

The *Kitāb Sibawayh* of 'Abū al-Ḥasan 'Aḥmad b. Naṣr:

A non-Sirāfian recension of the *Kitāb*

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Abstract

The Milan-Kazan codex of SĪBĀWAYH's (d. ca 180/796) *Kitāb* is a 5th/11th century North-African parchment today split between three collections: 1) Milan, Ambrosiana, X 56 *sup.* (115 folios), 2) Kazan, National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan 10/5/822 (48 folios), and 3) London, Bernard Quaritch Ltd catalogue 2018/3, item number 11 (6 folios). When put together, these three manuscripts contain only one fourth of the whole text of the *Kitāb*. This codex sheds a new light on the gradual stabilisation of SĪBĀWAYH's text. Its recension is linked to a certain 'ABŪ AL-ḤASAN 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR, mentioned on the first folio of the Milan fragments.

Focusing on one specific issue, namely the possibility to form the diminutive of the names of the days of the week, this paper compares SĪBĀWAYH's teaching according to the text as accepted by scholars to date (as in DERENBOURG 1881–1889), along with the early commentaries and the recension of the Milan-Kazan codex according to its four successive hands.

At this point, it is impossible to say that this recension is pre-Mubarradian, that is to say one that escaped the “authoritarian stranglehold” on the text by AL-MUBARRAD (HUMBERT 1995:92). However, the Milan-Kazan codex surely contains a non-Sirāfian recension of SĪBĀWAYH's *Kitāb*, that is a recension which, unlike the “received” text of the *Kitāb*, was not influenced by AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary.

Keywords

SĪBĀWAYH's (d. ca 180/796) *Kitāb* — diminutives — manuscript tradition — AL-SĪRĀFĪ (d. 368/979) — Ambrosiana, X 56 *Sup.*

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1. Introduction

During her PhD research (defended in 1992, Paris-VIII University, published in 1995), Geneviève HUMBERT discovered a very special manuscript of SĪBĀWAYH's *Kitāb*, Ambrosiana, X 56 *sup.*, written on parchment, originating from North Africa, and probably dating as early as the first half of the 5th/11th century (HUMBERT 1995: 199). It consists of 115 folios, and covers less than a quarter of the whole text of the *Kitāb*. She later identified 48 more folios of the same codex in the Kazan National Archives, Tatarstan, under the call number 10/5/822 (DRUEL 2018: 16–17), and Umberto BONGIANINO identified six more folios of this same codex on sale in London at Bernard Quaritch Ltd in their 2018/3 catalogue, item number 11 (DRUEL 2018: 17). We will henceforth call this codex the Milan-Kazan codex of SĪBĀWAYH's *Kitāb*.

The text of the *Kitāb* has reached us in two different recensions, oriental and western. HUMBERT (1995: 189) calls this twofold version of the *Kitāb* the “Vulgate”. It has been edited by DERENBOURG (1881–1889), with the oriental recension as *matn* (manuscript A, see the reference in the bibliography) and the western recension collated in the footnotes (manuscripts B and L). The major later editions of the *Kitāb* (Būlāq and Hārūn) are based on this edition by DERENBOURG (see DRUEL 2018: 23–24). All the known manuscripts of the *Kitāb* (about 76 manuscripts)¹ contain this “Vulgate”, either in the oriental or the western recension, except the Milan-Kazan codex, that has an original version of the *Kitāb*.

The text in the Milan-Kazan codex displays four successive hands (henceforth MK1, MK2, MK3 and MK4). As concluded by former research (HUMBERT 1995: 176; DRUEL 2019), MK2, then MK3 and MK4, tend to align the text of MK1 towards the “Vulgate” version in its western recension. MK1 is dated to the first half of the 5th/11th century (HUMBERT 1995: 172, 199, 201). MK2 belongs to someone very close to MK1, from the same scholarly milieu, and who corrects the text right after the book is bound (BONGIANINO, personal communication, December 19, 2018). Although one cannot rule out that MK1 and MK2 belong to the same

¹ There remain identification problems for some of the manuscripts, like V17 (HUMBERT 1995: 197), or Mosul, 6184 al-Şāʿiġ 14/11, mentioned by AL-BAKKĀʾ in the introduction to his edition of the *Kitāb* (I, 30). HUMBERT mentions Şāʿiġ 252 (= V13; HUMBERT 1995: 196) which she believes to be the same manuscript as 6184 al-Şāʿiġ 14/11 (personal communication, June 8, 2017). Moreover, the Milan-Kazan codex is split over three manuscripts, and two other codices contain fragments of different manuscripts of the *Kitāb*. Dār al-Kutub, *naḥw mīm* 139; Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1963 (HUMBERT 1995: 203–209, 248–252, 273–275). The number of manuscripts of the *Kitāb* thus depends on the way they are counted.

person, MK2 makes many corrections in the text copied by MK1, which deeply modify the text. These two hands are clearly identifiable, except for the vowels. In some obvious cases, MK2 put passages between brackets to suppress them from the text. In these cases, MK2 did not make the effort to add the vowels, indicating that the vowels present come from the hand of MK1. MK3 is dated to the end of Raġab 514/end of October 1120 and 517/1123–1124 (BONGIANINO 2015: 9). MK4 is dated to 714/1314–1315 (BONGIANINO 2015: 9). MK1 and MK2 use a dark brown ink and write in an Old Western-Nashī style, also called semi-Maġribī (BONGIANINO 2015: 23). MK3 uses a yellowish-brown ink and writes in a rounded Maġribī style (BONGIANINO 2015: 9). As for MK4, he uses a dark black ink and writes in a rough Oriental style (BONGIANINO 2015: 9).

The first page of the Milan fragments (M1^r) bears the following title: *al-Ġuz' al-tāsi' min Kitāb Sibawayh li-'Abī al-Ḥasan 'Aḥmad b. Naṣr* (“The ninth part of the *Kitāb Sibawayh* of 'Abū al-Ḥasan 'Aḥmad b. Naṣr”). According to DÉROCHE, this codex may have originated in Kairouan (HUMBERT 1995: 172). This 'ABŪ AL-ḤASAN is barely known to the grammatical tradition (HUMBERT 1995: 189). According to AL-SUYŪṬĪ (*Buġya* I, 394), 'ABŪ AL-ḤASAN 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR is also known as AL-MUQAWWIM. Quoting YĀQŪṬ AL-ḤAMAWĪ (d. 626/1229), AL-SUYŪṬĪ adds that his teachings were transmitted by one of ṬA'LAB's (d. 291/904) disciples, namely 'ABŪ 'UMAR AL-ZĀHID. He is MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-WĀḤID 'ABŪ 'UMAR AL-ZĀHID AL-MUṬARRIZ (d. 345/957) also called ĠULĀM ṬA'LAB (“Ṭa'lab's [young] disciple”; *Buġya* I, 164–166, SEZGIN 1967–2010: VIII, 154). According to AL-ṢAFADĪ (*Wāfi* VIII, 214), 'ABŪ 'UMAR AL-ZĀHID attended a *maġlis* of 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR and included his teaching in his *Yāqūta fī ġarīb al-luġa*. I did not find any mention of 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR in the *Yāqūta*, unless the work known as *Yāqūtat al-ṣirāṭ fī ġarīb al-Qur'ān* is not the work intended by AL-ṢAFADĪ.

The only mention of an 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR by YĀQŪṬ's *Muġam al-'udabā'* (I, 268) is not linked to ĠULĀM ṬA'LAB, but to an Andalusī scholar named 'AḤMAD B. SA'ĪD (d. 350/961), who studied with (*sami'a min*) a certain 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR in al-Qayrawān. However, the only 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR mentioned in the biographical dictionaries of al-Andalus and North Africa, and who also could be a potential candidate, is a mathematician (*'ilm al-'adad*) and author of a land-survey book (*al-misāḥa*; see SEZGIN 1967–2010: V, 391). This leads me to conclude that the 'AḤMAD B. NAṢR mentioned on the Milan folio M1^r is not an Andalusian

or North African scholar, but most probably AL-MUQAWWIM, whose *mağlis* ĠULĀM TA‘LAB attended (in Baghdad?), and whose linguistic teaching was anonymously transmitted in his *Yāqūta*.

HUMBERT’s conclusion (1993: 138) is that the recension of the *Kitāb* in the Milan-Kazan codex may have a link with TA‘LAB, AL-MUBARRAD’s main rival in Kufa. Rather, it seems to me that it is the other way around: ĠULĀM TA‘LAB is not said to have transmitted anything to ‘AḤMAD B. NAṢR, like a recension of the *Kitāb*, but rather, he was the one who transmitted some of ‘AḤMAD B. NAṢR’s teachings. She further suggests that this recension may well support ‘ABŪ AL-‘ABBĀS B. WALLĀD’s (d. 332/943) claim that AL-MUBARRAD’s criticism of SĪBWAYH’s teachings in his *Radd ‘alā Sībawayh* (as quoted in IBN WALLĀD’s *Intiṣār*) is due to the poor quality of his copy of the *Kitāb* (HUMBERT 1995: 190). This paper does not bring evidence on this particular point due to the very limited data on AL-MUBARRAD’s grammatical opinion on the issue at hand in the present paper.

In this paper, I would like to study one specific issue in SĪBWAYH’s *Kitāb*, namely that of the diminutive form of the names of the days of the week (chapter 389; *Kitāb* II, 137.5–138.20), according to three sources: the “Vulgate” version of the text, its early commentary tradition (3rd/9th–7th/13th centuries), and the recension found in the Milan-Kazan codex (M44^v.5–45^v.9). By doing so, we will have a clearer vision of what is grammatically at stake in the different recensions of the text, and of the links between the commentary tradition and the reception of the text of the *Kitāb*.

The grammarians who discussed this issue, and whose work have reached us, are AL-MUBARRAD (d. 285/898), IBN WALLĀD (d. 332/944), AL-SĪRĀFĪ (d. 368/979), ‘ABŪ ‘ALĪ AL-FĀRISĪ (d. 377/987), IBN SĪDAH (d. 458/1066), AL-‘ĀLAM AL-ŠANTAMARĪ (d. 476/1084), AL-ZAMAḤŠARĪ (d. 538/1144), IBN ḤARŪF (d. 606/1209), IBN YA‘ĪŠ (d. 643/1245), and RAḌĪ AL-DĪN AL-‘ASTARĀBĀDĪ (d. 688/1289).

I have chosen this issue of the diminutive form of the names of the days of the week because it is at the intersection of different sources. It is one of the issues presented by BERNARDS (1989: 25), where AL-ĠARMĪ (d. 225/839) is said to have criticised SĪBWAYH, and it is one of the 133 issues discussed in IBN WALLĀD’s *Intiṣār*, his answer to AL-MUBARRAD’s refutation of the *Kitāb*. More importantly, it is also found in the Milan-Kazan codex (in the Milan fragments, M44^v.5–45^v.9).

2. Findings

Among the grammarians who mentioned the issue of the diminutive form of the names of the days of the week, and whom I present in this paper, IBN SĪDAH (d. 458/1066), AL-ŠANTAMARĪ (d. 476/1084), AL-ZAMAḤṢARĪ (d. 538/1144) and IBN YA'ĪŠ (d. 643/1245) are very dependent on AL-SĪRĀFĪ's (d. 368/979) commentary, and do not bring new material to the discussion. They often quote him verbatim, with no addition. The case of AL-'ASTARĀBĀDĪ (d. 646/1249) is different. He certainly knows AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary, but he tackles the issue of the diminutive forms of the names of the days in a new way. Yet, we cannot rule out that AL-'ASTARĀBĀDĪ had access to the text of the *Kitāb* only through AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary, as could be the case for the grammarians mentioned above. If one excepts IBN WALLĀD (d. 332/944) and AL-MUBARRAD (d. 285/898), who lived before AL-SĪRĀFĪ (d. 368/979), only two commentators are independent of AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary: 'ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-FĀRISĪ (d. 377/987) and IBN ḤARŪF (d. 606/1209).

The witness of the manuscripts brings five loci into focus, which are of interest for this paper. The first, locus 1, is on whether *'ams* and *ḡad* are proper names or not, which may indicate a different grammatical point of view than that of SĪBĀWAYH. Locus 2 is that MK1 contains less examples than MK2, MK3 and the other manuscripts. Locus 3 is that a later tradition has added a gloss in the *matn* regarding the months of the year, which thus puts the text in line with AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary and the subsequent tradition. Locus 4 is that we have four different versions of a sentence, two long and two short. Finally, locus 5, the addition of a gloss inside the *matn* (locus 3), forced the scribes to rephrase the next sentence.

There are two debates that occur in the commentaries which show that post-SĪRĀFĪ grammarians discuss these issues as though they belonged to the *Kitāb*, when in fact they originated in AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary: 1) the status of *'ams* and *ḡad*, and 2) the names of the months of the year. According to the oldest hand in the Milan-Kazan codex, *'ams* and *ḡad* are proper names for “yesterday” and “tomorrow”, but this was negated by later hands. AL-SĪRĀFĪ and subsequent commentators ignore this issue altogether (some of them compare *'ams* and *ḡad* to pronouns or particles). The other issue is that the names of the months of the year should be treated like the names of the days of the week. The oldest hand in the Milan-Kazan codex does not mention them in the discussion, but AL-SĪRĀFĪ and the subsequent tradition systematically add them to the text, and treat them like the names of the days of the week.

3. Interpretation of the findings

The full influence of AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary on the received text of the *Kitāb* is clearly yet to be assessed. Based on what I have studied so far, the *Kitāb's* chapter 389 and its commentaries, and which I will present below in detail, it is impossible to say that the recension of ʾABŪ AL-ḤASAN contained in the Milan-Kazan codex is pre-Mubarradian, meaning it has escaped AL-MUBARRAD's "authoritarian stranglehold" on the text (HUMBERT 1995:92), this is because AL-MUBARRAD's position on the issue under discussion is far too scarce. However, the Milan-Kazan codex surely contains a non-Sirāfian recension of the *Kitāb*, meaning a recension that was not influenced by AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary.

4. Sībawayh's teaching according to the "Vulgate"

Is it possible to form the diminutives of the names of the days of the week? This tiny morpho-semantic issue can be traced from SĪBWAYH's (d. ca 180/796) *Kitāb* onward. The earlier lexicographical sources, such as AL-ḤALĪL's (d. 170/786) *Kitāb al-ʿayn* and AL-FARRĀ's (d. 207/822) *al-ʾAyyām wa-l-layālī wa-l-ṣuhūr*, do not mention any diminutive form for the names of the days of the week, nor for the names of the months, nor do they forbid these forms. However, in the commentaries of the *Kitāb*, this issue is systematically mentioned, even if briefly. Most grammarians will simply quote the different opinions, not taking a side, but in some cases new arguments are added to the discussion.

SĪBWAYH devotes a series of 38 chapters to the formation of the diminutive forms (chapters 359–396: *Kitāb* II, 104–146). As noted by LANCIONI (2011: 7–8), SĪBWAYH is first and foremost interested in the diminutives as a morphological phenomenon. He explores all possible morphological shapes that "nouns" (ʾasmāʾ, which includes substantives, adjectives, pronouns...) can take, and examines their actual (or, often, theoretical) diminutive forms. In order to expand the potential pool of words from which to build a diminutive, as if the category of ʾasmāʾ was not sufficient, SĪBWAYH treats every other kind of word, such as verbs and particles, as proper names. One cannot form the diminutive of a verb (*Kitāb* II, 137.9), nor of a "noun used to name a verb" (*ṣayʾun mimmā summiya bihi al-fiʿlu*, *Kitāb* II, 137.14), nor of a "noun that has a verbal status" (*al-ismu ʾidā kāna bi-manzilati al-fiʿli*, *Kitāb* II, 138.16). However, nothing forbids the formation of the diminutive of any word used as a proper name, even if it has a verbal origin, as for *kul* "eat!" or *ḥud* "take!" (*Kitāb* II, 123.7–8), *sal* "ask!" (*Kitāb* II, 123.10–11), *ḍarabat* "she hit" (*Kitāb* II, 125.20–126.1), *yurī* "he shows"

or *yada*‘u “he puts” (*Kitāb* II, 126.13–18), *sāra* “he walked” or *gāba* “he was absent” (*Kitāb* II, 129.4). The same goes for particles, although SĪBĀWAYH is somewhat less explicit about this. In chapter 376, which is devoted to the diminutive forms of words whose third consonant is missing, SĪBĀWAYH explains that the diminutive of the particle *‘an* “about” is *‘unayyun*, and the diminutive of the particles *‘in* “if” and *‘an* “that” is *‘unayyun* (*Kitāb* II, 125.1–3). The fact that he intends these to be understood as proper names is at first implicit, as shown in the formulation of the example *hādā ‘Unayyun wa-‘Unayyun* (“this is ‘Unayyun and ‘Unayyun”). In chapter 389, he states that it is not permissible to form the diminutive of *‘an* (*Kitāb* II, 138.20), when the particle meaning is intended. Then in chapter 392, he is explicit when he says that “It is possible to form the diminutive of all these [words] if a man is called by them” (*wa-ḡami‘u dā ‘idā summiya bihi al-raḡulu ḥuqqira ‘alā al-qiyāsī; Kitāb* II, 141.4–5).

According to SĪBĀWAYH, it is possible to form the diminutive of *yawm* “day”, *šahr* “month”, *sana* “year”, *sā‘a* “hour”, and *layla* “night”, but not of *‘ams* “yesterday” and *ḡad* “tomorrow”. The reason is that these two words lack a clear semantic referent, like the proper names *Zayd* and *‘Amr* (*Kitāb* II, 138.8), but that they can only mean “the day before your day” and “the day after your day” (*Kitāb* II, 138.8). SĪBĀWAYH adds that they do not have the same “flexibility” (*lam yatamakkanā; Kitāb* II, 138.11) as *Zayd*, *‘Amr*, *yawm*, *šahr*, and the like. The type of flexibility that is at stake here is a semantic one. SĪBĀWAYH explains that the expressions *hādā al-yawm* “this day” and *hādīhi al-layla* “this night” can refer to present, future, and past time (*li-mā ‘anta fihi wa-li-mā lam ya’ti wa-li-mā maḡā; Kitāb* II, 138.10). In the same way, *hādā Zayd* “this is Zayd” and *dāka Zayd* “that is Zayd” can refer to something either present or absent (*mā yakūnu ma‘aka wa-mā yatarāḡā ‘anka; Kitāb* II, 138.11). There is no such semantic flexibility for *‘ams* and *ḡad*, which can only refer to the day before and the day after.

The same goes for *‘awwalu min ‘amsī*, *al-Ṭalātā*² “Tuesday”, *al-‘Arbi‘ā* “Wednesday”, *al-bāriḡa* “yesterday”, or the names of the months of the year. Only nouns that are not “proper names” (*‘alam*) and which refer to a whole “category” (*‘umma*), like *raḡul* “man”, *imra‘a* “woman” and the like, can have a diminutive form (*Kitāb* II, 138.13–15). This very point is at the heart of the controversy against SĪBĀWAYH: can *al-Ṭalātā*, as a proper name for the third day of the week, refer to the whole category of “Tuesdays”, just like *Zayd*, as a

² See DRUEL (2012: 118) on this vocalisation.

proper name, can refer to any man called “Zayd”? The issue at stake here is whether a proper name can be qualified, and more specifically, qualified as being reduced, as in the case with diminutives. We can infer from SĪBĀWAYH’s text that in order to compare diminutive and superlative forms of “Tuesday”, there needs to be a whole category of “Tuesdays” in the past, in the present, and in the future. But when one says “Tuesday”, it refers to only one Tuesday, known to the speaker and the hearer, just like when one says “tomorrow” or “yesterday”.

The last two cases discussed in chapter 389 are the active participles and *‘inda* “at”. Active participles, which are “nouns” (*asmā*), can have two meanings: a nominal one, which refers to “what is past” (*li-mā maḍā*; *Kitāb* II, 138.17), and a verbal one, indicating a transitive use (SĪBĀWAYH indirectly refers to this transitive use through “*al-tanwīn*”; *Kitāb* II, 138.17). So, for example, it is only possible to formulate a sentence such as *huwa ḍuwayribu Zaydin* through the nominal meaning of the active participle *ḍārib*: “he is the small hitter of Zayd”. Just as it is impossible to form a diminutive from a verb, to attempt to use the verbal, transitive meaning of the active participle *ḍārib* to say “he is slightly hitting Zayd”, the sentence will end up losing its grammatical validity. As for *‘inda* “at”, its meaning already implies a proximity of the two objects in relation to each other, and it would mean nothing to “reduce” it further by forming a diminutive. The same goes for *‘an* “about” and *ma‘a* “with”.

In sum, we can reconstruct the argumentation of SĪBĀWAYH for refusing the formation of the diminutive of the names of the days of the week as follows: unlike *al-yawm* or *al-layla*, which can refer to something past, present or future, and unlike *Zayd* and *‘Amr*, that can refer to people either present or absent, *‘ams*, *ḡad*, *al-Talātā*, or *al-bāriḥa* refer only to one specific day relative to the time when the speaker speaks. Their semantic referent thus lacks “flexibility” (*tamakkun*), as they do not refer to a whole “category” (*‘umma*) of items with which they could be compared. In other words, they cannot be “qualified” (*lā tūṣaf*).

However, one must note that this is a reconstruction, that use three justifying causes. Yet, SĪBĀWAYH’s ultimate, definitive justification on which he depends is not completely clear: Is it the lack of semantic flexibility of these words, the absence of a category of items to which they would belong, or the impossibility to assign them with an adjective? It is also possible that the three justifications point to the same reality: these nouns do not enjoy a full nominal syntactic and semantic “flexibility” (*tamakkun*), a complex category made up of different dimensions. These different dimensions are connected. For example, if a word cannot be

assigned with an adjective, it is because it does not belong to a whole category, or if a word cannot refer to something absent, it cannot be described. However, the subsequent tradition will focus on one or the other of these dimensions in a more technical, less ambiguous way than SĪBWAYH.

5. The subsequent commentary tradition

5.1. Al-Mubarrad's refutation and Ibn Wallād's response

A refutation of SĪBWAYH's *Kitāb* by AL-MUBARRAD (d. 285/898) has (partially?) reached us thanks to IBN WALLĀD's (d. 332/944) *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, a criticism of this refutation. The diminutive of the names of the days of the week is dealt with in question number 107 (*Intiṣār* 229–231; or number 108 in BERNARDS 1997: 158–159). According to IBN WALLĀD, AL-MUBARRAD says that SĪBWAYH refuses to form the diminutive of the names of the days of the week because they are proper names and only indefinite nouns of time should have a diminutive form, which AL-MUBARRAD says is a “shameless error” (*ḥaṭa' fāḥiṣ*, *Intiṣār* 229.16). The argumentation of AL-MUBARRAD is that if it is possible to form the diminutive of *yawm* “day” and *layla* “night”, just as it is possible to form the diminutive of *rağul* “man” and *imra'a* “woman” it should also be possible to form the diminutive of *al-Sabt* “Saturday” and *al-ʿAḥad* “Sunday”, just as it is possible to form the diminutive of the proper names *Zayd* and *ʿAmr*. The argument lies in the fact that *yawm* and *rağul* are common “indefinite” nouns for time and for humans, and that *Zayd* and *al-Sabt* are proper “definite” nouns, also for time and humans, so why should *al-Sabt* alone be denied the possibility to have a diminutive form? AL-MUBARRAD adds, again as quoted by IBN WALLĀD (*Intiṣār* 229.17–230.1), that all grammarians agree on forming the diminutive of proper names of places.

In his answer, IBN WALLĀD first mocks the idea that if all grammarians really agreed on this point there would be no issue at all (*Intiṣār* 230.2–3). He then says he wishes to “explain SĪBWAYH's argument” (*nubayyinu ḥuğğata Sibawayhi*, *Intiṣār* 230.4): unlike *yawm* and *layla*, *al-Sabt* or *al-ʿAḥad* are not measures of time, for example, a certain number of hours (*Intiṣār* 230.4–6). The names of the days of the week are not quantities but rather “proper names and traits” (*ʿalām wa-simāt*, *Intiṣār* 230.8) of specific times. The diminutive of a measure implies a lesser quantity of what is measured, which would be meaningless for a case such as *al-Sabt*, for example (*Intiṣār* 230.9–10). As for *Zayd* and other proper names of people, there can be

more than one person called by this same name, but there can be no other day of the week called *al-Sabt* (*Intiṣār* 230.11–12).

Turning AL-MUBARRAD’s argument on proper names of places against him, IBN WALLĀD says that proper names of places do behave like proper names of time: proper names which apply to only one place cannot have a diminutive form, such as *Makka*, because there is no other Makka with which to compare it. But indefinite place names, such as *farsaḥ* “parasang” (a measure of length), can have a diminutive form (*Intiṣār* 230.13–231.1).

Returning to the days of the week, IBN WALLĀD (*Intiṣār* 231.2–4) responds to the hypothetical refutation (*wa-ʾin qāla*) that days of the week actually repeat, implying that there is more than one Saturday, for example. He says that if it were the case, the names of the days of the week would be indefinite nouns, just like *yawm*. In the end, “Saturday” can only refer to one day, that which comes after Friday.

The argument reported by IBN WALLĀD and his response are about the character of proper names. For AL-MUBARRAD, being a proper name does not forbid the formation of a diminutive, whether this proper name refers to a person, to a time, or to a place. This is a very blunt criticism of SĪBWAYH’s position, since it ignores the discussion about the semantic referential that SĪBWAYH discussed, and it only focuses on one feature, namely being a proper name, which certainly has never been considered as prohibiting the formation of diminutives!

In his response, IBN WALLĀD introduces a new argument, that the names of the days of the week are not measures, nor can they be compared in terms of length. This could be seen as a reinterpretation of SĪBWAYH’s argument that the names of the days of the week cannot be assigned with an adjective. Moreover, it is not clear why IBN WALLĀD considers this to be an appropriate rebuttal to AL-MUBARRAD’s more simplistic argument which does not go beyond the fact that the days of the week are proper names, thus not forbidding the formation of diminutives. Arguing that they are measures, as IBN WALLĀD does, does not then in effect pose a refutation of AL-MUBARRAD’s stance.

Lastly, IBN WALLĀD reformulates SĪBWAYH’s argument that the days of the week do not belong to a category: there is only one of each day, while there can be many “Zayds”. Here we find a proper response to AL-MUBARRAD’s criticism, because it introduces a semantic difference between people’s proper names and the

names of the days of the week. AL-MUBARRAD's argument is built on the premise that all proper names should behave the same. Thus, arguing that they have semantic differences, as IBN WALLĀD does, offers a substantive insight into the nature of proper names that undermines this premise.

5.2. Al-Mubarrad's opinion, as in his *Muqtaḍab*

The issue of the formation of diminutives from the names of the days of the week is dealt with by AL-MUBARRAD in a chapter devoted the diminutive form of time complements (*Hādā bābu taḥqīri al-ḍurūfi min al-'azminati*, *Muqtaḍab* II, 275–278). All “flexible” (*mutamakkin*) nouns of time, like *yawm* “day”, *'ām* “year”, *layl* “night”, can have a diminutive form (*Muqtaḍab* II, 275.11). After stating this general principle, AL-MUBARRAD then gives a list of such diminutive forms, with some additional morphological remarks. The names of the days of the week are all listed with their diminutive form *Subayt*, *'Uḥayd*, *Tunayyāni*, *Tulaytā'*, *'Uraybi'ā'*, *Ḥumayyis* and *Ġumay'a* (*Muqtaḍab* II, 276.1–277.4). The same goes for all the names of the months, such as *al-Muḥarram*, *Ṣafar*, *Rabī'*, etc. and more time nouns such as *sā'a* “hour”, *ḡudwa* “morning”, *bukra* “early morning”, *ḍaḥwa*, *ḍuḥā* and *ḍaḥā'* “forenoon”, or *'ašyīya* “evening” (*Muqtaḍab* II, 277.5–278.5). In all this, AL-MUBARRAD says that time nouns behave like any other noun, according to their morphology (*Muqtaḍab* II, 278.6–7). Simply put, he does not bring any semantic consideration to the issue.

There is no trace of a debate in the *Muqtaḍab* on the formation of the diminutives of the names of the days of the week, except when AL-MUBARRAD says that, according to SĪBWAYH, the diminutive form for “Tuesday” is *Tulayyitā'* not *Tulaytā'* (*Muqtaḍab* II, 277.2–3), which is ironic, considering that SĪBWAYH refuses the possibility to form such a diminutive in the first place! AL-MUBARRAD probably refers to a discussion in the *Kitāb* about the diminutive form of *talātūn* “thirty”, where SĪBWAYH says that YŪNIS prefers the form *tulaytūna* over the form *tulayyitūna* (*Kitāb* II, 119.6–10). See DRUEL (2012: 111; 140–141) for this morphological discussion.

Nor does AL-MUBARRAD mention the fact that the names of the days of the week or of the months are proper names. All in all, the formation of these diminutive forms is completely taken for granted in the *Muqtaḍab*, and it is only in his refutation, as transmitted by IBN WALLĀD, that AL-MUBARRAD shows that he is aware of the discussion.

5.3. Al-Sirāfi's commentary on the *Kitāb*

In his commentary on chapter 389 of SĪBWAYH's *Kitāb*, AL-SĪRĀFĪ (d. 368/979) utilizes two arguments. First, the “measure” (*maqādir*) argumentation: *yawm*, *ṣaḥr*, *sā'a*, *sana* and *layla* are measures of time; they express quantities that can be either more or less. There can be shorter or longer hours or days, thus enabling the formation of diminutives (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 194.1–5). His second argument is that some hours, days, etc. are less beneficial than others, which can therefore be expressed by a diminutive form (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 194.6–7). The “measure” argument is already found, although in a less detailed form, in IBN WALLĀD's (d. 332/944) *Kitāb al-intiṣār* (230.4–10), as mentioned above, but not in SĪBWAYH's *Kitāb*. However, AL-SĪRĀFĪ is the first to pose the argument that some days are less beneficial. As was said above about IBN WALLĀD, this argument could be interpreted as a reformulation of SĪBWAYH's allowance for nouns to be qualified by an adjective.

Regarding *'ams* “yesterday” and *ḡad* “tomorrow”, AL-SĪRĀFĪ says that they are comparable to pronouns, since they do not refer to a particular day in themselves, rather to the day before or the day after the relative day of the speaker. Pronouns function similarly, as they refer to a relative object which had been mentioned earlier (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 194.14–16). He adds that “some grammarians” (*ba'ḍ al-naḥwiyyīn*) argue that if *ḡad* and *'ams* do not have diminutive forms, it is because the first refers to a day that does not yet exist and the second refers to something already specifically known to both the speaker and the listener. This specificity would thus make no sense in a diminutive form (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 194.17–20). In SĪBWAYH's *Kitāb* (II, 137.15–16), pronouns are said to have less “strength” (*quwwa*) and “flexibility” (*tamakkun*) than the words they replace (*al-maḍhara*). Yet, AL-SĪRĀFĪ is more specific in his commentary, saying that pronouns do not refer to something in themselves.

The following paragraph in AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.1–7) is extremely puzzling. According to the editors' layout, who put SĪBWAYH's quote in bold type, it seems as though AL-SĪRĀFĪ intends to quote a large passage from SĪBWAYH's *Kitāb*. However, only the first line of the paragraph is actually found in the *Kitāb* itself. The editors' confusion is rooted in the formulation of the text itself, that completely melds the original quote with AL-SĪRĀFĪ's longer commentary. Later readers of AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary would have had the same problem in identifying the quotation from the commentary.

As we have seen above, the text of the *Kitāb* says that it is not possible to form the diminutive of *ʿawwal min ʿams*, *al-Talāṭāʿ* “Tuesday”, *al-ʿArbiʿā* “Wednesday”, *al-bāriḥa* “yesterday”, and the like, or of the names of the months of the year (*ʿasmāʿ šuhūr al-sana*), since only nouns that are not “proper names” (*ʿalam*), and that refer to a whole “category” (*ʿumma*), like *rağul* “man”, *imraʿa* “woman”, can have a diminutive form (*Kitāb* II, 138.13–15). The text, seemingly quoted by AL-SĪRĀFĪ, differs from the text in the *Kitāb* starting with the expression *ʿasmāʿ šuhūr al-sana*. Instead of continuing with the original text in the *Kitāb*, where SĪBĀWAYH mentions proper names which refer to a whole category, AL-SĪRĀFĪ introduces examples (*al-Muḥarram*, *Šafar*, etc.). He then adds the justification for not allowing the formation of these diminutives, as they are proper names that “repeat” (*tatakarraru*), and thus gives them less “flexibility” (*tamakkun*) than other types of proper names, such as *Zayd* and *ʿAmr*. For AL-SĪRĀFĪ, the names of the days of the week and of the months only express that a particular day is the first or the second day of the week, or that a particular month is the first or the second month of the year. These names cannot specify a particular day among all days, or a particular month among all months, which would thus allow a comparison to other days and months and justify the formation of a diminutive (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.2–7).

The argument that these names repeat is not found in the *Kitāb*. It is only found in IBN WALLĀD’s response to AL-MUBARRAD, but is presented as a rhetorical question (*wa-ʿin qāla*) in order to support the opposite claim: if days actually repeated (implying the comparison with *Makka* is void), they would no longer be proper names, but rather just common names like *yawm*. Here, in AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary, the “repetition” argument is used to support the fact that these nouns do not refer to something specific, but rather to any first, second, third, or other subsequent day of the week or month of the year. For AL-SĪRĀFĪ, repetition does not imply that there is a whole class of “Mondays” from which to compare a given Monday, but rather that “Monday” refers to the first day of any week, not to something specific.

According to AL-SĪRĀFĪ (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.8–10), Kufan grammarians, including AL-MĀZINĪ (d. 248/862) who quotes AL-ĞARMĪ (d. 225/839), accepted the formation of the diminutive forms of the names of the days of the week. As for IBN KAYSĀN (d. 299/912 or 320/932), AL-SĪRĀFĪ says that he followed SĪBĀWAYH and his argumentation.

Always according to AL-SĪRĀFĪ (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.11–19), some grammarians treat “Friday” and “Saturday” differently from the other names of the days of the week. Since the two words *al-Ğumʿa* and *al-Sabt*

have a *maṣḍar* meaning, namely “meeting” and “rest”, one can choose to say *al-yawma al-Ġum‘atu* and *al-yawma al-Sabtu* with a *fatha* on *yawm*, or *al-yawmu al-Ġum‘atu* and *al-yawmu al-Sabtu* with a *ḍamma* on *yawm*. AL-SĪRĀFĪ says that in the first case, when *Ġum‘a* and *Sabt* disagree with *yawm*, they are treated like *maṣḍars*, whereas in the second case, when they agree with *yawm*, like the other names of the days of the week, they are treated like proper names. Some grammarians reject the formation of the diminutive if one intends the *maṣḍar* meaning, because it bears an implied verbal meaning (*li-’anna al-i’timāda fī al-ḥabari ‘alā waqa‘a wa-yaqa‘u*). Yet this is not the case when they are treated like “proper names” (*ismayni li-l-yawmayni*, *Šarḥ Kitāb XIII*, 195.15–16). What AL-SĪRĀFĪ probably means here is that as proper names, their etymological, verbal meaning is lost. In other words, the diminutive form of “Friday” and “Saturday” cannot mean “a small meeting” and “a small rest”, but literally “a small Friday” and “a small Saturday”. This is ultimately linked to the impossibility to form the diminutive of verbs, as mentioned above.

Other grammarians would hold the opposite view, namely, the possibility to form diminutives in the *maṣḍar* meaning but not when used as proper names. AL-MĀZINĪ accepts the formation of diminutives in both cases (*Šarḥ Kitāb XIII*, 195.18–19).

In conclusion, AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary goes beyond the meaning of the *Kitāb*, which itself is very concise. For example, we saw this in the case of the comparison of *ġad* and *’ams* with pronouns and in the discussion about in which category proper names belong. In some cases, AL-SĪRĀFĪ introduces new arguments, like the “measure” argument and the “repetition” argument. His commentary seems to be independent from that of IBN WALLĀD, whose “measure” argument is much less specific, and who uses the “repetition” argument in the opposite way. Lastly, AL-SĪRĀFĪ quotes new discussions, such as the possibility of a *maṣḍar* meaning for “Friday” and “Saturday”.

5.4. ’Abū ’Alī al-Fārisī’s *Ta’līqa ‘alā Kitāb Sībawayh*

In his “remarks” on the *Kitāb*, AL-FĀRISĪ (d. 377/987) devotes a few lines to the issue we are studying here (*Ta’līqa III*, 340–342), from the starting point of nouns which do not have diminutive forms. The reason it is not possible to form the diminutive of pronouns is because they cannot be “qualified” (*lā yūṣafu*, *Ta’līqa III*, 340.2–8). As we have seen above, this is the primary argument given by SĪBWAYH for not forming a diminutive (*Kitāb II*, 137.10). ’ABŪ ’ALĪ also says that *’ayna* “where” and *matā* “when” cannot have a

diminutive form because they resemble particles. However, *dūna* “below” and *taḥta* “under” can because they do not have a particle meaning, and they “do not occupy the slot” (*lā qā’ima maqāmahā*) of particles (*Ta’līqa* III, 341.1–3). SĪBWAYH refuses the formation of the diminutive of particles altogether (see *Kitāb* II, 138.20), but was not as explicit as ʾABŪ ʿALĪ on this point.

Then comes the case of *ʾams* “yesterday” and *ḡad* “tomorrow”. After quoting SĪBWAYH’s opinion that they cannot have a diminutive form, ʾABŪ ʿALĪ says for *ʾams* the reason is that it resembles a particle, which is also why it is invariable (*mabni*). But as for *ḡad*, he does not see any reason why it could not have a diminutive form (*Ta’līqa* III, 341.4–6). In his argumentation, he does not engage in a discussion on the meaning of *ḡad*, as did SĪBWAYH (*Kitāb* II, 138.8). Rather, he glosses over the issue by discussing the diminutives of proper names, saying they should not have a diminutive form because they cannot be qualified, except in cases where parts of a whole “genus” (*ḡins*) are being compared (*Ta’līqa* III, 341.7–8). Earlier in his commentary, ʾABŪ ʿALĪ gave the example of *Zuyayd*, which stands for *Zayd ṣaḡīr* “a little Zayd” (*Ta’līqa* III, 340.2–3). The “genus” argument is already found in SĪBWAYH, with a different terminology, namely *ʾumma* instead of *ḡins* (*Kitāb* II, 138.13–15).

ʾABŪ ʿALĪ does not comment any further on the *Kitāb*, nor does he express his opinion about the names of the days of the week and the names of the months. Likewise, this issue is absent from his other *masā’il* collections which have reached us (*ʿAskariyya*, *Baḡdādiyyāt*, *Baṣriyyāt*, *Manṭūra*). Thus, according to available evidence, it seems that ʾABŪ ʿALĪ’s comments are independent from AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary.

5.5. Ibn Sīdah’s *Muḥaṣṣaṣ*

In his monumental work *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, one that has been described by BAALBAKI (2008: 11) as belonging to the genre of *fiqh al-luḡa* “philology”, IBN SĪDAH (d. 458/1066) attributes to AL-SĪRĀFĪ the origin of the “measures” argument for the possibility of forming a diminutive of *yawm*, *ṣahr*, *sana* or *sā’a* (*Muḥaṣṣaṣ* XIV, 110.12–14). Apparently, IBN SĪDAH does not know of IBN WALLĀD’s use of the “measures” argument (*Intiṣār* 230.4–10). He then quotes AL-SĪRĀFĪ verbatim until the end of the chapter, including the paragraph on the repetition of the days of the week and of the months of the year, the same confusing paragraph mentioned above where it is not clear where the quotation of the *Kitāb* ends.

5.6. AL-ʿAḲLAM AL-ŠANTAMARĪ’S *Nukat*

In his *Nukat fi tafsīr Kitāb Sibawayh*, AL-ʿAḲLAM AL-ŠANTAMARĪ (d. 476/1084) repeats almost verbatim AL-SĪRĀFĪ’S commentary on the formation of the diminutive of *yawm*, *šahr*, *sana*, etc., namely the “measures” argument, the two meanings of the diminutives (longer vs shorter, and more vs less beneficial), the impossibility of forming the diminutive of *ʿams* and *ḡad*, and the subsequent discussion, yet he does not attribute AL-SĪRĀFĪ by name (*Nukat* II, 945.2–13).

AL-ŠANTAMARĪ then quotes SĪBWAYH on the names of the day and of the months, but in AL-SĪRĀFĪ’S longer version mentioned above, including the references to AL-MĀZINĪ and AL-ĠARMĪ who accepted the formation of the diminutives of these words, as well as IBN KAYSĀN who preferred to follow SĪBWAYH (*Nukat* II, 945.14–946.5).

Unlike IBN SĪDAH, AL-ŠANTAMARĪ does not include the discussion found in AL-SĪRĀFĪ’S commentary on the possible *mašdar* meaning of *al-Ġumʿa* and *al-Sabt* that some grammarians treat differently under certain conditions.

5.7. AL-ZAMAḤŠARĪ’S *ʿAḡġī*

Al-ʿAḡġī al-naḥwiyya is not a major work by AL-ZAMAḤŠARĪ (d. 538/1144), but it contains a paragraph on the issue we are studying here. The main difference, in relation to the other treatises, is that AL-ZAMAḤŠARĪ synthesizes different chapters of SĪBWAYH’S *Kitāb* in very few lines, instead of simply repeating AL-SĪRĀFĪ’S text, as did IBN SĪDAH and AL-ʿAḲLAM AL-ŠANTAMARĪ.

AL-ZAMAḤŠARĪ gives a list of “nouns” (*ʿasmāʾ*) that cannot have diminutive forms for different reasons, although some of them are “fully declinable” (*mutašarrifā*): they are “too vague” (*farṭ ʿibhām*), their “meaning is not firmly established” (*ʿadam qarār ʿalā musamman*), another word is used instead, or they resemble particles and verbs (*ʿAḡġī* 55.14–56.1). Examples of such words include: *ʿayna*, *matā*, *kam*, *kayfa*, *ḡaytu*, *ʿid*, *mā*, *man*, *ʿayy*, pronouns, *ʿams*, *ʿawwal min ʿams*, *ḡad*, *al-bāriḡa* and *al-mašr* (?) (*ʿAḡġī* 56.2–3).

AL-ZAMAḤŠARĪ then quotes SĪBWAYH who said that instead of *ʿuṣayran* “small afternoon”, Arabs use *musaynānan* and *ʿuṣayyānan* (misspelled *ʿuṣyānan* with a *sukūn* on the *šin*) “small evening” (*ʿAḡġī* 56.3–4). This refers to *Kitāb* II, 142.19–20, where SĪBWAYH says that instead of the diminutive of *al-qašr* in *ʿatānā*

qaşran “he came to us in the evening”, Arabs use the forms *musaynānan* and *‘uşayyānan*. At this point, it is clear that the edited text of the *‘Aḥāğī* is corrupted in two places: *al-maşr* should be read *al-qaşr*, and *‘uşayran* should be read *quşayran* (see LANE: 1863–1893, II, 2534 on *qaşr* in the meaning of “evening”).

In the next sentence, AL-ZAMAḤŞARĪ says that the Kufan grammarians, as well as the Başran AL-MĀZINĪ and AL-ĞARMĪ, accepted the formation of the diminutives of the names of the days and of the months, as well as *al-Fiṭr* “the [feast of] Breaking the [Ramaḏān] Fast” and *al-‘Aḏḥā* “the [feast of] Immolation” (*‘Aḥāğī* 56.4–6). These two last examples are not discussed in the *Kitāb* nor in the treatises that we have presented above. AL-ZAMAḤŞARĪ then quotes the same discussion on the *maşdar* meaning of *al-Ğum‘a* and *al-Sabt* that was first mentioned by AL-SĪRĀFĪ (*Şarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.11–19), and adds *al-Fiṭr* and *al-‘Aḏḥā* as having a possible *maşdar* meaning in the expression *al-yawma al-fiṭru* and *al-yawma al-‘aḏḥā*, if *al-yawm* bears a *faṭḥa* (*‘Aḥāğī* 56.6–9).

5.8. Al-Zamaḥşari’s *Mufaşşal*

In his very condensed *Mufaşşal*, AL-ZAMAḤŞARĪ (538/1144) does not devote more than one sentence to this issue. He simply says that it is not possible to form the diminutive of some “nouns” (*‘asmā*), including the pronouns, *‘ayna*, *matā*, *ḥaytu*, *‘inda*, *ma‘a*, ..., *‘ams*, *ğad*, *‘awwal min ‘ams*, *al-bāriḥa*, the days of the week, and any noun that has the status of a verb (*Mufaşşal* 88.16–18), with no further explanation.

5.9. Ibn Ḥarūf’s *Tanqīḥ*

IBN ḤARŪF’s (d. 606/1209) commentary on the *Kitāb*, called *Tanqīḥ al-‘albāb fī šarḥ ġawāmiḏ al-Kitāb*, is only partially edited. It begins with the end of chapter 247 (*Kitāb* I, 380) and runs until the end of chapter 317 (*Kitāb* II, 64), according to DERENBOURG’s numbering. Chapter 389 is not covered, but IBN ḤARŪF quotes it in his commentary on chapter 312 (*Kitāb* II, 44–45: *Hādā bāb al-‘aḥyān fī al-inşirāf wa-ğayr al-inşirāf*; *Tanqīḥ* 372–374: *Bāb al-‘aḥyan*), devoted to the declinability of the names of times (*Kitāb* II, 137–138).

IBN ḤARŪF first mentions that some (proper) names of time are fully declinable, including the days of the week, which SĪBWAYH considers to be proper names, “just like Ḥarīṭ” (*Tanqīḥ* 372.19–20). In the *Kitāb*, SĪBWAYH says the same of *ğudwa* and *bukra*, which are “names for time” (*isman li-l-ḥini*) in the same way

that *ʿUmm Ḥubayn* is a generic names for a type of cattle which is treated like a proper name (*Kitāb* II, 44.18–45.1). IBN ḤARŪF then refers to chapter 389 of the *Kitāb* saying that the definite article in the names of the days serves two opposite meanings, the category and the proper name: “*Iṭnayni* may be defined as a category (*ḡins*) by the definite article, but you can also overcome this category by the definite article” (*wa-qad yuʿarrafu [iṭnayni] bi-himā [al-ʿalif wa-l-lām] taʿrifa al-ḡinsi kamā taḡlibu bi-himā ʿalayhi; Tanqīḥ* 373.1). In order to make his point understood, IBN ḤARŪF uses the example of the sun and the moon, which can never refer to a whole category, even by the definite article; *al-Šams* and *al-Qamar* can only refer to the one sun and one moon. This commentary of IBN ḤARŪF is, however, not in line with SĪBWAYH’s text in chapter 389, where SĪBWAYH says that *ʿawwal min ʿams, al-Talātāʿ, al-ʿArbiʿāʿ, al-bāriḥa* and the like do not refer to a “category” (*ʿumma*) and therefore do not have a diminutive form (*Kitāb* II, 138.13–15).

Interestingly, SĪBWAYH is explicit in chapter 312 in giving examples where *Iṭnayni* is used as a proper name, even without the definite article: *hādā yawmu Iṭnayni mubārakan fihi* “this is blessed Monday” and *ʿataytuka yawma Iṭnayni mubārakan fihi* “I visited you on blessed Monday” (*Kitāb* II, 45.2). SĪBWAYH adds that here, “*Iṭnayni* has been made a definite proper name just like for a man” (*Kitāb* II, 45.2–3).³

It is thus clear that IBN ḤARŪF disagrees with SĪBWAYH. For IBN ḤARŪF, *Iṭnayni* can refer to a whole category, with or without the article, as well as to a single identified day, whereas for SĪBWAYH, *Iṭnayni* can only refer to a single identified day, with or without the article, and never refer to a category.

Later in the commentary, IBN ḤARŪF points a contradiction in SĪBWAYH’s teaching. He quotes this example that SĪBWAYH labels as correct: *ʿātika yawma al-Ḡumʿati ḡudwatan wa-bukratan*⁴ “I will come on Friday, in the early morning” (*Tanqīḥ* 373.12–13). IBN ḤARŪF says that this contradicts SĪBWAYH’s own teaching on the fact that *ḡudwa* and *bukra* are better used as proper names for time (*ʿalam li-l-waqt*), that is, without *tanwīn* and not as indefinite adverbs (*ḡurūf*). As proper names, they refer to a time that is known to both the speaker and the listener. In all this, IBN ḤARŪF agrees with SĪBWAYH on the fact that some nouns

³ For this reason, I did not translate the two examples by “this is a blessed Monday” or “I visited you on a blessed Monday” (from a whole category of Mondays), but by “this is blessed Monday” and “I visited you on blessed Monday” (that both you and me know).

⁴ In the *Kitāb*, the text reads *ʿātika al-yawma ḡudwatan wa-bukratan* (*Kitāb* II, 45.10). This difference in the text has no influence on the point discussed here.

for time are proper names. Unfortunately, his commentary on chapter 389 is not yet edited and we do not know his position of the formation of the diminutives of these proper names.

5.10. Ibn Ya‘īš’s commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal*

The commentary of AL-ZAMAḤṢARĪ’s *Mufaṣṣal* by IBN YA‘ĪŠ (d. 643/1245) is more explicit about these issues. Regarding *ʿams* and *ḡad*, they are comparable to pronouns (*muḍmarāt*) in as much as they depend on something other than themselves for their meaning (*Šarḥ Mufaṣṣal* 5th *ḡuz*’, 250.15–251.1). The comparison between *ʿams*, *ḡad*, and pronouns is already found in AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 194.14–16) and in the subsequent works presented above.

As for the names of the days of the week and of the months of the year, the commentary of IBN YA‘ĪŠ is also the same as in AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.2–7), yet in a slightly different, clearer wording (*Šarḥ Mufaṣṣal* 5th *ḡuz*’, 251.2–6). IBN YA‘ĪŠ also mentions the fact that AL-ĠARMĪ, AL-MĀZINĪ, and the Kufan grammarians accepted the formation of these diminutives (*Šarḥ Mufaṣṣal* 5th *ḡuz*’, 251.6–7). In all, IBN YA‘ĪŠ does not bring any additional material in comparison to AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary.

5.11. Al-ʿAstarābādī’s commentary on Ibn al-Ḥāḡib’s *Šāfiya*

In his commentary on IBN ḤĀḠĪB’s (d. 646/1249) *Šāfiya fī ʿilmay al-taṣrīf wa-l-ḥaṭṭ*, RADĪ AL-DĪN AL-ʿASTARĀBĀDĪ (d. 688/1289) tackles the same issues that we have been tracking from SĪBĀWAYH’s *Kitāb* onwards, but with completely different explanations. For examples, as for words expressing “time limited on both sides” (*al-zamān al-maḥdūd min al-ḡānibaynī*), such as *šahr*, *yawm*, *layla* or *sana*, they can have a diminutive form because one can consider that “they belong to things for which time of happiness can be found to be too short” (*bi-ʿtibāri ištīmālihā ʿalā ʿašyāʾi yaqtaširu al-zamānu li-ʿaḡlihā min al-masārri*). Whereas for unlimited time, like *waqt*, *zaman* or *ḥin*, they can have a diminutive form precisely because they are not limited and can be less (*Šarḥ Šāfiya* I, 293.1–4). In the end, AL-ʿASTARĀBĀDĪ’s argumentation covers AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s distinction between two possible meanings of the diminutives of time, those which are less beneficial and those which are shorter (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 194.1–7), but within the framework of a distinction between limited and unlimited times, which is not found in the earlier tradition.

The explanation for the impossibility to form the diminutive of *'ams* and *ġad* (*Šarḥ Šāfiya* I, 293.5–9) is partly found in SĪBWAYH's *Kitāb* (II, 138.8). It is not possible to form their diminutive, although they express a time which is limited, because their meaning primarily refers to specific days, either before or after the referent day, and not to what they can contain (*maḍrūfayhimā*) as adverbs of time. Lastly, they are not like *qabla* “before” and *ba'da* “after” which do have diminutive forms because they can actually be “reduced” in themselves (*taqlīlīhimā fī 'anfusihimā*).

AL-ʾASTARĀBĀDĪ then explains that SĪBWAYH rejects the formation of the diminutives of the names of the days of the week and of the months of the year because their meaning refers to their order in the week and in the year, as in “the first month”, “the second month”, which is, according to AL-ʾASTARĀBĀDĪ, comparable to the meaning of *'ams* and *ġad* (*Šarḥ Šāfiya* I, 293.10–12). This argument is not found in the *Kitāb* but it can be traced back to AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.2–7).

Here, AL-ʾASTARĀBĀDĪ adds the same observation as that of AL-SĪRĀFĪ (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.8–10) regarding the fact that AL-ĠARMĪ and AL-MĀZINĪ accepted the formation of the diminutives of the names of the days and of the months (*Šarḥ Šāfiya* I, 293.13), and the discussion about *al-Ġum'a* and *al-Sabt*, either treated as *maṣḍars* or as names for days (*Šarḥ Šāfiya* I, 293.13–294.5).

6. The manuscript testimony

Now that we have a better idea of the issue at stake, we can turn to the Milan-Kazan codex and study the version of this chapter of the *Kitāb* found in it, in order to try and understand how the text was transmitted.

I will compare the text in the Milan-Kazan codex (according to its four successive hands, MK1 to 4) to the text edited by DERENBOURG in 1881–1889, who collated the three following manuscripts (see the Reference section for more information on the manuscripts): L = Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, árabe 1 (DERENBOURG, 1881–1889: I, xxi–xxxv = 2O, in HUMBERT, 1995: 275–279); A = Paris, BnF, arabe 3987 (DERENBOURG, 1881–1889: I, iii–ix = BnF, supplément arabe 1155 = Ça, in HUMBERT, 1995: 297–300); and B = Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts C 272 (DERENBOURG, 1881–1889: I, ix–xi = 4G in HUMBERT, 1995: 361).

6.1. First locus: *li-ʿannahumā (laysā) smāni (smayni)*

There are many differences between the above-mentioned manuscripts regarding the issue that we are studying here, and we will only present five of them. First, instead of the reading *wa-ʿammā ʿamsi wa-ḡadun fa-lā yuḥaqqarāni li-ʿannahumā laysā smayni bi-manzilati Zaydin*, which is found in all the manuscripts mentioned above (except that B has *yuḥaqqarna* and adds *wa-ʿAmrin* after *Zaydin*), MK1 does not have the negation, and reads *wa-ʿammā ʿamsi wa-ḡadun fa-lā yuḥaqqarāni li-ʿannahumā smāni bi-manzilati Zaydin* (M45^r.15, see fig. 1, the second line). MK2 has then added the negation *laysā* in the margin, but has left *ismāni* in the ungrammatical *marfūʿ* case. Lastly, MK4 has corrected *ismāni* in *ismayni*, which is found in all the versions. The rest of the sentence continues as follows: *wa-ʿinnamā humā li-l-yawmi llaḏī qabla yawmika wa-li-l-yawmi* (in M, but *wa-l-yawmi* in the other manuscripts) *llaḏī baʿda yawmika*



Fig. 1: M45^r.14–16.

Our interpretation is that for MK2 and the subsequent tradition, it is not conceivable that SĪBWAYH intended that *ʿams* and *ḡad* could be proper names of “the day before your day” and “the day after your day”. The addition of a negation forces the reader to consider the second part of the sentence as an alternative to this negation. However, it may also result in the refusal—or the impossibility to conceive—that *ʿams* and *ḡad* are proper names in the first place. Indeed, the commentators did not embark on the idea that *ʿams* and *ḡad* are proper names, but rather on the idea that their semantic referent is not flexible (see above the commentators who compare *ʿams* and *ḡad* to pronouns, like AL-SĪRĀFĪ, AL-ŠANTAMARĪ, and IBN YAʿĪŠ; AL-FĀRISĪ, who compares *ʿams* to a particle; or AL-ASTARĀBĀDĪ, who simply mentions the semantic limitations of *ʿams* and *ḡad*). It could then well be the case that the negation *li-ʿannahumā laysa smayni* was introduced by commentators who would not see why SĪBWAYH would call *ʿams* and *ḡad* proper names.

If our interpretation is correct, the two versions of the text, with or without the negation, can be paraphrased as follows: according to MK1, without the negation, “as for *ʿams* and *ḡad*, one cannot form their

diminutive because they are (proper) names for the two days, (just) like *Zayd* (is a proper name), however, they (only) refer to the day before your day and to the day after your day (and not to a whole category like the proper name *Zayd*”); and according to MK2 and the following tradition, with the negation, “as for *ʿams* and *ḡad*, one cannot form their diminutive because they are not (proper) names for the two days, like *Zayd* (is a proper name), however, they refer to the day before your day and to the day after your day.” This second version carries the main information, namely that it is not permissible to form the diminutive of *ʿams* and *ḡad*, but in doing so also removes the possibility that these two words are proper names. Consequently, one is no longer be able to understand the comparison with *Zayd* anymore.

In conclusion, MK1’s reading is probably better. The commentary tradition, based on the reading with the negation, preserved only SĪBWAYH’s conclusion about the impossibility to form the diminutive of *ʿams* and *ḡad*, but not his argumentation on different types of proper names: generic (i.e., *Zayd* that can refer to many *Zayds*) and specific (i.e., *ʿams* and *ḡad* that only refer to one specific day). To be sure, later grammarians understood that *ʿams* and *ḡad* only referred to specific days, but not that they were the proper names of these two specific days.

6.2. Second locus: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zayd wa-l-...*

The second locus of interest is found in the next sentence. MK1 had only the following short recension: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l- × × × × × × × × × × fa-yakūna li-mā ʿanta fihi wa-limā lam yaʿti wa-limā qad maḡā*. The equivalent of 12 characters have been erased (noted × × × by us), but it seems that it was MK1 himself that erased them and replaced them by the one word *al-yawm*, thus rendering the reading: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l-yawmi fa-yakūna li-mā ʿanta fihi wa-limā lam yaʿti wa-limā maḡā* (it is probably MK2 who stroke through the word *qad*). The recension of MK1 is thus the shortest (M45^r.17; Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: M45^r.16–19.

MK2 added a long sequence in the margin, so that his reading goes as follows: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l-yawmi wa-l-sā'ati wa-l-šahri wa-'ašbāhihinna a-lā tarā 'annaka taqūlu hādā al-yawmu wa-hādīhi al-laylatu* (Fig. 3). This is also the text that is found in the other manuscripts (A, B, L).

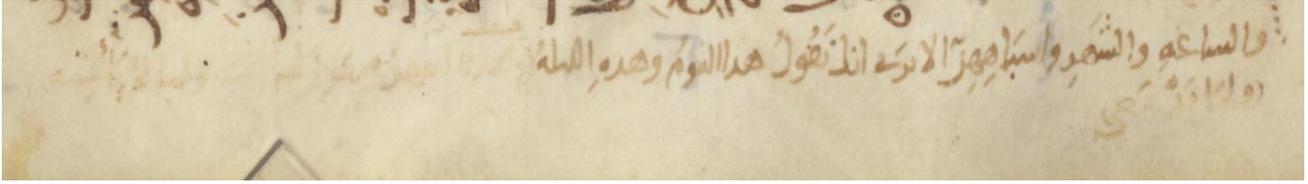


Fig. 3: M45^r in the margin completing line 17.

It is interesting to note that MK2 completed the margin with the text *wa-hādā al-šahru fa-yakūnu li-mā 'anta fihi wa-li-mā lam ya'ti wa-li-mā qad maḍā*, before realising that this text was already on the next line of the manuscript. Consequently, MK2 put this repetition between brackets, and added a deletion symbol above the first word (*wa-hādā*) before erasing the whole expression (Fig. 3).

We can thus reconstruct the evolution of the text as follows:

MK1, first draft: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l- × × × × × × × × × × fa-yakūnu li-mā 'anta fihi wa-li-mā lam ya'ti wa-li-mā qad maḍā*.

MK1, second draft: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l-yawmi fa-yakūnu li-mā 'anta fihi wa-li-mā lam ya'ti wa-li-mā qad maḍā*.

MK2, first draft: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l-yawmi wa-l-sā'ati wa-l-šahri wa-'ašbāhihinna 'a-lā tarā 'annaka taqūlu hādā al-yawmu wa-hādīhi al-laylatu wa-hādā al-šahru fa-yakūnu li-mā 'anta wa-li-mā lam ya'ti wa-li-mā qad maḍā fa-yakūnu li-mā 'anta fihi wa-li-mā lam ya'ti wa-li-mā maḍā*.

MK2, second draft: *wa-lam yatamakkanā ka-Zaydin wa-l-yawmi wa-l-sā'ati wa-l-šahri wa-'ašbāhihinna 'a-lā tarā 'annaka taqūlu hādā al-yawmu wa-hādīhi al-laylatu fa-yakūnu li-mā 'anta fihi wa-li-mā lam ya'ti wa-li-mā maḍā*.

Unfortunately, without special technology, it is impossible to restore the original erased text that was part of MK1's first draft (Fig. 2, end of the second line). Yet, no matter the situation, MK1 still remains concise, not including as many linguistic examples as the other subsequent hands and manuscripts, which previous research has shown (DRUEL 2019: 140). MK1 has the shortest reading, while MK2, even in his redacted second

draft (where the expression *wa-hādā al-šahr* was suppressed), is the longest (See fig. 3, the first words erased after *al-laylatu*).

We can consider MK2's second draft, which is today's standard version of the text, to be an internal gloss that supplies additional examples to a text that would otherwise be very allusive.

6.3. Third locus: [*wa-lā tuḥaqqaru 'asmā'u šuhūri al-sanati*]

The next locus of interest is an expression which is not found in M, but only in the other manuscripts that are under scrutiny in this paper (A, B, L): *wa-lā tuḥaqqaru 'asmā'u šuhūri al-sanati*. In all the manuscripts, the text reads: *wa-kaḏālika 'awwalu min 'amsi wa-l-Ṭalātā'u wa-l-'Arbi'a'u wa-l-bāriḥatu li-mā ḏakarnā wa-'ašbāhuhunna wa-lā tuḥaqqaru 'asmā'u šuhūri al-sanati fa-'alāmātu mā ḏakarnā min al-dahri lā tuḥaqqaru* (*Kitāb* II, 138.13–14). This passage in M was not edited by a subsequent hand. This means that none of the manuscripts with which M was collated had this additional expression. Thus in M, the text reads *wa-kaḏālika 'awwalu min 'amsi wa-l-Ṭalātā'u wa-l-'Arbi'a'u wa-l-bāriḥatu wa-'ašbāhuhunna li-mā ḏakarnā fa-'alāmātu mā ḏakarnā min al-dahri lā tuḥaqqaru* (M45^v.1–3).

This missing expression in M cannot easily be interpreted as a haplography-like scribal mistake, or in other words, a passage that was skipped over by the scribe because of a similarity between two words which sandwiched the text. This would cause the scribe to “jump” over a text from one similar word to another. To be sure, there is some confusion in the order of the expressions *li-mā ḏakarnā* and *wa-'ašbāhuhunna*, that are inverted in M, when compared to the other manuscripts. However, in light of the remarks on the loci above, it is more plausible that the expression *wa-lā tuḥaqqaru 'asmā'u šuhūri al-sanati* is a later gloss that made its way into the text.

This addition is probably consistent with the rest of the text, since it is not completely far-fetched to consider the names of the days of the months as analogically similar to the names of the days of the week. However, this passage, which is not found in M, is the only place in the text where the names of the months are mentioned, making it a probable later addition. As we have mentioned above, the corresponding passage in AL-SIRĀFĪ's commentary, which supposedly quotes the *Kitāb*, clearly contains a very long gloss about the impossibility to form the diminutives of the names of the months. It reads: *wa-kaḏālika 'asmā'u al-šuhūri naḥwa al-Muḥarramu wa-Šafaru 'ilā 'āḥiri al-šuhūri wa-ḏālika 'annahā 'asmā'un 'a'lāmun tatakarraru 'alā hādihī al-*

ʿayyāmi fa-lam tatamakkan... “and in the same manner the names of the months, like *al-Muḥarram* and *Šafar*, until the last month, and this, because they are proper names that repeat for these days, so they are not flexible...” (*Šarḥ Kitāb* XIII, 195.1–7). It is thus most probable that this commentary of AL-SĪRĀFĪ, where it is difficult to denote where the quotation of the *Kitāb* ends, has triggered the later tradition to add the gloss *wa-lā tuḥaqqaru ʿasmāʾu šuhūri al-sanati* in the matn of the *Kitāb*.

This addition is not inconsistent with what we know of SĪBĀWAYH’s teaching, but the manuscript testimony points to the possibility that it was not in the earlier versions of the text. Thus, this addition acts as evidence to how the “Vulgate” text was established, most probably under the influence of AL-SĪRĀFĪ’s commentary.

6.4. Fourth locus: *kulla šayʿin kāna miṭla mā yuḥaqqaru...*

The next locus of interest is a case of haplography. The four manuscripts we are comparing in this paper carry four different versions of the text. It is clear that the whole passage has been subject to editing. The intended meaning is quite clear, especially in the light of the commentaries, however its formulation is suspicious.

The text in MK1 reads: *wa-ʿinnamā yuḥaqqaru al-ismu ḡayru al-ʿalami llaḏi yalzamu kulla šayʿin kāna miṭla mā yuḥaqqaru wa-huwa bi-manzilati al-šayʿi llaḏi yalzamu kulla mā kāna min ʿummatihi naḥwa raḡulin wa-mraʿatin wa-ʿašbāhihimā* (M45^v.3–4; Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: M45^v.2–5.

MK2 put brackets around the expression that he did not find in the manuscript he was collating, did not bother to vocalise the passage, and wrote *laysa ʿindahū* in the margin (Fig. 4; *laysa ʿindahū* stand for *laysa fī kitābi ʿAbi Ġaʿfar*, see HUMBERT 1995: 173). MK2 thus reads as such: *wa-ʿinnamā yuḥaqqaru al-ismu ḡayru al-ʿalami llaḏi yalzamu kulla šayʿin mā kāna min ʿummatihi naḥwa raḡulin wa-mraʿatin wa-ʿašbāhihimā*.

MK3 later amended MK2's bracket to include the expression *mā kāna* in order to suppress it from the text, thus rendering MK3 as such: *wa-'innamā yuḥaqqaru al-ismu ḡayru al-'alami llaḏī yalzamu kulla šay'in min 'ummatihi naḡwa raḡulin wa-mra'atin wa-'ašbāhihimā.*

It is very probable the manuscripts that MK2 and MK3 collated had a haplography due to the repetition of the words *yalzamu kulla*. Interestingly, MK2 and MK3 granted more authority to the manuscripts they were collating rather than to MK1, thus not considering that maybe MK1 was better here, having the complete text without the haplography.

Unlike the other manuscripts, L and A do not have the text that was put between brackets. Along with MK1, B also has this passage, but in a different version. Indeed in B, the omitted passage reads as follows, yet with the addition of the word *ism*: *kāna miṭla mā tuḥaqqaru wa-huwa bi-manzilati smi al-šay'i llaḏī yalzamu kulla mā kāna*. To sum up, we have four different versions of the sentence:

- 1) the long recension in MK1 without the word *ism*;
- 2) the long recension in B with the word *ism*;
- 3) the short recension in MK2 with the words *mā kāna*;
- 4) the short recension in L, A, and MK3 without the words *mā kāna*.

As far as the meaning is concerned, the shorter recension is still understandable and meaningful, while the longer version is more explicit, yet conveys the same meaning.

6.5. Fifth locus: (*wa-*)*'innamā*...

A small additional difference is found in M, in the sentence mentioned above in the third locus. The initial *'innamā* is preceded by *wa-*, whereas in the other manuscripts this *wa-* is absent. We believe this is a consequence of what was presented in the third locus, the addition of the gloss *wa-lā tuḥaqqaru 'asmā'u šuhūri al-sanati*.

If we now read the two last sentences together (loci 3 and 4), we have the following:

M: *wa-kaḏālika 'awwalu min 'amsi wa-l-Ṭalātā'u wa-l-'Arbi'ā'u wa-l-bāriḡatu wa-'ašbāhuhunna li-mā ḏakarnā fa-'alāmātu mā ḏakarnā min al-dahri lā tuḥaqqaru. wa-'innamā yuḥaqqaru al-ismu ḡayru al-'alami llaḏī yalzamu kulla šay'in...*

L, A, B: *wa-kadālika ʾawwalu min ʾamsi wa-l-Talātāʾu wa-l-ʾArbiʾāʾu wa-l-bāriḥatu li-mā dakarnā wa-ʾašbāhuhunna wa-lā tuḥaqqaru ʾasmāʾu šuhūri al-sanati fa-ʿalāmātu mā dakarnā min al-dahri lā tuḥaqqaru. ʾinnamā yuḥaqqaru al-ismu ġayru al-ʿalami llaḍi yalzamu kulla šayʾin...*

It is striking that none of the versions which include the addition we believe is a gloss (L, A, B: *wa-lā tuḥaqqaru ʾasmāʾu šuhūri al-sanati*) have the connecting *wa-* before *ʾinnamā*. Yet M, which does not have the gloss, includes the *wa-*. One explanation for this is that once the gloss had entered the *matn*, the second *wa-* was too heavy (*wa-lā tuḥaqqaru... wa-ʾinnamā yuḥaqqaru...*) and therefore was suppressed. It is not clear to us whether the two variants *wa-ʾašbāhuhunna li-mā dakarnā* (M) and *li-mā dakarnā wa-ʾašbāhuhunna* (L, A, B) also play a role in this rephrasing.

7. Conclusion

More research is obviously needed to fully assess the recension of SĪBĀWAYH's *Kitāb* that is found in the Milan-Kazan codex, as well as its relation to AL-SĪRĀFĪ's commentary. Only the Milan-Kazan codex can shed a critical light on this relation since all other known manuscripts of the *Kitāb* apparently contain a Sirāfian recension, either western or oriental. I was not able to draw any conclusions regarding the relation between the recension found in the Milan-Kazan codex and AL-MUBARRAD's critiques, supposedly based on the poor quality of his copy of the *Kitāb*. Only through a systematic comparison of these critiques as discussed by IBN WALLĀD in his *Instiṣār* with the recension of the Milan-Kazan codex will we be able to make a final judgement.

I hope that this paper will encourage scholars to dig deeper in the vibrant manuscript tradition of SĪBĀWAYH's *Kitāb*. Two manuscripts of the *Kitāb* in particular deserve a proper edition, in addition to the Milan-Kazan codex on which I am currently working. The first is the "mother" of A, Çorum, İl Halk Kütüphanesi, *Umumi Usul* 2562 to 2565 (= 2Ç, Humbert 1995: 225–231). The second is IBN ḤARŪF's autograph, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, arabe 6499 (= 2E, HUMBERT 1995: 234–239). In the margins of this manuscript, IBN ḤARŪF included his own reading notes which would be the basis for his *Tanqīḥ*, a commentary of the *Kitāb*.

Manuscript primary sources

- A Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, arabe 3987 (= supplément arabe 1155 = Ça, in HUMBERT 1995: 297–300). Dated between 1140/1727 and 1151/1738 (HUMBERT 1995: 110). DERENBOURG (1881–1889: I, v) estimates its date to the first half of the 8th/mid-14th century. The mother (2Ç) is dated as follows: first volume, 26 Şafar 647/June 10 (not 31), 1249; second volume, 22 Ğumāda I 647/September 2, 1249; third volume, 22 Şa‘bān 647/November 30, 1249; fourth volume 20 Dū al-Qa‘da 647/February (not March) 24, 1250 (HUMBERT 1995: 103).
- B According to DERENBOURG (1881–1889: I, IX–X), B is Saint Petersburg, Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 403. HUMBERT (1995: 361) renamed B as 4G, according to her classification. She says (1995: 197) that 4G is Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Languages of the Academy of Sciences (“*Inst. vostochnyx jazykov, Akad. Nauk*”) C-272, which is a bit confusing. In 1930, the Asiatic Museum was incorporated in the newly created Institute of Oriental Studies (Институт востоковедения, not “Languages”, as written by HUMBERT). In 1951, the institute was relocated to Moscow, but the manuscript library remained in Saint Petersburg as a branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. In 2007, it became independent, and in 2009 it changed its name to the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Институт восточных рукописей). By 1986, the call number of the manuscript had changed from 403 to C 272 (see Khalidov 1986: I, 302). B is dated to late Şafar 1138/early November 1725 (not October, DERENBOURG 1881–1889: I, xi; HUMBERT 1995: 29, 197).
- L San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, árabe 1 (= 20, in HUMBERT 1995: 275–279). It is dated to 27 Dū al-Qa‘da 629/September 14 (not 14–15), 1232 (HUMBERT 1995: 275).
- M The Milan fragments of the Milan-Kazan codex (see MK below).
- MK Milan-Kazan codex. It is split in three known parts (DRUEL 2018), covering only one-fourth of the whole of SĪBWAYH’s *Kitāb*: 1) Milan, Ambrosiana, X 56 *Sup.* (115 folios); 2) Kazan, National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, 10/5/822 (48 folios); 3) London, Bernard Quaritch Ltd catalogue 2018/3, item number 11 (6 folios). The issue discussed in this paper is found in the

Milan fragments (M44^v.5–45^v.9). The earliest hand in this codex is dated to the first part of the 5th/11th century (HUMBERT 1995: 199).

Printed primary sources

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