

ISM AL-TAFDIL

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Abstract

He states⁽¹⁾: (Because it contains)⁽²⁾ a verbal noun associated with the meaning of the future; that is, because⁽³⁾ it encompasses both types. [End of note]⁽⁴⁾, The omitted term refers to the described entity⁽⁵⁾ in the sense of the verb with augmentation. End of note. Its original forms are 'akhyara and asharra⁽⁶⁾, in which the initial fatha on the letter 'ayn was transferred to the letter fa, and the hamza was omitted to simplify pronunciation⁽⁷⁾, (And it is a reason used in construction, and in it) because⁽⁸⁾ possibility (imkān) is not a compulsory reason for grammatical construction, but rather a permissive cause⁽⁹⁾. It is mentioned here to remove the notion of impossibility, as occurs in augmented trilateral verbs. The meaning is that its construction⁽¹⁰⁾ is limited to

¹⁰ The phrase)He states) is absent in manuscript B.

²⁰ See: al-Mu'āfiyah, p. 400.

³⁰ The particle lā appears in manuscripts A and J, and as confirmed in B and D.

⁴(Text enclosed in quotation marks is an addition from manuscripts B and D.

⁵((The described) appears in manuscript J.

⁶⁰ (And ashyar) in manuscripts A, J, and D, and what we have included is from manuscript B.

⁷(References regarding phonetic simplification and morphophonemic changes include: Ijāz al-Ta'rīf fi 'Ilm al-Taṣrīf, p. 196; Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa Takmīl al-Maqāṣid, p. 133; Al-Tadhīl wa al-Takmīl, 10/252; Sharḥ al-Taṣrīḥ 'alā al-Tawḍīḥ, 2/92; Jāmi' al-Durūs al-'Arabiyyah, 1/194.

⁸(The particle (idhā) appears in manuscript B.

⁹(Ibn Jinnī distinguishes between two types of grammatical causes: Compulsory causes, which necessitate a syntactic ruling with no alternative (e.g., raising the subject, predicate, agent, or genitive construction.(Permissive causes, which allow alternative constructions. For example, an indefinite noun following a definite noun that completes the meaning may function either as an appositive or as a circumstantial modifier: Marartu bi-Zayd rajul ṣāliḥ (apposition) or Marartu bi-Zayd rajulan ṣāliḥan (circumstantial modifier). See :al-Khaṣā'is, 1/165–166.

¹⁰⁰ (Construction) appears in manuscript B.

triliteral forms so that it may occur (yumkin), since the verb yubnā in the future tense would otherwise be meaningless.

His statement⁽¹¹⁾: “Except as an irregular instance, and therein”⁽¹²⁾; for foolishness (ḥamāqah) is an inner defect, like ignorance and stupidity, and thus there is no reason to deem its occurrence irregular⁽¹³⁾, merely because the effect of stupidity appears in one case and not in another. Habanqa⁽¹⁴⁾ was the nickname of Yazīd ibn Tharwān⁽¹⁵⁾. It is related that, in his folly, he made for himself a collar of bones so that he might recognise himself and not lose himself among people⁽¹⁶⁾. One morning, he found that collar on his brother and said: “O my brother, you are me, then who am I?”⁽¹⁷⁾ Among the stories⁽¹⁸⁾ told of him is that he once lost his camel and proclaimed: “Whoever finds my camel, it is his!” When asked, “Then why do you seek it?” he replied: “Where, then, is the sweetness of finding it!”⁽¹⁹⁾ Some have held that this shows his wit⁽²⁰⁾, not his foolishness.

He states⁽²¹⁾: “(the form afʿalu meaning ‘being’)⁽²²⁾ suggests that his phrase ‘for something else’ serves as an attribute of afʿal⁽²³⁾, while the expression minhumā

¹¹⁰ The phrase (His statement) is omitted in manuscript B.

¹²⁰ See: al-Muʿāfiyah, p. 400–401.

¹³⁰ The reading (irregularly) appears in B.

¹⁴⁰ (Habanqa) appears as (Hanbaqa) in manuscripts A, while B, J, and D preserve the correct form, referring to the proverb “More foolish than Habanqa.” See Jumharat al-Amthāl, 1:385; Majmaʿ al-Amthāl, 1:217; Akhbār al-Ḥumqā wa al-Mughafallīn, p. 41.

Introduction:

Habanqa (with open hāʾ, bāʾ, doubled nūn, qāf, and final hāʾ) was the nickname of Abū al-Wadaʿāt Yazīd ibn Tharwān, also known as Abū Rāfiʿ, of the Banū Qays ibn Thaʿlabah. Some say his name was Nāfiʿ ibn Tharwān. He was a pre-Islamic Arab, proverbial as the most foolish man on earth. See Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ, p. 495; Wafayāt al-Aʿyān, 4:321; Nuzhat al-Albāb fī al-Alqāb, 2:239; Sullam al-Wuṣūl ilā Ṭabaqāt al-Fuḥūl, 5:400; al-Aʿlām, 8:180.

¹⁵⁰ Appears as Tazwān in A, J, and Nazwān in B, D; the correct reading is that adopted here.

¹⁶⁰ The phrase “among people” is omitted in B.

¹⁷⁰ The phrase “then who am I?” is repeated in B.

¹⁸⁰ Appears as “Among them” in J.

¹⁹⁰ See Jumharat al-Amthāl, 1:385; al-Amthāl (Ibn Rifāʿah), 1:11; al-Mustaḥṣā fī Amthāl al-ʿArab, 1:85.

²⁰⁰ Appears as “wit” (ẓarāfiyyah) in J.

²¹⁰ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

²²⁰ See al-Muʿāfiyah, p. 401.

²³⁰ The phrase “as an attribute of afʿal” is omitted in manuscript J.

functions as the predicate of *inna*, and *af'al* is its subject. The preferable interpretation, however, is that 'for something else' (*li-ghayrihi*) acts as the predicate, *af'al* as the subject of *inna*, and *minhumā*⁽²⁴⁾ as a circumstantial qualifier (*ḥāl*) preceding⁽²⁵⁾ its governor, namely *li-ghayrihi*, because it denotes a locative sense. The phrase (*mimmā laysa*) [End of note] provides clarification of the bare triliteral form in his phrase 'other than the triliteral', with '(bare)' qualifying 'triliteral'⁽²⁶⁾. The expression *ghayruhu* is clarified by the comparative⁽²⁷⁾. The word *tuwuṣṣila* ('to express') is derived from *bayān* (explanation), serving as a distinction from an implicit essence in the ascription of the comparative adjective to its implied agent beneath it.

He states⁽²⁸⁾: "(He is more intense in extraction)⁽²⁹⁾, more reddish in colour, uglier in blindness, and better in response⁽³⁰⁾." The omitted predicate (*mubtada' maḥdhūf al-khabar*) is obligatorily deleted when the meaning is evident. In this, there is an implication of the permissibility of construing it in the passive voice, though such usage is anomalous and extremely rare.

Important od study:

He states⁽³¹⁾: "Superfluous"⁽³²⁾. It may be asked: Why did they not permit the combination of the two⁽³³⁾, just as they allowed the coexistence of two pronouns in the quasi-adjective (*ṣifah mushabbahah*), although such a construction is considered acceptable? We reply: because such a combination would necessarily lead to contradiction. For the thing compared (*al-mafḍūl 'alayh*) in the construct form (*iḍāfah*) is the noun governed by the annexation⁽³⁴⁾; in the case of the definite article *al-*, it

²⁴⁰ Appears as *minhā* in manuscripts A, B, J, and D; the correct reading follows *al-Kāfiyah fī 'Ilm al-Naḥw*, p. 42, and *al-Mu'āfiyah*, p. 401.

²⁵⁰ Reads "precedes" (*yuqaddam*) in manuscript B.

²⁶⁰ The entire phrase "clarification of the bare triliteral form in his phrase 'other than the triliteral bare form'" is omitted in manuscript J.

²⁷⁰ Reads "by elaboration" (*bi-tafsīl*) in manuscript J.

²⁸⁰ The phrase "He states" is omitted in manuscript B.

²⁹⁰ See :*al-Mu'āfiyah*, p. 401.

³⁰⁰ See :*al-Mawshaḥ* by *al-Khabīsī*, vol. 2, pp. 305–306.

³¹⁰ The phrase "He states" is omitted in manuscript B.

³²⁰ Al-Hindī remarks: "The comparative form (*ism al-tafḍīl*) is used in Arabic speech in only three ways, explicitly or implicitly, as in 'Allāh is Greatest'. It never occurs without one of these to convey the intended meaning, and two seldom appear together, for one alone suffices to express the sense, rendering the other redundant unless it departs from this norm by morphological irregularity, as in *ākharā* and *ākharā min*." See *al-Mu'āfiyah*, p. 402.

³³⁰ (Both of them) appears in manuscript J.

³⁴⁰ The word "annexed" (*al-muḍāf*) is omitted in J.

denotes a specific, familiar referent other than that governed by annexation; and in the case of min (“from”), it refers to the genitive dependent on another implied noun. Thus, if any two of these occur together⁽³⁵⁾, contradiction inevitably results. In other words, whoever says, “Zayd is the best from ‘Amr”, in effect says: “Zayd is better than a known person no, rather than ‘Amr”, which is manifestly incorrect. For this reason, they interpreted min in such a case⁽³⁶⁾ as explanatory, not comparative⁽³⁷⁾. This differs from the use of pronouns, for both pronouns refer to one and the same antecedent, so their coexistence involves no inconsistency. Consider this carefully.

He states⁽³⁸⁾: “By deviation, as in ukhar”⁽³⁹⁾, For it omits both the definite article and annexation, and is considered deviated (ma‘dūl) from the normal pattern, and also from the meaning of comparison⁽⁴⁰⁾, as has been mentioned earlier in the chapter on the diptote⁽⁴¹⁾. As for ākhara, it is used as a noun, not an adjective; al-ḥusnā according to

³⁵⁾ (Two) occurs in manuscript B.

³⁶⁾ The preposition (in) is omitted in J.

³⁷⁾ “Not for specification” (lā li-tafsīl) appears in J.

³⁸⁾ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

³⁹⁾ Al-Hindī says: “The comparative form (ism al-tafḍīl) occurs in Arabic usage only in three manners explicitly or implicitly as in ‘Allāh is Greatest’. It never appears without one of these to express the intended meaning, and two seldom occur together, since one suffices to achieve the purpose, rendering the other redundant unless it departs from this norm by way of morphological deviation (‘adl), as in ukhar and ākhara min. As for ad-dunyā and al-jullā, their freedom from any of the three usages is permissible, for they have become established as nouns, and the meaning of comparison has disappeared from them. Likewise, al-ḥusnā and as-sū‘ā are verbal nouns, not feminines of aḥsan and aswa’, and thus their separation is not objectionable.” See al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 402.

Deviation (‘adl): the shift of a noun from its original morphological pattern to another.

It is of two types:

(a) True deviation, when morphological evidence shows that the word originally had another form but changed according to analogy; and

(b) Estimated deviation, when no such evidence appears, yet the word is diptotic despite having only definiteness (‘alamiyyah), so deviation is inferred. See at-Tawqīf ‘alā Muhimmāt at-Ta‘ārīf, p. 238.

⁴⁰⁾ “Specification” in manuscript J.

⁴¹⁾ See the same manuscript, fol. 40r.

those who read⁽⁴²⁾: “And speak kindly to mankind”⁽⁴³⁾ and as-sū’ā according to the one who recited⁽⁴⁴⁾: And they requite not a good deed with evil⁽⁴⁵⁾, Nor repay harshness with gentleness, and al-jullā⁽⁴⁶⁾ is the feminine form of al-ajlā⁽⁴⁷⁾.

He states⁽⁴⁸⁾: “as an annexed noun (muḍāfan),” this replaces his phrase “in one of three forms”⁽⁴⁹⁾, The settled adverbial phrase functions as a circumstantial qualifier (ḥāl) of the pronoun in “is used” (yusta‘malu). The particle “aw” (“or”)⁽⁵⁰⁾ means “exclusive or” (māni‘at al-khulū), for the singular form of the elative (ism al-tafḍīl)⁽⁵¹⁾

⁴²⁰ There is a disagreement regarding the phrase “And speak kindly to mankind” in the Qur’ān concerning the vocalisation of ḥā’ and sīn: Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, Nāfi‘, ‘Āṣim, and Ibn ‘Āmir read ḥusnan (with ḍamma and light form), whereas Ḥamzah, al-Kisā’ī, and Ya‘qūb read ḥasanan (with fatha and stress). The argument for the former is that the intent is the verbal noun, as in “And We have enjoined upon man goodness towards his parents” [al-‘Ankabūt: 8]; the argument for the latter is that it refers to a good saying, the adjective replacing the noun. The first reading is preferable, since the adjective depends upon the noun, just as the verb depends upon the subject. See as-Sab‘ah fī l-Qirā’āt, p. 163; Ma‘ānī al-Qirā’āt by Abū Manṣūr al-Azhārī, 1:160; al-Ḥujjah fī l-Qirā’āt as-Sab‘, pp. 83–84.

⁴³⁰ [Al-Baqarah: 83].

⁴⁴⁰ The verse is by Abū al-Ghūl al-Ṭahawī, cited in Ash-Shi‘r wa-sh-Shu‘arā’, 1:419; Amālī al-Qālī, 1:260; aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ, 1:56. It is among the evidential verses in al-Mufaṣṣal, p. 300, al-Badī‘, 2:56, at-Takhmīr, 3:132, Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal by Ibn Ya‘īsh, 4:138, Khizānat al-Adab, 6:434, Sharḥ ash-Shawāhid ash-Shi‘riyyah fī Ummahāt al-Kutub an-Naḥwiyyah, 3:302, and al-Mu‘jam al-Mufaṣṣal fī Shawāhid al-‘Arabiyyah, 8:266.

⁴⁵⁰ bisu’ā appears in manuscript D.

⁴⁶⁰ (Refers to the poet’s line: “And if you invite to glory and noble honour one day the noble chiefs of men, call upon us.” As al-Zamakhsharī notes in al-Mufaṣṣal (p. 300), jullā occurs without the definite article because it became prevalent through usage and thus assimilated to proper nouns. The line is by al-Muraqqish al-Akbar ‘Amr ibn Sa‘d, found in Dīwān al-Muraqqishayn, p. 80; al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 431; Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah, p. 76, and others.

⁴⁷⁰ Ajlā in manuscript B; it is the feminine of ajal, meaning a great plan or grave circumstance. See Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt as-Sab‘ by az-Zawzanī, p. 112; Sharḥ ar-Raḍī, 3:462; an-Naḥw al-Wāḍiḥ, 2:448.

⁴⁸⁰ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

⁴⁹⁰ See al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 402.

⁵⁰⁰ In MS B it reads “al-ḥulū.” The term māni‘at al-khulū (“exclusive or”) is defined as: “A compound proposition consisting of two statements, each broader than the negation of the other.” See al-Muṭṭali‘, Sharḥ Īsāghūjī, p. 114.

⁵¹⁰ MS J reads “al-ism al-tafsīl”.

cannot be devoid⁽⁵²⁾ of one of the three usages though not when combined since, in its singular essence, all three are realized through the existence of each individually.

He states⁽⁵³⁾: “(Thus, it is not permissible to say: Zayd is the best.)⁽⁵⁴⁾ [End of note].* Except when the intent of the annexation (iḍāfah) is explanatory; in that case, it is permissible to combine annexation with the particle (min) as in: Zayd is the best of Basra among all virtuous men⁽⁵⁵⁾ because the annexation does not indicate the object of comparison (al-mufaḍḍal ‘alayh), and therefore no contradiction arises. In this usage, (min) is not (for comparison) [End of note], but rather explanatory, like in the expression: You are among them the horseman meaning from among them⁽⁵⁶⁾. The word ḥaṣān means ‘in number’; and al-‘izzah⁽⁵⁷⁾ signifies ‘dominance’, while al-kāthir⁽⁵⁸⁾ refers to one with many supporters. As for the word ākhir (“another”), when indefinite, one says⁽⁵⁹⁾: Zayd came, and another man⁽⁶⁰⁾; because it has become frequent in speech until it came to denote one of two entities, and is thus used as a noun devoid of comparative meaning. For that reason, it follows the rules of agreement like other adjectives.

⁵²⁰ MS A reads “lā yakh–,” MS D reads “lā’ih,” and we have adopted the reading of MSS B and J.

⁵³⁰ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

⁵⁴⁰ Al-Hindī comments: “It is not permissible to say Zayd al-afḍal min ‘Amr (‘Zayd is better than ‘Amr’) because it is used with two compared entities. As for the verse: Lasta bi’l-akthar minhum ḥaṣān / wa-innamā al-‘izzatu li’l-kāthir here, (min) is not comparative, or it is comparative but related to an omitted element, meaning: you are not more numerous more than them, where the omitted part is in apposition; thus, no objection applies. Nor is it said Zayd afḍal (without one of the three elements) except when the compared party is understood by context, as in Allāhu akbar (‘God is greater’), meaning greater than everything great, or when it departs from the sense of comparison, as in ākhir (‘another’).” See al-Mu‘āfiyah, pp. 402–403. And The verse is by al-A‘shā; see Dīwān al-A‘shā, vol. 2, p. 346.

⁵⁵⁰ See Sharḥ al-Raḍī ‘alā al-Kāfiyah, vol. 3, p. 454.

⁵⁶⁰ See al-Mufaṣṣal, p. 301; al-Badī‘ fī ‘Ilm al-‘Arabiyyah, vol. 1, pp. 285–286; and al-Mawshāḥ by al-Khabīsī, vol. 2, p. 312.

⁵⁷⁰ Reads “al-‘izz” in all manuscripts; the correct form al-‘izzah follows Dīwān al-A‘shā, vol. 2, p. 346, and al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 403 (treatise).

⁵⁸⁰ Appears as al-kāthir in manuscript D.

⁵⁹⁰ Reads “we say” (naqūl) in manuscript D.

⁶⁰⁰ See Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs, vol. 40, p. 457; and ‘Arūs al-Afrāḥ fī Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ, vol. 1, p. 399.

He states⁽⁶¹⁾: “with the meaning” in his phrase “thus it has⁽⁶²⁾ two meanings.” The word “ināyah”⁽⁶³⁾ refers to its being a verbal noun in the form of a mīm noun (maṣdar mīmī). The phrase “fa-ḥamlu al-qaṣd” (“carrying the intent”) conveys the same meaning as “an taqṣida” (“that you intend”). End quote. And⁽⁶⁴⁾ “if the meaning is intended” that is, the intended sense (bi-an yuqṣad) then the preposition governing the implied predicate⁽⁶⁵⁾ has been omitted. Or the meaning may be⁽⁶⁶⁾ that a deleted⁽⁶⁷⁾ genitive noun is to be supplied, so that “carrying the intent” is construed as the predicate of the omitted subject. Alternatively, “one possessing intent” may be meant, with a deleted genitive⁽⁶⁸⁾ in the predicate. The word “al-khuyūl” refers to the riders of horses, while “al-ghuyūl” is the plural of ghūl, a class of jinn. The phrase “fa-lā yarid” (“this objection does not apply”) is directed as a refutation of al-Raḍī⁽⁶⁹⁾.

The expression “Zaydun ba‘ḍun min al-nās” (“Zayd is part of mankind”) refers to an individual, but not as one included among them in this syntactic construction. Otherwise, it would entail that Zayd is better than himself, since he would simultaneously be the preferred entity (through the elative afḍal applied to him) and the

⁶¹⁾ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

⁶²⁾ The words “thus it has” (fa-lahu) are omitted in MS B.

⁶³⁾ See al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 403.

⁶⁴⁾ MS J reads “fa-in”.

⁶⁵⁾ MS D reads “al-mantiq”.

⁶⁶⁾ MSS B and J read “yuḥdhaf,” while MS D has “bi-ḥadhaf”.

⁶⁷⁾ MS D reads “yahj”.

⁶⁸⁾ MS B reads “al-jarr”.

⁶⁹⁾ Al-Raḍī says: “When the elative (ism al-tafḍīl) is annexed, it bears two meanings. The more common of the two is that it indicates superiority over that to which it is annexed. This predominates because the form af‘al was devised to express comparison, and hence it is natural to mention the inferior entity. However, his phrase ‘over that to which it is annexed’ is unsatisfactory, for the comparison concerns one among those included within the annexation not all of them. How could it be over all when the compared item is among them, which would imply preferring a thing over itself? The author’s attempt to resolve this by saying that Zayd in ‘Zayd is the best of men’ is not mentioned among the men for the purpose of comparing him to them, but only to associate him with them in the possession of merit, is unconvincing; for such association requires no intermediary the form af‘al itself suffices, since, as the author later says, the form af‘al denotes two aspects: the existence of the base quality and its intensification, and intensification presupposes the base”. See Sharḥ al-Raḍī, 3: 456–457.

entity compared against by virtue of⁽⁷⁰⁾ the annexation⁽⁷¹⁾ of *afḍal* to “*al-nās*” (“the people”), of which he is one. So understand this carefully.

He states⁽⁷²⁾: In “the second: that it is intended⁽⁷³⁾”⁽⁷⁴⁾ it is necessary to interpret “the intent” as “the intended”, and its invalidity is evident. “It is added for clarification”, and the construct in the second instance becomes definite by agreement⁽⁷⁵⁾, and likewise the first according to some⁽⁷⁶⁾. “*Al-Nāqīṣ*⁽⁷⁷⁾ and *al-Ashajj*⁽⁷⁸⁾” are the names of two caliphs⁽⁷⁹⁾ from the *Banū Marwān*. The first is to be understood according to the first meaning, which is his statement “in this meaning”, for it indicates that what is meant by the first is the first meaning of the genitive construction, not the comparative adjective⁽⁸⁰⁾. The intended referent of what is conjoined in his statement⁽⁸¹⁾ “as for the second” is the comparative adjective⁽⁸²⁾ alone. Reflect on this.

⁷⁰⁾ The phrase “*alayhi bi-i‘tibār*” (“insofar as”) is omitted in MS B.

⁷¹⁾ MS B reads “*bi-iḍāfah*”.

⁷²⁾ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

⁷³⁾ The phrase “in the second: that it is intended” is omitted from B.

⁷⁴⁾ See: *al-Mu‘āfiyah*, p. 404–405.

⁷⁵⁾ In B: “by agreement”.

⁷⁶⁾ In B: “some.” See: *al-Mufaṣṣal*, p. 120; *al-Takhmīr*, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 2/28; *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 2/159; *Amālī Ibn al-Ḥājib*, 1/315; *al-Kunāsh fī Fanay al-Naḥw wa-l-Ṣarf*, 1/344–345.

⁷⁷⁾ In B and J: “*al-Nāqīd*.”

⁷⁸⁾ In A: “*al-Ashja‘*.” We adopt the readings of B, J, and D. *Al-Nāqīṣ*: *Abū Khālīd Yazīd ibn al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Umayya*, nicknamed *al-Nāqīṣ* (“the Diminisher”) because he reduced people’s stipends. It is said that *Marwān ibn Muḥammad* was the first to give him that epithet. He was pledged allegiance to on the day *al-Walīd ibn Yazīd* was killed. He was known for justice, piety, and righteousness, but died in *al-Khadrā’* (Damascus) from the plague. Hence the saying: “*al-Ashajj* and *al-Nāqīṣ* were the most just of the *Banū Marwān*.” *Al-Ashajj* refers to *‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam al-Umawī*, who had a scar on his forehead. He died on Friday, five days before the end of *Rajab*, in the year 101 AH. As for *al-Nāqīṣ*, it is the aforementioned *Yazīd*, though he held *Qadarite* views. See: *al-Asāmī wa-l-Kunā*, 3/123; *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 5/144; *al-Bidāyah wa-l-Nihāyah*, 10/6, 224; *Qalādat al-Naḥr fī Wafayāt A‘yān al-Dahr*, 2/83.

⁷⁹⁾ In D: “of two caliphs”.

⁸⁰⁾ In A and J: “the comparative.” We adopt the reading of B and D.

⁸¹⁾ *Ibn al-Ḥājib* said: “As for the second the one defined by the definite article it must correspond in gender and number, and the one qualified by (min) must be singular masculine only”. (*al-Kāfiyah*, 43).

⁸²⁾ The phrase “and the intended referent of what is conjoined... is the comparative adjective” is omitted from B.

He states⁽⁸³⁾: On the phrase⁽⁸⁴⁾ “And as for the second”⁽⁸⁵⁾ “and he coordinated (‘aṭafa)”, that is, the author may God have mercy on him coordinated the conditional clause, which is his statement “And as for the second”⁽⁸⁶⁾. This coordination is permissible; therefore, the clause must be expressed in the accusative, as in *lā buddan* (necessarily) with *tanwīn*⁽⁸⁷⁾. The phrase “its fusion with *min*” means its transformation into a single compound unit with *min*. End quote⁽⁸⁸⁾. In such a case, *min* becomes as if it were part of the same word. Consequently, dualization, pluralization, or feminization cannot be applied before *min* appears; otherwise, it would require attaching the morphological marker before the meaning of the noun is fully realized. Nor may the marker be attached after *min*, for it is impermissible to separate a noun from its morphological marker by any intervening element.

He states⁽⁸⁹⁾: On the phrase “in (the preferred one) in consideration of”⁽⁹⁰⁾⁽⁹¹⁾ the first occurrence of *ḥaythu* (“where”) serves as an explanation for the statement that “the collyrium (*kuḥl*) is preferred in consideration of the man’s eye.” For, if it were not preferred, it would not make sense to negate its being preferred. The second *ḥaythu* explains the meaning of “the collyrium being preferred over him”; for, if it were not preferred over him, there would be no meaning to negating its being “preferred over itself in consideration of” Zayd’s eye. The term “negated” indicates that it is

⁸³⁾ The phrase “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

⁸⁴⁾ The preposition “in” is omitted in manuscript J.

⁸⁵⁾ Al-Hindī states: “As for the second type of the comparative adjective (*ism al-tafdīl*) when it is annexed (*muḍāf*) and intended to indicate an absolute increase, the author coordinated the conditional clause with the verbal clause ... due to the necessity of allowing its operation in that case”. *al-Mu‘āfiyah*, p. 405–406.

⁸⁶⁾ *al-Kāfiyah fī ‘Ilm al-Naḥw*, p. 43.

⁸⁷⁾ Manuscript J reads (*manawīyan*) instead of (*manūnan*).

⁸⁸⁾ The phrase “End quote” is omitted in B.

⁸⁹⁾ The word “He states” is omitted in B.

⁹⁰⁾ The phrase “his statement in ‘preferred in consideration of’” is omitted in B.

⁹¹⁾ Al-Hindī says: “Except when it is a description of something which, in meaning, is a description of an effect (*musabbab*) that is, a ‘preferred’ description of an effect considered in relation to the first subject, which is the one explicitly mentioned (such as ‘a man’ in the example). There, the negation concerns the collyrium’s being preferred in consideration of its own eye meaning, it is preferred over itself in relation to another. The prepositional phrase attaches to ‘preferred over him,’ that is, in consideration of the second subject (such as ‘Zayd’s eye’ in the example), where the statement denies that the collyrium is preferred over him in his eye. The word *manfiyyan* (‘negated’) qualifies an omitted verbal noun, i.e., *tafdīlan manfiyyan* (‘a negated preferring’), or it functions as a circumstantial qualifier (*ḥāl*), describing the comparative adjective as being negated.” *al-Mu‘āfiyah*, p. 406.

preferred⁽⁹²⁾ in consideration of its existence in the eye of a man. The negation of its being preferred⁽⁹³⁾ results in it becoming preferred [over itself preferred]⁽⁹⁴⁾ in consideration of its existence in Zayd's eye, and the negation of its being preferred over him thus renders it preferred.

He states: On the phrase "in Zayd's eye"⁽⁹⁵⁾ "in consideration of preference over something"⁽⁹⁶⁾⁽⁹⁷⁾; that is, in consideration of the original verb from which the meaning of the comparative (ism al-tafḍīl) is derived⁽⁹⁸⁾. "Two circumstances are connected with it" means: were it not for the presence of two events, it would entail that a single thing has two circumstances at once an impossibility. Likewise, were it not for the two considerations, it would imply that a thing is preferred over itself in a single state also impossible⁽⁹⁹⁾. "Each for an event"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ means: each circumstance corresponds to one action, as explained earlier. "And it revolves with it" means that the meaning of ḥasuna ("to be good/beautiful") accompanies this syntactic structure; that is, whenever this construction exists, the verbal sense exists without any additional implication, and whenever the stated conditions are absent, the verbal sense is likewise absent. "In consideration of" is connected to his operation (‘amalihi)⁽¹⁰¹⁾; "for otherwise it would be impossible", meaning: it would lead to the absurdity of a thing being preferred over itself. "When the original use" namely, that it not involve self-preference⁽¹⁰²⁾ is negated, and instead it is used contrary to the original rule⁽¹⁰³⁾ by considering a thing as preferred over itself, even through an incidental factor, namely the negation that occurs in the context of affirmation then, "because the counterargument is weak," i.e., because it departs from the true verbal sense, its weakness stems from its deviation from the linguistic origin, which would otherwise treat it as self-preferential. Therefore, "the meaning of comparison is still taken into account"⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.

⁹²⁰ The phrase "in consideration of Zayd's eye, negated, for it is preferred" is omitted in D.

⁹³⁰ Manuscript J reads "and the negation of his preference" instead.

⁹⁴⁰ The bracketed words are an addition found in B.

⁹⁵⁰ The phrase "in Zayd's eye" is omitted in manuscript B.

⁹⁶⁰ "Preference" appears as "detailed explanation (tafsīl)" in manuscript J.

⁹⁷⁰ See: al-Mu‘āfiyah, p.406–407.

⁹⁸⁰ "Preference" appears as "detailed explanation (tafsīl)" in manuscript J.

⁹⁹⁰ Appears in abbreviated form as (maḥ) in A, (faḥ) in J.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Appears as "each occurs" in al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 406 .

¹⁰¹⁰ "By his knowledge (bi-‘ilmihī)" appears in A, B; "by knowledge (bi-‘ilm)" in J. The version adopted here is from D.

¹⁰²⁰ The word "preference" is omitted in B.

¹⁰³⁰ "Without (bilā)" in J.

¹⁰⁴⁰ "Explanation (tafsīl)" appears in B.

He states⁽¹⁰⁵⁾: On the phrase “Although they (ma‘annahum)”⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ End quote. The phrase “and it was impossible” responds to an implied question⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, the sense of which is: “Why did you (the grammarians) assert this?”⁽¹⁰⁸⁾⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. “Since there is no verbal agent (rāfi‘ lafzī)” one might then ask⁽¹¹⁰⁾: why, then, may aḥsanu (“more beautiful”) not function as the subject (mubtada‘)? The answer: “because it was impossible”⁽¹¹¹⁾. The clause is circumstantial (ḥāl) related to the subject of yumkin (“it is possible”)⁽¹¹²⁾, assuming aḥsan is taken as the subject⁽¹¹³⁾ and al-kuḥl (“the collyrium”) as the predicate. However, this interpretation is “even more problematic than its being operative”, for aḥsan functions as a weak operative element (‘āmil ḍa‘īf). Thus, its being an operative while its operative force is weak considering it as a comparative adjective renders the case weaker still. “And this interpretation”, namely its being operative while weak⁽¹¹⁴⁾, is more general, since such weakness occurs both when the comparative meaning exists⁽¹¹⁵⁾ in the implicit subject⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and object through a preposition, and⁽¹¹⁷⁾ also when it does not exist in them, or in the explicit subject, under the stated conditions. [Reflect on this]⁽¹¹⁸⁾.

He states⁽¹¹⁹⁾: “Let it be brought forward”⁽¹²⁰⁾ that is, the word “minhu” (“from it”) so that⁽¹²¹⁾ strong separation, which is impermissible, does not occur. It is not

¹⁰⁵⁰ The word “He states” is omitted in B.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Al-Hindī states: “Although they did not allow the comparative (ism al-tafḍīl) to act ... the prohibition in this case is even stronger.” al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 407–408.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The word “implied” is omitted in B.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Appears as “its formulation” in A, J; the version adopted from B and D.

¹⁰⁹⁰ “Why (lima)” appears in B.

¹¹⁰⁰ “So why (falima)” appears in B.

¹¹¹⁰ Neither Ibn al-Ḥājjib (the author) nor al-Hindī (the commentator) mention “and it was impossible” in al-Mu‘āfiyah.

¹¹²⁰ Appears as (‘al) in J.

¹¹³⁰ Cf. Sībawayh’s analysis of the phrase man abūk? (“who is your father?”), where man is treated as the subject despite the predicate being definite (your father). See Sharḥ al-Raḍī ‘alā al-Kāfiyah, 1:256–257.

¹¹⁴⁰ “Weaker (aḍ‘af)” in J; “with weakness” omitted in B, D.

¹¹⁵⁰ “The comparison” (al-tafḍīlan) in J.

¹¹⁶⁰ “The implicit subject” (al-fā‘il al-ḍammīr) in J.

¹¹⁷⁰ The conjunction “and (wa)” is omitted in J.

¹¹⁸⁰ The phrase in brackets is added in B and D.

¹¹⁹⁰ The word “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹²⁰⁰ Appears in al-Mu‘āfiyah as “Let it be brought forward (fal-yuqaddam)”. Al-Hindī says: “If it be said: let minhu be brought forward, the reply is: it cannot be brought forward ... other than Zayd.” (al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 408.

¹²¹⁰ The particle “lā” (“not”) is omitted in manuscript B.

possible to bring *minhu* forward because of the necessary attachment. End quote⁽¹²²⁾. Placing the preferred term immediately after its object that is, the *kohl*, in view of its being in the eye of *Zayd* amounts to adding⁽¹²³⁾ the verbal noun to both its object and its subject, as indicated by the expression “what it is.” End quote. As for placing the preferred term itself that is, the *kohl* in view of its being in the eye of a man even if postponed, advancing it afterward is of no benefit once it has already appeared in a delayed position. Hence, the statement “let it be brought forward” does not apply in this case. And this position that is, the idea of separation is⁽¹²⁴⁾ necessarily invalid, for it entails preferring something over itself in one and the same condition, namely its being in the eye of a man. Understand this point carefully.

He states: “If it be said”⁽¹²⁵⁾. End quote. The context of this question pertains to the condition of negation indicated in his words⁽¹²⁶⁾: “negated.”

He states⁽¹²⁷⁾: “Thus it would be possible”⁽¹²⁸⁾ that is, this separation between the comparative adjective and its complement by means of an unrelated word occurs in affirmative speech. Therefore, there is no benefit in restricting the condition to negation by omitting the genitive construction, which is expressed by his phrase “from the *kohl* of the eye of *Zayd*”⁽¹²⁹⁾, since it is dependent upon the omitted genitive.

¹²²⁰ The term “end quote” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹²³⁰ Appears as “its addition” in manuscripts A, J, and D; the present reading follows manuscript B.

¹²⁴⁰ Reads “by preferring” in manuscript B.

¹²⁵⁰ See *al-Mu‘āfiyah*, p. 408.

¹²⁶⁰ Refers to Ibn al-Ḥāḥib’s statement: “And [the comparative noun] does not govern an expressed noun unless it is an adjective of something which, in meaning, qualifies an effect preferred over its cause, while the preference of the first over itself, in respect of another, is negated; as in ‘I have not seen a man in whose eye the *kohl* is better than in the eye of *Zayd*.’” (*al-Kāfiyah fī ‘Ilm al-Naḥw*, p. 43).

¹²⁷⁰ The word “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹²⁸⁰ Al-Hindī says: “If it be said: such a case could occur in the affirmative, as in I saw a man in whose eye the *kohl* is better than in the eye of *Zayd* ... meaning, not the preference of the *kohl* over the eye.” (*al-Mu‘āfiyah*, p. 408–409).

¹²⁹⁰ Appears as “*kull*” (“every”) in manuscript J.

He states⁽¹³⁰⁾: “From his saying, peace be upon him”⁽¹³¹⁾: “None is more possessive of honor (‘aghyar’⁽¹³²⁾) than Allah Most High; therefore⁽¹³³⁾, He has forbidden indecencies that is, sins⁽¹³⁴⁾ both the outward and the inward ones. And none loves praise more than Allah Most High; therefore, He has praised Himself.” That is: “from the praise of Allah Most High”; for what is meant here is the preference of one instance of praise over another, not the preference of praise over Allah Himself⁽¹³⁵⁾. In other words, everyone loves the praise of Allah Most High more than the praise of anyone else.

He states⁽¹³⁶⁾: “In (you have placed) the mention of the eye”⁽¹³⁷⁾ that is, by this concise expression in place of the two preceding phrases “it follows”, meaning: if the

¹³⁰⁰ The word “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹³¹⁰ Al-Hindī says: “Its counterpart is found in the ḥadīth of Ibn Mas‘ūd (may Allah be pleased with him), and the wording, as recorded in al-Ṣaḥīḥayn and cited in Mashāriq al-Anwār, is from his saying (peace and blessings be upon him): ‘And none loves praise more than Allah.’” (al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 409).

In Mashāriq al-Anwār ‘alā Ṣiḥāḥ al-Āthār, it appears as: “And none loves praise more than Allah, and none is more patient with harm than Allah, and none is more possessive of honor (‘aghyar’) than Allah” (vol. 1, p. 381).

The ḥadīth appears, as cited in the main text, transmitted by Ibn Mas‘ūd from the Prophet Muḥammad (peace and blessings be upon him): “There is none more possessive of honor than Allah; for that reason He has forbidden indecencies, both apparent and hidden. And none loves praise more than Allah; for that reason He has praised Himself”. Sources: Musnad Aḥmad, ḥadīth no. 4153, vol. 7, p. 218, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-Tafsīr, “Chapter: Do not approach indecencies, outward or inward,” ḥadīth no. 4358, vol. 4, p. 1696, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-Tawbah, “Chapter: Allah’s possessiveness and His prohibition of indecencies,” ḥadīth no. 2760, vol. 4, p. 2114.

¹³²⁰ Appears as “ghayr” in manuscript J.

¹³³⁰ Appears as “and likewise” (wa-ka-dhālika) in manuscript B.

¹³⁴⁰ The gloss “that is, sins” belongs to the commentator and is not part of the ḥadīth text itself.

¹³⁵⁰ The words “Most High” are omitted in manuscript B.

¹³⁶⁰ The word “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹³⁷⁰ Al-Hindī says: “If, in presenting this issue, you first mention the eye, you would say with this expression: I have not seen, like the eye of Zayd, an eye in which kohl appears more beautiful than in another. Thus, separation arises in this third expression by implication, namely: I have not seen, like the eye of Zayd, an eye in which kohl is more beautiful than in another; or, I have not seen an eye like the eye of Zayd in which kohl is more beautiful than in another, On the first interpretation, the first object of ra’aytu (‘I saw’) is ‘more beautiful’, and ‘like the eye of Zayd’ is the second object placed before it; on the second interpretation, it is the reverse, This holds when ra’aytu

comparative noun (ism al-tafḍīl)⁽¹³⁸⁾ does not govern, then it follows⁽¹³⁹⁾ that a separation occurs between the comparative and its complement, namely “minhu”, in this expression by implication⁽¹⁴⁰⁾; for⁽¹⁴¹⁾ it is not mentioned⁽¹⁴²⁾ explicitly. On the first interpretation [end quote]⁽¹⁴³⁾ that is⁽¹⁴⁴⁾, on the assumption of the elliptical expression “I have not seen an eye like the eye of Zayd” end quote⁽¹⁴⁵⁾, In this case, the first object⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ is the predicate of kāna, while its subject is “his statement.” End quote, And his statement “like the eye” is the second object placed before the first object. On the second interpretation, the reverse applies that is, the second object is delayed instead of advanced.

He states⁽¹⁴⁷⁾: “Mithlu”⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ (like) that is, analogous to the earlier instance of bringing forward the mention (of something). End quote. Like He states: “As the

is a verb of the heart; but if it means ‘I perceived’ which is the apparent sense then ‘more beautiful therein is the kohl’ functions as a substitute (badal) for ‘like the eye of Zayd’, or as a circumstantial clause (ḥāl), meaning: I have not seen an eye like the eye of Zayd, in the state that the kohl therein is more beautiful than in another”. (al-Mu‘āfiyah, p. 409).

¹³⁸⁰ Appears as “tafsīl” (“specification”) in manuscript J.

¹³⁹⁰ The word “it follows” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Appears as “by implication (taqdīran)” in manuscripts A and J; the present reading follows B and D.

¹⁴¹⁰ Appears as “not that it is” in manuscript J.

¹⁴²⁰ Appears as “explicitly mentioned” (bi-mudhakkar) in manuscript B.

¹⁴³⁰ The bracketed phrase is an addition from manuscript J.

¹⁴⁴⁰ The word “that is” is omitted in manuscript J.

¹⁴⁵⁰ The phrase “end quote” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹⁴⁶⁰ The word “kāna” is not repeated in manuscripts B and D.

¹⁴⁷⁰ The word “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Al-Hindī says: “Like the poet’s saying: I passed by the Valley of the Lions, and I do not see... The wāw is parenthetical, like His saying: ‘And Allah took Abraham as a close friend’ [Surah An-Nisa:125]. And arā (I see) is a verb of perception, or it may mean I perceive. Kuwādī al-sibā‘ (the Valley of the Lions) is a proper name; its second object precedes, or it is an advance circumstantial clause derived from wādiyān, or the object of lā arā meaning ‘I do not perceive,’ and wādiyān is an explicative apposition or substitute or a preparatory circumstantial clause, or a specification (tamyīz). I mentioned the explicit noun despite the preceding mention because the preposition kāf does not govern a pronoun, and for the sake of rhetorical magnification and instilling awe when mentioning...” (al-Mu‘āfiyah, 409–410). The verse is by Suḥaym ibn Wathīl; see Shawāhid al-Kitāb, 2:32; al-Uṣūl fī al-Naḥw, 2:30; al-Kāfiyah, 43; Sharḥ Ibn ‘Aqīl, 3:188, Sharḥ al-Shawāhid al-Shi‘riyyah, 3:333, al-Mu‘jam al-Mufaṣṣal fī Shawāhid al-‘Arabiyyah, 8:327.

poet said.” End quote. And like⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ His saying, the Exalted: “And Allah took Abraham as a close friend.”⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ End quote. For this clause is inserted parenthetically between the coordinated verb in “and I do not see” and that which is coordinated with it, since⁽¹⁵¹⁾ what precedes⁽¹⁵²⁾ it namely, “and followed” refers to the Beloved of Allah (may peace and blessings be upon him):> “He followed the religion of Abraham, inclining toward truth. And Allah took Abraham as a close friend”⁽¹⁵³⁾, And what follows is His saying: “To Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth”⁽¹⁵⁴⁾, Or it is a preparatory circumstantial clause (ḥāl muwaṭṭi’ah)⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ in “like the valley”⁽¹⁵⁶⁾; and its detailed explanation is mentioned in the discussion of the ḥāl⁽¹⁵⁷⁾. Reflect well, and you will understand; for the particle kāf (as in “like”) is a preposition that does not govern a pronoun, and it is mentioned explicitly to emphasize the rhetorical effect of awe⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ upon the addressee.

He states⁽¹⁵⁹⁾: “A group of riders (rakbun)⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ among them in another (valley)”⁽¹⁶¹⁾ that is, some of the caravan were in a place other than Wādī al-Sibā⁽¹⁶²⁾

¹⁴⁹ The word mithlu is omitted in B.

¹⁵⁰ Surah An-Nisa:125.

¹⁵¹ In manuscript J: aw.

¹⁵² In A: mā qīlah, in B, J, D: mā qablahu.

¹⁵³ Surah An-Nisa:125.

¹⁵⁴ Surah An-Nisa:126.

¹⁵⁵ In A, B, D: mutawāṭi’ah; in J: mutawaṭṭi’ah; the correct form is as established, matching al-Mu’āfiyah (p.410). The preparatory circumstantial clause is defined as “a static noun qualified by a derivative adjective, being the true circumstantial clause”; see Sharḥ Kitāb al-Ḥudūd fī al-Naḥw (p.235).

¹⁵⁶ The phrase fī kuwādī is omitted in B.

¹⁵⁷ See: the same manuscript [W/100].

¹⁵⁸ In J: al-takhfīf (lightening).

¹⁵⁹ The word “He states” is omitted in manuscript B.

¹⁶⁰ In J: rākiban.

¹⁶¹ Al-Hindī says: “Aqal... bihi rakbun minhum bighayrihi what then do you think of those on foot! Thus, rakb is the agent of aqall, with the elative operating upon it due to the presence of its conditions. Rakb means a group of riders; it is not a plural. ... and akhwaf (more fearful) ... illā mā waqā Allāh (except what God has protected) is an emptied exception (istithnā’ mufarragh), and mā is temporal and masdariyyah, meaning ‘less so is a caravan,’ and ‘more fearful at all times except the time of God’s protection,’ or it may be an exception from rakb, and mā means ‘who’; or it may be a disconnected exception meaning ‘But the protection of God is established,’ or ‘May God protect him.’ Sāriyan is an active participle of surā (night journey), modifying rakb, or the object of waqā, or an adjective of wādiyan.” (al-Mu’āfiyah, p. 410).

¹⁶² In J: minhum.

; thus, the small number⁽¹⁶³⁾ in Wādī al-Sibā‘ is greater than the small number⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ outside of it. “al-rijāl”⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ (men) with the rā’ vocalized by kasrah is the plural of rājil, meaning one who walks on foot as opposed to a rider. “al-rakb” denotes a company of camel-riders on a journey⁽¹⁶⁶⁾. The word “mā”⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ was used instead of “man” in its place⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ (in the expression) “dhahāban” (i.e., out of consideration for)⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ its being an adjective. From this perspective, rakb was treated as a non-rational collective noun, and thus expressed by mā, which is predominantly used for non-rationals. Or it may be a disconnected exception, meaning: “But the protection of Allah, Exalted be He, is established.” Or: “May Allah protect him” in the sense of a supplication and⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ in one version: “Or whomever Allah’s protection has preserved”, “From the night journey (al-surā)” means traveling by night.

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¹⁶³⁰ Wādī al-Sibā‘ (Valley of the Lions): a place where al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām (may Allah be pleased with him) was killed, between Basra and Mecca, about five miles from Basra; see :Mu‘jam Mā Ista‘jam, 3:716; Mu‘jam al-Buldān, 5:343.

¹⁶⁴⁰ In J: al-‘illah.

¹⁶⁵⁰ In J: al-‘illah.

¹⁶⁶⁰ In J: bi-l-ḥāl.

¹⁶⁷⁰ In J: al-shi‘r. See Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ, root r-k-b, p.127.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Addition between brackets from B.

¹⁶⁹⁰ In D: fahādhā.

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