AL-FARRĀ' AND AL-KISĀ'Ī
REFERENCES TO GRAMMARIANS AND QUR'ĀN READERS IN THE *MAᶜĀNĪ L-QUR'ĀN* OF AL-FARRĀ'

Kinga Dévényi

University of Budapest

0. Introduction

al-Kisā'ī[1] was a controversial figure of the early formative period of Arabic grammar. This is reflected in the *ṭabaqāt*-literature where he is judged by extreme views, and is described either as *the* person who knew everything about grammar or *the* person who knew nothing about it. So we can read sentences like: "*'aǧmaᶜū ᶜalā 'anna 'akṯar an-nās kullihim riwāyatan wa-'awsaᶜahum ᶜilman al-Kisā'ī* " ('Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 120) and satirical lines like:

*'ammā l-Kisā'ī fa-ḏāka mru'un * fī n-naḥwi ḥārin ġayru mirdādi [= murtādi]*
*wa-huwa li-man ya'tīhi ǧahlan bihi * miṯlu sarābi l-bīdi li-ṣ-ṣādī*[2]

We must - of course - be cautious taking over uncritically 1000 year old personal remarks relating to grammarians and their teachings.

al-Farrā' considered al-Kisā'ī a trustworthy person in different matters of transmission, be it a Qur'ānic reading or an Arabic word form. In al-Farrā''s wording: *"wa-kāna wa-llāhi mā ᶜalimtuhu illā ṣadūqan"* (*Maᶜānī* III, 107). al-Farrā' respected al-Kisā'ī's readings, and this is reflected in passages where they differ because of linguistic reasons, and still he says about al-Kisā'ī's version: "*innamā qultu ḥasanun li-'anna l-Kisā'ī qara'ahu*" (Q. 52.28, *Maᶜānī* III, 93.6).

al-Farrā' has an intimate knowledge of al-Kisā'ī's readings, sayings and teachings of all kind. Though we can consider it the outcome of his being al-Kisā'ī's student, at the same time I should like to emphasize the thoroughness of this knowledge. It becomes apparent in passages where al-Farrā' refers to changes in al-Kisā'ī's views. E.g. Q. 96.18 (*Maᶜānī* III, 280 where al-Kisā'ī is quoted as having recently said that the singular of *az-zabāniya* is *zibnī*, with a remark that he had previously said that he did not hear a singular for it and knew neither analogy *(qiyās)* for it nor *samāᶜ*. Even his hesitations in reading are recorded by al-Farrā', like in the case of Q. 2.214 (*Maᶜānī* I, 133)[3]. al-Farrā' also made use of the written grammatical works or at least one of the books of al-Kisā'ī as is shown by the sentence: *"wa-qad 'aǧāzahu l-Kisā'ī fī kitābihi"* (*Maᶜānī* I, 57.13).

---

[1] ᶜAlī b. Ḥamza b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Bahman b. Fayrūz al-'Asadī 'Abū l-Ḥasan al-Kisā'ī, d. 805. Kufan grammarian and one of the seven authorized Qur'ān readers; for his biography see Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 535-40, n° 2212; 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 120-1; az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 127-30; al-Qiftī, *'Inbāh* II, 256-74, n° 456; and Sezgin 1984:127-31.

[2] Poem of al-Yazīdī (d. 818) who was the teacher of al-Ma'mūn, while al-Kisā'ī was the teacher of his brother 'Amīn, so there was rivalry between them, see as-Sīrāfī, *'Aḫbār* 33.

[3] al-Farrā''s text is as follows: *"wa-qad kāna l-Kisā'ī qara'a bi-r-rafᶜ dahran ṯumma raǧaᶜa 'ilā n-naṣb"*.

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 3–4 (1991)
https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.1991.3-4.12

There are 271 direct or indirect references to al-Kisā'ī in the *Maʿānī*. Though sometimes it is very difficult to separate the ways he is quoted by al-Farrā', still we can distinguish between two main types: al-Kisā'ī quoted (1) as being a *qāri'* and (2) as being a grammarian. Within both types we can differentiate between al-Kisā'ī (i) as an informant reporting what he had heard and (ii) as somebody whose own views or readings are quoted.

1. al-Kisā'ī, the *qāri'*

1.1 Transmitter of readings

He is quoted 11 times as transmitter of readings. These particular places (Q. 20.15, 27.25, 43.52, 46.25, 53.22, 54.15, 56.55, 66.3, 79.11, 90.10, and 104.9) concern morphological questions with or without differences in meaning. In one instance (Q. 90.10) only the meaning of the *'āya* is supported.

1.2 al-Kisā'ī's readings

al-Kisā'ī's readings are quoted 27 times if we count only those occurrences where al-Farrā' mentions him directly. This number, however, becomes much bigger if we take into account those places where al-Kisā'ī is not mentioned by name but we know from other sources that the particular reading is also his or his alone. These are much greater in number and amount to 129. In this presentation I do not wish to treat these instances,[4] I simply wanted to mention their existence since they are not negligible from the point of view of an overall picture of how al-Kisā'ī is treated in the *Maʿānī l-Qur'ān*.

1.3 Comparison with other readers

The number of quotations becomes more significant if we compare it with the number of quotations of other persons (grammarians and readers). Leaving out al-Kisā'ī, general references to groups of grammarians (33 times), and readers (534 times) al-Farrā' quotes 7 grammarians and 64 readers by name. These grammarians are mentioned 10 times, while readers are quoted 1593 times.

Among the readers quoted in the *Maʿānī*, the following order can be established:[5]

1. Ibn Masʿūd (411 occurrences) {ʿAbdallāh Ibn Masʿūd b. al-Ḥārit̲ 'Abū ʿAbdarraḥmān al-Huḏalī, d. 654, makkī, ṣaḥābī}
2. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (141 occurrences) {al-Ḥasan b. 'Abī l-Ḥasan Yasār 'Abū Saʿīd al-Baṣrī, d. 728, XIV/13[6]}
3. ʿĀṣim (141 occurrences) {ʿĀṣim ibn 'Abī n-Nağūd Bahdala 'Abū Bakr al-'Asadī, d. 745, kūfī, VII/5}

---

[4] They have been treated by Beck 1948:338-46.

[5] Biographical data concerning the readers are taken from Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, Bergsträßer - Pretzl 1938, and Jeffery 1937.

[6] Roman numerals refer to whether the reader in question belongs to the so-called seven, ten or fourteen authorized readers, while Arabic numerals indicate his rank in the ordering, see Bergsträßer - Pretzl 1938:186-9.

4. Ibn ᶜAbbās (129 occurrences) {ᶜAbdallāh Ibn ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAbdalmuṭṭalib 'Abū l-ᶜAbbās al-Hāšimī, d. 687/8 madanī}
5. al-'Aᶜmaš (115 occurrences) {Sulaymān b. Mihrān 'Abū Muḥammad al-'Asadī al-Qāhirī al-'Aᶜmaš, d. 766, kūfī, XIV/14}
6. 'aṣḥāb ᶜAbdallāh b. Masᶜūd (98 occurrences)[7]
7. 'Ubayy (92 occurrences) {'Ubayy ibn Kaᶜb b. Qays b. ᶜUbayd 'Abū l-Mundir al-'Anṣārī, d. 656, madanī}
8. Yaḥyā (75 occurrences) {Yaḥyā ibn Waṯṯāb al-'Asadī, d. 722, kūfī, tābiᶜī}
9. Ḥamza (71 occurrences) {Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb b. ᶜImāra at-Taymī az-Zayyāt, d. 773, kūfī}
10. as-Sulami (53 occurrences) {ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥabīb b. Rabīᶜa 'Abū ᶜAbdarraḥmān as-Sulami aḍ-Ḍarīr, d. 694, kūfī}
11. Muǧāhid (53 occurrences) {Muǧāhid b. Ǧabr 'Abū l-Ḥaǧǧāg, d. 722, makkī, tābiᶜī}
12. ᶜAlī (42 occurrences) {ᶜAlī b. 'Abī Ṭālib, d. 661.}
13. al-Kisā'ī (27 occurrences) {VII/7}
14. 'Abū Ǧaᶜfar (25 occurrences) {'Abū Ǧaᶜfar Yazīd b. al-Qaᶜqāᶜ al-Maḫzūmī al-Madanī, d. 748, X/8}

All the remaining 43 named readers are quoted less then 13 times, 23 of them only once.[8]

Adding to the number of direct quotations those where we gather only from outside sources that the reading is al-Kisā'ī's would put him in the second place with 156 references. But even if we consider only the above list, al-Kisā'ī is among the leading authorities whose readings are quoted in the *Maᶜānī*. There is also another thing to be considered in connection with the number of the quotations. Namely, that considering the fact that al-Farrā' was the student of al-Kisā'ī, we might also suppose that in cases when he did not want to argue with him or contradict his views he simply did not quote him because there was no reason why he should have done so, since al-Kisā'ī's knowledge was his as well. A considerable exception seems to be constituted by the quotations of al-Kisā'ī as transmitter of grammatical material which support or illustrate al-Farrā''s analyses.

2. Grammarians quoted by al-Farrā'

2.1 Grammarians other than al-Kisā'ī

The picture is very different if we examine the scope of grammarians quoted by al-Farrā'. Let us examine first which grammarians are quoted by name and in what

---

[7] They are mentioned 65 times collectively and 33 times by concrete names: ᶜAlqama (13 times) {ᶜAlqama b. Qays b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mālik an-Naḫaᶜī, d. 682, kūfī}, Masrūq (8 times) {Masrūq b. al-'Aǧdaᶜ b. Mālik 'Abū ᶜĀ'iša al-Hamadānī, d. 683, kūfī}, al-'Aswad b. Yazīd (thrice) {al-'Aswad b. Yazīd b. Qays an-Naḫaᶜī, d. 694/5, kūfī}, Zirr b. Ḥubayš (thrice) {Zirr b. Ḥubayš b. Ḥabāša 'Abū Maryam al-'Asadī, d. 701/2, kūfī}, ar-Rabīᶜ b. Ḫuṭaym (twice) {ar-Rabīᶜ b. Ḫuṭaym 'Abū Yazīd aṭ-Ṯawrī, d. 683/4, kūfī}, 'Abū Razīn (twice) {'Abū Razīn Masᶜūd b. Mālik, d. 704, kūfī}, al-Ḥārit ibn Suwayd (once) {al-Ḥārit b. Suwayd at-Taymī, d. ca. 692, kūfī, tābiᶜī}, ᶜAbdallāh b. Maᶜqil (once) {ᶜAbdallāh b. Maᶜqil, d. 707, kūfī}.

[8] Transmitters of readings are not counted here.

instances al-Farrā' quotes them, disregarding references to the same persons or to other grammarians if they are quoted as *qurrā'*.[9]

2.1.1 'Abū l-Bilād an-Naḥwī[10] (1 occurrence) (*Maʿānī* III, 242.7 Q. 81.17)
Quotes a poetic *šāhid* - attributed to Imru' l-Qays but considered by many to have been forged - for the illustration of the meaning of *ʿasʿasa*.

2.1.2 al-ʿAlā' ibn Sayāba[11] (1 occurrence) (*Maʿānī* II, 79.4 Q. 14.44).
His opinion is quoted about a syntactic question: the ending of the verb after *fa-* in the *ǧawāb* of an imperative.

2.1.3 al-Qāsim ibn Maʿn[12] (1 occurrence) (*Maʿānī* II, 42.2, Q. 12.26).
His opinion is quoted about two place names whether they contain *hamza* or not.

2.1.4 al-Mufaḍḍal ad-Dabbī[13] (1 occurrence) (*Maʿānī* I, 13.12, Q. 2.7)
Quotes a *qirā'a* of ʿĀṣim ibn 'Abī n-Naǧūd.

2.1.5 ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī[14] (2 occurrences) (*Maʿānī* II, 182.13, Q. 20.61; *Maʿānī* II, 183.2, Q. 20.61).
Asked al-Farazdaq about a morphological problem in his verse.

2.1.6 Yūnus [*yaʿnī an-naḥwi*] al-Baṣrī[15] (2 occurrences) (*Maʿānī* I, 127.6, Q. 2.212; *Maʿānī* II, 37.11, Q. 12.10).
Recited two poems.

2.1.7 ar-Ru'āsī,[16] the teacher of al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā'.
Since ar-Ru'āsī is considered to be a prominent figure among Kūfan grammarians, it might be interesting to mention all the places where his name occurs.

---

[9] Grammarians appearing in the *Maʿānī* have been analyzed from a different aspect by Talmon (1985).

[10] So mentioned by al-Farrā'; az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 191, speaks about him in the chapter *"al-luġawiyyīn al-kūfiyyīn; aṭ-ṭabaqa al-'ūlā* and calls him 'Abū l-Bilād al-'Aʿmā but says nothing else about him. According to Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 235, he lived in the time of Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq.

[11] No details are known about him except that he was a Kufan grammarian, the teacher of Muʿāḏ al-Harrā' who died in 804.

[12] al-Qāsim b. Maʿn b. ʿAbdarraḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd an-Naḥwī (d. 790 or 804), Kufan grammarian, and *qāḍī*. Cf. az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 133-4.

[13] al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿlā b. Sālim b. 'Abī Salmā b. Rabīʿa b. Zabbān ad-Ḍabbī (d. 786), *luġawī kūfī* see az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 193, 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 116, Sezgin 1982:115-6.

[14] ʿAbdallāh b. 'Abī 'Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī an-Naḥwī (d. 735 or 745), Basran grammarian, Cf. az-Zubaydī *Ṭabaqāt* 31-3, as-Sīrāfī, *'Aḫbār* 19-22, 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 31 and fn. 1, Sezgin 1984: 36-7.

[15] 'Abū ʿAbdarraḥmān Yūnus b. Ḥabīb aḍ-Ḍabbī al-Baṣrī (d. 798). Cf. az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 51-3; 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 44-5, as-Sīrāfī, *'Aḫbār* 27-30, Sezgin 1984: 49-51.

[16] 'Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abī Sāra ar-Ru'āsi, (d. ca. 809) cf. Sezgin 1984:125-6, az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 125, fn. 1.

There are altogether seven occurrences. In five of them he quotes his teacher of *ᶜarabiyya*[17], 'Abū ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜAlā'[18], the Basran reader and grammarian. In two instances he is the transmitter of a particular reading of 'Abū ᶜAmr: Q. 34.14 (*Maᶜānī* II, 357.1) and Q. 21.103 (*Maᶜānī* II, 371.6); once he quotes a story related by his master: Q. 20.61 (*Maᶜānī* II, 182.13); twice he transmits something from the grammatical teachings of 'Abū ᶜAmr: Q. 27.22 (*Maᶜānī* II, 289.15) — about the declension of a word; Q. 47.18 (*Maᶜānī* III, 61.5) — a syntactic analysis.

ar-Ru'āsī is quoted twice on his own right, these occurrences reveal nothing from his grammatical teachings. At the same time he is characterised as an honest, and reliable, trustworthy person. One instance concerns heard material:

Q. 105.3 (*Maᶜānī* III, 292.9): Quoted as having heard a singular form (*'ibbāla*) of a word (*'abābīl*) that has apparently no singular.

The second is a Qur'ānic reading of ar-Ru'āsī concerning Q. 36.27 (*Maᶜānī* I, 9.10).

From the above we can see that for al-Farrā' the preeminent grammarian is al-Kisā'ī. He is the grammatical authority, with whom he might or might not agree, but against whose views, against whose book[19] he wants to define his own grammatical theses.

2.1.8 On the one hand, this meagre presence of grammarians may probably be found in the genre of the book, i.e. that its focal point is the Qur'ān and not the treatment of grammatical problems for their own sake. On the other hand, this is the surroundings in which the quotations of al-Kisā'ī have to be evaluated. This meagre presence is in contrast not only with the number of places where his name occurs but also with the method by which references are made to him. Although al-Kisā'ī is also found as a transmitter of linguistic material, be it a poetic verse or a simple Arabic word, there are several instances where his grammatical (syntactical, morphological or phonological) views are quoted and analyzed by al-Farrā'. Evaluating the above figures we must bear in mind that sometimes it might be a controversial issue to separate between a person's appearance as a reader and as a grammarian. In fact, if separation seems to be desirable, all the occurrences have to be analyzed one by one, as we could have seen it in the case of ar-Ru'āsī for example. Another example can be Zuhayr al-Furqubī, whose readings are quoted twice by al-Farrā', though he was known among the *qurrā'* as "Zuhayr al-Furqubī *an-Naḥwī*"[20].

2.1.9 We may also compare these numbers to the number of similar occurrences in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, which on the basis of Troupeau's *Index* are as follows: 16 persons (grammarians and readers together) are mentioned 987 times. This includes al-Ḫalīl

---

[17] See al-Qifti, *'Inbāh* IV. 99.

[18] 'Abū ᶜAmr Zabbān b. ᶜAmmār b. ᶜUryān Ibn al-ᶜAlā' at-Tamīmī al-Māzinī (d. c. 766) {VII/3}.

[19] See *Maᶜānī* I, 57.13.

[20] See Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 295, n° 1301. Cf. Sezgin 1984:124.

608 times and Yūnus 217 times, and the remaining 14 persons 162 times (Troupeau 1976:227-31).

Two conclusions can be drawn - in my view - from the comparison of these figures. The first is that both Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' quote primarily their masters, while they do not tie to specific names views that are generally known. The second is that the small number of references to grammarians in the case of the *Maʿānī* seems to point to that al-Farrā' is relatively often individual in his views.

2.2 al-Kisā'ī, the grammarian

The total number of references to al-Kisā'ī the grammarian is 104. These must be further divided into two main groups:

2.2.1 References to the collector of grammatical material, 62 times

- 24 quotations of poetic *šawāhid*
- 38 references to the "speech of the Arabs".

It might be of some interest to review briefly how these references are distributed among the different linguistic areas. The distribution of poetic *šawāhid* is as follows[21]:

- 2 phonological
- 5 morphological
- 16 syntactical
- 1 semantical

While among the references to the "speech of the Arabs" we find:

- 3 phonological
- 13 morphological
- 20 syntactical
- 2 semantical references.

So the majority of the quotations are in case of syntactic questions.

There is also another point which would deserve in my view further investigation in the future. It is the wording used by al-Farrā' when he quotes what al-Kisā'ī collected. In the case of poetic *šawāhid* it is of course always: *'anšadanī*, but in the case of references to the "speech of the Arabs" there are differences. Sometimes he uses *"qāla l-Kisā'ī"*, other times *"zaʿama l-Kisā'ī"*, etc. It seems to be worthwhile to investigate whether there is any connection between this wording and the rejection or acceptance of what al-Kisā'ī collected. Sometimes, however, it is hard to decide, since al-Farrā' does not always take sides unequivocally.

2.2.2 References to al-Kisā'ī's own grammatical views, 42 times

It might be interesting to note that while other grammarians — as we have seen — are usually not referred to in relation with the discussion of syntactic structures, these references in case of al-Kisā'ī outnumber other (phonetical, morphological or semantical) references, as it happens when he is quoted as transmitter of grammati-

[21] For the exact references see the Appendix.

cal material. From among the 42 references 30 concern syntactic questions. This means the following topics.

1. verbal structures/ verbs and their objects (direct or indirect): Q. 2.48 (twice)
2. *bi'sa*: Q. 2.90 (twice), 4.38
3. *'an / 'in* and conditionality: Q. 2.90, 2.229, 4.171, 19.91
4. *'an + naṣb + fa- + naṣb* structures: Q. 2.117
5. *naṣb ʿalā l-madḥ* (accepted or rejected): Q. 2.177 (thrice)
6. gender agreement: Q. 2.212, 16.66, 26.4
7. the structure *mā laka 'an*: Q. 2.246
8. *'inna*: Q. 5.69 (thrice), 10.62-63
9. *'illā*: Q. 5.73, 16.43
10. why *kitāb* is in *rafʿ* after the letters of the alphabet in the first *'āya*: Q. 7.2
11. *ʿimād (ḍamīr al-faṣl)*: Q. 8.32, 112.1
12. the position of *man* in the structure *ḥasbuka llāhu wa-man ittabaʿaka min al-mu'minīna*: Q. 8.64
13. *ǧawāb al-ǧazā'*: Q. 9.6
14. what happens if a *ḥāfiḍ* is not present: Q. 23.60
15. the evaluation of the structure *hāḏā yawmu* versus *hāḏā yawma...* Q. 82.19

When al-Kisā'ī is referred to as a reader, the same topics are treated with the addition of clause boundaries (*isti'nāf*), the verb form after *ḥattā* and after *fa-*.

3. al-Kisā'ī's methods in syntactic analysis: three cases

I do not wish to treat here those references where phonetical, morphological or purely semantical questions are discussed. I should only like to present a few examples from the syntactic topics mentioned above to examine the differences in approach between al-Farrā' and his master.

3.1. the regiment of *'inna*

3.1.1 Q. 10.62-63 (*Maʿānī* I, 470-1): *'a-lā 'inna 'awliyā'a llāhi lā ḫawfun ʿalayhim wa-lā hum yaḥzanūna / alladīna 'āmanū wa-kānū yattaqūna*.

The thing to be explained is the position of *alladīna*. In the analysis of al-Farrā' it is *rafʿ*, because it is an attribute (*naʿt*) that — though refers to the *ism 'inna* — comes after the *ḫabar 'inna*. Similar examples from the Qur'ān are 34.48 (*Maʿānī* II, 364) and 38.64, and al-Farrā' mentions that in all of the cases *naṣb* is permitted, though *rafʿ is preferred*. [22] A further explanation is given concerning why this *naʿt* is given this ending. According to al-Farrā' the Arabs seeing the *ḫabar's* being in *rafʿ* supposed that the *ism* should also be in *rafʿ*, at least in meaning, so they acted accordingly (*Maʿānī* I, 471).

al-Kisā'ī also considers that *alladī* is in *rafʿ*, but his explanation is rejected by al-Farrā' very sharply, though this definite rejection is seldom found in his work. According to al-Kisā'ī *alladīna* agrees with the inherent pronoun in *ḫabar 'inna*. "This is a mistake and is not permitted", says al-Farrā', arguing that in sentences of

[22] Cf. *Maʿānī* II, 364: *law quri'a naṣban kāna ṣawāban 'illā 'anna l-qirā'a al-ǧayyida ar-rafʿ*".

the type "*'inna 'aḫāka qā'imun aẓ-ẓarīfu*" the attribute (*naᶜt*) is a noun *(ism ẓāhir)* and as such cannot agree with a pronoun.

Another possible explanation of the *rafᶜ* can be — according to al-Farrā' — if the whole phrase is separated from the previous phrase and so it is put into *rafᶜ*: "*wa-'in ši'ta ǧaᶜalta qawlahu ... rafᶜan*".

For a better evaluation of the contemporary analysis of this sentence type let us have a look at the relevant passage in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (I, 286, Chapter 139). Sībawayhi accepts two kinds of explanation for the *rafᶜ* ending in sentences like "*'inna zaydan munṭaliqun al-ᶜāqilu l-labību*". The first explanation is the one rejected by al-Farrā'. Sībawayhi says: "*yartafiᶜu ... ᶜalā l-ism al-muḍmar fī "munṭaliq" (ka-'annahu badal minhu)*". While al-Kisā'ī says (*Maᶜānī* I, 471): "*tābiᶜan li-l-ism al-muḍmar fī l-fiᶜl*".[23] The difference in their explanations lies in one word, i.e that while Sībawayhi says that it is *badal*, al-Kisā'ī says that it is *tābiᶜ*. While al-Farrā' uses the term *naᶜt*, and as such, this explanation is not permitted by him.[24]

We might also try to argue that the words *ᶜalā* and *tābiᶜan* - used by Sībawayhi and al-Kisā'ī respectively - mean the same, i.e. "*in accordance /agreement with*". So neither of the grammarians gives a precise definition at the start, but whereas Sībawayhi's explanation is further developed, so we know that he meant *badal* by this wording, al-Kisā'ī's words are interpreted by al-Farrā', when he interprets *tābiᶜ* as *naᶜt*. Now I do not want to say that al-Farrā' misinterpreted al-Kisā'ī's words, but be that as it may, he interpreted them.

Another important aspect of this interpretation is what becomes clearer and clearer if we examine all the examples where al-Farrā' quotes al-Kisā'ī's analyses. Namely that the picture emerging from these cases is that of a grammarian who favours linear explanations, i.e. he likes to explain an ending by somehow tying the word concerned to the previous one. In this special case *tābiᶜ* itself seems to be a dummy category meaning neither *badal* nor *naᶜt* but simply that it follows the previous noun and *therefore* it should wear the same ending. Just on the contrary, al-Farrā' shows himself to be a more speculative person, who in dubious cases would rather resort to some kind of semantic analysis.

Let us see another example to support this brief characterisation.

3.1.2 Q. 5.69: *'inna l-laḏīna 'āmanū wa-l-laḏīna hādū wa-ṣ-ṣābi'ūna wa-n-naṣārā.* (*Maᶜānī* I, 310-2]).[25]

As this verse has been amply analyzed by Burton (1988:189-96), I should only like to draw attention to the explanations our two grammarians accepted.

There is no difference between al-Farrā' and al-Kisā'ī in the basic analysis of this phrase and in the attribution of the *rafᶜ* ending of *aṣ-ṣābi'ūna* to that it is con-

---

[23] Where by *fiᶜl* the *ḫabar 'inna* is meant.

[24] The term *badal* is never used by al-Farrā', instead he uses *takrīr* and *tarǧama*. Some — e.g. the editors of the *Maᶜānī* (I, 471, fn. 3) — consider that he also uses *naᶜt* in the meaning of *badal*, but I do not think that this would be the case here.

[25] This is a *mas'ala ḥilāfiyya*, see Ibn al-'Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* I, 185-95, n° 23: *al-qawl fī l-ᶜaṭf ᶜalā ism 'inna bi-r-rafᶜ qabla maǧīʾ al-ḫabar*, where we find that according to al-Kisā'ī it is always permissible, according to al-Farrā' it is permissible when the regiment of *'inna* does not appear, while according to the Basran grammarians it is never permissible.

nected (*ʿuṭifa*) to *alladīna*. Also, both grammarians considered the *naṣb* after *'inna* to be generally weak, because it does not relate to the *ḫabar* - it was later described as a Kufan view.[26] The difference can be found in the further analysis. While according to al-Farrā', al-Kisā'ī generalizes this rule and allows the above usage in every sentence of this type, al-Farrā' restricts it to those where the *naṣb* after *'inna* does not appear formally (as it does not appear in *alladīna*). So while al-Kisā'ī accepts sentences like *'inna ʿabdallāhi wa-zaydun qā'imāni*, al-Farrā' does not like it (*"lā 'astaḥibbu"*) because of the overt appearance of *'iʿrāb* in *ʿabdallāhi*. This goes parallel with other explanations of al-Farrā' concerning agreement, which I shall present later.

On the other hand, al-Kisā'ī had another explanation which again points to the linearity of his analysis. Accordingly he said: *'arfaʿu ṣ-ṣābi'ūna ʿalā 'itbāʿihi al-ism alladī fī hādū*.[27] It is a very similar explanation to the one al-Kisā'ī gave in the previous case, but now its rejection by al-Farrā' is not on the basis of linguistic reasons but by the difference in meaning not supported by *tafsīr*.[28] Whether al-Kisā'ī explained this structure in both ways (with a difference in meaning!), or not, cannot be decided. Some sources[29] argue for only one or the other, but both point to the same direction: the linearity of his explanations and their rule of thumb character. He seems to stick to a very simple rule once set up without defining subgroups, special cases, exceptions and deviations. It should be emphasised, though, that what is now presented from al-Kisā'ī's views is through the filter of al-Farrā'.

3.2 Gender agreement

We have seen in the previous example (Q. 5.69) that the zero morpheme ending of *alladīna* gives two possibilities for al-Farrā', the consideration of the form and the meaning. This is also the case in al-Farrā''s treatment of gender agreement. Analyzing Q. 2.212 *"zuyyina li-lladīna kafarū l-ḥayātu d-dunyā"*, where instead of *zuyyinat* the masculine form agrees with *al-ḥayāt*, he gives (*Maʿānī* I, 125-31) a rather intricate explanation of the whole network of gender agreement possibilities. The essence of which is that he accepts gender agreement on two bases: form and meaning. This Qur'ānic example belongs to the simpler cases where a masculine verb stands before a feminine noun that is derived from a verb, so the masculine ending of the verb refers to the masculine gender of the *maṣdar*. According to al-Farrā' (*Maʿānī* I, 129; II, 109), agreement upon meaning is the case in Q. 16.66 as well: *wa-'inna lakum fī l-'anʿāmi la-ʿibratun nusqīkum mimmā fī buṭūnihi* (and not: *buṭūnihā*) because it refers to the singular form *naʿam*, which is masculine. It is permissible — says al-Farrā' — because the singular is used in the meaning of the plural ... just like *laban* is used instead of *'albān* (*Maʿānī* I, 129). al-Kisā'ī, however, had a different explanation for *buṭūnihi*, which is again more linear. He said: *"buṭūn mā ḏakarnāhu"*. That is to say, the explanation is given by the elision of a clause at the place of the

---

[26] See Ibn al-'Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* I, 176-85, n° 22: *al-qawl fī rāfiʿ al-ḫabar baʿda 'inna l-mu'akkada*.

[27] In Burton's translation (1988:190): I take *ṣābi'ūn* to be nominative as co-ordinate with the nominative subject concealed in the verb *hādū*.

[28] According to which *alladīna hādū* refers to *al-yahūdiyya* and not to *'innā hudnā*.

[29] Cf. Ibn al'Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* I, 176-85, for other sources see Burton 1988.

pronoun. This explanation, though does not agree with his, is accepted by al-Farrā' (*Maʿānī* II, 109).

3.3 *mā* + *li-* + NP (+ *'an*) + NEG: Q. 2.246: *wa-mā lanā 'allā nuqātila...* (*Maʿānī* I, 163-6).

The analysis of this phrase again points to the basic difference in the methods of al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā'. The structure *mā* + *li-* + NP (+ *'an*) + NEG occurs nine times in the Qur'ān with or without *'an*.[30] According to al-Farrā' the primary structure is the one without *'an* so the appearance of *'an* has to be explained.

According to him the appearance of *'an* is due to the allusion to a meaning which implies the use of *'an*.[31] More concretely it means that he relates the meaning of the sentence: *mā laka lā tuṣallī fī l-ǧamāʿa* to *mā yamnaʿuka 'an tuṣallī*.

al-Kisā'ī does not operate with semantic substitutions and paraphrases but explains the appearance of *'an* as a residue from *fī 'an*. He says: *huwa bimanzilat qawlihi: ma lakum fī 'allā tuqātilū*.

al-Farrā' - sticking to his theory that *mā laka* can always be replaced by *manaʿa* rejects this explanation, arguing that it would lead to not well-formed sentences like: **mā laka 'an qumta* and **mā laka 'annaka qā'im*, both going back to *mā laka fī qiyāmika*, i.e. sentences referring to past and present as well as to future, whereas *manaʿa* refers only to the future.

4. The evaluation of al-Kisā'ī's linguistic views

Let us finally consider how al-Farrā' evaluates al-Kisā'ī's linguistic views. We find three different ways which can be best characterised by three examples.

4.1 "Total agreement"

'inna llāha lā yastaḥyi 'an yaḍriba maṯalan mā baʿūḍatan fa-mā fawqahā (Q. 2.26, *Maʿānī* I, 20-3)

Here, according to both linguists, the *naṣb* of *baʿūḍatan* and the following *fa-* plus *naṣb* can be best conceived as referring to a deleted, or better to say, supposed *bayna ... 'ilā* construction. This they see proved through comparison to other examples partly with *naṣb ... fa- ... 'ilā* structure and with similar meanings. The method of the comparison can essentially be called substitution, the key Arabic expressions being *taṣluḥ* or *lā taṣluḥ ... makāna* .... Meaning, as usual, is given by a paraphrase.

---

[30] The Qur'ānic statistics is as follows:

with *'an* (five times):

2.246: *wa-mā lanā 'allā nuqātila*;
6.119: *wa-mā lakum 'allā taʾkulū*;
8.34: *wa-mā lahum 'allā yuʿaḏḏibahum Allāh*;
14.12: *wa-mā lanā 'allā natawakkala*;
57.10: *wa-mā lakum 'allā tunfiqū*;

without *'an* (four times):

4.75: *wa-mā lakum lā tuqātilūna*;
5.84: *wa-mā lanā lā nuʾminu bi-llāh*;
36.22: *wa-mā lī lā 'aʿbudu*;
57.8: *wa-mā lakum lā tuʾminūna bi-llāh.*

[31] *wa-'ammā 'iḏā qāla /'an/ fa-'innahu mimmā ḏahaba 'ilā l-maʿnā allaḏī yahtamilu duḫūla /'an/.* (*Maʿānī* I, 163.)

4.2 "Agreement with some restrictions"

uḏkurī niʿmatiya llatī ʾanʿamtu ʿalaykum (Q. 2.40, *Maʿānī* I, 28-30)

Both linguists agree in the possibility of both *-ī* and *-iya* before *ʾalif* and *lām* in this and similar cases. al-Kisā'ī, however, makes a further step and he holds that *-iya (naṣb)* is allowed even if it is followed by *hamzat al-qaṭʿ*. This opinion is considered false generalization by al-Farrā'.

4.3 "Total disagreement" - typical in the case of syntactic explanations

wa-ttaqū yawman la taǧzī nafsun ʿan nafsin šayʾan (Q. 2.48, *Maʿānī* I, 31-2)

Here most linguists, among them al-Farrā', suppose a deleted *fīhi* after *yawman*. al-Kisā'ī, however, rejects this explanation saying that if it was true it would analogically mean the acceptability of sentences like *ʾanta llaḏī takallamtu*, omitting *fīhi*, which would lead to undesirable ambiguity and is not allowed "by the Arabs". Contrary to him al-Farrā' considers this analogy false showing the difference between the two examples: while *taǧzī fīhi* can have an alternative in *taǧzīhi*, such is not the case with *takallamtu fīhi*, since *takallamtuhu* does not mean the same. Here the difference seems again to lie in that while al-Farrā' works on the basis of a substitutional analysis al-Kisā'ī considers the example with a simple, and rigid formal generalization.

5. Conclusion

Analyzing these and further similar examples one can see that al-Farrā', having received his linguistic education from al-Kisā'ī and having internalized other teachings, tries to lean on his own insight, deciding in every case which is the right way of interpretation.

In an earlier study (Dévényi 1990) — where I compared the methods of analysis of Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' — I have already pointed to the high frequency of what I termed ad hoc semantic explanations presented by al-Farrā'. Now we saw that quite contrary to al-Farrā', al-Kisā'ī in his syntactic explanations tries to formulate the simplest rules based on the consecutiveness of linguistic elements and containig very few, if any, semantic considerations.

So it seems to me that while al-Farrā' accepts al-Kisā'ī as an informant and collector of grammatical material, in the concrete analysis of sentences he appears to introduce a lot of new, individual elements.

APPENDIX[32]

1. al-Kisā'ī as a *qāri'*

1.1 al-Kisā'ī as a transmitter of readings "*ḥaddaṯanī K.*" (11)

II, 176.12 / Q. 20.15
III, 35.6 / Q. 43.52
III, 99.6 / Q. 53.22
III, 127.17 / Q. 56.55
III, 231.8 / Q. 79.11
III, 290.18 / Q. 104.9
II, 290.14 / Q.27.25
III, 55.10 / Q.46.25
III, 107.9 / Q.54.15
III, 166.6 / Q.66.3
III, 264.13 / Q.90.10

1.2 al-Kisā'ī's own readings (27)

I, 133.13 / Q. 2.214 *qara'a bi-r-rafᶜ dahra ṯumma raǧaᶜa*
I, 155.6 / Q. 2.236 [19.34] *rafaᶜahu Ḥamza wa-K.*
I, 200.3 / Q. 3.18 *wa-kāna l-K. yaftaḫuhumā kiltayhimā*
I, 202.12 / Q. 3.21 *wa-qad qara'a bihā K. dahran "yuqātilūna" ṯumma raǧaᶜa*
I, 224.12 / Q. 3.79 *wa-qara'a K. wa-Ḥamza "tuᶜallimūna"*
I, 310.1 / Q. 5.45 *wa-qad naṣaba Ḥamza wa-rafaᶜa K.*
II, 100.5 / Q. 16.40 *wa-kān K. yarıddu r-rafᶜ*
II, 132.1 / Q. 17.102 *qara'a K. bi-r-rafᶜ*
II, 188.8 / Q. 20.81 *al-Farrā' bi-ḍ-ḍamm miṯla K. su'ila ᶜanhu fa-qālahu*
II, 260.4 / Q. 24.58 *wa-K. yaqra'u*
II, 281.13 / Q. 26.137 *wa-qirā'at K. "ḫalq al-'awwalīn"*
II, 296.7 / Q. 27.49 *wa-'inna K. yaqra'u bi-t-tā'*
II, 315.17 / Q. 29.25 *wa-rafaᶜa nās minhum K. bi-'iḍāfa*
II, 332.15 / Q. 32.24 *"bi-mā ṣabarū" wa-qara'ahā K. wa-Ḥamza "li-mā ṣabarū"*
II, 365.1 / Q. 34.52 *qara'a ... wa-K. bi-l-hamz yaǧ'alūnahu min aš-šay' al-baṭī'*
II, 398.4 / Q. 38.3 *'aqifu ᶜalā "lāta" bi-t-tā' wa-K. yaqifu bi-l-hā'*
II, 400.13 / Q. 38.15 *wa-ḍamma ... wa-K.*
III, 63.11 / Q. 47.26 *wa-ttabaᶜu ... wa-K. wa-huwa maṣdar*
III, 93.5 / Q. 52.28 *K. yaftaḥu "'annahu"*
III, 93.6 / Q. 52.28 *K. qara'ahu*
III, 93.12 / Q. 52.37 *wa-qara'a K. bi-s-sīn*
III, 97.14 / Q. 53.19 *K. yaqifu ᶜalayhā bi-l-hā'*
III, 119.2 / Q. 55.56 *wa-kān K. yaqra'u wāḥidatan bi-rafᶜ al-mīm*
III, 209.16 / Q. 75.9 *wa-huwa qawl K.*
III, 226.16 / Q. 77.36 *kaḏā kāna yaqra'u K.*
III, 229.10 / Q. 78.28 *wa-kān K. yuḫaffifu "lā yasmaᶜūna fīhā..."*

---

[32] References are given in the following order: Volume, page.line / Q. *sūra. 'āya*. al-Kisā'ī is abbreviated as K. The number of occurrences is given in brackets. Short quotations are given for orientation except in cases introduced by "*'anšada*" and "*ḥaddaṯa*".

III, 254.16 / Q. 86.4 *K. kāna yuḫaffifuhā*

2. al-Kisā'ī as a grammarian (104)

2.1 Collector of grammatical material

2.1.1 "*kalām al-ᶜarab*": (38)

Phonology (3)

I, 29.12 / Q. 2.40 *zaᶜama K. 'anna l-ᶜarab tastaḥibbu naṣb al-yā'*
II, 144.16 / Q. 18.38 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'annahu samiᶜa l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
II, 145.1 / Q. 18.38 *qāla K. samiᶜtu baᶜḍ al-ᶜarab yaqūlu*

Morphology (13)

I, 149.12 / Q. 2.233 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'anna min al-ᶜarab man yaqūlu*
I, 212.7 / Q. 3.39 *wa-rawāhā K. ᶜan ġayrihim*
I, 232.15 / Q. 3.120 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'annahu samiᶜa baᶜḍ 'ahl al-ᶜāliya*
I, 19.14 / Q. 11.59 *wa-samiᶜa K. baᶜḍ al-ᶜarab yaqūlu*
II, 36.1 / Q. 12.5 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'annahu samiᶜa 'aᶜrābiyyan*
II, 106.16 / Q. 16.59 *qāla K. samiᶜtu l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
II, 150.9 / Q. 18.59 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'annahu samiᶜa*
II, 243.3 / Q. 23.110 *qāla K. samiᶜtu l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
II, 305.17 / Q. 28.28 *wa-samiᶜa K. 'aᶜrābiyyan yaqūlu*
II, 325.14 / Q. 30.39 *wa-samiᶜa K. al-ᶜarab taqūlu*
II, 389.7 / Q. 37.94 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'annahu lā yaᶜrifuhā*
III, 137.3 / Q. 57.26 *wa-samiᶜa K. al-ᶜarab taqūlu*
III, 292.13 / Q. 105.3 *wa-qad qāla baᶜḍ an-naḥwiyyīn wa-huwa K. kuntu 'asmaᶜu n-naḥwiyyīn*

Syntax (20)

I, 23.6 / Q. 2.26 *qāla K. samiᶜtu 'aᶜrābīyyan wa-ra'ā l-hilāl*
I, 23.8 / Q. 2.26 *wa-ḥakā K. ᶜan baᶜḍ al-ᶜarab*
I, 134.5 / Q. 2.214 *fa-zaᶜama K.'annahu samiᶜa l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
I, 134.14 / Q. 2.214 *qāla K. samiᶜtu l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
I, 164.9 / Q. 2.246 *qāla K. samiᶜtu l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
I, 233.4 / Q. 3.121 *qāla K. samiᶜtu baᶜḍ al-ᶜarab yaqūlu*
I, 282.4 / Q. 4.90 *wa-samiᶜa K. baᶜḍuhum yaqūlu*
I, 424.2 / Q. 9.7 *wa-zaᶜama K. 'annahu samiᶜa l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
II, 15.7 / Q. 11.41 *wa-samiᶜa K. 'aᶜrābiyyan yaqūlu baᶜd al-fiṭr*
II, 20.10 / Q. 11.68 *qāla K. samiᶜtu l-ᶜarab taqūlu*
II, 81.9 / Q. 14.47 *wa-zaᶜama K.'annahum yu'ṭinūn an-naṣb*
II, 320.5 / Q. 30.4 *wa-samiᶜa K. baᶜḍ banī 'asad yaqra'uhā*
II, 423.5 / Q. 39.58 *wa- qāla K. samiᶜtu min al-ᶜarab*
III, 111.4 / Q. 54.54 *wa-zaᶜama K.'annahu samiᶜa l-ᶜarab yaqūlūna*

III, 111.12 / Q. 54.50 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
III, 112.10 / Q. 55.6 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
III, 124.13 / Q. 56.26 *wa-samiʿa K. al-ʿarab yaqūlūna*
III, 243.10 / Q. 81.26 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
III, 245.1 / Q. 82.19 *zaʿama K. 'anna l-ʿarab tu'ṯir ar-rafʿa*
III, 298.18 / Q. 111.4 *samiʿahā K. min al-ʿarab*

Semantics (2)

I, 59.15 / Q. 2.88 *wa-ḥakā K.ʿan al-ʿarab*
I, 323.1 / Q. 5.105 *wa-zaʿama K.'annahu samiʿa*

1.1.2. *"šawāhid siʿriyya": wa-'anšadani l-Kisā'ī* (24)

Phonology (2)

I, 438.5 / Q. 9.38 II, 29.6 / Q.11.111

Morphology (5)

I, 91.5 / Q. 2.150 I, 174.7 / Q.2.260
I, 204.8 / Q. 3.26 I, 212.8 / Q.3.39
II, 398.10 / Q. 38.5

Syntax (16)

I, 129.3 / Q. 2.212 I, 134.7 / Q.2.214
I, 233.5 / Q. 3.121 I, 233.10 / Q.3.121
I, 262.9 / Q. 4.26 I, 365.11 / Q.6.154
I, 401.7 / Q. 7.193 I, 410.10 / Q.8.32
I, 427.8 / Q. 9.19 II, 37.7 / Q.12.10
II, 41.15 / Q. 12.26 II, 131.5 / Q.17.88
II, 320.6 / Q. 30.4 II, 352.8 / Q.34.6
II, 376.1 / Q. 36.30 III, 45.11 / Q.45.5

Semantics (1)

I, 80.9 / Q. 2.132

2.2 al-Kisā'ī's own grammatical views (42)

Morphology (10)

I, 325.3 / Q. 5.110 *wa-qāla K. fāʿaltuka, wa-hiya taǧūzu*
I, 394.14 / Q. 7.150 *fa-qāla K. ma 'adrī laʿallahum 'arādū*
I, 419.1 / Q. 8.72 *wa-kāna K. yaftaḥuhā wa-yaḍhabu bihā*
I, 469.17 / Q. 10.58 *wa-kāna K. yuʿību qawlahum "fa-l-tafraḥū"*

II, 20.5 / Q. 11.61 *fa-'aḫaḍa bi-ḏālika K. fa-'aġrāhā fī n-naṣb*
II, 152.4 / Q. 18.59 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu humā "maf'ul" nādir*
II, 176.14 / Q. 20.15 *qāla K. wa-l-fuqahā' yaqūlūna*
II, 188.7 / Q. 20.81 *wa-K. ġa'alahu 'alā l-wuqū'*
II, 236.5 / Q. 23.36 *qāl al-Farrā' wa-ḥtāra K. al-hā', wa-'anā 'aqīsu*
III, 280.2 / Q. 96.17/8 *wa- qāla K. bi-'aḫara wāḥid "az-zabāniya" "zibnī"*

Syntax (30)

I, 32.1 / Q. 2.48 wa-kāna K. lā yuġīzu 'iḍmār aṣ-ṣifa fī ṣ-ṣalāt
I, 32.10 / Q. 2.48 *wa-laysa yudḫilu 'alā K. mā 'adḫala 'alā nafsihi*
I, 56.14 / Q. 2.90 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu ḏālika*
I, 57.13 / Q. 2.90 *wa-qad 'aġāzahu K. fī kitābihi 'alā hāḏā*
I, 58.7 / Q. 2.90 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu fī "'an" hiya fī mawḍi' ḥafḍ*
I, 75.4 / Q. 2.117 *wa-'in kāna K. lā yuġīzu r-raf' fīhimā*
I, 107.1 / Q. 2.177 *wa-qāla fīhi K. "wa-l-muqīmīn" mawḍi'uhu ḥafḍ*
I, 107.7 / Q. 2.177 *imtana'a min maḏhab al-madḥ, ya'nī K. alladī fassartu laka*
I, 107.11 / Q. 2.177 *wa-l-kalām 'akṯaruhu 'alā mā waṣafa K. wa-lākinna l-'arab 'iḏā taṭāwalat aṣ-ṣifa*
I, 129.12 / Q. 2.212 *wa-qad kāna K. yaḏhabu bi-taḏkīr "al-an'ām"*
I, 148.8 / Q. 2.229 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu mawḍi'uhu ḥafḍ*
I, 165.5 / Q. 2.246 *wa-qāla K. fī 'idḫālihim "'an" fī "mā laka"*
I, 268.6 / Q. 4.38 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu 'uḍmiru 'ġāda bihinna 'abyātan"*
I, 296.9 / Q. 4.171 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu hiya fī mawḍi' ḥafḍ*
I, 311.3 / Q. 5.69 *kāna K. yuġīzuhu li-ḍu'fi 'inna*
I, 311.5 / Q. 5.69 *laysa hāḏā bi-ḥuġġa li-K. fī 'iġāzat 'inna 'amran wa-zayd*
I, 312.1 / Q. 5.69 *qāla K. 'arfa'u "ṣ-ṣābi'ūn"*
I, 317.12 / Q. 5.73 *fa-ra'aytu K. qad 'aġāza ḥafḍahu*
I, 369.10 / Q. 7.2 *wa-qad qāla K. rafa'tu "kitābun 'unzila 'ilayka"*
I, 410.4 / Q. 8.32 *wa-kāna K. yuġīzu ḏālika*
I, 418.4 / Q. 8.66 *wa-qad qāla hāḏā l-qawl K. wa-rafa'a "man"*
I, 422.11 / Q. 9.6 *wa-kāna K. yuġīzu taqdimat an-naṣb fī ġawāb al-ġazā'*
I, 471.3 / Q. 10.62/3 *wa-kāna K. yaqūlu ġa'altuhu ya'nī an-na't tābi'an li-l-ism*
II, 101.4 / Q. 16.43 *wa-ra'aytu K. yaġ'alu "'ilā" ma'a l-ġaḥd*
II, 109.1 / Q. 16.66 *wa-qāla K. "nusqīkum mimmā fī buṭūnihi"*
II, 173.9 / Q. 19.91 *wa-K. kāna yaqūlu mawḍi' "'an" ḥafḍ*
II, 238.13 / Q. 23.60 *fa-'inna K. kāna yaqūlu huwa ḥafḍ*
II, 277.10 / Q. 26.4 *wa-qad qāla K. hāḏā bi-manzilat qawl aš-šā'ir*
III, 245.5 / Q. 82.19 *wa-l'akṯaru mā fassara K.*
III, 299.10 / Q. 112.1 *wa-qad qāla K. fīhi qawlan lā 'arāhu šay'an*

Semantics (2)

I, 103.11 / Q. 2.175 *qāla K. sa'alanī qāḍī l-yaman*
II, 377.8 / Q. 36.32 *wa-kāna K. yanfī hāḏā l-qawl*

3. Other grammarians quoted in the *Maʿānī*

3.1 Named persons

III,	242.7	/ Q. 81.17	***ʾAbū l-Bilād an-Naḥwī*** *yunšidu fīhi*
II,	79.4-5	/ Q. 14.44	*wa-kāna šayḫ lanā yuqālu lahu* ***l-ʿAlāʾ b. Sayāba*** *wa-huwa allaḏī ʿallama Muʿāḏan al-Harrāʾ wa-ʾaṣḥābahu yaqūlu*
II,	42.2	/ Q. 12.26	*zaʿama* ***l-Qāsim b. Maʿn*** *ʾanna biʾsa wa-ziʾna ʾarḍāni mahmūzatāni*
I,	13.12	/ Q. 2.7	*wa-zaʿama* ***l-Mufaḍḍal*** *[aḍ-Ḍabbī] ʾanna ʿĀṣim b. ʾAbī n-Naǧūd kāna yanṣubuhā*
II,	182.13	/ Q. 20.61	*marra l-Farazdaq bi-****ʿAbdallāh b. ʾAbī ʾIsḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī an-Naḥwī***
II,	183.2	/ Q. 20.61	*fa-qāla* ***ʿAbdallāh*** *li-l-Farazdaq: ʿalāma rafaʿta*
I,	127.6	/ Q. 2.212	*wa-ʾanšadanī* ***Yūnus*** *yaʿnī an-naḥwī al-baṣrī ʿan al-ʿarab*
II,	37.11	/ Q. 12.10	*wa-ʾanšadanī* ***Yūnus*** *al-baṣrī [li-Ǧarīr]*
I,	9.10	/ Q. 36.2	*wa-qad qaraʾahā raǧul min an-naḥwiyyīn wa-huwa* ***ʾAbū Ǧaʿfar ar-Ruʾāsī***
II,	182.13	/ Q. 20.61	*ḥaddaṯanī* ***ʾAbū Ǧaʿfar ar-Ruʾāsī*** *ʿan ʾAbī ʿAmr*
II,	289.15	/ Q. 27.22	*wa-zaʿama* ***r-Ruʾāsī*** *ʾannahu saʾala ʾAbā ʿAmr*
II,	357.1	/ Q. 34.14	*wa-zaʿama lī* ***ʾAbū Ǧaʿfar ar-Ruʾāsī*** *ʾannahu saʾala ʿanhā ʾAbā ʿAmr*
II,	371.6	/ Q. 21.103	*ḥaddaṯanī* ***r-Ruʾāsī*** *ʿan ʾAbī ʿAmr*
III,	61.5	/ Q. 47.18	*ḥaddaṯanī* ***ʾAbū Ǧaʿfar ar-Ruʾāsī***
III,	292.9	/ Q. 105.3	*wa-zaʿama* ***r-Ruʾāsī*** *wa-kāna ṯiqa maʾmūnan ʾannahu samiʿa*

3.2 Unnamed persons

II,	312.6	/ Q. 28.82	*ʾaḫbaranī šayḫ min ʾahl al-baṣra qāla samiʿtu ʾaʿrābiyyatan taqūlu li-zawǧihā*
I,	32.3	/ Q. 2.48	*wa-qāla ġayruhu [= ġayr al-Kisāʾī] min ʾahl al-baṣra: lā nuǧīzu*
I,	8.5	/ Q. 1.7	*baʿḍ man lā yaʿrifu l-ʿarabiyyata [= ʾAbū ʿUbayda] ʾinna maʿnā "ġayr"*
I,	18.5	/ Q. 2.20	*baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn: ʾinnamā kasartu l-ḫāʾ*
I,	89.12	/ Q. 2.150	*wa-qad qāla baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn [= ʾAbū ʿUbayda]*
I,	107.5	/ Q. 2.177	*wa-baʿḍuhum*
I,	107.5	/ Q. 2.177	*wa-baʿḍuhum*

I, 165.10 / Q. 2.246 *wa-qad qāla baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn: hiya mimmā 'uḍmirat fīhi l-wāw*
I, 171.13 / Q. 2.258 *wa-qad yaqūlu baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn: 'innā naṣabnā "qādirīn"*
I, 203.4 / Q. 3.26 *wa-qad qāla baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn [= al-Ḫalīl]: 'innamā naṣabtu*
I, 245.12 / Q. 3.159 *wa-qad waǧǧahahu baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn 'ilā*
I, 260.8 / Q. 4.24 *wa-qad qāla baʿḍ 'ahl an-naḥw*
I, 278.17 / Q. 4.81 *wa-qad yaqūlu baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn wa-ḏukira fīhā l-qitāl*
I, 307.7 / Q. 5.38 *wa-'innamā ḏakartu ḏālika li-'anna min an-naḥwiyyīn man kāna lā yuǧīzuhu 'illā fī ḫalq al-'insān*
I, 321.9 / Q. 5.101 *wa-qad qāla fīhā baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn*
II, 7.4 / Q. 11.7 *wa-qad yufassiruhu baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn*
II, 80.11 / Q. 14.47 *wa-kāna baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn yanṣubu "l-layl"*
II, 128.2 / Q. 17.72 *wa-qad talqā baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlu: 'uǧīzuhu*
II, 255.16 / Q. 24.41 *wa-qad qāla baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn: zaydan ḍārabtahu*
II, 287.13 / Q. 27.11 *wa-qad qāla baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn inna "'illā"*
II, 312.7 / Q. 28.82 *wa-qad yaḏhabu baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn*
III, 205.2 / Q. 74.36 *kāna baʿḍ an-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlu: 'in naṣabta qawlahu*

3.3 Groups of grammarians

I, 358.4 / Q. 6.137 *kāna yaqūluhu naḥwiyyū **'ahl al-ḥiǧāz** wa-lam naǧid miṯlahu fī l-ʿarabiyya*
I, 33.17 / Q. 2.42 *bi-l-wāw naṣban ʿalā mā yaqūlu n-naḥwiyyīn min aṣ-ṣarf*
I, 80.15 / Q. 2.132 *wa-qawl an-naḥwiyyīn: 'innamā 'arāda "'an"*
I, 107.3 / Q. 2.177 *wa-kāna n-naḥwiyyūn yaqūlūn "al-muqīmūn" mardūda*
I, 134.4 / Q. 2.214 *'akṯar an-naḥwiyyīn yanṣubūna l-fiʿl baʿda "ḥattā"*
I, 235.15 / Q. 3.142 *alladī yusammīhi n-naḥwiyyūn aṣ-ṣarf*
II, 74.14 / Q. 14.18 *wa-mimmā yarwīhi **naḥwiyyūnā l-'awwalūna** 'anna l-ʿarab taqūlu*
II, 81.12 / Q. 14.47 *naḥwiyyū **'ahl al-madīna** yunšidūna qawlahu*
II, 346.2 / Q. 33.50 *maḥḍ al-qaṭʿ alladī tasmaʿuhu min an-naḥwiyyīn*
II, 352.12 / Q. 34.6 *hāḏā wa-lā yuǧīzuhu ġayruhu min an-naḥwiyyīn*
III, 292.13 / Q. 105.3 *wa-qad qāla ... al-Kisā'ī: kuntu 'asmaʿu an-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlūna*
III, 207.3 / Q. 75.1 *kāna kaṯīr min an-naḥwiyyīn*

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* = 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī: *Marātib an-naḥwiyyīn*. Ed. by Muḥammad 'Abū l-Faḍl 'Ibrāhīm. 1974. 2nd ed. Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr li-ṭ-Tabʿ wa-n-Našr.

(al-Farrā'), *Maʿānī* = 'Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Farrā: *Maʿānī l-Qur'ān*. Ed. by 'Aḥmad Yūsuf Naǧātī, Muḥammad ʿAlī n-Naǧǧār and ʿAbdalfattāḥ 'Ismāʿīl Šalabī. Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1955-72.

Ibn al-'Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* = 'Abū l-Barakāt ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn al-'Anbārī: *al-'Inṣāf fī masā'il al-ḫilāf bayna n-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn wa-l-kūfiyyīn*. Ed. by Muḥammad Muḥyī d-Dīn ʿAbdalḥamīd. 2 vols. Cairo, 1954. [Repr., Cairo: Dār al-Ǧīl, 1982.]

Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* = Šams ad-Dīn 'Abū l-Ḫayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ǧazarī: *Ġāyat an-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'*. Ed. by Gotthelf Bergsträßer and Otto Pretzl. 2 vols. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat as-Saʿāda, 1933.

Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* = 'Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba: *al-Maʿārif*. Ed. by Ṯarwat ʿUkāša. 4th ed. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif. 1981.

al-Qifṭī, *'Inbāh* = Ǧamāl ad-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qifṭī: *'Inbāh ar-ruwāt ʿalā 'anbāh an-nuḥāt*. Ed. by Muḥammad 'Abū l-Faḍl 'Ibrāhīm. 4 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1950-73.

Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* = 'Abū Bišr ʿAmr b. ʿUṯmān b. Qanbar Sībawayhi: *al-Kitāb*. 2 vols. Būlāq, 1316-18.

as-Sīrāfī, *'Aḫbār* = 'Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh as-Sīrāfī: *'Aḫbār an-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn*. Ed. by Tāhā Muḥammad az-Zaynī and Muḥammad ʿAbdalmunʿim Ḫafāǧī. 1955. Cairo: Muṣṭafā l-Bābī l-Ḥalabī.

az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* = 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan az-Zubaydī al-'Andalusī: *Ṭabaqāt an-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-luġawiyyīn*. Ed. by Muḥammad 'Abū l-Faḍl 'Ibrāhīm. 2nd. ed. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1984.

B. Secondary sources

Beck, Edmund. 1948. "Studien zur Geschichte der kufischen Koranlesung in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten. I." *Orientalia* 17.326-55.

Bergsträßer, Gotthelf and Otto Pretzl. 1938. *Geschichte des Qorans*. III. *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*. [Continuation of Nöldeke, Theodore. *Geschichte des Qorans*. I-II.], [Repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970.]

Burton, John. 1988. "Linguistic Errors in the Qur'ān". *JSS* 33.181-96.

Dévényi, Kinga. 1990. "On Farrā"s Linguistic Methods in his Work *Maʿānī l-Qur'ān*". In: Michael G. Carter and Kees Versteegh (eds.). *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar II*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Jeffery, Arthur (ed.) 1937. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*. Leiden: Brill.

Sezgin, Fuat. 1982. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Vol. VIII. *Lexikographie*. Leiden: Brill.

Sezgin, Fuat. 1984. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Vol. IX. *Grammatik*. Leiden: Brill.

Talmon, Rafael. 1985. "An Eighth Century Grammatical School in Medina: The Collection and Evaluation of the Available Material." *BSOAS* 48.224-36.

Troupeau, Gérard. 1976. *Lexique-Index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*. Paris: Klincksieck.