

This is the Famous Book of Sībawayh on *naḥw*¹ ‘Grammar’ and its Name is *ḥal-kitāb* ‘The Book’

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Chapter 36. This is a Chapter on *fī ḥ* ‘action’ in which *ḥal-ḥāxiru* ‘the last’ *yubdalu*² ‘is substituted for the first and it follows the course of the *ḥism* ‘name’, just as *ḥagma ḥuwn* ‘all’ followed the course of the *ḥism* ‘name’ and *yuns^ḥabu bi-ḥal-fī ḥ* ‘it is erected by the action’ because it is *maḥḥuwl* ‘acted-upon’

(Buwlāq vol.1. pp. 79-82, Derenbourg vol.1. pp.68-70,
Haruwn vol.1. pp. 158-163)

(I. P. 68) *ḥal-badal* ‘the substitution/apposition’ is to say *d^ḥuriba ḥabdu ḥal-lāḥi ḥ^ḥahruhu wa-bat^ḥnuhu* ‘Abdulah was struck on his back and his belly’ (L. 10) and *d^ḥuriba zaydun ḥal-ḥ^ḥahru wa ḥal-bat^ḥnu* ‘Zaid was struck by way of the back and by way of the belly’ and *ḥuliba ḥamrun ḥ^ḥahruhu wa bat^ḥnuhu* ‘Amr was flipped on his back and on his belly’ and *mut^ḥirna ḥahlunā wa ḥabalunā* ‘we were rained on, on our plain and on our mountain’ and *mut^ḥirna ḥal-sahlu wa ḥal-gabalu* ‘we were rained on by way of the plain and by way of the mountain’. If you wished it refers to the *ḥism* ‘name’ with the status of *ḥagma ḥiyn* ‘all’ *tawkiydan* ‘by way of emphasis’ and if you so wished you erected with an [a] and said *d^ḥuriba zaydun ḥal-ḥ^ḥahra wa ḥal-bat^ḥna* ‘Zaid was struck on the back and the belly’ and *mut^ḥirnā ḥal-sahla wa ḥal-gabala* ‘we were rained on, on the plain and on the mountain’ and *ḥuliba ḥalā ḥal-ḥ^ḥahri wa bat^ḥni* ‘he was flipped on the back and on the belly’. But they permitted this just as they permitted their saying *daxaltu ḥal-bayta* ‘I entered the house’, but its meaning is *daxaltu fī ḥal-bayti* ‘I entered into the house’. *ḥal-ḥāmil* ‘the operator’ in it is the *fī ḥ* ‘action’ (L. 15).

¹Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

²It is to be noted here that substitution is not replacement but an appositional element that stands for the name already mentioned in the sentence.

هذا كتاب سيبويه
المشهور في النحو واسمه الكتاب

(٣٦) هذا باب من الفعل يُبدل فيه الآخر من
الأول ويُجرى على الاسم كما يُجرى أجمعون على
الاسم ويُنصب بالفعل لأنه مفعول

(م ١. ص ٦٨. س ٨) فالبَدَلُ أن تقول:
ضَرَبَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ظَهْرَهُ وَبَطْنَهُ (س. ١٠) وَضَرَبَ
زَيْدٌ الظَّهْرَ وَالبَطْنَ وَقَلِبَ عَمْرٌو ظَهْرَهُ وَبَطْنَهُ
وَمُطِرْنَا سَهْلَنَا وَجَبَلَنَا وَمُطِرْنَا السَّهْلَ وَالجَبَلَ.
وإن شئتَ كان على الاسم بمنزلة أجمعين
توكيدا. وإن شئتَ نصبت فقلت ضَرَبَ زَيْدٌ
الظَّهْرَ وَالبَطْنَ وَمُطِرْنَا السَّهْلَ وَالجَبَلَ وَقَلِبَ
زَيْدٌ ظَهْرَهُ وَبَطْنَهُ. فالمعنى أنهم مُطِرُوا في السَّهْلِ
وَالجَبَلِ وَقَلِبَ على الظَّهْرِ وَالبَطْنِ. وَلَكِنَّهُمْ
أجازوا هذا كما أجازوا قولهم دَخَلْتُ البَيْتَ
وإنما معناه دَخَلْتُ في البَيْتِ. والعامل فيه الفعلُ
(س. ١٥)

What has been erected here does not have the status of *ḍarf* ‘envelope of place’ because if you said *ḡuliba huwa ḍ’ahruhu wa bat’nuhu* ‘he was flipped over, it is his back and his belly’ and you mean something on his back, it is not permitted. And they do not permit it on others than *ḡal-sahl, ḡal-gabal, ḡal-ḍ’ahr and ḡal-bat’n* ‘the plain, the mountain, the back and the belly’. Just as it is not permitted *daxaltu ṣabda ḡal-lāhi* ‘I entered Abdulah’ This was permitted in that only just as *daxaltu* ‘I entered’ is not permitted except into places like *daxaltu ḡal-bayta* ‘I entered the house’. They are specified for this. Just like *ladun* ‘at, by’ with *yudwata* ‘early morning’ have *ḡāl* ‘circumstance’ that is not in other *ḡasmāʔ* ‘names’. As *ṣasā* ‘perhaps, possibly’ has in their speech *ṣasā ḡal-yuwayru ḡabuṣan* ‘possibly the gorge is miserable’ is a *ḡāl* ‘circumstance’ that does not exist (L. 20) in other things. An equivalent to this is the fact that they erased *ḡarf ḡal-garr* ‘particle of *garr*’ and is nothing but their saying *nubbiṡtu zaydan ḡāla ḍ’āka* ‘I was informed (of) Zaid, he said that’. But he wanted *ṣan zaydin* ‘about Zaid’. The meaning of the first is the meaning of *ḡamākin* ‘places’. *ḡal-Khalīl*, may God have mercy on him, claimed that they say *mut’irna ḡal-ḍ’arṣa wa ḡal-d’irṣa* ‘we were rained on, on crops and the udders/flocks’. If you so wished you raised on the power of *badal* ‘substitution’ and that you make it with the status (P. 69) of *ḡagmaṣiyn* ‘all’ *tawkiydan* ‘by way of emphasis’. If you said *duriba zaydu ḡal-yadu wa ḡal-riglu* ‘Zaid was struck on the hand and the foot’, it is permitted in that it be *badalan* ‘substitution’ and that it be *tawkiyd* ‘emphasis’. If you were to erect it, that would not be good because the *fiʔl* ‘action’ has been made to penetrate in these *ḡasmāʔ* ‘names’, especially to the erected, if you were to delete from it the particle of *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’, except when you were to hear the Arabs say otherwise. We have heard them say *mat’arathum ḍ’ahran wa bat’nan* ‘it rained them by the way of the back and the belly’. And you say *mut’ira ḡawmuka ḡal-layla wa ḡal-nahāra* ‘your people were rained on by the day and by the night’, by way of the *ḍarf* ‘envelope of place’ and by way of the other *wagh* ‘facet/aspect’, and if (L. 5) you so wished you raised due to the expansiveness of *kalām* ‘speech’ as he said *s’iyda ṣalayhi ḡal-laylu wa nahāruhu* ‘he hunted on it by night and by day’ as he said *nahāruhu s’āṣimun wa layluhu ḡāṣimun* ‘his day is fasting and his night is up praying’; as *gariyr* said: (t’awiyl)³

وليس المنتصب هاهنا بمنزلة الظرف لأنك لو قلت قلب هو ظهره وبطنه وأنت تعني شيئاً على ظهره لم يجز. ولم يُجيزوه في غير السهل والجبل والظهر والبطن كما لم يجز دخلت عبد الله فجاز هذا في ذا وحده كما لم يجز دخلت إلا في الأماكن في مثل دخلت البيت. واختصت بهذا كما أن لذن مع غدوة لها حال ليست في غيرها من الأسماء وكما أن عسى لها في قولهم عسى الغوير أبو ساء حال لا تكون (س. ٢٠) في سائر الأشياء. ونظير هذا أيضاً في أنهم حذفوا حرف الجر ليس إلا قولهم نبئت زيدا قال ذلك إنما يريد عن زيد إلا أن معنى الأول معنى الأماكن. وزعم الخليل رحمه الله أنهم يقولون مطرنا الزرع والضرع وإن شئت رفعت على البدل وعلى أن تصيره بمنزلة (ص. ٦٩) أجمعين تأكيداً. فإن قلت ضرب زيد اليد والرجل جاز على أن يكون بدلاً وأن يكون توكيداً. وإن نصبته لم يحسن لأن الفعل إنما أنفذ في هذه الأسماء خاصة إلى المنصوب إذا حذف منه حرف الجر إلا أن تسمع العرب تقول في غيره وقد سمعناهم يقولون مطرتهم ظهراً وبطناً. وتقول مطر قومتك الليل والنهار على الظرف وعلى الوجه الآخر. وإن (س. ٥) شئت رفعت على سعة الكلام كما قال صيد عليه الليل والنهار وكما قال نهاره صائم وليله قائم وكما قال جريير: (طويل)

³The meter for t’awiyl is: *fa suwluṣ maṣāṣiylun* (four times).

La ʿad lumtinā ya ʿlumma ʿaylāna fiy ʿal-surā
Wa nimti wa-mā laylu ʿal-matʿiyyiy bi-nāʿīmi
 ‘Mother of Ghylan, you blamed us during the nightly walk
 And you slept but the riding one is not asleep’

It is as though in all this he made the night *baʿdʿa* ‘some part’ of the *ʿism* ‘name’ as the poet said: (basiy^f)⁴

ʿammā ʿal-nahāru fa-fiyy ʿaydin wa-silsilatin
Wa ʿal-laylu fiyy ʿa ʿsrin man ʿhurwtin mina ʿal-sāgi
 ‘As for the day, it is in a shackle and a chain
 And the night in a pit carved out of teak’

(L, 10). It is as though he made the day in a shackle and the night in a carved cavity, or he made it the *ʿism* ‘name’ or some part of it. If you so wished, you say *dʿuriba ʿadul ʿal-lāhi ʿdʿahruhu* ‘Abdulah was struck (on) his back’ and *mutʿira ʿawmuka sahluhum* ‘your people was rained on (on) their plain’ on the basis of *ra ʿaytu ʿal-ʿawma ʿak ʿarahum* ‘I saw the people, most of them’ and *ra ʿaytu ʿamran šaxsʿahu* ‘I saw Amr in person’, ʿal-ʿaʿšā said: (kāmīl)⁵

Wa ka ʿannahu laha ʿu ʿal-sarāti ka ʿannahu
Mā hāgibayhi mu ʿayyanun bi-sawādi
 ‘And it is like a white patch on the upper back as though
 His two brows were etched in black’

He wants *ka ʿanna hāgibayhi* ‘as though his two brows’, so he substituted *hāgibayhi* for the *hāʿ*[h] that is in *ka ʿannahu* ‘as though he was’ and *mā* is extra (L, 15). ʿal-gaʿdiy said: (kāmīl)⁶

Malaka ʿal-xawarna ʿa wa ʿal-sadiyra wa dānahu
Mā bayna ʿhīmyara ʿahlihā wa- ʿuwāli
 ‘He ruled ʿal-xawarna ʿa wa ʿal-sadiyra and gave him loyalty
 What was between ʿhīmyara, its people and ʿuwāli’

He wants *mā bayna ʿahli ʿhīmyara* ‘what is between the people of ʿhīmyar’ so he substituted *ʿal-ʿahla* for *ʿhīmyar*. An example of that is their saying *sʿaraftu wuguwhahā ʿawwalahā* ‘I inspected all their aspects, the first of them’ and like it is *mā liy bihim ʿilmun ʿamrihim* ‘I have no knowledge of them, their affairs’ as for saying of gariyr: (kāmīl)⁷

⁴The meter for basiy^f is: *mustafīlun fāfīlun mustafīlun fa ʿilun* (twice).

⁵The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāfīlun* (six times).

⁶The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāfīlun* (six times).

⁷The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāfīlun* (six times).

لقد مُننا يا أمَّ عَيْلانَ في السَّرى
 وَنَمْتِ وَمَا لَيْلُ الْمَطِيِّ بِنائِمِ

فكَأَنَّهُ فِي كُلِّ هَذَا جَعَلَ اللَّيْلَ بَعْضَ الْأَسْمِ.
 وَقَالَ الشَّاعِرُ: (بَسِيْط)

أَمَّا النَّهَارُ ففِي قَيْدٍ وَسِلْسِلَةٍ
 وَاللَّيْلُ فِي قَعْرِ مَنْحُوتٍ مِنَ السَّاجِ

(س. ١٠) فَكَأَنَّهُ جَعَلَ النَّهَارَ فِي قَيْدٍ وَاللَّيْلَ فِي
 جَوْفِ مَنْحُوتٍ أَوْ جَعَلَهُ الْأَسْمَ أَوْ بَعْضَهُ. وَإِنْ
 شِئْتَ قُلْتَ ضَرَبَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ظَهْرَهُ وَمُطِرَ قَوْمُكَ
 سَهْلُهُمْ عَلَى قَوْلِكَ رَأَيْتُ الْقَوْمَ أَكْثَرَهُمْ وَرَأَيْتُ
 عَمْرًا شَخَصَهُ كَمَا قَالَ الْأَعْمَشِيُّ: (كَامِل)

وَكَأَنَّهُ هَوَّ السَّرَاةِ كَأَنَّهُ
 مَا حَاجِبِيَّهَ مُعَيَّنٌ بِسَوَادٍ

يُرِيدُ كَأَنَّ حَاجِبِيَّهَ فَأَبْدَلَ حَاجِبِيَّهَ مِنَ الْهَاءِ الَّتِي فِي
 كَأَنَّهُ وَمَا زَائِدَةٌ قَالَ (س. ١٥) الْجَعْدِيُّ: (كَامِل)

مَلَكَ الْخَوَزَنَقَ وَالسَّدِيرَ وَدَانَهُ
 مَا بَيْنَ حَمِيرٍ أَهْلِهَا وَأَوَالٍ

يُرِيدُ: مَا بَيْنَ أَهْلِ حَمِيرٍ فَأَبْدَلَ الْأَهْلَ مِنْ حَمِيرٍ وَمِثْلُ
 ذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمْ صَرَفْتُ وَجُوهَهَا أَوْهَا. وَمِثْلُهُ مَا لِي
 بِهِمْ عِلْمٌ أَمْرِهِمْ. وَأَمَّا قَوْلُ جَرِيرٍ: (كَامِل)

MašaGa ḡal-hawāgīru laḥmahunna ma ša ḡal-surā
ḥatta ḡahabna kalākīlan wa-sʿuduwrā
 ‘Emaciated, the pilgrims, their meat with the travel
 Until their upper backs and chests were gone’

(P. 70) This is according to his saying *ḡahaba ḡuduman wa ḡahaba ḡuxuran* ‘he went forward and he went backward’.
 And ḡamr bin ḡammār ḡal-naḡdiy said: (tʿawīyl)⁸

Tʿawīylun mitallu ḡal-ḡunuḡi ḡašrafa kāḡīlan
ḡašaḡḡu raḡīybu ḡal-ḡawfi mu ḡadīlu ḡal-ḡirmi
 Long of neck and thick, overlooking the shoulders
 Long and deep cavity, regular body’

It is as though he said *ḡahaba sʿu ḡudan* ‘he went up’ but he informed that the going was in this state/circumstance. And like it is the saying of a man from ḡumān: (ragaz)⁹

ḡiḡā ḡakaltu samakan wa fardʿan
ḡahabtu tʿuwlan wa ḡahabtu fardʿan
 ‘If I eat fish and dates
 I grow length-wise and I grow width-wise’

He likened this type with the *masʿādir* ‘origins’. This is not like the saying of ḡāmir bin ḡal-tʿufayl: (kāmil)¹⁰

Fa-la-ḡab ḡiyannakumu ḡanan wa ḡuwāridʿan
Wa la-ḡuḡbilanna ḡal-xayla lābata dʿarḡadi
 ‘Verily I will seek you at ḡana and ḡuwārida
 And I will face the horses toward lābata and dʿarḡadi’

because *ḡanan wa ḡuwāridʿa* are two places, and he wants in *bi-ḡanan wa ḡuwāridʿa* ‘in ḡana and ḡuwārida’ but the poet likened them to *daxaltu ḡal-bayta* ‘I entered the house’ and *ḡuliba ḡal-ḡahra wa ḡal-batʿna* ‘he was flipped on the back and the belly’.

مَشَقَّ الْهُوَاجِرُ لِحَمَّهِنَّ مَعَ الشَّرَى
 حَتَّى ذَهَبْنَ كَلًّا وَصُدُورًا

(ص. ٧٠) فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ ذَهَبَ قُدْمًا وَذَهَبَ
 أُخْرًا. وَقَالَ عَمْرُو بْنُ عَمَارِ النَّهْدِيِّ: (طويل)

طويلٌ مِثْلُ الْعُنُقِ أَشْرَفَ كَاهِلًا
 أَشَقُّ رَحِيبُ الْجَوْفِ مُعْتَدِلُ الْجِرْمِ

كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ ذَهَبَ صُعْدًا فَإِنَّمَا أُخْبِرَ أَنَّ الذَّهَابَ كَانَ
 عَلَى هَذِهِ الْحَالِ. وَمِثْلُهُ قَوْلُ رَجُلٍ مِنْ عُمَانَ:
 (رجز) (س. ٥)

إِذَا أَكَلْتُ سَمَكًا وَفَرَضًا
 ذَهَبْتُ طُولًا وَذَهَبَتْ عَرْضًا

فَإِنَّمَا شَبَّهَ هَذَا الضَّرْبَ مِنَ الْمَصَادِرِ. وَلَيْسَ هَذَا
 مِثْلَ قَوْلِ عَامِرِ بْنِ الطُّفَيْلِ: (كامل)

فَلَا بَغْيَيْنَكُمُ قَنًا وَعُورَارِضًا
 وَلَا قَبْلَنَ الْخَيْلِ لَابَةَ صَرَّغِدِ

لَأَنَّ قَنًا وَعُورَارِضَ مَكَانَانِ وَإِنَّمَا يَرِيدُ بِقَنًا
 وَعُورَارِضَ وَلَكِنَّ الشَّاعِرَ شَبَّهَهُ بِدَخَلْتِ الْبَيْتِ
 وَقَلْبِ الظَّهْرِ وَالْبَطْنِ.

⁸The meter of tʿawīyl is: *fa ḡuwlan mafāḡīylun* (four times).

⁹The meter of ragaz is: *mustafīlun* (six times).

¹⁰The meter for kāmil is: *mutafāḡīlun* (six times).

Chapter 37. This is a Chapter on *ʾism ʾal-fāʾil* ‘name of the actor/active participle’ that followed the course of the *fi ʾl ʾal-mudʾāriʿ* ‘resembler action’ in the *maʾfuwl* ‘acted-upon’ in meaning, but if you wanted from it in meaning what you wanted in *yafʿalu* ‘he acts’ then it became nunated and *nakirah* ‘indefinite’

(Buwlāq vol. 1. pp. 82-89, Derenbourg vol.1. pp. 70-74, Haruwn vol.1. pp. 163-175)

(P. 70) And that is in your saying *hāḏā dʿāribun zaydan ʾadan* ‘this is a striker of Zaid tomorrow’ its meaning and its function is *hāḏā yadʿribu zaydan ʾadan* ‘this will strike Zaid tomorrow’. If he were to discuss about a *fi ʾl* ‘action’ at the time of its occurrence without interruption, that would be the case. And that is in your saying *hāḏā dʿāribun ʾabda ʾal-lāhi ʾal-sāʾata* ‘this is a striker of Abdulah this hour’. Its meaning and its function are like *hāḏā yadʿribu ʾabda ʾal-lāhi ʾal-sāʾata* ‘this will strike Abdulah this hour’. And *kāna zaydun dʿāriban ʾabāka* ‘Zaid was striking your father’. He is discussing connecting the *fi ʾl* ‘action’ at the time of (L. 15) of its occurrence, and it was in agreement with Zaid. Its meaning and its function are your saying *kāna yadʿribu ʾabāka* ‘he was striking your father’ and it is in agreement with Zaid. This is made to follow in the course of the *fi ʾl ʾal-mudʾāriʿ* ‘the resembler action’ in both meaning and function and the meaning *munawwan* ‘as nunated’. What has occurred in poetry *nunated* in this case is his saying: (kāmīl)¹¹

ʾinniy bi-ḥablika wāsilun ḥabliy

Wa-bi-riyši nablika rāʾišun nabliy

‘To your tether I will connect my tether

And to the tip of your arrow mine’

(P. 71) And ʿumar ʾibn ʾabiy rabiyyata said: (tʿawiyl)¹²

Wa-min māli ʾin ʾaynayhi min šay ʾi ʾayrihi

ʾiḏā rāḥa naḥwa ʾal-gamrati ʾal-biydʿu ka-ʾal-dumā

‘From the filler of his eyes what belong to another

If he were to go towards the white pebble like marble’

And Zuhayr said: (tʿawiyl)¹³

Badā liya ʾanniy lastu mudrika mā madʿā

Wa lā sābi ʾan šay ʾan ʾiḏā kāna gāʾiyā

‘It appeared to me that I am not comprehending what has passed
Nor knew ahead of time of a thing that it was coming’

(٣٧) هذا باب من اسم الفاعل الذي جرى
تجرى الفعل المضارع في المفعول في المعنى فإذا
أردت فيه من المعنى ما أردت في يفعل كان
منوناً نكرةً

(م. ١ ص. ٧٠ س. ١٠) وذلك قولك هذا
ضاربٌ زيداً غداً فمعناه وعمله هذا يضربُ
زيداً غداً. وإذا حدث عن فعل في حين وقوعه
غير منقطع كان كذلك وذلك قولك هذا
ضاربٌ عبد الله الساعة فمعناه وعمله مثل هذا
يضرب زيداً الساعة. وكان زيدٌ ضارباً أباك
فإنما يحدث أيضاً عن اتصال فعل في حين (س.)
(١٥) وقوعه. وكان موافقاً زيداً فمعناه وعمله
كقولك كان يضرب أباك ويوافقُ زيداً. فهذا
أجرى مجرى الفعل المضارع في العمل والمعنى
منوناً ومما جاء في الشعر منوناً من هذا الباب
قوله: (كامل)

إني بحبلِكَ واصلُ حَبلي

وبريشِ نَبلكِ رائِشِ نَبلي

(ص. ٧١) وقال عُمَرُ بن أبي ربيعة: (طويل)

ومن ماليءِ عينيهِ من شيءٍ غيرِهِ
إذا راح نحوَ الجَمرةِ البيضِ كالدمي

وقال زهير: (طويل)

بدا لي أني لستُ مُدركُ ما مَضَى

ولا سابقاً شيئاً إذا كان جائياً

¹¹The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāʾilun* (six times).

¹²The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa ʾuwlun mafāʾiylun* (four time).

¹³The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa ʾuwlun mafāʾiylun* (four time).

(Line 5) ʔal-ʔahwas ʔal-riyāhiyyu said: (tʔawiyl)¹⁴

Mašāʔiymu laysuw mus^flihiyna ʔašiywatan

Wa lā nāšiban ʔillā bi-baynin ʔurābuhā

‘Evil omens do not heal a tribe

Nor does its crow cry except with division’

Know that the Arabs lighten and so delete the *nuwn* [n] and the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ but nothing of the meaning changes and the *maffuwl* ‘acted-upon’ is put in *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ to restrict the *nunation* from the *ʔism* ‘name’ so its operation in it became that of *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ and was introduced to the name following the *nunation* so it followed the course of *ʔulāmi sabdi ʔal-lāhi* ‘son of Abdulah’ in pronunciation, because it is an *ʔism* ‘name’ even if it is not like it in meaning and function. (L. 10). The loss of *nunation* does not change the meaning a bit if you were to delete it in the interest of lightening, nor does it make it *maʔrifah* ‘definite’. Of that is the saying of the Powerful and Glorious *kullu nafsin ḏāʔnī ʔatu ʔal-mawti* ‘every soul shall taste death’ (Sūrah III: 185) *wa-ʔinnā mursiluw ʔal-nāʔati* ‘we will send the she-camel’ (Sūrah LIV:27) *wa-law tarā ʔiḏi ʔal-mugrimuwna nākisuw ru ʔuwsihim* ‘if you were able to see the criminals lowering their heads’ (Sūrah XXII: 12) *wa ʔayra muḥilliy ʔal-sʔaydi* ‘and not permitted for hunting’ (Sūrah V: 2) the meaning is the meaning of *wa-lā ʔāmmiyā ʔal-bayta ʔal-ḥarāma* ‘nor those taking refuge in the sacred dwelling’ (Sūrah V: 3). This increases clarity for you in this saying the Powerful and the Glorious, *hadyan bālīya ʔal-kaʔbatī* ‘an offering brought to Ka’bah’ (Sūrah V: 98) *wa ʔāridʔun mumtʔirunā* ‘this cloud will give us rain’ (Sūrah XLVI:24). If this were not with the meaning of *nakirah* ‘indefinite’ and *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ an indefinite would not be described with it. You shall see it explained in its chapter with other than these (L. 15) reasons. ʔAl-Khalīl said *huwa kāʔnu ʔaxiyka* ‘he is creator of your brother’ by way of lightening but the meaning is *huwa kāʔnun ʔaxāka* ‘he is creating your brother’. What occurs in poetry without *nunation* is the saying of Farazdaq: (tʔawiyl)¹⁵

ʔatāniy ʔala ʔal-ʔa ʔsāʔi ʔādila wat^fbihi

Bi-riglay la ʔiymin wa-ʔasti ʔabdin tu ʔādiluh

‘I got from an emaciated she-camel a milk-skin

With two legs and the rump of a slave balancing it’

He wants *ʔādilan wat^fbahu* ‘balancing his milk-skin’.

وقال الأَخَوْصُ الرِّياحِي: (طويل)

مَشائِمُ لَيْسُوا مُصْلِحِينَ عَشِيرَةً

وَلَا نَاعِبًا إِلَّا بَيْنَ غُرَابِهَا

واعلم أن العرب يَسْتخَفُّونَ فيحذفون النونَ والتنوينَ ولا يَتَغَيَّرُ من المعنى شَيْءٌ وَيَنجَرُّ المفعولُ لِكَفِّ التنوينِ من الاسمِ فصار عمله فيه الجَرَّ ودخل في الاسمِ مُعاقِبًا للتنوينِ فجرى مجرى غُلامِ عبدِ الله في اللفظِ لأنه اسمٌ وإن كان ليس مثله في المعنى والعملِ (س. ١٠) وليس يَغَيَّرُ كَفُّ التنوينِ إذا حذفته مُسْتخَفًّا من المعنى شيئًا ولا يَجْعَلُهُ معرفةً فمن ذلك قوله عزَّ وجلَّ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ المَوْتِ وَإِنَّا مُرْسِلُو النَّاكَةِ وَلَوْ تَرَى إِذِ المُجْرِمُونَ نَاكَسُوا رُؤُوسِهِمْ وَغَيَّرَ مَحَلَّ الصَّيِّدِ فالمعنى معنى وَلَا آمِينَ البَيْتِ الحَرَامِ وَيَزِيدُ هذا عندك بيانًا قوله عزَّ وجلَّ هَدْيًا بِالْبَيْتِ الكَعْبَةِ وَعَارِضٌ مُمَطَّرٌ نَا. فلو لم يكن هذا في معنى النكرة والتنوين لم توصف به النكرة. وستراه أيضا مفسرًا في بابهِ مع غير هذا من (س. ١٥) الحجج. وقال الخليل هو كائنٌ أخيك على الاستخفاف والمعنى هو كائنٌ أخاك ومما جاء في الشعر غيرَ منونٍ قول الفرزدق: (طويل)

أتاني على القَعَسَاءِ عادِلٌ وَطَبَهُ

بِرِجْلِي لَيْئِمٍ وَاسْتِ عبدٌ تُعادِلُهُ

يريد عادِلًا وَطَبَهُ.

¹⁴The meter of tʔawiyl is: *fa fuwlun mafāʔiylun* (four time).

¹⁵The meter of tʔawiyl is: *fa fuwlun mafāʔiylun* (four time).

And ʔal-Zibriḡān bin badr said: (basiyṯ)¹⁶

Mustaḥḡibiy ḡalaḡi ʔal-māḡdiyyi yaḡfiḡuzh

Bi-ʔal-mašrafiyyi wa-ḡābun faḡahu ḡasʔidu

‘packing their gear, donning their steel armor

With mashrafiy swords with stiff spears’

(L. 20) And Sulayk bin ʔal-Sulaka said: (wāfir)¹⁷

Tarāḡhā min yabiysi ʔal-māḡi šuhban

Muxālitʔa dirratin minhā ḡirāru

‘You see it white from dryness of sweat

Mixed with flow of meager sweat’

(P. 72) He wants *saraḡa ʔal-xayli* ‘sweat of the horse’. What adds to the clarity of this topic is in that it has the meaning of the nunated. The saying of ʔal-Nābiḡah is: (basiyṯ)¹⁸

ʔaḡkumu ka-ḡukmi fatāti ʔal-ḡayyi, ḡiḡ naḡʔarat

ḡilā ḡamāmin sirāḡin wāridi ʔal-ḡamadi

‘I judge with the judgment of the neighborhood girl as she looks

To a fast dove looking for the scarce water’

He described with it *nakirah* ‘an indefinite’. ʔal-marār ʔal-ʔasadiyy said: (kāmil)¹⁹

Sali ʔal-humuwma bi-kulli muḡṯiya ra ḡsihi

Nāḡin muxālitʔi sʔuhbatin mutaḡayyisi

‘Ask the cares for all you desire gently

It is swift with a mixture of the rustyish and grayish’

(L. 5) This is according to the meaning not according to the *ʔasʔl* ‘original.’ The *ʔasʔl* ‘original’ is *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ because *maḡrifah* ‘the definite’ does not occur in this location. If the *ʔasʔl* ‘original’ here were omissions of the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’, *tanwiyn* would not be introduced into it nor would it be *nakirah* ‘indefinite’. That is because it does follow the course of the *mudʔāraḡ* ‘resembler’ in what I mentioned to you. ḡiysā claimed that some of the Arabs recite this line by ʔabuw ʔaswad ʔal-duʔaliy: (mutaḡārib)²⁰

Fa-ʔalfaytuhu ḡayra mustaḡtibin

Fa-lā ḡākiri ʔal-lāḡa ḡilla ḡaliylā

‘I found him, not handing out blame

Nor calling upon God, except a bit’

وقال الزُّبْرِقَانُ بن بدر: (بسيط)

مُسْتَحْغِبِي حَلِقِ الْمَازِيَّ يَحْفَظُهُ

بِالْمَشْرِفِيِّ وَغَابٌ فَوْقَهُ حَصِيدٌ

وقال سُلَيْكُ بن السُّلَكَةِ: (وافر)

تَرَاهَا مِنْ يَبِيسِ الْمَاءِ شُهْبًا

مُخَالِطٌ دِرَّةً مِنْهَا غِرَارٌ

(ص. ٧٢) يريد عَرَقَ الخيل ومما يزيد هذا

الباب إيضاحاً أنه على معنى المُنُون قول النابغة:

(بسيط)

أَحْكُمُ كَحْكُمِ فَتَاةِ الْحَيِّ إِذْ نَظَرْتُ

إِلَى حَمَامٍ سِرَاعٍ وَارِدِ الثَّمَدِ

فوصف به النكرة وقال المرار الأسيدي:

(كامل)

سَلِّ الْهُمُومَ بِكَلِّ مُعْطِي رَأْسِهِ

نَاجٍ مُخَالِطٍ صُهْبَةً مُتَعَيِّسٍ

(س. ٥) فهو على المعنى لا على الأصل

والأصل التنوين لأن هذا الموضع لا يقع فيه

معرفة ولو كان الأصل هاهنا ترك التنوين لما

دخله التنوين ولا كان نكرة وذلك أنه لا يجري

مجرى المضارع فيما ذكرت لك. وزعم عيسى أن

بعض العرب يُنشد هذا البيت لأبي الأسود

الدُّوَلِيُّ:

فَالْفَيْتُهُ غَيْرَ مُسْتَعْتَبٍ

وَلَا ذَاكِرِ اللَّهِ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا

¹⁶The meter of basiyṯ is: *mustafʔilun fāʔilun mustafʔilun fāʔilun* (twice).

¹⁷The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun faḡuwlun* (two times).

¹⁸The meter of basiyṯ is: *mustafʔilun fāʔilun mustafʔilun fāʔilun* (twice).

¹⁹The meter of kāmil is: *mutaḡāʔilun* (six times).

²⁰The meter of mutaḡārib is: *faḡuwlun faḡuwlun faḡuwlun faḡuwlun* (two times).

(L. 10) He did not delete the *tanwiyn* ‘nutation’ for the purpose of *ʔistixfāf* ‘lightening’ *li-yuṣāʔiba* ‘to follow’ the *magruwr* ‘pulled by an [i]’, rather he deleted it, because of the coming together of *sākinayn* ‘two quiescents’, just as he said *ramā ʔal-ʔawmu* ‘the people threw’. This is out of necessity and it is likened to what I mentioned to you. You say in this chapter *hāḏā dʿāribu zaydin wa-ʔamrin* ‘this is a striker of Zaid and ʔamr’ if you were to associate between the last and the first in *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’, because there is nothing in Arabic that works on a *ḥarf* ‘word’ and it is not allowed to associate it with what is like it. If you so wished *nasʔabtahu* ‘you erected it with an [a]’ according to meaning and imply for it *nāsʔiban* ‘an erector’ and you say *hāḏā dʿāribu zaydin wa-ʔamran* ‘this is a striker of Zaid and ʔamr’ as though he said *wa-yadʿribu ʔamran* ‘and he strikes ʔamr’ and *dʿāribun ʔamran* ‘a striker of Amr’ (L. 15). And what came according to this meaning is the saying of gariyr: (basiytʔ)²¹

Gi ʔniy bi-mi ʔli baniy badrin li-ʔawmihimi

ʔaw mi ʔla ʔusrati manḏʿuwri bni sayyāri

‘Bring me the likes of baniy Badri towards their people

Or like the family of Manthur bni Sayyar’

And kaʔbu ʔibn guʔayl ʔal-taylibiyyu said: (tʿawiyl)²²

ʔa ʔinniy bi-xawwāri ʔal-ʔināni taxāluhu

ʔiḏā rāḥa yardi bi-ʔal-mudaḥḥagi ʔaḥradā

‘Help me with the slack reins to and fro

If the armored rider were to slap his hands for fun’

Wa-ʔabyadʿa masʔawwla ʔal-sitʿāmi muhannadan

Wa-ḏā ḥala ʔin min nasgi dāwuwda musradā

‘And sharp blade of the Indian sword

Its neck of David’s careful weave’

(L. 20) He based it on the meaning as though saying *wa-ʔa ʔinniy ʔabyadʿa masʔawwla ʔal-sitʿāmi* ‘give me a sword with a glistening edge’. Or he said *hāti mi ʔla ʔusrati manḏʿuwri bni sayyāri* ‘come up with like the family of Manthur ibn Sayyār’. The *nasʔib* ‘erecting’ in the first is stronger and better because you introduced the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ to the *ḥarf* (P. 73) *ʔal-nāsʔib* ‘the word that erects’. And you did not bring anything here except that whose *ʔasʔl* ‘origin’ is the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’, nor did you introduce it to a *nāsʔib* ‘one that erects’ nor a *rāfiʔ* ‘one that raises’.

²¹The meter of *basiytʔ* is: *mustafʔilun fāʔilun mustafʔilun fa ʔilun* (twice).

²²The meter of *tʿawiyl* is: *fa ʔuwlun mafāʔilun* (four time).

(س. ١٠) لم يَحذف التنوينَ استخفافاً يُعاقِبَ
المجرورَ ولكنه حَذَفَهُ لِالتقاء الساكنين كما قال
رَمَى القومُ. وهذا اضطرارٌ وهو مُشَبَّهٌ بذلك
الذي ذكرتُ لك. وتقول في هذا الباب هذا
ضاربُ زيدٍ وعمرو إذا أشركتَ بين الآخرِ
والأوّل في الجارِّ لأنّه ليس في العربية شيءٌ يَعْمَلُ
في حرفٍ فيمتنع أن يُشْرِكَ بينه وبين مثله. وإن
شئتَ نَصَبْتَهُ على المعنى وتُضْمِرُ له ناصباً فتقولُ
هذا ضاربُ زيدٍ وعمراً كأنّه قال ويضربُ عمراً
أو وضاربُ عمراً (س. ١٥). ومما جاء على
المعنى قول جريرٍ: (بسيط)

جَنِّي بِمِثْلِ بَنِي بَدْرِ لِقَوْمِهِمْ
أَوْ مِثْلَ أُسْرَةٍ مَنظُورِ بِنِ سَيَّارِ

وقال كعبُ بن جُعيلٍ التغلبيُّ: (طويل)

أَعْنِي بِخَوَارِ الْعِنَانِ تَخَالُهُ

إِذَا رَاحَ يَرْدِي بِالْمُدْحَجِ أَحْرَدًا

وَأَبْيَضَ مَصْقُولِ السُّطَامِ مُهَنَّدًا

وَإِذَا حَلَقَ مِنْ نَسِجِ دَاوُدَ مُسْرَدًا

(س. ٢٠) فَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى الْمَعْنَى كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ وَأَعْطَنِي

أَبْيَضَ مَصْقُولِ السُّطَامِ أَوْ قَالَ هَاتِ مِثْلَ أُسْرَةٍ

مَنظُورِ بِنِ سَيَّارِ وَالنَّصَبُ فِي الْأَوَّلِ أَقْوَى

وَأَحْسَنُ لِأَنَّكَ أَدَخَلْتَ الْجَرَّ عَلَى الْحَرْفِ (ص.

٧٣) النَّاصِبِ وَلَمْ تَجِيءْ هَاهُنَا إِلَّا بِأَصْلِهِ الْجَرُّ

وَلَمْ تُدْخِلْهُ عَلَى نَاصِبٍ وَلَا رَافِعٍ.

And because of that it is good Arabic, and the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ is better’. A man from Gays Faylān said: (wāfir)²³

Baynā naḥnu natlubuhu ḡatānā

Mu falliḡa wafd’atin wa-zināda rāfi

‘He came among us when we were seeking him

Hanging a quiver with kindling for the fire’

ḡisā claimed that they recite this line: (basiyt)²⁴ (L. 5)

Hal ḡanta bāfiḡu diynārin li-ḡāḡatinā

ḡaw sabda rabbin ḡaxā ḡawni bni mixrāḡi

‘There you are sending a dinar for our need

Or Abdulrahman brother of Awn son of Mixraḡ’

If he were to predicate that the *fiḡ* ‘action’ had occurred and had been disconnected, then it is never with nunation because it is made to follow the course of *ḡal-fiḡ* *ḡal-mud’āraḡ lahu* ‘the action that resembles it’, just as the *ḡal-fiḡ ḡal-mud’āraḡ* ‘the ressembler action’ is like it in *ḡiḡrab* ‘desinence’. Each of them is introduced to its associate’. Whenever he wanted other than that meaning, it followed the course of the *ḡasmāḡ* ‘names’ that are not derived from that action because it is likened to what resembles it of *fiḡ* ‘action’ just as it is likened to it in *ḡiḡrāb* ‘desinence’ and that is in your saying *ḡāḡā d’āribu sabdi ḡal-lāhi* (L.10) *wa-ḡaxiyhi* ‘this one is striking Abdulah and his brother’. *Waghu ḡal-kalām* ‘the surface’ of speech and its definition is the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ because it is not the location of *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’. Similarly, is your saying *ḡāḡā d’āribu zaydin fiyhā wa-ḡaxiyhi* ‘this one is the striker of Zaid in it and his brother with it’ and *ḡāḡā ḡātilu samrin ḡamsi wa-sabdi ḡal-lāhi* ‘this one is the killer of Abdulah and his brother yesterday’ and *ḡāḡā d’āribu sabdi ḡal-lāhi d’arban ḡadidan wa-samrin* ‘this one is the striker of Abdulah and ḡamr, a severe hitting’. If you were to say *ḡāḡā d’āribu sabdi ḡal-lāhi wa-zaydan* ‘this one is striker of Abdulah and Zaid’, it is permissible due to an implication of a *fiḡ* ‘action’, i.e. *Wa d’araba zaydan* ‘and he hit Zaid’. This implication is permitted because the meaning of the discourse in your saying *ḡāḡā d’āribu zaydin* ‘this is a striker of Zaid’ is *ḡāḡā d’araba zaydan* ‘this one struck Zaid’. And even if it does not do its work, it is based on the meaning. As the Glorious and the Powerful said *wa laḡmi t’ayrin*

وهو على ذلك عربيٌ جيّدٌ والجرُّ أجودٌ وقال
رجل من قيس عيلان: (وافر)

بيننا نحن نطلبه أتاناً

مُعَلَّقٌ وَفُضَّةٌ وَزِنَادٌ رَاعٍ

وزعم عيسى أنهم يُشِدُّون هذا البيت: (بسيط)
(س. ٥)

هل أنت باعثُ دينارٍ لحاجتنا

أو عبد ربِّ أخا عَوْنِ بنِ مَخْرَاقٍ

فإذا أَخْبَرَ أَنَّ الفعلَ قد وقع وانقطع فهو بغير تنوين البتَّةَ لأنه إنما أُجْرِيَ مَجْرَى الفعلِ المضارعِ له كما أَشْبَهَهُ الفعلُ المضارعُ في الإعرابِ فكل واحد منهما داخلٌ على صاحبه فلما أراد سوى ذلك المعنى جرى مجرى الأسماء التي من غير ذلك الفعل لأنه إنما شُبِّهَ بما ضارَعَهُ من الفعل كما شُبِّهَ به في الإعرابِ وذلك قولك هذا ضاربٌ عبد الله (س. ١٠) وأخيه. وجهُ الكلامِ وحده الجرُّ لأنه ليس موضعاً للتنوين. وكذلك قولك هذا ضاربٌ زيدٍ فيها وأخيه وهذا قاتلُ عمرو وأمسٍ وعبدِ الله وهذا ضاربٌ عبدِ الله ضَرْباً شديداً وعمرو ولو قلت هذا ضاربٌ عبدِ الله وزيداً جاز على إضمارِ فِعْلٍ أي وَضَرْبَ زيداً. وإنما جاز هذا الإضمارُ لأنَّ معنى الحديث في قولك هذا ضاربٌ زيدٍ هذا ضَرْبَ زيداً وإن كان لا يَعْمَلُ عمله فحَمِلَ على المعنى كما قال عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَلَحْمٍ طَيْرٍ

²³The meter of wāfir is: *mufāḡalatun mufāḡalatun fa ḡuwlun* (two times).

²⁴The meter of basiyt^f is: *mustafḡilun fāḡilun mustafḡilun fa ḡilun* (twice).

mimmā (L. 15) *yaštahuwna wa-ḥuwrun ḥiyun* ‘and flesh of birds that they may desire and (those with) white and black eyes’ (Sūrah LVI: 21, 22) since the meaning is in the discourse according to their saying to them concerning it, he based it on a thing that does not contradict the first in meaning. And Ḥal-hasan thus recited it And like it is the saying of the poet:(tʿawiyl)²⁵

Yahdi ḥal-xamiysa nigādan fiy matʿālī ḥiyā
ḥimmā ḥal-misʿāfa wa-ḥimmā dʿarbatun ruḡubu
 ‘He offers the army the high ground in its overlooks
 It is either a sword fight or a heavy blow’

He based it on a thing, if the first one was based on it, it would not have contradicted the meaning. And like it is the saying of kaḥb bin Zuhayr: (tʿawiyl)²⁶ (L. 20)

Fa-lam yaḡidā ḥillā munāxa matʿiyyatin
Tagāfā bi-hā zawrun nabiylun wa-kalkalu
Wa-mafḥasʿahā ḥanhā ḥal-ḥasʿā bi-girānihā
Wa-maḥnā nawāgin lam yaxunhunna mafḥʿilu

(P. 74) *Wa-sumrun ḍʿimāḥun wātarathunna ba ḥda mā*
Madʿat hag ḥatun min ḥāxiri ḥal-layli ḍubbalu
 ‘Both found nothing except the resting place of his beast
 With her noble chest parallel to the rough ground
 It searches for water by pushing the pebbles aside
 As it kneels on the two swift legs and strong joints
 And dry droppings that she scattered after she spend
 A short night sleep at the end of night and stale dung’

It is as though he said *wa-ḥamma sumrun ḍʿimāḥun* ‘and there is dry thirst’ and the poetsaid: (kāmil)²⁷

Bādat wa-ḡayyara ḥāyahunna ma ḥa ḥal-bilā
ḥillā rawākida gamruhunna habāḥu
Wa-muḥḡaggun ḥammā sawāḥu ḡaḍālihi
Fa-badā wa-ḡayyara sārāhu ḥal-miḥzāḥu
 ‘They disappeared and their traces are changed with the wear
 Except the wastes of their remnant embers
 Pounding the top of the peg to secure its center
 They began to change all the stubborn earth’

(L. 5) because his saying *ḥillā ḥal-rawākida* ‘except the wastes’ are within the meaning of the discourse, that is *bihā rawākida* ‘it contains wastes’, so he based it on something and if the first was about it, it does not contradict the discourse.

مَمَّا (س. ١٥) يَشْتَهُونَ وَحُورٌ عَيْنٌ لَمَّا كَانَ
 المعنى في الحديث على قوله لهم فيها حَمَلَهُ عَلَى
 شَيْءٍ لَا يَنْقُضُ الْأَوَّلَ فِي الْمَعْنَى. وَقَدْ قَرَأَهُ
 الْحَسَنُ. وَمِثْلُهُ قَوْلُ الشَّاعِرِ: (بَسِيط)

يَهْدِي الْحَمِيسَ نَجَادًا فِي مَطَالِعِهَا
 إِمَّا الْمِصَاعَ وَإِمَّا صَرْبَةً رُغْبُ

فَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ لَوْ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ الْأَوَّلُ لَمْ يَنْقُضْ
 الْمَعْنَى وَمِثْلُهُ قَوْلُ كَعْبِ بْنِ زُهَيْرٍ:

فَلَمْ يَجِدَا إِلَّا مَنَاخَ مَطِيَّةٍ
 تَجَافَى بِهَا زَوْرٌ نَبِيلٌ وَكَلْكَلٌ
 وَمَفْخَصَهَا عَنْهَا الْحَصَى بِجِرَانِهَا
 وَمَثْنَى نَوَاجٍ لَمْ يَخْنُهَنَّ مَفْصِلٌ
 (ص. ٧٤) وَسُمِّرُ ظِلْمَاءٌ وَأَتْرَثُنَّ بَعْدَمَا
 مَضَتْ هَجْعَةٌ مِنْ آخِرِ اللَّيْلِ ذُبُلٌ

كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ وَثَمَّ سُمِّرُ ظِلْمَاءٌ، وَقَالَ: (كَامِل)

بَادَتْ وَغَيْرَ آيَةٍ مَعَ الْبَلَى
 إِلَّا رَوَاكِدَ جَمْرُهُنَّ هَبَاءٌ
 وَمُشَجِّجٌ أَمَّا سَوَاءٌ فَذَالَهُ
 فَبَدَا وَغَيْرَ سَارَهُ الْمِعْرَاءُ

(س. ٥) لِأَنَّ قَوْلَهُ إِلَّا رَوَاكِدَ هِيَ فِي مَعْنَى
 الْحَدِيثِ، أَيُّ بِهَا رَوَاكِدُ فَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ لَوْ
 كَانَ عَلَيْهِ الْأَوَّلُ لَمْ يَنْقُضْ الْحَدِيثَ.

²⁵The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa fuwlun mafāḥiylun* (four time).

²⁶The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa fuwlun mafāḥiylun* (four time).

²⁷The meter of kāmil is: *mutafāḥilun* (six times).

Garr ‘pull with an [i]’ in this is that is, *bihā rawākid* ‘it contains wastes’, stronger, that is to say, *hāḍā d’āribu zaydin wa samrin* ‘he is a striker of Zaid and Samr’. It operates because it is an *ḥism* ‘a name’ even though it followed the course of the *fiʿl* ‘action’ itself. *Nasʿb* ‘erecting’ in *fiʿl* ‘action’ is stronger if you were to say *hāḍā d’āribu zaydin fiyhā wa samran* ‘this one is a striker of Zaid in it and Samr’. The longer the *kalām* ‘speech’ is, the stronger it is. This is so because you do not separate between the *gārr* ‘the one that pulls with an [i]’ and the ones it operates on. Similarly, this became stronger. Of that is the saying of the Powerful and the Glorious *wa-gāʿilū²⁸ ʿal-layli sakanan (L. 10) wa-ʿal-šamsa wa-ʿal-ḡamara ḥusbānan* ‘and a maker of day and night a dwelling and the sun’ and ‘the moon for reckoning’. (Sūrah VI:96) Similarly if you came up with *ḥism ʿal-fāʿil* ‘name of the actor/agentive’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ extends over *maʿfūwlayn* ‘two acted-upons’ and that is in your saying *hāḍā muʿīy zaydin dirhaman wa-samrin* ‘this is a giver to Zaid of a dirham and to Samr’, if you were not to make it follow the course of dirham. *Nasʿb* ‘erecting’ is for the reason you erected what is before it. You say *hāḍā muʿīy zaydin wa-sabda ʿal-lāhi* ‘this is a giver to Zaid and ʿabduallah’. And *nasʿb* ‘erecting’, if you were to mention the dirham, is stronger because you have separated between them. If you do not want the *ḥism* ‘name’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ extends to *maʿfūwlayn* ‘two acted-upons’. If the *fiʿl* ‘action’ had occurred you would make it follow the course the *fiʿl* ‘action’ that extends to *maʿfūwlin* ‘one acted-upon’ in (L. 15) nunation and leaving out the nunation. You want its meaning in *nasʿb* ‘erecting with an [a]’ and *garr* ‘pulling with an [i]’ and in all circumstances, if you were to nunate then you said *hāḍā muʿīn zaydan dirhaman* ‘this one is a giver to Zaid a dirham’ you are not concerned which one you pre-positioned because it does the work of the *fiʿl* ‘action’. If you were not to nunate *hāḍā muʿīy dirhaman zaydin* ‘this is giver a dirham to Zaid’ would not be permitted because you do not separate between the *gārr wa-magruwr* ‘the puller and the pulled’ because it is introduced to the *ḥism* ‘name’. If you were to nunate it would get separated like its separation from the *fiʿl* ‘action’. It is not permitted except in his saying *hāḍā muʿīya dirhamin zaydan* ‘this is the giver of a dirham to Zaid’, just as the Exalted said *fa-lā tuḥsabanna ʿal-lāha muxlifa wa-ʿadihi rusulahu* ‘don’t think that God would change His promise to His messengers. (Sūrah XIV:47).

والجرُّ في هذا أقوى يعني هذا ضاربُ زيد وعمرو. وقد فعل لأنه اسمٌ وإن كان قد جرى مجرى الفعل بعينه. والنصبُ في الفعل أقوى إذا قلت هذا ضاربُ زيد فيها وعمراً وكلما طال الكلامُ كان أقوى وذلك أنك لا تفصل بين الجارِّ وبين ما يعملُ فيه فكذلك صار هذا أقوى. فمن ذلك قوله عزَّ وجلَّ وَجَاعِلُ اللَّيْلِ سَكَنًا (س. ١٠) وَالشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ حُسْبَانًا. وكذلك إن جئت باسم الفاعل الذي تعدى فعله إلى مفعولينِ وذلك قولك هذا مُعطيُ زيد درهما وعمرو إذا لم تُجره على الدرهم والنصبُ على ما نصبت عليه ما قبله. وتقول هذا مُعطيُ زيد وعبد الله. والنصبُ إذا ذكرت الدرهم أقوى لأنك قد فصلت بينهما. وإن لم ترد بالاسم الذي يتعدى فعله إلى مفعولينِ أن يكون الفعلُ قد وقعَ أجرته مجرى الفعل الذي يتعدى إلى مفعولٍ في (س. ١٥) التنوين وتترك التنوين وأنت تريد معناه وفي النصب والجرِّ وجميع أحواله فإذا نونتَ فقلت هذا مُعطيُ زيداً درهماً لم تُبالِ أيهما قدّمتَ لأنه يعملُ عملَ الفعل. وإن لم تنونَ لم يجر هذا مُعطيُ درهماً زيداً لأنك لا تفصل بين الجارِّ والمجرور لأنه داخلٌ في الاسم فإذا نونتَ انفصلَ كإفصاله في الفعل ولا يجوز إلا في قوله هذا مُعطيُ درهم زيداً كما قال تعالى فَلَا تَحْسِبَنَّ اللَّهَ مُخْلِفَ وَعْدِهِ رُسُلَهُ.

²⁸The canonical text has “ga sala”.

Chapter 38. This is a Chapter that followed the course of the *fāʿil* ‘actor’ whose *fiʿl* ‘action’ transitivize *mafʿuwlāy* ‘two acted-upons’ in expression/verbally not in meaning

(Buwālāq vol. 1. pp. 89-93, Derenbourg vol.1. pp. 75-77, Haruwn vol.1. pp. 175-181)

(I. P. 75) and that is in your saying: (ragaz)²⁹

Yā sārī Ga ʾal-laylati ʾahla ʾal-dāri

‘You stealer at night, people of the house’

You say according to this definition *saraʿtu ʾal-laylata ʾahla ʾal-dāri* ‘I stole, tonight, people of the house’, you make *ʾal-laylata* ‘the night’ follow the *fiʿl* ‘action’ in *saʿat* (L. 5) *ʾal-kalām* ‘expansiveness of speech’. As he said *sʿiyda ʾalayhi yawmāni* ‘hunting was done on it, two days’ and *wulida lahu sittuwna ʾāman* ‘they were born to him sixty years’. Verbally, it follows the course of his saying *hādā muṣṭiy zaydin dirhaman* ‘this is giving Zaid a dirham’. The meaning is *ʾinnamā huwa fiy ʾal-laylati* ‘that it is at night’ and *sʿiyda ʾalayhi fiy ʾal-yawmayni* ‘hunting was done on it during two days’, except that they made the *fiʿl* engage it due to the expansiveness of speech. Similarly, if you were to say *hādā muxriḡu ʾal-yawmi ʾal-dirhama* ‘this person is giving out today, the dirham’ and *sʿāʾidu ʾal-yawmi ʾal-waḥṣa* ‘hunter today, the beast’. An example of what follows this course in the expansiveness of speech and lightening is His saying, the Powerful and Glorious *bal makru ʾal-layli wa-ʾal-nahāri* ‘but it was a deception by day and by night’ (Sūrah XXXIV:33) but the day and the night do not deceive, but deception occurs in them. If you were to nunate you would say *yā (L.10) sārī Gan ʾal-laylata ʾahla ʾal-dāri* ‘You thief tonight, people of the house’. The definition of speech is that *ʾahlu ʾal-dāri* be *mansʿuwb* ‘erect’ in relation to *sārī Gan* ‘thief’ and that the *ʾal-laylatu* ‘the night; be *dʿarfan* ‘an envelope of time’ because this is the location of separation, but if you so wished, you base it on the *fiʿl* ‘action’ due to the expansiveness of speech. It is not permitted *yā sārī Ga ʾal-laylata ʾahli*³¹ *ʾal-dāri* ‘you thief of the night, people of the house’ except in poetry not wanting to separate between *gārr wa magruwr* ‘puller and pulled’³².

(٣٨) هذا بابٌ جرى مجرى الفاعل الذي يتعدى فعله إلى مفعولين في اللفظ لا في المعنى

(م ١ . ص ٧٥ . س ١) وذلك قولك: (رجز)

يا سارقَ الليلةِ أهلَ الدارِ

وتقول على هذا الحدِّ سرَّقتُ الليلةَ أهلَ الدارِ فتُجرى الليلةُ على الفعلِ في سَعَةِ (س. ٥) الكلامِ كما قال صيدٌ عليه يومانٍ وولد له ستون عاماً فاللفظُ يجري على قوله هذا مُعطى زيدٍ درهماً والمعنى إنما هو في الليلةِ وصيدٌ عليه في اليومينِ غيرَ أنهم أوقعوا الفعلَ عليه لسَعَةِ الكلامِ وكذلك لو قلت هذا مُخرِجُ اليومِ الدرهمَ وصائدُ اليومِ الوحشَ. ومثل ما أُجرِيَ مجرى هذا في سَعَةِ الكلامِ والاستخفافِ قوله عزَّ وجلَّ بَلْ مَكْرُ اللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ فَالليلُ والنَّهارُ لا يَمْكُرانِ ولكنَّ المَكْرَ فيهما. فإن نَوَّنتَ فقلت يا (س. ١٠) سارقاً الليلةَ أهلَ الدارِ كان حدُّ الكلامِ أن يكونَ أهلُ الدارِ على سارقٍ منصوباً وتكونُ الليلةُ ظرفاً لأنَّ هذا موضعُ انفصالٍ. وإن شئتَ أُجريتَه على الفعلِ على سَعَةِ الكلامِ. ولا يجوزُ يا سارقَ الليلةَ أهلَ الدارِ إلا في شعرٍ كراهيةً أن يفصلوا بين الجارِّ والمجرورِ.

²⁹The meter of *ragaz* is: *mustafʿilun* (six times).

³⁰*ʾahla* has the same ending and the same case as *sārī Ga*.

³¹*ʾahli* does not have the same ending and the same case as *sārī Ga*.

³²This is more of a construct state with *mudāf* and *mudāf ʾilayhi*.

If it is nunated then it has the status of the erecting *fiʔ* ‘action’. The names are separated in it. ʔal-šammāx said: (*ragaz*)³³ (L. 15)

Rubba ʔbni ʕammin li-sulaymā mušma ʕil
*tʕabbāxi sāʕāti*³⁴ ʔal-karāzāda ʔal-kasil
 ‘Probably son of ʕamr, relative to Sulayma is busy
 Cook of lazy hours that increase laziness’

This is according to *Yā sārīGa ʔal-laylati ʔahla*³⁵ ʔal-dāri
 ‘You thief tonight, people of the house’. And ʔaxtʕal said: (*tʕawiyl*)³⁶

Wa-karrāri xalfi ʔal-muḡḡarina gawādahu
ʔiḏā lam yuḡḡami duwna ʔunθā ḡaliyluhā
 ‘And repeatedly, with his steed, after the offenders
 If the protectors do not protect their females’

If you were to say *karrārin* and *tabbāxin* it would have the status of *tʕabaxtu* ‘I cooked’ and *karrartu* ‘I repeated’ and makes them follow the course of *sārīG* ‘thief’ when you nunated on the basis of the expansiveness of speech. A man from baniy ʕāmir said: (*tʕawiyl*)³⁷ (L. 20)

Wa-yawmin šahidnāhu sulayman wa-ʕāmiran
ḡaliylin siwā ʔal-ta ʕni ʔal-nihāli nawāʕiluh
 ‘And a day we saw little of Sulayman and ʕāmir
 Except stabbing to attain its maximum’

And as he said: (*hazag*)³⁸

Ḥamāni ḡuḡagin ḡaḡagtuhunna bayta ʔal-lāhi
 ‘Eight pilgrimages I made to the house of God’

(P. 76) What occurs in poetry separates between it and the *magruwr* ‘pulled with an [i]’ is the saying of ʕamr bin ʕamiyʕa: (*sariyʕ*)³⁹

Lammā ra ʔat sātiydamā ʔist ʕbarat
Li-l-lāhi darru ʔal-yawma man lāmahā
 ‘When she saw Satiydama she felt homesick
 How excellent, today, who would blame her’

Abuw ḡayyah ʔal-numayriyy said: (*wāʕfir*)⁴⁰

فإذا كان منوناً فهو بمنزلة الفعل الناصب تكون
 الأسماء فيه منفصلة. قال الشماخ: (رجز)
 (س. ١٥):

رُبَّ ابنِ عمِّ لِسَلِيمِي مُشْمَعِل
 طَبَاخِ سَاعَاتِ الكَرِي زَادَ الكَسِيل

هذا على يا سارق الليلة أهل الدار وقال
 الأخطل: (طويل)

وكرارِ خَلْفِ المُجْحَرِينَ جَوَادُهُ
 إذا لم يُجَامِ دُونَ أَنْتِي حَلِيلُهَا

فإن قلت كَرَارٍ وطَبَاخٍ صار بمنزلة طبختُ
 وكررتُ تُجْرِيهَا مجرى السارق حين نونت على
 سعة الكلام. وقال رجل من بني عامر:
 (طويل)

ويومٍ شَهِدْنَاهُ سُلَيْمِيًّا وَعَامِرًا
 قَلِيلٍ سِوَى الطَّعْنِ النَّهَالِ نَوَافِلُهُ
 وكما قال: (هزج)

ثَمَانِي حَجَجٍ حَجَجْتُهُنَّ بَيْتَ اللَّهِ

(ص. ٧٦) ومما جاء في الشعر قد فُصِّلَ بينه
 وبين المجرور قول عمرو بن قميئة: (سريع)

لَمَّا رَأَتْ سَاتِيَدَمَا اسْتَعْبَرَتْ
 لِلَّهِ دُرُّ الْيَوْمِ مَنْ لَامَهَا

وقال أبو حية النميري: (وافر)

³³The meter of *ragaz* is: *mustafʕilun* (six times).

³⁴*Tabbax* and *sāʕāt* have the same ending and the same case.

³⁵*ʔahla* has the same ending and the same case as *sārīGa*.

³⁶The meter of *tʕawiyl* is: *fa ʕuwlun maf āʕiylun* (four times).

³⁷The meter of *tʕawiyl* is: *fa ʕuwlun maf āʕiylun* (four times).

³⁸The meter of *hazag* is: *mafāʕilun* (four times”.

³⁹The meter of *sariyʕ* is: *mustafʕilun mustafʕilun fāʕilun* (two times).

⁴⁰The meter of *wāʕfir* is: *mufāʕalatun mufāʕalatun fa ʕuwlun* (two times).

Kamā xut^ft^fa ʔal-kitābu bi-kaffi yawman

Yahuwdiyyin yuGāribu ʔaw yuziylu

‘Just as the book was written by the hand of

A jew, someday, it comes close or set apart’

This cannot be except thus because it has the meaning of neither *fi ʔl* ‘action’ nor *ʔism fāʔil* ‘name of the actor’ that followed the course of the *fi ʔl* ‘action’. What occurred with separation between it and the *magruwr* ‘pulled with an [i]’ is the saying of ʔal-ʔaʔšā: (*kāmil*)⁴¹

Wa lā nuGātil bi-ʔal-ʔisiyyi Wa-lā nurāmi bi-ʔal-ḥigārah

ʔillā ʔulālata ʔaw buddāhata Gāriḥin nahdi ʔal-guzārah

‘We do not fight with sticks nor do we toss stones

Except at the end or beginning of a running of the big chested and legged horses.

And ʔuw ʔal-rumma said: (*basiyt^f*)⁴² (L.10)

Ka ʔanna ʔas^fwāta min ʔiyālihinna binā

ʔawāxiri ʔal-maysi ʔas^fwātu ʔal-farāriyyi

‘As though sounds at the end of the tree

Penetrate, is the sounds of chicks’

This is *Gabiḥ* ‘unacceptable’, and is permitted in poetry on the pattern of this (*mutaGārib*)⁴³

Marartu bi-xayri wa-ʔafd^fali man ʔamma

I passed by good and better ones of who are here’

Durnā daughter of ʔabʔaba from baniy Gays bin ʔaʔlabah said: (*t^fawiyl*)⁴⁴

Humā axawāfiy ʔal-ḥarbi man lā ʔaxā lahu

ʔiḏā xāfa yawman nabwatan fa-da ʔāhumā

‘They are two brothers in war for the one who has no brother
If some day he feared a misfortune he called on them’

(L. 15) And FarazdaG said: (*munsariḥ*)⁴⁵

Yā man ra ʔā ʔārid^fan ʔusarru bihi

Bayna ʔirāʔay wa-gabhati ʔal-asadi?

‘You who sees the cloud that I delight in

Between the two arms of the lion and its forehead’

كما حُطَّ الكتابُ بكفِّ يومًا
يهودىَّ يقارب أو يُزِيلُ

(س. ٥) وهذا لا يكون فيه إلا هذا لأنه ليس في معنى فعل ولا اسم الفاعل الذي جرى مجرى الفعل. ومما جاء مفصلاً بينه وبين المجرور قول الأعشى: (كامل)

ولا نُقاتِلُ بالعِصَى ولا نُرامِي بالحِجارَةَ

إلا عُلالة أو بُدا - هة قارح تَهْدِ الجُزارَةَ

وقال ذو الرمة: (بسيط)

كَأَنَّ أَصواتَ مِنْ إِيْغالِهِنَّ بنا
أواخِرِ المَيْسِ أَصواتُ الفَرارِيجِ

فهذا قبيح ويجوز في الشعر على هذا: (متقارب)

مررتُ بخيرٍ وأفضلٍ مَنْ ثَمَّ

وقالت دُرُنا بنت عَبَّعةٍ من بني قيس بن ثعلبة:
(طويل)

هُما أَخوَا في الحَرْبِ مَنْ لا أَخاهُ
إذا خافَ يوماً نَبْوةً فدَعاهُما

(س. ١٥) وقال الفرزدق: (منسرح)

يا مَنْ رَأى عارِضاً أُسْرُبه

بَيْنَ ذِراعَيْ وَجْهَةِ الأَسَدِ

⁴¹The meter of *kāmil* is: *mutafāʔilun* (six times).

⁴²The meter of *basiyt^f* is: *mustafāʔilun fāʔilun* (four times).

⁴³The meter of *mutaGārib* is: *fa ʔuwlun fa ʔuwlun fa ʔuwlun fa ʔuwl* (two times).

⁴⁴The meter of *t^fawiyl* is: *fa ʔuwlun mafāʔiylun* (four times).

⁴⁵The meter of *munsariḥ* is: *mustafāʔilun fāʔilātu mufta ʔilun* (two times).

As for His saying, the Powerful and Glorious, *fa-bimā naʿdihim miyθāḡahum* ‘in that they broke their covenant’ (Sūrah IV:155). It occurred because there is no meaning to *mā* ‘not’, except what occurred before you brought it up, except *tawkiyd* ‘confirmation’, hence that became permissible if you don’t want from it more than this. They were two particles, one of them operative on the other. If they were an *ḥism* ‘name’, or *dʿarfan* ‘an envelope of time’ or *fiʿlan* ‘action’ it would not be permitted. As for his saying *ḥudxila fuwhu* (P. 77) *ḥal-ḥagara* ‘it was introduced into his mouth the stone’. This occurred according to the expansiveness of speech, a better one would be *ḥudxila fāhu ḥal-ḥagaru* ‘the stone was introduced into his mouth’, just as he *ḥadxaltu fiy raḥsi ḥal-ḡalansuwata* ‘I entered in my head the turban’ and the better one is *ḥadxaltu raḥsi fiy ḥal-ḡalansuwata* ‘I entered my head into the turban’. It is not like *ḥal-laylata wa ḥal-yawma* ‘night and day’ because they are two envelopes of time. It is contrary to it in this and in agreement in the expansiveness. The poet said: (*tʿawiyl*)⁴⁶

Tara ḥal-ḡawra fiyhā mudxila ḥal-ḡilli raḥsahu
Wa-sāḥruhu bādin ḥilā ḥal-ḡamsi ḥagma ḥu
 You see the bull having stuck his head in the shade
 His rest remaining most of it to the sun exposed’

(L. 5) The surface of speech in it is this dislike of separation, and if it is not in *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ then the definition of speech is that the *nāsʿib* ‘erector’ be begun with.

وأما قوله عز وجل فبما نقضهم ميثاقهم فإنما جاء لأنه ليس لما معنى سوى ما كان قبل أن تجيء به إلا التوكيد فمن ثم جاء ذلك إذ لم تُرد به أكثر من هذا وكانا حرفين أحدهما في الآخر عامل ولو كان اسماً أو ظرفاً أو فعلاً لم يجوز. وأما قوله أدخل فوه (ص. ٧٧) الحَجَرَ فهذا جرى على سعة الكلام والجيدُ أدخل فاه الحجرُ وكما قال أدخلتُ في رأسي القلنسوةَ والجيدُ أدخلتُ في القلنسوةَ رأسي وليس مثل اليوم والليلة لأنها ظرفان فهو مخالف له في هذا موافق له في السعة. قال الشاعر (طويل)

ترى الثورَ فيها مُدخِلَ الظلِّ رأسه
 وسائرُه بادٍ إلى الشمسِ أجمعُ

(س. ٥) فوجه الكلام فيه هذا كراهية الانفصال. وإذا لم يكن في الجرِّ فحدُّ الكلام أن يكون الناصبُ مبدؤاً به.

⁴⁶The meter of *tʿawiyl* is: *fa ḥuwlun mafāḥiyulun* (four times).

Chapter 39. This is a Chapter in which the *fā'il* 'actor' has the status of one that operated on the meaning and what operates on it

(Buwlāq vol. 1. pp. 93-96, Derenbourg vol.1. pp. 77-79, Haruwn vol.1. pp. 181-188)

(I. P. 77) and that is in your saying *hāḏā ḡal-d'āribu zaydan* 'this is the striker of Zaid' it became *fīy ma ḡnā* 'semantically' *hāḏā ḡal-laḏiy d'araba zaydan* 'this is the one who struck Zaid' and did its work, because *ḡalif wa ḡal-lām* 'ḡal' both prevented the *ḡid'āfah* 'annexion' and became with the status of *tanwiyn* 'nunation'. Similarly, *hāḏā ḡal-d'āribu ḡal-ragula*⁴⁷ 'this is the striker of the man'. This is the surface (L. 10) of speech. Some Arab people, whose Arabic is acceptable, have said *hāḏā ḡal-d'āribu ḡal-raguli*⁴⁸ 'this is the striker of the man'. They likened it to the *ḡal-ḡasani ḡal-waghi* 'handsome of face' even though it is similar to it neither semantically nor in its circumstances except that it is an *ḡism* 'name' and may be *yugarru* 'pulled with an [i]', just as it is pulled, and *yuns'abu* 'is erected' also as it is erected. And that shall be explained in its chapter, God willing. They may liken a thing to another without being like it in all its circumstances and you shall see that in their speech a great deal. Marrār ḡal-ḡasadiy said: (Wāfir)⁴⁹

ḡanā ḡibnu ḡal-tāriki ḡal-bakriyyi biḡrin
ḡalayhi ḡal-t'ayru tarḡubuhu wuḡurwā
'I am the son of the tārik Al-Bakri, Bishr

In a state of watching a bird falling.'

We have heard it from the Arabs who recite it and make *biḡran* 'Bishr' follow the course of *magruwr* 'pulled by [i]' because he made it of the status of what nunation resists. And an example like that in relation to following what is before it, is *huwa ḡal-d'āribu zaydan wa ḡal-ragula* 'he is the striker of Zaid and the man'. Nothing can occur with it except the *nas'b* 'erecting' because it operated on both of them with the action of the *munawwan* 'nunated' and it may not be *huwa ḡal-d'āribu samrin* 'he is the striker of Amr' just as it can not be *huwa ḡal-ḡasanu waghin* 'he is the handsome of face'. Whoever said *huwa ḡal-d'āribu ḡal-raguli* 'he is the striker of the man' also said *huwa ḡal-d'āribu ḡal-raguli wa ḡabdi ḡal-lāhi* 'he is the striker of the man and ḡabdulah'.

⁴⁷In the objective/accusative case ending with an [a].

⁴⁸In the oblique/genitive case ending with an [i].

⁴⁹The meter of wāfir is: *mufāḡalatun mufāḡalatun fa ḡuwlun* (two times).

(٣٩) هذا بابٌ صار الفاعلُ فيه بمنزلة الذي
فَعَلَ في المعنى وما يَعْمَلُ فيه

(م. ١. ص. ٧٧. س. ٧) وذلك قولك هذا الضاربُ زيداً فصار في معنى هذا الذي ضربَ زيداً وعَمِلَ عَمَلَهُ لأنَّ الألفَ واللامَ منعَتَا الإضافةَ وصارتا بمنزلة التنوين. وكذلك هذا الضاربُ الرَّجُلُ وهو وجه (س. ١٠) الكلام وقد قال قوم من العرب تُرَضَى عربيتهم هذا الضاربُ الرجلُ شَبَّهوه بِالْحَسَنِ الوجه وإن كان ليس مثله في المعنى ولا في أحواله إلا أَنَّهُ اسْمٌ وقد يُجْرُّ كما يُجْرُّ وَيُنْصَبُ أَيضاً كما يُنْصَبُ وَسَيَبِينُ ذلك في بابه إن شاء الله. وقد يُشَبَّهون الشيءَ بالشيءِ وليس مثله في جميع أحواله وسترى ذلك في كلامهم كثيراً. وقال المَرَّار الأَسدي: (وافر)

أنا ابنُ التاركِ البَكْرِيِّ بِشْرٍ
عليه الطَيْرُ تَرُقُبُهُ وَقُوعَا

(س. ١٥) سمعناه ممن يرويهِ عن العرب وأجرى بشراً على مجرى المجرور لأنه جعله بمنزلة ما يُكْفُ منه التنوين. ومثل ذلك في الإجراء على ما قبله هو الضاربُ زيداً والرَّجُلُ لا يكون فيه إلا النصبُ لأنَّهُ عَمِلَ فيهما عملَ المنون ولا يكون هو الضاربُ عمرو كما لا يكون هو الحسنُ وجه. ومن قال هذا الضاربُ الرجلُ قال هو الضاربُ الرجلُ وعبد الله.

Of that is the recitation of some of the Arabs, the saying of
 ʔal-ʔaʔšā : (kāmil) (L. 20)

ʔal-wāhibu ʔal-mi ʔati ʔal-higāni wa-ʔabdihā
ʔuwḏan tuzagga baynahā ʔatʔfāluhā
 ‘The giver of one hundred white camels and their attendants
 Taking refuge young ones ample among them’

(P. 78) If you were to dualize or pluralize you confirm the
nuwn [n]. You say *hāḏāni ʔal-dʔāribāni zaydan* ‘those two are
 the strikers of Zaid’ and *hum ʔal-dʔāribuwna ʔal-ragula* ‘they
 are the strikers of the man’. Nothing may occur in it except
 this because the *nuwn* [n] is confirmed. On the topic is His
 saying, the Powerful and the Glorious, *wa-ʔal-muʔamiyna*
ʔal-sʔalāta wa-ʔal-muʔuwna ʔal-zakāta ‘those that hold
 prayers and practice charity’ (Sūrah IV: 162). ʔibn muʔbil
 said: (basiyt)⁵⁰

Yā ʔayni bakkiyy hunayfan ra ʔasa ḥayyihimi
ʔal-kāsiriyna ʔal-ʔanāfiy ʔawrati ʔal-duburi
 ‘O eye, cry for Hunayf, the head of their tribe,
 Those who broke spears in defending the
 exposed side at the rear’

If you were to refrain from *nuwn* [n], *gararta* ‘you
 pulled with an [i]’ and the *ʔism* ‘name’ becomes part of the
gārr ‘the one that pulls’ and a substitute for the *nuwn* [n],
 because the *nuwn* [n] does not follow the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām*
 ‘ʔal-’ nor does it become part of the *ʔism* ‘name’, after the
ʔalif wa ʔal-lām ‘ʔal’ become established in it because one
 can not be definite then dualized. Nunation is before the *ʔalif*
wa ʔal-lām ‘ʔal’ because the *maʔrifah* ‘definite’ is after the
nakirah ‘indefinite’, so the *nuwn* [n] is left out and the
 meaning is the meaning of confirmation of *nuwn* [n], just as
 that was the case with the *ʔism* ‘name’ that followed the
 course of the *ʔi ʔl ʔal-mudʔāra ʔ* ‘resembler action’, and that is
 in your saying *humā ʔal-dʔāribā zaydin* ‘those two are the
 strikers of Zaid’ and *ʔal-dʔāribuw ʔamrin* ‘the strikers of
 ʔamr’. And Farazdaq said: (wāfir)⁵¹ (L. 10)

ʔusayyidu ḏuw xurayyitʔatin nahāran
mina ʔal-mutalaʔʔitʔiy ʔaradi ʔal-ʔumāmi
 ‘young lion with a tiny pouch at day
 From a gathered sweeping of garbage’
 And a man from baniy dʔabbah said: (kāmil)⁵²
ʔal-fārigiy bābi ʔal-ʔamiyri ʔal-mubhami
 ‘The opener of the closed door of the Amir’

ومن ذلك إنشادُ بعض العرب قول الأعشى:
 (كامل)

(س. ٢٠) الواهبُ المائة الهجانِ وعَبْدِهَا
 عُوذًا تُرَجِّي بَيْنَهَا أَطْفَالَهَا

(ص. ٧٨) فإذا ثَنَيْتَ أو جمعتَ فأثبتَ النونَ
 قلتَ هذان الضاربانِ زيداً وهم الضاربونَ
 الرجلُ لا يكون فيه غيرُ هذا لأنَّ النونَ ثابتةٌ.
 ومثل ذلك قوله عزَّ وجلَّ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ الصَّلْوةَ
 وَالْمُؤْتُونَ الزَّكْوةَ. وقال ابن مُقْبِلٍ: (بسيط)

يا عَيْنِ بَكِّي حَنِيفاً رَأْسَ حَيْهَمِ
 الكاسرينَ ألقنا في عَوْرَةِ الدُّبْرِ

(س. ٥) فإن كَفَفْتَ النونَ جررتَ وصار
 الاسمُ داخلاً في الجارِّ وبدلاً من النون لأنَّ
 النونَ لا تُعاقِبُ الألفَ واللامَ ولم تدخل على
 الاسم بعد أن ثبتت فيه الألفُ واللامُ لأنه لا
 يكون واحداً معروفاً ثم يُثنى فالتنوينُ قبلِ
 الألفِ واللامِ لأنَّ المعرفة بعد النكرة فالنونُ
 مكفوفةٌ والمعنى معنى ثبات النون كما كان ذلك
 في الاسم الذي جرى مجرى الفعل المضارع
 وذلك قولك هما الضاربانِ زيدٍ والضاربونَ
 عمرو. وقال الفرزدق: (وافر)

أسيِّدُ ذو خُرَيْطَةٍ نهاراً
 مِنَ الْمُتَلَقِّطِي قَرَدِ الْقُمَامِ

وقال رجل من بني ضَبَّةَ: (كامل)
 الفارِجِي بابِ الأَمِيرِ المُبْهَمِ

⁵⁰The meter of basiytʔ is: *mustafʔilun fāʔilun* (four times).

⁵¹The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwḏun* (two times).

⁵²The meter of kāmil is: *mutafāʔilun* (six times).

A man of ʔal-ʔans^ʕār said: (munsariḥ)⁵³

ʔal-ḥāfiḏ^ʕuw sawrta ʔal-ʕaširati lā

Ya ʔiyhimu min warāʔinā nat^ʕafu

‘Those who protect the honor of the tribe

No blame comes to them after us’

(L. 15) He did not delete the *nuwn* [n] due to *ʔad^ʕāfah* ‘annexion’ nor does the *ʔism* ‘name’ follow the *nuwn* [n] but they deleted it just as they deleted from *ʔal-laḏayni* and *ʔal-laḏiyina*, when speech becomes long and the ending of the first *ʔism* ‘name’ is the other *ʔism* ‘name’. ʔal-ʔaxt^ʕal said: (kāmīl)⁵⁴

ʔa-baniy kulaybin ʔinna ʕammayy ʔal-laḏā

ʕatalā ʔal-muluwka wa-fakkakā ʔal-ʔa ʔlālā

‘Are you from Kulayb tribe, my uncles, those two,

Who killed kings and opened the shackles’

because its meaning is the meaning of *ʔal-laḏiyina fa ʕaluw* ‘those who acted’ and it is with the *maʕʕuwl* ‘acted-upon’ with the status of a singular name that does not operate on anything, just (L. 20) as those *ʔanna ʔal-laḏiyina fa ʕaluw* ‘who did operate’ with its connection have the status of *ʔism* ‘a name’. ʔašhab bin rumayla said: (t^ʕawiyl)⁵⁵

ʔinna ʔal-laḏiy ḥānat bi-falgin dimāʔuhum

Humu ʔal-ʕawmu kullu ʔal-ʕawmi yā ʔumma xāliḏi

‘Those in Falg whose blood was spilled

They are the people, all the people, mother of Xalid’

(P. 79) If you were to say *hum ʔal-d^ʕāribuwka* ‘they are your strikers’ and *humā ʔal-dāribāka* ‘they-d are your two strikers’ the surface is the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ because if you were to untie the *nuwn* [n] from these *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’ in appearance, then the surface is *ʔal-garr* ‘the pull’, except in the saying of one who says *ʔal-ḥāfiḏ^ʕuw sawrta ʔal-ʕaširati* ‘the protectors of the honor of the tribe’. And it will not occur in their speech *hum ḏ^ʕāribuwka* ‘they are your strikers’ that the *kāf* [k] be in the location of *nas^ʕb* ‘erecting’ because if you were to untie the *nuwn* [n] in the surface it will not occur except in the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’. It is not permitted in the surface *hum ḏ^ʕāribuw zaydan* ‘they are the strikers of Zaid’ because it does not have the meaning of *ʔal-laḏiy* ‘the one’ (L. 5) because it does not have the *ʔalif wa ʔal-lām* ‘ʔal’ as it was in *ʔal-laḏiy*.

وقال رجل من الأنصار: (منسرح)

الحافظُ عَوْرَةَ العَشيرةِ لا

يأتيهم من ورائنا نَطْفُ

(س. ١٥) لم يحذف النون للإضافة ولا ليعاقب الاسم النون ولكن حذفوها كما حذفوها من اللذين والذين حيث طال الكلام وكان الاسم الأول مُتتهاء الاسم الآخر. وقال الأختل:

(كامل)

أبني كُليبٍ إنَّ عمِّي اللدا

قتلا الملوك وفككا الأغلالا

لأن معناه معنى الذين فعلوا وهو مع المفعول بمنزلة اسم مُفردٍ لم يَعْمَلْ في شيءٍ كما أن (س. ٢٠) الذين فعلوا مع صلته بمنزلة اسم. وقال أشهب بن رُمَيْلَةَ: (طويل)

إنَّ الذي حانت بفلج دماؤهم

هم القوم كل القوم يا أمَّ خالد

(ص. ٧٩) وإذا قلت هم الضاربوك وهما الضاربك فالوجه فيه الجر لأنك إذا كفت النون من هذه الأسماء في المظهر كان الوجه الجر إلا في قول من قال الحافظو عورة العشيعة ولا يكون في قولهم هم ضاربوك أن تكون الكاف في موضع النصب لأنك لو كفت النون في الإظهار لم يكن إلا جرّاً ولا يجوز في الإظهار هم ضاربوا زيداً لأنها ليست في معنى الذي (س. ٥) لأنها ليست فيها الألف واللام كما كانت في الذي.

⁵³The meter of munsariḥ is: *mustafīlun fāʕlātun mufta ʕilun* (two times)

⁵⁴The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāʕilun* (six times).

⁵⁵The meter of t^ʕawiyl is: *fa ʕuwilun maʕāʕilun* (four times).

Know that the deletion of *nuwn* [n] and *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ is necessary with the *ṣalāmata ḡal-muḏʿmar* ‘sign of the implied’ that is not separate, because it is not expressed alone so that it would be connected with a *fiʾl* before it or with an *ḡism* ‘name’ in which there is *ḏʿamiyr* ‘a pronoun’, so it becomes as though it were the *nuwn* [n] and the nunation in the *ḡism* ‘name’, because they are nothing but *zawāʾid* ‘augments’, and they do not occur except at the end of words. The expressed, even if it were to follow the *nuwn* [n] and the nunation, it is not like *ṣalāma* ‘a sign’ of the bound pronoun because it is *ḡism* ‘a name’ that is separable and is begun with, and it is not like the sign of *ḡiḏʿmār* ‘implication’ because in pronunciation (L. 10) it is like *nuwn* [n] and *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’ so it is closer to it than the expressed one; both this and succession came together in it. This occurred in poetry, so they claimed that it is made up: (tʿawiyl)⁵⁶

Humu ḡal-ḡāḡiluwna ḡal-xayra wa-ḡal-ḡāmiruwnahu
ḡiḏʿā mā xašuw min muḡdaḡi ḡal-ḡamri mu ṣḏʿamā
 ‘They are the ones who say the good and enjoin it
 If they were not hesitant of the perpetrator of the
 act by glorifying it’

and he said: (tʿawiyl)⁵⁷
Wa-lam yartafī ḡ wa-ḡal-nāsu muḡtadʿiruwnahu
ḡamiy ṣan wa-ḡaydiy ḡal-mu ṣtafiyna rawāḡi ḡuh
 ‘He did not leave when the people came
 With hands stretched, all of them, seeking his help’

واعلم أن حذف النون والتنوين لازم مع علامة
 المضمر غير المنفصل لأنه لا يُتكلّم به مفرداً
 حتّى يكون متّصلاً بفعل قبله أو باسم فيه
 ضمير فصار كأنه النون والتنوين في الاسم
 لأنها لا يكونان إلا زوائد ولا يكونان إلا في
 أواخر الحروف والمظهر وإن كان يعاقب النون
 والتنوين فإنه ليس كعلامة المضمر المتّصل لأنه
 اسمٌ ينفصل ويبتدأ وليس كعلامة الإضمار لأنها
 في اللفظ (س. ١٠) كالنون والتنوين فهي
 أقرب إليها من المظهر اجتمع فيها هذا والمعاقبة
 وقد جاء في الشعر فزعموا أنه مصنوع:
 (طويل)

هم القائلون الخير والأمرونه
 إذا ما خشوا من محدث الأمر معظمها

وقال: (طويل)
 ولم يرتفق والناس محتضرونه
 جميعاً وأيدي المعتفين رواهقه

⁵⁶The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa suwlnun mafāʿiylnun* (four times).

⁵⁷The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa suwlnun mafāʿiylnun* (four times).

Chapter 40. This is a Chapter on *mas'ādir* 'roots' that followed the course of the *fi ʔal-mud'āriʔ* 'The resembler action' in its action and its meaning

(Buwlāq vol. 1. pp.97-99-, Derenbourg vol.1. pp. 79-81, Haruwn vol.1. pp. 189-194)

(I. P. 79) *ʔagibtu min d'arbin zaydan* 'I was amazed by the striking of Zaid'. Its meaning is that *ʔannahu yad'ribu zaydan* 'he strikes Zaid'. And you say *ʔagibtu min d'arbin zaydan bakrun* 'I was amazed by Bakr striking Zaid' and *min d'arbin zaydan ʔamran* 'by Zaid striking ʔamr'. He is the *fāʔil* 'actor'. It is as though he said *ʔagibtu min ʔannahu yad'ribu zaydan ʔamran wa yad'ribu ʔamran zaydan* 'I was amazed that Zaid strikes Amr and Zaid strikes ʔamr'⁵⁸. This *ʔism* 'name' that followed the course of the *fi ʔal-mud'āriʔ* 'resembler action' is different in that there is in it *fāʔil wa maf'ūwl* 'an actor and an acted-upon', because if you were to say *hādā d'āribun* 'this is a striker' you came up with a *fāʔil* 'actor' and you mentioned it. And if you were to say *ʔagibtu min* (P. 80) *d'arbin* "I was amazed by striking", you did not mention the *fāʔil* 'actor'. The *mas'dar* 'root/verbal noun' is not in the *fāʔil* 'actor' even if there is an indication in it to the *fāʔil* 'actor'; that is why you needed both *fāʔil wa maf'ūwl* 'an actor and an acted-upon' in it, and you did not need, when you said *hādā d'āribun zaydan* 'this is a striker of Zaid', an explicit *fāʔil* 'actor', because the implicit in *d'ārib* 'striker' is the *fāʔil* 'actor'. What occurs of this is His saying, the Powerful and the Glorious, *ʔaw ʔi ʔāmun fiy yawmin dīy mas yabatin yatiyman dā ma ʔrabatin* 'or a feeding on a day of starvation an orphan who has a relationship' (Sūrah XC:14-15). And he said: (t'awiyl)⁵⁹ (L. 5)

Fa-lawlā ragāʔu ʔal-nas'ri minka wa-rahbatun

ʔi ʔābaka ʔad s'āruw lanā ka-ʔal-mawāridi

'Were it not the hope of your victory over them for us and fear of your punishment, they would become paths we tread on.'

and he said : (wāfir)⁶⁰

ʔaxaḏtu bi-saḡlihim fa-nafaxtu fiyhi

Muḥāfaḏ'atan lahunna ʔixā ʔal-ḏimāmi

'I took their bucket and blew into it

Protecting them due to their rights'

⁵⁸ The positions of Amr and Zaid are reversed without reversing their case markings.

⁵⁹The meter of t'awiyl is: *fa ʔuwlun mafāʔiylun* (four times).

⁶⁰The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwlun* (two times).

(٤٠) هذا بابٌ من المصادر جَرَى جَرَى الفعل المضارع في عمله ومعناه

(م. ١. ص. ٧٩. س. ١٥) وذلك قولك عَجِبْتُ مِنْ ضَرْبٍ زَيْدًا فَمَعْنَاهُ أَنَّهُ يَضْرِبُ زَيْدًا. وَتَقُولُ عَجِبْتُ مِنْ ضَرْبٍ زَيْدًا بَكْرًا وَمِنْ ضَرْبٍ زَيْدًا عَمْرًا إِذَا كَانَ هُوَ الْفَاعِلُ كَأَنَّهُ قَالَ عَجِبْتُ مِنْ أَنَّهُ يَضْرِبُ زَيْدًا عَمْرًا وَيَضْرِبُ عَمْرًا زَيْدًا. وَإِنَّمَا خَالَفَ هَذَا الْإِسْمَ الَّذِي جَرَى جَرَى مَجْرَى الْفِعْلِ الْمَضَارِعِ فِي أَنَّ فِيهِ فَاعِلًا وَمَفْعُولًا لِأَنَّكَ إِذَا قُلْتَ هَذَا ضَارِبٌ فَقَدْ جِئْتَ بِالْفَاعِلِ وَذَكَرْتَهُ وَإِذَا قُلْتَ عَجِبْتُ مِنْ (ص. ٨٠) ضَرْبٍ فَإِنَّكَ لَمْ تَذَكَرِ الْفَاعِلَ فَالْمَصْدَرُ لَيْسَ بِالْفَاعِلِ وَإِنْ كَانَ فِيهِ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى الْفَاعِلِ فَلِذَلِكَ احْتَجَّتْ فِيهِ إِلَى فَاعِلٍ وَمَفْعُولٍ وَلَمْ تَحْتَجْ حِينَ قُلْتَ هَذَا ضَارِبٌ زَيْدًا إِلَى فَاعِلٍ ظَاهِرٍ لِأَنَّ الْمَضْمَرَ فِي ضَارِبٍ هُوَ الْفَاعِلُ. فَمِمَّا جَاءَ مِنْ هَذَا قَوْلُهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَوْ إِطْعَامٌ فِي يَوْمٍ ذِي مَسْغَبَةٍ يَتَّبِعُهَا ذَا مَقْرَبَةٍ وَقَالَ: (طويل)

فلولا رجاءُ النَّصْرِ منك ورَهْبَةٌ

عِقَابِكَ قد صاروا لنا كالمواردِ

وقال: (وافر)

أَخَذْتُ بِسَجْلِهِمْ فَتَفَخْتُ فِيهِ

مُحَافَظَةً لَهِنَّ إِخَا الذَّمَامِ

and he said: (wāfir)⁶¹

Bi-d'arbin bi-ʔal-suyuwfi ru ʔuwsa ʔawmin

ʔazalnā hāmahunna ʔani ʔal-maʔiyli

‘By striking with a sword the heads of people
We removed their heads from their necks.’

(L. 10) If you so wished you deleted the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’, just as you deleted with the *fāʔil* ‘actor’ and the meaning will remain in its state, except that *tagurr* ‘you pull’ the one that follows the *masʔdar* ‘root/source’ whether *fāʔilan ʔaw mafʔuwan* ‘an actor or an acted-upon’ because it is a name from which the *nuwn* has been untied as you did that with the *fāʔil* ‘actor’. The *magruwr* ‘pulled’ becomes *badalan* ‘a substitute’ for the nunation following it, and that in your saying *ʔagibtu min dʔarbihi zaydan* ‘I was amazed by his striking Zaid’ if it is a *fāʔil* ‘an actor’ and *min dʔarbihi zaydan* ‘by his striking Zaid’ if the implicit was *mafʔuwl* ‘an acted-upon’. You say *ʔagibtu min kiswati zaydin ʔabuwhu* ‘I was amazed by Zaid’s clothing by his father and *ʔagibtu min kiswati zaydin ʔabāhu* ‘I was amazed by Zaid’s clothing his father’ if you were to delete the *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’. What occurs without nunation is the saying of Labiyd: (kāmīl)⁶²

(L. 15)

ʔahdiy bi-hā ʔal-ʔayyā ʔal-gamiy ʔa wa-fiyhimu

ʔabla ʔal-tafarruʔi maysirun wa-nidāmu

‘My stay in the house with all the people meeting there
Before departure there is sadness and lamentation’

and of their saying is *sam ʔu ʔuḏuniy zaydan ya ʔuwlū ḏāka* ‘hearing of my ear, Zaid saying that’. Ruʔba said: (ragaz)⁶³

Wa-ra ʔyu ʔaynayya ʔal-fatā ʔaxākā

Ya ʔiʔiy ʔal-gaziyla fa-ʔalayka ḏākā

‘The seeing with my two eyes, a youth is your brother
He offers the bounties and you do the same’

You say *ʔagibtu min dʔarbi zaydin wa-ʔamrin* ‘I am amazed by the striking of Zaid and ʔamr’ if you were to share among them as you did in *fāʔil* ‘actor’. Whoever (P. 81) said *hāḏā dʔāribu zaydin wa-ʔamran* ‘this one is a striker of Zaid and ʔamr’, he also said *ʔagibtu lahu min dʔarbi zaydin wa-ʔamran* ‘I was amazed with him by striking Zaid and ʔamr’ it is as though he implied *yadʔribu ʔamran* ‘he strikes ʔamr’ and *dʔarab ʔamran* ‘he struck ʔamr’.

⁶¹The meter of wāfir is: *mufāʔalatun mufāʔalatun fa ʔuwlun* (two times).

⁶²The meter of kāmīl is: *mutafāʔilun* (six times).

⁶³The meter of ragaz is: *mustafāʔilun* (six times).

وقال: (وافر)

بَضْرِبِ بِالسُّيُوفِ رُؤُوسَ قَوْمٍ

أَزَلْنَا هَامَهُنَّ عَنِ الْمَقِيلِ

(س. ١٠) وإن شئت حذفت التنوين كما
حذفت في الفاعل وكان المعنى على حاله إلا
أنك تجر الذي يلي المصدر فاعلاً كان أو مفعولاً
لأنه اسمٌ قد كفت عنه النون كما فعلت ذلك
بِفاعِلٍ ويصير المجرور بدلاً من التنوين معاقباً
له. وذلك قولك عَجِبْتُ مِنْ ضَرْبِهِ زَيْدًا إِنْ كَانَ
فاعلاً وَمِنْ ضَرْبِهِ زَيْدٌ إِنْ كَانَ الْمُضْمَرُّ مَفْعُولًا.
وتقول عَجِبْتُ مِنْ كِسْوَةِ زَيْدِ أَبِيهِ وَعَجِبْتُ مِنْ
كِسْوَةِ زَيْدِ أَبِيهِ إِذَا حَذَفْتَ التَّنْوِينَ. وَمَا جَاءَ لَا
يَنْوُنُ قَوْلُ (س. ١٥) لَيْدٍ: (كامل)

عَهْدِي بِهَا الْحَيِّ الْجَمِيعِ وَفِيهِمْ

قَبْلَ التَّفَرُّقِ مَيْسِرٌ وَنِدَامٌ

ومنه قولهم سَمِعْتُ أُذُنِي زَيْدًا يَقُولُ ذَاكَ . قَالَ
رُؤْبَةَ: (رجز)

وَرَأَيْ عَيْنِي الْفَتَى أَخَاكَ

يُعْطِي الْجَزِيلَ فَعَلَيْكَ ذَاكَ

وتقول عَجِبْتُ مِنْ ضَرْبِ زَيْدٍ وَعَمْرٍو إِذَا
أَشْرَكَتَ بَيْنَهُمَا كَمَا فَعَلْتَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْفَاعِلِ . وَمَنْ
(ص. ٨١) قَالَ هَذَا ضَارِبُ زَيْدٍ وَعَمْرًا قَالَ
عَجِبْتُ لَهُ مِنْ ضَرْبِ زَيْدٍ وَعَمْرًا كَأَنَّهُ أَضْمَرَ
وَيَضْرِبُ عَمْرًا أَوْ وَضَرْبَ عَمْرًا.

Ruḥba said: (ragaz)⁶⁴

Ḡad kuntu dāyantu bihā ḥassānan

Maxāfata ḡal- ḡiflāsi wa- ḡal-layyānā

Yuḥsinu bayṣa ḡal-asʿli wa- ḡal-ḡiyānā

‘I had drawn up credit with it with Hassān

Fearing penury and delay

He is good at selling the principal and the slave girls.’

(L. 5) You say *ṣagibtu mina ḡal-dʿarbi zaydan* ‘I was amazed by striking of Zaid’ just as you said *ṣagibtu min ḡal-dāribi zaydan* ‘I was pleased by the striker of Zaid’. The *ḡalif wa lām* ‘ḡal’ have the status of *tanwiyn* ‘nunation’. The poet said: (mutaḡārib)⁶⁵

dʿa ṣiyfu ḡal-nikāyati ḡa ṣdāḡdhu

Yaxālu ḡal-firāra yurāxiy ḡal-ḡagal

‘Weak of will towards his enemies

He thinks taking refuge in flight makes life longer.’

ḡal-marrār ḡal-ḡasadiyy said: (tʿawiyl)⁶⁶

Laḡad ṣalimat ḡuwlā ḡal-muḡiyрати ḡannaniy

Karartu fa-lam ḡankul ḡani ḡal-dʿarbi mismaḡā

‘The first of the assailants learned that I attacked

And did not hesitate to strike their leader, Mismaḡ’

(L.10) The one who said *huwa ḡal-dʿāribu ḡal-raguli* ‘he is the striker of the man’ does not say *ṣagibtu lahu min ḡal-dʿarbi ḡal-raguli* ‘I was amazed by the striking of the man’ because *ḡal-dʿāribu ḡal-raguli* ‘the striker of the man’ is likened to *ḡal-ḡasani ḡal-waghi* ‘the handsome of face’ because it is a description of an *ḡism* ‘name’, just as *ḡal-ḡasan* ‘the handsome’ is a *wasʿfun* ‘descriptive/adjective’, it is not a definition in speech. It is necessary for the pattern of the one who said *ḡal-dʿāribu ḡal-raguli* ‘the striker of the man’ to say *ḡal-dʿāribu ḡaxiy ḡal-raguli* ‘the striker of the brother of the man’, just as he says *ḡal-ḡasanu ḡal-ḡaxi* ‘of a handsome brother’ and *ḡal-ḡasanu waghi ḡal-ḡaxi* ‘of the brother with a handsome face’. ḡal-Khalīl saw it so. If you so wished, you said *hāḡā dʿarbu ṣabdi ḡal-lāhi* ‘this is a striking of ṣabdulah’ just as you say *hāḡā dʿāribu ṣabdi ḡal-lāhi* ‘this is a striker of ṣabdulah’ of what is cut off from *ḡafṣāl* ‘actions’.

⁶⁴The meter of ragaz is: *mustafīlun* (six times).

⁶⁵The meter of mutaḡārib is: *fa ṣuwlun fa ṣuwlun fa ṣuwlun fa ṣuwl* (two times).

⁶⁶The meter of tʿawiyl is: *fa ṣuwlun mafāṣīlun* (four times).

قال رؤبة : (رجز)

قد كنت دأيتُ بها حسَّاناً

مُخَافَةَ الْإِفْلَاسِ وَاللَّيَّانَا

مُحْسِنُ بَيْعِ الْأَصْلِ وَالْقِيَانَا

(س. ٥) وتقول عجبْتُ من الضَّربِ زيَداً كما
قلتُ عجبْتُ من الضَّارِبِ زيَداً يَكُونُ الْأَلْفُ
واللام بمنزلة التنوين. وقال الشاعر:
(مقارب)

ضعيفُ النِّكَايَةِ أَعْدَاءَهُ

يَخَالُ الْفِرَارَ يُرَاحِي الْأَجَلَ

وقال المَرَّارُ الْأَسَدِيُّ (طويل)

لقد عَلِمْتُ أَوْلَى الْمُغِيرَةِ أَنِّي

كررتُ فلم أَتَكَلَّ عن الضَّربِ مَسْمَعَا

(س. ١٠) ومن قال هو الضَّارِبُ الرَّجُلُ لم يقل
عجبْتُ له من الضَّربِ الرَّجُلُ لِأَنَّ الضَّارِبَ
الرَّجُلُ مُشَبَّهٌ بِالْحَسَنِ الْوَجْهِ لِأَنَّهُ وَصِفٌ لِلْإِسْمِ
كما أَنَّ الْحَسْنَ وَصِفٌ وَلَيْسَ هُوَ بِحَدِّ فِي الْكَلَامِ
وقد ينبغي في قياس من قال الضَّارِبُ الرَّجُلُ أَنْ
يقول الضَّارِبُ أَخِي الرَّجُلُ كما يقول الْحَسَنُ
الأخِ وَالْحَسَنُ وَجْهِ الأَخِ وَكَانَ الْخَلِيلُ يَرَاهُ. وَإِنْ
شئتُ قلتُ هذا ضَرْبُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ كما تقول هذا
ضَّارِبُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ فِيما انْقَطَعَ مِنَ الْأَفْعَالِ.

You say *ʕagibtu min dʕarbi* (L. 15) *ʕal-yawmi zaydan* ‘I was amazed by striking of Zaid to day’, just as he said *Yā sārī Ga ʕal-laylati ʕahla ʕal-dāri* ‘O stealer at night, people of the house’ and it is not like *lil-lāhi darru ʕal-yawma man lāmahā* ‘how excellent, for span of a day who would blame her!’ (cf ch 38) etc.’ because they did not make it a *fiʕl* ‘action’ or did something by day ; rather it has the status of *lil-lāhi bilāduka* ‘to God is your country’. It is permitted *ʕagibtu lahu min dʕarbi ʕaxiyhi* ‘I was amazed by him striking his brother’. The *masʕdar* ‘source’ becomes *mudʕāfan* ‘annexed’ whether it does or does not act. It is *munawwan* ‘nunated’ and it does not have the status of *dʕāribin* ‘a striker’.

وتقول عجبْتُ من ضَرْبِ (س. ١٥) اليوم زيدا
 كما قال يا سارقَ الليلةِ أهلَ الدارِ وليسَ مثلَ
 الله دُرُّ اليَوْمِ مَنْ لَامَهَا لأنهم لم يجعلوه فعلاً أو
 فَعَلَ شيئاً في اليوم إنما هو بمنزلة الله بلادك.
 ويجوز عجبْتُ له من ضَرْبِ أخيه يكون المصدرُ
 مضافاً فَعَلَ أو لم يَفْعَلَ ويكون منوناً وليس
 بمنزلة ضاربٍ.