* plurals are occasionally marked with the "ethical dative" *la-*:[16]

lēsh ʾaṣṣetīhon la-shaʿrātik ya Rīm?
Why did you cut your hair, Rime?

The ethical dative indicates the speaker's empathy as it elicits empathy on the part of the hearer; in other words, it invokes a shared point of view or attitude among interlocutors. Its use here on *shaʿrāt* draws attention to this noun and signals some kind of attitude or feeling toward it.

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[14] That a similar relationship between the plural of paucity and individuation may be at work in Classical Arabic is suggested by an anecdote in which al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī criticizes Ḥassān b. Thābit's use of paucal plural forms *jafanāt* 'bowls' and *asyāf* 'swords' to refer to a large number in the following line (Yaʿqūb 1998, 301):

la-nā l-jafanātu l-ghurru yalmaʿna bi-l-ḍuḥā
Ours are the white bowls glistening in the midmorning sun,
wa-asyāfunā yaqṭurna min najdatin damā
and our swords drip blood from [our] heroism.

Yaʿqūb notes that others disagreed with this criticism on the basis that the pronoun suffix *-nā* on *asyāf* "turns it into the [plural of] abundance," and that *al-jafanāt* can function as either paucal or abundant precisely because it is a sound plural (*jamʿ sālim*) *(ibid*.). The implication of this reasoning is that a highly individuated plural of paucity (as indicated by, e.g., the definite article or a possessive pronoun) provides a kind of emphasis similar to that of a plural of abundance. Disagreements over the usage of plurals of paucity and abundance may result in part from an incomplete definition of the function of plurals of paucity. It may be that *jamʿ al-qilla* functions as an individuated plural as well as the plural of a small number. In this case, then, the paucal plurals of swords and bowls would not refer to a small number but rather highlight their specificity and importance. Sībawayh (d. ca. 795) cites this verse as a counter-example to the principle that *-āt* functions as a paucal plural, without mention of al-Nābigha or his criticism (3:578).

[15] Discussed in Brustad 2000, 115–7.

[16] Described in Cowell 1964, 483.

4. These plurals normally refer to a noun in the immediate vicinity of the speech act and are contextually important. In fact, it is precisely because speakers understand the *-āt* plurals to have this function that they can use it to invoke an entity as if it were present. One might say about a mutual friend,

> *shift dyān il-yōm, shaʿrāta shu ṭawlānīn!*
> I saw Diane today, her hair has gotten so long!

These *ḥalībāt* plurals allow speakers to describe something unseen, but which they want their interlocutor(s) to imagine. One might describe a lovely summer day to someone who was or was not present by saying,

> *ʾaʿadna bi-ha-sh-shamsāt!*
> We sat in that sun![17]

Obviously, the use of the plural *shamsāt* 'sunrays' has nothing to do with either identification or quantity, since the sun is a unique entity known to all parties, but it does have to do with invoking the beauty of the sun and the day, as if the speaker would like to transport his or her listeners to that exact time and place. Likewise, an unrealized event can be evoked: here, the co-occurrence of the anaphoric demonstrative *ha-* and the plural *shamsât* combine to summon the image to the present in a speech act meant to make us wish we were already there:

> *taʿu u uʾʿudu maʿna bi-ha-sh-shamsât ...*
> Come and sit with us sit in that sun …

The shared features of *ḥalībāt* plurals, specificity, contextual prominence, and plural agreement patterns, all constitute features of the individuation paradigm. Examples and informant judgments adduced so far support three claims: (1) Speakers use the *-āt* plural suffix to highlight very specific entities central to the speech context. (2) Although the entities so designated normally constitute a small amount—if only because they are physically present—this plural has no intrinsic relationship to a small number or count plural. (3) These plurals do not usually refer to more than one "batch." However, in some contexts, the "batch" referred to by *ḥalībāt* plurals is not contextually promi-

[17] We might paraphrase the English in a colloquial register: 'We caught some rays!' with the caveat that this American English expression has a more limited sociolinguistic register than the Arabic.

nent and can be rather abstract. Informants agree that the following compliment constitutes a general statement that does not necessarily refer to cooked food immediately present or even to a specific dish:

ṭabkhātik shu ṭayybīn!
Your cooking is [always] so tasty!

Although *ṭabkhātik* is specified with a highly animate second person possessive, the fact that it does not refer to anything specific in the immediate context would seem to lower its overall individuation and make it a counter-example to our theory. A similar example refers to the local grocer's yoghurt cheese (*labne*) in general, not to a specific batch:

Abu Jiryes labnātu ṭayybīn!
Abou Jirius' yoghurt cheese is delicious!

If *-āt* does not emphasize specification in this particular type of context, what nuance does it add? The plurals in both examples appear to be closely linked with their possessors, as if the human element were an important factor in the choice of form here.

It may be stated with some confidence that these plurals are not used in indefinite noun phrases or to express a small but unspecified quantity. Several informants judged the following examples to be ungrammatical:

**fī shwayyit laḥmāt beddi sāwi minnon bāmye.*
There is a little bit of meat I want to make okra with.

**baʿd fī nitfit ḥummṣāt, beddik tāklīhon?*
There is still a tiny bit of hummus, do you want to eat it?

Rather, the indefinite generic nouns are used to express an unspecified small quantity. Contrast the preceding examples with the following accepted versions:

fī shwayyit laḥm beddi sāwi minnon bāmye.
There is a little bit of meat I want to make okra with.

baʿd fī nitfit ḥummuṣ, beddik tāklīhon?
There is still a tiny bit of hummus, do you want to eat it?

A *ḥalībāt* plural may be used to indicate a small amount only if it is definite, specific, and immediately present. The context of the following utterance appears to emphasize the smallness of the quantity as well:

ha-sh-shwayyit il-laḥmāt mish ḥarzānīn baʾa, khallṣīhon!
This tiny little bit of meat is not worth [keeping], finish it!

It remains to explain what particular nuance is added to expressing a small quantity by the use of *laḥmāt* 'meat' here. The smallness of the quantity is exaggerated as if to enhance the appeal to the listener to eat the meat, as if the speaker were using a diminutive. The embellished emphasis on the small here suggests that this type of phrase represents a kind of periphrastic diminutive. But does this mean that we can claim a diminutive meaning as a secondary function of this *-āt* plural?

Traditional descriptions of the Classical Arabic diminutive list, in addition to its primary function indicating smallness, secondary functions that include endearment or tenderness (*tamlīḥ*), contempt or disdain (*taḥqīr*), and enhancement (*taʿẓīm*).[18] These secondary functions are all closely related in that they express speaker attitude. In fact "enhancement" subsumes both distaste and endearment, which are after all merely opposite ends of the same emotional continuum, one that represents the speaker's feelings about an entity. The specific value of the "enhancement" may depend either on context or on the particular lexical item, or both. The diminutive form is an optional way to name or identify an entity; hence, speakers choose to use it, and they do so in order to express a particular attitude or feeling toward it. Similarly, speakers of Levantine Arabic choose to use an *-āt* plural in its secondary role—that is, not to express a count plural but as a marker on a generic noun—in order to convey an attitude about it. It has been argued that point of view or empathy plays a role in sentence role marking in Levantine Arabic;[19] here it will be argued that part of the function of *-āt* is to express feeling in a way similar to the diminutive in those varieties and registers of Arabic in which it is productive.

[18] Wright 1898, 166 and Fischer 2002, 51. Fück finds these functions for the diminutive of paucal plurals as well, 1936, 636. In addition, these functions are catalogued in several dialect descriptions, such as Masliyah's study of diminutives in Iraqi Arabic, 1997, 68–9. He includes in this category a wide range of morphological forms, perhaps a bit too wide at times, but his argument that diminutive meanings are conveyed by a wide range of morphological forms deserves consideration. However, he does not include *-āt* in his survey.

[19] Brustad 2000, 359–60.

Some circumstantial evidence for a linkage between the diminutive and *ḥalībāt* plurals is found in their distribution. In spoken Arabic, morphological diminutive forms and the *ḥalībāt* plurals as productive categories appear to lie in complementary distribution with each other: the former is productive mainly in bedouin and western sedentary dialects, whereas the latter is found mainly in the urban Levant, where there exists no productive form to express diminutive meaning other than a periphrastic ~ *ṣghīr* 'a small ~.' [20] More significant is the contextual distribution of both forms. Rosenhouse notes that North African sedentary dialects employ "diminutive patterns in great frequency, and in women's speech, especially, these patterns are used both for endearment and for contempt, according to needs."[21] It is true that a large percentage of these elicited examples of the *ḥalībāt* plurals belong to the category of foods, from *ṭḥīnāt* 'flour' to *fūlāt* 'fava beans' to *rezzāt* 'rice,' but while this observation might bring to mind the centrality of food in Levantine culture, closer inspection of the situations in which they occur reveals that it is the *acts* of cooking and eating that stimulate the production of *ḥalībāt* plurals. These acts take place in the intimate setting of the home among family, a context that allows free emotional expression. Moreover, they often appear in imperatives, in which their role may to be to emphasize the smallness of the object of the command, thereby softening its tone. The following imperatives contain *-āt* plurals used in interactions among family members. The occurrence of the ethical dative *-li* 'for me' on the first two makes overt a heightened degree of speaker attachment; here, it is argued that the use of the *-āt* plural forms plays a similar role. In effect, the *-āt* plurals here function as a kind of tenderness from speaker to addressee:

nazzil-li ghasīlātak ḥabībi.
Bring me your dirty laundry, dear.

ḥuṭṭi r-rezzāt ʿa n-nār.
Put the rice on the stove.

[20] Cowell 1964, 310 notes that "only a few Syrian Arabic nouns have diminutives," and Rosenhouse 1984, 23 considers the diminutive as a productive category to be a feature of bedouin and western sedentary dialects. De Jong, however, reports that evidence of its productivity among Sinai bedouins is "inconclusive" (2000, 38). Moreover, I cannot claim that the function of *ḥalībāt* plurals as I describe them here are limited to the urban Levant, merely that I have enough data to attest to them and analyze them in this region.

[21] Rosenhouse 1984, 24.

khalli s-sekkrāt ʿa janab.
Leave the sugar aside.

Many of the sentences cited previously provide stronger evidence, since they constitute speech acts in which the speaker seeks to elicit a reaction (rather than an action), which is usually an emotion: 'Your cooking is so tasty!' 'Look—the [poor] plants are dying!' or 'Why did you cut your [pretty] hair?!' Thus, although it may be the case that morphological forms expressing an emotional "enhancement" occur more often in women's speech, it may also be argued that it is the intimate context rather than the speaker's gender that provides the motivation for choice of such forms. This certainly appears to be the case for Levantine, in which my male informants easily produce the *-āt* forms without any apparent apprehension that they are producing "women's speech."

More significantly, *ḥalībāt* plurals and diminutives share the same semantic functions. The primary function of the diminutive is, of course, to express a small size or amount, and *-āt* fulfills that function in contexts such as this one (cited previously):

ha-sh-shwayyit il-laḥmāt mish ḥarzānīn baʾa, khallṣīhon!
This tiny little bit of meat is not worth [keeping], finish it!

The next sentence, like many other examples here, is understood to refer to a very specific small amount that is immediately at hand:

ghasslī-li ha-l-baʾdūnsāt.
Wash this (bit of) parsley for me.

"Smallness" is, of course, relative; hence it is natural that the function of diminutives would extend semantically to include other judgments associated with small size, such as tenderness or disdain. Similar extensions of meaning occur with *ḥalībāt* plurals.

The secondary function of the diminutive to express tenderness is paralleled by Levantine *-āt*. Many of the examples cited in this essay find their natural occurrence in tender or intimate situations, such as the pleasure of the speaker enjoying cool mountain weather, 'Ahh! How beautiful this cool air is!' and the evocation of a beautiful setting, 'We sat in that sun!' Our title phrase, 'Drink your milks!' would normally be heard among family members, and especially from a parent to a child, in a situation calling for tenderness, concern, or cajoling. Likewise, the use of these plurals in imperatives—this is quite

literally "kitchen Arabic"—may be a way of softening the tone of the verb, as in this gentle directive not to add the sugar just yet:

khalli s-sekkrāt ʿa janab.
Leave the sugar aside.

In addition, Levantine speakers often use *arḍ* 'land' and *ahl* 'family' with *-āt*: *arḍāt* 'land(s)' and *ahlāt* 'family (members) in particular kinds of contexts,'[22] such as inquiring about each other's families:

kīfon ahlātik? shu akhbāron? sallmī-li ʿalēhon ktīr.
How is your family? What's new with them? Please give them my best.

Here the use of *ahlāt* enhances the speaker's solicitousness of her addressee's loved ones.

Another secondary role of the diminutive is to express disdain or distaste, and this function can be carried out by Levantine *-āt* plurals as well:

laḥmāta mbayynīn
Her flesh is showing (she is improperly dressed).

emta ḥa-tshīl ha-l-waskhāt?
When are you going to clean up this dirt/mess?

The idiom *ʾeṣaṣ u khabriyyāt*, which can mean either 'tall tales' or 'troubles and hardships, trials and tribulations,' expresses either disapproval or aversion:

mā ʿād ili jlāde iḥki maʿu, zhiʾt ha-l-ʾeṣāṣ wi-l-khabriyyāt.
I no longer feel like talking to him, I'm fed up with those tall tales.

It often occurs in narratives about loathesome experiences as a catch-all of distaste:

ṣār maʿi khabṭ u ḍarb … u ʾeṣaṣ u khabriyyāt
I underwent bumping and hitting … and trials and tribulations.

The plural diminutive *wlaydāt* 'little children' (or perhaps 'little brats?') is cited by informants in reference to immature children or young people who are misbehaving or misspeaking, as in:

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[22] It is interesting that Classical grammars admit both sound plural endings *-ūn/-īn* and *-āt* on both of these nouns: *arḍ* pl. *arḍūn* or *arḍāt* 'land' and *ahl* pl. *ahlūn* or *ahlāt* 'family' (Fischer 2002, 66 and Wright 1898, 1:195, 198). According to the grammars, these *-āt* plurals should be plurals of paucity, but it is difficult to imagine such a context and meaning for them.

shu beddak fīhon, haydōle wlaydāt mā byaʿrfu shi
Never mind them, they are little children who don't know anything.

The same idea can be—and often is—conveyed by the phrase *wlād ṣghār* 'little kids:'

shu beddak fīhon, haydōle wlād ṣghār mā byaʿrfu shi
Never mind them, they are little kids who don't know anything.

However, the "enhancement" of *wlaydāt* in the former expresses contempt on the part of the speaker. The next example expresses a very gentle criticism in which the "enhanced" *-āt* of *il-mayyāt* works with the adjective *mbaḥbaḥ* 'generous' to soften the phrase. The addition of diminutive 'a bit' to the English translation conveys a similar softening:

il-ʿadsāt mā raḥ yistwu hēk—il-mayyāt mbaḥbḥīn
The lentils will never cook like that—the water is a bit too "generous."

This comment may be contrasted with a more direct and harsh alternative:

lēsh kattarti l-mayy?
Why did you put so much water?'

The word "contempt" might be a bit strong for the word *shawbāt* 'hot weather,' but informants confirm its negative connotation:

marаʾ ʿalāyna shwayyit shawbāt byiʾtlu!
We had some killer hot weather!

The unpleasantness of the hot weather stands in complete contrast to the very pleasant nature of cool weather:

ha-l-brūdāt shu ḥilwīn!
This cool air is so nice!

This last pair demonstrates another feature of the "enhancement" function of this marking, namely, that the positive or negative connotations of words that commonly take *-āt* plurals appear to be constant for most words. Informants agree that, for example, *brūdāt* means 'cool air' rather than 'cold air'(*bard*), while *shawbāt* is universally detested as unpleasantly hot. Even the word *laḥmāt*, which at first seems to be an exception, is actually used in two different senses, effectively making them two different words: the first, 'meat,' indicating food, has a positive connotation, while 'flesh' in reference to hu-

man beings is disdainful. However, this is not always the case. The negative emotion expressed by *-āt* plurals, such as impatience, may be directed not at the object itself but rather at the situation or the interlocutor. A frustrated parent might yell,

> *khalliṣni shrāb ḥalībātak ta-nrūḥ ba'a!*
> Hurry up, drink your milk so we can go!

Context thus remains the key determinant in interpreting the emotional value of the *ḥalībāt* plurals.

If this analysis is correct and *-āt* does, in fact, have a secondary enhancement function, where did it come from? Is it a Levantine innovation? In Classical Arabic, *-āt* represents one possible pattern for the so-called *jamᶜ al-jamᶜ* 'plural of a plural.' Sībawayh and Wright both list several examples of this form, such as *jimālāt* 'camels,' *rijālāt* 'men,' and *kilābāt* 'dogs,' but do not specify their meaning;[23] Fischer offers an "enhanced" meaning for the plural of *buyūt* 'houses:' *buyūtāt* 'noble families.'[24] This lone clue to the function of the plural of the plural provides just enough of a toehold to speculate that Classical *-āt* as the plural of a plural might have had a secondary function of "enhancement"—a function not entirely different from its Levantine use on generic nouns. In both cases, *-āt* is superfluous as a plural marker: in the case of Levantine, because the original noun is generic, and in the case of Classical Arabic, because it represents an "extra" layer of plurality. The word *wlaydāt* 'little kids, brats' (above) and the contemptuous *klaybāt* 'little dogs' underscores an association between *-ât* and the diminutive in emotionally enhanced contexts in Levantine Arabic. An example of this same association with an intimate, tender meaning is a Lebanese expression for 'Home Sweet Home:'

> *bayti yā bwaytāti yā msattir-li ᶜwaybāti*
> My house, my little house, you cover up my little faults.

Within the spoken register, Rosenhouse notes the use of *-āt* as plural of a plural in bedouin dialects, listing examples *alf* 'thousand' pl. *ulufāt* and *farg* 'difference' pl. *furugāt*, both of which are words that

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[23] Sībawayh 3:618–20; Wright 1989 1:232. Wright restricts the use of "secondary plurals," as he calls *jamᶜ al-jamᶜ*, to numbers nine or greater or an indefinite number (*ibid.*), but does not distinguish between broken and sound secondary plurals.

[24] Fischer 2002, 68.

can conceivably be semantically "enhanced."[25] Less clear are examples given by de Jong from a northern Sinai bedouin dialect that contrast paucal plural and broken plural nouns only in count noun contexts. Most of his examples consist of the expected contrast between count (sound) and non-count (broken) nouns, but this one contains an unexpected broken plural with the number five:

> *itfarrig itwaddiy lēhin iḥṣaṣ laḥam … inkān ikhwānhiy thalāthih, talga thalath ḥuṣṣāt, w inkānhum khamsah, khamas iḥṣaṣ*
> You will distribute and send them portions of meat … if she has three brothers and sisters, you will find three portions, and if they are five, five portions.[26]

This last utterance suggests that the contrast between these two plural forms does not always rest on quantity alone. However, more contextualized non-count examples are needed to establish an "enhancement" function.

So far we have examined only substantives. The relationship of substantive plural marker *-āt* to the use of *-āt* on attributive adjectives and participles presents another problem; unfortunately, it is one for which little data is available. Cowell mentions an attributive use of *-āt* in urban Syrian on "some" adjectives "when attributive to a plural in *-āt* of a feminine count noun: *banadōrāt māwiyyāt* 'juicy tomatoes' (or, more usually, *banadōrāt māwiyye*)."[27] My Lebanese informants categorically reject both forms, a judgment that underscores the well-known dialect variation within the Levant region. The construction *banadōrāt māwiyyāt* is more likely to be found in bedouin dialects, which make greater use of *-āt* as an option for plural concord of all types. Rosenhouse reports attributive *-āt* plurals in both female human and feminine non-human contexts and, conversely, records that human feminine plurals take either feminine plural or masculine plural agreement, as in *bgarāt guwiyyāt* 'strong cows' and the variant forms *niswān zēnāt* or *zēnīn* 'good women.'[28] Ingham's Najdi examples include three possible attributive agreement patterns with *byūt* 'tents/houses:'[29]

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25 Rosenhouse 1984, 102 and 271.
26 De Jong 2000, 242–3.
27 Cowell 1964, 201.
28 Rosenhouse 1984, 46, citing also Johnstone 1967, 165–6.
29 Ingham 1994, 51, 64, and 63.

byūt-in ṭuwāl ‘tall houses’

al-byūt mafrūshāt ‘the tents (were) carpeted’

byūt-in zēnah ‘good houses’

Existing data indicate that attributive *-āt* is always optional. For female humans it is usually paired with *-īn* or a broken plural, and for nonhuman plurals, it may be paired with a broken plural or collective *-a*. Examples containing female human plural nouns with collective feminine singular agreement seem not to exist, and this gap suggests that *-āt* implies a degree of individuation. Also, Ingham’s examples *ādhānu mitsaddidāt* ‘his ears (were) closed (he was deaf)’ and *al-arḍēn mitjāwirāt* ‘the two plots were adjacent’ score high on the individuation scale, and contrast with *as-sinīn is-sābgah* ‘by-gone years’ and *maghātīr zēnah* ‘good white camels.’[30] The individuation analysis finds support in Ingham’s observation that “[t]he use of the feminine plural in reference to an inanimate (nonhuman) plural is very common when a pronoun affix is involved”[31]—in other words, when the noun is highly individuated. Thus attributive *-āt* may function as a marker of individuation for nonhuman nouns in those varieties of spoken Arabic in which it is productive. Without a body of contextualized examples, however, this remains mere speculation.

Available data thus support the thesis that Levantine *-āt* plurals function on three levels: first, as a count plural for singulative nouns; second, as a highly individuated plural for generic nouns in which the important features are specificity and contextual prominence, and third, in some contexts, as an “enhancer” that expresses either tenderness, in positive contexts, or distaste, in negative ones. Evidence has shown a high degree of correspondence between the secondary functions of the diminutive on one hand and those of the Levantine generic *-āt* plural on the other: both mark high specificity, contextual prominence, and enhancement on an emotional scale. While Classical grammars express the “disparaging” function of the diminutive in a stronger term (*taḥqīr*) than those used here for the *ḥalībāt* plurals, it is not qualitatively different. Hence, although it would be rash to call the *ḥalībāt* plurals diminutives, they can be said to fulfill functions similar to those of the morphological diminutives in those registers and varieties in which they exist.

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30 Ibid., 64.

31 Ibid.

We are now in a better position to appreciate the full meaning of the phrase *bḥibbik ʾadd il-baḥr u samkātu*, in which *samkāt* is the plural of *samke*, but its meaning here goes beyond "fishes," even highly salient ones. It is clearly not an individuated plural with emphasis on the quantity, nor a diminutive of smallness—in fact, its connotation is quite the opposite, since the phrase clearly aims to express an immeasurable amount. In this context, *-āt* clearly functions in its secondary role as "enhancer," echoing the tender meaning of the endearment, and amplifying it.

The *ḥalībāt* plurals thus provide further evidence of the importance of individuation features in explaining nominal marking in Levantine Arabic. More importantly, the parallels in function between *ḥalībāt* plurals and diminutives, added to the prevalence of the ethical dative in spoken registers, indicate that the attitude of the speaker toward nominal entities is expressed morphologically in spoken Arabic, and suggest that some kind of "speaker attitude" may belong to the constellation of features in the individuation continuum. In addition, this study of Levantine *-āt* plurals calls for further exploration of the relationship between number and individuation in all registers of Arabic. Such a study will need contextualized examples in order to provide the pragmatic and functional meanings of the forms. Did plurals of paucity in Classical Arabic have a secondary function to mark a high degree of individuation, or even enhancement? These questions await further exploration; meanwhile,

bsaynātak l-ḥilwīn ʿam yishrabu ḥalībāton.

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