CATEGORIZATION OF *ṢIFAT MUSYABBAHAH* (ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES OF ARABIC)

Mohamad Afrizal*
Syamsul Hadi dan Suhandano**
* Alumni Program Doktor, FIB Univ. Gadjah Mada dan Dosen Univ. Muhammadiyah Jember
**Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta
e-mail: afrizal@unmuhjember.ac.id

ABSTRAK

Ṣifat musyabbahah (SM) merupakan subkelas nomina Bahasa Arab, yang dimunculkan oleh para tata bahasawan klasik Bahasa Arab, yang bentuk dan maknanya tidak teratur. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkategorikan SM melalui pendekatan kelas kata lintas-bahasa. Data berupa SM bebas konteks dan SM terikat konteks yang diperoleh dari buku-buku tata bahasa Arab, serta korpus dan kamus daring Bahasa Arab. Kemudian, data dianalisis dengan pendekatan kelas kata lintas-bahasa, yaitu integrasi analisis sintaksis, morfologi, dan leksikal. Hasilnya ialah SM dapat dikategorikan ke dalam 6 jenis SM yang meliputi 1) SM dalam arti sempit, 2) SM sebagai bentuk/*wazan* antara *ism fā'il* dan *ism maf'ūl*, 3) SM sebagai inkorporasi nomina absolut, 4) SM sebagai leksikalisasi metaforis, 5) SM sebagai istilah kekerabatan dan kategori sosial, dan 6) ism non-SM.

Kata kunci:
Ṣifat musyabbahah, gramatika tradisi Arab, pengkategorian, kelas kata lintas-bahasa

INTRODUCTION

Ṣifat musyabbahah (SM) is one of important subjects in Arabic grammar that have irregular word-form and meaning. In this section, it will be presented what SM is, the problems, and research focus.

Notions of SM and the problems

Definition of SM

SM is one of Arabic noun subclasses. Generally, SM is defined based on potential to be noun attribute, derivation, and abstraction of lexical features. For example, Al-Yamaniy & An-Nūr (2016:1) who elaborated various definitions of SM from various classical Arabic grammatical literatures[1] stated that:

$$\text{"حَقُّ الصِّفَةِ الْمُشَبَّهَةِ أَنَّهَا اسْمٌ وَصْفٌ مُشْتَقٌّ، وَ هِيَ تَشْتَقُّ مِنَ الْفِعْلِ الَّازِمِ بِقَصْدِ نَسْبَةِ الْحَدَثِيَّةِ اِلَى الْمَوْصُوْفِ لِلدَّلَالَةِ عَلَى الثُّبُوْتِ وَ الدَّوَامِ لَا عَلَى التَّجَدُّدِ وَ الْحُدُوْثِ"}$$

'The essence of *ṣifat musyabbahah* is a derivative attributive noun, which is derived from intransitive verb in order to relate an event to an attributed-for

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[1] written by e.g. Ibn Hisyām, Ibnu Mālik, Sībawaih, Ibn Sirāj, Asymūniy, 'Abbās Ḥasan

noun (*mauṣūf*), to indicates a state or habituativeness, nor continuousness or progressiveness.'

The definition of SM may differ from one grammarian to others. The difference is in terms of derivation. Al-Gulāyainiy (1993:185) claimed that SM is not only derived derived from intransitive verb, but may also be derived from transitive verb, e.g. رَحِيْمٌ 'Most-merciful' and عَلِيْمٌ 'All-Knowing'. On the other hand, Ad-Daḥdāh (1996:84) mentioned that SM is derived from gerund (*maṣdar*), not from verb.

Aziz (2009:17-18) said that the classical Arabic grammarians paid much attention to declinable noun (*ism mutaṣarrif*) which has action of declension ('*amal*) like verb. This noun is distinguished from other types of declinable nouns[2] which may also have inflective operation like verb. This noun is called *ṣifat*. The term *ṣifat* may refer to both function and meaning. When referring to functions, *ṣifat* is interpreted as nouns that may be employed as attributive functions in attributive noun phrases (*tarkīb waṣfiy*). Conversely, when referring to meaning, ṣifat is interpreted as ism with the meaning of "properties". Furthermore, this type of ism is called *ṣifat al-musyabbahah bi l-faʻil* or *bi-ism l-faʻil* because it is like *ism fāʻil* in term inflective operation, i.e. to nominativize subject (*li-rafʻil fāʻil*). In addition, Arabic grammarians more discussed morphological and syntactic characteristics of SM and ignored lexical characteristics.

SM-patterns

SM has various word-patterns (*wazn*). Al-Gulāyainiy (1993:186-191) mentioned four primary SM-patterns, which involving فَاعِلٌ، فَعِلٌ، فَعْلَانُ، أَفْعَلُ and mentioned other various SM-patterns as outcome from morphophonological process. On the other hand, Mustarīḥiy (2003) mentioned four types of SM-patterns consisting of a) 18 types[3] of SM-patterns, b) like active participle-pattern فَاعِلٌ [e.g وَاسِعٌ 'wide'], c) like passive participle-pattern مَفْعُولٌ [e.g مَجْنُونٌ 'crazy'], d) and attached to frozen noun-pattern (*ism jāmid*)[4]. In addition, Mustarīḥiy also mentioned that the SM may also be patternized empirically in four radical (*rubāʻiy*), e.g. صَفْصَفٌ 'plain', صَرْصَرٌ 'furious (of wind)', and in other noun-patterns such as absolute noun and gerund intended as *ṣifat*. From all SM-patterns which are mentioned already, no exclusive pattern for SM.

Each of SM-patterns overlap with other noun subclasses. Pattern أَفْعَلُ, for example, is noun-pattern used for both SM and elative-noun (*ism tafḍīl*). Pattern فَعِيلٌ, for another example, is not only used for SM, but also for gerund, common noun, excessive noun and broken plural noun, e.g. رَحِيْلٌ 'departure', رَحِيْقٌ 'pure wine', رَحِيْمٌ 'Most merciful', عَبِيْدٌ 'servants'.

Several SM's have more than single pattern. For examples from Munawwir (1997),

	SM	pattern	gloss
(1)	العَسِرُ وَالعَسِيرُ : ضِدُّ السَّهْلِ	فَعِلٌ و فَعِيْلٌ	'difficult'

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[2] i.e. gerund (*ism maṣdar*), active participle (*ism fāʻil*), passive participle (*ism mafʻul*)

[3] viz. فَعِلٌ [e.g فَرِحٌ 'happy'], فَعْلٌ [e.g حَسَنٌ 'well'], أَفْعَلُ [e.g أَبْكَمُ 'dumb'], فَعُوْلٌ [e.g عَجُوْزٌ 'old'], فَعِيْلٌ [e.g جَمِيْلٌ 'beautiful'], فَعَالٌ [e.g رَطْبٌ 'wet'], فِعِلٌ [e.g رِحْسٌ 'dirty'], فَيْعِلٌ [e.g ضَيِّقٌ 'narrow'], فُعْلٌ [e.g سُعْرٌ 'crazy'], فَعْلَانٌ [e.g شَبْعَانُ 'replete'], فُعْلٌ [e.g لُبَدٌ 'abundant'], فُعْلَى [e.g ضِيْزَى 'unfair'], فُعْلٌ [e.g شُجَاعٌ 'brave'], فُعَالٌ [e.g دِهَاقٌ 'full'], فَعَالٌ [e.g حَرَامٌ 'forbidden'], فُعْلٌ [e.g غُثْلٌ 'cruel'], فُعْلٌ [e.g حُرٌّ 'the free'], فُعْلٌ [e.g قَيِّمٌ 'right']

[4] e.g. أَسَدٌ 'lion' in رَجُلٌ أَسَدٌ 'brave man', literally. (lit.). 'man like a lion'

(2)	الطَّاهِرُ وَالطَّهِيرُ وَالطُّهْرُ	فَاعِلٌ و فَعِيْلٌ و فُعْلٌ	'immaculate'
(3)	الضَّيِّقُ : ضِدُّ الوَاسِع الضَّائِقُ (ج ضَاقَةٌ) : ضِدُّ الوَاسِع	فَيْعِلٌ و فَاعِلٌ	'narrow'
(4)	العَجِيْبُ وَالعُجَابُ — وَالعَجَائِبِيُّ عَجَبٌ عُجَابٌ	فَعِيْلٌ و فُعَالٌ و فَعَلٌ	'wondrous'
(5)	الأَخِيْرُ (م أَخِيْرَةٌ) وَالآخِرُ	فَعِيْلٌ و فَاعِلٌ	'last'
(6)	العَجُوْلُ وَالعَجِيْلُ وَالعَجْلَانُ	فَعُوْلٌ و فَعِيْلٌ و فَعْلَانُ	'hasty'
(7)	الدَّمْعُ وَالدَّمَّاعُ وَالدُّمُوْعُ وَالدَّمِيْعُ	فَعْلٌ و فَعَّالٌ و فَعُوْلٌ و فَعِيْلٌ	'maudlin'

The linguistic phenomena in the examples were not much explained by grammarians. Al-Gulāyainiy (1993:190) mentioned that is SM طَهِرٌ,طَهِيْرٌ,طَاهِرٌ are single SM. According to him, this variation is a result of the morphophonological process. This claim may be applied to data 1-3, whereas data 4-6 aren' t very precise. Another possibility is that different patterns allow different categories. For example, عَجْلَانُ and عَجُوْلٌ maybe categorized as an excessive adjective (*ṣigāh mubālagah*) whose فَعُوْلٌ and فَعْلَانُ are as apart of it`s word-patterns.

Derivation of SM

As mentioned already, SM is derived from verb. This notion causes three problems. Firstly, it is related to transitivity. Some grammarians believed that SM is only derived from intransitive verbs. However, other grammarians (Al-'Ubaidiy & Al-Jamīliy, 2012, Al-Maṣārawah **Invalid source specified.**, Al-Gulāyainiy, 1993) said that SM can be derived from transitive verbs. The first grammarians group considered what is derived from transitive verbs is not SM, but excessive adjective. Secondly, there are SM`s which is asymmetrical to their`s verb-pattern. SM-triliteral should be derived from triliteral verb, but there are SM-triliteral derived from augmented-verb (*fi'l mazīd*) instead. For examples, حَجِيْرٌ 'rocky' is derived from حَجَّرَ 'to be hard like rock'. Lastly, there are SM`s which verbs don't be found as derivational axis, e.g. لُبَدٌ 'abundant'.

Syntactic Behavior

As mentioned already, SM is one of *ṣifat* or *ism ṣifat*. This categorization was based on possibility of functioning as *ṣifat* (attributive function) in *tarkīb waṣfiy* (attributive noun phrase), e.g,

(1)   فَسَادٌ كَبِيْرٌ

     fasādun   kabīrun

     mischief <small>sing. indef. masc. nominative</small>   great <small>sing. indef. masc. nominative</small>

     <mauṣūf>   *<ṣifat>*

     'great mischief'

(2)   أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ

     uswatun   hasanatun

example sing. indef. fem. nominative   excellent sing. indef. fem. nominative
<mauṣūf>   *<ṣifat>*
'an excellent example'

(3)   الصَّفْحَ الجُمِيْلَ

aṣ-ṣafḥa   al-jamīla
forgiveness sing. def. masc. nominative   gracious sing. def. masc. nominative
<mauṣūf>   *<ṣifat>*
'gracious forgiveness'

    Tarkīb waṣfiy is a syntactic structure consisting of *mauṣūf* (attributed-for) and *ṣifat* (attribute). The words *fasādun, uswatun, aṣ-ṣafḥa* are *mauṣūf,* while SM's *kabīrun, uswatun, aṣ-ṣafḥa* are *ṣifat.* Ad-`Daḥdāh (1996: 338) explained that *ṣifat* is a noun modifying *mauṣūf*, while *mauṣūf* is a noun referring to things, proper nouns, or ideas. *Ṣifat* must be agree with *mauṣūf* regarding number (singular, dual or plural), gender (masculine or feminine), definiteness (definite or indefinite), dan case (nominative (*marfū'*), accusative (*manṣūb*), genitive (*majrūr*)). Al-Gulāyainiy (1993: 97) stated that *mauṣūf* decides grammatical category of *ṣifat*. There are 15 rules of agreement between *maṣūf* and ṣifat as mentioned by Dror (2013:56).

    Ṣifat is not only filled by SM, but also can be filled by other noun subclasses, viz. active participles, passive participles, elative nouns, the excessiveness, relative nouns (*ism manṣūb*), as well as gerunds and absolute nouns (*ism jāmid*) reffering to *ṣifat* (properties) (Al-Gulāyainiy, 1993: 97-98). For examples,

(1) *<ism fā'il>*

رَجُلٌ قَاتِلٌ

rajulun   *qātilun*
man sing. indef. masc. nominative   kill (er/ing) sing. indef. masc. nominative
'a killer man' or 'man who killing'

(2) *<ism maf'ūl>*

رَجُلٌ مَقْتُوْلٌ

rajulun   *maqtulun*
man sing. indef. masc. nominative   killed sing. indef. masc. nominative
'a killed man' or 'man who is killed'

(3) *<al-mubālagah>*

الرَّجُلُ القَتَّالُ

ar-rajulu   *al-qattālu*
man sing. def. masc. nominative   murderer sing. def. masc. nominative
'The murderer man'

(4) *<ism tafḍīl>*

الرَّجُلُ الْأَعْظَمُ

ar-rajulu   *a'zamu*
man sing. def. masc. nominative   great sing. def. masc. nominative
'The greatest man'

(5) *<maṣdar>*

رَجُلٌ عَدْلٌ

rajulun   *'adlun*

man sing. indef. masc. nominative   fariminded sing. indef. masc. nominative

'a fairmanded man'

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(6)   *<ism mansūb>*

رَجُلٌ لُبْنَانِيٌّ

rajulun   *lubnāniyyun*

man sing. indef. masc. nominative   Lebanese sing. indef. masc. nominative

'a Lebanese men'

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(7)   *<ism jāmid>*

رَأَيْتُ [قَائِدًا أَسَدًا]

ra`aitu*      *[qā`idan   *`asadan]*

see verb. perf. singular   [commander sing. indef. masc. accusative   lion sing. indef. masc. accusative]

'I saw [a brave commander]' literally (lit.). 'I saw [a commander like a lion]'

It should be noted that (5) and (7) was listed by Mustarīḥiy (2003) as SM.

        Besides functioning as ṣifat, SM has *'amal* (action of declension) or can be *'āmil* (active element of declension). This notion can be found within section talking about *'amal aṣ-ṣifat al-musyabbahah,* viz. sintactic behaviour of SM causing changes of i'rāb[5] to word(s) within a clause or phrase. Al-Gulāyainiy (1993: 282-283) mentioned four types of SM action`s of declension, viz.

(1)   nominativizes passive element (*ma'mūl*) because of like subject of verbal clause (*fā'il*),
     e.g. عَلِيٌّ حَسَنٌ خُلُقُهُ 'Ali has a good manner'

(2)   accusativizes passive element because of like object of verbal clause (*maf'ūl bih*)
     e.g. عَلِيٌّ حَسَنٌ خُلُقَهُ 'Ali has a good manner'

(3)   genitivizes passive element because of annexational phrase (*tarkīb iḍāfiy*),
     e.g. عَلِيٌّ حَسَنُ الْخُلُقِ 'Ali has a good manner'

(4)   accusativizes passive element of specifying contruction (*ḥāl*),
     e.g. عَلِيٌّ حَسَنٌ خُلُقًا 'Ali is good in term of manner'.

        In addition, SM is not the only noun subclass which has *'amal*. However, there are others like that, i.e. *ism fā'il, ism maf'ūl, ism tafḍīl, mubālagah,* and *maṣdar*. Except *maṣdar*, all are ṣifat.

Lexical features

        The lexical meaning of SM is less mentioned. It was claimed that some SM`s tendencically have specific lexical features. For example, the pattern أَفْعَل af'alu is a SM-pattern which indicates colors [such as أَحْمَر 'red', أَسْوَدُ 'black'], defects [such as أَعْمَى 'blind', أَعْرَجُ 'lame'], and ornaments [أَكْحَل 'coloured with black-mascara'] (Al-Gulāyainiy, 1993: 186). Nevertheless, SM which means defect doesn't always use SM-pattern أَفْعَل, e.g. 'blind' can also be in the pattern فَعِيل, viz. عَمِيّ. The pattern أَفْعَل is the only pattern that is always mentioned as a specimen of the SM-pattern which has regularity of meaning. As for the other SM-patterns, they had never been claimed to have a regularity of meaning.

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[5] viz. sets of rules regarding changes to the end of words marking various syntactic cases

Problem statements and Research focus

SM is Arabic noun subclass grammatical rule that was given by traditional Arabic grammarians to accommodate other derivative nouns which may be distributed as *ṣifat*, but it cannot be classified as *ism fā'il, ism maf'ūl, ism tafḍīl* dan *ṣigah mubālagah*. This notion causes three problems in the application. Firstly, functioning as ṣifat is main criteria, so that any ism functioning as ṣifat must be classified as SM, e.g. the word *asadun* 'lion' which classified as SM. The second is the problem of derivation (*isytiqāq*). SM is claimed as a derivative noun, viz. that is derived from verb or infinitive verb/gerund. In the application, it is found that there are SM`s that are asymmetrical against their`s verb-pattern, and that there are SM`s that they don't have *fi'l* or *maṣdar* as derivational axis. This shows that SM is derived neither *fi'l* nor *maṣdar*, but derived from consonant-roots and affixes. This also applies to other Arabic open classes. The third problem is related to SM-pattern. SM no has specific word-pattern and has various word-patterns that each overlaps with other noun subclasses. Moreover, several SM's have more than single pattern.

The lexical meaning of SM is less mentioned. Some lexical features of SM that was mentioned by grammarians have not been able to cover all of *ism* claimed as SM. The lexical features mentioned only indicate to adjectives. In fact, there are SM`s that have lexical features other than adjectives.

As mentioned already, the urgency of this research is that the study of the lexical features of SM was rather ignored. In fact, the study of word classes, or parts of speech, needs to pay attention to the semantic aspects which are then integrated with morphological and syntactic studies (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014:1). Therefore, the objective in this study is to analyze SM based on the parts of speech approach, viz. the integration between syntactic and morphological analysis, and lexical feature analysis. The purpose of this analysis is to categorize SM which has various lexical features.

PARTS OF SPEECH

SM is one of Arabic word subclasses. Word classes or parts of speech, such as verbs, nouns, and adjectives, are categorizations of words that have similarities of grammatical behavior (Kridalaksana, 2008). Parts of speech is universal property of human languages that can be identified to all human languages, although the principles of categorizations and results are different.

Cross-linguistically, parts of speech can be identified on two principles, viz. similarity of syntactic function and lexical meaning (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2004). Syntactically, noun and verb classes are obligatory for all languages. This is because both fill the functions in the three types of basic universal clause as follows.

Basic clause types (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2004: 6)

Clause type	Nucleus	Core arguments
Transitive clause	Transitive predicate	Transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O)
Inransitive clause	Intransitive predicate	Intransitive subject (S)
Copula clause	Copula predicate (copula verb)	Copula subject (CS) and copula verb) complement (CC)

Each clause consists of one predicate and core arguments, viz. subject, object and complement. The term predicate was originally used in Greek to identify all functions other than the subject. In modern linguistics, the term predicate refers to verbs, both transitive and intransitive verbs, and nonverbals which are considered as verbs. For example, *(is) big* is a nonverbal predicate in the English clause, *the house is big*. The core argument is a slot that must present in a clause construction. The subject argument is a core argument that must be presented in all clause types. The object argument only presents in a transitive clause and the copulative complement argument only present in copulative clauses. The subject and object can be identified as noun or noun phrase (NP). Whereas copulative complement can be identified as nouns and sometimes identified as parts of a verbal phrase (copulative verb + NP). Analysis of word classes through clauses only focuses on nouns and verbs. This makes both classes as obligatory categories in all languages.

The identification of word classes also needs to involve lexical semantic identification. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004: 3-5) suggested three types of semantic words, i.e nouns, verbs and adjectives.

"Semantic types with concrete reference are always linked to the noun class-these include HUMANS (e.g. 'boy'), body and othe PARTS (e.g. 'eye', 'leg'), FLORA (e.g. 'tree', 'leaf'), FAUNA (e.g. 'rat', 'fly') CELESTIAL (e.g. 'sun'), ENVIRONMENTT (e.g. 'water', 'forest'), and ARTEFACTS (e.g. 'gun', 'house')."

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"Semantic types always associated with the verb class include MOTION (e.g. 'run', 'take', 'throw'), REST (e.g. 'sit', 'put', 'hold'), AFFECT (e.g. 'hit', 'burn', 'build'), GIVING (e.g. 'give', 'trade'), ATTENTION (e.g. 'see', 'hear'), and SPEAKING (e.g. 'tell, 'shout', 'ask')"

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... "semantic types typically associated with the word class adjective;

1 DIMENENSION-'big', 'small', 'long', 'tall', 'short', 'wide', 'deep', etc.
2 AGE-'new', 'young', 'old', etc.
3 VALUE-'good', 'bad', 'lovely', 'atrocious', 'perfect', 'proper(/real)', etc. (And also words such as 'odd', 'strange', 'curious', 'necessary', 'crucial', 'important', 'lucky').
4 COLOUR-'black', 'white', 'red 'etc.

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5 PHYSICAL PROPERTY-'hard', 'soft', 'heavy', 'wet', 'rough', 'strong', 'clean', 'hot', 'sour', etc. And sub-class reffering to corporeal properties, e.g. 'well', 'sick', 'tired', 'dead', 'absent'.
6 HUMAN PROPENSITY- 'jeleous', 'happy', 'kind', 'clever', 'generous', 'cruel', 'proud', 'ashamed', 'eager', etc.
7 SPEED- 'fast ', 'quick', 'slow', etc.

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8 DIFFICULTY-'easy', 'difficult', 'though', 'hard', 'simple', etc.
9 SIMILARITY-'like', 'unlike', 'similar', 'different(/strange)', 'other', etc.
10 QUALIFICATION-'definite', 'true', 'probable', 'possible', 'likely', 'usual', 'normal', 'common', 'correct', 'appropiate', 'sensible', etc.
11 QUANTIFICATION-'all(/whole)', 'many', 'some', 'few', 'only', 'enough', etc.
12 POSITION-'high', 'low', 'near', 'far/distant', 'right', 'left(/strange)', 'northen', etc.
13 CARDINAL NUMBER. (In some language these constitute a separate word class) And 'first', 'last' (together with other ordinal numbers)."

On modern/western linguistics perspective, SM was usually compared with adjectives (Abu-Chacra, 2007; Badawi et al., 2004; Haywood & Nahmad, 1962; Wright, 1981). Unfortunately, the comparation did not considered *tertium comparationis* because it did not take into account the differences in structural typology between Arabic and European languages.

SM was compared with adjectives because SM must be functioning as an attribute/*ṣifah* and most of the lexical features of SM are adjectives.

Adjectives are part of the main classes together with verbs and nouns. Not all languages, as well as Arabic, have an adjective class independently. The grammatical characteristics of adjectives can be similar to nouns, or be similar to verbs, or similar to nouns and verbs, or not similar to verbs and nouns (Beck, 2002).

Nevertheless, Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004) said that adjectives can be cross-linguistically identified by the following criteria.

1. Adjectives can be functioning as attribute in noun phrases.
2. When functioning as intransitive predicate, adjectives can be intransitive verbs or noun complements of copulative verbs.
3. In several languages, adjectives can be identified in comparative constructions.
4. In several languages, adjective can be functioning as adverbs, or modifying verbs, which sometimes may be accompanied by morphological process.

Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004) also claimed that "the recognition of word classes in a language must be on the basis of internal grammatical criteria for that language".

METHOD

This study aims to categorize SM based on the parts of speech approach. Hence, the data of this study are context-free SM and context-bound SM (phrase or clause) which were sourced from Arabic grammar books written by e.g. Al-Gulāyainiy (1993), Ad-Daḥdāḥ (1996), As-Sāqiy (1977), Ḥassān (1985), Naḥlah (1994), and the specific works about SM written by e.g. 'Azīz (2009) Mustarīḥiy (2003) and Al-Yamaniy & An-Nūr (2016). Data used in that works were limited, viz. mostly they was sourced from Al-Qur`ān because it was the main corpus of Arabic grammar (Haywood & Nahmad, 1962). Therefore, the data were expanded by way of predicting a SM-pattern with a specific root and then searching it into Arabic *online* corpus and dictionaries[6]. For example, it was found that the root ضرب *ḍrb* 'to hit/beat' has SM ضريب *ḍarībun* 'to be beaten' after it predicted and searched various possible SM-patterns against root *ḍrb,* such as *ḍarībun, *ḍarbānu, *ḍarabun,* dan *ḍaribun.*

Data analysis in this study included syntactic, lexical, and morphological analysis. The first is syntactic analysis. Each noun which claimed as SM must be functioning as *ṣifat* in *tarkīb waṣfiy*. As for the principle of '*amal*, it doesn't need to be applied because nouns which have '*amal* include *ism maṣdar*, while it is not be included within *ism ṣifat*.

The second is meaning principle. The meaning what is meant is not stativeness (*ṡābitah*) because this concept is abstract. What is meant by meaning is the lexical meaning which covers lexical meaning of adjectives, nouns, and verbs.

The third is morphological analysis, viz. SM-pattern, verb-pattern of SM, and *tafḍīl* possibility. The analysis of SM-patterns is observing presence or absence of word-pattern فَاعِلٌ and مَفْعُوْلٌ within a SM-subclass because both are identically word-pattern of *ism fā'il* and *ism maf'ūl*. The derivation analysis of SM is identifying verb-pattern as an axis of derivation, i.e triliteral or others, as well as the transitivity of it`s verb. the potential of SM has a paradigmatic

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[6] see. the end of article "data source"

relation with *ism tafḍīl*, viz. it is noun subclass which has word-pattern أَفْعَل, and فُعْلَى as its feminine-form, indicating the superlative or comparative. This principle is adopted as was suggested by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004: 11) as mentioned above.

RESULT OF CATEGORIZATION

The research resulted 6 types of SM as follows.

Type 1: SM in narrow sense

The use of this label followed "adjectives in the narrow sense" given by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004: 1). The characteristics of type 1 are which a) must be functioning as *ṣifat*, b) has lexical features of adjective, c) is derived from intransitive verb and passive verb, d) allows word-pattern فَاعِل and مَفْعُول in classhood, e) mostly has paradigmatic relation with *ism tafḍīl*. Each of characteristics, except a)[7], are explained as follows.

The type 1 is SM's which theirs classhood has adjective lexical features[8], viz. colour [e.g. أَبْيَض 'white', أَحْمَر 'red', أَزْرَق 'blue', أَسْوَد 'black/dark', أَصْفَر 'yellow', ثَاقِب 'bright', خَامِد 'quenched', خَضِر 'green', فَاقِع 'fawn', etc.], dimension [e.g. سَابِغ 'roomy', صَغِير 'small', ضَيِّق 'tight', طَوِيل 'long', فَارِغ 'empty', قَصِير 'short', كَبِير 'big', وَاسِع 'wide', etc], age [جَدِيد 'new', قَدِيم'ancient', etc.], عَجُول 'hurried', عَتِيق 'antique', شَيْخ 'old', خَالِيَة 'past', حَدِيث 'modern', value [e.g. جَمِيل 'lovely', حَرَام 'forbidden', حَسَن 'well', حَكِيم 'sage', خَاسِر 'lost', خَاطِئ 'wrong', سَيِّئ 'bad', شَقِيّ 'naughty', صَالِح 'righteous', طَيِّب 'good', غَنِيّ 'rich', فَقِير 'poor', كَرِيم 'honourable', etc], speed [e.g. بَطِيء 'slow', سَرِيع'fast', etc.], physical property [e.g. (for animate) أَعْرَج 'having leprosy', أَبْكَم 'mute', أَحْوَر 'beautiful(-eyed)', أَصَمّ 'deaf', أَبْرَص 'lame', أَعْمَى 'blind', أَلِيم 'poignant', بَئِيس 'wretched', حَامِل 'pregnant', حَيّ 'living (thing)', مَيِّت 'strong', قَوِيّ 'thin', عَجِف 'thirsty', ظَمْآن 'weak', ضَعِيف 'fat', سَمِين 'tired', حَسِير 'dead', مَرِيض 'sick', (for inanimate) بَارِد 'cold', ثَقِيل 'heavy', خَفِيف 'light', رَطْب'wet', رِجْس 'dirty', نَجِس 'salty', مِلْح 'soft', لَطِيف 'delicious', لَذَّة 'rough', غَلِيظ 'pure', طَاهِر و طَهِر و طَهِير 'clean', أَمِين 'withered', etc.], human propernsity [e.g. أَشِر 'insolent', نَظِيف 'trustworthy', جَاهِل 'fool', حَزِن 'sad', حَيْرَان 'confused', خَائِف 'scared', غَضْبَان 'angry', فَاكِه 'delight', فَرِح 'rejoiced', كَسْلَان 'lazy', مَسْرُور 'pleased', etc], similarity [e.g. خِلْف 'different', سَوَاء 'same', سَوِيّ 'equal', شَبِيه 'similar', شَتِيت 'miscellaneous', كُفُؤ 'equivalent', etc], difficulty [e.g. بَسِيط 'simple', سَهْل 'easy', صَعْب 'hard', عَسِير و عَسِر 'difficult', عَصِيب 'very hard', كَافٍ 'easy', مَيْسُور 'enough', عَدِيد'numerous', etc.], quantification [e.g. آخَر 'else', جَمِيع 'all', قَلِيل 'little', كَثِير 'much', جَدِير 'false', جَائِر 'unfair', qualification [e.g. بَاطِل 'worthy', حَرَام 'forbidden', حَقّ 'right', حَلَال 'lawful', خَاطِئ 'mistaken', صَحِيح 'true', etc.], position [e.g. ظَاهِر 'bottom', سَافِل 'near', دَانٍ 'far', بَعِيد 'interior', بَاطِن 'right', أَيْمَن 'mid', أَوْسَط 'exterior', عَالٍ–عَالِيَة 'top', عَمِيق 'deep', قَرِيب 'close', etc.], cardinal number [e.g. الأَوَّل – الأُولَى 'first', آخِر و أَخِير 'last', etc.].

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[7] cf. *Syntactic Behavior* for explanations and examples

[8] cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004: 3-5)

This type is not allowed to be derived from transitive verb. However, it is only derived from transitive triliteral verb in pattern exactly فَعُلَ [e.g. حَسُنَ 'to be well', جَمُلَ 'to be lovely', بَعُدَ 'to be far'], mostly فَعِلَ [وَسِعَ 'to become wide', سَرِعَ 'to become fast', حَمِرَ 'to become red'] and rarely فَعَلَ [e.g زَكَى 'holy', عَقَمَ 'barren', هَنَئَ 'satisfied']. It is also derived from triliteral verb which it is firmly in passive verb-pattern فُعِلَ, such as مَجْنُونٌ 'to be grieving' and جُنَّ 'to be crazy' which derived for كَظِيم 'grieving' and 'crazy'.

In this classhood, type 1 is allowed SM-pattern فَاعِلٌ [eg. آمِنٌ 'secure', غَائِبٌ 'absent', ثَابِتٌ 'firm', حَاسِدٌ 'envious', etc.] and SM-pattern مَفْعُولٌ [e.g. مَجْنُونٌ 'crazy', مَغْشِيٌّ 'unconscious', مَكْظُومٌ 'distressed', مَعْرُوفٌ 'reasonable'] which both must be distinguished from *ism fā'il* [e.g. شَاكِرٌ 'grateful ones', شَاهِدٌ 'witness', جَاعِلٌ 'creator', عَالِمٌ 'knower', etc.] and *ism maf'ūl* [e.g. مَحْفُوظٌ 'preserved', مَمْنُوعٌ 'prohibited', مَأْكُولٌ 'be eaten', etc.]. Some SM-pattern فَاعِلٌ may be claimed as *ism fā'il* as well [e.g. صَالِحٌ 'righteous ones', خَاطِئٌ 'erroneous ones', صَابِرٌ 'patient ones', كَافِرٌ 'infidel', etc.]. In addition, the word-pattern فَاعِلٌ doesn't only indicate SM and *ism fā'il*, but also *ism 'adad tartīby* (cardinal number) for two to ten and *ism mansūb* (relative noun) without *ya` nisbah* [e.g. لَابِنٌ 'milked'] (Ad-Daḥdāḥ, 1996: 473).

Most of type 1 have *tafḍil*-pattern, e.g. أَجْمَلُ 'more/most lovely', أَحْسَنُ 'better/the best', أَسْرَعُ 'faster/fastest', etc. The restriction is that if SM of this type is in pattern أَفْعَلُ and doesn't accept comparison meaning, e.g حَيٌّ 'living (thing)', مَيِّتٌ 'dead', etc.

Type 2: SM as alternative word-pattern between ism fā'il and ism maf'ūl

The characteristics of type 2 are which a) must be functioning *ṣifat*, b) has lexical features of verbs, c) is generally derived from transitive verb, d) is not allowed word-pattern فَاعِلٌ and مَفْعُولٌ in classhood because both are *ism fā'il* and *ism maf'ūl*, e) a little has paradigmatic relation with *ism tafḍīl*. Each of characteristics, except d)[9], are explained as follows.

The type 2 must be functioning as *ṣifat*. The underlined elements below, for examples, are type 2 of SM functioning as *ṣifat* which is as part of *tarkīb waṣfiy* in the brackets.

(1)	فَمَا لَبِثَ أَن جَاءَ بِ[عِجْلٍ حَنِيذٍ]
and hastened to entertain them with [a <u>roasted</u> calf]	
(2)	وَالنَّخْلَ بَاسِقَاتٍ لَّهَا [طَلْعٌ نَّضِيدٌ]
And lofty palm trees having [fruit <u>arranged</u>] in layers	
(3)	وَحَفِظْنَاهَا مِن كُلِّ [شَيْطَانٍ رَّجِيمٍ]
And (moreover) We have guarded them from every [<u>cursed</u> devil]	
(4)	[رَجُلٌ قَعِيدٌ] عَلَى الْكُرْسِيّ
[A man <u>sitting</u>] on the chair	

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[9] see *Type 1: SM in narrow sense,* paragraph "In class hood, type 1 is allowed SM-pattern …" for examples and explanations

The type 2 is SM's which theirs classhood has verb lexical features[10], viz. motion [e.g. طَرِيحٌ 'throwed away', تَبَعٌ وَتَبِيعٌ 'follower', دَخِيلٌ 'getting in', etc.], rest [نَؤُوْمٌ 'sleepyhead', يَقِظٌ و يَقْظَانٌ '(someone) waking up', قَعِيدٌ 'sitting (ones)', etc.], affect [e.g. أَسِيرٌ 'captive lit. captivated', قَتِيلٌ 'murdered', ظَلِيْمٌ 'be wronged', بَرِيَّةٌ 'creature lit. be created' ذَبِيْحٌ 'which be slaughtered', etc.], giving [e.g. خَدِيْمٌ 'servant', فَرِيْضَةٌ 'obligation lit. be obligated', رَسُوْلٌ 'messenger lit. who be sent', نَصِيرٌ–نَصِيْرَةٌ 'helper', etc.], attention [e.g بَصِيرٌ 'all-seeing', سَمِيْعٌ 'all-hearing' شَهِيْدٌ 'witness', حَبِيْبٌ 'beloved or beloving', شَهِيْرٌ 'famed', etc.], speaking [e.g. أَعْجَمُ و أَعْجَمِيٌّ 'non-arab literally (lit.) speaking Arabic ones inarticulately', فَصِيْحٌ 'fluent', لَعِيْنٌ 'damned', حَمِيْدٌ 'praiseworthy lit. be praised', نَبِيٌّ و نَبِيْءٌ 'prophet lit. messenger', etc.].

This type is only allowed to be derived from transitive verb, viz. which has in pattern most of فَعَلَ [e.g. حَصَدَ 'mow', خَنَذَ 'roast', رَجَمَ 'curse', ضَرَبَ 'hit', etc.], some of فَعِلَ [تَبِعَ 'follow', حَفِظَ 'guard', حَمِدَ 'praise', etc.] and none of فَعُلَ. When derived from transitive verb, SM indicates either passive meaning or active. If it is active, SM is often accompanied by meaning of excessiveness (*mubālagah*).

A few of type 2 has *tafḍīl*-pattern. Especially, they are which have lexical features of attention or indicate degree of continuum, e.g. أَحَبُّ 'most/more beloved', أَرْحَمُ most/more merciful', أَظْلَمُ 'most/more wrong', أَعْلَمُ 'most/more knowing', أَفْصَحُ 'most/more eloquent', etc.

Type 3: SM as absolute noun incorporation

The characteristics of type 3 are which a) must be functioning as *ṣifat*, b) has lexical features of nouns, c) is derived from denominal verbs and sometimes has no verbs as derivational axises, d) isnn`t predictable in SM-patterns, e) has no paradigmatic relation with *ism tafḍīl*. The following examples illustrates how SM type 3 is derived.

Absolute noun	SM	Verb
a) body and other parts of human		
بَدَنٌ 'body'	بَادِنٌ و بَدِيْنٌ و مِبْدَانٌ 'obese lit. having a big body'	بَدُنَ 'to be obese'
بَطْنٌ 'belly'	بَطِنٌ 'distended'	بَطِنَ 'to be distended'
بَطْنٌ 'belly'	مَبْطُوْنٌ 'stomach pain, heartburn'	- - -
ثَدْيٌ و ثَدَى 'breasts'	ثَدْيَاءُ '(of a woman) having large breast, busty, plump'	- - -
جَسَدٌ 'body'	جَسَدٌ 'bodied'	تَجَسَّدَ 'to be bodied'
دِمَاغٌ 'brain, cerebrum'	دَمِيْغٌ 'braining'	دَمَغَ 'to be braining'
دَمْعٌ 'tear'	دَمِعٌ و دَمِيْعٌ 'maudlin, tearfully sentimental'	دَمِعَ '(of tears) to drip'

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[10] cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004: 3-5)

رَأْسٌ 'head'	رَئِيسٌ 'chief, head'	رَأَسَ 'to head'
رِجْلٌ 'foot or leg'	رَجِلٌ و رَجْلَانُ 'walking, on foot, pedestrian'	رَجِلَ 'to be on foot'
شَعْرٌ 'hair'	شَعِرٌ و شَعْرَانِيٌّ 'hairy'	شَعَرَ و أَشْعَرَ و تَعَشَّرَ و اسْتَشْعَرَ 'to be hairy'
لِحْيَةٌ 'beard'	لِحْيَانٌ و لِحْيَانِيٌّ و أَلْحَى 'bearded'	الْتَحَى 'to be bearded'
شَيْبٌ 'gray hair'	شَائِبٌ وشَائِبٌ و أَشْيَبُ 'gray-haired'	شَابَ 'to be gray-haired'
عَقْلٌ 'intellect'	عَاقِلٌ 'intelligent'	عَقَلَ و عَقَّلَ 'to be intelligent, grown-up'
عَقْلٌ 'intellect'	عَقِيلٌ 'intellectual'	عَقَلَ و عَقَّلَ 'to be intelligent, grown-up'
عَيْنٌ 'eye'	عِينٌ 'big and lustrous eyes'	عَيِنَ 'to be big and lustrous eyes'
لَبَنٌ 'milk'	لَبِنٌ و لَبُونٌ 'milky	لَبَنَ 'to breast-feed'
لَحْمٌ 'meat, flesh'	لَحِيمٌ 'meaty, fleshy'	لَحُمَ 'to be meaty, fleshy'

b) *artefacts*

خُبْزٌ 'bread'	خَبِيزٌ 'made into bread, bread dough'	خَبَزَ و اخْتَبَزَ 'to make a bread'
خَمْرٌ 'wine'	خَمِرٌ 'intoxicated with wine, drunken'	- - -
دِرْعٌ 'armor'	دَارِعٌ 'armored'	دَرَّعَ 'to wear an armor'
عِطْرٌ 'perfume'	عَطِرٌ 'perfume user, fragrant'	عَطِرَ 'to be fragrant, use perfume'
كُحْلٌ و كِحَالٌ 'kohl or mascara'	أَكْحَلُ 'coloured with black-mascara'	كَحَلَ و كَحَّلَ 'to be coloured with black-mascara'

c) *environment*

حَجَرٌ 'stone, rock'	حَجِيرٌ و حَجِرٌ 'rocky'	- - -
حَمَأٌ و حَمْأَةٌ 'dark mud'	حَمِئَةٌ 'black muddy'	حَمِئَ 'to be black muddy'
شَجَرٌ و شَجَرَةٌ 'tree, wood'	شَجِرٌ و أَشْجَرُ 'woody, (of an area of land) covered with trees'	- - -

d) *celestial*

شَمْسٌ 'sun'	شَمِسٌ 'sunny'	– – –

Generally, the SM-pattern of type 3 may be different with its noun-pattern. Whereas, which has SM-pattern similarly with its noun-pattern is *jasadun* as mentioned in the examples. SM-patterns of classhood cannot predictable. In classhood, type 3 is allowed SM-pattern مَفْعُولٌ،

e.g. مَبْطُونٌ 'heartburn'. However, not all with the pattern مَفْعُولٌ belong to this type because it is more strongly claimed to be *ism maf'ūl* than SM. For example, مَوْقُوتٌ '(at) fixed times' is *ism maf'ūl* because derived from transitive verb وَقَتَ or وَقَّتَ 'to fix time of'. The verb is denominal verb derived from noun وَقْتٌ 'time'. Though type 3 may also allow SM-pattern فَاعِلٌ , it can be claimed as *ism fā'il*. This is because the SM has other pattern with same meaning, such as *bādinun, badīnun, mibdānun* are single SM with same meaning 'obese', lit. 'body with overweight'.

On derivational perspective, SM of type 3 can be derived from verb-triliteral, verb-augmented (*mazīd*), and verb-less. This indicates that type 3 is derived from noun, not from verb. This also weakens the notion that SM should be formed from verb. Likewise, the verbs of the examples above are derived from noun. This linguistic phenomenon is termed as noun incorporation, viz. "a construction in which a noun stem is combined with a verb to form a new, morphologically complex verb" (Sapir 1911 cited Mithun & Barbara, 2000: 916)

The Arabic incorporation of noun was discussed by Glanville (2018) on his work entitled *The Lexical Semantics of the Arabic Verb*. In general, incorporation was defined by him as the incorporation of various lexeme into single word-form. In the incorporation, consonant root is lexical feature core of the word-form, such as كَاتِبٌ *kātibun* 'writer' that is incorporation of lexeme *k-t-b* 'to write' and *ā-i* 'agent'. In another discussion, Glanville (2018: 64-65) explained denominal incorporation that is forming a verb with nominal root. He gave some examples of nominal root incorporated with verb-pattern *ifta'āla* as follows.

عُنُقٌ	'neck'	اِعْتَنَقَ	'to embrace'
لِحْيَةٌ	'beard'	الْتَحَى	'to grow a bread'
رِدَاءٌ	'robe, garment'	اِرْتَدَى	'to get dressed, wear'
دِثَارٌ	'blanket, cover'	اِدَّثَرَ	'to cover up'
حِرْفَةٌ	'profession, craft'	اِحْتَرَفَ	'to take as a profession'
عَادَةٌ	'custom, norm, habit'	اِعْتَادَ	'to get accustomed to'

Denominal verb with pattern *ifta'ala* is incorporation a noun to a verb having complex semantic structure, viz. noun as an semantic object and pronoun as semantic agent and recipient (reflexive). This explanation applies to all verbs in the example above except the verb اِعْتَنَقَ.

Based on the explanations, it can be deduced that type 3 is morphological incorporation of noun into adjective (read. SM) which is generally with morphological process. Semantic features incorporated into tipe 3 are complicated and difficult to be formulated. As for the examples, the semantic features that appear most often are *having + noun (parts of body) + big/much*, such as بَادِنٌ 'having a big body' or 'obese'.

Type 4: SM as lexicalization of metaphor

The characteristics of type 4 are which a) must be functioning *ṣifat* because of *tasybīh* (metaphor), b) has lexical features of nouns, c) is derived from denominal verbs and often has no verbs as derivational axises, d) is in same pattern with its noun-pattern, e) has no paradigmatic relation with *ism tafḍīl*.

Type 4 of SM are absolute noun functioning as *ṣifat* in *tarkīb waṣfiy*, such as أَسَدٌ 'lion', حِمَارٌ 'donkey', دُرَرٌ 'pearls' in the following example.

(1)   رَجُلٌ أَسَدٌ

Rajulun	*asadun*	
man	lion	
<*mauṣūf*>	<*ṣifat*>	
'a <u>brave</u> man' (like a lion)		

(2) رَجُلٌ حِمَارٌ

Rajulun	*himārun*
man	donkey
<*mauṣūf*>	<*ṣifat*>
'a <u>stupid</u> man (like donkey)	

(3) كَلَامٌ دُرَرٌ

kalāmun	*durarun*
words	pearls
<*mauṣūf*>	<*ṣifat*>
'words of wisdom' (like pearls)	

The underlined elements above are absolute noun having lexical content fauna and artefact. They are functioning as *ṣifat* which aims to explain similarity of charateristic or behaviour between *ṣifat* and *mauṣuf*. In Arabic tradition, these phrases construction are encoded as "*tasybīh*".

Etymologically تَشبيه *tasybīh* is to similarize. *Tasybīh,* according to Al-Jārim & Amīn, (1999: 20), is to explain one thing or some things with another one because of one similar characteristic or more. *Tasybīh* can be counterparted with term "metaphor" in western linguistics tradition. Metaphor is defined by Lakoff & Johnson (2003) as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another". According to Bauer (2000), metaphor is one way of making new words by giving a new meaning to an old word. The metaphor commonly used in human language make it possible to create new lexeme and this phenomenon was named lexcilazation of metaphor (Bauer, 2000: 833). So, the word *asadun*, for Arabs, is reused to symbolize braveness", *ḥimārun* to "stupidity", and *durarun* to "valuableness". These examples at least prove this lexicalization. It also may be investigated through presence of denominal verb within Arabic dictionaries. For examples, we can find denominal verb asida and ẓaiba within Arabic-Indonesian dictionary Al-Munawwir (1997, 23 and 436) as below this paragraph. However, not all metaphorical SM's have a verb-form.

(In English)   * أَسِدَ – َ أَسَدًا
– to become confused because seeing a lion   Menjadi bingung   – : دَهِشَ مِنْ رُؤْيَةِ الأَسَدِ
                                                              karena melihat singa
– to become (or be similar with) a lion (in   Menjadi seperti (menyerupai)   – : صَارَ كَالأَسَدِ
  character)   singa (sifatnya)
– lion   Singa   الأَسَدُ (ج أُسْدٌ وَأُسُودٌ)
– the brave, the intrepid   Yang berani. pemberani   – : الشُّجَاعُ

–	to resembling a coyote (in cunningness and evilness)	Menyerupai anjing hutan (licik dan jahatnya)	ذَئِبَ وَذَؤُبَ وَتَذَأَّبَ
–	a coyote, wolf	Anjing hutan, serigala	الذِّئْبُ (ج ذِنَابٌ وَذُؤْبَانٌ وَأَذْؤُبٌ)
–	thieves, weak people, poor and insulted	Pencuri-pencurinya, orang-orangnya yang lemah, miskin dan hina dina	ذُؤْبَانُ الْعَرَب

Type 5: SM as term of kinship and social category

The characteristics of type 5 are which a) a few may be functioning as *ṣifat*, b) has lexical features of kinship term and social category, c) is derived from denominal verbs and is often not found the verbs as the derivational axis, d) is in same pattern with its noun-pattern, e) has no paradigmatic relation with *ism tafḍīl*.

The following table provides examples of SM type 5 and available feminine forms, and the verbs as derivational axises.

SM		Verb	
أُنْثَى	'woman'	– – –	
أَيِّمٌ	'single, unmarried, sole'	آمَ	'to be sole'
ثَيِّبٌ	'widow/widowed'	ثَيَّبَ	'to be widowed'
حَلِيلٌ – حَلِيلَةٌ	'husband-wife'	أَحَلَّ	'to become lawfull'
خِدْنٌ	'mistress, concubine, secret lover'	خَادَنَ	'to get a concubine'
خَلِيلٌ – خَلِيلَةٌ	'friend'	خَالَّ	'to be friend with'
دَعِيٌّ	'adopted son'	أَدْعَى	'to confess as adopted son'
ذَكَرٌ	'man'	– – –	
زَوْجٌ – زَوْجَةٌ	'husband-wife'	تَزَوَّجَ	'to marry'
سَلَفٌ	'ancestor, predecessor'	سَلَفَ	'to predate'
سَيِّدٌ – سَيِّدَةٌ	'Mr. – Mrs.'	سَادَ	'to be Mr. – Mrs.'
سِبْطٌ	'tribe'	– – –	
شَابٌّ شَابَّةٌ	'young man-woman'	شَبَّ	'to be young man-woman'
شَيْخٌ – شَيْخَةٌ	'old man – woman'	شَاخَ	'to get old'
صِهْرٌ	'related by marriage'	صَاهَرَ	'to be related by marriage'
صَاحِبٌ – صَاحِبَةٌ	'friend'	صَحِبَ و صَاحَبَ	'to be friend with'
صَبِيٌّ	'child'	صَبِيٌّ	'to be childish'
صَدِيقٌ – صَدِيقَةٌ	'friend'	صَادَقَ	'to be friend with
عَدُوٌّ	'enemy'	عَادَى	'to hostile
عَشِيرٌ – عَشِيرَةٌ	'companion'	عَاشَرَ	'to be live with, to be companied'
فَتَى — فَتَاةٌ	'boy-girl'	فَتِيَ	'to be young man/woman'
قَبِيلَةٌ	'tribe'	– – –	

نَقِيْبٌ	'leader'	نَقِبَ	'to become a leader'
وَلَدٌ	'child'	وَلَدَ	'to beget, give birth'
يَتِيْمٌ – يَتِيمَةٌ	'orphan, fatherless'	يَتِمَ	'to be an orphan'

Not all nouns within the table above has been realized as ṣifat. Only a few can be functioning as ṣifat, e.g. *yatīmun* 'orphan', *śayyibatun* 'widow', and *'aduwwun* 'enemy':

(1) عَاشَ [طِفْلٌ يَتِيْمٌ] بِرِفْقَةِ عَمِّهِ

'[An <u>orphan</u> child] lived with his uncle'

(2) مِنْ رَجُلٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّوْبَةِ بِمِصْرَ اسْمُهُ السَّيِّدُ عَبْدُ الرَّحِيْمُ أَنَّهُ خَطَبَ [امْرَأَةً ثَيِّبَةً] مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَحَلَّةِ لِنَفْسِهِ

'One of the men from Nubia Egypt, his name is Mr. Abd Al-Rahim, proposed to [a <u>widowed</u> woman] from Mahallah for himself'

(3) هُوَ رَسُوْلٌ [رَجُلٌ عَدُوٌّ] لَنَا

'He is a messenger, [a man, <u>an enemy</u>] to us'

Categorizing the nouns into SM may be caused by lexical related to, word-pattern, having feminine-form, and overlaping with tipe 1 which have lexical feature "age". The first is meaning related to. Analogically, any word that denotes the meaning of the term kinship and social category is classified as SM. Secondly, some of type 5 have similar word-pattern with major SM-pattern, such as فَعُوْلٌ، فَعَلٌ، فَعْيِلٌ، فَعِيْلٌ. Thirdly, some may be feminized with suffix *tā` ta`nīs marbūtah* ـة. Fourthly, some classhood of type 5 also contain lexical content "age", such as *waladun* 'child', *ṣabiyyun* ' youth/child', *fatā* 'youth', *syābbun* 'youth', *unśā* 'woman (an adult human female)'.

Type 6: Ism non-SM

The characteristics of type 6 are which a) must not be or may be functioning as ṣifat, b) has lexical features of absolute noun, c) is derived from denominal verbs and the verb is not often found, d) is in same pattern with SM-pattern, e.g. فَاعِلٌ، فَعُوْلٌ، فَعِيْلٌ, e) none has paradigmatic relation with *ism tafḍīl*.
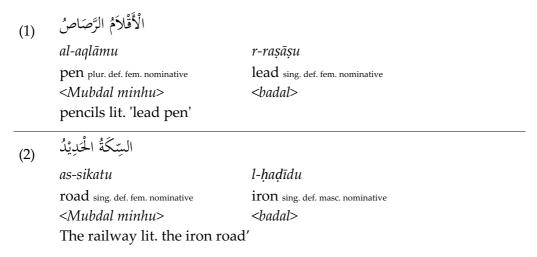
It is said that type 6 must not be functioning ṣifat because this type is restricted as ṣifat. Meanwhile, it said that it may be functioning as ṣifat because any ism may be functioning as ṣifat through metaphorical mechanism as type 4. So, this type is called with ism non-SM because that its syntactic behavior is so. The following provides examples of SM type 6 and available verbs as derivational axises.

SM		**Verb**	
a) artefacts			
حَصِيْرٌ	'prison'	حَاصَرَ	'to imprison'
رَحِيْقٌ	'pure wine'	– – –	- - -
سَبِيْلٌ	'way'	– – –	- - -
صِرَاطٌ	'path, way'	– – –	- - -
أَرِيْكٌ	'couch'	– – –	- - -

حَدِيْدٌ	'iron'	اِحْتَدَّ	'to become strong, like an iron'
رَصَاصٌ	'lead, tin'	رَصَّصَ	'to be tinning'
أَصِيْلٌ	'evening, afternoon'	– – –	- - -
صَرِيْمٌ	'dark night'	– – –	- - -
عَشِيٌّ	'evening'	– – –	- - -
غَاسِقٌ	'dark night, darkness'	أَغْسَقَ	'(of night) to be dark'

b) flora

ضَرِيْعٌ	'a bitter thorny plant'	– – –	- - -

c) environtment

صَيِّبٌ	'rainstorm'	صَابَ	'to be raining down'
مَارِجٌ	'a smokeless flame'	– – –	- - -

d) body and other parts of human

صَدِيْدٌ	'pus'	أَصَدَّ و صَدَّدَ	'to purulent'

e) onomatopoeia

حَسِيْسٌ	(the) slightest sound	– – –	- - -
زَفِيْرٌ	'sigh'	زَفَرَ	'to heave sigh'
شَهِيْقٌ	'sob'	شَهِقَ	'to heave sob'

Some ism non-SM may be functioning as *badal* within tarkīb badaliy that it is similar construction with tarkīb waṣfiy. Al-Gulāyainiy (1993: 238) defined *tarkīb badaliy* as *tarkīb* consisting of *mubdal minhu* 'subtituted-for' and *badal* 'substitute'. Meanwhile, Badawi et al. (2004: 123) counterparts *tarkīb badaliy* with appotition in English, for examples;

(1) الْأَقْلَامُ الرَّصَاصُ

al-aqlāmu   *r-raṣāṣu*

pen plur. def. fem. nominative   lead sing. def. fem. nominative

<Mubdal minhu>   *<badal>*

pencils lit. 'lead pen'

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(2) السِّكَّةُ الْحَدِيْدُ

as-sikatu   *l-ḥadīdu*

road sing. def. fem. nominative   iron sing. def. masc. nominative

<Mubdal minhu>   *<badal>*

The railway lit. the iron road'

Both stuctures above are *tarkīb badaliy* consisting of badal, *ar-raṣaṣu* 'lead' and *al-ḥadīdu* 'iron', and *mubdal minhu, al-aqlāmu* 'pen' and as-sikkatu 'road'. Badal and *mubdal minhu* must be agree in term definity and declension, but not in others. The grammatical meaning

of both *tarkīb badaliy* above is to characterize, viz. that material substance of *mubdal minhu* is come from badal.

Badawi et. al. (2004: 123) explained that characterizing material substance in classical Arabic can be expressed by either *badaliy* (apposition) or *idāfiy* (annexation). Both structures have been preserved within modern written Arabic. Another similar example found in the Qur'ān is as follows.

(3) مَّاءٍ صَدِيدٍ

Mā`in   *ṣadīdin*

water   pus

<Mubdal minhu>   *<badal>*

'pus water'

The classhood of type 6 include classhood of type 5 that they cannot be functioning as ṣifat. The basic difference between type 6 and type 5 is whether or not it can be feminized.

CONCLUSION

SM was often counterparted with adjectives by Western grammarians because the prominent lexical and grammatical features of SM is similar to adjectives. Nevertheless, SM is not similar exactly to adjective because SM has various lexical features other than adjectives and has grammatical features of noun as other Arabic nouns. In addition, the universality of adjectives in cross-linguistic studies of word classes is skeptical because not all languages have adjectives as an independent word class as well as Arabic.

SM is one of Arabic derivative noun subclasses that was given by traditional Arabic grammarians to accommodate other derivative nouns which can be functioning as *ṣifat* 'noun attribute' and have *'amal.* But, it cannot be classified as *ism fā'il, ism maf'ūl, ism tafḍīl dan ṣigah mubālagah.* In other words, SM is "a trash class" of other Arabic derivative nouns. It also shows that traditional Arabic grammar emphazised a morphosyntactic paradigm. This is understandable because the categorization of Arabic word classes must be on the basis of internal Arabic grammatical criteria. Therefore, as a result, SM has complexities of word-forms and lexical meanings.

The complexity of the SM notions can be fixed by the elaboration of modern linguistics especially about parts of speech and SM notions as internal grammatical criteria. The elaboration suggests five principles of categorization, i.e. a) be functioning as *ṣifat*, b) lexical features c) the derivation of SM, d) SM-patterns, e) paradigmatic relation with *tafḍīl.* The application of five principles results in six types of SM, viz. 1) SM in a narrow sense, 2) SM as alternative word-pattern between *ism fā'il* and *ism maf'ūl*, 3) SM as absolute noun incorporation, 4) SM as lexicalization of metaphor, 5) SM as a term of kinship and social category, 6) ism non-SM.

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