

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

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هذا كتاب سيبويه

المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

Chapter 96. This is a Chapter in which the *sʿifah* ‘descriptive’ *yantasʿibu* ‘gets erected’ because it is *ḥāl* ‘a circumstance’ in which *ʔalif wa lām* ‘ʔal-’ occurs

(96) هذا باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ فِيهِ الصِّفَةُ لِأَنَّهُ حَالٌ
وَقَعَ فِيهِ الْأَلْفُ وَاللَّامُ

(Buwlaq vol. 1. p. 198-199, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 168-169, Haruwn vol.1.
p. 397-400)

(م 1. ب 96. ص 168. س 5) وقع فيه الألف
واللام شبهوه بما يشبه من الأسماء بالمصادر نحو
قولك: فاه إلى في، وليس بالفاعل ولا المفعول. فكما
شبهوا عودَه على بدئه وليس بمصدر كذلك شبهوا
الصفة بالمصدر فشذ هذا كما شذت المصادر في بابها
حيث كانت حلالاً وهي معرفة، وكما شذت الأسماء
التي وُضعت موضع المصدر. وما يشبهه بالشيء في
كلامهم وليس مثله في جميع أحواله كثيرٌ وقد بين فيما
مضى وستراه (س 10) أيضاً إن شاء الله. وهو قولك:
دخلوا الأوّل فالأوّل، وجرى على قولك: واحداً
فواحداً ودخلوا رجلاً رجلاً. وإن شئت رفعت فقلت:
دخلوا الأوّل فالأوّل، جعلته بدلاً وحملته على الفعل
كأنه قال دخل الأوّل فالأوّل، وإن شئت قلت: دخلوا
رجلٌ فرجلٌ تجعله بدلاً كما قال عز وجل: بالنّاصية
ناصية كاذبة. فإن قلت: ادخلوا، فأمرت فالنصب
الوجه ولا يكون بدلاً

(I. Chapter 96. P. 168. L. 5) This is similar to the case of the
ʔasmāʔ ‘names’ being likened to *masʿādir* ‘origins’, like your
saying *fāhu ʔilā fiyya* ‘his mouth to my mouth’. It is neither a
fāʿil ‘actor’ nor *maʿfūwl* ‘an acted-upon’. It is similar to
ʕawdah ʕalā badʔihi ‘his return to his starting’ and it is not
a *masʿdar* ‘origin’. Similarly, they likened the *sʿifāh*
‘descriptive’ to the *masʿdar* ‘origin’ and this became
exceptional just as the *masʿādir* ‘origins’ were exceptional in
the cases where they indicated *ḥālan* ‘a circumstance’, and
they were *maʿrifāh* ‘definite’. Similarly, the *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’
which were placed in the location of the *masʿdar* ‘origin’
were exceptional and whatever is likened to something in
their speech but that is not like it in all its circumstances is
frequent. It has been made clear in the previous chapters and
you will see (L. 10) it also, God willing, the exalted. It is as
in your saying *daxaluw ʔal-ʔawwala fa-ʔal-ʔawwala* ‘they
entered, the first then the next’, it followed the course of your
saying *wāhidan fa-wāhidan* ‘one then another one’, and
daxaluw ragulan ragulan ‘they entered, one man then
another man’. If you so wished, you raised and you said
daxaluw ʔal-ʔawwalu fa-ʔal-ʔawwalu ‘they entered, the first
then the next one’. You made it a *badal* ‘substitute’ and
related it to the *fiʕl* ‘action’. It is as though he said *daxala
ʔal-ʔawwalu fa-ʔal-ʔawwalu* ‘entered the first then the next’.
And if you so wished, you said *daxaluw ragulun fa-ragulun*
‘they entered, one man then another man’. You make it a
badal ‘substitute’ as the Powerful and Glorious said, *bi-ʔal-
nāsʿiyati nāsʿiyatin kāḍibatīn* ‘a forelock, a lying forelock’
(Sūrah XCVI:15-16). If you were to say *ʔudxuluw* ‘enter-
imv.pl’ and commanded, the *nasʿb* ‘erecting’ is the *wagh*
‘surface form’ and it is not a *badal* ‘substitute’,

¹ Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

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

because if you had said *ʔudxul ʔal-ʔawwalu fa-ʔal-ʔawwalu* ‘admit the first then the next’ or *ragulun ragulun* ‘a man then another man’, it is not permitted nor is it (L. 15) a *sʔifah* ‘descriptive’ because the meaning is not *ʔal-ʔawwali fa-ʔal-ʔawwali* ‘the first then the next’, that you want to make him known by providing a detail. If you were to say *gawmuka ʔal-ʔawwalu fa-ʔal-ʔawwalu ʔatawnā* ‘your people, one after another, came to us’ is not straight-forward and its meaning is not the meaning of *kullihim* ‘all of them’. So, it has been made to follow the course of *xamsatahum* ‘the five of them’ and *waḥdahu* ‘by himself’. This is not permitted in other than *ʔawwal* ‘the first’, just as it is not permitted that you say *marartu bihi wāḥidahu* ‘I passed by him, his oneness’ nor *bi-himā ʔiṇayhimā* ‘the two of them, both of them’. *ʔiysā* used to say *ʔudxuluw ʔal-ʔawwalu fa-ʔal-ʔawwalu* ‘you-pl admit the first then the next’, because its meaning is *li-yadxul* ‘that he enter’. He related it to the meaning and it is not far from *li-yubka yaziidu dʔāriṣun li-xusʔuwmatin* ‘let Zaid be cried upon, begging for an adversity’. If you were to say *ʔudxuluw ʔal-ʔawwala wu ʔal-ʔāxiru wa ʔal-sʔayiyru wa ʔal-kabiyru* ‘you-pl admit the first and the last and the young and the old’, then raising is acceptable, (L. 20) because its meaning is *kullihim* ‘all of them’. It is as though he said *li-yadxuluw kulluhum* ‘let all of them enter’. If you want, in speech, to make it based on the *ʔism* ‘name’, just as it is based on the *naʔt* ‘qualifier’, then it is not permitted that you introduce the *fāʔ* [f] ‘then’, because if you were to say *marartu bi-zaydin ʔaxiyka wa sʔāhibika* ‘I passed by Zaid, your brother and your companion’, it would be acceptable. If you had said *marartu bi-zaydin ʔaxiyka fa-sʔāhibika* ‘I passed by Zaid your brother and then your associate’ the *sʔāhib* ‘associate’ being Zaid, it is not permissible. (P. 169) Similarly, if you said *zaydun ʔaxuka fa-sʔāhibuka dāhibun* ‘Zaid is your brother then your associate is going’, it is not permitted. If you said it with a *wāw* [w] it becomes acceptable just as many Arabs have recited the following, by *ʔumayya bin ʔabiy ʔāʔid* (*mutacārib*)³

Wa yaʔwiy ʔilā niswatin ʔuʔʔalin

Wa ʔuʔʔein marādʔiyʔa miṭli ʔal-saʔālī

‘He takes refuge with lazy women and those

With disheveled hair, over nursing like an ogress’

If you were to say *fa-ʔuʔʔein* ‘then disheveled hair’, it became unacceptable. *ʔal-Kahlil* said *ʔudxuluw ʔal-ʔawwalu fa-ʔal-ʔawwalu wa ʔal-ʔawsʔatʔu wa ʔal-ʔāxiru* ‘admit the first then the next, the middle then the last’.

³ The meter of *mutacārib* is: *faʔuwulun faʔuwulun faʔuwulun faʔuwul* (twice).

لأنك لو قلت: أَدْخِلِ الْأَوَّلَ فَلِأَوَّلٍ أَوْ رَجُلٌ رَجُلٌ، لم
يجز، ولا يكون (س 15) صفةً، لأنه ليس معنى الأول
فالأوّل، أنك تريد أن تعرفه بشيء تحلّيه به. لو قلت:
قومك الأول فالأوّل أتونا لم يستقم، وليس معناه معنى
كلّهم فأجري مجرى خمسهم ووحده. ولا يجوز في غير
الأول هذا، كما لا يجوز أن تقول: مررتُ به واحده ولا
بهما اثنيهما. وكان عيسى يقول: أَدْخِلُوا الْأَوَّلَ فَلِأَوَّلٍ،
لأن معناه ليدخل، فحمله على المعنى وليس بأبعد من
"لبيك يزيد ضارِعٌ لخصومة". فإذا قلت: أَدْخِلُوا
الأوّل والآخِرُ والصغيرُ والكبيرُ فالرفع (س 20)،
لأن معناه معنى كلّهم، كأنه قال: ليدخلوا كلّهم. وإذا
أردت بالكلام أن تُجريه على الاسم كما تُجري النعت لم
يجز أن تُدخَلَ الفاء، لأنك لو قلت: مررتُ بزيد أخيك
وصاحبك كان حسناً ولو قلت مررتُ بزيد أخيك
فصاحبك والصاحبُ زيدٌ لم يجز (ص 169). وكذلك
لو قلت: زيدٌ أخوك فصاحبك ذاهبٌ لم يجز، ولو قلتها
بالواو حسنتُ، كما أنشد كثيرٌ من العرب لأمية بن أبي
عائذ: (متقارب)

وَبَأْوِي إِلَى نِسْوَةٍ عَطَلٍ

وَشَعَثٍ مَرَاضِعَ مِثْلِ السَّعَالِي

ولو قلت فشعثٌ قَبَحٌ. وقال الخليل: أَدْخِلُوا الْأَوَّلَ
فَالأَوَّلَ وَالأَوْسَطَ وَالآخِرَ.

It cannot be otherwise. And he said it is so for the permissibility of *kullukum* ‘all of you’. He related it to the *badal* ‘substitution’.

لا يكون فيه (س 5) غيره، وقال: يكونُ على جواز
كلُّكم، حمَّله على البدل.

Chapter 97. This is a Chapter of what *yantas^{ibu}* ‘gets erected’ of *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’ and *s^{ifāt}* ‘descriptives’ that are *ʔahwāl* ‘circumstances’ in which *ʔumuwr* ‘events’ occur.

(97) هذا باب ما ينتصب من الأسماء
والصفات لأنها أحوال تقع فيها الأمور

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p. 199-201, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 169-170; Haruwn vol.1. p. 400-403)

(I. Chapter 97. P. 169. L. 6) And that is as in your saying *hāḏā busran ʔat^{yabu} minhu ru^{ʔaban}* ‘this is an unripe date, it is/would be tastier fresh’. If you so wished, you made it a *hiynan* ‘time span’ that has passed; and if you wished, you made it a time span in the future. People have said this is erected on the basis of an implication of *ʔiḏā kāna fiyma yustagbalu* ‘if it were to occur in the future’ and *ʔiḏ kāna fiyma mad^{ʔā}* ‘since it was in the past’, because *ḏā* ‘this’, when its meaning is *ḏā* ‘this’, is more likely to get erected due to *ʔiḏā kāna* ‘if he were’ and *ʔiḏ kāna* ‘sine it were’. If **(L.10)** it were based on the implication of *kāna* ‘he was’, you would say *hāḏā ʔal-tamru ʔat^{yabu} minhu ʔal-busra* ‘these dates are tastier than the unripe’, because *kāna* ‘was’ may erect the *maʔrifah* ‘definite’ just as it erects the *nakirah* ‘indefinite’. So, it is not based on *kāna* ‘he was’ but it is *ḥāl* ‘a circumstance’. Like it are *marartu bi-ragulin ʔaxbaəa mā yakuwnu ʔaxbaəa minka ʔaxbaəa mā takuwnu* ‘I passed by a man, the most deceptive that there is, more deceptive than you are, more deceptive than you can be’, and *marartu bi-ragulin xayra mā yakuwn xayrin minka xayra mā takuwn* ‘I passed by a man as good as can be, better than you, better than you can be’, and *huwa ʔaxbaəa mā yakuwnu ʔaxbaəu minka ʔaxbaəa mā takuwn* ‘he is as deceptive as can be, more deceptive than you, more deceptive than you can be’. All this is related to what you related it to, what was before it. If you so wished, you said *marartu be-ragulin xayru mā yakuwnu xayrun minka* ‘I passed by a man as good as can be, better than you’, it is as though he wanted *bi-ragulin* **(L. 15)** *xayru ʔahwālihi xayrun minka* ‘by a man, his best circumstances are better than you’; that is, *xayrun min ʔahwālika* ‘better than your circumstances’. It is permitted for him to say *xayrun minka* ‘better than you’ when he means *min ʔahwālika* ‘than your circumstances’. Similarly, it is permitted for you to say *nahāruka s^{ʔā}ʔimun wa layluka gāʔimun* ‘your day is fasting, your night is staying up’. And you say *ʔal-burru ʔarxas^u mā yakuwnu gafiyzāni* ‘the wheat is cheapest in two measures’. That is, *ʔal-burru ʔarxas^u ʔahwālihi ʔal-latiy yakuwnu ʔalayhā gafiyzāni* ‘the wheat is cheapest when it is (purchased) in two measures’. It is as though you said *ʔal-burru ʔarxas^uuhu gafiyzān* ‘the wheat is cheapest in measures of two’.

(م 1. ب 97. ص 169. س 6) وذلك قولك: هذا
بُسرًا أطيَّب منه رُطبًا. فإن شئت جعلته حينًا قد مضى
وإن شئت جعلته حينًا مستقبلاً. وإنما قال الناس هذا
منصوبٌ على إضمارٍ إذا كانَ فيما يُستقبل، وإذا كانَ فيما
مضى لأنَّ ذا لما كان معناه ذا أشبهَ عندهم أن ينتصب
على إذا كانَ وإذا كانَ. ولو (س 10) كانَ على إضمارٍ
كانَ لقلت: هذا التَّمْرُ أطيَّب منه البُسْرُ لأنَّ كانَ قد
ينصبُ المعرفة كما ينصب النكرة، فليس هو على كانَ
ولكنه حال. ومنه مررتُ برجلٍ أخبثَ ما يكونُ أخبثَ
منك أخبثَ ما تكونُ، وبرجلٍ خيرٍ ما يكونُ خيرٍ منك
خيرٍ ما تكونُ، وهو أخبثَ ما يكونُ أخبثَ منك أخبثَ
ما تكونُ. فهذا كلُّه محمولٌ على مثل ما حملت عليه ما
قبله. وإن شئت قلت: مررتُ برجلٍ خيرٍ ما يكونُ خيرٍ
منك، كأنه يريدُ برجلٍ (س 15) خيرٍ أحواله خيرٍ
منك أي خيرٍ من أحوالك. وجاز له أن يقول: خيرٍ
منك وهو يريدُ خيرٍ من أحوالك، كما جاز أن تقول:
نهارك صائمٌ وليلك قائمٌ. وتقول البُرُّ أرخصُ ما يكون
قفيزانٍ، أي البُرُّ أرخصُ أحواله التي يكون عليها
قفيزانٍ، كأنك قلت: البُرُّ أرخصُه قفيزانٍ.

Similar to that is this line of poetry that the Arabs recite in many forms, and it is the saying of Ṣamr bin Maṣadiy Kariba: (kāmil)⁴

ʔal-ḥarbu ʔawwalu/a mā takuwnu futayyatan/un
Tasʕā bi-bizzatihā li-kulli gahuwli
 ‘The war first is like a little girl:
 It tries with its attire to fool every fool’

But he made the first feminine, just like you say *ḍahabat baṣḍu ʔasʕābiṣihi* ‘some of his fingers are gone’. Some of them say *ʔal-ḥarbu ʔawwala mā takuwnu futayyatun* ‘the war, it is first a little girl’ (P. 170); that is, if it is in that time span. Some of them say *ʔal-ḥarbu ʔawwalu mā takuwnu futayyatan* ‘the war, it is first a young girl’. It is as though he said *ʔal-ḥarbu ʔawwalu ʔahwālihā ʔiḍā kānat futayyatan* ‘the war, its first circumstances are as if it were a little girl’, just as you say *ṣabdu ʔal-lāhi ʔahsanu mā yakuwnu gāʔiman* ‘Abdullah is best when standing up’. Whoever raised *futayyatun* ‘little girl’ and erected *ʔawwala* ‘first’ on account of it being a *ḥāl* ‘circumstance’ also said *ʔal-burru ʔarxasʕa mā yakuwna gafiyzāni* ‘the wheat is in measures of two’. And whoever erected *futayyatan* ‘little girl’ and raised the first also said *ʔal-burru ʔarxasʕu mā yakuwnu gafiyzayni* ‘the wheat is cheapest in measures of two’. As to *ṣabdu ʔal-lāhi ʔahsanu mā yakuwnu gāʔiman* ‘Abdullah is best standing up’, it cannot be in anything except (L. 5) *nasʕb* ‘erecting’, because it is not permitted for you to make *ʔahsana ʔahwālihi gāʔiman* ‘his best circumstance is standing up’ according to one of the surface forms and say *ṣabdu ʔal-lāhi ʔaxtʕabu mā yakuwnu yawma ʔal-gumuṣati* ‘Abdullah is the most eloquent on Friday’, and *ʔal-badāwatu ʔatʕyabu mā takuwnu fiy šahray rabiyʕin* ‘being a nomad is pleasantest in the two months of spring’. It is as though you said *ʔaxtʕabu mā yakuwnu ṣabdu ʔal-lāhi fiy yawmi ʔal-gumuṣati* ‘Abdullah is the most eloquent on Friday’ and *ʔatʕyabu mā takuwnu ʔal-badāwatu fiy šahray rabiyʕ* ‘being a nomad is pleasantest in the two months of spring’. Some of the Arabs say *ʔaxtʕabu mā yakuwnu ʔal-ʔamiyru yawmu ʔal-gumuṣati* ‘the emir is most eloquent on Friday’ and *ʔatʕyabu mā takuwna ʔal-badāwatu šahrā rabiyʕin* ‘being a nomad is pleasantest in two months of spring’. It is as though he said *ʔaxtʕabu ʔayyāmi ʔal-ʔamiyri yawmu ʔal-gumuṣati* ‘the most eloquent of days for the emir is Friday’ and *ʔatʕyabu ʔazminati ʔal-badāwati šahrā rabiyʕ* ‘the pleasantest times are the two months of spring’ (L. 10).

ومن ذلك هذا البيت تُنشده العرب على أو جبه،
 بعضهم يقول، وهو قول عمرو بن معدكرب: (كامل)

(س 20) الحَرْبُ أَوَّلُ ما تَكُونُ فُتَيَّةً
 تَسْعَى بِبِزَّتِهَا لِكُلِّ جَهْوَلٍ

ولكنه أنت الأول، كما تقول: ذهبت بعض أصابعه.
 وبعضهم يقول: الحرب أول ما تكون فتية (ص 170)
 أي إذا كانت في ذلك الحين. وبعضهم يقول: الحرب
 أول ما تكون فتية، كأنه قال: الحرب أول أحوالها إذا
 كانت فتية. كما تقول: عبد الله أحسن ما يكون قائماً.
 ومن رفع الفتية ونصب الأول على الحال قال: البر
 أرخص ما يكون قفيزان. ومن نصب الفتية ورفع
 الأول قال: البر أرخص ما يكون قفيزين. وأما عبد الله
 أحسن ما يكون قائماً فلا يكون فيه إلا (س 5) النصب
 لأنه لا يجوز لك أن تجعل أحسن أحواله قائماً على وجه
 من الوجوه. وتقول: عبد الله أخطب ما يكون يوم
 الجمعة، والبداءة أطيّب ما تكون شهر ربيع، كأنك
 قلت: أخطب ما يكون عبد الله في يوم الجمعة، وأطيّب
 ما تكون البداءة في شهر ربيع. ومن العرب من
 يقول: أخطب ما يكون الأمير يوم الجمعة، وأطيّب ما
 تكون البداءة شهر ربيع، كأنه قال: أخطب أيام الأمير
 يوم الجمعة، وأطيّب أزمنة البداءة شهر ربيع (س
 10)

⁴ The meter of kāmil is: *mutafāʕilun mutafāʕilun mutafāʕilun* (twice).

ʔaxtʔabu ʔayyamihi yawmu ʔal-gumuʕati ‘his most eloquent day is Friday’ is also permitted because of the expansiveness of speech. It is as though he said *ʔatʔyabu ʔal-ʔazminati ʔal-latiy takuwnu fiyhā ʔal-badāwatu šahrā rabiyyʕ* ‘the most pleasant of times in which one can be a nomad are the two months of the spring’, and *ʔaxtʔabu ʔal-ʔayyāmi ʔal-latiy yakuwnu fiyhā ʕabdu ʔal-lāhi xatʔiyban yawmu ʔal-gumuʕati* ‘the most eloquent days in which Abdulah is an orator is Friday’. You say *ʔātiyka yawma ʔal-gumuʕati ʔabtʔaʔuhu* ‘I will come to you Friday, at the slowest’. It is as though it was said to him *ʔayyu ʔāyatin hāḏihi ʕindaka* ‘what purpose has this to you’ and *ʔayyu ʔityānin ʔa-sariyyun ʔam batʔiyʔun* ‘what kind of thing is coming, is it fast or is it slow?’. So, he said *ʔabtʔaʔuhu* ‘the slowest’ with the meaning *ḏāka ʔabtʔaʔuhu* ‘that is its slowest’. You say *ʔātiyka yawma ʔal-gumuʕati ʔaw yowma ʔal-sabti ʔabtʔaʔuhu* ‘I will come to you on Friday or Saturday, at the slowest’ and *ʔaʕtʔaytuhu dirhaman ʔaw dirhamayni ʔakəara mā ʔaʕtʔaytuhu* ‘I gave him a dirham or two dirhams, that is the most I gave him’. If he so wished, *nasʔaba* ‘he erected’ (I 15) *dirhamayni* ‘two dirhams’ and *ʔakəaru* ‘most’ was with *raʕʕ* ‘raising’. And if he so wished, *nasʔaba* ‘he erected’ *ʔakəara* ‘most’ also because it indicates a *ḥāl* ‘circumstance’ in which the *ʕatʔiyyatu* ‘gift’ occurred. If he so wished, he said *ʔātiyka yawma ʔal-gumuʕati ʔabtʔaʔahu* ‘I come to you Friday, at the slowest’ that is *ʔabtʔaʔa ʔa-ʔityāni yawma ʔal-gumuʕati* ‘the slowest coming is on Friday’.

وجاز أخطبُ أيامه يومَ الجمعة على سعة الكلام. وكأته قال: أطيّبُ الأزمنة التي تكون فيها البداوة شهرا ربيع، وأخطبُ الأيام التي يكون فيها عبدُ الله خطيباً يومَ الجمعة. وتقول: آتيك يومَ الجمعة أبطؤهُ. كأنه قيل له: أيُّ غاية هذه عندك وأيُّ إتيانٍ، أسرع أم بطيء. فقال: أبطؤهُ على معنى: ذاك أبطؤهُ. وتقول: آتيك يومَ الجمعة أو يومَ السبت أبطؤهُ، وأعطيتُهُ درهماً أو درهمين أكثر ما أعطيتُهُ، وأعطيتُهُ درهماً أو درهمين أكثر ما أعطيتُهُ. وإن شاء نصّب (س 15) درهمين ورفع أكثر. وإن شاء نصب أكثر أيضاً على أنه حال وقعت فيه العطيّة. وإن شاء قال: آتيك يومَ الجمعة أبطأهُ، أي أبطأً الإتيان يومَ الجمعة.

Chapter 98. This is a Chapter on what *yantas'ibu* 'erects' of *ʔamākin wa ʔal-waqt* 'places and time'

(98) هذا باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ مِنْ

الْأَمَاكِينِ وَالْوَقْتِ

(Buwlaq vol. 1. p. 201-205, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 170-174; Haruwn vol.1. p. 403-412)

(I. Chapter 98. P. 170. L. 17) And that is because they are *δʿuruwf* 'envelopes/adverbials' in which things occur and in which things exist, so they get erected because they are occurring in them and exist in them and what is before them operated on them just like *ʔal-ʕilm* 'the knowledge', if you were to say *ʔanta ʔal-ragulu ʕilman* 'you are the man with knowledge'. What is before it operated on it just as *ʕišruwn* 'twenty' operated on *ʔal-dirham* 'the dirham' if you were to say *ʕišruwna dirhaman* 'twenty dirhams'. (L. 20) Similarly, what is before it and what is after it operates on it. As to the *makān* 'place', examples are your saying *huwa xalfaka* 'he is behind you' and *huwa guddāmaka wa ʔamāmaka* 'he is in front of you and before you', and *huwa tahtaka wa gubālataka* 'he is under you and facing you' and what is similar to that. Similar are *huwa nāhiyatan mina ʔal-dāri* 'he is in a section of the house' and *huwa nāhiyata* (P. 171) *ʔal-dāri* 'he is in the vicinity of the house' *huwa nāhiyataka* 'he is in your vicinity' and *huwa naḥwaka* 'he is in your direction' and *huwa makānan sʕālihan* 'he is at a good place' and *dāruhu ḍāta ʔal-yamini wa šargiyya kaḍā* 'his house is to the right and east of such'. The poet Gariyr said: (basiyṯ)⁵

Habbat ganuwbn fa-ḍikrā mā ḍakartukumu
ʕinda ʔal-sʕafāti ʔal-latiy šargiyya ḥawrānā
 'It blew south and brought to me what I remember of you
 At the sʕafāt that is to the east of Hawrān'

They said *manāziluhum yamiynan wa yasāran wa šimālan* 'their houses are to the right and to the left and to the left'. And ʕamr bin Kulūwm said: (wāfir)⁶ (L. 5)

Sʕadadi ʔal-kaʔsa ʕannā ʔumma ʕamrin
Wa kāna ʔal-kaʔsu magrāhā ʔal-yamiynā
 'You withheld the cup from us, Umm Amrin,
 And the cup's flowing was rightward'

That is to say, *ʕalā ḍati ʔal-yamiyni* 'to the right'. Yuwnus told us that it is from ʔabuw ʕamr and that is his opinion. You say *huwa gasʕdaka* 'it is your aim' just as the poet said.

⁵ The meter of basiyṯ is: *mustafʕilun fāʕilun mustafʕilun fāʕilun* (twice).

⁶ The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun faʕuwlun* (twice).

(م 1. ب 98. ص 170. س 17) وذلك لأنّها
 طُرُوفٌ تَقَعُ فِيهَا الْأَشْيَاءُ وَتَكُونُ فِيهَا، فَانْتَصَبَ لِأَنَّهُ
 مَوْقُوعٌ فِيهَا وَمَكُونٌ فِيهَا، وَعَمِلَ فِيهَا مَا قَبْلَهَا. كَمَا أَنَّ
 الْعِلْمَ إِذَا قَلَّتْ: أَنْتَ الرَّجُلُ عِلْمًا عَمِلَ فِيهِ مَا قَبْلَهُ، وَكَمَا
 عَمِلَ فِي الدَّرْهِمِ عِشْرُونَ إِذَا قَلَّتْ عِشْرُونَ (س 20)
 دَرْهِمًا وَكَذَلِكَ يَعْمَلُ فِيهَا مَا بَعْدَهَا وَمَا قَبْلَهَا. فَاَلْمَكَانُ
 قَوْلُكَ: هُوَ خَلْفُكَ، وَهُوَ قُدَامُكَ وَأَمَامُكَ، وَهُوَ تَحْتَكَ
 وَقَبْلَتَكَ، وَمَا أَشْبَهَ ذَلِكَ. وَمِنْ ذَلِكَ أَيْضًا هُوَ نَاحِيَةٌ
 مِنَ الدَّارِ، وَهُوَ نَاحِيَةٌ (ص 171) الدَّارِ، وَهُوَ
 نَاحِيَتِكَ، وَهُوَ نَحْوُكَ، وَهُوَ مَكَانًا صَالِحًا، وَدَارُهُ ذَاتَ
 الْيَمِينِ وَشَرْقِيٍّ كَذَا. قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ، وَهُوَ جَرِيرٌ: (بَسِيْطٌ)

هَبَّتْ جَنُوبًا فِدِكْرِي مَا دَكَّرْتِكُمْ

عِنْدَ الصَّفَاةِ الَّتِي شَرْقِيَّ حَوْرَانَا

وقالوا منازلهم يميناً ويساراً وشمالاً. قال عمرو بن
 كلثوم: (وافر)

صَدَدْتَ الْكَأْسَ عَنَّا أُمَّ عَمْرٍو

وَكَانَ الْكَأْسُ جَرَّاهَا الْيَمِينَا

أي على ذات اليمين، حدّثنا بذلك يونس عن أبي
 عمرو، وهو رأيّه. وتقول: هو قَصْدُكَ، كما قال
 الشاعر.

And we have heard some of the Arabs recite it thus:(t^ʿawiyl)⁷

Sarā baṣḍa mā ʔāra ʔal-əurayyā wa baṣḍa mā
Kaʔanna ʔal-əurayyā ḥillata ʔal-ʔawri munxulu
 ‘He traveled after the Pleiades faded and afterwards
 As though the Pleiades were a sieve’

That is, *gas^ʿdahu* ‘his aim’ is as if it were *ḥillata ʔal-ʔawri* that is *gas^ʿdahu* ‘his aim’ and we heard this from Arabs who are trusted. (L. 10) *humā xattāni ganābatay ʔanfihā* ‘they are two lines astride its nostrils’. He means the two lines that enclose the nostrils of the gazelle. ʔa-ʔaṣṣā said: (basiyt^ʿ)⁸

Naḥnu ʔal-fawārisu yawma ʔal-ḥinwi d^ʿāḥiyatan
ganbay fut^ʿaymata lā miylun wa lā ʔuzulu
 ‘We are the riders on the day of Hinwi, clearly
 On Fut^ʿayma’s sides, neither steady on the saddle nor armed’

All this got erected due to what is in it and is other than it and it has the status of the *munawwan* ‘nunated’ that operates on what is after it like *ʔal-ʔiṣriyn* ‘twenty’ and like his saying *xayrun minka ʔamalān* ‘better than you by way of practice’ so that *huwa xalfaka* ‘he is behind you’ and *zaydun xalfaka* ‘Zaid is behind you’ have the status of *ḍāka* ‘that’ (L. 15) and is the *ʔāmil* ‘operator’ on *xalfin* ‘behind’ which is a location for it, and which is in the location of its *xabar* ‘predicate’, as though you said *ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi ʔaxuwka* ‘Abdullah is your brother’. The last one got raised by the first and it operated on it and speech is dispensed with. It is separated from it. Similar is the saying of the Arabs *huwa mawd^ʿiṣahu* ‘it is its location’ and *huwa makānahu* ‘it is its place’ and *hāḍā makāna hāḍā* ‘this is the place of this’ and *hāḍā ragulun makānaka* ‘this is a man in your place’ if you were to wish a *badal* ‘substitute’. It is as though you said *hāḍā fiy makāni ḍā* ‘this in place of that’ and *hāḍā ragulun fiy makānika* ‘this is a man in your place’. A man is told *ʔiḍhab maṣaka bi-fulān* ‘take with you someone’, so he says *maṣiy ragulun makāna fulān* ‘with me is a man in place of so and so’. That is *maṣiy ragulun yakuwnu badalan minhu* ‘with me there is a man who becomes a substitute for him’, he manages without him and he is (L. 20) in his place. Know that all these things, all their raisings are of one *wagh* ‘aspect’ and examples of that are *huwa s^ʿadadaka* ‘he is opposite you’ *huwa sagbaka* ‘he is near you’ and *huwa gurbaka* ‘he is near you’.

وسمِعنا بعضَ العربِ يُنشدُه كذا: (طويل)

سَرَى بَعْدَ مَا غَارَ الثُّرَيَّا وَبَعْدَمَا
 كَانَ الثُّرَيَّا حِلَّةَ الْعَوْرِ مُنْخَلٌ

أَي قَصْدَه، يُقَالُ هُوَ حِلَّةَ الْعَوْرِ أَي قَصْدَه، سَمِعْنَا ذَلِكَ
 مِمَّنْ يُوَثَّقُ بِهِ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ. وَيُقَالُ (س 10) هُمَا خَطَّانِ
 جَنَابَتَيْ أَنْفِهَا يَعْنِي الْحَطِّينِ اللَّذَيْنِ اكَتَفَا جَنْبَيْ أَنْفِ
 الظُّبْيَةِ. وَقَالَ الْأَعَشَى: (بسيط)

نَحْنُ الْفَوَارِسُ يَوْمَ الْجَنُوبِ ضَاحِيَةً
 جَنْبِي فُطَيْمَةَ لَا مَيْلٌ وَلَا عَزْلٌ

فهذا كله انتصب على ما هو فيه وهو غيرُه، وصار
 بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْمَنُونِ الَّذِي يَعْمَلُ فِيهَا بَعْدَهُ نَحْوَ الْعَشْرِينَ
 ونحو قوله: هو خَيْرٌ مِنْكَ عَمَلًا، فصار هو خَلْفَكَ،
 وزيدٌ خَلْفَكَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ ذَلِكَ. (س 15) والعاملُ في خَلْفِ
 الَّذِي هُوَ مَوْضِعٌ لَهُ وَالَّذِي هُوَ فِي مَوْضِعِ خَيْرِهِ. كَمَا
 أَنْكَ إِذَا قُلْتَ: عَبْدُ اللَّهِ أَخُوكَ فَالْآخِرُ قَدْ رَفَعَهُ الْأَوَّلُ
 وَعَمِلَ فِيهِ وَبِهِ اسْتَعْنَى الْكَلَامُ وَهُوَ مَنْفَصِلٌ مِنْهُ. وَمِنْ
 ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ الْعَرَبِ: هُوَ مَوْضِعُهُ، وَهُوَ مَكَانُهُ، وَهَذَا
 مَكَانَ هَذَا، وَهَذَا رَجُلٌ مَكَانَكَ، إِذَا أَرَدْتَ الْبَدَلَ.
 كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ: هَذَا فِي مَكَانِ ذَا، وَهَذَا رَجُلٌ فِي مَكَانِكَ.
 وَيُقَالُ لِلرَّجُلِ: إِذْهَبْ مَعَكَ بِفُلَانٍ، فَيَقُولُ: مَعِيَ رَجُلٌ
 مَكَانَ فُلَانٍ، أَي مَعِيَ رَجُلٌ يَكُونُ بَدَلًا مِنْهُ وَيُعْنِي
 غَنَاءَهُ، وَيَكُونُ (س 20) فِي مَكَانِهِ. وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ هَذِهِ
 الْأَشْيَاءَ كُلَّهَا انْتِصَابُهَا مِنْ وَجْهِ وَاحِدٍ. وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ: هُوَ
 صَدَدُكَ، وَهُوَ سَقْبُكَ، وَهُوَ قُرْبُكَ.

⁷ The meter of t^ʿawiyl is: *faṣuwulun mafāʔiyulun* (four times).

⁸ The meter of basiyt^ʿ is: *mustafʔilun fāʔilun mustafʔilun fāʔilun* (twice).

Know that all these things may be *ʔasmāʔan* ‘names’, not (P. 172) *δ^ʕuruwfin* ‘envelopes/adverbials’, with the status of Zaid and ʕamr. We have heard some Arabs say *dāruka δātu ʔal-yamiyni* ‘your house is towards the right’. The poet Labiyd said: (kāmīl)⁹

Fa-yadat kilā ʔal-fargayni taḥsibu ʔannahu
Mawlā ʔal-maxāfati xalfuhā wa ʔamāmuḥā
 ‘She started to consider her both sides
 As sources of fear from either the back or front of her’

Similar to that is also *hāḏā sawāʔaka* ‘this is besides you’ and *hāḏā ragulun sawāʔaka* ‘this is a man besides you’. This has the status of *makānaka* ‘your place’ if you make it with (L. 5) the meaning of *badalaka* ‘your substitute’. It is not an *ʔism* ‘name’ except in poetry. Some of the Arabs said this when they needed it in poetry and gave it the status of *ʔayrin* ‘other’. The poet from ʔansār said: (t^ʕawiyl)¹⁰

Wa lā yant^ʕigu ʔal-faḥšāʔa man kāna minhumu
ʔiḏā gaʕaduw minnā wa lā min sawāʔinā
 ‘He will not speak obscenely of them
 If they sat with us and not with our equals’

Another one, ʔal-ʔaʕšā, said: (t^ʕawiyl)¹¹
Tagānaḥu ʕan gawwi ʔal-yamāmati nāḡatī
Wa mā ʕadalat min ʔahlihā li-siwāʔikā
 ‘My she-camel leans away all of yamāmah
 and she did not swerve from its people to other than you’

(L. 10) Another example of that is *ʔanta ka-ʕabadi ʔal-lāhi* ‘you are like Abdullah’. It is as though he is saying *ʔanta ka-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘you are like Abdullah’; that is, *ʔanta fiy ḥālin ka-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘you are in a circumstance like Abdullah’. It was made to follow the course *bi-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘by Abdullah’ except that some Arabs, when they needed to for poetry, gave it the status of *miḥlin* ‘like’. The rāgiz ḥumayd ʔal-ʔargat said: (ragaz)¹²

Fa-s^ʕuyyiruw miḥla ka-ʕas^ʕfin maʔkuwl
 ‘They were made like stalks whose cores had been eaten’

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْأَشْيَاءَ كُلَّهَا قَدْ تَكُونُ أَسْمَاءً غَيْرَ (ص
 172) ظُرُوفٍ بِمَنْزِلَةِ زَيْدٍ وَعَمْرٍو. سَمِعْنَا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ
 مِنْ يَقُولُ: دَارُكَ ذَاتُ الْيَمِينِ. وَقَالَ الشَّاعِرُ، وَهُوَ لَبِيدُ:
 (كامل)

فَعَدَّتْ، كَيْلَا الْفَرَجَيْنِ تَحْسِبُ أَنَّهُ
 مَوْلَى الْمَخَافَةِ خَلْفَهَا وَأَمَامُهَا
 وَمِنْ ذَلِكَ أَيْضًا: هَذَا سَوَاءٌ كَ، وَهَذَا رَجُلٌ سَوَاءٌ كَ.
 فَهَذَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ مَكَانِكَ إِذَا جَعَلْتَهُ فِي (س 5) مَعْنَى بَدَلِكَ.
 وَلَا يَكُونُ اسْمًا إِلَّا فِي الشَّعْرِ. قَالَ بَعْضُ الْعَرَبِ، لَمَّا
 اضْطُرَّ فِي الشَّعْرِ جَعَلَهُ مَنْزِلَةَ غَيْرٍ، قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ، وَهُوَ
 رَجُلٌ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ: (طويل)

وَلَا يَنْطِقُ الْفَحْشَاءَ مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ
 إِذَا قَعَدُوا مِنَّا وَلَا مِنْ سَوَائِنَا
 وَقَالَ الْآخَرُ، وَهُوَ الْأَعْشَى: (طويل)

تَجَانَفُ عَنْ جَوْ الْيَمَامَةِ نَاقَتِي
 وَمَا عَدَلْتِ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا لِسَوَائِكَا
 (س 10) وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ: أَنْتَ كَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ، كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ: أَنْتَ
 كَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ، أَي أَنْتَ فِي حَالٍ كَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ، فَأَجْرِي مُجْرَى
 بَعْدِ اللَّهِ. إِلَّا أَنَّ نَاسًا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ إِذَا اضْطُرُّوا فِي الشَّعْرِ
 جَعَلُوهَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ مِثْلِ. قَالَ الرَّاجِزُ، وَهُوَ حَمِيدُ الْأَرْقَطِ:
 (رجز)

فَصَيِّرُوا مِثْلَ كَعَصْفٍ مَأْكُولٍ

⁹ The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāʕilun* (six times).

¹⁰ The meter of t^ʕawiyl is: *faʕuwulun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

¹¹ The meter of t^ʕawiyl is: *faʕuwulun mafāʕiyulun* (four times).

¹² The meter of ragaz is: *mustafāʕilun* (six times).

And Xit⁶ām ʔal-Mugāšiʕiyy said: (ragaz)¹³ (L. 15)

Wa s⁶āliyatīn ka-kamā yuʔaʕfayn
'And fire ashes, like the used ashes'

And this shows that *sawāʔaka* 'beside you' and *ka-zaydin* 'like Zaid' have the status of *ḏ⁶uruwf* 'envelopes/adverbials'. You say *marartu bi-man sawāka wa ʔal-laḏiy ka-zaydin* 'I passed by someone beside you and who is like Zaid'. This is as acceptable as *man fiyhā* 'who is in it' and *ʔal-laḏiy fiyhā* 'the one who is in it'. *ʔasmāʔ* 'names' are not acceptable here nor are they frequent in speech. If you were to say *marartu bi-man fādʕilun* 'I passed by one who is noble' or *ʔal-laḏiy s⁶ālihun* 'the one who is righteous', it would be unacceptable. The path of *ka-zaydin wa sawāʔaka* 'like Zaid and beside you' is similar. You say *kayfa ʔanta ʔiḏā ʔugbila gubluka wa nuḥiya naḥwuka* 'how are you if your direction was approached and you were inclined towards your inclination'. It is as though he said *kayfa ʔanta ʔiḏā ʔuriyda nāhiyatuka wa ʔuriyda mā ʕindaka* 'how is it with you if your inclination is wanted, and what you have is wanted' when he said *ʔiḏā nuḥiya naḥwuka* 'if you were inclined towards your inclination'. As to when he said *ʔugbila gubluka* 'your direction was approached', it is as though (P. 173) he said *kayfa ʔanta ʔiḏā ʔugbila ʔal-nagba ʔal-rikābu* 'how is it with you, if riders approach the path in the mountain'. He made them two names. *ʔal-Khalil* claimed that *nas⁶b* 'erecting' is acceptable if he made it a *ḏ⁶arf* 'envelope'. It has the status of the saying of the Arabs *huwa gariybun minka* 'he is near you' and *huwa gariyban minka* 'he is near you'; that is, *makānan gariyban minka* 'a place near you. Yuwnus tells us that the Arabs say in their speech *hal gariyban minka ʔaḥadun* 'is there someone near you'. It is like their saying *gurbaka ʔaḥadun* 'near you there is someone'. As to *duwnaka* 'beneath you', it is never raised even though you say *huwa duwnuka fiy ʔal-šarafī* 'he is beneath you in honor', because this is nothing but a *maʕal* 'a proverb' (L. 5) just as *hāḏā* 'this' in the place of *ḏā* 'that' was a substitution only for a *maʕal* 'proverb'. The basis in the *ḏ⁶uruwf* 'envelopes' is the *mawdiʕ* 'location' and what is *mustagarr* 'place of settling. Just as you say *ʔinnahu la-s⁶ulbu ʔal-ganāti* 'he is tough' and *ʔinnahu la-min šagaratin s⁶āliḥatin* 'he/it is from a good tree'. As to *gus⁶ida gas⁶duka* 'your aim was aimed at', it is like *nuḥiya naḥwuka* 'it was inclined towards your inclination' and *ʔugbila gubuluka* 'your direction was approached', they get raised as the two of them are raised and get erected as the two of them get erected. If you so wished, you said *huwa duwnuka* 'he is beneath you'

وقال خِطَامُ الْمُجَاشِعِيِّ (رجز)

(س 15) وصالياتٍ كَكَمَا يُؤْتَفَيْنُ

ويدلُّك على أنَّ سَوَاءَكَ وَكَزَيْدٍ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الظُّرُوفِ أَنَّكَ
تَقُولُ: مَرَرْتُ بِمَنْ سَوَاءَكَ، وَالَّذِي كَزَيْدٍ، فَحَسَنَ هَذَا
كَحَسَنِ مَنْ فِيهَا وَالَّذِي فِيهَا. وَلَا تَحْسُنُ الْأَسْمَاءُ هَاهُنَا
وَلَا تَكْتُرُ فِي الْكَلَامِ. لَوْ قُلْتَ: مَرَرْتُ بِمَنْ فَاضِلٌ، أَوْ
الَّذِي صَالِحٌ، كَانَ قَبِيحًا. فَهَكَذَا مَجْرَى كَزَيْدٍ وَسَوَاءَكَ.
وَتَقُولُ: كَيْفَ أَنْتَ إِذَا أُقْبِلَ قُبْلُكَ وَنُجِيَ نَحْوُكَ، كَأَنَّهُ
قَالَ: كَيْفَ أَنْتَ إِذَا أُرِيدَتْ (س 20) نَاحِيَتُكَ وَأُرِيدَ مَا
عِنْدَكَ حِينَ قَالَ: إِذَا نُجِيَ نَحْوُكَ. وَأَمَّا حِينَ قَالَ: أُقْبِلَ
قُبْلُكَ فَكَأَنَّهُ (ص 173) قَالَ: كَيْفَ أَنْتَ إِذَا أُقْبِلَ
النَّقَبَ الرَّكَّابُ، جَعَلَهَا اسْمَيْنِ. وَزَعَمَ الخَلِيلُ أَنَّ
النَّصْبَ جَيِّدٌ إِذَا جَعَلَهُ ظَرْفًا، وَهُوَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ قَوْلِ الْعَرَبِ:
هُوَ قَرِيبٌ مِنْكَ، وَهُوَ قَرِيبًا مِنْكَ، أَي مَكَانًا قَرِيبًا مِنْكَ.
حَدَّثَنَا يُونُسُ أَنَّ الْعَرَبَ تَقُولُ فِي كَلَامِهَا: هَلْ قَرِيبًا
مِنْكَ أَحَدٌ، كَقَوْلِهِمْ: هَلْ قُرْبِكَ أَحَدٌ. وَأَمَّا دُونَكَ فَهُوَ
لَا يُرْفَعُ أَبَدًا، وَإِنْ قُلْتَ: هُوَ دُونَكَ فِي الشَّرْفِ، لِأَنَّ
هَذَا إِنَّمَا هُوَ مَثَلٌ (س 5) كَمَا كَانَ هَذَا مَكَانَ ذَا فِي الْبَدَلِ
مِثْلًا، فَإِنَّمَا الْأَصْلُ فِي الظُّرُوفِ الْمَوْضِعُ وَالْمُسْتَقَرُّ مِنَ
الْأَرْضِ. كَمَا تَقُولُ: إِنَّهُ لَصَلْبُ الْقَنَاةِ، وَإِنَّهُ لِمِنْ شَجَرَةٍ
صَالِحَةٍ. وَأَمَّا قُصِدَ قُصْدُكَ فَمِثْلُ: نُجِيَ نَحْوُكَ، وَأُقْبِلَ
قُبْلُكَ، يَرْتَفِعُ كَمَا يَرْتَفِعَانِ وَيَنْتَصِبُ كَمَا يَنْتَصِبَانِ. وَإِنْ
شِئْتَ قُلْتَ: هُوَ دُونَكَ،

¹³ The meter of ragaz is: *mustaffilun* (six times).

if you were to make the last one first and you do not make it *ragulan* 'a man'. It means you made it smaller than the one above it. They say *huwa duwnun* 'he is beneath' without the *ʔidʿāfah* 'annexion', that is *huwa duwnun mina ʔal-gawmi* 'he is lower than the people' and *hāḏā ʕawbun duwnun* 'this is a bad garment', if it is dirty. Know (L. 10) *ḏʿarfan* 'an envelope' is not good in every location or every place. An example of what is not acceptable is that the Arabs do not say *huwa gawfa ʔal-dāri* 'he/it is interior of the house' and *huwa dāxila ʔal-masgidi* 'he is interior of the mosque' nor *huwa xāriḡa ʔal-dāri* 'he is exterior of the house' until you say *huwa fiy gawfiḡa* 'he is in its interior' and *fiy dāxili ʔal-dāri* 'in the interior of the house' and *min xāriḡihā* 'from its exterior'. It was differentiated between *xalfa* 'behind' and what is like it and between these *ḡuruwf* 'words', because *xalfa* 'behind' and is like it are for places that follow the *ʔasmāʔ* 'names' from their regions and this is what they followed according to them. The *gawf* 'cavity/interior' and the *xāriḡ* 'exterior' for them have the status of the *ḏʿahr* 'back' and the *baʿn* 'stomach' and *raʔs* 'head' and *yad* 'hand', so *xalfa* 'behind' and what is like it is introduced (L. 15) to every *ʔism* 'name' so they become places that follow the *ʔism* 'name' from its sections and districts from its upper and its lower parts. They become *ḏʿarfan* 'an envelope' just as I described to you, and they are *ʔasmāʔ* 'names' like your saying *huwa nāḡiyatu ʔal-dāri* 'he is at a section of the house', if you wanted *ʔal-nāḡiyah* 'the section' itself and *huwa fiy nāḡiyati ʔal-dāri* 'he is in a section of the house'. It gets the status of your saying *huwa fiy baytika* 'he is in your house' and *fiy dāriḡa* 'in your home'. What shows you that *magruwr* 'pulled with an [i]' has the status of the *ʔism* 'name' not the *ḏʿarf* 'envelope' is that you say *zayḡun wasaʿa ʔal-dāri* 'Zaid is at the center of the house' and *dʿuribtu wasaʿahu* 'I was hit in its center' and you say *fiy wasaʿi ʔal-dāri* 'in the center of the house'. It gets the status of your saying *dʿuribtu wasaʿahu* 'I was hit in its center'. It is open with an [a] like it. Know that the *ḏʿuruwf* 'envelopes', some of them, are more strongly inflected (L. 20) than some of the *ʔasmāʔ* 'names' like *gublu* 'direction', *gasʿdu* 'aim', and *nāḡiyah* 'section'. As to *xalf* 'behind', *ʔamām* 'in front', and *taḡt* 'under', they are less frequently to be used in speech as *ʔasmāʔ* 'names'. They became such in speech and poetry. These are *ḡuruwf* 'words' that follow the course of *xalfaka* 'behind you' and *ʔamāmaka* 'in front of you', but we set them apart in order to explain their meanings because they are unusual.

إذا جعلت الأول الآخر ولم تجعله رجلاً، يعني أنك جعلته أصغر من الذي فوقه. ويقولون هو دون، في غير الإضافة، أي هو دون من القوم، وهذا ثوبٌ دون، إذا كان رديئاً. واعلم (س 10) أنه ليس كل موضع ولا كل مكان يحسن أن يكون ظرفاً. فمما لا يحسن أن العرب لا تقول: هو جوف الدار، ولا هو داخل المسجد، ولا هو خارج الدار، حتى تقول: هو في جوفها، وفي داخل الدار، ومن خارجها. وإنما فرق بين خلف وما أشبهها وبين هذه الحروف، لأن خلف وما أشبهها للأماكن التي تلي الأسماء من أقطارها. على هذا جرت عندهم. والجوف والخارج عندهم بمنزلة الظهر والبطن والرأس واليد، وصارت خلف وما أشبهها تدخل (س 15) على كل اسم فتصير أمكنة تلي الاسم من نواحيه وأقطاره، ومن أعلاه وأسفله. وتكون ظرفاً كما وصفت لك، وتكون أسماء نحو قولك: هو ناحية الدار، إذا أردت الناحية بعينها، وهو في ناحية الدار، فتصير بمنزلة قولك: هو في بيتك، وفي دارك. ويدل ذلك على أن المجرور بمنزلة الاسم غير الطرف أنك تقول: زيد وسط الدار، وضربت وسطه. وتقول في وسط الدار، فيصير بمنزلة قولك: ضربت وسطه مفتوحاً مثله. واعلم أن الظروف بعضها أشد تمكناً (س 20) من بعض في الأسماء، نحو القبل والقصد والناحية. وأما الخلف والأمام والتحت فهن أقل استعمالاً في الكلام أن تجعل أسماء. وقد جاءت على ذلك في الكلام والأشعار. وهذه حروف تجري مجرى خلفك وأمامك ولكننا عزلناها لنفسر معانيها لأنها غرائب.

Of those (P. 174) there are two words which we mentioned in the first case. We did not explain their meanings there and they are *sʿadadaka* and its meaning is *ʔal-gasʿd* ‘the aim’ and *sagabaka* and its meaning is *ʔal-gurb* ‘the nearness’. Similar is the saying of the Arabs *huwa wazna ʔal-gabali* ‘he is the weight of the mountain’, that is, *nāhiyatan minhu* ‘a section of it’ and *hum zinata ʔal-gabali* ‘they are the weight of the mountain’; that is, *hiḏāʔahu* ‘adjacent to it’. Of those is the saying of the Arabs *hum gurābataka* ‘they are your neighbors’; that is, *gurbaka* ‘near you’; that is, the *makān* ‘place’. And *hum garābataka fiy ʔal-ʕilmi* ‘they are your neighbors in knowledge’; that is, *gariyban minka fiy ʔal-ʕilmi* ‘close to you in knowledge’. This got the status of the saying of the Arabs *huwa hiḏāʔahu* ‘he is adjacent to it’, *ʔiyzāʔahu* ‘facing him’, *ḥawālayhi banuw fulānin* ‘around him are the sons of so and so’ and *gawmuka ʔagtāra ʔal-bilādi* ‘your folks are the districts of the country’. Similar is the saying of *ʔabuw ḥayyata ʔal-Numayriy: (tʿawiyl)*¹⁴

ʔiḏā mā naʕašnāhu ʕalā ʔal-rahli yanʕaniy
Musālayhi ʕanhu min warāʔi wa mugdami
 ‘If we but raised him on his mount, he bends
 In his motion from back and front’

And *musālāhu* is *ʕitfāhu* ‘side of his body’ and it has the status of *ganbay futʿaymata* ‘two sides of Futʿaymata’.

(ص 174) فَمِنْ ذَلِكَ حَرْفَانِ ذَكَرْنَاهُمَا فِي الْبَابِ
 الْأَوَّلِ ثُمَّ لَمْ نَفْسِّرْ مَعْنَاهُمَا، وَهَمَا صَدَدَكَ وَمَعْنَاهُ الْقَصْدُ،
 وَسَقَبَكَ وَمَعْنَاهُ الْقُرْبُ. وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُ الْعَرَبِ: هُوَ وَزَنَ
 الْجَبَلِ، أَي نَاحِيَةً مِنْهُ، وَهَمُ زِنَةُ الْجَبَلِ، أَي حِذَاءَهُ. وَمِنْ
 ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ الْعَرَبِ: هُمْ قُرَابَتُكَ، أَي قُرْبُكَ، يَعْنِي
 الْمَكَانَ. وَهَمُ قُرَابَتِكَ فِي الْعِلْمِ، أَي قَرِيبًا مِنْكَ فِي الْعِلْمِ.
 فَصَارَ هَذَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ قَوْلِ الْعَرَبِ: هُوَ حِذَاءَهُ، وَإِزَاءَهُ،
 وَحَوَالِيَهُ بَنُو فُلَانٍ، (س 5) وَقَوْمُكَ أَقْطَارَ الْبِلَادِ. وَمِنْ
 ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ أَبِي حَيَّةَ النَّمَيْرِيِّ: (طويل)

إِذَا مَا نَعَشْنَاهُ عَلَى الرَّحْلِ يَنْثَبِي
 مُسَالِيَهُ عَنْهُ مِنْ وَرَاءِ وَمُقَدِّمِ

وَمُسَالَاهُ عِطْفَاهُ، فَصَارَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ: جَنْبِي فُطَيْمَةَ.

¹⁴ The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faʕuwlun mafāʕiyilun* (four times).

Chapter 99. This is a Chapter on when *ʔal-ʔamākini ʔal-muxtassati* ‘specialized places’ are *šubbiha* ‘likened’ to a non-specialized place. They are likened to them if they were to occur with reference to places

(Buwlāq vol. 1. p. 205-208, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 174-177; Haruwn vol.1. p. 4122-419)

(I. Chapter 99. P. 174. L. 8) That is in the speech of some Arabs. We have heard from them *huwa minniy manzilata ʔal-šayāfi* ‘to me he has the status of the pericardium’ and *huwa minniy (L. 10) manzilata ʔal-waladi* ‘to me he has the status of a son’. When you say *huwa minny bi-manzilati* ‘to me he has the status’, you are pointing out that it is a *ḏʿarf* ‘envelope/adverbial’. You wanted to leave it in that *mawdiʿ* ‘location’, so it became like your saying *manzilī makāna kaḏā wa kaḏā* ‘my dwelling is at such and such a place’, and *huwa minniy mazgara ʔal-kalbi* ‘to me he is a distance from a dog’ and *ʔanta minny maḡsada ʔal-gābilati* ‘to me you are in the seat of a midwife’, and that is if he were to come close to you and he would stick to you in your presence. The poet ʔabuw ḏuʔayb said: (kāmīl)¹⁵

*Fa-waradna wa ʔal-šayyiwgu maḡsada rābiʔ ʔal-
-dʿurabāʔi xalfa ʔal-nagmi lā yatatallaʕu*
‘They came and the capella was the seat of an observer
Of the sparkles behind the star, without advancing’

And *huwa minka manāʿa ʔal-ḏurayyā* ‘he is to you the distance of the Pleiades’. ʔal-ʔaḥwas¹⁶ said: (tʿawiyl)¹⁶ (L. 15)

*Wa ʔinna baniy ḥarbin kamā gad ʕalimtumū
Manāʿa ʔal-ḏurayyā gad taʕallat nuguwmuḥā*
‘And Baniy Harb as you have already known,
Are at the distance of the Pleiades, their stars are raised’

And he said *huwa minniy maḡsida ʔal-ʔizāri* ‘to me he is the tying place of my undergarment’. He made this follow the course of your saying *huwa minniy makāna ʔal-sāriyati* ‘he is to me in place of the pillar’, because they are places and their meanings are *huwa minniy fiy ʔal-makāni ʔal-laḏiy yaḡḡudu fiyhi ʔal-durabāʔu* ‘he is to me in the place where drinkers sit’, the place where the Pleiades are hung, and the place where the child lands, and you are in the place where the midwife sits, and the place where the undergarment is tied. He wanted this meaning, but he deleted speech

¹⁵ The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāʕilun* (six times).

¹⁶ The meter of tʿawiyl is: *faʕuwlun mafāʕiyun* (four times).

(99) هذا باب ما شُبِّهَ من الأماكنِ المُختَصَّةِ
بِالمكانِ غيرِ المُختَصِّ شُبِّهَتْ بِهِ إِذْ كَانَتْ
تَقَعُ عَلَى الْأَمَاكِنِ

(م 1. ب 99. ص 174. س 8) وذلك قولُ العرب
سَمِعْنَاهُ مِنْهُمْ: هُوَ مِنِّي مَنزِلَةَ الشَّغَافِ، وَهُوَ مِنِّي (س
10) مَنزِلَةَ الْوَلَدِ وَيَدُلُّكَ عَلَى أَنَّهُ ظَرَفٌ قَوْلُكَ هُوَ مِنِّي
بِمَنزِلَةِ الْوَلَدِ، فَإِنَّمَا أُرِدْتُ أَنْ تَجْعَلَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ الْمَوْضِعِ
فَصَارَ، كَقَوْلِكَ: مَنزِلِي مَكَانَ كَذَا وَكَذَا، وَهُوَ مِنِّي
مَرْجَرَ الْكَلْبِ، وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي مَقْعَدَ الْقَابِلَةِ، وَذَلِكَ إِذَا دَنَا
فَلَزِقَ بِكَ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْكَ. قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ، وَهُوَ أَبُو ذُوَيْبٍ:
(كامل)

فَوَرَدَنَ وَالْعِيُوقُ مَقْعَدَ رَابِعِ الْ-
ضَّرْبَاءِ خَلْفَ النَّجْمِ لَا يَتَلَعُ
وَهُوَ مِنْكَ مَنَاطُ الثُّرَيَّا. وَقَالَ الْأَخْوَصُ: (طويل)

(س 15) وَإِنَّ بَنِي حَرْبٍ كَمَا قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ
مَنَاطُ الثُّرَيَّا قَدْ تَعَلَّتْ نُجُومُهَا

وقال: هُوَ مِنِّي مَقْعَدَ الْإِزَارِ، فَأَجْرَى هَذَا مَجْرَى قَوْلِكَ:
هُوَ مِنِّي مَكَانَ السَّارِيَّةِ، وَذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهَا أَمَاكِنٌ وَمَعْنَاهَا هُوَ
مِنِّي فِي الْمَكَانِ الَّذِي يَقْعَدُ فِيهِ الضَّرْبَاءُ، وَفِي الْمَكَانِ
الَّذِي نِيَطَ بِهِ الثُّرَيَّا، وَبِالْمَكَانِ الَّذِي يَنْزِلُ بِهِ الْوَلَدُ،
وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي فِي الْمَكَانِ الَّذِي تَقْعَدُ فِيهِ الْقَابِلَةُ، وَبِالْمَكَانِ
الَّذِي يُعْقَدُ فِيهِ الْإِزَارُ، فَإِنَّمَا أَرَادَ هَذَا الْمَعْنَى لَكِنَّهُ حَذَفَ
الْكَلَامَ.

and this is permitted just as it is permitted (L. 20) *daxaltu ʔal-bayta* ‘I entered the house’ and *ḏahabtu ʔal-šaʔma* ‘I went to Syria’, because they are places even if they are not like places. This is not permitted in everything. If you said *huwa minniy maglisaka* ‘he is to me your seat’ and *muttakaʔa zaydin* ‘Zaid’s reclining place’ and *marbitʔa ʔal-farasi* ‘the tether of the horse’, it is not permitted. What was used of this (P. 175) is what the Arabs used, and what is permitted of it is what they permitted. Similar is the saying of the Arabs *huwa minniy daraga ʔal-sayli* ‘he is to me the river’s flow’; that is, in the place of the river’s flow. The poet ʔibn Harmata said: (wāfir)¹⁷

ʔa-nusʔbun lilmaniyyati taʔtariyhim

Rigālī ʔam humu daraga ʔal-suyuwli

‘Are my men destined for death

Or are they the flow of the torrents’

Ragaʕa ʔadrāgahu ‘he retraced his steps’ is said, meaning that he returned by the road he came by. This is its meaning, so it was made to follow the path (L. 5) of what was before it, just as they followed that path in *daraga ʔal-suyuwli* ‘the flow of the torrents’. As to what is raised in this case, an example is your saying *huwa minniy farsaxāni* ‘he is two parsangs¹⁸ from me’, *huwa minniy ʕadwatu ʔal-farasi* ‘he is from me the run of a horse’, *daʕwatu ʔal-raguli* ‘the call of a man’, *ʔalwatu ʔal-sahmi* ‘the toss of an arrow’, *huwa minniy yawmāni* ‘he is from me (the distance of) two days’, and *huwa minniy fawtu ʔal-yadi* ‘he is from me the width of a hand’. This is different from the first case because the meaning is that he informs that there is between him and another person two parsangs, two days, the call of a man, or the width of a hand. The meaning of *fawtu ʔal-yad* ‘width of a hand’ is that he wants to narrow the distance between him and the other one (so that the distance between him and the other is made closer). This is based on meaning. It followed the first case as though it were due to *saʕati ʔal-kalām* ‘the expansiveness of speech’, just as they say *ʔaxʔabu mā* (L. 10) *yakuwnu ʔal-ʔamiyru yawmu ʔal-gumuʕati* ‘the emir is most eloquent on Friday’. As to the saying of the Arabs *ʔanta minniy marʔan wa masmaʕun* ‘you are (the distance of) a sight and a sound from me’; they raised it, because they wanted the first to have the status of their saying *ʔanta minniy gariybun* ‘you are close to me’. Yuwnus claimed that Arabs say: (wāfir)¹⁹

وجازَ ذلك كما جازَ (س 20) دخلتُ البيتَ، وذهبتُ
الشَّامَ، لأنَّها أماكنُ وإن لم تكنْ كالمكان. وليس يجوز
هذا في كلِّ شيءٍ. لو قلتُ: هو مِنِّي مَجْلِسُكَ أو مُتَكِّئًا
زيدٍ أو مَرَبِطَ الفرسِ، لم يجوز. فاستعمل من هذا ما (ص
175) استعملتِ العربُ وأجز منه ما أجازوا. ومن
ذلك قولُ العرب: هو مِنِّي دَرَجُ السَّيْلِ، أي مكانَ درجِ
السَّيْلِ من السَّيْلِ. قال الشاعر، وهو ابن هَرَمَةَ: (وافر)
أَنْصَبُ لِلْمَنِيِّ تَعْتَرِيهِمْ

رِجَالِي أَمْ هُمْ دَرَجُ السَّيُولِ

ويقال: رَجَعَ أَذْرَاجَهُ، أي رجع في الطريق الذي جاء
فيه. هذا معناه، فَأَجْرِي مَجْرَى ما (س 5) قبله، كما
أَجَرُوا ذلكَ المَجْرَى دَرَجُ السَّيُولِ. وأما ما يرتفع من
هذا الباب فقولك: هو مِنِّي فَرَسْخَانِ، وهو مِنِّي عَدْوَةٌ
الفرسِ، ودَعْوَةٌ الرُّجْلِ، وغَلْوَةٌ السَّهْمِ، وهو مِنِّي
يَوْمَانِ، وهو مِنِّي قَوْتُ اليَدِ. فإنَّما فارقَ هذا البابَ
الأوَّلَ لأنَّ معنى هذا أَنَّهُ يُجْبِرُ أَنْ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَهُ فَرَسْخَيْنِ
ويومينِ، ودعوةُ الرُّجْلِ، وقَوْتًا. ومعنى قَوْتُ اليَدِ أَنَّهُ
يُرِيدُ أَنْ يُقَرِّبَ ما بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَهُ. فهذا على هذا المعنى،
وجرى على الكلامِ الأوَّلِ، كأنَّه هو لِسَعَةِ الكلامِ، كما
قالوا: أَخْطَبْتُ ما (س 10) يكونُ الأميرُ يومَ الجمعةِ.
وأما قولُ العرب: أَنْتَ مِنِّي مَرَأَى وَمَسْمَعٌ، فإنَّما رفعوه
لأنَّهم جعلوه هو الأوَّلَ حتَّى صارَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ قولِهِمْ: أَنْتَ
مِنِّي قَرِيبٌ. وزعم يونسُ أَنَّ ناسًا من العرب يقولون:
(وافر)

¹⁷ The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun faʕuwulun* (twice).

¹⁸ A Persian unit of measurement, probably equivalent to about 4 miles.

¹⁹ The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun faʕuwulun* (twice).

ʔa-nusʔbun lilmaniyati taʔtariyhim

Rigālī ʔam humu daraga ʔal-suyuwli

‘Are my men destined for death

Or are they the flow of the torrents’

He made them to be the *darag* ‘flow’ just as he said *zaydun gasʔduka* ‘Zaid is your aim’ if you were to make the *gasʔd* ‘aim’ to be Zaid, just as it is permitted for you to say (L. 15) *ʔabdu ʔal-lāhi xalfuka* ‘Abdullah is behind you’, if you made him to be *xalf* ‘behind’. Know that some of these *ʔsuruwf* ‘envelopes’ have stronger inflections in being *ʔism* ‘a name’ than others like *ʔal-gasʔd* ‘the aim’, *ʔal-naḥwu* ‘the direction’, *ʔal-gublu* ‘facing in the direction’, or *ʔal-nāḥiyati* ‘the district’. As to *xalfu* ‘behind’, *ʔamāmu* ‘front’, *taḥtu* ‘beneath’, and *duwnu* ‘below’, they are *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, being more frequent in their speech. Similarly, *marʔan wa masmaʔun* ‘sight and sound’, their being names is more frequent. As a consequence, they made it *ʔismān xāsʔʔan* ‘a special name’ with the status of the *maglis* ‘sitting place’ and *muttakaʔ* ‘reclining place’ and whatever is similar to that. They did not like to make it *ʔʔarfan* ‘an envelope/adverbial’. They claim that some people erect it and give it the status of *daraga* (L. 20) *ʔal-sayli* ‘the flow of the torrent’, but it is infrequent. It is as though when they said *bi-marʔan wa masmaʔin* ‘with sight and with sound’, the first is not an *ʔism* ‘name’ in meaning (P. 176) and pronunciation. They likened it to the saying *huwa minniy bi-manzilati ʔal-waladi* ‘he has with me the status of a son’. Yuwnus has claimed that people say *huwa minniy mazgaru ʔal-kalbi* ‘to me, he is the distance from a dog’. They give it the status of *marʔan wa masmaʔin* ‘sight and sound’. Similarly, *magʔadun wa manāʔun* ‘seat and distance’, they make it like the first, so it is made to follow it, as the poet says: (mutagārib)²⁰

Wa ʔanta makānuka min wāʔilin

Makānu ʔal-gurādi min ʔusti ʔal-gamal

‘And you, your place is from wāʔil is

The place of ticks on the camel’s backside

(L. 5) Raising is acceptable here because he made *ʔal-ʔāxira* ‘the other’ to be *ʔal-ʔawwala* ‘the first’, like your saying *lahu raʔsun raʔsu ʔal-ḥimāri* ‘he has a head, the head of an ass’. If he were to make the other *ʔʔarfan* ‘an envelope/adverbial’, it is permitted, but the poet wanted to liken its place with that place. As to their saying *dāriy xalfa dārika farsaxan* ‘my house is a parsang behind your house’,

²⁰ The meter of mutagārib is: *faʔuwluḥ faʔuwluḥ faʔuwluḥ faʔuwluḥ* (twice).

أَنْصَبُ لِلْمَنِيَّةِ تَعْتَرِيهِمْ

رَجَالِي أَمْ هُمْ دَرَجُ السُّيُولِ

فَجَعَلَهُمْ هُم الدَّرَجِ، كما قال زيدٌ قَصْدُكَ، إذا جعلتَ القصدَ زيدا، وكما يجوز لك أن تقول: (س 15) عبدُ الله خَلْفُكَ، إذا جعلته هو الخَلْفَ. واعلم أن هذه الظُّروفَ بعضُها أشدُّ تَمَكُّنًا في أن يكون اسماً من بعض، كالقَصْدِ والنَّحو، والقَبْلِ، والناحية. وأما الخَلْفُ والأمام والتحت والدون فتكون أسماءً، وكيونة تلك أسماءً أكثر وأجرى في كلامهم. وكذلك مرأى ومسمع، كينونتهما أسماءً أكثر. ومع ذلك إتهم جعلوه اسماً خاصاً بمنزلة المجلس والمتكأ وما أشبه ذلك، فكرهوا أن يجعلوه ظرفاً. وقد زعموا أن بعض الناس ينصبه، يجعله بمنزلة درج (س 20) السيل، فينصبه، وهو قليل، كأنهم لما قالوا: بمراًى ومسمع فصار غير الاسم الأول في المعنى (ص 176) واللفظ. شبهوه بقوله: هو مني بمنزلة الولد. وقد زعم يونس أن ناساً يقولون: هو مني مزجر الكلب، يجعلونه بمنزلة مرأى ومسمع. وكذلك مقعد ومناط، يجعلونه هو الأول،

فَيَجْرِي، كقول الشاعر: (مقارب)

وَأَنْتَ مَكَانَكَ مِنْ وَاثِلٍ

مَكَانُ الْقُرَادِ مِنْ اسْتِ الْجَمَلِ

(س 5) وإثما حسن الرفع ههنا لأنه جعل الآخر هو الأول، كقولك: له رأس رأس الحمار. ولو جعل الآخر ظرفاً جاز، ولكن الشاعر أراد أن يشبه مكانه بذلك المكان. وأما قولهم: داري خلف دارك فرسخاً

it got erected because *xalfa* 'behind' is a *xabarun* 'predicate' to the *dār* 'house', and it is *kalāmun* 'speech' where parts of it operated on other parts and dispensed with them. When he said *dāri xalfa dārika* 'my house is behind your house', *ʔabhama* 'he made it unspecific' and it was not known what the extent of that was, so he said *farsaxan* 'a parsang', *dirāsan* 'a yard', or *miylan* 'a mile'. He wanted to be specific; and to achieve these aims, he used *nas^b* 'erecting', just as in in *ʔišruwna dirhaman* 'twenty dirhams', twenty operated (L. 10) on the dirham, as if in this case something *munawwan* 'nunated' operated on something that is not an *ʔism* 'name', just as *ʔafd^a aluhum ragulan* 'he was their best man' in that status. If you so wished, you said *dāriy xalfa dārika farsaxāni* 'my house is behind your house two parsangs'. You cancel *xalfa* 'behind' just like you cancel *fiyhā* 'in it' if you said *fiyhā zaydun gāʔimūn* 'in it, Zaid is residing'. Yuwnus claimed that ʔabuw ʔamr used to say *dāriy min xalfi dārika farsaxāni* 'my house is from your house two parsangs'. He likens it to your saying *dāruka minniy farsaxāni* 'your house from me is two parsangs', because *xalfa* 'behind' here is *ʔismun* 'a name' and he made the *min* 'from' in it have the status of *ʔism* 'a name'. This is a strong *maḏhab* 'view/opinion'. As to the Arabs, they consider it to have the status of your saying *xalfa* 'behind'. They erect and they raise, (L. 15) because you say *ʔanta min xalfiy* 'you are from behind me' and its meaning is *ʔanta xalfiy* 'you are behind me', but the speech was deleted. Don't you see that you say *dāruka min xalfi dariy* 'your house is from behind my house', but speech dispenses with it and you say *ʔanta minniy farsaxayni* 'you are from me two parsangs', that is, *ʔanta minniy mā dumnā nasiyru farsaxayni* 'you are from me, as long as we continue walking, two parsangs'. It is *ḏ^aarf* 'an envelope' just as what was before it was similar to words that were likened to the place. As to *wagtu* 'time', *sāʔātu* 'hours', *ʔayyāmu* 'days', *ʔuhuwru* 'months', *sinuwnu* 'years', and *ʔazminā* and *ʔaḥyāni* 'times and time intervals' that are in *dahr* 'an epoch' that are similar to them, an example is your saying *ʔal-gitālu yawma ʔal-gumuʕati* 'the fight is on Friday', if you make *yawma ʔal-gumuʕati* 'Friday' a *ḏ^aarf* 'envelope'. As to *ʔal-hilāla* 'the crescent' and *ʔal-laylata* 'the night', they (L. 20) got erected because you made the two of them *ḏ^aarfān* 'an envelope', and you said *ʔal-gitāla fiy yawmi ʔal-gumuʕati* 'the fight on Friday' and *ʔal-hilāla fiy ʔal-laylati* 'the crescent at night'. If you were to say *ʔal-laylata ʔal-hilālu* 'tonight is the crescent' and *ʔal-yawma ʔal-gitālu* 'today is the battle', you erected. *Tagdiym* 'pre-positioning' and *taʔxiyr* 'post-positioning' in that are equivalent.

فانتصب، لأنَّ خَلْفَ خَبْرٍ لِلدَّارِ، وَهُوَ كَلَامٌ قَدْ عَمِلَ
بَعْضُهُ فِي بَعْضٍ وَاسْتَعْنَى، فَلَمَّا قَالَ: دَارِي خَلْفَ دَارِكَ
أَبَهُمْ، فَلَمْ يُدْرَ مَا قَدْرُ ذَاكَ، فَقَالَ: فَرَسَخًا وَذِرَاعًا
وَمِيلاً، أَرَادَ أَنْ يُبَيِّنَ. فَيَعْمَلُ هَذَا الْكَلَامُ فِي هَذِهِ
الغَايَاتِ بِالنَّصْبِ كَمَا عَمِلَ: لَهُ عِشْرُونَ ذِرْهَمًا (س)
10) فِي الدَّرْهَمِ، كَأَنَّ هَذَا الْكَلَامَ شَيْءٌ مُنَوَّنٌ يَعْمَلُ
فِيهَا لَيْسَ مِنْ اسْمِهِ وَلَا هُوَ هُوَ، كَمَا كَانَ: أَفْضَلُهُمْ
رَجُلًا، بَتَلْكَ الْمَنْزِلَةَ. وَإِنْ شِئْتَ قَلْتَ: دَارِي خَلْفَ
دَارِكَ فَرَسَخَانِ، تُلْغِي خَلْفَ كَمَا تُلْغِي فِيهَا إِذَا قَلْتَ:
فِيهَا زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ. وَزَعَمَ يُونُسُ أَنَّ أَبَا عَمْرٍو كَانَ يَقُولُ:
دَارِي مِنْ خَلْفِ دَارِكَ فَرَسَخَانِ، يُشَبِّهُه بِقَوْلِكَ: دَارُكَ
مِنِّي فَرَسَخَانِ، لِأَنَّ خَلْفَ هَاهُنَا اسْمٌ، وَجَعَلَ مِنْ فِيهَا
بِمَنْزِلَتِهَا فِي الْاسْمِ. وَهَذَا مَذْهَبٌ قَوِيٌّ. وَأَمَّا الْعَرَبُ
فَتَجْعَلُهُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ قَوْلِكَ: خَلْفَ، فَتَنْصِبُ وَتَرْفَعُ (س)
15)، لِأَنَّكَ تَقُولُ: أَنْتَ مِنْ خَلْفِي، وَمَعْنَاهُ أَنْتَ
خَلْفِي، وَلَكِنَّ الْكَلَامَ حُذِفَ. أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّكَ تَقُولُ:
دَارُكَ مِنْ خَلْفِ دَارِي، فَيَسْتَعْنِي الْكَلَامُ. وَتَقُولُ: أَنْتَ
مِنِّي فَرَسَخَيْنِ، أَيَّ أَنْتَ مِنِّي مَا دُمْنَا نَسِيرُ فَرَسَخَيْنِ،
فَيَكُونُ ظَرْفًا كَمَا كَانَ مَا قَبْلَهُ مِمَّا شَبَّهَ بِالْمَكَانِ. وَأَمَّا
الْوَقْتُ وَالسَّاعَاتُ وَالْأَيَّامُ وَالشُّهُورُ وَالسَّنُونَ وَمَا
أَشْبَهَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْأَزْمَنَةِ وَالْأَحْيَانِ الَّتِي تَكُونُ فِي الدَّهْرِ،
فَهُوَ قَوْلُكَ: الْقِتَالُ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ، إِذَا جَعَلْتَ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ
ظَرْفًا، وَالْهَلَالُ اللَّيْلَةَ. وَإِنَّمَا (س) 20) انْتَصَبَا لِأَنَّكَ
جَعَلْتَهُمَا ظَرْفًا وَجَعَلْتَ الْقِتَالَ فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ وَالْهَلَالُ
فِي اللَّيْلَةِ. وَإِنْ قَلْتَ: اللَّيْلَةُ الْهَلَالُ، وَالْيَوْمُ الْقِتَالُ
نَصَبْتَ، التَّقْدِيمُ وَالتَّأخِيرُ فِي ذَلِكَ سَوَاءٌ.

If you so wished, you raised and you made the last first. Similar are *ʔal-yawma ʔal-gumuʕatu* ‘today is Friday’ and *ʔal-yawma ʔal-sabtu* ‘today is Saturday’; and if you so wished, you raised. As to *ʔal-yawmu ʔal-ʔahadu* ‘the Sunday’ and *ʔal-yawmu ʔal-ʔionani* ‘the second day/monday’ it cannot be anything except raised, and all the days up to Thursday are similar, because it is not due to operating on it. It is as though you wanted to say *ʔal-yawmu ʔal-xāmisu* ‘the fifth day’ or *ʔal-rābiʕu* ‘the fourth’. Similarly, you say *ʔal-yawmu xamsata ʕašara mina ʔal-šahri* ‘today is the fifteenth day of the month’. You really (P. 177) wanted *hāḏā ʔal-yawmu tamāmu xamxata ʕašara mina ʔal-šahri* ‘this is the completion of the fifteenth of the month’ and *yawmāni mina ʔal-šahri* ‘two days of the month’. It is all raised and has the status of your saying *ʔal-ʕāmu ʕāmuḥā* ‘the year is her year’. There are Arabs who say *ʔal-yawma yawmuka* ‘today is your day’. They make the first *yawm* ‘day’ have the status of *ʔal-ʔān* ‘now’, because the man says *ʔanā ʔal-yawma ʔaʕʕalu ḏālika* ‘I am doing that today’. He does not want to say *yawman bi-ḏātihi* ‘a specific day’. And you say *ʕahdiy bihi gariyban wa ḥadiyḥan* ‘I have known him recently and newly’ if you do not make the last one like the first. If you were to make the last be like the first, you raised; and if you were to erect, (L. 5) you made *ḥadiyḥa* ‘recent/new’ and *gariyba* ‘close/short’ into elements of time. And you say *ʕahdiy bihi gāʔiman* ‘my knowledge of him is existing’ and *ʕilmiy bihi ḏā mālin* ‘my knowledge of him is that he is wealthy’. You erect, because it is a *ḥāl* ‘circumstance’ and it is not concerned with *ʕahd wa lā ʕilm* ‘time nor knowledge’ and here they are not *ḏʕarfayni* ‘envelopes’. You say *ḏʕarbiy ʕabda ʔal-lāhi gāʔiman* ‘my hitting Abdullah is continuing’, as I mentioned to you. Know that *ḏʕuruwf ʔal-dahr* ‘envelopes of time’ are more inflectable in names, because they can be *fāʕilatan* ‘actors’ and *maʕfūwlatan* ‘acted-upons’. You say *ʔahlakaka ʔal-laylu wa ʔal-nahāru* ‘the night and the day have worn you out’ and *ʔistawfayta ʔayyāmaka* ‘you have fulfilled your days’. So, the *dahr* ‘time’ is made to follow this path. So, make things follow as they did.

وإن شئت رفعت فجعلت الآخر الأول. وكذلك: اليوم الجمعة، واليوم السبت. وإن شئت رفعت. فأما اليوم الأحد، واليوم الاثنين، فإنه لا يكون إلا رفعاً، وكذلك إلى الخميس، لأنه ليس بعمل فيه كأنك أردت أن تقول: اليوم الخامس والرابع. وكذلك: اليوم خمسة عشر من الشهر، إنما (ص 177) أردت: هذا اليوم تمام خمسة عشر من الشهر، ويومان من الشهر، رُفِعَ كُلُّهُ فصار بمنزلة قولك: العام عامها. ومن العرب من يقول: اليوم يومك فيجعل اليوم الأول بمنزلة الآن، لأن الرجل قد يقول: أنا اليوم أفعل ذلك، ولا يريد يوماً بعينه. وتقول: عهدي به قريباً وحديثاً، إذا لم تجعل الآخر هو الأول. فإن جعلت الآخر هو الأول رفعت. وإذا نصبت (س 5) جعلت الحديث والقريب من الدهر. وتقول: عهدي به قائماً، وعلمي به ذا مال، فتصب على أنه حال وليس بالعهد ولا العلم، وليسا هنا ظرفين. وتقول: ضربي عبد الله قائماً، على هذا الذي ذكرت لك. واعلم أن ظروف الدهر أشد تمكناً في الأسماء، لأنها تكون فاعلة ومفعولة، تقول: أهلكك الليل والنهار، واستوفيت أيامك، فأجري الدهر هذا المجري. فأجر الأشياء كما أجرها.

Chapter 100. This is a Chapter on *garr* ‘pulling’

(100) هَذَا بَابُ الْجَرِّ

(Buwlaq vol. 1. p. 209, Derenbourg vol.1. p. 177-178; Haruwn vol.1. p. 419-421)

(I. Chapter 100. P. 177. L. 10) *ʔal-garr* ‘the pulling’ is in every *ʔism* ‘name’ that *mudʿāfun ʔilayhi* ‘is annexed to it’. Know that the *mudʿāfa ʔilayhi* ‘annexed to’ is pulled by three things: a thing that is neither *ʔismin* ‘a name’ nor *ḏʿarfīn* ‘an envelope’, a thing that is *ḏʿarf* ‘an envelope’, or *ʔism* ‘a name’ that is not *ḏʿarf* ‘an envelope’. As to the one that is neither *ʔism* ‘name’ nor *ḏʿarf* ‘envelope’, an example is your saying *marartu bi-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘I passed by Abdullah’, *hāḏā li-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘this is for Abdullah’, *mā ʔanta ka-zaydin* ‘you are not like Zaid’, *yā la-bakrin* ‘O for Bakr’, *ta-ʔal-lāhi la-ʔafʕalu ḏāka* ‘by God, I will not do that’, *min* ‘from’, *fiy* ‘in’, *muḏ* ‘since’, *ʕan* ‘about/on/from’, *rubba* ‘how many’ and what is like them. Similarly, they say *ʔaxaḏtuḥu ʕan zaydin* ‘I took it from Zaid’, and *ʔilā zaydin* ‘to Zaid’. As to the *ḥuruwf* ‘words that are *ḏʿarfīn* ‘an envelope’, they are like *xalfa* ‘behind’, *ʔamāma* ‘front’, *guddāma* ‘in front of’, *warāʔa* ‘behind’, *fawga* ‘over/above’, *taḥta* ‘under/below’, (L. 15) *ʕinda* ‘at/with’, *gibal* ‘facing’, *maʕa* ‘with’, and *ʕalā* ‘on’, because you say *min ʕalayka* ‘from on you’ just as you say *min fawgika* ‘from above you’, and *ḏahaba min maʕihi* ‘he left from being with him’. *ʕan* ‘on/about/from’ is also a *ḏʿarf* ‘envelope’ with the status of *ḏāti ʔal-yamiyni wa ʔal-nāḥiyati* ‘to the right and in the direction’. Don’t you see that you say *min ʕan yamiynika* ‘from your right’ just as you say *min nāḥiyati kaḏā wa kaḏā* ‘from the direction of such and so’? And *gubālata* ‘facing’, *makānaka* ‘your place’, *duwna* ‘below’, *gablu* ‘before’, *baʕdu* ‘after’, *ʔizāʔa* ‘across from’, *ḥiḏāʔa* ‘adjacent’ and what is like them of *ʔamkinati* ‘places and *ʔazminati* ‘times’. And that is as in your saying *ʔanta xalfa ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘you are behind Abdullah’, *ʔamāma zaydin* ‘in front of Zaid’, and *guddāma ʔaxiyka* ‘in front of your brother’. The rest of these *ḥuruwf* ‘particles’ behave similarly. These *ḏʿuruwf* ‘envelopes’ are *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, but they became *mawāḏiyʕ* ‘locations’ for the things. As to the *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’, they are like *miḏlin* ‘like’, (L. 20) *ʔayrin* ‘other’, *kullin* ‘all/each’, and *baʕdʿin* ‘some’. Like that are also *ʔal-ʔasmāʔu ʔal-muxtasʕatu* ‘the specialized names’ like *ḥimārin* ‘an ass’, *gidārin* ‘a wall’, *mālin* ‘money’, and *ʔafʕala*, like your saying *hāḏā ʔaʕmalu ʔal-nāsi* ‘this the most active of people’ and what is like this of all names. And that is in your saying *miḏlu ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘like Abdullah’, *hāḏā kullu mālika* ‘this is all your money’, *baʕdu gawmika* ‘some of your people’, *hāḏā ḥimāru zaydin* ‘this is Zaid’s ass’, *gidāru ʔaxiyka* ‘your brother’s wall’, *mālu ʕamrin* ‘Amr’s money’,

والجَرُّ إِنَّمَا يَكُونُ فِي كُلِّ اسْمٍ مُّضَافٍ إِلَيْهِ. وَاعْلَمَنَّ أَنَّ الْمُضَافَ إِلَيْهِ يَنْجَرُّ بِثَلَاثَةِ أَشْيَاءَ: بِشَيْءٍ لَيْسَ بِاسْمٍ وَلَا ظَرْفٍ، وَبِشَيْءٍ يَكُونُ ظَرْفًا، وَبِاسْمٍ لَا يَكُونُ ظَرْفًا. فَأَمَّا الَّذِي لَيْسَ بِاسْمٍ وَلَا ظَرْفٍ فَقَوْلُكَ: مَرَرْتُ بِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ، وَهَذَا لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ، وَمَا أَنْتَ كَزَيْدٍ، وَيَا لِبَكْرٍ، وَتَاللَّهِ لَا أَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ، وَمِنْ، وَفِي، وَمُذُّ، وَعَنْ، وَرُبُّ، وَمَا أَشْبَهَ ذَلِكَ. وَكَذَلِكَ أَخَذْتُهُ عَنْ زَيْدٍ، وَإِلَى زَيْدٍ. وَأَمَّا الْحُرُوفُ الَّتِي تَكُونُ ظَرْفًا فَنَحْوُ: خَلْفَ، وَأَمَامَ، وَقُدَّامَ، وَوَرَاءَ، وَفَوْقَ، وَتَحْتَ، (س 15) وَعِنْدَ، وَقَبْلَ، وَمَعَ، وَعَلَى لِأَنَّكَ تَقُولُ: مِنْ عَلَيْكَ، كَمَا تَقُولُ: مِنْ فَوْقِكَ، وَذَهَبَ مِنْ مَعِهِ. وَعَنْ أَيْضًا ظَرْفٌ بِمَنْزِلَةِ ذَاتِ الْيَمِينِ وَالنَّاحِيَةِ. أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّكَ تَقُولُ: مِنْ عَنْ يَمِينِكَ، كَمَا تَقُولُ: مِنْ نَاحِيَةِ كَذَا وَكَذَا. وَقُبَالَةَ وَمَكَانِكَ، وَدُونَ وَقَبْلَ، وَبَعْدَ، وَإِزَاءَ، وَجِذَاءَ، وَمَا أَشْبَهَ هَذَا مِنَ الْأَمْكِنَةِ وَالْأَزْمِنَةِ. وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ: أَنْتَ خَلْفَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، وَأَمَامَ زَيْدٍ، وَقُدَّامَ أَخِيكَ. وَكَذَلِكَ سَائِرُ هَذِهِ الْحُرُوفِ. وَهَذِهِ الظُّرُوفُ أَسْمَاءٌ، وَلَكِنَّهَا صَارَتْ مَوَاضِعَ لِلْأَشْيَاءِ. وَأَمَّا الْأَسْمَاءُ فَنَحْوُ: مِثْلُ، (س 20) وَعَظِيمٌ، وَكُلٌّ، وَبَعْضٌ. وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ أَيْضًا الْأَسْمَاءُ الْمُخْتَصَّةُ نَحْوُ: جِمَارٍ، وَجِدَارٍ وَمَالٍ، وَأَفْعَلٌ نَحْوَ قَوْلِكَ: هَذَا أَعْمَلُ النَّاسِ، وَمَا أَشْبَهَ هَذَا مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ كُلِّهَا، وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ: هَذَا مِثْلُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، وَهَذَا كُلُّ مَالِكَ وَبَعْضُ قَوْمِكَ، وَهَذَا جِمَارُ زَيْدٍ، وَجِدَارُ أَخِيكَ، وَمَالُ عَمْرٍو.

and *hāḏā ʔašaddu* (P. 178) *ʔal-nāsi* ‘this is the strictest of people’. As to the *bāʔ* [y] and what is like it, they are not *ḏʕuruwf* ‘envelopes’ and not *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’ but by their means an *ʔism* ‘name’ is added to what is before or what is after. If you were to say *yā la-bakrin* ‘O for Bakr’, you wanted to make what operated on the *munādā* ‘vocative’ to be annexed to Bakr with the *lām* [l]. If you were to say *marartu bi-zaydin* ‘I passed by Zaid’, you have annexed the *muruw* ‘passing’ to Zaid with a *bāʔ* [b]. *Hāḏā li-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘this is for Abdullah’ is similar. If you were to say *ʔanta ka-ʕabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘you are like Abdullah’, you have annexed likeness to Abdullah with a *kāf* [k]. If you were to say (L. 5) *ʔaxaḏtuhu min ʕabdi ʔal-āhi* ‘I took it from Abdullah’, you have annexed *ʔal-ʔaxḏa* ‘the taking’ to Abdullah with *min* ‘from’. If you were to say *muḏ zamānin* ‘since some time’, you have annexed the issue to an interval of time with *muḏ* ‘since’. If you were to say *ʔanta fīy ʔal-dāri* ‘you are in the house’, you have annexed your being in the house to the house with *fīy* ‘in’. And if you were to say *fīyka xasʕlatu sawʔin* ‘in you there is a trait of evil’, you have annexed to him the ugliness with *fīy* ‘in’. If you were to say *rubba ragulin yaguwlu ḏāka* ‘how many a man would say that’ you have annexed the saying to the man with *rubba* ‘how many’. If you were to say *bi-ʔal-lāhi wa wa-ʔal-lāhi wa ta-ʔal-lāhi* ‘by God’, you have annexed an oath to God, Glorious is His praise, just as you annexed the *nidāʔa* ‘vocative’ with a *lām* [l] to Bakr when you said *yā la-bakrin* ‘O for Bakr. (L. 10) Similarly, when you said *rawaythu ʕan zaydin* ‘I narrated it from Zaid’, you annexed the story to Zaid with *ʕan* ‘about’.

وهذا أشدُّ (ص 178) الناسِ. وأمَّا الباءُ وما أشبهها فليست بظروفٍ ولا أسماءٍ، ولكنها يضاف بها إلى الاسم ما قبله أو ما بعده. فإذا قلت: يا لَبَكْرُ، فإنَّما أردتُ أن تجعلَ ما يَعْمَلُ في المَنَادَى مُضَافاً إلى بَكْرٍ باللام. وإذا قلت: مررتُ بزَيدٍ، فإنَّما أضفتَ المُرورَ إلى زيدٍ بالباء، وكذلك هذا لِعَبْدِ اللهِ. وإذا قلت: أنتَ كعَبْدِ اللهِ، فقد أضفتَ إلى عبدِ اللهِ الشَّبَهَ بالكاف. وإذا قلت: (س 5) أخذتُه من عبدِ اللهِ، فقد أضفتَ الأَخْذَ إلى عبدِ اللهِ بِمِن. وإذا قلت: مُدُّ زَمَانٍ، فقد أضفتَ الأمرَ إلى وقتٍ من الزمانِ بِمُدُّ. وإذا قلت: أنتَ في الدَّارِ، فقد أضفتَ كَيُنَوِّنُكَ في الدَّارِ إلى الدَّارِ بِفِي. وإذا قلت: فيكَ خَصْلَةٌ سَوِيءٌ، فقد أضفتَ إليه الرِّدَاءَةَ بِفِي. وإذا قلت: رَبُّ رَجُلٍ يَقُولُ ذاك، فقد أضفتَ القولَ إلى الرَّجُلِ بِرُبِّ. وإذا قلت: باللهِ وَوَاللهِ وَتَاللهِ، فإنَّما أضفتَ الحَلْفَ إلى اللهِ جَلَّ ثَنَاؤُهُ، كما أضفتَ النِّدَاءَ باللام إلى بَكْرٍ حينَ قلت: يَا لَبَكْرُ، (س 10) وكذلك رَوَيْتُهُ عَن زَيدٍ، أضفتَ الرِّوَايَةَ إلى زَيدٍ بِعَن.