

An Analytical Translation of the Book  
*al-Luma' fi al-Nahw* "Flashes on Syntax" IV

Salman Al-Ani & Adulhamid Gadoua  
Indiana University

In the name of God, the Most Beneficent,  
the Most Merciful

May God make it easy and help me<sup>1</sup>

Abū al-Fath 'Uthmān Ibn Jinnī, May God Most  
High have mercy upon him and forgive him, said:

### 51- Plural ['al-jam']

If the noun fits the [fa'l] model, in which the first consonant is followed by *fatha* and the second consonant is not flowed by a vowel and it is not the glides /w/ or /y/, its paucity plural form [jam' 'al-qillah] will be the ['af'ul] model, and its abundant plural form [jam' 'al-kathrah] will be the [fi'āl] as well as [fu'ūl] models, such as "dog(s)" [kalb: 'aklub] and "ankle(s)" [ka'b: 'ak'ub] in paucity plural, and "dog(s)" [kalb: kilāb] and "ankle(s)" [ka'b: ku'ūb] in the abundant plural.

The paucity plural is used from three to ten and abundant plural is used for more than that.

If the trilateral noun does not fit the [fa'l] model, its broken plural form [jam' taksīr] will be the ['af'āl] model, such as "pen(s)" [qalam: 'aqlām], "mountain(s)" [jabal: 'ajbāl], "liver(s)" [kabit: 'akbād], "back(s)" [ajuz: 'a'jāz], "tooth/teeth" [dīrs: 'adrās], "rib(s)" [dil: 'adlā'], "camel(s)" [ibil: 'ābāl], "robe(s)" [burd: 'abrād], "hank(s)" [tunub: 'atnāb], and "quarter(s)" [ruba': 'arbā']".

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

رَبِّ يَسِّرْ وَأَعِزِّ

قَالَ أَبُو الْفَتْحِ عَثْمَانُ بْنُ جِنِّي رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ وَعَفَا عَنْهُ:

### ٥١- باب الجمع

أ. جمع فَعْلٌ: إذا كان الاسم على فعل مفتوح الفاء ساكن العين ولم تكن عينه واوا ولا ياء فجمعه في القلة على أَفْعُلٌ، وفي الكثرة على فِعَالٌ وفُعُولٌ، وذلك قولك: كَلْبٌ وَأَكْلُبٌ، وَكَعْبٌ وَأَكْعُبٌ، وفي الكثرة: كِلَابٌ وَكُعُوبٌ.

ب. جمع القلة والكثرة: وجمع القلة ما بين الثلاثة إلى العشرة، وجمع الكثرة ما فوق ذلك.

ج. جمع الثلاثي غير فَعْلٌ: فإن كان الاسم الثلاثي على غير مثال فَعْلٌ كسرته في القلة على أفعال، وذلك نحو: قَلَمٌ وَأَقْلَامٌ، وَجَبَلٌ وَأَجْبَالٌ، وَكَبِدٌ وَأَكْبَادٌ، وَعَجْزٌ وَأَعْجَازٌ، وَضِرْسٌ وَأَضْرَاسٌ، وَضِلْعٌ وَأَضْلَاعٌ، وَإِبِلٌ وَأَبَالٌ، وَبُرُودٌ وَأَبْرَادٌ، وَطُنْبٌ وَأَطْنَابٌ، وَرُزْجٌ وَأَرْبَاعٌ،

The same thing is true if the second consonant is the glides /w/ or /y/, such as “whip(s)” [sawt: 'aswāt] and “house(s)” [bayt: 'abyāt].

The abundant broken plural forms will be the model [fi'āl] or [fu'ūl] such as “mountain(s)” [jabal: jibāl], “trace(s)” [talal: tulūl], “liver(s)” [kabid: kubūd], “tooth/teeth” [dīrs: ḍurūs], “rib(s)” [dīl': ḍulū'], “robe(s)” [burd: burūd], “high land(s)” [jumd: jimād], and “quarter(s)” [ruba': ribā'].

The plural form of the [fu'al] model goes beyond that to the [fi'lān] model such as “small bird(s)” [nughar: nighrān], “rat(s)” [juraḍ: jirḍān], “beetle(s)” [ju'al: ji'lān], “bird(s)” [ṣurud: ṣirdān].

The nouns whose second consonant is /w/ or /y/ will be pluralized on the [af'āl] paucity model, such as “dress(es)” [thawb: 'athwāb] and “house(s)” [bayt: 'abyāt]; and on [fi'āl] or [fu'ūl] abundant models, such as “dress(es)” [thawb: thiyāb] and “house(s)” [bayt: buyūt]. The nouns whose second consonant is /w/ will be pluralized on [fi'āl] and whose second consonant is /y/ will be pluralized on [fu'ūl].

The plural forms of the trilateral nouns may also overlap as this number of forms covers them all, such as “nestling(s)” [farkh: 'afrākh], “brachium/brachia” [zind: 'znād], “mountain(s)” [jabal: 'ajbul], and “time(s)” [zaman: 'azmun]. The poet, Dhū 'al-Rimmah, said:

'a-manzilatay Mayyin salāmun 'alaykumā  
hali l-'azmunu l-lā'ī maḍayna rawāji 'u

“Peace be upon you, the two abodes of Meiy  
Will the times that had passed come back?”

وكذلك إن كانت عين فعل معتلة واوا أو ياء، وذلك  
نحو: سَوَوطٌ وَأَسْوَاطٌ، وَيَيْتٌ وَأَيْبَاتٌ.

د. جمع الثلاثي غير فَعْلٍ جمع كثرة: فإذا صرت إلى  
الكثرة كسرت ذلك كله على فِعَالٍ أو فَعُولٍ، وذلك  
نحو: جَبَلٌ وَجِبَالٌ، وَطَلَلٌ وَطُلُولٌ، وَكَبِدٌ وَكُبُودٌ،  
وَضُرْسٌ وَضُرُوسٌ، وَضِلْعٌ وَضُلُوعٌ، وَبُرْدٌ وَبُرُودٌ  
وَبِرَادٌ، وَجُمْدٌ وَجِمَادٌ، وَرَبْعٌ وَرِبَاعٌ.

هـ. جمع فَعَلٍ: وقد اتسع في فَعْلٍ فجمع على فِعْلَانٍ،  
وذلك نحو: نُغْرٌ وَنُغْرَانٌ، وَجُرْدٌ وَجِرْدَانٌ، وَجُعَلٌ  
وَجِعْلَانٌ، وَصُرْدٌ وَصِرْدَانٌ.

و. جمع فَعْلٍ معتل العين: فإن كانت عين فَعْلٍ معتلة  
واوا أو ياء كسر في القلة على أفعال، نحو: ثَوْبٌ  
وَأَثْوَابٌ، وَيَيْتٌ وَأَيْبَاتٌ. فإذا صرت إلى الكثرة كسرت  
ذلك كله على فِعَالٍ وفُعُولٍ، نحو: ثَوْبٌ وَثِيَابٌ، وَيَيْتٌ  
وَيُيُوتٌ. تختص ما عينه واو بـ فِعَالٍ وما عينه ياء بـ  
فُعُولٍ.

ز. تداخل الجموع: وقد تتداخل جموع الثلاثي من  
حيث كان هذا العدد منتظماً لجميعها وذلك نحو: فَرَخٌ  
وأفراخ، وزِنْدٌ وأزناد، وَجَبَلٌ وأجبل، وَزَمَنٌ وأزمن.

قال ذو الرمة: (الطويل)

أَمَنْزِلَتَيْ مَيِّ سَلَامٍ عَلَيَكُمَا

هَلِ الْأَزْمُنُ اللَّائِي مَضَيْنَ رَوَاجِعُ

The same thing is applied to the following forms: “rib(s)” [*dil*: ‘*aḍlu*’], “wolf/wolves” [*ḍi*: ‘*b: aḍ’ub*’], “tooth/teeth” [*ḍirs*: ‘*aḍrus*’], “lock(s)” [*qufl*: ‘*aqful*’], and “liver(s)” [*kabid*: ‘*akbud*’].

Some of that may be restricted to the plural of paucity and some to the plural of abundance and it does not go beyond that, such as “foot/feet” [*rijl*: ‘*arjul*’] in addition to “ear(s)” [*uḍn*: ‘*āḍān*’] and “pen(s)” [*qalam*: ‘*aqālam*’]. It has been also said: “predators” [*sibā*] and “men” [*rijāl*], restrictively.

When the noun fits the models of [*fa’āl*, *fi’āl*, *fu’āl*, *fa’īl*, or *fu’ūl*], its broken paucity plural form will be [*af’ila*] and its broken abundant plural forms will be [*fi’lān*, *fu’lān*, or *fu’ul*], such as “donkey(s)” [*ḥimār*: ‘*aḥmira*’], “robe(s)” [*ridā*: ‘*ardiya*’], “answer(s)” [*jawāb*: ‘*ajwiba*’], “acre(s)” [*faddān*: ‘*afdina*’], “baby camel(s)” [*ḥuwār*: ‘*aḥwira*’], “crow(s)” [*ghurāb*: ‘*aghriba*’], “valley(s)” [*jarīb*: ‘*ajriba*’], “weighing unit(s)” [*qafīz*: ‘*aqfiza*’], “pillar(s)” [*amūd*: ‘*a’mida*’], and “lamb(s)” [*kharūf*: ‘*akhrifa*’]. As for the broken abundant plural, examples are “donkey(s)” [*ḥimār*: *humur*], “occiput(s)” [*qaḍāl*: *quḍul*], “gazelle(s)” [*ghazāl*: *ghuzlān*], “crow(s)” [*ghurāb*: *ghirbān*], “rod(s)” [*qaḍīb*: *quḍbān*], “dune(s)” [*kathīb*: *kuthbān*], and male “goat(s)” [*atūd*: ‘*itdān*’].

If the noun fits the [*fā’il*] model, its broken plural will be the [*fawā’il*] model, such as “wither(s)” [*ghārib*: *ghawārib*], “back(s)” [*kāhil*: *kawāhil*], proper name [*Khālid*: *Khawālid*], and proper name [*Hātīm*: *Hawātim*]. It can also be the [*fu’lān*] model, such as “rider(s)” [*rākib*: *rukḅān*] and “friend(s)” [*ṣāḥib*: *ṣuḥḅān*].

ونحو، ضِلْعٌ وَأَضْلَعٌ، وَذَيْبٌ وَأَذْوَبٌ، وَضِرْسٌ وَأَضْرَسٌ، وَقُفْلٌ وَأَقْفَلٌ، وَكَيْدٌ وَأَكْبَدٌ.

وربما اقتصر في بعض ذلك على جمع القلة، وفي بعضه على جمع الكثرة، وذلك نحو: رَجُلٌ وَأَرْجُلٌ، ولم يتجاوزوا ذلك، وَأُذُنٌ وَأَذَانٌ، وَقَلَمٌ وَأَقْلَامٌ. وقالوا سِبَاعٌ وَرِجَالٌ فاقتصروا عليهما.

جمع الرباعي وثالته حرف مدّ: فَإِنْ كَانَ الْاسْمُ عَلَى فَعَالٍ أَوْ فِعَالٍ أَوْ فُعَالٍ أَوْ فَعِيلٍ أَوْ فُعُولٍ كُسرٍ فِي الْقِلَّةِ عَلَى أَفْعَلَةٍ، وَفِي الْكَثْرَةِ عَلَى فِعْلَانٍ أَوْ فُعْلَانٍ أَوْ فُعُلٍ، وَذَلِكَ نَحْوُ: حِمَارٌ وَأَحْمَرَةٌ، وَرِدَاءٌ وَأَرْدِيَّةٌ، وَجَوَابٌ وَأَجُوبَةٌ، وَفَدَّانٌ وَأَفْدَنَةٌ، وَحُورٌ وَأَحُورَةٌ، وَغُرَابٌ وَأَغْرَبَةٌ، وَجَرِيبٌ وَأَجْرِبَةٌ، وَقَفِيزٌ وَأَقْفِزَةٌ، وَعَمُودٌ وَأَعْمَدَةٌ، وَخُرُوفٌ وَأَخْرَفَةٌ. وَأَمَّا الْكَثْرَةُ، فَنَحْوُ: حِمَارٌ وَحُمُرٌ، وَقُدَالٌ وَقُذُلٌ، وَغَزَالٌ وَغُزْلَانٌ، وَغُرَابٌ وَغُرَبَانٌ، وَقَضِيبٌ وَقُضْبَانٌ، وَكُثِيبٌ وَكُثْبَانٌ، وَعَتُودٌ وَعِتْدَانٌ.

ح. جمع فاعِلٍ: فَإِنْ كَانَ فَاعِلًا كُسرٍ عَلَى فَوَاعِلٍ، نَحْوُ: غَارِبٌ وَغَوَارِبٌ، وَكَاهِلٌ وَكَوَاهِلٌ، وَخَالِدٌ وَخَوَالِدٌ، وَحَاتِمٌ وَحَوَاتِمٌ. وَقَدْ جَاءَ عَلَى فُعْلَانٍ، نَحْوُ: رَاكِبٌ وَرُكْبَانٌ، وَصَاحِبٌ وَصُحْبَانٌ.

If the noun is quadriliteral [*rubā'ī*], its broken plural form will be the [*mafā'il*] model, such as “scorpion(s)” [*'aqrab: 'aqārib*], “claw(s)” [*burthun: barāthin*], “accessory(s)” [*zibrij: zabārij*], “ornament” [*sibaṭr: sabāṭir*], “dime(s)” [*dirham: darāhim*], and “big man/men” [*jukhdub: jakhādib*].

The same thing is applied to the nouns that are appended [*mulḥaqa*] to the quadriliteral nouns, such as “core(s)” [*jawhar: jawāir*], “wise man/men” [*ṣayraf: ṣayārif*], “beetle(s)” [*khunfus: khanāfis*], “creek(s)” [*jadwal: jadāwil*], “dust” [*ithyar: athāyir*], “sand tree(s)” [*'arīā: 'arāṭin*], “rough land(s)” [*hiḍriya: ḥadārā*], and “tuft(s)” [*'unṣuwa: 'anāṣin*].

If the noun is quinqueliteral [*khumāsī*], its final consonant will be omitted in the broken plural form because the broken plural model is already maximized before reaching five consonants. Examples of that are “quince(s)” [*safarjal: safārij*], “old lady(s)” [*jaḥmarish: jaḥāmir*], and “rag(s)” [*qirṭa'b: qarāṭi*].

If the singular form contains an augmentative segment, you may need to omit it wherever it may be, unless it is in the fourth position and is one of the long vowels /ā/, /ī/, and /ū/. Therefore, in forming the broken plural of “a roller” [*mudahrij*], you may say “rollers” [*dahārij*], omitting the /m/ because it is augmentative. Similar to this is applied to “generous man/men” [*samayda': samādi*] and “tough man/men” [*fadawkas: fadākis*], omitting the /y/ and /w/, respectively. Furthermore, the same thing is applied to the 'alif of [*'udāfir*] “something tough and tense.” If you make it plural, you may say [*'adāfir*].

In nouns whose fourth position is occupied by any of the long vowels /ā/, /ī/, and /ū/, you may say: “soft land(s)” [*sirdāh: sarādih*], “key(s)” [*miftāh: mafātih*], “bad man/men” [*shinzīr: shanāzīr*], “obsessed with perfume” [*mi'tīr: ma'āṭīr*], “light shoe(s)” [*jurmūq: jarāmīq*], and “male eagle(s)” [*ya'qūb: ya'āqīb*], changing the /ā/ and /ū/ into /ī/, because they are long vowels preceded by /i/, *kasra*.

ط. جمع الرباعي: فإن كان الاسم رباعياً كُسر على مثال مفاعِل؛ أي مثال كان، نحو: عَقْرَبٌ وَعَقَارِبٌ، وَبُرْثُنٌ وَبِرَاثِنٌ، وَزَبْرِجٌ وَزَبَارِجٌ، وَسَبْطُرٌ وَسَبَاطِرٌ، وَدِرْهَمٌ وَدِرَاهِمٌ، وَجُخْدَبٌ وَجَخَادِبٌ.

ي. جمع الملحق بالرباعي: وكذلك ما كان ملحوقاً بالأربعة، نحو: جَوْهَرٌ وَجَوَاهِرٌ وَصَيْرَفٌ وَصَيَارِفٌ، وَخُنْفُسٌ وَخَنَافِسٌ، وَجَدُولٌ وَجَدَاوِلٌ، وَعَثِيرٌ وَعَثَائِرٌ، وَأَرْطَى وَأَرَاطٍ وَحَذْرِيَّةٌ وَحَذَارَى، وَعُنْصُوَةٌ وَعَنْصَاوِسٌ.

ك. جمع الخماسي: فإن كان الاسم خماسياً وكسرتة حذفت آخر حروفه لتناهي مثال التكسير دونه، وذلك نحو: سَفَرَجَلٌ وَسَفَارِجٌ، وَجَحْمَرِشٌ وَجَحَامِرٌ، وَقِرْطَعبٌ وَقِرَاطِعبٌ.

فإن كان فيه زائد حذفته أين كان إلا أن يكون رابعه ألفاً أو واواً أو ياءاً. تقول في تكسير مدحرج دحارج وتحذف الميم لأنها زائدة. وكذلك سَمَيْدَعٌ وَفَدَوُكْسٌ، تقول: سَمَادِعٌ وَفَدَاكِسٌ فتحذف الياء والواو. وكذلك أَلْفٌ عُدَافِرٌ.

وتقول فيما رابعه ألف أو واو أو ياء نحو: سِرْدَاحٌ وَسَرَادِيحٌ، وَمِفْتَاحٌ وَمِفْتَاحِيحٌ، وَشَنْظِيرٌ وَشَنْظَائِرٌ، وَمِعْطِيرٌ وَمِعْطَائِرٌ، وَجُرْمُوقٌ وَجَرَامِيقٌ، وَيَعْقُوبٌ وَيَعَاقِيبٌ، تَقْلِبُ الْأَلْفَ وَالْوَاوِ يَاءً لِسُكُونِهَا وَإِنْ كَسَّرَ مَا قَبْلَهَا.

If there are two equal augmentative segments, you have the choice to omit any of them, saying: “full of anger” [*ḥabanṭā: ḥabāṭin*] if you choose to omit the /n/ and [*ḥabāniṭ*] if you choose to omit the final 'alif, and the same thing is applied to “strong and brave” [*sarandā: sarādin, sarānid*].

If one of the two augmentative segments has significance and the other does not, you need to omit the one that does not have significance maintaining the one with significance. It is as you say: “place(s) where one washes” [*mughtasal: maghāsīl*], omitting the /t/ because it does not have significance, and maintaining the /m/ because it has significance. Similarly, you may say: “being cut off” [*munqaṭi': maqāṭi'*], omitting the /n/ only.

If there are two augmentative segments and if you omit one of them, it will entail the omitting of the other, but if you omit the other one you do not have to omit the first one, in this case, you need to omit the one that does not entail the omitting of the other, such as in “old lady” [*aydamūz*], “beautiful woman” [*aytamūz*], and “strong female camel” [*aysajūr*]. In these two nouns both the glide /y/ and the long back vowel /ū/ are augmentative, and if you omit the long back vowel /ū/ you will have to omit the glide /y/, but if you omit the glide /y/ you will not have to omit the long back vowel /ū/, saying: “old ladies” [*aḍāmīz*], “beautiful women” [*aytāmīz*], and “strong female camels” [*asājūr*].

If the noun contains the feminine mark /h/ and fits the [*fa'lah*] model, its plural form will be suffixed by the 'alif and /t/, and the second consonant is followed by the *fatha*, such as “scabbard(s)” [*jaḥnah: jafanāt*] and “big bowl(s)” [*qaṣ'ah: qaṣa'āt*]. If the noun fitting the [*fa'lah*] model is adjective, there will not be *fatha* after the second consonant such as “difficulty(s)” [*ṣa'bah: ṣa'bāt*] and “woman/women with thick legs” [*khadlah: khadlāt*].

فإن كان فيه زائدتان متساويتان كنت في حذف أيهما شئت مخيراً، تقول: في حَبَنْطَى فيمن حذف النون حَبَاطٍ وفيمن حذف الألف حَبَايَظُ وكذلك في سَرَنْدَى سَرَادٍ وسَرَانِد.

فإن كانت إحدى الزائدتين معنى والأخرى لغير معنى حذف التي لغير معنى وأقررت التي لمعنى، تقول: في تكسير مُغْتَسَلٍ مَغَايِلٍ تحذف التاء لأنها لغير معنى وتقر الميم لأنها لمعنى. وكذلك مُنْقَطِعٌ، تقول: مَقَاطِعٍ تحذف النون لا غير.

فإن كانت فيه زائدتان متى حذفتهما لزمك حذف الأخرى معها ومتى حذف صاحبتهما لم تضطر إلى حذف الأخرى حذف التي تأمن مع حذفها حذف صاحبتهما، وذلك نحو: عَيْضَمُوز، وَعَيْطَمُوس، وَعَيْسَجُور. فالياء والواو فيه زائدتان فإن حذف الواو لزمك حذف الياء وإن حذف الياء لم يلزمك حذف الواو، فتقول: عَضَامِيْز، وَعَطَامِيْس، وَعَسَاجِيْر لا غير.

جمع فَعْلَةٌ: فإن كان في الاسم هاء التانيث فكان على فَعْلَةٌ فجمعته بالألف والتاء حركت العين بالفتح، وذلك نحو: جَفْنَةٌ وجَفَنَات، وَقَصْعَةٌ وَقَصْعَات. فإن كانت فَعْلَةٌ وصفا لم تحرك عينها نحو: صَعْبَةٌ وصَعْبَات وَخَدْلَةٌ وَخَدْلَات،

If the second consonant is a glide or a geminate consonant [*mudgham*] there will not be a short vowel after that, such as “walnut(s)” [*jawzah: jawzāt*], “egg(s)” [*baydah: baydāt*], “basket(s)” [*sallah: sallāt*], and fire pit(s)” [*mallah: mallāt*]. If you wish to make that form a broken plural form, it will be on the [*fi’āl*] model, such as “scabbards” [*jifān*], “big bowls” [*qiṣā’*], “baskets” [*silāl*], “difficulties” [*ṣi’āb*], “gardens” [*riyād*], and “women with thick legs” [*khidāl*].

If the noun fits the [*fu’lah*] model, its plural form will be of three choices: [*fu’ulāt*] with *damma*, [*fu’alāt*], with *fatha*, and [*fu’lāt*], with no vowel after the second consonant. It is as you say: “chamber(s)” [*ghurfah: ghurufāt, ghurafāt, ghurfāt*], “room(s)” [*ḥujrah: ḥujurāt, ḥujarāt, ḥujrāt*]. A poet said:

*Fa-lammā ra’awnā bādiyan rukabātunā  
‘alā mawṭinin lā nakhliṭu l-jidda bi-l-hazli*

“When they saw us with our horses obviously seen  
On a place where we do not mix serious  
matters with silly matters.

Likewise, [*fi’lah*] model has three feminine plural forms: [*fi’ilāt, fi’alāt, and fi’lāt*]. Examples of that are “rhamnus (es)” [*sidrah: sidirāt, sidarāt, sidrāt*] and “fragment(s)” [*kisrah: kisirāt, kisarāt, kistrāt*].

If you wish to make it on the broken plural forms, the [*fu’lah*] model will be on the [*fu’al*] model and [*fi’lah*] will be on the [*fi’al*] model, such as “darkness” [*zulmah: zulam*] and “fragment(s)” [*kisrah: kisar*].

As for the epithetic noun, its broken plural form is not strong in the analogy [*‘al-qiyās*] yet; it occurs in the same way as in the pure nouns, since it is a noun. If you come across that, it will be treated in the same way mentioned above.

فإن كانت العين معتلة أو مُدغمة أقررتها على سكونها،  
وذلك نحو: جَوْزَةٌ وَجَوَزَاتٌ، وَيَيْضَةٌ وَيَيْضَاتٌ، وَسَلَّةٌ  
وَسَلَّاتٌ، وَمَلَّةٌ وَمَلَّاتٌ. فإذا كسرتها جاءت على فعال،  
نحو: جِفَانٌ، وَقِصَاعٌ وَسِلَالٌ، وَصِعَابٌ، وَخِدَالٌ.

ل. جمع فُعْلَةٌ: فإن كان الاسم على فُعْلَةٌ جازت فيه  
فُعْلَاتٌ بالضم وفُعْلَاتٌ بالفتح وفُعْلَاتٌ بالسكون،  
وذلك نحو: عُرْفَةٌ وَعُرْفَاتٌ وَعُرْفَاتٌ وَعُرْفَاتٌ،  
وَحُجْرَةٌ وَحُجْرَاتٌ وَحُجْرَاتٌ وَحُجْرَاتٌ. قال  
الشاعر: (الطويل)

فَلَمَّا رَأَوْنَا بَادِيًا رُكْبَاتُنَا

عَلَى مَوْطِنٍ لَا نَخْلِطُ الْجِدَّ بِالْهَزْلِ

م. جمع فِعْلَةٌ: وكذلك فِعْلَةٌ يَجُوزُ فِيهَا فِعْلَاتٌ وَفِعْلَاتٌ  
وَفِعْلَاتٌ، وذلك نحو: سِدْرَةٌ وَسِدْرَاتٌ وَسِدْرَاتٌ وَسِدْرَاتٌ  
وَسِدْرَاتٌ، وَكِسْرَةٌ وَكِسْرَاتٌ وَكِسْرَاتٌ وَكِسْرَاتٌ.

فإن كسرتها جاءت فُعْلَةٌ على فُعْلٍ وَفِعْلَةٌ على فِعْلٍ،  
وذلك نحو: ظُلْمَةٌ وَظُلْمٌ، وَكِسْرَةٌ وَكِسْرٌ.

وأما الصفة، فإن تكسيرها ليس بقوي في القياس على  
أنه قد جاء ذلك فيها نحواً من مجيئه في الأسماء لأنها  
أسماء. فإذا مر ذلك بك فقد قدمت ذكره.

Nonetheless, there have been some nouns that do not fit the plural analogy such as “night(s)” [*laylah: layāli*], “similarity(s)” [*shibh: mashābih*], “need(s)” [*ḥājah: ḥawā’ij*], “mention(s)” [*ḍikr: maḍākīr*]; and “dam(s)” [*sadd: ’asiddah*].

س. جموع غير قياسية: وقد شذت ألفاظ من الجمع  
عن القياس، قالوا: لَيْلَةٌ وَلَيَالٍ، وَشِبْهُ وَمَشَابِهِ، وَحَاجَةٌ  
وَخَوَائِجٌ، وَذِكْرٌ وَمَذَاكِيرٌ، وَسَدٌّ وَأَسَدَّةٌ.

**52- Oath Expression [*'al-qasam*]**

Know that oath [*'al-qasam*] is a type of predication [*'al-khabar*] stated in order to confirm another predicate, and the particles used in oath are three: /b/, /w/, and /t/. The particle /b/ is the original particle, the particle /w/ is a substitute for the particle /b/, and the particle /t/ is a substitute for the particle /w/.

The particle /b/ occurs in all oath expressions whether it is explicit or implicit. The explicit expression is as you say: “by Allah I will get up” [*bi-l-lāhi la-'aqūmanna*] and the implicit expression is as you say: “by Him I will leave” [*bihi la-'anṭaliqanna*]. Abū Zayd recited:

*'a-lā nādat 'Umāmatu bi-ḥtimāli  
li-taḥzunāni fa-lā bi-ki mā 'ubālī*

“Did not 'Umāmatu call with a burden  
To sadden me? I swear by you that I do not care”

The particle /w/ occurs only in the explicit expression such as “by Allah I will go” [*wa-l-lāhi la-'aḏhabanna*] and “by your father I will leave” [*wa'abīka la-'anṭaliqanna*].

The particle /t/ occurs only when the name of Almighty Allah is used in oath expressions. It is as you say: “by Allah I will mount” [*ta-l-lāhi la-'arkabanna*]. Almighty Allah said: “And by Allah, I will surely plan against your idols” [*wa-ta-l-lāhi la-'akīdanna 'aṣnāmakum*]. The underlying expression of all that is “I swear by Allah” [*aḥlifu bi-l-lāhi* and *'uqsimu bi-l-lāhi*], in which the verb is omitted by virtue of lightening in most of the cases. If you omit the oath particle, you need to assign the accusative case to the noun that follows the omitted particle, by virtue of the underlying verb. It is as you say: “by Allah I will go” [*al-lāhi la-'aḏhabanna*] and “by your father I will get up” [*'abāka la-'aqūmanna*]. The poet 'Imru'u 'al-Qays said:

*Fa-qālat yamīna l-lāhi mā laka ḥīlatun  
wa-mā 'in 'arā 'anka l-ghiwāyata tanjalī*

“She said, God's oath, there's no way to dissuade  
you

And I don't see the veil lift from your error”

**٥٢- باب القسم**

اعلم أن القسم ضرب من الخبر يذكر ليؤكد به خبر  
آخر، والحروف التي يصل بها القسم إلى المقسم به  
ثلاثة: وهي الباء والواو والتاء. فالباء هي الأصل  
والواو بدل منها والتاء بدل من الواو.

١. الباء: والباء تدخل كل مقسم به ظاهراً كان أو  
مضمراً. فالمظهر نحو قولك: بالله لأقومن، والمضممر  
نحو قولك: به لأنطلقن. أنشد أبو زيد: (الوافر)

ألا نادت أمانةً باحتمال

لتحزني فلا بك ما أبالي

٢. الواو: والواو تدخل على المظهر دون المضممر، تقول:  
والله لأذهبن وأبيك لأنطلقن.

٣. التاء: والتاء تدخل على اسم الله وحده، تقول: تالله  
لأركبن. قال الله سبحانه: {وتالله لأكيدن أصنامكم}.  
والأصل في هذا كله أحلف بالله وأقسم بالله فحذف  
الفعل تخفيفاً في أكثر الأمر. فإن حذف حرف القسم  
نصبت الاسم بعده بالفعل المقدر، تقول: الله لأذهبن،  
أباك لأقومن. قال امرؤ القيس: (الطويل)

فقالَت يمينَ الله ما لك حيلةٌ

وما إن أرى عنك الغواية تنجلي



Some Arabs assign the genitive case to the name of Almighty Allah, omitting only the oath particle saying: “by Allah I will get up [*‘al-lāhi la-‘aqūmanna*] and that is due to the high frequency of using this name.

You may also say: “Oh, by Allah this” [*‘ayy ha-l-lāhi ḏā*] assigning the genitive case to the noun by virtue of /*ha-*/ because it becomes a substitute for the /*w*/. Likewise, in the interrogation expression “by Allah will you go [*‘ā-l-lāhi la-taḏhabanna?*], the interrogation particle, the glottal stop /*ʔ*/, becomes a substitute for the /*w*/ causing the noun to be in the genitive case. You may also say using the interjection expression [*ta‘ajjub*] “for Allah will I get up!” [*li-l-lāhi la-‘aqūmanna!*] as well as “from my Lord will I go!” [*min rabbī la-‘aḏhabanna!*].

The particles used in oath complement are four: “that” [*inna*] and “indeed” /*l*/, which are used for positive expression [*‘ijāb*] and “not” [*mā*] as well as [*lā*], which are used for negative expression [*naḥy*]. It is as you say: “by Allah you are getting up” [*wa-l-lāhi ‘innaka qā‘imun*], “by Allah you will get up” [*wa-l-lāhi la-taqūmanna*], “by Allah he got up” [*wa-l-lāhi laqad qāma*], “by Allah Zayd is better than Amr” [*wa-l-lāhi la-zaydun ‘afḍalu min ‘amrin*], “by Allah he did not get up” [*wa-l-lāhi mā qāma*], “by Allah he does not get up” [*wa-l-lāhi mā yaqūmu*], and “by Allah he won’t get up” [*wa-l-lāhi lā yaqūmu*]. You may also omit [*lā*] in the same expression, as the poet ‘Imru’u ‘al-Qays said:

*Fa-qultu yamīna l-lāhi ‘abraḥu qā‘idan*  
*wa-law qaṭa ‘ū ra ‘sī ladayki wa-‘awṣālī*

“I said: by Allah I quit settling down  
Even if they cut off my head and limbs”

He meant “I never quit” [*lā ‘abraḥu*].

The Arabs used the sentence that is composed of a subject and a predicate as oath expressions saying: “by your life I will get up” [*la-‘amruka la-‘aqūmanna*] and “by Allah I will go” [*la-‘ymunu l-lāhi la-‘aḏhabanna*]. The noun [*amru*] is assigned a nominative case by virtue of initiating the expression and the predicate is omitted;

ومن العرب من يجر اسم الله تعالى وحده مع حذف حرف الجر، فيقول: اللهُ لِأَقْوَمَنَّ وَذَلِكَ لِكثْرَةِ اسْتِعْمَالِهِمْ هَذَا الْاسْمِ.

وتقول: أَيُّ هَا اللهُ ذَا فَتَجْرُ الْاسْمَ بِهَا لِأَنَّهَا صَارَتْ بَدَلًا مِنَ الْوَاوِ. وَكَذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمْ فِي الْاسْتِفْهَامِ اللهُ لَنْذَهَبَنَّ صَارَتْ هَمْزَةُ الْاسْتِفْهَامِ عَوْضًا مِنَ الْوَاوِ وَجَرَّتْ الْاسْمِ. وَتَقُولُ فِي التَّعْجِبِ: اللهُ لِأَقْوَمَنَّ، وَتَقُولُ: مِنْ رَبِّي لِأَذْهَبَنَّ.

والحروف التي يُجَابُ بِهَا الْقِسْمِ أَرْبَعَةٌ: وَهِيَ إِنْ وَاللَّامُ وَكِلَاهُمَا لِلْإِيجَابِ، وَمَا وَلَا وَكِلَاهُمَا لِلنَّفْيِ. تَقُولُ: وَاللهُ إِنَّكَ قَائِمٌ، وَاللهُ لَتَقْوَمَنَّ، وَاللهُ لَقَدْ قَامَ، وَاللهُ لَزَيْدٌ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو، وَتَقُولُ: وَاللهُ مَا قَامَ، وَاللهُ لَا يَقُومُ. وَرَبَّهَا حَذَفَتْ لِأَنَّهَا هِيَ مُرَادَةٌ، قَالَ أَمْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ: (الطويل)

فَقُلْتُ يَمِينُ اللهِ أَبْرَحُ قَاعِدًا  
وَلَوْ قَطَعُوا رَأْسِي لَدَيْكَ وَأَوْصَالِي

أي: لا أبرح قاعدا.

وقد عقدت العرب جملة القسم من المبتدأ والخبر كما عقدتها من الفعل والفاعل، فقالت: لَعَمْرُكَ لِأَقْوَمَنَّ وَلَا يَمِينُ اللهُ لِأَذْهَبَنَّ، فَعَمْرُكَ مَرْفُوعٌ بِالْإِبْتِدَاءِ وَخَبْرُهُ مَحذُوفٌ،

its underlying expression is “your life is what I swear by” [*la-’amruka mā ’ahlifu bihi*]. The clause “I will surely get up” [*la-’aqūanna*] is not the predicate of the subject, but it is the complement of the oath. The same thing is applied to the expression “by Allah” [*la-’ymunu l-lāhi*]. A poet said:

*Fa-qāla farīqu l-qawmi lammā nashadtuhum*  
*na’am wa-farīqun laymunu l-lāhi mā nadrī*

“When I besought them, some said: yes, and some said: by Allah we do not know”

If you omit the particle /l/ you need to assign the accusative case to the noun as mentioned above saying: “by your life I won’t get up” [*’amruka lā qumtu*] and “by you I won’t leave” [*’aymunaka la-nṭalaqtu*].

والتقدير: لعمرك ما أحلفُ به. وقولك لأقومنَّ جواب القسم وليس بخبر المبتدأ ولكن صار طول الكلام بجواب القسم عوضاً من خبر المبتدأ. وكذلك القول في: لأيمن الله. قال الشاعر: (الطويل)

فَقَالَ فَرِيْقُ الْقَوْمِ لَمَّا نَشَدْتُهُمْ

نَعَمَ وَفَرِيْقٌ لَيْمُنُ اللهُ مَا نَدْرِي

فإن حذف اللام نصبت على ما تقدم فقلت: عَمْرُكَ لَا قُمْتُ وَأَيْمُنَكَ لَا انْطَلَقْتُ.

### 53- The Relative Word and the Relative Clause [*'al-mawṣūl wa ṣ-ṣilah*]

The relative pronouns are of two types: nouns and particles. The nouns are “who (sg.m)” [*'allaḍī*] and “who (sg.f)” [*'allatī*]. Their dual forms are [*'allaḍāni*] (dl.m) as well as [*'allatāni*] (dl.f) in the nominative case, and [*'allaḍayni*] (dl.m) as well as [*'allatayni*] (dl.f) in the accusative and genitive cases. The plural form of [*'allaḍī*] is [*'allaḍīna*] (pl.m) in all cases and [*'al-'ulā*], the plural forms of [*'allatī*] are [*'allātī*, *'allā'ī*, or *'allā'*] (pl.f), and the plural of [*'allaḍī*] is [*'allawātī*]. There are also words that carry the meaning of [*'allaḍī*] (who sg.m) and [*'allatī*] (who sg.f) as well as the meaning of their dual and plural forms, and these words are: “who/whom” [*man*], “what” [*mā*], “anyone/anything” [*'ayyu*], and “that” [*'al*].

Know that the meaning of these nouns are completed only when they are connected to relative clauses that specify them and make them clear, either complete sentences or adverbial phrases. In addition, there are other conditions: there must be a pronoun whose antecedent is the relative word; it is ungrammatical for the relative clause to occur before the relative word; it is ungrammatical to separate between the clause and the relative word with irrelevant element; the relative clause must be declarative [*khabariyyah*] subject to truth conditions of true and false concepts; and the relative noun, as well as whatever occurs before it, cannot be assigned a case by virtue of the relative clause. It is as you say: “who whose brothers got up is Zayd” [*'allaḍī qāma 'akhawāhu Zaydun*], “who whose brother is Zayd is your brother” [*'allaḍī 'akhūhu Zaydun 'akhūka*], “I passed by the one who is in the house” [*marartu bi-llaḍī fi d-dāri*]. The underlying structure is “I passed by the one who stayed in the house” [*marartu bi-llaḍī staqarra fi d-dāri*]” where the verb is omitted and replaced by the adverb to which the pronoun transmitted.

You may also say: “the one whose slave is Zayd came to me” [*jā'anī man ghulāmuhu Zaydun*], “I saw what you saw” [*ra'aytu mā ra'aytahu*], and “I looked at the one whose brother is getting up” [*naḍartu 'ila l-qā'imi 'akhūhu*]. The underlying structure of [*'al*] is [*'al-laḍī*]. In addition, you may say:

### ٥٣- باب الموصول والصلة

الكلم الموصولة على ضربين: اسم وحرف. فالأسماء الموصولة الذي والتي وتثنيتهما اللذان واللتان، وفي الجر والنصب اللذين واللتين وجمع الذي الذين بالياء في كل حال والألى وجمع التي اللاتي واللآئي واللاء وجمع اللاتي اللواتي. ومن وما وأي والألف واللام في معنى الذي والتي وتثنيتهما وجمعهما.

واعلم أن هذه الأسماء لا تتم معانيها إلا بصلات توضّحها وتخصّصها ولا تكون صلاتها إلا الجمل أو الظروف، ولا بد في الصلة من ضمير يعود إلى الموصول، ولا يجوز تقديم الصلة ولا شيء منها على الموصول، ولا يجوز الفصل بين الصلة والموصول بالأجنبي، ولا تكون الصلة إلا جملة خبرية تحتمل الصدق والكذب، ولا تعمل الصلة في الموصول ولا في شيء قبله، تقول: الذي قام أخواه زيد، والذي أخوه زيد أخوك، ومررت بالذي في الدار، والتقدير: مررت بالذي استقر في الدار فحذف الفعل وأقيم الظرف مقامه وانتقل إليه ضميره.

وتقول: جاءني من غلامه زيد، ورأيت ما رأيته ونظرت إلى القائم أخوه؛ أي: الذي قام أخوه،

“I was astonished by the one whose sister is sitting down” [*'ajibtu mina l-jālisati 'ukhtuhu*]. The underlying structure of [*'al*] is [*'al-laḏī*]. Almighty Allah said: “Our Lord, take us out of this city whose people is oppressive” [*rabbānā 'akhrijnā min hādhihi l-qaryati z-zālimi 'ahluhā*]. The underlying structure of [*'al*] is [*'al-latī*]. You may also say: “I will hit anyone whose friend got up” [*la-'adribanna 'ayyuhum qāma šāhibuhu*]. The underlying structure of [*'ayyu*] is [*'al-laḏī*].

If the pronoun embedded in the relative clause is in the accusative case and it is connected to the verb, it is possible to be omitted because of lengthening. It is as you say: “I talked to whom you talked to” [*kallamtu l-laḏī kallamta*]. The underlying structure of [*kallamta*] is “I talked to him” [*kallamtahu*] where the pronoun “him [h]” is omitted due to lengthening. If the /h/ is separated from the verb, it is not possible to be omitted; it is as you say: “the one whom I passed by is Zayd” [*'allaḏī marartu bihi Zaydun*]. You may not say: “the one whom I passed is Zayd” [*'allaḏī marartu Zaydun*], because the pronoun /h/ is separated from the verb and connected to the preposition /b/. If you say: “I hit whom Hind got up” [*ḍarabtu l-laḏī qāmat Hindu*], it will be ungrammatical because there is no pronoun in the clause whose antecedent is the relative word. But if you add “at his place” [*indahū*], “with him” [*ma'ahu*], or any similar thing, it will be grammatical because the pronoun, embedded in the relative clause, refers to the relative word.

If you say “I hit whose with a whip brother is Ja'far” [*ḍarabtu l-latī sawṭan 'akhūhā Ja'farun*], it will be ungrammatical because you separate between the relative word and its relative clause by the word “whip” [*sawṭ*] which is irrelevant. But it will be grammatical to say: “I hit whose brother is Ja'far with a whip” [*ḍarabtu l-latī 'akhūhā Ja'farun sawṭan*], “I hit with a whip whose Ja'far is her brother” [*ḍarabtu sawṭan 'allatī Ja'farun 'akhūhā*], or “with a whip I hit whose brother is Ja'far” [*sawṭan ḍarabtu l-latī 'akhūhā Ja'farun*]; all of that is grammatical. But if you say “a whip I passed by the one I hit” [*sawṭan marartu bi-llaḏī ḍarabtuhu*], it will be ungrammatical because you place the word “whip” [*sawṭ*] before the relative clause thereby the accusative case is assigned to the word [*sawṭ*].

وَعَجِبْتُ مِنَ الْجَالِسَةِ أُخْتِهِ؛ أَي: الَّذِي جَلَسَتْ أُخْتَهُ.  
قَالَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ: {رَبَّنَا أَخْرِجْنَا مِنْ هَذِهِ الْقَرْيَةِ الظَّالِمِ  
أَهْلُهَا.}؛ أَي: الَّتِي ظَلَمَ أَهْلُهَا، وَتَقُول: لِأَضْرِبَنَّ أَيَّهِمْ  
قَامَ صَاحِبُهُ؛ أَي: الَّذِي قَامَ صَاحِبُهُ.

فَإِنْ كَانَ الضَّمِيرُ فِي الصَّلَةِ مَنْصُوبًا مُتَّصِلًا بِالفِعْلِ جَازٍ  
حَذَفَهُ جَوَازًا حَسَنًا لَطُولِ الكَلَامِ، تَقُول: كَلَّمْتُ الَّذِي  
كَلَّمْتَهُ؛ أَي: الَّذِي كَلَّمْتَهُ، حَذَفْتَ الهَاءَ لَطُولِ الاسْمِ،  
فَإِنْ انْفَصَلَتْ لَمْ يَجْزِ حَذْفُهَا، تَقُول: الَّذِي مَرَرْتُ بِهِ  
زَيْدٌ، وَ لَا تَقُول: الَّذِي مَرَرْتُ زَيْدٌ لِانْفِصَالِ الضَّمِيرِ  
مِنَ الفِعْلِ وَاتِّصَالِهِ بِالبَاءِ. وَلَوْ قُلْتَ ضَرَبْتُ الَّذِي  
قَامَتْ هِنْدٌ لَمْ يَجْزِ لِأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِي الجُمْلَةِ ضَمِيرٌ يَعودُ عَلَى  
المَوْصُولِ مِنْ صِلَتِهِ، فَإِنْ قُلْتَ عِنْدَهُ أَوْ مَعَهُ أَوْ نَحْوِ  
ذَلِكَ، صَحَّتِ المَسْأَلَةُ لَعودِ الضَّمِيرِ مِنَ الصَّلَةِ.

وَلَوْ قُلْتَ ضَرَبْتُ الَّتِي سَوَّطًا أَخُوها جَعْفَرٌ لَمْ يَجْزِ لِأَنَّكَ  
فَصَلْتَ بِالسَّوْطِ وَهُوَ أَجْنَبِي بَيْنَ الصَّلَةِ وَالمَوْصُولِ.  
وَصَحَّتِ المَسْأَلَةُ أَنْ تَقُول: ضَرَبْتُ الَّتِي أَخُوها جَعْفَرٌ  
سَوَّطًا، أَوْ ضَرَبْتُ سَوَّطًا الَّتِي أَخُوها جَعْفَرٌ، أَوْ سَوَّطًا  
ضَرَبْتُ الَّتِي أَخُوها جَعْفَرٌ كُلَّ ذَلِكَ جَائِزٌ. وَلَكِنْ لَوْ  
قُلْتَ سَوَّطًا مَرَرْتُ بِالَّذِي ضَرَبْتَهُ لَمْ يَجْزِ لِأَنَّكَ قَدَمْتَ  
السَّوْطَ وَهُوَ مَنْصُوبٌ بِهَا فِي الصَّلَةِ عَلَى المَوْصُولِ.

If you say “to me came the one did his slave get up?” [*jā’ani l-laḍī hal qāma ghulāmuhu?*], it will be ungrammatical because interrogation expression is not subject to truth conditions of true and false, and for that reason it cannot be a relative clause. The same thing is true in the cases of command [*’amr*] as well as prohibition [*nahy*].

Likewise, if you say: “that is on Friday Zayd” [*’allaḍī yawma ’al-jumu’ati Zaydun*], it will be ungrammatical because adverbs of time cannot be relative clauses for tangible nouns [*juthath*] nor can be predicates for them. However, you may say: “I was astonished by getting up on Friday” [*’ajibtu mina l-qiyāmi l-laḍī yawma l-jumu’ati*] because adverbs of time can be relative clauses for events as they can be predicate for them.

You may say: “I hit whom his slave got up Zayd” [*ḍarabtu l-laḍī qāma ghulāmu-hu Zaydun/ Zaydan/ Zaydin*]. In the first case, which is the nominative case, *Zaydun* is a substitute for *ghulāmu*; in the second case, which is the accusative case, it is a substitute for the relative word *’allaḍī*; and in the third case, which is the genitive case, it is a substitute for the pronoun /h/ in *ghulāmu-hu*. The poet ’al-Farazdaq said:

*’alā hālatin law ’anna fi l-qawmi Ḥātiman*  
*’alā jūdihi la-ḍanna bi-l-mā’i Ḥātimi*

“In a condition even if Ḥātīm<sup>2</sup> had been among the people,  
Despite his generosity, he would have grudged them with water

He made the noun *Ḥātimi* in the genitive case, because it is a substitute for the /h/ in the phrase “his generosity” [*jūdihi*].

Know that whenever an adjective [*ṣifah*], corroboration [*tawkīd*], substitution [*badal*], and conjunction [*’atf*] are referred to the relative noun; they indicate its completion and termination. It is grammatical to say “I passed by those who are hitting Zayd (who are) witty” [*marartu bi-ḍ-ḍāribayni Zaydan ’az-ẓarīfayni*], but if you say: “I passed by

<sup>2</sup> Ḥātīm is the symbol of great generosity in classical Arabic literature.

ولو قلت جاءني الذي هل قام غلامه لم يجوز لأن الاستفهام لا يدخله صدق ولا كذب فلذلك لا يكون صلة، وكذلك الأمر والنهي.

وكذلك لو قلت: الذي يوم الجمعة زيد لم يجوز لأن ظروف الزمان لا تكون صلوات للجثث، كما لا تكون أخبارا عن الجثث ولكن تقول: عجبت من القيام الذي يوم الجمعة لأن ظروف الزمان تكون صلوات للأحداث كما تكون أخبارا عنها.

وتقول: صربت الذي قام غلامه زيد، وإن شئت زيدا وإن شئت زيدا. أما الرفع فعلى أن يكون زيد بدلًا من الغلام والنصب على أن يكون بدلًا من الذي، وإذا جررت جعلته بدلًا من الهاء في غلامه، قال الفرزدق:  
(الطويل)

على حالة لو أن في القوم حاتمًا  
على جوده لضمن بالماء حاتم

جر حاتمًا لأنه بدل من الهاء في جوده.

واعلم أن الصفة والتوكيد والبدل والعطف إذا جرى واحد منها على الاسم الموصول آذن بتامه وانقضائه، تقول: مررت بالصاربين زيدا الظرفيين، ولو قلت مررت

those who are hitting (who are) witty Zayd” [*marartu bi-d-dāribayni z-zarīfayni Zaydan*], it will be ungrammatical, because you may not modify the relative noun of which a part remains. You also say: “I passed by those who are hitting Zayd all together” [*marartu bi-d-dāribīna Zaydan ‘ajma’īna*]. It is grammatical to say “I passed by those who are hitting Zayd all together” [*marartu bi-d-dāribīna Zaydan ‘ajma’ūna*], because it is corroboration to the pronoun attached to the phrase “who are hitting” [*‘ad-dāribīna*]. It will be ungrammatical to say: “I passed by those who are hitting, your brothers, Zayd” [*marartu bi-d-dāribīna ‘ikhwatuka Zaydan*], because you make the phrase “your brothers” [*‘ikhwatuka*] substitution for the phrase “who are hitting” [*‘ad-dāribīna*] and you may not make substitution to the relative noun while part of it remains. The grammatical structure will be to say: “I passed by those who are hitting Zayd, your brothers” [*marartu bi-d-dāribīna Zaydan ‘ikhwatuka*]. In addition, it will be ungrammatical to say: “I passed by those who are hitting, and by Zayd, Hind” [*marartu bi-d-dāribīna wa Zaydin Hindan*], because you may not use conjunctive particles while part of the relative noun remains. Rather, you say: “I passed by those who are hitting Hind and by Zayd” [*marartu bi-d-dāribīna Hindan wa Zaydin*].

You may also say: “who are getting up are the two Zayds” [*‘al-qā’imāni Z-Zaydāni*], making the active participle [*‘ism ‘al-fā’il*] dual. Similarly, you may say: “those who got up were the two Zayds” [*‘allaḍāni qāmā Z-Zaydāni*], attaching the dual particle to the verb. You may also say: “whose brother is getting up are the two Zayds” [*‘al-qā’imu ‘akhawāhumā Z-Zaydāni*], making the active participle singular. Likewise, you may make the active participle singular if you say: “those, whose brother is getting up, are the two Zayds” [*‘allaḍāni qāma ‘akhawāhumā Z-Zaydāni*]; and the same thing is applied to the plural as well as feminine cases; therefore, know all of that. Do you not see that you may say: “the one whose sister is getting up is Zayd” [*‘al-qā’imatu ‘ukhtuhu Zaydun*], making the active participle feminine as you may make the form of the verb feminine when you say: “the one whose sister got up is Zayd” [*‘allaḍī qāmat ‘ukhtuhu Zaydun*].

بالضّارين الظّرفين زيّدا لم يجز، لأنك لا تصف الاسم وقد بقيت منه بقية، و تقول: مررت بالضّارين زيّدا أجمعين، فإن قلت مررت بالضّارين أجمعين زيّدا لم يجز، لأن الاسم لا يؤكّد وقد بقيت منه بقية، و تقول: مررت بالضّارين أجمعين زيّداً، فإن قلت مررت بالضّارين أجمعون زيّداً جاز تجعل أجمعون توكيدا للضمير في الضّارين، ولو قلت مررت بالضّارين إخوتك زيّداً فجعلت الإخوة بدلا من الضّارين لم يجز، لأنك لا تبدل من الاسم وقد بقيت منه بقية وصحتها أن تقول: مررت بالضّارين زيّداً إخوتك، ولو قلت مررت بالضّارين وزيّداً هندا لم يجز لأنك لا تعطف على الاسم وقد بقيت منه بقية ولكن تقول: مررت بالضّارين هندا وزيّداً،

وتقول: القائمان الزّيدان فتشّي اسم الفاعل كما تأتي في الفعل بعلامة التثنية في قولك اللذان قاما الزيدان، و تقول: القائم أخوهما الزيدان فتوحّد اسم الفاعل كما تفرد الفعل إذا قلت اللذان قام أخوهما الزيدان، وكذلك الجمع والتأنيث فاعرفه. ألا تراك تقول: القائمة أخته زيّداً، فتؤنّث اسم الفاعل كما تؤنّث لفظ الفعل في قولك الذي قامت أخته زيّداً،

You may also say “the one whose brother is leaving is Hind” [*’aḏ-ḏāhibu ’ahkūhā Hindun*] as you may say “the one that her brother is leaving is Hind” [*’allatī ḏahaba ’akhūhā Hindun*].

The second type of the relative words is composed of three particles: “what” [*mā*] and “that”: the light [*’an*] and the heavy [*’anna*]. These particles, together with their clauses, signify the infinitive [*maṣḍar*]. It is as you say: “that you got up pleased me [*sarranī mā qumta; ’ayy qiyāmuka*]; in other words, “your getting up pleased me”; “I was astonished that you sat down”; in other words, your sitting down astonished me” [*’ajibtu mim-mā qa’adta; ’ayy min qu’ūdika*]. Almighty Allah said: “because they used to lie” [*bi-mā kānū yakḏībūna*]; in other words, “by their lies.”

As for “that, the heavy” [*’anna*], it was discussed previously in its section that it causes the subject to be in the accusative case and the predicate to be in the nominative case, and that it signifies the infinitive.

Regarding “that, the light” [*’an*], it causes the verb to be in the subjunctive mood, and the verb following it is the relative clause. It is as you say: “I want that you get up” [*’urīdu ’an taqūma*] and “it pleases me that you go” [*yasurrunī ’an taḏhaba*]. You may also say: “I love that you go and hit Zayd” [*’uhibbu ’an taḏhaba fa-taḏriba Zaydan*], making conjunction between the phrases “you go” [*taḏhaba*] and “you hit” [*taḏriba*]. In addition, you may say: “I want to visit you, but the doorkeeper prevents me” [*’urīdu ’an ’azūrika fa-yamna’uni l-bawwābu*], making the verb in the phrase “...prevents me” [*yamna’unī*] in the indicative mood because there is no conjunction between it and the verb in the phrase “I visit you” [*’azūrika*]. Rather, it is inceptive verb [*musta’naf*] in the indicative mood, as the poet ’al-Ḥuṭay’atu said:

*Wa-sh-shi’ru lā yaṣṭī’uhu man yaḏlimuh*  
*’iḏa rtaqā fīhi l-laḏī lā ya’lamuh*  
*Zallat bihi ’ila l-ḥaḏīdi qadamuh*  
*yurīdu ’an yu’ribahu fa-yu’jimuh*  
 “Poetry is not accessible to the one who maltreats it

If the one who does not know poetry advances in it  
 He will stumble to the bottom;

Instead of making it clear he will make it vague”

وتقول: الذَّاهِبُ أَخُوها هِنْدُ، كما تقول: التي ذَهَبَ  
 أَخُوها هِنْدُ.

الحروف الموصولة ثلاثة: ما وأن الخفيفة وأنَّ الثقيلة  
 ومعاني جميعها بصلاتها المصادر. تقول: سَرَّني ما قُمْتَ؛  
 أي: قيامك، وَعَجِبْتُ ما قَعَدْتَ؛ أي: من قُعُودك،  
 قال الله سبحانه: {بِما كانوا يَكْذِبُونَ}؛ أي: بتكذيبهم.

وأما أنَّ الثقيلة فقد مضى ذكرها في بابها أنها تنصب  
 الاسم وترفع الخبر ومعناها معنى المصدر.

وأما أنَّ الخفيفة فهي الناصبة للفعل والفعل بعدها  
 أيضا صلة لها، تقول: أريدُ أن تقومَ، ويسرُّني أن  
 تذهبَ، وتقول: أجبُّ أن تذهبَ فتضرب زيداً،  
 فتعطف تضرب على تذهبَ، وتقول: أريدُ أن أزوركَ  
 فيمنعني البوابُ فترفع يميني لأنه ليس معطوفا على  
 أزورك بل هو مستأنف مرفوع، كما قال الخطيئة:  
 (الرجز)

والشُّعْرُ لا يَسْطِيعُهُ مَنْ يَظْلِمُهُ  
 إذا ارتقى فيه الذي لا يَعْلَمُهُ  
 زَلَّتْ بِهِ إلى الحَضِيضِ قَدَمُهُ

يُرِيدُ أن يُعْرِبَهُ فَيَعْجِمُهُ

He made the verb in “he will make it vague” [*fa-yu'jimuh*] in the indicative mood, because it is inceptive whose underlying structure is “it turns out that he makes it vague” [*fa-'idā huwa yu'jimuh*]. Had the poet made it in the subjunctive mood, it would have been meaningless.

Also, know that when the infinitive is in the significance of [*'an*] and the verb and it is not in annexed, it will act as the verb in that it can assign nominative as well as accusative cases, provided that whatever occurs after it may not occur before it and there is no irrelevant element between it and what occurs after it. It is as you say: “I was astonished with the beating of 'Amr by Zayd”; in other words, “I was astonished that Zayd beat 'Amr” [*'ajibtu min ḍarbin Zaydun 'Amran; 'ayy min 'an yaḍriba Zaydun 'Amran*] and “I was astonished with the mounting of your brother on the horse”; in other words, “I was astonished that your brother mounted the horse” [*'ajibtu min rukūbin 'akhūka 'alfarasa; 'ayy min 'an rakiba 'akhūka l-farasa*]. Almighty Allah said: “Or feeding on a day of severe hunger an orphan of near relationship” [*'aw 'iṭ'āmun fī yawmin ḍī masghabatin yatīman ḍā maqrabatin*]. A poet said:

*Bi-ḍarbin bi-s-suyūfi ru'ūsa qawmin 'azalnā  
hāmahunna 'ani 'al-maqīli*

“Chopping off the heads of people by our swords,  
we removed the tops out of the necks”

The underlying structure is: “with that we hit the heads of the people” [*bi-'an naḍriba ru'ūsa qawmin*]. The same thing is applied if the infinitive contains the definite article [*'al*] such as: “I was astonished with the beating of 'Amr by Zayd”; in other words, “I was astonished that Zayd beat 'Amr” [*'ajibtu mina ḍ-ḍarbi Zaydun 'Amran; 'ayy min 'an ḍaraba Zaydun 'Amran*]. A poet said:

*La-qad 'alimat 'ula l-mughīrati 'annanī  
karartu fa-lam 'ankul 'ani ḍ-ḍarbi Masma 'ā*

“The first raiders already knew that I  
attacked and did not recede from striking Masma”

The underlying structure is “from that I strike Masma” [*'an 'an ḍarabtu masma 'an*].

فرع يعجمه لأنه استأنف؛ أي: فإذا هو يعجمه ولو  
نصب لفسد المعنى.

واعلم أن المصدر إذا كان في معنى أن والفعل ولم يكن  
مضافاً عمِلَ عمَل الفعل في رفعه ونصبه إلا أنه لا  
يتقدم عليه شيء مما بعده، ولا يفصل بالأجنبي بينه  
وبينه، تقول: عَجِبْتُ مِنْ ضَرْبِ زَيْدٍ عَمراً؛ أي: من أن  
يَضْرِبَ زَيْدٌ عَمراً، وَمِنْ رُكُوبِ أَخِيكَ الْفَرَسِ؛ أي:  
مِنْ أَنْ رَكِبَ أَخِيكَ الْفَرَسَ، قال الله سبحانه: {أَوْ  
إِطْعَامٌ فِي يَوْمٍ ذِي مَسْغَبَةٍ، تَبِيئاً ذَا مَقْرَبَةٍ}. وقال  
الشاعر: (الوافر)

بَضْرِبِ بِالسُّيُوفِ رُؤُوسَ قَوْمٍ  
أَزَلْنَا هَامَهُنَّ عَنِ الْمَقِيلِ

أي: بِأَنْ نَضْرِبَ رُؤُوسَ قَوْمٍ. فَإِنْ كَانَ فِيهِ اللَّامُ  
فَكَذَلِكَ أَيْضاً، تقول: عَجِبْتُ مِنْ الضَّرْبِ زَيْدٍ عَمراً؛  
أي: مِنْ أَنْ ضَرَبَ زَيْدٌ عَمراً. قال الشاعر: (الطويل)

لَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ أُولَى الْمُغِيرَةِ أَنَّنِي  
كَرَرْتُ فَلَمْ أَتَكَلَّ عَنِ الضَّرْبِ مَسْمَعاً

أي: عَنْ أَنْ ضَرَبْتُ مَسْمَعاً.



If the infinitive is in annexation with the subject, the object will be in the accusative case, and if it is in annexation with the object, the subject will be in the nominative case and the object will be in the genitive case. It is as you say: “I was astonished by the eating of the bread by Zayd” [*'ajibtu min 'akli Zaydin 'alkhubza*] and “I was astonished by the eating of the bread by Zayd” [*'ajibtu min 'akli l-khubzi Zaydun*]. A poet said:

*'afnā tilādī wa-mā jamma'tu min nashabin*  
*qar'u l-qawāqīzi 'afwāha l-'abārīqi*  
 “What annihilated my wealth and what I had  
 gathered of properties is  
 the banging of the glasses at the opening of wine  
 jugs”

It was narrated *'afwāhu l-'abārīqi* and *'afwāha l-'abārīqi* in both nominative and accusative cases fitting what has been previously said.

You may also say: “that you get up has pleased me on Friday” [*sarranī qiyāmuka yawma l-jumu'ati*], making the word “Friday” [*yawma l-jumu'ati*] an adverb with the accusative case by virtue of the phrase “has pleased me” [*sarranī*]. But if you say: “that you get up on Friday has pleased me” [*sarranī yawma l-jumu'ati qiyāmuka*] making “Friday” [*yawma l-jumu'ati*] and adverb by virtue of “that you get up” [*qiyāuka*], it will be ungrammatical because you are making part of the relative clause occur before the relative noun.

فإن أضفت المصدر إلى الفاعل انتصب المفعول به وإن  
 أضفته إلى المفعول به انجر وارتفع الفاعل به، تقول:  
 عَجِبْتُ مِنْ أَكْلِ زَيْدِ الْخُبْزِ وَمِنْ أَكْلِ الْخُبْزِ زَيْدٌ، قال  
 الشاعر: (البسيط)

أَفْنَى تِلَادِي وَمَا جَمَعْتُ مِنْ نَشَبٍ  
 قَرَعُ الْقَوَاقِيزِ أَفْوَاهَ الْأَبَارِيقِ

يُروى أفواه الأباريق وأفواه الأباريق رفعا ونصبا على  
 ما مضى.

وتقول: سَرَّني قِيَامُكَ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ فتنصب يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ  
 ظرفاً لـ سَرَّني، ولو قلت سَرَّني يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ قِيَامُكَ  
 فجعلت يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ ظرفاً لِلْقِيَامِ لم يجز لتقديمك بعض  
 الصلة على الموصول.

**54- The Two Ns [’an-nūnaynī]**

They are one light /n/ and one heavy /nn/; the heavy [nn] is more confirmed than the light [n] and the verb preceding them is uninflected [mabnī] and fixed on the *fatha* marking. They are frequently assigned to the oath expressions [qasam]; it is as you say: “I swear to Allah that I rise up” [wallāhi la-’aqūmanna] and “I swear to Allah that I go [bi-llāhi la-’aḏhabanna]”. The Almighty Allah said: “We would certainly smite the forehead [lanasfa’an binnāsiyah]”, and His majesty said: “I will surely stone you, so avoid me a prolonged time [la’arjumannaka wahjurnī maliyyan]”. They may also affix to the expressions of command [’amr] and desistance [nahy]; it is as you say: “hit Zayd indeed [’iḏribanna Zaydan]” as well as “do not curse Bakr indeed [lā tashṭiman Bakran]” and the poet ’al-’A’shā said:

*Wa-’iyyāka wa-l-maytati lā taqrabannahā*  
*wa-lā ta’budi sh-shayṭāna wa-llāha fa-’bud-ā [-n]*  
 “Do not ever come close to dead bodies  
 and do not worship the devil but worship Allah”

Another poet said:

*Fa-lā taḏīqanna ’inna s-silma ’āminatun*  
*malsā’u laysa bi-hā wa ’thun wa-lā ḏīqu*  
 “Do not be anxious, the stone is certainly safe and  
 smooth with no softness or narrowness”

Moreover, they affix to the weak verb [fi’l mu’tall]; it is as you say: “surely throw Zayd” [’irmiyanna Zaydan], “do not attack Ja’far” [lā taghzuwanna Ja’faran], and “do not be afraid of harm” [lā takhshayanna sū’an]. A poet said:

*’istaqdiri l-lāha khayran wa-rḏayanna bi-hi*  
*fa-baynama l-’usru ’iḏ dārat mayāsīru*  
 “Ask Allah for goodness and accept it indeed,  
 there is hardship when easiness is around”

Furthermore, they affix to interrogative as well as negative sentences; a poet said:

*hal tarji’anna layālin qad maḏayna lanā*  
*wa-l-’ayshu munqalibun ’iḏ ḏāka ’afnānā*  
 “Will the nights, which passed, indeed return to us  
 where life was diversely reversed?”

**٥٤ - باب التَّوْنَيْنِ**

وهما خفيفة وثقيلة، فالثقيلة أشد توكيدا من الخفيفة،  
 والفعل بعدهما مبني على الفتح معهما وأكثر ما تدخلان  
 فيه القسم، تقول: والله لأقومنَّ وتالله لأذهبَنَّ، قال الله  
 تعالى: {لَنَسْفَعًا بِالنَّاصِيَةِ}. وقال سبحانه: {لَأَرْجُمَنَّكَ  
 وَاهْجُرْنِي مَلِيًّا}. وقد تدخلان في الأمر والنهي. تقول:  
 اضْرِبَنَّ زَيْدًا، وَلَا تَشْتِمَنَّ بَكْرًا، قال الأعشى:  
 (الطويل)

وإِيَّاكَ وَالْمَيْتَاتِ لَا تَقْرَبَنَّهَا

وَلَا تَعْبُدِ الشَّيْطَانَ وَاللَّهَ فَاعْبُدَا

وقال الآخر: (البيسط)

فَلَا تَضِيقَنَّ إِنَّ السَّلْمَ أَمِنَةٌ

مَلْسَاءُ لَيْسَ بِهَا وَعْثٌ وَلَا ضَيْقٌ

وكذلك المعتل أيضا، تقول: ارمينَّ زَيْدًا، وَلَا تَعْزُونَ  
 جَعْفَرًا، وَلَا تَخْشَيْنَّ سَوْءًا، قال الشاعر: (البيسط)

اسْتَقْدِرِ اللَّهَ خَيْرًا وَأَرْضِيَنَّ بِهِ

فَبَيْنَمَا الْعُسْرُ إِذْ دَارَتْ مَيَاسِيرُ

وتدخل أيضا في الاستفهام والنفي، قال الشاعر:

(البيسط)

هَلْ تَرَجَعَنَّ لِيَالٍ قَدْ مَضَيْنَ لَنَا

وَالْعَيْشُ مُنْقَلِبٌ إِذْ ذَاكَ أَفْنَانَا

As for dual noun subject, it is as you say: “do not hit Zayd indeed both of you” [*lā taḍribā-nni Zaydan*]; in the plural noun subject: “do not go with him indeed all of you” [*lā taḍhabūn-nna ma’ahu* → *lā taḍhabu-nna ma’ahu*]; in the feminine subject: “do not hit Zayd [*lā taḍribīn-nna Zaydan* → *lā taḍribi-nna Zaydan*], omitting the/n/ because the sentence is no longer in the indicative mood as well as the /ū/ and /ī/ because there is no short vowel neither after these long vowels nor after the /n/ following them, and the *ḍamma* as well as *kasra* maintain their places to indicate this rule. The /ā/ is not omitted in [*li-taḍribā-nni*] so that the sentence does not resemble the singular noun subject. Almighty Allah said: “You will mount a stage by stage” [*la-tarkabu-nna ṭabaqan ‘an ṭabaqin*]. He also said: “...and do not follow the path of those who do not know” [*wa-lā tattabi ‘ā-nni sabīla l-laḍīna lā ya ‘lamūna*] and the poet Ta’abbata Shrran said:

*La-taqra ‘i-nna ‘alayya s-sinna min nadamin*  
*‘iḍā taḍakkarti yawman ba ‘ḍa ‘akhlāqī*

“One day you will regretfully knock your tooth  
when you remember some of my moralities”

If the vowel preceding the /w/ as well as /y/ is *fatha* /a/, the vowel following the /w/ will be a *ḍamma* /u/ and the one following /y/ will be a *kasra* /i/ [the long vowel /ū/ becomes the glide /w/ and the long vowel /ī/ becomes the glide /y/], due to, otherwise, the existence of “onset-less syllable” [*iltiqā ‘u s-sākinayni*]. It is as you say: “fear Zayd indeed” [*ikh-sha-ūn-nna Zaydan* → *ikh-sha-wu-nna Zaydan*] and “do not accept ‘Amr indeed” [*lā tar-ḍa-īn-nna ‘an ‘amrin* → *lā tarḍa-yi-nna ‘an ‘amrin*]. Almighty Allah said: “You will indeed be tested through your money and possessions” [*la-tublāwu-nna fī ‘amwālikum wa-‘anfusikum*], and He also said: “... and if you see any human [*fa-‘immā tarayī-nna mina l-bashari ‘aḥadan*].

You may also say in the feminine plural subject: “certainly hit Zayd” [*‘iḍribnāni Zaydan*] and “do not be afraid of ‘Amr indeed” [*lā takhshaynāni ‘amran*], separating between the /n/s with *‘alif* for the sake of lightness. Similar to it is the saying of ‘Abī Mahdiyyata about his prayer: “go away from me, go away indeed [*ikhṣa ‘nānni ‘anni*].

وتقول في الثنية: لا تَضْرِبَانِ زَيْدًا، وفي الجمع: لا تَذْهَبَنَّ مَعَهُ ومع التأنيث: لا تَضْرِبَنَّ زَيْدًا حذفت النون لزوال الرفع وحذفت الواو والياء لسكونها وسكون النون الأولى بعدهما، وبقيت الضمة والكسرة تدلان عليهما، ولم تحذف الألف من لِتَضْرِبَانِ لئلا يشبه الواحد، قال الله تعالى: {لَتَرْكَبِنَّ طَبَقًا عَنْ طَبَقٍ}، وقال: {وَلَا تَتَّبِعَنَّ سَبِيلَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ}. وقال تَأَبَّطُ شَرًّا: (البسيط)

لَتَقْرَعَنَّ عَلَيَّ السِّنَّ مِنْ نَدَمٍ  
إِذَا تَذَكَّرْتِ يَوْمًا بَعْضَ أَخْلَاقِي

فإن انفتح ما قبل الواو والياء حرّكت الواو بالضم والياء بالكسر لالتقاء الساكنين، تقول: إِخْشَوْنَ زَيْدًا وَلَا تَرَضِّينَنَّ عَنْ عَمْرٍو، قال الله جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ: {لَتُبْلَوْنَ فِي أَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ}. وقال عَزَّ اسْمُهُ: {فَأَمَّا تَرِينَ مِنَ الْبَشَرِ أَحَدًا}،

وتقول: في جماعة المؤنثِ إِضْرِبْنَانِ زَيْدًا وَلَا تَخْشَيْنَانِ عَمْرًا، تفصل بين النونات بالألف تخفيفًا. ومثله من كلام أبي مهدية في صلته إِخْشَانًا عَنِّي.

If you make a pause after the light /n/, you may replace it with 'alif, due to the preceding *fatha*; it is as you say: “O Zayd hit indeed” [yā Zaydu ḍriban → yā Zaydu ḍribā] as well as “O ‘Amr stand up indeed” [yā ‘Amru qūman → yā ‘Amru qūmā]. However, if the following word starts with a consonant [*sākin*], the light /n/ will be omitted; it is as the poet said:

*Wa-lā tuhīna l-karīma ‘allaka ‘an  
tarka ‘a yawman wa-d-dahru qad rafa ‘ah*

“Do not insult the noble person, as you may  
be down one day while destiny had raised him”

He intended to say: [*walā tuhīnan*] then he omitted the final light /n/.

The two /n/s [light /n/ as well as heavy /n/] might suffix to positions other than what has been mentioned above and due to irregularity of that we will ignore it [here].

وإذا وقفت على النون الخفيفة أبدلت منها للفتحة قبلها  
ألفاً، تقول: يا زيد أضرباً، ويا عمرو قوماً، فإن لقيها  
ساكنٌ بعدها حذفت لالتقائهما، قال الشاعر:

(المنسرح)

ولا تُهينَ الكَرِيمَ عَلَّكَ أَنْ

تَرَكَعَ يَوْمًا وَالِدَهُرُ قَدْ رَفَعَهُ

أراد تُهَيِّنَنَّ فحذف.

وقد تدخل النونان في غير هذه المواضع، وليس ذلك

بقياسٍ فتركناه.

**55- Relative Noun [*'an-nasab*]**

The relation to every noun is formed by the addition of the letter /y/ to the end of the noun. This /y/ is doubled and preceded by a *kasra*; it is as you say when forming relation to Zayd: [*Zaydiyy*], meaning it belongs to Zayd, and to Muḥammad: [*Muḥammadiyy*], belonging to Muḥammad.

In the trilateral noun where the middle consonant precedes a *kasra*, the *kasra* changes to a *fatha* to avoid a coexisting of two occurrences of *kasra* and two occurrences of the letter /y/; it is as you say when forming relation to 'al-Namir: [*Namariyy*]; and to “anemone” [*shaqirah*]: [*shaqariyy*]. A poet said:

*La-ṣaḥawta wa-n-namariyyu yaḥsibuhā*  
*'amma as-simāki wa-khālata n-najmi*

“You would wake up thinking that 'al-Namariyyu is the paternal uncle of the moon and the maternal aunt of the star”

If the noun is made up of more than three consonants, its *kasra* never changes; it is as you say: “Taghlib: [*Taghlibiyy*] and Maghrib: [*Maghribiyy*]. This is the regular rule, because the *kasra* loses its influence when it becomes overwhelmed by too many consonants.

If the trilateral noun is a shortened noun [*'ism maqṣūr*], its *'alif* changes to the glide /w/ when forming the relation; it is as you say “spear” [*qinā*]: “belonging to spear” [*qinawiyy*]; “rotary” [*raḥā*]: “belonging to rotary” [*raḥawiyy*], and “young man” [*fatā*]: “belonging to young man” [*fatawiyy*].

If the shortened noun is quadrilateral whose *'alif* is a substitution of an original letter, the regular rule is to change it to a /w/; it is as you say “intention” [*maghzā*]: “belonging to intention” [*maghzawiyy*]; “goal” [*marmā*]: “belonging to goal” [*marmawiyy*]. The deletion of the *'alif* is also possible: [*maghziyy*] and [*marmiyy*].

**٥٥- باب النسب**

النَّسَبُ إِلَى كُلِّ اسْمٍ بِزِيَادَةِ يَاءٍ مُشَدَّدَةٍ مَكْسُورٍ مَا قَبْلَهَا،

تَقُولُ فِي النَّسَبِ إِلَى زَيْدٍ: زَيْدِيَّ وَإِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ: مُحَمَّدِيَّ

فَإِنْ كَانَ الْاسْمُ ثَلَاثِيًّا مَكْسُورِ الْأَوْسَطِ أُبْدِلْتَ مِنْ

كَسْرَتِهِ فَتَحَةً هَرَبًا مِنْ تَوَالِي الْكَسْرَتَيْنِ وَالْيَاءَيْنِ، تَقُولُ

فِي الْإِضَافَةِ إِلَى النَّوْمِرِ: نَمْرِيَّ وَإِلَى شَقْرَةَ: شَقْرِيَّ، قَالَ

الشاعر: (الكامل)

لَصَحَوْتَ وَالنَّمْرِيَّ يُحْسِبُهَا

عَمَّ السَّمَاءِ وَخَالَةَ النَّجْمِ

فَإِنْ تَجَاوَزَ الْاسْمُ ثَلَاثَةَ أَحْرَفٍ لَمْ تُغَيَّرْ كَسْرَتُهُ، تَقُولُ فِي

الْإِضَافَةِ إِلَى تَغْلِبٍ: تَغْلِبِيَّ، وَإِلَى الْمَغْرِبِ: مَغْرِبِيَّ. هَذَا

هُوَ الْقِيَاسُ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْكَسْرَةَ سَقَطَ حُكْمُهَا لِغَلْبَةِ كَثْرَةِ

الْحُرُوفِ لَهَا.

فَإِنْ كَانَ الثَّلَاثِيُّ مَقْصُورًا أُبْدِلْتَ مِنْ أَلْفِهِ وَاوًا؛ لَوْ قَوَّعَ

يَاءُ الْإِضَافَةِ بَعْدَهَا، تَقُولُ فِي الْإِضَافَةِ إِلَى قِنَا: قِنَايَّ،

وَإِلَى رَحَى: رَحَايَّ، وَإِلَى فَتَى: فَتَايَّ.

فَإِنْ كَانَ الْمَقْصُورُ رُبَاعِيًّا وَأَلْفُهُ بَدَلَ غَيْرِ زَائِدَةٍ كَانَ

الْوَجْهَ قَلْبُهَا وَاوًا، تَقُولُ فِي مَغْزَى: مَغْزَايَّ، وَفِي

مَرْمَى: مَرْمَايَّ، وَيَجُوزُ الْحَذْفُ، تَقُولُ فِيهَا: مَغْزِيَّ

وَمَرْمِيَّ.

If the shortened noun consists of more than four letters, the only choice is to delete the *'alif* due to the extending in the word; it is as you say “darts” [*murāmā*]: “belonging to darts” [*murāmiyy*]” and “hoped for” [*murtaǧā*]: “belonging to something hoped for” [*murtaǧiyy*]; and the same rule is applied to the shortened noun consisting of more than four letters.

If the *'alif* is augmentative, the regular choice is the deletion; it is as you say “drunkards” [*sakrā*]: “belonging to drunkards” [*sakriyy*]” and “pregnant” [*hublā*]: “belonging to pregnant” [*hubliyy*]. It is also possible to substitute it for /w/; it is as you say: “drunkards” [*sakrā*]: “belonging to drunkards” [*sakrawiyy*] and “pregnant” [*hublā*]: “belonging to pregnant” [*hublawiyy*].

If the noun is trilateral decreased [*manqūš*], the *kasra* changes to *fatha* so that its /y/ becomes *'alif*, due to the preceding *fatha*, then the *'alif* changes to the letter /w/ as we have seen previously. It is as you say “blind” [*amin*]: “belonging to blind” [*amawiyy*] and “sadness” [*shajin*]: “belonging to sadness” [*shajawiyy*].

If the decreased noun is quadrilateral, the deletion of the /y/ is preferred; it is as you say “giving” [*mu'tin*]: “belonging to giving” [*mu'tiyy*] and “judge” [*qādin*]: “belonging to judge” [*qādiyy*]. It is also possible to change its /y/ to /w/; it is as you say: [*mu'tawiyy*] and [*qāḍawiyy*].

If the decreased noun exceeds four consonantal elements, its /ī/ is always omitted; it is as you say “purchaser” [*mushtariy*]: “belonging to purchaser” [*mushtariyy*] and “investigating” [*mustaqsiy*]: “investigative” [*mustaqsiyy*].

If there is a doubled /y/ at the end of the decreased noun such as the noun “boy” [*šabiyy*] as well as the proper names [*Aliyy*] and [*Adiyy*], the first one of the double, which is extra, is omitted and the *kasra* changes to *fatha*; as a result, the second /y/ of the double changes to *'alif* due to the preceding vowel, then the *'alif* changes to /w/ due to the following /y/ of relation. It is as you say: “belonging to boy” [*šabiyy* → *šabaā* → *šabawiyy*], belonging to the proper names [*Aliyy* → *'Alaā* → *'Alawiyy* and *Adiyy* → *'Adaā* → *'Adawiyy*].

فإن تجاوز العدد الأربعة فالحذف للطول لا غير،  
تقول: في مُرَامِي مُرَامِي، و في مُرْتَجِي مُرْتَجِي، وكذلك  
ما فوقه عددا.

فإن كانت ألفه زائدة فالوجه الحذف، تقول في سَكْرِي:  
سَكْرِي، و في حُبْلِي: حُبْلِي. ويجوز البدل، تقول:  
سَكْرَوِي و حَبْلَوِي.

فإن كان المنقوص ثلاثياً أبدلت من كسوته فتحة،  
فصارت ياؤه للفتحة قبلها ألفاً، ثم أبدلت من ألفه  
واواً على ما مضى، تقول في الإضافة إلى عَمِي: عَمَوِي  
وإلى شَحِي: شَحَوِي.

فإن كان المنقوص رباعياً اختير حذف يائه، تقول في  
مُعْطِي: مُعْطِي، و في قَاضِي: قَاضِي. ويجوز الإقرار  
والبدل، تقول: مُعْطَوِي وقَاضَوِي.

فإن تجاوز الاسم الأربعة حذفت ياءه البتة، تقول في  
المُشْتَرِي: مُشْتَرِي، و في المُسْتَقْصِي: مُسْتَقْصِي.

فإن كان في آخر الاسم ياء مشددة نحو: صَبِي و عِلِي  
و عَدِي، حذفت الأولى الزائدة وأبدلت من الكسرة  
فتحة فانقلبت الياء الثانية ألفاً لحركة ما قبلها ثم أبدلت  
الألف واواً لوقوع ياء النسب بعدها، فقلت في صَبِي:  
صَبَوِي، و في عِلِي: عَلَوِي، و في عَدِي: عَدَوِي.

If the doubled /y/ is in the penultimate consonantal position, the second /y/ of the double, along with the vowel following it, are omitted; it is as you say: “belonging to small lion” [‘usayyid → ‘usaydiyy] and “belonging to small donkey” [humayyir → humayriyy].

If there is in the penultimate position an extra /y/ [whether it is the long vowel /ī/ yā sākina or the glide /y/ yā mutaḥarrika] and there is the feminine suffix /t/, both the long vowel /ī/ as well as the /t/ are omitted, then the kasra preceding the omitted /ī/, if there is any, changes to a fatha. It is as you say: “belonging to Ḥanīfah proper name” [Ḥanīfah → Ḥanaḥfiyy], “belonging to Rabī‘ah” [Rabī‘ah → Raba‘iyy], “belonging to Bajīlah” [Bajīlah → Bajaliyy], “belonging to Juhaynah” [Juhaynah → Juhaniyy], and “belonging to Qurayzah” [Qurayzah → Quraziyy]. It may also irregularly occur without any deletion such as “belonging to instinct” [salīqah → salīqiyy] and “belonging to Khuraybah proper name” [Khuraybah → Khuraybiyy].

If there is a /w/ before the /ī/, the /ī/ is not omitted; it is as they say: “belonging to the clan of Ḥawayzah [Banī Ḥawayzata → Ḥuwayziyy] and “belonging to the long one” [tuwaylah → tuwayliyy]; the same rule is applied if there is reduplication in the word, such as “belonging to a tense thing” [shadīdah → shadīdiyy] and “belonging to the proper name Jalīlah” [Jalīlah → Jalīliyy].

If the noun lacks the feminine suffix /t/, nothing is omitted; it is as you say: “belonging to Sa‘īd” [Sa‘īd → Sa‘īdiyy], “belonging to ‘Uqayl” [‘Uqayl → ‘Uqayliyy], and “belonging to Numayr” [Numayr → Numayriyy]. Yet, it also rarely occurs with deletion, such as “belonging to Thaḳīf” [Thaḳīf → Thaḳafiyy] and “belonging to Quraysh” [Quraysh → Qurashiyy], but the regular relative form in [Quraysh] is [Qurayshiyy], as a poet said:

*Bi-ḥayyin Qurayshiyyin ‘alayhi mahābatun  
sarī‘un ‘ilā dā‘i n-nadā wa-t-takarrumi*

“In a Qurayshiyy clan, he enjoys exaltation  
as he responds quickly when generosity is called  
upon”

فإن كانت الياء المشددة قبل الطرف حذفت المتحركة،  
تقول في أُسَيْدٍ: أُسَيْدِيّ، وفي حُمَيْرٍ: حُمَيْرِيّ.

فإن كانت قبل الطرف ياء ساكنة زائدة، وفي الكلمة تاء  
التأنيث حذفت التاء ثم حذفت لحذفها الياء الزائدة ثم  
أبدلت من الكسرة قبلها إن كانت هناك كسرة فتحة،  
تقول في حَنِيفَةَ: حَنِيفِيّ، وفي رُبَيْعَةَ: رُبَيْعِيّ، وفي بَجِيلَةَ:  
بَجِيلِيّ، وفي جُهَيْنَةَ: جُهَيْنِيّ، وفي قُرَيْظَةَ: قُرَيْظِيّ. وربما  
شدّ من ذلك الشيء القليل فلم تحذف ياؤه. قالوا في  
السَّلِيْقَةِ سُلَيْقِيّ، وفي الحُرَيْبَةِ حُرَيْبِيّ.

فإن كان قبل الياء واو لم تحذف الياء، قالوا في بَنِي  
حَوَيْزَةَ: حَوَيْزِيّ، ومثله في بَنِي طُوَيْلَةَ طُوَيْلِيّ.  
وكذلك إن كانت الكلمة مضعفة لم تحذف ياؤها، تقول  
في شَدِيدَةَ: شَدِيدِيّ، وفي جَلِيلَةَ: جَلِيلِيّ.

فإن لم يكن في الكلمة تاء التأنيث لم تحذف منها شيئاً،  
تقول في سَعِيدٍ: سَعِيدِيّ، وفي عُقَيْلٍ وَنُمَيْرٍ: عُقَيْلِيّ  
وَنُمَيْرِيّ. وربما حذفت من ذلك الشيء اليسير، قالوا في  
ثَقَيْفٍ: ثَقَيْفِيّ، وفي قُرَيْشٍ: قُرَيْشِيّ، والوجه قُرَيْشِيّ. قال

الشاعر: (الطويل)

بِحَيِّ قُرَيْشِيّ عَلَيْهِ مَهَابَةٌ

سَرِيْعٌ إِلَى دَاعِي النَّدَى وَالتَّكْرُمِ

If you assign the relative suffix /iyy/ to the prolonged noun [*'ism mamdūd*], do not delete anything from it; and if the noun is triptote [*munṣarif*], its glottal stop [*hamza*] is kept; it is as you say: “belonging to a robe” [*kisā' → kisā'iyy*], “belonging to the sky” [*samā' → samā'iyy*], and “belonging to judgment” [*qaḍā' → qaḍā'iyy*]. If the prolonged noun is a diptote, its *hamza* is changed to the glide /w/; it is as you say: “belonging to red” [*ḥamrā' → ḥamrāwiyy*], “belonging to a desert” [*ṣaḥrā' → ṣaḥrāwiyy*], and “belonging to a beetle” [*khunfusā' → khunfusāwiyy*].

Yet, there have been some cases of the triptote nouns in which the *hamza* changes to /w/; it is as you say: “belonging to the nerve of the nick” [*'ilbā' → 'ilbāwiyy*], “belonging to a robe” [*kisā' → kisāwiyy*], and “belonging to readers” [*qurrā' → qurrāwiyy*]; the former rule is better though.

If there is the feminine suffix /t/ attached to the noun, it is omitted when forming the relative because the feminine suffix cannot occur medially; it is as you say: “belonging to Ṭalḥah” [*Ṭalḥah → Ṭalḥiyy*] and “belonging to Ḥamzah” [*Ḥamzah → Ḥamziyy*]. If you assign the relation to a group, you may use the singular form of the noun; it is as you say: “belonging to a man” [*rijāl → rajuliyy*], “belonging to a servant” [*ghilmān → ghulamīyy*], and “belonging to a duty” [*farā'id → farḍiyy*]. If a singular is named by a plural name, the plural form remains when forming the relation; it is as has been said: “belonging to Madā'in,” place name [*Madā'in → Madā'iniyy*] and “belonging to 'Anmār,” proper/tribe's name [*'Anmār → 'Anmāriyy*].

There have been some irregular relative forms, but none of these words is considered a model, such as “belonging to Hīrah” [*Hīrah → Hāriyy*], “belonging to Ṭayyi” [*Ṭayyi' → Ṭā'iyy*], “belonging to Zabīnah” [*Zabīnah → Zabāniyy*], “belonging to yesterday” [*'amsi → 'imsiyy*], “belonging to a holy place” [*ḥaram → ḥirmiyy*], “belonging to Banī 'al-Ḥublā clan of 'al-'Anṣār” (the supporters of the prophet Muḥammad) [*Banī 'al-Ḥublā → Ḥubliyy*], “belonging to the clan of Banī 'Abīdah” [*'Abīdah → 'Ubaydiyy*], and “belonging to Jadhīmah” [*Jadhīmah → Judhaymiyy*].

فإن نَسَبَتْ إلى الممدود لم تحذف منه شيئاً، فإن كان منصرفاً أقررت همزته بحالها فقلت في كِسَاءٍ: كِسَائِيٌّ، وفي سَمَاءٍ: سَمَائِيٌّ، وفي قَضَاءٍ: قَضَائِيٌّ، وإن كان غير منصرف أبدلت من همزته واواً، تقول في حَمْرَاءٍ: حَمْرَاوِيٌّ، وفي صَحْرَاءٍ: صَحْرَاوِيٌّ، وفي خُنْفُسَاءٍ: خُنْفُسَاوِيٌّ.

وقد قلبوا في المنصرف أيضاً فقالوا في عِلْبَاءٍ: عِلْبَاوِيٌّ، وفي كِسَاءٍ: كِسَاوِيٌّ، وفي قُرَاءٍ: قُرَاوِيٌّ، والقول الأول أجود.

فإن كان في الاسم تاء التأنيث حذفها لياء النسب لأن علامة التأنيث لا تكون حشواً، تقول في طَلْحَةٍ: طَلْحِيٌّ، وفي حَمْرَةٍ: حَمْرِيٌّ. فإن نَسَبْتَ إلى جماعة أوقعت النسب على الواحد، تقول في رِجَالٍ: رَجُلِيٌّ، وفي غُلَمَانٍ: غُلَامِيٌّ، وقالوا في الفرائض: فَرَضِيٌّ. فإن سَمَّيْتَ بالجمع واحداً أقررت في النسب على لفظه، قالوا في المَدَائِنِ: مَدَائِنِيٌّ، وفي أَنْهَارٍ: أَنْهَارِيٌّ.

وقد شَدَّتْ ألفاظ من النسب لا يُقاس عليها، قالوا في الحِيرَةِ: حَارِيٌّ، وفي طَيِّءٍ: طَائِيٌّ، وفي زَبَانِيٍّ: زَبَانِيٌّ، وفي أَمْسٍ: إِمْسِيٌّ، وفي الحَرَمِ: حَرَمِيٌّ، وفي بَنِي الحُبَلَى (حَيٍّ من الأنصار): حُبَلِيٌّ، وفي بَنِي عَيْدَةَ: عَيْدِيٌّ، وفي جَذِيمَةَ: جَذِيمِيٌّ.