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

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Abstract

The *Mağmū'a min šī'r al-Mutanabbī wa-ġawāmiđihi*, 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-ġawāmiđihi* 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-'aḥ'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-Qiṭī (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,

* I would like to thank Mirella Cassarino and Antonella Gheretti for inviting me to contribute with this study to the present monographic dossier of *JAIS* and for reading these pages. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and Dr Fouad Omeghras for helping me to properly understand some verses. Any imprecision, however, is my own responsibility.

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-Wāhidī (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' s 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' 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' s 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' 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' 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'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' and al-Iflīlī, at times, cite it more or less verbatim. Besides, the passages in which Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', 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'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', 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 Ğayyād 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 *Ilhāq* (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'*

خَنْتِي الْفُحُولَ مِنَ الْكُفَاةِ بِصَبْغِهِ مَا يَلْبَسُونَ مِنَ الْحَدِيدِ مُعْصَفِرًا

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 (WORMHOUDT 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 *dahraǧa* 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*, *ḥantā*, *ḥandā* and *'andā*. If they hear the [double] hated letter, they suppress it. They changed double letters with *alif* like in *taqaḍḍā*, *albāzā*, *qaṣṣā*, *aṭfārah* and *taẓannā* (أظفاره، قَصَصِي، البازي، تقَضَى) thinking that their root was *taqaḍḍaḍa*, *qaṣṣaṣa* and *taẓannana*. The grammarians (*al-naḥwiyyūna*) stated that the augments (*ḥurūf zawā'id*) have been added because of *ilhāq*, the lexicographers (*riǧāl al-luǧa*) 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 *ilhāq*; only radical letters, in fact, can be doubled for *ilhāq*. 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 *ilhāq* in the word *ǧi'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 *ilhāq* such as in *Ǧa'far*. Regarding the third radical, they said: in *qa'dud* the *dāl* is repeated because of *ilhāq* such as in *burtan*. The grammarians also have stated that in *Yahyā* and *muṭnā* [the *alif*] is present because of *ilhāq* and that in *Raḍwā* and *Salwā* it is a mark of feminine gender. After that, they contradicted themselves by saying: the *alif* in *buhmā*, *'azhā* and *qaba'tarā* is a feminine gender mark and is not due to *ilhāq*. 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* (بَحْمَاءٌ وَعُلَقَاءٌ وَعِزْهَاءٌ وَقَبْعَاتَاءٌ) 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 *ḥanṭā*. In the first paragraph of his commentary, he considers it a substantive and states: “its plural is *ḥanātā* 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 dying of their armour and helmet with blood. (My translation)’.

In the second paragraph, Ibn al-Qaṭṭā‘ considers the word *ḥanṭā* 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 ‘*anzā*, *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 *ḥanṭā* 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* (بُهْمَاةٌ وَقَبْعَثْرَاةٌ وَعُلْقَاةٌ وَعِزْهَاءَةٌ), 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 *ḥunutuṅ* 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-Ifflīlī ('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-Ifflīlī 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 *asl*, 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*, *mūd*, *mundu*, *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 *taḥfīf*

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 حَنِيٍّ التِّي حَاضَ طَيْفُهَا إِلَى الدِّيَاحِي وَالْحَلِيُونِ هُجَع

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 *afḍḥā*: '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 *taḥfīf* 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 *tahǧfif*. 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 *afḍī* 'I ransom'. He focuses on a morphological element, different from *tahǧfif*, which he repute worthy of mention.

In general, verbs are concerned with the process of *tahǧfif* 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-Ifīlī's grammatical comment seems to depend on Ibn Ğinnī's *Fasr*. Ibn Ğinnī, however, devotes some paragraphs to the phenomenon of *tahǧfif* in all of his works, although focusing mostly on *tahǧfif al-ḥarakāt* and on *tahǧfif al-hamza* (see, for instance, IBN ĞINNĪ 1913: 339 and IBN YA'ĪŠ 1973: 456). The term *makkūkun*, plural *makkākī*, '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 Aḥtartu dahmā'a tayni yā maṭaru 'I take the black of these two O rain' (WORMHOUDT 2002: 273), metre *munsariḥ, rawī rā'*:

أَخْتَرْتُ 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 (*dayni*) and you mean *hādayni*. 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-Ḥaṣāʾis*, where he states that the particle *hā* has no meaning in itself nor semantic contribution (RABADI 2016: 21). Both Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ 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 qaṭīlin kamā qutiltu šahīdi ‘How many slain, as I was, are martyrs’ (WORMHOUDT 2002: 25), metre *ḥaffif*:

هذه مُهَجَّتِي لَدَيْكَ لِحِينِي فَانْقُصِي مِنِّي عَذَابَهَا أَوْ فَرِّدِي

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 ‘*muhḡati*’ (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] (*mutaʿalliqā biʾl-istiqrār*). (IQ: 211)

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

al-Ḥayn is death and *al-hāʾin* 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 *ḡazal*.

Also in this verse, Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ 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-Qaṭṭāʿ 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 الْهَيِّئُ ابْنُ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيِّئُ ابْنُ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيِّئُ ابْنُ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيِّئُ ابْنُ الْعَارِضِ الْهَيِّئُ

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-maṭaru 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-ʿAriḍ 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 *hatala 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-Iffīlī (HINDI HASSAN 1989, vol. 3: 396) states something similar:

al-ʿAriḍ 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) الدَّمْعُ وَالْمَطَرُ هَتُّوْلا "hatala: the teardrops and the rain fall copiously, *hutūlan* (is the *maṣdar*)"; (هَتَّن) هَتُّونَا تَتَابِعْ "hatana, *hutūnan* alternate."

2 Verses with a lexical comment

2.a *Qaṣīda Ahyā 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-Qaṭṭāf 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 مِعْدُورٍ 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-Ṭāṭ' la'im* 'Every one of the Banī Ḥawwā'a has an excuse, the vile Ṭāṭ have no excuses'.

al-Iflīlī'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 قَدَّرُوا أَلَّا تُفَارِقَهُمْ فَالرَّاحِلُونَ 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 (*raḥaltu 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 (*raḥaltu 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-fīhā 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-Iflīlī'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-Iflīlī 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-Iflīlī'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 *kāmil*, *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-Iflīlī (ʿALAYĀN 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-Qaṭṭā'ʿ depends on Ibn Ğinnī who makes a consideration about the particle *bi-* that the Sicilian grammarian does not relate at all. al-Iflīlī and Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'ʿs comments, both centred on the semantic aspects of the line, are different.

2.e Qaṣīda Ġalalan 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 ḥāʿ*

حَلَلًا 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, *bāʿ* 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 *qaraʿa*, that can be followed by *bi-* when it means ‘reading being blessed’, so *qaraʿtu bi’l-sūrati* ‘I read the Surra’ with the sense of blessing is allowed, but it not possible to say *qaraʿtu 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-rašāʿu* 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 šayʿun 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. ʿUbayd 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 *taḥfif* 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 ابْتَسَمَتْ 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 *Fasr*, 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 *Faḥ 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-Ifṭīlī ('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 *Faḥ 'alā Abī Faḥ* 'The triumph over Abū Faḥ' (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*

لَمَنْ تَطَلَّبُ الدُّنْيَا إِذَا لَمْ تُرِدْ بِهَا سُرُورَ مُحِبِّ أَوْ مُسَاءَةَ 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 Ğinnī'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 اللهُ يَا كَافُورُ أَنْكَ 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 *Mağmū'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 *dayāğī* (ğ), Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' does not deal with the phenomenon, while Ibn Ğinnī and al-Iflīlī concentrate on it: the letter *ğīm* has been elided this phenomenon is known as a *tarhīm*

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 *dayāġiġ al-aṣl* the subjacent form of the word. The concept of *tahfīf* is expressed through the verb *ḥaffafū* ‘they lightened’.

Another case of elision, for which, however, the term *tahfīf* is not used, is the expression *fa-l-yaku l-tabrīh*. But once again, Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ 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 *ḥadafa* and the substantive *ḥadf*. Ibn Ğinnī considers *lam yaku* as the *farʿ*, the attested and irregular form, of the *aṣl lam yakun*, which is for him the attested regular form. The two forms, however, coexist. (GRANDE 2016: 214-216).²⁰ Perhaps, Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ 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-Qaṭṭāʿ 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-Qaṭṭāʿ explicitly uses the word *ilhāq* and focuses on the opposition between the supporters of the *ḥurūf al-zawāʿid* and the proponents of the *ḥurūf al-aṣliyya*, 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 *مَحْمَاةٌ وَعُلْقَاةٌ وَعَزْهَاءٌ وَقِعْشْرَاءٌ* which, according to Baalbaki, has to be interpreted as the phenomenon of *takṭīr al-kalima*. Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, 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-Qaṭṭāʿ 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-Qaṭṭāʿ says “This is inconceivable and who needs this is only the ignorant” (*Kāmil* from the *qaṣīda*

²⁰ As Grande (2016: 214) recently showed, al-Suyūṭī 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 (*ḥadf*) that targets the sound *n* in *yakun*, and is driven by the need of “lightening” (*tahfīf*) the verb. al-Suyūṭī further elaborates on this point in the *Iqtirāḥ* 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 *kāmil, 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 *kāmil, 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 Ğinnī’s thought when he says that he gives a ridiculous explanation of a verse (*Qaṣīda ‘Awhi badīlun min qawlatī wāhan*, metre *mun-sarih, 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-Badīfī (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 ‘Abduh Ziyādah ‘Abduh, in 1977, in Cairo.

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