

Themed section



Muslim chess players in the Palatine Chapel, Palermo (digital adaptation: architect Floriana Marino)

edited by

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Which differences? Notes for a project on Sicilian and Andalusian grammarians

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Andalusian and Sicilian grammarians¹

In an important article titled “The Andalusian Grammarians, are they different?,” Michael Carter turned his attention to the detectable peculiarities in the grammatical thought of al-Andalus that he took as being representative of the entire Maghrib area:

Following the practice of those less familiar with this part of the Arab world than Ibn Khaldūn, we shall take al-Andalus as standing for the whole *maghrib* (henceforth Maghrib), as the “West”, a single geographical unit embracing both the African and the Spanish domains between which scholars moved freely. However, a chronological division will be made between al-Andalus under the Umayyads (139-423/756-1031) and al-Andalus under the subsequent régimes up to the Reconquista of 1492. The two periods are highly asymmetric, but the qualitative difference between them is equally extreme.²

The grammarians of the Arab West, above all those active in the Umayyad epoch, such as al-Qālī (d. 356/967), went for their training to famous schools in the East where they acquired their knowledge, in a spirit of emulation and competition, before spreading it through their teachings in their lands of origin where there was a strong felt need of normalizing the language.³ In his article, Carter dwells on the existing differences between *ahl al-Mašriq* and *ahl al-Mağrib*, both in the approaches and in the terms used⁴—it seems that in the West the use of mnemonic processes of knowledge acquisition was prevalent, to the

1 In this article pages 67-74 and the Bibliography are by Mirella CASSARINO, pages 74-76 by Antonella GHERSETTI. We wish to express our gratitude to the editors, Lutz Edzard and Stephan Guth, for having accepted to publish this special section on Arab-Sicilian and Andalusian Grammarians in the *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*. The essays contained in it are the fruit of the reworking of some of the papers presented at the 28th Conference of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (Palermo, 12-15 September 2016) in the frame of the panel “Arab-Sicilian and Andalusian Grammarians”.

2 CARTER 2012: 31.

3 This is demonstrated in the experience of Šā‘id b. al-Ḥasan al-Raba‘ī (d. 1026), who travelled from Baghdad to the Maghrib because in that area of the Arab world there was a felt need of “luġa”. See CARTER 2012: 32 e n. 5.

4 CARTER 2012: 40-43.

detriment of comprehension—both in juridical and theological schools and this had important effects on grammatical methods.⁵ It is enough to consider the well-known case of the Andalusian grammarian Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī (d. 591/1196),⁶ who belonged to the *zāhirī* school that promoted an approach to texts free of personal interpretations (*ra'y*) and of the imitation of authoritative models (*taqlīd*). This grammarian, rejecting in absolute terms the concept of linguistic causality⁷ and bringing into discussion the grammatical theory of regency (*naẓariyyat al-ʿāmil*),⁸ was the protagonist of a process of reform and of simplification of the Arab linguistic tradition, already felt as necessary by many of his predecessors.⁹ Other aspects that seem to have characterized Andalusian grammarians, in particular those active between the end of the Umayyad epoch and the *Reconquista*, were a striking individualism and a particular eccentricity: this was the case, for example, of Ṭallā al-Munaḡḡim, a contemporary of al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989), of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Rabāḥī (d. 358/968) and of others, usually described as strange or solitary spirits.¹⁰ We might add to the grammarians mentioned by Carter references to grammarians from Sicily who undoubtedly gravitated in the Maghrib orbit and had contact with the learned men of al-Andalus.

It is not superfluous to recall here (with the aim of better framing the question of relations between Sicilian and Andalusian grammarians) that the duration of the Islamic presence in the two areas of the Arab-Islamic West was very different. Sicily, situated at the centre of the Mediterranean, was conquered, Arabized and Islamicized somewhat later compared to other areas of the Western Mediterranean (827–965). Indeed it entered to form part of the *Dār al-Islām* from the ninth century onwards and remained within it for a relatively brief period of time. The Christian reconquest of the island by the Normans began as early as 1061, a fact that had prevented the constitution of a strong power such as that of the Umayyads in Spain. The Islamic conquest of Spain, on the other hand, began as is known with the landing in Gibraltar in 711, and continued with the foundation of the Emirate of Cordoba in 753 and then concluded with the foundation of the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus in 929. In 1031 the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* epoch began. In Spain the reconquest went through alternating phases and periods of stasis and the last Moorish realm, Granada, was taken in 1492. The advent of the Normans in Sicily generated an exodus of the island's intellectual elite (and thus of grammarians too), above all towards al-Andalus where they

5 It is not by chance that the Arab biographical dictionaries usually indicate the affiliation of grammarians to a given juridical school. We know, for example, that the Andalusian Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) was *zāhirī* and that for this reason he rejected the *istiḥsān* (a term translatable with juridical preference or legal equity)—a concept that grammar borrowed from the law—and which Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) on his part, belonging to the *šāfiʿī* school, considered with suspicion. The *istiḥsān* was probably accepted by the *Ḥanafītes*.

6 On this Andalusian grammarian I suggest WOLFE 1990: 295-306; VERSTEEGH 2013: 207-232.

7 CARTER 2012:34.

8 CAMPANELLI 2016.

9 Considerable attention is given to this matter in the as yet unpublished doctoral thesis of Marta Campanelli, *Complessità ed astrattezza della tradizione linguistica araba: la teoria della reggenza e la contestazione di Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī* (presented at the University of Rome La Sapienza in 2016).

10 CARTER 2012: 35-40.

found refuge in the courts of the Iberian peninsula. This was, inevitably, a unidirectional migration that marked the end of reciprocal cultural exchange. In al-Andalus, as the research carried out for example by Salvador Peña,¹¹ Francesco Binaghi,¹² and Marta Campanelli¹³ demonstrates, grammatical production continued to be abundant and at times particular. It is enough to consider the results presented by those scholars who edited the *ECA*, the *Enciclopedia de la Cultura Andalusí*,¹⁴ to realise the number of linguists and grammarians who were active there, but who no longer had anything in common with Sicilian production, given that the island was by that time out the orbit of Islam.

Sicily, al-Andalus and the “hidden aspects”

Arab sources, especially historical and prosopographic sources, provide us with glimpses of how the relations between learned men of al-Andalus and Sicily during the ninth and tenth centuries were rather intense and productive both in circles more directly connected to religious sciences as a whole and in what we might call “lay” circles.¹⁵ As authoritative scholars of Islamic Sicily have already usefully observed, “It proves extremely difficult, with regard to intellectuals from al-Andalus and Sicily, to say which was a greater influence on the other”.¹⁶ It is enough here, and for reasons of available space, to mention some significant examples. So let us consider, as far as Quranic studies are concerned, the case of Ḥalaf b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurṭubī b. al-Ḥaṣṣār, *muqri*¹⁷ from al-Andalus, who died in 1117 and was a pupil, in Sicily, of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Azdī, known for being one of the most famous *qāri*¹⁸ of the island and the case of various Andalusian scholars who, on Spanish soil, studied under the guide of a Sicilian master, i.e. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Hārūn al-Ṣiqillī.¹⁸ And again in the field of *‘ilm al-qirā’āt*, we note how Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥalaf b. Muḥriz al-Anṣārī al-Ṣaṭībī al-Andalusī was a pupil both of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Hammūš al-Ṣiqillī, and of Ibn al-Faḥḥām al-Ṣiqillī (1030-1122), albeit in Egypt this time and, to be precise, in Alexandria. It is indeed to Ibn al-Faḥḥām that we owe the glosses to a well-known grammar text composed by Ibn Babašād (469/1077) of whom he was a pupil in Cairo together with Ḥalaf b. Ibrāhīm, he too a conveyor of the master’s work.¹⁹

Definite reciprocity in cultural exchange is also to be found in the field of prophetic traditions. We know, indeed, that Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Quraṣī al-Mazarī al-Ṣiqillī (he died in Alexandria in 1135) trained under the guidance of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-

11 PEÑA 1991: 43-53; 1993: 59-79; 2006: 203-220; 2013: 233-250.

12 BINAGHI 2016.

13 See fn. 8.

14 See LIROLA DELGADO J., J. M. PUERTA VÍLCHEZ (eds.), *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, particularly vol. VII, Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2009.

15 GABRIELI 1950; RIZZITANO 1975; al-DÜRĪ 1980; DE SIMONE 1989.

16 DE SIMONE 1989: 20.

17 IBN BAŠKUWĀL ed. 1966, I: 174.

18 al-DÜRĪ 1980: 218.

19 RIZZITANO 1975: 189-194.

Ṭurṭūšī,²⁰ just as the traditionalist of Murcia Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. Saʿāda, who was *faqīh* and *qāḍī* at one and the same time, was a pupil of the most celebrated of the Imām al-Mazarī.²¹ And now we come to some examples relating to the field that interests us here, the grammatical and lexical area. The sources give us the name of Ibn al-Birr al-Ṣiqillī, born in Sicily towards the end of the tenth century, and who, after having studied in Alexandria—we find him there in 1024—and then in Mahdiya, returned at the end of the Kalbite period, when Sicily was torn by the conflicts between the four *qāʿid* who contested domination of the island.²² It was one of these, Ibn Mankūd, who warmly welcomed him to Mazara, the city in which Ibn al-Birr practised his teachings and where he also had occasion to meet Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (d. 418/1027-28). From Mazara the philologist was obliged to move to Palermo, where he continued his activity as teacher and where he remained until 1068. Arab sources do not provide the titles of his works, but they do grant him some achievements, paramount his having transmitted al-Ġawharī's dictionary to his pupil Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, who, it seems, then disseminated it in Egypt. We also owe to him his having contributed to the survival of the poetic tradition of al-Mutanabbī (d. 355/965) not only in Sicily, but also in Egypt where he lived in exile after the arrival of the Normans. Lastly, it seems that he carried out the revision of the work of *lahn al-ʿamma* by Ibn Makkī al-Ṣiqillī, which will receive attention below. We also find, among the others active in Sicily, the Andalusian Šāʿid b. al-Ḥasan al-Rabaʿī (d. 417/1026), not by chance nicknamed *al-luġawī*. This last, following the death of the *ḥāġib* (chamberlain) al-Manšūr b. Abī ʿAmir, royal lord of al-Andalus from 978 to 1002, whose teacher he had been together with Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī e Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, left Spain to travel to the Kalbite court in Sicily. From there he travelled again to Cordoba, before passing away on our island during a further journey. Saʿīd b. Faṭḥūn al-Qurṭubī, another grammarian, was instead active in Sicily right up to his death. He was an expert in metrics, in music and philosophy and it is to him that we owe the editing of a *Kitāb al-ʿafāl* that was to have some role in the training of Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ and in the writing of his homonymous work.²³ This was organized as a compendium and comment to the *Kitāb al-ʿafāl* of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya al-Qurṭubī (d. 367/977), of which a manuscript copy exists, held in the Lucchesiana Library in Agrigento. With the advent of the Normans on the island, Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ indeed emigrated to Andalusia. We find him having been welcomed to the court at Zaragoza (testified in a rhymed prose epistle that has come down to us), where the Banū Hūd dynasty had supplanted the Banū Tuġīb dynasty in governing the city. From there he moved in the end to Egypt where he probably arrived with the fame of his writings having preceded him. Here he became educator to the children of the *wazīr* al-Afḍal and taught metrics, grammar and lexicography successfully. The double name of al-Ṣiqillī and al-Miṣrī that is sometimes attributed to him by biographers and the great numbers of pupils who in Egypt acquired and transmitted his writings is tes-

20 al-DÜRİ 1980: 213.

21 BORRUSO 1983: 33-43.

22 RIZZITANO, "Ibn al-Birr". In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 06 October 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3117>; DE SIMONE: 20.

23 DE SIMONE: 21.

timony to the success and the importance of his work.²⁴ I feel it is important to make reference here to another network of evident relations: if there is indeed no doubt, given that we find it declared in the *Tatqīf al-lisān*, that the work of al-Zubaydī al-Iṣbīlī (m. 379/989) was fundamental for the writing of the *Tatqīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī al-Ṣiqillī (d. 507/1107),²⁵ it is also true that the grammarian al-Zubaydī had been a pupil, in his turn, of other Sicilian masters, of Abū ‘Imrān al-Ṣiqillī and Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Billanūbī al-Ṣiqillī. Textual relations (this is a more recent acquisition) exist between the work *al-Madḥal ilā taqwīm al-lisān wa ta‘līm al-bayān* by the Andalusian Ibn Hišām al-Laḥmī and those of *laḥn al-‘amma* by his two predecessors, al-Zubaydī e Ibn Makkī. The work of Ibn Hišām al-Laḥmī, published by José Pérez Lázaro in 1990, indeed opens with two brief polemical texts, not by chance titled *Radd ‘alā al-Zubaydī* (Confutation against al-Zubaydī), and *Radd ‘alā Ibn Makkī* (Confutation against Ibn Makkī),²⁶ in which he rectifies some deviations from the norm recorded by his predecessors. Also to be borne in mind is the fact that both al-Zubaydī and al-Qālī, who attracted the interest of Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (d. 456/1064), perhaps due to the absence in the works of both men of any form of speculative thought on language,²⁷ were active in the court of the first Andalusian Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir.²⁸ Both probably represented, as Salvador Peña has observed, “the official trend of linguistics in al-Andalus at the time, being very well acquainted with each other”.²⁹ It therefore seems that in no way did al-Qālī, pupil in Baghdad of Ibn Durustawayhi (d. 347/958), of Ibn Durayd (d. 323/934) and of Ibn al-Sarrāğ (d. 316/928) seek a role in the transmission to the West of the innovative ideas in the linguistic–grammatical field expressed, as is known, by what is called the School of Baghdad. Furthermore, among the pupils of the grammarian al-Zağğāğī (d. 337/949), we find Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣiqillī al-Dimašqī al-Naḥwī, who died in Mecca immediately after having completed his pilgrimage. He was born in Sicily and also became a grammarian and poet.³⁰ It is not inappropriate to recall, apropos of differing tendencies that were already forming in al-Andalus, that Ibn Ğundal (d. 401/1011), in his commentary on the *Kitāb* di Sībawayhi,³¹ confuted al-Zubaydī and went well beyond the transmission of data or of simple models of prescriptive grammar.³²

The examples given, far from being comprehensive, do however give the idea of the depth and the intensity of relations between the scholars with linguistic interests of Ṣiqilliyya and of al-Andalus. They also demonstrate how the weave of relations extended well beyond these two areas of the Maghrib and touched the entire Arab–Islamic world of

24 RIZZITANO 1975.

25 Ed. 1966.

26 CASSARINO 2007.

27 PEÑA 2005.

28 FIERRO 2005.

29 PEÑA 2013: 237.

30 BINAGHI 2016.

31 *Šarḥ ‘uyūn Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. Cairo, 1984.

32 CAMPANELLI 2016.

that time.³³ Only an in-depth knowledge of these relations, corroborated by textual analysis, might allow for a more correct and nuanced reconstruction of both Western grammatical thought and of the more comprehensive developments of linguistic science disciplines in the Arab–Islamic East and West.

New elements in research

Relations of a historical, political, social and cultural nature between Muslim Sicily and al-Andalus in the broad sense have been the object of various studies for some time. These enquiries have aimed above all at tracing, in comparative terms, elements of commonality and difference characterizing the Islamic conquest and presence in the two *jaziras*.³⁴ The theme in question, the study of political, economic and cultural contact between the two areas over the course of their Islamic history and beyond, has indeed enjoyed renewed interest. Proof of this is the conference recently held in Barcelona with the title, “Sicily, al-Andalus and the Maghreb: Writing in Times of Turmoil”, which sought, in interdisciplinary terms and also through the filter of literary production, to deal with the effects of conflict, processes of exclusion or inclusion, of knowledge sharing that took place during periods of crisis, of disorder and of changes in power in the areas indicated.³⁵ Even in the case of this academic initiative, however, as has happened in the past, the role of the linguistic disciplines and more precisely the grammar was marginal, even although they occupy a central position in the Arab–Islamic tradition. To take an interest in language, it is worth emphasizing, means to use it as a point of departure for reflection and to reach an analysis for understanding culture and human relations in their complexity.³⁶ Thus, after brief and preliminary notes on some particular linguistic–grammatical developments in the Maghrib,³⁷ I have mentioned some relations, still to be explored, that existed in the ninth and tenth centuries between the grammarians of Sicily and those of al-Andalus. I will now raise some questions that the research group formed during the occasion of the 28th conference of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants on an initiative by Antonella Ghersetti and myself, will be able to direct its attention to over the course of its future research.³⁸ The research group’s aim, in essence, is to study Arab texts of a linguistic–

33 Al-DÜRĪ correctly makes reference to the “Mediterranean” dimension of Sicily.

34 See GABRIELI 1950: 27-45; RIZZITANO 1975: 551-65; DE SIMONE 1989: 17-38; GUICHARD 1990; KENNEDY 1995: 646-69; MANDALÀ 2012: 43-54.

35 The conference, organized by Nicola Carpentieri and by the Department of Medieval and Ancient Studies, took place between 4-5 May 2017 at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. The proceedings are currently at press.

36 EDZARD & WATSON (eds.) 2006.

37 MUṬLAQ 1967; CARTER 2012: 31-48.

38 The panel “Arab-Sicilian and Andalusian Grammarians”, conceived and coordinated by Antonella Ghersetti and myself, saw interventions from Francesco Binaghi, Oriana Capezio, Mirella Cassarino, Francesco Grande and Cristina La Rosa. The group’s work, thanks to the initiative of Cristina La Rosa and Francesco Grande, then led to another two meetings, both dedicated to the “Circulation and transmission of Arab grammatical thought in Sicily and al-Andalus” in which other scholars took part with

grammatical nature produced in Spain and in Sicily, this last being a context much less explored than the Andalusian one. Eventual elements of difference will be acknowledged, but so too will the common processes of development in the field of what is defined as the Arab linguistic tradition.³⁹

Open questions

Naturally a series of questions—preannounced in the title of this preface and to which I will now make reference—must be taken into consideration. In the wake of suggestions arising from linguistic studies concerning other areas, I would like to begin precisely with the relevant chronological arc and geographical picture. If the former can on the whole be limited to the Islamic presence in the two jaziras, which was, as is known, much longer and more rooted in the Iberian peninsula, the geographical picture should, in my opinion, include other areas, precisely because of the nature and the modalities of transmission and circulation of knowledge in Islam. In our case the objective is to include, in the widest all-inclusive picture, the work of Sicilian and Andalusian grammarians in order to understand the role that they fulfilled (this is particularly valid for the “Sicilians” that up to now have been less studied). These role and impact may also emerge from a simple examination of the pages of the *Mu‘ğam al-‘ulamā’ wa’l-šū‘arā’ al-šiqillīyyīn* by Iḥsān ‘Abbās.⁴⁰ And this, even if the single works, various grammatical commentaries, *laḥn al-‘amma* writings, *ğarīb* treatises, thematic lexicons (*mubawwab*) are explained and justified in the specific context that produced them, sometimes an extremely limited context, as in the case of polemical texts or those regarding amendments to the language.

An important aspect, methodological in nature, that must be borne in mind regards the extent of the field covered by the discipline. The works cited in the part relative to relations between Andalusian grammarians and Sicilian grammarians are almost always not works of “grammar” in the strict sense. We find ourselves, for example, dealing with grammatical commentaries concerning Mutanabbian verses, with small treatises on metrics, didactic manuals, *laḥn al-‘amma* texts. Also to be borne in mind is the complexity of the linguistic substrate in Sicily and in al-Andalus. After all, it is a well-known fact that the philological–grammatical disciplines are linked and that they share with law the same modality, i.e. the principle of divergence of thought and the practice of discussion, deriving from the very constitution of the schools.⁴¹ The idea, therefore, of turning our attention not only to disciplines and texts that are grammatical, but also to texts of linguistic and philological character could lead to interesting results: commentaries on poetry, linguistic–grammatical *tafsīr*, lexicons, etc. The contributions presented here constitute a first step in this direction.

their own contributions, including Antonella Ghersetti and Marta Campanelli. The first of these took place at the Department of Humanities of the University of Catania (4-5 April 2017), the second took place at the Department of Asian and North African Studies at the University Ca’ Foscari, Venice, on 15-16 November 2017.

39 BOHAS / GUILLAUME / KOULOUGHLI 1990; VERSTEEGH 1997; BAALBAKI (ed.) 2007; ID. 2014.

40 ‘ABBĀS 1994.

41 CARTER 2011.

In the light of progress made in the field of linguistic studies, attention should also be brought to bear on the aims of single works, on the various generations of grammarians⁴² and on their horizons of expectations. We can adopt, beginning with the texts (some of which are published, others still await critical editions), both a general theoretical approach and more specific perspectives that allow us to bring into focus philological problems relating to individual texts or texts that interpret particular moments of given traditions. The approach adopted by Salvador Peña with regard to the work of various Andalusian grammarians can, in my opinion, be an example for our current and future research, above all if combined with welcome collaboration with Arab scholars interested in publishing the Arab linguistic–grammatical heritage.

The questions that will have to be dealt with regarding relations between Sicily and al-Andalus in the field that interests us here are various and are very complex. For example, the question of the presumed “peripheral” nature of the Maghrib and the consequences that this is supposed to have had on the teaching/learning of Arabic and on the activity of the grammarians.⁴³ Ibn Ḥaldūn expressed himself clearly on this with regard to education, which also involves the philological disciplines, he makes a clear distinction between Mashriq and Maghrib. He even writes of the “degeneration” of grammar, although he extends his reflection to the entire Arab–Islamic area.⁴⁴ Equally important is the question that has its point of departure in the development of grammatical studies, in an initial phase directed at the codification and systemizing of all the material derived from pre-Islamic sources and from the Quran, but which from the tenth century onwards was increasingly connected to humanistic logic and culture. In other words, how much of all this is it possible to perceive in the work of the grammarians of Sicily and of al-Andalus?

First results

The papers of this monographic dossier focus on Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121). This is a prominent personality in the field of linguistic and philological studies in Muslim Sicily whose scholarly production seems to have been understudied, with some exceptions, until today. The essays contained in this section are thus intended as a timely contribution to a better assessment of Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ’ s role in the development of linguistic and philological studies in Muslim Sicily, and in the Arab-Islamic empire more generally.

The papers of Capezio, Grande and La Rosa converse with each other, highlighting the multifaceted scholarly profile of this Sicilian man of letters whose biographical details constitute a vivid representation of the intellectual tradition of a big Sicilian family and of its fortune (and/or misfortune) over time. Born and raised in Muslim Sicily, Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ

42 See, for example, the paper “*Protos eureses* in al-Andalus; la prima generazione dei grammatici andalusi nell’opera di al-Zubaydī (m. 379/989)” presented by Antonella Ghersetti to the above mentioned Meeting “Circulation and transmission of Arab grammatical thought in Sicily and al-Andalus” (Catania, 4-5 April 2017). The paper will be published in the Proceedings edited by Francesco Grande and Cristina La Rosa.

43 See, for example, LENTIN 2006-2007 and NEF 2011.

44 See IBN ḤALDŪN, ed. 2005, 5: 314-21 (chapter VI, paragraphs 36-38).

spent the last part of his life in exile between al-Andalus and Egypt, where he died. Although being in line with the linguistic tradition of the Eastern part of the Arab-Islamic empire, his scholarly activity shows traits of originality in different fields. His works on metrics, on morphology and on literary criticism offer more than one reason of interest in that they point to aspects of novelty in his detailed approach to morphology, in his wide-ranging analysis of obscure verses of poetry and in his peculiar position in relation to poetic meters and verses serving as textual evidence. The thorough investigation of the manuscript tradition of one of his treatises carried out by Oriana Capezio and the comparison with other treatises of the same genre belonging to the Eastern and Andalusian tradition carried out by Cristina La Rosa also help in assessing the position of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' as a connection between the two extremities of the Arab-Islamic world.

Kitāb al-Bāri' fī 'ilm al-'arūd, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s treatise on metrics, was held in high esteem by Arab scholars. The peculiarities of this work in comparison with the canons of other similar important treatises are scrutinized in CAPEZIO's piece. Through a thorough investigation of the extant manuscripts, starting from the oldest copy preserved in Cairo (where Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' died) and dating back to one century after the author's death, Capezio underlines the relevance of *Kitāb al-Bāri'* for the construction of a canon and its wide circulation in the Eastern and Western areas of the Arab world, from Yemen to al-Andalus. Capezio's minute investigation into the different renderings in the manuscript tradition of the text also helps in tracing the itinerary of the text in the Arab world. Although a Sicilian school of metrics properly speaking did not exist, the spread of *Kitāb al-Bāri'* confirms the significance of this Sicilian scholar in the field of philological and literary studies. The manuscript tradition is investigated through the lens of a case study (the meter *ṭawīl*) describing the variation of *ṣawāhid* (verses serving as textual evidence), metrical transcriptions and visual rendering of the prosodic circles. This survey is a cue to the different receptions of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s treatise and its adaptation to different environments and local traditions. The absence of samples of Sicilian poetry among the *ṣawāhid*, though considered deceptive by scholars of the past, can be taken as a hint at his dependence on Eastern and Western canonical works and thus constitute a meaningful element for a better evaluation of his position in the framework of the Arab metrical tradition. Investigation carried out on *ṣawāhid*, which have a normative value, is particularly apposite since they contribute to the building of a corpus and a canon of poetry, also defining the images of poets considered relevant in a specific period and environment. Capezio thus suggests that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' succeeded in establishing a Western corpus building on the Eastern one.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s contribution to grammatical studies, with a focus on his treatise on morphology *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā'*, is at the core of GRANDE's paper. This fine-grained enquiry into Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s originality puts forward the hypothesis of his particular, semantically-oriented approach to morphological phenomena. In the meantime, it aims at highlighting traits of novelty in the broader context of the Arab Linguistic Tradition (henceforth ALT), where the main innovative traits would concentrate on the level of meaning. Questioning the common view of the conservatism of ALT and of its tendency to focus on a formal approach to linguistic analysis, Grande's paper attempts to single out a certain degree of novelty in Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s peculiar approach to morphological phenomena. A similar approach has been investigated in scholarly literature for some Eastern authors like 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī or Rādī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, whose positions are briefly summarized

in this article, but a systematic investigation was still lacking for other authors. Grande's enquiry into semantically-oriented original approaches first expounds on Ibn Hišām's treatment of the article *al-* based on the notion of *'ahdiyya* (previous knowledge), which is analyzed in its triple development. It moves then to the case of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' whose original semantic approach, he explains, can be pinpointed not only in the author's treatment of the *maṣdar* as a self-contained object of investigation, but also in his detailed explication of the morphological pattern of affixation, analyzed in conversation with Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* on the same point. Grande concludes suggesting that traits of novelty concentrating on the level of meaning in ALT could be rooted in linguistic Quranic exegesis and in its peculiar semantic approach.

LA ROSA's paper focuses on some morphological and lexical issues discussed in *Mağmū'a min šī'r al-Mutanabbī wa-ğawāmiḍihi*, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s commentary on obscure verses by al-Mutanabbī. This title is analyzed in conversation with the commentaries corpus of al-Mutanabbī's poetry and in particular is compared with the analogous works of Ibn Ğinnī and al-Iflīlī. The comparison with them, the first representing the mainstream tradition rooted in al-Mašriq and the second one embodying the Andalusian tradition, aims at offering a better understanding of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s peculiar features as a grammarian and a philologist in relation with the central position of the Sicilian context. This is a welcome contribution since this scholar's commentary has been until now somehow neglected in favor of his two well-known treatises on morphology. La Rosa's essay, underlining how both Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and al-Iflīlī heavily depend on Ibn Ğinnī's commentary, helps in better assessing Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s dependence on the Eastern linguistic tradition and characterizes him, although with his own approach focused on syntax and his peculiar terminological choices, as a continuator of Ibn Ğinnī's tradition in the commentary of al-Mutanabbī. This paper, delving into the analysis of morphological phenomena like *ilhāq* (adjunction) and *tahḥff* (lightening), and lexical/semantic points treated in the *Mağmū'a*, also cleverly emphasizes the multifaceted intellectual profile of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and his mastery of grammar, lexicography and literary criticism.

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Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ et la métrique arabe en Sicile entre le XI^e et le XII^e siècle*

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Abstract

Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121), well known for his anthology of the Sicilian poets, *Kitāb al-Durra al-ḥaṭīra*, spent his life between Sicily, Andalus and Egypt. In his *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* he analysed the fifteen meters codified by al-Ḥalīl. The manuscripts of this work were widely disseminated and today are kept in libraries between Yemen and Andalus, thus showing its large diffusion. *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* was conceived as a continuation of the oriental tradition and contributed to the formation of a scientific corpus in the Western part of the Muslim empire. Despite the absence of a Sicilian metrical school, his work fits into a larger tradition of that era’s metrical works. There are, however, some noteworthy differences that appear in the verses used as *ṣawāhid*, in the *kitāba ʿarūḍiyya* and in the graphic representation of the circles. Following my previous paper on *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ*, I would like to present in this contribution a case study on the *ṭawīl* metre.

1. Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ

ʿAlī b. Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Šantarīnī al-Saʿdī al-Šiqillī, plus connu sous le nom d’Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (433-515/1041-1121), fut homme de lettres, grammairien, lexicographe, expert de métrique, secrétaire, poète et historien, figure polyvalente à la croisée des chemins entre l’artiste et l’artisan de la parole.¹ Il naquit en Sicile dans une famille d’intellectuels : Yāqūt nous rappelle que son père était un fin connaisseur de la langue et de la grammaire arabe et que son grand-père faisait partie des meilleurs poètes de son temps.² Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ vécut longtemps sur son île natale dans un contexte serein et pacifique mais l’occupation normande le contraignit à l’exil. En effet, en Sicile, les conditions de ceux qui se consacraient à la culture s’étaient dégradées.³ Sa présence en Égypte est attestée en 500/1106-7 et c’est dans ce pays qu’il passa les dernières années de sa vie.⁴ Nous ne connaissons pas avec

* Cet article est issu de mon intervention au Congrès de l’Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (UEAI, Palermo, 2016). La première partie de cet article (points 1, 2.1) reprend CAPEZIO 2015: 139-156.

1 Voir GRANDE dans ce dossier thématique pour certains aspects de la pensée linguistique d’Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ.

2 YAQUT al-ḤAMAWI, *Muǧam al-udabāʿ*, V: 107-108.

3 Rizzitano indique que les circonstances étaient peu propices aux études, au point que les Musulmans vivaient dans l’anarchie la plus totale. (RIZZITANO 1975: 267).

4 À propos d’un autre ouvrage d’Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, le *Kitāb al-Afʿāl*, Eugenio Griffini écrit : ‘La cui redazione [du *K. al-Afʿāl*] se non iniziata certo proseguita in Sicilia, può essere stata compiuta in Egitto, ove l’Autore, esulando dall’isola divenuta tutta normanna, si rifugiava nel 500 dell’Egira (1106 A.D.), e moriva ottantenne quindici anni dopo, nel 515 (1121)’. GRIFFINI 1910: 76. [La dite rédaction, si elle

exactitude l'intervalle de temps qui s'écoula entre son départ de Sicile et son arrivée en Égypte. À ce propos, Rizzitano remarque que :

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' fu anch'egli fra gli esuli, anzi fra quanti sostarono in Andalusia—come già il padre Ġāfar—prima di fissare la propria dimora. Optò per Saragozza, dove la dinastia dei Banu Hud si era resa padrona della città dopo averne cacciato i Banu Tuġīb (1039-1110), ma non sappiamo quanto vi rimase.⁵

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À son arrivée en Égypte, il fut accueilli avec tous les honneurs tant à la cour que dans les milieux intellectuels ; il se consacra à l'enseignement de la métrique, de la grammaire et de la lexicographie.

Au Caire, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' créa une véritable école dans laquelle il transmit le *Kitāb al-Ṣiḥāh* d'al-Ġawharī et reçut le titre de *luġawī*. La date vraisemblablement la plus précise de sa mort nous est transmise par Ibn Ḥallikān, qui indique qu'elle serait advenue en 515/1121.⁶ Il rapporte qu'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' composa aussi, entre autres ouvrages,⁷ un très beau traité sur la métrique (*lahu 'arūḍ ḥasan ḡayyid*).⁸

Al-Suyūfī nous apprend qu'il composa le *Kitāb al-'afāl*, le *Abniyat al-'asmā'*, mais aussi le commentaire du *Kitāb al-Ṣiḥāh*, une histoire de la Sicile et le *Kitāb al-Durra al-ḥaṭīra min šu'arā' al-ġazīra*.⁹ Ce dernier, parvenu partiellement à travers les recensions d'Ibn Aġlab et d'Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, a été étudié par Umberto Rizzitano, qui en a publié le texte et une traduction partielle.

2. Le *Kitāb al-bārī' fī 'ilm al-'arūḍ*

2.1 Contexte

Le *Kitāb al-Bārī' fī 'ilm al-'arūḍ* de Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'¹⁰ est un ouvrage de métrique arabe dont la date de composition – entre le V^e/XI^e et le VI^e/XII^e siècle – permet de le situer dans une époque où les études de philologie, de grammaire et de prosodie sont florissantes. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' se confronta ainsi à d'illustres savants et métriciens qui nous ont laissé des traités très importants pour l'histoire de la métrique arabe. On peut notamment citer al-Ġawharī

n'a pas été initiée, a sûrement été poursuivie en Sicile. Elle a peut-être été accomplie en Égypte où l'auteur, échappé de l'île devenue normande, s'est réfugié en 500/1106, et où il est décédé à quatre-vingt ans, quinze ans plus tard, en 515/1121].

5 RIZZITANO 1975: 172. Voir aussi al-QIṬṬĪ, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, II: 237. [Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' fut lui aussi parmi les exilés, parmi ceux qui s'arrêtèrent en Andalousie—comme son père Ġāfar—avant de fixer leur demeure. Il choisit Saragosse, où la dynastie des Banū Hūd commanda la ville après avoir chassé les Banū Tuġīb (1039-1110). Nous ne savons pas combien de temps il y resta].

6 al-Suyūfī indique 514/1120 comme date de sa mort. al-SUYUṬĪ, *Buġyat al-wu'āh*, II: 147-148. Sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', voir 'ABBĀS 1994: 83-84.

7 RIZZITANO 1954: 260-294. Repris dans le chapitre XI de *Storia e cultura nella Sicilia saracena*.

8 IBN ḤALLIKĀN, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, III: 322-323 [n° 447].

9 IBN al-QAṬṬĀ', *al-Durra al-ḥaṭīra min šu'arā' al-ġazīra*, éd. Béchir Baccouche, 1995.

10 Sur sa famille, M. Amari raconte que le surnom Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (fils du piocheur) a été donné à une famille de la lignée muḍarite de Tamīm, branche de Sa'd b. Zayd Manāh. AMARI 1935, I: 37; II: 569.

(m. 393 ?/1003 ?), dont Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' s'inspira en reprenant souvent des exemples tirés de son *'Arūd al-waraqā* ou, à une époque immédiatement postérieure, al-Ḥaṭīb al-Ṭibrīzī (m. 509/1109), auteur du *Kitāb al-Qāfi fī 'l-'arūd wa'l-qawāfi* qui deviendra par la suite le principal ouvrage de référence, ou encore al-Zamaḥṣārī (m. 538/1144), auteur de *al-Qisās al-mustaqīm fī 'ilm al-'arūd*.

En commençant à étudier le *Kitāb al-Bāri' fī 'ilm al-'arūd*, j'espérais y trouver parmi les vers utilisés comme modèles (*ṣawāhid*) ceux des poètes siciliens, avec lesquels Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' avait composé son *Kitāb al-Durra al-ḥaṭira min šu'arā' al-ḡazira*. Une telle convergence aurait, en effet, attesté l'existence d'une école de métrique en Sicile. Malheureusement, on n'en trouve pas trace puisque on trouve dans son ouvrage les mêmes *ṣawāhid* présents dans les traités des métriciens arabes de son époque.

Une considération similaire sur l'œuvre d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' apparaît dans la réflexion que Rizzitano consacre à l'anthologie *Kitāb al-Durra al-ḥaṭira*. Il espérait trouver dans la poésie des échos de la vie sicilienne de l'époque, mais il est amené à remarquer l'absence de données historiques et la répétition de thèmes et de formes poétiques qui étaient déjà présents dans la tradition poétique du monde arabe oriental et occidental :¹¹

Se lo studio di queste reliquie spesso si accompagna al disappunto di trovarvi troppi spasimi d'amori e troppo pochi eventi storici, se ancor più spesso l'attesa di coglier-
vi elementi capaci di documentarci su qualche evento della Sicilia kalbita (...), eb-
bene gli stessi frammenti ci convincono una volta di più che anche nella Sicilia dei
secoli X e XI la tecnica del verseggiare non fu privilegio riservato al poeta di profes-
sione ma diletto di virtuosi appartenenti alle più svariate categorie della società ara-
bo-musulmana.

Dans leur introduction à cette anthologie, Giorgio Levi Della Vida et Francesco Gabrieli observent toutefois que :¹²

I saggi dei versi qui adottati non si distaccano dai soliti temi bacchici, amorosi e sen-
tenziosi della poesia araba dell'epoca ma meritavano di essere pubblicati per il con-
tributo che portano alla conoscenza della vita letteraria nell'Isola, e dei suoi princi-
pali rappresentanti, soprattutto principi della dinastia kalbita, segretari e funzionari.

Malgré l'absence de références ponctuelles à la poésie sicilienne, le *Kitāb al-Bāri'* se présente comme un ouvrage de métrique qui, tout en étant placé dans la continuité de la grande tradition « orientale », a contribué à la formation d'un *corpus* scientifique et mé-

11 RIZZITANO 1958: 341 ; introduction de Levi Della Vida et Gabrieli, p. 22 et suivantes. [Si l'étude de ces reliques s'accompagne souvent de la déception d'y trouver trop de spasmes d'amour et trop peu d'événements historiques, l'attente la plus fréquente est d'y trouver des éléments capables de nous documenter sur des événements de la Sicile kalbite (...), alors les mêmes fragments nous convainquent une fois de plus qu'en Sicile des siècles X et XI l'art de créer des vers ne fut pas un privilège réservé au poète professionnel, mais un divertissement des virtuoses appartenant aux catégories les plus diverses de la société arabo-musulmane].

12 Dans RIZZITANO 1958: 22. [Les essais des vers ci joints ne se détachent pas des thèmes bachiques, d'amour et sentencieux de la poésie arabe de l'époque, mais ils méritent d'être publiés pour la contribution qu'ils apportent à la connaissance de la vie littéraire dans l'île et ses principaux représentants, surtout des princes de la dynastie kalbite, des secrétaires et des fonctionnaires].

trique dans l'Occident musulman. L'ample diffusion de l'ouvrage est attestée par la présence d'une douzaine de manuscrits qui circulèrent vers l'est, allant de l'Égypte au Yémen, et vers l'ouest, jusqu'à al-Andalus. En me focalisant sur le mètre *tawīl*, j'ai pu vérifier la présence de variantes dans les nombreux manuscrits que j'ai étudiés. L'analyse de l'ouvrage permet en effet de constater des différences dans le choix des vers utilisés, dans l'écriture métrique (*kitāba 'arūdiyya*) ou encore dans la représentation des cercles. Ces éléments m'ont permis d'avancer des hypothèses sur le parcours du texte dans le temps et dans l'espace.

2.2 Contenu

Le *Kitāb al-'Arūḍ al-bāri'* commence par la définition de *'arūḍ* et de ses principales composantes :

Sache que le *'arūḍ* est une science faite de la connaissance des mesures de la poésie des Arabes (*awzān šī'r al-'arab*) (...). Le *'arūḍ* est le nom avec lequel on fait référence à la [dernière] partie (*ḡuz'*) de la [première] moitié du vers (...) *'Arūḍ* signifie aussi « côté » (*nāḥiya*) et « chamelle indocile ». Le *'arūḍ* est le bois que l'on pose horizontalement au milieu de la tente ou qui indique la direction que prennent les Arabes lorsqu'ils se déplacent. De même, cela qualifie la distinction entre composition en vers (*manzūm*) et en prose (*manṭūr*) (...). Le « vers de la poésie » (*al-bayt min al-šī'r*) ressemble à la « tente en poil » (*al-bayt min al-ša'r*) des Arabes, vu que la tente ne tient debout que grâce aux *asbāb* et aux *awtād* (...).¹³

L'auteur se propose d'écrire un précis à visée didactique basé sur la leçon d'al-Ḥalīl. Les différents exemples poétiques qui émaillent le texte le rapprochent, par sa richesse, de l'œuvre d'al-Tibrīzī, *Kitāb al-Kāfi fi 'l-'arūḍ wa 'l-qawāfi'*. On constate aussi de nombreuses références au *Kitāb al-Waraqā* d'al-Ġawharī mais aussi au *Šihāḥ*. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' explique l'art métrique arabe en mettant en exergue les formes les plus connues et les plus utilisées chez les Arabes.¹⁴ Au terme de sa présentation des mètres, il fait brièvement référence aux principaux pilastres sur lesquels la rime (*qāfiya*) se construit et, en particulier, il se rapporte aux « frontières » de la rime (*ḥudūd al-qāfiya*). Ensuite, il insère de tout petits traités sur des sujets spécifiques et termine avec la liste des variantes métriques (*bāb iḥtišār al-zihāfiāt*).

2.3 Diffusion : les manuscrits

Le traité d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' sur *'arūḍ* et *qāfiya* a été conservé dans plusieurs manuscrits préservés dans des bibliothèques des pays arabes et européens. Les manuscrits portent des titres différents, probablement pour donner plusieurs informations sur ce que contient l'ouvrage¹⁵.

¹³ *Kitāb al-'Arūḍ al-bāri' bi'l-iḥtišār al-ḡāmi'* / éd. Aḥmad M. 'ABD al-DĀYIM, p. 84. La traduction est la mienne.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' s'arrête sur le *mutaqārib* ; il fait seulement une brève allusion au seizième mètre—le *mutadārik*—en le proposant comme « extension » du précédent et en le définissant *muḥtara'* ou *ḥabab*.

¹⁵ C'est probablement la raison pour laquelle Amari avance l'hypothèse de l'existence de deux traités écrits par Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' : « Scrisse due trattati di versificazione. L'uno intitolato *Il saluifero nella*

- Le Caire, Dār al-Kutub : *Kitāb fīhi al-‘Arūḍ wa’l-muḥmalāt wa’l-qawāfi wa-fīhi abyāt al-mu‘āyāh wa-ṣarḥuhā*, 4 ‘arūḍ š, 626/1228-29 ; al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘, 9 ‘arūḍ, 630/1232-33 ; al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ (muḥtaṣar), 58 ‘arūḍ, s.d.
- Sanaa, al-Maktaba al-Mutawakkiliyya al-Yamaniyya *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, 3 luḡa, 1070/1659-60.
- London, British Museum : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ fī ma‘rifat awzān al-ši‘r*, Suppl. 1214³, 688/1289 (collection Glaser).
- Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, ar. X76 sup., 706/1306 (collection Griffini). Copiste Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. As‘ad.¹⁶
- Biblioteca Vaticana : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ fī ma‘rifat awzān al-ši‘r*, Vat. ar. 1015⁵, (selon Levi Della Vida VII/XIII-XIV siècle). *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ fī awzān al-ši‘r al-mulaqqab bi’l-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, Vat. ar. 977¹, 1098/1687 (collection Caprotti).
- Escorial : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār wa’l-ḡāmi‘ fī awzān al-ši‘r*, ar. 328³, s.d., écriture asiatique. *Al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, ar. 331, 748/1347, écriture maghrébine.
- Dublin, Chester Beatty : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ*, ar. VI 4796³, 869/1456. Copiste ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Dimyāfi al-Šāfi‘i.

Le manuscrit le plus complet et le plus ancien du traité d’Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’ porte le titre *Kitāb fīhi al-‘Arūḍ wa’l-muḥmalāt wa’l-qawāfi wa-fīhi abyāt al-mu‘āyāh wa-ṣarḥuhā* [4 ‘arūḍ] conservé au Caire. Il contient une première partie où sont présentés les mètres arabes (*al-‘arūḍ*) ; on trouve ensuite les petits traités suivants :

- *bāb al-muḥmalāt* [f. 21a]
- *muḥtaṣar al-šāfi‘i fī ‘ilm al-qawāfi* [f. 22 b]
- *bāb al-taṣri‘ wa’l-taqfiya* [f. 38 b]
- *abyāt al-mu‘āyāh wa-ṣarḥuhā* [f. 40 a]
- *bāb iḥtiṣār al-zihāfa* [f. 50 b]

Dans les autres manuscrits que j’ai étudiés, il y a toujours une première partie sur la présentation des mètres et parfois quelques-uns de ces petits traités.¹⁷

scienza della versificazione [...]. L’altro è all’Escuriale col titolo di : *Eloquente metrica in compendio che (tutto) abbraccia* ». AMARI 1935: 574. ‘Il a écrit deux traités de vers. L’un intitulé *Il salufifero nella scienza della versificazione* [...]. L’autre est à conservé à l’Escorial avec le titre : *Eloquente metrica in compendio che (tutto) abbraccia*’.

¹⁶ Voir BELTRAMI 1926: LXXIV ; CODAZZI: 121.

¹⁷ Dār al-Kutub, *al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘*, 9 ‘arūḍ : *bāb al-muḥmalāt* ; Ambrosiana : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, ar. X76 sup. pas present aucun traité ; Vaticana : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ fī ma‘rifat awzān al-ši‘r*, Vat. ar. 1015⁵: *Faṣl muḥtaṣar fī ‘ilm al-rawī* ; Vaticana : *Kitāb al-‘arūḍ fī awzān al-ši‘r al-mulaqqab bi’l-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘* ; Vat. ar. 977¹: *iḥtiṣārāt al-zihāf*, *Kitāb al-qāfi fī ‘ilm al-qawāfi*, *bāb al-taṣri‘ wa’l-taqfiya* ; Escorial, *al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, ar. 331 : *bāb al-muḥmalāt*.

3. Étude de cas : le *ṭawīl*¹⁸

3.1 De l'importance des *ṣawāhid*

L'analyse des mètres dans l'ouvrage d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' suit un schéma précis : présentation des vers ; scansion ; illustration des différentes possibilités de *'arūḍ* et *ḍarb* (respectivement : dernier pied du premier hémistiche et dernier pied du deuxième hémistiche) et étude des variantes présentes qui apportent des changements à l'intérieur du mètre même.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' insère presque systématiquement (ce qui est attesté surtout dans les manuscrits les plus anciens) les nombreuses variantes sous la rubrique *ziḥāfāt*, sans faire mention des *'ilal*¹⁹ que chaque mètre possède à l'intérieur de ses pieds. Il utilise fréquemment l'expression *yaḡūzu* [c'est permis] à laquelle suit une des *ziḥāfāt*, alors qu'il recourt à l'expression *ḡā' an al-'Arab* [cela a lieu chez les Arabes] quand il introduit une *'illa*. Pour le mètre *ṭawīl*, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' présente les différentes variantes : *qabḍ*, *kaff*, *ḥarm*, *aṭlam* et *ṣarm*.

Mes observations sur le mètre *ṭawīl*²⁰ sont issues de la comparaison entre les manuscrits les plus anciens conservés à la Dār al-Kutub du Caire – qui remonteraient à la période comprise entre 626/1228 et 630/1232 – et ceux des siècles suivants, y compris l'édition Makka 1985 basée sur un manuscrit yéménite copié en 1070/1659-60 et conservé à Sanaa.

La première observation concerne la présence des vers utilisés comme « témoins » ou « loci probantes » (*ṣawāhid*) des mètres. Dans la tradition prosodique, dès les origines ḥaliliennes, il est d'usage de reprendre les mêmes *ṣawāhid* qui se transmettent depuis les ouvrages les plus anciens : le *K. al-'Arūḍ* de al-Ḥalīl (m. 175/791), qui ne nous est pas parvenu, et le *K. al-Qawāfi* de al-Aḥfāš (m. 215/231).

Le corpus clos de *ṣawāhid* de métrique arabe qui s'est formé au cours du temps est présent dans les traités spécifiques de métrique arabe comme le *Kitāb al-'Arūḍ* de al-Zaḡḡāḡ (m. 311/924); *al-Ġāmi' fī 'l-'arūḍ wa'l-qawāfi* de Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Arūḍī (m. 342/953-4) ; le *Kitāb al-'Arūḍ* de Ibn Ġinnī (m. 392/1002) mais aussi le *Kitāb al-Kāfi fī 'l-'arūḍ wa'l-qawāfi* de al-Tibīzī (m. 502/1109). À ceux-ci il faut ajouter les textes qui consacrent une section spécifique à la métrique arabe comme l'anthologie *al-'Iqd al-farīd*²¹ de Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhi (m. 329/940) et *al-'Umda fī maḥāsin al-šī'r* de Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (m. 456/1064).

La présence de vers utilisés comme modèle a eu un rôle très important dans l'histoire de la métrique ; principalement dans un but pédagogique, mais aussi comme sujet d'étude et de débats chez les métriciens jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine. À ce propos Bruno Paoli,

¹⁸ Je me limite ici à présenter le *ṭawīl*, mais il n'est pas rare de retrouver également, dans le traitement des autres mètres, des variantes par rapport à la pratique courante dans les traités de métrique.

¹⁹ Les métriciens arabes distinguent deux types de transformations des modèles de vers qui figurent dans les cercles : les *'illa*-s (pl. *'ilal*) et les *ziḥāfa*-s (pl. *-āt* ou collectif *ziḥāf*). PAOLI 2008: 99.

²⁰ Sur la métrique arabe, voir, entre autres, STOETZER 1989; BOHAS, PAOLI 1997; FROLOV 2000; PAOLI 2008.

²¹ W. Stoetzer remarque que : « The edition of the *'Iqd al-Farīd* published at Cairo in 1946 contains a list of *ṣawāhid* verses (sg. *ṣāhid*) (verses serving as textual evidence, illustrating the various types of metre) (V: 477-495). The total number of verses listed is 157. They show a clear order: first of all, according to the canonical row ». STOETZER 1989: 73.

qui consacre un sous-chapitre (*'L'examen des vers-témoins'*) de son étude sur la métrique aux *šawāhid*,²² soutient que :

La métrique arabe repose sur les mêmes principes de base. Le mètre, ou modèle de vers, peut donc y être défini comme un algorithme, le commun multiple de tous les exemples de vers dérivés dudit modèle, qui indique les positions où l'on trouve systématiquement une syllabe brève ou une syllabe longue ou à deux syllabes brèves en alternance avec une longue.²³

Dmitry Frolov, qui consacre aussi aux *šawāhid* un chapitre spécifique (*'Poetic šawāhid as Part of Theory'*) de son étude *Classical Arabic Verses. History and Theory of 'Arūd*, affirme :

All the levels of the theory were based on the foundation of specially selected normative verse lines, *šawāhid* ("testimonies"). These *šawāhid* formed an integral part of the theory and a lot of attention was paid to them by medieval scholars.²⁴

Il signale en outre l'existence, dans l'histoire de la métrique arabe, d'un genre de traités particulier, nommé *šarḥ al-šawāhid*, en concluant qu'on peut faire plusieurs observations sur le lien entre les exemples et la théorie de la science métrique et entre le choix des vers témoins et l'image du poète et de la poésie qu'on voulait offrir à l'époque.²⁵

3.2 Le *ṭawīl* : la sélection des vers

En prenant comme étude de cas le *ṭawīl*, mon but est d'analyser les divergences dans la sélection des vers présentés dans les manuscrits. En l'absence d'un manuscrit autographe, qui aurait pu montrer le véritable choix d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', on peut postuler que de telles variations ont été introduites par les copistes. L'ouvrage d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' nous est en effet parvenu à travers des manuscrits dont les plus anciens datent d'un siècle après la mort de l'auteur. On ne peut cependant pas exclure que, lors de son enseignement oral, l'auteur présentait à ses élèves la double possibilité envisagée par Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (m. 328/940) : en effet, dans le *'Iqd al-farīd*, nous trouvons déjà deux possibilités de vers utilisées pour le mètre *ṭawīl* et, plus précisément, avec le troisième *ḍarb*.

Le parcours retracé ici commence avec les manuscrits les plus anciens qui nous sont parvenus : le *Kitāb fīhi al-'arūd [al-bāri']* (Dār al-Kutub 4 'arūd š qui remonte à l'an 626/1228-29) et *al-'Arūd al-bāri'*, (Dār al-Kutub 9 'arūd, qui date de 630/1232-33).

22 PAOLI 2008: 238-243.

23 PAOLI 2008: 21.

24 FROLOV 2000: 327-328.

25 « There is good reason to believe that *šawāhid* in metrical treatises are important not only from the point of view of metrics but also from the point of view of the history of Arabic poetry. Pieces whose authors are mentioned seem to be selected so as to create a certain image of the poet and the poetic tradition as a whole ». FROLOV 2000: 339.

Les deux premières possibilités de *darb* et *'arūd* qui reflètent la chaîne décrite auparavant sont présentées dans la section de ces manuscrits consacrée au *tawīl* ; l'on y propose des vers respectivement de Ġarīr (m. 111/729) :²⁶

سَعَى الرَّمْلِ جَوْنٌ مُسْتَهْلٌ رَبَابُهُ وَمَا ذَاكَ إِلَّا حُبٌّ مِنْ حَلٍّ بِالرَّمْلِ

Des nuages noirs les uns sur les autres désaltèrent le sable

en donnant naissance à la pluie

Ce n'est rien d'autre que l'amour de celui qui vit dans le désert

et de Ṭarafa b. al-'Abd (VI^e siècle) :²⁷

سَتُبْدِي لَكَ الْأَيَّامُ مَا كُنْتَ جَاهِلًا وَيَأْتِيكَ بِالْأَخْبَارِ مَنْ لَمْ تُرَوِّدْ

Les jours te révéleront ce que tu ignorais

Et celui à qui tu n'offris pas subsistance te portera des nouvelles

Au moment de présenter le troisième *darb* du mètre *tawīl*, qui est *maḥdūf* et dont le *'arūd* est *maqḥūḍ*, on retrouve, dans les manuscrits les plus anciens de la Dār al-Kutub, un vers de Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī :

وَمَا كُلُّ ذِي لُبٍّ بِمُؤْتِيكَ نُصْحَهُ وَلَا كُلُّ مُؤْتٍ نُصْحَهُ بِلَيْبٍ

Les personnes judicieuses ne t'offrent pas toutes de (bons) conseils,

et celles qui te donnent des conseils ne sont pas toutes judicieuses

À partir des manuscrits successifs – Ambrosiana (706/1306), Escorial (748/1347) et Vaticana (VII/XIII-XIV siècle),²⁸ un changement important intervient dans la présentation de la troisième possibilité de *darb* du mètre *tawīl*. En effet, le vers est substitué par celui de Yazīd b. al-Ḥaḍḍāq (VI^e siècle), présent dans la plupart des traités de métrique. Dans ce dernier, le poète décrit sa monture, les armes et la rébellion contre les Banū Nu'mān et exhorte les siens à agir avec droiture :

أَقِيمُوا بَنِي النُّعْمَانِ عَنَّا صُدُورَكُمْ وَإِلَّا تُقِيمُوا صَاغِرِينَ الرُّؤُوسَا

O Banū Nu'mān, détournez vos poitrines de nous

ou bien vous resterez tête basse

Dans l'édition 'Abd al-Dāyīm du *Kitāb al-'Arūd al-bāri' bi'l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi'* seul le vers d'al-Ḥaḍḍāq est indiqué : le vers d'Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, présent dans les premiers manuscrits, n'est pas mentionné.

26 ABŪ 'UBAYDA, *Naqā'id Ḡarīr wa'l-Farazdaq*, I: 159.

27 IBN 'ABD RABBIHI (*al-'Iqd al-farīd*, VI: 120) indique que le vers fut récité au Prophète qui, en l'écoulant, s'exclama : « Ce sont des paroles de prophétie ! ». ṬARAFĀ B. al-'ABD, *Mu'allaqa*, v. 101: 171; AMALDI 1991 v. 102: 79, 112.

28 LEVI DELLA VIDA 1935: VIII.

Pour les deux manuscrits (Dār al-Kutub, *al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ muḥtaṣar*, 58 ‘arūḍ et Escorial : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār wa’l-ḡāmi‘ fī awzān al-ši‘r*, ar. 328³) dont nous ne connaissons pas la datation ni les lieux où ils ont été copiés, c’est justement grâce à l’étude des vers choisis comme modèles qu’il a été possible de déterminer la tradition suivie. Dans le manuscrit 58 ‘arūḍ on retrouve le vers de Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘alī [cf. *Kitāb fihī al-‘arūḍ [al-bāri‘]* Dār al-Kutub 4 ‘arūḍ š], par contre dans le manuscrit Esc. 328 on retrouve le vers de Yazīd b. al-Ḥaḍḍāq [cf. Biblioteca Ambrosiana : *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘*, ar. X76 sup.].

Malheureusement, on ne dispose que de peu d’informations : on ne connaît ni les identités des copistes – sauf pour le *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘ bi’l-iḥtiṣār al-ḡāmi‘* de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana et le *Kitāb al-‘Arūḍ* conservé au Chester Beatty –, ni les lieux où ils ont été copiés. Nous pouvons toutefois constater l’ample diffusion de cet ouvrage qui parcourt l’Orient et l’Occident, tout en avançant l’hypothèse que les différences dans les vers cités soient probablement dues à l’adaptation aux traditions locales ou bien aux références à des ouvrages influents dans l’aire géographique où les manuscrits furent copiés. Dans cette optique, il convient de noter que aussi bien l’ouvrage d’al-Tibrīzī, *Kitāb al-Qāfi fī ‘l-‘arūḍ wa’l-qawāfi*, que celui d’al-Zamaḥṣarī, *al-Qiṣās al-mustaqīm fī ‘ilm al-‘arūḍ*, rapportent le vers de Yazīd b. al-Ḥaḍḍāq.

3.3 Kitāba ‘arūḍiyya

L’écriture métrique (*kitāba ‘arūḍiyya*) a été créée par des spécialistes de métrique qui ont reproduit, en se basant sur la prononciation, une graphie artificielle pour effectuer la scansion du vers. La scansion métrique traditionnelle s’articule en différentes phases : transcription du vers en écriture métrique ; séparation des lettres vocalisées et quiescentes (*taqṭī‘*) ; leur transcription en symboles (*al-rumūz al-‘arūḍiyya*) et l’identification des pieds (*tafīlāt*). Cette séquence – qui est présente, bien qu’avec des variantes, dans toutes les éditions des traités de métrique – ne correspond pas à celle que nous retrouvons dans les manuscrits d’Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’. L’écriture métrique est une méthode mnémotechnique utilisée pour faciliter l’apprentissage par cœur du mètre. Si l’on prend comme cas d’étude le *ṭawīl* dans l’œuvre d’Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’, nous notons déjà de grandes différences d’un manuscrit à l’autre. La *kitāba ‘arūḍiyya* se trouve dans sa forme complète dans presque tous les manuscrits pour le premier vers de chaque mètre. Comme on peut le voir dans les manuscrits les plus anciens, la présentation du premier vers est suivie par la séparation des lettres vocalisées et quiescentes (*taqṭī‘*) et l’identification des pieds (*tafīlāt*).

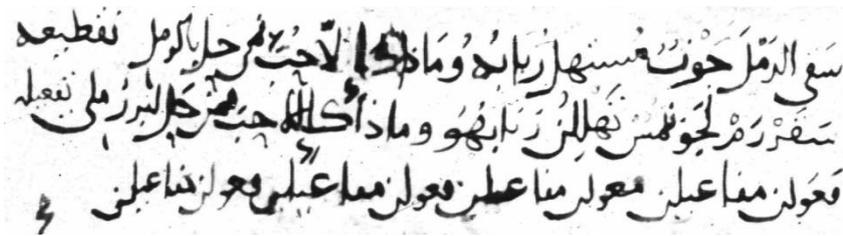


Fig. 1: Dār al-Kutub, 4 ‘arūḍ, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’, *Kitāb fihī al-‘arūḍ*, 626/1228-29, f.3a, lignes 6-8.

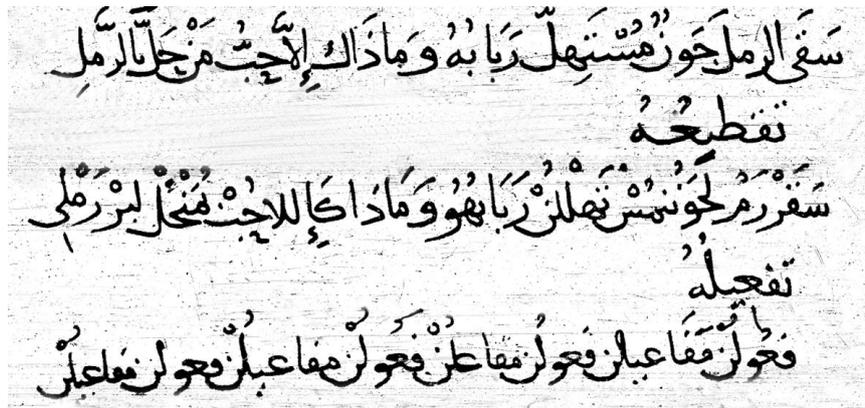


Fig. 2: Dār al-Kutub, 9 ‘arūd, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’, *al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘*, 630/1232, f. 4a, lignes 4-8.

Déjà, dans le deuxième exemple, on ne trouve que le vers et l’on n’assiste que rarement à la séparation des vocalisées et des quiescentes ou des séquences des pieds.

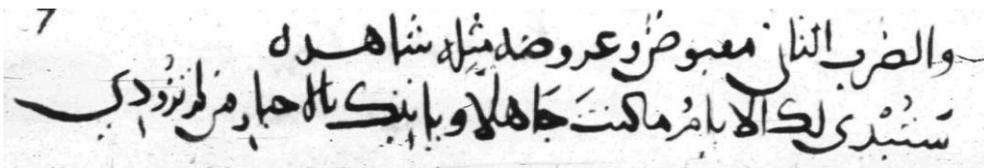


Fig. 3: Dār al-Kutub, 4 ‘arūd, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’, *Kitāb fihī al-‘arūḍ*, 626/1228, f.3a, lignes 9-10.

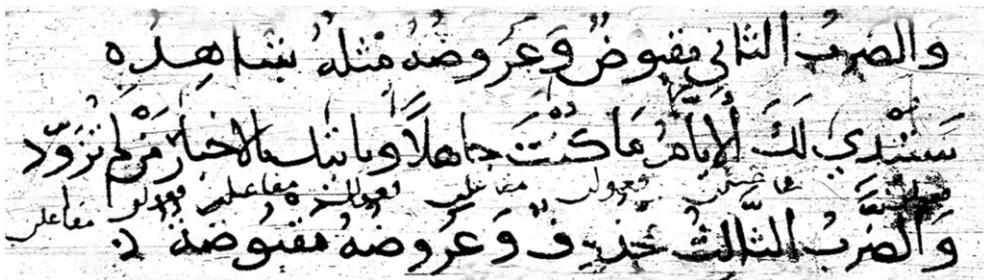


Fig. 4: Dār al-Kutub, 9 ‘arūd, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’, *al-‘Arūḍ al-bāri‘*, 630/1228, f.4a, lignes 9-10.

Dans le manuscrit ar. 331 de l’Escorial, la section du *taqī‘* et la définition des *tafīlāt* pour tous les vers sont totalement absentes. Seul le premier vers est rapporté entièrement, tandis que pour les suivants, nous ne trouvons que le premier mot du vers – *satubdī* pour le deu-

Les mètres matérialisés dans les cercles représentent leur forme théorique qui trouve rarement une application dans la pratique. Les pieds s'insèrent l'un dans l'autre à l'intérieur du cercle et, en déplaçant le point de départ, on passe d'un mètre à l'autre.

Il semble que le premier auteur se référant à la théorie des cercles ait été al-Zağğāğ (m. 255/869), qui mentionne la forme théorique du mètre *basīl* dans le cercle (*aṣl al-dā'ira*). Toutefois, la première représentation graphique chez les auteurs orientaux n'a, semble-t-il, eu lieu que dans l'œuvre métrique de son élève Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿArūḍī (m. 342/953-4). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (m. 328/940) consacre aussi un chapitre de son *al-ʿIqd l-farīd* à la métrique d'al-Ḥalīl ; ce chapitre contient une partie théorique, le *Muḥtaṣar al-farṣ*, qui est suivie d'une longue *urğūza* où Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi introduit les cinq cercles, les commente et les représente graphiquement en traçant des lignes (*ḥuṭūt*) pour les lettres quiescentes et des cercles (*ḥalaqāt*) pour les lettres vocalisées.

Concernant le *ṭawīl*,²⁹ je voudrais faire encore une dernière remarque, qui ne se veut qu'un aperçu du rendu graphique du premier cercle dans les manuscrits d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, pour lequel la relecture d'une des rares descriptions des cercles proposée dans le *Miʿyār al-nazzār* d'al-Zanğānī (m. 655/1257) m'a été utile.³⁰ Les manuscrits les plus anciens de l'ouvrage d'Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ semblent, malgré des variantes, respecter cette description. Nous retrouvons, en effet, dans la représentation graphique du premier cercle la circonférence, la subdivision entre les lettres vocalisées (indiquées au moyen de petits cercles qui ont parfois un petit point au centre, comme dans les manuscrits conservés à la Biblioteca Vaticana), et les quiescentes (représentées par une *alif*), ainsi que l'ajout des possibilités inhabituelles (*muhmal*), c'est-à-dire des formes présentes au niveau théorique mais qui ne sont jamais utilisées.

* * *

Grâce à l'analyse d'un nombre consistant de manuscrits et des variantes attestées, cette étude de cas sur le *ṭawīl* m'a permis de mettre en exergue certains traits spécifiques, *ṣawāhid – kitāba ʿarūḍiyya* – représentation graphique des cercles, typiques d'un ouvrage qui, en se basant sur la tradition orientale, unit, à travers la Sicile, l'Orient et l'Occident arabe.

Ces traits nous permettent d'apprécier à sa juste valeur l'importance du traité du sicilien Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, et de tracer sa circulation et sa diffusion dans l'empire arabo-musulman. Il s'agit d'un parcours qui commence en Sicile—lieu qui vit naître Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ en 433/1041 –, se poursuit à al-Andalus et prend fin en Égypte, où il demeura jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, en 515/1121.

29 Sa succession de pieds fait quatre fois *faʿūlun maḥāʾilun*. Le cercle doit être lu en sens antihoraire. Le *watid mağmūʿ faʿū* = faʿuw commence et, suivi par le *sabab ḥafīf* (lun), forme le premier pied ; le *madīd* commence par le *sabab ḥafīf* (lun du *ṭawīl*) ; le *basīl* débute par le *sabab ḥafīf* (ʿī = ʿiy de maḥāʾil, selon *ğuz* du *ṭawīl*).

30 CANOVA 2015: 132-134.

الاماسد وسندكره ان سالكه نفعي الطويل وهو اصل
 د ابره المختلف متى على فعولن منا عيلن ثمانية اجزاء
 استعملته العرب مقبوض العروض والقبض اسفاط الحاسر
 الساكن سمي بذلك من القبض الذي هو الاخذ وله عروض واجه
 وثلثه اضرب بال ضرب الاول ياء وعروضه مقبوضه شاهده
 سعي الرمل جوت مستهله ياءه وما في الاخت من حل الرمل تقطيعه
 سقر رمل جوت من تهلن زبانه وما في الاخت من حل الرمل تقطيعه
 فعولن منا عيلن فعولن منا عيلن فعولن منا عيلن
 والضرب الثالث مقبوض وعروضه مثله شاهده
 سبدي لك الالبام ما كنت جاهلا وبانك بال احبار من لزودك
 والضرب الثالث حروف وعروضه مقبوضه واجد
 اسفاط سبب من اخير السنة تشبه بالفرس المجدوف وهو الذي
 يقص من دينه والردف لا رمل لهذا الضرب وقد شد عيب
 مردب شاهده
 وما كل ذي لب مؤنيك بصحة وما كل مؤنيك بصحة بلب
 وكل بيت يقص من اخره من التين ياء جرف متحرك
 اورنته فالردف لازم له والاعتماد في فعولن الذي قبله هذا

Fig. 7: Dār al-Kutub, 4 'arūd, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', Kitāb fihī al-'arūd, f.3a, 626/1228.

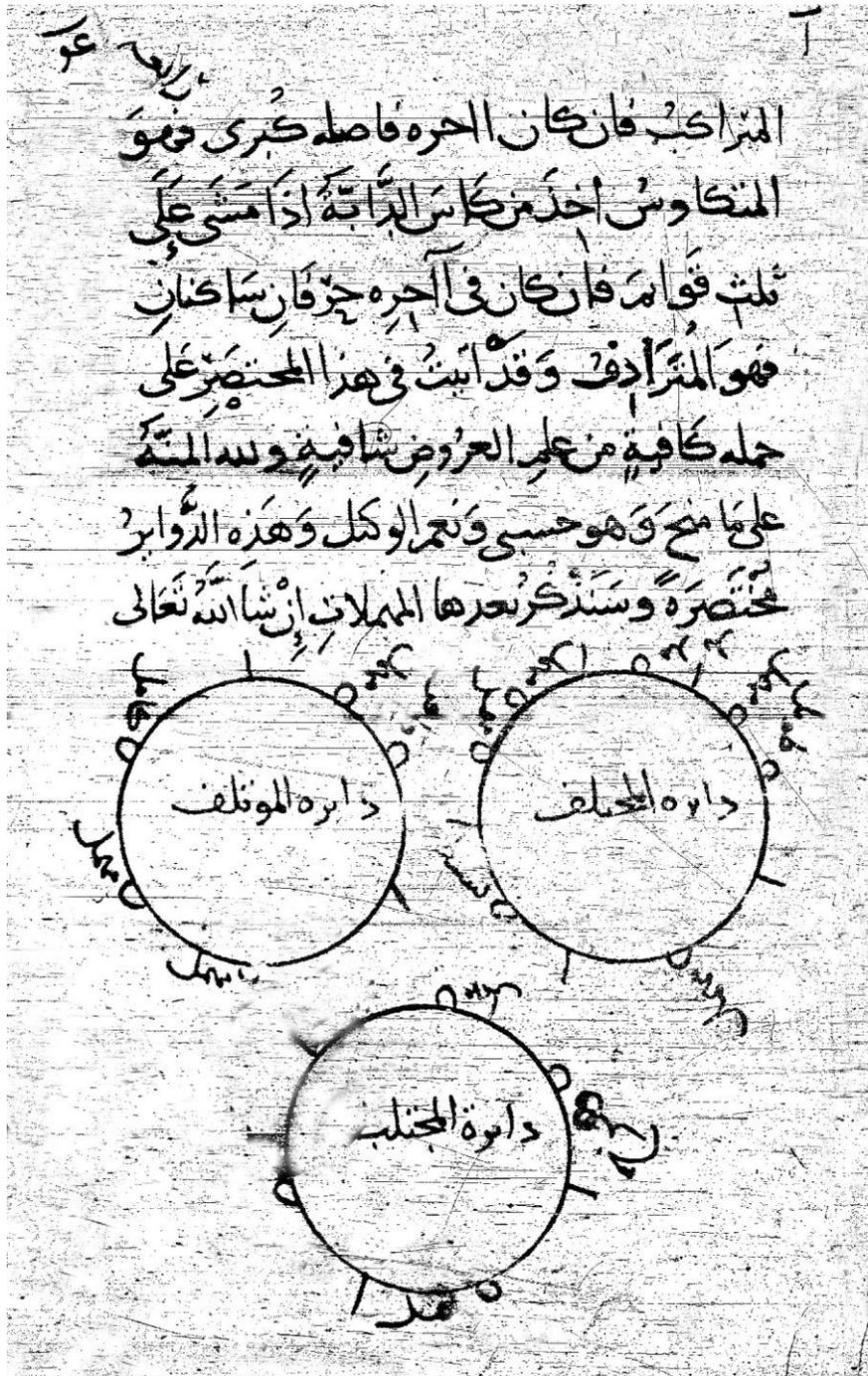


Fig. 9: Dār al-Kutub, 9 'arūḍ, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', *al-'Arūḍ al-bāri'*, f. 27a, 630/1232-33.

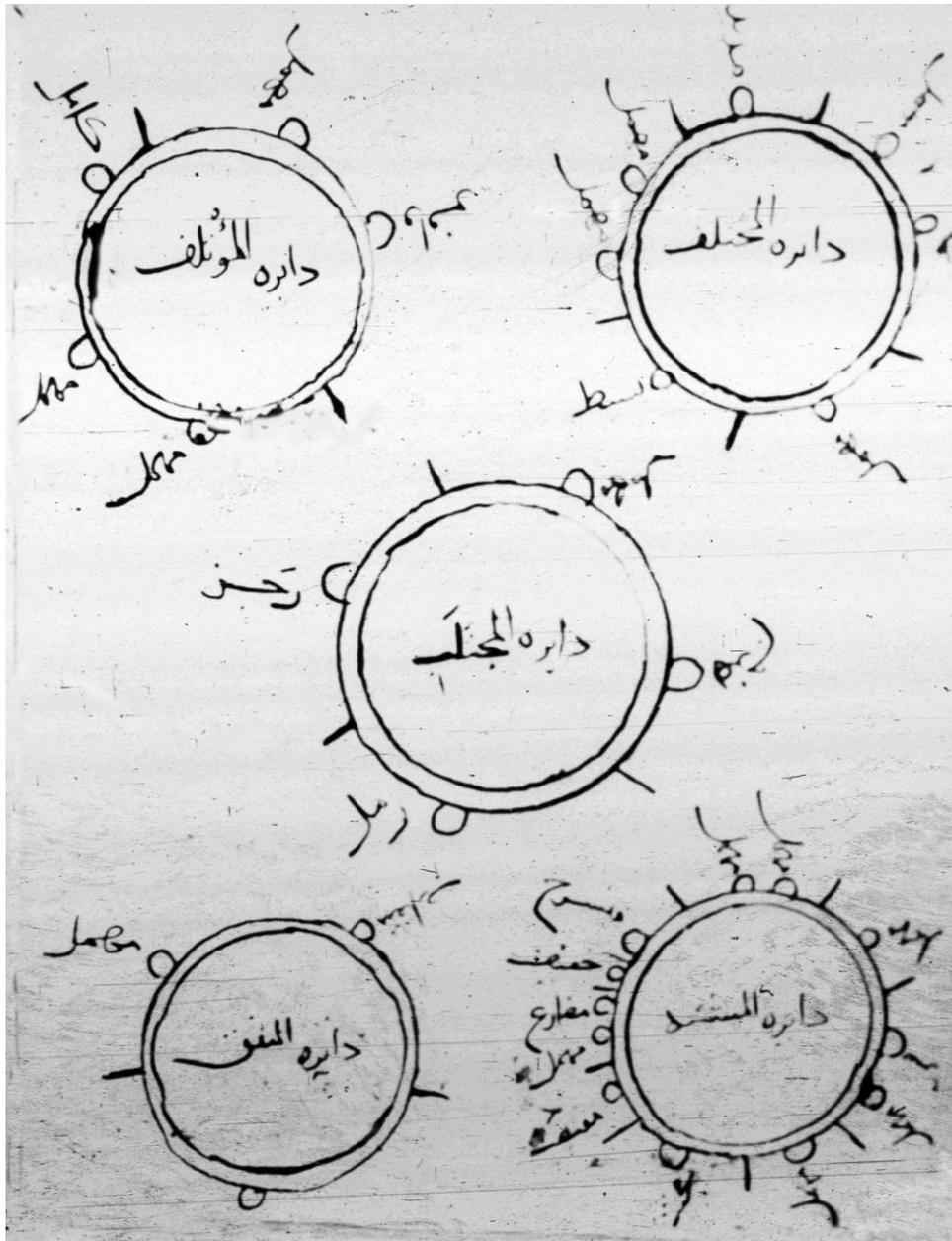


Fig. 10: Dār al-Kutub, 4 'arūd, Ibn al-Qattā', *Kitāb fihī al-'arūd*, 626/1228.

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Originality of the Semantic Approach in Arabic Linguistic Thought, with Particular Reference to Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ's Work

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Abstract

In this study we investigate some aspects of the linguistic thought of Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121) with the intent of contributing to a better knowledge of this eminent personality of Arab Muslim Sicily. To this aim, we offer a description of the milieu of linguistic thought to which al-Qaṭṭāʿ belonged, with particular reference to some members of that milieu, who are known to modern scholars for efforts distinguished by theoretical and methodological originality. We also clarify some semantically-oriented original traits of Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ' s morphological analysis, as emerging from his treatise *Kitāb ʿabniyat al-ʿasmāʾ wa-l-ʿaḳāl wa-l-maṣādir*, as precisely such traits make it possible to number him among the infrequent bearers of semantic originality in the context of medieval Arabic linguistic thought.

Key words: Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, originality, morphology, semantics

Arabic linguistic thought, conservatism and originality

From an historical perspective, the chronological limits within which linguistic thought developed in the medieval Arab Muslim world can be set approximately between 180/796, the date of Sībawayhi's death, and 911/1505, the date of al-Suyūṭī's death.¹ If we turn to epistemological considerations, modern scholars have long noticed that, within that time-span, Arabic linguistic thought is characterized by strong conservatism in terms of objectives, contents and methodology. However, modern scholars differ in their assessment of this phenomenon. In asserting that "les grammairiens arabes se sont fastidieusement répétés, copiés les uns les autres", Fleisch² is reluctant to judge such conservatism positively; whereas Guillaume³ gives the opposite advice when he affirms that Arabic linguistic thought "was founded on a remarkably self-consistent set of general principles (of axioms, so to speak) defining its object, its aims, and its methods".

In particular, in the methodology of Arabic linguistic thought, and particularly in grammatical description, conservatism mainly manifests itself as the tendency, on the part of different schools (Kufan, Basran, Baghdadian, Andalusian, Egyptian⁴), to focus linguistics

1 CARTER 2007: 184, 189. The date of Sībawayhi's death is not a matter of certainty. Here, his death is dated to 180/796 following BAALBAKI 2002: 1, BAALBAKI 2008: 1 and BAALBAKI 2014: 2.

2 FLEISCH 1961, i: 46.

3 GUILLAUME 2007: 175.

4 DAYF 1968: 241-2.

tic analysis on the level of form rather than of meaning.⁵ In all likelihood, the historical reason that lies behind this attitude is the obscurity that the Arab grammarians and lexicographers might have perceived in the variety of Arabic they wanted to describe, the so-called *kalām al-‘Arab*.⁶ It can be hypothesized, in fact, that in transmitting and investigating the *kalām al-‘Arab*, the Arab grammarians and lexicographers not so infrequently took great pains in *understanding* it, so they felt somehow forced to access it primarily through its form rather than its meaning, the former being clearer to them than the latter. It is telling in this respect that precisely the study of obscure words (*ġarīb*) was an important part of the Arab lexicographers’ work since the very beginnings of Arabic linguistic thought,⁷ though further investigation is required to validate such a hypothesis.⁸

Be that as it may, the fact that conservatism tends to tally with a formal approach in the methodology of Arabic linguistic thought implies that the rare traits of originality present take place on the level of meaning. This is illustrated by al-Ġurġānī’s (d. 471/1078) interpretation of the word-order pair *ġumla ismiyya-ġumla fi‘liyya*, e.g., *al-zaydūna katabū / kataba al-zaydūna* ‘the Zayds, they wrote/the Zayds wrote’.⁹ While Arabic linguistic thought usually derives this syntactic pair from a *formal* opposition, which consists of the agreement, or lack thereof, between the verb and the noun,¹⁰ al-Ġurġānī interprets it as the result of a *semantic* opposition, in which informational saliency affects either the utterance-initial noun (i.e., *al-zaydūna* in *al-zaydūna katabū*) or the utterance-initial verb (i.e., *kataba* in *kataba al-zaydūna*).¹¹

5 VERSTEEGH 1997: 228.

6 Technically speaking, the definition of this variety of Arabic is quite fluid in the literature. A matter of wide consensus among Arabists is that *kalām al-‘Arab* is basically the linguistic material attested to in the Koran and pre-Islamic poetry (GUILLAUME 2007: 177), but according to some definitions it may also include the linguistic data collected from the Bedouin (*kalām al-‘Arab*) and even the Prophet’s sayings (*ḥadīṭ*): cp. BAALBAKI 2014: 30, 37. See also LEVIN 1999: 270 for a narrower definition of the variety of Arabic under discussion.

7 BAALBAKI 2014: 7, 36-37.

8 Outside Arabic, it is well established among linguists that an epistemological connection exists between an obscure language and the resort to a formal approach to analyze it. Lepschy exemplifies this state of affairs by means of the formal approach that American structuralists developed to account for Amerindian languages, which effectively appeared rather puzzling to them (LEPSCHY 1966: 151-2).

9 Cp. VERSTEEGH 1997: 259-260.

10 Al-Ġurġānī himself adheres to this formal interpretation in terms of syntactic agreement in his work *al-Muqtaṣid fī šarḥ al-ṭīdāh*. See, e.g., al-ĠURĠĀNĪ, *al-Muqtaṣid fī šarḥ al-ṭīdāh*: 327-8, in which he defines the element that can co-occur with the verb of a *ġumla ismiyya* and cannot co-occur with the verb of a *ġumla fi‘liyya* as a unit that carries syntactic information and is incorporated into that verb (*l-fā‘il ka ‘l-ġuz’ min-a l-fi‘l*), i.e., as a sort of agreement-marker. This passage reads as follows: *wa-‘lam ‘anna l-fā‘ila ka ‘l-ġuz’i min-a l-fi‘li wa-li-ḍālika lam yaġuz taqḍīmu ‘alay-hi naḥwa ‘an taqūla l-zaydāni ḍaraba [...] fa-lammā lam yaqūlū ‘illā ḍarabā ‘alimta ‘anna l-zaydāni rafu-humā bi ‘l-ibtidā‘i wa ‘l-fā‘ila huwa l-‘alifu fī ḍarabā*. On the different approaches of al-Ġurġānī ‘grammarian’ (*al-Muqtaṣid fī šarḥ al-ṭīdāh*) and of al-Ġurġānī ‘rhetorician’ (*Dalā‘il al-‘iġāz*), see, among many others, VERSTEEGH 1997: 259-260.

11 al-ĠURĠĀNĪ, *Dalā‘il al-‘iġāz*: 147. Concretely, al-Ġurġānī exemplifies the semantic opposition between *ġumla ismiyya* and *ġumla fi‘liyya* by means of interrogative utterances (*al-istifhām*) such as *‘a-fa‘alta, ‘a-‘anta fa‘alta*. In these utterances, the informational saliency, which consists of the speaker’s

In the literature, few other examples of semantic traits of originality are seemingly reported, the most notable of which are those developed by al-Astarābādī (d. 688/1289)¹² and Ibn Hišām (d. 761/1359).¹³ By contrast, it seems that the semantic originality that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (d. 515/1121) brought to Arabic linguistic thought has not yet received scholarly attention. In what follows, we first outline the main aspects of semantic originality of al-Astarābādī's and Ibn Hišām's linguistic thought in the form of a review of the literature, then proceed to clarify the contribution of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' in the same respect.

Yet before proceeding further, a caveat is in order: ascertaining the pervasiveness of a formal approach in the conservative transmission of Arabic linguistic thought should not mislead us into oversimplification. In the transmission of such knowledge, the semantic dimension was marginal but not totally absent. Evidence for this assertion comes from the formative stages of Arabic linguistic thought: as Baalbaki points out,¹⁴ Sībawayhi avails himself of "technical terms which refer to formal aspects" and which, at the same time, "have distinct semantic functions", although "[he] does not formulate a semantic theory in the *Kitāb*" for these terms, relegating them to a marginal role. We can draw an example from morphology to understand this point. In Sībawayhi's view, the construct of affixation (*ziyāda*) can but must not involve a semantic dimension, contrary to standard assumptions in modern Western linguistics. On the one hand, Sībawayhi explicitly states that affixation may "introduce an element of meaning" (*tadhulu li-ma'nan*).¹⁵ On the other hand, he also asserts that this function is not quintessential to affixation, the other important function of it being that of *ilhāq*, i.e., "reducing one [anomalous] pattern to another [more regular] pattern" (*tulhiqu binā'an li-binā'*) regardless of their meaning.¹⁶ For instance, the Arab grammarians regard the Quranic hydronym *kawṭar* as instantiating an unexpected consonant *w*, which disrupts the regular pattern *fa'al*, thus yielding the anomalous pattern *faw'al*. They also propose to reconceptualize the unexpected consonant *w* as an affix that, in merely formal terms, occupies the position of a root consonant (*ilhāq*), rather than introducing an element of meaning. This analysis allows them to re-interpret the anomalous pattern *faw'al* as a regular quadriconsonantal pattern, which is effectively attested to in nouns such as *ḡa'far*.¹⁷

Furthermore, the formal approach itself was not immune from sporadic traits of originality, in spite of the Arab grammarians' tendency to transmit it conservatively from one generation to the next. An indicative example is the conceptual organization of Arabic grammatical theory devised by Ibn al-Sarrāḡ (d. 316/928), the original character of which

doubt (*šakk*), affects either the utterance-initial verb *fa'alta* (*fa-bada'ta bi'l-fi'li kāna l-šakku fi l-fi'l*) or the utterance-initial (pro)noun *'anta* (*fa-bada'ta bi'l-ismi kāna l-šakku fi l-fā'il*). Cp. also VERSTEEGH 1997: 259-260.

12 GUILLAUME 1998: 59-62.

13 GULLY 1995: 6, 56.

14 BAALBAKI 2008: 173. Cp. also the discussion concerning the notion of *faḍla* in the next section.

15 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iii: 213. This translation is based on BAALBAKI 2002: 7.

16 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iii: 213. In this connection Baalbaki himself remarks that "this *ziyāda* is different from the one which uniformly introduces an element of meaning": see BAALBAKI 2002: 3.

17 BAALBAKI 2002: 4. Cp. also SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iii: 211, which puts forward a similar analysis for *fa'wal* (e.g., *ḡadwal*).

Guillaume¹⁸ highlights as follows: “The same preoccupation with clarifying the foundations of grammatical theory and with finding new, more explicit ways to formulate it is also perceptible in Ibn al-Sarrāġ’s (d. 316/928) *’uṣūl*, a descriptive treatise following an entirely new and systematic order of exposition”. Guillaume¹⁹ also highlights the isolated nature of this formal originality by observing that Ibn al-Sarrāġ’s successors fossilized his conceptual organization of Arabic grammatical theory into a “canonical mode of exposition for grammatical treatises” so that “no major evolution occurred in subsequent centuries” for such a theory.²⁰

Bearing this in mind, we can now address the issue of (non-marginal) semantic originality in Arabic linguistic thought.

Al-Astarābādī and the Arabic system of case endings

Raḍī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī was an Arab grammarian of Iranian origin. He was born on an unknown date in the city of Astarābād (present-day Iran), which is traditionally described as producing scholars proficient in all the sciences. In al-Astarābādī’s time, however, the cultural potential of that milieu was probably limited by historical accidents, such as the Mongol invasions, which may explain why his commentary (*ṣarḥ*) on the syntactic treatise *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥāġib (d. 646/1249) was not circulated or developed by subsequent grammarians in spite of his scholarly prowess. Another possible explanation for the inadequate reception of al-Astarābādī’s commentary—with the notable exception of al-Suyūfī (d. 911/1505)—was its innovative nature vis-à-vis the predominating conservatism of Arabic linguistic thought at that time. Al-Astarābādī may have died in 686/1287 or more likely in 688/1289.²¹

The conservative methodology of Arabic linguistic thought we have just alluded to devoted considerable attention to the system of case endings (*i’rāb*), which constituted a central feature of the variety of Arabic described by the Arab grammarians and lexicographers. The resulting theory stands out for its conceptual simplicity: briefly,²² what assigns the case ending to the noun is a particle or a verb²³ that precedes the noun in question. As a corollary

18 GUILLAUME 2007: 176.

19 GUILLAUME 2007: 176.

20 The systematic character that originally informs Ibn al-Sarrāġ’s conceptual organization of grammar is apparent, for instance, from his description of the syntactic behavior of parts of speech in logical-combinatorial terms. Cp. the key-word *ya’talifu* in the following passage (IBN al-SARRĀĠ, *al-’Uṣūl fī l-nahw*, i: 41): *wa-l-laḍī ya’talifu minhu l-kalāmu l-ṭalāṭatu l-ismu wa’l-fi’lu wa’l-ḥarfū fa’l-ismu qad ya’talifu ma’a l-ismi... wa-ya’talifu l-ismu wa’l-fi’la [...] wa-lā ya’talifu l-fi’lu ma’a l-fi’li wa’l-ḥarfū lā ya’talifu ma’a l-ḥarf*. See GHERSETTI, to appear for further details and references.

21 See BOHAS, GUILLAUME, KOULOGLI 1990: 72, GUILLAUME 1998: 61, MANGO 1986: 721, WEIPERT 2009.

22 This is admittedly a simplified account of the canonical theory of case endings in Arabic linguistic thought, which abstracts away from case-assigners such as the covert element referred to as *ibtidā’* by the Arab grammarians. See GUILLAUME 1998: 44-58 for details.

23 It would be tempting to restate in modern terms this theoretical scenario by assuming a pattern of complementary distribution. On this view, three parts of speech are found in Arabic, two of which (verb,

lary, the phonological realization of the case ending assigned to the noun depends precisely on the nature of the constituent that precedes it. The particle assigns the case ending *i* to the noun; the verb assigns the case ending *u* to the first instance of a noun in the utterance, as well as the case ending *a* to the second instance of it; and a covert constituent, which has a verb-like and/or a particle-like nature, assigns the case ending *u* to the noun. For instance, in the utterance *ḍaraba Zaydun 'Amran* 'Zayd hit 'Amr', the verb *ḍaraba* assigns the case ending *u* to the proper noun *Zayd* and the case ending *a* to the proper noun 'Amr'.²⁴ A theory of case along these lines is formal in the sense that no semantic considerations are invoked to explain the phonological realization of the case endings, the position of the utterance constituents only being relevant. Keeping to the example *ḍaraba Zaydun 'Amran*, there is a tendency for the Arab grammarians to elaborate only very minimally upon the idea that the case ending *u* is assigned to the agent of the utterance *Zayd*, and the case ending *a* to its object 'Amr'.²⁵

However, al-Astarābādī takes the opposite approach by affirming that the case ending *u* is assigned to any necessary part of the utterance (*'umda*)²⁶, such as the subject and the predicate, and the case ending *a* is assigned to any optional part of it (*faḍla*), such as the object and the other complements.²⁷ A parallel with the modern linguistic notion of minimum clause will be useful to elucidate al-Astarābādī's theory of case endings²⁸, and especially the dialectics between *'umda* and *faḍla*²⁹ upon which this theory is founded. To begin with, let us consider the utterance *John ate an apple*, from which we can derive the minimum clause *John ate* if we omit its object *an apple*. The relevant fact about this omission is that it deletes a portion of meaning, e.g., *an apple*, from the utterance, e.g., *John ate an apple*, without compromising the latter's overall semantics (and grammaticality) and yielding a minimum clause that is made of a subject and a (verbal) predicate, e.g., *John ate*. The same remarks apply to the utterance *John ate yesterday*, if we omit its complement of time

particle) assign the case ending and the other (noun) receives it. Nonetheless, the ability of the verb to receive the case ending (cp. the imperfective forms *yaf'alu*, *yaf'ala*) falsifies an interpretation of this sort.

24 See the end of this paper for further examples concerning the particle and the noun to which it assigns the *i*-ending.

25 On the contrary, modern Western linguistics is inclined to endorse this interpretation.

26 See, e.g., al-ASTĀRĀBĀDĪ, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, i: 52: *tumma 'lam 'anna muḥḍita hāḍihi l-ma'ānī fī kulli smīn huwa l-mutakallimu [...] wa-kaḍā l-'āmilu fī kulli wāḥidīn min-a l-mubtada'i wa'l-ḥabari huwa l-'āḥaru 'alā maḍḥabi l-kisā'iyyi wa'l-farrā'i 'iḍ kullu wāḥidīn min-humā šāra 'umdatan bi'l-'āḥar.*

27 See, e.g., al-ASTĀRĀBĀDĪ, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, i: 52 *wa-ḥtulīfa fī nāṣibi l-faḍalāti fa-qāla l-farrā' huwa l-fī'lu ma'a l-fā'il wa-hwa qarībun 'alā l-aṣli l-maḍkūri 'iḍ bi-'isnādi 'aḥadi-himā 'ilā l-'āḥari šārat [i.e., l-ma'ānī: see the previous footnote] faḍlatan.*

28 This is a simplified overview of al-Astarābādī's theory of case endings, which says nothing about the case ending *i*. A more complete presentation of this theory could probably treat the case ending in question as a syntactically-conditioned allomorph of the case ending *a*: *a* becomes *i* when preceded by a preposition (e.g. *masā'an* 'in the evening' → *fī l-masā'i* 'id.'). except for diptotes. Cp. GUILLAUME 1998: 59-62 and BOHAS, GUILLAUME, KOULOUGHLI 1990: 66-68.

29 This parallel is for clarification purposes only. It does not imply any assimilation of the modern notion of minimal clause to al-Astarābādī's notions of *'umda* and *faḍla*. More research would be needed on this subject.

yesterday. This semantic situation is tantamount to saying that in the minimum clause only the subject and the (verbal) predicate qualify as the necessary parts of the utterance, not unlike the *ʿumda* in al-Astarābādī's view, whereas the object and other complements are an optional part of it (cp. their omittability), not unlike the *faḍla* in his view. By way of illustration, the utterance *Zaydun munṭaliqun* 'Zayd is leaving' includes two instances of *ʿumda* (the subject *Zaydun* and the predicate *munṭaliqun*), whereas the aforementioned object *ʿAmran* is an instance of *faḍla* similarly to complements of time and manner (e.g., *masāʿan* 'in the evening', *al-battata* 'surely'). This theory of case endings is semantic since it has at its core the notions of *ʿumda* and *faḍla*, which ultimately are but two sets of pieces of information one speaker conveys to another, such as substance, attribute (cp. the subject and the predicate that define the *ʿumda*), time, manner (cp. the complements of time and manner that define the *faḍla*).³⁰

The mainstream formal theory of case endings and al-Astarābādī's semantic theory of case endings seem to be equally capable of explaining the presence of case endings in a simple utterance like *ḍaraba Zaydun ʿAmran*, where the case endings *u* and *a* can be analyzed either as two outcomes of the verb *ḍaraba* that precedes the nouns bearing them; or as an opposition necessary vs. optional part of the utterance. However, al-Astarābādī's semantic theory of case endings is seemingly superior to its formal counterpart when it comes to a more complex instance of utterance, which involves a passive form. Arabists have in the past noticed the difficulties experienced by the mainstream formal theory of case endings with respect to al-Astarābādī's theory, but the passive utterances they have taken into consideration belong to a somewhat *ad hoc* set of utterances often mentioned in the Arab grammarians' treatises, e.g. *sīra farsahāni* 'Two leagues were travelled'.³¹ Here, we would like to discuss the same theoretical scenario by means of a more concrete instance of passive utterance, drawn from the linguistic data gathered by Sībawayhi. The author of the *Kitāb* mentions a kind of passive utterance, in which the internal object displays an alternation of case endings *u/a*, e.g., *ḍuriba bi-hi ḍarbun ḍaʿīfun / ḍarban ḍaʿīfan* 'a weak blow was hit with it'.³² A certain amount of idealization is undeniable in this linguistic data (cp. the stereotyped example *ḍuriba* etc.), but the very alternation of case endings *u/a* in it plausibly points to a *real* context of dialectal variation.³³

As has just been illustrated, the mainstream formal theory predicts that the verb assigns the case ending *u* to the first instance of a noun in the utterance, so that it accounts for one member of the alternation only, i.e., *ḍarbun ḍaʿīfun*, leaving the other, i.e., *ḍarban ḍaʿīfan*, unaccounted for. By contrast, al-Astarābādī's semantic theory of case endings provides a straightforward explanation for both members of the *u/a* alternation by interpreting them as two effects of two different communicative attitudes on the part of the speaker. If the speaker places informational saliency on the piece of information 'weak blow' (cp. the

³⁰ This theory has also a pragmatic dimension insofar as it takes into account the role of the speaker and his intentions: see LARCHER 2014: 267-316.

³¹ See BOHAS, GUILLAUME, KOULOUGHLI 1990: 65 and OWENS 1988: 183.

³² Quoted in OWENS 2006: 95.

³³ See OWENS 2006: 94-5, who also considers the possibility of free variation. However, a non-variationist interpretation is also possible. This interpretation, which invokes pragmatic factors such as a different distribution of the informationally salient constituent, is discussed immediately below.

notion of internal object in modern Western linguistics), this element functions as a necessary part of the utterance (*'umda*), and therefore receives the case ending *u*. If the speaker does not place informational saliency on the piece of information 'weak blow', the same element functions as an optional part of the utterance (*faḍla*), thereby receiving the case ending *a*.³⁴

Insofar as al-Astarābādī worked out a semantic theory of case endings, thus departing from the formal theory of case endings that the Arab grammarians conservatively accepted and transmitted from one generation to another, we can credit him as a bearer of semantic originality in Arabic linguistic thought. His semantic originality is particularly remarkable in light of its ability to analyze certain facets of the utterance that Arabic linguistic thought traditionally takes great pains to analyze by means of its formal approach. That said, the disruption that al-Astarābādī represents with respect to mainstream Arabic linguistic thought should not prevent us from recognizing his continuity with it.³⁵ Suffice it here to mention two facts. In first place, the notion of *faḍla* is already found in the work by al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898).³⁶ Secondly, and more importantly, al-Astarābādī himself presents his semantic theory of case endings as a development of some views held by al-Farrā' (d. 207/822)³⁷, who is well known for his strong interest in the linguistic exegesis of the Koran (cp. his huge work *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*).³⁸ The epistemological link between al-Farrā' and al-Astarābādī therefore provides the crucial indication that the semantic originality revealed by Arabic linguistic thought may possibly find its ultimate origin in the linguistic exegesis of the Koran.

34 This notion merely serves a clarification purpose. The question whether it can be assimilated to the notion of *maf'ūl muṭlaq* is not relevant here. Consequently, the difference in terms of case-assignment between the Western notion of internal object, as applied here, (alternation of case-endings *u/a*) and that of *maf'ūl muṭlaq* (case-ending *a* only) raises no interpretive difficulties.

35 In Guillaume's own words: "Il s'agit là, incontestablement d'une rupture avec ce qui est alors devenu, depuis plus d'un siècle, la «doctrine officielle» de la plupart des grammairiens arabes; cependant cette rupture [...] se fonde sur des tendances attestées depuis longtemps dans la tradition arabe." (GUILLAUME 1998: 60).

36 AHMED TAHA 2008: 100.

37 For instance, al-Astarābādī derives the semantic 'autonomy' of the *'umda*-constituents *mubtada'* and *ḥabar* (as opposed to the semantic 'dependency' of the *faḍla*-constituents) from their capability of governing each other, a theoretical construct that he ascribes, among others, to al-Farrā'. This is apparent from the passage quoted above in connection with the notion of *'umda*: *wa-kaḍā l-'āmilu fī kulli wāḥidīn min-a l-mubtada'i wa'l-ḥabari huwa l-'āḥaru 'alā maḡhabi l-kisā'iyyi wa'l-farrā'i 'id kullu wāḥidīn min-humā šāra 'umdatan bi'l-'āḥar* (al-ASTĀRĀBĀDĪ, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiyah*, i: 52).

38 For instance, in this work al-Farrā' discusses *mubtada'*'s and *ḥabar*'s capability of governing each other, of which al-Astarābādī will avail himself to develop his formulation of the notion of *'umda* (cp. the *locus probans* mentioned in the previous fn.). See, e.g., al-FARRĀ', *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* ii: 302: *wa-qawlu-hu wa-qālati mra'atu fir'auna qurratu 'aynin lī wa-la-ka rufi'at qurratu 'aynin bi-'idmāri huwa wa-miṭlu-hu fī l-qur'āni kaṭirun yurfā'u bi-'idmār*. In this passage al-Farrā' analyzes the words of Pharaoh's wife reported in the Quranic verse 28:9 ("Said Pharaoh's wife, 'He will be a comfort to me and thee...'", Arberry's translation) as a *mubtada'* (i.e., *qurratu 'aynin*) that receives its *u*-ending from a covert *ḥabar*, i.e., *huwa*, which governs it. On the linguistic aspects of al-Farrā''s *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*, see also BERTONATI 1988.

Ibn Hišām and the Arabic definite article

The attentive reader will have noticed that the formal theory of case endings, just outlined in the previous section, in turn hinges on a classification of the parts of speech, namely the tripartite classification of Arabic words into noun, verb, particle (*ism, fi'l, ḥarf*). One of the tersest formulations of this classification goes back to the *incipit* of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and has enjoyed great fortune up until recent times, as virtually no modern grammar of literary Arabic discounts the model of classification of Arabic words into *ism, fi'l, ḥarf*: "The words are noun, verb and particle" (*fa-l-kalimu smun wa-fi'lun wa-ḥarf*).³⁹ The conservatism that pervades the Arab grammarians' classification of parts of speech is self-evident.

To this we could add that the classification in question also entails a certain amount of formalism, as shown by the influential analysis of the particle carried out by Sībawayhi in the aforementioned *incipit* of his *Kitāb*. In this passage, in fact, he does not set out a *positive semantic* definition of the particle (e.g., what denotes time, place, manner etc.), preferring instead to define it negatively as what is semantically neither a noun nor a verb: "the particle that occurs to [convey] a meaning, which is neither nominal nor verbal" (*ḥarfun ḡā'a li-ma'nàn laysa bi-smīn wa-lā fi'l*).⁴⁰

Hence, it seems safe to maintain that the formal aspect prevails over the semantic one in the analysis of the particle developed by Arabic linguistic thought from Sībawayhi onward. Concretely, the Arabic definite article is among the particles that receives an analysis of this sort as, according to a recent study by Baalbaki,⁴¹ even definiteness (*ta'rīf*), which represents its key property, is one of "the technical terms which refer to formal aspects" in the *Kitāb* (e.g., the position the article fulfills with respect to the noun). Such a formal (positional, etc.) analysis will also become conservative when the subsequent grammarians continue to pursue it, assigning a marginal role to the semantic properties of the Arabic definite article that they could identify, such as the latter's reference to previous knowledge (*'ahdiyya*). However, a case can be made for a semantic treatment of the Arabic definite article on the part of Ibn Hišām.

Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hišām al-Naḥwī was a *faqīh* and grammarian. He was born in 708/1310 in Cairo, where he spent most of his life and died in 761/1360.⁴² As a Šāfi'ī doctor, he became professor of Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*) at the Qubba Maṣūriyya in Cairo. As a grammarian, he authored the treatise *Muḡnī l-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'ārīb*, which won the complete admiration of Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406). This is a description of syntax arranged to start from each Arabic *ḥarf* in alphabetical order. In the *Muḡnī l-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'ārīb*, Ibn Hišām also deals with the Arabic definite article, which he regards as an instance of particle, and provides a more fine-grained account of the aforementioned notion of *'ahdiyya* by classifying it into three subnotions, namely, *ma'hūd dīkriyyan*, *ma'hūd dīhniyyan*, *ma'hūd ḥudūriyyan*.

39 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, i: 12. Cp. also VERSTEEGH 1997: 242.

40 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, i: 12. Cp. also VERSTEEGH 1997: 242.

41 BAALBAKI 2008: 173. Cp. also the beginning of this paper for the interplay between the (prevailing) formal approach and the (marginal) semantic approach in Sībawayhi's work.

42 FLEISCH 1986: 801-2, GULLY 1995: 1-26, 266.

They roughly correspond to the modern linguistic constructs of textual anaphora, extra-textual anaphora, and deixis, respectively.⁴³

Thus, by means of his tripartite and semantically-oriented classification of the Arabic definite article, Ibn Hišām brings forth a perspective that, because of its uniqueness within Arabic linguistic thought, is undeniably original; although this assertion must be tempered by the acknowledgement that in the same classification Ibn Hišām foregrounds a significant trait of continuity with mainstream Arabic linguistic thought. In fact, as just alluded to, Ibn Hišām takes as the departure point of his tripartite and semantically-oriented classification of the Arabic definite article the traditional (and marginal) notion of *'ahdiyya*. A dialectics between originality and continuity therefore emerges in Ibn Hišām's linguistic thought, which constitutes a notable aspect of similarity with al-Astarābādī's thought.⁴⁴ Another aspect of similarity that one grammarian shares with the other is a strong background in the linguistic exegesis of the Koran—as just alluded to, Ibn Hišām was appointed professor of this discipline.⁴⁵

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and Arabic prefixation

'Alī b. Ġa'far b. 'Alī al-Šantarīnī al-Sa'dī al-Šiqillī, also known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', was an anthologist, historian, grammarian, lexicographer and poet, who was born in Sicily in 433/1041. In that period the island was first ravaged by civil war, then conquered by the Normans, leading him to leave Sicily in 1061. After a short stay in Andalusia, he finally settled in Egypt, where he died in 515/1121. There he circulated the *al-Šihāh* dictionary by al-Ġawharī (d. 398/1007-8), of which he is traditionally said to be the greatest transmitter and which he received from his teacher Ibn al-Birr (d. around 493/1100).⁴⁶

According to the Arabic linguistic tradition, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' is the author of two thematic glossaries (*mubawwab*) devoted to the morphological patterns (*'abniya*) found in the *kalām al-'Arab*. While one thematic glossary, the so-called *Kitāb al-'af'āl*, only deals with verbal patterns, the other, transmitted under the title *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-mašādir*, revolves more broadly around the patterns of nouns, verbs and the hybrid category they give rise to: the verbal noun (*mašdar*).⁴⁷

43 See IBN HIŠĀM, *Muġnī l-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'arīb*, i: 106, 108. This passage reads as follows: 'al 'alā *ṭalāṭati 'awġuhin [...]* wa'l-ṭānī 'an takūna ḥarfa ta'rīfin wa-hya naw'āni 'ahdiyyatun wa-ġinsiyyatun wa-kullun min-humā *ṭalāṭatu 'aqsāmīn fa'l-'ahdiyyatu 'immā 'an yakūna mašḥūbu-hā ma'hūdan ḍikriyyan [...]* 'aw ma'hūdan ḍihniyyan [...]' 'aw ma'hūdan ḥuḍūriyyan. The parallel between *ma'hūdan ḍikriyyan*, *ma'hūdan ḍihniyyan*, *ma'hūdan ḥuḍūriyyan* and textual anaphora, extra-textual anaphora, deixis is proposed by GULLY 1995: 146-8. Cp. also VERSTEEGH 1997: 265.

44 See the end of the previous section.

45 See also the end of the previous section.

46 RIZZITANO 1986: 818-19, CAPEZIO 2015: 139-41. See also the editor 'Abd al-Dāyim's Introduction to IBN AL-QAṬṬĀ', *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-mašādir*: 19-23 and the other contributions in this volume.

47 BAALBAKI 2014: 258-60, 264-5.

The *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* is of particular interest here because of the potential it bears in terms of semantic originality. A good indication of its general tendency to originality is its inclusion of all sorts of Arabic morphological patterns, even those not mentioned by Sībawayhi, in its collection. Moreover, the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* opts to treat the verbal noun as a self-contained object of investigation, in sharp contrast to previous works of the same genre, and in so doing relies upon a definition of verbal noun that is semantic, to the extent that it decomposes this kind of lexeme into a peculiar combination of two *semantic* primitives, i.e. the nominal and verbal properties (componential analysis).⁴⁸ From this vantage point, the choice of pinpointing the verbal noun as a self-contained object of investigation is fairly indicative of the particular tendency to semantic originality of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* and of its author Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'. In the remainder of this section, we further corroborate the hypothesis that an original attitude to semantic originality informs the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* by means of a case study of a fundamental ingredient of Arabic morphological patterns—affixation—, and especially in the interpretation of it offered by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' in this treatise.

Within the theoretical framework of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*, affixation (*ziyāda* and related terms: *zā'id* etc.) in essence has a consonantal nature and performs the function of increasing the length of morphological patterns. The root (*ašl*) shares with affixation the same nature and function, as it manifests itself as triconsonantal, quadriconsonantal and so on. Both consonantal affixes and root consonants can co-occur with vowels when increasing the length of morphological patterns. This theoretical framework is apparent in the conceptual structure of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*, which organizes the morphological patterns according to a criterion of increasing length of root consonants and consonantal affixes, owing much to Sībawayhi in this regard. By way of illustration, Sībawayhi mentions the morphological patterns *fu'l*, *fu'ul*, *'aful* precisely in this order of increasing length, as does Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' in his *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*. What is more, the latter grammarian, like the former, makes use of the fundamental terminological pair *ašl/zā'id*.⁴⁹

Since the criterion of increasing length involves no semantic factor and revives the criterion of increasing length adopted by Sībawayhi, the theoretical framework of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* is plausibly one of the many instances of formal and conservative approach that characterize Arabic linguistic thought. This observation does not deny the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* the semantically origi-

⁴⁸ From a textual perspective, this choice is reflected in the conceptual structure of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*, which deserves a separate treatment to the verbal noun patterns, contrary to previous works, such as the *Kitāb al-Istidrāk* authored by al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989). See BAALBAKI 2014: 285.

⁴⁹ IBN al-QAṬṬĀ', *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*: 135, 140; SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iv: 242-245. For simplicity's sake, the terminological pair *ašl/zā'id* is rendered here as root/affix in the wake of BAALBAKI 2002: 1. This terminological pair is effectively part and parcel of a broader lexical set, which also includes *ziyāda* (affixation) *mazīd* (affixed) etc. See, e.g., IBN al-QAṬṬĀ', *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*: 92, 109. But cp. also LARCHER 1995, who brings solid arguments in favor a more accurate translation—and conceptualization—of the terminological pair *ašl/zā'id*.

nal character we have alluded to immediately above and is instead meant to highlight the aspects of continuity that this treatise instantiates along with its aspects of originality.

Returning to the comparison between the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* and the *Kitāb*, a closer look at the passages that expound the morphological pattern *fu'ul* reveals a certain difference between the two treatises. While Sībawayhi exemplifies the morphological pattern *fu'ul* by means of the word *ḡumud* without explaining the latter's meaning, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' supplements Sībawayhi's example with the gloss 'name of a mountain' (*ism ḡabal*).⁵⁰

Insofar as this gloss helps to elucidate the meaning of the word *ḡumud* and is not found in Sībawayhi's work, it can qualify as a sort of semantic originality on the part of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'. However, the semantic originality under scrutiny is not as crucial, given that it is not original to Ibn al-Qaṭṭā': the practice of glossing obscure words, the meaning of which Sībawayhi omitted to record, is typical of the genre of thematic glossary to which the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* belongs.⁵¹ It is also worth noting that the semantically-oriented practice of glossing obscure words mainly arose and developed in the milieu of the linguistic exegesis of the Koran, as evidenced by the type of thematic glossary traditionally known as *ḡarīb al-Qur'ān*.⁵² It follows that the original glosses that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' associates with the morphological patterns in the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir* lack conceptual originality yet bear testimony, again (cp. the two previous sections), to an epistemological link between semantic originality in Arabic linguistic thought and the background of linguistic exegesis of the Koran.

On the other hand, a major trait of semantic originality that we can in all likelihood fully ascribe to Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' alone emerges from a careful examination of a passage of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*, drawn from its chapter on affixes (*Bāb ḡurūf al-zawā'id*).⁵³ The passage in question describes the *w*-affix as follows: "w can be inserted within a noun or a verb, but not in first position, except for the [expression of] oath; it can be inserted within them in second position, as in *kawṭar*" (*wa'l-wāwu tulḡaqu fi*

50 IBN AL-QAṬṬĀ', *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*: 135; SĪBĀWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iv: 243.

51 BAALBAKI 2014: 60. In principle, we can hypothesize that Sībawayhi omitted to record the meaning of *ḡumud* since it was a toponym well-known to him and to the educated people of his time; and that, on the contrary, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' felt the need to expound the meaning of the same word as, centuries later after Sībawayhi, it had become incomprehensible to Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' himself and to his educated audience. However, textual research militates against this hypothesis. The early lexicographer Abū 'Ubayda (d. 209/824), who died about thirty years after Sībawayhi, glosses precisely the word *ḡumud* as the name of a mountain located in Najd under the sphere of influence of the Banū Naṣr tribe, which plausibly shows that this word was already obscure in Sībawayhi's time. Abū 'Ubayda's gloss, which had been transmitted by the geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), reads as follows: *al-ḡumudu bi-ḡammatayni qāla abū 'ubaydata huwa ḡabalun li-banī naṣrin bi-naḡd* (cp. YĀQŪT, *Muḡam al-Buldān*, ii: 161). See also BAALBAKI 2014: 19, 165 for further information about Abū 'Ubayda. However, it is also worth pointing out that the different kinds of linguistic analysis carried out by Sībawayhi and Abū 'Ubayda (*naḡw* and *luḡa*, respectively), might have plausibly influenced the absence vs. the presence of glosses associated with nominal patterns and related words such as *fu'ul* and *ḡumud*.

52 BAALBAKI 2014: 63.

53 IBN AL-QAṬṬĀ', *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'af'āl wa'l-maṣādir*: 99.

l-ismi wa 'l-fi'li illā anna-hā lā tulḥaqu awwalan illā fī l-qasami l-battata wa-tulḥaqu t̄āniyatan fī kawṭar).⁵⁴

The passage of the *Kitāb* that describes the same affix differs markedly from the previous passage in that it does not admit the occurrence of *w* in first position, i.e., as an affix that can occur at the beginning of a noun or verb: “regarding *w*, it can be inserted in second position, as in *ḥawqal*” (*ammā l-wāwu fa-tuzādu t̄āniyatan fī ḥawqal*).⁵⁵

In essence this difference boils down to the interpretation of the expression of oath, which in the variety of Arabic investigated by Sībawayhi and Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ frequently takes on the form of a string *wa*, as in *wa-llāhi lā afʿalu*.⁵⁶ On the one hand, Sībawayhi purports that *wa* is a sort of variant of the particle *bi*, underscoring two syntactic properties of this expression of oath. First, *wa* has the ability to co-occur with the name *Allāh*, just like the particle *bi* does. Second, *wa* has the ability to assign genitive, just as the particle *bi* does. In Sībawayhi’s own words: “the *bāʾ* [that assigns] genitive serves to join and connect [words] [...] and the *wa* used for the expression of oath fulfills the role of the *bāʾ*” (*wa-bāʾu l-ḡarri inna-mā hiya li-l-ilzāq wa 'l-iḥtilāfi wa 'l-wāwu llatī takūnu li-l-qasami bi-manzilati l-bāʾ*).⁵⁷ In sum, due to its focus on two syntactic properties of *wa*, which involve no semantic factors (co-occurrence, genitive-assignment), Sībawayhi’s analysis of *wa* is formal.

On the other hand, it can be argued that Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ’ s affixal analysis of *wa*, which we have just illustrated, is semantically-oriented. The argument is built as follows. First, as discussed at the end of the Introduction, from Sībawayhi onward the affix that performs the function of *ilhāq* is combined with a *pure* morphological pattern, as is the case for *fawʿal* (cp. *kawṭar*), or *faʿwal* (cp. *ḡadwal*). Second, the affixal *wa* that co-occurs with the name *Allāh* (e.g., *wa-llāhi lā afʿalu*) is *not* combined with a *pure* morphological pattern, but with a morphological pattern *plus* the article *al* (cp. the string *Al* in *Allāh*). On these grounds, this instance of *wa* must perform a function other than *ilhāq*. Third, as discussed at the end of the Introduction, from Sībawayhi onward the only other function, besides *ilhāq*, assigned to the affix by even the formal approach of Arabic linguistic thought is semantic. Hence, by exclusion, the affixal *wa* that co-occurs with the name *Allāh* performs a semantic function: in this case, that of conveying the meaning of oath.

A semantically-oriented analysis along these lines, which is culled from Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ’ s twofold characterization of the *w*-affix as word-initial and related to oath (i.e., *wa*), appears to stand as an interesting trait of originality within Arabic linguistic thought. It is very instructive in this regard that three centuries after Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ’ s death and beyond, both the erudite works *al-'Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qurʾān*, authored by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), and *Tāḡ al-'Arūs*, authored by al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), provide thorough and exhaustive reviews of the several interpretations associated with the string *wa* in all of its contexts of occurrence, yet neither of them mentions Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ’ s analysis of *wa* in terms of an affix when they

54 IBN AL-QAṬṬĀʿ, *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa 'l-'af'al wa 'l-maṣādir*: 101.

55 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iv: 237.

56 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iv: 217. Cp. also WRIGHT 1896, i: 279.

57 SIBAWAYHI, *Kitāb*, iv: 217.

discuss the instance of *wa* that expresses oath.⁵⁸ The only analysis referred to in this connection by al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī is that of Sībawayhi, as is easily gleaned from a simple comparison between his definition of the *wa* that expresses oath, which we have quoted immediately above, and their definitions of the same instance of *wa*. Thus, al-Suyūṭī asserts that “the *wa* that expresses oath is a genitive-assigner” (*fa-l-ḡārratu wāwu l-qasam*).⁵⁹ Likewise, al-Zabīdī states that “the *wa* that expresses oath is an alternant of *bi*” (*wāwu l-qasami ... badalun min al-bā*).⁶⁰

What is more, at the beginning of the chapter forty-one of his grammatical treatise *al-Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luḡa wa-anwā’i-hā* al-Suyūṭī explicitly mentions the treatise *Kitāb ‘abniyat al-‘asmā’ wa-l-‘af‘āl wa-l-maṣādir*, in which Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’ analyzes the *w*-affix as word-initial and related to oath (i.e., *wa*)⁶¹ and yet in the same work al-Suyūṭī refrains from mentioning this analysis by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’.⁶² It is of the utmost importance to note at this point that the failure to mention Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’'s affixal and semantically-oriented analysis of the *wa* that expresses oath on the part of al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī cannot necessarily be ascribed to their ignorance of the morphological work of the Sicilian grammarian. On the one hand, as we have just observed, in the *Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luḡa wa-anwā’i-hā* al-Suyūṭī explicitly and copiously cites Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’'s *Kitāb ‘abniyat al-‘asmā’ wa-l-‘af‘āl wa-l-*

58 The lack of an analysis of *wa* in terms of a word-initial affix in al-Suyūṭī's and al-Zabīdī's work is regarded here as a sort of *qualitative* evidence of the original nature of such an analysis on the part of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’ (in the sense that this kind of evidence focuses on *how* al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī used to deal with the body of knowledge elaborated on by their predecessors, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’ included). It would be also possible to provide *quantitative* evidence to the same effect. The gist of the proposal is to study the grammatical literature between Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’'s treatise to ascertain whether the Sicilian grammarian really developed an original analysis or took it from one of his predecessors. The scope of this paper prevents a thorough presentation of this kind of quantitative evidence. However, quantitative evidence of this sort is at least in part implied by the qualitative evidence adduced in this study. In fact, the tendency to encyclopedism and erudition on the part of al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī implies that, in order to eruditely enumerate *all* of the possible analyses of *wa* (qualitative evidence), they had to check and peruse the grammatical literature between Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’'s treatise (quantitative evidence), included those works that are lost to us. For instance (see BAALBAKI 2014: 86-7), in the treatise *al-Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luḡa wa-anwā’i-hā* (i: 453, ii: 275-6, 289) al-Suyūṭī takes extracts from the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* authored by Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 182/798), one of Sībawayhi's teachers, who is also mentioned by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’ among the sources of his treatise (see IBN AL-QAṬṬĀ’, *Kitāb ‘abniyat al-‘asmā’ wa-l-‘af‘āl wa-l-maṣādir*: 90)

59 al-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-‘Itqān fī ‘ulūm al-Qur’ān*, ii: 303.

60 al-ZABĪDĪ, *Tāǧ al-‘arūs*, xl: 520 (s.v. *al-wāw al-mufrada*).

61 The locus probans is the following: *dikru ‘abniyati l-‘asmā’i wa-ḥaṣri-hā qāla abū l-qāsimi ‘aliyyun-i bnu ḡa’fara l-sa’diyyu l-luḡawīyyu l-ma’rūfu bi-bni l- qaṭṭā’i fī kitābi l-‘abniyah* (al-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luḡa wa-anwā’i-hā*, ii: 4). In this passage, the *Kitāb al-‘abniyah* the Egyptian polymath refers to is precisely the *Kitāb ‘abniyat al-‘asmā’ wa-l-af‘āl wa-l-maṣādir*, as is inferred from the very phrase *‘abniyat al-‘asmā’* in the section heading *dikr ‘abniyat al-‘asmā’*.

62 See al-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luḡa wa-anwā’i-hā*, ii: 10-12. In this passage, the Egyptian polymath includes ‘, t, y, m and even h, but not w, among the word-initial affixes (i.e., prefixes): *al-mazīdu min-a l-ṭulāṭiyyi ḡayru l-muḍa‘afī min-hu mā tulḥiqu-hu ziyādatun wāḥidatun qabla l-fā’i ‘alā wazni ‘a-fal [...]* *wa-‘alā tu-f’ul wa-hwa qalilun [...]* *wa-‘alā ya-f’al [...]* *wa-‘alā na-f’il [...]* *wa-‘alā ma-f’al [...]* *fa-ammā ziyādati l-hā’i qabla l-fā’i fa-naḥā-hu ba‘du-hum [...]* *fa-aṭbata-hu ba‘du-hum fa-qāla yaḡrū ‘alā hifa’l hizabr [...]* *wa-qabla l-‘ayni ‘alā fā’il*.

maṣādir, in which such an affixal and semantically oriented analysis is found.⁶³ On the other hand, al-Zabīdī's dictionary contains several *loci probantes*, which quote this work of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'. To begin with, al-Zabīdī's refers to Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' as the source of some obsolete words recorded in the *Tāğ al-'arūs*,⁶⁴ such as *qarṭama* and *qaršama*, and the editors of this dictionary cite passages of the *Kitāb al-'afāl* by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā',⁶⁵ in which the latter effectively mentions the same words. More to the point, in the *Tāğ al-'arūs* al-Zabīdī considers an extract from the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'afāl wa'l-maṣādir* itself and locates it with accuracy "at the end (*fī āḥir*)" of the treatise in question.⁶⁶ This kind of intertextuality plausibly shows that al-Zabīdī was familiar with Ibn al-Qaṭṭā''s treatises, *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'afāl wa'l-maṣādir* included.⁶⁷

To summarize the main results of this section, a first examination of the *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'afāl wa'l-maṣādir* seemingly reveals an appreciable tendency on the part of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' toward semantically-oriented originality, which is plausibly rooted in the milieu of the linguistic exegesis of the Koran (cp. his practice of glossing obscure words, e.g., *ğumud*). The most conspicuous instance of an originality of this kind is his treatment of *w* as a word-initial affix *wa*, provided as such with the meaning of oath. This semantic originality is to a certain extent due to Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', as both his predecessors (Sībawayhi) and successors (al-Suyūfī, al-Zabīdī) reject an interpretation of *w* as a word-initial affix

63 See the passage quoted in the previous footnote.

64 See, e.g., al-ZABĪDĪ, *Tāğ al-'arūs*, xxxiii: 259, 262 and the editors' notes therein. These passages read as follows: *'an ibni l-qattā'i ka-qaršama* and *wa'l-qarṭamatu l-qarṣamatu wa-aydan-i l-'adwu naqalahu bnu l-qattā'*

65 See the beginning of this section.

66 See, e.g., al-ZABĪDĪ, *Tāğ al-'arūs*, i: 285. In this passage, al-Zabīdī records thirteen *maṣḍars* for the verb *šani'a* but also adds that according to al-Ġawharī its *maṣḍars* are fourteen instead: *fa-šāra l-mağmū'u talāṭata 'ašara maṣḍaran wa-zāda l-ğawhariyyu šinā'in ka-siḥābin fa-šāra arba'ata 'ašara bi-dālika*. Then al-Zabīdī goes on to say that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' too states that the *maṣḍars* of the verb *šani'a* are fourteen at the end of his morphological treatise: *qāla l-šayḥ wa-staqṣā dālika abū l-qāsimi bni l-qattā'i fī taṣrīfi-hi fa-inna-hu qāla fī āḥiri-hi wa-aḳṭaru mā waqi'a min-a l-maṣḍari li-l-fi'li l-wāḥidi arba'ata 'ašara maṣḍaran naḥwa šani'tu šan'an wa-aḥṣala maṣḍara-hu ilā arba'ata 'ašara*. In his Introduction to *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'afāl wa'l-maṣādir*: 26, the editor 'Abd al-Dāyīm identifies the end of the morphological treatise referred to by al-Zabīdī as *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'afāl wa'l-maṣādir*: 382. Effectively, this passage is located at the end of the treatise in question, and is almost identical to the aforementioned passage from *Tāğ al-'arūs*: *wa-aḳṭaru mā waqi'a min-a l-maṣḍari li-l-fi'li l-wāḥidi arba'ata 'ašara maṣḍaran wa-tnā 'ašara maṣḍaran naḥwa šani'tu šan'an wa-šun'an wa-šin'an wa-šana'an wa-šanā'an wa-šanā'atan wa-mašna'an wa-mašni'atan wa-mašna'atan wa-šan'atan wa-šan'anān wa-šanānan wa-šun'anān wa-šin'anān*. Cp. also *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā' wa'l-'afāl wa'l-maṣādir*: 372, where Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' exemplifies the infinitive pattern *fu'lān* by means of yet another *maṣḍar* of the verb *šani'a*, notably *šun'an*: *wa-'alā fu'lān naḥwa šani'a šun'an*.

67 To this we might add that in his treatise *Muğnī l-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'arīb*, which includes an exhaustive survey of Arabic particles, Ibn Hišām too espouses the mainstream view that *wāwu l-qasam* is a genitive-assigning particle, as can be inferred from the phrases that he uses to describe this kind of *wāw*, namely *ḥarf al-wāw* and *wāwān yanğarr mā ba'da-humā*. See IBN HIŠĀM, *Muğnī l-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'arīb*, i: 225, 272, 278, which reads as follows: *ḥarfu l-wāw 'al-wāwu l-mufradatu ntahā mağmū'u mā yudkaru min 'aqṣāmi-hā 'ilā 'aḥada 'ašara [...] tanbīh za'ama qawmun 'anna l-wāwa qad taḥruğu 'an 'ifādati muṭlaqu l-ğam'i wa-dālika 'alā 'awğuhin aḥadu-hā 'an tusta'malu bi-ma'nā 'aw [...] al-sādisu wa'l-sābi'u wāwāni yanğarru mā ba'da-humā 'iḥdā-humā wāwu l-qasam*.

and/or subscribe to a formal interpretation of *wa*, which denies the latter a semantic content in its function as a word-initial affix, instead regarding it as a genitive-assigning particle.

Conclusions

This paper has plausibly substantiated the hypothesis that Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ can be considered, along with the perhaps most famous grammarians al-Astarābādī and Ibn Hišām, as one of the few bearers of semantic originality in the context of medieval Arabic linguistic thought, as is shown by the construct of a word-initial and meaningful affix *w(a)*. Such a construct is seemingly absent in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, whereas Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ posits it and identifies it with the so-called *wāw al-qasam*. This paper also stresses the point that the traits of semantic originality introduced into Arab linguistic thought by al-Astarābādī, Ibn Hišām and Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ share a common epistemological aspect: they possibly find their ultimate origin in the milieu of the linguistic exegesis of the Koran. Further research is needed to acquire a better understanding of how, on the whole, the original aspects of the semantic approach pursued by al-Astarābādī, Ibn Hišām and Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ position themselves within the historical development of Arabic linguistic thought, which witnessed at least three stages—early, or formative, classical, and late, or post-classical.⁶⁸ At the current research stage it seems safer to maintain that the semantically-oriented approach co-existed with the formal approach since the beginnings of Arabic linguistic thought, albeit in an implicit or embryonic form, so the original character of Late grammarians such as al-Astarābādī, Ibn Hišām and Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ lies mainly in their efforts to make the semantically-oriented approach more explicit and central.

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⁶⁸ See, e.g., CARTER 2007: 182-90 and SEIDENSTICKER 2008: 30.

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The *Mağmū'a min šī'r al-Mutanabbī wa-ġawāmiḍihi* by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' al-Šiqillī: A Morphological and Lexical Analysis*

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Abstract

The *Mağmū'a min šī'r al-Mutanabbī wa-ġawāmiḍihi*, the 'Collection of some verses of al-Mutanabbī and its unclear points', composed by the renowned Sicilian grammarian 'Alī b. Ġa'far Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (d. 515/1121 A. D.) was edited for the first time by Umberto Rizzitano in 1955 and then by Muḥsin Ġayyād in 1977, but it has never been studied from a morphological and lexical point of view. This paper sets out to assess the contribution of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' to grammatical and philological studies in the Siculo-Andalusi context. In particular, this study focuses on some morphological issues presented by the Sicilian Grammarian, such as *ilhāq* (BAALBAKI 2002, 2008), *taḥfīf* (BAALBAKI 2008), the structures of the demonstrative pronouns and the *ismu l-fā'il*. Moreover, some verses of which Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' gives a lexical/semantic commentary will be analyzed.

To highlight Ibn al-Qaṭṭā's contribution to grammatical theory, the excerpts proposed will be compared to Ibn Ġinnī and al-Ifṭīlī's commentaries on al-Mutanabbī's poems.

Keywords: Arabic Grammatical Theory, Arabic Linguistics, Morphology, Lexicon, Sicily, al-Andalus

The treatise

The *Mağmū'a min šī'r al-Mutanabbī wa-ġawāmiḍihi* by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (d. 515/1121) is a grammatical commentary to thirty-five verses composed by al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965). In it, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' focuses on some morphological and syntactical issues that are central to the debate among Arab contemporary and later grammarians. Nevertheless, the work has been overshadowed by the famous *Kitāb al-'af'āl* (The book of verbs) and *Kitāb 'abniyat al-'asmā'* (The book of the pattern of nouns).¹ The *Mağmū'a* was neglected for a long time to the point that it was mentioned for the first time by Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) in his famous work *Inbāh al-ruwāt 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāt* (Information of the Narrators on Renowned Grammarians) (ĠAYYĀD 1977: 239), about a century after its composition. Umberto Rizzitano was the first to show some interest for the work in 1955. This scholar, in fact,

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1 On this see GRANDE's contribution in this monographic dossier.

published the edition, preceded by a brief introduction in which he gave some information about the unique code, the manuscript n. 27 *šin nahw*, kept in the Dār al-kutub of Cairo (RIZZITANO 1955: 208), which probably contains about two thirds of the work. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' learned the poems of al-Mutanabbī by oral transmission from his master Ibn al-Birr al-Šiqillī (who lived between the X and the XI century, see RIZZITANO online) who, in his turn, received them orally from his master Ibn Rišdīn, one of the main representatives of the Mutanabbian school in Egypt (RIZZITANO 1955: 208; ĠAYYĀD 1977: 239). Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' based his commentary on the works of Ibn Ġinnī (d. 392/1002), of which he often cites verbatim entire passages, al-Iflīlī (d. 441/1050) and al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) (RIZZITANO 1955: 208).

In 1977, Muḥsin Ġayyād published a new edition of the *Mağmū'a*, with the title *Šarḥ al-muškil min šī'r al-Mutanabbī*, 'Commentary of the obscure verses by al-Mutanabbī'. According to Ġayyād, the work is part of a collection also containing a little book of grammar, the *Šifā' al-marīd fī abyāt al-qarīd*, 'Curing the sick through poetry', that is seven folios long and bears the signature of Šaraf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Uṭmān al-Sangārī, born in 625/1227. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ʿs commentary occupies four folios. According to Ġayyād, the thirty-five verses presented in the work are a selection by al-Sangārī himself who was a grammarian too (ĠAYYĀD 1977: 239). In fact, Ġayyād's edition includes another sixty-seven verses by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ʿ transmitted by the pseudo al-'Ukbarī (d. 616/1219) in his *Dīwān Abī Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī al-musammā bi'l-tibyān fī šarḥ al-dīwān* (The Dīwān of Abī Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī called clarification regarding the explanation of the dīwān).²

Aims and methodology

The purpose of this paper is to present the analysis, as far as we know carried out here for the first time, of the grammatical commentary by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' edited by Rizzitano,³ to highlight the author's grammatical thought. In particular, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ʿs commentary of al-Mutanabbī's verses dealing with morphological and lexical issues will be presented here.⁴

In order to try to identify a possible common ground with the Andalusian Grammatical tradition, the excerpts chosen will be compared with those taken from the *Tafsīr šī'r Abī Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī* by al-Iflīlī (the only Andalusian grammarian who authored a commentary of Mutanabbī's verses), that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ʿ uses as a source, according to Rizzitano. In his *Commentary*, al-Iflīlī devotes special attention to the lexicon and to the *ğarīb* used by al-Mutanabbī, and passes then to the establishment of the general meaning of the verses (HINDI HASSAN, vol. 2: 39). His main source is the commentary by Ibn Ġinnī. The *Tafsīr*

² This work has been edited by Kamāl ṬĀLIB in Bayrūt, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya in 1998. Abū l-Baqā' 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-'Ukbarī has been considered by the tradition as the author of the *Tibyān fī šarḥ al-dīwān*, but many scholars, starting from Blachère, highlighted this false attribution and indicated some other grammarians as the alleged authors of the work (see DIEZ 2009: LIV).

³ The verses by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ʿ edited by ĠAYYĀD will be the object of a forthcoming publication. Note that Ġayyād never mentions RIZZITANO's pioneering work in his edition: neither in the introduction nor among the sources he used for his study.

⁴ The Syntactic issues will be the subject of a forthcoming publication.

šī'r Abī Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī made al-Iflīlī famous. Philologist, teacher of Arabic grammar and man of letters, he was born in Cordoba in 352/963 the offspring of a family that was native to Syria. In his *Commentary* to the verses of al-Mutanabbī, every line is paraphrased in a succinct way and every poem is preceded by an introduction about the circumstances that led to its composition (PELLAT online). This Andalusian grammarian mentions the verses in chronological order and not, as usual, according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes (HINDI HASSAN, vol. 2: 39).

The *Tafsīr* was published in 1996 by Muṣṭafā 'Alayyān in Beirut and, excepting for the unpublished doctoral thesis by Mohamed Hindi Hassan (1989) who gives the critical edition of the work based on one of the available manuscripts (HINDI HASSAN 1989: 30), it has never been studied.

It has, then, been neglected despite the fact that contemporary and later grammarians held the *Tafsīr* in very high esteem. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), for example, in his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, mentions al-Iflīlī's *Tafsīr* as an excellent work and the first commentary to al-Mutanabbī's poetry appeared in al-Andalus. Ibn Ḥazm also wrote a *Ta'aqqub* 'note' to al-Iflīlī's commentary (MOHEDANO BARCELÓ 2004: 517).

The *Tafsīr* is relevant especially from a methodological point of view since the author explains how to approach the commentary of a poetic work.

The main source of al-Iflīlī has been Ibn Ğinnī's *Faṣr šarḥ al-Mutanabbī*,⁵ although he mentions some other grammarians such as Abū 'Alī al-Šiqillī (d. 392/1001). al-Iflīlī is considered as one of the pioneers of this genre of work in al-Andalus (vol 3: 517-518) and he actually contributed, together with his master Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989), to the constitution of the core of the philological and literary studies in Cordova and in al-Andalus (MOHEDANO BARCELÓ 2004: 517) to the point that his *Commentary* deeply influenced the work of later Andalusian grammarians (MOHEDANO BARCELÓ 2004: 518).

The excerpts of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ī's *Mağmū'a* and of al-Iflīlī's *Tafsīr* have also been compared to those taken from Ibn Ğinnī's *Faṣr* since both, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ī and al-Iflīlī, at times, cite it more or less verbatim. Besides, the passages in which Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ī, openly or otherwise, refutes the thesis of Ibn Ğinnī, who represents the Classical Arabic Grammatical tradition, have been underlined in order to verify if and in which way Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ī's grammatical theories are set against it or not.

Al-Mutanabbī's verses will be given below together with their English translation by Wormhoudt or Arberry. Then, the English translation of the commentaries of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ī, Ibn Ğinnī and al-Iflīlī will be given followed by my analysis.⁶

5 Ibn Ğinnī has written two commentaries: the *Faṣr: šarḥ Ibn Ğinnī al-kabīr* (The Clarification: the great commentary of Ibn Ğinnī) and the *Faḥ al-wahbī 'alā muškilāt al-Mutanabbī*, edited by Ğayyāḍ in 1973, which is the abridged version of the *Faṣr*.

6 Note that the words in squares, mainly concerning translations from Arabic, have been added to clarify the text. Bracketed words, instead, are implicit in the Arabic text and have been added to make the meaning of the comment explicit.

1 Morphology

1.a *Ilḥāq* (Adjonction)

Qaṣīda Bādin hawāka ṣabarta am lam taṣbirā, 'Your yearning is apparent, whether you show fortitude or not' (ARBERRY, 2009: 128), metre *kāmil*, *rawī rā'*

خُنْشَى الْفُحُولَ مِنْ الْكُمَاةِ بِصَبْغِهِ مَا يَلْبَسُونَ مِنَ الْحَدِيدِ مُعْصَفَرَا

He gelds the stallion warriors by staining saffron the steel they wear (ARBERRY, 2009:130)

Gelded stallion warriors have his saffron dye whatever they wear as armor (WORM-HOUDT 2002: 493)

Ḥantā, a group of them is *ḥanātā* 'hermaphrodite'. The hermaphrodite is the one who has something of the man and something of the woman. *Muḥannaṭ* 'weak person' derives from *al-inḥināt* (becoming or being effeminate) that indicates the weakness, the double and the weak.

You say *ḥanaṭa l-ṣay'u* when something becomes weak. *Ḥantā* is a perfect tense verb whose pattern is *fa'lala* like *dahraḡa* and its *aṣl* (origin, root) is *ḥantaṭa*. They hated the union of what is double (that is the two *ṭ*) and they changed (*badalū*) the second letter with *alif*. Similar examples are *anzā*, *ḥanṭā*, *ḥandā* and *'andā*. If they hear the [double] hated letter, they suppress it. They changed double letters with *alif* like in *taqaḡḡā*, *albāzā*, *qaṣṣā*, *atfārah* and *taẓannā* (أظفاره، فَصَّى، البازى، تقصَّى) thinking that their root was *taqaḡḡaḡa*, *qaṣṣaṣa* and *taẓannana*. The grammarians (*al-naḥwiyyūna*) stated that the augments (*ḥurūf zawā'id*) have been added because of *ilḥāq*, the lexicographers (*riḡāl al-luḡa*) and the linguists (*al-'ulamā' bi'l-taṣrīf wa'l-iṣtiqāq*, lit. experts of morphology and derivation) have disapproved that and said: the letters added could not be due to the phenomenon of *ilḥāq*; only radical letters, in fact, can be doubled for *ilḥāq*. These letters are: the first, the second and the third radical of *fa'ala*. Regarding the first radical, it is like saying *dirdih*, about an old she-camel, in it the *fā'* is repeated because of *ilḥāq* in the word *ḡi'tin* which is the *aṣl* of everything. With respect to the second radical, they said: *Ḥadrad* is a man name in which the *'ayn* is repeated because of *ilḥāq* such as in Ḡa'far. Regarding the third radical, they said: in *qa'dud* the *dāl* is repeated because of *ilḥāq* such as in *burtan*. The grammarians also have stated that in *Yaḥyā* and *mutnā* [the *alif*] is present because of *ilḥāq* and that in Raḡwā and Salwā it is a mark of feminine gender. After that, they contradicted themselves by saying: the *alif* in *buhmā*, *'azhā* and *qaba'itarā* is a feminine gender mark and is not due to *ilḥāq*. This is a corrupted discourse that has no need to be proved. They often fell in the error of thinking that the Arabs agreed on the union of two feminine gender marks. They said: in *buhmāh*, *'ulqāh*, *'izhāh* and *qa'baṭarāh* (بَحْمَاةٌ وَعُلْقَاةٌ وَعِزْهَاتٌ وَقَبْعَثَرَاتٌ) it is not acceptable to combine two feminine marks and the Arabs have done so in the majority of their discourses. And they did so because of their approximation and to teach what has no

origin and cannot be proved in Arabic language *fuṣḥā*. This is inconceivable and who needs this is only the ignorant” (IQ: 222-223).⁷

This verse is dedicated to Ibn al-‘Amīd.⁸ Here, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ focuses on the word *hanṭā*. In the first paragraph of his commentary, he considers it a substantive and states: “its plural is *hanātā* and its meaning is ‘the one who has something of the man and something of the woman’, that is hermaphrodite”. Besides, he adds “*muḥannaṭ*—to be effeminate or weak—is taken from *al-inḥināt*—effeminacy or laxness—that is weakness, being double and without strength” so, the term is referred to something which is weak and without any strength. In this case, the verse by al-Mutanabbī can be translated as follows: “Some of the stallions, from the courageous men, are effeminate/hermaphrodite because of the saffron dyeing of the armour they wear”. In fact, in Ibn Sīda’s commentary we read (see *almutanabbi.com*): *fa-yaqūlu: ṣayyara al-fuḥūl min al-kumāti inātan, bi-ṣibgati mā yalbasūna min al-durū‘i wa’l-ḡawāšīn wa’l-bayḍu bi’l-damm*, ‘some of the stallions, from the courageous men, have become effeminate because of the dyeing of their armour and helmet with blood. (My translation)’.

In the second paragraph, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ considers the word *hanṭā* as a past tense verb of pattern *fa’lala* like *dahraḡa*, that has been deprived of one of its two /t/, that gave to the verb a certain heaviness ‘*tiqal*’ (BAALBAKI 2002: 22). The second /t/ underwent, therefore, substitution (*ibdāl*) with *alif maqṣūra*. This fact, when it occurs in final word position, gives, in fact, lightness to the verbs, that are already considered by Arab grammarians as heavy, unlike nouns that are considered as lighter (BAALBAKI 2002: 22). Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ mentions some other similar verbs such as ‘*anṣā*, *hanṭā*, *handā* and ‘*andā*. The phenomenon involved here is the *ilhāq* which is a derivational process by attachment “that appends (*yulḥiq*) one morphological form to another” (BAALBAKI 2002: 1).

According to the Arab grammatical tradition, it is possible to obtain a new term by *ilhāq* in two ways: the first one is by doubling a segment of the verb, the second one is by inserting a new letter that has to be placed in the same position of the one that has been substituted. The term *hanṭā* belongs to the second kind. Nonetheless, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ states that lexicographers and linguists only accept the first way of creating a word by *ilhāq*, that is by doubling a *ḥarf aṣliya*. The first method, in fact, is productive: any poet that needs it can double the last consonant and obtain a term of pattern *fa’lala*. The kind of *ilhāq* by infixation, instead, is not productive and cannot be freely used, but it is necessary to use the appended words already available and admitted by the grammarians (BAALBAKI 2008: 150-151).

Moreover, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ criticises the statement of some grammarians—he does not name them—according to whom *alif* in *buhmā* ‘barley-grass’ (Lane 1863: 268-269), ‘*izhā* ‘ignoble man’ (see Kazimirski 1860: 247) and *qa’baṭarā* ‘grand animal’ (Kazimirski 1860: 664) is not of the feminine nor of *ilhāq*. Discussing the words belonging to the second group, *buhmāh*, *qa’baṭarāh*, ‘*ulqāh* ‘a kind of plant’ (Kazimirski 1860: 345) and ‘*izhāh* (بُهْمَاءٌ وَقَبْعَثْرَاءٌ وَعُلْقَاءٌ وَعِزْهَاءٌ), Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ affirms that some grammarians mistakenly inter-

⁷ RIZZITANO’s edition of the *Maḡmū‘a*, in this text, will be indicated with the abbreviation IQ.

⁸ Ibn al-‘Amīd (d. 359/970) was a Būyid vizir to whom al-Mutanabbī dedicated some odes. See CAHEN, Cl., “Ibn al-‘Amīd”, in: *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*. Consulted online on 08 March 2017.

preted *alif maqṣūra* and *tā' marbūta* as two marks of the feminine gender, which is not allowed in *fušḥā*. According to Baalbaki (2002: 14), *qa'baṭarā* is an augmented quinqueliteral that is problematic since the grammarians did not find a six-letter-word to which they could append it. The final *alif* is not explainable as the mark of feminine gender, because the term has the *tanwīn* and a feminine variant of the word having *š* exists. For these reasons, the *alif maqṣūra* can only be explained as a result of the phenomenon of *takṭīr al-kalima* 'augment of enlargement' (BAALBAKI 2002: 18). This solution solves the problem of the limit of the process of *ilhāq* that cannot be applied to quinqueliterals. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', however, does not mention the phenomenon of *takṭīr al-kalima* (BAALBAKI 2002: 18).

Ibn Ğinnī, (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 2: 315) states:

Ḥanṭāhum means that he made them effeminate when he dyed their iron armours with their red blood. You say *ḥaniṭa l-raǧulu*, the man is effeminate, *yaḥnaṭu*, *ḥanaṭan*, when something breaks and bends: *taḥannaṭa l-ǧildu*, when [the skin] bends. You say *ḥunuṭun* of a woman who is tender and sweet and *miḥnāṭun* has the same meaning. *al-Ḥanṭā* is the one similar to a woman for weakness and fragility; this term derives from *ḥunṭā*, the one who has what belongs to the woman and to the man. In the *ḥadīṭ*, the *iḥtināṭ* is forbidden, that is to turn the mouth of the skin outwards and to drink this way. When you double it inwards you say *al-qab'u e qaba'tu l-sifā'a* (for the translation of this passage see LANE, vol 1: 814). *al-Kumātu* is the plural of *kamiyyun*, who fights with his own arms. You say *huwa yakmī a'dan*, that is he beats them and defeats them. Another plural is *akumā'un*.

al-Iflīlī ('ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 4: 171) only gives the explanation of the meaning of the verse:

The hermaphrodite is the one who has something of the man and something of the woman. And *al-kumā* are the courageous ones, and one is *kamiyyun*. *Al-mu'asfar*, the yellow colour of the garments, is what is dyed red or something similar. *Ḥanṭā al-fuḥūl min al-kumāti* means: it made them like the hermaphrodites because of their inability to fight, their weakness in spearing [the enemy], because of the blood they made flow on the armours they defend themselves with and the instruments they are able to use. They make it yellow with their blood that flows and protect it with what drips from their wounds.

The phenomenon of *ilhāq* is not analysed neither by Ibn Ğinnī nor by al-Iflīlī in the comments mentioned above, nor is the term *ilhāq* overtly used by them. As concerns Ibn Ğinnī, in his *Sirr šinā'at al-i'rāb* 'The secret of the art of the inflection' (1993: 691), though mentioning some examples of *ilhāq*, usually prefers the use of the word *ziyāda*, which refers to augmented letters, in opposition to *aṣl*, which refers to the letters belonging to the root of the word (BAALBAKI 2002: 2). The grammarian never devotes a whole chapter to the phenomenon in none of his works, but, at times, he mentions some rules concerning, for instance, augmented letters involved in *ilhāq*, which patterns can be considered examples of *ilhāq* and which ones are inadmissible, and the limits of the phenomenon in presence of *idǧām* (see IBN ĞINNĪ 1913: 74-76 and IBN YA'ĪS 1973: 65, 127-130, for *idǧām*: 453. See also BAALBAKI 2002: 5, 10, 20).

Al-Iḥḥīlī seems to be interested by a few grammatical issues such as the use of some particles and conjunctions like *illā*, *mūḍ*, *munḍu*, *an* and *fa-*, enclitic pronouns and apocope of the trilateral noun, (HASSAN 1989: 42-44). *Ilḥāq* does not seem to be among the phenomena dealt with in al-Iḥḥīlī's treatise.

In general, as Baalbaki states, Arab grammarians, and especially early grammarians, dedicated a little space to the rules of *ilḥāq* in their works about morphology.⁹

1.b Monoliteral particle *bi-* and *taḥḥīf*

Qaṣīda Ḥuṣāṣatu nafsin wadda'at yawma wadda'ū 'A bit of soul departed the day they went' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 33), metre *ṭawīl*, *rawī* 'ayn

بِمَا بَيْنَ حَنْبِيَّ الَّتِي خَاضَ طَيْفُهَا إِلَى الدِّيَاحِي وَالْحَلِيُونِ هُجَعٌ

By my heart, it was she whose spirit came to me in darkness while the carefree slept (WORMHOUDT 2002: 33)

The *bā'* is connected to a hidden verb, that is *afdīthā*: 'I ransom her with what is between my lungs', that is my soul. It was said: he meant: she wants to ask for the death of my spirit that is between my lungs" (IQ: 211). The letter *bi-*, here, has not a morphologic function, but a syntactic one since it is linked to a *muḍmar* verb.¹⁰

Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 2: 354) states:

My heart is my soul; *al-dayāḡīḡ* means night darkness, its singular is *dayḡūḡ* and its *aṣl* is *dayāḡīḡ*, but they lightened the word by eliding the *ḡīm* at the end of the word. A similar example is *makkūkun*, plural *makākī*. You can say *tadaḡdaḡa al-laylu* when it gets darker and darker.

From al-Iḥḥīlī's work (HINDI HASSAN 1989, vol. 1: 48-49):

God made my soul, that is between my lungs, the ransom of my lover who appeared to me, while I was dreaming, in the night darkness, when the ones who do not love sleep. The *aṣl* of *al-dayāḡīḡ*, (the night darkness) is *dayāḡīḡ*, but they lightened the word by eliding the last *ḡīm* (on *taḥḥīf* see, Baalbaki 2008, p. 59-62) and they made the *yā'* necessarily quiescent. The two phrases of the verse are contradictory; [the poet] assured that he fell asleep with his passion (though being in love), but he de-

9 "The later grammarians were well-disposed toward assigning to *ilḥāq* an ultimate purpose that would justify its existence as an independent phenomenon. In this respect, it seems that they wanted to surpass the earlier grammarians, who merely stated that the *ziyāda* of *ilḥāq* appends one word to another [...] and did not go beyond this self-explanatory level to determine a more specific purpose for *ilḥāq*" (BAALBAKI 2002: 10).

10 The syntactic phenomenon of *idmār* in Ibn al-Qaṭṭā's *Maḡmū'a* has been the subject of my recent communication in the Study Days 'Circulation and transmission of Arabic grammatical thought in Sicily and in al-Andalus' (Catania, 4-5 April 2017) whose publication is due in the next months for a Monographic dossier edited by Francesco Grande and me.

nied to the others the possibility to sleep and love at the same time. He said that others sleep because they do not love. In the line, there is no contradiction because it is possible that he fell asleep for awhile, then he saw the apparition of the lover in a dream, and he woke up during the night. The ones who do not love spend the whole night sleeping.

The three commentaries show slight differences. First of all, the Andalusian grammarian focuses on the meaning of the verse, then he concentrates on *tahfif*. So does Ibn Ğinnī. The brief comment of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', instead, only highlights the presence of the monoliteral particle *bi-*, at the beginning of the line, that the grammarian attributes to an underlying verb that is *afdi* 'I ransom'. He focuses on a morphological element, different from *tahfif*, which he reposes worthy of mention.

In general, verbs are concerned with the process of *tahfif* because they are considered 'heavier' than nouns (BAALBAKI 2008: 59), but here a noun undergoes the elision of the second of the two identical consonants. al-Iflīl's grammatical comment seems to depend on Ibn Ğinnī's *Fasr*. Ibn Ğinnī, however, devotes some paragraphs to the phenomenon of *tahfif* in all of his works, although focusing mostly on *tahfif al-ḥarakāt* and on *tahfif al-hamza* (see, for instance, IBN ĞINNĪ 1913: 339 and IBN YA'ĪŠ 1973: 456). The term *makkūkun*, plural *makākī*, 'drinking cup', is also mentioned by al-Wāhidī in his commentary (<http://www.almotanabbi.com/poemPage.do?poemId=135>) is a similar example in point.

1.c The demonstrative

Qaṣīda Aḥtatu dahmā'a tayni yā maṭaru 'I take the black of these two O rain' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 273), metre *munsariḥ, rawī rā'*:

أَحْتَرْتُ دَهْمَاءَ تَيْنِ يَا مَطَرُ وَمَنْ لَهُ فِي الْفَضَائِلِ الْخَيْرُ

I take the black of these two O rain O you the choicest among the virtues (WORMHOUDT 2002: 273)

Meaning: O (you that are generous like the) rain, I chose the black one between these two and I also chose who has the best virtues

Sayf al-Dawla offered to al-Mutanabbī two horses, one black and one brown-red, and let him choose one of them and he improvised: 'O (you that are generous like the) rain, I chose the black one between these two horses'. He elided *hā* that is for deixis, just like when you say: I chose the best between the two, *ḍayni* meaning *hāḍayni*. It was said: al-Mutanabbī answered I chose the black one and then it seemed good to him [to say] *tayni* and made it the substitute (*fa-ḡa'ala tayni badalan min dahmā'*) of *dahmā'*.¹¹ After that, Sayf al-Dawla ordered to give him both of the horses. (IQ: 217)

¹¹ The *'ibdāl luḡawī*, which has a semantic value, will be analysed in my Syntactic study. In this case, it might be a *badal al-idrāb* 'permutative of recanting' (see ESSEESY 2006: 124) since al-Mutanabbī, after choosing the black one, prefers to say that he chooses both of the horses.

Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 2: 27) gives a very succinct comment of the verse:

I chose the black one between the two horses, o you that are similar to the rain for its abundance.

In his work al-Iflīlī ('ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 1: 248) states:

al-Ḥayru is the plural of *ḥayra*, *ḥayra al-ṣay'* means the best thing. He said to Sayf al-Dawla: 'I chose the black one between these two horses.' He elided *hā*, that is a deictic, just like when you say at the masculine: I chose the best between the two (*ḍayni*) and you mean *hāḍayni*. His similitude with the rain concerns his abundance in generosity and his extreme altruism. He said to him: O rain, o you that have the highest degree of virtue.

Ibn Ğinnī does not mention the elision of *hā* in the demonstrative pronoun in the *Fasr*, but he deals with it in his *al-Ḥaṣā'is*, where he states that the particle *hā* has no meaning in itself nor semantic contribution (RABADI 2016: 21). Both Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and al-Iflīlī, instead, devote a grammatical note to this issue. The Sicilian grammarian seems to depend, at least in part, from the Andalusian philologist, even if he adds a new element since he considers the demonstrative pronoun the substitute of *dahmā*.

Qaṣīda Kam qatīlin kamā qutiltu šahīdi 'How many slain, as I was, are martyrs' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 25), metre *ḥaffif*:

هذه مُهَجَّتِي لَدَيْكَ لِحِينِي فَانْقُصِي مِنِّي عَذَابِي أَوْ زِيدِي

Here is my heart for you at my death, diminish its pain in me or increase it (WORMHOUDT 2002: 27)

When he says *hāḍihi* there are two possibilities: the first one is that it indicates the word '*muhğatī*' (soul) that is 'yours' (*ladayki*), referring to the meaning of the deictic. The second one is that *hāḍihi* is an exclamation with the elision of the exclamation particle (*yā*) and *ladayki* is related to the meaning of residing [at your's] (*muta'alliqa bi'l-istiqrār*). (IQ: 211)

From the comment of Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 1: 874):

al-Ḥayn is death and *al-hā'in* is the departed.

From the commentary of al-Iflīlī (HINDI HASSAN 1989, vol. 1: 33):

al-Ḥayn is death. He says: 'I found that the power on my body is yours, make of it what you desire: stop the torture or increase it.' He did not say stop haunting me because he finds the lover's punishment pleasant. This is a kind of *ğazal*.

Also in this verse, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' gives a brief grammatical analysis with special emphasis on the demonstrative *hāḍihi*. Ibn Ğinnī and al-Iflīlī focus, instead, on the meaning of the verse. The three comments appear rather different. It is not possible to state that the Andalusian grammarian and Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' depend here on Ibn Ğinnī's *Fasr*.

1.d Ism al-fā'il

Qaṣīda Afāḍilu l-nāsi aǧrāḍun liḍā al-zamāni 'The best men are targets for the time' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 165), metre *basīṭ, rawī nūn*

العَارِضُ الْهَيَّانُ ابْنُ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيَّانِ ابْنِ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيَّانِ ابْنِ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيَّانِ

Rain cloud, rain cloud's son who was son of rain cloud who was son of him (WORMHOUDT 2002: 167)

Meaning: like the clouds is the munificent, the son of the munificent and the son of the son (from the son to the grandfather, they are generous like the clouds that profusely pour rain)

This is the verse in which al-Mutanabbī has corrupted the language. He was wrong and repeated his error for four times: that means that all the savants agreed on the fact that it is possible to say: *hatina l-maṭāru wa'l-dam'u* (it rains profusely and tears fall copiously), *yahtanu*, *hatanān* and *hutūnan* and the active particle is *hātin*. At the same time, it is possible to say *hatala* with *lām* and the active particle is *hātil*. No savant and no Arab ever said *hatina*, *yahtanu* on the pattern of '*fa'ila yaf'alu*' with the active particle *hatin* on the pattern *fa'il*. No narrator reported this point until I drew attention to it. (IQ: 215-216)

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' does not depend on Ibn Ğinnī who does not give any grammatical comment of the active participle.

In Ibn Ğinnī's *Faṣr* (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 684), in fact, we read:

al-ʿĀriḍ are the clouds and *al-hatin* means very rainy, that is he and his ancestors are generous like the clouds.

The grammarian (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 112) deals with the variants of this verb, but he does not mention its *ism al-fā'il*:

You can say *haṭala l-samā'u*, *taḥḥilu*, *haṭlan* and *haṭalānan* or *hatalat*, *tahtulu*, *hatlan* and *tahtālan* or *hatana*, *tahtinu*, *hatnan* and *tahtānan* and they are the clouds pouring rain. (See also IBN ĞINNĪ 1913: 185)

al-Ifḥīlī (HINDI HASSAN 1989, vol. 3: 396) states something similar:

al-ʿĀriḍ are the clouds that expand and then it rains. After that, they disappear when it is the moment to do it. *al-Hatin* means munificent, that is he is generous, his father is generous and also his grandfather is generous.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' questions the pattern of the active particle of the verb indicated by al-Mutanabbī as *fa'il* with *scriptio defectiva* of /a/. He also underlines that he is the first Arab grammarian to highlight this point. The verb *hatana* is also included in another famous work of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', the *Kitāb al-ʿafāl* (ABĀD 1945: 343): (هَتَل) الدمع والمطر هَتَلَا "hatala: the teardrops and the rain fall copiously, *hutūlan* (is the *maṣdar*)"; هَتَن هَتُونَا تتابع "hatana, *hutūnan* alternate."

2 Verses with a lexical comment

2.a *Qaṣīda Aḥyā wa-asyaru mā qāsaytu mā lā qatalā* ‘I live, the easiest I suffer is deadly’ (WORMHOUDT 2002: 23), metre *basīṭ*, *rawī lām*

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وَضَاقَتِ الْأَرْضُ حَتَّى كَانَ هَارِبُهُمْ إِذَا رَأَى غَيْرَ شَيْءٍ ظَنَّهُ رَجُلًا

Earth was too narrow until their fugitive thought he saw nothing yet thought it a man (WORMHOUDT 2002: 25)

(al-Mutanabbī) was asked about this verse and somebody objected: how does he see “what is not something”? “What is not something” does not exist and you cannot see what does not exist, it is a contradiction! He was answered: he meant that everything he pays attention to, he thinks it is a man. But the truth is that ‘a thing’ in this line means ‘a human being’, that is if he sees anything (different from a man) believes that it is a man searching for him and this is so, because he fears men.

In Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 65) we read:

Who is not used to him (al-Mutanabbī) has challenged this verse. How can you see “a nothing”? Who is not keen on this language does not become successful in it and does not understand its perfection. You and nothing are equal. They agreed on the fact that equality is possible between two things or more, just like when you say that Zayd and ‘Amr are equal. It is not possible to say Zayd is equal, but this is allowed because the people (*qawm*) is a group as a meaning and the synthesis of all this is: you and nothing to which you pay attention are equal. He cancelled the adjective and the substantive indicating it remained. Just like when you say: *ra’a ġayr šay’* that is, nothing to which you are interested, nothing you are thinking about.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā’ does not seem to depend on Ibn Ğinnī who concentrates on the concept of *taswiya* between two things. The Sicilian grammarian, instead, highlights the expression *yarā ġayr šay’* that, in his opinion, is a contradictory sentence without any sense. The word *šay’*, in fact, should be interpreted as meaning ‘man’ and not ‘thing’. al-Ifṭīl’s comment is not present in the editions examined.

2.b *Qaṣīda Fu’ādun mā tusallīhi l-mudāmu* ‘This is a heart wine cannot console’ (WORMHOUDT 2002: 101), metre *wāfir*, *rawī mīm*

وما كلُّ مَعْدُورٍ بِبُخْلِ وَلَا كُلُّ عَلِيٍّ بِبُخْلِ يَلَامُ

Not everyone is excused as a miser nor is everyone blamed for stinginess (WORMHOUDT 2002: 101)

He says: the avaricious is not blamed for the avarice and the generous does not apologize for his avarice. (IQ: 215)

Ibn Ğinnī's note (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 504) is pretty short:

(This verse) is like Abū Tammām's line: *Li-kullin min Banī Ḥawwā'a 'uḍrun wa-lā 'uḍrun li-Ṭā'ī la'im* 'Every one of the Banī Ḥawwā'a has an excuse, the vile Ṭā'ī have no excuses'.

al-Ifḫlī's comment (HINDI HASSAN 1989, vol. 2: 2018), even longer than Ibn al-Qaṭṭā's, is quite brief too:

Only the poor can be forgiven for his avarice and not the rich. It is supposed to mean: the noble Lord cannot be forgiven for his avarice, for spending money for him, nobleness is made by generosity. The vile cannot be blamed for his meanness because his state is given to him only by money and nothing else.

The three semantic comments are quite different, especially that of Ibn Ğinnī which is a little sparse in comparison to the others, since the grammarian only cites a poetic verse to explain al-Mutanabbī's line.

2.c *Qaṣīda Wā ḥarra qalbāhu mimman qalbuḥu šabīmu* 'O hot is his heart for the cold hearted' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 315), metre *basīṭ, rawī mīm*

إِذَا تَرَحَّلْتَ عَنْ قَوْمٍ وَقَدْ قَدَرُوا أَلَّا تُفَارِقَهُمْ فَالزَّاحِلُونَ هُمُ

If you go from folk and they are able to not let you go, it is they who depart (WORMHOUDT 2002: 317)

The meaning of the verse is: it is them who leave. They say: I left from a place, that is I moved (*raḥaltu min al-makān, ay tanaqqaltu*). I made him leave, that is I made him move and travel (*raḥhaltu ḡayrī ay naqqaltuhu*). They say: this means: if you go away from a people that is able not to abandon you, then, the ones who go away from you are them.

al-'Ukbarī (IQ: 218-219) reports:

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' stated: They say: I left from a place, that is I moved (*raḥaltu min al-makān, ay tanaqqaltu*). I made him leave, that is I made him move and travel (*raḥhaltu ḡayrī ay naqqaltuhu*). They say: this means: if you go away from a people that are able not to abandon you, then, the ones who go away from you are them. He speaks to himself and invites Sayf al-Dawla not to blame him for his journey providing evidence in his favour. That is, if the traveller leaves a people who, though able to treat him well by supporting his desire, neglect him to the point that he leaves them, he stops giving his news to them. So, they are responsible for his leaving, they made him leave, they bothered him and expelled him. Some words of al-Ḥakīm¹² have been reported: the one who did not want you is the one who keeps

¹² Al-Ḥakīm is, usually, the name with which al-Mutanabbī refers to the Greek philosopher Aristotle.

you at distance and you get away from him. Ibn Wakī¹³ affirmed: this is taken from Ḥabīb's words: ¹⁴ *wa-mā l-qafru Bālbīdi l-qawā'i bali llatī nabat bī wa-fihā sākinūhā hiya l-qafru*, 'what is solitude in the exterminated deserts if it is not the one that has grown up in me? And in it there are its inhabitants. It is desolation.' (IQ: 218-219).

Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 385) only states: 'with this, he speaks to himself'. From al-Ifīlī's *Tafsīr* ('ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 2: 54):

The man left: when he moves from his home and you made him leave. Then he added, by giving Sayf al-Dawla some information about his journey and supporting his affirmation: if the traveller leaves a people and they, though able to cure his sickness, support his desire and ignore him until he leaves them, he stops coming back to them. In this case, they expelled him and offended him, they made him leave.

Both Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and al-Ifīlī focus on the meaning of the verse, recited by al-Mutanabbī to explain to Sayf al-Dawla the reasons of his journey. The comment of the pseudo-'Ukbarī seems to be taken from al-Ifīlī's.

2.d Qaṣīda al-Qalbu a'lamu yā 'aḡūlu bi-dā'ihī 'A heart O censurer knows its ills best' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 335), metre kāmīl, rawī hamza

ما الخُلِّ إلا من أودُّ بقلبه وأرى بطرفٍ لا يرى بسوائه

A friend is one I love only for his soul I see with an eye seeing none as his equal (WORMHOUDT 2002: 335)

It means: my best friends is only myself. It has been said: it means 'my true friend is only the one whose affection is deep as if he loved with my heart and saw through my eyes. (IQ: 219)

Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 1: 43-46), after mentioning the synonyms of the word 'friend' and 'friendship', dwells on the use of the particle *bi-*, added to *sawā'ihī*, and he says that it is generally not used, but Mutanabbī was obliged to do it for reasons of adherence to the rhyme scheme of the *qaṣīda*.¹⁵ Then, he passes to the meaning of the verse:

13 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥalf b. Ḥayān b. Sadaqa b. Ziyād b. al-Dubbī, best known as Ibn Wakī (d. 393/1003). Poet and compiler, his work *al-Munṣif*, 'Impartial', contains an exposition of al-Mutanabbī's plagiarisms (see IBN ḤALLIKĀN 1842: 396).

14 Ḥabīb b. Aws Abū Tammām (d. 231/845–846, or 232), famous Arab poet and anthologist, renowned for his *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa*, 'The book of valour', an anthology containing more than eight hundred early poems, considered one of the primary sources for Arabic poetry (see RITTER online).

15 Ibn Ğinnī repudates the particle *bi-* as superfluous in this verse since it is attached to the agent of *siwā'* which means *ḡayr* 'except'. Arabic Grammarians have devoted some studies to the use of *bi-*. This particle can be added to make intransitive verbs transitive or it can be added to some transitive verbs to express a particular function (for example, *muqābala* 'recompense'), but it has also been considered superfluous. The Egyptian grammarian Ibn Hišām (d. 1308 A. D.), for example, judges it redundant

The meaning is that there is no true friend like you, do not be misled by the words of someone who tells you 'I am your best friend'. [...] The meaning can be that the real friend is the only one that does not differ from me, and therefore, I love through his heart and I see through his eyes. The one that is for you such a shelter deserves to be called best friend.

al-Ifīlī (ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 2: 124) states:

Only who is close to you and is fair is a sincere advisor and a cherished loyal friend. The heart of the loyal man loves like the heart of his friend. He takes the side of his friend because he esteems him and loves him. He shares his point of view and supports him in all his actions.

It does not seem that Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ depends on Ibn Ğinnī who makes a consideration about the particle *bi-* that the Sicilian grammarian does not relate at all. al-Ifīlī and Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ's comments, both centred on the semantic aspects of the line, are different.

2.e Qaṣīda Ǧalalan kamā bī fa-l-yaku l-tabrīḥu 'Bad as it is for me it may yet be worse is wormwood a food for this singing fawn?' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 69), metre *kāmīl, rawī ḥā'*

جَلَلًا كَمَا بِي فَلْيَكُ التَّبْرِيحُ أَغْدَاءُ ذَا الرَّشَاءِ الْأَعْنُ الشَّيْخِ

Bad as it is for me it may yet be worse; is wormwood a food for this singing fawn? (WORMHOUDT 2002: 69)

He was blamed for this verse and it was said: there is no relationship between the first and second hemistich. It is not so, but this relationship is strange and this is because, when he mentioned his love and his torment for this gazelle, he said: do you think that my lover cultivates wormwood? I swear that she only cultivates the seeds of the hearts. It has been said: when the poet stops before the houses that loved him, he mentions that they make his desire and his torment become huge. And he shows confusion and that he is busy in correcting his mistakes, just like in Zuhayr's verse: *qif bi'l-diyārī llatī lam ya'fuhā al-qidamu balā wa-ḡayyarahā al-arwāḥu wa-al-diyamī* (stop before the houses the remains of which have not been cancelled by the time, but they have been modified by the winds and the eternity). The first hemistich has negated the second because the poet said: they have not been cancelled by the passing of time. It has been said that the meaning is that the passing of the time alone has not cancelled them, but the passing of time, together with the wind and

when attached to the agent or to the object of a verb. Regarding the agent of the verb, *bā'* is superfluous in the sentence *aḥsin bi-Zaydin* 'how beautiful is Zayd' instead of *aḥsana Zaydun*. With regard to the examples in which *bi-* is attached to the object of the verb, Ibn Hišām gives the case of the verb *qara'a*, that can be followed by *bi-* when it means 'reading being blessed', so *qara'tu bi'l-sūratī* 'I read the Surah' with the sense of blessing is allowed, but it not possible to say *qara'tu bi-kitābika* 'I read your book' because the verbe has not the sense of blessing (see GULLY 2013: 160-165).

eternity cancelled them. It has also been said that this means that the houses have not disappeared in his eyes and in his soul, even if the winds and the passing of time changed them. Despite this, they renew themselves during their consumption, their memory is renewed and they are not consumed. As the poet says: *a lā layta al-manāzila qad bulīnā fa-lā yarmīna* ‘an *sururin ḥazīnā* meaning ‘If only they were consumed!’ but they renew themselves and their memory is renewed. (IQ: 221)

Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 1: 722) gives a long comment:

al-Ġalalu means both big and little, here, in the verse, it indicates something big. *al-Tabrīḥ* is the difficulty. They say *barraḥa bihi al-amru* if something hit him hard. *Al-rašā’u* is a stupid boy. [...] *al-Aġann* is the one that has a voice appropriated for singing. *al-Šīḥ* is a famous plant; his sentence *fa-l-yaku l-tabrīḥ* means *fa-l-yakun*, but he has elided the *nūn* because it is quiescent and because the first *t* of *at-tabrīḥ* is quiescent too. The condition, here, would be to put it in the oblique case because of the meeting (of the two *sukūn*) since it is a sane particle and, if he did not elide it, it would be vocalized. The elision of the *nūn* here is not like in the verse: *lam yaku šay’un yā ilāhī qablakā* (there has been nothing before you, o my God) as (the poet) elided the *nūn* of *yakun* because it is quiescent and it is similar, for its pronunciation, the adding and the nasality, to the weak long letters. It has been elided like in *fa-l-yakuni l-tabrīḥu*, but it must be vocalized (with *kasra*), and so, it is not possible to elide it. But (al-Mutanabbī) did not give any importance to the vowel of the *nūn* since it was not compulsory [...].

Also the elision of the *nūn* of *fa-l-yaku l-tabrīḥu* is easy [this, although it was eliminated from *lam yaku* as though it was quiescent]. Concerning the *wāw* of *yakūn*, it is evident in the declension of the word and the *ḍamma* indicates it because it is a part of it. In the verse, there is something else horrible, that is the fact that (the poet) elided the *nūn* despite the duplicating of the consonant and this is not used, except if he has eliminated the *nūn* first and then put the double consonant. The meaning of the verse is: when someone finds himself in adversity, might he be like me, great in the difficulties. The sentence is complete. Then, he added another sentence in the second hemistich and said, amazed by the beauty of the praised (the lover) and by her shapes: do you believe that she feeds on wormwood? [that is, as though she really was a gazelle because of her beauty and her shapes].

Also al-Ifīlī (HINDI HASSAN 1989, vol. 1: 130-131) gives his explanation:

al-Ġalalu: is among words with opposite meanings (*mina l-aḍḍād*), here it means big. *al-Tabrīḥu* is the adversity, that is, might the adversity be huge as my adversity. I find myself in difficulty and others invoke the lover, but it is not like this. Then, he continues by stating: is the food of this young gazelle, to whom I answered, wormwood? He knows that the truth is not what he stated, but he doubted of his own statement. The *qāḍī* Abū al-Ḥasan¹⁶ claimed: between the two hemistichs there is a

¹⁶ *Abū l-Ḥasan* Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī *al-Kūfī* was a Syrian *qāḍī* who lived in the 10th century (See JIWA 2009: 196).

subtle link, I mean, when he made the greatness of his difficulty known, explained who caused it: it is the young gazelle mentioned. Abū 'Alī Ibn Fūrāǧa¹⁷ said: it is considered subtler than this, in fact, he means: this gazelle only feeds on the hearts. [...] It is as if he said: might what afflicts me be enormous! Do you really think that the food of who did this to me is wormwood? No, I swear, the only food is the lover's hearts. This is what they said, but it is not in the verse. This is a trick and they made it for al-Mutanabbī. *Al-aǧannu* is the one having a nasal voice, as if he spoke with his nose.

The one grammarian to underline a grammatical question is Ibn Ğinnī who focuses on the elision of the *nūn* of *fa-l-yaku* and its correctness. This is a kind of *tahfif* very common in poetry (CARTER 2006-2009, vol. 2: 17).

2.f Qaṣīda 'Awhi badīlun min qawlatī wāhan 'O pain! And the word means, O wonder!' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 505), metre *munsariḥ*, rawī *hā'*

تَبَلُّ خَدَّيْ كَلَّمَا ابْتَسَمْتُ مِنْ مَطَرٍ بَرَقُهُ شَيَاهَا

When she smiled my cheeks grew wet with rain whose lightning was her teeth (WORMHOUDT 2002: 505)

Ibn Ğinnī explained this verse with a ridiculous explanation as he affirmed that every time that his lover smiles in front of him and kisses him, her saliva flies to his face. The meaning of the verse is that he says: she smiles in front of me and shows her joy and her teeth, white like the flash, I cry and my tears appear on my face like the rain. He compared her front teeth, because of the white of her smile, to the flash and the tears, for their abundance, to the rain. Just as if he said: the origin of this rain is the flashing of her teeth. (IQ: 15-16)

Ibn Ğinnī (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 759), in the *Faṣr*, gives this brief comment:

Her front teeth flash, in these verses the poet showed that she fell upon him and was very close to him. The saliva indicates the kisses that there were between the two lovers.

But in the *Faṭḥ al-wahbī* he says:

When she smiles, her front teeth appear and this means that she is very close to him; his cheek is wet by her saliva. And this indicates that she is she fell upon his face and that she embraces him. (See almotanabbi.com/poemPage.do?poemId=284).

al-Ifīlī ('ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 4: 253) claims:

¹⁷ Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ḥamd al-Barūǧardī (d. 1063 A. D.) is the author of two polemical works against Ibn Ğinnī: *al-Taǧannī 'alā Ibn Ğinnī* 'The incrimination of Ibn Ğinnī' and *Faṭḥ 'alā Abī Faṭḥ* 'The triumph over Abū Faṭḥ' (see DIEZ 2009: liii).

al-Ṭanāyā are the four teeth that are in the middle of the upper and lower parts of the mouth and they are known. Then he said: my cheek gets wet every time she smiles, careless of what I complain and of what I fight and I hate. The poet's expression *min maṭar* refers to his tears profusely pouring on his cheek. Moreover, he said that the flash of that rain, that is his tears dropping, is her smile, the white of her teeth and the flicker of those bright lights coming up. In this verse there is a beautiful similitude and metaphor.

2.g Qaṣīda *Firāqun wa-man fāraqtu ḡayru muḡammimi* 'Parting, one I part from is not to blame' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 433), metre *ṭawīl, rawī mīm*

لِمَنْ تَطْلُبُ الدُّنْيَا إِذَا لَمْ تُرِدْ بِهَا سُرُورَ مُحِبِّ أَوْ مُسَاءَةً مُجْرِمٍ

Some seek a world they do not want joy of the beloved or evil of a criminal (WORMHOUDT 2002: 435)

This verse contains the praise and the satire. The meaning of the invective is that he asks to Kāfūr: To whom do you ask for the world, if you do not put it at its right place? You put it in the hands of whom deserves it. (IQ: 223-224)¹⁸

Ibn Ḡinnī's comment (AḤMAD 1984, vol. 3: 589-590) is short and the grammarian says that the poet talks to himself.

al-Ifṭīlī's analysis ('ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 3: 222) is as follows:

He said to Kāfūr: for whom do you want to obtain the world, striving to search for it and competing for it, showing passion for it, if you do not search for it with the joy of a lover that elevates it and shows it and with the lack of dignity of an enemy that leaves it and neglects it? According to what some Arabs relate, he suffered for this verse, he was asked "what is joy?" He answered: to glorify the protectors of the faith, to denigrate the enemies and to remain with justice and abundance.

2.h Qaṣīda *Aduwwuka maḡmūmun bi-kulli lisāni* 'Your enemy is condemned in every tongue' (ARBERRY: 106), metre *ṭawīl, rawī nūn*

قَضَى اللَّهُ يَا كَافُورُ أَنَّكَ أَوَّلٌ وَلَيْسَ بِقَاضٍ أَنْ يُرَى لَكَ ثَانٍ

God decreed, Kāfūr, that you should be the first, and He has not decreed that a second to you should be seen (ARBERRY: 108).

This verse contains the praise and the satire. (IQ: 224)

¹⁸ al-Mutanabbī dedicated many poems to the eunuch Kāfūr. See, among others, LARKIN 2008.

Ibn Ğinnī (AHMAD 1984, vol. 3: 723) reports the verse without commenting on it. In al-Iflīlī ('ALAYĀN 1996, vol. 3: 309) we read:

Then he said: God has established, Kāfūr, that you are the first of the virtuous ones, the most generous, of unique beauty in creation and unique for the greatness of your importance. God did not judge that, there was, other than you, another king to equal you, to follow you in the joy and who resembles you.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' introduces then the last six verses, which have no grammatical or semantic comment (IQ: 224) and, therefore, are not object of the present analysis.

Final remarks

The study of the *Maǧmū'a* adds a further element not only to the complex mosaic of Siculo-Arabic grammatical studies, which remains very little known today, but more generally to Siculo-Arabic literary and philological studies. In fact, some of the last verses presented in this article contain some observations, regarding the belonging of the lines to elegy or to invective, which are typical of the works of literary criticism. The works of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and al-Iflīlī differ more in the approach they adopt than in their content, since al-Iflīlī's *Tafsīr* focuses more on the semantic meaning of the verses than on their grammatical analysis.¹⁹ Both grammarians, however, often depend on Ibn Ğinnī and on the Arab grammatical tradition of the Eastern part of the empire he represented. In fact, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' s grammatical thought, as it emerges from this first part of my analysis, seems to be by and large set against the background of the Arab traditional theories of the Mašriq, even if he sometimes refutes Ibn Ğinnī s commentary on some verses. Nevertheless, Ibn Ğinnī, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and al-Iflīlī have different roles in the transmission of al-Mutanabbī s poetry: Ibn Ğinnī can be considered as the pioneer, among the three grammarians, since his work contains many notes, about the occasion that led to the composition of the poems, that he might have written as a result of his personal encounters and dialogues with the poet (DIEZ 2009: XXXVIII). Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and al-Iflīlī have been among the continuators of this tradition, though in very different chronological, geographical, and cultural contexts.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' devotes more attention to syntax than morphology and, in his comment, he uses the classical terminology of the first Arab grammarians (BAALBAKI 2009: 103, PELED 1999: 155, VERSTEEGH 1978: 266, OWENS 1990: 174).

With regard to the morphological issues introduced by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', some phenomena can be underlined.

The *tahfīf* 'lightening' is a process applied to some terms whose patterns were judged phonetically or morphologically intolerable (BAALBAKI 2008: 59). In the specific case of *dayāǧī(ǧ)*, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' does not deal with the phenomenon, while Ibn Ğinnī and al-Iflīlī concentrate on it: the letter *ǧīm* has been elided this phenomenon is known as a *tarḥīm*

¹⁹ This emerges by the reading of the whole work. M. Hindi Hassan (1989: 42-44) states: "Al-Iflīlī, además de comentarista, se muestra interesado por cuestiones gramaticales, retóricas y estilísticas", then he mentions less than twenty grammatical issues, dealt with by the grammarian all over the treatise, mainly concerning syntax, nouns declension and functions of some particles.

‘euphonic elision’ (see BAALBAKI 2008: 60). The Andalusian grammarian and Ibn Ğinnī recognize in *dayāğīğ al-aşl* the subjacent form of the word. The concept of *tahfif* is expressed through the verb *ħaffafū* ‘they lightened’.

Another case of elision, for which, however, the term *tahfif* is not used, is the expression *fa-l-yaku l-tabrīh*. But once again, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ neglects it, while Ibn Ğinnī devotes considerable space to it. The drop of the *nūn* in *yakun* or *yakūn* is a very frequent poetic licence. Despite this, Ibn Ğinnī objects to its opportunity in this verse for phonetical reasons: the *lām* of the article in *al-tabrīh* is assimilated to the first letter of the word, t: *t-tabrīh* therefore, according to the grammarian, the correct pronunciation should be *fa-l-yakuni t-tabrīh* with the necessary (*darūriyya*) vocalization of the *nūn*, to avoid the sequence of two consonants with *sukūn*, which in Arabic is forbidden. This example of elision, here, is expressed through the verb *ħadafa* and the substantive *ħadf*. Ibn Ğinnī considers *lam yaku* as the *far‘*, the attested and irregular form, of the *aşl lam yakun*, which is for him the attested regular form. The two forms, however, coexist. (GRANDE 2016: 214-216).²⁰ Perhaps, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ does not deal with the expression *lam yaku* because he considers it a normal poetic license or because his source for the comment of this verse was not the *Fasr*. In any case, he seemed not to be concerned with this phenomenon.

The phenomenon of elision has a close relation with another one, on which Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ dwells at length. It is the phonological and morphological phenomenon of verbal derivation implying *ibdāl*, substitution, *ilhāq* and *takṭīr al-kalima*. With the term *ibdāl*, grammarians mean two phenomena: a morpho-phonological one and a lexical one. Here, the phenomenon concerned is *ibdāl nahwī*, grammatical substitution, referring to morphophonological changes in words (HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2006-2009, vol. 2: 280). The concept of *ibdāl* is dealt with in the paragraph about *ilhāq*. Unlike Ibn Ğinnī, who adopts the general term of *ziyāda* (BAALBAKI 2002: 4), Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ explicitly uses the word *ilhāq* and focuses on the opposition between the supporters of the *ħurūf al-zawā‘id* and the proponents of the *ħurūf al-aşliyya*, traditionally the Basrians, to establish which letters can be added to words for *ilhāq* (BAALBAKI 2002: 14). What is also interesting, in my opinion, is the discussion of what some grammarians considered to be the compresence of two feminine gender marks in the substantives *وَعِزَّةٌ وَعِزَّةٌ وَعِزَّةٌ* which, according to Baalbaki, has to be interpreted as the phenomenon of *takṭīr al-kalima*. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘, however, does not mention this expression and limits the discourse to *ilhāq*, thus obscuring the morphological implications of the phenomenon.

Regarding the semantic and lexical comment of the other verses, it is crucial for the understanding of al-Mutanabbī’s verses which, taken isolated and not supported by an explanation, appear obscure. In addition to this, the morphological and semantic comments by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ are interesting because they often contain some explicit value judgements about al-Mutanabbī’s verses and Ibn Ğinnī’s work too: for example, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ says “This is inconceivable and who needs this is only the ignorant” (*Kāmil* from the *qaşīda*

²⁰ As Grande (2016: 214) recently showed, al-Suyūfī shares Ibn Ğinnī’s consideration of the alternation *lam yakun/lam yaku* and “derives the form *yaku* from the form *yakun* by means of a deletion-rule (*ħadf*) that targets the sound *n* in *yakun*, and is driven by the need of “lightening” (*tahfif*) the verb. al-Suyūfī further elaborates on this point in the *Iqtirāh* to identify “lightening” and the related deletion-rule with a form of rational justification (*illa*) of the (apparent) irregularities of Arabic grammar.”

bādin hawāka šabarta am lam tašbirā metre kāmīl, rawī rā'), or "it was said: there is no relationship between the first and second hemistich. It is not like this, but this relationship is strange" (*Qaṣīda Ġalalan kamā bī fa-l-yaku l-tabrīhu, metre kāmīl, rawī hā'*). The 'strange' relation between the two hemistichs becomes 'a subtle link' for al-Ifīlī. Besides, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' shows all his disapproval of Ibn Ġinnī's thought when he says that he gives a ridiculous explanation of a verse (*Qaṣīda 'Awhi badīlun min qawlatī wāhan, metre mun-sariḥ, rawī hā'*). In order to corroborate his theories, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' supports his opinions through examples taken from poetry of the pre-Islamic and classic periods.

The morphological and semantic data presented in this analysis have to be integrated with the data obtained from the syntactical study of the *Mağmū'a* and discussed against Arab traditional theories of the Mašriq and of al-Andalus. That will also help establish Ibn al-Qaṭṭā's role in Sicilian literary and philological studies and his contribution to them.

Although the *Mağmū'a* is less famous than other grammatical works by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', it has a certain relevancy in Arab grammatical studies. This is not only due to the fame of al-Mutanabbī himself as a panegyrist, to whom many authors dedicated a great number of commentaries, but also to Ibn al-Qaṭṭā's role in the preservation of the poet's tradition both in Sicily and abroad. In addition to this, the work influenced the thought of later grammarians and especially that of the pseudo al-'Ukbarī, who made considerable use of the *Mağmū'a* as a source in his *Tibyān*, and al-Badī'ī (d. 1073/1662) who mentioned the work in his *al-Šubḥ al-munabbī 'an ḥayṭīyyat al-Mutanabbī* (The Prophetic Dawn about the *quidditas* of al-Mutanabbī).²¹

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²¹ *al-Šubḥ al-munabbī* has been edited by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā', Muḥammad Šitā, and 'Abduḥ Ziyādah 'Abduḥ, in 1977, in Cairo.

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