

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 81. This is a Chapter on what *yantasʿibu*
‘is erected’ of the *masʿādir* ‘origins’ because it is
an excuse for the occurrence of the *ʔamr*
‘imperative’

(Buwlaq vol. 1. p.184-186, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 154-155; Haruwn vol.1.
p.367-370)

(I. P. 154. L. 17) so it got erected since it is occurring on account of it and because it explains what is before it. And it is not a *sʿifah* ‘description’ for what is before it nor is it of what is after it, so it got erected just as ‘dirham’ got erected in your saying (P. 155) *ʔišruwna dirhaman* ‘twenty dirhams’. And that is as in your saying *faʔaltu ḏāka ḥiḏāra ʔal-šarri* ‘I did that wary of evil’ and *faʔaltu ḏāka maxāfata fulānin wa ʔiddixāra fulānin* ‘I did that fearing someone and preserving someone’. The poet, ḥātim ʔibn ʔabdi ʔal-lāhi ʔal-tʿāʔiyy, said: (tʿawiyl)³

Wa ʔayfiru ʔawrāʔa ʔal-kariymi ʔiddixārahu
Wa ʔasʿfahu ʔan šatmi ʔal-laʔiymi takarrumā

‘I forgive the ugly words from the lofty
And stay aloof from cussing the lowly out of generosity’

And ʔal-Nābiyah ʔal-ḏubyāniyy said: (tʿawiyl)⁴

Wa ḥallat buyuwtiy fiy yafāʕin mumannaʕin
Yuxālu bihi rāʕiy ʔal-ḥamuwlati tʿāʔirā
ḥiḏāran ʔalā ʔan lā tusʿāba maḡādatiy
Wa lā niswatiy ḥattā yamutna ḥarāʔirā

‘My houses settled in a high forbidding place
One imagines it as a little bird and the expecting female
As a precaution that so that my leadership won’t be harmed
Nor my women who are to die free’

هذا كتاب سيبويه
المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٨١) باب ما ينتصب من المصادر لأنه عذر
لوقوع الأمر

(م ١ . ب ٨١ . ص ١٥٤ . س ١٧) فانتصب لأنه
موقوع له ولأنه تفسير لما قبله لم كان وليس بصفة لما
قبله ولا منه فانتصب الدرهم في قولك (ص ١٥٥)
عشرون درهمًا. وذلك قولك: فعلت ذاك حذار الشر،
وفعلت ذاك مخافة فلان وادخار فلان. قال الشاعر،
وهو حاتم بن عبد الله الطائي: (طويل)

وأغفر عوراء الكريم ادخاره
وأصفح عن شتم اللئيم تكريمًا

وقال الآخر، وهو النابغة الذبياني: (طويل)

وحلت بيوتي في يفاع ممنع
يخال به راعي الحمولة طائرًا

حذارًا على أن لا تصاب مقادتي
ولا نسوتي حتى يمئن حرائرا

¹ Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

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

³ The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faʔuwulun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

⁴ The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faʔuwulun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

And hāriē ḡibn hišām said: (kāmil)⁵

Fas'adadtu ṣanhum wa ḡal-ḡahibbatu fiyhimi
T'amaṣan lahum bi-ṣigābi yawmin muṣṣidi

‘I diverted from them and the loved ones among them
Desiring a punishment for them and a spoiled day’

وقال الحارث بن هشام: (كامل)

فصددت عنهم والأحبة فيهم

طمعاً لهم بعقاب يوم مُصِّدٍ

The ragaz writer ḡal-ṣaggāg said: (ragaz)⁶

(L. 10) *Yarkabu kulla ṣāgirin gumhuwri*
Maxāfatan wa zaṣala ḡal-maḥbuwri
Wa ḡal-hawla min tahawwuli ḡal-hubuwwi

‘He rides the arid sands
In dread and with the energy of the happy
And in fear of the frightening landscape’

وقال الراجز، وهو العجاج: (رجز)

يركب كل عاقِرٍ جمهورٍ

تحافةً وزعل المحبور

والهول من تهول الهبور

And *faṣaltu ḡāka ḡagla kaḡā wa kaḡā* ‘I did that for the sake of such and such’. This is all erected because it is *maṣṣuwluḥ lahu* ‘an acted-upon of purpose’. It is as though it was said to him *lima faṣalta kaḡā wa kaḡā* ‘why did you do such and such’ and he said *li-kaḡā wa kaḡā* ‘for such and such’. But when he dropped the *lām* [1], what was before it operated on it just as it did in *daḡba bikārin* ‘like the march of the early’ when it dropped the *miḡlan* ‘like’ before it, because it was a *ḡāl* ‘state’. The *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* ‘ḡal-’ is acceptable in this one because it is not (L. 15) a *ḡāl* ‘state’ and it is in the location of a *ḡāṣil* ‘actor’ as a *ḡāl*. It is not likened to the foregoing of the *mas'ādīr* ‘origins’ in the *ḡamr* ‘imperative’ and the *nahiy* ‘prohibition’ and their likes, because it is not in the location of an *ḡibtidāʿ* ‘initial’ nor in a location where one builds on *mubtadaʿ* ‘an initial’, hence it is different from the explanation of *rahmatu ḡal-lāhi ṣalayhi* ‘mercy of God be on him’ and *sagyan laka* ‘watering for you’ and *ḡamdan laka* ‘praise to you’.

وفعلت ذلك أجل كذا وكذا فهذا كله ينتصب لأنه مفعول له كأنه قيل له: لم فعلت كذا وكذا، فقال لكذا وكذا. ولكنه لما طرح اللام عمل فيه ما قبله كما عمل في ذاب بكار ما قبله حين طرح مثلاً وكان حالاً. وحسن في هذا الألف واللام لأنه ليس (س ١٥) بحال فيكون في موضع فاعل حالاً. ولا يشبه بما مضى من المصادر في الأمر والنهي ونحوهما لأنه ليس في موضع ابتداء ولا موضعاً يبنى على مبتدأ فمن ثم خالف باب رحمة الله عليه وسقياً لك وحمداً لك.

5 The meter of kāmil is: *mutafāṣilun* (six times).

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

Chapter 82. This is a Chapter on what *yantas'ibu* 'is erected' of the *mas'adir* 'origins' because it is *hāl* 'a circumstance/state' in which the deed occurred

(Buwlaq vol. 1. p.186, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 155-156; Haruwn vol.1. p.370-372)

(I. P. 155. L. 18) so it became erect because the deed was made to occur in it and that is as in your saying *gataltuhu s'abran* 'I killed him while being patient', *lagiytuhu fugā?atan wa muḥāga?atan wa kifāhan wa mukāfahatan* 'I met him suddenly and all of a sudden and strifingly', *lagiytuhu ḥiyānan* 'I met him face to face', (P. 156) *kallamtuhu muḥāfahatan* 'I talked to him orally', *?atytuhu rakd'an wa ḥadwan wa maḥyan* 'I came to him running, sprinting, and walking', *?axaḍtu ḍālika ḥanhu samḥan wa samāḥan* 'I took that from him by hearing'. Not every *mas'dar* 'origin', even if it occurs according to the *ḡiyās* 'pattern' and is like what has occurred in this chapter, is placed in this location, because the *mas'dar* 'origin' here is in the location of a *fāsil* 'actor' if it were a *hāl* 'circumstance'. Don't you see that *?atānā surḥatan* 'he came to us by way of speed' is not acceptable, nor is *?atāna ruglatan* 'he came to us by way of foot'. Nor is every *mas'dar* 'origin' is used as in the *bāb* 'case' of *saḥyan wa ḥamdan* 'watering and praising'. It was regular in the previous chapter (L. 5) because the *mas'dar* 'origin' there is not in the location of the *fāsil* 'actor'. An example of that is the saying of the poet Zuhayr ḥibn ?abiy Sulmā: (t'awiyl)⁷

Fa-la?yan bila?yin mā ḥamalnā waliydanā
ḥalā ḍ'ahri maḥbuwkin ḍ'imā?in maḥās'iluh

'Burdened with weight we carried the newborn
On our burdened back, tense and with thin joints.'

It is as though he said *ḥamalnā waliydanā la?yan bilā?yin* 'we carried our newborn', and it is as though he said *ḥamalnāhu gaḥdan* 'we carried it with great effort'. This is not said, but it is a representation. And like it is the saying: (ragaz)⁸

Wa manhalin waradtuhu ?iltigāfā
'And a source I came upon by accident'

⁷ The meter of t'awiyl is: *faḥuwlun maḥāsiylun* (four times).

⁸ The meter of ragaz is: *muḥāḥilun* (six times).

(٨٢) بَابُ مَا يَنْتَصِبُ مِنَ الْمَصَادِرِ لِأَنَّهُ حَالٌ
وَقَعَ فِيهِ الْأَمْرُ

(م ١. ب ٨٢ ص ١٥٤. س ١٨) فانتصب لأنه موقوع فيه الأمر. وذلك قولك: قتلته صبراً، ولقيته فجأةً ومفاجأةً وكفاحاً ومكافحةً، ولقيته عياناً، (ص ١٥٦) وكلمته مشافهةً، وأتيته ركضاً وعدواً ومشياً، وأخذت ذلك عنه سمعاً وسمعاً. وليس كل مصدرٍ وإن كان في القياس مثل ما مضى من هذا الباب يُوضع هذا الموضع لأن المصدر ههنا في موضع فاعلٍ إذا كان حالاً. ألا ترى أنه لا يحسن أتنا سرعةً ولا أتنا رجلةً كما أنه ليس كل مصدرٍ يستعمل في باب سقياً ومحمداً. واطرد في هذا الباب الذي (س ٥) قبله لأن المصدر هناك ليس في موضع فاعلٍ. ومثل ذلك قول الشاعر، وهو زهير بن أبي سلمى: (طويل)

فَلَا يَا بَلَاءِي مَا حَمَلْنَا وَلِيدَنَا

عَلَى ظَهْرِ مَحْبُوكِ ظِيَاءٍ مَفَاصِلُهُ

كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ حَمَلْنَا وَلِيدَنَا لَأَيَّا بَلَاءِي كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ: حَمَلْنَاهُ جَهْدًا بَعْدَ جَهْدٍ فَهَذَا لَا يُتَكَلَّمُ بِهِ وَلَكِنَّهُ تَمَثِيلٌ. وَمِثْلُهُ قَوْلُ الرَّاجِزِ: (رجز)

وَمِنْهُمْ لِيَرَدْتُهُ التَّقَاطَا

That is, I came upon it *fugāʔatan* ‘suddenly’. Know that this case deals with the *nasʔb* ‘erecting’ just as the first case dealt with it. However, this case is a response to his saying *kayfa laḡiytahu* ‘how did you meet him’, just as the first one was a response to his saying *limah* ‘wherefore’.

أَيُّ فُجَاءَةً. وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ هَذَا الْبَابَ أَتَاهُ النَّصْبُ كَمَا أَتَى
الْبَابَ الْأَوَّلَ وَلَكِنَّ هَذَا جَوَابٌ لِقَوْلِهِ كَيْفَ لَقَيْتَهُ كَمَا
كَانَ الْأَوَّلُ جَوَاباً لِقَوْلِهِ: لِمَهُ.

Chapter 83. This is a Chapter on what occurs with *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal-’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.187, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 156; Haruwn vol.1. p.372)

(I. P. 156. L.13) And that is as in your saying *ʔarsalahā ʔal-ʕirāka* ‘he sent it into the battle’. Labiyd said: (wāfir)⁹

(L. 15) *Fa-ʔarsalahā ʔal-ʕirāku wa lam yaḏudhā
Wa lam yuṣfiḡ ʕalā naḡas^ʕi ʔal-dixāli*

‘He sent her into the battle and he did not support her
And he had no mercy on the nuisance of intruders’

It is as though he said *ʔiʕtirākan* ‘by way of battle’. Not all the *mas^ʕadir* ‘origins’ in this case have the *ʔalif* and *lām* ‘ʔal-’ introduced to them; nor is it thus for every *mas^ʕdar* ‘origin’ in the cases of *ʔal-ḥamda li-llāhi* ‘praise be to God’ and *ʔal-ʕagaba laka* ‘wonder to you’ where *ʔalif* and *lām* ‘ʔal-’ are introduced, but they have been likened to a case where the *mas^ʕdar* ‘origin’ was not the first *ʔism* ‘name’.

(٨٣) وهذا (بابُ) ما جاء منه في الألفِ واللّامِ

(م ١ . ١ . ٨٣ . ص ١٥٦ . س ١٣) وذلك قولك:

أرسلها العيراك. قال لبيد بن ربيعة: (وافر)

(س ١٥) فأرسلها العيراك ولم يذدّها

ولم يُشفيق على نغص الدخال

كأنه قال: اعتراكا. وليس كل المصادِر في هذا الباب
يدخله الألفُ واللّامُ كما أنه ليس كل مُصدِرٍ في باب
الحمد لله والعجب لك يدخله الألفُ واللّامُ وإنما شُبّه
بهذا حيث كان مُصدِرًا وكان غير الاسم الأوّل.

⁹ The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕsalatun mufāʕsalatun faʕuwlun* (twice).

Chapter 84. This is a Chapter on what occurs *mud'āfan* 'annexed' and is *maṣrifah* 'definite'

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.187, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 156; Haruwn vol.1. p.373)

(I. P. 156. L. 119) And that is as in your saying *t'alabtahu gahdaka* 'you sought him with your zeal'. It is as though he said *ḡigtihādan* 'zealously'. Similarly, *t'alabtahu t'āgataka* 'you sought him with your power'. Not every *mas'dar* 'source' is annexed, just as not every *mas'dar* is introduced with *ḡalif* (P. 157) and *lām* 'ḡal-' in this case. As for *faṣaltuhu t'āgatiy* 'I did it with my power', it is not made *nakirah* 'indefinite', just as *maṣāḍa ḡal-lāhi* 'taking refuge in God' is not made *nakirah* 'indefinite'. And like that is *faṣalahu raṣya ṣayniy* 'he did it, witness of my eye' and *samṣa ḡuduniy ḡāla ḍāka* 'he said that hearing of my ear'. And if you said *samṣan* 'by way of hearing', it is permissible if you are not referring specifically to yourself but it is like your saying *ḡaxaḍtuhu ṣanhu samāṣan* 'I got it from him by way of hearing'.

(٨٤) وهذا (باب) ما جاء منه مضافاً معرفة

(م ١ . ب ٨٤ . ص ١٥٦ . س ١٩) وذلك قولك: طَلَبْتَهُ جَهْدَكَ. كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ: اجْتِهَادًا. وَكَذَلِكَ طَلَبْتَهُ طَاقَتِكَ. وَلَيْسَ كُلُّ مَصْدَرٍ يُضَافُ كَمَا أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ كُلُّ مَصْدَرٍ يَدْخُلُهُ الْأَلْفُ (ص ١٥٧) وَاللَّامُ فِي هَذَا الْبَابِ. وَأَمَّا فَعَلْتَهُ طَاقَتِي فَلَا يُجْعَلُ نَكْرَةً كَمَا أَنَّ مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ لَا يُجْعَلُ نَكْرَةً. وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ فَعَلَهُ رَأْيِي عَيْنِي، وَسَمِعَ أُذُنِي قَالَ ذَاكَ. وَإِنْ قُلْتَ سَمِعًا جَارًا إِذَا لَمْ تَخْتَصَّ نَفْسَكَ وَلَكِنَّهُ كَقَوْلِكَ أَخَذْتَهُ عَنْهُ سَمَاعًا.

Chapter 85. This is a chapter in which a *masʿdar* ‘origin’ is made out of *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, like the *mudʿaf* ‘annexed’ in the case that follows it

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p.187-188, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 157; Haruwn vol.1. p.373-375)

(I. P. 157. L. 4) And that is as in your saying (L. 5) *marartu bihi waḥdahu* ‘I passed by him alone’ and *marartu bihim waḥdahum* ‘I passed by them alone’ and *marartu bi-ragulin waḥdahu* ‘I passed by a man alone’. And similar to that in the *luyah* ‘dialect’ of ḥigāz is *marartu bihim ʔalāʔatahum wa ʔarbaʔatahum* ‘I passed by them the three of them/the four of them’ and similarly, until *ʔal-ʔaṣarati* ‘the ten’. ʔal-Khalīl claimed that if he were to erect *ʔalāʔatahum* ‘three of them’ it is as though he is saying *marartu bi-hāʔuwlāʔi faḡaʔ wa lam ʔuḡāwiz hāʔuwlāʔi* ‘I passed by those only and I do not exceed those’. Just as if he were to say *waḥdahu* ‘him alone’, he wants *marartu bihi faḡaʔ lam ʔuḡāwizhu* ‘I passed by him only and I did not exceed him’. As to Banuw Tamiym, *yagruwnahu* ‘they make it follow’ the first *ʔism* ‘name’: *garran fa-garran* ‘if it is in pull then they pull’, *nasʿban fa-nasban* ‘if it is erect then they erect’, and *raʔʔan fa-raʔʔan* ‘if it is raised then they raise’. ʔal-Khalīl claimed that those who *yagurruwn* ‘pull’ it is as though (L. 10) they wanted to generalize, like one saying *marartu bihim kullihim* ‘I passed by them, all of them’; that is, I did not leave out any of them. ʔal-Khalīl claimed where he exemplified the *nasʿb* ‘erecting’ of *waḥdahu wa xamsatahum* ‘him and five of them’ that it is like your saying *ʔafratuhum ʔifrādan* ‘I singled them out one by one’. This is an exemplification, but it is not used in speech. And an example of *xamsatahum* ‘five of them’ is the saying of ʔal-šammāx: (tʿawiyl)¹⁰

ʔatatniy sulaymun gadʿdʿahā bi-gadʿiydʿihā
Tumassiḥu ḥawliyy fi-ʔal-baḡiyʿi sibālahā
 ‘Sulaym came to me with her people together
 Stroking down their beards in ʔal-baḡiyʿ’

It is as though he mentioned *ʔingidʿādʿahum* ‘their rush’, that is, *ʔingidʿādʿan* ‘headlong’. And *marartu bi-him gadʿdʿahum bi-gadʿiydʿihim* ‘I passed by them all together’, it is as though he is saying *marartu bihim* (L. 15) *ʔingidʿādʿan* ‘I passed by them as in a rush’. This is an exemplification and is not said, just as *ʔifrādan* ‘by oneself’ is an exemplification.

¹⁰ The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faʔuwulun mafāʿiylun* (four times).

(٨٥) هذا باب ما جعل من الأسماء مصدرًا
 كالمضاف في الباب الذي يليه

(م .١ ب .٨٥ . ص ١٥٧ . س ٤) وذلك قولك: (س
 ٥) مَرَرْتُ بِهِ وَحْدَهُ، وَمَرَرْتُ بِهِمْ وَحَدَّهُمْ، وَمَرَرْتُ
 بِرَجُلٍ وَحْدَهُ. ومثل ذلك في لغة أهل الحجاز مَرَرْتُ
 بِهِمْ ثَلَاثَتَهُمْ وَأَرْبَعَتَهُمْ، وكذلك إلى العشرة. وَرَعَمَ
 الخليل أنه إذا نَصَبَ ثَلَاثَتَهُمْ فَكَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ: مَرَرْتُ
 بِهِؤْلَاءِ فَقَطُّ لَمْ أُجَاوِزْ هؤْلَاءِ. كما أنه إذا قَالَ وَحْدَهُ فَإِنَّمَا
 يُرِيدُ مَرَرْتُ بِهِ فَقَطُّ لَمْ أُجَاوِزْهُ. وَأَمَّا بَنُو تَمِيمٍ فَيُجْرُونَ
 عَلَى الإِسْمِ الأَوَّلِ: إِنْ كَانَ جَزَاءً فَجَزَاءً، وَإِنْ كَانَ نَصَبًا
 فَنَصَبًا، وَإِنْ كَانَ رَفَعًا فَرَفَعًا. وَرَعَمَ الخليل أَنَّ الَّذِينَ
 يُجْرُونَ كَأْتَهُمْ (س ١٠) يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَعْمُوا كَقَوْلِكَ:
 مَرَرْتُ بِهِمْ كُلَّهُمْ أَي لَمْ أَدْعُ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا. وَرَعَمَ الخليل
 حَيْثُ مَثَلُ نَصَبٍ وَحْدَهُ وَخَمْسَتَهُمْ أَنَّهُ كَقَوْلِكَ أَفْرَدْتَهُمْ
 إِفْرَادًا. فهذا تمثيل ولكنه لم يُسْتَعْمَلْ في الكلام. ومثل
 خَمْسَتَهُمْ قَوْلُ الشَّامِخِ: (طويل)

أَتَتْنِي سُلَيْمٌ قَضَّهَا بِقَضِيضِهَا
 تَمَسَّحَ حَوْلِي بِالْبَقِيْعِ سِبَالِهَا

كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ انْقِضَاصَهُمْ أَي انْقِضَاصًا. وَمَرَرْتُ بِهِمْ
 قَضَّهَمْ بِقَضِيضِهِمْ كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ: مَرَرْتُ بِهِمْ (س ١٥)
 انْقِضَاصًا. فهذا تمثيل وإن لم يُتَكَلَّمْ بِهِ كَمَا كَانَ إِفْرَادًا
 تَمَثِيلًا.

We mentioned *ʔal-ʔifrāda* ‘singling out’ in *waḥdahu* ‘by himself’ and *ʔingidʿādʿa fīy gadʿdʿahum* ‘rushing in their rush’; for if he were to say *gadʿdʿahum* ‘their rush’, it would be derived from the meaning of *ʔingidʿādʿ* ‘being in a rush’, for it is as though he was saying *ʔingadʿdʿa ʔāxiruhum ʕalā ʔawwalihim* ‘their last one rushed unto their first one’. Similarly, *waḥdahu* ‘he alone’ is from the meaning of *tafarrud* ‘being alone’. So also *xamsatahum* ‘the five of them’ is *nasʿban* ‘erecting’ if you wanted the meaning of *ʔinfirād* ‘singling out’. If you were to wish that you do not leave out any of them, then *gararta* ‘you pulled’, just as it was in *gadʿdʿahum* ‘their rush’. Some of the Arabs make *gadʿdʿahum* ‘their rush’ have the status of *kullihim* ‘all of them’, ‘they make it follow (L. 20) the [three] surface forms.’

وإنما ذكرنا الإفراد في وحده والانتقاص في قضمهم
 لأنه إذا قال قضمهم فهو مشتق من معنى الانتقاص
 لأنه كأنه يقول انقص آخرهم على أولهم. وكذلك
 وحده إنما هو من معنى التفرّد فكذلك أيضًا يكون
 خمستهم نصبًا إذا أردت معنى الإفراد. فإن أردت أنك
 لم تدع منهم أحدًا جررت كما كان ذلك في قضمهم.
 وبعض العرب يجعل قضمهم بمنزلة كلهم يجريه على
 الوجه.