

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the term *naḥw*, far from being a vague expression, is already used by Farrā' (d. 206/822) in a technical sense. He refers to *naḥwiyyū ahl al-Ḥiğāz*,⁴⁶ *naḥwiyyū ahl al-Madina*,⁴⁷ *ba'd al-naḥwiyyīn*.⁴⁸ This is confirmed by the *mağālis* reports, in which Aṣma'ī (d. ca. 216/831) explains the word *ʿaẓm* "bone" with the expression *fulān ʿālim bi-ʿaẓm al-naḥw*,⁴⁹ and Yazīdī (d. 202/817), in a discussion about the respective merits of Kisā'ī and Abū ʿAmr, is asked by the vizir al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' *man kāna a'lam bi-l-naḥw?* "who knew more about grammar"?⁵⁰