TOWARDS A NEW THEORY

OF

ARABIC PROSODY

A TEXTBOOK FOR STUDENTS
AND INSTRUCTORS

Fifth Edition (Revised)

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DEDICATION

To All Members of My Immediate Family

To All Other Members of My Extended Family

To the Memory of Dr. Richard S. Harrell, My First Mentor in the Science of Linguistics

And to the Memory of Dr. Edwin A. Read, My Professional Colleague and My Friend for Many Years

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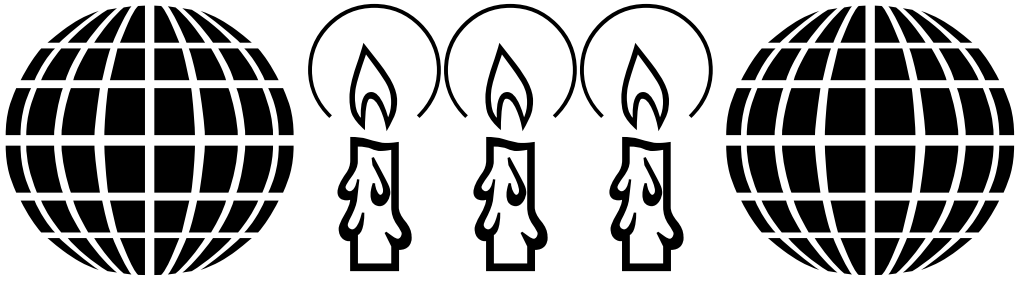
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PART I

THE METERS

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

PREFACE TO THE BOOK

(PARTS I - V AND THE ADDENDUM)

A. ROMANIZATION

In their attempt to Romanize the transcription of Standard Arabic, modern-day linguists have created a diversity of writing systems.[1] In addition to inconsistency, the outcome tends to promote a degree of confusion: for example, the Library of Congress uses capitalization in accordance with the rules of English spelling; some publications, on the other hand, use capital letters to represent emphatic consonants.[2]

Of the Romanization systems in current use, three are by far the most common: the system used in Wehr's *Dictionary*, the system used by the Library of Congress, and the conventional system used in non-technical publications.   The transcription used in the present study is one which derives from these three systems and which, at the same time, reflects the pertinent phonological facts:

  1. Other than proper nouns in isolation, headings, and bibliographical items, utterances are transcribed according to a largely phonemic system which uses the following symbols:

  (a) Consonant symbols (in the order of the Arabic alphabet): *ʾ b t tʰ j ḥ kʰ d dʰ r z s sʰ ṣ ḍ ṭ ḍʰ ʕ gʰ f q k l m n h w y*. If it never occurs medially in the macrosegment, a word-initial glottal stop is not represented in the transcription; thus a vowel symbol in macrosegment-initial position implies a preceding glottal stop.

  (b) Short vowel symbols: *i a u*

  (c) Long vowel symbols*: ī ā ū*

Being indeterminate with respect to *ʾiʕrāb*, a word in isolation is written in pausal form; e.g., *kitāb* 'a book'.   A phrase is written in pausal form if, without exception, the constituent words are indeterminate with respect to *ʾiʕrāb*; e.g., *watad majmūʕ* 'iambic peg'.   The use of pausal forms is optional when the phrase is partly determinate and partly indeterminate with respect to *ʾiʕrāb*; e.g., *maktabu l-mudīri* or *maktab al-mudīr* 'the director's office', and *sāʕatu l-mudarrisi* or *sāʕat al-mudarris* 'the teacher's watch'.   The transcription of pausal forms assigns to the definite article a *morphophonemic* representation which indicates neither assimilation nor lack of anaptyxis; furthermore, when a construct phrase is rendered in pausal form its first member does not exchange *-at* for *-a.*

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In general, the transcription represents the *non*-pausal form whenever the word is determined in regard to case or mood. This rule holds true even in utterance-final position. The transcription of non-pausal forms is strictly phonemic.

2. Proper nouns in isolation, headings, and bibliographical items are written as follows:

   (a) The conventional English spelling is usually employed in glosses.

   (b) The symbols listed in item 1 above are employed elsewhere. Generally indeterminate with respect to ʔiʕrāb, the utterances under discussion are rendered in the pausal form; thus the sequence -*at* is not replaced by -*a* in the first member of a construct phrase, and the graphic representation of the definite article is morphophonemic.

3. On the level of pronunciation, the symbols *ū* and *ī* represent long vowels; each of these vowels, however, is the realization of a glide which occurs on a more abstract level of analysis: /ū/ is the realization of *uw*; /ī/, of *iy*.[3] Thus some authors, such as Hans Wehr, transcribe /uww/ as *ūw* if it alternates with /ū/ in pause (e.g., *al-marjūwu* 'what is hoped for'); similarly, such authors transcribe the sequence /iyy/ as *īy* if it alternates with /ī/ in pause (e.g., *gʰanīyun* 'rich'). Essentially, the use of *īy* and *ūw* in the transcription, rather than *iyy* and *uww* respectively, is a morphophonemic marker which signals the fact that words like /gʰaniyyun/ and (less commonly) words like /al-marjuwwu/ may be pronounced in pause with a final long vowel. In this study, we shall not employ this marker consistently since the pausal form of such words may also be pronounced with a final doubled consonant: we shall treat the marker under discussion as an option but not as a rigid requirement.

4. Certain elements are subject to all the rules which govern capitalization in English; the elements in question are proper nouns, headings, and bibliographical items. The following two conventions are followed in the present study:

   (a) The letters ʔ and ʕ are not capitalized; thus, for the purposes of capitalization, the second letter is considered initial in a word which begins with ʔ or ʕ.

   (b) In some headings, all letters are capitalized. Such headings constitute the only context where the first letter of the definite article is capitalized; elsewhere, the first letter to follow the definite article constitutes the domain of capitalization.

5. The Arabic writing system is used in the *Bibliography* to cite Arabic references. Elsewhere the Arabic writing system is used with one main purpose in mind: to accommodate the Arab readers who are accustomed to seeing certain items, especially technical terms, in the Arabic script.

Notes

1. The digraphs of item 1 above betray an attempt to reconcile the conventional English spelling of Arabic words, the Library of Congress transcription, and Wehr's transcription.

   (a) The raised symbol *ʰ* indicates that a digraph is being used to represent a single consonant. Thus *dakʰal* 'he entered' contains a single medial consonant, while *nakha* 'aroma' contains a medial consonant cluster.

   (b) The symbols representing the three interdental fricatives of Standard Arabic are traceable to conventional English spelling. Dialectic variation provides additional justification for those symbols since the fricatives in question often correspond to

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dental stops in sedentary colloquial Arabic: while the fricative is represented by the digraph as a whole, the corresponding stop is indicated by the first member of the digraph.

(c) The symbols s^h, k^h, and g^h are traceable to conventional English spelling. Respectively, they represent the voiceless alveopalatal fricative, the voiceless velar fricative, and the voiced velar fricative of Standard Arabic. Use of the symbol s^h derives partial justification from dialectic variation: in certain words, the alveopalatal fricative of Standard Arabic corresponds to /s/ in the speech of some uneducated sedentary Arabs; thus s^h*ajara* 'tree' corresponds to *sajara*, and s^h*ams* 'sun' corresponds to *sams*.

(d) In all but one instance (namely s^h), the raised symbol ^{h} indicates that a stop (represented by the preceding member of the digraph) is fricativized.

(e) The following table compares our digraphs with the corresponding symbols of the other three systems.

This Study	Conventional Spelling	Library of congress	Wehr
t^h	th	th	$\underline{t}$
k^h	kh	kh	$\underline{k}$
d^h	dh	dh	$\underline{d}$
s^h	sh	sh	š
$ḍ^h$	dh	ẓ	ẓ
g^h	gh	gh	ḡ

2. Wehr's *Dictionary* and the Library of Congress system use the symbol ḥ to represent the voiceless pharyngeal fricative of Standard Arabic; in this study, the same phoneme is represented by ḥ in order to restrict the subscript dot to the representation of emphasis.

3. Vowel length can be represented by a macron, by doubling the short vowel symbol, or by a colon. As can be seen from the following table, the first option favors uniformity rather than diversity:

This Study	Conventional Spelling	Library of Congress	Wehr
ī	i	ī	ī
ā	a	ā	ā
ū	u	ū	ū

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B. THE GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION
OF EMPHASIS

The domain of emphasis in Standard Arabic is the syllable; however, it is usually the occurrence of certain consonants that causes syllables to be emphatic.

The rules stated below describe emphasis in simple words. For the purpose of this discussion, a "simple word" is defined as a minimum free form—a free form which contains no shorter free form; according to this definition, elements such as the suffixes of *ʾiʿrāb* and pronominal objects belong to the "expanded", not to the "simple", word. Admittedly, this analysis is somewhat oversimplified, but it does show that the contrasts which define emphasis *as an emic* feature are restricted to five pairs of consonant phonemes.

It must be emphasized that the rules stated below apply to *Modern Standard* Arabic. The rules which specify allophonic emphasis in *Classical* Arabic do not accurately represent the pronunciation of modern Arabs.[4]

In regard to emphasis, syllables may be divided into two types:

1. *Emphatic* syllables are those which contain an emphatic consonant phoneme.

2. *Plain* syllables are those which consist entirely of plain consonant phonemes.

Syllables of the first type embody phonemic emphasis; depending on the environment, syllables of the second type may embody allophonic emphasis.

Standard Arabic has five emphatic consonant phonemes: /ṣ/, /ḍ/, /ṭ/, /ḍʰ/, and /q/; the rest of the consonants will be called "plain". The plain counterparts of emphatic consonant phonemes (/s/, /d/, /t/, /dʰ/, and /k/) have no emphatic allophones; the rest of the plain consonants have emphatic allophones (a) when they occur in an emphatic syllable, and (b) when they occur in a plain syllable whose adjacent syllable embodies phonemic or allophonic emphasis. Thus /l/ and /m/ are pronounced with allophonic emphasis in *ḍʰulm* 'injustice' and *ḍʰalam* 'to deal unjustly with (someone)'; again, /r/ is pronounced with allophonic emphasis in *ṭard* 'expulsion' and *ṭarad* 'to expel'.

One more rule is necessary to specify additional environments for the emphatic allophone of /r/: with a few exceptions, the allophone in question occurs in plain syllables which contain a low vowel and which derive emphasis from no adjacent syllable. To qualify as an exception, a syllable must meet three requirements:

1. It must be non-final (a non-final syllable is defined as one which occurs initially in the simple word, medially in the simple word, or independently as the entire simple word; a final syllable is defined as one which occurs at the end of the simple word).

2. It must be closed or else precede a closed syllable.

3. It must end in, or precede, the plain counterpart of an emphatic consonant phoneme.

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The additional rule explains the fact that the emphatic allophone of /r/ occurs in *ʾawrām* 'tumors', *ʾafrān* 'ovens', *ʾawkār* 'nests', *ʿirāk* 'fighting', *ʾajrās* 'bells', *ʾarād* 'to desire', *al-Furāt* 'The Euphrates', *rām* 'to wander about', *rāj* 'to sell well', *dār* 'house', *nār* 'fire', *jār* 'neighbor', *rābiʿ* 'fourth', *rāfiʿ* 'lifting', *rāḥil* 'departing', *kʰurāfa* 'myth', *ʾirāda* 'will', *ḥirāsa* 'protection', *sʰarāsa* 'viciousness', *karrāka* 'dredging machine', *mibrad* 'file', *ʾakʰras* 'mute', *jaras* 'bell', *ʾadrak* 'to realize', *rafʿ* 'lifting', *sʰarr* 'evil', *ḥarr* 'hot weather', *farʿ* 'branch', *yargʰab* 'he desires', *raḥma* 'mercy', *ʾimraʾa* 'woman', but not in *radam* 'to fill up with earth', *rakib* 'to ride', *rākib* 'rider', *rākiʿ* 'kneeling', *murāsil* 'correspondent', *murādif* 'synonym', *yardaʿ* 'he prevents', *yarkaʿ* 'he kneels', *murakkab* 'compound', *ʾardā* 'to kill (someone)', *marsā* 'anchorage', *rakwa* 'coffee pot', *ʿarka* 'fight', *fard* 'individual', *wark* 'thigh', and *dars* 'lesson'.

In rare instances, the plain and the emphatic allophones of /r/ are conditioned by a *purely* grammatical criterion; compare, for example, the pair *ḥarb-ī* 'my war' and *ḥarb-iyy* 'military' (of which the first word contains the emphatic allophone of /r/ and the second word contains the plain allophone). Again, in rare instances, the plain and the emphatic allophones of /l/ are conditioned by a *purely* lexical criterion; the lexical items involved are almost restricted to *al-Lāh* 'God' (when not preceded by a high front vowel) and (in the pronunciation of some speakers) *ʾAlmāniyā* 'Germany'.

In syllables which embody phonemic or allophonic emphasis, the norm (not always observed in actual pronunciation) is to retain the plain quality of the consonants /s/, /d/, /t/, /dʰ/, and /k/; in addition, the presence of these consonants is associated with relatively weak vocalic emphasis. The following syllables illustrate this observation: *saṭl* 'bucket', *qaṣd* 'purpose', *qatt* 'to misrepresent', *qazz* 'silk', *ṣakk* 'legal document', *sār* 'to walk', *ʾadār* 'to turn (something)'.

In this study, the subscript dot represents phonemic emphasis.

Notes

1. In a subsequent cycle, the rules stated above can determine emphasis in the affixes which produce expanded words, provided the following restriction is incorporated: suffixed elements cannot acquire allophonic emphasis if they occur in an 'external syllable' (i. e., a syllable which falls *completely* outside the simple word). Thus the suffix acquires allophonic emphasis in *nahr-ān* 'two rivers' but neither in *ʿaṣā-hā* 'he disobeyed her' nor in *yarā-nā* 'he sees us'.

2. Syllables which embody allophonic emphasis, especially those which contain the short vowel /a/, are sometimes rendered with a plain quality; this transformation, associated with "feminine" pronunciation in some communities and with affected refinement in other communities, rarely applies to phonemic emphasis. In some instances, the same transformation serves the purpose of highlighting the difference between the two members of a minimal pair; for example, *darb* 'path' may be stripped of allophonic emphasis to highlight the contrast with *ḍarb* 'beating'.

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C. STRESS

In regard to duration, Standard Arabic syllables fall into three types: short (CV), medium (CV̄, CVC), and long (CV̄C, CVCC, CV̄CC). Although governed by different rules in different speech communities, the placement of primary stress in Standard Arabic words is completely predictable from syllabic structure.

The following rules pertain to the pronunciation of contemporary Cairene Egyptians.[5] The "eligible" syllables (i. e., those which can receive primary stress) are identified as *r, a, p,* and *u* (*u* being the ultimate, *p* being the penultimate, *a* being the ante-penultimate, and *r* being the pre-antepenultimate).

1. If long, *u* receives primary stress; e. g., *kitābān* 'two books', *istaqalt* 'I resigned', *mustaʕidd* 'prepared'.

2. If *u* is not long, the placement of primary stress is determined in the manner stated below:

   (a) If two short syllables occur as *p* and *a* but no short syllable occurs as *r*, primary stress falls on *a* (i. e., on the first of the two short syllables); e. g., *waladun* 'boy', *nazala* 'to descend', *kʰālafanā* 'he disagreed with us', *isʰtaraka* 'to participate'.

   (b) If *three* short syllables occur as *p, a,* and *r*, primary stress falls on *r* (i. e., on the first of the three short syllables); e. g., *ʕarabatun* 'cart', *sʰarikatun* 'company', *samakatun* 'fish'.

   (c) Otherwise, primary stress falls on *p*; e. g., *kitābāni* 'two books', *kitābī* 'my book', *katabtuhu* 'I wrote it', *ʕāmāni* 'two years', *yaktubu* 'he writes', *sāʕada* 'to help'.

Since it constitutes an allophonic feature, stress is not represented in the transcription.

D. ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS

1.   In addition to those of Section A, the following symbols are used:

*	asterisk, identifying non-lingual, non-metrical, or non-canonical items
⇒	arrow, indicating a structural transformation
' '	single quotes, enclosing English glosses
=	equal sign, indicating equivalence
[ ]	brackets, enclosing (a) features or (b) symbols which stand for phones (as opposed to phonemes)
/ /	slanting lines, enclosing phonemes

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{ }	braces, enclosing a set of alternative strings or units
+	plus sign, indicating presence of the feature which is named immediately after it; e. g., *[+ Remote]*
S	standing for a sentence
C	standing for a consonant
V	standing for a vowel
N	standing for a noun
VN	standing for a verbal noun
D. O.	standing for a direct object
I. O.	standing for an indirect object
Prep	standing for a preposition
Conj	standing for a conjunction
Ø	standing for *zero*

2. In a string which states the abstract structure of an utterance, the symbol + is used to separate consecutive constituents; e. g., *N + Verb + N.* Some strings employ + as well as −, the former indicating relatively close association; e. g., *Verb – D.O. – li+I.O.*

3. The various parts of this study are structurally independent; each ends in a separate bibliography.

E. PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Part I

Although perceived from the very beginning as a formulation of utmost complexity, the theory developed by al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī (711 – 786 A.D.) has dominated the field of Arabic prosody for eleven centuries. ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs, one of the most distinguished Arabists of modern times, states the issue in no uncertain terms:[6]

> "People continued to study and examine al-Kʰalīl's rules up to our present day. Not one has added a single iota. ....

> "I am aware of no [other] branch of Arabic studies which embodies as many [technical] terms as does [al-Kʰalīl's] prosody, few and distinct as the meters are: al-Kʰalīl's disciples employed a large number of infrequent items, assigning to those items certain technical denotations which—invariably—require definition and explanation. .... As to the rules of metric variation, they are numerous to the extent that they defy memory and impose a taxing course of study. .... In

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learning them, a student faces severe hardship which obscures all connection with an artistic genre—indeed, the most artistic of all—namely, poetry. ....

"It is in this fashion that [various] authors dealt with the subject under discussion over a period of eleven centuries: none of them attempted to introduce a new approach or to simplify the rules. ....

"Is it not time for a new, simple presentation which avoids contrivance, displays close affinity to [the art of] poetry, and perhaps renders the science of prosody palatable as well as manageable?"

Part I of this study evaluates al-Kʰalīl's theory, gives a critical review of several alternative theories, and presents a new proposal formulated by the present author. The new proposal reduces the entire prosodic system to a small set of very simple rules. Part I also doubles as a reference manual since it includes a comprehensive list of Classical Arabic meters and shows that the simple rules of the new proposal account for the standard form as well as all the variants of each meter. For any given meter, the charts of Part I make it possible to quickly ascertain the standard form, the shapes of the submeters, the variants of the individual feet, and the rule involved in deriving each variant.

Part II

Part II of this study addresses the authenticity of *ʾiʿrāb* — a matter which must be settled if al-Kʰalīl's theory is to be credited with any degree of validity and if alternative theories are to be reasonably free of excessive conjecture.

Some scholars have questioned the validity of *ʾiʿrāb*, asserting that the phenomenon in question is either a misinterpretation or a fabrication superimposed on Classical Arabic by the Ancient Arab Grammarians. Quṭrub (who died in 206 A.H.) espoused the theory that *ʾiʿrāb* is a misinterpretation of anaptyxis.[7] Modern-day scholars who view *ʾiʿrāb* with suspicion include such prominent figures as Karl Vollers, Paul Kahle, ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs, and Fuʾād Ḥannā Tarazī.[8] Of these, ʾAnīs is the best known in the Arab World, and his position is examined in Chapter XI of Part II.

In no small measure, the Ancient Arab Grammarians are responsible for the doubts which occasionally cast their shadow on the authenticity of *ʾiʿrāb*: the theory of *ʾiʿrāb* developed by those grammarians is less than perfect in regard to adequacy; in regard to generality and simplicity, the theory is woefully defective. It is hardly typical of human communication to employ a device so unique, so complex, and so inconsistent that mastery eludes the vast majority of users despite their best efforts.[9]

Without *ʾiʿrāb*, al-Kʰalīl's theory of Arabic meters would collapse; the first hemistich of the following line, for example, could not be assigned to *al-kāmil* (as defined by al-Kʰalīl) if the words are stripped of *ʾiʿrāb*:[10]

وَكَأَنَّ فَارَةَ تَاجِرٍ بِقَسِيمَةٍ   سَبَقَتْ عَوَارِضَهَا إِلَيْكَ مِنَ الْفَمِ

Clearly, then, no discussion of Classical Arabic prosody can be complete without an attempt to show that ʾiʿrāb is a simpler, more natural phenomenon than the Ancient Arab Grammarians depicted. Such an attempt is undertaken in Part II of this study. Part II also serves an important pedagogical purpose: to ease the burden of learners—Arab and non-Arab alike—who today are frustrated by the incredibly complex rules formulated by Sībawayhi and the followers of his school. In defining "fact", "possibility", and "contra-fact", we draw on J. Lyons' *Semantics.*

Part III

Written in Arabic, Part III is a brief but adequate gist of the research. It is intended for use in the Arab World: by high school students, college students, instructors, and the general reader. The user will find this new approach more "natural" and more satisfying than the traditional methods which are currently employed in high schools and institutes of higher learning throughout the Middle East. The reader will also find the material of Arabic prosody, in the context of this new approach, easier to understand and easier to remember.

Part IV, Part V, and the Addendum

These three components draw heavily on the research of other scholars (cited in the respective bibliographical lists), our contribution being limited to rearranging the material and reinterpreting it in the light of modern linguistic theory.

Part IV deals with rhyme; it highlights (among other features) the effect of rhyme on rhythm. Part V deals with poetic license; it highlights the effect of rhythm and rhyme on the morphophonemics, morphology, ʾiʿrāb, and syntax of the poetic text.

The Addendum refers very briefly to a set of criteria which the Ancient Arab Grammarians developed to judge the literary quality of a text and which are collectively known as *al-balāgʰa* 'rhetoric, effective communication'. A detailed study of *al-balāgʰa* is beyond the scope of a book devoted to the study of al-Kʰalīl's meters; for this reason, the purpose of the Addendum is merely to let beginners know that the criteria in question exist, and that those criteria need to be examined more thoroughly in the light of modern Linguistics.

F. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. Over the years, some portions of this author's research on Arabic prosody were published in the Arab League's magazine *al-Lisān al-ʿArabiyy*. With permission from the proprietor of the magazine, the portions in question have been incorporated into the present book in a revised form.

2. Where appropriate, credit is given in the footnotes to other authors. In addition, the bibliographical lists identify the major works which had a direct influence on this study.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, the following works: Zaki N. Abdel-Malek, *Arabic Basic Course: Modern Standard* (Presidio of Monterey, California: Defense Language Institute, 1976); Peter Abboud et al., *Introduction to Modern Standard Arabic Pronunciation and Writing* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1968); Ernest T. Abdel-Massih, *A Sample Lexicon of Pan Arabic* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1975); Afif A. Boulos, *The Arabic Triliteral Verb: A Comparative Study of Grammatical Concepts and Processes* (Beirut: Khayats, 1965); Jean Cantineau, *Durūs fī ʿIlm ʾAṣwāt al-ʿArabiyya,* trans. S. al-Qirmādī (Tunis: The Tunisian University, 1966); J. A. Haywood and H. M. Nahmad, *A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language,* 2d. ed. (London: Lund Humphries, 1982); Library of Congress Cataloging Service, *Arabic Romanization,* Bulletin 91, September 1970; Fuad H. Megally and M. Mansoor, *Arabic Course Handbook: Explanatory Notes, Vocabulary* (Great Britain: The Chaucer Press, 1981); *The M.E.C.A.S. Grammar of Modern Literary Arabic* (Beirut: Khayats, 1965); Raja T. Nasr, *The Structure of Arabic: From Sound to Sentence* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1967); Mohamed Ben Smael, *l'Arabe Moderne* (Tunis: Maison Tunisienne de l'Edition, 1974); G. W. Thatcher, *Arabic Grammar of the Written Language* (London: Lund Humphries, 1942); Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 4th ed. (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979).

[2] See Fuad Megally and M. Mansoor, *Arabic Course Handbook: Explanatory Notes, Vocabulary* (Great Britain: The Chaucer Press, 1981).

[3] See Michael K. Brame, "Arabic Phonology: Implications for Phonological Theory and Historical Semitic" (Ph. D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1970), pp. 414 – 434.

[4] See Jean Cantineau, *Durūs fī ʿIlm ʾAṣwāt al-ʿArabiyya,* trans. S. al-Qirmādī (Tunis: The Tunisian University, 1966), pp. 75 – 79.

[5] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *al-ʾAṣwāt al-Lughawiyya* (Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Book House, 1979), pp. 169 – 173.

[6] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr* (Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Book House, 1972), pp. 49 – 56.

[7] See Fuʾād Tarazī's *Fī ʾUṣūl al-Lugha wa-al-Naḥw* (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1969), pp. 184, 185.

[8] See Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb's *Fuṣūl fī Fiqh al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Muslim, 1979), pp. 327 – 336; also see Fuʾād Tarazī's *Fī ʾUṣūl al-Lugha wa-al-Naḥw* (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1969), pp. 177 – 193.

[9] See ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī's *Fiqh al-Lugha,* 7th ed. (Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr Printing and Publishing House, 1973), pp. 210, 211; also see Fuʾād Tarazī's *Fī ʾUṣūl al-Lugha wa-al-Naḥw* (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1969), pp. 187 – 191.

[10] The line occurs in ʿAntara b. Shaddād's *muʿallaqa.* The following translation is quoted from A. J. Arberry's *The Seven Odes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., n. d.), p. 179:

You might think a merchant's musk-bag borne in its basket
 has outstripped the press of her side-teeth wafted from her mouth to you.

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CHAPTER I

AL-KʰALĪL'S THEORY

It is generally believed that al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī[1] was the first[2] to develop an elaborate theory defining the meters of ancient Arabic poetry.[3] His theory (as interpreted by the present writer) is summarized below.[4]

   1. A meter is defined as a set of phonological components which occur in a certain arrangement. In this context, a phonological component is either a *mutaḥarrik* مُتَحَـرِّك (plural: *mutaḥarrikāt* مُتَحَـرِّكات), or a *sākin* ساكِن (plural: *sawākin* سَواكِن); the former is defined as a consonant plus a following short vowel, while the latter is defined as (a) a consonant which is not followed by a vowel or (b) vowel length. Thus the sequence CV consists of a *mutaḥarrik*, while each of the sequences CVC and CV̄ consists of a *mutaḥarrik* and a following *sākin*. In the following example (from ʿAntara b. Sʰaddād's *muʿallaqa*), each *mutaḥarrik* is represented by a dash, and each *sākin* is represented by a dot:

<div align="center">

وإِذَا صَحَوْتُ فَمَا أُقَصِّرُ عَنْ نَدًى   وَكَمَا عَلِمْتِ شَمَائلي وَتَكَرُّمي

</div>

wa'idʰā ṣaḥawtu famā 'uqaṣṣiru ʿan nadan
— — — • — — • — — — • — — • — — — • — —•

<div align="right">

wakamā ʿalimti sʰamā'ilī watakarrumī
— — — • — — •—— — • — — • — — — • — — •

</div>

The *mutaḥarrikāt* and the *sawākin* of a given meter cluster into perceptually distinct units called *tafāʿīl* تَفاعِيل (singular: *tafʿīla* تَفْعِيلَة); accordingly, the dots and the dashes of the above sequence are grouped as follows:

<div align="center">

— — — • — — •   — — — • — — •   — — — • — — •
— — — • — — •   — — — • — — •   — — — • — — •

</div>

Each *tafʿīla* is represented by a morphological measure[5] of the same phonological composition; the above meter, for example, is represented as follows:

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mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun
mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun

مُتَفاعِلُنْ مُتَفاعِلُنْ مُتَفاعِلُنْ   مُتَفاعِلُنْ مُتَفاعِلُنْ مُتَفاعِلُنْ

Unless otherwise indicated, the term *foot* and the term *tafʿīla* will be used synonymously in the present study.

al-Kʰalīl postulated an intermediate level on which the *mutaḥarrikāt* and the *sawākin* are grouped into blocks which, in turn, are mapped out into feet; the blocks in question are of four types:[6]

(a) *sabab kʰafīf* سَبَب خَفِيف (• –)

(b) *sabab tʰaqīl* سَبَب ثَقِيل (– –)

(c) *watad majmūʿ* وَتَد مَجْمُوع (• – –)

(d) *watad mafrūq* وَتَد مَفْرُوق (– • –)

Thus a foot is analyzable successively into immediate constituents, mediate constituents, and ultimate constituents (henceforth designated by the abbreviations *IC*'s, *MC*'s, and *UC*'s respectively): an IC is either a *sabab* or a *watad;* a MC is either a *mutaḥarrik* or a *sākin;* and an UC is a consonant, a short vowel, or the feature of vowel length.[7]

In a foot, an IC boundary follows each trucial distance; the expression "trucial distance" is coined by the present writer, for lack of a better term, to designate the *shortest* sequence which is identifiable as an IC (i. e., a *sabab* or a *watad*) and which allows the following string to begin with (or consist of) and IC. Thus an IC boundary cannot precede a *sākin*, nor can an IC boundary precede a final segment consisting of a single MC. In the following examples, the IC boundaries are indicated by slanting lines.[8]

فَعُولُنْ faʿūlun = • –/• – –

فاعِلُنْ fāʿilun = • – –/• –

فاعِلاتُنْ fāʿilātun = • –/• – –/• – –

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mustafᶜilun مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ = – – •/– •/– – •

mafᶜūlātu مَفْعُولاتُ = – – •/– •/– • –

A foot must contain a single *watad;* in addition, it must contain at least one *sabab* (but no more than two).[9]

2. Al-Kʰalīl postulated ten basic feet: faᶜūlun فَعُولُنْ , fāᶜilun فاعِلُنْ , mafāᶜīlun مَفاعِيلُنْ, mustafᶜilun مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ , fāᶜilātun فاعِلاتُنْ , mufāᶜalatun مُفاعَلَتُنْ , mutafāᶜilun مُتَفاعِلُنْ , fāᶜi-lātun فاعِ لاتُنْ, mafᶜūlātu مَفْعُولاتُ , and mustafᶜi-lun مُسْتَفْعِ لُنْ .[10] al-Kʰalīl also postulated fifteen meters each consisting of two identical hemistichs. Some of those meters consist of four feet per hemistich, while others consist of three feet per hemistich. Some of the fifteen meters must be clipped, others may be clipped, and still others may not be clipped.[11] Thus the shortest of al-Kʰalīl's hemistichs consists of two feet, while the longest consists of four feet.

al-ʾAkʰfasʰ (who died forty years after al-Kʰalīl's death) added a meter to the fifteen mentioned above; the additional meter (which may be clipped) is known as *al-mutadārak.*[12]

(3) Arabic meters fall into two groups: the standard, and the derived; the former are the sixteen meters described above, and the latter are variants which result from applying to the feet of standard meters certain rules called *al-ziḥāfāt wa-al-ᶜilal*. A standard meter is given below, followed by two variants:

(a) mufāᶜalatun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun   mufāᶜalatun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun
(b) mufāᶜaltun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun   mufāᶜalatun mufāᶜaltun faᶜūlun
(c) mufāᶜaltun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun   mufāᶜaltun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun

For centuries, al-Kʰalīl's theory remained unchallenged; during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, however, dissatisfied scholars attempted to introduce refinements ranging from abbreviation of al-Kʰalīl's system to total reformulation. In the following passages, al-Kʰalīl's theory is evaluated to point out the deficiencies which underlie the present writer's dissatisfaction.

A theory is evaluated by (1) the degree of its descriptive adequacy, (2) the degree of its generality, and (3) the degree of its simplicity.[13]

1. *Descriptive adequacy* (henceforth abbreviated to *adequacy*): The theory must account for the data being studied.

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2. *Generality:* The specific corpus being studied should be related to the genus it typifies, and the theory defining the specific corpus should be constructed in accordance with a general theory which defines the genus. For example, a theory which attempts to define the meters of Arabic poetry must be constructed in accordance with a theory which defines such concepts as "meter" and "rhythm" independently of any particular poetry. When based on a general theory, the rules of a specific theory are said to be "motivated", "natural", "plausible", and "reasonable": In other words, such rules acquire "explanatory power" in addition to adequacy; not only do they specify what occurs, but they also provide reasons for such occurrence. Of several equally adequate theories, the most general is to be preferred.

3. *Simplicity:* Although intuitively valid, the concept of simplicity is not easy to define. Some of the factors to be considered in measuring the simplicity of a theory are the following:

    (a)   The number of rules and the amount of effort required to apply each rule.

    (b)   The number of technical terms and the degree of complexity involved in defining each term.

    (c)   The extent to which the rules are dissimilar.

    (d)   The degree of predictability facilitated by the rules and the degree of arbitrariness which persists in spite of the rules.

We hold that al-Kʰalīl's theory satisfies the requirement of adequacy: None of al-Kʰalīl's contemporaries and none of the accomplished scholars of later times contested the fact that, aside from a few minor details, the theory under discussion accounts for the primary data accurately and exhaustively.[14] On the other hand, al-Kʰalīl's theory fails to fully satisfy the requirements of generality and simplicity:

    1.   The IC's postulated by al-Kʰalīl—the so-called *ʾasbāb* and *ʾawtād*—are endowed with a degree of universality in the sense that they are used as rhythmic entities not only in Arabic verse but also in the verse of other languages, especially Classical Greek and Latin. In al-Kʰalīl's system, a *sabab kʰafīf* is a long syllable; each of the other IC's is a sequence of two syllables. Needless to say, syllables are universal sound units of language. Also in al-Kʰalīl's system, a *sabab tʰaqīl* is a sequence consisting of two short syllables (˘ ˘), a *watad majmū*ˤ is a sequence consisting of a short syllable followed by a long syllable (˘ −), and a *watad mafrūq* is a sequence consisting of a long syllable followed by a short syllable (− ˘). As rhythmic feet of Classical Greek and Latin verse, the sequences ˘ ˘, ˘ −, and − ˘ are known respectively as the *dibrach,* the *iamb,* and the *trochee.* Unfortunately, the degree of universality under discussion is obscured by al-Kʰalīl's practice of defining his IC's in terms of *mutaḥarrikāt* and *sawākin* rather than syllables.

    2. The extreme complexity of al-Kʰalīl's system was evident from the very beginning. It is related that a man asked al-Kʰalīl to teach him the rules of Arabic meters. Frustrated by the fruitless effort he had wasted over a long period of time, al-Kʰalīl one day instructed his student to scan the following line of poetry:

<div align="center">14</div>

إِذَا لَمْ تَسْتَطِعْ أَمْرًا فَدَعْهُ   وَجَاوِزْهُ إِلَى مَا تَسْتَطِيعُ

If you fail to accomplish a certain task, abandon it
And turn your attention to something you can accomplish

The student perceived the disguised message and gave up the study of Arabic meters. Today, few indeed are those who have mastered al-Kʰalīl's theory.[15]

The complexity of al-Kʰalīl's theory is attributable, at least in part, to the following facts:

(a) The rules—especially those defining metric variation—are extremely numerous, extremely detailed, and extremely dissimilar. Besides, for no obvious reason, a transformation may apply to one foot but not to another, and a foot may qualify for a certain transformation in one meter but not in another (see Appendix III[16]). It is no exaggeration to say that al-Kʰalīl's rules of variation are hardly better than memorizing, as separate items, the various forms which every foot can assume in every meter where it occurs. Not surprisingly, even the most accomplished of Arab prosodists must constantly refer to charts, lists, and handbooks. This rather chaotic situation stems from four main reasons:

(i) al-Kʰalīl fails to make sufficient distinction between the change and the domain; thus deleting the "second *sākin*" is one transformation, and deleting the "second *mutaḥarrik*" is another transformation.

(ii) al-Kʰalīl fails to make sufficient distinction between the change and the environment; thus deleting the "second *sākin*" is one transformation, and deleting the "fourth *sākin*" is another transformation.

(iii) al-Kʰalīl assigns a separate label to each combination of simple transformations, thus assigning independent status to each combination.

(iv) al-Kʰalīl fails to state the environment in sufficiently general terms.

(b) Technical terms are abundant and their definitions are quite complicated (see Appendix III).

(c) The degree of arbitrariness condoned by the theory is frustrating; for example, stringing into a sequence (with no restrictions on order) any two, three, or four of the ten feet would yield a large number of standard meters; the admissibility of only sixteen (including *al-mutadārak*) seems altogether arbitrary.

The above comments imply that simplicity is directly proportional to adequacy and generality:

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1. It is clear that al-Kʰalīl's rules are *unnecessarily* numerous because they are not sufficiently *abstract*; being for the most part empirical, they are more concerned with *stating and classifying* the observed data than with *generating* such data. In other words, al-Kʰalīl's theory meets the requirement of observational adequacy but fails to meet the higher-level requirement of descriptive adequacy, *and partly for that reason* it ranks low on the scale of simplicity.

2. As pointed out earlier, rules seem natural, plausible, and reasonable when derived from a general theory. It follows that arbitrariness betrays want of generality.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] For a very brief biography of al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī, see Muḥammad al-Ṭanṭāwī's *Nasʰʾat al-Naḥw* , pp. 77 – 79.

[2] See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid's *al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, p. 9. Also see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿAtīq's *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, pp. 7 – 11.

[3] In this study, "ancient Arabic poetry" is defined as the body of Arabic verse composed between the earliest times and the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 750 A. D.; "modern poetry" is here defined as the body of Arabic verse composed between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the present time. Certain metric innovations have occurred in modern Arabic poetry; especially significant are those initiated by Nāzik al-Malāʾika and Badr Sʰākir al-Sayyāb in 1947 (see Muḥammad al-Nuwayhī's *Qaḍiyyat al-Sʰiʿr al-Jadīd*, pp. 99, 249). It must be emphasized, however, that a large portion of modern Arabic poetry is characterized by strict adherence to the meters of ancient models.

[4] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*.

[5] Two types of Arabic measures must be differentiated: the grammatical and the prosodic. For a definition of the grammatical type, see Zaki Abdel-Malek's *Closed-List Classes*, pp. 148 – 154. The prosodic measures were probably inspired by the pre-existent grammatical measures, but the two types differ in an important respect: in a grammatical measure the symbols *f,* *ʿ,* and *l* stand for the first radical, the second radical, and the third radical respectively; in a *prosodic* measure, these symbols do not necessarily stand for radicals. It seems that al-Kʰalīl simply adopted the grammatical measures which, redefined and slightly modified, could stand for his sequences of *mutaḥarrikāt* and *sawākin*.

[6] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 10.

[7] The present writer believes that vowel length is a realization of underlying glides. This analysis would reduce the ultimate constituents of feet to two types: consonants and short vowels. Nevertheless, we shall not insist on adopting the analysis in question because it is not universally accepted, because the arguments which support it are

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beyond the scope of this study, and because the underlying representation of vowel length has no drastic bearing on the issues being discussed.

[8] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 11.

[9] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,*, p. 10.

[10] The hyphen in fāʿi-lātun and mustafʿi-lun represents an atypical IC boundary; it therefore signals a structural contrast between two feet:

   (a) The foot fāʿi-lātun comprises the following three IC's in order: *watad mafrūq, sabab kʰafīf, sabab kʰafīf* (– • –/– •/– •); on the other hand, the foot fāʿilātun comprises the following three IC's in order: *sabab kʰafīf, watad majmūʿ, sabab kʰafīf* (– •/– –•/– •).

   (b) The foot mustafʿi-lun comprises the following three IC's in order: *sabab kʰafīf, watad mafrūq, sabab kʰafīf* (– •/– • –/– •); on the other hand, the foot mustafʿilun comprises the following three IC's in order: *sabab kʰafīf, sabab kʰafīf, watad majmūʿ* (– •/– •/– – •).

   Whether a certain rule of variation may apply to a given foot depends on the structural composition of that foot; consequently, the above contrasts determine the derivational potential.

[11] Clipping is dropping the last foot of each hemistich. Of al-Kʰalīl's meters, five must be clipped (*al-madīd, al-hazaj, al-muḍāriʿ, al-muqtaḍab, al-mujtatʰtʰ*), three may not be clipped (*al-ṭawīl, al-sarīʿ, al-munsariḥ*), and seven may be clipped (*al-basīṭ, al-wāfir, al-kāmil, al-ramal, al-rajaz, al-kʰafīf, al-mutaqārib*). See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid's *al-ʿArūḍ wa- al-Qāfiya*, pp. 20 – 84; also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 84.

[12] See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid's *al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, p. 85. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī argues that *al-mutadārak* could not have been overlooked by al-Kʰalīl (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 17, 18).

[13] See Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, pp. 49 -60.

[14] As pointed out in footnote 12 above, it is by no means conclusive that al-ʾAkʰfasʰ added a meter (*al-mutadārak*) to al-Kʰalīl's inventory.

[15] See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid's *al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, p. 12.

[16] Appendix III summarizes the rules of variation stated in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl* (pp. 43 – 91) and in Ibn Rasʰīq's *al-ʿUmda* (pp. 134 – 151 of Volume I, and pp. 301 - 306 of Volume II).

READER'S NOTES

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CHAPTER II

PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS

The modifications and revisions which have been proposed fall into three groups: those whose primary goal is to achieve more simplicity, those whose primary goal is to achieve more adequacy, and those whose primary goal is to achieve more generality. It is neither possible nor necessary to discuss in this brief study all of the numerous proposals which have been advanced, and the reader must therefore be satisfied with a sketchy presentation of a representative sample.

2.1. Proposals Aimed at Simplification

2.1.1. **al-Kʰalīl's proposal for simplification**

The first attempt to simplify the theory was made by al-Kʰalīl himself. Probably with the purpose of facilitating predictability, he devised five circles each embodying a set of MC's.[1] Proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction from different points on a given circle (and stopping in each case at the point of departure) generates a set of meters.[2] For example, the following circle—called *dāʾirat al-mujtalab*—generates *al-hazaj, al-rajaz,* and *al-ramal*. It is assumed that al-Kʰalīl constructed this circle by "curving" one hemistich of *al-hazaj* to juxtapose the initial and the final MC's; thus, of the meters which *dāʾirat al-mujtalab* generates, *al-hazaj* may be called the "primary" and the other two may be called "affiliates".

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Dāʔirat al-Mujtalab
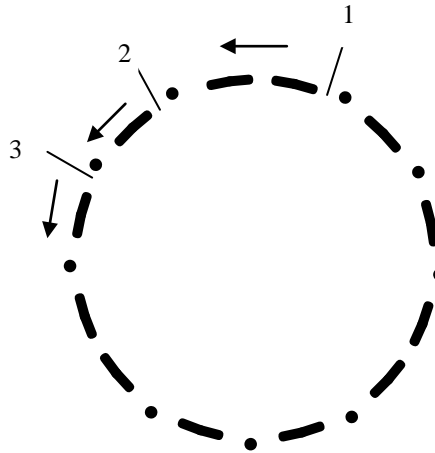
1.   *al-hazaj*: − − • − • − •   − − • − • − •   − − • − • − •

         (mafāʿīlun   mafāʿīlun   mafāʿīlun)

2.   *al-rajaz*: − • − • − − •   − • − • − − •   − • − • − − •

         (mustafʿilun mustafʿilun mustafʿilun)

3.   *al-ramal*: − • − − • − •   − • − − • − •   − • − − • − •

         (fāʿilātun   fāʿilātun   fāʿilātun)

al-Kʰalīl's primary meters are *al-ṭawīl, al-wāfir, al-hazaj, al-sarīʿ,* and *al-mutaqārib.* Given below is a somewhat detailed description of the procedure followed when circles are used to generate meters:

    1. The MC's constituting one hemistich of a primary meter are arranged on the circumference of a circle. The sequence begins from a given point (the primary onset) and proceeds in a counter-clockwise direction.

    2. The onsets of affiliates are marked successively on the circle, the movement being in a counter-clockwise direction. Marking the affiliate onsets proceeds in accordance with the following guidelines:

        (a) Each affiliate onset is separated from the preceding onset by a trucial distance. Thus an onset cannot precede a *sākin,* nor can the final affiliate onset be placed one MC before the primary onset.

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     (b) The final affiliate onset is that which precedes the point of repetition (i. e., the point where the primary meter starts for the second time). In *dāʾirat al-mujtalab,* the point of repetition is one *sabab* after the third onset.

    3. A meter (or, more accurately, one hemistich of a meter) is generated by starting at a given onset, and stringing together the successive MC's (moving in a counter-clockwise direction); the final MC of the string is that which immediately precedes the point of departure.

    4. Grouping the MC's into feet is guided by three observations:

      (a) That a foot contains a single *watad*.

      (b) That a foot contains (in addition to the *watad*) at least one *sabab* but no more than two.

      (c) That in most hemistichs there is repetition of at least one foot.

One of al-Kʰalīl's circles (*dāʾirat al-mujtalab*) has already been presented; the rest are given below. Asterisks identify the onsets of "neglected meters"—i. e., meters which did not occur in al-Kʰalīl's corpus. If it is not the primary onset, the point of repetition is identified by a double bar. Remember that for each meter only one hemistich is generated (the two hemistichs are identical.

Dāʾirat al-Musʰtabih
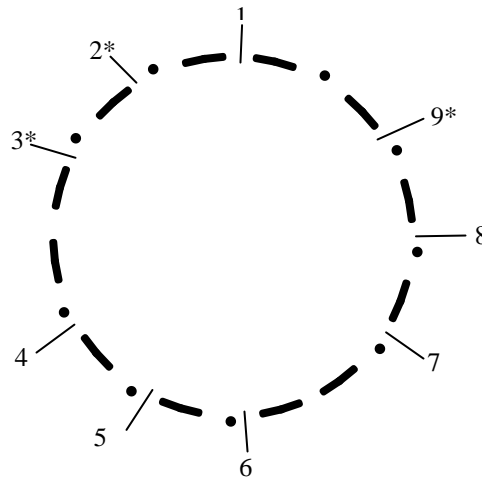
1. *al-sarīʿ* (primary): mustafʿilun mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu
4. *al-munsariḥ:* mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu mustafʿilun
5. *al-Kʰafīf:* fāʿilātun mustafʿi-lun fāʿilātun
6. *al-muḍāriʿ:* mafāʿīlun fāʿi-lātun mafāʿīlun
7. *al-muqtaḍab:* mafʿūlātu mustafʿilun mustafʿilun
8. *al-mujtatʰtʰ:* mustafʿi-lun fāʿilātun fāʿilātun

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Notice that a tenth onset could not occur after the *sabab* (− •) which follows the ninth onset: were this to happen, the tenth onset would be separated from the primary onset by a single MC.

Dāʾirat al-Muʾtalif
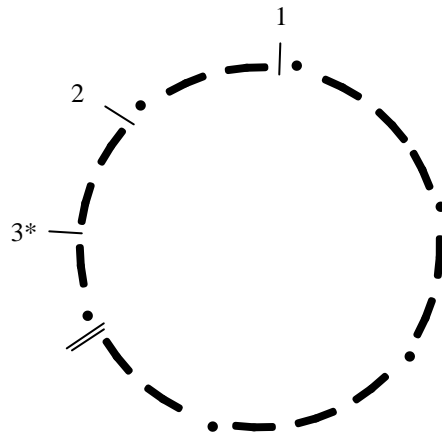
1. *al-wāfir* (primary): mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun
2. *al-kāmil*: mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun

Dāʾirat al-Mukʰtalif
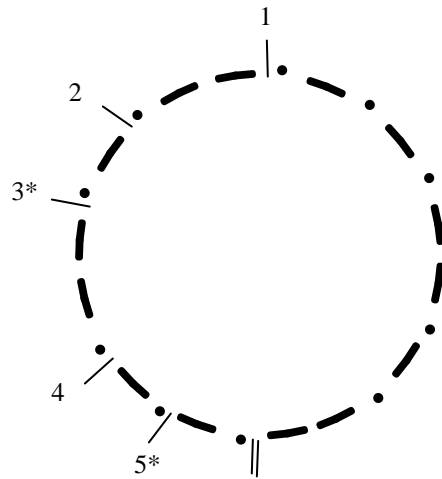
1. *al-ṭawīl* (primary): faʿūlun mafāʿīlun faʿūlun mafāʿīlun
2. *al-madīd:* fāʿilātun fāʿilun fāʿilātun fāʿilun
4. *al-basīṭ*: mustafʿilun fāʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun

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Dāʾirat al-Muttafiq
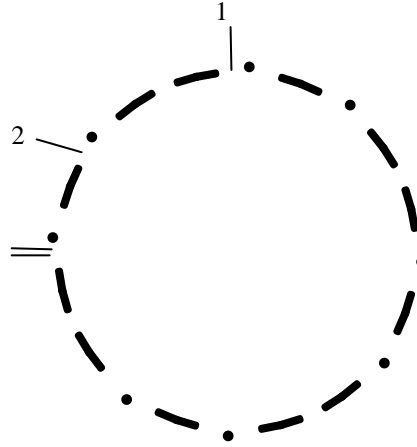
1. *al-mutaqārib* (primary): faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun
2. *al-mutadārak*: fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun

The onset of *al-mutadārak* is specified on *dāʾirat al-muttafiq*, but it must be remembered that—according to certain authorities—*al-mutadārak* was not identified by the inventor of the circles.

The possibility of deriving one meter from another in the manner depicted by the circles results from three criteria which will be discussed in Chapter III: the syllablic structure of "standard feet", the placement of short syllables in "standard meters", and the patterning of feet in "standard meters".

Arab prosodists usually arrange the circles in the following order: *dāʾirat al-mukhtalif, dāʾirat al-muʾtalif, dāʾirat al-mujtalab, dāʾirat al-mushtabih, dāʾirat al-muttafiq;* this order was altered in the above discussion to accommodate our own sequencing of the principles involved.

At first glance, the circles seem to provide considerable simplification: one has to remember only five primary meters; once he has represented the primary meters by circles, one begins at specifiable points and generates the rest of the meters. However, a closer examination of the circles reveals *at least* the following shortcomings:

1. The five primary meters continue to be a set of seemingly arbitrary sequences.

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2. Occasionally a circle may lead to incorrect grouping of MC's; for example, *dāʾirat al-mukʰtalif* may lead to the assumption that the sequence constituting each hemistich of *al-madīd* is fāʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun mustafʿilun; actually the sequence in question is fāʿilātun fāʿilun fāʿilātun fāʿilun.

3. Certain sequences have to be recognized as "neglected" meters.

4. The circles neither simplify the rules of metric variation nor do they reduce the large number of technical terms.

The inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that the circles do not sufficiently simplify al-Kʰalīl's theory; nevertheless, the ingenuity which devised them is far from wasted, for they facilitate two important conclusions (although al-Kʰalīl failed to point out the second): that certain meters contain identical strings, and that in giving rise to rhythm the *patterning* of elements plays a more basic role than the elements themselves.

Several modern scholars have attempted to simplify al-Kʰalīl's system by reducing the number of meters, reducing the number of feet, and reformulating the rules of metric variation. Among those scholars are Jamīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs.

2.1.2. **al-Zahāwī's proposal for simplification**

In a short but well-written article,[3] al-Zahāwī shows that *al-mutadārak* and *al-mutaqārib* can yield all of the other fourteen meters.

1. Each hemistich of *al-mutadārak* consists of the string fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun; each hemistich of *al-mutaqārib* consists of the string faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun faʿūlun. al-Zahāwī shows that the two feet *fāʿilun* and *faʿūlun* are composed of the same constituents: *ʿilun* and a *sanad;* he also shows that the two feet differ in the position of the *sanad* relative to *ʿilun* (a *sanad* is defined as a sequence consisting of a *mutaḥarrik* and a following *sākin*).

2. Ten meters can be formed from *al-mutadārak* and four from *al-mutaqārib* by altering as many feet as necessary; an alteration consists of "repeating a *sanad* or a *sabab*, deleting either, or changing one to the other" (a *sabab* is defined as a *mataḥarrik*).[4] For example, *al-basīṭ* is formed from *al-mutadārak* since:

(a) Each hemistich of *al-basīṭ* consists of the string mustafʿilun fāʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun.

(b) Each hemistich of *al-mutadārak* consists of the sequence fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun.

(c) The foot *mustafʿilun* can be represented as *fāfāʿilun.*

One may therefore conclude that Classical Arabic poetry has two basic feet (with *ʿilun* as the basic foot constituent).

al-Zahāwī fails to explicate an important transformation: namely, reduction of the number of feet in the process of generating one meter from another. While the hemistichs of *al-mutadārak* and *al-mutaqārib* consist of four feet each, the hemistichs of some other meters consist of less than four feet each; thus, in order for the two basic meters to yield the other fourteen, a foot per hemistich must be deleted in some cases, and two feet per hemistich must be deleted in other cases. al-Zahāwī also fails to address the question of predictability: it is one thing to say that modifying two meters *in accordance with a set of general rules* generates fourteen other meters, but quite a different matter to say (as al-Zahāwī does) that the output must be known *in each case* before the necessary transformation can be determined.

2.1.3. ʾAnīs' Proposal for simplification

Some twenty-five years after al-Zahāwī's article was published, ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs presented a proposal for simplifying the description of Arabic meters.[5] Fundamental to that proposal is the definition of feet in terms of *syllables* rather than al-Kʰalīl's IC's. Before discussing the proposal itself, it is therefore necessary to define the various types of Arabic syllables, and to show the relevance of the syllable (as a phonological entity) to the study of Arabic meters.

There are three types of syllables in Classical Arabic: short, medium, and long. Those types are defined below (C stands for any consonant, V stands for any short vowel, and $\bar{V}$ stands for any long vowel):

1. Short: CV
2. Medium: C$\bar{V}$, CVC
3. Long: C$\bar{V}$C, CVCC, C$\bar{V}$CC

Notice that a medium syllable differs from a short one in having a single additional element—the additional element being vowel length or a final consonant. Also notice that a long syllable differs from a short one in having two or three additional elements—the additional elements in each case being (1) vowel length and a final consonant, (2) two final consonants, or (3) vowel length and two final consonants. The distribution of long syllables is extremely restricted in Classical Arabic; in ancient Arabic poetry (where they occur only occasionally in the line-final position of certain meters[6]) their distribution is even more restricted. Furthermore, with respect to metrical function, long and medium syllables are similar rather than contrastive entities; for example, both can function as coda of the binary sequence which constitutes the standard foot's "nucleus" or "kernel" (and which will be discussed in Chapter III of Part I as well as Appendix IV of Part I). Thus for the purpose of scansion, the syllables of ancient Arabic poetry may be conveniently divided into two types: short (CV) and non-short (all syllables other than CV).[7] In the following example, the symbol − stands for a non-short syllable and the symbol ‿ stands for a short syllable (a space separates each pair of consecutive feet):[8]

waʾidʰā ṣaḫawtu famā ʾuqaṣṣiru ʿan nadan   wakamā ʿalimti sʰamāʾilī watakarrumī
‿‿−‿− ‿‿−‿− ‿‿−‿−   ‿‿−‿− ‿‿−‿− ‿‿−‿−

The simplification proposed by ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs consists of:

1. Excluding *al-muḍāriʿ* and *al-muqtaḍab* from the inventory of meters due to their extreme scarcity.

2. Using six "new" feet (*tafāʿīl*) in defining ten of the remaining meters.

The "new" feet fall into two groups: the primary (*faʿūlun, fāʿilun, mustafʿilun*), and the derived (*faʿūlātun, fāʿilātun, mustafʿilātun*). Notice that the derived feet result from adding a final medium syllable to each of the primary feet. Various combinations of the "new" feet constitute the meters *al-ṭawīl, al-mutaqārib, al-basīṭ, al-rajaz, al-sarīʿ, al-munsariḥ, al-kʰafīf, al-mujtatʰtʰ, al-ramal*, and *al-madīd.*[9]

It is obvious from the above discussion that ʾAnīs achieves less simplification than al-Zahāwī achieved twenty-five years earlier: ʾAnīs proposes more primary feet, accounts for less meters, reveals less relationships among the various meters, and condones more arbitrariness. ʾAnīs does, however, achieve considerable success in formulating relatively simple rules for metric variation; with the hemistich as the domain of their application, his rules are the following:[10]

1. A hemistich-initial medium syllable may be replaced by a short syllable.

2. Of two consecutive medium syllables which introduce the hemistich, either the first or the second may be replaced by a short syllable.

3. Of two consecutive medium syllables which do not introduce the hemistich, the second may be replaced by a short syllable.

4. Of three consecutive medium syllables, either the second or the third may be replaced by a short syllable.

5. Of four consecutive medium syllables, the third may be replaced by a short syllable.

6. Two consecutive short syllables may be replaced by a medium syllable provided that such replacement does not result in a sequence of more than four medium syllables. The provision, however, applies neither to *al-kāmil* nor to *al-wāfir*.

It is thus clear that replacing al-Kʰalīl's *ʾasbāb* and *ʾawtād* by syllables can lead to impressive simplification of the rules for metric variation.

In passing, it should be mentioned that Arabic syllables can be represented adequately by al-Kʰalīl's symbols: al-Kʰalīl's *mutaḥarrik* corresponds to what we now call the short syllable, and his *sākin* corresponds to the "additional element" used above in defining medium and long

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syllables. It is unfortunate that al-Kʰalīl, when studying his dashes and dots, failed to recognize the prosodic contrast between two basic entities whose patterned recurrence gives rise to meter: the first entity consists of a dash (i. e., the short syllable type of Arabic poetry) while the second consists of a dash and a following dot (i. e., the long syllable type of Arabic poetry[11]); it is tempting to blame this failure on pre-occupation with the patterned recurrence of *sequences* (each sequence consisting of two or more MC's).

2.2. *Proposals Aimed at Increasing Adequacy*

Published in December of 1974, ʾAbū Dīb's proposal is an attempt to develop a theory which surpasses al-Kʰalīl's in adequacy. ʾAbū Dīb claims that the principles underlying Arabic poetry can produce a vast number of meters, and that recent innovations in modern Arabic poetry constitute possibilities which—by some accident—did not previously materialize. Thus ʾAbū Dīb seeks to account for more data than al-Kʰalīl's theory encompasses. The following paragraphs summarize ʾAbū Dīb's theory.

A hemistich consists of "rhythmic units" (feet). Two basic rhythmic units (BRU's) are proposed: *fā-ʿilun/fa-ʿilun*, *ʿilun-fā/ʿilun-fa* (the slanting line means 'or'). The "rhythmic nuclei" constituting the units are *ʿilun* and *fā/fa*; *ʿilun* is the "basic nucleus" to which *fā/fa* is "added", and thus each hyphen within the rhythmic units sets off an "addition".

The strings which constitute al-Kʰalīl's meters are formed in two manners:

    1. By deleting rhythmic nuclei from theoretical meters. In this context, a theoretical meter consists of two identical hemistichs and each hemistich consists of six identical BRU's. In each instance, the nucleus deleted may be *ʿilun or fā/fa;* there are no instances where *ʿilun* is deleted at some point and *fā/fa* is deleted at some other point in the same theoretical meter. The deletion in question may apply to any BRU, or any set of BRU's, in the first hemistich; the changes which occur in the first hemistich are duplicated in the second hemistich.

    2. By adding rhythmic nuclei to theoretical meters. Here a theoretical meter consists of two identical hemistichs and each hemistich may consist of two, three, or four identical BRU's. The nucleus added in each instance is *fā* or *fa:* it is placed at least once before the BRU, after the BRU, or on both sides of the BRU. Apparently the addition may apply to any BRU, or any set of BRU's, in the first hemistich; the changes which occur in the first hemistich are duplicated in the second hemistich. Of the vast number of meters which this mechanism can generate, only a few are selected by Arabic poetry.

As part of his attempt to account for metric variation, ʾAbū Dīb assigns numerical values to the *mutaḥarrikāt* and the *sawākin* (notice that ʾAbū Dīb chooses to retain al-Kʰalīl's MC's): the numerical value for *a mutaḥarrik* is 1; for a *sākin*, zero. ʾAbū Dīb then asserts that metric variation is governed by two rules:

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1. Equivalent (i. e., commutable) rhythmic units must be identical in total numerical value.

2. The basic nucleus must occupy the same position in equivalent rhythmic units. This rule, however, is less binding than the first: because they are identical in total numerical value, some rhythmic units are commutable even though they differ in regard to the position of the basic nucleus.

The above rules explain why *fā-fa-ʿilun* is frequently replaced by *fā-fā-ʿilun* but not by *fā-ʿilun-fā* even though the three units are identical in total numerical value; the rules also explain why *fā-ʿilun, ʿilun-fa,* and *fa-ʿilu* are considered equivalent in modern Arabic poetry.[12]

In Chapter II, ʾAbū Dīb modifies his position in regard to variation: he explicitly rejects the assumption that some rhythmic units are derived from others, and asserts that commutable rhythmic units are equally "basic" entities which allow the stress pattern of the meter to remain intact. Thus, to be commutable, rhythmic units must be similar in stress pattern. To support his assertion, ʾAbū Dīb argues[13] that the poet composes his lines without being conscious of "basic" forms, variants, or rules governing variation.[14]

ʾAbū Dīb's theory is similar in some respects to al-Zahāwī's: the "basic rhythmic units" of the former are similar to the basic feet of the latter; furthermore, both theories employ addition or deletion to produce a set of meters from a common source. The main difference between the two theories is that the latter does not attempt to account for more data than al-Kʰalīl's corpus. In regard to the role played by stress patterns, ʾAbū Dīb reaches a conclusion which is somewhat similar to Guyard's.[15]

Does ʾAbū Dīb's theory introduce an additional measure of adequacy? The present writer believes that it does since adequacy includes the capacity for revealing latent possibilities and predicting new trends. It is to ʾAbū Dīb's credit that some of the latent possibilities he points out are already finding their way into modern Arabic poetry (e. g., the use of *fā-ʿilun, ʿilun-fa,* and *fa-ʿilu* as equivalent feet). Unfortunately, ʾAbū Dīb's theory suffers from some procedural contradictions which reduce adequacy; the most obvious of those contradictions concern the role of stress in determining metric variants:

1. On the one hand, ʾAbū Dīb rejects a descriptive device (the assertion that basic feet yield variants) because it does not account for the *performance* of Arab poets; on the other hand, he substitutes for that device a feature which cannot account for performance: stress is largely allophonic in Arabic,[16] and for that reason Arabs are generally unaware of stress patterns—let alone being controlled by such patterns in composing poetry.[17]

2. With no allusion to stress patterning, ʾAbū Dīb defines standard meters as patterned sequences of MC's; this procedure justifies the conclusion that ʾAbū Dīb looks upon the patterning of MC's as the determinant of standard meters and upon stress as a phonologically-conditioned, and therefore non-significant, feature. When describing metric variation, however, ʾAbū Dīb

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states that feet are commutable—no matter how their MC's are structured—if they do not alter the stress pattern of the standard meter; thus the non-significant feature (stress) has become the determinant, while the determinant (patterning of MC's) has become incidental.

In regard to generality (explanatory power) and simplicity, the theory being discussed has some rather serious drawbacks. It would have been tempting to generously ignore those drawbacks were further adequacy ʾAbū Dīb's only pursuit; but the fact is that ʾAbū Dīb considers his proposal a complete, self-contained theory which differs radically from, and can totally replace, al-Kʰalīl's theory.[18] We therefore feel compelled to make the following comments:

    1. The first manner of forming meters is characterized by at least two flaws:

        (a) Since either *ʿilun* or *fā/fa* may be deleted from the theoretical strings, the resultant meters are of two groups: those generated by dropping *ʿilun,* and those generated by dropping *fā/fa*. One would expect the two groups to be equal in number, but al-Kʰalīl's meters (as represented by ʾAbū Dīb) are a disappointment to this expectation.

        (b) One set of al-Kʰalīl's meters is generated by deleting *periodic* nuclei from the theoretical strings; another set seems to be generated by random deletion of nuclei. Both sets are smaller than one would expect.

To say that some possibilities are not utilized hardly constitutes a satisfactory explanation for the discrepancies observed here: it is logical to assume that the meters which gain popularity are the ones which conform most strictly to certain fundamental rules, and that the possibilities which remain dormant are the ones which deviate from those rules. ʾAbū Dīb expounds neither conformity nor deviation; instead, he leaves the reader with the impression that the first manner of forming meters is subject to no small measure of pure accident.

    2. The second manner of forming meters is even more arbitrary than the first: the possibilities are extremely numerous, the popular meters are few, and no attempt is made to explain the discrepancy.

    3. The status of *fa* as a rhythmic nucleus is extremely precarious: it is not a conditioned form and therefore cannot be considered a systematic variant of *fā;* on the other hand, to consider *fa* an independent nucleus would double the number of meters, thus multiplying the number of latent possibilities.

    4. In a given meter, the boundaries of ʾAbū Dīb's feet (rhythmic units) do not have to coincide with the boundaries of al-Kʰalīl's feet (*tafāʿil*); e. g., each hemistich of *al-madīd* (standard form) consists of three feet in al-Kʰalīl's system:

<div align="center">

‒ • ‒ ‒ • ‒ • ‒ • ‒ ‒ • ‒ • ‒ ‒ • ‒ •

(fāʿilātun   fāʿilun   fāʿilātun)

</div>

According to ʾAbū Dīb's second manner of forming meters, each of the hemistichs in question may be represented by *any* of the following sequences:

fā-ʿilun-fā fā-ʿilun fā-ʿilun-fā

fā-ʿilun fā-fā-ʿilun fā-ʿilun-fā

fā-ʿilun-fā fā-ʿilun-fā ʿilun-fā

fā-ʿilun-fā-fā ʿilun-fā ʿilun-fā

In al-wāfir, ʾAbū Dīb's feet are even less determinate.

al-Kʰalīl's *tafʿīla* is relatively easy to delineate for three reasons:

(a) At least to the trained ear, the *tafʿīla* is a distinct auditory entity since it has the same shape as actual words.

(b) The *tafʿīla* has a fairly well-defined composition: it always contains a *watad;* in addition, it always contains a minimum of one *sabab* and a maximum of two.

(c) In most hemistichs there is repetition of at least one *tafʿīla*.

To be sure, there are cases in al-Kʰalīl's system where an alternative grouping of MC's is possible (we have already seen that *al-madīd* is one such case); but those cases are rare and the alternatives are few compared to the vast uncertainty which characterizes ʾAbū Dīb's system.

Thus al-Kʰalīl's foot has a clear advantage over ʾAbū Dīb's.[19]

2.3. *Proposals Aimed at Increasing Generality*

2.3.1. **Ewald's proposal for increasing generality**

In 1825, Ewald presented a proposal which has gained no small measure of popularity among Orientalists. Our discussion will be based on the form which the theory has acquired in Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*.[20]

The meters of Classical Arabic poetry are divided into five types: the iambic (*al-rajaz, al-sarīʿ, al-kāmil, al-wāfir*), the antispastic (*al-hazaj*), the amphibrachic (*al-mutaqārib, al-ṭawīl, al-muḍāriʿ*), the anapoestic *(al-mutadārak, al-basīṭ, al-munsariḥ, al-muqtaḍab)*, and the ionic (*al-ramal, al-madīd, al-kʰafīf, al-mujtatʰtʰ*). The feet employed are those which constitute Classical Greek and Latin meters;[21] each foot is adapted by specifying the form(s) it has in a given Arabic meter.

The following quotation[22] illustrates this system:

> Of *antispastic* meters there is only one, the hazèǵ (الهَـزَج *the trilling*), which consists in a
>
> single repetition of ⏑ – – ⏑ (antispast), varied by ⏑ – – –. It may be either catalectic or
> acatalectic.
>
> Acatalectic: ⏑ – – � | ⏑ – – ⏑   ‖   ⏑ – – ⏑ | ⏑ – – –
>
> Catalectic: ⏑ – – ⏑ | ⏑ – – ⏑   ‖   ⏑ – – ⏑ | ⏑ – –

Rather than al-Kʰalīl's IC's and MC's, the system under discussion employs a more general entity; namely, the syllable. Moreover, this system (unlike al-Kʰalīl's) can be used to describe an impressively large assortment of non-Semitic meters.

Notwithstanding its success in achieving further generality, this theory leaves much to be desired:[23]

  1. A sequence which al-Kʰalīl regards as a variant is sometimes considered the standard form of the meter (such is the price of segmenting Arabic meters into alien feet); for example, al-Kʰalīl considers the following sequence a variant of *al-mutaqārib*, but the theory under discussion regards the same sequence as the standard form:

  ⏑ – ⏑   ⏑ – ⏑   ⏑ – –   ⏑ – ⏑   ⏑ – ⏑   ⏑ – ⏑   ⏑ – –   ⏑ – –

This reversal of al-Kʰalīl's stratification would be justifiable were it to simplify the rules of metric variation; the fact is that such reversal *complicates* those rules. It is true that the proposed system is not intended primarily to simplify al-Kʰalīl's theory, but neither should it result in further complication.

  2. The theory under discussion attempts to retain the boundaries of al-Kʰalīl's feet, and (with an occasional exception) it manages to do so. Unfortunately, the success of this endeavor is not without blemish: in some meters (e. g., *al-rajaz* and *al-sarīʿ*), the proposed feet had to be doubled in order to keep the boundaries of al-Kʰalīl's feet intact. Since it is motivated neither by the proposed theory nor by a universal theory, this occasional doubling introduces an element of arbitrariness.

  3. Because they resemble words in shape, al-Kʰalīl's *tafāʿīl* are an intuitive (as well as an auditory) reality; therefore, the occasional alteration of their boundaries (e. g., in *al-muḍāriʿ*) reduces explanatory power. Besides, as will be seen in Chapter III of Part I, the foot boundary is part of the environment which conditions variation.

  4. The number of feet constituting a given hemistich appears to be quite arbitrary.

2.3.2 **Guyard's proposal for increasing generality**

In 1877, Stanislas Guyard published a study in which he discussed Arabic meters within the framework of music. His theory is summarized in the following paragraphs.[24]

The MC's of any meter have durational values determined by the following rules:

1. A stressed *mutaḥarrik* = 1 beat.

2. An unstressed *mutaḥarrik* = ½ a beat.

3. A *sākin* which follows a major stress = ½ a beat.

4. A *sākin* which does not follow a major stress = ¼ of a beat.

Notice that while a *mutaḥarrik* may occur stressed, a *sākin* never does. A stressed *mutaḥarrik* is defined as one which has a major stress (i. e., a primary or a secondary stress); an unstressed *mutaḥarrik* is one which has a weak stress.

Clearly, stress plays an important role in Guyard's system; it is therefore necessary to specify the placement of stress in al-Kʰalīl's *tafāʿīl*. In the following list, the symbol ″ is used to indicate primary stress, and the symbol ´ is used to indicate secondary stress (*mafʿūlātu,* which Guyard considers unauthentic, does not appear in the list):

–″• – –´•   –″• – –´• – •

fāʿilun   fāʿilātun

– –″• –´•   – –″• – •–´•   – –″• – – –´•
faʿūlun   mafāʿīlun   mufāʿalatun

– – –″• – –´•   – •–″• – –´•
mutafāʿilun   mustafʿilun

Notice that each *tafʿīla* contains two stressed *mutaḥarrik*'s and at least one *mutaḥarrik* which is not stressed.

In accordance with the above discussion, a hemistich of *al-kāmil* (standard form) may be represented by sequence (a) below:[25]

(a) ‿ ‿ ″‿ ‿ ´‿ ‿ ‿ ″‿ ‿ ´‿ ‿ ‿ ″‿ ‿ ´

(mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun)

Guyard divides sequences such as the above into musical measures each of which consists of four beats; this division necessitates the addition of three rules:

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5. Each musical measure begins with a primary stress.

6. Each major stress is separated from the next major stress by one beat.

7. The constituents of a hemistich are considered a closed circle: the last major stress in the hemistich is followed by the first, with one beat separating the two.

Thus the hemistich under discussion consists of the musical measures shown in sequence (b) below (slanting lines separate successive musical measures):

(b) ⌣ ⌣ / ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣́ ⌣ ⌣ / ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣́ ⌣ ⌣ / ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣́

What precedes the first primary stress is considered a termination of the last musical measure; each hemistich of *al-kāmil*, then, consists of three musical measures. As can be seen from comparing sequence (b) with sequence (a), rules (6) and (7) may have to be satisfied by altering certain durational values.[26] In some instances, the two rules may have to be satisfied by adding a rest; the following is an appropriate illustration (⌒ stands for a rest equal to half a beat[27]):

(c) ⌣ / ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣́ ⌣ / ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣́ ⌣ / ⏞́ ⌒ ⌣́

(mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun faʿūlun)

But for the necessity of dividing it into musical measures, sequence (c) would be as follows:

⌣ ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣́ ⌣ ⏞́ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣́ ⌣ ⏞́ ⌣́

Metric variation results from changes which occur in the *tafāʿīl* and which generate one *tafʿīla* from another; for example, a variant of *al-basīṭ* would result if we delete the second MC of *fāʿilun* (− • − − •), thus causing *fāʿilun* to become *faʿilun*. Those changes are subject to the following rules:

1. A *tafʿīla* cannot undergo a change which would alter the pattern of major stress. Thus *mufāʿalaton* (− −̈ • − − −́ •) may become *mafāʿīlun* (− −̈ • − • −́ •) since both have primary stress on the second MC and secondary stress on the penultimate MC; however, *fāʿilun* (−̈ • − − •) cannot become *faʿūlun* (− −̈ • −́ •), part of the reason being the fact that the former has primary stress on the first MC while the latter has primary stress on the second MC.

2. Only unstressed MC's can be changed: a *sākin* may be deleted (remember that the *sawākin* are never stressed), and an unstressed *mutaḥarrik* may be reduced to a *sākin* if it follows another *mutaḥarrik*. For example, changing *fāʿilun* (−̈ • − −́ •) to *faʿilun* (−̈ − −́ •) involves deletion of a *sākin*; on the other hand, changing *mufāʿalatun* (− −̈ • − − −́ •) to *mafāʿīlun* (− −̈ • − • −́ •) involves reduction of a *mutaḥarrik*.

3. It is common to compensate for reduction by (a) increasing the durational value of a neighboring MC, or by (b) adding a rest.

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Guyard's theory relates Arabic meters to a general theory (music); this provides plausible explanations for compensatory length, rests, etc. In regard to metric variation, generality leads to simplification and provides a reason for the fact that certain changes occur while others do not.

In *Mūsīqā al-S^hi^ʿr al-ʿArabiyy,*[28] ʿAyyād observes that reaction to the meter may be independent of reaction to the lexical meaning: for example, certain meters are soft and soothing while others inspire excitement and enthusiasm. Guyard's theory can explain reactions of this sort: a rest before a certain word may emphasize that word; again, a feeling of psychological unrest may result when word stresses do not coincide with *tafʿīla* stresses.

ʿAyyād is probably correct when he observes[29] that recent developments in musical concepts invalidate some portions of Guyard's theory. It is no longer true, for example, that each musical measure must consist of four beats; and it is no longer true that each musical measure must begin with a stressed note. Thus it may not be necessary to add rests merely to guarantee for each musical measure the durational value of four beats (Guyard sometimes has more rests in a meter than the native's intuition would supply[30]); furthermore, the fact that a hemistich-initial segment lacks primary stress may not constitute sufficient reason for assigning that segment to the last musical measure. The present writer would like to add that the theory suffers from several other defects:

1. The number of musical measures in any given meter seems to be arbitrary.

2. The theory seems to regard as a possible hemistich any combination of al-K^halīl's *tafāʿīl*. No explanation is offered for the occurrence of only a few combinations. Even an appeal to latency would not remove the necessity of explaining why poets favor certain possibilities and reject others.

3. The theory emphasizes certain types of features which are often shared by a set of musical measures or a set of *tafāʿīl* (e. g., the patterning of stress). There are other types of shared features which deserve to be considered (e. g., those discussed by al-Zahāwi) but which are concealed by Guyard's theory.

4. Guyard considers stress a determinant of meters on all levels, thus escaping the contradiction which entrapped ʾAbū Dīb. The problematic issue is whether a largely allophonic feature (stress) must dominate a theory of Arabic meters.

2.4. *Contribution of Transformational Grammar*

Under the title of "The Theory of Classical Arabic Metrics", Joan Mathilde Maling presents a lengthy, detailed study of al-K^halīl's meters.[31] Her study is representative of the manner in which modern transformational linguists have treated the subject: not only does she employ their methods, but she also draws upon their works.

Given below is the list of rules proposed by Maling; the symbols used are defined before the rules (notice that Maling's *trochaic peg* corresponds to al-K^halīl's *watad mafrūq,* her *iambic peg* corresponds to his *watad majmūʿ,* and her *cord* corresponds to his *sabab k^hafīf*).

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Symbols

H = hemistich	F = foot	P = iambic peg
Q = trochaic peg	K = cord	$-$ = long syllable[32]
$\smile$ = short syllable	# = foot boundary	## = hemistich boundary
( ) = optional	{ } = *either ... or ...*	$\Rightarrow$ = *is rewritten as ...*

* = nonmetrical

/ = in the following environment

….. = the slot (relative to a stated environment) where the change occurs

Rules

$$H \Rightarrow F + F + (F) + (F)$$

$$F \Rightarrow PKK$$

T_1 : Cyclical Permutation

(6) T_2 : $K \Rightarrow \emptyset$ /.……. KX   (Circle V)

(15) T_3 : $K \Rightarrow \emptyset$ / $\begin{cases} \text{## XP …….} \\ \text{……. PX ##} \end{cases}$ (Circle 1)

T_4 : $P_i \Rightarrow Q$ (Circle IV)

(25) T_5 : *QZ

(26) T_6 : F $\underbrace{\text{XQ(K)}}$ (Obligatory)

  1   2 $\Rightarrow$ 1 2 1

T_7 : $H \Rightarrow H + H$ (H-copying)

(55) T_8 : $K \Rightarrow \emptyset$ / …… $(P)_a$ ##   (K-deletion)

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(53) $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} P \\ Q \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow - / \ldots\ldots\ldots$ (K) ##   (Peg shortening)

…………………………………… Level of Abstract Identity ………………………………..

(54) $P \Rightarrow - / $ ## ………

(41) $K \Rightarrow \smile / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} P \\ Q \end{array} \right\}$ (K) (#) ……….

(42) $K \Rightarrow \smile / $ K …… $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} P \\ Q \end{array} \right\}$ (K-shortening: 41, 42, 43)

(43) $K \Rightarrow \smile / $ ## ………….

(39) $K \Rightarrow \smile\, \smile / $ ………. K   (Only in Circle III)

(44) $K \Rightarrow -$

(45) $P \Rightarrow \smile\, -$

(46) $Q \Rightarrow -\, \smile$

(47) $*\smile\,\smile\,\smile\,\smile$ (Surface constraint)

(40) $\emptyset \Rightarrow - / \smile\,\smile$ ……. $\smile$ (Only in *kāmil:* obligatory)

In the following paragraphs, Maling's study is evaluated under three headings: (1) *Adequacy*, (2) *Generality and Explanatory Power,* and (3) *Simplicity.*

Adequacy

    1. The rhythmic form $\smile\,\smile\,-\,\smile\,-$ is considered a variant of $-\,-\,\smile\,-$: In like manner, the form $\smile\,-\,\smile\,\smile\,-$ is considered a variant of $\smile\,-\,-\,-$. The *ziḥāf* involved is stated as rule 39 and is restricted to Circle III. This analysis is hardly adequate. Arabic odes include a multitude where Circle III meters do not undergo rule 39 *even once*—a peculiar situation since a *ziḥāf* occurs rather freely in odes where the conditioning environment is present (K-shortening is a case in point). Little wonder, then, that $\smile\,\smile\,-\,\smile\,-$ and $\smile\,-\,\smile\,\smile\,-$ are classified as standard feet (rather than variants) in al-Kʰalīl's theory. Little wonder, too, that the system takes great pains to differentiate the following pairs:[33]

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(a) The two meters *al-rajaz* (whose standard form is − − ⏑ − − − ⏑ − − − ⏑ −) and *al-kāmil* (whose standard form is ⏑ ⏑ − ⏑ − ⏑ ⏑ − ⏑ − ⏑ ⏑ − ⏑ −). Almost invariably, a hemistich-final foot or some other foot of *al-rajaz* is replaced by ⏑ − ⏑ −; in *al-kāmil,* on the other hand, the hemistich-final feet are never replaced by ⏑ − ⏑ − and the other feet rarely undergo such replacement.   The meters *majzū' al-rajaz* and *majzū' al-kāmil* are differentiated in the same manner. In effect, Maling claims that ⏑ − ⏑ − is equally common and similarly distributed in *al-kāmil, majzū' al-kāmil, al-rajaz*, and *majzū' al-rajaz*; the facts contradict this claim.

(b) The two meters *al-hazaj* (whose standard form is ⏑ − − − ⏑ − − −) and *majzū' al-wāfir* (whose standard form is ⏑ − ⏑ ⏑ − ⏑ − ⏑ ⏑ −). In the former, all feet but the line-final are commonly replaced by ⏑ − − ⏑; in the latter, the hemistich-final feet never undergo such replacement, and the other feet rarely do. In effect, Maling claims that ⏑ − − ⏑ is equally common and similarly distributed in *majzū' al-wāfir* and *al-hazaj*; the facts contradict this claim.

2. On page 72, Maling claims that rule 41 satisfies *mu'āqaba* (a ban on changes which would produce a broken sequence of more than two short syllables or a continuous sequence of more than three short syllables); actually it does not. Consider the following two strings:

(a) KP⏑   KPK   KPK   (*al-ramal*)

(b) PKK   PKK   (*al-hazaj*)

In (a), rule 41 will prevent shortening the initial cord of the second foot, just as *mu'āqaba* requires. In (b), however, rule 41 does *not* prevent the shortening of both cords in the first foot—a clear violation of *mu'āqaba*.

Furthermore, there are instances where rule 43 violates *mu'āqaba;* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī cites the following example where *mu'āqaba* bars shortening the initial syllable in the second hemistich.[34]

− ⏑ − − − ⏑ − − ⏑ − ⏑   − ⏑ − − − ⏑ − − ⏑ − − (*al-madīd*)

3.   The theory represents no small measure of indulgence in the practice of alienating competence from performance: one cannot seriously claim that the poet starts out with an "abstract" meter which results from the repetition of PKK, then *permutes* the immediate constituents of each foot in a uniform manner to produce a concrete realization. What possible motivation could there be for such a procedure?

Again, one cannot seriously claim that interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation are all perceived as mere repetition on some level. (Interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation are illustrated by BAB, BBA, and BABA respectively, where A and B are different feet. Mere repetition is illustrated by BB, BBB, AAA, and AAAA). Furthermore, one cannot claim that − − − ⏑ is somehow perceived in *al-sarī'* although it is empirically non-existent, that − − ⏑ − is perceived as KQK in *al-Kʰafīf, majzū' al-kʰafīf*, and *al-mujtatʰtʰ* but as KKP elsewhere, and that − ⏑ − − is perceived as QKK in *al-muḍāri'* but as KPK elsewhere.

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To be sure, linguists have yet to develop precise descriptive models of performance. This fact may render the process of selection difficult when one is faced with several descriptions of competence all of which seem plausible on the level of performance; it may even provide a convenient excuse when (given the present state of psycholinguistics) the analyst cannot incorporate performance into a model of competence without invalidating or complicating the entire descriptive process. Hopefully, our knowledge will advance to the point where, by accounting simultaneously for competence and performance, a description promotes adequacy and simplicity; yet even today, there is no excuse for the excesses observed in Maling's analysis when more reasonable treatments *are* possible: as early as the tenth century A. D., al-Jawharī proposed one such treatment.[35]

4. The "grammar" does not account for the addition of extra syllables at the end of certain lines. On page 77, Maling dismisses addition as a minor transformation unworthy of rule formulation. One would not be unreasonable to assume that, since it does occur in Arabic poetry, addition (though restricted) must have a legitimate function. Failure to include addition in the grammar and to explore its function reduces adequacy.

Furthermore, the grammar does not include rules to account for:

(a) The infrequency of certain feet and certain meters.

(b) The necessary application of certain transformations to certain meters, with the result that the meters in question never (or rarely) occur in their standard form.

(c) The compensation which tends to preserve the durational value of the standard hemistich.

(d) The absence of certain sequences of long syllables and the scarcity of others. As this study will show in Chapter III of Part I, the restriction involved plays a major role in determining the form of hemistich-final feet.

5. The correspondence between ʿarūḍ and ḍarb is reduced to no meaningful generalization. Consequently, the maze of "sub-meters" has not been eliminated.

Generality and Explanatory Power

1. The theory postulates (p. 40) a level on which all the feet of a given meter are identical (PKK), with the result that prosodic patterning on that level is restricted to mere repetition. Interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation occur on a lower level, but only as the *incidental* (presumably unconscious) by-product of certain transformations rather than the *cause* of those transformations. Consequently, the transformations in question seem completely arbitrary: for example, from the abstract meter KPK KPK KPK KPK (which belongs to Circle I), rule 15 is capable of generating KP KPK KPK KPK, KPK KPK KPK PK, and KP KPK KPK PK; yet no such outputs materialize, and Maling's theory offers no explanation.

Patterning (represented in Arabic poetry by mere repetition, interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation) is a universal prosodic principle; it should therefore figure in the

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grammar as the determinant of rules rather than the incidental, unconscious result of arbitrary transformations. Clearly, then, Maling's theory fails the "strong requirement" of generality: that the rules should be related to a universal theory of prosody.

2. Maling's theory also fails the "weak requirement" of generality: that the rules should not be restricted to certain meters within the specific system of Arabic prosody. For example, five of her rules are restricted to specific circles (rules 6, 15, T_4, 55, and 39), and one (rule 40) is restricted to a single meter; no *general* principles motivate such restriction.

3. Why do standard feet have variants? Is there a *general* formal relationship which holds between all variants and their source feet? Is there a *general* prosodic principle attested by that formal relationship? If so, what is the general relationship, and what is the general principle? Since it provides no answers to questions of this sort, Maling's theory must be considered weak in explanatory power.

Simplicity

1. The rules are simple only in the sense that they are fewer than al-Kʰalīl's, but not in the sense that they are related to a general theory: many have little if any explanatory power. We have already raised some questions in this regard; here are some more: Why does the hemistich consist of no less than two and no more than four feet? Why does a foot consist of one peg and at least one, but no more than two, cords? Why is K replaceable by ⌣ in certain environments? Why are peg shortening (rule 53) and K-deletion (rule 55) restricted to hemistich-final feet? Why is the occurrence of Q nonmetrical in hemistich-initial position (rule 25)? Why does the occurrence of Q non-initially in the second foot trigger duplication of the first foot in hemistich-final position (rule 26). Must a person memorize these rules as an arbitrary list, with no "natural" logic to promote memory?

2. Formulated in terms of mathematical symbols, the rules may be easy for a computer to use; for a human being, however, they are not easy to understand, apply, or remember. One of the many complications which can be cited in this context is the necessity of remembering which feet contain Q; failure in this respect will result in misapplication of certain rules.

On page 38 of her study, Maling lists the sixteen meters which constitute al-Kʰalīl's five circles and which her rules of "abstract identity" must generate. The sixteen meters are as follows:

I	*ṭawīl*	PK PKK PK PKK	PK PKK PK PKK
	basīṭ	KKP KP KKP KP	KKP KP KKP KP
	madīd	KPK KP KPK [KP]	KPK KP KPK [KP]
II	*wāfir*	PKK PKK PKK	PKK PKK PKK
	kāmil	KKP KKP KKP	KKP KKP KKP

III	*hazaj*	PKK PKK PKK	PKK PKK PKK
	rajaz	KKP KKP KKP	KKP KKP KKP
	ramal	KPK KPK KPK	KPK KPK KPK

IV	*sarīᶜ*	KKP KKP KKQ	KKP KKP KKQ
	munsariḥ	KKP KKQ KKP	KKP KKQ KKP
	kʰafīf	KPK KQK KPK	KPK KQK KPK
	muḍāriᶜ	PKK QKK [PKK]	PKK QKK [PKK]
	muqtaḍab	KKQ KKP [KKP]	KKQ KKP [KKP]
	mujtatʰtʰ	KQK KPK [KPK]	KQK KPK [KPK]

V	*mutaqārib*	PK PK PK PK	PK PK PK PK
	mutadārik [sic]	KP KP KP KP	KP KP KP KP

In the following paragraphs, we shall demonstrate the use of the rules to generate the meters. The demonstration will show that the list of rules gives a false impression of simplicity. For one thing, the list is not as short as it seems to be: at best, it *implies* other rules, and at worst it *ignores* essential rules. The demonstration will also show that Maling's study leaves much to be desired in regard to explanatory power.

Step 1

$H \Rightarrow F + F + F + F$

$F \Rightarrow PKK$

$T_1 \Rightarrow$ Cyclical Permutation[36]

T_3, T_2 , T_7

The above rules generate the meters of Circle I and Circle V *if* the following points are taken into consideration:

(a) A rule is needed to stipulate that, before the application of T_3 and T_2 , the meters are identical in both circles except that the KPK-meter does not occur in Circle V.

(b) T_3 should specify the non-final feet which must undergo cord deletion (the first foot in the PKK-meter but the second foot in the KPK-meter).[37] Alternatively, the conditioning environment of T_3 should be stated as follows: ##P …….. K#, #K ……. P##, #KP …….## (i. e., K can be deleted from the foot if it occurs after a hemistich-initial P, before a hemistich-final P, or in hemistich-final position after P).

(c) A provision should stipulate that in the abstract hemistichs of Circle I the first and the third feet must be identical, as must be the second and the fourth; consequently, the change produced by T_3 in one member of the pair must be duplicated in the other member.

(d) A rule is need to delete the fourth foot of *al-madīd*.

Step 2

$H \Rightarrow F + F + F$

$F \Rightarrow PKK$

$T_1 :$ Cyclical Permutation

T_7

The above rules generate the meters of Circle II and Circle III *if* the grammar includes a stipulation to the effect that the meters are identical in both circles except that the KPK-meter does not occur in Circle II. Alternatively, the grammar must eliminate Circle II, thus reducing *al-wāfir* and *al-kāmil* to the status of variants generated by rule 39.

Step 3

$H \Rightarrow F + F$

$F \Rightarrow PKK$

$T_1 :$ Cyclical Permutation

T_4 , T_5 , T_6 , T_7

The above rules generate the meters of Circle IV *if* the following points are taken into consideration:

(a)   It must be stipulated that T_4 applies obligatorily, changes *only one* P per application, and generates a Circle-IV meter every time it applies.

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(b) The inclusion of *al-sarī* in Circle IV is a problem. On pp. 48 – 50, the author rejects al-Kʰalīl's definition of *al-sarī* as KKP KKP KKQ; in support of her position, she argues that (since it usually ends in − ⌣ −, − −, or ⌣ ⌣ −) *al-sarī* should be classified as a submeter of *al-rajaz* and should be generated from *al-rajaz* (i. e., from KKP KKP KKP) by rule 55. Maling's position is understandable since the rules of step 3 (which define the meters of Circle IV) cannot generate the string KKP KKP KKQ. On the other hand, the proposed assignment of *al-sarī* to Circle III would require two modifications: (i) rule 55 must be explicitly designated as optional, and (ii) rule 55 must be applicable to Circle III (it is presently restricted to Circle IV; see p. 76 of Maling's study).

The level of abstract identity does not indicate which of the sixteen meters correspond to "clipped meters" (*majzū'āt*); nor does that level indicate how *all* of the clipped meters can be generated without adding new rules, imposing more restrictions, or exceeding al-Kʰalīl's inventory. Consider, for example, the rule H ⇒ F +F + (F) + (F) and its expansion H ⇒ PKK +PKK +(PKK) + (PKK). Applying the T-rules of step 1 to the string PKK + PKK + PKK generates the two clipped meters of Circle V, one of the two clipped meters of Circle I, and two non-empirical meters. Moreover, if the T-rules of step 1 are applicable to the string PKK PKK PKK, one must assume (in the absence of a stipulation to the contrary) that the same T-rules are applicable to the string PKK PKK. Unfortunately, the dimeters generated in this manner are non-empirical. To avert these problems would require additional rules; furthermore, it would require a statement which restricts the application of step 1 T-rules or one which excludes dimeters from Circle I and Circle V.

Other defects become obvious when we test the "rules of correspondence" (the so-called *ziḥāfāt* and *ⁿilal*) in the same manner.

2.5. **Transformational Grammar Strikes Again**

Twenty-four years after Joan Mathilde Maling published her analysis of al-Kʰalīl's meters, transformational grammar made yet another attempt to bring Arabic prosody into the fold of a universal theory. The article published in 1977 by Chris Golston (Department of Linguistics, California State University in Fresno, California) and Tomas Riad (Department of Scandinavian Languages, Stockholm University) attempts to prove that al-Kʰalīl's meters are generated by binary rhythmic feet,[38] that the feet in question are basically the iamb and the trochee, and that accordingly rhythm in Classical Arabic poetry is closely related to rhythm in all poetry. In their study, Golston and Riad emphasize the distinction between Deep Structure and Surface Structure; in addition, they incorporate some of the valuable insights acquired in recent years by modern phonological theory. Their thesis deserves an in-depth discussion which highlights merits as well as shortcomings; we shall devote a separate appendix (Appendix IV of Part I) to that discussion.

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FOOTNOTES

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[1] See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid's *al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, pp. 38, 49, 63, 80, 88. Also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 15 – 41.

[2] For each meter, only one hemistich is generated; the two hemistichs are identical.

[3] See al-Zahāwī's "Tawallud al-Gʰināʾ wa-al-Sʰiʿr".

[4] The occurrence of such alterations after, not before, the MC's have been grouped into feet sometimes forces al-Zahāwī to change the foot boundaries established by al-Kʰalīl; for example, each hemistich of *al-munsariḥ* is mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu mustafʿilun according to al-Kʰalīl, but mustafʿilun faʿlun fāʿilun fāʿilun according to al-Zahāwī.

[5] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 139 – 161.

[6] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 147, 148. Also see Muḥammad al-Nuwayhī's *Qaḍiyyat al-Sʰiʿr al-Jadīd*, pp. 240, 241.

[7] ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs prefers to say that the syllables which occur in ancient Arabic poetry are either short (CV) or *medium* (CV̄, CVC), long syllables being of very rare occurrence (see pp. 146 – 149 of ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*). Given the arguments we have presented here, long syllables can be viewed, in the context of Arabic verse, as environmentally conditioned variants. To be more precise, long syllables, which occasionally occur in the line-final position of certain meters, can be viewed as environmentally conditioned variants of medium syllables.

Inspecting the inventory of Arabic meters reveals a significant feature: Every standard meter or standard submeter whose *ḍarb* ends in a long syllable corresponds to a counterpart which differs solely in the fact that its *ḍarb* ends in a medium syllable. In the following examples, the alternative form of the *ḍarb* appears within parentheses:

   Standard form of *al-ramal*: fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilun   fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilun (fāʿilān)

   Standard form of *al-sarīʿ*: mustafʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun   mustafʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun (fāʿilān)

   Standard form of *majzūʾ al-ramal*: fāʿilātun fāʿilātun   fāʿilātun fāʿilātun (fāʿilātān)

   Standard form of *majzūʾ al-kāmil*: mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun   mutafāʿilun mutafāʿilun (mutafāʿilān)

   Submeter of *al-madīd*: fāʿilātun fāʿilun fāʿilun   fāʿilātun fāʿilun fāʿilun (fāʿilān)

In *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī specifies the strings where long (as opposed to medium) syllables occur in line-final position. Classifying such long syllables as variants leads to the following reformulation: A long syllable may occur, as variant of a medium syllable, at the end of the line in the standard forms of *al-ramal, al-sarīʿ, majzūʾ al-kāmil, majzūʾ al-basīṭ, majzūʾ al-ramal*, and *majzūʾ al-mutadārak;* it may also occur, in the same capacity, at the end of the line in the *masʰṭūr* of *al-sarīʿ*, the *manhūk* of *al-munsariḥ,* and the aforementioned submeter of *al-madīd*.

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As a rule, a long syllable acquires the status of a ⁽illa in the sense that it occurs at the end of the second hemistich throughout the poem. This state of affairs is attributable to the requirements of rhyme rather than the nature of rhythm.

The variation under discussion will be revisited in more detail and with stricter precision after the necessary groundwork has been laid. Titled "Atypical Behavior of a Syllable Type in Line-final Position," the pertinent section will conclude Chapter IV of Part I.

[8] For the purpose of scansion we can, in the light of the foregoing discussion, substitute the term *long* for the term *non-short* in referring to syllabic structures other than CV. Unless quoting an author who holds a different point of view, the present writer will follow this practice in subsequent discussions.

[9] The form faˁūlātun corresponds to al-Kʰalīl's mafāˁīlun; mustafˁilātun occurs only as the first foot in each hemistich of *almunsariḥ* (according to ʾAnīs, each hemistich of *al-munsariḥ* is mustafˁilātun mustafˁilun fāˁilun).

[10] See pp. 156 – 159 of ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiˁr*.

[11] It has already been shown that the sequence − • •, which occurs exclusively in the line-final position of certain meters, should be considered an environmentally conditioned variant of − • ; only occasionally is the sequence − • • encountered in Arabic poetry.

[12] See Kamāl ʾAbū Dīb's *Fī al-Binya al-ʾĪqāˁiyya li-al-Sʰiˁr al-ˁArabiyy*, pp. 85 – 87.

[13] See Kamāl ʾAbū Dīb's *Fī al-Binya al-ʾĪqāˁiyya li-al-Sʰiˁr al-ˁArabiyy*, pp. 106, 107.

[14] For a different position on the relationship between competence and performance, see Noam Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, pp. 3-15.

[15] See section 2.3.2 of this study.

[16] In some modern varieties of Arabic, stress is entirely predictable from the phonological environment; in other modern varieties, stress is *almost* entirely predictable from the phonological environment (see Raja Nasr's *The Teaching of Arabic as a Foreign Language*, pp. 47 – 49). The present writer believes that stress was phonologically conditioned in Classical Arabic and the contemporaneous dialects; it is difficult to see an accident in the fact that ancient Arab grammarians, meticulous as they were, have left us no systematic description of stress.

Unless trained in structural linguistics, native speakers are usually unaware of conditioned phonological entities (i.e., allophones); for example, in colloquial Egyptian Arabic the sound [p] occurs before voiceless obstruents as an allophone of the phoneme /b/, and yet the average Egyptian does not recognize [p] as an entity which differs phonetically from [b].

[17] As the following examples indicate, stress patterns cannot be considered the main determinant of variation either in modern or in ancient Arabic poetry (a dash stands for a *mutaḥarrik* and a dot stands for a *sākin*):

(a) Modern Arabic poetry contains instances where commutable feet have different stress patterns; for example, Egyptian poets substitute − − − − • for − • − • − −• despite the fact that Egyptians pronounce the form − − − − • with primary stress on the first constituent while pronouncing the form − • − • − −• with primary stress on the fifth constituent.

(b) Ancient Arabic poetry contains instances where a single form is commutable with at least two feet of different stress patterns. For example, ancient Arab poets frequently substituted the form − − − • − − • for − − • − • − • and for − • − • − − • although, according to Guyard, the last two forms were probably pronounced in Classical Arabic with different stress patterns (see section 2.3.2 of this study).

[18] See Kamāl ʾAbū Dīb's *Fī al-Binya al-ʾĪqāˁiyya li-al-Sʰiˁr al-ˁArabiyy*, pp. 46, 47, 93 – 98.

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[19] At the end of Chapter I (p. 98), ʾAbū Dīb rejects feet in favor of rhythmic nuclei. He argues that the use of feet has resulted in "fossilizing" Arabic meters. The present writer considers the foot a useful entity which should be retained. As will be shown in Chapter III of this study, and as ʾAbū Dīb himself admits, recognition of the foot as a metrical unit facilitates the formulation of rules to account for variation. Furthermore, the foot, as defined by al-Kʰalīl, seems to be a psychological reality. Over the centuries which separate our day from al-Kʰalīl's, various metrical innovations were introduced: different meters were permitted to co-occur in the same poem, some meters underwent different degrees of abbreviation, and new arrangements of feet found their way into the system (see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 207-245); yet every new meter is reducible to feet, and no new feet—based on a new definition—have emerged.

There is no guarantee that rhythmic nuclei would not have resulted in "fossilization" had they been proposed by al-Kʰalīl; it is no secret that the tendency to revere and therefore to imitate ancient models has flourished among Arab poets of the modern age.

[20] Vol. II, pp. 358 – 368.

[21] See Shapiro's *Prosody Handbook*.

[22] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 363. A single bar separates two consecutive feet; a double bar marks the break between the two hemistichs of a meter. In the scansion of metrical verse, − usually stands for a long or stressed syllable, and ⌣ usually stands for a short or unstressed syllable. The theory under discussion employs a representation of Arabic feet where – stands for a long syllable and ⌣ stands for a short syllable; the symbol ᴕ stands for a pair of alternating syllables of which one is short and the other is long. For the purpose of scansion, no distinction is drawn between long and medium syllables.

[23] The first and the third of the defects listed here are pointed out in Sʰukrī Muḥammad ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 62 – 67.

[24] Stanislas Guyard's treatise on Arabic prosody was published in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1877 under the title of *Théorie nouvelle de la métrique Arabe*. The summary presented here is based on pages 68 – 87 of Sʰukrī Muḥammad ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr al-ʿArabiyy*.

[25] Each symbol stands for the durational value of a syllable: − stands for a full beat; ⌣, for half a beat; and ⌣, for a beat and a half.

[26] For example, the string $\overset{\prime\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \overset{\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \smile$, the first portion of sequence (a) which begins with a primary stress and which is followed by a primary stress, yields a measure in the following manner:

$$\overset{\prime\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \overset{\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \smile\ \Rightarrow\ \overset{\prime\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \overset{\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \smile$$

This change results from rule (6). The transformation $\overset{\prime\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \overset{\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \smile\ \Rightarrow\ \overset{\prime\prime}{\smile}\ \smile\ \overset{\prime}{\smile}\ \smile$ seems to satisfy rule (6), but it would be incorrect since it reduces the number of symbols (each symbol stands for a syllable; thus the number of symbols cannot be reduced as long as the number of syllables remains the same).

[27] Unlike other symbols, ⌣ does not represent the duration of a syllable.

[28] Pages 75 - 87.

[29] See Sʰukrī Muḥammad ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 81, 82.

[30] See Sʰukrī Muḥammad ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 77, 78.

[31] See Maling's "The Theory of Classical Arabic Metrics", pp. 29 -106.

[32] Maling draws no distinction between long and medium syllables.

[33] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, pp. 362, 363.

[34] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 76.

[35] ʾAbū Naṣr ʾIsmāʿīl al-Jawharī (who died in 1005 A. D.) suggests that Arabic meters comprise two distinct types: the "simple", and the "complex" (see Ibn Rasʰīq's *al-ʿUmda*, Vol. I, pp. 135 – 137). A simple meter results from mere repetition of a given foot; a complex meter results from combining two simple meters. Thus *al-mutaqārib, al-hazaj, al-ramal, al-rajaz,* and *al-mutadārak* are simple meters; on the other hand, the following are complex meters whose source strings are indicated within parenthesis:

al-ṭawīl	(*al-mutaqārib* and *al-hazaj*)
al-muḍāriʿ	(*al-hazaj* and *al-ramal*)
al-kʰafīf	(*al-ramal* and *al-rajaz*)
al-basīṭ	(*al-rajaz* and *al-mutadārak*)
al-madīd	(*al-mutadārak* and *al-ramal*)

[36] Cyclical permutation: PKK $\Rightarrow$ KKP, KPK. If a permutation applies to one foot, the very same permutation must apply to each of the other feet in the hemistich.

[37] In T_3 , post-P deletion applies to a *non-final* (not just a hemistich-initial) foot, while pre-P deletion applies to a hemistich-final foot. This fact is not clear from the notation used by Maling.

[38] Golston and Riad define the feet of ancient Arabic poetry in terms of syllables. No distinction is drawn between long and medium syllables.

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CHAPTER III

A NEW PROPOSAL

The theory proposed by the present author places equal emphasis on generality (explanatory power), adequacy, and simplicity. Our goal is merely to account for the meters reported by al-Kʰalīl and al-ʾAkʰfasʰ: we make little, if any, effort to account for the innovations of later times although it is quite possible that our theory provides a general framework which can easily accommodate those innovations;[1] nor do we make any deliberate attempt to introduce, or pave the way for, new rhythmic patterns although such an attempt might be a worthy goal for an independent study. Furthermore, we shall not indulge in the practice of citing numerous Arabic lines of poetry to substantiate our statements; anyone who is fond of such citations can find his heart's content in the Arabic works listed in the Bibliography, especially al-Jawharī's ʿArūḍ al-Waraqa, al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr. The purpose of this study is not to reinvent the wheel: What merit is there in repeating and rehashing the primary data which Arab prosodists have been invoking for many centuries? The purpose is rather to add some new insights and offer a new perspective. Clearly, then, we begin with the assumption that the body of primary data reported by al-Kʰalīl is authentic;[2] what we seek is to derive a new theory from that body of data.

We propose three levels of analysis; those levels are discussed below.

3.1. *Level I. Theoretical Meters*

The principle characterizing this level is that patterned recurrence, in the hemistich,[3] of at least one foot gives rise to "meter".[4]

The major rules which operate on this level are the following (notice that they betray a bent for economy):

   1. Theoretical feet contrast in a single feature: length; and their number is limited to two, the minimum required by the contrast. The short foot (mafʿūlun) will be represented by A, and the long foot (mafʿūlātun) will be represented by B.

   2. Each hemistich is characterized by the patterned recurrence of A, B, or both; the patterns utilized are: (a) mere repetition, (b) interrupted repetition, (c) supplemented repetition, and (d) alternation.

   3. A hemistich consists of two, three, or four feet; this rule results from the fact that mere repetition requires a minimum of two feet, alternation requires a minimum of four feet, and each of the other two types requires a minimum of three feet.

   4. This rule generalizes the dominant structure produced by the foregoing three rules; it states that a hemistich *always* consists of two identical segments, plus or minus an additional foot. Thus the hemistich BAB consists of two identical segments (B and B) plus an additional foot (A); on the other hand, the hemistich BABA consists entirely of two identical segments (BA and BA).

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Listed below are the possible meters which result from applying the major rules (only one hemistich is represented; the two hemistichs are identical in each case[5]):

(a) Mere repetition

    (i) AAAA   (ii) AAA   (iii) AA

    (iv) BBBB (v) BBB   (vi) BB

(b) Interrupted repetition

    (i) ABA   (ii) BAB

(c) Supplemented repetition

    (i) AAB   (ii) BBA

(d) Alternation

    (i) ABAB   (ii) BABA

The meters which actually materialize on this level are the following:

(a) Mere repetition

    (i) AAAA   (ii) AAA

    (iii) BBB   (iv) BB

(b) Interrupted repetition: BAB

(c) Supplemented repetition: BBA

(d) Alternation:

    (i) ABAB   (ii) BABA

Comparing the two lists reveals that the first three types of theoretical meters lack the strings AA, BBBB, ABA, and AAB: in the interest of economy and highlighting contrast, the system disallows doubling; in the interest of economy and consistency, the system requires *two* long feet in each mixed meter.

    1. "Doubling" denotes the process of repeating a given meter to produce anther meter; thus BBBB results from doubling BB, and AAAA results from doubling AA. Given the major rules which operate on this level, one would expect mere repetition to produce two tetrameters, two trimeters, and two dimeters; one would also expect the tetrameters to result from doubling the dimeters:

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AAAA   BBBB

AAA   BBB

AA   BB

The inventory of theoretical meters can be freed from doubling in any one of the following ways:

(a) Excluding AAAA and BBBB.

(b) Excluding AA and BB.

(c) Excluding AAAA and BB

(d) Excluding AA and BBBB.

The first option sacrifices a subtype (the tetrameter); likewise, the second option sacrifices a subtype (the dimeter). The remaining two options sacrifice no subtype, but the last option is the one selected because it offers the additional advantage of suppressing extreme length and extreme brevity (BBBB is the longest possible meter since four feet constitute the maximum length for a meter and B is the long foot; AA is the shortest possible meter since two feet constitute the minimum length for a meter and A is the short foot).

2. A "mixed" meter is one which comprises feet of both types (long and short). Given the major rules which operate on this level, one would expect interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation to produce a set of six mixed meters: ABA, BAB, AAB, BBA, ABAB, and BABA. The set derives its identity from two structural features: each meter combines both types of feet, and each meter contains at least one pair of identical feet. Inconsistency is clear from the fact that neither pair of identical feet is shared by the entire set. To remove this inconsistency, one of the following couples must be eliminated:

(a) AAB and ABA.

(b) BBA and BAB.

The first couple, rather than the second, is eliminated for a reason which will become clear on Level II: of two mixed theoretical strings, the one which begins with a long foot yields more standard meters than the one which begins with a short foot. The principle operating here is one which may be called "productive economy" since it seeks to maximize the output while minimizing the source strings.

Thus each of the mixed meters utilized by Arabic prosody contains two long feet.

If *mafʿūlun* is substituted for A and *mafʿūlātun* is substituted for B, the actual meters on this level assume the following forms:

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(a) Mere repetition

  (i) mafʿūlun mafʿūlun mafʿūlun mafʿūlun

  (ii) mafʿūlun mafʿūlun mafʿūlun

  (iii) mafʿūlātun mafʿūlātun mafʿūlātun

  (iv) mafʿūlātun mafʿūlātun

(b) Interrupted repetition

  mafʿūlātun mafʿūlun mafʿūlātun

(c) Supplemented repetition

  mafʿūlātun mafʿūlātun mafʿūlun

(d) Alternation

  mafʿūlun mafʿūlātun mafʿūlun mafʿūlātun

  mafʿūlātun mafʿūlun mafʿūlātun mafʿūlun

Economy, then, is the restriction which operates on Level I to reduce the number of possible strings; it is enhanced by two factors and tempered by two more.

The factors which enhance economy are inclination to be consistent and inclination to highlight contrast; while the former pertains to the individual feet and tends to promote similarity between the constituents of various meters, the latter pertains to the overall structure of the string and tends to establish a distinct identity for each meter. The outcome is a more homogeneous and yet more contrastive set of strings.

The factors which temper economy are disinclination to sacrifice types, and disinclination to sacrifice productivity. More precisely, the role played by these two factors may be stated as follows: given two alternatives with equal capacity for reducing a set of strings, the system selects the alternative which excels in regard to sparing metrical types and retaining a productive subset. "Productive economy" in prosody is reminiscent of the principle which underlies stratification in language structure: a relatively small number of units on one level generates a relatively large number of units on the next level.

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OUTLINE OF MAJOR POINTS

ON LEVEL I

1. **Feet**: Only two (one long and one short).

2. **Slots for feet** (per hemistich): 2 – 4.

3. **Patterns for constituting hemistichs**: Four (mere repetition, interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation).

4. **Restriction**: Economy

   (a) *Enhanced by*: consistency and contrast (the first pertains to individual feet, and the second pertains to the overall structure of the string).

   (b) *Tempered by*: disinclination to sacrifice metric types and disinclination to sacrifice productivity.

   (c) **Result**: In the retained set of theoretical meters, each mixed string contains two long feet, and doubling is non-existent.

3.2*. Level II. Standard Meters*

The principle which operates on this level is that patterned recurrence of long and short syllables in the hemistich gives rise to "meter";[6] consequently, theoretical meters are modified on Level II by the reduction of certain syllables. For long and short syllables, the definition adopted in this study was discussed in section 2.1.3 of the previous chapter. According to that definition, the syllables of ancient Arabic poetry comprise only two types: short (CV), and long (all syllables other than CV).

That patterned recurrence is a general principle can be seen from the following passage:[7]

> "Meter should be defined as the theoretically regular, although in practice sometimes much varied, recurring pattern of acoustic detail within the line. In modern English verse the pattern consists of a fixed number of stresses and of fixed positions for them in relation to the unstressed, or more lightly stressed, syllables. The mere ordered physical placement of stresses and non-stresses tends to create a determinate acoustic structure—that is, to convey a sense of regularity. ………. –and this structure is enhanced by the ISOCHRONIC principle, the fact that the intervals between primary stresses tend to seem equal. In Old English poetry, only the number of syllables and the end rhymes are the determinants; in Greek and Latin poetry the number of long and short syllables and their positions were the fixed elements; in

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> Chinese poetry the principle is that of variation in pitch together with a fixed count of syllables. Thus, for a definition that will cover all instances, we have to describe METER as the distribution of syllables according to stress, quantity, pitch, or mere number, in some regular pattern either within the line or among successive lines."

The major rules on this level are discussed below; the first four deal with "standard reduction", and the fifth deals with a complex transformation which involves "analysis".

1. Each foot in a given theoretical meter undergoes syllable reduction. Syllable reduction is either foot-initial or foot-medial (in a quadrisyllabic foot, medial reduction may affect either of the two medial syllables). On this level, foot-final reduction is barred to avoid the occurrence of a foot-final cluster which consists of a long syllable followed by a short syllable and which is perceived as rhythmically the most defective sequence (see Appendix IV of Part I).

2. Foot-initial and foot-medial reduction are mutually exclusive: they co-occur neither in the same foot nor in different feet of the same standard meter. Thus reduction is similarly positioned[8] in all the feet of a given hemistich.

    (a) Initial reduction is, by definition, identically placed in all the feet which constitute a given hemistich.

    (b) In most instances, medial reduction is identically placed in all the feet of a given hemistich.[9] In a hemistich where such is not the case, the feet differing in the placement of medial reduction are adjacent; in non-contiguous feet, reduction is identically placed. Thus the sequences under (i) below are possible, but those under (ii) are not.[10]

    (i)   − ◡ − −   − ◡ − −   − ◡ − −

                − − ◡ −   − − ◡ −   − − ◡ −

                − ◡ − −   − − ◡ −   − ◡ − −

                − − ◡ −   − ◡ − −

                − ◡ −   − ◡ −   − ◡ −   − ◡ −

                − − ◡ −   − − ◡ −   − ◡ −

                − − ◡ −   − ◡ −   − − ◡ −

    (ii)   − ◡ − −   − ◡ − −   − − ◡ −

                − ◡ − −   − − ◡ −   − − ◡ −

                − − ◡ −   − ◡ −   − ◡ − −
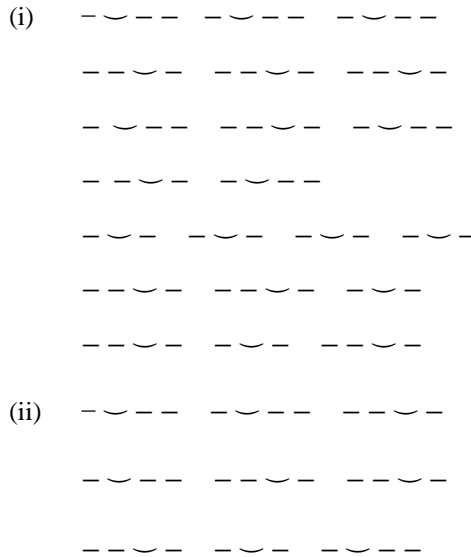
The ultimate degree of consistency is the situation where syllable reduction is identically placed in *all* the feet of a given hemistich; we shall call this degree of consistency "standard congruence".

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3.   The system tends to avoid paraphrasing.   "Paraphrasing" denotes the process of rearranging the feet which constitute a given meter to produce another meter; the two meters in question are called a "paraphrastic pair".

The mixed theoretical strings of Arabic poetry are divisible into two paraphrastic pairs:

(a) BAB and BBA

(b) ABAB and BABA

Paraphrasing could have been eliminated on Level I by dropping one member of each pair; such a solution, however, would have sacrificed a type of Level I patterning (either interrupted repetition or supplemented repetition). Instead, the system avoids generating paraphrastic pairs of standard meters by allowing each of the theoretical strings to undergo one type of reduction, and allowing none to undergo both types.

Of the two theoretical strings ABAB and BABA, the first undergoes initial but rejects medial reduction (thus resulting in a standard meter whose initial foot is short and begins with a short syllable), and the second undergoes medial but rejects initial reduction (thus resulting in a standard meter whose initial foot is long and begins with a long syllable). Had it not been for this restriction, we would encounter a situation where the feet of a standard meter, by occurring in a different order, constitute another standard meter.

Because the theoretical strings BAB and BBA differ only in the arrangement of units, we can anticipate situations where the feet of a standard meter, by occurring in a different order, constitute another standard meter. Initial reduction is rejected by the two theoretical strings, and the number of such situations is thus reduced. Notice that BAB and BBA are alike in regard to the onset foot, and they are therefore alike in regard to the type of reduction they reject. Also notice that analogy determines the type of reduction to be rejected: since BABA (which begins with a long foot) rejects initial reduction, BAB and BBA (both of which begin with a long foot) reject initial reduction as well.

4. Analogy may be responsible for the fact that initial reduction is rejected by the theoretical string BBB: initial reduction is rejected by BAB, the only other theoretical trimeter with a long foot at the beginning and a long foot at the end; initial reduction is also rejected by BBA, the only other theoretical trimeter with a long foot at the beginning and a long foot in the middle.

5. Theoretical meters with adjacent long feet undergo a complex transformation which combines two processes: reduction and analysis; while reduction applies to every foot, analysis applies only to the long feet. Analysis is the replacement of a long syllable by ω (i. e., by two short syllables which pattern as a single constituent); such replacement may occur initially or medially in the foot, but never in immediate contiguity to reduction. Thus the theoretical meter BB yields the two standard meters ⌣−ω− ⌣−ω− and ω−⌣− ω−⌣−, the theoretical meter BBB yields the standard meter ω−⌣− ω−⌣− ω−⌣−, and the theoretical meter BBA yields the standard meter ⌣−ω− ⌣−ω− ⌣−−.

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The above discussion implies that theoretical meters with adjacent long feet undergo two separate transformations: the first is simple, consisting of mere reduction; the second is complex combining reduction and analysis. Analysis applies to *all* of the adjacent long feet (it is never restricted to a single foot); in this sense analysis operates with the hemistich (rather than the individual foot) as domain.

The replacement of a long syllable by ω is not reduction: ω is equal in duration to a long syllable; besides, as will be seen on Level III, ω patterns as a long syllable. Thus analysis, although it co-occurs with reduction in the same foot, does not violate the statement that initial and medial reduction are mutually exclusive.

An explanation is required for the fact that only four of the expected six meters are generated by the complex transformation. Given the theoretical meters BB, BBB, and BBA as inputs, the following six strings are expected as outputs:

$$\smile - \omega - \quad \smile - \omega -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile -$$

$$\smile - \omega - \quad \smile - \omega - \quad \smile - \omega -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile -$$

$$\smile - \omega - \quad \smile - \omega - \quad \smile - -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile - \quad - \smile -$$

A study of the six strings reveals the following facts:

(a) There are three slots where constituent feet occur.

(b) In the first and in the second slots, a comparison of any two feet shows that *both* reduction and analysis serve the same cause: in some instances they both enhance contrast (compare, for example, the hemistich-initial feet of the first two strings), and in other instances they both enhance similarity (compare, for example, the hemistich-initial feet of the second and the fourth strings). In the third slot, the situation is somewhat different: reduction and analysis serve independent causes in two instances (one instance involves the hemistich-final feet of the third and the sixth strings, while the other instance involves the hemistich-final feet of the fourth and the sixth strings); in the rest of the instances, reduction and analysis serve the same cause (compare the hemistich-final feet of the third, the fourth, and the fifth strings).

To avoid the anomaly described in (b), a stipulation to reject one type of reduction must be dictated by the third foot, and this expectation is confirmed empirically by the data: when the theoretical string consists of only two feet, no rejection is stipulated; when the third foot is short, the stipulation is to reject medial reduction; and when the third foot is long, the stipulation is to reject initial reduction. Consequently, two of the possible outputs do not materialize:

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⏑ – ω –   ⏑ – ω –   ⏑ – ω –

ω – ⏑ –   ω – ⏑ –   – ⏑ –

By barring these two outputs, the system also averts possible confusion: as will be seen presently, the barred strings are *minimally*, rather than *clearly*, distinct from two other strings (*al-wāfir* and *al-kāmil* respectively).

At this point, a word must be said concerning the "affinity" which binds one standard meter to another and one standard foot to another. No affinity exists in the absence of a common (theoretical) source; "close affinity" exists when, in addition to sharing a source string, the pair in question imply similar instructions with respect to the domain of reduction; "normal affinity" exists when the pair share a source string but result from different instructions with respect to the domain of reduction.

Only three pairs of standard meters and two pairs of standard feet are characterized by close affinity:

    (a) *Standard meters*

⏑ – ω –   ⏑ – ω –

⏑ – – –   ⏑ – – –

ω – ⏑ –   ω – ⏑ –

– – ⏑ –   – – ⏑ –

ω – ⏑ –   ω – ⏑ –   ω – ⏑ –
– – ⏑ –   – – ⏑ –   – – ⏑ –

    (b) *Standard feet*

⏑ – ω –
⏑ – – –

ω – ⏑ –
– – ⏑ –

Notes on major rules

    1. The above rules yield twenty-six meters of which twenty-three (88.5%) actually occur in Arabic poetry and three (11.5%) are potential. Those which actually occur include all but two of the standard meters listed by al-Kʰalīl; they include as well the standard meter added by al-ʔAkʰfasʰ.[11]

    (a)
        (i) *al-mutaqārib*   ⏑ – –   ⏑ – –   ⏑ – –   ⏑ – –
                             (faʕūlun   faʕūlun   faʕūlun   faʕūlun)

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al-mutadārak	‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(fāˁilun fāˁilun fāˁilun fāˁilun)
(ii) *majzūˀ al-mutaqārib*	◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒
	(faˁūlun faˁūlun faˁūlun)
majzūˀ al-mutadārak	‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(fāˁilun fāˁilun fāˁilun)
(iii) *al-rajaz*	‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(mustafˁilun mustafˁilun mustafˁilun)
al-kāmil	ɯ ‒ ◡ ‒ ɯ ‒ ◡ ‒ ɯ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(mutafāˁilun mutafāˁilun mutafāˁilun)
al-kʰafīf	‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒
	(fāˁilātun mustafˁilun fāˁilātun)
*latent	‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(mustafˁilun fāˁilātun mustafˁilun)
**additional	‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒
	(fāˁilātun fāˁilātun fāˁilātun)
(iv) *al-hazaj*	◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒
	(mafāˁīlun mafāˁīlun)
majzūˀ al-wāfir	◡ ‒ ɯ ‒ ◡ ‒ ɯ ‒
	(mufāˁalatun mufāˁalatun)
majzūˀ al-rajaz	‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(mustafˁilun mustafˁilun)
majzūˀ al-kāmil	ɯ ‒ ◡ ‒ ɯ ‒ ◡ ‒
	(mutafāˁilun mutafāˁilun)
al-mujtatʰtʰ	‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒
	(mustafˁilun fāˁilātun)

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majzū' al-kʰafīf	– ⌣ – – – – ⌣ –	
	(fāʿilātun mustafʿilun)	
majzū' al-ramal	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – –	
	(fāʿilātun fāʿilātun)	

(b)

al-madīd	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ – –	
	(fāʿiātun fāʿilun fāʿilātun)	
majzū' al-basīṭ	– – ⌣ – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –	
	(mustafʿilun fāʿilun mustafʿilun)	

(c)

al-wāfir	⌣ – ɯ – ⌣ – ɯ – ⌣ – –	
	(mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun faʿūlun)	
al-ramal	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –	
	(fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilun)	
al-sarīʿ	– – ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ –	
	(mustafʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun)	
al-munsariḥ	– ⌣ – – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ –	
	(fāʿilātun mustafʿilun fāʿilun)	
*latent	– – ⌣ – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –	
	(mustafʿilun fāʿilātun fāʿilun)	

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(d)

    (i) *al-ṭawīl*   ⌣ — — ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — —

                                (faʿūlun mafāʿīlun faʿūlun mafāʿīlun)

    (ii) *al-basīṭ*   — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

                                  (mustafʿilun fāʿilun mustafʿilun fāʿilun)

        latent   — ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — — ⌣ —

                                  (fāʿilātun   fāʿilun   fāʿilātun   fāʿilun)

2. Standard congruence plays a significant role in Arabic poetry. In general, standard meters which lack standard congruence are of relatively uncommon occurrence: this explains the infrequency of *al-mujtat^ht^h* (— — ⌣ —   — ⌣ — —), a meter which hardly occurs in ancient Arabic poetry and which occurs in only 3% of modern Arabic poetry.[12] It also explains the latency of the following meter in ancient Arabic poetry:

$$— — ⌣ —\quad — ⌣ — —\quad — — ⌣ —$$

3. Level II rules determine the number of identical syllables which may occur consecutively. In standard meters, sequences of short syllables do not occur,[13] and no more than four long syllables occur consecutively; the situation could not be otherwise given the type of patterning which exists on Level II and given the theoretical meters which exist on Level I (sequences of short syllables do not occur since standard reduction affects one syllable per foot, and since reduction is similarly placed in all feet; a sequence of four long syllables may result when medial reduction is not identically placed in two theoretical feet which are long and adjacent).

4. The fact that a theoretical foot comprises a minimum of three and a maximum of four syllables is the result of three principles operating simultaneously: economy, medial reduction, and productivity. As demonstrated on Level II, the *shortest* possible foot which accommodates medial reduction is tripartite, and the *shortest* possible foot which permits the generation of more than one standard meter through medial reduction is quadripartite.

Notes on standard meters

1. The feet which make up the standard meters of Arabic poetry are seven in number: *faʿūlun, fāʿilun, mafāʿīlun, fāʿilātun, mustafʿilun, mufāʿalatun*, and *mutafāʿilun*; they display four

contrasts: in foot length, in the position of ‿ , in the occurrence of ω , and in the position of ω.[14]

2. In our inventory, the strings identified by one asterisk are latent meters; the string identified by two asterisks results from a process of differentiation: al-Kʰalīl postulates the existence of one meter (*al-ramal*) which counts for two separate meters in the present study.[15] The meter identified by two asterisks is called "additional" since it must be added to al-Kʰalīl's list as an independent standard meter.

In view of the available data, the differentiation resulting from this study is hardly surprising. In his *Grammar of the Arabic Language*,[16] William Wright points out that *al-ramal* "is almost invariably catalectic in the first hemistich, and generally so in the second"; he also points out the existence of another less common sequence which is invariably acatalectic in both hemistichs:

Common: —‿——   —‿——   —‿—   —‿——   —‿——   —‿—

Uncommon: —‿——   —‿——   —‿——   —‿——   —‿——   —‿——

Were the first sequence a variant of the second, the situation would be the reverse of what Wright describes: the form —‿— would be rare at the end of the *first* hemistich, and more common at the end of the second.[17]

3. In ancient Arabic poetry, which is the subject of this study, the meter *al-muḍāriᶜ* (whose standard form is ‿———   —‿——) and the meter *al-muqtaḍab* (whose standard form is ———‿ ——‿—) are almost non-existent;[18] in fact, it is related that al-ʔAkʰfasʰ considered those two meters alien to Arabic poetry.[19] Neither of the two meters is produced by our Level II rules. It is possible that *al-muqtaḍab* is a variant of *al-mujtatʰtʰ* (see Remark 4 in section 4.2.23) and that *al-muḍāriᶜ* is a variant of *majzūʔ al-mutaqārib* (see Remark 5 in section 4.2.21).

al-Kʰalīl defines *al-munsariḥ* as ——‿—   ———‿   ——‿— ; in our inventory the same meter is defined as —‿——   ——‿—   —‿— . It will be shown on Level III that the first sequence is likely to be an erroneously segmented variant of the second.[20]

4. For the standard meters *al-mujtatʰtʰ, al-madīd, al-wāfir*, and *al-sarīᶜ*, al-Kʰalīl specifies forms other than the ones given above for the same meters. Significantly, those other forms occurred very rarely—if at all—in ancient Arabic poetry, while the forms listed here occurred regularly in the same corpus.[21] In considering the anomalous (or non-existent) forms "basic", al-Kʰalīl was obviously guided by the framework of his theory rather than the frequency of occurrence. It is perfectly legitimate to postulate theoretical strings which can yield the actual meters, but such postulation should not take place on a level where the strings are clearly actual (rather than theoretical) meters; furthermore, the transformations which generate actual meters from theoretical strings should not be as arbitrary as they are in this context.

5. In a standard hemistich, foot recurrence is a typical phenomenon. This explains the latency in ancient Arabic poetry of the standard meter mustafᶜilun fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun.

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6. Contrast between two standard meters is weak if all or most of the feet in one, by assuming a different arrangement, constitute the other; consequently, one of the two meters in question is not favored. Of each pair given below, the first member is relatively rare[22] on account of this restriction:

al-madīd	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ – –
	(fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun fāᶜilātun)
al-ramal	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –
	(fāᶜilātun fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun)

majzūᵓ al-basīṭ	– – ⌣ – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –
	(mustafᶜilun fāᶜilun mustafᶜilun)
al-sarīᶜ	– – ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ –
	(mustafᶜilun mustafᶜilun fāᶜilun)

Of the following pair, the first member is a latent meter due to the same restriction:

latent	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –
	(fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun)
al-ramal	– ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – – ⌣ –
	(fāᶜilātun fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun)

Given any of the above pairs, what determines whether a certain member is likely to be favored? The degree of syllabic symmetry involved seems to be the answer: the member with more syllabic symmetry is favored (as will be seen on Level III, syllabic symmetry is highly desirable in Arabic poetry). The patterns of syllabic symmetry referred to in the following discussion are periodicity and a type of syllabic balance which may be defined thus: Beginning from the two extremities of the string and moving towards the middle, we find that the corresponding syllables are identical in regard to the feature of length (the middle may be zero or a syllable).

(a) Syllabic balance pervades all of string (ii) below but only the portion preceding the slanting line in string (i); besides, there is more periodicity in string (ii) than there is in string (i): the short syllable recurs at regular intervals in string (ii), but such is not the case in string (i). Hence the latency of string (i).

(i)   – ⌣ – –   – ⌣ – / – ⌣ – –

(ii) – ⌣ – –   – ⌣ – –   – ⌣ –

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(b) Syllabic balance pervades all of string (i) below, and it pervades all of string (ii) as well; but there is more periodicity in the latter (the short syllable recurs at regular intervals in the second string, but such is not the case in the first string). Hence the latency of string (i).

(i) $-\smile--\;\;-\smile-\;\;-\smile--\;\;-\smile-$

(ii) $-\smile--\;\;-\smile--\;\;-\smile-$

(c) In string (ii) below, symmetry pervades two portions (separated by a slanting line) of almost equal length; in string (i), on the other hand, the two symmetrical portions are considerably different in length. Hence the relative infrequency of string (i).

(i) $--\smile-\;\;-\smile-\;\;-/-\smile-$

(ii) $--\smile-\;\;-/-\smile-\;\;-\smile-$

7. It has already been pointed out that lack of standard congruence plays a role in assigning the status of a latent meter to the string mustaf'ilun fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun. This note examines the matter in more detail. A single syllable differentiates the meter mustaf'ilun fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun from *majzū' al-basīṭ;* thus the possibility of confusing one meter with the other cannot be ruled out. As explained under "Restrictions on application" (section 3.3.1), Arabic prosody takes pains to avoid such confusion; for this reason, only one of the two meters can be retained. Not surprisingly, the system has retained the meter which incorporates standard congruence: in all feet of *majzū' al-basīṭ,* the short syllable occurs in pre-final position.

OUTLINE OF MAJOR POINTS

ON LEVEL II

Two rules, each with one restriction, operate on this level:

Rule 1: Simple transformation (mere syllabic reduction): Either foot-initial or foot medial; the latter usually displays standard congruence.

Restriction: Paraphrasing (in mixed meters) is not favored. Result: A mixed theoretical string whose first foot is long rejects initial reduction (and thus begins with a long syllable); one whose first foot is short rejects medial reduction (and thus begins with a short syllable).

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> *Rule 2: Complex transformation (reduction plus analysis):* Applies only to theoretical meters with adjacent long feet.
>
> *Restriction*: Throughout the meter, ⌣ and ω must have the same function. Result: Of the theoretical strings which may undergo the complex transformation, a trimeter whose third foot is short rejects medial reduction; one whose third foot is long rejects initial reduction. (Thus, in the third slot, a long foot begins with a long syllable and a short foot begins with a short syllable).

3.3. *Level III. Variants*

3.3.1. **Major rules governing variation**

There are four major transformational rules which operate optionally on Level III to produce variants of standard (i. e., Level II) feet. The application of those rules is subject to the following stipulations:

    1. In most cases, variants are derived directly from standard feet; the variants derived from other variants are extremely few. Generally speaking, then, the four rules operate with the individual *standard* foot as domain (or input).

    2. A given foot is usually transformed by a single rule; occasionally, however, a foot is transformed by two or more rules operating simultaneously.

The four rules in question are stated and discussed below; facilitating a limited modification of the standard foot and tending at the same time to preserve the sequence ⌣− intact, they specify the variation tolerated by the requirement of type assonance (see item 2 under the next title).

    1. *Synthesis:* The constituent ω may be replaced by a long syllable (as illustrated by the transformations ω−⌣− ⇒ −−⌣− and ⌣−ω− ⇒ ⌣−−−). Strictly speaking, synthesis cannot be considered a reversal of analysis since the two transformations differ in regard to domain of application: while the former applies to the individual foot, the latter applies to the hemistich.

    2. *Level III reduction:* Unless preceded in the same foot by a short syllable, any long syllable may be shortened (e. g., −⌣− ⇒ ⌣⌣−, ⌣−− ⇒ ⌣−⌣, ⌣−−− ⇒ ⌣−⌣−, ⌣−−− ⇒ ⌣−−⌣, ⌣−−− ⇒ ⌣−⌣⌣, −−⌣− ⇒ ⌣−⌣−, −−⌣− ⇒ −⌣⌣−, −−⌣− ⇒ ⌣⌣⌣−, −⌣−− ⇒ ⌣⌣−⌣, −⌣−− ⇒ −⌣⌣−, −⌣−− ⇒ ⌣⌣−⌣).[23]

    3. *Deletion:* In a hemistich-final foot, a short syllable may be deleted if it occurs (a) initially in the foot before two long syllables or (b) medially in the foot between two long syllables; a long syllable may be deleted if it occurs finally in the foot after another long syllable. The following are examples:

    (a) ◡ − − ⇒ − − , ◡ − − − ⇒ − − − , ◡ − ω − ⇒ − ω −

    (b) − ◡ − ⇒ − − , − ◡ − − ⇒ − − − , ω − ◡ − ⇒ ω − −

    (c) ◡ − − ⇒ ◡ − , ◡ − − − ⇒ ◡ − − , − ◡ − − ⇒ − ◡ −

    (d) ◡ − − ⇒ −

    (e) − ◡ − − ⇒ − −

On Level III, ω patterns as a long syllable; this fact facilitates reduction and deletion in instances such as the following: ◡ − ω − ⇒ ◡ − ◡ − ; ◡ − ω − ⇒ − ω − .

    4. *Addition:* The foot (ω) − ◡ − may be expanded (in regard to the number of constituents) by suffixing a long syllable. The transformation occurs (optionally) in the line-final feet of four meters: *majzū° al-mutadārak, al-sarī°, majzū° al-kāmil,* and *al-ramal;* however, addition in the first two meters is attributed to later poets[24] and therefore does not fall within the scope of this study. In the line-final feet of *majzū° al-kāmil* and *al-ramal*, addition comprises the following changes respectively:

    ω − ◡ − ⇒ ω − ◡ − − , − − − ◡ − − , ◡ − − ◡ − − , or − ◡ − ◡ − −

    − ◡ − ⇒ − ◡ − − or ◡ − ◡ − −

A foot may undergo a combination of Level III transformations; the combination may include deletion or addition, but not both. The domain of addition is consistent with this restriction: as will be explained later (Restrictions 2d and 6d), the line-final feet of *majzū° al-kāmil* and *al-ramal* reject deletion.

Thus the ancient poets restricted addition to the only meters where the standard, line-final foot is capable of yielding a perfectly symmetrical output and—in addition—rejects deletion (the symmetrical outputs in question are ω − ◡ − − , − − ◡ − − , and ◡ − ◡ − −).

It is possible that later poets introduced addition in *majzū° al-mutadārak* and *al-sarī°* under the influence of analogy:

    1. Like *majzū° al-kāmil*, *majzū° al-mutadārak* is a "clipped" meter formed through mere repetition.

    2. Like *al-ramal, al-sarī°* is formed through supplemented repletion.

    3. The line-final feet of the four meters (*majzū° al-mutadārak, majzū° al-kāmil, al-sarī°,* and *al-ramal*) are covered by the representation (ω) − ◡ − .

As used by the later poets, the line-final foot of *majzū° al-mutadārak* is usually ◡ ◡ − , a form which rejects deletion and which produces a perfectly symmetrical variant when a long syllable is

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appended to it; this late development is probably one of the factors which motivated optional addition in *majzūʾ al-mutadārak*.

In each of the following examples, two rules operate simultaneously:

(a) ⏑ – – ⇒ – ⏑

(b) – ⏑ – ⇒ ⏑ ⏑ – –

(c) – ⏑ – – ⇒ ⏑ ⏑ –

In the following example, three rules operate simultaneously:

ω – ⏑ – ⇒ – ⏑ ⏑ – –

In the following example, an output undergoes further transformation:

ω – ⏑ – ⇒ ω – – ⇒ ω –

The present writer believes that the above rules attest the presence of a basic principle which characterizes Level III; the discussion below is intended to shed light on that principle.

It is interesting to notice that Level III transformations can produce syllabic symmetry, including simple periodicity, in the entire hemistich or in a shorter string (such as a foot).[25]

Simple periodicity is achieved when a single syllable of the one type separates each pair of the other type. The following examples show how a string can acquire simple periodicity through Level III transformations:

– – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⇒ ⏑ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⇒

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⇒ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

⏑ – – ⇒ ⏑ – ⏑

⏑ – – – ⇒ ⏑ – ⏑ –

– ⏑ – – ⇒ – ⏑ – ⏑

– – ⏑ – ⇒ ⏑ – ⏑ –

– ⏑ – – ⇒ – ⏑ –

Even the most cursory examination confirms the assertion that simple periodicity is not the only form of syllabic symmetry which occurs on Level III: for example, the string ⏑ ⏑ – – (derived by Level III reduction from the string – ⏑ – –) is symmetrical although devoid of simple periodicity; the same is true of the string – – ⏑ – – (derived by synthesis and addition from the string ω – ⏑ –).

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Syllabic symmetry may be durational but not structural: for example, there is no structural symmetry in ⌣⌣‒ (as compared with ⌣‒⌣), but there is durational symmetry since the sequence is divisible into two durational halves.

There are, then, four transformational rules which operate on Level III and which can produce syllabic symmetry. It must be emphasized that a given form of syllabic symmetry may be attainable through the application of one rule but not through the application of another, and that symmetrizing a given string may be facilitated by one rule but not by another. Two examples are given below.

    1. Consider the following hemistich (the standard form of *majzū' al-ramal*):

    (a) ‒⌣‒‒ ‒⌣‒‒

Simple periodicity throughout the hemistich cannot be achieved by deletion alone; it *can* be achieved by changing each foot (through Level III reduction) to ‒⌣‒⌣ :

‒⌣‒⌣ ‒⌣‒⌣

On the other hand, the second foot of (a) may be subjected to a deletion transformation which drops the final long syllable; as a result, the hemistich would acquire a form of symmetry which cannot be achieved through Level III reduction alone:

‒⌣‒‒ ‒⌣‒

    2. Consider the following hemistich (the standard form of *al-rajaz*):

    (b) ‒‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒

The hemistich cannot be symmetrized by applying the deletion transformation to the final foot; it *can* be symmetrized by changing each foot in turn (through Level III reduction) to ⌣‒⌣‒:

⌣‒⌣‒ ⌣‒⌣‒ ⌣‒⌣‒

It is important at this point to discuss six aspects of Level III rules; these aspects are: effect on strings, purpose of application, restrictions on application, necessary application, suspension of the *ʿilla* status, and domain of application.

Effect on strings

    1. As explained above, Level III transformations can produce syllabic symmetry in the entire hemistich or in a shorter string.

Achieving syllabic symmetry in a given string may require no more than one change or it may require several changes. What must be emphasized is that asymmetrical sequences generated on the path of syllabic symmetry are legitimate strings; thus each output in the following transformation is a legitimate hemistich:

‒‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒ ⇒ ⌣‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒ ⇒

⌣‒⌣‒ ⌣‒⌣‒ ‒‒⌣‒ ⇒ ⌣‒⌣‒ ⌣‒⌣‒ ⌣‒⌣‒

One may therefore conclude that the principle which characterizes Level III is a *tendency* to achieve syllabic symmetry in the entire hemistich or in a portion thereof.

Rather than symmetrizing asymmetrical strings, Level III transformations often substitute one form of symmetry for another; such is the case in the following transformation:

$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile - \Rightarrow - \smile - \smile \quad - \smile -$$

So strong is the tendency to achieve syllabic symmetry that one occasionally encounters Level III changes *which violate general rules* but which result in syllabic symmetry.[26]

    2. Level III transformations produce type assonance—a relationship which holds between a standard foot and each variant of that foot.

Type assonance exists when, without exception or with a maximum of two exceptions, every constituent of the variant corresponds to an identical constituent in the standard foot.[27] For example, type assonance relates the standard foot $\smile - - -$ to each of the variants $\smile - -$ and $\smile - \smile -$: $\smile - - -$ and $\smile - -$ are related to each other by type assonance since every constituent of the latter corresponds to an identical constituent in the former; $\smile - - -$ and $\smile - \smile -$ are related to each other by type assonance since only one constituent of the latter (the medial $\smile$) does not correspond to an identical constituent in the former. Type assonance also relates the standard foot $- - \smile -$ to the variant $\smile - \smile -$ since only two constituents (the first and the second) of the latter do not correspond to identical constituents in the former. We shall say that "optimum" type assonance exists when *every* constituent of the variant corresponds to an identical constituent in the standard foot; that "minimal" type assonance exists when, with *two* exceptions, every constituent of the variant corresponds to an identical constituent in the standard foot; and that "average" type assonance exists when, with *only one* exception, every constituent of the variant corresponds to an identical constituent in the standard foot. Accordingly, the variants $\smile - -$, $\smile - \smile \smile$, and $\smile - \smile -$ are related to the standard foot $\smile - - -$ by optimum type assonance, minimal type assonance, and average type assonance respectively.

Where minimal type assonance is displayed, the variant is usually quadripartite. Thus, as a general rule, a variant is said to display type assonance with the standard foot if, in at least two corresponding slots, the constituent syllables are identical.

A sub-variety of type assonance exists when the sequence $\smile -$ of the standard foot corresponds to $\smile -$ in the variant; since $\smile -$ may be considered the foot nucleus, this variety will be called "nuclear type assonance". For example, nuclear type assonance relates the standard foot $- \smile - -$ to each of the four variants $\smile - \smile - -$, $- \smile - \smile$, $\smile - - \smile$, and $- \smile -$. The type assonance which relates two feet may include (or even consist entirely of) the nuclear variety, but it may also lack that variety. Compare, for example, the forms of type assonance displayed by the following pairs:

$$- \smile - - , \smile \smile - -$$
$$- \smile - - , \smile \smile - \smile$$
$$- \smile - - , - - -$$

For the purposes of type assonance, ω patterns as a long syllable; thus the variant $- - \smile -$ is related to the source (standard) foot $\omega - \smile -$ by optimum type assonance.

The function of type assonance is to produce an auditory effect which relates variants to standard feet, thereby helping to identify the standard hemistich from which a given string is derived.

The following examples illustrate the importance of nuclear type assonance in identifying the standard foot from which a given variant is derived; in each example, the variant which precedes the colon is related by type assonance to *both* of the standard feet which follow the colon:

      (a) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ − : − − ⏑ − , − ⏑ − −

      (b) − ⏑ ⏑ − : − − ⏑ − , − ⏑ − −

      (c) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ − : − − ⏑ − , ⏑ − − −

      (d) ⏑ ⏑ − : − ⏑ − , ⏑ − −

Generally speaking, variants are related to the source (standard) feet by nuclear type assonance. In each of the above examples, the variant is related by nuclear type assonance to the first standard foot but not to the second; therefore it is with the first standard foot that the variant must be identified.

If related by nuclear type assonance to a set of standard feet, a variant is usually identifiable with any member of the set (e. g., ⏑ − ⏑ − is identifiable with ⏑ − − −, ⏑ − ω −, or ω − ⏑ −).

Occasionally a variant is related by type assonance to a set of standard feet, but by nuclear type assonance to no member of the set; here the variant is usually identifiable with a standard foot if it can be shown (even by slightly relaxing the definition of "correspondence") that a perfect match in syllables holds between the pair. The variant − − − , for example, is related by type assonance to each foot in the following set: − ⏑ − −, − − ⏑ −, ω − ⏑ −, ⏑ − − −, ⏑ − −, − ⏑ −; nevertheless, the variant in question is identifiable only with the first four members of the set. A perfect match holds between − − − and − ⏑ − − because the first constituent of each foot is long, the penultimate constituent is long, and the final constituent is long; a perfect match holds between − − − and − − ⏑ − as well as between − − − and ω − ⏑ − because in each of the three feet the first constituent is long, the second constituent is long, and the last constituent is long; a perfect match holds between − − − and ⏑ − − − when the first constituent of the former is lined up with *second* constituent of the latter.

When type assonance makes it possible to identify a variant with more than one standard foot, the ambiguity can be resolved by studying the hemistich as a whole or by studying other hemistichs of the same ode (remember that, as a rule, the hemistichs of an ancient Arabic ode are monometric). Consider, for example, the following hemistichs (both of which occur in the same ode):

      (a) ⏑ − ⏑ −   − − ⏑ −   − − ⏑ −

      (b) − − ⏑ −   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ −   − − ⏑ −

The initial foot of (a) must be identified with the standard foot $--\smile-$ although it is related by type assonance to the standard foot $\smile---$ as well as the standard foot $--\smile-$: this conclusion is facilitated by the fact that $\smile---$ $--\smile-$ $--\smile-$ is not a standard meter; it is also facilitated by the fact that the initial foot of (b) is $--\smile-$.[28]

Purpose of application

Level III transformations introduce metric variety; for example, all of the following sequences are variants of *majzū' al-kāmil:*

$$--\smile-\quad\omega-\smile-$$
$$\omega-\smile-\quad--\smile-$$
$$\omega-\smile-\quad\omega--$$
$$\omega-\smile-\quad---$$
$$--\smile-\quad---$$
$$\omega-\smile-\quad\omega-\smile--$$
$$--\smile-\quad\omega-\smile--$$
$$\omega-\smile-\quad--\smile--$$

  Not only do these variants differ one from the other, but they also differ from the standard form of the hemistich ($\omega-\smile-\quad\omega-\smile-$). The availability of such alternatives on Level III gives the poet some freedom in choosing words.

By promoting syllabic symmetry, Level III transformations promote variety. Consider, for example, the following strings:

(a) $-\smile--\quad-\smile--\quad-\smile-$

(b) $-\smile-\smile\quad-\smile-\smile\quad-\smile-$

String (a) is the standard hemistich of *al-ramal;* string (b) is derived from (a) by Level III reduction. Both strings are symmetrical, but each embodies a distinct form of syllabic symmetry. Occurrence in the same ode of both forms contributes to variety.

Variety, then, is the primary purpose of Level III transformations. The type of variety involved, however, is one which aspires to and gains from syllabic symmetry; it is, furthermore, one which is molded by type assonance in the interest of preserving the identity of the standard meter.

Restrictions on application[29]

1. The *atypical* application of Level III rules is subject to certain restrictions.

Typically, Level III rules apply as *simple* transformations, and produce *primary* variants. A simple transformation is a rule which changes a single constituent of the foot. The following are simple transformations:

$$\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow - - \smile -$$

$$- \smile - \Rightarrow \smile \smile -$$

$$- \smile - - \Rightarrow - \smile -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow \omega - \smile - -$$

A primary variant is one which is derived directly from the standard foot.

Atypically, Level III rules apply as complex transformations to produce primary variants, or as the second stage in *chain derivation* to produce *secondary* variants. A complex transformation is a rule which simultaneously changes more than one constituent of the foot, or a combination of different rules which apply simultaneously to change more than one constituent of the foot. The following are complex transformations:

(a) $- \smile - - \Rightarrow - -$
    $- - \smile - \Rightarrow \smile \smile \smile -$
    $- \smile - - \Rightarrow \smile \smile - \smile$

(b) $\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow - - -$
    $\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow - - \smile - -$
    $- \smile - - \Rightarrow \smile \smile -$
    $- \smile - \Rightarrow \smile \smile - -$

In chain derivation, the output of one transformation becomes the input of another (a transformation in the chain may be simple or complex). The following transformations involve chain derivation:

$$- \smile - \Rightarrow - - \Rightarrow -$$

$$- - \smile - \Rightarrow \smile - - \Rightarrow \smile -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow \omega - - \Rightarrow \omega -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow - - - \Rightarrow - -$$

A form is attributed to chain derivation if neither a simple nor a complex transformation can derive it directly from the standard foot; such a form is called a *secondary* variant.

At this point it is probably necessary to justify a preference which was employed in the above discussion: we have attributed a group of variants to direct derivation from the standard feet (through simple and complex transformations); the rest of the variants we have attributed to chain derivation. Variants of the second group are very few (see Appendix I) and they are rarely used. Our model therefore means that the vast majority of variants are derived directly from standard feet; such direct derivation reflects the poet's intuition concerning performance. An alternative to the concept of complex transformations is to postulate cyclical application of the same transformation and consecutive application of different transformations; this alternative would increase the number of variants attributed to chain derivation, and would therefore widen the gap between performance and the descriptive model.

The restrictions imposed on *atypical* applications are listed below; they represent constraints on three possibilities: producing less type assonance, producing unclear type assonance, and

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producing no type assonance. In connection with certain variants, the following labels are used: "relatively few", "relatively infrequent", "distasteful", "rare", and "ugly"; it is also asserted that certain forms do not occur.[30]

(a) Primary variants may be divided into two groups: the first comprises forms which display minimal type assonance, while the second comprises forms which display optimum or average type assonance. Variants of the first group are usually generated by complex transformations; they are relatively few (see Appendix I), relatively infrequent, and considerably distasteful. Variants of the second group are usually generated by simple transformations. In other words, the output of a complex transformation usually displays less type assonance than displayed by "sister" variants; for this reason, complex transformations are less favored than simple ones.

(b) In the case of some primary variants, type assonance is not readily perceptible; for example, the type assonance which relates the variant − − ◡ to the source foot ◡ − − − becomes obvious only when the first constituent of the former is lined up with the *second* constituent of the latter. The least favored of complex transformations are those which produce unclear type assonance: al-Rāḍī considers − − ◡, in its role as a variant of ◡ − − −, to be "rare and distasteful"; he considers − ◡ −, in its role as a variant of ◡ − ω −, to be "ugly".

In this study, "clear" type assonance is opposed to "unclear" type assonance; the former exists when type assonance can be established without the necessity of skipping a syllable.

(c) Complex transformations are not permitted to produce primary variants which display no type assonance with the standard foot; thus the standard foot ◡ − − − does not yield − ◡ ◡ as a variant.

(d) Chain derivation is not permitted in any of the following situations:

(i) When the final output of the chain would display less type assonance with the standard foot than does the immediate predecessor; thus the second transformation of the following chain does not occur:

$$\text{ω} − ◡ − \Rightarrow − − ◡ − − \Rightarrow − − − − ◡$$

(ii) When the final output would display unclear type assonance with the standard foot; thus the second transformation of the following chain does not occur:

$$− ◡ − \Rightarrow − ◡ − − \Rightarrow ◡ − −$$

(iii) When the final output would display no type assonance with the standard foot; thus the second transformation of the following chain does not occur:

$$− − ◡ − \Rightarrow − − − \Rightarrow ◡ ◡ ◡$$

In fact, chain derivation is not permitted unless the final output display *more* clear type assonance with the standard foot than does the immediate predecessor.

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As observed earlier, the variants which do occur as a result of chain derivation are very few and they are rarely used.

The foregoing discussion leads to the conclusion that atypical applications are relatively uncommon because they tend to obscure the identity of the foot:

(a) A complex transformation minimizes the similarity between output and input; in addition, it tends to create misleading similarity between the output and at least one standard foot other than the input (in this context, similarity is defined as type assonance). For example, the output of −⌣− ⇒ ⌣− displays *unclear* type assonance with the input while displaying *optimum* type assonance with the standard foot ⌣−−; thus, if the derivational process were not known in advance, it would be tempting to identify ⌣− with ⌣−− rather than with −⌣−.

(b) A chain derivation causes ambiguity even when its final output displays more type assonance with the standard source foot than does the immediate predecessor. For example, ɯ− can be perceived as a form which comprises *two* constituents, but it also can be perceived as a form which comprises *three* constituents (⌣⌣−); in the second instance, the process of identifying the source foot is subject to no small measure of uncertainty: ⌣⌣− is more readily identifiable with −⌣− or −⌣−− than with ɯ−⌣−, it is as readily identifiable with −−⌣− as with ɯ−⌣− , and yet it is actually generated by chain derivation from ɯ−⌣−. The form ⌣− is another case in point: it is more readily identifiable with ⌣−− than with −−⌣−, it is as readily identifiable with ɯ−⌣− as with −−⌣−, and yet it may be actually generated by chain derivation from −−⌣−.

It must be remembered that the identity of a given variant is established by relative rather than absolute similarity, and that various degrees of similarity are defined as various degrees of type assonance. In descending order of intensity, the degrees of type assonance are the following: clear (optimum, average, minimal), unclear, zero.

Blocking a general transformation to avoid ambiguity is by no means a peculiarity of prosodic meters. On the morphological level, for example, a general transformation effects the change *awi* ⇒ *ā* (e. g., *kʰawif* ⇒ *kʰāf* 'to be afraid'); in the case of *sawid* 'to become black', however, the transformation is blocked to identify the form as a verb of color (significantly, the form *sād* exists in the lexicon but with a totally unrelated meaning). Again, a general transformation effects the change *Cwa* ⇒ *Cā* (e. g., *ʔajwab* ⇒ *ʔajāb* 'to answer'); in the case of *ʔaṭwal* 'taller', however, the transformation is blocked to identify the form as an elative adjective rather than a Measure IV triliteral verb (significantly, the form *ʔaṭāl* exists in the lexicon as a Measure IV triliteral verb). ꜤAbbās Ḥasan, a leading figure among modern Arab Grammarians, defines the "function and task of language" as "to avert obscurity and banish ambiguity."[31]

2. Level III transformations are usually blocked or neutralized when they would obscure the identity of the meter—i. e., when they would render the standard form of the hemistich less than readily discernible, or when they would confuse one meter with another (a meter is subject to confusion with another meter when a string representing the first is identical with, or *minimally* distinct from, a string representing the second). The following are some examples:

(a) We have already seen that, because they tend to obscure the identity of the foot, atypical applications of Level III transformations are often blocked. The more ambiguous the individual feet in regard to identity, the greater the effort required to ascertain the standard form of the hemistich.

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(b) The transformation ——⏑— ——⏑— ——⏑— ⇒ ——⏑— ——⏑— —— is blocked since the output would be identical to a variant of *al-sarīᶜ* (the input is the standard form of *al-rajaz*).[32]

(c) The transformation ——⏑— ——⏑— —⏑— ⇒ ——⏑— ——⏑— ⏑⏑—— (whose input is the second hemistich of *al-sarīᶜ*) is almost invariably blocked because the output would be readily confused with ——⏑— ——⏑— ω—— (which is a variant derived from the second hemistich of *al-kāmil*). On the other hand, the system imposes less restriction on the transformation ——⏑— ——⏑— —⏑— ⇒ ——⏑— ——⏑— —⏑—— since the clear difference in onset between —⏑—— and ω—— is intended to signal the distinction in identity between *al-sarīᶜ* and *al-kāmil*.[33]

(d) The line-final foot of *majzūʔ al-kāmil* rejects deletion of its medial ⏑;[34] the deletion in question can make the second hemistich of *majzūʔ al-kāmil* perceptually identical to a variant of *al-mujtatʰtʰ*:

$$\text{——⏑— ω—⏑— ⇒ ——⏑— ω——}$$

In each hemistich of *majzūʔ al-wāfir*, the final foot rejects the form ⏑—⏑— ; the same is true in each hemistich of *al-hazaj* and *majzūʔ al-kāmil*. But for this restriction, the hemistichs in question could become identical with a variant of *majzūʔ al-rajaz* (and, of course, with one another):

⏑—ω— ⏑—ω— ⇒ ⏑—⏑— ⏑—⏑—	(*majzūʔ al-wāfir*)
⏑——— ⏑——— ⇒ ⏑—⏑— ⏑—⏑—	(*al-hazaj*)
ω—⏑— ω—⏑— ⇒ ⏑—⏑— ⏑—⏑—	(*majzūʔ al-kāmil*)
——⏑— ——⏑— ⇒ ⏑—⏑— ⏑—⏑—	(*majzūʔ al-rajaz*)

Similarly, in each hemistich of *al-kāmil* the final foot rejects the form ⏑—⏑— to avoid confusion with a variant of *al-rajaz*.

(e) We may divide into two types the instances where a pair of different meters become identical in form through Level III transformations: the first type comprises instances where the pair are closely affined; the second type comprises instances where the pair are not closely affined. Instances of the first type are more frequent than those of the second type; it must be emphasized, however, that instances of *both* types constitute the exception rather than the rule: in ᶜAntara b. Sʰaddād's ode (مُعَلَّقَة عَنْتَرَةَ بْنِ شَدَّاد), the meter is *al-kāmil* (whose standard form is closely affined to that of *al-rajaz*); of the ode's 168 hemistichs, only fourteen (8.3%) merge with the standard form of *al-rajaz,* and only two of the fourteen form a line (the ode is scanned in Appendix II, and the fourteen hemistichs are identified with highlighted numerals).

(f) Transformations are sometimes blocked to keep different meters clearly—rather than minimally—distinct. For example, the following transformation is usually blocked since the

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output would be considerably similar to the hemistich ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑—— (a variant second hemistich of *majzūʔ al-mutadārak*); the input is the second hemistich of *al-madīd* in its standard form:[35]

$$—⏑—— \quad —⏑— \quad —⏑—— ⇒ ⏑⏑—— \quad ⏑⏑— \quad ⏑⏑——$$

In *al-kʰafīf* and *majzūʔ al-kʰafīf*, the second syllable of ——⏑— is never shortened; the purpose is to keep *al-kʰafīf* clearly (rather than minimally) distinct from the *additional* meter —⏑—— —⏑—— —⏑—— and to keep *majzūʔ al-kʰafīf* clearly (rather than minimally) distinct from *majzūʔ al-ramal*. The second syllable of ——⏑— in *al-mujtatʰtʰ* is never shortened to keep the meter clearly (rather than minimally) distinct from *majzūʔ al-ramal*. In *al-kʰafīf* and *majzūʔ al-kʰafīf,* the last syllable of each hemistich-initial foot usually rejects the reduction transformation, thus ruling out the string —⏑—⏑⏑—⏑⏑⏑—(—) as a variant of *al-kʰafīf* and ruling out the string ⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑— as a variant of *majzūʔ al-kʰafīf;* notice that the former string is minimally (rather than clearly) distinct from *majzūʔ al-wāfir,* and that the latter string can confuse the first foot (at least momentarily) with ω—⏑—.[36]

(g) In the first hemistich of *al-ṭawīl,* the final foot rejects the transformation ⏑——— ⇒ ⏑——; but for this restriction, the first hemistich of *al-ṭawīl* would be minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from *al-mutaqārib*. (Other restrictions keep the second hemistich of *al-ṭawīl* clearly distinct from *al-mutaqārib*[37]).

(h) The non-final feet of hemistichs usually reject deletion and addition. It is because deletion does not usually occur in hemistich-initial position that we are inclined (though tentatively) to interpret the sequence ——⏑——⏑—— as the meter *al-mujtatʰtʰ* (——⏑— —⏑——) rather than the meter *majzūʔ al-mutaqārib* (the following transformation is rare: ⏑—— ⏑—— ⏑—— ⇒ —— ⏑—— ⏑——);[38] and it is because addition does not occur in hemistich-medial position that we are inclined to interpret the sequence —⏑————⏑—⏑—— as *al-kʰafīf* (—⏑—— ——⏑— —⏑——) rather than *al-madīd* (the transformation —⏑—— —⏑— —⏑—— ⇒ —⏑—— ——⏑— —⏑—— does not occur).

(i) Addition and deletion are restricted in both hemistich-final feet, but they are more restricted in the final foot of the first hemistich than they are in the final foot of the second hemistich. It takes no great deal of reflection to perceive the underlying logic: the two transformations often obscure the identity of feet; thus they would often obscure the identity of meters if they occurred freely in *both* hemistich-final feet (for then neither domain would provide unmistakable clues). One would therefore be justified in expecting addition and deletion to be blocked in a single domain, preferably the first since it represents an earlier occasion for identifying the meter. As a matter of fact, addition is totally rejected in the first domain, and deletion is more scarce in the first domain than it is in the second domain. When it does occur in the first domain, deletion almost invariably occurs in the second as well (the deleted constituents being, almost invariably, the same in the second domain as in the first); the reverse is not true: deletion often occurs in the second domain without occurring in the first.[39]

In al-Kʰalīl's system, the final foot of the first hemistich is called *al-ʕarūḍ* 'the yardstick or measure', while the final foot of the second hemistich is called *al-ḍarb* 'the likeness, reflection, or

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counterpart'. The two terms seem to imply the concept that, of the two feet in question, the former is a more helpful clue in determining the identity of the meter; they also seem to imply an inclination to interpret the latter foot in terms of the former but not the former in terms of the latter.

As stated above, in *all* cases the *ʿarūḍ* is less prone to undergo deletion than the *ḍarb*. There is, however, a situation where deletion is *completely* rejected by the *ʿarūḍ:* namely, the situation where replacing the *ʿarūḍ* by a different foot would produce a different meter; the reason, once again, is that the *ʿarūḍ* represents an early occasion for identifying the meter.

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī,[40] ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs,[41] and William Wright[42] the *ʿarūḍ* rejects deletion in the following meters:

$$- - \smile - \quad - - \smile - \quad - - \smile - \qquad (al\text{-}rajaz)$$
$$- - \smile - \quad - - \smile - \quad - \smile - \qquad (al\text{-}sar\bar{\imath}^{\varsigma})$$

$$- \smile - - \quad - - \smile - \quad - \smile - - \qquad (al\text{-}k^{h}af\bar{\imath}f)$$
$$- \smile - - \quad - - \smile - \quad - \smile - \qquad (al\text{-}munsari\d{h})$$

$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile - - \quad - \smile - \qquad (al\text{-}ramal)$$
$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile - - \quad - \smile - - \qquad (additional)$$

$$- - \smile - \quad - - \smile - \qquad (majz\bar{u}^{\,\flat}\,al\text{-}rajaz)$$
$$- - \smile - \quad - \smile - - \qquad (al\text{-}mujtat^{h}t^{h})$$

$$- \smile - - \quad - - \smile - \qquad (majz\bar{u}^{\,\flat}\,al\text{-}k^{h}af\bar{\imath}f)$$
$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile - - \qquad (majz\bar{u}^{\,\flat}\,al\text{-}ramal)$$

Where one of two hemistichs must be blocked to avoid confusing one meter with another, the choice seems to depend on the relative degree of type assonance: the hemistich to be blocked is usually the one which displays less type assonance.

   3. In general, Level III transformations do not obliterate all explicit forms of patterning.[43] Consider the following transformations:

$$\omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile - \Rightarrow - - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile - \quad \omega - \smile -$$

$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile - - \quad - \smile - \Rightarrow \smile \smile - \smile \quad - \smile - - \quad - \smile -$$
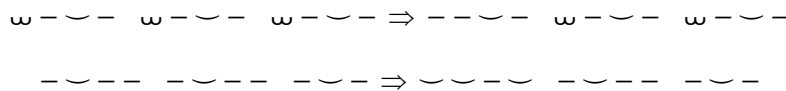
In the first transformation, the change does not obliterate pre-existing forms of patterning: both before and after the change, the hemistich may be represented by BBB (where B stands for a quadripartite foot); besides, the change does not alter the similarity among the three feet in regard to the position of $\smile$. The situation is analogous in the second transformation: both before and after the change, the hemistich may be represented by BBA (where B stands for a quadripartite foot and A stands for a tripartite foot); besides, the change does not alter the similarity between the

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last two feet in regard to the position of ⏑. Both transformations are legitimate since they enhance variety without robbing the hemistich of explicit patterning.

Unless prevented from doing so by some restriction, Level III changes *can* rob the hemistich of explicit "meter" as demonstrated by the following transformation:

$$- - \smile - \quad - \smile - - \quad \Rightarrow \quad - - \smile - \quad - - -$$

The hemistich −−⏑− −−− is devoid of explicit patterning: overtly, it embodies neither Level I nor Level II patterning; furthermore, syllabic symmetry is not sufficient to endow the hemistich with explicit "meter".[44] The fact that hemistichs such as −−⏑−   −−− are rare in Arabic poetry[45] suggests that Level III rules are not usually permitted to apply in a manner which would eliminate all forms of explicit patterning. Syllabic symmetry is usually substituted for whatever patterning is obliterated by Level III transformations.

 4. When the standard foot contains ω, synthesis is by far the most favored of the simple transformations which can apply (because its output is related to its input by optimum type assonance).[46] For example, the standard foot ω−⏑− yields four primary variants as a result of simple transformations: −−⏑−, ⏑−⏑−, ω−−, and ω−⏑−−; of these, the first three are expected to occur in *al-kāmil*. In ⸢Antara b. Sʰaddād's ode (whose meter is *al-kāmil*), −−⏑− occurs 225 times, and ⏑−⏑− occurs only once; ω−− does not occur at all (see Appendix II).

 5. Deletion and addition are blocked if they would violate the pattern of number assonance.

An ancient Arabic ode usually consists of divided lines; in other words, an ancient Arabic ode usually comprises two columns of hemistichs. In each column, the final feet are related to each other by number assonance: i. e., in most cases they all have the same number of constituents.[47] The first hemistich-final foot may form an exception in its column; this is because the foot in question usually has the same number of constituents as its counterpart in the second column.[48] Thus, with respect to a transformation which alters the number of syllables, the hemistich-final feet of the second column, together with the first hemistich-final foot of the other column, constitute a unified domain: in general, such a transformation applies to all or else to none of the feet in question; the remaining hemistich-final feet behave in the same way. The following is an example:[49]

$$
\begin{array}{ccc|ccc}
-\smile-- & \smile\smile-- & -\smile-- & \smile\smile-- & -\smile-- & \smile\smile-- \\
\smile\smile-- & -\smile-- & -\smile- & \smile\smile-- & \smile\smile-- & -\smile-- \\
-\smile-- & \smile\smile-- & \smile\smile- & -\smile-- & -\smile-- & -\smile-- \\
-\smile-- & \smile\smile-- & \smile\smile- & \smile\smile-- & -\smile-- & -\smile-- \\
-\smile-- & -\smile-- & \smile\smile- & \smile\smile-- & -\smile-- & \smile\smile-- \\
\end{array}
$$

It will be recalled that a hemistich-final foot which belongs to the first column is called a ⸢*arūḍ,* while a hemistich-final foot which belongs to the second column is called a *ḍarb.* As explained above, the foot which terminates the first hemistich of the ode is anomalous; for that reason, the foot in question will be excluded from the present discussion and its first counterpart (in the same column) will be viewed as the "first ⸢*arūḍ*".

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The principle of number assonance underlies an important observation made by Arab prosodists: hemistich-final deletion is a ʿilla (i. e., a binding process or feature); generally speaking, if it occurs in the first ʿarūḍ it must recur in every subsequent ʿarūḍ, and if it occurs in the first ḍarb it must recur in every subsequent ḍarb. Likewise, line-final addition is a ʿilla.

The occurrence of $-\smile-$ or $\smile\smile-$ as a hemistich-final foot (in either or both columns) is governed by certain restrictions:

     (a) If the first ʿarūḍ is $-\smile-$ or $\smile\smile-$, every subsequent ʿarūḍ must be identical to it; and the first ḍarb, *if trisyllabic*, must also be identical to it.

     (b) If the first ḍarb is either $-\smile-$ or $\smile\smile-$, every subsequent ḍarb must be identical to it.

Thus, as a constituent of the first ʿarūḍ, the initial syllable of $-\smile-$ or $\smile\smile-$ has the status of an inter-column ʿilla; as a constituent of the first ḍarb, it has the status of a local-column ʿilla. As a rule, Level III transformations are not permitted to violate such status (the most common violations occur in *al-ramal* and *majzūʾ al-ramal*).

    6. Deletion is blocked if it would produce a broken sequence of more than four long syllables.[50] (A "broken sequence" is a string of syllables interrupted by at least one foot boundary. For the purpose of this definition, the cesura is viewed as two consecutive foot boundaries). This rule operates on the *emic* level where ω is viewed as a long syllable. Although broken sequences of four long syllables do occur, there is a strong preference for ones of only three long syllables. The following are examples:

     (a) In hemistich-final position, a standard foot rejects deletion of its *initial* short syllable to avoid outputs such as the following:

$\smile-\omega- \ \smile-\omega- \Rightarrow \smile-\omega- \ -\omega-, \ \smile--- \ ---$ (*majzūʾ al-wāfir*)
$\smile--- \ \smile---\Rightarrow\smile--- \ ---$ (*al-hazaj*)
$\smile-- \ \smile-- \ \smile--\Rightarrow \ \smile-- \ \smile-- \ --$ (*majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*)
$\smile-- \ \smile-- \ \smile-- \ \smile--\Rightarrow \ \smile-- \ \smile-- \ \smile-- \ --$ (*al-mutaqārib*)
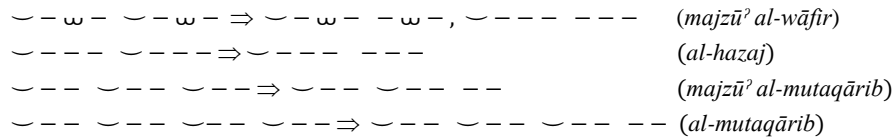
Again in hemistich-final position, $-\smile--$ rejects the deletion of $\smile$ to avoid outputs such as the following:[51]

$-\smile-- \ -\smile-- \ ---$ (Second hemistich of the *additional* meter)
$-\smile-- \ ---$ (Second hemistich of *majzūʾ al-ramal*)
$-\smile-- \ -\smile- \ --- \quad -\smile-- \ ....$ (Line of *al-madīd*)
$-\smile-- \ -\smile- \ ---$ (Second hemistich of *al-madīd*)
$-\smile-- \ --\smile- \ ---$ (Second hemistich of *al-kʰafīf*)
$--\smile- \ ---$ (Second hemistich of *al-mujtatʰtʰ*)

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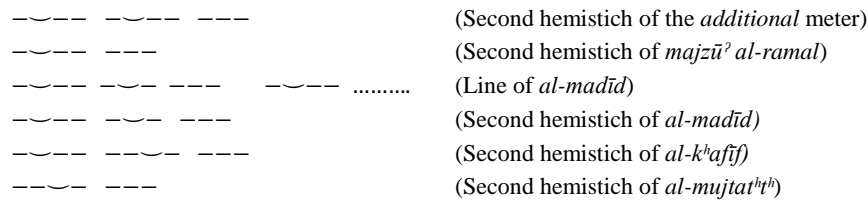
(b) In *al-wāfir* and *majzū' al-wāfir*, the non-canonical transformation *al-kʰarm* الخَـرْم may delete the initial short syllable of the first hemistich, but not that of the second. This restriction rules out the following nonmetrical sequences of long syllables across the cesura:

    .... ⌣ — —   — ω — ....
    .... ⌣ — —   — — — ....

    .... ⌣ — ω —   — ω — ....
    .... ⌣ — ω —   — — — ....
    .... ⌣ — — —   — — — ....

(c) In *majzū' al-kāmil*, the ʿarūḍ rejects deletion; in *al-kāmil*, the ʿarūḍ changes *rather infrequently* to ω — or ——, but never to ω —— or ———. Both restrictions rule out the following nonmetrical sequences (of long syllables) across the cesura:

    .... ω — —   ω — ⌣ — ....
    .... — — —   ω — ⌣ — ....
    .... ω — —   — — ⌣ — ....
    .... — — —   — — ⌣ — ....

In addition, the latter restriction reduces the occurrence of the following undesirable sequences across the cesura:

    .... ω —   ω — ⌣ — ....
    .... — —   ω — ⌣ — ....
    .... ω —   — — ⌣ — ....
    .... — —   — — ⌣ — ....

(d) In *al-ramal,* the ḍarb rejects deletion lest a sequence of four long syllables should result.

7. Level III reduction is blocked when it would produce a broken sequence of more than two short syllables or a continuous sequence of more than three short syllables. This rule operates on the *etic* level where ω is viewed as a sequence of two short syllables. The following are examples:

(a) The occurrence of three short syllables consecutively across a foot boundary or across the cesura is barred in *al-hazaj, al-ṭawīl, al-wāfir, majzū' al-wāfir, al-madīd, al-ramal, majzū' al-ramal, al-kʰafīf,* and *majzū' al-kʰafīf:*

(i) In a line of *al-hazaj*, each of the first three feet may be changed to ⌣——⌣; the first and the third may also be change to ⌣—⌣— (though the change is very rare); however, none of the three feet in question may be changed to ⌣—⌣⌣.

(ii) in *al-ṭawīl*, the hemistich-medial foot ⌣——— may be changed to ⌣—⌣— (though the change is very rare); however, it may not be changed to ⌣—⌣⌣.

(iii) In *al-wāfir* and *majzūʾ al-wāfir*, a hemistich-initial or hemistich-medial ⌣—ω— may be changed to ⌣——⌣ or ⌣—⌣— (although both changes are rare), but not to ⌣—⌣⌣.

(iv) In *al-madīd*, —⌣— may be changed to ⌣⌣— when the preceding foot ends in a long syllable but not when the preceding foot ends in a short syllable, and the first foot of the second hemistich may be changed to ⌣⌣—— when the preceding foot ends in a long syllable but not when the preceding foot ends in a short syllable.

(v) In *al-ramal* and *majzūʾ al-ramal*, a foot-initial syllable may be shortened when the preceding foot ends in a long syllable but not when the preceding foot ends in a short syllable.

(vi) In *al-kʰafīf* (where the standard foot ——⌣— occasionally assumes the non-canonical form ——⌣⌣), —⌣—— may not be changed to ⌣⌣—— if preceded by a foot which ends in a short syllable.

(vii) in *majzūʾ al-kʰafīf*, each hemistich-final foot rejects the form ⌣⌣⌣— when the preceding foot ends in a short syllable.[52]

(b) Level III reduction is blocked if it would cause a short syllable to occur after the constituent ω.[53]

A study of Classical Arabic morphology reveals a restriction on the number of short syllables which may occur consecutively in the stem;[54] in prosodic meters, however, the injunction is more stringent since it holds true throughout the entire line (regardless of boundaries).

A continuous (as opposed to a broken) sequence of three short syllables is metrical; there is, however, a strong preference for continuous sequences of only two short syllables. In the few instances where it does occur, ⌣⌣⌣— is considered a "most distasteful" variant; its occurrence is barred in *al-kāmil, majzūʾ al-kāmil, al-kʰafīf, majzūʾ al-kʰafīf*, and *al-mujtatʰtʰ* (even when the preceding foot ends in a long syllable).[55]

Blocking transformations to avoid nonmetrical sequences of short syllables is a restriction known to Arab prosodists as *al-muʿāqaba* المُعاقَبَة;[56] unfortunately, those prosodists express the restriction in a set of very complex rules.

8. Level III reduction is blocked when it would produce a short syllable at the end of the line: because it is followed by a pause, and in order to emphasize the rhyme, the last syllable of each line is always long.[57] The same restriction applies, though somewhat less stringently, at the end of the first hemistich. The meters *al-hazaj* and *al-mutaqārib* are the only contexts where a short syllable commonly terminates the first hemistich; in both meters, the short syllable in question functions as a marker and, in addition, prevents the occurrence of a nonmetrical sequence (see defusing applications c and f under the next title). In *majzūʾ al-kʰafīf* and in the meters where the standard *ʿarūḍ* is —⌣——, occurrence of a short syllable at the end of the first hemistich is very rare indeed. Elsewhere, the first hemistich must end in a long syllable.[58]

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To summarize, a restriction may be general or specific: a general restriction applies to *any* transformation in order to safeguard a prosodic principle; a specific restriction applies to a particular transformation. Of the restrictions listed above, the first three are general and the rest are specific.

Necessary application

It has already been shown that Level III transformations are often blocked to safeguard certain prosodic principles or to avoid certain nonmetrical sequences. The same reasons necessitate the application of Level III transformations in certain situations; this section discusses such situations. As the examples below demonstrate, necessary application at one point may be accompanied by blocking at another.

1. To neutralize a transformation which would confuse one meter with another, a marking device is sometimes employed. Two such devices involve *al-ṭawīl, al-mutaqārib,* and *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*:[59]

(a) Consider the second hemistich of *al-ṭawīl* in its standard form (i. e., the string ⌣−− ⌣−−− ⌣−− ⌣−−−). Changing the last foot to ⌣−− would, in the absence of any other change, make the hemistich minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from al-*mutaqārib*; for this reason, another change is introduced as a marker: the penult foot becomes ⌣ − ⌣. Significantly, the penult foot in the second hemistich of *al-mutaqārib* is almost never changed to ⌣−⌣.

(b) Consider the following transformation whose input is the standard ʿajuz of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib* (the ʿ*ajuz* العَجُز is defined as the second hemistich of a divided line):

$$\smile - - \quad \smile - - \quad \smile - - \Rightarrow \smile - - \quad \smile - - \quad -$$

Notice that the output is considerably similar to the corresponding portion in the standard ʿ*ajuz* of *al-ṭawīl* (i. e., to the line-final string ⌣−− ⌣−−−). This similarity in composition has prompted the illusion of similarity in function: thus the line-final string ⌣−− ⌣−−− tends to function as a "false ʿ*ajuz*"; in other words, the second hemistich of *al-ṭawīl* tends to behave like a divided line (and this tendency derives further strength from the fact that the two divisions are identical). Through analogy, the ṣ*adr* الصَّدْر (i. e., the first hemistich) of *al-ṭawīl* behaves like a divided line with its last two feet functioning as a false ʿ*ajuz*. A marking device differentiates each false ʿ*ajuz* of *al-ṭawīl* from the variant ʿ*ajuz* of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib* whose final foot has been reduced to − : while the penultimate syllable in the former is almost invariably shortened, the penultimate syllable in the latter is never shortened.

It is interesting to note that in *al-ṭawīl* the second foot of each hemistich behaves like a ʿ*arūḍ* in regard to Level III reduction: the final syllable of the foot in question tends to reject reduction. This fact provides additional support for the assertion that each hemistich of *al-ṭawīl* behaves like a divided line. The assertion, however, constitutes only one of two motivations for using the form ⌣−⌣− rather than the form ⌣−−− as the ʿ*arūḍ* of *al-ṭawīl;* the other motivation is the necessity of avoiding nonmetrical sequences of long syllables: the foot ⌣−−− becomes ⌣−⌣− (and the latter form assumes the status of a standard foot) to provide formal immunity against deletion of its initial syllable, thus blocking the possibility of producing five or even seven long syllables in a

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row (notice that the initial foot of the second hemistich is subject to a non-canonical deletion transformation, called *al-kʰarm* الخَرْم , which will be discussed later):

$$\smile-- \quad \smile--- \quad \smile-- \quad --- \qquad \smile-- \quad \smile--- \quad \smile-- \quad \smile---$$
$$\smile-- \quad \smile--- \quad \smile-- \quad --- \qquad -- \quad \smile--- \quad \smile-- \quad \smile---$$

2. The *ʿarūḍ* of *al-basīṭ* is obligatorily changed from $-\smile-$ to $\smile\smile-$ (and the latter form assumes the status of a standard foot); this provides formal immunity against deletion of the *ʿarūḍ*'s medial $\smile$, and thus blocks the possibility of producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables across the cesura:

$$--\smile- \quad -\smile- \quad --\smile- \quad -- \qquad --\smile- \quad ....$$
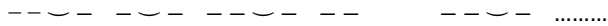
The change also promotes pattern congruence since it makes *al-basīṭ* compatible with other tetrameters: in *al-ṭawīl*, the *ʿarūḍ* obligatorily undergoes Level III reduction; in *al-mutadārak* it usually does.

The *ʿarūḍ* of *al-munsariḥ* undergoes the same obligatory change (from $-\smile-$ to $\smile\smile-$); the change provides a formal device which serves two purposes:

(a) To block the possibility of producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables across the cesura:

$$--\smile-- \quad --\smile- \quad -- \qquad --\smile-- \quad ....$$
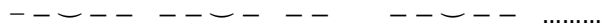
(b) To highlight the contrast between *al-munsariḥ* and *al-sarīʿ* (in their standard forms the two meters are minimally, rather than clearly, distinct). Significantly, the *ʿarūḍ* is invariably $-\smile-$ in *al-sarīʿ*.

3. In *al-hazaj,* where hemistich-initial feet are subject to *al-kʰarm,* the *ʿarūḍ*'s final syllable is usually shortened to avert the possibility of producing a sequence of six long syllables across the cesura:

$$\smile--- \quad \smile--- \qquad --- \quad \smile---$$
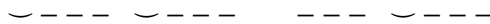
Shortening the *ʿarūḍ*'s final syllable has two additional functions:

(a) It provides formal immunity against deleting the *ʿarūḍ*'s initial $\smile$ (type assonance between the two forms $\smile---$ and $--\smile$ is very low), thus ruling out the occurrence of very long, nonmetrical sequences:

$$\smile--- \quad --- \qquad \smile--- \quad \smile---$$
$$\smile--- \quad --- \qquad --- \quad \smile---$$
$$--- \quad --- \qquad --- \quad \smile---$$

(b) It distinguishes *al-hazaj* from a variant of *majzūʾ al-wāfir* where every ᴜ is changed to $-$. Significantly, the *ʿarūḍ*'s final syllable is never shortened in *majzūʾ al-wāfir*.[60] In passing, we may mention that this contrast can be obscured by deletion and thus the *ʿarūḍ* of *majzūʾ al-wāfir,* like that of *al-hazaj,* rejects deletion.

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The meter *majzū³ al-mutaqārib* is subject to the non-canonical deletion *al-kʰarm*. A nonmetrical sequence of long syllables could result if the initial ⌣ is deleted from the standard *ʿarūḍ* and from the next standard foot as well. For this reason, the standard *ʿarūḍ*'s final syllable is obligatorily deleted and the resultant form (⌣−−) assumes the status of a standard foot (thus making it impossible to delete the *ʿarūḍ*'s initial ⌣). For the same reason, the standard *ʿarūḍ*'s final syllable is either dropped or shortened in *al-mutaqārib*.

4. In *majzū³ al-kʰafīf* (whose standard form is −⌣−− −−⌣−), deletion of ⌣ from the *ḍarb* must be accompanied by shortening the first syllable of the same foot; this stipulation eliminates the possibility of producing a sequence comprising five long syllables:

………………………..   − ⌣ − −   − − −

5. Under restriction 5 it was shown that the initial syllable of −⌣− or ⌣⌣− has the status of an inter-column *ʿilla* in the *ʿarūḍ* and the status of a local-column *ʿilla* in the *ḍarb*. It was stated that Level III transformations which would violate such status are usually blocked; by the same token, transformations which establish such status are usually obligatory.

6. In general, addition and deletion transformations which establish number assonance are obligatory.

7. As a rule, addition and deletion transformations apply obligatorily to the *ḍarb* if they apply to the *ʿarūḍ*.

It is clear that the contexts specified in items 5, 6, and 7 (under "Necessary application") are general and pervasive; we shall therefore refer to them as the "major contexts" for necessary application. In the major contexts, necessary application pertains to several transformations; in the vast majority of minor contexts, necessary application pertains to a single transformation: Level III reduction.

The foregoing discussion leads to an interesting observation: *in minor contexts*, a necessary application may be viewed as a process which occurs only in the presence of an injunction against some other transformation. The necessary application may be of the "neutralizing" type or the "defusing" type.

1. A **neutralizing application** permits relaxation of the injunction (in response to pressure of some kind) by undoing the nonmetrical nature of the result. Of the necessary applications discussed above, the following are neutralizing:

(a) The replacement of −−⌣−, the standard *ḍarb* of *majzū³ al-kʰafīf*, by ⌣−−. Independently, the optional deletion of ⌣ from the standard *ḍarb* in question produces a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables; yet pattern congruence encourages such deletion (in *every* other meter where −−⌣− constitutes the standard *ḍarb,* the penultimate syllable of the line is subject to deletion). Shortening the foot-initial syllable facilitates the deletion by eliminating the possibility of producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables.

Similarly, deletion of ⌣ from the standard *ʿarūḍ* of *majzū³ al-basīṭ* must be accompanied by shortening the initial syllable of the same foot (thus ⌣−− occurs instead of −−−).

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(b) The replacement of ⌣ ‒ ‒   ⌣ ‒ ‒ ‒, the two feet which terminate the standard ʿajuz of al-ṭawīl, by ⌣ ‒ ⌣   ⌣ ‒ ‒. Notice that two changes are involved: deletion of a syllable, and reduction of another syllable. The (optional) deletion can make the ʿajuz minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from al-mutaqārib; yet such deletion is encouraged by pattern congruence (in al-hazaj, the only other meter where ⌣ ‒ ‒ ‒ constitutes the standard ḍarb, the line-final syllable is subject to deletion). The reduction facilitates the deletion by helping to differentiate the two meters.

The following may be added:

(c) In al-madīd (‒ ⌣ ‒ ‒   ‒ ⌣ ‒   ‒ ⌣ ‒ ‒), an injunction exists against deleting the hemistich-final syllable lest the string should become minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from the standard form of al-ramal; all the same, such deletion is encouraged by the fact that the standard form of al-madīd is minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from the *additional* meter (in its standard form). The dilemma is resolved as follows: the deletion is usually performed provided that the first syllable of the catalectic foot is reduced to ⌣; the reduction permits relaxation of the injunction by neutralizing the undesirable result. Significantly, the hemistich-final feet of the *additional* meter are never catalectic.

2. A **defusing application** provides a marker which serves a purpose of its own and which at the same time sustains the injunction. This is possible because the marker changes the environment from one which can trigger the unwanted transformation to one which cannot do so. In effect, the marked form *assumes the status of a standard foot.* Of the necessary applications discussed above, the following are defusing:

(a) The obligatory replacement of ‒ ⌣ ‒, the standard ʿarūḍ of al-basīṭ, by ⌣ ⌣ ‒. To begin with, there is an injunction against deleting the standard ʿarūḍ's medial constituent lest a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables should occur. Shortening the standard ʿarūḍ's initial syllable sustains the injunction (by eliminating the option of deleting the medial constituent), and in addition serves a purpose of its own: to promote pattern congruence.

(b) The obligatory replacement of ⌣ ‒ ‒ ‒, the standard ʿarūḍ of al-ṭawīl, by ⌣ ‒ ⌣ ‒. To begin with, there is an injunction against deleting the standard ʿarūḍ's initial constituent lest a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables should occur. Shortening the standard ʿarūḍ's penultimate syllable sustains the injunction and in addition serves a purpose of its own: to differentiate the second half of the ṣadr from the ʿajuz of majzūʾ al-mutaqārib.

(c) The very common replacement of ⌣ ‒ ‒ ‒, the standard ʿarūḍ of al-hazaj, by ⌣ ‒ ‒ ⌣. To begin with, there is an injunction against deleting the standard ʿarūḍ's initial constituent lest a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables should occur. The replacement under discussion sustains the injunction against producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables; in addition, the replacement serves a purpose of its own: to distinguish al-hazaj from a variant of majzūʾ al-wāfir where every ᴗ is changed to ‒.[61]

(d) The obligatory replacement of ‒ ⌣ ‒, the standard ʿarūḍ of al-munsariḥ, by ⌣ ⌣ ‒. To begin with, there is an injunction against deleting the standard ʿarūḍ's medial constituent in order to block the possibility of producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables. Shortening

the standard ⁽arūḍ's initial syllable sustains the injunction and in addition serves a purpose of its own: to increase the contrast between *al-munsariḥ* and *al-sarī⁽*.

(e) The obligatory replacement of the standard ⁽arūḍ ⌣−− by ⌣− in *majzū⁾ al-mutaqārib*. To begin with, there is an injunction against deleting the standard ⁽arūḍ's initial ⌣ (to avoid producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables when the next foot undergoes *al-kʰarm*); the replacement in question upholds the injunction and, in addition, serves a function of its own—namely, to maximize contrast with *al-mujtatʰtʰ:*

−− ⌣−− ⌣−   (First hemistich of *majzū⁾ al-mutaqārib*
                                        after the application of *al-kʰarm*)

−−⌣− −⌣−−   (*al-mujtatʰtʰ*)

(were the ⁽arūḍ of *majzū⁾ al-mutaqārib* acatalectic, both of the above strings would comprise the syllabic sequence −−⌣−−⌣−−). Significantly, the ⁽arūḍ of *al-mujtatʰtʰ* never assumes the form −⌣−.

(f) The very frequent (almost obligatory) replacement of the standard ⁽arūḍ ⌣−− by ⌣−⌣ or ⌣− in *al-mutaqārib*. To begin with, there is an injunction against deleting the standard ⁽arūḍ's initial ⌣ (to avoid producing a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables when the next foot undergoes *al-kʰarm*). The replacement in question upholds the injunction; in addition, it marks a peculiarity which characterizes *al-mutaqārib* and which may be stated as follows: If altering the ultimate syllable constitutes the only change in the standard ⁽arūḍ, then altering the ultimate syllable can also constitute the only change in the standard *ḍarb* (notice that such change can produce either ⌣− or ⌣−⌣ in the first position but only ⌣− in the second position since a line must end in a long syllable); in contrast, the occurrence of ⌣−− as ⁽arūḍ rules out the occurrence of ⌣− as *ḍarb*.[62]

The following may be added:

(g) The common (though not obligatory) replacement of −⌣− by ⌣⌣− throughout *al-mutadārak* and *majzū⁾ al-mutadārak*. Due to contamination, *every* foot in *al-mutadārak* and *majzū⁾ al-mutadārak* is subject to optional replacement by −−; consequently, the two meters violate five restrictions (see section 3.3.3). Shortening the first syllable of each foot eliminates the option of replacement by −−, and thus upholds the five restrictions; in addition, the defusing application facilitates clearer contrast with the meter *al-madīd*.

Use of the standard form −⌣− in *al-mutadārak* can render the meter minimally (rather than clearly) distinct from *al-madīd:*

−⌣− −⌣− −⌣− −−   (Variant of *al-mutadārak*)
−⌣−− −⌣− −⌣−−   (Standard form of *al-madīd*)

The defusing application rules out the standard form of the foot, and renders *al-mutadārak* clearly distinct from even the closest variant of *al-madīd:*

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⌣⌣− ⌣⌣− ⌣⌣− ⌣⌣−   (Variant of *al-mutadārak* resulting from the
                                        defusing application)

⌣⌣−− ⌣⌣− ⌣⌣−−   (closest variant of *al-madīd*)

Similarly, use of the standard form −⌣− in *majzūʾ al-mutadārak* can render the meter minimally (rather than clearly) distinct from *al-madīd:*

−⌣− −⌣− ⌣⌣−   (Variant of *majzūʾ al-mutadārak*)
−⌣−− −⌣− ⌣⌣−   (Common catalectic hemistich of *al-madīd*)

The defusing application rules out the standard form of the foot, and (because it shortens the initial syllable of *every* foot) reduces considerably the possibility of confusing *majzūʾ al-mutadārak* with *al-madīd*.

The following comments summarize the rules and definitions which pertain to the necessary application of Level III transformations *in minor contexts:*

1. The situations which call for a necessary application are characterized by the presence of an injunction, the presence of an additional consideration, and the need for a solution.

(a) *The injunction* is against deletion (usually of a short syllable, and usually from a hemistich-final foot).

(b) *The additional consideration* is usually pattern congruence or differentiation.

(c) *The solution* (necessary application) is usually syllable reduction; it may be a "neutralizing" or a "defusing" application.

(i) A neutralizing application satisfies the additional consideration by *relaxing* the injunction and rectifying the detrimental result.

(ii) A defusing application provides a marker which serves two purposes simultaneously: it satisfies the additional consideration, and it *upholds* the injunction (by changing the environment from one which can trigger the unwanted transformation to one which cannot do so). Notice that a defusing application *replaces convention by form* as the means of enforcing the injunction.

2. It may or may not be accidental that the necessary application is usually neutralizing if the injunction pertains to a long foot, but defusing if the injunction pertains to a short foot.

3. The following strings constitute the contexts for necessary application:

(a) The tetrameters and their "clipped" counterparts.

(b) The meters *majzūʾ al-kʰafīf*, *al-hazaj*, *al-madīd*, and *al-munsariḥ*.

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The section on restrictions and the section on necessary application facilitate the following general statements concerning the correspondence between ˁarūḍ and ḍarb:

1. Addition of a final long syllable occurs optionally in the ḍarb (but never in the ˁarūḍ). To be eligible for addition, the standard ḍarb must be of the form (ɯ)−˘−, and it must reject deletion.

2. Both the ˁarūḍ and the ḍarb are subject to optional deletion, the former being a far less common domain for the transformation. If the ˁarūḍ is catalectic, the ḍarb is almost decidedly catalectic; the reverse is not true: a catalectic ḍarb often corresponds to an acatalectic ˁarūḍ. These statements are rendered more specific by the following three points:

(a) Of the Arabic meters, the longest and the shortest totally reject deletion in the ˁarūḍ (the longest meters are al-ṭawīl and al-basīṭ—i . e., the tetrameters which contain long feet; the shortest are the dimeters). Deletion in the ˁarūḍ is rejected by eight other meters: al-kʰafīf, al-sarīˁ, the additional meter, al-ramal, al-munsariḥ, al-kāmil, al-wāfir, and al-rajaz. In the case of al-kāmil, rejection is almost, but not quite, complete: the ˁarūḍ never changes to ɯ − −; it does change to ɯ −, but the change is infrequent.

(b) In both hemistich-final positions, a standard foot tends to reject deletion of its initial short syllable; in the same positions, −˘−− rejects deletion of its short syllable.

(c) In the remaining instances, the ˁarūḍ is subject to deletion but less so than the ḍarb.

3. The deletion transformations which simultaneously shorten both hemistich-final feet are almost invariably identical.

4. As a general rule, the initial syllable of −˘− or ˘˘− is an inter-column ˁilla in the ˁarūḍ position and a local-column ˁilla in the ḍarb position; thus, with a few exceptions, the following two rules hold true:

(a) If −˘− or ˘˘− occurs as the first ˁarūḍ, every subsequent ˁarūḍ must be identical to it, and so must the first ḍarb if trisyllabic.

(b) If −˘− or ˘˘− occurs as the first ḍarb, every subsequent ḍarb must be identical to it.

Suspension of the ˁilla status

It has already been shown that the identity of a meter may be signaled by the obligatory occurrence of a variant (necessary application) or by the total exclusion of a variant (blocking); it remains to be shown that, in Arabic poetry, a third device is employed for the same purpose: namely, the co-occurrence of two alternants in hemistich-final position. In some meters, for example, two different forms of the ḍarb can co-occur in the same ode; such co-occurrence constitutes one dimension in a tripartite opposition which differentiates three meters. In each of the cases discussed below, the co-occurrence of alternants violates a ˁilla status.

1. Consider the following two sets:

    (i)   −◡−− −◡−− −◡−−   (Standard *ᵛajuz* of the *additional* meter)
    (ii)   −◡−◡ −−◡− (or −◡◡−) −−◡− (Variant *ᵛajuz* of *al-rajaz*)
    (iii) −◡−− −−◡− −◡−−   (Standard *ᵛajuz* of *al-kʰafīf*)

    (i)   −◡−− −◡−−   (Standard *ᵛajuz* of *majzūᵓ al-ramal*)
    (ii)   −−◡− (or −◡◡−) −−◡− (*ᵛajuz* of *majzūᵓ al-rajaz*)
    (iii) −−◡− −◡−−   (Standard *ᵛajuz* of *al-mujtatʰtʰ*)

In the first set, were each *ḍarb* to assume the form −−−, the three strings would become minimally, rather than clearly, distinct. For this reason, (i) rejects the catalectic *ḍarb* −−−, (ii) admits the catalectic ḍarb −−−, while (iii) permits alternation of −−− with the actatalectic form in the *ḍarb* position. Thus the *ᵛilla* status is suspended in (iii), but such suspension is one dimension in a tripartite opposition which helps to differentiate three meters. The same is true of the second set.

2. Consider the following three sets:

    (i)   −◡◡− −◡◡− −◡−   (Variant *ᵛajuz* of *al-sarīᵛ*)
    (ii)   −◡−− −◡− −◡−   (Catalectic *ᵛajuz* of *al-madīd*)
    (iii) −◡−− −◡−− −◡−   (Standard *ᵛajuz* of *al-ramal)*

    (i)   −◡−− −−◡−   (Standard *ᵛajuz* of *majzūᵓ al-kʰafīf*)
    (ii)   −◡−◡− −◡−   (Catalectic *ᵛajuz* of *al-mujtatʰtʰ* known as *al-muqtaḍab*. See Remark 4 in section 4.2.23)
    (iii) −◡−− −◡−   (Catalectic *ᵛajuz* of *majzūᵓ al-ramal*)

    (i)   −◡◡− −−◡− −◡−   (Variant *ᵛajuz* of *al-sarīᵛ*)
    (ii)   −◡◡−− −−◡− −◡− (Variant *ᵛajuz* of *al-munsariḥ)*
    (iii) −◡−− −−◡− −◡−   (Catalectic *ᵛajuz* of *al-kʰafīf*)

The strings of the first set are minimally, rather than clearly, distinct; for this reason, (i) rejects reduction of the antepenult syllable, (ii) favors such reduction, while (iii) permits the co-occurrence of − and ◡ as the antepenult syllable. Thus the *ᵛilla* status is suspended in (iii), but such suspension is one dimension in a tripartite opposition which helps to differentiate three meters. The same is true of the other two sets.

Not surprisingly, suspension of the *ᵛilla* status is rare in Arabic poetry.

The string −◡−− −−◡− −◡− (which permits suspension of the *ᵛilla* status) is a very rare *ᵛajuz* of *al-kʰafīf;* in fact, ᵓIbrāhīm ᵓAnīs claims that it does not exist in ancient Arabic poetry.[63] Thus, for all practical purposes, the submeter in question can be disregarded.

    3. There are five meters where suspension of the *ᵛilla* status is *not* a device for differentiating meters: *al-mutaqārib, al-rajaz, majzūᵓ al-rajaz, al-mutadārak,* and *majzūᵓ al-mutadārak.*

(a) *al-Mutaqārib:* In the *ʿarūḍ* position of this meter, ⌣–⌣ co-occurs with ⌣– because the two forms are closely related in regard to function.[64]

(b) *al-Rajaz* and *Majzūʾ al-Rajaz*: In the *ḍarb* position of these two meters, number assonance may be violated when the ode is multi-rhymed (the second hemistich of each line rhyming with the first hemistich of the same line). Due to internal rhyme, each line is viewed as a somewhat independent entity: it is bound to employ a form of the meter (catalectic or acatalectic), but not a specific one; and (like a *maṭlaʿ* مَطْلَع[65]) its *ʿarūḍ* must be identical to its *ḍarb*.

(c) *al-Mutadārak and Majzūʾ al-Mutadārak*: In the *ʿarūḍ* position of these two meters, the catalectic and the acatalectic forms of the foot may co-occur; in the same position, the first syllable of the form –⌣– or the form ⌣⌣– has neither the status of a local column *ʿilla* nor that of an inter-column *ʿilla*. The contamination which, in this writer's opinion, caused the anomaly will be discussed in section 3.3.3. With respect to the *ʿilla* status, anomaly in *al-mutadārak* and *majzūʾ al-mutadārak* is minor (being confined to the relatively uncommon strings) and may therefore be disregarded: the most common submeter in each case employs the form ⌣⌣– throughout the line, thus fully upholding the *ʿilla* status of the *ʿarūḍ* (as well as the *ḍarb*).

Domain of application

In section 3.1 it was shown that the domain of Level I patterning is the hemistich; given the nature of Level I patterning, the domain cannot be a shorter string. Level II and Level III are characterized by syllabic patterning: on Level II, the domain of syllabic patterning is the hemistich; on Level III, the domain may be all or part of the hemistich.

The rules which produce Level III patterning apply to the individual foot; this means that in the non-final feet of hemistichs transforming a given foot does not usually become a compelling reason for transforming a preceding or a following foot; it is hardly necessary to mention that non-final feet constitute the majority of metric slots.

We have already identified and defined three types of entailment:

1. That which exists in the *ʿarūḍ* column.

2. That which exists in the *ḍarb* column.

3. That which exists between the *ḍarb* and the *ʿarūḍ*.

What needs to be re-iterated here is that entailment is the general rule in hemistich-final slots, while in non-final slots it is the exception rather than the rule.

Entailment in the non-final feet of hemistichs is a consequence of the restrictions discussed above: in some cases, a restriction means that changing one foot either demands or blocks a change in another foot. Numerous examples have already been cited; at this point, the following will suffice:

1. We have already shown that the standard form of *al-ṭawīl* may undergo a transformation which triggers another transformation: changing the hemistich-final foot from ⌣––– to ⌣–– causes the preceding foot to change from ⌣–– to ⌣–⌣ .

2. Consider the following hemistich (the standard form of *al-mujtat^ht^h*):

$$- - \smile - \quad - \smile - -$$

The string manifests Level I patterning (since it may be represented by BB, where B stands for a quadripartite foot) as well as Level II patterning (since its two feet are similar in regard to the positioning of $\smile$); both types of explicit patterning can be obliterated by Level III transformations:

(a) $- - \smile - \quad - \smile - - \Rightarrow - - \smile - \quad - - -$
(b) $- - \smile - \quad - \smile - - \Rightarrow \smile - \smile - \quad - - -$

The output of transformation (a) produces a hemistich which lacks explicit patterning: overtly it embodies neither Level I nor level II patterning; furthermore, syllabic symmetry is not sufficient to produce "meter". The output of transformation (b), on the other hand, is a hemistich which (although overtly devoid of Level I and Level II patterning) manifests explicit "meter" because *both* feet are symmetrical. Therefore, (b) is more likely to occur than (a); in other words, changing the second foot of the standard hemistich usually entails a change in the first foot.

Now consider a *maṭlaʿ* whose meter is *al-mujtat^ht^h* and whose first hemistich ends in $- - -$ ($- - -$ is a symmetrical variant of the foot $- \smile - -$): such a *maṭlaʿ* usually ends in $- - -$[66] since deletion in the *ʿarūḍ* usually entails deletion in the *ḍarb*. Furthermore, the second hemistich usually begins with $\smile - \smile -$ not only to promote syllabic symmetry ($\smile - \smile -$ is a symmetrical variant of the foot $- - \smile -$) but also to prevent the occurrence of a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables across the cesura.[67]   Here, then, is a situation where changing a foot in one hemistich triggers changes in the other hemistich.

3.3.2. Compensation

Besides the ones discussed above, there is an important rule which operates on Level III: namely, compensation. The rule states that the total duration of a standard meter tends to be fixed. Thus when a long syllable is reduced, the durational balance is added to an adjacent long syllable in the same foot.[68] Such addition is possible when there is a neighboring syllable whose vowel is long or one whose final consonant is a continuant; otherwise compensation takes the form of a rest.

The fact that compensation tends to preserve the total durational value of the *standard* sequence suggests that Level II has intuitive, as well as descriptive, priority over Level III.

3.3.3. Non-canonical transformations

A non-canonical transformation is one which violates a Level III rule. In this section, non-canonical transformations will be listed and discussed under the following three headings: Types, Justification, and Frequency.

Types

1. *Reduction:* The final syllable of —— ⏑ — is occasionally shortened in *al-kʰafīf* and *al-mujtatʰtʰ*.[69]

2. *Addition:* Prosodists report a few instances of a process which they call *al-kʰazm* and which adds a maximum of two syllables in hemistich-*initial* position.[70]

3. *Deletion:* A rare process, known as *al-kʰarm*,[71] drops a short syllable *which introduces the hemistich* (and which is followed in the same foot by two long syllables).[72] In *al-mutadārak* and *majzūʔ al-mutadārak*, another non-canonical process may apply to a hemistich-*initial* or a hemistich-*medial* foot, changing — ⏑ — to ——.[73]

Justification

1. In most cases, non-canonical transformations are motivated by a tendency to promote syllabic symmetry. Consider the following:[74]

    (a) — ⏑ — ⏑   —— ⏑ —   — ⏑ — ⏑ ⇒ — ⏑ — ⏑   —— ⏑ ⏑   — ⏑ — ⏑

    (b) — ⏑ ——   —— ⏑ —   — ⏑ —— ⇒ — ⏑ ——   ⏑ — / ⏑ ⏑   — ⏑ ——

    (c) —— ⏑ —   — ⏑ —— ⇒
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{—— / ⏑ ⏑   — ⏑ ——} \\ \text{—— ⏑ ⏑ / — ⏑ ——} \\[6pt] \text{⏑ — ⏑ ⏑   — ⏑ / ——} \\ \text{⏑ ⏑ ⏑ / —   — ⏑ ——} \end{array} \right\}$$

    (d) ⏑ — ⏑ —   ⏑ ⏑ / —   —— ⏑ —   —— ⇒ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —   ⏑ ⏑ / —   —— ⏑ —   ——

    (e) ⏑ ——   ⏑ ———   ⏑ —— / ⏑ — ⏑ — ⇒ ——   ⏑ ———   ⏑ —— / ⏑ — ⏑ —

Transformation (a) produces a totally symmetrical hemistich, and transformation (b) produces a hemistich consisting of two symmetrical segments (separated by a slanting line). Both transformations result in shortening the final syllable of —— ⏑ —, which violates the general rule of Level III reduction and therefore constitutes a non-canonical change. It might be mentioned in passing that the output of the first transformation displays a rather interesting form of syllabic symmetry: beginning from the two ends and moving towards the middle, we find that the corresponding syllables are consistently *dissimilar*; the same form of symmetry characterizes the sequence which follows the slanting line in the output of the second transformation. Transformation (c) provides additional instances where the final syllable of —— ⏑ — is shortened to symmetrize certain segments.

In the input of transformation (d) the sequence which precedes the slanting line is not symmetrical, while in the output the sequence which precedes the slanting line is symmetrical. The latter sequence consists of the former plus the syllable added by the transformation; in other words, the syllable added by the transformation serves the purpose of "balancing" the medial syllable of

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⌣⌣−. Significantly, the addition of syllables in hemistich-initial position is a non-canonical process.

In the input of transformation (e), the sequence which precedes the slanting line is not symmetrical, while in the output the sequence which precedes the slanting line is symmetrical. The symmetry in question results from a non-canonical deletion transformation.

As mentioned earlier, the process illustrated by transformation (d) is known to Arab prosodists as *al-kʰazm,* and the process illustrated by (e) is known as *al-kʰarm.* Their function obscured by al-Kʰalīl's theory, both processes have been considered so pointless and unexplainable that some scholars dismiss them as fabrication.[75] In the context of our theory, *al-kʰazm* and *al-kʰarm* are altogether plausible, and we therefore need not resort to claims of fabrication.

2. In addition to promoting syllabic symmetry, *al-kʰazm* promotes pattern congruency: thanks to this latter function of *al-kʰazm,* a meter is operational which would otherwise have been latent. Consisting of three different feet, the meter −⌣−− −−⌣− −⌣− is anomalous (foot recurrence is a typical characteristic of standard hemistichs). The addition of a long syllable in hemistich-initial position endows the first two feet with enough similarity to remove the anomaly:

(a) Variant generated by *al-kʰazm*   −−⌣−− −−⌣− −⌣−
(b) al-Kʰalīl's standard form of *al-munsariḥ*   −−⌣− −−−⌣ −−⌣−

That (b) is segmented erroneously while (a) embodies the correct segmentation is proved in part by the form of the second foot: while unexplainably anomalous in (b), the second foot is perfectly regular in (a). It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that string (a) is a variant which has assumed the status of a standard meter; it also seems reasonable to conclude that al-Kʰalīl committed an error in segmenting *al-munsariḥ*.

3. In *al-mutadārak* and *majzūʾ al-mutadārak,* non-canonical deletion seems to have resulted from a process of contamination.

al-Kʰalīl does not include *al-mutadārak* in his inventory of meters although the string is generated by his fifth circle. This fact cannot be explained by the assumption that no examples of *al-mutadārak* occurred in the primary data, for then al-Kʰalīl could have considered the string a "neglected meter" (as he did when his other circles generated some unused strings); a more plausible explanation is that al-Kʰalīl rejected *al-mutadārak* as non-systematic because he perceived it as a string which violates five restrictions: the non-final feet of its hemistichs do not reject deletion,[76] its ʿarūḍ is not more restricted in regard to deletion than its ḍarb,[77] its ʿarūḍ is not bound by number assonance,[78] the initial syllable of −⌣− or ⌣⌣− does not have the status of a ʿilla in its ʿarūḍ,[79] and it permits the juxtaposition of more than four long syllables.[80] Significantly, it is related that al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad himself composed a poem wherein each hemistich consisted of the string faʿlun faʿlun faʿlun faʿlun (−− −− −− −−).[81]

What gave rise to the violations listed above? Diachronic developments must sometimes be explained through plausible conjecture; the following paragraphs offer no more than such conjecture:

(a) Prior to al-Kʰalīl's time, *al-mutadārak* (with the standard form fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun fāʿilun in each hemistich) was used as a regular meter which conformed to the general rules of

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Arabic prosody. At some point prior to al-Kʰalīl's time, a few poets used an *undivided,* invariable string which we shall call the "extra long primitive" and which was related in no way to *al-mutadārak;* the string in question is mafꜥūlātun mafꜥūlātun mafꜥūlātun mafꜥūlātun. It will be recalled that on Level I we encountered mafꜥūlātun mafꜥūlātun mafꜥūlātun mafꜥūlātun as a theoretical string which was excluded from the system (to avoid doubling), and whose exclusion left a gap in the inventory of theoretical meters. The occasional use of the extra long primitive seems to represent a rare victory of pattern congruence (which rejects gaps) over economy (which rejects doubling).

The surfacing of a theoretical (Deep-Structure) form is uncommon but not unknown in language; it must be emphasized, however, that the admission of a theoretical form into surface structure does not necessarily lead to the admission of other theoretical forms. For example, the Deep-Structure string of "equational sentences" in Classical Arabic contains the form *kāna* 'to be'; while other theoretical forms did not surface, *kāna* was used (though rarely) by some speakers in sentences like أَنْتَ تَكُونُ مَاجِدٌ نَبِيلٌ 'You are praiseworthy and noble'.[82]

    (b) At a later point, still prior to al-Kʰalīl's time, the extra long primitive underwent a process of re-interpretation: conscious of the periodic beat which characterizes the rhythm, poets divided the string into feet of equal length and familiar (rather than theoretical) structure. The result was an undivided string comprising eight occurrences of faꜥlun (a form which the poets naturally identified with fāꜥilun).

    (c) In a short step, a new meter emerged: one which is not divided, which comprises eight occurrences of fāꜥilun, and where *every* foot is subject to deletion (as well as reduction). Not a ꜥarūḍ, the fourth foot was not more restricted than the eighth in regard to deletion, not subject to the requirement of number assonance, and not bound to assign the status of a ꜥilla to the initial syllable of fāꜥilun or faꜥilun.

How did the new meter survive when a canonical hemistich comprises a *maximum* of four feet? In the first place, it must be remembered that the new meter was rare; we have encountered other instances where anomaly results in scarcity rather than total exclusion. In the second place, the new meter was probably viewed as nothing more than a version of *al-mutadārak* where the first hemistich runs into the second.

    (d) When analyzing his data, al-Kʰalīl (yielding to the pressure of overwhelming convention) split the new meter into two hemistichs, thus obtaining a *divided* string which violates five restrictions and which he failed to differentiate from *al-mutadārak*.

(e) Like al-Kʰalīl, al-ʔAkʰfasʰ regarded the edited form of the extra long primitive as a deviant meter; unlike al-Kʰalīl, however, he admitted it into the prosodic register. From then on, poets were free to ignore five restrictions when using *al-mutadārak*.[83]

(f) The poems representing earlier stages (and comprising undivided lines) were edited in order to superimpose on them the now contaminated structure of *al-mutadārak*.[84]

A similar line of development led to the contamination of *majzūʔ al-mutadārak*,[85] acceptance by al-ʔAkʰfasʰ, and editing by linguists.

Frequency

Non-canonical transformations produce the rarest of all variants. Some may argue that non-canonical deletion in *al-mutadārak* and *majzūʔ al-mutadārak* violates this statement; the present writer, however, holds that such deletion is rooted in a process of contamination rather than the general rules of the prosodic system.

3.3.4. **The main features of Level III: A recapitulation**

A. Four major transformations apply, with certain restrictions, to generate variants from standard meters; they are: synthesis, reduction, deletion, and addition. Functioning within the framework of type assonance (which safeguards the identity of feet), the four transformations promote syllabic symmetry and (by providing a set of variants for each standard foot) give the poet a measure of freedom in selecting his words.

So strong is the tendency towards syllabic symmetry and pattern congruency that sometimes, though very rarely, Level III transformations apply in a non-canonical fashion.

B.   Addition and deletion are the most restricted of the four transformations; the following statements specify their distributional properties:

1.   Apparently due to contamination, deletion occurs with no positional restriction in the meters *al-mutadārak* and *majzūʔ al-mutadārak*. In the remaining meters, only a few positions admit deletion; of these positions:

(a) *al-ḍarb*—i. e., the line-final foot—is the most common domain.

(b) *al-ʕarūḍ*—i. e., the ultimate foot of the first hemistich—is a less common domain (a directional, but not reversible, dependency exists between *al-ʕarūḍ* and *al-ḍarb:*

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almost invariably, deletion applies to the latter if it applies to the former; on the other hand, deletion often applies to the latter but not to the former).

(c) The slot for *al-kʰarm* is the least common domain (*al-kʰarm* is a non-canonical transformation defined as the deletion of a short syllable which introduces a hemistich; as might be expected, no such deletion can occur unless the short syllable is followed in the same foot by two long syllables).

2. Addition occurs in less positions than deletion; of these positions:

(a) The line-final feet of the following meters constitute the canonical, relatively common domain: *majzūʾ al-mutadārak, majzūʾ al-kāmil, al-ramal,* and *al-sarīᶜ* (addition in the first and the last of these meters is an innovation introduced by the later poets). Respectively, the transformations involved are:

$$- \smile - \Rightarrow \smile \smile - -$$

$$\omega - \smile - \Rightarrow \omega - \smile - -, - - \smile - -, \smile - \smile - -, \text{ or } - \smile \smile - -$$

$$- \smile - \Rightarrow - \smile - -, \smile \smile - -$$

$$- \smile - \Rightarrow - \smile - -$$

(b) The slot for *al-kʰazm* is a less common domain (*al-kʰazm* is a non-canonical transformation defined as the addition of no more than two syllables at the beginning of a hemistich).

B. The following list indicates the relative frequency of Level III variants in any given position[86] (the most common are given first):

1. Canonical (primary) variants generated by the *typical* application of Level III rules.

2. Canonical variants generated by the *atypical* application of Level III rules:

   (a) Primary variants generated by complex transformations.

   (b) Secondary variants, generated by chain derivation.

3. Non-canonical variants, generated by the violation of Level III rules.

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OUTLINE OF MAJOR POINTS

ON LEVEL III

1. **Canonical transformations**:

   (a) Types (from the least to the most restricted):   Reduction, synthesis, deletion, and addition.

   (b) Effect on strings: Syllabic symmetry, type assonance.

   (c) Purpose of application: Variety, freedom in choosing words.

   (d) Restriction on application:

      (i) Three of the restrictions are general (blocking *any* transformation in order to safeguard the identity of feet, the identity of meters, and explicit patterning).

      (ii) On the other hand, five of the restrictions are specific (blocking *particular* transformations).

   Some basic principles related to restrictions:

      (i) Necessity of safeguarding identity (i. e., keeping meters and feet distinct).

      (ii) Primacy of patterning.

      (iii) Close affinity between ᴗ and – .

      (iv) Number assonance (column ʿilla).

      (v) Formal influence of the ʿarūḍ on the ḍarb (inter-column ʿilla).

      (vi) Nonmetrical or undesirable status of certain uniform syllabic sequences.

      (vii) Correlation between the hemistich-final position and the long-syllable type.

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OUTLINE OF MAJOR POINTS

ON LEVEL III (Cont.)

(e) Necessary application:

 (i) Major contexts (hemistich-final columns): As a rule, the initial syllable of $-\smile-$ or $\smile\smile-$ is an inter-column ᶜilla if it occurs in the ᶜarūḍ and a local-column ᶜilla if it occurs in the ḍarb; the same is true of deletion. Addition is a local-column ᶜilla in the ḍarb.

 (ii) Minor contexts: Here a necessary application resolves the competition between an injunction and an additional consideration. One solution (**neutralizing application**) relaxes the injunction in order to satisfy the additional consideration, and rectifies the detrimental result; another (**defusing application**) provides a marker which upholds the injunction and at the same time satisfies the additional consideration.

 (f) Suspension of the ᶜilla status: Serves as one dimension in a tripartite opposition which helps to differentiate three meters.

 (g) Domain of application: In general, the individual foot.

2. **Non-canonical transformations:**

 (a) Types: Reduction, deletion (*al-kʰarm*), and addition (*al-kʰazm*).

 (b) Justification:

 (i) Promotion of syllabic symmetry.

 (ii) Promotion of pattern congruence (which has permanently modified the form of *al-munsariḥ*).

 (c) Frequency: Non-canonical transformations produce the rarest of all variants.

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OUTLINE OF MAJOR POINTS

ON LEVEL III (Cont.)

3. **Relative frequency of variants in any given position** (the most common are given first):

   (a) Variants that are generated by typical application of canonical transformations.

   (b) Variants that are generated by atypical application of canonical transformations.

   (c) Variants that are generated by non-canonical transformations.

4. **Correspondence between ʿarūḍ and ḍarb:** Three criteria indicate the existence of directional but not reversible dependence; those criteria are: deletion, addition, and the ʿilla status assigned to the first syllable of faʿilun/faʿilun.

   (a) If the ʿarūḍ is catalectic, the ḍarb is almost invariably catalectic, but the reverse is not true.

   (b) Addition in the ḍarb does not entail addition in the ʿarūḍ.

   (c) As a rule, the initial syllable of faʿilun/faʿilun is a local-column ʿilla in the ḍarb position, but an inter-column ʿilla in the ʿarūḍ position.

5. **Compensation:** Tends to preserve the durational value of the *standard* string.

3.4. *Postscript Notes*

3.4.1. Role of Level II reduction in focus

Level II reduction generates a new type of syllabic patterning within the foot; such patterning is either supplemented (specifically, prefixed) repetition or interrupted repetition. Level II reduction is barred in foot-final position to preclude a rhythmically defective sequence (see Appendix IV of Part I).

3.4.2. Role of Level III transformations in focus

When applied to a standard foot, Level III reduction leaves the sequence ⌣− unchanged. Indeed, the transformation can be paraphrased as follows: The sequence ⌣− of the standard foot remains intact (which tends to guarantee a measure of type assonance); every other constituent syllable of the standard foot may be shortened. Thus, at least in the context of Level III reduction, the sequence ⌣− can be viewed as the "nucleus" of standard feet.

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In the light of the above comments, it is clear that Level III reduction performs at least four important functions: it contributes to systematic variation which allows the poet some freedom in choosing words; it promotes type assonance; it highlights the sequence $\smile-$ as the nuclear component of standard feet; and it favors the occurrence of the sequence $\smile-$ (the most rhythmic bisyllabic combination), while discouraging the occurrence of the sequence $-\smile$ (the least rhythmic bisyllabic combination), in the variant feet generated by the standard meter (see footnote 23 at the end of this chapter).

Aside from facilitating some freedom in choosing words, the remaining Level III transformations perform certain significant functions. As explained earlier, synthesis marks close metric affinity. Deletion and addition play an important role in the context of rhyme; that role is discussed in the section entitled "Notes" at the end of Part IV.

3.4.3. Type assonance as a feature of performance

Prior to al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad's time, Arab poets knew nothing about the rules of Arabic prosody. How did those poets manage to create perfectly metrical verse without such knowledge? It would be excessive to claim that they stored in their memory all of the standard meters, together with all of the canonical variants for each standard sequence, and drew on this huge stockpile to compose their poetry: In the first place, to manipulate this immensely laborious process would be easier for a computer than it would be for the human mind; in the second place, how could the poets know which sequences are canonical and therefore admissible into the "store"?

To describe human performance in composing poetry, it might be more reasonable to say that a sharp musical ear perceives a distinct tune for each standard meter, and that such a tune serves as a mold: a sequence which fits into the tune for a given standard meter is identified with that meter, while a sequence which does not fit into the tune is considered alien to that meter. To grasp the essence of this concept, chant the standard form of *al-ramal* (fāᶜilātun fāᶜilātun fāᶜilun) in the following manner:

      (a) Render each short syllable with a low-pitched, abbreviated pronunciation.

      (b) Render each long syllable with a high-pitched, drawn-out pronunciation.

The resultant tune may be represented graphically as follows:

The first of the following two sequences will fit neatly into the tune under discussion; the listener will hear no distortion. In contrast, the second sequence will produce noticeable distortion if forced into the tune. It follows that the first sequence belongs to *al-ramal* but the second does not.

      (a) faᶜilātun faᶜilātun faᶜilun ($\smile\smile--$ $\smile\smile--$ $\smile\smile-$) .

      (b) fāᶜilatun fāᶜilatun fāᶜilu ($-\smile\smile-$ $-\smile\smile-$ $\smile\smile\smile$) .

The tune for the standard form of *al-wāfir* (mufāᶜalatun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun) may be represented graphically as follows:

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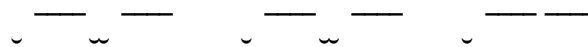
The tune for the standard form of *al-basīṭ* (mustafᶜilun fāᶜilun mustafᶜilun fāᶜilun) may be represented graphically as follows:

The guiding principle is that different meters are associated with different tunes, and different tunes specify different meters.[87]

Needless to say, prior to al-Kʰalīl's theory the Arab poets knew nothing about the *tafᶜīla* as a structural entity; they merely made use of metrical tunes. Nonetheless, as the above discussion shows, the chant[88] which we call a metric tune endows the *tafᶜīla* with a concrete perceptual reality highlighted by well-defined boundaries and the auditory semblance of a word. Note, for example, the grouping of syllables, as a result of the metric tune, in the first hemistich of ᶜAmr b. Kulᵗʰūm's *muᶜallaqa* (whose meter is *al-wāfir*):[89] ʾalāhubbī biṣaḫnikifaṣ baḫīnā (mufāᶜaltun mufāᶜalatun faᶜūlun). It is possible that al-Kʰalīl inferred the *tafāᶜīl,* at least those of his "primary" meters, from the discrete syllabic groupings set apart from each other by the metric tunes.

On the level of performance, then, it might be a valid interpretation of type assonance (combined, perhaps, with some other factors) to state that a sequence is a canonical variant only if it fits into the tune of the standard meter. The interpretation in question deserves further study: Of the impression that a given sequence "fits" into the tune while another sequence does not, precisely how much is attributable to type assonance (especially "nuclear" correspondence)? If a portion of the required "fit" is attributable to other factors, what might those factors be?

In the interest of realistic, balanced assessment, it is necessary to state explicitly at this point that the Level I, Level II, and Level III rules proposed by our theory represent a valid framework which accounts primarily for *competence*; accounting for *performance,* on the other hand, might require appeal to a modified form of Stanislas Guyard's theory.

In one of his books, Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn makes the following comments:[90]

> "What seems impossible to doubt is that the rhythm of Arabic poetry—like that of other poetry—is an outcome of music and singing. At its inception, poetry is song. To talk of song is to talk of tune, melody, and scanning—in short, of rhythm."

From the above discussion it is clear that the system and the metric tunes are intimately related: the system gives rise to the metric tunes and the metric tunes fit the verse, in the process of composition, to the system.

3.4.4. Composition versus perceptual interpretation

Once fixed in the listener's mind as a contrastive pattern, the standard form of a given meter tends to predetermine perception: whenever a poem is recited in his presence, the listener will tend to hear the standard form of the meter rather than the variants—unless, of course, he resorts to a careful process of scansion. This statement will surprise no one with sufficient training in structural linguistics and psycholinguistics. The phenomenon under discussion is comparable to the perception of conditioned alternants on the phonological level. In the colloquial Arabic dialect of Cairo, for example, a cluster of two obstruents is either entirely voiced or entirely voiceless with respect to actual pronunciation. Thus the word *ʾafḍāl* 'favors' is pronounced as [ʾavḍāl]; yet, without a deliberate attempt to convince him otherwise, a Cairene Egyptian will say that the first

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member of the cluster is [f]. In like manner, the word ʾusbūʿ 'week' is pronounced as [ʾuzbūʿ]; yet, without a deliberate attempt to convince him otherwise, a Cairene Egyptian will say that the first member of the cluster is [s].

FOOTNOTES

[1] The following studies are typical of the attempts made by contemporary Arab scholars to define the innovations in question: Muḥammad al-Nuwayhī, *Qaḍiyyat al-Shiʿr al-Jadīd* (2d ed. rev.; Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, February 1971); Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry* (2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977); John Mikhail Asfour, "An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry, 1945 - 1984, with a Critical Introduction" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of English, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, November 1984); John Mikhail Asfour, *When the Words Burn: An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry, 1945 – 1987* (2d ed. rev.; Maxville, Canada: Cormorant Books, 1992). In *Trends and Movements* (pp. 639, 640), Jayyusi makes the following insightful assessment: "It is never easy to foretell what events will take place in art, but in the question of form in contemporary Arabic poetry, one feels fairly confident in contemplating its immediate future. .... There seems to be no indication that there will be a general preference for a prose medium among poets (the public is even less inclined to accept these forms) before the immense potentialities of the numerous Arabic metres (with their derivatives) have been fully explored. Only when this has happened, will poets start urgently looking for a different form. .... [A]t the moment there is no artistic need for a major shift towards a prose medium for Arabic poetry; the real need is for poetry to try to lose some of its musical qualities to suit a profoundly changed mood of life, but this must first be achieved within a metrical framework."

[2] As we have already pointed out in Chapter I of Part I, the body of primary data under discussion was refuted neither by al-Khalīl's well-versed contemporaries nor by the learned scholars who followed al-Khalīl over the vast expanse of many centuries. Equally significant is the fact that the ancient verse available to us today (in all likelihood just a fraction of the entire corpus) confirms al-Khalīl's statements. Thus it is altogether reasonable to conclude that, in regard to observational adequacy, al-Khalīl's prosodic formulation is beyond reproach.

[3] A line of Arabic poetry usually comprises two structurally independent sequences of feet; each of the sequences in question is called a hemistich, and the line is said to be divided. In a few cases, the line consists of a single sequence which is identical to one hemistich of a divided line; for the sake of simplicity and consistency, we shall say that in such cases the line consists of a single hemistich. We define a hemistich, then, not as a sequence of feet which *always* constitutes a half or a division, but as one which *can* (and usually does) constitute a half or a division.

[4] In this study, the word *meter* appears within quotation marks when used generically to designate the sense of regularity which often characterizes verse.

[5] On Level I, it is possible to define an Arabic meter as the string which constitutes a single hemistich and to stipulate that in most—but not in all—instances the meter is doubled to produce a divided line. Henceforth this definition will be adopted: it represents an economical way of accounting for the lines which al-Khalīl calls *al-mashṭūr* and *al-manhūk* (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 81 – 84).

[6] It has already been stated that the hemistichs of a divided line are identical on Level I: such is also the case on Level II. It is thus possible on Level II to define a meter as the string which constitutes a single hemistich, and henceforth we will adopt this definition.

[7] See Karl Shapiro's *Prosody Handbook*, p. 63.

[8] We shall talk of reduction as positioned or placed at a given point if it occurs at that point.

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[9] Medial reduction is "identically" placed in two feet if it is equidistant from at least one pair of corresponding extremities; each of the following sequences illustrates this definition (a dash stands for a long syllable, and ⏑ stands for a short syllable):

$$- - \smile - \quad - - \smile -$$
$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile - -$$
$$- - \smile - \quad - \smile -$$
$$- \smile - - \quad - \smile -$$
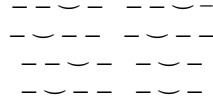
[10] A dash stands for a long syllable, and ⏑ stands for a short syllable.

[11] The names given here to the various meters are the ones used by al-Kʰalīl.

[12] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 189 – 208.

[13] The constituent ⏙ patterns as a single long syllable, not as a sequence.

[14] Notice that the seven standard feet result from applying the rules of standard reduction and analysis to the two theoretical feet (*mafʿūlun* and *mafʿūlātun*). Also notice that while the first two contrasts are shared by all standard feet, the last two are restricted to long feet.

[15] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 211.

[16] Vol. II, p. 366.

[17] See Restriction 2i in section 3.3.1.

[18] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 54, 55, 189 – 199. The meter *al-muqtaḍab* is used in approximately 1% of modern Arabic poetry; on the other hand, *al-muḍāriʿ* is almost non-existent in modern Arabic poetry (see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 199 – 208). Also see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 368.

[19] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 14.

[20] See item 2 under "Justification" in section 3.3.3.

[21] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 109, 146, 147, 225 – 229, 279; also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 76 – 78, 90, 99, 115 – 117.

[22] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 90, 189 – 208; also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 114, 115.

[23] Level III reduction tends to maximize the occurrence of ⏑−, while minimizing the occurrence of −⏑, in the variant feet generated by the standard meter. As shown in Appendix IV of Part I, ⏑− is the most rhythmic while −⏑ is the least rhythmic of all the bisyllabic combinations which occur within the feet of Classical Arabic poetry.

The chart presented in Appendix I of Part I can serve as a useful guide. Comparing the occurrence of the sequence ⏑− with that of the sequence −⏑ in each column leads to the following conclusion: In the majority of instances, Level III reduction is responsible for the fact that ⏑− occurs more often than −⏑; this statement holds true whether the domain of occurrence is the individual variant or the entire set of variants associated with a given standard foot.

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[24] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 362, 365.

[25] Far from being peculiar to Arabic poetry, symmetry seems to be a universal prosodic principle. See Karl Shapiro's *Prosody Handbook*, p. 63.

[26] See section 3.3.3.

[27] In this context, a constituent is ⌣⌣, ⌣, or − .

[28] This manner of identifying the standard form was recognized by ʾAbū Naṣr ʾIsmāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī; see his *ʿArūḍ al-Waraqa*, p. 13.

[29] Surprisingly, some critics hold that the existence of even a few restrictions invalidates a theory of Classical Arabic prosody. Such critics need to study more closely the facts which pertain to the structure of Classical Arabic. Restrictions are so abundant in the grammar of Classical Arabic that hardly any scholar would contest their presence. Why then should restrictions have no place in a theory of Classical Arabic prosody? Which would be the better option: to have a theory that generates the vast majority of the primary data through the application of simple, general rules bound by a few motivated restrictions, or to settle for a long list of frustratingly complex observations that represents the entire corpus as a set of arbitrary items and phenomena? It must be borne in mind that restrictions are, in actual fact, a subset of minor *rules* which fine-tune the major rules and which therefore form an integral part of the system.

[30] To verify the validity of those labels and assertions, see: ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl* (especially pp. 49, 101, 128, 129, 137, 150, 162, 191); ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿAtīq's *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya* (especially pp. 59, 122, 123); and William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 361 – 368 (especially pp. 362, 363).

[31] ʿAbbās Ḥasan, *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī*, Vol. I (5th ed.; Cairo, Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1975), p. 166, footnote 2.

[32] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 362; also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 196 – 204.

[33] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 362.

[34] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 362, 363. Also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, p. 109.

[35] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 367; also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 109 – 120.

[36] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 363, 364, 367, 368. Also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 256, 257, 279.

[37] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 88 – 91.

[38] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 291, 292.

[39] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 92 – 306.

[40] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 95 – 305.

[41] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 59 -139.

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[42] See William Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, pp. 361 – 368.

[43] An *explicit pattern* is a syllabic configuration which is actually present in a given string; an *implicit pattern* is an underlying configuration invoked by type assonance. *Explicit "meter"* is the sense of regularity which results from explicit patterning, while *implicit "meter"* is the sense of regularity superimposed by implicit patterning.

[44] Unless it recurs or pervades the entire hemistich, syllabic symmetry cannot give rise to "meter".

[45] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 279, 280; also see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 368.

[46] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 39, 40.

[47] Each hemistich-final variant is also related to the Level II foot by type assonance.

[48] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 85 – 87.

[49] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, top of p. 220.

[50] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 156, 157. A rare exception occurs in *majzūʾ al-kʰafīf* where —◡—— ——◡— becomes —◡—— ——— (See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 254).

[51] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 366 – 368.

[52] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 367, 368. Also see Ibn Rasʰīq's *al-ʿUmda,* Vol. I, p. 138.

[53] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 46 (footnote 2).

[54] See Kʰadīja al-Ḥadītʰī's *ʾAbniyat al-Ṣarf*, pp. 141, 142.

[55] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 137, 231; also see pp. 73 – 77 of the same book.

[56] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 72 – 77.

[57] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 256, 257.

[58] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 217; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿAtīq's *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, pp. 68, 70, 121; and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 98 -103, 82 – 86, 124 – 126. Also see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 363, 364, 366, 367.

[59] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 88 – 91.

[60] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 110 – 114.

[61] The following line (composed by ʾAbū Nuwās) illustrates the replacement under discussion:

<div dir="rtl">

إِذَا فَكَّرْتُ فِي عِرْضِهِ　　لكَ أَشْفَقْتُ عَلَى شِعْرِي

</div>

[62] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, p. 364.

[63] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr,* pp. 79, 80.

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[64] See defusing application f under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1.

[65] The term *maṭlaʿ* designates the first line of an ode.

[66] Often the hemistich-final feet of the *maṭlaʿ* are identical. Although popular, such identity is not obligatory (see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid's *al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qāfiya*, pp. 19, 20).

[67] On page 280 of his *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, al-Rāḍī cites the following lines:

$$\text{مَسَكْـتُ قَلْبِي لَمَّا   مَسَكْـتُهُ مَذْعُـورَا}$$

$$\text{بَعْضُ القُلُوبِ طُيُورٌ   لَمْ تَسْتَطِعْ أَنْ تَطِيرَا}$$

Examining the first line reveals the following:

    (a) The first hemistich ends in $-\,-\,-$ (which is derived from $-\,\smile\,-\,-$).

    (b) Like the first, the second hemistich ends in $-\,-\,-$ (which is derived from $-\smile--$).

    (c) Each of the two hemistichs comprises the string $\smile-\smile-\ \ ---$ (rather than the string $--\smile-\ ---$).

[68] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, p. 160.

[69] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 367, 368; also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 256, 279.

[70] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 59 – 62. The available information concerning *al-kʰazm* is rather sketchy, and it is therefore impossible to formulate precise rules. Reportedly, the meters where *al-kʰazm* occurs are *al-basīṭ, al-kāmil, al-madīd, al-ṭawīl,* and *al-hazaj*; respectively, the additions are $\smile$, $-/\smile$, $-$, $\smile-$, and $--$. It appears that canonical addition and *al-kʰazm* are mutually exclusive in the meters where they occur.

[71] While the word *al-kʰazm* means "stringing or threading (e. g., pearls)', the word *al-kʰarm* means 'producing a hole or a gap'.

[72] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 63 – 67. Reportedly, *al-kʰarm* is restricted to *al-ṭawīl, al-mutaqārib, al-hazaj, al-muḍāriʿ,* and *al-wāfir*. The *ṣadr* is a more common domain than the *ʿajuz.*

[73] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 302.

[74] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 255 – 257; 279, 280; 60, 65.

[75] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 59 – 67.

[76] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 303.

[77] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 300 – 303.

[78] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 304.

[79] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 304.

[80] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 304.

[81] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 17, 18.

[82] See al-Dajanī's *Ḍʰāhirat al-Sʰudʰūdʰ fī al-Naḥw al-ʿArabiyy*, p. 304. For other instances where theoretical (Deep-Structure) forms have surfaced, especially in poetry, see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 378, 379.

[83] For the confining influence which linguists exerted on the composition of poets, see ʿAfīf Dimasʰqiyya's *Tajdīd al-Naḥw al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 121-124.

[84] It is probable that editing old forms to achieve conformity with the linguistic rules of the day was a common practice; such editing, however, did not extend to Quranic texts although the oral rendition of certain reciters was condemned as grammatically erroneous. See ʾAḥmad Mukʰtār ʿUmar's *al-Baḥtʰ al-Lugʰawiyy*, pp. 6-15; al-Dajanī's *Ḍʰāhirat al-Sʰudʰūdʰ fī al-Naḥw al-ʿArabiyy*, p. 131; ʿAfīf Dimasʰqiyya's *Tajdīd al-Naḥw al-ʿArabiyy*, p. 124; and Zaki Abdel-Malek's *The Closed-List Classes of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic,* p. 241.

[85] In this instance, the theoretical string which surfaced is −−−− −−−− −−−−. Occasional use of the theoretical string was apparently motivated by no more than the intuitive reality of Level I.

[86] A "position" is here defined as a slot where a foot occurs.

[87] The two metric tunes associated with a pair of closely-affined meters are so similar in terms of auditory effect that, to a casual or an indulgent ear, each tune can pass for the other. Notwithstanding, the two meters have distinct identities because a sharp musical ear can detect a low-pitched "vibration" (ܝ), as opposed to a high-pitched sustained note (−), which characterizes one member of the pair (thus setting it apart as an independent rhythmic entity) and which almost invariably occurs, at least once, in every line of the poem. Very rarely indeed do we encounter a situation where the "vibration" in question eludes an entire line but occurs in other lines of the same ode; even then, the metric identity of *all* hemistichs remains clear and well-defined since the ode is an organic, not an atomic, structure. By definition, an ode with organic structure incorporates a set of features which bind together the constituent parts into a unified, integrated whole; the pertinent feature in this context is the stipulation that the same meter must occur in all hemistichs. For the organic nature of Ancient Arabic verse, see Mary Catherine Bateson's *Structural Continuity in Poetry: A Linguistic Study in Five Pre-Islamic Arabic Odes* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1970); G.J.H. van Gelder's *Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982); Kamal Abu-Deeb's "Towards a Structural Analysis of Pre-Islamic Poetry", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975), pp. 148–184; Kamal Abu-Deeb's "Towards a Structural Analysis of Pre-Islamic Poetry (II): The Eros Vision", *Edebiyât* (1976), pp. 3–69; Adnan Haydar's "The Muʿallaqa of Imruʾ al-Qays: Its Structure and Meaning", Parts 1 & 2, *Edebiyât* 2 (1977), pp. 227–261 and 3 (1978), pp. 51–82.

[88] *The American Heritage College Dictionary* (4th ed.) defines a chant as "a short simple melody in which syllables or words are sung on or intoned to the same note or a limited range of notes". As used here, the term denotes a short simple melody, based on the syllabic structure of a standard meter and a limited range of musical notes, which facilitates scansion in two ways: It reduces the lexical sequence which constitutes a *bayt* to syllables which cluster to form clearly discrete feet, and it highlights the harmony or discord between the lexical sequence and the melody thus marking each foot as canonical or non-canonical.

[89] In Arabic script, the hemistich is أَلَا هُـبِّي بِصَحْنِكِ فَاصْبَحِينَا .

[90] See Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Majmūʿa al-Kāmila li-Muʾallafāt al-Duktūr Ṭāhā Ḥusayn* المجموعةُ الكاملةُ لمؤلَّفاتِ الدّكتور طه حُسَين , Volume V (Beirut, Lebanon: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnāniyy, 1973 – 1975), p. 326.

CHAPTER IV

VERIFICATION

4.1. *Introduction*

In Chapter III, we presented a list of the standard meters which result from applying the rules of Level II; thus we showed that our theory does in fact account for the standard meters of Arabic poetry. The chief purpose of this chapter is to present further proof of adequacy by showing that:

      1. The variants reported by al-Kʰalīl are indeed generated by our Level III rules (the sufficient condition).

      2. The variants generated by our Level III rules do not substantially exceed the variants reported by al-Kʰalīl (the necessary condition).

The meters are listed in the descending order of frequency reported by ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs.[1] A careful analysis of ʾAnīs' findings yields an interesting observation: the count is based strictly on ancient Arabic poetry, but in describing individual meters ʾAnīs occasionally makes a fleeting reference to relative popularity in modern poetry. It must be emphasized that odes composed in non-Standard Arabic are excluded from the count.[2]

Each standard string is followed by a list of "submeters", also arranged in descending order of frequency. In general, a submeter differs from the standard string only in regard to one or both of the hemistich-final feet; the difference results from applying a ʿilla to the standard ʿarūḍ, the standard ḍarb, or both. Submeters have a twofold purpose: (a) to define the number assonance which occurs in each column, and (b) to state the correspondence which occurs between the ʿarūḍ and the ḍarb (submeters are governed by the rules of correspondence discussed in section 3.3.1).

As a by-product, this chapter provides a convenient reference for students and scholars: it lists the variant strings assigned by al-Kʰalīl to each meter, and specifies the relative frequency of those strings. In the tables used for this purpose, certain conventions are employed; an explanation of those conventions is in order:

      1. In the first column of the table, the slots are indicated; the term "slot" designates the position (in the meter) where a given standard foot and its variants occur.

2. In the second column of the table, we list the forms (standard and derived) which are reported by al-Kʰalīl as fillers of various slots. The arrangement of items is significant in three respects:

(a) Of the hemistich-final fillers, the un-indented items represent different ʿilla stipulations; not so with a hemistich-final filler and the forms indented under it, for here the entire set is usually uniform in regard to ʿilla stipulations.

(b) Of the hemistich-initial and hemistich-medial fillers, the un-indented items are standard forms, while the indented items are variants.

(c) As a rule, variants are listed in descending order of frequency.

The following notations deserve explanation:

(a) The symbols < > indicate that the enclosed form is reported by al-Kʰalīl but is not generated by our theory; in other words, the symbols in question indicate an instance where our theory violates the sufficient condition.

(b) An asterisk indicates that the form is generated by our theory but is not reported by al-Kʰalīl; in other words, an asterisk indicates an instance where our theory violates the necessary condition—an instance where a "probable variant" does not actually materialize. With respect to our theory, the necessary condition is satisfied if the "probable variants" do not substantially exceed al-Kʰalīl's data. Probable variants comprise two sets:

(i) Forms which result from the necessary application of Level III transformations.

(ii) Forms which result from the optional application of Level III transformations and whose occurrence is not banned (or rendered unlikely) by restrictions.

3. In the third column of the table, we specify the transformations which our theory provides to generate the variants. In most instances, the specified transformations are canonical.

4. In the fourth column of the table, we classify the fillers according to the principles of our theory:

(a) A filler belongs to Class *S* if it is a standard foot, and to Class *Sb* if it is the hemistich-final foot of a submeter.

(b) A filler belongs to Class V_1 if it is a canonical (primary) variant derived by a simple transformation from a standard foot.

(c) A filler belongs to Class V_2 if it is a canonical (primary) variant derived by a complex transformation from a standard foot.

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(d) A filler belongs to Class V_3 if it is a canonical (secondary) variant derived from another variant.

(e) A filler belongs to Class V_4 if it is derived by a non-canonical transformation.

5. In the fifth column of the table, we specify the relative frequency of fillers as reported by al-Kʰalīl. Where available, the esthetic judgment of Arab prosodists is enclosed within quotation marks (e. g., "ugly", "distasteful", "pleasant").

6. In the sixth column of the table, we indicate the relative frequency of fillers as predicted by our theory. Most of the predictions are based on the principles discussed in section 3.3.1 under the titles "Restrictions on application" and "Necessary application"; the reader is therefore advised to familiarize himself with those principles before using the tables. The descriptions in the sixth column are accompanied by cross-references, footnotes, or explanatory remarks only when the reader is likely to need assistance. The sixth column merely identifies the explanatory remarks; the text of those remarks follows the tables.

This chapter will show that our proposal is very close to perfection in satisfying a basic requirement which a theory must meet in order to be valid; the requirement in question is to generate all and only the primary data. In this case, the corpus reported by al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad constitutes the primary data.

Of the works consulted, ꜥAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,* William Wright"s *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiꜥr* are the major sources.

4.2. *The Meters of Ancient Arabic Poetry*

4.2.1. **The meter *al-ṭawīl***

The standard form

⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–––   ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–––

Submeters

1. ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–⌣–   ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–⌣–

2. ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–⌣–   ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–⌣ ⌣––

3. ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–⌣–   ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣–––

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Constituent feet of al-ṭawīl

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	⌣———	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent (Rem. 2)
	⌣—⌣—	Reduction	Sb # 1-3 (V₁)	Overwhelming	Overwhelming (Rem. 2)
2. *al-ḍarb*	⌣———	None	S; Sb # 3	Very rare; almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	⌣—⌣—	Reduction	Sb # 1 (V₁)	Common	Common (Rem. 3)
	⌣——	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V₁)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i)
B. Non-final 1, 5	⌣——	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣—⌣	Reduction	V₁	Common	Common
	——	Non-canonical deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V₄	Very rare	Very rare (section 3.3.4)
	—⌣	Reduction & non-canonical deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V₄	Very rare	Very rare (section 3.3.4)
3	⌣——	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣—⌣	Reduction	V₁	Common	Common
7	⌣——	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣—⌣	Reduction	V₁	Common; obligatory before ⌣——	Common; obligatory before ⌣—— (Rem. 3)
2, 6	⌣———	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣—⌣—	Reduction	V₁	Common	Common
	⌣——⌣	Reduction	V₁	Rare (almost non-existent); "ugly"	Rare (Restriction 8, & paragraph 6 under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1)

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Remarks

1. *al-Ṭawīl* is one of the most common meters of Arabic poetry; reportedly, one-third of all ancient Arabic poems employed it. Notice that *al-ṭawīl*, in its standard form, comprises the maximum possible number of syllables. ʾAnīs observes that, in general, the meters with a relatively large number of syllables were favored in ancient Arabic poetry (See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr, pp. 191, 192).

The standard form of *al-ṭawīl* does not occur; of the submeters, the first is the most common, and the third is the least common.

2. The standard ʿarūḍ (◡–––) does not occur (except, of course, in a *maṭlaʿ* whose *ḍarb* is ◡–––); in its place, the form ◡–◡– is used (see defusing application b under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1).

3. The standard *ḍarb* (◡–––) is almost non-existent; it is commonly replaced by ◡–◡– (see the first four paragraphs under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1). The *ḍarb* ◡–– (of the second submeter) must be preceded by ◡–◡ (see neutralizing application b in section 3.3.1).

4. Almost invariably, the second foot in each hemistich rejects reduction of its final syllable (see paragraph 6 under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1).

5. When discussing *al-ṭawīl,* al-Rāḍī reports no ʿajuz-initial instances of *al-kʰarm* (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl, pp. 102, 103); elsewhere, however, al-Rāḍī cites examples which show that, in general, *al-kʰarm* applies to *both* hemistichs of the line (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl, pp. 63 – 67).

4.2.2. The meter *al-kāmil*

The standard form

　　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–◡–

Submeters

1. ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω––

2. ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　　––

3. ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–

4. ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　　––

5. ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–　　　ω–◡–　ω–◡–　ω–

Constituent feet of *al-kāmil*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	ᴗ–⏑–	None	S; Sb # 1,2,3	Common	Common
	––⏑–	Synthesis	V₁	Common, "pleasant"	Common (Rem. 5)
	–⏑⏑–	Synthesis & reduction	V₂	Rare, "distasteful"	Rare (Restriction 1)
	ᴗ–	Chain derivation	Sb # 4, 5 (V₃)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 1)
2. *al-ḍarb*	ᴗ–⏑–	None	S	Very common	Very common
	––⏑–	Synthesis	V₁	Common	Common (Rem. 5)
	–⏑⏑–	Synthesis & reduction	V₂	Rare	Rare (Restriction 1)
	ᴗ––	Deletion	Sb # 1 (V₁)	Common	Common (since the *ʿarūḍ* is common)
	–––	Synthesis & deletion	V₂	Common	Ditto
	––	Chain derivation	Sb # 2 (V₃)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 1)
	ᴗ–	Chain derivation	Sb # 3 (V₃)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 1)
	––	Chain derivation	Sb # 4 (V₃)	Very rare	Very rare (Restriction 1; also, the *ʿarūḍ* is rare)
	ᴗ–	Chain derivation	Sb # 5 (V₃)	Very rare	Ditto
B. Non-final 1, 2, 4, 5	ᴗ–⏑–	None	S	Very common	Very common
	––⏑–	Synthesis	V₁	Common, "pleasant"	Common (Rem. 5)

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Constituent feet of *al-kāmil* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
Non-final 1, 2, 4, 5 (cont.)	−⌣⌣−	Synthesis & reduction	V_2	Rare, "distasteful"	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 1)
	⌣−⌣−	Reduction	V_1	Very rare, "distasteful"	Very rare (Rem. 3)

Remarks

1. The meter *al-kāmil* is common in ancient (as well as modern) Arabic poetry.

2. In descending order of frequency, the forms of *al-kāmil* are as follows: the standard, the first submeter, the second submeter, the third submeter, the fourth submeter, the fifth submeter.

3. In each hemistich of *al-kāmil,* the final foot rejects the form ⌣−⌣−. But for this restriction, the hemistichs in question could merge into a variant of *al-rajaz:*

ω−⌣− ω−⌣− ω−⌣− ⇒ ⌣−⌣− ⌣−⌣− ⌣−⌣−   (*al-kāmil*)

−−⌣− −−⌣− −−⌣− ⇒ ⌣−⌣− ⌣−⌣− ⌣−⌣−   (*al-rajaz*)

Because the non-final feet in *al-rajaz* often assume the form ⌣−⌣−, the corresponding feet in *al-kāmil* rarely assume that form.

4. The form ω− behaves like ⌣⌣− in regard to *ᶜilla* status, perhaps because the two forms are perceptually identical (see the rules which specify correspondence between *ᶜarūḍ* and *ḍarb* at the end of "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1).

5. −−⌣− is the most common variant of ω−⌣− since the former is related to the latter by optimum type assonance.

4.2.3. **The meter *al-basīṭ***

The standard form

−−⌣− −⌣− −−⌣− −⌣−   −−⌣− −⌣− −−⌣− −⌣−

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Submeters

1. $--\smile-$ $-\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $\smile\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $-\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $\smile\smile-$

2. $--\smile-$ $-\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $\smile\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $-\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $--$

3. $--\smile-$ $-\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $\smile\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $-\smile-$ $--\smile-$ $-$

Constituent feet of *al-basīṭ*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʕarūḍ*	$-\smile-$	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent[3]
	$\smile\smile-$	Reduction	Sb # 1-3 (V_1)	Overwhelming, "pleasant"	Overwhelming[4]
2. *al-ḍarb*	$-\smile-$	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent (Rem. 2)
	$\smile\smile-$	Reduction	Sb # 1 (V_1)	Overwhelming, "pleasant"	Overwhelming
	$--$	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V_1)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i)
	$-$	Chain derivation	Sb # 3 (V_3)	Very rare	Very rare (Restriction 1)
B. Non-final 1,3,5,7	$--\smile-$	None	S	Very common	Very common
	$\smile-\smile-$	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable"	Common
	$-\smile\smile-$	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable but somewhat distasteful"	Common
	$\smile\smile\smile-$	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)
2, 6	$-\smile-$	None	S	Very common	Very common
	$\smile\smile-$	Reduction	V_1	Very common, "pleasant", "nice"	Very common

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Remarks

1.   The meter *al-basīṭ* is slightly less common than *al-kāmil;* in descending order of frequency, its forms are as follows: the first submeter, the second submeter, the third submeter. The standard form does not occur.

2.   Replacement of the standard *ḍarb* by ⌣⌣– makes *al-basīṭ* compatible with other tetrameters: in *al-ṭawīl* and *al-mutadārak*, the *ḍarb* usually undergoes Level III reduction (see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 364; ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 61, 103; and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,* p. 303).

<div align="center">4.2.4. The meter al-wāfir</div>

The standard form

<div align="center">⌣–ω–   ⌣–ω–   ⌣– –   ⌣–ω–   ⌣–ω–   ⌣– –</div>

Constituent feet of *al-wāfir*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	⌣– –	None	S	Common	Common
2. *al-ḍarb*	⌣– –	None	S	Common	Common
	*⌣–	Deletion	V_1	Non-existent	Rare (Restriction 2i)
B. Non-final 1	⌣–ω–	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣– – –	Synthesis	V_1	Common, "pleasant"	Common (Rem. 2)
	⌣–⌣–	Reduction	V_1	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Rem. 2)
	⌣– –⌣	Reduction & synthesis	V_2	Relatively uncommon	Relatively un-common (Rem. 2; Restriction 1)
	–ω–	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V_4	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (section 3.3.4)

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Constituent feet of *al-wāfir* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
Non-final 1 (cont.)	———	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & synthesis	V_4	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (section 3.3.4)
	——◡	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*), synthesis, & reduction	V_4	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (section 3.3.4)
	—◡—	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & reduction	V_4	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (section 3.3.4)
2, 4, 5	◡—ω—	None	S	Common	Common
	◡———	Synthesis	V_1	Common, "pleasant"	Common (Rem. 2)
	◡—◡—	Reduction	V_1	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Rem. 2)
	◡——◡	Reduction & synthesis	V_2	Relatively uncommon	Relatively un-common (Rem. 2; Restriction 1)

Remarks

1. The non-canonical transformation *al-kʰarm* is blocked at the beginning of the second hemistich to avert a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables.

2. ◡——— is the most common variant of ◡—ω— since the former is related to the latter by optimum type assonance.

4.2.5. **The meter al-*kʰafīf***

The standard form

$$-◡-- \quad --◡- \quad -◡-- \qquad -◡-- \quad --◡- \quad -◡--$$

Submeter

$$-◡-- \quad --◡- \quad -◡-- \qquad -◡-- \quad --◡- \quad -◡-$$

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Constituent feet of *al-kʰafīf*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	—⏑——	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	⏑⏑——	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	—⏑—⏑	Reduction	V₁	Almost nonexistent; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Almost nonexistent; (Restriction 8); conditional (Restriction 7)
	⏑⏑—⏑	Reduction	V₂	Ditto	Ditto
2. *al-ḍarb*	—⏑——	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑⏑——	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	———	Deletion	V₁	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i; Rem. 6)
	—⏑—	Deletion	Sb (V₁)	Very rare	Very rare (Restriction 2; Rem. 2)
	⏑⏑—	Reduction & deletion	V₂	Very rare; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Very rare; conditional (Restrictions 2, 7; Remarks 2, 5)
B. Non-final 1, 4	—⏑——	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑⏑——	Reduction	V₁	Common	Common
2, 5	——⏑—	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑—⏑—	Reduction	V₁	Common	Common

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Constituent feet of *al-kʰafīf* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
Non-final 2, 5 (cont.)					
	— — ◡ ◡	Non-canonical reduction	V₄	Very rare; conditional (*muʕāqaba*)	Very rare (section 3.3.4); conditional (Restriction 7)
	◡ — ◡ ◡	Canonical & non-canonical reduction	V₄	Very rare; conditional (*muʕāqaba*)	Ditto

Remarks

1. The standard form of *al-kʰafīf* is far more common than the submeter; in fact, ʔAnīs claims that the submeter is non-existent in ancient Arabic poetry (see ʔIbrāhīm ʔAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʕr*, pp. 79, 80).

2. The scarcity of the submeter is due (in whole or in part) to Restriction 2; the *ʕajuz* of the submeter differs minimally, rather than clearly, from — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — (a very common variant of *al-sarīʕ*).

3. The second syllable of — — ◡ — rejects reduction to maximize contrast with the *additional* meter.

4. Almost invariably, the final syllable of the first and the fourth feet rejects reduction; thus the variant string — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ —(—) is ruled out (notice that the string in question is minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from *majzūʔ al-wāfir*).

5. The submeter of *al-kʰafīf* violates a *ʕilla* status since it permits — ◡ — and ◡ ◡ — to co-occur in line-final position. The violation helps to differentiate *al-kʰafīf* from *al-munsariḥ* and *al-sarīʕ* (see "Suspension of the *ʕilla* status" in section 3.3.1). For all practical purposes, however, the submeter of *al-kʰafīf* can be disregarded in view of its extreme scarcity.

6. The standard form of *al-kʰafīf* violates a *ʕilla* status since it permits — — — to co-occur with the acatalectic *ḍarb* in the same ode (see "Suspension of the *ʕilla* status" in section 3.3.1).

4.2.6. **The meter *al-rajaz***

Standard form

— — ◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ —   — — ◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ —

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Submeter

$$−−\smile− \quad −−\smile− \quad −−\smile− \qquad −−\smile− \quad −−\smile− \quad −−−$$

Constituent feet of *al-rajaz*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ˁarūḍ*	$−−\smile−$	None	S; Sb	Very common	Very common
	$\smile−\smile−$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$−\smile\smile−$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$\smile\smile\smile−$	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)
2. *al-ḍarb*	$−−\smile−$	None	S	Very common	Very common
	$\smile−\smile−$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$−\smile\smile−$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$\smile\smile\smile−$	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)
	$−−−$	Deletion	Sb (V_1)	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 2i)
	$\smile−−$	Deletion & reduction	V_2	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 2i)
B. Non-final 1, 2, 4, 5	$−−\smile−$	None	S	Very common	Very common
	$\smile−\smile−$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$−\smile\smile−$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$\smile\smile\smile−$	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)

Remarks

1. The meter *al-rajaz* was used extensively by ancient Arab poets in folk literature; the language employed was often a colloquial dialect rather than the standard variety. In determining the relative frequency of meters, the present study excludes colloquial poems from the count.[5]

2. The standard form of *al-rajaz* is more common than the submeter.

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3.   A line of *al-rajaz* may be undivided, equating to a single hemistich. Known as the *mas^hṭūr,* this variety of *al-rajaz* was very popular with ancient Arab poets (modern poets favor the divided line).

4.   An ode may be multi-rhymed, the second hemistich of each line rhyming with the first; in this case, the catalectic and the acatalectic varieties of *al-rajaz* may co-occur. Such flexibility encouraged the later Islamic poets to use *al-rajaz* for scientific and pedagogical treatises.

Due to internal rhyme, each line is viewed as a somewhat independent entity: it is bound to employ a form of *al-rajaz* but not a specific one; and (like a *maṭlaˁ*) its *ˁarūḍ* must be identical to its *ḍarb.*

5.   The very frequent occurrence of the variant ⌣–⌣– in all positions of *al-rajaz* differentiates the meter from *al-kāmil* (where ⌣–⌣– is non-existent in hemistich-final position and rare in other positions).

4.2.7. **The meter *al-ramal***

The standard form

–⌣–– –⌣–– –⌣–   –⌣–– –⌣–– –⌣–

Submeter

–⌣–– –⌣–– –⌣–   –⌣–– –⌣–– –⌣––

Constituent feet of *al-ramal*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ˁarūḍ*	–⌣–	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	⌣⌣–	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional (*muˁāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
2. *al-ḍarb*	–⌣–	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣⌣–	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional (*muˁāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)

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Constituent feet of *al-ramal* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
al-ḍarb (cont.)	—◡——	Addition	Sb (V_1)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i)
	◡◡——	Reduction & addition	V_2	Rare; conditional (*muˁāqaba*)	Rare (Restrictions 1, 2i); conditional (Restriction 7)
B. Non-final 1, 2, 4, 5	—◡——	None	S	Common	Common
	◡◡——	Reduction	V_1	Common; conditional in 2 & 5 (*muˁāqaba*)	Common; conditional in 2 & 5 (Restriction 7)
	—◡—◡	Reduction	V_1	Rare; conditional (*muˁāqaba*)	Rare; conditional (Restriction 7)
	◡◡—◡	Reduction	V_2	Very rare; conditional (*muˁāqaba*)	Very rare; conditional (Restriction 7)

Remarks

1. The meter *al-ramal* is a favorite choice for themes of love, wine, and nature.

2. The submeter of *al-ramal* is far less common than the standard form, yet more common than the *additional* meter.

3. In *al-ramal,* the line-final foot —◡— rejects deletion of its medial constituent to avoid the possibility of producing a censured sequence of long syllables.

4. In the hemistich-final position of *al-ramal,* —◡— and ◡◡— may co-occur; such atypical co-occurrence helps to differentiate *al-ramal* from *al-madīd* and *al-sarīˁ* (see "Suspension of the *ˁilla* status" in section 3.3.1).

5. In *al-ramal,* canonical addition may seem paradoxical since it renders the *ˁajuz* identical to the corresponding segment of the *additional* meter. The fact is, however, that the *additional* meter is extremely rare. The lower its functional load, the less the motivation for maintaining a given contrast.

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4.2.8. **The meter *al-mutaqārib***

The standard form

⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣––   ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣––

Submeters

1. ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣––   ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–

2. ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣––   ⌣–– ⌣–– ⌣–– –

Constituent feet of *al-mutaqārib*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ᶜarūḍ*	⌣––	None	S; Sb # 1, 2	Very rare; not permissible if the *ḍarb* is ⌣–	Very rare; not permissible if the *ḍarb* is ⌣–[6]
	⌣–⌣	Reduction	V_1	Very common, "nice, pleasant"	Very common[7]
	⌣–	Deletion	V_1	Ditto	Ditto
2. *al-ḍarb*	⌣––	None	S	Very common	Very common
	⌣–	Deletion	Sb # 1 (V_1)	Very common	Very common
	–	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V_2)	Very rare	Very rare (Restrictions 1, 2i)
B. Non-final 2, 3, 6, 7	⌣––	None	S	Common; obligatory in slot 7 before the *ḍarb* (–) of Sb # 2	Common; oblig-atory in slot 7 before the *ḍarb* (–) of Sb # 2 (Rem. 4)
	⌣–⌣	Reduction	V_1	Very rare in 7; common elsewhere	Very rare in 7; common elsewhere (Rem. 4)

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Constituent feet of *al-mutaqārib* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
Non-final (cont.) 1, 5	⏑－－	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑－⏑	Reduction	V_1	Common, "pleasant"	Common
	－－	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V_4	Very rare, "distasteful"	Very rare (section 3.3.4)
	－⏑	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & reduction	V_4	Very rare, "distasteful"	Very rare (section 3.3.4, Restriction 1)

Remarks

1. In descending order of frequency, the forms of *al-mutaqārib* are as follows: the standard, the first submeter, the second submeter.

2. The form ⏑－－ is very rare in the *ʿarūḍ* position (see defusing application f in section 3.3.1).

3. The catalectic form ⏑－ and the acatalectic form ⏑－⏑ co-occur in the *ʿarūḍ* position (thus violating number assonance), perhaps because they are closely related with respect to function; the function in question is to prevent the occurrence of a censured sequence of long syllables, and to signal the possibility of using ⏑－ in the *ḍarb* position (see defusing application f in section 3.3.1).

4. In submeter 2, the penultimate syllable of the *ʿajuz* is never shortened; elsewhere, the penultimate foot of the *ʿajuz* very rarely assumes the form ⏑－⏑ (see the first six paragraphs under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1).

4.2.9. **The meter *al-sarīʿ***

The standard form

－－⏑－ －－⏑－ －⏑－   －－⏑－ －－⏑－ －⏑－

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Submeters

1. −−⏑− −−⏑− −⏑−   −−⏑− −−⏑− −−
2. −−⏑− −−⏑− ⏑⏑−   −−⏑− −−⏑− ⏑⏑−
3. −−⏑− −−⏑− ⏑⏑−   −−⏑− −−⏑− −−

Constituent feet of *al-sarīʿ*

Slots	Fillers	Transformations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	−⏑−	None	S; Sb # 1	Very common	Very common
	⏑⏑−	Reduction	Sb # 2, 3 (V$_1$)	Very rare	Very rare (Rem. 2)
2. *al-ḍarb*	−⏑−	None	S	Very common	Very common
	−−	Deletion	Sb # 1 (V$_1$)	Common	Common
	⏑⏑−	Reduction	Sb # 2 (V$_1$)	Very rare	Very rare (Rem.2)
	−−	Deletion	Sb # 3 (V$_1$)	Very rare	Very rare (Rem. 2)
B. Non-final	−−⏑−	None	S	Very common	Very common
	⏑−⏑−	Reduction	V$_1$	Common	Common
	−⏑⏑−	Reduction	V$_1$	Common	Common
	⏑⏑⏑−	Reduction	V$_2$	Rare	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)

Remarks

1. In descending order of frequency, the forms of *al-sarīʿ* are as follows: the standard, the first submeter, the second submeter, the third submeter.

2. The second submeter is rare because it is perceptually identical with the following variant of *al-kāmil*:

   −−⏑− −−⏑− �croⁱ−   −−⏑− −−⏑− ⏝−

The third submeter is rare because it is perceptually identical with the following variant of *al-kāmil:*

   −−⏑− −−⏑− ⏝−   −−⏑− −−⏑− −−

3. Canonical addition (which changes the *ḍarb* to −⏑−−) was introduced by a few later poets. Non-existent in al-Kʰalīl's corpus, such addition is excluded from the present study.

4.2.10. **The meter *al-munsariḥ***

The standard form

‒‒◡‒‒ ‒‒◡‒ ‒◡‒   ‒‒◡‒‒ ‒‒◡‒ ‒◡‒

Submeters

1. ‒‒◡‒‒ ‒‒◡‒ ◡◡‒   ‒‒◡‒‒ ‒‒◡‒ ◡◡‒
2. ‒‒◡‒‒ ‒‒◡‒ ◡◡‒   ‒‒◡‒‒ ‒‒◡‒ ‒‒

Constituent feet of *al-munsariḥ*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	‒◡‒	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent (Rem. 1)
	◡◡‒	Reduction	Sb # 1, 2 (V_1)	Common	Common (Remarks 1, 2)
2. *al-ḍarb*	‒◡‒	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent (Rem. 1)
	◡◡‒	Reduction	Sb # 1 (V_1)	Common	Common (Remarks 1, 2)
	‒‒	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V_1)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i)
B. Non-final 1, 4	‒‒◡‒‒	None	S	Common	Common (Rem. 3)
	◡‒◡‒‒	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	‒◡◡‒‒	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	◡‒◡‒◡	Reduction	V_2	Rare	Rare (Restriction 1)
	‒◡◡‒◡	Reduction	V_2	Rare	Rare (Restriction 1)
	◡◡◡‒‒	Reduction	V_2	Very rare	Very rare (Restrictions 1,7)
	◡◡◡‒◡	Reduction	V_2	Very rare	Very rare (Restrictions 1, 7)

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Constituent feet of *al-munsariḥ* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
Non-final (cont.) 2, 5	‒‒◡‒	None	S	Common	Common
	◡‒◡‒	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common

Remarks

1. The standard form of *al-munsariḥ* is non-existent; the two submeters are used instead (see defusing application d in section 3.3.1).

2. The second submeter of *al-munsariḥ* was not reported by al-Kʰalīl, probably because it was extremely rare in ancient Arabic poetry. The later poets popularized this variety, although the first submeter remained dominant.

3. The hemistich-initial foot (‒‒◡‒‒) results from the non-canonical addition of a long syllable to the form ‒◡‒‒. The deviance of non-canonical addition is outweighed in this instance by the resultant pattern congruency; indeed, such congruency is so essential that ‒‒◡‒‒ has assumed the status of a standard foot (see item 2 under "Justification" in section 3.3.3).

4. To maximize contrast with *al-ramal,* the seventh syllable in each hemistich is never shortened.

4.2.11. The meter *al-madīd*

The standard form

‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒◡‒‒ 　　 ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒◡‒‒

Submeters

1. ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ◡◡‒ 　　 ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ◡◡‒

2. ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ◡◡‒ 　　 ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒‒

3. ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒◡‒ 　　 ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒‒

4. ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒◡‒ 　　 ‒◡‒‒ ‒◡‒ ‒◡‒

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Arab prosodists report two other submeters:[8]

$$\text{—}\smile\text{——}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{—}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{——}\qquad\text{—}\smile\text{——}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{—}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{—}$$

$$\text{—}\smile\text{——}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{—}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{——}\qquad\text{—}\smile\text{——}\quad\text{—}\smile\text{—}\quad\smile\smile\text{—}$$
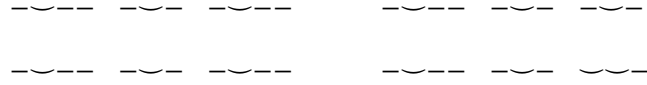
These two submeters are nowhere attested in the available data,[9] and we therefore prefer to exclude them from the present study. It is possible, of course, that they were employed in a few odes which have been lost; if so, they should be ranked as the least frequent variants of *al-madīd.*

Constituent feet of *al-madīd*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor- mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich- final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ* [10]	—$\smile$——	None	S	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon
	$\smile\smile$——	Reduction	V_1	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon
	—$\smile$—$\smile$	Reduction	V_1	Almost non-existent; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Almost non-existent (Restriction 8); conditional (Restriction 7)
	$\smile\smile$—$\smile$	Reduction	V_2	Ditto	Ditto
	$\smile\smile$—	Reduction & deletion	Sb # 1, 2 (V_2)	Common	Common
	—$\smile$—	Deletion	Sb # 3, 4 (V_1)	Virtually non-existent	Uncommon
2. *al-ḍarb*[11]	—$\smile$——	None	S	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon
	$\smile\smile$——	Reduction	(V_1)	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon
	$\smile\smile$—	Deletion & reduction	Sb # 1 (V_2)	Common	Common
	——	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V_2)	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon
	——	Deletion	Sb # 3 (V_2)	Very un-common	Very un-common
	—$\smile$—	Deletion	Sb # 4 (V_1)	Virtually non-existent	Virtually non-existent

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Constituent feet of *al-madīd* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
B. Non-final 1, 4	—◡——	None	S	Common	Common
	◡◡——	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional in slot # 4 (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional in slot # 4 (Restriction 7)
	—◡—◡	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	◡◡—◡	Reduction	V₂	Ditto	Ditto
2, 5	—◡—	None	S	Common	Common
	◡◡—	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)

Remark

In descending order of frequency, the forms of *al-madīd* are as follows: the first submeter, the standard, the second submeter, the third submeter, the fouth submeter.

4.2.12. The meter *al-mutadārak*

The standard form

—◡— —◡— —◡— —◡—   —◡— —◡— —◡— —◡—

Submeters

1. —◡— —◡— —◡— —◡—   —◡— —◡— —◡— ◡◡—

2. —◡— —◡— —◡— —◡—   —◡— —◡— —◡— ——

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Constituent feet of *al-mutadārak*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor- mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich- final					
1. *al-ᶜarūḍ*	—◡—	None	S; Sb # 1, 2	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	◡◡—	Reduction	V₁	Very common	Very common (Rem. 3)
	——	Deletion	V₁	Common	Common (as a result of contamination; see section 3.3.3 and Rem. 3)
2. *al-ḍarb*	—◡—	None	S	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	◡◡—	Reduction	Sb # 1 (V₁)	Very common	Very common (Rem. 3)
	——	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V₁)	Common	Common (as a result of contamination; see section 3.3.3 and Rem. 3)
B. Non-final 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7	—◡—	None	S	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	◡◡—	Reduction	V₁	Very common	Very common (Rem. 3)
	——	Deletion	V₁	Common	Common (as a result of contamination; see section 3.3.3 and Rem. 3)

Remarks

1. The meter *al-mutadārak* is rare in ancient as well as modern Arabic poetry.

2. In section 3.3.3, it was pointed out that *al-mutadārak* is anomalous in five respects and that al-Kʰalīl probably rejected the meter due to such anomaly; in the same section, this writer indulged in some conjecture regarding the cause of the anomaly.

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3. The standard form of *al-mutadārak* is virtually non-existent (see defusing application g in section 3.3.1), and submeter 1 is more common than submeter 2. Respectively, the most common strings of submeter 1 and submeter 2 are as follows:

(i) ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–   ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–

(ii) –– –– –– ––   –– –– –– ––

String (i), the most common variety of *al-mutadārak,* eliminates the five anomalous features discussed in section 3.3.3 and, in addition, promotes contrast with *al-madīd* (see defusing application g in section 3.3.1).

The existence of string (i) side by side with the somewhat less common string (ii) apparently represents the gradual emergence of a defusing application to counteract a process of contamination. As mentioned above, the meter *al-mutadārak* has been used scarcely throughout the history of Arabic poetry; had the meter for some reason attained more popularity, the defusing application would no doubt have become more firmly established.

4.2.13. **The *additional* meter**

The standard form

–⏑–– –⏑–– –⏑––   –⏑–– –⏑–– –⏑––

Constituent feet of the *additional* meter

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ᶜarūḍ*	–⏑––	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑⏑––	Reduction	V$_1$	Common; conditional (*muᶜāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	–⏑–⏑	Reduction	V$_1$	Almost non-existent; conditional (*muᶜāqaba*)	Almost non-existent (Restriction 8); Conditional (Restriction 7)
	⏑⏑–⏑	Reduction	V$_2$	Ditto	Ditto

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Constituent feet of the *additional* meter (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
2. *al-ḍarb*	—◡——	None	S	Common	Common
	◡◡——	Reduction	V_1	Common; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
B. Non-final 1, 2, 4, 5	—◡——	None	S	Common	Common
	◡◡——	Reduction	V_1	Common; conditional in slots 2, 4, & 5 (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional in slots 2, 4, & 5 (Restriction 7)
	—◡—◡	Reduction	V_1	Rare; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Rare; conditional (Restriction 7)
	◡◡—◡	Reduction	V_2	Very rare; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Very rare (Restriction 1); conditional (Restriction 7)

Remarks

1. The *additional* meter is extremely rare; its scarcity is attributable to the following facts:

(a) The *additional* meter is minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from *al-madīd* (fāʿilātun fāʿilun fāʿilātun).

(b) The *additional* meter is minimally, rather than clearly, distinct from *al-ramal* (the standard form of *al-ramal* is fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilun, and its *ḍarb* is sometimes varied by fāʿilātun).

2. The hemistich-final feet never assume the form —◡— lest the *additional* meter should merge into the standard form of *al-ramal* (fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilun).

4.2.14. The meter *majzūʾ al-kāmil*

The standard form

ʊ—◡— ʊ—◡—   ʊ—◡— ʊ—◡—

Submeter

ʊ—◡— ʊ—◡—   ʊ—◡— ʊ—◡——

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Constituent feet of *majzūʾ al-kāmil*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	ꞷ–‿–	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	––‿–	Synthesis	V_1	Common	Common (Rem. 4)
	–‿‿–	Synthesis & reduction	V_2	Rare, "distasteful"	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 1)
2. *al-ḍarb*	ꞷ–‿–	None	S	Common	Common
	––‿–	Synthesis	V_1	Common	Common (Rem. 4)
	–‿‿–	Synthesis & reduction	V_2	Rare, "distasteful"	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 1)
	ꞷ–‿––	Addition	Sb (V_1)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i, section 3.3.4)
	––‿––	Synthesis & addition	V_2	Rare	Rare (Restrictions 1, 2i; section 3.3.4)
	‿–‿––	Reduction & addition	V_2	Rare	Ditto
	–‿‿––	Synthesis, reduction, & addition	V_2	Very rare	Very rare (Restrictions 1, 2i; section 3.3.4)
B. Non-final 1, 3	ꞷ–‿–	None	S	Common	Common
	––‿–	Synthesis	V_1	Common	Common (Rem. 4)
	–‿‿–	Synthesis & reduction	V_2	Rare, "distasteful"	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 1)
	‿–‿–	Reduction	V_1	Rare, "distasteful"	Relatively uncommon (Remarks 3, 4)

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Remarks

1. The standard form of *majzūʾ al-kāmil* is more common than the submeter.

2. The *ḍarb*-medial ◡ of *majzūʾ al-kāmil* rejects deletion; such deletion can render the *ʿajuz* perceptually identical to a variant of *al-mujtatʰtʰ:*

$$--◡-\quad ω-◡-\ \Rightarrow\ --◡-\quad ω-- \qquad (\textit{ʿajuz of majzūʾ al-kāmil})$$

$$--◡-\quad -◡--\ \Rightarrow\ --◡-\quad ◡◡-- \qquad (\textit{al-mujtatʰtʰ})$$

3. In both hemistichs of *majzūʾ al-kāmil,* the final foot rejects the form ◡−◡−. But for this restriction, the hemistichs in question could merge into a variant of *majzūʾ al-rajaz:*

$$ω-◡-\quad ω-◡-\ \Rightarrow\ ◡-◡-\quad ◡-◡- \qquad (\textit{majzūʾ al-kāmil})$$

$$--◡-\quad --◡-\ \Rightarrow\ ◡-◡-\quad ◡-◡- \qquad (\textit{majzūʾ al-rajaz})$$

Because the non-final feet of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* often assume the form ◡−◡−, the corresponding feet of *majzūʾ al-kāmil* rarely assume that form.

4. The form −−◡− is the most common variant of ω−◡− since the former is related to the latter by optimum type assonance.

4.2.15. The meter *majzūʾ al-rajaz*

The standard form

$$--◡-\ \ --◡-\qquad\qquad --◡-\ \ --◡-$$

Submeter

$$--◡-\ \ --◡-\qquad\qquad --◡-\ \ ---$$

Constituent feet of *majzūʾ al-rajaz*

Slots	Fillers	Transformations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	−−◡−	None	S; Sb	Very common	Very common
	◡−◡−	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	−◡◡−	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	◡◡◡−	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)

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Constituent feet of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
2. *al-ḍarb*	— — ‿ —	None	S	Very common	Very common
	‿ — ‿ —	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	— ‿ ‿ —	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	‿ ‿ ‿ —	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)
	— — —	Deletion	Sb (V_1)	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Restriction 2i)
	‿ — —	Reduction & deletion	V_2	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Restrictions 1, 2i)
B. Non-final 1, 3	— — ‿ —	None	S	Very common	Very common
	‿ — ‿ —	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	— ‿ ‿ —	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	‿ ‿ ‿ —	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)

Remarks

1. The meter *majzūʾ al-rajaz* was used extensively by ancient Arab poets in folk literature. The language employed was often a colloquial dialect rather than the standard variety. In determining the relative frequency of meters, the present study excludes colloquial poems from the count.[12]

2. The meter *majzūʾ al-rajaz* is less common than *al-rajaz*. The standard form of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* is more common than the submeter.

3. A line of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* may be undivided, equating to a single hemistich. This variety is known as the *manhūk*.

4. An ode may be multi-rhymed, the second hemistich of each line rhyming with the first; in this case, the catalectic and the acatalectic varieties of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* may co-occur. Such flexibility encouraged the later Islamic poets to use *majzūʾ al-rajaz* for scientific and pedagogical treatises.

Due to internal rhyme, each line is viewed as a somewhat independent entity: it is bound to employ a form of *majzū³ al-rajaz* but not a specific one, and (like a *maṭlaʿ*) its *ʿarūḍ* must be identical to its *ḍarb*.

5. The very frequent occurrence of the variant ⏑–⏑– in all positions of *majzū³ al-rajaz* differentiates the meter from *majzū³ al-kāmil, majzū³ al-wāfir,* and *al-hazaj* (where ⏑–⏑– is non-existent in hemistich-final position and rare in other positions).

4.2.16. The meter *al-hazaj*

The standard form

<div align="center">⏑–––   ⏑–––   ⏑–––   ⏑–––</div>

Submeter

<div align="center">⏑–––   ⏑–––   ⏑–––   ⏑––</div>

Constituent feet of *al-hazaj*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	⏑–––	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	⏑––⏑	Reduction	V_1	Common[13]	Common[14] (Rem. 4)
2. *al-ḍarb*	⏑–––	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑––	Deletion	Sb (V_1)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i)
B. Non-final 1, 3	⏑–––	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑––⏑	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	⏑–⏑–	Reduction	V_1	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Rem. 3)
	–––	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V_4	Very rare, "distasteful"	Very rare (section 3.3.4)
	––⏑	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & reduction	V_4	Very rare, "distasteful"	Very rare (Restriction 1, section 3.3.4)
	–⏑–	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & reduction	V_4	Very rare, "distasteful"	Very rare (Restriction 1, section 3.3.4)

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Remarks

1. With ancient Arab poets, the meter *al-hazaj* was relatively unpopular.

2. The standard form of *al-hazaj* is far more common than the submeter.

3. In both hemistichs of *al-hazaj*, the final foot rejects the form ⏑−⏑−; but for this restriction, the hemistichs in question could merge into a variant *of majzūʾ al-rajaz:*

⏑−−−   ⏑−−− ⇒ ⏑−⏑−   ⏑−⏑−   *(al-hazaj)*

−−⏑−   −−⏑− ⇒ ⏑−⏑−   ⏑−⏑−   *(majzūʾ al-rajaz)*

Because the non-final feet of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* often assume the form ⏑−⏑−, the corresponding feet in *al-hazaj* rarely assume that form.

4. The *ʿarūḍ* usually assumes the form ⏑−−⏑; this transformation serves two purposes (see defusing application c in section 3.3.1):

(a) It reduces to a negligible probability the option of deleting the *ʿarūḍ*'s initial ⏑ (type assonance between −−⏑ and ⏑−−− is extremely low), which practically eliminates the possibility of generating a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables.

(b) It differentiates *al-hazaj* from the variant of *majzūʾ al-wāfir* where every � is replaced by − (in *majzūʾ al-wāfir,* the *ʿarūḍ* never assumes the form ⏑−−⏑).

5. When discussing *al-hazaj,* al-Rāḍī reports no *ʿajuz*-initial instances of *al-kʰarm* (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 191); elsewhere, however, al-Rāḍī cites examples which show that, in general, *al-kʰarm* applies to *both* hemistichs of the line (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,* pp. 63 – 67).

4.2.17. The meter *majzūʾal-wāfir*

The standard form

⏑−⏑⏑−   ⏑−⏑⏑−   ⏑−⏑⏑−   ⏑−⏑⏑−

Submeter

⏑−⏑⏑−   ⏑−⏑⏑−   ⏑−⏑⏑−   ⏑−−−

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Constituent feet of *majzūʾal-wāfir*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	⏑–ω–	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	⏑–––	Synthesis	V₁	Common	Common
2. *al-ḍarb*	⏑–ω–	None	S	Common	Common
	*⏑–––	Synthesis	V₁	Non-existent	Common (Remarks 5, 6)
	<⏑–––>	Synthesis	Sb (V₁)	Common	(Rem. 6)
B. Non-final 1	⏑–ω–	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑–––	Synthesis	V₁	Common, "pleasant"	Common (Rem. 5)
	⏑–––⏑	Synthesis & reduction	V₂	Relatively uncommon	Relatively uncommon (Rem. 3)
	⏑–⏑–	Reduction	V₁	Uncommon	Uncommon (Remarks 2, 5)
	–ω–	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V₄	Rare	Rare (section 3.3.4)
	–––	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & synthesis	V₄	Rare	Rare (section 3.3.4, Restriction 1)
	––⏑	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*), synthesis, & reduction	V₄	Rare	Rare (section 3.3.4, Restriction 1)
	–⏑–	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & reduction	V₄	Rare	Rare (section 3.3.4, Restriction 1)

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Constituent feet of *majzūʾ al-wāfir* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transformations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
Non-final (cont.)					
3	⌣−ω−	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣−−−	Synthesis	V₁	Common "pleasant"	Common (Rem. 5)
	⌣−−⌣	Synthesis & reduction	V₂	Uncommon	Uncommon (Rem. 3)
	⌣−⌣−	Reduction	V₁	Uncommon	Uncommon (Remarks 2, 5)

Remarks

1. The meter *majzūʾ al-wāfir* is less common than *al-wāfir* (see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, p. 363).

2. In both hemistichs of *majzūʾ al-wāfir,* the final foot rejects the form ⌣−⌣−. But for this restriction, the hemistichs in question could merge into a variant of *majzūʾ al-rajaz*:

⌣−ω− ⌣−ω− ⇒ ⌣−⌣− ⌣−⌣− (*majzūʾ al-wāfir*)

−−⌣− −−⌣− ⇒ ⌣−⌣− ⌣−⌣− (*majzūʾ al-rajaz*)

Because the non-final feet of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* often assume the form ⌣−⌣−, the corresponding feet in *majzūʾ al-wāfir* rarely assume that form.

3. The *ʿarūḍ* of *majzūʾ al-wāfir* never changes to ⌣−−⌣; this restriction differentiates *al-hazaj* (whose *ʿarūḍ* is usually ⌣−−⌣) from the variant of *majzūʾ al-wāfir* where every ω is replaced by − (see defusing application c in section 3.3.1). The non-final feet of *al-hazaj* often assume the form ⌣−−⌣; for this reason, the corresponding feet in *majzūʾ al-wāfir* rarely assume that form.

4. The non-canonical transformation *al-kʰarm* is blocked at the beginning of the second hemistich to avert a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables.

5. ⌣−−− is the most common variant of ⌣−ω− since the former is related to the latter by optimum type assonance.

6. The structural contrast between the standard string and the submeter indicates that the line-final forms ⌣−ω− and ⌣−−− do not co-occur in the same poem (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's

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Sᴴarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kᴴalīl, pp. 146 -154; also see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vo. II, p. 363). Our rules do not account for this empirical observation.

4.2.18. The meter *majzūˀal-basīṭ*

The standard form

⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏤⏑⏤   ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏤⏑⏤

Submeters

1. ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏑⏤⏤   ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏑⏤⏤

2. ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏑⏤⏤   ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏤⏤

3. ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏤⏑⏤   ⏤⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏑⏤ ⏤⏤⏤

Constituent feet of *majzūˀal-basīṭ*

Slots	Fillers	Transformations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʕarūḍ*	⏤⏤⏑⏤	None	S; Sb # 3	Common	Common
	⏑⏤⏑⏤	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable"	Common
	⏤⏑⏤	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable but somewhat distasteful"	Common
	⏑⏤⏤	Deletion & reduction	Sb # 1, 2 (V_2)	Very common	Very common[15]
2. *al-ḍarb*	⏤⏤⏑⏤	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑⏤⏑⏤	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable but somewhat distasteful"	Common
	⏤⏑⏤	Reduction	V_1	Ditto	Ditto
	⏑⏤⏑⏤	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"[16]	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)
	⏑⏤⏤	Deletion & reduction	Sb # 1 (V_2)	Very common	Very common[17]

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Constituent feet of *majzū° al-basīṭ* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
al-ḍarb (cont.)	— — —	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V_1)	Common	Common[18]
	⏑ — —	Deletion & reduction	V_2	ditto	ditto
	— — —	Deletion	Sb # 3 (V_1)	Rare	Rare (Restriction 6)
	⏑ — —	Deletion & reduction	V_2	More common than — — —	More common than — — — (Rem. 4)
B. Non-final 1, 4	— — ⏑ —	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑ — ⏑ —	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable"	Common
	— ⏑ ⏑ —	Reduction	V_1	Common, "acceptable but somewhat distasteful"	Common
	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —	Reduction	V_2	Rare, "ugly"	Rare (Restrictions 1, 7)
2, 5	— ⏑ —	None	S	Common	Common
	⏑ ⏑ —	Reduction	V_1	Common, "pleasant, nice"	Common

Remarks

1. The meter *majzū° al-basīṭ* is relatively uncommon in ancient Arabic poetry. In descending order of frequency, its forms are: the first submeter, the standard, the second submeter, the third submeter.

2. To avert the occurrence of a non-metrical sequence of long syllables, the catalectic *°arūḍ* rejects the form — — —; instead, the catalectic *°arūḍ* assumes the form ⏑ — — (see neutralizing application a in section 3.3.1).

3. On account of its *ḍarb,* the second submeter is less common than the first: the occurrence of the form — — — in the *ḍarb* position results in a sequence of four long syllables; such a sequence is undesirable in Arabic poetry (see Restriction 6 in section 3.3.1).

4. To avert a sequence of four long syllables, — — — is frequently replaced by ⏑ — — in the *ḍarb* position of the third submeter.

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4.2.19. The meter *majzūʾ al-kʰafīf*

The standard form

$$\_\smile\_\_ \quad \_\_\smile\_ \qquad \_\smile\_\_ \quad \_\_\smile\_$$

Submeter

$$\_\smile\_\_ \quad \_\_\smile\_ \qquad \_\smile\_\_ \quad \smile\_\_$$

Constituent feet of *majzūʾ al-kʰafīf*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	$\_\_\smile\_$	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	$\smile\_\smile\_$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$\_\_\smile\smile$	Non-canonical reduction	V_4	Almost non-existent; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Almost non-existent (Restriction 8, section 3.3.4); conditional (Restriction 7)
	$\smile\_\smile\smile$	Canonical & non-canonical reduction	V_4	Ditto	Ditto
2. *al-ḍarb*	$\_\_\smile\_$	None	S	Common	Common
	$\smile\_\smile\_$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common
	$\smile\_\_$	Reduction & deletion	Sb (V_2)	Rare	Rare (Restric-tions 1, 2i)
B. Non-final 1, 3	$\_\smile\_\_$	None	S	Common	Common
	$\smile\smile\_\_$	Reduction	V_1	Common	Common

Remarks

1. The standard form of *majuzūʾ al-kʰafīf* is more common than the submeter.

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2. For the catalectic *ḍarb* (of the submeter), ⌣−− is used rather than −−− to avert a non-metrical sequence of long syllables (see neutralizing application a in section 3.3.1).

3. The second syllable of −−⌣− rejects reduction to maximize contrast with *majzū² al-ramal.*

4. The final syllable of −⌣−− almost invariably rejects reduction, thus ruling out the following variant string: ⌣⌣−⌣⌣−−⌣−; notice that the string in question can confuse the hemistich-initial foot (at least momentarily) with ω−⌣−.

<h3 style="text-align:center">4.2.20. The meter majzū²al-ramal</h3>

The standard form

$$−⌣−− \quad −⌣−− \qquad −⌣−− \quad −⌣−−$$

 Submeter

$$−⌣−− \quad −⌣−− \qquad −⌣−− \quad −⌣−$$

Constituent feet of *majzū²al-ramal*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʕarūḍ*	−⌣−−	None	S; Sb	Common	Common
	⌣⌣−−	Reduction	V_1	Common; conditional (*muʕāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	−⌣−⌣	Reduction	V_1	Almost non-existent; conditional (*muʕāqaba*)	Almost non-existent (Restriction 8); conditional (Restriction 7)
	⌣⌣−⌣	Reduction	V_2	Ditto	Ditto
2. *a-ḍarb*	−⌣−−	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣⌣−−	Reduction	V_1	Common; conditional (*muʕāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	−⌣−	Deletion	Sb (V_1)	Very rare	Rare (Restriction 2i)
	⌣⌣−	Reduction & deletion	V_2	Very rare; conditional (*muʕāqaba*)	Very rare (Restrictions 1, 2i); conditional (Restriction 7)

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Constituent feet of *majzūʾ al-ramal* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
B. Non-final 1, 3					
	—◡——	None	S	Common	Common
	◡◡——	Reduction	V₁	Common; conditional in slot # 3 (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional in slot # 3 (Restriction 7)
	—◡—◡	Reduction	V₁	Rare; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Rare; conditional (Restriction 7)
	◡◡—◡	Reduction	V₂	Very rare; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Very rare (Restriction 1); conditional (Restriction 7)

Remarks

1. The meter *majzūʾ al-ramal* is a favorite choice for themes of love, wine, and nature.

2. The submeter was extremely rare in ancient Arabic poetry; in later times, it gained more popularity but remained far less common than the standard form (see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl,* p. 212; also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr,* pp. 124 -126).

3. In the submeter's line-final position, ◡◡— co-occurs with —◡—; such atypical co-occurrence helps to distinguish the submeter in question from the standard form of *majzūʾ al-khafīf* and the favored form of *al-muqtaḍab* (see "Suspension of the ʿilla status" in section 3.3.1).

4.2.21. The meter *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*

The standard form

$$◡—— \quad ◡—— \quad ◡—— \qquad ◡—— \quad ◡—— \quad ◡——$$

Submeters

$$1. \; ◡—— \quad ◡—— \quad ◡— \qquad ◡—— \quad ◡—— \quad ◡—$$

$$2. \; ◡—— \quad ◡—— \quad ◡— \qquad ◡—— \quad ◡—— \quad —$$

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Constituent feet of *majzū² al-mutaqārib*

Slots	Fillers	Transformations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	⌣——	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent (Rem. 2)
	⌣—	Deletion	Sb # 1, 2 (V₁)	Common	Common[19]
2. *al-ḍarb*	⌣——	None	S	Non-existent	Non-existent (Rem. 2)
	⌣—	Deletion	Sb # 1 (V₁)	Common	Common (Rem. 2)
	—	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V₂)	Very rare	Very rare (Restrictions 1, 2i; Rem. 4)
B. Non-final 2, 5	⌣——	None	S	Obligatory	Obligatory (Rem. 3; also see Rem. 4 in section 4.2.23)
1, 4	⌣——	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣—⌣	Reduction	V₁	Common, "pleasant"	Common
	——	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*)	V₄	Very rare	Very rare (section 3.3.4)
	—⌣	Deletion (*al-kʰarm*) & reduction	V₄	Ditto	Ditto

Remarks

1. Th meter *majzū² al-mutaqārib* is relatively rare in ancient Arabic poetry.

2. The standard form of *majzū² al-mutaqārib* does not occur: its *ḍarb* is rejected, in favor of ⌣—, to avoid confusion with *al-mujtatʰtʰ* (——⌣— —⌣——); for the same reason, and for the reasons explained in section 3.3.1 (under defusing application e), its *ʿarūḍ* is rejected in favor of ⌣—. It should be pointed out that the string —— ⌣—— ⌣—— (generated by *al-kʰarm* from the standard form of *majzū² al-mutaqārib*) is especially susceptible to confusion with *al-mujtatʰtʰ*.

Of the two submeters, the first is the more common string.

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3. The penultimate syllable in the *ᶜajuz* of submeter 2 rejects reduction (see the first four paragraphs under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1).

4. The extreme scarcity of submeter 2 is due in part to violation of the general injunction against deleting an initial short syllable from a hemistich-final foot.

5. According to al-Kʰalīl, the meter *al-muḍāriᶜ* comprises the following strings:

$$\smile - - \smile \quad - \smile - -$$

$$\smile - \smile - \quad - \smile - -$$

$$- - \smile \quad - \smile - -$$

$$- \smile - \quad - \smile - -$$
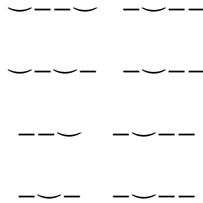
It is possible that, in ancient times, *al-muḍāriᶜ* occurred as a variant of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib* where the hemistich-final foot retains its standard form and where deletion of a constituent from the hemistich-*medial* foot reduces the possibility of confusion with *al-mujtatʰtʰ* (the constituent to be deleted is apparently determined by an attempt to avoid the occurrence of four long syllables in a row). If correct, this assumption would explain the extreme scarcity of *al-muḍāriᶜ:* deleting a syllable from a hemistich-*medial* foot is a non-canonical transformation.

6. The assumption that *al-muḍāriᶜ* was originally a variant of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib* raises an interesting question: Did *al-muḍāriᶜ* co-occur, in ancient odes, with entirely canonical variants of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*? Restricted as they are to isolated lines, the examples cited by Arab prosodists shed no light on this question (see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiᶜr,* p. 55; also see al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ᶜArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī,* p. 163).

4.2.22. The meter *majzūʾ al-mutadārak*

The standard form

$$- \smile - \ - \smile - \ - \smile - \qquad - \smile - \ - \smile - \ - \smile -$$

Submeters

1. $- \smile - \ - \smile - \ - \smile - \qquad - \smile - \ - \smile - \ \smile \smile -$

2. $- \smile - \ - \smile - \ - \smile - \qquad - \smile - \ - \smile - \ - -$

3. $- \smile - \ - \smile - \ - \smile - \qquad - \smile - \ - \smile - \ \smile \smile - -$

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Constituent feet of *majzūʾal-mutadārak*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	—⌣—	None	S; Sb # 1, 2, 3	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	⌣⌣—	Reduction	V₁	Very common	Very common (Rem. 3)
	——	Deletion	V₁	Common	Common (as a result of contamination. See section 3.3.3 and Rem. 3)
2. *al-ḍarb*	—⌣—	None	S	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	⌣⌣—	Reduction	Sb # 1 (V₁)	Very common	Very common (Rem. 3)
	——	Deletion	Sb # 2 (V₁)	Common	Common (as a result of contamination. See section 3.3.3 and Rem. 3)
	⌣⌣——	Reduction & addition	Sb # 3 (V₂)	Rare	Rare (Restrictions 1, 2i)
Non-final 1, 2, 4, 5	—⌣—	None	S	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Rem. 3)
	⌣⌣—	Reduction	V₁	Very common	Very common (Rem. 3)
	——	Deletion	V₁	Common	Common (as a result of contamination. See section 3.3.3 and Rem 3)

Remarks

1. The meter *majzūʾ al-mutadārak* is rare in ancient as well as modern Arabic poetry.

2. Like *al-mutadārak, majzūʾ al-mutadārak* is anomalous in five respects; al-Kʰalīl probably rejected the meter on account of such anomaly.

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3. The standard form of *majzūʾ al-mutadārak* is almost non-existent (see defusing application g in section 3.3.1); of the submeters, the first is the most common and the third is the least common. Respectively, the most common strings of submeter 1 and submeter 2 are as follows:

(i)   ⌣⌣– ⌣⌣– ⌣⌣–   ⌣⌣– ⌣⌣– ⌣⌣–

(ii) ––   ––   ––   ––   ––   ––

String (i), the most common variety of *majzūʾ al-mutadārak,* eliminates the five anomalous features discussed in section 3.3.3 and, in addition, promotes contrast with *al-madīd* (see defusing application g in section 3.3.1).

The existence of string (i) side by side with the somewhat less common string (ii) apparently represents the gradual emergence of a defusing application to counteract a process of contamination. As mentioned above, *majzūʾ al-mutadārak* has been used very scarcely throughout the history of Arabic poetry; had the meter for some reason gained more popularity, the defusing application would no doubt have become more firmly established.

4.2.23. **The meter *al-mujtatʰtʰ***

The standard from

        ––⌣– –⌣––   ––⌣– –⌣––

Constituent feet of *al-mujtatʰtʰ*

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
A. Hemistich-final					
1. *al-ʿarūḍ*	–⌣––	None	S	Common	Common
	⌣⌣––	Reduction	V_1	Common; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	–⌣–⌣	Reduction	V_1	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent (Restriction 8)
	⌣⌣–⌣	Reduction	V_2	Almost non-existent; conditional (*muʿāqaba*)	Almost non-existent (Restrictions 1, 8); conditional (Restriction 7)

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Constituent feet of *al-mujtat^{h}t^h* (cont.)

Slots	Fillers	Transfor-mations	Filler Types	Reported Frequency	Predicted Frequency
2. *al-ḍarb*	—⏝——	None	S	Common	Common
	⏝⏝——	Reduction	V$_1$	Common; conditional (*muˤāqaba*)	Common; conditional (Restriction 7)
	———	Deletion	V$_1$	Rare	Rare (Restriction 2i; also, violates number assonance)
B. Non-final 1, 3	——⏝—	None	S	Common	Common
	⏝—⏝—	Reduction	V$_1$	Common	Common
	——⏝⏝	Non-canonical reduction	V$_4$	Very rare; conditional (*muˤāqaba*)	Very rare (section 3.3.4); conditional (Restriction 7)
	⏝—⏝⏝	Canonical & non-canonical reduction	V$_4$	Very rare; conditional (*muˤāqaba*)	Very rare (section 3.3.4); conditional (Restriction 7)

Remarks

1. The available corpus lends no support to the claim that *al-mujtat^{h}t^h* was used in ancient times. During the Abbasid period, the meter gained a measure of popularity; in modern times it has become even more popular (See ˤAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *S^{h}arḥ Tuḥfat al-K^{h}alīl,* pp. 281, 282; also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-S^{h}iˤr,* p. 115).

2. The second syllable of ——⏝— rejects reduction to maximize contrast with *majzūʾ al-ramal*.

3. The acatalectic *ḍarb* may co-occur with the form ———. Though rare, such co-occurrence helps to differentiate *al-mujtat^{h}t^h* from *majzūʾ al-rajaz* and *majzūʾ al-ramal* (see "Suspension of the *ˤilla* status" in section 3.3.1).

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4. According to al-Kʰalīl, *al-muqtaḍab* comprises the following two sequences:

$$- \smile - \smile \quad - \smile \smile -$$

$$\smile - - \smile \quad - \smile \smile -$$

Of these, the second is less common than the first (see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, p. 366). The present writer believes that *al-muqtaḍab* was, in ancient Arabic poetry, a catalectic variant of *al-mujtatʰtʰ* whose derivation involved *al-kʰazm;* if so, *al-muqtaḍab* should be segmented as follows:

(a) $- \smile - \smile - \quad \smile \smile -$

(b) $\smile - - \smile - \quad \smile \smile -$

To generate string (a), the standard form of *al-mujtatʰtʰ* must undergo four transformations: *al-kʰazm,* shortening the initial syllable of the first foot, shortening the initial syllable of the second foot, and deleting the final syllable of the second foot; three of these transformations are involved in generating string (b). The transformations in question promote contrast with the following variants (which constitute submeter 1 of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*):

(c) $(\smile) - - \quad \smile - - \quad \smile -$

(d) $(\smile) - \smile \quad \smile - - \quad \smile -$

It is significant that the medial foot in (c) and (d) never changes to $\smile - \smile$. Also significant is the fact that the string $- - \smile - \quad - \smile -$ does not constitute a variant of *al-mujtatʰtʰ:* its similarity to string (c) is obvious.

5. The derivation postulated in Remark 4 (above) would explain the extreme scarcity of *al-muqtaḍab: al-kʰazm* is a non-canonical, and for this reason a very rare, transformation.

6. The assumption that *al-muqtaḍab* was originally a variant of *al-mujtatʰtʰ* raises an interesting question: Did *al-muqtaḍab* co-occur, in ancient odes, with entirely canonical variants of *al-mujtatʰtʰ?* Restricted as they are to isolated lines, the examples cited by Arab prosodists shed no light on this question (see al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī,* p. 168; ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr,* p. 55; and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 272, 273).

ATYPICAL BEHAVIOR OF A SYLLABLE TYPE

IN LINE-FINAL POSITION

According to the ancient Arab prosodists, on rare occasions the line-final syllable may be replaced by a variant of longer durational value in the standard forms of the following meters: *al-ramal, al-sarīˤ, majzūʾ al-kāmil, majzūʾ al-basīṭ, majzūʾ al-ramal*, and *majzūʾ al-mutadārak.* Also according to the ancient Arab prosodists, on rare occasions the line-final syllable may be replaced by a variant of longer durational value in the *masʰṭūr* of *al-sarīˤ* (mustafˤilun mustafˤilun mafˤūlun), the *manhūk* of *al-munsariḥ* (mustafˤilun mafˤūlun), and the following *bayt* of the meter *al-madīd*: fāˤilātun fāˤilun fāˤilun   fāˤilātun fāˤilun fāˤilun. Respectively, the optional replacement under discussion is as follows: fāˤilun ⇒ fāˤilān; fāˤilun ⇒ fāˤilān; mutafāˤilun ⇒ mutafāˤilān; mustafˤilun ⇒ mustafˤilān; fāˤilātun ⇒ fāˤilātān; fāˤilun ⇒ fāˤilān; mafˤūlun ⇒ mafˤūlān; mafˤūlun ⇒ mafˤūlān; fāˤilun ⇒ fāˤilān.[20] Clearly, then, the additional length amounts to a *sākin*. The strings identified by the ancient Arab prosodists as *masʰṭūr al-sarīˤ* and *manhūk al-munsariḥ* are seen in this study as forms of *al-rajaz* and *majzūʾ al-rajaz* respectively; for this reason, and because they consist of undivided lines, we have opted to classify the former as *masʰṭūr al-rajaz* and the latter as *manhūk al-rajaz*.[21]

The longer variant acquires the status of a *ˤilla* in the sense that it occurs at the end of the line throughout the poem. This state of affairs is attributable to the requirements of rhyme rather than the nature of rhythm.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiˤr,* pp. 59 – 139. In regard to the relative rate of occurrence, ʾAnīs divides the meters of ancient Arabic poetry into four categories of which the first is the most frequent, the fourth is the least frequent, and the second is more frequent than the third (see the sections which start on pages 59, 63, 82, and 106 of ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiˤr*). He chooses to treat *al-rajaz* separately without *explicitly* indicating its relative frequency; however, the discussion he presents on pp. 59 – 139 of *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiˤr* implies that *al-rajaz* should be placed at the beginning of the third category; thus the third category would consist of seven items in the following descending order of frequency: *al-rajaz, al-ramal, al-mutaqārib, al-sarīˤ, al-munsariḥ, al-madīd, al-mutadārak.* It is relevant in this context to observe that *al-rajaz* is more frequent than *al-ramal* in ʾAbū al-Faraj al-ʾIṣbahānī's book *al-ʾAgʰānī*; it is more frequent than *al-mutaqārib* in al-Farazdaq's poetry and the poetry of ʾAbū Nuwās; it is more frequent than *al-sarīˤ* in the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr, and Mihyār al-Daylamī (see pp. 191, 193, 196, and 197 of ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiˤr*). ʾAnīs does not take into consideration the fact that *al-rajaz* was used extensively in ancient times to compose colloquial Arabic odes, otherwise he might have included *al-rajaz* in the second, or even in the first, category.

ʾAnīs' first category (by far the most frequent) consists of a single item: namely, *al-ṭawīl*; his second category consists of four items in the following descending order of frequency: *al-kāmil, al-basīṭ, al-wāfir, al-kʰafīf*; his fourth category consists of nine items in the following descending order of frequency: *majzūʾ al-ramal, majzūʾ al-kāmil, al-hazaj* and *majzūʾ al-wāfir, al-mujtatʰtʰ, majzūʾ al-basīṭ* and *mukʰallaˤ al-basīṭ, majzūʾ al-kʰafīf, majzūʾ al-ramal.*

[2] A somewhat different frequency list is reported in Golston and Riad's article "The Phonology of Classical Arabic Meter" (p. 11). There the meters are listed in descending order of occurrence as follows: *al-ṭawīl* (50.41%), *al-kāmil* (17.53%), *al-wāfir* (13.74%), *al-basīṭ* (11.03%), *al-rajaz/al-sarīᶜ* (2.92%), *al-mutaqārib* (2.35%), *al-kʰafīf* (0.69%), *al-madīd* (0.43%), *al-ramal* (0.43%), *al-munsariḥ* (0.43%), *al-hazaj* (less than 0.43%), *al-mujtatʰtʰ* (less than 0.43%), *al-muqtaḍab* (less than 0.43%), *al-mutadārak* (less than 0.43%), and *al-muḍāriᶜ* (less than 0.43%).

The frequency list under discussion is based on nearly 2,300 poems and fragments from the first to the third centuries A.D. On the other hand, ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiᶜr* is based on a far more extensive corpus. ʾAnīs' frequency count has the additional advantage of not lumping together into one item the "complete" version of a given meter (النَّـــامّ أو الوَافِي) and what the ancient Arab prosodists considered an "incomplete" version of the same meter (المَجْـــزُوء أو المَشْطُور أو المَنْهُوك أو المُوَحَّـــد).

In "The Phonology of Classical Arabic Meter", Golston and Riad showed that, of all the disyllabic combinations which can occur in the meters of Classical Arabic poetry, ⌣− is the most harmonious and the most favored because it suffers neither from CLASH nor from LAPSE (see Appendix IV of Part I). Building on this finding, the present writer carried out some research which led to the following conclusion: The relative frequency of a given Classical Arabic meter is directly proportional to the number of times ⌣− occurs in all manifestations of that meter.

[3] See defusing application (a) under "Necessary application" (section 3.3.1).

[4] See defusing application (a) under "Necessary application" (section 3.3.1).

[5] ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs makes no precise statement regarding the relative frequency of *al-rajaz*. The determination that *al-rajaz* follows *al-kʰafīf* in frequency is tentative; it seems to be implied by certain statements on pages 126 – 130 and 191 – 194 of ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiᶜr*. As footnote 2 above indicates, a different list places *al-rajaz* ahead of *al-kʰafīf* in regard to frequency.

[6] See defusing application (f) in section 3.3.1.

[7] See defusing application (f) in section 3.3.1.

[8] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, p. 367.

[9] See ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 111.

[10] For the predicted frequency of each form, see neutralizing application (c) under "Necessary application" (section 3.3.1).

[11] For the predicted frequency of each form, see neutralizing application (c) under "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1. The short syllable is hardly ever deleted from hemistich-final −⌣−− (see item 2b following the asterisks at the end of "Necessary application" in section 3.3.1). As the *ḍarb* of *al-madīd,* −− is more common than −⌣− (although both are very rare); the reason probably lies in the fact that a line of *al-ramal* may end in −⌣− but not in −− (see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 367). Here as elsewhere, the system takes pains to avert the possibility of confusing one meter with another.

[12] ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs makes no precise statement regarding the relative frequency of *majzūʾ al-rajaz*. The determination that *majzūʾ al-rajaz* follows *majzūʾ al-kāmil* in frequency is tentative; it seems to be implied by certain statements on pages 126 – 130 and 191 – 194 of ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiᶜr*.

[13] The form ⌣−−⌣ is obligatory in the *ᶜarūḍ* position if *al-kʰarm* would otherwise generate a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables.

[14] The form ⌣−−⌣ is obligatory in the *ᶜarūḍ* position if *al-kʰarm* would otherwise generate a nonmetrical sequence of long syllables.

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[15] See neutralizing application (a) under "Necessary application" (section 3.3.1).

[16] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 137, 138.

[17] See neutralizing application (a) under "Necessary application" (section 3.3.1).

[18] The line is relatively common on account of its *ʿarūḍ*.

[19] See defusing application (e) in section 3.3.1.

[20] For a detailed discussion of the variation involved, see section 2.1.3 of Part I. Also see pp. 56, 120, 219, 233, and 246 of al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*.

[21] For the extra *sākin*, the conditioning environment can be specified in phonological terms:

(a) The extra *sākin* is restricted to the relatively short lines (*ʾabyāt*). Thus length is a key factor in determining whether a given line (*bayt*) is eligible to acquire the extra *sākin*; no line is eligible if it exceeds 38 moras. In *al-ramal*, *al-sarīʿ*, *al-mutaqārib*, and *majzūʾ al-basīṭ*, the eligible line comprises a maximum of 38 moras; in *al-madīd*, 34 moras; in *majzūʾ al-mutadārak*, 30 moras; in *majzūʾ al-kāmil* and *majzūʾ al-ramal*, 28 moras; in *al-hazaj*, 26 moras; in *mashṭūr al-rajaz*, 20 moras; in *manhūk al-rajaz*, 13 moras. A mora is the duration of a short syllable, and a long syllable is roughly the equivalent of two moras.

(b) The extra *sākin* occurs only in meters which admit of a long as well as a short form in line-final position: one of these forms is the standard *ḍarb;* the other is a variant derived from the standard *ḍarb* by a simple transformation which adds a syllable or one which deletes a syllable.

(c) If its first two constituents are identical to their counterparts in the long form, the short form can acquire the extra *sākin*; otherwise it is the long form that can acquire the extra *sākin*.

(d) The extra *sākin* functions as a marker: it marks the line (*bayt*) as a relatively short string, and the *ḍarb* as one term of a well-defined length contrast whose domain is restricted to line-final position.

Notes:

- In *majzūʾ al-basīṭ*, the long form is $--\smile-$ and the short form is $---$. Contrary to expectation, the latter never acquires the extra *sākin*; the reason is that, almost invariably, it is supplanted by $\smile--$ (which does not qualify for acquisition of the extra *sākin*). It is the long form that can acquire the extra *sākin*.

- In *majzūʾ al-ramal*, the long form is $-\smile--$ and the short form is $-\smile-$. Contrary to expectation, the latter never acquires the extra *sākin*; the reason is that it frequently co-occurs in the same ode with $\smile\smile-$ (which does not qualify for acquisition of the extra *sākin*). It is the long form that can acquire the extra *sākin*. Significantly, the occurrence of fāʿilātān in the *ḍarb* position of *majzūʾ al-ramal* is so rare that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs have questioned its authenticity.

- In *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*, the standard *ḍarb* is non-existent. Thus there is no room for talking about a long form, a short form, or acquisition of the extra *sākin*.

- As a form of *manhūk al-rajaz* the string $--\smile-$ $---$ is capable of acquiring the extra *sākin*, but as a *ʿajuz* of *majzūʾ al-rajaz* it is not. Perhaps the reason is to avoid redundancy.

- The meter *al-hazaj* (in which the long form is $\smile---$ and the short form is $\smile--$) satisfies the conditions for acquiring the extra *sākin*, and there is evidence that such acquisition did indeed occur in rare instances: al-ʾAkhfash reported that the *ḍarb* of *al-hazaj* can assume the form mafāʿīl (= faʿūlān).

See William Wright's *Grammar*, Vol. II, pp. 365, 366; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 186, 212; and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, pp. 124 – 126.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the syllables of al-Khalīl's meters fall into two types: short, and long. A short syllable consists of a *mutaḥarrik*. A long syllable consists of (i) a *mutaḥarrik* followed by a single *sākin*, or (ii) a *mutaḥarrik* followed by two *sākin*'s. Rather than a separate syllable-type, sequence (ii) is a rare free variant of sequence (i), governed by the conditioning environment defined above. We have chosen to use the symbol $\smile$ to represent short syllables, and the symbol $–$ to represent long syllables.

The ancient Arab prosodists used the terms *al-tadhyīl*, *al-tasbīgh* (or *al-ʾisbāgh*), *al-qaṣr*, and *al-waqf* to designate the occurrence of the additional length discussed above.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

It is appropriate at this point to bring into sharper focus the observation that "meter" in Arabic poetry is invariably the product of patterning. By postulating three levels of analysis, we have identified three types of "meter"-producing patterning:

1. The type of patterning which characterizes Level I is defined as the arrangement of feet in the hemistich; four arrangements occur: mere repetition, interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation.

2. The type of patterning which characterizes Level II is defined as the similar placement of reduction in all feet of the hemistich.

3. The type of patterning which characterizes Level III is defined as the tendency to achieve syllabic symmetry in the entire hemistich or in a portion thereof (without violating certain restrictions).

The rules which produce Level I and Level II patterning apply to the entire hemistich; furthermore, the second hemistich of a divided line duplicates the patterns of the first hemistich. On the other hand, the rules which produce Level III patterning are foot-bound, an application being limited (in the vast majority of cases) to an individual foot.[1] Thus the two hemistichs of a divided line must be identical on the first two levels but may differ on the third level. the following is only one of many examples which can be cited for the identity and the diversity in question:

The standard form of *majzūʾ al-rajaz:*

$$--\smile- \quad --\smile- \qquad --\smile- \quad --\smile-$$

Variations:[2]

$$--\smile- \quad -\smile\smile- \qquad \smile-\smile- \quad -\smile\smile-$$

$$-\smile\smile- \quad --\smile- \qquad --\smile- \quad \smile-\smile-$$

$$--\smile- \quad \smile-\smile- \qquad \smile-\smile- \quad -\smile\smile-$$

$$--\smile- \quad -\smile\smile- \qquad --\smile- \quad --\smile-$$

$$\smile-\smile- \quad --\smile- \qquad -\smile\smile- \quad -\smile\smile-$$

$$--\smile- \quad \smile-\smile- \qquad \smile-\smile- \quad -\smile\smile-$$

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The three types of patterning defined above do not have to co-occur in explicit form since each can—independently—give rise to "meter", and since implicit patterning is capable of endowing the hemistich with "meter". In example (a) below, only Level I patterning is explicit (the hemistich can be represented by BB, where B stands for a quadripartite foot); in (b), only Level II patterning is explicit (the feet are similar in respect of the position where ⏑ occurs relative to the long syllables); in (c), only Level III patterning is explicit (recurrence of syllabic symmetry is clear from the fact that both feet are symmetrical; besides, syllabic symmetry pervades the hemistich as a whole).

     (a) ⏑ − − ⏑   ⏑ − − −

     (b) ⏑ − − −   ⏑ − −

     (c) − ⏑ − ⏑   − ⏑ −

In most hemistichs, however, at least two types of patterning are explicit (although one type may be dominant); for example, in the hemistich − − ⏑ −   − ⏑ −   − − ⏑ −   − ⏑ −, three types of patterning are explicit:

    1. Level I patterning is explicit since the hemistich may be represented by the sequence BABA (where B stands for a quadripartite foot and A stands for a tripartite foot).

    2. Level II patterning is explicit since all feet are similar in respect of the position where ⏑ occurs relative to the long syllables.

    3. Level III patterning is explicit since syllabic symmetry occurs in two feet (the second and the last) and since the hemistich may be divided into two strings each of which has a symmetrical syllabic structure (the strings in question are − − ⏑ − − ⏑ − − and − ⏑ − − ⏑ −).

Hemistichs differ in regard to the *explicit* manifestation of patterning. All standard hemistichs manifest Level I and Level II patterning; in addition, some manifest syllabic symmetry at least in a constituent string. As for variants, some manifest only one type of patterning, others manifest two, and still others manifest all three.

In addition to defining Level I, Level II, and Level III patterning, this study has defined an important feature (type assonance) which relates the strings of Level III to those of Level II.

The rules which operate on Level III (synthesis, reduction, deletion, addition, and compensation) are by no means arbitrary processes: they facilitate a kind of variety which aspires to and gains from syllabic symmetry; besides, they preserve the identity of the meter by producing type assonance and by tending to retain the total duration of the standard sequence.

On all levels, a meter is defined as the sequence which constitutes a single hemistich; this definition stems from the fact that the two hemistichs of a divided line are the same. It will be recalled that on Level I and Level II the second hemistich of a divided line is a duplicate of the first; on Level III the two hemistichs of a divided line are often different in terms of composition, and yet those hemistichs are considered to be exactly alike because type assonance identifies them with identical strings (in other words, the difference in composition is viewed as non-contrastive variation).

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Our theory satisfies the necessary condition as well as the sufficient condition. A handful of the strings generated by our theory do not exist in al-Kʰalīl's corpus; those strings constitute latent possibilities which cannot invalidate the theory: they are very few in number, they are the product of general principles, and their dormancy is explained by the theory. On the other hand, it would be excessive to claim—as does ʾAbū Dīb—that the latent possibilities are extremely numerous and that the dormancy of such possibilities is purely accidental. Even an appeal to the confining influence of al-kʰalīl's theory could not disguise the naivety of this claim: for many centuries poets and critics alike condemned every deviation from al-Kʰalīl's rules, which may very well have suppressed some latent possibilities; but what justifies the conclusion that over two centuries of vigorous poetic composition *prior* to al-Kʰalīl's theory[3] failed to utilize the vast majority of equally acceptable strings?

A scholar must distinguish between two aspects of al-Kʰalīl's contribution to the study of Arabic prosody: stating the data, and constructing an abstract theory which seeks to account for the data. In this study, the present author has taken the position that al-Kʰalīl's statement of the data is accurate and comprehensive; it is al-Kʰalīl's *theory* that breeds controversy.

FOOTNOTES

[1] On Level I, the rules are applied to generate a hemistich; in most cases, the hemistich is then doubled to produce a divided line. On Level II, a rule applies simultaneously to both hemistichs of a divided line. On Level III, a rule affects one foot per application; furthermore, changing a non-final foot in one hemistich does not usually require a similar change in the corresponding foot of the other hemistich.

[2] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,* bottom of p. 205 and top of p. 206.

[3] See ʾAḥmad ʾAmīn's *Fajr al-ʾIslām,* pp. 39 – 139; also see Reynold A. Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1962), pp. 71 – 140, 181 – 253.

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READER'S NOTES

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APPENDIX I

THE FEET REPORTED BY AL-KʰALīL

The table below lists the standard feet and the variants reported by al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad.[1] The two feet fāˁi-lātun and mustafˁi-lun are omitted since the former is restricted to the almost non-existent meter *al-muḍāriˁ* and since the latter is actually identical to mustafˁilun.[2] The foot mafˁūlātu is omitted since it is restricted to the almost non-existent meter *al-muqtaḍab* (the assumption that mafˁūlātu also occurs in *al-munsariḥ* is based on a misinterpretation[3]).

The table comprises four rows. Each form in the first row is a standard foot; each form in the second row is a variant which results from a single change in the corresponding standard foot; each form in the third row is a variant which results from two or more changes in the corresponding standard foot; and each form in the last row is a variant derived from another variant.

⌣ — —	— ⌣ —	⌣ — — —	— ⌣ — —	— — ⌣ —	⌣ — ω —	ω — ⌣ —
⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — — —	⌣ ⌣ — — —	⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — —	⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ — — — —	⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — — —	⌣ — — — ⌣ ⌣ — — — ω — —	— — ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — ω — ⌣ — — ω — —
— ⌣ —	⌣ ⌣ — — — — ⌣ — ⌣ —	⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ — ⌣ —	⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —	⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — —	⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — — — — ⌣ — ⌣ —	— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — — ⌣ ⌣ — — — — —
	—			⌣ —		ω — — —

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FOOTNOTES

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[1] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,* especially pp. 43 – 58. al-Kʰalīl also specifies the environments where the variants occur; for the sake of simplicity, the environments in question are excluded from this appendix.

[2] al-Kʰalīl observes that in three meters (*al-kʰafīf, majzūʔ al-kʰafīf,* and *al-mujtatʰtʰ*), the transformation $--\smile- \Rightarrow \smile\smile\smile-$ is never permitted and the transformation $--\smile- \Rightarrow --\smile\smile$ or $\smile-\smile\smile$ may occur; he also observes that elsewhere the first transformation may occur (though rarely) and the second is never permitted. Consequently, he writes $--\smile-$ as mustaf̒i-lun in the three meters and as mustaf̒ilun elsewhere—a convention which records but does not explain the empirical facts. In this study, we have shown the observations reported by al-Kʰalīl to be manifestations of *general* principles (see Restriction 7a in section 3.3.1, and note 1 under "Justification" in section 3.3.3).

[3] See item 2 under "Justification" in section 3.3.3.

APPENDIX II[1]

ʿANTARA B. SʰADDĀD'S ODE

1. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

2. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

3. ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

4. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

5. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

6. ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

7. ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

8. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

9. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

10. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

11. ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

12. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

13. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

14. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

15. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

16. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

17. ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

18. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

19. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯   ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

20. ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

21. ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯   ω⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ω⎯⌣⎯

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22. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

23. −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

24. ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

25. −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

26. −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

27. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

28. −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

29. −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

30. −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

31. ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

32. ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

33. −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

34. −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

35. ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

36. ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

37. −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

38. −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

39. −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

40. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

41. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

42. ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

43. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

44. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−

45. ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ−   −−ᵕ− ᴗ−ᵕ− −−ᵕ−

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46. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ω—‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

47. ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

48. ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—

49. ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—

50. ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

51. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

52. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

53. ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

54. ω—‿— ——‿— ——‿—   ——‿— ——‿— ——‿—

55. ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—

56. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

57. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

58. ω—‿— ‿—‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

59. ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—

60. ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

61. ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ω—‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

62. ω—‿— ω—‿— ——‿—   ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

63. ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—   ω—‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

64. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

65. ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—

66. ω—‿— ω—‿— ω—‿—   ‿——‿— ——‿— ——‿—

67. ——‿— ——‿— ω—‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

68. ω—‿— ω—‿— ——‿—   ——‿— ω—‿— ——‿—

69. ——‿— ——‿— ——‿—   ω—‿— ——‿— ω—‿—

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70. ⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

71. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

72. ⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

73. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

74. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

75. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

76. ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

77. ⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

78. ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

79. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

80. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　　　ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

81. ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

82. ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

83. ⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯　　　⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯

84. ⎯⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　　　ω⎯◡⎯　ω⎯◡⎯　⎯⎯◡⎯

FOOTNOTES

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[1] See ʔAḥmad b. al-ʔAmīn al-Sʰinqīṭī's *al-Muʕallaqāt al-ʕAsʰr*, pp. 154 – 170.　Highlighted numerals identify the lines where at least one hemistich merges into the standard form of *al-rajaz*.

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APPENDIX III

RULES OF VARIATION

IN AL-KʰALĪL'S SYSTEM

A. Definitions

In the following list, the definienda are listed alphabetically. The English abbreviation *pl.* stands for *plural,* and the Arabic abbreviation ج stands for الجَمْع .

Definiendum		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
ʿajuz (pl. *ʾaʿjāz*)	عَجُـز ج أَعْجَاز	The second hemistich of a line.
ʿarūḍ (pl. *ʾaʿārīḍ*)	عَرُوض ج أَعَارِيض	The foot which terminates the first hemistich of a line.
bayt (pl. *ʾabyāt*)	بَيْت ج أَبْيَات	A line of poetry.
ḍarb (pl. *ʾaḍrub*)	ضَرْب ج أَضْرُب	The foot which terminates the second hemistich of a line.
faṣl	فَصْل	A *ʿarūḍ* which differs from the *ḥasʰw* in transformational profile.[1] Thus the *ʿarūḍ* of *al-ṭawīl* is a *faṣl* (*qabḍ* is obligatory in the *ʿarūḍ* but optional in the *ḥasʰw*). Similarly, the *ʿarūḍ* of *al-munsariḥ* is a *faṣl* since it rejects *kʰabl* (in the *ḥasʰw, kʰabl* is optional). Indeed, almost every *ʿarūḍ* is a *faṣl* (differing from the *ḥasʰw* in at least one aspect of the transformational profile).
gʰāya	غَايَـة	A *ḍarb* which differs from the *ḥasʰw* in transformational profile. Thus the catalectic sub-meter of *al-ṭawīl* has a *gʰāya* in line-final position (the *ḍarb* is the product of *ḥadʰf;* in contrast, the *ḥasʰw* rejects *ḥadʰf*). Indeed, almost every *ḍarb* is a *gʰāya* (differing from the *ḥasʰw* in at least one aspect of the transformational profile).
ḥasʰw	حَشْـو	The feet of a line other than the *ʿarūḍ* and the *ḍarb*.

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Definiendum		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
ibtidāʾ	اِبْــتِـدَاء	A hemistich-initial foot which differs from the rest of the *ḥasʰw* in transformational profile. Thus, in hemistich-initial position, faʿūlun is an *ibtidāʾ* since it can undergo *kʰarm* (*kʰarm* is rejected by the rest of the *ḥasʰw*); the same is true of mafāʿīlun and mufāʿalatun in hemistich-initial position.
ʿilla (pl. *ʿilal*)	عِلَّة ج عِلَل	A process which alters an entire *sabab* or one which alters a *watad;* it may be illustrated by the following changes: −•−−•−• ⇒ −•−−• −•−•−•− ⇒ −•−•−•• The input is usually a hemistich-final foot. A *ʿilla* is usually a "binding" process; i.e., if it applies to one *ʿarūḍ* or one *ḍarb,* it must apply to all of the counterpart feet throughout the ode. When not binding, a *ʿilla* is said to have a *ziḥāf* status.
iʿtimād	اِغْتِـمَاد	Denotes the status of *qabḍ* relevant to the standard foot faʿūlun in two contexts: (a) In a line of *al-ṭawīl, iʿtimād* denotes the necessity of applying *qabḍ* to the standard penult foot *faʿūlun* when the next foot is a *maḥdʰūf (faʿūlun).* (b) In a hemistich of *al-mutaqārib, iʿtimād* denotes rejection of *qabḍ* by the standard penult foot *faʿūlun* when the next foot is an *ʾabtar (faʿ).*
juzʾ (pl. *ʾajzāʾ*)	جُزْء ج أَجْزاء	A foot.
majzūʾ 'clipped'	مَجْــزُوء	A (divided) metrical line which results from deleting the two hemistich-final feet of the original *bayt* (i.e., the *bayt* generated by the circle). Clipping is obligatory in five meters (*al-madīd, al-hajaz, al-muḍāriʿ, al-muqtaḍab, al-mujtatʰtʰ*), nonmetrical in three meters (*al-ṭawīl, al-sarīʿ, al-munsariḥ*), and optional in the remaining meters (*al-basīṭ, al-wāfir, al-kāmil, al-ramal, al-rajaz, al-kʰafīf, al-mutaqārib, al-mutadārak*).
manhūk	مَنْهُـــوك	An undivided metrical line defined by two criteria: it comprises the first portion of the original *bayt* (i.e., the *bayt* generated by the circle), and its constituent feet are one-third as many as those of the original *bayt.* Only two meters are subject to such abbreviation: *al-rajaz* and *al-munsariḥ.*

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Definiendum		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
mas^hṭūr	مَشْطُــور	An undivided metrical line comprising one hemistich of the original *bayt* (i.e., the *bayt* generated by the circle). Only two meters occur in this form: *al-rajaz* and *al-sarī^ʿ*.
miṣrā^ʿ (pl. *maṣārī^ʿ*)	مِصْـراع ج مَصَاريـــع	A hemistich.
muqaffan	مُقَــفَّى	A line whose *ʿarūḍ* satisfies three requirements: (a) It must rhyme with the *ḍarb*. (b) It must be identical with the *ḍarb* in metrical structure. (c) It must occur in its standard form (or the form which obligatorily replaces the standard).
muṣarra^ʿ	مُصَــرَّع	A line whose *ʿarūḍ* satisfies three requirements: (a) It must rhyme with the *ḍarb*. (b) It must be identical with the *ḍarb* in metrical structure. (c) It must, as a result of the second condition, differ from its standard form (or the form which obligatorily replaces the standard).
muṣmat	مُصْمَت	A line whose hemistich-final feet neither rhyme with each other nor coincide in regard to metrical structure. In a given ode, any line but the *maṭla^ʿ* may be a *muṣmat*.
mutaḥarrik (pl. *mutaḥarrikāt*) 'moving letter'	مُتَحَــرِك ج مُتَحَـرِكات	The sequence CV, where C stands for a consonant and V stands for a short vowel. A *mutaḥarrik* is represented, in al-K^halīl's system, by a dash (−).
muwaḥḥad	مُوَحَّـــد	A metrical line consisting of a single foot. Only *al-rajaz* is subject to such abbreviation.
sabab (pl. *ʾasbāb*) *k^hafīf* 'weak cord'	سَبَب (ج أَسْبَاب) خَفِيف	A sequence consisting of a *mutaḥarrik* 'moving letter' and a following *sākin* 'quiescent letter' (−•).
sabab (pl. *ʾasbāb*) *t^haqīl* 'strong cord'	سَبَب (ج أَسْبَاب) ثَقِيل	A sequence consisting of two moving letters in a row (−−).
ṣadr (pl. *ṣudūr*)	صَدْر ج صُدُور	The first hemistich of a line.

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Definiendum		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
sākin (pl. *sawākin*) 'quiescent letter'	سَـاكِن	Defined as (i) a consonant which is not followed by a vowel, or (ii) vowel length. A *sākin* is represented, in al-Kʰalīl's system, by a dot (•).
tafʿīla (pl. *tafāʿīl* or *tafʿīlāt*)	تَفْعِيلَة ج تَفَاعِيل أو تَفْعِيلات	A foot; it comprises a peg and one or two cords. al-Kʰalīl's system employs ten feet: faʿūlun (−−• / −•) fāʿilun (−• / −−•) mafāʿīlun (−−• / −• / −•) mustafʿilun (−• / −• / −−•) fāʿilātun (−• / −−• / −•) mufāʿalatun (−−• / −− / −•) mutafāʿilun (−− / −• / −−•) fāʿi-lātun (−•− / −• / −•) mafʿūlātu (−• / −• / −•−) mustafʿi-lun (−• / −•− / −•)
tāmm	تَامّ	A metrical line which lacks none of the original feet (i.e., the feet generated by its circle) and whose feet are alike in transformational profile. Clipped meters do not meet this definition since they result from deleting certain original feet; again, *al-ṭawīl* does not meet this definition since *qabḍ* is obligatory in its *ʿarūḍ* but optional in its *ḥasʰw*. Only two metrical lines meet the definition of *tāmm:* the standard form of *al-kāmil,* and the standard form of *al-rajaz.*
wāfin	وافٍ	A metrical line which lacks none of the original feet (i.e., the feet generated by the circle) but where at least one hemistich-final foot differs from the *ḥasʰw* in transformational profile. A line of *al-ṭawīl* meets this definition since it lacks none of the original feet, and since *qabḍ* is obligatory in its *ʿarūḍ* but optional in its *ḥasʰw*. The clipped meters, the *masʰṭūr,* the *manhūk,* and the *tāmm* do not meet this definition; almost all other metrical lines do.

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Definiendum		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
watad (pl. *ʾawtād*) *mafrūq* 'trochaic peg'	وَتَـد (ج أَوْتَاد) مَفْــرُوق	A sequence consisting of two moving letters separated by a quiescent letter (−•−).
watad (pl. *ʾawtād*) *majmūʕ* 'iambic peg'	وَتَـد (ج أَوْتَاد) مَجْـمُوع	A sequence consisting of two moving letters followed by a quiescent letter (−−•).
ziḥāf (pl. *ziḥāfāt*)	زِحاف ج زِحافات	A process which alters the second constituent of a *sabab* 'cord'; it may be illustrated by the following changes: −•−−• ⇒ −−−• −−−•−−• ⇒ −•−•−−• The input may be *any* foot of the line. In most cases, a *ziḥāf* is not a "binding" process; i.e., its application to a given foot does not necessitate application to the corresponding feet of other lines. When binding, a *ziḥāf* is said to have *ʕilla* status. A "simple *ziḥāf*" alters the second constituent of one *sabab* 'cord'; a "compound *ziḥāf*" alters the second constituent in each of two cords.

B. Transformations

al-Kʰalīl identifies two major processes which derive variants from standard feet or from other variants; those two processes are the *ziḥāf* and the *ʕilla* (defined in the foregoing section). al-Kʰalīl further divides each process into sub-types (discussed in this section). We shall use the term "transformations" in referring to the sub-types.

The transformations listed in this section are usually optional; in a handful of contexts, however, certain transformations apply obligatorily. The following remarks should be noted at this point:

   1. For no obvious reason, a transformation may apply to one foot but not to another.

   2. A given foot may be subject to a certain transformation in one meter but not in another.

   3. When listing the meters involved, the "clipped" strings (*majzūʾāt*) are not given separate mention; thus what is said of *al-wāfir* applies to *majzūʾ al-wāfir* as well, what is said of *al-ramal* applies to *majzūʾ al-ramal* as well, etc.

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4. To qualify for a given transformation, an element must meet a general provision as well as a specific provision; the former derives from the definition of *ziḥāf* or *ʿilla;* the latter derives from the definition of the transformation in question.

5. In defining various transformations, the term "constituent" is used as an abbreviation of "Mediate Constituent"; it will be recalled that, in al-Kʰalīl's system, a Mediate Constituent is either a *mutaḥarrik* or a *sākin*.

1. *The Simple Ziḥāf* الزِّحافُ الـمُفْـرَد

Name of Transformation		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
kʰabn	خَـبْن	Deletion of a *sākin* which occurs as the second constituent of the foot.
waqṣ	وَقْـص	Deletion of a *mutaḥarrik* which occurs as the second constituent of the foot.
ʾiḍmār	إضْمــار	Replacement of a *mutaḥarrik* which occurs as the second constituent of the foot; the replacement is by a *sākin*.
ṭayy	طَـيّ	Deletion of a *sākin* which occurs as the fourth constituent of the foot.
qabḍ	قَبْض	Deletion of a *sākin* which occurs as the fifth constituent of the foot.
ʿaql	عَقْـل	Deletion of a *mataḥarrik* which occurs as the fifth constituent of the foot.
ʿaṣb	عَصْب	Replacement of a *mutaḥarrik* which occurs as the fifth constituent of the foot; the replacement is by a *sākin*.
kaff	كَـفّ	Deletion of a *sākin* which occurs as the seventh constituent of the foot.

The following table shows the input and the output of each transformation; it also indicates the meters involved.

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Ziḥāf	Input	Output	Output Is Said to Be	Meters Involved
kʰabn	fāʿilun fāʿilātun mustafʿilun mustafʿi-lun mafʿūlātu	faʿilun faʿilātun mafāʿilun mafāʿilun mafāʿīlu	makʰbūn	al-basīṭ, al-madīd, al-rajaz, al-ramal, al-sarīʿ, al-kʰafīf, al-munsariḥ, al-muqtaḍab, al-mujtatʰtʰ, al-mutadārak
waqṣ	mutafāʿilun	mafāʿilun	mawqūṣ	al-kāmil
ʾiḍmār	mutafāʿilun	mustafʿilun	muḍmar	al-kāmil
ṭayy	mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu	muftaʿilun fāʿilātu	maṭwiyy	al-basīṭ, al-rajaz, al-sarīʿ, al-munsariḥ, al-muqtaḍab
qabḍ	faʿūlun mafāʿīlun	faʿūlu mafāʿilun	maqbūḍ	al-ṭawīl, al-hazaj, al-muḍāriʿ, al-mutaqārib
ʿaql	mufāʿalatun	mafāʿilun	maʿqūl	al-wāfir
ʿaṣb	mufāʿalatun	mafāʿīlun	maʿṣūb	al-wāfir
kaff	mafāʿīlun fāʿilātun mustafʿi-lun	mafāʿīlu fāʿilātu mustafʿi-lu	makfūf	al-ṭawīl, al-madīd, al-hazaj, al-ramal, al-kʰafīf, al-muḍāriʿ, al-mujtatʰtʰ

Notice that fāʿi-lātun (−•− / −• / −•) is not subject to kʰabn since the general provision is not met (the second constituent of the foot, though a *sākin*, is not the second constituent of a *sabab* 'cord'; similarly, mustafʿi-lun (−• / −•− / −•) is not subject to *ṭayy* (the fourth constituent of the foot, though a *sākin,* is not the second constituent of a *sabab*); and mustafʿilun (−• / −• / −−•) is not subject to *kaff* (the seventh constituent of the foot, though a *sākin,* is not the second constituent of a *sabab*).

2. *The Compound Ziḥāf* الزِّحافُ المُـزْدَوِج

kʰabl خَبْل : kʰabn plus *ṭayy.*

sʰakl شَكْل : kʰabn plus *kaff.*

kʰazl خَزْل : ʾiḍmār plus *ṭayy.*

naqṣ نَقْص : ʿaṣb plus *kaff.*

The following table shows the input and the output of each transformation; it also indicates the meters involved.

Ziḥāf	Input	Output	Output Is Said to Be	Meters Involved
kʰabl	mustafᶜilun mafᶜūlātu	faᶜalatun faᶜilātu	*makʰbūl*	*al-basīṭ, al-rajaz, al-sarīᶜ, al-munsariḥ*
sʰakl	fāᶜilātun mustafᶜi-lun	faᶜilātu mafāᶜilu	*masʰkūl*	*al-madīd, al-ramal, al-kʰafīf, al-mujtatʰtʰ*
kʰazl	mutafāᶜilun	muftaᶜilun	*makʰzūl*	*al-kāmil*
naqṣ	mufāᶜalatun	mafāᶜīlu	*manqūṣ*	*al-wāfir*

3. *The ᶜIlla: Deletion* عِلَلُ النَّفْصِ

Of the following deletion transformations, three have a *ziḥāf* status (see the definitions of *ᶜilla* and *ziḥāf* above): *ḥadʰf* has a *ziḥāf* status in the *ᶜarūḍ* of *al-mutaqārib; tasʰᶜītʰ* has a *ziḥāf* status in the *ḍarb* of *al-kʰafīf* and *al-mujtatʰtʰ; kʰarm* always has a *ziḥāf* status.

Name of Transformation		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
ḥadʰf	حَـذْف	Deletion of a foot-final *sabab kʰafīf* 'weak cord'.
qaṭf	قَطْـف	*ḥadʰf* plus *ᶜaṣb*.
ḥadʰdʰ	حَـذّ	Deletion of a *watad majmūᶜ* 'iambic peg' from mutafāᶜilun.
ṣalm	صَـلْم	Deletion of a *watad mafrūq* 'trochaic peg' from mafᶜūlātu.
waqf	وَقْـف	Replacing a *mutaḥarrik* which occurs as the seventh constituent of the foot mafᶜūlātu; replacement is by a *sākin,* and the transformation can therefore be viewed as deletion of a short vowel.
kasʰf	كَشْـف	Deletion of a *mutaḥarrik* which occurs as the seventh constituent of the foot.
qaṣr	قَصْـر	Deletion of the *mataḥarrik* from the [final] *sabab kʰafīf* 'weak cord' in faᶜūlun, fāᶜilātun, and mustafᶜi-lun.
qaṭᶜ	قَطْـع	Deletion of a *mataḥarrik* from a *watad majmūᶜ* 'iambic peg'.
batr	بَـتْر	*ḥadʰf* plus *qaṭᶜ*.
tasʰᶜītʰ	نَشْعِيث	Deletion of a *mataḥarrik* from the *watad majmūᶜ* 'iambic peg' in [the *ḍarb*] fāᶜilātun.
kʰarm	خَـرْم	The rare deletion of a hemistich-initial *mutaḥarrik* from a *watad majmūᶜ* 'iambic peg'. Different terms are used to designate *kʰarm,* depending on the form of the input foot (see the last portion of the table below).

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The following table shows the input and the output of each transformation; it also indicates the meters involved in each case.

ʿIlla	Input	Output	Output Is Said to Be	Meters Involved
ḥadʰf	faʿūlun	faʿal	maḥdʰūf	al-mutaqārib
	mafāʿīlun	faʿūlun	maḥdʰūf	al-ṭawīl, al-hazaj
	fāʿilātun	fāʿilun	maḥdʰūf	al-madīd, al-ramal, al-kʰafīf
qaṭf	mufāʿalatun	faʿūlun	maqṭūf	al-wāfir
ḥadʰdʰ	mutafāʿilun	faʿilun	ʾaḥadʰdʰ	al-kāmil
ṣalm	mafʿūlātu	faʿlun	ʾaṣlam	al-sarīʿ
waqf	mafʿūlātu	mafʿūlāt	mawqūf	al-sarīʿ, the *manhūk* of *al-munsariḥ*
kasʰf	mafʿūlātu	mafʿūlun	maksʰūf	al-sarīʿ, the *manhūk* of *al-munsariḥ*
qaṣr	faʿūlun	faʿūl	maqṣūr	al-mutaqārib
	fāʿilātun	fāʿilāt	maqṣūr	al-madīd, al-ramal
	mustafʿi-lun	mafʿūlun	maqṣūr	*majzūʾ al-kʰafīf*
qaṭʿ	fāʿilun	faʿlun	maqṭūʿ	al-basīṭ, al-mutadārak
	mutafāʿilun	faʿilātun	maqṭūʿ	al-kāmil
	mustafʿilun	mafʿūlun	maqṭūʿ	al-rajaz
batr	faʿūlun	faʿ	ʾabtar	al-mutaqārib
	fāʿilātun	faʿlun	ʾabtar	al-madīd
tasʰʿītʰ	fāʿilātun	mafʿūlun	musʰaʿʿatʰ	al-kʰafīf, al-mujtatʰtʰ

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ʿIlla	Input	Output	Output Is Said to Be	Meters Involved
kʰarm			*makʰrūm*	*al-ṭawīl, al-mutaqārib, al-hazaj, al-muḍāriʿ, al-wāfir*
tʰalm ثَلْم	faʿūlun	faʿlun		
tʰarm ثَرْم	faʿūlu	faʿlu		
kʰaram خَرَم	mafāʿīlun	mafʿūlun		
sʰatr شَتْر	mafāʿilun	fāʿilun		
kʰarab خَرَب	mafāʿīlu	mafʿūlu		
ʿaḍb عَضْب	mufāʿalatun	muftaʿilun		
ʿaqṣ عَقْص	mufāʿaltu	mafʿūlu		
qaṣm قَصْم	mufāʿaltun	mafʿūlun		
jamam جَمَم	mufāʿatun	fāʿilun		

The following seven transformations (all of which involve deletion) are not listed by al-Rāḍī, probably because they are extremely rare:

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ʿIlla	Input	Output	Output Is Said to Be
rabʿ رَبْع	fāʿilātun	faʿal	*marbūʿ*
jaḫf جَحْف	fāʿilātun	fāʿ	*majḫūf*
takʰlīʿ تَخْليع	fāʿilun	faʿal	*makʰlūʿ*
	mustafʿilun	faʿūlun	*makʰlūʿ*
rafʿ رَفْع	mustafʿilun	fāʿilun	*marfūʿ*
	mafʿūlātu	mafʿūlu	*marfūʿ*
jadʿ جَدْع	mafʿūlātu	fāʿ	*majdūʿ*
jabb جَبّ	mafāʿīlun	faʿal	*majbūb*
hatm هَتْم	mafāʿīlun	faʿūl	*mahtūm*

4. *The ʿIlla: Addition* عِلَلُ الزِّيادَةِ

The following three addition transformations are restricted to the line-final foot (i.e., the *ḍarb*) of the specified meters:

Name of Transformation		Definition
Transliteration	Arabic Script	
tarfīl	تَرْفِيــل	The addition of a *sabab kʰafīf* 'weak cord' to mutafāʿilun in *majzūʾ al-kāmil* and to fāʿilun in *majzūʾ al-mutadārak;* the expanded *ḍarb* is said to be *muraffal.*
tadʰyīl	تَذْيِــيل	The addition of a *sākin* to mutafāʿilun in *majzūʾ al-kāmil,* to fāʿilun in *majzūʾ al-mutadārak,* and to mustafʿilun in *majzūʾ al-basīṭ;* the expanded *ḍarb* is said to be *mudʰayyal.*
tasbīgʰ	تَسْبِــيغ	The addition of a *sākin* to fāʿilātun in *majzūʾ al-ramal;* the expanded *ḍarb* is said to be *musabbagʰ.*

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A rare addition known as *kʰazm* خَـزْم occurs in hemistich-initial position, "provided that no [essential] change takes place in the meaning of the line." The addition in question may comprise one, two, three, or four letters at the beginning of the *ṣadr,* but it may not exceed two letters at the beginning of the *ʿajuz.* The expanded foot is said to be *makʰzūm.*

The domain of *kʰazm* is rather ill-defined: the transformation applies to *al-basīṭ, al-kāmil, al-ṭawīl, al-hazaj,* and *al-madīd,* but this list does not seem to be exhaustive; besides, the constituents supplied by the transformation are not specified with any degree of precision.

The status of *kʰazm,* like its domain, is ill-defined: al-Rāḍī considers it "pointless" and classifies it neither as a *ziḥāf* nor as a *ʿilla.*[2]

C. Interdependence

1. *Murāqaba* الـمُـرَاقَبَة

The process known as *murāqaba obligatorily* alters either of two weak cords which occur consecutively in the foot. the following feet are involved:

   (a) mafāʿīlun in *al-muḍāriʿ.*

   (b) mafʿūlātu in *al-muqtaḍab.*

The effect of *murāqaba* is to delete the *sākin* from a single cord (*either* the first *or* the second, but not both). Thus mafāʿīlun changes to mafāʿilun or mafāʿīlu, but it can neither retain its standard form nor change to mafāʿilu; similarly, mafʿūlātu changes to mafāʿīlu of fāʿilātu, but it can neither retain its standard form not change to faʿilātu.

2. *Muʿāqaba* الـمُعاقَبَة

The process known as *muʿāqaba optionally* alters either of two weak cords which occur consecutively.

The effect of *muʿāqaba* (when it produces a change) is to delete the *sākin* from a single cord (*either* the first *or* the second, but not both). Thus the foot mafāʿīlun may retain its standard form, change to mafāʿīlu, or change to mafāʿilun (but it may not change to mafāʿilu).

The pair of weak cords may occur in a single foot; such is the case in the following contexts:

   (a) The standard foot mafāʿīlun in *al-hazaj* and *al-ṭawīl.*

   (b) The variant mafāʿīlun in *al-wāfir.*

   (c) The variant mustafʿilun in *al-kāmil.*

   (d) The *ʿarūḍ* mustafʿilun in *al-munsariḥ.*

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The pair of weak cords may also occur in two adjacent feet; in this context, a foot where the deletion occurs is designated by one of the terms *ṣadr* (صَدْر) , *ʿajuz* (عَجُز), or *ṭarafān* (طَرَفان):

      (a) The term *ṣadr* indicates that the reduced cord is foot-*initial,* and that the final weak cord of the preceding foot must remain intact.

      (b) The term *ʿajuz* indicates that the reduced cord is foot-*final,* and that the initial weak cord of the next foot must remain intact.

      (c) The term *ṭarafān* indicates that the foot contains *two* reduced cords: one initial, and the other final; the term also indicates that the final weak cord of the preceding foot and the initial weak cord of the next foot must remain intact.

In the acatalectic line of *al-madīd,* the fourth foot may function as *ṣadr, ʿajuz,* or *ṭarafān;* the first and the third feet may function as *ʿajuz;* the second, the third, and the fifth feet may function as *ṣadr.*

In the trimeter of *al-ramal,* a hemistich-medial foot may function as *ṣadr, ʿajuz,* or *ṭarafān;* a hemistich-initial foot may function as *ʿajuz;* a hemistich-final foot may function as *ṣadr.* In the dimeter of *al-ramal,* a line-medial foot may function as *ṣadr, ʿajuz,* or *ṭarafān;* a line-initial foot may function as *ʿajuz;* a line-final foot may function as *ṣadr.*

In a line of *al-mujtat^ht^h,* the second and the third feet may function as *ṣadr, ʿajuz,* or *ṭarafān;* the last foot may function as *ṣadr;* the first foot may function as *ʿajuz.*

In the acatalectic trimeter of *al-k^hafīf,* each line-medial foot may function as *ṣadr, ʿajuz,* or *ṭarafān;* the line-initial foot may function as *ʿajuz;* the line-final foot may function as *ṣadr.*

3. *Mukānafa* الْمُكَانَفَةُ

The process known as *mukānafa optionally* alters either or both of two weak cords which occur consecutively in the following contexts:

      (a) The foot mustafʿilun in *al-rajaz, al-sarīʿ,* and *al-basīṭ.*

      (b) The hemistich-initial foot mustafʿilun in *al-munsariḥ.*

      (c) The foot mafʿūlātu in *al-munsariḥ.*

The effect of *mukānafa* (when it produces a change) is to delete the *sākin* from either cord or from both. Thus mustafʿilun may retain its standard form; it may also change to mafāʿilun, muftaʿilun, or faʿilatun.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] A given transformation belongs to the profile if the foot is a candidate for, or an output of, that transformation.

[2] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl,* pp. 59 – 63.

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APPENDIX IV

THE THEORY OF PROSODIC METRICS

Review by Zaki N. Abdel-Malek

INTRODUCTION

The theory of "Prosodic Metrics" was developed by Chris Golston (Department of Linguistics, California State University in Fresno, California) and Tomas Riad (Department of Scandinavian Languages, Stockholm University); we shall use the abbreviation G&R to refer to the two authors.[1]

G&R's primary goal is to prove three propositions:

1. That Classical Arabic meters are based on *binary* rhythmic feet and that, accordingly, rhythm in Classical Arabic poetry is closely related to rhythm in all poetry. Each rhythmic foot consists of two metrical positions, and a metrical position is maximally bimoraic.

2. That the basic rhythmic feet of Classical Arabic meters are the iamb and the trochee.

3. That the most popular of Classical Arabic meters are the iambic.

G&R's secondary goal is to formulate a set of simple rules which can account fully and accurately for the various manifestations of Classical Arabic meters.

Our review is based on the Internet version. We shall begin with a gist of G&R's theory. We shall then evaluate that theory using as a guideline the requirements which all theories must satisfy: validity, generality, adequacy, and simplicity. The review will end with a short conclusion.

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SUMMARY OF MAIN FEATURES

Kʰalīlian Units Retained by G&R. G&R follow al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī in recognizing certain metrical entities:

1. The line is viewed as the maximum context for the meter.

2. The line consists of two hemistichs, and the hemistich is seen as the minimum context for the meter "since half-lines are identical in all relevant respects."

3. The hemistich consists of two, three, or four "metra". A metron is what al-Kʰalīl called a "foot".

New Units Contributed by G&R. G&R introduce several new units, emphasizing binarity (which G&R consider an all-important feature of Classical Arabic poetry):

1. A metron consists of two "rhythmic feet".

2. A rhythmic foot consists of two "metrical positions".

3. Metrical positions are filled by syllables. The filler of a given position is maximally bimoraic (and minimally monomoraic). A syllable is either "light" (i.e., short, represented by *L*) or "heavy" (i. e., long, represented by *H*).

4. *L* is monomoraic, *LL* is bimoraic, and *H* is bimoraic.

5. A mora is the minimal unit of measure in quantitative verse; it is equivalent to the duration of an average unstressed light syllable. The statement that *H* is bimoraic means that a "hard" syllable has roughly twice the duration of a "light" syllable.

Position Fillers. A given position is, as mentioned above, filled by a minimum of one mora and a maximum of two moras; thus a position can be filled by *L*, *LL*, or *H*. Although G&R do not say so in explicit terms, this rule can be interpreted to mean that a position is filled by a single syllable or the compound filler LL.

Variable Symbols. G&R use two "variable" symbols which indicate alternation of fillers; the two symbols in question are ϕ and σ :

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Part I: Appendix IV

1. Pages 2 and 5 indicate that, as used by G&R, the symbol φ stands for two light syllables which function as a single filler (in the sense that they occupy a single metrical position) and which can be replaced by a single hard syllable. Thus, as used by G&R, φ is equivalent to the complex symbol ‿ which William Wright uses in his treatment of Classical Arabic meters.

2. G&R use the symbol σ to indicate that the filler of a given position may be a light or a heavy syllable. Thus the symbol σ is equivalent to the complex symbol ᴗ which William Wright uses in his treatment of Classical Arabic meters.

Structure of the Metron. Every "metron" comprises 4 positions, and every position is occupied by a filler (H, LL, L, σ, or φ). Thus we must expect four fillers in each metron. What about the metra faʿūlun and fāʿilun? G&R acknowledge the fact that each comprises three explicit fillers; they then appeal to "catalexis" to add a fourth filler. G&R use the symbol Ø to indicate catalexis. Thus faʿūlun in *al-ṭawīl* is represented by the sequence LHσØ, while fāʿilun in *al-basīṭ* is represented by the sequence σØLH.

Catalexis saves the binarity which G&R consider an all-important feature of Arabic poetry.

Metrical Feet. G&R list 9 possible "feet". In the following diagram, each pair of brackets represents one foot (notice that each foot is binary, comprising two metrical positions):

[L H]	[L L]	[L LL]
[H H]	[H L]	[H LL]
[LL H]	[LL L]	[LL LL]

On page 2 of their paper, G&R state that only the first five of these feet materialize in Arabic poetry.

Promotion of Generality. Other authors have already shown that using the syllable as a basic unit for describing Arabic meters promotes generality (universality). By redefining the foot in terms of binarity, G&R seek to facilitate an additional measure of generality.

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1. According to the new definition proposed by G&R, each foot consists of two fillers; thus the feet of Classical Arabic meters can be identified with the metrical feet of other languages more closely than has been possible up to this point. An iamb, for example, is universally defined as a metrical foot consisting of *one* light syllable followed by *one* hard syllable, or of *one* unstressed syllable followed by *one* stressed syllable. Ewald and Wright say that the foot ⌣–⌣– in the meter *al-rajaz* is iambic in the sense that it consists of *two* iambs; it is, to use their own term, a *diiamb*. G&R have no need to overreach in this manner: to them ⌣–⌣– is a sequence of *two* feet, and each foot in the sequence is an iamb.

2. Every Arabic metron contains at least one iamb or trochee. In universal metrics, an iamb is a foot consisting of one light syllable followed by one heavy syllable, or of one unstressed syllable followed by one stressed syllable. Also in universal metrics, a trochee is a foot consisting of one hard syllable followed by one light syllable, or of one stressed syllable followed by one unstressed syllable. In Classical Arabic meters, as defined by G&R, a "canonical" iamb is a structure which consists of the sequence LH, and a "potential" iamb is a structure (such as σH) which can yield the sequence LH; a "canonical" trochee consists of the sequence HL, and a "potential" trochee is a structure (such as Hσ) which can yield the sequence HL.

Promotion of Explanatory Power. According to G&R's Prosodic Metrics, the iambic are the most popular of Classical Arabic meters. G&R also tell us that iambic meters "account for about 80 - 90% of the poems in published corpora". Additionally, G&R's analysis highlights the following points:

1. The iambic meters are *al-ṭawīl, al-kāmil, al-wāfir,* and *al-basīṭ* (G&R have reservations about classifying *al-rajaz, al-sarīᶜ,* and *al-mutaqārib* as iambic meters).

2. It is not clear why *al-ṭawīl, al-kāmil, al-wāfir,* and *al-basīṭ* are considered iambic. Is it because they are free of trochaic feet, or is it because G&R believe that each meter consists entirely of iambic feet?

3. According to G&R, iambic meters are popular for two reasons: Arabic phonology and morphology have a strong preference for the iambic structure, and the iamb violates neither CLASH nor LAPSE.

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(a) LAPSE is defined as ban on the occurrence of two adjacent moras *neither* of which is prominent. In the sequence HL, the first syllable consists of two moras and the second consists of one mora. Since the first of two moras in a hard syllable is the prominent one, HL results in two adjacent moras neither of which is prominent; in other words, HL violates LAPSE.

(b) CLASH is defined as ban on the occurrence of two prominent moras embodied in two adjacent syllables. Thus the sequence HH violates CLASH.

(c) The domain of CLASH or LAPSE is a pair of adjacent syllables. Both syllables may occur within the same foot, or one may occur on each side of the boundary which separates two consecutive feet within the same metron. However, the effect of the violation is felt more keenly when the domain does not cross a foot boundary.

(d) LH "is the only combination of Ls and Hs that violates neither CLASH nor LAPSE".[2]

According to G&R, all Classical Arabic meters other than the iambic are trochaic; the trochaic meters are *al-kʰafīf, al-madīd, al-ramal, al-munsariḥ, al-hazaj, al-muqtaḍab, al-mujtatʰtʰ, al-muḍāriʿ,* and *al-mutadārak*. Trochaic meters, G&R tell us, are relatively unpopular, accounting for roughly 10 - 20% of the poems in published corpora. The trochaic meters prove hard to define: they contain trochaic feet (canonical or potential), but those feet co-occur in the same meter with iambic feet or the invariable foot HH.

G&R credit the concept of iambicity with impressive explanatory power: iambicity, they assure us, accounts for the overwhelming popularity of the iambic meters; on the other hand, trochaicity is responsible for making trochaic meters infrequent.

EVALUATION OF THE THEORY

Impressive as it is, G&R's theory of Prosodic Metrics (like all other theories of Classical Arabic meters proposed to date) leaves some room for refinement and even correction. The following observations illustrate the questions which the theory of Prosodic Metrics needs to address. While discussing the merits and the defects of the theory, we shall, for the sake of argument, retain the distinction between *metra* and *feet* as defined by G&R.

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Validity. To avoid the existence of anomalies, G&R claim that fāʿilun and faʿūlun are catalectic metra. The symbol $\varnothing$ is used to indicate catalexis; accordingly, it is stipulated that each of the two metra under discussion contains a position filled by $\varnothing$. Precisely what does $\varnothing$ stand for in this context? On page 3 of their paper, G&R say: "The symbol Ø indicates catelexis, a metrical position in the meter that may not be filled with text." Unfortunately the expression "may not" is ambiguous: does it indicate that the occurrence of text is optional, or does it rule out the occurrence of text altogether? As the discussion proceeds, it becomes clear that, as used by G&R, Ø stands for a deleted filler and that the filler in question is always a hard, invariable syllable (H).

On page 5 of their paper, G&R assert that the target of catalexis is not arbitrary: catalexis "targets the least rhythmic verse foot, without removing a variable position (σ or ϕ)." The degree of rhythmicity is measured in terms of CLASH and LAPSE; thus catalexis is motivated by the desirability of reducing the instances where CLASH and LAPSE are violated.

In *al-mutaqārib* and *al-mutadārak* (where every metron is presumably catalectic), the authors are unable to determine whether $\varnothing$ should appear at the beginning or at the end of the metron.

G&R tell us that all the feet of *al-basīṭ* were originally of the structure σHLH and that subsequently catalexis occurred in the second and the fourth metra (σHLH $\Rightarrow$ σLH), sparing the first and the third metra. Could catalexis have occurred in the first and the third metra, sparing the second and the fourth metra? If not, what restriction is involved?

G&R tell us that *al-ṭawīl, al-basīṭ, al-mutaqārib,* and *al-mutadārak* are derived from four source meters each of which comprises four identical quadrisyllabic metra. If their assertion is true, why are the four source meters absent from the list of classical Arabic meters? If the four source meters are purely theoretical strings, would postulating their existence, on some abstract level, be justified merely by the *desire* to have binary metra and binary feet? The fact is that we would end up with a circular argument: the assumption of binarity justifies the theoretical meters, and the theoretical meters justify the assumption of binarity.

G&R postulate source strings for a total of five meters: the four discussed above *(al-ṭawīl, al-basīṭ, al-mutaqārib, al-mutadārak)* and *al-madīd.* It is interesting to note that, of these five, *al-madīd* (σLHH σØLH σLHH σØLH) is the only meter whose source string does *not* consist of identical metra. Such incongruence has unsettling significance: G&R imply that the acatalectic metra in a given meter specify the source forms of the catalectic metra in the same meter (this is why G&R cannot determine the source strings of *al-mutaqārib* and *al-mutadārak* all of whose metra are catalectic); but then, in the case of *al-madīd,* G&R are forced to abandon that guiding

principle. Whatever its cause, the incongruence and inconsistency under discussion do not inspire confidence in catalexis as a means of establishing binarity; nor do they argue convincingly in favor of the claim that the feet of Classical Arabic poetry are binary in structure.

The syllable which G&R have postulated as the target of catalexis deserves a few brief comments at this point. For the sake of convenience, we shall refer to that syllable as the "object of catalexis" or OC. Consider, for example, the first metron of *al-ṭawīl* (LHσØ) whose source string is LHσH. Were it σ instead of H, the last filler of the source string would not be subject to deletion since, according to G&R, catalexis cannot eliminate a variable position. Thus the theory of Prosodic Metrics stipulates that the OC is always a hard and invariable syllable. G&R's desire and manipulation aside, what independent evidence vouches for the existence of the OC? Certainly its existence is not supported by the empirical facts of metrical variation: the attested data tell us, for example, that the final hard syllable of LHHH alternates with the light syllable L.[3] Apparently the OC is always a hard and invariable syllable simply because G&R have decreed it to be so in an attempt to prove the assumption that the metra and the feet of Classical Arabic poetry are binary structures. Is the OC an entity which G&R *discovered*, or is it an entity which they *wished* into existence?

Finally, what is the phonological value of a *deleted* syllable in the *oral* rendition of a poem? In the iambic meters of Classical Greek and Latin verse, it is the *auditory perception* of the binary foot ⏑— that gave the impression of rhythm. Now consider the situation in Classical Arabic verse as G&R want it to be. On page 4 of their paper, G&R tell us that the second foot of *al-ṭawīl* may be LØ or HØ (represented together as σØ). On the level of audible sounds, how can these two entities be perceived as bisyllabic feet? How can it be said with any degree of validity and credibility that a foot consisting of L plus a following zero is an iamb which the speaker and the listener favor because Arabic phonology favors the iamb as a sequence of *sounds* consisting of a light syllable followed by a hard syllable? The same questions apply to the sixth foot of *al-ṭawīl*. Unfortunately, G&R's theory provides no convincing answers to such questions.

In the opinion of this writer, G&R have not presented sufficiently convincing evidence and arguments to prove the metrical reality of ∅ and to support their assumption that each of the metra faʿūlun and fāʿilun consists of two binary feet. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in the context of G&R's theory, ∅ has created nothing but a mere illusion of binarity.

The cherished feature of binarity characterizes all metric feet only on a theoretical plane which G&R have postulated on the basis of no valid evidence and no convincing argument. What would happen if we discounted this fictitious formulation and still opted to uphold G&R's claim that binarity and iambicity are inalienable features of Standard Arabic verse? We would have to accept the conclusion that, on the level of audible sounds, each of the long metra consists of two bisyllabic feet, while each of the short metra consists of a bisyllabic foot coupled with a monosyllabic foot. Thus we would end up with two foot-types one of

which is binary and (at least potentially) iambic, while the other is neither binary nor iambic. We would, of course, need to lay down some kind of rule for determining the boundary which separates the two feet of a short metron.

Generality and Explanatory Power. A theory of Classical Arabic meters should be related to a general theory which deals with rhythm and meter as universal phenomena; this would endow the theory of Classical Arabic meters with explanatory power.

Generality and explanatory power seem to be the primary objective of G&R's paper, and some students of Arabic poetry believe that G&R have achieved that objective. In a 2009 study,[4] Hazel Scott submits that G&R's theory "most successfully translates al-Kʰalīl's meters into a universal framework with strong explanatory results". There is some truth in her statement. However, when seeking to establish generality, a scholar must face certain hard questions. To be general, must a theory *force* Classical Arabic meters to have feet which coincide with the metrical feet of languages like Classical Greek, Latin, German, and English? Would the requirement of generality be better served by elucidating the shared metrical principles which subject units to patterned recurrence? In other words, are the concepts of patterning and recurrence more valid as general principles than the units themselves? Is there room for saying that a number of metrical systems are similar because they all subject a set of units to the principle of patterned recurrence, *even though* the units themselves are different? Perhaps a concrete example would help to clarify this issue. In the most common English meter, the iambic pentameter, each line consists of a fixed number of syllables divided into a fixed number of groups, with the same stress pattern occurring on each group: thus a line comprises five iambic feet, each composed of an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed syllable. Now consider the "standard" strings of Classical Arabic meters (i. e., the basic strings which have not been subjected to any *ziḥāf* or *ʿilla*). Each standard line consists of a fixed number of syllables divided into a fixed number of groups (which G&R call metra), with similar placement of the invariable filler L in all groups: L is either initial or medial in all of the groups; the only group (or metron) which violates this rule is the anomalous form mafʿūlātu. An example in point is the standard string of *al-ṭawīl* (LHH LHHH LHH LHHH); another is the standard string of *al-basīṭ* (HHLH HLH HHLH HLH). Is it so difficult to see some correspondence between the schema employed by the English pentameter and the schema employed by the standard strings of Classical Arabic meters, despite the difference in details? Human beings share many features, and (unless we are badly mistaken) the sense of rhythm is one of those features; but human beings also differ in many features, and they often use different tools to express the features which they share. In all languages, meter is a method of organizing a poem's rhythm through patterned recurrence of elements; but the elements subjected to patterned recurrence are not always binary feet:[5]

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1. In **quantitative verse** (the meter of classical Greek and Latin poetry), the basic rhythmic units subjected to patterned recurrence are various combinations of long and short syllables; the most common of these units is the iamb (LH).

2. **Syllabic verse** (most common in Romance languages and Japanese) is based on a fixed number of syllables within a line although the number of stresses may be varied. Thus, the classic meter of French poetry is the alexandrine, a line of 12 syllables with a medial caesura (a pause occurring after the 6th syllable). The Japanese haiku is a poem of 17 syllables, composed in lines of 5/7/5 syllables each.

3. **Accentual verse** (common in Germanic languages) counts only the number of stresses or accented syllables within a line and allows a variable number of unaccented syllables.

4. **Accentual-syllabic verse** (the usual form of English poetry) produces lines of fixed numbers of alternating stressed and unstressed syllables. In English poetry, feet are not always iambic, nor are they always bisyllabic. The following line, composed by Shakespeare, is made up of five bisyllablic feet:

> Tíred wĭth | ăll thĕse, | fŏr rést | fŭl deáth | Ĭ crý

The following two lines, composed by Kipling, are made up of six trisyllabic feet:

> Fŏr thĕ stréngth | ŏf thĕ Páck | ĭs thĕ Wólf |

> ănd thĕ stréngth | ŏf thĕ Wólf | ĭs thĕ Páck

Thus a prosodist does not have to insist that in *all* languages the units subjected to patterned recurrence are binary feet. As shown above, syllabic verse, accentual verse, and accentual-syllabic verse would contradict this claim. Indeed, classical Greek and Latin poetry would also contradict this claim since, relative frequency aside, non-binary feet did occur in the corpus; examples of such feet are the dactyl (—⌣⌣), the anapest (⌣⌣—), the cretic (—⌣—), the bacchius (⌣——), and the tribrach (⌣⌣⌣). It follows that a prosodist does not have to insist that in Classical Arabic meters the units subjected to patterned recurrence must be binary feet; as it turns out, those units are metra. If the letter *A* stands for the short (trisyllabic) metron, and the letter *B* stands for the long (quadrisyllabic) metron, we can identify the four major patterns of Classical Arabic meters as mere repetition (AAAA, AAA, BBB, BB), supplemented repetition (BBA), interrupted repetition (BAB), and alternation (ABAB, BABA). Notice that the four patterns in question pertain specifically to the "standard" strings of Classical Arabic meters.

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Parenthetically, it might be worthwhile to point out that accentual verse displays a subtle resemblance to the standard strings of Classical Arabic meters, despite the difference in details. In accentual verse, a line has invariable as well as variable elements. In the standard hemistich of most Classical Arabic meters, each pre-final metron contains an invariable core (namely, the sequence LH), and the remaining syllables of the metron are variable; in the final metron, most of the syllables are variable. Thus, like the line of accentual verse, the standard line of Classical Arabic meters contains invariable as well as variable elements. The difference is that in accentual verse the terms "invariable" and "variable" pertain to the number of stresses, whereas in Classical Arabic meters they pertain to the duration of syllables (deletion being regarded as reduction to zero duration). It should be noted that the invariable sequence is HL (rather than LH) in the anomalous, controversial metron mafˁūlātu. It should also be noted that in the standard line of *al-mutadārak,* only the final syllable of each metron is invariable.

Again, parenthetically, it might be worthwhile to point out that Classical Arabic meters are not unique in employing the patterns of mere repetition, interrupted repetition, supplemented repetition, and alternation. Mere repetition and interrupted repetition, for example, occur in the English iambic pentameter and the Japanese haiku respectively (although neither the English iambic pentameter nor the Japanese haiku uses metra as building blocks for its particular type of versification).

In connection with Classical Arabic meters, why do G&R insist that all feet must be binary, and why do they attribute so much importance to the role of the (binary) iamb? They offer three arguments for their position: The (binary) iamb is popular in the poetry of all languages; the sequence LH is popular in Arabic poetry; and the sequence LH is popular within the linguistic structure of Arabic.[6] The first argument becomes irrelevant if we focus on the universal feature of patterned recurrence rather than the particular units which recur: what really matters is the fact that Classical Arabic meters *do* exhibit the feature of patterned recurrence; the units which figure most prominently in such recurrence are *metra* rather than feet. The second argument is refuted by the fact that, as will be shown below, the popularity of certain Classical Arabic meters does not have to be explained in terms of (binary) iambic *feet:* it can be attributed to high "coefficients of effectiveness". As for G&R's legitimate refusal to condone feet which are "non-existent in Arabic phonology and morphology", such concern is unwarranted in the eyes of those who wish to accept metra as the units whose patterned recurrence generates rhythm: metra are morphophonemic shapes (known as "measures") which conform strictly and completely to the phonological and the morphological structures of Classical Arabic.

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If it is true (and we believe it to be) that the universal principle of patterned recurrence can employ different units in different metrical systems, it would follow that G&R's theory has dedicated an inordinate amount of attention and effort to a peripheral aspect of generality and not enough attention to the more fundamental aspects. It is clear from their paper that G&R deserve a great deal of respect as linguists, scholars, and researchers; for this reason, the present writer has no doubt that they will, sooner or later, reach the conclusion that other aspects of generality should be explored more fully when constructing a theory of Classical Arabic meters. Perhaps they have already reached that conclusion.

G&R claim that the foot structure LH is what makes "iambic meters" popular. Logically, then, the most common form of *al-rajaz* should be LHLH LHLH LHLH; likewise, the most common form of *al-hazaj* should be LHLH LHLH. G&R present no empirical statistics to prove this claim. William Wright's transcription, on the other hand, seems to indicate that the form LHLH is rare, to the point of being negligible, in *al-hazaj*. Can a reasonable explanation be found to reconcile this fact with the claim that LH is what makes meters popular? G&R's theory of Prosodic Metrics provides no such explanation.

What about the four meters *al-ṭawīl, al-kāmil, al-wāfir,* and *albasīṭ* which reportedly constitute up to 90% of Arabic poetry? It is not clear whether these four meters are categorized as iambic because every one of their feet is an iamb, or because they are free of trochaic feet. The first alternative is problematic:

1. In *al-ṭawīl* and *al-basīṭ,* G&R postulate the occurrence of ∅ as a filler which replaces a hard syllable; only with this assumption in mind can it be said that *every* foot in the two meters is iambic. For the reasons explained above, the validity of ∅ as a filler is questionable.

2. G&R use the following string to represent *al-kāmil:* ɸHLH ɸHLH ɸHLH; they use the following string to represent *al-wāfir:* LHɸH LHɸH LHɸH. Each foot in the two meters would be an iamb only if LLH is considered an iamb; but to consider LLH an iamb would violate the general pattern which we find in Classical Arabic meters and which defines the iamb as a sequence consisting of *one* light syllable followed by one heavy syllable. To be sure, the sequence LL here fills a single metrical position, but it still consists of *two* syllables. The actual fact is that a possible solution is available: each metron in *al-kāmil* and *al-wāfir* can (though very rarely) assume the form LHLH.[7] Thus, in each metron of *al-kāmil* and *al-wāfir,* ɸH is (by the skin of its teeth) a potential iamb, and LH is a canonical iamb. The problem is G&R's definition of the filler ɸ: they define ɸ as a cover symbol which stands for LL or H; with a grain of salt, it can be defined as a cover symbol which stands for LL, H, *or* L.

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The second alternative is also problematic; it claims that the four meters under discussion are iambic in the sense that they contain no trochees, but the claim contradicts the empirical data:

1. Although not evident in the representation used by G&R, the second metron of *al-ṭawīl* can assume the form LHHL whose second foot is a trochee.

2. Although not evident in the representation used by G&R, the first and the third metra of *al-basīṭ* can assume the form HLLH whose first foot is a trochee.

G&R explain the popularity of the sequence LH and the unpopularity of the sequence HL in terms of CLASH, LAPSE, the structure of Classical Arabic phonology, and the structure of Classical Arabic morphology (G&R remind us, on page 17, of the "well-established iambic preference in Arabic phonology and morphology"). The explanation is credible and impressive; G&R can be justly proud of it. There is considerable explanatory power in the statement which appears on page 12 of G&R's paper and which points out that LH "is the only combination of Ls and Hs that violates neither CLASH nor LAPSE". This writer submits that the relative frequency of Classical Arabic meters can be determined solely on the strength of that statement; the basic assumptions are as follows:

1. The more the violations of CLASH and LAPSE, the less frequent is a meter.

2. The domain of CLASH or LAPSE is a combination of two adjacent syllables within a metron.

3. The possible bisyllabic combinations within the metra of Classical Arabic meters are LL, HH, HL, and LH. Of these combinations, LH is the only one which violates neither CLASH nor LAPSE.

4. The primary motivation for metrical variation is to permit the poet some freedom in selecting words. Such freedom encourages maximization of metrical variants; on the other hand, phonological preferences encourage maximization of the bisyllabic combination LH and minimization of the other bisyllabic combinations (LL, HH, and HL). Thus phonological preferences represent a constraint on variation. The frequency of meters depends, at least in part, on the effectiveness of that constraint. A rough coefficient of effectiveness (COE) can be represented as the ratio between N_1 and N_2, where N_1 stands for the total number of times that LH occurs *within the metra* of a given meter, and N_2 stands for the total number of times that the other bisyllabic combinations occur *within the metra* of the same meter. The count must cover all variants of the metra, and it must exclude combinations which cross metra boundaries.

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Using William Wright's study of Classical Arabic meters as a guide, this writer calculated the COE for eight Classical Arabic meters. When the eight meters were arranged in descending order of their coefficients, the following list emerged: *al-ṭawīl, al-kāmil, al-wāfir, al-basīṭ, al-kʰafīf, al-madīd, al-ramal,* and *al-munsariḥ.* Notice that the order is exactly the same as the descending order of frequency on page 11 of G&R's paper. The point to be emphasized here is that our calculations were based solely on G&R's ranking of different bisyllabic combinations in regard to CLASH and LAPSE; there was no need for controversial concepts like binary metra and binary feet, nor was there any need for the controversial concept of dividing feet into iambs and trochees.

On pages 12 and 13 of their paper, G&R allude to the universality of CLASH and LAPSE. As shown above, these two features have considerable explanatory power in the context of Classical Arabic meters—a fact which confirms the well-known axiom that generality imparts explanatory power to the theory.

Adequacy. To be adequate, a theory must account for the entire corpus of primary data. To this end, the theory must include a set of general rules which generate all, and nothing but, the primary data. In the absence of such rules, the theory suffers from arbitrariness. Careful examination reveals the fact that the theory of Metric Prosody is characterized by arbitrariness in at least two areas: the variation of feet, and the formation of meters.

1. **Variation of feet.** Each of the symbols σ and ϕ indicates alternation between two different fillers, but such alternation is not rule-governed: the theory provides no set of general rules to determine which feet in a given meter should be variable and which should be invariable; nor does the theory provide a set of general rules that determine what shapes a given variable foot can assume. The symbols σ and ϕ tell us *what* variants occur, but not *why* those variants occur.

2. **Formation of meters.** The feet which constitute a given meter are not always uniform in regard to type: in some meters, iambs co-occur with trochees and spondees (a spondee is the invariable foot HH); such co-occurrence is not governed by general rules.

G&R will probably be surprised by our claim that foot variation in their theory is arbitrary. On page 4 of their study, they say that "constraints on verse feet dictate what prosodic unit or class of units may fill a metrical position: L, H, LL, σ, ϕ, S, or $\varnothing$." The constraints mentioned in G&R's paper do not live up to this assertion:

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1. On page 2 of their paper, G&R state that each of the sequences σH and φH represents a "natural class of feet" rather than two distinct (unrelated) feet. Unfortunately, G&R offer no precise definition for what they mean by the expression "natural class". Hopefully, they do not mean a class of freely interchangeable feet: we cannot, for example, substitute HH wherever we find LH as a foot (consider the metra LHHH and HHLH); we cannot substitute LH wherever we find HH as a foot (consider the metron HLHH); and we cannot substitute LLH wherever we find HH as a foot (consider the metron HLHH).

2. Two constraints are mentioned on pages 5 and 6:

   (a) Every metron contains at least one (and in most cases *only* one) variable position. Unfortunately this constraint does not spare us the necessity of learning by rote: it does not predict, in accordance with general rules, *which* positions are variable and *which* variable fillers occupy those positions. Likewise, this restriction does not predict, in accordance with general rules, *which* positions are invariable and *which* invariable fillers occupy those positions. Moreover, we are not told *why* every metron contains at least one variable position.

   (b) Catalexis targets the least rhythmic foot. In *al-ṭawīl,* for example, catalexis targets the foot σH to avert the occurrence of the sequence HH which violates CLASH. Yet no catalexis occurs in *al-munsariḥ* (which G&R represent on page 8 as HσLH HσHL HσLH) or *al-hazaj* (which G&R represent on page 8 as LHHσ LHHσ). This constraint, therefore, does not consistently predict the occurrence of ∅ as a filler. The plain truth is that ∅ occurs only where G&R want it to occur in order to create a quadrisyllabic source for a trisyllabic metron.

3. On pages 12 – 14, CLASH and LAPSE are added to the list of constraints: LH is rhythmically perfect because it violates neither CLASH nor LAPSE; HL is rhythmically the most ill-formed; HH and LL are moderately ill-formed. LAPSE is violated by HL; it is also violated by the following feet (each of which can give rise to HL): Hσ, σL, σσ. On the other hand, LAPSE is not violated by any foot that ends in H (LH, LLH, HH). "This is what separates the four iambic meters from the rest," say G&R. Unfortunately, this restriction does not go far enough: while it tells us which filler should occur in the *second* position of a given foot in an "iambic" meter, it does not tell us precisely which filler should occur in the *first* position of that foot. Moreover, this restriction does not tell us which filler should occur in either position of a given foot in a "trochaic" meter. We must rely on learning by rote rather than relying on general rules.

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The arbitrariness discussed above means that, in regard to the mechanism which G&R propose for handling variation, the theory of Prosodic Metrics is disappointing: rather than formulating general rules that can generate the variants, G&R have been content to invent a new orthography for representing Classical Arabic meters—an orthography which serves as nothing more than a book-keeping device.

1. By saying that G&R's orthography is new we mean that it differs from the representations used in previous studies. For example, G&R use the following sequence of symbols to represent *al-ṭawīl:* LHσ∅ LHσH LHσ∅ LHσH . Al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī represents the standard form of the same meter by the following sequence: مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَعُولُنْ (faʿūlun mafāʿīlun faʿūlun mafāʿīlun); William Wright represents it by the sequence ⌣–– ⌣––– ⌣–– ⌣––– , and those who favor numerical symbols represent it by the sequence 122 1222 122 1222 . In all fairness, we must acknowledge the fact that the orthography invented by G&R is no inconsequential contribution in this age of computational linguistics.

2. G&R's orthography reflects the unfortunate state of the art at this moment, for the use of special symbols like σ, ϕ, and ∅ betrays the fact that so far we have been unable to formulate a sufficiently adequate, simple, and general set of rules which can account fully for variation in the meters of Classical Arabic poetry. With its special symbols, the orthography under discussion facilitates tidy storage of the information in a computerized file, but in the final analysis that orthography is essentially a book-keeping device. It is always possible to consult the computerized file in order to find out what variants a given meter can have, but the arbitrariness which characterizes this process is cumbersome and disconcerting to say the least.

Even as a book-keeping device, G&R's transcription often fails to account for some well-attested variants which are documented in authoritative works like ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl* and Part IV of William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language.* The following are a few examples:

1. G&R represent the meter *al-basīṭ* by the sequence σHLH σ∅LH σHLH σ∅LH. This representation conceals the fact that:

    (a) Each of the first and the third metra can assume the form LLLH.

    (b) In the second hemistich, the fourth metron can assume the form HH.

2. G&R represent the meter *al-rajaz* by the sequence σσLH σσLH σσLH. This representation conceals the fact that, in the second hemistich, the third metron can assume the form σHH (i.e., HHH or LHH).

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3. G&R represent the meter *al-ṭawīl* as LHσ∅ LHσH LHσ∅ LHσH. This representation conceals the fact that the second metron can assume the form LHHL.[8]

4. On pages 9 and 10 of their paper, G&R postulate the occurrence of ∅ as a filler in each metron of *al-mutadārak*. Not sure whether ∅ should be metron-initial or metron-final, G&R suggest that one of the following two strings might be the correct representation for *al-mutadārak:*

<div align="center">

σLH∅ σLH∅ σLH∅ σLH∅

∅σLH ∅σLH ∅σLH ∅σLH

</div>

Neither of the two strings accounts for the attested occurrence of HH as a variant of each metron in *al-mutadārak*.

5. Many more examples can be cited, but there is no need to belabor the point.

6. In footnote 3 of their paper, G&R make the following statements:

> "We have not here explored constraints on the half line (see Weil 1960). Many of the variations (ziḥāfāt 'relaxations' and ʿilal 'diseases, defects') discussed in e.g. Maling (1973) should in our view be formulated as edge constraint on the half-line. Ancient Greek meters allow any period final metrical position to be filled by L or H, regardless of the meter involved; a similar constraint holds in Arabic meter (Johanson 1994) and is arguably a property of the language as well (Restö 1994)."

These statements may constitute an apology for some of the discrepancies mentioned above, but it does not excuse such discrepancies. The fact remains that failure to explore "constraints on the half line" is a defect which needs to be addressed and rectified.

Although both use the syllable as the basic unit of description, William Wright's representation of Classical Arabic meters is a far more accurate (and therefore adequate) book-keeping device than that proposed by G&R.

Simplicity. To claim that H&R's theory of Prosodic Metrics has achieved an impressive degree of simplicity would be an overstatement. The following illustrate the concerns harbored by the present writer:

<div align="center">190</div>

1. Limiting the metrical types of Classical Arabic to two (the iambic and the trochaic) is a commendable attempt at simplification; it is a breath of fresh air in comparison with the approach, proposed by Ewald and William Wright, which divides the meters of Classical Arabic into five types: the iambic, the antispastic, the amphibrachic, the anapœstic, and the ionic. Unfortunately, G&R's attempt at simplification encounters two serious problems:

    (a) The first problem results from the proposed principle of binarity which claims that each metron consists of two feet and each foot consists of two metrical positions. As mentioned above, the "iambic meters", according to G&R, are *al-ṭawīl, al-kāmil, al-wāfir,* and *al-basīṭ* (G&R have reservations about classifying *al-rajaz, al-sarīˤ,* and *al-mutaqārib* as iambic meters). To show that such binarity exists in *al-ṭawīl* and *al-basīṭ* requires appeal to catalexis. As mentioned above, the status of $\varnothing$ is rather precarious and controversial in the opinion of this writer.

    (b) The second problem is the fact that the meters which G&R classify as trochaic do not consist entirely of trochaic feet; for this reason, G&R are forced, on page 7 of their paper, to be satisfied with the more modest claim that the meters in question "display a clear trochaic element in their verse feet."

2. The orthography invented by G&R may be easy to store on a computer, and the computerized file may be easy to consult whenever the variants of a given meter need to be determined. It might be sobering, however, to remember that human beings are not mechanical computers. Give a class of college students the meters of Classical Arabic poetry in the code invented by G&R, and find out how long it will take them to memorize those meters well enough to pass—even with a C average—a one-hour test which requires them to reproduce the entire list from memory!

Bibliographical Sources. The bibliographical list at the end of G&R's paper includes absolutely no Arabic books or articles. This shortcoming is regrettable since some of the most valid insights that have been offered in connection with Classical Arabic meters are recorded in Arabic sources like ˀIbrāhīm ˀAnīs' book *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiˤr.*

CONCLUSIONS

In Classical Arabic poetry, the rhythm generated by the patterned recurrence of metra is clear, and most modern prosodists have been satisfied to illuminate the patterns in question. G&R, on the other hand, have attempted to tackle the difficult task of finding, in Classical Arabic meters, a universal rhythm-generating mechanism below the level of the metra—a

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mechanism based on the recurrence of universal binary feet. This review underscores some of the problems which their attempt has encountered:

1. G&R have used catalexis in a manner which creates a mere illusion of binarity and iambicity.

2. To prove generality (universality), G&R have capitalized on the often shaky presumption of binarity and iambicity, meanwhile ignoring the more solid existence of rhythmic patterns which emerge from the various arrangements of metra. This reviewer holds that, thanks to the rhythmic patterns in question, the absence of binary feet such as those proposed by G&R would not rob Classical Arabic poetry of generality (universality).

3. When they talk of binary verse feet in the context of Classical Greek, Latin, and English poetry, prosodists do not mean that one constituent of such feet can be covert, theoretical, or fictitious. Thus it would be an overstatement to say that the theory of Prosodic Metrics has reconciled the verse feet of Classical Arabic poetry with a universal feature of verse feet (i. e., binarity).

4. G&R have declined to formulate accurate general rules to account for the primary data, opting instead for a book-keeping device which may be quite simple to handle for a computer but not for the human brain.

The problems pointed out above can in no way detract from G&R's contribution to Arabic prosody. Indeed, those who decide to reject G&R's study as a complete, autonomous, self-contained theory of Classical Arabic meters can still retain, and build on, insights such as the following observations:

1. Of all the bisyllabic combinations which occur within the metra of Classical Arabic poetry, LH (or represent it by $\smile-$ if you wish) is the most favored and HL (or $-\smile$) is the least favored.[9]

2. The preference of LH in Classical Arabic meter is connected to "a well-established preference in Arabic phonology and morphology".[10]

Compromise. Those who are haunted by the urge to fit the meters of Classical Arabic into a poetic form whose feet are both binary and iambic do not have to settle for G&R's theory: alternative interpretations are possible. Consider, for example, the following observations:

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1. The "standard" meters of Classical Arabic poetry consist of the concrete (as opposed to abstract or theoretical) hemistichs which are generated by al-K^halīl b. ʾAḥmad's circles and which yield variants upon application of the so-called *ziḥāfāt* and *ʿilal*. The "standard" feet are the immediate constituents of the hemistichs in question; they are the units which G&R call "metra".

2. In Classical Arabic poetry, the sequence ⌣– (where ⌣ stands for a short syllable and – stands for a long syllable) can be regarded as the kernel of standard feet. Two arguments support this point of view:

    (a) The sequence ⌣– is shared by *all* of the standard feet: each standard foot consists of ⌣– plus one or two long syllables. For the purposes of this discussion, it should be pointed out that:

       • The form –––⌣ is a non-canonical foot. According to al-K^halīl, it occurs only in the meters *al-sarīʿ* and *al-munsariḥ;* however, a close examination of the data shows the foot in question to be unattested in the meter *al-sarīʿ* and probably the result of faulty scansion in the meter *al-munsariḥ*.[11] It is therefore the opinion of this reviewer that –––⌣ should be excluded from the inventory of standard feet.

       • The constituent ﺱ functions as, and assumes the status of, a long syllable. The constituent in question occurs in the feet mutafāʿilun (مُتَفاعِلُنْ) and mufāʿalatun (مُفاعَلَتُنْ), represented respectively by the sequences ﺱ–⌣– and ⌣–ﺱ–.

    (b) As a general rule, the sequence ⌣– is the invariable portion of the standard foot (the exceptions to this rule occur in the hemistich-final feet of all meters, as well as the hemistich-prefinal feet of the controversial meter *al-mutadārak*); the balance of the standard foot is variable.

3.   Thus it would be possible to say that:

    (a) Each of the standard meters of Classical Arabic poetry comprises a fixed number of feet, and each foot is made up of a binary iambic kernel (⌣–) modified by the addition of one or two long syllables.

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- When only one modifier is added to the kernel, it may occur as a prefix or a suffix (yielding −⌣− or ⌣−−).

- When two modifiers are added, one may occur as a prefix while the other occurs as a suffix (yielding −⌣−−); alternatively, both modifiers may occur together as a compound prefix or a compound suffix (yielding −−⌣−, ш−⌣−, ⌣−−−, or ⌣−ш−).

(b) Modifying the kernel of each foot throughout a given standard meter takes place in a manner which generates additional patterning.

(c) While the modification described above may be viewed as system-specific, the recurrence of the binary iambic sequence ⌣− in the standard meters of Classical Arabic poetry promotes generality.

If the compromise suggested here is valid, we should not fail to acknowledge the fact that al-K^hᵃlīl was closer to the truth than G&R in defining the feet of Classical Arabic meters: what I call a "kernel" al-K^hᵃlīl called a "peg", and what I call "modifiers" he called "cords". In a tent, pegs are considered pivotal and cords are considered peripheral.

The system-specific aspect of Classical Arabic meters deserves a few more comments:

- Using the *plain* iamb (⌣−) exclusively as the standard foot of Classical Arabic verse would restrict the standard hemistich to a single rhythmic pattern: simple repetition. In contrast, using the *modified* iamb as the standard foot can generate additional rhythmic patterns (supplemented repetition, interrupted repetition, and alternation). Generating a multiplicity of patterns by adding affixes to a basic form is an inherent feature in Classical Arabic; to substantiate this statement, it would suffice to cite, as an example, the fact that a variety of triliteral verb forms, known collectively as the *mazīd* المَــزِيد , are derived, by affixation, from the so-called *mujarrad* المُجَـــرَّد .[12]

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Part I: Appendix IV

- Expanding the iamb by adding to it one or two long syllables, in the manner already described, generates a set of standard feet which are identical in morphophonemic structure to certain classes of actual triliteral words. Such identity facilitates auditory perception of the feet which occur in a given hemistich of Classical Arabic verse. It is significant in this context to mention that the triliteral are by far the most common words of Classical Arabic. It is also significant to mention that, at least in non-pausal positions, triliteral words of the un-expanded form ⌣— constitute a relatively small subset; the much larger inventory of triliteral words involves expansion of the form ⌣—.

- One can hardly claim that Classical Arabic meters are unique in displaying language-specific, as well as universal, features. After all, in languages (such as Greek) where speech is characterized by syllable-timed rhythm, the metric feet are defined in terms of syllables, whereas in languages (such as English) where speech is characterized by stress-timed rhythm the metric feet are defined in terms of stress.

- For more than half a century before G&R wrote their article, the various schools of Structural Linguistics enthusiastically highlighted the existence of language universals; yet the very same schools readily acknowledged—and still acknowledge—that language-specific features and units also exist. Hardly any linguist would challenge the statement that Semitic languages employ phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements which are not typical of Indo-European languages; for example, pharyngeal fricatives, emphatic consonants, the root-and-pattern system, *ʾiʿrāb*, and verbal sentences (that is, sentences which begin with a verb followed by an agent) are typical of Arabic but not of English. Why then should anyone deem it untenable for the feet of Arabic poetry to display certain system-specific features? Why indeed when the feet in question combine in patterns which generate the universal feature of rhythm, and when reshaping the feet in question to promote universality must be based on invalid assumptions?

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FOOTNOTES

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[1] Published under the title of "The Phonology of Classical Arabic Meter," the theory appeared in *Linguistics* (1997, pages 111 – 132); on 22 September 2009, it was posted on the Internet at the following URL: http://zimmer.csufresno.edu/~chrisg/index_files/ArabicMeter.pdf>

[2] See page 12 of G&R's article.

[3] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 101.

[4] Posted on the Internet at the following URL:

http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/Linguistics/2010theses/hazelscott.pdf

[5] See *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, sv "Rhythm" and "Meter".

[6] See pages 17 and 18 of G&R's article.

[7] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, pp. 151, 167.

[8] See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 101.

[9] See pages 12 and 13 of G&R's article.

[10] See p. 17 of G&R's article.

[11] See, for example, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sʰarḥ Tuḥfat al-Kʰalīl*, p. 233; ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Sʰiʿr*, pp. 90, 91, 142; Ibn Rasʰīq's *al-ʿUmda*, 4ᵗʰ printing, Part I, p. 135; and William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 366.

[12] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. I, p. 29.

In passing, we may observe that the binary syllabic cluster which constitutes the nucleus of the foot is rhythmically well-formed since it violates neither LAPSE nor CLASH. If the foot contains a binary cluster other than the nucleus, that cluster may be rhythmically well-formed or ill-formed; it is ill-formed if it violates LAPSE or CLASH.

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بحمد الله تم

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PART II

THE PHENOMENON OF ʔIʕRĀB

IN STANDARD ARABIC

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE ANCIENT ARAB GRAMMARIANS' THEORY

To account for *ʾiʕrāb,*[1] the Ancient Arab Grammarians developed an elaborate theory known as *al-taʕlīl* 'motivation'; the theory in question is summarized below,[2] and the summary is followed by a brief evaluation.

Types of Motivation

The Ancient Arab Grammarians defined three types of motivation which they called "causes" of *ʾiʕrāb:*

1. *al-ʕIlal al-taʕlīmiyya* 'pedagogical causes': Also called *ʕawāmil* 'governors',[3] these "causes" are defined as structural elements which accompany *ʾiʕrāb*. Thus *ʾinna* "causes" the subject to occur in the accusative and the predicate to occur in the nominative.

2. *al-ʕIlal al-qiyāsiyya* 'analogical causes': The Ancient Arab Grammarians appealed to analogy in order to explain certain aspects of *ʾiʕrāb*. They discerned, for example, a similarity between *ʾinna* and its sisters, on the one hand, and transitive verbs on the other; to this alleged similarity they attributed the fact that *ʾinna* and its sisters govern the accusative. Because they seek to explain a fact which is itself a cause, *al-ʕilal al-qiyāsiyya* are sometimes called *ʕilal al-ʕilal* 'causes of causes'.

3. *al-ʕIlal al-jadaliyya* 'argumentative or philosophical causes': These embrace "causes" which answer questions such as the following:

In what respect do *ʾinna* and its sisters resemble verbs?

Do *ʾinna* and its sisters resemble perfect verbs or imperfect ones?

If *ʾinna* and its sisters resemble verbs, why must their subject resemble a *transposed* object?

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Like those of the second type, *al-ʿilal al-jadaliyya* are sometimes called *ʿilal al-ʿilal* 'causes of causes'.

In his book *al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa,* ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (c. 377 – 471 A.H.) states that the "governors" consist of ninety-one lexical items, seven open-list classes, and two "concepts":

   1. The lexical items fall into thirteen groups:

      (a) Seventeen particles which govern the genitive: *min* 'from'; *ʾilā* 'to'; *fī* 'in, into'; *li-* 'to, for'; *rubba* 'many a'; *ʿalā* 'over, on, above'; *ʿan* 'about, away from'; *ka-* 'like, as'; *mudʰ* 'since'; *mundʰu* 'since'; *ḥattā* 'till, up to'; the oath particles *wa-, ta-,* and *bi-* 'by'; the exceptive particles *ḥāsʰā, kʰalā, ʿadā* 'except, besides'.

      (b) Six particles which govern the subject in the accusative while governing the predicate in the nominative: *ʾinna* 'indeed', *ʾanna* 'that', *kaʾanna* 'as though', *lākinna* 'but', *layta* 'would that', *laʿalla* 'perhaps'.

      (c) Two negative particles which, being analogous to *laysa,* govern the subject in the nominative while governing the predicate in the accusative: *lā, mā.*

      (d) Seven particles which govern the accusative: *wa-* [*wāw al-maʿiyya*] 'with'; *ʾillā* 'except'; the vocative particles *yā, ʾay, hayā, ʾayā,* and *ʾa-.*

      (e) Four particles which govern the subjunctive: *ʾan* 'that', *lan* 'will not', *kay* 'in order to', *ʾidʰan* 'in that case'.

      (f) Five particles which govern the jussive: *ʾin* 'if', *lam* 'did not', *lammā* 'has not yet', the imperative *li-* 'let', the prohibitive *lā* 'do not'.

      (g) Nine nomens *(ʾasmāʾ)*[4] which govern the jussive in conditional sentences: *man* 'whoever'; *ʾayy* 'whichever'; *mā* 'what'; *matā* 'when'; *mahmā* 'whatever'; *ʾaynamā, ʾannā, ḥaytʰumā* 'wherever'; *idʰmā* 'whenever'.

      (h) Four nomens which govern the accusative: the morpheme for the numeral 10 when combined with the morphemes for the numerals 2 – 9; *kam* 'how many?'; *kaʾayyin* 'many a, how many a'; *kadʰā* 'so and so much, so and so many'.

      (i) Nine forms, known as *ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl,* of which six govern the accusative and three govern the nominative. The first set consists of: *ruwayda* 'slowly, gently'; *balha* 'let alone'; *ḥayyahala* 'come quickly'; *hā-, ʿalay-, dūna-* (with a second-person pronoun appended to each) 'take, seize'. The second set consists of *hayhāti* 'how far ...!', *sʰattāna* 'how different ...!', *surʿāna* 'how quickly ...!'.

      (j) Thirteen incomplete verbs which govern the subject in the nominative while governing the predicate in the accusative: *kāna* 'to be'; *ṣāra* 'to become'; *ʾaṣbaḥa* 'to be or do in the morning'; *ʾamsā* 'to be or do in the evening'; *ʾaḍḥā* 'to be or do in the forenoon'; *ḍʰalla* 'to be

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or do during the whole day'; *bāta* 'to be or do during the whole night'; *mā zāla, mā bariḥa, mā fatiʾa, ma nfakka* 'still'; *mā dāma* 'as long as'; *laysa* 'not'.

(k) Four verbs which govern a single nomen in the nominative: *ʿasā* 'may'; *kāda, karaba, ʾawsʰaka* 'to be about to (do something)'.

(l) Four verbs—two of praise and two of blame—which govern a definite nomen in the nominative: *niʿma* 'to be good', *ḥabbadʰā* 'to be pleasing', *biʾsa* 'to be bad', *sāʾa* 'to be displeasing'.

(m) Seven verbs of the heart which govern two objects in the accusative: *ʿalima* 'to know'; *raʾā* 'to see, think, know'; *wajada* 'to find, perceive'; *dʰanna* 'to think, believe'; *ḥasiba* 'to think, reckon, suppose'; *kʰāla* 'to think, imagine'; *zaʿama* 'to think, deem, claim'.

2. The seven open-list classes are: the verb, the active participle, the passive participle, the adjective resembling a participle (*al-ṣifa al-musʰabbaha*), the verbal noun, the *muḍāf,* and the disambiguated noun (*al-mumayyaz*).

3. The two "concepts" are:

(a) The Subject function; it governs the filler of the Subject slot and that of the Predicate slot.

(b) The absence of subjunctive and jussive governors; such absence governs the indicative.

The Principle of Implication

A governor may be explicit or implicit; this fact led the Ancient Arab Grammarians to lay down a principle which they called *al-taʾwīl* 'implication' and which bears striking resemblance to the modern grammarian's Deep Structure.

In this context, the following distinctions were drawn (the terms *actual* and *theoretical* are used in opposition to each other):

1. Deletion (اَلْحَذْف) is the omission of a constituent from an actual string to produce another actual string. In the following examples, the governor is deleted from each response:

Question: man qābalta? 'Whom did you meet?'

Response: ʿAliyyan. 'Ali.'

Question: ʾilā man katabta? 'To whom did you write?'

Response: 'Aliyyin. 'Ali.'

2. *Postulation* (الإسْتِتَار) is the absence of an element from an actual string while present in a theoretical, underlying string. Postulation was restricted to: (a) the assumption that a pronominal agent is implied in sentences like *ʿAliyyun rajaʿa* 'Ali returned' and *nanāmu mubakkiran* 'We

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sleep early'; (b) the assumption that, if not actually expressed, *ʔan* is implied before subjunctive verbs.

3. *Equivalence* is the interchangeability of two expressions in the context of an actual utterance. Accordingly, a sequence consisting of *ʔan* and the imperfect verb was deemed equivalent to the corresponding verbal noun; again, a sentence was deemed syntactically equivalent to a single word when it functions as a predicate, an object of *ḍʰanna* 'to think or believe', a *ḥāl*, or an adjective. Thus the *ʔiʕrāb* required by certain slots may be associated with an implied form rather than the actual filler.

Evaluation

A grammatical analysis should be evaluated by three criteria:[5]

1. *Generality:* The rules must be related to a general theory of human language. Conformity with this requirement promotes "explanatory power": the rules are deemed "natural", "logical", and "plausible"; the learner finds those rules easy to grasp and easy to remember.

2. *Adequacy:* The rules must account for the data.

3. *Simplicity:* Of two grammatical theories, the simpler one postulates less rules, imposes less diversity on those rules, and generates less exceptions.

As formulated by the Ancient Arab Grammarians, the theory of *ʔiʕrāb* leaves much to be desired:

1. The Ancient Arab Grammarians achieved little, if any, success in regard to generality and explanatory power:

(a) They failed to postulate motivation which can apply to verbs and nomens alike, with the result that the same state of *ʔiʕrāb* is presumed to designate unrelated features; using the same marker to designate unrelated features is hardly a universal characteristic of human language. In addition, they failed to show why certain particles govern *ʔiʕrāb* while others do not, why a governing set of particles comprises certain forms but not others, and why different sets of particles govern different states of *ʔiʕrāb;* in such matters, human language is systematic rather than arbitrary.

(b) Some of the explanations they proposed are far-fetched, and others are circular; the following are examples:[6]

(i) The objects of verbs are typically marked by *–a* while the agents are typically marked by *–u;* this results from two premises: *-a* is easier to pronounce than *–u,* and nomens function as objects of verbs more often than they function as agents. The easier marker is assigned to the more common function.

(ii) Diptotes are less common than triptotes, and verbs are less common than nomens; it follows that diptotes are analogous to verbs and that, like verbs, they reject *–i* as well as nunation.

(iii) The third-person feminine plural suffix *–na* in a word like *katab-na* 'they (fem.) wrote' has a final vowel because the stem ends in a consonant and because a cluster of two consonants is barred in non-pausal word-final position. The stem of *katab-na,* on the other hand,

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does not end in a vowel to avert the occurrence of an atypical sequence; the atypical sequence in question (*katabana*) is defined as four consecutive short syllables which constitute a verbal stem and a pronominal agent. Thus, according to the Ancient Arab Grammarians, the occurrence of the termination –*a* is motivated by the medial consonant cluster, and the occurrence of the medial consonant cluster is motivated by the termination –*a*.

2. The Ancient Arab Grammarians failed to satisfy the requirement of adequacy since they achieved only partial success in identifying the governors. They looked for lexical concomitants of *ʔiʕrāb*. In some instances such concomitants were identified and considered the motivation when a closer investigation would have shown them to be (redundant) markers which designate the presence of certain features. In other instances, no lexical concomitants were found and the ancient grammarians therefore looked for parts of speech or grammatical functions; unfortunately, no effort was made to relate *ʔiʕrāb* to features such as modality, tense, aspect, and adjunction.[7]

3. The Ancient Arab Grammarians failed to satisfy the requirement of simplicity:

(a) Only partial success was achieved in stating the domain of *rafʕ*. Given the fact that *ʔiʕrāb* in Standard Arabic comprises four states *(jazm, jarr, naṣb,* and *rafʕ)*, it behooves the linguist to explore the possibility that three of those states are motivated by certain grammatical features, and the fourth state is motivated by the *absence* of those features. In studying verbs, the Ancient Arab Grammarians scored some success in exploring this possibility: they stipulated that a verb assumes the state of *rafʕ* if there is no motivation for *jazm* or *naṣb;* at the cost of reducing simplicity (and, for that matter, generality), the motivation they postulated consisted of lexical elements rather than grammatical features. In studying nomens, on the other hand, they achieved no success in exploring the possibility under discussion; consequently, the rules are excessively numerous.

(b) The rules are largely unrelated and frustratingly encumbered with exceptions.[8]

In his famous book *al-Radd ʕalā al-Nuḥāh*, Ibn Maḍāʔ al-Qurṭubī (513 – 592 A.H.) expressed frustration with his predecessors' motivation theory: in his view, the speaker's will is the only governor of *ʔiʕrāb,* and none but explicit structural elements can play a role in such government (the role in question being merely to indicate the speaker's intention). As seen from the above discussion, this writer is even less satisfied with the theory.

The present study represents an attempt to remedy the defects. In the interest of reaching as many readers as possible, technical terms are deliberately minimized, and technical discussion (when inevitable) is deliberately simplified. All the same, it must be emphasized that the present study is not addressed to beginners: it is only practical to presuppose that the reader is thoroughly familiar with the structure of Standard Arabic as formulated by ancient and modern scholars. One would be unreasonable, for example, to insist that certain already well-established lists and definitions must be repeated before new insights can be presented (lists and definitions which pertain to the parts of speech and the various sentence types are a case in point).

Of the references cited, Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language* proved to be the most helpful not only in providing the raw grammatical information but also in supplying examples. Lyons' work was very helpful in the process of defining the relevant semantic concepts.

Note

Notwithstanding the defects pointed out in this chapter, the linguistic refinement of the Ancient Arab Grammarians can hardly be denied: with impressive insight, they developed a set of tools to satisfy the three requirements which a theory must meet:

　　1. Pedagogical causes (*al-ʿilal al-taʿlīmiyya*) seek to satisfy the requirement of adequacy by providing rules which account for the data. The following two rules are a case in point: (a) The particle *ʾinna* introduces a nominal sentence, governing the subject in the accusative and the predicate in the nominative; (b) A transitive verb governs a direct object in the accusative and an agent in the nominative.

　　2. Analogical causes (*al-ʿilal al-qiyāsiyya*) seek to satisfy the requirement of simplicity: by comparing various rules and the structures they generate, one can identify common features and formulate fewer rules to account for the same set of data. The two rules just cited generate structures such as the following: (i) *ʾinna l-muttahama barīʾun* 'The defendant is definitely innocent'; (ii) *qābala s-safīra murāsilun* 'A correspondent interviewed the ambassador'. Since both structures can be described by the string *Governor + Accusative Noun + Nominative Noun*, the two rules can be combined into one: A transitive governor causes one slot to be in the accusative and another slot to be in the nominative. Significantly, the Ancient Arab Grammarians referred to *ʾinna* and its "sisters" as *al-ḥurūfu l-musʰabbahatu bi-l-fiʿli* 'the particles which resemble the verb'.

In some instances, common features can be perceived only with the help of implication (*al-taʾwīl*). Thus the utterance *an-nāra!* 'Fire!' is classified as a transitive clause by invoking a process of deletion which derives it from *iḥdʰari n-nāra!* 'Beware of the fire!'

　　3. Philosophical causes (*al-ʿilal al-jadaliyya*) seek to satisfy the requirement of generality by providing explanations which may apply to various languages and which, therefore, may relate the grammar to a universal theory. Thus *ʾinna* is said to resemble the transitive verb *ʾakkada* since both denote affirmation.

Given the difference in function, it is not surprising that pedagogical and analogical causes deal primarily with structural features, while philosophical causes deal primarily with logical arguments.

Clearly, then, the shortcomings described in this chapter are attributable less to *lack* of valid procedures than to faulty *application* of procedures.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] The term *ʔiʕrāb* denotes the use of inflectional markers to designate grammatical function. Orientalists associate the contrasts involved with case and mood.

[2] For a more detailed presentation, see Muḥammad ʕĪd's *ʔUṣūl al-Naḫw al-ʕArabiyy,* pp. 131 – 262.

[3] See ʕAfīf Dimasʰqiyya's *Tajdīd al-Naʰw al-ʕArabiyy,* p. 161.

[4] A *nomen* is a form which can function as a noun (i.e., which can occupy a nominal slot).

[5] See Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, pp. 49 – 60.

[6] See Muḥammad ʕĪd's *ʔUṣūl al-Naḫw al-ʕArabiyy,* pp. 152, 153, 156.

[7] The inadequacies of traditional Arabic grammar are not limited to faulty treatment of *ʔiʕrāb.* During the Seventeenth Conference of Orientalists (held in Oxford in 1928), Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn expressed the view that the Ancient Arab Grammarians based their rules on a restricted corpus which ignored much of the Quran and Classical Arabic poetry. The result, explained Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, is that the Quran contains many instances where the text violates the rules formulated by the Ancient Arab Grammarians—an unfortunate discrepancy which has led some Orientalists to believe that the Quran contains grammatical errors. See the newspaper *al-Ḥayāh* (home-based in London), 25 August 2012, p. 14.

[8] See al-Zamakʰsʰarī's *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ʕIlm al-ʕArabiyya*.

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READER'S NOTES

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CHAPTER II

DEFINITIONS

1. The term *nomen* (*ism*) denotes a form which can function as a noun (i.e., which can occupy a nominal slot). Nomens comprise two classes of content forms as well as certain classes of function forms: the content forms are nouns and adjectives; of the function forms, the most common are substitutes, numerals, and quantifiers.[1]

2. The term *ʾiʿrāb* denotes the use of inflectional markers to designate grammatical function. Orientalists associate the contrasts involved with case and mood.

3. Arabic stems are divisible into two groups: those which are subject to *ʾiʿrāb,* and those which are not; the former are known to Arab grammarians as *al-muʿrab* 'the declinable', and the latter are known as *al-mabniyy* 'the indeclinable'. The following constitue the *muʿrab:*

    (a) Certain adverbial functors, when used in construct with a following form; of these the most common are: *ʾamām, bayn, dūn, fawq, ḥawl, ḥiyāl, ʾizāʾ, kʰalf, naḥw, qibal, quddām, taḥt, warāʾ, wasṭ, ʾatʰnāʾ, baʿd, dʰā* (e.g., *dʰā ṣabāḥin* 'one morning'), *dʰāt* (e.g., *dʰāta yawmin* 'one day'), *ʿind, qabl,* and *qubayl.*[2]

    (b) Imperfect verbs, when attached neither to the energetic suffix nor to the third-person feminine plural suffix.

    (c) All but a handful of nomens. The exceptions are almost restricted to mixed compounds (*al-murakkab al-mazjiyy*) and most of the pronominal forms.[3] In mixed compounds, the first constituent is usually indeclinable; in some, both constituents are indeclinable.

4. The term *mufrad* denotes (a) a nomen or (b) an attributive phrase with a nomen as head.

5. The term *naṣb* denotes the occurrence of a form with an accusative or a subjunctive marker; the term *rafʿ* denotes the occurrence of a form with a nominative or an indicative marker; the term *jarr* denotes the occurrence of a form with a genitive marker; and the term *jazm* denotes the occurrence of a form with a jussive marker.

6. The markers associated with *ʾiʿrāb* are illustrated below. A hyphen is used to indicate that, relative to the stem, the marker is a termination. Needless to say, the domain is restricted to *al-muʿrab*.

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State	Domain	Marker	Examples
Jazm	Imperfect verbs	-Ø	yaktub, yaktubā, yaktubū, taktubī
Jarr	Dual nomens	-ay	kitāb-ay-ni
	Diptotes	-a	qawāʕid-a
	Sound masculine plural nomens	-ī	muʕallim-ī-na, mudarris-ī-na, mufakkir-ī-na
	The five nomens الأَسْماء الخَمْسَة	-ī	ʔab-ī-ka
	Other nomens	-i	al-kitāb-i
	The adverbial functor *dʰī* (rare[4])	-ī	dʰ-ī
	Other adverbial functors	-i	qabl-i, baʕd-i, taḫt-i
Naṣb	Dual nomens	-ay	kitāb-ay-ni
	Sound masculine plural nomens	-ī	muʕallim-ī-na, mufakkir-ī-na, mudarrib-ī-na
	Sound feminine plural nomens	-i	al-muʕallimāt-i, aṭ-ṭāʔirāt-i, as-sayyārāt-i
	The five nomens	-ā	ʔab-ā-ka
	Other nomens	-a	al-kitāb-a
	The adverbial functor *dʰā*	-ā	dʰ-ā
	Other adverbial functors	-a	qabl-a, baʕd-a, warāʔ-a
	Imperfect verbs with –ā, ū, or ī	-Ø	yaktubā, yaktubū, taktubī
	Other imperfect verbs	-a	yadrus-a, yataʕallam-a, yastaʕmil-a
Rafʕ	Dual nomens	-ā	kitāb-ā-ni
	Sound masculine plural nomens	-ū	muʕallim-ū-na, murāsil-ū-na, musāʕid-ū-na
	The five nomens	-ū	ʔab-ū-ka
	Other nomens	-u	al-kitāb-u
	Imperfect verbs with -ā	-ni	yaktubā-ni, yataʕallamā-ni
	Imperfect verbs with -ū or -ī	-na	yaktubū-na, yadrusū-na, taktubī-na
	Other imperfect verbs	-u	yaktub-u, yadrus-u, yatakallam-u

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7. Specification is a major set of functions marked by *ʾiʿrāb;* it is defined as the determination of a profile which pertains to a verb, a sentence, or a syntactic slot. The verb, sentence, or syntactic slot will be called the "head".

The profile consists of (a) a single grammatical feature, or (b) a combination of grammatical features. Such features are always nuclear; peripheral features have no place in the profile.

A nuclear feature is diagnostic: it is necessary and sufficient for identifying the head; thus tense is a nuclear feature since without it an entity cannot be classified as a verb or a sequence containing a verb, and since only a verb or a sequence containing a verb possesses tense. Features other than nuclear ones will be called "peripheral": thus negation is a peripheral feature since it can apply to various constituents of the sentence; for the same reason, interrogation is a peripheral feature.

With respect to verbs, the only feature involved is *transitivity*. With respect to sentences, the features involved are, *modality* (the contrasts being *factive, non-factive, contra-factive; colorless, exclamatory; remote, intermediate, proximate; categorical, qualified*), *tense, aspect,* and *adjunction*. With respect to slots, the only feature involved is *function* (specifically, the nominal).

As a rule, the determined features are embodied in a word or a longer expression which modifies the head and which we shall call the "specifier". Thus in the sentence *ʾinna l-qāḍiya mutaḥayyizun* 'The judge is definitely partial', the specifier is *ʾinna* (notice that the specifier denotes certainty and modifies the head). Again, in *rajaʿa Samīrun wa-huwa yabkī* 'Samir returned weeping', the specifier is *wa-huwa yabkī*.

In a handful of instances (which will be covered later), sentence structure plays the role of specifier.

It is thus clear that:

(a) Specification is defined by two obligatory components: the profile, and the head.

(b) The profile is defined by the obligatory presence of a specifier which embodies at least one (nuclear) feature.

(c) The head is defined by obligatory restriction to three entities: the verb, the sentence, and the syntactic slot.

(d) Specification is a particular realization of the universal function known as the adverbial.

(e) *ʾIʿrāb* is no more than a morphological device for marking specification.

Sometimes a feature, though embodied in the specifier, is not associated with *ʾiʿrāb*. Such features will be excluded from the profile since *ʾiʿrāb* is the subject of this study.

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8. At this point we need to define the following terms: "fact", "possibility", and "contra-fact".

A sentence expresses a *fact* if it commits the speaker to the truth of the proposition. The commitment is "primary" if it is attributable to the current speaker, and "secondary" if it is attributable to some other speaker. In the following examples the italicized sentences are factive:

Group 1

sa-yarjiˤu Kamālun min Miṣra gʰadan.	'Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
ʔuʔakkidu laka ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I assure you that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
ʔaˤrifu ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I know that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
ʔaˤtaqidu ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I think that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'

Group 2

lan yarijiˤa Kamālun min Miṣra gʰadan.	'Kamal will not return from Egypt tomorrow.'
ʔaˤriful ʔanna *Kamālan lan yarjiˤa min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I know that Kamal will not return from Egypt tomorrow.'
ʔaˤtaqidu ʔanna *Kamālan lan yarjiˤa min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I believe that Kamal will not return from Egypt tomorrow.'

Group 3

(a)	lam ʔakun ʔaˤrifu ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I did not know that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
(b)	lā ʔuṣaddiqu ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I do not believe that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
(c)	lā ʔaˤtaqidu ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan.*	'I do not think that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
(d)	taḍʰunna Suˤādu ʔanna *Kamālan sa-yarjiˤu min Miṣra gʰadan,* lākinnahā mukʰṭiʔatun.	"Su'ad thinks that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow, but she is wrong.'

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Notice that in Group 1 the italicized sentences are affirmative while in Group 2 the italicized sentences are negative; thus commitment may be to the truth of an affirmative proposition or to the truth of a negative proposition.

In Group 3, commitment to the truth of the embedded proposition is secondary. Sentence 3a states that, at some point in the past, the current speaker did not know that the embedded proposition is true and implies that, since then, he has been told that the proposition in question is true. Sentences 3b, 3c, and 3d negate primary commitment, but affirm secondary commitment, to the truth of the embedded proposition.

A sentence expresses a *possibility* if it is non-factive; i.e., if it commits the speaker neither to the truth nor to the falsity of the proposition. The embedded sentence in *ʾarjū ʾan yarjiʿa Kamālun min Miṣra gʰadan* 'I hope Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow' expresses a possibility since it neither asserts nor denies that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow. Again, the deontic term is followed by a possibility (rather than a fact) in the following sentence since the speaker is stating an obligation, which may or may not be carried out, rather than expressing commitment to truth or falsity: *yajibu/lā-budda ʾan yarjiʿa Kamālun min Miṣra gʰadan* 'Kamal must return from Egypt tomorrow'. The following paraphrase may further clarify the definition: a sentence expresses a possibility if it indicates primary or secondary commitment to a neutral position. In *yurīdu ʿAliyyun ʾan yazūra Miṣra* 'Ali wants to visit Egypt', the embedded sentence expresses a possibility; notice that the desire associated with that possibility constitutes secondary rather than primary commitment.

A sentence expresses a *contra-fact* if it commits the speaker exclusively to the falsity of the proposition; the exclusion in this context rules out secondary as well as primary commitment to the truth of the proposition. Thus *law darasa Kamālun la-najaḥa fī l-imtiʰāni* 'Had Kamal studied, he would have passed the test' is contra-factive since it states that Kamal did not study and did not pass the test.

A fact is designated as [+ Factive], a possibility is designated as [+ Non-factive], and a contra-fact is designated as [+ Contra-factive]. The terms *factivity, non-factivity,* and *contra-factivity* refer to the features [+ Factive], [+ Non-factive], and [+ Contra-factive] respectively.

9. Lyons draws a distinction between a sentence and an utterance, associating the former with structure and the latter with use:

> "..... in the first place ..... the same sentence may be uttered to perform various speech-acts. Another reason is the related fact that the utterance or the context-of-utterance may contain non-linguistic information which contradicts the information that is linguistically encoded in the utterance-signal. For example, the meaning of a sentence like 'John is a brave man' is not affected by its being uttered ironically."[5]

This study draws no such distinction between sentences and utterances; instead, an utterance is used with its traditional definition as a stretch of speech which begins with silence or a pause and ends with silence or a pause.[6]

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10. In this study, the term "mood" denotes the speaker's perception of what he is saying: thus mood depicts various degrees or kinds of reality, contingency, or desirability of a proposition; it expresses statement, inquiry, order, condition, permission, prohibition, duty, necessity, wish, desire, expectation, and the like. The following four distinctions, controversial as they are, pertain to mood.[7] Notice that we view the four distinctions as separate components although they are certainly connected.

(a) The illocutionary act; i.e., the act performed by the speaker in saying something. Making a statement, issuing a command, and asking a question are examples of illocutionary acts.

(b) The illocutionary force; i.e., the status of an utterance as a statement, a command, a question, etc.

(c) The communicative role; i.e., the use of utterances for *constative* or *performative* purposes. Purely constative utterances are statements; their role is descriptive, and they can be characterized as true or false. In contrast, purely peformative utterances have no truth-value; their role is to *do* something rather than to say that something is or is not the case. Thus "I work eight hours a day" is constative, while "I pronounce you husband and wife" is performative. Sentences which follow *ʾan* are performative since their role is to name an event (e.g., *ʾuḥibbu ʾan ʾaqraʾa sʰ-sʰiʿra* 'I like to read poetry = *ʾuḥibbu qirāʾata sʰ-sʰiʿri* 'I like reading poetry'); on the other hand, sentences which follow *ʾanna* are constative since their role is to define the truth value of a proposition (e.g., *ʾaʿrifu ʾanna l-karama faḍīlatun* 'I know that generosity is a virtue').

In some instances, the utterance has a *binary* communicative role: on the one hand, it performs an act which cannot be characterized as true or false; on the other hand, it states a proposition which can be characterized as true or false. The following sentence is a case in point:

layta ʿAliyyan gʰaniyyun.   'I wish Ali were rich.'

The specifier (*layta*) designates the head as a wish; thus a performative purpose is indicated for the head. Simultaneously, the specifier designates the head as contra-factive; thus a constative purpose is indicated for the head. The binary role is also evident in hypothetical conditionals (where both propositions are contra-factive):

law darasa la-najaḥa.   'Had he studied, he would have passed the test.'

The following sentence has a binary communicative role:

ʾalammā taʿlamū minna l-yaqīna?   'Are you as yet uncertain about us?'

As a question, the sentence is performative; but the implied fact ('You will be certain about us') is constative.

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When both are assigned to the same Standard Arabic sentence, the performative purpose dominates the constative. Condition, for example, may be non-factive or contra-factive (compare *ʾidʰā* with *law*); thus condition is a higher-level feature in comparison with non-factivity and contra-factivity. In Standard Arabic, therefore, communicative roles can be restricted to two, the constative and the performative, with the understanding that the binary role is a sub-type of the performative.[8]

(d) The speaker's commitment (or subscription) to the illocutionary force, the communicative role, or some other feature of the proposition. Included here are: (i) the designation of propositions as fact, possibility, or contra-fact; (ii) the designation of propositions as colorless or exclamatory; (iii) the designation of distance (from actuality, the addressee, or the moment of speaking); and (iv) the expression of propositions in categorical or qualified terms.

We shall employ the term "modality" in referring to the speaker's commitment; thus, as used here, modality is a sub-category of mood.

11. The terms "factive", non-factive", and "contra-factive" may indicate the *object* of commitment without indicating a gradation in the *degree* of commitment: truth, neutrality, and falsity can draw commitment in equal measure. If, on the other hand, actuality is viewed as a point of reference, factivity may be considered proximate while non-factivity and contra-factivity may be considered relatively remote. For example, the dependency inherent in conditional sentences establishes actuality as a point of reference: in effect, the protasis sets up actuality as a condition. Thus conditional sentences contrast with statements in regard to modality: while the latter are factive and therefore proximate to actuality, the former are either non-factive or contra-factive and therefore remote from actuality. Distance is one way of expressing the degree of commitment.

The degree of commitment may be expressed in terms of intensity rather than distance; such is the case in the following pairs:

[+ Colorless]:	al-ḥadīqatu jamīlatun.	'The garden is beautiful.'
[+ Exclamatory]:	mā ʾajmala l-ḥadīqata.	'How beautiful the garden is!'
[+ categorical]:	al-jiddu faḍīlatun.	'Diligence is a virtue.'
[+ Qualified]	ʾinna l-jidda faḍīlatun.	'Diligence is definitely a virtue.'

Modality often indicates the *type* of commitment; for example, the qualifier *ʾaʿrif* expresses epistemic commitment to truth in *ʾaʿrifu ʾanna Samīran marīḍun* 'I know that Samir is sick', and the qualifier *ʾurīd* expresses desiderative commitment to neutrality in *ʾurīdu ʾan ʾarjiʿa* 'I want to return.'

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Modality, then, comprises three varieties: the first highlights the *object* of commitment, the second highlights the *degree* of commitment, and the third highlights the *type* of commitment. Of these, the second comprises two sub-varieties: one expressed in terms of distance, and the other expressed in terms of intensity.

12. A "categorical" proposition does not include a qualifier; a "qualified" proposition does.[9] In this context, qualification is defined as the explicit expression of the speaker's commitment to truth or neutrality.

The qualifier of a fact may express the intensity of commitment, the type of commitment, or both. Of the following examples, the first expresses categorical fact and the rest express qualified fact. In the second example, the qualifier expresses intensity (but not type) of commitment to truth; in the third, the qualifier expresses type (but not intensity) of commitment to truth. In each example, the qualifier is italicized.

al-maraḍu yuḍʕifu jasadī.	'The disease is weakening my body.'
ʾinna l-maraḍa yuḍʕifu jasadī.	'The disease is definitely weakening my body.'
ʾashʕuru ʾanna l-maraḍa yuḍʕifu jasadī.	'I feel that the disease is weakening my body.'

Of the following examples, the first expresses categorical fact and each of the rest expresses a qualified fact. Notice that each qualifier expresses epistemic commitment to truth as well as the intensity of such commitment. In each example, the qualifier is italicized.

ṣadīqī ʕabqariyyun.	'My friend is a genius.'
ʾaḍhunnu ʾanna ṣadīqī ʕabqariyyun.	'I think my friend is a genius.'
ʾaʕtaqidu ʾanna ṣadīqī ʕabqariyyun.	'I believe my friend is a genius.'
ʾaʕrifu ʾanna ṣadīqī ʕabqariyyun.	'I know my friend is a genius.'
ʾajzimu bi-ʾanna ṣadīqī ʕabqariyyun.	'I am certain that my friend is a genius.'

The qualifier of possibility expresses the type of commitment. In the first example below, commitment to neutrality is desiderative; in the second, deontic; and in the third, permissive. In each example, the qualifier is italicized.

ʾurīdu ʾan ʾadhhaba.	'I want to go.'
yajibu ʾan ʾadhhaba.	'I must go.'
laka ʾan tadhhaba.	'You may go.'

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13.   When consisting of a function form, the specifier is viewed as a "lexical marker"; for example, *ʾinna* is a lexical marker which attributes certainty to the proposition. A "governing" lexical marker is one which requires *ʾiʿrāb*.

14. In diagram form, specification may be represented as follows (where brackets enclose the profile, *X* stands for the head, and *Y* stands for the specifier; the symbols + *a* and + *b* represent the features embodied in the specifier, assigned to the head, and associated with *ʾiʿrāb*):

$$\begin{bmatrix} Y \\ +a \\ +b \end{bmatrix} \quad X \quad \text{or} \quad X \quad \begin{bmatrix} Y \\ +a \\ +b \end{bmatrix}$$

The following is an example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{lam} \\ +\text{Remote} \end{bmatrix} \quad S$$

The specification expressed by this example can be stated thus: The string contains a specifier (the particle *lam*) which stipulates that the sentence expresses relative remoteness (from the moment of speaking).

15. Specification comprises three types:

(a)   Type I employs certain specifiers which embody the feature of modal distance (the contrast being between remoteness and proximity). The head is a sentence.

(b) Type II employs "noun determiners" as specifiers. *Typically,* the specifier is a function form; the head is a syntactic slot which the specifier designates as nominal.

(c) Type III embraces all other instances of specification. The head is usually a sentence. The specifiers form a small, well-defined set which (if necessary) can be learned as items.

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FOOTNOTES

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[1] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. I, pp. 104, 105; also see Antoine al-Diḥdāḥ's *Muʿjam Qawāʿid al-Lugʰa al-ʿArabiyya,* pp. 70 – 110.

[2] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 111, 112, 178, 192.

[3] See ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. I, pp. 76 – 79, 300 - 302, 313 – 315; Antoine al-Diḥdāḥ's *Muʿjam Qawāʿid al-Lugʰa al-ʿArabiyya*, pp. 64 – 66; and William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. I, pp. 54 – 57, 100, 101, 252, 253, 264 – 278.

[4] See ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī*, Vol. II, p. 272; also see Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic.*

[5] See Lyons' *Semantics,* Vol. II, p. 643.

[6] See Mario Pei's *Dictionary of Linguistics*.

[7] See Hockett's *Course in Modern Linguistics,* p. 237. Also see Lyons' *Semantics*, Vol. II, pp. 725 – 731, 749, 750.

[8] Arab grammarians use the terms الْخَـبَر and الإنْشاء to designate the constative and the performative roles respectively. According to the prominent scholar al-ʾImām Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī al-Kʰaṭīb (who died in 739 A.H.), الجُمْلَة الخَـبَرِيَّة is a sentence which can be characterized as true or false, while الجُمْلَة الإنْشائِيَّة is a sentence which cannot be characterized as true or false. See al-Kʰaṭīb's *al-Talkʰīṣ,* pp. 38, 39.

[9] See Lyons' *Semantics*, Vol. II, pp. 808, 809.

CHAPTER III

THE RULES OF ʔIʕRĀB

PROPOSED BY THIS STUDY

The first type of specification is marked by *jazm,* the second type is marked by *jarr,* and the third type is marked by *naṣb*. Where no specification is involved, a *muʕrab* assumes the state of *rafʕ*. To simplify the discussion, we shall refer to specification as a "governing" set of functions; the remaining functions will be called "non-governing" to underscore our conviction that *rafʕ* is a matter of "default". We shall use the term "governmental *ʔiʕrāb*" to denote *jazm, jarr,* and *naṣb;* in contrast, we shall use the term "non-governmental *ʔiʕrāb*" to denote *rafʕ*.

As a marker, the state of *rafʕ* plays a unique role in Standard Arabic: it designates the presence of a function but not the identity of that function; the other three states, on the other hand, mark the presence as well as the identity of the function.

The rest of this study will further clarify and illustrate the statements of Chapter II and Chapter III.

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CHAPTER IV

TYPE I SPECIFICATION

(JAZM)

The specifiers used in this context are known collectively as *jawāzim;* they embrace the negative particles *lammā* and *lam,* the imperative particles *lā* and *li-,* the deletion of *li+tV-* involved in producing second-person imperative forms, as well as twenty-one conditional conjunctions. The head is a sentence which contains an imperfect verb.

Type I specification designates modal distance. In all instances, the specifier denotes a combination of features; since only modal distance is marked by *jazm,* no other feature will be included in the profile.

A. *The Negative Particles Lammā and Lam*

   1. The particle *lammā* expresses negation; in regard to temporal denotation, it resembles the English present perfect. Thus the time of negation covers the past and the moment of speaking but not the future. Indeed, it is implied that the event, negated up to the moment of speaking, is expected to take place in the future: *lammā yarjiʿ* means 'he has not returned *yet* (but he will)'. In short, *lammā* denotes the features [+ Past], [+ Proximate], and [+ Negative]; such, in modern terms, is the meaning of the rule laid down by the Ancient Arab Grammarians: *lam yafʿal* is the negation of *faʿala,* but *lammā yafʿal* is the negation of *qad faʿala.*[1]

The feature [+ Proximate] relates the event to the moment of speaking: as mentioned above, *lammā* covers the moment of speaking; besides, the implied prediction constitutes a *current* commitment, on the part of the speaker, to the expectation that the event will occur at a later time. Needless to mention at this point, expectation is a kind of perception which belongs to mood.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{lammā} \\ \\ \text{+ Proximate} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S}$$
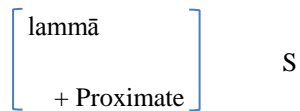
2. The particle *lam* 'did not' denotes the features [+ Past], [+ Remote], and [+ Negative]; e.g., *yarjiʿu* means 'he returns', while *lam yarjiʿ* means 'he did not return'. The feature [+ Remote] relates the event to the moment of speaking.

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$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{lam} \\ \\ \text{+ Remote} \end{bmatrix} \text{S}$$

It is noteworthy that *jazm,* a formal designation of mood, marks the temporal features specified by *lammā* and *lam.* Formal designations of tense and aspect, on the other hand, are sometimes involved in marking mood (the formative *Perfect,* for example, often marks the conditional). These observations underscore a principle which other authors have already explored: that tense and aspect are not always sharply distinct from mood.[2] The distinction is especially blurred when aspect and modality are both defined in terms of distance from a point of reference.

The modal contrasts which define fact, possibility, and contra-fact may be viewed in terms of distance from actuality (fact would then be co-locational with actuality, while possibility and contra-fact would be relatively remote from actuality). In like manner, the contrast between *lammā* and *lam* can be stated in terms of distance from the moment of speaking; thus assigning the contrast in question to mood produces no anomaly.

B. *Imperative Expressions*

Imperative constructions impose, or propose, some course of action or pattern of behavior, and indicate that it should be carried out.[3] In most instances, the obligation to carry out the course of action or pattern of behavior is imposed on the addressee; in some instances, however, the obligation is imposed on a first-person or a third-person agent. The following are examples:

(a) udkʰul 'Enter!'

　li-tadkʰul 'Enter!'

　lā tadkʰul 'Do not enter!'

(b) li-nadkʰul 'Let us enter!'

　li-yadkʰul 'Let him enter!'

　lā yadkʰul ʔaḥadun minhum 'Let none of them enter!'

If the addressee is viewed as the point of reference, the first of these two sets may be designated as [+ Proximate] and the second may be designated as [+ Remote].

Imperative utterances like *udkʰul* 'Enter!' are derived by deleting *li+tV-* from the underlying second-person imperfect verb form. Such deletion differs from imperative particles in regard to distance: while deletion admits of only one features (proximity), particles admit of two features (proximity and remoteness).

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$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{li+tV+Stem} \Rightarrow \text{Stem} \\[2ex] + \text{Proximate} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Imperative particle} \\[2ex] + \text{Proximate} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S (with a second-person agent)}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Imperative Particle} \\[2ex] + \text{Remote} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S (with a first- or third-person agent)}$$

The particle *li-* is rarely used to signal proximity; on the other hand, the particle *lā* is rarely used to signal remoteness.

C. *Conditional Sentences*

Hypothetical conditionals express contra-factivity; simple conditionals, on the other hand, express non-factivity. Compare, for example, the following pair:

لَوْ ذَهَبَ إلى مِصْـرَ لَذَهَبْتُ مَعَهُ.	'Had he gone to Egypt, I would have gone with him.'
إنْ ذَهَبَ إلى مِصْـرَ ذَهَبْتُ مَعَهُ.	'If he goes to Egypt, I will go with him.'

The first sentence implies that neither agent went to Egypt—that the condition and the result are both hypothetical suppositions; the second sentence, on the other hand, implies that both agents *ma*y go to Egypt.

The dependency inherent in conditional sentences establishes actuality as a point of reference: in effect, the protasis sets up actuality as a condition. Thus conditional sentences contrast with statements in regard to modality: while the latter are factive and therefore proximate to actuality, the former are either non-factive or contra-factive and therefore remote from actuality. In the following paragraphs, the markers of remoteness are listed and explained.

    1. Obligatory markers

       (a) Remoteness is marked, in both correlative clauses of a conditional sentence, by the formative *Modal Perfect*. If the temporal constituent is realized as Ø, the formative in question combines with the verb to produce a perfect form; otherwise, that formative is realized as a perfect form of *kāna*. Most commonly, the temporal constituents involved are *Perfect, Future, Habitual,*

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and *Current.*   In simple conditional sentences, the temporal constituent *Future* is optionally realized as Ø.   In hypothetical conditional sentences, the temporal constituent *Perfect* is optionally realized as Ø.

(b) In the apodosis of a simple conditional sentence, *fa-* often occurs instead of *kāna.*[4]

(c) In both correlative clauses of a simple conditional sentence, *jazm* may occur in place of *Modal Perfect + Future.* The use of *jazm* with *ʾidʰā* is rare; otherwise, it is very common. Thus the last of the sentences listed below can replace the other three. All of the four sentences are generated by the same Deep-Structure expression; to be precise, the source string for each protasis is *Modal Perfect + Future + Vb I: dʰhb + huwa* and the source string for each apodosis is *Modal Perfect + Future + Vb I: dʰhb + ʾanā* (where the formative *Vb I: dʰhb* stands for a Measure I verb derived from the root *dʰhb*). The conjunctions are simple conditional particles. The meaning shared by the four sentences is 'If he goes, I will go'.

<div dir="rtl">

إذَا ذَهَبَ ذَهَبْتُ .

إذَا ذَهَبَ فَسَأَذْهَبُ .

إذَا كَانَ سَيَذْهَبُ فَسَأَذْهَبُ .

إنْ يَذْهَبْ أَذْهَبْ .

</div>

2. Optional marker

In the apodosis of a hypothetical conditional sentence, *la-* may co-occur with *Modal Perfect.*

The use of *fa-* and *jazm* to designate non-factive but not contra-factive propositions indicates that remoteness comprises two distinct degrees: *intermediate* and *far* (the first being identified with the non-factive and the latter being identified with the contra-factive). The distinction between *intermediate* and *far* is also marked by the use of *la-* and by selection of conjunctions. Thus the specification which employs *jazm* in conditional contexts may be represented as follows (where *Particle$_1$* stands for any conditional conjunction other than *law,* and where the degree of remoteness is intermediate):

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Particle}_1 \\ \\ + \text{Remote} \end{bmatrix} \quad S$$

Notes

1. Sometimes *ʾanna* occurs immediately after *law;* the protasis then is an elliptical string which lacks the expression *kāna ṣaḥīḥan.* The following is an example:

law kāna ṣaḥīḥan ʾanna l-ʾarḍa murabbaʿatun .....⇒ law ʾanna l-ʾarḍa murabbaʿatun .....
'Were it true that the earth is square, ...'

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Notice that, although the conditional sentence as a whole commits the current speaker to the falsity of two propositions, the sentence *al-ʾarḍu murabbaʿatun* commits a different speaker to the truth of its proposition. It would be perfectly acceptable to expand the protasis by adding *kamā zaʿama l-falāsifatu l-qudamāʾu* 'as the ancient philosophers claimed.'

2. If the temporal constituent is realized as Ø, a contra-factive clause denotes past time while a non-factive clause denotes future time. Thus *law najaḥa la-kāfaʾtuhu* is translatable by 'Had he passed (the test), I would have rewarded him'; on the other hand, *ʾin najaḥa kāfaʾtuhu* is translatable by 'If he passes (the test), I will reward him'.

3. It was pointed out above that, in conditional sentences, the perfect form of the verb is used to mark non-factivity and contra-factivity. Such usage is not hard to understand since the marker and the marked feature are associated with the idea of remoteness: the perfect form usually expresses remoteness from the moment of speaking; non-factivity and contra-factivity express remoteness from actuality.[5]

4. The following conditional conjunctions govern *jazm: ʾin* 'if'; *ʾayy, man* 'who, whoever'; *ʾayyuman* 'whoever'; *mahman* 'whosoever'; *mā* 'what'; *ʾayyumā* 'whatsoever'; *mahmā* 'whatever'; *ʾayna* 'where'; *ʾaynamā* 'wherever'; *ḥaytʰu* 'where'; *ḥaytʰumā* 'wherever'; *ʾayyāna, ʾayyānamā* 'whenever'; *ʾidʰmā* 'whenever'; *kullamā* 'as often as'; *matā* 'when'; *matāmā* 'whenever'; *ʾannā, kayfa, kayfamā* 'however (in whatever way)'. Though rarely, the conjunction *ʾidʰā* 'if' also governs *jazm*. In all cases, the conditional sentences express non-factivity.

5. A sentence such as *ʾin tadrus tanjaḥ* 'If you study, you will pass' can undergo an optional transformation which deletes the conjunction *ʾin* and places the first verb in the imperative form; the output is thus *udrus tanjaḥ* 'Study and you will pass'.

6. The discussion in this chapter provides a fleeting glimpse of a subject which deserves a more elaborate treatment: namely, the features which distinguish the jussive from the subjunctive. The jussive can express expectation, command, prohibition, and condition—but so can the subjunctive. As the following pairs of examples illustrate, one important difference lies in the fact that the jussive, unlike the subjunctive, associates those significations with a contrast in distance: *lammā yarjiʿ* 'He has not returned (but he will)', *ʾatawaqqaʿu ʾan yarjiʿa* 'I expect him to return'; *ijlis* 'Sit down!', *ʾāmuruka bi-ʾan tajlisa* 'I am ordering you to sit down'; *lā taktub risālatan* 'Do not write a letter!', *ʾanhāka ʿan ʾan taktuba risālatun* 'I forbid you to write a letter'; *ʾin tanjaḥ fī l-imtiḥāni taḥṣul ʿala l-jāʾizati* 'If you pass the examination, you will receive the prize', *yusʰtaraṭu ʾan tanjaḥa fī l-imtiḥāni ḥattā taḥṣula ʿala l-jāʾizati* 'It is a condition that you pass the examination to receive the prize.'

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FOOTNOTES

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[1] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, pp. 4, 23; also see the definition of *qad* in al-Zāwī's *Tartīb al-Qāmūs*.

[2] See Lyons' *Semantics,* Vol. II, pp. 690, 719, 809 – 823.

[3] See Lyons' *Semantics*, Vol. II, pp. 745, 746.

[4] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 345 – 347.

[5] See Lyons' *Semantics*, Vol. II, pp. 816 – 819.

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CHAPTER V

TYPE II SPECIFICATION

(JARR)

The second type of specification employs a "noun determiner" to define a given syntactic slot. *Typically* functors, noun determiners are forms which stipulate that a following slot must be nominal (such stipulation implies that the following expression is *typically* a noun).

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Noun Determiner} \\ \\ + \text{ Nominal} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{Syntactic Slot}$$
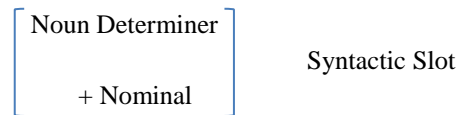
The noun determiners discussed in this chapter fall into three classes all of which assign the genitive case (*jarr*) to following slot.

1. Class I comprises the forms commonly known as "prepositions". To this class belong the forms *ʿalā, ʿan, bi-, fī, ḥattā, ʾilā, ka-, ladā, ladun, li-, maʿa, min, mudʰ, mundʰu, tāʾ al-qasam*, and *wāw al-qasam*; to the same class also belong the exceptive forms *ʿadā, ḥāsʰā,* and *kʰalā*.[1] The most frequent of noun determiners, these forms make up a distinct group on account of two peculiarities: they are (invariable) particles, and they restrict the prepositional phrase which they introduce in regard to function. The comments below concentrate on the second peculiarity.

A preposition and its object constitute a sequence which, *by virtue of being a prepositional phrase*, is excluded from certain syntactic slots; this becomes clear when one observes that the object of a preposition is typically a noun and yet, by itself, a noun may occur where a prepositional phrase may not occur. On the other hand, certain slots (e.g., *Time* and *Place*) are more commonly associated with prepositional phrases than they are with nouns. Thus the preposition may be considered a "relater" which identifies the prepositional phrase with certain slots while tending to dissociate it from other slots.

2. Class II comprises certain declinable functors which enter into construct with a following noun. To this class belong:

(a) The adverbial functors mentioned in Chapter II (item 3a).

(b) The quantifiers *ʿāmma, jamīʿ, kāffa, sāʾir* 'all'; *ʾaḥad* 'one, a certain one'; *baʿḍ* 'some, a certain one'; *kilā* 'both'; *kull* 'all, each'; *miqdār, qadr* 'measuring, numbering, amounting to'; *naḥw, zuhāʾ* 'about'; and *rubba* 'many a'.

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(c) The following forms which pertain to identity: *ᵃākʰir* 'last'; *ᵃahl, dʰū, ṣāḥib, ᵃulū* 'of (such and such description); *ᵃayy* 'any'; *ᵃayy* 'which?'; *dʰāt, nafs* 'same'; *gʰayr, siwan* 'other than'; and *mitʰl* 'like'.

(d) The elative form *ᵃaFˤaL*.

(e) Cardinal and ordinal numerals which precede the counted noun. Excluded from this category are the numerals 11 – 19 and the tens above 19 since they do not enter into construct with the following noun.

Notice that the cardinal numerals in question employ a complicated system of contrasts to show that the following word functions as a noun not as an adjective: while an adjective agrees with the modified noun in three categories (number, gender, and case), a counted noun *contrasts* with the numeral in at least two of these categories.[2] The ordinals of 1 – 10 (in expressions like *ᵃawwalu baytin* 'the first house', *kʰāmisu sʰajaratin* 'the fifth tree, etc.) contrast with the counted noun in gender and case.

Thus each of the numerals under discussion is followed by a fully defined tagmeme: the genitive marker designates the slot as nominal, while lack of agreement indicates that the filler does not function as an adjective and is, in the majority of instances, a noun. The duplicity involved is hardly superfluous since one-to-one correspondence does not always hold between form and function (for example, nouns are not the only forms with nominal function).

Some construct phrases imply a Class II determiner; e.g., *rajulu sūᵃin* 'a bad man' is equivalent to *rajulun dʰū sūᵃin*.

3. Class III consists of the relation known to Arab grammarians as the *ᵃiḍāfa*. Known in English as the "construct state", the *ᵃiḍāfa* binds together two terms which fill two adjacent slots; the second term is put in the genitive. Typically, the idea of the first term is qualified by the second term. As a noun determiner, the *ᵃiḍāfa* is defined primarily by the structural restrictions imposed on the first term (e.g., debarment of separation from the second term, obligatory exclusion of nunation, and limited admissibility of the definite article).

Notes

1. Where one of the declinable functors listed above enters into construct with a following form, the *functor* in question and the *ᵃiḍāfa* serve as a compound noun determiner.

2. Many construct phrases imply the occurrence of a preposition between the two terms; for example, *kitābu Samīrin* 'Samir's book' is equivalent to *al-kitābu lladʰī li-Samīrin* 'the book which belongs to Samir'.[3] On the other hand, some construct phrases do not imply the occurrence of a preposition between the two terms; the following are examples: *maktūfa l-yadayni* 'with tied hands', *insiḥābu l-Yamani mina l-jalsati* 'Yemen's withdrawal from the session', *isʰtirāku l-Kuwayti fi l-muᵃtamari* 'Kuwait's participation in the conference', *istikʰrāju s-Suˤūdiyyati li-n-nafṭi* 'Saudi Arabia's excavation of petroleum'.

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3. A sub-class of construct phrases deserves a few brief comments. Henceforth referred to as "appositional constructs", the phrases under discussion satisfy two requirements:

(a) The first term must occur in Deep Structure as the head of an attributive construction where the modifier is an equational clause.

(b) The Deep-Structure modifier must consist of the first term functioning as subject and the second term functioning as predicate.

An example of appositional constructs is the phrase *madīnatu l-Qāhirati* 'the city of Cairo' (= *al-madīnatu llatī hiya l-Qāhiratu*). Other examples are given below:

Nahru n-Nīli	'The River Nile'
Jabalu l-Muqaṭṭami	"al-Muqaṭṭam Mountain'
Jumhūriyyatu Miṣra	'the Republic of Egypt'
ʔImāratu l-Kuwayti	'the Emirate of Kuwait'
sʰahru Ramaḍāna	'the month of Ramadan'

As indicated by these examples, the two terms of an appositional construct are referentially equivalent.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, pp. 129 – 178.

[2] See Appendix I.

[3] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 198 – 200.

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READER'S NOTES

CHAPTER VI

TYPE III SPECIFICATION

(NAṢB)

The major contexts for Type III specification are listed and discussed below. In some of these contexts, the specifier denotes modality. It will be recalled that in Type I specification modality is synonymous with distance; in contrast, Type III specification never designates distance. Thus in conditional contexts, the features [+ Factive] , [+ Non-factive] , and [+ Contra-factive] belong to the distance category because the protasis sets up actuality as a point of reference; in Type III specification, on the other hand, actuality is not set up as a point of reference, and for that reason the same features highlight the object of commitment rather than distance. Again, the features [+ Exclamatory] and [+ Qualified], which mark some sentences for Type III specification, indicate intensity of commitment rather than distance.

A. *The Use of Objects*

As the following diagrams show, the number of objects and the type of each object determine the verbal subclass,[1] thus depicting the verb as one member of a distinct set.

Transitive verbs

$$\text{Verb} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Object} \\ \\ \text{+ Transitive} \end{bmatrix}$$
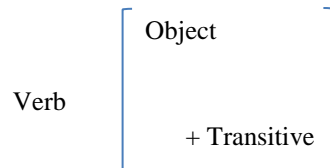
Examples: دَخَلْتُ الدَّارَ 'I entered the house'; قابَلْتُ الْمُدِيرَ 'I met the director'.

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Ditransitive verbs

Subclass 1

$$\text{Verb} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Object}_1 + \text{Object}_2 \\ \\ + \text{Ditransitive a} \end{bmatrix}$$
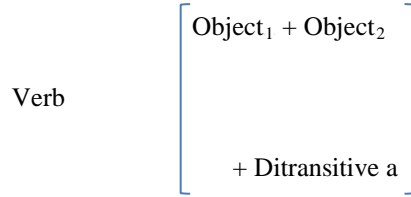
where the string *Object₁ + Object₂* is not derived from a sentence, and where, in many instances, one of the two objects is derived from a prepositional phrase.

To this subclass belong:

(a) Causative verbs of Measures II and IV whose source (Measure I) forms are transitive. Examples: (عَلَّمْتُ نَظَرِيَّةَ النِّسْبِيَّةِ للتَّلاميذِ = عَلَّمْتُ التَّلاميذَ نَظَرِيَّةَ النِّسْبِيَّةِ) 'I taught the students the theory of relativity'; (أَبْلَغْتُ الخَبَرَ للشُّرْطَةِ = أَبْلَغْتُ الشُّرْطَةَ الخَبَرَ) 'I relayed the information to the police'; (أَدْخَلُوا الزَّائِرَ إلى المَعَسْكَرِ = أَدْخَلُوا الزَّائِرَ المَعَسْكَرَ) 'They admitted the visitor into the camp".

(b) Verbs which signify 'to fill', 'to give', 'to deprive', 'to forbid', 'to ask', 'to entreat', and the like. Example: (وَهَبَ اللهُ سلامًا لِعِبادِهِ = وَهَبَ اللهُ عِبادَهُ سَلامًا) 'God gave His servants peace'.

(c) Verbs which signify 'to make', 'to appoint', 'to call', 'to name', and the like. Example: عَيَّنْتُ فَرِيدًا نائِبًا لي 'I appointed Farid as my deputy'.

Subclass 2
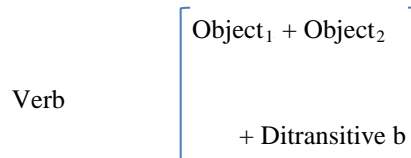
$$\text{Verb} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Object}_1 + \text{Object}_2 \\ \\ + \text{Ditransitive b} \end{bmatrix}$$

where the string *Object₁ + Object₂* is derived from a sentence.

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To this subclass belong *ʾafʿāl al-qulūb* 'verbs of the heart' (i.e., verbs which signify a mental event) other than those of Measure IV. Examples: ظَنَّ السَّرابَ ماءً (= ظَنَّ أَنَّ السَّرابَ ماءٌ) 'He thought the mirage was water'; رَأَى الحَياةَ عَبَثًا (= رَأَى أَنَّ الحياةَ عَبَثٌ) 'He viewed life as vanity'.

Tritransitive verbs

$$\text{Verb} \begin{bmatrix} \text{I.O.} + \text{Object}_1 + \text{Object}_2 \\ \\ + \text{Tritransitive} \end{bmatrix}$$

where the string *Object₁ + Object₂* is derived from a sentence.

To this subclass belong Measure IV verbs of *ʾafʿāl al-qulūb*. Example: أَرَوْا أَتْباعَهُمُ الحياةَ الدُّنْيا غُرُورًا (= أَرَوْا أَتْباعَهُمْ أَنَّ الحياةَ الدُّنْيا غُرُورٌ) 'They showed their followers that the life of this world is vanity'.

Note

The construction known as *ikhtiṣāṣ* 'particularization' results from deleting the transitive verb *ʾaʿnī* 'I mean' or the transitive verb *ʾakhuṣṣ* 'I specify' from the underlying string; thus *naḥnu l-Miṣriyyīna .....* 'We the Egyptians .....' is derived from *naḥnu, ʾaʿni l-Miṣriyyīna, ...* 'We, that is the Egyptians, ...' or *naḥnu, ʾakhuṣṣu l-Miṣriyyīna, ...* 'We, specifically the Egyptians, ...'.

B. *The Use of Nominalizers*

 The particles *ʾan* and *ʾanna* govern *naṣb:* the former governs the subjunctive and the latter governs the accusative. Both particles are followed by a sentence which functions as a noun; in addition, both particles specify modality: *ʾan* designates the following sentence as a frequently-qualified possibility, and *ʾanna* designates the following sentence as a frequently-qualified statement of fact.

The particle *ʾan* is frequently preceded by a term (*waʿada* 'to promise', *naṣaḥa* 'to advise', *samaḥa* 'to allow', *nawā* 'to intend', *ʾarāda* 'to want' *ḍarūriyy* 'it is necessary', *wajaba* 'to be obligatory', etc.) which expresses the type of commitment to neutrality (promise, advice, permission, intention, desire, necessity, obligation, etc.). Similarly, *ʾanna* is frequently preceded by a term (*ʿarafa* 'to know', *jazama* 'to be certain', *dhanna* 'to think', *qaddara* 'to guess', *raʾā* 'to see', *shaʿara* 'to feel', etc.) which expresses the type of commitment to truth (epistemic, sensory, etc.) and which may also express the intensity of commitment to truth.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ʾan} \\ + \text{Non-factive} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{S}$$

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Examples: أَرَدْتُ أَنْ أَزُورَ القاهِرَةَ ;'I wanted to visit Cairo' ،يَجِبُ أَنْ يَسُودَ العَدْلُ 'Justice must be established'.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{ʔanna} \\[6pt]
\text{+ Factive}
\end{bmatrix}
\quad S
$$

Examples: نَعْلَمُ الآنَ أَنَّ الأَرْضَ كُرَوِيَّةٌ ;'We now know that the earth is spherical' أَرَى أَنَّ العِلْمَ خَيْــرٌ مِنَ المالِ 'I believe that knowledge is better than money'.

Notes

    1. The form *ʔan* is the only particle which governs the subjunctive type of *naṣb: lan* 'will not' = *lā + ʔan,* and *ʔidʰan* 'in that case' = *ʔidʰ + ʔan; lām al-taʕlīl* (translatable by 'in order that'), *ḥattā, kay, likay* (all translatable by 'in order that'), *al-fāʔ al-sababiyya* (translatable by 'so that'), *wāw al-maʕiyya* (translatable by 'whilst'), *ʔaw* 'until', and *lām al-juḥūd* (which denotes denial) are Surface-Structure realizations of the underlying string *Prep + ʔan.*

    (a) Two facts support the assumption that *lām al-taʕlīl* is derived from the string *li+ʔan* (where the first constituent is a preposition):

        (i) The string *ʔan + Imperfect Verb* is usually replaceable by a verbal noun.

        (ii) The string *li + Imperfect Verb* is interchangeable with the string *li + VN.*

We may therefore postulate the following transformation:

$$
li + \text{ʔan} - \text{Imperfect Verb} \Rightarrow
\begin{cases}
li + \text{Imperfect Verb} \\[6pt]
li + \text{VN}
\end{cases}
$$

where the verb and the verbal noun share the same root

    (b) Since synonymous constructions are identical in Deep Structure, we must assume that *ḥattā, kay,* and *likay* (all synonymous with *lām al-taʕlīl*) are derived from the string *li+ʔan* (where the first constituent is a preposition).

    (c) Since it is synonymous with the preposition *ḥattā,*[2] *al-fāʔ al-sababiyya* must be derived from the string *li + ʔan* (where the first constituent is a preposition).

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(d) Since it is synonymous with the preposition *maʿa, wāw al-maʿiyya* must be derived from the string *maʿa* + *ʾan* (*lā tanha ʿan kʰuluqin wa-taʾtiya mitʰlahu* 'Do not restrain others from any habit whilst you yourself practice one like it' = ... *maʿa ʾan taʾtiya mitʰlahu*).

(e) Since it is synonymous with the preposition *ʾilā,[3] ʾaw* must be derived from the string *ʾilā+ʾan* (*la-ʾastashilanna ṣ-ṣaʿba ʾaw ʾudrika l-munā* 'I will deem every difficult thing easy until I attain my wishes' = ... *ʾilā ʾan ʾudrika l-munā*).

(f) *Lām al-juḥūd* must be derived from a string which contains the preposition *li-* and the particle *ʾan* since the equivalence is demonstrated by pairs of sentences such as the following: *mā kāna l-Lāhu li-yarudda ʿibādahu* 'God is not One to turn away His servants' = *mā kāna lil-Lāhi ʾan yarudda ʿibādahu*. Thus we may assume that *lām al-juḥūd* results from the following transformation:

$$m\bar{a} - k\bar{a}na\ li+N - {}^{\jmath}an - \text{Imperfect Verb} \Rightarrow m\bar{a}\ k\bar{a}na - N - li+\text{Imperfect Verb}$$

The structural changes cited in the above paragraphs follow from a general transformation:

$$X - \text{Prep}_1 + {}^{\jmath}an + \text{Imperfect Verb} - Y \Rightarrow \begin{cases} X - \text{Conj} + \text{Imperfect Verb} - Y \\[2ex] X - \text{Prep}_1 + VN - Y \end{cases}$$

where (a) the preposition and the conjunction are synonymous,
(b) the verb and the verbal noun share the same root

2. The particles *kaʾanna* 'as if, as though' and *liʾanna* 'because' are composite forms*:* *kaʾanna = ka+ʾanna* and *liʾanna = li+ʾanna.*

3. The potential mood indicates a performative role in which an embedded proposition is viewed as a possibility. The particle *ʾan* designates the potential mood in sentences like *ʾuḥibbu ʾan ʾazūra Miṣra* 'I would like to visit Egypt'.

C. *The Use of Adjuncts*

A sentence may be specified by an adjunct (compare *sa-yusāfiru ʿAliyyun* 'Ali will go abroad' and *sa-yusāfiru ʿAliyyun ṭalaban lil-ʿilmi* 'Ali will go abroad for the purpose of obtaining an education'). When specified by an adjunct, a sentence is said to be "adjunctive".

$$S \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{Modifier} \\[1ex] + \text{Adjunctive} \end{bmatrix}$$

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Adjuncts include: expressions which specify manner (اسْم الهَيْئَةِ and المَفْعُول المُطْلَق); expressions which specify frequency (اسْـم المَـرَّةِ); expressions which specify association or concomitance (واو المَعِيَّةِ plus المَفْعُول مَعَهُ , as in سِرْتُ وَسَمِيرًا 'I walked along with Samir'); expressions which answer the question *In what respect?* (تَمْيِـيز التَّبْيِـينِ, as in اللَّهُ جَلِيلٌ قَـدْرًا 'God is great in stature' and ازْدَادَتْ سُعَـادُ حُسْـنًا 'Suʿād has become more beautiful'); expressions which specify time; expressions which specify place or local extension; expressions which specify state or circumstance (الحَـال); expressions which specify quantity or measurement (تَمْيِـيز الوَزْنِ والكَيْـلِ 'a kilah of wheat', كَيْلَةٌ قَمْحًا 'a pound of grapes', رِطْلٌ عِنَبًا , as in والمِقْياسِ والمِساحَةِ 'a meter of silk', مِتْرٌ حَـرِيرًا 'a feddan of land'); expressions which specify motive (المَفْعُول لِأَجْلِهِ, فَدَّانٌ أَرْضًا); expressions which specify exception (الاِسْتِثْناء).

Only when they consist of a *mufrad* or a phrase introduced by a declinable adverbial functor do adjuncts display the morphological markers of *naṣb* which designate specification. This state of affairs ensues from two rules:

(a) If it receives a morphological marker to designate specification on a given level, a form cannot receive a different morphological marker to designate specification on a higher level. Consider, for example, the sentence رَجَعَ فَرِيدٌ في المَساءِ 'Farid returned in the evening': Type II specification operates in the prepositional phrase while Type III specification operates on a higher level (namely, the sentence level); since the last word is morphologically marked for Type II, it cannot be morphologically marked for Type III.

(b) Specification does not entail morphological *ʾiʿrāb* if the specifier and the head are dominated by different S-nodes. Thus adjunction does not entail morphological *naṣb* if the adjunct consists of a sentence.

It is pertinent at this point to make the following comments on the derivation of *tamyīz*:

(a) The string underlying تَمْيِيزُ التَّبْيِينِ contains a preposition. Consider, for example, the underlying string *al-Lāh + jalīl + fī + al-qadr* 'God is great in stature'. Because it is recoverable (i.e., because the context renders it redundant), the preposition may be deleted. If the expression *fī + al-qadr* is viewed as modifier of *jalīl,* the deletion (together with *ʾiʿrāb*) yields *al-Lāhu jalīlu l-qadri*; if, on the other hand, *fī + al-qadr* is viewed as an adjunct modifying the preceding clause, deletion (together with *ʾiʿrāb*) yields *al-Lāhu jalīlun qadran*.

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(b) The string underlying تَمْيِيز الوَزْنِ والكَـيْلِ والمِقْيَاسِ والمِساحَةِ contains a preposition:

(i) Consider, for example, the underlying strings *riṭl + min + al-ʿinab* 'a pound of grapes', *kayla + min + al-qamḥ* 'a kilah of wheat', *mitr + min + al-ḥarīr* 'a meter of silk', and *faddān + min + al-ʾarḍ* 'a feddan of land'. Because it is recoverable (i.e., because the context renders it redundant), the preposition may be deleted to generate the following Surface-Structure expressions: *riṭlu ʿinabin, kaylatu qamḥin, mitru ḥarīrin,* and *faddānu ʾarḍin.*

(ii) Consider, on the other hand, the underlying strings *riṭl + wuzina + min + al-ʿinab* 'a pound in weight of grapes', *kayla + kīlat + min + al-qamḥ* 'a kilah in measure of wheat', *mitr + qīsa + min + al-ḥarīr* 'a meter in length of silk', and *faddān + musiḥa + min + al-ʾarḍ* 'a feddan in area of land'. Here the prepositional phrase is an adjunct; thus, together with *ʾiʿrāb,* deletion of the redundant constituents yields *riṭlun ʿinaban, kaylatun qamḥan, mitrun ḥarīran,* and *faddānun ʾarḍan:*

$$riṭl + wuzina + min + al\text{-}ʿinab \Rightarrow riṭlun\ wuzina\ ʿinaban \Rightarrow riṭlun\ ʿinaban$$

etc.

D. *Specification of Minor Sentences*

A "major" sentence-type is defined as a pattern constituted by predication (*ʾisnād*); all other sentence-types are "minor". Within the framework of this general definition, various sub-types of minor sentences have distinct, well-defined structures.

Minor sentences comprise a relatively small set. In regard to communicative role, they are performative utterances which express command, wish, reproach, praise, salutation, vocation, lamentation, warning, urging, call for help, admiration, and the like.[4] In such sentences, the common element associated with *naṣb* is the modal feature [+ Exclamatory].

Some minor sentences contain a characteristic function form; for example, sentences which express vocation typically begin with a vocative particle. A close examination reveals that the feature [+ Exclamatory] is denoted by the entire sentence structure rather than the function form alone; in other words, the structure of a minor sentence plays the role of specifier.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Minor Sentence-type} \\ \\ \text{+ Exclamatory} \end{bmatrix} \qquad S$$

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The following are examples of exclamatory minor sentences; the accusative forms are italicized. Notice that the accusative form is frequently a verbal noun.

ṣabran.	'Have patience!'
raʿyan laka.	'God keep you!'
samʿan wa-*ṭāʿatan.*	'To hear is to obey!'
*makāna*ka.	'Stay where you are!'
*wayḫa*ka.	'Woe unto you!'
subḫāna l-Lāhi.	'Praise be to God!'
hanīʾan laka.	'Congratulations!'
ʾahlan wa-*sahlan.*	'Hello!'
an-nāra n-nāra.	'Fire! Fire!'
ʾiyyāka wa-*ʾaṣdiqāʾa* s-sūʾi.	'Beware of bad friends!'
al-jidda l-jidda.	'Diligence, diligence!'
an-najdata n-najdata.	'Help! Help!'
yā *ʾaṣdiqāʾa*nā.	'Our friends!'
wā *ʿAbda* l-Muṭṭalibāh.	'Alas, Abdel-Mottalib!'
mā *ʾajmala l-warda.*	'How beautiful the roses are!'
ruwayda *Farīdan.*	'Treat Farid gently!'
hāka *l-kitāba.*	'Here's the book! Take it!'

Notes:

1. The structure which employs *niʿma* 'to be good' and *biʾsa* 'to be bad' is a major sentence-type since it results from predication (e.g., مُحَمَّدٌ نِعْمَ الرَّجُلُ 'Mohammad is an excellent man' = مُحَمَّدٌ

نَعِمَ الرَّجُلُ); for this reason, it does not employ the *naṣb* required by the third type of specification.[5]

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2.   Some linguists view exclamatory minor sentences as the product of deleting certain elements from major sentence-types; accordingly, أَهْلاً وَسَهْلاً 'Welcome!' would be equivalent to جِئْتَ أَهْلاً وَنَزَلْتَ سَهْلاً 'You are come to a friendly people and a place of ease'. The present writer finds this analysis objectionable since the presumably elliptical sentence and the postulated source string are not synonymous: جِئْتَ أَهْلاً وَنَزَلْتَ سَهْلاً , for example, is constative; on the other hand, أَهْلاً وَسَهْلاً is performative.

E. *The Use of Function Forms to Introduce Nominal Sentences*

Equation and modality are two features which pertain to sentences. The former pertains to "equational sentences" where the subject and the predicate express a relationship of equivalence or identity; the latter denotes the speaker's commitment to the proposition. The following are examples:

Equation: أَبِي أُسْتَاذٌ 'My father is a professor.'

Modality:

   [+ Factive]   يَرْجِعُ عَلِيٌّ هٰذَا المَسَاءَ 'Ali will return this evening.'

   [+ Non-factive]   أَرْجُو أَنْ يَرْجِعَ عَلِيٌّ هٰذَا المَسَاءَ 'I hope Ali will return this evening.'

   [+ Contra-factive]   لَوْ ذَهَبَ لَذَهَبْتُ مَعَهُ 'Had he gone, I would have gone with him.'

   [+ Qualified]   إِنَّهُ مُخْلِصٌ 'He is definitely sincere.'

The introducers being discussed comprise two groups. Of these, one group specifies equation and the other specifies modality.

Specification of equation

We shall define an equational sentence as a construction whose nuclear constituents in Surface-Structure are two nomens of which one functions as Subject and the other functions as Predicate. Typically, such a sentence expresses "equation"; i.e., it identifies the referent of a given nomen with the referent of another nomen, or attributes to the referent of a given nomen the description denoted by another nomen. Thus equation is the counterpart of progressive aspect: the latter combines with a verbal denotation to signify an on-going event (e.g., عَلِيٌّ يَكْتُبُ 'Ali is writing');

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the former relates two *nomens* to signify a state. The following are some examples of equational sentences:

عَلِيٌّ تِلْمِيذٌ   'Ali is a student.'

عَلِيٌّ طَوِيلٌ   'Ali is tall.'

عَلِيٌّ مَرِيضٌ   'Ali is sick.

عَلِيٌّ نائِمٌ   'Ali is asleep.'

Characterized by expressing current aspect, the above examples illustrate the "equational kernel". Current aspect is always associated with an on-going event or a state, but the reverse is not true: an on-going event or state can be associated with the past or the future. The forms commonly known as "*kāna* and its sisters" denote deviation from the current aspect of the equational kernel (compare سَيَكُونُ طالبًا 'He is a student', كانَ طالبًا 'He was a student', and هُوَ طالِبٌ 'He will be a student'). In spite of such deviation, the sentence continues to express an on-going event or a state; consider the following contrasts:

(i) دَرَسَ عُمَرُ الطِّبَّ 'Omar studied medicine.'

(a) يَدْرُسُ عُمَرُ الطِّبَّ

'Omar is studying medicine.'

(ii) كانَ عُمَرُ يَدْرُسُ الطِّبَّ 'Omar was studying medicine.'

(b) عُمَرُ تِلْمِيذٌ 'Omar is a student'   (iii) كانَ عُمَرُ تِلْمِيذًا 'Omar was a student.'

Sentences (i) and (ii) are similar in that both denote past time; they differ in that sentence (ii), unlike sentence (i), expresses the progressive sense of sentence (a). It is somewhat harder to determine whether (iii) resembles (i) or (ii). The answer becomes clear when we try to embed (i), (ii), and (iii) in the matrix عِنْدَما زُرْتُ الأُسْرَةَ ..... 'When I visited the family, ...': (ii) and (iii) fit into the matrix, but (i) does not. We therefore conclude that (iii) resembles (ii) rather than (i).

The foregoing discussion leads to four conclusions: (a) that equation is an aspectual feature which signifies a state; (b) that equation is always associated with a "temporal context"; (c) that in the equational kernel, current aspect constitutes the temporal context; and (d) that *kāna* and its sisters specify equation by denoting deviation from the temporal context of the kernel.

Since it presupposes the two constituent nomens, equation is inseparable from the sentence as a whole; it is in this sense that we regard equation as a sentential feature.

The following two diagrams illustrate the use of *kāna* in equational sentences. The first diagram states that a non-current temporal context is assigned to the equational sentence. In the second diagram, the feature [+ Vacuous] indicates that the equational sentence is devoid of current aspect and that equation is associated with the temporal context of the matrix sentence.[6]

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{kāna} \\ \\ \text{+ Perfect} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{Equational Sentence}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{kawn} \\ \\ \text{+ Vacuous} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{Equational Sentence}$$
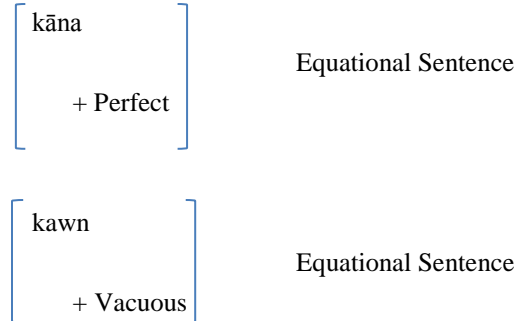
The set of forms known as *kāna* and its sisters are listed below, together with the pertinent profiles. The symbol *X* stands for one of the following features:[7] *Habitual, Future, Perfect, Vacuous.* The specifier assumes a different form for each of these features: the imperfect form for [+ Habitual]; the imperfect form usually preceded by *sa-/sawfa* for [+ Future], the perfect form for [+ Perfect], and the verbal noun for [+ Vacuous]; in addition, the specifier may assume the imperative form for [+ Habitual] or [+ Future]. The feature [+ Durative$_1$] affirms continuation, the feature [+ Durative$_2$] negates cessation, and the feature [+ Conversional] expresses change to a given state.

kāna

[+ X]

baqiya, ḍʰalla

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ X} \\ \text{+ Durative}_1 \end{bmatrix}$$

The following forms combined, in the perfect or the imperfect, with a negative particle:[8] *bariḥa, fatiʔa, infakka,* and *zāla*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ X} \\ \text{+ Durative}_2 \end{bmatrix}$$

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ʾāḍa, ʿāda, ʾaḍḥā, ʾamsā, ʾaṣbaḥa, ʾasfara, bāta, gʰadā, rāḥa, rajaʿa, and *ṣāra*

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{X} \\ + \text{Conversional} \end{bmatrix}$$

ʾaysa (in *laysa*)

[+ Vacuous]

Notes

1. The form *laysa* is derived from the string *lā* + *ʾaysa* (where the first constituent is a negative particle and the second is a variant of *kawn*).[9] Thus the following derivation is proposed for *laysa ʿAliyyun tilmīdʰan* 'Ali is not a student'; notice that the verb *yantafī* 'to be false' is proposed as a Deep-Structure constituent.

yantafī + kawn + ʿAliyy + tilmīdʰ ⇒ laysa + ʿAliyy + tilmīdʰ ⇒ laysa ʿAliyyun tilmīdʰan

In itself, the expression *kawn + ʿAliyy + tilmīdʰ* is devoid of temporal reference; it acquires current aspect from the matrix (i.e., from the fact that *yantafī* designates a present event).

2. The set of forms known as *kāna* and its sisters govern *naṣb;* more precisely, they assign the accusative case to the predicate. In an equational sentence, such *naṣb* is indicated by a morphological marker. In a *non-equational* nominal sentence, no morphological marker is used to indicate such *naṣb;* instead, the predicate *slot* is said to be in the accusative case. A nominal sentence is non-equational if its predicate is not a nomen; e.g., سَمِـيرٌ يَدْرُسُ الطِّبَّ 'Samir is studying medicine'.

Specification of modality

Compare the following sentences:

جَيْشُنا قَوِيٌّ	'Our army is strong.'
إنَّ جَيْشَنا قَوِيٌّ	'Our army is definitely strong.'
عَلَّ (لَعَلَّ) جَيْشَنا قَوِيٌّ	'Perhaps our army is strong.'
لَيْتَ جَيْشَنا قَوِيٌّ	'I wish our army were strong.'

The first sentence denotes a fact, the second affirms that fact, the third denotes a possibility, and the fourth denotes a contra-fact. Thus *ʾinna* and its sisters specify modality.

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The following diagrams represent the profiles for *ʾinna,* the particle of absolute negation (*lā*), *ʿalla/laʿalla,* and *layta:*

$$\begin{bmatrix} ʾinna \\ \quad + \text{Factive} \\ \quad + \text{Qualified} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} lā \\ \quad + \text{Factive} \\ \quad + \text{Qualified} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} ʿalla \,/\, laʿalla \\[1em] \quad + \text{Non-factive} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} layta \\[1em] \quad + \text{Contra-factive} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{S}$$
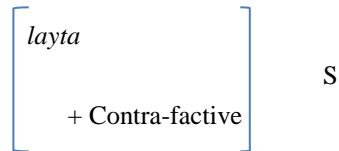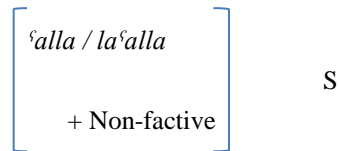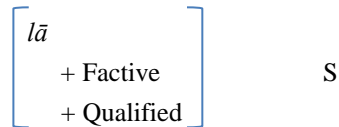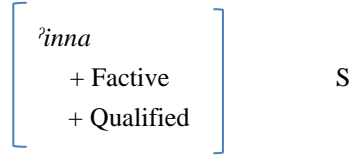
Notes

1. The form *lākinna* 'but' consists of *lākin* plus *ʾinna.*

2. The expectative mood denotes a performative role in which the speaker hopes for or fears the occurrence of an event. The particle *ʿalla/laʿalla* designates the expectative mood in sentences like the following:

عَلَّ (لَعَلَّ) المَرِيضَ يُشْفَى   'Perhaps the patient will recover (= I hope the patient recovers).'

عَلَّ (لَعَلَّ) المَرِيضَ يَمُوتُ   'Perhaps the patient will die (= I am afraid the patient might die).'

3. The set of forms known as *ʾinna* and its sisters govern *naṣb;* more precisely, they assign the accusative case to the subject of a nominal sentence.

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FOOTNOTES

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[1] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 45 – 53.

[2] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 30, 31.

[3] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 33.

[4] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 72 – 76.

[5] See ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. III, pp. 368, 377, 385, 388.

[6] Nominal expressions with identical function may differ in regard to temporal denotation; this is true of the italicized expressions in the following sentences:

ʾakʰbarani ṭ-ṭabību bi-*kawnihā marīḍatan*.	'The doctor told me that she was sick.'
ʾakʰbarani ṭ-ṭabību bi-*maraḍihā*.	'The doctor told me of her sickness.'
ʾakʰbarani ṭ-ṭabību bi-*ʾannahā marīḍatun*.	"The doctor told me she is sick.'

In the first sentence, the italicized expression denotes state but not current aspect; in the second sentence, the italicized expression denotes neither state nor current aspect; in the third sentence, the italicized expression denotes state as well as current aspect (thus transferring the listener to the moment when the doctor made his statement, or attributing to a past event the speaker's knowledge of a present fact).

[7] The precise feature depends on the particular specifier involved.

[8] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 102, 103. Notice that choice of the negative particle contributes to determination of tense and aspect; compare, for example, the following two sentences: لَمْ أَبْرَحْ قَاعِدًا 'I did not cease sitting still' with لَنْ أَبْرَحَ قَاعِدًا 'I will not cease sitting still'. In some contexts, the feature [+ Durative$_2$] extends to and includes the moment of speaking, as exemplified by the following sentence: لا أَزَالُ مَرِيضًا 'I am still sick".

[9] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. I, p. 96.

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CHAPTER VII

DISSOCIATING SPECIFICATION

FROM ʾIʿRĀB

The relationship between head and specifier serves as the primary marker of specification; other formal devices which the head employs to designate specification will be called "secondary markers". Occurrence of a secondary marker together with the primary marker constitutes redundancy; thus associating *ʾiʿrāb* with specification constitutes redundancy.

To avoid excessive redundancy, specification is marked by *jazm, jarr,* or *naṣb* only in the absence of other secondary markers; in other words, *ʾiʿrāb* is dissociated from specification to avoid excessive redundancy. The following examples illustrate this principle:

1. As a specifier of modality, *qad* may denote certainty or doubt: certainty is denoted when the following verb is a perfect form, and doubt is denoted when the following verb is an imperfect form. Thus modality is determined as much by the head of specification as by the specifier. In this sense, the verbal form marks the head; furthermore, the head is marked for doubt by the inadmissibility of *sa-* and *sawfa*. Consequently, the sentence does not employ *naṣb* to mark modality.

2. When *rubbamā* 'may, might' is used to specify modality, the string which underlies the sentence frequently contains the formative *Modal Perfect* (e.g., *rubbamā dʰahabtu yawman mā* 'I may go someday'). Potential occurrence of that formative marks the head for modality; in addition, the head is marked for modality by the inadmissibility of *sa-* and *sawfa*. Consequently, the sentence does not employ *naṣb* to mark modality.

Note

It is relevant at this point to compare two contexts where *sa-* and *sawfa* are excluded: the first follows *qad/rubbamā* 'may, might' and the second follows *ʾan* 'that'. In the first context, the verb expresses aspect; the exclusion of *sa-* and *sawfa* marks modality. In the second context, the verb *can* be equated with the corresponding verbal noun, not merely in structural usage but also in meaning. In other words, the clause which follows *ʾan* is readily interpretable as expressing a proposition or simply naming an event; what must be emphasized here is that temporal reference is irrelevant to the second interpretation. Thus after *ʾan* aspect is not an obligatory feature of the

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verb; the exclusion of *sa-* and *sawfa* is a result of such neutralization rather than a marker of modality. The following are examples:

قَدْ (رُبَّمَا) أَكُونُ مُصَابًا بِهَذَا المَرَضِ (الآنَ).

'I may be infected with this disease (now).'

قَدْ (رُبَّمَا) أُصَابُ بِهَذَا المَرَضِ (في المُسْتَقْبَلِ).

'I may contract this disease (in the future).'

أُحِبُّ أَنْ أَقْرَأَ الشِّعْرَ (= أُحِبُّ قِرَاءَةَ الشِّعْـرِ).

'I like to read poetry (= I like reading poetry).'

أَنْ تُحِبَّ خَيْـرٌ مِنْ أَنْ تُبْغِـضَ (= الحُبُّ خَيْرٌ مِنَ البُغْضِ).

'To love is better than to hate (= Love is better than hatred).'

3. Nominalizers are associated with three phenomena:

(a) Determination of a syntactic structure: The expression which follows *ʾan* is a verbal sentence; that which follows *ʾanna* is a nominal sentence.

(b) Determination of a syntactic slot: the string consisting of a nominalizer and the following sentence occupies a nominal slot.

(c) Determination of modality: With *ʾan* the sentence expresses a frequently-qualified possibility; with *ʾanna* it expresses a frequently-qualified fact.

Word order is employed to mark the first two phenomena; consequently, only the last is marked by *naṣb*.

4. Word order satisfies and marks the stipulation that *ʾinna* and its sisters must introduce a nominal (rather than a verbal) sentence; for this reason, *naṣb* does not mark the stipulation in question.

5. Specification is dissociated from *ʾiʿrāb* when the specifier is an auxiliary verb. Compare the following sentences:

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كانَ سَمِـيرٌ مَـرِيضًا.   'Samir was sick.'

كانَ سَمِـيرٌ يَدْرُسُ.   'Samir was studying.'

In both sentences, *kāna* provides a temporal context for an aspectual feature; such specification is marked by *naṣb* in the first sentence but not in the second. Significantly, *kāna* is an auxiliary in the second sentence but not in the first.

An auxiliary verb always specifies aspect. In a sequence of two verbs, the first may be an auxiliary or a catenative. Auxiliaries are identifiable by certain structural criteria; for example, they differ from modals (or verbal "qualifiers") in at least two respects: an auxiliary and the main verb must have the same subject, and the two verbs are never separated by a nominalizer; on the other hand, a modal and the following verb may have different subjects, and the two verbs are always separated by a nominalizer. Designated in this manner, the use of auxiliaries as specifiers is not marked by *naṣb*.

In the remainder of this chapter, we shall explicate a rule which was implied in item 7 of Chapter II: Utterances employ *jazm, jarr,* and *naṣb* only when the definition of specification is fully satisfied. Lack of a specifier and lack of nuclear features will be used as examples to illustrate this rule.

In the absence of a specifier, utterances never employ *jazm, jarr,* or *naṣb;* for this reason we find pairs of sentences where only one term of a given contrast (e.g., the contrast between remoteness and proximity) is associated with governmental *ʾiʕrāb*—the term embodied in a specifier. Examples of such pairs are given below.

1. ʾin yadʰhab Samīrun tadʰhab Farīdatu.   'If Samir goes, so will Farida.'

   sa-yadʰhabu Samīrun wa-sa-tadʰhabu Faridatu.   'Samir will go, and so will Farida.'

2. ʾinna jaysʰanā qawiyyun.   'Our army is definitely strong.'

   jaysʰunā qawiyyun.   'Our army is strong.'

3. ʾadʰunnu ʾanna ʕAliyyan gʰāḍibun.   'I think that Ali is angry.'

   ʕAliyyun gʰāḍibun.   'Ali is angry.'

4. layta jaysʰanā qawiyyun.   'I wish our army were strong.'

   jaysʰunā qawiyyun.   'Our army is strong.'

In example 1, both sentences express distance from actuality (the first sentence expresses remoteness, and the second expresses proximity). In example 2, both sentences express degree of commitment to truth (the first sentence expresses a qualified fact, and the second expresses a

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categorical fact); the same is true in example 3. In example 4, both sentences highlight the object of commitment (the first expresses commitment to falsity, and the second expresses commitment to truth).

In any given example, both sentences contribute to the contrast, but only the first sentence associates *ʾiʿrāb* with specification; significantly, only the first sentence in each example contains a specifier.

Although a discrete form, the affirmative *la-* (لام الإبْـتِداء) does not govern *ʾiʿrāb* since it embodies no nuclear features. Unlike *ʾinna,* the affirmative *la-* is not diagnostic of one particular head: it can qualify the subject, the predicate, or the entire sentence.[1]

Lack of a specifier and lack of nuclear features cannot be properly viewed as dissociative factors: by definition, no specification exists in the absence of a specifier which embodies at least one nuclear feature. Thus avoiding excessive redundancy emerges as the only motivation for dissociating *ʾiʿrāb* from specification.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] See al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE MEANING OF "SPECIFICATION"

In this study, "specified" is opposed to "general"; it may be equated with "restricted", "limited", "determined", or "specialized". Consider the following:

1. rajaʕa Samīrun.   'Samir returned.'
    rajaʕa Samīrun gʰāḍiban.   'Samir returned angry.'

In the first sentence, the predicative construction is general in the sense that *Manner* is not specified; in the second sentence, however, a specific manner is stipulated, thus restricting the predicative construction.

2. Muḥammadun ʾustādʰun.   'Mohammad is a professor.'
    kāna Muḥammadun ʾustādʰan.   'Mohammad was a professor.'
    ṣāra Muḥammadun ʾustādʰan.   'Mohammad became a professor.'

The first sentence states an equational proposition which holds true for the present; there is no indication, however, that the proposition was untrue in the past, nor is there any indication that the proposition will be untrue in the future. In other words, the first sentence affirms the present as temporal domain, but it denies neither the past nor the future. In contrast, the second sentence denies the present (and perhaps the future), and the third sentence denies the past.

Again, compare the following sentences:

al-marīḍu ḫayyun.   'The patient is alive.'
lā-zāla l-marīḍu ḫayyan.   'The patient is still alive.'

The first sentence neither affirms nor denies the future as temporal domain; the second sentence, on the other hand, represents the future as a doubtful domain (to say the least).

Contrasts such as the above show that *kāna* and its sisters restrict equation.

3. sa-yatazawwaju ʾajnabiyyatan.   'He will marry a foreign woman.'

    sa-yafqidu waḍʰīfatahu fi s-sifārati.   'He will lose his job at the embassy.'

    ʾin yatazawwaj ʾajnabiyyatan yafqid   'If he marries a foreign woman, he will
    waḍʰīfatahu fi s-sifārati.   lose his job at the embassy.'

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The first sentence expresses a fact; the same is true of the second sentence. The third sentence, however, expresses a dependency which restricts the probability of occurrence.

 4. rajaʕa Sāmī.   'Sami returned.'
   ʾakala Sāmī.   'Sami ate.'
   ʾakala Sāmī laḫman.   'Sami ate meat.'

In each of the above sentences, the first form is a verb. Sub-classification is facilitated by noting the obligatory absence, potential occurrence, or actual presence of a direct object.

An interesting contrast emerges from comparing the second and the third sentences: the former implies that something was eaten by Sami, but it does not exclude any type of food; the latter, on the other hand, excludes all but one type of food. Thus the occurrence of an object in the third sentence restricts the verb.

Furthermore, it has been shown that the number and the types of objects frequently determine the general meaning of verbs.

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CHAPTER IX

THE DOMAIN OF ʾIʿRĀB

In Chapter II, it was stated that specification is defined by two components: the specifier, and the head. In Chapter III, it was stated that specification is a governing set of functions requiring *ʾiʿrāb*. The word which displays the required *ʾiʿrāb* is viewed as the "governed" item.

The following rules identify the governed item.

Rule 1: Function of Each Component

Throughout the present study, we have used diagrams to represent specification; in those diagrams, the first component *usually* functions as the specifier and the second *usually* functions as the head.

Rule 2: Component Where the Governed Form Is Located

The governed form belongs to the second component.

Rule 3: Determining the Governed Form

Given an expression which fills the role of second component, the governed form is a *muʿrab* which (a) constitutes the entire expression or (b) functions as the first nuclear constituent of the expression.

Notes

    1. Strictly speaking, a *transitive* verb has only one specifier; a *ditransitive* verb has two specifiers, and a *tritransitive* verb has three. Thus Rule 3 applies to each of the objects. Again, a conditional sentence has two heads, and for this reason Rule 3 applies to the protasis as well as the apodosis.

    2. Repetition of a governed form in *istigʰātʰa, taḥdʰīr,* and *ʾigʰrāʾ* ('call for help', 'warning', and 'urging' respectively) constitutes a second domain of the required *ʾiʿrāb;* e.g., *an-najdata n-najdata* 'Help! Help!', *al-kalba l-kalba* 'Beware of the dog!', *aṣ-ṣabra ṣ-ṣabra* 'Patience! Patience!'

    3. A *muʿrab* conjoined to the governed form constitutes a second domain of the required *ʾiʿrāb;* the same is true of a nomen which stands in apposition to the governed form and of a

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nomen which modifies the governed form. It must be remembered that, typically, such conjoining, apposition, and modification result from combining two sentences. For example, *qābaltu ṭāliban wa-ʾustādʰan* 'I met a student and a teacher' is derived from two sentences whose objects denote different referents: *qābaltu ṭāliban* 'I met a student', and *qābaltu ʾustādʰan* 'I met a teacher'; *ʾaḥtarimu ʾakʰī Nabīlan* 'I respect my brother Nabil' is derived from two sentences with a reversible order and co-referential objects: *ʾaḥtarimu ʾakʰī* 'I respect my brother' and *ʾaḥtarimu Nabīlan* 'I respect Nabil'; *ʾaʿrifu r-rajula ṭ-ṭawīla* 'I know the tall man' is derived from two sentences with a fixed order and co-referential objects: *ʾaʿrifu r-rajula* 'I know the man', and *ʾaʿrifu ṭ-ṭawīla* 'I know the tall one'.

Coordinating, appositive, and attributive constructions constitute the "endocentric" constructions of Standard Arabic; thus the foregoing statements can be reduced to a simple rule: Provided they are declinable (*muʿrab*), the immediate constituents of an endocentric construction are typically identical in regard to the state of *ʾiʿrāb*.

4. The following examples illustrate the effect of Rule 3 on minor sentences with exclamatory denotation, including those which employ certain indeclinable forms known to Arab grammarians as ¹:أَسْمَاءُ الأَفْعَـالِ

(a) *ʾāmīna.*	'Amen!'
ʾilayya.	'Come to me!'
ʿalayka bihi.	'Pursue him!'
ʾilayka ʿannī.	'Leave me alone!'
(b) *hāka matʰalan.*	'Here's an example!'
ʿalayka farīdan.	'Seize Farid!'
halumma sʰuhūdakum.	'Bring forth your witnesses!'
ʾiyyāka wa-l-ʾasada.	'Mind the lion!'
makānaka.	'Stop! Quiet! Be still!'
subḫāna l-Lāhi.	'God be praised!'
maʿādʰa al-Lāhi.	'God forbid!'
samʿan wa-ṭāʿatan.	'To hear is to obey!'
ḥubban wa-karāmatan!	'With the greatest pleasure!'
tabban laka.	'May evil befall you! To hell with you!'
ḥayyahala ṭ-ṭaʿāma.	'Hurry to the food!'
mā ʾasraʿa yaʾsaka wa-gʰaḍabaka.	'How quick you are to despair and anger!'

In set (a), the conditions for the application of Rule 3 are not met; consequently, *naṣb* is not employed. In set (b), *naṣb* is displayed by a *muʿrab* in accordance with the stipulations of Rule 3.

The *indeclinable* form *ruwayda* belongs to the class of forms known to Arab grammarians as أَسْمَـاءُ الأَفْعَـالِ;[2] thus in the following example, Rule 3 places the second word in the accusative:

> ruwayda zaydan.   'Treat Zaid gently!'

On the other hand, the expressions *ruwaydan* 'Take it easy!' and *ruwayda Zaydin* 'Treat Zaid gently!' are structurally comparable to *wuqūfan* 'Stand up!' and *raʿyan li-Zaydin* 'May God protect Zaid!'. Here *ruwayd* is a *declinable* verbal noun, and for this reason it cannot be included in the class of *indeclinable* forms which Arab grammarians call أَسْمَـاءُ الأَفْعَـالِ.

With *sʰattāna/sʰattāni* and *hayhāta/hayhāti/hahyātu*, the primary designation of the sentence is emphasis rather than exclamation.[3] Thus *sʰattāna l-ʿilmu wa-l-jahlu* means 'Knowledge and ignorance are vastly different', rather than "How vastly different are knowledge and ignorance!" Similarly, *hayhāta maṭlabuka* means 'It is extremely preposterous to pursue your goal', rather than 'How extremely preposterous it is to pursue your goal!' With exclamation missing or played down, such sentences do not employ *naṣb* as a marker of specification. Significantly, the Quranic verse هَيْهَـاتَ هَيْهَـاتَ لِمَا تُوعَـدُونَ (23: 36) is translated in the official, authoritative version «مُصْحَفُ الْمَدِينَـةِ النَّـبَوِيَّةِ» as 'Far, very far is that which ye are promised', rather than the (less accurate) rendition given in Marmaduke Pickthall's *The Meaning of the Glorious Coran*: 'Begone, begone, with that which ye are promised!'

The governed form can be pinpointed further in regard to position within the second component; this task, however, has been accomplished with satisfactory precision by traditional grammar, and refinement (though desirable) is beyond the scope of this study.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. IV, pp. 140 – 161 (especially pp. 143 – 147, 153, 154, 159).

[2] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, p. 78; ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. I, pp. 49, 78; and ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. IV, p. 149.

[3] See ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. IV, pp. 142, 143.

READER'S NOTES

CHAPTER X

EXCEPTIONS

The rules presented in this study are not without exceptions; for example:

(a) *mā jāʔa ʔillā Samīrun* 'None came except for Samir' is used rather than **mā jāʔa ʔillā Samīran.*

(b) *kʰamsata ʕasʰara kitāban* 'fifteen books' is used rather than **kʰamsata ʕasʰara kitābin*; *ʕisʰrūna rajulan* 'twenty men' is used rather than **ʕisʰrūna rajulin.*

(c) *kam rajulan?* 'how many men?' is used rather than **kam rajulin?*

However, the following points must be noted:

1. The exceptions generated by the present study are fewer than those generated by other studies. The genitive is a case in point. Ancient Arab Grammarians state that the second member of a construct phrase is governed by an implied preposition in some instances and by the first member of the phrase in other instances. If the first kind of government is considered the rule, the second must be considered anomalous, and a sizable set of forms must therefore be relegated to the heap of arbitrary exceptions; the present study, on the other hand, classifies those forms (together with prepositions) as noun determiners.

2. The exceptions are insignificant compared to the overwhelming regularity which characterizes the system.

3. The present study utilizes the principles of modern linguistics. In the light of those principles, it is usually easy to account for the anomalous nature of the exceptions; for example:

(a) The state of *naṣb* is rejected in *mā jāʔa ʔillā Samīrun* because the noun occupies a slot which is normally occupied by the agent.

(b) After the cardinals of 11 – 19 and those of the tens above 19, counted nouns reject *jarr* to facilitate differentiation.

Numerals other than 1 and 2 are divisible into two sets: those which frequently occur as the first term of a construct phrase, and those which rarely enter into construct with a following form. The first set comprises the numerals 3 – 10, hundred, thousand, million, billion, and trillion; the second set comprises the numerals 11 – 19 and the tens above 19. The dichotomy stems from two rules which transcend the numeral system and pervade Standard Arabic as a whole: the first term of a

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construct is typically a simple word (as opposed to a compound word or a phrase), and a nunated form does not function as the first term of a construct.

Of the following examples, group (i) and group (ii) are common while group (iii) is relatively rare; group (iii) is usually avoided in favor of group (iv).

(i)	kʰamsatu kutubin	'five books'
	ʔalfu rajulin	'a thousand men'
	milyūnu dīnārin	'a million dinars'
	bilyūnu junayhin miṣriyyin	'a billion Egyptian pounds'
	tirilyūnu dūlārin	'a trillion dollars'
(ii)	kāna kʰāmisahum.	'He was the fifth of them.'
	kāna sābiʿa ramaḍāna.	'It was the seventh of Ramadan.'
	huwa kʰāmisu kʰamsatin.	'He is the fifth of five.'
(iii)	kʰamsata ʿasʰara Samīrn	'Samir's fifteen'
	kāna kʰāmisa ʿasʰarahum.	'He was the fifteenth of them.'
	huwa kʰāmisa ʿasʰara kʰamsata ʿasʰara.	'He is the fifteenth of fifteen.'
(iv)	al-kʰamsata ʿasʰara llatī li-Samīrin	'the fifteen which belong to Samir'
	kāna l-kʰāmisa ʿasʰara minhum.	'He was the fifteenth of them.'
	huwa l-kʰāmisa ʿasʰara min kʰamsata ʿasʰara.	'He is the fifteenth of fifteen.'

In regard to form, the tens above 19 are similar to the sound masculine plural. Resembling nunation, the final *–na* of those numerals does not occur in the middle of a construct phrase; yet, viewed as part of the stem, the same termination resists deletion (construct phrases such as *kʰamsūhum* 'their fifty' are rare).

In this light, it is hardly surprising that with some cardinals the counted noun rejects *jarr:* what appears at first glance to constitute arbitrary inconsistency proves to be a means of differentiating two sets of numerals. Since *jarr* is disfavored in this context, *naṣb* is the only form of *ʔiʿrāb* available to counted nouns which follow the cardinals 11 – 19 and the cardinal tens above 19.[1] Both *jarr* and *naṣb* are used to mark nouns for specification; but when *jarr* is rejected, *naṣb* becomes the only form of *ʔiʿrāb* available to mark a noun for specification.

(c)   The state of *jarr* is rejected after the interrogative numerical pronoun *kam* to differentiate pairs like the following:

kam nabiyyan qatalū?	'How many prophets did they kill?'
kam nabiyyin qatalū.	'Many a prophet they killed!'

It is hardly surprising to find *jarr* in the second sentence since the underlying string (*kam + min + nabiyy + qatalū*) contains a preposition.

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4. The general rules are not without force even in the context of exceptions: for example, the first noun rejects *naṣb* but the second does not in *mā jāʔa ʔillā Ḥasanun ʔillā Samīran* 'None came except for Hasan and Samir'.

In the context of exceptions, vocation warrants a few comments. In sentences such as *yā muḥammadu* 'O Mohammad!', *yā hādʰa r-rajulu* 'You over there! (addressing a man)', *ʔayyuha r-rajulu* 'O man!', and *yā rajulu* 'O man!', *naṣb* is rejected to differentiate two types of *al-munādā:* the simple, and the exclamatory; only the latter is marked by *naṣb*.

Most commonly, the vocative particle is followed by a name, a demonstrative pronoun, or a title. These three structures are viewed as the "natural" way to identify the person or thing addressed and, therefore, the framework for simple vocation; in contrast, other structures are viewed as the framework for exclamatory vocation. To be sure, the first set of structures may occur with exclamatory denotation, but such occurrence represents the exception rather than the rule.

The names and the demonstrative pronouns are defined by selection, while the titles are defined by elevation.[2] The demonstrative pronouns involved are *hādʰā* (with various forms to denote number and gender) and *hā:* the former may be preceded by *yā* (in which case it is optionally followed by an appositive) or *ʔayyu-* (in which case it is obligatorily followed by an appositive); the latter is preceded by *ʔayyu-* (and obligatorily followed by an appositive). Here are some examples: *yā muḥammadu* 'O Mohammad!', *yā hādʰā* 'You over there! (addressing a male)', *yā hādʰa r-rajulu* 'You over there! (addressing a man)', *ʔayyuhādʰa r-rajulu* 'You over there! (addressing a man)', *ʔayyuha r-rajulu* 'O man!', *yā rajulu* 'O man!'.

The structures denoting exclamatory vocation are النَّكِرَةُ غَيْـرُ الـمَقْصُودةِ (e.g., *yā gʰāfilan wa-l-mawtu yaṭlubuhu* 'O thou that art heedless, whilst Death is seeking thee!' said by a preacher), الـمُضَاف (e.g., *yā ʔaṣdiqāʔanā* 'Our friends!'), and الشَّبِيهِ بِالـمُضَافِ (e.g., *yā muḥibban li-l-ʕilmi* 'You who love knowledge!').

When it occurs as part of a name, الـمُنَادى الـمُضَاف is nevertheless marked by *naṣb* (e.g., *yā ʕAbda s-Salāmi* 'O Abdel-Salam!')*; naṣb* here might be the product of analogy with construct structures that are not used as names.

To summarize, certain vocative structures appear, at first glance, to violate the rules of *ʔiʕrāb;* a closer examination reveals conformity rather than anomaly: typically lacking the feature [+ Exclamatory], they are not subject to *naṣb*.

 Note

Elevation concerns the so-called النَّكِرَة الـمَقْصُودَة : in *ma smuka yā ʔustādʰu?* 'What is your name, professor?', *ijlis yā gʰulāmu* 'Sit down, lad!', *idʰhab yā rajulu* 'Go, man!', etc., the forms which follow *yā* assume the status of titles; they are "elevated" from the role of common nouns to the role of proper nouns.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] See item 15 in Chapter II; also see Chapter III.

[2] See the note at the end of this chapter (Chapter X).

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The theory of *ʔiʕrāb* being taught to students of Standard Arabic all over the Middle East is that which was formulated by the Ancient Arab Grammarians.[1] Contemporary Arabs find the study of *ʔiʕrāb* a nightmarish endeavor: even the specialists among them violate the rules of *ʔiʕrāb* with dismaying frequency whenever they speak, read, or write Standard Arabic. Grammatical rules are no more than a statement of the native's linguistic competence. A theory of *ʔiʕrāb* which even the determined contemporary Arab fails to master cannot be a valid representation of the ancient Arab's intuition; this study proposes the rules of Chapter III as a substitute.

In the twentieth century, a number of Arabists advanced the claim that no inflectional markers were used to designate grammatical function in pre-Islamic times. Perhaps the most eloquent proponent of this claim was ʔIbrāhīm ʔAnīs.

In his book *Min ʔAsrār al-Lugʰa,*[2] ʔAnīs shows that, during Islamic times, *ʔiʕrāb* became the most important characteristic of Standard Arabic. Mastering the rules of *ʔiʕrāb* was considered a supreme skill worthy of the utmost veneration, and deviation from those rules characterized speech as "vulgar"; indeed, educated Arabs viewed *ʔiʕrāb* as a sacred feature of the language, and equated the violation of its rules with sin. Little wonder, then, that the grammarians of the time enjoyed a high degree of respect and wielded a great deal of influence within the literary community.

 In the same book,[3] ʔAnīs states his conviction that *ʔiʕrāb* represents a misinterpretation committed by the Arab grammarians during the first two centuries of Islam and passed on to subsequent generations. Five arguments are offered in support of his position:

   1. Certain reciters of early Islamic times rendered many utterances of the Quran without *ʔiʕrāb*.

   2. The contemporary colloquial dialects of Arabic are devoid of *ʔiʕrāb;* the same is true of contemporary Semitic languages other than Arabic.

   3. Even the educated Arabs of early Islamic times violated the rules of *ʔiʕrāb*. A native speaker's intuition tends to preclude such violation.

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4. Omitting *ʾiʕrāb* from an utterance causes no ambiguity.

5. As formulated by the Ancient Arab Grammarians, the rules of *ʾiʕrāb* display no small measure of contradiction and confusion.

According to ʾAnīs, anaptyxis was employed by Standard Arabic in pre-Islamic times to avoid the occurrence of non-lingual clusters (i.e., clusters consisting of more than two consonants) across word boundaries. In this context, anaptyxis is defined as appending a short vowel to the first of two words whose juxtaposition would otherwise produce a non-lingual cluster. The anaptyctic vowel, ʾAnīs asserts, was determined by articulatory convenience:[4]

1. To facilitate vowel harmony, the sequence *qālat + kʰruj* yielded *qālatu kʰruj* while the sequence *qālat + ḍrib* yielded *qālati ḍrib*.

2. Pharyngeal and pharyngealized (emphatic) consonants tended to select the vowel /a/ *[jarḥ + l-qalb ⇒ jarḥa l-qalb, ʕurḍ + l-ḥāʾiṭ ⇒ ʕurḍa l-ḥāʾiṭ];* other consonants tended to select the "homorganic" short vowel (*ikʰsʰaw + l-Lāh ⇒ ikʰsʰawu l-Lāh, lā tansaw + l-faḍl ⇒ lā tansawu lfaḍl, lahum + l-busʰrā ⇒ lahumu l-busʰrā*).

With this in mind, ʾAnīs assumes that the Ancient Arab Grammarians mistook anaptyxis for *ʾiʕrāb,* and that once the rules of *ʾiʕrāb* were formulated all exceptions to those rules were regularized.

How does ʾAnīs explain contrasts which oppose /ū/ to /ī/ and /ā/ to /ay/ (e.g., *mudarrisūna: mudarrisīna* and *rajulāni: rajulayni*)? He claims that one member of the pair was used by certain tribes while the other member was used by the rest of the tribes; he further claims that, failing to discern this "fact" or anxious to uphold at all costs the rules which they formulated for *ʾiʕrāb,* the Ancient Arab Grammarians assigned one member to the nominative case and the other member to the oblique case.

One need only reflect on the linguistic situation in pre-Islamic Arabia to realize that ʾAnīs is far from convincing when he argues that *ʾiʕrāb* originated with the Ancient Arab Grammarians. Prior to Islam, the Arabian Peninsula witnessed a diglossic situation where Standard Arabic was used mainly for poetry while the colloquial dialects were used for common, everyday purposes.[5] Arabic meters favor free word order; it is possible, therefore, that *ʾiʕrāb* developed as a necessary device to provide non-syntactic markers for grammatical functions. Standard Arabic has never been the native language of all Moslems, nor was it the native language of all Arabs immediately before the advent of Islam; in this light, it is hardly surprising that transfer from the colloquial dialects produced certain mistakes in the rendition of some Quranic utterances,[6] that even the educated Arabs of early Islam violated the rules of *ʾiʕrāb,* and that the present-day Arabic dialects (which probably descended from the colloquial dialects of pre-Islamic Arabia[7]) are devoid of *ʾiʕrāb.*

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In Semitic languages which were used for common, everyday purposes as well as poetry, the need for free word order was overpowered by the tendency to simplify the system; thus no morphological device like *ʔiʕrāb* developed in those languages to mark grammatical function.

The statement that omitting *ʔiʕrāb* causes no ambiguity is more true of prose than it is of poetry; such a statement is irrelevant to the present discussion if it is poetry that gave rise to *ʔiʕrāb*.

Finally, the statement that certain mistakes were committed in describing *ʔiʕrāb* may be viewed as a reflection on the Ancient Arab Grammarians, on the linguistic science of their time, or on both; it cannot prove, however, that the linguistic corpus was devoid of *ʔiʕrāb*.

To suggest that anaptyxis was mistaken for *ʔiʕrāb* raises some rather serious problems:

1. As proposed by ʔAnīs, the theory of anaptyxis would render nonmetrical many lines of pre-Islamic poetry which are perfectly metrical in the context of *ʔiʕrāb*. To escape this dilemma, ʔAnīs faults the rules which al-Kʰalīl b. ʔAḥmad al-Farāhīdī formulated for Arabic prosody: in violation of those rules, ʔAnīs considers the string ⌣−− −−− ⌣−⌣ ⌣−⌣− a variant of ⌣−− ⌣−−− ⌣−− ⌣−−−,[8] thus claiming that a hemistich-medial foot can undergo a deletion transformation. The rules formulated by al-Khalīl depict a system which painstakingly safeguards the distinct identity of each meter;[9] on the other hand, the hemistich-medial deletion ʔAnīs wishes to admit can change one meter to another (for example, ⌣−− ⌣−−− ⌣−− ⌣−−− ⇒ ⌣−− ⌣−− ⌣−− ⌣−−). Modern Linguistics science has emphasized the role of contrast to the extent that no elaborate discussion of that role is necessary at this point; but to state this fact is to assert that al-Kʰalīl is probably right, ʔAnīs is probably wrong, and *ʔiʕrāb* is probably an authentic phenomenon.

2. As proposed by ʔAnīs, the theory of anaptyxis provides no explanation for nunation.

3. As ʔAnīs himself admits,[10] the Ancient Arab Grammarians identified certain positions where anaptyctic vowels occur; in addition, they provided accurate rules which determine the anaptyctic vowel for each environment. One must therefore conclude that they drew a distinction between anaptyxis and *ʔiʕāb* on the basis of obvious linguistic facts.

4. According to ʔAnīs, pairs such *mudarrisūna : mudarrisīna* did not co-occur in the same dialect; he makes the same claim for pairs like *rajulāni : rajulayni*. The Ancient Arab Grammarians, on the other hand, claimed that such pairs *did* co-occur in the same dialect, and the Quran confirms their claim. Did the Ancient Arab Grammarians dare to change even the Quran?

What could have driven ʔAnīs, a linguist of impeccable credentials and extraordinary academic accomplishments, to a theory beset with so many pitfalls? Perhaps a clue is provided by the following passages:

> "The second century after the Hegira had hardly ended when *ʾiʿrāb* became a mighty fortress, too strong even for the prowess of masterful writers, public speakers, and poets of the Arabic language."[11]

> "[The rules of *ʾiʿrāb*] eventually became extremely complicated—to the extent that a life span is not sufficient to learn and completely master those rules."[12]

> "Today, many among us are frustrated by this matter of *ʾiʿrāb;* having encountered great difficulty in grasping its cause and motivation, they rebel against *ʾiʿrāb* and advocate its overthrow."[13]

Difficulty such as ʾAnīs describes in the above statements is not typical of human languages. While ʾAnīs concludes that *ʾiʿrāb* is a fabrication, this writer concludes that the Ancient Arab Grammarians produced a defective analysis of an authentic linguistic phenomenon. This study is offered as an attempt to remedy the defects.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, ʿAlī al-Jārim's *al-Naḥw al-Wāḍiḥ* and ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī*.

[2] See pp. 198 – 211.

[3] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa,* pp. 212 – 274.

[4] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa*, pp. 251 – 253.

[5] See Johann Fück's *al-ʿArabiyya* (translated by Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb)*,* pp. 6 – 17; also see Arberry's *The Seven Odes*, pp. 240, 241.

[6] See Robert Lado's *Linguistics Across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961).

[7] See Charles Ferguson's "The Arabic Koine"; also see Johann Fück's *al-ʿArabiyya* (translated by Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb), pp. 7 – 12.

[8] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa,* p. 267.

[9] See Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, pp. 358 – 368.

[10] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa*, pp. 251, 252.

[11] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa*, p. 198.

[12] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa*, p. 199.

[13] See ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Min ʾAsrār al-Lugʰa*, p. 210.

APPENDIX I

CONTRASTS BETWEEN

CARDINAL NUMERAL AND COUNTED NOUN

In the following tables, the raised symbol † designates a contrast which is displayed by the unit (of a compound numeral) and the counted noun. The abbreviation *Ref. Num.* stands for "referential number" and pertains to meaning rather than form (specifically, the meaning which a given item has in isolation). The abbreviation *N.A.* stands for "not applicable". *M* stands for "masculine", and *F* stands for "feminine".

The Cardinal Numerals 3 - 10

	NUMERAL	COUNTED NOUN
REF. NUM.	Plural	Plural
GENDER	M F	F M
CASE	Variable	Fixed

The Cardinal Numeral 11

	NUMERAL	COUNTED NOUN
REF. NUM.	Plural	Singular
GENDER	M F	M F
CASE	N.A.	Applicable

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The Cardinal Numeral 12

	NUMERAL	COUNTED NOUN
REF. NUM.	Plural	Singular
GENDER	$\begin{bmatrix} M \\ F \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} M \\ F \end{bmatrix}$
CASE †	Variable	Fixed

The Cardinal Numerals 13 - 19

	NUMERAL	COUNTED NOUN
REF. NUM.	Plural	Singular
GENDER †	$\begin{bmatrix} M \\ F \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} F \\ M \end{bmatrix}$
CASE	N.A.	Applicable

The Cardinal Tens above 19, Hundreds, Thousands, Millions, Billions, and Trillions

	NUMERAL	COUNTED NOUN
REF. NUM.	Plural	Singular
GENDER	Fixed	Variable
CASE	Variable	Fixed

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APPENDIX II

A TEACHER'S VIEW OF ʔIʕRĀB

The following poem was composed by ʔIbrāhīm Ṭūqān (1904 – 1941 A.D.). At the time he wrote the poem in 1933, Ṭuqān was teaching the Arabic language at al-Rasʰīdiyya School in Jerusalem. Reference is made in the first and the third lines to the famous Egyptian poet ʔAḥmad Sʰawqī (1868 – 1932 A.D.) who was known throughout the Arab World as the "Prince of Poets". In the eleventh line, reference is made to Sībawayhi (c. 760 – 793 A.D.), the father of Arabic grammar.

<div dir="rtl">

الشَّاعِرُ المُعَلِّمُ

«قُمْ لِلْمُعَلِّمِ وَفِّهِ التَّبْجِيلَا» !   «شَوْقِي» يَقُولُ (وَمَا دَرَى بِمُصِيبَتِي) :

مَنْ كَانَ لِلنَّشْءِ الصِّغَارِ خَلِيلَا ؟   أُقْعُدْ ، فَدَيْتُكَ ! هَلْ يَكُونُ مُبَجَّلًا

«كَادَ المُعَلِّمُ أَنْ يَكُونَ رَسُولَا»   وَيَكَادُ «يَفْلِقُنِي» الأَمِيرُ بِقَـوْلِهِ :

لَقَضَى الحَيَاةَ شَقَاوَةً وَخُمُـولَا   لَوْ جَـرَّبَ التَّعْلِيمَ شَوْقِي سَاعَـةً

مَـرْأَى «الدَّفَاتِرِ» بُكْـرَةً وَأَصِيلَا   حَسْبُ المُعَلِّـمِ غُـمَّةً وَكَآبَـةً

وَجَدَ الْعَمَى نَحْوَ الْعُيُونِ سَبِيلَا   مِئَةٌ عَلَى مِئَةٍ إِذَا هِيَ صُلِّحَـتْ

وَأَبِيـكَ لَمْ أَكُ بِالْعُيُونِ بَخِيلَا   وَلَوْ أَنَّ فِي «التَّصْلِيحِ» نَفْعًا يُرْتَجَى

مَثَلًا ، وَاتَّخِـذُ «الكِتَابَ» دَلِيلَا   لَكِنْ أُصَـلِّحُ غَلْطَـةً نَحْـوِيَّةً

أَوْ «بِالحَدِيثِ» مُفَصَّلًا تَفْصِيلَا   مُسْتَشْهِـدًا بِالْغُـرِّ مِـنْ آيَاتِـهِ

مَا لَيْسَ مُلْتَبِسًا وَلَا مَـبْذُولَا   وَأَغُـوصُ فِي الشِّعْرِ الْقَدِيمِ فَأَنْتَقِي

وَذَوِيـهِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُـرُونِ الأُولَى   وَأَكَادُ أَبْعَثُ «سِيبَوَيْهِ» مِنَ الْبِلَى

رَفَـعَ المُضَافَ إِلَيْهِ وَالْمَفْعُولَا !   فَأَرَى «حِمَـارًا» بَعْـدَ ذَلِكَ كُلِّهِ

وَوَقَعْتُ مَا بَـيْنَ «البُنُوكِ» قَتِـيلَا   لَا تَعْجَبُوا إِنْ صِحْتُ يَوْمًا صَيْحَةً

إِنَّ المُعَلِّمَ لَا يَعِيشُ طَوِيلَا !   يَا مَنْ يُرِيـدُ الِانْتِحَارَ : وَجَـدْتُهُ !

نَابُلُس ٣١ – ٣ – ١٩٣٣

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The Poet-Teacher

Says Sʰawqī (and little did he know what cross I bear):
      "Rise to your feet to pay respect to teachers!"

Sit down for heaven's sake! Can anyone be revered
      As the bosom friend of the young generation?

The Prince drives me to the brink of madness when he says:
      "A teacher almost ranks with the prophets!"

Had Sʰawqī experienced teaching [even] for one hour,
      He would have spent [the rest of] his life as an idle vagabond.

A teacher reaps his full share of misery and depression
      From the mere sight of notebooks early in the morning and
      late in the afternoon—

Hundreds of them! Were they all to be corrected,
      Blindness would gain access to the [teacher's] eyes.

And were correcting them to serve any useful purpose,
      I swear I scarce would spare my eyes!

But [the fact is that] I correct a grammatical mistake,
      For example, citing the Quran as the authority,

Quoting as proof the gems of its verses,
      Or [quoting] the Hadith in minute detail;

I delve into ancient poetry, selecting
      Whatever is not ambiguous and not vulgar;

I almost resurrect from the dead Sībawayhi
      And his colleagues who lived in the early centuries [of Islam];

Yet lo! despite it all, a jackass
      Places the second term of the construct phrase, as
      well as the object of the verb, in the nominative case.

Be not surprised should I, one day, let out a cry
      And fall dead between the desks.

O thou who wish to commit suicide, [behold] I have found the means:
      Decidedly, a teacher cannot live long!

Nābulus, 31 March 1933

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النَّحْوُ العَرَبيُّ : نَقْدٌ وبِناءٌ – للدّكتور إبراهيم السَّامرَّائيّ – نَشْر دار الصَّادق – بـيروت ١٩٦٨

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النَّحْوُ الواضِـحُ – لعليّ الجارم وأحمد أمين – ستَّة أجزاء – نَشْر دارٍ المعارف – القاهرة ١٩٥٣ – ١٩٧٥

النَّحْوُ الوافِي – لعبَّاس حسن – أربعة أجزاء – نَشْر دارٍ المعارف – القاهرة ١٩٧٥

نَشْأَةُ النَّحْوِ وتاريخُ أَشْهَرِ النُّحاةِ – للشَّيخ محمَّد الطَّنطاويّ – نَشْر دارٍ المعارف – القاهرة ١٩٧٣

مَوْسُوعَـةُ أَحمــد أمين الإسلامــيَّةُ : فَجْـرُ الإسـلامِ، ضُحَـى الإسـلامِ (٣ أجزاء)، ظُهْـرُ الإسـلامِ (٤ أجزاء) – للدّكتور أحمد أمين – نَشْر دارٍ الكِتابِ العَـرَبيِّ – بـيروت ١٩٦٩

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بحمد الله تم

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الجُــزءُ الثَّالِثُ

نحوَ التَّجْديدِ في دِراسَةِ العَروُضِ العَرَبِيّ

خُلاصَةُ البَحْثِ باللُّغةِ العَرَبِـيَّة

تأليف

الدّكتور زكي عبد الملك

أستاذِ اللُّغةِ العربيَّةِ وعُلومِها وآدابِها
في جامعةِ يُوطا (بالولاياتِ المتَّحدةِ الأمريكيَّةِ) سابقًا

جميعُ الحُـقُوقِ مَحفوظةٌ للمؤلِّف

لا يُسمَــحُ بطباعةِ أيِّ مَادَّةٍ مِنْ مَــوادَّ هذا الكِتَابِ أو نَسْخِها أو نَـقْلِها أو تَوْزيعِها في أيِّ شَكْلٍ مِنَ الأَشْكالِ وبأيِّ وَسِيلةٍ مِـنَ الوَسائلِ دُونَ أنْ يَسْبِقَ ذٰلِكَ إذنٌ خَطِّـيٌّ صَـرِيحٌ مِنَ المؤلِّف

الفَصْلُ الأَوَّلُ

عَرُوضُ الخَلِيلِ

الخَلِيلُ بْنُ أحمدَ الفَرَاهِيدِيُّ (٧١١ إلى ٧٨٦ للميلاد)

كانَ الخَلِيلُ بْنُ أحمدَ الفَرَاهِيدِيُّ عَظِيمَ الحظِّ مِنَ التَّفَوُّقِ والنُّبُوغِ. وما رأيُكَ في رَجُلٍ لم يَتْرُكْ عِلْمًا مِنْ عُلُومِ اللُّغَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ إلَّا مَلأَ يَدَيْهِ مِنْهُ ثُمَّ مَلأَ أَيْدِيَ النَّاسِ؟ ومَأْثُرَتُهُ في ذَلِكَ جَلِيلَةٌ خَطِيرَةٌ تَجِدُها مُصَوَّرَةً أَحْسَنَ التَّصْوِيرِ في القِسْمِ الأَوَّلِ مِنْ كِتَابِ «المدارس النَّحْوِيَّة» لِلدّكتور شَوْقِي ضيف، وفي البابِ الثَّاني مِنْ كِتَابِ «البَحْثُ اللُّغَوِيّ عِنْدَ العَرَبِ» لِلدّكتور أحمد مختار عُمَر. ونَحْنُ في هَذِهِ العُجَالَةِ لا نَزِيدُ على إيجازِ النَّتائِجِ الَّتي انتَهَى إليها الدّكتور شَوْقي ضيف والدّكتور أحمد مختار عُمَر.

عَرَضَ الخَلِيلُ لأَصْوَاتِ اللُّغةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ فَحَدَّدَ الوَحَدَاتِ الَّتي نَدْعُوها اليومَ بالفُونِيمات (phonemes)، ووَصَفَ مَخارِجَها، وعَيَّنَ خَصائِصَها مِنْ هَمْسٍ وجَهْرٍ وشِدَّةٍ ورَخاوَةٍ واسْتِعْلاءٍ واسْتِفالٍ، واسْتَقْصَى مواقِعَها مِنَ الكلمةِ، وأَحْصَى التَّغَيُّرَاتِ الَّتي تَطْرَأُ عليها مِنْ قَلْبٍ وحَذْفٍ وإعْلالٍ وإبْدَالٍ وإدْغامٍ.

وعَرَضَ لِرُمُوزِ الكِتابةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ فأَدْخَلَ على النَّقْطِ أوِ الإعْجامِ عَلاماتٍ لِلرَّوْمِ والإشْمام والتَّشْدِيدِ وهَمْزَةِ الوَصْلِ وهَمْزَةِ القَطْعِ، وابتَكَرَ عَلاماتٍ للشَّكْلِ لا زِلْنا نَسْتَخْدِمُها حتَّى اليَوم.

1

وعَرَضَ لِدِراسَةِ الصَّرْفِ والنَّحْوِ والسِّياقِ فَحَدَّدَ أُسْلُوبَ البَحْثِ حِينَ وَضَعَ أُسُسًا ثَلاثَةً قامَتْ عليها مَدْرَسَةُ البَصْرَةِ هي السَّماعُ والقِياسُ والتَّعْلِيلُ. وتَناوَلَ عَدَدًا ضَخْمًا مِنَ المسائِلِ أَثْبَتَها سِيبَوَيْهِ بَعْدَ ذلِكَ في كِتابِهِ، وقد أَمْعَنَ الخليلُ في تَحْلِيلِها وفَصَّلَ القَوْلَ فيها حتَّى زَعَمَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ الأَنْدَلُسِيُّ في «طَبَقات النَّحْوِيِّينَ واللُّغَوِيِّينَ» [1] أنَّ الخليلَ استَنْبَطَ مِنْ عِلَلِ النَّحْوِ ما لم يَستنبِطْ أَحَدٌ وما لم يَسبِقْهُ إلى مِثْلِهِ سابِقٌ. وقد رَأَى القُدَماءُ أنَّ كِتابَ سِيبَوَيْهِ مِنْ تَصْنِيفِ المؤلِّفِ وتَصْنِيفِ أُستاذِهِ الخليلِ. قالَ ثعلب: «الأُصُولُ والمسائِلُ في الكِتابِ للخَلِيلِ»؛ وقالَ أبو الطَّيِّبِ اللُّغَوِيُّ: «عَقَّدَ سِيبَوَيْهِ كِتابَه بِلَفْظِهِ ولَفْظِ الخليلِ»؛ وقالَ السِّيرافِيُّ: «عامَّةُ الحكايةِ في كِتابِ سِيبَوَيْهِ عَنِ الخَلِيلِ أُستاذِهِ».

وعَرَضَ لِدِراسَةِ المُفْرَداتِ والمعاني فأَلَّفَ «كِتَاب العَيْنِ» وهو أَوَّلُ مُعْجَمٍ عَرَبِيٍّ رُتِّبَتْ مادَّتُهُ وَفْقَ تَرتيبِ الْحُرُوفِ. وقَدِ اصْطَنَعَ طَريقَةً رِياضِيَّةً فَريدَةً في جَمْعِ مُفْرَداتِه: لاحَظَ أنَّ الكلمةَ العَرَبِيَّةَ قد تَكُونُ ثُنائِيَّةً أو ثُلاثِيَّةً أو رُباعِيَّةً أو خُماسِيَّةً؛ وإذَنْ فَلَكَ أنْ تُؤَلِّفَ مِنْ حُرُوفِ اللُّغَةِ كُلَّ ما يُمْكِنُ تأليفُه مِنْ جُذُورٍ ثُنائِيَّةٍ، مُراعِيًا أنْ يَنتظِمَ الْحَرْفانِ في كُلِّ جَذْرٍ وَفْقًا للتَّرتيبِ الصَّوْتِيِّ الَّذي ابتَدَعَهُ الخليلُ واستَغْنَى به عَنِ التَّرتيبِ الأبجديِّ. ولَكَ بَعْدَ ذلِكَ أنْ تَفرِضَ التَّقْلِيبَ الموضِعِيَّ على كُلِّ جَذْرٍ فَتَضَعَ حَرْفًا مَكانَ حَرْفٍ. وعلى النَّحْوِ ذاتِه تَستَطِيعُ أنْ تؤلِّفَ مِنْ حُرُوفِ اللُّغَةِ كُلَّ ما يُمْكِنُ تأليفُه مِنْ جذُورٍ ثُلاثِيَّةٍ، مُلتزِمًا بالتَّرتيبِ الصَّوْتِيِّ، وأنْ تُقَلِّبَ كلَّ جَذْرٍ على جميعِ أشكالِه مُرَتِّبًا الْحُرُوفَ في الجَذْرِ الواحِدِ على كلِّ وَجْهٍ مُمْكِنٍ. وقُلْ مِثلَ ذلِكَ في الجذُورِ الرُّباعِيَّةِ والْخُماسِيَّةِ. فإذا استَعَنْتَ بأوزانِ الصَّرْفِ في اشتِقاقِ الكلماتِ المُمْكِنةِ مِنْ كلِّ جَذْرٍ اتَّسَقَ لَكَ مُعْجَمٌ يَضُمُّ جميعَ المُفْرَداتِ المُتاحَةِ لِلُّغَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ مِنَ الوِجْهَةِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ، فلا يَبْقَى إلَّا أنْ تُمَيِّزَ ما هو مُسْتَعْمَلٌ مِمَّا هو مُهْمَلٌ، وقَدِ استَعانَ الخليلُ في ذلِكَ بمنهَجِ الِاسْتِقْراءِ ومَعْرِفَتِه لِما تُبيحُ اللُّغَةُ العَرَبِيَّةُ وما تَمْنَعُ مِنْ تَجَمُّعاتٍ صَوْتِيَّـةٍ.

2

وتَقْليبُ الجَذْرِ على جميعِ أشكالِهِ يَتَمَخَّضُ عن صُورَتَيْنِ (٢×١) إذا كانَ الجَذْرُ ثُنائيًّا، وعن سِتِّ صُوَرٍ (٣×٢×١) إذا كانَ الجَذْرُ ثُلاثيًّا، وعن أَرْبَعٍ وعِشْرينَ صُورَةً (٤×٣×٢×١) إذا كانَ الجَذْرُ رُباعيًّا، وعن مِئَةٍ وعِشْرينَ صُورَةً (٥×٤×٣×٢×١) إذا كانَ الجَذْرُ خُماسيًّا.

أمَّا تَرْتيبُ المُعْجَمِ فقد خَضَعَ للنِّظامِ التَّالي:

(١) اِنْصَرَفَ الخليلُ عَنِ التَّرْتيبِ الأَبْجَديِّ إلى تَرْتيبٍ صَوْتيٍّ يَعْتَمِدُ على مَخارجِ الْحُرُوفِ. ذٰلِكَ أنَّ الخليلَ وَجَدَ حُرُوفَ الحَلْقِ أَعْمَقَ الْحُرُوفِ فبدأَ بها. وقد رَتَّبَ حُرُوفَ الحَلْقِ فيما بينَها حَسَبَ المخارجِ فإذا الهمزةُ والهاءُ أعمقُها، يَليهِما حَرْفا العَيْنِ والحاءِ، ثُمَّ حَرْفا الغَيْنِ والخاءِ. وإذَنْ فقَدْ كانَ مُنْتَظَرًا أنْ يَبْدَأَ المُعْجَمُ بِحَرْفِ الهَمْزَةِ، لٰكِنَّ الخليلَ عَدَلَ عن ذٰلِكَ لأنَّ الهمزةَ صَوْتٌ يَطْرَأُ عليه تَغَيُّراتٌ كالتَّسْهيلِ والحذْفِ. كَذٰلِكَ وَجَدَ الهاءَ صَوْتًا مَهْمُوسًا خَفيًّا فكَرِهَ أنْ يَبْدَأَ بهِ. وانتَقَلَ إلى المجموعةِ الثَّانيةِ مِنْ حُرُوفِ الحَلْقِ فآثَرَ العَيْنَ على الحاءِ لأنَّ العَيْنَ صَوْتٌ أَنْصَعُ، يريدُ أنَّ العَيْنَ صَوْتٌ أَوْضَحُ لأنَّه مَجْهُورٌ. وقد رتَّبَ الخليلُ الأصواتَ على الوَجْهِ التَّالي:

ع ح ه خ غ   ق ك   ج ش ض   ص س ز

ط د ت   ظ ذ ث   ر ل ن   ف ب م   و ا ي

وقَدْ أَفْرَدَ الخليلُ لكُلِّ حَرْفٍ كِتابا فغَدَا المعجَمُ طائفةً مِنَ الكُتُبِ: عَدَدُها كَعَدَدِ الْحُرُوفِ، وتَرْتيبُها مُوافِقٌ للتَّرْتيبِ الصَّوْتيِّ. واتَّخَذَ أسماءَ الحُرُوفِ عناوينَ لِلكُتُبِ: فأنتَ واجِدٌ في المُعْجَمِ كِتابًا للعَيْنِ وكِتابًا للحاءِ وكتابًا للهاءِ وكتابًا لكُلِّ حَرْفٍ آخَـرَ.

(٢) عُنِيَ الخليلُ في تَرْتيبِ مُعْجَمِهِ بالجُذورِ وأَهْمَلَ حروفَ الزِّيادةِ، فكانَ يُجَرِّدُ الكلمةَ مِنْ زَوائدِها ثُمَّ يُحَدِّدُ مَوْضِعَها مِنَ المُعْجَمِ. وسَبيلُه في تَحْديدِ الموضِعِ أنْ يَنْظُرَ في حروفِ الجَذْرِ

3

ويَسْتَدِلَّ بِأَعْمَقِها مَخْرَجًا على الكِتابِ المُلائِمِ للكلمةِ. يَنبَغِي إذَنْ أَنْ تُدرَجَ الأفعالُ الثُّلاثِيَّةُ «هَاجَرَ» و«اجْتَهَدَ» و«تَنَبَّهَ» في كِتابٍ واحِدٍ هو «كِتابُ الهاءِ»: أمَّا الفِعْلُ الأَوَّلُ فينبَغِي أَنْ يُدرَجَ تحتَ الجَذْرِ «هجر»، وأمَّا الفِعْلُ الثَّاني فينبَغِي أَنْ يُدرَجَ تحتَ الجَذْرِ «جهد»، وأمَّا الفِعْلُ الثَّالِثُ فينبَغِي أَنْ يُدرَجَ تحتَ الجَذْرِ «نبه». وقد نَشَأَ عن هذِهِ الخُطَّةِ قَيْدٌ هامٌّ رَسَمَ حُدُودًا واضِحَةً لكُلِّ كِتابٍ، وهو قَيْدٌ يَقْضِي بأَنْ تُقْصَى الجُذُورُ المشتَمِلَةُ على حَرْفٍ سابِقٍ في الترتيبِ لعُنْوانِ الكتابِ، فـ«كِتابُ الحاءِ» يَخْلُو مِنَ الجُذُورِ المشتَمِلَةِ على حَرْفِ العَيْنِ لأَنَّ هذِهِ الطائفةَ مِنَ الجُذُورِ قد أُدخِلَتْ في «كِتاب العَيْنِ»، و«كِتابُ الهاءِ» يَخْلُو مِنَ الجُذُورِ المشتَمِلَةِ على حَرْفِ العَيْنِ أو حَرْفِ الحاءِ، وعلى هذَا النَّحْوِ. ليس غَرِيبًا إذَنْ أَنْ تُصادِفَ في الكُتُبِ الأُولَى مِنَ المعجَمِ تَضَخُّمًا واكتِظاظًا، وأَنْ تُصادِفَ في الكُتُبِ الأخيرةِ تَضاؤُلاً واقتِصادًا.

(٣) قَسَّمَ الخَلِيلُ كلَّ كِتابٍ إلى أبوابٍ وأخْضَعَ هذَا التَّقْسِيمَ لنِظامِ العَدَدِ، فالمُفرَداتُ في «كِتاب العَيْنِ» مَثَلاً مُسَجَّلَةٌ حَسَبَ التَّقْسِيمِ التَّالي: الثُّلاثِيُّ الصَّحيحُ – الثُّلاثِيُّ المُعْتَلُّ – اللَّفِيفُ – الرُّباعِيُّ – الخُماسِيُّ. وإذَنْ فالبابُ مُسْتَقَرٌّ لنَوْعٍ مِن أنواعِ الجُذُورِ.

(٤) قَسَّمَ الخَلِيلُ كلَّ بابٍ إلى فُصُولٍ وأخْضَعَ هذَا التَّقْسِيمَ لِما ابتَدَعَ مِن تَرتِيبٍ صَوْتِيٍّ، ثُمَّ عَمَدَ إلى كُلِّ فَصْلٍ فَجَعَلَ مادَّتَهُ طائفةً مِنَ التَّقالِيبِ قَدِ انتَظَمَتْ وَفْقًا للتَّرتِيبِ الصَّوْتِيِّ.

فَمَنْ يَسْتَعْرِضْ مُعْجَمَ الخَلِيلِ يَجِدْهُ قد بَدَأَ بكِتابِ العَيْنِ، ويَجِدِ الكِتابَ قد بَدَأَ بِبابِ المُضاعَفِ. قال الدَّكتور حسين نَصَّار في الجُزْءِ الأَوَّلِ مِن «المُعْجَمِ العَـــرَبِيِّ»:[٢]

«اسْتَهَلَّ الخَلِيلُ كِتابَهُ بِحَرْفِ العَيْنِ، وافتَتَحَهُ بِبابِ الثُّنائِيِّ الصَّحِيحِ، الَّذي يُسَمِّيه أيضًا المُضاعَفَ. والتَّسمِيَةُ الثَّانِيَةُ أَدَقُّ، لأنَّهُ يَتَناوَلُ فيه الثُّلاثِيَّ المضاعَفَ مِثْلَ عقّ وعكّ وأمثالِهِما.....

«وكانَ على الخليلِ أَنْ يَبدأَ هٰذا البابَ بفَصْلِ العَيْنِ مع ما يليها في المَخْرَجِ، وهو الحاءُ، ثُمَّ فصلِ العَيْنِ مع ما يلي الحاءَ في المَخْرَجِ، وهو الهاءُ، ثم فَصلِ العَيْنِ مع ما يلي الهاءَ في المَخْرَجِ وهو الخاءُ ..... ولٰكِنَّه لم يَعْـثُـرْ على كلماتٍ تتألَّفُ مِنَ العَيْنِ والحاءِ، ولا العَيْنِ والهاءِ، ولا العَيْنِ والخاءِ ..... فَدَرَسَ لِهٰذِهِ الظاهِرةَ، واهتَدَى إلى أَنَّ قُـرْبَ المَخْرَجَـيْنِ في أقصى الحَلْقِ بِحَيْثُ يَتَعَذَّرُ على الإنسانِ نُطْقُهما هو السبَبُ، فَسَجَّلَ ذٰلِكَ في صَدْرِ البابِ.   ....

«وحينَ نَصِلُ إلى فَصْلِ العَيْنِ مع القافِ، نَجِدُه يُعالِـجُ مادَّةً عقّ ثُمَّ خلفها مباشَرةً مقلوبَها قعّ. وكذا الحالُ في بقيَّةِ فُصُولِ الثُّنائيِّ، بَلْ بقيَّةِ فُصُولِ الكِتابِ كلّه. ولٰكِنَّه بطبيعةِ الحالِ لم يَرجِعْ إلى عقّ وما مائَلها مِنْ تَقاليبَ، في بابِ القافِ، أو ما إليها اكتفاءً بِذِكْرِها هنا.»

فإذا شِئْتَ أَنْ تَلْتَمِسَ لَفْظًا في مُعْجَمِ الخليلِ فاستَخْلِصْ مِنْ ذٰلِكَ اللَّفْظِ جَذْرَهُ ثُمَّ أَخْضِعِ الجَذْرَ للتَّرتيبِ الصَّوْتيِّ. فإذا تَمَّ لَكَ ذٰلِكَ فاتَّخِذِ الجَذْرَ المُعَدَّلَ مُرْشِدًا: يَدُلُّ حَرْفُه الأَوَّلُ على الكِتابِ، ويَدُلُّ نَوعُه على البابِ، ويَدُلُّ سِياقُه على الفَصْلِ.

وكانَ الخليلُ إلى ذٰلِكَ شاعِرًا مُجيدًا، خَبيرًا بالإيقاعِ والنَّغْمِ والموسيقى، مُلِمًّا بأطرافٍ مِنْ عِلْمِ الفَلَكِ وعِلْمِ الرِّياضيَّاتِ وعِلْمِ الفَلْسَفَةِ. وقَدِ اتَّصَلَ بِحَلَقاتِ المُحَدِّثينَ والفُقَهاءِ والأُدَباءِ، وكانَ مِنْ أَصْدِقائِه ابنُ المُقَفَّعِ الَّذي قالَ فيما زَعَمَ شُيُوخُ البَصْرَةِ: «إنَّ الخليلَ رَجُلٌ عَقْلُهُ أَكْثَرُ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ».

لٰكِنَّ الَّذي يَهُمُّنا في هٰـذا البَحْـثِ هو دِراسَةُ الخليلِ للعَـرُوضِ العَرَبيِّ، وهي دِراسَةٌ شائعةٌ في العالَمِ العَرَبيِّ تُلَقَّنُ لِطُلَّابِ المدارِسِ الثَّانويَّةِ وطُلَّابِ الجامِعاتِ، فَلا داعِيَ لعَرْضِها في هٰذا المَوْضِعِ. ومِنَ النَّاسِ قَوْمٌ يَعُدُّونَها القَوْلَ الفَصْلَ ويُنكِرونَ أَنْ يَكُونَ بَعْدَها زِيادةٌ لِمُسْتَزيدٍ، أَمَّا نَحْنُ فنَرى رأيًا آخَرَ نَسْتَهِلُّهُ بالتَّفْريقِ بين المُلاحَظاتِ والنَّظَريَّاتِ؛ ولْنَنْصَرِفْ في هٰذِهِ المُحاوَلَةِ عَنْ عِلْمِ الأدَبِ إلى نَماذِجَ مِنْ عِلْمِ الفَلَكِ نَسْتَقيها مِنَ المَصادِرِ التَّالِيَةِ:

كِتاب Cosmos للدّكتور Carl Sagan[3]

وكِتَاب *Einstein's Universe* للباحِثِ المعروفِ Nigel Calder ⁴

ومَادَّة "Solar System" في *Collier's Encyclopedia*

ومَادَّة "Kepler" في دَائِـــرَةِ المعارِفِ البريطانيَّةِ.

تْيـكـو بـراهي Tycho Brahe (١٥٤٦ إلى ١٦٠١ للميلاد) ويُوهانِس كِبْلَر Johannes Kepler (١٥٧١ إلى ١٦٣٠ للميلاد)

في نِهايةِ القَـرْنِ السَّادِسَ عَشَرَ للميلادِ كان تيكو بـراهي يَشْغَلُ مَنْصِبًا خَطِـيرًا، فَقَدْ كانَ عَالِمَ الرِّياضِيَّاتِ في بَلاطِ الإمبراطورِ الرُّومانيِّ رودلف الثَّاني بمدينة براغ (Prague). وقَدْ عَكَفَ قَبْلَ اختِراعِ التليسكوب على مُراقَبَةِ الكواكِبِ وإحْصاءِ حَرَكاتِها وتَسْجيلِ مَواقِعِها في كُلِّ مَوْسِمٍ مِنْ مَواسِمِ السَّنَةِ، وأنْفَقَ في ذلِكَ خَمْسًا وثَلاثِينَ سَنَةً حتَّى تَجَمَّعَ لَدَيْهِ مِنَ المعلوماتِ أَدَقُّ ما عُرِفَ في عَصْـرِهِ. لكِنَّهُ كان صاحِبَ مُلاحَظَةٍ واسْتِقْراءٍ لا صاحِبَ اسْتِنباطٍ وتَحْليلٍ، فلم يَجْتَهِدْ في اسْتِخْلاصِ القَوَاعِدِ ولم يُقْدِمْ على تَعْليلِ الظَّواهِـرِ.

وفي هذِهِ الأثْناءِ كان يوهانس كبلر مُعَلِّمًا للرِّياضِيَّاتِ في بَعْضِ المَدارِسِ الثَّانَوِيَّةِ بمدينة (Graz) النَّمْساوِيَّةِ. كانَ مُفَكِّرًا وفيرَ الحظِّ مِنَ التَّعَمُّقِ، لكِنَّه كانَ زاهِدًا في مِهْنَةِ التَّدْريسِ كارِهًا لِقُيُودِها. كانَ في الصَّفِّ مُشَتَّتَ الفِكْرِ، مُوَزَّعَ الخاطِرِ، شَدِيدَ الغُمُوضِ، خافِتَ الصَّوْتِ، مُرْتَبِكَ اللَّفْظِ، عَسِيرًا على الفَهْمِ. وكأنَّه يَئِسَ مِنَ النَّجاحِ في التَّدْريسِ أو يَئِسَ منه النَّجاحُ فانْصَرَفَ بِفِكْرِه إلى عِلْمِ الفَلَكِ وأنْفَقَ ليلَه ونَهارَهُ في تَحْليلٍ رياضِيٍّ لِحركةِ الكواكِبِ. كانَ يَسْعَى في جَهْدٍ أيِّ جَهْدٍ وشَغَفٍ أيِّ شَغَفٍ إلى اسْتِنباطِ قانونٍ عامٍّ يُحَدِّدُ حَرَكةَ الكواكِبِ، لكِنَّهُ لم يُدْرِكْ غايتَه إذْ كانَ مُفْتَقِرًا إلى المُلاحَظاتِ الشَّامِلَةِ والمَعْلُوماتِ الدَّقِيقَةِ.

وشاءَ القَدَرُ أَنْ يَجْمَعَ صَاحِبَ الِاسْتِقْراءِ والملاحَظاتِ بِصَاحِبِ التَّحْليلِ وَالِاسْتِنْباطِ. ذلِكَ أَنَّ الإمبراطور رودلف رَغِبَ في أَنْ يَنْضَمَّ كبلر إلى بَلاطِهِ وأَوْعَزَ إلى براهي بأَنْ يَدْعُوَ هذَا الشَّابَّ الذَّكِيَّ الماهِرَ النَّابِهَ إلى براغ. وقَدِ اسْتَجابَ كبلر للدَّعْوَةِ في سنةِ ١٥٩٨ للميلادِ فِرارًا بِنفسِهِ وأُسْرَتِهِ من قَسْوَةِ الِاضطهادِ الدِّينيِّ الَّذي أَلَمَّ بالنِّمْسَا آنَذاكَ.

كانَ كبلر يَتَحَرَّقُ شَوْقًا إلى السِّجِلَّاتِ الَّتي دوَّنَها براهي في عِلْمِ الفَلَكِ، غَيْرَ أَنَّ براهي كانَ ضَنينًا بِتِلْكَ السِّجِلَّاتِ مُقَتِّرًا على كبلر في تَقْدِيمِ المعلوماتِ، كارِهًا لإشْراكِ مُنافِسِهِ في ثَمَرَةِ كَدِّهِ. ومَضَى الأمرُ على هذا النَّحْوِ سَنَةً ونِصْفَ سَنَةٍ، وإذا العِلَّةُ تُلِمُّ بِبراهي وتُشْرِفُ به على المَوْتِ فَيُوصِي لِكبلر بِمذَكِّراتِهِ ومُلاحَظاتِهِ وسِجِلَّاتِهِ. وقد أَقْبَلَ كبلر على الدِّراسَةِ والتَّحْليلِ لا يَلْوِي على شَيْءٍ. وما هِيَ إلّا أَشْهُرٌ حتَّى أَخَذَتْ بَوادِرُ النَّجاحِ تَلُوحُ له في الأُفْقِ.

اِسْتَنْبَطَ كبلر قَوانِينَ ثَلاثَةً تَضْبِطُ حَرَكَةَ الكَوْكَبِ في مَدارِهِ حَوْلَ شَمْسِهِ، وتَتَمَخَّضُ عَنْ جميعِ الظَّواهِرِ الَّتي سَجَّلَها براهي. ولْنَعْرِضْ عَليكَ هذِهِ القَوانِينَ الثَّلاثَةَ في إِيجازٍ شَديدٍ.

(١) القانُونُ الأوَّلُ يُحدِّدُ شَكْلَ المَدارِ الَّذي يَتَّخِذُهُ الكَوْكَبُ (P) حَوْلَ شَمْسِهِ. فالمدارُ شَكْلٌ بَيْضِيٌّ ذُو مَرْكَزَيْنِ أَحَدُهُما الشَّمْسُ (S):
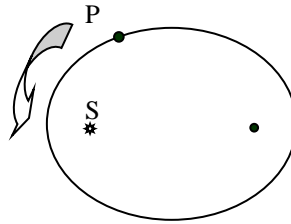
(٢)   والقَانُونُ الثَّاني يُبَيِّنُ دَوْرَ المِساحَةِ في تَحْدِيدِ المَسافةِ الَّتي يَقْطَعُها الكَوْكَبُ في فَترةٍ مُعيَّنةٍ.   ذلِكَ أنَّ المساحةَ الَّتي يَكْتَسِحُها الكَوْكبُ في فترةٍ معيَّنةٍ ثابتةٍ لا تَتَغَيَّرُ.   فَالِانْتِقالُ مِنْ a إلى b في الشَّكْلِ التَّالي يَسْتَغْرِقُ زَمَنًا كالَّذي يَسْتَغْرِقُهُ الِانتِقالُ مِن c إلى d وكالَّذي يَسْتَغْرِقُهُ الِانتقالُ مِنْ e إلى f وكالَّذي يَسْتَغْرِقُهُ الِانتقالُ مِنْ g إلى h ، لأنَّ المُظَلَّلَ مِنَ السَّطْحِ البَيْضِيِّ قِطاعاتٌ مُتَساوِيَةٌ في المساحةِ.   وواضِحٌ مِنَ الشَّكْلِ أنَّ سُرْعَةَ الكَوْكَبِ تَنخفِضُ كُلَّما ازدادَ بُعْدًا عَنْ شَمْسِهِ:
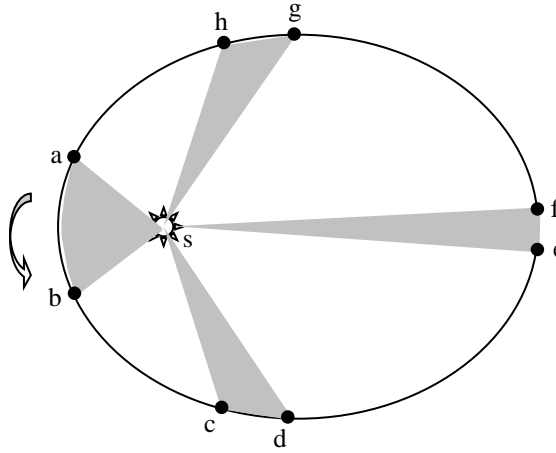
(٣)   والقانُونُ الثَّالِثُ يُحَدِّدُ الزَّمَنَ الَّذي يَسْتَغْرِقُهُ الكَوكَبُ في إكْمالِ دَوْرَةٍ واحِدةٍ حَوْلَ شَمْسِهِ.   حَدِّدْ مُتَوَسِّطَ الأبْعادِ الَّتي تَفْصِلُ الكَوْكَبَ عَنْ شَمْسِهِ، تَجِدْ مُرَبَّعَ الزَّمَنِ مُساوِيًا لِمُكَعَّبِ هذا المتوسِّطِ.   أمَّا الزَّمنُ فَيُقاسُ بالسِّنينَ، وأمَّا المتوسِّطُ فيُقاسُ بالوَحَداتِ الفَلَكِيَّةِ، والوَحْدَةُ الفَلَكِيَّةُ هي المسافةُ بَيْنَ أرْضِنا وشَمْسِنا.   يَطُولُ مُتَوَسِّطُ الأبعادِ فَيَطُولُ الزَّمَنُ، ويَقْصُرُ المتوسِّطُ فَيَقْصُرُ الزَّمَنُ.   والقائِمةُ التَّالِيةُ تُبَيِّنُ العَلاقَةَ بَيْنَ الزَّمَنِ ومُتَوَسِّطِ الأبْعادِ في نِظامِنا الشَّمْسِيِّ:

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الزَّمَـنُ الَّذي تَسْتَغْرِقُهُ الدَّوْرَةُ (بالسِّنينَ)	مُرَبَّـعُ الزَّمَـنِ الَّذي تَسْتَغْرِقُهُ الدَّوْرَةُ (وهو مُساوٍ لِمُكَعَّبِ المسافَةِ)	المسافَةُ (أيْ مُتَوَسِّطُ الأبعــادِ بالوَحَـداتِ الفَلَكِيَّـةِ)	الكَـوكَبُ السَّيَّارُ
٠,٢٤١	٠,٠٥٨	٠,٣٨٧	١– عُطارِد (Mercury)
٠,٦١٥	٠,٣٧٨	٠,٧٢٣	٢– الزُّهْـرَة (Venus)
١	١	١	٣– الأَرْض (Earth)
١,٨٨١	٣,٥٣٣	١,٥٢٣	٤– الْمِـرِّيخ (Mars)
١١,٨٦٢	١٤٠,٧٧٠	٥,٢٠٢	٥– المُشْتَري (Jupiter)
٢٩,٤٦	٨٦٧,٧٠٥	٩,٥٣٨	٦– زُحَل (Saturn)
٨٤,٠١	٧٠٥٨	١٩,١٨٢	٧– أُورانُوس (Uranus)
١٦٤,٧٩	٢٧١٥٦,٩٠٣	٣٠,٠٥٨	٨– نِبْتُون (Neptune)
٢٤٧,٧	٦١٣٤٩,٤٥٦	٣٩,٤٤	٩– بْلُوتُو (Pluto)

إسْحٰقٌ نيوتن Isaac Newton (١٦٤٢ إلى ١٧٢٧ لِلْميلاد)

في سَنَةِ ١٦٦٦ لِلْميلادِ اسْتَنْبَطَ نيوتن قانُونَ الجاذِبِيَّةِ مِنْ نَظَرِيَّةِ كبلر. كانَ عِنْدَئذٍ طالِبًا بجامعةِ كمبرِدج، وكانَ نُبُوغُهُ واضِحًا جَلِيًّا تَشْهَدُ به اسْتِكْشافاتٌ عظيمةُ الشَّأنِ في عِلْمِ الرِّياضِيَّاتِ وعِلْمِ الفيزياء. زَعَمَ نيوتن أنَّ الأجسامَ يَنْجَـذِبُ بَعْضُها إلى بَعْضٍ بِفِعلِ قُـوَّةٍ طَبيعِـيَّةٍ سمَّاها «الجاذِبِيَّة». كَذٰلِكَ زَعَمَ أنَّ فِعْلَ الجاذِبِيَّةِ يَخْتَلِفُ شِدَّةً وضَعْفًا باختِلافِ البُعْدِ بَيْنَ الجِسْمَيْنِ:

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فَفِعْلُ الجاذبيَّةِ يَشْتَدُّ إذا تَقارَبَ الجِسمانِ، ويَضْعُفُ إذا تَباعَدَا. فإذا شِئْتَ الدِّقَّةَ أَنْبَأَكَ نيوتن بأنَّ التَّناسُبَ العَكْسِيَّ قائمٌ بَيْنَ الجاذبيَّةِ ومُرَبَّعِ البُعْدِ. ضاعِفِ المسافةَ بَيْنَ الجِسمَيْنِ تَنْخَفِضْ قُوَّةُ الجاذبيَّةِ إلى الرُّبْعِ. زِدِ المسافةَ إلى عَشَرَةِ أمثالِها تَنْخَفِضْ قُوَّةُ الجاذبيَّةِ إلى جُزْءٍ واحِدٍ مِن مِـئَةٍ.

وقَدِ امْتَحَنَ نيوتن قانونَ الجاذبيَّةِ فَوَجَدَه مُصَدِّقًا لمغزى المثَلِ العَربيِّ القَديمِ «كُلُّ الصَّيْدِ في جَوْفِ الفَرَا» لأنَّه يُغْني عَنْ قوانينِ كبلر الثَّلاثةِ.

ألبرت أينستين Albert Einstein (١٨٧٩ إلى ١٩٥٥ للميلاد)

في بِدايةِ القَرْنِ العِشرينَ خَرَجَ أينستين على الْعَالَمِ بنظريَّةِ النِّسْبِيَّةِ الَّتي أذهَلَتِ العُقُولَ وحَيَّرَتِ الأَلْبابَ. وكانَ مِنْ مَبادِئها أنَّ الزَّمانَ والمكانَ يؤلِّفانِ وَحْدَةً رُباعيَّةَ الأبعادِ يَصِحُّ لنا أن نُسَمِّيَها «الزَّمْكان». كَذلِكَ قَرَّرَتِ النَّظريَّةُ أنَّ الجاذبيَّةَ لَيسَتْ قُوَّةً يُسَلِّطُها جِسْمٌ على جِسمٍ آخَرَ، بل هي أثَرٌ لِتَقَعُّرِ الزَّمْكانِ حَوْلَ الأجرامِ السَّماويَّةِ. وكأنَّما الزَّمْكانُ سَطْحٌ لَيِّنٌ قَدِ استقرَّتْ على مواضِعَ مُتَفَرِّقةٍ منه أجسامٌ عِظامُ الكُتْلةِ. لَيسَ غَريبًا إذَنْ أن يَمُرَّ جِسْمٌ ضَئيلُ الكُتْلةِ بموضِعٍ مِنْ هذِهِ المواضِعِ فَيَنحَرِفَ في مَسيرِه نحوَ عظيمِ الكُتْلةِ بِفِعْلِ الانحدارِ.

تَعْليقٌ وتقويمٌ

تَــرى مِمَّا تَقَدَّمَ أنَّ براهي اتَّخَذَ الاسْتِقراءَ مَذْهَبًا فسَجَّلَ عددًا كَبيرًا مِنَ الظَّواهِـرِ يُرْضي حاجَتَكَ إلى المعرفةِ وميلَكَ إلى الاسْتِطْلاعِ، لكِنَّهُ مَعَ ذلِكَ يُرْهِقُكَ مِن أمْرِكَ عُسْرًا لأنَّ الذَّاكِرَة لا تُحيطُ به إلَّا في شَيءٍ كَثيرٍ مِنَ الجَهدِ. وثَمَّ غاياتٌ تَقْصُرُ عَن مَداها هِمَّةُ الاسِتقراءِ. إنَّ المَراصِدَ الفَلَكِيَّةَ تُصَوِّرُ لنا كَوْنًا واسِعَ الأرجاءِ تَمَتَدُّ بَيْنَ طَرَفَيْ قُطْرِه مَسافةٌ سُبْحانَ بارِئها! وإنَّ الضَّوْءَ لَيُفْنِي في طَيِّ تِلْكَ المسافةِ نَحْـوًا مِن ثَلاثِـينَ مِلْيارَ سَـنَةٍ،° رَغْمَ الانْطِلاقِ في سُرْعَةٍ خارِقَةٍ

هِيَ حَقًّا قَيْدُ الأَوابِدِ إِذْ تَبْلُغُ ثَلاثَ مِئَةِ أَلْفِ كِيلُومِتْرٍ في الثَّانِيَةِ الوَاحِدَةِ! ما عَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ عَدَدُ الكَواكِبِ في كَوْنٍ تِلْكَ آماده وأَبْعاده؟ أَفَتُرِيدُ أَنْ تُحْصِيَ الكَواكِبَ كُلَّها؟ وَهَبْكَ فَعَلْتَ، فَكَمْ مَوْقِعًا تُرِيدُ أَنْ تُحْصِيَ لها وإِنَّ مَدارَ الكَوْكَبِ الواحِدِ لَيَحْتَمِلُ مِنْ كَثْرَةِ المواقِعِ ما يَنُوءُ بحَصْرِه العَدُّ؟ وَكَيْفَ يَتَّسِعُ عَقْلٌ بَشَرِيٌّ مَهْما يَكُنْ حَظُّهُ مِنَ الفِطْنَةِ والذَّكاءِ لِهٰذا القَدْرِ مِنَ المعلُوماتِ؟

لٰكِنَّكَ تَرى أَنَّ كِبْلِر قَدْ عَرَضَ عَلَيكَ قَواعِدَ ثَلاثًا يُسِيغُها العَقْلُ ولا يَنْبُو عنها الذَّوْقُ: تَقْبَلُها دُونَ تَرَدُّدٍ لأَنَّها تَفِي بحاجَتِكَ إِلى التَّيْسِيرِ. وما رَأْيُكَ في قَواعِدَ هَيِّنَةٍ يَسِيرَةٍ لا تَعْدُو ثَلاثًا، وهي مَعَ ذٰلِكَ تَتَمَخَّضُ عَنْ جَمِيعِ الظَّواهِرِ الَّتي دَوَّنَها براهِي، وعن ظَواهِرَ أُخْرى حَصَرَ لها خَفِيَتْ على براهِي وأَهْلِ عَصْرِه؟ فإِذا الْتَمَسْتَ لِهٰذِهِ القَواعِدِ تَعْلِيلًا أَعْياكَ البَحْثُ ولم تُدْرِكْ شيئًا ذا خَطَرٍ: لماذا يَتَّخِذُ الكَوْكَبُ مَدارًا بَيْضِيًّا حَوْلَ شَمْسِه؟ والمساحةُ الَّتي يَكْتَسِحُها الكَوْكَبُ في فَتْرَةٍ مُعَيَّنَةٍ، لماذا تَكُونُ ثابِتَةً لا تَتَغَيَّرُ؟ وسُرْعَةُ الكَوْكَبِ، لماذا تَنخفِضُ كُلَّما ازدادَ الكَوْكَبُ بُعْدًا عن شَمْسِه؟ و«مُتَوَسِّطُ الأَبْعادِ»، لِمَ يُقاسُ بالوَحَداتِ الفَلَكِيَّةِ لا الأَمْيالِ ولا الكِيلومترات؟ لَنْ تَظْفَرَ عِنْدَ كِبْلِر بجَوابٍ مُقْنِعٍ لِهٰذِهِ الأَسئلةِ، لٰكِنَّكَ واجِدٌ عِندَ إِسْحٰق نيوتن ما تُحِبُّ مِنْ تَعْلِيلٍ: فالجاذبِيَّةُ هي القُوَّةُ الَّتي تُحَدِّدُ للمدارِ شَكْلًا بَيْضِيًّا، وهي الَّتي تُحَدِّدُ للكَوْكَبِ سُرْعَةً تَنخفِضُ كُلَّما ازدادَ بُعْدًا عن شَمْسِه. وأَيُّ غَرابةٍ في ذٰلِكَ؟ أَلَيْسَ طَبِيعِيًّا أَنْ تَنخفِضَ الجاذبِيَّةُ إِذا تَناءَى الجِسْمانِ؟ سَلْ نَفْسَكَ بَعدَ ذٰلِكَ عَنْ هٰذِهِ الجاذبِيَّةِ: ما هي؟ ما مَصْدَرُها؟ كيفَ تُؤدِّي عَمَلَها؟ فإِنَّكَ إِنْ فَعَلْتَ رُدِدْتَ إِلى الْحَيْرَةِ واستَعْصَى على نيوتن أَنْ يُخْرِجَكَ مِنْ حَيْرَتِكَ، واضطُرِرْتَ إِلى الانتظارِ حتَّى يُقْبِلَ عليكَ أينستين زاعِمًا أَنَّ الَّذي يَدعُوه النَّاسُ جاذبِيَّةً ليس غَيْرَ انطِلاقِ الجِسْمِ في اتِّجاهٍ يُحَدِّدُه تَقَعُّرُ الزَّمْكانِ. تَعَدُّدٌ مُرْهِقٌ عِندَ براهِي، ويُسْرٌ يَنْقُصُه التَّعْلِيلُ عِندَ كِبْلِر، ويُسْرٌ يُؤَيِّدُه التَّعْلِيلُ عِندَ نيوتن، ومَزِيدٌ مِنَ اليُسْرِ والتَّعْلِيلِ عِندَ أينستين. على هٰذا النَّحْوِ يَتَّضِحُ الفَرْقُ

بَيْنَ المُلاحَظةِ النَّاجِمةِ عَنِ الاسْتِقْراءِ، وبَيْنَ النَّظَرِيَّةِ القائمةِ على وَضْعِ القَواعِدِ؛ وعلى هٰذا النَّحْوِ تَتَمايَزُ النَّظَرِيَّاتُ قُـوَّةً وضَعْفًا.

وإذَنْ فالمُلاحَظاتُ غَـيْرُ النَّظَرِيَّاتِ، لأنَّ النَّظَرِيَّةَ يَجِبُ أَنْ تَفِيَ بِشُروطٍ ثَلاثةٍ هي: الكِفايةُ والسُّهولَةُ والتَّعْمِيمُ.

والمقصودُ بالكِفايةِ أَنْ تَأْتَلِفَ النَّظَرِيَّةُ مِنْ قَواعِدَ كَفيلةٍ بتوليدِ المعلوماتِ دُونَ خَلَلٍ أَوْ قُصُورٍ. فَعَنْ قَواعِدِ كبلر الثَّلاثِ تَصْدُرُ جميعُ الظَّواهِـرِ الَّتي حَصَّلَها براهي بالاسْتِقْراءِ. وعَنْ قانونٍ نيوتن تَنْبَثِقُ الظَّواهِرُ ذاتُها.

والمقصودُ بالسُّهولةِ أَنْ تَكُونَ القَواعِدُ قَليلةً واضِحَةً لا تُرْهِقُ الذَّاكِرَةَ ولا تَنْبُو عَنِ الفَهْمِ. فَقَواعِدُ كبلر ونيوتن وأينستين أَرْفَقُ بِالذَّاكِرَةِ والفَهْمِ مِنْ مُلاحَظاتِ براهي.

والمقصودُ بالتَّعْمِيمِ أَنْ تَكونَ القَواعِدُ مُشْتَقَّةً مِنْ نَظَرِيَّةٍ عامَّةٍ لا تَقْتَصِرُ على مادَّةِ الدَّرْسِ بَلْ تَتَعَدَّاها إلى غَـيْرِها مِنَ المَوادِّ المجانِسَةِ لها. فنظريَّةُ نيوتن ونظريَّةُ أينستين أَعَمُّ مِنْ نظريَّةِ كبلر لأنَّهما لا تَخْتَصَّانِ بِحركةِ الكَواكِبِ وَحْدَها بل تَرميانِ إلى وَصْفِ الحركةِ مَهْما يَكُنْ نوعُها. والانْتِسابُ إلى نَظَرِيَّةٍ عامَّةٍ يُؤَدِّي إلى التَّعْليلِ كما رَأَيْتَ عِنْدَ نيوتن وأينستين لأنَّ القَواعِدَ حِينَئِذٍ تَغْدُو طَبيعيَّةً غَيْرَ عَشْوائِيَّةٍ.[٦]

والخَليلُ بْنُ أحمدَ، ما خَطْبُهُ؟ بِمَ نَقْضِي في أمـرِهِ وأمـرِ عَروضِهِ؟ أهُوَ صاحِبُ نَظَرِيَّةٍ مُحْكَمَةٍ أم صاحِبُ مُلاحَظاتٍ وإحْصاءٍ واسْتِقراءٍ؟ الواقِعُ أنَّهُ قد دَوَّنَ مُلاحَظاتٍ لا يَسَعُنا إلّا أَنْ نَفْتَرِضَ فيها الدِّقَّةَ والشُّمُولَ، إذْ كيفَ السَّبِيلُ إلى الجَدَلِ ولَيْسَ بَيْنَ أَيْدِينا جميعُ النُّصوصِ الشِّعْرِيَّةِ الَّتي أَخْضَعَها الخَليلُ للدَّرْسِ؟ وكيفَ السَّبِيلُ إلى الجَدَلِ والشِّعْرُ القديمُ الَّذي انتَهى إلينا يُؤَيِّدُ مُلاحظاتِ الخَليلِ ويُثْبِتُها؟ وكَيْفَ السَّبِيلُ إلى الجَدَلِ ونَحْنُ لم نَعْرِفْ مِن مُعاصِري الخَليلِ المُلِمِّينَ

بالشِّعْرِ القَدِيمِ مَنْ عَثَرَ على نَصٍّ يُكَذِّبُ تِلْكَ المُلاحظاتِ ويَدْحَضُها؟ وإذَنْ فَلْنَفْتَرِضِ الدِّقَّةَ

والشُّمُولَ في مُلاحظاتِ الخَلِيلِ. لكِنَّا إذَا افترضنا أنَّ الخَلِيلَ اجتَهَدَ في اسْتِنْباطِ نظريَّةٍ مُحْكَمَةٍ

مُضطَرُّونَ إلى أَنْ نَأْخُذَ عليه عُيُوبًا صَدَّتْه عن بُلُوغِ الغايةِ وجَعَلَتْ حَظَّه مِنَ الغَنِيمةِ شَبِيهًا بِحَظِّ

رَجُلٍ كبراهي مختلِفًا عَنْ حَظِّ رِجالٍ كَكبلر ونيوتن وأينستين. والعُيُوبُ الَّتي نَتَحَدَّثُ عنها تَخْتَصُّ

بِالعَناصِرِ الَّتي تَقُومُ عليها النَّظَريَّةُ، وهي الكِفايةُ والسُّهولةُ والتَّعْمِيمُ. ولْنَتَحَدَّثْ عن هذِهِ العُيُوبِ

في شَيْءٍ مِنَ التَّفْصِيلِ:

(١) عِلْمُ العَرُوضِ عِنْدَ الخَلِيلِ يَقُومُ على الاسْتِقْراءِ والإحْصاءِ قَبْلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ، ثُمَّ يَقُومُ

على تَصْنِيفِ الصِّيَغِ والتَّراكِيبِ الَّتي تَمَّ إحْصاؤُها. ويَقُومُ بَعْدَ ذلِكَ على تَسْمِيةِ الصِّيَغِ والأنماطِ

بِألقابٍ تُمَيِّزُ بَعْضَها مِنْ بَعْضٍ. وقَدْ كانَ خَلِيقًا بِعِلْمِ العَرُوضِ أنْ يَتَعَدَّى الاسْتِقْراءَ والإحْصاءَ إلى

اسْتِنْباطِ طائفةٍ مِنَ القَواعِدِ تَتَولَّدُ عنها الصِّيَغُ والتَّراكِيبُ. وقد تَنَبَّهَ لِهذا المبدأِ عُلَماءُ اللُّغةِ

مِمَّنْ وَضَعُوا الأَساسَ لِعِلْمِ النَّحْـوِ فقالَ ابنُ جِنِّيٍّ إنَّ مسألةً واحدةً مِنَ القِياسِ أَنْـبَلُ وأَنْبَهُ مِن

كِتابِ لُغةٍ عِنْدَ عُـيُونِ النَّاسِ. [٧]

(٢) مُلاحظاتُ الخَلِيلِ كثيرةُ العَدَدِ شديدةُ التَّعْقِيدِ لا يُحِيطُ بها الذِّهْنُ ولا تستوعِبُها

الذَّاكِرَةُ إلَّا في مَشقَّةٍ شاقَّةٍ وعناءٍ شديدٍ. اِسْتَشِرْ «شَرح تُحْفَةِ الخَلِيلِ» للرَّاضِي يُنْبِئْكَ بأنَّ التَّغْيِيرَ

يَطْرَأُ أحيانًا على تَفْعِيلاتِ البَيْتِ، وأنَّ التَّغْيِـيرَ نَوعانِ هما الزِّحافُ والعِلَّةُ. فأمَّا الزِّحافُ فهو

ما وَقَعَ في ثاني السَّبَبِ، وأمَّا العِلَّةُ فهي ما وَقَعَ على السَّبَبِ بِرُمَّتِهِ أو أصابَ الوَتَـدَ.

والزِّحافُ يُسَمَّى مُزْدَوِجًا إذا أصابَ مَوْقِعَيْنِ في تَفْعِيلَةٍ واحِدَةٍ، وإلَّا فَهُوَ زِحافٌ مُفْرَدٌ.

ولِكُلٍّ مِنْهُما أنواعٌ: فالزِّحافُ المـزْدَوِجُ يَنْقَسِمُ إلى أَرْبَعـةِ أنواعٍ هِيَ الخَـبْلُ والخَـزْلُ والشَّكْلُ

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والنَّقْصُ. والزِّحافُ المفْرَدُ يَنْقَسِمُ إلى ثمانيةِ أنواعٍ هي الْخَـبْنُ والوَقْصُ والإضمارُ والقَبْضُ والعَقْلُ والعَصْبُ والطَّيُّ والكَفُّ.

والعِلَلُ قِسْمانِ: عِلَلُ نَقْصٍ وعِلَلُ زِيادَةٍ. أمَّا عِلَلُ النَّقْصِ فهي إحدَى عَشْرَةَ: الْحَذْفُ والقَطْفُ والحَذُّ والصَّلْمُ والوَقْفُ والْكَشْفُ والْقَصْـرُ والْقَطْعُ والْبَتْـرُ والتَّشْعِيثُ والْخَـرْمُ. وأمَّا عِلَلُ الزِّيادَةِ فهي أرْبَعٌ: التَّرْفِيلُ والتَّذْيِيلُ والتَّسْبِيغُ والْخَـزْمُ.

أنتَ إذَنْ بإزاءِ سَبْعَةٍ وَعِشْرِينَ نَوْعًا مِنَ التَّغْيِيرِ لا تَجْمَعُها طائِفَةٌ قَلِيلَةُ العَدَدِ مِنَ القَواعِدِ بَلْ هي فَوارِدُ مُتَنادَّةٌ مُتَمايِزَةٌ مُتَبايِنَةٌ يَرْجُو كُلٌّ منها أنْ يَحْتَكِرَ خَلِيَّةً مُسْتَقِلَّةً مِنْ خَلايا الذَّاكِرَةِ. لكِنَّ الخليلَ لم يَقْنَعْ بِهٰذا القَدْرِ مِنَ العَناءِ، فأزْمَعَ أنْ يَمْتَحِنَ حَظَّكَ مِنَ الْحَـزْمِ والعَزْمِ وأنْ يَبْلُوَ استعدادَكَ لِرُكُوبِ الأَسِنَّةِ. أزْمَعَ الخليلُ ذٰلِكَ فاسْتَنْتَجَ لِكُلِّ نَوْعٍ ثَلاثًا مِنَ الْخَصائِصِ لا بُدَّ مِنْ حِفْظِها لأنَّها تُسْهِمُ في تَحْدِيدِ النَّوْعِ وتَمْيِـيزِه مِنْ سائرِ الأَنْواعِ. هٰذِه الْخَصائِصُ هي: التَّفاعِيلُ القِياسِيَّةُ الَّتي يُصِيبُها التَّغْيِـيرُ، والشَّكْلُ الَّذي تَصِيرُ إليه التَّفاعِيلُ بَعْدَ التَّغْيِيرِ، والبُحُورُ الَّتي يدخُلُها التَّغْيِـيرُ. فأنتَ مُكَلَّفٌ بأنْ تَسْتَظْهِرَ تَعْرِيفًا كالتَّالي لكُلِّ نَوْعٍ مِنْ أنواعِ التَّغْيِـيرِ:

«الكَفُّ هو حَذْفُ السَّابِعِ السَّاكِنِ مِنَ الجُـزْءِ. ويَطْـرَأُ على مَفاعِيلُنْ فيُحَوِّلُها إلى مَفاعِيلُ، وعلى مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فيُحَوِّلُها إلى مُسْتَفْعِلُ، وعلى فاعِلاتُنْ فيُحَوِّلُها إلى فاعِلاتُ. والأبْحُرُ الَّتي يدخُلُها الكَفُّ سَبْعَةٌ: الطَّوِيلُ والمَدِيدُ والهَـزَجُ والرَّمَلُ والْخَفِيفُ والْمُضارِعُ والْمُجْتَثُّ.»

كُلُّ ذٰلِكَ تَجِدُه مُفَصَّلًا في المُقَدِّمةِ الَّتي اسْتَهَلَّ بها الرَّاضِي كتابَه «شَرْحُ تُحْفَةِ الخَليلِ». اقْرَأِ المُقَدِّمَةَ ثُمَّ سَلْ نَفْسَكَ: أَلَا يَبْدُو التَّغْيِـيرُ على هٰذا النَّحْوِ عَشْوائِيًّا لا يَضْبِطُه ضابِطٌ؟ أَلَيْسَتْ أنْواعُه كَثِيرَةَ العَدَدِ مُسْرِفَةً في التَّعْقِيدِ؟ عُـدْ إلى المقَدِّمةِ فاقْـرَأْها مَرَّةً ومَرَّةً ومَرَّةً ثُمَّ حَدِّثْني عَنْ زِحافاتِ الخليلِ وعِلَلِه: أَواثِقٌ أنتَ بأنَّكَ قد فَهِمْتَها؟ أَواثِقٌ أنتَ بأنَّكَ قد حَفِظْـتَها؟ أَقادِرٌ

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أنتَ على تطبيقِها دُونَ حاجةٍ إلى مَرْجِعٍ تَستشيرُه وتَسْتَهْدِي به؟ ومع ذٰلِكَ فلَمْ أَعْرِضْ عليكَ مِنْ مادَّةِ الكِتابِ إلّا أَيْسَرَها؛ ولَسْتُ أُحَدِّثُكَ عَنِ الإصْطِلاحاتِ العَرُوضِيَّةِ مِنِ ابْتِداءٍ وفَصْلٍ وغايةٍ، ولَسْتُ أُحَدِّثُكَ عَنِ المُراقَبَةِ والمُعاقَبَةِ والمُكانَفَةِ، ولَسْتُ أُحَدِّثُكَ عَنْ أَلْقابِ الأبياتِ مِنْ تامٍّ ووافٍ ومَجْـزُوءٍ ومَشْطُورٍ ومَنْهُوكٍ ومُوَحَّدٍ ومُصَمَّتٍ ومُقَفًّى ومُصَرَّعٍ، ولَسْتُ أُحَدِّثُكَ عَنِ الِاعْتِمادِ ومواقِعِهِ مِنَ الطَّويلِ والمُتَقارِبِ. لا أُحَدِّثُكَ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْ ذٰلِكَ فَلَسْتُ كَلِفًا باقتِحامِ الصِّعابِ في غَيرِ طائلٍ.

ليس غَريبًا إذَنْ أَنْ تَقْرَأَ هٰذِهِ الشَّكْوَى المُرَّةَ في كِتابٍ وَجَّهَهُ عَميدُ الأدبِ العَرَبيِّ الدّكتور طه حسين إلى الآنسةِ مَيّ:[8]

«..... لَنْ تَستطيعي أَنْ تَقُولي إنَّ العَرُوضَ العَربيَّ فَـنٌّ حديثٌ أو ثَقافةٌ جَدِيدةٌ عَبَرَتْ إلينا البَحْرَ؛ إنَّما هو فَنٌّ عَربيٌّ خالِصٌ قَديمٌ. ومَعَ ذٰلِكَ فالمثَقَّفونَ مِنَّا يَجهلونَه، وأدباؤُنا يَجهلونَه، وشعراؤُنا يَجهلونَه، لا أكادُ أَسْتَثْني مِنهم إلّا نَفَرًا يُحصَوْنَ. وإنَّكِ لَتَنْظُرِينَ في دَواوينِ الشِّعْرِ فَيُؤْذِيكِ ما تَرَيْنَ مِنْ جَهْلِ كثيرٍ مِنهم أُصُولَ العَـرُوضِ وقَواعِدَ القافِيةِ، واندفاعِهم إلى خَلْطٍ في ذٰلِكَ يُؤْذِي السَّمعَ والذَّوْقَ معًا.»

(٣) مُلاحَظاتُ الخَليلِ بنِ أحمدَ تَبْدُو غَريبةً على شِعْرِ الأُمَمِ مِنْ غَـيْرِ العَرَبِ؛ ولا أَضْرِبُ لِذٰلِكَ إلّا مَثَلًا واحِدًا: ماذا يَكُونُ مِنْ أمْـرٍ لو أقحَمْنا الأسبابَ والأوتادَ (دُونَ أَنْ نُتَـرْجِمَهَا إلى طَائِفةٍ مِنَ المَقاطِعِ) في دِراسةِ الشِّعْرِ الإنكليزيِّ أَوِ الفَرنسيِّ أَوِ اليُونانيِّ؟ ومع ذٰلِكَ فالشِّعْرُ بِوْجْـهٍ عامٍّ يَعتمِدُ على الإيقاعِ. أفَنُشرِفُ إنِ الْتَمَسْنَا في نَظَرِيَّةٍ للعَـرُوضِ شَيئًا مِنَ المبادئِ الَّتي يَنْبَثِقُ عنها الإيقاعُ مَهْمَا يَكُنِ الشِّعْـرُ الَّذي نَدْرُسُه؟ والتَّعْليلُ، أَتَجِـدُ منه في مُلاحَظاتِ الخَليلِ ما يَكفيكَ ويُرضِيكَ؟ لماذا تَقْتَصِـرُ بُحورُ الشِّعْرِ العربيِّ على سِتَّةَ عَشَـرَ لا تَنْقُصُ ولا تَزِيـدُ؟ والشَّطْرُ، ماذا يُحَدِّدُ طولَه؟ فِيمَ يَأْتَلِفُ مِنْ تَفْعِيلَتَيْنِ كَحَدٍّ أَدْنَى وأرْبَـعِ تَفعيلاتٍ كَحَدٍّ أَقْصَى؟ والتَّفْعِيلاتُ، كيفَ نَشَأَتْ؟ ماذا يُحَـدِّدُ عَدَدَها، وماذا يُقَـرِّرُ أشكالَها؟ وهٰـذِهِ الزِّحافاتُ والعِلَلُ

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الكَثِيرَةُ، ما شَأْنُها؟ ما مَصْدَرُها؟ هل مِنْ غايةٍ تَخْدِمُها؟ لماذا يُسْتَساغُ بَعْضُها ويُسْتَهْجَنُ بَعْضُها الآخَرُ؟ لماذا يَشِيعُ بَعْضُها ويَنْدُرُ بَعْضُها الآخَرُ؟ لماذا تُصِيبُ التَّفْعِيلَةَ في أَبْحُـرٍ بِعَيْنِها ولا تُصِيبُ التَّفْعِيلَةَ نفسَها في أَبْحُرٍ أُخْـرَى؟ أَكُلُّ هذا وَلِيدُ المُصادَفَةِ البَحْـتَةِ؟ وأنتَ تَستطِيعُ أَنْ تَتَساءَلَ ما طابَ لكَ التَّساؤُلُ، لكِنَّكَ لَنْ تَجِـدَ عِندَ الخَلِيلِ جَوابًا مُقْنِعًا ولا سَبَبًا مَعْقُولًا.

وقد سَعَى قَـوْمٌ مِنَ المُحْدَثِـينَ في أَنْ يُصْلِحُوا الصَّـرْحَ الفَنِّيَّ الَّذي يُسَمُّونَهُ «نَظَرِيَّـةَ الخَلِيلِ»، لكِنَّـهُمْ غَلَّـبُوا السُّهُولَةَ على الكِفايةِ. وإنَّ مِنهم لَمَنْ يَنْدَفِعُ في طَرِيقِ التَّيْسِيرِ نَشِيطًا حَثِيثَ الحركَةِ لا يَلْوِي على شَيءٍ حتَّى يَبْلُغَ غايتَه، ثُمَّ يَنْظُرُ فإذا قَواعِدُه الهيِّنَةُ اليَسِيرَةُ الَّتي بَذَلَ في صِياغَتِها جُهْدَه كُلَّه لا تَلْتَزِمُ الدِّقَّـةَ في تَوْلِيدِ الأَوْزانِ الَّتي حَـدَّدَها الخَلِيلُ: فهي تُوَلِّدُ مادَّةً مَمسُوخةً قد شوَّهَتْها آثارُ الْحَـذْفِ والإِضافةِ والتَّبديلِ. أَصْحابُ هذا المَذْهَـبِ يُسْرِفُون على أنفُسِهم وعلى العِلْمِ لأَنَّهم غافلونَ عن مَبْدَإٍ هامٍّ يَنُصُّ على أَنْ تَكُونَ القواعِدُ جامِعَةً مانِعَـةً؛ ولَنْ تَكُونَ القواعِـدُ جامِعةً مانِعةً حتَّى تُوَلِّدَ مادَّةَ الدَّرْسِ لا أَكْثَـرَ مِنْ تِلْكَ المادَّةِ ولا أَقَلَّ.

الخُلاصَــــةُ

الاِسْتِقْراءُ هو الْخُطْوَةُ الأُولى لِمَنْ شاءَ أَنْ يَسْتَنْبِطَ نَظَرِيَّةً، لكِنَّ الباحِثَ لَنْ يُدْرِكَ الغَايَةَ المَنْشُودَةَ حتَّى يُعْنَى بِشُرُوطٍ ثَلاثةٍ لا تَسْتَقِيمُ بِدونِها النَّظَرِيَّاتُ هي: الكِفايَةُ وما تَعتمِدُ عليه مِنْ قَواعِدَ، والسُّهُولةُ وما تَقُومُ عليه مِنِ اقْتِصادٍ، والتَّعْمِيمُ وما يُتِيحُ مِنْ تَعْلِيلٍ. والمُلِمُّونَ بِنَشْأَةِ النَّحْوِ العَـرَبِيِّ يَعلَمُونَ أنَّ المَدارِسَ النَّحْوِيَّةَ قد بَلَغَتْ مِنَ العِنايَةِ بِهذِه الشُّرُوطِ الثَّلاثةِ ما لم يَبْلُغْهُ الخَلِيلُ في دَرْسِهِ للعَرُوضِ العَـرَبِيِّ. ولَكِنْ مَنْ يَدْرِي؟ فَلَعَلَّ الخَلِيلَ نَفْسَهُ لم يَكُنْ يَزْعُمُ أنَّه جاءَ بنظَرِيَّةٍ في العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ، ولَعَلَّهُ لو سُئِلَ لأَجابَ بأنَّه لم يَتَعَدَّ مَرحَلَةَ الاِسْتِقْراءِ. ذلِكَ أنَّ الخَلِيلَ لم يَكُنْ جاهِلًا بالفَرْقِ بَينَ المُلاحَظاتِ والنَّظَرِيَّاتِ وهو مَنْ أَسْهَمَ في وَضْعِ قَوانِينَ ثَلاثةٍ قامَتْ عليها مَدْرَسَةٌ

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البَصْرَةِ النَّحْوِيَّةُ: السَّماعِ (أيِ الِاسْتِقْراءِ)، والقِياسِ (أيِ اسْتِنْباطِ القَواعِدِ)، والتَّعْلِيلِ؛ وُلْتَرْجِعْ في ذلِكَ إنْ شِئْتَ إلى الفَصْلِ السَّابِـــعِ مِنْ كِتابٍ «بِتَحْدِيدِ النَّحْوِ العَرَبِيِّ» للدّكتورِ عفيف دمشقيَّة والقِسْمِ الأَوَّلِ مِنْ كِتابِ «المَدارِس النَّحْوِيَّة» للدّكتورِ شَوْقي ضيف. ومَنْ يَدْرِي؟ فَلَعَلَّ الخَلِيلَ كانَ خَلِيقًا أنْ يَصُوغَ في العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ نَظَرِيَّةً مُحْكَمَةً لو فَرَغَ لِهذا العَمَلِ وامتدَّتْ به أَسْبابُ الحياةِ. ومَهْما يَكُنْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ، فَلَيْسَ بالقَلِيلِ أنْ يَخْتِمَ الرَّجُـلُ مَرْحَلَةَ الاسْتِقْراءِ على خَيـرِ وَجْهٍ فَيُتِيحَ بِذلِكَ لِغَيرِهِ أنْ يَبدَأَ المرحَلَةَ التَّالِيَةَ. والله لا يُكَلِّفُ نَفْسًا إلّا وُسْعَها، وقد يَكُونُ مِنَ العَدْلِ والإنْصافِ ألّا نَعِيبَ المَـرْءَ بالتَّقْصِيرِ في عَمَلٍ مَهَّدَ له ولم يُقْدِمْ عَلَيْهِ. فإنْ لم يَكُنْ بُدٌّ مِنَ اللَّوْمِ فَلْيُوَجَّهْ إلى الَّذِينَ أَسْبَغُوا على عَرُوضِ الخَلِيلِ صِفَةً مِنَ الكَمالِ بَلِ التَّقْدِيسِ، وثَبَّطُوا بِذلِكَ هِمَمًا كانَتْ خَلِيقَةً أنْ تَمْضِيَ بمجهودِ الخَلِيلِ إلى غايَتِـــهِ.

وقد نُسِبَ إلى الخَلِيلِ بَيْتٌ مِنَ الشِّعْرِ يَلِيقُ بنا أنْ نَتَمَثَّلَهُ في نِهايةِ هذا الفَصْلِ الطَّوِيلِ:

اِعْمَلْ بِعِلْمِي وَلا تَنْظُرْ إلى عَمَلِي   يَنْفَعْكَ عِلْمِي وَلا يَضُرُّرْكَ تَقْصِيرِي

نَعَمْ ! نَحْنُ في حاجةٍ إلى أنْ نَنْفُضَ عَنْ عَمَلِ الخَلِيلِ صِفَةَ التَّقْدِيسِ فَقَدْ كانَ رَحِمَهُ اللهُ مِنْ قَوْمٍ يَتَأَذَّوْنَ بِهذا التَّقْدِيسِ: كانَ مُسْرِفًا في الزُّهْدِ مُمْعِنًا في التَّواضُعِ مُنْصَرِفًا عَنْ غُـرُورِ الدُّنْيا.

نَحْنُ في حاجةٍ أيِّ حاجةٍ إلى أنْ نَنْفُضَ عن عَمَلِ الخَلِيلِ صِفَةَ التَّقْدِيسِ عَسانا بِذلِكَ أنْ نَفِيَ لِعِلْمِهِ بِبَعْضِ الحُقُوقِ، وأَوَّلُ لِهذِهِ الحُقُوقِ إيثارُ السَّعْيِ المُضْنِي على التَّوَقُّفِ المُرِيحِ. وخَيرُ العُلَماءِ مَنْ ضَرَبَ في الجِدِّ مَثَلًا أَعْلَى فأَتْعَبَ بِذلِكَ مَنْ بَعْدَهُ.

الأَخْبارُ والقَرائِنُ الَّتِي انْتَهَتْ إلَيْنا تَجْنَحُ بي إلى رَأْيٍ لا آنَسُ مِنْهُ نُبُوًّا عَنِ القَصْدِ ولا غُلُوًّا في التَّفاؤُلِ: لم يَقْصُرِ الخَلِيلُ ولم يُقَصِّرْ، فَما كانَ لَهُ أنْ يُدْرِكَ الغايَةَ القُصْوَى في وَثْبَةٍ واحِدَةٍ، وما كانَ لِباحِثٍ مَهْما يَبْلُغْ حَظُّهُ مِنَ النُّبُوغِ والتَّفَوُّقِ أنْ يَصُوغَ نَظَرِيَّةً مُتْقَنَةَ البِناءِ مُحْكَمَةَ السَّبْكِ حَتَّى يُلِمَّ إلْمامًا دَقِيقًا مُفَصَّلًا بالمادَّةِ الأَوَّلِيَّةِ (primary data). فَطِنَ الرَّجُلُ لِهذِهِ المَسْأَلَةِ البَدِيهِيَّةِ

فَقَنِعَ بِجَمْعِ المادَّةِ الأَوَّلِيَّةِ وتَصْنيفِها وتَبْويبِها، تَارِكًا لِغَيْرِهِ أَنْ يَسْتَنْبِطَ مِنْ تِلْكَ المادَّةِ نَظَرِيَّةً تَسْتَوْفِي الشُّرُوطَ والمُقَوِّماتِ الَّتي ذَكَرْناها في هذَا الفَصْلِ.⁹ ذلِكَ أَنَّ الخَليلَ لَمْ يَكُنْ، كَما كانَ تَيْكو براهِي لِأَنْ يُشْرِكَ غَيْرَهُ في ثَمَرَةِ جُهْدِهِ. أَلَمْ يُلَقِّنْ سِيبَوَيْهِ مَبادِئَ النَّحْوِ العَرَبِيِّ وأُصولَهُ؟ ورَغْمَ ذلِكَ لَمْ يَبْلُغْنا قَطُّ أَنَّ الخَليلَ امْتَعَضَ أو تَبَرَّمَ حينَ أَلَّفَ سِيبَوَيْهِ كِتابَهُ في النَّحْوِ! وقد جَمَعَ الخَليلُ المادَّةَ الأَوَّلِيَّةَ فأَحْسَنَ جَمْعَها، وصَنَّفَها فأَجادَ تَصْنيفَها، وبَوَّبَها فأَتْقَنَ تَبْويبَها. مِنْ حَقِّــهِ عَلَيْنا إذَنْ أَنْ نَعْتَرِفَ له بِذلِكَ الفَضْلِ وأَنْ نَشْكُرَ له ذلِكَ الجُهْدِ؛ واللهُ لا يُضيعُ أَجْرَ مَنْ أَحْسَنَ عَمَلًا. ولَوْ أَنَّ الخَليلَ بُعِثَ اليَوْمَ حَيًّا لَقَرَّ عَيْنًا ونَعِمَ بالًا وهو يَرى أَبْناءَ جيلِنا قَدِ انْكَبُّوا على المادَّةِ الَّتي أَهْدَاها إليهِمْ، يَدْرُسُونَها ويُمَحِّصُونَها ويَجْتَهِدُونَ في اسْتِخْلاصِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ الَّتي مَهَّدَ لها ويَسَّرَ إليها السَّبيلَ.

الحَــــواشِي

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¹ ص ٤٧ .

² ص ٢٤٦ – ٢٤٧ .

³ ص ٥٦ – ٧١ .

⁴ ص ١١٩ – ١٢٩ .

⁵ مَجَلَّة National Geographic ، المُجَلَّد ١٩٦، العَدَد الرَّابِــع (أكتوبر سَنَة ١٩٩٩)، ص ٢٩ – ٣١ .

⁶ العَشْوائِيَّةُ أَهَمُّ الخَصائِصِ الَّتي تُمَيِّزُ المُلاحَظاتِ مِنَ النَّظَرِيَّاتِ: فالمُلاحَظاتُ تَبْدُو عَشْوائِيَّةً يَتَعَذَّرُ رَدُّها إلى عِلَّةٍ مَنْطِقِيَّةٍ. تَسْأَلُ عَنِ السَّبَبِ فَيَكونُ الجَوابُ الفَلِسُ الأَجْــدَبُ، الَّذي لا يُشْبِــعُ مِنْ جُوعٍ وَلا يَرْوي مِنْ ظَمَــأٍ، أَنَّها على هذا النَّحْوِ وَرَدَتْ! أَمّا قَواعِدُ النَّظَرِيَّةِ الخاصَّةِ المُسْتَوْفِيَةِ لِشُرُوطِ الصِّياغَةِ فَتَبْدُو طَبيعِيَّةً مَنْطِقِيَّةً مُقْنِعَةً لِانْتِسابِها إلى نَظَرِيَّةٍ عامَّةٍ.

⁷ أُصُولُ النَّحْوِ العَرَبِيِّ ، لِلدُّكتور محمَّد عيد، ص ٧٧ .

⁸ المَجموعـةُ الكامِلةُ لِمؤلَّفاتِ الدّكتـور طه حسين ، لِلدُّكتور طـه حسين، المُجَلَّد الثّاني عَشَـر، القِسْمُ الثّاني، ص ٧٣٤.

⁹ إذَا شِئْتَ فَقُــلْ إنَّ الخَليلَ جـاءَ بِنَظَرِيَّةٍ ناقِصَـةٍ آثَـرَ في صِياغَتِها أَلّا يَتَعَدَّى المَـرْحَلَةَ الأُولى وَهْيَ مَرْحَلَةُ الِاسْتِقْــراءِ. عَلى هذا النَّحْوِ مِنَ السَّماحِ يَجُــوزُ لِلْباحِثِ أَنْ يَنْسُبَ إلى الخَليلِ «نَظَرِيَّةً» في العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ.

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الفَصْـلُ الثَّاني

في سَبِيلِ التَّجْدِيدِ والتيّْسِيرِ

تمهِــــيدٌ

هٰذِهِ صُحُفٌ أَكْتُبُها لأبناءِ العَرَبِ مِنْ طَلَبَةِ الجامِعاتِ وتَلامِذةِ المدارسِ الثَّانويَّةِ وعامَّةِ المثقَّفِينَ، أَشْحَذُ بها هِمَمَهم وأُغْرِيهِمْ بِمَذهَبٍ جَديدٍ في دِراسةِ العَروضِ العربيِّ. وأنا لا أَسُوقُ هٰذا الحديثَ إلى العُلَماءِ والباحِثِينَ مِمَّنْ يُكَلِّفُونَ بالتَّعَمُّقِ إلى غَيرِ حَدٍّ، ويحِبُّونَ الغَوْصَ على كُلِّ خَفِيٍّ، ويجْتَهِدُونَ في طَلَبِ الشَّواذِّ، ويتهالَكُونَ على جَمْعِ المُتَفَرِّقاتِ. لا أَسُوقُ إليهِمْ هٰذا الحديثَ، فقَدْ تحَدَّثْتُ إليهِم في الجُزْءِ الأوَّلِ والجُزْءِ الثَّاني مِنْ هٰذا الكِتابِ، ولَعَلِّي أَسْرَفْتُ في الإسهابِ. وكَثْرَتُهُمْ مِمَّنْ يُجِيدُونَ اللُّغَةَ الإنكليزيَّةَ فهُمْ خَليقُونَ بأَنْ يَجِدُوا في الجُزْءِ الأوَّلِ والجُزْءِ الثَّاني ما يكفيهِم وعَسَى أَنْ يُشْبِعَ مَيْلَهُمْ إلى التَّنْقِيبِ والتَّمْحِيصِ. لَنْ أُغْرِقَ إذَنْ في التَّفاصِيلِ ولَنْ أُمْعِنَ في دِراسةِ الشَّواذِّ، وحَسْبُنا أَنْ نَخْلُصَ إلى الجَوْهَرِ في رِفْقٍ لا يُجافي الدِّقَّةَ، وأَنْ نُلِمَّ بالمبادِئ العامَّةِ في سَماحٍ لا يَقْصُرُ عن إدْراكِ الغَايةِ. والأستاذُ على ذٰلِكَ حُرٌّ في أَنْ يَسْتَخْلِصَ مِنَ النُّصُوصِ الإنكليزيَّةِ ما شاءَ مِنْ مادَّةٍ إضافيَّةٍ إذا آنَسَ مِنْ طُلَّابِهِ رَغْبَةً في التَّوَسُّعِ والاستِزادَةِ. ومِنْ طَلَبَةِ الجامِعاتِ وعامَّةِ المثقَّفِينَ قَوْمٌ يُجِيدُونَ اللُّغَةَ الإنكليزيَّةَ، فَلْيَقْرَأُوا ما يَرُوقُ لهم مِنَ النُّصُوصِ الإنكليزيَّةِ.

وخَليقٌ بنا قَبْلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ أَنْ نُحَدِّدَ مَوْضُوعَ البحثِ الَّذي أقْدَمْنا عليه. ومَوْضُوعُه هو الشِّعْرُ القَديمُ الَّذي استقرأَه الخَلِيلُ، والشِّعْرُ الَّذي نُظِمَ بَعْدَ الخليلِ فحَذا حَذْوَ الشِّعْرِ القَدِيمِ وسارَ على مِنْوالِهِ. لَسْنا نَتحدَّثُ عَنْ شِعْرِ جُـبْـران خَلِيل جُـبْـران وميخائِيل نُعَيْمَة ونازِك الملائكة ونِزار

قَبَّاني وصَلاح عبدِ الصَّبُور وبَدْرِ شاكِرِ السَّيَّاب ومحمود دَرْويش ومَنْ شِئْتَ مِنْ رُوَّادِ الشِّعْرِ الحديثِ، فَهؤُلَاءِ جَدَّدُوا في القَوَافي وبِناءِ القَصيدَةِ والمعاني، ونَحْنُ نَـتْرُكُ لِغَـيْرِنا مِنَ الباحِثِينَ أنْ يَدْرُسَ أوزانَ المُحْدَثِينَ فِيُبَيِّنَ ما أهَمَلوهُ مِنْ خصائِصِ الشِّعْرِ القَدِيمِ وما استَبْقَوْهُ على حالِه وما عَدَّلُوهُ فما هُوَ بالقَدِيمِ الخالِصِ ولا هُوَ بالجديدِ الخالِصِ. وَلَسْنَا نَسْعَى إلى ابْتِكارِ أنْمَاطٍ جَدِيدَةٍ مِنَ الإيقَاعِ يَنْتَفِعُ بِها الشُّعَـرَاءُ في المُسْتَقْبَلِ، فَتِلْكَ الغَايَةُ جَدِيدَةٌ بِبَحْثٍ مُسْتَقِلٍّ مُسْتَفِيضٍ.

المَقَاطِعُ الصَّوْتِـيَّةُ Syllables

لَيْسَ الكَلامُ سِياقًا مُطَّرِدًا مِنْ أَصْواتٍ يَقْفُو بَعْضُها بَعْضًا في تَفَـرُّدٍ واستِقْلالٍ، بل هو عِقْدٌ مِنَ المَجْموعاتِ الصَّوْتِيَّةِ يَمْتازُ بَعْضُها مِنْ بَعْضٍ تَبَعًا لِحَرَكَةِ الجِهازِ التَّنَفُّسِيِّ لا سِيَّما عَضَلاتُ القَفَصِ الصَّدْرِيِّ (intercostal muscles). هٰذِهِ المَجموعاتُ الصَّوْتِيَّةُ تُعرَفُ في عِلْمِ اللُّغَةِ الحديثِ بالمَقَاطِعِ.

والمقاطِعُ في اللُّغةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ الفُصْحَى نَوْعانِ، فَمِنْها القَصيرُ ومِنْها الطَّوِيلُ:

المَقْطَعُ القَصِيرُ يَتَكَوَّنُ مِنْ مُتَحَرِّكٍ؛ والمَقْطَعُ الطَّويلُ إمَّا مُتَوَسِّطُ الطُّولِ يَتَكَوَّنُ مِنْ مُتَحَرِّكٍ يَعْقُبُهُ ساكِنٌ، وإمَّا بالِغُ الطُّولِ يَتَكَوَّنُ مِنْ مُتَحَرِّكٍ يَعْقُبُهُ ساكِنانِ أو ثَلاثَةُ سَواكِنَ.

المُتَحَرِّكُ حَرْفٌ تَعْقُبُه في النُّطْقِ حَرَكَةٌ، والسَّاكِـنُ حَرْفٌ لا تَعْقُبُه في النُّطْقِ حَرَكَةٌ. والعُرْفُ عِندَ أَصْحابِ العَرُوضِ أنْ تَدُلَّ لَفْظَةُ «المُتَحَرِّك» على الحَرْفِ وحَرَكَتِه مَعًا. وَلْنُلاحِظْ أنَّ العِبْـرَةَ هنا باللَّفْظِ دُونَ الخَطِّ؛ وَلْنُلاحِظْ أيضًا أنَّ أَصْحابَ العَرُوضِ قَدْ نَبَّهُوا على هٰذا الشَّرْطِ وفَصَّلُوهُ تَفْصيلًا يُغْنِينا مِنَ الإسْهابِ في شَرْحِهِ.

فَلَفْظَةُ «كَتَبَ» مُكَوَّنَةٌ مِنْ ثَلاثَةِ مَقَاطِعَ كُلُّها قَصِيرٌ، هي كَ ـتَ ـبَ ، ولَفْظَةُ

«يَنَمْ» (بِتَسْكِينِ المِيمِ) مُكَوَّنَةٌ مِنْ مَقْطَعَيْنِ أَوَّلُهما قَصِيرٌ هو يَ وثانِيهِما طَوِيلٌ هو نَمْ.

ولَفْظَةُ «عَامٌ» مُكَوَّنَةٌ مِنْ مَقْطَعَيْنِ طَوِيلَيْنِ أَوَّلُهما عَا وثانِيهِما ـمُنْ، ولَفْظَةُ «شَاقٍّ» مُكَوَّنَةٌ مِنْ

مَقْطَعَيْنِ طَوِيلَيْنِ أَوَّلُهما شَاقْ وثانِيهِما ـقِنْ، ولَفْظَةُ «خاصٌّ» (بِتَسْكِينِ الصَّادِ المُشَدَّدَةِ) مُكَوَّنَةٌ مِنْ

مَقْطَعٍ واحِدٍ طَوِيلٍ هو خَاصْصْ.

وَاضِحٌ إذَنْ أَنَّ كُلَّ مُتَحَرِّكٍ في سِياقِ الكَلامِ العَرَبِيِّ يُؤَلِّفُ مَقْطَعًا أو مَطْلَعًا لِمَقْطَعٍ.

وواضِحٌ أيضًا أَنَّ كُلَّ ساكِنٍ في السِّياقِ يُؤَلِّفُ واسِطَةً لِمَقْطَعٍ أو خاتِمَةً لِمَقْطَعٍ.

فإِذا رَمَزْنا لِلمَقْطَعِ القَصِيرِ بِقَوْسٍ ورَمَزْنا لِلمَقْطَعِ الطَّوِيلِ بِشَرْطَةٍ، تَهَيَّأَ لَنا أَنْ نُصَوِّرَ الوَزْنَ

على النَّحْوِ التَّالِي:

‒ ⏑ ‒   ‒ ‒ ⏑ ‒   ‒ ‒ ⏑ ‒

فَاعِـلاتُنْ   فَاعِـلاتُنْ   فَاعِـلُنْ

وقَدِ اخْتَتَمْنا حَواشِيَ هذا الفَصْلِ بِمُلاحَظَةٍ لِلمُسْتَزِيدِينَ تَوَسُّعًا في شَأْنِ المَقاطِعِ.

الإِيقاعُ Rhythm

يَصْدُرُ إِيقاعُ الشِّعْرِ عن تَنْسِيقِ الوَحَداتِ وَفْقًا لِنِظامٍ فَنِّيٍّ مُعَيَّنٍ. والوَحَداتُ الَّتِي نَتَحَدَّثُ

عَنْها هُنا قَدْ تَكُونُ النَّبَرَ مِنْ ثَقِيلٍ وخَفِيفٍ كما نَرى في الشِّعْرِ الإِنْكِلِيزِيِّ الحَدِيثِ، وقَدْ تَكُونُ

المَقاطِعَ مِنْ طَـوِيلٍ وقَصِيرٍ كما نَرى في الشِّعْرِ اليُونانِيِّ والشِّعْرِ اللاتِينِيِّ والشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ، وقَدْ تَكُونُ

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النَّغْمَ مِنْ مُرْتَفِعٍ ومُنْخَفِضٍ كما نَرى في الشِّعْرِ الصِّينِيِّ. وإذَنْ فإيقاعُ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ ليس بِدْعًا مِنْ ضُرُوبِ الفَنِّ ولا هُوَ ظاهِرَةٌ تَمَـــيَّزَ بها العَـرَبُ مِنْ سائِرِ الناسِ.

وإذَا تَأَمَّلْتَ الشِّعْرَ العَرَبِيَّ وأَمْعَنْتَ النَّظَرَ في بِنْيَتِهِ طالَعَتْكَ أَنماطٌ مُختَلِفَةٌ مِنَ النِّظامِ الفَنِّيِّ يَحْسُنُ بنا أَنْ نَدْرُسَها على مُسْتَوَياتٍ ثلاثةٍ : المُسْتَوَى النَّظَرِيِّ، والمُسْتَوَى القِياسِيِّ، ومُسْتَوَى التَّعَدُّدِ. ونحن نَعْني بالتَّعَدُّدِ كَثْرَةَ الصُّوَرِ والأَشْكالِ لِلبَحْـــرِ الواحِدِ.

فالمُسْتَوَى النَّظَرِيُّ يُبْرِزُ النَّمَطَ الأَوَّلَ، وهو تَرْتيبُ التَّفاعِيلِ في البَيْتِ تَرْتيبًا خاصًّا مُقَرَّرَ التَّصْميمِ مُحَدَّدَ الصِّيغَةِ مُحْكَمَ البِناءِ. والمُسْتَوَى القِياسِيُّ يُبْرِزُ النَّمَطَ الثَّاني، وهو تَرْتيبُ المَقاطِـــعِ في التَّفْعِيلَةِ تَرْتيبًا خاصًّا مُقَرَّرَ التَّصْميمِ مُحَدَّدَ الصِّيغَةِ مُحْكَمَ البِناءِ. ومُسْتَوَى التَّعَدُّدِ يُبْرِزُ النَّمَطَ الثالِثَ وهو التَّـناظُرُ النَّـوْعِيُّ الَّذي يَرْبِطُ التَّفْعِيلَةَ القِياسِيَّةَ بالصِّيغَةِ المُشْتَقَّةِ منها فَيُنْبِئُ بأَنَّ الصِّيغَـــةَ المُشْتَقَّـــةَ لَيسَتْ تَفْعِيلَةً مُسْتَقِلَّةً وإنَّما هِيَ مَظْهَـــرٌ مِنْ مَظاهِـرِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِياسِيَّـةِ. ولْنُفَصِّلْ.

المُسْتَوَى النَّظَرِيُّ

التَّفْعِيلَةُ على المُسْتَوَى الأَوَّلِ إمَّا قَصِيرَةٌ وإمَّا طَـويلَةٌ: فالتَّفْعِيلَةُ القَصِيرَةُ هي مَفْعُولُنْ (ـ ـ ـ) والتَّفْعِيلَةُ الطَّـويلَةُ هي مَفْعُولاتُنْ (ـ ـ ـ ـ). والبُحُورُ على هـذا المُسْتَوَى تَنْشَأُ عَـنِ اجْتِماعِ تَفْعِيلَتَيْنِ أو ثَلاثٍ أو أَرْبَعٍ في كُلِّ شَطْرٍ وَفْقًا لطائِفَةٍ مِنَ القَوالِبِ (patterns) هي: التَّكْرارُ المُـطَّرِدُ، والتَّكْـرارُ المُعْتَرَضُ، والتَّكْـرارُ المُذَيَّلُ، والتَّناوُبُ (وهو ضَرْبٌ مِنْ ضُرُوبِ التَّكْرارِ). والشَّطْرُ يَشْتَمِلُ دائِمًا على قِسْمَيْنِ مُتَطابِقَيْنِ يَقْتَصِرُ عليهِما أو يَضُمُّ إليهِما تَفْعِيلَةً إضافِيَّةً. واضِحٌ

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إذَنْ أنَّ التَّكْرارَ المُنْتَظِمَ (أو سَمِّهِ إنْ شِئْتَ التَّرَدُّدَ النَّسِيقَ) هو مَصْدَرُ الإيقاعِ على المُسْتَوَى الأوَّلِ. وسَتَرى أنَّ التَّكْرارَ المُنْتَظِمَ أهَمُّ مَصْدَرٍ للإيقاعِ على المُسْتَوَى الثَّاني، وأنَّ ظِلَّهُ لا يَتَوَارى ولا يَنْمَحِي على المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ .

فإذَا رَمَزْنا للتَّفْعِيلَةِ القَصِيرَةِ بِحَرْفِ الألِفِ ورَمَزْنا للتَّفْعِيلَةِ الطَّوِيلَةِ بِحَرْفِ الباءِ تَهَيَّأَ لَنا أنْ نُصَوِّرَ الأوزانَ النَّظَرِيَّةَ المُمْكِنَةَ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي :

التَّكْرارُ المُطَّرِدُ

(٣) ا ا	(٢) ا ا ا	(١) ا ا ا ا
(٦) ب ب	(٥) ب ب ب	(٤) ب ب ب ب

التَّكْرارُ المُعْتَرَضُ

(٢) ب ا ب	(١) ا ب ا

التَّكْرارُ المُذَيَّلُ

(٢) ب ب ا	(١) ا ا ب

التَّناوُبُ

(٢) ب ا ب ا	(١) ا ب ا ب

فأنْتَ تَرى أنَّ السِّياقَ في الشَّطرِ لا يَقِلُّ عن تَفْعِيلَتَيْنِ ولا يَزِيدُ على أرْبَعٍ. ذٰلِكَ أنَّ السِّياقَ يُؤْثِرُ الاقْتِصادَ فهو خاضِعٌ لِمُقْتَضَياتِ الحَدِّ الأدْنَى، والتَّكْرارُ المُطَّرِدُ لا يَتَحَقَّقُ بِأَقَلَّ مِنْ

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تَفْعِيلَتَيْنِ، والتَّناوُبُ لا يَتَحَقَّقُ بأَقَلَّ مِنْ أَرْبَعِ تَفْعِيلاتٍ، وكُلٌّ مِنَ القالِبَيْنِ الباقِيَيْنِ لا يَتَحَقَّقُ بأَقَلَّ مِنْ ثَلاثِ تَفْعِيلاتٍ.

لكِنَّكَ تَلْتَمِسُ الأَوْزانَ النَّظَرِيَّةَ التَّالِيَةَ بَيْنَ بُحُورِ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ فلا تَظْفَرُ بِها:

ا ا ب ب ب ا ب ا ب ا ا

ومَرَدُّ ذلِكَ إلى مَبْدَأٍ هامٍّ هو اسْتِهْجانُ الازْدِواجِ والتَّنافُرِ. ونَحْنُ نَعْنِي بالازْدِواجِ أَنْ يَنْشَأَ الوَزْنُ عن مُضاعَفَةِ وَزْنٍ آخَرَ، فَلَوْلا اسْتِبْعادُ الوَزْنِ «ا ا» والوَزْنِ «ب ب ب» لَظَهَرَ الازْدِواجُ في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ الَّذي يَشْتَمِلُ على الوَزْنِ «ا ا ا ا» والوَزْنِ «ب ب». ونَعْنِي بالتَّنافُرِ أَنْ يَنْعَدِمَ وَجْهٌ مِنْ وُجُوهِ الشَّبَهِ بَيْنَ أوزانٍ يُرْجَى لها التَّماثُلُ، فأَنْتَ تَجِدُ في قائِمَةِ الأَوْزانِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ الَّتي مَرَّتْ بِكَ سِتَّةَ أَوْزانٍ مُخْتَلِطَةٍ تَجْمَعُ بَيْنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القَصيرَةِ والتَّفْعِيلَةِ الطَّويلَةِ:

ا ب ا ا ا ب ب ا ب ب ب ا ب ا ب ب ا ب ا

فَإِذا اسْتَعْرَضْتَ لِهذِهِ الأَوْزانَ السِّتَّةَ وَجَدْتَ الأَوَّلَ والثَّاني شاذَّيْنِ لِأَنَّ التَّفْعِيلَةَ الطَّويلَةَ لا تَتَكَرَّرُ فِيهِما، وإذَنْ فَاسْتِبْعادُ هذَيْنِ الوَزْنَيْنِ مَنْعٌ للتَّنافُرِ وإيثارٌ لِتَماثُلِ الأَوْزانِ المُخْتَلِطَةِ.

المُسْتَوى القِياسِيُّ

تُصاغُ البُحُورُ القِياسِيَّةُ بإخْضاعِ البُحُورِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ للقَواعِدِ التَّالِيَةِ:

(١) يُصِيبُ التَّقْصِيرُ مَقْطَعًا واحِدًا في كُلِّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ نَظَرِيَّةٍ. والتَّقْصِيرُ نَوْعانِ: أَحَدُهُما يَقَعُ في بِدايَةِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ، والثَّاني يَقَعُ في وَسَطِها؛ ولا يَجْتَمِعُ النَّوْعانِ في وَزْنٍ واحِدٍ. وإذا وَقَعَ التَّقْصِيرُ في وَسَطِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ الطَّويلَةِ، فإمَّا أَنْ يُصِيبَ المَقْطَعَ الثَّانِيَ وإمَّا أَنْ يُصِيبَ المَقْطَعَ الثَّالِثَ.

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(٢) الشَّائِعُ أَنْ تَتَّحِدَ تَفاعيلُ البَيْتِ اتِّحادًا تامًّا في مَوْقِعِ التَّقْصيرِ، لا تَشِذُّ مِنها تَفْعيلَةٌ. فَماذا يَكُونُ مِنْ أَمْرِ التَّفاعيلِ الطَّويلَةِ إذا وَقَعَ التَّقْصيرُ في وَسَطِها؟ إِحْدَى اثْنَتَيْنِ: فَإِمَّا أَنْ يُقَصَّرَ المَقْطَعُ الثَّاني في كُلٍّ مِنها، وإمَّا أَنْ يُقَصَّرَ المَقْطَعُ الثَّالِثُ في كُلٍّ مِنها. وقَدْ يَحْدُثُ في القَليلِ النَّادِرِ أَنْ تَشِذَّ تَفْعيلَتانِ طَويلَتانِ عَنْ هٰذِهِ القاعِدَةِ فَيُقَصَّرَ المَقْطَعُ الثَّاني في إحْداهُما ويُقَصَّرَ المَقْطَعُ الثَّالِثُ في الأُخْرى؛ عِنْدَ ذاكَ يَتَحَتَّمُ أَنْ تَكُونَ التَّفْعيلَتانِ مُتَجاوِرَتَيْنِ لا تَفْصِلُ بَيْنَهُما تَفْعيلَةٌ أُخْرى، إذْ لا مَفَرَّ مِنَ التَّطابُقِ التَّامِّ في مَوْقِعِ التَّقْصيرِ مَتَى انْفَصَلَتْ تَفْعيلَتانِ طَويلَتانِ: فَمِنَ الوَزْنِ النَّظَريِّ ———— ———— ———— ————— يُسْتَخْرَجُ الوَزْنُ القِياسيُّ ——‿ ——— ‿——; ومِنَ الوَزْنِ النَّظَريِّ ———— ———— ———— ———— يُسْتَخْرَجُ الوَزْنُ القِياسيُّ ——‿ ——— ‿—— ——— ولا يُسْتَخْرَجُ مِنْهُ الوَزْنُ ——— .——‿—— ———

(٣) في المُسْتَوَى الثَّاني صُدُوفٌ عَنِ الانْقِلابِ. ونَعْني بالانْقِلابِ أَنْ تَتَغَيَّرَ مَواضِعُ التَّفاعيلِ في وَزْنٍ مِنَ الأَوْزانِ فَيَنْشَأَ عَنْ ذٰلِكَ وَزْنٌ جَديدٌ؛ ويُسَمَّى الوَزْنانِ في هٰذِهِ الحالِ «مُنْقَلِبَيْنِ».

وإذا اسْتَعْرَضْتَ البُحُورَ النَّظَرِيَّةَ وَجَدْتَ مُنْقَلِبَيْنِ ثُلاثِيَّيْنِ هما «ب ا ب» و «ب ب ا»، وَوَجَدْتَ كَذٰلِكَ مُنْقَلِبَيْنِ رُباعِيَّيْنِ هما «ا ب ا ب» و «ب ا ب ا». فإذا انْتَهَيْتَ إلى المُسْتَوَى القِياسيِّ وَجَدْتَ أَنَّ تَقْصيرَ المَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّفْعيلَةِ مَحْظُورٌ في المُنْقَلِبَيْنِ الثُّلاثِيَّيْنِ إِقْلالًا لِلْمُنْقَلِباتِ المُسْتَخْرَجَةِ مِنْهُما. أَمَّا المُنْقَلِبانِ الرُّباعِيَّانِ فَأَمْرُهُما أَشَدُّ إحْكامًا: ذٰلِكَ أَنَّ البَحْرَ النَّظَريَّ «ا ب ا ب» يَأْبَى التَّقْصيرَ في وَسَطِ التَّفْعيلَةِ بَيْنَما يَأْباهُ البَحْرُ النَّظَريُّ «ب ا ب ا» في بِداية التَّفْعيلَةِ، وبِذٰلِكَ تَنْعَدِمُ المُنْقَلِباتُ في المُسْتَخْرَجِ مِنَ المُنْقَلِبَيْنِ الرُّباعِيَّيْنِ.

(٤) يَمْتَنِعُ تَقْصِيرُ المَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ في البَحْرِ النَّظَرِيِّ «ب ب ب»، وعَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ ذٰلِكَ مُحَاكاةً لِبَحْرَيْنِ آخَرَيْنِ يَمْتَنِعُ فِيهِمَا تَقْصِيرُ المَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ: هٰذَانِ البَحْرانِ هما «ب ا ب» و «ب ب ا». فَلَيْسَ في البُحُورِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ وَزْنٌ سِوَى «ب ب ب» و «ب ا ب» يَبْدَأُ بِتَفْعِيلَةٍ طَـوِيلَةٍ ويَنْتَهي بِتَفْعِيلَةٍ طَوِيلَةٍ. وَلَيْسَ في البُحُورِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ وَزْنٌ سِـوَى «ب ب ب» و «ب ب ا» يَبْدَأُ بِتَفْعِيلَةٍ طَوِيلَةٍ وَتَرِدُ في وَسَطِه تَفْعِيلَةٌ طَوِيلَةٌ.

(٥) إِذَا تَجَاوَرَتْ تَفْعِيلَتانِ طَوِيلَتانِ في بِدَايَةِ البَحْرِ النَّظَرِيِّ جازَ أَنْ يَخْضَعَ البَحْـرُ لِتَغْيِيرٍ مُزْدَوِجٍ قِوَامُه التَّقْصِيرُ والتَّحْلِيلُ. فَأَمَّا التَّقْصِيرُ فَيُصِيبُ كُلَّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ في البَحْرِ، وأَمَّا التَّحْلِيلُ فَلا يُصِيبُ إِلَّا الطَّوِيلَ مِنَ التَّفَاعِيلِ. ونَحْنُ نَعْنِي بِالتَّحْلِيلِ أَنْ نَضَعَ مَقْطَعَيْنِ قَصِيرَيْنِ مَكانَ المَقْطَعِ الطَّوِيلِ، فَكَأَنَّ المَقْطَعَ الطَّوِيلَ قَدِ انْحَلَّ إلى مَقْطَعَيْنِ قَصِيرَيْنِ، لأَنَّ المَقْطَعَ الطَّوِيلَ يَسْتَغْرِقُ مِنَ الزَّمَنِ في نُطْقِه ما يَسْتَغْرِقُهُ المَقْطَعانِ القَصِيرانِ. وقد يَقَعُ التَّحْلِيلُ في بِدَايَةِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ الطَّوِيلَةِ أو في وَسَطِها، لٰكِنَّهُ لا يُجَـاوِرُ التَّقْصِيرَ. وعلى ذٰلِكَ يُسْتَخْرَجُ مِنَ البَحْـرِ النَّظَرِيِّ «ب ب» بَحْرانِ قِيَاسِيَّانِ هما مُفَاعَلَتُنْ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ ومُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ. ويُسْتَخْرَجُ مِنَ البَحْرِ النَّظَرِيِّ «ب ب ب» بَحْرٌ قِيَاسِيٌّ هو مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ، ويُسْتَخْـرَجُ مِنَ البَحْـرِ النَّظَرِيِّ «ب ب ا» بَحْـرٌ قِيَاسِيٌّ هو مُفَاعَلَتُنْ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ فَعُولُنْ.

ومِنَ الواضِحِ أَنَّ المَقْطَعَيْنِ النَّاجِمَـيْنِ عَنْ عَمَلِيَّةِ التَّحْلِيلِ يَشْغَلانِ مِنَ السِّياقِ مَوْقِعَ مَقْطَعٍ واحِدٍ، فَهُمَا إِذَنْ وَحْدَةٌ مُرَكَّبَةٌ نَدُلُّ عَلَيْهَا بِالرَّمْزِ التَّالي: ؎ ؛ وبِذٰلِكَ يَتَهَيَّأُ لنا أَنْ نُصَوِّرَ التَّغْيِيــرَ المُزْدَوِجَ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي:

$$- \smile - \text{ш} \quad - \smile - \text{ш}، \quad - \text{ш} - \smile \quad - \text{ш} - \smile \Leftarrow ---- \quad ----$$

$$- \smile - \text{ш} \quad - \smile - \text{ш} \quad - \smile - \text{ш} \Leftarrow ---- \quad ---- \quad ----$$

$$-- \smile \quad - \text{ш} - \smile \quad - \text{ш} - \smile \Leftarrow --- \quad ---- \quad ----$$

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وثَمَّ بَحرانِ قِياسِيّانِ يَتَمَخَّضُ عَنْهُما التَّغْيِيرُ المُرَكَّبُ لكِنَّ العَرُوضَ العَرَبِيَّ قَدْ لَفَظَهُما مَنْعًا لِلَّبْسِ؛ والبَحرانِ هما:

(ا)   مُفَاعَلَتُنْ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ (‒ ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒) وهو لا يَتَمَيَّزُ مِنَ البَحرِ القِياسِيِّ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ فَعُولُنْ (‒ ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ‒ ‒) بِغَيْرِ الوَحْدَةِ المُرَكَّبَةِ الوَارِدَةِ في تَفْعِيلَتِهِ الأخيرَةِ.

(ب)   مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ (ᴗ ᴗ ‒ ᴗ ‒   ᴗ ᴗ ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒) وهو لا يَتَمَيَّزُ مِنَ البَحرِ القِياسِيِّ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ (ᴗ ᴗ ‒ ᴗ ‒   ᴗ ᴗ ‒ ᴗ ‒   ᴗ ᴗ ‒ ᴗ ‒) إلّا بِانْعِدامِ الوَحْدَةِ المُرَكَّبَةِ مِنْ تَفْعِيلَتِهِ الأخيرَةِ.

إذَا أَجْرَيْتَ قَوَاعِدَ المُسْتَوَى الثَّاني على بُحُورِ المُسْتَوَى الأَوَّلِ اجتَمَعَ لَدَيْكَ سِتَّةٌ وعِشْرُونَ بَحْرًا قِياسِيًّا تَشْتَمِلُ على جَمِيعِ البُحُورِ الَّتي أَحْصاهَا الخَليلُ مِنْ تَامٍّ وجَحزُوءٍ، ما عَدَا المُضَارِعَ والمُقْتَضَبَ. وهي تَشْتَمِلُ كَذْلِكَ على أَبْحُرٍ ثَلاثَةٍ أَهمَلَها العَرُوضُ العَرَبِيُّ. وإلَيْكَ البُحُورَ السِّتَّةَ والعِشْرِينَ كما تَرِدُ في الشَّطرِ الواحِدِ مِنَ البَيْتِ:

المُتَقَارِبُ:   ᴗ ‒ ‒   ᴗ ‒ ‒   ᴗ ‒ ‒   ᴗ ‒ ‒

فَعُولُنْ   فَعُولُنْ   فَعُولُنْ   فَعُولُنْ

المُتَدَارَكُ:   ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒   ‒ ᴗ ‒

فَاعِلُنْ   فَاعِلُنْ   فَاعِلُنْ   فَاعِلُنْ

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مَجْزُوءُ المُتَقَارِبِ: ⏑−− ⏑−− ⏑−−

فَعُـولُنْ   فَعُـولُنْ   فَعُـولُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ المُتَدَارَكِ: −⏑− −⏑− −⏑−

فَاعِـلُنْ   فَاعِـلُنْ   فَاعِـلُنْ

الرَّجَـزُ: −⏑−− −⏑−− −⏑−−

مُسْتَفْعِلُـنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُـنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُـنْ

الكَامِـلُ: −⏑−ᴗ −⏑−ᴗ −⏑−ᴗ

مُتَفَاعِـلُنْ   مُتَفَاعِـلُنْ   مُتَفَاعِـلُنْ

الخَفِيـفُ: −−⏑− −⏑−− −−⏑−

فَاعِــلاتُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ   فَاعِــلاتُنْ

مُهْمَـلٌ: −⏑−− −−⏑− −⏑−−

مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ   فَاعِــلاتُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ

المَزِيدُ (وهو عِنْدَ الخَليلِ شَكْلٌ مِنْ أَشْكَالِ الرَّمَلِ):

−−⏑− −−⏑− −−⏑−

فَاعِــلاتُنْ   فَاعِــلاتُنْ   فَاعِــلاتُنْ

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الهَـــزَجُ: ‒ ‒ ‒ ں   ‒ ‒ ‒ ں

مَفَاعِيــلُنْ   مَفَاعِيــلُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ الوَافِرِ: ‒ں‒ ں   ‒ں‒ ں

مُفَاعَلَــتُنْ   مُفَاعَلَــتُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ الرَّجَــزِ: ‒ ں‒ ‒   ‒ ں‒ ‒

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ الكَامِلِ: ‒ں‒ ں   ‒ں‒ ں

مُتَفَاعِـلُنْ   مُتَفَاعِـلُنْ

المُجْتَــثُّ: ‒ ں‒ ‒   ‒ ں‒ ‒

مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ   فَاعِـــلاتُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ الخَفِيفِ: ‒ ں‒ ‒   ‒ ں‒ ‒

فَاعِـــلاتُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ الرَّمَـلِ: ‒ ں‒ ‒   ‒ ں‒ ‒

فَاعِـــلاتُنْ   فَاعِـــلاتُنْ

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المَدِيـدُ: ⁣ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

فَاعِـــلاتُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـــلُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـــلاتُنْ

مَجْزُوءُ البَسِيطِ: ⁣ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـلُنْ ⁣ مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ

الوَافِـــرُ: ⁣ ⌣⎯⌣⌣⎯ ⌣⎯⌣⌣⎯ ⌣⎯⎯

مُفَاعَلَـتُنْ ⁣ مُفَاعَلَـتُنْ ⁣ فَعُـولُنْ

الرَّمَـــلُ: ⁣ ⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

فَاعِـلُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـــلاتُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـــلاتُنْ

السَّـرِيعُ: ⁣ ⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⌣⎯⎯ ⎯⌣⎯⎯

فَاعِـلُنْ ⁣ مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ ⁣ مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ

المُنْسَـرِحُ: ⁣ ⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⌣⎯⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯

فَاعِـلُنْ ⁣ مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـــلاتُنْ

مُهْمَـــلٌ: ⁣ ⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⎯⌣⎯ ⎯⌣⎯⎯

مُسْتَفْعِـلُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـــلاتُنْ ⁣ فَاعِـلُنْ

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الطَّوِيــــلُ:   ─ ─ ─ ‿   ─ ─ ‿   ─ ─ ─ ‿   ─ ─ ‿

فَعُـــولُنْ   مَفَاعِيـــلُنْ   فَعُـــولُنْ   مَفَاعِيـــلُنْ

البَسِـــيطُ:   ─ ‿ ─ ─   ─ ‿ ─ ─   ─ ‿ ─   ─ ‿ ─

مُسْتَفْعِـــلُنْ   فَاعِـــلُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِـــلُنْ   فَاعِـــلُنْ

مُهْمَـــلٌ:   ─ ‿ ─   ─ ─ ‿ ─   ─ ‿ ─   ─ ─ ‿

فَاعِـــلَاتُنْ   فَاعِـــلُنْ   فَاعِـــلَاتُنْ   فَاعِـــلُنْ

بَقِيَتْ مُلَاحَظَاتٌ نُحِبُّ أَنْ نَقِفَ عِنْدَها وَقْفَةً قَصِيرَةً:

(١)   ذَكَـرْنا أَنَّ قَوَاعِدَ المُسْتَوَى الثَّاني لا تُوَلِّدُ المُضَارِعَ (مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ) ولا المُقْتَضَبَ (مَفْعُولَاتُ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ).   ولَسْنَا أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَنْكَرَ هَذَيْنِ البَحْرَيْنِ فَقَدْ أَنْكَرَهُما الأَخْفَشُ وأَكَّدَ أَنَّهُما لم يَرِدَا عَنِ العَرَبِ.   ولم يَجِدِ الزَّجَّاجُ مِنْهُما في الشِّعْرِ سِوَى البَيْتِ أَوِ البَيْتَيْنِ.   وقَدْ قَامَ الدَّكتور إِبراهيم أَنِيس بِاسْتِقْراءٍ واسِعِ النِّطاقِ فَلَمْ يَعْـثُرْ لِهَذَيْنِ البَحْرَيْنِ على أَثَرٍ في الشِّعْرِ القَدِيمِ.

(٢)   مِنْ بُحُورِ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ أَربَعَةٌ تَخْتَلِفُ صُورَتُها عِنْدَنا عن صُورَتِها عِنْدَ الخَلِيلِ.   هَذِهِ الأَربَعَةُ هي المُجْتَثُّ والمَدِيدُ والوَافِرُ والسَّرِيعُ.   غَـيْـرَ أَنَّ الصُّورَةَ الَّتي تُحَدِّدُها قَوَاعِدُنا أَعْظَمُ حَظًّا مِنَ الشُّيُوعِ وآثَرُ عِنْدَ الشُّعَراءِ مِنَ الصُّورَةِ الَّتي تُحَدِّدُها قَوَاعِدُ الخَلِيلِ.   هَذا أَمْرٌ فَرَغَ غَيْرُنا مِنْ إِثْباتِهِ فلا مَعنى لِلإطالةِ فيه.   ويَكْفِي أَنْ تَقْرَأَ ما كَتَبَهُ إِبراهيم أَنِيس وعبدُ الحميدِ الرَّاضِي لِتَعْرِفَ أَنَّ قَوَاعِدَنا أَقْرَبُ إلى الوَاقِعِ مِنْ قَوَاعِدِ الخَلِيلِ.

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(٣) رَأَيْتَ أَنَّ مَقَاطِعَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ النَّظَرِيَّةِ لا تَقِلُّ عَنْ ثَلاثَةٍ ولا تَزِيدُ على أَرْبَعَةٍ. والعَوَامِلُ الَّتِي قَضَتْ بِذٰلِكَ هي: الاقْتِصَادُ، وإقْرَارُ التَّقْصِيرِ في وَسَطِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ، والإثْمَارُ. يَجِبُ أَنْ تَكُونَ التَّفْعِيلَةُ النَّظَرِيَّةُ ثُلاثِيَّةً على أَقَلِّ تَقْدِيرٍ لِيَقَعَ التَّقْصِيرُ في وَسَطِهَا، ويَجِبُ أَنْ تَكُونَ رُبَاعِيَّةً على أَقَلِّ تَقْدِيرٍ كي يُوَلِّدَ التَّقْصِيرُ إذا وَقَعَ في وَسَطِها أَكْـثَرَ مِنْ بَحْـرٍ قِيَاسِيٍّ وَاحِدٍ.

(٤) قُلْنا عِنْدَ الحديثِ عَنِ الإيقَاعِ إنَّ المُسْتَوَى القِيَاسِيَّ يُبْـرِزُ النَّمَطَ الثَّانِيَ مِنَ النِّظَامِ الفَنِّيِّ «وهو تَرْتِيبُ المقاطِعِ في التَّفْعِيلَةِ تَرْتِيبًا خاصًّا مُقَرَّرَ التَّصْمِيمِ مُحَدَّدَ الصِّيغَةِ مُحْكَمَ البِناءِ». وقَدْ آنَ لَنا أَنْ نُحَدِّدَ النَّمَطَ الثَّانِيَ في شَيْءٍ مِنَ الدِّقَّةِ والوُضُوحِ؛ وما ذٰلِكَ بالأَمْرِ العَسِيرِ، فَقَدْ رَأَيْتَ مِمَّا تَقَدَّمَ أَنَّ تَرْتِيبَ المقاطِعِ في التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِيَاسِيَّةِ خاضِعٌ لِقَالِبٍ مِنْ قالِبَيْنِ: التَّكْرارِ المُذَيَّلِ، أَوِ التَّكْرارِ المُعْتَـرِضِ.

مُسْتَوَى التَّعَدُّدِ

عَسِيرٌ على الشَّاعِرِ أَنْ يُؤَلِّفَ قَصِيدَةً كَثِيرَةَ الأَبْياتِ إذَا فُرِضَ عَلَيْهِ في كُلِّ بَيْتٍ أَنْ يَلْتَزِمَ بمقاطِعِ الوَزْنِ القِيَاسِيِّ الْتِزامًا دَقِيقًا صَارِمًا. فَلَوِ اضْطُرَّ إلى ذٰلِكَ لاسْتَعْصَتْ عَلَيْهِ مُفْرَدَاتُ اللُّغَةِ وقُدِّمَ اللَّفْظُ على المعْنَى حَيْثُ يَنْبغِي تَقْـدِيمُ المعنَى على اللَّفْظِ. والأَمْـرُ أَيْسَرُ إذا أُتِيحَ لِلشَّاعِرِ أَنْ يَتَصَرَّفَ في الوَزْنِ القِيَاسِيِّ قَلِيلًا أو كَثِيرًا كَأَنْ يُقَصِّرَ مَقْطَعًا طَوِيلًا أو يُلْغِيَ مَقْطَعًا قَصِيرًا، دُونَ أَنْ يَفْقِدَ الوَزْنُ خَصَائِصَه الفَنِّيَّةَ المُمَيِّزَةَ له. هٰذَا اللَّوْنُ مِنَ التَّصَـرُّفِ مُباحٌ على المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ، وَهُوَ رَهِينٌ بِطائِفَةٍ مِنَ القَوَاعِدِ تُحَدِّدُ أنواعَه وتَفْرِضُ شُروطًا لِوُقُوعِهِ. تَخْضَعُ التَّفَاعِيلُ القِيَاسِيَّةُ لِقَوَاعِدِ المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ فَتَتَمَخَّضُ عَنْ صِيَغٍ جَدِيدَةٍ؛ فإذا قِسْتَ الصِّيغَةَ المُشْتَقَّةَ إلى التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِيَاسِيَّةِ تَكَشَّفَتْ لَكَ رابِطَةٌ دَعَوْناها آنِفًا بالتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ، وهي رابِطَةٌ خَطِيرَةُ الشَّأْنِ: لِأَنَّها تَقُومُ على نِظَامٍ دَقِيقٍ مِنَ التَّمَاثُلِ والتَّشَابُهِ فَتُسْهِمُ إسْهامًا فَعَّالًا في تَحْدِيدِ الأَصْلِ القِيَاسِيِّ

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إذا كانَ مَجْهُولًا، ولأنَّها تُنبِئُ بأنَّ الصِّيغةَ المُشتَقَّةَ لَيسَت تَفعِيلَةً مُستَقِلَّةً وإنَّما هِيَ مَظْهَرٌ مِن مَظاهِرِ التَّفعِيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ. مَعنَى ذلِكَ أنَّ التَّناظُرَ النَّوْعِيَّ عامِلٌ مِن أَهَمِّ العَوامِلِ الَّتي تَحفَظُ عَلَى الوَزْنِ القِياسِيِّ ذاتَهُ المُمَيِّزَةَ لَهُ وتُجَنِّبُ الأوْزانَ أن يَخْتَلِطَ بَعْضُها بِبَعْضٍ.

قَواعِدُ المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ

تَعْمَلُ على المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ قَواعِدُ أَرْبَــعٌ، وعَمَلُها جائزٌ غَيرُ لازِمٍ. والمَبْدَأُ الأساسِيُّ هنا هو التَّفَرُّدُ: مَوقِعُ التَّغْيِيرِ هو التَّفعِيلَةُ الوَاحِدَةُ، فَلَيسَ ضَرُورِيًّا أن يَخْضَعَ لِنَفسِ التَّغْيِيرِ تَفعِيلَتانِ أو أَكثَرُ مِن تَفعِيلَتَيْنِ؛ والقَواعِدُ تَعْمَلُ مُنفَرِدَةً، فَقَلَّما يَجْتَمِعُ للعَمَلِ في تَفعِيلَةٍ ما قاعِدَتانِ أو أَكثَرُ مِن قاعِدَتَيْنِ؛ والشَّائِعُ أنَّ القاعِدَةَ إذا جَرَتْ على تَفعِيلَةٍ ما لا تُحْدِثُ إلَّا تَغْيِيرًا واحِدًا؛ والتَّسَلْسُلُ نادِرٌ، فالصِّيغَةُ المُشتَقَّةُ تُستَخْرَجُ عادَةً مِنَ التَّفعِيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ، وقَلَّما يُباحُ الاشْتِقاقُ مِن مُشتَقٍّ. وإلَيْكَ القَواعِدَ الأرْبَــعَ:

(١) الإدْمَاجُ: جائزٌ أن يَحِلَّ مَقْطَعٌ طَوِيلٌ مَحَلَّ الوَحْدَةِ المُرَكَّبَةِ ᴗᴗ فَكَأَنَّ المَقْطَعَيْنِ القَصِيرَيْنِ قَدِ انْدَمَجَ أَحَدُهُما في الآخَرِ فاسْتَحالا إلى مَقْطَعٍ واحِدٍ طَوِيلٍ. بِذلِكَ تُستَخْرَجُ مُستَفْعِلُنْ (— — ᴗ —) مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ مُتَفاعِلُنْ (ᴗᴗ — ᴗ —) وتُستَخْرَجُ مَفَاعِيلُنْ (— — — —) مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ مُفَاعَلَتُنْ (— — ᴗᴗ —).

(٢) التَّقْصِيـرُ: جائزٌ أن يُقَصَّرَ كُلُّ مَقْطَعٍ طَوِيلٍ ما لم يَسْبِقْهُ في التَّفعِيلَةِ نَفْسِها مَقْطَعٌ قَصِيرٌ:

— ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ⇐ — ᴗ — —   — ᴗ ᴗ ⇐ — ᴗ —

— — ᴗ ᴗ ⇐ — — ᴗ —   ᴗ — ᴗ ⇐ — — ᴗ

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⌣ ─ ⌣ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣ ─   ─ ⌣ ─ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ─ ─ ⌣

⌣ ─ ⌣ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣ ─   ─ ⌣ ─ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ─ ─ ⌣

─ ⌣ ⌣ ─ ⇐ ─ ⌣ ─ ─   ─ ⌣ ⌣ ─ ⇐ ─ ⌣ ─ ─

⌣ ⌣ ─ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ─ ─ ⌣
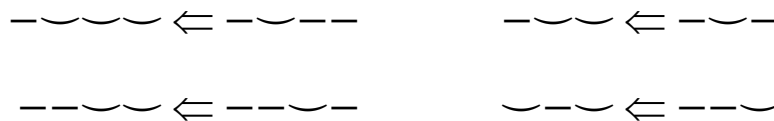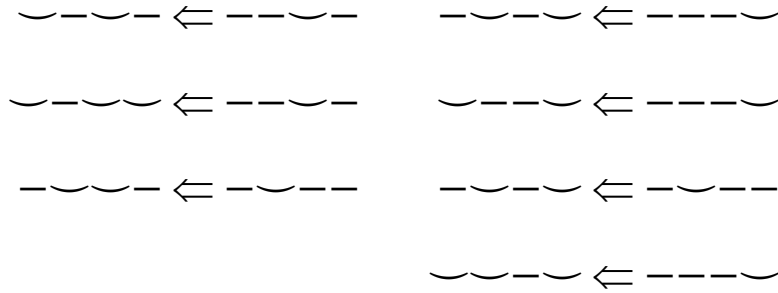
(٣) الحَـــذْفُ:

(ا) جائِزٌ أَنْ يُحْذَفَ المَقْطَعُ القَصِيرُ مِنَ العَـرُوضِ أَوِ الضَّـرْبِ إذا جاءَ في بِدايَةِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ سابِقًا لِمَقْطَعَيْنِ طَوِيلَيْنِ، أَوْ في وَسَطِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ بَـيْنَ مَقْطَعَيْنِ طَوِيلَيْنِ.

(ب) جائِزٌ أَنْ يُحْذَفَ المَقْطَعُ الطَّوِيلُ مِنَ العَرُوضِ أَوِ الضَّـرْبِ إذا جاءَ في نِهايَةِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ بَعْدَ مَقْطَعٍ طَوِيلٍ.

─ ─ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ─ ⌣   ─ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣

─ ─ ш ⇐ ─ ⌣ ─ ш   ─ ─ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣ ─   ─ ─ ⇐ ─ ⌣ ─

─ ⌣ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣   ─ ─ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ─ ─ ⌣   ─ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ─

─ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣   ─ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ⌣
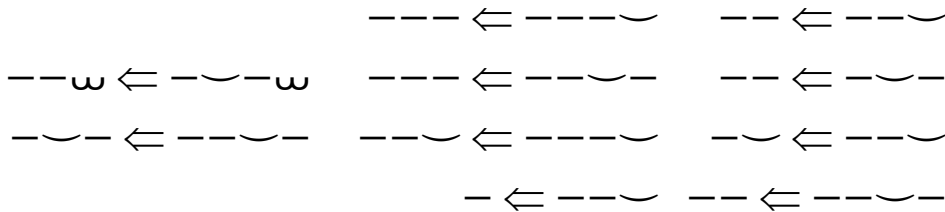
والوَحْدَةُ المُرَكَّبَةُ (ш) تُضارِعُ المَقْطَعَ الطَّوِيلَ، مِمَّا يُبِيحُ التَّقْصِيرَ والحَذْفَ في المِثالَيْنِ التَّالِيَيْنِ:

─ ш ─ ⇐ ─ ш ─ ⌣   ─ ⌣ ─ ⌣ ⇐ ─ ш ─ ⌣

(٤) الزِّيَـــادَةُ: جائِزٌ أَنْ يُضافَ مَقْطَعٌ طَوِيلٌ في نِهايَةِ الضَّرْبِ (ш)─ ⌣ ─. وقَدِ اقْتَصَرَتِ الزِّيادَةُ في الشِّعْرِ القَدِيمِ على مَجْزُوءِ الكامِلِ والرَّمَلِ. فالضَّرْبُ مِنْ مَجْزُوءِ الكامِلِ مُعَرَّضٌ للزِّيادَةِ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي:

─ ─ ⌣ ─ ، ─ ─ ⌣ ─ ⌣ ، ─ ─ ⌣ ─ ─ ، ─ ─ ⌣ ─ ш ⇐ ─ ⌣ ─ ш

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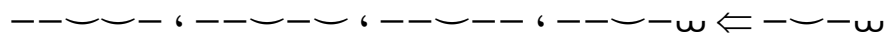
والضَّرْبُ مِنَ الرَّمَلِ مُعَرَّضٌ لِلزِّيادَةِ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي:

‏‐‐ ⇐ ‐‐‐‐‐ ، ‐‐‐‐‐

فإذا تَأَمَّلْتَ الصِّيَغَ المُشْتَقَّةَ ‏‐‐‐ و ‐‐‐‐‐ و ‐‐‐‐‐ و ‐‐‐‐‐ تَبَيَّنَ لَكَ أنَّ الزِّيادَةَ خَليقَةٌ بِأَنْ تُضْفِي التَّوازُنَ التَّامَّ على بِنْـيَةِ التَّفعيلَةِ، وعَسَى أنْ يَكُونَ التَّوازُنُ سَبَبًا في أنَّ الزِّيادَةَ تَقْتَصِرُ على السِّياقِ (‏)‐‐‐ ، وعَسَى أنْ يَكُونَ سَبَبًا كَذلِكَ في أنَّ القُدَماءَ قَصَّرُوا الزِّيادَةَ على ضَرْبَيْنِ يُصَدُّ عنهُما الحَذْفُ (أمَّا صَدُّ الحَذْفِ عَنْ هٰذَيْنِ الضَّرْبَيْنِ فَسَنَعْرِضُ لَهُ عِنْدَ الحَديثِ عَنِ القُيُودِ).

في الأَمْثِلَةِ التَّالِيَةِ يَطْرَأُ على التَّفعيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ نَوْعانِ مِنَ التَّغْيِـيرِ في وَقْتٍ واحِدٍ:

‏‐‐ ⇐ ‐‐‐

‏‐‐‐‐ ⇐ ‐‐‐

‏‐‐‐ ⇐ ‐‐‐‐

وفي المِثالِ التَّالي يَطْرَأُ على التَّفعيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ ثَلاثَةُ أنواعٍ مِنَ التَّغْيِـيرِ في وَقْتٍ واحِدٍ:

‏‐‐‐‐‐ ⇐ ‐‐‐

وفي المِثالِ التَّالي يَتَسَلْسَلُ التَّغْيِـيرُ فَيَقَعُ في التَّفعيلَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ ثُمَّ يَقَعُ في الصِّيغَةِ المُشْتَقَّةِ:

‏‐ ⇐ ‐‐ ⇐ ‐‐‐

والتَّقْصِـيرُ أَعْظَمُ الأَنْـوَاعِ الأَرْبَعَةِ شُيُوعًا لِتَعَـدُّدِ المَواطِنِ الَّتي يَقَـعُ فيها وكَثْـرَةِ الوُرُودِ عَـلَى كُلِّ مَوْطِـنٍ.

التَّناظُرُ المَقْطَعِيُّ

نَعْني بِالتَّناظُرِ المَقْطَعِيِّ أنْ يَكُونَ لِكُلِّ مَقْطَعٍ في صيغَةٍ مُعَيَّنَةٍ نَظِيـرٌ يُقَابِلُهُ في صيغَةٍ أُخرى. فَفي الصِّيغَتَيْنِ ‐‐‐‐ و ‐‐‐‐‐ يُعَدُّ المَقْطَعُ الأَوَّلُ مِنَ الصِّيغَةِ الأُولَى مُناظِرًا

لِلْمَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنَ الصِّيغَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ، ويُعَدُّ المَقْطَعُ الثَّاني مُناظِرًا لِلْمَقْطَعِ الثَّاني، والثَّالِثُ لِلثَّالِثِ، والرَّابِعُ لِلرَّابِعِ. وفي الصِّيغَتَيْنِ ——— — و — ——— يُعَدُّ المَقْطَعُ الأَوَّلُ مِنَ الصِّيغَةِ الأُولى مُناظِرًا لِلْمَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنَ الصِّيغَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ، ويُعَدُّ المَقْطَعُ الثَّاني مُناظِرًا لِلْمَقْطَعِ الثَّاني، والثَّالِثُ لِلثَّالِثِ. وفي الصِّيغَتَيْنِ ——— — و ——— — يُعَدُّ المَقْطَعُ الأَوَّلُ مِنَ الصِّيغَةِ الأُولى مُناظِرًا لِلْمَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنَ الصِّيغَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ، ويُعَدُّ المَقْطَعُ الثَّاني مُناظِرًا لِلْمَقْطَعِ الثَّاني، والثَّالِثُ لِلثَّالِثِ.

فَإِذَا تَشابَهَ في النَّوعِ (أَيْ مِنْ حَيْثُ الطُّولُ والقِصَـرُ) عَدَدٌ مِنَ المقاطِعِ المُتَناظِرَةِ، دُعِيَتِ العَلاقَةُ بَيْنَ الصِّيغَتَيْنِ تَناظُـرًا نَوْعِـيًّا. وإذا تَساوَى عَدَدُ المقاطِعِ في الصِّيغَتَيْنِ، دُعِيَتِ العَلاقَةُ تَناظُـرًا عَدَدِيًّا.

ومَتَى تَحَدَّثْنا عَنِ التَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ في العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ فَإِنَّما نَتَحَدَّثُ عَنْ عَلاقَةٍ تَرْبِـطُ التَّفْعِيلَةَ القِيَاسِيَّةَ بِصِيغَةٍ مُشْتَقَّةٍ مِنها. والعَرُوضُ العَرَبِيُّ يُقِرُّ بِالتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ إذا كانَ لِكُلِّ مَقْطَعٍ في الصِّيغَةِ المُشْتَقَّةِ نَظِيرٌ مُماثِلٌ في الأَصْلِ القِيَاسِيِّ. كَذٰلِكَ يُقِرُّ بِالتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ إذا تَماثَلَتِ النَّظائِرُ بِاسْتِثْناءٍ واحِدٍ، أو بِاسْتِثْناءَيْنِ كَحَدٍّ أَقْصَى. فَإِذا تَحَقَّقَ التَّناظُرُ النَّوْعِيُّ دُونَ اسْتِثْناءٍ سُمِّيَ تامًّا، وإذا تَحَقَّقَ بِاسْتِثْناءَيْنِ سُمِّيَ مُنْخَفِضًا، وإذا تَحَقَّقَ بِاسْتِثْناءٍ واحِدٍ سُمِّيَ بَيْنِيًّا. والمُشْتَقَّاتُ شائِعَةٌ أَثِيرَةٌ إذا اتَّسَمَتْ بِالتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ التَّامِّ، وأَقَلُّ مِنها شُيُوعًا ما اتَّسَمَ بِالتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ البَيْنِيِّ، وأَقَلُّ مِنَ الطَّائِفَتَيْنِ شُيُوعًا ما اتَّسَمَ بِالتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ المُنْخَفِضِ. والغالِبُ أَنْ يَقْتَصِرَ التَّناظُـرُ النَّوْعِيُّ المُنْخَفِضُ على المُشْتَقَّاتِ الرُّباعِـيَّةِ.

تَأَمَّلِ النَّماذِجَ التَّالِيَةَ تَجِـدِ المُشْتَقَّ مُنْتَسِبًا إلى التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِيَاسِيَّةِ بِفَضْـلِ التَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ. ولْنُذَكِّرِ القارِئَ بِأَنَّ الوَحْدَةَ المُرَكَّبَةَ (ﯩﯩ) تُضارِعُ المَقْطَعَ الطَّويلَ.

التَّفْعِيلَةُ القِيَاسِيَّةُ	التَّفْعِيلَةُ المُشْتَقَّةُ	مِقْدَارُ التَّنَاظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ
⏑ – – – –	⏑ – – –	تَامٌّ
⏑ – – –	⏑ – – –	بَيْنِيٌّ
– – ⏑ –	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	مُنْخَفِضٌ

وقَدْ تَجْتَهِدُ في تَحْدِيدِ الأَصْلِ القِيَاسِيِّ لِصِيغَةٍ مُشْتَقَّةٍ، وتَسْتَعِينُ بالتَّنَاظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ في بُلُوغِ مَأْرَبِكَ، فَيَنْتَهِي بِكَ الأَمْرُ إلى شَيْءٍ مِنَ الشَّكِّ والتَّرَدُّدِ يَدْعُوكَ إلى حَلٍّ ويُغْرِيكَ في الوَقْتِ ذاتِهِ بِحَلٍّ آخَرَ. عِنْدَئِذٍ تَتَبَيَّنُ لِلسِّيَاقِ – – دَوْرًا ذا بالٍ في حَسْمِ النِّزاعِ وتَرْجِيحِ كَفَّةٍ على كَفَّةٍ، وهو دَوْرٌ يُنْـزِلُ السِّيَاقَ – – مَنْزِلَةَ النَّوَاةِ مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِيَاسِيَّةِ. تَأَمَّلِ الصِّيغَةَ المُشْتَقَّةَ فَعِلُنْ (⏑ ⏑ – –) تَجِدِ التَّنَاظُرَ النَّوْعِيَّ البَيْنِيَّ يُدْنِيها مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِيَاسِيَّةِ فَاعِلُنْ (– ⏑ – –)؛ فإذا مَضَيْتَ في بَحْثِكَ واسْتِقْصَائِكَ وتَحْلِيلِكَ وَجَدْتَ التَّنَاظُرَ النَّوْعِيَّ البَيْنِيَّ يُدْنِيها أيضًا مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ القِيَاسِيَّةِ فَعُولُنْ (⏑ – – –). وإذَنْ فَما هو الأَصْلُ القِيَاسِيُّ الَّذي اسْتُخْرِجَتْ مِنه فَعِلُنْ؟ الأَصْلُ المَطْلُوبُ هو فاعِلُنْ (– ⏑ – –)، لِأَنَّ الشَّائِعَ أَنْ تَشْتَمِلَ الصِّيغَةُ المُشْتَقَّةُ على سِيَاقٍ مُماثِلٍ لِنَوَاةِ الأَصْلِ القِيَاسِيِّ مُناظِرٍ لِتِلْكَ النَّوَاةِ.

أُصُولٌ وشُـرُوطٌ تُقَـيِّدُ القَوَاعِدَ

ثَمَّ مَواطِنُ فيها تُقَيَّدُ القَوَاعِدُ ويُصَدُّ التَّغْيِيرُ عَنِ التَّفْعِيلَةِ صِيَانَةً لِأُصُولٍ وشُـرُوطٍ هامَّةٍ في عِلْمِ العَـرُوضِ لا يَجُوزُ انتِهاكُها. وسَنَذْكُرُ هنا خَمْسَةً مِنْ هٰذِهِ الأُصُولِ والشُّـرُوطِ.

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(١) اجْتِنابُ الالْتِباسِ: مِنَ الشُّروطِ الأَساسِيَّةِ في عِلْمِ العَروضِ أَنْ تَسْتَقِلَّ الأَوْزانُ وَيَمْتازَ بَعْضُها مِنْ بَعْضٍ في وُضوحٍ وجَلاءٍ. وإذَنْ فَلا بُدَّ مِنْ صَرْفِ التَّغْييرِ عَنِ الوَزْنِ القِياسِيِّ إذا كانَ وُقوعُهُ يُؤَدِّي إلى إبْهامٍ واخْتِلاطٍ والْتِباسٍ. وإلَيْكَ بَعْضَ النَّماذِجِ:

(ا) لا يَقَعُ الحَذْفُ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي في بَحْرِ الرَّجَزِ لأَنَّ الوَزْنَ بَعْدَ التَّغْييرِ يُطابِقُ سِياقًا مُشْتَقًّا مِنْ بَحْرِ السَّريعِ:

—— ‑◡‑‑ ‑◡‑‑ ⇐ ‑◡‑‑ ‑◡‑‑ ‑◡‑‑

(ب) الإدْغامُ خَليقٌ بأَنْ يَشيعَ في بَحْرِ الكامِلِ فَيُلْغِيَهُ إلْغاءً ويُخَيِّلَ إلى السَّامِعِ أَنَّ الشَّطْرَ قد نُظِمَ على وَزْنِ الرَّجَزِ. لكِنَّ الاخْتِلاطَ الَّذي نَتَحَدَّثُ عنه نادِرٌ؛ فأنتَ تَقْرأُ مُعَلَّقَةَ عَنْتَـرَةَ بْنِ شَدَّادٍ، وهي عِنْدَ الشِّنْقيطِيِّ تَأْتَلِفُ مِنْ أَرْبَعَةٍ وثَمانينَ بَيْتًا، فَلا تَجِدُ غَـيْرَ بَيْتَيْنِ اثْنَيْنِ اسْتَحالَ الوَزْنُ في شَطْرَيْهِما جَميعًا مِنْ صورَةِ الكامِلِ إلى صورَةِ الرَّجَزِ.¹ وعَلى هذا النَّحْوِ أَيْضًا يُقَيَّدُ الإدْغامُ في مَجْزوءِ الكامِلِ ومَجْزوءِ الوَافِـرِ.

(ج) الشَّائِعُ أَلَّا يَقَعَ التَّغْيـيرُ مِنْ تَقْصيرٍ وزِيادَةٍ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي في عَجُزِ السَّريعِ:

——◡ ‑◡‑‑ ‑◡‑‑ ⇐ ‑◡‑ ‑◡‑‑ ‑◡‑‑

فَأَنْتَ تَرى أَنَّ الوَزْنَ بَعْدَ التَّغْييرِ مُماثِلٌ لِسِياقٍ مُشْتَقٍّ مِنْ عَجُزِ الكامِلِ هُوَ —— ——‑ ‑◡‑‑ w—.

(د) لا يُحْذَفُ المَقْطَعُ القَصيرُ مِنْ وَسَطِ الضَّـرْبِ في مَجْزوءِ الكامِلِ، ولَوْلا ذلِكَ لَالْتَبَسَ العَجُـزُ بَعْدَ التَّغْييرِ بِسِياقٍ مُشْتَقٍّ مِنَ المُجْتَثِّ:

——w ‑◡‑‑ ⇐ ‑◡‑w ‑◡‑‑

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(هـ) لا تَصِيرُ العَرُوضُ ولا يَصِيرُ الضَّربُ إلى ‏— ∪ — ‏ في مَجزُوءِ الوَافِـرِ والهَـزَجِ ومَجزُوءِ الكامِلِ؛ ولَولا ذلِكَ لَجازَ أَن يَلتَبِسَ كُلُّ وَزنٍ بَعدَ التَّغيِيـرِ بِسِياقٍ مُشتَقٍّ مِن مَجزُوءِ الرَّجَزِ، وأَن تَختَلِطَ هذِهِ الأَوزانُ جَمِيعًا فيَتَعَذَّرَ التَّفرِيقُ بينَها:

مَجزُوءُ الوَافِرِ: ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —   ⇐   — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —

الهَـزَجُ: — — — ∪ — — — ∪   ⇐   ∪ — — — ∪ — — —

مَجزُوءُ الكامِلِ: ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ —   ⇐   ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

مَجزُوءُ الرَّجَزِ: — — ∪ — — — ∪ —   ⇐   ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

كَذلِكَ لا تَصِيرُ العَرُوضُ ولا يَصِيرُ الضَّربُ إلى ‏— ∪ — ‏ في الكامِلِ خَشيَةَ الالتِباسِ بِسِياقٍ مُشتَقٍّ مِنَ الرَّجَـزِ.

(و) يَقتَضِي المَنطِقُ تَقيِيدَ الحَـذفِ والزِّيادَةِ في عَـرُوضِ البَيتِ وضَربِهِ جَمِيعًا. ذلِكَ أَنَّ السَّامِعَ أَوِ القَارِئَ إذا انتَهَى إلى العَرُوضِ فقَد بَلَغَ مَوضِعًا يُتِيحُ تَحدِيدَ الوَزنِ، وقُل مِثلَ ذلِكَ في الضَّربِ. وَوُقُوعُ الحَذفِ أَوِ الزِّيادَةِ في التَّفعِيلَةِ قَد يُؤَدِّي إلى التِباسِها بِتَفعِيلَةٍ أُخرَى فيَتَعَسَّرُ لِذلِكَ تَحدِيدُ الوَزنِ وقَد يَختَلِطُ الوَزنُ في الذِّهنِ بِوَزنٍ آخَـرَ. ضَرُورِيٌّ إذَن أَن يَندُرَ وُقُوعُ الحَذفِ والزِّيادَةِ في العَرُوضِ والضَّربِ، وضَرُورِيٌّ أَن يَكُونَ وُقُوعُهُما أَندَرَ في العَرُوضِ لِأَنَّها أَسبَقُ مِنَ الضَّربِ إلى تَحدِيدِ الوَزنِ. وحَقائِقُ الأُمُورِ كَما يُصَـوِّرُها الاستِقرَاءُ هِيَ:

- أَنَّ الزِّيادَةَ تَختَصُّ بِالضَّربِ فَهِيَ لا تَطرَأُ على العَرُوضِ إلَّا لِلتَّصرِيعِ، وأَنَّها لا تَقَعُ في الضَّربِ إلَّا لِمَامًا.

- أَنَّ الحَذفَ نَادِرٌ في العَرُوضِ والضَّربِ جَمِيعًا لكِنَّهُ أَندَرُ في العَرُوضِ.

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● أنَّ الحَذْفَ إذا طَرَأَ على العَرُوضِ فُرِضَ على الضَّرْبِ فَرْضًا، لٰكِنَّ العَكْسَ غَيْـرُ صَحِيحٍ: فَقَدْ يَتَعَـرَّضُ الضَّرْبُ لِلْحَذْفِ دُونَ أَنْ يَطْرَأَ حَذْفٌ على العَرُوضِ.

وإذَنْ فَقَدْ كانَ الخَلِيلُ عالِمًا بِحَقائقِ الأُمُـورِ حِينَ اصْطَـنَعَ لَفْظَتَي «العَـرُوض» و«الضَّرْب»: فَلَفْظَةُ «العَـرُوض» تَدُلُّ على أَداةِ القِياسِ، ولَفْظَةُ «الضَّرْب» تَدُلُّ على المِثْلِ والنَّظِيرِ. والمَعْنَى الَّذي أَرادَ إليه الخَلِيلُ أنَّ العَرُوضَ أُسْوَةٌ يَتَأَثَّـرُها الضَّرْبُ ويُقَاسُ إليها، لٰكِنَّ الضَّرْبَ لَيْسَ أُسْوَةً تَتَأَثَّـرُها العَـرُوضُ.

وقد مَرَّ بِكَ أنَّ قَوَاعِدَ المُسْتَوَى القِياسِيِّ تُفْضِي إلى السِّياقَيْنِ التَّالِيَـيْنِ: «فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِـلَاتُنْ فَاعِـلَاتُنْ» و «فَاعِـلَاتُنْ فَاعِـلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ». أمَّا الخَلِيلُ فَقَدْ ظَنَّ أَنَّهما مَظْهَرانِ لِبَحْرٍ وَاحِدٍ سَمَّاهُ «الرَّمَل»، ورَأَى أنَّ السِّياقَ الثَّاني مُشْتَقٌّ بِالْحَذْفِ مِنَ السِّياقِ الأَوَّلِ. ولَوْ سَلِمَ لِلْخَلِيلِ رَأْيُـهُ لَكانَ السِّياقُ الثَّاني أَقَلَّ شُيُوعًا في الشِّعْـرِ العَرَبِيِّ القَدِيمِ مِنَ السِّياقِ الأَوَّلِ؛ لٰكِنَّ الاِسْتِقْـرَاءَ يُثْبِتُ أنَّ السِّياقَ الثَّاني أَكْثَرُ شُيُوعًا وأَسْبَقُ إلى أَلْسِنَةِ الشُّعَرَاءِ، وقَـدْ تَنَـبَّهَ لِذٰلِكَ وِلْيَم رَايت ووَثَّقَـهُ في الجُزْءِ الثَّاني مِن كِتابِه «قَوَاعِد اللُّغَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ» (*A Grammar of the Arabic Language*).[٢] وإذَنْ فَقَدْ كانَ خَلِيقًا بِالخَلِيلِ أَنْ يَنْهَجَ نَهْجَنا فَيُفَـرِّقَ بَيْنَ السِّياقَـيْنِ، ويَعُدَّهما بَحْـرَيْنِ مُسْتَقِلَّيْنِ، ويُطْلِقَ عَلَيْهما لَقَبَيْنِ مُخْتَلِفَيْنِ، ويُبَيِّنَ أنَّ السِّياقَ الثَّاني أَكْثَرُ شُيُوعًا لأَنَّه أَغْنَى بِالتَّوازُنِ المَقْطَعِيِّ.

(ن) يُصَدُّ الحَذْفُ عَنِ العَـرُوضِ وُجُوبًا في بَحْـرِ الرَّمَـلِ وبَحْـرِ المَـزِيدِ خَشْيَةَ أَنْ يَلْتَبِسَ أَحَدُ الوَزْنَيْـنِ بالوَزْنِ الآخَـرِ في ذِهْنِ السَّامِعِ أَوِ القارِئِ.

(٢) صِيَانَةُ التَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ: الشَّائِعُ أَنْ يُحْظَرَ وُقُوعُ الحَذْفِ والزِّيادَةِ إذا كانَ الحَظْرُ ضَرُورِيًّا لِصِيَانَةِ التَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ. فَمَنْ يَتَأَمَّلِ الكَثْـرَةَ المُطْلَقَةَ مِنْ قَصائِدِ الشِّعْـرِ العَرَبِيِّ القَدِيمِ يَجِدْ أَعارِيضَها مُتَساوِيَةً في عَدَدِ المَقاطِعِ، ويَجِدْ أَضْرُبَها أَيْضًا مُتَسَاوِيَةً في عَدَدِ المَقاطِـعِ. وقَدْ تَشِذُّ عَرُوضُ المَطْلَعِ عَن باقي الأَعارِيضِ: ذٰلِكَ أنَّ المَطْلَعَ المُصَرَّعَ يَقْتَضِي أَنْ تَكُونَ عَرُوضُهُ مُساوِيَةً لِضَرْبِهِ في عَدَدِ المَقَاطِعِ؛ وقَدْ يَسْتَدْعِي هٰذا القَيْدُ أَنْ تَكُونَ عَـرُوضُ المَطْلَعِ المُصَرَّعِ مُغايِرَةً لِسائِرِ الأَعارِيضِ في عَدَدِ المَقَاطِعِ. وإذَنْ فَأَعارِيضُ القَصِيدَةِ، إذا اسْتَثْنَيْنا عَرُوضَ المَطْلَعِ المُصَرَّعِ،

تُؤَلِّفُ عَمُودًا خَاضِعًا لِلتَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ نُسَمِّيهِ العَمُودَ الأَوَّلَ. وأَضْرُبُ القَصِيدَةِ تُؤَلِّفُ مَعَ عَرُوضِ المَطْلَعِ المُصَرَّعِ عَمُودًا خَاضِعًا لِلتَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ نُسَمِّيهِ العَمُودَ الثَّانِي. وكُلٌّ مِنَ العَمُودَيْنِ وَحْـدَةٌ مُتَماسِكَةٌ: إذا تَغَيَّرَ عَدَدُ المَقاطِعِ في تَفْعِيلَةٍ بِالحَذْفِ أوِ الزِّيادَةِ أصابَ التَّغْيِيرُ نَفْسَهُ تَفاعِيلَ العَمُودِ جَمِيعًا. تَأَمَّلِ الأَبْياتَ التَّالِيَةَ تَجِدْ مِصْداقًا لِمَا نَقُولُ:

— — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — — ٮ   — — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — —

— — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — — ٮ   — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — — ٮ

— — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — —   — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — — ٮ

— — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — —   — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — —

— — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — — ٮ   — — ٮ — — — ٮ — — — ٮ
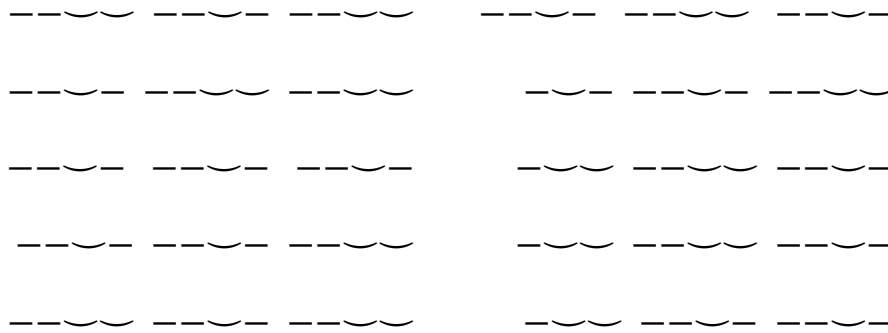
فالشَّائِعُ إذَنْ أَنْ يُحْظَرَ مِنَ الحَذْفِ والزِّيادَةِ ما يُخِلُّ بِالتَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ.

وَلْنُلاحِظْ أَنَّ الخَلِيلَ تَحَدَّثَ عَنِ «العِلَّةِ» فَقَرَّرَ أَنَّها تَغْيِيرٌ يَخْتَصُّ بِالأَعارِيضِ والأَضْرُبِ دُونَ غَيْـرِها، وبَيَّنَ أَنَّ التَّغْـيِـيرَ يَكُونُ بِالنَّقْصِ تَارَةً وبِالزِّيادَةِ تَارَةً أُخْرى، ونَصَّ على أَنَّ العِلَّةَ تَغْيِـيرٌ لازِمٌ: إذا وَقَعَتْ في عَـرُوضِ بَيْتٍ مِنَ القَصِيدَةِ لَزِمَتْ سائِـرَ أعارِيضِها، وكذٰلِكَ شَأْنُها حِينَ تَقَـعُ في الضَّرْبِ. لٰكِنَّ الخَلِيلَ رَحِمَهُ الله لم يَتَنَبَّهْ لِمَصْدَرِ هٰذا اللُّـزُومِ؛ ومَصْدَرُهُ فِيما نَرى هو التَّناظُرُ العَـدَدِيُّ.

(٣) اِجْتِنابُ التَّجاوُزِ في السِّياقِ المُنْفَصِلِ ذِي المَقاطِعِ الطِّوالِ: يَكُونُ السِّياقُ مُنْفَصِلًا إذا جاءَ في وَسَطِهِ حَدٌّ يَفْصِلُ بَيْنَ تَفْعِيلَتَيْنِ مُتَجاوِرَتَيْنِ. والسِّياقُ المُنْفَصِلُ مَرْفُوضٌ إذا ائْتَلَفَ مِنْ مَقاطِـعَ طِـوالٍ تَتَجاوَزُ الخَمْسَةَ، وهو مُسْتَهْجَنٌ إذا ائْتَلَفَ مِنْ مَقاطِـعَ طِـوالٍ تَبْلُغُ أَرْبَعَـةً أَوْ

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خَمْسَةً. والحَـذْفُ يُحْظَـرُ وُجُوبًا لِاجْتِـنابِ السِّيَاقِ المَرْفُـوض، وَكَثِـيرًا ما يُحْظَـرُ لِاجْتِنابِ السِّياقِ المُسْتَهْجَنِ. وإِلَيْكَ طائفةً مِنَ النَّماذِجِ:

(ا) لا يُحْذَفُ المَقْطَعُ القَصِيرُ مِنْ بِدايَةِ العَـرُوضِ أوِ الضَّـرْبِ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي:

مَجْزُوءُ الوَافِرِ: ⏑ ─ ⏖ ─ ⏑ ─ ⏖ ─ ⏑ ─ ⇐ ─ ⏖ ─ ⏑ ─ ⏖ ─ ، ─ ─ ─

الهَــزَجُ: ⏑ ─ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ─ ⇐ ─ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ─

مَجْزُوءُ المُتَقارِبِ: ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ⇐ ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ─ ─

المُتَقارِبُ: ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ⇐ ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ─ ─ ─

(ب) في الكامِلِ ومَجْـزُوءِ الكامِلِ لا يُحْذَفُ المَقْطَعُ القَصِيرُ مِنْ وَسَطِ العَرُوضِ، وبِهٰذا تُسْتَبْعَدُ السِّياقاتُ التَّالِيَةُ:

.... ⏖ ─ ⏑ ─   ─ ─ ⏖ ....

.... ⏖ ─ ⏑ ─   ─ ─ ─ ....

.... ─ ─ ⏖   ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ....

.... ─ ─ ─   ─ ─ ⏑ ─ ....

(ج) يُحْظَرُ في بَحْرِ الرَّمَلِ أنْ يُحْذَفَ المَقْطَعُ القَصِيرُ مِنَ الضَّـرْبِ، تَجَنُّبًا لِسِياقٍ مُسْتَهْجَنٍ يَأْتَلِفُ مِنْ أَرْبَعَةِ مَقاطِعَ طِوالٍ.

(٤) اِجْتِنابُ التَّجاوُزِ في السِّياقِ المُنْفَصِلِ ذِي المَقاطِعِ القِصارِ: يُحْظَـرُ مِنَ التَّغْيِـيرِ ما يُؤَدِّي إلى سِياقٍ مُنْفَصِلٍ قِوامُهُ ثَلاثَةٌ مِنَ المقاطِعِ القِصارِ. ففي بَيْتِ الهَـزَجِ يَجُـوزُ أنْ تَصِيرَ التَّفْعِيلَةُ الأُولَى إلى ⏑ ─ ─ ─، لٰكِنَّها لا تَصِيرُ إلى ⏑ ─ ─ ─ لِأَنَّ التَّفْعِيلَةَ التَّالِيَةَ تَبْدَأُ بِمَقْطَعٍ قَصِيرٍ، ويَصْدُقُ ذٰلِكَ أَيْضًا على التَّفْعِيلَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ والتَّفْعِيلَةِ الثَّالِثَةِ. وفي الطَّوِيلِ تَصِيرُ التَّفْعِيلَةُ

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الثَّانِيَةُ مِنَ الشَّطْرِ إلى ‒‒‒‒ لٰكِنَّها لا تَصِيرُ إلى ‒‒‒‒ لِأَنَّ التَّفْعِيلَةَ التَّالِيَةَ تَبْدَأُ بِمَقْطَعٍ قَصِيرٍ. وفي الوَافِرِ تَصِيرُ التَّفْعِيلَةُ الأُولى مِنَ الشَّطْرِ إلى ‒‒‒‒ أو ‒‒‒‒ لٰكِنَّها لا تَصِيرُ إلى ‒‒‒‒ لِأَنَّ التَّفْعِيلَةَ التَّالِيَةَ تَبْدَأُ بِمَقْطَعٍ قَصِيرٍ، ويَصْدُقُ ذٰلِكَ أَيْضًا على التَّفْعِيلَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ. وفي شَطْرِ المَدِيدِ تَصِيرُ ‒‒‒‒ إلى ‒‒‒ إذا سَبَقَها مَقْطَعٌ طَوِيلٌ لٰكِنَّها لا تَصِيرُ إلى ‒‒‒ إذا سَبَقَها مَقْطَعٌ قَصِيرٌ. وفي المَدِيدِ كَذٰلِكَ تَصِيرُ التَّفْعِيلَةُ الأُولى مِنَ العَجُزِ إلى ‒‒‒‒ إذا انْتَهَى الصَّدْرُ بِمَقْطَعٍ طَوِيلٍ، لٰكِنَّها لا تَصِيرُ إلى ‒‒‒‒ إذا انْتَهَى الصَّدْرُ بِمَقْطَعٍ قَصِيرٍ. وفي الرَّمَلِ يَجُوزُ التَّقْصِيرُ في المَقْطَعِ الأَوَّلِ مِنْ كُلِّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ إنْ لَمْ يَسْبِقْهُ مَقْطَعٌ قَصِيرٌ، فإذا سَبَقَهُ مَقْطَعٌ قَصِيرٌ حُظِرَ التَّقْصِيرُ. وفي الخَفِيفِ لا تَصِيرُ ‒‒‒‒ إلى ‒‒‒‒ إذا سَبَقَها مَقْطَعٌ قَصِيرٌ. وفي مَجْزُوءِ الخَفِيفِ لا تَصِيرُ العَرُوضُ إلى ‒‒‒ إذا سَبَقَها مَقْطَعٌ قَصِيرٌ، ويَصْدُقُ ذٰلِكَ على الضَّرْبِ أَيْضًا.

فإنْ كانَ السِّياقُ مُتَّصِلًا جازَ أَنْ يَأْتَلِفَ مِنْ ثَلاثَةِ مَقاطِعَ قِصارٍ، لٰكِنَّ وُرُودَه على هٰذِهِ الصُّورَةِ نادِرٌ مُسْتَهْجَنٌ. فالصِّيغَةُ ‒‒‒ تُعَدُّ قَبِيحَةً، والمَأْلُوفُ أَنْ يُصَدَّ وُقُوعُها عَنِ الكامِلِ ومَجْزُوءِ الكامِلِ والخَفِيفِ ومَجْزُوءِ الخَفِيفِ والمُجْتَثِّ، حتَّى إذا جاءَت بَعْدَ مَقْطَعٍ طَوِيلٍ.

يُحظَرُ التَّغْيِيرُ إذَن لِاجْتِنابِ سِياقٍ مَرْفُوضٍ قِوامُهُ المَقاطِعُ القِصارُ. وقَدْ تَنَبَّهَ القُدَماءُ لِهٰذا الحَظْرِ ولَقَّبُوهُ بِالمُعاقَبَةِ، لٰكِنَّهُمْ صَوَّرُوهُ تَصْوِيرًا مُعَقَّدًا صَعْبَ المِراسِ، واتَّخَذُوا له قَواعِدَ مُرْهِقَةً عَسِيرَةَ الفَهْمِ.

(٥) دَعْمُ المَقْطَعِ الأَخِيرِ مِنَ الضَّرْبِ: يُحظَرُ التَّغْيِيرُ إذا أَدَّى إلى تَقْصِيرِ المَقْطَعِ الأَخِيرِ مِنَ الضَّرْبِ؛ ذٰلِكَ أَنَّ المَقْطَعَ الطَّوِيلَ في هٰذا المَوْضِعِ أَنْسَبُ لِما يَعْقُبُهُ مِنْ سُكُونٍ وأَجْدَرُ بِإبرازِ

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القَافِيَةِ. والحَظْرُ ذاتُه مَفْرُوضٌ على العَرُوضِ أَيْضًا وإنْ كانَ أَقَلَّ صَرَامَةً في هذَا المَقامِ؛ ولَيْسَ مِنَ الأَعارِيضِ ما يَنْتَهِي عادَةً بِمَقْطَعٍ قَصِيرٍ سِوَى عَرُوضِ الهَـزَجِ وعَرُوضِ المُتَقارِبِ.

فَأَنْتَ تَرى أَنَّ المَقْطَعَ الطَّوِيلَ لازِمٌ في نِهايَةِ الضَّرْبِ، أَثِيرٌ (وإنْ لمْ يَكُنْ لازِمًا) في نِهايَةِ العَرُوضِ. لَيْسَ غَرِيبًا إذَنْ أَنْ تَرِدَ الحَرَكَةُ (مِنْ فَتْحَةٍ أَو كَسْرَةٍ أو ضَمَّةٍ) في نِهايَةِ الضَّرْبِ أو نِهايَةِ العَرُوضِ فَيَمْتَدَّ بها النُّطْقُ كَأَنَّ تَطَرُّفَها في الشَّطْرِ قد أَضافَ في إِثْرِها حَرْفَ المَدِّ المُجانِسَ لها.

التَّغْيِـيرُ الجَـبْرِيُّ

رَأَيْتَ أَنَّ التَّغْيِـيرَ في أَكْثَرِ حالاتِـهِ جائِزٌ لا يُكْرَهُ الشَّاعِرُ عَلَيْهِ إِكْراهًا؛ ثُمَّ رَأَيْتَ أَنَّه يَمْتَنِعُ أَحْيانًا لِدَرْءِ اللَّبْسِ، أو صِيانَةِ التَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ، أو اجْتِنابِ التَّجاوُزِ في السِّياقِ المُنْفَصِلِ. وسَتَرى الآنَ أَنَّه قد يُصْبِحُ جَبْرِيًّا ويُفْرَضُ على الوَزْنِ فَرْضًا لهذِهِ الأَسْبابِ ذاتِها. ولَيْسَ في الأَمْرِ تَناقُضٌ: فَالغايَةُ هي أَنْ تُصانَ طائِفَةٌ مِنَ الخَصائِصِ والأُصُولِ يَحْرِصُ عليها الشِّعْرُ العَرَبِيُّ، والوَسِيلَةُ هي أَنْ يُمْنَعَ التَّغْيِـيرُ إذا اسْتَدْعَتِ الغايَةُ مَنْعَهُ، وأَنْ يُفْرَضَ التَّغْيِـيرُ إذا اسْتَدْعَتِ الغايَةُ فَرْضَهُ.

وقَدْ مَـرَّ بِكَ فيما قَدَّمْنا أَنَّ التَّناظُرَ العَدَدِيَّ ظاهِرَةٌ أَساسِيَّةٌ يَلْتَـزِمُ بها عَمُـودُ الأَعارِيضِ وعَمُودُ الأَضْـرُبِ؛ والتَّغْيِـيرُ المُحَقِّقُ لهذِهِ الظَّاهِـرَةِ جَبْرِيٌّ لا بُدَّ مِنْهُ. بَقِيَ أَنْ نَعْرِضَ عَلَيْكَ نَماذِجَ مِنَ التَّغْيِـيرِ الَّذي يُفْرَضُ على الوَزْنِ مَنْعًا لِلَّبْسِ أو اجْتِنابًا لِلتَّجاوُزِ في السِّياقِ المُنْفَصِلِ. وأَنْتَ مُصادِفٌ في هذِهِ النَّماذِجِ نَوْعَـيْنِ مِنَ التَّغْيِـيرِ الجَـبْرِيِّ. النَّوْعُ الأَوَّلُ يَدْعَمُ تَغْيِـيرًا أَساسِيًّا: أَمَّا التَّغْيِـيرُ الأَساسِيُّ فهو يُحَقِّقُ غايَةً مَنْشُودَةً، وأَمَّا الدَّعْمُ فهو أَنْ يُعالِجَ التَّغْيِـيرَ الجَبْرِيَّ نَتِيجَـةً مَحْظُورَةً يَتَمَخَّضُ عنها التَّغْيِـيرُ الأَساسِيُّ؛ فَلَوْلَا التَّغْيِـيرُ الجَبْرِيُّ لَاسْتَعْصَى تَحْقِيقُ الغايَةِ المَنْشُودَةِ تَفادِيًا لِلنَّتِيجَةِ المَحْظُورَةِ. والنَّوْعُ الثَّاني مِنَ التَّغْيِـيرِ الجَـبْرِيِّ لا يَدْعَمُ تَغْيِـيرًا سِوَاهُ، بَلْ يُحَقِّقُ غايَةً مَنْشُودَةً ويُلْغِي في الوَقْتِ ذاتِه عِلَّةَ حَظْرٍ كانَ مَفْرُوضًا على السِّياقِ قَبْلَ تَحْقِيقِ الغايَةِ.

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(١) يُغْرِي التَّعْمِيمُ بِحَذْفِ المقطَعِ الأَخِيرِ مِنَ الضَّرْبِ في بَحرِ الطَّوِيلِ؛ ذٰلِكَ أَنَّ الصِّيغَةَ القِيَاسِيَّةَ مَفَاعِيلُنْ لا تَقَعُ ضَرْبًا إلَّا في بَحرَيْنِ هما الطَّوِيلُ والهَـزَجُ، وضَرْبُ الهَـزَجِ مُعَرَّضٌ لِحَذْفِ المَقْطَعِ الأَخِيرِ. فإذا تَحَوَّلَ عَجُـزُ الطَّوِيلِ بالحَذْفِ عَنْ فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ إلى فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَعُولُنْ دَنَا وَزْنُـهُ مِنَ المُتَقَارِبِ دُنُـوًّا يُنْذِرُ بِاللَّبْسِ. لذا يَقْتَضِي الْحَـذْفُ في هٰذَا المَقَامِ تَغْيِـيرًا إِضَافِيًّا يُفْرَضُ على التَّفْعِيلَةِ الثَّالِثَةِ، هو تَقْصِيرُ المَقْطَعِ الأَخِيرِ (فَعُولُنْ ⇐ فَعُولُ). ولَنْ تَذْهَشَ طَبْعًا إذا عَرَفْتَ أنَّ التَّفْعِيلَةَ الثَّالِثَةَ مِنْ عَجُزِ المُتَقَارِبِ لا تَصِيرُ بالتَّقْصِيرِ إلى فَعُولُ، فَالغايَةُ هي اجْتِنابُ الْخَلْطِ.

المُتَقَارِبُ: ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

التَّغْيِيرُ الَّذِي يُحْظَرُ وُقُوعُهُ في عَجُزِ الطَّوِيلِ: ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⇐
⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — —

التَّغْيِيرُ الَّذِي يُبَاحُ وُقُوعُهُ في عَجُزِ الطَّوِيلِ: ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⇐
⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — —

التَّغْيِيرُ الَّذِي يَلْزَمُ وُقُوعُهُ في التَّفْعِيلَةِ الثَّالِثَةِ مِنْ عَجُزِ الطَّوِيلِ: ⏑ — — ⇐ — — ⏑ — — ⏑

(٢) يُغْرِي التَّعْمِيمُ بِالحُرِّيَّةِ في حَذْفِ المقطَعِ القَصِيرِ مِنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ إذا وَرَدَتْ ضَرْبًا لِمَجْزُوءِ الخَفِيفِ؛ ذٰلِكَ أنَّ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُعَرَّضَةٌ لِلْحَذْفِ ذاتِهِ مَتَى وَقَعَتْ ضَرْبًا في غَـيْرِ مَجْزُوءِ الخَفِيفِ. فإذا تَعَرَّضَ الضَّرْبُ في مَجْزُوءِ الخَفِيفِ لِحَذْفِ المَقْطَعِ القَصِيرِ، فُرِضَ التَّقْصِيـرُ على مَقْطَعِهِ الأَوَّلِ؛ ولَوْلَا ذٰلِكَ لَانْتَهَى العَجُـزُ بِسِيَاقٍ مُسْتَهْجَنٍ مِنَ المَقَاطِعِ الطِّوَالِ:

(مُسْتَهْجَنٌ) — — ⏑ — — ⇐ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ —

(مُسْتَسَاغٌ) — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⇐ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ —

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(٣)   تُؤْثَرُ في عَرُوضِ الطَّوِيلِ صِيغَةُ ⏑——⏑— وتُجْتَنَبُ صِيغَةُ ⏑———، لِأَنَّ الصِّيغَةَ الأُولَى أَقْدَرُ عَلَى التَّفْرِيقِ بَيْنَ الطَّوِيلِ والمُتَقَارِبِ. والصِّيغَةُ الأُولَى تَمْحُو سَبَبَ الحَظْرِ المَفْرُوضِ عَلَى السِّيَاقِ القِيَاسِيِّ؛ ذلِكَ أَنَّ الصِّيغَةَ القِيَاسِيَّةَ لِعَرُوضِ الطَّوِيلِ (⏑———) مَعْصُومَةٌ مِنْ تَغْيِيرٍ تَرْضَاهُ بِنْيَتُها – هو حَذْفُ المقطَعِ الأَوَّلِ – لِأَنَّها خَلِيقَةٌ إذا تَعَرَّضَتْ لِهذا التَّغْيِيرِ بِأَنْ تُضَمِّنَ الصَّدْرَ سِيَاقًا مُسْتَهْجَنًا مِنَ المقاطِعِ الطِّوَالِ:

⇐ ———⏑ ——⏑ ———⏑ ——⏑

——— ——⏑ ———— ——⏑ (مُسْتَهْجَنْ)

أَمَّا الصِّيغَةُ ⏑——— فَلَا تَدَعُ مَجالًا لِلسِّيَاقِ المُسْتَهْجَنِ؛ وهي لِذلِكَ غَنِيَّةٌ عَنِ الحَظْرِ.

(٤)   تُؤْثَرُ في عَرُوضِ البَسِيطِ صِيغَةُ ⏑—⏑— وتُجْتَنَبُ صِيغَةُ ——⏑— لِأَنَّ الصِّيغَةَ الأُولَى أَدْعَى إلى التَّعْمِيمِ: فَالمُنْسَرِحُ يَقْتَضِي الصِّيغَةَ الأُولَى في خانَةِ العَرُوضِ، والمُتَدَارَكُ يُؤْثِرُها في نَفْسِ الخانَةِ. والصِّيغَةُ الأُولَى تَمْحُو سَبَبَ الْحَظْرِ المَفْرُوضِ على السِّيَاقِ القِيَاسِيِّ: ذُلِكَ أَنَّ الصِّيغَةَ القِيَاسِيَّةَ لِعَرُوضِ البَسِيطِ (⏑—⏑—) مَعْصُومَةٌ مِنْ تَغْيِيرٍ تَرْضَاهُ بِنْيَتُها – هو حَذْفُ المَقْطَعِ الثَّاني – لِأَنَّها خَلِيقَةٌ إذا خَضَعَتْ لِهذا التَّغْيِيرِ بِأَنْ تُضَمِّنَ البَيْتَ سِيَاقًا مُسْتَهْجَنًا مِنَ المقاطِعِ الطِّوَالِ:

⇐ .... —⏑—— ⏑—⏑— —⏑—— ⏑—⏑— —⏑——

—⏑—— ⏑—⏑— —⏑—— —— —⏑—— .... (مُسْتَهْجَنْ)

أَمَّا الصِّيغَةُ ——⏑— فَلَا تَدَعُ مَجالًا لِلسِّيَاقِ المُسْتَهْجَنِ؛ وهي لِذلِكَ غَنِيَّةٌ عَنِ الْحَظْرِ.

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فَالمَنْعُ إِذَنْ إِجْرَاءٌ سَلْبِيٌّ لِأَنَّهُ يَصُونُ طَائِفَةً مِنَ الْخَصَائِصِ الأَسَاسِيَّةِ بِحَظْرِ مَا يَنْقُضُهَا مِنْ تَغْيِيرٍ. أَمَّا الجَبْرُ فَهُوَ إِجْرَاءٌ إِيجَابِيٌّ لِأَنَّهُ يَفْرِضُ تَغْيِيرًا مِنْ شَأْنِهِ أَنْ يُلْغِيَ أَسْبَابَ النَّقْضِ أَوْ تَغْيِيرًا يُعَالِجُ النَّقْضَ فِي طَوْرِ الوُقُوعِ فَيَكْسِرُ شَوْكَتَهُ. وَالفَرْقُ بَيْنَ الإِجْرَاءَيْنِ كَالفَرْقِ بَيْنَ رَجُلٍ يَنْهَاكَ عَنْ مُقَارَفَةِ الإِثْمِ، وَرَجُلٍ آخَرَ يُوثِقُ يَدَيْكَ خَشْيَةَ أَنْ تُقَارِفَ الإِثْمَ أَوْ يَتَدَارَكُ الأَمْرَ وَقَدْ هَمَمْتَ فِعْلًا بِمُقَارَفَةِ الإِثْمِ.

العَلَاقَةُ بَيْنَ العَرُوضِ والضَّرْبِ

إِذَا نَظَرْتَ فِي «شَرْحِ تُحْفَةِ الخَلِيلِ» لِلرَّاضِي وَجَدْتَ لِكُلِّ وَزْنٍ عَدَدًا مِنَ الأَعَارِيضِ وَوَجَدْتَ لِكُلِّ عَرُوضٍ مَا يَقْتَرِنُ بِهَا مِنْ أَضْرُبٍ. فَوَزْنُ السَّرِيعِ فِي دَائِرَتِهِ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولَاتُ، وَلَهُ أَرْبَعُ أَعَارِيضَ وَسِتَّةُ أَضْرُبٍ:

العَرُوضُ الأُولَى مَطْوِيَّةٌ مَكْشُوفَةٌ «فَاعِلُنْ» وَلَهَا ثَلَاثَةُ أَضْرُبٍ:

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلَانْ

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَعْلُنْ

العَرُوضُ الثَّانِيَةُ مَخْبُولَةٌ مَكْشُوفَةٌ «فَعِلُنْ» لَهَا ضَرْبٌ وَاحِدٌ مِثْلُهَا:

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ   مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ

العَرُوضُ الثَّالِثَةُ مَشْطُورَةٌ مَوْقُوفَةٌ «مَفْعُولَانْ»، وَهِي الضَّرْبُ:

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولَانْ

العَرُوضُ الرَّابِعَةُ مَشْطُورَةٌ مَكْشُوفَةٌ «مَفْعُولُنْ»، وهي الضَّرْبُ:

مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولُنْ

قَدِّرْ أَنْتَ ما يَكُونُ مِنْ أَمْرِكَ إذا فُرِضَ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَسْتَظْهِرَ أَعارِيضَ البُحُورِ جَمِيعًا وأَنْ تَحْفَظَ لِكُلِّ عَرُوضٍ ما يَقْتَرِنُ بِها مِنْ أَضْرُبٍ. إذَنْ لَجاهَدْتَ نَيِّفًا وسِتِّينَ وَزْنًا، وكُلِّفْتَ مِنَ الأَمْرِ شَطَطًا. أَفَلَيْسَ مُمْكِنًا أَنْ تُرَدَّ العَلاقَةُ بَيْنَ العَرُوضِ والضَّرْبِ إلى ضابِطٍ يَضْبِطُها؟ ونَحْنُ نَعْرِضُ عَلَيْكَ طائِفَةً هَيِّنَةً مِنَ القَواعِدِ تَضْبِطُ هٰذِهِ العَلاقَةَ:

(١) تَجُوزُ الزِّيادَةُ في الضَّرْبِ (ں)—ں— إذا امْتَنَعَ فيهِ الحَذْفُ. ولا تَجُوزُ الزِّيادَةُ في العَرُوضِ إلَّا لِلتَّصْرِيعِ.

(٢) يَنْدُرُ الْحَذْفُ في العَرُوضِ والضَّرْبِ جَمِيعًا، لٰكِنَّ الْحَذْفَ أَنْدَرُ في العَرُوضِ. ووُقُوعُ الْحَذْفِ في العَرُوضِ يَفْرِضُ الْحَذْفَ على الضَّرْبِ، لٰكِنَّ العَكْسَ غَيْـرُ صَحِيحٍ: فَقَدْ يَقَعُ الْحَذْفُ في الضَّرْبِ دُونَ أَنْ يَقَعَ في العَرُوضِ.

(٣) إذا وَقَعَ الْحَـذْفُ في العَـرُوضِ والضَّـرْبِ جَمِيعًا، جَـرى التَّغْيِـيرُ في التَّفْعِيلَتَيْنِ على النَّحْوِ ذاتِـهِ.

(٤) الغالِبُ أَنْ تَتَّسِمَ الصِّيغَتانِ ——ں و ں—ں— بِصِفَةِ اللُّزُومِ في عَمُودِ الأَعارِيضِ وعَمُودِ الأَضْرُبِ. ويَجري الِتزامُ الصِّيغَتَيْنِ على النَّحْوِ التَّالي:

(ا) إذا تَصَدَّرَتْ إحْدَى الصِّيغَتَيْنِ في عَمُـودِ الأَعارِيضِ فالشَّائِعُ أَنْ تُلْتَـزَمَ في بَقِيَّةِ العَمُودِ ويَغْلِبُ الِتزامُها في العَمُودَيْنِ جَميعًا إذا جاءَتِ الأَضْرُبُ ثُلاثِيَّةً لَمْ يَمَسَّها حَذْفٌ وَلا زِيادَةٌ.

(ب) إذا وَقَعَتْ إحْدَى الصِّيغَتَيْنِ مَوْقِعَ الضَّرْبِ الأَوَّلِ، فالشَّائِعُ الَّذي دَرَجَ عليه الشُّعَراءُ هو الْتِزامُها في العَمُودِ الثَّاني بِأَسْرِهِ.

التَّغْيِـــراتُ الشَّاذَّةُ

تَطْرَأُ على الوَزْنِ أحيانًا تَغْيـيراتٌ لا تَضْبِطُها قَواعِدُ المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ. هي إذَنْ تَغْيـيراتٌ غَريبَةٌ على النِّظامِ الفَنِّيِّ الَّذي أَنْشَأَ الشِّعْرَ العَرَبِيَّ، وهي لِذلِكَ أَنْدَرُ ما يَطْرَأُ على الْبَيْتِ مِنْ تَغْيـيرٍ. وقَدْ كانَ جَـدِيرًا بنا أَنْ نُهْمِلَها لَوْلَا أَنَّ وُرُودَها كَفِيلٌ بِأَنْ يُحَقِّقَ مَبْدَأً هَامًّا لم يَتَنَبَّهْ إليه القُدَماءُ، هو مَبْدَأُ التَّوازُنِ.

والتَّغْيـيراتُ الشَّاذَّةُ هي:

(١) تَقْصِيرُ المَقْطَعِ الأَخِيرِ مِنْ — — ∪ — في الْخَفِيفِ والمُجْتَثِّ.

(٢) زِيادَةُ مَقْطَعٍ أو مَقْطَعَيْنِ في بِدايَةِ الشَّطْرِ. وقَدْ أَطْلَقَ القُدَماءُ لَقَبَ «الخَـرْمِ» على هٰذِهِ الزِّيادَةِ.

(٣) حَذْفُ مَقْطَعٍ قَصِيرٍ مِنْ بِدايَةِ الشَّطْرِ إذا كانَ سابِقًا لِمَقْطَعَيْنِ طَوِيلَيْنِ. وقَدْ أَطْلَقَ القُدَماءُ لَقَبَ «الخَـرْمِ» على هٰذَا الْحَذْفِ.

(٤) حَذْفُ المَقْطَعِ القَصِيرِ مِنْ — — ∪ — في حَشْوِ المُتَدارَكِ ومَجْـزُوءِ المُتَدارَكِ.

تَأَمَّلِ التَّغْيـيرَ الشَّاذَّ في الشَّطْرِ التَّالي تَجِدْهُ قَدْ أَضْفَى على بِنْيَةِ السِّياقِ نَوْعًا مِنَ التَّـوازُنِ هو المُقابَلَةُ بَـيْنَ الأَضْدادِ:

— ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — — ⇐ ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

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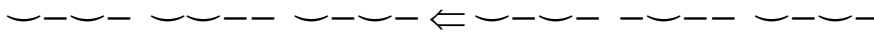
اِعْمِدْ إلى الشَّطْرِ النَّاتِجِ مِنْ عَمَلِيَّةِ التَّغْيِيرِ فَابْدَأْ بِطَرَفَيْهِ وتَعَقَّبْ مَقَاطِعَهُ حَتَّى الوَسَطِ، تَجِدْ لِكُلِّ مَقْطَعٍ طَوِيلٍ نَظِيرًا قَصِيرًا يُقابِلُهُ.

تَأَمَّلْ أَيْضًا الشَّطْرَيْنِ التَّالِيَيْنِ تَجِـدِ السِّيـاقَ السَّابِقَ لِلْخَـطِّ المائِلِ مُجَـرَّدًا مِنَ التَّوازُنِ قَبْلَ التَّغْيِـيرِ، مُكْتَسِيًا بِالتَّوازُنِ بَعْدَ التَّغْيِـيرِ؛ والفَضْلُ في التَّوازُنِ راجِعٌ في الحالَتَيْنِ إلى تَغْيِـيرٍ شَاذٍّ:

$$\text{ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ/ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ} \Leftarrow \text{ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ/ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ}$$

$$\text{ـ ـ ـ ـ /ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ} \Leftarrow \text{ـ ـ ـ ـ /ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ}$$

ولَوْلَا الْخَـزْمُ لَانْصَرَفَ الشُّعَراءُ عَنِ الْمُنْسَرِحِ وأَهْمَلُوهُ إِهْمالًا. ذٰلِكَ أَنَّ النِّظامَ الفَنِّيَّ الشَّائِعَ في بُحُورِ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ يَقْضِي بِأَنْ تَتَكَرَّرَ تَفْعِيلَةٌ أو تَفْعِيلَتانِ في كُلِّ شَطْرٍ طَوِيلٍ (أيْ في كُلِّ شَطْرٍ جاوَزَ التَّفْعِيلَتَيْنِ)، والسِّياقُ فاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ يَخْلُو مِنْ هٰذا التَّكْرارِ خُلُوًّا تامًّا. لٰكِنَّ الْخَـزْمَ يُحِيلُ السِّياقَ إلى مُسْتَفْعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ فَيُسْبِغُ على التَّفْعِيلَةِ الأُولَى شَكْلًا قَرِيبًا مِنَ التَّفْعِيلَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ، ويُحَقِّقُ بِذٰلِكَ التَّكْرارَ الضَّـرُورِيَّ:

$$\text{ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ} \Leftarrow \text{ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ}$$

تَأَمَّـلِ السِّياقَ بَعْـدَ الْخَـزْمِ تَجِدِ التَّفْعِيلَةَ الأُولَى قَدِ اكْتَسَتْ بِالتَّوازُنِ المَقْطَعِيِّ التَّامِّ؛ وقَدْ رَأَيْتَ فِيما قَدَّمْنا مِنْ بَحْثٍ أَنَّ التَّوازُنَ حَصْلَةٌ يُؤْثِـرُها الشِّعْرُ العَـرَبِيُّ ويَبْتَغِي إليها الوَسائِلَ.

وإِذَنْ فَقَدْ نَهَضَ الْخَـزْمُ هُنا بِدَوْرٍ بَدَّلَهُ مِنَ الشُّذُوذِ ذُيُوعًا ومِنَ النُّشُوزِ صَفاءً. والاسْتِقْصاءُ يَدُلُّ على أَنَّ الْمُنْسَرِحَ لم يَرِدْ إلَّا مَخْزُومًا قَدْ تَشَابَهَتْ فِيهِ التَّفْعِيلَةُ الأُولَى والتَّفْعِيلَةُ الثَّانِيَةُ على النَّحْوِ الَّذِي أَوْضَحْناهُ. لٰكِنَّ التَّشابُهَ لا يَـرْقَى إلى التَّطَابُقِ، لِذٰلِكَ لم يَبْلُغِ الْمُنْسَرِحُ مِنَ الحُظْوَةِ عِنْدَ الشُّعَراءِ ما بَلَغَهُ السَّرِيعُ (مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ).

التَّعْويضُ

كُلُّ وَزْنٍ مِنَ الأَوْزانِ القِياسِيَّةِ يَسْتَغْرِقُ في النُّطْقِ فَتْرَةً مِنَ الزَّمَنِ نُسَمِّيها «الدَّوامَ القِياسِيَّ». والدَّوامُ القِياسِيُّ يَجْنَحُ إلى الثُّبوتِ مَهْما يَطْرَأْ على الوَزْنِ مِنْ تَغْييرٍ. فإذا قُصِّرَ مَقْطَعٌ طَويلٌ أُضيفَ الفَرْقُ الزَّمَنِيُّ عِنْدَ الإنْشادِ إلى مَقْطَعٍ مُجاوِرٍ في التَّفْعيلَةِ نَفْسِها. ويَسْتَقيمُ هذَا النَّوْعُ مِنَ الإضافَةِ مَتَى كانَ المَقْطَعُ المُجاوِرُ مُشْتَمِلًا على حَرْفِ لِينٍ طَويلٍ (long vowel) أَوْ مُنْتَهِيًا بِحَرْفٍ آخَرَ مِنْ حُرُوفِ الاسْتِمْرارِ (consonantal continuant)، وإلَّا أُضيفَتْ إلى الوَزْنِ سَكْتَةٌ تُؤَدِّي الفَرْقَ الزَّمَنِيَّ المَطْلُوبَ.

شُذُوذُ المُتَدارَكِ

زَعَمَ التَّبْريزِيُّ[3] أنَّ الخَليلَ بْنَ أحْمَدَ الفَراهيدِيَّ اسْتَقْرَأَ الشِّعْرَ العَرَبِيَّ فَاسْتَنْبَطَ مِنْهُ خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ بَحْرًا، ثُمَّ جاءَ الأخْفَشُ (سَعيدُ بْنُ مَسْعَدَةَ) فَأضافَ بَحْرًا جَديدًا، سَمَّاهُ المُتَدارَكَ، «يُفَكُّ» مِنْ دائرَةِ المُتَّفِقِ بَعْدَ حَذْفِ الوَتَدِ المَجْمُوعِ «فَعُو» مِنْ أوَّلِ المُتَقارِبِ. كَذلِكَ زَعَمَ الجَوْهَرِيُّ[4] وغَيْرُه مِنَ الثِّقاتِ أنَّ الخَليلَ لم يَعُدَّ المتدارَكَ في بُحورِ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ. والخَليلُ بْنُ أحْمَدَ هُوَ الَّذي وَضَعَ الدَّوائِرَ العَرُوضِيَّةَ واخْتَرَعَ رُمُوزَها وابْتَدَعَ طَريقَةً لِفَكِّ البُحُورِ مِنْها. كَيْفَ إذَنْ أغْفَلَ المُتَدارَكَ؟ قالَ عَبْدُ الحَميدِ الرَّاضي في «شَرْح تُحْفَةِ الخَليلِ»:[5]

«وإجْراءُ الفَكِّ في الدَّائرَةِ مِنْ صَميمِ بِنائها، بَلْ لا مَعْنَى لِلدَّائرَةِ غَيْرُهُ، وهذَا وَحْدَهُ يَفْرِضُ وُجُودَ المُتَدارَكِ فَرْضًا. فَلا مَعْنَى لِلْقَوْلِ إنَّ الخَليلَ قَدْ أغْفَلَهُ وإنَّ الأخْفَشَ اسْتَدْرَكَهُ عَلَيْهِ. ولَوِ افْتَرَضْنا أنَّ الخَليلَ لم يَجِدْ لِهذَا البَحْرِ شاهِدًا في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ فَلا أقَلَّ مِنْ أنْ يَذْكُرَهُ في عِدادِ البُحُورِ المُهْمَلَةِ كما ذَكَرَ المُمْتَدَّ في الدَّائِرَةِ المُخْتَلِفَةِ والمُتَوَفِّرَ في المُؤْتَلِفَةِ والمُطَّرِدَ في المُشْتَبِهَةِ. وقد ذَكَرَ القِفْطِيُّ في إنْباهِ الرُّواةِ أنَّ لِلْخَليلِ قَصيدَتَيْنِ مِنْ هذَا البَحْرِ إحْداهما على

فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ بِتَحْرِيكِ العَيْنِ والأُخْرَى على فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ بِسُكُونِ العَيْنِ. وبِهَذَا يَتَبَيَّنُ زَيْفُ تِلْكَ الأُسْطُورَةِ القَائِلَةِ بِإِغْفَالِ الخَلِيلِ لِهَذَا الوَزْنَ وأَنَّ الأَخْفَشَ قَدِ اسْتَدْرَكَهُ عَلَيْهِ.»

ولَعَلَّ عَبْدَ الْحَمِيدِ الرَّاضِيَ وَاثِقٌ بِأَنَّ بُحُورَ الشِّعْرِ الَّتي اسْتَنْبَطَها الخَلِيلُ واطمأنَّ إليها تَشْتَمِلُ على المُتَدَارَكِ وبَجْزُوءِ المُتَدَارَكِ. أمَّا نَحْنُ فَنُرَجِّحُ أَنَّ الخَلِيلَ صَادَفَ نَمَاذِجَ مِنَ المُتَدَارَكِ وبَجْزُوءِ المُتَدَارَكِ فَأَعْرَضَ عَنْها ورآها شَاذَّةً وَرَآها شَاذَّةً لا تَخْضَعُ لِنِظامِ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ. ذٰلِكَ أَنَّ المُتَدَارَكَ وبَجْزُوءَ المُتَدَارَكِ مُنَاقِضانِ لِسَائِرِ البُحُورِ في خَمْسَةِ أُمُورٍ: فالحَذْفُ جائِزٌ في الحَشْوِ، ووُقُوعُ الحَذْفِ في العَرُوضِ لَيْسَ أَنْدَرَ مِنْ وُقُوعِهِ في الضَّرْبِ، والأَعَارِيضُ لا تَخْضَعُ لِلتَّنَاظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ، والصِّيغَتانِ «فَاعِلُنْ» و«فَعُلُنْ» تَرِدانِ في نِهَايَةِ الشَّطْرِ الأَوَّلِ لٰكِنَّ التِزامَهُما في عَمُودِ الأَعَارِيضِ لَيْسَ قَيْدًا، والسِّياقُ المُنْفَصِلُ جائِزٌ وإِنْ زادَتْ مَقَاطِعُهُ الطَّوِيلَةُ على الْخَمْسَةِ.

أمَّا أَشْكالُ المُتَدَارَكِ فَأَكْثَرُها شُيُوعًا فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ بِتَحْرِيكِ الحَرْفِ الثَّاني (العَيْنِ) أو تَسْكِينِهِ في كُلِّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ. وأمَّا أَشْكالُ المَجْـزُوءِ فَأَكْثَرُها شُيُوعًا فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ فَعُلُنْ بِتَحْـرِيكِ الحَـرْفِ الثَّاني (العَيْنِ) أو تَسْكِينِهِ في كُلِّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ.

الأَبْحُـرُ المُهْمَلَةُ

رَأَيْتَ أَنَّ قَوَاعِدَ المُسْتَوَى الثَّاني تُوَلِّدُ أَوْزانًا ثَلاثَةً أَهْمَلَها الشُّعَراءُ هِيَ: «مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ» و«فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ» و«مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ». أَكانَ إِهْمالُها عَبَثًا لا يَحْتَمِلُ التَّعْلِيلَ؟ الوَاقِعُ أَنَّ إِهْمالَها كانَ نَتِيجَةً طَبِيعِيَّةً للقواعِدِ الَّتي تَضْبِطُ الأَوْزانَ وتَضْمَنُ للشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ نِظامًا فَنِّيًّا دَقِيقًا عَرَضْناهُ عَرْضًا مُوجَزًا في هٰذا البَحْثِ:

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(١) فالشَّـائعُ في الأوزانِ القِياسيَّـةِ الطَّـويلَةِ أَنْ تَتَكَـرَّرَ تَفعِـيلَةٌ أو تَفعيلَـتانِ، لكـنَّ الـوَزْنَ «مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ» قَدْ شَذَّ عَنْ هذِهِ القاعِدَةِ، فأَدَّى الشُّذُوذُ إلى إهمالِهِ.

(٢) والعَرُوضُ العَرَبيُّ يَجْنَحُ إلى السَّبْكِ ويَنْفُرُ مِنَ التَّفْكِيكِ الَّذي يُبِيحُ الِانْقِلابَ، فهو يَسْتَهْجِنُ أَنْ تَعْمِـدَ إلى تَفعيـلاتِ وَزْنٍ قِياسِيٍّ فتَعْبَثَ بِنِظامِها، مُقَـدِّمًا هـذِهِ ومُؤَخِّـرًا تِلـكَ، كَيْ تَسْتَخْرِجَ وَزْنًا قِياسيًّا جَديدًا. تأَمَّلِ الوَزْنَ «فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ» تَجِدْ فيه تَفْكِيكًا للرَّمَلِ على النَّحْوِ الَّذي نَعْنِيهِ، وتَجِدِ الرَّمَلَ أَغْنى بالتَّـوازُنِ الْمَقْطَعِيِّ الَّذي يُسِيغُهُ الشِّعْـرُ العَرَبيُّ ويَحرِصُ عَليه. ليس غَريبًا إذَنْ أَنْ يَنصَرِفَ الشُّعَراءُ عَنِ الوَزْنِ «فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ» إيثارًا للرَّمَلِ.

(٣) والعَرُوضُ العَرَبيُّ يَأْبى أَنْ يَلْتَبِسَ وَزْنٌ بِوَزْنٍ آخَرَ. فإذا تأَمَّلْتَ الوَزْنَ ‒ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ (مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ) وَجَدْتَهُ جَديرًا أَنْ يَلْتَبِسَ بمَجْزُوءِ البَسِيطِ (‒ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‿ ‒) ووَجَـدْتَ مَجْـزُوءَ البَسيطِ مُتَمَيِّـزًا بخَصْلَةٍ تُؤْثِـرُها الأوزانُ القِياسيَّةُ، هي أَنْ تَتَّفِقَ المقاطِعُ القَصِيرةُ اتِّفاقًا تامًّا في المَوْقِعِ (ذلِكَ أَنَّ المَقْطَعَ القَصِيرَ في كُلِّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ يُجاوِرُ المَقْطَعَ الأخِيرَ). لَيْسَ غَريبًا إذَنْ أَنْ يَصُدَّ الشُّعَراءُ عَنِ الوَزْنِ «مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ» إيثارًا لمجْزُوءِ البَسِيطِ.

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وإذَنْ فَقَدِ انتَهَتْ قَواعِدُ المستَوَى الثَّاني إلى الغايَةِ الَّتي تَوَخَّيناها حِينَ اعْتَرَفْنا بالكِفايَةِ شَرْطًا جامِعًا مانِعًا ليس مِنْ تَحْقِيقِهِ بُدٌّ. تِلْكَ الغايَةُ هي أَنْ نَسْتَنْبِطَ طائِفَةً مِنَ القَواعِدِ تُوَلِّدُ أَوْزانَ الخَلِيلِ جِمِيعًا: لا تُسْقِطُ منها شَيْئًا، ولا تُضِيفُ إليها شَيْئًا.

وإذَا أَمْعَنْتَ النَّظَرَ في قَواعِدِ المستَوَى الثَّالِثِ وَجَدْتَها خاضِعَةً لِمَبْدَأِ الكِفايَةِ مُلْتَزِمَةً به في دِقَّةٍ وحَزْمٍ. وأنا زَعِيمٌ لَكَ بِأَنَّ القَواعِدَ الَّتي استَنْبَطْناها، على المستَوَياتِ الثَّلاثَةِ جَمِيعًا، تُحَقِّقُ مَعَ الكِفايَةِ قَدْرًا كَبِيرًا مِنَ السُّهُولَةِ والتَّعْمِيمِ. أُعْلِنُ هٰذَا الرَّأيَ واثِقًا به مُطْمَئِنًّا إليه، لٰكِنِّي أُعْلِنُهُ في تَواضُعٍ وقَصْدٍ واعْتِدالٍ: لأنَّ الَّذي أَدْرَكْتُهُ لا يَكْفِيني، وما يَنْبَغي أَنْ يَكْفِيَ غَيْرِي. ومَهْما يَكُنْ مِنْ أَمْرٍ فَقَدْ أَقْدَمْتُ على هٰذَا البَحْثِ طامِعًا في أَنْ أُغْرِيَ زُمَلائي بِمَذْهَبٍ جَديدٍ في دِراسَةِ العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ، عَسَى أَنْ يُضِيفُوا جُهْـدَهُمْ إلى جُهْدِي، وعَسَى أَنْ تَجْنِيَ العُلُومُ العَرَبِيَّـةُ شَيْئًا مِنَ النَّفْعِ يُؤْتِيهِ التَّعاوُنُ والتَّضافُـرُ.

شُكْــــرٌ وعِـــتابٌ

لِقاءٌ على شَبَكَةِ الإنترنت

أَلَّفْتُ في أيَّامِ الشَّبابِ كِتابًا باللُّغةِ الإنكليزِيَّةِ تَحَدَّثْتُ فيه عن بُحُورِ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ وزَعَمْتُ أَنَّ لي رَأيًا جَديدًا يَتَّسِمُ بِشَيْءٍ مِنَ التَّمَيُّزِ والإستِقلالِ. وقد قَيَّضَ الله لِهٰذَا الكِتابِ أَديبًا عَرَبِيًّا بارِعًا لا شَكَّ في نُبوغِهِ وتَفَوُّقِهِ هو الأستاذُ سليمان أبو سنَّة، فَلَمْ يَقْنَعْ بقراءةِ الكِتابِ بل تَجاوَزَ

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ذٰلِكَ إلى اسْتِخْلاصِ المادَّةِ الأساسِيَّةِ وتَقْديمِها إلى أُدباءِ اللُّغةِ العَرِيَّةِ في مَقالٍ غَنِيٍّ بالتَفاصِيلِ لا يَخْفى على القارِئِ ما بَذَلَ فيه مِنْ جُهْدٍ وما حَشَدَ له مِنْ عِنايةٍ. وقد نَشَرَ المقالَ على شَبَكةِ الإنترنت مَوْقِعٌ ذائِعُ الصِّيتِ – هو مَوْقِعُ الجمعيَّةِ الدّوليَّةِ للمُتَرجِمينَ واللُّغَوِيِّينَ العَرَب⁶ – في شَهْرِ أغسطس مِنْ سَنةِ ٢٠٠٧. خُيِّلَ إلى الأستاذِ أبي سِتَّة أنِّي تأثَّرْتُ بمَذْهَبٍ لُغَوِيٍّ قَديمٍ مِنْ أعلامِ القَرْنِ العاشِرِ للميلادِ، هو أبو نَصْرٍ إسماعيلُ بْنُ حَمّادٍ الجَوْهَرِيُّ، لٰكِنَّهُ عَدَّني أبعدَ مِنَ الجوهَرِيِّ غَوْرًا وأشَدَّ مِنَ الجوهَرِيِّ تَعَمُّقًا. وأنا أشْكُرُ للأستاذِ أبي سِتَّة احتِفاءَه بكتابي وثناءَه عليَّ وحُسْنَ ظَنِّهِ بي، لٰكِنِّي أؤَكِّدُ له أنِّي لَسْتُ مِنَ الجوهَرِيِّ في شَيْءٍ. وأين أنا مِنْ عالِمٍ جَليلٍ كالجوهَرِيِّ؟ وأين هو مِنِّي؟

نَظَرِيَّةُ الجوهَرِيِّ في العَروضِ العَرَبيِّ

في الجُزْءِ الأوَّلِ مِنْ كِتابِ «العُمْدَة» تَحدَّثَ ابنُ رَشيقٍ عن نَظَرِيَّةِ الجوهَرِيِّ في العَروضِ العَرَبيِّ، مُبَيِّنًا ما حَذَتْ فيه حَذْوَ الخليلِ بْنِ أحمدَ وما جاءتْ به مِنْ تَعْديلٍ.⁷

نَظَرَ الجوهَرِيُّ في الأجْزاءِ الَّتي يُوزَنُ بها الشِّعْرُ، والَّتي جَعَلَها الخليلُ ثمانيةً، فأسْقَطَ منها «مَفْعُولاتُ». قالَ ابنُ رَشيقٍ:

«وأقامَ الدَّليلَ على أنَّه [أي الجُزْءَ مَفْعُولاتُ] مَنقولٌ مِنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مِنْ مَفْروقَ الوَتِدِ، أيْ مُقَدَّمَ النُّونِ على اللّامِ، لأنَّه زَعَمَ [أنَّه] لو كانَ جُزْءًا صَحيحًا لتَرَكَّبَ مِنْ مُفْرَدِه بَحْرٌ كما تَرَكَّبَ مِنْ سائرِ الأجزاءِ. يريدُ أنَّه ليس في الأوزانِ وَزْنٌ انفَرَدَ به مَفْعُولاتُ ولا تَكَرَّرَ في قِسْمٍ منه. »

ونَظَرَ الجوهَرِيُّ في قائمةِ البُحورِ فأسْقَطَ منها السَّريعَ والمُنْسَرِحَ والمُقْتَضَبَ لأنَّ «مَفْعُولاتُ» مِنْ أجزائها؛ كذٰلِكَ أسْقَطَ المُجْتَثَّ. أبَى الجوهَرِيُّ أن يَعُدَّ هٰذِهِ السِّياقاتِ الأربعةَ بُحُورًا مُستَقِلَّةً، وآثَرَ

أنْ يَعُدَّها فُروعًا يَنتمي كُلٌّ مِنها إلى سِيَاقٍ أَصْلِيٍّ: «فالسَّريعُ هو مِنَ البَسيطِ، والمنْسَرِحُ والمقتَضَبُ مِنَ الرَّجَزِ، والمُجْتَثُّ مِنَ الخَفيفِ». وزِيادةً في الإيضاح، نَستعينُ بالجَـدْوَلِ التَّالي:

تَنْبِيـهٌ	الفَـرْعُ	السِّيَاقُ الأَصْلِيُّ
السِّياقُ «مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولاتُ» لا يُمَثِّلُ بَحَـرَ السَّريعِ إلَّا في دائرةِ المشْتَبِهِ؛ أمَّا السِّياقُ الَّذِي غَلَبَ وُرُودُه في الشِّعْرِ مُمَثِّـلاً لِبَحْرِ السَّـريعِ فهـو «مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ».	السَّريعُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولاتُ	البَسيطُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ
الشَّكْلُ «مَفْعُولاتُ»، عِنْدَ الجوهَـرِيِّ، مَنقُـولٌ مِنَ الجُـزْءِ «مُسْتَفْعِ لُنْ» بتَقْدِيمِ النُّونِ على اللامِ.	المُنْسَرِحُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولاتُ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ المُقتَضَبُ: مَفْعُولاتُ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	الرَّجَزُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
	المُجْتَثُّ: مُسْتَفْعِ لُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ	الخَفيفُ: فاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِ لُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ

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وَبَقِيَ لِلجَوهَرِيِّ بعدَ ذَلِكَ اثْنا عَشَرَ بَحرًا منها المُتَدَارَكُ فقسَّمَها إلى طائِفَتَيْنِ: مُفرَدَةٍ ومُرَكَّبَةٍ. فالبَحْرُ المُفرَدُ يَقتَصِرُ على تفعِيلةٍ واحدةٍ تَتَرَدَّدُ في سِياقِهِ؛ أمَّا البَحْرُ المُرَكَّبُ فيَنشأُ مِن امتِزاجِ بحرَيْنِ مُفرَدَيْنِ، وهو لِذَلِكَ مُفتَقِرٌ إلى الوَحدَةِ في التَّفاعِيلِ. أو قُلْ إنَّ البَحْرَ المُفرَدَ عِندَ الجَوهَرِيِّ سِياقٌ «أَصِيلٌ» لأنَّه لم يَنْبَثِقْ عن غَيرِهِ مِنَ البُحُورِ، أمَّا البَحْرُ المُرَكَّبُ فهو عِندَ الجَوهَرِيِّ سِياقٌ «مُولَّدٌ» لأنَّه انْبَثَقَ مِنِ اختِلاطِ بحرَيْنِ مُفرَدَيْنِ. قالَ ابنُ رَشِيقٍ:

«وجَعَلَ الجَوهَرِيُّ لِهَذِهِ الأَجناسَ الاثْنَيْ عَشَرَ بابًا، على أنَّ فيها المتَدَارَكَ: سَبْعَةٌ منها مُفْرَداتٌ، وخمسَةٌ مُرَكَّباتٌ. قالَ: فأَوَّلُها المتَقارِبُ ثُمَّ الْهَزَجُ، والطَّوِيلُ بينَهما مُرَكَّبٌ مِنْهما. ثُمَّ بَعدَ الْهَزَجِ الرَّمَلُ، والمضارِعُ بينَهما. ثُمَّ بَعدَ الرَّمَلِ الرَّجَزُ، والخَفِيفُ بينَهما. ثُمَّ بَعدَ الرَّجَزِ المتَدَارَكِ، والبَسِيطُ بينَهما. ثُمَّ بَعدَ المتَدَارَكِ المدِيدُ، مُرَكَّبٌ مِنْهُ ومِنَ الرَّمَلِ. ثُمَّ الوافِرُ والكامِلُ، لم يَتَرَكَّبْ بينَهما بَحْرٌ لِما فِيهما مِنَ الفاصِلَةِ.»

ولْنَتَّخِذِ الجَدْوَلَ التَّالِيَ مَطِيَّةً إلى المعنَى المقصُودِ:

تَنْبِيهٌ	البَحْـرُ المُرَكَّبُ مِنهُما	البَحرانِ المُفْرَدانِ
	الطَّوِيلُ : فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ	المُتَقارِبُ :فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ الهَزَجُ : مَفَاعِيلُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ
	المُضارِعُ: مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَاعِ لَاتُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ	الهَزَجُ : مَفَاعِيلُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ الرَّمَلُ : فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ

تَنْبِيهٌ	البَحْرُ المُرَكَّبُ مِنْهُما	البَحْرانِ المُفْرَدانِ
	الخَفِيفُ: فَاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِ لُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ	الرَّمَلُ: فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ الرَّجَزُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
	البَسِيطُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ	الرَّجَزُ: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ المُتَدَارَكُ: فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ
	المَدِيدُ: فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ	المُتَدَارَكُ: فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ الرَّمَلُ: فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ فَاعِلاتُنْ
السِّياقُ «مُفاعَلَتُنْ مُفاعَلَتُنْ مُفاعَلَتُنْ» يُمَثِّلُ بَحْرَ الوافِرِ في دائِرةِ المُؤْتَلِفِ؛ أمَّا السِّياقُ الَّذي شاعَ في الشِّعْرِ مُمَثِّلاً لبَحْرِ الوافِرِ فهو «مُفاعَلَتُنْ مُفاعَلَتُنْ فَعُولُنْ».	لم يَتَرَكَّبْ بَيْنَهُما بَحْرٌ لما فِيهِما مِنَ الفاصِلَةِ .	الوافِرُ: مُفاعَلَتُنْ مُفاعَلَتُنْ مُفاعَلَتُنْ الكامِلُ: مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ مُتَفَاعِلُنْ

وقَوْلُ الجوهَرِيِّ هذَا لا يَستَقِيمُ إلّا إذا افتَرَضْنا أنَّ التَّفعِيلةَ وليدةُ الْبَحْرِ المُفْرَدِ، وأنَّها جُزْءٌ لا يَتجزَّأُ مِنَ الْبَحْرِ المُفْرَدِ لاكِيانَ لها بِدُونِهِ؛ فإذا اجتَمَعَتْ تَفعِيلتانِ مُختَلِفتانِ في سِياقٍ واحِدٍ فَقَد اخْتَلَطَ بَحْرانِ مُفْردانِ وصَدَرَ عنهما بَحْرٌ مُرَكَّبٌ.

وخَليقٌ بِنَا، بعدَ أَنْ أَجْمَلْنا القَوْلَ في نَظَرِيَّةِ الجوهَرِيِّ، أَنْ نَعُودَ إلى مَسألةٍ نَراها جَديرةً بشَيءٍ مِنَ التَّفْصيلِ. تلك المسألةُ هي العِلَّةُ الَّتي حَمَلَتِ الجوهَرِيَّ على استِبعادِ أربعةٍ مِنْ بُحُورِ الخَليلِ. قالَ ابنُ رَشيقٍ :

«وزَعَمَ [الجوهَريُّ] أنَّ الخَليلَ إنَّما أرادَ بكَثرةِ الألقابِ الشَّرحَ والتَّقريبَ، قَالَ: وإلّا فالسَّريعُ هو مِنَ البَسيطِ، والـمُنْسَرِحُ والمقتَضَبُ مِنَ الرَّجَزِ، والـمُجتَثُّ مِنَ الخَفيفِ؛ لأنَّ كُلَّ بيتٍ مُرَكَّبٍ مِنْ مُستَفْعِلُنْ فهو عِندَه مِنَ الرَّجَزِ طالَ أو قَصُرَ، وكُلُّ بيتٍ رُكِّبَ مِنْ مُستَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ فهو مِنَ البَسيطِ طالَ أو قَصُرَ، وعلى هذا القِياسِ سائرُ المُفْرَداتِ والمُرَكَّباتِ عِندَه».

ولَوْ شِئْنا أَنْ نُتَرْجِمَ هذا التَّصنيفَ إلى لُغةِ المُحْدَثِينَ لقُلْنا إنَّ البَحرَ عِندَ الجوهَرِيِّ نَمَطٌ إيقاعِيٌّ قد يَتَشعَّبُ فإذا هو لَفيفٌ قِوامُه سِياقٌ أَصلِيٌّ وفَرْعٌ أو أَكْثَرُ مِنْ فَرْعٍ؛ والعَلاقةُ بينَ الأصلِ والفَرْعِ تَتَّصِفُ بالتَّماثُلِ مِنْ جِهَةٍ وبالتَّمايُرِ مِنْ جِهَةٍ أُخرى:

١ – فالبَحـــرُ المُفْرَدُ قد يَكُونُ لَفيفًا قِوامـه سِيَاقٌ أَصلِيٌّ وفَرْعٌ أو أَكْثَـرُ مِنْ فَرْعٍ. أَمَّا التَّماثُلُ بينَ الأصلِ والفَرْعِ فَمَصْدَرُه الاقتِصارُ على جُزْءٍ بعَينِه يَتَرَدَّدُ في كُلِّ سِياقٍ ولا يَصْحَبُه جُزْءٌ مُغايِرٌ لَهُ؛ وأمَّا التَّمايُرُ فمَصْدَرُه التَّفاوُتُ في الطُّولِ (أَيْ في عَدَدِ الأجزاءِ) أوِ التَّحْريفُ في جُـــزْءٍ مِنَ الأجـــزاءِ.

٢ – والبَحْرُ المُرَكَّبُ قد يَكُونُ لَفيفًا قِوامُه سِيَاقٌ أَصلِيٌّ وفَرْعٌ أو أَكْثَـرُ مِنْ فَـرعٍ. أمَّا التَّماثُلُ بينَ الأصلِ والفَرْعِ فمَصْدَرُه ثُنائِيٌّ بعَينِه يَرِدُ في كُلِّ سِياقٍ ويأتَلِفُ مِنْ جُزأَينِ مُختَلِفَيْنِ؛ وأمَّا التَّمايُرُ فمَصْدَرُه الاختِلافُ في الطُّولِ أو في تَرَتيبِ الأجزاءِ أو في الأمرَيْنِ جَميعًا.

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٣– البُحُورُ الَّتي يَصِفُها الجوهَرِيُّ على هٰذا النَّحوِ سِيَاقاتٌ لم يَمَسَّها بَعْدُ زِحافٌ ولا عِلَّةٌ؛ وغَنِيٌّ عَنِ البَيانِ أنَّ أجزاءَها مُعَرَّضَةٌ لِدُخُولِ الزِّحافاتِ والعِلَلِ في مَرحلةٍ لاحِقَةٍ.

وفي قَوْلِ الجوهَرِيِّ «طالَ أو قَصُرَ» مُحاكاةٌ لِمذهَبِ الخليلِ. فقَدْ كانَ الخليلُ رَحِمَهُ الله يُطْلِقُ الاسْمَ ذاتَه على البَحرِ وعلى «مُجْــزُوئِه». استَعْرِضْ بحــرَ البَسِيطِ (مُستَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ مُستَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ) على سَبيلِ المثالِ، تَجِدْ له عندَ الخليلِ مَجْزُوءًا هو «مُستَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ مُستَفْعِلُنْ». وما دامَ جائزًا في نِظامِ الخليلِ أنْ يُستَخْرَجَ مَجْزُوءٌ مِنْ بَحرِ السَّريعِ بإسقاطِ التَّفعيلَةِ الرَّابِعَةِ، فلماذا يمتنعُ في نِظامِ الجوهَرِيِّ أنْ يُستخرَجَ مَجْزُوءٌ آخَرُ بإسقاطِ التفعيلةِ الثانيةِ؟ ولَكَ أنْ تَصُوغَ السُّؤالَ على النَّحوِ التَّالي: إذا كانَتْ هُوِيَّةُ البَحرِ لا تَتَغَيَّرُ بإسْقاطِ التَّفْعيلَةِ الرَّابِعةِ، فلماذا تَتَغَيَّرُ بإسْقاطِ التَّفْعيلَةِ الثَّانِيةِ؟ بِهٰذا المنطِقِ صارَ السَّريعُ فَرْعًا لِلبَسِيطِ عِندَ الجوهَرِيِّ (ولْنُذَكِّرِ القارِئَ بأنَّ السِّيَاقَ «مُستَفْعِلُنْ مُستَفْعِلُنْ مَفْعُولَاتْ» لا يُمَثِّلُ بَحرَ السَّريعِ إلَّا في دَائِرَةِ المشْتَبِهِ؛ أمَّا السِّيَاقُ الَّذي غَلَبَ وُرُوده في الشِّعْرِ ممثِّلًا لِبَحرِ السَّريعِ فهو «مُستَفْعِلُنْ مُستَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ»). وإذَنْ فَقَدْ كانَ لِمَذْهَبِ الخليلِ صَدًى قَوِيٌّ عِندَ الجوهَرِيِّ، وقد تَنَبَّهَ الأستاذُ أبو سِتَّةَ لِهٰذا الصَّدَى وأشارَ إليه في مَقالِه. ومَنْ مِنَّا الَّذي يُنْكِرُ فَضْلَ الخليلِ؟ أَلَسْنا جميعًا عِيَالًا عليه في دِراسةِ العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ؟

لَسْتُ أُحِبُّ أنْ أُنطِقَ الجوهَرِيَّ بشَيْءٍ لم يَقُلْهُ، لٰكِنَّ كَلِماتِه تَبعثُ في نَفْسي شُعورًا قَوِيًّا بأنَّ البَحرَ عِندَه سِيَاقٌ أَصْلِيٌّ قد يَتَلَوَّنُ، وأنَّ الفَرْعَ عِندَه لا يَعْدُو شَكْلًا أو مَظْهَرًا يَتَّخِذُه السِّيَاقُ الأَصْلِيُّ نَتِيجَةً لِهٰذا التَّلَوُّنِ.

بينَ الجوهَرِيِّ وعَبدِ المَلِكِ

لَسْتُ أَرى التَّفعِيلَةَ كما يَراها الجوهَرِيُّ وَقْفًا على بَحرٍ «مُفْرَدٍ» بعَينِهِ تَلزَمُهُ وتَقْتَصِرُ عليه إلَّا أنْ «يَخْتَلِـطَ» بِمُفْرَدٍ آخَرَ. لَيْسَتِ التفعيلةُ «مُقَيَّدةً» على هٰذا النَّحوِ، بل أراها — على

الـمُسْتَوَى النَّظَرِيُّ – وَحْدَةً إيقاعِيَّةً «حُرَّةً» يَجُوزُ لها أنْ تَظْهَرَ في غَيْرِ سِياقٍ دُونَ حاجَةٍ إلى اخْتِلاطِ بَحْرٍ بِبَحْرٍ آخَرَ. فإنْ سَأَلْتَني بِماذا أُشَبِّهُها قُلْتُ إنَّها كَحَبَّةٍ في رَصيدٍ مِنَ الدُّرِّ: تُؤْخَذُ عِندَ الحاجَةِ لِتَحْتَلَّ المكانَ المناسِبَ لها في عِقْدٍ مَنْظُومٍ. أنا إذَنْ أَجْعَلُ لِلتَّفْعيلةِ كِيانًا مُسْتَقِلًّا رَغْمَ اعْتِرافي، دُونَ جَدَلٍ أو مكابَرَةٍ، بأنَّ الاسْتِقلالَ الَّذي أتَحَدَّثُ عنه افْتِراضٌ تَجْريدِيٌّ بَحْتٌ يَدعُو إليه ما يَنبغِي للباحِثِ مِنْ تَحَرّي الدِّقَّةِ في التَّحْليلِ وصَوْغِ القَواعِدِ واسْتِنْباطِ المبادِئِ العامَّةِ، ويُغْري به ما ينبغِي للباحِثِ مِنْ طَلَبِ اليُسْرِ والوُضُوحِ في شَرْحِ النِّظامِ الفَنِّيِّ الَّذي نُسَمِّيهِ عَرُوضًا.

ولَسْتُ أرى البُحُورَ إلَّا قَوالِبَ تَجْتَمِعُ فيها التَّفاعيلُ وَفْقًا لِنِظامٍ فَنِّيٍّ دَقيقٍ يُحَقِّقُ الإيقاعَ.

ولَسْتُ أرى تَطابُقَ التَّفـاعـيـلِ حِينًا وتَبايُنَها حِينًا آخَرَ في بُحُـورِ الشِّعْـرِ العَـرَبِيِّ إلَّا أداةً يَصْطَنِعُها النِّظامُ الفَنِّيُّ فيما يَصْطَنِعُ لِتَحقيقِ الإيقاعِ.

لِـهٰذا كُلِّهِ لا أَزْعُمُ لِقُـرَّائي أنَّ البُحُورَ قَدِ اخْتَلَطَ بَعضُها بِبَعْضٍ وتَوَلَّدَ بَعْضُها مِنْ بَعْضٍ. ومَنْ أنبأَنـا في ثِقَةٍ قاطِعةٍ لا تَحْتَمِلُ الشَّكَّ بأنَّ البُحُـورَ «المفْرَدَةَ» ظَهَرَتْ في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ قَبْلَ البُحُـورِ «المرَكَّبَةِ»؟ وإنْ كانَ هٰذا الظَّنُّ وَهْمًا، فلماذا يَتَحَتَّمُ أنْ تَكُونَ التَّفـاعيلُ وَليـدَةَ البُحُورِ «المُفْرَدَةِ»، ولماذا يَسْتَحيلُ أنْ تَكُونَ وَليـدَةَ البُحُورِ «المُرَكَّبَةِ»؟

وما عَسَى أنْ نَقُولَ في أمْرِ القَواعِدِ والضَّوابِطِ والشُّرُوطِ والمبادِئِ العامَّةِ؟ أَضاقَتْ عنها نَظَريَّةُ الجوهَرِيِّ فنَفَرَتْ منها وزَهَدَتْ فيها؟ تَأمَّلْ على سَبِيلِ المثـالِ ما يَدَّعيهِ الجوهَرِيُّ مِنْ أنَّ المُتَـدَارَكَ (فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ) اخْتَلَطَ بِالرَّمَلِ (فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ) فتَمَخَّضَ الاخْتِلاطُ عَنِ المَديدِ (فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ). أَوَقَعَ الاخْتِلاطُ حَقًّا بَيْنَ الْمُتَـدَارَكِ والرَّمَلِ؟ وهَبْهُ وَقَعَ فِعْلًا، فلِماذا تمَخَّضَ عن «فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ» ولم يَتَمَخَّضْ عَنِ السِّياقاتِ التَّالِيَةِ :

فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ

فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ

فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ

فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ

فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ

فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلَاتُنْ فَاعِلُنْ فَاعِلُنْ

أَنْتَ تَرى إذَنْ أَنَّ الخِلافَ بَيْنِي وبينَ الجوهَرِيِّ أساسِيٌّ لا يَقْتَصِرُ على مَسائلَ فَرْعِيَّةٍ بَلْ يَتَّصِلُ بقَضِيَّةٍ عامَّةٍ قَبْلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ. مَذْهَبُ الجوهَـرِيِّ انبِثاقِيٌّ تاريخِيٌّ يَتلمَّسُ حقائقَ النَّشأةِ والتَّطَوُّرِ، أمَّا مَذْهَبِي فوَصفِيٌّ بَحْتٌ لا يَدَّعِي العِلْمَ بهٰذِهِ الحقائقِ ويكفيهِ أَنْ يُسلِّطَ أضواءَهُ على المادَّةِ الَّتي انتَهَتْ إلَيْنا واستقرَّتْ بينَ أَيدِينا. ومَنْ لَنا بحقائقِ النَّشأةِ والتَّطَوُّرِ الَّتي طَمَسَها التَّاريخُ ومَحَا دَقائقَها الزَّمنُ؟ أنا لا أتَكَهَّنُ ولا أُرَجِّمُ بالغَيْبِ ولا أتَعَدَّى النِّظامَ الفَنِّيَّ الَّذي أراهُ واضِحًا جَلِيًّا في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ؛ وحَسبِي أَنْ أَفْهَمَ هٰذا النِّظامَ الفَنِّيَّ وأَنْ أَستخلِصَ مِنْهُ القواعِدَ الَّتي تُحَدِّدُ مَعالِمَهُ. ولَسْتُ فَرِيدًا أو وَحِيدًا في إيثارِ المَذْهَبِ الوَصفِيِّ: فَقَدْ شاعَ هٰذا المذْهَبُ بينَ عُلَماءِ اللُّغةِ في الغَـرْبِ وفي الشَّرْقِ أيضًا، فأَثْمَـرَ ثِمارًا طَيِّبةً دَعَتْ إليه ورَغَّبَتْ فيه .

ولا يَتَبادَرَنَّ إلى ذِهْنِ القارِئ أَنَّ مَذْهَبَ الجوهَرِيِّ يُشْبِهُ مِنْ قَرِيبٍ أو بَعِيدٍ ما يُقْدِمُ عليه أَصْحابُ النَّحْـوِ حِينَ يَشْتَقُّونَ صِيغةً مِنْ صِيغةٍ أو جُمْلةً مِنْ جُمْلةٍ: فَهٰؤُلَاءِ يَصِفُونَ عَلَاقاتٍ بِنْيَوِيَّةً ظاهِرةً تُحَدِّدُها قَواعِدُ لُغَوِيَّةٌ دقيقةٌ صارِمةٌ، أمَّا الجوهَرِيُّ فيَتَحَدَّثُ عَن اختِلاطٍ عَجِيبٍ يَزعُمُ أنَّهُ وَقَعَ في أذهانِ الشُّعَراءِ على مَرِّ الزَّمنِ فتَمَخَّضَ عن أنْماطٍ جَديدةٍ. والجوهَرِيُّ لا يَدلُّنا على

قاعِدةٍ ثابِتَةٍ عامَّةٍ تَضْبِطُ اشتِقاقَ الأنماطِ الجديدةِ مِنْ أُصُولِها واستخراجَها مِنْ مصادِرِها؛ إنَّما الأنماطُ الجديدةُ عِندَ الجوهَرِيٍّ حصائلُ عَشوائِيَّةٌ يجبُ أَنْ نَقْبَلَها في اطمئنانٍ لا يَعْبَأُ بتحليلٍ، وأَنْ نَقْبَلَ آلِيَّةَ اشتِقاقِها في إذعانٍ لا يَخْفِلُ بتَعْليلٍ. هٰذَا الْخَلَلُ في نَظَرِيَّةِ الجوهَرِيٍّ خَطِيرٌ لا مَجالَ للتَّسامُحِ فيه، لأنَّه انتِهاكٌ لشَرْطٍ أساسِيٍّ لا يَسْتَقِيمُ العِلْمُ بِدُونه: ذٰلِكَ الشَّرْطُ هُوَ أَنْ تَكُونَ القَواعِدُ جامِعةً مانِعةً لا حَظَّ لها مِنَ العَفْوِيَّةِ أَوِ الفَوضَى.

سَتَـزْعُمُ أَنَّ الجوهَرِيَّ تَعَثَّـرَ في التَّعْبِـيـرِ ولم يَتَعَثَّـرْ في التَّحـليلِ، وسَتَقُولُ: إنَّما أرادَ أَنَّ البَحْرَ المرَكَّبَ يَنْشأُ مِنِ اجتِماعِ تَفعيلَتَيْنِ مُختلفتَيْنِ تَتَكَرَّرُ إِحْداهُما أو كِلتاهُما في مَجرى السِّيَاقِ، ولم يُرِدْ أَنَّ البَحْرَ المرَكَّبَ يَنْشأُ مِنِ اختِلاطِ بحرينِ مُفْرَدَيْنِ. ولٰكِنْ حَدِّثْني: ما الَّذي يُرَجِّحُ هٰذا الظَّنَّ؟ أكانَ الجوهَرِيُّ جاهِلاً باللُّغةِ تُعْوِزُهُ البَلاغةُ في تأديةِ المعنَى؟ كلَّا، بلْ كانَ الجوهَرِيُّ على حَظٍّ كبيرٍ مِنَ البَلاغةِ والفَصاحةِ والمعْرِفَةِ بدَقائقِ اللُّغةِ. وإذَنْ فَلَيْسَ حَقًّا أَنَّ التَّعبِيرَ الدَّقيقَ استَعْصَى على الجوهَرِيٍّ، إنَّما الحقُّ أَنَّ التَّحليلَ هو الَّذي الْتَـوَى بالجوهَرِيٍّ وجانَبَ الصَّوابَ. ويُخَيَّـلُ إليَّ أَنَّ الجوهَرِيَّ لو بُعِثَ حَيًّا اليومَ لاعْتَرَفَ بِهٰذا التَّقْصِيرِ، فقَدْ كانَ الرَّجلُ على مَذْهبِ العُلَماءِ مُتَحَـرِّيًا للصَّـوابِ لا يُحْجِمُ عن تَقْويمِ الْخَطأِ إذا وجَدَهُ عِندَ غَيرِه؛ فماذا يمنعُـهُ مِنْ تَقْويمِ الخَطأِ إذا تَوَرَّطَ هو فيه ونَبَّهَهُ الغَيـْرُ عليه؟

وما رَأْيُكَ في مَنْطِقٍ يَجْعَلُ البَحْرَ لَفيفًا ويُسْبِغُ هُوِيَّةً واحدةً على الأصْلِ والفَرْعِ رَغْمَ الفَرْقِ بَينهما في تَخَـيُّـرِ الأجْزَاءِ أو تَنظِيمِها أو تَحْدِيدِ عَدَدِها؟ أمَّا أنا فلا أَفْهَمُ هٰذا المَنْطِقَ ولا يَسَعُني أَنْ أُقِـرَّه: لأنِّي أَرى البَحْرَ نَمَطًا مِنْ أنماطِ الإيقاعِ يَتَوَلَّدُ مِنْ تَماثُلِ الأجْزَاءِ أو تَبايُنِها في السِّيَاقِ الواحِدِ، ومِنْ رَصِّ الأجْزَاءِ أو تَرْتيبِها على وَجْهٍ مُحَدَّدٍ، ومِنْ كَثْـرَةِ الأجْزَاءِ أو قِلَّةِ عَدَدِها؛ فإذا تَغَيَّـرَ في السِّيَاقِ شَيْءٌ مِنْ هٰذِهِ المقَوِّماتِ تَغَيَّـرَ النَّمَطُ، أيْ تَغَيَّرَتْ هُوِيَّةُ البَحْرِ.

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بَقِيَ أمرٌ يُغْني فيه التَّلْميحُ عَنِ التَّفْصِيلِ، هو أنَّ «الزِّحافاتِ والعِلَلَ» لم تَجِدْ عندَ الجوهَرِيِّ قليلًا ولا كثيرًا مِنَ التَّيْسِيرِ والانْضِباطِ، بَلْ إنَّها احْتَفَظَتْ بالعَشوائِيَّةِ المؤْلِمَةِ الَّتي ارتَضاها الخليلُ بْنُ أحمدَ والفَوْضَى المُضْنِيةِ الَّتي ضَجَّ بالشَّكْوَى منها طُلّابُ العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ وأساتِذَتُه على مَرِّ القُرونِ وتَعاقُبِ الأجيالِ. أمَّا القواعِدُ الدَّقيقَةُ الهيِّنَةُ الَّتي وُفِّقْتُ إلى استِنباطِها في هذا المجالِ، والَّتي قَضَتْ على العَشوائِيَّةِ وألْغَتِ الفَوْضَى وحقَّقَتِ التَّيْسِيرَ، فقد تَنَبَّهَ الأستاذُ أبو سَتَّة إلى أهمِّيَّتِها وأسْهَبَ في عَرْضِها حِينَ كَتَبَ مقالَهُ، فمِنَ الإشرافِ المُنافي للحَياءِ والتَّواضُعِ أنْ أُلِحَّ في تَذْكِيرِه بها .

المُسْتَوَى النَّظَرِيُّ فِكْرَةٌ لم تَتَبلْوَرْ في ذِهْنِ الجوهَرِيِّ، إنَّما هي إشاراتٌ مُتفرِّقَةٌ تأْتي عَـرَضًا ولا تُدْرِكُ الغايةَ المنشودةَ؛ وقد بَيَّنْتُ في غَيرِ هذا الموضِعِ أنَّ غايةَ المُسْتَوى النَّظَرِيِّ هي تحديدُ أنْماطٍ مِنَ السِّياقِ تُوَلِّدُ الإيقـاعَ، كما بَيَّنْتُ أنَّ المُسْتَوى النَّظَـرِيَّ عَظيمُ الخَطـرِ لِأنَّه، متى أدْرَكَ غايتَه، يُسَلِّطُ الضَّوْءَ على خَصائِصَ مِحْوَرِيَّةٍ لا سَبيلَ إلى فَهْمِ العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ بِدونِها. ومُسْتَوى التَّعَدُّدِ عِنْدَ الجَوْهَرِيِّ يَئِنُّ تحتَ وَطْأةِ العَشوائِيَّةِ المُشْرِفةِ على الفَوْضَى، والتعقيدِ المُثَبِّطِ للهِمَمِ، والعُسْرِ العَسِيرِ الَّذي لازَمَ «الزِّحافاتِ والعِلَلَ» منذ زَمَنِ الخليلِ حتَّى يومِنا هذا. والمستَوى القِياسِيُّ (الَّذي انفَرَدَ أو كادَ بما استَحْدَثَ الجوهَرِيُّ في عِلْمِ العَرُوضِ) يُعاني مِنَ النقائِصِ والمزالِقِ والأخْطاءِ المنهَجِيَّةِ الَّتي أشَرْتُ إليها آنِفًا. لِهذا كُلِّهِ رَفَضْتُ نَظَرِيَّةَ الجوهَرِيِّ وانصَرَفْتُ عنها رَغْمَ أنَّها حَظِيَتْ في القَرْنِ العاشِرِ للميلادِ بإعجابِ قَوْمٍ مِنَ الأدباءِ وعُلَماءِ اللُّغةِ.

كَلِمةٌ خِــتـامِيَّةٌ

أعَوُدُ فأشْكُرُ للأستاذِ أبي سَتَّة فَضْلَهُ العظيمَ في تقديمِ كِتابي لقُرَّاءِ العَرَبِيَّةِ مِمَّنْ لا يُجِيدُونَ اللُّغَةَ الإنكليزِيَّةَ. ولْيَتَّسِعْ صَدْرُه لِما بَيَّنْتُ مِنْ خِلافٍ يَسيرٍ بَيْني وبينَهُ. لم أتأثَّرْ بنَظَرِيَّةِ الجوهَـرِيِّ كَما يَظنُّ الأستاذُ أبو سَتَّة؛ هذا مَدَى ما بَيْني وبينَ الأستاذِ مِنْ خِلافٍ. أمَّا الخِلافُ العَسِيرُ حَقًّا

فهو القائِمُ بينَ المَدرَسةِ الَّتي يَنْتَمِي الجوهَـرِيُّ إليها والمَدرَسةِ الَّتي أنتمي أنا إليها، وهو ضَرْبٌ مِنَ الخِلافِ سيَظَلُّ قائِمًا ما ظَلَّ للعِلمِ حَظٌّ مِنَ التَّطَوُّرِ وما ظَلَّ للأدباءِ مُشارَكةٌ في هذَا التَّطَوُّرِ.

لَسْتُ أُنْكِرُ الِانْتِماءَ إلى مَدْرَسةِ الجوهَرِيِّ كَيْ أُوهِمَ الناسَ بأنِّي ابتَدَعْتُ مَذْهَبًا في العَروضِ العَرَبِيِّ جديدًا فَرِيدًا خالِصًا لي تَقَطَّعَت دُونَهُ الأَعْناقُ عُصُورًا؛ فَلَوْ عَـرَضَ لي هذَا الخاطِرُ لَضَحِكْتُ مِنهُ وسَخِرْتُ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَضْحَكَ غَيرِي ويَسخَرَ؛ وما كانَ لي أنْ أَدَّعِيَ الِاسْتِقْلالَ التامَّ المُطْلَقَ وأنا القائِلُ مُنْذُ لحظةٍ قَصيرةٍ إنِّي أنتَمي إلى مَدْرَسةٍ مِنْ مَدارِسِ العِلْمِ. أَلَيْسَ النِّظامُ الَّذي دَرَجْنا عليه وأَلِفْناهُ في هذَا العَصْرِ هو أَنْ نَلْتَحِقَ بجامعةٍ مِنَ الجامعاتِ، وأَنْ نَتَتَلْمَذَ في مَيدانِ التَّخَصُّصِ على طائفةٍ مِنَ الأَعْلامِ، وأَنْ نُقْـدِمَ بعدَ ذٰلِكَ على التَّأْليفِ مُستعينينَ بما حَصَّلْنا مِنْ مَادَّةٍ وما تعلَّمْنا مِنْ أساليبِ البَحْثِ والتَّحليلِ والتَّمحيصِ؟ إنَّما الَّذي أُقَـرِّرُه ولا أَحِيدُ عنه هُـوَ أنَّ الجوهَرِيَّ يَهِيمُ في وادٍ وأَهِيمُ أنا في وادٍ آخَرَ. مادَّةُ الْبَحْثِ واحِدَةٌ، لٰكِنَّ الجوهَرِيَّ رآها بِمنظارٍ وأَراها أنا بِمنظارٍ آخَرَ؛ اِصْطَنَعَ في فَهمِها مَنطِقًا وأَصْطَنِعُ أنا مَنطِقًا آخَـرَ؛ حَكَّمَ فيها ذَوْقًا وأُحَكِّمُ أنا ذَوْقًا آخَـرَ. وما وَجْهُ الغَرابةِ في ذٰلِكَ؟ لَقَدْ كانَ رَحِمَهُ اللّٰهُ يَعِيشُ في القَـرْنِ العاشِرِ للميلادِ، وأَعِيشُ أنا في القَرْنِ الحادِي والعِشْرِينَ! وقَـوْمِي مِنَ الـمُعاصِرِينَ يَسْتمسِكُونَ في إصْرارٍ وعِنادٍ بمَبدأٍ لا تَهاوُنَ فيه ولا تَفْرِيطَ: مَفادُه في هذَا المَقامِ أنَّ الغايَةَ الَّتي يَنشُدُها دارِسُ العَروضِ العَرَبِيِّ لا تَقْتَصِرُ على اسْتِقْراءِ المـادَّةِ الأَوَّلِيَّةِ وإحْصاءِ عَناصِرِها وتَصْنِيفِ أَجْزائِها، بَلْ تَتَعَـدَّى ذٰلِكَ إلى إنْشاءِ نَظَرِيَّةٍ خاصَّةٍ بالشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ تُعَلِّلُ وُجُودَ المادَّةِ الأَوَّلِيَّةِ، وتَرُدُّ صُـوَرَها الكَثِيرةَ إلى قَواعِدَ دَقيقةٍ قَليلَةِ العَدَدِ لا تُوغِلُ في التَّعْقيدِ ولا تَنْبُو عن الفَهْمِ، وتُوَثِّقُ العَلاقةَ بَينَ القَواعِدِ وبَينَ نَظَرِيَّةٍ عامَّةٍ تُحَدِّدُ طَبيعَةَ الإيقاعِ (وَهُـوَ ظاهِرةٌ يَخْضَعُ لها الشِّعْرُ المنظُومُ في جَميعِ اللُّغاتِ). والنَّظَـرِيَّةُ الخاصَّةُ تَدْنُو مِنَ الصِّحَّةِ وتَنْأى عَنِ الِافْتِعالِ بِقَـدْرِ ما تَبْدُو العَلاقةُ بَينَها وبَـيْنَ النَّظَـرِيَّةِ العامَّـةِ طَبِيعِيَّةً واضِحَـةَ المَعالِمِ بَرِيئَـةً مِنَ التَّكَلُّفِ.

ومالي لا أُصَرِّحُ بِاسمِ المَدْرَسَةِ الَّتي أنتمي إليها؟   هي مَدْرَسةُ «اللِّسانيّات البِنيَوِيَّة» (Structural Linguistics) الَّتي تَخَصَّصْتُ في عُلُومِها بجامعاتِ الغَرْبِ (بعدَ أَنْ دَرَسْتُ الأدبَ العَرَبِيَّ في الشَّرْقِ الأوسَطِ)، والَّتي تابَعْتُ تَطوُّرَها على مَدَى نِصْفِ قَرْنٍ مِنَ الزَّمانِ. فإذا كانَ لي حَظٌّ مِنَ الاستقلالِ في مُعالَجةِ العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ فهو أنِّي طَبَّقْتُ المذْهبَ الوَصفِيَّ الَّذي تَعلَّمتُه في تلك المدْرَسَةِ على المادَّةِ الأوَّليَّةِ (أو سَمِّها إنْ شِئْتَ «المادَّةَ الخَام» primary data) الَّتي سَجَّلَها الخَليلُ بْنُ أحمدَ رَحمَهُ اللَّهُ، وأخْضَعْتُ مَناهِجَ التَّطْبِيقِ لِذَوقي الخاصِّ، ووَسَمْتُ أساليبَ التَّحْليلِ والتَّعْلِيلِ بِطابَعي الشَّخصِيِّ، وسَكَبْتُ خُلاصةَ ذلِكَ كُلِّهِ في قالِبٍ فَرْدِيٍّ يُجَسِّدُ ما قَسَمَ اللَّهُ لي مِنْ مَقْدِرَةٍ. وعَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ مِنَ النَّتائِجِ ما سَبَقَني غَيري إليه بتَطْبِيقِ مَذْهبٍ آخَرَ، وعَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ مِنَ النَّتائِجِ ما سَبَقْتُ أنا إلَيْهِ أَو انْفَرَدْتُ به راجِيًا مع ذلِكَ أَنْ يَخْضَعَ لِمَزيدٍ مِنَ الضَّبْطِ والإحْكامِ والتَّعميمِ والتَّيْسِيرِ على يَدِي أَو على يَدِ غَيْري مَتى خَطَا العِلْمُ خُطْوَةً أَو خُطُواتٍ إلى الأمامِ.

تَأَثَّرْتُ إذَنْ بمَدْرَسةِ «اللِّسانيّات البِنيَوِيَّة» الحديثةِ لأنِّي دَرَسْتُ مناهِجَها وأساليبَها في جامعاتِ الغَرْبِ، ولأنِّي دَرَّسْتُ مناهِجَها وأساليبَها في جامعاتِ الغَرْبِ وبَعضِ مَعاهِدِ الشَّرْقِ الأوسَطِ. إلى تِلْكَ المدْرَسةِ انتَمَيْتُ طالِبًا وأُستاذًا وباحِثًا وكاتِبًا. أمَّا مَدْرَسةُ الجوهَرِيِّ فقد عَرَفْتُها قَبْلَ أَنْ أُقْدِمَ على التَّأْليفِ في مَوْضُوعِ العَرُوضِ العَرَبِيِّ، أَو قُلْ إنِّي عَرَفْتُ منها ما وَرَدَ في كِتابِ «العُمْدَة». وقد قَرَأْتُ كِتابَ الجوهَرِيِّ «عَرُوض الوَرَقَة» بعدَ أَنْ نَشَرَتْهُ دارُ الثَّقافةِ في المغرِبِ سَنَةَ ١٩٨٤، وكُنْتُ أُحِبُّ حِينَ أَقْدَمْتُ على قِراءتِهِ أَنْ أُغَيِّرَ مِنْ رأيي قَليلًا أَوْ كَثيرًا، لكِنِّي فَرَغْتُ مِنَ القِراءةِ فإذا أنا مُقِيمٌ على رأيي لا أُغَيِّرُ منهُ شَيْئًا. زَهَدْتُ إذَنْ في مَدرسَةِ الجوهَرِيِّ ورَفَضْتُها وانصَرَفْتُ عنها لِمَا ذَكَرْتُ مِنْ أسبابٍ في هذا الفَصْلِ الَّذي أرَدْتُ أَنْ يَكُونَ قَصيرًا فإذا هو قَدْ أسرفَ في الطُّولِ وحَقَّ عَلَيهِ أَنْ يَنْتَهِيَ عِندَ هذا الحَدِّ .

وَمَهْمَا يَكُنْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَأَنَا مَدِينٌ لِلْأُسْتَاذِ أَبِي سِتَّة بِمَا بَذَلَ مِنْ جُهْدٍ في دِرَاسَةِ كِتَابِي وَتَحْلِيلِهِ وَتَقْدِيمِهِ إلى القَارِئِ العَرَبِيِّ. وَيَكْفِيني مِنْ فَضْلِهِ أَنَّهُ أَحْسَنَ الفَهْمَ فَلَمْ تَلْتَوِ بِهِ اللُّغَةُ الإِنْكِلِيزِيَّةُ وَلَمْ يُكَبِّلْهُ الصُّدُوفُ عَنْ عِلْمِ اللِّسَانِيَّاتِ الحَدِيثِ كَمَا وَقَعَ لِنَاقِدٍ عَرَبِيٍّ مُمَارٍ في غَيْرِ مَوْضِعٍ لِلْمُمَارَاةِ مُكَابِرٍ في غَيْرِ مَوْطِنٍ لِلْمُكَابَرَةِ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ مِنْ بَرَاثِنِ العِلْمِ القَدِيمِ فِكَاكًا وَغَدَتْ مُنَاقَشَتُهُ ضَرْبًا مِنَ العَبَثِ لا غَنَاءَ فِيهِ. قَرَأَ النَّاقِدُ المُتَحَامِلُ مَا كَتَبْتُ مِنْ بَحْثٍ بِاللُّغَةِ الإِنْكِلِيزِيَّةِ فَإِذَا قُصُورُهُ في تِلْكَ اللُّغَةِ وَإِمْلاقُهُ في عِلْمِ اللِّسَانِيَّاتِ الحَدِيثِ يَنْتَهِيَانِ بِهِ إلى تَشْوِيهِ المَادَّةِ وَمَسْخِهَا: في ذِهْنِهِ أَوَّلًا، وفي أَذْهَانِ قُرَّائِهِ مِنْ بَعْدُ؛ وَكَيْفَ يَسْتَقِيمُ لِلْمَرْءِ أَنْ يَنْقُدَ بَحْثًا لَمْ يَفْهَمْ مِنْهُ إلَّا أَيْسَرَ القُشُورِ؟ لكِنِّي لا أَجِدُ في الأَمْرِ شَيْئًا مِنَ الغَرَابَةِ، بَلِ الغَرِيبُ حَقًّا أَنْ تَضِنَّ حَيَاتُنَا الأَدَبِيَّةُ بِأَنْصَارِ الجُمُودِ وَحُمَاةِ التَّحَجُّرِ وَعُشَّاقِ التَّحَيِّزِ. ذلِكَ أَنَّ القَدِيمَ وَالحَدِيدَ مُخْتَصِمَانِ مُتَنَافِرَانِ حَيْثُمَا اجْتَمَعَا، وَسَيَظَلُّ الصِّرَاعُ بَيْنَهُمَا مُحْتَدِمًا حَتَّى يَرِثَ اللهُ الأَرْضَ وَمَنْ عَلَيْهَا؛ فَإِذَا سَأَلْتَني أَيُّهُمَا يَظْهَرُ عَلَى الآخَرِ، ذَكَّرْتُكَ بِهٰذِهِ الآيَةِ الكَرِيمَةِ: «فَأَمَّا الزَّبَدُ فَيَذْهَبُ جُفَاءً وَأَمَّا مَا يَنْفَعُ النَّاسَ فَيَمْكُثُ في الأَرْضِ».[8]

أَرْجُو أَنْ يَتَقَبَّلَ الأُسْتَاذُ أَبُو سِتَّة ثَنَائِي على عِلْمِهِ الوَاسِعِ وَأَدَبِهِ الرَّفِيعِ، وَأَنْ يَتَقَبَّلَ مَعَ هٰذَا الثَّنَاءِ تَحِيَّةَ صَدِيقٍ لَمْ يَلْتَقِ بِهِ إلَّا عَلَى شَبَكَةِ الإِنْترنت .

الحَــوَاشِي

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[1] شَرْحُ المُعَلَّقَاتِ العَشْرِ وَأَخْبَارُ شُعَرَائِها، للشَّيْخِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ الأَمِينِ الشِّنْقِيطِيِّ، ص ١٥٤ — ١٧٠ .

[2] ص ٣٦٦ .

بَقِيَتْ مِنْ أَمْرِ الإِلْتِبَاسِ مُلاحَظَةٌ نُثْبِتُها هُنا حِرْصًا على الوُضُوحِ. فَقَدْ رَأَيْتَ أَنَّ لِلشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ نِظَامًا فَنِّيًّا دَقِيقًا يَحْظُرُ مِنْ سِيَاقِ المَقَاطِعِ أَنْمَاطًا تُعَرِّضُ الوَزْنَ لِأَنْ يَلْتَبِسَ بِوَزْنٍ آخَرَ. وَعَسَى أَنْ تَتَسَاءَلَ: مَاذَا تَعْني هٰذِهِ القَاعِدَةُ بِالقِيَاسِ إلى الإِنْشَاءِ؟ أَلَعَلَّ الشَّاعِرَ مَتَى أَلَّفَ بَيْتًا يَسْتَحْضِرُ في ذِهْنِهِ أَوْزَانَ الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ كَافَّةً، بِجَمِيعِ صُوَرِها، فَإِذَا تَمَّ لَهُ ذلِكَ مَضَى يَقِيسُ البَيْتَ على كُلِّ وَزْنٍ لِيَسْتَوْثِقَ مِنْ أَنَّ النَّظْمَ قَدْ جَانَبَ الإِلْتِبَاسَ؟ هٰذَا إِسْرَافٌ، وهو إِنْ

يَكُنْ يَسِيرًا على العَقْلِ الإلِكْترونِيِّ (الكمبيوتر) فَلَنْ يَكُونَ يَسِيرًا على العَقْلِ البَشَرِيِّ. أَمَّا الأَرْجَحُ فَهو أَنَّ الشَّاعِرَ يُقابِلُ سِياقَ المَقاطِعِ بالصِّيغَةِ القِياسِيَّةِ لِوَزْنِ القَصِيدَةِ، فإذا آنَسَ «خَلَلًا» أو ما يُشْبِهُ الخَلَلَ اجْتَنَبَ السِّياقَ أو أَقَرَّهُ على مَضَضٍ. ذلِكَ أَنَّ الصِّيغَةَ القِياسِيَّةَ لِلوَزْنِ قالِبٌ فَنِّيٌّ، والسِّياقُ مُسْتَهْجَنٌ إذا اسْتَقَرَّ في القالِبِ قَلِقًا لا يَطْمَئِنُّ في مَوْضِعِهِ، جانِحًا إلى المُغايَرَةِ يُذَكِّرُ الشَّاعِرَ بِوَزْنٍ غَيْرِ الوَزْنِ المَقْصـودِ.

أَنْشِدِ الصِّيغَةَ القِياسِيَّةَ لِبَحْرِ الوافِرِ على النَّحْوِ الَّذي تَراهُ في الشَّكْلِ التَّالي، رافِعًا نَغْمَ الصَّوْتِ لِلْمَقْطَعِ الطَّويلِ خافِضًا نَغْمَ الصَّوْتِ لِلْمَقْطَعِ القَصِيرِ، مُسْتأْنِيًا في النُّطْقِ بالمَقْطَعِ الطَّويلِ مُسْرِعًا في النُّطْقِ بالمَقْطَعِ القَصِيرِ، مُتَـرَيِّثًا بَعْضَ التَّرَيُّثِ في نِهايةِ كُلِّ تَفْعِيلَةٍ:

<div align="center">مُ فَـاعَلَ تُنْ   مُ فَـاعَلَ تُنْ   فَ عُـولُنْ</div>

كَـرِّرِ الإنْشادَ على هذا النَّحْوِ حَتَّى يَسْتَقِرَّ اللَّحْنُ في ذِهْنِكَ، ثُمَّ أَنْشِدِ البَيْتَ التَّالِيَ مُتَّخِذًا هذا اللَّحْنَ قالِبًا لِكُلِّ شَطْرٍ:

<div align="center">إذا لم تَسْتَطِعْ عَمَلًا فَدَعْهُ   وجاوِزْهُ إلى ما تَسْتَطِيعُ</div>

لَنْ تَجِدَ في إنْشادِ البَيْتِ خَلَلًا ولا نُبُوًّا، لكِنَّكَ واجِدٌ مِنَ الخَلَلِ والنُّبُوِّ ما يُؤْذِي سَمْعَكَ وذَوْقَكَ إذا اتَّخَذْتَ اللَّحْنَ نَفْسَهُ قالِبًا لِصُورَةٍ مَحْظُورَةٍ مِنْ بَحْرِ الوافِـرِ كالَّتي يُمَثِّلُها البَيْتُ التَّالي:

<div align="center">إذا عَجِزَ عَنْ أمرٍ تَوَلَّى   وجاوَزَهُ إلى ما يَسْتَطِيعُ</div>

وقِياسُ البَيْتِ على «القالِبِ» لَيْسَ في حَقيقَةِ الأمْرِ إلَّا انْتِفاعًا بِظاهِرَةٍ تَقَدَّمَ شَرْحُها وتَفْصِيلُها، هي ظاهِرَةُ التَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ الَّذي تُحَـدِّدُ قَواعِـدُ المُسْتَوى الثَّالِثِ.

^٣ **الوافِي في العَرُوضِ والقَوافِي؛** للخَطِيبِ التَّـبْرِيزِيِّ؛ ص ٦، ١٧، ١٨.

^٤ **عَـرُوضُ الوَرَقَةِ؛** لأبي نَصْـرِ إسماعِيلَ بْنِ حمَّادٍ الجَوْهَرِيِّ (حَقَّقَهُ محمَّـد العلميّ)؛ ص ١٢، ٦٨.

^٥ ص ١٧.

^٦ عُنْـوانُ المَوْقِعِ هُوَ: http://www.wata.cc/forums/archive/index.php/t-14900.html .

^٧**العُمْدَةُ: فِي مَحاسِنِ الشِّعْرِ وَآدابِهِ وَنَقْـدِهِ،** لأبي عَلِيٍّ الحَسَنِ بْنِ رَشِيقٍ القَيْـرَوانِيِّ الأَزْدِيِّ (حَقَّقَه وفَصَّـلَه وعَلَّقَ حواشِيَه محمَّـد مُحْيِي الدِّينِ عبد الحَميد)، الجُـزْءُ الأوَّلُ، ص ١٣٤ – ١٣٧.

^٨ الآية السَّابِعَةَ عَشْرَةَ مِنْ سُورَةِ الرَّعْدِ.

مُلاحَظَةٌ لِلمُسْتَزِيدِينَ: تَفصِيلًا لِما قُلْنا عَنِ المَقاطِعِ نُضِيفُ هُنا أَنَّ المَقطَعَ الطَّويلَ قد يَكُونُ أُحادِيًّا أو ثُنائِيًّا أو ثُلاثِيًّا. فإذا قُلْنا إنَّ المَقطَعَ أُحادِيٌّ كانَ المَقْصُودُ أنَّه مَقطَعٌ طَويلٌ ذُو ساكِنٍ واحِدٍ؛ وإذا قُلْنا إنَّ المَقطَعَ ثُنائِيٌّ كانَ المَقْصُودُ أنَّه مَقطَعٌ طَويلٌ ذُو ساكِنَيْنِ اثْنَيْنِ؛ وإذا قُلْنا إنَّ المَقطَعَ ثُلاثِيٌّ كانَ المَقْصُودُ أنَّه مَقطَعٌ طويلٌ ذُو ثَلاثِةِ سَواكِنَ.

والمَقطَعُ القَصِيرُ شائِعٌ يَكْثُرُ وُرُودُه في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ القَدِيمِ؛ والمَقطَعُ الأُحادِيُّ شائِعٌ أيضًا؛ أمَّا المَقطَعُ الثُّلاثِيُّ فلا أَثَرَ له. والمَقطَعُ الثُّنائِيُّ نادِرٌ جِدًّا في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ القَدِيمِ تَتَحَكَّمُ في ظُهُورِه شُرُوطٌ دَقيقَةٌ صارِمَةٌ، وإذا وَرَدَ في بَحرٍ كانَ مُقْتَصِرًا على مَوْقِعٍ واحِدٍ هو نِهايةُ الضَّرْبِ، وفي هذا المَوْقِعِ لا يُغايِرُ الأُحادِيَّ بَلْ يَكُونُ بَدِيلًا حُرًّا مُرادِفًا له (non-contrastive free variant): ذلِكَ أَنَّ لِكُلِّ وَزْنٍ يَنتَهِي ضَرْبُه بمَقطَعٍ ثُنائِيٍّ نَظِيرًا أَعَمَّ وأَكثَرَ وُرُودًا يَنتَهِي ضَرْبُه بمَقطَعٍ أُحادِيٍّ (راجِعْ ص ١٥٨، ١٦٠ مِنْ هذا الكِتابِ). الخُلاصَةُ إذَنْ أَنَّ المُغايَرَةَ (contrast) في الشِّعْرِ العَرَبِيِّ القَدِيمِ تَقْتَصِرُ على مَقطَعَيْنِ هما القَصِيرُ والأُحادِيُّ.

الفَصْـلُ الثَّالِثُ

تَمَـارِينُ عَـامَّةٌ

أَسْئِلَةٌ وتَعْليمَاتٌ

يَشْتَمِلُ هـذَا الفَصْـلُ عَلَى طائِفَـةٍ مِنَ النَّمَاذِجِ الشِّعْريَّـةِ اخْتَرْناها مِنَ العُصُـورِ المُتَقَدِّمَةِ لِأَنَّ عَـرُوضَ الخَليلِ يَصْـدُقُ دَائمًا عَلَى الشِّعْـرِ القَديمِ لكِنَّهُ يَصْـدُقُ عَلَى الشِّعْـرِ الحَديثِ أَحيانًا ويَنْبُو عَنْهُ أَحيانًا أُخرى. وقَدِ اسْتَعَنَّا في جَمْعِ النَّمَاذِجِ وشَرْحِ مُفْرَدَاتِها بِالمُؤَلَّفاتِ الوارِدَةِ في قائمةِ المَصَادِرِ.

اقْـرَأْ كُلَّ مَقْطُوعَـةٍ قِراءَةَ المُمْعِنِ المُفَكِّرِ وادْرُسْها دِراسَـةَ المُتَعَمِّـقِ المُسْتَأْنِي، ثُمَّ امْتَحِنْ فَهْمَكَ لِبِنْيَتِها العَرُوضِيَّةِ مُسْتَعينًا بِما تَخْتارُه أَنْتَ أَو بِما يُعَيِّنُهُ الأُسْتاذُ مِنَ الأَسْئِلَةِ والتَّعْليمَاتِ التَّاليَةِ:

١- حَدِّدِ الوَزْنَ النَّظَريَّ لِلْمَقْطُوعَةِ واكْتُبْهُ بالحُروفِ ثُمَّ اكْتُبْهُ بالرُّمُوزِ البَيانِيَّةِ.

٢- ما هُوَ النِّظامُ الفَنِّيُّ الَّذي يُمَثِّلُهُ الوَزْنُ النَّظَريُّ لِلْمَقْطُوعَةِ؟ ما هي الأَنْظِمَةُ النَّظَريَّةُ الأُخْرى الَّتي يَمْتازُ منها هٰذَا النِّظامُ، وما هي الأَوزانُ النَّظَريَّةُ الَّتي تُمَثِّلُ كُلَّ نِظامٍ؟

٣- حَدِّدِ الوَزْنَ القِياسِيَّ لِلْمَقْطُوعَةِ. كَيْفَ اسْتُخْرِجَ هٰذا الوَزْنُ مِنْ أَصْلِـهِ النَّظَريِّ؟

٤- اِشْرَحْ ظاهِرَةَ الإيقاعِ في إيجازٍ. بَيِّنْ كَيْفَ نَشَأَ الإيقاعُ في هٰذِهِ المَقْطُوعَةِ عَنِ الوَزْنِ النَّظَرِيِّ والوَزْنِ القِياسِيِّ.

٥- حَدِّدْ مِنْ تَفاعِيلِ المَقْطُوعَةِ ما خَضَعَ لِتَغْيِيرِ المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ. صَنِّفْ تِلْكَ التَّفاعِيلَ تَبَعاً لِأَنْواعِ التَّغْيِيرِ وَاذْكُرِ القاعِدَةَ المُنْتِجَةَ لِكُلِّ صَنْفٍ. وازِنْ بَيْنَ الأَصْنافِ الَّتي اجْتَمَعَتْ لَدَيْكَ مِنْ حَيْثُ كَثْرَةُ الوُرُودِ في المَقْطُوعَةِ. هَلْ صَدَّقَتِ المُوازَنَةُ ظَنَّكَ أَمْ كَذَّبَتْ رَجاءَكَ وَخَيَّبَتْ أَمَلَكَ؟

٦- اِخْتَرْ مِنْ أَبْياتِ المَقْطُوعَةِ بَيْتاً كَثُرَتِ التَّغْيِيراتُ في وَزْنِهِ القِياسِيِّ. هَلْ كادَ الوَزْنُ أَنْ يَخْتَلِطَ بِوَزْنٍ آخَرَ لِكَثْرَةِ التَّغْيِيراتِ؟ إِنْ يَكُنِ الأَمْرُ كَذٰلِكَ، فَكَيْفَ مُنِعَ الإِلْتِباسُ؟

٧- هَلْ مِنْ تَغْيِيرٍ كانَ وُقُوعُهُ مُحْتَمَلاً لَوْلا قَيْدٌ صَدَّهُ عَنِ البَيْتِ؟

٨- بَيِّنْ كَيْفَ خَضَعَتْ تَفاعِيلُ المَقْطُوعَةِ لِلتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ. هَلْ تَرَى لِلتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ شَأْناً ذا بالٍ؟ لِماذا؟ اِبْحَثْ في المَقْطُوعَةِ عَنْ أَمْثِلَةٍ لِكُلِّ دَرَجَةٍ مِنْ دَرَجاتِ التَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ.

٩- اِخْتَـرْ عَدَدًا مِنَ التَّفاعِيلِ المُشْتَقَّةِ الَّتي وَرَدَتْ في المَقْطُوعَةِ وعَلِّقْ على نِسْبَةِ شُيُوعِها مُسْتَعِينًا بما تَعْرِفُ مِنْ خَصائِصِ التَّغْيِيرِ ومِقْدارِ التَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ.

١٠- زَعَمْنا أَنَّ قَواعِدَ المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ تَخْضَعُ في عَمَلِها لِأُسْلُوبِ «التَّفَـرُّدِ». هَلْ صَدَّقَتِ المَقْطُوعَةُ هٰذا الزَّعْـمَ. هَلْ مِنْ عَلاقَةٍ سَبَبِيَّةٍ بَيْنَ «التَّفَـرُّدِ» والتَّناظُرِ النَّوْعِيِّ؟

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١١- حَدِّدْ عَمُودَ الأَعارِيضِ وعَمُودَ الأَضْرُبِ في المَقْطُوعَةِ. هَلْ خَضَعَ العَمُودانِ لِمَبْدَأِ التَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ؟ وَضِّحْ إجابَتَكَ بِضَرْبِ الأَمْثِلَةِ. هَلْ مِنْ تَغْيِيرٍ يُخِلُّ بالتَّناظُرِ العَدَدِيِّ لَوْ أُبِيحَ وُقُوعُهُ في المقطوعةِ؟

١٢- بَيِّنِ العَلاقَةَ بَيْنَ أَعارِيضِ المقطُوعَةِ وضُروبِها مِنْ حَيْثُ الصِّيغَةُ، مُفَصِّلًا إجابَتَكَ قَدْرَ الإمْكانِ.

١٣- هَلْ مِنْ تَغْيِيرٍ جَبْرِيٍّ في المقطُوعَةِ؟ اِشْرَحْ عِلَّةَ وُرُودِه، مُفَصِّلًا إجابَتَكَ قَدْرَ الإمْكانِ.

١٤- هَلْ في المقطُوعَةِ تَغْيِيراتٌ شاذَّةٌ؟ ما هِيَ، وما عِلَّةُ وُرُودِها؟

١٥- حَدِّدْ مِنْ كَلِماتِ المقطُوعَةِ ما تَراهُ بَلِيغًا في التَّعْبِيرِ عَنْ مَوْضُوعِ القَصِيدَةِ أو عَنْ صُورَةٍ مِنَ الصُّوَرِ الشِّعْرِيَّةِ. بَيِّنْ مَدَى النَّجاحِ الَّذِي أَصابَهُ الشَّاعِرُ حِينَ اخْتارَ هٰذِهِ الكَلِماتِ بِعَيْنِها لِتَأْدِيةِ المعنَى. هَلْ مَهَّدَتْ تَغْيِيراتُ المُسْتَوَى الثَّالِثِ لِأَنْ تُسْتَخْدَمَ هٰذِهِ الكَلِماتُ؟ اِشْرَحْ إجابَتَكَ بِالتَّفْصِيلِ. هَلْ يَسْتَدْعِي الْتِزامُ الوَزْنِ القِياسِيِّ أَنْ تُوضَعَ كَلِماتٌ أُخْرَى مَكانَ الكَلِماتِ المذْكُورَةِ؟ اِقْتَرِحْ لِلكَلِماتِ المذْكُورَةِ بَعْضَ الْبَدائِلِ المُلائِمةِ لِلْوَزْنِ القِياسِيِّ، وبَيِّنْ ما يَتَرَتَّبُ على اصْطِناعِها مِنْ رِبْحٍ أو خَسارَةٍ في تَأْدِيةِ المعنَى المطلُوبِ.

١٦- هَلْ تَرَى الوَزْنَ الَّذِي اخْتارَهُ الشَّاعِرُ مُلائِمًا لِغَرَضِ القَصِيدَةِ؟ فَصِّلْ إجابَتَكَ قَدْرَ الإمْكانِ. هَلْ مِنْ وَزْنٍ آخَرَ تَخْتارُهُ لَوْ قُمْتَ مَقامَ الشَّاعِرِ؟ لِماذا؟

١٧- أَضِفْ إلى المَقْطُوعَةِ بَيْتًا أَوْ بَيْتَيْنِ مُلْتَزِماً بِالْوَزْنِ والقافِيَةِ.

مِنْ مُعَلَّقَةِ امْرِئِ الْقَيْسِ

١- قِفَا نَبْكِ مِنْ ذِكْرَى حَبِيبٍ وَمَنْزِلِ   بِسِقْطِ اللِّوَى بَيْنَ الدَّخُولِ فَحَوْمَلِ

٢- وُقُوفًا بِهَا صَحْبِي عَلَيَّ مَطِيَّهُمْ   يَقُولُونَ: لَا تَهْلِكْ أَسًى، وَتَجَمَّلِ

٣- وَإِنَّ شِفَائِي عَبْرَةٌ مُهْرَاقَةٌ   فَهَلْ عِنْدَ رَسْمٍ دَارِسٍ مِنْ مُعَوَّلِ؟

٤- فَفَاضَتْ دُمُوعُ الْعَيْنِ مِنِّي صَبَابَةً   عَلَى النَّحْرِ حَتَّى بَلَّ دَمْعِيَ مِحْمَلِي

٥- وَلَيْلٍ كَمَوْجِ الْبَحْرِ أَرْخَى سُدُولَهُ   عَلَيَّ بِأَنْوَاعِ الْهُمُومِ لِيَبْتَلِي

٦- فَقُلْتُ لَهُ لَمَّا تَمَطَّى بِصُلْبِهِ   وَأَرْدَفَ أَعْجَازًا وَنَاءَ بِكَلْكَلِ:

٧- أَلَا أَيُّهَا اللَّيْلُ الطَّوِيلُ أَلَا انْجَلِ   بِصُبْحٍ، وَما الْإِصْبَاحُ مِنْكَ بِأَمْثَلِ

٨- فَيَا لَكَ مِنْ لَيْلٍ كَأَنَّ نُجُومَهُ   بِكُلِّ مُغَارِ الْفَتْلِ شُدَّتْ بِيَذْبُلِ

٩- وَقَدْ أَغْتَدِي وَالطَّيْرُ فِي وُكُنَاتِهَا   بِمُنْجَرِدٍ قَيْدِ الْأَوَابِدِ هَيْكَلِ

١٠- مِكَرٍّ مِفَرٍّ مُقْبِلٍ مُدْبِرٍ مَعًا   كَجُلْمُودِ صَخْرٍ حَطَّهُ السَّيْلُ مِنْ عَلِ

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١- سِقْطُ اللِّوَى: مُنْتَهَاهُ، وَاللِّوَى هُوَ مَا الْتَوَى أَوِ اسْتَدَقَّ مِنَ الرَّمْلِ. الدَّخُولُ وَحَوْمَلُ: اِسْمَانِ لِمَكَانَيْنِ. يَسْتَوْقِفُ الشَّاعِرُ صَاحِبَيْهِ لِيَبْكِيَ مِنْ ذِكْرَى حَبِيبٍ كَانَ مَنْزِلُهُ فِي نِهَايَةِ امْتِدَادٍ مُلْتَوٍ مِنَ الرَّمْلِ بَيْنَ مَوْضِعَيْنِ هُمَا الدَّخُولُ وَحَوْمَلُ.

٢- يَقُولُ صَحْبِي وَقَدْ بَلَغُوا مَكَانِي فَوَقَفُوا فَوَقَفُوا مَطَايَاهُمْ: لَا تَسْمَحْ لِلْأَسَى بِأَنْ يُهْلِكَ نَفْسَكَ، وَتَجَمَّلْ بِالصَّبْرِ.

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٣- عَبْرَةٌ مُهْـرَاقَةٌ: دَمْعَةٌ مَسْكُوبَةٌ. رَسْمٌ دَارِسٌ: أَثَـرٌ قد عفا وانْمَحَى. الْمُعَـوَّلُ: ما يُمْكِنُ الِاتِّكَاءُ عَلَيْـهِ.

٤- الصَّبَابَةُ: الشَّوْقُ والهِيَامُ. النَّحْرُ: أَعْلَى الصَّدْرِ. المِحْمَلُ: حَمَّالَةُ السَّيْفِ.

٥- السُّدُولُ (المُفْرَدُ: «سُدْلٌ»): الأَسْتَارُ، والمقصودُ هُنا: ظَلَامُ اللَّيْلِ.

٦- صُلْبُ البَعِيرِ: ظَهْرُهُ. أَرْدَفَ: أَتْبَعَ. عَجُزُ البَعِيرِ: مُؤَخَّرَتُهُ. نَاءَ: هَوَى. الكَلْكَلُ: الصَّدْرُ. البَيْتُ يُشَبِّهُ اللَّيْـلَ في ثِقَلِهِ بِبَعِيرٍ ضَخْمٍ جَثَمَ عَلَى الشَّاعِـرِ فَتَمَدَّدَ فَوْقَهُ بِظَهْرِهِ وحَطَّ عَلَيْهِ بِصَدْرِهِ ثُمَّ هَوَى عَلَيْهِ بِمُؤَخَّرَتِهِ.

٧- إِنْجَلِ: إِنْكَشِفْ. أَمْثَلُ: أَفْضَلُ.

٨- مُغَارُ الفَتْلِ: مُحْكَمُ الفَتْلِ شَدِيدُهُ. يَقُولُ: عَجَبًا لَكَ مِنْ لَيْلٍ طَوِيلٍ لا يَتَقَدَّمُ نَحْوَ الصَّباحِ، كَأَنَّكَ عاجِزٌ عَنِ الحَرَكَةِ لِأَنَّ نُجُومَكَ شُدَّتْ بِحِبَالٍ قَوِيَّةٍ مُحْكَمَةِ الفَتْلِ إلى جَبَلٍ يَذْبُـلَ.

٩- أَغْتَدِي: أَخْرُجُ مُبَكِّرًا. وُكُنَاتٌ (المُفْرَدُ: «وُكْنَةٌ»): أَعْشَاشٌ. المُنْجَرِدُ: قَصِيرُ الشَّعْرِ. الأَوَابِدُ: الوُحُوشُ النَّافِرَةُ. الهَيْكَلُ: الضَّخْمُ. يَقُولُ إِنَّ جَوَادَهُ يَبْلُغُ مِنَ السُّرْعَةِ أَنْ تَبْدُوَ وُحُوشُ الصَّحراءِ في عَدْوِها مُقَيَّدَةً بِالقِياسِ إِلَيْهِ.

١٠- يَقُولُ إِنَّ جَوَادَهُ في كَـرِّهِ وفَـرِّهِ وإِقْبالِهِ وإِدْبارِهِ يُشْبِهُ جَلامِيدَ الصَّخْرِ إذا حَطَّتْها السُّيُولُ مِنْ عُلُوٍّ شاهِقٍ.

مِنْ مُعَلَّقَةِ زُهَيْرِ بْنِ أَبِي سُلْمَى

١- وَمَـنْ هَـابَ أَسبابَ المَنايا يَنَلْنَهُ   وَلَوْ رَامَ أَسْبابَ السَّماءِ بِسُلَّمِ

٢- وَمَنْ يَكُ ذا فَضْلٍ فَيَبْخَلْ بِفَضْلِهِ   عَلَى قَوْمِهِ يُسْتَغْنَ عَنْهُ وَيُذْمَمِ

٣- وَمَـنْ يَغْتَرِبْ يَحْسَبْ عَدُوًّا صَدِيقَهُ   وَمَنْ لَا يُكَـرِّمْ نَفْسَهُ لَا يُكَرَّمِ

٤- وَمَنْ لَمْ يُصانِعْ في أُمُورٍ كَثِيرَةٍ   يُضَرَّسْ بِأَنْيابٍ وَيُوطَأْ بِمَنْسِمِ

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٥- وَمَنْ يَجْعَلِ المَعْرُوف مِنْ دُونِ عِرْضِهِ   يَفِرْهُ، وَمَنْ لَا يَتَّقِ الشَّتْمَ يُشْتَمِ

٦- وَمَنْ يَجْعَلِ المَعْـرُوفَ فِي غَيْرِ أَهْلِهِ   يَكُنْ حَمْـدُهُ ذَمًّا عَلَيْهِ وَيَنْـدَمِ

٧- وَمَهْما تَكُنْ عِـنْدَ امْرِئٍ مِنْ خَلِيقَةٍ   وَإِنْ خالَها تَخْفَى عَلَى النَّاسِ تُعْلَمِ

٨- لِسانُ الْفَتَى نِصْفٌ وَنِصْفٌ فُـؤَادُهُ   فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا صُورَةُ اللَّحْمِ والدَّمِ

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١- هابَ الأَمْرَ: خَشِيَهُ. أَسْبابٌ (المُفْرَدُ: «سَبَبٌ»): طُرُقٌ. أَسْبابُ المَنايا: مَسالِكُ المَوْتِ. أَسْبابُ السَّماءِ: مَراقِيها. رامَ الشَّيْءَ: طَلَبَهُ وَسَعَى إِلَيْـــهِ.

٤- المُصانَعَةُ: المُجاراةُ والمُداهَنَةُ. يُضَرَّسُ: يُمْضَغُ بِالأَضْراسِ، والفِعْلُ هُنا يَدُلُّ على المَضْغِ بِوَجْهٍ عامٍّ. يُوطَأُ: يُداسُ. المَنْسِمُ: الحافِرُ.

٥- وَفَـرَ الشَّيْءَ يَفِرُهُ: زادَهُ؛ ووَفَـرَ العِرْضَ يَفِرُهُ: صانَهُ مِنَ العَيْبِ.

٧- الخَلِيقَةُ: السَّجِيَّةُ، أَيِ الطَّبِيعَةُ الَّتِي يُخْلَقُ عَلَيْها الإِنْسانُ.

مِنْ مُعَلَّقَةِ عَمْرِو بْنِ كُلْثُومَ

١- أَبا هِنْـدٍ، فَلَا تَعْجَلْ عَلَيْنا   وَأَنْظِـرْنا نُخَـبِّرْكَ الْيَقِينا

٢- بِأَنَّا نُـورِدُ الرَّاياتِ بِيضًا   وَنُصْدِرُهُنَّ حُمْرًا قَدْ رَوِينا

٣- وَنَشْرَبُ، إِنْ وَرَدْنا، الماءَ صَفْوًا،   وَيَشْرَبُ غَيْـرُنا كَدَرًا وَطِينا

٤- مَتَى نَنْقُلْ إِلى قَوْمٍ رَحانا،   يَكُونُوا فِي اللِّقاءِ لَها طَحِينا

٥- مَلَأْنا البَـرَّ حَتَّى ضاقَ عَنَّا،   كَذَاكَ الْبَحْـرَ نَمْلَؤُهُ سَفِينا

٦- إِذا بَلَغَ الْفِطامَ لَنا رَضِيعٌ،   تَخِـرُّ لَهُ الْجَبابِرُ ساجِدِينا

٧- لَنا الدُّنْيَا وَمَنْ أَضْحَى عَلَيْها،   وَنَبْطِشُ حِينَ نَبْطِشُ قادِرِينا

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١- أبا هِنْدٍ: يُخاطِبُ الشَّاعِرُ عَمْرَو بْنَ هِنْدٍ. أَنْظِرْنا: أَمْهِلْنا.

٢- أَوْرَدَ يُورِدُ الشَّيْءَ إلى المَكانِ: أَحْضَرَهُ. أَصْدَرَ يُصْدِرُ الشَّيْءَ عَنِ المَكانِ: أَرْجَعَهُ. يَقُولُ: إذا أَقْبَلْنا على ساحَةِ الوَغَى كانَتْ رَاياتُنا بَيْضاءَ؛ فإذا انْصَرَفْنا عَنْ ساحَةِ الوَغَى كانَتْ رَاياتُنا حَمْراءَ، قَدِ ارْتَوَتْ مِنْ دِماءِ الأَعْداءِ.

٣- الكَدَرُ: جَمْعُ الكَدَرَةِ؛ والكَدَرَةُ مِنَ الحَوْضِ طِينُهُ أَوْ ما عَلَاهُ مِنْ طُحْلُبٍ وَنَحْوِهِ.

٤- يَقُولُ: إذا أَغَرْنا على قَوْمٍ كُنَّا لَهُمْ كالرَّحَى وكانُوا لَنا كالطَّحِينِ.

مِنْ مُعَلَّقَةِ طَرَفَةَ بْنِ الْعَبْدِ

تَلُوحُ كَباقِي الوَشْمِ في ظاهِرِ اليَدِ	١- لِخَوْلَةَ أَطْلالٌ بِبُرْقَةِ ثَهْمَدِ
يَقُولُونَ: لا تَهْلِكْ أَسًى وَتَجَلَّدِ	٢- وُقُوفًا بِها صَحْبِي عَلَيَّ مَطِيَّهُمْ
مَظاهِرُ سِمْطَيْ لُؤْلُؤٍ وَزَبَرْجَـدِ	٣- وَفي الحَيِّ أَحْوَى يَنْفُضُ المَرْدَ شادِنٌ
عَلَيْهِ، نَقِيُّ اللَّـوْنِ لَمْ يَتَخَـدَّدِ	٤- وَوَجْهٌ كَأَنَّ الشَّمْسَ أَلْقَتْ رِداءَها
لَكَالطِّـوَلِ المُـرْخَى وَثِنْياهُ بِالْيَـدِ	٥- لَعَمْرُكَ! إنَّ المَوْتَ، ما أَخْطَأَ الفَتَى،
وَمَنْ يَكُ في حَبْلِ المَنِيَّةِ يَنْقَدِ	٦- إذا شاءَ يَـوْمًا قادَهُ بِزِمامِـهِ
مَـتَى أَدْنُ مِـنْهُ يَنْأَ عَـنِّي وَيَبْعُدِ	٧- فَمالِي أَراني وَابْـنَ عَـمِّي مالِكًا،
كَما لَامَني في الحَيِّ قُرْطُ بْنُ مَعْبَدِ	٨- يَلُـومُ، وما أَدْرِي عَـلامَ يَلُومُـني،
عَلَى المَرْءِ مِنْ وَقْعِ الحُسامِ المُهَنَّدِ	٩- وَظُلْمُ ذَوي القُـرْبَى أَشَـدُّ مَضاضَةً
وَشُقِّي عَلَيَّ الجَيْبَ يا ابْنَةَ مَعْبَدِ	١٠- فَإنْ مُـتُّ فَانْعَيِني بِما أَنا أَهْـلُهُ،

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١١- وَلَا تَجْعَلِينِي كَامْرِئٍ لَيْسَ هَــمُّهُ   كَهَمِّي وَلَا يُغْنِي غَنَائِي وَمَشْهَدِي

١٢- عَنِ المَــرْءِ لَا تَسْأَلْ وَأَبْصِــرْ قَرِينَهُ   فَإِنَّ الْقَرِينَ بِالمُقَارِنِ مُقْــتَدِ

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١- خَوْلَةُ: اِمْرَأَةٌ مِنْ قَبِيلَةِ كَلْب. البُرْقَةُ: مَكَانٌ غَلِيظٌ، اخْتَلَطَتْ فِيهِ الحِجَارَةُ بِالرَّمْلِ والطِّينِ.

٢- وَرَدَ البَيْتُ نَفْسُهُ في مُعَلَّقَةِ امْرِئِ القَيْسِ.

٣- أَحْوَى: في شَفَتَيْهِ حُمْرَةٌ تَضْرِبُ إلى السُّمْرَةِ. المَرْدُ: ثَمَرُ الأَرَاكِ. الشَّادِنُ: وَلَدُ الظَّبْيَةِ.

٤- الرِّدَاءُ: الثَّوْبُ، والمَقْصُودُ هنا ضِيَاءُ الشَّمْسِ. لَمْ يَتَخَدَّدْ: أَيْ لَمْ يَتَغَضَّنْ.

٥، ٦: مَا أَخْطَأَ الفَتَى: مُدَّةُ إخْطَاءِ الفَتَى. الطِّوَلُ: الحَبْلُ. ثِنْيَاهُ: طَرَفَاهُ. يَقُولُ إِنَّ سَهْمَ المَوْتِ لَا بُدَّ أَنْ يُصِيبَ الإِنْسَانَ وإِنِ امْتَدَّتِ الحَيَاةُ فَتْرَةً مِنَ الزَّمَنِ. والمَرْءُ إذا نَجَا مِنْ سِهَامِ المَوْتِ حِينًا كَالدَّابَّةِ أُرْخِيَ لَهَا العِنَانُ وطَرَفَاهُ بِيَدِ الرَّاكِبِ: فَهْيَ تَظُنُّ أَنَّ أَمْرَها إِلَيْها ولا تَدْرِي أَنَّ الرَّاكِبَ مُسَيْطِرٌ على مَصِيرِها يُوَجِّهُها كما يَشَاءُ مَتَى أَرَادَ.

٩- الحُسَامُ: السَّيْفُ. المُهَنَّدُ: المَطْبُوعُ مِنْ حَدِيدِ الهِنْدِ.

١٠- اِبْنَةُ مَعْبَد: هِيَ ابْنَةُ أَخِيهِ.

١١- لَا يُغْنِي غَنَائِي وَمَشْهَدِي: لَا يَقُــومُ مَقَامِي في الحَرْبِ ولَا يَشْهَدُ مَشْهَدِي في المَجَالِسِ والخُصُــومَاتِ.

مِنْ مُعَلَّقَةِ عَنْتَرَةَ بْنِ شَدَّاد

١- هَلْ غَادَرَ الشُّعَرَاءُ مِنْ مُتَرَدَّمٍ؟   أَمْ هَلْ عَرَفْتَ الدَّارَ بَعْدَ تَوَهُّمٍ؟

٢- يَا دَارَ عَبْلَةَ بِالجِــوَاءِ تَكَلَّمِي!   وَعِمِي صَبَاحًا دَارَ عَبْلَةَ واسْلَمِي!

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٣- أَثْنِي عَلَيَّ بِمَا عَلِمْتِ فَإِنَّنِي   سَهْلٌ مُخَالَقَتِي إِذَا لَمْ أُظْلَمِ

٤- فَإِذَا ظُلِمْتُ فَإِنَّ ظُلْمِي بَاسِلٌ   مُرٌّ، مَذَاقَتُهُ كَطَعْمِ العَلْقَمِ

٥- هَلَّا سَأَلْتِ الخَيْلَ يَا ابْنَةَ مَالِكٍ   إِنْ كُنْتِ جَاهِلَةً بِمَا لَمْ تَعْلَمِي

٦- يُخْبِرْكِ مَنْ شَهِدَ الوَقِيعَةَ أَنَّنِي   أَغْشَى الوَغَى وَأَعِفُّ عِنْدَ المَغْنَمِ

٧- لَمَّا رَأَيْتُ القَوْمَ أَقْبَلَ جَمْعُهُمْ   يَتَذَامَرُونَ كَرَرْتُ غَيْرَ مُذَمَّمِ

٨- يَدْعُونَ عَنْتَرَ، وَالرِّمَاحُ كَأَنَّهَا   أَشْطَانُ بِئْرٍ فِي لَبَانِ الأَدْهَمِ

٩- مَا زِلْتُ أَرْمِيهِمْ بِغُرَّةِ وَجْهِهِ   وَلَبَانِهِ حَتَّى تَسَرْبَلَ بِالدَّمِ

١٠- فَازْوَرَّ مِنْ وَقْعِ القَنَا بِلَبَانِهِ   وَشَكَا إِلَيَّ بِعَبْرَةٍ وَتَحَمْحُمِ

١١- لَوْ كَانَ يَدْرِي مَا المُحَاوَرَةُ اشْتَكَى   وَلَكَانَ لَوْ عَلِمَ الكَلَامَ مُكَلِّمِي

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١- المُتَرَدَّمُ: المَوْضِعُ الَّذِي يُرْقَعُ مِنَ الثَّوْبِ. يَقُولُ: هَلْ تَرَكَ الشُّعَرَاءُ لَنَا مَوْضِعًا يُرْقَعُ مِنَ الشِّعْرِ حَتَّى نَتَعَرَّضَ لَهُ؟ مَيَادِينُ الشِّعْرِ كُلُّهَا قَدِيمَةٌ مَطْرُوقَةٌ بَالِيَةٌ لَا تَحْتَمِلُ الزِّيَادَةَ وَلَا تَتَّسِعُ لِجَدِيدٍ.

٢- الجِوَاءُ: مَوْضِعٌ.

٣- المُخَالَقَةُ: المُخَالَطَةُ وَالمُعَاشَرَةُ.

٤- بَاسِلٌ: كَرِيهٌ. العَلْقَمُ: الحَنْظَلُ.

٥- الخَيْلُ: يُرِيدُ فُرْسَانَ الخَيْلِ.

٦- الوَقِيعَةُ: المَوْقِعَةُ. أَغْشَى: أَحْضُرُ. الوَغَى: الحَرْبُ. أَعِفُّ: أَمْتَنِعُ. المَغْنَمُ: الغَنِيمَةُ؛ وَالمَقْصُودُ هُوَ اقْتِسَامُ الغَنِيمَةِ. يَقُولُ الشَّاعِرُ فِي الشَّطْرِ الثَّانِي إِنَّهُ يُشَارِكُ فِي الحَرْبِ لَكِنَّهُ يَتَرَفَّعُ عَنْ أَنْ يَنَالَ حَظًّا مِنَ الغَنِيمَةِ.

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٧- يَتَذَامَرُونَ: أَيْ يَحُضُّ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا عَلَى القِتالِ.   مُذَمَّمٌ: مَذْمُومٌ.

٨- الأَشْطانُ (المُفْرَدُ: «شَطْنٌ»): حَبْلُ البِئْرِ.   اللَّبانُ: الصَّدْرُ.   الأَدْهَمُ: الفَرَس الأَسْوَدُ.

٩- الغُرَّةُ: بَياضٌ في جَبْهَةِ الفَرَسِ.   تَسَرْبَلَ: اِكْتَسَى.

١٠- اِزْوَرَّ: مَالَ.   العَبْرَةُ: الدَّمْعَةُ.   التَّحَمْحُمُ: صَوْتٌ مُتَقَطِّعٌ دُونَ الصَّهِيلِ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ لَبِيد

١- تَمَنَّى ابْنَتايَ أَنْ يَعِيشَ أَبُوهُما   وَهَلْ أَنَا إِلَّا مِنْ رَبِيعَةَ أَوْ مُضَرْ؟

٢- فَإِنْ حانَ يَوْمًا أَنْ يَمُوتَ أَبُوكُما   فَلَا تَخْمِشَا وَجْهًا وَلَا تَحْلِقَا شَعَرْ

٣- وَقُولَا هُوَ المَرْءُ الَّذِي لَا حَلِيفَهُ   أَضاعَ، وَلَا خَانَ الصَّدِيقَ، وَلَا غَدَرْ

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١- تَمَنَّى: تَتَمَنَّى.

مِنْ قَصِـيدَةٍ لِلسَّـمَوْأَلِ بْنِ عَادِياء

١- إذا المَرْءُ لَمْ يَدْنَسْ مِنَ اللَّؤْمِ عِرْضُهُ   فَكُلُّ رِدَاءٍ يَرْتَدِيهِ جَمِيلُ

٢- تُعَيِّرُنا أَنَّا قَلِيلٌ عَـدِيدُنا،   فَقُلْتُ لَها: إنَّ الكِرامَ قَلِيلُ

٣- وَمَا ضَرَّنا أَنَّا قَلِيلٌ وجَارُنا   عَزِيزٌ؛ وجَارُ الأَكْثَرِينَ ذَلِيلُ

٤- يُقَـرِّبُ حُبُّ المَـوْتِ آجالَنا لَنا،   وَتَكْـرَهُهُ آجالُـهُمْ فَتَطُولُ

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٣- عَزِيزٌ: قَوِيٌّ.   يَقُولُ: نَحْنُ نَنْصُرُ الجارَ وَنُؤازِرُهُ، وَأَكْثَـرُ النَّاسِ لَا يَفْعَلُونَ.

مِنَ الْيَتِيمَةِ

لِشَاعِرٍ مَجْهُولٍ

١- هَـلْ بِالطُّلُولِ لِسائِلٍ رَدُّ   أَمْ هَلْ لَها بِتَكَلُّمٍ عَهْـدُ؟

٢- لَهَفِي عَلَى دَعْدٍ، وَمَا خُلِقَتْ   إِلَّا لِطُـولِ تَلَهُّفِي دَعْـدُ

٣- فَالْوَجْهُ مِثْلُ الصُّبْحِ مُبْيَضٌّ،   وَالشَّعْـرُ مِثْلُ اللَّيْلِ مُسْوَدُّ

٤- ضِدَّانِ لَمَّا اسْتَجْمَعَا حَسُنَا،   وَالضِّدُّ يُظْهِرُ حُسْنَـهُ الضِّدُّ

٥- وَلَها بَـنانٌ لَوْ أَرَدْتَ لَهُ   عَقْدًا بِكَفِّكَ، أَمْكَنَ الْعَقْدُ

٦- مَا شَانَهَا طُولٌ وَلَا قِصَـرٌ،   فَقِـيامُهَا وَقُعُـودُهَا قَصْـدُ

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١- الطُّلُولُ: جَمْعُ الطَّلَلِ وَهو مَا بَقِيَ مِنْ آثارِ الدَّارِ وَنَحْوِها. هَلْ لَها بِتَكَلُّمٍ عَهْدٌ؟: هَلِ اعْتادَتْ أَنْ تَتَكَلَّمَ؟

٥- البَنانُ: الإِصْبَعُ.

٦- شَانَهَا: عابَها. القَصْدُ: الِاعْتِدالُ، خِلَافُ الإِفْراطِ والإِسْرافِ.

مِنْ قَصِيدَةٍ لِلْمُثَقِّبِ الْعَبْدِيّ

١- فَإِمَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ أَخِي بِحَقٍّ   فَأَعْرِفَ مِنْكَ غَثِّي مِنْ سَمِينِي

٢- وَإِلَّا فَاطَّرِحْنِي وَاتَّخِذْنِي   عَدُوًّا أَتَّقِيكَ وَتَتَّقِينِي

٣- وَمَا أَدْرِي إِذَا يَمَّمْتُ أَمْرًا   أُرِيدُ الْخَيْرَ أَيُّهَا يَلِينِي

٤- أَأَلْخَيْرُ الَّذِي أَنا أَبْتَغِيهِ   أَمِ الشَّرُّ الَّذِي هُـوَ يَبْتَغِينِي

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١، ٢- الغَثُّ: النَّحِيفُ، خِلَافُ السَّمِينِ. اِطَّرِحْنِي: أَبْعِدْنِي.

٣، ٤- يَمَّمَ الأَمْرَ: قَصَدَ إِلَيْهِ. وَلَى يَلِي فُلَانًا: دَنا مِنْهُ؛ وَالمَقْصُودُ هُنا: أَلَمَّ بِهِ. يَقُولُ الشَّاعِرُ: إِذا قَصَدْتُ إلى أَمْرٍ مِنَ الأُمُورِ أَبْتَغِي الخَيْرَ فَلَسْتُ أَدْرِي هَلْ أَظْفَرُ بِالْخَيْرِ الَّذِي أُرِيدُهُ أَمْ يُدْرِكُنِي الشَّرُّ الَّذِي يَتَرَبَّصُ بِي.

مِنْ قَصِيدَةٍ لِكَعْبِ بْنِ زُهَيْرٍ

يَمْدَحُ بها الرَّسُولَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلاةُ والسَّلامُ

١- بَانَتْ سُعادُ، فَقَلْبِي الْيَوْمَ مَتْبُولُ،   مُتَيَّمٌ إِثْرَها، لَمْ يُفْدَ، مَكْبُولُ

٢- وَمَا سُعادُ، غَدَاةَ الْبَيْنِ، إِذْ رَحَلُوا،   إِلَّا أَغَنُّ غَضِيضُ الطَّرْفِ، مَكْحُولُ

٣- هَيْفَاءُ مُقْبِلَةً، عَجْزَاءُ مُدْبِرَةً،   لَا يُشْتَكَى قِصَرٌ مِنْها وَلا طُولُ

٤- فَلَا يَغُرَّنَّكَ ما مَنَّتْ وَما وَعَدَتْ،   إِنَّ الأَمانِيَّ والأَحْلَامَ تَضْلِيلُ

٥- كانَتْ مَوَاعِيدُ عُرْقُوبٍ لَها مَثَلًا،   وَما مَوَاعِيدُها إِلَّا الأَباطِيلُ

٦- إِنَّ الرَّسُــولَ لَنُورٌ يُسْتَضَاءُ بِهِ،   وَصَارِمٌ مِنْ سُيُوفِ اللهِ مَسْلُولُ

٧- فِي عُصْبَةٍ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ قَالَ قَائِلُهُمْ،   بِبَطْنِ مَكَّةَ، لَمَّا أَسْلَمُوا: زُولُوا

٨- لَا يَفْرَحُونَ إِذَا نَالَتْ رِمَاحُهُمُ   قَــوْمًا، وَلَيْسُوا مَجَازِيعًا إِذَا نِيلُوا

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١- بَانَ يَبِـينُ: رَحَلَ. مَثْبُولٌ: وَلْهَانُ أَسْقَمَهُ الْحُبُّ. مُتَيَّمٌ: مُسْتَعْبَدٌ. مَكْبُولٌ: مُقَيَّدٌ.

٢- البَيْنُ: الفِرَاقُ. أَغَنُّ: أَيْ ظَبْيٌ أَغَنُّ؛ والأَغَنُّ: الَّذِي فِي صَوْتِهِ غُنَّةٌ. غَضِيضُ الطَّـرْفِ: فَاتِــرُ اللَّحْظِ.

٣- عَجْزَاءُ: ذَاتُ مُؤَخَّـرَةٍ كَبِـيرَةٍ.

٥- عُرْقُوب: هُوَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ يَثْرِبَ، يُضْرَبُ بِهِ المَثَلُ فِي إِخْلَافِ الْوَعْدِ.

٦- الصَّارِمُ: السَّيْفُ القَاطِعُ.

٧- العُصْبَةُ: الْجَمَاعَةُ. زُولُوا: ارْحَلُوا؛ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى الهِجْرَةِ.

مِنْ قَصِيدَةٍ لِلْحُطَيْئَةِ
يَعْتَذِرُ فِيهَا إِلَى عُمَرَ بْنِ الخَطَّابِ

١- أَتَتْنِي لِسَانٌ فَكَذَّبْتُهَا   وَمَا كُنْتُ أَحْذَرُهَا أَنْ تُقَالَا

٢- بِأَنَّ الوُشَاةَ، بِلَا عِـذْرَةٍ،   أَتَوْكَ فَقَالُوا لَدَيْكَ المُحَالَا

٣- فَجِئْتُكَ مُعْتَـذِرًا رَاجِيًا   لِعَفْوِكَ أَرْهَبُ مِنْكَ النَّكَالَا

٤- فَلَا تَسْمَعَنْ بِيَ قَوْلَ الوُشَاةِ،   وَلَا تُؤْكِلَنِّي، هُدِيتَ، الرِّجَالَا

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١- اللِّسَانُ: يُرِيدُ المَقَالَةَ.

٣- النَّكَالُ: العِقَابُ.

أَبْيَاتٌ نُسِبَتْ إِلَى المَجْنُونِ

١- إِذَا هَبَّتِ الرِّيحُ الشَّمَالُ فَإِنَّمَا   جَوَايَ بِمَا تُهْدِي إِلَيَّ جَنُوبُهَا

٢- قَرِيبَةُ عَهْدٍ بِالْحَبِيبِ، وَإِنَّمَا   هَوَى كُلِّ نَفْسٍ حَيْثُ كَانَ حَبِيبُهَا

٣- وَحَسْبُ اللَّيَالِي أَنْ طَرَحْنَكَ مَطْرَحًا   بِدَارِ قِلًى تُمْسِي وَأَنْتَ غَرِيبُهَا

٤- حَلَالٌ لِلَيْلَى شَتْمُهَا وَانْتِقَاصُهَا   هَنِيئًا، وَمَغْفُورٌ لِلَيْلَى ذُنُوبُهَا

الحَـوَاشِي

١- الجَـوَى: العِشْقُ والْهِيَامُ.

٣- القِلَى: البُغْضُ. وَأَنْتَ غَرِيبُهَا: أَيْ وَأَنْتَ غَرِيبٌ فِيهَا.

٤- شَتْمُهَا وَانْتِقَاصُهَا: أَيْ شَتْمُهَا إِيَّانَا وَانْتِقَاصُهَا مِنْ قَدْرِنَا.

لِلْمُتَنَبِّي فِي الفَخْرِ

١- يَا أَعْـدَلَ النَّاسِ إِلَّا فِي مُعَامَـلَتِي   فِيكَ الخِصَامُ، وَأَنْتَ الخَصْمُ والْحَكَمُ

٢- أُعِيذُهَا نَظَـرَاتٍ مِنْكَ صَادِقَـةً   أَنْ تَحْسَبَ الشَّحْمَ فِيمَنْ شَحْمُهُ وَرَمُ

٣- وَمَا انْتِفَاعُ أَخِي الدُّنْيَا بِنَاظِـرِهِ   إِذَا اسْتَوَتْ عِنْدَهُ الأَنْوَارُ والظُّلَمُ؟

٤- سَيَعْلَمُ الْجَمْعُ مِمَّنْ ضَمَّ مَجْلِسُنا   بِأَنَّني خَيْرُ مَنْ تَسْعَى بِهِ قَدَمُ

٥- أَنا الَّذي نَظَرَ الأَعْمَى إلى أَدَبي،   وَأَسْمَعَتْ كَلِماتي مَنْ بِهِ صَمَمُ

٦- أَنامُ مِلْءَ جُفُوني عَنْ شَوارِدِها   وَيَسْهَرُ الْخَلْقُ جَرَّاها وَيَخْتَصِمُ

٧- وَجاهِلٍ مَدَّهُ في جَهْلِهِ ضَحِكي   حَتَّى أَتَتْهُ يَدٌ فَرَّاسَةٌ وَفَمُ

٨- إذا رَأَيْتَ نُيُوبَ اللَّيْثِ بارِزَةً،   فَلا تَظُنَّنَّ أَنَّ اللَّيْثَ يَبْتَسِمُ

٩- الْخَيْلُ واللَّيْلُ والْبَيْداءُ تَعْرِفُني،   والسَّيْفُ والرُّمْحُ والْقِرْطاسُ والْقَلَمُ

الْحَواشي

١- يا أَعْدَلَ النَّاسِ: يُخاطِبُ سَيْفَ الدَّوْلَةِ.

٢- يَقُولُ: أُعيذُ نَظَراتِكَ الصَّادِقَةَ الثَّاقِبَةَ أَنْ تَنْخَدِعَ فَتَحْسَبَ خُصُومي وَمُنافِسيَّ أَشْباهًا لي وَنُظَراءَ وَلَيْسَ فَضْلُهُمْ إلَّا مَظْهَرًا كاذِبًا.

٦- جَرَّاها: مِنْ جَرَّاها، أَيْ مِنْ أَجْلِها وِبِسَبَبِها.

٧- الفَرَّاسُ: كَثيرُ الِافْتِراسِ. يَدٌ فَرَّاسَةٌ: أَيْ يَدٌ شَديدَةُ البَطْشِ.

٩- الْبَيْداءُ: الصَّحْراءُ.

لِلْمُتَنَبّي في هِجاءِ كافورٍ

١- عيدٌ! بِأَيَّةِ حالٍ عُدْتَ يا عيدُ:   بِما مَضَى، أَمْ لِأَمْرٍ فيكَ تَجْديدُ؟

٢- أَمَّا الأَحِبَّةُ فالْبَيْداءُ دونَهُمُ،   فَلَيْتَ دونَكَ بيدًا دونَها بيدُ!

٣- ماذا لَقيتُ مِنَ الدُّنْيا؟ وَأَعْجَبُهُ   أَنّي بِما أَنا شاكٍ مِنْهُ مَحْسودُ!

٤- أَمْسَيْتُ أَرْوَحَ مُثْرٍ خازِنًا وَيَدًا!   أَنا الغَنِيُّ، وَأَمْوالي الْمَواعيدُ!

٥- إنّي نَزَلْتُ بِكَذَّابينَ، ضَيْفُهُمُ   عَنِ الْقِرَى وَعَنِ التَّرْحالِ مَحْدودُ

٦- جُودُ الرِّجالِ مِنَ الْأَيْدِي، وَجُودُهُمُ   مِنَ اللِّسانِ، فَلَا كانُوا وَلَا الْجُودُ!

٧- لَا يَقْبِضُ الْمَوْتُ نَفْسًا مِنْ نُفُوسِهِمُ   إِلَّا وَفِي يَدِهِ، مِنْ نَتْنِها، عُودُ

٨- نامَتْ نَواطِيرُ مِصْرٍ عَنْ ثَعالِبِها،   فَقَدْ بَشِمْنَ، وَما تَفْنَى الْعَناقِيدُ

الْحَواشِي

١- الْبَيْداءُ: الصَّحْراءُ؛ والْجَمْعُ: «بِيدٌ».

٤- يَقُولُ: لَقَدْ صِرْتُ أَكْثَرَ الْأَثْرِياءِ راحَةً، لَا يَجِدُ خازِنِي مَشَقَّةً فِي خَزْنِ الْمالِ وَلَا أَجِدُ أَنا مَشَقَّةً فِي جَمْعِهِ أَوْ إِنْفاقِهِ؛ ذلِكَ أَنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ مِنَ الْمالِ إِلَّا الْمَواعِيدَ.

٥- الْقِرَى: ما يُقَدَّمُ إِلَى الضَّيْفِ. مَحْدُودٌ: مَمْنُوعٌ. يَنْعَى عَلَى كافُور وَحاشِيَتِهِ أَنَّهُمْ لا يُحْسِنُونَ ضِيافَتَهُ وَلَا يُخَلُّونَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ الرَّحِيلِ.

٦- لَا كانُوا وَلَا الْجُودُ: لَيْتَهُمْ ما كانُوا، ولَيْتَ جُودَهُمْ ما كانَ!

٧- يَقُولُ: إِذا هَمَّ الْمَوْتُ بِقَبْضِ نَفْسٍ مِنْ نُفُوسِهِمْ تَناوَلَها بِعُودٍ تَقَزُّزًا مِنْ نَتْنِها.

٨- أَرادَ بِـ «نَواطِيرِ مِصْرَ» سادَتَها؛ وأَرادَ بِـ «ثَعالِبِ مِصْرَ» الْعَبِيدَ الماكِرِينَ بِها الطَّامِعِينَ فِيها. بَشِمَ: أَصابَتْهُ التُّخْمَةُ مِنْ كَثْرَةِ الْأَكْلِ.

نَماذِجُ أُخْرَى مِنْ شِعْرِ الْمُتَنَبِّي

أَيَّ مَحَلٍّ أَرْتَقِي؟   أَيَّ عَظِيمٍ أَتَّقِي؟

وَكُلُّ ما قَدْ خَلَقَ الـ   لهُ وَما لَمْ يَخْلُقِ

مُحْتَقَرٌ فِي هِمَّتِي   كَشَعْرَةٍ فِي مَفْرِقِي

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١- كَأَنَّ الْحُزْنَ مَشْغُوفٌ بِقَلْبِي   فَسَاعَةَ هَجْرِهَا يَجِدُ الْوِصَالَا

٢- أَشَدُّ الْغَمِّ عِنْدِي فِي سُرُورٍ   تَيَقَّنَ عَنْهُ صَاحِبُهُ انْتِقَالَا

٣- فَمَا حَاوَلْتُ فِي أَرْضٍ مُقَامًا   وَلَا أَزْمَعْتُ عَنْ أَرْضٍ زَوَالَا

٤- عَلَى قَلَقٍ كَأَنَّ الرِّيحَ تَحْتِي   أُوَجِّهُهَا جَنُوبًا أَوْ شَمَالَا

الحَوَاشِي

١- الوِصَالُ: ضِدُّ الْهَجْرِ؛ يَكُونُ فِي عَفَافِ الْحُبِّ وَدَعَارَتِهِ.

٣- الزَّوَالُ: الرَّحِيلُ وَالِانْتِقَالُ.

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١- ذَلَّ مَنْ يَغْبِطُ الذَّلِيلَ بِعَيْشٍ   رُبَّ عَيْشٍ أَخَفُّ مِنْهُ الْحِمَامُ

٢- كُلُّ حِلْمٍ أَتَى بِغَيْرِ اقْتِدَارٍ   حُجَّةٌ لَاجِئٍ إِلَيْهَا اللِّئَامُ

٣- مَنْ يَهُنْ يَسْهُلِ الْهَوَانُ عَلَيْهِ   مَا لِجُرْحٍ بِمَيِّتٍ إِيلَامُ

الحَوَاشِي

١- غَبَطَ فُلَانًا يَغْبِطُهُ: تَمَنَّى مِثْلَ مَا لَهُ مِنَ النِّعْمَةِ دُونَ أَنْ يُرِيدَ زَوَالَهَا عَنْهُ.

الحِمَامُ: الْمَوْتُ.

٢- الحِلْمُ: الصَّبْرُ وَالأَنَاةُ.

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١- فَلَوْ أَنِّي حُسِدْتُ عَلَى نَفِيسٍ   لَجُدْتُ بِهِ لِذِي الْجَدِّ الْعَثُورِ

٢- وَلَكِنِّي حُسِدْتُ عَلَى حَيَاتِي!   وَمَا خَيْرُ الْحَيَاةِ بِلَا سُرُورٍ؟

الْحَواشِي

١- نَفِيسٌ: ثَمِينٌ. الْجَدُّ: الْحَظُّ. الْعَثُورُ: الَّذِي يُلِحُّ عَلَيْهِ الْإِخْفَاقُ.

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فُـؤَادِي فِي غِشاءٍ مِنْ نِبالِ	رَمانِي الدَّهْرُ بِالأَرْزاءِ حَتَّى
تَكَسَّرَتِ النِّصالُ عَلَى النِّصالِ	فَصِرْتُ إِذا أَصابَتْنِي سِهامٌ

الْحَواشِي

يَقُولُ الشَّاعِرُ إِنَّ الأَحْداثَ كَثُرَتْ عَلَيْهِ «فَاسْتَفادَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ تَجْرِبَةً وَصَبْرًا، وَمَرَنَ عَلَى احْتِمالِ الآلامِ وَالأَرْزاءِ. جَعَلَ الأَرْزاءَ الَّتِي أَلَحَّتْ عَلَيْهِ نِبالًا قَدْ ثُبِّتَتْ فِي قَلْبِهِ وَدارَتْ حَوْلَهُ، حَتَّى أَصْبَحَتْ لَهُ غِشاءً وَوِقاءً، وَحَتَّى أَصْبَحَ قَلْبُهُ بِمَأْمَنٍ مِنْ أَنْ تَبْلُغَهُ النِّبالُ الطَّارِئَةُ إِذا رُمِيَ بِها، لِأَنَّهُ فِي دِرْعٍ مِنَ النِّبالِ الأُولَى: فَالأَرْزاءُ تَفُلُّ الأَرْزاءَ، وَالنِّصالُ تَتَكَسَّرُ عَلَى النِّصالِ».[1] وَفِي الْبَيْتَيْنِ تَصْرِيحٌ حَزِينٌ بِأَنَّ الدَّهْرَ قَدْ أَمْعَنَ فِي التَّنْكِيلِ بِهَذا الشَّاعِرِ الْبائِسِ حَتَّى بَلَغَ غَايَةً لا مَجالَ لِتَجاوُزِها، وَلا عَزاءَ مَعَ ذَلِكَ فِي اتِّقاءِ الْمَزِيدِ بَعْدَ أَنْ جُرِّحَ الْقَلْبُ تَجْرِيحًا وَمُزِّقَ تَمْزِيقًا.

لِأَبِي العَلاءِ المَعَرِّيّ
فِي رِثاءِ أَبِي حَمْزَة الفَقِيه

نَـوْحُ بـاكٍ وَلا تَـرَنُّمُ شـادِ	١- غَـيْرُ مُجْدٍ فِي مِلَّتِي وَاعْتِقادِي
سَ بِصَوْتِ الْبَشِيرِ فِي كُلِّ نادِ	٢- وَشَبِيهٌ صَوْتُ النَّعِيِّ إِذا قِي
نَتْ عَلَى فَـرْعِ غُصْنِها الْمَيَّادِ	٣- أَبَكَتْ تِلْكُمُ الْحَمامَةُ أَمْ غَنْ
فُ سُرُورٍ فِي ساعَةِ الْمِيلادِ	٤- إِنَّ حُزْنًا فِي ساعَةِ الْمَوْتِ أَضْعا

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٥- صَاحِ هٰذِي قُبُورُنَا تَمْلَأُ الرَّحْ   بَ فَأَيْنَ الْقُبُورُ مِنْ عَهْدِ عَادِ

٦- خَفِّفِ الْوَطْءَ مَا أَظُنُّ أَدِيمَ الْـ   أَرْضِ إِلَّا مِنْ هٰذِهِ الأَجْسَادِ

٧- سِرْ إِنِ اسْطَعْتَ فِي الْهَوَاءِ رُوَيْدًا   لَا اخْتِيَالًا عَلَى رُفَاتِ الْعِبَادِ

٨- فَقَبِيحٌ بِنَا وَإِنْ قَدُمَ الْعَهْـ   دُ هَوَانُ الآبَاءِ والأَجْدَادِ

٩- أَبَنَاتِ الْهَدِيلِ أَسْعِدْنَ أَوْ عِدْ   نَ قَلِيلَ الْعَزَاءِ بِالإِسْعَادِ

١٠- إِيـهِ، لِلهِ دَرُّكُنَّ! فَأَنْتُنْـ   نَ اللَّوَاتِي يُحْسِنَّ حِفْظَ الْوِدَادِ

الحَوَاشِي٢

٣-١ الغُصْنُ المَيَّادُ: المُهْتَزُّ المُتَمَايِلُ. يَقُولُ الشَّاعِرُ إِنَّ الْبُكَاءَ لَا يَرُدُّ مَفْقُودًا وإِنَّ الغِنَاءَ لَا يَحْفَظُ مَوْجُودًا؛ لِذا فَلَا نَوْحُ الْبَاكِي يُجْدِي وَلَا تَرَنُّمُ الشَّادِي يُفِيدُ. لَيْسَ مِنْ فَرْقٍ فِي حَقِيقَةِ الأَمْرِ بَيْنَ صَوْتِ النَّاعِي وَصَوْتِ الْبَشِيرِ، لِأَنَّ الاسْتِبْشَارَ بِالشَّيْءِ مُقَدِّمَةٌ لِلْحُزْنِ عَلَيْهِ. وَلَوْ صَدَقْتَ نَفْسَكَ الحَدِيثَ وَوَطَّنْتَهَا عَلَى احْتِمَالِ الأَشْيَاءِ كَمَا هِيَ لَمَا وَجَدْتَ كَبِيرَ فَرْقٍ بَيْنَ الخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ.

٨-٥ عَادٌ: شَعْبٌ مِنَ العَرَبِ الْبَائِدَةِ سَكَنُوا أَعَالِيَ الحِجَازِ. اضْطَهَدُوا النَّبِيَّ هُودًا وَكَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِ اللهِ فَسَحَقَتْهُمُ العَاصِفَةُ، كَمَا جَاءَ فِي القُرْآنِ الكَرِيمِ (٧: ٦٥-٧٢؛ ١١: ٥٠-٦٠؛ ١٤: ٩-١٣؛ ٢٦: ١٢٤-١٣٩؛ ٤١: ١٣-١٦؛ ٤٦: ٢١-٢٥؛ ٥١: ٤١؛ ٥٤: ١٨-٢٠؛ ٦٩: ٦-٨). أَدِيمُ الأَرْضِ: سَطْحُهَا. اسْطَعْتَ: اسْتَطَعْتَ. سِرْ إِنِ اسْطَعْتَ فِي الْهَوَاءِ رُوَيْدًا: لِيَكُنْ سَيْرُكَ هَادِئًا خَفِيفًا مُتَأَنِّيًا مُتَرَفِّقًا كَأَنَّكَ لَا تُلَامِسُ أَدِيمَ الأَرْضِ. رُفَاتُ العِبَادِ: المَقْصُودُ هُنَا أَجْسَادُ المَوْتَى. أَحْسَنَ الشَّاعِرُ المَزْجَ بَيْنَ رَأْيِهِ الفَلْسَفِيِّ فِي انْحِلَالِ الأَجْسَامِ إِلَى عَنَاصِرِهَا وَبَيْنَ مَا أَرَادَ مِنَ الْبُكَاءِ عَلَى الهَالِكِينَ، وَالعَزَاءِ لِلْبَاقِينَ، وَالأَمْرِ بِالتَّوَاضُعِ، وَالعِظَةِ، وَالنَّهْيِ عَنِ الخُيَلَاءِ وَالاسْتِكْبَارِ. وَالمَعْنَى الَّذِي يُؤَدِّيهِ الْبَيْتُ السَّابِعُ وَالْبَيْتُ الثَّامِنُ هُوَ

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الَّذِي أَعْرَبَ عَنْهُ عُمَـرُ الخَيَّامُ فِي إِحْـدَى رُبَاعِيَّاتِهِ، والَّذِي تُرْجِمَ مِنَ الفَارِسِيَّةِ إِلَى العَرَبِيَّةِ والإِنكِليزِيَّةِ عَلَى النَّحْوِ التَّالِي:

<div dir="rtl">

قَدْ نَمَا مِـنْ شِـفَاهِ ظَبْيٍ أَغَـرِّ   كُلُّ عُشْبٍ يَبْدُو بِضِفَّةِ نَهْرٍ

فَهْوَ نَامٍ مِنْ مُزْهِـرِ الخَدِّ نَضْرِ   لَا تَطَأْ وَيْحَكَ النَّبَاتَ احْتِقَارًا

</div>

And this delightful Herb whose tender Green
Fledges the River's Lip on which we lean—
Ah, lean upon it Lightly! for who knows
From what once lovely Lip it springs unseen.

رَاجِعِ المَصْدَرَ التَّالِي:

Brigadier-General Dr. Hossein-Ali Nouri Esfandiary (ed.), *Robaiyat of Omar Khayyam in English Verse by Edward Fitzgerald* (3rd printing; Japan: Shumposha Photo Printing Co., Ltd., December 1974).

٩، ١٠ - بَنَاتُ الهَدِيلِ: الحَمَائِمُ. لِلهِ دَرُّكُنَّ: مَا أَعْظَمَ فَضْلَكُنَّ. يَئِسَ الشَّاعِرُ مِنْ وَفَاءِ النَّاسِ فَمَالَ مَعَ الخَيَالِ إِلَى بَنَاتِ الهَدِيلِ فَاسْتَعَانَهُنَّ عَلَى مُصِيبَتِهِ، واسْتَبْكَاهُنَّ لِنَازِلَتِهِ.

<div align="center">

لِابْنِ الرُّومِـيّ

فِي وَصْفِ رَجُلٍ يَقْلِي زَلَابِـيَةً

</div>

<div dir="rtl">

١- وَمُسْتَقِرٍّ عَلَى كُرْسِيِّهِ تَعِبِ   رُوحِي الْفِدَاءُ لَهُ مِنْ مُنْصَبٍ تَعِبِ

٢- رَأَيْتُهُ سَحَـرًا يَقْلِي زَلَابِيَةً   فِي رِقَّةِ الْقِشْرِ، والتَّجْوِيفِ كَالْقَصَبِ

٣- كَأَنَّمَا زَيْتُهُ المَقْلِيُّ حِينَ بَدَا   كَالْكِيمِيَـاءِ الَّتِي قَالُوا وَلَمْ تُصِـبِ

٤- يُلْقِي العَجِينَ لُجَيْنًا مِنْ أَنَامِلِهِ   فَيَسْتَحِيلُ شَبَابِيكًا مِـنَ الذَّهَبِ

</div>

الحَوَاشِي

١، ٢ - مُنْصَبٌّ: مُرْهَقٌ. «والتَّجْوِيفِ كالقَصَبِ»: أَيْ «وفِي التَّجْوِيفِ كالقَصَبِ».

٣- الكِيمِيَاءُ: عِلْمٌ أَرَادَ القُدَماءُ أَنْ يَتَّخِذُوهُ وَسِيلَةً تُحَوِّلُ بَعْضَ المَعَادِنِ إِلَى ذَهَبٍ.

٤- اللُّجَيْنُ: الفِضَّةُ.

لِابْنِ الرُّومِــيّ

فِي هِجاءِ عِيسى

وَلَيْسَ بِباقٍ ولا خـالِدِ   يُقَتِّرُ عِيسى عَلَى نَفْسِهِ

تَنَفَّسَ مِنْ مِنْخَرٍ وَاحِدِ   فَلَوْ يَسْتَطِــيعُ لِتَقْتِيرِهِ

لِابْنِ الرُّومِــيّ

فِي هِجَاءِ عَمْــرو

١- وَجْهُكَ، يا عَمْرُو، فِيهِ طُولُ،   وَفِي وُجُوهِ الْكِلابِ طُولُ

٢- مَقـابِحُ الْكَلْبِ فِيكَ طُـرًّا،   يَـزُولُ عَنْها وَلَا تَـزُولُ

٣- وَفِيهِ أَشْـيـاءُ صَالِحَـاتٌ   حَمَاكَها اللهُ وَالرَّسُـولُ

٤- فَالْكَلْبُ وافٍ وَفِـيكَ غَـدْرٌ   فَفِيكَ عَنْ قَدْرِهِ سُفُولُ

٥- وَقَـدْ يُحَامِي عَنِ الْمَوَاشِي،   وَمَا تُحَـامِي وَلَا تَصُولُ

٦- وَأَنْتَ مِنْ أَهْـلِ بَيْتِ سُوءٍ   قِصَّتُهُمْ قِصَّةٌ تَطُولُ

٧- وُجُوهُهُـمْ لِلْوَرَى عِظاتٌ،   لَكِـنَّ أَقْفاءهُمْ طُبُولُ

الحَوَاشِي

٢- طُـرًّا: جَمِيعًا. يَـزُولُ عَنْها: يُفارِقُها.

٥- صَالَ يَصُولُ: قَاتَلَ.

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٧- الأَقْفَاءُ (المُفْرَدُ: «قَفاً» أو «قَفَاءٌ»): مُؤَخَّرُ الْعُنُقِ. يَقُولُ: إِنَّ أَقْفَاءَهُمْ كالطُّبُولِ لِأَنَّ النَّاس اعتادُوا أَنْ يَصْفَعُوها ازْدِراءً لَهُمْ واسْتِخْفافًا بِهِمْ.

أبياتٌ لابْنِ الرُّومِيّ
في هِجاءِ مُغْنّيَةٍ

١- شَاهَدْتُ فِي بَعْضِ مَا شَاهَدْتُ مُسْمِعَةً   كَأَنَّما يَوْمُهَا يَوْمَانِ فِي يَوْمِ

٢- تَظَلُّ تُلْقِي عَلَى مَنْ ضَمَّ مَجْلِسُهَا   قَوْلًا ثَقِيلًا عَلَى الأَسْماعِ كَاللَّوْمِ

٣- لَهَا غِنَاءٌ يُثِيبُ اللهُ سَامِعَهُ   ضِعْفَيْ ثَوَابِ صَلاةِ اللَّيْلِ والصَّوْمِ

أَبْـيَاتٌ لِحَـمَّاد عَجْرَد
يُعَاتِبُ فِيها لائِـمًا

١- إِنْ كَانَ نُسْكُكَ لَا يَتِمْـ   ـمُ بِغَيْرِ شَتْمِي وَانْتِقَاصِي

٢- فَاقْعُدْ وَقُمْ بِي حَيْثُ شِئْـ   ـتَ مَعَ الأَدَانِي والأَقَاصِي

٣- فَلَطَـالَمَا زَكَّيْتَـنِي   وَأَنا الْمُقِيمُ عَلَى الْمَعَاصِي

الْحَوَاشِي

٢- الأَدَانِي (الْمُفْرَدُ: «دَانٍ»): الْقَرِيبُونَ. الأَقاصِي (الْمُفْرَدُ: «قَاصٍ»): البَعِيدُونَ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبِي نُوَاس فِي التَّوْبَـةِ

وَتَعَـزَّ وَتَصَـبَّـرْ	يَا نُوَاسِيُّ تَفَكَّـرْ
وَبِمَا سَرَّكَ أَكْـثَـرْ	سَاءَكَ الدَّهْـرُ بَشَيْءٍ
لِلهِ مِنْ ذَنْبِـكَ أَكْبَـرْ	يَا كَثِيرَ الذَّنْبِ عَفْوُ الْـ
أَصْغَـرِ عَفْوِ اللهِ يَصْغُرْ	أَكْثَـرُ الْعِصْـيَـانِ فِي

*****

فَإِذا رَدَدْتَ يَدِي فَمَـنْ ذا يَرْحَمُ؟	أَدْعُوكَ رَبِّ كَمَا أَمَـرْتَ تَضَـرُّعًا
فَمَنِ الَّذِي يَرْجُو وَيَخْشَى الْمُجْرِمُ؟	إِنْ كَانَ لَا يَرْجُـوكَ إِلَّا مُحْسِنٌ
وَجَمِيلُ عَفْـوِكَ ثُمَّ أَنِّي مُسْـلِمُ!	مَا لِي إِلَيْكَ وَسِيلَةٌ إِلَّا الرَّجَـا

مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبِي نُـوَاس
فِي الْغَـزَلِ

زَوَّقْـنَ لِي تُـرَّهَاتِ	١- مَالِي وَلِلْعَـاذِلَاتِ
يَلُمْـنَ فِي مَـوْلَاتِي	٢- سَعَيْنَ مِنْ كُلِّ فَجٍّ
مِنْ رَاحَتَيَّ حَيَاتِي	٣- يَأْمُرْنَنِي أَنْ أُخَلِّي
يَكُونُ حَتَّى الْمَمَاتِ	٤- وَذَاكَ مَا لَا وَلَا لَا

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الْحَوَاشِي

١- العَاذِلَاتُ (المُفْرَدُ: «عاذِلَةٌ»): اللَّائِمَاتُ. التُّرَّهاتُ: الأَبَاطِيلُ.

٢- الفَجُّ (الجَمْعُ: «فِجَاجٌ»): الطَّرِيقُ الوَاسِعُ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبِي نُـوَاس

فِي الهِـجَـاءِ

فَلَوْلَا الْجُـوعُ مَا مَاتَتْ رَقَـاشُ	أَمَاتَ اللهُ مِنْ جُوعٍ رَقَاشًا
وَقَدْ سَكَنُوا الْقُبُورَ إِذَنْ لَعَاشُوا	وَلَوْ أَشْمَمْتَ مَوْتَاهُمْ رَغِيفًا

لِسَانِي فِيـكَ لَا يَجْـرِي	بِمَا أَهْجُـوكَ؟ لَا أَدْرِي!
لَكَ أَشْفَقْتُ عَلَى شِعْرِي	إِذَا فَكَّـرْتُ فِي عِـرْضِ

مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبِي نُـوَاس

فِي الزُّهْـدِ

وَمَنْهَـجُ الْحَقِّ لَهُ وَاضِحُ	١- يَأْبَى الْفَتَى إِلَّا اتِّبَاعَ الْهَوَى
مُهُورُهُـنَّ الْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ	٢- فَاسْمُ بِعَيْنَيْكَ إِلَى نِسْـوَةٍ
إِلَّا امْرُؤٌ مِـيزَانُهُ رَاجِـحُ	٣- لَا يَجْتَلِي الْحَوْرَاءَ مِنْ خِدْرِهَا
سِـيقَ إِلَيْهِ الْمَتْجَرُ الرَّابِحُ	٤- مَنِ اتَّـقَى اللهَ فَـذَاكَ الَّذِي

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الحَوَاشِي

٢- سَمَا يَسْمُو: اِرْتَفَعَ.

٣- اِجْتَلَى يَجْتَلِي الرَّجُلُ عَرُوسَهُ: نَظَرَ إِلَيْهَا مَجْلُوَّةً. الخِدْرُ: الْخِبَاءُ. الْحَوْرَاءُ (الْجَمْعُ: «حُورٌ»): مَنِ اشْتَدَّ في عَيْنَيْهَا بَيَاضُ الْبَيَاضِ وَسَوَادُ السَّوَادِ؛ وَقَدْ تَدُلُّ اللَّفْظَةُ في بَعْضِ المَوَاطِنِ عَلَى الْبَيْضَاءِ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ دُونَ أَنْ يُقْصَدَ بِذٰلِكَ حَوَرٌ في عَيْنَيْهَا. وَلَعَلَّ الشَّاعِرَ يُلَمِّحُ إِلَى حُورِ الْجَنَّةِ اللَّوَاتي لَا يَظْفَرُ بِهِنَّ إِلَّا مَنْ آمَنَ وَعَمِلَ الصَّالِحَاتِ وَثَقُلَتْ مَوَازِينُهُ.

<div align="center">

لِأَبِي هِشَامِ الْبَاهِلِيِّ

في هِجَاءِ بَشَّار وَحَمَّاد عَجْرَد

</div>

قَتَلَ الْمَهْدِيُّ بَشَّارَ بْنَ بُـرْدٍ، الشَّاعِرَ الْأَعْمَى الْمَعْرُوفَ، فَدُفِنَ بَشَّارٌ مَعَ حَمَّاد عَجْرَد في مَكَانٍ وَاحِدٍ. وَمَرَّ بِالْقَبْرَيْنِ شَاعِرٌ مِنْ شُعَرَاءِ البَصْــرَةِ كَانَ يُهَاجِي بَشَّارًا، يُقَالُ لَهُ أَبُو هِشَام الباهِلِيُّ، فَوَقَفَ عَلَى قَبْرَيْهِما وَأَنْشَدَ هٰذِهِ الْأَبْيَـاتَ:[٣]

فَأَصْبَحَا جَارَيْنِ في دَارِ	قَدْ تَبِعَ الْأَعْمَى قَفَا عَجْرَدِ
بِقُـرْبِ حَمَّـادٍ وَبَشَّـارِ	قَالَتْ بِقَاعُ الْأَرْضِ: لَا مَرْحَبًا
مَا أَبْغَضَ الْجَارَ إِلَى الْجَارِ	تَجَاوَرَا بَعْدَ تَجَافِـيهِمَا
في النَّارِ، والْكَافِرُ في النَّارِ	صَارَا جَمِيعًا في يَـدَيْ مَالِكٍ

لِأَبِي نُوَاس

فِي هِجَاءِ أَبَانِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْحَمِيدِ

كَانَ أَبَانُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الحَمِيدِ، شَاعِرُ البَرَامِكَةِ، يَكْرَهُ العَرَبَ وَيَزْدَرِيهِمْ. وَكَانَ أَبُو نُوَاس يُبْغِضُ البَرَامِكَةَ أَشَدَّ البُغْضِ؛ لِذَلِكَ تَهَاجَى الشَّاعِرَانِ. وَالأَبْيَاتُ التَّالِيَةُ مِنْ قَصِيدَةٍ لِأَبِي نُوَاس يَهْجُو بِهَا أَبَانَ بْنَ عبدِ الحَمِيدِ وَيَتَّهِمُهُ بِالْكُفْرِ وَالزَّنْدَقَةِ:[٤]

لَا دَرَّ دَرُّ أَبَانِ	١- شَهِدْتُ يَوْمًا أَبَانًا
أَمِيرٍ بِالنَّهْرَوَانِ	٢- وَنَحْنُ حُضَّرُ رِوَاقِ الـ
أُولَى دَنَتْ لِأَوَانِ	٣- حَتَّى إِذَا مَا صَلَاةُ الـ
بِالْبِرِّ وَالْإِحْسَانِ	٤- فَقَامَ مُنْذِرُ رَبِّي
إِلَى انْقِضَاءِ الأَذَانِ	٥- وَكُلَّمَا قَالَ قُلْنَا
بِـذَا بِغَيْرِ عِيَانٍ؟	٦- فَقَالَ: كَيْفَ شَهِدْتُمْ
تُعَايِنَ الْعَيْنَانِ!	٧- لَا أَشْهَدُ الدَّهْرَ حَتَّى
فَقَالَ: سُبْحَانَ مَانِي!	٨- فَقُلْتُ: سُبْحَانَ رَبِّي!
فَقَالَ: مِنْ شَيْطَانِ!	٩- فَقُلْتُ: عِيسَى رَسُولٌ!
مُهَيْمِنِ الْمَنَّانِ!	١٠- فَقُلْتُ: مُوسَى نَجِيُّ الـ
لَةٍ إِذَنْ وَلِسَانِ؟	١١- فَقَالَ: رَبُّكَ ذُو مُقْـ
أَمْ مَنْ؟ فَقُمْتُ مَكَانِي	١٢- أَنَفْسُهُ خَلَقَتْهُ
مَةٍ وَذُو غُفْرَانِ	١٣- وَقُلْتُ: رَبِّيَ ذُو رَحْـ
عَنْ هَازِلٍ بِالْقُرَانِ	١٤- وَقُمْتُ أَسْحَبُ ذَيْلِي
بِالْكُفْرِ بِالرَّحْمَنِ	١٥- عَنْ كَافِرٍ يَتَمَرَّى

الحَوَاشِي

١- لَا دَرَّ دَرُّهُ: لَا زَكَا عَمَلُهُ وَلَا كَثُرَ خَيْرُهُ!

٨- مَانِي: مُؤَسِّسُ الْمَانَوِيَّةِ الْقَائِلِ بِمَبْدَأَيْنِ هُمَا الْخَيْرُ وَالشَّرُّ.

٩- «مِنْ شَيْطَان»: أَيْ هُوَ رَسُولٌ مِنْ شَيْطَان.

١٠- «نَجِيُّ الْمُهَيْمِنِ»: أَيْ كَلِيمُ اللهِ.

١١- الْمُقْلَةُ (الْجَمْعُ: «مُقَلٌ»): الْعَيْنُ.

١٣- عَمَدَ الشَّاعِرُ إِلَى لَفْظَةِ «رَبِّي» فَحَرَّكَ يَاءَهَا بِالْفَتْحَةِ كَيْ يَسْتَقِيمَ الْوَزْنُ. اِشْرَحْ هَذِهِ الْعِبَارَةَ فِي ضَوْءِ مَا تَعْرِفُ مِنْ شُرُوطٍ تُقَيِّدُ عَمُودَ الْأَعَارِيضِ.

١٥- يَتَمَرَّى: يَخْتَالُ وَيَتَبَاهَى.

<div align="center">

أَبْيَاتٌ لِلسَّيِّدِ الْحِمْيَرِيِّ
يَذْكُرُ فِيهَا قَبْرَ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ

</div>

١- أُمْرُرْ عَلَى جَدَثِ الْحُسَيْ   نِ فَقُلْ لِأَعْظُمِهِ الزَّكِيَّهْ

٢- أَأَعْظُمًا لَا زِلْتِ مِنْ   وَطْفَاءَ سَاكِبَةٍ رَوِيَّهْ

٣- وَإِذَا مَرَرْتَ بِقَبْرِهِ   فَأَطِلْ بِهِ وَقْفَ الْمَطِيَّهْ

الحَوَاشِي

١- الْجَدَثُ: الْقَبْرُ. الزَّكِيَّةُ: الطَّاهِرَةُ.

٢- السَّحَابَةُ الْوَطْفَاءُ: الْمُسْتَرْخِيَةُ لِكَثْرَةِ مَائِهَا. يُخَاطِبُ الشَّاعِرُ عِظَامَ الْحُسَيْنِ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ، دَاعِيًا لَهَا بِأَنْ تَرْتَوِيَ دَائِمًا مِنْ سَحَابَةٍ غَزِيرَةِ الْمَطَرِ.

لِأَبِي عَلِيّ الحَسَنِ بْنِ رَشِيقِ القَيْرَوَانِيّ الأَزْدِيّ

إِلَّا إِذَا مُسَّ بِأَضْرَارِ	فِي النَّاسِ مَنْ لَا يُرْتَجَى نَفْعُهُ
إِلَّا إِذَا أُحْرِقَ بِالنَّارِ	كَالْعُودِ لَا يُطْمَعُ فِي طِيبِهِ

مِنْ شِعْرِ ابْنِ الْمُعْتَـزِّ

وَدَمْعِي بِحُبِّي نَمُومٌ نَمُومُ	١- لِسَانِي لِسِرِّي كَتُومٌ كَتُومُ
بَدِيعُ الْجَمَالِ وَسِيمٌ وَسِيمُ	٢- وَلِي مَالِكٌ شَفَّنِي حُبُّهُ
وَلَفْظٌ سَحُورٌ رَخِيمٌ رَخِيمُ	٣- لَهُ مُقْلَتَا شَادِنٍ أَحْوَرٍ
وَجِسْمِي عَلَيْهِ سَقِيمٌ سَقِيمُ	٤- فَدَمْعِي عَلَيْهِ سَجُومٌ سَجُومٌ

الحَوَاشِي

١- نَمَّ بِالسِّـرِّ: بَاحَ بِهِ. نَمُومٌ: فَاضِحٌ لِلسِّـرِّ.

٢- شَفَّنِي: أَضْعَفَنِي وَبَرَانِي.

٣- المُقْلَةُ: الْعَيْنُ. الشَّادِنُ: وَلَدُ الظَّبْيَةِ. الأَحْـوَرُ (المُؤَنَّثُ: «حَوْرَاءُ»): مَنِ اشْتَدَّ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ بَيَاضُ الْبَيَاضِ وَسَوَادُ السَّوَادِ. سَحُورٌ: عَظِيمُ السِّحْرِ، خَلَّابٌ. الصَّوْتُ أَوِ اللَّفْظُ الرَّخِيمُ: العَذْبُ الرَّقِيقُ.

٤- سَجُومٌ: مُنْهَمِرٌ. سَقِيمٌ: مَرِيضٌ.

أَبْياتٌ أَنشَدَها ابنُ المُعْتَزِّ لِنَفْسِهِ

وَذَاكَ مِنِّي دَهَانِي	أَسْرَفْتُ فِي الْكِتْمانِ
كَتَمْتُهُ كِتْمانِي	كَتَمْتُ حُبَّكِ حَتَّى
مِنْ ذِكْرِهِ بِلِسانِي	فَلَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَ بُدٌّ

أَبْياتٌ لإِبْراهِيمَ بْنِ العَبَّاسِ الصُّولِيِّ

قالَها فِي الفضلِ بْنِ سَهْلٍ

تَقَاصَرَ عَنْها الْمَثَلْ	لِفَضْلِ بْنِ سَهْلٍ يَدٌّ
وَظَاهِرُها لِلْقُبَلْ	فَبَاطِنُها لِلنَّدَى
وَسَطْوَتُها لِلْأَجَلْ	وَنائِلُها لِلْغِنَى

لإِبْراهِيمَ بْنِ العَبَّاسِ الصُّولِيِّ فِي الغَزَلِ

وَاقْتِضاءٌ بِالتَّظَنِّي	ابْتِداءٌ بِالتَّجَنِّي
كَ لِأَعْدَائِكَ مِنِّي	وَاشْتِفاءٌ بِتَجَنِّيـ
لَمَ لِمْ أَعْرَضْتَ عَنِّي	بِأَبِي قُلْ لِي لِكَيْ أَعْـ
يِي ، فَقَدْ نالُوا التَّمَنِّي	قَدْ تَمَنَّى ذَاكَ أَعْدا

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مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبي تَمَّام

١- وإذَا أَرَادَ اللهُ نَشـرَ فَضِيلَةٍ   طُوِيَتْ، أَتَاحَ لَهَا لِسَانَ حَسُودِ

٢- لَوْلَا اشْتِعَالُ النَّارِ فيما جَاوَرَتْ   مَا كَانَ يُعْرَفُ طِيبُ عَرْفِ الْعُودِ

الحَوَاشِي

٢- العَرْفُ: الرَّائِحَةُ مُطْلَقًا؛ وَأَكْثَرُ اسْتِعْمَالِهِ في الرَّائِحَةِ الطَّيِّبَةِ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ الزَّيَّاتِ

فِي الغَـزَل

١- قَامَ بِقَلْبِي وَقَعَــــدْ   لَمَّا نَفَى عَنِّي الجَلَدْ

٢- يَا صَاحِبَ الْقَصْرِ الَّذِي   أَسْهَرَ عَيْنِي وَرَقَــدْ

٣- إنْ قُسِّمَ النَّاسُ فَحَسْـــ   بِي بِكَ مِنْ كُلِّ أَحَدْ

الْحَوَاشِـي

١- الْجَلَدُ: الصَّبْرُ وَالِاحْتِمَالُ.

٣- حَسْبِي: كَفَانِي.

أَبْيَاتٌ لِبَشَّارِ بْنِ بُرْدٍ

١- إذَا كُنْتَ في كُلِّ الأُمُورِ مُعَاتِبًا   صَدِيقَكَ لَمْ تَلْقَ الَّذِي لَا تُعَاتِبُهْ

٢- فَعِشْ وَاحِدًا أَوْ صِلْ أَخَاكَ فَإِنَّهُ   مُقَارِفُ ذَنْبٍ مَرَّةً وَمُجَانِبُهْ

٣- إذَا أَنْتَ لَمْ تَشْرَبْ مِـرَارًا عَلَى القَذَى   ظَمِئْتَ، وَأَيُّ النَّاسِ تَصْفُو مَشَارِبُهْ؟

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الحَـوَاشِي

٢- قَارَفَ الشَّيْءَ: قَارَبَهُ وَخَالَطَهُ. قَارَفَ الذَّنْبَ: أَتَاهُ. جَانَبَ الشَّيْءَ: ابْتَعَدَ

عَنْهُ. وَجُجَانِبُهُ: أَيْ وَجُجَانِبُهُ مَرَّةً أُخْرَى.

٣- القَذَى (المُفْرَدُ: «قَذَاةْ»): مَا يَقَعُ فِي العَيْنِ وَالشَّرَابِ مِنْ تُـرَابٍ وَنَحْوِهِ.

أَبْـيَاتٌ قَالَها مُحَمَّدُ بْـنُ يَزِيدَ الأُمَـوِيُّ

لِعِيسَى بْـنِ فرخان شَاه مُسْتَبْطِئًا مُعَاتِبًا

١- لَقَدْ كُنْتُ أُرَجِّيـكَ   لِما أَخْشَى مِنَ الدَّهْـرِ

٢- فَقَدْ أَصْبَحْتَ مِنْ أَوْكَ   ـدِ أَسْـبَابِي إِلَى الفَقْـرِ

٣- أَتَـرْضَى لِي بِأَنْ أَرْضَى   بِتَقْصِيرِكَ فِي أَمْـرِي

٤- وَقَـدْ أَفْنَيْتُ مَـا أَفْنَيْـ   ـتُ فِي شُكْرِكَ مِنْ عُمْرِي؟

٥- لَعَـلَّ اللهَ أَنْ يَصْـنَـ   ـعَ لِي مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا أَدْرِي

٦- فَأَلْقَاكَ بِـلَا شُكْـرٍ   وَتَلْقَـانِي بِـلَا عُـذْرِ

٧- وَلَا أَرْجُـوكَ فِي الحَالَيْـ   ـنِ لَا العُسْـرِ وَلَا الْيُسْرِ

الحَـوَاشِي

٥- صَنَعَ اللهُ لِفُلَانٍ: أَيْ صَنَعَ لَهُ مَعْرُوفًا؛ أَحْسَنَ إِلَيْهِ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبِي نُوَاس فِي الْغَزَلِ

١- كَأَنَّ ثِيَابَهُ أَطْلَعُ   ـنَ مِنْ أَزْرَارِهِ قَمَـرَا

٢- يَزِيدُكَ وَجْهُهُ حُسْنًا   إِذَا مَا زِدْتَهُ نَظَرَا

٣- بِعَيْنٍ خَالَطَ التَّفْتِيـ   ـرُ مِنْ أَجْفَانِهَا الْحَوَرَا

٤- وَخَدٍّ سَابِرِيٍّ لَوْ   تَصَوَّبَ مَاؤُهُ قَطَرَا

الحَوَاشِي

٣- التَّفْتِيرُ: اِنْكِسَارُ النَّظَرِ دَلَالًا أَوْ حَيَاءً. الحَوَرُ فِي العَيْنِ: شِدَّةُ بَيَاضِ البَيَاضِ مَعَ شِدَّةِ سَوَادِ السَّوَادِ.

٤- السَّابِرِيُّ مِنَ الثِّيَابِ: الرَّقِيقُ الجَيِّدُ. تَصَوَّبَ: اِنْحَدَرَ. قَطَرَ الماءُ أَوِ الدَّمْعُ: سَقَطَ قَطْرَةً قَطْرَةً. يَقُولُ إِنَّ الخَدَّ مِنَ النُّعُومَةِ بِحَيْثُ يَنْحَدِرُ الدَّمْعُ عَلَيْهِ فَيَتَسَاقَطُ قَطْرَةً قَطْرَةً.

أَبْـيَاتٌ نُسِبَتْ إِلَى العَبَّاسِ بْنِ مِرْدَاس

١- تَرَى الرَّجُلَ النَّحِيفَ فَتَزْدَرِيهِ   وَفِي أَثْوَابِهِ أَسَدٌ هَصُورُ

٢- ضِعَافُ الأُسْدِ أَكْثَرُهَا زَئِيرًا   وَأَصْرَمُهَا اللَّوَاتِي لَا تَزِيرُ

٣- فَمَا عِظَمُ الرِّجَالِ لَهُمْ بِزَيْنٍ   وَلَكِنْ زَيْنُهُمْ كَرَمٌ وَخِيرُ

الحَوَاشِي

١- الهَصُورُ: صِفَةٌ لِلْأَسَدِ لِأَنَّهُ يَهْصِـرُ فَرِيسَتَهُ، أَيْ يُكَسِّرُهَا تَكْسِيرًا.

٢- زَأَرَ الأَسَـدُ يَزْأَرُ أَوْ يَزْئِرُ: صَاحَ مِنْ صَدْرِهِ. يَزِيرُ: يَزْئِرُ.

أَبْيَاتٌ نَسَبَها حَمَّادُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ إِلَى أَبِيــهِ

١- لَاحَ بِالْمَفْرِقِ مِنْكَ الْفَتِيرُ   وَذَوَى غُصْنُ الشَّبَابِ النَّضِيرُ

٢- هَزِئَتْ أَسْمَاءُ مِنِّي وَقَالَتْ   أَنْتَ يَابْنَ الْمَوْصِلِيِّ كَبِيرُ

٣- وَرَأَتْ شَيْبًا عَلَانِي فَأَنَّتْ   وَابْنُ سِتِّينَ بِشَيْبٍ جَدِيــرُ

٤- إِنْ تَرَيْ شَيْبًا عَلَانِي فَإِنِّي   مَعَ ذَاكَ الشَّيْبِ حُلْوٌ مَزِيرُ

٥- قَدْ يُفَلُّ السَّيْفُ وَهْوَ جُرَازٌ   وَيَصُولُ اللَّيْثُ وَهْوَ عَقِــيرُ

الْحَوَاشِي

١- الْفَتِيرُ: المَشِيبُ.

٤- المَزِيرُ: المَزُورُ، أَيْ مَنْ يَتَرَدَّدُ عَلَيْهِ الزَّائِرُونَ.

٥- فَلَّ السَّيْفَ يَفُلُّهُ: ثَلَمَهُ وَكَسَرَهُ فِي حَدِّهِ. الجُرَازُ: القَطَّاعُ. صَالَ الأَسَدُ يَصُولُ عَلَى الفَرِيسَةِ: وَثَبَ عَلَيْهَا وَقَهَرَهَا. اللَّيْثُ: الأَسَدُ. العَقِيرُ: المَعْقُورُ، أَيِ الْجَرِيحُ.

لِبَشَّارِ بْنِ بُرْد

فِي الغَزَل

١- وَكَأَنَّ رَصْفَ حَدِيثِهَا   قِطَعُ الرِّيَاضِ كُسِينَ زَهْرَا

٢- وَكَأَنَّ تَحْتَ لِسَانِهَا   هَارُوتُ يَنْفُثُ فِيهِ سِحْرَا

٣- وَتَخَالُ مَا جَمَعَتْ عَلَيْـ   ـهِ ثِيَابَهَا ذَهَبًا وَعِطْرَا

٤- وَكَأَنَّهَا بَــرْدُ الشَّرَا   بِ صَفَا وَوَافَقَ مِنْكَ فِطْرَا

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الحَوَاشِي

٢- هَارُوتُ وَمَارُوتُ: سَاحِرَانِ وَرَدَ ذِكْرُهُمَا فِي القُرْآنِ الكَرِيمِ (٢: ١٠٢). فَتَنَا النَّاسَ بِسِحْرِهِمَا فَنَكَّلَ بِهِمَا اللهُ.

٤- يُشَبِّهُ صَاحِبَتَهُ بِشَرَابٍ بَارِدٍ مُنْعِشٍ صَافٍ صَادَفْتَهُ وَقَدْ هَفَتْ نَفْسُكَ إِلَيْهِ بَعْدَ أَنْ نَالَ مِنْكَ العَطَشُ.

لِأَبِي عَلِيٍّ الْبَصِيرِ

يَذِمُّ مُغَنِّيَةً

وَضَرْبُكِ بِالْعُودِ يُحْيِي الْكُرَبْ	١- غِنَاؤُكِ عِنْدِي يُمِيتُ الطَّرَبْ
تُغَنِّي فَأَحْسَبُهَا تَنْتَحِبْ	٢- وَلَمْ أَرَ قَبْلَكِ مِنْ قَيْنَةٍ
سِوَاكِ لَهَا بَدَنٌ مِنْ خَشَبْ	٣- وَلَا شَاهَدَ النَّاسُ إِنْسِيَّةً
يَوَدُّكِ ، لَوْ كَانَ كَلْبًا كَلِبْ؟	٤- فَكَيْفَ تَصُدِّينَ عَنْ عَاشِقٍ
حَدِيثُكِ أَخْمَدَ مِنْهَا اللَّهَبْ	٥- وَلَوْ مَازَجَ النَّارَ فِي حَرِّهَا

الحَوَاشِي

١- الكُرَبُ (المُفْرَدُ: «كُرْبَةٌ»): الأَحْزَانُ وَالهُمُومُ وَالمَشَقَّاتُ.

٢- القَيْنَةُ (الجَمْعُ: «قِيَانٌ»): الأَمَةُ أَوِ المُغَنِّيَةُ.

٤- كَلِبَ الْكَلْبُ يَكْلَبُ كَلَبًا: أَصَابَهُ دَاءُ الْكَلَبِ.

أَبْياتٌ لِلْعَكَوَّكِ عليّ بْنِ جَبَلَةَ

١- جَلَالُ مَشِيبٍ نَزَلْ   وأُنْسُ شَبَابٍ رَحَلْ

٢- طَوَى صَاحِبٌ صَاحِبًا   كَذَاكَ اخْتِلَافُ الدُّوَلْ

٣- أَعَاذِلَــتِي أَقْصِــرِي   كَفَاكِ الْمَشِيبُ الْعَذَلْ

الْحَوَاشِي

٢- الِاخْتِلَاف: التَّعَاقُبُ. الدَّوْلَةُ (الْجَمْعُ: «دُوَلٌ»): الِاسْتِيلَاءُ والْغَلَبَةُ. والْمَقْصُودُ بِاخْتِلَافِ
الدُّوَلِ: اِنْتِقَالُ الفَوْزِ مِنْ يَدٍ إِلَى يَدٍ فِي غَـــيْرِ ثَبَاتٍ وَلَا اسْتِقْرَارٍ.

٣- العَاذِلُ: اللَّائِمُ. أَقْصِرِي: أَمْسِكِي عَنِ اللَّــوْمِ.

أَبْيَاتٌ لِإبْـرَاهِيمَ بْـنِ الْمَـهْدِيِّ
خاطَبَ بِها الْمَأْمُـونَ

ذَنْبِي إِلَيْكَ عَظِيمٌ   وَأَنْتَ أَعْظَمُ مِنْـهُ

فَخُذْ بِحَقِّـكَ أَوْ لَا   فَاصْفَحْ بِفَضْلِكَ عَنْهُ

إِنْ لَمْ أَكُنْ فِي فِعَالِي   مِنَ الْكِـرَامِ فَكُنْهُ

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أَبْيَاتٌ نُسِبَتْ إِلَى أَبِي الْعَتَاهِيَةِ

١- لَا تَفْخَـرَنَّ بِلِحْـيَةٍ   كَثُرَتْ مَنَابِتُهَا طَوِيلَةْ

٢- تَهْوِي بِهَا هُـوجُ الرِّيا   حِ كَأَنَّهَا ذَنَبُ الْحَسِيلَةْ

٣- قَدْ يُدْرِكُ الشَّرَفَ الْفَتَى   يَـوْمًا وَلِحْيَـتُهُ قَلِيلَةْ

الْحَوَاشِي

٢- الْحَسِيلَةُ: الْعِجْلَةُ.

أَبْـيَاتٌ لِلنَّابِغَةِ الْجَـعْدِيّ

الْمَـرْءُ يَرْغَبُ فِي الْحَيَا   ةِ وَطُولُ عَيْشٍ قَدْ يَضُرُّهْ

تَفْـنَى بَشَاشَـتُهُ وَيَبْـ   تَى بَعْدَ حُلْوِ الْعَيْشِ مُرُّهْ

وَتَسُـوءُهُ الْأَيَّامُ حَتْـ   تَى مَا يَـرَى شَيْئًا يَسُرُّهْ

كَمْ شَامِتٍ بِي إِنْ هَلَكْـ   ـتُ وَقَـائِلٍ لِلهِ دَرُّهْ

أَبْـيَـاتٌ أَنْشَدَهَا الطُوسِيُّ أَبُو الْحَسَنِ عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ

١- أَتَتْ عَـلَى عَهْـدِهِ اللَّيَالِي   وَحَـدَثَتْ بَعْدَهُ أُمُـورُ

٢- وَاعْتَضْتُ بِالْيَأْسِ مِنْهُ صَبْرًا   وَاعْتَدَلَ الْحُـزْنُ وَالسُّرُورُ

٣- فَلَسْتُ أَرْجُـو وَلَسْتُ أَخْشَى   مَا أَحْـدَثَتْ بَعْدَهُ الدُّهُـورُ

٤- فَلْيَجْهَدِ الدَّهْـرُ فِي مَسَاتِي   فَمَا عَسَى جَهْـدُهُ يَضِيرُ؟

الْحَوَاشِي

٤- مَسَاتِي: مَسَاءَتِي. ضَارَهُ يَضِيرُهُ ضَيْرًا: أَضَرَّ بِهِ.

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أَبْـيَاتٌ لِابْنِ الأَعْرَابِيِّ

١- خَبَّرُوهَا بِأَنَّـنِي قَدْ تَزَوَّجْـ   ...تُ فَظَلَّتْ تُكَاتِمُ الْغَيْظَ سِرَّا

٢- ثُمَّ قَالَتْ لِأُخْـتِها وَلِأُخْـرَى   جَزَعًا: لَيْتَـهُ تَـزَوَّجَ عَشْرَا

٣- وَأَشَـارَتْ إِلَى نِسَاءٍ لَدَيْهَا   لَا تَـرَى دُونَهُنَّ لِلسِّـرِّ سَتْرَا

٤- مَا لِقَلْبِي كَأَنَّـهُ لَيْسَ مِنِّي   وَعِظَامِي إِخَـالُ فِيهِنَّ فَـتْرَا

٥- مِنْ حَدِيثٍ نَمَـى إِلَيَّ فَظِيعٍ   خِلْتُ فِي الْقَلْبِ مِنْ تَلَظِّيهِ جَمْرَا

الْحَوَاشِي

٤- الفَـتْرُ: الضَّعْفُ.

٥- نَـمَى إِلَيَّ: ارْتَفَـعَ إِلَيَّ، أَيْ بَلَغَـنِي.

أَبْيَاتٌ حَكَاهَا الأَصْمَعِيُّ
عَنِ امْرَأَةٍ كَانَتْ تَبْكِي عِنْدَ قَـبْرِ

يَا دَهْرُ ماذَا أَرَدْتَ مِنِّي؟   أَخْلَفْتَ مَا كُنْتُ أَرْتَجِيهِ

دَهْـرٌ رَمانِي بِفَقْدِ إِلْفِي   أَشْكُو زَمانِي وَأَشْتَكِـيهِ

آمَنَـكَ اللهُ كُلَّ رَوْعٍ   وَكُلَّ مَا كُنْتَ تَتَّقِـيهِ

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مِنْ شِعْرِ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ الضَّبِّيِّ

١- لَا تَرْكَنَنَّ إِلَى الْفِرَا ق، فَإِنَّهُ مُرُّ الْمَذَاقِ

٢- وَالشَّمْسُ عِنْدَ غُرُوبِهَا تَصْفَرُّ مِنْ أَلَمِ الْفِرَاقِ

الْحَوَاشِي

١- رَكَنَ يَرْكُنُ إِلَى الشَّيْءِ: اطْمَأَنَّ إِلَيْهِ. هَلْ تُجِيزُ قَوَاعِدُ الْعَرُوضِ وَالْقَافِيَةِ أَنْ يَشْتَمِلَ صَدْرُ الْبَيْتِ عَلَى كَلِمَةِ «الفِرَاقِ» بِأَكْمَلِهَا؟ هَلْ تُفَضِّلُ هَذَا النَّحْوَ مِنَ التَّقْطِيعِ؟ اشْرَحْ إِجَابَتَكَ وَفَصِّلْهَا قَدْرَ الْإِمْكَانِ. هَلْ تَجِدُ فِي الْعَجُزِ تَغْيِيرًا شَاذًّا؟ عَلَى أَيِّ وَجْهٍ يَكُونُ النُّطْقُ كَفِيلًا بِأَنْ يَتَدَارَكَ هَذَا الشُّذُوذَ؟

مِنْ شِعْرِ الْخَصِيبِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْحَمِيدِ

١- لَا تَجْعَلَنْ بُعْدَ دَارِي مُخَيِّسًا لِنَصِيبِي

٢- فَرُبَّ شَخْصٍ بَعِيدٍ إِلَى الْفُؤَادِ قَرِيبِ

٣- وَرُبَّ شَخْصٍ قَرِيبٍ إِلَيْهِ غَيْرُ حَبِيبِ

٤- مَا الْقُرْبُ وَالْبُعْدُ إِلَّا مَا كَانَ بَيْنَ الْقُلُوبِ

الْحَوَاشِي

١- خَسَّسَ نَصِيبَهُ: جَعَلَهُ دَنِيًّا حَقِيرًا.

٢- الصَّوَابُ أَنْ تُرْفَعَ كَلِمَةُ «قَرِيب» لِأَنَّهَا وَقَعَتْ خَبَرًا، لَكِنَّ الْقَافِيَةَ اسْتَدْعَتْ جَرَّهَا؛ وَهَذَا مِنْ عُيُوبِ الْقَافِيَةِ.

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مِنْ شِعْرِ عُمَرَ بْنِ أَبِي رَبِيعَةَ

١- إِنَّكِ لَا تَعْرِفِينَ مَا الْهَمُّ والـ   ـغَمُّ وَلَا تَعْلَمِينَ مَا الْأَرَقْ

٢- أَنَا الَّذِي لَا تَنَامُ عَيْنِي وَلَا   تَرْقَا دُمُوعِي مَا دَامَ بِي رَمَقْ

٣- أُحْـرَمُ مِنْكُمْ بِمَا أَقُـولُ وَقَدْ   نَالَ بِهِ الْعَاشِقُونَ مَنْ عَشِقُوا

٤- صِـرْتُ كَأَنِّي ذُبَالَةٌ نُصِبَتْ   تُضِيءُ لِلنَّاسِ وَهْيَ تَحْتَرِقْ

الحَوَاشِي

٢- رَقَأَتِ الدُّمُوعُ تَرْقَأُ رَقْأً: جَفَّتْ.

٤- الذُّبَالَةُ: الفَتِيلَةُ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ ابْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّـهِ

١- يَا بُدُورًا أَنَا بِهَا الدْ   دَهْـرَ عَـانٍ أَسِـيرُ

٢- إِنْ رَضِيتُمْ بِأَنْ أَمُو   تَ فَمَـوْتِي حَقِـيرُ

٣- كُلُّ خَطْبٍ إِنْ لَمْ تَكُو   نُـوا غَضِبْتُمْ يَسِـيرُ

الحَوَاشِي

١- عَنَا يَعْنُو عَنَاءً فَهُوَ عَانٍ: خَضَعَ وَذَلَّ.

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أَبْيَاتٌ لِأَبِي الْحَسَنِ عَلِيّ الْحصريّ الْقَيْرَوانِيّ

١- يَا لَيْلُ: الصَّبُّ مَتَى غَدُهُ؟   أَقِيَامُ السَّاعَـةِ مَوْعِدُهُ؟

٢- رَقَـدَ السُّمَّارُ؛ وَأَرَّقَـهُ   أَسَفٌ لِلْبَـيْنِ يُـرَدِّدُهُ

٣- يَا مَنْ جَحَدَتْ عَيْنَاهُ دَمِي   وَعَـلَى خَدَّيْـهِ تَوَرُّدُهُ

٤- خَدَّاكَ قَدِ اعْتَـرَفَا بِدَمِي   فَعَلَامَ جُفُونُكَ تَجْحَدُهُ؟

٥- إِنِّي لَأُعِيذُكَ مِنْ قَتْلِـي   وَأَظُنُّـكَ لَا تَـتَعَمَّـدُهُ

٦- بِاللهِ هَبِ الْمُشْتَاقَ كَـرًى   فَلَعَـلَّ خَيَالَكَ يُسْعِـدُهُ

الْحَوَاشِي

١- الصَّبُّ: الشَّوْقُ.

٢- الْبَـيْنُ: الفُرْقَةُ.

٥- أَعَاذَ فُلَانًا يُعِيذُهُ مِنْ أَمْرٍ: دَعَا لَهُ بِالْحِفْظِ وَالْعِصْمَةِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ الأَمْـرِ.

٦- الكَرَى: النَّوْمُ.

مِنْ شِعْرِ الوَلِيدِ بْنِ يَزِيدَ

١- كِلَـلَانِي تَوَّجَـانِي   وَبِشِعْـرِي غَنِّيَانِي

٢- وَيْحَ سَلْمَى لَوْ تَرَانِي   لَعَنَاهَا مَا عَنَـانِي

٣- هَـاجَ قَلْبِي وَدَهَانِي   حُبُّ سَلْمَى وَبَرَانِي

الْحَوَاشِي

٢- عَنَاهُ يَعْنُوهُ الأَمْـرُ عَنَاءً: أَهَمَّـهُ.

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مِنْ شِعْرِ عُمَرَ بْنِ أَبِي رَبِيعَةَ

وَشَفَتْ أَنْفُسَنَا مِمَّا تَجِدْ	لَيْتَ هِنْدًا أَنْجَزَتْنَا مَا تَعِدْ
إِنَّمَا الْعَاجِزُ مَنْ لَا يَسْتَبِدّْ	وَاسْتَبَدَّتْ مَرَّةً وَاحِدَةً
ضَحِكَتْ هِنْدٌ وَقَالَتْ: بَعْدَ غَدْ	كُلَّمَا قُلْتُ مَتَى مِيعَادُنَا

أَبْيَاتٌ لِابْنِ زَيْدُون

قَالَهَا بَعْدَ نُزْهَةٍ مَعَ صَاحِبَتِهِ وَلَّادَةَ

ذَائِعٌ مِنْ سِرِّهِ مَا اسْتَوْدَعَكْ	١- وَدَّعَ الصَّبْرَ مُحِبٌّ وَدَّعَكْ
زَادَ فِي تِلْكَ الْخُطَى إِذْ شَيَّعَكْ	٢- يَقْرَعُ السِّنَّ عَلَى أَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ
حَفِظَ اللهُ زَمَانًا أَطْلَعَكْ	٣- يَا أَخَا الْبَدْرِ سَنَاءً وَسَنَى
بِتُّ أَشْكُو قِصَرَ اللَّيْلِ مَعَكْ!	٤- إِنْ يَطُلْ بَعْدَكَ لَيْلِي فَلَكَمْ

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٢- يَقْرَعُ السِّنَّ: يَصْرِفُ عَلَى أَسْنَانِهِ وَيَصُكُّهَا نَدَمًا.

٣- السَّنَاءُ: الضِّيَاءُ. السَّنَى: اللَّمَعَانُ.

أَبْيَاتٌ نُسِبَتْ إِلَى الإِمَامِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ

ذُكِرَ عَنِ الإِمَامِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ مَرَّ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ بِرَاهِبٍ يَدُقُّ النَّاقُوسَ فَقَالَ لِجَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللهِ: أَتَدْرِي مَاذَا يَقُولُ النَّاقُوسُ؟ قَالَ جَابِرٌ: اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ. فَأَنْشَدَ الإِمَامُ هَذِهِ الأَبْيَاتَ عَلَى لِسَانِ النَّاقُوسِ:⁵

صِدْقًا صِدْقًا صِدْقًا صِدْقًا	حَقًّا حَقًّا حَقًّا حَقًّا
وَاسْتَهْوَتْنَا وَاسْتَلْهَتْنَا	إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ غَرَّتْنَا
إِلَّا أَنَّا قَدْ فَرَّطْنَا	لَسْنَا نَدْرِي مَا قَدَّمْنَا
زِنْ مَا تَأْتِي وَزْنًا وَزْنًا	يَا ابْنَ الدُّنْيَا مَهْلًا مَهْلًا
إِلَّا أَوْهَى مِنَّا رُكْنَا	مَا مِنْ يَوْمٍ يَمْضِي عَنَّا

أَبْيَاتٌ لِنُصَيْبِ بْنِ رَبَاحٍ
فِي الفَخْرِ⁶

كَانَ نُصَيْبُ بْنُ رَبَاحٍ عَبْدًا لِرَجُلٍ مِنْ كِنَانَةَ مِنْ أَهْلِ وَدَّانَ. كَانَ مِنْ فُحُولِ الشُّعَرَاءِ الإِسْلَامِيِّينَ، مُقَدَّمًا فِي النَّسِيبِ والمَدِيحِ، مُتَرَفِّعًا عَنِ الهِجَاءِ، كَبِيرَ النَّفْسِ عَفِيفًا: قِيلَ إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَنْسُبْ قَطُّ إِلَّا بِامْرَأَتِهِ. وَكَانَ مُقَدَّمًا عِنْدَ المُلُوكِ يُجِيدُ مَدِيحَهُمْ وَمَرَاثِيَهُمْ. وَهُوَ فِي المَقْطُوعَتَيْنِ التَّالِيَتَيْنِ يَفْخَرُ بِشِعْرِهِ وَفَصَاحَتِهِ، وَيَرُدُّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ يَغُضُّونَ مِنْ شَأْنِهِ لِسَوَادِ بَشَرَتِهِ.

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١- لَيْسَ السَّوادُ بِناقِصي مَا دَامَ لِي   هَـذَا اللِّسَـانُ إِلَى فُـؤادٍ ثابِـتِ

٢- مَنْ كَانَ تَرْفَعُهُ مَنابِتُ أَصْلِهِ   فَبُيُوثُ أَشْعَـاري جُعِلْنَ مَنَـابِتي

٣- كَمْ بَـيْنَ أَسْوَدَ ناطِقٍ بِبَيَانِهِ   مَاضي الْجَنَانِ وَبَيْنَ أَبْيَضَ صامِتِ

٤- إِنّي لَيَحْسُدُني الرَّفِـيـعُ بِنَاؤُهُ   مِنْ فَضْلِ ذَاكَ وَلَيْسَ بي مِنْ شامِتِ

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٥- فَإِنْ أَكُ حَالِكًا فَالْمِسْكُ أَحْوَى   وَمَا لِسَوَادِ جِسْمِي مِـنْ دَوَاء

٦- وَلِي كَـرَمٌ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ نَاءٍ   كَبُعْدِ الْأَرْضِ مِـنْ جَـوِّ السَّماء

٧- وَمِثْـلي في رِجَالِكُمُ قَلِيـلٌ   وَمِثْلُكِ لَيْسَ يُعْـدَمُ في النِّسَاء

٨- فَإِنْ تَرْضَي فَرُدّي قَوْلَ رَاضٍ   وَإِنْ تَأْبَي فَنَحْـنُ عَلَى السَّـوَاء

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١- إِلَى فُـؤادٍ: أَيْ بِالْإِضَافَةِ إِلَى فُؤادٍ؛ والفُؤادُ هُوَ القَلْبُ.

٣- الجَنَـانُ: القَلْبُ.

٥- إِنْ أَكُ: إِنْ أَكُنْ. أَحْـوَى: ضَارِبٌ إِلَى السُّمْرَةِ أَوِ السَّوَادِ.

٦- النَّـائي: البَعِيـدُ

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١ الْمَجْمُوعَةُ الكَامِلَةُ لِمُؤَلَّفَاتِ الدّكتورِ طـه حسـين، للدّكتور طه حسـين، المجلَّدُ السّادِس، ص ٢٠٨.

٢ شَرْحُ الأَبْيَاتِ مُقْتَبَسٌ مِنْ تَعْلِيقاتِ الدّكتور طه حسين. أنْظُرِ الْمَجْمُوعَةَ الكَامِلَةَ لِمُؤَلَّفَاتِ الدّكْتورِ طـه حسـين، للدّكتور طه حسـين، المجلَّد العاشِر، ص ٢١٥ - ٢١٧.

٣ الْمَجْمُوعَةُ الكَامِلَةُ لِمُؤَلَّفَاتِ الدّكتورِ طـه حسـين، للدّكتور طه حسـين، المجلَّدُ الثَّاني، ص ٤٩٢.

٤ الْمَجْمُوعَةُ الكَامِلَةُ لِمُؤَلَّفَاتِ الدّكتورِ طـه حسـين، للدّكتور طـه حسـين، المجلَّدُ الثَّاني، ص ٥٣٤- ٥٣٦.

٥ مُوسِيقَى الشّعْرِ، للدّكتور إبراهيم أنيس، ص ١٠٥؛ الوَافِي فِي العَرُوضِ والقَـوَافِي، للخَطِيب التِّبريزيّ، ص ١٩٥- ١٩٧.

٦ مُعْجَـمُ الأُدَباءِ، لِيَاقُـوتٍ الحَمَويّ (تَحْقِيقُ دَافِيد صَمُـوِيل مَرْجَلْيُـوث)، الجـزءُ التَّاسِـعَ عَشَرَ، ص ٢٢٨-٢٣٣.

مَرَاجِـعُ الجُزءُ الثَّالِثِ

اِسْتَعَنَّا في إِعْدَادِ الْجُزْءِ الثَّالِثِ بِمَرَاجِعِ الْجُـزْءَيْنِ السَّابِقَيْنِ؛ كَذٰلِكَ أَسْعَفَتْـنَا المَـرَاجِعُ التَّالِيَةُ:

المَرَاجِـعُ الإِنْكِلِيـزِيَّـةُ

Abell, George O. *Realm of the Universe*. 2d ed. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Saunders College, 1980.

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Russell, Bertrand. *The ABC of Relativity*. Edited by Felix Pirani. 4th ed. revised. New York, New York: New American Library, 1985.

Sagan, Carl. *Cosmos*. New York: Random House, 1980.

المَرَاجِـعُ العَرَبِيَّـةُ

الجَـدِيدُ فِي الأَدَبِ العَرَبِيِّ – لِحَـنَّا الفاخُـورِيِّ – نَشْرُ مكتبةِ المدرسةِ ودارِ الكتابِ اللُّبنانيِّ – بَـيروت:

الجزءُ الثَّالِثُ (للسَّنةِ التَّكْمِيلِيَّةِ الثَّالِثةِ، الصفّ الرَّابِعُ) – الطَّبعةُ الثَّالِثةُ – سنة ١٩٦٩

الجزءُ الرَّابِـعُ (للسَّنةِ التَّكْمِيليَّةِ الرَّابِعةِ، الصفّ الثَّالِث) – الطَّبعةُ الأولى – سنة ١٩٦٤

الجزءُ الرَّابِـعُ (للسَّنةِ المتوسِّطَةِ الرَّابِعةِ، الصفّ الثَّالِث) – سنة ١٩٨١

الجُـزءُ السَّادِسُ (للسَّنةِ الثَّانيَـةِ مِنْ مَرحلةِ التَّعليمِ الثَّانَويِّ العَـامِّ، الصفِّ الأوَّل) – الطَّبعةُ
الأولى - سنةَ ١٩٦٩

جَمْهَرَةُ أَشْعَـارِ العَـرَبِ – لِأَبِي زَيْـدٍ مُحمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي الْخَطَّابِ الْقُرَشِيِّ – نَشْرُ دارِ
صَـــادر ودارِ بــيروت – بــيروت ١٩٦٣

الرَّائِدُ فِي القِـرَاءَةِ والأَدَبِ – لِسَلْمَى كبارة ونهـاد كنج حاطـوم وكمَال أبي مصلح وكريم
أبي مُــراد – الجُـزْءُ الثَّاني (للسَّنةِ المتوسِّطةِ الثَّانِيَةِ) – نَشْـرُ دارِ الشَّمالِ – طـرابلس
بلبنان (بدون تاريخ)

الشِّعْـرُ والشُّعَـراءُ – لأبي محمَّـد عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ مُسلِمِ بْنِ قُتَيْـبَةَ – نَشْـرُ مطبعـةِ
بريـل – لَيْـدِن ١٩٠٢

كِتابُ الأَمَـالِي – لأبي عليّ إسماعيلَ بْنِ القاسِمِ القالي البغـداديّ – الجُـزْءُ الأوَّلُ – نَشْـرُ
دارِ الفِكْرِ – بــيروت (بدون تاريخ)

المَجْمُوعَةُ الكامِلَةُ لِمُؤلَّفاتِ الدّكتور طه حسين – للدّكتور طه حسين – ١٥ جزءًا -
نَشْرُ دارِ الكِتابِ اللُّبنانيّ – بــيروت ١٩٧٣ – ١٩٧٥

مُعْجَـمُ الأُدَبـاءِ – لِياقُـوتٍ الحَمَويّ (تَحقيقُ دَافِيد صَمْـويل مَرجْلِيُـوث) – عِشْرُونَ
جُزءًا – الطَّبعَةُ الثَّانِيَةُ – نَشْـرُ دارِ المُسْتَشْرِقِ – بــيروت (بدون تاريخ)

المُعْجَـمُ العَـرَبيُّ: نَشْأتُهُ وَتَطَـوُّرُهُ – للدّكتور حسين نصَّـار – جزءان – الطَّبعةُ
الثَّانِيَـةُ - نَشْرُ دارِ مِصْـرَ للطِّباعةِ – القاهرة ١٩٦٨

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مُحْتَـــوَيَاتُ الْجُـــزْءِ الثَّالِثِ

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الْجُزْءُ الثَّالِثُ: قَائِمَةُ الْمُحْتَوَيَاتِ

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PART IV

RHYME IN ARABIC POETRY

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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RHYME IN ARABIC POETRY

Introduction

Like their study of rhythm, the Ancient Arab Grammarians' study of rhyme is plagued by a long list of technical terms and complex definitions. The technical terms in question include: الرَّوِيّ, الْوَصْل , الْمُتَرَادِف , الْمُتَوَاتِر , الْمُتَدَارِك , الْمُتَرَاكِب , الْمُتَكَاوِس , الرِّدْف ,
التَّأْسِيس, الدَّخِيل , الْخُرُوج , الْمَجْرَى , التَّوْجِيه , الإشباع , النَّفاذ , الْحَـذْو , الرَّسّ , الْقافِيَة
الْمُطْلَقَة , الْقافِيَة الْمُطْلَقَة الْمُرْدَفَة , الْقافِيَة الْمُقَيَّدَة , الْمُطْلَقَة , الْقافِيَة الْمُطْلَقَة الْمُؤَسَّسَة
الْمُجَرَّدَة , الْقافِيَـة الْمُقَيَّدَة الْمُرْدَفَة , الْقافِيـَة الْمُقَيَّدَة الْمُؤَسَّسَة , الْقافِيَة الْمُقَيَّدَة الْمُجَرَّدَة
الإقْـوَاء , الإصْراف , الإيطاءِ , التَّتْمِيم أوِ التَّضْمِين , الإكْفاء , الإجازَة , السِّناد , سِناد الرِّدْف , سِناد
الإشباع , سِناد الحَذْو , سِناد التَّأْسِيس , سِناد التَّوجِيه, التَّحْـرِيد , الإقْعَاد , الغُلُوّ , التَّعَدِّي .

The Ancient Arab Grammarians failed to recognize the significance of the *syllable* in describing rhyme; such failure obstructed the formulation of *general* statements which render it unnecessary to focus on a multitude of individual items and coin a technical term for each item.

A meticulous author, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī devotes a hundred and eight pages, packed with extremely intricate discussion, to the task of explaining the rules formulated by the Ancient Arab Grammarians in order to define the rhyme of Arabic poetry.[1]

In the following passages, we draw on the principles of modern Linguistics science to satisfy the requirements of generality (including explanatory power), adequacy, and simplicity—*without* altering the basic data provided by the Ancient Arab Grammarians. We shall use the symbol – to represent a long syllable and the symbol ‿ to represent a short syllable; in addition, we shall use the symbol �form to represent a sequence of two short syllables which patterns as a single (long) constituent of a metric foot. It should be kept in mind that, for the purposes of this study, a short syllable is defined as the sequence CV (where C stands for a consonant and V stands for a short vowel), while a long syllable is defined as any of the following sequences (where C stands for a consonant, V stands for a short vowel, and $\overline{V}$ stands for a long vowel): $C\overline{V}$, CVC, $C\overline{V}C$, CVCC, $C\overline{V}CC$.

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Rather than syllables, the Ancient Arab Grammarians used two entities, the *mutaḥarrik* (مُتَحَرِّك) and the *sākin* (ساكِن), to describe rhyme. The term *mutaḥarrik* denotes the sequence CV, while the term *sākin* denotes (a) vowel length or (b) a consonant which is not followed by a vowel; thus the syllable $C\overline{V}$ (like the syllable CVC) is equivalent to a *mutaḥarrik* followed by a *sākin*, the syllable $C\overline{V}C$ (like the syllable CVCC) is equivalent to a *mutaḥarrik* followed by two *sākin*'s, and the syllable $C\overline{V}CC$ is equivalent to a *mutaḥarrik* followed by three *sākin*'s.

The Arabic verses cited in this study contain some difficult expressions; those expressions are defined in the *Glossary of Arabic Words* immediately before the footnotes. The footnotes marked by letters, as opposed to numbers, provide an English translation for the Arabic verses.

Rhyme Schemes in Arabic Poetry

In the classical period,[2] relatively long poems seldom exceeded a hundred and twenty lines; such poems are called قَصائِد (singular: قَصيدَة). In contrast, short fragments consisted of only a few lines and are known as قِطَع (singular: قِطْعَة) or مَقْطُوعات (singular: مَقْطُوعَة).

According to ancient rule, the two hemistichs of the first line in the *qaṣīda* of classical times must rhyme with each other (a requirement which the Ancient Arab Grammarians designated as التَّصْريع), and the same rhyme must recur at the end of every line throughout the entire poem; in other words, the first line of the *qaṣīda* must exhibit "internal rhyme", and all of the lines must exhibit "external rhyme". On the other hand, the *maqṭūʿa* of classical times was required to exhibit external rhyme but not *taṣrīʿ*. Subsequent developments over the centuries which followed the classical period produced new rhyme schemes in Arabic poems.[3]

The rules which govern rhyme in the *qaṣīda* of classical times are discussed and illustrated below.

Definition of "Rhyme" in Arabic Poetry

Webster's unabridged dictionary defines rhyme as "correspondence in terminal sounds of two or more words, lines of verse, or other units of composition or utterance."[4] We shall say that, in Arabic poetry, a set of hemistichs rhyme with each other if they end in similar sequences called "rhyme groups"; in this context, similarity is defined in terms of syllabic structure as well as sound.

A rhyme group has a well-defined syllabic structure: it consists of the sequence which extends from the line-final long syllable to the preceding long syllable. To facilitate the

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accurate application of this definition, it is important to remember that a line-final vowel is always long in pronunciation; thus the last syllable of a line is invariably long. The following four patterns are used regularly in ancient Arabic poetry: $--$, $-\smile-$, $-\smile\smile-$, and $-\smile\smile\smile-$. In other words, a rhyme group comprises two long syllables with or without an intervening segment; the intervening segment consists of a single short syllable, two consecutive short syllables, or three consecutive short syllables. Thus the following formula (where parentheses enclose optional units) generates the syllabic structures of all rhyme groups:

$$- \; (\smile) \; (\smile) \; (\smile) \; -$$

The Ancient Arab Grammarians postulated the existence of a fifth pattern which consists of a single long syllable and which they called الْمُتَرَادِف . Always ending in a consonant, the pattern in question is reportedly rare in Arabic poetry.[5] Because of its reported scarcity, and because in the final analysis it may turn out to be the product of a faulty definition,[6] *al-mutarādif* will be excluded from our inventory of syllabic patterns.

To avoid any kind of ambiguity, a few stipulations are in order at this point. We shall use the terms *rhyme group* and *qāfiya* (الْقَافِيَة) interchangeably to denote a particular, concrete sequence rather than a mere generalized abstraction; in other words, these terms will refer not only to the syllabic structure but also to the actual sounds which embody that structure. Thus in the following line (composed by الْمُتَنَبِّي), the rhyme group or *qāfiya* is not merely the syllabic sequence $--$, but rather the word بِيدُ :[a]

فَلَيْتَ دُونَكَ بِيدًا دُونَهَا بِيدُ   أَمَّا الْأَحِبَّةُ فَالْبَيْدَاءُ دُونَهُمُ

Like *Webster's Dictionary*, we shall use the term *rhyme* to denote the similarity (or correspondence) which produces a musical effect in line-final positions. Simply stated, then, a *rhyme group* is the line-final segment which functions as the domain of rhyme. The generalized abstractions are, of course, the four syllabic sequences identified above, and we shall refer to them as *syllabic structures* or *syllabic patterns*.

Rhyme groups in a given Arabic poem manifest two types of similarity (or correspondence): similarity in syllabic structure, and similarity in constituent sounds.

1. **Similarity in syllabic structure**: Generally speaking, the *entire* rhyme group has an invariable syllabic structure $--$, $-\smile-$, $-\smile\smile-$, or $-\smile\smile\smile-$) which recurs in line-final position throughout the poem. Scarcely do rhyme groups of different syllabic structures co-occur in the same poem. Restricted almost exclusively to the meter الرَّجَــز, such rare instances are deemed non-canonical by authoritative figures like al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī and Ibn Rasʰīq al-Qayrawānī al-ʾAzdī.[7] When the exceptions do occur, the rhyme groups usually exceed minimal length and share the last two or three syllables.

It would be erroneous to argue that the syllabic similarity under discussion is a purely metric feature. As pointed out above, correspondence of two or more rhyme groups in constituent syllables is governed by a stringent requirement: as a rule, rhyme groups which co-occur in a given poem must be *identical* in syllabic structure. With respect to this stringent requirement, rhyme is unlike rhythm since the latter frequently permits the corresponding syllables of certain slots to differ in length. Consider, for example, the meter ‒ ⏑ ‒ ‒ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ‒ ‒ ⏑ ‒ (الرَّمَل). Thanks to the rules which generate variants from standard feet, several of the meter's long syllables can correspond to short counterparts in the same poem; the long syllables in question are the first, the fourth, the fifth, the eighth, and the ninth of either hemistich. Thus, while rhyme imposes the requirement of *invariable* syllabic formation, rhythm imposes the more liberal requirement of *assonance*.

2. **Similarity in constituent sounds**: In the vast majority of instances, the rhyme groups of a given poem share *at least* the sounds of the final syllable; frequently, the rhyme groups share one or more additional sounds in identical positions. The shared sounds include the units known as الرَّوِيّ , الرِّدْف , and التَّأْسِيس ; these three units are defined below.

The following lines (from the مُعَلَّقَة of عَنْتَرَة بْن شَدَّاد) share the syllabic structure ‒ ⏑ ‒ in line-final position; in addition, they share the sounds of the line-final syllable –mī:[b]

أَمْ هَلْ عَرَفْتَ الدَّارَ بَعْدَ تَوَهُّمِ؟	هَلْ غَادَرَ الشُّعَرَاءُ مِنْ مُتَرَدَّمِ؟
وَعِمِي صَبَاحًا دَارَ عَبْلَةَ وَاسْلَمِي	يَا دَارَ عَبْلَةَ بِالْجِوَاءِ تَكَلَّمِي
سَهْلٌ مُخَالَقَتِي إِذَا لَمْ أُظْلَمِ	أَنِّي عَلَيَّ بِمَا عَلِمْتِ فَإِنَّنِي
مُرٌّ مَذَاقَتُهُ كَطَعْمِ العَلْقَمِ	فَإِذَا ظُلِمْتُ فَإِنَّ ظُلْمِيَ بَاسِلٌ

The following two lines (composed by عَبِيد بْن الأَبْرَص) share the syllabic structure ‒ ‒ in line-final position; in addition, they share the sounds of the line-final syllable –bū and the preceding long vowel ī:[c]

وَسَائِلُ اللَّهِ لَا يَخِيبُ	مَنْ يَسْأَلِ النَّاسَ يَحْرِمُوهُ
دَهْرُ وَلَا يَنْفَعُ التَّلْبِيبُ	لَا يَعِظُ النَّاسُ مَنْ لَا يَعِظُ الدْ

Types of Rhyme Groups in Arabic Poetry

In regard to the last sound, rhyme groups are of two distinct types: fettered (قافِيَة مُقَيَّدَة)

and loose (قافِيَة مُطْلَقَة). A fettered rhyme group ends in a consonant; a loose rhyme
group ends in a vowel. As pointed out earlier, the final vowel of a rhyme group is always
long in pronunciation. The vast majority of Arabic poems employ the second type of
rhyme groups.

The *Rawiyy (Rawī)*

"The essential part of the rhyme [group] is the letter called الرَّوِيّ , which remains the same

throughout the entire poem, and, as it were, binds the verses together, so as to form one

whole (رَوَى *to bind fast*). Hence a qaṣīda, of which the *rawī* is the letter *l* is called لامِيَّة;

r, رائِيَّة ; *t*, تائِيَّة ; and so on."[8]

The *rawiyy* always occurs in the last syllable of a given rhyme group; typically, it
functions as a root-final radical and constitutes the last consonant of the rhyme group.
Thus the *rawiyy* is determined by four features: the first pertains to the syllabic domain;
the second pertains to affiliation with, and position in, the root; the third pertains to
phonological category; the fourth pertains to position in the syllabic domain. Of these
four features, the fourth is less diagnostic than the second in the following sense: a
phoneme which incorporates all but the fourth feature is unquestionably the *rawiyy* (the
diagnostic capability is sufficient); one which incorporates all but the second feature is
not necessarily the *rawiyy* (the diagnostic capability is insufficient). Consider, for

example, the following two lines (composed by دِيك الجِنّ):[d]

<div dir="rtl">

أَتْعَبْتُ ، مِمَّا أَهْذِي بِهِ ، الْحَفَظَهْ   أَنْتِ حَدِيثِي في النَّوْمِ والْيَقَظَهْ!

لَوْ كُنْتُ مِمَّنْ تَنْهاهُ عَنْكِ عِظَهْ   كَمْ واعِظٍ فِـيكِ لي وَواعِظَةٍ

</div>

The final syllable of each rhyme group contains the two phonemes ظ and هـ.
Determining the phoneme which excludes none but the fourth feature correctly

identifies ظ as the *rawiyy;* on the other hand, determining the phoneme which excludes

none but the second feature incorrectly identifies هـ as the *rawiyy*.

In some relatively rare instances, the *rawiyy* is atypical in that it incorporates the first, the
third, and the fourth of the features discussed above, but not the second; to designate this
atypical unit, we shall use the term "quasi *rawiyy* ". In general, the quasi *rawiyy* occurs
in a rhyme group if the last syllable of that group contains no consonant which functions

as a root-final radical. Thus a quasi *rawiyy* may co-occur in the same poem with the typical (canonical) *rawiyy*. The following sets illustrate the occurrence of the quasi *rawiyy*:

(a)   تَمَنَّتِ , ذَلَّتِ ; هُنْتُ , خُنْتُ , كُنْتُ ; فَأَقْلَعْتُ , لَعَاقَبْتُ , فَتَهَاوَنْتُ , فَقَرَّتِ , تَوَلَّتِ .

(b)   الْحَيَاةْ , رِدَاةْ , الْجَاةْ ; تَنْجَلِي , مُرْجِلِي , أَجْمِلِي , يَفْعَلِ ; نَصْرَهُ , أَشْبَهُ , تَكْرَهُ مَعَا , مَدْفَعَا , تَمَنَّعَا , يَتَصَدَّعَا .

The *Ridf*

The *ridf* is an invariable long vowel or an invariable diphthong which immediately precedes the *rawiyy*. In the following pairs, the *rawiyy* (which happens to be the last consonant of each word) is preceded immediately by a *ridf*: الْمَعِينُ , الْحَزِينُ ; الرِّجَالِ , بِمَالِ ; قَوْمُ , لَوْمُ ; عَيْنٍ , لُجَيْنٍ ; أَقُولُ , يَطُولُ .

The *Taʾsīs*

The *taʾsīs* is an invariable *ā* which precedes the *rawiyy*, with one variable consonant, known as the دَخِيل, intervening between the two units. The *dakhīl* is always the onset of a *mutaḥarrik*. In the following pair, the last consonant is the *rawiyy*, *ā* is the *taʾsīs*, and the intervening consonant is the *dakhīl*: الْعَظَائِمُ , المَكَارِمُ .

A favorite, and very common, means of reinforcing a quasi *rawiyy* is to precede it with a *ridf*, a *taʾsīs*, or an invariable consonant (e.g., فَاهَا , ثَرَاهَا , جَنَاهَا ; تُبَاهِيهَا , مُحْرِيهَا , فِيهَا ; كُنْهُ , عَنْهُ , مِنْهُ ; أَدَارَهَا , اسْتَعَارَهَا ; فُوهُ , وُجُوهُ , يَفُوهُ , أَبُوهُ).[9]

Notes:

1. Every poem must have a *rawiyy*. Unlike the *rawiyy*, the *ridf* and the *taʾsīs* do not occur in every poem; when they do, however, they must be shared by all lines.

2. As mentioned above, the *rawiyy*, the *ridf*, and the *taʾsīs* are invariable (i. e., they must remain unchanged throughout the entire poem). While the *dakhīl* is variable, the vowel which separates it from the *rawiyy* is, strictly speaking, invariable.

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3. In determining the *rawiyy*, the Ancient Arab Grammarians are sometimes inconsistent and rather arbitrary. Consider, for example, the following three sets of line-final words: عَنْها , مِنْها ; جَناها , ثَراها , فاها ; مَسارَها , أَدَارَها , اسْتَعارَها , كُنْها . According to the Ancient Arab Grammarians, the *hāʾ* in the first set cannot be considered the *rawiyy* because, occurring after a *mutaḥarrik*, it is "weak and indistinct"; instead, the *rāʾ* of the preceding syllable must be considered the *rawiyy* (notwithstanding the anomaly which would result from the occurrence of the *rawiyy* in the penultimate, rather than the ultimate, syllable of the rhyme group). In the second set, the *hāʾ*, occurring after a vocalic *sākin*, is "prominent and clear"; for that reason, the *hāʾ* of the second set must be considered the *rawiyy*. In the third set, the *hāʾ*, occurring after a consonantal *sākin*, is not quite prominent and clear but neither is it entirely weak and indistinct; therefore the *hāʾ* of the third set must be considered the *rawiyy*.[10] According to the rules proposed in this study, the *hāʾ* in *all three* sets is a reinforced quasi *rawiyy*: in the first set, it is reinforced by a preceding invariable *mutaḥarrik* (-ra-) and a *taʾsīs*; in the second set, it is reinforced by a *ridf*; and in the third set, it is reinforced by a preceding invariable consonant.

4. It was mentioned above that the Ancient Arab Grammarians postulated the existence of an extremely rare pattern which consists of a single long syllable and which they called *al-mutarādif*; it was also mentioned that *al-mutarādif* may be the product of a faulty definition. The following pairs of line-final expressions, cited by al-Rāḍī,[11] illustrate *al-mutarādif*: بِالصِّفاحْ , نُمُومِ الصَّباحْ ; بِرَخاءٍ وَوَيْلْ , نَّارٌ وَلَيْلْ ; كَثِيرَ الْفُضُولْ , فيكِ الْعَذُولْ ; بِالْقَلِيلْ , بَعْضَ الْغَلِيلْ . According to the rules proposed in this study, each of the eight expressions cited by al-Rāḍī ends the line with a trisyllabic rhyme group (of the form ‒ ‿ ‒) reinforced by a *ridf*.

Defects (عُيُوب) of Rhyme

Violating any of the rules explained above is considered a defect or fault (عَيْب). The defects reported by the Ancient Arab Grammarians fall into four categories: phonological, lexical, syntactic, and rhythmic.

A **phonological defect** is any departure from the norm for sounds which are bound up with rhyme and which, as a rule, must constitute invariable units. Thus a phonological defect occurs whenever a difference exists between two corresponding sounds which are meant to rhyme with each other. As the product of matching two different vowels, the defect is deemed negligible (in the vast majority of instances) if both vowels are high, but serious if one vowel is high and the other is low.[12] As the product of matching two different consonants, the defect grows more and more serious the fewer the shared phonological features (in terms of point of articulation, manner of articulation, and voicing). The following pairs of line-final words illustrate the phonological defects under

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discussion: الرَّيْبْ , الثَّوْبْ ; الْقَوْلِ , الْخَيْلِ ; سُيُوفٍ , طَرِيفٍ ; الأَعَاصِيرُ , الْعَصَافِيرُ ; الْبَلَاءُ , الْبُكَاءَ

الْعَيْنْ , اللَّيْلْ ; طُعَيِّمٌ , هَيِّنٌ ; شَطَّ , أَدَّ . Phonological defects also include the occurrence of

a *ridf* or a *taʾsīs* in one line, with no counterpart in another line; e. g., قَوْسِي , خَمْسِي ;

سَمْسَمٍ , عَالَمٍ .

A **lexical defect** is repetition of the *same* word in verse-final position, with less than seven lines intervening. To be "the same" word, two items must be *identical* both in form and in meaning. If similar but not identical in form, two items cannot be considered the same word and their occurrence in verse-final position does not constitute a lexical defect. Again, the occurrence of homonyms in verse-final position does not constitute a lexical defect: homonyms cannot be considered the same word because, though identical in form, they differ in meaning.

A **syntactic defect** is the existence of a structural link between a rhyme group and a subsequent line. The link under discussion occurs when the rhyme group, or a portion thereof, is included in a grammatical construction which extends to a subsequent line; such is the case in the following two lines (composed by al-Nābigʰa al-Dʰubyānī); notice that the first line ends with the word إِنِّي and that the second line provides a predicate for

إِنَّ:[e]

وَهُمْ وَرَدُوا الْجِفَارَ عَلَى تَمِيمٍ ،   وَهُمْ أَصْحَابُ يَوْمِ عُكَاظَ ؛ إِنِّي

شَهِدْتُ لَهُمْ مَوَاطِنَ صَالِحَاتٍ   وَثِقْنَ لَهُمْ بِحُسْنِ الظَّنِّ مِنِّي

The following lines (composed by ʿUmar b. ʾAbī Rabīʿa, al-Kʰalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī, or ʾAbū al-ʿAtāhiya) provide additional examples:[f]

تَخْشَى عِقَابَ اللهِ فِينَا ؟ أَمَا   يَا ذَا الَّذِي فِي الْحُبِّ يَلْحَى: أَمَا

وَاللهِ لَوْ حُمِّلْتَ مِنْهُ كَمَا   تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْحُبَّ دَاءٌ ؟ أَمَا

لُمْتَ عَلَى الْحُبِّ؛ فَدَعْنِي وَمَا   حُمِّلْتُ مِنْ حُبِّ رَحِيمٍ لَمَا

قُتِلْتُ ؛ إِلَّا أَتَّنِي بَيْنَما   أَطْلُبُ ، إِنِّي لَسْتُ أَدْرِي بِمَا

أَطْلُبُ مِنْ قَصْرِهِمْ ، إِذْ رَمَى   أَنَا بِبَابِ الْقَصْرِ، فِي بَعْضِ ما

أَخْطَأَ سَهْمَاهُ ، وَلٰكِنَّما   شِبْهُ غَزَالٍ بِسِهَامٍ ، فَما

أَرَادَ قَتْلِي بِهِـما سَلَّما   عَيْـنَاهُ سَهْـمَانِ لَهُ، كُلَّـما

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Syntactic defects violate a rule which the Ancient Arab Grammarians treasured and which stipulates that each line of the poem must be independent in construction as well as sense (مُفْرَد). However, a *semantic* link between the rhyme group and a subsequent line was not viewed by the Ancient Arab Grammarians as a defect, probably because this type of link does not usually cause the one line to be wholly destitute of meaning if separated from the other.[13] Consider, for example, the following pair.[g] The rhyme group, like several other expressions in the first line, is semantically connected with the next line; yet the first line would hardly suffer any serious distortion in meaning if the second line were dropped:

وَمِنْ خالِهِ، وَمِنْ يَزِيدَ ، وَمِنْ حُجْرٍ   وَتَعْرِفُ فِيهِ مِنْ أَبِيهِ شَمائِلاً

وَنائِلَ ذا ، إِذا صَحا وَإِذا سَكِرْ   سَماحَةَ ذا ، وَبِرَّ ذا، وَوَفاءَ ذا ،

A **rhythmic defect** is the violation of a metric rule in applying one or more rules of rhyme. Consider the following lines:[h]

عَلَى ناقِصٍ كانَ الْمَدِيحُ مِنَ النَّقْصِ   إِذا أَنْتَ فَضَّلْتَ أَمْرًا ذا نَباهَةٍ

إِذا قِيلَ لِهَذا السَّيْفُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ العُصِي؟   أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ السَّيْفَ يَنْقُصُ قَدْرُهُ

The rules of rhyme permit the poet to use rhyme groups of the syllabic structures $--$ and $-\smile-$ in the same poem; in the lines quoted above, however, such use violates a metric rule which bans co-occurrence of the forms $\smile---$ and $\smile-\smile-$ in the *ḍarb* (ضَرْب) position.

To the faults enumerated above we may add a **morphological** defect defined as co-occurrence in the same syllable of a quasi *rawiyy* and a consonant which functions as a root-final radical. Consider, for example, the following line-final pair: يَسْعَـيْنْ , لِلْعَـيْنْ . The *nūn* of لِلْعَـيْنْ is a canonical *rawiyy*; on the other hand, the *nūn* of يَسْعَيْنْ is a quasi *rawiyy* which occurs in the same syllable with a root-final *yāʔ*.[14]

Functions of the Rhyme Group

Rhyme groups perform two functions: the harmonic and the demarcative. The harmonic function is accomplished by promoting syllabic and phonological correspondence between line-final segments to produce a musical effect; the demarcative function is accomplished by identifying the final boundary of each line in the poem.

Besides appealing to the senses of listeners, the first function establishes the poem as a unified form by binding the lines together.

In its second function, the rhyme group should be viewed as a marker which the listener anticipates, expecting its occurrence to announce that a termination has been reached. In Arabic poetry, the demarcative function is necessary for two reasons: in the first place,

the line is often excessively long—certainly longer than the average counterpart in many European languages; and in the second place, a *hemistich*-final boundary is not necessarily a *line*-final boundary.

The significance of rhyme as a demarcative device is illustrated by the set of lines which was cited above and which begins with the expression يَا ذَا الَّذِي فِي الْحُبِّ يَلْحَى : despite the syntactic defects already discussed, a listener is able to identify the terminal boundary for each hemistich; however, because the same rhyme recurs in *both* columns, the listener is likely at some point to confuse terminal boundaries and mistake a *ʿarūḍ* (عَرُوض) for a

ḍarb (ضَرْب) or a *ḍarb* for a *ʿarūḍ*. Here, the problem is excess, rather than lack, of rhyme.

Once established as a concomitant of long divided lines, the use of rhyme in poetry became obligatory, throughout the classical period, *even* in poems where the lines are divided but relatively short and in poems where the lines are not divided; this fact may be attributable to the stabilizing influence of tradition, the almost tyrannical authority of the Ancient Arab Grammarians, and the popularity of the harmonic function.[15]

Prominence of the Rhyme Group

The rhyme group is a peak of prominence, highlighted not only by syllabic correspondence but also by phonological correspondence. The following restrictions safeguard and promote the prominence of the rhyme group. Notice that most of the restrictions pertain in one way or another to the final syllable of the rhyme group; also notice that the first four restrictions identify certain elements of relatively infrequent occurrence, while the fifth restriction identifies the features which call for reinforcement of the rhyme group.

1. Fettered rhyme groups occur in no more than 10% of Arabic poems; loose rhyme groups, in about 90%. The reason is that vowels, especially long ones, are more prominent than consonants. It is significant in this connection that, at the end of a rhyme group, a vowel is always long in pronunciation.[16]

2. An injunction severely restricts the occurrence of line-final sets like رَضُوا , نَسُوا, and لَقُوا where the long vowel plays an unusual role: it is the *only* invariable sound in the ultimate syllable and must therefore be considered the *rawiyy*.[17] Occurring in word-final position, the long vowel cannot carry a primary stress; it is, therefore, insufficiently prominent for the role it plays. As a shared segment, the long vowel by itself is less prominent than a combination which consists of a consonantal *rawiyy* plus the same long vowel, and it is such a combination that Arabic verse requires. Interestingly, English verse imposes no restriction on the occurrence of a stressed diphthong as the only invariable sound in the last syllable of the line; thus pairs like *below* and *ago* occur freely in line-final position.

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3. The occurrence of a quasi, rather than a typical, *rawiyy* is relatively rare. The *rawiyy* (a unit which most commonly occurs as the only consonant of the line-final syllable) is viewed as a consonantal termination; for this reason, and because in the vast majority of instances an Arabic stem is derived from a root, one would intuitively expect the *rawiyy* to be a root-final radical. By confirming this expectation, the typical *rawiyy* enhances the perceptual prominence of the rhyme group. The quasi *rawiyy*, on the other hand, disappoints the expectation (since it does not function as a root-final radical), and thus detracts from the prominence of the rhyme group; hence the relative scarcity of the quasi *rawiyy*.

4. Because they tend to diminish the prominence of the rhyme group, the defects (*ʿuyūb*) described above must be avoided. As a matter of statistical reality, the occurrence of such defects in the Arabic poetry of the classical period constitutes the exception rather than the rule.[18]

5. Because they tend to limit prominence, certain features usually require reinforcement of the rhyme group:

    (a) In the presence of a quasi *rawiyy*, a rhyme group is usually fortified:

    (i) **Within** the final syllable, a *ridf* may occur to highlight a fettered rhyme group.

    (ii) **Preceding** the final syllable, a *ridf*, a *taʾsīs*, an invariable short vowel, or an invariable consonant may occur in order to expand the domain of correspondence and highlight the rhyme group; this statement holds true whether the rhyme group is fettered or loose.

    (b) Similar fortification within or before the final syllable usually occurs in a fettered rhyme group which contains a typical (rather than a quasi) *rawiyy*.[19] It is significant that, when it applies to a fettered rhyme group, the requirement of invariability is defined in strict and unbending terms: thus alternation between the short vowels *i* and *u*, viewed as a trifling infraction in loose rhyme groups, is severely censured in fettered rhyme groups; the same is true of alternation between the long vowels *ī* and *ū*.[20]

    (c) When the standard *ḍarb* undergoes changes due to deletion transformations, certain outputs are almost always reinforced by a *ridf*. There are two reasons which, taken together, account for this fact:

    (i) The outputs in question confine the rhyme group to the minimal length of two constituents ($--$), thus permitting no more than the lowest degree of prominence generated by syllabic correspondence. In this situation, the *ridf*—being a

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vivid, invariable, recurrent unit—endows the rhyme group with additional prominence.

(ii) The outputs in question disappoint an expectation—namely, that the *ḍarb* will be spared such loss of constituent syllables as tends to obscure the identity of feet. The disappointment diminishes prominence in the vicinity of the rhyme group. Using a *ridf* makes up for the loss of prominence: the *ridf* is a perceptually vivid unit; in addition, its recurrence creates, and repeatedly confirms, a new expectation.

The following lines of poetry are cited by al-Rāḍī as examples (in the first pair, from Ḥamāsat ʾAbī Tammām,[i] the standard *ḍarb* ⌣−−− is reduced to ⌣−−; in the second pair, composed by al-Maʿarrī,[j] the standard *ḍarb* −−⌣− is reduced to ⌣−−; in the third, composed by ʾAbu Nuwās,[k] the standard *ḍarb* ᴗ−⌣− is reduced to ᴗ−−; in the fourth, composed by al-Mutanabbī,[l] the standard *ḍarb* −⌣− is reduced to −− ; in the fifth, composed by al-Nābigha,[m] the standard *ḍarb* −−⌣− is reduced to −−−; and in all cases, the rhyme group contains a *ridf*):[21]

تُلاقُوا غَدًا خَيْلِي عَلَى سَفَوانِ	رُوَيْدَ بَنِي شَيْبانَ بَعْضَ وَعِيدِكُمْ
إِذَا ما غَدَتْ فِي الْمَأْزِقِ الْمُتَدَانِي	تُلاقُوا جِيَادًا لا تَحِيدُ عَنِ الْوَغَى

لِلِ مُنِّي بِزادِ	يا لَمِيسُ ابْنَةَ الْمُضَلْ
فَبَطِيءٌ عِوَادِي	إِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُ غَادِيًا

وَأَسَمْتُ سَرْحَ اللَّهْوِ حَيْثُ أَسامُوا	وَلَقَدْ نَهَزْتُ مَعَ الْغُوَاةِ بِدَلْوِهِمْ
فَإِذا عُصارَةُ كُلِّ ذاكَ أَثامُ	وَبَلَغْتُ ما بَلَغَ امْرُؤٌ بِشَبابِهِ

الْجُودُ يُفْقِرُ وَالإِقْدامُ قَتّالُ	لَوْلا الْمَشَقَّةُ سادَ النَّاسُ كُلُّهُمُ
ما كُلُّ ماشِيَةٍ فِي الرَّحْلِ شِمْلالُ	وَإِنَّما يَبْلُغُ الإِنْسانُ طاقَتَهُ

وَعَلَّمَتْهُ الْكَرَّ وَالإِقْدامَا	نَفْسُ عِصامٍ سَوَّدَتْ عِصامَا
حَتَّى عَلا وَجاوَزَ الأَقْوامَا	وَصَيَّرَتْهُ مَلِكًا هُمامَا

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Graphic Representation

For those who favor visual props and pneumonic devices, the following diagram may prove useful; the diagram summarizes the basic facts which define the rhyme of Arabic poetry in the vast majority of verses. The sequence of dots represents a divided line. The terminal segment, set off by a backslash, represents the rhyme group; the segment in question is boldfaced and magnified to designate the rhyme group as a peak of prominence. *FS* stands for the line-final syllable; *R*, for a *ridf*; *T*, for a *ta²sīs*; *[-V̄]*, for a line-final vowel which, regardless of morphophonemic considerations, is always long in pronunciation; -*C*, for a line-final consonant; and » , for the expression *far more frequently than*. Parentheses enclose optional units; double bars enclose shared elements to signify the fact that, as a rule, such elements are invariable.

Shared Syllabic Structure:
$\|-(\smile)(\smile)(\smile)-\|$

First Hemistich   *Second Hemistich*

…………………………..... ......…………….………..\ ●●●●●●●●●● [-V̄] » -C

Shared Sounds:
$\|(\text{T } or \text{ R }) \text{FS}\|$
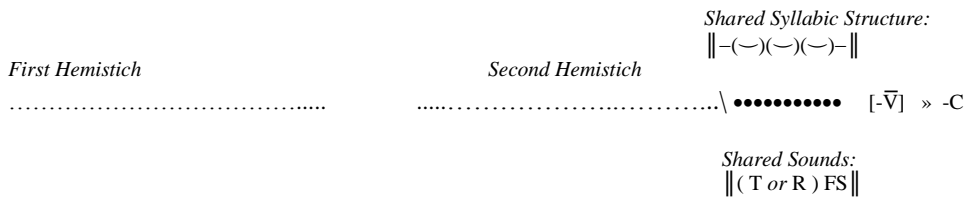
Notes:

1. Canonical Addition and Canonical Deletion Transformations in the Light of Rhyme

In the light of the rules which govern the rhyme of Arabic poetry, an important motivation for the occurrence of canonical addition and canonical deletion becomes apparent. In the same light, a clear reason emerges for the fact that the two transformations in question are restricted to hemistich-final feet.

In the vast majority of instances, canonical addition and canonical deletion restrict the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables $(--)$.[22] As pointed out above, rhyme groups manifest two types of similarity (or correspondence): similarity in syllabic structure, and similarity in constituent sounds. The first type is minimized, and therefore de-emphasized, when canonical addition or canonical deletion restricts the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables. In other words, by subjecting the rhyme group to canonical addition or canonical deletion the poet usually indicates that he prefers the second type of similarity and wishes to highlight it at the expense of the first type. Far less frequently, a canonical deletion transformation *increases*, rather than minimizing, the number of syllables which constitute the rhyme group, thus signaling the poet's preference for the *first* type of similarity. The following transformation (which applies to the *ḍarb* of *al-madīd*) is a case in point: $-\smile--\ \Rightarrow\ \smile\smile-$; another case in point is the following transformation (which applies to the *ḍarb* of *al-mutaqārib* and the *ḍarb* of *majzū² al-mutaqārib*): $\smile--\ \Rightarrow\ \smile-$.

Since their primary function is closely associated with rhyme, canonical addition and canonical deletion are—logically enough—restricted to hemistich-final feet.

2. Further Motivation for Canonical Deletion?

It is tempting to postulate further motivation for canonical deletion through analogy with "pausal" forms. In many cases, though not in all, canonical deletion causes the hemistich-final foot to assume the "pausal" form (defined here as the modified shape which a foot would acquire, due to occurrence in pause, if that foot were a lexical item and if the context were one of prose rather than verse); e.g., mustafᶜilun $(--\smile-)\ \Rightarrow$ mustafᶜil $(---)$, fāᶜilātun $(-\smile--)$ $\Rightarrow$ fāᶜilāt $(-\smile-)$, mafāᶜīlun $(\smile---)\ \Rightarrow$ mafāᶜīl $(\smile--)$, mutafāᶜilun $(\omega-\smile-)\ \Rightarrow$ mutafāᶜil $(\omega--)$, fāᶜilun $(-\smile-)\ \Rightarrow$ fāᶜil $(--)$, and faᶜūlun $(\smile--)\ \Rightarrow$ faᶜūl $(\smile-)$.[23] The argument

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here is that we can determine the catalectic form of a given hemistich-final foot by determining the "pausal" form of that foot.

The analysis under discussion suffers from at least four flaws which call for no small measure of refinement:

(a) Pausal abbreviation (i.e., the process of omitting certain constituents from a word when that word occurs in pause) involves a slight degree of laxity. Compare, for example, the canonical deletion transformation fāʿilātun ⇒ fāʿilun with the pausal abbreviation fāʿilātun ⇒ fāʿilāt. The output in both cases can be represented as −‿−, but closer inspection reveals a difference: the final syllable is CVC in the first output but CV̄C in the second. We shall regard the difference as inconsequential in this context, and we shall therefore tolerate the laxity under discussion.

(b) While canonical deletion is optional in verse, pausal abbreviation is almost always obligatory in prose; yet in both cases the domain is followed immediately by pause. This contrast accentuates the difference between the two processes.

(c) Frequently a foot variant is a "pausal" form if pronounced one way but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced another way. Thus −−− is a "pausal" form if pronounced as mustafʿil but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced as mafʿūlun; −‿− is a "pausal" form if pronounced as fāʿilāt but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced as fāʿilun; ‿−− is a "pausal" form if pronounced as mafāʿīl but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced as faʿūlun; ω−− is a "pausal" form if pronounced as mutafāʿil but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced as faʿilātun; −− is a "pausal" form if pronounced as fāʿil but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced as faʿlun; and ‿− is a "pausal" form if pronounced as faʿūl but a "non-pausal" form if pronounced as ʿilun.

If chain derivation is permitted, and the "non-pausal" form of the output is selected repeatedly, any foot can be reduced by pausal abbreviation to a single long syllable; e.g., mustafʿilun ⇒ mustafʿil (= mafʿūlun) ⇒ mafʿūl (= faʿlun) ⇒ faʿl (that is, −−‿− ⇒ −−− ⇒ −− ⇒ −). Is such chain derivation legitimate? This question gives rise to at least three other questions:

- If opting for the "non-pausal" form of the output is barred altogether, how would pausal abbreviation account for transformations like faʿūlun ⇒ − (in *al-mutaqārib* and *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib*), and fāʿilātun ⇒ −− (in *al-madīd*)?

- On the other hand, if opting for the "non-pausal" form of the output is permitted, at what point, if any, must it stop, and why?

(d) Canonical deletion does not always generate the expected "pausal" form:

- Under item (c) above, two examples in point were cited: faʿūlun ⇒ − and fāʿilātun ⇒ −−. Respectively, the expected "pausal" forms are faʿūl (‿−) and fāʿilāt (−‿−). Fortunately, in both cases it is possible to resolve the problem by appeal to chain derivation: faʿūlun ⇒ faʿūl (= ʿilun) ⇒ ʿil; fāʿilātun ⇒ fāʿilāt (= fāʿilun) ⇒ fāʿil.

- Another example in point is fāʿilātun ⇒ −−− (in *al-mujtatʰtʰ* and *al-kʰafīf*); the expected "pausal" form is fāʿilāt (−‿−). In this case, however, chain derivation cannot resolve the problem. Put another way, it is not always possible for pausal abbreviation to effect a change which canonical deletion can and does effect: pausal abbreviation cannot generate −−− from fāʿilātun *even* if chain derivation is permitted.

Thus, as it now stands, pausal abbreviation can be no more than a tentative, rough guide to the catalectic forms of hemistich-final feet; it cannot be *fully* equated with canonical deletion.

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GLOSSARY OF ARABIC WORDS

الْبَيْداء (الجمع: بِيد) : الصَّحْراءُ والفَلاةُ

الْمُتَرَدَّم : الموْضِع الذي يُرْقَعُ مِنَ الثَّوْبِ

الجِـوَاء : مَوْضِع

الْمُخالَقة : الْمُخالَطَـةُ والْمُعاشَـرَةُ

باسِل : كَرِيه

العَلْقَم : الْحَنْظَل

التَّلْبِيب : التَّعْقِيل

وَرَدَ الماءَ : صارَ إلَيْهِ

الجِفار : ماءٌ لِبَنِي تميم بِنَجْد . ويومُ الجِفارِ مشهورٌ ، هاجَتْ فيهِ الحَرْبُ بينَ بني بَكْر وبني تميم
على هٰذَا الماءِ .

تَميم : قَبِيلَةٌ عَـرَبِـــيَّةٌ

يَوْمُ عُكاظ : مِنْ أَيَّامِ الفِجَار . وقَدِ اشْتَمَلَتْ أَيَّامُ العَرَب على أربعةٍ نُسِبَتْ إلى الفِجَارِ لِوُقُوع القِتالِ
والتَّطاحُنِ في الأَشْهُرِ الْحُرُمِ ؛ والفِجَارُ مَصْدَرُ الفِعْلِ فاجَرَ (أيْ تَوَرَّطَ مَعَ غَيْرِهِ في
الْمَعْصِيَةِ ومُجانَبَةِ الْحَقِّ). تَجِدُ تفصيلاً لِذٰلِكَ في مادَّة «فجر» بقاموس «مُحِيط
الْمُحِيط» للمعلِّم بطرس البستاني ؛ وتَجِدُ تفصيلاً له أيضًا ضِمْنَ «باب ذِكْر الوقائع
والأيَّام» في الجزءِ الثَّانِي من كتاب «العُمْدَة» لابن رشيق ، الطَّبعة الرَّابعة (بـيروت : دار
الجيل ، سنة ١٩٧٢) ، ص ١٩٨ — ٢٢٠ .

الْمَوَاطِن (المفرد : مَوْطِن) : مَشاهِدُ الحَـرْبِ

وَثِقَ لَهُ بِالشَّيْءِ : ضَمِنَ لَهُ الشَّيْءَ

يَلْحَى (الماضي: لَحَى) : يَلُومُ

الصّوْتُ الرَّخِيمُ : الْعَذْبُ السَّائغُ

الجْارِيَـةُ الرَّخِيــمُ : ذاتُ الصَّوْتِ الْعَذْبِ السَّائغ

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الشَّمائِل (المُفرد: شَمِيلَة) : الْخُلُقُ والطِّباعُ

السَّماحَة : الْجُودُ والكَرَمُ

البِــرُّ : الْخَيْرُ والصَّلاحُ ؛ الصِّلَةُ والإحْسانُ

النَّائِل : الْعَطِيَّةُ والمعروفُ

النَّباهَة : الشَّرَفُ والشُّهْرَةُ ؛ ضِدُّ الخُمُولِ

العُصِيّ : جمعُ العَصا

الوَعِيد : التَّهْدِيدُ والتَّوَعُّدُ بالشَّرِّ

الوَغَى : الْحَرْب

الْمَأْزِق : مَوْضِعُ الْحَـرْبِ ، ويُسْتَعار لِلْمَوْقِفِ الْحَرِج

مَنَّ بِالشَّيْءِ : أَنْعَمَ بِهِ

العِوَاد : الرُّجُوعُ والعَوْدَةُ

نَهَزَ بِالدَّلْوِ في الْبِئْرِ : ضَرَبَ بها في الماءِ لِتَمْتَلِئَ

الْغُوَاة (المُفرَدُ: غَاوٍ) : الضَّالُّونَ

أَسامَ الإِبْلَ أَوْ غَيْرَها مِنَ الماشِيَةِ: أَرْعاها

السَّرْح : كُلُّ شَجَرٍ لا شَوْكَ فيهِ

أَسَمْتُ سَرْحَ اللَّهْوِ : أَرْعَيْتُ نَفْسِي شَجَرَ العَبَثِ والْمُجُونِ. تقولُ الآيةُ الكريمةُ: «هُوَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ مِنَ السَّماءِ ماءً لَكُمْ مِنْهُ شَرابٌ ومِنْهُ شَجَرٌ فِيهِ تُسِيمُونَ» (سُورَةِ النَّحْلِ: ١٠) أيْ : فيهِ تُسِيمُونَ إبْلَكُمْ وسائِرَ ماشِيَتِكُمْ. ذلِكَ أنَّ ماشِيَةَ الباديةِ كانَتْ تأكُلُ وَرَقَ الشَّجَرِ لِقِلَّةِ العُشْبِ ونَدْرَةِ الكَلأِ. الشَّاعِرُ إذَنْ يُشَبِّهُ نَفْسَهُ بحيوانِ الفَقْرِ الَّذِي يَسْتَمِدُّ الحياةَ والقُوَّةَ والنَّشاطَ مِنْ وَرَقِ الشَّجَرِ وما يَجْرِي في هذا الوَرَقِ مِنْ ماءٍ ورَواءٍ ؛ لكِنَّ الشَّجَرَ الَّذِي يَرْتَعِيهِ الشَّاعِرُ هُوَ اللَّهْوُ والعَبَثُ والْمُجُونُ .

الأَثام : الإِثْم

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سادَ فُلانٌ : أَصْبَحَ سَيِّدًا ؛ عَظُمَ ومَجُدَ وشَرُفَ

شِمْلال : سَرِيعٌ خَفِيفُ الحَرَكَةِ . يَقُولُ الشَّاعِرُ: لا يُنْتَظَرُ مِنْ كُلِّ ناقَةٍ سائِرةٍ في قافِلَةِ الرَّحِيلِ

أَنْ تَكُونَ سَرِيعَةَ الرَّكْضِ خَفِيفَةَ الحَرَكَةِ. ومعنَى البَيْتِ الثَّاني مُشْتَقٌّ مِنَ الآيةِ الكريمةِ : «لا

يُكَلِّفُ الله نَفْسًا إلاَّ وُسْعَهَا .... رَبَّنا ولا تُحَمِّلْنا ما لا طاقَةَ لَنا بِهِ» (سُورة البَقَرَةِ : ٢٨٦).

سَوَّدَ فُلانًا : جَعَلَهُ سَيِّدًا

الكَــرُّ عَلَى العَدُوِّ : الْحَمْلُ عليه مَـرَّةً بْعْدَ مَـرَّةٍ ؛ ضِدُّ الفَـرِّ

الْهُمامُ : السَّـيِّدُ الشُّجاعُ السَّخِيُّ

FOOTNOTES

1. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 307 – 414.

2. The classical period of Arabic poetry extends from the earliest times down to the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (A.H. 132; A.D. 749 – 750). See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language,* Vol. II, p. 350.

3. See the comprehensive discussion in ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr,* pp. 299 – 314. Also see Shukrī ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabiyy,* pp. 89 – 131.

4. Philip Babcock Gove (Editor in Chief) and the Merriam-Webster Editorial Staff, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1993), s. v. "rhyme".

5. See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 355. Also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, p. 260.

6. As defined by al-Khalīl b. ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī, a rhyme group (الْقَافِيَة) consists of the

   segment bounded by the last two *sākin*'s of the line (بَيْت), together with the *mutaḥarrik*

   which precedes that segment. Significantly, al-Khalīl reminds the reader that, regardless of the graphic representation, the final sound of a line is always a *sākin*. See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, p. 342.

7. See Shukrī ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 90, 91. Also see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 344, 345.

8. William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 352.

9. ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, pp. 249 –256.

10. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 328 - 330.

11. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 349, 350.

12. In Arabic, height is the most prominent of vocalic features. Front-to-back position is less prominent, being less sharply determined (as evident from the fact that front vowels get centralized in emphatic syllables); rounding is also less prominent since it is predictable in terms of front-to-back position.

13. See al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 249. Also see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 357, 358.

14. See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, p. 315. On page 314 of the same reference, the defect under discussion is described as a violation to be shunned.

15. See Shukrī ʿAyyād's *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 94 -104; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 120 – 126; and ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, pp. 312 - 314.

16. ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, pp. 280 – 298.

17. ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, p. 282.

18. See al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 248. Also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, pp. 260-298.

19. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 412, 413.

20. See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, p. 352. Also see ʾIbrāhīm ʾAnīs' *Mūsīqā al-Shiʿr*, pp. 247 - 298.

21. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāḍī's *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Khalīl*, pp. 403-408.

22. An all-inclusive count carried out by the present writer indicates that, in the absence of canonical addition and canonical deletion, the rhyme group is a minimal string (−−) in only 31% of all *ḍarb* fillers. In contrast, the rhyme group is a minimal string (−−) in 100% of all *ḍarb* fillers generated by canonical addition and in 73% of all *ḍarb* fillers generated by canonical deletion. (See the postscript on the last page of Part IV).

23. Note that using a label (such as *fāʿilun, faʿūlun, mustafʿilun, mutafāʿilun*, etc.) to designate a metrical foot bestows upon that foot the semblance of a lexical item, thus making it possible to determine the "pausal" form. For the structure and the derivation of pausal forms, see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 368-373.

[a] As for [my] loved ones, they are cut off [from me] by an expanse of desert land.
    Would that you were cut off by successive stretches of wilderness!

[b] Have the poets left a single spot for a patch to be sewn?
    Or did you recognize the abode after long meditation?
  O abode of Abla at El-Jawá, let me hear you speak;
    I give you good morning, abode of Abla, and greetings to you!
Praise me therefore for the things you know of me; for I
    am easy to get on with, provided I'm not wronged;
but if I am wronged, then the wrong I do is harsh indeed,
    bitter to the palate as the tang of the colocynth.

                          --A. J. Arberry's translation

18

^c Whoever asks human beings for favors is turned down;
  but whoever asks God for favors is never disappointed.
 One will not heed the admonition of people if he heeds not the admonition of Time;
  and to recommend [to him] the path of wisdom would be pointless.

^d You are the hadith that I relate, when sleeping and when awake;
  and I have wearied the reciters with my delirious words.
 Many a man and many a woman would have prevailed in preaching to me against you
  were it possible to turn me away from you by exhortation and admonition.

^e They watered their herds at the well of al-Jifār in spite of Tamīm,
  and they were victorious on the day of ʿUkāḍ^h; verily I
 have seen them fight many a good fight,
  which earned them my respect and admiration.

^f O you that reproach lovers: do you not
  fear to be punished by God on our account? Do you not
 know that love is a malady? Verily,
  by God, could you but suffer as much
 as I do for loving that melodious voice of hers, you scarcely
  would deem love a cause for blame. Therefore let me
 pursue my quest, for I know not what
  has brought death upon me. I know only that while
 I stood at the gate of their mansion, on some
  errand, there flew
 the arrows, launched by one with the beauty of a gazelle; nor
  did the two arrows miss. For
 her eyes are two arrows, and whenever
  she wishes to kill me with them, she utters a greeting.

^g In him you recognize the noble traits of his father,
  of his maternal uncle, of Yazīd, and of Ḥujr:
 the generosity of the first, the piety of the second, the loyalty of the third,
  and the charity of the fourth—whether he is sober or intoxicated.

^h When you compare, though favorably, a matter of great importance
  with one of little consequence, praise amounts to deprecation.
 Is not a sword robbed of some merit
  when one says: "This sword is better than a stick"?

ⁱ Exercise some restraint, Banū S^haybān! Refrain from making so many threats,
  for tomorrow you will come face to face with my horsemen at Safawān.
 You will be faced with stallions which stand their ground in war,
  when finally they are immersed in the fast-approaching battle.

^j O Lamīs, daughter of the delusive one,
  make a generous gift of provisions.
 If I turn away and depart,
  I will be slow to return.

19

[k] In the company of the misguided, and with their pail, I drew water from the well [of iniquity];
> where they went for pasture, I grazed on the leaves of sinful pleasure.
I attained what youth avails to a man,
> and lo! all such endeavors yield nothing but transgression.

[l] But for difficulty and obstacles, all men would attain the status of nobility:
> generosity breeds poverty, and valor is deadly.
Sufficient it is for a man to reach the limit of his capacity:
> not every camel in a caravan is vigorous and swift of movement.

[m] ʿIṣām's aspiring spirit made a master out of him:
> it taught him to charge and be daring [in battle],
and it made him a gallant king.
> Thus he soared and surpassed other men.

20

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POSTSCRIPT TO PART IV

THE *ḌARB* FILLERS
OF ANCIENT ARABIC POETRY

Ḍarb Fillers Modified by Neither Deletion Nor Addition	*Ḍarb* Fillers Generated by Deletion	*Ḍarb* Fillers Generated by Addition
—⌣— ⌣⌣—	—— , —	—⌣—— , ⌣⌣——
⌣——	⌣— , —	
⌣——— ⌣—⌣—	⌣——	
—⌣— ⌣⌣——	——— , —⌣— , ⌣⌣— , ——	
——⌣— ⌣—⌣— , —⌣⌣— , ⌣⌣⌣—	——— , ⌣——	
ω—⌣— ——⌣— , —⌣⌣—	ω—— , ——— , —— , ω—	ω—⌣—— , ——⌣—— , ⌣—⌣—— , —⌣⌣——
⌣—ω— ⌣———		
Total: 16 ***Ḍarb* fillers which restrict the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables (——):** 5 (= 31%)	**Total:** 15 ***Ḍarb* fillers which restrict the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables (——):** 11 (= 73%)	**Total:** 6 ***Ḍarb* fillers which restrict the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables (——):** 6 (= 100%)

Notes:

1. The above table shows that, in the vast majority of instances, canonical deletion and canonical addition restrict the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables (——).

2. In earlier comments it was pointed out that rhyme groups manifest two types of similarity (or correspondence): similarity in syllabic structure, and similarity in constituent sounds. The first type is minimized, and therefore de-emphasized, when canonical addition or canonical deletion restricts the rhyme group to the minimal string of two long syllables. Thus canonical deletion and canonical addition tend to promote the second type of similarity.

3. Chapter IV of Part I shows that the *ḍarb* fillers generated by canonical addition and canonical deletion are relatively uncommon in almost all meters of ancient Arabic poetry. Of our 23 meters, only two violate this general rule: *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib* and *Majzūʾ al-basīṭ*. In the former, the standard *ḍarb* filler is rejected in favor of a catalectic variant to avoid confusing the meter with a counterpart of closely similar composition. For the same reason, a catalectic variant is more common than the acatalectic *ḍarb* fillers of *majzūʾ al-basīṭ*. Perhaps the necessity of elevating the status of a catalectic *ḍarb* filler is what accounts, at least in part, for the scarcity of *majzūʾ al-mutaqārib* and *majzūʾ al-basīṭ*.

4. The relatively infrequent occurrence of the *ḍarb* fillers generated by canonical deletion and canonical addition means that the rhyme of ancient Arabic poetry is largely dominated by the *first* type of similarity (or correspondence); most commonly, it is the first type that gets highlighted and excels in prominence.

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PART V

POETIC LICENSE

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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POETIC LICENSE

Preliminary Remarks

   "The Arab poets allow themselves a certain latitude, both as to the forms of words and the construction of sentences. …. The poet may find himself obliged, by the exigencies of metre or rhyme (ضَرُورَةُ الشِّعْرِ *poetical necessity*), to make some slight change either in the *consonants* of a word, or in the *vowels*."[1]

Most commonly, poetic license results in irregular deletion or addition on one of four levels: morphophonemics, morphology, *ʾiʿrāb*, or syntax. Such irregularities are discussed briefly in the following passages, with only a few examples to illustrate each type.

Many of the examples cited here were selected from the wealth of material presented in Wright's *Grammar*[2] and Ibn Rasʰīq's *al-ʿUmda*[3] (for his examples, and for the rest of his data on this subject, Wright draws on the works of the Ancient Arab Grammarians, including Ibn Rasʰīq's). Arthur Arberry's book *The Seven Odes* was quite helpful in translating some examples drawn from the *muʿallaqāt* (الْمُعَلَّقَات). The set of footnotes marked by letters (as opposed to numerals) identifies some of the poets whose verses are cited.

In this study, the numerous types of poetic license have been re-classified and re-grouped to reflect the successive strata of modern linguistic analysis, the sole purpose being to achieve a measure of simplification, and thus provide a manageable, brief introduction for the benefit of beginners.

It should be pointed out that each of the four levels identified above enjoys a distinct status based on at least the first two of the following criteria: the type of units changed, the type of rules violated by the change, and the localized nature of the change.

Morphophonemic Irregularities

The consonants and the vowels of stems may be subjected to irregular deletion or addition. The morphophonemic level is set apart as a distinct stratum by all of the three criteria mentioned in the *Preliminary Remarks*: the type of units changed, the type of rules violated by the change, and the localized nature of the change. In the first place, irregular deletion and addition apply to *phonological entities* rather than forms which signify semantic or grammatical meaning. In the second place, the rules violated by the change are the morphophonemic statements and stipulations which define (a) the shapes of stems in terms of the phonemic constituents, (b) the arrangement of the phonemic constituents, and (c) the behavior of the phonemic constituents. In the third place, the change does not—as a by-product—violate the rules which operate on the other three levels; rather, the change represents manipulations on the lowest level which do not alter the contrastive patterns of higher levels.

1.   ***Deletion of consonants***: The *hamza* (الْهَمْزَة) and the *tasʰdīd* (التَّشْدِيد) are common examples:

1

(a) **In word-initial position**, the *hamza* may be deleted, especially (but not necessarily) when a preceding form ends in a vowel; e. g., أَلَا ابْلِغْ for أَلَا أَبْلِغْ 'convey (the news)', لَوْ انَّ for لَوْ أَنَّ 'if (such and such)'.

In word-medial position after a short vowel and before a consonant, the *hamza* may be replaced by vowel length; e. g., بِــير for بِئْــر 'a well', فَار for فَأْر 'mouse', شُوم for شُؤْم 'evil omen'.

In word-final position after *ā*, the *hamza* may be deleted; e. g., السَّما for السَّماء 'the sky', الْبَلا for الْبَلاء 'misfortune'.

(b) Occasionally, a doubled consonant is reduced to a single consonant (which amounts to deleting a consonant); e. g., يَتَقِي for يَتَّقِي 'he guards himself against', يَتَسِعُ for يَتَّسِعُ 'it expands'.

2. *Addition of consonants*: Here again, the *hamza* and the *tasʰdīd* are common examples; the *nūn* of modulation is another case in point:

(a) A glottal stop may occur in a macrosegment-medial position where no glottal stop occurs in prose (some would prefer to say that *hamzat al-waṣl* is occasionally replaced by *hamzat al-qaṭʿ*); e. g., وَاصْبِري for وَإِصْبِري 'and be patient'.

(b) Sometimes consonant doubling occurs where it would be inadmissible in prose (which amounts to the addition of a consonant); e. g., بَعْدَ أَنْ أَخْصَبَّ for بَعْدَ أَنْ أَخْصَبَ 'after it had been fertile'.

(c) In rhyme, a hemistich-final *nūn* is sometimes added instead of vowel prolongation. The addition of this *nūn* is said to serve the purpose of التَّرَنُّم or التَّطْرِيب 'modulation of the voice'. An example is the use of الْعِتابَنْ for الْعِتابَا and أَصابَنْ for أَصابَا in the following line:

<div dir="rtl">

أَقِلِّي اللَّوْمَ عاذِلُ وَالْعِتابَنْ   وَقُولِي إِنْ أَصَبْتُ لَقَدْ أَصابَنْᵃ

</div>

2

'O censurer, be slow to blame and rebuke; and whenever I act properly, acknowledge that I have done well.'

3. *Deletion of vowels or vowel length*

(a) The stem vowel is sometimes deleted from the forms *FaʿiL, FaʿuL, and FuʿiL*; e. g., ضَجْرَ for ضَجِرَ 'to become weary', رَجْلٌ for رَجُلٌ 'man', جُزْيَ for جُزِيَ 'to be recompensed'.

(b) A long vowel is sometimes shortened (i. e., vowel length is sometimes eliminated) in word-medial or word-final position; e. g., هَذَا for هٰذَا 'this', اللَّهُ for اللهُ 'God', النَّاسِ for النَّاسِي 'the one who forgets', الأَيْدِ for الأَيْدِي 'the hands'.

4. *Addition of vowels or vowel length*

(a) Since Arabic poetry favors loose rhyme (الْقَافِيَة الْمُطْلَقَة), an anaptyctic vowel[4] is often added in line-final position, despite the absence of an impermissible consonant cluster which must be broken up. In each instance, the form affected by such addition is one which, in and out of pause, consists of a fixed phonemic sequence ending in a consonant. More specifically, the following forms may receive an anaptyctic vowel in line-final position:

(i) The third-person singular feminine of the perfect, the second-person singular masculine of the imperative, and the jussive which ends in a consonant; e. g., كَلَّتِ for كَلَّتْ 'she became weary', تَجَلَّدِ for تَجَلَّدْ 'bear (the hardship), take heart, and be patient', وَإِنْ يَأْتِكَ الأَعْداءُ بِالْجَهْدِ أَجْهَـدِ b for وإِنْ يَأْتِكَ الأَعْداءُ بِالْجَهْدِ أَجْهَدْ 'and if the foe come upon thee with all their might, I will do my very best'.

(ii) The pronominal forms كُمْ , هُمْ, أَنْتُمْ and as well as the verbal form فَعَلْتُمْ rendering them as فَعَلْتُمُ and , كُمُ , هُمُ , أَنْتُمُ respectively. With these forms, however, irregular occurrence of the anaptyctic vowel is very frequent, and such occurrence is not limited to line-final position. When the allomorph هِمْ is used, the anaptycic unit may be a high front or a high back vowel. The following are some examples:

<div align="center">

وَتُفارِقُونَ فَأَنْتُمُ مِحَنٌ! c   أَوْلادَنا ، أَنْتُمْ لَنا فِتَنٌ

</div>

'Our offspring, you are to us a joy and a delight; but when you depart from us [on the wings of Death], you become a source of affliction!'

3

إِذَا تَرَحَّلْتَ عَنْ قَوْمٍ وَقَدْ قَدِرُوا　　　　أَنْ لَا تُفَارِقَهُمْ ، فَالرَّاحِلُونَ هُمُ

'When you have to depart from people who can spare you the necessity of leaving [by extending their hospitality to you], it is as though they were the ones who have to depart.'

وَكَيْفَ يَتِمُّ بَأْسُكَ فِي أُنَاسٍ　　　　تُصِيبُهُمُ فَيُؤْلِمُكَ الْمُصَابُ

وَإِنَّهُمُ عَبِيدُكَ حَيْثُ كَانُوا　　　　إِذَا تَدْعُو لِحَادِثَةٍ أَجَابُوا

وَعَيْنُ الْمُخْطِئِينَ هُمُ وَلَيْسُوا　　　　بِأَوَّلِ مَعْشَرٍ خَطِئُوا فَتَابُوا

'How could you visit harm and grief upon those whose affliction pains and distresses you? In all cases, they are your subjects and servants: whenever the need arises and you call upon them, they rally to your support. They are indeed at fault; but they are not the first group of people to err then repent.'

إِنِّي نَزَلْتُ بِكَذَّابِينَ ضَيْفُهُمُ　　　　عَنِ الْقِرَى وَعَنِ التَّرْحَالِ مَحْدُودُ

'I took up quarters among a band of liars whose guest is denied both food and the liberty to depart.'

لِدُوا لِلْمَوْتِ وَابْنُوا لِلْخَرَابِ　　　　فَكُلُّكُمُ يَصِيرُ إِلَى تَبَابِ

'Bear children to feed Death, and build [mansions] to feed Ruin; for the whole lot of you are doomed to destruction.'

إِنْ كَانَ سَرَّكُمُ مَا قَالَ حَاسِدُنَا　　　　فَلَيْسَ لِجُرْحٍ إِذَا أَرْضَاكُمُ أَلَمُ

'If the words of my envious rival have pleased you—well then, an injury that occurs with your approval can cause no pain!'

وَمَا الْحَرْبُ إِلَّا مَا عَلِمْتُمْ وَذُقْتُمُ　　　　وَمَا هُوَ عَنْهَا بِالْحَدِيثِ الْمُرَجَّمِ

'War is nothing else but what you yourselves have experienced and tasted; it is not a matter of vague conjecture.'

هَذَا ابْنُ خَيْرِ عِبَادِ اللهِ كُلِّهِمُ　　　　هَذَا التَّقِيُّ النَّقِيُّ الطَّاهِرُ الْعَلَمُ

'This is the son of mankind's best and choicest; this is the pious, pure, righteous, prominent man.'

4

<div dir="rtl">

بِمَا لَا يُوَاتِيهِمْ حُصَيْنُ بُنُ ضَمْضَمِ^k　　　لَعَمْرِي ، لَنِعْمَ الْحَيُّ ! جَرَّ عَلَيْهِمْ
</div>

'By my life, they are indeed a fine tribe! But Ḥuṣayn b. Ḍamḍam has brought upon them such undeserved and grievous wrong!'

<div dir="rtl">

وَالْمُزْمِلَاتِ إِذَا تَطَاوَلَ عَامُهَا^l　　　وَهُمُ رَبِيعٌ لِلْمُجَاوِرِ فِيهِمُ
</div>

'To those who seek their protection, they are a bounteous spring; and also to widows in their long year of widowhood.'

(b) In stem-medial position, a short vowel may be added to nouns of the form *FiᵓL*; e. g., جِلْدٌ for جِلِدٌ 'skin'.

(c) A short vowel may be lengthened (i. e., vowel length may be added) in word-medial position; e. g., دَرَاهِيمُ for دَرَاهِمُ 'dirhams', عَامُودٌ for عَمُودٌ 'pillar', يَنْبَاعُ for يَنْبَعُ 'it flows', أَنْظُورُ for أَنْظُرُ 'I look'. With respect to pronunciation, a short vowel is always lengthened in line-final position; e. g., الْيَقِينَا and رَوِينَا , for الْيَقِينَ and رَوِينَ , in the following lines:

<div dir="rtl">

وَأَنْظِرْنَا نُخَبِّرْكَ الْيَقِينَا　　　أَبَا هِنْدٍ فَلَا تَعْجَلْ عَلَيْنَا

وَنُصْدِرُهُنَّ حُمْرًا قَدْ رَوِينَا^m　　　بِأَنَّا نُورِدُ الرَّايَاتِ بِيضًا
</div>

' ᵓAbū Hind, be not so hasty with us; give us a breather, and we will inform you of the truth: that we bring the banners white into battle and carry them back crimson, saturated [with blood].'

5. *Complex deletion and addition*

(a) **Obfuscatory deletion**: Sometimes the deletion of phonemes (or even whole syllables) from the end of stems, under the pressure of poetical necessity, tends to obscure the abbreviated form; e. g., م الْمَالِ (usually written as مِلْمَالِ or مِنْ مَالٍ) for مِنَ الْمَالِ 'of wealth' (فَمَا أَبْقَتِ الْأَيَّامُ مِلْمَالٍ عِنْدَنَا 'Fate has left no wealth in our possession'), الثَّالِي for الثَّالِثُ 'the third' (قَدْ مَرَّ يَوْمَانِ وَهٰذَا الثَّالِي 'two days have already passed and this is the third'), عَ الْمَاءِ (usually written as عَلْمَاءِ or عَلْ مَاءٍ)

5

for الْعِنانُ for الْعِنَا 'the reins', الْمَنازِلُ for الْمَنَا 'the dwellings', عَلَى الْماءِ 'on the water', for

'about so-and-so', الضَّفادِعُ for الضَّفادِي 'the frogs', عَنْ فُلانٍ for عَنْ فُلِ 'welcome', مَرْحَبًا for مَرْ

'the frogs' (وَلِضَفادِي جَمِّهِ نَقانِقُ 'and the frogs in its pond are always croaking').

Note: When it applies to nouns (especially names) in the vocative, the elision of final sounds is known to Arab grammarians as التَّرْخِيم 'softening of the voice'. The following are some examples: يا مَنْصُورُ for يا مَنْصُ 'O Manṣūr!', يا عُثْمانُ for يا عُثْمَ 'O ʿUtʰmān!', يا كَرَوانُ for يا كَرا 'O partridge!'. يا سِيبَوَيْهِ for يا سِيبَ 'O Sībawayhi!',

التَّرْخِيم is reminiscent of the common practice in English of shortening names to express endearment, familiarity, or informality; e. g., *Lee* for *Leona*, *Pat* for *Patricia*, *Mike* for *Michael*, *Abe* for *Abraham*, *Sol* for *Solomon*, *Theo* for *Theodore*, and *Nick* for *Nicholas*. The Arabic phenomenon of التَّرْخِيم is not limited to poetry: it occurs in prose as well;[5] indeed, its occurrence in prose may have encouraged the Arab poets to indulge in the irregular practice of deleting final sounds from stems in contexts other than the vocative.

(b) **Restoration of Deep-Structure shapes**: The stem may be expanded (to accommodate poetical necessity) by restoring its Deep-Structure form at the expense of undoing a morphophonemic transformation; e. g., كَجَوارِي يَلْعَبْنَ فِي الصَّحْرَاءِ for وَإِنْ for وَإِنْ ضَنِنُوا 'like girls sporting in the mead', كَجَوارٍ يَلْعَبْنَ فِي الصَّحْرَاءِ for مَوالٍ for مَوالِي 'though they be stingy', غَيْرُ ماضٍ for غَيْرُ ماضِي 'not past', ضَنُّوا 'freedmen'. In some instances, the Deep-Structure form is restored with the effect of accommodating poetical necessity but not expanding the stem; an example is provided by the following hemistich: الْحَمْدُ لله الْعَلِيِّ الأَجَلِّ for الْحَمْدُ لله الْعَلِيِّ الأَجْلَلِ 'praise belongs to God, the exalted, the glorious'.

Morphological Irregularities

Certain suffixes may be subjected to irregular deletion or addition. The change applies to morphemic units and violates morphological rules. In contrast with their counterparts on the level of ʔiʕrāb, the units subjected to change on this level do *not* mark syntactic function; more precisely, the units subjected to change on this level, unlike their counterparts on the level of ʔiʕrāb, mark neither case nor mood.

1. *Deletion of suffixes*: Suffixes which consist of, or contain, a *nūn*[6] are occasionally deleted from various non-verbal forms as well as the energetic form of verbs; the following are examples: (كَسِنَّوْرٍ for) كَسِنَّوْرٍ مَغْلُوبٍ يَصُولُ عَلَى الْكَلْبِ 'like an overmatched cat, which springs at the dog'; for) فَأَلْفَيْتُهُ غَيْرَ مُسْتَعْتِبٍ   وَلا ذاكِرِ اللهَ إلاَّ قَلِيلا

6

(ذاكِـرٍ) 'and I found him not seeking (the Lord's) favor, and seldom thinking upon God';

... دَمٌّ وَإِمَّا   وَمِنَّةٌ إِسَارٌ إِمَّا خُطَّتَا هُمَا (خُطَّتانِ for) 'these are [the only] two alternatives: captivity and quarter, or bloodshed'; "الأَغْلالا وَفَكَّكا الْمُلُوكَ قَتَلا اللَّذَا عَمَّيَّ إِنَّ كُلَيْبٍ أَبَنِي (اللَّذانِ for) '(Tribe of) Banū Kulayb, it was my two uncles who slew kings and burst asunder the yokes (of captives)'; دِماؤُهُم بِفَلْجَ حانَتْ الَّذِي إِنَّ (الَّذِينَ for) 'those whose blood was shed unavenged at Falj'; طَرَقَتْ إِنْ الْهُمُومَ عَنْكَ اِضْرِبَ (اِضْرِبَنْ for) 'do drive sad thoughts from thee, if they come by night'.

Perhaps through analogy with the energetic suffix of verbs, the final *nūn* (though not a suffix) is sometimes deleted from the jussive forms نَكُنْ and , أَكُنْ , تَكُنْ , يَكُنْ , rendering those forms as يَكُ , تَكُ , أَكُ , and نَكُ respectively; examples are يَكُ (for يَكُنْ) in the first of the following two lines, أَكُ (for أَكُنْ) in the first hemistich of the second line, and تَكُ (for تَكُنْ) in the second hemistich of the second line:

مَتَى يَكُ أَمْرٌ لِلنَّكِيثَةِ أَشْهَدِ°   وَقَرَّبْتُ بِالْقُرْبَى ؛ وَجَدَّكَ إِنَّهُ

'I used our kinship as a close argument; and by your luck, whenever there arises a matter which calls for any effort, I am always there.'

وَإِنْ تَكُ ذا عُتْبَى ، فَمِثْلُكَ يُعْتِبُ‏ᴾ   فَإِنْ أَكُ مَظْلُومًا ، فَعَبْدٌ ظَلَمْتَهُ ؛

'If I have been punished unfairly, I am but a subject who has suffered injustice at your hand; and if you are inclined to forgive, it is the likes of you that pardon error.'

2. *Addition of suffixes*: The suffix of nunation is often added to diptotes; this occurs in conjunction with using the triptote inflection when the diptote alone is grammatical; e. g., عُثْمانَ نَبَّهْتُ for عُثْمانًا نَبَّهْتُ 'I warned Uthmān', أَحْمَدُ يَـزُورُكَ for أَحْمَدٌ يَـزُورُكَ 'Aḥmad visits you', مَنازِلَ غَشِيتُ for مَنازِلاً غَشِيتُ 'I visited dwellings', مَضَى فِيما كِنْدَةَ شاعِرُ قالَ قَدْ for مَضَى فِيما كِنْدَةٍ شاعِرُ قالَ قَدْ 'the poet of (the Tribe of) Kinda has said in olden time', أَكْثَمَ بْنَ يَحْيَى الْمَعْرُوفَ سَلِ تَقُولُ for أَكْثَمٍ بْنَ يَحْيَى الْمَعْرُوفَ سَلِ تَقُولُ 'thou sayest, Ask largesse of Yaḥyā b. ʾAkthham'.

Irregularities of ʾIʿrāb

On this level, change applies to the morphemic markers of syntactic functions, and violates the rules which govern those markers. The markers in question are those which designate case and mood distinctions.

It has already been mentioned that the triptote inflection is often used when the diptote alone is admissible. The following are additional irregularities in the use of ʾiʿrāb:

1. *Deletion of ʾiʿrāb suffixes*: Occasionally, the pausal form is used out of pause, with the result of deleting the suffix of ʾiʿrāb; e. g., فَالْيَوْمَ أَشْرَبْ غَيْرَ مُسْتَحْقِبٍ إِثْمًا مِنَ اللهِ وَلاَ وَاغِلِ ⁹ instead of فَالْيَوْمَ أَشْرَبُ غَيْرَ مُسْتَحْقِبٍ إِثْمًا مِنَ اللهِ وَلاَ وَاغِلِ 'thus today I drink, neither condemned by God for transgression nor intruding'.

The indicative form of imperfect defective verbs may be used instead of the subjunctive, with the result of deleting the appropriate marker of ʾiʿrāb; e. g., أَبَى اللهُ أَنْ أَسْمُو بِأُمٍّ وَلا أَبِ instead of أَبَى اللهُ أَنْ أَسْمُوَ بِأُمٍّ وَلا أَبِ 'God has not willed that I should be of noble descent either on the mother's or the father's side.'

The nominative form of defective stems may be used instead of the accusative, again with the result of deleting the appropriate marker of ʾiʿrāb: وَجَدْتُ مَعَالِيكَ أَصْلاً لِشِعْرِي instead of وَجَدْتُ مَعَالِيَكَ أَصْلاً لِشِعْرِي 'I found thy noble qualities a subject for my poetry'.

2. *Addition of ʾiʿrāb suffixes*: The indicative form of imperfect verbs is sometimes used instead of the jussive, with the result of adding an inadmissible suffix; e. g., نُزَاوِلُهَا instead of نَعِشْ أَوْ نَمُتْ in نَعِيشُ أَو نَمُوتُ instead of نُزَاوِلْهَا in the first of the following two lines, and the second:

وَقَالَ رَائِدُهُمْ أَرْسُوا نُزَاوِلُهَا   فَكُلُّ حَتْفِ امْرِئٍ يَمْضِي لِمِقْدَارِ ٢

'Their chief said: Stay here and we will wage war, for the fate of every man follows a predestined course.'

كُونُوا كَمَنْ وَاسَى أَخَاهُ بِنَفْسِهِ   نَعِيشُ جَمِيعًا أَوْ نَمُوتُ كِلانا ⁵

'Follow the example of one who shares his possessions equally with his brother, and thus we all shall live or together we shall die'.

As might be expected, some of the Ancient Arab Grammarians, including سِيبَوَيْهِ , came up with skillful interpretations to explain away the irregularities cited in these two lines.[7]

3. ***Barring contraction of stems***: The poets not infrequently use the indicative form of imperfect defective verbs when only the jussive is admissible, thus blocking a transformation which would shorten the stem; such is the case in the following two examples: لَمْ تَهْجُو for لَمْ تَهْجُ 'thou didst not lampoon', ما أَنْسَ لا أَنْساهُ آخِرَ عِيشَتِي for ما أَنْسَ لا أَنْسَهُ آخِرَ عِيشَتِي 'whatever [else] I forget, I shall not forget him to the end of my life'.

Syntactic Irregularities

To satisfy the requirements of rhyme and rhythm, the poets often alter the typical arrangement of words, phrases, and clauses; the poets also delete constituents, add constituents, and ignore grammatical agreement in violation of syntactic rules.

On this level, the change applies to syntactic structures (phrases, clauses, or sentences) and violates syntactic rules.

1. ***Transposition of constituents***: The typical arrangement for verb plus modifier is reversed in the hemistich وَلَكِنْ أَنْفَعُ مَتَى أَمْلِكُ الضَّرَّ instead of وَلَكِنْ مَتَى أَمْلِكُ الضَّرَّ أَنْفَعُ 'but I help when I am able to harm'; transposition is responsible for separating the two terms of the construct phrase in the hemistich لِلهِ دَرُّ مَنْ لامَهَا الْيَوْمَ instead of لِلهِ دَرُّ الْيَوْمَ مَنْ لامَهَا 'how worthy of him that blames her today!'; an antecedent (الشَّرُّ 'evil') succeeds, rather than preceding, the expression أَيُّهُما in the following two lines:

<div dir="rtl">

أُرِيــدُ الْخَــيْــرَ أَيُّهُما يَلِيني   فَمَا أَدْرِي إِذَا يَمَّمْتُ أَرْضًا

أَمِ الشَّرُّ الَّذِي هُوَ يَبْتَغِيني   أَالْخَــيْــرُ الَّذِي أَنَا أَبْتَغِــيهِ

</div>

'I know not—when I set out for another land, hoping to achieve prosperity—which of these two I will encounter: the prosperity that I go in search of, or the evil that goes in search of me'.

More striking forms of transposition are illustrated by the following three lines (from three different poems):[8]

<div dir="rtl">

وَكُنْ حافِظًا لِلهِ وَالدِّينِ — شاكِرُ   مُعَاوِيَ ، لَمْ تَرْعَ الأَمانَةَ — فَارْعَهَا

مِنَ النَّاسِ ذَنْبًا جاءَهُ وَهْوَ مُسْلِمَا   وَما كُنْتُ أَخْشَى الدَّهْرَ إِحْلاسَ مُسْلِمٍ

</div>

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<div align="center">

كَأَنَّ قَفْرًا رُسُومَهَا قَلَمَا   فَأَصْبَحَتْ بَعْدَ خَطَّ بَهْجَتِهَا

</div>

Restored to the canonical sequence of prose, and thus freed of irregularity in word order, the three lines would be as follows:

'O Muʿāwiya, [the Tribe (يَا) مُعاوِيَةُ ، لَمْ تَرْعَ شَاكِرُ الأَمانَةَ فَارْعَهَا (أَنْتَ) وَكُنْ حافِظًا لِلهِ والدِّينِ of] S^hākir has failed to honor the trust, so be the one to honor it; also be a custodian for God and the faith'.

Never in all my وَما كُنْتُ الدَّهْرَ أَخْشَى إِخْلاسَ مُسْلِمٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ مُسْلِمًا ذَنْبًا جاءَهُ (هُوَ) وَهُوَ days did I expect one Moslem to hold another Moslem solely responsible for a transgression which both of them committed jointly'.

'It was reduced from a state of joyous فَأَصْبَحَتْ قَفْرًا بَعْدَ بَهْجَتِها ، كَأَنَّ قَلَمَا خَطَّ رُسُومَهَا delight to a state of dreary desolation, as though its remains were a mere sketch drawn with a pen'.

2. *Deletion of constituents*: The subject of لَيْتَ is deleted in فَلَيْتَ دَفَعْتَ الْهَمَّ عَنِّي ساعَةً[w] instead of فَلَيْتَكَ دَفَعْتَ الْهَمَّ عَنِّي ساعَةً 'would that you had driven worry away from me for just one hour!'; the prefix *fa-* is deleted from the apodosis in مَنْ يَفْعَلِ الْحَسَناتِ اللهُ يَشْكُرُها instead of مَنْ يَفْعَلِ الْحَسَناتِ فَاللهُ يَشْكُرُها 'if one performs good deeds, God will acknowledge the merit thereof'; the agent of حَشْرَجَتْ is deleted in the second hemistich of the following line:

<div align="center">

إِذا حَشْرَجَتْ يَوْمًا وَضاقَ بِها الصَّدْرُ؟[x]   أَمَا وَيَّ ! ما يُغْنِي الثَّراءُ عَنِ الْفَتَى

</div>

'Ah, أَمَا وَيَّ ! ما يُغْنِي الثَّراءُ عَنِ الْفَتَى إِذا حَشْرَجَتِ النَّفْسُ يَوْمًا وَضاقَ بِها الصَّدْرُ؟ instead of woe to me! Of what use is wealth to a man when someday the breath of life rattles in his throat and his breast can no longer hold it?'; the antecedent (السَّفَه 'insolence'), designated by the pronoun of إِلَيْهِ, is deleted in the hemistich إِذا هُيِ السَّفِيهُ جَرَى إِلَيْهِ[y] instead of إِذا هُيِ السَّفِيهُ عَنِ السَّفَهِ جَرَى إِلَيْهِ 'When admonished against insolence, a shameless man hastens to commit it'.

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</div>

3. ***Addition of constituents***: The negative particle لَا 'not' represents an irregular addition in

   the following hemistich: ² فَما أَلُومُ النَّجْمَ أَنْ لا تَسْهَرا instead of فَما أَلُومُ النَّجْمَ أَنْ تَسْهَرا 'I

   blame not the star for the fact that you remain awake'.

4. ***Errors of grammatical agreement***: An example is [aa] ثَلاثُ شُخُوصٍ : كاعِبانِ وَمُعْصِرُ instead

   of ثَلاثَةُ شُخُوصٍ : كاعِبانِ وَمُعْصِرُ 'three persons: two buxom girls and one that has

   reached the age of maturity'.

Supplementary Notes: Nunation

The foregoing discussion identified nunation as a morphological unit which may be affected by poetic license. This note provides a reasonably detailed definition of nunation.

1. *Nunation proper* occurs with singular, broken plural, and sound feminine plural nomina;
   for the purposes of this discussion, we shall stipulate that a *nomen* is a form which can
   function as a noun. With the singular and the broken plural, nunation proper designates
   both of the following features; with the sound feminine plural, only the first. Thus
   designating the first feature is the primary function of nunation proper.

   (a) Indefinite reference; for example, the nouns كِتابٌ 'a book', رَجُلٌ 'a man', اِمْرَأَةٌ 'a

       woman', تُجَّارٌ 'merchants' and سَيِّداتٌ 'ladies' are indefinite in the sense that one can

       ask *Which?* with respect to each.

       Even names are perceived as relatively indefinite when nunated: for example, قَيْسٌ is

       less definite than قَيْسُ لَيْلَى 'Laylā's Qays', جَمِيلٌ is less definite than جَمِيلُ بُثَيْنَةَ

       'Butʰayna's Jamīl', حاتِمٌ is less definite than حاتِمُ طَيِّئٍ 'the Ḫātim of the Ṭayyiʔ

       Tribe', يَزِيدًا is less definite than يَزِيدَ in expressions like قابَلْتُ أَخاكَ يَزِيدَ وَيَزِيدًا آخَرَ 'I

       met your brother Yazīd and another Yazīd as well', سِيبَوَيْهٌ is less definite than سِيبَوَيْهِ

       in expressions like بَحَثَ هذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةَ النَّحْوِيُّ الْمَعْرُوفُ سِيبَوَيْهِ وَسِيبَوَيْهٌ آخَرُ 'That point

       was discussed by the well-known grammarian Sībawayhi and by another Sībawayhi'.

   (b) Membership in the class of forms known as "triptotes". As shown above, nunation

       may occur with a diptote (such as يَـزِيد) or even an indeclinable name (such as

       سِيبَوَيْه) which has been converted to a triptote in order to express relatively indefinite

       signification.

2. Nunation proper should be differentiated from the *pseudo-nunation* which occurs with
   dual and sound masculine plural nomina. Apparently motivated by analogy, pseudo-

nunation generalizes the addition of a *nūn* after the case marker when *ʾiḍāfa* is not involved; pseudo-nunation does not, however, designate either of the two features listed above. Rather than *–n*, *-ni* is used with the dual and *–na* is used with the sound masculine plural; the reason is not difficult to discern: in forms like *kātibāni* 'two scribes' and *muhandisūna* 'engineers', the final phoneme averts the occurrence of a long vowel in a closed syllable.

Another type of pseudo-nunation, also attributable to analogy, occurs with certain indeclinable exclamations and particles. For example, the expression صَهٍ denotes indefinite reference in contrast with the expression صَهْ : the former means 'stop talking about *any* subject!' while the latter means 'stop talking about *this* subject!'. Likewise, the expression إِيهٍ denotes indefinite reference in contrast with the expression إِيهِ : the former means 'go ahead with additional comments on *any* subject' while the latter means 'go ahead with additional comments on *this* subject'. The particle إِذْ acquires nunation when it stands for a clause that functions as the second term of a construct; for example, in أَلْقَيْتُ الْخِطابَ وَبَعْدَئِذٍ غادَرْتُ الْمَدِينَةَ 'I delivered the speech and thereafter left the city', the expression بَعْدَئِذٍ stands for the sequence بَعْدَ إِذْ أَلْقَيْتُ الْخِطابَ .

3. That the Ancient Arab Grammarians were aware of the difference between nunation proper and pseudo-nunation is clear from their use of the terms تَنْوِينُ , تَنْوِينُ التَّمْكِينِ , المُقابَلَةِ , تَنْوِينُ التَّنْكِيرِ , and تَنْوِينُ التَّعْوِيضِ [9].

4. The Ancient Arab Grammarians define تَنْوِينُ التَّعْوِيضِ as nunation which "compensates" for a deleted element. In accordance with that definition, تَنْوِينُ التَّعْوِيضِ embraces the nunation of إِذٍ (discussed above). Also in accordance with that definition, تَنْوِينُ التَّعْوِيضِ embraces the nunation of defective stems like داعٍ , ثانٍ 'second', نادٍ 'club', قاضٍ 'judge', جَوارٍ 'mufti', مُفْتٍ 'enticing', مُغْرٍ 'harmful', مُؤْذٍ 'heedless', لاهٍ 'exalted', سامٍ 'caller', مَعالٍ 'noble traits', and مُعادٍ 'hostile'; the claim is that, in the defective stems cited here, nunation "replaces" the final radical. To clarify the concept of "replacing" a final weak radical by nunation, we shall postulate and illustrate the application of five rules:

(i) *Suffixation*: The case marker and the suffix of nunation are added sequentially rather than simultaneously: addition of the case marker precedes, and addition of nunation constitutes a later step.

(ii) *Assimilation*: The sequence V_1GV_2X (where V stands for a short vowel and G stands for a glide) undergoes an assimilation transformation, provided that both vowels are low or that the second vowel is high; as a result of the transformation, the

entire sequence becomes uniform in regard to vocalic quality. The quality acquired by the sequence is determined by the sound of highest priority: a low front sound has the highest priority, and a high back sound has the lowest priority. The glide changes to a static (i. e., glide-free), non-syllabic vocoid which functions as vowel length and which we shall represent by an underlined symbol; thus the glide *y* becomes <u>*i*</u> and the glide *w* becomes <u>*u*</u>. To illustrate: aya → a<u>a</u>a, uyi → i<u>i</u>i, awi → a<u>a</u>a, and awu → a<u>a</u>a.

(iii) *Metathesis*: In a sequence such as a<u>a</u>a, the non-syllabic vocoid and the following vowel exchange positions; thus a<u>a</u>a → aa<u>a</u> and i<u>i</u>i → ii<u>i</u>.

(iv) *Deletion*: Vowel sequences are not permissible; thus $V_1V_2 → V_1$. To illustrate, aa<u>a</u> → a<u>a</u> (= ā) and ii<u>i</u> → i<u>i</u> (= ī).

(v) *Vowel Shortening*: A long vowel is shortened in a closed syllable, unless that syllable is closed only in the pausal form.

The Deep-Structure forms *nādiy* 'club' and *jawāriy* 'maids' undergo the following changes in accordance with the five rules:

(a) **In the nominative**: nādiy + -u → nādiyu → nādi<u>i</u>i → nādii<u>i</u> → nādi<u>i</u> (= nādī). The addition of nunation yields the form *nādīn*. nādīn → nādin.

In the genitive: nādiy + -i → nādiyi → nādi<u>i</u>i → nādii<u>i</u> → nādi<u>i</u> (= nādī). The addition of nunation yields the form *nādīn*. nādīn → nādin.

In the accusative: nādiy + -a → nādiya. The addition of nunation yields the form *nādiyan*.

Since *nādin* manifests only two radicals, the suffix of nunation may be said to "compensate for", or "replace", the missing third radical. Simply stated, the –*n* of nunation occupies the position of *L* in the stem measure *FāⁱiL*.

(b) **In the nominative**: jawāriy + -u → jawāriyu → jawāri<u>i</u>i → jawārii<u>i</u> → jawāri<u>i</u> (= jawārī). Nunation is added because, ending in a long vowel, the stem is not perceived as analogous to the diptote measure *maFāⁱiL*. The addition of nunation yields the form *jawārīn*. jawārīn → jawārin.

In the genitive: Perceived as ending in a long vowel, the Deep-Structure form *jawāriy* is not perceived as analogous to the diptote measure *maFāⁱiL*; it is therefore marked for the genitive by –*i* rather than –*a*. jawāriy + -i → jawāriyi → jawāri<u>i</u>i → jawārii<u>i</u> → jawāri<u>i</u> (= jawārī). Nunation is added because, ending in a long vowel, the stem is not perceived as analogous to the diptote measure *maFāⁱiL*. The addition of nunation yields the form *jawārīn*. jawārīn → jawārin.

In the accusative: jawāriy + -a → jawāriya. The suffix of nunation is not added because the measure of the stem (clearly analogous to *maFāⁱiL*) is a diptote.

Since the form *jawārin* manifests only two radicals, the suffix of nunation may be said to "compensate for", or "replace", the missing third radical. Simply stated, the *–n* of nunation occupies the position of *L* in the stem measure *FawāᶜiL*.

The five rules stated above have a wider domain of application than defective nomina; for example, they generate *iḥtāra* 'to be at a loss' from *iḥtayara*, *inbāᶜa* 'to get sold' from *inbayaᶜa*, *isʰtāqa* 'to yearn' from *isʰtawaqa*, *yanbāᶜu* 'it gets sold' from *yanbayiᶜu*, *yasʰtāqu* 'he yearns' from *yasʰtawiqu*, *yansāqu* 'he becomes carried away' from *yansawiqu*, *qīla* 'to be said' from *quwila*, *intahā* 'to end' from *intahaya*, *ʾajrā* 'to perform' from *ʾajraya*, *ʾalqā* 'to cast' from *ʾalqaya*, *istadᶜā* 'to summon' from *istadᶜawa*, *ᶜādā* 'to treat as an enemy' from *ᶜādawa*, *isʰtakā* 'to complain' from *isʰtakawa*, *yujrī* 'he performs' from *yujriyu*, *yulqī* 'he casts' from *yulqiyu*, *yakʰtafī* 'he disappears' from *yakʰtafiyu*, *yurjā* 'it is hoped' from *yurjawu*, *yastadᶜī* 'he summons' from *yastadᶜiwu*, *yarjū* 'he hopes' from *yarjuwu*, *ikʰtafaw* 'they (msc.) disappeared' from *ikʰtafayuw*, *yatalaqqawna* 'they (msc.) receive' from *yatalaqqayuwna*, *isʰtakaw* 'they (msc.) complained' from *isʰtakawuw*, *istadᶜaw* 'they (msc.) summoned' from *istadᶜawuw*, etc.

To keep the rules simple, we have chosen to dispense with the fine tuning and special provisions required by exceptions and certain other domains. For example:

(a) We have sidestepped a rule which stipulates that assimilation may affect the third but not the second radical when both radicals are glides; thus the underlying string *iḥtawaya* yields *iḥtawā* but neither *iḥtāya* nor *iḥtā*.

(b) We have also sidestepped a rule which stipulates that, when a pronominal agent beginning with a consonant is suffixed to a perfect triliteral hollow verb of Measure I, assimilation is not to the vocalic quality of *a;* rather, assimilation is to the quality of the high vowel if one is present, or else to the quality of the glide. Thus the underlying strings *kʰawiftu*, *bayaᶜtu*, and *rawaḥtu* yield *kʰiftu*, *biᶜtu*, and *ruḥtu* instead of *kʰaftu*, *baᶜtu*, and *raḥtu*. This rule helps to facilitate recoverability of the underlying string, though how it does so is beyond the scope of this discussion.

As described by the Ancient Arab Grammarians, the string V_1GV_2X (where both short vowels are low or V_2 is high) involves *tʰiqal* 'articulatory inconvenience'; the transformations specified above serve the purpose of eliminating such *tʰiqal*. The sequence CGVX (where C stands for a sound consonant as opposed to a glide, G stands for a glide, V stands for a short vowel, and X does *not* stand for a glide) is another string characterized by *tʰiqal*; it triggers assimilation and metathesis. Thus the Deep-Structure forms *ʾabyad* 'to destroy', *ʾajwab* 'to answer' and *yaqwul* 'he says' undergo the following changes: *ʾabyad* → *ʾabaad* → *ʾabaad* (= *ʾabād*); *ʾajwab* → *ʾajaab* → ajaab (= *ʾajāb*); yaqwul → yaquul → yaquul (= yaqūl).

Summary of Poetic Licenses

The following outline lists the types of poetic license discussed in this study.

A. Morphophonemic

(1) Deletion or addition of consonants (*hamza*, *tasʰdīd*)

(2) Deletion or addition of vowels or vowel length (anaptyctic, word-medial, line-final)

(3) Complex deletion and addition

B. Morphological

(1) Deletion of suffixes (consisting of, or containing, a *nūn*)

(2) Addition of suffixes (nunation with diptotes)

C. *ʔIʕrāb*

(1) Deletion of *ʔiʕrāb* suffixes (pausal form out of pause; indicative, instead of subjunctive, with defective stems; nominative, instead of accusative, with defective stems)

(2) Addition of *ʔiʕrāb* suffixes (indicative, instead of jussive, with non-defective stems)

(3) Barring stem contraction (indicative, instead of jussive, with defective stems)

D. Syntactic

(1) Transposition of constituents

(2) Deletion of constituents

(3) Addition of constituents

(4) Errors of grammatical agreement

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FOOTNOTES

[1] William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 373, 374.

[2] William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 373 – 390.

[3] Ibn Rasʰīq's *al-ʿUmda*, Vol. II, pp. 269 – 280.

[4] For the anaptyctic vowels and their distribution, see William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. I, pp. 21 – 23.

[5] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. II, pp. 88, 89.

[6] As the examples indicate, such suffixes include, but are not restricted to, nunation.

[7] See Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb*, Vol. III, pp. 96, 97.

[8] See Ibn Jinnī's *al-Kʰaṣāʾiṣ,* pp. 330, 332.

[9] See William Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. I, p. 235.   Also see ʿAbbās Ḥasan's *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī,* Vol. I, pp. 33 - 45.

[d] المُتَنَبِّي	[c] اِبْنُ الرُّومِيّ	[b] طَرَفَةُ بْنُ الْعَبْد	[a] جَرِير
[h] المُتَنَبِّي	[g] أَبُو الْعَلاءِ الْمَعَرِّيّ	[f] المُتَنَبِّي	[e] المُتَنَبِّي
[l] لَبِيدُ بْنُ رَبِيعَة	[k] زُهَيْرُ بْنُ أَبِي سُلْمَى	[j] الْفَرَزْدَق	[i] زُهَيْرُ بْنُ أَبِي سُلْمَى
[p] النَّابِغَةُ الذُّبْيَانِيّ	[o] طَرَفَةُ بْنُ الْعَبْد	[n] الأَخْطَل	[m] عَمْرُو بْنُ كُلْثُوم
[t] الْعُجَيْل السَّلولِيّ	[s] مَعْرُوف الدّبيرِيّ	[r] الأَخْطَل	[q] امرُؤُ الْقَيْس
[x] حاتِمُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ الطائِيّ	[w] عَدِيُّ بْنُ زَيْد	[v] الْمُثَقَّبُ الْعَبْدِيّ	[u] عَمْرُو بْنُ قَمِيئَة
	[aa] عُمَرُ بْنُ أَبِي رَبِيعَةَ المَخْزُومِيّ	[z] أَبُو النَّجْم	[y] الْفَـرَّاء

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محمد الله

ADDENDUM

STANDARDS OF EXCELLENCE

FOR ARABIC POETRY

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

CONTENTS

iv

STANDARDS OF EXCELLENCE

FOR ARABIC POETRY

Introduction

This book is devoted to the study of al-Kʰalīl's meters. Needless to say, other aspects of Arabic poetry are important, including the structural and semantic standards set up by the Ancient Arab Grammarians as yardsticks for measuring excellence; those aspects deserve a full-scale, in-depth analysis—but they are beyond the scope of the present study.

The purpose of this Addendum is merely to state that standards were indeed set up by the Ancient Arab Grammarians, and that—despite the abundance of books published on the subject—those standards still need to be examined carefully in the light of modern Linguistics. For this reason, the Addendum is presented as informal, almost excessively brief, notes: no attempt is made to formulate accurate definitions, engage in detailed discussion, provide a critical analysis, draw insightful conclusions, or develop an alternative theory.

A Western Point of View

The following five concepts are based on Lewis' *The Poetic Image*:

1. An image is a picture made out of words.[1]

2. The purpose of poetry, like that of all art, is pleasure. Semantic poetic images produce pleasure through precision and intensity of revelation, not in describing reality but in describing how the poet *relates* to reality. In addition, they produce pleasure through evocative power: they not only *reveal* thought but also *create* thought. Thus fertility of image is the very height and life of poetry.[2]

3. Though intimately associated with poetry, images may, and frequently do, occur in prose. The richer in images, the closer prose draws to poetry.[3]

4. There are three levels of imagery:

   (a) The entire poem is an image: it images a general (shared) truth or theme (birth, love, nature, death, etc.); i.e., it represents the poet's interpretation of the general truth or theme.[4]

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    (b) Separate semantic images represent the poet's interpretation of various aspects of the general truth or theme.[5]

    (c) Formal images (e.g., rhyming substrings within the line) appeal to the senses of listeners and readers.

5. Poetry differs from other subjects in *form* rather than content: given a strong enough imagination, one can express *any* content in poetic terms.[6]

Additional Observations

1. The reason why convention excludes certain subjects from poetry is *purpose*: science seeks precision rather than pleasure; yet an author may recognize the treatment of a certain scientific subject as too dry for a given type of reader or listener, and may revise its prose to enhance aesthetic effect, thus drawing closer to poetry.

2. One may study poetry as:

    (a) A historian (concerned mainly with gathering facts, labeling them, categorizing them, and storing them).

    (b) A critic (concerned mainly with analyzing, though he may be aided by the work of the historian).

    (c) A connoisseur (concerned mainly with deriving pleasure and enjoyment, though he may be aided by the work of the historian and the critic).

Position of the Ancient Arab Grammarians

1. According to the Ancient Arab Grammarians, the pleasure and the satisfaction derived from poetry (and, for that matter, from prose) are attributable to a quality which they called البَلاغَة 'rhetoric, effective communication' and which embraces two components:

الفَصاحَة 'appropriate-ness of expressions to the speech event', and مُلاءمَة الْكَلامِ لِمُقْتَضَى الْحالِ 'eloquence, correctness, fluency'.

Beginners will find a clear, though brief, discussion of البَلاغَة in ʿAlī al-Jārim's *al-Balāgʰa al-Wāḍiḥa* and al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī.* Not the least of its virtues, the first of these two books provides an extensive body of illustrations and exercises.

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2. To satisfy the requirements of الفَصـاحَة , certain standards must be met on various levels of linguistic analysis: the sounds of an utterance must be free from discord, the grammatical rules must be upheld, the vocabulary items must be familiar, and the meaning must be clear. The Ancient Arab Grammarians attributed phonological discord (تَنافُر الأَصـواتِ) to the proximity of similar or identical sounds (similarity being defined as closeness in point of articulation). Thus the expressions اسْتَشْرَى الشَّرُّ 'the disaster grew worse' and شَعْـرٌ شَعِـثٌ 'unkempt hair' suffer from phonological discord; so does the hemistich وَلَيْسَ قُـرْبَ قَـبْرِ حَـرْبٍ قَبْـرُ 'and there is no grave close to that of Ḥarb'.

3. المُلاءَمَـة 'Appropriateness' is facilitated by selection from available stylistic features; those features include the following: an inventory of (semantic and formal) poetic images, a set of usages which display skill in manipulating the language or the situation, an inventory which associates each grammatical construction with a set of functions, a range of options which pertains to the length of expressions, a spectrum which comprises the successive levels of formality, and a scale which encompasses the different degrees of difficulty.

   (a) عِلْم البَيَانِ deals with semantic images (e. g., الإِستِعارَة 'metaphor', التَّشْبِيه 'simile', and الكِنايَة 'epithet'). For the purpose of elucidating, highlighting, and intensi-fying meaning, the poet selects from these images what he deems appropriate to a particular situation.

   (b) عِلْم البَـدِيعِ deals with formal images (e. g., السَّجْع 'rhyming substrings' and الجِناس 'homophony'). In addition to imparting pleasure by appealing to the senses, these images can be drawn upon to suit certain components of the speech event (such as the type of addressee and the subject being discussed).

   (c) عِلْم البَـدِيعِ deals with skill in manipulating the language or the situation (e. g., حُسْـن 'concealment'; المُوَارَبَة 'pun, equivocation, duplicity in meaning'; التَّوْرِيَة

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التَّعْلِيلِ 'creative explanation or justification'; and أُسْـلُوب الحَكِيـمِ 'diplomatic response'). The skills under discussion amount to clever tricks, rationalizations, excuses, maneuvers, and evasive techniques which merit admiration and which, in addition, may be necessary in certain situations (e.g., an author may resort to الْمُوَارَبَة lest he should be punished by a despot for a political opinion); they are discussed and illustrated in *al-Wāfī*[7] and *al-Balāgʰa al-Wāḍiḥa*.[8]

(d)   عِلْـم المَعانِي associates a set of functions with each construction (the Ancient Arab Grammarians viewed those functions as "meanings"; hence the term المَعَانِي). For the purposes of this brief discussion, a handful of examples will suffice: A sentence may be constative or performative; a statement may express doubt, emphatic certainty, or neutrality; the perfect tense may express past occurrence, invocation, good wish, imprecation, etc.; the imperative may express command, request, permission, admonition, reproof, supplication, challenge, threat, etc.; the interrogative may express inquiry, bewilderment, disbelief, marvel, sarcasm, disapproval, refutation, request, etc. From the inventory of form-function correlations, the poet selects what he considers appropriate to a given speech event; thus, in a given situation, the interrogative might be deemed a more appropriate structure than the imperative for the purpose of expressing a request.

(e)   عِلْـم المَـعانِي deals with the appropriation of length to expressions. Such appropriation involves selection from the following three options: الإيجــاز 'brevity', الإطْناب 'verbosity', and المُساواة 'equivalence'. Discussed in *al-Balāgʰa al-Wāḍiḥa*,[9] these options serve the purpose of appropriateness. To illustrate: while brevity might be adequate for a knowledgeable listener, verbosity might be boring and counterproductive; on the other hand, verbosity might be necessary for a slow learner.

(f)   عِلْـم المَعـانِي deals with the formality and difficulty of texts. The level of formality and the degree of difficulty must suit the relevant components of the speech event (the speaker's purpose, the listener's level of education, the topic, the circumstances, etc.).

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4. The standards of excellence mentioned in the above paragraphs are not restricted to poetry; they apply to prose as well. The science of Arabic Linguistics recognized this fact when it acknowledged the existence of scientific prose, literary prose, *and* literary-scientific prose. It should be noted, however, that images (both semantic and formal) are more typical of poetry than prose; for this reason, they are often referred to as "poetic images".

5. Numerous books (including those listed in the Bibliography) discuss the concept of البَلاغَـة in considerable detail, tracing the evolution of that concept over the centuries. Some of the authors attempt to offer new insights. Muḥammad ʕĪd, for example, argues that, as formulated by the Ancient Arab Grammarians, عِلْـم البَلاغَةِ suffers from a serious shortcoming: it fails to show that the poem *as a whole* constitutes a macro-image, and that the micro-images are "worthless" if not intimately related to the macro-image. ʕĪd further argues that, contrary to the claims of the Ancient Arab Grammarians, figurative usage is not necessary to produce poetic images: literal usage is perfectly capable of evoking images provided that the meaning is closely related to the experience of readers and listeners.[10]

ʕĪd's conviction that البَلاغَـة should focus on the macro-image produced by the poem as a whole, as well as the relationship between that macro-image and the micro-images produced by component lines, is neither unique nor new: it was voiced by Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī who died in 684 A. H.[11] and by Ḍiyāʔ al-Dīn Ibn al-ʔAtʰīr who died in 1239 A. H.[12]

ʕĪd is unquestionably correct in pointing out that images are not entirely dependent on figurative usage. Consider, for example, the warning issued by Zuhayr b. ʔAbī Sulmā in his *muʕallaqa*: وَما الْحَـرْبُ إلاَّ مَا عَلِمْتُمْ وَذُقْتُمْ 'war is nothing else but what you have known and experienced'. Though free from figurative usage, this expression was capable of evoking an avalanche of images in the minds of Zuhayr's audience—a band of fighters who had suffered the untold woes of a protracted, devastating war.

A Few Suggestions for Further Exploration

1. Semantic images seem to emerge from relating one *meaning* to another; for example, the simile سَلِيـمٌ كَالأَسَـدِ 'Salīm is like a lion' relates the referent of the word سَلِيم to the referent of the word أَسَد.

The relation may be called "convergent" if the two meanings can be viewed as belonging to the same semantic domain, and "divergent" if they must be viewed as separate semantic domains.

(a) Convergent semantic images often express emphasis, completion, supplementation, commentary, elaboration, particularization, elucidation, explanation, argumentation, or the like; they include the following: رَدُّ الكَلامِ عَلَى صَـدْرِهِ [13], الْمُبالَغَـة[14],

الغُلُـوّ[15], صِحَّـة التَّقْسِيمِ[16], التَّكْمِـيل[17], الاسْتِدْراك والرُّجُوع[18], التَّذْيِيل[19], الاسْتِطْراد[20],

التَّكْرار[21], التَّرْدِيـد[22], التَّتْمِيـم[23], التَّبْيِـين[24], المَـذْهَـب الكَلامِـيّ[25], التَّفْرِيـغ[26],

الزِّيادَة الَّتِي يَتِمُّ بِها المَعْـنَى[27], التَّنْـبِيه[28].

(b) Divergent semantic images include the following:

(i) Similarity: الاسْتِعارة[29], الْمُماثَلَة[30], التَّشْبِيه[30].

(ii) Implication (an expressed meaning implies another meaning which is not expressed): الكِنايَة والإرْداف[31].

(iii) Contrast: الطِّبـاق والتَّكافُؤ[32], المُقابَلَة والتَّسْهِيـم[33], السَّلْب والإيجـاب[34], العَكْس والتَّبْدِيل[35], الإسْتِثْناء[36], الهَـزْل الَّذِي يُرادُ بِهِ الجِدُّ[37].

2. Formal images seem to emerge from relating one *form* to another. Such images include the following:

(a) Homophony and homography: الجِناس , الْمُشاكَلَة , and التَّصْحِيف[38].

(i) Partial phonological (and graphic) similarity with difference in meaning; the following are examples:

طَمَحَ 'to aspire', طَمَّاح 'ambitious'; يُلْبِس 'to clothe', تَلَبَّس 'to be attired'; مَعْقُـول 'reasonable', عِقـال 'headband'; مَحْـبُوس 'imprisoned', حـابِس 'confiner'; حامِـل 'bearer', حامٍ 'defender'.

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مُغْتَـرّ 'conceited', مُعْتَـزّ 'proud'; شَلِيل 'spinal cord', سَلِيل 'descendant'.

(ii) Complete phonological (and graphic) similarity, with difference in meaning; the following are examples: السَّاعَة 'the hour (of day)', السَّاعَة 'the Day of Judgment'; ساق 'male pigeon' , ساق 'stem of a tree'.

(b) Rhyming substrings (within the hemistich): التَّرْصِيع [39], التَّسْمِيط [40].

(c) Symmetry: الْمُوازَنة [41].

3. The components which form a speech event are discussed in Malcolm Coulthard's *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*.[42] An attempt should be made to achieve a more detailed understanding of "appropriateness" in the light of those components.

4. As ʿĪd suggests, creative research needs to draw on the science of modern Linguistics to examine in more detail (a) how the poem as a whole forms a macro-image, (b) how micro-images relate to the macro-image, and (c) how literal (as opposed to figurative) usage can evoke images. In a daring study, ʾAḥmad al-Shāyib attempts to include such a creative approach in the Arabic science of البَلاغَة [43].

Application of such a creative approach was attempted, with impressive results, by Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in analyzing a large sample of Arabic poetry extending from Pre-Islamic to modern times, and in describing the linguistic style of the Qur'an.[44] Application of a similar approach was attempted by Dr. Muḥammad Mandūr in analyzing what he calls "whispered poetry".[45]

In *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, ʾAbū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī attempts to list and discuss the general (shared) themes of Arabic poetry: praise, vainglory, friendly reproof, satire, apology, description, homesickness, patriotism, greeting, congratulation, etc. al-ʿAskarī further attempts to list the micro-images used by various poets for each theme. In some instances, he attempts to relate the micro-image to the entire poem, to the situation, and to similar images used by other poets.[46]

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī painstakingly developed, and strongly advocated, the theory that images can intensify meaning, transmit content, evoke memories, create associations, and inspire nuances *only* when "appropriate" to the poet's "psychological experience"—that is, only when faithful in reflecting, rather than empirical facts, the manner in which the poet relates to reality: his sentiments, his emotional framework, his attitude, his disposition, his perceptions, his imagination, etc. Implied in this theory

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is the stipulation that the micro-images of a given poem must stem from, and be related to, the general theme (the macro-image) of that poem.[47]

How much, if at all, do the attempts made by al-Sʰāyib, Ḥusayn, Mandūr, al-ʿAskarī, and al-Jurjānī contribute towards satisfying ʿĪd's demands, and wherein do those attempts fall short?

5. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (who died around 471 A. H.) is credited with developing the first unified, comprehensive theory of *al-balāgʰa* as it applies to Arabic literature in general and the Qur'an in particular. The following notes pertain to al-Jurjānī's theory.

Merits of the theory: The theory aspires to satisfy the requirements of generality, adequacy, and simplicity:

(a) It aspires to satisfy the requirement of generality by seeking to incorporate rules and principles which hold true not only for Arabic but for other languages as well.

(b) It aspires to satisfy the requirement of adequacy by deriving its rules and principles from a reasonably extensive body of primary data:

    (i) It draws on a large sample of Arabic poetry rather than relying exclusively on the Qur'an (despite the fact that it was developed primarily to explain the inimitability of the Qur'an).

    (ii) It draws on the Qur'an *as a whole* rather than a restricted set of Qur'anic passages which incorporate special features (such as figurative usage).

(c) It aspires to satisfy the requirement of simplicity by reducing the number of rules to the necessary minimum, providing accurate definitions, promoting clarity, and avoiding ambiguity.

Linguistic relations as the foundation of *al-balāgʰa*: The theory under discussion is based on the premise that primacy in language (as a system) belongs to relations rather than individual, discrete units—a principle explored in meticulous detail, as a linguistic universal, many centuries later by Louis Hjelmslev[48]. Repeatedly and emphatically, al-Jurjānī argues that *al-balāgʰa* does not, and indeed cannot, emanate from individual units such as discrete phonemes, morphemes, or words. It would be unreasonable, for example, to claim that different words in isolation merit various degrees of excellence—that some are superior to others in performing the function of denoting referents. In no uncertain terms, al-Jurjānī points out that the true source of *al-balāgʰa* lies in the *relations* which exist among linguistic units.

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Syntactic sequences as the domain of *al-balāgʰa*: According to al-Jurjānī, the domain of linguistic relations is the syntactic sequence constituted in accordance with the rules of the language. Rather than "the rules of the language", al-Jurjānī talks of قَوَاعِد النَّحْوِ 'the rules of syntax', but his detailed discussions indicate that he uses the term somewhat loosely to embrace phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic rules.[49] What he calls الْمَجاز الْعَقْلِيّ 'rational metaphor', for example, often involves a semantic modification to uphold a lexical sub-categorization rule. A case in point is the following hemistich (composed by al-Mutanabbī in describing a Byzantine emperor who was defeated by Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī): وَيَمْشِي بِهِ الْعُكَّازُ فِي الدَّيْرِ تائِبًا 'and the cane walks him around repentant in the monastery'. To focus attention on the cane, the hemistich in question assigns to it the role of performer; this entails personifying the cane to satisfy a lexical sub-categorization rule which states that the verb يَمْشِي requires an animate agent.

As pointed out earlier, Arab grammarians define *al-balāgʰa* in terms of two components:

(a) الْمُلاءَمَة 'appropriateness': Utterances must be appropriate to the speech event.

(b) الْفَصاحَة 'eloquence, correctness, fluency': Utterances must be grammatically correct and phonologically free from discord. In addition, the vocabulary items must be familiar, and the meaning must be clear.

In the context of al-Jurjānī's theory, *al-mulāʾama* is a quality of syntactic sequences rather than individual units such as discrete phonemes, morphemes, or words. Syntactic sequences embody numerous phonological, grammatical, and semantic relations which generate a variety of features including auditory effects (rhyming, homophony, etc.), denotations (literal as well as figurative), and functions. Functions are extremely numerous and for this reason only a few will be cited here: A sentence may be constative or performative; a statement may be emphatic or plain; the predicate may be descriptive, stative, progressive, repetitive, etc; the interrogative may express inquiry, reproof, disbelief, refutation, disapproval, sarcasm, etc. The speaker or writer determines the features which he deems appropriate to a given speech event, and selects the syntactic sequences accordingly.

Again, in the context of al-Jurjānī's theory, *al-faṣāḥa* is a quality of syntactic sequences: such sequences—*not* the discrete phonemes, morphemes, and words—represent a sufficient domain for the grammatical rules which govern syntactic structures and the phonological rules which facilitate compatibility of sounds (consider, for example, the fact that compatibility of sounds is almost always a built-in, already-existing property of individual words, which means that phonological discord, when it occurs, is usually the result of stringing words together); it is also in the context of such sequences that a vocabulary item is (a) assigned a specific lexical meaning, (b) marked in regard to clarity, and (c) characterized with respect to acceptability.

Selection as the cornerstone of *al-balāgʰa*: Persistently and forcefully, al-Jurjānī asserts that selection (التَّخَـيُّر) is the cornerstone of *al-balāgʰa*: where selection of elements to fit the speech event is not permitted or not exercised, *al-balāgʰa* can hardly be regarded as an attribute of the utterance, despite the grammatical correctness of that utterance[50] (and, one might add, despite conformity with the other demands of *al-faṣāḥa*). In this light, appropriateness is considered the paramount, definitive requirement of *al-balāgʰa*.

The requirement of *al-faṣāḥa* does not of necessity involve selection. In regard to *ʔiʕrāb*, for example, a sentence may be perfectly grammatical without the benefit of a single selection; likewise, in regard to phonology, a sentence may be free from discord without the benefit of one conscious selection. If selection is the cornerstone of *al-balāgʰa*, this state of affairs can lead to only one conclusion: to paraphrase al-Jurjānī, *al-faṣāḥa* may be viewed as an independent standard, worthy in its own right but separate from *al-balāgʰa*; alternatively, *al-faṣāḥa* may be viewed as a secondary condition for *al-balāgʰa* but by no means the essential requirement.

The attempt to highlight selection in this manner suggests that al-Jurjānī groped for the concept of "style" as understood by modern-day linguists; not surprisingly, his work paved the way for books like ʔAḥmad al-Sʰāyib's *al-ʔUslūb*.

Examples of options: To illustrate the options which the sequence makes available for selection, al-Jurjānī expounds in elaborate and impressive detail a variety of subjects categorized today under three titles: *ʕilm al-bayān*, *ʕilm al-maʕānī*, and *ʕilm al-badīʕ;* the three titles have already been discussed, albeit very briefly, in this Addendum.

"Secrets" of *al-balāgʰa*—Summary statement: al-Jurjānī regarded *al-balāgʰa* as a fine art of supreme quality whose trade secrets are hidden from all but the choicest men

of letters. Reduced to the core and essence, those trade secrets boil down to النَّظْم 'construction' (which may be defined as the pattern of forming a syntactic constitute from lower-level constituents in accordance with the rules of the language), and التَّخَيُّر 'selection' (which may be defined as making choices from the available linguistic options to render the utterances suitable for a given speech event).

Figurative versus literal usage: Within the framework of al-Jurjānī's theory, figurative usage is deemed more effective than literal usage in inspiring images and ideas; consequently, figurative usage is considered more effective than literal usage in conveying the "psychological experience" of poets.

The concept of "noise" as a framework for *al-balāgʰa*: As shown above, the Ancient Arab Grammarians developed an elaborate theory of *al-balāgʰa*, with al-Jurjānī's contribution as its zenith. When reduced to its essentials and related to the concept of "noise", the theory appears self-evident and axiomatic. In simple terms, *al-balāgʰa* can be defined as success in communicating messages through the medium of language; more precisely, *al-balāgʰa* can be defined as success in communicating the message embodied in a syntactic sequence. Such success cannot be fully realized without adherence to the grammar; in this context, the term "grammar" refers to the rules which govern the construction of syntactic sequences. Violation of the grammar constitutes "noise" which hinders communication; after all, language is a *conventional* system, and a speaker or writer cannot expect to be readily understood by other members of the speech community if he violates the grammar. The virtue of the theory lies largely in exploring the various features which constitute noise. Other than violation of the grammar, the Ancient Arab Grammarians identified three negative qualities of the syntactic sequence which constitute noise: phonological discord, semantic ambiguity of vocabulary items, and inappropriateness of the syntactic sequence to the speech event; the last of these is the single most serious, and most common, source of noise. The choices made by the speaker or writer in order to minimize noise and maximize signification determine the degree of effectiveness in transmitting the message; typically, those choices pertain to matters of appropriateness (*al-mulāʾama*). A major contribution made by al-Jurjānī is his firm insistence that, whether we are talking about the reduction of noise or the enhancement of signification, primacy belongs not to the isolated constituent units but to the *relations* which bind those units together in a syntactic sequence.

Suggestions for further research: More research is needed to determine the degree of similarity between al-Jurjānī's theory and the writings of Aristotle, as well as the degree of similarity between al-Jurjānī's theory and the works of modern Western scholars; furthermore, a need exists for an extensive survey of Arabic literature, coupled with a comprehensive analytical study, to compare literal usage and figurative usage in regard to effectiveness and popularity.[51]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Page 18.

[2] Pages 17 – 37.

[3] Page 86.

[4] Pages 135 – 140.

[5] Pages 140 – 147.

[6] Pages 89 , 90.

[7] Pages 300 – 303.

[8] Pages 276, 277, 288, 289, 295, 296.

[9] Pages 239 – 243.

[10] Muḥammad ʿĪd's *Fī al-Lugʰa wa-Dirāsatihā*, pp. 234 – 239.

[11] Badawī Ṭabāna's *al-Bayān al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 241 – 246.

[12] Badawī Ṭabāna's *al-Bayān al-ʿArabiyy*, pp. 220 – 223.

[13] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, pp. 259, 272.

[14] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 268.

[15] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 268.

[16] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 273.

[17] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 274.

[18] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 280.

[19] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 281.

[20] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 281.

[21] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 282.

[22] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 285.

[23] al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 287.

Addendum

24 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 288.

25 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 288.

26 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 291.

27 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 296.

28 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 298.

29 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 263.

30 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 274.

31 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, pp. 265, 277.

32 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, pp. 258, 276.

33 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, pp. 264, 271.

34 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 277.

35 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 278.

36 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 283.

37 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 296.

38 See ʿAlī al-Jārim's *al-Balāgʰa al-Wāḍiḥa*, pp. 263 – 265. Also see al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, pp. 260 – 263, 283, 296, 297.

39 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 276.

40 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 292.

41 al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, p. 265.

42 Pages 41 – 47.

43 See ʾAḥmad al-Sʰāyib's *al-ʾUslūb*. In his Introduction (pp. 3, 4), al-Sʰāyib freely admits that his treatment of the subject is general and brief. In *al-Bayān al-ʿArabiyy* (pp. 308, 309), Ṭabāna praises al-Sʰāyib's book but complains that the vast scope of the material deserves several volumes rather than one.

44 See Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Majmūʿa al-Kāmila*: Vol. II, and pp. 239 – 277 of Volume VII.

45 See Muḥammad Mandūr's *Fī al-Mīzān al-Jadīd*.

46 See, for example, pp. 15 – 75.

47 See al-Kʰaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Wāfī fī al-ʿArūḍ wa-al-Qawāfī*, pp. 189 – 335.

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[48] See Louis Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, tr. Francis J. Whitfield (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963).

[49] See ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's *ʔAsrār al-Balāgʰa*, ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's *Dalāʔil al-ʔIʕjāz*, ʔAḥmad ʔAḥmad Badawī's *ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjāni*, and ʔAḥmad ʕAbd al-Sayyid al-Ṣāwī's *al-Naqd al-Taḥlīliyy ʕind ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī*.

[50] See ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's *Dalāʔil al-ʔIʕjāz*, pp. 45-51, 76, 77; also see ʔAḥmad ʔAḥmad Badawī's *ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjāni*, pp. 103-105, 118, 119.

[51] See ʔAḥmad ʔAḥmad Badawī's *ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjāni*, pp. 309 – 322; ʔAḥmad ʕAbd al-Sayyid al-Ṣāwī's *al-Naqd al-Taḥlīliyy ʕind ʕAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī*, pp. 255 – 327; and Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's introduction to the following volume:

نَقْدُ النَّثْرِ – يُنْسَبُ إلى قُدامَةَ بْنِ جَعفر – لجنة التَّأليفِ والتَّرجمةِ والنَّشْرِ – القاهرة ١٩٣٨

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أسرارُ البَلاغَةِ في عِلْمِ البَيَـانِ — للإمام عبد القاهر الجرجانيّ — صحَّحَه وعلَّقَ عليه السيِّد محمَّـد رشيد رضا — نَشْرُ دار المعرفة — بـيروت ١٩٧٨

الأُسْلُوبُ : دراسةٌ بَلاغِيَّـةٌ تحليليَّةٌ لأُصـولِ الأساليبِ الأدبيَّةِ — للأستاذ أحمد الشَّايب — الطَّبعة السَّابعة — نَشْرُ مكتبة النَّهضة المصريَّة — القاهرة ١٩٧٦

البَلاغَـةُ العَصْريَّـةُ واللُّغـةُ العربيَّـةُ — للأستاذ سلامة موسى — الطَّبعة الرَّابِعة — نَشْرُ مطبعة سلامة موسى — القاهرة ١٩٦٤

البَلاغَـةُ الواضِحَـةُ : البَيَـانُ والمعانيِ والبَديـعُ — لعلي الجارم ومصطفى أمـين — نَشْرُ دار المعـارف — القاهرة ١٩٥٩

البَيَـانُ العَـرَبيُّ: دراسةٌ في تَطوُّرِ الفِكْرةِ البَلاغِيَّةِ عِنْدَ العربِ ، ومناهِجِها ، ومصادِرِها الكُبرى — للدّكتور بدويّ طَبَانَه — الطَّبعة الخامسة — نَشْرُ دار العودة — بـيروت ١٩٧٢

التَّلْخيصُ في عُلومِ البَلاغَةِ — للإمام جلال الدِّين محمَّد بن عبد الرَّحمٰن القزوينيّ الخطيب — ضَبَطَه وشَرَحَه الأستاذ عبد الرَّحمٰن البرقوقيُّ — الطَّبعة الثَّانية — نَشْرُ دار الكتاب العربيِّ — بـيروت ١٩٣٢

دِفاعٌ عَنِ البَلاغَةِ — للأستاذ أحمد حسن الزَّيَّات — نَشْرُ عالم الكتب — القاهرة ١٩٦٧

دلائلُ الإعجازِ — للإمام عبد القاهر الجرجانيّ — نَشْرُ دار المعرفة — بـيروت ١٩٧٨

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ديـــوانُ المعـــانِي – للإمـام أبي هــلال العسكـريِّ – الجـزء الأوَّل والجـزء الثَّاني – نَشْـرُ مكتبـة القدسيِّ – القاهـرة ١٣٥٢ هـ

عبدُ القاهِـرِ الجــرجانِيُّ وجهـــودُه في البَلاغَةِ العَرَبِــيَّةِ – للدّكتور أحمد أحمد بدويّ – نَشْرُ مكتبة مصر – القاهرة ١٩٦٢

العُمْدَةُ: **في مَحاسِنِ الشِّعْرِ وآدابِهِ وَنَقْـدِهِ**، لِأبي عَليّ الحَسَنِ بنِ رَشيق القَيْـرَوانِيِّ الأزْدِيِّ، حَقَّقَه وفَصَّـلَه وعَلَّقَ حَواشِيَه مُحمَّد مُحيِي الدِّينِ عبد الحَميد، الجُـزْءُ الأوَّلُ، الطَّبْعَةُ الرَّابِعَةُ، نَشْـرُ دَارِ الجِيـلِ بِبَـيروت سنة ١٩٧٢ (لا سِيَّما ص ٢٤١ – ٣٣٥)

في اللُّغةِ ودراستِها: **منهجُ ابنِ خلدون في فَهْمِ اللُّغةِ ، العواملُ الطَّارِئةُ على اللُّغةِ ، تيسيرُ النَّحْوِ وحراسةُ البَلاغَةِ** – للدّكتور محمَّد عيد – نَشْرُ عالم الكتب – القاهرة ١٩٧٤

في المِيزانِ الجَديدِ – للدّكتور محمَّد مندور – مطبعة لجنة التَّأليف والتَّرجمة والنَّشر – القاهرة ١٩٤٤

الْمَجْموعَةُ الْكامِلَةُ لِمؤلَّفاتِ الدّكتور طه حسين – للدّكتور طه حسين – المجلَّد الثَّاني (حَديث الأربَعاء) والمجلَّد السَّابع (المشتمِل على مِرآة الإسلام) – نَشْرُ دار الكتاب اللُّبنانيّ – بـيروت ١٩٧٥

النَّقْـدُ التَّحْليلِيُّ مِنْـذَ عبدِ القَاهِـرِ الْجُرْجانِيِّ (دِراسـةٌ مقارِنةٌ) – للدّكتور أحمد عبد السيِّد الصَّاوي – نَشْرُ الهيئة المصريَّة العامَّة للكتاب – الاسكندريَّة ، مصر ١٩٧٩

الوافِي في العَرُوضِ والقَـوافِي – للخطيب التَّبريزيّ – نَشْرُ دار الفكر – دمشق ١٩٧٥

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