This is the Famous Book of Sībawayh on Naħw 'Grammar' and its Name is Pal-kitāb¹ 'The Book'²

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Chapter 76. This is a chapter in which the *raff* 'erect' is selected

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.181-182, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 151-152; Haruwn vol.1. p.361-162)

(I. P. 151. L. 19) And that is as in your saying lahu Silmun Silmu ?al-fugahā?i 'he has knowledge, knowledge of the experts' and lahu ra?yun ra?yu ?al-?us alā?i 'he has an opinion, opinion of the founders' (L. 20): the raff 'raising' was in the surface form because these are xisāl 'qualities' you remember in the man like hilm 'prudence' and sagl 'mind' and fad 'l 'virtue'. You don't want to say that mararta bi-ragulin fiy ħāli tasallumin 'I passed by a man in the state of learning' nor tafahhumin 'understanding' but you wanted to mention the man by fad lin fiyhi 'virtue, he has' and that you make that a quality that he has attained like your saying lahu ħasabun ħasabu (P. 152) ?al-s āliħiyn 'he has an account, account of the righteous', because these things and their likes have become ornaments with the people and marks and on this aspect rufisa ?al-s'awt 'the sound' was raised. If you so wished, nas abta 'you erected' and said lahu silmun Silma Pal-fugahāPi 'he has knowledge, knowledge of the experts'. It is as though you passed by him in the state of tasallum 'learning' and tafagguh 'training'. And he is such that he has not come to completion so that he would be called *Sālim* 'learned/scholar'. A distinction has been made between this and the s'awt 'sound' because the s'awt 'sound' is Silāgun 'a remedy' and knowledge for them has the status of the hand, and the leg; and it leads you to that their saying (L. 5) lahu šarafun 'he has honor', lahu diynun 'he has religion' and lahu fahmun 'he has understanding'. Even if they were to want that he would introduce himself into religion and he had not done enough that he be called lahu diynun 'one who has religion', they would rather say yatadayyanu 'he is in the process of being religious', but he is not that and yatašarrafu 'he is in the process of becoming honorable'

هذا كتاب سيبويه المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٧٦) هذا بابٌ يُختارُ فيه الرَّفْعُ

وذلك قولُك لَهُ عِلْمٌ عِلْمُ الفُقَهاءِ ولَهُ رَأْيٌ رَأْيُ الأُصَلاءِ (س ٢٠)، وإنما كان الرفعُ في هذا الوجه لأنّ هذه خِصالٌ تَذكرها في الرَّجُل كالحِلم والعلم والفضل ولم ترد أن تُخبِر بأنك مررت بِرَجُلِ في حال تَعلُّم ولا تَفهُّم ولكنَّك أردت أن تَذكر الرَّجُلَ بفضل فيه وأنْ تَجعل ذلك خَصْلةً قد استكملها كقولك له حَسَنٌ حَسَثُ) ص. ١٥٢) الصالحين، لأنّ هذه الأشياءَ وما يُشبهها صارت تَحليةً عند الناس وعلاماتِ وعلى هذا الوجهِ رُفع الصوتُ. وإن شئت نصبتَ فقلت لَهُ عِلْمٌ عِلْمَ الفقهاءِ، كأنَّك مررت به في حال تَعَلُّم وتفقُّهِ وكأنّه لم يَستكمل أن يقال له عالمٌ وإنها فُرق بين هذا وبين الصوت لأن الصوتَ علاجٌ وأنّ العِلْمَ صار عندهم بمنزلة اليَدِ والرِّجْل. ويدلُّك على ذلك قولهُم (س ٥) لَهُ شَرَفٌ ولَهُ دينٌ وله فَهْمٌ، ولو أرادوا أنه يُدْخِلُ نفسَه في الدين ولم يَستكمل أن يُقال لَهُ دِينٌ لقالوا يَتَدَيَّنُ وليس بذلك ويَتَشَرَّ فُ

¹ Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

² Simon Mauck and Mohammad Alhawary reviewied early drafts of the translation.

and he does not have honor; and vatafahhamu 'he is in the process of understanding', but he does not have understanding. So if this *lafd*⁶ 'expression' is for those who have not completed what was not a remedy, nas b 'erecting' was far from their saying lahu Silmun Silmu ?al-fugahā?i 'he has knowledge, knowledge of the experts'. If he were to say lahu s^sawtun s^sawta ?al-ħimāri 'he has a sound, sound of the jackass', he reported that he passed by him and he was sounding the sound of a jackass. If he were to say lahu Silmun Silmu ?al-fugahā?i 'he has knowledge, knowledge of the experts', he is reporting on what has settled in him before his seeing him and before his hearing (L. 10) from him; or he saw learning and he realized the goodness of learning on the basis of what he has of knowledge. He did not want to report that he had begun with the remedy of knowledge in the circumstance of his meeting him, because this is not used for praising, but the praising is that he report on what has settled in him and not report that the more exemplary thing in him was the learning at the time of his meeting him.

وليس لَهُ شَرَفٌ ويَتَفَهَّمُ وليس لَهُ فَهُمٌ. فليّا كان هذا اللفظُ للذين لم يَستكملوا ما كان غيرَ علاجٍ بَعُدَ النَصبُ في قولهم لَهُ عِلْمٌ عِلْمُ الفقهاءِ. وإذا قال لَهُ صوتٌ صوتٌ صوتَ حِمارٍ، فإنها أخبر أنه مرّ به وهو يصوِّت صوتَ حمارٍ. وإذا قال لَهُ علمٌ علمُ الفقهاءِ، فهو يُخبِر صوتَ حمارٍ. وإذا قال لَهُ علمٌ علمُ الفقهاءِ، فهو يُخبِر عيّا قد اسْتَقَرَّ فيه قبل رؤيته وقبل سَمْعِه (س ١٠) منه، أو رَآهُ يتعلَّم فاستَدلّ بحُسن تَعلُّمِه على ما عنده من العلم ولم يرد أن يُخبِر أنّه إنها بدأً في عِلاج العلم في حال لُقيّة إيّاه لأنّ هذا ليس مما يُثننى به وإنها الثناءُ في هذا الموضع أن يُخبِر بها استَقَرَّ فيه ولا يُخبِر أنّ أَمْثَلَ هذا الموضع أن يُخبِر بها استَقَرَّ فيه ولا يُخبِر أنّ أَمْثَلَ

Chapter 77. This is a Chapter in which the raf? 'erect' is selected if ðakarta 'you mentioned' the mas 'dar 'origin' that is the Silāgan 'remedy', and that is if the last is the first

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.182-183, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 152-153; Haruwn vol.1. p.363-364)

(I. P. 152. L. 13) And that is as in your saying lahu s awtun s'awtun hasanun 'he has a sound/voice, a nice sound/voice'. You mention the s^fawt 'voice' tawkiydan 'by way of confirmation'. You did (L. 15) want to relate it to the fish 'action' when it was a $s^{r}ifah$ 'descriptive' and the other was the first. Just as you said mā ?anta ?illā gā?imun wa gā?idun 'you are nothing except standing and sitting'. You related the last one to Panta 'you', when the last one was the first. An example of that is lahu s awtun ayyumā s awtin 'he has a voice, whatever kind of voice' and lahu s'awtun miolu s'awti ?al-ħimāri 'he has a voice, like the sound of a jackass', because Payyu 'whatever kind' and miolu 'like' are always s'ifah 'descriptive'. If you were to say ?ayyumā s'awtin 'whatever kind of sound' it is as though you said lahu s'awtun hasanun giddan 'he has a very nice voice'. And like it is hāðā ragulun šabiyhun bi-ðāka 'this is a man comparable to that'. So *?ayyu* and *miolu* are the first; and *raf*? 'raising' in this is better because you mentioned ?isman 'a name' and it is acceptable that this kalām 'speech' be about him. So it was related to it, just as your saying hāðā ragulun mioluka 'this is a man like you', hāðā ragulun hasanun 'this is a nice man' and hāðā ragulun ?ayyumā ragulin 'this is a man, whatever kind of a man'. As to lahu s'awtun s'awtu himārin 'he has a sound/voice, sound/voice of a jackass', you already knew that the sound of the jackass was not the first sound but you were permitted raffuhu 'to raise it' due to the sasat 'expansiveness' of speech, just as it was permitted (P. 153) for you to say mā ?anta ?illā sayrun 'you are nothing except walking'. And those who say s'awta ħimārin 'sound of a jackass' selected this just like they selected mā ?anta Pillā sayran 'you are nothing except walking'. Since the other/second was not the first, they related it to its fisl 'action', not wanting to make it of the 2ism 'name' that is not of it, just as they did not want to say mā ?anta ?illā sayrun 'you are nothing except walking'. If the other/second one is not the first, then they related it to its fist 'action' so it became lahu s awtun s awta himārin he has a sound/voice, the sound/voice of a jackass'. It becomes erect due to an implied fist 'action'

(٧٧) هذا بابُ ما يُختارُ فيه الرَّفْعُ إذا ذكرتَ المصدرَ الذي يكونُ عِلاجاً وذلك إذا كانَ الآخِرُ هو الأوَّلَ

وذلك قولُك لَهُ صَوْتٌ صَوْتٌ حَسَنٌ. وإنَّا ذكرتَ الصوتَ توكيداً ولم (س ١٥) تُرد أن تَحمله على الفعل لًّا كان صفةً وكان الآخرُ هو الأوّل كما قلت ما أنتَ إلَّا قائمٌ وقاعدٌ، حملتَ الآخِرَ على أنتَ لَّا كان الآخِرُ هو الأوّلَ. ومثل ذلك لَهُ صَوْتٌ أنَّها صوت، ولَهُ صوتٌ مِثْلُ صوتِ الحِهار، لأنّ أيُّ والمِثْل صفةٌ أبداً. وإذا قلتَ أيُّها صوب، فكأنَّك قلتَ لَهُ صوتٌ حسنٌ جدّاً، وهذا صوتٌ شبيهٌ بذك، فأيُّ ومِثْلُ هما الأوّلُ. فالرفعُ في هذا أحسنُ لأنَّك ذكرتَ اسماً يَحسن أن يكون هذا الكلامُ منه فَحُمل عليه كقولك هذا (س ٢٠) رَجُلٌ مِثْلُك، وهذا رَجُلٌ حَسَنٌ، وهذا رَجُلٌ أَيُّها رَجُل. وأمَّا لَهُ صوتٌ صوتُ حمار فقد علمتَ أنّ صوتَ حمار ليس بالصوتِ الأوّل وإنّا جازَ لك رفعُه على سَعَة الكلام كم جاز (ص ١٥٣) لك أن تقول ما أنتَ إلّا سَنرُ وكأن الَّذين يقولون صوتَ حمارِ اختاروا هذا كما اختاروا ما أنتَ إلّا سيراً إذْ لم يكن الآخِرُ هو الأوّلَ فحملوه على فِعله كراهة أن يجعلوه من الاسم الذي ليس به كما كرهوا أن يقولوا ما أنت إلا سَيْرٌ إذا لم يكن الآخِرُ هو الأوّل فحملوه على فعله فصار لَهُ صوتٌ صوتَ حمارِ يَنتصِب على فِعل مُضمَر

as your implication (L 5) of the previous one on the implied fist 'action'. If you were to say lahu s'awtun ?ayyamā s'awtin 'he has a voice, whatever kind of a voice' or miola s'awti ?al-himari 'like the sound of a jackass' or lahu s'awtun s'awtan hasanan 'he has a voice, a nice voice' it is permitted. ?al-Khalīl claimed that; and the claim is strengthened, because Yuwnis and Siysā both claimed that ru?bah used to recite this line with $nas^{\varsigma}b$ 'erecting': $(ragaz)^3$

Fiyha zdihāfun ?ayyama zdihāfi 'There is in it belittling [of the minds], what belittling!'

He related it to the fiSI 'action' that erects s^s awta $him\bar{a}rin$ 'sound of a jackass', because that action, if it were to be expressed, would erect what was a s^s ifah 'descriptive' (**L. 10**) and what was not a s^s ifah 'descriptive', because there is no ?ism 'name' to which the s^s ifāt 'descriptives' are related. Don't you see that, if he were to say miola tad miyrika 'like your implication' or miola da?bi bikārin 'like the custom of the female camels', he erected. So when they also implied it in other than the first, they implied it in what could be the first, as though he said tazdahifu ?ayyamā ?izdihāfin 'it belittles the minds, what belittling'; but he deleted it, because lahu ?izdihāfun 'he has belittling' became a badal 'substitute' for the fisl 'action'.

كانتصِاب تضميرَك (س ٥) السابق على الفعل المضمر. وإن قلت لَهُ صوتُ أيَّما صوتٍ أو مِثْلَ صوتِ الحمارِ أو لَهُ صوتٌ صوتاً حسناً جاز. زعم ذلك الخليل ويُقوِّي ذلك أن يونس وعيسى جميعاً زَعَما أن رُؤبةَ كان يُنشِد هذا البيتَ نصباً: (رجز)

فيها ازْدِهافٌ أيّها ازْدِهافِ

فحمله على الفعل الذي يَنصِب صوتَ حمار لأنَّ ذلك الفعل لو ظَهَرَ نَصَبَ ما كان صفة (س ١٠) وما كان غيرَ صفة لأنّه ليس باسم ثُحْمَلُ عليه الصفاتُ. ألا ترى أنّه لو قال مِثْلَ تضميرِك أو مِثْلَ دَأْبِ بكارٍ نَصَبَ فليّا أضمروه فيها يكونُ غيرَ الأوّلِ أضمروه أيضاً فيها يكون هو الأوّلَ كأنّه قال تَزْدَهِفُ أيّها ازْدِهافِ ولكنّه حذفه لأنّ لَهُ ازدهافٌ قد صار بَدَلاً من الفِعْل.

³ The meter of ragaz is: mustaffilun (six times).

Chapter 78. This is a Chapter in which the *raf*? 'erect' is the *wagh* 'surface form'

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.182-183, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 153-154; Haruwn vol.1. p.365-366)

(I. P. 153. L. 13) And that is as in your saying $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ s² awtun s^sawtu ħimārin 'this is a sound, sound of a jackass' because you don't mention a fasil 'actor' and because the second one is the first where you said $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'this'. The $s^{2}awt$ 'sound' is $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'this' then you said huwa s'awtu (**L. 15**) himārin 'it is a sound of a jackass' because you heard a bray so there is no doubt in rafsihi 'its raising'; and if you were also to liken, it is still rafs 'raising', because you did not mention a fasil 'actor' to act it out, rather you began with it as the ?asmā? 'names' are begun with, so you said $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'this' then you built a thing on it, which is huwa 'he' so it became like his saying hāðā ragulun ragulu ħarbin 'this is a man, a man of war'. If you were to say lahu s'awtun 'he has a sound' then the one with the $l\bar{a}m$ [1] is the $f\bar{a}\Omega$ 'actor' and the other is not with it. When you built the beginning of the kalām 'speech' like the building of ?asmā? 'names', its end was to be considered like the ?asmā? 'names', which is more acceptable and better. It became like your saying hāðā ra?sun ra?su ħimarin 'this is a head, head of a jackass' and hāðā ragulun ?axu ħarbin 'this is a man, brother of war' if you wanted the similarity. (L. 20) Similarly based on it is Salayhi nawhun nawhu ?al-hamāmi 'on him there is a cooing, cooing of pigeons', with something that is not a s'ifah 'descriptive', because the $h\bar{a}$? [h] in \mathcal{L} alayhi 'on him' is not a $f\bar{a}\mathcal{L}$ il 'actor'. Just if you were to say fiyhā ragulun 'there is a man in it', it is not a fāsil 'actor' doing anything to the man. When it occurred according to the pattern of ?al-?asmā? 'the names', (P. 154) the raf? 'raising' was the wagh 'surface form'. If you were to say lahunna nawhun nawha ?al-hamāmi 'they have a cooing, cooing of pigeons' then it is nas'b 'erect' because the $h\bar{a}$? [h] is the $f\bar{a}$ Silah 'actor'. What shows you that is that the raf? 'raising' in $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'this' and a 's and a 's always are in the same of the same him' is better because if you were to say hāðā 'this' and Salayhi 'on him' you do not want to say marartu bi-hāðihi ?al-?asmā?i tafsalu fislan 'I passed by these names doing a deed'. Rather you made Salayhi 'on it' a location for nawh 'cooing' and $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'this' is built on it. If you were to erect, it would be a wagh 'a surface form', because if he were to say $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ s'awtun 'this is a sound', $h\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ nawhun 'this is cooing', or *Salayhi* (L. 5) nawhun 'there is cooing on him',

(٧٨) هذا بابُ ما الرفعُ فيه الوَجْهُ

(م ١. ب ٧٨. ص ١٥٣. س ١٣) وذلك قولُك هذا صَوْتٌ صَوْتُ حمار لأنك لم تَذكر فاعِلاً ولأن الآخِرَ هو الأوِّلُ حيث قلتَ هذا، فالصوتُ هو هذا ثمّ قلت هو صوتُ (س ١٥) حمار لأنَّك سمعت نُهاقاً فلا شَكَّ في رفعِه، وإن شبَّهتَ أيضاً فهو رفعٌ لأنَّك لم تَذكر فاعلاً يَفعله وإنها ابتدأتَهُ كما تُبْتَدَأُ الأسماءُ فقلت هذا ثم بنيتَ عليه شيئاً هو هو فصار كقولِه هذا رَجُلٌ رَجُلُ حَرْبِ. فإذا قلتَ لَهُ صوتٌ فالذي في اللام هو الفاعِلُ وليس الآخِرُ به، فلمّا بنيتَ أوّلَ الكلام كبناء الأسماء كان آخِرُه أَنْ يُجْعَلَ كالأسهاءِ أحسنَ وأجودَ فصار كقولِك هذا رأسٌ رأسٌ حمار، وهذا رَجُلٌ أخو حَرْب إذا أردتَّ الشبَهَ. (س ٢٠) ومن ذلك عليه نَوْحٌ نَوْحُ الحَمام على غير صفة، لأنَّ الهاءَ في عَلَيْهِ ليست بالفاعل، كما أنَّك إذا قلت فيها رَجُلٌ فالهاءُ ليست بفاعِل فَعَلَ بِالرَّجُلُ شبعًاً. فلم جاء على مثال الأسماء (ص ١٥٤) كان الرفعُ الوجهَ. وإن قلتَ لهنَّ نَوْحٌ نَوْحُ الحُمام فالنصبُ لأنّ الهاءَ هي الفاعلة. يدلُّك على ذلك أنّ الرفعَ في هذا وفي عليه أحسنُ لأنَّك إذا قلت هذا أو عليه فأنت لا تريد أن تقول مررتُ هذه الأسماء تَفعل فِعلاً، ولكنك جعلت عليه موضعاً للنَّوْح وهذا مبنيٌّ عليه نفسه. ولو نصبت كان وجهاً لأنه إذا قال هذا صوتٌ أو هذا نوحٌ أو عليه (س٥) نوحٌ

it is known that with the $naw\hbar$ 'cooing' and $s^{\varsigma}awt$ 'sound' were $f\bar{a}\varsigma ilayn$ 'two actors'. He related it to the meaning as he said: $(t^{\varsigma}awiyl)^4$ (cf ch. 56)

فقد عُلِمَ أَنَّ مع النَّوْحِ والصَّوْتِ فاعِلَيْنِ فحمله على المعنى، كما قال: (طويل)

Li-yubka yaziydu d^sārisun li-xus^suwmatin Wa muxtabit^sun mimmā tut^siyħu t^s-t^sawā?iħu لِيُبْكَ يَزِيدُ ضارعٌ لِخُصومةٍ وخُتَبِطٌ ممّا تُطيحُ الطَّوائِحُ

'Let Yaziyd be mourned appealing to his adversaries

And confused by the falling of calamities'.

⁴ The meter of t^sawiyl is: fasuwlun mafāsiylun (four times).

Chapter 79. This is a Chapter in which there is nothing except *rafY* 'raising'

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.183, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 154; Haruwn vol.1. p.366)

(I. P. 154. L. 7) And that is as in your saying *lahu yadun* yadu ?al-\text{\text{o}awri} 'he has a hand, hand of a bull' and *lahu* ra?sun ra?su ?al-\text{\text{him}ari} 'he has a head, head of a jackass', because this is an ?ism 'name' and it is not misunderstood that the man is making yadan 'a hand' nor riglan 'a leg' and it is not a fiss 'action'.

(٧٩) هذا بابٌ لا يكونُ فيهِ إلا الرَّفْعُ

(م ١. ب ٧٩. ص ١٥٤. س ٧) وذلك قولُك لَهُ يَدُّ يَدُ الثَّوْرِ، ولَهُ رَأْسٌ رأسُ الجِهارِ، لأنَّ هذا اسْمٌ ولا يُتَوَهَّمُ على الرَّ جُلِ أَنَّه يَصْنَعُ يَداً ولا رِجْلاً وليس بفِعل.

Chapter 80. This is a Chapter in which there is nothing except *rafY* 'raising'

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.184, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 154; Haruwn vol.1. p.366-367)

(I. P. 154. L. 9) And that is as in your saying s^sawtuhu s^sawtu ħimārin 'his sound/voice is the sound/voice of a jackass', its signaling is your implication of the previous one, and wagdi bihā wagdu ?al-oaklā 'my grief for her is the grief of the mother who lost her child', because this is ?ibtidā?un 'initializing' and what is built on an ?ibtidā? 'initial' has the status of an ?ibtidā? 'initial'. Don't you see that you say zaydun ?axuwka 'Zaid is your brother'? Its raising is like the raising of Zaid, always. When he began with it, he was in need of what is after it. It was not made badalan 'a substitute' for the expression with yus awwitu 'he sounds', and it became like the ?asmā? 'names'. The poet, muzāhim ?al-Sugayliyy, said: (t awiyl)

Wagdiy bi-hā wagdu l-mud f illi ba f iyrahu Bi-naxlata lam ta f if f falayhi l- f awāt f ifu

'My grief for her is the grief of the one who lost his camel
In Naxlata that is not showered with sentiments'

(L. 15) Similarly, if you were to say *marartu bihi fa-s^sawtuhu s^sawtu ħimārin* 'I passed by him and his sound/voice is the sound/voice of a jackass'. If he were to say *fa-?iða sawtuhu* 'behold his voice' he wants the *wagh* 'surface form' that one keeps silent on. *Nas^sb* 'erecting' was introduced to it, because he implies what later he dispensed with.

(٨٠) هذا بابٌ لا يكونُ فيهِ إلَّا الرَّفْعُ

(م ١. ب ٨٠. ص ١٥٤. س ٩) وذلك قولُك صَوْتُهُ صَوْتُهُ صَوْتُهُ حَمَادٍ، وتَلْوِيحُهُ تَضْمِيرُك (س ١٠) السابق، ووَجْدي بها وَجْدُ الثَّكْلَ، لأن هذا ابتداءٌ فالذي يُبْنَى على الابتداء بِمنزلةِ الابتداء. ألا تَرى أنّك تَقولُ زَيْدٌ أخوكَ، فارْتِفاعُه كارتِفاعِ زَيْد أبداً. فلمّا ابْتَدَأَهُ وكانَ مُحتاجاً إلى ما بعدَهُ لم يُجْعَلْ بَدَلاً من اللَّفْظِ بِيُصَوِّتُ وصارَ كَالأسهاء. قالَ الشّاعِرُ، وهو مُزاحِمٌ العُقَيْليُّ: (طَويل)

وَجْدي بِها وَجْدُ الْمُضِلِّ بَعيرَهُ

بِنَخْلَةَ لم تَعْطِفْ عِلَيْهِ العَواطِفُ

(س ١٥) وكذلك لو قُلْتَ مَرَرْتُ بِهِ فَصَوْتُهُ صَوْتُ مَوَرْتُ بِهِ فَصَوْتُهُ صَوْتُ مَوْتُ مِرْدِ الوَجْهَ الذي يُسْكَتُ عليه دَخَلَهُ نَصْبٌ لأنّه يُضْمِرُ بعدُ ما يَسْتَغْني عَنْه.

⁵ The meter of t^sawiyl is: fasuwlun mafāsiylun (four times).