

This is the Famous Book of Sībawayh on
Naḥw ‘Grammar’ and its Name is
*ʔal-kitāb*¹ ‘The Book’²

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Chapter 61. This is a chapter of what *yunsʿabu* ‘is erected’ of *masādir* ‘origins’ based on the implication of the *fiʿl* ‘action’ whose expression is not used

(Buwlaq vol. 1. P.156-158, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 130-132 Haruwn vol.1. p.311-314)

(I. Chapter 61 P. 130. L. 20) And that (p131) is as in your saying *sagyan* ‘by way of watering’, *raṣyan* ‘by way of grazing’ and like your saying *xaybatan* ‘by way of disappointment’, *dafran* ‘by way of pushing’, *gadṣan* ‘by way of cutting’, *ṣagran* ‘by way of sterility’, *buṣsan* ‘by way of wretchedness’, *ʔuffatan* ‘ugh’, *tuffatan* ‘by way of spitting/disgusting’, *buṣdan* ‘by way of distance’, *suḥgan* ‘away from’, and other examples of those is your saying *taṣsan* ‘by way of misery’, *tabban* ‘by way of destruction’, *guwṣan* ‘by way of hunger’, *guwsan* ‘by way of investigation’ and like the saying of ʔibn mayyādata: (tʿawiyl)³

Tafāgada gawmiy ʔid yabiyṣuwna muhḡatiy
Bi-gāriyatīn bahran lahum baṣdā bahrā
‘My people lost some of theirs since they sold my passion
For a maiden and got vanquished’

And he said: (xafiyf)⁴
(L 5) *ʔumma gāluw tuḡibbuhā gultu bahran*
ṣadada ʔal-nagmi wa ʔal-ḡasʿā wa ʔal-turābi
‘Then they said do you love her, I said overwhelmingly
The number of stars, the pebbles and the dust’

It is as though he said *gahdan* ‘by way of exertion’, that is, my exertion is that. This erects, as does what is like it, if something already mentioned is remembered, so you invoke for it or against it based on the implication of the *fiʿl* ‘action’, it is as though you said *sagāka ʔal-lāhu sagyan* ‘may God give you water by way of watering’ and *raṣāka ʔal-lāhu raṣyan* ‘may God give you pasture by way of pasturing’

هذا كتاب سيبويه
المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٦١) هذا باب ما يُنصب من المصادر على
إضمار الفعل غير المستعمل إظهاره

(م ١ . ب ٦١ . ص ١٣٠ . س ٢٠) وذلك (١٣١)
قولك سَقِيًّا وَرَعِيًّا، ونحو قولك حَيِّبَةً وَدَفْرًا وَجَدْعًا
وَعَقْرًا وَبُؤْسًا وَأُفَّةً وَثَقَّةً وَبُعْدًا وَسُحْقًا وَمِنْ ذَلِكَ
قولك تَعَسًّا وَتَبًّا وَجُوعًا وَجُوسًا، ونحو قول ابن
مِيَادَةَ: (طويل)

تَفَاعَدَ قَوْمِي إِذْ يَبِيعُونَ مُهْجَتِي
بِجَارِيَّةٍ بَهْرًا لَهُمْ بَعْدَهَا بَهْرًا
وقال: (خفيف)

(س ٥) ثُمَّ قَالُوا تُحِبُّهَا قَلْتُ بَهْرًا
عَدَدَ النَّجْمِ وَالْحَصَى وَالْتُرَابِ

كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ جَهْدًا أَيْ جَهْدِي ذَلِكَ، وَإِنَّمَا يَنْتَسِبُ هَذَا وَمَا
أَشْبَهَهُ إِذَا ذُكِرَ مَذْكُورٌ فَدَعْوَتٌ لَهُ أَوْ عَلَيْهِ عَلَى إِضْمَارِ
الفعل كأنك قلت سَقَاكَ اللهُ سَقِيًّا وَرَعَاكَ اللهُ رَعِيًّا

¹Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

²Simon Mauck and M. Alhawary reviewed early drafts of the translation.

³The meter for tʿawiyl is: *faṣuwlun maṣāʿiylun* (four times).

⁴The meter for xafiyf is: *fāṣilātun mustaṣṣalun fāṣilātun* (twice).

and *xayyabaka ʔal-lāhu xaybatan* ‘may God disappoint you by way of disappointment’. All this and what is like it erects but the *fiʕl* ‘action’ is cut off because they made it a substitute for the expression of the *fiʕl* ‘action’, just as *ʔal-ḥaḍara* ‘the warning’ was made a substitute for *ʔiḥḍar* ‘be careful’. Similarly, it is as though (L. 10) it is a substitute for *sagāka ʔal-lāhu* ‘may God give you water’ and *raṣāka ʔal-lāhu* ‘may God pasture you/protect you’ and for *xayyabaka ʔal-lāhu* ‘may God disappoint you’ and whatever occurred like it, a *fiʕl* ‘action’ is not expressed for it. It is, according to this example, erect. It is as though you made *bahran* ‘by way of being overwhelmed’ a substitute for *baharaka ʔal-lāhu* ‘may God overwhelm you’. This is by way of example it is not spoken.

And what also proves to you that it is erected on the basis of the *fiʕl* ‘action’ is that you don’t mention a thing of these *masʿādir* ‘origins’ so that you may build the speech on it, like you build on *ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* if you were to begin with it. And you don’t make it so it is built on *ʔism* ‘a name’ implied in your intention, but rather on your invocation for it or against it. As to their mentioning *la-ka* ‘to you’ after *sagyan* ‘by way of watering’, it is for them to indicate (L. 15) the meaning by means of invocation and they may leave it out, dispensing with it, if the invocator knows that it is known whom he means. He came up with it as a confirmation. This has the status of your saying *bika* ‘to you’ after your saying *marḥaban* ‘greetings’. They follow the same course in what I have described for you. The poets *rafaʕat* ‘have raised’ some of this and so they made it *mubtadaʔ* ‘initial’ and made what followed it to be built on it. *ʔabuw Zubayd* said: (tʿawiyl)⁵

ʔa-gāma wa ʔagwā ḍāta yawmin wa xaybatun
Li-ʔawwali man yalgā wa šarrun muyassarū
 ‘Did he rise some day and with great hunger there is
 Disappointment and misfortune for the first one he meets’

(L. 20) This is like it the raising in a line of poetry we heard from someone whose Arabic we trust, relating to his people: (tʿawiyl)⁶

ʕaḍiyruka min mawlan ʔiḍā nimta lam yanam
Yaguwlu ʔal-xanā ʔaw taʕtariyka zanābiruhu
 ‘Your excuse from a cousin if you sleep he does not sleep
 He utters indecency or you are attacked by his hornets’

⁵The meter for tʿawiyl is: *faʕuwulun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

⁶The meter for tʿawiyl is: *faʕuwulun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

وَحَيِّكَ اللَّهُ حَيِّئَةً، فَكُلُّ هَذَا وَمَا أَشْبَهَهُ عَلَى هَذَا
 يَنْتَصِبُ، وَإِنَّمَا اخْتَزَلَ الْفِعْلُ هَا هُنَا لِأَنَّهُمْ جَعَلُوهُ بَدَلًا
 مِنَ اللَّفْظِ بِالْفِعْلِ كَمَا جُعِلَ الْحَدَرُ بَدَلًا مِنْ إِحْدَرُ
 وَكَذَلِكَ هَذَا كَأَنَّهُ (س ١٠) بَدَلٌ مِنْ سَقَاكَ اللَّهُ وَرَعَاكَ
 اللَّهُ وَمِنْ حَيِّكَ اللَّهُ، وَمَا جَاءَ مِنْهُ لَا يَظْهَرُ لَهُ فَعْلٌ فَهُوَ
 عَلَى هَذَا الْمِثَالِ نَصَبٌ كَأَنَّكَ جَعَلْتَ بَهْرًا بَدَلًا مِنْ بَهْرَكَ
 اللَّهُ فَهَذَا تَمْثِيلٌ وَلَا يُتَكَلَّمُ بِهِ.

وما يدلك أيضاً على أنه على الفعل نصب أنك لم تذكر
 شيئاً من هذه المصادر لتبني عليه كلاماً كما تبني على
 عبد الله إذا ابتدأته وأنت لم تجعله مبنياً على اسم مضمير
 في نيتك ولكنه على دعائك له أو عليه، وأما ذكرهم
 لك بعد سقياً فإنما هو ليبيّنوا (س ١٥) المعنى بالدعاء
 وربما تركوه استغناءً إذا عرف الداعي أنه قد علم من
 يعني، وربما جاء به على العلم توكيداً فهذا بمنزلة
 قولك بك بعد قولك مرحباً بجران مجرى واحداً فيما
 وصفت لك، وقد رفعت الشعراء بعض هذا فجعلوه
 مبتدأً وجعلوا ما بعده مبنياً عليه. قال أبو زبيد:
 (طويل)

أقام وأقوى ذات يوم وخيبةٌ

لأول من يلقي وسرّ ميسر

(س ٢٠) وهذا شبيهة رفعة بيت سمعناه ممن يوثق
 بعربيته يرويه لقومه: (طويل)

عذيرك من مؤلى إذا نمت لم ينم

يقول الحنا أو تعتريك زنابره

(P. 132) He did not relate the speech to *ʔuʕḏurniy* ‘excuse me’ but he said *ʔinnamā ʕuḏruka ʔiyyāya* ‘your excuse towards me’ from a cousin this is his affair. Like it is the saying of the poet: (t^ʕawiyl)⁷

ʔa-hāgaytumu ḥassāna ʕinda ḏakāʔihi
Fa-ʔayyun li-ʔawlādi ʔal-ḥimāsi t^ʕawiylu
 ‘Did you satirize Hassān with his intelligence
 Long loss to the sons of ʔal-ḥimās’

There is in it the meaning that is in the erected, just like your saying *rahmatu ʔal-lāhi ʕalayhi* ‘may the mercy of God be on him’ has the meaning of an invocation as though it is he said *rahimahu ʔal-lāhu* ‘God had mercy on him’.

(ص ١٣٢) فلم يَجْمَلُ الكلامَ على اَعذُرني ولكنه قال
 إِنما عُدْرُكُ إِيَّايَ من مولى هذا أمره، ومثله قول الشاعر:

(طويل)

أهاجيتُم حَسَّانَ عِنْدَ ذَكَائِهِ

فَعَيُّ لَأَوْلادِ الحِمَّاسِ طَوِيلُ

وفيه المعنى الذي يكونُ في المنصوب كما أنَّ قولَكَ رَحْمَةً
 اللهُ عليه فيه معنى الدِّعاءِ كأنه قال رَحِمَهُ اللهُ.

⁷The meter for t^ʕawiyl is: *faʕuwlun mafāʕiyun* (four times).

**Chapter 62. This is a chapter in which *ʔal-ʔasmāʔ*
‘the names’ follow the course of the *masʿādīr*
‘origins’ that are invoked**

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.158-159, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 132 Haruwn vol.1.
p.314-316)

(I. P. 132. L. 6) And that is as in your saying *turban* ‘by way of dust’ and *gandalan* ‘by way of stone’ and what is similar to that. If you were to introduce *laka* ‘to you’ and you said *turban laka* ‘dust to you’, its explanation here is like its explanation in the previous chapter. It is as though he said *ʔalzamaka ʔal-lāhu wa ʔatʿamaka ʔal-lāhu turban wa gandalan* ‘may God impose on you and may God feed you dust and stone’ and what is like this from the *fiʕl* ‘action’. The *fiʕl* ‘action’ was apocopated here, because they made it a substitute for your saying *taribat yadāka wa gundilat* ‘your hands-d got dusty and were tossed down’. Some Arabs (L.10) have raised it and made it *mubtadaʔ* ‘initial’, and what follows it is related to it. The poet said: (tʿawiyl)⁸

Lagad ʔalaba ʔal-wāšuwna ʔalban li-baynihim
Fa-turbun li-ʔafwāhi ʔal-wušāti wa gandalu
‘The traitors gathered among themselves
Dust and stone to the mouths of the traitors’

There is in it that meaning that is in the *mansʿuwb* ‘erected’ just like that which was in the first. Of that is the saying of the Arabs *fāhā li-fiyka* ‘her mouth to your mouth’. He wants/means *fāh ʔal-dāhiyah* ‘mouth of the snake’. It is as though he said *turban li-fiyka* ‘dust for your mouth’. So it became a substitute for the expression of the *fiʕl* ‘action’ and it is pronominalized, just as he pronominalized for *ʔal-turb wa ʔal-gandal* ‘the dust and stone’ and it became a substitute for the expression of his saying *dahāka ʔal-lāhu* ‘may God affect you’. ʔabuw sidrata (L.15) ʔal-hugamiyy said: (tʿawiyl)⁹

Tahassaba hawwāsun wa-ʔagbala ʔannaniy
Bihā muftadin min wāhidin lā ʔuyāmiruh
Fa-gultu lahu fāhā li-fiyka fa-ʔinnahā
galuwsʿu-mriʔin gāriyka mā ʔanta hādiruh
‘Hawwās confronted me and figured that
I will make an offering to the one I don’t challenge
So I said to him her mouth to your mouth, she is
She is a young camel and only guest meal you are to
have is what you will avoid’

⁸The meter for tʿawiyl is: *faʕuwlun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

⁹The meter for tʿawiyl is: *faʕuwlun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

(٦٢) هذا باب ما جرى من الأسماء مجرى
المصادر التي يُدعى بها

(م ١٠١ ب ٦٢ ص ١٣٢ س ٦) وذلك قولك: تُرباً
وجندلاً وما أشبه هذا فإن أدخلت لك فقلت تُرباً لك
فإن تفسيرها ها هنا كتفسيرها في الباب الأول كأنه قال
ألزمتك الله وأطعمتك الله تُرباً وجندلاً وما أشبه من
الفعل فاخترت الفعل ها هنا لأنهم جعلوه بدلاً من
قولك تربت يداك وجندكت، وقد (س ١٠) رفعه
بعض العرب فجعله مبتدأً مبنياً عليه ما بعده. قال
الشاعر: (طويل)

لقد ألب الواشون ألباً لبينهم
فترب لأفواه الوشاء وجندل
وفيه ذلك المعنى الذي في المنصوب كما كان ذلك في
الأول، ومن ذلك قول العرب فاهاً لفيك وإنما تريد فا
الداهية كأنه قال تُرباً لفيك فصار بدلاً من اللفظ
بالفعل وأضمر له كما أضمر للترب والجندل فصار
بدلاً من اللفظ بقوله دهاك الله. وقال أبو سدرّة (س
١٥) الهجوي: (طويل)

تحسب هواس وأقبل أنني
بها مفتد من واحد لا أغامر
فقلت له فاهاً لفيك فإتها
قلوص امرئ قاريك ما أنت حاذرة

And what proves to you that he wants the snake is his saying
(mutacārib)¹⁰

Wa dāhiyatun min dawāhiy ʔal-manuwni

Yarhabuhā ʔal-nāsu lā fālahā

A calamity of the calamities of the age

The people fear it and it has no cure'

(L. 20) He made for *ʔal-dāhiyah* 'calamity' a mouth.
Someone we trust told us of this.

ويدلُّك على أنه يريد به الداهية قوله: (متقارب)

وداهية من دواهي المنو

- ن يَرَهْبُهَا النَّاسُ لَا فَالَهَا

(س ٢٠) فجعل للداهية فمًا. حدَّثنا بذلك من نثق به.

¹⁰The meter for mutacārib is: *faṣuwlun faṣuwlun faṣuwlun faṣuwl* (twice).

Chapter 63. This is a chapter on what follows the course of the *mas'ādīr* 'origins' that are invoked

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.159-160, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 133 Haruwn vol.1. p.316-318)

(I. P. 133. L. 1) And that is as in your saying *haniyʔan mariyʔan* 'by way of enjoyment and wholesomeness/May it do you much good'. It is as though you said *əabata laka haniyʔan mariyʔan* 'enjoyment and wholesomeness were established for you' and *hanaʔahu ḍālika haniyʔan* 'that pleased him by way of enjoyment'. He erected it because it was mentioned to you that *xayrun ʔas'ābahu ragulun* 'goodness encountered by a man'; so you said *haniyʔan mariyʔan* 'enjoyment and wholesomeness' as though you said *əabata lahu ḍālika haniyʔan mariyʔan* 'that was established for him by way of enjoyment and wholesomeness'. So the *fiʔl* 'action' was apocopated, because it became a *badalan* 'substitute' for the expression for your saying *hanaʔaka* 'joy came upon you'. What proves to you that it is based on the implication of *hanaʔaka* is the saying of ʔal-ʔaxtʔal: (*basiyʔ*)¹¹

ʔilā ʔimāmin tuḡādiynā fawāḍʔ iluhu
ʔaḍʔfarahu ʔal-lāhu fa-lyahniʔ lahu ʔal-ḍʔafaru
 'To an Imam whose gifts bless us
 God gave him victory, let enjoyment be in the victory'

It is as though if he were to say *haniyʔan lahu ʔal-ḍʔafaru* 'victory is enjoyment to him', then he said *li-yahniʔ lahu ʔal-ḍʔafaru* 'that victory give him joy'. If he were to say *li-yahniʔ lahu ʔal-ḍʔafaru* then he said *haniyʔan lahu ʔal-ḍʔafaru* 'let victory give him joy'. Each one of them is a *badal* 'substitute' for its associate; that is why they cut off the *fiʔl* 'action' here just as they cut it off in their saying *ʔal-ḥaḍara* 'the warning'. So that a *fiʔl* 'action' acts on *al-ḍʔafaru wa ʔal-hanʔu* 'victory and enjoyment', and *ʔal-ḍʔafaru* 'the victory' has the status of an *ʔism* 'name' in his saying *hanaʔa ḍālika* 'joy occurred' when it was given as an example. Similarly, the saying of the poet (*tʔawiy*)¹²

(L. 10) *Haniyʔan li-ʔarbābi ʔal-buyuti buyuwtuḡum*
Wa li-lʔazabi ʔal-miskiyni mā yatalammasu
 'Joy of their houses to the masters of the houses
 And to the poor bachelor whatever he finds'

(٦٣) هذا باب ما أُجْرِي مَجْرِي

المصادر المدعوبها

(م ١. ب ٦٣. ص ١٣٣. س ١) وذلك قولك هنيئاً مريئاً كأنك قلت ثبّت لك هنيئاً مريئاً وهنأ ذلك هنيئاً، وإنما نصبه لأنه ذُكر لك خيرٌ أصابه رجل فقلت هنيئاً مريئاً كأنك قلت ثبّت ذلك له هنيئاً مريئاً، فاختزل الفعل لأنه صار بدلاً من اللفظ بقولك هنأك، ويدلك على أنه على إضمار هنأك قول الشاعر وهو الأخطل: (بسيط)

(س ٥) إلى إمام تغاديننا فواضله

أظفّره الله فليهنئ له الظفّر

كأنه إذا قال هنيئاً له الظفّر فقد قال ليهنئ له الظفّر، وإذا قال ليهنئ له الظفّر فقد قال هنيئاً له الظفّر فكل واحد منهما بدلٌ من صاحبه فلذلك اختزلوا الفعل هاهنا كما اختزلوه في قولهم الحذّر فالظفّر والهنئ عملاً فيها الفعل والظفّر بمنزلة الاسم في قوله هنأ ذلك حين مُثّل، وكذلك قول الشاعر: (طويل)

هنيئاً لأرباب البيوت يبوئهم

وللعزب المسكين ما يتلمّس

¹¹The meter for *basiyʔ* is: *mustafīlun fāfīlun* (four times).

¹²The meter for *tʔawiy* is: *mafūwḡun mafāfīyḡun* (four times)

Chapter 64. This is a chapter on what follows, of the *mas'ādir* 'origins' that are *mud'āfah* 'annexed', the course of the singular *ma'sādir* 'origins' that are invoked by them

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.160, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 133 Haruwn vol.1. p.318)

(I. P. 133. L. 11) They have been annexed so that what is annexed in them has the status of the *lām* [l] if you were to say *sagyan la-ka* 'by way of watering to you', so you would point out whom you mean. And like that are *way-la-ka* 'woe to you' and *wayḥa-ka* 'how insolent of you/woe to you' and *waysa-ka* 'how disastrous for you/woe to you' and *wayba-ka* 'how calamitous to you/ woe to you'. *sagyaka* 'your watering' is not permitted, rather, they follow the course that the Arabs followed. An example of that is *ṣadadtuka* 'I counted you' and *kiltuka* 'I measured you' and *wazantuka* 'I weighed you' but you don't say *wahabtuka* 'I gave [to] you' because they do not treat it as a transitive verb, but *wahabtu laka* 'I gave [to] you'. This is a *ḥarf* 'word' that is not spoken of in the singular except that it is according to *way-la-ka* 'woe to you' and that is your saying *way-la-ka* 'woe to you' and *ṣawla-ka* 'what a disaster to you'. And *ṣawlu-ka* is not permitted.

(٦٤) هذا باب ما جرى من المصادر المضافة
مجرى المصادر المفردة المدعو بها

(م ١. ب ٦٤. ص ١٣٣. س ١١) وإنما أُضيفت
ليكون المضاف فيها بمنزلة في اللام اذا قلت سقياً
لك لتبين من تعني، وذلك ويملك ويحك
وويسك وويبك. ولا يجوز سقيك إنما تجري اذا كما
أجرت العرب ومثل ذلك عددتك وكلتتك
ووزنتك، ولا تقول وهبتك لأنهم لم يعدوه ولكن
(س ١٥) وهبت لك، وهذا حرف لا يتكلم به
مفرداً إلا أن يكون على ويملك وهو قولك ويملك
وعولك ولا يجوز عولك.

Chapter 65. This is a chapter on what is erected of the *masʿādīr* ‘origins’ based on the implication of the *fiʿl* ‘action’ whose expression has been left out in other than in the *duʿāʾ* ‘invocation’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.160-162, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 133-134 Haruwn vol.1. p.318–321)

(I. P. 133. L. 17) An example of that is your saying *ḥamdan wa šukran* ‘gratitude and thanks’ not *kufṛan wa ʿagaban* ‘blasphemy and wonder, and I do that’ *Wa karāmatan wa masarratan* ‘and honor and joy’ *wa nuʿmata ʿaynin* ‘and graceful sight’, *wa ḥubban wa naʿāma ʿaynin* ‘and love and pleasure of the eye, and I don’t do that’ *wa lā kaydan wa lā hamman* ‘no deception and no worry and I will do that’ *Wa rayman wa hawānan* ‘and compulsion and belittling’. This is erected (L. 20) based on the implication of the *fiʿl* ‘action’. It is as though you said *ʔaḥmadu ʔal-lāha ḥamdan* ‘I praise God with praise’ and *ʔaškuru ʔal-lāha šukran* ‘I thank God with thanks’. Similarly, you said *ʔaʿgabu ʿagaban* ‘I wonder with wonder’, and *ʔukrimuka karāmatan* ‘I honor you with honor’, and *ʔasurruka masarratan* ‘I gladden you with gladness’, and *lā ʔakādu kaydan* ‘I don’t conspire with conspiracy’, and *lā ʔahummu hamman* ‘I do not worry with worry’, and *ʔuryimuka rayman* ‘I coerce you by way of coercion’. (P. 134) Rather, the *fiʿl* ‘action’ has been cut off here because they made a substitute for the expression of the *fiʿl* ‘action’, just as they did that in the chapter on *duʿāʾ* ‘invocation’. It is as though their saying is *ḥamdan* ‘by way of praise’ in place of *ʔaḥmadu ʔal-lāha* ‘I praise God’ and his saying *ʿagaban minhu* ‘by way of wonder at him’ in place of *ʔaʿgabu minhu* ‘I wonder at him’ and his saying *wa lā kaydan* ‘and no conspiracy’ in place *wa lā ʔakādu wa lā ʔahummu* ‘and I do not conspire, I do not worry’. Some of this occurred raised. *Yubtadaʔu* ‘it starts off’ then it builds on it. Yuwnis claimed that ruʔbata bna ʔal-ʿaggāg used to recite this line with a raise and it is attributed to someone from the tribe of maḏḥig (L 5) and he is Hunayyu bnu ʔaḥmar ʔal-kināniyy: (kāmīl)¹³

ʿagabun li-tilka gadʿiyyatan wa ʔigāmatiy
Fiykum ʿalā tilka ʔal-gadʿiyyati ʔaʿgabu
 ‘I am amazed about that situation and my stay
 Among you concerning that situation is more amazing’

And we have heard some Arab who is dependable, when *kayfa ʔasʿbaḥta* ‘how did you come to the morning’ was said to him, he said *ḥamdu li-ʔal-lāhi wa ʔanāʔun ʿalyhi* ‘God’s thanks and praise to him’.

(٦٥) هذا باب ما يتنصب على إضمار الفعل
 المتروك إظهاره من المصادر في غير الدعاء

(م ١. ي ٦٥. ص ١٣٣. س ١٧) من ذلك قولك
 حمداً وشكراً لا كُفراً وعجباً، وأفعل ذلك وكرامةً
 ومسرّةً ونعمةً عينٍ وحبّاً ونعامٍ عينٍ، ولا أفعل ذاك
 ولا كيداً ولا همّاً ولا فعلنّ ذاك ورغماً وهواناً فإنها،
 (س ٢٠) يتنصب هذا على إضمار الفعل، كأنك قلت
 أحمد الله حمداً وأشكر الله شكراً وكأنك قلت أعجب
 عجباً وأكرمك كرامةً وأسرك مسرّةً ولا أكاد كيداً ولا
 أهمُّ همّاً وأرغمك رغماً (ص ١٣٤) وإنما اختزل الفعل
 هاهنا لأنهم جعلوا هذا بدلاً من اللفظ بالفعل كما
 فعلوا ذلك في باب الدعاء. كأن قولهم حمداً في موضع
 أحمد الله وقوله عجباً منه في موضع أعجب منه وقوله
 ولا كيداً في موضع ولا أكاد ولا أهمُّ وقد جاء بعض
 هذا رفعاً يبتدأ ثم يُبنى عليه وزعم يونس أن روبة بن
 العجاج كان يُشدد هذا البيت رفعاً، وهو لبعض
 مدحج (س ٥) وهو هنيئ بن أحمَرَ الكِنَانِيّ: (كامل)

عَجِبْتُ لِنَتِكَ قَضِيَّةً وَإِقَامَتِي

فِيكُمْ عَلَى تِلْكَ الْقَضِيَّةِ أَعْجَبُ

وسمعنا بعض العرب الموثوق به يُقال له كيف
 أصبحت فيقول حمد الله وتناءً عليه.

¹³The meter for Kamil is: *mutafāʿīlun* (six times).

It is as though he relates it to something implied in his intention which is what is expressed. It is as though he is saying *ʔamriy wa šaʔniy* ‘my case and my situation is’ *ḥamdu ʔal-lāhi wa ʔanāʔun ṣalyhi* ‘thanking God and praising him’. Even if he were to erect, what would be in his mind is the *fiʕl* ‘action’ and it would not be *mubtadaʔan* ‘initial’ to be built on nor would it be built on (L. 10) a thing which is what is expressed. This is like the line of poetry we heard from some Arab who is dependable reciting it as: (t^ʕawiyl)¹⁴

Fa-gālat ḥanānun mā ʔatā bika ḥāhunā
ʔa-ḏuw nasabin ʔam ʔanta bi-ʔal-ḥayyiy ṣārifu
 ‘And she said, was it yearning that brought you here
 Or have you relatives or do you know the premises’

She did not want *taḥannan* ‘strong desire’ but said our case is of *ḥanān* ‘yearning’ or what affects us is yearning and in this meaning, all of it, is the meaning of the erect. And like it is that it is based on the *ʔibtidāʔ* ‘initial’ and it is not related to the *fiʕl* ‘action’ is the saying of the Powerful and Glorious *gāluw maʔḏiratun ʔilā rabbikum* ‘they said an apology to your Lord’. They did not want to apologize a renewed apology for a matter that they were blamed for but it was said to them *lima* (L. 15) *taṣiḏuwna gawman gāluw mawṣiḏatunā maṣḏiratun ʔilā rabbikum* ‘why do you exhort people, they said our exhortation is an apology to your Lord’. If a man were to say to a man *maṣḏiratan ʔilā ʔal-lāhi wa ʔilayka min kaḏā wa kaḏā* ‘apology to God and to you for such and so’, he means an apology and he would erect. An example of that is the saying of the poet: (ragaz)¹⁵

Yaškuw ʔilayya gamaliy t^ʕuwla ʔal-surā
S^ʕabrun gamiylun fa-kilānā mubtalā
 ‘My camel complains to me of the length of the trip
 Good patience for both of us are affected’

ʔal-nas^ʕb ‘the erect’ is more frequent and better because he commands it. An example of *raṣṣ* ‘raising’ is *fa-sabrun gamiylun wa ʔal-lāhu ʔal-mustaṣānu* ‘good patience and God is the helper’. It is as though he is saying *ʔal-ʔamru s^ʕabrun gamiylun* ‘the issue is good patience’. On account of what the raise of *ḥanānun wa sab^ʕrun* ‘yearning and patience’ are based on, and what is like its expression, is not used. Leaving out its expression (L. 20) is like leaving out what is erected in it.

¹⁴The meter for t^ʕawiyl is: *faṣuwluw mafāʕiyilun* (four times).

¹⁵The meter for ragaz is: *mustaṣiḏilun* (six times).

كَأَنَّهُ يَجْمَلُهُ عَلَى مُضْمَرٍ فِي نَيْتِهِ هُوَ الْمُظْهَرُ كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ
 أَمْرِي وَشَأْنِي حَمْدُ اللَّهِ وَتَنَاءٌ عَلَيْهِ، وَلَوْ نَصَبَ لَكَانَ
 الَّذِي فِي نَفْسِهِ الْفِعْلَ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ مَبْتَدَأً لِيُنَيِّئَ عَلَيْهِ وَلَا
 لِيَكُونَ مَبْتَدَأً عَلَى (س ١٠) شَيْءٍ هُوَ مَا أَظْهَرَ، وَهَذَا
 مِثْلُ بَيْتٍ سَمِعْنَاهُ مِنْ بَعْضِ الْعَرَبِ الْمُوثِقِ بِهِ يَرْوِيهِ:
 (طويل)

فَقَالَتْ حَنَانٌ مَا أَتَى بِكَ هَاهُنَا
 أَذُو نَسَبٍ أَمْ أَنْتَ بِالْحَيِّ عَارِفٌ

لَمْ تُرِدْ تَحَنُّنٌ وَلَكِنَهَا قَالَتْ أَمْرُنَا حَنَانٌ أَوْ مَا يُصَيِّبُنَا حَنَانٌ
 وَفِي هَذَا الْمَعْنَى كُلُّهُ مَعْنَى النِّصْبِ، وَمِثْلُهُ فِي أَنَّهُ عَلَى
 الْإِبْتِدَاءِ وَلَيْسَ عَلَى فِعْلٍ قَوْلُهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قَالُوا مَعْذِرَةٌ
 إِلَى رَبِّكُمْ لَمْ يَرِيدُوا أَنْ يَعْتَذِرُوا اعْتِذَارًا مُسْتَأْنَفًا مِنْ أَمْرٍ
 لِيَمُوا عَلَيْهِ وَلَكِنَهُمْ قِيلَ لَهُمْ لَمْ (س ١٥) تَعْظُونَ قَوْمًا
 قَالُوا مَوْعِظَتُنَا مَعْذِرَةٌ إِلَى رَبِّكُمْ وَلَوْ قَالَ رَجُلٌ لِرَجُلٍ
 مَعْذِرَةٌ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَإِلَيْكَ مِنْ كَذَا وَكَذَا يَرِيدُ اعْتِذَارًا لَنْصَبَ
 وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ الشَّاعِرِ: (رجز)

يَشْكُو إِلَيَّ جَمَلِي طَوَّلَ الشَّرَى
 صَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ فَكِلَانَا مُبْتَلَى

وَالنِّصْبُ أَكْثَرُ وَأَجُودٌ لِأَنَّهُ يَأْمُرُهُ وَمِثْلُ الرَّفْعِ فَصَبْرٌ
 جَمِيلٌ وَاللَّهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ الْأَمْرُ صَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ وَالَّذِي
 يُرْفَعُ عَلَيْهِ حَنَانٌ وَصَبْرٌ وَمَا أَشْبَهَ ذَلِكَ لَا يُسْتَعْمَلُ
 إِظْهَارُهُ، وَتَرَكَ (س ٢٠) إِظْهَارَهُ كَتَرَكَ إِظْهَارَ مَا
 يُنْصَبُ فِيهِ.

And like it is the saying of some of the Arabs *man ʔanta zaydun* ‘who are you, Zaid’ that is *man ʔanta kalāmuka zaydun* ‘who are you, by way of your speech, about Zaid’. They left out the expression of what raises, just like leaving out the expression of what erects and because it has that meaning and became *badalan* ‘a substitute’ for the expression of the *fiʔl* ‘action’. You shall see the likes of it, God willing.

ومثله قول بعض العرب مَنْ أَنْتَ زَيْدٌ أَيَّ مِنْ أَنْتَ
كَلَامُكَ زَيْدٌ، فَتَرَكُوا إِظْهَارَ الرَّافِعِ كَثَرَكِ إِظْهَارَ النَّصْبِ
وَلَأَنَّ فِيهِ ذَلِكَ الْمَعْنَى وَصَارَ بَدَلًا مِنْ اللَّفْظِ بِالْفِعْلِ
وَسَتَرَى مِثْلَهُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.