

This is the Famous Book of Sībawayh on *naḥw*¹ ‘Grammar’
and its Name is *ʔal-kitāb* ‘The Book’

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Chapter 7. This is a Chapter on what *šīʔr* ‘Poetry’ *yaḥtamilu*
‘tolerates’

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.8, Derenbourg vol.1. p.7, Haruwn vol.1. p.26)²

(I:7; L.19) Know that it is permissible in poetry what is not permissible in *kalām* ‘speech’, *sʔarf* ‘to inflect’ what (L.20) *lā yansʔarifu* ‘does not inflect’. *yušabbihuwnahu* ‘they make it look like’ what is inflectable in *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, because they are names, as they are names; and *ḥaḏf* ‘deleting’ what *lā yuḥḏafu* ‘is not deletable’, *yušabbihuwnahu* ‘they make it look like’ what has been deleted and used as *maḥḏuwf* ‘deleted’, as ʔal-ʔaggāg said: (Ragaz)³

Gawātʔinan makkata min wurʔi ʔal-ḥamā

‘The greenish doves are dwellers of Makka’

(I:8; L. 1) He intends *ʔal-ḥamām* ‘the doves’⁴. As Xufāf Ibn Nudbah ʔal-Sulamīy said: (kāmīl)⁵

ka-nawāḥi riyšī ḥamāmatin nagdiyyatin

wa masaḥti bi-l-liḥḥatayni ʔasʔfa ʔal-ʔiḥmidi

‘yours are like the feather tips of the Najdi doves
and you dusted your two gums with antimony.’

(He intends *ka-nawāḥiy*)

Just as he said:(Ragaz)⁶

dārun li-suʔdā ʔiḏḥi min hawākā

‘This is the house of suʔdā who is the one you loved.’

(he intends *ʔiḏ ḥiyā*)

(L. 5) And he said: (wāfir)⁷

qatʔirtu bi-munsʔuliy fīy yaʔmalātin

dawāmiy ʔal-ʔaydi yaxbitʔna ʔal-sariyhā

‘I wielded my sword in the noble she-camel, while
Their bleeding limbs hit the ground rapped in skin.’

(he intends -*ʔaydiy*)

هذا كتاب سيبويه
المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٧) هذا باب ما يحتمل الشعر

(ص.٧. س ١٩) اعلم أنه يجوز في الشعر
ما لا يجوز في الكلام من صرف ما لا
ينصرف يشبهونه بما ينصرف من الأسماء
لأنها أسماء كما أنها أسماء وحذف ما لا
يُحذف يشبهونه بما قد حُذف واستعمل
محذوفا كما قال العجاج (رجز)

فوا طناً مكة من ورق الحمى

(ص ٨) يريد الحمام وكما قال خفاف بن

نُدْبَةَ السُّلْمِي (كامل)

كنواح ريش حمامة نجدية
ومسحت باللتين عصف اللائم

وكما قال (رجز)

دار لسعدى إذ ه من هواكا

(س.٥) وقال (وافر)

قطرت بمنصلي في يعملات
دوامي الأيد يخيطن السريحا

¹Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

²This translation is based on Derenbourg’s edition of *ʔal-kitāb*. All chapter, page and line numbers refer to this edition.

³Meter of ragaz is: *mustafʔilun* (6 times).

⁴This is a case of deletion.

⁵Meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāʔilun* (6 times).

⁶Meter of ragaz is: *mustafʔilun* (6 times).

⁷Meter of wfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun faʔuwlun* (2 times).

as Naggāšiy said: (t^ʿawiyl)⁸

falastu bi-ʔātiyhi wa-lā ʔastat^ʿiyʔuhu
wa-lāki ʔasqiniy ʔin kāna māʔuka ḏā fad^ʿli
 'I am not coming nor am I able to do so
 but give me to drink if your water is abundant.'

(He intends *wa-lākin*)

As Mālik Ibn Xuraymin ʔal-Hamadāniy said: (t^ʿawiyl)⁹

(L.10) *fa-ʔin yaku ʔaθθan ʔaw samiynan fa-ʔinaniy*
saʔagʔalu ʔaynayhi li-nafsihi magnaḏā
 'If it were skinny or fat I would
 make his very eyes become his persuaders.'

(he intends *li-nafsihiy*)

ʔal-ʔaʔšā said: (kāmil)¹⁰

wa-ʔaxuw ʔal-ʔawāni matā yašaʔ yas^ʿrimnahu
wa-yakunna ʔaʔdāʔan buʔayda widādi
 'The lover of chaste women when he wishes to contact them,
 they would cut him off and become enemies after a brief
 friendship'

(he intends *ʔal-ʔawāniy*)

Sometimes they lengthen such as *masāgid* 'mosques' and *manābir* 'pulpits' to become *masāgiyd* and *manābiyr*. They liken them to what is pluralized on other than its singular in speech. As Farazdag said: (basiy^ʿ)¹¹

(L.15) *tanʔiy yadāhā ʔal-ḥasā ʔiy kulli hāgiratin*

naʔya ʔal-danāniyri tanḡādu ʔal-s^ʿayāriyfi
 'her front legs toss up the pebbles in the noonday heat,
 as the hands of the money lenders toss up the coins.'

(he intends *s^ʿayāriyfi*)¹²

They may attain the original through the weak, as they may say *rādidun* 'returnee' in place of *rāddun* 'returnee', *d^ʿaninuw* 'they thought' in place of *d^ʿannuw* 'they stinted' *marartum bi-gawāriya ḡablu* 'you-pl passed by the maidservants before'. Gaʔnab Ibn ʔummi s^ʿāhib said: (basiy^ʿ)¹³

⁸Meter of t^ʿawiyl is: *faʔuwulun maʔāʔiyulun* (4 times).

⁹Meter of t^ʿawiyl is: *faʔuwulun maʔāʔiyulun* (4 times).

¹⁰Meter of kāmil is: *mutaʔāʔilun* (6 times).

¹¹Meter of basiy^ʿ is: *mustaʔʔilun ʔāʔilun* (4 times).

¹²This is a case of addition.

¹³Meter of basiy^ʿ is: *mustaʔʔilun ʔāʔilun* (4 times).

وكما قال النجاشي (طويل)

فلست بآتيه ولا أستطيعه
 ولاك أسقني إن كان مأوك ذا فضل

وكما قال مالك بن خريم الهمداني (طويل)

(س. ١٠) فإن يك عتاً أو سميناً فإنتي
 سأجعل عينيه لنفسه مقنعاً

وقال الأعشى (كامل)

وأخو العوان متى يشأ يصرمئه
 ويكن أعداءً بعيداً وداد

وربما مدّوا مثل مساجد ومنابر فيقولون
 مساجيد ومنابر شبهوه بما جمع على غير
 واحده في الكلام كما قال الفرزدق (بسيط)

(س. ١٥)

تتفي يداها الحصى في كل هاجرة
 نفى الدنانير تنقاد الصياريف

وقد يبلغون بالمعتل الأصل فيقولون رادد
 في راد وضمينوا في ضنوا ومررتم بجواري
 قبل. قال قعنب بن أم صاحب (بسيط)

mahlan ʔaʔāḍila ʔad garrabti min xulugi

ʔanniy ʔaguwdu li-ʔaʔwāmin waʔin dʿaninu

'slow down, fault finder-ess, you experienced my generous character
As I am generous to even those who are stingy with me.'

(he intends *dʿannuw*)¹⁴

Some of the Arabs make the word heavy when they pause on it. They do not make it heavy in the annexed form. If it were in poetry (L. 20) they would make it flow in the annexed form as in its state in the pause. For example, *sabsabban* 'flowing' and *kalkallan* 'breast', because they may make it heavy in the pause, and therefore they confirm it in the annexed form, just as they confirm it in deletion, as in his saying to convince himself, but he deleted it in the pause.

Ruʔbah said: (ragaz)¹⁵

*dʿaxmun yuḥibbu ʔal-xuluga ʔal-ʔadʿaxammā*¹⁶

'The great loves the greatest in spirit'

(I:9; L. 1) It is recited with both with break '[i]' of the *hamzah* '[ʔ]' or with an open '[a]'. Some of them said *ʔal-dʿixammā* 'with a break '[i]' of *dʿād* '[dʿ]'. And he gave as an example to convince himself, that is: *ʔal-šammāx*: (wāfir)¹⁷

lahu zagalun ka-ʔannahu sʿawtu ḥādin

ʔiḍā tʿalaba ʔal-wasiyʔata ʔaw zamiyru

'he has a soft voice like the voice of a nightingale,
or the sound of the oboe, when he calls his female mate.'

(he intends *ka-ʔannahuw*)

handʿalah bin Fātik said: (tʿawiy)¹⁸

(l. 5) *wa-ʔayʔana ʔanna ʔal-xayla ʔin taltabis bihi*

yakun li-fasiyli ʔal-naxli baʔdahu ʔābiru

'He believes even if he is killed,
the palm seedlings will become full grown, that is his progeny.'

(He intends *baʔdahuw*)

A man from Bāhilah said: (basiy)^{19,20}

مَهْلًا أَعَاذَلْ قَدْ جَرَّبْتِ مِنْ خُلُقِي
أَتَى أَجُودٌ لِأَقْوَامٍ وَإِنْ ضَنِينُوا

ومن العرب من يتقل الكلمة إذا وقف عليها
ولا يتقلها في الوصل فإذا كان في الشعر
(س. ٢٠) فهم يُجرونه في الوصل على
حاله في الوقف نحو سَيْسَبًا وَاكَلًا لأنهم قد
يتقلونه في الوقف فأثبتوه في الوصل كما
أثبتوا الحذف في قوله لنفسه مقنعا وإنما
حذفه في الوقف. قال روية (رجز)

ضَخْمٌ يُحِبُّ الخُمُقَ الأَضْحَمًا

(ص. ٩) يُرَوَى بكسر الهمزة وفتحها وقال
بعضهم الضَّخْمًا بكسر الضاد وقال أيضا في
مثل لنفسه مقنعا وهو الشَّمَاخ (وافر)

لَهُ زَجَلٌ كَأَنَّهُ صَوْتُ حَادٍ
إِذَا طَلَبَ الوَسِيْقَةَ أَوْ زَمِيرُ

وقال حنظلة بن فاتك (طويل)

(س. ٥) وَأَيَّقَنَ أَنَّ الخَيْلَ إِنْ تَلْتَبَسَ بِهِ
يَكُنْ لِفَسِيلِ النَّخْلِ بَعْدَهُ أَيْرُ

وقال رجل من باهلة (بسيط)

¹⁴This is a case of expansion of the form.

¹⁵Meter of ragaz is: *mustafʿilun* (6 times).

¹⁶The doubling of the [mm] in final position is a case of making it heavy at pause.

¹⁷Meter of wāfir is: *mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun faʿuwlun* (2 times).

¹⁸Meter of tʿawiy is: *faʿuwlun mafāʿiyun* (4 times).

¹⁹Meter of basiy is: *mustafʿilun fāʿilun* (4 times).

²⁰Meter of tʿawiy is: *faʿuwlun mafāʿiyun* (4 times).

ʔau muʔbaru ʔal-δʔahri yunbiy ʔan waliyyatihi
mā haḡga rabbuhu fiy ʔal-dunyā wa-lā ʔiʔamarā
 'The camel with furry back signals by its saddle that
 its owner neither made the major nor the minor hagg.'
 (he intens **rabbuhuw**)

ʔal-ʔaʔšā said: (tʔawiy)l²¹

wa mā la-hu min magdin taliydin wa mā la-hu
mina ʔal-riyhi fadʔlun²² lā ʔal-ganuwbū wa lā ʔal-sʔabā
 'He does not have an ancient nor glorified past, neither has he
 any luck from either the southern or eastern winds.'

(He intends **la-huw**)

(L.10) and he said: (basiy^ʔ)²³

baynāhu fiy dāri sʔidḡin ḡad ʔaḡāma bihā
hiynan yuʔallilunā wa-mā nuʔalliluhu
 'While he lived for a while in the house of righteousness
 where he entertained us, but we did not entertain him.'

(He means **baynā huwa**)

They tolerate **ḡubha** 'ugliness' in speech so that they put it in other than its place, just because it is **mustaḡimun** 'straightforward' and there is no deficiency in it, and from that, the saying of:

ʔibn ʔabi Rabiyyah: (tʔawiy)l²⁴

sʔadadi fa-ʔatʔwalti ʔal-sʔuduwda wa-ḡalla mā
wisʔālun ʔala tʔuwli ʔal-sʔuduwdi yaduwmu
 'you prevented me from keeping in touch with you, it is rare
 that a union lasts over a long prevention.'

(L. 15) In speech it is **ḡalla mā yaduwmu wisʔālun** 'it is rare that a union lasts'.²⁵ And they put what does not occur in speech, except as **δʔarfan** 'envelope of time', in place of names other than it, and that is the saying of Marrār Ibn Sulāma ʔal-ʔugaliy (tʔawiy)l²⁶

walā yantʔiḡu ʔal-faḡšāʔa man kāna minhumu
ʔiḡa ḡalasuw min-nā wa-lā min siwāʔina
 'No one among them utters foul speech
 If they associate with us nor with others than us'

(he intends **min siwāʔina = min baʔdʔina**)²⁷

²¹Meter of tʔawiy is: *faʔuwluw mafāʔiyilun* (4 times).

²²Būlāq edition has *ḡadʔun*.

²³Meter of basiy^ʔ is: *mustaʔʔilun fāʔilun* (4 times).

²⁴Meter of tʔawiy is: *faʔuwluw mafāʔiyilun* (4 times).

²⁵This is a case of item re-arrangement in the sequence.

²⁶Meter of tʔawiy is: *faʔwluw mafāʔiyilun* (4 times).

²⁷This is a case of a substitution of an equivalent lexical item.

أَوْ مُعَبَّرُ الظَّهْرِ يُبْنَى عَنْ وَلِيِّتِهِ
 مَا حَجَّ رَبُّهُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَلَا اعْتَمَرَ

وقال الأَعشى (طويل)

وما له من مجدٍ تليدٍ وما له
 من الريح فضلٌ لا الجنوبُ ولا الصَّبَا

(س. ١٠) وقال (بسيط)

بيناهُ في دارِ صدِّقٍ قد أقام بها
 حيناً يُعلِّنا وما نُعلِّلهُ

ويحتملون فُبْحَ الكلامِ حتى يضعوه في غير
 موضعه لأنه مستقيم ليس فيه نقص فمن ذلك
 قول عمر بن أبي ربيعة (طويل)

صددت فأطولت الصدود وقلَّ ما
 وصالٌ على طول الصدود يدومُ

(س. ١٥) وإنما الكلام قلَّ ما يدوم وصالٌ
 وجعلوا ما لا يجري في الكلام إلا ظرفاً
 بمنزلة غيره من الأسماء وذلك قول المرار
 بن سلامة العجلي (طويل)

ولا يَنْطِقُ الفحشاءَ من كان منهمُ
 إذا جلسوا منّا ولا من سيواننا

ʔaʕšā said (tʕawiyl)²⁸

wa mā qasʕadat min ʔardʕihā²⁹ li-sawāʔika

'and she did not head towards her land except you'

(He means *li-sawaʔika = li-baʕdʕika*)

(L. 20) Xiṭʕām ʔal-Mugāšifī said: (ragaz)³⁰

wasʕāliyātin ka-ka-mā yuʔaθfayn

'and the cook-ware is like common-ware.'

(he means *ka-ka-maa = ka-miθli*)

They did that because the meaning *sawāʔ* 'similarly' becomes the meaning of *ʕayr* 'other', and the meaning of *kāf* 'as' has the meaning of *miθl* 'like', and there is nothing that they are forced to do (I: 10; L. 1) except that they try to give it a different form. What is permitted in poetry is more than what I mention to you here, because this is the place for sentences, and we shall explain that, God willing.

وقال الأعشى (طويل)

وما قصدت من أرضها لسوائكا

(س. ٢٠) وقال خِطَامِ الْمُجَاشِعِيِّ (رَجَز)

وصالياتٍ ككما يُؤثفَيْنُ

فعلوا ذلك لان معنى سَوَاءٍ معنى غير
ومعنى الكاف معنى مُثَلٍّ وليس شيء
يُضْطَرُّونَ إليه (ص. ١٠) إلا وهم يحاولون
به وجهها وما يجوز في الشعر أكثر من أن
اذكره لك هاهنا لان هذا موضع جُمَلٍ
وسنبيّن ذلك فيما يستقبل إن شاء الله.

²⁸Meter of tʕawiyl is: *faʕwlun mafāʕiyilun* (4 times).

²⁹Boulaq has *ʔahlihā* (I:13; L. 3).

³⁰Meter of ragaz is: *mustafʕilun* (6 times).

Chapter 8. This is a Chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’⁽¹⁾³¹

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.13, Derenbourg vol.1. p.10, Haruwn vol.1. p.33)

(I:10; L.3) This is a chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’³² whose *fiʔl* ‘action’³³ does not *yataʔaddahu* ‘transitivizes it’ to *mafʔuwl* ‘an acted-upon’³⁴, and *ʔal-mafʔuwl* ‘the acted-upon’ to which no *fiʔl* ‘action’ of *fāʔil* ‘an actor’ has transitivized, nor whose *fiʔl* ‘action’ has transitivized another *mafʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’, and the case of what of *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-fāʔiliyn* ‘names of the actors’ and *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-mafʔāʔiliyn* ‘names of the acted-upons’ does the work of *fiʔl* ‘action’ (L.5) that transitivizes *mafʔuwl* ‘an acted-upon’, the case of the *masʔādir* ‘roots’ that do that work, and the case of what flows of the *sʔifāt* ‘descriptives’ that do not attain enough of the power to be like *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-fāʔiliyn* ‘names of the actors’ and *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-mafʔāʔiliyn* ‘names of the acted-upons’, that flow in the channel of *fiʔl ʔal-mutaʔaddiy* ‘the transitive action’ to a *mafʔuwl* ‘an acted-upon’ in *magrāhā* ‘their channels’ and the case of what is made to flow in the channel of *ʔal-fiʔl* ‘the action’ but it is not *fiʔl* ‘an action’ and is not empowered with its power, and the case of what flows of *ʔal-ʔasmāʔ* ‘the names’, that do not have the power³⁵ of *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-fāʔiliyn* ‘names of the actors’, which I have mentioned to you, nor *ʔal-sʔifāt* ‘the descriptives’ that are from the *lafʔ* ‘expression’ of the *ʔahdāθ* ‘events’ of *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, and for whose events there are examples for what *madʔā* ‘has passed’, and what has not passed, and they are the ones that do not attain that (L.10) they be of the power like *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-fāʔiliyn* ‘names of the actors’ and *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-mafʔāʔiliyn* ‘names of the acted-upons’, of which you require what you require of *fiʔl ʔal-mutaʔaddiy* ‘the transitive action’ to *mafʔuwl* ‘an acted-upon’ in its channel. They do not have the power of *ʔasmāʔ ʔal-fāʔiliyn* ‘the names of the actors’ that I mentioned to you, nor of these *sʔifāt* ‘descriptives’. In addition, that which flows in its channel and is not *fiʔl* ‘an action’ does not have the power of the *fiʔl* ‘action’.

(٨) هذا باب الفاعل

(ص. ١٠. س. ٣) هذا باب الفاعل الذي لم يتعدّه فعله إلى مفعول والمفعول الذي لم يتعدّ إليه فعل فاعل ولا تعدّى فعله إلى مفعول آخر وما يعمل من أسماء الفاعلين والمفعولين عمل الفعل (س. ٥) الذي يتعدّى إلى مفعول وما يعمل من المصادر ذلك العمل وما يجرى من الصفات التي لم تبلغ أن تكون في القوة كأسماء الفاعلين والمفعولين التي تجرى مجرى الفعل المتعدّى إلى مفعول مجراها وما أجرى مجرى الفعل وليس بفعل ولم يقوّ قوّته وما جرى من الأسماء التي ليست لها قوة أسماء الفاعلين التي ذكرت ولا الصفات التي هي من لفظ أحداث الأسماء ويكون لأحداثها أمثلة لما مضى وما لم يمض وهي التي لم تبلغ أن (س. ١٠) تكون في القوة كأسماء الفاعلين والمفعولين التي تريد بها ما تريد بالفعل المتعدّى إلى مفعول مجراها وليست لها قوة أسماء الفاعلين التي ذكرت ولا هذه الصفات كما أنه لا يقوى قوة الفعل ما جرى مجراه وليس بفعل.

³¹This is the first of group of chapters that deals with the *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’. This chapter, however, is a mere listing of topics that deal with *ʔal-fāʔil* that will be touched upon in subsequent chapters but without giving the details of any one of them.

³²*ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor/subject’ is *mohammadun* in the following sentence: *kataba mohammadun ʔal-kitāba* ‘Mohammad wrote the book’.

³³*fiʔl* ‘action/verb’ is *kataba* in the following sentence: *kataba mohammadun ʔal-kitāba* ‘Mohammad wrote the book’.

³⁴*mafʔuwl* ‘acted-upon/object’ is *ʔal-kitāba* in the following sentence: *kataba mohammadun ʔal-kitāba* ‘Mohammad wrote the book’.

³⁵Bulaq edition does not include this last phrase in the text.

Chapter 9. This is a Chapter on the *fāʿil* ‘actor’ (2)

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.14, Derenbourg vol.1. p.10, Haruwn vol.1. p.33)

(I:10; L.13) This is a chapter on *ʔal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ does not *yataʿaddahu* ‘transitivize it’ to *mafʿuwl* ‘an acted-upon’, and *ʔal-mafʿuwl* ‘the acted-upon’ to which no *fiʿl* ‘action’ of *fāʿil* ‘an actor’ has transitivized, nor whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ has transitivized to another *mafʿuwl* ‘acted-upon’.

ʔal-fāʿil ‘the actor’ and *ʔal-mafʿuwl* ‘the acted-upon’ in this case are the same. (L. 15) *ʔal-mafʿuwl* ‘the acted-upon’ *yartafīʿu* ‘rises’ just as *ʔal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’ rises³⁶, because you do not engage the action with anything else, and you dedicated it to it³⁷, just as you did with *ʔal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’. As for *ʔal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ does not *yataʿadd~hu* ‘transitivizes it’ as in your saying: *ḍahaba zaydun* ‘Zaid left.’ and *galasa ʿamrun* ‘ʿamr sat down’, and the *mafʿuwl* ‘acted-upon’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ does not *yataʿaddahu* ‘transitivize it’, nor does *fiʿl* ‘action’ of *ʔal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’ *yataʿadd~hu* ‘transitivize’ to it, as in your saying *dʿuriba zaydun* ‘Zaid got struck.’³⁸ and *yudʿrabu ʿamrun* ‘ʿamr gets struck.’ The *ʔasmāʿ* ‘names’ that are talked about and the examples are evidence for what has passed, and what has not passed from what was discussed about names, which is *ʔal-ḍahābu* ‘the going’, *ʔal-guluwsu* ‘the sitting’, and *ʔal-dʿarbu* ‘the striking’. The examples are not events, nor are they out of which (L. 20) the events come, which are the names.

(٩) هذا باب الفاعل

(س. ١٠) هذا باب الفاعل الذي لم يتعدّه فعله إلى مفعولٍ و المفعول الذي لم يتعدّ إليه فعلٌ فاعلٍ ولا تعدّى فعله إلى مفعولٍ آخرٍ

فالفاعل والمفعول في هذا سواء يرتفع (س. ١٥) المفعول كما يرتفع الفاعل لأنك لم تشغل الفعل بغيره وفرغته له كما فعلت ذلك بالفاعل. فأما الفاعل الذي لا يتعداه فعله فقولك ذهب زيدٌ وجلس عمروٌ والمفعول الذي لم يتعدّه فعله ولم يتعدّ إليه فعلٌ فاعلٍ فقولك ضرب زيدٌ ويضرب عمروٌ. فالأسماءُ المحدثتُ عنها والأمثلةُ دليلاً على ما مضى وما لم يمض من المحدثت به عن الأسماء وهو الذّهابُ والجلوسُ والضربُ وليست الأمثلةُ بالأحداثِ ولا ما يكون منه (س. ٢٠) الأحداثُ وهي السماءُ.

³⁶There is an equivalency drawn here between the *fāʿil* and the *mafʿuwl* in that both are raised and show their identical inflection which is the [-u-n].

³⁷*ʔal-mafʿuwl* ‘the acted-upon’ is intended here as in *dʿuriba zaydun* ‘Zaid got struck’ given below.

³⁸There is a parallelism between the two structures of *dʿaraba zaydun* and of *dʿuriba zaydun* in the relation of the *fāʿil* and the *mafʿuwl* to their *fiʿl*. It is a relationship of raising, marked/inflected with [-u-n], and not requiring the action to transitivize another *mafʿuwl*.

Chapter 10. This is a Chapter on *fāʿil* ‘actor’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ *yataʿadāhu* ‘transitivizes it’ to *mafʿuwl* ‘an acted-upon’ (3)

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.14, Derenbourg vol.1. p.10, Haruwn vol.1. p.33)

(I:10, L.21) That is as your saying *dʿaraba ʿabdu ʿal-lāhi zaydan* ‘Abdulla struck Zaid’. Abdullah *ʿirtafaʿa* ‘rose’ here, as it rose in *ḍahaba* ‘he went’³⁹. You engaged *dʿaraba* ‘he struck’ with it as you engaged *ḍahaba* ‘he went’ with it. (I:11; L. 1) Zaid *ʿintasʿaba* ‘became erect’ because it is *mafʿuwl bihi* ‘a direct acted-upon’, to which the action of the actor transitivizes. If you were to make the *mafʿuwl* ‘acted-upon’ precede and make the *fāʿil* ‘actor’ follow, the expression will flow as it flowed in the first case, as in your saying *dʿaraba Zaydan ʿabdu ʿal-lāhi* ‘Abdulla struck Zayd / Zayd is the one Abdulla struck’⁴⁰, because you wanted to precede what you had wanted to follow. You did not want to engage the *fiʿl* ‘action’ with what is before it⁴¹, even if it were delayed in the utterance⁴². Hence, by definition, in pronunciation, the actor needs to be put forward. That is very good Arabic and in abundance. It is as though they put forward that (L. 5) whose *bayān* ‘declaration’ is the most important for them, and they are more careful about its *bayān* ‘declaration’, even though both of them are important to them and concern them. Know that the *fiʿl* ‘action’ that does not transitivize beyond the *fāʿil* ‘actor’, it reaches to the name of the event from which it was taken, because it is mentioned only to refer to the event. Don’t you see that in your saying *ʿad ḍahaba* ‘he has gone.’ is equal to saying: *ʿad kāna minhu ḍihābun* ‘there was a going by him.’ But if you said *dʿaraba ʿabdu ʿal-lāhi* ‘Abdulla struck’, it is not clear whether Zayd or ʿamr is the *mafʿuwl* ‘acted-upon’, nor does it refer to *sʿinf* ‘a class’, as *ḍahaba* ‘he went’ may refer to *sʿinf* ‘a class’, which is *ḍahāb* ‘going’, and that in your saying *ḍahaba ʿabdu ʿal-lāhi ʿal-ḍahāba ʿal-ṣadiyda* ‘Abdulla went the vigorous going’, and *ʿadada ʿiḍdatah* (L. 10) *suwʿin* ‘He sat in an evil sitting’, and *ʿadada ʿadatayni* ‘He sat for two sittings’. When it worked on the event, it worked on one and two iterations of it, and what was a type of it. Examples of that are *ʿadada ʿal-ḡurfusʿāʿ* ‘He sat on his heels’, *ʿištamala ʿal-sʿammāʿa* ‘He crouched bundled up’, and *raḡaʿa ʿal-ḡahḡara* ‘He retreated’, because it is a type of its action from which it is taken. It reaches over to *zamān* ‘time’, as when you say *ḍahaba* ‘he went’, because it is constructed for what passed and what has not

³⁹As in the example *ḍahaba zayd-u-n* ‘Zaid left’.

⁴⁰The order of the constituents has become *fiʿl + mafʿuwl + fāʿil* with the *mafʿuwl* and *fāʿil* exchanging places, but they are properly marked with [-un] for *fāʿil* and [-an] for *mafʿuwl* in the new sequence.

⁴¹That is *Zaydan before ʿabdu ʿal-lāhi* i.e. the *mafʿuwl* before the *fāʿil*.

⁴²That is *ʿabdu ʿal-lāhi* comes after *Zaydan*, i.e. the *fāʿil* comes after the *mafʿuwl*.

(١٠) هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه
فعله إلى مفعول

وذلك قولك ضربَ عبدُ الله زيدا فعبدُ الله ارتفع هاهنا كما ارتفع في ذهبَ وشغلتَ ضربَ به كما شغلتَ به ضربَ وانتصب (ص. ١١) زيدٌ لأنه مفعولٌ به تعدى إليه فعلُ الفاعل وإن قدمت المفعولَ وأخرتَ الفاعلَ جرى اللفظُ كما جرى في الأول وذلك قولك ضربَ زيداً عبدُ الله لأنك إنما أردت به مؤخرًا ما أردت به مقدمًا ولم ترد أن تشغلَ الفعلَ بأولٍ منه وإن كان مؤخرًا في اللفظِ فمن ثم كان حدُّ اللفظِ فيه أن يكون الفاعلَ مقدمًا وهو عربي جيد كثير كأنهم إنما يقدمون (س. ٥) الذي بيأته أهمُّ لهم وهم ببيأته أغنى وإن كانا جميعاً يهمنانهم ويعنيانهم واعلم أن الفعل الذي لا يتعدى الفاعل يتعدى إلى اسم الحدثان الذي أخذ منه لأنه إنما يذكر ليبدل على الحدث ألا ترى أن قولك قد ذهبَ بمنزلة قولك قد كان منه ذهبٌ وإذا قلت ضربَ عبدُ الله لم يستبين أن المفعول زيدٌ أو عمرو ولا يدل على صنفٍ كما أن ذهبَ قد دل على صنف وهو الذهب وذلك قولك ذهبَ عبدُ الله الذهب الشديد وقعدَ قعدةً (س. ١٠) سوءٍ وقعدَ قعدتين لمّا عملَ في الحدث عمل في المرة منه والمرتين وما يكون ضرباً منه فمن ذلك قعدَ القرقصاءَ واشتمل الصماءَ ورجع القهقرى لأنه ضربٌ من فعله الذي أخذ منه ويتعدى إلى الزمان نحو قولك ذهبَ لأنه بُنى لما مضى منه وما لم

passed. If he said *ḍahaba* 'he went', that is evidence that the event occurred in the past *zamān* 'time'. If he were to say *sa-yaḍhabu* 'he will go', that is evidence that it will occur in what is coming of *zamān* 'time'. Consequently, there is in it evidence for what passed and what has not passed, just as there is in it an indication (L. 15) of the occurrence of the event. Examples of that are in your saying *gaḥada šahrayn* 'He stayed (for) two months' and *sa-yaḡḡudu šahrayn* 'He will stay (for) two months', and you say *ḍahabtu ḥamsi* 'I went yesterday' and *sa-ḥaḍhabu ḡadan* 'I will go tomorrow'. If you so wish you need not make them *d'arfan* 'envelope (of time)'. That is permitted in everything to do with names for *zamān* 'time', just as it is permissible in everything to do with the names of events. This *fīl* 'action' transitivizes whatever is derived from its expression, to the name of the *makān* 'place' and to the *makān* 'place'. Because if he said, *ḍahaba* 'he went', or *gaḥada* 'he sat', it becomes known that there is for the action *makānan* 'a location', even if he does not mention it, just as it is known that it was *ḍahāb* 'a going', and that is in your saying *ḍahabtu ḥal-maḍhaba ḥal-baḥiyda* 'I took the far out path/I went to the far away place', *galastu maglisan ḥasanan* 'I sat at a nice sitting/gathering'. *gaḥadtu maḡḡadan* (L. 20) *kariyman* 'I stayed a pleasant stay' *gaḥadtu ḥal-makāna ḥal-laḍi raḥayta* 'I stayed at the place that you saw', *ḍahabtu waghan mina ḥal-wuḡuwhi* 'I went in one of the directions' Some of them have said *ḍahabtu ḥal-šāma* 'I went (to) Syria'. He likened it to the *mubham* 'abstract' as if it were *makānan* 'a place' in which the *makān* 'place' and the *maḍhab* 'direction' falls on it. This is *šāḍḍun* 'exceptional' because there is nothing in *ḍahaba* 'he went' that is a direction to Syria, and in it there is no indication to the place and the direction. *ḍahabtu ḥal-šāma* 'I went (to) Syria' is like *daxaltu ḥal-bayta* 'I entered the house' and like that is the saying of: Sāḥidata Ibn Gwayya. (kāmil)⁴³

ladnun bihazzi ḥal-kaffi yaḥsilu matnuhu
fiyhi kamā ḥasala ḥal-t'ariyga ḥal-ḡaḡlabu.
 'The spear jerks in his hand
 as the fox darts on the road.'

(I:12; L. 1) It reaches to what is *waḡtan* 'instant' in places, just as it reaches to what is *waḡtan* 'instant' in *ḥazminah* 'times', because it is *waḡtan* 'an instant' that occurs in places, without its being specific to one place. Similarly, is *waḡtan* 'an instant' in the *ḥazmān* 'times' without being specific to *zamān* 'a time' by itself.

⁴³Meter of kāmil is: *mutafāḥilun* (6 times).

يَمْضُ فَإِذَا قَالَ ذَهَبَ فَهُوَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى أَنَّ
 الْحَدِيثَ فِيهِمَا مَضَى مِنَ الزَّمَانِ وَإِذَا قَالَ
 سَيَذْهَبُ فَهُوَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى أَنَّهُ يَكُونُ فِيهِمَا يَسْتَقْبَلُ
 مِنَ الزَّمَانِ فِيهِ بَيَانٌ مَا مَضَى وَمَا لَمْ يَمْضِ
 مِنْهُ كَمَا أَنَّ فِيهِ اسْتِدْلَالًا (س. ١٥) عَلَى
 وَقُوعِ الْحَدِيثِ وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ قَعْدَ شَهْرَيْنِ
 وَسَيَقَعْدُ شَهْرَيْنِ وَقَوْلُكَ ذَهَبْتُ أَمْسًا وَسَأَذْهَبُ
 غَدًا فَإِنَّ شَنْتَ لَمْ تَجْعَلْهُمَا ظَرْفًا فَهُوَ يَجُوزُ
 فِي كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ الزَّمَانِ كَمَا جَازَ فِي
 كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ الْحَدِيثِ وَيَتَعَدَّى هَذَا إِلَى
 كُلِّ مَا اسْتَشَقَّ مِنْ لَفْظِهِ اسْمًا لِلْمَكَانِ وَالِي
 الْمَكَانِ لِأَنَّهُ إِذَا قَالَ ذَهَبَ أَوْ قَعْدَ عُلِمَ أَنَّ
 لِلْحَدِيثِ مَكَانًا وَإِنْ لَمْ يَذْكُرْهُ كَمَا عُلِمَ أَنَّهُ قَدْ
 كَانَ ذَهَابٌ وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ ذَهَبْتُ الْمَذْهَبَ الْبَعِيدَ
 وَجَلَسْتُ مَجْلِسًا حَسَنًا وَقَعْدْتُ مَقْعَدًا (س. ٢٠)
 (كَرِيمًا وَقَعْدْتُ الْمَكَانَ الَّذِي رَأَيْتَ وَذَهَبْتُ
 وَجْهًا مِنَ الْوَجُوهِ وَقَدْ قَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ ذَهَبْتُ
 الشَّامَ شَبَّهَهُ بِالْمَبْهَمِ إِذْ كَانَ مَكَانًا يَقَعُ عَلَيْهِ
 الْمَكَانُ وَالْمَذْهَبُ وَهَذَا شَادٌّ لِأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِي
 ذَهَبٍ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى الشَّامِ وَفِيهِ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى
 الْمَذْهَبِ وَالْمَكَانِ وَمِثْلُ ذَهَبْتُ الشَّامَ دَخَلْتُ
 الْبَيْتَ وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ سَاعِدَةَ بْنِ جُوَيْيَةَ
 (كَامِل)

لُدْنُ بَهَزَ الْكَفَّ يَعْصِلُ مِثْنَهُ
 فِيهِ كَمَا عَسَلَ الطَّرِيقَ الثَّعْلَبُ

(ص. ١٢) وَيَتَعَدَّى إِلَى مَا كَانَ وَقْتًا فِي
 الْأَمَاكِنِ كَمَا يَتَعَدَّى إِلَى مَا كَانَ وَقْتًا فِي
 الْأَزْمَنَةِ لِأَنَّهُ وَقْتُ يَقَعُ فِي الْأَمَاكِنِ وَلَا
 يُخْتَصُّ بِهِ مَكَانٌ وَاحِدٌ كَمَا أَنَّ ذَلِكَ وَقْتُ فِي
 الْأَزْمَانِ لَا يُخْتَصُّ بِهِ زَمَنٌ بَعِينَهُ

When it has the status of *wagt* ‘an instant’ in time, it becomes like it, because you can do with *ʔamākin* ‘places’ what you do with *ʔazminah* ‘times’, even if they were stronger in that. Similarly, it should have been so, since it occurred in what is farther, like *ḏahaba ʔal-šāma*. ‘He went to Syria’. (L. 5) In your saying *ḏahabtu firsaxayni* ‘I went two parasangs’, *sirtu miylayin* ‘I walked two miles’, just as you say *ḏahabtu šahrayin* ‘I went (for) two months’, *sirtu yawmayn* ‘I walked for two days’. It was, however, made stronger in the case of *zamān* ‘time’, because *fiʔl* ‘action’ is constructed on what has passed of it, and what has not passed. In it, there is an indication of the *fiʔl* ‘action’, when it occurred, just as there is in it an indication that the *masʔdar* ‘root’ had occurred, which is *ʔal-ḥadaḥ* ‘the event’. Places do not have an action constructed for them⁴⁴. Nor are places the sources from which the examples are taken. Places are for people and their like and are closer to them. Don't you see that they single them out with names like Zaid and ʔamr in their saying Makka, ʔomān and their likes. There is *xilagun* ‘features’ in them that is not for every *makān* ‘place’ nor in it, (L. 10) like *ʔal-gabal* ‘the moutain’, *ʔal-wādiy* ‘the valley’, *ʔal-baḥr* ‘the sea’, but *ʔal-dahr* ‘the epoch/age’ is not so. Places have *guḥḥah* ‘body’, but *dahr* ‘age’ is the passage of night and day, and therefore it is closer to the *fiʔl* ‘action’.

فلما صار بمنزلة الوقت في الزمن كان مثله لأنك قد تفعل بالأماكن ما تفعل بالأزمنة وان كان أقوى في ذلك وكذلك كان ينبغي أن يكون إذ صار فيما هو أبعد نحو ذهب الشام (س. ٥) وهو قولك ذهبت فرسخين وسرت ميلين كما تقول ذهبت شهرين وسرت يومين وإنما جعل في الزمان أقوى لأن الفعل بُنى لما مضى منه وما لم يمض ففيه بيانُ الفعل متى وقع كما أن فيه بياناً انه قد وقع المصدرُ وهو الحدتُ والأماكن لم يُبنَ لما فعلٌ وليست الأماكن بمصادر أُخذَ منها الأمثلةُ فالأماكن إلى الأناسي ونحوهم أقرب ألا ترى أنهم يختصونها بأسماءٍ كزيد وعمرو في قولهم مكّة وعمان ونحوهما ويكون فيها خلقٌ لا تكون لكل مكان ولا (س. ١٠) فيه كالجبل والوادي والبحر والدهرُ ليس كذلك والأماكن لها جئةٌ وإنما الدهر مُضِيّ الليل والنهار فهو إلى الفعل أقرب.

⁴⁴There is no indication/implication of place as there is indication/implication of time within the *fiʔl*.

Chapter 11. This is a Chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’ (4)

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.16, Derenbourg vol.1. p.12, Haruwn vol.1. p.37)

(I:12; L. 12) This is a chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’ whose action transitivity *maʔʔuwlayn* ‘two acted-upons’

If you wish you may limit yourself to the first *maʔʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’, and if you wish, it may transitivity the second just as it transitivity the first. Example of that is in your saying *ʔaʔtʔa ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi zaydan dirhaman* ‘Abdullah gave Zaid a dirham’⁴⁵, *kasawtu bišran ʔal-θiyāba ʔal-giyāda* ‘I clothed Bishr (with) fine clothes’. Further examples are *ʔixtartu ʔal-rigāla ʔabda ʔa-lāhi* ‘I chose (among) the men ʔabdullah’. A similar example is the saying (L. 15) of the Almighty and the Glorious *wa-xtāra muwsa ʔawmahu sabʔiyāna ragulan limiyāṭina* ‘Moses chose seventy men (from) among his people for our meeting place’ (sura 7:154), *sammaytuhu zaydan* ‘I named him Zayd’, *kannaytu zaydan ʔabā ʔabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘I nicknamed Zayd, father of ʔabdullah’, *daʔawtuhu zaydan* ‘I called him Zayd’, if you want, *daʔawtuhu* ‘I called him’ to be the same as *sammaytuhu* ‘naming him’. You meant to call for a matter that does not transitivity more than one *maʔʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’. An example is the saying of the poet, (basʔiyt)⁴⁶

ʔastayfiru ʔal-lāha ḏanban lastu muhsʔiyahu
rabba ʔal-ʔibādi ʔilayhi ʔal-waghu wa-ʔal-ʔamalu
 ‘I ask God's forgiveness for the faults I can not count.
 Lord of worshipers for His sake we turn and toil.’

ʔamr Ibn Maʔdiy Kariba ʔal-Zubaydiyy said:(basiyt)⁴⁷(L. 20) *ʔamartuka ʔal-xayra faʔʔal mā ʔumirta bihi**faʔʔad taraktuka ḏā mālin wa ḏā našabi.*

‘I ordered you to do good, so do what you were ordered to,
 I have left you a man of wealth and property’.

These actions have been separated, and they are actions that are connected to *ħuruwf ʔal-ʔidʔāfah* ‘particles of annexion’. You say, *ʔixtartu fulānan min ʔal-rigāli* ‘I selected so-and-so from (among) the men’, *sammaytuhu bi-fulānin* ‘I named him with such-and-so.’ Just as you say *ʔarraʔtuhu bi-hāḏihi ʔal-ʔalāmah* ‘I made him known with this sign’. *ʔawḏʔaħtuhu bi-hā* ‘I clarified him by-means-of it’. *ʔastayfiru ʔal-lāha min ḏālika* ‘I beg God's forgiveness for that’.

⁴⁵If one were to limit oneself to one *maʔʔuwl* instead of two, the one would say *ʔuʔtʔiya zaydan dirhaman* ‘Zayd was given a dirham’. Instead of *ʔaʔtʔa ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi zaydan dirhaman* ‘Abdullah gave Zayd a dirham’.

⁴⁶Meter of basiyt^ʔ is: *mustaʔʔilun fāʔilun* (4 times).

⁴⁷Meter of basiyt^ʔ is: *mustaʔʔilun fāʔilun* (4 times).

(١١) هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله إلى مفعولين

فإن شئت اقتصرت على المفعول الأول وإن شئت تعدى إلى الثاني كما تعدى إلى الأول وذلك قولك أعطى عبد الله زيدا درهماً وكسوت بشرا الثياب الجياد ومن ذلك اخترت الرجال عبد الله ومثل ذلك قوله (س. ١٥) عز وجل وأختار موسى قومه سبعين رجلاً لميقاتنا وسميته زيدا وكنيت زيدا أبا عبد الله ودعوته زيدا إذا أردت دعوته التي تجرى مجرى سميته وإن عنيت الدعاء إلى أمر لم يجاوز مفعولا واحداً ومنه قول الشاعر (بسيط)

أستغفرُ اللهَ ذنباً لستُ مُحصِنُهُ
 ربَّ العبادِ إليه الوجهُ والعملُ

وقال عمرو معدي كرب الزبيدي (بسيط)

أمرتُك الخيرَ فافعلْ ما أمرتَ به
 فقد تركتُك ذا مالٍ وذا نَسَبٍ

وإنما فصلَ هذا أنها أفعالٌ تُوصلُ بحروفِ الإضافةِ فنقولُ اخترتُ فلاناً من الرجالِ وسميتهُ بفلانٍ كما نقولُ عرفتهُ بهذه العلامةِ وأوضحتهُ بها وأستغفرُ اللهَ من ذلك

When they deleted the particle of *garr* ‘pull’⁴⁸, the action came into operation. An example of that is the saying of: Mutalammis: (basiyt⁴⁹)

ṭālaytu ḥabba ṭal-ṣirāḡi ṭal-dahra ṭat⁵ṭamuhu
wa-l-ḥabbu yaṭkuluhu fiy ṭal-ḡaryati ṭal-suwsu
 ‘Your swore that I will eat not the grain of Iraq,
 The worms eat the grain in the village.’

(I:13; L. 1) He wants to say *ṭala ḥabbi* ‘concerning the grain’, and just as you say *nubbiṭtu zaydan* ‘I was told (of) Zayd’. He means by that to say *ṭan zaydin* ‘about Zayd’. Here *ṭan* ‘about’ and *ṭala* ‘on’ do not have the same status as *bāṭ* ‘with’, as in His saying *kafā bi-l-lāhi ṣahiydan* ‘suffices with God as a witness’, and *laysa bi-zaydin* ‘he is not Zayd’, because *ṭan* ‘about’, and *ṭala* ‘on’ are not treated that way nor with *min* ‘from’, necessarily. *ṭastayfiru ṭal-lāha ḡanban* ‘I ask God forgiveness for a sin’. *ṭamartuka ṭal-xayra* ‘I enjoined you good’, are not frequent in the speech of all of them, only some of them use them. As for *sammaytu* ‘I named’, and *kannaytu* ‘I nicknamed’, the *bāṭ* [b-] precedes it in the same manner as it precedes *ṭarraṭtu* ‘I introduced’. You say (L. 5) *ṭarraṭtuhu zaydan* ‘I introduced him (to) Zayd’. Then you say *ṭarraṭtuhu bi-zaydin* ‘I introduced him to Zayd’. This is different than that meaning. It enters *sammaytu*, *kannaytu* ‘I named, I nicknamed’ in the same measure as it enters *ṭarraṭtuhu bi-zayd* ‘I introduced him to Zayd’. These particles’ original usage was as particles of *ṭid⁵āfah* ‘annexion’. Not every action is treated in this manner. Nor is it the case that every action transitivity beyond the actor, nor does every action transitivity to *maṭṭuwlayn* ‘two acted-upons’. In this, is the saying of Farazdav: (ṭ⁵awiyl)⁵⁰

minnā ṭal-laḡiy ṭuxtiyra ṭal-rigāla samāḡatan
waguwdan idā ḡabba ṭal-riyāḡhu ṭal-zaḡāziṭu
 ‘Among us the most generous and good men were chosen
 in drought the stormy winds blow’.

(L. 15) Farazdag also said: (ṭ⁵awiyl)⁵¹

nubbiṭtu ṭabda ṭal-lāhi bi-l-ḡawwi ṭas⁵baḡat
kirāman mawāliyha laṭiyman s⁵amiymuha
 ‘I was told the tribe of ṭabdullah has changed,
 Her slaves became noble, her free mean’.

فلما حذفوا حرفَ الجرِّ عمِلَ الفعلُ ومن ذلك
 قول المتلمِسِّ (بسيط)

آلَيْتُ حَبَّ الْعِرَاقِ الدَّهْرَ أَطْعَمَهُ
 وَالْحَبُّ يَأْكُلُهُ فِي الْقَرْيَةِ السُّوسُ

(ص. ١٣) يريد على حبِّ العراق كما تقول
 نُبِّئْتُ زَيْدًا يَقُولُ ذَلِكَ أَيُّ عَنْ زَيْدٍ وَلَيْسَتْ عَنْ
 وَعَلَى هَاهُنَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْبَاءِ فِي قَوْلِهِ كَفَى يَا اللَّهُ
 شَهِيدًا وَلَيْسَ بِزَيْدٍ لِأَنَّ عَنْ وَعَلَى لَا يُفْعَلُ
 بِهِمَا ذَلِكَ وَلَا يَمْنُ فِي الْوَاجِبِ وَلَيْسَتْ
 أَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ ذَنْبًا وَأَمْرُكَ الْخَيْرَ أَكْثَرَ فِي
 كَلَامِهِمْ جَمِيعًا وَإِنَّمَا يَتَكَلَّمُ بِهَا بَعْضُهُمْ وَأَمَّا
 سَمَّيْتُ وَكَنَيْتُ فَإِنَّمَا دَخَلَتْهَا الْبَاءُ عَلَى حَدِّ مَا
 دَخَلَتْ فِي عَرَفْتُ تَقُولُ (س. ٥) عَرَفْتُهُ زَيْدًا
 ثُمَّ تَقُولُ عَرَفْتُهُ بِزَيْدٍ فَهُوَ سِوَى ذَلِكَ الْمَعْنَى
 فَإِنَّمَا تَدْخُلُ فِي سَمَّيْتُ وَكَنَيْتُ عَلَى حَدِّ مَا
 دَخَلَتْ فِي عَرَفْتُهُ بِزَيْدٍ فَهَذِهِ الْحُرُوفُ كَانَتْ
 أَصْلَهَا فِي الْإِسْتِعْمَالِ بِحُرُوفِ الْإِضَافَةِ
 وَلَيْسَ كُلُّ الْفِعْلِ يُفْعَلُ بِهِ هَذَا كَمَا أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ كُلُّ
 فِعْلٍ يَتَعَدَّى الْفَاعِلَ وَلَا يَتَعَدَّى إِلَى مَفْعُولَيْنِ
 وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُ الْفَرَزْدَقِ (طَوِيلٌ)

مَنَا الَّذِي اخْتِيرَ الرَّجَالَ سَمَاحَةً
 وَجُودًا إِذَا هَبَّ الرِّيحُ الزَّرْعَازُغُ

وقال الفرزدق أيضا (طويل)

نُبِّئْتُ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بِالْجَوْ أُصْبَحَتْ
 كِرَامًا مَوَالِيهَا لُنَيْمًا صَمِيمًا

⁴⁸Samples of particles of *garr* are bi-, min-.

⁴⁹Meter of basiyt⁵ is: *mustayṭilun ṭāṭilun* (4 times).

⁵⁰Meter for ṭ⁵awiyl is: *ṭāṭuwlun maṭāṭiyilun* (4 times).

⁵¹Meter of ṭ⁵awiyl is: *ṭāṭuwlun maṭāṭiyilun* (4 times).

Chapter 12. This is a Chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor (5)

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.18, Derenbourg vol.1. p.13, Haruwn vol.1. p.39)

(I:13; L. 12) This is a chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’ whose actions transitivity *maʔʔulayn* ‘two acted-upons’, but you may not reduce it to one of the two *maʔʔulayn* ‘acted-upons’ without the other, and that in your saying: *ḥasiba ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi zaydan bakran* ‘Abdullāh reckoned Zayd (to be) Bakr’, and *ḍʔanna ʔamrun xālidan ʔabāka* ‘ʔamr thought Khalid (to be) your father’, *xāla ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi zaydan ʔaxāka* ‘ʔabdullah imagined Zayd (to be) your brother’, and examples like those are *raʔa ʔabd ʔal-lāhi zaydan sʔāhibanā* ‘ʔabdullah saw Zayd our friend’, and *wagad ʔabu ʔal-lāhi (L.15) zaydan ḍā ʔal-ḥifāḍʔi* ‘ʔabdullah found Zayd (to be) a holder of the bandage’. You are forbidden here from reducing them to one of the *maʔʔuwlayn* ‘two acted-upons’, because you wanted to clarify what became of the state of the first *maʔʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’, whether it was certain or doubtful. You mentioned the first to inform that the one you are adding to it is the one that is settled with you who he is. You mentioned *ḍʔanantu* ‘I thought /I presumed’, and similar ones, in order to make the *xabar* ‘news/predicate’ of the first *maʔʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’ certain or doubtful. You did not wish to make the first one doubtful, or to rely on it for certitude. Examples of that are *ʔalimtu zaydan ʔal- ḍʔariyfa* ‘I knew Zayd (to be) the charmer’, and *zaʔama ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi zaydan ʔaxāka* ‘ʔabdu-l-lah claimed Zayd (to be) your brother’. If you said *raʔaytu* ‘I saw’⁵², and you intended the seeing (L. 20) of the eye, or *wagadtu* ‘I found’, you intended to find what is lost. Then it is the same as *dʔarabtu* ‘I hit’. What you meant by *wagadtu* ‘I found’, was *ʔalimtu* ‘I learned’, and by *raʔaytu* ‘I saw’, that same thing. Don't you see that it is possible for a blind person to say *raʔaytu zaydan ʔal-sʔāliḥa* ‘I saw Zayd the righteous’. And it is possible for *ʔalimtu* ‘I learned’, to be in place of *ʔaraʔtu* ‘I knew’. You are looking for no more than the knowledge of the first. Examples of that are the sayings of the Exalted, *wa-laʔad ʔalimtum ʔal-laḍiyana ʔiʔtadaw (I:14; L. 1) minkum fiy ʔal-sabti* ‘and well you knew those among you who transgressed on the sabbath’ (Sura 2:65), and the Glorious Lord said *wa-ʔāxariyana min duwnihim lā taʔlamuwnahum ʔal-lāhu yaʔlamuhum* ‘and others than them you don't know, God knows them’. (Sura 8:62) They are here in the status *ʔaraʔtu* ‘I knew’, just as the employment of *raʔaytu* ‘I saw’, has two uses. As for *ḍʔanantu ḍāka* ‘I presumed that’, it is permissible to end on it with silence, because you say *ḍʔanantu* ‘I presumed’, you restrict yourself in the manner you say *ḍahabtu* ‘I went’.

(١٢) هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله إلى مفعولين

وليس لك أن تقتصر على احد المفعولين دون الآخر وذلك قولك حسب عبد الله زيداً بكرأ وظن عمرو خالداً أباك وخال عبد الله زيداً أخاك ومثل ذلك رأى عبد الله زيداً صاحبنا ووجد عبد(س.١٥) الله زيداً ذا الحفاظ وإنما منعك أن تقتصر على احد المفعولين هاهنا انك إنما أردت أن تبين ما استقر عندك من حال المفعول الأول يقينا كان أو شكاً وذكرت الأول لتعلم الذي تُضيف إليه ما استقر له عندك من هو وإنما ذكرت ظننت ونحوه لتجعل خبر المفعول الأول يقينا أو شكاً ولم ترد أن تجعل الأول فيه الشك أو تعتمد عليه بالتيقن ومثل ذلك علمت زيداً الظريف وزعم عبد الله زيداً أخاك فان قلت رأيت فأردت رؤية (س.٢٠) العين أو وجدت فأردت وجدان الضالة فهو بمنزلة ضربت ولكنك إنما تريد بوجدت علمت وبرأيت ذلك أيضا ألا ترى انه يجوز للأعمى أن يقول رأيت زيداً الصالح وقد يكون علمت بمنزلة عرفت لا تريد إلا علم الأول فمن ذلك قوله تعالى ولقد علمتم الذين اعتدوا (ص.١٤) منكم في السبت وقال سبحانه وآخرين من دونهم لا تعلمونهم الله يعلمهم فهي هاهنا بمنزلة عرفت كما كانت رأيت على وجهين وأما ظننت ذاك فإنما جاز السكوت عليه لأنك تقول ظننت فتقتصر كما تقول ذهبت

⁵²There is a difference being drawn here in the use of *raʔa* as an action with one *maʔʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’ or *maʔʔuwlayn* ‘two acted-upons’.

You then put it to work on *ʔal-δʿann* ‘presumption’ in the same manner that you put *δahabtu* ‘I went’ to work in *ʔal-δahāb* ‘the going’. That one in this place is *ʔal-δʿann* ‘presumption’, as though you said *δʿanantu δāka ʔal-δʿanna* ‘I presumed that presumption’⁵³. In the same manner, *xiltu* ‘I imagined’, and *hasibtu* ‘I reckoned’. This demonstrates to you that it is *ʔal-δʿann* ‘the presumption’. In the same manner, if you were to say: *xiltu zaydan* ‘I was imagined Zayd’, and *ʔurā zaydan* ‘I am shown Zayd’, it is not permissible. You say *δʿanantu bihi* ‘I presumed him/I had an opinion on him’, as you said *nazaltu bi-hi, nazaltu ʔalayhi* ‘I came to live with him’, even if *bāʔ* [b-] is extra in its status as in the verse the Almighty *kafā bi ʔal-lāhi* ‘he had sufficiency in God’, it is not possible to pause on it. It is as if you said *δʿanantu fiy ʔal-dāri* ‘I presumed in the house’ and similarly, *šakaktu fiy-hi* ‘I doubted him’.

ثم تُعمله في الظنّ كما تُعمل ذهبتُ في
الذهاب فذاك هاهنا هو الظنّ كأنك قلت
ظننت ذاك الظنّ وكذلك خلتُ وحسبت
ويذكرك على انه (س.ه) الظنّ انك لو قلت
خلتُ زيدا وأرى زيدا لم يجز وتقول ظننتُ
به جعلته موضعَ ظنّك كما قلت نزلتُ به
ونزلتُ عليه ولو كانتِ الباء زائدة بمنزلتها
في قوله عزّ وجلّ كفى بالله لم يجز السكتُ
عليها فكأنك قلت ظننتُ في الدار ومثله
شككتُ فيه.

⁵³There is a parallel drawn here between *δʿanantu* ‘presumed’ and *δahabtu* ‘I left’ in the sense that when the utterance is limited to them without a *mafʿuwil* being considered they are similar and focus on the *masʿsādir* like *δʿann* and *δahāb*.

Chapter 13. This is a Chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’ (6)

(Būlāq vol. 1. P.19, Derenbourg vol.1. p.14, Haruwn vol.1. p.41)

(I:14; L. 8) This is a chapter on *ʔal-fāʔil* ‘the actor’ whose action transitivizes three *maʔʔuwliyn* ‘acted-upons’. You are not permitted to reduce them to one of the three *maʔʔuwliyn* ‘acted-upons’ without the three, because here *ʔal-maʔʔuwl* ‘the acted-upon’ is like *ʔal-fāʔil* the actor of the first case that is before it in meaning. (L. 10) And that is in your saying *ʔara ʔal-lāhu zaydan bušran ʔabāka* ‘God showed Zayd Bushr to be your father’, and *nabbaātu ʔamran zaydan ʔabā fulā~nin* ‘I told ʔamr Zayd (is) the father of so-and-so’⁵⁴, and *ʔaʔlama ʔal-lāhu zaydan ʔamran xayran minka* ‘God told Zaid Amr (is) a better one than you’⁵⁵. Know that these actions if they transitivized the limit of what I told you of *maʔʔuwliyn* ‘the acted-upons’, there would be no *maʔʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’ after that. They have transitivized all that the action can transitivize which does not transitivize beyond the actor; and that is in your saying, *ʔaʔtʔa ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi zaydan ʔal-māla ʔiʔtʔāʔan gamiylan* ‘ʔabdul ʔal-lāh gave Zayd the money, a graceful giving’, *saraʔtu ʔabda ʔal-lāhi ʔal-θawba ʔal-laylata* ‘I stole ʔabdu-l-lah's garment this tonight’⁵⁶. Do not make it *dʔarfan* ‘an envelope (of time)’, but as you say *yā sārigan ʔal-laylati zaydan ʔal-θawba* ‘You thief of the night, stealing Zaid's garment’. You did not make it *dʔarf* ‘an envelope (of time)’. You say *ʔaʔlamtu (L. 15) hādā zaydan ʔal-ʔilman ʔal-ʔilma ʔal-yaʔiyana ʔiʔlāman* ‘I informed this one Zaid (to be) standing, with certain knowledge’. *ʔadxala ʔal-lāhu zaydan ʔal-mudxala ʔal-kariyma ʔidxālan* ‘God ushered Zaid into the noble gate definitely’, because when these actions reached their limit, they have the status of what is not transitive.

⁵⁴In these structures the third *maʔʔuwl* is a predicate to the second *maʔʔuwl* and thus it can not be left out. In other words, the second and third *maʔʔuwliyn* form a predication structure of their own..

⁵⁵Similar to the previous chapter the actions of these actors require three *maʔʔuwliyn* ‘acted-upons’ with the added form that is doubly transitive. For example going from *raʔa* and *ʔalima* to *ʔara* and *ʔaʔilma*, and with the same restriction of retaining the *maʔʔuwliyn*.

⁵⁶*ʔal-laylata* ‘this night’ is considered a third *maʔʔuwl* and not an envelope of time. This is legitimate by what Sībawayh called *siʔat ʔal-kalām* ‘the expansiveness / latitude in speech’.

(١٣) هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله إلى ثلاثة مفعولين

ولا يجوز لك أن تقتصر على مفعولٍ منهم واحدٍ دون الثلاثة لأنَّ المفعول هاهنا كالفاعل في الباب الأول الذي قبله في (س). (١٠) المعنى وذلك قولك أرى الله زيدا بشرا أباك ونبتأت عمرا زيدا أبا فلان وأعلم الله زيدا عمرا خيرا منك وأعلم أن هذه الأفعال إذا انتهت إلى ما ذكرت لك من المفعولين فلم يكن بعد ذلك متعدى تعدت إلى جميع ما تعدى إليه الفعل الذي لا يتعدى الفاعل وذلك قولك أعطى عبدُ الله زيدا المالَ إعطاءً جميلاً وسرقتُ عبدَ الله الثوبَ الليلةَ لا تجعله ظرفاً ولكن كما تقول يا سارقَ الليلةَ زيدا الثوبَ لم تجعلها ظرفاً وتقول أعلمتُ (س). (١٥) هذا زيدا قائماً العلمَ اليقينَ إعلماً وأدخل الله زيدا المدخلَ الكريمَ إدخالاً لأنها لما انتهت صارت بمنزلة ما لا يتعدى.