

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

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Chapter 66. This is a chapter also on the *masʿādir* ‘origins’ that erect due to *fiʿl* ‘an action’ whose expression has been left out, but they are *masʿādir* ‘origins’ that are placed in the same location and they do not inflect in speech the inflection we have mentioned of the *masʿādir* ‘origins’. Their inflection is that they occur in positions of *garr* ‘pulling’ and *raff* ‘raising’ and are introduced by *ʔalif* and *lām* ‘ʔal-’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.162-165, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 135-137 Haruwn vol.1.  
p.322–328)

(I. P. 135. L. 1) And that is as in your saying *subḥāna ʔal-lāhi* ‘glory be to God’ and *maʿāḍa ʔal-lāhi* ‘God forbid’ and *rayḥānahu* ‘his beneficence’ and *ʕamraka ʔal-lāhi* ‘God give you long life’ except you did and *ʕiʕdaka ʔal-lāhi* ‘God keep you safe’ except you do. It is as though when he said *subḥāna ʔal-lāhi* ‘glory be to God’ he said (L 5) *tasbiyḥan* ‘by way of praising’ and where he said *wa rayḥānahu* ‘and his beneficence’ he said *ʔistirzāgan* ‘by way of looking for livelihood’ because the meaning of *rayḥān* ‘beneficence’ is *ʔal-rizg* ‘the livelihood’. He erected this based on *ʔusabbihū ʔal-lāhi tasbiyḥan* ‘I glorify God by way of glorifying’ and *ʔastarzigu ʔal-lāhi ʔistirzāgan* ‘I seek a livelihood from God by way of seeking’. This has the status of *subḥāna ʔal-lāhi wa rayḥānahu* ‘glory be to God and his beneficence’. The *fiʿl* ‘action’ is cut off here because it is *badal* ‘a substitute’ for the expression of his saying *ʔusabbihūka wa ʔastarziguka* ‘I glorify you and seek from you livelihood’. It is as though where he said *maʿāḍa ʔal-lāhi* ‘God forbid’ he also said *ʕiyāḍan bi-ʔal-lāhi* ‘by way of seeking protection from God’. And *ʕiyāḍan* ‘by way of seeking protection’ is erect on the basis of *ʔaʕuḍu bi-ʔal-lāhi ʕiyāḍan* ‘I seek protection from God by way of by seeking’, but they did not express the *fiʿl* ‘action’ here just as it is not expressed in the one before it.

هذا كتاب سيبويه  
المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٦٦) هذا بابٌ أيضاً من المصادرِ يَنْتَصِبُ  
ولكنها مَصَادِرُ وُضِعَتْ مَوْضِعاً واحداً لا  
تَنْصَرِفُ في الكلامِ تَصَرَّفَ ما ذَكَرْنَا مِنَ المَصَادِرِ.  
وتَصَرَّفُها أَنها تَقَعُ في مَوْضِعِ الجَرِّ والرَّفْعِ  
وتَدْخُلُها الألفُ واللامُ.

وذلك قولك: سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَعَاذَ اللَّهِ وَرِيحَانَهُ، وَعَمْرُكَ  
اللَّهُ إِلَّا فَعَلْتَ، وَقِعْدَكَ اللَّهُ إِلَّا فَعَلْتَ، كَأَنَّهُ حَيْثُ قَالَ:  
سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ قَالَ: (س ٥) تَسْبِيحاً، وَحَيْثُ قَالَ: وَرِيحَانَهُ  
قَالَ: وَاسْتِرْزَاقاً لِأَنَّ مَعْنَى الرَّيْحَانِ الرِّزْقُ. فَنَصَبَ هَذَا  
عَلَى أَسْبَحِ اللَّهُ تَسْبِيحاً وَأَسْتَرْزُقُ اللَّهُ اسْتِرْزَاقاً فَهَذَا  
بِمَنْزِلَةِ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَرِيحَانَهُ، وَخُرِزَ الفِعْلُ هَهُنَا لِأَنَّهُ  
بَدَلٌ مِنَ اللَّفْظِ بِقَوْلِهِ: أَسْبَحْكَ وَاسْتَرْزُقْكَ. وَكَأَنَّهُ  
حَيْثُ قَالَ: مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ، قَالَ: عِيَاذاً بِاللَّهِ. وَعِيَاذاً أَنْتَصَبَ  
عَلَى أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ عِيَاذاً، وَلَكِنَّهُمْ لَمْ يُظْهِرُوا الفِعْلَ هَهُنَا كَمَا  
لَمْ يُظْهِرَ فِي الَّذِي قَبْلَهُ.

<sup>1</sup>Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

<sup>2</sup>Simon Mauck and Mohammad Alhawary reviewed early drafts of the translation.

And it is as though where he said *ṣamraka ṣal-lāha* ‘God give you long life’ and *ḡiṣdaka ṣal-lāha* ‘God keep you safe’, he said *ṣammartuka ṣal-lāha* ‘I ask God to give you long life’ with the status of *našadtuka ṣal-lāha* ‘I implored God for you’, (L. 10) so that *ṣamraka ṣal-lāha* ‘God give you long life’ became erect on the basis of *ṣammartuka ṣal-lāha* ‘I ask God to give you long life’. It is as though you said *ṣammartuka ṣamran* ‘I asked for long life for you by way of long life’ and *našadtuka našdan* ‘I implored for you by way of imploring’. They, however, cut off the *fiʿl* ‘action’ because they made it a *badal* ‘substitution’ for the expression. The poet said: (basiyṯ)<sup>3</sup>

*Ṣammartuki ṣal-lāha ṣillā mā ḡakarti lanā*  
*Hal kunti ḡāratana ṣayyāma ḡiy salami*

‘I asked God for your long life for you except what you mentioned to us

Were you our neighbor in the days of ḡiy Salam?’

and *ḡiṣdika ṣal-lāha* ‘I implored God for you’ follows this course even if it does not have a *fiʿl* ‘action’ and as though his saying that *ṣamraka ṣal-lāha* ‘God give you long life’ and *ḡiṣdika ṣal-lāha* ‘I implored God for you’ have the status of *našdaka ṣal-lāha* ‘your imploring God’ even if *našdaka ṣal-lāha* ‘your imploring God’ is not spoken. But ṣal-Khalīl claimed that it is an example that is exemplified with. (L. 15) The poet said, and he is ṣibn ṣaḡmar: (kāmil)<sup>4</sup>

*Ṣammartuki ṣal-lāha ṣal-ḡaliyla fa-ṣinnaniy*  
*ṣalwiyy ṣalayka lawa-nna lubbaka yahtadiy*

‘I ask God the Exalted to give you long life because  
I favor you if your heart were to be guided’

the *masʿdar* ‘origin’ is *ṣal-nišdān* and *ṣal-nišdatu* ‘implication’. This is a mention of the meaning of *subḡāna* ‘glory’, it has been mentioned to prove to you the *wagh* ‘aspect’ of its erecting and what is like it. ṣabuw ṣal-xatʿāb claimed that *subḡāna ṣal-lāhi* ‘glory be to God’ is like *barāṣata ṣal-lāhi* ‘innocence of God’ from evil. It is as though he is saying *ṣubarriṣu barāṣata ṣal-lāhi mina ṣal-suwṣi* ‘I absolve with the absolution of God from evil’. He claimed that like is the saying of the poet who is ṣal-ṣaḡṣā: (sariyṯ)<sup>5</sup> (L. 20)

<sup>3</sup>The meter of basiyṯ is: *mustaḡṣilun faḡṣilun* (four times).

<sup>4</sup>The meter of kāmil is: *mutaḡṣilun* (six times).

<sup>5</sup>The meter of sariyṯ is: *mustaḡṣilun mustaḡṣilun faḡṣilun* (two times).

وكانه حيث قال: عَمَرَكَ اللهُ وَقَعَدَكَ اللهُ قَالَ: عَمَّرْتُكَ اللهُ  
بِمَنْزِلَةِ نَشْدَتِكَ (س ١٠) اللهُ، فَصَارَتْ عَمَرَكَ اللهُ  
مَنْصُوبَةً بِعَمَّرْتُكَ اللهُ، كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ: عَمَّرْتُكَ عَمْرًا  
وَنَشْدَتُكَ نَشْدًا، وَلَكِنْهُمْ خَزَلُوا الْفِعْلَ لِأَنَّهُمْ جَعَلُوهُ  
بَدَلًا مِنَ الْفِعْلِ بِهِ. قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ: (بَسِيْط)

عَمَّرْتُكَ اللهُ إِذَا مَا ذَكَرْتِ لَنَا  
هَلْ كُنْتِ جَارَتِنَا أَيَّامَ ذِي سَلَمٍ

فَقَعَدَكَ اللهُ يَجْرِي هَذَا الْمَجْرَى وَإِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ فِعْلٌ. وَكَأَنَّ  
قَوْلَهُ: عَمَرَكَ اللهُ وَقَعَدَكَ اللهُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ نَشْدَتِكَ اللهُ وَإِنْ لَمْ  
يُتَكَلَّمْ بِنَشْدَتِكَ اللهُ، وَلَكِنْ زَعَمَ الْخَلِيلُ رَحِمَهُ اللهُ أَنَّ هَذَا  
تَمَثِيلٌ يُمَثَّلُ بِهِ. (س ١٥) قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ، ابْنُ أَحْمَرَ:  
(كَامِل)

عَمَّرْتُكَ اللهُ الْجَلِيلُ فَإِنِّي  
أَلْوِي عَلَيْكَ لَوْ أَنَّ لُبَّكَ يَهْتَدِي

وَالْمَصْدَرُ النَّشْدَانُ وَالنَّشْدَةُ. وَهَذَا ذِكْرٌ مَعْنَى  
«سُبْحَانَ»، وَإِنَّمَا ذِكْرُ لَبِيْنٍ لَكَ وَجْهٌ نَصَبِهِ وَمَا أَشْبَهَهُ.  
زَعَمَ أَبُو الْخَطَّابِ أَنَّ سُبْحَانَ اللهُ كَقَوْلِكَ: بَرَاءَةٌ اللهُ مِنَ  
السُّوْءِ، كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ: أَبْرِيْ بَرَاءَةَ اللهُ مِنَ السُّوْءِ. وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ  
مِثْلَهُ قَوْلُ الشَّاعِرِ، وَهُوَ الْأَعَشَى: (سَرِيْع)

*ʔaguwlu lammā gāʔaniy faxruhu*

*Subhāna min ʕalgamata ʔal-fāxiri*

‘I say when his boasting reached me

Innocence from *ʕalgama* and his boasting’

That is *barāʔatan minhu* ‘to be innocent from him’. As to leaving out of the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ in *subhāna* ‘glory’, its variation was left out because according to them it has become *maʕrifah* ‘definite’ and its erecting is like the erecting of *ʔal-ḥamda lilāhi* ‘thanks be to God’. ʕabuw ʔal-xattlāb claimed that similar to this is your saying to a man *salāman* ‘greeting’ you meant (P. 136) *tasalluman minka* ‘accepting greeting from you’ just as you said *barāʔatan minka* ‘innocent on your account’ and I am not confused about any matter on your account. He claimed that ʔabā rabiyyata used to say that if you meet someone then say to him *salāman*. He claimed that he questioned him and he explained it to him with the meaning of *barāʔatan minka* ‘innocence on your-s account, and he claimed that this verse is *maʕfuwlun bihā* ‘an acted-upon’ *wa ʔiḏā xātabahumu ʔal-gāhiliwna gāluw salāman* (Sūrah XXV:63) ‘and when the ignorant address them they say peace’ has the status of that because the verse is according to what he claims is Meccan, and he did not command the Muslims then to greet the polytheist but based on his saying *barāʔatan* (L. 5) *minkum* ‘innocence on your-p account’ and *tasalluman* ‘receiving greeting’. There is neither good nor bad between us. He claimed that the saying of the poet and he is ʔumayyatu bnu ʔabiy ʔal-s<sup>ʕ</sup>alt (wāfir)<sup>6</sup>

*salāmaka rabbanā fiy kulli fagrīn*

*Bariyʔan mā tayannaʔuka ʔal-ḏumuwmu*

‘Your peace, our lord, at every dawn

Innocent from defects that may be attached to you’

is based on his saying *barāʔataka rabbanā min kulli suwʔin* ‘your innocence our lord from every evil’. All this is erected according to the erecting of *ḥamdan wa ʕukran* ‘praise and thanks’ except that this is inflectable and that is not inflectable, and it is a replica of *subhāna ʔal-lāhi* ‘glory be to God’ both in *bināʔ* ‘structure’ from *mas<sup>ʕ</sup>ādīr* ‘origins’ and in the flow. It is not with (L. 10) the meaning of *ʔufrān* ‘forgiveness’ because some of the Arabs say *ʔufrānaka* ‘your forgiveness’ not *kufrānaka* ‘your infidelity’. He wants *ʔistiyyāran* ‘asking forgiveness’ not *kufran* ‘infidelity’. Similar to this is His saying, most High is His praise:

<sup>6</sup>The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun faʕuwlun* (two times).

(س ٢٠) أقول لَمَّا جَاءَنِي فَخْرُهُ

سُبْحَانَ مِّنْ عَلَقَمَةِ الْفَاخِرِ

أي براءة منه. وأما ترك التنوين في سُبْحَانَ فَإِنَّمَا تُرِكَ صَرْفُهُ لِأَنَّهُ صَارَ عِنْدَهُمْ مَعْرِفَةً وَانْتِصَابُهُ كَانْتِصَابِ الْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ. وَزَعَمَ أَبُو الْخَطَّابِ أَنَّ مِثْلَهُ قَوْلُكَ لِلرَّجُلِ: سَلَامًا تُرِيدُ (ص ١٣٦) تَسَلَّمَ مِنْكَ كَمَا قُلْتَ: بَرَاءَةٌ مِنْكَ، تُرِيدُ: لَا أَلْتَسِسُ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ أَمْرِكَ. وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ أَبَا رِبِيعَةَ كَانَ يَقُولُ: إِذَا لَقَيْتَ فَلَانًا فَقُلْ لَهُ سَلَامًا. فَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ سَأَلَهُ فَفَسَّرَهُ لَهُ بِمَعْنَى بَرَاءَةٍ مِنْكَ. وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ مَفْعُولٌ بِهَا: {وَإِذَا خَاطَبَهُمُ الْجَاهِلُونَ قَالُوا سَلَامًا} بِمَنْزِلَةِ ذَلِكَ، لِأَنَّ الْآيَةَ فِيهَا زَعَمَ مَكِّيَّةٌ، وَلَمْ يُؤْمَرْ الْمُسْلِمُونَ يَوْمَئِذٍ أَنْ يَسَلِّمُوا عَلَى الْمُشْرِكِينَ، وَلَكِنَّهُ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ: بَرَاءَةٌ (س ٥) مِنْكُمْ وَتَسَلَّمَ، لَا خَيْرَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ وَلَا شَرٌّ. وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ قَوْلَ الشَّاعِرِ وَهُوَ أُمِيَّةُ بْنُ أَبِي الصَّلْتِ: (وَافِر)

سَلَامَكَ رَبَّنَا فِي كُلِّ فَجْرٍ

بَرِيئًا مَا تَغْنَثُكَ الدُّمُومُ

على قوله: بَرَاءَتِكَ رَبَّنَا مِنْ كُلِّ سُوءٍ. فَكُلُّ هَذَا يَنْتِصِبُ انْتِصَابَ حَمْدًا وَشُكْرًا إِلَّا أَنَّ هَذَا يَنْتِصِرْفُ وَذَلِكَ لَا يَنْتِصِرْفُ. وَنَظِيرُ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ فِي الْبِنَاءِ مِنَ الْمَصَادِرِ وَالْمَجْرَى لَا فِي (س ١٠) الْمَعْنَى غُفْرَانَ لِأَنَّ بَعْضَ الْعَرَبِ يَقُولُ: غُفْرَانَكَ لَا كُفْرَانَكَ يَرِيدُ اسْتِغْفَارًا لَا كُفْرًا. وَمِثْلُ هَذَا قَوْلُهُ جَلَّ ثَنَاؤُهُ:

*wa yaguwluwna higran maḥguwran (Sūrah XXV:22)* ‘and they will say there is a barrier blocking completely’. That is *ḥarāman muḥarram* ‘unlawful and forbidden’. He wants disengagement from the issue and he distances from himself an issue. It is as though he said *ḥarḥarrimu ḍālika ḥarāman muḥarraman* ‘I make that unlawful with a forbidden unlawfulness’. An example of that is of a man saying to another man do you do such and such and he says *higran* ‘as something forbidden’ that is *sitrān wa barāʔatan min ḥādā* ‘by way of concealment and innocence from this’. This is erected based on the implication of the *fiʕl* ‘action’, and he does not want to make it *mubtadaʔan* ‘initial’ to a *xabar* ‘predicate’ after it, nor built on an implied *ʔism* ‘name’. Know that there are (L. 15) Arabs who raise *salāmun* ‘peace’, if they wanted the meaning of *mubāraʔati* ‘self exoneration’, just as they raised *ḥanānun* ‘yearning’.

We have heard some Arabs say to a man *lā yakuwanna minniy fiy šayʔin ʔillā salāmun bi-salāmin* ‘I am not concerned about a matter except to be of peace and at peace’ that is *ʔamriy wa ʔamruka ʔal-mubāraʔatu wa ʔal-mutārakatu* ‘my case and your case is exoneration and leave/truce’. They left out in it what raises just as they left out the expression of what erects because within it is that meaning and because it has the status of your expressing the *fiʕl* ‘action’. *Subḥāna* occurs with nunation and in the singular in poetry. The poet said and he is *ʔumayyatu bnu ʔabiy ʔal-sʕalt: (basiyṯ)*<sup>7</sup>

*Subḥānahu ʕumma subḥānan yaʕuwdu lahu*  
*Wa gablanā sabbaḥa ʔal-guwdiyyu wa ʔal-gumudu*

‘His glory and then glory returns to Him  
And before us ʔal-guwdiyy and ʔal-gumudu  
mountains glorified’

(L. 20) he likened it to *higran wa salāman* ‘barrier and peace’. As to *subbuwḥan gudduwsan rabba ʔal-malāʔikati wa ʔal-ruwḥi* ‘glorification and holiness Lord of the angels and the spirit’, they do not have the status of *subḥāna ʔal-lāhi* ‘glory be to God’ because the *ʔal-subbuwḥa wa ʔal-gudduwsa* ‘the glorification and holiness’ are *ʔism* ‘a name’ but based on his saying *ʔaḍkuru subbuwḥan gudduwsan* ‘I remember glorification and holiness’ and that because it occurred to him and some one reminded him, so he said *subbuwḥan* ‘glorifying’ as you would say *ʔahla ḍāka* ‘people of that’, if you were to hear a man remembering another man

{ويَقُولُونَ حِجْرًا مَحْجُورًا} أَي حَرَامًا مُحَرَّمًا يَرِيدُ بِهِ  
الْبَرَاءَةَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ وَيُبْعِدُ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ أَمْرًا، فَكَأَنَّهُ قَالَ:  
أَحْرَمُ ذَلِكَ حَرَامًا مُحَرَّمًا. وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَقُولَ الرَّجُلُ  
لِلرَّجُلِ: أَتَفْعَلُ كَذَا وَكَذَا؟ فَيَقُولُ: حِجْرًا، أَي سِتْرًا  
وِبَرَاءَةً مِنْ هَذَا. فَهَذَا يَنْتَصِبُ عَلَى إِضْهَارِ الْفِعْلِ، وَلَمْ  
يَرِدْ أَنْ يَجْعَلَهُ مَبْتَدَأً خَبْرَهُ بَعْدَهُ وَلَا مَبْنِيًّا عَلَى اسْمٍ  
مُضْمَرٍ. وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ مِنْ (س ١٥) الْعَرَبِ مَنْ يَرْفَعُ  
سَلَامًا إِذَا أَرَادَ مَعْنَى الْمُبَارَاةِ كَمَا رَفَعُوا حَنَانًا.

سمعنا بعض العرب يقول لرجل: لا يكوننَّ مني في  
شيءٍ إلا سلامٌ بسلام، أي أمري وأمرُك المبارأة  
والمشاركة. وتركوا لفظ ما يرفعُ كما تركوا فيه لفظ ما  
ينصب، لأنَّ فيه ذلك المعنى، ولأنَّه بمنزلة لفظك  
بالفعل. وقد جاء سُبْحَانٌ مُنَوَّنًا مُفْرَدًا فِي الشَّعْرِ. قَالَ  
الشَّاعِرُ، وَهُوَ أُمِيَّةُ بْنُ أَبِي الصَّلْتِ: (بسيط)

سُبْحَانَهُ ثُمَّ سُبْحَانًا يَعُودُ لَهُ  
وَقَبْلَنَا سَبَّحَ الْجُودِيُّ وَالْجَمْدُ

(س ٢٠) شَبَّهَهُ بِقَوْلِهِمْ: حِجْرًا وَسَلَامًا. وَأَمَّا سُبُوحًا  
قُدُوسًا رَبَّ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالرُّوحِ، فَلَيْسَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ سُبْحَانَ  
اللَّهِ؛ لِأَنَّ السُّبُوحَ وَالْقُدُوسَ اسْمٌ وَلَكِنَّهُ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ:  
أَذْكُرُ سُبُوحًا قُدُوسًا. وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ خَطَرَ عَلَى بَالِهِ أَوْ ذَكَرَهُ  
ذَكْرًا فَقَالَ: سُبُوحًا أَي ذَكَرْتَ سُبُوحًا، كَمَا تَقُولُ: أَهْلَ  
ذَلِكَ إِذَا سَمِعْتَ الرَّجُلَ ذَكَرَ الرَّجُلَ

<sup>7</sup>The meter of *basiyṯ* is: *mustafsilun fāsilun* (four times).

with either with gratitude or malediction. It is as though he said *ḍakarta ṣahla ḍāka* ‘you remembered the people of that place’ because, where the remembrance of the man occurred (P. 137) in his speech, it got the status of his saying *ṣuḍkuru fulānan* ‘I remember so and so’ or *ḍakarta fulānan* ‘I remembered so and so’ just as where he recited then said *sādigān* ‘truthfully’, the recitation became for him with the status of *gāla* then he said *sādigān wa ṣahla ḍāka* ‘truthfully and people of that’. He related it to the *fiʿl* ‘action’ following up the speaker and the one who remembered. Similar is *subbuwhān gudduwsan* ‘glorification and holiness’. It is as though his self became with the status of *ṣal-ragul ṣal-ḍākir wa ṣal-munšid* ‘the man who remembered and recited’ when the remembrance occurred to him, then he said *subbuwhān gudduwsan*, that is you remembered *subbuwhān* (L. 5) following it in what she remembered and it occurred to her. They cut off the *fiʿl* ‘action’ because this speech became for him a substitute for *sabbahtu* ‘I glorified’, just as *marḥaban* ‘greetings’ is a substitute for *raḥbat biladuka wa ṣahilat* ‘may your country expand and get populated’. There are some of the Arabs who say *subbuwhūn gudduwsun rabba ṣal-malāʾikati wa ṣal-ruwhi* ‘glorification and holiness, Lord of the angels and the spirit’, just as he said *ṣahlu ḍāka* ‘people of that region’ and *sādigūn wa ṣal-lāhi* ‘truthful, by God’ according to what we heard Arabs speak both *raffān wa nasʿban* ‘raising and erecting’. And similar to that is *xayru mā rudda fīy ṣahlin wa mālin* and *xayra mā rudda fīy ṣahlin wa mālin* ‘the best returns on people and property’. It was made to follow the course of *xayra magdamin* and *xayru magdamin* ‘happy arrival’.

Among what the *masʿdar* is erected by the implication of the *fiʿl* ‘action’ (L. 10) whose expression is left out but it is with the meaning of *taʿaghub* ‘surprise’ is your saying *karaman wa sʿalfan* ‘welcoming and bragging’. It is as though he is saying *ṣalzamaka ṣal-lāhu wa ṣadāma laka karaman wa ṣulzimta sʿalfan* ‘May God impose on you welcoming and prolong your generosity and may bragging be imposed on you’. They, however, cut off the *fiʿl* ‘action’ here just like they cut it off in the first because it became *badalan* ‘a substitute’ for your saying *ṣakrim bihi* ‘how generous is he’ and *ṣasʿlif bihi* ‘how bragging is he’ just as *marḥaban* ‘greeting’ got erected and you said *laka* ‘to you’ just as you said *bika* ‘in you’ after *marḥaban* so you would show what you mean. It became *badalan* ‘a substitute’ for the expression of *raḥbat bilāduk* ‘may your country be expansive’.

بِثَاءٍ أَوْ بِدَمٍّ، كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ: ذَكَرْتَ أَهْلَ ذَاكَ؛ لِأَنَّهُ حَيْثُ جَرَى (ص ١٣٧) ذُكِرَ الرَّجُلِ فِي مَنْطِقِهِ صَارَ عِنْدَهُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ قَوْلِهِ: أَذْكَرُ فُلَانًا، أَوْ ذَكَرْتَ فُلَانًا. كَمَا أَنَّهُ حَيْثُ أَنْشَدَ ثُمَّ قَالَ: صَادِقًا، صَارَ الْإِنْشَادُ عِنْدَهُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ قَالٍ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: صَادِقًا وَأَهْلَ ذَاكَ، فَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى الْفِعْلِ مُتَابِعًا لِلْقَائِلِ وَالذَّاكِرِ. فَكَذَلِكَ: سُبِّوحًا قُدُّوسًا، كَأَنَّ نَفْسَهُ صَارَتْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الرَّجُلِ الذَّاكِرِ وَالْمُنْشِدِ حَيْثُ خَطَرَ عَلَى بَالِهِ الذِّكْرُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: سُبِّوحًا قُدُّوسًا، أَيِ ذَكَرْتَ سُبِّوحًا، (س ٥) مُتَابِعًا لَهَا فِيهَا ذَكَرْتَ وَخَطَرَ عَلَى بَالِهَا. وَخَزَلُوا الْفِعْلَ لِأَنَّ هَذَا الْكَلَامَ صَارَ عِنْدَهُمْ بَدَلًا مِنْ سَبَّحْتَ كَمَا كَانَ مَرَّحَبًا بَدَلًا مِنْ رَحَّبْتَ بِلَادُكَ وَأَهْلَتْ. وَمِنَ الْعَرَبِ مَنْ يَرْفَعُ فِيَقُولُ: سُبِّوحٌ قُدُّوسٌ رَبُّ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالرُّوحِ، كَمَا قَالَ: أَهْلُ ذَاكَ وَصَادِقٌ وَاللَّهُ. وَكُلُّ هَذَا عَلَى مَا سَمِعْنَا الْعَرَبَ تَتَكَلَّمُ بِهِ رَفْعًا وَنَصْبًا. وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ: خَيْرٌ مَا رُدَّ فِي أَهْلِ وَمَالٍ وَخَيْرٌ مَا رُدَّ فِي أَهْلِ وَمَالٍ أُجْرِي مُجْرَى خَيْرٍ مُقَدَّمٍ وَخَيْرٌ مُقَدَّمٍ.

وَمَا يَنْتَصِبُ فِيهِ الْمَصْدَرُ عَلَى إِضْمَارِ الْفِعْلِ (س ١٠) الْمَتْرُوكِ إِظْهَارُهُ وَلَكِنَّهُ فِي مَعْنَى التَّعَجُّبِ قَوْلُكَ: كَرَمًا وَصَلَفًا، كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ: أَلَزَمَكَ اللَّهُ وَأَدَامَ لَكَ كَرَمًا وَأُلْزِمْتَ صَلَفًا، وَلَكِنَّهُمْ خَزَلُوا الْفِعْلَ هَهُنَا كَمَا خَزَلُوهُ فِي الْأَوَّلِ، لِأَنَّهُ صَارَ بَدَلًا مِنْ قَوْلِكَ: أَكْرِمْ بِهِ وَأَصْلِفْ بِهِ، كَمَا انْتَصَبَ مَرَّحَبًا. وَقَلْتَ لَكَ كَمَا قَلْتَ بِكَ بَعْدَ مَرَّحَبًا، لِتَبْيِينِ مَنْ تَعْنِي فَصَارَ بَدَلًا فِي الْلَفْظِ مِنْ رَحَّبْتَ بِلَادُكَ.

I have heard an Arab and he is ḡabuw murhibin saying *karaman wa t'uwla ḡanfin* 'welcome and length of the nose' that is *ḡakrim bika wa ḡat'wil bi-ḡanfika* 'how generous you are and how long is your nose'.

وسمعتُ أعرابياً وهو أبو مُرْهِبٍ، يقول: كَرَمًا وَطَوَّلَ  
أَنْفِي، أَي أَكْرِمُ بِكَ وَأَطْوِلُ بِأَنْفِكَ.

**Chapter 67. This is a chapter in which the *masʿādir* ‘origins’ are selected to be *mubtadʿatan* ‘initial’ and on which what is after them is built on them and whatever is like the *masʿādir* ‘origins’ of *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names/nouns’ and *sʿifāt* ‘descriptives/adjectives’**

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.165-166-, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 137-138 Haruwn vol.1. p.328-330)

**(I. Chapter 67. P. 137. L. 15)** And that is as in your saying *ʔal-ḥamdu li-ʔal-lāhi wa ʔal-ṣagabu laka* ‘praise be to God and wonder to you’ and *ʔal-waylu laka* ‘woe to you’ and *ʔal-turābu laka* ‘dirt to you’ and *ʔal-xaybatu laka* ‘disappointment to you’. They preferred *ʔal-raʔfʿ* ‘the raising’ in it because it became *maʿrifah* ‘definite’ and it is a *xabar* ‘predicate’, so it became strong in the *ʔibtidāʔ* ‘initial’ with the status of *ʕabdu ʔal-lāhi* ‘Abdulah’ and *ʔal-raqulu* ‘the man’ and *ʔal-laḏiy taʕalamu* ‘the man you know’, because the *ʔibtidāʔa* ‘initial’ is a predicate and it is even better when *maʿrifah* ‘definite’ and a *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ meet you begin with what is better known and that is the *ʔasʿl* ‘foundation’ of speech. If you were to say *raqulun ḏāhibun* ‘a man departing’ it is not good **(L. 20)** until you make it definite with something and you say *rākibun min baniy fulānin* ‘a rider from such and such a family is departing’ *sāʔirun; wa tabiyʕu ʔal-dāri* ‘and you sell the house’, so you say *ḥaddun minhā kaḏā wa ḥaddun minhā kaḏā* ‘part of it is such and another part is such’. The basis of the *ʔibtidāʔ* ‘initial’ is *maʿrifah* ‘definiteness/certain knowledge’. When you introduce into it the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ and it is a *xabar* ‘predicate’ **(P. 138)** the *ʔibtidāʔ* ‘initial’ improves, and the *ʔibtidāʔ* becomes weak with the *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ unless it has the meaning of the *mansʿuwb* ‘erected’, but that cannot be done to every word just as it is not every word that the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ is introduced to in this chapter. If you were to say *ʔal-saʕyu laka* ‘the watering is for you’ and *ʔal-raʕyu laka* ‘the pasturing is for you’ it is not permitted. Know that *ʔal-ḥamdu li-ʔal-lāhi* ‘praise be to God’ even though you begin with it, it has the meaning of the *mansʿuwb* ‘erected’ and it is a *badal* ‘substitute’ for the expression in your saying *ʔaḥamadu ʔal-lāha* ‘I praise God’. As to his saying *ʕayʔun mā gāʔa bika* ‘a thing did not happen to you’ it is acceptable **(L. 5)** even if it is not based on an implied *ʕiʕl* ‘action’, because there is in it the meaning of *mā gāʔa bika ʔillā ʕayʔun* ‘nothing happened to you except something’. And like it is a proverb of the Arabs *ʕarrun ʔaharra ḏā nābin* ‘evil growled the dog’. Speech was begun with on other than this meaning

(٦٧) هذا بابٌ يُختارُ فيه أن تكونَ المَصَادِرُ  
مُبْتَدَأَةً مَبْنِيًّا عَلَيْهَا مَا بَعْدَهَا وَمَا أَشْبَهَ الْمَصَادِرِ مِنْ  
الْأَسْمَاءِ وَالصِّفَاتِ

وذلك قولك الحمد لله، والعجب لك، والويل لك،  
والتراب لك، والحية لك. وإنما استحبوا الرفع فيه  
لأنه صار معرفةً وهو خبرٌ فقوي في الابتداء بمنزلة  
عبد الله والرجل الذي تعلم، لأن الابتداء إنما هو خبرٌ  
وأحسنه إذا اجتمع معرفةً ونكرةً أن تبدأ بالأعراف  
وهو أصل الكلام. ولو قلت: رجلٌ ذاهبٌ لم يحسن  
(س ٢٠) حتى تعرفه بشيء فتقول: ركبٌ من بني  
فلان سائرٌ. وتبيع الدار فتقول: حدٌ منها كذا وحدٌ منها  
كذا، فأصلُ الابتداء للمعرفة. فلما أدخلت فيه الألف  
واللام وكان خبراً (ص ١٣٨) حسنَ الابتداء،  
وضعفت الابتداء بالنكرة إلا أن يكون فيه معنى  
المنصوب. وليس كل حرفٍ يُصنعُ به ذلك، كما أنه ليس  
كل حرفٍ يدخل فيه الألف واللام من هذا الباب. لو  
قلت: السقي لك والرعي لك، لم يجز. واعلم أن الحمد  
لله وإن ابتدأته ففيه معنى المنصوب، وهو بدل من  
اللفظ بقولك: أحمده الله. وأما قوله: شيءٌ ما جاء بك،  
فإنه يحسن (س ٥) وإن لم يكن على فعلٍ مُضمَرٍ، لأن  
فيه معنى ما جاء بك إلا شيءٌ. ومثله مثلٌ للعرب: شرٌّ  
أهرٌ ذ نابٍ. وقد ابتدئ في الكلام على غير ذا المعنى

and on what does not have the meaning of the *mans<sup>uwb</sup>* ‘erected’ and it is not in the *ʔas<sup>l</sup>* ‘foundation [of speech]’. They said in a proverb *ʔamtun fiy ḥagarin lā fiyka* ‘there is crookedness in a stone not in you’.

Some Arabs erect with *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’. An example of that is *ʔal-ḥamda li-ʔal-lāhi* ‘raise be to God’. Banuw Tamiym erected it as a general rule. And we heard many Arabs saying *ʔal-turāba laka* ‘the earth is for you’ and *ʔal-ṣagaba laka* ‘wonder is for you’. So the explanation of the *nas<sup>b</sup>* ‘erecting’ of this is like its explanation when it was *nakirah* ‘indefinite’. It is as though (L. 10) you said *ḥamdan wa ṣagban* ‘by way of praise and wonder’ then you came up with *laka* ‘to you’ to clarify whom you mean and you did not make it to be built on, so you begin with it.

وعلى غير ما فيه معنى المنصوبِ وليس بالأصل، قالوا  
في مثَلٍ: أُمْتُ فِي حَجَرٍ لَا فِيكَ.

ومن العرب من يَنْصِبُ بالألف واللام. من ذلك  
قولك: الحمد لله يَنْصِبُهَا عَامَّةُ بني تميم. وسمعنا ناساً  
من العرب كثيراً يقولون: التُّرابُ لك والعَجَبُ لك.  
فتفسيرُ نصبِ هذا كتفسيره حيث كان نكرةً، كأنك  
(س ١٠) قلت: حَمْدًا وَعَجَبًا، ثم جئت بِلكَ لتبيِّنَ مَنْ  
تَعْنِي، ولم تَجْعَلْهُ مَبْنِيًّا عَلَيْهِ فَتَبَدَّثَهُ.



**Chapter 68. This is a chapter on the *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ that follows the course of what has the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ of the *masʿādir* ‘origins’ and *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’**

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.166-167, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 138-140; Haruwn vol.1. p.330-333)

(I. P. 138. L. 11) And that is as in your saying *salāmun ʕalayka* ‘peace be with you’ and *labbayka* ‘here I am at your service’ and *xayrun bayna yadayka* ‘goodness in your presence/between your hands’ and *waylun laka* ‘woe to you’ and *wayḥun laka* ‘woe/rebuke to you’ and *waysun laka* ‘pity on you’ and *waylatun laka* ‘disaster befall you’ and *ʕawlatun laka* ‘wailing befall you’ and *xayrun lahu* ‘goodness befall him’ and *ʕarrun lahu* ‘evil befall him’ and *laʕnatu ʔal-lāhi ʕalā ʔal-kāfiriyā* ‘the curse of God be on the unbelievers’. These words are all *mubtadaʔatun* ‘initializing’ and what follows them is built on them. Their meaning is that you begin a thing that is certain for you and you do not need at the time of your discussion (L. 15) to do anything to ascertain them and force them, and they have that meaning, just as *ḥasbuka* ‘your reckoning’ has the meaning of *nahiy* ‘prohibition’ and just as *raḥmatu ʔal-lāhi ʕalayhi* ‘the mercy of God be on him’ has the meaning of *raḥimahu ʔal-lāhu* ‘God had mercy on him’. It has this meaning and they are not made to have the status of the *ḥuruwf* ‘words’ that if you were to mention them, you would at the circumstance of your mentioning them be working in ascertaining them and forcing them, just as they did not make *sagyān* ‘by way of drinking’ and *raʕyān* ‘by way of pasturing’ have the status of these words. Rather, you make them follow the course that the Arabs followed and put them in the location in which they have been placed, and you don’t introduce to them words that they did not introduce. Don’t you see that if you were to say *tʕasāman laka* ‘food for you’ and *ʕarāban laka* ‘drink for you’ (L. 20) and *mālan laka* ‘wealth for you’ you want the meaning of *sagyān* ‘by way of drinking’, and the meaning of the *marfuwf* ‘raised’ in which there is the meaning of *duʕāʔ* ‘invocation’ is not permitted because this speech is not used like what was before it was used. This proves to you and shows you that it is necessary that you follow the course with these words like the Arabs followed and that you mean what they meant by them. Just as it is not permitted that every word have (P. 139) the status of the *mansʕub* ‘erected’ which, at the time of your mentioning it, you work on ascertaining it, nor with the status of the *marfuwf* ‘raised’ that is *mubtadaʔ* ‘initial’ that has the meaning of the *fiʕl* ‘action’.

(٦٨) هذا بابٌ من التَّكْرَةِ يَجْرِي مَجْرَى مَا فِيهِ الْأَلِفُ وَاللَّامُ مِنَ الْمَصَادِرِ وَالْأَسْمَاءِ

وذلك قولك: سلامٌ عليك ولبيك، وخيرٌ بين يديك، وويلٌ لك، وويحٌ لك، وويسٌ لك، وويلٌ لك، وعوالةٌ لك، وخيرٌ له، وشرٌ له، ولعنةُ الله على الكافرين. فهذه الحروفُ كلها مبتدأةٌ مبنيٌ عليها ما بعدها، والمعنى فيهنَّ أنك ابتدأتَ شيئاً قد ثبتَّ عندك، وكسَّتَ في حالِ حديثك (س ١٥) تعملُ في إثباتها وتزجيتها، وفيها ذلك المعنى، كما أنَّ حسبكُ فيها معنى النهي، وكما أنَّ رحمةُ الله عليه فيه معنى رحمةُ الله. فهذا المعنى فيها، ولم تُجعلْ بمنزلة الحروف التي إذا ذكرتها كنتَ في حالِ ذكرك إياها تعملُ في إثباتها وتزجيتها، كما أنهم لم يجعلوا سقياً ورعياً بمنزلة هذه الحروف، فإنها تُجرىها كما أجرت العربُ، وتضعها في المواضع التي وُضعتَ فيها، ولا تُدخلنَّ فيها ما لم يدخلوا من الحروف. ألا أترى أنك لو قلتَ: طعاماً لك وشراباً لك (س ٢٠) ومالاً لك، تريد معنى سقياً، أو معنى المرفوع الذي فيه معنى الدعاء لم يجز، لأنه لم يستعمل هذا الكلام كما استعمل ما قبله. فهذا يدلُّك ويصِّرك أنه ينبغي لك أن تُجْرِي هذه الحروفَ كما أجرت العربُ وأنَّ تعني ما عتوا بها. فكما لم يجز أن يكون كلُّ حرف (ص ١٣٩) بمنزلة المنسوب الذي أنتَ في حالِ ذكرك إياه تعملُ في إثباته، ولا بمنزلة المرفوع المبتدأ الذي فيه معنى الفعل.

Similarly, it is not permitted that you make the *marfuwʿ* ‘raised’ that has the meaning of the *fiʿl* ‘action’ to have the status of the *mansʿuwb* ‘erected’ which, at the time of your mentioning it, you work on ascertaining and forcing it. It is not permitted for you to make the *mansʿuwb* ‘erected’ have the status of the *marfuwʿ* ‘raised’, except that perhaps the Arabs treated the words under two aspects. An example of *rafʿ* ‘raising’ is (L. 5) *tʿuwba lahum wa husnu maʿābin* (Sūrah XIII:29) ‘blessedness to them and beauty of return’. It proves to you its raising by the raising of *husnu maʿābin* ‘beauty of return’. As to His saying, glorified is He: *waylun yawmaʿiḍin li-ʿal-mukaḍḍibiyina* (Sūrah LXXVII: 15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47, 49) ‘woe that day to the falsifiers’ and *waylun li-ʿal-muʿaffifiyina* (Sūrah LXXXIII:1) ‘woe to the defrauders’, you should not say this is a *duʿāʿun* ‘invocation’ here, because the speech is in that and expressing it is *gabiyyh* ‘unacceptable’. But the worshipers have been spoken to in their speech and the *gurʿān* ‘Koran’ was revealed in their dialect and according to what they mean. It is as though, and God knows best, *waylun li-ʿal-muʿaffifiyina wa waylun yawmaʿiḍin li-ʿal-mukaḍḍibiyina* ‘woe to the defrauders and woe on the day of judgment on the falsifiers’ was said to them, that is, those are to whom this saying was necessary, because this speech is said to evil people and the perished, so it is said that those are the ones who have embarked (L. 10) on evil and are perishing and that was necessary for them. And similar to that is the saying of the Exalted One: *fa-guwlā lahu gawlan layyinan laʿallahu yataḍakkaru ʿaw yaxṣā* (Sūrah XX:44) ‘speak to him with gentle speech that he may remember and fear’. Knowledge has come following what may happen. But you go on in your invocation, and your desire and your amount of knowledge and they do not possess more than this knowledge. And like it is *gātalahuṃ ʿal-lāhu* (Sūrah IX:30/LXIII:4) ‘May God be in combat with them’. This was carried out according to the speech of the worshipers and the *gurʿān* was revealed in it. You say *waylun lahu waylun tʿawiylun* ‘woe to him, a long woe’. If you so wished, you can make *badalan* ‘a substitute’ for the first *mubtadaʿ* ‘initial’ and if you so wished, you can make it a *sʿifah* ‘descriptive’ for it, and if you so wish you said *waylun laka waylan tʿawiylan* ‘woe to you, a long woe’ (L. 15) you make the last *wayl* ‘woe’ not a substitute *mubtadaʿ* ‘initial’ nor the *mawsʿuwfun bihi* ‘described with’, but you make it permanent, that is, the *wayl* ‘woe’ is ascertained for you permanently. Of this topic are *fidāʿun laka ʿabiy wa ʿummiy* ‘I would sacrifice for you my father and my mother’ and *ḥiman laka ʿabiy wa wigāʿun laka ʿummiy* ‘guard to you is my father and protection to you my mother’. You don’t say *ʿawlatun laka* ‘a distress to you’

كذلك لم يجوز أن تجعل المرفوع الذي فيه معنى الفعل بمنزلة المنصوب الذي أنت في ذكرك إياه تعمل في إثباته وتزجيته، ولم يجوز لك أن تجعل المنصوب بمنزلة المرفوع. إلا أن العرب ربما أجرت الحروف على الوجهين. ومثل الرفع: (س ٥) {طوبى لهم وحسن مآب} يدلُّك على رفعها رفع حُسن مآب. وأما قوله سبحانه: {ويَلُّ يَوْمئِذٍ لِلْمُكَذِّبِينَ} و{ويَلُّ لِلْمُطَفِّفِينَ}، فإنه لا ينبغي أن تقول إنه دعاء هاهنا، لأن الكلام بذلك واللفظ به قبيح، ولكن العباد كلُّموا بكلامهم وجاء القرآن على لغتهم وعلى ما يعنون، فكأنه والله أعلم قيل لهم: وَيَلُّ لِلْمُطَفِّفِينَ، وَيَلُّ يَوْمئِذٍ لِلْمُكَذِّبِينَ، أي هؤلاء ممن وجب هذا القول لهم، لأن هذا الكلام إنما يُقال لصاحب الشرِّ والهلكة، فقيل: هؤلاء ممن دخل (س ١٠) في الشرِّ والهلكة، ووجب لهم هذا. ومثل ذلك قوله تعالى: {فَقُولَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لَّيِّنًا لَعَلَّهُ يَتَذَكَّرُ أَوْ يَخْشَى}. فالعلم قد أتى من وراء ما يكون، ولكن اذهباً أنتم في رجائكم وطمعكم ومبلغكم من العلم، وليس لها أكثر من ذا ما لم يعلم. ومثله: {قَاتَلَهُمُ اللَّهُ}، فإنها أُجريت هذا على كلام العباد وبه أنزل القرآن. وتقول: وَيَلُّ لَهُ وَيَلُّ طَوِيلٌ، فإن شئت جعلته بدلاً من المبتدأ الأول، وإن شئت جعلته صفة له، وإن شئت قلت: وَيَلُّ لَكَ وَيَلُّ طَوِيلًا، (س ١٥) تجعل الويل الآخر غير مبدل مبتدأ ولا موصوف به، ولكنك تجعله دائماً، أي ثبت لك الويل دائماً. ومن هذا الباب: فداء لك أبي وأمي، وجهي لك أبي، ووقاء لك أمي. ولا تقول: عولة لك

unless there is before it *waylatun laka* ‘a woe to you’. And you don’t say *ṣawlun laka* ‘distress to you’ until you say *waylun laka* ‘woe to you’ because this is a follow up to this just as *yanuwʔuka* ‘it weighs on you’ follows *yasuwʔuka* ‘it does you harm’ and *yanuwʔuka* cannot be *mubtadaʔan* ‘initial’. Know that some of the Arabs say *waylan lahu* ‘woe to him’ and *waylatan lahu* ‘woe to him’ and *ṣawlatan* ‘by way of distress’. They make it follow the course of *xaybatan* ‘by way of disappointment’. Of that is the saying of the poet, and he is Gariyr: (tʿawiyl)<sup>8</sup>

(L. 20) *Kasā ʔal-luʔmu tayman xudʿratan fiy guluwdihā*  
*Fa-waylan li-taymin min sarābihā ʔal-xudʿri*

‘Blame covered Taym with green [dark] in their skins  
Then woe to Taym from their dark garments’

One man says *yā waylāhu* ‘O, woe is me’. Another one says *waylan kaylan* ‘woe is in abundance’ it is as though he is saying *laka mā daṣawtu bihi waylan kaylan* ‘to you is what you invoked and woe aplenty’. What leads you to that is their saying if he said *yā waylāhu naṣam waylan kaylan* ‘woe is him yes woe in abundance’, that is, that is how it is with you or you have *ʔal-waylu waylan kaylan* ‘you have woe, woe in abundance’. (P. 140) And this is similar to his saying *waylun lahu waylan kaylan* ‘woe be to him, woe in abundance’. They may have said *wa-kaylan* ‘and in abundance’, and if he so wished he based on his saying *gadṣan wa ṣagran* ‘by way of amputation and barrenness’.

إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ قَبْلَهَا وَيْلَةٌ لَكَ، وَلَا تَقُولَ: عَوْلٌ لَكَ حَتَّى  
تَقُولَ: وَيْلٌ لَكَ؛ لِأَنَّ هَذَا تَبِعٌ لِهَذَا، كَمَا أَنَّ يَنْوْءُكَ يَتَّبِعُ  
يَسْوْءُكَ وَلَا يَكُونُ يَنْوْءُكَ مَبْتَدَأً. وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ بَعْضَ  
العَرَبِ يَقُولُ: وَيْلًا لَهُ وَوَيْلَةً وَعَوْلَةً، يُجْرِيهَا مَجْرَى  
خَيْبَةٍ. مِنْ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ الشَّاعِرِ، وَهُوَ جَرِيرٍ: (طَوِيل)

(س ٢٠) كَسَا اللُّؤْمُ تَيْمًا خُضْرَةً فِي جُلُودِهَا

فَوَيْلًا لَتَيْمٍ مِنْ سَرَابِيلِهَا الْخُضْرِ

ويقول الرجل: يا وَيْلَاهُ! فيقول الآخر: وَيْلًا كَيْلًا!  
كأنه يقول: لك ما دَعَوْتَ بِهِ وَيْلًا كَيْلًا. يدلُّك على  
ذلك قَوْلُهُمْ إِذَا قَالَ يَا وَيْلَاهُ: نَعَمْ وَيْلًا كَيْلًا، أَي كَذَلِكَ  
أَمْرُكَ، أَوْ لَكَ الْوَيْلُ وَيْلًا كَيْلًا. (ص ١٤٠) وهذا شَبِيهُ  
بقوله: وَيْلٌ لَهُ وَيْلًا كَيْلًا. وربما قالوا: وَكَيْلًا، وَإِنْ شَاءَ  
جَعَلَهُ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ: جَدْعًا وَعَقْرًا.

<sup>8</sup>The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faṣuwlun mafāʿiylun* (four times).

**Chapter 69. This is a chapter that the *nahwiyyuwna* ‘grammarians’ disliked and it is *gabiyyh* ‘unacceptable’. They placed speech where the Arabs did not put it.**

(Buwlāq vol. 1. P.167-168, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 140; Haruwn vol.1. p.334)

**(I. P. 140. L. 3)** And that is as in your saying *wayhun lahu wa tabbun* ‘woe to him and destruction’ and *tabban laka wa wayhan* ‘destruction to you and woe’. They made *ʔal-tabb* ‘the destruction’ with the status of *ʔal-wayh* ‘the woe’ and they make *wayh* ‘woe’ **(I. 5)** with the status of the *tabb* ‘destruction’. So they placed each one of them not in the location in which the Arabs placed it. It is necessary for *wayh* ‘woe’ with its unacceptability that it be related to *tabb* ‘destruction’ because if it were begun with, it would not be acceptable until speech is built on it. If you were to relate to *nas<sup>b</sup>* ‘erecting’ you would be building on something with its unacceptability. If you were to say *wayhun lahu* ‘woe to him’ then you followed it with the *tabb* ‘destruction’, then its *nas<sup>b</sup>* ‘erecting’ is acceptable, because if you were to erect *tabban* ‘destruction’, then it can dispense with *laka* ‘for you’. You have severed it from the beginning of speech as though you said *wa tabban laka* ‘and destruction to you’, so you made it follow the course the Arabs followed. As to the *nahwiyyuwna* ‘grammarians’ **(L. 10)** they make it with the status of *wayhin* ‘woe’, but it is not like it because *tabban* dispenses with *laka* ‘for you’ but *wayhun* does not dispense with it. If you were to say *tabban lahu wa wayhun lahu* ‘destruction to him and woe to him’, the *raff* ‘erecting’ is not speech. The *nahwiyyuwna* ‘grammarians’ do not differ in erecting the *tabb* ‘destruction’ if you were to say *wayhun lahu wa tabban lahu* ‘woe to him and destruction to him’. This proves to you that the *nas<sup>b</sup>* ‘erecting’ in *tabbā* in what we mentioned is better, because *lahu* ‘to him’ does not operate in the *tabb* ‘destruction’.

(٦٩) هذا بابٌ استكرهه النحويون وهو قبيحٌ  
فوضعوا الكلام فيه على غير ما وضعت العرب

وذلك قولك: وَيُحُّ لَه وَتَبُّ، وَتَبًّا لَكَ وَوَيْحًا. فجعلوا  
التَّبَّ بمنزلة الوَيْحِ، وجعلوا وَيُحُّ (س ٥) بمنزلة  
التَّبَّ، فوضعوا كل واحد منها على غير الموضع الذي  
وضعتُه العرب. ولا بُدَّ لوَيْحٍ مع قبحها من أن تُحْمَلَ  
على تَبِّ، لأنَّها إذا ابتدأت لم يُحْسُنْ حتى يُبْنَى عليها  
كلامٌ، وإذا حملتها على النصب كنتَ تبنيها على شيء مع  
قُبْحِها. فإذا قلت: وَيُحُّ لَه ثم ألقيتها التَّبَّ فإنَّ النصب  
فيه أحسنٌ، لأنَّ تَبًّا إذا نصبتها فهي مُسْتَغْنِيَةٌ عن لَكَ،  
فإنها قطعتُها من أوَّلِ الكلام كأنك قلت: وَتَبًّا لَكَ،  
فأجريتُها على ما أجرتِ العرب. فأما النحويون (س  
١٠) فيجعلونها بمنزلة وَيُحِّ. ولا تُشْبِهُها، لأنَّ تَبًّا  
تستغني عن لَكَ ولا تستغني وَيُحِّ عنها. فإذا قلتَ تَبًّا  
له وَوَيْحٌ له فالرفعُ ليس فيه كلامٌ، ولا يَخْتَلِفُ  
النحويون في نصبِ التَّبِّ إذا قلتَ وَيُحُّ لَه وَتَبًّا لَه. فهذا  
يدلُّك على أنَّ النصبَ في تَبًّا فيما ذكرنا أحسنٌ، لأنَّ له  
لم يَعْمَلْ في التَّبِّ.

**Chapter 70. This is a chapter in which the *mas<sup>ʿ</sup>dar* ‘origin’ is erected. Whether it has the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’ or not, based on the implication of the left-out *fiʕl* ‘action’, because it becomes *ʔixbār* ‘predication’ and *ʔal-ʔistifhām* ‘interrogation’, *badalan* ‘a substitute’ for the expression of the *fiʕl* ‘action’ just as it was when *ʔal-haḏara* ‘the warning’ was a substitute for *ʔihḏar* ‘be warned’ *fiy ʔal-ʔamr* ‘in the imperative’**

(Buwlaq vol. 1. P.168-171, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 140-143; Haruwn vol.1. p.335-340)

(I. P. 140, L. 14) And that is as in your saying *mā ʔanta ʔilla sayran* ‘you are nothing except walking’ and *ʔinnamā ʔanta sayran sayran* ‘rather you are walking, walking’ and *mā ʔanta ʔillā ʔal-dʿarba ʔal-dʿarba* ‘you are nothing except the striking, the striking’ and *mā ʔanta ʔillā gatlan gatlan* ‘you are nothing except killing, killing’ and *mā ʔanta ʔillā sayra ʔal-bariydi sayra ʔal-bariydi* ‘you are nothing except the postal walk, the postal walk’. It is as though in all this he said *mā ʔanta ʔillā taʔʕalu fiʕlan* ‘you are nothing except you perform an action’ and *mā ʔanta ʔillā taʔʕalu ʔal-fiʕla* ‘you are nothing except you perform the action’ but they deleted the *fiʕl* ‘action’ for the reasons I mentioned to you and became in the *ʔistifhām wa ʔal-xabar* ‘interrogative and predication’ with the status of *ʔal-ʔamri wa ʔal-nahyi* ‘the imperative and the prohibition’ because the *fiʕl* ‘action’ occurs here (L. 20) just as it occurs in the two of them even if *ʔal-ʔamru wa ʔal-nahyu* ‘the imperative and the prohibition’ are stronger, because they do not occur without a *fiʕl* ‘action’ so the *mas<sup>ʿ</sup>dar* ‘origin’ is not (P. 141) prevented here from being erected because the action occurs here with the *mas<sup>ʿ</sup>dar* ‘origin’ in the *ʔistifhām wa ʔal-xabar* ‘interrogative and predicate’ just as it occurs with *ʔal-ʔamri wa ʔal-nahyi* ‘the imperative and the prohibition’, and the last one is not the first as it was with the *ʔal-ʔamru wa ʔal-nahyu* ‘the imperative and the prohibition’, if you were to say *dʿarban* ‘striking’, the striking is not *ʔal-maʔmuwr* ‘what is commanded’. You say *zaydun sayran sayran* ‘Zaid is walking, walking’ and *ʔin zaydan sayran sayran* ‘rather Zaid is walking, walking’. Similarly *layta* ‘would that’, *laʕalla* ‘perhaps’, *lākinna* ‘but, rather’ and *kaʔanna* ‘as though’ and whatever is like that. It is similar if you said *ʔanta ʔal-dahra sayran sayran* ‘you are forever walking, walking’ and *kāna ʕabdu ʔal-lāhi ʔal-dahra sayran sayran* ‘Abdulah was forever walking, walking’

(٧٠) هذا باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ فِيهِ الْمَصْدَرُ كَانَ فِيهِ  
الْأَلِفُ وَاللَّامُ أَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهِ عَلَى إِضْمَارِ الْفِعْلِ  
الْمَتْرُوكِ إِظْهَارُهُ لِأَنَّهُ يَصِيرُ فِي الْإِخْبَارِ  
وَالِاسْتِفْهَامِ بَدَلًا مِنَ اللَّفْظِ بِالْفِعْلِ كَمَا كَانَ  
الْحَذَرُ بَدَلًا مِنْ إِحْذَرُ فِي الْأَمْرِ

وذلك قولك ما أنت إلا سيرا، وإنما أنت سيرا سيرا،  
وما أنت إلا الضرب الضرب، وما أنت إلا قتلا قتلا،  
وما أنت إلا سير البريد سير البريد. فكأنه قال في هذا  
كله: ما أنت إلا تفعل فعلا، وما أنت إلا تفعل الفعل،  
ولكنهم حذفوا الفعل لما ذكرت لك. وصار في  
الاستفهام والخبر بمنزلة الأمر والنهي لأن الفعل يقع  
ها هنا (س ٢٠) كما يقع فيها، وإن كان الأمر والنهي  
أقوى، لأنهما لا يكونان بغير فعل، فلم يمنع المصدر  
(ص ١٤١) ها هنا أن ينتصب لأن العمل يقع ههنا مع  
المصدر في الاستفهام والخبر، كما يقع في الأمر والنهي،  
والأخر غير الأول كما كان ذلك في الأمر والنهي، إذا  
قلت ضربا فالضرب غير المأمور. وتقول: زيد سيرا  
سيرا، وإن زيدا سيرا سيرا، وكذلك كيت ولعل ولكن  
وكان وما أشبه ذلك، وكذلك إن قلت أنت الدهر  
سيرا سيرا، وكان عبد الله الدهر سيرا سيرا.

(L. 5) and *ʔanta muḏu ʔal-yawmi sayran sayran* ‘you as of today are walking, walking’. Know that if it is the *sayr* ‘walking’ that you are predicating about in this chapter, then you are predicating of *sayrin muttasʔilin baʔḏʔuhu bi-baʔḏʔin* ‘a walking one, part connected to the other’ in whichever circumstance it was. As to your saying *ʔinnamā ʔanta sayrun* ‘as to you, you are walking’ you have made it a *xabar* ‘predicate’ to *ʔanta* ‘you’ and you don’t imply a *fiʔl* ‘action’ and we shall prove to you *waghahu* ‘its surface form’, God willing. Of that is your saying *mā ʔanta ʔilla ʔurba ʔal-ʔibili* ‘you are nothing except the drinking of the camels’, and *mā ʔanta ʔillā ḏʔarba ʔal-nāsi* ‘you are nothing except striking the people’, and *mā ʔanta ʔillā ḏʔarbanī ʔal-nāsa* ‘you are nothing except the striking of people’. As to *ʔurba ʔal-ʔibili* ‘the drinking of the camels’, it is not nunated, because he does not liken it to *ʔurbi ʔal-ʔibili* ‘drinking of the camels’ and because *ʔal-ʔurba* ‘the drinking’ is not a *fiʔl* ‘action’ done by you to the camels.

(L. 10) And an equivalent to what is erected is the saying of God, most powerful and glorious is He, *fa-ʔimmā mannan baʔḏu wa ʔimmā fidāʔan* (Sūrah XLVII:4) ‘either by generosity or by ransom’. He erected based on *fa-ʔimmā tamunuwna mannan wa ʔimmā tufāḏuwna fidāʔan* ‘either you offer generosity or grant ransom’, but they deleted the *fiʔl* ‘action’ for the reasons I mentioned to you. And like it is the saying of the poet Gariyr: (wāfir)<sup>9</sup>

*ʔalam taʔlam musaraḥiya ʔal-gawāfiy*  
*Fa-lā ʔiyyan bi-hinna wa lā ʔigtilābā*

‘Don’t they know that those who put out the meters  
That there is neither a strain nor importation in them.’

It is as though he denied his saying *fa ʔiyyan bi-hinna wa lā ʔigtilābā* ‘there is strain in them and importation’ that is *fa-ʔanā ʔaʔyā bihinna ʔiyyan waʔagtalibuhunna ʔigtilāban* ‘I strain strongly with them and import them eagerly’ but he denied (L. 15) this when he said *fa-lā* ‘and not’. And like it is your saying *ʔalam taʔlam masiyriy yā fulānu fa-ʔitʔāban wa ʔʔardan* ‘don’t you know my walking, you so and so, then causing fatigue and expulsion’. He mentioned *musarraḥahu* ‘his dispatcher’ and he mentioned *masiyrahu* ‘his walking’ and they are *ʔamalāni* ‘two actions’ so he made the *masiyra* ‘walking’ *ʔitʔāban* ‘causing fatigue’ and he made the *musarraḥa* ‘dispatcher’ no strain in it. And he made a connected action if he were to walk and let out to pasture, if you so wished, you raise all this and you made the last one

(س ٥) وأنت مُذُّ اليومِ سَيِّراً سَيِّراً. واعلم أنَّ السَّيْرَ إِذَا كُنْتَ مُخْبِراً عَنْهُ فِي هَذَا الْبَابِ فَإِنَّهَا تُخْبِرُ بِسَيْرِ مُتَّصِلٍ بَعْضُهُ بِبَعْضٍ فِي أَيِّ الْأَحْوَالِ كَانَ. وَأَمَّا قَوْلُكَ إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ سَيِّرٌ فَإِنَّهَا جَعَلَتْهُ خَبِراً لِأَنْتَ وَلَمْ تَضْمُرْ فِعْلاً. وَسَنَبِّئُكَ وَجْهَهُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ. وَمِنْ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ: مَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا شُرْبُ الْإِبِلِ، وَمَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا صَرْبُ النَّاسِ، وَمَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا صَرْباً بِالنَّاسِ. وَأَمَّا شُرْبُ الْإِبِلِ فَلَا يُنَوَّنُ لِأَنَّهُ لَمْ يَشْبَهُهُ بِشَرِبِ الْإِبِلِ، وَلِأَنَّ الشَّرْبَ لَيْسَ بِفِعْلٍ يَفْعَلُ مِنْكَ عَلَى الْإِبِلِ.

(س ١٠) ونظيرُ ما انتصب قولُ الله عزَّ وجلَّ: {فَأَمَّا مَنَّا بَعْدُ وَإِنَّا فِدَاءٌ} فَإِنَّهَا انتصب على فِيمَا تَمَنُّونَ مِنَّا وَإِنَّمَا تُفَادُونَ فِدَاءً، وَلَكِنَّهُمْ حَذَفُوا الْفِعْلَ لِمَا ذَكَرْتُ لَكَ. ومثله قول الشاعر، وهو جرير: (وافر)

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ مُسَرَّحِي الْقَوَافِي  
فَلَا عِيًّا بِهِنَّ وَلَا اجْتِلَابًا

كَأَنَّهُ نَفَى قَوْلَهُ: فَعِيًّا بِهِنَّ وَاجْتِلَابًا، أَي فَاِنَّا أَعِيًّا بِهِنَّ عِيًّا وَأَجْتِلِبُهُنَّ اجْتِلَابًا، وَلَكِنَّهُ نَفَى (س ١٥) هَذَا حِينَ قَالَ: فَلَا. وَمِثْلُهُ قَوْلُكَ: أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ مَسِيرِي يَا فَلَانُ فَإِتْعَابًا، وَطَرْدًا. فَإِنَّهَا ذَكَرَ مُسَرَّحَهُ وَذَكَرَ مَسِيرَهُ، وَهِيَ عَمَلَانِ، فَجَعَلَ الْمَسِيرَ إِتْعَابًا وَجَعَلَ الْمُسَرَّحَ لَا عِيًّا فِيهِ، وَجَعَلَهُ فِعْلاً مُتَّصِلًا إِذَا سَارَ وَإِذَا سَرَّحَ. وَإِنْ شِئْتَ رَفَعْتَ هَذَا كَلَّهُ فَجَعَلْتَ الْآخَرَ

<sup>9</sup>The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔsalatun mufāʔsalatun faʔuwḥum* (twice).

the first. It is permitted due to *saṣat ʔal-kalām* ‘expansiveness of speech’. Of that is the saying of ʔal-xansāʔ: (basiyṯ)<sup>10</sup>

*Tartaʕu mā rataṣat ḥatta ʔiḏā ʔiḏḏakarāt*  
*Fa-ʔinnamā hiya ʔigbālun wa-ʔidbāru*

‘She grazed what she grazed and when she remembered  
She goes back and forth’

(L. 20) He made them *ʔal-ʔigbāla wa-ʔidbāra* ‘the going back and forth’ so it became permitted due to the expansiveness of speech, just like your saying *nahāruka s<sup>ʕ</sup>āʔimun* ‘your day is fasting’ and *layluka gāʔimun* ‘your night is awake’. An example of that is the saying of the poet mutammim bnu nuwayrata: (t<sup>ʕ</sup>awiyl)<sup>11</sup>

*Laṣamriy wa mā dahriy bi-taʔbiyini ḥālikin*  
*Wa lā gazaʕin mimmā ʔas<sup>ʕ</sup>āba fa-ʔawgaʕā*

‘By my life, offering a funeral oration for a lost one is not my habit

Nor is fear from that which hit and caused pain’

(P. 142) He made *dahrahu* ‘his time [habit]’ *ʔal-gazaʕa* ‘the worry’. Erecting is permitted on the basis of his saying *fa-lā ʕiyyan bi-hinna wa lā ʔigtilābā* ‘that there is neither a strain nor importation in them’. He wanted *wa mā dahri bi-dahri guzʕin* ‘my time [habit] is not the time [habit] of worry’ but he permitted it due to the expansiveness of speech and *ʔistaxaffuw* ‘they lightened’ and *ʔixtas<sup>ʕ</sup>aruw* ‘they summarized’ just as that was done before. As to what is erected in *ʔistifhām* ‘interrogation’ in this chapter is your saying *ʔa-giyāman yā fulānu wa ʔal-nāsu guʕuwduw* ‘are you standing, you so and so, and people are seated?’ And *ʔa-guluwsan wa ʔal-nāsu yafirruwna* ‘are you sitting down and the people are fleeing?’ He does not want to report that he is sitting nor that he had sat and his sitting has ended (L. 5) but he reports that he is in that circumstance of sitting and of standing. ʔal-ʕaggāg said: (ragaz)<sup>12</sup>

*ʔa-t<sup>ʕ</sup>araban wa ʔanta ginnasriyyu*  
‘Are you for mirth being in your old age’

هو الأوّل، فجاز على سعة الكلام. من ذلك قول  
الحنساء: (بسيط)

تَرْتَعُ مَا رَتَعْتَ حَتَّى إِذَا اذْكُرْتَ

فإنّما هي إقبال وإدبارُ

(س ٢٠) فَجَعَلَهَا الإِقْبَالَ وَالإِدْبَارَ فَجَازَ عَلَى سَعَةِ  
الكلام، كقولك: نَهَاؤُكَ صَائِمٌ وَلَيْلُكَ قَائِمٌ. ومثل  
ذلك قول الشاعر، وهو متمم بن نويرة: (طويل)

لَعْمَرِي وَمَا دَهْرِي بِتَأْيِينِ هَالِكِ

وَلَا جَزَعٍ مِمَّا أَصَابَ فَأَوْجَعَا

(ص ١٤٢) جَعَلَ دَهْرَهُ الْجَزَعِ. وَالنَّصْبُ جَائِزٌ عَلَى  
قوله: فلا عيياً بهنّ ولا اجتلاباً. وإنّما أراد: وما دهري  
بدهرٍ جَزَعٍ، ولكنه جاز على السعة، واستخفّوا  
واختصروا كما فعل ذلك فيما مضى. وأما ما ينتصب في  
الاستفهام من هذا الباب فقولك: أقيماً يا فلانُ  
والناسُ قُعودٌ، وأجلوساً والناسُ يَفِرُّونَ، لا يريد أن  
يُخبرَ أنّه يجلس ولا أنّه قد جلس وانقضى جلوسه، (س  
٥) ولكنه يُخبرُ أنّه في تلك الحال في جلوسٍ وفي قيامٍ.  
وقال العجاج: (رجز)

أَطْرَباً وَأَنْتَ قِنْسَرِيٌّ

<sup>10</sup>The meter of basiyṯ is: *mustafʕilun fāʕilun* (four times).

<sup>11</sup>The meter of t<sup>ʕ</sup>awiyl is: *faʕuwluw mafāʕiylun* (four times).

<sup>12</sup>The meter of Ragaz is: *mustafʕilun* (six times).

He wanted *ʔa-tatrabu* ‘do you feel excited with mirth’, that is *ʔanta fiy ḥāli ṯʿarabin* ‘you are in the state of mirth’ and he does not want to report about what has passed or what is to come to pass. Of that is the saying of some of the Arabs *ʔa-yudatan ka-γuddati ʔal-baʕiyri* ‘is this a plague like the plague of the camel?’ and *mawtan fiy bayti saluwliyyatin* ‘and a death in the house of Saluwliyyah?’ It is as though he said *ʔa-ʔuyaddu γuddatan ka-γuddati ʔal-baʕiyri* ‘will I be plagued with a plague like that of the camel?’ and *ʔamuwtu mawtan fiy bayti saluwliyyatin* ‘will I die a death in the house of Saluwliyyah?’ and it has the status of *ʔa-ṯʿaraban* ‘is it with mirth’ and its explanation is (L. 10) like its explanation. Gariyr said: (wāfir)<sup>13</sup>

*ʔa-ʕabdan ḥalla fiy šuʕabiy ɣariyban*  
*ʔa-luʔman lā ʔabā laka wa ʔiytirābā*

‘Did a slave reside in *šuʕabā* as a stranger  
Is it wickedness and being a stranger, you fatherless’

He is saying *ʔa-talʔumu luʔman* ‘are being wicked by way of wickedness’ and *ʔiytirāban* ‘are being strange as a stranger’. He deleted the *fiʕl* ‘action’ in this chapter because they made it a substitute for the expression of the *fiʕl* ‘action’ and it is frequent in the speech of the Arabs. As to *ʕabdan* ‘a slave’ it is of two types: if you so wished, you based on the *nidāʔ* ‘vocative’ or if you so wished, you based on his saying *ʔa-taftaxiru ʕabdan* ‘are you proud of servitude’ then he deleted the *fiʕl* ‘action’. Similarly, if you were to predicate but you do not (L. 15) query, you say *sayran sayran* ‘walking, walking’ you meant yourself or someone else and that is because you saw a man in the circumstance of walking or you were in the state of walking or a man was reminded of walking or you were reminded of walking and speech flowed. It is acceptable to build this on it just as it was good in interrogation, because you are saying *ʔa-ṯʿaraban* ‘is it mirth’ or *ʔa-sayran* ‘is it walking’ if you were to see that in the circumstance or you reckoned it in it. It is on this that this chapter flows if it was *xabaran* ‘a predicate’ or *ʔistifhāman* ‘interrogation’ if you were to see a man in the circumstance of walking or reckoned him to be in it, so you confirmed that for him. Similarly, you are in interrogation if you were to say *ʔa-ʔanta sayran* ‘are you walking’ (L. 20). The meaning of this chapter is that it is a *fiʕl* ‘an action’ that is connected at the circumstance of your recollecting it whether you queried or predicated.

وإنما أراد: أَتَطْرَبُ، أي أنت في حال طَرْبٍ. ولم يُرِدْ أَنْ يُخْبِرَ عن ما مضى ولا عن ما يُسْتَقْبَلُ. ومن ذلك قول بعض العرب: أَغْدَةَ كَعْدَةَ الْبَعِيرِ وَمَوْتًا فِي بَيْتِ سَلْوَلِيَّةٍ، كأنه إنما أراد: أَعُدُّ غَدَّةَ الْبَعِيرِ وَأَمُوتُ مَوْتًا فِي بَيْتِ سَلْوَلِيَّةٍ. وهو بمنزلة أَطْرَبًا، وتفسيره (س ١٠) كتفسيره. وقال جرير: (وافر)

أَعْبَدًا حَلَّ فِي شُعْبَى غَرِيبًا  
أَلْوَمًا لَا أَبَا لَكَ وَاغْتَرَابًا

يقول أَتَلْوُمُ لَوْمًا وَأَتَغْتَرِبُ اغْتَرَابًا، وَحَذَفَ الْفِعْلَ فِي هَذَا الْبَابِ، لِأَنَّهُمْ جَعَلُوهُ بَدَلًا مِنَ الْفِعْلِ بِالْفِعْلِ، وَهُوَ كَثِيرٌ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ. وَأَمَّا عَبْدًا فَيَكُونُ عَلَى ضَرِيئِينَ: إِنْ شِئْتَ عَلَى النِّدَاءِ، وَإِنْ شِئْتَ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ: أَتَفْتَخِرُ عَبْدًا، ثُمَّ حَذَفَ الْفِعْلَ. وَكَذَلِكَ إِنْ أَخْبَرْتَ وَلَمْ (س ١٥) تَسْتَفْهَمِ، تَقُولُ: سَيْرًا سَيْرًا، عَنَيْتَ نَفْسَكَ أَوْ غَيْرَكَ، وَذَلِكَ أَنَّكَ رَأَيْتَ رَجُلًا فِي حَالِ سَيْرٍ أَوْ كُنْتَ فِي حَالِ سَيْرٍ، أَوْ ذُكِرَ رَجُلٌ بِسَيْرٍ، أَوْ ذُكِرْتَ أَنْتَ بِسَيْرٍ، وَجَرَى كَلَامٌ يَحْسَنُ بِنَاءِ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ كَمَا حَسَنَ فِي الْاسْتَفْهَامِ، لِأَنَّكَ إِنَّمَا تَقُولُ: أَطْرَبًا وَأَسِيرًا، إِذَا رَأَيْتَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْحَالِ أَوْ ظَنَنْتَهُ فِيهِ. وَعَلَى هَذَا يَجْرِي هَذَا الْبَابُ إِذَا كَانَ خَبْرًا أَوْ اسْتَفْهَامًا، إِذَا رَأَيْتَ رَجُلًا فِي حَالِ سَيْرٍ أَوْ ظَنَنْتَهُ فِيهِ، فَأَثْبَتَ ذَلِكَ لَهُ. وَكَذَلِكَ أَنْتَ فِي الْاسْتَفْهَامِ إِذَا قُلْتَ أَنَّكَ سَيْرًا (س ٢٠). وَمَعْنَى هَذَا الْبَابِ أَنَّهُ فِعْلٌ مَتَّصِلٌ فِي حَالِ ذِكْرِكَ إِيَّاهُ اسْتَفْهَمْتَ أَوْ أَخْبَرْتَ،

<sup>13</sup>The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun faʕuwulun* (twice).



And you are in the state of remembering something of this chapter you go about confirming it for yourself or someone else. And similar to what you erect in this chapter and you mean yourself is the saying of the poet: (wāfir)<sup>14</sup>

*Samāʿa ʔal-lāhi wa ʔal-ʕulamāʔi ʔanniy*  
*ʔaʕuwdu bi-ħagwi xālika yā ʔibna ʕamri*

I am making God and the scholars hear that  
I seek refuge in your uncle's waist [from you], Ibn ʕamr'

**(P. 143)** And that is because he made himself in the state of one who makes others hear and it became in the status of one who saw him in the circumstance of walking so he said *samāʕan ʔal-lāha* 'making God listen' which has the status of your saying *mā ʔanta ʔillā d'arban ʔal-nāsa* 'you are nothing except striking the people' and *ʔillā d'arba ʔal-nāsi* 'except striking people' if you were to delete the *tanwiyn* 'nunation' *taxfiyfan* 'for lightening'.

وَأَنْتَ فِي حَالِ ذِكْرِكَ شَيْئاً مِنْ هَذَا الْبَابِ تَعْمَلُ فِي تَشْبِيهِ  
لَكَ أَوْ لغيرِكَ. ومثل ما تنصبه في هذا الباب وَأَنْتَ  
تَعْنِي نَفْسَكَ قَوْلُ الشَّاعِرِ: (وَأَفِرُّ)

سَمَاعَ اللَّهِ وَالْعُلَمَاءِ أَنِّي  
أَعُوذُ بِحَقْوِ خَالِكَ يَا ابْنَ عَمْرٍو

(ص ١٤٣) وذلك أَنَّهُ جَعَلَ نَفْسَهُ فِي حَالٍ مِنْ يُسْمَعُ،  
فَصَارَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ مَنْ رَأَاهُ فِي حَالِ سَيْرٍ فَقَالَ: سَمَاعاً لِلَّهِ،  
بِمَنْزِلَةِ قَوْلِكَ: مَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا صَرْباً لِلنَّاسِ، وَإِلَّا صَرْبَ  
النَّاسِ، إِذَا حَذَفْتَ التَّنْوِينَ تَخْفِيفاً.

<sup>14</sup>The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun faʕuwlun* (twice).