

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

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Chapter 41. This is a chapter on *sʿifah* ‘descriptive/adjective’ that is likened to *ḥal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’ in what it operates on, but it is not strong enough to do the work of *ḥal-fāʿil* ‘the actor’ because it is not of the meaning of *ḥal-fīʿl* *ḥa-mudʿāriʿ* ‘the resembler action’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.99-108, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 81-88,
Haruwn vol.1. p. 194-211)

(I. P. 81, Chapter 41. L. 19) Rather, it has been likened to the *fāʿil* ‘actor’ in that, in what it operated on and in what it operates on (P. 82) *maʿlumun* ‘is known’. It operates, on what is on account of it, *muʿarrafan* ‘is made definite’ with *ḥalif wa ḥal-lām* ‘ḥal-’ or *nakirah* ‘an indefinite’. It does not exceed this, because it is not a *fīʿl* ‘action’ nor *ḥism* ‘a name’ which is with its meaning. The *ḥidʿāfah* ‘annexion’ in it is better and more frequent because it is not like what follows in the course of the *fīʿl* ‘action’ nor in its meaning. It is as though this is better for them that it be distant from it in *lafḍ* ‘expression’ just as it is not like it in meaning nor its strength in things. The *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ is good Arabic. In addition, if they were to leave out the (L. 5) *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ or the *nuwn* ‘[n]’ it could not ever be but *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ in its state of being *munawwan* ‘with nunation’. When the leaving out of the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ and the *nuwn* ‘[n]’ in it does not exceed the meaning of *nuwn* ‘[n]’ and *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’, the omission of them both were *ḥaxaff* ‘lighter’ on them. This strengthens the fact that the *ḥidʿāfah* ‘annexion’ is better than the first explanation. The *mudʿāf* ‘annexed’ is in your saying *ḥādā ḥasanu ḥal-waghi* ‘this one is handsome of face’ and *ḥādīhi ḥasanatu ḥal-waghi* ‘this one-f is pretty of face’. The *sʿifah* ‘descriptive/adjective’ falls on the first *ḥism* ‘name’ then it extends it to the *wagh* ‘face’ and to everything on its account as I mentioned to you. Just as you say *ḥādā dʿāribu ḥal-raguli* ‘this is a striker of the man’ and *ḥādīhi dʿāribatu ḥal-raguli* ‘this is a striker-f of the man’.

¹Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

هذا كتاب سيبويه
المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٤١) باب الصفة المشبهة بالفاعل

فيما عملت فيه ولم تقو أن تعمل
عمل الفاعل لأنها ليست في معنى
الفعل المضارع

(م ١ . ب ٤١ . ص ٨١ س ٢٠) فإنما
شُبِّهَتْ بالفاعل فيما عملت فيه وما تعمل فيه
(ص ٨٢) معلومٌ إنما تعمل فيما كان من
سببها مُعرِّفاً بالألف واللام أو نكرة لا تُجاوز
هذا لأنه ليس بفعل ولا اسم هو في معناه.
والإضافة فيه أحسن وأكثر لأنه ليس كما
جرى مجرى الفعل ولا في معناه فكأن هذا
أحسن عندهم أن يتباعد منه في اللفظ كما أنه
ليس مثله في المعنى وفي قوته في الأشياء.
والتنوين حسنٌ عربيٌّ ومع هذا أنهم لو
تركوا التنوين (س 5) أو النون لم يكن أبداً
إلا نكرةً على حاله منوناً. فلما كان ترك
التنوين فيه والنون لا يُجاوز به معنى النون
والتنوين كان تركهما أخفَّ عليهم فهذا يقوي
أن الإضافة أحسن من التفسير الأول.
فالمضاف قولك هذا حسن الوجه وهذه
حسنه الوجه. فالصفة تقع على الاسم الأول
ثم توصلها إلى الوجه وإلى كل شيء من
سببه على ما ذكرت لك كما تقول هذا
ضارب الرجل وهذه ضاربة الرجل

But the *ḥusn* ‘handsomeness’ in meaning here is (L. 10) for the *wagh* ‘face’ and the *dʿarb* ‘striking’ here is for the first. Of that is their saying *huwa ḡahmaru bayna ḡal-ḡaynayini* ‘he is red between the two eyes’ and *huwa ḡayyidu waghī ḡal-dāri* ‘it is fine as to the front of the house’. What came *munawwan* ‘with nunation’ is the saying of Zuhayr: (basiy^f)²

ḡahwā lahā ḡasfa ḡu ḡa-xaddayini mutʿariḡun
Riyṣa ḡal-ḡawādimi lam yunsʿabu lahu ḡal-ṣabaku

‘The dark falcon hurled towards it with dark cheek
made up of the
The feathers of the wings for which no net was set up’

and ḡaggāḡ said: (ragaz)³

Muḡtabikun dʿaxmun ṣu ḡuwna ḡal-ra ḡsi
‘Of age with big skull bones’

(L. 15) ḡal-Nābiyah also said: (wāfir)⁴

Wa-na ḡxuḡu ba ḡdihi bi-ḡinābi ḡayṣin
ḡagabba ḡal-ḡahra laysa lahu sanāmu

‘We grab the tail end of life
A weak camel with no hump to it’

It is frequent in poetry. Know that the *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ in the other *ḡism* ‘name’ is more frequent and better than if it were without *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ because the first one is with *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ and other than two of them here are in one state and it is not like *ḡal-fāḡil* ‘the actor’ so that their introduction was better and more frequent, just as leaving out the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ is more frequent. *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ (L. 20) has priority because its meaning is *ḡasanun waghuhu* ‘his face is handsome’. Since this can not be except *ma ḡrifah* ‘definite’, they chose in that the *ma ḡrifah* ‘definite’. The other one is also Arabic, just as the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ and the *nuwn* ‘[n]’ is regular Arabic. On that score is his saying *huwa ḡadiyḡu ḡahdin bi-ḡal-waḡa ḡi* ‘it is the discussion of the age with pain. *ḡamr bin ṣaḡsin* said: (tʿawiyl)⁵

إلا أن الحُسْنَ في المعنى (س ١٠) للوجه
والضرب ههنا للأول. ومن ذلك قولهم هو
أحمرُ بينَ العينين وهو جيّد وجه الدار. ومما
جاء منوّتاً قول زُهَيْر: (بسيط)

أهوى لها أسفعُ الخدّين مطّرقٌ
ريشَ القوّاديم لم يُنصبَ له الشّبكُ

وقال العجاج: (رجز)

مُحْتَنَكٌ ضَخْمٌ شُنُونُ الرَّأْسِ

(س ١٠) وقال أيضاً النابغة: (وافر)

وتأخذُ بعده بزناّب عيش

أجَبَ الظَّهْرَ ليس له سنامٌ

وهو في الشعر كثير. واعلم أن كينونة الألف
واللام في الاسم الآخر أكثر وأحسن من أن
ألا تكون فيه الألف واللام لأن الأول في
الألف واللام وفي غيرهما ههنا على حالة
واحدة وليس كالفاعل فكان إدخالهما أحسن
وأكثر كما كان ترك التنوين أكثر وكان
الألف واللام (س ٢٠) أولى لأن معناه
حسن وجهه. فكما لا يكون هذا إلا معرفة
اختاروا في ذلك المعرفة. والأخرى عربية
كما أن التنوين والنون عربيّ مطّرد. فمن
ذلك قوله هو حديثٌ عهدٌ بالوَجَعِ، وقال
عمرو بن شأس: (طويل)

²The meter of basiy^f is: *mustafḡilun fāḡilun mustafḡilun fa ḡilun* (twice).

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

⁴The meter of wāfir is: *mufāḡalatun mufāḡalatun fa ḡuwlun* (twice).

⁵The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa ḡuwlun mafāḡilun* (four times).

*ʔalikniy ʔilā ʔawmiy ʔal-salāma risālatan
Bi-ʔāyati mā kānuw d'i ʔāfan wa-lā ʔuzlā*

(P. 83) *Wa-lā sayyi ʔi ziyyin ʔidā mā talabbasow
ʔilā hāgatin yawman muxayyasatan buzlā*
'Deliver to my people a message of peace
With a signal that they were neither weak nor
defenseless
Nor ill clad when they needed to dress
In need on a day of weakened and old camels'

and ḥumayd ʔal-ʔarḡat⁶ said: (ragaz)⁶

*Lāhi ʔu batʔnin bi ʔaran samiyni
ʔSlim of stomach fat of backʔ*

What occurred *munawanan* 'with nunation' is the saying of
ʔabu Zubayd describing a lion: (basiy⁷)⁷ (L. 5)

*Ka ʔanna ʔa ʔwāba na ʔgādin ʔudirna lahu
Ya ʔluw bi-xamlatihā kahbā ʔa huddābā*
'Like leather clothes cut to his size
Raised like a drape with a grayish hem'

He also said: (basiy⁸)⁸.

*Hayfā ʔu mu ʔbilatan ʔagzā ʔu mudbiratan
Ma ʔuwtʔatun gudilat šanbā ʔu ʔanyābā*
'A lady with slender hip/pulled in stomach, well
attended posterior
Well put together, smooth with bright teeth'

and ʔudday bin Zaid said: (madiyd)⁹

*Min ḥabiybin ʔaw ʔaxiy ʔi ʔatin
ʔaw ʔaduwwin šāḥitʔin dāran*
'From a loved one or trustworthy brother
Or an enemy in far off place'

(L. 10) and has occurred in poetry *ḥusnatu waghihā* 'the
beauty of her face'. They likened it to *ḥusnati ʔal-wagh* 'the
beauty of the face'; this is *radiy ʔun* 'unacceptable' because
there is *ma ʔrifah* 'definiteness' in the hā? '[h]' just as there is
in *ʔalif wa-ʔal-lām* 'ʔal-'. It is on account of the first, just it
is on its account with *ʔalif wa-ʔal-lām* 'ʔal-'.

⁶The meter of ragaz is: *mustaf ʔilun* (six times).

⁷The meter of basiy⁷ is: *mustaf ʔilun fā ʔilun mustaf ʔilun fa ʔilun* (twice).

⁸The meter of basiy⁸ is: *mustaf ʔilun fā ʔilun mustaf ʔilun fa ʔilun* (twice).

⁹The meter of madiyd is: *fā ʔilātun fā ʔilun* (twice).

أَلْكَنِي إِلَى قَوْمِي السَّلَامَ رِسَالَةً

بِأَيَّةٍ مَا كَانُوا ضِعَافًا وَلَا عَزْلًا

(ص ١٠) وَلَا سَيِّي زِيٍّ إِذَا مَا تَلَبَّسُوا

إِلَى حَاجَةٍ يَوْمًا مُخَيَّسَةً يُزْلًا

وَقَالَ حُمَيْدُ الْأَرْقَطِ: (رَجَز)

لَا حَقَّ بَطْنٍ بِقَرَى سَمِينٍ

وَمَا جَاءَ مُنَوَّنًا قَوْلَ أَبِي زُبَيْدٍ يَصِفُ الْأَسَدَ:

(بَسِيْط) (س ٥)

كَأَنَّ أَثْوَابَ نَقَادٍ قُدْرَنَ لَهُ

يَعْلُو بِخَمَلَتِهَا كَهَبَاءَ هُدَّابَا

وَقَالَ أَيْضًا: (بَسِيْط)

هَيِّفَاءُ مُقْبِلَةٌ عَجْزَاءُ مُدْبِرَةٌ

مَحْطُوطَةٌ جُدَلَتْ شَنْبَاءُ أَنْيَابَا

وَقَالَ عَدِيٌّ بِنَ زَيْدٍ: (مَدِيد)

مِنَ حَبِيْبٍ أَوْ أُخِي ثِقَةٍ

أَوْ عَدُوٌّ شَاحِطٍ دَارَا

(س ١٠) وَقَدْ جَاءَ فِي الشَّعْرِ حَسَنَةً وَجْهَهَا
شَبَّهَهُ بِحَسَنَةِ الْوَجْهِ وَذَلِكَ رَدِيٌّ لِأَنَّهُ بِالْهَاءِ
مَعْرِفَةٌ كَمَا كَانَ بِاللَّأَلْفِ وَاللَّامِ وَهُوَ مِنْ سَبَبِ
الْأَوَّلِ كَمَا أَنَّهُ مِنْ سَبَبِهِ بِاللَّأَلْفِ وَاللَّامِ.

ʔal-šammāx said (tʔawiyl)¹⁰

*ʔa-min dimnatayni ʔarrasa ʔal-rakbu fiyhimā
Bi-ħa Ġli ʔal-ruxāmā Ġad ʔafā tʔalalāhumā
ʔa-Ġāmat ʔalā rab ʔayhimā Ġāratā sʔaffan
Kumaytā ʔal-ʔa ʔāliy gawnatā musʔalāhumā*

‘Are they the traces of Ruxāmā where the riders
settled late at night
In place of the high tree whose signs have changed

Did the two legs of the tripod next to the mountain
rest in place of traces
The uppers of the legs are reddish while the bottoms
are black’

L. 15) Know that in Arabic there is no *mudʔāfun* ‘annexed’ to which the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ is added except what is added to the *ma ʔrifah* ‘definite’ in this *bāb* ‘chapter’ and that is in your saying *hādā ʔal-ħasanu ʔal-waġhi* ‘this one is with the handsome face’. They introduced the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ to *ħasani ʔal-waġhi* ‘handsome of face’ because it is *mudʔāf* ‘annexed’ to *ma ʔrifah* ‘a definite’, and in which there is no *ma ʔrifah* ‘definite’ ever so it needed that where it was forbidden what was its like absolutely, nor in which the meaning of *tanwiyn* ‘nutation’ is exceeded. As to the *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ nothing is permitted in it except *ʔal-ħasanu waġhan* ‘the handsome of face’. The *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ becomes *badalan* ‘substitute’ for the *tanwiyn* ‘nutation’ for if you were to say *ħadiyθu ʔahdin* ‘young of age’ or *kariymu ʔabin* ‘noble of father’ you do not (**L. 20**) vitiate the first with anything and you carry the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ over to it because it is as it ought to be. Ruʔbah said: (ragaz)¹¹

ʔal-ħaznu bāban wa ʔal-ʔa Ġuwru kalbā
‘His door is closed tight and his dog is infertile’

(P.84) ʔabuw ʔal-Khattāb claimed that he heard some Arabs recite the saying of ʔal-ħāriθ bin ðʔālim: (wāfir)¹²

*Fa-mā Ġawmiy bi-θa ʔlabata bni sa ʔdin
Wa-lā bi-fazārata ʔal-šu ʔrā ri Ġābā*

‘My people are not of Thaʔlabata bni Saʔd
Nor of Fazārata with thick haired necks’

قال الشمّاخ: (طويل)

أمن دمنّين عرس الركب فيهما

بحقل الرخامى قد عفا ظلّاهما

أقامت على ربّعيهما جارتا صفا

كمتّتا الأعلى جوتنا مُصطلاهما

(س ١٥) واعلم أنه ليس في العربية مضافٌ يدخل عليه الألف واللام غير المضاف إلى المعرفة في هذا الباب وذلك قولك هذا الحسن الوجه أدخلوا الألف واللام على حسن الوجه لأنه مضافٌ إلى معرفة لا يكون به معرفة أبداً فاحتاج إلى ذلك حيث مُنع ما يكون في مثله البتة ولا يُجاوزُ به معنى التنوين. فأما النكرة فلا يكون فيها إلا الحسن وجهاً تكون الألف واللام بدلاً من التنوين لأنك لو قلت حديثٌ عهدٍ أو كريمٌ أب لم (س ٢٠) تُخلل بالأول في شيء فتُحتمل له الألف واللام لأنه على ما ينبغي أن يكون عليه. قال رؤبة: (رجز)

الْحَزْنُ بَاباً وَالْعَقُورُ كَلْبًا

(ص ٨٤) وزعم أبو الخطّاب أنه سمع قوماً

من العرب يُنشدون هذا البيت للحرث ابن

ظالم: (وافر) (س ٥)

فَمَا قَوْمِي بِنَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ سَعْدٍ

وَلَا بِفَرَاةَ الشُّعْرَى رِقَابًا

¹⁰The meter of tʔawiyl is: *fa ʔuwlun mafāʔilun* (four times).

¹¹The meter of ragaz is: *mustafʔilun* (six times).

¹²The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwlun* (twice).

The *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ was introduced into *ʔal-ḥusn* ‘beauty’ then you treated it as he said *ʔal-dʿāribu zaydan* ‘the hitter of Zaid’. And according to this *wagh* ‘surface form’ you say *huwa ʔal-ḥasanu ʔal-waghi* ‘he is the handsome of face’ and it is good Arabic. The poet said: (wāfir)¹³ (L. 5)

Fa-mā ʔawmiy bi-Ṭaḥlabata bni saʔdin
Wa-lā bi-fazārata ʔal-ṣuʔri ʔal-riḡābā
 ‘My people are not of Thaḥlabata bni Saʔd
 Nor of Fazarata of the thick haired necks’

In this, it is permitted that you say *huwa ʔal-ḥasanu ʔal-waghi* ‘he is of the handsome face’ according to his saying *huwa ʔal-dʿāribu ʔal-raguli* ‘he is a striker of the man’. *Garr* ‘marking with *garr* [-i]’ in this chapter is of two facets, from the chapter dedicated to it which is *ʔidʿāfah* ‘annexion’ and from the operation of the *fiʔl* ‘action’, then it is made light and it is annexed. If you were to dualize or pluralize you confirmed the *nuwn* [n], then there is no other way except the *nasʔb* ‘erecting’ and that is in their saying, *humu ʔal-tʿayyibuwn ʔal-ʔaxbāra* ‘they are of good news’ and *humā ʔal-ḥasanāni ʔal-wuguwḥa* ‘they are of the handsome-d faces-d’. Of that is His saying, the Exalted, *ʔul hal nunabbi ʔukum bi-ʔal-ʔaxsariyna (L. 10) ʔa smālan*’ (Sūrah XVIII:102) ‘say shall we tell you of those who lost with respect to works’. Xirniḡu from baniy Gays said: (kāmil)¹⁴

Lā yab ʔadan ʔawmiy ʔal-laḏiyḥa humu
Sammu ʔal-ʔudāti wa-ʔāfatu ʔal-guzri
ʔal-nāziluwḥa bi-kulli muṣtarakin
Wa-ʔal-tʿayyibuwna ma ṣāḡida ʔal-ʔuzri

‘My people are not destroyed, those who are
 Poison to the enemies and slaughterers of camels
 Those who enter every battlefield
 And the good ones who are chaste’

If you were to eliminate the *nuwn* [n], *gararta* ‘you pulled with an [-i]’ whether what is operated on is *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ or it has the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ as you said *humu ʔal-dʿāribuw zaydin* ‘they are the strikers of Zaid’ and that in their saying *humu ʔal-tʿayyibuw ʔaxbārin* ‘they are of the good news’ and if you so wished *nasʔabta* ‘you erected’ according to his saying *ʔal-ḥāfiḏuw ʔawrata ʔal-ʔaṣirati* ‘the protectors of the honor of the tribe’

¹³The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwḥun* (twice).

¹⁴The meter of kāmil is: *mutafāʔilun* (six times).

فإنما أدخلت الألف واللام في الحسن ثم
 أعملته كما قال الضاربُ زيداً. وعلى هذا
 الوجه تقول هو الحسنُ الوجهَ وهي عربيّة
 جيدة. قال الشاعر: (وافر)

فَمَا قَوْمِي بِنَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ سَعْدٍ
 وَلَا بِفَرَاةِ الشُّعْرِ الرَّقَابَا

وقد يجوز في هذا أن تقول هو الحسنُ الوجهِ
 على قوله هو الضاربُ الرجل. فالجرُّ في هذا
 الباب من وجهين من الباب الذي هو له وهو
 الإضافة ومن إعمال الفعل ثم يُستخفُّ
 فيضاف فإذا تَنبَّهتْ أو جمعت فأنبتَّ النون
 فليس إلا النصبَ وذلك قولهم: هم الطيبون
 الأخبارَ وهما الحسانان الوجوه. ومن ذلك قوله
 تعالى قُلْ هَلْ نُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِالْأَخْسَرِينَ (س ١٠)
 أَعْمَالاً. وقالت خُرَيْقٌ من بني قيس: (كامل)

لَا يَبْعَدُنْ قَوْمِي الَّذِينَ هُمْ
 سَمُّ الْعُدَاةِ وَأَفَّةُ الْجُرُرِ
 النَّازِلُونَ بِكُلِّ مُعْتَرِكٍ
 وَالطَّيِّبُونَ مَعَاقِدَ الْأَزْرِ

فإن كفتَّ النونَ جررتَ كان المعمولُ فيه
 نكرة أو فيه الألف واللام كما قلت هم
 الضاربو زيدٍ وذلك قولهم هم الطيبو أخبار.
 وإن شئتَ نصبتَ على قوله الحافظو عورة
 العشيرة

(L. 15). You say about what does not occur except *munawwanan* ‘with nunation’ operating on *nakirah* ‘an indefinite’ but it occurred *munawwanan* ‘with nunation’ because with it there was a separation between the *sāmil* ‘operator’ and the *maʿmul* ‘operated on’. Separation is always required by it whether *muḏʿharan ʔaw midʿmaran* ‘explicit or implicit’. And is that in your saying *huwa xayrun minka ʔaban* ‘he is better than you as a father/he is a better father than you’ and *huwa ʔaḥsanu minka waghan* ‘he is handsomer than you with respect to face’. The *maʿmul* ‘operated on’ can not be except it be on account of it. And if you so wished you said *huwa xayrun samalan* ‘he is better job-wise’ you intend to say *minka* ‘than you’. And if you so wished you delayed the separation in the *lafḏ* ‘expression’. Its *ʔasʿl* ‘origin’ is *taʿdiy* ‘pre-positioning’ because its post-positioning does not prevent its action by pre-positioning. As he said *dʿaraba zaydan samrun* ‘Amr hit Zaid’. Amr is post-positioned in expression begun with it semantically. (L. 20). This is also begun with in that the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ is established then it operates or does not operate except with *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ just as it can not be except *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ and does not have the strength of *ʔal-sʿifah ʔal-muṣabbaha* ‘the likened descriptive’ so it was made and in what it operates on was made obligatory, that they have *waghan wāḥidan* ‘one surface form’, and you say (P. 85) in *ʔal-gamiyʿ xayrun minka ʔaʿmālan* ‘all are better than you in deeds’. If you were to annex you would say *hāḏā ʔawwalu ragulin* ‘this is the first man’ in which the requirement of *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ is met, even if it is pronounced as singular, when he wants the plural. That is because he wanted to say *ʔawwalu ʔal-rigāli* ‘first of the men’ so he deleted due to *ʔistixfāf* ‘By way of lightening’ and *ʔixtisāran* ‘by way of abbreviating’, just as they say *kullu ragulin* ‘every man’ they intend *kulla ʔal-rigāli* ‘all the men’. So just as *ʔistaxaffiw* ‘they lightened’ by means of deleting the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’, they lightened by leaving out the structure of the plural and they dispensed with the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ and their saying *xayru ʔal-rigāli* ‘the best of men’ and *ʔawwalu* (L. 5) *ʔal-rigāli* ‘the first of men’ An example of that with reference to leaving out the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ and the *bināʿ* ‘structure’ of the plural is their saying *ʔišruwna dirhaman* ‘twenty dirhams’. They really wanted *ʔišriyna mina ʔal-darāḥimi* ‘twenty of the dirhams’. They abbreviated and lightened. The introduction of *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ did not change the *ʔišriyna* away from its *nakirah* ‘indefiniteness’.

(س ١٥) وتقول فيما لا يقع إلا منوناً عاملاً في نكرة وإنما وقع منوناً لأنه فصل فيه بين العامل والمعمول فالفصل لازم له أبداً مظهراً أو مضمراً وذلك قولك هو خير منك أباً وهو أحسن منك وجهاً. ولا يكون المعمول فيه إلا من سببه. وإن شئت قلت هو خير عملاً وأنت تنوي منك. وإن شئت أحرّت الفصل في اللفظ وأصله التقديم لأنه لا يمنع تأخير عملة مقدماً كما قال ضرب زيداً عمرو فعمرو مؤخر في اللفظ مبدوء به في المعنى (س ٢٠) وهذا مبدوء به في أنه يثبت التنوين ثم يعمل. ولا يعمل إلا في نكرة كما أنه لا يكون إلا نكرة ولا يقوى قوة الصفة المشبهة فالزم فيه وفيما يعمل فيه وجهاً واحداً وتقول في (ص ٨٥) الجمع خير منك أعمالاً. فإن أضفت فقلت هذا أول رجل اجتمع فيه لزوم النكرة وأن يلفظ بواحد وهو يريد الجمع وذلك لأنه أراد أن يقول أول الرجال فحذف استخفافاً واختصاراً كما قالوا كل رجل يريدون كل الرجال فكما استخفوا بحذف الألف واللام استخفوا بترك بناء الجميع واستغنوا عن الألف واللام وعن قولهم خير الرجال وأول (س ٥) الرجال ومثل ذلك في ترك الألف واللام وبناء الجميع قولهم عشرون درهماً إنما أرادوا عشريين من الدراهم فاختصروا واستخفوا ولم يكن دخول الألف واللام يُغيّر العشرين عن نكرته

They abbreviated and lightened. The introduction of *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ did not change the *ʕiʕriyā* away from its *nakirah* ‘indefiniteness’. So they lightened by leaving out what is not needed. These *ʔaḥruf* ‘words’ do not have the strength of the *sʕifah ʔal-mušabbaha* ‘the likened descriptive’. Don’t you see that you feminize it, masculinize it and pluralize it like the *fāʕil* ‘actor?’. You say *marartu bi-ragulin ḥasani ʔal-waghi ʔabuwhu* ‘I passed by a man whose father is handsome of face’, just as you say *marartu bi-ragulin ḥasanin ʔabuwhu* ‘I passed by a man with a handsome father’ and it is like your saying *marartu bi-ragulin dāribin ʔabuwhu* ‘I passed a man his father hitting him’. (L. 10) If you were to come up with *bi-xayrin minka* ‘better than you’ or *ʕiʕriyā* ‘twenty’, you raise because they follow *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, they do not do the work of the *fiʕl* ‘action’, so they don’t have the strength of the (*sʕifah*) *ʔal-mušabbaha* ‘the likened descriptive’ just as the *sʕifah ʔal-mušabbaha* does not have the strength of what follows the course of the *fiʕl* ‘action’. You say *huwa xayru ragulin fiy ʔal-nāsi wa ʔafrahu sabdin fiyhim* ‘he is best man among the people and the swiftest servant among them’ because *ʔal-fāriha* ‘the swift’ is the servant and you did not meet *ʔafrah* ‘swifter’ nor *xayran* ‘the better’ other than them and then specify something. The meaning is different and there is no separation here and nothing is required except leaving out the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’, just as *ʕiʕriyā* ‘twenty’ and *xayran minka* ‘better than you’ do not require anything except *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’. They did not introduce *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ just as they did not introduce it with the first, (L. 15) and its explanation is the explanation of the first. They meant *ʔafraha ʔal-sabiydi* ‘the swiftest of the servants’ and *xayra ʔal-ʔaʕmāli* ‘the best of works’. They confirmed the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ in their saying *ʔafdʕalu ʔal-nāsi* ‘the nicest of people’ because the first may become *maʕrifah* ‘definite’, so they confirmed the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ and the structure of the plural and they did not nunate. They distinguished between two meanings by leaving out the *nuwn* ‘[n]’ and *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’. A *fiʕl* ‘action’ may occur that penetrates to the *maʕfuwl* ‘acted-upon’ and it does not have the strength of others than it that transitivizes to a *maʕfuwl* ‘acted-upon’, and that is in your saying *ʕimtala ʕtu māʕan* ‘I got filled with water’ and *tafaGga ʕtu ʕaḥman* ‘I am bursting with fat’ but you don’t say *ʕimtala ʕtuhu* ‘I got filled it’ nor *tafaGga ʕtuhu* ‘I am bursted it’. It does not operate in other definites nor is the *maʕfuwl* *fiyhi* ‘acted-upon/accusative’ pre-positioned (L. 20) in it, as to you saying *māʕan ʕimtalatu* ‘with water I got filled’ just as the *maʕfuwl* ‘acted-upon’

فاسْتَخَفُوا بِتَرْكِ مَا لَمْ يُحْتَجَّ إِلَيْهِ وَلَمْ تَقْوَ هَذِهِ الْأَحْرَفُ قُوَّةَ الصِّفَةِ الْمَشْبَهَةِ. أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّكَ تُؤْتِنَهَا وَتُذَكِّرُهَا وَتَجْمَعُهَا كَالْفَاعِلِ تَقُولُ مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ حَسَنٍ الْوَجْهِ أَبُوهُ كَمَا تَقُولُ مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ حَسَنٍ أَبُوهُ وَهُوَ مِثْلُ قَوْلِكَ مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ ضَارِبٍ أَبُوهُ (س ١٠) فَإِنْ جِئْتَ بِخَيْرٍ مِنْكَ أَوْ عَشْرِينَ رَفَعْتَ لِأَنَّهَا مُلْحَقَةٌ بِالْأَسْمَاءِ لَا تَعْمَلُ عَمَلَ الْفِعْلِ فَلَمْ تَقْوَ قُوَّةَ الْمَشْبَهَةِ كَمَا لَمْ تَقْوَ الْمَشْبَهَةَ قُوَّةَ مَا مَجْرَى الْفِعْلِ وَتَقُولُ هُوَ خَيْرٌ رَجُلٍ فِي النَّاسِ وَأَقْرَهُ عَبْدٌ فِيهِمْ لِأَنَّ الْفَارَةَ هُوَ الْعَبْدُ وَلَمْ تُلْقَ أَقْرَهُ وَلَا خَيْرًا عَلَى غَيْرِهِ ثُمَّ تَخْتَصُّ شَيْئًا فَالْمَعْنَى مُخْتَلِفٌ وَلَيْسَ هَاهُنَا فَصْلٌ وَلَمْ يَلْزَمِ إِلَّا تَرْكُ التَّنْوِينِ كَمَا أَنَّ عَشْرِينَ وَخَيْرًا مِنْكَ لَمْ يَلْزَمِ فِيهِ إِلَّا التَّنْوِينُ وَلَمْ يُدْخِلُوا الْأَلْفَ وَاللَّامَ كَمَا لَمْ يُدْخِلُوهُ فِي الْأَوَّلِ (س ١٥) وَتَفْسِيرُهُ تَفْسِيرُ الْأَوَّلِ وَإِنَّمَا أَرَادُوا أَقْرَهُ الْعَبِيدِ وَخَيْرَ الْأَعْمَالِ. وَإِنَّمَا أَثْبَتُوا الْأَلْفَ وَاللَّامَ فِي قَوْلِهِمْ أَفْضَلُ النَّاسِ لِأَنَّ الْأَوَّلَ قَدْ يَصِيرُ بِهِ مَعْرِفَةً فَاتَّبَعُوا الْأَلْفَ وَاللَّامَ وَبِنَاءِ الْجَمِيعِ وَلَمْ يَنْوِنُوا وَفَرَّقُوا بِتَرْكِ النُّونِ وَالتَّنْوِينِ بَيْنَ مَعْنِيَيْنِ وَقَدْ جَاءَ مِنَ الْفِعْلِ مَا قَدْ أَنْفَذَ إِلَى مَفْعُولٍ وَلَمْ يَقْوِ قُوَّةَ غَيْرِهِ مِمَّا قَدْ تَعَدَّى إِلَى مَفْعُولٍ وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ امْتَلَأْتُ مَاءً وَتَفَقَّأْتُ شَحْمًا وَلَا تَقُولُ امْتَلَأْتُهُ وَلَا تَفَقَّأْتُهُ. وَلَا يَعْمَلُ فِي غَيْرِهِ مِنَ الْمَعَارِفِ وَلَا يُقَدِّمُ الْمَفْعُولُ فِيهِ (س ٢٠) فَتَقُولُ مَاءً امْتَلَأْتُ كَمَا لَا يُقَدِّمُ الْمَفْعُولُ فِيهِ

in the *s'ifāt ḡal-mušabbahah* 'likened descriptives' is not prepositioned, nor in these *ḡasmāʔ* 'names', because they are not like the *fāʔil* 'actor' that is because it is a *fiʔl* 'action' that does not transitivize to a *maʔfuwl* 'acted-upon'. Rather they have the status of *ḡnfi ʔāl* 'passivity'; rather (P. 86) its origin is *ḡmtalaḡtu mina ḡal-māʔi* 'I got filled of the water' and *tafaḡḡaḡtu mina ḡal-ḡaḡmi* 'I am bursting of the fat'. This has been deleted for the sake of lightening and the *fiʔl* 'action' would have been better were it to transitivize since this was to penetrate, but it is such that they weakened it like it. You say *huwa ḡaḡḡaḡ ḡal-nāsi ragulan* 'he is the bravest of people as a man' and *humā xayru ḡal-nāsi ḡiḡnayni* 'the two of them are the best of people as a pair'. The *magruwr* 'pulled with an [i]' here has the status of *tanwiyn* 'nunation'. And the *ḡal-ragul* 'the man' and the *ḡiḡnān* were erected just as *ḡal-waḡh* was erected in your saying *huwa ḡaḡḡsanu minhu waḡhan* 'he is handsomer than him with respect to face' and it can not be except *nakirah* 'indefinite' just as it can not be there except (L. 5) *nakirah* 'indefinite' and *ḡal-ragulu* 'the man' is the name *ḡal-mubtadaʔ* 'that begins' and similarly *ḡal-ḡiḡnān* 'the two'. As to their meaning it is *huwa xayru ragulin fiy ḡal-nāsi* 'the best man among the people' and *humā xayru ḡiḡnayni fiy ḡal-nāsi* 'they-d are the best two among the people'. If you so wished you don't need to make it first and you say *huwa ḡakḡaru ḡal-nāsi mālan* 'he is richest of the people with respect to money'. What follows this course are names of number. You say with what is lowest count in addition to what is built on the lowest number to the lowest cluster and you introduce to the *mud'āf ḡilayhi* 'annexed to' the *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* 'ḡal-' because it is the first that is definite and that is in your saying *ḡalāḡatu ḡabwābin* 'three doors' and *ḡarba ʔatu ḡanfusin* 'four persons' and *ḡarba ʔatu ḡaḡwābin* 'four garments'. Similarly, you say for those between you and the (L. 10) ten. If you were to introduce the *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* 'ḡal-' you said *xamsatu ḡal-ḡaḡwābi* 'the five garments' and *sittatu ḡal-ḡaḡmāli* 'the six camels'. This does not ever occur except *ḡayr munawwan* 'without nunation' and it is bound with one state as I mentioned to you. If you were to add to the ten something of names of the lower number then it is made with with the first as one name, by way of lightening, and it occurs in the *mawd'iʔ* 'location' of *tanwiyn* 'nunation' and that is in your saying *ḡaḡada ʔaḡara dirhaman* 'eleven dirhams' and *ḡiḡnā ʔaḡara dirhaman* 'twelve dirhams' and *ḡiḡdā ʔaḡrata ḡāriyatan* 'eleven maids'. According to this, it follows the course, up to nine.

في الصفات المشبَّهة ولا في هذه الأسماء لأنها ليست كالفاعل وذلك لأنه فعلٌ لا يتعدى إلى مفعول وإنما هو بمنزلة الانفعال وإنما (ص ٨٦) لا يتعدى إلى مفعول نحو كسرتة فانكسر ودفعته فاندفع. فهذا النحو إنما يكون في نفسه ولا يقع على شيء فصار امتلأت من هذا الضرب كأنك قلت: ملأني فامتلأت. ومثله: دحرجته فتدحرج. أصله امتلأت من الماء وتفقتت من الشحم فحذف هذا استخفافاً وكان الفعل أجدر أن يتعدى إذ كان هذا ينفذ وهو في أنهم ضعفوه مثله. وتقول هو أشجع الناس رجلاً وهما خير الناس اثنين فالمجور هاهنا بمنزلة التثوين وانتصب الرجل والاثنان كما انتصب الوجه في قولك هو أحسن منه وجهاً. ولا يكون إلا نكرة كما لم يكن ثم إلا (س ٥) نكرة والرجل هو الاسم المبتدأ والاثنان كذلك. إنما معناه هو خير رجل في الناس وهما خير اثنين في الناس. وأن شئت لم تجعله الأول فنقول هو أكثر الناس مالاً. ومما أجرى هذا المجرى أسماء العدد تقول فيما كان لأدنى العدة بالإضافة إلى ما يُبنى لجمع أدنى العدد إلى أدنى العقود وتدخل في المضاف إليه الألف واللام لأنه يكون الأول به معرفة. وذلك قولك ثلاثة أبواب وأربعة أنفس وأربعة أثواب. وكذلك تقول فيما بينك وبين (س ١٠) العشرة وإذا أدخلت الألف واللام قلت خمسة الأثواب وستة الأجمال. فلا يكون هذا أبداً إلا غير منون يلزمه أمرٌ واحدٌ لما ذكرت لك. فإذا زدت على العشرة شيئاً من أسماء أدنى العدد فإنه يُجعل مع الأول اسماً واحداً استخفافاً ويكون في موضع اسم منون. وذلك قولك أحد عشر درهماً واثنان عشر درهماً وإحدى عشرة جارية. فعلى هذا يُجرى من الواحد إلى التسعة.

If you were to double the lowest *suḡuwd* ‘clusters’ it would have a name out of its expression and the cluster is not (L. 15) dualized and that name follows the course of the one/singular which the augment follows in the plural just as the augment followed it in the dual. The letter of *ḡiḡrāb* ‘desinence’ is the *wāw* [w] and *yāʔ* [y] and after the two-of-them the *nuwn* [n] and that is in your saying *ḡiḡruwna dirhaman* ‘twenty dirhams’. If you wished to triple the lowest cluster it would have a name from the three following the course of the *ḡism* ‘name’ that was for the dual and that is in your saying *ḡalāḡuwna ḡabdan* ‘thirty servants’ and so on until you extend it nine-fold and the *nuwn* [n] becomes obligatory in it just as the leaving out of the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ was obligatory from three to ten. They did this in these (L. 20) names and imposed on them one *wagh* ‘surface form’ because they are not like the *sʔifah* ‘descriptive’ that has the meaning of the *fiʔl* ‘action’, nor the one that is *ḡubbiḡat* ‘likened’ to them. So it does not have that power and it is not permitted, when it exceeds the lowest clusters in which it is made explicit from any *sʔinf* ‘class’ of numbers, except when its pronunciation is one and it does not contain the *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ according to what I mentioned to you. Similarly this applies (P. 87) up to ninety in which it operates and made explicit to which *sʔinf* the number belongs. If you were to reach the cluster that follows it, you omitted the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ and the *nuwn* [n] and you annexed and you made the one that operates in it and made the number explicit from *sʔinf* ‘class’ it is one just as you did in what *nawwanta* ‘you nunated’, except that you introduce to it the *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ because the first contains a *maḡrifah* ‘definite’ and the *munawwan* ‘nunated’ does not have *maḡrifah* ‘definiteness’ and that is in your saying *miḡatu dirhamin* ‘hundred dirhams’ and *miḡatu ḡal-dirhami* ‘the hundred dirham’. (L. 5) Similarly, if you doubled it you said *miḡatā dirhamin* ‘the two hundred dirhams’ and *miḡatā ḡal-diynāri* ‘the two hundred dinars’. Similarly, the cluster that is after it, whether singular or dual, and that is in your saying *ḡalfu dirhamin* ‘a thousand dirhams’ and *ḡalfā dirhamin* ‘two thousand dirhams’ and some of this occurred in poetry *munawwanan* ‘nunated’. Rabiʔ bni dʔabuʔin ḡal-fazāriyy said: (wāfir)¹⁵

ḡiḡā ḡāḡā ḡal-fatā miḡatayni ḡāman
Faḡad ḡawdā ḡal-masarratu wa ḡal-fatāḡu
 ‘If a fellow lives two hundred years
 He has spent up the pleasure and youth’

فإذا ضاعفت أدنى العُقود كان له اسمٌ من لفظه ولا (س ١٥) يثنى العَقْدُ. ويُجرى ذلك الاسمُ مجرى الواحد الذي لحقته الزيادة للجمع كما لحقته الزيادة للثنائية ويكون حرفُ الإعراب الواو والياء وبعدهما النونُ وذلك قولك عِشْرُونَ درهماً. فإن أردتَ أن تُثَلِّثَ أدنى العُقود كان له اسمٌ من لفظ الثلاثة يجرى مجرى الاسم الذي كان للثنائية وذلك قولك ثَلَاثُونَ عبداً. وكذلك إلى أن تُتَسَّعَ وتكون النونُ لازمةً له كما كان تركُ التثوين لازماً للثلاثة إلى العشرة. وإنما فعلوا هذا بهذه (س ٢٠) الأسماء وألزموها وجهاً واحداً لأنها ليست كالصفة التي في معنى الفعل ولا التي شُبِّهَتْ بها فلم تقوَ تلك القوة ولم يجر حين جاوزت أدنى العُقود فيما تُبَيِّنُ به من أيِّ صِنْفِ العَدَدِ إلا أن يكون لفظه واحداً ولا يكون فيه الألفُ واللام لما ذكرت لك. وكذلك هو (ص ٨٧) إلى التسعين فيما يَعْمَلُ فيه ويبيِّنُ به من أيِّ صِنْفِ العَدَدِ. فإذا بلغت العَدَدَ الذي يليه تركت التثوين والنون وأضفت وجعلت الذي يَعْمَلُ فيه ويبيِّنُ به العَدَدُ من أيِّ صِنْفِ هو واحداً كما فعلت فيما نَوَّنت فيه إلا أنك تُدْخِلُ فيه الألف واللام لأنَّ الأول يكون به معرفةً ولا يكون المنونُ به معرفةً. وذلك قولك مِائَةٌ درهمٍ ومِائَةٌ الدرهم (س ٥). وكذلك إن ضاعفتَ قلتَ مِائَتَا درهمٍ ومِائَتَا الدينار. وكذلك العَقْدُ الذي بعده واحداً كان أو مثنىً وذلك قولك أَلْفُ درهمٍ وأَلْفَا درهمٍ. وقد جاء في الشعر بعضُ هذا منوناً. قال الرِّبِيعُ بن ضُبَيْعِ الفَزَارِيِّ: (وافر)

إذا عاشَ الفَتَى مِائَتَيْنِ عاماً
 فقد أودَى المَسْرَةَ والقَتَاءَ

¹⁵The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa suwluḡun* (twice).

and he said: (ragaz)¹⁶

(L. 10) *ʔan ʕatu ʕayran min ʕamiyri xanzarah*
Fiy kulli ʕayran mi ʔatāni kamarah
 ‘I describe an ass from the asses of Khanzarah
 In every ass there are two hundred genitals’

As to *ʕalāʕu mi ʔatin* ‘three hundred’ to *tis ʕi mi ʔatin* ‘nine hundred’ it should have been *mi ʕiyn* or *mi ʔātin* ‘hundreds’ but they likened it to *ʕiʕriyn* ‘twenty’ and *ʔaħada ʕašara* ‘eleven’ where they made what makes the number explicit singular because it is a name for a number, just as *ʕiʕriyn* ‘twenty’ is a name for a number. It is not objectionable in their speech for the expression to be singular and the meaning plural to such a degree that some of them say in poetry of that what is not used in speech. ʕalġamatu bin (L. 15) ʕabdata said: (ʕtawiyl)¹⁷

Bihā giyfu ʔal-ħasrā fa ʔammā ʕidʕāmuħā
Fa-biydʕun wa-ʔammā gilduhā fa-sʕaliybu

‘It has the stench of a decrepit beast
 as for its bones they are white and its skin stiff’

and he said: (ragaz)¹⁸

Lā tunkiri ʔal-ġatla wa ġad subiyñā
Fiy ħalġikum ʕađmun wa ġad šagiynā
 ‘Do not deny our killing you after we have been
 raided by you
 A bone in your throats and we have been grieved’

The tripling was targeted specific to this chapter up to *tis ʕi ʔal-mi ʔati* ‘nine hundred’ just as *ladun* ‘near’ with *yuđwatan* ‘early morning’ has a state that does not exist in (L. 20) others. It is erected due to it as though he attached the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ in the *luyah* ‘dialect’ of the one who said *ladu* ‘before’ and that is in your saying *ladun yuđwatan* ‘before dawn’ some others have said *ladan yuđwatan* it is as though *ʔaskana* ‘he quiesced’ the *dāl* [d], then opened it with an [a] just as he said *ħdriban zaydan* ‘hit-p-f Zaid’. He opened the *bāʔ* [b] when he introduced the *nuwn ʔal-xafiyfah* ‘the light [n]’ and the *garr* ‘pull’ in *yuđwatin* ‘dawn’ is the *wagh* ‘surface form’ and the *ġiyās* ‘pattern’. And the *nuwn* is from the same *ħarf* ‘word’ (P. 88) with the status of the *nuwn* [n] of *min* ‘from’ and *ʕan* ‘about’.

¹⁶The meter of ragaz is: *mustafīlun* (six times).

¹⁷The meter of ʕtawiyl is: *fa ʕuwlun mafāʕīlun* (four times).

¹⁸The meter of ragaz is: *mustafīlun* (six times).

وقال: (رجز) (س ١٠)

أُنعْتُ عَيْرًا من حَمِيرِ خَنْزَرَةٍ

في كُلِّ عَيْرٍ مِائَتانِ كَمْرَةَ

وأما ثلاث مائة إلى تسع مائة فكان ينبغي أن يكون في القياس مئتين أو مئتين ولكنهم شبهوه بعشرين وأحد عشر حيث جعلوا ما يبين به العدد واحداً لأنه اسم لعدد كما أن عشرين اسم لعدد. وليس بمستغرب في كلامهم أن يكون اللفظ واحداً والمعنى جميع حتى قال بعضهم في الشعر من ذلك ما لا يُستعمل في الكلام.

وقال علقمة بن عبدة: (طويل) (س ١٥)

بها حيف الحسرى فأما عظامها

فبيض وأما جلدها فصليب

وقال: (رجز)

لا تُنكر القتل وقد سئينا

في حلقكم عظم وقد شجينا

فاختص التثنية بهذا الباب إلى تسع المائة. كما أن لذن لها مع غدوة حال ليست في (س ٢٠) غيرها تُنصب بها كأنه الحق التنوين في لغة من قال لذن. وذلك قولك من لذن غدوة. وقال بعضهم لذن غدوة كأنه أسكن الدال ثم فتحها كما قال إضرين زيدا ففتح الباء لما جاء بالنون الخفيفة. والجُر في غدوة هو الوجه والقياس. وتكون النون في نفس الحرف (ص ٨٨) بمنزلة نون من وعن

Things may be exceptional in their speech from its likes and a thing may be lightened in one place but they do not lighten it in others. Of that is their saying *mā ša šartu bihi šī šratan* ‘I did not notice him a bit’ and they say *layta šī šriy* ‘I wish I knew, I wonder’; and they say *ʔal-šamru* and *ʔal-šumru* ‘the age’. They do not say in oaths except with *fatḥah* [a]. They all say *la šamruka* ‘by your age/life’. You shall also see the likes of these in their speech, God willing. What has occurred in poetry on the expression of the singular that was meant to be plural is: (wāfir)¹⁹

(L. 5) *Kuluw min ba šdʿi batʿnikum ta šiffuw*
Fa-šinna zamānakum zamanun xamiysʿu

‘Eat, a little in your stomachs, so you can turn away from food

For your time is a time of drought’

And an example of that in speech is His saying, the Glorified and Exalted, *fa-šīn tʿibna lakum šan šayšīn minhu nafsān* (Sūrah IV:4) ‘and if they of their own accord permit any part of it for you’, *wa šarirnā bihi šaynan* and enjoyed doing so’ and if you so wished you could say *ʔa šyānan* ‘eyes’ and *ʔanfusan* ‘selves’ just as you said *θalāθu mi ʔatin* ‘three hundred’ and *θalāθu mi šīyna wa mi ʔatin* and they did not introduce the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ just as they did not introduce it in *šimtala ʔtu mā ʔan* ‘I got filled with water’.

فقد يَشِدُّ الشَّيْءُ مِنْ كَلَامِهِمْ عَنْ نِظَائِرِهِ
وَيُسْتَخَفُّ الشَّيْءُ فِي مَوْضِعٍ وَلَا يَسْتَخَفُّونَهُ فِي
غَيْرِهِ. وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمْ مَا شَعَرْتُ بِهِ شِعْرَةً وَيَقُولُونَ
لَيْتَ شِعْرِي. وَيَقُولُونَ الْعَمْرُ وَالْعَمْرُ لَا
يَقُولُونَ فِي الْيَمِينِ إِلَّا بِالْفَتْحِ يَقُولُونَ كَلُّهُمْ
لَعَمْرُكَ. وَسَتَرِي أَشْبَاهَ هَذَا أَيْضًا فِي كَلَامِهِمْ
أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ وَمِمَّا جَاءَ فِي الشَّعْرِ عَلَى لَفْظِ
الْوَاحِدِ يَرَادُ بِهِ الْجَمِيعُ: (وَافِر) (س ٥)

كُلُّوا فِي بَعْضِ بَطْنِكُمْ تَعَفُّوا
فَإِنَّ زَمَانَكُمْ زَمَنٌ خَمِيصٌ

ومثل ذلك في الكلام قوله تبارك وتعالى
فَإِنَّ طِينَ لَكُمْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُ نَفْسًا وَقَرَّرْنَا بِهِ
عَيْنًا وَإِنْ شِئْتَ قَلْتَ أَعْيَانًا وَأَنْفُسًا كَمَا قَلْتَ
ثَلَاثُ مَائَةٍ وَثَلَاثُ مِئِينَ وَمِئَاتٍ وَلَمْ يُدْخِلُوا
الْأَلْفَ وَاللَّامَ كَمَا لَمْ يُدْخِلُوا فِي امْتَلَأْتُ مَاءً.

¹⁹The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun fa šuwlu* (twice).

Chapter 42. This is a chapter on using the *fiʔl* ‘action’ *fiy ʔal-lafʔ* ‘verbally’ not *fiy ʔal-maʕnah* ‘semantically’ due to their *ʔittisāf* ‘expansiveness’ in speech and for purposes of *ʔiygāz* ‘shortening’ and *ʔixtisāʕ* ‘abbreviating’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.108-110, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 88-90,
Haruwn vol.1. p. 211-216)

(I. Ch. 42. P. 88. L. 10) Of that is that you say according to the saying of a questioner *kam sʕiyda ʕalayhi* ‘how much was hunted by him’. *Kam* ‘how much’ is not a *ʔarf* ‘envelope of time/adverb’ for reasons I mentioned to you of the *ʔittisāf* ‘expansiveness’ and the *ʔiygāz* ‘shortening’. So you say *sʕiyda ʕalayhi yawmān* ‘for two days was hunted by him’. The meaning is *sʕiyda ʕalayhi ʔal-waḥṣu fiy yawmayni* ‘for two days a wild beast was hunted by him’ but *ʔittasaʕa* ‘he expanded’ and *ʔixtasāʕa* ‘he abbreviated’. That is why the questioner put *kam* ‘how much’ as not *ʔarf* ‘an envelope of time/adverb’. Like that you would say *kam wulida lahu* ‘how many were born to him’, and he says *sittuwna ʕāman* ‘sixty years’. The meaning is *wulida lahu ʔal-ʔawlādu wa wulida lahu ʔal-waladu sittiyina ʕāman* ‘children were born to him for sixty years’ but *ʔittasaʕa* ‘he expanded’ and *ʔawgaza* ‘shortened’. An example of that is that you say *kam siyra ʕalayhi* ‘how much was it walked on’. *Kam* ‘how much’ is not *ʔarf* ‘an envelope of time/adverb’. Then he says *yawmu ʔal-gum ʕati (L 15) wa yawmāni* ‘Friday and two days’, so *kam* ‘how much’ here has the status of his saying *mā sʕiyda ʕalayhi* ‘what was hunted by him’ *mā wulida lahu min ʔal-dahri wa ʔal-ʔayyāmi* ‘what has been born to him of age and days’. *Kam* ‘how much’ is not *ʔarfan* ‘an envelope of time/adverb’ just as *mā* ‘what’ is not *ʔarf* ‘an envelope of time/adverb’. Of those is that he also says *kam ʔuriba bihi* ‘how much was he struck’ you say *ʔuriba bihi ʔarbatāni* ‘he was struck with two strikes’ and *ʔuriba bihi ʔarbun ka ʔiyrun* ‘he was struck many strikes’. And what has occurred as *ʔittisāf* ‘expansiveness’ of speech and abbreviation is His saying, the Exalted, *wa ʔis ʔali ʔal-ʕaryata ʔal-latiy kunnā fiyhā wa ʔal-ʕiyra ʔal-latiy ʔa ʕbalnā fiyhā (Sūrah XII: 82)* ‘ask the town where we have been and the caravan in which we returned’ he wanted *ʔahla ʔal-ʕaryati* ‘people of the town’. He abbreviated and engaged the *fiʔl* ‘action’ with the *ʔal-ʕaryati* ‘the town’ as it would have been engaged with *ʔahl* ‘people’ had it been here.

(٤٢) هذا باب استعمال الفعل في اللفظ لا في المعنى لاتساعهم في الكلام وللايجاز والاختصار

(م ١١ ص ٨٨ ب ٤٢ س ١٠) فمن ذلك أن تقول على قول السائل: كم صيد عليه وكم غير ظرف لما ذكرت لك في الاتساع والإيجاز فتقول صيد عليه يومان. وإنما المعنى صيد عليه الوحش في يومين ولكنه اتسع واختصر. ولذلك أيضاً وضع السائل كم غير ظرف. ومن ذلك أن تقول كم ولد له فيقول ستون عاماً. فالمعنى ولد له الأولاد وولد له الولد ستين عاماً ولكنه اتسع وأوجز. ومثل ذلك أن تقول كم سير عليه وكم غير ظرف فيقول يوم الجمعة (س ١٥) ويومان فكم هاهنا بمنزلة قوله ما صيد عليه وما ولد له من الدهر والأيام فليس كم ظرفاً كما أن ما ليس بظرف. ومن ذلك أن تقول كم ضرب به فتقول ضرب به ضربتان وضرب به ضرب كثير. ومما جاء على اتساع الكلام والاختصار قوله تعالى وأسأل القرية التي كنا فيها والعير التي أقبلنا فيها إنما يريد أهل القرية فاختصر وعمل الفعل في القرية كم كان عاملاً في الأهل لو كان هاهنا.

And like it is (L. 20) *bal makru ḡal-layli wa ḡal-nahāri* (Sūrah XXXIV: 33) ‘rather, a deception of night and day’, but the meaning is *bal makrukum fiy ḡal-layli wa ḡal-nahāri* ‘rather your deception by night and day’. And the Exalted said *wa lākinna ḡal-birra man ḡāman bi-ḡal-lāhi* (Sūrah II:177) ‘but righteousness is one who believes in God’. It is in reality *wa lākinna ḡal-birra birru* (P. 89) *man ḡāman bi-ḡal-lāhi* ‘but righteousness is the righteousness of the one who believes in God’.

And like it in expansiveness is His saying, the Powerful and Glorious *wa maḡalu ḡal-laḡiyana kafaruw ka-maḡali ḡal-laḡiy yan ḡu bi-mā lā yasma ḡu ḡillā duḡāḡan wa nidāḡan* (Sūrah II: 171) ‘and the example of those who rejected the faith is like the one who shouts with what he does not hear except a cry and a call’. They are not likened *bi-mā yan ḡu* ‘to what shouts’, rather, they are likened to *bi-ḡal-man ḡuwḡi bi-hi* ‘what is spoken of’. And the meaning is that your example and the example of those who rejected the faith is like the example of the shouter and what is shouted about which does not hear but it occurred due to the *ḡittisāḡ* ‘expansiveness’ of speech and *ḡiyḡāz* ‘shortening’, due to the knowledge of the *muxāḡab* ‘addressee’ of the meaning. An example of that in their speech is *banuw fulānin yatḡa ḡuhum* (L. 5) *ḡal-tḡariyḡu* ‘So and so the road treads them’. It is rather *yatḡawwahum ḡahlu ḡal-tḡariyḡi* ‘the people of the road tread them’. They said *sḡidna ḡanawayni* ‘we hunted Ganawayn’, he means *sḡidna bi-ḡanawayni* ‘we hunted in Ganawayn’ or *sḡidna waḡḡa ḡanawayni* ‘we hunted the beast of Ganawayn’. *ḡanawāni* is the name of the place. Like in *ḡittisā* ‘expansiveness’ is *ḡanta ḡakramu ḡalayya min ḡan ḡadḡribaka* ‘you are more honorable to me than to strike you’ and *ḡanta ḡankadu min ḡan tatrakahu* ‘you are more miserable than to let it go’. You intend *ḡanta ḡakramu ḡalayya min sḡāḡibi ḡal-dḡarbi* ‘you are more honorable to me than to be the striking object’. *ḡanta ḡankadu min sḡāḡibi tarkihi* ‘you are more miserable than the master of letting it be’. Because your saying is *ḡan ḡadḡribaka* ‘that I strike you’ and *ḡan tatrakahu* ‘that you let it be’ is *ḡal-dḡarb* ‘the striking’ and *ḡal-tark* ‘the letting go’. Because *ḡan* is *ḡism* ‘a name’ and *tatrakahu* ‘you let it go’ and *ḡadḡribaka* ‘I strike you’ is of its connection just as you say *yasuw ḡuniy ḡan ḡadḡribaka* ‘it hurts me that I strike you’. That is *yasuw ḡuniy dḡarbuka* ‘it hurts me striking you’. He does not (L. 10) intend *ḡakramu ḡalayya min ḡal-dḡarbi* ‘more honorable to me than striking’.

ومثله بَلْ مَكْرُ اللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ وَإِنَّمَا
المعنى (س ٢٠) بَلْ مَكْرُكُمْ فِي اللَّيْلِ
وَالنَّهَارِ. وَقَالَ تَعَالَى وَلَكِنَّ الْبِرَّ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ
وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ وَلَكِنَّ الْبِرَّ بِرٌّ (ص ٨٩) مَنْ آمَنَ
بِاللَّهِ.

ومثله في الاتساع قوله عز وجل ومثل
الذين كفروا كمثل الذي ينعق بما لا يسمع إلا
دعاءً ونداءً فلم يشبهوا بما ينعق واما شبهوا
بالمنعوق به. وإنما المعنى متلکم ومثل الذين
كفروا كمثل الناعق والمنعوق به الذي لا
يسمع ولكنه جاء على سعة الكلام والإيجاز
لعلم المخاطب بالمعنى. ومثل ذلك من
كلامهم بنو فلان يطوهم (س ٥) الطريق
وانما هو يريد يطوهم أهل الطريق. وقالوا
صيدنا قنوين وإنما يريد صيدنا بقنوين أو
صيدنا وحش قنوين وإنما قنوان اسم أرض.
ومثله في السعة أنت أكرم على من أن
أضربك وأنت أنكذ من أن تتركه. إنما تريد
أنت أكرم على من صاحب الضرب وأنت
أنكذ من صاحب تركه لأن قولك أن أضربك
وأن تتركه هو الضرب والترك لأن أن اسم
وتتركه وأضربك من صلته كما تقول
يسوءني أن أضربك أي يسوءني ضربك
وليس (س ١٠) يريد أنت أكرم على من
الضرب

rather *ʔakramu ʔalayya min ʔal-laḏiy ʔuwāiʔ bihi ʔal-dʿarba* ‘is more honorable to me than the one to whom I deal the striking’. Gaʔdiy said: (wāfir)²⁰

*Ka-ʔanna ʔaḏyrahum bi-ginuwbi sillā
Na ʔāmun ʔāḡāfiy baladin ʔifāri*

‘As though their sounds are in south of the Silla
Like the sounds of ostriches in a desolate town’

ʔāmir bin Tʿufayl said: (kāmil)²¹

*Wa-la-ʔabyiyannakum ʔanan wa-ʔuwāridʿan
Wa-la ʔuḡbilanna ʔal-xayla lābata dʿaryadi*

‘And I will seek you at ʔana and ʔuwārida
And will face the horses within lābata and dʿaryadi’²²

(L. 15) he wants *bi-ʔanan* ‘in ʔana’ but he deleted and connected the *fi ʔl* ‘action’. Of that is the saying of Sāʔidata: (kāmil)²³

*Ladnun bi-hazzi ʔal-kaffi ya ʔsulu matnuhu
Fiyhi kamā ʔasala ʔal-tariḡa ʔal-ḡa ʔlabu*

‘The spear jerks in his hand
As the fox darts on the road’²⁴

He wants *fiy ʔal-tariḡ* ‘on the road’. Of their saying is *ʔakaltu baldata kaḏā wa kaḏā* ‘I ate the town of so and so’ and *ʔakaltu ʔardʿa kaḏā wa kaḏā* ‘I ate the ground of so and so’. He intends *ʔannahu ʔakal min ḏālika* ‘that he ate of that’ and *ʔariba wa-ʔasʿāba min xayrihā* ‘he drank and was recipient of its produce’. This is more than can be counted. Of it is their saying *hāḏihi ʔal-ḏʿuhru ʔaw ʔal-ʔasʿru ʔaw ʔal-mayribu* ‘this is the noon or the evening or the sun setting’ but he wants *sʿalāta hāḏā ʔal-waḡi* ‘prayer of this time’. And *ʔigtama ʔa ʔal-ḡayḏu* ‘the Summer gathered’ he wants (L. 20) *ʔigtama ʔa ʔal-nāsu fiy ʔal-ḡayḏ* ‘the people gathered in the Summer’. ʔal-ḡayḏ said: (tʿawiyl)²⁵

ولكن أكرم على من الذي أوقع به الضرب.
وقال الجعدي: (وافر)

كأن عذيرهم بجنوب سيلي
نعام قاق في بلد قفار

وقال عامر بن الطفيل: (كامل)
ولأبغيتكم قناً وعوارضاً
ولأقبلن الخيل لابة ضرغد

(س ١٠) إنما يريد بقناً ولكنه حذف
وأوصل الفعل. ومن ذلك قول ساعدة (كامل)

لئن بهز الكف يعسل مئنه
فيه كما عسل الطريق الثعلب

يريد: في الطريق. ومن ذلك قولهم أكلت بلدة
كذا وكذا وأكلت أرض كذا وكذا إنما يريد
أكل من ذلك وشرب وأصاب من خيرها.
وهذا الكثير من أن يحصى ومنه قولهم هذه
الظهر أو العصر أو المغرب إنما يريد
صلاة هذا الوقت. واجتمع القَيْظُ يريد اجتمع
الناس في القَيْظِ. وقال الحطبي: (طويل)

²⁰The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwluḡun* (twice).

²¹The Meter of kāmil is: *mutafāʔilun* (six times).

²²Cf chapter 36.

²³The Meter of kāmil is: *mutafāʔilun* (six times).

²⁴Cf. Chapter 10.

²⁵The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa ʔuwluḡun mafāʔilun* (four times).

Wa-šarru ʔal-manāyā mayyitun wastʔa ʔahlihi
Ka-hulki ʔal-fatā ʕad ʔaslama ʔal-ḥayyā ḥādʔiruh
 ‘The worst is to die in the midst of one’s people
 Like death of a youth whose people surrendering him
 to his fate.’

وشرُّ المَنَايَا مَيِّتٌ وَسَطَ أَهْلِهِ
 كَهَلَاكِ الْفَتَى قَدْ أَسْلَمَ الْحَيَّ حَاضِرُهُ

He intends *maniyyata mayyitin* ‘the fate of a dead person’.
 ʔal-guḏdiyy said: (mutaḡārib)²⁶

يُرِيدُ مَنِيَّةَ مَيِّتٍ. وَقَالَ النَّابِغَةُ الْجَعْدِيُّ:
 (مَتَقَارِب)

Wa-kayfa tuwāsʔilu man ʔasʔbaḥat
Xilālatuhu ka-ʔabi marḥabi

‘And how do you pursue the friendship of the one
 Whose friendship is like that of Abi Marhib’

وَكَيْفَ تُوَاصِلُ مَنْ أَصْبَحَتْ
 خِلَالَتُهُ كَأَبِي مَرْحَبٍ

He wants *ka-xilāta ʔabi marḥabi* ‘like the friendship of Abi
 Marhab’.

يُرِيدُ كَخِلَالَةِ أَبِي مَرْحَبٍ.

²⁶The meter of mutaḡārib is: *fa ūwluḥ fa ūwluḥ fa ūwluḥ fa ūwl* (twice).

**Chapter 43. This is a Chapter on *ʔasmāʔ*
'names' occurring as *ʔuruwfan* 'envelopes of
time/place' and *tasʔhiyħ* 'adjusting' *ʔal-maʔna*
ʔalā ʔal-lafħ 'the pronunciation according
to the meaning'**

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.110-113, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 90-93,
Haruwn vol.1. p. 216-222)

(I. Chapter 43. P. 90. L. 4) Of that is your saying *matā* (L. 5) *yusāru ʔalayhi* 'when will it be walked on'. He makes it a *ʔarfan* 'envelope of time' and says *ʔal-yawma* 'today' or *ʔadan* 'tomorrow' or *baʔda ʔadin* 'day after tomorrow' or *yawma ʔal-gumʔati* 'Friday'. And you say *matā siyra ʔalayhi* 'when was it walked on', then he says *ʔamsi* 'yesterday' and *ʔawwala min ʔamsi* 'the day before yesterday'. It is a *ʔarfan* 'envelope of time' on the account that *ʔal-sayru* 'the walking' is in a specific hour apart from the rest of the hours of the day or in *ħiyin* 'an appropriate period' apart from other periods/intervals of the day. It is also the case that *ʔal-sayr* 'the walking' is during the whole day because you could say *siyra ʔalayhi fiy ʔal-yawmi* 'it was walked on during the day'; and *yusāru ʔalayhi fiy yawmi ʔal-gumʔati* 'it is walked on Friday'. *ʔal-sayr* 'the walking' was in all of it. And you may say *siyra ʔalayhi ʔal-yawmu* 'it was walked on today'. You raise and you mean during some of it, just as you say *fiy saʔati* (L. 10) *ʔal-kalām* 'in the expansiveness of speech' *ʔal-laylatu* 'the night' and *ʔal-hilālu* 'the crescent'. *ʔal-hilālu* is during some of the night but he wanted the night to be *laylatu ʔal-hilāli* 'a crescent night/night of the crescent', but *ʔittasaʔa wa ʔawgaza* 'he expanded and shortened'. Similarly, this is also so. It is as though he said *siyra ʔalayhi sayru ʔal-yawmi* 'he was walked on, the walk of the day'. *Raff* 'raising with [u]' in all this is frequent Arabic in all the dialects of the Arabs for the reasons I mentioned to you concerning *saʔatu ʔal-kalām* 'expansiveness of speech' and *ʔal-ħiyāz* 'shortening' affects *kam* 'how much/many' not as *ʔarf* 'an envelope of time' and *matā* 'when' not as *ʔarf* 'an envelope of time'. It is as though he said *ʔayyu ʔal-ʔaħyāni* 'which of the periods' *yusāru ʔalayhi ʔaw siyra ʔalayhi* 'one may walk on it or have walked on'. What does not engage the envelopes of time except when connected to the *ʔarf* 'envelope of time' in its entirety is your saying *siyra ʔalayhi ʔal-dahra* (L. 15) *wa ʔal-layla wa ʔal-nahāra wa ʔal-ʔabada* 'it was walked on time, at night, at day and for ever'.

(٤٣) هذا باب وقوع الأسماء ظرفاً
وتصحيح اللفظ على المعنى

(م ١ ب ٤٣ ص ٩٠ س ٤) فمن ذلك قولك متى (س ٥) يُسارُ عليه وهو يجعله ظرفاً. فيقولُ اليومَ أو غداً أو بعد غدٍ أو يومَ الجمعة. وتقول متى سيرَ عليه فيقول أمس أو أولَ من أمس فيكون ظرفاً على أنه كان السيرُ في ساعةٍ دونَ سائرِ ساعاتِ اليومِ أو حينَ دونَ سائرِ أحيانِ اليومِ. ويكونُ أيضاً على أنه يكونُ السيرُ في اليومِ كلِّه لأنك قد تقول سيرَ عليه في اليومِ ويُسارُ عليه في يومِ الجمعة والسيرُ كان فيه كلِّه وقد تقول سيرَ عليه اليومَ فترفعُ وأنت تعني في بعضه كما تقول في سعة (س ١٠) الكلامِ الليلةَ الهلالُ وإنما الهلالُ في بعضِ الليلةِ وإنما أراد الليلةَ ليلةَ الهلالِ ولكنه اتَّسعَ وأوجز. وكذلك أيضاً هذا كأنه قال سيرَ عليه سيرُ اليومِ. والرفعُ في جميعِ هذا عربيٌّ كثيرٌ في جميعِ لغاتِ العربِ على ما ذكرتُ لك من سعةِ الكلامِ والإيجازِ يكونُ على كمٍ غيرِ ظرفٍ وعلى متى غيرِ ظرفٍ كأنه قال أيُّ الأحيانِ يُسارُ عليه أو سيرَ عليه. ومما لا يكونُ العملُ فيه من الظروفِ إلا متصلاً في الظرفِ كلِّه قولك سيرَ عليه الدهرَ (س ١٥) و الليلَ والنهارَ والأبدَ.

This is the answer to his saying *kam siyra salayhi* ‘how many times was it walked on’ if he were to make it *ḏʿarfan* ‘an envelope of time’ because he wants in *kam siyra salayhi* ‘how many times was it walked on’ and you say *mugiyban lahu ḡal-layla wa ḡal-nahāra wa ḡal-dahra wa ḡal-ḡabada* ‘answering him it is the night and the day, the age and eternity’ with the meaning *fiy ḡal-layli wa ḡal-nahāri wa ḡal-ḡabadi* ‘in the night, the day and eternity’. What proves to you that it is not allowed to have the action to be made to occur on a day without the other days or in an hour apart from the other hours is that you do not say *laḡiytuhu ḡal-dahra wa ḡal-ḡabada* ‘I encountered him in time and in eternity’ when you want one day of them and neither *laḡiytuhu ḡal-layla* ‘I encountered him the night’ when you want meeting him in an hour apart from other hours. Similarly, *ḡal-nahār* ‘the day’, unless you want *siyra salayhi ḡal-dahra ḡagmaʿ (L. 20)* ‘it was walked on the age wholly’. And *ḡal-layla kullahu* ‘the whole night’ by way of multiplicity. If you were not to make it *ḏʿarfan* ‘envelope of time’, it is the most frequent Arabic in their speech. This occurred as an answer to *kam* ‘how many’ because he related it to the number of days and nights so it followed the course of the answer what is for number. It was as if he said *siyra salayhi ḡiddatu ḡal-ḡayyāmi ḡaw ḡiddatu ḡal-layāliyy* ‘it was walked on many days and nights’. Of those there may be those that are connected in your saying (P. 91) *siyra salayhi yawmayni ḡaw ḡalāḡata ḡayyāmin* ‘it was walked on two days or three days’ because it is a number. Don’t you see that you can not make it *ḏʿarf* ‘an envelope of time’ and make *ḡal-liḡāḡa* ‘the encounter’ in one of them without the other. If you were to say *siyra salayhi yawmayni* ‘it was walked on two days’ and you mean that *ḡal-sayr* ‘the walking’ was in one of them, it is not permitted. This follows the course of your making *kam* ‘how many’ *ḏʿarfan* ‘an envelope of time’ and not an envelope of time. As for *matā* ‘when’, you want from it, a specific time and you do not want from it a number. The answer to it is *ḡal-yawma* ‘today’ or *yawma kaḡā* ‘such a day’ or *ḡahra (L. 5) kaḡā* ‘such a month’ or *sanata kaḡā* ‘such a year’ or *ḡal-ḡān* ‘now’ or *ḡiyina ḡiḡin* ‘at the time’ and the likes of this. What follows the course of *ḡal-ḡabad* ‘forever’ and *ḡal-dahr* ‘the age’ and *ḡal-layl* ‘the night’ and *ḡal-nahār* ‘the daytime’ is *ḡal-muḡarramu* ‘first month of the Muslim calendar’ and *sʿafaru* ‘second month of the Arabic calendar’ and *ḡumāda* ‘fifth month of the Arabic calendar’ and the rest of the name of the months until *ḡiy ḡal-ḡiggah* ‘the twelfth month of the Arabic calendar’.

وهذا جوابٌ لقوله كم سيرَ عليه إذا جعله ظرفاً لأنه يريد في كم سيرَ عليه فنقول مُجيباً له الليل والنهار والدهر والأبد على معنى في الليل والنهار والأبد ويدللك على أنه لا يجوز أن يُجعلَ العملُ فيه في يومٍ دون الأيام وفي ساعة دون الساعات أنك لا تقول لقيته الدهر والأبد وأنت تريد يوماً منه ولا لقيته الليل وأنت تريد لقاءه في ساعة دون الساعات وكذلك النهار إلا أن تريد سير عليه الدهر أجمع (س ٢٠) والليل كله على التكثر وإن لم تجعله ظرفاً فهو العربي الكثير في كلامهم. وإنما جاء هذا على جوابٍ كم لأنه حمله على عدة الأيام والليالي فجرى على جواب ما هو للعدد كأنه قال سيرَ عليه عدة الأيام أو عدة الليالي. ومن ذلك مما يكون متصلاً قولك (ص ٩١) سيرَ عليه يومين أو ثلاثة أيام لأنه عدد. ألا ترى أنه لا يجوز أن تجعله ظرفاً وتجعل اللقاء في أحدهما دون الآخر. ولو قلت سير عليه يومين وأنت تعني أن السير كان في أحدهما لم يجز فهذا يجري على أن تجعل كم ظرفاً وغير ظرف. وأمّا متى فإنما تريد بها أن يُوقت لك وقتاً ولا تريد بها عدداً فإنما الجواب فيه اليوم أو يوم كذا أو شهر (س ٥) كذا أو سنة كذا أو الآن أو حينئذٍ وأشباه هذا. ومما جرى مجرى الأبد والدهر والليل والنهار المحرم وصفر وجمادى وسائر أسماء الشهور إلى ذي الحجة

because they made them a single sentence for the enumeration of the days. It is as though they said *siyra ṣalayhi ṭal-ṭalāṭuwna yawman* 'it was walked on the thirty days'. If you were to say *ṣahru ramad'āna* 'the month of Ramadan/ninth month of the Muslim/Arabic calendar' or *ṣahru ḍiy ṭal-ḡasḍah* 'the eleventh month of the Muslim/Arabic calendar' it would have the status of *yawmu ṭal-gumṣati* 'Friday' and *ṭal-bāriḥati* 'yesterday' and *ṭal-laylata* 'tonight' and it would become an answer to *matā* 'when'.

All that I have mentioned to you that affects *matā* 'when' is carried over to *kam* 'how many' as *ḍ'arfān ṭaw ṣayra ḍ'arf* 'an envelope of time or not'. Some of what (L. 10) obtains with *kam* 'how many' does not obtain with *matā* 'when', like *ṭal-layl* 'the night' and *ṭal-nahār* 'the day time' and *ṭal-dahr* 'the age'. It is permitted that *kam* 'how many' be introduced to *matā* 'when' because *kam* 'how many' is the first, so the other is considered as a follower to it. And *ṭal-dahr* 'the age' and *ṭal-layl* 'the night' and *ṭal-nahār* 'the day time' can not be except for enumeration and an answer to *kam* 'how many'. A man may say *siyra ṣalayhi ṭal-laylu* 'the night was walked on', that is to say *layla laylatihi* 'the night of his night' and it follows the *ṭas'l* 'origin' as you say in *ṭal-dahr* 'the age', *siyra ṣalayhi ṭal-dahru* 'the age was walked on', but he means some of the age but he increases/multiplies like the man who says *ḡāṭaniy ṭahlu ṭal-dunyā* 'people of the world came to me'. Perhaps only five have come to him. So he multiplies them. Similarly, *ṣahrā* (L. 15) *rabiy ṣin* 'two months of Spring' where you dualized, it occurred according to the enumeration according to them. It is not permitted that you say *yad'ribu ṣahray rabiy ṣin* 'he strikes in the two months of Spring' when you want in one of them, just as it is not permitted for you *ḥiy yawmayni* 'in two days' and their likes. You have no choice in these matters except that you make them follow the course that they made them follow and you are not permitted to add to the words what they did not want. You say *ḍahaba zaydun ṭal-ṣitāṭa* 'Zaid took off in the Winter' and *ḥint'alaḡtu ṭal-s'ayfa* 'I departed the summer'. We have heard well spoken Arabs say *ḥint'alaḡtu ṭal-s'ayfa* 'I departed in the Summer'. They made it follow the answer to *matā* 'when' because he wanted to say *ḥiy ḍālika ṭal-waḡti* 'in that time'. He did not want the number nor the answer to *kam* 'how many'. Ibn ṭal-riḡāṣ said: (xafiyy)²⁷

لأنهم جعلوهنّ جملة واحدة لعدّة الأيام كأنهم قالوا سير عليه الثلاثون يوماً ولو قلت شهر رمضان أو شهر ذي القعدة لكان بمنزلة يوم الجمعة والبارحة واللييلة ولصار جواب متى.

وجميع ما ذكرت لك مما يكون على متى يكون مجرى على كم ظرفاً وغير ظرف في بعض ما (س ١٠) يكون في كم لا يكون في متى نحو الليل والنهار والدهروانما جاز ان يدخل كم على متى لأن كم هو الأول فجعل الآخر تبعاً له. ولا يكون الدهر والليل والنهار إلا على العدة وجواباً لكم. وقد يقول الرجل سير عليه الليل يعني ليل ليلته ويجري على الأصل كما تقول في الدهر سير عليه الدهر وإنما يعني بعض الدهر ولكنه يكثر. كما يقول الرجل جاءني أهل الدنيا وعسى ألا يكون جاءه إلا خمسة فاستكثرهم وكذلك شهراً (س ١٥) ربيع حين تبيت جاء على العدد عندهم لا يجوز أن تقول يضرب شهري ربيع وأنت تريد في أحدهما كما لا يجوز لك في اليومين وأشباههما. فليس لك في هذه الأشياء إلا أن تجريها على ما أجروها ولا يجوز لك أن تزيد بالحرف غير ما أرادوا. وتقول ذهب زيد الشتاء وانطلقت الصيف. وسمعنا العرب الفصحاء يقولون انطلقت الصيف أجروه على جواب متى لأنه أراد أن يقول في ذلك الوقت ولم يرد العدد وجواب كم. وقال ابن الرقاع: (خفيف)

²⁷The meter of xafiyy is: *fāḥilātun mustafīlu fāḥilātun* (twice).

Faḡusirna ḡal-šitāḡa ba šdu šalayhi
Wa-huwa li-lḡawdi ḡan yuḡassamna ḡāru

‘The she-camels’ milk is restricted to the horse in the Summer

It is for defending them lest they be divided.’

This falls to *matā* ‘when’ as it falls to *kam* ‘how many’, as *ḡarfayn* ‘two envelopes’ or not as *ḡarfayn* ‘two envelopes’. Know that the *ḡuruwf* ‘envelopes’ of places and *ḡuruwf* ‘envelopes of time’ are like *ḡuruwf* from nights and days in *ḡxtis^fār* ‘shortening’ and *sa šati ḡal-kalām* ‘expansiveness of speech’. On account of that you say *kam* (P. 92) *siyra šalayhi mina ḡal-ḡard^fi* ‘how many was it walked of the ground?’ Then he says two parsangs or two miles or like you said two days. Similarly, if he were to say *kam s^fiyda šalayhi mina ḡal-ard^f* ‘how much of the earth was it hunted on?’ it follows this course’. If you so wished *nas^fabta* ‘you erected with an[a]’ and you made *kam* ‘how many’ *ḡarfan* ‘an envelope of place/time’ as you did that with *ḡa-yawmayni* ‘the two days’. It can not be *ḡarf* and not *ḡarf* except in relation to *kam* ‘how many’ because it is a number as it was the case with *ḡal-yawmayn* ‘the two days’. The equivalent of *matā* ‘when’ with reference to places is *ḡayna* ‘where’. *ḡayna* can not be except for places just as *matā* ‘when’ (L. 5) can not be except for nights and days. If you were to say *ḡayna siyra šalayhi* ‘where was it walked on’, you said *siyra šalayhi makānu kaḡā wa kaḡā* ‘it was walked on at such and so a place’ and *siyra šalayhi ḡal-makānu ḡal-laḡiy ta šlamu* ‘it was walked on, the place that you know’. It has the status of your saying *yawmu kaḡā wa kaḡā* ‘such and so a day’ and *ḡal-yawmu ḡal-laḡiy ta šlamu* ‘the day that you know’. Make *kam* ‘how many’ follow in its course in days and nights, and make *ḡayna* ‘where’ follow the course of *matā* ‘when’ in days. It is said *ḡayna siyra šallalyhi* ‘where was it walked on’ and you say *xalfa dārika wa faḡa dārika* ‘behind your house and above your house’. If you were not to make it *ḡarfan* ‘an envelope’ and you made it according to the expansiveness of speech then *rafa šahu* ‘you raised it with an [u]’ on the ground that *kam* is not a *ḡarf* ‘an envelope of time’ and that *ḡayna* ‘where’ is not *ḡarf* ‘an envelope of place’ as you did that in *matā* ‘when’ and you say (L. 10) *siyra šallayhi laylun t^fawiylun* ‘a long night was walked on’ and *siyra šalayhi nahārun t^fawiylun* ‘a long day was walked on’. If you were not to mentioned *ḡal-s^fifah* ‘the descriptive’ and you wanted this meaning, you raised with an [u], except that

فَقَصِرْنَ الشَّتَاءَ بَعْدُ عَلَيْهِ
 وَهُوَ لِلدَّوْدِ أَنْ يُقَسِّمَنَّ جَارُ

فهذا يكون على متى ويكون على كم طرفين وغير طرفين. واعلم أن الظروف من الأماكن كالظروف من الليالي والأيام في الاختصار وسعة الكلام. فمن ذلك أن تقول كم (ص ٩٢) سير عليه من الأرض فيقول فرسخان أو ميلان أو بریدان كما قلت يومان. وكذلك لو قال كم صيد عليه من الأرض يجري على هذا المجرى وإن شئت نصبت وجعلت كم طرفا كما فعلت ذلك في اليومين فلا يكون طرفا وغير طرف إلا على كم لأنه عدد كما كان ذلك في اليومين ونظير متى من الأماكن أين فلا يكون أين إلا للأماكن كما لا يكون متى (س ٥) إلا لليالي والأيام فإن قلت أين سير عليه قلت سير عليه مكان كذا وكذا وسير عليه المكان الذي تعلم فهو بمنزلة قوله يوم كذا وكذا واليوم الذي تعلم. فأجر كم في الأماكن مجراها في الأيام والليالي وأجر أين في الأماكن مجرى متى في الأيام. ويقال أين سير عليه فتقول خلف دارك وفوق دارك فإن لم تجعله طرفاً وجعلته على سعة الكلام رفعته على أن كم غير طرف وعلى أن أين غير طرف كما فعلت ذلك في متى. وتقول (س ١٠) سير عليه ليل طویل وسير عليه نهار طویل وإن لم تذكر الصفة وأردت هذا المعنى رفعت إلا أن

ʔal-sʿifah ‘the descriptive’ you show with it the meaning of *raff* ‘raising’ and you clarify it. If you so wished *nasʿabta* ‘You erected’ according to the erecting of *ʔal-layl* ‘the night’ and *ʔal-nahār* ‘the day’ and *ramadʿān* ‘Ramadan, and you say *siyra ʔalayhi yawmun* ‘a day was walked on’ and you raise it according to the definition of your saying *yawmāni* ‘two days’; and you erect it based on it. If you so wished, you said *siyra ʔalayhi yawman ʔatāna fiyhi fulānun* ‘it was walked on a day so and so came to us’. It is as though he said *matā siyra ʔalayhi* ‘when was it walked on’ and he says *yawman kunta fiyhi ʔindanā* ‘a day on which you were with us’. This is acceptable for *matā* ‘when’ and it has the status *yawma kaḏā wa kaḏā* ‘on such and so a day’ because you timed it (L. 15) and you identified it with a thing. You also say *siyra ʔalayhi yudwatu yā fatā wa bukratu* ‘it was walked on early morning, young man, and dawn’. You raise as you raised what we mentioned. *Nasʿb* in that is according to the *ʔarf* because you may make it follow the course of *yawmu ʔal-gum ʔati* ‘Friday’ even if it does not inflect. You say *maw ʔiduka yudwatu aw bukratu* ‘your appointment is early morning or dawn’. You raise like you raised of what we mentioned. The *nasʿb* in it is according to that.

You say *mā la ʔiytuhu muḏ yudwatu ʔaw bukratu* ‘I have not met him since early morning or dawn’. Similarly is *yudātu ʔamsi* ‘yesterday morning’ and *sabāhu yawmi ʔal-gum ʔati* ‘the morning of Friday’ and *ʔal-ʔaʔiyyatu* ‘supper’ and *ʔaʔiyyatu yawmi ʔal-gum ʔati* ‘supper of Friday’ and *masāhu laylati ʔal-gum ʔati* ‘evening of Friday night’. You say *siyra ʔalayhi ʔiyna ʔiḏin wa yawma ʔiḏin* ‘it was walked on at that time and at that day’. *Nasʿb* (L. 20) is according to what I mentioned to you. Similarly is *nisʿfu ʔal-nahāri* ‘middle of the day’ because you may say *ba ʔda nisʿfi ʔal-nahāri* ‘after the middle of the day’ and *maw ʔiduka nisʿfu ʔal-nahāri* ‘your appointment is middle of the day’. Similarly is *sawāhu ʔal-nahāri* ‘most of the day’ because you say *hāḏā sawāhu ʔal-nahāri* ‘this is most of the day’ if you wanted its middle just as you say *nisʿfu ʔal-nahāri* ‘middle of the day’. As for *sarātu ʔal-yawmi* ‘noon of the day’ has the status of *ʔawwali ʔal-yawmi* ‘first of the day’. You say *siyra ʔalayhi dʿaḥwatun* (P. 93) *mina ʔal-dʿaḥawāti* ‘it was walked on a forenoon of the forenoons’ if you don’t mean *dʿaḥwat yawmika* ‘the forenoon of your day’ because it has the status of *sāʔatun mina ʔal-sāʔati* ‘an hour of the hours’. Similarly is your saying *siyra ʔalayhi ʔatmatun mina ʔal-layli* ‘it was walked on the darkness of the night’,

الصفة تُبين بها معنى الرفع وتوضيحه وإن شئت نصبت على نصب الليل والنهار ورمضان. وتقول سير عليه يوم فترفعه على حدّ قولك يومان وتنبهه يوماً عليه وإن شئت قلت سير عليه يوماً أنا فيه فلان كآته قال متى سير عليه فيقول يوماً كنت فيه عندنا فهذا يحسن فيه على متى ويصير بمنزلة يوم كذا وكذا لأنك قد وقته (س ١٥) وعرفته بشيء. وتقول سير عليه غدوة يا فتى وبكرة فترفع على مثل ما رفعت ما ذكرنا. والنصب في ذلك على الظرف لأنك قد تجريه وإن لم ينصرف مجرى يوم الجمعة تقول موعذك غدوة أو بكرة فترفع على مثل ما رفعت ما ذكرنا والنصب فيه على ذلك.

وتقول ما لقيته مذ غدوة أو بكرة وكذلك غداه أمس وصباح يوم الجمعة والعشيّة وعشيّة يوم الجمعة ومساء ليلة الجمعة. وتقول سير عليه حينئذٍ ويومئذٍ والنصب (س ٢٠) على ما ذكرت لك. وكذلك نصف النهار لأنك قد تقول بعد نصف النهار وموعذك نصف النهار. وكذلك سواء النهار لأنك تقول هذا سواء النهار إذا أردت وسطه كما تقول هذا نصف النهار. وأما سراه اليوم فبمنزلة أول اليوم وتقول سير عليه ضحوّة (ص ٩٣) من الضحوّات إذا لم تعن ضحوّة يومك لأنها بمنزلة قولك ساعة من الساعات. وكذلك قولك سير عليه عتمة من الليل

because you say *ʔatānā baʔda mā ʔahabat ʔatmatun mina ʔal-layli* ‘he came to us after the darkness of the night had passed’. And you say *ʔad mudʔiya* ‘it had gone by’ for that *dʔaḥwatun and dʔaḥwatan*. The *nasʔb* has its surface with reference to what has gone by. You say with reference to places *siyra ʔalayhi ʔātu ʔal-yamini wa ʔātu ʔal-šimāli* ‘it was walked on from right and the left’ because you say *dāruhu ʔātu ʔal-yamiyni wa ʔātu ʔal-šimāli* ‘his house is towards the right and towards the left’ (L. 5) and *nasʔb* is according to what I mentioned to you. You say *siyra ʔalayhi ʔaymunun wa ʔašmulun* ‘it was walked on right and left and *siyra ʔalayhi ʔal-yaminu wa ʔal-šimālu* ‘it was walked on right and left’ because it is possible for you to say *ʔalā ʔal-yamini wa ʔalā ʔal-šimāli* ‘to the south and to the north’ and *dāruka ʔal-yaminu wa dāruka ʔal-šimālu* ‘your house to the right and your house to the left’ ʔabuw ʔal-Nagm said: (ragaz)²⁸

Ya ʔtiy lahā min ʔaymunin wa ʔašmuli
‘He comes to her from the right and the left’

If you so wished you made *ʔʔarf an* ‘an envelope of place’ as ʔamr bin Kalḥuwm said: (wāfir)²⁹

Wa kāna ʔal-kaʔsu magrāhā ʔal-yamiynā
‘And the goblet was going towards the right’

Similar to *ʔātu ʔal-yamini wa ʔātu ʔal-šimāli* ‘to the right and to the left’ is *šarʔiyyu ʔal-dāri wa ʔarbiyyu ʔal-dāri* ‘the eastness of the house and the westness of the house’. You make it *ʔʔarf* ‘an envelope’ and *ʔayra ʔʔarfin* ‘not an envelope’. gariyr said: (basiyt)³⁰

Habbat ganuwban fa-ʔikrā mā ʔakartukumu
ʔinda ʔal-sʔafāti ʔal-latiy šarʔiyya ḥawrānā

‘It blew from the south and the memory of what you reminded me of
Near the smooth rock east of Hawrān’

Some have said *dāruhu šarʔiyyu ʔal-masgidi* ‘his house is to the east of the mosque’ and like *magrāhā ʔal-yamiynā* ‘its flow is to the south’ is his saying *ʔal-buʔuwlu yamiynahā wa šimālahā* ‘the legumes are at its right and its left’.

لأنك تقول أتانا بعد ما ذهبت عَمَّة من الليل
وتقول قد مُضِيَ لذلك ضَحْوَةٌ وَضَحْوَةٌ
والنصب فيه وجهه على ما مَضَى وتقول
في الأماكن سِير عليه ذاتُ اليمين وذاتُ
الشِّمال لأنك تقول داره ذاتُ اليمين وذاتُ
الشِّمال (س ٥) والنصب على ما ذكرت لك
وتقول سير عليه أَيْمُنٌ وَأَشْمَلٌ وسير عليه
اليمينُ والشِّمالُ لأنه يُتِمَّكَن. تقول على
اليمين وعلى الشمال ودارك اليمين ودارك
الشمال. وقال أبو النجم: (رجز)

يأتي لها من أَيْمُنٍ وَأَشْمَلٍ

وإن شئت جعلته ظرفاً كما قال عمرو بن
كُثُوم: (وافر)
وكان الكأسُ مَجْرَاهَا الْيَمِينَا

ومثل ذات اليمين وذات الشمال شَرْقِيُّ الدار
وْغَرْبِيُّ الدار تجعله ظرفاً وغير ظرف. قال
جرير: (بسيط)

هَبَّتْ جَنُوباً فَذَكَرَى مَا ذَكَرْتُمْ
عند الصَّفَاة التي شَرْقِيَّ حَوْرَانَا

وقال بعضهم داره شَرْقِيُّ المسجد ومثل
مَجْرَاهَا الْيَمِينَا قوله البُقُولُ يَمِينَهَا وَشِمَالَهَا.

²⁸The meter of ragaz is: *mustafīlun* (six times).

²⁹The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwlu* (twice).

³⁰The meter for basiyt^f is: *mustafīlun fāʔilun mustafīlun fa ʔilun* (twice).

Chapter 44. This is a chapter in which the *masʿdar* ‘origin’ is *hiynan* ‘a temporal/interval’ due to the *saʿat* ‘expansiveness’ of speech and the *ʾixtisʿār* ‘shortening’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.114-117, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 93-96,
Haruwn vol.1. p. 222-228)

(I. Chapter 44. P. 93. L. 15) Of that is your saying *matā siyra salayhi* ‘when was it walked on?’ He says *maʿdama ʾal-hāggi* ‘the returning of the pilgrims’ and *xufuwʿa ʾal-nagmi* ‘the setting of the stars’ and *xilāfata fulānin* ‘Caliphate of so and so’ and *sʿalāta ʾal-sasʿri* ‘Evening prayer’. It is indeed a *zaman maʿdami ʾal-hāggi* ‘time of the returning of the pilgrims’ and *hiyna xufuwʿi ʾal-nagmi* ‘time of the setting of the stars’ but according to the expansiveness of speech and shortening. If he were to say *kam siyra salayhi* ‘how often was it walked on it’ it is also like that. If you were to raise all of it, it would be a frequent Arabic. *Yantasʿibu* ‘it is erected’ for your making *kam* ‘how often’ *ʿarfān* ‘an envelope of time’, and this is not being in terms of expansiveness of speech and shortening farther than *sʿiyda salayhi yawmāni* ‘it was hunted on for two days’ and *wulida lahu sittuwna sāmān* ‘it born to him sixty years’ (L. 20). You say *siyra salayhi farsaxāni yawmayni* ‘it was walked on by two parsangs two days’ because you engaged the *fi ʾl* ‘action’ with the *farsaxayni* ‘two parsangs’ and it became like your saying *siyra salayhi ba siyruka yawmayni* ‘it was walked by your camel for two days’. If you so wished, you say *siyra salayhi farsaxayni yawmāni* ‘it was walked on two parsangs for two days’. Whichever of the two you raised the other one became *ʿarfān* ‘an envelope of time/space’. If you so wished, you erect due to the *fi ʾl* ‘action’ in the expansiveness of speech not due to *ʿarf* ‘envelope of time/space’, as it is permitted in *yā dʿārība ʾal-yawmi zaydan* ‘you striker of Zayd today’ (P. 94) and *yā sāʾira ʾal-yawmi farsaxayni* ‘you walker of two parsangs today’. You say *sʿiyda salayhi yawma ʾal-gumʿati yudwatu yā fatā* ‘it was hunted on it by him Friday, early morning, O boy’. If you so wished, you make all of them *ʿarfān* ‘envelope of time/place’ because it is as though you said *ʾal-sayru fiy yawmi ʾal-gumuʿati fiy hāḍihi ʾal-sāʿati* ‘the walk is on Friday at this hour’. If you so wished, you said *siyra salayhi yawmu ʾal-gumuʿati yudwata* ‘it was walked on Friday, in early morning’, like you say, *siyra salayhi yawmu ʾal-gumuʿati sabāḥan* ‘it was walked on, Friday, in the morning’,

(٤٤) هذا باب ما يكون فيه المصدر حيناً

لسعة الكلام والاختصار

(م ١ . ب ٤٤ . ص ٩٣ . س ١٥) وذلك قولك متى سيرَ عليه فيقول مَقْدَمَ الْحَاجِّ وَخُفُوقَ النَجْمِ وَخِلَافَةَ فَلَانٍ وَصَلَاةَ الْعَصْرِ. فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ زَمَنٌ مَقْدَمَ الْحَاجِّ وَحِينَ خُفُوقِ النَجْمِ وَلَكِنَّهُ عَلَى سَعَةِ الْكَلَامِ وَالِاخْتِصَارِ. وَإِنْ قَالَ كَمْ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ فَكَذَلِكَ وَإِنْ رَفَعْتَهُ أَجْمَعَ كَانَ عَرَبِيًّا كَثِيرًا. وَيَنْتَصِبُ عَلَى أَنْ تَجْعَلَ كَمْ ظَرْفًا. وَلَيْسَ هَذَا فِي سَعَةِ الْكَلَامِ وَالِاخْتِصَارِ بِأَبْعَدَ مِنْ صَيِّدَ عَلَيْهِ يَوْمَانِ وَوُلِدَ لَهُ سِتُّونَ عَامًا. (س ٢٠) وتقول سير عليه فرسخان يومين لأنك شغلت الفعل بالفرسخين فصار كقولك سير عليه بغيرك يومين. وإن شئت قلت سير عليه فرسخين يومان أيهما رفعته صار الآخر ظرفاً. وإن شئت نصبته على الفعل في سعة الكلام لا على الظرف كما جاز يا ضارب اليوم زيداً (ص ٩٤) أو يا سائر اليوم فرسخين. وتقول صيِّدَ عَلَيْهِ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ عُدْوَةً يَا فَتَى وَإِنْ شِئْتَ جَعَلْتَهُمَا جَمِيعًا ظَرْفًا لِأَنَّكَ كَأَنَّكَ قَلْتَ السَّيْرُ فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ فِي هَذِهِ السَّاعَةِ وَإِنْ شِئْتَ قَلْتَ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ عُدْوَةً كَمَا تَقُولُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ صَبَاحًا

that is to say, *siyra salayhi yawmu ḡal-gumuṣati fiy hāḏihi ḡal-sāṣah* ‘it was walked on, Friday, at this hour’. The meaning was *ḡibtidāḡu ḡal-sayri fiy hāḏihi ḡal-sāṣah* ‘the beginning of the walk at this hour’. An example of that is (L. 5) *mā la ḡiytuhu muḏ yawmu ḡal-gumuṣati sabāḡan* ‘I have not met him since Friday in the morning’ that is *fiy hāḏihi ḡal-sāṣah* ‘at this hour’, but its meaning is *fiy hāḏihi ḡal-sāṣati waḡaṣa ḡal-liḡāḡu* ‘at this hour the meeting occurred’, just as that was in *siyra salayhi yawmu ḡal-gumuṣati yudwata* ‘it was walked on by him Friday at the break of day’. You say *siyra salayhi yawmu ḡal-gumuṣati yudwatu* ‘it was walked on Friday, early morning’ you make *yudwatu* ‘early morning’ a substitute for the day as you say *dʿuriba ḡal-ḡawmu ba ṣdʿuhum* ‘the people were hit, some of them’. You say *ḡidā kāna yadun fa-ḡiniy* ‘if it were tomorrow then come to me’ and *ḡidā kāna yawmu ḡal-gumuṣati fa-ḡlḡaniy* ‘if it were Friday then meet me’. The *fiḡl* ‘action’ is for *yadin* ‘tomorrow’ and *ḡal-yawmi* ‘the day’ as your saying *ḡidā ḡāḡa yadun fa-ḡiniy* ‘if tomorrow were to come then come to me’. If you so wished, you said *ḡidā kāna yadan fa-ḡiniy* ‘if it were tomorrow then come to me’. This is the *luyah* ‘dialect’ of Bani Tamiym. The meaning is that he met a man and he said to him *ḡidā* (L. 10) *kāna mā naḡnuw salayhi mina ḡal-salāmati ḡaw kāna mā naḡnuw salayhi mina ḡal-balāḡi fiy yadin fa-ḡiniy* ‘if what we are about is of peace or what we are about is of woe, tomorrow, then come to me’ but they implied due to shortening, due to frequency of *kāna* in their speech, because the origin is for what has passed and what is to happen. They deleted as they said *ḡiyna ḡidīn ḡal-ḡān* ‘then at this time’. He wants *ḡiyna ḡidīn wasmaḡ ḡilayya ḡal-ḡān* ‘then but listen to me now’. He deleted *wa-ḡismaḡ minniy ḡal-ḡān* ‘then listen to me now’, just as he said *ta-llāhi mā raḡaytu ka-ḡal-yawmi ragulan* ‘by God, I did not see in like a today a man’ that is *ka-ragulin ḡarāhu ḡal-yawma ragulan* ‘I did not see a man like I did today’. Rather, he implied what occurs expressed for purposes *ḡistixḡāfan* ‘of lightening’ and because *ḡal-muxāṣab* ‘addressee’ knows what he means. It followed the status of the example as you say *lā salayka* ‘never mind’ and the *ḡal-muxāṣab* ‘addressee’ knew’ (L. 15) what you mean that *ḡannaka lā baḡsa salayka* ‘that it will bring you no misfortune’ and *lā dʿarra salayka* ‘it will be no harm to you’ but he deleted due to the frequency of this in their speech and this does not occur in other than *lā salayka* ‘not against you’. You may say *ḡidā kāna yadan fa-ḡiniy* ‘if it were tomorrow then come to me’. It is as though he mentioned an event whether inimical or peaceful

أي سيرَ عليه يومَ الجمعة في هذه الساعة وإنما المعنى كان ابتداءَ السير في هذه الساعة ومثلُ ذلك (س ٥) ما لقيته مُذ يومَ الجمعة صَباحاً أي في هذه الساعة وإنما معناه أنه في هذه الساعة وَقَعَ اللِّقَاءُ كما كان ذلك في سيرَ عليه يومَ الجمعة عُدوةً وتقول سيرَ عليه يومَ الجمعة عُدوةً تجعلُ عُدوةً بَدَلًا من اليوم كما تقول ضُربَ القومَ بعضهم وتقول إذا كان غَدٌ فائتني وإذا كان يومَ الجمعة فالقني فالفعل لغدٍ واليوم كقولك إذا جاء غَدٌ فائتني وإن شئت قلت إذا كان غداً فائتني وهي لغة بني تميم والمعنى أنه لقي رجلاً فقال له إذا (س ١٠) كان ما نحن عليه من السَّلَامَةِ أو كان ما نحن عليه من البلاء في غَدٍ فائتني ولكنهم أضمروا استخفافاً لكثرةِ كانَ في كلامهم لأنه الأصل لما مضى وما سيَقَعُ وحذفوا كما قالوا حينئذٍ الآنَ وإنما يريد حينئذٍ واسمَعُ إلى الآنَ فحَدَفَ واسمَعُ مني الآنَ كما قال تالله ما رأيتُ كالْيَوْمِ رجلاً أي كرجلٍ أراه اليومَ رجلاً وإنما أضمر ما كان يقع مظهرًا استخفافاً ولأن المخاطب يعلم ما يعني فجرى بمنزلة المثل كما تقول لا عليك وقد عَرَفَ المخاطبُ (س ١٥) ما تعني أنه لا بأسَ عليك ولا ضَرَّ عليك ولكنه حذف لكثرةِ هذا في كلامهم ولا يكون هذا في غير لا عليك. وقد تقول إذا كان غداً فائتني كأنه ذكر أمراً إمَّا خُصومةً وإمَّا صلحاً

and he said *ʔiḏā kāna ʔadan fa-ʔiniy* ‘if it were tomorrow then come to me’. This is permitted with every *fi ʔ* ‘action’ because you implied after you mentioned it expressly, and from the first is deleted the pronunciation of the expressed. They implied for the purpose of lightening. If you were to say *ʔiḏā kāna ʔal-layla fa-ʔiniy* ‘if it were to be night then come to me’. That is not permitted because *ʔal-layl* can not be a *ʔarf* ‘envelope of time’ unless you mean the whole night as I mentioned to (L. 20) you about frequency. If you were to aim it towards the implication of something that has been mentioned in those terms it is permitted and that is *ʔaxawāt ʔal-layl* ‘sisters of the night’. What can not occur except with *nasʔb* ‘erecting’ is their saying *siyra ʔalayhi saħara* ‘it was walked on at dawn’. What can not occur except that it be a *ʔarf* ‘envelope of time’ because they talk using it in the *rafʔ* raising, *nasʔb* ‘erecting’, the *garr* ‘pulling’ with an *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ saying *hāḏā ʔal-saħaru* ‘this dawn’ and *bi-ʔaʔlā ʔal-saħari* ‘the earliest dawn’ and *ʔinna ʔal-saħara* ‘that the dawn’ is better for you than that the first of the night except that you make it *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ and say *siyra ʔalayhi saħarun mina ʔal-ʔashāri* ‘it was walked on one dawn of the dawns’, because it can not be inflected in the location. Similarly is its *taħgiyr* ‘diminutive’, if you mean *saħara laylatika* ‘dawn of your night’ you say *siyra* (P. 95) *ʔalayhi suħayran* ‘it was walked on at demi-dawn’. And like it is *siyra ʔalayhi dʔuħan* ‘it was walked on in forenoon’ if you meant *dʔuħā yawmika* ‘the forenoon of your day’ because the two of them are not inflected for *garr* ‘pull’ with this meaning. You don’t say *mawʔiduka dʔuħan* ‘your appointment is forenoon’ nor *ʔinda dʔuħan* ‘at forenoon’ nor *mawʔiduka suħayrun* ‘your appointment is demi-dawn’ except that *tansʔib* ‘you erect’. Similar to that is *sʔiyda ʔalayhi sʔabāħan wa masāʔan wa ʔaʔiyyatan wa ʔiṣāʔan* ‘it was hunted in the morning, in the evening, in late evening and in the evening’ if you wanted *ʔiṣāʔa yawmika* ‘late evening of your day’ and *masāʔa laylatika* ‘evening of your night’ because they did not use it with this meaning except as a *ʔarf* ‘envelope of time’. If you were to say *mawʔiduka masāʔun* ‘your appointment is evening’ and *ʔatānā ʔinda ʔiṣāʔin* ‘he came to us at supper’ (L. 5) it is not good/acceptable. And like that is *siyra ʔalayhi ḏāta marratin* ‘it was walked on one time’. It is *nasʔbun* ‘erecting’ nothing is permitted except this. Don’t you see that you don’t say *ʔinna ḏāta marratin kāna mawʔidahum* ‘that one time was their appointment’, nor do you say *ʔinnamā laka ḏātu marratin* ‘that you have once’

فقال إذا كان غداً فائتني فهذا جائزٌ في كلِّ فعلٍ لأنك إنما أضمرت بعد ما ذكرت مظهرًا والأوّل محذوفٌ منه لفظ المظهر وأضمروا استخفافاً فإن قلت إذا كان الليل فائتني لم يجز ذلك لأن الليل لا يكون ظرفاً إلا أن تعني الليل كله على ما ذكرت (س ٢٠) لك من التكثر فإن وجهته على إضمار شيء قد دكر على ذلك الحدّ جاز وذلك أخوات الليل ومما لا يحسن فيه إلا النصب قولهم سير عليه سحر لا يكون فيه إلا أن يكون ظرفاً لأنهم إنما يتكلمون به في الرفع والنصب والجرّ بالألف واللام يقولون هذا السحر وبأعلى السحر وإن السحر خيرٌ لك من أوّل الليل إلا أن تجعله نكرة فتقول سير عليه سحر من الأسحار لأنه يتمكن في الموضوع وكذا تحقيره إذا عنيت سحر ليلتك تقول سير (ص ٩٥) عليه سحيراً ومثله سير عليه ضحى إذا عنيت ضحى يومك لأنهما لا يتمكنان من الجرّ في هذا المعنى لا تقول موعداً ضحى ولا عند ضحى ولا موعداً سحيراً إلا أن تنصب ومثل ذلك صيد عليه صباحاً ومساءً وعشيّة وعشاء إذا أردت عشاء يومك ومساءً ليلتك لأنهم لم يستعملوه على هذا المعنى إلا ظرفاً ولو قلت موعداً مساءً أو أتانا عند عشاء (س ٥) لم يحسن. ومثل ذلك سير عليه ذات مرة نصب لا يجوز إلا هذا ألا ترى أنك لا تقول إن ذات مرة كان موعدهم ولا تقول إنما لك ذات مرة

like you say *ʔinnamā laka yawmun* ‘that you have a day’. Similarly is *ʔinnamā yusāru salayhi bu saydāti baynin* ‘that it is walked on demi-distances in between’, because it has the status of *ḏāti marratin* ‘one time’. An like that is *siyra salayhi bakaran* ‘it was walked on early morning’. Don’t you see that you are not permitted *mawʔiduka bakarun* ‘your appointment is dawn’ nor *muḏ bakarun* ‘since morning’. *ʔal-bakaru* does not have the potential to inflect *yawmika* ‘your day’ just as it does not have the potential of *ḏāta marratin* ‘one time’ and *bu saydāti baynin* ‘demi-distances in between’. Similarly is *dʔaḥwatun fiy yawmika* ‘dawn in your day’ in which you are, follows the course of (L. 10) *saʔiyyati yawmika ʔal-laḏiy ʔanta fiyhi* ‘the evening of your day in which you are’. Similarly is *siyra salayhi ʔatamatan* ‘it was walked on in the dark’ if you wanted the darkness of your night just as you say *sabāḥan, wa masāʔan wa bakaran* ‘in the morning, in the evening and at dawn’. Similarly is *siyra salayhi ḏāta yawmin* ‘it was walked on, in a certain day’ and *siyra salayhi ḏāta laylatin* ‘it was walked on, in a certain night’ having the status of *ḏāta marratin* ‘one time’. Similarly is *siyra salayhi laylan wa nahāran* ‘it was walked by night and day’ if you wanted *layla laylatika* ‘the night of your night’ and *nahāra nahārika* ‘day of your day’, because it is made to follow the course of *siyra salayhi basʔaran* was *siyra salayhi ḏʔalāman* ‘it was walked on visibly and it was walked on in the dark’, unless you want the meaning of *siyra salayhi laylun tʔawiylun wa nahārun tʔawiylun* ‘it was walked on a long night and a long day’. It is, according to that definition, without such a potential to inflect and in this state is with such a potential, just as *ʔal-saḥara* ‘the dawn’ with *ʔalif* (L. 15) and *lām* ‘ʔal-’ is inflectable in the locations that I mentioned but without *ʔalif wa ʔal- lām* ‘ʔal-’ is not inflectable in them. And *ḏuw sʔabāḥin* ‘a certain morning’ has the status of *ḏāta marratin* ‘one time’. You say *siyra salayhi ḏā sʔabāḥin* ‘it was walked on a certain morning’. Yuwnis informed us of that about the Arabs, except that it occurs in the dialect attributed to xaḥam as different from *ḏāti marratin wa ḏāti laylatin* ‘a certain time and a certain night’. As for good Arabic then it has to have its status.

A man from xaḥam said: (wāfir)³¹

كما تقول إنما لك يومٌ وكذلك إنما يُسارُ عليه
بُعِيدَاتِ بَيْنٍ لأنه بمنزلة ذاتِ مرّةٍ ومثل ذلك
سير عليه بكَرًّا ألا ترى أنه لايجوز موعدك
بَكَرًّا ولا مُدُّ بَكَرًّا فالبَكَرُّ لا يَتِمَّكُن في يومك
كما لم يَتِمَّكُن ذاتِ مرّةٍ وبُعِيدَاتِ بَيْنٍ وكذلك
ضَحْوَةٌ في يومك الذي أنت فيه يجري
مجرى (س ١٠) عشيّة يومك الذي أنت فيه
وكذلك سير عليه عَنَمَةٌ إذا أردتَّ عَنَمَةَ ليلتك
كما تقول صباحا ومساءً وبكرًا وكذلك سير
عليه ذاتِ يومٍ وسير عليه ذاتِ ليلةٍ بمنزلة
ذاتِ مرّةٍ وكذلك سير عليه ليلًا ونهارًا إذا
أردتَّ ليلَ ليلتك ونهارَ نهارك لأنه إنما
يُجرى على قولك سير عليه بَصْرًا وسير عليه
ظلامًا إلا أن تريدَ معنى سير عليه ليلٌ
طويلٌ ونهارٌ طويلٌ فهو على ذلك الحدِّ غيرُ
متمكّن وفي هذا الحال متمكّنٌ كما أن السَّحَرَ
بالألف (س ١٥) واللام متصرفٌ في
المواضع التي ذكرتُ وبغيرِ الألف واللام
غيرُ متمكّن فيها وذو صباحٍ بمنزلة ذاتِ
مرّةٍ تقول سير عليه ذا صباحٍ أخبرنا بذلك
يونس عن العرب إلا أنه قد جاء في لغةٍ
لخَنَعَمٍ مفارقا لذاتِ مرّةٍ وذاتِ ليلةٍ وأما
الجيدةُ العربيةُ فإن تكون بمنزلتها وقال رجل
من خَنَعَمٍ: (وافر)

³¹The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa suwlu* (twice).

ʕazamtu ʕalā ʔiġāmati ʔiy sabāhin
Liʕay ʔin mā yusawwadu man yasuwdu

‘I determine to settle down and delay my raid on a certain morning
 For a matter that qualifies the master to be master.’

(L. 20) According to this dialect, *raʕʕ* ‘raising’ is permitted. Of all that we mentioned is not inflectable. If you were to begin with *ʔisman* ‘a name’ it is not permitted that you build it on it and raise except that you make it a *ʔarf* ‘an envelope of time’ and that is in your saying *maw ʕiduka suʕayran* ‘your appointment is at demi-dawn’ and *maw ʕiduka sʕabāhan* ‘your appointment is in the morning’. And like that is *ʔinnahu la-yusāru ʕalayhi sʕabāha masāʔan* ‘that it will be walked on in the morning and evening’. Its meaning is *sʕabāhan wa masāʔan* ‘in the morning and in the evening’ and he does not want in his saying *sʕabāhan wa masāʔan*, *sʕabāhan wāhidan wa masāʔan wāhidan* ‘in the morning and dawn, one morning and one evening’ rather, he wants *sʕabāha* (P. 96) *ʔayyāmihi wa masāʔahā* ‘the morning of his days and their evenings’. So it is not permitted for these *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’ that are not inflectable, derived from the *masʕādir* ‘origins’, that are put in place of the *ʔiyn* ‘time’ and others of the names to follow the course of *yawmi ʔal-gumu ʕati* ‘Friday’ and *xufuwġi ʔal-nagmi* ‘the setting of stars’ and their likes. Of those which are chosen to be *ʔarf* ‘envelope of time’ and *yaġbuḥu* ‘is unacceptable’ that it be other than *ʔarf* ‘envelope of time’ is *sifatu ʔal-ʔaḥyān* ‘a descriptive of events’. You say *siyra ʕalayhi tʕawiyān wa siyra ʕalyhi ḥadiyḥan wa siyra ʕalayhi kaḥiyan wa siyra ʕalyhi ġalilan wa siyra ʕalyhi ġadiyman* ‘it was walked on long and it was walked on recently and it was walked on frequently, it was walked on rarely and it was walked in the past’. It is the case that (L.5) the *sʕifatu ʔal-ʔaḥyān* ‘a descriptive of the events’ is erected for being *ʔarf* ‘an envelope of time’ and *raʕʕ* ‘raising’ is not permitted because the *sʕifah* ‘descriptive’ does not occur in the location of names and it can not be except *ḥālan* ‘circumstance’. His saying *ʔa-lā māʔa wa-law bāridun* ‘O for water even if cold’, because if he said *wa-law ʔatāni bāridun* ‘even if it came to me cold’ is unacceptable. If you were to say *ʔataytuka biġayyidin* ‘I brought you what is good’ it is unacceptable until you say *bi-dirhamin ġayyidin* ‘a good dirham’. And you say *ʔataytuka bihi ġayyidan* ‘I brought you something good’. Just as the *sʕifah* ‘descriptive’ is not strong enough in this except to be *ḥālan* ‘a circumstance’ or related to an *ʔism* ‘a name’.

عَزَمْتُ عَلَى إِقَامَةِ ذِي صَبَاحٍ
 لشيءٍ ما يُسَوِّدُ مَنْ يَسُوِّدُ

(س ٢٠) فهو على هذه اللغة يجوز فيه الرفعُ وجميع ما ذكرنا من غير المتمكّن إذا ابتدأتَ اسماً لم يجز أن تبنيه عليه وترفع إلا أن تجعله ظرفاً وذلك قولك موعِدُكَ سُحَيْرٌ وموعِدُكَ صباحاً ومثل ذلك إنّه لِيُسَارُ عليه صباحَ مساءً إنما معناه صباحاً ومساءً وليس يريد بقوله صباحاً ومساءً صباحاً واحداً ومساءً واحداً ولكنه يريد صباح (ص ٩٦) أيامه ومساءًها فليس يجوز هذه الأسماء التي لم تتمكّن من المصادر التي وُضِعَتْ لِلْحَيْن وغيرها من الأسماء أن تُجْرَى مُجْرَى يَوْم الجمعة وخُفُوق النجم ونحوهما ومما يُخْتَار فيه أن يكون ظرفاً ويقبُحُ أن يكون غيرَ ظرف صفة الأحيان تقول سير عليه طويلاً وسير عليه حديثاً وسير عليه كثيراً وسير عليه قليلاً وسير عليه قديماً وإنما (س ٥) نُصِبَ صفة الأحيان على الظرف ولم يجز الرفعُ لأن الصفة لا تقع مَوَاقِعَ الأسماء كما أنه لا يكون إلا حالاً قوله أَلَمْ يَأْمُرْ بِاللَّذِينَ بَارَدَا لِأَنَّهُ لَوْ قَالَ لَوْ أَنِّي بَارِدٌ كَانَ قَبِيحاً وَلَوْ قُلْتُ أَتَيْتُكَ بِجَيْدٍ كَانَ قَبِيحاً حَتَّى تَقُولَ بِدِرْهِمٍ جَيْدٍ وَتَقُولَ أَتَيْتُكَ بِهِ جَيْدًا فَكَمَا لَا تَقْوَى الصِّفَةُ فِي هَذَا إِلَّا حَالًا أَوْ تُجْرَى عَلَى اسْمٍ

Simialrly, this *s'ifah* 'descriptive' is not permitted to be except *ḏ'arfan* 'envelope of time' or be a name. If you were to say *dahrūn t'awiylun* 'long period' or *ṣayḥun kaḥiyrun ḥaw ḡalilun* 'much or little stuff' it is acceptable and it would be acceptable if you were to say (L. 10) *siyra ṣalyhi ḡariybun* 'it was walked on close by' because you say *laḡiytuhu muḏ ḡaribun* 'I met him a short while ago'. *Nas'b* is good and frequent Arabic. The *s'ifah* 'descriptive may follow the course of *ḥism* 'a name' in their speech. If this were to be the case then it is acceptable. Of those are *ḥabraḡu* 'dazzling' and *ḥabṭ'aḥu* 'flat' and their likes. Of those are *maliyyun mina ḥal-nahāri wa ḥal-layli* 'filled with day and night'. You say *siyra ṣalyhi maliyyun* 'it was walked on fully'. *Nas'b* 'erecting' in this is like the *nas'b* 'erecting in *ḡariybin* 'close'. What proves to you that *s'ifah* 'descriptive is not stronger than this is that if a questioner were to ask you and say *hal siyra ṣalyhi* 'was it walked on?' you would say *naḥam siyra ṣalayhi ṣadiydan wa siyra ṣalayhi ḥasanan* 'yes, it was walked on vigorously and it was walked on nicely.' *Nas'b* 'erecting' in this is due to being *ḥāl* 'circumstance' and that is the *wagh ḥal-kalām* 'surface (L. 15) of speech', because it is the description of *ḥal-sayr* 'walking'. *Raf'f* 'raising' does not occur in it because it does not occur in the location of what was *ḥism* 'a name'. And it is not a *ḏ'arf* 'envelope of time' because it is not *ḥiyn* 'an interval of time' within which something happens, unless you say *siyra ṣalyhi sayrun ḥasanun*. 'it was walked on with a nice walk' or *siyra ṣalyhi sayrun ṣadiydun* 'it was walked on with a vigorous walk'. If you were to say *siyra ṣalyhi t'awiylun mina ḥal-dahri wa ṣadiydun mina ḥal-sayri* 'it was walked on for a length of time and vigor of the walking' you have lengthened and described the speech that would be better and stronger and permissible but does not reach the acceptability of the *ḥasmā?* 'names', but it is permitted when you described and lengthened because it resembled the *ḥasmā?* 'names' because those described are originally *ḥasmā?* 'names'.

كذلك هذه الصفة لا تجوز إلا ظرفاً أو تجري على اسم فإن قلت دهرٌ طويلٌ أو شيءٌ كثيرٌ أو قليلٌ حسنٌ وقد يحسن أن تقول (س ١٠) سير عليه قريبٌ لأنك تقول لقيته مذ قريبٌ والنصب عربيٌ كثيرٌ جيدٌ وربما جرت الصفة في كلامهم مجرى الاسم فإذا كان كذلك حسنٌ فمن ذلك الأبرقُ والأبطحُ وأشباههما ومن ذلك ملىٌ من النهار والليل تقول سير عليه ملىٌ والنصب فيه كالنصب في قريبٍ ومما يبين لك أن الصفة لا يقوى فيها إلا هذا أن سألنا لو سألك فقال هل سير عليه لقلت نعم سير عليه شديداً وسير عليه حسناً فالنصب في ذا على أنه حال وهو وجهٌ (س ١٥) الكلام لأنه وصفُ السير ولا يكون فيه الرفع لأنه لا يقع موقع ما كان اسماً ولم يكن ظرفاً لأنه ليس بحين يقع فيه الأمر إلا أن تقول سير عليه سيرٌ حسنٌ أو سير عليه سيرٌ شديدٌ فإن قلت سير عليه طويلٌ من الدهر وشديدٌ من السير فأطلت الكلام ووصفت كان أحسن وأقوى وجاز ولا يبلغ في الحسن الأسماء وإنما جاز حين وصفت وأطلت لأنه ضارع الأسماء لأن الموصوفة في الأصل الأسماء.

Chapter 45. This is a chapter on what occurs of *ʔal-masʔadir* ‘origins’ *mafʔuwan* ‘acted-upon’ *ʔayartafī su kamā yantasʔibu* ‘it rises just as it erects’ if you were to engage the *ʔiʔl* ‘action’ with it, and *yantasʔibu* ‘it erects’ if you were to engage the *ʔiʔl* ‘action’ with other than it.

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.117-120, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 96-99,
Haruwn vol.1. p. 228-235)

(I. Ch. 45. P. 96. L. 20) Rather that comes about on condition that you prove what kind of *ʔiʔl* ‘action’ you use or (P. 97) by way of *taʔkiydan* ‘confirmation’ and of that is your saying about the saying of a questioner *ʔayyu sayrin siyra ʔalayhi* ‘what kind of walking was it walked on’. So you say *siyra ʔalayhi sayrun ʔadiydan* ‘a vigorous walk was walked on it’ and *dʔuriba bihi dʔarban dʔaʔiyfan* ‘it was struck a weak strike’. You made it follow the course of *mafʔuwl* ‘an acted-upon’ and the *ʔiʔl* ‘action’ is for it. If you were to say *dʔuriba bihi dʔarban dʔaʔiyfan* ‘he was struck a weak stike’ you engaged the action with it. And like it is *siyra ʔalayhi sayran ʔadiydan* ‘a vigorous walk was walked on it’. Similarly, if you were to want this meaning and you don’t mention the *sʔifah* ‘descriptive’, you say *siyra ʔalayhi sayrun* ‘a walk was walked on it’, and *dʔuriba bihi dʔarban* ‘he was struck a strike’ as though you were saying *siyra ʔalayhi* (L. 5) *dʔarban mina ʔal-sayri* ‘a type of walking was walked on it’ and *siyra ʔalayhi ʔayḥun mina ʔal-sayri* ‘a bit of walking was walked on it’. Similarly, all the *masʔadir* ‘origins’ are raised due to their *ʔafʔal* ‘actions’ if they do not engage the *ʔiʔl* ‘action’ with others. You say *siyra ʔalayhi ʔayyumā sayrin sayran ʔadiydan* ‘any kind of walking, a vigorous walk was walked on it’. It is as though you said *siyra ʔalayhi baʔiruka sayran ʔadiydan* ‘your camel was walked on it vigorously’. You say *siyra ʔalayhi sayratāni ʔayyamā sayrin* ‘it was walked on two walks, any kind of walk’. It is as though you said *siyra ʔalayhi baʔiruka ʔayyamā sayrin* ‘your camel was walked on it any kind of walk’. It followed the course of *dʔuriba zadun ʔayyamā dʔarbin* ‘Zaid was struck any kind of strike’ and *dʔuriba ʔamrun dʔarban ʔadiydan* ‘Amr was struck a severe blow’. You say it according to the saying of a questioner *kam dʔarbatan dʔuriba bihi* ‘how many blows was he struck with’? In this, there is no *dʔamiyr* ‘implication’ of a thing except the implication of *kam* ‘how many’ (L. 10) and the *mafʔuwl* ‘acted-upon’ *kam*.

(٤٥) هذا باب ما يكون من المصادر مفعولا

(م ١. ف ٤٥. ص ٩٦. س ٢٠) فَيَرْتَفَعُ
كَمَا يَنْتَصِبُ إِذَا شَغَلَتِ الْفِعْلَ بِهِ وَيَنْتَصِبُ إِذَا
شَغَلَتِ الْفِعْلَ بغيره وَإِنَّمَا يَجِيءُ ذَلِكَ عَلَى أَنْ
تَبَيَّنَ أَيُّ فِعْلٍ فَعَلْتَ أَوْ (ص ٩٧) تَأْكِيداً فَمَنْ
ذَلِكَ قَوْلِكَ عَلَى قَوْلِ السَّائِلِ أَيُّ سَيْرٍ سِيرَ
عَلَيْهِ فَتَقُولُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سَيْرٌ شَدِيدٌ وَضُرِبَ بِهِ
ضَرْبٌ ضَعِيفٌ فَأَجْرِيئُهُ مَفْعُولًا وَالْفِعْلُ لَهُ
فَإِنْ قُلْتَ ضُرِبَ بِهِ ضَرْبًا ضَعِيفًا فَقَدْ شَغَلَتِ
الْفِعْلَ بِهِ وَمِثْلُهُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سَيْرًا شَدِيدًا
وَكَذَلِكَ إِنْ أَرَدْتَ هَذَا الْمَعْنَى وَلَمْ تَذْكُرِ الصِّفَةَ
تَقُولُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سَيْرٌ وَضُرِبَ بِهِ ضَرْبٌ
كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ (س ٥) ضَرْبٌ مِنْ
السَّيْرِ وَسَيْرٌ عَلَيْهِ شَيْءٌ مِنَ السَّيْرِ وَكَذَلِكَ
جَمِيعُ الْمَصَادِرِ تَرْتَفَعُ عَلَى أَفْعَالِهَا إِذَا لَمْ
تَشْغَلِ الْفِعْلَ بغيرها. وَتَقُولُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ أَيُّمَا
سَيْرًا شَدِيدًا وَتَقُولُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سَيْرَتَانِ أَيُّمَا
سَيْرٍ كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ بغيرك أَيُّمَا سَيْرٍ
فَجَرِيٍّ مَجْرِيٍّ ضَرْبَ زَيْدٍ أَيُّمَا ضَرْبٍ
وَضَرْبَ عَمْرٍو ضَرْبًا شَدِيدًا. وَتَقُولُ عَلَى
قَوْلِ السَّائِلِ كَمْ ضَرْبَةً ضُرِبَ بِهِ وَلَيْسَ فِي
هَذَا ضَمِيرُ شَيْءٍ سِوَى إِضْمَارِ كَمْ (س ١٠)
وَالْمَفْعُولُ كَمْ

You say *d'uriba bihi d'arbatāni* 'he was struck two strikes' and *siyra salayhi sayratāni* 'it was walked on two times', because he wanted to show him the count, so he followed the *saṣat ḡal-kalām* 'expansiveness of speech' and the *ḡxtis'ār* 'shortening'. Since the two blows are not struck rather the meaning is *kam d'uriba bi-ḡal-sawf'i* 'how many times was he struck with the whip' with which the striking took place in the number of blows. He answered him according to this meaning but he became expansive and he shortened. Similarly are these *mas'ādir* 'origins' on which their actions worked. They ask about this meaning but he expands and summarizes the one in which the action occurs by way of shortening and expanding. It is known that the *d'arb lā yud'rabu* 'striking is not struck' (L.15). Of that are *siyra salayhi xargatāni* 'it was walked on, two outings' and *siyra salayhi marratāni* 'it was walked on two times' and that is no more remote than your saying *wulida lahu sittuwna ṣāman* 'it was born to him sixty years'. I have heard from some Arabs, whom I trust, saying *busit'a salayhi marratāni* 'it was inflicted on him two times' what he wants is *busit'a salayhi ḡal-ṣaḡābu marratayni* 'torture was inflicted on him two times'. You say *siyra salayhi t'awrāni t'awrun kaḡā wa t'awrun kaḡā* 'it was walked on for two periods, such a period and such a period'. *Nas'b* 'erecting' is very weak when you dualize as in your saying *t'awrun kaḡā wa t'awrun kaḡā*. *nas'b* may occur in this, if you were to imply, and you may say *siyra salayhi marratayni* 'it was walked on two times'. You make it refer to the *dahr* 'epoch' that is a *ḡarf* 'envelope of time'. You say *siyra salayhi t'awrayni* 'it was walked two periods of time' and you say (L. 20) *d'uriba bihi d'arbatayni* 'he was struck two blows' that is *ḡadra d'arbatayni mina ḡal-sāṣat* 'duration of two blows in hours'. Similarly you say *siyra salayhi tarwiyḡatayni* 'it was walked on for two times of rest'. This has to do with the *ḡaḡyān* 'periods of time'. Of that is *ḡuntuḡira bihi naḡra ḡazuwrayn* 'he was waited for slaughter of two slaughterings'. He made it refer to hours like he said *maḡdama ḡal-ḡāḡgi* 'the returning of the pilgrims' and *xufuwḡa ḡal-nagm* 'the setting of stars'. Similarly, he made it a *ḡarf* 'envelope of time'. Raising is permitted in it if you were to engage the *fiḡl* 'action' with it. If you were to make *ḡal-marratayni* 'two times' such and what is like them of walking, you raised and you erect. What comes *tawkiydan* and is erected is his saying *siyra salayhi sayran* 'a walk was walked on it and *ḡunt'uliḡa bihi ḡint'ilāḡan* 'a departure was departed by him' and *d'uriba bihi d'arban* 'a blow he was struck with'.

فتقول ضُربَ به ضَربتان وسير عليه سيرتان لأنه أراد أن يبين له العدة فجرى على سعة الكلام والاختصار وإن كانت الضربتان لا تُضربان فإنما المعنى كم ضُربَ بالسَّوط الذي وقع به الضرب من ضربة فأجابه على هذا المعنى ولكنه اتسع واختصروكذلك هذه المصادر التي عملت فيها أفعالها إنما تسأل عن هذا المعنى ولكنه يتسع ويخزل الذي يقع به الفعل اختصاراً واتساعاً. وقد علم أن الضرب لا يُضرب (س ١٥) ومن ذلك سير عليه خَرَجْتان وسيرَ عليه مرتان وليس ذلك بأبعد من قولك وُلِدَ له ستون عاماً وسمعتُ من أثقُ به من العرب يقول بُسطَ عليه مرتان وإنما يريد بُسطَ عليه العذابُ مرتين وتقول سير عليه طوران طوراً كذا وطوراً كذا والنصبُ ضعيف جداً إذا تئيت كقولك طوراً كذا وطوراً كذا وقد يكون في هذا النصب إذا أضمرت وقد تقول سير عليه مرتين تجعله على الدهر أي ظرفاً وتقول سير عليه طورين وتقول (س ٢٠) ضُربَ به ضَربتين أي قَدَرَ ضَربتين من الساعات كما تقول سير عليه ترويحيتين. فهذا على الأحيان ومثل ذلك انظر به نَحَرَ جَزُورَيْنِ إنما جعله على الساعات كما قال مَقْدَمُ الْحَاجِّ وَخُفُوقَ النَجْمِ فَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلَهُ ظَرْفًا وَقَدْ يَجُوزُ فِيهِ الرِّفْعُ إِذَا شَغَلَتْ بِهِ الْفِعْلُ وَإِنْ جَعَلْتَ الْمَرَّتَيْنِ وَمَا أَشْبَهَهُمَا مِثْلَ السَّيْرِ رَفَعْتَ وَنَصَبْتَ إِذَا أَضْمَرْتَ. ومما يجيء توكيداً ويُنصَبُ قوله سيرَ عليه سيرا وانطلقَ به انطلاقاً وضُربَ به ضرباً

It is erected under two modalities, one of them is that it is (P. 98) *ḥāl* ‘a circumstance’ by the definition of your saying *ḍuhiba bihi mašyan* ‘he was taken away walking’ as *ḥāl* ‘circumstance’ and *ḡutila bihi sʿabran* ‘he was killed with it patiently’. If you describe it according to this definition, it is still *nasʿban* ‘erecting’. You say *siyra bihi sayran ṣaniyfan* ‘he was taken away walking violently’ just as you say *ḍuhiba bihi mašyan ṣaniyfan* ‘he was taken away walking violently’. If you so wished you erected it on account of an implication of another action and it becomes a substitute for the *lafḏ* ‘pronunciation’ of the *fiʿl* ‘action’. So you say *siyra ṣalayhi sayran* ‘it was walked on by way of walking’ and *dʿuriba bihi dʿarban* ‘he was struck with a blow’. It is as though you said after you have said *siyra ṣalayhi* ‘it was walked on’ and *dʿuriba bihi* ‘he was struck with’ *yasiyruwn sayran* ‘they walk the walk’ and *yadʿribuwna* (L. 5) *dʿarban* ‘they strike a blow’ and *yantʿaliḡuwna ṣintʿilāḡan* ‘they depart by way of leaving’ but the *masʿdar* became a substitute for the expression of the *fiʿl* ‘action’ like *yadʿribuwna* ‘they are striking’ and *yantʿaliḡuwna* ‘they are departing’. It followed the course of his saying *ṣinnamā ṣanta sayran sayran* ‘as for you, walking and walking’ on the model of his saying *ṣal-ḥaḍara ṣal-ḥaḍara* ‘the warning the warning/beware beware’. If you so wished, you said on the model of this meaning *siyra ṣalayhi ṣal-sayra* ‘the walk was walked on it’ and *dʿuriba bihi ṣal-dʿarban* ‘he was struck a blow’. It is permitted on the model of *ṣal-ḥaḍara ṣal-ḥaḍara* ‘the warning the warning/beware beware’ and what occurs with *ṣalif wa ṣal-lām* ‘ṣal-‘ like *ṣal-ṣirāk* ‘the fighting’. It was a substitute for the pronunciation of the action and it is good and elegant Arabic. Like it is *siyra ṣalayhi sayra ṣal-bariydi* ‘it was walked on the walking of the mail’. If you were to describe in this circumstance, the description does not change it, just as the (L 10) description does not change what is *ḥāl* ‘circumstance’ nor is it permitted that you introduce the *ṣalif wa ṣal-lām* ‘ṣal-‘ to *ṣal-sayr* ‘the walking’ if it were *ḥālan* ‘a circumstance’ just as it is not permitted to say *ḍuhiba bihi ṣal-mašya ṣal-ṣaniyfa* ‘he was taken away with the violent walk’ and you want to make it *ḥālan* ‘a circumstance’ *ṣal-rāʿiy* said: (Basiyt)³²

فِيُصَبُّ عَلَى وَجْهَيْنِ أَحَدُهُمَا عَلَى (ص)
 (٩٨) أَنَّهُ حَالٌ عَلَى حَدِّ قَوْلِكَ دُهِبَ بِهِ مَشْيًا
 حَالٌ وَقُتِلَ بِهِ صَبْرًا. وَإِنْ وَصَفْتَهُ عَلَى هَذَا
 الْحَدِّ كَانَ نَصْبًا تَقُولُ سِيرًا بِهِ سِيرًا عَنِيفًا كَمَا
 تَقُولُ دُهِبَ بِهِ مَشْيًا عَنِيفًا وَإِنْ شِئْتَ نَصَبْتَهُ
 عَلَى إِضْمَارِ فِعْلِ آخَرَ وَيَكُونُ بَدَلًا مِنَ اللَّفْظِ
 بِالْفِعْلِ فَتَقُولُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سِيرًا وَضُرِبَ بِهِ
 ضَرْبًا كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ بَعْدَ مَا قُلْتَ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ
 وَضُرِبَ بِهِ يَسِيرُونَ سِيرًا وَيَضْرِبُونَ (س)
 (٥) ضَرْبًا وَيَنْطَلِقُونَ انْطِلَاقًا وَلَكِنَّهُ صَارَ
 الْمَصْدَرُ بَدَلًا مِنَ اللَّفْظِ بِالْفِعْلِ نَحْوَ يَضْرِبُونَ
 وَيَنْطَلِقُونَ وَجَرَى عَلَى قَوْلِهِ إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ سِيرًا
 سِيرًا وَعَلَى قَوْلِهِ الْحَدْرَ الْحَدْرَ وَإِنْ أَنْتَ قُلْتَ
 عَلَى هَذَا الْمَعْنَى سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّيْرَ وَضُرِبَ بِهِ
 الضَّرْبَ جازَ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ الْحَدْرَ الْحَدْرَ وَعَلَى
 مَا جَاءَ فِيهِ الْأَلْفُ وَاللَّامُ نَحْوَ الْعِرَاكِ وَكَانَ
 بَدَلًا مِنَ اللَّفْظِ بِالْفِعْلِ وَهُوَ عَرَبِيٌّ جَيِّدٌ حَسَنٌ
 وَمِثْلُهُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سَيْرَ الْبَرِيدِ وَإِنْ وَصَفْتَ
 عَلَى هَذِهِ الْحَالِ لَمْ يُغَيَّرْهُ الْوَصْفُ كَمَا لَمْ
 يَغَيَّرْ (س ١٠) الْوَصْفُ مَا كَانَ حَالًا وَلَا
 يَجُوزُ أَنْ تُدْخَلَ الْأَلْفُ وَاللَّامُ فِي السَّيْرِ إِذَا
 كَانَ حَالًا كَمَا لَمْ يَجْزِ أَنْ تَقُولَ دُهِبَ بِهِ
 الْمَشْيَ الْعَنِيفَ وَأَنْتَ تَرِيدُ أَنْ تَجْعَلَهُ حَالًا قَالَ
 الرَّاعِي: (بَسِيْط)

³²The meter of *basiyt*^f is: *mustafīlun fāfīlun* (four times).

*Naḏḏ'āratan ḥiyna taḥlu ḡal-šamsu rākibahā
t'arḥan bi-šaynay layāḥin fiyhi taḥdiydu*

'On the lookout when the sun hits mid day, she
came over

'Casting with eyes of a wild bull having sharp sight.'

He confirmed by his saying *t'arḥan* 'casting' and tightened because he knows the addressee when he said *naḏḏ'āratan ḡannhā tat'raḥ* 'on the lookout that the she-camel casts'. If you so wished, you said *siyra šalayhi ḡal-sayru* 'the walk was walked on it' just as you said *siyra šalayhi sayrun šadiydun* 'a violent walk was walked on it'. If you were to describe it, it would be stronger and clearer just as (L. 15) it was in his saying *siyra šalayhi laylun t'awilun wa nahārun t'awiylun* 'it was walked on a long night and a long day'. And all that is a substitute of the pronunciation of the *fiḥ* 'action', except based on an action that has operated on *ḡism* 'a name' because you do not pronounce the *fiḥ* 'action' empty. From there it does not have *raḡḡ* 'raising' in their speech because what operates on it is a substitute for its pronunciation but it has become as though it were a *fiḥ* 'action' that was pronounced, so what operates on it is primarily what has the status of pronouncing it. And of what has the *raḡḡ* 'raising' a priority is the *mas'ādir* 'origins' because it is meant by it that it be in the location of other than *mas'dar* 'origin' is his saying *ḡad xiyya xawfun* 'a fear was feared' and *ḡad ḡiyla fiy ḡālika (L.20) ḡawlun* 'a saying on that was said'. What he intended was *ḡad xiyya minhu ḡamrun ḡaw šayḡun* 'an issue or something by him was feared' and *ḡad ḡiyla fiy ḡālika xayrun ḡaw šarrun* 'either good or evil was said about that'. An like this in meaning is *kān minhu kawnun* 'there was in him existence' that is to say *kāna min ḡālika ḡamrun* 'there was an issue in that'. If you were to relate to what you related *ḡal-sayra* 'the walking' and *ḡal-d'arba* 'the hitting' in confirming that it is *ḡālan* 'a circumstance', the *fiḥ* 'action' occurred in, or a substitute for the expression with the *fiḥ* 'action', you erected. (P. 99). And if *ḡal-maḡḡalu* is a *mas'dar* 'origin' it is made to follow the course of what we mentioned of *ḡal-d'arb* and *ḡal-sayr* 'the striking and the walking' and the rest of the *mas'ādir* 'origins' which we have mentioned, and that is in your saying *ḡinna fiy ḡalfi dirhamin la-mad'raban* 'that in one thousand dinars is a hitting'. If you were to say of it *d'uriba bihi d'arban* 'he was hit with striking' you said *d'uriba bihi mad'raban* 'he was hit with striking' and if you raise one you raise the other. And similar to that is

نظارة حين تَعْلُو الشمسُ رَاكِبَهَا
طَرَحًا بَعَيْنِي لِيَا ح فِيهِ تَحْدِيدُ

فَأَكَّدَ بِقَوْلِهِ طَرَحًا وَشَدَّدَ لِأَنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ الْمُخَاطَبُ
حِينَ قَالَ نَظَارَةً أَنَّهُا تَطْرَحُ وَإِنْ شَتَّتْ قَلْتُ
سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّيْرُ كَمَا قَلْتُ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ سَيْرٌ
شَدِيدٌ وَإِنْ وَصَفْتَهُ كَانَ أَقْوَى وَأَبِينَ (س)
١٥) كَمَا كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي قَوْلِهِ سِيرَ عَلَيْهِ لَيْلٌ
طَوِيلٌ وَنَهَارٌ طَوِيلٌ وَجَمِيعٌ مَا يَكُونُ بَدَلًا مِنْ
الْفِعْلِ بِالْفِعْلِ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا عَلَى فِعْلٍ قَدْ عَمَلَ
فِي اسْمٍ لِأَنَّكَ لَا تَلْفُظُ بِالْفِعْلِ فَارْعًا فَمَنْ تَمَّ لَمْ
يَكُنْ فِيهِ الرِّفْعُ فِي كَلَامِهِمْ لِأَنَّهُ إِنَّمَا يَعْمَلُ فِيهِ
مَا هُوَ بَدَلٌ مِنَ الْفِعْلِ بِهِ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ صَارَ كَأَنَّهُ فِعْلٌ
قَدْ لُفِظَ بِهِ فَأَوْلَى مَا هُوَ يَمْنُزِلُهُ الْفِعْلُ بِهِ وَمَا
يَسْبِقُ فِيهِ الرِّفْعُ مِنَ الْمَصَادِرِ لِأَنَّهُ يَرَادُ بِهِ
أَنْ يَكُونَ فِي مَوْضِعٍ غَيْرِ الْمَصْدَرِ قَوْلُهُ قَدْ
خِيفَ خَوْفٌ وَقَدْ قِيلَ فِي ذَلِكَ (س) ٢٠) قَوْلُ
إِنَّمَا يَرِيدُ قَدْ خِيفَ مِنْهُ أَمْرٌ أَوْ شَيْءٌ وَقَدْ قِيلَ
فِي ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ أَوْ شَرٌّ وَمِثْلُ هَذَا فِي الْمَعْنَى
كَانَ مِنْهُ كَوْنٌ أَوْ كَانَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَمْرٌ وَإِنْ
حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى مَا حَمَلْتِ عَلَيْهِ السَّيْرَ وَالضَّرْبَ
فِي التَّوَكِيدِ حَالًا وَقَعَ فِيهِ الْفِعْلُ أَوْ بَدَلًا مِنْ
الْفِعْلِ بِالْفِعْلِ نَصَبْتُ (ص) ٩٩) وَإِذَا كَانَ
الْمَفْعَلُ مَصْدَرًا أُجْرِي مَجْرَى مَا ذَكَرْنَا مِنْ
الضَّرْبِ وَالسَّيْرِ وَسَائِرِ الْمَصَادِرِ الَّتِي ذَكَرْنَا
وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ إِنَّ فِي أَلْفِ دَرَاهِمٍ لِمَضْرَبًا فَإِذَا
قَلْتُ ضَرَبَ بِهِ ضَرْبًا قَلْتُ ضَرْبَ بِهِ مَضْرَبًا
وَإِنْ رَفَعْتَ رَفَعْتَ وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ

surriḥa bihi musarraḥan ‘it was let out to roam freely’ that is *tasriyḥan* ‘by way of dismissal’. *ḷal-musarraḥu* ‘the one set free’ and the *tasriyḥu* ‘by way of dismissal’ have the status of *ḷal-dʿarb* ‘the striking’ and *ḷal-madrab* ‘the place of striking’. gariyr said: (wāfir)³³ (L. 5)

ḷa-lam taḷlam musarraḥiya ḷal-Ḡawāfiy
Falā ḥiyyan bihinna wa-lā ḥiḡtilābā

‘Don’t you know my freedom with the rhymes
There is no anxiety in composing them nor
borrowing.’

That is: *tasriyḥ ḷal-Ḡawāfiy* ‘my freedom with rhymes’. Similarly, *ḷal-maḥsʿiyyatu* ‘rebellion’ follows the course of *ḷal-ḥiḡyān* ‘rebelling’ and for *ḷal-mawḡidah* ‘feeling’ with the status of the *maḥsʿdar* if *ḷal-waḡdu* ‘feeling’ is spoken of. The poet, who is ḥibn ḥabiy ḥaḡmar said: (tʿawiyl)³⁴

Tadārakna ḥayyan min numayri bni ḡāmirin
ḥusārā tusāmu ḷal-ḡulla Ḡatlan wa-maḥḡrabā

‘My horses reached the tribe of Numayr bin Amir
Prisoners tasting the humiliation and killing of war’.

If you were to say *ḡuhiba bihi maḡḡhabun* ‘he was led into a doctrine’ or *sulika bihi maslakun* ‘he was led into a path’ you raised because the *maḡḡsal* here does not have the status of (L. 10) *ḷal-ḡahāb* ‘going’ and *ḷal-suluwk* ‘seeking’, rather it is the *wagh* ‘surface form’ which is followed and the place which is gone to. It has the status of your saying *ḡuhiba bihi ḷal-suwḡu* ‘he was taken to the market place’ and *sulika bihi ḷal-tʿariyḡu* ‘he was guided on the road’. Similarly *ḷal-maḡḡsal* if it is *ḥiyyan* ‘a time’. Like their saying *ḷatati ḷal-nāḡatu ḡalā maḡrabihā* ‘the she-camel came to its pasture’ that is *ḡalā zamāni dʿirābihā* ‘at the time of its pasturing’. Similarly is *mabḡaḡu ḷal-guyuwḡi* ‘the dispatch of the armies’. You say *siyra ḡalayhi mabḡaḡu ḷal-guyuwḡi wa maḡrabu ḷal-ḡawli* ‘it was walked on the dispatch of armies and a field of milk-dry camels?’ ḥumay bin ḡawr said: (tʿawiyl)³⁵

Wa mā ḥiya ḡillāfiy ḡizārin wa ḡilḡatin
Muyāra ḡbni ḡammāmin ḡalā ḡayyiy xaḡḡamā

‘She was dressed in a short dress
When Ibn Hammam invaded xaḡḡam tribe’

He made *muyāran* ‘invasion’ a time and it is *ḡarf* ‘envelope of time’.

سُرِّحَ بِهِ مُسَرِّحًا أَي تَسْرِيحًا فَالْمُسَرِّحُ
والتسريحُ بمنزلة الضرب والمضرب قال
جرير: (وافر) (س ٥)

ألم تعلم مسرّحي القوافي
فلا عيًّا بهنّ ولا اجتلابًا

أي تسريحي القوافي وكذلك تجري المعصية
مجرى العصيان والموجدة بمنزلة المصدر
لو كان الوجدُ يُتكلّم به قال الشاعر وهو ابن
أحمر: (طويل)

تداركنَ حيًّا من ثمير بن عامر
أسارى نسام الدلّ قتلاً ومحرَبًا

فإن قلت ذهبَ به مذهبٌ أو سُلِّكَ به مَسَلِكٌ
رفعتَ لأن المفعَلَ ههنا ليس بمنزلة الذَّهابِ
والسُّلوكِ وإنما هو الوجه الذي يُسَلِّكُ فيه
والمكان الذي يُذْهَبُ إليه وإنما هو بمنزلة
قولك ذُهِبَ به السُّوقُ وسُلِّكَ به الطريقُ
وكذلك المفعَلُ إذا كان حيناً نحو قولهم أتتِ
الناقةُ على مَضْرِبِهَا أي على زمان ضِرابِها
وكذلك مَبَعَثُ الجيوشِ تقول سيرَ عليه مَبَعَثُ
الجيوشِ ومَضْرَبُ السُّوْلِ قال حُمَيْدُ بن ثَوْرٍ:
(طويل)

وما هي إلا في إزارٍ وعَلْقَةٍ
مُغَارَ بنِ هَمَّامٍ على حَيٍّ خَنَعَمًا

(س ١٥) فصيرَ مُغَارًا وَقَتًا وهو ظرفٌ.

³³The meter of wāfir is: *mufāḡalatun mufāḡalatun fa ḡuwlun* (twice).

³⁴The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa ḡuwlun maḡḡḡiylun* (four times).

³⁵The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faḡuwlun maḡḡḡiylun* (four times).