

The Influence of Arabic Dialects on the Grammatical Interpretation of Qur'anic Readings According to al-Farrā' in Kitāb Fīhi Lughāt al-Qur'ān: Verbs as a Case Study

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Abstract

This study examines the influence of Arabic dialects on the grammatical interpretation of the Qur'anic readings (Qirā'āt) in al-Farrā''s Kitāb Fīhi Lughāt al-Qur'ān. It explores the extent to which dialectal variation shaped al-Farrā''s grammatical analyses and his interpretation of variant Qur'anic readings, while identifying the linguistic forms that best preserve semantic consistency. Employing a descriptive-analytical approach, the study focuses on three grammatical issues: the transitivity of the verb sa'ala ('to ask'), the jussive form of geminated verbs, and the grammatical status of ḥāshā as either a preposition or a verb. The findings demonstrate that al-Farrā' consistently relied on authentic Arabic dialects to justify grammatical interpretation, highlighting the close relationship between dialectal diversity and the development of early Arabic grammatical thought.

Keywords: al-Farrā'; Kitāb Fīhi Lughāt al-Qur'ān; Arabic dialects; Qur'anic readings (Qirā'āt); grammatical interpretation; Arabic grammar.

Section One: The Transitivity of the Verb Sa'ala (to Ask)

Al-Farrā' states regarding the Qur'anic verse, "A supplicant asked for a punishment bound to occur"⁽¹⁾, that its meaning is: "A caller invoked an inevitable punishment." The Arabs express this meaning in different ways, saying: sa'ala 'an al-'adhāb ('he asked about the punishment'), sa'ala bi-al-'adhāb ('he asked for the punishment'), or simply sa'ala al-'adhāb ('he asked the punishment'), while the intended meaning remains essentially the same. Likewise, they say: sa'altuka 'an al-rajul, sa'altuka bi-al-rajul, and sa'altuka al-rajul, all conveying the meaning 'I asked you about the man.' In support of this usage, Abū al-Qamqām al-Asadī recited the following verse of poetry ⁽²⁾.

They ask about "al-Ghawr"—yet where is al-Ghawr?

For al-Ghawr lies far beyond their reach.

They are like graceful young maidens,

or like a herd of cows with a bull among them"⁽³⁾.

Al-Farrā' surveys the linguistic disagreement concerning the transitivity of the verb sa'ala. He explains that the verb may be construed with the preposition 'an ('about') or with the preposition bi- ('by/for'), without affecting the intended meaning.

Grammarians unanimously agree on the syntactic parsing of the verse at the surface level. Thus, sa'ala is a perfect verb, sā'il ('a supplicant') is its nominative subject, bi-'adhābin is a prepositional phrase, and wāqī' ('inevitable') functions as an adjectival modifier of 'adhāb⁽⁴⁾. The principal disagreement concerns the grammatical function of the preposition bi-, for which four interpretations have been proposed.

(1) Al-Ma'ārij, 1.

(2) The verse is from the "rajaz" meter. Al-Farrā' attributed it to "Abū al-Qamqām al-Asadī", although it is transmitted elsewhere without attribution. It is cited by Abū 'Ubayd Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā in "Sharḥ Naqā'id Jarīr wa al-Farazdaq", 1:201; "Asās al-Balāghah", 1:426; "Lisān al-'Arab", 4:335 and 5:186; and "Tāj al-'Arūs", 11:459.

(3) Lughāt al-Qur'ān, pp.144–145.

(4) See: Bahjat 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ṣāliḥ, "al-I'rāb al-Mufaṣṣal li-Kitāb Allāh al-Murattal", vol.12, p.160.

The first opinion maintains that bi- carries the meaning of 'an ('about'), yielding the sense: 'A supplicant asked about an inevitable punishment⁽⁵⁾.' Advocates cite Arabic poetry as evidence⁽⁶⁾.

Leave the obscure man; do not ask about his fate.

Instead, ask what became of Mişqalah al-Bakrī

Accordingly, the expression means: 'Do not ask about his death.' They also cite a verse by 'Alqamah ibn 'Abadah, ⁽⁷⁾:

If you ask me about women, then indeed I am well acquainted with their dispositions and ailments—I am a physician in such matters.

Where the intended meaning is 'If you ask me about women⁽⁸⁾.

The second opinion argues that the preposition bi- retains its original transitive function. This interpretation is linked to the Qur'anic reading sāla (without hamzah), transmitted from Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir⁽⁹⁾, and Abū Ja'far⁽¹⁰⁾, whereas the majority recite sa'ala with the hamzah. The former reflects the dialect of Quraysh⁽¹¹⁾.

Its meaning is derived from the verb denoting the flowing of a torrent. "Sā'il" is also the name of a valley in Hell, thus the sense is: "A valley flowed with a punishment from God", as though the verse read: "A valley flowed with an impending punishment" (i.e., "sāla yasīlu" "to flow"). Alternatively, it may be derived from the form "siltu, usīlu", in the same morphological pattern as "khiftu akhāfu" ("I feared, I fear") and "nimtu anāmu" ("I slept, I sleep")⁽¹²⁾.

Others maintain that the expression conveys the meaning of asking rather than flowing, since it serves as a response to the Almighty's saying: "And [remember] when they said, 'O Allah, if this is indeed the truth from You, then rain down upon us stones from the sky or bring upon us a painful punishment⁽¹³⁾.'" They made this request; consequently⁽¹⁴⁾, God, Exalted is He, revealed: "A supplicant asked for an impending punishment."⁽¹⁵⁾

The first interpretation is further supported by what has been narrated from Ibn 'Abbās, who said: "Whoever recites it without the hamzah, it refers to a valley in Hell; and whoever recites it with the hamzah intends the meaning of "asking". According to this view, "Sā'il" is the name of a valley in Hell, just as God says: "They will soon encounter Ghayy"⁽¹⁶⁾ (Qur'an 19:59), where "Ghayy" is likewise the name of a valley. The remaining Qur'anic reciters read "sa'ala" with the hamzah, meaning: a supplicant asked"; namely, al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah. Moreover, all the reciters unanimously agreed on pronouncing "sā'il" with the hamzah, because if it is derived from sa'ala ("to ask"), the middle radical of the verb is a hamzah; whereas if it is derived from "sāla" ("to flow") without a hamzah, then the hamzah in "sā'il" is a substitution for the "yā", just as one says: "sāra", hence "sā'ir"⁽¹⁷⁾.

Accordingly, the verb "sa'ala" ("asked") implicitly carries the meaning of "being answered"; that is, "A supplicant asked, and the response came in the form of an impending punishment for the disbelievers." Thus, in this context, the question inherently conveys the notion of its answer.

As for the third opinion, it holds that the preposition "bā'" is redundant for the purpose of emphasis. Although it does not alter the basic meaning, it serves to reinforce the relationship between the verb and what follows it. Accordingly, "adhāb" ("punishment") functions as the direct object of the verb "sa'ala", since the latter carries the meaning of "da'ā" ("to invoke" or "to call upon"); that is, "sa'ala" here conveys the sense

(5) See: Ibn Khālawayh, "I'rāb al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'", p.409.

(6) The verse is by "al-Akhtāl", as recorded in his "Dīwān", p.266.

(7) The verse is by "'Alqamah al-Fahl", as recorded in his "Dīwān", p.23.

(8) See: "Tahdhīb al-Lughah", vol.15, p.440.

(9) See: "al-Sab'ah fī al-Qirā'āt", p.650; al-Azharī, "Ma'ānī al-Qirā'āt", vol.3, p.88.

(10) See: Muḥammad Sālim Muḥaysin, "al-Hādī: Sharḥ Ṭayyibat al-Nashr fī al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr", vol.3, p.299.

(11) See: Muḥammad Sālim Muḥaysin, "al-Qirā'āt wa Atharūhā fī 'Ilm al-'Arabiyyah", vol.1, p.217.

(12) See: al-Azharī, "Ma'ānī al-Qirā'āt", vol.3, p.88; Aḥmad ibn 'Ajībah, "al-Baḥr al-Madīd fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Majīd", vol.7, p.133.

(13) al-Anfāl, 32.

(14) See: Ibn Khālawayh, "I'rāb al-Qirā'āt", p.459; Ibn Zanjalah, "Ḥujjat al-Qirā'āt", p.720; Abū Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, "al-Kanz fī al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr", vol.1, p.56.

(15) al-Ma'ārij, 1.

(16) Maryam, 59.

(17) Ibn Zanjalah, "Ḥujjat al-Qirā'āt", p.721.

of requesting or calling for something⁽¹⁸⁾.

A careful examination of this disagreement reveals that, according to the Basran grammarians, when a verb is governed by a preposition with which it is not ordinarily construed, the verb is understood to incorporate a meaning that corresponds to the governing preposition. Thus, the verb "sa'ala" ("to ask") is understood to imply the meaning of "ujiba" ("to be answered"). For this reason, it is construed with the preposition "bi-", rather than with "'an", as is likewise the case in the Almighty's saying: "'A spring from which the servants of Allah drink, causing it to gush forth abundantly."⁽¹⁹⁾

Thus, the verb "yashrabu" ("to drink")⁽²⁰⁾ is understood to incorporate the meaning of "yarwā" ("to be refreshed" or "to quench one's thirst"). By contrast, the Kufan grammarians maintain that it is the preposition itself that is interpreted according to the meaning of the appropriate preposition. Accordingly, they interpret the verse "Sa'ala sā'ilun bi-'adhābin wāqī'" as meaning "'He asked about an impending punishment" ("an 'adhābin wāqī'"⁽²¹⁾.

Section Two: The Jussive Form of Geminated Verbs

Al-Farrā' said: "Regarding the verse "'No mother shall be made to suffer'⁽²²⁾. The people of the Ḥijāz and Banū Asad pronounce every doubled verb ("muḍā'af") that has undergone assimilation⁽²³⁾ ("idghām") in the jussive position with a faṭḥah. Thus, they recite: "'Lā tuḍārra wālidatun'" and "'wa lā yuḍārra kātibun"⁽²⁴⁾, as well as "'wa man yartadid minkum 'an dīnihi'⁽²⁵⁾. Banū Tamīm and many of Qays, however, pronounce it with a kasrah, saying: "kuffi 'annā" (desist from us) and "muddihi" ('extend it') in every doubled verb. Some of them pronounce with a ḍammah those forms whose initial consonant is already vowelled with ḍammah, saying: kuffu 'annā. The Arabs also recite the following verse⁽²⁶⁾:

Lower your gaze, for you are of Numayr;

You have attained neither the rank of Ka'b nor that of Kilāb.

The predominant usage, however, is the kasrah. The Qur'ānic reciters read: "And if you are patient and mindful of God, their plot will not harm you"⁽²⁷⁾, pronouncing the "rā'" with ḍammah, although both the faṭḥah and the kasrah are also permissible."⁽²⁸⁾

Al-Farrā' thus presents the disagreement among the Arab tribes concerning the final vowel of the doubled verb in the jussive mood. The people of the Ḥijāz and Banū Asad assign it a faṭḥah, whereas Banū Tamīm and many of Qays assign it a kasrah in every doubled verb. Some members of Banū Tamīm, however, assign a ḍammah to those doubled verbs whose initial consonant already bears a ḍammah. According to al-Farrā', both the faṭḥah and the kasrah are permissible. He did not, however, accept the reading with ḍammah in the case of "tuḍārr", because it must be understood either as the form "tafā'al" with a final faṭḥah or as "tafā'il" with a final kasrah when expressing prohibition⁽²⁹⁾.

Although the original point of disagreement in this issue concerns whether the assimilated consonants should be separated (i.e., whether the idghām should be resolved), the dialects of the Ḥijāz and Banū Asad favor resolving the assimilation in lā tuḍārra. The disagreement, however, pertains to the accusative ending (faṭḥah) when the expression is understood as a prohibition. This reflects the dialect of those who do not maintain the doubled form, and it is the reading adopted by Nāfi', 'Āṣim, Ḥamzah, and al-Kisā'ī⁽³⁰⁾.

As for those who retain the doubled form, they pronounce it as "lā tuḍārar", following the morphological pattern of "tufa'al"⁽³¹⁾.

Ibn Abī Shaybah narrates: "Abū Bakr related to us, saying: Ḥaḍḥ narrated to us, from Ash'ath, from al-

(18) See: Bahjat 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ṣāliḥ, "al-I'rāb al-Mufaṣṣal", vol.12, p.160.

(19) al-Insān, 6.

(20) See: Mughnī al-Labīb, p.143.

(21) See: Sulaymān al-Lāḥim, "The Rights of Orphans as Presented in Sūrat al-Nisā'", p.9.

(22) al-Baqarah, 233.

(23) See: al-Farrā', Lughāt al-Qur'ān, p.35.

(24) al-Baqarah, 282.

(25) al-Baqarah, 217.

(26) The verse is in the "wāfir" meter and is by Jarīr in his "Dīwān", p.63.

(27) Āl 'Imrān, 120.

(28) See: al-Farrā', "Lughāt al-Qur'ān", p.36.

(29) See: al-Farrā', "Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān", vol.1, p.150.

(30) See: "al-Sab'ah fī al-Qirā'āt", p.133; Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, "al-Hujjah lil-Qurrā' al-Sab'ah", vol.2, p.333.

(31) See: al-Akhfash, "Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān", vol.1, p.189.

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Ḥakam, from Mujāhid, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said concerning the verse "'Lā tuḍārra'"⁽³²⁾.

"The verse "'Lā tuḍārra wālidatun biwaladihā'" ('No mother shall be made to suffer because of her child') means "lā tuḍārar". Thereafter, the two "rā'" consonants were assimilated through "idghām"⁽³³⁾. This is the reading adopted by the majority of the Qur'ānic reciters of the Ḥijāz, Kūfah, and al-Shām. In this reading, the doubled form is resolved by employing the lightest of the vowel movements, namely the "faṭḥah"⁽³⁴⁾.

Al-Zajjāj maintains that, in the reading with the "faṭḥah", the first "rā'" is assimilated into the second through "idghām", and the second "rā'" is assigned a "faṭḥah" to avoid the meeting of two quiescent consonants ("iltiqā' al-sākinayn"). This occurs when the preceding sound bears a "faṭḥah", as in "'aḍḍa yā rajul", or when it is preceded by an "alif", as in "ḍarra Zaydan yā rajul"⁽³⁵⁾. The reading with the "kasrah" is likewise permissible; in that case, the form may be analyzed as following the morphological pattern of "tufa'il"⁽³⁶⁾. This is because the "kasrah" is permissible to avoid the meeting of two quiescent consonants ("iltiqā' al-sākinayn"); however, no Qur'ānic reciter is reported to have adopted this reading⁽³⁷⁾. Alternatively, it may follow the vowel of the verb's third radical ("lām al-fi'l") in conformity with the vowel of its second radical ("ayn al-fi'l")⁽³⁸⁾. This is based on the principle that when a consonant in the jussive form requires a vowel, it is assigned a "kasrah"⁽³⁹⁾.

It is also possible that the verb is in the active voice, with its direct object omitted; that is, "'No mother should harm her husband on account of their child.'" ⁽⁴⁰⁾. This is also the view of al-Ru'aynī, who states: "As for the reading with the "kasrah", it was recited by al-Ḥasan. Its grammatical analysis is the same as that of the reading with the "faṭḥah", except that the "rā'" is assigned a "kasrah" in accordance with the original rule governing the meeting of two quiescent consonants ("iltiqā' al-sākinayn")."⁽⁴¹⁾

As for the reading with the "ḍammah", it is explained as following the vowel of the preceding consonant, on the assumption that the construction expresses "negation" rather than "prohibition"⁽⁴²⁾. It is construed as part of the declarative statement ("khabar"), coordinated with "tukallafu" in the Almighty's saying: "No soul is charged except according to its capacity. No mother shall be harmed because of her child."⁽⁴³⁾. This is based on the assumption of an omitted element, namely "yanbaghī" ("it ought to" or "it should"). When "yanbaghī" is omitted and "tuḍārru" occupies its syntactic position, it accordingly assumes its grammatical form⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The underlying construction is either "yanbaghī an lā tuḍārra" ("it ought not that a mother be harmed") or "mā yanbaghī an tuḍārra" ("it ought not that a mother be harmed"). Subsequently, both "yanbaghī" and "an" are omitted, and "tuḍārru" takes their place. The intended meaning is: "No soul is burdened beyond its capacity, nor should a mother be harmed because of her child." That is, such conduct has no place in the religion of God, His legal rulings, or the moral principles of the Muslims⁽⁴⁵⁾. This is the reading transmitted from Ibn Kathīr, Abū 'Amr, Ibn 'Āmir, and Ya'qūb⁽⁴⁶⁾.

In conclusion, the reading with the "faṭḥah" is to be preferred as the stronger interpretation. The reading with the "kasrah" yields a different meaning; indeed, if the intended sense were to prohibit the mother from harming her child, the "kasrah" in "tuḍārr" would have been more eloquent than the "faṭḥah". By contrast, the reading with the "faṭḥah" conveys a prohibition addressed to each of the child's parents against harming the other. Accordingly, the meaning conveyed by the reading with the "faṭḥah" is broader

(32)See: Ibn Abī Shaybah, "al-Muṣannaf", vol.4, p.183.

(33)Ibn Qutaybah, "Gharīb al-Qur'ān", p.89.

(34)See: al-Ṭabarī, "Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī", vol.5, p.46.

(35)See: al-Zajjāj, "Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān wa l-rābuhu", vol.1, p.313; al-Azhārī, "Ma'ānī al-Qirā'āt", vol.1, p.205; "al-Ḥujjah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'", p.97.

(36)See: al-Farrā', "Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān", vol.1, p.149.

(37)See: al-Zajjāj, "Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān wa l-rābuhu", vol.1, p.313.

(38)See: "Irtishāf al-Ḍarb", vol.2, p.726.

(39)See: al-Ṭabarī, "Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī", vol.5, p.46.

(40)See: al-Hamadhānī, al-Kitāb al-Farīd fī l-rāb al-Qur'ān al-Majīd, vol.1, p.526.

(41)Abū Ja'far al-Ru'aynī al-Andalusī, Tuḥfat al-Aqrān, p.85.

(42)See: al-Kashf 'an Wujūh al-Qirā'āt al-Sab', vol.1, p.296.

(43)al-Baqarah, 233.

(44)See: al-Akhfash, "Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān", vol.1, p.189.

(45)See: al-Ṭabarī, "Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī", vol.5, p.48.

(46)See: al-Azhārī, Ma'ānī al-Qirā'āt, vol.1, p.205.

and more comprehensive than that conveyed by the reading with the "kasrah"⁽⁴⁷⁾.

In the Qur'ān, this form generally occurs in accordance with the dialect of the people of the Ḥijāz⁽⁴⁸⁾. For example: "If a good thing befalls you..."⁽⁴⁹⁾. Likewise, this usage appears in the verses: "My wrath will descend upon him"⁽⁵⁰⁾, "And lower your voice"⁽⁵¹⁾, and, in accordance with the dialect of Banū Tamīm, in the verses: "Whoever among you renounces his religion"⁽⁵²⁾, and "Whoever opposes Allah and His Messenger"⁽⁵³⁾.

The Third Section: "Ḥāshā" between Prepositional and Verbal Usage

Al-Farrā' said: "The expression "ḥāshā" has three forms in the speech of the Arabs. Some pronounce it in its full form, saying "ḥāshā Allāhi", retaining both "alifs". The people of the Ḥijāz say "ḥāshā laka", while some Arabs say "ḥashā Zaydin", as though they intended "ḥashā li-Zaydin". This latter usage is characteristic of the dialect of the people of the Ḥijāz. The poet said:

**"Ḥāshā" the clan of the Prophet, for among them
are oceans whose waters no buckets can ever muddy"**⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Al-Farrā' presents the disagreement concerning the expression "ḥāshā". He reports that some speakers of the Ḥijāz use the form "ḥāsh", whereas others use the form "ḥashā"⁽⁵⁵⁾.

This is further confirmed by Ibn Khālawayh, who states that "ḥāshā" has four linguistic forms: "ḥāshā Zaydin", "ḥāsh Zaydin", "ḥāsh li-Zaydin", and "ḥashā li-Zaydin"⁽⁵⁶⁾. This disagreement consequently extended to the Qur'ānic reciters, who differed regarding the recitation of the Almighty's saying: "When they saw him, they were so astonished by him that they cut their hands and said, 'Ḥāsha lillāh! This is no mortal; he is nothing but a noble angel'"⁽⁵⁷⁾. The expression was recited as "ḥāsha lillāh", with a "fatḥah" on the "shīn" and the omission of the final "yā"; this is the reading adopted by the majority of the Kūfan reciters. It was also recited as "ḥāshā Allāh", which is the reading transmitted from some of the Baṣran reciters⁽⁵⁸⁾. Al-Ḥasan recited it as "ḥāsh lillāh", with the "shīn" in the quiescent state ("sukūn"), while Ibn Mas'ūd recited it as "ḥāsha Allāh"⁽⁵⁹⁾.

This disagreement was not confined to the Qur'ānic reciters; it also extended to the grammarians. Some, namely the Kufan grammarians, regarded "ḥāshā" as a verb, whereas others, namely the Baṣran grammarians, classified it as a particle, as will be demonstrated below. A third group adopted an intermediate position between the two schools, maintaining that "ḥāshā" functions both as a particle and as a verb. The Baṣran grammarians, in particular, considered it a preposition and supported this view with both transmitted ("samā'ī") and analogical ("qiyāsī") evidence. Among the transmitted proofs is the following poetic verse⁽⁶⁰⁾:

**"Ḥāshā" Abū Thawbān! Indeed, he is far above
petty reproach and abusive speech.**

Accordingly, "Abī" is in the genitive case, governed by "ḥāshā" as a preposition. Those who maintain that the governing element is omitted argue that an implicit governor is to be understood in this instance. Others, however, reject this view on the grounds that a genitive-governing element cannot govern when omitted; therefore, "ḥāshā" itself must be the governing element⁽⁶¹⁾.

Al-'Ukbarī, however, defended the Baṣran position by appealing to the transmitted evidence cited above. He argued that "Abī" is not in the construct state with the first-person singular possessive suffix; rather, it is in the genitive case governed by "ḥāshā", since the person's name is "Abū Thawbān", as evidenced

(47) See: al-Ṭabarī, "Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī", vol.5, p.48-52.

(48) See: Ibrāhīm Anīs, *Fī al-Lahajāt al-'Arabiyyah*, p.74..

(49) *Al 'Imrān*, 120.

(50) *Tā Hā*, 81.

(51) *Luqmān*, 19.

(52) *al-Mā'idah*, 54.

(53) *al-Anfāl*, 13.

(54) *Kitāb Fīhi Lughāt al-Qur'ān*, p.158.

(55) See: al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, vol.2, p.42; see also al-Bandanījī, *al-Taḥfīyah fī al-Lughah*, p.670.

(56) See: Ibn Khālawayh, *I'rāb al-Qir'āt al-Sab'*, p.182.

(57) *Yūsuf*, 31.

(58) See: al-Ṭabarī, "Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī", vol.13, p.137.

(59) See: al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.181..

(60) This verse is attributed to Sabrah ibn 'Amr al-Asadī. See al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p.109, and al-Aṣma'īyyāt, p.80.

(61) See: al-Inṣāf fī Masā'il al-Khilāf, vol.1, p.228.

by the vocative expression "Abā Thawbān"⁽⁶²⁾.

This is likewise confirmed by Sībawayh, who regarded "ḥāshā" as a particle by analogy with "ḥattā". Sībawayh states: "As for "ḥāshā", it is not a noun; rather, it is a particle that assigns the genitive case to what follows it, just as "ḥattā" governs what follows it. It also carries the meaning of exception."⁽⁶³⁾

Although many grammarians disagreed with him, as reported by al-Sīrāfi, the majority of the Basran grammarians adopted this view. They also supported it by analogical ("qiyāsī")⁽⁶⁴⁾ reasoning, arguing that "mā" cannot precede "ḥāshā", just as it cannot precede "khalā" or "'adā". Thus, one does not say "mā ḥāshā Zaydan", just as one says "mā khalā Zaydan" and "mā 'adā 'Amran"⁽⁶⁵⁾.

Al-Kisā'ī, however, permitted the occurrence of "mā" before "ḥāshā", according to what has been transmitted from him. Thus, he regarded the expression "qāma al-qawmu mā ḥāshā Zaydan" ("The people stood, except Zayd") as permissible⁽⁶⁶⁾.

They further argued that "ḥāshā" functions as a transitive marker for the verb. Thus, one may say "qāma al-qawmu ḥāshā Zaydin" ("The people stood, except Zayd"), whereby the verb "qāma" is extended by means of "ḥāshā", just as it is extended by "illā"⁽⁶⁷⁾. This is also the view adopted by Ibn al-Sarrāj⁽⁶⁸⁾. Among the later grammarians who followed this view was al-Zamakhsharī. He maintained that the expression may be recited with "tanwīn" as "ḥāshan lillāh", in the sense of "a declaration of God's transcendence" or "far be it from God." He further held that omitting the "tanwīn" in "ḥāshā" is likewise permissible, in consideration of its original status as a particle⁽⁶⁹⁾.

The Kufan grammarians, on the other hand, maintain that "ḥāshā" is a past-tense verb and that it assigns the accusative case to the noun that follows it⁽⁷⁰⁾. Al-Farrā' maintained that "ḥāshā" is a verb without a subject. According to him, the original form was "ḥāshā li-llāh", but the preposition "lām" was omitted because of its frequent use, while its governing function remained. Ibn Ya'īsh, however, rejected this view, arguing that a verb cannot exist without a subject⁽⁷¹⁾.

As for their second argument, they maintain that "ḥāshā" is subject to morphological variation through omission, just as "ghadū" becomes "ghad", and "mahlan" becomes "mah". It is evident that they based this analogical ("qiyāsī") argument on the reading in which the final "alif" is omitted, namely "ḥāsh". In explaining this reading, they favored the verbal interpretation, arguing that omission does not occur with particles; rather, such omission is permissible only with nouns and verbs⁽⁷²⁾. Al-Farrā' said: "'Ḥāshā lillāh" means that they declared Him far exalted for him to be a mere human being, and they said, 'This is but a noble angel.' In the recitation of 'Abd Allāh, it appears as "ḥāshā lillāh", with the final "alif", and it carries the meaning of "ma'ādha Allāh" ('God forbid')."⁽⁷³⁾

Moreover, the preposition "lām" is construed as dependent upon it in the expression "ḥāshā li-llāh". A preposition is governed by a verb rather than by another particle, since one particle cannot govern or be syntactically dependent upon another particle⁽⁷⁴⁾. According to them, "ḥāshā" is neither a noun, since a preposition cannot be prefixed to it, nor a particle, because omission is not permissible in particles unless they are geminated ("muḍa'af")⁽⁷⁵⁾.

They also supported their view with transmitted ("samā'ī") evidence, namely that "ḥāshā" exhibits verbal inflection. Thus, one may say "ḥāshaytu" ("I excluded") and "uḥāshi" ("I exclude")⁽⁷⁶⁾. In support of

(62)See: al-'Ukbarī, al-Tabyīn 'an Madhāhib al-Nahwiyyīn, p.410.

(63)Sībawayh, al-Kitāb, vol.2, p.349; see also Ibn Bābāshādh, Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Muḥtasabah, vol.2, p.326; al-Inṣāf fī Masā'il al-Khilāf, vol.1, p.227.

(64)See: al-Sīrāfi, Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh, vol.3, p.99.

(65)See also: al-Anbārī, al-Inṣāf fī Masā'il al-Khilāf, vol.1, p.227.

(66)See: Irtishāf al-Darb, vol.3, p.1534.

(67)See: al-'Ukbarī, al-Tabyīn 'an Madhāhib al-Nahwiyyīn, p.412.

(68)See Ibn al-Sarrāj, al-Uṣūl fī al-Nahw, vol.1, p.288; Ibn Jinnī, al-Muḥtasab, vol.2, p.12; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Kashshāf, vol.2, p.465.

(69)See: al-Zamakhsharī, al-Kashshāf, vol.2, p.465.

(70)See: al-Sīrāfi, Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh, vol.3, p.99; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, al-Baṣā'ir wa al-Dhakhā'ir, vol.5, p.201; al-Murādī, Tawḍīḥ al-Maqāsid, vol.2, p.688.

(71)See: Ibn Ya'īsh, Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal, vol.2, p.63.

(72)See: al-Baṣā'ir wa al-Dhakhā'ir, vol.5, pp.202; al-Inṣāf fī Masā'il al-Khilāf, vol.1, pp.226–227; Asrār al-'Arabiyyah, pp.160–161..

(73)al-Farrā', Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān, vol.2, p.42.

(74)Asrār al-'Arabiyyah, p.161.

(75)See: al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, al-Mufradāt fī Ghariḥ al-Qur'ān, p.264.

(76)See: Abū Bakr al-Anbārī, al-Zāhir, vol.1, p.513; Ibn Ya'īsh, Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal, vol.2, p.63.

this usage, they cited the following verse by al-Nābighah al-Dhubaynī⁽⁷⁷⁾:

I see no one among mankind who resembles him,
nor do I make an exception of anyone among the people.

Here, *uḥāshī* is a present-tense verb meaning “I make an exception” or “I exclude.”.

This argument was, however, refuted by al-Sirāfi, who states: “The form *ḥāshaytu* is merely the verbal derivative of *ḥāshā*, which is itself an exceptive particle. Exception is not expressed by means of *ḥāshaytu* itself. Rather, *uḥāshī* is a lexical form derived from *ḥāshā*, by analogy with *basmla*, coined from ‘*Bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*’, and *ḥawqala*, coined from ‘*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi-llāh*’. Thus, a verb has been derived from an expression that is not originally a verb.”⁽⁷⁸⁾

As for the third view, it represents a mediating position between the two schools. Its proponents maintain that *ḥāshā* may function as a particle in some contexts and as a verb in others. The foremost advocate of this position is al-Mubarrad, who explained Sībawayh’s statement that a verb cannot govern the genitive case. Accordingly, if *ḥāshā* conveys the meaning of exception while the noun following it is in the genitive case, it cannot be analyzed as a verb; rather, it must be parsed as a preposition. Al-Mubarrad, however, argued that Sībawayh’s statement does not preclude *ḥāshā* from functioning as a verb in certain contexts. He drew an analogy with *mundhu* and *mā*, both of which may function as nouns in one context and as particles in another. As for assigning the genitive case by means of a verb, he maintained that such a construction has no basis in Arabic⁽⁷⁹⁾.

In conclusion, the view adopted by Sībawayh and the majority of the grammarians—that *ḥāshā* is a particle governing the genitive case of the noun that follows it—is the strongest among the competing opinions. According to this analysis, the genitive case is accounted for either by assuming an omitted *lām* or by construing the following noun in the construct state (*iḍāfah*). Although *ḥāshā* bears some resemblance to a noun, it cannot be regarded as such, since it is not accompanied by a subject, as in the expression *qāma al-qawmu*, *ḥāshā* ‘*Abdi Allāh*’ (“The people stood, except ‘*Abd Allāh*’”). Alternatively, when *ḥāshā* is analyzed as a verb, it governs the accusative case⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The position of Sībawayh and the majority of the grammarians is preferable because it is supported by both transmitted and rational evidence. By contrast, the Kufan grammarians based their claim that *ḥāshā* is a verb primarily on poetic evidence, the same evidence later invoked by the proponents of the intermediate view, who maintained that *ḥāshā* may function both as a particle and as a verb. As for assigning the genitive case by means of a verb, such an analysis has no basis in Arabic grammar⁽⁸¹⁾.

Conclusion

1. Al-Farrā’ emerges as a remarkably encyclopedic scholar whose expertise encompassed Arabic grammar, morphology, dialectology, and the Qur’anic readings (*Qirā’āt*). In *Languages of the Qur’an*, he presents each linguistic issue together with the dialectal variants and canonical readings, occasionally explaining their meanings and offering grammatical or morphological evaluations. For example, he discusses the word *al-zujājah* (‘glass vessel’), noting that it may be pronounced with either *ḍammah* or *fatḥah* on the initial *zāy*, while considering the *kasrah* pronunciation an acceptable dialectal form.
2. On many occasions, al-Farrā’ records competing grammatical and morphological opinions without explicitly endorsing or rejecting any of them. An example is his discussion of the different pronunciations of the word *al-Jumu’ah* among the dialects of the *Ḥijāz* and *Tamīm*, where he objectively presents the linguistic evidence without assigning qualitative preference.
3. The study further demonstrates that many Qur’anic readings preserve authentic dialectal usage even when such forms differ from analogically expected grammatical patterns. Although a few reciters preferred analogical forms over those established by transmission, such readings were generally regarded as irregular (*shādh*). A representative example is the disagreement concerning the pronunciation of *yukharribūna* with either a light or intensified *rā*. The reading attributed to Abū ‘*Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī* with an intensified consonant was classified by al-Farrā’ as an irregular reading.

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(77) al-Nābighah al-Dhubaynī, *Dīwān*, p.12.

(78) See: al-Sirāfi, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh*, vol.3, p.99.

(79) See: al-Intiṣār li-Sībawayh ‘*alā al-Mubarrad*, p.170.

(80) See: Abū Bakr al-Anbārī, *al-Zāhir fī Ma’ānī Kalimāt al-Nās*, vol.1, p.513.

(81) See: Muwaffaq Dalaf, *Naqd al-Adillah al-Naḥwiyyah al-Ijmāliyyah ‘inda al-Anbārī*, p.88..

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