

ʿIbn Durayd's Treatise on Phonetics

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ʿIbn Durayd, a 9th-10th Century lexicographer/ linguist, was born in Basrah, a southern city of Iraq in (223 H./838 A.D.). He grew up in Oman and traveled the Islands of the gulf between Iraq and Persia. He died in Baghdad in (321 H./933 A.D.). He was a lexicographer, a historian, a storyteller and a poet. As part of the introduction to his dictionary, called *gamharat ʿal-luḡah* 'a compendium of the language', he provides a complete description of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. His descriptions and classifications are distant from the traditional and closer to the current phonetic work in many respects. He, following in the footsteps of 8th Century with ʿal-Khalīl and Sībawayh, begins his description with the *ḥalḡ* 'throat' sounds and proceeds to the *fam* 'mouth' sounds ending with the lips. He describes the throat sounds, followed by the oral sounds at their respective *maxāriḡ* 'exits'. He classifies the inventory into its many classes and sub-classes. In addition he provides a feature analysis of the sounds. The process follows that of his predecessor in lexicography ʿal-Khalīl and the linguist Sībawayh in shaping his phonetic approach. Attached to the translation of his treatise, tables of the phonetic segments will be included to show both his familiarity and his innovations in writing about Arabic sounds. For comparative purposes, tables of ʿal-Khalīl and Sībawayh's the Arabic sound inventories will also be added. There will be no detailed analysis of the treatise nor a comparative critique with his predecessor.

ʿal-Khalīl and ʿIbn Durayd include introductions to their dictionaries that give a description of the letters of the alphabet as part of an orientation to the reader on how to use these dictionaries. In this practice, they also included their perception of how the letters were arranged and how they were classified. They gave a description of each letter, classified the letters into classes and gave some of the phonotactic processes of possible combinations and/or constraints of these letters in the formation of words

ʿIbn Durayd's Treatise on Phonetics¹: Author's Preface²

مقدمة المؤلف

In the name of God, the Kind and the Compassionate

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In Him we seek help and may His blessings and peace be
on our master Muhammad and his family

وبه نستعين وصلواته على سيدنا محمد
وأله وسلامه

0.1 (P. 39) ʿAbuw Bakr Muḥammad bin ʿal-ḥasan bin Durayd, the mercy of the Almighty God be on him, said: Thanks be to God, the Wise without reflection, the Expert without profit, the First Ancient One without beginning, the Remaining Permanence without end, Creator of His people according to His will, leading them according to His wish, without seeking aid of a supporter nor needing an assistant, nor leaning on an administrator, nor with the burden of tiredness or an instance of weariness, nor variance in workmanship nor contradiction of nature, not abandoning a thought but with solid mastery and with an established will, a wisdom that goes beyond the brilliant minds, and a power whose mercy goes beyond the understanding of a piercing sagacity. I thank Him for His blessings. He is the guarantor of thanks from which He is due more. I seek guidance from Him towards what is right, and aid towards sound judgment, protection from error and a preference for wisdom, and seeking help in Him from weakness and limitation, from pride and arrogance. And I ask Him to give blessings on Muḥammad, the harbinger of His mercy and the warner of His punishment.

قال أبو بكر محمد بن الحسن بن دُرَيْدِ رحمه الله تعالى: الحمد لله الحكيم بلا روية، الخبير بلا استفادة، الأول القديم بلا ابتداء، الباقي الدائم بلا انتهاء، مُنشئ خلقه على إرادته، ومُجريهم على مشيئته بلا استعانة إلى مؤزر ولا عوز إلى مؤيد، ولا اختلال إلى مدبر ولا تكلفة لغوب، ولا فترة كلال، ولا تفاوت صنعة، ولا تناقض فطرة، ولا إجاله فكرة، بل بالإتقان المُحكّم، والأمر المُبرّم، حكمة جاوزت نهاية العقول البارعة، وقدرة لطفت عن إدراك الفطن الثاقبة. أحمده على آلائه، وهو الموفق للحمد الموجب به المزيد، وأستوهبه رشداً إلى الصواب، وقصداً إلى السداد، وعصمه من الزيغ، وإيثاراً للحكمة، وأعوذ به من العي والحصر، والعجب والبطر، وأسأله أن يصليَ على محمدٍ بشير رحمته ونذير عقابه.

0.2. ʿAbuw Bakr Muḥammad bnu ʿal-ḥasan bnu Durayd said: When I saw the abstinence of the people of the age from literature, their slowness towards search, their enmity towards what they do not know and their losing of what they have been taught, I saw that the greatest gift of God to His servant is an expansion of understanding, a power by which he controls himself, and a heart by which he conquers his passions.

قال أبو بكر محمد بن الحسن بن دُرَيْدِ: إني لما رأيت زهد أهل هذا العصر في الأدب، وتناقلهم عن الطلب، وعداوتهم لما يجهلون، وتضييعهم لما يعلمون، ورأيت أكرم مواهب الله لعبده سعة في الفهم وسلطاناً يملك به نفسه ولباً يجمع به هواه،

¹ ʿIbn Durayd, 1987. Baalbaki, R.M. ed. *Kitāb gamharat ʿal-luyah*. Beirut: Dār ʿal-film lil-malāyiyn. Vol.1. pp. 39-51.

² The author thanks Dr. Ramzi Baalbaki of The American University of Beirut, Dr. Mohammad Alhawary of the of University Oklahoma and Mr. Simon Mauck of Georgetown University for reading and making recommendations both on the substance and style to this work.

I saw that the elders of the people of our era, stupidity has overcome them, and ignorance has gained the lead on them, losing what generations have deposited, deficient in vision in what is necessary for him to as though it were the child of its day and the result of its hour. When I saw the competent and serious future generation preferring pleasures but indifferent to the path of benefits, I favored knowledge. I preferred broadcasting it instead of storing it into my knowledge base. I glorified it secretly with the fullness of my insight in that it was good making it public as the new event of discussion of the everlasting age. So I associated with the intellectuals as an apprentice, inserted myself among the ignorant as a simpleton, competing for knowledge that I spread it among strangers and place where its power is unknown, until I ended up in the company of ʿabiy ʿabbās (p. 40) ʿismāʿiyī bin ʿabdallah bin muḥammad bin miyḳāl, may God help him in His success. I associated with a brilliant forerunner, a distinguished senior, ultimately a wise man, and a thorough scholar. He discovers wisdom by glorifying its people; he connects knowledge by bringing close to him its people; and draws on literature by searching wherever it is to be found. He did not yearn for the visions of possessions nor was he rattled by the waywardness of youth. So I apprised him of what I held secret, and revealed the secret of what I hid. I permitted him access to that of which I was protective, and I revealed what I was avaricious about, since I saw the market place of knowledge to be marketable with him and for its people he holds distinction. The precious is stored in the most secured of places, and the planting is entrusted to the most suited spots to bear fruit.

0.3 So, I improvised the book that is called *gamharat ʿal-luyah* 'the compendium of language'. I began it by mentioning the letters of the dictionary which are the source from which all of the speech of the Arabs branched, and on them pivots its composition and the substance of *ʿabniyatihī* 'its constructions'. In them is the knowledge of their similarities and their differences, their control and their unruly spread. I did not proceed in the composition of the book with the belittling of our scholars or criticizing our predecessors. Why should that be the case? Rather we are guided by their example and their paths we follow, and on what they established we build.

ورأيتُ ذا السن من أهل دهرنا لغلبة الغباوة عليه وملاكة الجهل لقياده، مضيقاً لما استودعته الأيام مقصراً في النظر فيما يجب عليه حتى كأنه ابن يومه ونتيج ساعته، ورأيت الناسىء المستقبل ذا الكفاية والجدّة مؤثراً للشهوات صادفاً عن سبل الخيرات، حبوت العلم خزناً على معرفتي بفضل إذاعته وجعلته سترأ مع فرط بصيرتي بما في إظهاره من حسن الأحداثة الباقية على الدهر، فعاشرت العقلاء كالمسترشد، ودامجت الجهال كالغبي، نفاسة في العلم أن أبته في غير أهله أو أضعه حيث لا يُعرف كنه قدره، حتى تناهت بي الحال إلى صحبة أبي العباس (ص. ٤٠) إسماعيل بن عبد الله بن محمد بن ميكال، أيده الله بتوفيقه، فعاشرت منه شهاباً ذاكياً وسباقاً مبرزاً وحكيماً متاهياً وعالماً متقناً، يستنبط الحكمة بتعظيم أهلها، ويرتبط العلم بتقريب حملته، ويستجر الأدب بالبحث عن مظانه، لم تطمح به خيلاء الملوك ولم تستفزّه شرّة الشباب، فبذلت له مصون ما أكننت، وأبديت مستور ما أخفيت، وسمحت بما كنت به ضنيناً، ومذلت بما كنت عليه شحيحاً، إذ رأيت لسوق العلم عنده نفاقاً ولأهله لديه مزيّة، وإنما يدخر النفيس في أحرز أماكنه، ويودع الزرع أخيل البقاء للنفع،

فارتجلت الكتاب المنسوب إلى جمهرة اللغة، وابتدأت فيه بذكر الحروف المعجمة التي هي أصل تفرع منه جميع كلام العرب، وعليها مدار تأليفه وإليها مأل أبيته، وبها معرفة مقاربة من متباينة ومنقاده من جامحه. ولم اجر في إنشاء هذا الكتاب إلى الإزراء بعلمائنا ولا الطعن على أسلافنا، وأنى يكون ذلك؟ وإنما على مثالهم نحتدي، وبسبلهم نقتدي، وعلى ما أصلوا نبتني.

0.7 As for the *rubāʿīy* ‘quadri-radical’, its chapters are by themselves, like *faʿlāl*, e.g. *gaʿfar* ‘Jaʿfar’, *fuʿlul*, e.g. *burθun* ‘claw’, *fiʿlil*, e.g. *fiḏʿlim* ‘darkness’, *fiʿlāl*, e.g. *higrāʿ* ‘insolent’, and *fiʿfall*, e.g. *sibatʿr* ‘stretched out’. Then we made chapters of what follows the *rubāʿīy* ‘quadri-radical’ of *ḥuruwf ʿal-zawāʿid* ‘the letters of addition/affixes’ chapters like *fawʿal*, e.g. *kawθar* ‘river in paradise’, *faʿwal*, e.g. *gahwar* ‘loud’ *fayʿal*, e.g. *xayʿal* ‘wolf’ and *bayʿar* ‘treatment’, and *fiʿyal*, e.g. *hiḏyam* ‘clipped’. There does not exist in their speech *faʿyal* except artificially, so said ʿal-Khalīl. (p. 41). This is the path of the *rubāʿīy* ‘quadri-radical’ in *ʿal-ʿasmāʿ* ‘the names’ and *ʿal-sʿifāt* ‘the descriptives/adjectives’.

0.8 As for the *xumāsiy* ‘quinque-radical’, we will give it chapters in which we would be lacking nothing due to its accessibility.

0.9 Similarly, what is related to the *sudāsiy* ‘sex-radical’ by way of *ḥarf mina ʿal-zawāʿid* ‘a letter of the additions/affixes’. If there is a request for one of these then it should be looked up in the *lafiyf* ‘doubly weak.’⁶ God willing, it is there. We collected the rare ones in a chapter that contains them and we called it “the rare ones”, due to the fewness of what came according to the *ʿal-zawān* ‘measures’ of their pronunciations like *gahwabā* ‘three headed spear blade’, *tʿuwbālatun* ‘ewe’, *galansuwatun* ‘cap’ and *garambalānah* ‘broad insect’ and similar to that, in that we cancelled the objectionable and used the known/familiar. God is the Granter of success.

فأما الرباعي فإن أبوابه مجمهرة على حدتها نحو فَعَلَّ مثل جَعَفَر، وفَعَّلَ مثل بُرْثُن، وفَعَّلَ مثل عَظْلِم، وفَعَّلَ مثل هَجْرَع، وفَعَّلَ مثل سَبَطْر ثم جعلنا ما لحق بالرباعي بحرف من الزوائد أبواباً مثل فَوَعَلَ نحو كَوَثَر، وفَعَوَلَ نحو جَهْوَر، وفَعِيلَ نحو خَيْعَل وبيَطْر، وفَعِيلَ نحو حَذِيم. وليس في كلامهم فَعِيلٌ إلا مصنوعاً، كذا قال (ص. ٤١) الخليل، فهذا سبيل الرباعي في الأسماء والصفات.

وأما الخماسي فنَبَّوْه له أبواباً لم نَحُوج فيه إلى طلب لقرب تناولها،

وكذلك الملحق بالسداسي بحرف من الزوائد. فإن عَسُرَ مَطْلَبُ حَرْفٍ مِنْ هَذَا فَلْيُطَلَبْ فِي اللَّفِيْفِ، فَإِنَّهُ يَوْجَدُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى. وَجَمَعْنَا النُّوَادِرَ فِي بَابِ اشْتَمَلِ عَلَيْهَا وَسَمَّيْنَاهُ النُّوَادِرَ لِقَلَّةِ مَا جَاءَ عَلَى وَزْنِ أَلْفَاطِهَا نَحْوَ قَهْوَبَاةٍ، وَطُوبَاةٍ، وَقَلْنَسُوَّةٍ، وَقَرَعْبَلَانَةٍ، وَمَا أَشْبَهَ ذَلِكَ. عَلَى أَنَا أَلْغَيْنَا الْمُسْتَكْرَرَ، وَاسْتَعْمَلْنَا الْمَعْرُوفَ. وَاللَّهُ الْمَوْقِقُ.

⁶ i.e. first and last are weak letters

Chapter 1. The Letters of Arabic

In the name of God the Kind the Compassionate

(الباب الأول)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

1.1 (Vol. I. p. 41) This book is *gamharat ʿal-kalām wa ʿal-luḡyah* ‘a compendium of speech and language’ and the knowledge of some of its sentences leads its observer to most of them, if the Exulted God is willing. ʿAbuw Bakr said: We attributed to it this name because we selected for it the *gamhuwr* ‘majority’ of the speech of the Arabs but we avoided the barbarous and the objectionable. God is the guide to the correct judgment.

1.2 The first thing that the one who looks into this needs-- so that his knowledge encompasses the extent of the number of their (Arabs) constructions that are either used or neglected -- is that he know the letters of the dictionary which are the poles of speech that are gathered at its anchors in their *maxārig* ‘exits’, their *madārig* ‘levels’, their *tabāʿud* ‘distance’ and their *taḡārub* ‘closeness’, and which of them *ya ʿtalif* ‘co-occur’ or do not co-occur, the *ʿillah* ‘cause’ for the *ʿimtināʿ* ‘prevention’ of what was prevented from co-occurring and making possible the occurrences of what can occur. I will be explaining to you, if the Exulted God is willing, the *ʿalfād* ‘pronunciations’ of the letters of the dictionary in their *maxārig* ‘exits’, their *madārig* ‘levels’, their *tabāʿud* ‘distance’ and in their *taḡārub* ‘closeness’, and which of them *ya ʿtalif* ‘co-occur’ or does not co-occur and their causes. So that, you will understand, if God wills it.

1.3 Know that the *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ which the Arabs used in their articulation/speech of *ʿasmāʿ* ‘names’, *ʿafʿāl* ‘actions’, *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’ and the *ʿasʿwāt* ‘sounds’ are twenty nine letters, their origin is the twenty eight letters. Of them, two letters are peculiar to the Arabs, apart from humankind, and they are the *ḏāʿ* [ḏ] and the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ]. Others have claimed that the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ] is abundant in Syriac, Hebrew and Ethiopic, and that the *ḏāʿ* [ḏ] alone is restricted to the Arabs. Of them are six letters for the Arabs and some of the non-Arabs, and they are the *ʿayn* [ʿ], the *ʿād* [ʿ], the *ḏāʿ* [ḏ], the *ḡāʿ* [ḡ], the *ṭāʿ* [ṭ] and the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ], and the rest are for all of humankind, both for the Arabs and the non-Arabs, except the *hamzah* [ʔ]; it is not part of non-Arab speech, except word initially.

وهذا كتاب جمهرة الكلام واللغة ومعرفة جُمَل منها توَدِّي الناظرَ فيها إلى معظمها إن شاء الله تعالى. قال أبو بكر: وإنما أعرناه هذا الاسمَ لأننا اخترنا له الجمهورَ من كلام العرب وأرجأنا الوحشي المستكبر، والله المرشد للصواب.

فأول ما يحتاج إليه الناظرُ في هذا الكتاب ليحيطَ علمُه بمبلغ عدد أبنيتهم المستعملة والمهملة أن يعرف الحروفَ المعجمة التي هي قطب الكلام ومُحَرَّجُهُ بمخارجها ومدارجها وتباعدها وتقاربها وما يأتلف منها وما لا يأتلف، وعلّة امتناع ما امتنع من الائتلاف، وإمكان ما أمكن، وأنا مفسِّر لك إن شاء الله تعالى ألفاظ الحروف المعجمة بمخارجها ومدارجها وتباعدها وما يأتلف منها وما لا يأتلف بعلمها فتقهم ذلك إن شاء الله.

اعلم أن الحروف التي استعملتها العرب في كلامها في الأسماء والأفعال والحركات والأصوات تسعة وعشرون حرفاً مرجعهن إلى ثمانية وعشرين حرفاً، منها حرفان مختصُّ لهما العرب دون الخلق، وهما الظاء والحاء، وزعم آخرون أن الحاء في السريانية والعبرانية والحبشية كثيرة، وأن الظاء وحدها مقصورة على العرب. ستة أحرف للعرب ولقليل من العجم، وهنّ العين والصاد والضاد والقاف والطاء والثاء، والباقي فالخلق كلهم من العرب والعجم إلا الهمزة فإنها ليست من كلام العجم إلا في الابتداء.

These letters may exceed this number, if they use letters that Arabs do not use, except out of necessity. When they need them they change them, at the moment of speaking them, to the closest letters of their *maxārig* ‘exits’. Of those letters, the letter (p. 42) that is between the *bāʾ* [b] and the *fāʾ* [f], like *puwr* ‘son’, if they needed it, they said: *fuwr*. Like the letter that is between the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and *kāf* [k] and between the *ḡiym* [ḡ] and the *kāf* [k], and it is a language common in Yemen like *gamal* ‘camel’, if they needed to, they said *kamal*, and between the *ḡiym* [ḡ] and the *kāf* [k].⁷ Like the letter that is between the *yāʾ* [y] and the *ḡiym* [ḡ] and between the *yāʾ* [y] and the *šiyin* [š] like *ḡulāmiy* ‘my servant’, if they needed to, they said, *ḡulāmig*, and if the speaker needs to, he said *ḡulāmiš*. Similarly, whatever is like this of the desired letters. As for Banu Tamiym, they attach the *ḡāf* [ḡ] with the *lahāt* ‘uvula’, so it becomes very thick. They say for *ḡawm* ‘nation; *kawm*. The *ḡāf* [ḡ] becomes between *kāf* [k] and the *ḡāf* [ḡ]. This dialect is known in Bani Tamiym. The poet said: (basiyt)⁸:

walā ʾakuwl likidri ʾal-kawmi kad nadʾigat
walā ʾakuwl libābi ʾal-dāri makfuwlu

‘I will not say of the pot of the people that it has cooked
nor will I say of the door of the house that it is locked.’

1.4 Similarly, the letter that is between the *yāʾ* [y] and the *ḡiym* [ḡ], if they needed to, they said *ḡulāmig* that is *ḡulāmiy* ‘my servant’. Similarly, the *yāʾ* [y] that is doubled, it turned into a *ḡiym* [ḡ], so they say *basʾrigg* ‘Basrian’ and *kuwʾfigg* ‘Kofian’. As the *rāgiz* ‘poet’ said :

xāliy ʾuwayfun wa ʾabuw ʾaliḡḡi
ʾal-muʾʾimāni ʾal-laḡma bi ʾal-ʾašḡḡi
wa bi-ʾal-ʾadāti fila ʾa ʾal-barniḡḡi

‘My uncle is *ʾuwayf* and *ʾabuw ʾaliḡ*
Feeders-d of meat at supper
And for lunch split barniyyi dates.’

وهذه الحروف تزيد على هذا العدد إذا
استعملت فيها حروفٌ لا تتكلم بها العربُ إلا
ضرورةً، فإذا اضطروا إليها حولوها عند
التكلم بها إلى أقرب الحروف من مخارجها.
فمن تلك الحروف الحرفُ (ص. ٤٢) الذي
بين الباء والفاء، مثل پور (يوم) إذا
اضطروا إليه قالوا: فور، ومثل الحرف
الذي بين القاف والكاف والجيم والكاف،
وهي لغة سائرة في اليمن مثل جمل إذا
اضطروا قالوا: كمل، بين الجيم والكاف،
ومثل الحرف الذي بين الياء والجيم وبين
الياء والشين مثل غلامي فإذا اضطروا قالوا
غلامج، فإذا اضطرت المتكلم قال غلامش،
وكذلك ما أشبه هذا من الحروف المرغوب
عنها. فأما بنو تميم فإنهم بلحقون القاف
باللهاء فتغلظ جداً، فيقولون للقوم: الكوم،
فتكون القاف بين الكاف والقاف وهذه لغة
معروفة في بني تميم؟ قال الشاعر (بسيط):

ولا أكل لكِز الكوم كد نَضِجَتْ

ولا أكل لباب الدار مكفولٌ

وكذلك الحرف الذي بين الياء والجيم إذا
اضطروا قالوا: غلامج أي غلامي، وكذلك
الياء المشددة تحوّل جيماً فيقولون بصرج
وكوفج كما قال الراجز:

خالي عُويْفٌ وأبو عَلِجٍ

المطعمان اللحم بالعشجِ

وبالغداة فلقَ البرنجِ

⁷ This last phrase is a redundant repetition in the text.

⁸ Meter for *basiyt*^f is : *mustaffilun fāfilun mustaffilun fafilun* (twice)

1.5 Similarly, the *yāʔ* [y] of *nisbah* ‘relation’. They make it a *gim* [g] and they say, *ʔulāmigg*, and if they needed to, they say *ʔulāmiš*. They make it between the *šīyn* [š] and the *giym* [g]. Similarly, what is similar to this concerning the shunned letters. This *lu ʔah* ‘dialect’ is recognized by the *kāf* [k] of feminine address, they say, *ʔulāmiš*, that is to say: *ʔayy ʔulāmuki yā ʔimra ʔa* ‘Lady, your boy’ if they were to address the lady. Their *rāgiz* ‘poet’ said:

tadʔhaku minni ʔan ra ʔatniy ʔahtariš
(p.43) *walaw harašti la-kašafti ʔan ħiriš*
ʔan wāsi ʔin ya ʔra ʔu fiyhi ʔal-ʔanfariš

‘She laughs at me when she sees me catch a lizard
If you were to catch one, you would uncover your vagina
About an expanse in which drowns a big penis’

That is about *ħiriki* ‘your vagina’ he makes the *kāf* of the addressee a *šīyn* [š], and ʔabuw Bakr sang to Maguwn Layla, (tʔawiyl)⁹:

fa- ʔaynāši ʔaynāhā wa-giyduši giyduhā
siwā ʔan ʔa ʔma ʔal-sā ʔi minši da ʔiy ʔu

‘Your eyes are her eyes and your lip her lip
Except for the bones of the leg, yours are delicate’

He meant *ʔaynāki* and *wa-giyduki* and *minki* and *ʔanna*. And if the one whose dialect is this is necessitated to say: *giydiš* and *ʔulāmiš*, between the *giym* [g] and the *šīyn* [š]. He is not prepared to single them out. Similarly what is similar to these letters that are shunned.

وكذلك ياء النسبة يجعلونها جيماً فيقولون:
غلامج، فإذا اضطروا قالوا: غلامش،
فيجعلونها بين الشين والجيم، وكذلك ما يشبه
هذا من الحروف المرغوب عنها، وهذه
اللغة تُعرف في كاف مخاطبة المؤنث،
يقولون: غلامش، أي غلامك يا امرأة، إذا
خاطبوا المرأة، قال راجزهم:

تضحك مني أن رأتي أحترش^{٤٣} (ص. ٤٣)

ولو حرّشت لكشفت عن حرش^{٤٣}
عن واسع يغرق فيه الفترش

أي عن حرّك، فجعل كاف المخاطبة شيئاً.
وأنشد أبو بكر لمجنون ليلي (طويل):

فعيناش عيناها وجيدش جيدها

سوى عن عظم الساق منش دقيق

أراد عيناك وجيدك ومنك وأن، وإذا اضطرت
هذا الذي هذه لغته قال: جيدش وغلامش،
بين الجيم والشين، لم يتهياً لها ن يفرد،
وكذلك ما أشبه هذا من الحروف المرغوب
عنها.

⁹ The meter for tʔawiyl is: faʔuwulun mafāʔiylun faʔuwulun mafāʔiylun (twice).

Chapter 2. On the *sʿifat* ‘description of the *huruwf* ‘letters’ and their *ʿagnās* ‘types’

2.1 The *huruwf* ‘letters’ are of seven *ʿagnās* ‘types’ gathered together under *laʿbān* ‘labels-d’: the *musʿmatah* ‘still/quiescent’ and the *muḍlaʿah* ‘of the extremity’. The *muḍlaʿah* ‘of the extremity’ are six letters and the *musʿmatah* ‘the still’ are twenty two letters, three of which are *muʿstallāt* ‘weak-pl’ and nineteen of which are *sʿiḥāh* ‘strong-pl’. Of *musʿmatah ʿal-sʿiḥāh* ‘the strong quiescents’ are the letters of the *ḥalʿ* ‘throat’ and they are the *hamzah* [ʔ], the *hāʿ* [h], the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ] the *ṣayn* [ʃ], the *ḡayn* [ɣ] and the *xāʿ* [x]. Their *maʿxaḍ* ‘source’ is from the farthest to the nearest part of the *ḥalʿ* ‘throat’. One of them, the *hamzah* [ʔ], is from the farthest exit of the *ʿasʿwāt* ‘sounds’, followed by the *hāʿ* [h], and it is from the *mawḍʿiʿ* ‘location’ of the *naʿfas* ‘breath’. The *ḥāʿ* [ḥ] is higher and is the closest letter that follows it. Don’t you see that it is mixed in the speech of many people to the degree that the *hāʿ* [h] becomes a *ḥāʿ* [ḥ] and the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ] a *hāʿ* [h]? Ruʿbah said (Ragaz)¹⁰:

li-llāhi darru ʿal-ḡāniyāti ʿal-muddahi
sabbahna wa-starga ʿnā min taʿalluhi

‘To God are the praising singers-f
They glorified and reclaimed from divinizing’

and it is related of *ʿal-muzzahi*, he meant *ʿal-muzzahi* ‘the merriment’. Whoever reports *ʿal-muddahi* meant *ʿal-muddahi* ‘the profused in praise’. *ʿal-nuʿmān bin ʿal-munḍir* said to a man who was with him and who mentioned another man in his presence: in whatever way you wanted to insult him *madahtahu* ‘you praised him’. He meant, you find fault in him so *madahtahu* ‘you praised him’. *ʿal-ʿašnāndāniy* recited for us from *ʿal-tawwāziy* on the authority of *ʿabiy ʿubaydah* from a man from *Baniy Saʿd*, pre-islamic (ragaz)¹¹

ḥasbuki ba ʿḍa ʿal-ḡawli lā tamaddahiy
(p. 44) *ḡarraki birzā ḡu ʿal-ṣābābi ʿal-muzdahiy*
‘Mind you, do not take some of speech as praise
You-f were seduced by the full flowering of youth.’

(الباب الثاني)

باب صفة الحروف وأجناسها

الحروف سبعة أجناس يجمعهن لقبان: المصمّنة والمذوّقة، فالمذوّقة ستة أحرف، والمصمّنة اثنان وعشرون حرفاً ثلاثة منها معتلات وتسعة عشر حرفاً صحاح. فمن المصمّنة الصحاح حروف الحلق، وهي الهمزة والهاء والحاء والعين والغين والخاء مأخذهنّ من أقصى الحلق إلى أدناه. أما الهمزة منهنّ فمن مخرج أقصى الأصوات، والهاء تليها وهي من موضع النّفس، والحاء أرفع وهي أقرب حرف يليها، ألا ترى أنها في كلام كثير من الناس مغلوط بها حتى تصير الهاء حاءً والحاء هاء. قال رؤبة (رجز):

لله درُّ الغانيات المذوّة

[سبّحنَ واسترجعن من تألّهي]

ويروى: المذوّة، أراد المذوّح؛ ومن روى المذوّة أراد المذوّح. وقال النّعمان بن المنذر لرجل ذكر عنده رجلاً، أردت كيما تذيّمه فمدهته، أراد: تعيبيه فمدحته. وأنشدنا الأشنانداني عن التّوّزي عن أبي عبّيدة لرجل من بني سعد، جاهلي (رجز):

حسبك بعض القول لا تمذهي (س. ٤٤)

غرّك برزّاغ الشباب المزدّهي

¹⁰ The meter for ragaz is: mustaffilun (six times).

¹¹ The meter for ragaz is: mustaffilun (six times).

It is said: *šabābun burzuγ*, *burzāγ* and *burzuwγ*, if it is complete. The *hamzah* [ʔ] replaces the *hāʔ* [h] often and the *hāʔ* [h] replaces the *hamzah* [ʔ], as in their saying: *ʔayhāt* and *hayhāt* ‘alas!’ and *ʔā-zaydun* and *hā-zaydun* ‘Zayd!’ in calling. The *ʔayn* [ʔ] follows the *hāʔ* [h] in the *madrag* ‘level’ and *ʔal-ʔirtifāʔ* ‘the raising’, that is why some Arabs said: *maḥahum*; they mean *maḥahum* ‘with them’ and if *ʔudʔimat* ‘it were to be assimilated’ it is said *maḥḥum* ‘with them’. The *xāʔ* [a] is higher and it follows the *ʔayn* [ʔ], and the *γayn* [γ] is on the level of the *xāʔ* [x] except it is *ʔasfal* ‘lower’ than it. This is the type of the letter of the *ḥalG* ‘throat’.

2.2 As for the type of the letters at the *ʔaGʔā* ‘farthest end’ of the mouth and the lowest part of the *lisān* ‘tongue’, they are the *Gāf* [G] and *kāf* [k], then the *giym* [g], then *šīyn* [š]. That is why the *kāf* [k] and the *Gāf* [G] do not co-occur in one word except with *ḥawāgiz* ‘barriers’. There does not exist in their speech *Gak* nor *kaG*; similarly is their case with the *giym* [g], there is not in their speech *gak* nor *kag* but it is added to the *šīyn* [š] due to the spread of the *šīyn* [š] and its nearness to the knot of the *lisān* ‘tongue’. Rather, it goes beyond the knot into the *fam* ‘mouth’. There occurs in their speech: *Gašš* and *ʔal-Gašš* ‘the straw’, the source of *Gašaštu ʔal-šayʔ*, *ʔaGuššuhu Gaššan*, ‘I smothered the thing, I uprooted it completely’, if I were to uproot it. It is also said: *Gašaštu ʔal-šayʔa bi-yadiy Gaššan*, ‘I crushed the thing with my hand completely’, if you were to rub it with your hand until it crumbled. They associated this word with the *bināʔ* ‘construction’ of *gaʔfar* and they said: *GašGaš*, and they said: *taGašGašat ʔal-Garḥatu* ‘the sore formed a scab’, if it is dried and healed. The verses *Gul yā ʔayyuhā ʔal-kāfiruwn* (Sūra CIX: 1) ‘say, you who reject faith’ and *Gul huwa ʔal-lāhu ʔaḥad* (Sūra CXII: 1) ‘Say, he is God, he is one’. They are called at the onset of Islam *ʔal-muGašGišatayn* because both are rendered innocent of hypocrisy. They joined the *šīyn* [š] and the *kāf* [k] and said: *šukka fiy ʔal-ʔamr* ‘the matter was doubted’ and *kašša ʔal-baʔiyru* ‘the camel brayed’ if it were to roar a gentle roar. Ruʔbah said: (ragaz)¹²

ʔinniy ʔiḏā ḥammašaniy taḥmiyšiy
yawman wa-giddu ʔal-ʔamri ʔuw takmiyšiy
‘If some day my rage irritates me
And the matter is serious’

يقال: شبابٌ بُرْزُغٌ وِبُرْزَاغٌ وِبُرْزُوغٌ إِذَا تَمَّ. والهمزة تدخل على الهاء كثيراً وتدخل الهاء عليها كقولهم أمهات وهيهات وأزيد وهازيد في الدعاء. والعين تتلو الحاء في المدرج والارتفاع، فلذلك قال قوم من العرب: مَحَّهُم يريدون معهم، وإذا أدغم قيل مَحَّم. والحاء أرفع منها وهي تلي العين والغين على مدرج الحاء إلا أنها أسفل منها. فهذا جنس حروف الحلق.

وأما جنس حروف أقصى الفم من أسفل اللسان، فهن القاف والكاف ثم الجيم ثم الشين، فلذلك لم تأتلف الكاف والقاف في كلمة واحدة إلا بجواجز: ليس في كلامهم قك ولا كق، وكذلك حالهما مع الجيم، ليس في كلامهم جك ولا كج. إلا أنها قد دخلت على الشين لتفتشي الشين وفربها من عُدَّة اللسان بل هي مجاوزة للعُدَّة إلى الفم، فقد جاء في كلامهم قشٌ، والقش: مصدر قششت الشيء أفشته قشاً، إذا استوعبته، ويقال: قششت الشيء بيدي قشاً، إذا حكته بيدك حتى يتحات. وألقوا هذه الكلمة ببناء جعفر فقالوا: قشش، وقالوا: قششست القرحة، إذا جففت وبرأت. وكانت [قل يا أيها الكافرون] وقل [هو الله أحد] تسميان في صدر الإسلام: "المقششتين"، لأنهما أبرأتا من النفاق. وقد جمعوا بين الشين والكاف فقالوا: شك في الأمر، وكش البعير إذا هدر هديرًا خفيفاً. قال روبة (رجز):

[إني إذا حمشني تحميشي]
[يوماً وجدُّ الأمر نو تكميش]

¹² The meter for ragaz is: mustafilun (six times).

hadaratu hadran laysa bi-ʔal-kašyš
 ‘I roared a roar that is not the lowest of it’

هَدَرْتُ هَدْرًا لَيْسَ بِالكَشِيشِ

They joined between the *šyyn* [š] and the *gyym*, [g] in the *šagg* ‘fracture’ and the *gašš* ‘crush’

وَقَدْ جَمَعُوا بَيْنَ الشَّيْنِ وَالْجِيمِ فِي الشَّجِّ
وَالْجَشِّ.

2.3 The type of the letters of the *wasatʔ ʔal-lisān* ‘middle of the tongue’ that are lowered: the *siyn* [s], the *zāy* [z], and the *sʔād* [sʔ]

جَنَسَ حُرُوفَ وَسْطِ اللِّسَانِ مِمَّا هُوَ
مَنْخَفُضٌ: السَّيْنِ وَالزَّايِ وَالصَّادِ.

2.4 The type of the closest part of the mouth: of the letters of the closest part of the mouth are: the *tāʔ* [t], the *tʔāʔ* [tʔ], and the *dāl* [d]. And lower than them also is what is peculiar to the upper concavity: the *ḏʔāʔ* [ḏʔ], the *θāʔ* [θ], the *ḏāl* [ḏ], and the *dʔād* [dʔ].

جَنَسَ حُرُوفَ أَدْنَى الْفَمِ: وَمِنْ جَنَسَ حُرُوفَ
أَدْنَى الْفَمِ التَّاءِ وَالطَّاءِ وَالذَّالَ، وَأَدْنَى مِنْهَا
أَيْضًا مِمَّا هُوَ شَاخِصٌ إِلَى الْغَارِ الْأَعْلَى:
الطَّاءِ وَالتَّاءِ وَالذَّالَ وَالضَّادِ. (ص. ٤٥)

Chapter 3. *ʿal-huruwf ʿal-muḍlaḡah* ‘the letters of the extremity’

3.1 (p. 45) As for the letters of extremity, they are six and they are of two types: the type of the lip and they are the *fāʿ* [f], the *miym* [m], and the *bāʿ* [b]. The tongue is not involved in these three letters, but their involvement is in the meeting of the two lips. Their lowest is the *fāʿ* [f], then the *bāʿ* [b] then the *miym* [m]. The second type of the extremity is between *ʿasalat ʿal-lisān* ‘the apex of the tongue’ to the front of the *yār ʿal-ʿaḡlā* ‘upper concavity’, and they are: the *rāʿ* [r], the *nuwn* [n], and the *lām* [l], and they are mixed with the sound of *yunnah* ‘nasality’ because nasality is one sound of the sounds of the *xayšuwim* ‘nose’, and the nose is built over the upper concavity, and towards it this sound rises. I heard *ʿal-ʿašnāndāniy* say: I heard *ʿal-ʿaxfaš* say: the sounds are called *muḍlaḡah* ‘of the extremity’ because they involve the *ʿarāf* ‘edge’ of the tongue. And the *ʿarāf* ‘edge’ of anything is *ḍalḡahu* ‘its extremity’. They are the *ʿaxaff* ‘lightest’ of letters and best for mixing with the others.

3.2 The others are called the *muḡmatah* ‘quiescent/still’, because they are quiescent/stilled. They are specified for a *bināʿ* ‘construction’ when its letters are many due to their difficulty for the tongue. As for the twenty ninth letter, it is *ḡarsun* ‘a ring’ without *ʿarf* ‘variation’, which means that it is *sākin* ‘still/quiescent’ that does not vary in the *ʿarāb* ‘desinence’, which is *ʿalif ʿal-sākinah* ‘the quiescent *ʿalif* [A]’, that is, it does not occur except *sākin* ‘quiescent’, ever. Because of that, they did not commence with it. If you needed *tuḡarrikuhu* ‘to set it in motion’, you transformed it to the pronunciation of one of the weak letters: the *yāʿ* [y], the *wāw* [w] or the *hamzah* [ʔ]. Due to that, it is not counted among the dictionary letters, which they considered as going back to twenty eight. The *lisān* ‘tongue’ is prohibited from commencing with a *sākin* ‘quiescent’ or stop at *mutaḡarrik* ‘one set in motion’. If there is a word whose beginning is an *ʿalif* [A], it becomes a *hamzah* [ʔ] for the sake of its *ḡarakah* ‘motion’ and its moving it over to the state of the *hamzah* [ʔ]. That is why they said things about the *ʿalif* [A] that they said.

(الباب الثالث)

الحروف المذلقة

أما المذلقة من الحروف فهي ستة ولها جنسان: جنس الشفة، وهي الفاء والميم والباء؛ لا عمل للسان في هذه الأحرف الثلاثة، وإنما عملهن في التقاء الشفتين، وأسفلهن الفاء ثم الباء ثم الميم. والجنس الثاني من المذلقة بين أسلة اللسان إلى مقدّم الغار الأعلى، وهي: الراء والنون واللام، وهنّ ممتزجات بصوت العنة لأن العنة صوت من أصوات الخيشوم، والخيشوم مركب فوق الغار الأعلى وإليه يسمو هذا الصوت. وسمعت الأثناندياني يقول: سمعت الأخفش يقول: سميت الحروف مذلقة لأن عملها في طرف اللسان، وطرف كل شيء عدلّقه، وهي أخفّ الحروف وأحسنها امتزاجاً بغيرها،

وسميت الأخر مضممة لأنها أصممت أن تختص بالبناء إذا كثرت حروفه لاعتياصها على اللسان. وأما الحرف التاسع والعشرون فجرس بلا صرف، يريد أنه ساكن لا يتصرف في الإعراب، وهو الألف الساكنة، وذلك أنه لا يكون إلا ساكناً أبداً، فمن أجل ذلك لم يبدعوا به، فإذا احتجت أن تحركه تحوله إلى لفظ أحد الحروف المعتلات: الياء والواو والهمزة، فمن ثم لم يعدّ في الحروف المعجمة حين وجدوه راجعاً إلى الثمانية والعشرين، فإن اللسان ممتنع من أن يبتدىء بساكن أو يقف على متحرك، فإذا كانت كلمة أولها ألف صارت همزةً لحركتها وانتقالها إلى حال الهمزة، فلذلك قالوا في الألف ما قالوا.

Of the type of the *fam* ‘mouth’ also are those whose exits are from the two lips to the outside air: the *wāw* [w] and the *yāʾ* [y], and they are towards the right incisor. This is the collection of the exits of the letters and their types. I will explain to you aspects of their co-occurrence, God willing. The *naḥwīyyūn* ‘grammarians’ have explained the exits of letters and their types with another explanation. I ascertained it for you, even if it is done at some length, so that you will master the *ʾalḡāb* ‘labels’ and the *maxāriḡ* ‘exits’ of the letters.

ومن جنس الفم أيضاً ما مُخرجه إلى الهواء من الشفتين: الواو والياء، وهما إلى الثنية اليمنى. وهذه جملة مخارج الحروف وأجناسها، وأنا مبينٌ لك بعد هذا وجوه انتلافها إن شاء الله. وقد فسّر النحويون مخارج الحروف وأجناسها تفسيراً آخر، وقد أثبتّه لك وإن كان فيه طولٌ لتقف على ألقاب الحروف ومخارجها.

Chapter 4. *Bāb maxāriḡ ʿal-ḥuruwf wa ʿagnāsihā* ‘Chapter on the exits of letters and their types’

4.1 A group of the *naḥwiyyiwn* ‘grammarians’ have mentioned that these twenty nine *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ have sixteen *maxāriḡ* ‘exits’.¹³ The *ḥalḡ* ‘throat’ has three of them, their farthest is the *ḥāʿ* [h]; it is the sister of the *ḥamzah* [ʔ] and the *ʿalif* [A], the second is the *ʿayn* [ʿ] and the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ]; the third and it is the closest to the *fam* ‘mouth’, is the *ʿayn* [ʿ] and the *xāʿ* [x]. These are three *magāriy* ‘channels’. Then the letters of the *fam* ‘mouth’ the closest to the *ḥalḡ* ‘throat’: the *ḡāf* [ḡ]; then the *kāf* [k] which is slightly lower than it; then the *ḡim* [g] and the *šim* [š] at the *lahāt* ‘uvula’; the *yāʿ* [y] from the middle of the tongue, between it and what parallels it from the *ḥanak ʿal-ʿaḥā* ‘upper palate’; then the *sim* [s] and the *sʿad* [sʿ] and the *zāy* [z] from the right side of the *lisān* ‘tongue’ from the bases of the *ʿadʿrās* ‘molars/grinders’ to the bases of the upper *ḥanāyā* ‘incisors’; then the *nuwn* [n] under the right *ḥāffat ʿal-lisān* ‘edge of the tongue’, and the *lām* [l] is close to that and the *rāʿ* [r], except that the *rāʿ* [r] is inner to it at the *tʿaraf* ‘edge’ of the *lisān* ‘tongue’ into the *fam* ‘mouth’; then the *tāʿ* [t] and the *dāl* [d] and the *tʿāʿ* [tʿ] from *tʿaraf ʿal-lisān* ‘the edge of the tongue’ and bases of the *ḥanāyā* ‘incisors’; then the *fāʿ* [f] and then the *wāw* [w] the *bāʿ* [b], and the *miym* [m], which are from between the two lips; then *nuwn ʿal-xafiyah* ‘the light *nuwn* [n]’, it is from the nose with which (p. 46) the tongue is not involved; then the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ], the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ], and the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ] with the *tʿaraf* ‘edge’ of the *lisān* ‘tongue’ and the edges of the *ḥanāyā* ‘incisors’; then the *dʿād* [dʿ] from the middle of the *lisān* ‘tongue’ to what follows to the right *ḥāffah* ‘edge’, but these approximate sounds are rendered different till the *ḥams* ‘whisper’, *ḡahr* ‘loudness’, *šiddah* ‘tightness’, *raxāwah*, ‘looseness’, *madd* ‘length’, *liyn* ‘softness’ and *ʿitbāḡ* ‘covering’ differentiated them.

4.2 The *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ that are *mahmuwsah* ‘whispered/muted’ are: the *ḥāʿ* [h], the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ], the *kāf* [k], the *xāʿ* [x], the *sim* [s], the *šim* [š], the *ḥāʿ* [ḥ], the *sʿad* [sʿ], the *tāʿ* [t], and the *fāʿ* [f].

¹³ Of these grammarians, Sībawayh is the first who lists the sixteen exits. Cf. Sībawayh, 1885/1970. Ed. Derenbourg. Gustav. *Le Livre de Sībawayhi: traité de grammaire arabe*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag. Vol. 2. ch. 565. p. 453. L. 3ff.

(الباب الرابع)

باب مخارج الحروف وأجناسها

ذكر قوم من النحويين أن هذه التسعة والعشرين حرفاً لها ستة عشر مجرى، للحلق منها ثلاثة، فأقصاها الهاء وهي أخت الهمزة والألف، والثاني العين والحاء، والثالث، وهو أدناها إلى الفم، الغين والحاء، فهذه ثلاثة مجارٍ. ثم حروف الفم، فأدناها إلى الحلق القاف ثم الكاف أسفل منها قليلاً ثم الجيم والشين من اللهاة، والياء من وسط اللسان بينه وبين ما حاذاه من الحنك الأعلى، ثم السين والصاد والزاي بجانب اللسان الأيمن من أصول الأضراس إلى أصول الثنايا العليا، ثم النون تحت حافة اللسان اليمنى، واللام قريبة من ذلك، والراء، إلا أن الراء ادخل منه بطرف اللسان في الفم، ثم التاء والذال والطاء من طرف اللسان وأصول الثنايا، ثم الفاء وهي من باطن الشفة السفلى وأطراف الثنايا العليا، ثم الواو والباء والميم، وهي من بين الشفتين، ثم النون الخفيفة، وهي من الخياشيم لا عمل (ص. ٤٦) للسان فيها، ثم الظاء والتاء والذال، بطرف اللسان وأطراف الثنايا، ثم الضاد، من وسط اللسان مما يليه إلى الحافة اليمنى. وإنما خالف بين هذه الحروف المتقاربة حتى اختلفت أصواتها الهمس، والجهر، والشدة، والرخاوة، والمد، واللين، والإطباق.

فالحروف المهموسة: الهاء والحاء والكاف والحاء والسين والشين والتاء والصاد والفاء،

They are called *mahmuwsah* ‘whispered/ muted’ because the *maxrag* ‘exit’ expanded for them to exit, so they exited as though they were capable of being spread.

4.3 The *maghurah* ‘loud’ are: the *hamzah* [ʔ], the *ʔalif* [A], the *ʕayn* [ʕ], the *yaʕyn* [ʕ], the *ʕāf* [ʕ], the *giym* [g], the *yāʔ* [y], the *dʕād* [dʕ], the *lām* [l], the *nuwn* [n], the *rāʔ* [r], the *zāy* [z], the *dāl* [d], the *ḏāl* [ḏ], the *tʕāʔ* [tʕ], the *ḏʕāʔ* [ḏʕ], the *bāʔ* [b], the *wāw* [w] and the *miym* [m]. They are called *maghurah* ‘loud’ because their *maxrag* ‘exit’ does not expand, so no sound of theirs is heard.

4.4 The *rixwah* ‘loose’ letters are: the *hāʔ* [h], the *ḥāʔ* [ḥ], *kāf* [k]¹⁴, the *xāʔ* [x], the *siyn* [s], the *šiyin* [š], *ʕayn* [ʕ], the *yaʕyn* [ʕ], the *sʕād* [sʕ], the *dʕād* [dʕ], the *ḏʕāʔ* [ḏʕ], the *ḏāl* [ḏ], the *θāʔ* [θ], the *fāʔ* [f], and the *zāy* [z]. They are called *rixwah* ‘loose’ because they are loose in the channels.

4.5 Know that these *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ were probably *mahmuwsah rixwah* ‘soft whispered’ and there is in them some of what is in the others and that is why I repeated them. As for the *ḥuruwf ʔal-madd wa ʔal-liyn* ‘letters of length and softness’, they are three and no other: the *wāw* [w], the *yāʔ* [y] the *ʔalif* [A]. They called *layyinah* ‘soft’ because the sound extends in them¹⁵ so that they are chanted in the *ʕawāfiy* ‘rhymes’ and others. They bear the length because they are *sawākin* ‘quiescents’ whose *maxārig* ‘exists’ expanded’ so that the sound flowed in them.

4.6 The *ḥuruwf ʔal-muʕbaʕah* ‘covered letters’ are: the *sʕād* [sʕ], the *dʕād* [dʕ], the *tʕāʔ* [tʕ] and the *ḏʕāʔ* [ḏʕ] because if you were to pronounce them you covered them so that you prevent the *nafas* ‘breath’ from flowing with them.

4.7 The *ḥuruwf ʔal-šadiydah* ‘tight letters’ are: the *tāʔ* [t], the *šiyin* [š], the *giym* [g], and others which you can tighten up when you pronounce them.¹⁶ These are all the *magāriy* ‘channels’ of the letters and *madāriyuhā* ‘their levels’.

وإنما سُميت مهموسةً لأنه اتسع لها المخرج فخرجت كأنها متفشية.

والمجهورة: الهمزة والألف والعين والغين والقاف والجيم والياء والضاد واللام والنون والراء والزاي والذال والذال والطاء والظاء والباء والواو والميم، سُميت مجهزةً لأن مخرجها لم يتسع فلم تسمع لها صوتاً.

والحروف الرخوة: الهاء والحاء والكاف والخاء والسين والشين والعين والغين والصاد والضاد والطاء والذال والثاء والفاء والزاي، سُميت رخوةً لأنها تسترخي في المجاري.

واعلم أن هذه الحروف ربما كانت مهموسةً رخوةً وفيها بعض ما في غيرها فلذلك كررتها. وأما حروف المد واللين فتلاثة لا غير: الواو والياء والألف، وإنما سُميت ليثةً لأن الصوت يمتد فيها فيقع عليها التثني في القوافي غير ذلك، وإنما احتملت المد لأنها سواكن اتسعت مخرجها حتى جرى فيها الصوت.

والحروف المطبقة: الصاد والضاد والطاء والظاء لأنك إذا لفظت بها أطبقتَ عليها حتى تمنع النفس أن يجري معها.

والحروف الشديدة: الطاء والشين والجيم وغير ذلك مما تقدر أن تشدده إذا لفظت به. فهذا جميع مجاري الحروف ومدارجها.

¹⁴ [k] does not fit the definition of *rixwah* ‘loose’ in this context.

¹⁵ This would more appropriately characterize the *madd* ‘length’ feature.

¹⁶ ʿibn Durayd has a different take on *šadiyd* ‘tight’ than Sībawayh in Vol. 2. p. 454. L. 7-8. where they are listed as: *hamzah* [ʔ], [ʕ], [k], [g], [tʕ], [d], [b]. There is no [š]. Since he does not list the rest, it is not clear what his list would be.

Look into them, but not a feeble look, and reflect long on them with piercing thought and you would win your wish, God willing. I introduced you to the *magāriy* ‘channels’ so you would know what co-occurs and what does not co-occur, so that if a *kalimah* ‘word’ comes your way constructed of letters the likes of which the Arabs do not compose, you would know the location of the foreignness so you would reject it, with confidence.

4.8 Know that if the *maxārig* ‘exits’ of the *hurūf* ‘letters’ are close to each other, they become heavier on the *lisān* ‘tongue’ than if they were farther apart, because if you were to use the *lisān* ‘tongue’ in the letters of the *ḥalḡ* ‘throat’ without the letters of the *ḍalāḡah* ‘extremity’ you would impose on it just one *gars* ‘ring’ with different *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’. Don’t you see that if you were to bring together the *hamzah* [ʔ], the *hāʔ* [h] and *hāʔ* [h], it is possible, but you would find the *hamzah* [ʔ] transform into a *hāʔ* [h] in some *luḡāt* ‘dialects’ due to its¹⁷ proximity to it¹⁸. For example in their saying in *ʔam wa-ʔal-lāhi* ‘would that to God!’ *ham wa-ʔal-lāhi*. Just as they said in *ʔarāḡa* ‘he spilled’, *harāḡa ʔal-māʔa* ‘he spilled the water’, and you would find that the *hāʔ* [h] in some speech is transformed into a *hāʔ* [h]. I have mentioned it before. If the *maxārig* ‘exits’ of the letters are far apart, the aspect of composition is improved. I will describe this for you in its location, if the Exulted God is willing.

4.9 Know that it is not probable that three letters of the same type in a single word would occur in the speech of the Arabs, due to the difficulty of that for them, and the most difficult are the letters of *ḥalḡ* ‘throat’. As for two letters, they come together in a word like *ʔax* ‘brother’ without interruption. And they come together like *ʔuḥud* ‘singles’, and *ʔahl* ‘people’ and *ʔahd* ‘age’ and *naxʕ* ‘marrow’. It is their habit that if they wanted this, they begin with the stronger one of the two letters and delay (p.47) the softer one, as they said: *waral* ‘lizzard’, and *watid* ‘post, peg’. They began with a *tāʔ* [t] on *dāl* [d], and *rāʔ* [r] on *lām* [l]. Sample a *tāʔ* [a] and the *dāl* [d] and you will find that the *tāʔ* [t] breaks off with a strong *gars* ‘ring’ and you find the *dāl* [d] breaks off with a soft ring. Similarly, the *rāʔ* [r] breaks off with a strong ring and you will find the *lām* [l] breaks off with *ḡunnah* ‘nasalization’.

فانظر فيها نظراً غير كليل وأجل فيها فكراً
ثاقباً تظفر بمراك إن شاء الله. وإنما
عرفتك المجاري لتعرف ما يأتلف منها ممّا
لا يأتلف فإذا جاءتك كلمة مبنية من حروف
لا تؤلف مثلها العرب عرفت موضع الدخّل
منها فرددتها غير هائب لها.

واعلم أن الحروف إذا تقاربت مخرجها
كانت أثقل على اللسان منها إذا تباعدت،
لأنك إذا استعملت اللسان في حروف الحلق
دون حروف الفم ودون حروف الذلاقة كلفته
جرساً واحداً وحركات مختلفة، ألا ترى
أنك لو ألفت بين الهمزة والهاء والحاء
فأمكن لوجدت الهمزة تتحول هاءً في بعض
اللغات لقربها منها نحو قولهم في " أم
والله": "هم والله"، وكما قالوا في " أراق":
"هراق الماء"؛ ولوجدت الحاء في بعض
الأسنة تتحول هاءً، وقد ذكرت هذا آنفاً،
وإذا تباعدت مخرج الحروف حسُن وجه
التأليف، وأنا واصف لك هذا في موضعه،
إن شاء الله تعالى.

واعلم أنه لا يكاد يجيء في الكلام ثلاثة
أحرف من جنس واحد في كلمة واحدة
لصعوبة ذلك عليهم، وأصعبها حروف
الحلق، فأما حرفان فقد اجتمعا في كلمة مثل
أخ بلا فاصلة، واجتمعا في مثل أحد وأهل
وعهد ونخع، غير أن من شأنهم إذا أرادوا
هذا أن يبدعوا بالأقوى من الحرفين
ويؤخروا (ص. ٤٧) الألين، كما قالوا: ورل
ووتد، فبدعوا بالتاء على الدال وبالراء على
اللام، فدق التاء والدال فإنك تجد التاء
تقطع بجرس قوي وتجد الدال تنقطع
بجرس لين، وكذلك الراء تنقطع بجرس
قوي وتجد اللام تنقطع بغنة،

¹⁷ i.e. a *hamzah* [ʔ].

¹⁸ i.e. a *hāʔ* [h].

It leads you to that, also, the fact that the difficulty of the *lām* [l] for the tongue is less than the difficulty with the *rāʾ* [r], and that is due to the softness of the *lām* [l]. So understand!

4.10 ʿal-Khalīl said: Were it not for the harshness of the *ḥāʾ* [ḥ], it would be like the *ṣayn* [ʃ],¹⁹ that is, they do not co-occur in one word, and similarly the *hāʾ* [h]. But they come together in two words, for each with a meaning by itself, as in their saying: *ḥayya hal* ‘hurry and welcome!’, and the saying of another *ḥiyhā ʿihu* ‘how impossible it is for him!’ and *ḥayhalahu* ‘his call of greeting’. *ḥayya* is a word whose meaning is *halumma* ‘come on!’ and *halā* ‘greeting’ proddingly. Similarly, in the prophetic saying: *fa-ḥayya hallan bi-ṣumar* ‘Welcome ṣumar’. ʿal-Khalīl²⁰ said: we heard an outrageous word *ʿal-huṣuṣ* but we denied its composition. A bedouin was asked about his camel-f and he said: I left it graze the *huṣuṣ*. So we asked the trustworthy among their scholars but they denied that and said: we know the *xuṣuṣ*. This is closer to the composition.

4.11 Know that the user of this book cannot do without the knowledge of *zawāʿid* ‘additions/affixes’ because they are frequent additions in the *ʿabniya* ‘constructions’. Rarely are the *rubāʿiy* ‘quadri-radical’, the *xumāsīy* ‘quinque-radical’ and the appendix to the *sudāsīy* ‘sexe-radical’ in a construction without them. If you were to know the location of the *zawāʿid* ‘additions/affixes’ in the constructions, it would be better for the observer that they would not be exceptions to the observer, if the Exulted God is willing. The *zawāʿid* ‘additions/affixes’ according to some of the *naḥwīyyuwn* ‘grammarians’ are ten letters but some of them said nine; two words bring these ten letters together and they are: *ʿal-yawma tansāhu* ‘today you will forget it’. This was done by ʿabuw Ṣuṯmān ʿal-māzīniy.

ويدلك على ذلك أيضاً أن اعتياص اللام على الألسن أقل من اعتياص الراء، وذلك للين اللام، فافهم.

قال الخليل : لولا بحة في الحاء لأشبهت العين فلذلك لم تأتلفا في كلمة واحدة وكذلك الهاء ولكنهما يجتمعان في كلمتين لكل واحدة منهما معنى على حدة ، نحو قولهم: حَيَّ هَلْ، وكقول الآخر: هَيْهأُوهُ، وحَيْهَلْهُ، فحَيَّ كلمة معناها هَلْمٌ وهَلَا حثيثاً، وكذلك في الحديث: "فحَيَّ هَلَا بَعْمَرٌ". وقال الخليل: سمعنا كلمة شنعاء: الهُعْخُعُ، فأنكرنا تأليفها ، وسئل أعرابي عن ناقتة فقال: تركتها ترعى الهُعْخُعَ، فسألنا الثقات من علمائهم فأنكروا ذلك وقالوا: نعرف الخُعْخُعَ ، فهذا أقرب إلى التأليف.

واعلم أنه لا يستغني الناظر في هذا الكتاب عن معرفة الزوائد لأنها كثيرة الدخول في الأبنية قل ما يمتنع منها الرباعي والخماسي والملحق بالسداسي من البناء، فإذا عرفت مواقع الزوائد في الأبنية كان ذلك حرياً لنا تشد على الناظر فيها إن شاء الله تعالى. والزوائد عند بعض النحويين عشرة أحرف وقال بعضهم تسعة، تجمع هذه العشرة الأحرف كلمتان، وهما: " اليوم تتساه"، وهذا عمله أبو عثمان المازني.

¹⁹ ʿal-khalīl, *Kitāb ʿal-ṣayn* Vol. 1. p. 57.

²⁰ ʿal-khalīl, *Kitāb ʿal-ṣayn* Vol. 1. p. 55.

Chapter 5. *Bāb ma ʿrifat ʿal-zawāʿid wa mawāʿiḥihā* ‘Chapter on the knowledge of the additions/affixes and their locations’

5.0 They are the *hamzah* [ʔ], the *ʿalif* [A], the *yāʔ* [y], the *wāw* [w], the *miym* [m], the *nuwn* [n], the *tāʔ* [t], the *lām* [l], the *siyn* [s], and the *hāʔ* [h]. The additions of the *hamzah* [ʔ] is that it occur initially in what is four letters or more, like: *ʿaswad* ‘black’, *ʿaḥmar* ‘red’, *ʿaxdʿar* ‘green’ and the *ʿasʿfar* ‘yellow’ because they are from *ʿal-sawād* ‘blackness’, *ʿal-ḥumrah* ‘the redness’, *ʿal-sʿufrah* ‘the yellowness’ and *ʿal-xudʿrah* ‘the greenness’. If the three are all from the letters that are not *zawāʿid* ‘additions/affixes’ and the *hamzah* [ʔ] is initial, then it is not permitted except that it be *zāʿidah* ‘an addition/affix’. But if with it there is other than it of the letters of addition, one does not determine one as the addition except by way of *ʿistiḡāḡ* ‘derivation’. The *miym* [m], its addition is placed initially in the location of the *hamzah* [ʔ] of those whose number of letters is four or more, like, *madʿruwb* ‘struck’, *maḡtuwl* ‘killed’ *marmiy* ‘thrown’, and *maḡdʿiy* ‘judged’, similarly *mustaxrag* ‘produced’ and what is similar to it. If you were to find a letter of *zawāʿid* ‘addition’ in other than its location do not judge it (p. 48) as an addition unless derivation clarifies it. The *miym* [m] may be added at the end of words, and you shall see it, God willing. We have singled out a chapter on it at the end of the book. It is impossible that *ʿalif* [A] be added initially, because one does not begin with a *sākin* ‘quiescent’ and the *ʿalif* cannot occur except *sākinah* ‘quiescent’, but it is added as a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth or a sixth one. It is a second in *dʿārib* ‘a hitter’ and *ḡātil* ‘a killer’, a third in *ḡihāb* ‘going’ and *kitāb* ‘book’, a fourth in *ḡublā* ‘pregnant’ and *miʿzā* ‘a goat’, a fifth in *ḡabantʿā* and *ḡabarkā*. *ḡabantʿā* is one with a big belly and *ḡabarkā* is the one with short hands and feet but a long back/torso, and the sixth in *ḡabaʿḡarā* ‘great’.

5.2 Know that the *ʿalif* [A], the *yāʔ* [y] and the *wāw* [w] are the *ḡummahāt* ‘mothers’ of addition because they are the letters of *madd* ‘length’ and *liyn* ‘softness’ and out of them are the *ḡarakāt* ‘motions’, so no word is without some of them in the *xumāsīy* ‘quinque-radical’ and attached to the *sudāsīy* ‘sexe-radical’ especially, and much of the *rubāʿīy* ‘quadri-radical’.

(الباب الخامس)

باب معرفة الزوائد ومواقعها

وهي الهمزة والألف والياء والواو والميم والنون والتاء واللام والسين والهاء. فزيادة الهمزة أن تقع أولاً فيما عدده أربعة أحرف فصاعداً نحو: أسود وأحمر وأخضر وأصفر لأنها من السواد والخمرة والصفرة والخضرة، فإذا كانت الثلاثة كلها من الحروف التي لا تكون زوائد والهمزة أولاً فلا يجوز إلا أن تكون زائدة، وإن كان معها غيرها من الحروف الزوائد لم يحكم على واحدة منها بالزيادة إلا بالاشتقاق. والميم توضع زيادتها أولاً في موضع الهمزة مما عدده أربعة أحرف فصاعداً، نحو مضروب ومقتول ومرمي ومقضي وكذلك مستخرج وما أشبهه، فإن وجدت حرفاً من حروف الزوائد في غير موضعه لم تحكم عليه (ص. ٤٨) بالزيادة إلا أن يوضحه الاشتقاق. وقد تزداد الميم آخراً في أحرف سترها إن شاء الله وقد أفردنا لها باباً في آخر الكتاب. ومحال أن تزداد الألف أولاً لأنه لا يبتدأ بساكن، والألف لا تكون إلا ساكنة، ولكن تزداد ثانية وثالثة ورابعة وخامسة وسادسة، فهي ثانية في ضارب وقاتل، وثالثة في ذهاب وكتاب، ورابعة في حبلى ومعزى، وخامسة في حبتى وحبركى، والحبتى: العظيم البطن، والحبركى: القصير اليدين والرجلين الطويل الظهر، وسادسة في قبعثرى.

واعلم أن الألف والياء والواو أمهات الزوائد لأنهن حروف المد واللين ومنهن الحركات فلا تخلو الكلمة من بعضهن في الخماسي والملحق بالسداسي خاصة وفي كثير من الرباعي.

The *wāw* [w] is not added initially ever but is added as a second in *kawθar* ‘a river in paradise’, and as a third in *ʿaguwz* ‘old’, and as a fourth in *tarʿuwah* ‘collar bone’, and as a fifth in *Galansuwah* ‘cap’. The *yāʿ* [y] is added in *yadʿribu* ‘he hits’, *yarmaʿin* ‘A child’s toy’ and *yarbuwʿ* ‘jerboa’, as a second in *zaynab* ‘Zaynab’ and *haydar* ‘haydar’ as a third in *raʿiyf* ‘loaf of bread’, as a fourth in *ʿindiyl* ‘a lamp’, as a fifth in *minginiyG* ‘catapult’. The *wāw* [w] and the *yāʿ* [y] do not occur in those with four letters except in cases of repetition, and you shall see it, God willing. The *nuwn* is added first in *nadʿrubuw* ‘we hit’, and as a second in *gundab* ‘grasshopper’, as a third in *ḥabantʿiy* ‘big bellied’ and *gaḥanfāl* ‘thick-lipped’ as a fourth in *dʿayfan* ‘guest companion’ and *raʿšān* ‘coward’ as a fifth in *ʿatʿšān* ‘thirsty’ and *ʿuθmān* ‘ʿuθmān’, and as a sixth in *zaʿffarān* ‘safron’ and *ʿuʿrubān* ‘male scorpion’. It is added as a mark of *sʿarf* ‘inflection’ to every inflectable *ḥism* ‘name’ and it is added to the *ʿaʿfāl* ‘actions/verbs’, heavy or light. It is added in the dual as in your saying: *muslimān* ‘muslims-2’ and in the plural as in saying *muslimuwn* ‘muslims’ and in the *ʿaʿfāl* ‘actions/verbs’ of feminine plural like *yadʿribna* ‘they-f hit’ *tadʿribna* ‘you-p-f hit’ and *dʿarabna* ‘they-f hit’. The *tāʿ* [t] is added initially in masculine addressee like *ʿanta taʿfalu* ‘you do’ for the man and *taʿfaliyna* ‘you-f do’ for the woman. It follows the singular *ʿasmāʿ* ‘names/nouns’; it is the one that is substituted for by a *ḥāʿ* [h] in *waʿf* ‘pause’, like *talḥat* ‘Talḥah’ and *ḥamzat* ‘ḥamzah’. It occurs in the feminine action like *ḍahabat* ‘she went’, *ʿaʿfadat* ‘she corrupted’ *ḥintʿalacat* ‘she took off’. In the feminine plurals, like *ḍāhibāt* ‘those-f who are going’ *muntʿaliʿāt* ‘those-f who are taking off’. It is attached to *malakuwt* ‘kingdom’ and *ʿankabuwt* ‘spider’; it is attached in the class of *ʿiftaʿal* ‘form-viii’, and it is attached with *siyn* [s] in *ʿistafʿala* ‘form-x’ and whatever is inflectable of it. As for the *lām* [l] its addition is not found except in words like *ḍālika* ‘that-m’, *ʿulālika* ‘those’, *ʿabdala* ‘ʿabdal’ and *ʿaʿfgal* it is derived from *ʿal-xaʿfaʿ* and *ʿal-xaʿfaʿ* is similar to limping. They made the *ḥāʿ* [h] of the letters of addition because it is attached in *waʿf* ‘pause’ to indicate the *ḥarakah* ‘motion’ like His saying, most high, Exulted is He: *fa-bihudahum ʿaʿtadih* ‘follow the guidance they received’ (Sūrah VI:90) and *kitābiyah* ‘my book’ (Sūrah LXIX:19,25) and *ḥisābiyah* ‘my account’ (Sūrah LXIX: 20,26), and in *ʿirmih* ‘toss it’. If it is connected in speech, it is dropped.

والواو لا تزداد أولًا البتة ولكن تزداد ثانية في كَوَثْرَ، وثالثة في عَجُوزَ، ورابعة في تَرْفُوءَ، وخامسة في قَلْنُسُوءَ. والياء تزداد أولًا في يَضْرِبُ وَيَرْمَعُ وَيَرْبُوعُ، وثانية في زَيْنَبُ وَحَيْدَرُ، وثالثة في رَغِيفَ، ورابعة في قَيْدِيلَ، وخامسة في مِجْنِيْقَ، ولا تكون الواو ولا الياء أصلًا في نوات الأربعة إلا في شيءٍ من التكرير، وستراه إن شاء الله. والنون تزداد أولًا في نَضْرَبُ، وثانية في جُنْدَبُ، وثالثة في حَبْنَطَى وَجَحْنَقَلُ، ورابعة في ضَيْقَنَ وَرَعَشَنَ، وخامسها في عَطَشَانِ وَغُثْمَانِ، وسادسة في زَعْفَرَانِ وَعُقْرُبَانِ، وتزداد علامة للصرف في كل اسمٍ ينصرف، وتزداد في الأفعال ثقيلةً وخفيفةً، وتزداد في الثنئية نحو قولك: مسلمان، وفي الجمع نحو قولك: مسلمون، وفي أفعال جماعة النساء نحو: يضربن وتضربن وضربن. والتاء تزداد أولًا في المذكر للمخاطب نحو: أنت تَفْعَلُ للرجل وتَفْعَلِينَ للمرأة، وتلحق الأسماء المفردة وهي التي تُبدل في الوقف هاءً، نحو طَلَحَ وَحَمَزَةَ، وهي في فعل المؤنث نحو دَهَبَتْ وَأَفْسَدَتْ وَأَنْطَلَقَتْ، وفي جماعة النساء نحو ذَاهِيَاتٍ وَمَنْطَلِقَاتٍ، وتلحق في مَلَكُوتٍ وَعَنْكَبُوتٍ، وتلحق في باب افتعل، وتلحق مع السين في استعمل وما تصرف منه. وأما اللام فليست زيادتها موجودةً إلا في أحرف نحو ذلك وأولالك وَعَبْدَلُ وَخَفْجَلُ وَهُوَ مِنَ الْخَفْجِ وَالْخَفْجِ شَبِيهِ بِالْعَرَجِ. وجعلوا الهاء من حروف الزوائد لأنها تلحق في الوقف لبيان الحركة نحو قوله تبارك وتعالى: فَبُهْدَاهُمْ أَقْتَدَهُ وَنَحْوِ كِتَابِيَّةٍ وَحِسَابِيَّةٍ، وفي إرْمِهِ، فإذا وُصِلَتْ سَقَطَتْ.

Chapter 6. *Bāb ʾal-ʾamθilah* ‘Chapter of Examples’

(الباب السادس) باب الأمثلة

6.1 Know that the examples/classes that the *naḥwīyyuwn* ‘grammarians’ established and the *ʾahl ʾal-luḡah* ‘linguists’ agreed upon are *θulāθiyyah* ‘tri-radicals’, *rubāʿiyyah* ‘quadri-radicals’, and *xumāsiyyah* ‘quinque-radicals.’ As for the *θulāθiyyah* ‘tri-radicals’, there are ten examples which are *faʾl* form, like *saʿd* ‘Saʿd’, *fuʾl* form like *ʿufl* ‘lock’, *fiʾl* form like *giḏf* ‘trunk’, *faʿal* form like *gamal* ‘camel’, *fuʿul* form like *iʿunub* ‘tent rope’, (p. 49) *fiʿil* form like *ʾibil* ‘camel’, *faʿul* form like *ragul* ‘man’, *faʿil* form like *faxiḏ* ‘thigh’, *fuʿal* form like *guraḏ* ‘large rats’, *fiʿal* form like *dʿilaʿ* ‘limb’ and in these examples include *sālim* ‘strong’ and *muʿstall* ‘weak’ forms. You shall see, God willing.

6.2 The *rubāʿiyyah* ‘quadri-radicals’ are five examples. *ʾal-ʾaxfaš* said they are six: the *faʿlal* form like *gaʿfar* ‘Jaʿfar’, *fiʿlal* form like *dirham* ‘dirham’, *fuʿlul* form like *burθun* ‘claw’, *fiʿlil* form like *zibrig* ‘ornament’ and *fiʿall* form like *sibatʿr* ‘stretched out’ *ʾal-ʾaxfaš* said *fuʿlal* form like *guxḏab* ‘big grass hopper’. The remainder of the *naḥwīyyuwn* ‘grammarians’ refused that and said *guxḏub*. The *rubāʿiyyah* ‘quadri-radical’ may be attached to the *fawʿal* form like *kawθar* ‘river in paradise’ and *faʿwal* form like *gahwar* ‘loud’ and *fayʿal* form like *sʿayGal* ‘smooth’ and *fiʿyal* form like *ḥiḏyam* ‘clipped wings?’

6.3 The examples of the *xumāsiyyah* ‘quinque-radicals’ are four: the *faʿallal* form like *safargal* ‘quince’, and *faʿlalil* form like *ʿahbalis* ‘large date’ and *fiʿlall* form like *girdahl* ‘a big camel’ and *fuʿallal* form like the *ʾal-xuzaʿbal* ‘fun, fairytales and what is laughed at’. *ʾabuw bakr* said *ʾabuw ḥātīm* said I saw with the mother of *hayθan* a bedouin woman with sallowness in her face so I said: what is the matter? She said:

kuntu waḥmā bi-dakatin fa-ḥadʿartu maʾdubatan fa-ʾakaltu xayzabatan min firāsʿi hilla sata fa-ʾi ʿatratniy zullaxata.

‘I had pregnancy cravings while on a hill so I went to a feast and ate red meat of a lamb and so I was struck by a back pain’

So the mother of *Hayθam* laughed and said: you are a person of merriment, that is, fun, and he recited: (ragaz)²¹:

اعلم أن الأمثلة التي أصلها النحويون واصطلح عليها أهل اللغة ثلاثية ورباعية وخماسية. فالثلاثية عشرة أمثلة، وهي فَعْل مثل سَعَدَ، وفَعْل مثل فُكِّلَ، وفَعْل مثل جَدَّعَ، وفَعْل مثل جَمَلَ، وفَعْل مثل طُنَّبَ، (ص. ٤٩) وفَعْل مثل إِبِلَ، وفَعْل مثل رَجُلَ، وفَعْل مثل فَخَذَ، وفَعْل مثل جُرَدَ، وفَعْل مثل ضَلَّعَ. وفي هذه الأمثلة سالم ومعتلّ وستراه إن شاء الله.

و الرباعية، وهي خمسة أمثلة، وقال الأخفش: هي ستة: فَعْل مثل جَعْفَرَ، وفَعْل مثل دِرْهَمَ، وفَعْل مثل بُرْثَنَ، وفَعْل مثل زَبْرَجَ، وفَعْل مثل سَبَطَرَ، وقال الأخفش: فَعْل مثل جُخْدَبَ. وأبى ذلك سائر النحويين، وقالوا جُخْدَبَ. وقد لحق بالرباعي ما جاء على وزن فَوْعَلْ، نحو كَوْتَرُ، وفَعْوَلْ نحو جَهْوَرُ، وفَيَعْلْ نحو صَيَّقَلْ، وفَيَعِيلْ نحو جَدِيمَ.

والأمثلة الخماسية أربعة: فَعْلْ نحو سَفَرَجَلْ، وفَعْلَلْ نحو قَهْبَلِسَ، وفَعْلَلْ نحو جِرْدَحْلَ، وفَعْفَلْ نحو خَزَعِيلَ، الخَزَعِيلُ: اللهو والخرافات وما يضحك منه. قالت أبو بكر: أخبرني أبو حاتم قال: رأيت معه أم الهيثم أعرابية في وجهها صفرة فقلت: ما لك، قالت:

كُنْتُ وَحَمَى بِدَكَّةٍ فَحَضَرْتُ مَأْدِبَةَ فَأَكَلْتُ خَيْزَبَةَ مِنْ فِرَاصِ هَلْعَةَ فَاعْتَرَّتْنِي زَرْخَةٌ، فَضَحَكْتُ أُمَّ الْهَيْثَمِ وَقَالَتْ: إِنَّكَ لَذَاتُ خَزَعِيَلَاتٍ أَيْ لَهْوٍ. وَأَنْشَدَ (رَجَزُ):

²¹ The meter for ragaz is: mustaffilun (six times).

*ka ʿanna matniy ʿaxa ʿathu zullaxah
min tʿuwli ga ʿbiy bi-ʿal-fariyyi ʿal-mifdʿaxa*

‘As though my back was struck by back pain
Due to the length of my pull on the grinding stone’

6.4 Know that the best *ʿabniyah* ‘constructions’ are those are those constructed by the mixing of distant letters. Don’t you see that you do not see a *bināʿan rubāʿiyyan* ‘quadriradical construction’, of *sākin* ‘quiescent’ letters with no mixture of the *ḍalāʿah* ‘extremity’ letters except a construction that comes your way with *siyn* [n], which is very rare, like *ʿasgad* ‘gold’. That is because the *siyn* [s] is *layyinah* ‘soft’ and its ring is from the essence of *ḡunnah* ‘nasality’, thus it came in this construction.

6.5 As for *ʿal-xumāsiyy* ‘the quinque-radical’ like *farazdaʿ* ‘Farazdaq’, *safargal* ‘quince’ and *šamardal* ‘fast camel’ you would not find one except with one or two of the extremity letters from the *maxrag* ‘exit’ of *ʿal-šafatayn* ‘the lips-d’ or *ʿasalat ʿal-lisān* ‘the apex of the tongue’. If a structure comes your way contrary to what I have painted for you like *da ʿšaʿ*, *dʿa ʿθa ʿḏ*, *ḥudʿāfiḡ*, and *sʿafa ʿhag*, or *ʿaḡgaš* and *šafag*, it is not of the speech of the Arabs, refuse it²². There are people who fabricate these names with quiescent letters and do not mix them with the extremity letters, do not accept that, just as it is not accepted in poetry of straight-forward parts except what conforms to the construction of the meters/prosody of Arabs that is built on the poetry of *ʿal-gāhiliyyah* ‘pre-islam’.

6.6 As for the *θulāθiyy* ‘tri-radical’ of names and the *θunā ʿiyy* ‘bi-radical’, the quiescent letters without a mixture with the extremity letters is permitted like *xuda ʿ* ‘delusions’; it is good (p. 50) to separate between the *xāʿ* [x] and *ʿayn* [ʿ] with a *dāl* [d]. If you were to alternate the letters *ʿabuḥa* ‘it gets ugly’. On this *ʿaiyās* ‘pattern’ construct whatever comes your way and deliberate. It is more than can be accounted for.

6.7 Know that the most frequently used letters among the Arabs are the *wāw* [w], the *yāʿ* [y] and the *hamzah* [ʔ],

كَانَ مَثْنِي أَخَذْتَهُ زَلْخَةً

من طول جذبي بالفريِّ المفضحة

واعلم أن أحسن الأبنية عندهم أن بينوا بامتداج الحروف المتباعدة ، ألا ترى أنك لا تجد بناء رباعياً مُصمَّت الحروف لا مزاح له من حروف الذلاقة إلا بناءً يجيئك بالسين، وهو قليل جداً، مثل عَسَجَد، وذلك أن السين لينة وجرسها من جوهر الغنة فلذلك جاءت في هذا البناء.

فأما الخماسي مثل فَرَزْدَق وسَفَرَجَل وشَمَرْدَل فإنك لست تجد واحدة إلا بحرف وحرطين من حروف الذلاقة من مخرج الشفتين أو أسلة اللسان، فإن جاءك بناء يخالف ما رسمته لك مثل دَعَشَق وضَعَجَج وحُضَافِج وصَفَعَهَج، أو مثل عَقَجَش وشَعَفَج، فإنه ليس من كلام العرب فارده فإن قوماً يفتعلون هذه الأسماء بالحروف المصممة ولا يمزجونها بحروف الذلاقة فلا تقبل ذلك كما لا يقبل من الشعر المستقيم الأجزاء إلا ما وافق أبنية العرب من العروض الذي أسس على شعر الجاهلية.

فأما الثلاثي من الأسماء والثنائي فقد يجوز بالحروف المصممة بلا مزاج من حروف الذلاقة مثل خُدَع، وهو حَسَنٌ (ص. ٥٠) لفصل ما بين الخاء والعين بالدال، فإن قلبت الحروف قَبِجَ، فعلى هذا القياس فالف ما جاءك منه وتدبر فإنه أكثر من أن يُحصَى.

واعلم أن أكثر الحروف استعمالاً عند العرب الواو والياء والهمزة،

²² Similar examples were given by ʿal-Khalīl, *Kitāb ʿal-ʿayn* Vol.1. p. 52ff.

and the least frequently used, due to their burden on the tongue are the *ḏāʿ* [ḏ], then the *ḏāl* [ḏ], then the *θāʿ* [θ], then the *šayn* [š], then the *gāf* [G], then the *xāʿ* [x], then *ṣayn* [ʃ], then the *ḡayn* [ḡ], then the *nuwn* [n], then the *lām* [l], then the *rāʿ* [r], then the *bāʿ* [b] and then the *miym* [m]. The lightest of all these letters is what the Arabs used in the bases of their constructions in the *zawāʿid* ‘additions/affixes’ for the distinctions of meaning. Their mention and the explanation have been mentioned in their places above. What proves to you that they do not construct with letters of proximate exits is that they may be obligated to do that out of two words or an extra letter so they transform one of the letters until they make the stronger of the two first despite their dislike. They may do that in the original construction.²³

6.8 What they made out of two constructions is like the saying of the Exulted, may His praise be glorified: *kallā bal rāna ṣalā ʿuluwbihim mā kānuw yaksibuwn* ‘no indeed, but on their hearts is the stain of what they do/earn’ (Sūra LXXXIII:14). They do not show the *lām* [l] and they substitute it by a *rāʿ* [r] because there is not in their speech *larr*, but that they said *waral*, which is a tiny small creature, smaller than *dʿabb* ‘lizard’, and *ʿurul* ‘Urals’, which is a well-known mountain, when the *hamzah* [ʔ] and the *wāw* [w] occurred before the *rāʿ* [r]. They recited: (*basiy*)²⁴

wahabbati ʿa-riyhu min til ʿāʿi ʿiy ʿurulin
tuzgiy saḥāban ʿaliylan mā ʿuhu šabimā

‘The wind blew from the direction of the Urals
Dragging a cloud, of little water and cold’

Since that is the case, they exchanged the *lām* [l] so it became like the *rāʿ* [r]; and like it is: *ʿal-rahmān ʿal-rahīm* → *ʿar-rahmān ʿar-rahīm* ‘the kind and the compassionate’. The *lām* [l] does not show with the *rāʿ* [r]. Similarly, is their practice in cases where an affix was added to a word and exchanged. Thus the *tāʿ* [t] of *ʿifti ṣāl* ‘form viii’ with the *tʿāʿ* [tʿ], *ḏāʿ* [ḏʿ], *zāy* [z], *dʿād* [dʿ] and their sisters are transformed to the letter that follows them so that they may begin with the stronger; so they become of one pronunciation and one strength.

وأقل ما يستعملون لثقلها على ألسنتهم الظاء ثم الذال ثم الثاء ثم الشين ثم القاف ثم الخاء ثم العين ثم الغين ثم النون ثم اللام ثم الراء ثم الباء ثم الميم، فأخف هذه الحروف كلها ما استعملته العرب في أصول أبنيتهم من الزوائد لاختلاف المعنى، وقد تقدم ذكرها وتفسير مواقعها. ومما يذكرك أنهم لا يؤلقون الحروف المتقاربة المخارج أنه ربما لزمهم ذلك من كلمتين أو من حرف زائد فيحوّلون أحد الحرفين حتى يصيروا الأقوى منهما مبتدأ على الكره منهم، وربما فعلوا ذلك في البناء الأصلي.

فأما ما فعلوه من بنائين فمثل قوله تعالى جل ثناؤه، كذا بل ران على قلوبهم ما كانوا يكسبون له، لا يبيّنون اللام ويبدّلونها راءً لأنه ليس في كلامهم لر، إلا أنهم قد قالوا: ورل، وهو دويبة صغيرة أصغر من الضب، وأرل، وهو جبل معروف، لما جاءت الهمزة والواو قبل الراء. وأنشدوا (بسيط):

وهبت الريح من تلقاء ذي أرل

تزجي سحاباً قليلاً ماؤه شبيماً

فلما كان كذلك أبدلوا اللام فصارت مثل الراء. ومثله: الرحمن الرحيم، لا تستبين اللام عند الراء. وكذلك فعلهم فيما ادخل عليه حرف زائد وأبدل، فتاء الافتعال عند الطاء والظاء والزاي والضاد وأخواتها تحوّل إلى الحرف الذي يليه حتى يبدعوا بالأقوى فيصير في لفظ واحد وقوة واحدة.

²³ Frequency is considered a measure of the heaviness of letters.

²⁴ The meter for *basiy*^f is: *mustafīlun fāṣilun* (four times)

6.9 As for what they did with one construction and one strength, the example of which is *siyn* [s] with the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and the *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], they exchange with a *sʿād* [sʿ], because if the *siyn* [s] is to be together in a word with the *tʿāʔ* [tʿ] or with the *ḡāf* [ḡ] or with the *ḥāʔ* [ḥ], you have a choice; you may make it a *sʿād* [sʿ] or a *siyn* [s], but this does not occur in all speech. They have said: *sirātʿa* and *sʿirātʿa* ‘path’, *saḡr*, *sʿaḡr* ‘hawk’, *sabxah*, *sʿabxah* ‘salt swamp’, *sawiyḡ*, *sʿawiyḡ* ‘leg’. They did not say *ʔal-sʿuwḡ* for *ʔal-suwḡ* ‘the market place’, except that Yuwnis bin ḥabiyb²⁵ mentioned that he heard from Arabs the *sʿuwḡ* with the *sʿād* [sʿ]. The *ḡayn* [ḡ], were it to be together with *siyn* [s] in a word; they may make the *siyn* [s] a *sʿād* [sʿ] and the *sʿād* [sʿ] a *siyn* [s]. They said *sawwāḡtuhu* and *sʿawwāḡtuhu* ‘I justified it’. They say: *ʔasʿbaḡa ʔallāhu ʔalayhi ʔal-niʔmatah wa-ʔasbaḡahā* ‘God granted to him the grace, and he betsowed it’. They did not say *sabaḡtu ʔal-ḥawba* with meaning of *sʿabaḡtu* ‘I dyed’, because the *siyn* [s] is from the middle of the tongue at rest (p. 51) on the surface of the *lisān* ‘tongue’, and the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and *tʿāʔ* [tʿ] are fixed to *ʔal-ḡār ʔal-ʔaʔlā* ‘the upper concavity’. They considered it heavy that the tongue fall on them and then rise to the *tʿāʔ* [tʿ] and the *ḡāf* [ḡ], so they substituted the *siyn* [s] with a *sʿād* [sʿ], because it is the closest of letters to them due to the closeness of the *maxrag* ‘exit’. They found the *sʿād* [sʿ] of greater height and closer to the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and the *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], even if their use of the tongue in the *sʿād* [sʿ] with the *ḡāf* [ḡ] is easier than their using it with the *siyn* [s], hence they said *sʿaḡr* ‘hawk’, the origin is *siyn* [s]. They say *ḡasʿtʿ* ‘justice’, but it is *ḡastʿ*. Similarly, if they were to introduce between the *siyn* [s] and the *tʿāʔ* [tʿ] and the *ḡāf* [ḡ] a barrier letter or two they did not care, and they imagined the proximity in the construction, so they substituted. Don’t you see them say: *sʿibtʿ* ‘grandson’,²⁶ and they said for *ʔal-sabḡ*, *ʔal-sʿabḡ* ‘anticipation’. They said for the *sawiyḡ*, *sʿawiyḡ* ‘leg’. Similarly, if the *sʿād* [sʿ] were next to the *dāl* [d], with the *sʿād* [sʿ] preceding. If you were to quiesce the *sʿād* [sʿ], it would weaken so they transform it in some *luḡāt* ‘dialects’ into a *zāy* [z]. If it were set in motion, they would return it to its pronunciation in their saying: so and so *yazduḡu* ‘is truthful’ in his saying. If they were to say *sʿadaḡa* ‘he was truthful’, they said it with the *sʿād* [sʿ] due to its being set in motion.

فأما ما فعلوه في بناء واحد وقوة واحدة فمثل السين عند القاف والطاء يبدلونها صاداً، لأن السين إذا اجتمعت في كلمة مع الطاء أو مع القاف أو مع الحاء فانت مخير إن شئت جعلتها صاداً وإن شئت جعلتها سيناً، وليس هذا في كل الكلام، قالوا: سراط وصراط، وسقر وصقر، وسبخة وصبخة، وسويق وصويق، ولم يقولوا الصوق بدل السوق، إلا أن يونس بن حبيب ذكر أنه سمع من العرب الصوق بالصاد والغين إذا اجتمعت معه السين في كلمة فربما جعلوا السين صاداً والصاد سيناً، قالوا: سوغته وسوغته، وقالوا: أصبغ الله عليه النعمة وأصبغها، ولم يقولوا: صبغت الثوب في معنى صبغت لأن السين من وسط الفمي مطمئنة (ص. ٥١) على ظهر اللسان، والكاف والطاء شاخصتان إلى الغار الأعلى، فاستقلوا أن يمنع اللسان عليها ثم يرتفع إلى الطاء والقاف فأبدلوا السين صاداً لأنها أقرب الحروف إليها لقرب المخرج، ووجدوا الصاد أشد ارتفاعاً وأقرب إلى القاف والطاء، وإن كان استعمالهم اللسان في الصاد مع القاف أيسر من استعمالهم إياه مع السين، فمن ثم قالوا: صقر، والأصل السين، وقالوا: قسط، وإنما هو قسط. وكذلك إن أدخلوا بين السين والطاء والقاف حرفاً حاجزاً أو حرفين لم يكثرثوا وتوهموا المجاورة في البناء فأبدلوا، ألا تراهم قالوا: صيط، وقالوا في السبق: الصبق، وقالوا في السويق: الصويق. وكذلك إذا جاورت الصاد الدال والصاد متقدمة، فإذا أسكنت الصاد ضعفت فيحولونها في بعض اللغات زياً، فإذا تحركت ردوها إلى لفظها مثل قولهم: فلان يزندق في قوله، فإذا قالوا: صدق قالوها بالصاد لتحركها،

²⁵ He was a teacher of Sībawayh. He lived 710-798.

²⁶ Originally *sibtʿ*.

It has been so recited: *ḥatta yuzdira ʿal-riṣāʿu* ‘until the shepherds water their herds’ (Sūrah XXVIII:23) with the *zāy* [z]. If some of the letters in the constructions come your way changed in their pronunciation, it is not unlikely that their causes are among some of what I have explained to you of the causes of the proximity of the *maxāriḡ* ‘exits’.

6.10 Know that the *θulāθiy* ‘tri-radical’ is the most frequent of constructions. Of the *θulāθiy* ‘tri-radical’ is what is in the book and is heard on the pronunciation of the *θunāʿiy* ‘bi-radical’ but it is a *θulāθiy* ‘tri-radical’, because it is constructed of three letters: its middle is *sākin* ‘quiescent’ and its *ʿayn* [ʿ] and *lām* [m]²⁷ are two identical letters, so they assimilated the *sākin* ‘quiescent’ with the one in motion so it became a heavy letter, and every heavy letter stands for two letters in the measure of poetry and other.

وقد قرىء: حتى يزدر الرعاء، بالزاي. فما جاءك من الحروف في البناء مغيراً عن لفظه فلا يخلو من أن تكون علتة داخلية في بعض ما فسرت لك من علل تجارب المخارج.

واعلم أن الثلاثي أكثر ما يكون من الأبنية، فمن الثلاثي ما هو في الكتاب وفي السمع على لفظ الثنائي وهو ثلاثي لأنه مبني على ثلاثة أحرف: أوسطه ساكن وعينه ولامه حرفان مثلاً، فأدغموا الساكن في المتحرك فصار حرفاً ثقيلاً، وكل حرف ثقیل فهو يقوم مقام حرفين في وزن الشعر وغيره.

²⁷ *ʿayn* [ʿ] and *lām* [m] are the second and third radicals of the paradigmatic pattern *fʿl*.

ʔibn Durayd: Table 1

Primary Divisions of the sounds of Arabic (7)			
<i>musʔmatah</i> 'silent/still' (22)		<i>ʔal-muḏaḡah</i> 'of extremity' (6)	
<i>muḡtall</i> 'weak' (3)	<i>ʔalif</i> [A], <i>yāʔ</i> [y], <i>wāw</i> [w]	1. the type of lip sounds	<i>fāʔ</i> [f], <i>miym</i> [m], <i>bāʔ</i> [b]
<i>sahiḥ</i> 'strong' (19)		2. <i>ʔasalat ʔal-lisān</i> 'the apex of the tongue' to the front of the <i>yār ʔal-ʔaḡā</i> 'upper concavity'	
1. <i>ḡalḡ</i> 'throat'	<i>ḡamzah</i> [ʔ], <i>ḡāʔ</i> [h], <i>ḡāʔ</i> [ḡ], <i>ḡayn</i> [ʕ], <i>ḡayn</i> [ʕ], <i>xāʔ</i> [x]		<i>rāʔ</i> [r], <i>nuwn</i> [n], <i>lām</i> [l]
2. <i>ʔaḡsʔā</i> 'farthest end' of the mouth and the lowest part of the <i>lisān</i> 'tongue'	<i>ḡāf</i> [ḡ], <i>kāf</i> [k], and <i>ḡiym</i> [ḡ], <i>ḡiyn</i> [ḡ]		
3. <i>wasatʔ ʔal-lisān</i> 'middle of the tongue'	<i>siyn</i> [s], <i>zāy</i> [z], <i>sʔād</i> [sʔ]		
4. the closest part of the mouth	<i>tāʔ</i> [t], <i>tʔāʔ</i> [tʔ], <i>dāl</i> [d]		
5. lower than the above also is what is peculiar to the upper concavity	<i>ḡāʔ</i> [ḡʔ], <i>ḡāʔ</i> [ḡʔ], <i>dāl</i> [ḡ], <i>dʔād</i> [dʔ]		

ʔibn Durayd: Table 2

The Sixteen Exits	
Exit	Letters
The <i>ḥalḡ</i> ‘throat’	1. <i>ḥāʔ</i> [h], <i>ḥamzah</i> [ʔ], <i>ʔalif</i> [A],
	2. <i>ʕayn</i> [ʕ], <i>ḥāʔ</i> [h],
	3. <i>ʕayn</i> [ʕ] <i>xāʔ</i> [x].
The <i>fam</i> ‘mouth’	4. <i>ḡāf</i> [ḡ];
	5. <i>kāf</i> [k] which is slightly lower;
Between the middle of the <i>lisān</i> ‘tongue’, and what parallels it from the <i>ḥanak ʔal-ʔaʕlā</i> ‘upper palate’	6. <i>giym</i> [g], <i>šiyin</i> [š], <i>yāʔ</i> [y]
The right side of the <i>lisān</i> ‘tongue’, from the bases of the <i>ʔadʕrās</i> ‘grinders’ to the bases of the <i>ḥanāyā</i> ‘upper incisors’	7. <i>siyin</i> [s], <i>sʕad</i> [sʕ], <i>zāy</i> [z]
Under the right <i>ḥāffat ʔal-lisān</i> ‘edge of the tongue’	8. <i>nuwn</i> [n]
Close to that of <i>nuwn</i> [n]	9. the <i>lām</i> [l]
Inner to the <i>tʕaraf</i> ‘edge’ of the <i>lisān</i> ‘tongue’	10. <i>rāʔ</i> [r],
<i>tʕaraf ʔal-lisān</i> ‘the edge of the tongue’ and bases of the <i>ḥanāyā</i> ‘upper incisors’	11. <i>tāʔ</i> [t], <i>dāl</i> [d], <i>tʕāʔ</i> [tʕ]
Inner of the <i>šafah</i> ‘lip’	12. <i>fāʔ</i> [f]
From between the two lips;	13. <i>wāwʔ</i> [w], <i>bāʔ</i> [b], <i>miym</i> [m]
From the <i>xayāšim</i> ‘nostrils’	14. <i>nuwn ʔal-xafiyfah</i> ‘the light <i>nuwn</i> [n]’
The <i>tʕaraf</i> ‘edge’ of the <i>lisān</i> ‘tongue’ and the edges of the <i>ḥanāyā</i> ‘incisors’	15. <i>ḏāʔ</i> [ḏʕ], <i>ḥāʔ</i> [ḥ], <i>ḏāl</i> [ḏ]
From the middle of the <i>lisān</i> ‘tongue’ to what follows to the right <i>ḥāffah</i> ‘edge’	16. <i>dʕād</i> [dʕʕ]

ʔibn Durayd: table 3 (Table of Features: Incompletely covered in the text)

	<i>maghuwr</i>	<i>mahmus</i>	<i>Rixwah</i>	<i>Madd</i>	<i>liyn</i>	<i>Mut^ʕbaq</i>	<i>šadiyd</i>
[h] <i>hāʔ</i>		+	+				
[ʔ] <i>hamzah</i>	+						
[A] <i>ʔalif</i>				+	+		
[h] <i>hāʔ</i>		+	+				
[ʕ] <i>ʕayn</i>	+		+				
[ʔ] <i>ʔayn</i>	+		+				
[x] <i>xāʔ</i>		+	+				
[G] <i>ǧāf</i>	+						
[k] <i>kāf</i>		+	+*				
[g] <i>ǧiym</i>	+						+
[š] <i>šayn</i>		+	+				+*
[y] <i>yāʔ</i>	+			+	+		
[s] <i>siyn</i>		+	+				
[s ^ʕ] <i>s^ʕād</i>		+	+			+	
[z] <i>zāy</i>	+		+				
[n] <i>nuwn</i>	+						
[l] <i>lām</i>	+						
[r] <i>rāʔ</i>	+						
[t] <i>tāʔ</i>		+					+
[t ^ʕ] <i>tā^ʕʔ</i>	+					+	
[d] <i>dāl</i>	+						
[ð] <i>ðāl</i>	+		+				
[θ] <i>θāʔ</i>		+	+				
[ð ^ʕ] <i>ðā^ʕʔ</i>	+					+	
[d ^ʕ] <i>dā^ʕʔ</i>	+					+	
[f] <i>fāʔ</i>		+	+				
[b] <i>bāʔ</i>	+						
[m] <i>miym</i>	+						
[w] <i>wāw</i>	+			+	+		

maghuwr ‘loud’, *mahmuws* ‘whispered’, *rixwah* ‘loose’, *madd* ‘length’, *liyn* ‘softness’, *šadiyd* ‘tight’

Table 4 (Table of the Segments according to ʿal-Khalīl)

LETTER /harf/	LOCALE /hayyiz/	EXIT /maxrag/
S	Throat /ḥalḡ/	ʕ, ḥ, h, x, ɣ / ع, ح, ه, خ, غ
	Uvula /lahāh/	ʕ, k / ق, ك
T	Soft-palate /šagr/	g, š, d ^ʕ / ض, ش, ج
R	Apex /ʔasalah/	s ^ʕ , s, z / ص, س, ز
O	Alveolum /nit ^ʕ /	t ^ʕ , d, t / ط, د, ت
N	Gingiva /liθθah/	ð ^ʕ , θ, ð / ظ, ث, ذ
	Laminae /ðalaḡ/	r, l, n / ر, ل, ن
G /s ^ʕ ahīh/	Lips /ʔafah/	f, b, m / ف, ب, م
W E A K /muʕtal/	Cavity/air /hawāʔ/	w, A, y, ʔ / و, ا, ي, ء

Table 5 (Table of the Segments according to Sībawayh)

Lower Perimeters	<i>muxrag</i> 'exit'	Upper Perimeters
1. throat: farthest section	ʔ, h, A / ء, ه, ا	1. throat: farthest section
2. throat: mid section	ʕ, ħ / ع, ح	2. throat: mid section
3. throat: closest to oral cavity	ɣ, x / غ, خ	3. throat: closest to oral cavity
4. tongue: farthest section	ɢ / ق	4. palate: farthest section
5. tongue: lower than [ɢ]	k / ك	5. palate: pre-farthest section
6. tongue: mid section	g, š, y / ج, ش, ي	6. palate: mid section
7. tongue: beginning of edge	d ^ʕ / ض	7. palate: molar section
8. tongue: closest edge to tip	l / ل	8. palate: above pre-molars, canines and incisors
9. tongue: tip	n / ن	9. palate: above the incisors
10. tongue: slightly inner surface of the tongue	r / ر	10. palate: above the incisors
11. tongue: tip	z, s, s ^ʕ / ز, س, ص ¹	11. palate: slightly above the incisors
12. tongue: tip	t ^ʕ , d, t / ط, د, ت	12. palate: base of incisors
13. tongue: tip	ð ^ʕ , ð, θ / ظ, ذ, ث	13. teeth: tip of incisors
14. lip: inner surface of the lower lip	f / ف	14. teeth: tip of the upper teeth
15. lip: lower	b, m, w / ب, م, و	15. lip: upper
16. nostrils: nasal cavity	light [n] / ن	16. nostrils: nasal cavity

¹ These sounds z, s, s^ʕ / ز, س, ص come after t^ʕ, d, t / ط, د, ت in Sībawayh (Derenbourg, Vol.2. p. 453. L. 13-14).