ARAB LINGUISTICS

An introductory classical text with translation and notes

edited by

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INTRODUCTION

If the Ājurrūmiyya is the quintessence of Arabic grammar, then aš-Širbīnî's commentary on it is surely the essence: it is modest yet comprehensive, not over-long, but detailed enough for serious study, and as orthodox and well-meaning as aš-Širbīnī himself (whose life is briefly outlined on p. 467, Epilogue n 8). His Nūr as-sajiyya ff ḥall ʿalfāz al-Ājurrūmiyya is the distillation of some nine centuries of linguistic speculation; what is left is both wholly unoriginal and entirely typical of a discipline which had already reached its peak more than two hundred years before aš-Širbīnī's death in 1570. It is, therefore, an ideal introduction to the vast technical literature devoted to the preservation and propagation of one of the world's few divine languages, the Classical Arabic in which the Qur'ān was revealed and through which the Islamic faith finds expression.

This edition has been prepared with the aim of making accessible both to Arabists and non-Arabists the main elements of indigenous Arabic linguistics, and thereby at least partially filling a large blank in the history of linguistics, which has hitherto paid little heed to non-European traditions and systems. The remainder of this Introduction will help the reader to make the best use of the book.

In the Arabic text Ibn Ājurrūm's own words have, according to the practice of the day, been directly integrated into aš-Širbīnī's commentary, and are therefore distinguished by overlining (see p. 466, appendix, on the manuscripts used). The translation does what it can to reproduce this peculiarly medieval method of explication, with what success the reader may judge, and this time (for want of better typographical alternatives) Ibn Ājurrūm's words are marked by underlining. The transliteration is as close as practical to that of H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Wiesbaden 1979. In the actual translation the material has been broken up into numbered paragraphs to facilitate cross-reference, sometimes adopting aš-Širbīnī's own subdivisions where available, otherwise quite arbitrarily. So much for form; as for content, it can only be said that the translation is bound to be too literal for some and not literal enough for others. Either of these defects, however, is less serious than outright errors, and it is hoped that whatever mistakes have been made are few and harmless.
The notes, optimistically no doubt, attempt to answer as many foreseeable kinds of questions as possible, covering technical, historical, textual and comparative topics as seems appropriate. Paradigms are provided in abundance (ideally all the facts of Arabic morphology should be there), partly to supplement the information already set out in transliteration in other works of reference, and partly to offer the reader more opportunities to verify or extend the theories advanced in the text and annotations. Inevitably many notes can be no more than hints or pointers, where space does not allow an idea to be developed thoroughly. But the labyrinthine further references and their frequent circularity are deliberate, on the one hand being a means of connecting together matter which is too bulky for a single note, and on the other hand hopefully stimulating wider enquiries, aided perhaps by serendipity. The fact that annotations and text, with very few exceptions, are face to face, may somewhat compensate for this inconvenience.

The notes will have achieved their purpose if they make readers aware of the inner coherence of the grammatical system by imparting some of the automatic presuppositions of the native Arab linguists, for whom no term, category or structure exists in isolation. The reader will nevertheless often come across remarks which have little justification beyond the intrinsic interest of their contents. This is an inescapable predicament of annotators, who must say something about everything; aš-Širbînî answers this charge in 16.4, and I will simply add here (with similar false modesty) these words of Sir Thomas Browne: 'There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expressions therein merely tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason'.

The principles of reference to other primary and secondary sources (see Abbreviations following this Introduction) are thus:

Four representative Arab grammars are chosen, Jum. because it is an important early work, Muf. because it gives access to Ibn Yaŷî's commentary and the paragraph numbers of Howell (cf. 3.53 n 6), Alf. (cf. 21.61 n 6) because, as well as having been translated, a whole array of commentaries and supercommentaries can easily be consulted through its verses, and Qatr because (like Āj. and Taṣr.) it is a major source for aš-Širbînî and has, moreover, been published in translation.

Western treatments (Beeston, Pleisch, Bateson, Yushmanov, Nöldeke, Cantineau) are referred to as often as possible, as are certain standard grammars such as Wright, Reckendorf (Ar. Synt., Synt. Verh.) and Cantarino. Individual technical terms are often discussed at length in E.I. (1) & (2), to which reference is accordingly made.
Qur'anic quotations are attributed to the Sūra (S.) and verse of the standard Egyptian edition. Translations are either borrowed from published versions or are ad hoc when a particular grammatical feature needs to be emphasized. Bibliographical details of translations and well known commentaries are not given, since these references are easily traceable through Sūra and verse numbers.

Poetry is identified by reference to Schaw. Ind., and again, translations are either borrowed or ad hoc.

Journal titles are generally abbreviated according to Index Islamicus (q.v. Epilogue n 7).

This book would not have appeared without help from many quarters. I thank my friend C. H. M. Versteegh for mediating on my behalf with the editor and publisher of this Series, and I thank Sydney University for providing a congenial and encouraging working atmosphere, as well as for some very valuable secretarial help with the preparation of the final copy. Above all I am grateful to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, under whose sponsorship I was able to complete the writing of the annotations in appropriately well equipped surroundings at Munich. This had not been my original plan in accepting the honour of a Humboldt research fellowship, but a visit to the homeland of Goethe was enough to prove the wisdom of his words:

*Du glaubst zu schieben und du wirst geschoben.*

M. G. Carter
Sydney, 1981
ABBREVIATIONS

Äj. = aš-Šayk Kālid al-Azhari, Ḥāšiya Qalā 1-Ājurrūmiyya, Cairo n.d.
Alf. = Ibn Mālik, al-Ǧulāṣa l-ʿalfiyya, ed. & trans. A. Goguyer (see Epilogue n 5)
Anc. West-Ar. = C. Rabin, Ancient West-Arabian, London 1951
Ar. Synt. = H. Reckendorf, Arabische Syntax, Heidelberg 1921
Aṣbāḥ = as-Suyūṭī, al-ʿAṣbāḥ wa-n-nazāʾir, 2 vols, Hyderabad 1940-42
Bateson = M. C. Bateson, Arabic Language Handbook, Washington 1967
Cantarino = V. Cantarino, Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, 3 vols, Bloomington/London 1974-75
Concordance = A. J. Wensinck, Concordance et indices de la Tradition musulmane, 7 vols, Leiden 1936-69
E.I. (1), E.I. (2) = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st & 2nd editions, see further Epilogue n 7
Etudes = J. Cantineau, Études de linguistique arabe, Paris 1960
Fleisch = H. Fleisch, L'arabe classique, esquisse d'une structure linguistique, Beirut 1968
G.A.S. = F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, in progress, Leiden 1967-
Grundr. = C. Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, 2 vols, Berlin 1908-13
Howell = M. S. Howell, A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, intro. & 4 parts, Hyderabad 1886-1911
Īdāḥ = az-Zajjāji, al-Īdāḥ fi Šīlāl an-nahw, ed. M. Mubārak, Cairo 1959
Kašāʾiṣ = Ibn Jinnī, al-Kašāʾiṣ, ed. M. A. an-Najjār, 3 vols, Cairo 1952-56
Kitāb = Sibawayhi, al-Kitāb, 2 vols, Cairo (Būlāq) 1898-99
Kizāna = ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baṣṭūdī, Kizānat al-ʿadab, 4 vols, Cairo (Būlāq) 1881-82
Kl. Schr. = H. L. Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften, 3 vols, Leipzig 1885-88
Lane = E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, 4 vols, London 1863-93
Lex-Ind. = G. Troupeau, Lexique-Index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi, 
Paris 1976
Maṣāni = al-Farrā’, Maṣāni l-Qur’ān, ed. A. Y. Najātī etc., 3 vols, 
Cairo 1955-73
Moscati = S. Moscati etc., An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar 
of the Semitic Languages, Phonology and Morphology, Wiesbaden 1969
Muf. = az-Zamaḵṣarī, Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fī n-nahw, ed. J. P. Broch, 
Christianiae 1879
Muḥfī = Ibn Hišām, Muḥfī l-labīb fī kutub al-’aṣārīb, 2 vols, Cairo 
1885
Muqtaḏab = al-Mubarrad, Kitāb al-Muqtaḏab, ed. M. A. K. Cūdajma, 
4 vols, Cairo 1963-68
Nöldeke = T. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik des classicen Arabisch, ed. 
A. Spitaler, Darmstadt 1963
Qaṭr = Ibn Hišām, Qaṭr an-nadā wa-ball aṣ-ṣadā, ed. & trans. A Goguyer 
(see Epilogue n 5)
Schaw. Ind. = A. Fischer, E. Bräunlich, Schawāhīd-Indices, Leipzig 
1934-45
Synt. Verh. = H. Reckendorf, Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des 
Arabischen, Leiden 1898
Taṣr. = aṣ-Ṣayk Kālid al-Azhari, al-Taṣrīḥ bi-madmūn at-Tawḍīḥ, 2 vols, 
Cairo n.d.
Tr. = H. Fleisch, Traité de philologie arabe, 2 vols, Beirut 1961-79
Versteegh = C. H. M. Versteegh, Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic 
Thinking, Leiden 1977
Wright = W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, 3rd ed., 2 vols, 
Cambridge 1955
Yushmanov = N. V. Yushmanov, The Structure of the Arabic Language, 
trans. from the Russian by M. Perlmann, Washington 1961

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The Ājurri miyya's Exposition by the Light of Intuition by the Master, Imām, Learned and Erudite Sibawayhi of his Time, Unique in his Age and Epoch, ever Hoping for the Forgiveness of his Lord who is always Near and answers every Prayer, Sayyid Muhammad as-Širbīnī al-Κaṭīb aš-Šāfiʿī, may God sanctify his Spirit and light his Grave, through the Glory of Muḥammad, his Family and his Companions, Peace be upon them all, Amen
In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful:

0.1 Our master and teacher, unique in his time, alone in his era, the Sībawayhi of his day, foremost in his period and epoch, our guide to the right path and leader in the way and the truth, whose own concision makes lengthy praise fall short, Sayyid al-Islām and the Muslims, heir of the Lord of Messengers, Sun of the World and the Faith, Muḥammad al-Katīb as-Sirbīnī (may God have mercy upon him) said:

0.2 In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful, to whom we pray, God bless our Lord Muhammad, his Family and his Companions, and give them peace. Praise be to God, who exalts the case of those whose object is to observe the Faith, who make inflections of compliance before those who seek the benefits of learning, and who are inflexible in their decision that only through the Lord of the Worlds is authorship and all else made easy.

0.3 I bear witness (with the witness which comes of certitude) that there is no god but God alone, who has no partner, the Only, Sole, Single and Everlasting God who bore not, nor was born. I also testify that our Lord and Prophet Muḥammad is God’s Servant, Messenger, Intimate and Friend, sent to smooth our path, and distinguished by his Great Intercession on the Day of Resurrection. Peace be upon his Family, his Companions, his Wives, his Seed and the People of his House for ever and ever.
0.1 (1) An extravagant compliment: Sîbawayhi was the founder of Arabic grammar as a coherent discipline, a Persian by origin who came to Basra in the middle of the eighth century to study law, but who then turned to grammar as a pupil of al-Kalîl ibn Ahmad (see below). Using his legal knowledge as a model, Sibawayhi produced a strictly functional analysis of Arabic, embodying the results in a work known simply as 'the Book' (al-Kitāb), which has remained ever since the principal source of all grammatical science. He died, aged about 40, some time between 777 and 809. See G.A.L. I, 100, E.I. (1), art. 'Sibawaihi', Carter, R.E.I. 40, 69.

Al-Kalîl ibn Ahmad, the master of Sîbawayhi, died between 776 and 791 (the later date is preferred, since it is also reported that he died after Sibawayhi). He is best known for his work in the areas of lexicography and metrics; though his contributions to the Kitāb are numerous and important, it is possible that his achievements in the field of pure syntax have been overestimated. See G.A.L. I, 100, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Khalîl b. Ahmad', W. Reuschel, al-Hālîl ibn-Ahmad, der Lehrer Sībau­wihs, als Grammatiker, Berlin 1959, Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 146.

0.2 (1) These are puns on the technical terms of grammar, an affectation which goes back at least to the time of Ibn Hiṣām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), e.g. Qaṭr l, n 5, and which has become routine with later commentators, e.g. al-Uṣmūnī (d. 1467) on Alif., al-Azharī (d. 1499) on Āj., etc. For the case/mood names which provide these puns see 3.1 ('exalts' = independence), 3.5 ('object' = dependence), 3.8 ('compliance' = obliqueness), 3.9 ('inflexible decision' = apocopation).

0.3 (1) This is an echo of S. 112 vv 1-3. See further 22.5 on the declaration 'there is no god but God', and 5.71 on 'who bore not, nor was born'.

(2) The Qurʾān is by no means helpful on the topic of intercession, which carries with it the problem of impinging on God's omnipotence. However, the doctrine evolved that Muḥammad had the power to make inter­cession on Judgement Day (see E.I. (1), art. 'Ṣhaḥaʿa'). It is not clear whether as-Ṣirbīnī's phrase 'Great Intercession' refers to Muḥam­mad's primacy among those permitted to intercede, or to the division of intercession into two kinds, one evidently allowing intercession on behalf of individuals, and the other a general intercession for all believers guilty of mortal sins (see refs. in E.I. (1) to Ibn Ḥazm, al-Fīṣal fī l-milal, Cairo 1321, IV, 63f).
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

0.4 Now, Muḥammad ʿ-Ṣīrūnī al-Ḵaṭīb, needy for the mercy of his Lord who is ever near and answers every prayer, says that the Introduction1 of the learned and erudite Imām, the most perspicacious teacher Muḥammad Abū Abdullah ibn Dāwūd as-Sanhājī, better known as Ibn ʾĀjurrūm2 (spelt with ‘ followed by ā and double r,3 which is a Berber expression meaning Faqīr or Sūfī4 being one of the finest abridgements of the science of grammar5 ever composed and, for its size, one of the most comprehensive treatises ever written, I was asked by some of my friends to devise a commentary upon it which would unravel its terminology, elaborate its examples, clarify its obscurities and lay open its inaccessibilities, including with this some of the more appropriate comments and well-defined principles (2a) that I have already set down in my Commentary on Qatār an-nadā.6 So I asked Almighty God for guidance, after twofold prayers at the shrine of our Imām ʿ-Ṣīrūnī7 (may Almighty God be content with him), and, my spirits rising with the knowledge that even the best ambitions have languished and fallen short at mere paraphrases, I set to work on a commentary to gladden the eyes of the student and bring the utmost joy to beginners as well as to those of middling accomplishment, through which I hope for an abundant heavenly reward and recompense, and to be helped thereby into Paradise without prior punishment.

0.5 I have called it ʿAlījurrūmiyya’s Exposition by the Light of Intuition,8 and I beseech the Bounteous Lord in His grace to make it pure in His sight, that with flowing zephyrs of approval it may be blessed, for He is the most bountiful of those to whom prayers are addressed, and the mightiest on whom all our hopes rest.2 And I pray that my work may be as useful as the original, for many scholars have taken the trouble to write commentaries on it,3 which is a sign of its straightforward reliability. May God receive it in Paradise in the

0.4-0.5

رحة ربي العالم المقرب محمد الشربيني للخطيب أن مقدمة الشيخ العالم العلامة الإمام

القناة الاستاد محمد ابن عبد الله ابن داود الصباحي الشهير ابن أخوه بمصرة

ثم الفبعد وتشديد الراء وهو لغة بربري معنی الغفن العمري لما كانت مین

اجل مختصر في علم العربية صد واجمع موضوع على مقدار جمعها الف سالمي بعض

أباحنا أن نضع عليها مكاحيلًا ويجب مثلها ونوضح منها

ويفتح ما قال منها بما إلى ذلك من القواعد المستفادات والقواعد (2a) المحررات

التي وضعها في شرح على قدر الندى فاستقرت الله تعالى بعد أن علمت ركعتين

في مقام إماما الشافعي رضي الله تعالى عنهما انصرفت الله تعالى بعد أن علمت ركعتين

من أن الهم قد فتر وعلى المختصرات اختصرت شرع في شرح تقر بعين العلماء

وحين باحثة الرسول للمستفادات والمحررات راحها بذلك خزي الأثر الثواب وأن

يعتبرنا عليه في دخول الجنّة بغير سابقة عداب وسميتة نور السجنة في حل النفايات

الأوروبية وإننا أسأل الله الكريم من فعله ان يجعله خالما لوجهه وأن يصب عليه

قول القبيل فانه أكرم مؤول وأعز مأمور وإن يبغي به كما نتعج به ففسد

أعتب شرح كثير من العلماء في ذلك دلالة على أخلاقه جعل الله تعالى فقراء

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0.4 (1) The full title of the work is *al-Muqaddima l-ʿājurrūmiyya* 'The Ibn Ājurrūm Introduction', most commonly abbreviated to *al-ʿĀjurrūmiyya* 'The one of Ibn Ājurrūm'. Strictly *ʿājurrūmiyya* is the fem. of the adjective ʿājurrūmī 'related to Ibn Ājurrūm', formed by suffixing ġ to the name (cf. 11.721 n 4). On the popularity of the work see 0.5 n 3

(2) His full name is given in *G.A.L.* II, 237 and *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Ādjurrūm'. Little is known about him, except that he died in Fez in 1323, where he had been a teacher. In *Buγyat al-wuقاḥ* (Cairo 1964), I, 238, as-Suyūṭī declares that from his reading of the Ājurrūmiyya he deduces that the author was of the 'Kūfan' persuasion (see 9.4 n 3).

(3) On spelling instructions see 3.44 n 2. The names of the letters are replaced in transcription with the letters themselves (but see 5.51 n 1 for one kind of exception); these should, of course, be in square brackets or between oblique strokes according to whether they are phones or phonemes, but this is a distinction which is not formalized in Arabic (but see 1.11 n 2). Both ġ and ġ are notated with the same letter, q.v. 2.43 n 2. The three short vowels (4.01) are called *fatḥa* (a, literally 'opening'), *kasra* (i, lit. 'breaking') and *ḍamma* (u, lit. 'drawing together'). That these names might be related to the physiology of vowel production is clear enough, though it is not easy to take the idea any further, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥaraka wa-sukūn'.


(5) See 1.01 and notes for the nature and purpose of grammar.

(6) This work is not in *Brockelmann* (G.A.L. II, 320), nor are any copies known, and we assume the work is lost. His *Ṣaḥḥ Sawāhid al-Qaṭr* 'Commentary on the verses quoted in the Qaṭr' (G.A.L. S II, 17) is no more than a parsing of the said verses, and cannot be the missing work.

(7) Founder of the Ṣaфи_school of law, he lived from 767 to 820 (G.A.S. I, 484). His mausoleum is in Cairo, and the Ṣaфи_school is the dominant Egyptian rite.

0.5 (1) Following an old tradition ḍ-Ṣirbīnī has given his book a rhyming title ('ʿājurrūmiyya/sağiyya; the latter means 'a faculty or quality firmly rooted in the mind', Lane). If these notes were to have a title of the same nature, it would be at-Ṭuruq al-mutasarriba ʿilā l-ʿājām al-ʿaṣiba 'Devious ways into the tangled thickets'.

(2) The English lamely follows the rhyming prose of the original at the same level of literary merit. Rhyming prose (see E.I. (1), art. 'Ṣaği') is a device often used in solemn discourse; one genre, the *mağāma* (q.v. *E.I.* (1) s.v.) consists of narratives entirely in rhyming prose. 'Flowing zephyrs' is a mixed metaphor which seemed best left as it was.

(3) *G.A.L.* II, 237 and Suppl. lists over sixty commentaries, some of which have in turn attracted glosses and super-commentaries, and it is certain that more remain to be discovered. The work is still popular at the present day, so much so that agrumiyya has acquired the meaning
Highest Heaven, among the prophets, the believers, the martyrs and the virtuous, all favoured by God, and may He do likewise with us, our parents and our loved ones, Amen.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 The author of the Ājurrūmiyya (may God have mercy on him) says:

In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful; beginning with bi-smi llāhi r-rāḥmānī r-rāḥīmī 'in the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful', thus following the example of the Noble Qur'ān and putting into practice the words of the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace), 'Any serious matter (i.e. matter of importance) which does not begin with bi-smi llāhi 'in the name of God' is severed (i.e. is cut off from blessing)'. Speaking with the formula bi-smi llāhi 'in the name of God' and anything else connected with it, is syntactically isolated by being mentioned in a prefatory way, and we shall not discuss it further.

1.01 Now, you must know that whoever desires to immerse himself thoroughly in a science first has to discover its definition, data, aim and use, in order to pursue the study of it in full awareness. The science that we are dealing with here is defined as a science of certain principles by which the varieties of word endings both inflectional and invariable can be known. Its data are the actual words of Arabic, because it is in these that the vowels of (2b) inflection and invariability are studied. Its aim is to help in understanding the speech of Almighty God and his Prophet (God bless him and give him
NOTES

of 'grammar' itself (at least in the Egyptian dialect). In the last century the Ājurrūmiyya was transformed into a catechism for use among Christian Arabs (G.A.L. Suppl. II, 332).

1.0 (1) Instead of the full phrase 'in the name of God etc.' the word basmalatun is used, i.e. the noun of the verb basmala 'to say "in the name of God etc."', derived from the characteristic consonants of that expression. Other delocutives are kabbara 'to say "allāhu 'akbaru"' ('God is most great'), sabbaba 'to say "subhāna lāhī"' ('Glory be to God'), sallama 'to say "as-salāmu 'alaykum"' ('Peace upon you'), and one very important in grammar, nawwana 'to pronounce n on the end of a word' (from nūn, = n-w-n, 2.43 n 3, name of letter n). In each case the characteristic consonants of a phrase or word have become the rad­icals of a new verb, cf. Fleisch 247 n 21, Tr. #132

(2) Cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Basmala'. This 'Tradition' (v. 1.01 n 4) does not seem to be findable in Wensinck's Concordance (only a similar one in I, 149), though it is mentioned in the same author's Handlist 34. In any case aš-ŠirbĪnĪ's immediate source is al-Azhari, Taşr. I, 5.

(3) Like many others, aš-ŠirbĪnĪ wrote a short treatise on this very topic (see G.A.L. II, 320). Two problems arise: (a) how is the phrase connected with the following utterance or text, which is solved by treating it as purely 'phatic' and unconnected syntactically with what follows (cf. Petrāçek, Ar. Or. 39. 70), and (b) the status of bi 'in, with', which begins the phrase; this is explained as connected with an elided verb such as 'I recite, I declare' or the like.

1.01 (1) This paragraph is quoted by aš-Šabbān in his Commentary on al-Ushmīnī I, 15, and is the only reference to aš-Širbīnī by a later grammarian that I have so far been able to discover. That of Goguyer, Qaṭr 85 n 4, is evidently to Šarḥ Sawāhid al-Qaṭr (0.4 n 6).

(2) The urge to define one's science is a late-comer to grammar, most probably inspired by translations of such works as the Isagoge (and cf. Versteegh 130). 'Grammar' renders nahw, lit. 'way, direction, manner', reflecting the original Arab concept of language as a form of behaviour (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 81, and contrast Rundgren, Acta Univ. Upsal. 2:5, 132). Eventually nahw, while retaining its general meaning of 'grammar', became specifically applied to syntax, with šarf, lit. 'free currency' (cf. 1.41 n 1) for morphology, q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(3) i.e. the Qur'ān, doctrinally the very words of God revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad, cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Kur'ān'.
peace) and to avoid mistakes of language. Its use is the recognition of correct speech from incorrect.

1.02 After the bi-smi'llāhi 'in the name of God', some writers in this field begin directly with the topic of the word, as does Ibn Hišām in certain of his books, while others begin with speech, as does Ibn Mālik, because that is the purpose of words. Our author follows Ibn Mālik:

1.1 Speech which means basically, 'This is a chapter explaining the term "speech"') has two meanings, one lexical and one technical. Its lexical meaning embraces everything which conveys information, whether it be a formal utterance such as qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood' or not, such as a gesture of pointing, a wink of the eye, a nod of the head or the language of situation. Its technical meaning is that which combines in itself four features:

1.11 The author begins with the first by saying that speech is (1) a formal utterance, i.e. something uttered, using lafz 'utterance' in the meaning of mamlūk 'thing uttered', just as kalq 'creature' is used in the meaning of mākālq 'thing created'. An utterance is a sound composed of letters of the alphabet (which begins with ' and ends with y). A sound is made of air compressed between two objects striking against each other, and in this way gesture, writing, counting on the fingers and the language of situation are excluded.

1.12 Speech is also composite, i.e. composed of two words or more, thus excluding isolated words such as zaydun 'Zayd' and the cardinal numbers such as wāḥidatun 'one', iṯnānī 'two' etc.

1.13 (3) The third feature is that it is informative, i.e. denoting a meaning which, once uttered, it is correct for the speaker to be silent
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(4) i.e. the 'Traditions', the collected sayings and actions of the Prophet, and extra-Qur'anic body of religious matter second only to the Qur'an itself in doctrinal authority, cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Hadith'.

1.02 (1) Ibn Hišām (1308-1360, active in Cairo) is possibly the most highly regarded grammarian of all, even being called 'a better grammarian than Sibawayhi'! See G.A.L. II, 23, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Hišām'. Both Qāṭr and Șugūr aq-gahāb begin with the topic of the word.

(2) Ibn Mālik (1203-1274), born in Spain, active in Damascus, tireless versifier with over 5000 verses to his name (see Alfiyya 21.61 n 6). The Alfiyya and his advanced Tashīl (21.0 n 2) both begin with the topic of speech. See G.A.L. I, 298, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Mālik'.

1.1 (1) Jum. 17; Muf. #1; Alf. v 8; Qāṭr 3. These basic linguistic issues are not, of course, raised in Western works dealing specifically with Arabic syntax. 'Speech' renders kalām 'talking', which contrasts both with kalīm 'words' (cf. 1.16, 1.2) and qawl 'dictum, thing said'. Al-ʾŪmūnī on Alf. 9 sums it up neatly: 'speech (kalām), words (kalīm) and the individual word (kalīma) are all something said (qawl), but the converse is not so'. Cf. Versteegh 34.

(2) 'Lexical meaning' lit. 'a meaning in the language' (cf. lūǧa 'language' denoting 'variant realization', in 21.44 n 1), contrasting with 'technical meaning', maʾnā fi l-ʾiṣṭīlāḥ, lit. 'a meaning by agreement', evidence of the grammarians' realization that grammar had become a techne with its own specialist vocabulary (cf. 20.8 n 2).

(3) 'Language of situation' (lisān al-ḥāl, lit. 'the tongue of the situation) is probably the same as nuṣba, lit. 'signpost', used by Jāḥiz (d. 869) in the same context, and allegedly of Aristotelian provenance (see E.I. (2), art. 'Bayān', esp. p. 1115a). It must not be confused with 'context of situation', q.v. at 19.8 n 2.

1.11 (1) lafz ' (formal) utterance' is to kalām 'speech' what parole is to langage. Elsewhere lafz contrasts with maʾnā 'meaning' (2.1 n 2), taqdir 'implicit form' (2.101 n 1) and maḥall 'status' (22.1 n 2); it may also denote 'stem' (3.65 n 9) or 'linguistic form' (17.51 n 1).

(2) In other words, an utterance must consist of recognized phonemes of the language: that orthographical signs (see E.I. (2), arts. 'Ḫurūf al-ḥiqāj', 'Abjad') also represent phonemes was taken for granted by the Arab phoneticians (see further 1.16 n 1). Cf. Beeston 16.

1.12 (1) 'Composite' is murakkab, also found in the meaning 'compound', q.v. 3.411 n 4, and 'complex', q.v. 9.5. The antonym is mufrad 'simple, single, singular', see 23.431 n 1.

1.13 (1) The criterion of informativeness ('ifāda, whence muftid 'informative here) is not explicit in early grammar, but became so by the ninth century (cf. Versteegh 34 and earlier instances in al-Mubarrad, Muqtadab IV, 53, 88, 91, 126, 172, 186, 329). In Sibawayhi's system this aspect of speech was covered by the notion of istiqāma, lit. 'righteousness', i.e. the quality of satisfying the listener's expect-
at that point in such a way that the listener will expect nothing further. If it is objected that there is, therefore, no need to state that speech is composite, since anything thus informative can only be composite, the reply is that with definitions it is not enough to mention the bare essentials and, furthermore, our author wrote this Introduction for beginners only, where bare essentials would not suffice. Through this feature are excluded all those composite utterances which are not informative by themselves, such as the annexed compound (e.g. َقَبْدُ اللَّهِ َقَبْدُ اللَّهِ 'Qabdu lālhi 'Qabdul-lāh'), the mixed compound (e.g. َبَاذِلَبْكَ َبَاذِلَبْكَ 'Baalbek'), the limiting compound (3a) (e.g. ُنَّاَابُو الْعَيْبَاتِ ُنَّاَابُو الْعَيْبَاتِ 'the logical animal') and the predicative compound (which is dependent upon something else (e.g. َعَلِيَّ َأَنْ زَعْمَ َعَلِيَّ َأَنْ زَعْمَ 'In qāma zaydun 'if Zayd stood').

1.14 (4) Fourthly, speech is by convention; i.e. intentional, which is to say that the speaker intends to convey information to the listener. The previous objection about the composite nature of speech can also be raised here, but the answer is the same. By this feature are excluded the speech of one who is asleep, who has lost his wits or whose tongue utters what he does not intend, as well as imitation by certain birds and such like.

1.15 Note: Within this definition fall such self-evident assertions as 'the sky is above us' and 'the earth is beneath us', except that by 'informative' the author means only that which actually conveys information, hence the above are not termed speech.

1.16 The combination of these four features is illustrated by zaydun karīmun 'Zayd is generous': it is true that this is a formal utterance because it is a sound comprising z, y, d, k, r, y, m, which are letters of the alphabet, that it is composite because it is composed
ations (see n 3 below), cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 149. A connection between mustağım 'right, correct' and orthos is possible, but must date back long before mustaġım was transferred from ethics to grammar (cf. Versteegh 16 n 70 and contrast the obvious literal translation orthos = mustağiım in the time of al-Farābī, id. 64).

(2) See 12.91 n 8 on yaḥsunu 'it is good, structurally correct'.

(3) The listener sāmiC or person addressed muqāṭab has from the first been recognized as a determining factor in speech, not only from the point of view of informativeness but also structure (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147). The listener is part of the 'context of situation', and he alone determines, for example, the correctness of elisions, e.g. 19.8, and cf. also 9.81-95.

(4) See 20.01 n 1 on this doctrine.

(5) murakkab 'idāfi, see further 3.65 n 7.

(6) murakkab mazājī, see further 3.411 n 5.

(7) murakkab tayyīdī; an adjective and the noun it qualifies have always been regarded as a single noun, e.g. Kitāb I, 45, 210. See ch. 11 on adjectives.

(8) murakkab 'āsnādī, see further 3.411 n 4.

1.14 (1) Definitions of speech usually say that it is 'informative by convention' or 'informative by intention', but here the two are conflated, and very probably not fully understood: 'convention' is waḍC, lit. 'deposition' of meaning, a notion which owes much to the Greek thesis (cf. Versteegh 139) and is correspondingly lacking in early grammars. 'Intention' is qasd, on which see 14.4 n 5; it is clearly not a synonym of waḍC as the commentary implies. Further on waḍC see Weiss, Arabica 23, 23, and cf. 11.81 n 1.

(2) i.e. that only by means of a composite utterance can the intention to inform be carried out: in other words, there can be no topic without comment (cf. 1.13, 20.01 n 1).

1.15 (1) A much earlier formulation of the same idea is Kitāb I, 71, which states that if you point to your listener and say 'this is you' the utterance is 'not right' (lā yastaḡīm, cf. 1.13 n 1), i.e. not informative, as the later grammarians termed it.

1.16 (1) That these are in the strict sense phonemes is implicit in 1.11. As evidence that the grammarians distinguished between phonemes and the simple phonetic value of written symbols consider the following points: allophones have always been recognized, cf. Kitāb II, 404 for consonantal allophones and Troupeau, Lex.-Index, roots f-b-m, m-y-l for vocalic allophones; consonants as radicals are distinguished from the same consonants as augments (cf. 5.3 n 1, and see 3.3 for vowels similarly distinguished); names of letters are not confused with their value or function (cf. Kitāb II, 62). See also 1.25 nn 2, 3. On the spelling convention z-y-d = zaydun see 2.12 n 1, 3.5 n 2.
of two words, the first zaydun 'Zayd' and the second karīmun 'generous', that it is informative because it conveys information the listener did not have as long as he remained ignorant of Zayd's generosity, and that it is intentional because the speaker intended to convey information to the listener by means of this utterance.

1.2 Since every compound must needs have parts of which to be composed, the author now has to deal with the 'parts of speech', which he designates figuratively as 'subdivisions', saying, and its subdivisions i.e. the 'parts of speech' insofar as speech is composed of a combination of them, thought not necessarily of all of them at once, are three in number: (by induction and rational dichotomy), viz. the noun, the verb and the particle (to which there is no fourth).

1.21 With the inductive method scholars in this field have made thorough observations of the speech of the Arabs without finding any but these three (though al-Farrā' is reported as claiming that the word kallā 'nay' is not one of the three, but belongs somewhere between nouns and verbs). As for rational dichotomy, a word either denotes a meaning (3b) intrinsically or not: the latter is then a particle and the former, being either connected with one of the three times or not, is respectively a verb or a noun.

1.22 Note: The author gives priority to the noun over the other two because it can be both a subject and a predicate, and to the verb over the particle because it can be a predicate but not a subject, and puts the particle last because of its inability to be either.

1.23 Dividing speech into these three is a division of the whole into its parts (as already shown), like the division of oxymel into vinegar and honey; it is not the same as dividing the word itself into three kinds, for this is a division of the universal into its particulars.
(2) 'Word' kalima is not defined by aš-Širbīnī; the minimal free form, however, is subject to the same criteria as any other utterance, i.e. it must occur in a context, be meaningful to the listener and be marked appropriately (see 11.1 n 2 and 2.14 n 2 on utterance-initial and final markers respectively). Thus the 'word' may comprise several morphemes, e.g. zaydun = /z-y-d/,-a--/ (10.37 n 1), /u/ (3.2), /n/ (1.4); cf. 14.53 n 1.

1.2 (1) See 1.23 on the reasons for this. The first to speak of 'subdivisions' rather than 'parts' is apparently az-Zajjājī, in Jum. 17 (so al-Azhārī, Aj. 10). On the tripartite division cf. Versteegh 38.

(2) 'Rational dichotomy' is qisma 'aqliyya, variously translated as 'inclusive disjunction', 'exhaustive division' etc., a favourite Greek analytical device, on which see further 3.87 n 2.

1.21 (1) Even at this late date, 'Arabs' always means the idealized desert Arabs who are supposed to have acted as informants for the early grammarians, but see J. Fück, ČArabiya, Berlin 1950, ch. 9.

(2) Abū Zakariyyā al-Fārāʾī, active in Khāāfī, died 822 aged 67; along with al-Kisāʾī (18.0 n 2) he is regarded as the leader of the 'Khāfī' school of grammar (9.4 n 3). G.A.L. I, 116, E.I. (2), art. 'Fārāʾī'.

(3) The 'report' is from al-Azhārī, Taṣr. I, 25, but seems to have oversimplified the views of al-Fārāʾī. In Muğnī I, lūl, kallā is said by al-Fārāʾī to be equivalent to 'ay 'that is' and naʾam 'yes', which seems to mean that he regards it as a particle of strong affirmation.

(4) This method of classification is obviously Greek in origin, but does not appear in Arabic until the 9th century (cf. az-Zajjājī, Īḏāḥ, 48, 52, 54, who is undoubtedly drawing on slightly earlier sources such as al-Mubarrad, d. 898, and see Versteegh 54, 70). By the time of az-Zamaḵšārī (d. 1144) it has become thoroughly incorporated into the system, e.g. Muf. #2, 402, 497, and cf. 3.87 n 2.

1.22 (1) On predicability as a nominal marker see 1.6. This criterion likewise has probable Greek origins (cf. Versteegh 58, n 29), but is also (pace Versteegh 57) not to be found in the earliest grammar. For Sibawayhi nouns were already sufficiently identified by their form, i.e. by tanwīn (1.4). However, by the time of az-Zajjājī, the notion of predicability as a classificatory device is well established, cf. Īḏāḥ 42. It is on these grounds, too, that az-Zajjājī concludes that the tripartite division is universal, as discourse can only be composed of subjects, predicates and 'linking words' (Īḏāḥ 45).

1.23 (1) This passage is found in al-Astarābāḏī, Šarḥ al-Kāfiya (Istanbul 1858), I, 5, as also are the contents of 1.22 above. It is unlikely that aš-Širbīnī took them directly from this source, but neither are they to be found in his usual sources, al-Azhārī Aj. and Taṣr. There are other works by al-Azhārī he may have used, or perhaps he has it from al-Ūṣmūnī on Alg. v 8.

(2) In 1.2 Ibn Ājurrūm refers to 'subdivisions' ('aqsām, same root as qisma 'dichotomy', 1.2 n 2) of speech: as this is a division of the
like the division of animal into man, horse etc. The mark of the latter division is that, unlike the former, the name of the thing divided applies to every one of its subdivisions.

1.24 The noun has three subdivisions: the pronoun, e.g. 'anā 'I', the overt noun, e.g. bakrun 'Bakr' and the vague noun, e.g. ḥādā 'this'.

The verb likewise has three subdivisions: the past tense, e.g. ʿāraba 'he struck', the imperfect, e.g. 'he strikes' and the imperative, e.g. ʿaḍribu 'he strikes' and the imperative, e.g. ʾiḍribu 'strike!'.

1.25 The particle has the feature that it is an element which occurs for some grammatical meaning. This excludes the letters of the alphabet when they are part of a word, e.g. the z, y, d of zaydun 'Zayd', but not absolutely, since in other forms the letters of the alphabet can be meaningful nouns, e.g. ḥājmin, the name of the sound j: the proof that it is a noun is that it can take noun markers, e.g. katabtu jīman 'I wrote a j', ḥādiḥi l-ḥājmu ʿahsanu min ḥāmika 'this j is more elegant than your j', and likewise for the rest of the alphabet. The particle also has three subdivisions: the particle common to both nouns and verbs, e.g. ʿal, the particle peculiar to nouns, e.g. fī 'in' and the particle peculiar to verbs, e.g. īm 'not'.

1.3 The author now turns to the markers which distinguish these three parts of speech, beginning with the nouns for the reason already given:

1.31 The noun (i.e. the first in order of subdivision) is recognized (i.e. is distinguished from the other two subdivisions) by the oblique form, which is the word-final i produced by the operator of obliqueness, whether that operator is a particle or an annexed noun. Both kinds are found together in the expression bi-šmi ʾllāhi r-rahmānī r-rahīmī 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'; the
universal into its particulars, 'aqsām is only 'figuratively' applicable to 'parts' of speech, although it is correctly applied to the subdivisions of the noun and verb listed in 1.24 and of the particle in 1.25. Cf. Versteegh 147 n 121.

1.24 (1) See 11.71 for pronouns, 7.2 n 1 for overt nouns (and cf. 11.61 n 1), and 11.73 for 'vague nouns', i.e. demonstratives.

(2) See 5.01 for past tense, 5.02 for imperfect, 5.03 for imperative.

1.25 (1) This reproduces the earliest description of the ħarf as first defined by Sibawayhi (Kitāb I, 2), viz. ħarfun jā'a li-ma'a'nan, lit. 'a bit which comes for a meaning'. This has given rise to much comment, especially among those who would like to trace it to Greek origins (see Versteegh 43 for summary of opinions). Two points will be made here: (a) ħarf means exactly what it says, a 'bit' (more technically a 'particle') which is not, morphologically, a noun or verb, and (b) it is meaningful (see next note) but indeterminate in function: such 'meaning' as it has, then, is grammatical rather than lexical, cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, and Carter J.A.O.S. 93, 153 n 49. Other references 1.9 n 2.

(2) 'asmā' un li-ma'a'nan 'nouns with meanings': there are no other kinds according to 1.13 (some grammarians do exclude nonsense words such as *dīz, 'Zayd' backwards), but the phrase is inspired by the definition of the particle above. The 'meanings' of the particle are in effect its grammatical function (see further 1.7 n 1), so that ħarf has a very wide application as a technical term, which one would not readily deduce from E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥarf', viz. 'grapheme' (1.11 n 2), 'phoneme' (1.16 n 1), 'consonant' (4.02), 'radical' (17.5), 'morpheme' (5.3, 8.71) and even (though not in our text) 'segment of indeterminate length' (see Weiss, Z.D.M.G. 64, 362).

(3) The name of a thing is, of course, a noun (Versteegh 54); in Kitāb II, 61, al-Ḳalīl catches out students who cannot tell the difference between the phoneme /k/ and the name kāf (cf. Eng. /h/ and the word 'aitch' by which it is named).

(4) See 1.52 for ḥal, 1.705 for ǧī, 5.71 for lam.

1.3 (1) Apart from the reasons given in 1.22 we may add that the noun has priority because statements may be constructed out of nouns alone (ch. 9), cf. al-Ästarābāǧī, loc. cit. 1.23 n 1.

1.31 (1) Jum. 18; Muf. #2; Alř. v 10; Qatř 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 25. In keeping with the elementary nature of the Ājurrūmiyya the classification is purely formal. See 19.3, 20.7 on formal categories of nouns, 3.64 n 2 for semantic categories.

(2) See 3.8 n 1 on the term ǧāf 'obliqueness', translated here as 'oblique form' in the light of as-Širbīnī's explanation. On word-final ǧ as obliqueness marker see 3.81; for 'operator' see 2.11. Note that the two operators of obliqueness mentioned here (see 1.7 for particles of obliqueness, 26.7 for annexation) are the only possible operators: in other words, all oblique nouns are the second element of a prepositional phrase or annexation unit (cf. 26.01 n 2).
expression ismi 'name' is a noun whose nominality is recognized by its oblique (4a) ending, the prefix bi 'by, in' being its operator of obliqueness; the name of the Almighty, allāhi, is a noun whose nominality is recognized by its oblique ending, with the annexed noun ismi 'name' as its operator of obliqueness; both ar-raḥmāni 'the Compassionate' and ar-raḥimī 'the Merciful' are adjectives qualifying the name of the Almighty and concording with it in their obliqueness, and are thus both nouns whose nominality is recognized by their oblique endings, and their oblique operator is the same element which has already made the name of the Almighty oblique (though some say that their operator is the concord between them and the name of the Almighty).

1.4 The noun is also recognized by the tanwīn, on the end. The tanwīn is defined as the normally unvowelled n pronounced but not written at the end of a word and not denoting emphasis. By the feature of vowellessness he excludes the first n of dayfanun 'parasite' (one who arrives with a guest uninvited), because this n is vocalized in juncture; it is also excluded by its orthographical feature because it is permanent in writing. The vowellessness of tanwīn is called a normal feature so that certain individual cases of tanwīn should not be excluded when they happen to be vocalized in order to avoid the clash of two unvowelled consonants, as in the Qur'anic mabzūran-u-nṣur '... restricted. See...'. By the feature of word-final pronunciation, and also by the feature of lacking a written form, the n within such words as inkasara 'it broke' and munkasisrūn 'breaking' is excluded because it is not word-final and is permanent in writing. By the feature of not being emphatic is excluded the n suffixed to la-nasfa'ān 'we shall surely drag' (assuming the ā here to represent an n in writing).

1.41 Note: There are four kinds of tanwīn peculiar to the noun, viz. (1) the tanwīn of establishment, also called the tanwīn of stability and the tanwīn of currency. This is the tanwīn suffixed to most fully
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(3) S. 1 v 1, and at the beginning of almost every other Sura. The expression is referred to as the basmala, see 1.0 n 1. For the juncture feature bi-ismi > bismi see 11.1 n 2, likewise for the same feature in the definite article al > 1. For the assimilation of the article al > ar see 11.41 n 2. The use of such terms as 'nominality' is another echo of philosophical influence, and as such is not seen before the ninth century (e.g. al-Mubarrad, Muqtadab III, 309, 313), and see also 11.721 n 4. On the morphological identity of nouns and adjectives see 11.61 n 1.

(4) See 11.01-02 on adjectival concord. The dispute here concerns the question of whether the oblique operator is 'formal' lafzi or 'abstract' ma'nnawi, q.v. at 2.1, i.e. whether it is the overt element 'by' (which has already made oblique the noun qualified by the two adjectives) or the abstract quality of concordance which makes the two adjectives oblique. A similar dispute occurs in 26.01, and cf. 7.0, 9.11 for other conflicts of opinion over formal and abstract operators.

1.4 (1) Muf. #608; Alf. v 10; Qatr 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 39; Bateson 10, Yushmanov 41. Though often translated as 'nunation', the straight transliteration tanwin is preferred (a) because it is a feature unique to Arabic, synchronically speaking (cf. the preservation of such terms as Umlaut, tilde etc.), and (b) it is no more or less informative than the so-called translation 'nunation'! See 3.87 n 1 for references to Western treatments of the problem as it relates to inflection and definition (and cf. also 1.42, 11.8).

(2) For emphasis see 26.34 n 2. Graphically tanwin is represented by doubling the appropriate vowel marker: since the vowel markers are diacritical the tanwin disappears along with the vowel in pause (see 2.14 n 2). The exception is tanwin with a (dependent form), which is written with a double vowel marker and an 'alif (see 2.43 n 2), hence in pause only the tanwin is lost (and one of the two vowel markers with it), leaving ä, i.e. the original a and the lengthening marker 'alif.

(3) This is rather slack, since even the tanwin is vocalized in juncture (cf. n 4 below): he evidently wishes to contrast dayf-un 'guest', where the final n is a tanwin, with dayf-an-un 'parasite', where the first n, though a suffix, is not a tanwin.

(4) S. 17 vv 20, 21. See 2.5 n 3 on the clash of two unvowelled consonants and 11.1 n 2 on juncture in general. As tanwin is notated with doubled vowel signs, the extra vowel inserted only in juncture is never written, a rare anomaly in the orthographical system.

(5) S. 96 v 15. The an on this verb is written with 'alif, as if it were a nominal inflection (cf. n 2 above); another example 5.32. See 26.34 on the emphatic n.

1.41 (1) The terms are tamakkun 'establishment', lit. 'being firmly in position', 'amka'niiyya 'stability', lit. 'quality of being most firmly in position' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns in iyya), sarf 'currency', lit. 'free circulation (of money)', munṣarif 'fully declinable', lit. 'freely circulating'. See further 18.4 n 1, and cf. 3.87.
inflected and fully declinable nouns, whether defined, e.g. zaydun 'Zayd' or undefined, e.g. rajulun 'man'. It serves to denote the noun's unrestricted inflection and declinability, and its firm establishment in the noun category through having no strong resemblance to the particle (which would cause it to be invariable) or to the verb in any two secondary defects (which would prevent full currency, which is tanwîn);

1.42 (2) the tanwîn (4b) of indefiniteness, which is suffixed to certain invariable nouns to denote indefiniteness, showing that no specific individual is meant, which is what the grammarians mean by 'distinguishing the defined from the undefined'. It occurs regularly with the class of proper nouns ending in wayhi, and anomalously with the class of nouns of action in hi etc. You say sibawayhi 'Sībawayhi' without tanwîn if you mean a specific person named Sībawayhi, and you say 'Ihi 'go on' (spelt with i after the 'i, followed by y with two dots beneath and i after the h, without tanwîn) if you are requesting your listener to add to a specific statement. But if you mean anyone called Sibawayhi or an addition to any statement whatever, you add tanwîn in both cases;

1.43 (3) the tanwîn of correspondence, which is suffixed to such words as muslimâtun 'female Muslims' and other plurals in ât because the Arabs have made it correspond to the ūna in words like muslimûna 'male Muslims' and others which form their plural in ūna and īna;

1.44 (4) the tanwîn of compensation, which is suffixed to such words as jawâsin 'covers' and jawārin 'girls' among the defective plurals, in compensation for the arbitrarily elided final y (i.e. its elision denotes nothing and has no grammatical reason).
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(2) See 11.7 on definition, 11.8 on indefinition.

(3) Lit. the 'lightness' (kiffa) of the noun, ultimately phonological in reference (cf. 2.31 n 4 on 'heaviness'), but the boundaries between morphology and syntax are often terminologically vague, cf. 1.5 n 3.

(4) Invariability (binā), lit. 'building' i.e. in a permanent form) is the antonym of 'icrāb, 'inflection' (ch.2). But it also has a much wider application, referring to the structure of any word (e.g. the past tense verb, 5.01 n 1, the passive, 8.67 n 1, the short vowels as distinct from inflections, 3.3); in Kitāb II, 362 a problem is set in the following words: ibnī II min al-jiwāri tafa’ilū 'Construct for me from the root j-w-r the verb of the pattern ifta’alū' (ibnī 'build!' is cognate with binā'). Note that invariability is associated with loss of syntactic freedom (cf. 18.41): in certain constructions there is doubt as to whether the noun ending is a genuine inflection or an invariable ending, q.v. in 22.12, 23.41. Similar vagueness prevails about some verbal endings, e.g. 5.1, 5.2, 5.32.

(5) The defects (Cilal, plur. of Cilla, cf. muqītall in 2.43 n 2) are listed in 3.88, 3.89. It is also possible that Cilal here means 'causes', see further 23.62 n 2, 24.22 n 1.

1.42 (1) tanwin at-tankīr, see 11.8 on indefinition. It is noteworthy that tanwin is not primarily associated with indefinition, but is regarded principally as the marker of the fully established noun: this is not unreasonable in view of the many proper names which have tanwin, e.g. zaydun in 1.41. However, Western interpretations, taking as a basis the complementary distribution of al 'the' and tanwin, see the latter as an indefinition marker, see refs. in 1.4 n 1, and 3.87 n 1 for bibliography relating to tanwin versus partial inflection.

(2) See 8.3 n 2 on 'regularly', qiyās.

(3) See 23.411 on sībawayhi; 'noun of action' is lit. for ism al-fi‘l, (cf. 16.1 on fi‘l), a quasi-imperative which, since it does not take agent suffixes (5.03), is not classified as a verb. It is, of course, an interjection, but what is interesting is that the Arabs could not count such words as 'particles': (lengthy treatment in Muf. #187-99).

1.43 (1) tanwin al-muqābala, lit. 'facing tanwin', because it has the same distribution as the na of the sound masc. plur. (3.41) in the undefined form, though not in the defined form (compare paradigms at 4.13 n 2, 4.6 n 1). This early example of morphological parallelism (cf. Kitāb I, 4) may be a relic of pre-Sibawayhian grammar, which is notably analogical in method (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 95 n 1).

1.44 (1) tanwin al-Ciwaḍ (Ciwaḍ 'compensation' is originally a term of commercial law relating to defective merchandise). The loss of the defective 3rd radical (2.43 n 2) is purely a phonological event (thus *jawālīyu>jawārin according to 2.6), not like the loss of a radical in apocopation (2.43) or in plurals where there is a limit on the number of consonants (thus safārījl 'quince' loses a radical in the plur. safārij, and cf. the modern example 'imbarāṭūr 'emperor', plur.
1.441 This tanwin is also suffixed to 'id 'when' in such words as yawma'idin 'on that day', as in the Qur'anic yawma'idin yafrabu 1-mu'mina 'on that day the believers shall rejoice', 2 in compensation for the sentence to which 'id is usually annexed. Ibn Hisam mentions in the Muqni compensation for a single word, namely the tanwin suffixed to kullun 'all' and ba'dun 'some' when they are cut off from annexation, but this has been rejected on the grounds that the tanwin of these two is simply the tanwin of establishment, which always disappears in annexation and remains in the absence of annexation. If it is claimed that the same applies to 'id in yawma'idin 'on that day', the answer is that 'annexation' here means that which requires the formal inflection of the second element; the 'id of yawma'idin and such like is not intended here because 'id 'when' is only annexed to sentences, 4 and indeed only occurs in annexation to sentences, so that, when it is given tanwin, you will know that this is in compensation for what has been elided, 5 which is not the case with ba'dun 'some' and kullun 'all'.

1.45 These four kinds of tanwin are peculiar (5a) to the noun, to which some grammarians have added another six that I have already dealt with in my Commentary on Qatran-nadah and will not go into here. One writer has collected them all into the following verses: 2

'aqsamatu tanwinihim a'trasun Galauka bhah
fa-inna tagsimah min kayri ma huriza
makkin wa-Cawwi wa-qabili wa-l-munakkara zid
rannim 'aw ihi diktar ghali wa-ma huritya

'the kinds of their tanwin are ten, and here they are for you, divided up with the best of care: (1) establishment, (2) compensation, (3) correspondence, (4) indefiniteness, (5) redundant vocative, (6) poetic trilling, (7) verbatim quotation, (8) poetic licence, (9) metrical extravagance, (10) after hamza. 3 But to call the last six tanwin is only a figure of speech, since they are not peculiar to the noun.

وسوا عن الياء المحدّطة اعتباطا و هو الحذف لغير دليل أو لغير علة ولا تلحق
في نحو يومنه بخرج المؤمنون و سوا عن الجملة التي تضاف إليها وذكر ابن هشام في المتن المعنى عشر وهو اللاحقه لكل و في بعض آذا فطلم من الإضافة ورد بة تنوين فما تكون تنوين تكين بهم مع الألفة و يثبت مع عدمها فمن قيل آذا من نحو يومنه كذلك أجيب بأن المراد الإضافة التي تفتض أعراض الطريق البه فلم يرد آذا من نحو يومنه لأنها لا تتما إلى الإضافة إلا أيضا في مزامنة لإضافة الجملة فذاذ نوتن فعل أنه عوض عن المحتوى ولكن ذلك بعض وكل هذه الأنواع الإربعة مختصة (58) سالام وزاد بعضهم على هذه الأربعة سنة ذكرت بها في شرح القلدير ولا تطيب بذلك و تجمع بها بعضهم في قوله:

اقسام تنوينهم عشر تليك بها فان تقسيمها من خير مما حرزنا
مكن و عوض و قابل و المتكدر رد و احكي اعطر قال وما همها.

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'abātira; see Kitāb II, 340). The tanwīn is, nevertheless, quite irregular, cf. Fleisch, Tr. #102g. On elision (ḥāḏf) see 3.73 n 2.

1.441 (1) Muf. #204; Alīf. v 399; Ibn Hiṣām, MuğnĪ I, 74; Fleisch 147, 206; Nöldeke 53, 107. Cf. the related elements 'īḏā in 5.94, 'īḏān in 5.43, 'īḏmā in 5.85, the 'īḏā of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

(2) S. 30 v 4; here yawma-'īḏān may be analysed as 'on the day of' (18.101) and 'the time of it', there being no sentence to which 'īḏā is annexed (cf. n 5 below), hence the 'tanwīn of compensation'.

(3) On Ibn Hiṣām see 1.02 n 1. The reference in MuğnĪ I, 170 is only a passing mention (but aš-ṢīrbiṇĪ is here paraphrasing al-AzharĪ Taṣr. I, 35 in any case). The status of kullun (13.4) and baḏdun (17.65 n 1) is interesting, especially the former, which has the same syntax as the superlative adjective (cf. 13.4 n 6) on the one hand, but which may also stand alone, with tanwīn, in an apparently undefined state ('everything'). Ibn Hiṣām clearly has reservations about this, and sees kullun as a defined expression meaning 'all of it', a view which seems well grounded in spite of the objections raised here. See 26.93 n 1 on complementary distribution of tanwīn and annexation.

(4) Sentences by nature carry no inflection markers, though they very often function as inflected elements (e.g. 5.41, and cf. 5.84 n 4).

(5) One problem with 'īḏā is that it remains definite when the sentence to which it was annexed is replaced by tanwīn (cf. n 2 above), and to this extent Reckendorf's reluctance to accept the ending as a genuine tanwīn is justified (5.43 n 3). Certainly the original demonstrative function of 'īḏā is not very far below the surface: a verse such as S. 2 v 214, wa-ḏkurū niCmata lāḥī ḍalaykum 'īḏ jaCala fiCkum ul-'anbiyā′a, 'remember God's grace to you when he set prophets among you' could easily be read, 'remember God's grace to you: look! he has set prophets among you'. Cf. 'īḏā of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

1.45 (1) The work is evidently lost; a suitable alternative would be Muf. #608 or, since aš-ṢīrbiṇĪ will certainly have copied from it extensively, al-AzharĪ, Taṣr. I, 35-37!

(2) The verses are anonymous and seem to date back no further than al-Azharī (d. 1499), Taṣr. I, 37, or as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), Ašbāh II, 108, though aš-ṢīrbiṇĪ's version differs slightly from both.

(3) Type (1) 1.41; type (2) 1.44; type (3) 1.43; type (4) 1.42. Type (5) is inferred by taking zidd 'increase!' in the verse to mean ziḏāda 'redundant element' (3.231 n 1), i.e. the rare vocative form yā maṭārum O Matar', for yā maṭaru (cf. 23.41). Type (6) tarannum 'poetic trilling', a nasalizing of the rhyming vowel (q.v. 5.88 n 4), cf. Fleisch, Tr. #37e. Type (7) ḥikāya, using a fem. word as a man's name and retaining the tanwīn which it should have lost by becoming a proper name (3.89 (4)). Normally ḥikāya in grammar means 'verbatim quotation', especially when repeating words with the inflection of their original context. Type (8) iṯṭirār, lit. 'being forced to', adding tanwīn to words which should not have it (e.g. māwāṯiqan in 13.13). Cf. also
1.5 The noun is also recognized by the prefixing of al 'the', (i.e. all kinds of al 'the' except the relative al and the interrogative al) on the front of the noun, e.g. ar-rajulu 'the man', al-farasu 'the horse'. Equivalent to the l of al is the m occasionally substituted for it, as in the saying of the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace), laysa min am-birri m-ṣiyāmu fī m-safri 'It is no part of piety to fast during a journey' (related by the Imām Ahmad in his Musnad).  

1.51 The relative al is sometimes prefixed to imperfect tense verbs, e.g. in the verse of al-Farazdaq addressed to one of the Banī ʿUdra:  

mā 'anta bi-l-ḥakamī t-turḍa ḥukūmatuhu  
wa-lā l-ʿaṣfīli wā-lā dī r-raʿyī wā-l-jādali  
'You are not the arbiter whose judgement is acceptable, nor of noble origin, sound opinion or skill in argument'. Its occurrence before imperfect tense verbs is held by most to be a poetic licence, but as elective by Ibn Mālik, and I have explained both points of view in my Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā.  

1.52 Interrogative al occurs before past tense verbs, e.g. 'al faʿalāta synonymous with hal faʿalāta 'have you done?', as related by Ḥūṭrub.  

1.53 Note: It is well known that al 'the' is not prefixed to all nouns such as pronouns, vague nouns and most proper nouns, do
11.715 n 2. Type (9) *guluww*, 'going to extremes', adding a vowel and *n* to the otherwise unvowelled rhyming consonant (q.v. 5.88 n 4). Type (10) after *hamza* (= ' '), found only with *ḥā'ulāʾ* 'these' and a few other demonstratives which end in ' (11.731, 11.734 etc.), hence *ḥā'ulāʾ* 'in'.

1.5 (1) See 11.7 on definition in general, 11.74 on *al* in particular, where also main bibliographical references; for assimilation of *I* to following apicals see 11.41 n 2, and for elision of *a* in juncture see 11.1 n 2; on the name *'alif-lām* for the article see 11.74 n 2.

(2) See 1.51 for the relative *al*, 1.52 for interrogative *al*.

(3) Note that 'substituted' (*badaluhā*) here uses in a morphological context the term more commonly associated with substitution at the syntactical level (ch.14): as has been remarked before (1.41 n 4), from phonology through morphology to syntax is a continuum.

(4) This is evidently a Yemeni feature, cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar*. 34, 50, 205 (where further examples), Cantineau, *Études* 51, Fleisch, Tr. #75b. See Wensinck, *Concordance* III, 461 for this 'Tradition' (cf. 1.01 n 4), which is unusual in that it occurs only in the collection of Ahmad ibn Ḫanbal (d. 855, v. E.J. (2) s.v., G.A.S. I, 502).

1.51 (1) It is not usual for *aš-Sirbīnī* to give such circumstantial details about the poems from which he quotes: the reason why he does so here is undoubtedly because he is only reproducing *al-Azharī*, *Taṣr.* I, 38. For the poet Farazdaq (d. 728-30) see *G.A.L.* I, 53, *G.A.S.* II, 359, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Farazdaq'.

(2) *Schaw.Ind.* 205 (add *Insāf* 212, *al-Azharī*, *Taṣr.* I, 38). Though historically both the definite article *al* and the relative pronoun *alladī* (11.753) are related (as ancient demonstratives), they were syntactically far enough apart for this licence of Farazdaq's to outrage the purists. The combination *at-turdā* (for *al-turdā*, see 11.41 n 2) is equivalent to *alladī* *turda* 'whose (judgement) is accepted' or *al-mardi* *yyu* 'the accepted (of judgement)' (see 26.92 on the syntax of the latter paraphrase). Cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 426.

(3) In *Alf.* v 98. See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

(4) The work is lost, but cf. *al-Azharī*, *Taṣr.* I, 38.

1.52 (1) This is nothing more than a variant of *hal* (see 5.741 n 1) showing the rare change *h > h*, attested also in the prefix of the Stem IV verb 'a (cognate with *ha*, cf. 5.21 n 1, and cf. the noun 'āl, from 'ahl, both meaning 'family'). The reverse shift is also recorded: the variants *hin* and *la-hinna* exist for 'in 'if' and *la-'inna* 'verily', (cf. Weil, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie* 19, 21).

(2) Qutrub, d. 821, is known principally as a collector of lexical material, with an interest in morphology, and is said to have been one of the few pupils of SThawayhi (G.A.L. I, 102, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Kutrub'). If S.Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 286, is to be believed, the word quṭrub 'demon, puppy etc.' is an
not take al. What our author means is only those nouns on which it is possible for al to appear.

1.6 The noun is also recognized by the fact that statements can be made about it, i.e. it can be the subject of predication, which is to combine it with something that completes the sense, e.g. qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood', zaydun qā'imun 'Zayd is standing', where zaydun 'Zayd' is a noun because you have predicated of it the act of standing. This particular marker is abstract, and is the most useful of the noun markers because by means of it (5b) the nominality of words which do not take al 'the' or tanwīn can be deduced, such as the tu 'I'm ārābu 'I struck': tu 'I' is a noun because you have predicated of it the act of striking, and the same applies to other pronouns, e.g. ārābna 'we struck'. Moreover there is no difference as far as predication is concerned between the abstract type just mentioned and purely formal predication such as zaydun ẓulājiyyun 'zaydun is triliteral', ārāba fīsūn mādīn 'āraba is a past tense verb' and min harfu jarrīn 'min is a particle of obliqueness', since predicates can only be made about verbs and particles by deeming them nouns.

1.7 Finally the noun is recognized by the occurrence of the particles of obliqueness, before it, as will be explained. Note: The gist of what the author says is that the noun markers are four, two suffixes (obliqueness and tanwīn) and two prefixes (al 'the' and the particles of obliqueness). He has reversed the natural order of putting prefixes first and suffixes second because there is so much to say about the particles. And he has joined all the noun markers by 'and' denoting absolute coordination to show that some may combine with others in the sentence, e.g. obliqueness with either al 'the' or tanwīn, though in fact there are some which do not combine, e.g. al 'the' and tanwīn. He then digresses somewhat by mentioning a number of the particles of obliqueness, and these are (i.e. the particles of obliqueness) as follows:
adaptation of the Greek *kynanthropos*.

1.53 (1) See 11.81 n 1 on proper names without al. It is worth noting that proper names without al nevertheless acquire the definite article when dualized or pluralized (examples in 3.41, 3.64). Such duals and plurals are, however, rather artificial (mostly grammarians' fictions, in fact), as there is an inherent incongruity between dual/plural and words intrinsically denoting specific individuals (for similar reasons duals and plurals are rare in the vocative, v. 23.421). Cf. 3.65 n 8.

1.6 (1) Cf. 1.22 on predicability, also Muf. #2; Alf. v 10, Qaṭr 5, and ch. 9 on equational sentence structure (9.0 n 1 on the term 'isnād 'predication' in particular). On other noun markers see 1.8 n 1. The omission by Ibn Ājurrrūm of these 'abstract' markers (cf. 2.1 on maṣnawī 'abstract') is only to be expected in view of his purely 'formal' presentation.

(2) The Arabic has only t, which can be vocalized tu, ta, ti, i.e. as 1st or 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing., cf. 5.1 n 5 (similar case: 4.81 n 1).

(3) All verbs are predicates of their agents, see 3.73 n 5.

(4) See 10.37 n 1 on the pattern system.

(5) The examples here are simply grammarians' metalanguage (which is not always so easy to discern in a script which has neither capitals nor italics!). Nöldeke 64 has an interesting anthology of examples from literature. The problem was noticed very early (see Kitāb II, 31-36), and two illustrations will suffice to show how nominal markers could even be attached to sentences: al-qāla wa-l-qīla 'malicious talk', lit. 'the he said and the it was said', min äubba 'ilā dubba 'from youth to old age', lit. 'from it was youthful to it was crept around with a walking stick' (note impersonal passives, 8.11 n 1).

1.7 (1) See Muf. #498; Alf. v 364; Qaṭr 279 on particles in general. Here we quote from Bateson 37-38 by way of summary of points made elsewhere (refs. in brackets): 'Membership of the class of particles (1.25 n 1) is, on the one hand, a matter of function (1.25 n 2), since the particles are the words which do much of the grammatical work (3.84 n 3) of the sentence; on the other hand, although ties with the root system are discernible (21.5 n 1), particles are words which do not have true roots (26.26 n 1) or true patterns (10.37 n 1) and are not included in the two inflectional systems (1.41 n 4)'.

(2) A fifth, predicability, has already been dealt with in 1.6. There are others, viz. pronominalization and collocation with the vocative particle yā 'O', see further 1.8 n 1. The reason why they are omitted here is that aṣ-Šīrbīnī is simply copying al-Azharī, Āj. 14.

(3) Note the attention to distributional factors. On absolute coordination see 12.1.

(4) So it appears to al-Azharī, whom aṣ-Šīrbīnī is quoting here (Āj. 14), because the particles are not due to be dealt with until 1.9.
1.701 *min* 'from', (spelt with *i* after the *m*), whose senses include the beginning of a spacial limit, e.g. *min* al-*masjidi* 'from the mosque', or a temporal limit, e.g. *min* 'awwali *s*-āḥrī 'from the first of the month' and others, e.g. *min* sulaymānā 'from Solomon'; al-*masjidi* 'the mosque', 'awwali 'first' and sulaymānā 'Solomon' are all nouns because *min* 'from' occurs before them;

1.702 *ilā* 'towards', whose senses include terminal destination, e.g. sītu *ilā* l-*kūfati* 'I travelled to Kūfa', al-*kūfati* 'Kūfa' being a noun because *ilā* 'towards' occurs before it;

1.703 *'an* 'from', whose senses include passing beyond, e.g. ramaytu *'an* l-*qawsi* 'I shot from the bow', al-*qawsi* 'the bow' being a noun because *'an* 'from' occurs before it;

1.704 *'alā* 'on', whose senses include superiority, either perceptibly, as in the Qur'ānic kullu *man* *'alā* fānin 'all those on it will perish', or abstractly, as in the Qur'ānic faḍḍālā *'alā* baṣ'ārīn *'alā* baṣ'ārin 'we have made some superior over others', both *hā* 'it' and baṣ'ārin 'some others' being nouns because *'alā* 'on' occurs before them;

1.705 *fī* 'in', whose senses include being contained in space (6a) or time, as in the Qur'ānic wa-*'antum* *fī* l-*masājidi* 'while you are secluded in the mosques', and udkurū *lilā* *fī* 'ayyāmin maḏddātin 'remember God on certain calculated days', both al-*masājidi* 'the mosques' and 'ayyāmin 'days' being nouns because *fī* 'in' occurs before them;

1.706 rubba 'how few, how many', (spelt with *u* after the *r*), whose senses include scarcity, as in the verse:
NOTES

(5) Omitted are ḥattā (26.31), la (23.21 n 2), wa meaning rubba (26.61), ḥāṣa etc. (26.1), muq and munḏu (26.62), and some rare ones in 26.1.

1.701 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with man 'who' (5.83). Muf. #499; Alf. v 369; Ibn Hišām, Muqni I, 14; Nöldeke 52; other functions of min: partitive 9.03 n 4, explanatory 5.82 n 3; comparative 20.42 n 2; causative 24.55 n 2; see also 26.21; min was formerly a noun meaning 'part' (Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 117).

(2) 'Senses' renders maqānī, lit. 'meanings' as understood in 1.25 (and cf. 1.7 n 1), and is only preferred here over 'meanings' because the latter has too lexical a flavour. 'Semantic function' (2.2) has also been used for maqānī, but seemed too ponderous for this context.

(3) On the semi-declinable sulaymāna cf. 3.89 (7).

1.702 (1) Muf. #500; Alf. v 371; Ibn Hišām, Muqni I, 70; Nöldeke 54; see further 26.22. The final ā of 'ilā is actually spelt ay and is so pronounced before suffixes (e.g. 'ilayka 1.709). On the strength of this Rabin (Anc. West-Ar. 117) has speculated about the existence of a phoneme ē (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #71). The so-called 'alīf maqṣūra 'shortened ā' is related, cf. 3.89 n 2. See 9.4 n 3 on Kūfa.

1.703 (1) Muf. #508; Alf. v 374; Ibn Hišām, Muqni I, 129; see also 26.23. The attempt to characterize the 'meanings' of Cān in a single term is particularly unhelpful here: it may better be summed up as denoting a literal or figurative movement away from something, e.g. safartu Cān il-baladi 'I travelled away from the country', 'atCāmtuhu Cān jūCīn 'I fed him in his hunger' (examples from Lane s.v.).

1.704 (1) Muf. #507; Alf. v 375; Ibn Hišām, Muqni I, 125; see also 26.24. The final ā is of the same nature as that of 'ilā, 1.702 n 1. See 14.2 n 2 for an idiomatic use of 'alā and īl (1.709).

(2) S. 55 v 26: it had become, at least by the time of Ibn Fāris (d. 1004), an affectation to verify each point of grammar with Qur'anic quotations. Cf. 12.911 n 2 on 'perceptibly' and 'abstractly'.

(3) S. 2 v 253; similar example 26.1. Cf. 17.65 n 1 on baCād 'some'.

1.705 (1) Muf. #502; Alf. v 373; Ibn Hišām, Muqni I, 144; see also 26.25.

(2) 'Being contained in space or time' is an explanatory translation of the single word ṣarφ, lit. 'vessel, container', and used as the technical term for space and time qualifiers (v. ch. 18). It has been suggested that this term is borrowed from Greek angeion (see Versteegh, 8, for a review of this theory), but no-one has yet been able to demonstrate precisely how such a notion was transmitted from Greek to Arabic, presumably well before the time of Sibawayhi.

(3) S. 2 v 187. Note that, like all semi-declinable nouns, al-masājidi is regular when formally defined (cf. 3.89 n 12).

(4) S. 2 v 203.
'a-lā rubba mawlūdin wa-laysa lahu 'abun
wa-ğī waladin lam yaldahu 'abawāni

'How few are born and do not have a father, and how few have children and are not born of two parents!', referring to the Lord Jesus and the Lord Adam (prayers and peace upon them), mawlūdin 'born' being a noun because rubba 'how few' occurs before it;

1.707 bi 'with', whose senses include assistance, since it is prefixed to the instrument of an action, e.g. katabtu bi-1-qalami 'I wrote with the pen', al-qalami 'the pen' being a noun because bi 'with' occurs before it;

1.708 ka 'like', whose senses include comparison, e.g. zaydun ka-l-'asadi 'Zayd is like a lion', al-'asadi 'the lion' being a noun because ka 'like' occurs before it;

1.709 li 'for', whose senses include causation, e.g. wa-'anznā 'ilayka ǧ-ǧikra li-tubayyina li-n-nāsi 'and we sent down to you this reminder for you to make it clear for the people' (i.e. in order that you might make clear to them), an-nāsi 'the people' being a noun because li 'for' appears before it;

1.710 and the particles of swearing, (spelt qasam 'swearing' with a after the undotted s, 'meaning yamîn 'oath'). The particles of swearing belong to the particles of obliqueness because they are prefixed to the noun by which the oath is sworn, comprising three well-known particles, viz.

1.711 wa, which is exclusive to overt nouns, e.g. wa-lāhī 'by God!', wa-n-najmī 'by the star!';

1.712 bi, (spelt with one dot), which is prefixed both to overt nouns, e.g. bī-lāhī 'by God!', and to pronouns, e.g. allāhū 'uqsimu bihi
1.706 (1) Muf. #505; Alf. vv 366, 368; Ibn Hišām, MuḫnĪ I, 118; see also 26.33. This word has contrary meanings (see further 26.33 n 1), and it was also disputed whether it was a particle ('Baṣrans') or noun ('Kūfans'), v. 9.4 n 3), see Inšāf, Suppl. prob. 3. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with rabban 'lord'.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 262. The late grammarians had an enormous stock of evidentiary verses to draw upon, and did not always quote them in illustration of the same grammatical point as they were first used to prove. This one is a good example, since it was originally produced (Kitāb I, 341, II, 258) as evidence for the form yalda (from yalid, with loss of unstressed i and addition of final a, probably for metrical reasons; cf. 5.02 n 4 on yalid). Sībawayhi does not use this verse as evidence for the function of rubba, and indeed, on one of the occasions quotes it in a form which does not even begin with rubba.

1.707 (1) Muf. #503; Alf. vv 371, 374; Ibn Hišām, MuḫnĪ I, 95; Nöldeke 55, and see also 26.26, 26.4. The challenge to sum up the wide range of meanings of this particle in one word (cf. 1.703) leads to the choice of 'assistance' (istiḥāna, lit. 'seeking help'), a not very helpful attempt to combine the notions of 'with, in, at, by' which are some of the possible 'translations' of bi. For bi in oaths see 1.712.

(2) Spelling instructions distinguish bi from four otherwise identical letters t, t, n, y (cf. 3.44 n 2). Note that the particles have been deliberately presented in order first of those which are independent words (orthographically) followed by those which, since they consist of only one letter, are always written as prefixes (cf. Beeston 28, 30).

1.708 (1) Muf. #509; Alf. v 377; Ibn Hišām, MuḫnĪ I, 151; see also 26.31, 26.4. According to Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 389, ka is related to kam 'how much/many' (q.v. at 20.6 n 2).

(2) The article in al-'asadi 'the lion' is generic (11.741), hence the translation 'a lion', but cf. 10.44.

1.709 (1) Muf. #504; Alf. v 372; Ibn Hišām, MuḫnĪ I, 175; Nöldeke 50; see also 26.27, 26.4, 26.71.

(2) S. 16 v 44, lacking the usual introductory formula. The li prefixed to the verb might seem to us more 'causative' (cf. 5.51) than the second li, but cf. the explanation of lakum 'for you' in 24.51.

1.71 (1) Jum. 82; Muf. #506; Alf. v 365; Qaṭr 282; for other forms of oaths cf. 9.92; emphatic form of verb in oaths 26.34 n 2.

(2) Here the spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes qasam '(the swearing of an) oath' from qism 'section, division'.

1.711 (1) Refs. as in 1.71 n 1. The origins of this element are still obscure, and the thorough investigation by Fischer, Islam 28, 1-105 (?) comes to no firm conclusion.

(2) S. 53 v 1. The star in question is the Pleiades group, the common noun 'star' having become a proper noun by 'usage predominating' (3.65
'God, I swear by him!';

1.713 and ta (Spelt with two dots above), exclusively found with the name of the Almighty, though rarely one hears ta-rabbi l-ka²bati 'by the Lord of the Kaaba!' and ta-r-raḥmāni 'by the Merciful One'. The fundamental particle of swearing is bi, for, as already stated, it occur before both nouns and pronouns; next is wa, which occurs only before nouns, and last ta, because it is exclusive to the name of the Almighty.

1.8 Having finished with the noun markers the author now turns to the verb markers. And the verb (spelt flı, with l after the f) is recognized (i.e. is distinguished from the other two subdivisions of speech),

1.81 by qad 'already', i.e. the qad with particle status. It occurs both before the past tense, e.g. qad qāma 'he had stood' and the imperfect, e.g. qad yaqūmu 'he does stand', qāma 'he stood' and yaqūmu 'he stands' (6b) being verbs because qad occurs before them. This is not the same as the nominal qad which is found only before nouns, synonymous with ḥasbu 'enough' and always in annexation, e.g. qad zaydīn dirhamun 'a dirham is enough for Zayd', where qad 'enough' has independent status as subject with dirhamun 'a dirham' as its predicate;

1.82 by sa and sawfa, which occur only before the imperfect tense, e.g. sa-yaqūmu and sawfa yaqūmu 'he will stand', yaqūmu 'he stands' being a verb because sa and sawfa occur before it;

1.83 and by the unvowelled feminine t. This denotes that the agent is
n 12), though some say it is merely a generic article (11.741).

1.712 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.5. Note that when an overt verb (invariably 'uqsimu 'I swear') occurs, only bi may follow. Conversely there are a few forms of oath apparently without any introductory particle, e.g. lāhī 'by God!', al-ka'batī 'by the Kaaba!', though here it is reasonable to assume that one has been elided by frequency of use (see the collection by Fischer, ref. in 1.711 n 1).

1.713 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.34. We are on safer ground regarding the origins of this particle: it is quite probably the remnant of some previous word, e.g. 'amānata lāhī 'by God's safe-keeping!' or bayta lāhī 'by God's house!' (so Fischer, loc. cit. 27-30).

(2) The spelling instruction is necessary here to distinguish ta from yā, which is indeed found as a vocative with the name of God, viz. yā lāhū 'O God!' (q.v. at 23.21).

(3) This specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) is mere pedagogical reinforcement: it has no bearing on the possible historical order of the three particles.

1.8 (1) Two markers may be mentioned here as they are not dealt with systematically by aš-Širbīnī: (a) pronominalization, which is invoked in 5.83, cf. n 5; (b) collocation with the vocative particle yā (q.v. in ch. 23), a marker which is acknowledged somewhat haphazardly by the grammarians (thus Ibn Mālik includes it in his definition of the noun, Alf. v 10, but not az-Zamaššarī or Ibn Hišām). An interesting, but isolated criterion is offered by Jum. 17: a noun is that which can be an agent (fā'il) or patient (maf'ūl), cf. Versteegh 59 for discussion and alternative sources in az-Zajjājī.

(2) See 16.1 n 1 on 'verb' (the spelling instruction excludes fa'il, 'doing, being active'.

1.81 (1) Beeston 78 relates the function of this particle to the dynamic or static aspect of the verb: thus a dynamic action such as galimtu 'I came to know, realized' becomes static with gad, viz. 'I knew (already)', and, with imperfect tense forms, a static action such as yagūmu 'he (always) stands' becomes potentially dynamic, viz. 'he might well, actually does stand'. Cf. Nöldeke 70.

(2) The two are doubtless cognate, though a plausible etymology is lacking (cf. Bloch, Anthropos 41-44, 723, Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 296).

(3) See 20.6 n 2 for an alternative construction with gad.

1.82 (1) Muf. #578; Beeston 79; Fleisch 113. In Insāf, prob. 92, the 'Bašrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that sa is a particle in its own right, while the 'Kūfans' sensibly claim that it is an abbreviation of sawfa. Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 466, sides with the Kūfans, and equates sawfa with similar time qualifiers such as bukrata 'tomorrow' (18.104), in the meaning of 'eventually, in the end'. Note that sa, being a one-letter element, is cited by the name of that letter, viz. sīn (cf.
feminine, and is only found in the past tense; for example, from qāma 'he stood' and qaḍa 'he sat' you say qāmat hindun wa-qaḍadat 'Hind stood up and sat down'. By 'unvowelled' is excluded the vowelled t which occurs with nouns, e.g. qā'imatun 'standing' (fern, sing.) and some particles, e.g. rubbata 'how few', tummatata 'then' (except that the vowel after the t in nouns is inflectional, while in the particles it is invariable). By 'denoting that the agent is feminine' are excluded such rarities as the unvowelled t of rubbat 'how few' and tummat 'then' as a particle suffix, because in this case it merely denotes that the expression itself is feminine, not that it has a feminine agent.

1.9 Having finished with the verb markers the author now turns to those by which the particle is recognized. The particle is distinguished from the other two subdivisions of speech by being

1.91 that on which the sign of the noun is improper, i.e. the noun markers already mentioned, or any others, and equally improper the sign of the verb. (That is, those already mentioned, and any others).

1.92 The absence of marker, then, is the distinctive mark of the particle, and if a word does not take any of the above mentioned markers then it is a particle, since we have only three kinds of word, as already shown inductively. Ibn Malik used similar reasoning in discussing the letters j, h and k: the marker of j is a dot below, of h a dot above and of k the entire absence of dots.

Having finished explaining the parts of speech in terms of their markers the author now deals with what happens to them when combined
other examples 1.707-13, 5.51).

1.83 (1) Jum. 286; Muf. #607; Alf. v 11; Qaṭr 14; 7.26-28; 4.13 n 5. The whole paragraph is repeated with minor modifications in 5.01, and may be from the lost Qaṭr Commentary (0.4 n 6). For Ibn Mālik this extends to cover the tu, ta, ti of the 1st and 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing. (cf. 1.6 n 2), so that his definition of the verb is implicitly 'that which takes agent suffixes', though strictly speaking the fem. sing. at is not an agent suffix (see 7.28 n 1).

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on fem. markers in nouns.

(3) There are some seventy variants of rubba according to Lane, which are arrived at by the (random?) permutation of the possible vowels, suffixes (at, ata, with or without a suffixed mā) and single or double b. Of fumma only the variants given here seem to exist, to which should be added the interesting forms fumma, fummata (Cantineau, Études 41). The ta suffix has been investigated by Aartun, Bib. Or. 28, 126, as a feature denoting emphasis in such words as lāta 'not' (cf. 5.76 n 1), and cf. Fleisch, Tr. #115u, 143g.

(4) Cf. 1.41 n 4 on invariability, and cf. the phrase lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata '(there is) no power and no might', quoted in 5.01, parsed in 22.4

1.9 (1) Summarized in Muf. #402, Alf. v 11. Verbs in general: ch. 5; agents ch. 7; passive ch. 8; objects and other qualifiers ch. 15; paradigms chs. 4, 8 passim.

(2) See 1.25, 1.7. Jum. 17; Muf. #497; Alf. v 12; Qaṭr 25; Fleisch 154; Bateson 37; Yushmanov 61; Versteegh, index (ḥarf).

1.91 (1) See next note on zero-marker. On 'improper', lā yāṣluḥu, see 11.82 n 2. In E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥarf', Fleisch speculates that ḥarf is equivalent to horos, and was so named because, by enunciating slowly, the grammarians determined the 'limits' of a sound, i.e. a syllable. Particles were given the name ḥarf/horos because many of them are mono-syllabic. This all seems most unlikely, cf. 1.25 n 2.

1.92 (1) This negative definition of the particle reinforces what was said in 1.25 n 1 and 1.7 n 1: for this reason particles are often identified by their function (e.g. 5.74 n 3), and it is extremely significant that, when the 'meanings' (1.701 n 2) of particles are given, they are always expressed in the form of verbal nouns, i.e. of grammatical 'actions' (=functions), e.g. 'making partitive', 'asking a question', 'negating' etc. etc.

Zero is a well-recognized element in Arabic grammatical analysis: there are zero morphemes (cf. inflection of agent pronouns, 7.52-57, agent pronouns 'concealed' in the verb, 7.58-59, 7.8), and there are zero operators (cf. independent form of the verb, 5.33, equational sentence structure, 9.01). See further 5.34 n 1.

(2) The immediate source for this assertion is al-Azharī, Aj. 18, but
in utterances, i.e. inflection (7a), saying:

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Chapter (i.e. this is a chapter) on inflection. Lexically this term means 'making clear': the Arabs say 'ācraba r-rajulu ẓammā fī ǧamīrīhi 'the man clearly expressed what was in his mind', i.e. explained clearly. Its technical meaning is stated by the author:

2.1 Inflection is the change in the state of word-endings due to the variation of operators (this last phrase being semantically connected with the word 'change', because the variation causes the change); by 'variation of operators' he means their successive effects on speech. He goes on to say, which occur before them, i.e. the word-endings. This asserts that inflection is abstract; in formal terms inflection is defined as an explicit or implicit word-final feature produced by the determining operator on nouns having no resemblance to particles and on the imperfect tense verb unsuffixed by the feminine n or the emphatic n.4

2.101 He then says, either explicitly or implicitly. Both these are circumstantial qualifiers of the word 'change', because changes in word-endings sometimes occur explicitly (i.e. as short vowels, elision, vowellessness and their substitutes) and sometimes are supposed or assumed, i.e. those of the above features which are taken as understood, such as the intended u, a and i of the invariable noun al-fatā 'the boy', the û in muslimûna 'male Muslims' intended as independent and the intended n in la-tublawunna 'you shall certainly be tested'.4
NOTES

it has not been possible to trace it in the major works of Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2).

2.0 (1) 'Inflection' is necessarily an approximate translation of the term 'iCrb: originally it denoted the (orthographical?) insertion of vowels, contrasting with 'ICjām, the addition of diacritical points to distinguish otherwise identical letters (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Khatt', on origins of Arabic script). There is a long-standing, but unproven view that 'ICrb is a calque of the Greek term hellenismos, which, however, cannot account for their different technical meanings, nor for the term 'ICjām, which is the literal antonym of 'ICrb and means 'making something foreign' (barbarismos?) evidently referring to the fact that the diacritical point system was modelled on Syriac (cf. K. Semaan, Linguistics in the Middle Ages, Leiden 1968, 12). Greek influence is strongly argued by Versteegh, 61.

2.1 (1) Jum. 18, 260; Muf. #15; Alf. v 15; Qaṭr 35; Beeston 53; Fleisch 165, Tr. #54a; Yushmanov 41; Bateson 9, 25; E.I. (1) & (2), art. 'ICrb', Drozdik, J.M.S. 5, 71. For 'ICrb in the sense of 'parsing' see 8.21 n 1. The antithesis of 'ICrb is binā', 'invariability', see 1.41 n 4. Note that verbal as well as nominal 'inflections' are covered by the term 'ICrb (2.2). For 'operator', Cāmūl, see 2.11.

(2) 'Abstract' and 'formal' render mağnawī and lāfżī respectively. The latter term relates to lāfż 'formal utterance' in 1.11, and see 2.101; mağnawī relates to mağnā 'meaning' in 1.25 but, under philosophical influence, came to be used predominantly for 'abstract, conceptual, ideal'. In 12.911 it is contrasted with ḥissī 'tangible, perceptible'.

(3) Particles are by nature uninflected, cf. 1.41.

(4) For these two n suffixes see 3.241 n 1 and 3.241 n 2 respectively.

2.101 (1) Much paper has been consumed because of these two terms: lāfżan, lit. 'as a formal utterance' (1.11) creates little difficulty, but tagḍīrān, lit. 'by estimation', is tantamount to 'according to what the grammarian thinks he can see below the surface structure' (examples 5.411, 8.2, 9.74, 10.23, 11.8, 18.1, 20.23). Cf. Baalbaki, Z.A.L. 2, 7.

(2) On allomorphs cf. 3.0 n 3; vowellessness as an inflection 3.91 n 1.

(3) On al-fatā see 2.5; on al-muslimūna see 3.42 n 2.

(4) S. 3 v 186. In his Qur'ān Commentary, I, 259, aš-Širbīnī shows
2.11 What is meant by 'operator' is the element by which the meaning necessitating the inflection is realized. It may be a formal operator, e.g. jâ’a 'came', which demands an agent of the requisite independent form, ra’aytu 'I saw', which demands a direct object of the requisite dependent form, ka 'like', which demands a term of comparison of the requisite oblique form, or it may be an abstract operator, such as the equational sentence construction or the absence of operator.

2.12 By 'word-endings' is meant either that which is literally last, such as the d of zaydun 'Zayd', or figuratively, such as the d of yadun 'hand', whose original form is *yadayun.

2.13 'The occurrence of operators before words' means their presence in whatever capacity is required, e.g. as an agent etc., whether they do precede the word they operate on, e.g. ra’aytu zaydan 'I saw Zayd' or follow it, e.g. zaydan ra’aytu 'Zayd I saw'.

2.14 By 'words' here is meant the fully established nouns (7b) and the imperfect tense verb, because inflection (i.e. the change itself) occurs only on the ends of these. Their change of ending is a transition from the zero-inflected pausal form they have before being in syntactical combination, from independence to dependence in both nouns and verbs, from dependence to obliqueness in nouns and from dependence to apocopation in verbs.

2.15 Since the transition from the pausal to the above mentioned forms itself constitutes inflection and, since those transitional states may only figuratively be referred to as 'types' of inflection (because our author treats inflection as abstract, whereas 'types' only applies literally if inflection is treated as formal), he explains them in the following terms:
that tublawûna 'you are tested' with the emphatic suffix anna (q.v. at 3.241 n 2) reduces to tublawunna to avoid (a) the succession of 3 n's (cf. 10.55 n 3) and (b) the over-long syllable wûn (cf. 2.5 n 3).

2.11 (1) Every inflected element is a member of a binary unit which consists of an 'operator' (Camil) and an 'element operated on' (mæmûl fihi), the only exceptions being those elements which have been 'neutralized' (mulgâ, cf. 5.431 n 3). This was the original concept as found in the Kitâb (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 151, and 3.84 n 3), but all too often such inept Latinisms as 'governing word', 'régime' etc. occur as translations (in spite of an article by J. Weiss, Z.D.M.G. 64, 349, published in 1910). Even Arab grammarians unconsciously use the same metaphor: Ibn Hišâm (Qatr 240) speaks of tasallutu l-Camil, 'the authority of the operator' (cf. 18.1 n 2).

(2) Verb and agent ch. 7; verb and direct object ch. 16; ka 1.708; equational sentence ch. 9; zero-operator 5.34 n 1.

2.12 (1) Orthographically the un of zaydun is a diacritical mark (cf. 1.4), hence d is the last letter of the word. We are close here to the notion of a stem (cf. 3.65 n 9).

(2) Cf. 3.42 n 1; though certainly an originally biliteral root, yadun must conform to the Arab notion that it has lost its third radical, hence the d is only figuratively (majâzan, 13.3 n 1) its last letter.

2.13 (1) In other words Arabic syntactical analysis recognizes inversion, called tagdim wa-ta'qir, lit. 'advancing and retarding' (cf. examples in 9.8, 19.73, 20.7). The problem is not only one of word order, but of how much an element may operate retro-actively, as normal operation (Camal, cf. 2.11 n 1) is upon the following element.

2.14 (1) See 1.41 on fully established nouns; 5.02 on imperfect tense verb inflection.

(2) The 'pausal form' occurs, as its name implies, before a pause (waqf, lit. 'stopping'), which may be utterance-final, or simply for breath or for rhetorical reasons. The main rules are: (a) final short vowels are dropped (inc. tanwIn), e.g. zaydun>zayd. (b) dep. tanwIn (an, 1.4 n 5) becomes ā, e.g. zaydan>zaydā. (c) fem. suffix at becomes ah, e.g. makkatu>makkah (see 11.42 n 1). All words in Arabic are spelt in pausal form (i.e. as if isolated, cf. 11.1 n 2), which Rabin, Stud. Isl. 4, 26, ascribes to slow dictation. Muf. #640; AlF. v 881; Beeston 21; Fleisch 28; Bateson 8; Yushmanov 15.

(3) i.e. language can only be analysed in the context of utterances.

(4) The resemblance to the Latin 'casus' metaphor is quite fortuitous: under legal influences the Arabs introduced their own notions of a hierarchy of elements (cf. 11.711 n 2).

2.15 (1) This obscure comment stems from the fact that 'iCrâb may be understood in two different ways, (a) as a process of change in word endings (thus 'abstract'), or (b) as a set of morphemes (thus 'formal'). Aš-ŠirbInI's point (elaborated from al-Azhari, Aj. 22) is that if we
2.2 Its subdivisions\(^1\) (i.e. nominal and verbal inflection) are four: independence, dependence, which are common to nouns and verbs.\(^2\)

Examples of the independent form: \(\text{zaydun yaqūmu} 'Zayd stands', \) where \(\text{zaydun} 'Zayd'\) is independent because it initiates an equational sentence and \(\text{yaqūmu} \ 'he stands'\) is independent through the absence of operators.\(^3\) Examples of the dependent form: \(\text{'inna zaydan lan yaqūma} 'verily Zayd will not stand', \) where \(\text{zaydan} 'Zayd'\) is made dependent by \(\text{'inna} 'verily' \) and \(\text{yaqūma} 'he (will) stand'\) is made dependent by \(\text{lan} 'not';\)\(^4\) next obliqueness, which is peculiar to a semantic function of the noun,\(^5\) e.g. \(\text{marartu bi-zaydin} 'I passed by Zayd', \) where \(\text{zaydin} 'Zayd'\) is a noun made oblique by \(\text{bi} 'by';\) and apocopation. This is peculiar to a semantic function of the verb,\(^6\) e.g. \(\text{lam yaqum} 'he did not stand', \) where \(\text{yaqum} 'he stand'\) is apocopated by \(\text{lam} 'not'.\) So much for the summary presentation: the details follow.

2.3 Of these the nouns have (i.e. of the above four subdivisions):\(^1\)

2.31 independence, either explicitly, e.g. \(\text{jā'a zaydun} 'Zayd came'\) or implicitly, either because realization is impossible,\(^1\) as in \(\text{jā'a l-fatā} 'the judge came'.\) Here \(\text{zaydun} 'Zayd'\) is an agent with independent form and an explicit final \(\text{u2} \ \text{al-fatā} 'the boy came'\) is likewise an agent, but ends in an implicit \(u\) whose appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization;\(^3\)\(\text{al-qāfī} 'the judge'\) is also an agent, and ends in an implicit \(u\) whose appearance is prevented by phonetic inconvenience;\(^4\)

2.32 dependence, either explicitly, as in \(\text{ra'aytu zaydan} 'I saw Zayd'\) or implicitly, as in \(\text{ra'aytu l-fatā} 'I saw the boy'.\) Here \(\text{zaydan} \)
treat inflection as a process we should not then speak of 'types' ('anwā') or 'subdivisions' ('aqsām, cf. 1.2) unless metaphorically. Note that there was no specific term for 'case' in the earliest grammar, and see further 11.02 n 1.

2.2 (1) The names and functions of the cases/moods are dealt with in ch. 3, esp. 3.1, 3.5, 3.8, 3.9.

(2) Common only to nouns and imperfect tense verbs. The latter, on account of certain functional resemblances to the noun, are called mudārīc, lit. 'similar' (see 5.02), always rendered 'imperfect tense'.

(3) Contrast the word order here with that of the normal verbal sentence (see 7.12). For zero-operator see 5.34 n 1.

(4) For 'inna see 10.4; for lan 5.42.

(5) The text says yakṭṣṣu bi-maḍnan bi-smin, lit. 'is peculiar to a meaning in a noun'. This cannot refer to lexical meaning, but is best interpreted in the light of the use of the term maḍnā to define the particle (1.25), namely as referring to grammatical functions. We may then paraphrase maḍnā as 'the ability of nouns to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements', such as subject, agent, possessor etc. See next note.

(6) By the same token (n 5 above) verbs have the ability to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements, such as combining with lam to indicate a non-event (5.71) or being the condition for another event (5.8), both marked by the apocopated form. See 2.34 and 2.44 for Arab views on the fact that nouns and verbs do not completely overlap in their inflection.

2.3 (1) Jum. 18, 260; Muf. #16; Alf. v 15; Qatr 35; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 41.

2.31 (1) Though stated here as a phonological problem (see subsequent notes for details) the etymological reasons are given later in 2.5 and 2.6. From the spectator's point of view the weak radicals w and y are constantly engaged in a struggle between the demands of morphology and phonology, usually involving compromises on the morphological side. The topic has never been explored, but Fleisch, Tr. #24d n 1, makes a tantalizing reference to it. For the matter as a whole see Muf. #697.

(2) The u is final because the n of tanwIn (1.4), like the defining prefix al (1.5) with which it is in complementary distribution, are not part of the case inflection system.

(3) 'Impossibility of realization' renders tağcharg, lit. 'extreme difficulty, impossibility', viz. of the long diphthongs *āu, *āi, and an overlong *āa. These are reduced to ā both on nouns, as here, and on verbs, e.g. yakṣā, q.v. in 2.41.

(4) 'Phonetic inconvenience' renders istitqāl, lit. 'regarding as too heavy', viz. the non-canonical sequences *iyu, *iyi, *iwu, *iwi (cf. 2.6 n 1), which are always reduced to I. The role of ease of
'Zayd' has dependent form with an explicit final a and al-fatā 'the boy' has an implicit final a whose appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization;¹

2.33 and obliqueness, either explicitly, as in marartu bi-zaydīn 'I passed by Zayd' (8a) or implicitly, as in marartu bi-1-fatā wa-1-qâdî 'I passed by the boy and the judge'. Here zaydīn 'Zayd' has oblique form with an explicit final i; al-fatā 'the boy' likewise has oblique form but ends in an implicit i whose appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization; al-qâdî 'the judge' also has oblique form but ends in an implicit i whose appearance is prevented by phonetic inconvenience;¹

2.34 but they have no apocopation. That is, the nouns have none because it is found only in verbs.¹

2.4 Verbs¹ (i.e. those which are fully inflected) have of these (i.e. of the above-mentioned subdivisions):

2.41 independence, either explicitly, as in yaqūmu 'he stands' or implicitly, as in yaqṣā 'he fears'. Here yaqūmu 'he stands' has independent form with an explicit final u and yaqṣā 'he fears' likewise has independent form but the u is implicit because its appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization;²

2.42 dependence, either explicitly, as in lan yaqūma 'he will not stand' or implicitly, as in lan yakṣā 'he will not fear'.¹ Here yaqūma 'he (may) stand' has dependent form with an explicit final a and yakṣā 'he (may) fear' also has dependent form but ends in an implicit a;

2.43 and apocopation,¹ shown by vowellessness if the final consonant is sound (such as yaḍribu 'he strikes'), or by elision of the defective consonant,² namely ġ, ā or ī, when the defective consonant is final
articulation in producing phonological changes has been recognized in Arabic grammar from the very beginning, cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, under t-q-l, h-r-f, C-g-r.

2.32 (1) Note that the word qādl is omitted from the examples here. This is because the dep. forms of qādi are completely regular, viz. qādiyan, al-qādiya, as there is no 'phonetic inconvenience' in the sequence iya. The same applies to verbs, see 2.42 n 1.

2.33 (1) Thus *al-qādiyi is reduced to al-qādl (= al-qādiy) as in 2.31 n 4. The grammarians offer long and detailed explanations of this and related phenomena (e.g. 8.2 n 5), but it can never be assumed that the phonological changes described correspond to any actual historical developments. Indeed it is more likely that the Arabs had no intention of offering other than a synchronic analysis: in other words, the changes are not the result of a long process but happen almost instantaneously with each new occurrence of the word.

2.34 (1) There are various theories as to why apocopation is not found in nouns (and cf. 2.44 for the problem of why verbs do not have an oblique form). The purely formal explanation of Sibawayhi is that, since nouns must bear the suffix n of tanwîn (1.4) there must be an intervening vowel between the last radical and the n (because there cannot be two consonants at the end of a syllable, 2.5 n 3). He also argues that, since verbs are morphologically more cumbersome ('atqal, related to istitqâl in 2.31 n 4), they may have subtractive endings (Kitâb I, 2 and 6 respectively). Another theory, ascribed to the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), is that nouns cannot be operated on by apocoping elements because these denote negation, prohibition, condition, the giving of orders etc., which are not qualities proper to nouns (az-Zajjâjî, Îdâh, 106, and cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6).

2.4 (1) Jum. 22; Muf. #404; Alf. v 677; Qâtîr 21; Beeston 83; Fleisch 106; Yushmanov 52; Bateson 25. See 5.02.

2.41 (1) This is an example of a so-called 'hollow verb', i.e. one whose middle radical is w or y (see 10.23 n 2), but the indep. ending u is unaffected by this.

(2) The weak 3rd rad. verbs on the whole follow the same principles as the nouns in reducing non-canonical sequences (cf. 2.31 nn 3, 4). Thus the three typical verbs in this class behave as follows: *yarmiyu =>yarmî, *yağzuwu=>yağzû, *yâksayu=yağsâ. Paradigms 4.81 n 2.

2.42 (1) On ân see 5.42. Note that yakšâ, like al-fâtâ (2.7) is virtually invariable (except for its apocopated form, 2.43). The other weak 3rd rad. verbs are not mentioned here because they are quite regular, as no non-canonical sequences are generated, thus yarmiya, yağzuwa (the 'five verbs' (3.45) set of the weak 3rd rad. verbs are also regular in that they elide the final n for their dep. and apocopated forms, cf. paradigms at 4.82 n 1 and 3.92 n 1).

2.43 (1) See 3.9 on 'apocopation'. Regular paradigm 4.82 n 2.

(2) Consonants are either 'sound' (şabîh, lit. 'healthy') or else
Thus you say lam yadrib 'he did not strike', lam yakša 'he did not fear', lam yagzu 'he did not raid', lam yarmi 'he did not throw', in which yadrib 'he (might) strike' has apocopated form ending in vowellessness and the remainder are also apocopated but with elision of the defective consonant instead of vowellessness;

2.44 but they have no obliqueness. That is, the verbs have none because it is found only in nouns.

2.45 To sum up, these four subdivisions reduce to two groups, one common and one peculiar, the common comprising two, viz. independence and dependence, and the peculiar likewise two, viz. obliqueness and apocopation. What this means is that independence and dependence are common to both nouns and verbs while obliqueness is peculiar to nouns and apocopation to verbs. All this is inferred from what our author says, because he repeats independence and dependence under nouns and verbs so that we know they are common to both, and he restricts obliqueness particularly to nouns (denying them apocopation) (8b) and apocopation particularly to verbs (denying them obliqueness).

2.5 Note: The inflection of ā and ī described above applies only when ā or ī are actually present if ā has already been elided, as in the case of jā'a fātan 'a boy came', ra'aytu fātan 'I saw a boy', marartu bi-fātan 'I passed by a boy', you must say of the independent form that
'defective' (muṣṭall, lit. 'ailing', v. 23.62 n 2). All consonants are 'sound' except the semi-vowels w and y and the consonant known as 'alif which is realized as a glottal stop but also acts as lengthening marker for ā (historically some cases of ā were originally a', from which the function of ' as a lengthening marker was undoubtedly generalized; cf. Beeston 26). The prosodic structure of Arabic is very limited: it comprises only the short syllable CV, the long closed syllable CVC (e.g. man 'who'), the long open syllable CV (e.g. fi 'in') and a highly restricted over-long syllable CVC (q.v. 21.22 n 4). Both CVC and CV are prosodically identical (ff = fiy) because the lengthening marker is a (weak) consonant: hence shortening a long vowel is orthographically the same as removing the final consonant of a closed syllable and both processes are termed ḥaḍīf 'elision' (3.9 n 2). For general references to syllable structure see 2.5 n 3. Note variable transcription of weak consonants: ', w, y when consonantal, ā,ū,Ī when vowel lengtheners, aw, ay when diphthongs, as the context requires (cf. 3.5 n 2).

2.44 (1) According to az-Zajjājī, Ḫdāh 107 (based on Kitāb I, 2) verbs have no oblique form because oblique elements are in complementary distribution with tanwīn (see 26.93 n 1) and verbs do not have tanwīn. It is also argued that elements cannot be annexed to verbs: this is not refuted by such structures as yawma ā' 'on the day he came' because, as az-Zajjājī (loc. cit. 112) points out, the space/time qualifier here is annexed to a sentence (cf. 1.441 n 2).

2.45 (1) Another example of the 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) which is so prominent in pedagogical grammars, where it functions more as a mnemonic device than an analytical tool. In the long history of Arabic grammar the genuine elementary textbook (i.e. aimed principally at children) does not emerge until relatively late, perhaps no earlier than the eleventh century, with such works as the Mi'at Cāmil ('The Hundred Operators') of al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) and the Unmūġāj ('The Model') of az-Zamakhšārī (d. 1144). By the thirteenth century, however, when all debate over the subject-matter of grammar textbooks was ended (in other words, when the community had settled upon its concept of the ideal language), pedagogical grammars begin to appear in greater numbers, e.g. the Misbāḥ ('The Lamp') of al-Muṭarrīzī (d. 1213) and the Kāfiyya ('The Adequate') of Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 1249). Once the contents of Arabic grammar had been established, only the form left any opportunities for innovation, and from the twelfth century (and probably earlier) grammatical textbooks begin to appear in verse. By far the most famous of these versified grammars is the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik (see 21.61 n 6); the use of poetry as a teaching medium has continued into the twentieth century, in other subjects besides grammar.

2.5 (1) Apart from the special case of the 'five nouns' (3.42) and some foreign words (see 3.422 n 1 for examples), there are no nouns whose singular ends in āū.

(2) For the significance of 'elided' (mahdūfa) in this context see
its independence marker is an implicit \( u \) on the \( \bar{a} \) which has previously been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants\(^3\) (in this instance \( \bar{a} \) and the \( n \) of \textit{tamwīn}), the original form having been *fatayun, with \( ayu \) changing to \( \bar{a} \) which is in turn elided to prevent the resulting clash of two unvowelled consonants. Similarly you must say of the dependent form that its dependence marker is an implicit \( a \) on the \( \bar{a} \) which has been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants, and of the oblique form that its obliqueness marker is an implicit \( i \) on the \( \bar{a} \) which has been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants.

2.6 In the case of elided \( \\bar{I} \), as in \textit{jā' \( a \) qādīn 'a judge came'}, \textit{marartu bi-qādin 'I passed by a judge'}, you say of the independent form that its independence marker is an implicit \( u \) on the \( \bar{I} \) which has previously been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants,\(^4\) and of the oblique form you say that its obliqueness marker is an implicit \( i \) for the same reason. Use these examples as an analogy for all similar cases.\(^5\)

2.7 Where the inflected noun ends in a sound or quasi-sound consonant\(^1\) (i.e. \( w \) and \( y \)) immediately preceded by an unvowelled consonant, e.g. \textit{dalwun} 'bucket', \textit{zabyun} 'gazelle', all the inflection is explicit.\(^2\) Where the noun ends in \( \bar{a} \), e.g. \textit{al-fatā} 'the boy' or in \( I \), e.g. \textit{al-qādī} 'the judge', the inflection is implicit, except that with \( \bar{a} \) the inflections has to be implicit due to impossibility of realization (since \( \bar{a} \) cannot be followed by a vowel), while with \( I \) it has to be implicit because of phonetic inconvenience (since \( I \) can be followed by a vowel but is awkward to pronounce). By \( \bar{a} \) here is meant that which is
3.9 n 2, and below, n 3.

(3) 'The clash of two unvowelled consonants' translates *iltīgā' as-sākinayn, lit. 'the meeting of two unvowelled letters' (see 4.01 n 1 on sākin 'unvowelled', lit. 'not moving', from sukūn 'vowellessness, motionlessness'). The avoidance of this particular collocation is the reason for many phonological intrusions into the regular patterns generated by the morphology (cf. 2.31). Briefly, no syllable may either begin (11.1 n 2) or end with two consonants (except in 'doubled verbs', 21.22 n 4, and pausal forms, 2.14 n 2, examples in 4.13 n 2, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). When fatā (= *fatayu, 2.31 n 3) acquires tanwīn an assumed form *fatayn is generated, which is reduced to fatan for the reason given, because *fatayn contains the non-canonical sequence CVCC (cf. 2.43 n 2 on consonantal value of y here). Whether this explanation is valid diachronically is an open question (2.33 n 1); Muf. #663; Beeston 19; Fleisch Tr. #24; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 44; Bohas, Bull. Ét. Or, 29, 73. On syllable structure in general: Beeston 20; Fleisch 21, Tr. #34; Bateson 6; Yushmanov 14. Other consonant cluster problems: initial, 11.1 n 2, 13.12 n 1, final 3.53, 7.60.

2.6 (1) The lengthening marker in qādī is also y, which is thus 'elided' according to the same principle as the y in fatā (2.5), thus *qādiyu>qādí (= qādiy), and *qādiyn>qādīn. Here, too, we cannot say whether the reconstructed phonological process reflects an actual historical sequence, though it is certainly likely that the reduction of *iyu to I is independent of the suffixation of tanwīn, since the change *iyu>I also occurs in verbs (e.g. *yarmiyu>yarmī, 2.41 n 2). Note that the dep. form qādiyan is regular, 2.32 n 1.

(2) Paradigms of qādī and fatā are in 4.2 n 2. Among 'similar cases' we may mention those nouns whose third radical is w: these have become completely assimilated to fatā and qādī, according to whether the w is preceded by a or i, thus ġasān, al-ḡasā 'stick' (but spelt with ʿalif replacing the w, cf. 2.43 n 2), from *kāsāwn, *al-kāsāwu, and ġāzin, al-ḡāzī 'raider', from *gāziwn, *al-gāziwu. The 'compensatory tanwīn' in jawārin etc. (1.44) is also formed on the analogy of qādīn (see 8.3 n 2 on 'analogy', qiyās).

2.7 (1) Because in this position the w and y are consonantal (2.43 n 2) and syllable-initial, and are said to 'resemble the sound consonant' (yuṣbihu ẓ-ṣabiḥ). The paradigm is thus the same as for rajulun in 4.11 n 1, ad-dalwu, dalwu, dalwun, dalw etc.

(2) The terminology of 'explicit' and 'implicit' shows a slight overlap in the various Arabic equivalents: for 'implicit' we have here muqaddar, related to taqdir 'estimation', q.v. at 2.101 n 1. But there it is opposed to lafẓ, 'formal expression', while here it is opposed to ẓāhir, lit. 'manifest, apparent'. But elsewhere ẓāhir is opposed to muqamar 'pronominalized' (e.g. 7.2, and see further 11.71). For translation purposes the appropriate word has been chosen from a basic set, 'formal, explicit, overt' against 'implicit, implied, assumed' on the one hand and 'pronominalized, suppressed' on the other.
pronounced ā irrespective of whether it is spelt with a y as, for example, in yakšā 'he fears', al-fatā 'the boy'.

2.8 Now, independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocapation all have basic markers and secondary markers which replace them, and it is necessary to find out about them. Our author has dealt with them (9a) in a separate chapter, entitled:

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Chapter on (i.e. explaining) the recognition of the markers of the various kinds of inflection.1 The basic markers2 are four: u for independence, ā for dependence, ů for obliqueness and elision of the short vowel for apocapation. These are the basic markers; the secondary markers which replace3 them are ten, three replacing u, viz. ū, ā and n, four replacing a, viz. ā, i, ā and elision of n, two replacing i, viz. a and ā, and one replacing elision of the short vowel, viz. elision of the defective consonant or of n. Once you have grasped this we may proceed.

3.1 Independence1 (as such) has four markers, one the basic marker, namely u, and three secondary markers, namely ū, ā and n; (replacing u). The author puts u first because it is the basic form, secondly ū because it derives from u by prolongation, so that ū is the offspring2 of u, thirdly ā because it is closely related to ū in being a long semi-vowel and lastly n because it faintly resembles the defective
(3) The final ā sound, then, may be spelt either with 'alif (2.43 n 2) or with y. The former may represent either a true ā (e.g. the dual suffix, 3.43) or a former weak radical, mostly w (2.6 n 2). The latter may represent a former weak radical y as in the examples given, and cf. 1.702 n 1, 3.92 n 2, or the fem. suffix ā known as the 'alif maqsūra, q.v. at 3.89 n 2 (the term 'alif maqsūra tends to be applied to all the forms of final ā except the true 'alif).

3.0 (1) Jum. 18; Muf. #16; Alf. v 25; Qâṭr 36; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37. 'Markers' renders literally ġalāmāt (sing. ġalāmā), which also means 'signs, marks, symptoms' etc. From the same root is ġalam 'proper name', q.v. at 11.72. For inflection, 'iġrāb, see 2.0 n 1.

(2) Arabic 'uṣūl, plur. of 'aṣl, lit. 'base, root, stock', in all the Islamic sciences used figuratively for 'basic norm' or 'archetype'. In grammar it denotes (a) a basic norm, as in this paragraph, (b) a regular form or structure, e.g. 4.01, 9.8 and cf. 8.3 n 2, (c) an underlying form, e.g. 8.2 n 3. The same metaphor supplies the term farūq (plur. furūq), lit. 'branch', i.e. secondary or derivative form, e.g. 'secondary markers' in this para. More examples 11.7, 11.717.

(3) 'Replace' is literal for nāba 'to deputize, stand in for', which clearly corresponds to the modern notion of allomorphs (but see 8.0 n 3). A synonym of nāba is ġalağa, cf. 5.51 n 2.

3.1 (1) The case/mood names are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary and their origins are entirely obscure. It is only certain that they cannot be equated with any other system. They belong to a group of terms whose literal meanings are associated with building (see 3.8 n 1), but no clear relationship is discernible between their technical meaning and the form or function they denote. 'Independence' is thus only a free translation of rafūq, lit. 'raising', no more than a convenient label for the function of 'independent elements' (ch. 6). Perhaps this set of 'building' terms originally described only orthographical or phonological features, cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 80.

(2) Lit. 'the daughter of u', an extremely common anthropomorphism (see 6.4 n 2). That the short vowels a, i, u are homorganic with the consonants ' , y, w has been an axiom of Arabic phonology from the first (cf. Kitāb II, 270, 342), hence the translation 'semi-vowels' here for ūraj al-madd wa-l-liṣn, lit. 'letters of stretching and softness'. See Fleisch, Z.D.M.G. 108, 74-105, esp. 90f.

(3) The arrangement is purely pedagogical: source al-Azhari, Āj. 19.
3.2-3.23

Consonants in being nasalized when vowelless. None of this arrangement, however, is determined by the nature of \( u \).

Each of the four markers has its own particular functions:

3.2 \( u \) is the marker of independence in four places,

3.21 (1) on the singular noun, whether masculine or feminine, e.g. \( qäma\ ) zaydun \( wā-l-fātā\ ) wa-l-gādī \( wā-‘ahmadu\ ) wa-rājulun \( wā-farasun\ ) ‘Zayd, the boy, the judge, Ahmad, a man and a horse stood up’, and \( qäma\ ) hindun \( wā-ḥublā\ ) ‘Hind and a pregnant woman stood up’. Here \( qäma\ ) ‘stood’ is a past tense verb, zaydun ‘Zayd’ is an agent made independent by \( qäma\ ) ‘stood’, and what follows is coordinated with zaydun and shares in its independence through \( qäma\ ). The independence marker in all of them is an explicit \( u\ ), except in al-fatā ‘the boy’, al-gādī ‘the judge’ and ḥublā ‘pregnant’, where the \( u\ ) is implicit.

3.22 (2) (9b) on the broken plural, whether of masculines or feminines, e.g. jà’a rrijālu wa-l-‘asārā wa-l-hunūdu wa-l-‘agārī ‘the men, the prisoners, the Hinds and the virgins came’.

3.221 This kind of plural is called the ‘broken plural’ because ‘breaking’ lexically means ‘changing’. It is brought about by lengthening the singular with no change of pattern, e.g. \( šīnūn\ ) ‘male relative’, \( šīnūn\ ) ‘male relatives’, or by changing the pattern without lengthening or shortening, e.g. ‘asadūn’ ‘lion’, ‘usuđūn’ ‘lions’, or by shortening the singular together with a change of pattern, e.g. rasūlun ‘messenger’, rusūlun ‘messengers’, or by shortening the singular without a change of pattern, e.g. tūkamun ‘indigestion’, tūkamun ‘digestions’, or by simultaneously lengthening, shortening and changing the pattern, e.g. ḡulāmun ‘boy’, ḡilāmun ‘boys’, or by lengthening the singular together with a change of pattern, e.g. rājulun ‘man’, rījālun ‘men’. All these have \( u\ ) in the independent form.

3.23 (3) on the sound feminine plural, which is formed by suffixing āt,
(4) Arabic mawādī (sing. mawdī, lit. 'places', but clearly to be identified with 'functions', cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 48, and also maball at 5.81 n 3. In spite of such available terms a recent Tunisian textbook renders 'function' by ważifa, lit. 'job, employment'. (See Borrmans, I.B.L.A. 32, 363-372 for this and other neologisms.)

3.21 (1) On mufrad, variously 'single, singular, simple', see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Paradigms: fully declinable noun 4.11 n 1; defective nouns al-fatā and al-qādī 4.2 n 2; semi-declinable noun 4.32 n 1; invariable noun 4.2 n 2 (c).

(3) Thus ā and ī on these words are not to be confused with the overt case markers ā (3.43) and ī (3.71) of other environments.

3.22 (1) Jum. 346; Muf. #234; Alf. v 791; Beeston 38; Fleisch 43, 92, Tr. #101, Yushmanov 42; Bateson 13; A.Murtonen, Broken Plurals, Leiden 1964; E.I. (2), art. 'Djam'. See also 4.12.

(2) The ā of 'asārā is the same invariable fem. suffix as is found on ḥublā (4.2 n 2 (c)). The ī of ġadāfī is not so easily explained. Fleisch (Tr. #102j) can only point out that nouns whose sing. bears the fem. suffixes ā or ā (thus ġadāf in the present case) have fallen together with those whose final ā or ā is a remnant of a weak 3rd radical w or y and which have plurals like al-jawāfī (q.v. at 1.44). To add to the confusion, there is also a completely invariable plur. ġadāfī like ḥublā and 'asārā above!

3.221 (1) Jam. al-taksīr, lit. 'pluralization by breaking', i.e. changing the pattern (10.37 n 1) of the sing. It is the change, and not the absolute pattern, which marks the plural: kitāb 'book' and rijāl 'men' both have the same pattern, but the latter contrasts with sing. rajul 'man'.

(2) Over thirty patterns are found with plur. meaning (Wright I, 199) and many nouns may take more than one pattern, e.g. nahr 'river' has plur. 'anhtar, 'anhtār, nūhur and nūhūr. Sometimes a pattern becomes restricted to smaller numbers, e.g. 'aklub '(10 or less) dogs', but kilāb '(more than 10) dogs'. Cf. Fleisch 44; 13.31 n 5. The choice of plur. pattern can occasionally distinguish literal from figurative meanings: bayt, lit. 'house', fig. 'line of verse', has the plurals buyūt and 'abyāt respectively in these two meanings. The 'plural of the plural' (jam. al-jam) is also possible: buyūt 'houses', buyūtāt 'noble families'; cf. Fleisch, Tr. #103b; 17.65 n 3.

(3) Broken plurals have the same inflections as sing. nouns, according to pattern. Most are fully declinable (4.12 n 2), some defective as in 3.22 n 2. For semi-declinable patterns see 3.89 (1).

3.23 (1) Muf. #234; Alf. v 41; Qatr 43; Beeston 39; Fleisch 41 (Tr. 283, 291); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; E.I. (2), art. 'Djam'. Origins 4.31 n 1; paradigm 4.13 n 2; syntax 7.22 n 1, 7.28. The English is a literal translation of jam. al-mu'annat as-sālim.
e.g. ja’a’at il-hindätu 'the Hinds came', where ja’a’ 'came' is a past tense verb, the t is the feminine marker and al-hindätu 'the Hinds' is an agent made independent by ja’a’ 'came' with u as its independence marker.

3.231 This kind of plural is called 'feminine' because its singular is feminine, and 'sound' because its singular is free from any change of pattern. To qualify it as sound and feminine is only a generalization as it is, in fact, also found with masculines, e.g. istablätun 'stables', plural of istablun 'stable', and with broken plurals, e.g. hublay ātun 'pregnant', plural of hublä 'pregnant'.

3.24 (4) on the imperfect tense verb without personal suffixes; as in yādribu 'he strikes', yāgšā 'he fears', yāgšū 'he raids', yārmī 'he throws'. Each of these is an imperfect tense verb made independent by freedom from the operators of dependence and apocopation; the independence marker is an explicit u in yādribu 'he strikes' and implicitly in the others because they are all imperfect tense verbs without personal suffixes.

3.241 Should any suffix be found on these verbs it will either be the feminine na, e.g. an-niswatu yādribna 'the women strike' (in which case the end of the verb is invariable and vowelless because of the suffixed feminine na), or it will be the emphatic anna, e.g. hal yādribanna 'will he indeed strike?' (in which case the end of (10a) the verb is invariable in a because of the suffixed emphatic anna). Or else it will be a dual pronoun, viz. ā as in yādribānī 'they two (masc.) strike', a plural pronoun, viz. ū as in yādribūna 'they (masc.) strike' and taḏribūna 'you (masc. plur.) strike', or a second person feminine singular pronoun, viz. I as in taḏribīna 'you (fem. sing.) strike', the verb here being not invariable but inflected: all are independent through the absence of operator, with retention of n as their independence marker instead of u, while the ā, ū and I are agents with independent status through their preceding verb.
(2) i.e. it is not the agent pronoun but only the sign that the agent is fem. (7.58 n 1).

3.231 (1) i.e. it is a suffix plural, described in 3.23 as mazīd, lit. 'augmented'. The related term ziyāda is used variously for 'lengthening' (3.221), 'augment' (3.89 (7), 5.3, 8.51 etc.), and to denote a 'redundant element' (5.413 n 1).

(2) Distribution of sound fem. plur. Fleisch, Tr. #63; E.I. (2), art. 'Djam'. Those masc. nouns which regularly take this plural are interesting for their own sake: (a) diminutives (3.421 n 1), (b) abstract participial and verbal nouns, e.g. tašlihāt 'repairs', lit. 'acts of repairing', mašrūbāt 'drinks', lit. 'things drunk', (c) foreign words, especially when they do not fit into the simpler patterns: contrast the broken plur. 'afālām 'films' and the sound fem. plur. tilifūnāt 'telephones'.

(3) This remark, like the whole paragraph, is copied from al-Azharī, Āj. 26 (expanded in Taṣr. I, 79), and only makes sense if we assume that the change from ḥublā to ḥublay- is 'breaking' as defined in 3.221, though a more natural explanation is that the ā is restored intervocally to its original ay value (1.702 n 1). There are also genuine broken plurals of ḥublā, cf. Fleisch, Tr. #102j.

3.24 (1) See 3.44 for the personal suffixes.

(2) Zero-operator: 5.34 n 1. In the artificial rivalry between 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) the concept of the zero-operator was credited to the Kūfans, cf. Inṣāf. prob. 74. This view was shared by Ibn Mālīk (Alf. v 676) and Ibn Hīšām (Qaṭr 54), but not by az-Zamaḵšarī (Muf. #408).

(3) Paradigms at 4.4 n 5 and 4.81 n 2. On yaḵšā etc. cf. 2.41 n 2.

3.241 (1) Arabic nūn al-inaṯ 'the n of females', conventionally naming only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2). Since it is always realized as na it will always be so transcribed, except at 2.1. See further at 7.62.

(2) The transliteration problem for nūn at-tawkīd 'the n of emphasis' is the same as for the fem. plur. na in the previous note. It is realized in a 'light' form an and a 'heavy' form anna (q.v. 26.34 n 2), the latter being preferred for transcription, except at 2.1. See Muf. #610; Alf. v 635; Fleisch 108. Arab segmentation is into a-, invariable verb ending, and -n, -nnā, cf. 5.32 n 4.

(3) See 3.44 on these agent pronouns; on 'status' 5.81 n 3. The superficial similarity between the noun suffixes āni/aynī (dual, 3.43), ūnā/īna (masc. plur., 3.4) and the verb suffixes īna/ānī/ūnā listed here probably reflects a common origin (cf. 5.02 for the overall similarities between nouns and imperfect tense verbs). But the two sets of elements are, correctly, segmented quite differently by the Arab grammarians: the noun suffixes are analysed into case morphemes ā/ay, ū/I (see ensuing paragraphs) and definition morphemes nī, na
3.3 It might be asked, what is the difference between the marker and the case it denotes (as, for example, when one says 'with u in independence' etc.)? The answer is that the markers consist of the short vowels and vowellessness used in constructing words, namely \( u, a, i \) and \( ø \), while the cases denoted by the markers consist of the vowels of inflection and apocopation, namely independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopation. The two are different even if they appear on the surface to be identical, just as the definition differs from the thing defined: in short, the marker and the case it denotes are identical in essence but different in reference, just as the vowel \( i \) differs from the occurrence of an \( i \).

3.4 Having finished with \( u \), which is the basic independence marker, the author now turns to its replacements: \( ü \) is the marker of independence in two places:

3.41 (1) in the sound masculine plural, e.g. \( jā'a z-zaydūna \) 'the Zayds came' among nouns and \( (jā'a) l-muslimūna \) 'the Muslims (came)' among adjectives. Here \( jā'a \) 'came' is a past tense verb and \( az-zaydūna \) 'the Zayds' and \( al-muslimūna \) 'the Muslims' are agents made independent by \( jā'a \) 'came', with \( ü \) as their independence marker instead of \( u \).

3.411 This kind of plural is called 'sound' because its singular remains unaltered except for the suffixing of \( ūna \) and \( īna \). Everything, whether noun or adjective, which takes this kind of plural must fulfil three conditions: (a) there should be no feminine \( t \), for such nouns do not form this kind of plural, cf. \( ṭalḥatū 'Ṭalḥa' \), nor do adjectives, cf. \( c allāmatun 'very learned (man)' \), lest (10b) they should contain the masculine and feminine markers simultaneously; (b) that it should refer to a male, for such feminine proper names as \( zaynabu \)
(but see 23.41 n 4), the verb suffixes into agent pronouns I, ā, ū, and 'case' (= mood, 5.02) morphemes ni, na, φ. See 7.8 n 1 for Arab segmentation of imperfect tense verb.

3.3 (1) The problem raised here is the difference between phonemes and morphemes, a distinction which is implicit in the earliest grammar Kitāb I, 1). The comment of al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 25 seems by comparison rather careless: 'there is no contradiction in calling these (vowels) both actual inflections and markers of inflection, as they are in the broad sense inflection by being a feature produced by the operator, and in the narrow sense markers of inflection'. This tends to blur a very important distinction which is hardly a 'terminological nicety' as suggested by Drozdik, J.M.S. 5, 73.

(2) This translates ǧā l-‘alāmati, lit. 'what the marker belongs to'. The criticism that the Arabs had no abstract concept of case, mood and declension (e.g. Fleisch, in E.I. (2), art. 'I‘rāb') is not relevant to the descriptive aims of their grammar, which has achieved a high level of adequacy precisely through the 'purely formal manner' that Fleisch deplores. See also 11.2 n 1.

(3) i.e. the phoneme and morpheme respectively; cf. 22.12 n 1.

3.4 (1) See 3.1 n 4; 'replacements', i.e. allomorphs, are dealt with distributionally, i.e. in terms of their function.

3.41 (1) jamC al-mudakkar as-sālim, translated literally, Jum. 19; Muf. #234; Alf. v 35; Qatr 41; Fleisch 41 (Tr. #59); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; E.I. (2), art. 'DjamC'. Paradigm 4.6 n 1; syntax 7.23 n 1; whether a genuine inflection 3.42 n 2. See also 23.41 n 4.

The origin of the sound masc. plur. û is said to be a lengthening of the sing. u, opposing a common dep./obl. ending i which has also been lengthened (Moscati #12.37), but this may be an oversimplification (Fleisch, Tr. #60d, e).

(2) Morphologically nouns and adjectives are almost identical (cf. Beeston 34) and can usually only be distinguished by function: thus any adjective may stand alone as a noun, and there is a clear similarity between the attributive adjective (11.1 etc.) and the various appositional noun structures (chs. 12-14). But see 11.61 n 1.

3.411 (1) See 11.42 n 1 for fem. t. The nouns cited here always denote males, either as proper names (and therefore semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)), or intensives (others: nassābatun 'great genealogist', raḥbalatun 'great traveller' etc.). Plur. is rare, sound fem. is mostly used. One common word in this class is kalifatun 'caliph', which has broken plur. ǧulafā'u. See Fleisch, Tr. #98; Inṣāf, prob. 4.

(2) Here natural gender triumphs over grammatical gender, and sound fem. or broken plurals are used. Note that fem. adjectives of the type ḥālqun 'menstruating', if used participially, do take the fem. marker, scil. 'is now menstruating' (Fleisicher, Kl. Schr. I, 250, Nöldeke 20). In addition, there is a sizable class of adjectives which never vary
'Zenobia' do not form this kind of plural, nor do feminine adjectives such as ḥā'idun 'menstruating', lest the masculine and feminine plural become confused, and (c) it must denote a rational being, for names of dogs such as wāšiqun 'Darter' do not form this kind of plural, nor do adjectives such as sābiqun 'Racer' when applied to horses. There is one final condition regarding their being separate words, and that is that they must not be compound proper names, neither predicative nor mixed compounds. The predicative compound proper name, such as baraqa nahruhu 'His chest gleamed' does not form this kind of plural, nor does the mixed compound proper name, such as ma'dī karibu 'Ma'dīkarib'. Adjectives which take the feminine t, e.g. qā'imun 'standing' (masc.), from which you can say qā'imatan 'standing' (fem.), or those which do not take the feminine t but denote a superior quality, e.g. 'afḍalu 'most virtuous', have the plural qā'imūna 'standing' (masc.), 'afḍalūna 'most virtuous' (masc.). But this kind of plural is not formed by such words as jarīḥun 'wounded' in the meaning of majrūḥun 'wounded', ṣābirun 'very patient' in the meaning of ṣābirun 'patient', sakrānu 'intoxicated' and 'āhmāru 'red' because they do not take the feminine t nor do they denote any superiority.

3.412 Note: They have treated as sound masculine plurals four other kinds of word which, even though they are inflected with long vowels, are not sound plurals, viz.

(a) certain plural nouns such as 'ulū 'possessors of' in the meaning of the plural noun 'asḥābu 'owners of', Čālamūna 'worlds' (plural of Čālamun 'world', in both cases spelt with a after the 1), and īšrūna 'twenty' (and other words in this category up to tis ėčūna 'ninety');
for gender, e.g. gatfīn 'dead' (masc. or fem.), perhaps because they have never lost their nominal character, scil. 'something dead' (but see further 3.411 n 7).

(3) Explained by Ibn Ya'Cīš on Muf. #4 as denoting 'human persons' ('aškāš 'ādamiyya, lit. 'persons related to Adam'). Creatures of other genealogies take broken plurals, if at all (cf. Lane s.v. sābīgūn).

(4) murakkab 'īsnādī: see 1.12 n 1 on 'compound'; for 'predicative' cf. 9.1 n 1. These compounds are so named because their constituents are in a predicative relationship, though this is widened by some grammarians to a 'sentence' (jumla) relationship so as to include such non-predicative compounds as ta'abbata šarran 'he bore evil under his arm' (name of a poet: šarran 'evil' variously explained as a sword or a snake). It is unlikely that these names ever did have a plural; they are probably examples of nominalization by 'verbatim quotation' (see ḥikāya 1.45 n 3 (c)). Another specimen, though not a proper noun, is at 1.13.

(5) murakkab mazajī, translated literally, and denoting compounds of constituents with no grammatical relationship to each other. The many names ending in wayhi (e.g. sībawayhi, 1.42) are in this category; plurals are excessively improbable, though Wright (I, 196) offers a sound plur. of maṭīkaribū: The third type of compound proper name, the 'annexed compound' (11.723), pluralizes the first element only: ḍabīdū ḍilāḥi 'the ḍabdullāhs' (see further 3.65 n 7).

(6) These combine both comparative and superlative functions: 20.4

(7) The four classes of adjectives represented here have (a) active form with passive meaning, unmarked for gender (Muf. #269; Alf. v 762; Nöldeke 20); (b) intensive form with active meaning, also unmarked for gender (Muf., Nöl. ibid; Alf. v 760); (c) suffix ān (Fleisch 88, Tr. #97) but with a separate fem. pattern, e.g. sakrā (Muf. #272; Alf. v 765); (d) the pattern 'af'alu (fem. faclā'u) denoting colours or physical defects (Muf. #272; Alf. v 763). This last class is now closed, unlike the formally very similar 'elative' (20.4), and a common origin is assumed for both, with reservations (H. Wehr, Der arabische Elativ, Wiesbaden 1952, 6; W. Fischer, Farbe- und Formenbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung, Wiesbaden 1965, esp. 6, 64, 142).

All the above (except 'elatives') thus have broken plur., e.g. jarḥā 'wounded', subūrun 'very patient', sukārā 'drunk', all common gender.

3.412 (1) Alf. v 36; Qatr 41; but here from al-Azhari, Ṭāṣr. I, 72.

(2) 'ulū functions as a plur. of dū (3.42) and in that sense is not a true suffix plural; being always annexed, it is never *'ulūna. It is probably related to the demonstratives at 11.734.

(3) Evidently a loan-word from Aramaic or Syriac (A. Jeffreys, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, Baroda 1938, 208). The grammarians regard it as a collective rather than a plural.
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(b) certain broken plurals, namely banūna 'sons', plural of ibnun 'son' (whose regular sound plural should be *îbnûna), 'aharrūna 'stony places' (spelt with a after the ' and h, and double r) plural of harratun 'stony place', 'aradūna 'lands' (spelt with a after the r) plural of 'ardun 'land' (spelt with unvowelled r), sinūna 'years' (spelt with i after the s) plural of sanatun 'year' (spelt with a after the s), and other words of the same category and behaviour such as idatun 'piece', plural cidūna 'pieces';

c) the genuine sound plurals which do not fulfil the above conditions for nouns and adjectives, e.g. 'ahlūna 'peoples', plural of 'ahlun 'people', and wābiluna 'pouring rains', plural of wābilun 'pouring rain', for neither 'ahlun nor wābilun are proper names, nor are they adjectives;

d) those which are used as singular proper names in this plural form or have become attached to this category, such as zaydūna 'Zaydūn' (11a) and 'illiyûna 'Illiyûn', which are inflected with long vowels and are thus allowed to behave as they did before they came to be used as names.

3.42 (2) in the five nouns, i.e. the defective nouns, when in annexation, viz. 'abūka 'your father', 'ağūka 'your brother', 'hamūka 'your father-in-law', fūka 'your mouth' and dū mālin possessor of wealth.

Thus in jā'a 'abūka 'your father came' jā'a 'came' is a past tense verb and 'abūka 'your father' is an agent made independent by jā'a 'came', with ĥ as its independence marker instead of u. The same rule applies to all the others, and the ka 'your' in all five is made oblique by annexation.

3.421 Note: It is a condition for the inflection of these five nouns
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(4) These are formally the plurals of their respective units, with twenty, originally a dual of ten (*Gašrā) assimilated to the plurals of the other decades (Fleisch 97, Tr. #106r); see also 20.22 n 1.

(5) This seems more like a genuine sound plur. with dissimilation of the initial consonant cluster. For 'regular' cf. 8.3 n 2.

(6) There is also a regular sound masc. plur. ḥarrūna.

(7) There are also broken and sound fem. plurals of this word, as well as a regular sound masc. 'arḍūna (Fleisch, Tr. #61h). The singular is grammatically feminine! (Cf. 11.43 n 3).

(8) A sound fem. plur. sanawātun exists in free variation.

(9) According to Fleisch, 90 (Tr. #98a) the 1st rad. w of these words has been lost, and is compensated by the fem. sing. and sound masc. plur. suffixes, in order to retain the appearance of having three radicals. Cf. Ibn Yaṣī on Muf. #234, al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 38.

(10) The distribution of the sound masc. plur. is very restricted in Arabic: in effect it is confined to two classes of words, (a) proper names (but these often have broken plurals as an alternative, cf. 4.12 as against 4.6, and, for the sound fem. plur., 4.12 against 4.31), and (b) participles (which are often of a form which could not be fitted into a broken plur. pattern anyway), with the added condition that both must denote rational beings. Otherwise the sound masc. plur. has been largely displaced by the broken plur. in the South Semitic group of languages (cf. Moscati #12.44).

(11) The ūn here is an ancient suffix not cognate with the masc. plur. suffix (Fleisch, Tr. #97d), nor is it common (as suggested here) for nouns with ūn to inflect like sound masc. plurals: they usually take the same endings as nouns in ān (3.89 (7)), viz. zaydūna, zaydūna.

(12) A loan word from Hebrew, found in Qur'ān S. 83 vv 18, 19, and explained as meaning 'highest part of heaven' (but see E.I. (2), art. 'Cılliyūn').

3.42 (1) Jum. 18; Muf. #16; Alf. v 27; Qaṭr 36; paradigm 4.71 n 1. These are 'defective' (muṭalla, 2.43 n 2) only in the artificial sense that they appear to lack a third radical. In fact, they probably never had one, but are part of the small stock of primitive biliteral roots which survive (others include yad 'hand', ism 'name', dam 'blood', mā' 'water', cf. Fleisch, Tr. #52). By Systemzwang they do acquire third radicals in dual and plur., cf. 3.65 n 9.

(2) There has been some debate as to whether the long vowel inflections here, and those of the dual (ā/ay) and masc. plur. (ū/I) are real inflections (cf. Insāf, prob. 2). The 'Kīfan' position is that, since such words already bore short vowel inflections u, a, i, the subsequent lengthening markers duplicated the inflections and were thus not themselves true inflection markers. The 'Baṣrans' replied that the lengthening elements were simply prolongations of inflection, not duplications of it.
that they should be singular, non-diminutive and annexed.\textsuperscript{1} If separated from annexation they are then inflected with short vowels, e.g. \textit{wa-lahu 'akun} 'and he has a brother' in the independent form, \textit{'inna lahu 'aban} 'verily he has a father' in the dependent form and \textit{wa-banātu l-'akī} 'and the daughters of the brother' in the oblique form.\textsuperscript{2} It is also a condition for these nouns that they should not be annexed to \textit{I 'my'}, otherwise they are inflected with implicit short vowels, e.g. \textit{ḥādā 'akī} 'this is my brother', \textit{ra'aytu 'akī} 'I saw my brother', \textit{marartu bi-'akī} 'I passed by my brother'. The author dispenses with mentioning these conditions by the way he has listed the nouns above. He has left out the noun \textit{al-hanu} 'the thing' because it is best treated as an incomplete noun and inflected with the short vowels, e.g. \textit{ḥādā hanuka} 'this is your thing', \textit{ra'aytu hanaka} 'I saw your thing', \textit{naṣartu 'ilā hanīka} 'I looked at your thing', with \textit{u}, \textit{a} and \textit{i} respectively. But it may also be inflected with long vowels, in which case you say \textit{ḥādā hanūka} 'this is your thing', \textit{ra'aytu hanāka} 'I saw your thing', \textit{naṣartu 'ilā hanīka} 'I looked at your thing'.\textsuperscript{4}

3.422 Axiom: There are no inflected nouns ending in \textit{ū} other than the six nouns in the independent state.\textsuperscript{1}

3.43 \textit{ā} is the marker of independence especially in the dual of nouns,\textsuperscript{1} e.g. \textit{gāla rajulāni} 'two men said', where \textit{gāla} 'said' is a past tense verb and \textit{rajulāni} 'two men' is an agent made independent by \textit{gāla} with \textit{ā} as its independence marker instead of \textit{u}.

3.44 \textit{nī} is the marker of independence in the imperfect tense verb when suffixed with the dual pronoun (which is \textit{nī}), as in \textit{yadrībānī} 'they two (masc.) strike' (spelt \textit{y}, with two dots below),\textsuperscript{2} \textit{taḍribānī} 'you two (masc. & fem.) strike', they two (fem.) strike' (spelt \textit{t}, with two dots above), or the plural pronoun (namely \textit{ū} for the masculine plural), as
3.421 (1) Annexation 26.7. 'Non-diminutive' renders mukabbara, lit. 'enlarged', antonym of muṣağفار(a) 'made small', i.e. 'diminutive'. A noun is made diminutive by converting it into one of a special range of patterns all showing the characteristic vowel sequence u-ay, e.g. kulayb 'small dog' (from kalb), šuwayṣ'ir 'poetaster' (from ṣāṣ'ir). Diminutives of the 'five nouns' are regular, but rare, e.g. 'ubayy 'little father', fuwayh 'little mouth'. Jum. 247; Muf. #274; Alf. V 833; Fleisch 70 (and index), Tr. #71f. The name Sulaymān (1.701) is a diminutive of Solomon in the Arab view (but see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 178). Cf. also Buṭayna in 13.13.

(2) The examples are from Qur'ān S. 4 v 12; S. 12 v 78; S. 4 v 23.

(3) Possessive suffixes 4.72 n 2. The suffix I 'my' displaces all the short vowel inflections, e.g. kitābī 'my book' (*kitābu-ī), kitābatī 'my writing' (*kitābatu-ī). The case of 'ākī 'my brother' etc. is peculiar in that, for total symmetry, a long vowel must be assumed to have been displaced by I, parallel to the long vowels which occur before the other possessive suffixes ('ākūka 'your brother' etc., see 3.42), and which is still found in colloquial 'ākūya 'my brother'. An allomorph of this I is ya, which occurs after vowels ā, ī, (except the 'five nouns'), and diphthong ay, e.g. fatāya 'my boy' (see 23.62 n 3). Note ḫādimīya 'my servants', all cases (*ḥādimūya changed to avoid non-canonical sequence ūy), and 'ilayya 'to me' in 5.411 (see 'iḏā, 1.702), ḫala'yya 'upon me' in 13.13, 14.62 (see ḫalā, 1.704).

(4) Hence 'six nouns' in 3.422. This one differs from the others in that its third radical is felt to be entirely lacking: that of the 'five nouns', though phonologically defective (muṣtalli, 2.43 n 2) is still a psychological reality even when absent.

3.422 (1) Some obviously foreign words, e.g. samandū 'salamander' (?) (from as-Suyūṭī, Ašbāh II, 27) are probably invariable, as also such proper names as Ibn Hindū etc. The name ḫamrun 'ḪAmr', spelt in its indep. and obl. forms with final ū is unique; it is apparently a Nabatean survival (Fleisch, Tr. #54e n 1). Contrast dalwun etc., 2.7.

3.43 (1) Jum. 23; Muf. #228; Alf. v 32; Qaṭr 39; Beeston 38; Fleisch 41; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 41. The dual suffixes are Proto-Semitic, showing vowel dissimilation *āna>ānī etc. (Moscati #12.62). Syntax cf. 7.22 n 1; paradigm 4.5 n 1; distribution 3.65; definition 3.63; whether ā/ay are true inflections 3.42 n 2.

3.44 (1) This n is realized as na or ni, see 4.81 n 1.

(2) Spelling instructions: Arabic orthography has two peculiarities, (a) in normal circumstances only consonants are written, the short vowels being added as diacriticals only when necessary, (b) several consonants are distinguished from each other only by the number and position of their dots. Consequently explicit instructions are often included during dictation of the text and remain part of it thereafter. The present case is typical: y and t differ only in the position of the two dots (others passim, and see also 1.92, 10.15). Vowels are
The authors are known as 'the five patterns', being so called because they are not in themselves verbs (as 'the six nouns' are in themselves nouns), but are simply patterns used to allude to all verbs of the same status, e.g. 

\[ \text{yadhibāni} \] 'they two (masc.) go'. Ibn Hišām said in his Commentary on the Lumha that 'they are called five by subsuming the second person feminine dual under the second person masculine dual, but it would be better to count them as six'. The verbs here are all independent, their independence marker being the retention of their final \( n \) instead of \( u \) because they are free from any operator of dependence or apocopation. Having finished with the independence markers the author next turns to the markers of dependence.

3.5 There are five markers of dependence: (1) \( a \), which is the basic one and for that reason placed first, (2) \( ā\), which he puts before the next because it derives from \( a \), (3) \( i \), which he puts before the next because it is related to \( a \) in being a short vowel, (4) \( ī/ay \), which he puts before \( n \) because it is related to \( i \), and (5) elision of \( n \). This he puts last because it least resembles the others. Each of these has its own particular functions and the author begins with a because it is the basic marker (as has already been pointed out):

3.51 \( a \) is the marker of dependence in three places: (1) on the singular noun, e.g. 

\[ \text{ra'aytu zaydan wa-‘ahmada wa-l-fatā wa-‘abdallāhi 'I saw Zayd, Ahmad, the boy and ‘Abdullāh',} \] where \( ra'aytu 'I saw \) is a verb
indicated by their names, fatḥa 'a', kasra 'i', ḍamma 'u' (0.4 n 3), cf. chs. 7, 8, where active and passive verbs differ only in vowels. Difficult words are spelt out more or less completely, e.g. 0.4, 11.61, 11.731-732. Cf. Wright I, pp 4, 7f.

(3) On the segmentation of these verbs cf. 3.241 n 3 and 5.3.

3.45 (1) al-'amṭila l-ḵamsa, translated literally. From the very earliest grammar it has been the practice to symbolize the pattern of a word (see 10.37 n 1) by using the radicals f-c-l: thus in the present paragraph yadhabānī 'they two go' has the pattern yafClānī, which stands for any active, imperfect tense, indep. 3rd masc. dual verb. Similarly tadbīnī 'you (fem. sing.) strike' in 3.44 has the pattern tafClīnā, and so on for all words.

(2) This quibble arises because f-c-l is also a root in its own right, meaning 'do', but the writer here intends its symbolic function, not its literal meaning, in other words, as the name of a category which is not identical with the members of that category (cf. 1.23). The 'six nouns', however, are genuine nouns. Cf. also 5.1 n 2 on radicals.

(3) Ibn Ḥišām 1.02 n 1; Commentary on the Lumḥa (unpubl.) G.A.L. II, 110. But aš-Širbīnī is undoubtedly quoting indirectly, from al-Azharī, Taṣrīr. I, 85. Curiously Ibn Ḥišām does not express these views in his more widely known works, but speaks only of 'five verbs'. Yāsīn, in his commentary on Taṣrīr. I, 85, offers an additional choice of seven, eight, nine and ten verbs, by devious arguments!

(4) Zero-operator 5.34 n 1; n realized as na or ni 4.81 n 1.

3.5 (1) The term 'dependence' is a free translation of the Arabic nasb, lit. 'erection, setting up': like all the case/mood nomenclature, its origins and precise technical application are obscure (cf. 3.1 n 1). It may be significant that the most obvious orthographical feature of many dependent forms is word-final ā or an, both written with a character which is essentially a vertical stroke (cf. 1.4 n 5), and it is just possible that nasb may be descriptive of this. Cf. 3.8 n 1. The English 'dependent' is merely an attempt to reproduce the general function of mansūb elements (cf. ch. 15).

(2) There are transliteration problems here: the Arabic convention is to name only the characteristic consonant, or in this case, semi-vowel, leaving the vocalization to be determined by context. Here y stands for the sound masc. plur. I (= iy, cf. 2.43 n 2) and the dual ay, which in the present paragraph can only be covered by the ad hoc transliteration I/ay. Where relevant, only one of these is used, e.g. I at 3.71, ay at 3.63.

(3) Cf. 3.1 n 3.

3.51 (1) The examples string together specimens of the fully declinable proper noun (11.721), semi-declinable proper noun (3.89 (6)), invariable noun (2.31) and annexed proper noun (11.723), all masc. Fem. nouns behave likewise, according to category. Note that in
and agent, tu 'I' (which is the agent) is a noun because the action is predicated of it, and zaydan 'Zayd' is a direct object made independent by tu 'I' is a noun because the action is predicated of it, and ar-rijāla 'the men' is a direct object made dependent by the verb, the nouns following being coordinated with ar-rijāla;

3.53 (3) on the imperfect tense verb when preceded by an operator of dependence (12a) and without suffixes; such as the feminine plural na, the emphatic anna, or the pronouns in the case of the 'five verbs').

An example of the unsuffixed imperfect tense verb is lan yabraha zaydun 'Zayd will not go forth', where lan 'not' is a particle of negation and dependence. By the way, lan is in origin a simple word: it is not the negative là 'not' with a change of ā to n, nor does it originate from là 'an 'not that' with elision of ' for ease of pronunciation and consequent elision of ā to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants. Moreover lan does not make the negation necessarily perpetual, since this would contradict the Qur'ānic fa-lan 'ukallima l-yawma 'insiyyan 'I shall not speak to anyone today', and also tautology in mentioning 'abadan 'ever' in the Qur'ānic wa-lan yatamannahu 'abadan 'and they shall not desire it ever'. The alleged perpetual negation in the
the annexed proper name only the first element inflects, the second being fixed in oblique form by annexation (ch. 26, and cf. 3.65 n 7).

(2) Parsing in general 8.21 n 1; verb and pronoun agent 7.5; predicate as nominal marker 1.6; direct object ch. 16; coordination ch. 12.

3.52 (1) Broken plur. 3.22, 3.221; paradigm 4.12 n 2.

(2) The first two examples show that a is common to both genders of broken plural; al-'asārā 'the prisoners' is completely invariable, like al-fatā in 2.31; al-ḡārīya 'the virgins' is, in the dep. form only, entirely regular, like al-qādī in 2.6 (the other plural form, al-ḡārā, is completely invariable, cf. 3.22 n 2, but is clearly not intended in the present context, even though, in the absence of vowel signs, either could be read here).

(3) It is the custom in the metalanguage to refer to verbs in their active, past tense, 3rd masc. sing. form, principally because this is simplest (cf. 5.1). Though it may seem possible here that 'akramtu has been segmented into a stem 'akram- and suffix -tu, this is ruled out by, for example the case of marartu 'I passed' in 21.33, where it is not the dissimilated stem marar- (cf. 11.3 n 1) which is quoted in the parsing, but the 3rd masc. sing. marra, lit. 'he passed' but here clearly 'to pass'. Similar examples in 3.61, 4.11 etc. Occasionally the convention lapses (cf. ra'aytu 'I saw' in 4.11 and 4.12), and sometimes the reference is clearly to a past stem, e.g. 7.51, 8.61 rather than an infinitive.

3.53 (1) Paradigm 4.82 n 1.

(2) For fem. na see 3.241 n 1; emphatic anna 3.241 n 2; the 'five verbs' 3.44, 45.

(3) Note that lān is defined by its functions, and cf. 5.42. The etymology of lān has been a matter of dispute from the earliest times, though curiously it is not dealt with in the Insāf. The source for aš-Sirbīnī is mainly al-Azhārī, Taṣr. II, 229-30, and the neatest discussion of the whole issue is in Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 221. The etymology *lā+'an goes back as far as al-Ḳālīl (Kitāb I, 361), and is also the one favoured by Brockelmann (Grundr. II, 603) and most Western scholars (e.g. Fleisch 201 n 1), but see Aartun, Oriens 25-26, 187, for lān = lā + emphatic n suffix.

(4) S. 19 v 26.

(5) S. 2 v 95, being Muḥammad's answer to his opponents' claim that heaven was reserved exclusively for them: if true, 'they shall never desire (scil. death)'. According to az-Zamaḵšāri (see next note) lān denotes perpetual negation (so in his Unmūḏaj, ed. de Sacy in Anthologie grammaticale arabe, Paris 1829, ar. text p. 109, but note that as well as ta'bīd 'perpetuation', a milder variant is offered, viz. ta'yīd, which means no more than 'reinforcement'). This view is the result of az-Zamaḵšāri's adherence to the hyper-rationalist Muʿtazila sect (q.v. E.I. (1)), one of whose aims was the removal of
Qur'anic *yan yaklugū gubāban* 'they shall not create a fly' according to the opinion of az-Zamaḵšari6 (because of his allegiance to that vain school of thought which denies that we shall see God in the afterlife), which he appeals to in his exegesis of the Qur'anic *lan tarānī* 'you shall not see me',7 is due to some external factor and is not necessarily implied by *lan*. To resume: *yabraha* 'he (may) go forth' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by *lan* 'not' with *a* as its dependence marker and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *yabraha* with *u* as its independence marker. Having dealt with *a*, which is the basic dependence marker, the author now turns to what replaces it:

3.61 *ā* is the marker of dependence in the 'five nouns',1 mentioned above under the independence markers, e.g. *ra'aytu* 'abāka wa-'aḵāka' 'I saw your father and your brother', (where *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is a verb and agent, 'abāka 'your father' and 'aḵāka 'your brother' are both made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see' with *ā* as their dependence marker instead of *a*, and *ka* 'your' is made oblique by annexation), and the like, such as *ra'aytu ḥamāka wa-fāka wa-dā mālin* 'I saw your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth';

3.62 *i* is the marker of dependence in the sound feminine plural,1 instead of *a*, e.g. *kalaga llāhu s-samāwātī* 'God created the heavens',2 where *kalaga llāhu* 'God created' is a verb and agent made independent by the verb *kalaga* 'to create' and *as-samāwātī* 'the heavens' is a direct object (some say, however, that it is an absolute object),3 made dependent in either case by *kalaga*, with *i* as its dependence marker instead of *a*. 

**TEXT AND TRANSLATION**

3.61-3.62
anthropomorphism from speculation about God.

(6) S. 22 v 73. Az-Zamakšarī, 1075-1144 (G.A.L. I, 289), is best known for his elegantly structured Mufaṣṣal (which formed the basis of Howell's huge work), on which he wrote his own commentary and of which the Unmūḍaj is itself an abridgement (see previous note). His great Qur'an commentary, the Kaṣṣāf, was felt to be too heterodox and was eventually purified and condensed in the version of al-Bayḍāwī.

(7) S. 7 v 143, God speaking to Moses (cf. Kaṣṣāf I, 349). In his own Qur'an Commentary, I, 491-2, aš-Širbīnī refutes at length the implications of az-Zamakšarī's interpretation (which effectively denies the Beatific Vision) and, for good measure, the three other verses already cited here. The 'external factor' in S. 22 v 73 is simply that man will never be able to create a fly in any case, with or without ālā. Again aš-Širbīnī is using al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 229.

3.61 (1) See 3.42. Note that 'mouth' has an alternative, completely regular biliteral set (cf. 3.42 n 1), famūn 'a mouth', al-fāmu 'the mouth', famī 'my mouth', famūka 'your (masc. sing.) mouth' etc., dep. forms faman, al-fāma, famaka etc., obl. famīn, al-fāmi, famika etc. In the fūka/fāka/fīka set note fiyya 'my mouth' (cf. 3.421 n 3).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for the practice of quoting verbs in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense. Verbs with a weak 3rd radical present problems similar to those of al-fatā in 2.5, in that the 3rd masc. sing. past tense seems to be reduced from *ra'āya to ra'a and the fem. sing. from *ra'āt to ra'āt. Bravmann (Arabica 18, 213-5) suggests, however, that the masc. ra'ā at one time had a short variant *ra'a, from which the fem. ra'at was derived quite regularly by suffixing the fem. marker t (5.01). Paradigm of this verb in 10.65 nn 1, 3.

3.62 (1) See 3.23. It is suggested that the i vowel arose by dissimilation from *ātā to āti (Fleisch, Tr. #59d).

(2) S. 29 v 44 and S. 45 v 22. The word samāwātun and its singular samā'un show alternation of ' and the weak radical w. This alternation (called 'ibdāl, lit. 'replacement' and cognate with the syntactic term badāl 'substitution', q.v. ch. 14) occurs in both directions: in qaḍā'un 'judgement', for example, the weak 3rd radical y is replaced by 's, as is weak 3rd rad. w in ṣafā'un 'purity', while in the opposite direction the non-radical ' of the fem. suffix ā'(3.89 (2)) is replaced by w, e.g. ṣabrāwātun 'deserts', to which category samā'un/ samāwātun belongs. Muf. #682; Alf. v 942; Fleisch, Tr. #50, 63d, g; for 'ibdāl denoting etymological alternation of radicals see E.I. (2), art. 'Ibdāl', Yushmanov 34.

(3) We are not told in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azhari, Āj. 29) whose opinion this is, but from what al-Azhari says in Taṣr. I, 79f, we learn that this is a theological, not grammatical matter: as the ultimate 'agent', God acts 'absolutely', and what He creates is not 'direct objects' but 'absolute objects'. See ch. 17 for the absolute object, and 5.751 n 1 for more theological intrusions.
3.63 ay is the marker of dependence in the dual, i.e. the form which conventionally denotes two things and makes it unnecessary (12b) to coordinate one with the other: 'conventionally denotes' is a generic expression, "two things" is a primary differentiation which excludes those words that conventionally denote less than two, e.g. rajilānu 'a man on foot' or more than two, e.g. šinwānum 'male relatives', and 'makes it unnecessary to coordinate one with the other' is a secondary differentiation which excludes such words as kilā 'both' (masc.), kiltā 'both' (fem.), āfan 'pair' and zawjun 'couple'.

3.64 In this category belong the dual of the masculine singular, whether noun or adjective, e.g. ra'āyu z-zaydayni l-muslimayni 'I saw the two Muslim Zayds', of the feminine singular, e.g. ra'āyu l-hindayni l-muslimatayni 'I saw the two Muslim Hinds', of the broken plural, e.g. al-jimālayni 'the two herds of camels', of the collective noun, e.g. ar-rakbayni 'the two parties of riders', and of the generic noun, e.g. al-ğanamayni 'the two flocks of sheep'. Here az-zaydayni 'the two Zayds' and everything coordinated with it are made dependent by ra'ā 'to see' and their-dependence marker is ay (spelt with a before the y and i after it) because they are all dual.

3.65 Note: Most hold that there are eight conditions for dualizing:

1. The word must be singular; duals are not made from other duals, from sound plurals, nor from those patterns which are unique to the plural, such as masājidu 'mosques', mašābiḥu 'lamps'.

2. The word must be inflected; duals are not made from invariable words. As far as dāni 'these two' (masc.), tāni 'these two' (fem.), allağāni 'who' (masc. dual) and allatāni 'who' (fem. dual) are concerned, they are forms which conventionally denote the dual but are not themselves true duals, at least according to the soundest view, which is held by the majority of Bagunakan.

3. The word must not be compound; according to the soundest view, duals are not made from words which also happen to be predicative or
3.63 (1) From here to the end of 3.65 may be taken as illustrative of late medieval scholarship: it is a slight abridgement of al-Azharî, "Taṣr. I", 66-7, i.e. al-Azharî's comments on Ibn Hiṣām's comments on Ibn Mālik's Alfiyya, offered to us by aṣ-Šīrbīnī as his comments on the Ājurrūmiyya!

(2) This is a good specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2): the 'generic expression' denotes all words referring to pairs whether dual or not, from which first those words in which the ān is not a dual suffix (cf. 3.72 n 2, 3.89 (7)) are excluded, and second those which do denote pairs but are not morphologically dual are excluded.

(3) Apart from not having a singular, these are excluded on the grounds that they can denote two different entities, cf. 13.43.

3.64 (1) Note that proper nouns become formally defined in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) The grammarians identify various semantic categories of nouns: proper noun, *ism ẖalam*, 11.72; common noun, *ism jīns*, 23.31, either abstract, *ism maḏnā or concrete, *ism ẖayn*, 24.21; collective noun, *ism jambil*. The collective noun denotes groups from which the individual cannot be isolated and contrasts with the generic noun (*ism jīns*, note overlap of terminology with the common noun), whose fem. sing. denotes an individual, e.g. *nählun 'bees (as a class)', nahlātun 'a bee' (the example in our text, *ḏanam*, is badly chosen, cf. Lane). On the many formal categories of noun cf. 19.31 n 1.

(3) The spelling instructions (cf. 3.44 n 2) are here a device for contrasting the dual a(yn)ī with the masc. plur. i(yn)a (2.43 n 2).

3.65 (1) General references at 3.43 n 1.

(2) Dual of sound plur. would result in suffixation of two incompatible elements (masc. plur. 3.41, fem. plur. 3.23). Duals of broken plur. are possible (example in 3.64) but objections to dual of *masājidu* etc. are twofold: (a) no sing. nouns ever have these patterns (3.221 n 1), hence they lack the unitary (collective) connotation which allows, for example, *jīmālun 'group of' camels' in 3.64 to be dualized; (b) these patterns are already felt to be about as lengthy as the morphology of Arabic will allow (cf. 1.44 n 1) and further suffixation is unwieldy.

(3) This problem is discussed again in 11.733, at which see note 2 for details. As a controversy between 'Baṣrāns' and 'Kūfans' (see 9.4 n 3) it has a rather spurious air, as it is not found in the early anthologies of their disputes. It may date back no further than the time of Ibn Yaḥyā (died 1245), who refers to it in his commentary on *Mufaṣṣal* #171.

(4) On murakkab 'compound' in general see 1.12 n 1.

(5) murakkab 'īsnādī, q.v. at 3.411 n 4.

(6) murakkab mazājī, q.v. at 3.411 n 5.

(7) murakkab 'īdāff, cf. also 11.723. The dual of *ʿabdu ilāhi is thus
mixed compounds. As far as annexed compounds are concerned, dualizing the annexed noun renders dualizing the noun to which it is annexed superfluous.

(4) The word must be undefined; proper names are not dualized by leaving them in their proper name status, but are first made undefined and then dualized.

(5) The stem-form must remain the same; ‘abawānī 'two fathers', i.e. both parents, father and mother, is simply a case of usage predominating.

(6) The meaning must remain the same; duals are not made from equivocal words, nor of the literal with the metaphorical: al-qalamu ‘ahadu 1-lisānaynī 'the pen is one of the two tongues' is a rare exception.

(7) There should not already be an alternative dual form which renders dualizing unnecessary; sawā’un 'like, else, other etc.' does not have a dual because the dual of siyyun 'like etc.' makes it unnecessary, and people say siyyānī 'two like etc.' instead of sawā‘ānī.

(8) There should be a second in existence; there is no dual of aš-šamsu 'the sun' or al-qamaru 'the moon'. The expression al-qamarānī lit. 'the two moons', meaning the sun and moon together is a case of usage predominating. I have explained the manner of this predominance in my Commentary on Qatr an-nadā, and whoever (13a) wishes may look it up there, where I have said more or less all there is to say on it.

3.71 I is a marker of dependence in the plural, i.e. the sound masculine plural, e.g. 'akramtu z-zaydīnā 'I honoured the Zayds', where
"Abdā llāhi 'the two 'Abdullāhs', lit. 'the two servants of God'. (Note that in the dep./obl. "Abdayī llāhi a glide vowel is required between the two elements, v. 11.1 n 2). Duals and plurals of these nouns are naturally rare, and are hardly touched upon by grammarians; Kitāb II, 103 has a short chapter on the topic, where (reflecting the lack of unanimity?) no less than three plurals of "Abdu llāhi are offered as free variants: two broken, viz. "Abdu lāhi, "Ibādu llāhi, and a sound plur. "Abdū lāhi. In Muf. #10 the broken plur. "Abdīlilatu is used casually without comment, explained by Ibn Ya'qīb ad loc. as formed from the root letters of the name "Abdu llāhi (cf. 1.0 n 1).

(8) Proper names are defined by nature (11.72), and presence or absence of the definite article is a matter of convention (cf. 11.82 n 4). But the article always appears in the dual and plural, because it alone can define a word which now refers to more than one person or place (cf. Nöldeke 29). Though the Arab analysis has a flavour of deep structure about it, it is more probably based on a correct grasp of the Arabs' own intuitive feelings about proper names and definition.

(9) 'Stem-form' renders laź, lit. 'expression, utterance' (as in 1.11) but here clearly meaning that there should be no change in the pattern of the singular. Ibn "Aqīl on Alf. vv 32-4 puts it succinctly: a true dual is ʿāliẖ li-t-tajrīd, lit. 'appropriate to be stripped (of its dual suffix)' the residue being the original singular. The anomaly in 'ābawānī is the restoration of a missing 3rd radical before suffixation (cf. 4.71 n 1); moreover the conditions of sub-para. (8) below probably apply. On 'usage predominating' see n 12 below.

(10) Equivocal words (muṭārik) are those with more than one meaning, whose duals ought then to be confined to a single meaning. The problem is discussed at length by al-Astarābādī in his commentary on Kāfiya II, 160: he finds its author, Ibn al-Hājib (12.912 n 3) somewhat radical in allowing duals to be applied to any two entities which in the speaker's mind share a common property, e.g. al-'abyādānī 'the two white ones', viz. a man and a horse (but in fact such pairings are not infrequent, and al-Astarābādī's objection possibly stems from the feeling that these quasi-proverbial usages are no longer productive). In addition Ibn al-Hājib is inconsistent in prohibiting duals of equivocal nouns in his Kāfiya while allowing them as rare exceptions in his commentary on the Mufassāl (probably because the Mufassāl is a more advanced work). Of the 'two tongues' here the other is the sword!

(11) It seems that in 13.7 aš-Širbīnī contradicts what he says here, but he has simply omitted to mention that sawā'ānī is relatively rare.

(12) 'Usage predominating' translates taḡīb, lit. 'overwhelming, prevalence'. Here and in sub-para. (5) above this translation has been chosen to signify the implicit admission of defeat by the prescriptive grammarians, acknowledging that their system cannot accommodate all the observed phenomena of the language. A similar phrase, 'predominant usage' has been used to render the cognate term ġālib, lit. 'prevailing, conquering', but this is applied to the overall situation (e.g. 19.3,
Note: He only uses the unqualified term ‘plural’ while meaning the sound masculine plural (as I specified in my gloss) because it follows the same principles as the dual. Thus when the plural is mentioned alongside the dual it is taken to refer to the sound masculine plural because it is related to the dual in that both are inflected with long vowels.

3.72-3.73

\textit{akramtu} 'I honoured' is a verb and agent made independent by \textit{akrama} 'to honour' and \textit{az-zaydîna} is a direct object made dependent by \textit{akrama} 'to honour', with I (spelt with i before the y and a after it)\(^2\) as its dependence marker instead of a.

\textit{yadrib\,ā}ni 'they two (masc.) strike', \textit{ta\,drib\,ā}ni 'you two (masc. & fem.) strike', \textit{yadrib\,ū}na 'they (masc.) strike', \textit{ta\,drib\,ū}na 'you (fem. sing.) strike') has its \textit{n} elided when preceded by an operator of dependence, so that you say \textit{I\,n\,yadrib\,ā} 'they two (masc.) will not strike', \textit{I\,n\,ta\,drib\,ā} 'they two (fem.) will not strike', \textit{I\,n\,yadrib\,ū} 'you two (fem.) will not strike', \textit{I\,n\,ta\,drib\,ū} 'you (fem. sing.) will not strike', \textit{I\,n\,ta\,drib\,ī} 'you (fem. sing.) will not strike'. These five verbs are made dependent by \textit{I\,n\,not}'\(^4\) with elision of \textit{n} as their dependence marker instead of a. The \textit{ā}, \textit{ū}, and \textit{ī} are agents with independent status through their verbs, and are nouns because the action is predicated of them.

Having acquainted us with the markers of dependence, the author now turns to the markers of obliqueness.
19.6) rather than to isolated anomalies, and indeed means little more
than 'on the whole'.

(13) Here one particularly regrets the disappearance of this work, as
it is one of the few places where aṣ-Šibīnī appears to have substanc-
tially differed from his usual source, al-Azharī, Taṣr. 1, 67: instead
of ascribing al-qamarānī to 'usage predominating', al-Azharī says it
is 'figurative' (majāzī, cf. 13.3 n 1).

3.71 (1) See 3.42 n 2 on whether I is an inflection marker at all.
Note that proper nouns which may not have had a definite article in
the singular nevertheless have one in the plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions; the intention here is to
contrast the vowel sequence of the masc. plur. i(yn)a (cf. 2.43 n 2)
with the vowels of the dual a(yn)i.

3.72 (1) i.e. at 3.71.

(2) The dual and sound masc. plur. are structurally so similar that
they are often treated together, cf. Jum. 23 for a good example. It is,
coincidentally, also true that the ān suffix occurs as a plural
morpheme in other Semitic languages (Moscati #12.41-42) as well as on
some Arabic broken plurals (Fleisch 88).

(3) Lit. it is the 'brother' of the dual, one of the personifications
which are typical of Arabic grammar and which go back to the earliest
period (cf. also 3.1 n 2). On 'inflected with long vowels' see 4.02 n 1.

3.73 (1) See 3.45.

(2) This is a slight overstatement: in 3.241 and 3.45 aṣ-Šibīnī has
merely implied that the loss of n is a dependence marker. The term
'elision' renders ḥaḏf, lit. 'cutting off (with a sword etc.)', which
in grammar is applied to elision on two levels: on the syntactic level
ḥaḏf denotes the elision of a syntactic unit such as the subject or
predicate of an equational sentence (9.9), a noun or its adjectival
qualifier (11.61), the antecedent of a circumstantial qualifier (19.8)
etc. On the morphological level elision is normally phonemic, as here,
but non-phonemic elision also occurs, e.g. in the vocative (23.61-62).
For elision in its most characteristic function, i.e. as a marker of
the apocopated verb, see further in 3.9 n 2. Note that elision of final
short vowels is not termed ḥaḏf, cf. 3.91 n 1 and, on the special case
of the reduction of word endings in utterance final position ('pausal
form'), see 2.14 n 2.

(3) See 3.241 n 3 on the similarity between these and nominal morphemes.

(4) See 5.42 on lan, and cf. 3.53.

(5) On 'status' see 5.81 n 3. That verbs are predicates of their agents
has already been illustrated by the examples in 1.6 and is formally
stated in the definition of the agent in 7.01. An early discussion of
this topic is in az-Zajjājī, ʿIṣbāh 119 (summarized by as-Suyūṭī, ʿAṣbāh
1, 85), whose central notion is that verbs are by nature undefined and
Obliqueness has three markers, (1) i, which is the basic one and for that reason he puts it first, (2) ī/ay, which he puts before the next because it is closely related to i, and (3) a. This is put last because it is distantly related to i in being a short vowel. Each of these three markers has its own particular functions.

3.81 i is the marker of obliqueness in three places: (1) in the fully declinable singular noun, i.e. the fully established and stable noun, e.g. marartu bi-bakrin 'I passed by Bakr'. (It is called 'fully declinable' because it bears the tanwin of currency, also known as the tanwin of establishment);

3.82 (2) in the fully declinable broken plural, e.g. marartu bi-rijālin wa-huntādin 'I passed by men and Hinds'. It will later emerge that the semi-declinable nouns have a when oblique.

3.83 (3) in the sound feminine plural. This is always fully declinable, hence the author does not specify it as such. It applies equally to nouns, e.g. marartu (13b) bi-l-hindāti 'I passed by the Hinds' and to adjectives, e.g. marartu bi-l-muslimāti 'I passed by the female Muslims', but only when they are not proper names (otherwise they may be fully or semi-declinable).

3.84 And ī/ay is the marker of obliqueness in three places: (1) in the 'five nouns', e.g. marartu bi-'abīka wa-'aţīka wa-ţāmīka wa-fīka wa-dīmālin 'I passed by your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth'. Here marartu 'I passed' is a verb and agent made independent by its verb, bi-'abīka 'by your father' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element, and what follows is coordinated with it and shares in its obliqueness through bi 'by', the
predicative because (op. cit. 108-9) they do not denote 'named entities' (musammayāt) but are only 'references' ('adilla) to things (cf. Versteegh 71, 140).

3.8 (1) 'Obliqueness' renders kafād, lit. 'lowering' (antonym of the case name rafī 'independence', but lit. 'raising', 3.1). Once again, the translation merely reflects the approximate function of 'oblique elements' (ch. 26), leaving the origin of this term unexplained. The primitive connection with 'building' (3.1 n 1) is reinforced by the literal meanings of some other grammatical terms, e.g. 'ismād, lit. 'propping up' (predication, 9.1 n 1), 'idāfa, lit. 'inclining' (annexation, 26.7 n 1), 'imāla, lit. 'leaning', (raising back a to front a in environment of i), binā', lit. 'building' (invariability, 1.4 n 4), and most of the terminology of Arabic prosody (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'GArūd'). To complicate matters there is an alternative term for obliqueness, jārr, lit. 'dragging', see further 26.0 n 1.

(2) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration I/ay; 3.1 n 2 on 'related'.

3.81 (1) On the features of full declinability see 1.41. Paradigms of fully declinable nouns at 4.11 n 1.

3.82 (1) Broken plur. 3.22; paradigms at 4.12 n 2.

(2) 3.87. Semi-declinable nouns have a when oblique regardless of whether they are sing. or plur.

3.83 (1) Sound fem. plur. 3.23; paradigm at 4.13 n 2.

(2) An important issue is raised here: sound fem. plurals do not have three case endings (cf. paradigm at 4.13 n 2), hence 'fully declinable' may seem to be inappropriate. Such a translation is justified by the fact that most fully declinable nouns have three case endings, but at the same time it obscures the assumptions behind the Arabic term: by comparison with 1.41 (and contrast 18.41) it is clear that 'fully declinable' refers to the ability of a noun to take the indefinite suffix n (tanwin, 1.4), which is normally associated with the three case endings, with the exception of the dual and suffix plurals. In Kl. Schr. I, 308 Fleischer argues (against all the Arab grammarians) that full declinability (sarf) refers to the three case endings; this may be contrasted with the views of Diem, Z.D.M.G. 125, 248, that the n suffix (and its Proto-Semitic correlative m) was once an integral part of the inflectional suffix and had nothing to do with definition. See further 3.87 n 3, 18.4 n 1.

(3) See 11.72 on proper names; 3.89 gives the types of proper names which are semi-declinable.

3.84 (1) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration I/ay.

(2) 3.42. Another example: gî in the poem quoted in 1.51, made oblique by bi in the previous hemistich (q.v. 10.18 n 4).

(3) The rather clumsy translation is an attempt to preserve the structure of the Arabic jārr wa-majrūr, which in turn is a reflection
The obliqueness marker in all five is made oblique by what is annexed to it.

3.85 (2) in the dual,¹ whether masculine, as in marartu bi-z-zaydayni 'I passed by the two Zayds' or feminine, as in marartu bi-l-hindayni 'I passed by the two Hinds', where az-zaydayni 'the two Zayds' and al-hindayni 'the two Hinds' are made oblique by bi 'by' (spelt with one dot below), their obliqueness marker being ay (spelt with a before the y)² instead of i;

3.86 (3) in the plural.¹ He does not specify this as the sound masculine plural for the reason already given.² Example: marartu bi-z-zaydfna 'I passed by the Zayds', where az-zaydfna 'the Zayds' is made oblique by bi 'by' (spelt with one dot below), with I (spelt with i before the y) as its obliqueness marker instead of i.

3.87 And a is the marker of obliqueness in the semi-declinable noun.¹ Full declinability refers to the four kinds of tanwīn which are peculiar to the noun (as Ibn Mālik² says), because if a noun resembles a particle it is invariable and termed 'not fully established', while if it does not resemble a particle it is inflected: then, if the inflected noun resembles a verb, it is prevented from full declinability and is termed 'not fully stable', while if it does not resemble a verb, it is fully declined and termed 'stable'.³

3.88 The factors preventing full declinability¹ are nine, and have been collected by Ibn an-Nabhās into one line of verse:²
of the Arab analytical method: jārr is an active participle meaning 'oblique-maker' and majrūr is a passive participle meaning 'made oblique'. Together these form the elements of the function named by the verbal noun jarr '(the action of) making oblique'. What this triad implies (and which is clearly borne out by practice, see Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 146-157), is that elements of utterances occur in pairs (binary units), one active, operating on the other, passive one (cf. 2.11). In many cases the function involves a particle, which itself is the active element, e.g. function 'negation' (nafy, verbal noun, 'action of negating'), active element harf nafy 'particle of negation' (cf. 1.92 n 1), passive element manff 'that which is negated' (passive participle from nafy 'negation').

(4) The oblique form fī 'mouth' underlies the preposition fī 'in', apparently contracted from bi-fī 'in the mouth of' (cf. 26.25).

3.85 (1) 3.43; paradigm at 4.5 n 1.

(2) On the spelling instructions see 3.71 n 2.

3.86 (1) 3.41.

(2) 3.72.

3.87 (1) Jum. 224; Muf. #18; Alf. v 649; Qaṭr 367; Fleisch 39, Tr. #55a. The best bibliography for this topic is by Diem, Z.D.M.G. 125, 257-8, to which add: Fleisch, Tr. #56c; Lekiašvili, Arch. Or. 39, 57-69; Rabin in Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb, ed. G.Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 547-62; Vychychl, Muséon 82, 207-12. Perhaps the attempt to find a single explanation for all the types of diptosis is not the best way: assimilative tendencies are very strong in Arabic and it is possible that more than one kind of irregularity has been combined into the same paradigm. See further 3.89 n 12.

(2) 1.41; aš-Širbînî is actually quoting al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 210, where the reference is to the Commentary on the Kāfiya by Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2). Note yet another example of 'rational dichotomy' in the ensuing lines: further to 1.2 n 2, cf. now the description of the use of this procedure to determine the three parts of speech by B. Weiss, Arabica 23, 23-36. Cf. also van Ess in Logic in Classical Islamic Culture, ed. G. von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1970, 40f.

(3) Observe that there are degrees of declinability: (a) invariable (mabnī, cf. 1.41 n 4), e.g. man 'who', 'anā 'I' and nouns with implicit inflection like ḥublā (4.2 n 2 (c)). (b) semi-declinable (ḡayr munṣarif, ḡayr 'amkan, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. 'ahmadu 'Ahmad' and others listed in 3.89. (c) fully declinable (mutamakkin 'amkan, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. rajulun 'man', farasun 'horse' etc.

Paradigms: fully decl. 4.11 n 1; semi-decl. 4.32 n 1; invariable 4.2 n 2 (and cf. 2.5 on implicit inflection).

3.88 (1) A close translation of mawānīc aš-ṣarf, cf. Muf. #18; Alf. v 649; Qaṭr 367.

(2) Both the verses quoted here are among several of similar content
3.89 The gist of all this is that in the following cases:

1. The most extreme plural pattern, e.g., marartu bi-masājīda wa-mašābiha 'I passed by mosques and lamps',

2. The long feminine ā ending, e.g., sahrā'u 'desert' or the short feminine ā ending, e.g., ḫublā 'pregnant',

3. The combination of proper name and compound, e.g., maḏī karibu 'Maḏī Karīb',

4. The combination of proper name (14a) and feminine, e.g., zaynabu 'Zenobia', fāṭimatu 'Fāṭima',

5. The combination of proper name and foreign word, e.g., 'ibrāhīmu 'Abraham' (all the names of the prophets are foreign except four, viz. muḥammadun 'Muhammad', šāliḥun 'Ṣāliḥ', ṣūṣaybun 'Ṣūṣayb' and hūdun 'Hūd', may God bless them all and give them peace),

6. The combination of proper name and verbal measure, e.g., 'ahladu 'Ahmad', yazīdu 'Yazīd',

Another grammarian put it as follows:

ijmā wa-zin ḍādilan 'annī bi-maṣrifatin rakkib wa-zid cujmān fa-l-wasfu qad kamala

'(1) plural, (2) verbal measure, (3) anomalous, (4) feminine, (5) defined, (6) compound, (7) augmented, (8) foreign, (9) epithet, and that is all'.

Waznu l-murakkabi cujmān tarīfuhā

CADLUN WA-WASFUN IL-JAMC A ZID TA'NĪTAN

'(1) Verbal measure, (2) compound, (3) foreign, (4) defined, (5) anomalous, (6) epithet, (7) plural, (8) augmented, (9) feminine'.
mentioned by as-Suyūtī in Ašbāh II, 28-30, but there is disagreement about the attribution to Ibn an-Nahhās: as-Širbīnī follows as-Suyūtī in attributing the first verse to Ibn an-Nahhās, but al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 84 and II, 210 attributes the second verse to Ibn an-Nahhās. The source of the confusion may be Ibn Ḥišām, Qaṣr 368, where the text is rather ambiguous and could be taken to mean (as it was by Goguyer and evidently by al-Azharī as well) that Ibn an-Nahhās was the author of the second verse. The error is perpetuated by Howell (I, 31) and thence Schaw. Ind. 212 in assigning the second verse to Ibn an-Nahhās. One would like to know why as-Širbīnī fails to comment on this slip by his principal source, al-Azharī.

The Ibn an-Nahhās in question is Bahā' ad-Dīn ʿAbū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, died 1299 (see G.A.L. I, 300), and was a pupil of Ibn Yaḥyā and a master of Abu Ḥayyān (q.v. 26.7 n 2). He lived in an age when versification of grammar was endemic (cf. 21.61 n 6). Needless to say, the translations offered here attempt no more than to list the categories by their most convenient English names!

3.89 (1) They are called the most extreme plural patterns because they embody the longest stem-forms permitted by Arabic prosodic structure (cf. 1.44 n 1), and are also termed 'patterns unique to the plural' (e.g. 3.65 (1)) because they never denote singulars (cf. 3.221 n 1). They are plurals of quadriliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1), either those with (a) four genuine radicals, e.g. qindflun 'lamp', plur. qanādīlu, jumjumatuṭ 'skull', plur. jamājimu (note reduplicated root), or (b) one or more augments treated as radicals, e.g. masjīdun 'mosque' (prefix ma to triliteral root s-j-d), plur. masājīdu, sārūṣun 'rocket' (root s-r-k augmented by lengthening internal vowels), plur. sawārīlu. Paradigm is as 4.32 n 1 (poetic licence, 13.13). Beeston 38; Fleisch 93.

(2) The suffix ā' is called 'alīf māmdūda, lit. 'stretched ā', to contrast it with the other fem. suffix ā, called 'alīf maqsūra, lit. 'shortened ā'. Fleisch, 27, suggests that differences in stress may have caused the two to evolve from a common original. Both have fallen together with other word endings: ā' is, however, fully declinable when the ' represents an original weak 3rd rad. (w or y, cf. 3.62 n 2), ā is, of course, invariable whether as the fem. suffix or the reduction of a weak 3rd rad., as in al-faṭā, 2.5, 4.2 n 2.

(3) The first element of these is uninflected, though in the earliest grammar there is evidence that they could be treated as annexed compounds, cf. Kitāb II, 49.

(4) The formulation is misleadingly brief: as well as natural feminine gender, this class embraces all proper names with the fem. marker at (11.42), including men's names (ṭalḥatu, 3.411), place names (makkatu, 11.721) and generic names (ʿuṣāmatu, 11.722). Cf. also 18.103.

(5) Of the four native prophets listed here, three are named in the Qur'ān as spiritual antecedents of the fourth, Muḥammad. On 'ibrāhīmu see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 44.

(6) 'Measure' is literal for waẓn, a near-synonym of šūra etc., 'form'
(7) the combination of proper name and the augment ān, e.g. ʿUtmaḥu 'ʿUtman',
(8) the combination of proper name and anomaly, e.g. ʿUmaru 'ʿUmar',
(9) the combination of epithet and anomaly, e.g. mağna 'in twos', tulāṭu 'in threes', rubā'cu 'in fours',
(10) the combination of adjective and verbal measure, e.g. 'afdalu 'most virtuous',
(11) the combination of adjective and the augment ān, e.g. sakrānu 'intoxicated' (though for this there are certain conditions which I have mentioned in my Commentary on Qurṭ an-nadā and will not go into here),

all have a in the oblique form instead of i, providing that they are not annexed to another word or prefixed by al 'the', in which case they have the regular i in the oblique form, e.g. marartu bi-'afdalikum 'I passed by the most virtuous of you', marartu bi-l-'afdalı 'I passed by the most virtuous'.

3.9 Apocopeation has two markers, vowellessness, which is the elision of the short vowel, and elision. This is the dropping of the defective consonant (i.e. ā, ū and ī) and of the n of the 'five verbs', as will be shown. Both vowellessness and elision have their own particular functions; as vowellessness is the basic form, the author treats it first.

3.91 Vowellessness is the marker of apocopeation in the imperfect tense verb of sound ending, (i.e. which does not end in ā, ū or ī) e.g. lam.
These names were indeed originally verbs, e.g. *yağribu*, the ancient name of Medina, and see further Fleisch, Tr. #91. For common nouns in this pattern see 11.61 n 6.

(7) The ān suffix has various functions, e.g. dual (3.43 n 1), broken plur. (Fleisch 88, Tr. #60f), fully declinable adjectival suffix (see 3.89 n 11), as well as semi-declinable suffix here (Fleisch, Tr. #97).

(8) The anomaly refers to the pattern of the word (10.37 n 1), it being felt that these words are deviations from more regular patterns. Thus, in the present case, *Čumaru* is regarded as a variety of the regular names *Čamrun* 'ČAmr' and *Čāmirun* 'ČĀmir'.

(9) The distributives are in a class by themselves, with the patterns *mafẓalu* and *fuẓālu* (the latter also occurs in some anomalous proper names, e.g. *suCādu* 'SuCâd', cf. previous note).

(10) This is homologous with the 1st sing. imperfect 'afḍalu 'I exceed' but the forms are historically unrelated. This class comprises (a) adjectives denoting colours or bodily defects (3.411 n 7), e.g. *'ahmaru* 'red', fem. ḥamrā'u, comm. plur. ḥumrun (see 4.32 n 1), (b) 'elative' adjectives (20.4 n 1), e.g. 'afḍalu 'best', fem. fuḍlä (4.2 n 2 (c)), both with sound plur. 'afḍalūna/fuḍlayätun respectively.

(11) The work is lost, but the conditions may be simply stated: only those adjectives in ān which have their feminine in a different pattern (thus sakrā in the present instance) are semi-declinable. If they form their feminine with the regular suffix at, e.g. ḥablānun 'angry' fem. ḥablānatun they are fully declinable (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #55j).

(12) In other words they are fully declinable when formally defined. In most cases (types (3) to (9)) definition cannot be effected by prefixing the article al, but all can be defined by annexation (26.9) with greater or lesser plausibility (one may speak of 'the Mekka of the caliphs'), whereupon these nouns become completely regular. Behind this phenomenon doubtless lurks a partial explanation of the mystery of semi-declinable nouns: they are all, in one way or another, defined by nature, having an intensive or individualizing meaning. This being so, markers of indefiniteness are not found on them (except for the special case in 1.42), nor, by the same token, are markers of definition, unless for the purely external reasons outlined here.

3.9 (1) Termed jazm, lit. 'cutting off', possibly the clearest indication among the case/mood names that they refer to the sound (or perhaps the spelling) of the affected word, cf. 3.5 n 1.

(2) Elision (*ḥaḏf*, 3.73 n 2) in this context has two different consequences on the phonological level: (a) with the 'five verbs' the loss of the mood marker leaves a long vowel (see 3.93), (b) with the weak 3rd radical verbs the loss of the vowel lengthening marker leaves a short vowel (see 3.92 n 2). Both are regarded as 'elision' by the grammarians, because the problem for them is graphemic (cf. 2.43 n 2).

3.91 (1) Vowellessness (*sukūn*, see 4.01 n 1) is a negative marker,
3.92 Elision is the marker of apocope in two places: (1) in the imperfect tense verb of weak ending, i.e. which ends in one of the above-mentioned defective consonants, e.g. lam yaddu 'he did not call', lam yakṣa 'he did not fear', lam yarmi 'he did not throw', where yaddu 'he (might) call', yakṣa 'he (might) fear' and yarmi 'he (might) throw' are all apocopated by lam 'not', with elision of their defective final consonant as their apocope marker instead of vowellessness. From yaddu it is w which is elided and the preceding u remains as an indication, from yakṣa it is y which is elided, with the preceding a remaining as an indication, and from yarmi it is y which is elided, indicated by the preceding i;\(^2\) (14b)

3.93 (2) in the verbs (i.e. the 'five verbs') which retain their n when independent.\(^1\) This means every imperfect tense verb suffixed with the dual, masculine plural and feminine singular pronouns: you say lam yansura 'they two (masc.) did not aid', lam yansurū 'they (masc.) did not aid', lam ūnsurī 'you (fem. sing.) did not aid', and these 'five verbs' are all apocopated by lam 'not', with elision of n as their apocope marker instead of vowellessness. The ā, ū and ū are agents with independent status through the 'five verbs'.\(^2\)

3.94 Note: Under the independence markers the author stated that the 'five verbs', when independent through the absence of operator, have retention of n as their independence marker instead of u, and under
i.e. it is only an inflection marker when it contrasts, as here, with other vocalic inflections. The vowellessness of invariable words with permanently unvowelled endings (cf. 1.41 n 4) is not inflection, nor is that of words in the 'pausal form' (2.14 n 2).

(2) For lam see 5.71. The change of tense after lam (imperfect tense acquires past tense meaning) has never been explained. Jouon (M.U.S.J. 6, 147) has suggested the following: in conditional sentences lam is the obligatory negative particle, thus the negative equivalent of both 'in qāma qumtu 'if he stood I would stand' and 'in yaqum 'aqum 'if he stands I will stand' is 'in lam yaqum lam 'aqum 'if he does not stand I will not stand'. From such common hybrids as 'in qāma lam 'aqum 'if he stood I would not stand' it came to be felt that lam 'aqum had a past tense reference, which was then generalized outside the context of conditional sentences.

3.92 (1) Paradigm of a typical weak 3rd rad. verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form, ramā 'to throw':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'armi</td>
<td>narmi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>tarmiyā</td>
<td>tarmū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarmī</td>
<td>tarmīna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yarmi</td>
<td>yarmiyā</td>
<td>yarmū</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>tarmiyā</td>
<td>yarmīna</td>
</tr>
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(2) The indep. forms of these verbs are prosodically yadCuw, yakšay and yarmiy respectively (cf. 2.43 n 2 on vowel lengthening markers). Elision of the lengthening marker (i.e. the 3rd radical) leaves only a short vowel, usually homorganic with the missing semi-vowel. There are insuperable transliteration difficulties with yakša: its final ā is orthographically ay, always realized as ā in word final position and thus formally identical with the so-called 'shortened ā' in 1.702 n 1. Because the y here is effectively functioning as the 'alif which is the normal marker for ā (2.43 n 2), aš-Širbīnī says that in yakša 'it is the 'alif which has been elided', though to our way of thinking it is y which has been elided.

3.93 (1) This time the elision is not of a vowel lengthening marker but of the mood marker n (realized as na and ni, 4.81 n 1), exposing the long vowel which is the agent pronoun in these verbs (see next note). A paradigm is in 4.82 n 2: comparison of the apocopated with the dependent forms (paradigm in 4.82 n 1) will show that both are the same in the 'five verbs' (q.v. 3.45 n 1).

(2) The segmentation is thus ya-nšur-ā-ni, ya-nšur-ū-na, ta-nšur-ī-na; for the various elements see 5.3 (imperfect tense prefix), 7.8 n 1 (imperfect tense stem), 3.241 (agent suffixes), 3.44 (independence marker). The text omits lam tānsurā 'you two did not aid' and lam tānsurū 'you (masc. plur.) did not aid'. For lam see 5.71.

3.94 (1) See 5.33 on the absence of operators. Note that all the augmented stems (see 8.51 n 1) have the same sets of imperfect tense prefixes, agent suffixes (past and imperfect tense), and mood markers
dependence markers he stated that the 'five verbs', when made dependent by one of the operators of dependence, have elision of ُ as their dependence marker instead of a. He now states that the 'five verbs', when apocopated by an operator of apocopation, also have elision of ُ as their apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, for which examples have already been given.²

3.95 An illustration of operators of apocopation and dependence together is found in the Qur'anic fa-'īn lam taf'alū wa-lan taf'alū 'and if you did not do it, and you will not do it', where lam ُ is a particle of negation and apocopation,² taf'alū 'you (might) do' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by lam with elision of ُ as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness (and the ü is an agent with independent status through the verb), lan ُ is a particle of negation and dependence and taf'alū 'you (may) do' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by lan with elision of ُ as its dependence marker instead of a (the ü being an agent with independent status through the verb).

3.96 Note: If to this ُ is further suffixed the 'preserving ُ', the former may be elided for ease of pronunciation, or it may be assimilated to the preserving ُ, or both may be pronounced separately: the Qur'anic ta'murūnīf 'you (masc. plur.) command me² is read in all three ways. Occasionally ُ is elided even when there is no operator of dependence or apocopation, as in the verse

'abītu 'abkf wa-tabītf tādlukf
wajhakī bi-l-anbarī wa-l-miskī g-ğakf
'I pass the night weeping, but you spend your night rubbing your face with amber and pure musk',³ where ُ has been elided from tabītf 'you
as the simple verb, which is why Fleisch, 104, calls it 'la conjugaison commune'. This can be verified by consulting the tables of paradigms in the notes to 8.61-72, but note that the imperfect tense prefixes of some augmented stems are vowelled with u (cf. 5.31). A rule of thumb for the weak 3rd rad. verbs is as follows: in Stem I the medial vowel (10.22 n 2) determines the paradigm (4.81 n 2, 10.14 n 2). The characteristic vowel in all augmented stems, active or passive, will be i or a, conjugating like the relevant Stem I form.

(2) This excess of pedagogic zeal may perhaps be forgiven, especially since it has also inspired many of the annotations!

3.95 (1) S. 2 v 24. In order to make sense of this example it is worth quoting it in its context: 'If you are in doubt about what we sent down to our servant (i.e. the revelation of the Qur'ān), then bring forth a chapter like it ... If you do not do it - and you will not do it - then protect yourselves against the fire'. In his own Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 34, aš-Šīrīnī paraphrases lān tafsālū by lā yagaçu gālīka minkum ʻabādan 'that will not happen from you ever' (our italics), cf. his remarks on the possibility of perpetual negation through lān in 3.53 (and note that, in his paraphrase, the independent form of the imperfect tense is used with a future sense, cf. 5.02).

(2) Note the functional definitions here of lām (5.71) and lān (5.42), and cf. 1.91 n 2.

(3) See 5.81 n 3 on the term mahall 'status'.

3.96 (1) This is the n which, according to the Arab analysis (16.301), preserves the final vowel of the verb from being displaced by the 1st sing. suffix ı ʻmy/me' (cf. 4.72 n 2), hence its name, the nūn al-wiqāya, lit. 'the n of preservation'. However, all the Semitic languages show the same alternation of ı(ya) on nouns and nī on verbs, and Moscati, #13.22, has suggested that perhaps this n has developed by analogy with the regular n of the 1st plur. suffix nā 'our/us'. A completely different explanation is offered by Fleisch, M.U.S.J. 44, 66, basing himself upon A. Denz, Strukturanalyse der Objektsuffixe im Altsyrischen und klassischen Arabisch, Munich 1962, 77, viz. that the 'preserving n' has detached itself from the emphatic anna suffix (3.241 n 2), e.g. *yaqtulannī 'he will certainly kill me', expanded to yaqtulannanī by analogy with yaqtulannā 'he will certainly kill us', exposing nī as a new form which was then generalized.

(2) S. 39 v 64. The full, regular form should be taʻmurūnānī, but Arabic phonology favours assimilation when two identical consonants occur close together (cf. doubled verbs, 11.3 n 1), and indeed this is the only case in which the over-long syllable CVC is permitted (21.22 n 4). The possibilities are thus: taʻmurūnānī, taʻmurūnīnī, taʻmurūnī (var. taʻmurūniya), to which K. Vollers, Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien, Strasburg 1906, 145, adds taʻmurūnī and taʻmurūnīnī, claiming that taʻmurūnīnī is an artificial hybrid. Cf. tublawunna in 2.101 n 4.
Having finished his detailed introduction to the markers of inflection, the author now sums them up in a specially entitled section as practice for the beginner.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Section: Inflected words are of two kinds, i.e. everything so far mentioned in the preceding chapter on inflection is of two kinds:

4.01 (1) one (15a) inflected with the short vowels, the three of them, which is the regular way. The vowels are u, a and i, and inflection may also be shown by vowellessness;

4.02 (2) and one inflected with consonants. There are four of these, replacing the short vowels, contrary to the regular way, viz. w, ā, y and n, and inflection may also be shown by elision. The author begins next with those inflected with the short vowels because that is the regular way.

4.1 Those inflected with the short vowels (to sum up) are of four types, three of nouns and one of verbs. The three noun types are:

4.11 (1) the singular noun, whether masculine, as in jā'a zaydun 'Zayd came', ra'aytu zaydan 'I saw Zayd', marartu bi-zaydin 'I passed by
(3) Schaw. Ind. 169, with minor variants 'asrī 'I journey by night' for 'abkī 'I weep' and jildaki 'your skin' for wajhaki 'your face'. No author is known and no satisfactory explanation for the elisions has been offered. Ibn Jinnī consulted his master Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī in vain (Kaṣāʾīs I, 388); al-Baġdādi (Ḵīṣāna III, 526) can only reproduce Ibn Jinnī's confusion, and he adds that the Caliph ʿUmar was once heard to pronounce two verbs without their final n (viz. yasmaʿūn(na) 'they hear' and yujībūn(na) 'they answer'). But these may be early specimens of colloquial, which always elides this n (J. Blau, The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic, Oxford 1965, has a possible eighth cent. example on p. 128.

(4) Treated in this translation as a separate chapter, though in the text it is only a fasl, sub-section, of ch. 3.

4.0 (1) On uninflected words see 1.41 n 4. The earliest grammars take inflection for granted, and as-Zajjājī (d. 949) is perhaps the first to suggest that inflection may be a secondary development. He argues, without much conviction, that since uninflected Arabic is easily understood it must be logically prior to inflected Arabic, and that inflection only emerged among the Beduin when confusion became intolerable (Īdāh, 67, also reproduced by as-Suyūṭī, Ašbāh I, 76).

4.01 (1) By 'vowels', ḥarakāt, is always meant 'short vowels', of which there are only the three listed here and their allophones (cf. Cantineau, Ét. 110, Fleisch, Tr. v. index). The term ḥarka 'vowel' (see 0.4 n 3 for names of vowels) means lit. 'movement', and opposes sukūn 'vowellessness', lit. 'stillness'. Both are part of the earliest technical vocabulary of grammar; cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥarka wa-sukūn'; Drozdik, J.M.S. 5, 73ff; Versteegh 22. See 3.0 n 2 on 'regular way'.

4.02 (1) Long vowels and diphthongs are orthographically short vowels followed by the consonants ', w and y (2.43 n 2), which act as matres lectionis for the normally unwritten short vowel signs. It is thus not improper to treat long vowel inflection as consonantal, though Fleischer (Kl. Schr. II, 103-4) did not hesitate to dismiss this convention as 'unnatural'.

4.1 (1) Note that 'inflection' applies to verbal mood as well as to nominal case (2.2).

4.11 (1) Paradigms of masc. ar-rajulu 'the man' and fem. al-mar'atu 'the woman'.

Zayd', or feminine, as in jā'at hindun 'Hind came', ra'aytu hindan 'I saw Hind', marartu bi-hindin 'I passed by Hind'. In the first example zaydun 'Zayd' and hindun 'Hind' are agents made independent by jā'a 'to come' and their independence marker is u; in the second they are direct objects made dependent by ra'aytu 'I saw' and their dependence marker is a; in the third they are made oblique by bi 'by' and their obliqueness marker is i.

4.12 (2) the broken plural, whether masculine, as in jā'a z-zuyûdu 'the Zayds came', ra'aytu z-zuyûda 'I saw the Zayds', marartu bi-z-zuyûdi 'I passed by the Zayds', or feminine, as in jā'at il-hunûdu 'the Hinds came', ra'aytu l-hunûda 'I saw the Hinds', marartu bi-l-hunûdi 'I passed by the Hinds'. In the first example az-zuyûdu 'the Zayds' and al-hunûdu 'the Hinds' are agents made independent by jā'a 'to come' and their independence marker is an explicit final u; in the second they are direct objects made dependent by ra'ā 'to see' and their dependence marker is a; in the third they are made oblique by bi 'by' and their obliqueness marker is i.

4.13 (3) the sound feminine plural, as in jā'at il-hindâtu 'the Hinds came', ra'aytu l-hindâti 'I saw the Hinds', marartu bi-l-hindâti 'I passed by the Hinds'. In the first example al-hindâtu 'the Hinds' is an agent made independent by jā'a 'to come' and its independence marker is an explicit final u (the t being a feminine gender marker); in the second it is a direct object made dependent by ra'ā 'to see' and its dependence marker is i instead of a; in the third it is made oblique by bi 'by' and its obliqueness marker is i. The author now turns
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defined annexed undefined pausal
dep. ar-rajulu rajulu rajulun rajul
dep. ar-rajula rajula rajulan rajulā
obl. ar-rajulī rajulī rajulin rajul

indep. al-ma라atu mar'atu mar'atun mar'a(h)
dep. al-ma라ata mar'ata mar'atan mar'a(h)
obl. al-ma라ati mar'ati mar'atin mar'a(h)

Assimilation of def. art. 11.41 n 2; pausal form 2.14 n 2; pausal fem. suffix at 11.42 n 1; alternation of mar'atu/imra'atu 19.72 n 4.

All fully declinable adjectives are in this class, e.g. muslimun 'male Muslim', muslimatun 'female Muslim', there being no morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives (but see 11.61 n 1).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for this convention, and note that as elsewhere in this paragraph, it is not always observed.

4.12 (1) See 3.22; syntax of broken plural 4.12 n 3.

(2) Paradigm of typical broken plural, rijālun 'men':

defined annexed undefined pausal
indep. ar-rijālu rijālu rijālun rijāl
dep. ar-rijāla rijāla rijālan rijālā
obl. ar-rijāli rijāli rijālin rijāl

Some broken plurals are formally feminine, regardless of the singular gender (mostly masc. however), e.g. ṭalabatun 'male students' (sing. ṭālibun), 'as'ilatun 'questions' (sing. su'ālun). These decline exactly as the fem. sing., 4.11 n 1. Conversely some formally fem. nouns have formally masc. broken plurals, e.g. qīṭātun 'pieces' (sing. qīṭūtun), but see next note. Discongruence in the numbers 3 to 10 may be related to this phenomenon, v. 20.22 n 1.

(3) Syntactically, broken plurals fall into two classes, humans and non-humans. Humans are plural, take plural verbs, adjectives and pronouns; non-humans are fem. sing. and take fem. sing. verbs, adjectives and pronouns (possibly reflecting an original collective function of the broken plural). There are frequent exceptions to this rule. Cf. Muf. #270; Pléisch 170; Yushmanov 68; chs. 7, 9, 11 passim.

(4) Unless the particular pattern is only semi-declinable, e.g. masāḥida 'mosques' (dep. and obl.), cf. 3.89 (1).

4.13 (1) See 3.23, 4.31.

(2) Paradigm of typical sound fem. plur. muslimātun 'female Muslims':

defined annexed undefined pausal
indep. al-muslimātu muslimātu muslimātun muslimāt
dep./ al-muslimāti muslimāti muslimātin muslimāt
obl.

Dep. and obl. cases neutralized, as in sound masc. plur., 4.6 n 1.

(3) Notice that some nouns have both sound and broken plurals. This is especially common with proper nouns. Cf. also 3.221 n 2, 11.43 n 2.
to the verbal type:

4.14 (4) the imperfect tense verb without suffixes.\(^1\) (That is, those suffixes which would impose invariability, namely the feminine \textit{na} and the emphatic \textit{anna}).\(^2\) Examples: \textit{ya\textbar dibu 'he strikes'}, \textit{lan ya\textbar dibra 'he will not strike'}.

4.2 All these (i.e. the four types collectively, not each and every one of them (15b) because some of the rules do not apply in certain cases)\(^3\) have \textit{u} when independent,\(^4\) hence you say in the singular noun \textit{ja\textbar a zaydun wa-hindun 'Zayd and Hind came'}, in the broken plural \textit{ja\textbar a z-zuyûdu 'the Zayds came'}, in the sound feminine plural \textit{ja\textbar at il-hindätu 'the Hinds came'} and in the verb \textit{ya\textbar dibu 'he strikes'}; \textit{a} when dependent, hence you say in the singular noun \textit{ra\textbar aytu zaydan wa-hindan 'I saw Zayd and Hind'}, in the broken plural \textit{ra\textbar aytu zuyûdan 'I saw Zayds'} and in the verb \textit{lan ya\textbar dibra 'he will not strike'}; \textit{i} when oblique, hence you say in the singular noun \textit{marartu bi-zaydin wa-hindin 'I passed by Zayd and Hind'}, in the broken plural \textit{marartu bi-z-zuyûdi 'I passed by the Zayds'} and in the sound feminine plural \textit{marartu bi-l-mu'\textbar minäti 'I passed by the (fem.) believers'}; and vowellessness when apocopated. Example: \textit{lam ya\textbar drib 'he did not strike'}. The above inflection is the regular way.

4.3 Excluded from this regular way are three things:

4.31 (1) the sound feminine plural,\(^5\) which has \textit{i} when dependent, e.g. \textit{ra\textbar aytu il-hindäti 'I saw the Hinds'}, where \textit{ra\textbar aytu 'I saw'} is a verb and agent and \textit{al-hindäti 'the Hinds'} is a direct object made dependent by \textit{ra\textbar ā 'to see'}, but its dependence marker is \textit{i} instead of \textit{a}, contrary to the regular way, since according to the regular way its dependence marker should be \textit{a};

4.32 (2) the semi-declinable noun,\(^6\) which has a when oblique, e.g. \textit{marartu bi-\textbar ahmada wa-masâjîda 'I passed by Ahmad and some mosques'},

\((15b)\)
(4) Verbs are conventionally quoted in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense, see 3.52 n 3.

(5) This refers to the t of hindātu, for which see 4.31 n 1. The t of jā'at is also a fem. morpheme, q.v. at 1.83, 5.01.

4.14 (1) See 3.24. Complete paradigms at 4.4 n 5, including the suffixed forms mentioned in this paragraph.

(2) See 3.241. Since these are suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb no overt inflection is possible.

4.2 (1) This pedantry is not aš-Širbīnī's own, but is taken from al-Azharī (Āj. 25). Nevertheless it does clarify the misleading implications of Ibn Ājurruṣūn's excessive concision.

(2) For convenience are inserted here the three types of noun which, for phonological reasons, have partially or totally implicit inflection: (a) al-qādī 'the judge':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Defined</th>
<th>Annexed</th>
<th>Undefined</th>
<th>Pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-qādī</td>
<td>qādī</td>
<td>qādīn</td>
<td>qādī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep.</td>
<td>al-qādiya</td>
<td>qādiya</td>
<td>qādiyan</td>
<td>qādiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>al-qādī</td>
<td>qādī</td>
<td>qādīn</td>
<td>qādī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonology 2.6; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is either sound qāḏūnā v. 4.6 n 1, or broken qudātun, cf. 4.12 n 2 and 4.31 n 1.

(b) al-fatā 'the boy':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Defined</th>
<th>Annexed</th>
<th>Undefined</th>
<th>Pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-fatā</td>
<td>fatā</td>
<td>fatan</td>
<td>fatā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all three cases. Phonology 2.5; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is broken, either fityānun or fityatun, cf. 4.12 n 2.

(c) ḥublā 'pregnant':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Defined</th>
<th>Annexed</th>
<th>Undefined</th>
<th>Pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-ḥublā</td>
<td>ḥublā</td>
<td>ḥublā</td>
<td>ḥublā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all three cases. All the words in this class bear the invariable fem. suffix ā; they include fem. adjectives, e.g. kubrā 'greatest' (20.4 n 1), fem. sing. nouns, e.g. ġikrā 'memory' (24.54 n 2) and broken plurals, e.g. 'asārā 'prisoners' (3.52).

4.31 (1) See 3.23, 3.231. It is generally agreed that the sound fem. plur. originated in the lengthening of the fem. sing. suffix at (q.v. at 11.42 n 1) to āt (Moscati #12.52). Like the sound masc. plur. (4.6 n 1), the three cases have been reduced to an opposition of indep. and dep./obl., but, unlike the sound masc. plur., the sound fem. plur. retains the complementary distribution of the definite article prefix al and the indefinite suffix n (cf. 1.4, 1.5).

N.B. In our transcription āt may occasionally represent the fem. sing. or plur. of 3rd weak rad. nouns, e.g. fatātun 'a girl' (*fatayatun, fem. of fatan), qudātun 'judges' (*qudayatun, plur. of qādin). But there is no confusion in the Arabic script (see 11.42 n 1), and naturally these forms have normal fem. sing. inflection.

4.32 (1) See 3.87-89. Paradigm of a typical semi-declinable noun, masc. sing., 'ahmaru 'red':
where both words are oblique but end in a, contrary to the regular way, since the obliqueness marker ought to have been i;\(^2\)

4.33 (3) and the imperfect tense verb of weak ending elides this ending in apocopation.\(^1\) Examples: *lam yaḏzu* 'he did not raid', *lam yaḵšā* 'he did not fear', *lam yarmi* 'he did not throw', contrary to the regular way, since the apocopation marker ought to have been vowellessness.

Having finished with the four types inflected with short vowels in the regular way, the author now turns to the four types which are inflected irregularly with consonants.

4.4 Words inflected with consonants are of four types: three of nouns and one of verbs, analogous to the above.\(^1\) The three types of nouns are (1) the dual,\(^2\) e.g. *ja' a z-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds came', (2) the sound masculine plural,\(^3\) e.g. *ja' a z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds came', (3) the (16a) 'five nouns', already mentioned,\(^4\) viz. *ābūka* 'your father', *aḵūka* 'your brother', *ḥāmūka* 'your father-in-law', *fūka* 'your mouth' and *gū mālin* 'possessor of wealth'. The verbal type is (4) the 'five verbs',\(^5\) viz. *yaf'alāni* 'they two (masc.) do' (spelt y with two dots below), *taf'cālāni* 'you two do, they two (fem.) do' (spelt t with two dots above), *yaf'alūna* 'they (masc.) do' (spelt y with two dots below), *taf'alūna* 'you (masc. plur.) do' (spelt t with two dots above), and *taf'alīna* 'you (fem. sing.) do' (spelt only with t with two dots above).

4.5 The dual\(^1\) using the term *taṯniya* 'dualization' in the meaning of *muṭannā* 'thing made dual', thereby giving the verbal noun the status of
In fact, the allomorph $a$ is found only in the undefined state (cf. 3.89 n 12). A perhaps less obvious irregularity is in the pausal forms: these nouns never have final $n$ (1.41), hence the dep. form lacks the $\ddot{a}$ ending of the regular nouns (cf. rajlā, 4.11 n 1).

Fem. semi-declinable nouns with the fem. suffix $a$ decline exactly as above, but because of the special nature of $a$ (11.42 n 1), pausal forms are the same as the regular fem. noun at 4.11 n 1.

4.33 (1) Cf. 2.43, 3.92.

4.4 (1) i.e. there are also three types of nouns and one of verbs which inflect with short vowels, as listed in 4.11-14. For the meaning of 'consonants' in this context, see 4.02.

(2) Paradigms at 4.5 n 1.

(3) Paradigms at 4.6 n 1.

(4) 3.42. Paradigms at 4.71 n 1.

(5) 3.45. Paradigm of the sound verb, imperfect tense, indep. form, root $\ddot{d}araba$ 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>$'adribu$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$nadribu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>$tadribu$</td>
<td>$tadrib\ddot{n}i$</td>
<td>$tadrib\ddot{n}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>$tadrib\ddot{n}a$</td>
<td>$tadrib\ddot{n}a$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>$yadribu$</td>
<td>$yadrib\ddot{n}i$</td>
<td>$yadrib\ddot{n}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>$tadribu$</td>
<td>$tadrib\ddot{n}i$</td>
<td>$tadrib\ddot{n}a$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 4.82 n 2; with object suffixes 16.306 n 1. Derived stems (8.51 n 1) have the same prefixes and suffixes. Weak 1st rad. 10.67 n 1; hollow verbs 10.23 n 2; weak 3rd rad. 4.81 n 2; doubled verbs 11.3 n 1. Syntax of indep. verb 5.33 and ch. 7 passim.

Note that 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always the same, likewise 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.

4.5 (1) See 3.43, 3.63-65. Paradigm of typical dual rajlānī '2 men':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>ar-rajlānī</td>
<td>rajlānī</td>
<td>rajlānī</td>
<td>rajlānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep.</td>
<td>ar-rajlaynī</td>
<td>rajlaynī</td>
<td>rajlaynī</td>
<td>rajlaynī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subject to 3.65, the dual suffix is attached directly to final sound radicals (as above) and to the fem. at suffix: al-imra’atānī etc. 'the 2 women'.

Weak 3rd rad. $y$ behaves regularly, e.g. al-qādīyānī 'the 2 judges' (sing. *al-qādīy, cf. 2.6), al-fatāyānī 'the 2 boys' (sing. *al-fatay, cf. 2.5). Weak 3rd rad. $w$ becomes $y$ to avoid the non-canonical sequence
4.6 The sound masculine plural has ُ when independent, e.g. qāma z-zaydûna 'the Zayds stood', where az-zaydûna 'the Zayds' is an agent made independent by qāma 'to stand', with ُ as its independence marker instead of ِ, and has ِ when dependent and oblique. An example of the dependent form in ِ is ra’aytu z-zaydûna 'I saw the Zayds', where az-zaydûna 'the Zayds' is a direct object made dependent by ra’ā 'to see', with ِ (spelt with i before the y and i after) as its dependence marker instead of a. An example of the oblique form in ِ is marartu bi-z-zaydûna 'I passed by the Zayds', where az-zaydûna 'the Zayds' is made oblique by bi 'by', with ِ (spelt with i before the y and i after) as its obliqueness marker instead of ِ.

4.71 The 'five nouns' have ُ when independent, e.g. ū ُabūka wa-‘akûka wa-hamûka wa-fûka wa-du ُmâlin 'your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth came', where ُabûka 'your father' is an agent made independent by ū ُa to come, the nouns following are coordinated with it and share in its independence, and the independence marker in each is ُ instead of ِ. The ka 'your'...
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iw, e.g. al-ğāziyāni 'the 2 raiders' (sing. *al-ğāziw, cf. 2.6 n 2). Exceptions: Wright I, 188, Rem. b. The fem. suffix ă replaces ' with w as glide-vowel, e.g. șābrāwāni '2 deserts' (sing. șābrā'u, 3.89 (2)); likewise al-ḥamrāwāni 'the 2 red ones (fem.)' (sing. al-ḥamrā'u), cf. 3.62 n 2. The fem. suffix ā (= *ay, 1.702 n 1) is regular, e.g. al-hublayāni 'the 2 pregnant ones', dikrayāni '2 memories'.

(2) Cf. lafz in 1.11.

(3) 3.64 n 3.

4.6 (1) See 3.41-412. Paradigm of sound masc. plur. muslimūna 'Muslims':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-muslimūna</td>
<td>muslimū</td>
<td>muslimūna</td>
<td>muslimūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep./obl.</td>
<td>al-muslimīna</td>
<td>muslimī</td>
<td>muslimīna</td>
<td>muslimīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weak 3rd rad. nouns (2.5-7) have the following peculiarities: the sequence i + weak rad. is lost, e.g. al-qādūna 'the judges' (from *al-qayyūna), dep./obl. al-qādīna (from *al-qayyīna), cf. 2.31 n 4. The sequence a + weak rad. forms a diphthong with the suffixes ūna and īna (= uwna, iyna, 2.43 n 2). Paradigm of musammā (= *musammay) 'named':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-musammawna</td>
<td>musammaw</td>
<td>musammawna</td>
<td>musammawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep./obl.</td>
<td>al-musammayna</td>
<td>musammay</td>
<td>musammayna</td>
<td>musammayn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a passive participle; the active musammī follows the rules for qādi, e.g. musammūna etc., while the duals of both active and passive are regular, e.g. musammīyāni, musammayāni (4.5 n 1).

(2) 3.64 n 3.

4.71 (1) Paradigm of the sing. 'abun 'a father':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al--'abu</td>
<td>'abū</td>
<td>'abun</td>
<td>'ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep.</td>
<td>al--'aba</td>
<td>'abā</td>
<td>'aban</td>
<td>'ābā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>al--'abi</td>
<td>'abī</td>
<td>'abin</td>
<td>'āb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abnormality of the nouns in this group appears in their singular annexed forms (cf. 3.421), and may perhaps be explained as due to pressure of the triliteral system upon primitive biliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1). Certainly the duals and plurals of these nouns show the restoration of a hypothetical third radical, e.g. 'abawāni '2 fathers', 'ākawāni '2 brothers' (both with w as surrogate third radical), 'ābū\-'un 'fathers' (for alternation of w and ' see 3.62 n 2), 'āfwāhun 'mouths' (this time with h as the surrogate radical). There is little doubt that many triliteral roots are expansions of bilaterals, but no-one has yet established whether the latter represent a more primitive stage of the language; cf. bibliography in Moscati, 179, and see Fleisch 239 (Tr. #52), Yushmanov 34, Nöldeke 14, Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 71 (expansion of biliteral roots by gemination, e.g. 'abb, 'ākk etc.) Another type of
on the first four is made oblique by what is annexed to it.

4.72 They have ā when dependent, e.g. ra’aytu ‘ābāka wa-‘ākāka
wa-ḥamāka wa-fāka wa-dā mālin ‘I saw your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth’, where ‘ābāka ‘your father’ is a direct object made dependent by ra‘ā ‘to see’ (which makes its own agent independent), the nouns following are coordinated with it and share in its dependence through ra‘ā, and the dependence marker of each is ā instead of ā. The ka ‘your’ on the first four is made oblique by what is annexed to it;²

4.73 and they have ī when oblique. Examples: marartu bi-‘ābīka
wa-‘ākīka wa-ḥamīka wa-fīka wa-dī mālin ‘I passed by your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth’, where ‘ābīka ‘your father’ is made oblique by bi ‘by’ (spelt with one dot below), the nouns following are coordinated with it and share in its obliqueness through bi, and the obliqueness marker of each is ī instead of i. The ka ‘your’ on the first four has oblique status¹ through what is annexed to it. Attention has already been drawn to the conditions under which the ‘five nouns’ are inflected with consonants.

4.81 The ‘five verbs’ mentioned above have n when independent, e.g. yədribānī ‘they two (masc.) strike’, tadribānī ‘you two (masc. & fem.) strike’, yədribūna ‘they (masc.) strike’, tadribūna ‘you (masc. plur.) strike’, tadribūna ‘you (fem. sing.) strike’.² These ‘five verbs’ are made independent by the absence of operator, with retention of n as their independence marker instead of u. The pronouns in the ‘five verbs’, viz. ā, ū and ī are agents made independent by the ‘five verbs',
NOTES

Systemzwang: 3.412 n 9.

4.72 (1) An exception to 3.421 is the expression lâ ‘abâ laka lit. 'you have no father', i.e. 'you bastard!' After lâ 'no' we should have ‘aba (cf. 22.12), but the form 'abâ is preferred apparently because it is felt that 'abâ is virtually annexed to the pronoun ka in laka 'belonging to you'. The fully annexed equivalent lâ 'abâka is, in fact, known (Reck., Ar. Synt. 119 n 1); the expression lâ 'ağâ lahu 'he has no brother' in 13.11 is of the same kind.

(2) Since aš-Širbînî nowhere deals comprehensively with the possessive pronoun suffixes, they are tabulated here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-kumā</td>
<td>-kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>-hu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>-hā</td>
<td>-humā</td>
<td>-humna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the 1st sing. (see 16.301 n 1) these are all the same as the object pronoun suffixes (16.301-312). From the Arab point of view the noun possessed is annexed to one of these pronouns: thus 'abû-ka is really 'the father of you', structurally identical with 'abû zaydin 'the father of Zayd' (cf. 26.7 n 3). Naturally these suffixes are in complementary distribution with al 'the' and tanwîn (v. 26.93 n 1). Further on the I suffix see 3.421 n 3, 23.6.

4.73 (1) 3.421. See 5.81 n 3 on maḥall 'status' here.

4.81 (1) Though this n is realized as na or ni we do not have here an 'archimorpheme' in the Western sense, merely the result of a spelling convention which names only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2).

(2) The paradigm of the sound verb, active, imperfect tense, indep. form is at 4.4 n 5. Here follow verbs with 3rd rad. w or y (see 10.22 n 2 for variations in stem vowel):

(a) kašiya 'to fear':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aḵšā</td>
<td>naḵšā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḵšā</td>
<td>taḵšawna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taḵšyawna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yakšā</td>
<td>yakšayâni</td>
<td>yakšawna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taḵšā</td>
<td>taḵšayâni</td>
<td>yakšawna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) ramā 'to throw':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'armī</td>
<td>narmī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>tarmiyāni</td>
<td>tarmâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tarmina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yarmī</td>
<td>yarmiyāni</td>
<td>yarmâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tarmī</td>
<td>tarmiyāni</td>
<td>yarmâna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) gâzâ 'to raid':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aḡzū</td>
<td>naḡzū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḡzū</td>
<td>taḡzwâni</td>
<td>taḡzâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taḡźina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.82 They elide the n when dependent or apocopated. Examples of the dependent form with elision of n are lan yādribā 'they two (masc.) will not strike', lan taḏribā 'you two (masc. & fem.) will not strike, they two (fem.) will not strike', lan yādribū 'they (masc.) will not strike', lan taḏribū 'you (masc. plur.) will not strike', lan taḏribā 'you (fem. sing.) will not strike'. These 'five verbs' are made dependent by lan 'not', with elision of n as their dependence marker instead of a. The dual ți, masculine plural û and second person feminine Î are agents made independent by the 'five verbs'. Examples of the apocopated form with elision of n are lam yādribā 'they two (masc.) did not strike', lam taḏribā 'you two (masc. & fem.) did not strike, they two (fem.) did not strike', lam yādribī 'they (masc.) did not strike', lam taḏribī 'you (masc. plur.) did not strike', lam taḏribī 'you (fem. sing.) did not strike'. These 'five verbs' are apocopated by lam 'not' with elision of n as their apocopation marker instead of vowellessness. The three pronouns, namely û, ți and Î, are agents with independent status through the 'five verbs'. All these are imperfect tense verbs suffixed with either the dual, masculine plural or second person feminine singular pronoun, as in the examples provided, and anyone who wishes a more extensive treatment of this than we give here may refer to my *Commentary on Qatr an-nada* or other such lengthy works.

4.9 Supplementary Note: The total number of inflection markers is ten, viz. the three short vowels, (17a) vowellessness, the three consonants, their elision by the apocopating operator, n and its elision by the operators of dependence and apocopation.

Having finished with the inflection markers of the various kinds of inflected words (including the imperfect tense verb), the discussion now turns to inflected and invariable verbs, to which the author assigns a special chapter.
NOTES

4.82 (1) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, dep. form 京都 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都wu</td>
<td>京都na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都wu</td>
<td>京都na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 3.92 n 1; past tense 10.14 n 2.

4.82 (1) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, dep. form 京都 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled (11.3 n 1) and hollow (10.23 n 2) verbs: stems unchanged by substitution of dep. morphemes, e.g. 京都, 京都, 京都, etc. Weak 3rd rad.: indep. 京都, 京都 become 京都, 京都 (e.g. 京都), indep. 京都 remains unchanged (京都); otherwise as for sound verb (京都 etc.).

(2) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form 京都 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
<td>京都</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dep. and apoc. forms are the same in the 'five verbs' (marked with *, see 3.45), the two fem. plur. forms show no mood distinctions at all, and the 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always identical (4.4 n 5): thus only 24 out of 39 possible forms exist. Doubled verbs (11.3 n 1) either neutralize all distinction between apoc. and dep. forms ('京都, 京都 etc.), or dissimilate when the final radical is unvowelled, e.g. '京都, 京都 etc.). Hollow verbs (10.23 n 2) have short stems when the final radical is unvowelled ('京都, 京都 etc.), and the remainder are in any case identical with the dep. forms (京都I, 京都 etc.). Weak 3rd rad. verbs: see 3.92 n 1.

(3) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(4) The work is lost; see Ibn Yaًš or Howell on Muf. #405 or the commentaries on Alf. v 44 instead.

4.9 (1) Following al-Azharî, 京都. 26. By treating elision of ', w, y and n as a single item az-Zajjaj (Jum. 21) makes it nine; he also arrives at fourteen by redistributing them (with repeats) into the four morpheme classes (cf. 3.3), i.e. as set out by al-Sirbînî in 3.0.

(2) Dependence operators 5.4-6; apocopating operators, 5.7-94.

(3) For invariability (京都') see 1.41 n 4.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Chapter on verbs:¹ (in the technical sense). Verbs (plural of fi² 'verb, action') are of three kinds, and there is no fourth:

5.01 (1) past tense,¹ i.e. that which conventionally denotes an event and an elapsed time. It is distinguished from the other two kinds by the unwovelled feminine t suffix denoting that its agent is feminine: thus, with qāma 'to stand', qaḍada 'to sit', karaja 'to go out', you say qāmat hindun wa-qaḍadat wa-karajat 'Hind stood, sat, went out'. By 'unwvelled' he excludes the vowelled t which occurs on nouns,² e.g. qā'imatun 'standing' (fem. sing.) and on particles, e.g. rubbat 'how few', tummat 'then', except that the vowel of this t in nouns is inflectional, while that of the particles is invariable (though the invariable vowel is sometimes found on nouns, e.g. lā ḥawla wa-lā qawwata 'no power and no might').³ By 'denoting that its agent is feminine' he excludes such rarities as the unwovelled t on particles like rubbat 'how few', tummat 'then', because on these it merely denotes that the expression itself is feminine, not that it has a feminine agent (as already partly made clear above; my aim in this commentary, however, is to clarify the terminology even at the cost of repetition, so that beginners may benefit from it, and others too, if Almighty God so wills);⁴

5.02 (2) imperfect tense, (i.e. 'similar' to the noun),¹ defined as that which conventionally denotes an event and an unelapsed time, whether
5.0 (1) Jum. 21; Muf. #402; Qaṭr 14; Beeston 71; Fleisch 104; Bateson 23; Yushmanov 47; E.I. (2), art. 'FiCl' (add to bibliography: K. Aartun, Zur Frage altarabischer Tempora, Oslo 1963; A. A. Bulos, The Arabic Triliteral Verb, Beirut 1965; Fleisch, in Mélanges d'Islamologie vol. dédié ... à A. Abel, ed. P. Salmon, Leiden 1974, I, 28; G. Schramm, Lang. 38, 360). 'Verb' renders fiCl, lit. 'act, action', see 16.1 n 1.

5.01 (1) mādī, lit. 'having elapsed'. The definition that we have here (and cf. also 1.21) illustrates clearly the penetration of Greek categories into Arabic grammar (see the discussion in Versteegh 140), which can be seen as early as az-Zajjāj, Jum. 21. The problem of the Arabic tenses is complex, however: some points of certainty are (a) the formal categories enumerated by Ibn Ājurrūm (and cf. 1.24) are not three tenses, but a relic of the original Semitic aspectual system (v. Moscati #16.28 and esp. #16.31, also Beeston 76, Fleisch 111); (b) no Arab classification exploits the full possible range of four distinct categories, viz. past, imperfect, future (= imperfect with prefix sa or sawfa, 1.82) and imperative, probably because the future is often expressed by the unmarked imperfect anyway (5.02); (c) Sībawayhi's grouping uses formal, functional and aspectual criteria to arrive at a classification entirely his own, viz. (i) 'constructed for what has elapsed' (buniyat li-mā maqdā), (ii) 'what is going to be and has not happened' (mā yakūnu wa-lam yagāq, note imperf. tense yakūnu in future meaning), which includes both the imperative and the unmarked imperf. with future meaning, (iii) 'what is being, not having ceased' (mā huwa kā'īnūn lam yanqatī, note agent noun kā'īnūn with participial meaning) i.e. the imperfect tense proper (all Kitāb I, 2, and cf. Troupeau, G.L.E.C.S. 9, esp. 46 on relative insignificance of absolute time, zamān, to Sībawayhi). Contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, esp. 111, which is an attempt to demonstrate that the Arabic verbal system is wholly time-based. Further on aspect: Fleisch, Arabica 21, 11.

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on the feminine t in nouns.

(3) See 22.4 on the syntax of this phrase.

(4) Necessary self-justification because 5.01 is largely a verbatim repetition of 1.83.

5.02 (1) The grounds of the similarity are discussed in the ensuing lines, but it is worth pointing out that the term mudāri 'similar, resembling', was not originally restricted to the imperfect tense verb, but (in the Kitāb, for example) was used to denote any formal similarity between elements of all kinds (v. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, d-r–C).
present or future. It is called mudārīع 'resembling' from the word mudāraح 'resemblance', meaning similarity to the noun.2 The best explanation of the point of similarity is that in syntactical combination3 both nouns and verbs acquire a variety of meanings, some of which result in identical forms of inflection. The noun, however, needs inflection more than the imperfect tense verb because the meanings of the imperfect (unlike those of the noun) can be distinguished by means other than inflection, hence inflection is (17b) fundamental in nouns and only secondary in imperfect tense verbs. The imperfect is distinguished from the other two kinds of verb by the fact that it may be preceded by lam 'not', as in the Qur'anic lam yālid wa-lam yūlād 'he bore not, nor was he born'.4

5.03 (3) imperative.1 This is always future, since its aim is the occurrence of what has not yet happened. It is distinguished from the other two kinds by intrinsically denoting a demand, e.g. qum 'stand!'. Excluded, for example, is lā taqrīb 'do not strike!', for even if this is understood to denote a demand, it is only through the intermediary of a particle of prohibition, i.e. it is a demand to desist. Being a verb, the imperative must be able to take the second person singular 1 (which Sibawayhi regarded as a pronominal 1), as in the Qur'anic fa-kuli wa-sharīf wa-qarrī āynan 'so eat, drink and delight your eye'.3 It must also be able to take the emphatic anna, as in 'agbilanna 'approach!!'.4 If a word denotes a demand but cannot take the feminine 1 or the emphatic anna, e.g. šah 'ssh!' meaning uskut 'be quiet!', it is not an imperative verb but a noun of action.5 Similarly, if it does take the second person feminine singular 1 but does not denote a demand, e.g. 'anti taqumīna wa-taq udīna 'you (fem, sing.) are standing up and sitting down', it is not an imperative but an imperfect tense verb. Those are the facts of the three kinds of verbs: their grammatical rules are as follows.6

5.1 The past tense always ends in a, whether triliteral, e.g. daraba 'to strike', quadriliteral, e.g. dabraja 'to overturn', quinquiliteral,
(2) The formal similarity is that both nouns and imperfect tense verbs share the inflections u and a (cf. 2.2). Arabs argue synchronically that the inflection of the verb is logically secondary (e.g. Insāf, prob. 73), while the Western, diachronical view is that inflection of verbs is historically secondary (e.g. Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 554). Sibawayhi (Kitāb I, 3) sees the 'similarity' as functional, in that the imperfect tense verb is interchangeable with the agent noun in 'inna  Cabda llāhī la-yafCalu/la-fāCilun 'Abdullāh is doing', with the added resemblance that the predicate marker la (13.6 n 4) can be prefixed to imperfect tense, but not past tense verbs. Finally there is the possibility of making both nouns and imperfect tense verbs more specific by prefixes: al 'the' on nouns (11.74), the future markers sa and sawfa on verbs (1.82). Bateson 25 seems to imply that imperfect tense verbs are 'similar' because they have partly nominal inflection, but this is, of course, the wrong way round. Cf. also Versteegh 78.

(3) On 'syntactical combination' (tarkīb and 'meaning' (maCnā) in that context cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, 20.6 n 3.

(4) S. 112 v 3, referring to Allāh in an oblique refutation of the divinity of Jesus. The choice of lam (5.71) of the particles which operate on verbs (v. infra) springs from the fact that it is one of the very few which can only be followed by a verb. The verbs yālid and yūlad are peculiar in that the first radical is w, which is elided if the prefix vowel is a (5.31), thus *yawlid→yālid. If for any reason the prefix vowel is u (here because it is passive, 8.3) the w remains, but is now a vowel lengthener (2.43 n 2), thus yuwlad = yūlad (see further 10.67 n 1).

5.03 (1) 'amr, lit. 'command', always positive in Arabic, since there is a separate structure for prohibitions (5.76). For Sibawayhi the imperative is aspectually in the same category as the imperfect tense denoting events not yet happening (5.01 n 1). Formally the imperative can hardly be anything but the apocopated verb minus its personal prefixes (paradigm at 7.82 n 1), which are redundant because this verb form is only ever used in direct address (cf. Bravmann, J.Q.R. (NS) 42, 51). Beeston 84; Fleisch 107; Bateson 25; Yushmanov 53; see 5.2.

(2) It must also take the other agent pronouns (5.2). The reference to Sibawayhi is Kitāb I, 5 (and cf. Jahn, nn 53, 59 to #2).

(3) S. 19 v 26. See 5.2 n 3 on the forms.

(4) See 3.241 n 2.

(5) ism fiC1, see 1.42 n 3.

(6) At this point the text of the Ājurrūmiyya usually illustrates the three kinds of verb thus: "e.g. daraba 'he struck', yaqdrību 'he strikes', īqdrīb 'strike''', which aš-Širbānī redistributes through the following paragraphs. On ḥūkm 'grammatical rule' see 24.1 n 2.

5.1 (1) Muf. #403; Qatr 15; Beeston 72; Fleisch 105; Bateson 24; Yushmanov 52. Paradigms 7.51 to 7.62. Ibn Ājurrūm's statement applies
5.11. Among the past tense verbs are included \textit{ni\textsuperscript{c}ma} 'how good he is', \textit{bi'\textsuperscript{a}} 'how bad he is', \textit{c\textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{s}} 'he might' and \textit{l\textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{s}} 'he is not', since they can all take the above-mentioned feminine t, e.g. \textit{ni\textsuperscript{c}mat} 'how good she is', \textit{bi'\textsuperscript{sat}} 'how bad she is', \textit{c\textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{s}} 'she might' and \textit{l\textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{s}} 'she is not'.

5.2 The imperative is always apocopated, or rather, it is invariable, according to the best view held by the majority of Ba\textsuperscript{s}rans.\textsuperscript{1} Its invariable form is the same as the apocopated form of its imperfect tense: if the verb is of sound ending\textsuperscript{2} it is unwovelled, e.g. \textit{idrib} 'strike!', \textit{intaliq} 'depart!', \textit{istakrij} 'extract!', whose apocopated imperfect tense is unwovelled, viz. \textit{lam ya\textit{idrib} 'he did not strike'}, \textit{lam yantaliq} 'he did not depart', \textit{lam yastakrij} 'he did not extract'. If the verb is (18a) defective, i.e. ends in \textit{\textsuperscript{u}u}, \textit{\textsuperscript{a}a} or \textit{\textsuperscript{I}I}, it is made invariable by eliding the defective consonant, e.g. \textit{u\textsuperscript{z}zu} 'raid!'.
only to the 3rd masc. sing. (see 5.03 n 6), which serves as the typical form of the verb for pedagogical purposes (and cf. 3.52 n 3).

(2) All verbs (also nouns, 10.37 n 1) are regarded as derived from three, less often four radical consonants expressing a particular root notion and which may be augmented, under strict rules, by up to three additional consonants (5.3 n 2), as long as the total does not exceed six. These consonants in effect constitute a stem, to which the appropriate vowels and consonantal pre- and suffixes may be added: the past tense agent pronouns are all suffixes, dealt with one by one in 7.51 et seq. For derived (i.e. expanded) verb stems see 8.51 n 1. The verb *istağraja* is six-lettered because the initial *i* vowel is notated with the consonant *'alif* (a juncture feature, 5.2 n 3), hence the consonants are (*')-(s)-(t)-k-r-j (augments in brackets).

(3) Cf. 2.31 n 4 on phonetic inconvenience. It is a long-standing belief that *a* is the 'lightest' vowel, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Mugṭaḍab* III, 19.

(4) Orthographically *darabū* is *darbw*’, and the suffixing of *w* (=ū, see 2.43 n 2) entails the *u* on the last radical which is not, in the Arab view, an inflection but an invariable vowel. See 7.61 n 2 on final ‘.

(5) Lit. 'with triple t', referring to the suffixes *tu* 'I', *ta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and *ti* 'you' (fem. sing.). The other suffixes which are also attached directly to the unvowelled last radical (viz. all the duals and plurals) are taken for granted here, probably because they are regarded as derivatives of the singulars, cf. 11.717.

5.11 (1) For *laysa* see 10.18; *Casā* 10.101 n 1. The verbs *niçma* and *bi'sa* are rare examples of retrogressive vowel harmony accompanied by loss of central vowel, thus *ba'îsa>*bi'îsa>*bi'sa* (cf. Rabin, Anc. *West-Ar.*, 97, where this is identified as an Eastern Arabic trait). See 20.7 n 2 on the syntax of *niçma* and *bi'sa*.

5.2 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans'. In *Insāf*, prob. 72, the 'Kūfans' claim apocopation through synonymity with the indirect imperative verb with prefix *li* (5.75), while the 'Baṣrans' argue that there is no inflection because the necessary condition, similarity to nouns (5.02), is lacking in imperatives.

(2) i.e. the last radical is not *w* or *y*, which are dealt with later.

(3) Every syllable in Arabic must begin with a consonant (2.43 n 2), but only one, and if morphological processes cause a word to begin with two consonants (it will never be more than two), an extra syllable has to be created. In the formation of the imperative, the removal of the personal prefix *ta* usually leaves a consonant cluster (e.g. *ta-ḍrib*, *ta-nṭalig* etc.), and this is resolved by prefixing the syllable *'i*, on the special nature of which see further 13.12 n 1. Note also that there is partial vowel harmony in this prefix: it is *'i* if the vowels of the verb stem are *a* or *i*, but *'u* if the internal vowel is also *u*, e.g. *'uktub* 'write!'. If the removal of the personal prefix does not expose a consonant cluster this procedure is unnecessary, as
Among the imperative verbs are ḥāṭī 'bring!' (with i after the t providing no masculine plural pronoun is suffixed, in which case u occurs), and taḍāla 'come!' (always w with after the l), because they both denote a demand and may also take the feminine singular i. Thus when used to command a male they are invariable with elision of the defective consonant, viz. ḥāṭī 'bring!', taḍāla 'come!', like irmī 'throw!' and ikša 'fear!', and when used to command a female they are invariable with elision of n, viz. ḥāṭī 'bring!', taḍālay 'come!', like irmī 'throw!' and ikšay 'fear!'.

The imperfect tense begins with one of the four augments known as the 'consonants of the imperfect tense', viz. 'n, y (spelt with two dots below) and t (spelt with two dots above), which are combined in the letters making up the word 'anaytu, meaning 'I reached' (alternatively na'a'ytu, meaning 'I was distant'). The conditions are that ' denotes the speaker by himself, n the speaker and whoever is with him,
with kulī (ta'-kulī, see 18.108 n 2) and garrī (ta-garrī, cf. 11.3 n 1) in 5.03. Regular paradigm in 7.82.

(4) See 3.92 n 2. Note that throughout this paragraph aš-Šīrbīnī cites the 3rd masc. sing. as the base form for the imperative: this is simply because the 3rd masc. sing. is always used for 'quoting' verbs (cf. 3.52 n 3).

(5) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(6) Removal of the personal prefix leaves no consonant cluster with the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2), viz. ta-gūmu etc., hence no additional syllable required as in n 3 above. The masc. sing. gum is likewise regularly derived from ta-gum.

(7) The fact that loss of n in the 'five verbs' (3.93) and elision of the lengthening marker in 3rd weak rad. verbs (3.92) are allomorphs of the apocopated ending must surely weaken the 'Bašran' argument that imperative verbs are not apocopated (5.2 n 1).

5.21 (1) It is doubtful whether hāti is in fact a verb, and Fleisch, Tr. #115q, argues quite positively that it is a combination of a deictic hā (cf. 11.735 n 1) and an element tī presumably related to that of rubbata etc. (1.83 n 3). Nevertheless a causative prefix ha does survive in some verbs (harāqa 'to pour', doublet of 'arāqa, the normal Stem IV form, cf. 8.63 n 1, and Moscati #16.10), and perhaps hāti has been influenced by the existing causative verb 'ātā (imperative 'ātī etc., cf. 5.82 n 5). Another deictic element which has become assimilated to the imperative is halumma 'come on, now', fem. halummī, etc., cf. Muf. #189; Fleisch 146, Tr. 115k; Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 162.

(2) Naturally the other agent suffixes are understood (5.03 n 2). After a the fem. sing. I (= iy, v. 2.43 n 2) reduces to y in tağālay etc.

5.3 (1) The 'ahruf al-mudāraqa, where 'ahruf, lit. 'consonants, letters in general' (cf. 1.11) clearly equates with the concept of morphemes. Moreover, as emerges from the subsequent discussion, these morphemes are not to be confused with the same consonants in different functions, viz. as radicals (cf. 5.1 n 2) in the quadriliteral words narjastu and yarna'tu, and as morphemes of a different class in 'akramtu (where ' is the causative prefix, cf. 8.63 n 1) and tağallantu (where t is a reflexive prefix, cf. 8.64 n 1). Nor are these augment themselves agent pronouns, see n 3 below.

(2) The later Arab grammarians are very fond of such mnemonic devices: the neatest is perhaps sa'alumūnīhā 'you (masc. plur.) asked me about them', which contains all the ten consonants (s, ', l, t, m, w, n, y, h, ā), thus including the two functions of the letter 'alif, viz. ' and ā, see 2.43 n 2) which can be used as augments. One wry scholar has enshrined them in the sentence 'al-yawma tansāhu 'today you will forget it' (e.g. Ibn as-Sarrāj, al-Mūjazz ff n-nabw, ed. M. el-Chouémi and B. Damerdjī, Beirut 1965, 145; Muf. #671). Lane, 1276, s.v. ziyāda,
or a single person in self-magnification (even if only by pretension), y denotes the absent male absolutely and the plural of absent females, and t denotes the person addressed absolutely, the single absent female and the dual absent female, e.g. 'aqūmu 'I stand', naqūmu 'we stand', yaqūmu 'he stands', taqūmu 'you (masc. sing.) stand, she stands'. If it is objected that these consonants also appear on past tense verbs, as in 'akramtu zaydan 'I honoured Zayd', taqullantu 1-mas'ila 'I learnt the problem', narjastu d-dawa'a 'I put narcissus (narjis) in the medicine', yarna'tu š-Šayba 'I put red dye (yarna', i.e. henna) in the white hair', the answer is that if you define them as above this is clearly not intended.

5.31 Note: There are two rules for the form of the imperfect tense verb, one for its beginning and one for its end. The rule for the beginning is that its first letter (i.e. the one which actually begins the word) is always followed by u if the corresponding past tense is quadriliteral, e.g. yudahriju 'he overturns' (past tense dahraja 'he overturned'), but otherwise is followed by a, whether the verb is triliteral, as in yaqribu 'he strikes' (past tense daraba 'he strikes'), quinquiliteral, e.g. yantaliqu 'he departs' (past tense intalaqa 'he departed') or six-lettered, e.g. yastakriju 'he extracts' (past tense istakraja 'he extracted').

5.32 The rule for the end is that it is unwovelled with the feminine plural na (strictly speaking it is invariably when this is suffixed), as in the Qur'anic wa-l-mušallāqātu yatarabbašna 'and the divorced women wait', and it has a when directly suffixed with the emphatic anna, whether the heavy form, as in the Qur'anic la-yusjananna 'he shall surely be imprisoned!', or the light form, as in the Qur'anic wa-l-yakūnān min aš-šāģīra 'he shall surely be among the humbled'.

5.33 Apart from this the imperfect tense is inflected, as the author indicates by saying, and it is always independent (that is, in the
reports that over 130 mnemonics for these morphemes exist!

(3) Here, and at 7.4, 9.22, 11.71 only, the original periphrastic nomenclature of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons is reproduced literally (see 9.22 n 2 for the transliteration of the Arabic terms). Note especially that the morphemes listed here are not agent pronouns, as one might at first assume, but only markers of number and person: in the Arab analysis, agent pronouns appear either as overt suffixes (here the I, u, and ä of the 'five verbs', q.v. 3.44) or as 'concealed pronouns' (damIr mustatIr, 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1). In this the Arabs have gone further than, say, Trager and Rice, Language 30, esp. 226 (also Hamp, Studies in Linguistics, Buffalo, 14, 21), by assigning the agent function exclusively to the second element of a discontinuous morpheme.

(4) Since all the augments listed in n 2 above can also appear as full radical letters, it is of some consequence to be able to recognize in any given word which are its radicals and which are not. Dictionaries, for example, are invariably arranged according to radicals.

5.31 (1) 'First letter' here means the imperfect tense augment, not the first radical, nor any other augments associated with the stem (cf. 5.3 n 1). Only the active voice is meant here: for passive see 8.3.

(2) Quadriliteral verbs are (a) those with four different radicals, e.g. dahräja, (b) reduplicated stems, e.g. jäljälä 'to resound', (c) stems with single augment (q.v. 8.51 n 1). All three conjugate as augmented stems (see n 3); Beeston 73; Fleisch 127; Bateson 35.

(3) Quinquiliterals and six-lettered verbs are always augmented triliteral and quadriliterals, cf. 5.1 n 2: thus (augments in brackets) the verbs here are (')-(n)-f-l-q (paradigm 8.66 n 1), (')-(s)-(t)-k-r-j (paradigm 8.72 n 1). An augmented quadriliteral is, e.g. tadährajä 'to be overturned, (t)-d-h-r-j, which has the same imperfect tense pattern as the triliteral paradigm in 8.64 n 1, viz. yatadährajü etc.

5.32 (1) See 3.241 n 1 on this morpheme and transliteration problems.

(2) The fem. plur. na is suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb, e.g. yadjrib-na 'they strike', and the argument is that the lack of vowel on the b is not an instance of apocopation, i.e. the absence of vowel is not phonemic and the stem is uninflected (cf. 3.91 n 1).

(3) S. 2 v 228. The point of the example is that, if an overt agent precedes its verb, the latter is marked for the number and gender of the agent, in contrast with the rules for the usual verbal sentence, q.v. at 7.12 and cf. also 7.62.

(4) Both quotations are from S. 12 v 32. Though transcribed throughout as anna and an respectively (see 3.241 n 2), the a is not part of the suffix, and the verbs in the examples must be segmented yusjäna-nna and yaküna-n. Nevertheless, the a is not an inflection, cf. 5.1 n 3, 5.32 n 2. See further 26.34 n 2, also 13.6 n 3 on the prefix la.

5.33 (1) The concept of a 'main verb' exists by default, as it were,
5.34 They remain independent until preceded by an operator of dependence (which therefore makes them dependent) or an operator of apocope. (This apocopes them). Having finished with the independence of the imperfect tense verb through the absence of operators, he now turns to its dependence caused by dependence operators:

5.4 The operators of dependence on the imperfect tense (including both those accepted unanimously and those in dispute) are ten in number: as presented here, of which only four are unanimously accepted, the remaining six being held to make the imperfect tense dependent only by means of a suppressed ‘an ‘that’, but the author attributes dependence directly to them to make it easier for the beginner. He then indicates the four unanimously accepted: they are,

5.41 (1) ‘an ‘that’, (spelt with a after the ‘ and unvowelled n). This is a relative particle which fuses with its dependent verb to form the
as one of the implications of the 'zero-operator' (5.34 n 1). The independent inflection of the verb thus parallels that of the noun when it is free from operators (cf. 9.11). *Insâf*, prob. 73, deals with the disputes between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on this topic: the substance of the Baṣran position is reproduced in 5.02 n 2, in the name of Sībawayhi, but it is interesting that one argument of the Kūfan has been incorporated unacknowledged into aš-Širbīnī's position, viz. the need for verbal inflection based upon variations in syntactic function. The other Kūfan doctrine, however, is perhaps more interesting: they speak of the need for inflection in verbs because imperfect tense verbs denote 'lengthy periods of time (of continuous duration)' (the last phrase is added from az-Zajjājī's paraphrase of the case in *Īdâh*, 80), and therefore resemble nouns in that both can refer to qualities inherent in an agent and only ceasing when the agent ceases to exist. Versteegh, 80, overlooks this aspect of the Kūfan theory, which certainly needs further exploration.

(2) This is the Kūfan view, Baṣrans favouring the predicative function as the reason for the verb's independence (*Insâf*, prob. 74). See 3.24 for the inflection markers involved, 3.44 for the 'five verbs'.

5.34 (1) Since inflection is produced by operators (2.1, 2.11), there must be an explanation for instances where no operator can be shown, principally the equational sentence (9.11) and the indep. imperfect tense verb. The solution was the notion of *tajarrud*, lit. 'being stripped bare', i.e. of operators, here translated 'absence of operators', and sometimes more specifically as 'freedom from the operators of dependence and apocopation', e.g. 9.01, 9.03 we find a synonym in the adjective *cârï*, lit. 'naked', i.e. 'devoid of operators'. This seems to have become an established technicality as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), cf. *Muqtaḏâb* IV, 126. See also 3.24 n 2 and, for neutralization of operators, 5.431 n 3.

5.4 (1) Jum. 194; *Muf.* #410; *Alf.* v 677; *Qâr* 54; Beeston 84; Fleisch 198; Yushmanov 72; Nöldeke 70. The unanimous view reported by aš-Širbīnī is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), hence it is the 'Kūfan' line which Ibn Ājurrūm here follows. Dep. paradigms 4.82 n 1.

(2) Here 'suppressed' renders *muṣmar*, lit. 'kept in the mind', mostly used in the narrower technical sense of 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71 n 1.

5.41 (1) Jum. 206, 333; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 677; *Qâr* 58; Beeston 92; Fleisch 201; Yushmanov 72. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are needed to avoid confusion with 'in (5.81), 'inna (10.41), 'anna (10.42).

(2) This translates *mawsûl ḥarff*: *mawsûl*, lit. 'thing joined' is from relative clause terminology, denoting the element which 'joins' the relative clause to its antecedent (see 11.75 et seq.), while ḥarff, lit. 'in the particle family' (see 11.721 n 4) distinguishes 'an from the set of nouns *allâḏf* etc. which introduce true relative clauses, q.v. 11.752. Both of these are nominalizers of their clauses, but see Spitaler, *Oriens* 15, 97, Yushmanov 73 for *allâḏf* in an apparently subordinating function (though Spitaler explains *allâḏf* here as
equivalent of a verbal noun, for which reason it is called 'the verbal noun 'an'. It occurs in two positions: (a) as the initial element of an equational sentence, with independent function as subject, as in the Qur’anic wa-‘an tasūmā kāyrun lakum 'and that you should fast is best for you', and (b) after an expression denoting a sense of uncertainty; here it may have independent function as agent, as in the Qur’anic ‘a-lam ya’ni li-lladîna ‘āmanū (19a) 'an takša a qulūbuhum 'has it not occurred to those who believe that their hearts should be humble?’, or it may have dependent function as object, as in the Qur’anic ‘aradtu ‘an ‘aċībah ‘I wanted to blame it’, or oblique function, as in the Qur’anic min qabli ‘an ya’tiya yawmun ‘before a certain day comes’. The author puts ‘an first because it is the fundamental particle and parent of the whole category.

5.411 It makes dependent either when overt or suppressed: an example of the former is the Qur’anic wa-lālagī ‘atma’u ‘an yaḡfira lī ḵaṭī’atī ‘and who I desire that he should forgive me my sin’, and the latter is illustrated in the verse

wa-lubsu ‘aba’ätin wa-tagarra ḵaynī  
‘ahabbu ʾilayya min lubsi š-sufūfī

‘and wearing a rough cloak and my eye relax is dearer to me than wearing the finest cloth’, where tagarra ‘may relax’ is made dependent by a suppressed ‘an ‘that’, which, combined with its verb, is a paraphrase of an independent verbal noun coordinated with lubsu ‘the wearing’. Thus the implicit meaning is lubsu Cabā’atīn wa-qurratu ḵaynī ‘the wearing of a rough cloak and the relaxation of my eye’.

5.412 The term ‘verbal noun ‘an’ excludes the ‘explanatory ‘an’ viz. the one preceded by a sentence containing a synonym of gāla ‘to say’ but not its actual letters, because this ‘an merely has the status of ‘ay ‘i.e.’, as in the Qur’anic fa-‘awḥaynā ‘ilayhī ‘an isnā il-fulka ‘so we inspired him, (that) “build the ark!”’, i.e. we said ‘build!’.

5.413 Also excluded is the ‘redundant ‘an’ that sometimes follows the
equivalent to 'īg 'lo', cf. 1.441 n 5, not to 'an).

(3) See 17.1 on the verbal noun (maṣdar). The resulting nominalized clause now functions as a single noun (cf. 9.02).

(4) 'Positions' is literal for mawādi', elsewhere 'functions' (3.1 n 4).

(5) S. 2 v 184, see 9.02.

(6) S. 57 v 16, cf. 7.02 n 3. After expressions of certainty the indep. verb is used, cf. Fleisch 199, and 5.413 n 4.

(7) S. 18 v 79.

(8) S. 30 v 43. As in many languages, prepositions usually subordinate sentences by means of conjunctions, in this case 'an: thus the word qabli is annexed to the noun phrase headed by 'an (cf. 26.73 n 2).

(9) Lit. the 'mother' of the whole category, one of the frequent anthropomorphisms encountered in Arabic grammar, cf. 6.4 n 2.

5.411 (1) S. 26 v 82. The verse refers to Allāh, and the lame English is designed to clarify the structure of the Arabic: the use of 'whom' here would obscure the fact that the clause 'that he should forgive' is the true direct object of 'I desire'.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 155, cf. also Jum. 199; Ibn Ḥaqīl on Alf. v 693; Qatr 64. On the grammatical problem in general, see Carter, Arabica 20, 292.

(3) The analysis of this verse offers a good specimen of taqdīr, i.e. reconstruction of underlying forms (cf. 2.101 n 1). The issue on the formal level is that verbs cannot be coordinated with nouns by wa 'and', hence the verb taqarra has to be nominalized by an assumed 'an (which accounts for the dep. form of taqarra according to the 'Basran' interpretation), yielding an implicit noun phrase which is in turn equivalent to the verbal noun qurratun 'relaxation'. This verse and others like it are usually quoted in connection with an occasional function of wa in the meaning 'together with', when dependent forms of both nouns and verbs occur - see ch. 25 passim and 5.54 n 2, also references in n 2 above.

5.412 (1) Jum. 333; Muf. #570; al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 679; Qatr 60; Fleisch 145; Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. #193. The 'an al-mufassira, of which 'explanatory 'an' is a literal translation, functions as little more than a colon (Fleisch loc. cit.) and is followed by direct speech. It is probably a relic of a time when 'an was simply a demonstrative element. Nöldeke 104 has an interesting anthology of examples.

(2) i.e. any verb of saying except qāla itself, for which there are special rules (10.64 n 1). For 'letters' in this context see 17.5

(3) S. 23 v 27; clearly 'an is not operating on the imperative verb iṣna', but neither is it entirely redundant as in 5.413.

5.413 (1) Jum. 333; Muf. #564; al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 679; Qatr 61. The name 'an az-ẓā'ida shows zā'ida in its meaning of 'redundant', cf. zīyāda in 3.231 n 2, where the same term means 'augment'. Other
temporal *lammā* 'when',\(^2\) as in the Qur'anic *fa-lammā 'an jā'ā l-bašīru* 'and when the bearer of good tidings came'.\(^3\) Various other matters are also excluded, which I have mentioned in my Commentary on *Qatār an-nadā*\(^4\) and which are not suitable for such a short work as this.

5.42 (2) *lān* 'not',\(^1\) a particle which negates the future, e.g. *lān nabraha* 'we shall not go forth', where *lān* 'not' is a particle of negation and dependence and *nabraha* 'we (may) go forth' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by *lān*, with an explicit *a* as its dependence marker. I have dealt above with problems concerning *lān*.\(^2\)

5.43 (3) *'idān* 'therefore',\(^1\) which, according to Sibawayhi and his followers, is a particle of response and requital.\(^2\) The best view is that it is a simple word and not a compound of *'iđ* 'since' and *'a* 'that',\(^3\) and that it makes dependent by itself and not through a suppressed following *'a*.[10]

What is meant by its being a particle of response is that it occurs in sentences which are responses to other sentences (expressed or implied), irrespective of whether *'iđān* 'therefore' occurs at the beginning, in the middle or at the end. By its being used for requital is meant that the content of the sentence in which it occurs is a requital of the content of some other sentence.

5.431 Note: *'iđān* 'therefore' only makes the imperfect tense verb dependent under three conditions:

(1) that the imperfect tense verb following it should have future meaning.\(^1\) If the verb is merely a circumstantial qualifier it remains
examples: 20.5, 22.42.

(2) *lammā at-tawqītiyya* 'the *lammā* which fixes the point of time', to distinguish it from the negative, apocopating *lammā* 'not yet' (5.72). The temporal *lammā* has been explained as a combination of the prefix *la* (13.6 n 3) and an intensifying suffix *mā* (9.83 n 2), e.g. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 455, Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 110. Beeston 99; Fleisch 206.

(3) S. 12 v 96, explained as reinforcing the completion of the event.

(4) In default of this work, the references in n 1 may be consulted.

One item worth noting is the *'an* which occurs after verbs of certainty and which takes indep. forms of the verb, e.g. *Gālimtu 'an taqūmu* 'I knew that you were standing'. The Arabs explain this as a 'lightened' form of *'anna* (10.42). Jum. 206; Muf. #525; Alf. v 677; Qaṭr 61.

5.42 (1) Jum. 195; Muf. #549, 578; Alf. v 677; Qaṭr 55; Fleisch 201; etymology of *'an*, v. 3.53 and notes, and on negation of verbs in general see 5.76 n 1. The Qur'anic example here is S. 20 v 91.

(2) viz. in 3.53.

5.43 (1) Jum. 204; Muf. #594; Alf. v 680; Qaṭr 57; Beeston 99; Fleisch 206; Yushmanov 74; Nöldeke 106. This is part of a group of clearly related elements comprising *'īd* (1.441) and *'īdā* (5.94) as well as *'īdan*. Brockelmann (Grundr. II, 594) supposes an original *'īd* as a demonstrative adverb ('lo and behold!') which has acquired partial nominal inflection (dependent in *'īdā*/*'īdan*, oblique in such compounds as *yawma '*'īdan* 'on that day', *waqta* *'īdan* (a neologism) 'at that time'). The Arabs treat *'īd* as a noun for purely formal reasons, though some traces of its deictic function can still be perceived (v. 1.441 n 5). See further n 3 below.

(2) 'Response' (*jawāb*) and 'requital' (*jazā*') are both terms for the apodosis in conditional sentences (5.811), whose relevance aš-Šīrbīnī explains in the ensuing lines.

(3) It happens that *'īdan* is sometimes spelt as if it were an undefined, dep. noun (i.e. *'īdā*, where a represents *an*, q.v. 1.4 n 5), and sometimes with an explicit *n*. The latter spelling gives rise to the illicit conjecture that *'īdan* is a compound of *'īd* and *'an* (on the analogy of *lan* from *lā-'an*, 3.53). This is rejected by most Arab grammarians, including aš-Šīrbīnī, but Beckendorf, Synt. Verb. 745, argues firmly for the etymology *'īd*-'*an*,' and goes so far as to claim that even the *n* ending of words such as *hīna* *'īdin* 'at that time' (v. n 1 above) is not an undefined noun inflection (because *'īd* is by nature definite), but is rather a relic of the particle *'inna* 'verily' (10.41).

5.431 (1) The imperfect tense verb is indifferently present or future in reference (cf. 5.01 n 1): here an independent verb would have the meaning of a circumstantial qualifier (i.e. virtually a present participle, cf. 19.9 n 1). The dependent form, however, would mean *'(You say you love me)* and for that reason I shall believe you (this
independent, as, for instance, when someone says 'uhibbuka 'I love you', and you reply 'idan 'usaddiquka 'that being the case I always believe you';

(2) that 'idan should have first place in the sentence, e.g. when someone says 'ātika ḍadan 'I am coming to you tomorrow', and you reply 'idan 'ukrimaka 'in that case I shall honour you'. If 'idan does not have first place it will have intervened between two elements, e.g. (19b) zaydun 'idan yukrimuka 'Zayd, therefore, will honour you', and it is then inoperative;

(3) that nothing should separate 'idan from its verb, e.g. 'idan 'ukrimaka 'therefore I shall honour you', for if it is separated, as in 'idan 'anā 'ukrimuka 'I, therefore, will honour you', 'idan is inoperative. Nevertheless, when the intervening element is an oath, as in 'idan wa-ilāhi 'ukrimaka 'therefore, by God, I will honour you', this has no effect.

5.432 These three conditions are fulfilled, for example, when someone says 'azüruka ḍadan 'I shall visit you tomorrow', and you reply 'idan 'ukrimaka 'therefore I shall honour you', where 'idan 'therefore' is a particle of response and dependence, 'ukrima 'I (may) honour' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by 'idan 'therefore', with as its dependence marker; the agent is concealed in the verb as an implicit 'anā 'I' with independent status through the verb 'ukrima 'I (may) honour', and ka 'you' is a direct object with dependent status through the imperfect tense verb.

5.44 (4) kay 'that', called the 'verbal noun kay'. This particle has li 'for' prefixed to it either explicitly, as in the Qur'anic li-kay-lā ta'saw 'so that you may not grieve', or implicitly, as in ji'tuka kay
once), where the act of believing is logically and grammatically dependent on the main verb.

(2) This invokes a fundamental principle of Arabic syntax, namely that elements can only combine in the form of binary units (cf. 2.11 n 1), which are normally inseparable. Larger units do not occur, cf. the early statement of this rule in Kitāb I, 351, "three elements cannot have the status of a single noun" (see Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 155).

(3) This is better expressed as a general principle: only inoperative elements may intervene between members of a binary unit (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 156, for neutralization of space/time qualifiers). The inoperative element is termed mulgā, lit. 'voided', from laḡw, a legal term meaning 'voiding, nullifying a law' (other examples 21.31, 22.31, and cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, root l-ḡ-w). A synonym is muhmal, lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.722, tuhmalu 'is made inoperative'), used also for 'undotted' in orthography, q.v. 13.45 n 3.

(4) Although it may look as if 'ānā intervenes, a comparison with the previous paragraph will show that the noun + verb phrase (7.12) is the dominant binary unit, in combination with which there is no available function for 'idān beyond that of an adverbial phrase, the latter being, by definition, structurally redundant (19.1 n 1).

(5) Cf. English 'abso-bloody-lutely' for the invasion of morpheme boundaries by oaths; other Arabic examples in A. Bloch, Vers und Sprache im Altertum, Basel 1946, 152.

5.432 (1) Since the examples are presented in dialogue form it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, even centuries after Classical Arabic ceased to be a spoken language (if it ever was, cf. Beeston 13, E.I. (2), art. 'GArabiyya'), the fiction is still kept up (most striking example is 14.4). References to writing are rather rare, except in grammars aimed at the secretarial class, cf. Ibn Durustawayh, Kitāb al-kuttāb, Kuwayt 1977, esp. p. 128.

(2) Clearly retaining its demonstrative meaning, 'iǧā also introduces nominal sentences after main verbs, with a notion of suddenness, e.g. daḡaltu fa-iǧā huwa jālisun 'I went in, and there he was, sitting' (or: fa-iǧā bihi jālisun, cf. 10.18 n 4). In this function it is called 'iḏā l-mufāja'a 'the 'iḏā of surprise'; Muf. #204; Alf. v 702.

(3) Alternatively '-k-r-m may be vocalized as 'akrama, 3rd sing. masc. past tense, following the convention described in 3.52 n 3.

5.44 (1) Jum. 194; Muf. #595; Alf. v 677; Qatr 56; Fleisch 203; it is called kāy al-maṣdariyya because, like the 'verbal noun 'an' (5.41), it fuses with its verb to form a noun phrase equivalent to the verbal noun (see 17.1 on maṣdar, 'verbal noun').

(2) S. 57 v 23. On li see 5.51; as the transliteration implies, li-kay-lā is written as one word (see 5.76 n 1 on lā 'not'). The verb ta’saw has a 3rd weak radical w, and the underlying indep. form is *ta’sawūna, with regular reduction to ta’sawna, cf. 4.81 n 2, where
5.5-5.52

Having finished with the four unanimously accepted operators of dependence, the author now turns to the disputed six; as already pointed out, the best view is that the actual operator of dependence with these is a following suppressed 'an 'that'.

5.51 (1) the li 'for' of kay 'so that', i.e. the 'causative li'. This li has been annexed to kay here because li can take the place of kay in conveying causality, as in the Qur’anic li-yakūna r-rasūlu šahīdan cafaykum 'in order that the Prophet may be a witness against you', where yakūna 'he may be' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by an implicit 'an 'that' after 'the li of kay' 'so that', with a as its dependence marker; ar-rasūlu 'the Prophet' is the subject-noun of yakūna 'he may be', which makes it independent, šahīdan 'a witness' is the predicate of yakūna, which makes it dependent, and cafaykum 'against you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connection with šahīdan 'a witness'. This li 'for' is also called the 'causative li'.

5.52 (2) the li of denial, i.e. of negation. This is the redundant li
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(3) The speaker's intention (niyya) has always been a recognized determining factor, cf. 21.21 n 4. The listener (muğtab or sâmi) likewise often affects the form of the speaker's utterance, v. 1.13.

(4) The status of kay was one of the disputes between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3). In İnşāf prob. 78 the Kūfans advance the simple view that kay operates entirely by itself, but the Baṣrans, justifiably perturbed by the overlapping distribution of kay and li (5.51) are moved to greater subtlety, and propose three solutions: (a) in li-kay, kay has the status of 'an (since li-'an also occurs), (b) in kay alone, either li has to be assumed, yielding type (a), or, (c) kay is a synonym of li and 'an has to be assumed. This may not solve the problem, but at least it recognizes that there is something to explain, viz. the series li, li-kay, li-'an, and the partial series kay, kay-li (rare, Nöldeke 71 n 1), but no kay 'an, all of which are synonymous.

There is also a kaymâ/kaymah, cf. 5.84 n 1.

5.5 (1) See 5.4. In İnşāf prob. 77 (and cf. Muf. #411) it is the 'Kūfans' who regard all ten operators of dependence as self-sufficient, and the 'Baṣrans' who must detect a suppressed 'an with the remaining six operators to be dealt with. On 'suppressed' (muğmar) see 5.4 n 2.

5.51 (1) Jum. 195; Muf. #411, 413; Alf. v 682; Qatr 64; Beeston 98; Fleisch 203; Yushmanov 73. This li has two names, lâm at-taCîlîyya 'the causative li (from ˈilla 'cause', q.v. at 24.22 n 1), and lâm kay, an explanatory annexation (26.72) meaning 'the li which is like kay'. Note that, since li is a one-letter word, it is mentioned by the name of that letter, lâm. It is not the same as imperative li, 5.75.

(2) taklufuhs lit. 'deputizes for it' (cf. 'caliph'), a very late addition to the stock of grammatical anthropomorphisms.

(3) S. 22 v 78. Other Qur'anic examples of the causative li are at 1.709, li-tubayyina 'that you might make clear' and 5.84, li-tasharanā 'that you might bewitch us'.

(4) Verbs of the class of kāna 'to be' are quasi-copulatives which, instead of agents and direct objects, have subject-nouns and predicates (q.v. in 10.11). However, the predicates are still marked as direct objects, in dependent form, following the structure of the favourite sentence pattern, Verb-Agent-Direct Object, cf. 7.9 n 1, 15.06 n 1.

(5) Prepositional phrases are often extraneous to the minimal sentence, and the term mutaCâlig, lit. 'hanging from' has been developed (from an earlier, more general application to any kind of connection between elements, cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, ʾC-l-q) to account semantically for prepositional phrases. See further 5.82 n 6.

5.52 (1) Jum. 195; Muf. #413 (see Ibn YaCîf); Alf. v 683; Qatr 66. This is the same as the causative li in structure, and differs only in the restrictions on its use, as implied by its name, lâm al-juḥūd 'the
for' which occurs in the predicate of kāna 'to be' when that verb is negated by mā 'not' or lam 'not'. An example of the former is the Qur'anic mā kāna llāhu li-ya‘āra l-mu‘minwna 'God is not one to abandon the faithful', but in both these examples ya‘āra 'he may abandon' and ya‘ghira 'he may forgive' are imperfect tense verbs made dependent by an implicit 'an 'that' after the 'li of denial', with a as their marker of dependence. This li is called the 'li of denial' because it is preceded by a negated entity, denial being another name for negation.

5.53 (3) ḥattā 'until', i.e. the operator of obliqueness which conveys the sense of an ultimate limit, as in the Qur'anic ḥattā ya‘tiya wa’dū l-lāhī ‘until the threat of God comes', where ya‘tiya 'it may come' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by a compulsorily suppressed 'an 'that', with a as its dependence marker, wa’dū 'threat' is an agent made independent by ya‘tiya 'it may come', and allāh 'of God' is made oblique by having wa’dū 'threat' annexed to it.

5.54 (4) response with fa 'and then', conveying cause, and (5) wa 'and', conveying accompaniment. These two occur in the response to a pure demand or a pure negation: an example of the latter is the Qur'anic lā yuqūdū alayhim fa-yamūtū (or wa-yamūtū) ‘it shall not be decreed upon them that they should die’.

5.55 The pure demand comprises various types, in seven matters, which are as follows:
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"li of denial" (see 5.51 n 1 on lām = li). Whether it is in fact redundant is a moot point: the 'Kūfans' claim that it operates without a suppressed 'an (cf. 5.5), the 'Baṣrans' only that the preposition 'li cannot operate on verbs without an assumed 'an (cf. Insāf prob. 79, 82).

(2) S. 3 v 179. The apparently past tense verb kāna here must be translated as some kind of highly affirmative present tense, e.g. 'has always been', or, in the present context, 'never has been and never will be': this usage is frequent in the Qur'ān and obviously represents the true aspectual nature of the 'past' tense (5.01 n 1), asserting that an event (here 'being') is real and factual. Cf. W. Reuschel in Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann, Halle/Saale 1968, 147, and contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, 55, 72; cf. 10.11, 12.902.

(3) S. 4 v 137. Here lam yakun means 'has never been', cf. n 2 above.

(4) The text says a negated kawn, which may either have the concrete sense of 'entity' or simply be the verbal noun of kāna and mean 'a negated verb "to be"'.

5.53 (1) Jum. 201; Muf. #414; Alf. v 685; Qātr 67; Beeston 98; Fleisch 221; ṣattā as oblique operator 26.31; as coordinating conjunction 12.91; with indep. verbs Fleisch 222, and cf. 5.6 n 1.

(2) S. 13 v 31. The assumption of a compulsorily suppressed 'an is the 'Baṣran' theory (see Insāf, prob. 83, and cf. 5.5 n 1); see 5.4 n 2 on 'suppressed', muḍmar.

(3) The verb ya'tiya, with weak 3rd radical y, is regular in its dependent form, cf. 2.42 n 1, while the independent form (ya'tI, like yarmI in 4.81 n 2 (b)) and apocopated ya'tI (like yarmI in 3.92 n 1) are irregular, see 2.41 n 2 and 3.92 n 2 respectively.

5.54 (1) Jum. 202; Muf. #411; Alf. v 687; Qātr 71; Beeston 98; Fleisch 220; Nöldeke 71. The translation 'and then' for fa emphasizes that fa in this context is not a simple coordinating conjunction (v. 12.2). 'Conveying cause' renders sababiyya, lit. 'causal': see further 24.22 n 1 for the almost synonymous terms cilla and sabab 'cause'.

(2) Jum. 198; Muf. #411; Alf. v 688; Qātr 73; Fleisch 221. See ch. 25 on the so-called wāw al-maṣṣiya, lit. 'the wa of Withness' (since wa is a one letter word it is referred to by the name of that letter, cf. lām 'l' for li in 5.51 n 1). Another example of this wa in 5.411.

(3) S. 35 v 36. Theologically the deaths are caused by the decree and this is reflected in the grammar (so aš-Ṣirbīnī, Qur'ān commentary III, 311). 'Pure negation' is nafy maḥḍ, (maḥḍ = 'racially pure'), i.e. 'unadulterated negation', see further 5.552.

5.55 (1) Called 'pure demand' (talab maḥḍ, cf. previous note) because all are in effect imperatives (some, says Ibn YaŷIš on Muf. #411, use the term 'imperative' alone to cover all seven). However, there are some exclusions, for which see 5.552 n 2. The somewhat unhelpful term maḥḍ 'pure' seems to date back no further than the Alfiyya, and may have been chosen for none better than metrical reasons.
(a) the imperative, e.g. zurūnī fa-'u’krīmaka or wa-'u’krīmaka 'visit me and I shall honour you';

(b) prohibition, e.g. the Qur’anic lā taṭgaw fiḥī fa-yahilla ǧadābi 'do not go to extremes in it so that my anger may descend upon you'² (or wa-yahilla 'and so it may descend', outside the Qur’ān);

(c) invocation,³ as in the verse
    rabbi waftiqnī fa-lā 'aCdīla (or wa-lā 'aCdīla) ǧān sananī s-sāCaīna fī kaYrī sananī
    'O My Lord, give me success, and then I will not swerve from the path of the strivers in the best of paths',⁴

(d) interrogation, as in the verse
    hal ta’rifūnā lubānātī fa-’a’rjuwa ‘an
tugād fa-yartadda (or wa-yartadda) baCdū r-rūḥī li-l-jasādī
    'do you understand my cares, so that I may hope they will be ended, and some soul may return to my body?',⁵

(e) proposing, as in the verse
    yā bna l-kirāmī ‘a-lā tadnu fa-tubṣira (or wa-tubṣira) mā qad haddātuka fa-mā ǧā’in ka-mān saimiCa
    'O son of nobles, will you not come near, and then you will see what they have told you about, for one who sees is not like one who hears',⁶

(f) incitement, as in the Qur’anic lāwla ‘a’kkartānī ’ilā ’ajalin qarīhin fa-’aṣṣaddaqa 'would you not grant me a postponement for a short term, and then I may give alms'⁷ (or wa-‘aṣṣaddaqa 'and then I may give alms' outside the Qur’ān);

(g) hoping, as in the Qur’anic yā laytānī kunṭu maCahum fa-’aṣfūza ‘Oh,
(2) S. 20 v 81; tatğaw is another verb with 3rd weak radical, viz. w, and behaves exactly like ta'saw in 5.44 n 2 (with both dep. and apoc. forms having the same endings, cf. 4.82 n 2). For prohibition see 5.76.

(3) 'Invocation' renders duCû`, lit. 'calling upon', used commonly for 'private prayer' (in contrast to the prescribed daily ritual). See further 5.751, 752, where it has been translated 'request', to avoid the implication that the verbs in question are either prayers or optatives. (See 14.34 n 3 on optatives).

(4) Schaw. Ind. 259. The verse is anonymous and unknown to the earlier grammarians, which raises (not for the first time) the suspicion that it may have been coined to illustrate the grammatical point in question (cf. 13.12 n 1). Note that the negation of the verb through lâ (5.76 n 1) does not interfere with the operation of fa in making it dependent. See 23.61 (a) on the vocative rabbi. Observe, too, how variants and alternatives can be freely inserted into the verse.

(5) Schaw. Ind. 71; this anonymous verse is quoted only by relatively late grammarians, though al-`Aynî, IV, 380, claims that it was cited by al-Farrâ'î (d. 822, see 1.21 n 2). Of the two dependent verbs with fa in the verse here only the first is in question, fa-'arjuwa 'that I may hope' (note dep. form of verb with 3rd weak rad. w, v. 2.42 n 1). The second verb, fa-yartadda 'that it may return' is explained as coordinated to 'an tuqdâ 'that they might be ended' as a second direct object clause (cf. 5.41) of 'arjuwa 'I may hope' (see 12.2 on fa as a coordinating conjunction). Nevertheless a reading in the spirit of subparagraph (g) below seems possible: 'that I may hope they will be ended and (as a result) some soul return ....'

(6) Schaw. Ind. 147; yet another anonymous verse and, like the two before, not quoted by grammarians earlier than Ibn Hişām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), though in each case aš-Širbînî's immediate source is al-Azharî, Taşr. II, 239. On the construction of yâ bna 1-kirâmî 'son of nobles' see 23.44 and 23.7. 'Proposing' (Gârđ, lit. 'laying before') exactly parallels the English 'will you not ...', for 'a-lâ is a compound of the interrogative prefix 'a and the negating particle lâ (5.76 n 1). The comparison of seer and hearer is rhetorically inverted: it means that the hearer knows much less than one who sees.

(7) S. 63 v 10. The verse continues: wa-`akun min aš-šâlihîn 'and I might become one of the good', which the commentators treat together with the previous clauses. The possibilities are (from the Commentary of aš-Širbînî, IV, 386): apocopated 'akun as second apodosis of the pseudo-conditional lawlâ `akkartanî (scil. 'if you granted ...', cf. 6.6 n 6); dependent 'akûna in coordination to 'assaddaqa as a second consequence of the initial 'incitement'; dep. 'akûna reduced to 'akun for phonological reasons ('akûna min>`akûm-min>`akû~m-min>'akû~mmin, avoiding the over-long syllable kûm (cf. 2.5 n 3), 'akûmin being in any case the correct pronunciation of 'akun according to the rules of Qur'anic recitation). On the form 'assaddaqa see Cantineau, Études 34, and cf.
if only I were with them and then I might gain'.

The response after the fa and wa in all these examples is made depend­
ent by a compulsorily suppressed 'an 'that'.

5.551 Note: If the author had said 'fa and wa in response' it would
have been clearer, because the response does not make anything depend­
ent, but is itself made dependent.

5.552 By 'pure negation'is excluded negation voided by 'illā 'except',
e.g. mā 'anta 'illā ta'tīnā fa-tuhaddītunā 'you do nothing except come
talk to us', and by 'imperative'is excluded the agent noun, as in
nazālī fa-nukrimuka 'dismount and we will honour you'. In both of
these cases there is nothing but the independent form.

5.56 (6) 'aw 'or', the conjunction, whenever 'ilā 'until' or 'illā
'except' can properly occur in its place.2 The former is illustrated
by la-'alzimannaka (20b) 'aw taqdiyani ḥaqqī 'I shall surely stick
close to you or you will give me my due', i.e. 'ilā 'an taqdiyani
'until you give me', cf. the verse

la-'astashilanna s-ṣa'ba 'aw 'udrika 1-munā
fa-mā ngādāt il-'āmālu 'illū li-ṣābirin
'I shall surely face all difficulties lightly, or I shall achieve my

desire, for hopes submit only to the steadfast',3 i.e. 'ilā 'an 'udrika
'until I achieve'. An example of the latter is la-'aqtulanna l-kāfira
'aw yuslima 'I shall surely kill the unbeliever or he will become a
Muslim',4 i.e. 'illū 'an yuslima 'except he become a Muslim'. The verbs
Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 147. In passing note that the construction evidently aroused the suspicion of Sībawayhi, who queried it with his master al-Ḳālib (Kitāb I, 452).

(8) S. 4 v 73; this differs from the previous specimen only in that a specific 'particle of hoping' is used, q.v. at 10.45. Note the use of the vocative particle ǧā (23.0, and cf. 23.21) to intensify the exclamation, comparable to the English 'Oh' (but 'O' for vocative!).

(9) Once again the 'Baṣran' interpretation, see 5.5.

5.552 (1) 'Pure negation' (nafī mabd, 5.54 n 3, 5.55 n 1) excludes also such double negatives as mā tazālu ta'tīnā fa-tuḥaddiṭunā 'you never stop coming and talking to us', where the intrinsic negative meaning of tazālu 'you cease' (v. 10.19) is cancelled by mā 'not' (on mā with the imperfect tense see 5.76 n 1). By the same token fa takes indep. verbs when preceded by purely rhetorical negation, e.g. S. 22 v 63; 'a-lam tara 'anna llāha 'anzala min as-samā'i mā'an fa-tuṣbīhu 1'-arḍu muḥdarratan 'Have you not seen how God has sent down water from heaven and the earth has become green?'.

(2) Here 'amr 'imperative' replaces talab 'demand' used above, 5.54. The pattern faḥālī is highly obscure: there are invariable proper names in this form, e.g. hāḏāmī (23.411), and pseudo-imperatives such as nazālī here, which are interpreted as agent nouns (fāqīl, 7.01) with an affirmative meaning, and are therefore excluded from the conditions under which fa operates as a subordinating conjunction. The form has been exhaustively studied by Canard, *A.E.I.O.* 1, 5-72, where he finds that faḥālī is an infinitival pattern. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 156 points out that this form has strong South Arabian and Ethiopic associations, and never was a true imperative. *Muf.* #193 distinguishes four types of faḥālī patterns, viz. two already mentioned above, one synonymous with verbal nouns and one anomalous (māḏūl, 3.89 n 8) adjective type.

5.56 (1) Jum. 197; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 684; *Qatr* 70; Nöldeke 71. For 'aw as a coordinating conjunction see 12.4. In spite of the paraphrases offered in the text, a conditional structure seems to be at least as probable as the assumed consecutive structure, and Nöldeke provides examples of apocopated (i.e. conditional, 5.81) verbs after 'aw.

(2) Note the use of the substitution principle: 'iḏā saluḥa ff mawḏīḡīḥā, lit. 'whenever (iḏā or iḏā) can properly occur in its place' might easily be translated 'whenever it has the function of ...', cf. 3.1 n 4. On saluḥa 'to be proper' see 11.82 n 2.

(3) Schaw. *Ind.* 107. On la-āstashilanna and la-āqṭulanna in the next paragraph see 13.6 n 3, 26.34 n 2.

(4) Not from the Qur'ān, but reminiscent of S. 48 v 16, tuqṭīlūnahum 'aw yuslimūn, with indep. yuslimūn, interpreted as a simple alternative, 'either you will fight them or they will become Muslims'. A variant, however, with dep. yuslimū exists, viz. 'you will fight them or (= unless) they become Muslims' (so al-Bayḍāwī ad loc.).
yuslima 'he (may) become a Muslim', taqdiya 'you (may) give' and 'udrika 'I (may) achieve' are all made dependent by a compulsorily suppressed 'an 'that' after the 'aw 'or'.

5.6 Note: The gist of the above is that there is a suppressed 'an 'that' after three of the particles of obliqueness, viz. li 'for', the causative kay 'so that', hattā 'until', and after three of the particles of coordination, viz. fa 'and then', wa 'and', 'aw 'or'. Having finished with the operators which make the imperfect tense verb dependent, the author now turns to the operators which apocopate it:

5.7 The operators of apocopation are eighteen in number: they are divided into two kinds, those which apocopate a single verb, and those which apocopate two verbs. The author begins with the first kind, of which there are six, the first being,

5.71 (1) lam 'not', a particle of negation and apocopation which negates the imperfect tense and converts its meaning to the past, as in the Qur'anic lam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan 'ahadun 'he did not bear, nor was he born, nor has there been anyone his equal', where lam 'not' is a particle of negation and apocopation and yalid 'he (might) bear', yūlad 'he (might) be born' and yakun 'he (might) be' are all imperfect tense verbs apocopated by lam, with vowellessness as their marker of apocopation.

5.72 (2) lammā 'not yet', i.e. the negative lammā, a particle of apocopation which negates the imperfect tense and converts its meaning to the past, as in the Qur'anic lammā yağdi mā 'amarahu 'he has not yet performed what he commanded him', where yağdi 'he (might) perform' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by lammā 'not yet', with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness.

5.721 lammā 'not yet' has the following in common with lam 'not': it is a particle, specific to the imperfect tense, it negates, apocopates, converts the meaning to the past, and may be prefixed with the inter-
(5) The text omits 'udrika; note that the weak 3rd rad. verb yaqdiya is regular in the dep. form (2.42 n 1).

5.6 (1) His note (which is copied from al-Azharī, Ṣj 47) simply reiterates the 'Baṣran' position (5.5). For prepositional li see 1.709, how kay functions as a particle of obliqueness is not clear, but see 26.1 n 7. There is no systematic treatment of hattā in this work, but see 26.31 for hattā as a preposition, and 12.91 for hattā as a coordinating conjunction. For the coordinating particles see 12.1 for wa, 12.2 for fa and 12.4 for 'aw.

5.7 (1) Jum. 215; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 74; Beeston 84; Fleisch 168 n 1; apocopated paradigms 4.82 n 2, 3.92 n 1. The actual number of apocopating operators varies according to whether lam and 'a-lam etc. are counted separately.

(2) This division at least serves to distinguish the conditional function of the apocopated form ('two verbs') from its other functions ('one verb'), but gives no idea of the diversity of functions of the single apocopated verb: negation after lam etc. (5.72-74), indirect imperative (5.75) and direct prohibition (5.76) are not an obviously homogeneous group, especially when the conditional function is taken into account. Almost the only semantic feature they have in common is that all denote one kind or another of non-event, a quality for which (at least within the Arabic framework) neither indep. nor dep. verbs are suitable: an equation non-event = zero morpheme is thus very tentatively suggested. (Is Fleisch 107 any more convincing?).

5.71 (1) Jum. 2.5; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 81; Beeston 99; an etymology lā-mā is proposed by Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 85, though it leaves the problem of lammā (5.72) unsolved (*lā-mā-mā seems unlikely).

(2) Why this is so is not known, but see 3.91 n 2 for Jouon's theory. In addition it may be remarked that there is, historically speaking, no reason why the 'imperfect tense' form should not have had a past tense meaning, as indeed is the case in some Semitic languages (cf. Moscati #16.30, Fleisch, Tr. 149w).

(3) S. 112 vv 3, 4; verse 3 has already been quoted in 5.02 as an illustration of lam, q.v. note 4 for yalid and yūlad. On yakun see 10.11 for the syntax and 10.23 n 2 for the form.

5.72 (1) Jum. 215; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 81. This lammā is evidently a reinforcement of lam with the suffix mā (9.83 n 2), and is not related to the 'temporal lammā' at 5.413.

(2) S. 80 v 23. See 3.92 on yaqdi.

5.721 (1) Since the whole of this paragraph is copied from al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 247 (who in turn has it from al-Ummūnī on Alf. v 695, or perhaps from Qatr 82), it is more than likely that the relevant section of aš-Širbīnī's missing commentary on Qatr would likewise be close to al-Azharī, who goes on to summarize the difference between lam and lammā as follows: (a) only lam may be preceded by the conditional 'in
rogative 'a '?'. But lam 'not' differs from lammā 'not yet' in various ways that I have mentioned in my Commentary on Qatr an-nadā and which are not suitable for this short work.

5.722 Additional Note: The 'verbal noun 'an 'that' and lam 'not' sometimes overlap, so that 'an apocopates and lam makes dependent.1 There is a rare Reading of the Qur'anic 'a-lam našrāḥ 'did we not expand?' as našraḥa 'we (may) expand' in the dependent form. Occasionally lam 'not' is made inoperative by treating it as lā 'not', so that the following verb remains independent, as in the verse fragment lam yūfūna bi-1-jārī 'they have not kept their word to their neighbour'.3

5.73 (3) 'a-lam 'not...?',1 as in the Qur'anic 'a-lam našrāḥ laka šadraka 'did we not expand for you your breast?',2 where 'a-lam 'not...?' is a particle of affirmation and apocopation, našraḥ 'we (might) expand' is apocopated by 'a-lam with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and its agent is concealed3 in it (21a) with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we' and has independent status; laka 'for you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with našraḥ 'we (might) expand'; šadraka 'you breast' is a direct object made dependent by našraḥ with a as its dependence marker, and ka 'your' has oblique function by having šadra 'heart' annexed to it.4

5.74 (4) 'a-lammā 'not yet...?',1 which is closely related2 to 'a-lam 'not...?' , e.g. 'a-lammā 'uḥsin 'ilayka 'have I not yet been good to you?'. Here 'a-lammā 'not yet...?' is a particle of affirmation and apocopation,3 uḥsin 'I (might) be good' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by 'a-lammā with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of 'anā 'I' and has independent status, and 'ilayka 'towards you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with 'uḥsin 'I (might) be good'.4
'if' (5.81); (b) the event negated by lam may subsequently be asserted, e.g. lam yakun țumma kāna 'it was not, and then it was', which is not possible with lammā; (c) the verb may be elided after lammā, e.g. qārabtu i-madīnata wa-lammā 'I approached the town, but had not yet (scil. entered it)'; (d) lammā presupposes the event might actually occur, cf. the counter-example *lammā yajtami id-diddāni 'the two opposites have not yet united'. As a rule of thumb lam may be regarded as the negative of the past tense verb with 'static' aspect (Beeston 99), whether marked with qad or not (1.81 n 1), and lammā as meaning only 'not yet' (cf. Cantarino, I, 129).

5.722 (1) The phenomenon is exceedingly rare and possibly of interest only to grammarians. There are one or two more examples of lam followed by the dep. verb (cf. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 695), but apparently only one specimen of 'an with an apocopated verb, viz. 'ilā 'an ya'tina s-saydu 'until the quarry comes to us', with apocopated ya'ti instead of dep. ya'tiya (from a verse quoted by Yāsīn in his supercommentary on al-Azhārī, Taṣr. II, 247; not in Schaw. Ind. or A. S. Hārūn, Muṣjam as-Sawāhid al-ḵarbiyya. The rhyme is naḥtišu, the metre țawfī). Poetic licence cannot be ruled out as a reason for this aberration.

(2) S. 94 v 1. The grammarians can offer no explanation for the dep. form, except to speculate that it may be reduced from an emphatic našraḫan (cf. 5.32 n 4), or be nothing more than a unique instance of vowel harmony (all the vowels in the verse are a, see the full text in next paragraph). No authority is known for the variant našraḥa, nor is the problem raised by the early grammarians.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 103; the correct apoc. form is yūfā, i.e. Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the first rad. w (5.02 n 4) and third rad. y (3.92 n 1) verb wafā 'to fulfil', the rules for both weak radicals applying simultaneously. On 'inoperative' see 5.431 n 3.

5.73 (1) Refs. as for lam at 5.71, and cf. 5.741.

(2) S. 94 v 1, see 5.722 n 2. 'Nonne' questions are asked with 'a-lam, in the Qur'ān often with divine sarcasm (cf. example in 5.552 n 1).

(3) Concealed agents 7.8; 'status' 5.81 n 3; 'connected' 5.82 n 6.

(4) Direct object ch. 16; annexation 26.7 (poess. pronouns 4.72 n 2).

5.74 (1) Refs. as for lammā at 5.72.

(2) Lit. the 'sister' of 'a-lam, cf. 3.1 n 2 on this and other anthropomorphisms.

(3) Like all particles (i.e. elements which do not fall within the morphological or semantic range of nouns and verbs, cf. 1.25, 1.92) 'a-lammā is identified (scil. defined) by its function(s), in this case affirmation (tagrīr) and apocopation (jazm): because it has the same functions as 'a-lam (5.73) it has the same definition. Like 'a-lam also, 'a-lammā is originally a combination of interrogative (5.741) and negative, yielding an exact equivalent of Lat. nonne.
5.741 Note: ‘a-lam 'not...?' and ‘a-lammä 'not yet...?' are simply lam and lamma repeated by the author with the interrogative prefix ‘a '?' to make it easier for the beginner.

5.75 (5) the imperative li,¹ as in the Qur’anic li-yunfiq gû saᶜatihi 'let the man of means spend from his means'.² Here li is the 'imperative li', yunfiq 'he (might) spend' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the imperative li with vowellessness as its apocopeation marker, gû 'possessor of' is its agent made independent by it with ū as its independence marker instead of u (because it is one of the 'five nouns'), saᶜati 'means' has gû 'possessor of' annexed to it and this makes it oblique, and min saᶜatihi 'from his means' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with yunfiq 'he (might) spend'.

5.751 and the li of request,¹ which is really an imperative li but is called the 'li of request' out of politeness, as in the Qur’anic li-yaqdi ẓalaynä rabbuka 'let your Lord judge us'.² Here li is the 'li of request', yaqdi 'he (might) judge' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the li of request with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopeation marker instead of vowellessness; ẓalaynä 'over us' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with yaqdi 'he (might) judge', rabbu 'lord' is the agent of yaqdi and is made independent by it with u as its independence marker, and ka 'your' has rabbu 'lord' annexed to it, which makes it oblique.

5.752 Note: The difference between the 'imperative li' and the 'li of request' is that commands are only given to inferiors, while requests are made of superiors. If you ask something from an equal it is called 'solicitation'.¹
(4) On status see 5.81 n 3; 'ilā-ka⇒'ilayka 1.702 n 1; other refs. as in 5.73 nn 2, 3.

5.741 (1) Interrogation, *istifhām* (lit. 'seeking to understand') is not set out in detail by aš-Šīrbīnī, but see Muf. #581-84, Beeston 102, Fleisch 151 (E.I. (2), art. 'Istifhām'); Yushmanov 66. The principal interrogative particle is 'a, prefixed to the first word in the utterance (even to other particles, including conjunctions) and capable of causing inversion, e.g. 'a-zaydan ġarabta 'Zayd have you struck?'; see Ibn Ḥišām, Muğnī I, 9, and cf. 12.5, 12.51 for 'a in alternative questions. The other interrogative particle is *hal*, a separate word which is placed first in the utterance, but which is more restricted in distribution (it cannot precede other particles or conjunctions, and inversion is not permitted after it), see Ibn Ḥišām, Muğnī II, 28, and a detailed treatment by Worrell, Z.A. 21, 116-150. Interrogation is also effected by pronouns, all of which also function as conditionals, q.v. 5.83 n 2, and by adverbs, which likewise occur as conditionals, q.v. 5.87 n 2.

5.75 (1) Jum. 216; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qaṭr 83; Beeston 84; Fleisch 218. The function of this *li* is quite different from that of the 'causative *li' in 5.51, though Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 28 regards the two as cognate (cf. also Bravmann, J.Q.R. (NS) 42, 51). This *li*, as its name (*lām al-‘amr*, v. 5.51 n 1 on *lām*, 5.03 n 1 on *‘amr*) implies, produces indirect imperatives (it is rare with direct imperatives, e.g. fa-l-tafrâhū 'let you rejoice', Jum. 216, and note *li⇒1* after *fa*, probably to avoid sequence of short vowels).

(2) S. 65 v 7; on ġū and the 'five nouns' see 3.42. Note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix *hu* 'his' after *i*, and see further 13.9 n 9.

5.751 (1) Apart from the considerations raised further down in the paragraph and in 5.752, this *li* (called *lām ad-ďuddā‘*, v. 5.51 n 1 on *lām*, 5.55 n 3 on *duḍā‘*) is exactly the same as the 'imperative *li* of 5.75. As will be clear from the examples, it is purely out of theological scruples that the term 'imperative' is felt to be inapplicable, placing God under an obligation. Such religious hypersensitivity is apparent from an early period (cf. Kopf, S.I. 5, 33), though it does not impose itself so formally upon grammar until relatively late (e.g. Ibn Ḥišām; cf. also Haarmann, Z.D.M.G. Suppl. II, 1974, 149). Other examples: 5.761, 11.711, 14.11, 19.34, 26.96.

(2) S. 43 v 77. Normal word order (7.9 n 1) would be *li-yaggī rabbuka* ġalaynā, but by inversion the less important element ġalaynā is brought into a less prominent position, with corresponding emphasis on the agent *rabbuka* (cf. 5.82 n 6 on the tendency for prepositional phrases to be structurally redundant and therefore syntactically mobile, also Bloch, op. cit. 5.431 n 5, 105 and refs. there).

5.752 (1) The third type mentioned here is *iltimās*, lit. 'touching' (as in the somewhat archaic English 'may I touch you for a fiver?'). This rather unhelpful category seems to go back no further than the time of
5.76 (6) lā 'not' used in prohibition, e.g. lā taqrib 'do not strike', where lā 'not' is a particle of prohibition and apocopeation, taqrib 'you (might) strike' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the lā of prohibition with vowellessness as its apocopeation marker, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.) and independent status through the verb.

5.761 and also the lā 'not' used in request, which is really the lā of prohibition, but (21b) is called the lā of request out of politeness, e.g. lā tu‘akhirā 'do not blame us', where lā 'not' is a particle of request and apocopeation, tu‘akhirā 'you (might) blame us' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the lā of request with vowellessness as its apocopeation marker, its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.) and independent status through the verb, and nā 'us' is a direct object with dependent status through tu‘akhirā 'you (might) blame'.

5.8 Having finished with the operators which apocopate a single verb, the author now turns to those which apocopate two verbs, of which there are twelve, the first being:

5.81 (1) 'in 'if', i.e. the 'conditional 'in' spelt with i after the ' and unwovelled n. This is a particle which apocopates the imperfect tense formally and the past tense verb in status, and changes the meaning of the past tense to the future (the opposite of lam 'not'), as
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ad-Damāmīnī (d. 1424), quoted by ʿāṣ-Sabbān on Alf. v 695 and by Goguyer (without attribution) in Qatr 83, n 6.

5.76 (1) Jum. 216; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 83. 'Prohibition' is nāhy, a subdivision of nafy 'negation' in general, on which see Muf. #546-550; Beeston 99; Fleisch Tr. #149t, v; Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 88; Wehr, Z.D.M.G. 103, 27. In brief, the negating elements are: lā 'no, not', negates: indep. imperfect tense (e.g. 13.13), apoc. imperf. tense (= prohibition, 5.76, 5.761), optative verbs (14.34 n 3), nouns categorically (ch. 22). Conjunction lā 12.8, as a repeater for other neg. particles, 12.8 n 2. mā 'what' (Wehr 35), negates: past tense verbs (e.g. 5.52) also, in affective use, imperfect tense verbs (Wehr 32), sentences (as synonym of laysa), 5.84 n 3. lam, lammā negate apoc. imperfect tense verbs and convert to past tense meaning (5.71, 5.72). lan negates dep. imperfect tense verbs and gives future meaning (5.42). 'in, rare synonym of mā (Wehr 37, Beeston 100, Nöldeke 89). laysa 'not be', negates existence (10.18). lāta, rare synonym of laysa, poss. lā + ta (Aartun, op. cit. 1.83 n 3). 'illā 'unless' ('in 'if' + lā 'not'), ch. 21. ġayr 'other than', though positive, has become a synonym of 'illā (21.4) and lā; see further 21.42 n 1.

5.761 (1) The difference between 'prohibition' and 'request' is one of pure theology, cf. the identical scrupulosity in 5.751.

(2) S. 2 v 286. In the light of the above comment it is perhaps worth noting that here and in several other places in this chapter ʿaš-ʿīrbīnī neglects to follow the convention of introducing Qurʾanic quotations with such formulae as 'Almighty God said', 'in the words of Almighty God' etc. (1.01 n 3). This is doubtless due to the fact that his source for most of this chapter (al-Azharī, Āj. 38-50) does not observe the convention either.

5.8 (1) That is, conditional sentences, see 5.811 for terminology and syntax.

5.81 (1) Jum. 217, 332; Muf. #419, 585; Alf. v 696; Qatr 84; Beeston 104; Fleisch 211; Yushmanov 73. The particle 'in 'if' is generally held to be cognate with those of similar form and meaning in other Semitic languages (e.g. Hebrew 'im), but see Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 635 for other possibilities.

(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with 'an (5.41), 'inna (10.41) and 'anna (10.42), all of whose unwvowed consonantal skeleton consists of 'n.

(3) 'Status' renders maḥall, lit. 'untying place for camping', hence 'place' in general. It is not found in the earliest grammar, and it is arguable whether it is to be understood as a synonym of mawdīc, 'place' = 'function' (3.1 n 4), which is the opinion of Versteegh in Arabica 25, 278, or of manzila, 'place' = 'status' (23.2 n 1). The latter is
in the Qur'anic wa-'in tu'minū wa-tattaqū yu’tikum 'ujūrakum 'and if you believe in and fear God he will bring you your rewards'.

Here 'in 'if' is a particle of condition and apocopeation, tu'minū 'you (might) believe' (masc. plur.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by 'in with elision of n as its apocopeation marker instead of vowellessness (because it is one of the 'five verbs'), and tattaqū 'you (might) fear' (masc. plur.) is coordinated with tu'minū and shares in its apocopeation by 'in and its apocopeation marker is also elision of n instead of vowellessness. In both verbs the ā is an agent with independent status through them. The verb yu'ti 'he (might) bring' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by 'in 'if' with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopeation marker instead of vowellessness, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of huwa 'he'; kum 'you' (masc. plur.) is a direct object with dependent status through the verb, 'ujūrakum 'your rewards' is a second direct object made dependent by the verb, and kum 'your' (masc. plur.) has 'ujūra 'rewards' annexed to it, which makes it oblique.

5.811 The first verb, namely tu'minū 'you (might) believe' is called the 'verb of the condition' and the second, namely yu’ti 'he (might) bring' is called the 'response to the condition', because it follows from the condition just as an answer follows from the question. It is also called the 'requital', because its contents are a requital of the contents of the condition.

5.82 (2) mā 'whatever', i.e. the 'conditional mā', as in the Qur'anic
preferred here for three reasons: (a) lexically mahall is closer to manzila (lit. 'dismounting place for camping'), (b) manzila is infrequent in later texts (including this one), and its displacement by mahall seems more likely than the evolution of a redundant synonym for the frequently occurring mawdi, (c) the phrase fā'īl marfū' mahallan in the present paragraph can only mean 'agent independent in status' because 'agent' is already a functional category and all agents are independent, so that a translation 'agent independent in function' is tautologous. In other words, the agent pronoun ū, being incapable of inflection, can never have indep. form, but it has the status of an indep. element because it has the function of one. We should not be misled by the fact that mahall and mawdi sometimes appear to be used interchangeably, see further 5.84 n 4.

(4) S. 47 v 36. See 5.71 on lam. The aspectual nature of the Arabic verbal system is nowhere clearer than here, for conditional sentences are intrinsically timeless, cf. Beeston 104.

(5) For the various grammatical points raised here see: apocopation markers 3.91-92; concealed agent pronouns 7.58; direct object pronouns 16.3 (16.306); doubly transitive verbs 10.6, 16.310 n 1.

5.811 (1) Conditional terminology: fiR aš-šart 'verb of the condition' i.e. protasis (šart 'condition' is undoubtedly an early borrowing from law); jawāb aš-šart 'response to the condition', i.e. apodosis, evidently a coinage of the early grammarians. The other term for apodosis is jazā' 'requital' (same root as yujza in 5.83), and is at least as ancient as jawāb, though it is not clear whether they are technically distinct (e.g. both are used in the same sentence by Sībawayhi, Kitāb I, 435). However, jazā' and the etymologically related mujāzā' ('act of requiting') are also used as the name of the conditional construction, unlike jawāb or its cognates. Conditional syntax: (a) 'real' conditions start with 'in 'if', and the verbs of protasis and apodosis are normally both past or both imperfect tense apocopated (exceptions 5.93), e.g. 'in darastahu fahīmtahu or 'in tadrushu tafhamhu 'if you studied it you would understand it/ if you study it you will understand it'; (b) 'unreal' conditions start with law 'if (only)', and both verbs are usually past tense, that of the apodosis normally being prefixed with la (13.6 n 3), e.g. law darastahu la-fahīmtahu 'if you had studied it you would have understood it'. See further the references at 5.81 n 1, and cf. also 5.90 n 2, 5.93 n 1.

5.82 (1) Jum. 310; Muf. #419; Alf. v. 696; Qatr 84; Fleisch 218. 'The conditional mā', mā aš-šartiyya, is formally identical with both the 'interrogative mā', mā al-istifhāmiyya (5.83 n 2) and the 'relative mā', mā al-mawṣūla (11.755). Historically the chain of evolution was most likely from interrogative to relative and thence to conditional (cf. Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 570, 660, Moscati #13.42, Fleisch 218). The Arabs were well aware of the connection between conditional and interrogative functions: in Kitāb I, 433 Sībawayhi takes issue with some of his colleagues, who over-generalize by asserting that all interrogatives may be used as conditionals. Cf. also 5.87 n 2.
mā nansāk min 'āyatin 'aw nunsihā na’ti bi-kayrin minhā 'aw miṭlihā
'whatever we cancel of a verse or cause it to be forgotten, we shall bring one better than it or like it'. 2 Here mā 'whatever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, nansāk 'we (might) cancel' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the 'conditional mā' with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we' and independent status through the verb; min 'āyatin 'of a verse' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with nansāk 'we (might) cancel', 'aw nunsihā 'or we (might) cause it to be forgotten' is coordinated (22a) by 'aw 'or' with nansāk 'we (might) cancel' and shares in its apocopation by the conditional mā, and the hā 'it' is a direct object with dependent status through nunsī 'we (might) cause to forget'; the agent of nunsī is a concealed pronoun made independent by it with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we' (so that the latter is a noun by virtue of having the verb predicated of it); na’ti 'we (might) bring' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the conditional mā with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we'. Here nansāk 'we (might) cancel' is the verb of the condition and na’ti 'we (might) come' is the response to the condition; bi-kayrin 'with a better one' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with na’ti, minhā 'than it' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with kayrin 'a better one', miṭlihā 'like it' is coordinated by 'aw 'or' with kayrin and shares in its obliqueness, and hā 'it' is made oblique by the annexation of migli 'like' to it.

5.83 (3) man 'whoever', 1 i.e. the 'conditional man', as in the Qur’anic man ya’mal sū’ān yuẓa bihi 'whoever does evil will be requited for it'. 2 Here man 'whoever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, ya’mal


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 نحو ما ننسخ من آية أو ننسها نأت بخير منها أو مثلها فما ام شرط وجزم
و ننسخ فعل معارض محروم بما الشرطة وعلاقة جزء الكلون وفاعله مصير مستتر فيه في محل رفع به تقديره شن و من آية جار ومحروم متعلق بنسخ و او ننسها معطوفة (22a) باو على ننسح مشارك له في جزء بما الشرطة وها مفعول به في محل نصب بينسخ وفاعله ننسها مصير مستتر فيه مرفع به تقديره شن و هو اسم لاستخدام الفعل فيها و نسنخ فعل معارض محروم بما الشرطة وعلاقة جزء الكلون وفاعله مصير مستتر فيه تقديره شن في محل رفع به و ننسخ فعل الشرط و نسخا جواب الشرط وخير جار ومحروم متعلق بنسخ و منيا جار ومحروم متعلق بخير و مثل معطوف باو على غير مشارك له في خلقه و الإبلا مخفية بإضافة مثل المب و البث ت إلى الشرطة نحو من يعمل سواء بโปรแกรม فهم ام شرط جازم و يعمل

mā nansāk min 'āyatin 'aw nunsihā na’ti bi-kayrin minhā 'aw miṭlihā
'whatever we cancel of a verse or cause it to be forgotten, we shall bring one better than it or like it'. 2 Here mā 'whatever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, nansāk 'we (might) cancel' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the 'conditional mā' with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we' and independent status through the verb; min 'āyatin 'of a verse' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with nansāk 'we (might) cancel', 'aw nunsihā 'or we (might) cause it to be forgotten' is coordinated (22a) by 'aw 'or' with nansāk 'we (might) cancel' and shares in its apocopation by the conditional mā, and the hā 'it' is a direct object with dependent status through nunsī 'we (might) cause to forget'; the agent of nunsī is a concealed pronoun made independent by it with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we' (so that the latter is a noun by virtue of having the verb predicated of it); na’ti 'we (might) bring' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the conditional mā with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of nahnu 'we'. Here nansāk 'we (might) cancel' is the verb of the condition and na’ti 'we (might) come' is the response to the condition; bi-kayrin 'with a better one' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with na’ti, minhā 'than it' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with kayrin 'a better one', miṭlihā 'like it' is coordinated by 'aw 'or' with kayrin and shares in its obliqueness, and hā 'it' is made oblique by the annexation of migli 'like' to it.

5.83 (3) man 'whoever', 1 i.e. the 'conditional man', as in the Qur’anic man ya’mal sū’ān yuẓa bihi 'whoever does evil will be requited for it'. 2 Here man 'whoever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, ya’mal
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(2) S. 2 v 106.

(3) On the nature of the 'connection' see n 6 below. The min-phrase is a common device for amplifying the meaning of a vague antecedent pronoun, and is called the 'explanatory min', min al-bayāniyya or min li-l-bayān (cf. 26.72). It is related to the 'partitive min', (min li-t-tab) not dealt with in text, but see 9.03 n 4, Muf. #499; Beeston 49; Nöldeke 52). Normally the 'explanatory min' is followed by undefined sing. nouns, and 'partitive min' by defined plur. nouns, the two together having in this regard similar syntax to kull, v. 13.4 n 6.

(4) Since verbs are all predicates of their agents (3.73 n 5), and since predicability is a nominal feature (1.6), even elements which can never be formally expressed, such as concealed agent pronouns, are nouns: a good example of tagdīr, q.v. 2.101 n 1.

(5) The word kāyir 'good, better/best' and its antonym šarr 'bad, worse/worst', are nouns which have become assimilated to the comparative/superlative structure (20.4). They thus occur as simple nouns, e.g. hādā kāyrun 'this is a good thing', and with the sense of comparatives and superlatives, e.g. hādā kāyrun min gālika 'this is better than that', huwa kāyruhum 'he is the best of them' (other examples 5.41, 5.55(c), 10.62, 20.6). Note 'atā bi, lit. 'to come with', i.e. 'to bring': many verbs of motion are used in this way, e.g. gahaba bi, lit. 'to go with', i.e. 'to take away'. A causative of 'atā also exists, the Stem IV 'atā 'to make come', i.e. 'bring' (e.g. 5.81). From jā'a bi 'to come with, bring', a new colloquial verb jāb has evolved, the bi 'with' having become a new third radical after regular loss of the original third radical ' in dialect (Yushmanov 62).

(6) 'Connected', muta'alliq, lit. 'hanging from' is a term applied usually to prepositional phrases, whose presence is dictated more by semantic than structural necessity. Hence these phrases should not occur without the element upon which they depend (but cf. 9.71) and, in common with several other elements which simply provide additional information about the main components of the sentence, they are structurally redundant (in particular space/time qualifiers, ch. 18, circumstantial qualifiers, ch. 19, and specifying elements, ch. 20). Whether prepositional phrases or dependent nouns, all are invariably operated upon by verbs (but see 19.25 n 1): even in this present case involving kāyir 'better' the comparative function is traced to an underlying verb (see 20.41), with which minhā 'than it' is 'connected'. These elements are by nature likely to have no fixed place in the sentence: they are often 'neutralized' (mulgā) or 'rendered inoperative' (muḥmal), see 5.431 nn 2, 3.

5.83 (1) Jum. 311; Muf. #419; Alf. v 696; Qatr 84; Fleisch 218. The man aš-šarṭiyya 'conditional man', like 'conditional mā' (5.82) is also identical with its interrogative counterpart, man al-istifḥāmiyya (see n 2) and 'relative man', man al-mawsūla (11.754).

(2) S. 4 v 123; with appropriate intonation the original interrogative sense of man can be detected: "Who will do 'evil'?--he will be requited
'he (might) do' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by man 'whoever'
(and is the verb of the condition), with vowellessness as its apocopa-
tion marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the impli-
cit meaning of huwa 'he' and independent status through the verb; sū'ān
'evil' is a direct object made dependent by ya'cīmal 'he (might) do' with
a as its dependence marker: yujza 'he (might) be requited' is an imper-
fect tense verb constructed with its object as agent, and apocopated by
man 'whoever' (and is the response to the condition), with elision of
the final defective consonant as its apocopa-
tion marker instead of
vowellessness, and containing a concealed pronoun with the implicit
meaning of huwa 'he' and independent status through the verb because it
replaces the original agent; bihi 'for it' is an operator of oblique-
ness and oblique element connected with yujza 'he (might) be requited',
and the pronoun in yujza refers to man 'whoever' (this referring is a
sign that man is a noun, because pronouns can only refer to nouns).

5.84 (4) mahmā 'whatever',1 as in the Qur’anic mahmā ta’tinā bihi min
‘āyatīn li-tasharanā bihā fa-mā nāḥū laka bi-mu’mīnīn 'whatever you
bring in the way of verses to bewitch us with, we shall not believe in
you'.2 Here mahmā 'whatever' is a noun of condition and apocopation,
ta’tinā 'you (might) come to us' (masc. sing.) is the verb of the con-
dition, apocopated by mahmā with elision of the final ī as its apocopa-
tion marker; bihi 'with it' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique
element connected with ta’tīnā 'you (might) come to us' and min ‘āyatīn
'of a verse' is explanatory to mahmā 'whatever' with dependent function
as a circumstantial qualifier of the hī 'it' in bihi 'with it', and
li-tasharanā 'that you (masc. sing.) may bewitch us' is an imperfect
tense verb made dependent by the 'ān 'that' optionally suppressed after
the 'lî of kay' 'so that', with its agent compulsorily concealed in it
and nā 'us' being its direct object. In fa-mā 'and not', the fa 'and'
is a link for the response and mā 'not' is the negative particle, with
nāḥū 'we' as its subject-noun (if it is understood as a 'Hijāzi mā');3
laka 'in you' (22b) is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element
connected with mu’mīnīn 'believing' (masc. plur.), and bi-mu’mīnīn
'believing' has dependent function as the predicate of mā 'not'. The
for it!'. The same can be done with S. 2 v 106 in 5.82: 'What verse do we cancel or cause to be forgotten?--we bring one better than it or like it!'. On interrogatives in general see 5.87 n 2.

(3) 'Constructed with its object as agent' renders *mabnī* *li-l-maf*ūl, lit. 'built for the direct object', one of the various periphrastic terms for the passive verb, q.v. at 8.0 n 1.

(4) According to the Arab interpretation, the grammatical agent of the passive verb is only a 'substitute' (*nāʾib*, see further 8.2) for the logical agent which it displaces. Moreover the passive cannot be used when the logical agent is expressed (unlike English 'he was run over by a bus'), hence the passive is sometimes termed *majhūl*, lit. 'unknown (scil. agent)'. Cf. 8.11.

(5) The 'referring' of an Arabic pronoun is specifically backwards, the term being *qāʾid*, lit. 'going back'. Forward reference is not very common (cf. Beeston 41: 'a fairly strong objection is felt to placing a pronoun before the overt term to which it alludes'). One modern example is found on a Bahrain aerogramme: 'īgā wuḍīqa *’ayyu bāg* in bi-dāḏūlīhā qad tursalū hāḏīhi r-risālatu bi-l-barātī s-saṭīf 'if anything is put inside it, this letter will be sent by surface post'. See further 11.75 on relative pronouns. Note that pronominalization is a noun marker: this feature is seldom, if ever mentioned in the enumeration of noun markers, cf. 1.8 n 1.

5.84 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #181, 419; Alf. v. 696; Qāṭr 26, 84. The etymology of *mahmā* has caused the Arabs some problems, and their solutions are perhaps less satisfactory than Western explanations: Ibn Yaʿīs, for example, (on Muf. #419) claims that *mahmā* is not a compound but a simple noun of the pattern *fa*ḥālā (this is also the view of aš-Šīrḫīnī, in his Commentary on the Qurʾān, I, 485). Others suggest that the first element *mah* is a 'noun of action' like *sah* 'ssh!' (q.v. 1.42). Those who see the *h* as a device to prevent the repetition in *mā-mā* are at least on the right track in recognizing that it is a compound word: the second element is very likely the indefinite *mā* 'what(ever)' which is suffixed to other elements and converts them into conjunctions (e.g. *‘iḏmā*, 5.85, *‘aynamā*, 5.89), and the first element is probably the interrogative *mā* (see below, n 3). The *h* can be compared with the *h* in *mah*, a 'pausal' (2.14 n 2) form of *mā* found, for example in *kaymah* 'so that' (cf. 5.44 n 4). See Brockelmann, Grun dr. II, 574, and cf. also Moscati, #13.42, Fleisch, Tr. #36ii.

(2) S. 7 v 122. See 5.51 on the *‘i* of *kay*, 5.86 n 4 on *rābiṭa* 'link'. The parsing of *mīn* *‘āyatīn*, lit. 'of a verse', as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19) as well as an example of the 'explanatory *mīn*' (see 5.82 n 3) seems rather unnecessary, and may be an initiative of aš-Šīrḫīnī’s immediate source, al-Azhari, Ḍj. 49.

(3) Negative *mā* 'not' may negate sentences in exactly the same way as the verb *laysa* 'not to be' (10.18), in which case it is called the 'Ḥijāzi *mā* (mā al-ḥijāziyya). The alternative construction, in which *mā* has no grammatical effect on components of the sentence, is called
sentence *fa-mā nāhnu laka bi-mu’minīna* 'then we will not believe in you' has apocopated function as the response to the condition.

5.85 (5) *'idmā* 'whenever',

* e.g. *'idmā taqum *aqum ma'aka* 'whenever you stand I shall stand with you'. Here *'idmā* 'whenever' is (according to the best view) a genuine particle, namely a particle of condition and apocopation, and *taqum* 'you (might) stand' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'idmā* 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and is termed the 'verb of the condition', its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *anta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and independent status through the verb; *'aqum* 'I (might) stand' is an imperfect tense verb also apocopated by *'idmā* 'whenever', with elision of the final n as its apocopation marker; in *fa-lahu* 'and to him' the *fa* 'and' is a link for the response and *lahu* 'to him' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element forming a preposed predicate, *al-* *'asmā’u* 'the names' is a delayed
the 'Tamîmî mā' (mā at-tamîmiyya): contrast the official 'Hijâzî' reading of S. 12 v 31, mā hâḏâ bašaran 'this is not a mortal' with the 'Tamîmî' equivalent mā hâḏâ bašarun, and see further Rabin, Anc. W.-Ar. 174. On the artificial polarization of Classical Arabic into Eastern ('Tamîmî') and Western ('Hijâzî') varieties cf. Rabin, op. cit. 7. This negative function of mā is assumed to have developed out of an original interrogative function: a rhetorical question such as 'What, is this a mortal?' (or 'What is this, a mortal!?') is, after all, intended to mean 'This is not a mortal'. See also 21.31 n 2.

(4) Cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 154 on the axiom that compound elements function as single elements (v. also 7.02, 9.7). 'Function' here is mawdiO ('place', 3.1 n 4), denoting the substitutability of an apocopated verb (lā nu' minha 'we would not believe') for the sentence having that function. It thus differs from mahâl 'status' (q.v. 5.81 n 3), which certainly implies functional equivalence but seems to be restricted to cases where substitution is possible. This may be either because the morpheme in question is a bound agent pronoun which cannot therefore be displaced by an element of identical function (see examples 5.81-92 passim), or because there is no single element available to replace a compound one (thus in 9.75 and 9.76 the complex predicates cannot be substituted by a single term). See also 12.51 n 3 for a good illustration of this principle. Versteegh's observations in Arabica 25, 277 are a good preliminary survey of the problem.

5.85 (1) Jum. 217, 223; Muf. #204, 419; Alf. v 696; Qâr 26, 85; Fleisch 219. Despite the opinion of ash-Sîribî is the ensuing lines, there seems no reason to doubt that this element is anything other than the noun 'idd (1.441) suffixed with the indefinite pronoun mā 'whatever', known as mā az-zâ'idâ 'the redundant mā'. This mā is a variety of the interrog./relative mā, functioning like Latin quod (Fleisch 203, and cf. 18.207 n 1). On 'iddmā as a particle see al-Azharî, Taṣr. II, 247.

(2) Here instead of harf for 'particle' (1.25) the synonym 'adâh (q.v. 21.02 n 1) is used, apparently an arbitrary whim of ash-Sîribî.

5.86 (1) Jum. 312; Muf. #184, 419; Alf. v 696; Qâr 84; Fleisch 219. Like mā, man, originally an interrog./relative, cf. Mosca# 13.40.

(2) S. 17 v 110; the mā here is termed şila, normally 'relative clause' (11.752 n 1) but translated 'relative' for clarity, cf. 5.89 n 2.

(3) 'Link' translates râbiṭa, lit. 'tether', a term which, as well as being a late-comer into grammar, has only a very marginal application: it is used (in various forms) (a) as a synonym for  międz 'referential (pronoun)', e.g. 9.76 (masc. râbiṭ), 13.41 (verbal noun rabṭ 'linking'), (b) approximately meaning 'copula', e.g. 10.1, (c) for 'conjunction' as in this paragraph. All three uses are clearly the result of influence from logic, cf. the cognate term ribâṭ 'tie', which occurs as a translation of Gk. syndesmos (Versteegh 38, 46). On fa as a 'link' see further 5.90 n 2.

(4) See 9.8 on word order in equational sentences.
subject and al-ḥusnā 'the finest' is an epithet of al-‘asmā’u 'the names'. The sentence fa-lahu l-‘asmā’u l-ḥusnā 'and His are the finest names' has apocopated function as the response to the condition.

5.861 Additional Note:1 The meaning of 'ayyun 'whoever' depends on what it is annexed to: in 'ayyun yaqum 'aqum 'whoever stands I will stand',2 it is equivalent to man 'whoever'; in 'ayya d-dawabbi tarkab 'arkab whichever of the beasts you ride I shall ride' it is equivalent to mā 'whatever'; in 'ayya waqtin tasum 'asum whatever time you fast I shall fast' it is equivalent to matā 'whenever',4 and in 'ayya makānīn tajlis 'ajlis whatever place you sit I shall sit' it is equivalent to 'ayna 'wherever'.5

5.87 (7) matā 'whenever',1 as in matā taqum 'aqum 'whenever you stand I shall stand'. Here matā 'whenever'2 is an apocopating noun of condition, taqum 'you (might) stand' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by matā 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being concealed in it and made independent by it with the implicit meaning of ‘anta ‘you’ (masc. sing.); 'aqum 'I (might) stand' is an imperfect tense verb also apocopated by matā 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being concealed in it with the implicit meaning of ‘anā ‘I': taqum 'you (might) stand' is the verb of the condition and 'aqum 'I (might) stand' is the response to the condition.

5.88 (8) ‘ayyāna 'whenever',1 (spelt with a after the '), as in the verse fa-‘ayyāna mā ta‘dil bihi r-rīḥu tanzili 'and then whenever the wind turns aside she stops',2 where ‘ayyāna 'whenever' is an apocopating noun of condition, mā 'ever' is redundant,3 ta‘dil 'she (might) turn aside' is the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and tanzili 'she (might) stop' is the response to the condition, with final vowellessness as its apocopation marker (the final i is purely accidental, as it is the vowel of the rhyming consonant).4
(5) See 11.0 n 1 on the term naqṭ 'epithet', which overlaps the term sīfa 'adjective'.

5.861 (1) This note is copied verbatim from al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 248.

(2) Aš-Širbīnī's source (see n 1) actually has 'ayyuhum yaqum 'agum maḍānu 'whichever of them stands I will stand with him', which makes more sense of the assertion that 'ayyu depends for its meaning upon what it is annexed to; however, 'ayyu is also found standing alone, as in the Qur'anic verse quoted in 5.86.

(3) This time 'ayyu is formally annexed to ad-dawābbī and is thus equivalent to mā 'whatever' (5.82). Note that the dependent form 'ayya is required, as it is a preposed direct object of tarkub 'you (might) ride', and see n 4.

(4) Observe that the word order of all four examples preserves that of 'ayyu in its original interrogative function (cf. 5.82 n 1), i.e. with agents, direct objects and other qualifiers preceding their operators, though still marked accordingly. See 5.87 on matā.

(5) See 5.89 on 'ayna. Cf. also 13.91 n 1 for a corroborative construction with 'ayyu.

5.87 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. ##206, 419; Alf. v. 696; Qaṭr 85; Fleisch 219. For matā as an interrogative see next note; as a synonym of 'iḍā 5.94; as a preposition 26.1.

(2) The particles 'a and hal convert statements into questions (5.741 n 1), and for other types of questions there is a set of interrogative nouns, most of which also function as conditionals: 'what?' mā, also lengthened to mādā (see 11.731 on dā 'this'); 'who?' man; 'where' 'ayna; 'which?' 'ayyu; 'how?' kayfā; 'when?' matā. Note also the compounds li-mā 'why?' (= 'for what?'), li-man 'whose?' (= 'for whom?'). See further 9.94 n 1 and, on indirect questions, 12.51 n 6.

5.88 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. ##206, 419; Alf. v 696; Qaṭr 85; Fleisch 219. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) may be to avoid confusion with 'iyyānā (v. 16.502), though it is more likely to be a sign that this word is not very familiar. It is 'ayya (5.86) + ānin 'time' (q.v. 18.113 n 1 (b)).

(2) Schaw. Ind. 199, add Fleischer, Kl. SCHR. II, 86, and al-Uṯmānī on Alf. v. 696. The first hemistich is 'iḍā n-naṭalatu l-qaṭfā'ū bātā bi-gafrin 'when the emaciated ewe spends the night in the desert' (cf. 10.16 on bāta). There are other translations of the second hemistich: 'whenever the wind moderates, she descends' (Goguyer, Qaṭr 85), 'whenever the wind leads it aside, it sinks down' (Fleischer, loc. cit.).

(3) The parsing is copied exactly from al-Azharī, Āj. 50, but it is left to aš-Šārqawī, in his Commentary on al-Azharī, loc. cit., to point out that the 'redundant mā' (5.89 n 2) is here introduced for purely metrical reasons.

(4) Classical Arabic verse rhymes throughout in the same consonant (so that a poem may be referred to as al-lāmiyya 'the one in l' etc.) and,
5.89 (9) 'aynamā 'wherever',¹ as in 'aynamā tajlis (23a) 'ajlis 'wherever you sit I shall sit', where 'ayna 'where' is an apocopating noun of condition, mā 'ever' is a relative,² tajlis 'you (might) sit' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by 'ayna 'where', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.), and 'ajlis 'I (might) sit' is an imperfect tense verb also apocopated by 'ayna 'where', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of 'anā 'I'.

5.90 (10) 'annā 'whereever',¹ (spelt with a after the ', and double n), as in 'annā tajlis 'ajlis 'wherever you sit I shall sit', where 'annā 'wherever' is an apocopating noun of condition, tajlis 'you (might) sit' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by 'annā 'wherever' as the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.); 'ajlis 'I (might) sit' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by 'annā 'wherever' as the response to the condition,² with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being concealed in it and made independent by it with the implicit meaning of 'anā 'I'.

5.91 (11) haytumā 'wherever',¹ as in haytumā tagum 'agum 'wherever you stand I shall stand, with the same parsing as the preceding example.²
if that consonant is vowelled, the same vowel must also be maintained. All such vowels are pronounced long, even when grammatically short, so *tanzili* could rhyme with *manzili* 'my abode' (but we transcribe all vowels as written, so as not to obscure the inflections). *Tanwīn* is not usual in rhyme, but see 1.45 n 3 for some exceptions. The final *i* of *tanzili* is an automatic juncture feature, q.v. 13.12 n 1, hence 'purely accidental', *Cārid* (cf. 18.3 n 1), i.e. non-phonemic.

5.89 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #206, 419; Alf. v 696; Qatr 84; Fleisch 219. As an interrogative (5.87 n 2), *'ayna* also makes compounds such as *'ilā 'ayna* 'whither' ('to where', cf. 13.12) and *min 'ayna* 'whence' ('from where'). Cf. also 18.41 n 3.

(2) At least one grammarian (az-Zamakshari, *Muf.* #206) disagrees with the interpretation of *mā* as a 'relative' (*siła*, cf. 5.86 n 2), and treats it as a 'redundant *mā*' (*zā'ida*, 5.85 n 1). The boundary between the two is often vague, and perhaps it is better instead to consider the following: *mā* occurs regularly after nouns in a purely indefinite function, e.g. *rajulun mā* 'a certain man' (see Nöldeke 59) and it also occurs as a pure nominalizer, e.g. *mā durtu* 'for as long as I remain' (10.23), *'indamā jā'a* 'when he came' (scil. 'at his coming', cf. 18.207 n 1). 'Redundant *mā*' seems to lie somewhere in between.

5.90 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #207; Alf. v 697; Qatr 85; Fleisch 219. To judge by the entry in Lane's dictionary for this item ('whence, where, whencesoever, wheresoever, when, how, however' etc.), the meaning of the word has never been accurately known.

(2) Two further features of the conditional structure may as well be dealt with here: (a) it is possible for the protasis not to be a genuine condition, but an imperative, e.g. *kūnū hüdan 'aw nasārā tahtadaw* 'be Jews or Christians and you will be rightly guided' (S. 2 v 135) or a proposal, e.g. *'a-lā tanzil ta'kul* 'will you not dismount and eat?' (cf. the similar constructions with dep. verb after *fa*, in 5.55, also Beeston 107, Fleisch 217). (b) In certain circumstances the apodosis must be 'linked' by *fa*, viz. when the apodosis is a nominal sentence (example in 5.86), when the verb of the apodosis is preceded by a particle, e.g. *'in saraga fa-qad saraqa 'akun lahu min qablu* 'if he stole, then a brother of his has stolen before' (S. 12 v 77), when the apodosis is an imperative verb, e.g. *'in kuntum tuhibbūna ilāha fa-†tabī†qunf* 'if you love God, then follow me' (S. 3 v 31), and if the apodosis must have past tense meaning, e.g. *'in kāna qamīshu qudda min gubulīn fa-šadagat* 'if his shirt is torn from the front, then she has been telling the truth' (S. 12 v 26). See *Muf.* #587; Alf. v 701; Qatr 86; Fleisch 215; Nöldeke 111. Semantic considerations, Beeston 106.

5.91 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #202, 419; Alf. v 697; Qatr 85; Fleisch 219. This is a compound of the indefinite *mā* suffix (5.85 n 1) and the noun of place *haytu*: the latter is a member of a small group of space/time qualifiers which end in an invariable *u*, thought to be a remnant of an old locative case (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 533, and 18.41 n 2). In the context of conditionals, *haytu* is unusual in not being an
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5.92-5.93

5.92 (12) *kayfāmā* 'however',1 as in *kayfāmā tašna* ' asna' 'however you act I shall act', where *kayfāmā* 'however',2 is an apocopating noun of condition, *tašna* 'you (might) act' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *kayfāmā* 'however' as the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.); *'asna* 'I (might) act' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *kayfāmā* 'however' as the response to the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I' and independent status through *'asna* 'I (might) act'.

5.93 Additional Note:1 The verb of the condition and its response have four states:2 (a) both may be past tense verbs, as in *wa-'inda* *udānā* 'and if you (masc. plur.) returned we would return',3 or (b) both may be imperfect tense verbs, as in *in tubdū mà ff 'anfusikum 'aw tuğfūhu yuḥāsibkum bihi llāhu 'if you (masc. plur.) reveal what is in your souls or hide it, God will assess you by it',4 or (c) the first verb may be past tense and the second imperfect tense, as in *man kāna yurdu ḥarṭa l-āğirati nazīd lāhu ff ḥarṭihī 'whoever was wanting to cultivate the afterlife, we shall increase for him his cultivation',5 or (d) the first verb may be imperfect tense and the second past tense, as in the verse

man yakidī bi-sayyi‘in kunta minhu
ka-š-ṣajā bayna ḥalqīhi wa-l-warīdī

'whoever might trick me into some evil, you would become towards him like the bone stuck between his windpipe and his jugular vein',6 but in the best opinion this last is forbidden, since it does not occur in prose.7

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1 The verb of the condition and its response have four states: (a) both may be past tense verbs, as in *wa-'inda* *udānā* 'and if you (masc. plur.) returned we would return', or (b) both may be imperfect tense verbs, as in *in tubdū mà ff 'anfusikum 'aw tuğfūhu yuḥāsibkum bihi llāhu 'if you (masc. plur.) reveal what is in your souls or hide it, God will assess you by it', or (c) the first verb may be past tense and the second imperfect tense, as in *man kāna yurdu ḥarṭa l-āğirati nazīd lāhu ff ḥarṭihī 'whoever was wanting to cultivate the afterlife, we shall increase for him his cultivation', or (d) the first verb may be imperfect tense and the second past tense, as in the verse.

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5 The verb of the condition and its response have four states: (a) both may be past tense verbs, as in *wa-'inda* *udānā* 'and if you (masc. plur.) returned we would return', or (b) both may be imperfect tense verbs, as in *in tubdū mà ff 'anfusikum 'aw tuğfūhu yuḥāsibkum bihi llāhu 'if you (masc. plur.) reveal what is in your souls or hide it, God will assess you by it', or (c) the first verb may be past tense and the second imperfect tense, as in *man kāna yurdu ḥarṭa l-āğirati nazīd lāhu ff ḥarṭihī 'whoever was wanting to cultivate the afterlife, we shall increase for him his cultivation', or (d) the first verb may be imperfect tense and the second past tense, as in the verse.

6 The verb of the condition and its response have four states: (a) both may be past tense verbs, as in *wa-'inda* *udānā* 'and if you (masc. plur.) returned we would return', or (b) both may be imperfect tense verbs, as in *in tubdū mà ff 'anfusikum 'aw tuğfūhu yuḥāsibkum bihi llāhu 'if you (masc. plur.) reveal what is in your souls or hide it, God will assess you by it', or (c) the first verb may be past tense and the second imperfect tense, as in *man kāna yurdu ḥarṭa l-āğirati nazīd lāhu ff ḥarṭihī 'whoever was wanting to cultivate the afterlife, we shall increase for him his cultivation', or (d) the first verb may be imperfect tense and the second past tense, as in the verse.

7 The verb of the condition and its response have four states: (a) both may be past tense verbs, as in *wa-'inda* *udānā* 'and if you (masc. plur.) returned we would return', or (b) both may be imperfect tense verbs, as in *in tubdū mà ff 'anfusikum 'aw tuğfūhu yuḥāsibkum bihi llāhu 'if you (masc. plur.) reveal what is in your souls or hide it, God will assess you by it', or (c) the first verb may be past tense and the second imperfect tense, as in *man kāna yurdu ḥarṭa l-āğirati nazīd lāhu ff ḥarṭihī 'whoever was wanting to cultivate the afterlife, we shall increase for him his cultivation', or (d) the first verb may be imperfect tense and the second past tense, as in the verse.

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interrogative.

(2) See 8.21 n 1 on 'i'rāb in the sense of 'parsing'. The sudden loss of energy on the part of aš-Širbīnī is inexplicable: certainly his immediate source (al-Azharī, Āj. 50) does not flag in his treatment of ḥaytumā.

5.92 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #207, 419; not in Alī. but see al-Uṣmūnī on v 697; not in Qatr but see Muğnī I, 173; Fleisch 219. For kayfa as an interrogative cf. 19.8, kayfa ji'ta 'how did you come?'.

(2) The legitimacy of kayfa alone as a conditional element, as in kayfa tašnaC 'ašnaC, of whose flavour the English 'how you act I shall act' gives some idea, has been a subject of dispute since the earliest grammar: Sibawayhi asked his master al-Ḳalīl (0.1 n 1) about it, and was told that the construction is 'felt to be reprehensible', (mustakrah), because kayfa is not a conditional. It comes to be used as one only because it is synonymous with ġalā 'ayyi ħālin 'in what(ever) state' (cf. 5.861), Kitāb I, 433. The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on the other hand, allow kayfa as a conditional, Inšāf, prob. 91.

5.93 (1) See also general references at 5.81 n 1. Here we may also remark on two more aspects of conditional sentences: (a) the compound wa-'in 'and if' has become fixed in a purely adversative sense, 'even though, even if', e.g. 'anā maCahu wa-'in lam yaCrifnī 'I am with him even though he does not know me'. If this is not simple inversion of protasis and apodosis, it is ellipsis of an apodosis identical with the preposed clause, scil. *'I am with him: even though he does not know me I am with him'; (b) with wa-law 'even if' elision of the apodosis is compulsory, e.g. 'awlim wa-law bi-šātin 'have a feast, even if only with a single sheep' (cf. Beeston 106; Fleisch 215). On its own wa-law is used approximately as 'so what?, what if it is?'.

(2) See 11.2 n 1 on 'states', 'ahwāl.

(3) S. 17 v 8, both verbs being past tense forms of the 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) ġāda 'to return', root ġ-w-d.

(4) S. 2 v 284. Note that a second, alternative protasis is coordinated by 'aw 'or' (12.4).

(5) S. 42 v 20. The mixture illustrated here is not common, and in most cases kānā is the verb involved, where it clearly has a modal, rather than a temporal function, in keeping with the meaning that kānā sometimes has: 'it most certainly is' (e.g. in 5.52 n 2). There are other methods, e.g. the use of qad (1.81), for indicating a specific past reference, cf. Beeston 106.

(6) Schaw. Ind. 73, add al-Mubarrad, Muqtaḏāb II, 56. This variety is even rarer than the previous example, and is regarded by most as a poetic licence. However, Ibn Mālik seems to have been in favour of admitting it as a regular construction, cf. Ǧizānā III, 655, where, contrary to aš-Širbīnī's statement, a prose example is adduced, viz. man yaqum laylata 1-qadri 'Imānān wa-hṣîbān ǧufira lahu mà taqaddama
5.94 In some copies we also find: and ‘idā 'when', but only in poetry. This is in addition to the eighteen already listed. There is an example in the verse of the poet:

wa-‘idā tuṣībka kaṣṣṣatun fa-tajammal

'and when some privation afflicts you, be patient!',2 where ‘idā 'when' is a conditional noun and tuṣībka 'it (fem. sing.) (might) afflict you' is the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker; tajammal 'be patient!' (masc. sing.) is an imperative verb whose agent (23b) is compulsorily concealed in it. This verb and its agent make a verbal sentence with apocopated function3 as the response to the condition, and is connected4 by fa 'and so' because it is a verb of demand. Although ‘idā 'when' does not normally apocopate verbs when used as a conditional,5 it can operate in this way by being treated like matā 'when',6 just as matā can be made inoperative by treating it like ‘idā, as in the saying of ʿĀʾiṣa (may God be pleased with her), 'inna ʿabā bākrin rajulun 'asīfun wa-ʾinnahu matā yaqūmu maqāmaka la yusmiʿu n-nāsa 'Verily Abū Bakr is a soft-hearted man, and if he takes your place he will not make the people hear him', as transmitted by Ibn al-Jawzī in his Jāmī al-masānīd, according to Ibn Mālik.7
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min danbihi 'whoever rises on Laylat al-Qadr (the night of the 26th of Ramaḍān) in belief and hope of reward, he will be forgiven what sins he has committed' (a 'Tradition', 1.01 n 4, cf. Wensinck, Concord. V 315).

(7) 'Prose' is natr lit. 'scattering', contrasting with naqm 'poetry', lit. 'arranging' (also ṣicr in 5.94, lit. 'knowledge', cf. poiesis).

5.94 (1) In all copies of the Ājurrümīyya, as far as can be discovered but not in other treatises. Cf. Beeston 104; Fleisch 206; 12.3 n 3.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 202, with variant tahammal 'bear it' (cf. 5.90 n 2 (b) for apodosis introduced by fa). See Nöldeke, note 1 to p.111.

(3) Note that the 'verbal sentence' (cf. 7.1) may function as a single element (5.84 n 4).

(4) On the rules for fa in the apodosis cf. 5.90 n 2 (b). Here the phrase qurina bi-l-fā' 'is connected by fa' expresses the function of fa as the 'link' between protasis and apodosis (see rābīṭa, 5.86 n 4), cf. the cognate term garīṇa in 11.7 n 1.

(5) That 'in 'if' and 'iqā 'when' are not completely interchangeable is well illustrated by contrasting the correct utterance 'āṭika 'iqā īḥmarra l-busru 'I will come to you when the grapes go red' and the incorrect 'āṭika 'in īḥmarra l-busru 'I will come to you if the grapes go red'. The latter is wrong not so much because the condition is a false one, but because 'in cannot refer to a specific future time (so al-Kāfī, in Kitāb I, 433).

(6) See 5.87 on matā.

(7) See Wensinck, Concordance I, 63 for the various forms and locations of this Tradition, whose variants (matā yaqum, matā mā yaqum, 'iqā gāma, 'in yaqum) suggest much grammatical uncertainty. The book Ḫāmiṣ al-masānīd ('Collection of Traditions arranged according to the chain of transmission') is not yet published; its author was the most prolific and outstanding Ḥanbalī polymath of his day (1126-1200, see G.A.L. I, 503, E.I. (2), art. 'Ībn al-Djawzī'). No doubt the source for aš-Šīrāzī was al-Azhārī, Āj. 50, and he in turn probably had it from Ībn Hīšām, Muṣnī II, 201. The Ībn Mālik mentioned here is the familiar grammarian (1.02 n 2) rather than the famous theologian of Medina (d. 709-11), and the information may have come from Tashīl 237 (it is not in Alf.).
CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Chapter on the independent forms of nouns:¹ (i.e. of nouns in particular). The independent forms of nouns are seven, viz.

6.1 (1) the agent,¹ e.g. qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood';

6.2 (2) the object of an unnamed agent,¹ e.g. duriba c'amrun 'Amr was struck' (spelt with u after the d and i after the r);

6.3 (3) the subject and (4) the predicate,¹ e.g. zaydun qā'imun 'Zayd is standing';

6.4 (5) the subject-noun of kāna 'to be',¹ e.g. kāna zaydun qā'imun 'Zayd was standing', and of its related verbs² e.g. 'amsā zaydun dāhikan 'in the evening Zayd was laughing';

6.5 (6) the predicate of 'inna 'verily',¹ e.g. 'inna zaydan qā'imun 'verily Zayd is standing', and of its related particles, e.g. layta c'amran mūsirun 'would that c'Amr were well off';

6.6 (7) the concordant¹ of an independent noun, which comprises (i.e. the concordant) four items: (a) the adjective,² e.g. qāma zaydun il-cāqīlu 'Zayd the intelligent stood', (b) the coordinate,³ e.g. qāma zaydun wa c'amrun 'Zayd and c'Amr stood', (c) the corroborative,⁴ e.g. qāma zaydun nafsuhu 'Zayd himself stood', and (d) the substitute,⁵ e.g. qāma zaydun 'akūka 'Zayd, your brother, stood'.

This is a summary presentation:⁶ in the detailed account the author has treated each one in a separate chapter arranged in the same sequence, starting with the first:
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6.0 (1) **al-marfu'at**, lit. 'those things which have been made independent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2). On 'independence' see 3.1 n 1. 'Nouns in particular' includes adjectives (3.41 n 2) but not verbs, whose independent forms have already been dealt with in 5.33.

6.1 (1) **al-fā'il**, lit. 'the doer', see ch. 7, esp. 7.0, 7.01.

6.2 (1) **al-maf'il allaghī lam yusamma fā’īluh**, lit. 'the direct object of which no agent has been named', i.e. the passive, see ch. 8, esp. 8.1, 8.11. The spelling instructions are required here because the passive differs from the active only in vocalization, cf. 8.2, 8.3.

6.3 (1) **al-mubtada' (bih)**, lit. 'that which is begun (with)', and **kabaruh**, lit. 'the information about it', see ch. 9, esp. 9.01, 9.1. Both subject and predicate normally have independent form (cf. 9.11), but see 6.4, 6.5 for the exceptions.

6.4 (1) **ism kāna**, lit. 'the noun of kāna "to be"', see 10.1 on why it may not be termed a true agent (fā'īl) or subject (mubtada').

(2) Relationships between elements are often expressed anthropomorphically, e.g. 'mother' (5.41 n 9, 26.21 n 1), 'sister' (10.1), 'daughter' (3.1 n 2); see Carter, R.E.I. 40, 83.

6.5 (1) **kabar 'inna**, lit. 'the information (about the noun operated on by) 'inna "verily"', q.v. at 10.4. As with kāna in the previous note, the elements related to 'inna are termed its 'sisters'.

6.6 (1) **tābī'**, lit. 'following' (scil. the inflection of its antecedent). Naturally if the antecedent is dependent or oblique, so is the concordant, and no longer belongs to this chapter (cf. 11.01). Some grammarians arrive at five concordants by distinguishing between sequential coordination ('atf nasaq) and explanatory coordination ('atf bayān), cf. 12.0.

(2) **naq**, usually rendered 'epithet' but see 11.0 n 1. On adjectives in general, see 11.01 to 11.61.

(3) **'atf**, lit. 'inclining towards', see ch. 12.

(4) **tawkīd**, lit. 'confirming, affirming', see ch. 13.


(6) We may add here the particle lawlā 'if not for ...' (from law 'if', 5.811 n 1, and lā 'not', 5.76 n 1), e.g. lawlā zaydun la-ji'tuka 'if it were not for Zayd I would come to you', scil. 'if Zayd were not (in existence ...'); other examples 5.55(f), 7.11, and see 9.94 n 1. Jum. 301; Muf. #169; Alf. v 714; Qatr 125; Fleisch 214; Noldeke 112.
CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 Chapter on the agent. The author gives the agent priority over the subject of the equational sentence, an arrangement based on the question of whether the subject or the agent is the original independent form. The case for the former is that the subject is the first element of an utterance and remains the subject even in inversion, while the agent ceases to be an agent when inverted. Furthermore, the subject operates on other elements, while the agent is without exception operated upon by something else. The case for the latter is that the operator of the agent is formal and therefore stronger than the abstract operator of the subject.

7.01 Lexically the agent is the person who brings the action into existence, but its technical meaning is 'the plain noun (or paraphrase) of which is predicated a syntactically complete verb (or paraphrase); this verb must precede the agent, be devoid of personal endings, and occur in its normal status and form'. (24a)

7.02 An example of the plain noun preceded by a verb is tabâraka llâhu 'God be blessed'; by a verbal paraphrase, muktalifun 'ālwânâhu 'its colours varying' (i.e. sinfun muktalifun 'ālwânâhu 'a type varying in colours'); an example of a nominal paraphrase is 'a-wa-lam yakfihim 'annâ 'anzainâ 'and has it not sufficed them that we sent down...?' (i.e. 'inzâlunâ 'our sending down').

7.03 The feature of syntactic completeness excludes such verbs as kâna 'to be'; 'preceding the agent' excludes the subject of the equational sentence; 'devoid of personal endings' excludes expressions of the type...
7.0 (1) Jum. 23; Muf. #20; Alf. v 225; Qaṭr 178; Beeston 63, 71; Fleisch 166; Bateson 44; Yushmanov 64, 68. For fāṣil 'agent' see 7.01 n 1. On fāṣil as a morphological category see 10.34 n 1.

(2) This follows the order in which they are dealt with by Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 14, 278 respectively), also az-Zamaššarī and az-Zajjājī, while Ibn Mālik and Ibn Hīšām (Qaṭr only) treat the subject before the agent. For 'subject' see 9.01 and cf. below, 7.12; for 'āṣil 'original form' see 3.0 n 2.

(3) See 19.73 n 1 on inversion in general; agents become subjects when they precede their verbs, cf. 7.12, 9.82, 12.903.

(4) This assumes that the predicate is made independent by the subject, although there is some dispute over the problem (see 9.11). On 'operation' see 2.11 and n 5 below.

(5) Operators are either 'formal' (lafẓī) or 'abstract' (maṣnawī, see 2.1 n 2), that of the agent being the verb which formally precedes it, while that of the subject is assumed to be abstract because the subject has nothing formally preceding it (9.11, and cf. 5.34 n 1). On the hierarchical considerations here cf. 22.0 n 4.

7.01 (1) Both fāṣil 'agent' and fīṣil 'verb' (see 16.01) are terms which ambiguously denote both the real actor and act and the agent and verb in purely linguistic form (similar ambiguity in 23.0 n 1, munādā, either 'person called' or 'vocative noun'). This overlap is both ancient and deliberate (for Sībawayhi speech is a set of acts of the speaker, Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147, 151), though only later did this same duality acquire philosophical proportions (see Versteegh 151).

(2) On 'plain noun', ism sarīḥ, and 'paraphrase', ta'wīl, see 9.02 n 1. The 'syntactically complete' (tāmm) verb is one which needs no further complements, contrasting with the 'syntactically defective' (nāqīṣ) verbs in 10.1-38, and cf. 9.71.

(3) These are explained in 7.03.

7.02 (1) S. 7 v 54. Here tabāra is an optative verb, q.v. 14.34 n 3.

(2) S. 16 v 69; the masc. noun sinfūn 'type' introduced in an attempt to account for the masc. muktalīfūn by attraction, even though its agent is grammatically fem. (4.12 n 3, and see 26.95 n 2).

(3) S. 29 v 51; see further 9.6 n 2, 10.42 on 'anna clauses.

7.03 (1) See 10.11; these verbs have nominal sentences as their agent and complement, and are incomplete without the latter.

(2) An indep. noun preceding a verb is reckoned to be a subject, not an
7.1 The author now explains the agent in terms of some of its special characteristics to make it easier for the beginner. The agent is the independent noun (made so by its verb) which is preceded by its verb, e.g. qa‘ma zaydun 'Zayd stood', where qa‘ma 'stood' is a past tense verb and zaydun 'Zayd' is its agent made independent by it, with u as its independence marker: zaydun must be an agent because it is true of it that it is an independent noun preceded by the verb which makes it independent. We understand from the word 'noun' that the agent can only be a noun, not a verb or particle, and from the word 'independent' that the agent can only be independent, not oblique or dependent.

7.11 This is the norm, but the agent can be made formally oblique by having a verbal noun annexed to it, as in lawlā daf’u l-lāhi n-nāsā 'if it were not for God's holding back the people', or by redundant min 'from' or bi 'by', as in the Qur'anic 'an taqulū mā jā’anā min baṣīrin 'that you should say, "No bringer of good tidings has come to us"', i.e. mā jā’āna baṣīrūn 'no bringer of good tidings came to us', and also the Qur’anic kafā bi-l-lāhi šahīdan 'God is sufficient as a witness', i.e. kafā l-lāhu 'God suffices'. Rarely, if the meaning is clear, the agent may be dependent: some Arabs have been heard to say karaga t-tawbu l-mismārā 'the garment tore the nail', kasara z-zujāju l-hajara 'the glass broke the stone', with independent and dependent forms respectively in both. Some are prepared to accept this in the Reading of Abdullah of the Qur’anic fa-talaqqā ’ādamu min rabbihī
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agent, cf. 7.12.

(3) 'Devoid of personal endings' is a rather free translation of fāriğ lit. 'empty', but the meaning is clear from the context. Concordance rules (7.22 n 1) require that verbs preceding their agents should not be inflected for number: hence in yāğūmāni az-zaydāni the dual verb is already a complete verbal sentence, 'they two are standing', and the following az-zaydāni 'the two Zayds' cannot be its agent, but is in apposition to the agent. A type 'akalūni l-barāgītu 'the fleas bit me' with plural verb, was indeed recorded and discussed (e.g. Kitāb I, 5, 6, 39, 237, II, 8), but is dismissed as dialect usage (see also 7.23 n 1).

(4) Though qā'imun 'standing' has verbal meaning it is a noun, and so zayḍun is an inverted subject, not an agent. See 3.0 n 2 on 'normal'.

(5) i.e. the agent of a passive verb, see ch. 8.

7.1 (1) What is offered is a purely formal definition of the 'verbal sentence' (jumla fi c̣ḷiyya) in keeping with the elementary nature of the work. More detailed treatments are available in Ibn Yaʕīs on Muf. #20, al-Astarābādī on Kāfiya I, 62 (ed. Istanbul 1858), aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Usmānī on Alf. v 225. The central point of these considerations is that the agent is that of which an act is predicated (cf. 1.6 n 3), and which must be preceded by its verb because the verb operates on the agent. A typical pedantry is the assertion that the agent remains an agent even when there is no 'act', e.g. dying (Qaṭr 181, and cf. 16.11).

7.11 (1) S. 2 v 251. Here allāhi 'of God' is the logical agent, in subjective genitive relationship to the verbal noun darfī 'holding back'. After such annexation constructions (cf. 26.92) a direct object may follow in dependent form, as an-nāsa 'the people' here (and cf. 16.312 n 1), or it may be paraphrased with li (examples in 24.31 n 1). Another kind of subjective genitive in 10.34. See 6.6 n 1 on lawlā. (2) S. 5 v 19. The min here is only called redundant because the verb before it is negated: otherwise it would certainly be regarded as a 'partitive min', q.v. in 9.03 n 4. On 'redundant' cf. 5.413 n 1.

(3) S. 4 v 79 or 166, and cf. redundant bi in subjects, 9.03 n 5. It is tempting to associate this bi with the redundant bi which occurs in the predicate of laysa 'not to be' (10.18 n 4). Cf. also Nöldeke 76.

(4) This always means the desert Arabs, contemporaries perhaps of the early grammarians, but certainly not of aš-Šīrāzī! See 1.21 n 1.

(5) According to as-Suyūṭī (HamāC al-hawāmīC I, 186) these curious sentences are quoted by Ibn Mālik in his commentary on Kāfiya (though aš-Šīrāzī has them directly from al-Azharī, Taṣrī. I, 270). In all probability they are not themselves genuine utterances, but rather prose imitations of the structure of a few odd verses of poetry (q.v. in Jum. 21lf, which seems to be the earliest location, but cf. Kitāb I, 145-6, Howell I, 155). See also Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 79.

(6) This is the 'Reader' (21.21 n 2) CAbdullāh ibn Kaṭīr, d. 738 (see
7.12 We understand from the author's words 'preceded by its verb' that the agent does not precede its verb. Whenever an overt noun does precede its verb, that overt noun is a subject and the agent of the verb is a pronoun referring to the subject, as in zaydun (24b) qāma 'Zayd, he stood', az-zaydāni qāma 'the two Zayds, they both stood', and az-zaydūna qāma 'the Zayds, they stood': the agent in all these examples is a pronoun referring to the subject.

7.2 Having finished with the definition of the agent, the author now turns to its subdivisions: and it (i.e. the agent) is of two kinds, one overt and one pronominalized. The overt is further divided into various kinds, of which the author gives ten examples:

7.21 (1) The overt masculine singular is exemplified by qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood' and yagūmu zaydun 'Zayd stands', where he gives the agent as singular, it being an agent of independent form with u as its marker of independence. Two kinds of verb are given which make the agent independent, viz. the past tense (namely qāma 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely yagūmu 'stands').

7.22 (2) The masculine dual, as in qāma z-zaydāni 'the two Zayds stood' and yagūmu z-zaydāni 'the two Zayds stand', where he gives the agent as dual and independent in ā, viz. az-zaydāni 'the two Zayds', and the verb which makes it independent is given in two kinds, viz. the past tense (namely qāma 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely yagūmu 'stands').

7.23 (3) The sound masculine plural, as in qāma z-zaydūna 'the Zayds stood' and yagūmu z-zaydūna 'the Zayds stand', where he gives the agent as plural and independent in ā, viz. az-zaydūna 'the Zayds', and the verb which makes it independent is given in two kinds, viz. the past tense (namely qāma 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely yagūmu 'stands').

(7) S. 2 v 37. In his comments on this verse (Ma'Cānī I, 28), al-Farrā' argues that both 'Readings' amount to the same thing 'because whatever encounters you, you encounter it', and cites another example from the Qur'an (S. 2 v 124) involving the word nāla 'to obtain'.

7.12 (1) See the definition of the 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiṯliyya) in 7.1. The translations in this paragraph are intended to emphasize that the verb in these positions is felt to be a complete sentence, consisting of the verb itself and its pronominalized agent, together functioning as a predicate of the preceding noun (similar to 9.75). There are thus three possibilities: the true verbal sentence qāma z-zaydāni (see 7.22 n 1), the nominal sentence az-zaydāni qāmi as in the present paragraph, and the single term verbal sentence with an overt noun in apposition to the pronominalized agent, viz. yaqūmi z-zaydāni, as in 7.03. A comparison of the three shows that in the verbal sentence with an overt agent the verb is not inflected for number, see further 7.22 n 1, and cf. Anshen and Schreiber, Language 44, esp. 792.

7.2 (1) 'Overt' is gāhir, lit. 'showing, apparent' (synonym muṯẖar, lit. 'shown, made apparent', as in 1.24), a self-explanatory term for explicit nouns. On the antithesis muṯḏmar 'pronominalized': 7.31 n 1.

(2) The manuscripts say four, but for different reasons: C. counts 7.21 and 7.24 as being the four examples, while B. and D. (judging from the photographs) regard 7.21-22-23-24 as four sets of examples. Here, however, we follow al-Azharī, Āj. 52 and other printed editions, where all ten are presented as part of Ibn 突如īm's original text.

7.21 (1) See 3.2 on independence marker u, 5.01 on past tense verb, 5.02 on imperfect tense verb.

7.22 (1) As the examples demonstrate, the verb before an overt agent is always singular (cf. 7.23 n 1). It is marked only for gender, viz. (a) masc. (unmarked sing. verb) for agents of natural or grammatical masc. gender, regardless of number (7.21-25), including non-humans. (b) fem. (marked with t, q.v. 5.01) for agents of natural fem. gender (7.26-29) or grammatical fem. gender, in both cases regardless of number, e.g. nabāḥat kalbatāni '2 bitches barked', našibat ġarbun 'a war started' (agent is unmarked fem., cf. 11.43 n 3), našibat ġurūbun 'wars started', nabāḥat kilābun 'dogs barked' (see 4.12 n 3 on syntax of broken plural).

7.23 (1) Historically the past tense verb is a noun (concrete, in the view of Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 368), to which agent suffixes have been added. These suffixes are cognate with the free pronouns, as can still be clearly seen by comparing them (listed in 9.22) with the agent suffixes in ch. 7 or 8. Hence qāma 'stood' is not so much sing. as impersonal (scil. 'a standing occurred, by an agent yet to be specified'), and this has been generalized to the imperfect tense also. It is misleading to regard this as 'incomplete concordance' (as Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 69, Ar. Synt. 23), since overt nouns and agent
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7.24 (4) 'The five nouns' when singular and annexed to anything but the first person singular I 'my', as in qāma 'akūka 'your brother stood' and yaqūmu 'akūka 'your brother stands', where he gives the agent from the 'five nouns' in the independent form with u, and the verb which makes it independent is given in two kinds, the past tense (namely qāma 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely yaqūmu 'stands').

7.25 (5) The masculine broken plural, as in qāma r-rijālu 'the men stood' and yaqūmu r-rijālu 'the men stand'.

7.26 (6) The feminine singular, as in qāmat hindun 'Hind stood' and taqūmu hindun 'Hind stands'.

7.27 (7) The feminine dual, as in gāmat il-hindāni 'the two Hinds stood' and taqūmu l-hindāni 'the two Hinds stand'.

7.28 (8) The sound feminine plural, as in qāmat il-hindātu 'the Hinds stood' and taqūmu l-hindātu 'the Hinds stand'.

7.29 (9) The broken feminine plural, as in qāmat il-hunūdu 'the Hinds stood' and taqūmu l-hunūdu 'the Hinds stand'.

7.30 (10) That which is annexed to the first person singular I 'my', as in (25a) qāma ġulāmī 'my boy stood' and yaqūmu ġulāmī 'my boy stands', where ġulāmī 'my boy' is an independent agent: its independence marker is an implicit u on the consonant immediately preceding the I 'my', but the u is prevented from appearing by the fact that its place is already occupied by the vowel of correspondence to I, namely i.
pronoun suffixes are in complementary distribution. The most intrusive reaction to this situation must surely be Noldeke's remark (78) on the grammatically wrong structure 'akalūnī 1-barāgītu 'the fleas bit me' (with plur. verb before the agent, cf. 7.03 n 3), that 'unfortunately it has not become universal'!

7.24 (1) These are the nouns whose inflectional vowels are long according to the conditions set out here and in 3.421. It is clearly gross negligence to invoke those conditions here as they are completely irrelevant to the agent function, and the examples could just as well have included qāma 'aṅī 'my brother stood'. In fact aš-Širbīnī is only reproducing the misplaced pedantry of al-Azharī, Āj. 52.

7.25 (1) These broken plurals must have natural masc. gender, or else the verb will have to be fem. sing. (7.22 n 1). On the assimilation of the def. art. see 11.41 n 2, and on the juncture feature 11.1 n 2.

7.26 (1) The fem. marker here and in 7.27-29 is not an agent suffix, cf. 7.59. Note that, like many fem. proper names (cf. 11.43 n 3), hindun is unmarked for gender.

7.27 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. art. The extra vowel (i) is orthographically attached to the t of qāmat, but it seemed better to preserve the morphological integrity in transcription.

7.28 (1) Segmentation of the past tense verb leads easily to the conclusion that the masc. ġarab-a and the fem. ġarab-a-t are of the same status as, say, the 2nd sing. masc. ġarab-t-a (7.53) and fem. ġarab-t-i (7.54), and they are often so presented in Western grammars (even in a modern analysis such as Trager and Rice, Language 30, 230). However, it is incompatible with Arabic syntax, see further 7.58 n 1, and cf. Beeston 72.

7.29 (1) Here, as with the masc. plurals in 7.23, 7.25, it makes no difference whether the plur. is 'sound' (3.23) or 'broken' (3.22), as only natural gender is relevant to the form of the verb. Contrast an-niswaṭu ẓadribna 'the women strike' in 3.241, where the verb follows its agent and therefore concords in number as well as gender.

7.30 (1) The suffix I 'my' (cf. 4.72 n 2) obliterates any short vowel inflections, cf. 23.6 and following. However, the position of the agent is also one of its markers (7.12) and is sufficient here to identify ġulāmī as the agent of qāma. It stands to reason that in cases where two uninflected nouns follow the verb, the first is taken to be the agent and the second the direct object, e.g. ġaraba ġulāmī 'aṅī 'my slave struck my brother', īṯārā mūsā īsā 'Moses chose Jesus' (cf. 4.2 n 2(b) on these invariable proper names: they belong to the same class as al-fatā but have no undefined form *mūsan).

(2) The phrase 'its place is already occupied' renders ištīğāl al-mahall: on mahall 'place' cf. 5.81 n 3, though here a purely literal translation has been preferred. Literal, too, is the translation of ištīḡāl, on which see further 21.34 n 1. It does not seem likely that mahall here can be equated with 'function' (mawdiʿ, cf. 5.84 n 4),
7.31 Finally: and the like. In all these examples the agent is an overt noun. Having finished with the section on the overt noun the author now turns to the pronominalized agent.

7.4 The pronominalized, i.e. that which is used for brevity's sake to allude to the overt noun, is of two kinds, bound and free. Both kinds denote the following: the speaker alone, the speaker with someone else, the male person addressed, the female person addressed, two persons (male or female) addressed, plural males addressed, plural females addressed, the absent male, the absent female, two absent persons absolutely, plural absent males, and plural absent females. Each of the two kinds, bound and free, totals twelve pronouns, making twenty-four in all (by multiplying twelve by two).

7.5 The bound pronoun is the one which cannot occur as the subject of an equational sentence, not may it be suffixed in unconstrained usage to 'illa 'except'. It is made independent by the imperfect tense, the past tense and the imperative verb.

7.51 (1) The first of the twelve, the first person singular, is exemplified by darabtu 'I struck', where daraba 'struck' (spelt with a after the $g$) is a past tense verb and tu 'I' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb.

7.52 (2) The first person plural, or the plural of self-magnification,
because the independence marker u and the purely arbitrary i of the possessive suffix I are respectively a morpheme and a phoneme, i.e. are not members of substitutable classes.

7.31 (1) 'Pronominalized agent' is faqIl mudmar, which could also be translated in non-linguistic terms as 'the actor who is kept in the mind': mudmar has a broader significance than 'pronominalized', however, and may also denote suppressed elements such as the conjunction 'an (see 5.4 n 2). The term ɗamīr, on the other hand, always denotes 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71.

7.4 (1) See 11.715 for bound pronouns, 11.716 for free pronouns.

(2) See 9.22 n 2 for transliterations of these terms. Note also that, although the analysis recognizes the three numbers (sing., dual, plur.) and the two genders (masc., fem.), there are no higher order terms for 'number' and 'gender' as such, nor, as it happens, for 'case' or 'mood' either (cf. 11.02). (1).

(3) See 9.3 n 1 on this practice of computing combinations.

7.5 (1) Here is as good a place as any to reassert the futility of using 'subject' both for true subjects and for agents of verbs (e.g. Reckendorf, Fleisch etc.); this obscures the structural difference between the two, subjects always being first in the sentence (9.01) and agents always after their verb (7.12), not to mention the problems it causes in the treatment of concordance between the verb and agent on the one hand, and subject and verb-phrase predicate on the other.

(2) This definition of the bound pronoun is from Alf. v 55, and will be found again in 11.715 and 16.3. 'Unconstrained' here renders iktyyāran lit. 'voluntarily, by choice', antonym of ɗırārān 'by constraint, involuntarily', the latter being characteristically used to denote poetic licence (11.715 n 2). Note that in Muf. #163 a verse is quoted in which a bound pronoun is suffixed to ɗillā (cf. also Muğnī II, 78): this is precisely such a poetic licence.

(3) This echoes 7.0, where the priority of agent over subject and vice versa is argued.

7.51 (1) The ensuing paragraphs contain the complete paradigm of the active verb, sound Stem I, ḍaraba 'to strike' in its past tense form; for the imperfect tense paradigms see 4.4 n 5 etc., and cf. 7.8. Contrary to the convention outlined in 3.52 n 3, the verb will here be translated as an impersonal (i.e. stem-like) past tense and not as an infinitive: for the reasons given in 7.57 n 3, however, it cannot be transliterated as a past stem *darab-. Note the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which prevent confusion with the passive (cf. 8.61).

(2) Proto-Semitic probably had k for t here, but in Arabic and some other Semitic languages the t was generalized by analogy with the suffixes of the second person (Moscati #16.45).

7.52 (1) al-μaţīzīn nafṣah, lit. 'he who exalts himself', i.e. our pluralis majestatis. See Moscati #16.47 on Proto-Semitic na suffix.
is illustrated by *darabnā 'we struck' (with unvowelled b), where *daraba
'struck' (spelt with a after the ā) is a past tense verb, and *nā 'we' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection because it is a pronoun. This is so if it is preceded by an unvowelled consonant (excluding ā), in which case it is the agent of the verb: but if the preceding consonant is vowelled with a, then *nā is the direct object of the verb, e.g. *darabnā zaydun
'Zayd struck us'.

7.53 (3) The pronoun of the second person masculine singular, viz. *ta, is illustrated by *darabta 'you (masc. sing.) struck', where *daraba
'struck' (spelt with a after the ā) is a past tense verb, and *ta 'you' (masc. sing.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection. (25b)

7.54 (4) The pronoun of the second person feminine singular, viz. *ti, is illustrated by *darabti 'you (fem. sing.) struck', where *daraba
'struck' (spelt with a after the ā) is a past tense verb, and *ti 'you' (fem. sing.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection.

7.55 (5) The second person masculine and feminine dual, tumā, is illustrated by *darabtumā 'you two (masc. & fem.) struck', where *daraba
'struck' (spelt with a after the ā) is a past tense verb, and tum 'you' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection; *mā is the marker of the dual.

7.56 (6) The second person masculine plural, viz. tum, is illustrated by *darabtum 'you (masc. plur.) struck', where *daraba 'struck' (spelt with a after the ā) is a past tense verb, and tum 'you' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection; *m is the marker of the masculine plural.

7.57 (7) The second person feminine plural, viz. tunna, is illustrated by *darabtunna 'you (fem. plur.) struck', where *daraba 'struck' (spelt...
In an unvowelled text ǧarabnā and ǧarabanā are indistinguishable, hence the comments and spelling instructions. But ʾā is a special case, being prosodically an unvowelled consonant (2.43 n 2) but never a verb radical: before object pronoun suffixes it is the reflex of the weak 3rd rad. w or y in the 3rd masc. sing., contrast hadaynā 'we led' with hadānā 'he led us' (*hadaya-nā, see further 16.304 n 1).

7.53 (1) The t is evidently Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44); see 11.719 n 4 on the relationship between it and the ta of 'anta 'you'.

7.54 (1) Both the 2nd person marker t and the gender marker i are probably Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44). Note that the transliteration ti (also ta above, and tu etc. in the following paragraphs) obscures the fact that only the consonant is named in the text (cf. 3.5 n 2, 5.1 n 5). In 8.67 the 2nd person t suffix is further analysed into its various genders, though by modern criteria not going far enough in segmenting the dual and plural (see following notes). The vowels of the singulars tu 'I', ta 'you' (masc.) and ti 'you' (fem.) are explained by ʾas-Šabbān (on al-ʾUśmūnī on Alf. v 55) in terms of a rather fanciful hierarchy u, a, i, with u, 'the noblest vowel' assigned to the 1st person and so on in descending order!

7.55 (1) Though not attested outside Arabic and Ugaritic, tumā is assumed by Moscati (#16.50) to be a Proto-Semitic form. There is also the possibility that it is a dualization of the masc. plur. tum, cf. n 2.

(2) The segmentation seems a little unadventurous when we compare the dual tumā with the plural tum. Perhaps what prevented the Arabs from isolating ʾā as a dual morpheme here (as Trager and Rice, Language 30, 225) was a sense of the contradiction in having simultaneous dual and plural markers (cf. 3.411 and 3.65 n 2 for examples of similar reasoning).

7.56 (1) Though there is variation in the forms between the Semitic languages, all 2nd masc. plur. suffixes consist of t and a following nasal element (cf. Moscati, #16.47). See further 10.66 n 2 on the variant tumū.

(2) The transliteration here (also 7.55, 7.57) as tu is a compromise: only t stands in the text (see 7.54 m 1), and the u is certainly not to be confused with the 1st sing. (7.51). That the Arabs did not regard the u as associated with the t can be deduced from ʾas-Šabbān's comment (on al-ʾUśmūnī on Alf. v 55) that the vowel u occurs here only because of the bilabial m, homorganic with w (and hence with u, 3.1 n 2). The translation '*you' is adopted to signify that, at this stage, the 2nd person is still undifferentiated as to number and gender.

7.57 (1) A purely synchronic segmentation of tunna into masc. tum and fem. plur. na (q.v. 3.241, 7.62), as in Trager and Rice, Language 30, 225, is perfectly justifiable, but there is no evidence that tunna is historically a feminization of tum (cf. Moscati #16.37, #16.47, Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 576). The same applies to the free pronoun hunna and suffix kunna, see further 9.44 n 1.
with a after the $d$) is a past tense verb, tu 'you' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection, and nna$^2$ is the marker of the feminine plural. In all the above examples the $b$ of  $\text{daraba} 'struck'$ is unvowelled because an independent vowelled pronoun has been suffixed,$^3$ as shown.

7.58 (8) The concealed pronoun$^1$ for the third person masculine singular is illustrated by  $\text{zaydun daraba} 'Zayd, he struck'$, where $\text{daraba} 'struck'$ (spelt with a after the $d$) is a past tense verb, and the pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of $\text{huwa 'he'}$ is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection.

7.59 (9) The concealed pronoun for the third person feminine singular is illustrated by  $\text{hindun darabat} 'Hind, she struck'$, where $\text{darabat} 'struck'$ (spelt with a after the $d$) is a past tense verb, the $t$ is a marker of the feminine,$^1$ and the pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of $\text{hiya 'she'}$ is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection.

7.60 (10) The visible pronoun for the third person masculine and feminine dual is illustrated by  $\text{az-zaydání darabá} 'the two Zayds, they both struck'$, and $\text{al-hindání darabátá} 'the two Hinds, they both struck'$, where $\text{darabá} 'struck'$ (spelt with a after the $d$) is a past tense verb, and $\ddot{a} 'they two'$ is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and does not exhibit inflection. The $t$ in $\text{darabátá} 'they two (fem.) struck' (26a) is a feminine marker and should normally be unvowelled; however, it has been given a vowel to avoid the clash of two unvowelled consonants,$^2$ that vowel being a because it corresponds to $\ddot{a}$. This last example is omitted from the author's original text.$^3$

7.61 (11) The visible pronoun for the third person masculine plural, namely $ü$,$^1$is illustrated by  $\text{az-zaydána darabú} 'the Zayds, they struck'$,
(2) See 16.312 n 2 on the transliteration problem with nna.

(3) The final vowel of ďaraba has no significance other than marking the verb, in the phonologically most convenient way, as being uninflected (5.1), and is automatically displaced by the true agent pronoun suffixes. This being so, and since verbs are normally quoted in their 3rd sing. masc. form (3.52 n 3), ďaraba is preferred over ďarab- as a transliteration. This also serves to emphasize that the status of the final a in ďaraba is not the same as that of, say, the tu in ďarabtu and the like (a fact which is obscured by treating the entire past tense as a uniform 'suffix conjugation', e.g. Beeston 76, Bateson 24, which then leads to syntactical complications, cf. 7.23 n 1).

7.58 (1) mustatir 'concealed (pronoun)', lit. 'hiding itself', is a subdivision of the muţmar 'pronominalized' (7.31 n 1), the other being bărîz 'visible (pronoun)', lit. 'protruding, standing out' (see 11.71 et seq. for general treatment of pronouns). The existence of 'concealed pronouns' is inferred as follows: since masc. ďaraba and fem. ďarabat are followed by overt agents of sing., dual and plur. number (e.g. in 7.21-29), the final a(t) cannot be a pronoun of the same order as the agent suffixes tu, ta, ti etc., and therefore a is a purely lexical item (5.1) and t is only a gender marker (5.01), which must leave the true agent pronoun concealed within the verb. The same reasoning is applied to those imperfect tense verbs (namely all except the 'five verbs', 3.44) which do not carry what the Arabs interpret as an overt agent marker: see further 7.8 and note, and cf. 11.713, 11.714.

7.59 (1) See 5.01 on the fem. suffix. The Arab grammarians would not accept the implications of Fleisch 105, where qatala is correctly presented as an integral form, but the fem. qatal-at (sic) is set out as if the a belonged to the t suffix.

7.60 (1) Both masc. and fem. are evidently dualizations of their respective singulars (contrast 2nd person, 7.55, where the dual suffix is apparently attached to the masc. plur.), and are Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.49). Note that there is no dual of the 1st person in Classical Arabic (only in Ugaritic, Moscati #16.51). See 11.715 on 'visible', bărîz.

(2) The difficulty is not so much phonological as orthographical. The mater lectionis for ā being historically the consonant ' (2.43 n 2), and only consonants being normally noted in the script (3.44 n 2), the suffixing of ' (= ā) to the unwovelled fem. t appears to produce the non-canonical cluster t' at the end of the syllable (see 2.5 n 3), viz. ādarab'. This, claims aš-Širbînî, is resolved by arbitrarily vowelling the t (though it is a fact that, when it does not have the value ', this character always has a before it to give ā!).

(3) The editorial comment and the contents of this paragraph are taken from al-Azharî, Aj. 54 (indeed almost the entire chapter is repeated by aš-Širbînî).

7.61 (1) This ending is the same as the Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.46).
where 'daraba 'struck' (spelt with a after the d) is a past tense verb, and ô 'they' (masc.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and does not exhibit inflection. The final is superfluous.²

7.62 (12) The visible pronoun for the third person feminine plural, namely na,' is illustrated by al-hindätu d arabna 'the Hinds, they struck', where 'daraba 'struck' (spelt with a after the d) is a past tense verb, and na 'they' (fem.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and does not exhibit inflection.

7.63 The noun preceding the verb, and the agent to which the pronoun refers in all the above examples of the third person agent, are subjects of equational sentences, while the verb and its agent make verbal sentences with independent status as predicates to those subjects.¹

7.7 Note: This is the rule for the agent as a bound pronoun. The rule for the free pronoun (i.e. that which may occur after 'illä 'except' or a synonym)¹ is exemplified in mà daraba 'illä 'anä 'none struck but I', mà daraba 'illä nahnu 'none struck but we', mà daraba 'illä 'anta 'none struck but you' (masc. sing.), mà daraba 'illä 'anti 'none struck but you' (fem. sing.), mà daraba 'illä 'antumä 'none struck but you two', mà daraba 'illä 'antum 'none struck but you' (masc. plur.), mà daraba 'illä 'antunna 'none struck but you' (fem. plur.), mà daraba 'illä huwa 'none struck but he', mà daraba 'illä hiya 'none struck but she', mà daraba 'illä humä 'none struck but they two', mà daraba 'illä hum 'none struck but they' (masc.), mà daraba 'illä hunna 'none struck but they' (fem.).² You likewise say 'innamä daraba 'anä 'it was only I who struck', 'innamä daraba nahnu 'it was only we who struck', and so on for all the rest.³

7.8 These are all past tense verbs. In the imperfect tense you say 'adribu 'I strike' (spelt with a after the '), where 'adribu 'I strike' is an imperfect tense verb whose agent is a bound pronoun concealed in
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(2) There are insuperable transliteration problems here (and again at 8.72). It happens that ḍarabū is spelt (consonantally) ḍ-r-b-w-' (cf. 2.43 n 2 on long vowel markers), and no satisfactory explanation has been offered for the presence of ' (the so-called 'otiose 'alif', or 'alif za'ida) on the end of the word. It is also found on the end of dep. and apoc. verbs ṭaḍrībū, yaḍrībū (paradigms 4.82 nn 1, 2), and on one or two unusual words (Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 29). The suggestion that ' serves to prevent the previous w from being read as wa 'and' prefixed to the next word is not convincing: perhaps the ' originally had something to do with stress (cf. 3.89 n 2). Certainly the final cluster w' breaks the phonological rules (cf. 7.60 n 2), which is why the ' has to be declared non-existent! Cf. Fleisch, Tr. #119c n 2.

7.62 (1) As a past tense suffix na is an extension of the imperfect tense pronoun suffix na rather than an original Proto-Semitic form (Moscati #16.46). As a pronoun na is impervious to mood inflections: compare the paradigms in 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2, and see 7.8 n 1. On the transliteration na see 3.241 n 1. Muf. #406 deals wholly with na.

7.63 (1) The examples as given in the Ājurrūmiyya consist only of verb and agent suffix, to which al-Azharī (copied by aš-Širbīnī) has added preposed subjects, with the intention of making clear to the reader the exact reference of the suffixed pronoun (e.g. that na in 7.62 refers to plural females, exemplified by the preceding al-hindātu). That is the only purpose of these nouns, which must not be mistaken for preposed agents: according to 7.12 there is no such thing as a preposed agent, for by inversion the agent becomes a subject, and this is reflected in our translations ('the Hinds, they struck' etc.). Here, to borrow M. M. Bravmann's formulation (Studies in Arabic and General Syntax, Cairo 1953, 39), 'the two parts confront each other as independent entities', unlike verb and agent, which (with pronoun as agent) are literally bound to each other in an irreversible order. Cf. also 9.75, 9.76.

7.7 (1) Observe the distributional criterion (cf. 7.5) and note that, in these exceptive constructions, the verb displays absolutely no concordance (even of gender) with its logical agent, the ensuing free pronoun; see further 21.3.

(2) The list of examples here comprises all the free independent pronouns, hence they need not be tabulated in the notes (they are, in any case listed again in 8.8 and 9.24). The same pronouns also function as subjects of equational sentences, see 9.22. For segmentation of these pronouns see 9.4 et seq.

(3) 'innamā 'only' is not exactly a synonym of 'illā 'except', but it often amounts to one, as in the examples here. See further 9.83.

7.8 (1) Unlike the past tense, the imperfect tense is marked by both prefixes and suffixes (in modern terms, discontinuous morphemes). The Arab segmentation is as follows (refer to paradigms, 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2): (a) prefixes 'a, t(a), y(a), n(a), being number and person markers (not agent pronouns) peculiar to the imperfect (5.3); (b) the
it with the implicit meaning of 'anā 'I' and independent status through the preceding verb,2 and does not exhibit inflection. The same applies by analogy to the rest of the twelve.

7.81 With the free pronouns you say mā yadrību 'illā 'anā 'none strikes but I', innamā yadrību 'anā 'it is only I who strike' and so on.1

7.82 With the imperative there must always be a bound pronoun:1 this is for the second person masculine singular in the example iḍrib 'strike, you!', for its dual in iḍriｂā 'strike, you two!', for its plural in iḍribū 'strike, you!', for the second person feminine singular in iḍribī 'strike, you!', for its dual in iḍribā 'strike, you two!', and for the feminine plural in iḍribna 'strike, you!'. In all these examples the (26b) bound, concealed pronoun is an agent with independent status and does not exhibit inflection.

7.9 Having finished with explaining the agent,1 the author now turns to the object of the unnamed agent.
stem (taken for granted by the Arabs, but abstracted by quoting the required form of the symbolic verb fa'ala 'to do', v. 3.45 n 1: thus ya'ala implies the stem -fala- etc.); (c) overt agent pronouns I (fem. sing.), ā (dual), ū (masc. plur.) in the 'five verbs' only (3.44-45), and na (fem. plur.); (d) mood markers (except in fem. plur.), viz. end vowel alternation u/a/∅ or alternation ni (dual), na (masc. plur., see 3.241 n 3) and ∅. All four features can be seen in ya-đribā-ā-ni: 3rd person prefix, stem, dual agent pronoun, mood marker; cf. 3.93 n 2.

Further to the 'concealed' pronoun of the imperfect tense (7.58 n 1): from a comparison of tađribu 'you (masc. sing.) strike' with its dual and plur. tadribāni, tadribūna, we might infer that the sing. was simply the unmarked form (zero morpheme). But this breaks down in the 3rd person, for yađribu 'strikes' may have sing., dual or plur. overt agents (7.21-29), and we can hardly posit three different zero morphemes (as least!) in the same word. It is this pitfall which the Arabs, with their 'concealed' pronoun, seem to be trying to avoid, though with what success is still a matter for investigation.

(2) This necessary fiction merely retains the morpheme sequence of the past tense verb.

7.81 (1) Compare the corresponding past tense forms in 7.7, or the passives in 8.8.

7.82 (1) The imperative is effectively the 2nd person imperfect tense verb minus (a) the 2nd person prefix ta (or tu), which is redundant in a verb form which can only be used in direct address, and (b) the mood inflections (i.e. is formally, if not actually identical with the apocopated form), because the imperative denotes a non-event (cf. 5.7 n 2). Only stem and pronoun agents, concealed or overt, remain. See also 5.2.

7.9 (1) The order Verb-Agent is only the minimal sentence pattern: see ch. 15 for a summary of the extended pattern Verb-Agent-Qualifier. Qualifiers, which are invariably dependent nouns or prepositional phrases (5.82 n 6) are syntactically mobile, and may occur in any position (viz. Qual.-Verb-Agent, Verb-Qual.-Agent), without disturbing the order of verb and agent (e.g. джерабу zaydu'n 'Zayd struck him', where the object pronoun suffix intervenes between verb and agent (contrast the fully pronominalized ジャーbűh 'struck-I-him, which retains the normal word order). A consequence of the structure of the verb (cf. 7.58 n 1) is that it can never occur with an elided agent (which would be tantamount to a predicate without a subject, cf. 3.73 n 5), while equational sentences may elide either subject or predicate, q.v. 9.9.
CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 Chapter on the object of an unnamed agent. That is, where no mention is made of the agent from whom the action proceeds. A better title is the one used in the Alfiyya by Ibn Malik, who calls it the 'substitute agent', because this latter embraces objects other than the direct object, and because the former can apply to the dependent word dirhaman 'a dirham' in 'uṣṣiyā zaydun dirhaman 'Zayd was given a dirham', which is not what is intended. The author treats this topic immediately after the chapter on the agent because the rules for the object of an unnamed agent are in many respects the same as those for the agent, as you are about to learn. He describes it now in terms of some of its special characteristics to make it easier for the beginner:

8.1 This is the independent noun with which there is no mention of an agent. The reason is that it takes the place of the agent in being independent, in being the subject of a predicate, in having to follow its verb, and in requiring a feminine verb when it is feminine itself.

8.11 Note: By 'noun' it is understood that it can be neither a verb nor a particle; by 'independent' that the rule is for it to be independent, as already stated; by 'with which there is no mention of an agent' that the agent can only be elided (since, if the agent were to be mentioned, it would itself be independent and the direct object dependent).
NOTES

8.0 (1) Jum. 88, 91; Muf. #436; Alf. v 242; Qârir 193; Beeston 82; Fleisch 117, 122, 246; Bateson 34; Yushmanov 51. There is no single term corresponding to 'passive': here we have mā lam yusamma fāciluh, lit. 'that whose agent has not been named', an-nā'ib ġan il-fācil, lit. 'the deputy agent' (see n 3), mabnī li-l-mafūl, lit. 'constructed for the direct object' (8.61 and passim) and, though not in our text, majhūl, lit. 'unknown'. See 8.67 n 1 on the historical problem.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference is to Alf. v 242.

(3) The term an-nā'ib ġan il-fācil is evidently a coinage of Ibn Mālik himself and, as such, constitutes one of the few innovations in later Arabic grammar. The verb nāba 'to deputize', from which nā'ib is derived, commonly denotes allomorphs, see 3.0 n 3.

(4) In fact only space/time qualifiers are likely to be found as agents of passive verbs, since they are also allowed to function as direct objects by 'latitude of speech' (v. 18.1 n 4): examples, šīma ramadānu 'Ramadan was fasted', sīra yawmāni 'two days were travelled'.

(5) The reason is that the verb in question is doubly transitive (see 16.310 n 1) and the second direct object dirhāman remains so after passivization. Normally only the first direct object becomes a passive agent, but sometimes the functional order (but not the word order) is reversed, e.g. kusiya zaydun tawban 'Zayd was clothed in a garment', but kusiya zaydan tawbun 'on Zayd a garment was clothed'.

8.1 (1) The text has li-qiyāmihi magāmahu, lit. 'because of its standing in its place'; magām, lit. 'standing-place', is one of the near synonyms of mawḍīc 'function' (3.1 n 4) and manzila 'status' (23.2 n 2). particularly of mawḍīc (pace Versteegh, Arabica 25, 275).

(2) 'Subject of a predicate' is a very free translation of Cumdiyya, lit. 'the quality of being an indispensable prop', referring to the structural bond between subject and predicate which also obtains between verb and agent (verb = predicate, 3.73 n 5). See 20.01 n 1.

8.11 (1) The elision (baḏf, 3.73 n 2) must be deliberate, i.e. for metrical or stylistic reasons, or because the agent is not known, (though these considerations have been called 'an intrusion by the grammarians into the art of rhetoric' by Ibn Hišām, in as-Šabbān on al-Usmānī on Alf. v 242). Note that these restrictions do not apply to the instrument of an action: the sentence in 1.701, katabtu bi-l-galamī 'I wrote by pen' has as its passive kutiba bi-l-galamī 'it was written by pen'. On the idiomatic use of the passive as a strictly impersonal verb cf. Fleisch 118 (frequent examples in aš-Širbīnī, qīla 'it is said', 'ujība 'it is answered', and others in the present paragraph, fuhima, ġukira).
8.2 If the verb is past tense and you wish to transfer its object from the category of direct object to that of object of an unnamed agent: if you perform it three operations: (1) you elide the agent, (2) you move the direct object into its place, (3) once the object is in the agent's place it becomes formally ambiguous with the agent, and it is necessary to distinguish one from the other, so the verb with the agent is left in its original form, while the verb with the substitute agent is changed.

Hence in the past tense you say *duriba zaydun* 'Zayd was struck', and it has *u* on the first letter and *i* before the last letter. This occurs either in fact, as in the example given, or implicitly, as in *qīla 'it was said*, bī* 'it was sold*; the original forms are *qāla* 'he said', bā* 'he sold*, and when you construct them to have their object as agent you should say *quwila*, *buyīqa*, but *i* is awkward to pronounce after *w* and *y*, so the *i* moves back to the first letter of the verb, leaving the *w* and *y* vowelless; the *w* then changes to *y* because it is unvowelled (27a) after *i*, while the *y* remains unaffected because it is unvowelled but preceded by a homogeneous vowel.

8.21 The parsing of *duriba zaydun* 'Zayd was struck' is: *duriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicative of the object of an unnamed agent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is the object of an unnamed agent and is made independent by *duriba* because it takes the place of the agent, and its independence marker is *u*. The original form is *daraba* c'amrun *zaydan* 'Amr struck Zayd', then 'Amr, the agent of *daraba* 'struck' was elided for some reason leaving the verb in need of something of which to be the predicate, so the formerly dependent object has been put in the place of the agent and has become independent.

8.3 If the verb is imperfect tense it has *u* after the first letter and *a* before the last letter. It then becomes a predicate of the object of.
8.2 (1) On systematic grounds the assumption that the passive is derived from an underlying active verb is interesting enough (see following notes). What is also worth noting is that such detailed descriptions of the derivational process as we have here could only have become necessary in a period when the passive was felt to be difficult, mainly because (at least by aš-Širbînî's time and probably much earlier) the formal passive had disappeared from colloquial Arabic, having been replaced by varieties of Stem VII (8.66 n 1) or Stem VIII (8.68 n 1), cf. Bateson 100, Yushmanov 57.

(2) This is a literal translation of Camīlta fīhi ṭalāṭata 'aCmālin, and uses the same notion of Cāmal 'operation' already applied to the grammatical effect of one element upon another (2.11 n 1). However, even in the earliest grammar it could also denote the operation of the speaker upon elements in an utterance (Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 151, and cf. 20.12 n 2).

(3) "Original form" translates 'āṣl, 'root, base' etc. (see 3.0 n 2), here clearly approaching the concept of a deep structure: the whole treatment here has a marked flavour of transformational grammar avant la lettre, with 'deletion' (badf, 3.73 n 2) of the original agent, replacement of the agent by the object (cf. 8.1 n 1) and finally marking the new verb to distinguish it from the active. Whether the passive is historically a derivative of the active is arguable: Fleisch 246 connects it with the impersonal use of intransitive verbs.

(4) See the parsing in 8.21 for details.

(5) Prose is not the best medium for describing phonological changes, which may be more comprehensible when presented as follows:

active qāla (=*gawala)=*quwila=*qiwaλa=qīla passive, 'was said';
active bācâ (=*bayaCâ)=*byiCâ=*biyCâ=bīCâ passive, 'was sold'.

These are 'hollow' verbs (10.23 n 2) whose middle radical is a semi-vowel. Note the principle of least phonological effort (2.31).

(6) S. 11 v 44. The example of qīla has already been explained; the other, ġīda 'was diminished' is from ġāda (=*gayada). Note the direct speech after qīla, and cf. 10.64 n 1.

8.21 (1) In its narrower meaning 'iCrāb denotes 'inflection', q.v. at 2.0, but is here used in the sense of 'parsing' in which it often occurs in purely pedagogical contexts (other typical examples 5.91, 8.61-73, 14.52). The earliest occurrence of 'iCrāb in this sense is not known, but it can hardly be before the 10th century.

(2) On the various points raised here see: independence markers 3.2; original form ('āṣl) 8.2 n 3; reason for elision of agent 8.11 n 1; the verb's need of an agent 8.1 n 2; replacement of agent 8.1 n 1. In all this (and below) it is well worth maintaining a close comparison with the corresponding active forms in ch. 7, since active and passive differ formally only in their vowels.

8.3 (1) The full paradigm of the past tense sound verb (2.43 n 2) is displayed in 8.61-73. For hollow verbs see 8.2 n 5; weak 1st rad.
an unnamed agent, having formerly been a predicate of the agent, as in yudrabu zaydun 'Zayd is struck' (with u after the first letter and a before the last), which is now a predicate of the object of an unnamed agent after being a predicate of the agent. The original form is yadribu 'Amr strikes Zayd' (the verb spelt with a after the first letter and i before the last), where 'Amr is an agent made independent by yadribu 'strikes' and zaydan 'Zayd' is a direct object made dependent by yadribu. To transfer it into the category of passive you elide the agent (namely 'Amr) and put the direct object (namely zaydan) in its place, which therefore becomes independent. Then you change the verb from yadribu 'strikes' (spelt with a after the first letter and i before the last) to yudrabu 'is struck' (with u after the first letter and a before the last) and make it a predicate of its former object, namely Zayd. Zayd then becomes the object of an unnamed agent and the construction is now yudrabu zaydun 'Zayd is struck', parsed as follows: yudrabu 'is struck' is an imperfect tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, i.e. zaydun 'Zayd', and zaydun is independent because it substitutes for the agent, with u as its independence marker. Use this as the analogy for all like cases.2

8.31 Note: The author says nothing about the imperative verb because it is not constructed to have its object as agent.1

8.4 It (i.e. the object of an unnamed agent) is of two kinds, overt and pronominalized. This is the same as the agent.1

8.5 The overt with a past tense verb predicated of it (27b) is exemplified by duriba zaydun 'Zayd was struck', (with u after the d and i after the r, parsed as above), and with an imperfect tense verb as its
verbs are completely regular, wujida etc., as are weak 3rd rad. verbs, luqiya etc., having exactly the same endings as the active verb laqiya in 10.14 n 2. Here follow the imperfect tense paradigms, indep. form: sing. dual plur.

(a) sound verb daraba 'to strike':

1st: u’drabu nu’drabu
2nd masc.: tu’drabu tu’drabāni tu’drabūna
2nd fem.: tu’drabīna tu’drabāni tu’drabāna
3rd masc.: yudrabu yudrabāni yudrabūna
3rd fem.: tu’drabu tu’drabāni tu’drabūna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, ‘u’drabu etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, ‘u’drab etc.

(b) weak 3rd rad. verb ramā 'to throw':

1st: ‘urmā nurmā
2nd masc.: turmā turmāyāni turmawna
2nd fem.: turmayna turmayāni turmayna
3rd masc.: yurmā yurmāyāni yurmayna
3rd fem.: turmā turmāyāni yurmayna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, ‘urmā etc., apoc. endings same as active, 3.92 n 1, ‘urma etc. If weak 3rd rad. is w it replaces y in the above paradigm except in the 2nd fem. sing., e.g. tuğzayna.

(c) weak 1st rad. w, wajada 'to find':

1st: ‘ūjadu nūjadu
2nd masc.: tūjadu tūjadāni tūjadūna
2nd fem.: tūjadīna tūjadāni tūjadāna
3rd masc.: yūjadu yūjadāni yūjadūna
3rd fem.: tūjadu tūjadāni tūjadāna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, ‘ūjadu etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, ‘ūjad etc. On ‘ūjadu = ‘uwjadu see 2.43 n 2. Doubled verbs (10.61 n 1) are regular within their own system, thus past murirtUf murra (<*murira), imperf. ‘umarru etc.

(2) Full paradigms of imperfect tense in n 1, and see 8.61-73 for past tense. 'Analogy' translates qiyās, originally referring to the analogy practised by speakers (cf. Troupeau, Lex.-Index, root q-y-s) but soon extended to denote analogy as perceived and imposed by grammarians (Weil, intro. to İnşāf, 7, Versteegh, index, root q-y-s). From this it has developed into a near synonym of ‘āsl (3.0 n 2), i.e. 'correct form according to the rules' (e.g. 3.412 (b), 17.4). The term itself may have entered grammar from law, which in turn probably borrowed it from a Greek source (see Versteegh, Z.A.L. 4, 7 for the latter aspect); see also E.I. (2), art. 'Kiyās', end.

8.31 (1) It is replaced by the paraphrase using the imperative li (q.v. 5.75), e.g. li-tudrab 'let you be beaten' (though this is excessively rare in all but the 3rd person).

8.4 (1) See 7.2.

8.5 (1) Syntax and concordance are the same in the passive as in the active (q.v. 7.21-30), e.g. durabat il-hindātu 'the Hinds were struck', with fem. sing. verb as in 7.28. See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates,
8.51 There is no difference between the unaugmented verb (as illustrated above) and the augmented verb, e.g. 'ukrima Camrun 'CAmr was honoured', (with u after the ' and i after the r), and yukramu Camrun 'CAmr is honoured'. (With u after the y and a after the r, parsed as above).

As an analogy for the remaining forms use the overt kinds already dealt with under the heading of the agent. Having finished with the overt kind, the author now turns to the other kind:

8.6 The pronominalized object of an unnamed agent is of two kinds, bound and free, each consisting of twelve pronouns.

8.61 (1) The tu 'I' of the first person singular is exemplified by ḏuribtu 'I was struck', (with u after the ḏ, i after the r and u after the t). The original form is ḏarabānī ṣaydun 'Zayd struck me', where ḏaraba 'struck' (with a after the ḏ) is a past tense verb, the n is the 'preserving n', the f 'me' is a direct object with dependent status through ḏaraba 'struck' and ṣaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by ḏaraba with u as its independence marker. You have then constructed this to have its object as agent, so that it becomes ḏuribtu 'I was struck', parsed as follows: ḏuriba 'was struck' (with u after the ḏ) is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, and tu 'I' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through ḏuriba 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent.¹
8.9 n 1 for 'letter' (ḥarf) in this context, 8.21 n 1 on 'parsing'.

8.51 (1) Cf. 5.1 n 2. The range of augmented verb stems (excluding five rare ones, on which see Fleisch 124) is as follows (3rd masc. sing. only, cf. 3.52 n 3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Augment</th>
<th>Active past/imperf.</th>
<th>Passive past/imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>ḏaraba/yāḍribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Double 2nd rad.</td>
<td>ḥassana/yuḥassinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Long 1st vowel</td>
<td>kātaba/yuḳāṭibu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Prefix 'a'</td>
<td>'ahsana/yuḥsīnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Prefix ta to II</td>
<td>taḥassana/yataḥassanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Prefix ta to III</td>
<td>takātaba/yataḳātabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Prefix n</td>
<td>inkasara/yankasiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Infix t</td>
<td>iqṭaraba/yiqṭaribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Double 3rd rad.</td>
<td>ihmarra/yahmarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Prefix st</td>
<td>istaḥsana/yastaḥsīnu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems II to X are set ouκ in the notes to 8.61 et seq. On augmented stems in Proto-Semitic see Moscati #16.1; although each augment is associated with a corresponding change in the root meaning of the verb, the system has become so irregular that generalizations can offer only a vague guide to the relationship between a simple stem and its augmented forms, but try Beeston 72, Fleisch 118, Bateson 30, Yushmanov 47, Schramm, Language 38, 60. For augmented stems of hollow verbs see 8.73 n 1, and for agent, patient and verbal nouns derived from augmented stems see 10.34 n 1.

8.61 (1) There being little more to add on the subject of the passive, most of the following notes will contain paradigms of the augmented verbs. Here Stem II, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb ḥassana 'to improve' (Stem I ḥasuna 'to be good'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uḥassinu</td>
<td>nuḥassinu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuḥassinu</td>
<td>tuḥassinānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥassīnānī</td>
<td>tuḥassīnānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥassinu</td>
<td>yuḥassīnānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥassīnī</td>
<td>yuḥassānī</td>
<td>yuḥassānīnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally regular are: doubled verbs (yuḥaddīdu etc.), weak 1st rad. verbs (yuwaṣṣīlu etc.), hollow verbs (see 8.73 n 1), but weak 3rd rad. verbs all have the same endings as yarmī in 4.81 n 2 (b), e.g. yusammī, yusammūnā etc. Stem II passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uḥassanu</td>
<td>nuḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuḥassanu</td>
<td>tuḥassanānānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥassānānānī</td>
<td>tuḥassānānānānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥassanu</td>
<td>yuḥassānānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥassānī</td>
<td>yuḥassānānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled, hollow and weak verbs are regular (yuḥaddādu, yuwaṣṣalu etc.), weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as yāḳšā in 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. yusammā, yusammawwāna etc. Past tenses both active and passive have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. ḥassantu, ḥussintu etc.
The nä 'we' of the first person plural or the plural of self-magnification is illustrated by durībānā 'we were struck', (with u after the d, i after the r and a after the n). The original form is darabanā zaydun 'Zayd struck us', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, nä 'us' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck' and zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it with u as its independence marker. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent, so that it becomes durībānā 'we were struck', parsed as follows: durība 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent and nä 'we' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through durība 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent.

The ti 'you' of the second person feminine singular and (4) the ta 'you' of the second person masculine singular are illustrated by durībta 'you (masc. sing.) were struck', (28a) (with u after the d and i after the r). The original form is darabaka zaydun 'Zayd struck you' (masc. sing.), where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, ka 'you' (masc. sing.) is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck' and zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it with u as its independence marker. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes durībta 'you (masc. sing.) were struck', parsed as follows: durība 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent and ta 'you' (masc. sing.) is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through durība 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent.
8.62 (1) Paradigm of Stem III, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb kātaba 'to write to' (Stem I kataba 'to write'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ukātibu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nukātibu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tukātibu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tukātibāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tukātibāna</td>
<td></td>
<td>tukātiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yukātibu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yukātibāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tukātibu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yukātibāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weak verbs are regular, e.g. yuwāsilu etc., yugāwimu etc., yuhāmī etc., cf. 8.61 n 1; the exception is doubled verbs, which assimilate even after the long vowel, e.g. yuḥāddu etc., see 21.22 n 4. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ukātabu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nukātabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tukātabu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tukātabāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tukātabāna</td>
<td></td>
<td>tukātabna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥsinu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuḥsināni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥsinu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuḥsināni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.63 (1) Paradigm of Stem IV, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb aḥsana 'to do well' (Stem I ḥasuna 'to be good'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uḥsinu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nuḥsinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuḥsinu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuḥsināni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥsināna</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuḥsinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuḥsanāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuḥsanāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yumiddu etc., hollow verbs yugimu etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. yūjibu etc. (= yuwjibu, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. yuḥrā etc., same endings as yarūmī, 4.81 n 2 (b). Note loss of prefix ' in imperfect (Fleisch 119; Yushmanov 49): the vowel sequence u-i, however, is unique to Stem IV. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uḥsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nuḥsanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuḥsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuḥsanāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥsanāna</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuḥsanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuḥsanāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuḥsanāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yumanuddu etc., hollow verbs yugānu etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. yūjābu etc. (= yuwjābu, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. yuḥrā, same endings as yaḥšā, 4.81 n 2 (a). Note that Stem IV and Stem I are identical in imperfect tense passive (cf. paradigm, 8.3 n 1). Past tenses, active and passive, have same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. 'aḥsanu, 'uḥsintu etc.

(2) Here we follow MS C., which conflates (deliberately) the 2nd masc. and fem. (t stands for both ta and ti, cf. 7.54 n 1), a welcome abbreviation in this most tedious portion of the text. But printed editions of Āj. give both examples separate treatment.
8.64 (5) **The tu(mā) 'you' of the second person dual, whether masculine or feminine, is illustrated by duribtumā 'you two were struck', (with u after the d and i after the r). The original form is darabakumā zaydun 'Zayd struck you both', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, kumā 'you two' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck' and zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it with u as its independence marker. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes duribtumā 'you two were struck', parsed as follows: duriba 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, tu '*you' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through duriba 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent, and mā is the marker of the dual.**

8.65 (6) **The tu(m) 'you' of the second person masculine plural is illustrated by duribtum 'you (masc. plur.) were struck', (with u after the d, i after the r, and u after the t suffixed with m). The original form is darabakum zaydun 'Zayd struck you' (masc. plur.), where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, kum 'you' (masc. plur.) is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck' and zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by daraba 'struck'. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes duribtum 'you (masc. plur.) were struck', parsed as follows: duriba 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, tu '*you' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through duriba 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent, and m is the marker of the second person masculine plural.**
8.64 (1) Paradigm of Stem V, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb taḥassana 'to be improved' (cf. Stem II ḥassana 'to improve', transitive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ataḥassanu</td>
<td>nataḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tataḥassanu</td>
<td>tataḥassanu</td>
<td>tataḥassanuänna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tataḥassanänna</td>
<td>tataḥassanänna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yataḥassanu</td>
<td>yataḥassanänna</td>
<td>yataḥassanänna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tataḥassanu</td>
<td>tataḥassanänna</td>
<td>yataḥassanänna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally regular are: doubled verbs, e.g. yataḥaddadu etc., hollow verbs (q.v. 8.73 n 1), e.g. yataqawwamu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. yatawassšalu etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as yaḵšā, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. yatamanna etc. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'utataḥassanu</td>
<td>nataḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tutaḥassanu</td>
<td>tutaḥassanu</td>
<td>tutaḥassanuänna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tutaḥassanänna</td>
<td>tutaḥassanänna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yutaḥassanu</td>
<td>yutaḥassanänna</td>
<td>yutaḥassanänna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tutaḥassanu</td>
<td>tutaḥassanänna</td>
<td>yutaḥassanänna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive, where it occurs, is mainly in impersonal sense (q.v. 8.11 n 1). Note that passive differs only in change of prefix vowel from a to u: all verbs follow this pattern, e.g. yutaḥaddadu, yutaqawwamu, yutawassšalu, yutamanna etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. taḥassantu, tuḥussintu etc. (cf. 8.9 n 1).

8.65 (1) Paradigm of Stem VI, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb takātaba 'to write to one another' (cf. Stem III kātaba 'to write to'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'atākūtabu</td>
<td>natakūtabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tākūtabu</td>
<td>tatakūtabūna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tatakūtābūna</td>
<td>tatakūtābūna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yatakūtabu</td>
<td>yatakūtabūna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tatakūtabu</td>
<td>tatakūtabūni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs almost non-existent, hollow verbs regular (cf. 8.73 n 1), e.g. yatajāwaru etc., likewise weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. yatawāššalu etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as yaḵšā, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. yataḥāmā etc. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'utatakūtabu</td>
<td>natakūtabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tutakūtabu</td>
<td>tutakūtabūna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tutakūtābūna</td>
<td>tutakūtābūna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yutakūtabu</td>
<td>yutakūtabūni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tutakūtabu</td>
<td>tutakūtabūni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs show the same change of prefix vowel from a to u (cf. Stem V), e.g. yatajāwaru, yutawāššalu, yutamanna etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. takātabtu, tuṭūṭībūtu etc.

(2) See 7.56 n 2 on the problems of segmenting the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.
8.66 (7) The tu(nna) 'you' of the second person feminine plural is illustrated by duribtunna 'you (fem. plur.) were struck', (with u after the d and i after the r). The original form is darabakunna saydun 'Zayd struck you' (fem. plur.), where darab 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, kunna 'you' (fem. plur.) is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck' and saydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by daraba 'struck'. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes duribtunna 'you (fem. plur.) were struck', parsed as follows: duriba 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object (28b) of an unnamed agent, tu 'you' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through duriba 'was struck', and the double n is the mark of the feminine plural.¹

8.67 Note: To sum up, in every instance the verb has u after the first letter and i before the last, and the t in every instance is the object of an unnamed agent.¹ But since this t is by convention common to the first person singular, the second person masculine and feminine singular, the dual and the plural, it is necessary to distinguish one from the other: so u is added for the first person singular, a for the second person masculine singular, i for the second person feminine singular, (u)mā for the dual, (u)m alone for the second person masculine plural, and (u)nna for the second person feminine plural. It does not befit this short treatise to deal with their suitability for their own particular purposes.²
8.66 (1) Paradigm of Stem VII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *inkasara* 'to break' (intransitive, contrast Stem I *kasara* 'to break', transitive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ankanśasiru</td>
<td></td>
<td>nankanśasiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tankasiru</td>
<td>tankasirīnā</td>
<td>tankasirūnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tankasirīnā</td>
<td></td>
<td>tankasirnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yankanśasiru</td>
<td>yankanśasirīnā</td>
<td>yankanśasirūnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tankasirīnā</td>
<td></td>
<td>tankasirnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs are regular within their own system, e.g. *yanḍammu* etc., likewise hollow verbs, e.g. *yanqādu* etc. and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yanbarī* etc. (with same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); but weak 1st rad. verbs do not form Stem VII, see further below. There is no passive of Stem VII.

Stem VII has the following peculiarities: (a) it is not formed from verbs whose first radical is *r, l, n, w, y*. In the rare cases where *m* is the first radical there may be assimilation of the prefix *n*, e.g. *inanā* "= *inanā* 'to melt'.

(b) The prefix *n* forms a consonant cluster with the first radical: in the imperfect tense this causes no problems, as the vowel of the personal prefix allows the *n* to close the syllable (*yan-ka-si-ru*, cf. 2.5 n 3). But in the past tense, *nkanśartu* etc., the initial consonant cluster must be resolved by prefixing an empty syllable, pronounced and spelt 'i only in utterance initial position, otherwise retained in the spelling (cf. 2.14 n 2) but elided in pronunciation, cf. 5.2 n 3. The same applies to the other Stems whose augment creates an initial consonant cluster, viz. VIII, IX and X.

8.67 (1) The terminology of the passive (cf. 8.0 n 1) is somewhat inconsistent. The chronology appears to be as follows:

(a) *mā lam yusamma fāḍiluh* 'that whose agent has not been named' and *mansī lī-l-mafūl* 'constructed for the direct object' are early terms from the period when grammar was mainly structural in approach.

(b) *an-nāʾib ʾan il-fāḍil* 'the deputy agent' is ascribed to Ibn Mālik (d. 1274, v. 8.0 n 3): the need for this term may have arisen from the lumping together of all independent forms of the noun for pedagogical reasons, calling for a distinction between agents of active and passive verbs.

(c) *majhūl* 'unknown' is perhaps only a shorthand version of *mā lam yusamma fāḍiluh*, and seems to have been introduced very late (although Abū Ḥayyān, d. 1344, associates it with the early grammarian al-Kisāʾī, q.v. 18.0 n 2; *Manḥaj as-sālik*, ed. S. Glazer, 1947, 114).

One thing seems clear, however, and that is that there are no obvious Greek models for these terms.

(2) In other words, why *a* is used for the masc. sing., *i* for the fem. sing. etc., cf. 7.54 n 1. See also 7.56 n 2 on the transliteration problems with the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.
8.68 (8) All the above examples concern the first and second persons; the third person masculine singular pronoun is illustrated by *duriba* 'he was struck', (with *u* after the first letter and *i* before the last), parsed as follows: *duriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent and containing an optionally concealed pronoun with independent status as the object of an unnamed agent, that pronoun having the implicit meaning of *huwa* 'he'.

8.69 (9) The third person feminine singular pronoun is illustrated by *duribat* 'she was struck', (with *u* after the *d*, *i* after the *r*, and no vowel on the *t*), parsed as follows: *duriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, and the final unvowelled *t* is the feminine particle. The object of the unnamed agent here is an optionally concealed pronoun in *duribat* 'she was struck', that pronoun having the implicit meaning of *hiya* 'she'.

8.70 (10) The pronoun of the third person masculine dual is illustrated by *duribā* 'they two (masc.) were struck', (with *u* after the first letter and *i* before the last), parsed as follows: *duriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed for an unnamed agent, and the suffixed *ā* is the pronoun of the third person masculine dual with independent function as the object of an unnamed agent.
8.68 (1) Paradigm of Stem VIII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *iqtaraba* 'to approach' (cf. Stem I *garuba* 'to be near'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aqtaribu</td>
<td>naqtaribu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taqtaribu</td>
<td>taqtaribānī</td>
<td>taqtaribānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taqtaribīnā</td>
<td>taqtaribānī</td>
<td>taqtaribānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaqtaribu</td>
<td>yaqtaribānī</td>
<td>yaqtaribānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taqtaribu</td>
<td>taqtaribānī</td>
<td>yaqtaribānā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs are regular, e.g. *yamtaddu* etc., likewise hollow verbs (8.73 n 1), e.g. *yajtāzu* etc., and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yantamī* etc. (same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); for weak 1st rad. verbs see 10.68 n 2. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uqtarabu</td>
<td>nuqtarabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuqtarabu</td>
<td>tuqtarabānī</td>
<td>tuqtarabānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuqtaribānā</td>
<td>tuqtarabānī</td>
<td>tuqtarabānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuqtarabu</td>
<td>yuqtarabānī</td>
<td>yuqtarabānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuqtarabu</td>
<td>tuqtarabānī</td>
<td>yuqtarabānā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs show same vowel sequence u-a-a (cf. 8.9 n 2), e.g. doubled verbs *yumtaddu* etc., hollow verbs *yu jtāzu* etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs *yuntamī* etc. (same endings as *yağṣa*, 4.81 n 2 (a)). Past tenses, both active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *igtarabtu*, *uqturibtu* (see 8.66 n 1 (b) on the initial consonant cluster).

Note that the infix t of Stem VIII assimilates with some 1st radicals, either wholly, e.g. *idgakara* (d-k-r) or partially, e.g. *ıštabarَa* (s-b-r), *ızdahara* (z-h-r), see Yushmanov 54, Fleisch, Tr. #15c-k. For assimilation to 1st rad. 'w (e.g. *ittazana* from w-z-n) see 10.68 n 2.

8.69 (1) Paradigm of Stem IX, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *ihmarra* 'to go red' (cf. adj. 'ahmaru 'red'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ahmarra</td>
<td>nahmarra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tahmarra</td>
<td>taḥmarrānī</td>
<td>taḥmarrānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taḥmarrānā</td>
<td>taḥmarrānī</td>
<td>taḥmarrānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaḥmarra</td>
<td>yaḥmarrānī</td>
<td>yaḥmarrānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taḥmarrā</td>
<td>taḥmarrānī</td>
<td>yaḥmarrānī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs have no Stem IX, hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yaswaddu* etc., weak 1st and 3rd rad. verbs are hardly seen. There is no passive of Stem IX. Its past tense is regular, see below.

Stem IX has two peculiarities: (a) the doubled 3rd radical follows the behaviour of the regular doubled verb (q.v. 10.61 n 1), i.e. assimilation before vowels (e.g. past tense *ihmarra*), dissimilation before consonants (e.g. past tense *ihzaratu*); (b) it is derived only from roots denoting colours or physical defects, q.v. 3.411 n 7(d). The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

8.70 (1) Here and in 8.71, 8.72, *mawdi* 'function' (3.1 n 4) occurs, although in similar contexts elsewhere the term *mahall* 'status' has been preferred (e.g. 7.60, 7.71), doubtless because aš-Širbînî is here following al-Azharî, Āj. 55; cf. also 5.84 n 4.
8.71 Note: The author has overlooked\(^1\)(11) the pronoun of the third person feminine dual, e.g. 'duriba tā 'they two (fem.) were struck', parsed as follows: 'duriba 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, the \(t\) is the (29a) feminine particle,\(^2\) and the \(ā\) is the pronoun of the third person dual with independent function as the substitute for the agent.

8.72\(^1\)(12) The pronoun of the third person masculine plural is illustrated by 'duriba 'they (masc.) were struck', (with \(u\) after the first letter and \(i\) before the last), parsed as follows: 'duriba 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, \(ā\) 'they' (masc.) has independent function as the substitute for the agent, and the final \(\dot{ā}\) is a superfluous letter.\(^2\)

8.73 (13) The pronoun of the third person feminine plural is illustrated by 'duriba na 'they (fem.) were struck', (with \(u\) after the \(ā\) and \(i\) before the last letter), parsed as follows: 'duriba 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed for an unnamed agent, and \(na\) 'they' (fem.) is the pronoun of the third person feminine plural with independent status through being the object of an unnamed agent.\(^1\)

8.8 All this applies to the object when it is a pronoun bound to the verb: if it is separated from the verb it still has independent status by virtue of substituting for the agent, e.g. mā 'duriba 'illā 'anā 'none was struck but I', mā 'duriba 'illā 'anta 'none was struck but you' (masc. sing.), mā 'duriba 'illā 'anti 'none was struck but you' (fem. sing.), mā 'duriba 'illā 'antumā 'none was struck but you two',

8.74 The change \(\ddot{ā}→\dot{ā}\) is not necessary in the following instance, since the sufix does not affect the object.\(^1\)
8.71 (1) Here for once the MSS may be more reliable than the printed text of aš-Sirbînî's immediate source (al-Azharî, Âj. 56): both read 'akalla bi 'has omitted' against the printed 'adkala bi 'has introduced into' (?) or 'udkila bi 'has been introduced into' (?), neither of which are very comfortable in this context. From Ibn Âjurrrûm's point of view the example is unnecessary, as the dual agent pronoun å is of common gender and has already been illustrated in 8.70.

(2) Here 'particle', harf, clearly has the sense of 'morpheme', cf. 1.25 n 2.

8.72 (1) Paradigm of Stem X, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb istahsana 'to approve' (cf. Stem I hasuna 'to be good'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'astahsinu</td>
<td>nastaḥsinu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tastahsinu</td>
<td>tastahsinīnī</td>
<td>tastahsinīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsinīnā</td>
<td></td>
<td>tastahsinīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yastahsinu</td>
<td>yastahsinīnī</td>
<td>yastahsinīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsinu</td>
<td>tastahsinīnī</td>
<td>yastahsinīnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yastamirru etc., hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) yastaqīmu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs yastawjību etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs yastahlī etc., same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2 (b). Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mustahsanu</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ustahsanu</td>
<td>nustahsanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tastahsanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>mustahsanīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsanīnā</td>
<td></td>
<td>mustahsanīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yustahsanu</td>
<td>yustahsanīnī</td>
<td>yustahsanīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsanu</td>
<td>tastahsanīnī</td>
<td>yustahsanīnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yustamarru etc., hollow verbs yustaqāmī etc., weak 1st rad. verbs yustawjābu etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs yustahlā etc., same endings as yakāa, 4.81 n 2 (a). Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. istahsantu, ustahsintu etc. The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

(2) See 7.61 n 2.

8.73 (1) Hollow verbs, augmented Stems, past and imperfect tenses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active</th>
<th>passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>sawwada/yusawwidu 'blacken'</td>
<td>suwwida/yusawwadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bayyaḍa/yubayyūḍu 'whiten'</td>
<td>buyyīḍa/yubayyūḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>jāwara/yujāwaru 'adjoin'</td>
<td>jūwīra/yujāwaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sāyara/yusāyīru 'go beside'</td>
<td>sūyīra/yusāyīru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>'ajāba/yujību 'answer'</td>
<td>'ujība/yujību</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>tasawwada/yatasawwadu 'be blackened'</td>
<td>tusawwāda/yutasawwadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tabayyāḍa/yutabayyāḍu 'be whitened'</td>
<td>tutabayyāḍa/yutabayyāḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>tajāwara/yatajāwaru 'adjoin o.a.'</td>
<td>tujāwīra/yutajāwaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tasāyara/yatasāyāru 'go beside o.a.'</td>
<td>tusāyīra/yutasāyāru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>inqāda/yinqādū 'be led'</td>
<td>no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>ijtāza/yajtāzu 'traverse'</td>
<td>utjtāza/yujtāzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>iswadda/yaswaddu 'go black'</td>
<td>no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ibyadda/yabyaddu 'go white'</td>
<td>no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>istamāla/yastamīlu 'incline'</td>
<td>ustumīla/yustamālu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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CHAPTER NINE

9.0 Chapter on the subject and predicate. ¹ He next proceeds to define the subject:

9.01 The subject is the noun (i.e. the 'plain noun' or paraphrase of one), of independent form (either formally or by status), and devoid of (i.e. unaffected by) formal operators. (Alternatively, having the
Conjugation of Stems II, III, V, VI is completely regular, see notes above. Stem IX behaves like a 'doubled verb' (q.v. 10.61 n 1). Stems IV, VII, VIII, X shorten the long internal vowel when the 3rd radical is followed by a consonant (i.e. is unvowelled and syllable-final), contrast 'ajāba: ajabtu, ijtāza: ijtaztu, yangādu: yangadna, yastamīlu: yastamlil and see further 10.23 n 2. In Stems IV, VII, VIII, X radicals w and y are neutralized, thus 'ajāba from j-w-b, 'ahāba from h-y-b etc. Occasional anomalies: Stems IV, VIII and X sometimes show w retaining its consonantal (i.e. syllable-initial) status, e.g. 'ahwaja/ yuhwiju 'to need', ictawara/ yastahwidu 'to overwhelm'.

8.8 (1) This is a repeat of 7.7 with the active verbs passivized and, like that paragraph and most of this chapter, is taken directly from al-Azharî, Āj. 56. On bound pronouns see 11.715, free pronouns 11.716.

8.9 (1) 'Letter' here is an explanatory translation of 'awwal 'first' and 'akhir 'last', standing for harf 'particle' in its narrower meaning of 'consonant' or 'radical' (1.25 n 2 and see also 5.31). With trisyllabic verb stems (viz. Stems V, VI, VIII, X) the u is repeated, e.g. tuhussina) so that a more useful statement of the vowels of the passive would be u-(u)-i. Note that there is only one pattern of passive vowels for all the various active vowel sequences.

(2) The imperfect tense vowel sequence for the passive is uniformly u-a-(a)-(a), with repetition of a if the stem is polysyllabic, e.g. yutahassanu. Dependent and apocopated endings are the same as for the active verb, see paradigms in 4.82 nn 1, 2. Note again that in the passive there is no variation of stem vowel as in the active (10.22 n 2).
status of being unaffected). It either has a predicate, or is qualified by a descriptive element (or something having the status of a descriptive element), which makes it independent and dispenses with the need for a predicate.

9.02 The 'plain noun' occurs, for example, in the statement by one who believes the listener to be lacking faith: *allāhu rabbunā wa-muḥammadun nabiyyunā* 'God is our Lord and Muhammad is our Prophet'. The paraphrase of a plain noun is (29b) the verbal noun produced by the fusion of 'an 'that' and its verb, as in the Qur'anic *wa-'an tasûmû kayrun lakum* 'and that you should fast is best for you', where 'an tasûmû 'that you (masc. plur.) should fast' is the subject, having the same status as a plain noun because it is a paraphrase of *sawmukum* 'your fasting', and *gayrun lakum* 'best for you' is its predicate.

9.03 'Noun' excludes the verb and the particle; 'of independent form' excludes dependent and oblique forms; 'devoid of formal operators' excludes agents and the subject-noun of *kāna* 'to be' and its related verbs, because their operators are formal, namely the verb itself. As examples of the noun unaffected by formal operators we cite the above illustrations of the 'plain noun' and the noun paraphrase. A noun has the status of being unaffected by formal operators when it is preceded by a redundant particle or the like; an example of the former is the Qur'anic *hal min kāliqin gayru llāhi* 'is there any other creator but God?', and *bi-hasbika dirhamun* 'a dirham is enough for you', where *kāliqin* 'creator' and *hasbika* 'your sufficiency' are still subjects even though not unaffected by the redundant *min* 'of' and *bi* 'by', for the existence of a redundant particle is as non-existence.

9.1 The predicate is the independent noun based upon it, i.e. upon the subject.
(2) See 9.11 for the dispute about nominal sentence operators.

(3) This does not mean elided predicates (q.v. 9.93-95), but the type 'a-qā'īmun iz-zaydāni 'standing, the two Zayds?'. Here qā'īmun (masc. sing.) is a subject (it cannot be an inverted predicate because it does not concord with the dual az-zaydāni, but follows instead the rules for verb-agent concord, 7.22 n 1), and its predicate is dispensed with by az-zaydāni, the agent of the verb implicit in qā'īmun 'standing'; cf. Ibn Qā'il on Alf. v 114, Qaṭr 120. On wāṣf 'descriptive element' see 11.0 n 1.

9.02 (1) 'Plain noun' is a literal translation of ism sarīh, a term perhaps coined no earlier than the 10th century (cf. Ibn Jinnī, d. 1002, Kitāb al-luma', ed. H. M. Keshrida, Uppsala 1976, 23), possibly to avoid overworking the term zāhir 'overt, explicit' (7.2 n 1).

(2) 'Paraphrase of a plain noun' renders al-mu'awwal bi-s-sarlh, lit. 'what can be interpreted by a plain noun', which comes very close to the contemporary notion of 'noun phrase', cf. Beeston 34, 56, Fleisch 201.

(3) S. 2 v 184; note the application of the substitution principle, and that the paraphrasing appears to operate in both directions. On the 'fusion' of 'an with its verb see 5.41, 10.23 n 3.

9.03 (1) As set out in 7.0, agents, though independent in form, are operated upon by their verbs (but cf. 9.11).

(2) With kāna and its related verbs (see 10.1) the original subject of an equational sentence assumes the function of an agent.

(3) Cf. 7.11 for agents with redundant particles. By 'and the like' aš-Śirbīnī means such particles as rubba 'many a...' (1.706), e.g. rubba rajulin sālihin laqītu 'many a good man have I met' (see 9.75 for verb phrase as predicate), and a rare case of lā'alla 'perhaps' (cf. 26.1 n 5) followed by an oblique noun, viz. la'alla 'abī l-mīḡwārī minka qašībun 'perhaps Abū Miḡwār is a relative of yours' (al-Azharī, Tasr. I, 156).

(4) S. 35 v 3. This min, like that in 7.11, retains its primitive meaning of 'part' (1.701 n 1), and min kālīgin is equivalent to 'some member of the class "creator"'. Though treated here as redundant, this min is undoubtedly a variety of the 'partitive min', q.v. 5.82 n 3.

(5) Since bi often denotes price (e.g. 19.33) we might translate here 'the worth of your account is a dirham', thus retaining the original subject-predicate sequence of the Arabic (but cf. 9.73 n 1).

9.1 (1) All three terms for predicate, viz. kābar (lit. 'information'), mabnī 'alayh (lit. 'based on it'), cognate with bīnā', 1.41 n 4) and musnad 'ilayh (lit. 'propped up on it', i.e. on the subject) are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary (v. Troupeau, Lex.-Index, roots b-b-r, b-n-y, s-n-d). But the s-n-d set is very rare in the Kitāb and may represent either a later gloss or a tradition that failed to penetrate (contrast Versteegh 73). See also next note.
9.11 Note: It is well known that the subject and predicate both have independent form—there is no dispute about that—but there is disagreement about what makes them independent. The soundest view is that the subject is independent by virtue of beginning the sentence (i.e. has been made free of operators so as to be the basis of a predicate), and that the predicate is made independent by the subject. It is also claimed that each makes the other independent, and another view is that the equational sentence structure itself makes both independent.

9.12 Subject and predicate may both be masculine singular, e.g. *zaydun qā'īmun* 'Zayd is standing', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'īmun* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, both having *u* as their independence marker. Both may also be feminine singular, as in *hindun qā'īmatun* 'Hind is standing'. Both may be masculine dual, as in *az-zaydānī qā'īmānī* 'the two Zayds are standing', where *az-zaydānī* 'the two Zayds' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'īmānī* 'both standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, both with َā as their independence marker instead of *u*. Both may also be sound masculine plural, as in *az-zaydūna (30a) qā'īmūna* 'the Zayds are standing', where *az-zaydūna* 'the Zayds' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'īmūna* 'standing' (masc. plur.) is its predicate made independent by the subject, both having َū as their independence marker instead of *u*. Both may also be sound feminine plural, as in *al-hindātu qā'īmatūn* 'the Hinds are standing', or broken masculine plural, as in *az-zuyūdū qiyāmun* 'the Zayds are standing' or broken feminine plural, as in *az-hunūdu qiyāmun* 'the Hinds are standing'.
9.11 (1) Leaving aside the group musnad/musnad 'ilayh/'isnād, which plays almost no role in the earliest grammar that we have (Sībawayhi), it is clear that the equational sentence (q.v. 9.12 n 3) has from the first been analysed on two levels: (a) with regard to its structure it consists of an initial element (mubtada', 9.01 n 1) on which the second element is syntactically based (mabnī ḍalayh, 9.1 n 1), and (b) with regard to its purpose the same initial element supplies the topic of the information (ḡabar, 9.1 n 1) about it (from which the subject is sometimes termed muḫbar ḍanhu 'informed about', syn. muḥaddat ḍanhu, lit. 'spoken about'). At no time, however, is the equational sentence treated by Sībawayhi as a proposition: not until al-Mubarrad (Muqtadāb III, 89) does falsifiability appear as a criterion of a sentence (cf. Versteegh 72; E.I. (2), art. 'Khabar', and see also 12.41).

(2) Insāf, prob. 5, reveals that the 'soundest view' is that of the ' Başrans' (9.4 n 3), the second that of the 'Kūfans' and the third that of a minority of Başrans.

9.12 (1) It might help to know, since aš-Širbīnī does not mention it, that in number and gender the predicative adjective follows the same concordance rules as the attributive adjective (q.v. 11.1); for case and definition see next note.

(2) The equational sentence has no copula (to add time reference a different structure is used, q.v. 10.11); on the other hand the mere juxtaposition of two elements need not constitute a subject-predicate utterance (cf. 9.81). What is not clearly stated by aš-Širbīnī (no doubt because it was obvious to him and implicit in the examples anyway) is that the subject must always be defined, either by nature (pronoun, proper name) by form (def. article, annexation) or by context (cf. 9.81 n 3), and that, in general, predicates are undefined (cf. 10.21 n 2). Moreover, apart from the exceptions in 9.03 and ch. 10, both subject and predicate have independent form. The rules are necessarily strict: no predicate can succeed if the subject is too vague for the listener to identify (cf. 1.13); hence if there is (to our way of thinking) an undefined subject as the topic of a defined predicate, the latter will be brought forward into the subject position, e.g. fi d-dārī rajulun 'in the house is a man' (but see 9.73 n 1 for Beeston's view that there is no inversion here). It was recognized very early (e.g. by al-Kalīl, q.v. 0.1 n 1, quoted in Kitāb I, 394) that the 'act of beginning', ibtida’, arouses in the listener the expectation of a predicate: in other words ibtida’ is not only the name of a linguistic event but also of a highly ritualized social gesture (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 149).

(3) For these allomorphs see 3.43 and 3.4 respectively.

(4) Note that (a) sound and broken plural occur indifferently in the predicates here, and (b) the broken plural forms are of common gender. Neither of these phenomena is fully understood (dialect differences may be part of the answer: try E. Kahle, Studien zur Syntax des Adjektivs im vorklassischen Arabischen, (Diss.) Erlangen 1975).
9.2 The author now divides the subject into two kinds. The subject as such is of two kinds, one overt and one pronominalized.¹

9.21 The overt kind is as already illustrated, by which he means that the subject (namely the first element)² in the above examples is overt and not pronominalized.

9.22 Having dealt with the overt subject he now turns to the pronominalized subject:³ and the pronominalized has twelve forms:- (i.e. 'free pronouns'), viz. 'anā 'I', for the speaker alone,⁴ nahuw 'we', for the speaker with someone else or in self-magnification, 'anta 'you', (with a after the t)⁵ for the male person addressed, 'anti 'you', (with i after the t) for the female person addressed, 'antumā 'you', for the dual absolutely, 'antum 'you', for plural males addressed, 'antumāna 'you', for plural females addressed, huwa 'he', for the absent male, hiya 'she', for the absent female, humā 'they', for the dual of absent persons absolutely, hum 'they', for plural absent males, and hunna 'they', for plural absent females.⁶

9.23 These pronouns are called the 'free independent pronouns', and the predominant usage is that whenever they occur as subjects they have predicates of corresponding meaning. An unfamiliar usage is the Qur'anic hum 'ahsanu 'aṭṭāṣan 'they are better as to property'.¹

9.24 The predominant usage is seen in, for example, 'anā qā'imun 'I am standing', where 'anā 'I' is a free pronoun with independent status by being the subject and qā'imun 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, with u as its independence marker;² likewise nahuw qā'imūna 'we are standing', where nahuw 'we' is a pronominalized subject with independent status by being the subject and qā'imūna 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, with ū as its independence marker instead (30b) of u; and the like. For example, 'anta qā'imun 'you (masc. sing.) are standing', 'anti qā'imutan 'you (fem. sing.) are standing', 'antumā qā'imāni 'you two (masc.) are
9.2 (1) Compare the categories of agent in 7.2.

9.21 (1) The position of the bracket in the translation is negotiable: it could well read '(i.e. the first element in the above examples)'.

9.22 (1) Cf. the free agent pronouns in 7.7, and also 9.83.

(2) Here (and in 5.3, 7.4, 11.71 only) the names of the persons are left in literal translation. The Arabic terms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>al-mutakallim</td>
<td>wa'dah</td>
<td>al-mutakallim wa-macah gayruh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>al-mughatab</td>
<td>al-mughatabun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>al-mughataba</td>
<td>al-mughatabatan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>al-ga'ib</td>
<td>al-ga'iban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>al-ga'iba</td>
<td>al-ga'ibatan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions.

(4) On pronouns in general see 11.71, and in particular: bound indep. pronoun, damir muntasil marfaC, 7.5; bound dep. pronoun, damir muntasil manshib, 16.3; bound oblique pronoun, damir muntasil majrur, 4.72 n 2; free indep. pronoun, damir munfasil marfaC, 7.7, 9.22; free dep. pronoun, damir munfasil manshib, 16.5; concealed pronoun, damir mustatir, 7.58 n 1, 11.712; visible pronoun, damir barih, 11.715.

9.23 (1) S. 19 v 74. The anomaly here is the occurrence of the sing. adjective 'ahsanu 'better' as the predicate of the plur. hum 'they'. This, however, is the normal syntax with the 'elative' adjective (see 20.4 and notes), and one wonders whether the phrase has attracted attention more for rhetorical than grammatical reasons. It may be that the specifying element 'atatan 'as to property' is at the root of the problem, since according to the rules of this structure (20.41) it implies the paraphrase yahsunu 'atattum 'their property is good', which predicates a human quality (goodness, i.e. moral) of an inanimate object. The confusion arises because, in this structure, the elative adjective is formally a predicate of its subject (here hum) but at the same time is semantically a predicate of its specifying element (viz. 'atatan, cf. huwa 'ajmalu wa'jhan 'he is more handsome as to face'). The objection that hasan 'good' is so vague that it can freely be applied to property (and 'at means specifically household furniture) is plausible, but would have to be supported by a better explanation of why this Qur'anic phrase sounds so awkward!

9.24 (1) 'Predominant usage' translates al-galib, lit. 'that which predominates, prevailing', on which see 3.65 n 12. Inversion is rare with pronouns (cf. Wright II, 257).

(2) Here is an opportunity to contrast the structures of the 'nominal sentence' (jumla ismiyya) and the 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiCliyya cf. 7.1 n 1, 7.12 n 1). These categories are entirely formal: all sentences beginning with nouns are nominal sentences (including those prefixed with 'inna and similar particles, q.v. 10.4, and those whose first element is a prepositional phrase, q.v. 9.73 n 1), while verbal
standing', 'antum qā'imatāni 'you two (fem.) are standing', 'antum qā'iminā 'you (masc. plur.) are standing', 'antunna qā'imātun 'you (fem. plur.) are standing', huwa qā'imun 'he is standing', hiya qā'imatun 'she is standing', humā qā'imān 'they two (masc.) are standing', humā qā'imātāni 'they two (fem.) are standing', hum qā'imūna 'they (masc.) are standing', and hunna qā'imātun 'they (fem.) are standing'. In all these examples the subject is an invariable pronoun in which there is no inflection.¹

9.3 Note: The total number of visible pronouns is sixty.¹ This is because the visible pronoun must be either bound or free, and the bound must be either independent, dependent or oblique, while the free must be either independent or oblique only, which makes five kinds (three bound and two free). Now each of these five has twelve forms, one for the first person singular, one for the first person plural, five for the second person (viz. masc. sing., fem. sing., dual, masc. plur. and fem. plur.), and five for the third person likewise. When you multiply five by twelve the product is sixty, and we shall not prolong the discussion with examples.²

9.4¹ The select opinion on 'anā 'I' is that only 'ana is the pronoun,² the lengthening sign being redundant and serving only to make the final a clear in pronunciation, but the Kūfan³ view is that the whole word with all three letters is the pronoun, and this is the view chosen by Ibn Mālik.⁴

9.41 For 'anta 'you¹(masc. sing.) and its derivatives the opinion of the Baṣrans is that 'an itself is the pronoun and that its suffixes are letters of apostrophe. Al-Farrā' held the view that the whole of 'anta was the pronoun, while Ibn Kaysān maintained that ta was the pronoun, being the same as the ta of fa'alta 'you did', enlarged by 'an.²

9.42 In huwa 'he' and hiya 'she' the whole word is the pronoun, say the Baṣrans, but the Kūfan view is that only hu and hi²are the pronoun, and
sentences are simply those whose first element is a verb (including verbs subordinated by particles, q.v. 5.34, and verb phrases in the function of predicates of nominal sentences, q.v. 9.75). Elision of subject or predicate is possible (9.9), but not of verb or agent: on semantic grounds because no act can exist without an actor, and on structural grounds because agent pronouns are bound morphemes (7.5).

(3) All pronouns are invariable, but recognizable as nouns by their function (e.g. as agents, 7.5, 7.7, in annexation, 11.718 n 2). For invariability, binā', see 1.41 n 4.

9.3 (1) The urge to calculate total combinations of elements is a relatively late phenomenon in grammar: Ibn Bābaṣāq (d. 1077) gives the figure of sixty pronouns in his Muqaddima (Brit. Mus. Add. 918, fol. 16r), and his contemporary al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) reduced the whole of syntax to exactly one hundred operators! The motive is clear: not only is enumeration a useful aide-mémoire, it also establishes the limits of the material to be taught (i.e. what is 'Arabic' and what is not). In origin it may be connected with the propositional calculus in the scholastic processing of the Organon which the Arabs inherited from Greek, cf. F.W.Zimmermann in Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Essays presented to R.Walzer, ed. S.M.Stern etc., Oxford 1972, 517f. For further and more extreme examples in grammar cf. as-Suyūtī, Ašbāḥ II, 120, III, 96. In an anonymous parsing exercise of about the same period as aṣ-Ṣirbīnī a single verse of poetry is calculated to have 1,800,000 possible parsings! (Carter, Islamic Quarterly 18, 11).

(2) Of these, twenty-four are in 7.4, twelve in 16.3 and another twelve in 16.5; the remaining twelve (oblique pronouns) are mentioned only in passing, see 4.72 n 2. Note that, for simplification, the 'visible' pronouns include those which are, strictly, 'concealed' (v. 7.58 n 1).

9.4 (1) From 9.3 to 9.44 are repeated, with slight variations, in 11.718 and 11.719, and are evidently adapted from al-Azhari, Taṣr. I, 103-4. Notes here and in 11.718-9 are complementary.

(2) See 11.719 n 2 on the segmentation of 'anā.

(3) After the foundation of Baghdad (762), grammar was artificially polarized into two opposing 'schools', named 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfan' after the two cities of Baṣra and Kūfa, whose cultural supremacy was eclipsed by the new capital of the empire. The two schools may be interpreted as representing contrary attitudes to language: 'Baṣrans' are rigidly normative and orthodox, 'Kūfans' are descriptive and heterodox (cf. G. Weil, Introduction to Inṣāf, Carter, Arabica 20, esp. 299-304).

(4) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

9.41 (1) See 11.719 n 4 on the segmentation of 'anta etc.

(2) On the grammarians mentioned in this paragraph see 9.4 n 3 for 'Baṣrans', 1.21 n 2 for al-Farrā', 12.6 n 3 for Ibn Kaysān.

9.42 (1) The text has only al-hā' 'the h', the vowels having been taken for granted (cf. 4.81 n 1); in their concern to isolate h as a 3rd
that wa and ya are only there to fill out the sound.

9.43 As for humā 'they two' and hum 'they' (masc.), only the hu is the pronoun, though it is related that al-Fārisī regarded the whole word as the pronoun.

9.44 As for hunna 'they' (fem.), only the hu is the pronoun, the first n being like the m of hum 'they' (masc.) and the second n like the u of humā 'they' (masc.).

9.5 Having finished with (31a) the division of the subject into overt and pronominalized, the author now turns to the division of the predicate into simple and complex. The predicate as such is of two kinds, one simple (by 'simple' here is meant that which is not a sentence or its equivalent, even if the predicate is dual or plural, because in this chapter it is still termed 'simple'), and one not simple.

9.6 The simple predicate is illustrated by, for example, zaydun qā'imun 'Zayd is standing', where zaydun 'Zayd' is a subject made independent by being the subject and qā'imun 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, and is a simple predicate. Similarly az-zaydānī qā'imānī 'the two Zayds are standing', where az-zaydānī 'the two Zayds' is a subject and qā'imānī 'standing' is its predicate; also az-zaydūnā qā'imūnā 'the Zayds are standing'. Here az-zaydūnā 'the Zayds' is a subject and qā'imūnā 'standing' is its predicate. In all these examples the predicate is simple, because it is not a sentence or sentence equivalent, but is a single expression. Having finished with the simple predicate, the author now turns to the complex predicate:
person marker the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) fortuitously agree with Trager and Rice (Language 30, 227), who set up a single morphophoneme for wa and ya (cf. also Insāf prob. 96). Contrast Moscati #13.9.

9.43 (1) Cf. the segmentation (or rather the lack of it) in the 2nd person dual agent suffix tumā in 7.55. For Trager and Rice (op. cit. 226) the question of why a dual morpheme is suffixed to a plural does not arise.

(2) See 10.71 on Abū ʿAlī al-FārisI; the immediate source for the attribution is al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 103, but I have not been able to trace the idea in the available works of al-FārisI.

9.44 (1) The similarity between the series hum, hunna, humā (which are also object suffixes, v. 16.310-312) and the object suffixes kum, kunna and kumā (16.305-307) justifies the synchronic analysis of Trager and Rice (Language 30, 225-6), but see 7.57 n 1 on the fem. plur. *um-na. On the form humū see 10.66 n 2: the reasoning here is that, just as humū ends in two consonants (see 2.43 n 2 on ū), so does hunna, a good example of the way theory can lose touch with reality (cf. Insāf p 23).

9.5 (1) As befits the work, these are purely formal categories. Kitāb I, 278 has a different classification: predicates are either identical with their subjects (ṣay' huwa huwa 'something which it is itself') or are space/time qualifiers (ẓarf, 'container' of the subject, v. ch. 18). Beeston's table of predicate types (69) does not materially depart from this, as the extra items (when not already subdivisions of the original categories, e.g. into participial and non-participial predicates) are the result of including verbal sentence predicates (7.12) and inversions (9.73 n 1). Cf. also D. Cohen, 'Les formes du prédicat en arabe et la théorie de la phrase chez les anciens grammariens', in Mélanges Marcel Cohen, The Hague/Paris 1970, 224.

(2) The comment is necessary because mufrad, here 'simple' is also used for 'singular' and 'single', see 23.431 n 1. Similarly murakkab, here 'complex', also serves for 'compound' and 'composite', see 1.12 n 1.

9.6 (1) On expansions of simple predicates see n 2, and cf. 9.02-03. Though verbs are orthographically single words they cannot be included here among the one-term predicates, and are dealt with under complex predicates (esp. 9.82). On the other hand, participles and adjectives (which in the Arab view also contain agent pronouns, 11.45) make simple predicates (cf. Insāf prob. 7 for an extreme case).

(2) Certain expansions of simple predicates (which also function as agents, cf. 7.02) are ignored or taken for granted by aš-Širbīnī, viz. (a) nouns qualified by adjectives, e.g. zaydun ṣadīqun muḥliṣun 'Zayd is a loyal friend', (b) annexation units, e.g. allāhu rabbunā 'God is our Lord' (9.02, and see 9.74 n 2 on the difference between this unit and the structurally identical prepositional phrase), (c) sentences with 'an (5.41) and 'anna (10.42) 'that', e.g. al-'arjaḥu 'an yajī'a or 'annahu yajī'u 'the most likely thing is that he is coming', (d) relative sentences, e.g. huwa llaḏī yajī'u 'he is the one who is coming'.
The non-simple is of four kinds: two in the form of sentences and two of sentence equivalents.¹

The two in the form of sentence equivalents are (1) the operator of obliqueness and its oblique element, and (2) the space/time qualifier, both of which must be structurally complete. By 'structurally complete' is meant that which can be understood by simply mentioning it along with what it is semantically connected with (as will be realized from the examples shortly to be given by the author), unlike the structurally defective, e.g. *allaḏī makānān 'who in a place' or *allaḏī bika 'who by you', for their meaning cannot be understood without mentioning some specific and reasonable semantically connected element, e.g. by saying jā'a allaḏī sakana makānān 'there came the one who lived in a certain place' or jā'a allaḏī marra bika 'there came the one who passed by you'.³

The two in the form of sentences are (1) the verb and its agent, (with overt or pronominalized agent), and (2) the subject and its predicate, (simple or otherwise).¹

The operator of obliqueness and its oblique element as a predicate is illustrated by, for example, zaydun fī d-dārī 'Zayd is in the house', where zaydun 'Zayd' is a subject and fī d-dārī 'in the house' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element forming the predicate of zaydun.¹

An example of the space/time qualifier is zaydun cindaka 'Zayd is with you', where zaydun 'Zayd' is a subject and cindaka 'with you' is a space/time qualifier and predicate of zaydun. The truth is that the predicate is really neither the operator of obliqueness and oblique element nor the space/time qualifier, but some element semantically connected with them: they thus resemble sentence predicates (3lb) in that they are connected with something compulsorily elided, either an
9.7 (1) These are not expansions of single terms (contrast 9.6 n 2). 'Sentence equivalent' (v. 9.74) renders šibh al-jumla 'quasi-sentence'.

9.71 (1) Both categories are, to our way of thinking, prepositional phrases, but the Arabs distinguish them on the grounds that operators of obliqueness are one-function particles (1.7, 26.1), while space/time qualifiers are full nouns and may have other functions (v. 18.4 n 2).

(2) The comment here seems to be aš-Širbînî's own paraphrase of al-Azharî, Taṣr. I, 166. 'Structurally complete' translates tāmm, lit. 'complete, perfect', antonym nāqis, lit. 'lacking, defective', hence 'structurally defective' (but see 10.11 n 3); on 'semantically connected', muta'calliq, see 5.82 n 6 and cf. 9.74. 'Reasonable' is jā'iz, lit. 'permissible', a term which in the latter sense was borrowed from law into grammar, but which also came to be used by logicians for 'reasonable', i.e. permitted by the laws of thought, as here. Cf. 9.8 n 2.

(3) Somewhat casually aš-Širbînî invokes here two quite different types of structurally defective elements: (a) the prepositional phrase, which is made meaningful by citing the verb to which it is semantically connected, and (b) the relative (mawsûl, see 11.752 n 1), which is incomplete without an attached clause, supplied in the present example by the verb phrases sakana '(he) lived' and marra '(he) passed'. In neither case is the prepositional phrase or space/time qualifier essential for the structural completeness of the utterance (nor is the function of relative clauses limited to that of agent as here).

9.72 (1) See further 9.75-76. It is possible for a sentence predicate to contain a maximum of one embedded sentence, e.g. hâdhihi l-qarâratu zâhiruhâ fîhi rahumatun 'these decisions superficially contain mercy', lit. 'these decisions, their exterior, in it is mercy', where the sentence 'in it is mercy' is a predicate of 'their exterior' and the whole is a predicate of 'these decisions' (example from Beeston, Language 50, 476, where further discussion). Cf. also 9.76 n 1.

9.73 (1) Such sentences must be inverted if the subject is undefined, e.g. fî d-dâri rajulun 'in the house is a man'. Beeston 68, however, does not see this as inversion, but as predicating 'a man' of 'in the house' (to paraphrase his own words, 'stating what sort of a thing the house contains'). This is psychologically plausible, but leaves to be explained such genuine inversions as 'inna fî d-dâri rajulan 'verily in the house is a man', where rajulan still has dependent form as the subject operated on by 'inna (10.41). In Inṣâf prob. 6, the question is discussed from an entirely different point of view: the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that fî d-dâri rajulun is pure inversion with rajulun 'a man' still the subject, while the 'Kûfans' claim that rajulun is the agent of the verb implied by the prepositional phrase (cf. 9.74 n 2).

9.74 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph, which inevitably evokes notions of deep structure and compulsory deletion, see 2.101 n 2 for taqdîr, lit. 'estimating' (i.e. recovering implicit elements), 3.73 n 2 for haqîf 'elision', 9.8 n 2 for wujûb 'compulsion' and 5.82 n 6 for muta'calliq 'semantically connected'. Cf. also 19.25 n 1.
implicit \( kā'\)īnu, 'being' or mustaqirrun, 'situated', or \( kāna\) 'was' or istaqrarra 'was situated' respectively. Both predicates reduce to simple predicates if an implicit \( kā'\)īnu, 'being' or mustaqirrun, 'situated' are assumed, or to sentence predicates if an implicit \( kāna\) 'was' or istaqrarra 'was situated' are assumed. In the latter case \( kāna\) and istaqrarra are verbs whose agent is a concealed pronoun referring back to the subject, and both are verbal sentence predicates of the subject.

9.75 When the author says 'the verb and its agent', as in zaydun qāma 'abūhu 'Zayd's father stood', this is to show that the predicate is a verbal sentence: zaydun 'Zayd' is a subject and the sentence qāma 'abūhu 'his father stood' (which is made up of a verb, its agent and the element to which the agent is annexed) has independent status as the predicate of zaydun 'Zayd', with the hu 'his' of 'abūhu 'his father' acting as the link between the two.

9.76 The 'subject and its predicate' are illustrated by zaydun jāriyatuhu dāhibatun 'Zayd's servant-girl is going'. This is to show that the predicate is a nominal sentence, in which zaydun 'Zayd' is the primary subject and jāriyatuhu 'his servant-girl' is the secondary subject, with dāhibatun 'going' as its own predicate: the sentence comprising the secondary subject and its predicate has independent status as the predicate of the primary subject, with the hu 'his' of jāriyatuhu 'his servant-girl' acting as the link between the primary subject and its predicate.

9.8 Supplementary Note: The predicate has three states, one of which is to follow the subject (which is the norm), e.g. zaydun qā'īmun 'Zayd is
NOTES

(2) The participial paraphrase results in a simple predicate because kā'īnun 'being' and mustagirrun 'being situated', though too vague to fulfil the criterion of informativeness (1.13) are single terms structurally sufficient to constitute a formal predicate without the prepositional phrase, cf. zaydun jālisun (Cindaka) 'Zayd is sitting (with you)'. From this we may deduce that only noun and verb phrases may function as predicates, and that prepositional phrases are always dependent on a verb or its equivalent (cf. 9.71). Prepositional phrases thus differ from annexation units in that the former are not expansions of (or replaceable by) single nouns (i.e. are exocentric), while annexation units are endocentric. For simplicity's sake aš-Širbînî (following al-Azhari, Taṣr. I, 166) subsumes the participial paraphrase (= simple predicate) under verbal sentence predicates, to which it strictly does not belong (cf. 9.6 n 1).

(3) The verbal paraphrase actually results in a sentence predicate of the type set out in 9.75, q.v. for further discussion. On concealed pronoun agents see 7.58 n 1; on 'ā'id 'referring' see 11.752 n 1.

9.75 (1) The translation somewhat obscures the structure: it might be rendered literally 'Zayd: stood his father'. This is the so-called jumla gāt wajhayn, lit. 'sentence with two faces', so named because the major (grammatical) subject is different from the minor (logical) subject contained in the predicate sentence. D. Cohen, op. cit. 9.5 n 1, esp. 225f, argues that these are not true nominal sentences, since the noun, far from 'dominating' the sentence as it should, is merely the anticipatory exponent of a pronoun in the predicate. Cf. 9.76 n 1.

(2) 'Link' here is a fairly literal translation of rābit (cf. 5.86 n 3 on this and its synonym rābīta). It seems to have replaced the older term sabab 'tie, link' (also 'cause', 24.22 n 1), which once had a wide application (cf. Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 488), but was eventually restricted to an adjectival construction which happens to be formally identical with these complex predicate structures (see 11.5).

9.76 (1) This and the type in 9.75 are given only passing mention by most Western authorities (Beeston 70, Fleisch 169, Wright II, 256; only Reckendorf, Synt. Verb. 782 is at all expansive). Bravmann, op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 1, explains them thus: the 'Isolated Natural Subject' (Reckendorf's term) was originally the topic of a question, with the ensuing sentence forming the answer ('Zayd? His servant-girl is going'). The once independent sentence has become subordinate, and is now a relative clause functioning as a predicate ('Zayd is the one whose servant-girl is going'). Though identical in structure with relative clauses and the adjectival pattern in 11.5, the Arabs do not use ġā'id for the referential pronoun (11.752) but the imported term rābit (9.75 n 2, and cf. Lewcowicz, Language 47, esp. 818). Certainly it is no help to speak of 'phrases brisées' (Fleisch) or 'ein Riss im Satz' (Reckendorf).

9.8 (1) 'Norm' renders 'āsl, q.v. 3.0 n 2. The other two 'states' (hālāt, 11.2 n 1) are inversion (not dealt with by aš-Širbînî, but cf. 9.73 n 1, 19.73 n 1) and elision, q.v. 9.9.
When it is feared that the predicate might become confused with the subject because both are equally defined or undefined and there is no contextual indication to distinguish one from the other, e.g. 

\[ \text{zyadun 'a} \overline{\text{k}} \text{kūka 'Zayd is your brother'}} \]

or 

\[ \text{'a} \text{fdalu minka 'afdalu minnī 'someone more virtuous than you is someone more virtuous than me'}} \]

But if there is a contextual indication, either formal or abstract, it is put into effect accordingly. An example of the former is 

\[ \text{rajulun sālihun bādirun 'a good man is present'}} \]

where the formal contextual indication determines that the undefined noun qualified by an adjective must be the subject whether it precedes or follows the predicate. An example of the latter is 

\[ \text{'a} \overline{\text{b}} \text{ū yūsufa 'a} \text{bū hanīfa 'Abū Yūsuf is Abū Ḥanīfa'}} \]

where the abstract contextual indication, namely a true comparison, determines that Abū Yūsuf is the subject (because he is the thing compared) and that Abū Ḥanīfa is the predicate (because he is the term of the comparison), irrespective of which precedes or follows.

When it is feared that the subject might become confused with the agent, e.g. 

\[ \text{zyadun qāma 'it was Zayd who stood'}} \]

for it this were inverted to 

\[ \text{qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood'}} \]

the subject would become confused with the agent.

When the predicate is accompanied by a synonym of 'illā 'except', as in the Qur'anic 

\[ \text{innamā 'anta naqīrun 'you are only a warner'}} \]

where inversion is not allowed because the predicate is restricted by a synonym of 'illā 'except', the implicit meaning being 

\[ \text{mā 'anta 'illā naqīrun 'you are not but a warner'}} \]

In the same way, when the predicate is formally accompanied by 'illā 'except', as in the Qur'anic
There are two poles of constraint in Arabic grammar: (a) wājib 'compulsory', as here, opposed to jā'iz 'permissible' (cf. 9.9 n 1), also 'optional', and (b) idtirār lit. 'being forced', i.e. 'poetic licence' (v. 11.715 n 2), opposed to īghtiyār lit. 'free choice', hence 'elective' (1.51), 'unconstrained' (7.5). All are legal borrowings.

9.81 (1) 'Contextual indication' is qarīna, q.v. 11.7 n 1; note the principle of collocation invoked here.

Where both subject and predicate are defined they may be separated by an appropriate pronoun, e.g. zaydun huwa l-qā'imu 'Zayd is the one standing'; this pronoun has always been known as ḍamīr al-faṣl 'the pronoun of separation' (e.g. Kitāb I, 394), though an analysis in terms of the sentence predicate type in 9.76 would also be possible.

For 'formal' lafẓī and 'abstract' maṣnawī see 2.1 n 2. The formal indication here is the adjective sâlihun, which makes rajulun defined enough to function as subject (cf. 9.12 n 2). The segmentation rajulun/sâlihun ḍaḍirun fails the test of 1.13.

We have to accept the opinion of aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 173) on this matter, viz. that the statement 'Abū Yūsuf is Abū Ḥanīfa' cannot be a simple hyperbole (mubālaḡa) but must be understood as a genuine comparison (taṣbīḥ haqīqī) in spite of the absence of the comparative particle ka 'like' (1.708). 'Thing compared' is muṣabbah (here Abū Yūsuf), 'term of the comparison' is muṣabbah dhīh, lit. 'thing with which compared' (Abū Ḥanīfa). On Abū Ḥanīfa, a prominent early jurist (d. 767) see E.I. (2), art. 'Abū Ḥanīfa', G.A.S. I, 409, and on his pupil Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) see E.I. (2), art. 'Abū Yūsuf', G.A.S. I, 419.

9.82 (1) See 9.24 n 2 on the difference between 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentences. In qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood' only an act is predicated of Zayd, while in the alternative construction zaydun qāma 'it was Zayd who stood' a sentence is predicated of Zayd. This latter may be analysed either as a complex predicate (as in 9.75) or as a kind of appositional construction, 'Zayd, he stood' (cf. 7.12, 9.75 end).

9.83 (1) See 7.7, 8.8 for agents with 'illā and 'innamā.

The word 'innamā, generally translated as 'only', is probably a compound of 'inna 'verily' (10.41) and the vague pronoun mā 'what' (Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 575, Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. 129). The effect of the mā suffix is to cancel the operation of 'inna (cf. 5.89 n 2 on the so-called 'redundant mā'), contrast 'inna zaydan gā'imun 'verily Zayd is standing' and 'innamā zaydun gā'imun 'Zayd is only standing' (scil. *verily what Zayd is, is standing'). Unlike the English 'only', 'innamā occurs mostly at the beginning of clauses (cf. Cantarino III, 202), and has the peculiarity that it restricts the next but one element as a rule (contrasting pairs are hard to find: one would like to do better than Reckendorf's 'innamā ja'ā 'anā 'only I came' and 'innamā ji'tu 'anā 'I only came'). Try further the study of 'innamā in the Qur'ān by Miguel, G.L.E.C.S. 9, 3.
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

9.9 Elision of what is already known of subject or predicate is permitted optionally and is sometimes compulsory:

9.91 Optional elision of a subject is illustrated by the Qur'anic man ḍamīla ṣāḥilān fa-li-nafsihi wa-man 'asā'a fa-Calayhā 'whoever does a good deed it is for his own credit, and whoever does evil it is against himself', where the implicit meaning is fa-ḍamāluh li-nafsihi 'his deed is for himself' and ḍaṣ'atuhu Calayhā 'his evil-doing is against himself'.

9.92 Compulsory elision of the subject is illustrated by the saying ff gimmatī la-'af'Cālanna 'on my oath I will surely do it!', for ff gimmatī 'on my oath' is the predicate of a subject which has been compulsorily elided because the response to the oath has already filled its position, i.e. ff gimmatī mītāqun (or 'ahdun) 'in my oath is a covenant' (or 'bond').

9.93 Optional elision of the predicate is illustrated by the Qur'anic ʿakluhā dāʾimun wa-zilluhā 'its food is everlasting and its shade', where zilluhā 'its shade' is the subject of a predicate which has been optionally elided because it is sufficiently indicated by what precedes it, namely dāʾimun 'everlasting'.

9.94 Compulsory elision of the predicate is illustrated by the saying kullu šānicīn wa-mā šanaqa 'every doer and his deed', where kullu 'every' is a subject, šānicīn 'doer' is what it is annexed to, mā šanaqa 'what he has done' is coordinated with the subject by wa 'and', and the predicate (viz. *muqtarināni 'are both linked') has been compulsorily elided. Elision is compulsory here because the wa 'and' is actually meant as maqa 'with' (although if maqa itself had been used the utterance would then have been structurally complete). If the wa does not denote accompaniment, elision is no longer compulsory, e.g. kullu mṛi'in wa-l-mawtu yaltaqiyāni 'every man and death shall both meet'.

mā muḥammadun 'illā rasūlun 'Muhammad is not but a messenger', inversion is not allowed, as already stated.
NOTES

(3) S. 3 v 144; cf. 21.35 on the syntax of exception here.

9.9 (1) See 3.73 n 2 on ḥaḍf 'elision', which it is tempting to render 'deletion' here. 'Optional' (jawāzan, cognate with jā'iz, q.v. 9.71 n 2) elision is always determined by the listener's ability to recover the missing forms (many examples in Kitāb, e.g. I, 129, 171); see 9.93 n 1 on compulsory elision.

9.91 (1) S. 41 v 46; nafs 'soul, self' is an unmarked fem. (cf. 11.43 n 3, 20.13 n 2), hence the fem. pronoun in ʿalayhā 'against himself'. One Qur'anic ellipse which has never been satisfactorily explained is S. 12 v 18, sabrun jamīlun 'fine patience': the commentators treat it either as the predicate of an elided subject, viz. 'amrī sabrun jamīlun 'my duty is fine patience' or as the subject (sufficiently defined by the adjective, cf. 9.81) of an elided predicate, viz. sabrun jamīlun 'ajmalu 'fine patience is the finest thing' (cf. Wright II, 263).

9.92 (1) There may be some special pleading here: in order to show that the subject has been replaced by the verb phrase (see 13.6 n 3 on the emphatic la prefix and anna suffix) an undefined subject has to be pos­ited to justify the inversion (9.73 n 1). What is even more curious is that this quasi-proverbial utterance is not analysed as a preposed space/time qualifier with verb, as the translation cannot avoid imply­ing, or as a syntactically void oath (cf. 5.431 n 3).

9.93 (1) S. 13 v 35, referring to Paradise. Elision, as will have be­come clear, is not arbitrary: the grounds for optional (jawāzan) elis­ion have already been stated (9.9 n 1), but those for compulsory elis­ion (wujūban) are necessarily more varied, and often rest on usage alone (particularly with the proverbial expressions mentioned here), in spite of the structural explanations offered. The Qur'ān, being highly oratorical in nature, is a rich source of elisions, cf. az-Zajjājī (attrib.), ʿCrāb al-Qur'ān, ed. Aḥyāʾī, Cairo 1963-4, index s.v. ḥaḍf.

9.94 (1) Two cases of compulsory elision ought to be mentioned here: (a) the predicate of lawlā 'if it were not for...', q.v. 6.6 n 6, and (b) that part of an interrogative sentence about which information is being sought: this, of course, may be a subject (man 'aḵūka 'who is your brother?'), a predicate (man huwa 'who is he?'), an agent (man qāma 'who stood?'), or any of the various qualifiers, ('ayna huwa 'where is he?', kayfa qāma 'how did he stand?', matā qāma 'when did he stand?' etc.). Cf. 5.87 n 2.

(2) See ch. 25 on wa 'and' in the meaning of 'with'. It is doubtful whether there are any good structural reasons for this elision in spite of the argument presented here: it is simply a proverbial expression in which the elision of the predicate provides the necessary threatening vagueness. On 'structurally complete' (tāmm) cf. 9.71 n 2.

(3) This is the last phrase of a line of verse, q.v. Schaw. Ind. 273; note the dual verb yaltaqiyāni (cf. 4.8.1 n 2(b)) as predicate of a nominal sentence (9.62). See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature in imrī'īn 'man' and 19.72 n 4 on the vowel harmony in this word.
9.95 A subject and a predicate are elided in the Qur'anic salāmun qawmun munkarūna 'peace...people unrecognized', where salāmun 'peace' is the subject of an elided predicate (namely ʿalaykum 'be upon you') and qawmun 'people' is the predicate of an elided subject (namely antum 'you (are)').

Next the author turns to the elements which cancel the operations of the subject and predicate:

CHAPTER TEN

10.0 Chapter on the operators which affect the subject and predicate. These are also termed 'cancellers'. They are (at this stage) three in number: (1) kāna 'to be' and its related verbs, (2) 'inna 'verily' and its related words, and (3) zanna 'to think' and its related verbs. (32b) They are called 'cancellers' because they suspend the grammatical rules of the subject and predicate; the term itself is derived from nask, lexically 'abolition', as in nasaqat iš-šamsu ẓilla 'the sun abolished the shadow' i.e. put an end to it. The three kinds are different in their operation:

10.1 kāna 'to be' and its related verbs make their subject-noun independent (i.e. the subject of an equational sentence, termed literally their 'subject-noun' and figuratively their 'agent'), and they make their predicate dependent. This is termed literally their 'predicate' and figuratively their 'direct object', because these verbs resemble the true verb which is transitive to a single direct object. This is...
9.95 (1) Not, of course, within the same clause!

(2) S. 51 v 25. The absence of def. art. on salāmun is noteworthy: is it a relic of a stage when tanwīn was not necessarily an indefinition marker (cf. 11.8 n 3)? Note also that qawmūn munkarūna cannot be interpreted as a vocative (it would have to be (yā) qawmu l-munkarūna or al-munkarīna, 23.411, or yā qawman munkarīna, 23.51).

(3) Here we may add the equational sentence pattern 'ammā...fa..., e.g. 'ammā zaydun fa-qā'imun 'as for Zayd, he is standing', which serves to give prominence to the subject. Structurally it is very close to the complex predicate types in 9.75 (so: 'ammā zaydun fa-gāma 'abūhu 'as for Zayd, his father stood') and 9.76 ('ammā zaydun fa-jāriyatuhu gāhibatun 'as for Zayd, his servant-girl is going'), and has been explained by Bravmann (op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 18f) as having developed out of a conditional structure, scil. *What about Zayd?—well, his father stood* (cf. 5.90 n 2(b) on fa in apodosis); cf. Beeston 65, Lewcowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1. Broggelmann, Grundr. II, 575, gives the etymology of 'ammā as 'an 'that' (5.41) and suffix mā 'what' (5.89 n 2), predating the distinction between subordinate and independent clauses.

10.0 (1) Jum. 53, 64; Muf. ##33, 440, 447: Alf. vv 143, 174, 206; Qaṭr 135; Beeston 64, 80; Fleisch 168, 181; Nöldeke 37, 40.

(2) 'At this stage' because, as will become clear, these three are only classes of 'cancellers' (see next note), each with its own members (and hence the rather diffuse entries in the bibliography above).

(3) 'Cancellers', as can be seen from aš-Širbīnī's ensuing comments (taken this time from Qaṭr 135 instead of al-Azharī) is a literal translation of nawāsik (sing. nāsika 'that which abolishes'), a term borrowed directly from the vocabulary of law, where it denotes a Qur'anic verse or Tradition of the Prophet (1.01 n 4) which revokes or repeals another. It appears late in grammar, perhaps no earlier than the time of Abū Ḥayyān (d. 1344, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 90).

10.1 (1) Lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2. On kāna in particular see Jum. 53; Muf. ##447, 450; Alf. v 143; Qaṭr 135; Beeston 80; Fleisch 181; Nöldeke 37; F. Shehadi, 'Arabic and "to be"', in The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms, ed. J.W.M. Verhaar, Dordrecht 1969, 114; Levin, Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 1, 185.

(2) On transitivity see 16.309 n 1. Formally kāna has the same syntax as any verbal sentence, viz. Verb-Agent (indep.)-Qualifier (dep.), cf. the conspectus in ch. 15, but whether this is the result of Systemzwang
the view of the Baṣran school\(^3\) and the most sound, but the majority of
the Kūfans are of the opinion that these verbs do not operate upon
the independent element at all and, furthermore, that they cannot call the
independent subject-noun literally an agent nor the dependent element
literally a direct object simply because these verbs in their defective
state are devoid of the event which ought to proceed from the agent
and occur to the direct object. Hence they have become more like linking
elements,\(^4\) and for that reason az-Zajjājī calls them 'particles'.\(^5\)

10.101 There are thirteen of these verbs;\(^1\) (as presented here by the
author). They can be divided into three groups: (1) those which make
the subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent uncondition­
ally, viz. käna 'to be', laysa 'not to be' and all the verbs listed in
between these two;\(^2\) (2) those which make the subject-noun independent
and the predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by a
negative or its equivalent, viz. zāla 'to cease', bariḥa 'to desist',
fatī'a 'to refrain' and infakka 'to stop', and (3) those which make the
subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent on condition that
they are preceded by the temporal and verbal noun mā 'as long as';\(^3\) viz.
dāma 'to last'. The author now proceeds to deal with the first group,
which comprises several cases:\(^4\)

10.11 (1) käna 'to be',\(^1\) which serves to qualify a subject with a predi-
cate in the past, either permanently and continuously, as in the

\(^1\) Text and Translation

\(^2\) The view of the Baṣran school

\(^3\) and the most sound, but the majority of

\(^4\) the Kūfans are of the opinion that these verbs do not operate upon
the independent element at all and, furthermore, that they cannot call the

\(^5\) independent subject-noun literally an agent nor the dependent element

\(^6\) literally a direct object simply because these verbs in their defective

\(^7\) state are devoid of the event which ought to proceed from the agent

\(^8\) and occur to the direct object. Hence they have become more like linking

\(^9\) elements, and for that reason az-Zajjājī calls them 'particles'.

\(^10\) There are thirteen of these verbs; (as presented here by the

\(^11\) author). They can be divided into three groups: (1) those which make

\(^12\) the subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent uncondition­

\(^13\) ally, viz. käna 'to be', laysa 'not to be' and all the verbs listed in

\(^14\) between these two; (2) those which make the subject-noun independent

\(^15\) and the predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by a

\(^16\) negative or its equivalent, viz. zāla 'to cease', bariḥa 'to desist',

\(^17\) fatī'a 'to refrain' and infakka 'to stop', and (3) those which make the

\(^18\) subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent on condition that

\(^19\) they are preceded by the temporal and verbal noun mā 'as long as'; viz.

\(^20\) dāma 'to last'. The author now proceeds to deal with the first group,

\(^21\) which comprises several cases:

\(^22\) (1) käna 'to be', which serves to qualify a subject with a predi-
cate in the past, either permanently and continuously, as in the
or an original structure cannot be demonstrated. A Western explanation (e.g. Fleisch 181) interprets the dep. element as a circumstantial qualifier (ḥāl, ch. 19), as if kāna zaydun ʿāliman 'Zayd was learned' was really '*Zayd existed, as a learned man'. For Sibawayhi at least, kāna was as much a transitive verb as ḍaraba 'to strike' (v. Levin, op. cit. n 1, esp. 188), which seems to be confirmed by the fact that it occurs with object pronoun suffixes, e.g. kānahu 'he was it' (Nöldeke 37 and Spitaler's n 3). See further 10.21 n 2.

(3) The debate is set out in Inṣāf, Supp. prob. 2, though the immediate source for as-Šīrbīni is undoubtedly al-Azhari, in a conflations of his Taṣrī. I, 184 and Āj. 60.

(4) 'Linking elements' is rawābiṭ, plur. of rābiṭa, q.v. 5.86 n 3.

(5) Cf. Jum. 53 et seq. Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd ar-Rahmān ibn Ishāq az-Zajjājī, d. 949, studied in Baghdad under az-Zajjājī (v. 26.7 n 2), after whom he was named az-Zajjājī (cf. 11.721 n 4). His works range from elementary textbooks such as the Jumāl to advanced theoretical treatises such as the Ṣāhī; E.I. (1), art. 'az-Zadjājī', G.A.L. I, 110, Versteegh, index s.v. az-Zaġājī.

10.101 (1) The limitation to thirteen is purely pedagogical: other verbs with the same syntax are, for example, ʿāda, īrtadda, rājaʿa, all meaning 'to return' and used in this structure to mean 'to become again, revert', ʿingalaba 'to turn into', cf. Nöldeke 37; Wright II, 102: Cantarino III, 255.

For convenience we mention here the afʿāl al-muqāraba, lit. 'verbs of being near', viz. ʾasā 'maybe', kāda 'almost to do', ʿawšaka 'to be on the point of'. Of these ʾasā occurs only as a past tense and is normally followed by an 'an-clause (5.41), e.g. ʾasā 'an ʿaḍriba 'maybe he will strike'; ʿawšaka is also followed by 'an, e.g. yūšiku 'an ṣḍriba 'he almost strikes'. With kāda the second verb usually remains independent, e.g. kāda ṣḍriba 'he almost struck', and note the negative lā yakādu ṣḍriba 'he hardly strikes' ('*does not almost strike'). Jum. 209; Muf. #459; Alīf. v 164; Fleisch 198.

(2) One use of these verbs seldom mentioned by grammarians is as auxiliaries, most particularly kāna. In principle the past and imperfect tenses of kāna may combine with those of other verbs to give four possible modalities: kāna (qad) ḍaraba 'he had struck', kāna ṣḍriba 'he used to strike', yakūnu (qad) ṣḍaraba 'he will have struck' (see 1.81 on qad), and yakūnu ṣḍariba 'he will be striking'; cf. Beeston 80, Yushmanov 54. Another type of auxiliary is ʾaḵaḍa 'to take', jaʿala 'to make' (cf. 10.69), badaʾa 'to begin', used to mean 'to start', e.g. ʾaḵaḍa ṣḍariba 'he started striking'; Fleisch 113, 184; Yushmanov 55.

(3) See 10.23 n 3 on the 'verbal noun mā', mā al-Ṣadāriyya.

(4) Because 'cases' (masāʿīl, lit. 'legal questions') is fem. the text mostly treats the examples as fem. in the metalanguage, but sometimes gives them their natural masc. gender.

10.11 (1) Refs. as for 10.1 n 1, and see especially Muf. #450.
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Qur'anic käna llāhu ʿāliman 'God was (always) knowing and wise' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, allāhu 'God' is its subject-noun made independent by it with ʿ as its independence marker, and ʿāliman 'knowing, wise' is its predicate made dependent by it with ʿ as its dependence marker); or discontinuously, as in käna ʿālayku ʿābbān 'the old man was (once) a youth', (where käna 'was' is a past tense verb which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, ʿālayku 'the old man' is its subject-noun made independent by it with ʿ as its independence marker, and ʿābbān 'a youth' is its predicate made dependent by it with ʿ as its dependence marker).

10.12 (2) 'amsa 'to be in the evening', which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the evening, e.g. 'amsa zaydun faqrān 'Zayd became poor in the evening', where 'amsa 'was in the evening' is a past tense verb related to käna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, zaydun 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with ʿ as its independence marker, and faqrān 'poor' is its predicate made dependent by it with ʿ as its dependence marker.

10.13 (3) 'asbahā 'to be in the morning', which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the morning, e.g. 'asbahā ʿl-harru ʿsadīdan 'the heat became intense in the morning', where 'asbahā 'was in the morning' is a past tense verb related to käna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, ʿl-harru 'the heat' is its subject-noun made independent by it with ʿ as its independence marker, and ʿsadīdan 'intense' is its predicate made dependent by it with ʿ as its dependence marker.

10.14 (4) 'adḥā 'to be in the forenoon', which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the forenoon, e.g. 'adḥā ʿl-faqīhā ʿwariʿān 'the jurist became devout in the forenoon', where 'adḥā 'was in the forenoon' is a past tense verb related to käna which makes its subject-noun
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(2) S. 4 v 17. The translation 'was always' (alternative: 'has always been') avoids the obvious pitfall of implying that God is no longer knowing and wise! On this atemporal use of kāna see 5.52 n 2.

(3) 'Syntactically defective' (nāqīṣ, lit. 'lacking') because this kāna needs a predicate—another argument against treating the dep. forms after kāna as circumstantial qualifiers (10.1 n 2), since these are by definition redundant (19.1). A 'syntactically complete kāna' (kāna t-tāmma) is occasionally found, e.g. tumma kāna 'Abū Bakr in then it was Abū Bakr' (lit. 'then Abū Bakr was'); further on nāqīṣ and tāmm see 9.71 n 2, 21.3 n 1.

(4) Note that Śabbān contains the over-long syllable CVC, on which see 21.22 n 4.

10.12 (1) Muf. #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This is one of a group of verbs which denote the performance of an action or being in a state at a specific time of day or night. Others are in 10.13-16, to which may be added rāḥa 'to do/be in the evening', ġadā, 'asfara 'to do/be in the morning'. Those which have not become rare have simply lost their built-in time reference (rāḥa, for example, has become the universal verb for 'to go'), though 'amsā, to judge by the examples in Reckendorf Synt. Verh. 289, seems to have held on to the connotation of eventide better than some of its fellows (but note 'amsā llāhu 'ahlakahum 'God proceeded to destroy them'). In form 'amsā is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with weak 3rd rad. y: its imperfect tense active is yumsī (same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2(b)), and its past tense has the same endings as raʿaytu, 10.65 n 1.

10.13 (1) Muf. #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb has become a virtual synonym of šāra 'to become' (q.v. 10.17), see Beeston 81 n 1. Note that, like all the verbs in this group, 'aṣbaḥa has developed into something very like an auxiliary verb, e.g. 'aṣbaḥa yuqallibu kaffayhi 'he began wringing his hands' (Wright II, 105). In form 'aṣbaḥa is a sound verb of Stem IV (8.63 n 1); in passing it is worth noting that Stem IV includes a non-productive set of verbs all connected with time or place (e.g. 'ayma 'to go to the Yemen', cf. Fleisch, Tr. #132e).

10.14 (1) Muf. #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. It is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with 3rd rad. w (= y in augmented Stems, cf. next note).

(2) Paradigm of weak 3rd rad. verbs daḏā (d-ḏ-w), laqiya (l-q-y), past: sing. dual plur. sing. dual plur.
1st daḏaṭtu daḏaṭnā laqīṭtu laqīnā
2nd masc. daḏawta daḏawtumā daḏawtum laqīṭta laqīṭumā laqīṭum
2nd fem. daḏawti daḏawtunā daḏawtunna laqītī laqītunā
3rd masc. daḏā daḏawā daḏaw laqiya laqiya laqū
3rd fem. daḏat daḏatnā daḏawna laqiyaṭ laqiyaṭā laqiṇā
Apart from a rare class saruwa (medial vowel u, sarūṭu etc.) all 3rd weak rad. verbs (including augmented Stems) conjugate as daḏā, laqiya or raʿ (q.v. 10.65 n 1), the ending being determined by the stem vowel (e.g. passive duʿīya like laqiya, Stem IV 'aḍḥaytu like raʿaytu etc.). All augmented Stems show w>y, e.g. istadḏaytu, Stem X of daḏā.
independent and its predicate dependent, **al-faqīhu** 'the jurist' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and **wari** 'devout' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.15 (5) **zalla** 'to remain',\(^1\) (spelt with an erect-tailed *z*), which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate by day, e.g. **zalla** *zaydun muftiran* 'Zayd remained breakfasting', where **zalla** 'remained'\(^2\) is a past tense verb related to **kāna** 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, **zaydun** 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and **muftiran** 'breakfasting' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.16 (6) **bāta** 'to be at night',\(^1\) which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate by night, e.g. **bāta** *zaydun nā’iman* 'Zayd passed the night sleeping', where **bāta** 'was at night' is a past tense verb related to **kāna** 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, **zaydun** 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and **nā’iman** 'sleeping' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.17 (7) **sāra** 'to become',\(^1\) which serves to denote change and transition, e.g. **sāra** *t-Ṭīn u kazafan* 'the clay became pottery', where **sāra** 'became'\(^2\) is a past tense (33b) verb related to **kāna** 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, **at-Ṭīn** 'the clay' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and **kazafan** 'pottery' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.18 (8) **laysa** 'not to be',\(^1\) which serves to negate a situation when used without qualification and in the absence of any contextual indications,\(^2\) e.g. **laysa** *Camrun nā’iman* 'Camr is not sleeping', i.e. not now,
10.15 (1) Muf. #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which are taken from al-Azharī, Āj. 60, the word for 'erect-tailed' is mušāla, and has been translated literally. It describes the shape of the letter ẓ, particularly the feature which distinguishes it from ẓ (cf. Wright I, 6): at a very early period the sounds (and consequently the spelling) of ẓ and ẓ had become hopelessly confused, and provided the grammarians with opportunities for patronizing anecdotes (cf. Fück, op. cit. 1.21 n 2, 58; on the phonology of ẓ and ẓ see Magee, Word 6, 75).

(2) In his Commentary on Kāfiya (Istanbul 1858), II, 274, al-Astarābādī asserts that ẓalla may also mean 'to become', and cites S. 16 v 58 in support: ẓalla wajihu muswaddan 'his face became black'. In form ẓalla is a 'doubled verb', q.v. 10.61 n 1.

10.16 (1) Muf. #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form bāta is a 'hollow verb' (fiq 'ajwaf), i.e. a verb whose middle radical is a semi-vowel (w or y); this leads to certain reductions and variations in the stem (see paradigms in 10.23 n 2: bāta follows sāra, having y as its middle radical). Even here it is worth remarking that, although fully developed in Classical Arabic as triliterals, there is a distinct probability that the 'hollow verb' represents an extension of original biliteral roots under Systemzwang (cf. Fleisch 111, 239 n 3).

10.17 (1) Muf. #451; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form sāra is a 'hollow verb' with middle radical y, see paradigms in 10.23 n 2. Another example is šīrtu 'aḥsaba 'I became tawny', end of 10.62. In its Stem II (8.61 n 1) form sayyara this verb means 'to cause something to become something else', and is thus doubly transitive, v. 10.69 n 3.

(2) The verb sāra (root s-y-r) has nothing to do with the noun sūra 'form' (q.v. 11.712 n 2), which has itself engendered a new hollow root s-w-r in the denominative verb sawwara 'to give form' (but only singly transitive, contrast sayyara above). See Jeffries, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 201, on the likely foreign origins of the word sūra.

10.18 (1) Muf. #456; Beeston 100; other refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb is anomalous in several ways: (a) it is a rare example of a compound word, consisting of lā 'not' (ch. 22) and a nominal element 'aysa 'existence' (so Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 111, but Yushmanov 57 sees the second element as verbal); (b) its conjugation is both incomplete and irregular (see n 3); (c) it has past tense form but present tense meaning (see n 2); (d) it makes its predicate dependent (but see n 4).

(2) That is, laysa negates 'being' absolutely and in the present tense unless modified by context (cf. 11.7 n 1 on qarīna 'contextual indication', but here meaning that there is no accompanying negative particle as required by other verbs, cf. 10.22). An example of the future meaning determined by context is S. 11 v 8: 'a-lā ya'wma ya'tīhim laysa maṣrūfan ẓanhum 'and will it (i.e. punishment), on the day it comes to them, not be turned aside from them?'. Note the vowel harmony in the suffix hum (ya'tīhim/ẓanhum), q.v. 13.9 n 9, and the rhetorical negative 'a-lā, q.v. 5.55 n 6.
where laysa 'is not' is a past tense verb related to kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent,4Amr 'Amr' is its subject-noun made independent by it with u as its independence marker, and nā'iman 'sleeping' is its predicate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker. This is the last of the group which make their subject-noun independent and their predicate dependent unconditionally; the author now turns to the second group, i.e. those which make their subject-noun independent and their predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by a negative or its equivalent.5 This comprises several cases, the first being:

10.19 (9) mā zāla 'not to cease',1 e.g. mā zāla bakrun Cāliman 'Bakr did not cease being wise', where mā 'not' is the negative mā, zāla 'ceased' is a past tense verb related to kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, bakrun 'Bakr' is its subject-noun made independent by it with u as its independence marker, and Cāliman 'wise' is its predicate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker.

10.20 (10) mā nfakka 'not to stop',1 e.g. mā nfakka zaydun jālisan 'Zayd did not stop sitting', where mā 'not' is the negative mā, nfakka 'stopped' is a past tense verb related to kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, zaydun 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with u as its independence marker, and jālisan 'sitting' is its predicate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker.

10.21 (11) mā fatī'a 'not to refrain',1 e.g. mā fatī'a Cāmrun muḥsinan 'Cāmran was unceasingly kind', where mā 'not' is the negative mā, fatī'a 'refrained' is a past tense verb related to kāna 'to be' which makes
NOTES

The paradigm of laysa is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>lastu</td>
<td>lasnā</td>
<td>lastum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>lasta</td>
<td>lastumā</td>
<td>lastunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>lasti</td>
<td>lastumā</td>
<td>lastunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>laysa</td>
<td>laysā</td>
<td>laysū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>laysat</td>
<td>laystā</td>
<td>lasnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no imperfect tense and no passive (but see 10.3 n 2).

(4) An alternative to the dep. form is bi 'with' (1.707) and obl. form, e.g. laysa bi-nā'imin, and in both cases laysa can be replaced by the so-called 'Hijāzī mā' (5.84 n 3), e.g. mā Camrun nā'iman/bi-nā'imin. The bi is obscure: Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 241, suggests a rhetorical question, scil. 'what has Āmr to do with a sleeper?!' (cf. 5.82 n 1), but note other equally perplexing functions of bi (after 'īdā of surprise', 5.432 n 2, before logical agents, 7.11 and logical subjects, 9.03). Possible Hamitic connections: Clerc, G.L.E.C.S. 4, 24.

(5) Negative equivalents are: prohibition (nahy, 5.76), e.g. lā tazal dākira l-mawti 'do not cease thinking of death', and invocation (duCā', 5.55 n 3), e.g. lā zāla munhillan...il-qatru 'may the rain not cease pouring' (Muf. #454; Qatr 137; see 14.34 n 3 on optative).
10.22 (12) mā bariḥa 'not to desist', e.g. mā bariḥa muḥammadun karīman 'Muḥammad was unceasingly generous', where mā 'not' is the negative mā, bariḥa 'desisted' is a past tense verb related to kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, muḥammadun 'Muḥammad' is its subject-noun made independent (34a) by it with u as its independence marker, and karīman 'generous' is its pred­icate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker. These last four verbs denote the persistence of the predicate in the subject as the situation requires, and they do not operate in this way unless accompanied by a negative, as in the examples we have given. Finally the au­thor turns to the third group, i.e. those which make their subject-noun independent and their predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by the temporal and verbal noun mā 'as long as', which is what the author means by:

10.23 (13) mā dāma 'as long as it remains', e.g. lā 'aṣḥabuka mā dāma zaydun mutaraddidan 'ilayka 'I shall not be your friend as long as Zayd keeps on frequenting you', where lā 'not' is a negative, aṣḥabuka 'I befriend you' is an imperfect tense verb of independent form with u as its independence marker, its agent being a concealed pronoun in it with the implicit meaning of anā 'I' (itself having independent status), ka 'you' (masc. sing.) is a direct object with dependent status, mā 'as long as' is the verbal noun mā which fuses with dāma 'he remained' to
of an action. Three structures are thus available: Verb—Agent—Qualifier (dep.), Subject (def.)—Predicate (undef.), and Verb—Agent (def.)—Transient Predicate (= circumstantial qualifier, undef. and dep.). None of these fits kāna exactly (especially the type kāna š-šayku šāban 'the old man was once a youth' in 10.11), which leaves us with conflation as a possible explanation for its assimilation to the verbal structure Verb—Agent—Qualifier.

10.22 (1) Muf. #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. These verbs do appear (though rarely) in the positive, i.e. as 'syntactically complete verbs' (tāmm, cf. 7.01 n 2), e.g. bariha l-makāna 'he left the place', zāla ẓ-zillū 'the shade ceased' etc. In S. 12 v 85, however, the positive ta-illāhī taftātu taqkurū yūsufa 'by God you will (not) cease mentioning Joseph' is unanimously explained by commentators as assuming an elided mā 'not'.

(2) Stem I verbs exhibit a variation in the medial vowel of both past and imperfect tense, broadly along the following lines: kataba/yaktubu (a, u) 'write', transitive action, mariṣa/yamraṣu (i, a) 'be ill', intransitive, temporary state, ḫasuna/yahsunu (u, u) 'be good', intransitive, permanent state. However, there are numerous exceptions, some of phonological origin, see further Fleisch 115; Bateson 30: Yushmanov 49.

10.23 (1) Muf. #455; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. Translation in the conventional form of an infinitive (3.52 n 3) is impossible in this case.

(2) Here the paradigm of the two commonest types of 'hollow verb' (fījīl 'ajwaf), (a) qāma 'to stand' (q-w-m), (b) sāra 'to travel' (s-y-r), past tense, active:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>qumnā</td>
<td>sirtu</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>sirtum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>sirta</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>sirtum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>qumti</td>
<td>qumtum</td>
<td>sirti</td>
<td>qumtumna</td>
<td>sirtumna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>qāma</td>
<td>qāmā</td>
<td>sāra</td>
<td>qāma</td>
<td>qāma</td>
<td>sārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>qāmat</td>
<td>qāmatā</td>
<td>sārat</td>
<td>qāmat</td>
<td>qāmatā</td>
<td>sāratā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of zirtu 'I was visited', ṣīra 'he was visited' etc. (cf. 8.2 n 5) and are thus identical with active sāra type except for 3rd person sing., dual and masc. plur. Imperfect tense, active, independent form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aqūmu</td>
<td>naqūmu</td>
<td>'asīru</td>
<td>naqūmu</td>
<td>'asīru</td>
<td>nasīru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taqūmu</td>
<td>taqūmāni</td>
<td>tasīru</td>
<td>taqūmā</td>
<td>tasīrīni</td>
<td>tahūni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taqūmīna</td>
<td>taqūmīna</td>
<td>tasīrīna</td>
<td>taqūmīna</td>
<td>tasīrīna</td>
<td>tahūni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaqūmu</td>
<td>yaqūmāni</td>
<td>yasīru</td>
<td>yaqūmā</td>
<td>yasīrīni</td>
<td>yasīrūna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>yaqūmīna</td>
<td>yaqūmīna</td>
<td>yasīrīna</td>
<td>yaqūmīna</td>
<td>yasīrīna</td>
<td>yasīrūna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of 'uzāru 'I am visited', yuzāru 'he is visited', yuzarna 'they (fem.) are visited' etc. The dep. forms have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 1), e.g. 'agūmu etc. Apoc. forms likewise have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 2), but stem vowel shortens before zero ending, thus yagum, not *yaqūm. Indeed
form a verbal noun\(^3\) (and is also the temporal \(mā\), because it denotes time), \(dāmā\) 'he remained' is a past tense verb related to \(kāna\) 'to be', which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, \(zaydun\) 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with \(u\) as its independence marker, \(mutaraddidan\) 'frequently returning' is its predicate made dependent by it with \(a\) as its dependence marker, and \('/lāyka\) 'to you' (masc. sing.) is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with \(mutaraddidan\) 'frequently returning'. The implicit meaning of the whole is \(lā\) 'āšabuka muddie dawāmi taraddudi zaydin '/lāyka 'I shall not be your friend for the period of Zayd's frequenting you', for \(ad-dawāmu\) 'the duration' is the corresponding time qualifier and \(al-muddatu\) 'the period' is the corresponding verbal noun.

10.3 The author then adds: and their conjugated forms,\(^1\) to show that these verbs are of various kinds, some having imperfect tense, imperative, verbal noun and adjectival derivations (viz. from \(kāna\) 'to be' to \(sāra\) 'to become' in the above list), some having imperfect tense but no imperative and adjectival but no verbal noun derivatives (viz. \(zāla\) 'to cease' and the other verbs in this family), and some having neither imperfect tense, imperative, verbal noun nor adjectival derivatives (viz. layṣa 'not to be' and \(dāmā\) 'to remain').\(^2\)

10.31 Those which conjugate are, for example, \(kāna\) 'he was', in the past tense, \(yakūnu\) 'he is', in the imperfect tense, \(kun\) 'be!', in the imperative, \(‘aṣbahu\) 'he was in the morning', in the past tense, \(yusbihu\) 'he is in the morning', in the imperfect tense, and \(‘aṣbih\) 'be in the morning!', in the imperative. The fully conjugating verbs operate in the same way as the past tense in their imperfect tense, \((34b)\) imperative, verbal noun, agent noun and patient noun:\(^2\) thus you say (with past tense of \(kāna\) operating), \(kāna zaydun qā’iman\) 'Zayd was standing', parsed above,\(^3\) and \(layṣa\) 'Amru šākiṣan 'Amr is not setting forth', also parsed above, and the like. Similarly for the rest of the verbs:

10.32 An example of the imperfect tense of \(kāna\) 'to be' is \(yakūnu\) zaydun qā’iman 'Zayd will be standing', where yakūnu 'he will be' is an
hollow verbs may be summed up as follows: stem vowel long when 3rd rad.
is vowelled (qāma, yaqūmu), short when 3rd rad. is unvowelled (qumma, yaqumma, yagum). This is true also for augmented Stems, 8.73 n 1. A
few verbs, e.g. zāla 'to cease', nāma 'to sleep' etc., have imperfect
tense stem vowel a/ā (under the above rule, e.g. yazālu, yazalna), and
are otherwise mostly like sāra in past and passive. Imperative of
hollow verbs, 10.33 n 1.

(3) Like the similarly named 'an 'that' (5.41) this mā 'fuses' (sabaka
= 'to cast metal') with its verb to form a noun phrase, as is neatly
demonstrated by the eventual substitution of the mā phrase by the noun
phrase muddata dawāmi... 'for the period of the duration of...'. As
nominalizers, both mā and 'an enable prepositions to operate on sent-
ences, cf. 5.41 n 8', 18.207 n 1.

10.3 (1) 'Conjugated forms' renders mā tašarrafa minhā, lit. 'what is
currently in circulation of them', i.e. the range of permissible verbal
forms as illustrated. The cognate term tašīff can be understood as
meaning 'the derivation of nouns and verbs from a given root', q.v.
17.1 n 1.

(2) The list presents an ever diminishing range of forms culminating in
laysa, whose entire conjugation is set out in 10.18 n 3 (though at
least one grammarian ventured to postulate a passive *līsa, presumably
meaning 'it is not being being', v. Ibn Ṭūṣfūr, al-Muqarrib, ed. Baghdad
1971, I, 79). There is also a suggestion that kāna, too, has a passive
(e.g. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 253, and cf. 10.36 n 1). Of the other verbs
categorized here, zāla and family, and dāma, are more productive than
aš-Sirbīnī implies, but only in their positive forms: but these cannot
be negated and used as 'cancellers' with the same freedom as all parts
of the verb kāna as illustrated in the ensuing paragraphs.

10.31 (1) An important principle is invoked here, namely that all de-
verbative elements (q.v. 10.34 n 1) operate like their underlying verbs
(16.312 n 1). This is clear in the case of the verbal, agent and pa-
tient nouns, whose verbal content is still obvious, but needs perhaps to
be pointed out in the case of the adjective, e.g. ḥasanun 'handsome',
equivalent to the verb phrase yahsunu 'he is handsome' (see 11.45 and
26.92 n 5).

(2) See 10.11. Note in passing that the 'subject-noun' and 'predicate'
of kāna are required to fulfil the conditions for the equational sent-
ence (ch. 9), principally that the subject(-noun) should be defined: by
the same token an undefined subject is permissible under categorical
negation (cf. ch. 22), e.g. mā kāna 'abadun miştaka 'no-one was like
you' (lit. 'someone was not like you', see 22.6 n 1), Kitāb I, 26.

(3) See 10.18.

10.32 (1) A present tense function for yakūnu is more or less ruled out
by the existence of the 'timeless' equational sentence structure (ch.
9) which has no copula. On the other hand the imperfect tense often
has future meaning (5.01 n 1), which the translation here reproduces.
imperfect tense verb conjugated from kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, zaydun 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it, and qā'īman 'standing' is its predicate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker.

10.33 An example of the imperative is the Qur'anic kūnū ḥijāratan 'be stones!', where kūnū 'be!' (masc. plur.) is an imperative of kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, the ū of kūnū 'be!' is its subject-noun with independent status, and hijāratan 'stones' is its predicate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker.

10.34 An example of the verbal noun is kawnū zaydin qā'īman 'Zayd's being standing', where kawnū 'being' is a verbal noun of kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, zaydin 'of Zayd' is the subject-noun of the verbal noun made oblique in form and independent in status by it, and qā'īman 'standing' is its predicate made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker.

10.35 An example of the agent noun of kāna 'to be' is kā'īnum zaydun qā'īman 'Zayd being standing', where kā'īnum 'being' is the agent noun of kāna 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, zaydun 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it, and qā'īman 'standing' is its predicate made dependent by it.

10.36 An example of the patient noun of kāna 'to be' is makūnum qā'īnum 'standing having been been', where makūnum 'been' is the patient noun of kāna 'to be' and qā'īnum 'standing' is made independent by it because it substitutes for the agent.

10.37 An example of the imperfect tense of 'ašbaḥa 'to be in the morning' is yuṣbihu bakrūn ṣā'īman 'Bakr will be fasting in the morning', where yuṣbihu 'he will be in the morning' is an imperfect tense verb
10.33 (1) S. 17 v 50. The imperatives of the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are internally regular, i.e. they follow the same rules as the sound verb (7.82) with the stem variations peculiar to the hollow verb: sing. masc. kun, fem. kūnī, dual kūnā, plur. masc. kūnū, fem. kunna (middle rad. 1 gives sir, sirī etc.). Stem I fem. plur. imperative is coincidentally the same as 3rd fem. plur. past tense kunna, sirna. Imperative of augmented Stems, 10.38 n 1.

(2) Here perhaps is an occasion when it is proper to speak of the 'subject' rather than the agent of the verb (cf. 7.5 n 1): in kūnū there is an overt bound pronoun suffix ū 'you' (7.82) which is formally indistinguishable from the agent pronoun, except that it pronominalizes the subject of an equational sentence (taking 'you are stones' as the underlying form of the imperative 'be stones!').

10.34 (1) Every regular verb has three nominal derivatives: masdar 'verbal noun' (but see 17.1 n 2), ism al-fācil 'name of the doer', i.e. agent noun (the formal category, contrast functional cat. in ch. 7), and ism al-mafūd 'name of the done', i.e. patient noun (formal, contrast functional cat. in ch. 16). Agent and patient nouns are predictable for all Stems, but see 17.52 n 1 on verbal noun forms, Stems I, II and III. The forms are as follows (cf. 8.51 n 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem:</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>faqīl</td>
<td>mufāqīl</td>
<td>mufāqīl</td>
<td>mufāqīl</td>
<td>mutafaqīl</td>
<td>mutafāqīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>mafūd</td>
<td>mufāqīl</td>
<td>mufāqīl</td>
<td>mufāqīl</td>
<td>mutafāqīl</td>
<td>mutafāqīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb. noun varies</td>
<td>taqīl</td>
<td>fiqīl</td>
<td>'iqīl</td>
<td>taqīl</td>
<td>taqīl</td>
<td>taqīl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stem: VII VIII IX X
Active |munfāqīl |muftaqīl | mufqīl | mustafqīl |
Passive none |muftaqīl | none | mustafqīl |
Vb. noun infqīl | infiqīl | infiqīl | istiqīl |

Doubled verbs are regular except for Stems I and VI agent nouns, e.g. šabb, showing the over-long syllable CVC (see 21.22 n 4); weak 1st rad. verbs are regular, so are hollow verbs, except Stem I, q.v. 10.35 n 1. Weak 3rd rad. verbs have regular patient noun in Stem I (mufāqūn or mafūyī) and all other nouns end in īn and follow qādī or ān and follow fatī (both 4.2 n 2), all with sound plurals (4.6 n 1). Syntax 7.11, 16.312 n 1, 17.2, 24.31; Beeston 35; Yushmanov 53.

10.35 (1) Hollow verbs acquire by Systemzwang a dummy radical ' in the Stem I agent noun, see further sā'ir 'travelling', 25.11 n 1. The inversion in the present example stresses that kā'īn cannot be used in independent equational sentences, e.g. *zaydun kā'īnun qa'īman 'Zayd is being standing', though this is normal with other verbs, e.g. zaydun qāribun āmrān 'Zayd is striking Āmr'.

10.36 (1) Hollow verbs with 1 are regular (madīyūn, from dāna 'to owe'), but wū reduces to ū (*makūn>makūn). Evidently makūn is a perverse passivization of kāna zaydun qa‘īman with qa‘īman becoming the agent implicit in makūnun! But note that Sībawayhi does refer to space/time qualifiers as makūnun fiḥī 'been in it', i.e. 'in which being is done' (Kitāb I, 201, and see Troupeau, G.L.E.C.S. 9, 45).
conjugated\textsuperscript{1} from 'asbaha 'to be in the morning' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, bakrun 'Bakr' is its subject-noun made independent by it, and ṣā'iman 'fasting' is its predicate made dependent by it.

10.38 An example of the imperative of 'asbaha 'to be in the morning' is 'asbih ṣā'iman 'be fasting in the morning!', where 'asbih 'be (masc. sing.) in the morning!' is an imperative verb\textsuperscript{1} which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, its subject-noun here being a pronoun concealed in it with independent status and the implicit meaning of 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.), and ṣā'iman 'fasting' is its predicate made dependent by it. Use these as an analogy for the rest of the forms conjugated from these verbs.

10.4 Next the author turns to (35a) the second of the cancellers, viz. 'inna 'verily' and its related particles: 'inna 'verily' and its related particles\textsuperscript{1} (i.e. all of these particles) make their noun dependent (i.e. the subject of the equational sentence, about which there is general agreement, hence it is termed 'their subject-noun'), and make their predicate independent. (This is the soundest view, meaning the predicate of the equational sentence, hence it may also be termed 'their predicate').\textsuperscript{2}

10.401 It is also claimed\textsuperscript{1} that the predicate is made independent by the same operator that made it independent before the intervention of these particles, namely the subject itself. These particles only operate because of their resemblance to the verb,\textsuperscript{2} to the extent that they make other elements independent and dependent, they operate specifically on nouns, they precede subject-predicate units, they end in invariable a,
10.37 (1) The paradigms in 4.4 n 5 (etc.) and 8.61-72 (notes) give an impression of the range of verbal patterns in which a single triliteral root (5.1 n 2) can be expressed. The same applies to nouns and adjectives, which are likewise root consonants embedded in patterns corresponding to their semantic function and grammatical category, e.g. agent, patient and verbal noun (10.34 n 1), plural (3.221), diminutive (3.421 n 1), distributive (3.89 n 9), noun of place (18.5 n 1), noun of instrument (17.63 n 1), and see Wright I, 109, Fleisch, index, s.v. nom for a more complete list. This almost algebraic correlation between form and meaning is a Proto-Semitic feature which has been (and still is being) exploited more by Arabic than any other Semitic language: see Beeston 31; Fleisch 31, 226; Bateson 1; Yushmanov 34. On quadriliteral nouns see 3.89 n 1, verbs 5.31 n 2; delocutive verbs 1.0 n 1; words outside the derivational system 26.26 n 1.

10.38 (1) With the exception of Stem IV, most imperative verbs are simply the relevant apocopated form minus the personal prefix (v. 5.2). Thus with weak 1st rad. the imperative of Stem I is jid, from apoc. tajid, root w-j-d (paradigm 10.67 n 1); hollow verbs are described in 10.33 n 1; weak 3rd rad. verbs are regular, e.g. irmi, from apoc. tarmi minus the prefix, with the resulting consonant cluster resolved as in 5.2 n 3. Stem IV verbs are unusual in that their imperative always begins with 'a: the rule of thumb for these verbs is, then, to replace the tu prefix of the apocopated form with 'a, thus 'ašbiḥ from tušbiḥ, 'awjid from tūjid (= tuwjid, 2.43 n 2), 'ajri from tuṣri (root j-r-y) etc. In this way Stem IV is distinguished from Stem I (iṣbaḥ, jid and iṣri respectively). Other augmented Stems are completely regular, e.g. Stem II ḥassin from ṭuṣassin, Stem VII inkasir from tankasir, with resolution of initial consonant cluster (*nkasir) as in 5.2 n 3.

10.4 (1) Jum. 64; Muf. #33, 516; Alf. v 174; Ḍathr 152 (cf. Muğnī I, 35); Beeston 64; Fleisch 168, 198; Nöldeke 40. 'Related particles' is lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2.

(2) The 'correct' view in this instance is that of the 'Basrans' (q.v. 9.4 n 3), while in the following paragraph the 'Kūfan' explanation is presented. The matter is argued at length in Inṣāf prob. 22, the Basran case being founded on the formal and functional similarities between 'inna and the verb (summarized in the second sentence of 10.401).

10.401 (1) Cf. the debate alluded to in 9.11, the 'Kūfan' view being that subject and predicate are made independent by each other.

(2) This is a good specimen of the analogical reasoning which typifies the theoretical linguistics of the so-called 'Baṣran' grammarians (cf. qiṣās, 8.3 n 2). Western interpretations of 'inna agree with the Arabs at least to the extent of acknowledging that it has some verbal ingredient, and point out the similarity to the Hebrew hinne 'lo!' (Beeston 64; Fleisch 168; Yushmanov 62). Structural confirmation of its verbal quality may come from the fact that 'inna etc. occur with the direct object suffix nī (16.301), e.g. in 21.61, and cf. 10.55 n 3.
and they are triliteral, quadriliteral and quinquiliteral like the numbers of radicals in verbs. And they are (i.e. these particles) six in number:

10.41 (1) 'inna 'verily', (spelt with i after the '), e.g. 'inna zaydan qā'imun 'verily Zayd is standing', where 'inna 'verily' is a particle of emphasis and dependence, and qā'imun 'standing' is its predicate made independent by it with u as its independence marker.

10.42 (2) 'anna 'that', (spelt with a after the ', and double n), e.g. bara‘anī 'anna ḍilā‘ulun 'it reached me that ḍilā‘ulun was virtuous', where bara‘anī 'reached' is a past tense verb, ḍilā‘ulun 'virtuous' is its predicate made independent by it with ḍilā‘ulun as its independence marker.

10.421 The difference between 'inna 'verily' with i and 'anna 'that' with a is that the i-type together with its subject-noun and predicate function as a sentence which cannot be paraphrased by a single element, while the a-type together with its subject-noun and predicate can be paraphrased by a single element.

10.43 (3) lākinna 'but', (spelt with double n), e.g. gāma 1-gawmu lākinna gālidan qā‘idun 'the people have stood but Kālid is (still)
(3) See 5.1.

10.41 (1) Muf. #517; Qâṭr 153, 162; other refs. 10.4 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) ensures that 'inna will not be confused with 'anna (10.42). For the allomorph 'in see 12.903 n 1; for la prefixed to the predicate after 'inna see 13.6 n 4.

(2) 'Particle of emphasis and dependence' translates ُحَرَفْ تَوْكِيدْ وَا-نَشُبٌ on ُحَرَفْ 'particle' see 1.25, on ُتَوْكِيدْ 'emphasis' cf. 13.0 n 1 and on َنَشُب 'dependence' see 3.5 n 1; note the functional definition of this element (cf. 1.92 n 1). Pellat (G.L.E.C.S. 9, 18) observes that 'inna etc. serve as 'anticipatory particles', with the same structure as relative clauses (11.753 n 3, and cf. Lewcowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1). The similarity lies in the fact that any overt noun may be taken out of the sentence and made dependent by 'inna, with the blank space now filled by the appropriate pronoun: compare 'inna zaydan yaktubu َيْكُتُّبُ 'verily Zayd writes the letter' (referential pronoun already in yaktubu, v. 7.8), and 'inna َيْكُتُّبُ ُءُقْرُ 'verily the letter, writing it is Zayd' (place of َيْكُتُّبُ now filled by hū 'it').

10.42 (1) Muf. #517; Qâṭr 153; Fleisch 198; other refs. 10.4 n 1. Like 'an (5.41), 'anna is a nominalizer pure and simple: they differ from each other only in distribution, for while 'anna is followed only by nouns and pronouns, 'an is normally followed only by verbs (contrast 'انْ تَكُّشْا قُلُّبُهُمْ 'that their hearts should be humble', 5.41, with a paraphrase 'انْ قُلُّبُهُمْ تَكُّشْا قُلُّبُهُمْ and see further Fischer, Z.A.L. 1, 24). Commonly with 'inna, 'anna etc. an empty pronoun hū 'it' is suffixed when it is wished to retain the original verbal sentence word order, e.g. 'انْحُو كَانَ يُزُدْ قَيْمَ 'that Zayd was standing'. This pronoun is termed ُذَارِنْ ُءُشْ 'the pronoun of the matter', v. Muf. #167; Beeston 49; Yushmanov 73.

(2) See 16.301. Note the substitution technique in the analysis to follow, showing how 'anna clauses are equivalent to single words.

(3) i.e. 'anna clauses are always subordinate, see 10.421.

10.421 (1) Jum. 69; Muf. #517; Alf. v 177. While it might be enough to say that 'inna clauses are autonomous sentences while 'anna clauses are not, the Arab explanation (which comes to the same thing) uses the substitution principle (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 154) to demonstrate that 'anna clauses cannot fill one of the requirements of a complete utterance, viz. to be composite (1.12). In theory 'inna can only introduce direct speech (more accurately, can only be part of an actual utterance, cf. 10.64 n 1), which is why 'inna clauses must fulfil every one of the criteria of the complete utterance (1.11-14), and why 'anna clauses cannot.

10.43 (1) Muf. #528; Qâṭr 157 (cf. Muğnī I, 224). The etymology of َلَكَى 'anna is given as ُلَا كَآ 'anna, a kind of negative of ُكَآ 'anna (10.44) meaning 'not thus', though the assumed contraction of ُكَآ 'anna to َكَيْنَ is not explained (Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 480). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with َلَكَى, q.v. 12.9.
sitting', where qāma 'stood' is a past tense verb, al-qawmu 'the people' is an agent made independent (35b) by qāma 'stood', lākinna 'but' is a particle of amendment which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, kālidan 'Kālid' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker, and qācidun 'sitting' is its predicate made independent by it with u as its independence marker. This particle may be preceded by a positive statement, as in the above example, or by a negative one, e.g. mā qāma 1-qawmu lākinna ʿamran qāʿimun 'the people did not stand but ʿAmr is standing'.

10.44 (4) kaʿanna 'as if',1 (spelt with double n), e.g. kaʿanna zaydan 'asadun ' (it is) as if Zayd is a lion',2 where kaʿanna 'as if' is a particle of comparison which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, zaydan 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker, and 'asadun 'a lion'3 is its predicate made independent by it with u as its independence marker.

10.45 (5) layta 'would that',1 e.g. layta zaydan qāʿimun 'would that Zayd were standing', where layta 'would that' is a particle of wishing which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, zaydan 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with a as its dependence marker, and qāʿimun 'standing' is its predicate made independent by it with u as its independence marker.

10.46 (6) laʿcalla 'perhaps',1 e.g. laʿcalla ʿl-ḥabība qādimun 'perhaps the beloved is coming', where laʿcalla 'perhaps' is a particle of hoping which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, ʿl-ḥabība 'the beloved' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with a
(2) Note the functional definition, ḥarf istidrāk 'particle of amendment', by which the amorphous element acquires an identity in terms of a linguistic action (cf. 1.92 n 1); see 10.52 for the definition of 'amending'.

(3) Through an apparent oversight both manuscripts have qā'īdun 'sitting' here (repeated from the first example, above), which has been changed to qā'imun 'standing' on the grounds that the contradiction of a negated term is its positive. Muf. #528 has a more coherent set of examples.

10.44 (1) Muf. #531; Qaṭr 153 (cf. Muḥnī I, 162). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with the 'lightened' allomorph ka'an, cf. 12.903 n 1, which does not operate upon the following noun; see Muf. #532; Qaṭr 160; Fleisch 205.

(2) The example is presented here as an autonomous statement, which raises doubts about the etymology of ka'anna: precisely because it does occur in apparently independent utterances, it is explained in Muf. #531 as a compound of the comparative ka 'like' (1.708) and the particle 'inna 'verily' (10.41). However, since ka'anna is found also with subordinate clauses, it is more consistent to treat it as a compound of ka and 'anna 'that' (10.42), and to assume that the main clause has been elided whenever a ka'anna sentence appears in isolation (so Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. 539).

(3) In some works (e.g. Muf. #531), the example is cited with al-'asadu instead of 'asadun, i.e. with the 'generic article' (11.741); observe that in 1.708 the example likewise has the generic article.

10.45 (1) Muf. #535; Qaṭr 48 (cf. Muḥnī I, 221); Fleisch 192. The word at least has a genuine verbal content to account for its operation upon dependent nouns: it is a reduced form of the optative verb (14.34 n 3) ra'ayta 'may you see', with regular loss of intervocalic ' and an apparently unique sound change of initial r to l (not noted by Cantineau, Études 49, who asserts to the contrary that Classical Arabic r has to all intents and purposes ('pour ainsi dire') undergone no changes). Paradoxically the colloquial equivalent yā rēt 'if only it were so' preserves the original r.

(2) This includes pronouns, of course, thus laytahu 'would that he', etc. In the first person singular the suffix is accordingly the verbal (direct object) suffix nī, q.v. 16.301, and see see 5.55(g) for an example; Nöldeke 41, however, records a few instances of laytī, with the nominal suffix Ī, q.v. 4.72 n 2.

10.46 (1) Muf. #535; Qaṭr 48 (cf. Muḥnī I, 222); Nöldeke 40. There seems to be no reason to doubt Nöldeke's assertion (40 n 2) that la'alla has always been a verb, namely C'alla (perhaps connected with the idea of repetition: this verb exists independently in the meaning 'to give a second drink'), prefixed with the emphasizing la (13.6 n 3). For the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) it was a question of whether la'alla was simple or compound: the Baṣrans inclined to the view that
10.50 The author then illustrates some of these: e.g. 'inna zaydan qā‘imun 'verily Zayd is standing', layta cāmra nāšīqin 'would that Āmīr were setting forth', and the like.

10.51 Having finished enumerating these particles the author now turns to their senses, which are various. The meaning of 'inna 'verily' (i.e. the one spelt with i) and 'anna 'that' (i.e. the one spelt with a) is to denote emphasis, i.e. to emphasize the relationship between the subject and the predicate.

10.52 The meaning of lākinna 'but' is to amend, which is to follow one utterance with another revoking what was previously supposed to have been asserted or denied.

10.53 The meaning of ka‘anna 'as if' is comparison, i.e. to show that one thing shares a certain common meaning with another thing.

10.54 The meaning of layta 'would that' is to express a wish, i.e. the desire for something beyond one's aspirations, such as layta s-sābah ya‘ūdu yawman 'would that youth would return some day', or the desire for something difficult, such as (36a) layta lī māla nāfaj bihi 'would that I had some money to make the pilgrimage with'.

10.55 The meaning of la‘alla 'perhaps' is to express a hope, i.e. the desire for something much wanted, or expectation. It is used in the latter sense by people to express apprehension of something unpleasant, e.g. la‘alla zaydan hālikun 'perhaps Zayd has perished', while the expression of a hope for something wanted is seen in la‘alla līhā yarṣamunī 'perhaps God will have mercy on me', for perishing is something unpleasant, and mercy is much wanted.

10.56 The author now turns to the third group of elements which cancel the grammatical rule of the subject and predicate, namely zanna 'to think' and its related verbs. These are the verbs which precede
it was compound, and cited verses in which Calla appears alone. The Kufans fulfilled their dialectical role by rejecting this on the grounds that 'particles' consist entirely of root letters and cannot form derivatives by augmentation; cases of Calla alone they dismiss as elisions (see Inšāf, prob. 26). Note, too, the anomalous occurrence of laCalla as a pure preposition, 26.1 (2). See further 10.55 n 3.

10.50(1) In passing it should be noted that the operation of these particles is voided in two ways: (a) by suffixing mā (nominally the same as Lat. quod, but see further 9.83 n 2), and (b) by 'lightening' i.e. reducing the final double nn, e.g. 'inna⇒'in, see further 12.903 n 1. 'Lightening' is taḵff, lit. translated, a morphophonological term (cf. 'phonetic inconvenience' in 2.31 n 4).

10.51 (1) Note the compound conjunctions li-'anna 'because', maFa 'anna 'although' etc. (cf. Fleisch 203f). On 'senses' maGānī in this context see 1.701 n 2: there is no possibility that lexical meaning is intended here, and the particles can only be described in terms of the kind of 'speech act' they involve (cf. 1.92 n 1).

10.52 (1) See 10.43 on lākinna.

10.53 (1) See 10.44. This definition of comparison (tašbīh, lit. 'deeming similar') is not grammatical, but is taken over from rhetoric, where maGānā 'meaning' is more narrowly semantic in connotation, and could well be translated 'idea' (see Versteegh 187 and al-Jurjānī, Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst, tr. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959, 43f, 104f.

10.54 (1) See 10.45. 'Express a wish' renders tamannī, lit. 'action of wishing' (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root m-n-w, cf. 10.34 n 1). It is discussed by aš-Širbīnī in his Qur'ān Commentary I, 74, on S. 2 v 95, where he concludes that 'hoping' is not a genuine 'mental operation' (min 'aGmāli l-qulūbi) of the same nature as that of the true 'mental verbs' in 10.6, but is only a verbal formality (kalimatu tamannī 'a word of hoping'), because it is absurd (muḥāl 'self-contradictory') to aspire to something that exists only in the mind.

(2) The subordinate verb 'abujuja 'that I may make the pilgrimage' is explained in 5.54, and in 5.55 (g) there is another example of laytu.

10.55 (1) See 10.46. 'Express a hope' translates tarajjī, lit. 'action of hoping' (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root r-j-w, cf. 10.34 n 1), though it is a little broader than the English implies, as it embraces the anticipation of both good and bad.

(2) 'Expectation' is a literal translation of tawaggūC (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root w-q-C, cf. 10.34 n 1).

(3) Note that the form laCallāf, with direct object suffix (10.46 n 1) is commonly replaced by laCallīf: this is probably not the possessive suffix ð, but the result of an analogical extension based on 'anīf, where the ð suffix arises from reduction of 'annanī (Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 131 n 1), and cf. 'innā for 'innanā in 10.67, 12.41.

10.6 (1) Jum. 41; Muf. #440; Alf. v 206; Qatr 171; Beeston 93, 96;
equational sentences after their own agent has been duly accounted for and make both subject and predicate dependent as a pair of direct objects. In the author's own words: ẓananta 'to think' and its related verbs make both the subject and predicate dependent. (But only after their own agent has been duly accounted for, as stated already). They comprise ten verbs according to the author, of which four convey the strong probability of occurrence of the second direct object:—

10.61 (1) ẓanantu 'I thought', as in ẓanantu zaydan qāʿiman 'I thought Zayd was standing', where ẓanantu 'I thought' is a verb and agent, zaydan 'Zayd' is its first direct object, and qāʿiman 'standing' is its second direct object. Here ẓan 'thinking' is used in the meaning of 'reckoning', as in the Qurʾanic innahu ẓanna 'an lan yābīra 'verily he thought that he would not return', or of 'knowing', as in the Qurʾanic wa-ẓannū 'an lā malja'āmin allāhi liāliāi 'ilā ilayhi 'and they thought that there was no refuge from God except in Him', and not in the meaning of 'suspicion'.

10.62 (2) ḥasibtu 'I reckoned', as in ḥasibtu zaydan šadīqan 'I reckoned Zayd a friend', where ḥasibtu 'I reckoned' is a verb and agent, zaydan 'Zayd' is its first direct object, and šadīqan 'a friend' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here ḥasiba 'to reckon' (spelt with i after the s) is used in the meaning of 'consider', as in the Qurʾanic wa-yahsabūna annahum ḥaīla ṣayin 'and they reckoned they are on to something', or of 'knowing', as in ḥasibtu t-tuqa wa-l-jūda ḡayra tijāratin 'I reckoned piety and generosity to be the best of merchandise', and not in the meaning of širtu 'ahsaba 'I became tawny' or 'blond' or 'pink'.

...
Fleisch 183. These are the 'afCāl al-qulūb, lit. 'the verbs of the heart', see 24.25 n 1 and cf. 10.71. Western analysis makes the 'predicate' after these verbs a kind of circumstantial qualifier, but with reservations (see Beeston 96, and compare 10.21 n 2).

(2) Lit. 'after their agent has done all that is required of it', a commercial term based on the verb wafā 'to pay up, keep one's word', and here meaning that there must be a complete Verb-Agent sentence before the proposition which forms the double object of these verbs.

(3) Printed eds. have 'as a pair of direct objects' here as part of Ibn Ḥjurrūm's original text.

(4) To these may be added synonyms, cf. 10.62 n 1, 10.63 n 1, 10.66 n 1.

(5) Or rather, of the predicate which functions as a second direct obj.

10.61 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that here the verbs are quoted in their 1st sing. past form instead of the conventional 3rd sing. masc. (3.52 n 3): this may be in order to emphasize that these verbs already have their agents (10.6 n 2), contrasting with the kāna group (10.1). The verb ẓanāna is a 'doubled verb' (fīCī mugāfaf), i.e. its 2nd and 3rd radicals are identical. The past tense, active paradigm is:

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<td>1st</td>
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<td>2nd masc.</td>
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<td>3rd masc.</td>
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Passive ẓunintu, ẓunna etc. See further 11.3 n 1 for remaining forms.

(2) For no apparent reason the noun ẓann 'thinking' is used here instead of quoting the verb conventionally in the 3rd sing. masc.

(3) S. 84 v 14; see 10.41 on 'innahu, 5.42 on ẓan with dep. verb.

(4) S. 9 v 118; see 22.12 on Ṽā with dep. noun, ch. 21 on 'illā.

(5) Thus ẓanantuhu with only one direct object would mean 'I suspected him', though it is probably more likely to be understood as 'I thought so'. On these verbs with 'an clauses (5.41) see Fleisch 199.

10.62 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. To this section we might also add the verb 'adda 'to reckon, count', e.g. ẓaddatuḫu šadiqan if 'I counted him a friend of mine' ('adda is a doubled verb, q.v. 10.61 n 1). On the medial vowel i of ḥasibā cf. 10.22 n 2.

(2) S. 58 v 18; see 10.42 on 'annahum. The phrase Calā ẓay'in seems to correspond literally to the English idiom.

(3) First hemistich of a verse ending ribāban 'iḏā mA 1-mar'u ʿaṣbaḫa taqīlān 'as a profit whenever a man became burdened' (Schaw. Ind. 210); on ẓayra see 5.82 n 5, 'iḏā 5.94, redundant mā 5.85 n 1, ʿaṣbaḫa 10.13.

(4) Note dep. form after ṣīrūt (10.17); on the adjectival pattern 'afCāl cf. 3.89 (10).
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

10.63 (3) *kiltu* 'I imagined', as in *kiltu* 1-ḥilāla lā’ihan 'I imagined the new moon had appeared', where *kiltu* 'I imagined' is a verb and agent, *al-ḥilāla* 'the crescent moon' is its first direct object, and *lā’ihan* 'becoming visible' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *kāla* 'he imagined' is the past tense of *yakālu* 'he imagines' in the meaning of *zanna* 'to think', as in *yakālu* 1-firāra yurākī 1-‘ajala 'he imagines flight will make easier the time of reckoning', or *’alima* 'to know', as in wa-ḵiltun ṭīya smun 'and I imagined I had a name' and is not the past tense of *yakūlu* 'he takes care of' in the meaning of *yata*kahadu 'he looks after' or *yatakabbaru* 'he behaves proudly'.

10.64 (4) *zaCamtu* 'I asserted', as in *zaCamtu* bakran Ṯālīman 'I asserted that Bakr was wise', where *zaCamtu* 'I asserted' (36b) is a verb and agent, *bakran* 'Bakr' is its first direct object, and *Ṭālīman* 'wise' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *zaCamma* 'to assert' has the meaning of *zanna* 'to think', as in the verse *zaCamtan ṭāya wa-lastu bi-ṭaykin* 'innamā s-ṭayku man yadibbu dabīban 'you asserted that I was an old man, but I am not an old man; an old man is only somebody who goes creeping around slowly', and not in the meaning of *kafala* 'to stand surety', *samina* 'to be fat' or *hazala* 'to joke'. The four verbs listed above convey the strong probability of the occurrence of the second direct object over its non-occurrence.

10.65 (5) *ra’aytu* 'I regarded', as in *ra’aytu* 1-mārūf a maḥbūban 'I regarded the favour as desirable', where *ra’aytu* 'I regarded' is a verb and agent, *al-mārūf* 'the favour' is its first direct object, and *maḥbūban* 'a thing desired' is its second direct object. Here *ra’aytu* 'I regarded' has the meaning of *ṭālīmu* 'I knew', as in *ra’aytu llāha akbara kullī ṣay’in muḥāwalatū wa-akṭarahun junūdan* 'I regarded God as the greatest of all in power and the most numerous in forces', or of
10.63 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Add here the synonym tawahhama 'to suppose, fancy' and the idiomatic hab 'grant, suppose', imperative of weak 1st rad. wahaba 'to bestow' (cf. 10.38 n 1). On the form of ḡāla/ ḡiltu see below, n 4.

(2) Second half of a verse beginning daḵīfu n-nikāyati 'aḏā'ahu 'weak in the spitting of his enemies', Schaw. Ind. 173. As often happens, the verse was originally quoted for quite a different purpose, viz. to illustrate the verbal operation of the defined verbal noun an-nikāyati 'the spiting' on 'aḏā'ahu 'his enemies' (v. 16.312 n 1, 24.31 n 1).

(3) Verse fragment: daḵānī l-cawānī ḡammahunna wa-ḵILTuni liya smun fa-lā 'udā bihi wa-huwa 'awwalu 'the maidens called me their uncle, and I imagined I had a name, but I am not called by it while he is first' (Schaw. Ind. 180). Note that kiltunī corresponds to the Eng. reflexive 'I imagined myself'; on li paraphrasing 'to have' see 26.27 n 3; liya is li (= liy, 2.43 n 2) with glide vowel before the initial consonant cluster of smun (ismun in isolation, v. 11.1 n 2); wa-huwa is normally pronounced wa-hwa in verse. Note the genuinely doubly transitive verb daḵā here (10.14 n 2), 'called me their uncle' (concordance between verb and fem. plur. agent, 7.29, overlooked as a poetic licence).

(4) The verb ḡāla has two different roots: from k-y-1 comes ḡāla, imperfect tense yakālu 'to imagine' (cf. 10.23 n 2 end), while from k-w-l comes ḡāla/yaḵālu 'to look after' (like qāma, 10.23 n 2).

10.64 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. All verbs of stating, thinking, believing etc. have an alternative structure with 'anna (10.42), e.g. zaḵamtu 'anna bakran Qālimun 'I asserted that Bakr was wise', where the whole clause functions as a direct object. The one exception is qāla 'to say', which must be followed by 'inna (10.41), e.g. qāla 'inna bakran Qālimun: since there is, in theory, no indirect speech in Arabic, this may mean 'he said, "Verily Bakr is wise"' (with 'inna part of what was said) or 'he said that Bakr was wise'. (where 'inna merely subordinates the original bakrun Qālimun to qāla). From earliest times indirect speech forms have permeated reported direct speech so that, out of context, qāla 'innahu marīḍūn can mean either 'he said that he (himself) was ill' or 'he said that he (someone else) was ill'.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 32. On lastu see 10.18, esp. n 4 for predicate with bi: 'innama 9.83 n 2; doubled verb yadibbu 11.3 n 1 (cf. dabīban from same root).

10.65 (1) Here the past tense paradigm of raʾā 'to see', active:

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<th>sing.</th>
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<th>plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>raʾaytu</td>
<td>raʾaytu</td>
<td>raʾāyynā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>raʾayta</td>
<td>raʾayatumā</td>
<td>raʾaytum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>raʾaytī</td>
<td>raʾaytūnnaa</td>
<td>raʾaytunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>raʾā</td>
<td>raʾayā</td>
<td>raʾaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>raʾat</td>
<td>raʾatā</td>
<td>raʾayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Schaw. Ind. 76: occasionally the manuscript does not set out verses in red ink and on separate lines, and this has been followed in the
and what they regard as far off, not the meaning of 'to catch the eye', 'seeing with the eye', or 'vision'.

10.66 (6) *kalimtu* 'I knew', as in *kalimtu kālidan nā'īman* 'I knew Kālid was sleeping', where *kalimtu* 'I knew' is a verb and agent, *kālidan* 'Kālid' is its first direct object, and *nā'īman* 'sleeping' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *kalimtu* 'I knew' has the meaning of *tayaqqantu* 'I was certain', as in the Qur'anic *fa-'īn kalimtuūhu sābiran* 'verily we have found him patient', not in the meaning of *araftu* 'I was acquainted with' or *ṣirtu* 'aqlama 'I became split-lipped'.

10.67 (7) *wajadtu* 'I found', as in *wajadtu l-ṣīlma nāfīcan* 'I found learning beneficial', where *wajadtu* 'I found' is a verb and agent, *l-ṣīlma* 'learning' is its first direct object, and *nāfīcan* 'beneficial' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *wajadu* 'to find' has the meaning of *kalima* 'to (come to) know', as in the Qur'anic *innā wajadnū sābiran* 'verily we have found him patient', not in the meaning of *aṣāba* 'to come upon', *gādiba* 'to be angry' or *ḥazina* 'to grieve'. The three verbs listed above convey the certainty of occurrence of the second direct object.

10.68 (8) *ittakadtu* 'I adopted', as in the Qur'anic *ittakada llāhu 'ibrāhīma kālidan* 'God adopted Abraham as a friend', where *ittakada* 'llāhu 'God adopted' is a verb and agent, *'ibrāhīma* 'Abraham' is its
translation. See 20.42 n 3 on syntax of superlatives.

(3) S. 70 v 6. Here the paradigm of the active, imperfect tense, indep. form of ra'ā 'to see':

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'arā</td>
<td>narā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tarā</td>
<td>tarawna</td>
<td>tarayāni</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarayna</td>
<td>tarayna</td>
<td>tarayāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yarā</td>
<td>yarawna</td>
<td>yarayāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarā</td>
<td>yarā</td>
<td>yarayāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This verb loses its middle rad. ' in imperfect, otherwise ends like yakšā throughout (dep. yara etc., 4.82 n 1, apoc. yara etc., 3.92 n 1). Past tense active 10.65 n 1; passive imperfect yurā etc., like yurmā, 8.3 n 1 (b), past tense ru'iya etc., like laqiya, 10.14 n 2.

(4) Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of this verb also loses its middle radical ' in imperfect tense: 'urf, yurf etc. (endings as yarmī, 4.82 n 1) and in past tense: 'araytu, 'arē etc. (endings as ra'ā, 10.65 n 1), meaning 'to show'. Passive past tense 'urītu, 'uriya; imperfect tense is same as Stem I. As causative of ra'ā cf. 16.310 n 1.

10.66 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Here can be added the synonym darā 'to know' (like ra'ā in past tense, 10.65 n 1 and yarmī in imperfect, 4.82 n 1), and Stem V imperative (8.64 n 1) ta'callam 'learn' (Alf. v 208).

(2) S. 60 v 10. Note the ū intervening between the verb calimtum and the object suffix hunna; Proto-Semitic probably had ū in this position (Moscati #13.26-27, Birkeland, Altarabische Pausalformen, Oslo 1940, 92), and it is found also on the free pronoun hum (e.g. 9.44, 11.719), viz. humū but spelt humū', with the otiose 'alif, q.v. 7.61 n 2), but its partial survival in Arabic is difficult to explain (stress is a possible factor).

10.67 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. The main irregularities of 1st rad. w verbs are in the imperative (10.38 n 1) and imperfect tense:

<table>
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<th>sing.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ajidu</td>
<td>nājido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tajidu</td>
<td>tajidūna</td>
<td>tajidāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tajīdana</td>
<td>tajidna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yajidu</td>
<td>yajidūna</td>
<td>yajidāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tajīdu</td>
<td>tajidāni</td>
<td>yajidāni</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(2) S. 38 v 44. Note 'innā, reduction of 'innanā, cf. 10.55 n 3.

10.68 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1; see also 10.69 n 3.

(2) S. 4 v 125 (from this verse comes the now proper name Kalīl for Abraham; cf. 3.89 (5) on 'ibrāhīmu). The verb ittakada is an unusual Stem VIII form (8.68 n 1) of the verb 'aḵaḏa 'to take', in which the first radical ' has assimilated to the infix t; in most such verbs the ' either remains (i'tamara from 'amara 'to order') or changes to y (Itamara, = iytamara, cf. 2.43 n 2). With the assimilation 't = tt ittakada falls together with the weak 1st rad. verbs, where wt is always assimilated to tt, e.g. ittābada 'to be united', root w-h-d, and cf.
first direct object and َkalîlan 'a friend' is its second direct ob-
ject, both made dependent by the verb.

10.69 (9) ِjaَcaltu 'I made', as in ِjaَcaltu ْت-ْتَنَا َكازافان 'I made the clay into pottery', where ِjaَcaltu 'I made' is a verb and agent, ْت-ْتَنَا 'the clay' is its first direct object, (37a) and َكازافان 'pottery' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Note that ِjaَcلا 'to make' in the meaning of َقَتَقَاد 'to consider' (as, for example, in the Qur'anic ِوا-ِجاَلَعْْتُمَا ََلَلَا َلِمَا ِهِنَا 'and they made the angels, who are the servants of the Merciful God, females') is not the same as ِjaَقلا 'to make' in the meaning of َكالا 'to create' that it has above.

10.70 (10) َسَمَيَصُت 'I heard', as in َسَمَيَصُت ْن-ْنَابِيْيَا َسَاللَا َلِلَا َوَ َسَاللَا َلُهَ 'I heard the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) say...', where َسَمَيَصُت 'I heard' is a verb and agent, َن-ْنَابِيْيَا 'the Prophet' is its first direct object, and the sentence َيَقَلُ 'he says' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb.

10.71 Note: The author is somewhat unusual in mentioning َسَمَيَ 'to hear' in this category, and is, in fact, following َعَبْبَ عَبْأَ عَبْلِ فَارِسِي, who says that if it precedes something that is not actually heard, then it is doubly transitive. The majority say that the sentence َيَقَلُ 'he says' and such like have dependent status as circumstantial qualifiers of the direct object, since the verbs of the five senses are transitive to only one direct object, e.g. َسَمَيَصُت ْت-ْكَالَا  'I heard the speech', َأَبْسَرَعُ ْت-ْهِلَلَا 'I saw the new moon', َشَمَامْتُ ْت-ْفِبَا 'I smelt the scent', َدِغَتْ ْت-ْتَقَمَا 'I tasted the food', َلَمْيَصَ ْت-ْتَفَبَا 'I touched the cloth'.

10.8 The author then illustrates some of these verbs: e.g. َزَنُانْتُ َزَدَيْنَ ْمَنْتَالِغَان 'I thought Zayd had gone away', َكَلَتْ َكَالَرَمَان َشَكِيْنَان
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muttaṣīl 'bound (pronoun)', agent noun of ittaṣala, root w-ṣ-ṣ. There is, in fact, a widespread fluctuation between initial ' and w (even in Classical Arabic, cf. ‘ahad 'one' (pronoun) and wāḥid 'one' (adjective)). See Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 18, 120, 192.

10.69 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that in the first example given, the second direct object is actually a noun (and so ittakaga in the previous paragraph): it seems that here we are leaving the realm of propositions as objects and entering the realm of genuinely doubly transitive verbs (cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity). For this reason jaQala (and, others, see n 3 below) are classified by the later grammarians as 'afQal at-taḥwīl 'verbs of transformation'. In this they clearly relate to kāna 'to be' and šāra 'to become' which, perhaps because they denote states of being rather than modes, also have nouns in their predicates (cf. 10.21 n 2 end).

(2) S. 43 v 19. Here jaQala is regarded as a true 'mental verb' (10.6 n 1), because the agent of jaQalū 'they made' is the unbelievers, and this can only mean that they 'consider' the angels female, hence the paraphrase with iQtahada 'to consider'.

(3) Here we may also add other 'verbs of transformation' such as radda 'to restore', šayyara 'to cause to become' (cf. šāra 'to become', 10.17) and see further Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. 87, Wright II, 47. An example of kalaqa 'to create' is in 19.34.

10.70 (1) This verb is neither a 'mental' nor 'transforming' verb, see the argument in 10.71.

(2) This is the usual way of introducing a Tradition of the Prophet (cf. 1.01 n 4).

10.71 (1) On Abu ĞAfī al-Fārisī see G.A.L. I, 113, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Fārisī', and the monograph Abu ĞAfī al-Fārisī by ĞAbd al-Fattāḥ IsmāQīl Šalabi, Cairo 1968. He belonged to the 'Basran' school (9.4 n 3) and was active at the Buwayhid court in Baghdad, dying in 987. See Mehiri (op. cit. 24.1 n 2) on his most famous pupil, Ibn Jinnī.

(2) The problem is discussed at greater length by as-Ṣabbān, on al-Uāmūn Ê on Alî v 207, where the original inclusion of samiQa is attributed to al-Akfağ (26.01 n 3). The claim is that if the first object of samiQa is not what was actually heard then the second object must denote what was heard just as, after ţanna (10.61) the second object denotes what was thought. Alternatively the second dependent element may be treated as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19), as in the paraphrase samiQtu n-nabiyya gā’ilan 'I heard the Prophet saying'.

(3) 'afQal al-ḥawāss 'verbs of the senses', a very late introduction into grammatical terminology (cf. also 24.25 n 1).

(4) See 16.309 n 1.

10.8 (1) These verbs do not operate on sentences prefixed with la (v. 13.6 n 4), e.g. žanantu la-zaydun munṭalīgūn or negatives lā, mā etc., e.g. žanantu mā zaydun munṭalīgūn, or interrogative 'a (5.741 n 1),
10.9 Having finished with the cancellers, the author next turns to the concordants, which are four in number: the adjective, the coordinate, the corroborative, and the substitute.

11.0 Chapter on the adjective. He then describes it in terms of some of its special characteristics to make it easier for the beginner:

11.01 The adjective concords with its antecedent in independence, (if the antecedent is independent), dependence, (if the antecedent is dependent), obliqueness, (if the antecedent is oblique), definition, (if the antecedent is defined), and indefiniteness, (if the antecedent is undefined). This applies whether the adjective is a true adjective (i.e. which qualifies only its antecedent), or is the semantically linked kind (i.e. which qualifies something other than its antecedent).

11.02 The true adjective, moreover, concords with its antecedent in four out of ten features: one of the three inflections (independence, dependence and obliqueness), one of either definition or indefiniteness, 
e.g. ẓanantu 'a-zaydun muntalīquṇ; see Muf. #445; Alf. v 213; Qaṭr 174. In some cases there exists the possibility of treble transitivity, by making the verb causative (Stem IV, 8.63 n 1), e.g. 'aclamtuḥu zaydun muntalīquṇ. lit. 'I made him know Zayd going away', i.e. 'I informed him that Zayd was going' (cf. 16.310 n 1).

10.9 (1) Some make it five by subdividing coordination into two, explanatory and sequential (see 12.0 nn 2, 3).

11.0 (1) Jum. 26; Muf. #140; Alf. v 506; Qaṭr 322; Beeston 44; Fleisch 186; Bateson 43, 48; Yushmanov 68; Diem, Oriens 23/24, 312. There are two almost synonymous sets of terminology: wasf or naẓt 'describing function' and 'describing element, adjective', ẓifa 'adjective', also 'quality, property' (cf. 14.31 n 2), mawsūf or manCūt 'thing described' (here translated as 'antecedent'). While wasf and naẓt appear to be completely interchangeable (and are also used to denote circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. ch. 19), ẓifa only occurs when the antecedent is a noun (so Mosel, Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sibawaih, Munich 1975, 287). But ẓifa is broader in meaning than our 'adjective': verbs, relative clauses etc. are also ẓifa (Diem, 313). The terminological doublets remain unexplained.

11.01 (1) tābiC li-l-manCūt, lit. 'a follower of the thing described'; tābiC 'follower' may originally have referred only to word order, but was soon extended to cover agreement in number, gender and definition (hence tabCiiya 'concordance', but see 11.02 n 1). In 13.45 tābiC has the meaning 'subsidiary, subordinate'.

(2) 'True adjective' is literal for naẓt haqīqī, but for naẓt sababī an explanatory rendering has had to be used, see further 11.5 n 1.

11.02 (1) The translation of this paragraph may give a slightly more abstract impression than the original: 'features', 'numbers' and 'gender' are not in the original, and 'inflections' is perhaps less concrete than the Arabic wujūh al-'īṯrāb 'modes of inflection' (cf. 22.4 n 1, and cf. 2.15 n 1). There are, in fact, no higher order abstract terms for the features dealt with here (even though Greek and Syriac equivalents were readily available for borrowing): 'case' is sometimes referred to as a 'state' of the noun (ḥāla, but see 11.2 n 1), and the rest are simply enumerated (virtual merismos). Even tabCiiya does not mean concordance as a grammatical category, but only the property that some Arabic words have of 'following' the inflection of their antecedent (cf. 1.31 n 4).
one of the three numbers (singular, dual and plural), and one of (37b) either masculine or feminine gender. Whichever four of these ten are present in the antecedent must also be present in the true adjective.2

11.1 With the true adjective, qualifying its antecedent both in form and meaning and containing a concealed pronoun which it makes independent, you thus say in the independent state jā'a zaydun il-ğālī 'Zayd the intelligent came', where jā'a 'came' is a past tense verb, zaydun 'Zayd' is its agent made independent by it and qualified by the adjective, and al-ğālī 'the intelligent' is an adjective to zaydun 'Zayd', concording with it in independence (out of the three inflections), in definition (out of the two, definition and indefiniteness), in singular number (out of the three, singular, dual and plural) and in masculine gender (out of the two, masculine and feminine): hence four out of the ten features are present both in the adjective and its antecedent.

11.2 In the dependent state you say ra'aytu zaydan il-ğālī 'I saw Zayd the intelligent', where ra'aytu 'I saw' is a verb and agent, zaydan 'Zayd' is its direct object made dependent by ra'a 'to see' and qualified by the adjective, and al-ğālī 'the intelligent' is an adjective to zaydan 'Zayd', concording with it in dependence (out of the three inflections), in definition (out of the two, definition and indefiniteness), in singular number (out of the three, singular, dual and plural) and in masculine gender (out of the two, masculine and feminine): hence four out of the ten features are present both in the adjective and its antecedent.

11.3 In the oblique state you say marartu bi-zaydin il-ğālī 'I passed by Zayd the intelligent'. Here marartu 'I passed' is a verb and agent,
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(2) This is true for attributive adjectives only: see 9.12 for the predicative adjective. For 'semantically linked' adjectives see 11.5.

11.1 (1) See 2.1 n 2 on lāfẓ 'form' and maqānā 'meaning', and 11.45 on the concealed pronoun assumed in the predicative adjective. On the syntactic contrast between concord and discord see 19.5 n 2. Note that nouns and adjectives are not morphologically distinct (cf. 3.41), but see 11.61 n 1 for functional differences.

(2) It will be noticed that 'intelligent' has been transliterated in isolation as al-qāgīlu but in context as il-qāgīlu (and even l-qāgīlu elsewhere, e.g. 11.41). The variations are due to the nature of the prefix al 'the' (1.5) and the rule that no syllable may begin with more than one consonant (2.43 n 2). The three solutions are: (a) utterance initial al is written and pronounced 'al, forming an independent closed syllable, CVC; (b) after a short vowel (or long, since these are automatically shortened in this context) al is pronounced l (but still written 'al), the l now closing the previous syllable, CV-C; (c) after a consonant al is pronounced l (and still spelt 'al), but a new syllable is created by introducing a glide vowel, usually i, C-V-C. The constant spelling 'al is historical, all words being spelt as if in isolation (cf. 2.14 n 2), but in juncture the ' bears a special sign indicating that it is not to be pronounced (the hamzat al-wasl ' ' of juncture'). For assimilation of l to following consonants see 11.41 n 2.

All other initial consonant clusters are resolved on the same principle, by prefixing i (for exception see 5.2 n 3), written 'i but elided in juncture (see further 13.12 n 1). There is occasional vowel harmony, notably with hum, kum, tum, e.g. katabtum ul-kitāba 'you (masc. plur.) wrote the book' (another example 22.43 n 1), and with min 'from' the glide vowel is always a (e.g. 1.701).

11.2 (1) A comparison with the use of the term ḥāl(a), plur. ḥālāt or 'āhwāl (19.0 n 3) in 3.422, 5.93, 9.8, 18.104, 21.1 etc. will show that 'case' would be far too narrow a translation, however tempting here.

(2) Note that the verb is quoted conventionally in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense form (3.52 n 3); the full paradigm is in 10.65 n 1.

11.3 (1) This verb is a 'doubled verb' (fiikāl muḍāCAF), i.e. one whose second and third radicals are the same. An apparent irregularity in this class of verb is caused by the phonological rule that identical consonants tend to assimilate when separated by an unstressed vowel, cf. the paradigm of the imperfect tense, independent form, active:

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<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>&quot;amurru</td>
<td>namurru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tamurru</td>
<td>tamurrāni</td>
<td>tamurrūna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tamurrīna</td>
<td>tamurrūna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yamurru</td>
<td>yamurrāni</td>
<td>yamurrūna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tamurru</td>
<td>tamurrāni</td>
<td>yamurrūna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bi-zaydīn 'by Zayd' is an operator of obliqueness and its oblique element semantically connected with marartu 'I passed', with zaydīn 'Zayd' qualified by the adjective, and al-Cāqīlī 'the intelligent' is an adjective to zaydīn 'Zayd', concordant with it in obliqueness (out of the three inflections), in definition (out of the two, definition and indefiniteness), in singular number (out of the three, singular, dual and plural), and in masculine gender (out of the two, masculine and feminine); hence four out of the ten features are present both in the adjective and its antecedent.

11.41 In the (38a) defined masculine dual you say jā'a z-zaydānī l-Cāqīlānī 'the two intelligent Zayds came', ra'aytu z-zaydānī l-Cāqīlāynī 'I saw the two intelligent Zayds' and marartu bi-z-zaydānī l-Cāqīlātnī 'I passed by the two intelligent Zayds'. In the defined masculine plural you say jā'a z-zaydūnā l-Cāqīlūnā 'the intelligent Zayds came', ra'aytu z-zaydīnā l-Cāqīlīnā 'I saw the intelligent Zayds' and marartu bi-z-zaydīnā l-Cāqīlīnā 'I passed by the intelligent Zayds'.

11.42 In the defined feminine singular you say jā'at hindun il-Cāqīlūtā 'Hind the intelligent came', ra'aytun hindūn il-Cāqīlūtā 'I saw Hind the intelligent' and marartu bi-hindin il-Cāqīlūtā 'I passed by Hind the intelligent'. In the defined feminine dual you say jā'at il-hindānī l-Cāqīlātānī 'the two intelligent Hinds came', ra'aytu l-hindānī l-Cāqīlātāynī 'I saw the two intelligent Hinds' and marartu bi-l-hindānī l-Cāqīlātānī 'I passed by the two intelligent Hinds'. In the defined feminine plural you say jā'at il-hindūtā l-Cāqīlūtā 'the intelligent Hinds came', ra'aytu l-hindūtā l-Cāqīlūtā 'I saw the intelligent Hinds' and marartu bi-l-hindūtā l-Cāqīlūtā 'I passed by the intelligent Hinds'.

11.43 These are all defined; the corresponding undefined forms are, in the masculine singular, jā'a rajulūn Cāqīlūn 'an intelligent man came', ra'aytu rajulūn Cāqīlūn 'I saw an intelligent man', marartu bi-rajulūn Cāqīlūn 'I passed by an intelligent man', in the undefined masculine
Contrast tamurrūna (←*tamurrūna) with tamūrīna. Dep. and apoc. forms 4.82 nn 1, 2; passive 8.3 n 1; past tense 10.61 n 1.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', muta`calliq.

11.41 (1) See 3.63-65 on the dual.

(2) Note that here the definite article al, as well as losing its first component in juncture (11.1 n 2) has also assimilated to the z of Zayd. In fact the l assimilates to exactly half of the 28 consonants of Classical Arabic, viz. t, t, d, g, r, z, s, š, s, d, t, z, l, n, all of which are linguals, which doubtless explains the ease with which l assimilates to them. Ullendorf (Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 631) suggests that definition was originally marked in Arabic, as in Hebrew, by doubling the first consonant, and that l has only evolved later by dissimilation (he can produce other examples of dissimilation to l in other contexts). The theory is plausible but somehow fails to convince; however, it is interesting that, with dialect assimilations of the def. article to b, j, f, q, k, m included, only laryngeals and pharyngeals remain, which are also not doubled with the Hebrew article. Cf. Yushmanov 33.

(3) More accurately, the 'sound' masc. plur., q.v. 3.41. Note that proper names without the def. article (11.82 n 4) acquire one in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

11.42 (1) Comparison with other paragraphs will show that the masc. is the unmarked form, with the fem. being marked typically with the infix at (but better treated as a suffix, see below) between the last radical of the stem and the case endings (cf. Kitāb I, 6 on priority of masc. over fem.). The at suffix (and its plur. āt, cf. 4.31 n 1) is undoubtedly Proto-Semitic, and is also present in Hamitic (Moscati #12.32). Connections with the verbal suffix t (1.83) are obscure. Orthographically there are problems with at, chiefly due to historical spelling. In a few words a t (the 'long t', tā‘ muṭawwala) is suffixed directly to the root, e.g. 'uqt 'sister' (cf. 'aḵ 'brother'), bint 'daughter' (cf. ibn 'son'), and in some Qur'anic spellings. Normally, however, at is represented in word final position by ah with two dots over the h indicating that it has the value t (the 'knotted t', tā‘ marbūta, after the shape of the letter h), this ah reproducing the prasunal pronunciation of at (see 2.14 n 2), a spelling also found after long vowels (4.31 n 1). When not pausal, the at is further suffixed with the inflection markers (4.11 n 1); with dual (4.5 n 1) and pronoun suffixes (4.72 n 2) the t resumes normal form. Other fem. suffixes, ā, ā‘, 11.43 n 2; distribution of at, 11.44 n 2; fem. gender in general 11.43 n 3; summary of main problems, Fleisch, Tr. #66. See also Bateson 20; Yushmanov 37.

11.43 (1) See 11.8 for indefiniteness.

(2) Among the points to note here are: (a) the verb jā‘a 'came' remains singular regardless of the number of the agent (see 7.22 n 1, and cf.
dual, jā'a rajulāni ǧāgilāni 'two intelligent men came', raʾaytu rajulayni ǧāgilayni 'I saw two intelligent men' and marartu bi-rajulayni ǧāgilayni 'I passed by two intelligent men', in the undefined masculine plural, jā'a rijālan ǧuqalāʾa 'intelligent men came', raʾaytu mraʾa tan ǧāgilatun 'I saw intelligent men' and marartu bi-mraʾatun ǧāgilatun 'I passed by intelligent men'.

11.44 In the undefined feminine singular you say jā'at imraʿatun ǧāgilatun 'an intelligent woman came', raʾaytu mraʿatayni ǧāgilatayni 'I saw an intelligent woman' and marartu bi-mraʾatayni ǧāgilatayni 'I passed by an intelligent woman', in the undefined feminine dual, jā'at imraʿatānī ǧāgilatānī 'two intelligent women came', raʾaytu mraʾatayni ǧāgilatayni 'I saw two intelligent women' and marartu bi-mraʾatayni ǧāgilatayni 'I passed by two intelligent women', in the undefined feminine plural, jā'at nisāʾun ǧuqalāʾu 'intelligent women came', raʾaytu nisāʾan ǧuqalāʾa 'I saw intelligent women' and marartu bi-nisāʾin ǧuqalāʾa 'I passed by intelligent women'.

11.45 In all the above, the concealed pronoun referring to the antecedent is made independent by the adjective, and its parsing is clear enough from what has already been said, so there is no need to dwell on it here.

11.5 The 'semantically linked' adjective (i.e. the one which makes independent an explicit noun bearing a suffixed pronoun which refers to the antecedent of this adjective), must concord with its antecedent in two out of the following five features: one of the three inflections, and one of (38b) either definition or indefiniteness. Whichever two of
the fem. sing. verbs in 11.42, 44, with fem. agents; (b) adjectives qualifying plur. nouns seem to fluctuate arbitrarily between sound plur. (Cāgilūna, 11.41, Čagištun, 11.44) and broken plur. (Cugalā’u, 11.43, 44), a phenomenon which still needs to be clarified (cf. 9.12 n 4); (c) the broken plur. Cugalā’u is formally a feminine, as it bears the fem. suffix ā’ (cf. 3.89 n 2), which may or may not be connected with an assumed 'collective' function of the fem. gender (11.44 n 2). The cognate (?) suffix ā (3.89 n 2) is a fem. marker of highly limited occurrence, being found almost exclusively in the pattern fuclā (e.g. kubrā 'greatest'), fem. of the 'elative' adjective, q.v. 3.89 n 10.

(3) Some remarks on gender: the two genders of Arabic, viz. muḍakkar 'masculine' (lit. 'made masc.', denominative verb from ḍakar 'male') and mu’annaṭ 'feminine' (denom. verb from ūnā ‘female’), are not distributed completely according to natural gender: many masc. nouns are marked fem. (see 3.411 n 1, 11.44 n 2), and many fem. nouns and adjectives are unmarked (see 3.411 n 2, 20.13 n 2); moreover gender may change by attraction (see 26.94-96). Gender is thus purely grammatical. Jum. 285; Muf. #263; Alf. v 758; Beeston 39; Fleisch 46, Tr. #66; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 37, 67. Cf. also 26.95 n 1.

11.44 (1) For the juncture feature in imra’atun see 19.72 n 4.

(2) Distribution of the fem. suffix at is broadly: (a) marking natural fem. gender, contrast kādimun 'manservant', kādimatun 'maidservant'; (b) as an individualizing suffix, contrast samakun 'fish (as a class)', samakatun 'a single fish' (cf. 25.32 n 2), ḍarbun 'hitting (as a type of action)', ḍarbatun 'a single blow'; (c) on certain broken plural patterns (3.221), e.g. ṯalabatun 'students' (and cf. ‘uqalā’u, 11.43 n 2); (d) on certain masc. proper names and intensives, e.g. ḵalifatuṭ 'caliph' (see further 3.411 n 1); (e) on many abstract nouns, e.g. wizāratun 'ministry', ḏakṭariyyatun 'majority' (from ḏakṭar 'most', see 11.721 n 4), cf. also 3.231 n 2 for abstracts with sound feminine plur. See Colin, G.L.E.C.S. 3, 41, for the view that at has always been fundamentally an individualizing suffix.

11.45 (1) This asserts that adjectives are equivalent to verb phrases ('Cāgilun = yaCgilu 'he is intelligent'), i.e. to relative clauses ('who is intelligent', v. 11.753), thereby accounting for number and gender concord. The idea may originate from Sībawayhi’s observation that ḥādā rajulun dāribun/darabānā 'this is a man striking/who struck us' are synonymous (Kitāb I, 4). Cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 90, Wright II, 284; Beeston 71; see further 11.5 n 2.

11.5 (1) Jum. 107; Muf. #145, 348; Alf. v 507; Qāṭr 324, 329; Beeston 94; Fleisch 174. 'Semantically linked' renders sababi, lit. 'having a bond or tie' (contrast sabab 'cause', 24.22 n 1, which shows a different, and unrelated extension of the same root meaning): like mutaCalliq 'connected' (5.82 n 6), the bond is semantic rather than structural (see notes following, and cf. Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 488).

(2) Structurally the 'semantically linked' adjectival phrase is an inverted relative clause in which the original predicate acquires
these five are present in the antecedent must also be present in the adjective. Conversely, it does not have to concord with its antecedent in two out of the five remaining features from the ten mentioned above, viz. singular, dual or plural number, and masculine or feminine gender.

11.51 Hence you say marartu bi-rajulin qā'imatin 'ummuhu 'I passed by a man whose mother was standing', where qā'imatin 'standing' (fem. sing.) is an adjective to rajulin 'a man' and concords with it in obliqueness (out of the three inflections) and indefiniteness (out of the two, definition and indefiniteness), but not in masculine gender because rajulin 'a man' is masculine and qā'imatin 'standing' is feminine, and hence the adjective does not concord with its antecedent in all four out of the ten features; 'ummuhu 'his mother' here is an agent made independent by qā'imatin 'standing'. Likewise you say marartu bi-imra'atin qā'imin 'abūhā 'I passed by a woman whose father was standing', where qā'imin 'standing' (masc.) is an adjective to imra'atin 'a woman' and concords with it in obliqueness, indefiniteness and singular number, but not in feminine gender because imra'atin 'woman' is feminine while qā'imun 'standing' is masculine, and hence the adjective does not concord with its antecedent in all four out of the ten features; 'abūhā 'her father' here is an agent made independent by qā'imin 'standing'.

11.52 The author's statement that the adjective concords with its antecedent in its independence, dependence etc. is compulsory for every adjective, whether a 'true' adjective or 'semantically linked'; his concision here is due to the fact that the term 'adjective' embraces both types.

11.6 Note: When the antecedent is sufficiently recognizable by itself it is permitted to suspend adjectival concordance, the adjective then retaining its independent form (as predicate of an implicit huwa 'he')
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partial concordance with the antecedent (see analysis in 11.41). The closely related structures of the complex predicate (9.75, 76) and the annexed adjective (26.92) should be compared with the semantically linked adjective, as all three share the property of referring both backwards to the antecedents they qualify and forwards to the true, grammatical subject (or agent) within the qualifying phrase (hence ġāt wajhayn 'two-faced', 9.75 n 1).

11.51 (1) The four concordance features are effectively shared between the two 'antecedents' on each side: definition and case for the former and number and gender for the latter (note that these adjectives are predicates of the second noun, and in predicates definition and case are structurally indifferent, cf. 9.03, 9.81 n 2). However, it may be that both 'antecedents' have the same number or gender, and the adjective will then appear (as in the examples here) to concord in three or even all four features (e.g. huwa rajulun qā'imun 'abūhu 'he is a man whose father is standing'), which is why āš-Sīrbīnī says that the adjective 'does not have to concord' in number or gender with the first antecedent (11.5, and cf. 11.52).

(2) The 'true' adjective theoretically contains an independent pronoun referring to its antecedent (11.45), while the semantically linked kind is already the predicate of an explicit noun (n 1); moreover this predicate is essentially verbal (all verbs are predicates, 3.73 n 5), as is reinforced by the choice of present participles in the examples. However, even adjectives of non-participial form (cf. 26.92 n 2) are verbal in origin: 'all adjectival qualification is verbal or can be reduced to a verbal concept' (Ibn Jinnī, op. cit. 9.02 n 1, 33).

(3) Examples of defined antecedents are omitted; they would be marartu bi-rajuli l-qā'imati 'ummuhu 'I passed by the man whose mother was standing' and marartu bi-l-imrā'āti l-qā'imī 'ābūhā 'I passed by the woman whose father was standing'. The similarity to relative clauses is particularly marked (cf. 11.753 n 3).

11.52 (1) Cf. 11.51 n 1. For a variety of reasons full concord is not always evident, e.g. zaydun il-Cāqīlu (defined nouns with tanwīn 11.81), kalīfatun ġādīlun 'a just caliph' (masc. nouns with fem. marker, 3.411 n 1), ġajūzun maṭładatun 'a sick old lady' (unmarked fem. nouns, 20.13 n 2), imrâ'atun ġāqirun 'a barren woman' (unmarked fem. adj., 3.411 n 2), kutubun qadīmatun 'old books' (broken plur. is grammatically fem. sing., 4.12 n 3), kalgūn katfīnā 'many people' (collective noun with plur. adj., cf. 9.95), ġanānum rā'īyatun 'grazing sheep' (non-human collective noun with fem. sing. adj., cf. Fleisch 47, 3.64 n 2).

(2) The passive participle occurs as a semantically linked adjective, e.g. al-mas'ālatu l-mušāru 'ilayhā 'the problem referred to' (lit. 'at which pointing has been done'), concording with the unknown agent (8.1) and not (as in some European languages) with the antecedent. Cf. 26.92 n 4.

11.6 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #57; Alf. v 517; Qaṭr 331; Reckendorf, Arab Synt. 114. 'Suspend adjectival concordance' is a rather ponderous
when the antecedent is dependent or oblique, as in al-ḥamdu li-llāhi l-ḥamīdu 'praise be to God, (he is) praiseworthy', where al-ḥamīdu 'the praiseworthy one' is independent, as if it were the predicate of an elided subject with the implicit meaning of huwa l-ḥamīdu 'he is the praiseworthy one'. The adjective may also have dependent form through an implicit 'aṣnī 'I mean' for clarification, or 'amdāhu 'I praise' for praise, 'adummu 'I blame' for blame, or 'arhamu 'I pity' for pity, or whatever verb is appropriate for the adjective.2

11.61 Supplementary Note: Either the adjective or its antecedent may be elided when the other is sufficiently obvious, but while this is common with the antecedent it is rare with the adjective. An example of elision of the antecedent is the Qur'anic (39a) wa-Cindaḥum gāṣrātu t-ṭarfi 'and with them (damsels) restraining their looks'. An example of elision of the adjective is the Qur'anic ya'kūd u kullā sāfīnatin qasbān 'he takes every ship by force', meaning sāliḥātīn '(every) sound (ship)'. Another example is the verse by Ḥabīb ibn Mirdās:

wa-qad kuntu fi l-harbī gā tudra'īn
fa-lam 'uṣṭa sāy'an wa-lam 'umma 'ī

'and I was mighty in battle, but I was not given anything, nor was I refused', meaning sāy'an tāʾilān 'anything worth having' (for it is a fact that he was given something, witness his words 'nor was I refused'). The occasion for the recitation of this verse is that the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) was distributing the booty of the Battle of Ḥunayn a hundred camels at a time to those tribes whose loyalty he had purchased, but gave only a few to Ḥabīb ibn Mirdās, which angered him. He continued with further verses (which it is impracticable to include in such a short work as this) until the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) said, 'Stop his tongue for me!', so they gave him more until he was satisfied. The word tudraʾīn (spelt with u after the t with two dots above, unvowelled d without dots, a after the r and then ') means 'strength, power'.6
translation of qaṭṣ as-ṣifā 'cutting the adjective off': in earlier grammar qaṭṣ 'cutting' had a somewhat wider currency in the context of discord in general (cf. Carter, Arabica 20, 297).

(2) Ultimately the speaker's intentions are the determining factor in this construction (cf. 14.4 n 5), which has become generally known as an-naṣḥ ʿalā 1-madh 'aw ʿād-ǧamm 'dependence in praise or blame' (and cf. 20.9 n 1 on the similar construction taqṣīṣ 'specializing').

11.61 (1) Nouns and adjectives are morphologically indistinguishable in Arabic, but their functions do not entirely overlap. The following generalizations are to be taken as a guide to a problem which has not yet been fully explored: (a) all adjectives may function as nouns, but it is not clear how essential it is to assume an elided antecedent in every case (cf. next note); (b) some nouns never function as adjectives, in particular those of an exclusively nominal 'pattern' (10.37 n 1), such as the verbal noun: this appears to be the only class in which there are no adjectives of the same pattern, contrast faqul, which is both the pattern of the 'underived' noun rajul 'man' (20.7 n 1) and the adjective faruq 'timorous' (Fleisch 56). See further Beeston 34; Fleisch 187.

(2) S. 37 v 48. Muf. #149; Alf. v 519. There is no difficulty in recovering 'damsels' (Palmer, Bell) from the sound fem. plur. agent pattern of qāṣirātu, though perhaps Sale goes a little too far with his 'virgins of Paradise'. Cf. 26.92 on the annexation construction here.

(3) S. 18 v 79, meaning every ship not destroyed in battle.

(4) Schaw. Ind. 143; see E.I. (2), art. 'al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās', G.A.S. II, 242 on this poet and tribal leader who became an ally of Muḥammad in 629. The restoration of an adjective for Saʿyān 'thing' is a rhetorical pedantry, as the hyperbole is both deliberate and obvious. Among points worth noting here are: the verbal marker qad, 1.81; the defective noun dā 'possessor of', 3.42, here with dep. form as predicate of kuntu 'I was', 10.11; tudraʾin 'strength, see below, n 6; lam, negative particle followed by apocopated verbs, 5.71; ṣuṭa 'I am given' is the passive imperfect tense (8.3), first person singular, apocopated form (3.92), Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the root ṣ-ṭ-w 'give' (weak 3rd rad. w changes to y in all derived Stems, and the endings of the passive then become the same as the Stem I active verb yagšā (4.81 n 2), apoc. yagša), and is doubly transitive (16.310 n 1); 'umnaʾi 'I was refused' is also first person sing. passive imperfect tense (8.3 n 1), but has final i because of the rhyme, see 5.88 n 4.

(5) The historical background notes, and indeed the entire contents of this paragraph, are based upon al-Azharî, Taṣrīr. II, 119, where also the subsequent four verses are quoted. On Ḥunayn see E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥunayn'.

(6) Since tudraʾ is a common noun it is fully declinable (munṣarif etc., q.v. 1.41 n 1, 3.87 n 3): had it been a proper name it would, according to 3.89 (6), have been semi-declinable, since in form it is identical with the 2nd masc. sing. imperfect tense passive. These nouns with
11.7 Having said that the adjective concords with its antecedent in definition and indefiniteness, the author now has to explain what definition and indefiniteness are. The fundamental state is indefiniteness, because, unlike definition, it needs no contextual element to indicate it, and whatever has a need must be secondary to that which has no need. Nevertheless our author begins with definition, even though it would have been more appropriate to begin with indefiniteness:

11.701 Defined elements as such are of five kinds: (or rather, six, as you will learn).

11.71 (1) The pronoun, which may denote the speaker, e.g. 'anā 'I', nāhu 'we', the person addressed, e.g. 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.), 'anti 'you' (fem. sing.), or the absent person, e.g. huwa 'he', hiya 'she'.

11.711 The most definite of the defined elements is the name of Almigh­ty God, followed by the pronoun referring to Him, then the pronouns of the first, second and third persons, next the demonstrative pronoun and the vocative (both of equal rank), and finally the relative and that which bears a defining particle (both of equal rank also). Annexed elements have the same rank as the elements to which they are annexed, unless annexed to a pronoun, in which case they have the rank of a proper name. This is the most choice arrangement, though (39b) there are some who disagree with it.

11.712 Pronouns fall into two classes: (a) concealed pronouns, which have no outward form but are merely understood. These are always
verbal prefixes (cf. 3.89 n 6 for prefix y) were almost certainly true verbs before they became used as nouns, cf. Fleisch 81.

11.7 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on terminology of definition and indefiniteness. Though the def. art. al and the (to our way of thinking) indefiniteness marker tanwīn (1.4) are in complementary distribution in the sing. and sound fem. plur., they occur together (albeit with allomorphs ni/na of tanwīn) in the dual and sound masc. plur. (compare paradigms, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1 respectively). This is one of the reasons why tanwīn is not analysed primarily as an indefiniteness marker (1.42 n 1) and that indefiniteness is regarded as the unmarked state (hence logically prior, as argued here, cf. Kitāb I, 6). 'Contextual element' is qarīna, lit. 'accompanying element' (see 9.81, 10.18), a term perhaps taken over from logic (cf. van Ess, op. cit. 3.87 n 2, 28, n 34). Here it embraces all definition markers, formal and abstract (cf. 11.72).

11.701 (1) Jum. 27, 191; Muf. #262; Alf. v 52; Qaṣr 89; Beeston 36; Fleisch 170; Bateson 9; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, Arabica 17, 225; Drozdik, African and Asian Studies 6, 9; Pellat, G.L.E.C.S. 5, 88. Further kinds of definition: 11.77 n 3.

11.71 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #160; Alf. v 54; Qaṣr 90; Beeston 39; Fleisch 135; Bateson 39; Yushmanov 26; Nöldeke 13, 47. For 'pronoun' we have two terms: dbusīr lit. 'mind, conscience, thing in the mind', and mudmar lit. 'that which is concealed in the mind'. The former is only used for 'pronoun', and the latter, and its verb 'admara' 'to conceal in the mind', refer to the suppression of elements in general, e.g. of 'an 'that' in 5.4 (for an early example cf. Kitāb I, 52, suppression of a verb). The verb 'admara' is an antonym of 'acraba' 'to express openly', q.v. 2.0.

(2) The periphrastic nomenclature is retained here, see 9.22.

11.711 (1) This theological intrusion (v. 5.751 n 1) may date from the time of aš-Sīrūnī himself: aš-Šabbān, on al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 53, can cite only aš-Ṣanāwīnī (d. 1610). The hierarchy of defined elements is not developed by Sībawayhi (cf. Kitāb I, 219) but has become so by the time of al-Mubarrad (Muqtadab IV, 281; cf. Jum. 192, Muf. #262 and the dispute in Insāf, prob. 101).

(2) Although implicit in Sībawayhi (cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, s.v. guwā wa 'power' (q-w-y) and manzila 'status' (n-z-l), explicit terms for 'rank', viz. ruba (syn. martaba) do not appear until about the tenth century. Cf. also 11.76, 22.0 n 4.

(3) The word is 'adāh 'tool', a synonym of ḥarf, see 21.02 n 1.

11.712 (1) The technique of dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) is particularly obvious here; for convenience the subdivisions have been numbered (a) (i) and (ii), (b) (i) and (ii) in subsequent paragraphs.

(2) 'Outward form' renders sūrā lit. 'form, shape, idea', a term very often encountered in philosophy but seldom in grammar (other examples 11.733, 21.12). When the concept of linguistic form needs to be
independent, and divide into two kinds, (i) compulsorily concealed and (ii) optionally concealed.

11.713 (i) The first kind are those which must remain, as it were, necessarily implicit, being irreplaceable by any explicit noun or free pronoun. They occur in various positions, e.g. made independent by an imperfect tense verb beginning with 'a such as 'aqūmu 'I stand', made independent by an imperfect tense verb beginning with na such as naqūmu 'we stand', or made independent by a masculine singular imperative verb such as qum 'stand'.

11.714 (ii) The second kind are those whose concealment is permitted, which are, so to speak, optionally implicit, being replaceable by an explicit noun or free pronoun. These are the pronouns made independent by the third person masculine singular verb such as zaydun qāma 'Zayd stood', the third person feminine singular verb such as hindun qāmat 'Hind stood', the agent noun such as zaydun qā'imun 'Zayd is standing', or the patient noun such as zaydun maḍrubun 'Zayd is struck'. In these and like examples the pronoun is optionally concealed: were it to become visible it would take the form of a free pronoun, e.g. zaydun mā qāma 'illā huwa 'Zayd, none stood but he', and so on for the remainder.

11.715 (b) The others are the visible pronouns, which also divide into two kinds, (i) those which are bound to their operator, i.e. which are never subjects of equational sentences and are never suffixed to 'illā 'except' in unconstrained usage. They divide into independent (e.g. the tu 'I' of quntu 'I stood'), dependent (e.g. the ka 'you' of ukrīmuka 'I honour you'), and oblique (e.g. the hu 'his' of ġulāmuhu 'his boy'). These three types of pronoun are bound because they never occur as subjects of equational sentences and are never suffixed to 'illā 'except' in unconstrained usage.
expressed, the more usual terms are šakl 'shape, form' (3.221); šiğa 'shape, form' (3.65 (2), 5.02, 7.01, 7.03), or lafž 'expression' (1.11).

11.713 (1) See 11.714 n 1 for general references, and 11.714 n 3 for continuation of the points raised here. Terminology: 'necessarily implicit' muqaddar wujūban, cf. 2.101 n 4 on taqdîr 'implication' and 9.8 n 2 on wājib 'compulsory'; 'irreplaceable' lā yaqâlu 'lit. 'there does not take its place' (cognate with kalīfa 'caliph', cf. 5.51 n 2, here a synonym of nāba, q.v. 3.0 n 3); 'explicit noun' zāhir, 7.2 n 1; 'free pronoun' ǧamīr munfašil, 11.716; 'positions' mawādi', i.e. functions, cf. 3.1 n 4. Compulsorily concealed pronouns are found only in the 1st and 2nd person, imperfect tense and imperative; see 11.714 n 3.

11.714 (1) Concealed pronouns in general: Muf. #165; Alf. v 60, Ḍāʾer 91; Bateson 39, and cf. 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1. On jā'iz 'permissible', jawāza 'optional' and wājib 'compulsory' see 9.8 n 2.

(2) Free pronouns only replace a concealed 3rd person pronoun after ʾillā and ḫīnīmā (see 7.7, 7.81, 8.8), without restriction of person, thus mā qāma ʾillā anā 'none stood but I' etc. (cf. 11.717 n 4).

(3) The reasoning here and in 11.713 will be easier to understand if we bear in mind that the 3rd sing. verb has no agent marker and may, in fact, be followed by overt agents of dual or plural number (see 7.58 n 1). The agent pronoun is thus entirely inferential: it is assumed to be present when no overt agent is named (qāma ʾhe stood') or when the agent precedes the verb (zaydun qāma ʾZayd, he stood', cf. 7.12 n 1 and contrast zaydun qāma ʾabūhu ʾZayd's father stood', 9.75), and it is assumed to be absent when its position is occupied by an overt agent, either noun (qāma zaydun ʾZayd stood') or pronoun (qāmu ʾthey stood', mā qāma ʾillā huwa 'none stood but he'). It is true that the compulsorily concealed pronouns of 11.713 are inferential too (7.8 n 1), but these cannot be replaced by overt nouns or pronouns without moving into the 3rd person: agūmu 'I stand' has 'N. stands' as its overt equivalent, anā maḏrūbun means 'I am one who has been struck' and may be expressed as anā huwa l-maḏrūbu 'I am he that has been struck' (cf. Cantarino, II, 433, Fleisch 138, Tr. #110d, and see 11.717 n 4).

11.715 (1) Muf. #160; Alf. v 55; Ḍāʾer 92; others in 11.71 n 1. Terms are: 'visible' bāriz, lit. 'protruding', antonym mustātir 'concealed' (7.58 n 1), neither used by early grammarians (Ṣibawayhi, al-Mubarrad etc.) but in evidence by the time of az-Zammāṣārī (d. 1144); for 'bound' muttaṣīl see 11.716 n 1, 'operation' Gamal 2.11 n 1.

(2) This is a repeat of 7.5, q.v. n 2 on 'unconstrained', iqṭiyāran. Its antonym iqṭiqāran 'by constraint' and the cognate darōra 'need, constraint' have come to denote specifically poetic licence, cf. 1.45 n 3 (8), 1.51.

(3) The full inventory of independent bound (agent) pronouns is found in 7.51-62; the paradigm of the oblique bound (possessive) pronoun is in 4.72 n 2; bound dependent (object) pronouns are in 16.301-312.
11.716 (ii) The second are the free pronouns, which divide into independent (e.g. 'ana 'I' for the first person singular, 'anta 'you'—with a after the t—for the second person masculine singular, and huwa 'he' for the third person masculine singular), and dependent (e.g. 'iyyāya 'me' for the first person singular, 'iyyāka 'you' for the second person masculine singular, and 'iyyāhu 'him' for the third person masculine singular).

11.717 These are the basic pronouns, and they have derivatives. There is only one derivative of the first, viz. nahnu 'we' for the first person plural or plural of self-magnification (either genuine or pretend ed), because the multiple must be derivative from the singular). The derivatives of the second are four: 'anti 'you' (with i after the t) for the second person feminine singular, 'antumā 'you two' for the second person dual (absolutely), 'antum 'you' for the second person masculine plural, and 'antunna 'you' for the second person feminine plural, because the feminine is derivative from the masculine and the dual and plural are derivative from the singular. The derivatives of the third are four: (40a) hiya 'she' for the third person feminine singular, humā 'they two' for the third person masculine dual absolutely, hum 'they' for the third person masculine plural, and hunna 'they' for the third person feminine plural. There is one derivative of the fourth, viz. 'iyyānā 'us'; the fifth has four derivatives, viz. 'iyyāki 'you' (fem. sing.), 'iyyākum 'you two', 'iyyākum 'you' (fem. plur.) and 'iyyākunna 'you' (fem. plur.); the sixth also has four, viz. 'iyyāhā 'her', 'iyyāhumā 'them both', 'iyyāhum 'them' ( masc.), and 'iyyahunna 'them' (fem.), for the reasons already given.

11.718 Additional Note: The visible pronouns total sixty, because the visible pronoun is either bound or free, and the bound is either independent, dependent or oblique, and the free either independent or dependent only, making five kinds in all (three bound and two free). Each of the five has twelve forms, one for the 1st sing., one for the 1st. plur., five for the 2nd ( masc. sing., fem. sing., dual, masc. plur. and
NOTES

11.716 (1) Muf. #160; Alf. v 61; Qatr 93; others in 11.71 n 1. 'Free is munfaṣīl, lit. 'separate' (same root as ǧāmīr al-faṣīl 'separating pronoun' in 9.81 n 2), antonym muttaṣīl, lit. 'connected', clearly representing the bound/free contrast as it is now termed. Free pronouns as agents 7.7, 8.8, as subjects 9.22-24.

(2) See 16.501-512 for the free dependent pronouns.

11.717 (1) 'Basic' renders ʿuṣūl, plur. of ʿāṣl 'base, root, stock', and 'derivatives' is furūṯ, lit. 'branches', cf. 3.0 n 2. The priority of singular over dual and plural, and of masculine over feminine, are a priori assumptions which go back to the earliest grammar (e.g. Kitāb I, 6) and may well have been borrowed informally from Greek sources (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 94; Versteegh has not taken up this topic, only a passing mention 84 on priority of nouns over verbs, but cf. 1.21-22). A later addition to the hierarchy is the priority of the first person over the second and so on (al-Mubarrad, Muṭṭadhāb IV, 281). For priority of undefined over defined see 11.7.

(2) The six items listed in this paragraph correspond to the six pronouns in 11.716, viz. three independent and three dependent.

(3) 'Absolutely' is muṭlağan, lit. 'set loose, without restraint' (cf. 17.3 n 1), in this case meaning that there is no distinction of gender.

(4) Further to 11.714 n 3: free pronouns may indeed occur after verb phrases, but only for emphasis, e.g. 'aqūmu 'anā 'I stand!', qum 'anta 'stand, you!'. Here the pronouns do not replace the concealed agents but are simply in apposition to them (cf. 13.14 n 4), it being a matter of indifference whether the antecedent pronoun is concealed, as above, or overt (visible, 11.715), e.g. qumtu 'anā 'I stood!'. In the type mā qāma 'īllā 'anā 'none stood but I!' (11.714 n 2) the verb strictly has no logical agent until one is explicitly mentioned (21.3), hence verbs with visible pronoun agents cannot occur in this construction, or rather, if they do, their agent cannot be the antecedent of the excepted noun itself (but mā qumtu 'īllā 'ijlālan lahu 'I stood only out of respect for him' is possible because exception is from something other than the agent).

(5) i.e. because the fem., and the dual and plur. are derivative (n 1).

11.718 (1) This is substantially a repeat of 9.3; see also n 3 below.

(2) A feature of the pronoun (which it shares with other defined elements of a fundamentally deictic nature, viz. the def. article and the demonstratives, and cf. 11.753 n 3 on undefined relatives) is that it may yet refer to something undefined, as in jāʾa rajulun wa-sallamtu ʾalayhi 'a man came and I greeted him' (another example 13.2 n 2), cf. Kitāb I, 220: 'you only pronominalize a noun after you are certain that the person you are addressing already knows whom or what you mean, and that you mean something specific' (cf. 11.72 on 'specific').

(3) Some slight casuistry is involved here: taking the free pronouns as a basis, there are indeed twelve different forms, as there is no gender
and five for the 3rd person (the same). The product of five and twelve is sixty pronouns, twelve of which the author has dealt with in the chapter on the agent, twelve in the chapter on the subject and predicate, and another twenty-four will be dealt with in the chapter on the direct object. To these can be added the Ψ of tafṣīlāna 'you (fem. sing.) do' and the like, but we shall not dwell on them here because they are familiar enough already.

11.719 Note: The select opinion on 'anā 'I' is that only 'anā is the pronoun, the lengthening sign being redundant and serving only to make the final a clear in pronunciation, but the Kūfān view is that the whole word with all three letters is the pronoun, and this is the one chosen by Ibn Mālik. As for 'anta 'you' (masc. sing.) and its derivatives, the opinion of the Basrans is that 'an itself is the pronoun, and that its suffixes are letters of apostrophe. In huwa 'he' and hiya 'she' the whole word is the pronoun according to the Basrans, but the Kūfān view is that only hu and hi are the pronoun, with wa and ya to fill out the sound. As for humā 'they two' and hum 'they' (masc.), only the hu is the pronoun, though some say that the whole word is the pronoun. In hunna 'they' (fem.) only the hu is the pronoun, the first n being like the m of hum 'they' (masc.) and the second like the ū of humū 'they' (masc.). In 'iyyāhu 'him' the pronoun is 'iyyā itself, and the elements suffixed to it are particles of the first (40b) second and third person. The difficulty has been raised that pronouns are supposed to denote a first, second or third person, and that 'iyyā by itself does not; the answer is that originally 'iyyā was by convention common to all three meanings, and that when the need arose to distinguish
distinction in the dual. Nevertheless there are thirteen different agent suffixes (or better: 13 marked categories of agent) in the past tense verb, with 3rd dual gender distinction, and only eleven distinct forms in the imperfect tense (2nd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing. are the same, as are 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.). An Arab grammarian would argue that ä is a common dual agent pronoun in the 3rd dual past tense (7.60), and that the t prefixes of the imperfect are not pronouns (5.3 n 3).

(4) Agent pronouns 7.51-62; subject pronouns 9.22-24; object pronouns 16.301-312 (bound), 16.501-512 (free); possessive pronouns 4.72 n 2, which complete the sixty.

(5) Namely the dual agent suffix ä and the masc. plur. suffix ü (3.44). Since there is some doubt as to exactly how many imperfect tense verb forms contain these pronouns (3.45) they are pedagogically untidy and cannot be smoothly fitted into the scheme!

11.719 (1) Largely a repeat of 9.4-44 (notes there are complementary to these here).

(2) Possibly to avoid confusion with 'an 'that' (5.41). But there is much uncertainty about the value of the final ä of 'anä, which in poetry (as assured by scansion) is sometimes long and sometimes short. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 151, suggests that it may have two different roots, one with long and one with short final vowel (and cf. Nöldeke 14, Moscati ##13.2, 13.7). For Trager and Rice, Language 30, 226, there seemed no point in segmenting 'anä, as it produced no useful contrasts, and in this they fortuitously side with the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3).

(3) 'Letters' translates 'ahruf, a plural of ḥarf (1.25) 'particle', but here clearly to be understood as grapheme or letter of the alphabet (cf. next note). For Ibn Mālik see 1.02 n 2.

(4) 'Letters of apostrophe' renders ḥurūf al-kitāb literally (ḥurūf is another plur. of ḥarf 'particle': the form 'ahruf above is theoretically a 'plural of paucity', q.v. 13.31 n 5, though this distinction is seldom correctly applied, even by grammarians). Here we must understand ḥurūf to mean 'morphemes', cf. 1.25 n 2. On distributional grounds Trager and Rice, Language 30, 226, reject the segmentation 'an-ta etc., and opt for 'ant(a), thereby (synchronically at least) discounting the strong formal resemblance between the free pronouns and the agent suffixes (7.23 n 1).

(5) See 9.44 n 1 on the reasoning here.

(6) This must surely appear perverse to the Western grammarian, who can hardly be blamed for seeing the suffixes hu etc. on 'īyyā as identical with the bound object pronoun suffixes. But see notes to 16.501 et seq. for the justification of the Arab view.

(7) 'By convention common to all three meanings' translates wuḏīgat mustārikatān bayna l-maḏānī t-qalāqati: for wuḏīgat, lit. 'has been put', cf. waḏg 'conventional denotation', 11.81 n 1; for mustarika lit. 'sharing', cf. 'equivocal' in 3.65 n 10, though our word here is to be
between them 'iyyā was suffixed with letters denoting the desired meaning, just as t is suffixed to the verb predicated of a feminine. There are other views on this, but we need not go into them here.

11.72 (2) The second defined element is the proper name,\(^1\)(Calam, with a after the c and l), which makes what it names absolutely specific.\(^2\)

'Specific' excludes undefined elements, since they do not make the things they name specific, and 'absolutely' excludes defined elements which are not proper names, because they only make the things they name specific either through some formal feature (viz. what is made defined by a relative clause, the definite article al, or being annexed), or through some abstract feature (viz. the demonstratives and pronouns).\(^3\)

11.721 The proper name is of two kinds,\(^1\)(a) personal, i.e. conventionally denoting some externally specified individual, and which no others can take because it has been assigned to him alone. It may denote a rational being, either male, e.g. zaydun 'Zayd', or female, e.g. Kirkniq 'Kirkniq' (spelt with i after the single-dotted k and the n, a proper name transferred from its literal meaning 'the young of a rabbit' to the name of a poetess),\(^4\) or its may denote an irrational being. The proper name may also be a place, e.g. Cadanun 'Aden' (spelt with undotted c and d, the name of a town on the coast of Yemen), and Makkatu 'Mecca', and names may also denote other things, such as qaranun 'Qaran' (spelt with a after the q and r), the name of a tribe in the Murād confederation to which belongs 'Uways al-Qaranî (and whoever claims, as al-Jawharî does,\(^5\) that this al-Qaranî is the gentilic name from Qarn al-Manzil, with unvowelled r, is mistaken). Also
taken quite literally; maṣānīf is literally 'meanings', but here might be better understood as 'semantic functions' (scil. pronominalization of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person), cf. 2.2 n 5, 12.92 n 1.

(8) See 1.83 on fem. t, 16.504 n 2 on the 'other views' about 'iyyāā. 11.72 (1) Jum. 27, 192, 229; Muf. #4; Alīf. v 72; Qāṭr 96; Beeston 36; E.I. (2), 1st art. 'Ism'. The term ḍalām 'proper name' is literally 'signpost, banner, waymark' (and is cognate with ḍalāma 'marker', q.v. 3.0 n 1). Further examples of proper names: 3.411, 3.89, 11.81, 23.41. The entities denoted by proper names in Arabic overlap completely the corresponding modern categories, specific people, places, countries, but cf. 11.722. On noun classes in general cf. 3.64 n 2.

(2) 'Makes...absolutely specific': see 17.3 n 1 on mutlaq 'absolute'; taqīn 'making specific' is literally 'individualizing, nominating' (cf. ḍāyn 'self', 13.31, from the same root, similarly ism ḍāyn 'concrete noun', 24.21 n 2). Contrast the definition of the common noun in 11.8.

(3) On 'formal', lafẓī, and 'abstract', maṣnawī, cf. 2.1 n 2. The fact that many proper names are prefixed with al 'the' is irrelevant (11.82 n 4): it remains true that formally defined common nouns can be applied to more than one individual. Abstract definition is effected by the act of pointing with the demonstratives (11.73) and apostrophizing with the vocatives (23.42 n 1). Pronominalization itself does not guarantee that a noun is defined (11.718 n 2).

11.721 (1) For formal categories of proper name see 11.723. The semantic categories are 'personal', šakṣī and 'generic', jinsī (11.722), the personal including places, tribes etc. For 'conventionally denoting' see wadīn, 11.81 n 1; 'externally' contrasts with 'mentally' in 11.722.

(2) She was a pre-Islamic poet, see G.A.S. II, 310. Names are either 'transferred', māngūl, lit. 'carried over' as here, or murtajal, lit. 'extemporized', i.e. names not derived from existing roots (e.g. Faqīsā) or in patterns used only for names (Ṣuṣāl, cf. 3.89 (8), (9)).

(3) Evidently it is aṣ-Sīrābnī who is mistaken (or rather, he has uncritically transmitted the error from his source al-Azhārī, Taṣrīr. I, 114). In al-Jawhārī's dictionary aṣ-Sīrbānī, s.v. qaran, it is stated unequivocally that 'Uways is named after Qaran (however, signs of confusion between Qaran and Qarn are discernible in Yaqūt's Muṣjīm al-buldān, s.v. qarn). Al-Jawhārī himself is a famous lexicographer and grammarian who died c. 1007, apparently while trying to fly from the roof of a mosque (G.A.L. I, 128; E.I. (2), art. 'al-Djawhārī').

(4) 'Gentilic' is a narrow (but conventional) translation of mansūb, from nisba lit. 'relationship' of blood, extended thence to logical and other relationships (cf. 20.02 n 1). In grammar it denotes adjectives formed by suffixing ʾ (iyyun etc. with case endings), possibly related to the ʾ of the oblique ('genitive') case. Originally suffixed only to proper names, it was soon generalized (e.g. lafẓī 'pertaining to form', ḍārijī 'external'), and the fem. sing. came to represent abstract nouns on the analogy of Greek -ia, e.g. ʿismiyya 'nominality' (1.31 n 3),
lāhiqun 'Catcher', the name of one of Muḥāwiya's horses, ṣadqamun 'Big Mouth', the name of a camel stallion belonging to Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundīr, haylatun 'Sandy', the name of a goat belonging to a certain Beduin woman, and wāʾiqun 'Nimble', the name of a dog. These are the examples given by Ibn Malik in his Alfiyya (except for makkatu 'Mecca'), making seven names in all: the eighth, that of the dog, echoes the Qur'ānic wa-yāqūlūna sabatun wa-tāminuhum kalbuhum 'and they shall say "Seven" and the eighth of them is their dog'.

11.722 (b) The other kind is the generic proper name,1 which (41a) by convention denotes something made mentally specific, i.e. whose existence is perceived in the mind, such as 'usāmatu 'Usāma', the name given to the lion, and ʾuṣālatu 'Uṣāla', the name given to the fox.

11.723 In itself the proper name, whether personal or generic, is either (a) a simple noun (i.e. excluding nicknames and titles), this being the predominant usage, as already illustrated (e.g. ṣaydun 'Zayd', 'usāma 'Usāma the lion'), or (b) a title, which imparts the high status of the person so named, e.g. ṣaynu ʾl-ʾābidīna 'Ornament of the Devout', or even his humble station: a person of humble and lowly standing might, for example, be called 'anfu n-nāqati 'Nose of the She-camel', or (c) a nickname, i.e. all those annexed compounds beginning with 'abū 'father of' (e.g. 'abū Camrīn 'Father of Ṣāmīr, Abū Ṣāmīr' and 'abū bakrīn 'Father of the Young Camel, Abū Bakr'), may God be pleased with him), or with 'ummu 'mother of' (e.g. 'ummu Camrīn 'Mother of Ṣāmīr, Umm Ṣāmīr' and 'ummu kulṭūmīn 'Mother of Kulṭūm, Umm Kulṭūm', i.e. the daughter of the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace). To these Fakru d-Dīn ar-Rāzī added ibnu 'son of' and bintu 'daughter of', as in ibnu ṣayyata 'son of the vertebrae' for 'crow' and bintu l-ʾardī 'daughter of the ground' for 'pebble'.

11.73 (3) The third defined element is the vague noun,1 by which the author means the demonstrative noun, defined as that which denotes something named and points to it. Its vagueness lies in its generality and its appropriateness for pointing to every species and to every
harfiyya 'property of being a ḥarf' (21.5), māhiyya 'quiddity' (from mā 'what'), see Beeston 36; Fleisch 89; Bateson 20; Yushmanov 38.

(5) Muṣāwiya was the 5th Caliph of Islām, reigned 661-680. For Nuṣāmīn, pre-Islamic king and patron, see E.I. (1), art. 'al-Nuṣāmīn ibn al-Mundhir'.

(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference here is to Alf. vv 72-3.

(7) S. 18 v 22; the (facetious?) comment is from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 114, and see E.I. (2), art. 'Aḥshāb al-Kahf'.

11.722 (1) On 'generic', jinsī see 23.31 n 1. 'Mentally specific' is muṣayyan fi ḍ-ḏīhn, lit. 'made specific in the mind' (cf. taṣyyīn in 11.72 n 2), i.e. treating a class of creatures as a specific individual. The phenomenon is well known, cf. English 'Willie Wagtail', 'Reynard the Fox', and see Goguyer's notes to Ṭaqāṭ 96 for examples from French, also Fleisch, Tr. #76i. It would be interesting to know whether the Arabs would regard such singular nouns as al-muṣṭazila (the collective name for a school of hyper-rationalist theologians) or al-qadariyya (another group of theologians who denied free will) as generic proper names or as a variety of the personal proper name.

11.723 (1) 'Simple noun' is mufrad, q.v. 23.431 n 1; 'title' translates laqab (often rendered 'nickname', 'surname'); kunya 'nickname' (also 'by-name', 'sobriquet') strictly means an indirect, allusive name, mostly using the name of a son or daughter (and see next note). The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) are said to have used kunya as their term for 'proper noun' (Ibn Hišām, Šarḥ Ṣuḡūr aḡ-ḡahab, ed. A. G. ad-Daqar, Damascus N.D. 174). See E.I. (2), 1st art. 'Ism' on personal names.

(2) These names are normally never translated (see E.I. (2), art. 'Abū Bakr' for the first Caliph, reigned 632-4) even when, as might be the case with the examples given here, the man or woman is named after a son or daughter, viz. Abu ṣAmr, Umm ṣAmr. A variety of these names is the type 'abū n-naẓẓāra 'the man with glasses' (lit. 'father of spectacles'), 'abū ḍ-gibbān 'the man with bad breath' (lit. 'father of flies' etc., where 'abū is synonymous with ḍū 'possessor' (3.42). Except for the 'simple' name, these are formally 'annexed compounds', q.v. 3.65 n 7.

(3) The immediate source is al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 120, referring to Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, Mafāṭīḥ al-Ḍajīb, Istanbul 1889-90, I, 32. On ar-Rāzī (died 1209), 'one of the most celebrated theologians and exegetists of Islam', see E.I. (2), art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī', G.A.L. I, 506. See 11.1 n 2 and 11.41 n 2 for the reasons why his name appears in three different forms in our text and footnotes, depending on the system of transliteration preferred.

11.73 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #171; Alf. v 82; Taṣr 99; Beeston 42; Fleisch 139; Bateson 41; Yushmanov 29; Nöldeke 48. It has two names in Arabic: al-īsm al-mubham 'the vague noun' and  īsāra lit. 'the noun of pointing' (translated in the text as 'demonstrative pronoun'). There is no demonstrative adjective in Arabic: though ḥāḍā r-rajulu may safely
individual. What is pointed at may be single, a pair, or a group, and may be either masculine or feminine; each of the resulting six may be either nearby or far away, to which some have added a middle distance, so that the total is eighteen.  

11.731 The demonstratives are:¹ for the near masculine, ḏā 'this' (with no vowel after the lengthening sign), ḏāʾi 'this' (with i after the ā'), ḏāʾihi 'this' (with i after the 'ih'), and ḏāʾuḫu (with u after the 'uh').

11.732 For the near feminine: ḏī 'this' (with i after the first letter and no vowel after the second), ḏīh 'this' (with unvowelled h), tī 'this' (with i after the first letter and no vowel after the second), ṭīh 'this' (with i after the h), tiḥ 'this' (with unvowelled h), tiḥi 'this' (with i after the h), tāʾ 'this' and ṭāʾi 'this'.

11.733 Then there are tānī and ḏānī 'these two', ḏānī being for the near masculine dual and tānī for the near feminine dual. Both have ā in independence and ay in dependence and obliqueness.¹ Whether they are true duals or whether they have been produced (41b) only according to the form of the dual are two differing opinions: the latter is the sounder view, since it is a condition of the dual that it should be capable of indefiniteness, and the demonstratives are inherently defined.²

11.734 For the masculine and feminine plural:¹ 'ulāʾi 'these', with the lengthened ā' among the Hījāzīs and the shortened ā among the Tamīmīs.² The dialect of the Revelation is Hījāzī, cf. the Qur'anic 'ulāʾika humu l-muflihūna 'those, they are the prosperous ones'.³

11.735 All the above are used for the near demonstrative, as already stated, and they must never be suffixed with ka. But they may be prefixed optionally with the 'ḥā of attracting attention', e.g. hāḍā
be translated 'this man', *ar-rajulu* is regarded by the Arabs as being in apposition to the noun *ḥāḏā* (cf. 14.12 n 1). Paradigm 11.737 n 2.

(2) See 9.3 n 1 on permutations. Fleisch remarks (142) that the hypothetical middle distance demonstrative is 'factice, simple fruit de la spéculation grammaticale'.

11.731 (1) As will be apparent, the demonstratives are a graveyard of archaic and obsolete forms (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 348, claimed never to have seen *ḏāʾi* and *ḏāʾiḥi*, but they are mentioned by al-Ušmūnī on *Alīf* v 82). The masc. sing. has as its base the deictic element *ḏ*, which is also to be seen in the word *ʿid ʿla!* (1.441 n 5), *ḏū* (3.42) and the relative *allaḏī* (11.753), cf. Moscati #13.33.

(2) The Arabic has 'with vowelless *ḏ*', in other words, with the consonant *ʿalif* functioning only as a lengthening marker for *ā*, and not as the consonant (see 2.43 n 2). On spelling instructions cf. 3.44 n 2.

11.732 (1) Here also are remains of old deictic elements, showing a double contrast (a) between masc. *ḏ* and fem. *ṯ*, and (b) between masc. *ʿa* and fem. *ʿi* (which is also found in agent suffixes, cf. 7.54 n 1).

(2) The second being the *y* which functions as a lengthening marker for *ʾ* (cf. 2.43 n 2: *ṯʾ* = *tiy*). See Fischer, *Islamica* 3, 44 on fem. demon.

11.733 (1) i.e. *ḏāni* in indep. form, *ḏayni* in dep./obl. form, etc. (table in 11.737 n 2). The dual demonstratives are the only ones which inflect for case (cf. relatives, 11.753).

(2) The problem has already been aired in 3.65 (2), though it can hardly be doubted that *ḏāni* etc. (and the relatives *allāḏāni* etc.) are indeed true dualizations. To be sure, demonstratives are by nature defined, but there is no objection to making proper names either fictionally (3.65 (4)) or formally (1.42) undefined, and there seems no reason why the same should not work for demonstratives. For the Arabs, however, these are more akin to *kilā* 'both' etc. (3.63) in being intrinsically dual.

11.734 (1) The deictic element here is clearly *ʿ*, which has several other deictic functions in Arabic (e.g. def. art. *ʿal*, 11.74; plur. *ʿulū* of *gū* 'possessor', 3.412 (a); emphatic prefix *ʿa*, 13.6 n 3). The *ʿ* of *ʿulāʾi*, *ʿulāʾika* (and *ʿulū*) is invariably pronounced short, though spelt as if long (in compensation for loss of the first *ʿ* of an assumed original *ʿullay*, so Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 153, but cf. Fleisch 247 n 23).

(2) These two symbolize the polarization of pre-Classical Arabic into Eastern (Tamīmī) and Western (Ḥijāzī) dialect groups (cf. Rabin, op. cit. 1). On the two varieties of *ā* see 3.89 n 2.

(3) S. 2 v 5; Rabin (loc. cit. n 1) suggests that the intervocalic *ʿ* (which is neither a Proto-Semitic nor a genuine Arabic dialect feature) arose to break up an otherwise doubly long syllable *ʿaỵāʾị̄ị̄*. 

11.735 (1) See 11.737 n 2 for full paradigm. *Ḥā of attracting attention* is lit. for *ḥāʾ at-tanbīḥ*, a deictic element which may occur
11.736 The distant demonstratives (if we adopt the first view, which regards them as the other variety of near demonstratives), are made by adding the particle ka, either (a) absolutely without the infix 1 and regardless of whether the thing pointed at is singular or otherwise, or (b) accompanied by the infix 1 in order to exaggerate the distance, except in three cases: (1) in the dual absolutely, whether prefixed with the 'hā of attracting attention' or not, (2) in the plural when it has the dialect form with the lengthened ā', i.e. the Ḥijāzī, (3) when prefixed with the 'hā of attracting attention' but not ending in the lengthened ā'. In these three places ka and 1 do not combine, hence you do not say *dānilika 'those two', *'ulā'ilika 'those' or *hāgāilika 'that'.

11.737 If we adopt the other view, that there are three orders of demonstratives (as followed by Ibn Hīšām in his *Commentary on the Lumḥa*), the nearest is that which has neither infix 1 nor ka, the furthest is that in which both are combined, and the middle is that which is combined only with ka, because the addition of a letter conveys the increase in distance, which I have already dealt with exhaustively in my *Commentary on Qatr an-nadā*.3

11.74 (4) The fourth of the defined elements is the noun prefixed with al 'the', denoting definition, e.g. ar-rajulu 'the man', al-ġulāmu 'the boy' and al-farasu 'the horse'. It is al and not 1 alone which makes defined, in agreement with al-Ḳallī and Sibawayhi, and the a is not redundant, contrary to Sibawayhi.2
alone, e.g. ḡā 'anā ḡā 'it is I' (lit. 'look! I am that', cf. Fleisch 114), or as a suffix, e.g. 'ayyuhā 'O!' (23.5 n 2); cf. also hunā etc., 18.212, hāti and halumma, 5.21 n 1.

(2) Note that these are sentences: 'this Zayd' would have to be zaydun ḡādā, with ḡādā in apposition to zaydun. With common nouns, however, the situation is different: ḡādā r-rajulu is 'this man', the sentence equivalent being ḡādā huwa r-rajulu 'this is the man' (cf. 9.81 n 2). Annexed phrases behave like proper nouns: ḡādā baytuka 'this house', baytuka ḡādā 'this house of yours'. Cf. Beeston 43.

11.736 (1) i.e. according to the view that there are only two orders of demonstratives, near and not near; 'particle ka' (ḥarfiyya) is meant to exclude ka as a pronoun suffix, but see n 3 below.

(2) The reasoning appears somewhat specious. In practice ḡāka/ḡālika etc. simply appear to be free variants.

(3) The deictic function of k is obvious: it is related to the object pronoun suffix set with k (16.303 etc.) and the prefix ka 'like' (1.708), cf. Fleisch 147, Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 389. By analogy with the object pronoun suffix, the k of ḡālika 'that' sometimes follows the number and gender of the person addressed, thus fem. sing. ḡāliki, dual ḡālikumā, masc. plur. ḡālikum, fem. plur. ḡālikunna. This is a Qur'ānic speciality; cf. Muf. #561, Yushmanov 30.

11.737 (1) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām, 3.45 n 3 on his Commentary on the Lūmḥa. Here, however, aš-Šīrbīnī is actually paraphrasing al-Azharī, Taṣrī. I, 129. 'Infix 1 or ka' is a very free translation of al-lām wa-l-kāf lit. 'letter 1 and letter k', with no mention of 'infix'.

(2) The most commonly occurring demonstratives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc. sing.</th>
<th>fem. sing.</th>
<th>masc. dual</th>
<th>fem. dual</th>
<th>comm. plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḡādā</td>
<td>ḡādihi</td>
<td>ḡādāni</td>
<td>ḡātāni</td>
<td>ḡā'ulā'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>ḡāka</td>
<td>tīka</td>
<td>ḡānī</td>
<td>tānī</td>
<td>'ulā'ika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>ḡālika</td>
<td>tilka</td>
<td>ḡānnika</td>
<td>tānnika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duals have dep./obl. case in -aynī (11.733).

(3) See 0.4 n 6.

11.74 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #262, 599; Alf. v 106; Qaṭr 114 (cf. Muğnī I, 48); Beeston 37; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 33; al as noun marker 1.5; juncture features 11.1 n 2; assimilation of l 11.41 n 2; al on proper names 11.82 n 4.

(2) Kitāb II, 63 (see 0.1 n 1 on al-Ḳalīl and Sībawayhi). The def. art. is either quoted as an independent morpheme 'al' or given the names al-'alīf wa-l-lām 'a-l' or lām at-caʿrff 'the defining l' (in Kitāb invariably al-'alīf wa-l-lām). The dispute, which aš-Šīrbīnī reproduces from al-Azharī, Taṣrī. I, 148, turns upon the question of whether the initial 'a (only realized as such when not in juncture, 11.1 n 2) is
11.741 The definite article is either (a) generic,\(^1\) (42a), in which case, if it cannot be replaced by kull 'all, every', it is termed the 'factual article', e.g. the Qur'anic \(wa-\)ja\(\text{'}\)aln\(\text{'}\) min al-m\(\text{'}\)a 'and we made everything living from the water, so why do they not believe?\(^2\). Otherwise, if kull 'all, every' can literally replace the article, it is then termed the 'article which embraces all individuals of the species', e.g. the Qur'anic \(wa-kuliga \)ins\(\text{'}\)n\(\text{'}\) fan 'and man was created weak'. If it can be replaced metaphorically by kull 'all, every', then it is termed the 'article embracing the characteristics of the species hyperbolically', e.g. 'anta r-rajulu d\(\text{'}\)ilman 'you are the man as regards knowledge'.\(^3\)

11.742 Or (b) it is the 'article of familiarity',\(^1\) in which case awareness may be due either to previous mention, as in the Qur'anic fa-\(\text{'}\)a\(\text{'}\)saw\(\text{'}\) r-ras\(\text{'}\)la 'and Pharaoh disobeyed the messenger',\(^2\) or to prior knowledge, as in the Qur'anic al-yawma 'akmaltu lakum d\(\text{'}\)inakum 'today I have perfected for you your religion'.\(^3\)

11.75 (5) The fifth member of the defined class, omitted by the author, is the relative. It is of two kinds, particle and noun type.\(^1\)

11.751 The particle type\(^1\) is that which, together with its relative clause, paraphrases a verbal noun and does not need any referential pronoun, e.g. the Qur'anic wa-\(\text{'}\)an ta\(\text{'}\)s\(\text{'}\)m\(\text{'}\) kayrun lakum 'and that you should fast is best for you',\(^2\) i.e. sawmukum 'your fasting'. This is not a member of the defined class.

11.752 The noun type\(^1\)(which is the one intended in this context), is every noun which is incomplete without a relative clause and a referential pronoun. It is of two kinds, (a) that which has one fixed meaning and does not go beyond it, and (b) that which is common to several meanings in the one form.
part of the article or not, since in juncture it is absorbed by the previous word.

11.741 (1) Terms are: 'generic article' lām al-jīns or al-lām al-jīnṣīyya (see 23.31 n 1 on jīns 'genus'); 'factual article' al-lām lī-bayān al-haqīqa lit. 'for expressing the fact'; 'article which embraces all individuals of the species' al-lām li-šumūl 'afrād al-jīns (lit. translated), also called lām al-istiğrāq '1 of total immersion' i.e. 'all-embracing'. On kull 'all' see 13.4.

(2) The two quotations here are S. 21 v 30 and S. 4 v 28 respectively: kull cannot replace al in al-mā'i 'water', but can in al-'insānu 'man'.

(3) Metaphorically kullu rajūlīn 'every man' is clearly hyperbolic, but still structurally correct. On 'metaphor' majāz see 13.3 n 1; on 'hyperbole', mubālaţa cf. 9.81 n 4; on the dep. form ġīlīm here see 20.6 n 2. Note that the two uses of the article shown here are subdivisions of Beeston's 'generalizing function' of al (37).

11.742 (1) Termed lām al-Cahd, and translated literally (= Beeston's 'particularizing function', 37). In this function the article reveals its deictic origins unmistakably (11.734 n 1).

(2) S. 73 v 16; initial element of al is replaced by the last vowel of firawnu in juncture (11.1 n 2), and l assimilates to r (11.41 n 2).

(3) S. 5 v 3; here the initial element of al has its full consonantal value ', but this is not noted in the transliteration because (at least in correct Arabic spelling) is never written, cf. 11.1 n 2.

11.75 (1) Jum. 27, 338; Muf. ##176, 262; Alf. v 88; Qāṭr 103; Beeston 43, 49; Fleisch 149, 194; Bateson 41, 47; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 97.

'Relative' for mawsûl (lit. 'thing joined') is a compromise: the elements treated here are not relative pronouns (contra Bateson, Yushmanov) but simply join the relative clause to its antecedent (syntax, 11.753 n 3), and the translation 'relative' has been chosen to reflect this function. See further 11.752 n 1.

11.751 (1) 'Particle type' renders (mawsûl) harfī, lit. 'belonging to the particle family' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on the I suffix of harfī), so called because these elements (essentially the nominalizers 'an 'that', 5.41, and 'anna 'that', 10.42) are not nouns or pronouns. On 'relative clause', šila, and 'referential pronoun', ġā'id, see 11.752 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 184, and cf. 9.02.

11.752 (1) 'Noun type' is (mawsûl) ismī, lit. 'of the noun family'. Terminology of relatives is: mawsûl 'relative' (11.75 n 1), i.e. the element which connects the relative clause to the antecedent (but see 11.753 n 3); šila 'relative clause' (lit. 'join, connection'); ġā'id 'referential pronoun', (lit. 'thing returning, going back'), which, as will be seen (11.753 n 3) is the true relative pronoun. Structurally the relative (mawsûl) and its clause (šila) are indispensable to each other (cf. 9.71 for some incomplete examples). The translation 'who' for allâdī etc. is quite arbitrary: see 11.75 n 1.
11.753 (a) The first kind is, for example, allaḏī 'who' for the masculine singular, whether a rational being or not, allaḏānī 'who' for the masculine dual, and allatānī 'who' for the feminine dual. The two latter are pronounced with ā in independence, and ay in dependence and obliqueness, exactly like the dual inflection of nouns, e.g. jā’ānī allaḏānī qāma wa-allatānī qāmatā 'there came to me the two (masc.) who had stood and the two (fem.) who had stood'. In these the ā of allaḏī 'who' (masc. sing.) and allaḏānī 'who' (fem, sing.) has been elided. For the masculine plural there are two forms: allaḏīna 'who' for rational beings only, with ā in independence, dependence and obliqueness, and al-‘ulā ‘who’ for both rational and irrational beings. For the feminine plural there are also two forms: allā‘ī 'who' (with final ī or i) and allātī ‘who’ (with final ī or i).

11.754 (b) The other kind is man ‘who’ (spelt with a after the m), which is specifically for rational beings, e.g. the Qur’anic wa-man Cinda hu Ǧilmu l-kitābi ‘and he who has knowledge of the Book’, though it can be used for irrational beings if they are given rational status, e.g. the Qur’anic wa-man ǧāḍalû mim-maṣna yadīḏu dūna lllāhi (42b) man lā yastaḏību lahu ‘and who is more in error than him who calls upon something besides God which will not answer him’.

Sometimes it denotes both rational and irrational beings simultaneously, by allowing the superior to subsume the inferior, as in the Qur’anic yasjīdu lahu man ff s-samāwātī wa-man ff l-‘ardi ‘there bows before him whoever is in the heavens and whoever is on the earth’, in which the former embraces the angels, the sun, moon and stars etc., while the latter embraces mankind, mountains, trees, animals etc.

11.755 And there is also the relative mā ‘which’, used only for irrational beings, as in the Qur’anic mā Cinda kum yanfīdu ‘what you have will run out’, but it may also be used with rational beings, as in the Qur’anic yusabbīhu li-līlāhi mā ff s-samāwātī wa-mā ff l-‘ardi ‘that which is in the heavens and that which is on the earth praises God’.
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11.753 (1) Cf. 11.731-4 on the deictic elements 1, ḏ, t in these words; 1.51 for al 'the' as a relative; 11.1 n 2 for the juncture feature which they share with al 'the'.

(2) But they are not regarded as true duals, see 3.65 (2).

(3) Syntax of relatives. The relative (mawsūl) concords with its antecedent in number, gender, definition and (where marked) case: with undefined antecedents the mawsūl, being by nature defined, cannot occur. The relative clause (ṣila) is a normal sentence (nominal or verbal) in all respects but one: its topic is always a pronoun, viz. the referential pronoun (Cā'īd) which stands for the antecedent. The ṣila remains the same whether the antecedent is defined or not, thus ar-rajulu llaḍī marartu bihi 'the man by whom I passed' (lit. 'the man-mawsūl-I passed by him'), rajulun marartu bihi 'a man by whom I passed' (lit. 'a man-滹-I passed by him'). General references 11.75 n 1.

(4) A masc. plur. allaḍīna, analogous to the indep. sound masc. plur. ūna (3.41) has been noted (Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 89). In practice, however, only the following are regularly encountered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>allaḍī</td>
<td>allaḍānī/aynī</td>
<td>allaḍīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>allatī</td>
<td>allatānī/aynī</td>
<td>allātī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.754 (1) Beeston 49; Fleisch 150; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 103; other refs. 11.75 n 1. Interrogative man 5.87 n 2; conditional man 5.83. Spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) rules out min 'from', 1.701.

(2) S. 13 v 43; the relative clause (ṣila) here is an inverted nominal sentence, scil. 'with him is the knowledge...' (cf. 9.74), and the referential pronoun (Cā'īd) is the hu 'him' suffixed to ʿinda (18.207). Normally man is grammatically masc. sing. even when known to refer to fem. or plur. (so man ʿuhibbuhu 'the one(s) I love'), but the modern tendency is to use whichever pronoun is appropriate.

(3) 'Status' is manzila, originally a term for social standing, but applied by Sībawayhi to grammatical status as the correlative of mawḍī 'function' (3.1 n 4), cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 84, also 23.2 n 1.

(4) S. 46 v 5; here the first man is interrogative (5.87 n 2), the second refers to a rational being (note assimilation *min man>mim-man) and only the third illustrates the irrational being, viz. stones, trees and other false gods.

(5) S. 22 v 18; see further comment in 11.755 n 3.

11.755 (1) Refs. as for 11.754 n 1, and see 5.82 n 1, 5.84 n 1.

(2) S. 16 v 96.

(3) S. 62 v 1. In the verse quoted in the previous paragraph (S. 22 v 18) the pronoun man 'who' is allowed to subsume irrational beings both in heaven and earth (angels being considered inferior to men). Here the reverse is the case, for the pronoun mā 'what' is now allowed
11.76 (6) The sixth, which is the fifth according to the author, is that which is annexed to any of these four. As the author puts it, for 'that which is annexed to any of these five'. This is because an undefined element becomes defined when annexed to a defined element; e.g., jā'a 'gulāmī 'my boy came', jā'a 'gulāmu zaydin 'Zayd's boy came', jā'a 'gulāmu hādā 'this person's boy came', jā'a 'gulāmu llaqī fī d-dāri 'the boy of him who is in the house came', and jā'a 'gulāmu l-qādī 'the judge's boy came'.

11.761 That which is annexed to a defined element has the same rank in definition as to that to which it is annexed; thus whatever is annexed to a proper name or a demonstrative has their rank, and so on for the remainder. The exception is that which is annexed to a pronoun, for this has the rank of a proper name and not that of a pronoun, because you say marartu bi-zaydin šāhibika 'I passed by Zayd your friend', qualifying a proper name by a noun annexed to a pronoun; if the noun annexed to a pronoun had the rank of a pronoun it would follow that the qualifier was more defined than its antecedent, which is impossible.

11.77 Note: The feature of absolute definition has been made the criterion here because the above-mentioned defined classes, according to whether they may be qualified by adjectives or be qualifiers themselves, fall into quite different categories, viz. firstly the pronoun, since it is never qualified and never qualifies adjectively, secondly the proper name, which may be qualified but never qualifies adjectively, while third, fourth and fifth are the demonstratives, nouns defined by al 'the' and that which is annexed to a defined element, for all of these may be qualified and qualify adjectively.
to subsume rational beings (mankind) among the things praising God. Another relative which could be included here is 'ayyu 'whichever, whoever', cf. Fleisch 151; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; see also 5.86.

11.76 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #262; Alf. v (53), 385; Qaṭr 117; Beeston 46; Fleisch 171; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, Arabica 17, esp. 23lf. See further 26.7

(2) Annexation alone is not sufficient to define a noun, though it may confer a higher degree of specificity (baytu rajulin 'the house of a man' is technically undefined but still more specific than baytun 'a house', cf. 26.91). The definition status of certain annexation units still provokes discussion, particularly in the case of kull 'all' (v. 13.4 n 6) and the so-called 'relative' adjectives, q.v. 20.4 n 1.

(3) In the examples, ḡulām 'boy is annexed respectively to a pronoun (11.71), proper name (11.72), demonstrative (11.73), relative (11.75) and noun with def. art. (11.74). The slight deviation from the order of Ibn ʿAjurrūm's presentation is accounted for by the fact that here aš-Širbīnī is following Ibn Hišām's order (probably via al-Azharī, Taṣrīr. I, 94).

11.761 (1) The principle underlying these observations (which stem either directly from Qaṭr 118 or indirectly from al-Azharī, Taṣrīr. I, 95) is that a qualified element must be at least as defined as its qualifier. Between definition and indefiniteness there is little difficulty: undefined elements can only be qualified by undefined elements (rajulun qā'imun 'a standing man' etc.), but defined elements may be qualified by both (undefined qualifiers generally in dependent form, see 19.5, 20.5). Since, however, definition is hierarchical, a problem arises when qualifier and qualified are both defined: this is seen clearly by comparing zaydun hāḏā 'this Zayd' with hāḏā r-rajulu 'this man' (11.735 n 2), where word order is determined by 'rank' (rutba, 11.711 n 2). The rule is apparently broken in such modernisms as al-maliku faysalun 'King Faysal' (cf. also Beeston 43).

11.77 (1) This continues the theme of the previous paragraph, but this time aš-Širbīnī seems to have lifted it from al-Azharī on ʿAj. 70. The criterion of qualiﬁability is present in Kitāb I, 22lf, and has become rather more organized by the time of al-Mubārrad (Muqtaṣab IV, 281). See also Muf. #147.

(2) The sixth category, the relative (11.75) is omitted from this scheme probably because it is not in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (see previous note). It would have been elegant to include it here, since it fills the last space implied by the dichotomous classiﬁcation, viz. 'qualifies but is never qualiﬁed adjectivally'. For 'qualify' in this context the notion nācīt is used, q.v. 11.0 n 1, which is thus seen to be somewhat wider in application than simple 'adjective'.

(3) Definition can be effected by the vocative structure (23.42), and perhaps also (though in a different way) by the categorical negative construction with lā 'no', q.v. ch. 22, esp. 22.11 n 1.
11.8 The undefined noun cannot be described by enumeration but only by giving a definition. It is defined as being every noun denoting an existing thing that applies generally to the whole species, including itself and all others, without specifying any single member of the individuals to the exclusion of the others, e.g. rajulun 'a man', which denotes by convention a mature, male, rational animal. Whenever any single member of this species exists it is correct to apply this noun to it; the same is true of words applied generally when the species itself is only implicit, e.g. samsun 'a sun', which conventionally denotes a daytime star whose appearance dispels the night. It is perfectly correct for a word such as this to be applied to more than one just as rajulun 'a man' can be, the difference here being simply that other individuals of that species are non-existent in the external world: if they did exist it would then be proper to apply such expressions to them.

11.81 It is not the convention for this kind of word to denote a particular individual such as zaydun 'Zayd' or camrun 'Camr'; the convention is that undefined nouns denote entire species.

11.82 The author's definition of the undefined noun contains some obscurity for the beginner, so he clarifies it by saying: in simple terms (i.e., to make the undefined noun easier for the beginner): everything (i.e., every noun) to which it is proper (either salaqa or saluqa to be proper) for al 'the' to be prefixed, in the purest speech, is undefined, e.g., ar-rajulu 'the man' for a rational being, and al-farasu 'the horse' (an irrational being). The original form is rajulun 'a man' and farasun 'a horse', and both are undefined before the prefixing of al 'the' and defined afterwards. It is not proper for al 'the' to be prefixed to other words in the category of defined nouns, so as to say *az-zaydu 'the Zayd' or *al-hindu 'the Hind', because these are already defined by their quality of being proper names, and it is improper to prefix al 'the' to them.
11.8 (1) Jum. 191; Muf. ##3, 262; Alf. v 52; Qatr 90; Beeston 37; Fleisch 153; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 34, 65; Gätje, Arabica 17, 235. For 'undefined' Arabic uses nakira, formally a noun meaning 'something unknown' (from which the divisional verb nakkara 'to make undefined' and its verbal noun tankīr 'making (or being) undefined'). Antonym is maṣrīfa, lit. 'knowledge', hence 'something known' (also with its derivative carrafa 'to make defined', noun taṣrīf 'making (or being) defined'). It will be appreciated that definition/indetermination reside with the listener rather than the noun: when formally or functionally unmarked (e.g. marartu bi-zaydin/bi-baytin 'I passed by Zayd/by a house'), only the listener's knowledge distinguishes a proper name from a common noun. Students who have wasted time looking up proper names in dictionaries will understand this well. Cf. Fleisch, Tr. #76k.

(2) See 11.81 n 1 on 'convention' (waḍC). Degrees of indetermination (cf. 11.711 n 1), on a purely semantic basis (viz. 'thing' is more undefined than 'body') and so on) appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, Muṣṭaḍāb III, 186, IV, 280.

(3) Names such as ʿAbdū ʾamsin 'ʿAbd Šams' (= 'sun-worshipper') suggest that at one time there were defined common (?) nouns without al, though it cannot be inferred from this that the suffix n originally had defining function, cf. Moscati #12.75, 77. Misleading, too, is the simple equation of tanwīn with the English indefinite article.

11.81 (1) Lexical meaning plays very little part in Arabic grammar (cf. 12.92 n 1): the meaning of a word is as arbitrary, and as conventional, as the sounds, forms and structures in which words manifest themselves. The same applies to the proper name, whose 'meaning' (apart from any residual lexical content) is the specific individual it refers to (11.72), with the additional feature that the speaker can create a proper name simply by assigning any word to that category, by the process of waḍC lit. 'putting', see further 1.14 n 1.

11.82 (1) Aš-Širbīnī's concern for the perplexity of the beginner is no doubt genuine, but is expressed in the words of al-ʿAzhari on Āj. 71. The reason for the obscurity is Ibn ʿAjurrūm's departure from the purely formal level of his presentation, to which he now returns.

(2) See 10.22 n 2 on the variation in medial vowel. Though somewhat uncomfortable in the context of 'proper names', 'proper' was chosen to translate ʿaluluḥa because it conveys the necessary moral flavour of linguistic correctness: 'to be structurally correct' was originally expressed by ṣaḥuna, lit. 'to be (morally) good' (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 148, also 12.91 n 8), and ʿaluluḥa is merely a synonym thereof.

(3) 'Man', 'horse' and 'to strike' are the eternal examples in almost every Arabic grammar (including the Kitāb): that they are the same as the standard Greek examples is clear, but how did they find their way to the Arabs, and what else came with them? Try Versteegh 42.

(4) From this point of view there are three classes of proper name: those which never have the def. article, those which always do (e.g.
11.9 Having finished with the first chapter on the concordants,\(^1\) namely the adjective (and the connected matters of definition and indefinit-
ion), the author now turns to the second of the concordants, to wit coordination.

**CHAPTER TWELVE**

12.0 Chapter on coordination;\(^1\) i.e. that which is coordinated. It is of two kinds, explanatory\(^2\) and sequential.\(^3\) Intended here is sequential co-
ordination, i.e. coordination by arrangement in sequence (the term is

\textit{nasq}, spelt with \(a\) after the \(s\), used in the meaning of \textit{mansaq} 'thing arranged in sequence', derived from \textit{nasaqtu} \(s\)-\textit{Say'a nasqan} 'I arranged the thing in sequence',\(^4\) with no vowel after the \(s\) in \textit{nasq} 'action of arranging in sequence'), in other words, placing consecutively. It is
defined as the concordant joined to its antecedent by one of the par-
ticles with which the Arabs conventionally denote coordination.\(^5\) The author deals with them as follows:

12.01 The particles of coordination are ten in number: (this is based on the assertion that \textit{immā} 'either', with \(i\) after the \(',\) is a coordin-
ator, but the truth is (43b) otherwise: there are only nine of them),\(^1\)
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al-qāhiratu 'Cairo', aš-Širbīnī), and those which sometimes do and sometimes do not have it, e.g. nuṭāmnu, an-nuṭāmnu 'Nuṭāmnu', ḥasanun, al-ḥasanu 'Ḥasan'. The distribution of al in the last category appears to be entirely arbitrary (cf. Muf. #11, Alf. v 109). One thing is certain: proper names almost always take al when dualized or pluralized (cf. 3.65 n 8)

11.9 (1) Appositional nouns with an apparently adjectival function, e.g. rajulun ḡādir 'a just man' lit. 'a man justice' (Fleisch 187) are not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī, possibly because, being invariable (rijālun ḡādir 'just men'), they are not true concordants (see 11.61 n 1 for the similarities between nouns and adjectives). A frequent appositional structure is the type ṣawbun ḡazzun 'a silk garment' lit. 'a garment silk', al-kātamu 1-ḥadīdu 'the iron ring' lit. 'the ring the iron', cf. Fleisch 187, Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, chs. 1, 2. See 26.72 for the synonymous annexation construction ṣawbu ḡazzin 'a garment of silk' etc.

12.0 (1) Jum. 30; Muf. #157, 538; Alf. v 540; Qaṭr 346; Beeston 97; also M.U.S.J. 48, 167; Fleisch 157 (188); Bateson 38; Yushmanov 62; Nöldeke 93. Terminology: ʿatf 'act of leaning towards, inclining', i.e. coordination, maʿṭūf 'thing coordinated', i.e. coordinated element, maʿṭūf ʿalayh 'thing to which coordinated', i.e. antecedent, ḥarf ʿatf 'particle of coordination' (cf. 3.84 n 3).

(2) 'Explanatory coordination' is ʿatf bayān, lit. 'coordination of making clear' (cf. bayān, 5.82 n 3, tabyīn, 20.0). See 14.51 n 1.

(3) 'Sequential coordination' is ʿatf nasaq, lit. 'coordination of arranging in order'. The term is absent from early grammar, and was perhaps introduced to resolve the ambiguity of ʿatf (and cf. 23.45 n 5).

(4) Cf. 1.11, 4.5 for the method of paraphrasing nasaq by the patient noun mansūq. The difference between nasaq and nasaq (spelling instructions 3.44 n 2, and cf. 17.1 on verbal noun) is that nasaq is only a verbal noun, while nasaq denotes the result of that action.

(5) 'Arabs' always means Beduins, cf. 1.21 n 1; 'conventionally denote' renders waḍaʿat, lit. 'they (the Arabs) have assigned them', cf. waḍ in 11.81 n 1, and see further 12.92 n 1.

12.01 (1) See the discussion in 12.6. Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with ʿammā 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3.
and they are (i.e. the particles of coordination, whose meanings vary);²

12.1 (1) *wa* 'and',¹ which associates the coordinated element with its antecedent both in form and meaning. In formal association it makes the second element concord with the first in its inflection,² whether independence, dependence, obliqueness or apocopeation, and in association of meaning it makes the second element concord with the first in its logical predicament,³ whether of negation or assertion. It serves for absolute coordination in the strict sense and not for ordering or accompaniment: thus when used for coordination you say, for example, *jā' a zaydun wa-†amrun* 'Zayd and *c*Amr came', *ra'aytu zaydan wa-†amran* 'I saw Zayd and *c*Amr' and *marartu bi-zaydin wa-†amrin* 'I passed by Zayd and *c*Amr', where *c*amrun, *c*Amr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its independence, dependence and obliqueness, and shares in its logical predicament.

12.11 When *wa* 'and' is used for absolute joining it can coordinate the logically posterior to the anterior, as in the Qur'anic *wa-la-qad* 'arsalnā nūhan wa-†ibrāhīma *and we did send Noah and Abraham',¹ or the anterior to the posterior, as in the Qur'anic *ka-dālika yūhī 'ilayka wa-†ilā llagīma min qablīka *thus he inspires you and those before you',² or the logically concomitant, as the Qur'anic *fa-†anjaynāhu* wa-†ashāba s-safīnati *and so we saved him and the people on the ship'.³

12.2 (2) *fa* 'and then',¹ which associates what follows it with its antecedent in inflection and meaning but with an abstract ordering,² which
(2) See 12.92 n 1 on maCānī 'meanings'.

12.1 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #539; Alf. v 543; Qatr 346 (Muğnī II, 30); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. For wa as a subordinating conjunction see 5.54, 5.55; wa with dep. nouns in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25; wa as a 'particle of swearing' with oblique nouns, 26.5; wa as a synonym of rubba with oblique nouns, 26.61; coordinating sentences, 12.93.

(2) There is some debate as to whether the coordinated element concords with the antecedent through a formal operator (Cāmil lafżī), namely wa 'and' or an abstract operator (Cāmil maCānvī), namely concordance as such (tabciyya): see further 1.31 n 4, 11.01 n 1.

(3) 'Logical predicament' is ḥukm, lit. 'verdict', a direct borrowing from logic (contrast ḥukm as a legal borrowing in 24.1 n 2). In spite of Versteegh 74 n 22, ḥukm is an early synonym of qaḍiyya in its purely logical meaning of apophasis (q.v. Versteegh 145), cf. Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 536. See further 12.23 n 1.

(4) In ʾInšāʾ prob. 64 the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue that wa is redundant in S. 39 v 73: ḥattā 'igā jāʾūhā wa-futihat ʾabwābūhā 'until when they came to it (scil. Paradise) and its gates were opened', for no main verb appears here or in the rest of the verse. Is this a survival of the original deictic function of 'igā: 'until, lo and behold, they came to it and...'? Cf. 1.441 n 5.

12.11 (1) S. 57 v 26, inverting the historical order; the first wa (untranslated) is not in question here, as it only coordinates verses. 'Logically posterior/anterior is mutaʾakkir/mutagaddim fī ʾl-ḥukm 'delayed/advanced in predicament', see 12.1 n 3 on ḥukm.

(2) S. 42 v 3. With rare exceptions (v. 12.94 n 2) nouns may not be coordinated with oblique pronouns, hence the repetition of 'ilā here (v. 1.702 n 1 on 'ilay-). The verb yūḥī is Stem IV (8.63 n 1), root w-h-y. The relative clause 'ilā lladīna min qablika (which assumes an elided 'awhā 'he inspired') contains a predicate of the type set out in 9.74, i.e. a prepositional phrase dependent on a compulsorily deleted verb phrase or equivalent.

(3) S. 29 v 15; here the dep. noun 'aṣḥāba may correctly be coordinated with the dep. pronoun suffix hu. This occurs only with overt pronouns: concealed pronouns must be externalized by apposition, e.g. uskun 'anta wa-zawjuka 'dwell thou and thy wife' (S. 2 v 35), with 'anta repeating the concealed pronoun in uskun (cf. 11.713). 'Concomitant' is a lit. translation of muṣāhib.

12.2 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #540; Alf. v 545; Qatr 348 (Muğnī I, 139); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; fa as subordinating conjunction 5.54, 5.55. The translation 'and then' somewhat over-emphasizes the difference between wa and fa: both have, however, a much wider range of functions as sentence coordinators, cf. 12.93 n 1.

(2) 'Abstract ordering' is tartīb maCānvī (see 2.1 n 2 on maCānvī); cognate with tartīb 'ordering' are rutba, martaba 'rank' (11.711 n 2)
is that the coordinated element should be subsequent to the antecedent, as in the Qur'anic *kalâqaka fa-sawwâka 'he created you and then fashioned you'.

12.21 It can also be used for narrative ordering: this means that the element coordinated by *fa 'and then' is mentioned purely formally after the antecedent, and not that the meaning of the second element occurs later in time than that of the first. This is most common in the coordination of detail to a general idea, as in the Qur'anic *fa-qad sa'âlu mûsâ akbara min dâlika fa-qâlu 'arînä llâha jafratan 'and they asked Moses a greater thing than that, and said, 'show us God openly'.'

12.22 It can also (44a) denote immediate consequence as well as order, i.e. that something should be connected by it without interval, as in the Qur'anic *'amâtâhu fa-'aqbarahu 'he killed him and then buried him'. The consequence of a thing depends on what it is: do you not see that it is possible to say *tazawwaja fulânun fu-wulida lâhu 'so-and-so married and then had a child', as there is between these two events only the period of pregnancy, no matter how long that might be?

12.23 Using *fa 'and then' in coordination you say *jâ'a zaydun fa-Câmrûn 'Zayd came and then CÂmrûn', *ra'aytu zaydan fa-Câmrûn 'I saw Zayd and then CÂmrûn', and *marartu bi-zaydin fa-Câmrûn 'I passed by Zayd and then CÂmrûn', where Câmrûn 'Câmrûn' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection, and shares in its logical predicament accompanied by ordering and consequence.

12.3 (3) *tûmma 'then', (spelt with û after the three-dotted ū), which associates the coordinated element with its antecedent in inflection and meaning, and conveys ordering and looseness of connection between the two coordinated elements, e.g. *jâ'a zaydun tûmma Câmrûn 'Zayd came, then CÂmrûn', *ra'aytu zaydan tûmma Câmrûn 'I saw Zayd, then CÂmrûn' and *marartu bi-zaydin tûmma Câmrûn 'I passed by Zayd, then CÂmrûn', where
and tarattaba 'to follow from (apodosis from protasis)' in 5.811.

(3) S. 82 v 7; this time two verbs are coordinated (cf. 12.93).

12.21 (1) 'Narrative ordering' is tartīb ḍikrī, lit. 'ordering by mention' (cf. ḍikrī 'due to previous mention' in 11.742).

(2) S. 4 v 153. 'Coordination of detail to a general idea' is ḍaṭf al-mufassāl ẓalā mujmal: mufassāl is related to ṣafī 'subsection, differentiation' (cf. 3.63), mujmal to jumla 'sentence' (19.6 n 1). See 20.42 n 2 on the comparative construction of 'akbara min gālikā.

12.22 (1) 'Immediate consequence' translates taqīb, lit. 'following on the heels of something'. Qualitatively fa differs from wa in that the latter is indifferent to the chronological order of events (12.11).

(2) S. 80 v 21. In his own commentary on this verse (IV, 466), aṣ-Ṣirbînî points out that the choice of fa here instead of the neutral wa stresses the immediacy of the burial and that the corpse was not left lying about!

(3) 'So-and-so' is fulānun (fem. fulānatu, 3.89 (4), and adj. fulānī 'belonging to So-and-so'. The connection suggested by Hitti, History of the Arabs, London 1967, 644 n 1, between fulān and Old French poulines is fortuitous: fulān occurs many centuries earlier (e.g. Kitāb II, and is probably composed of deictic elements (Fleisch, Tr. 118k). Note impersonal passive wulida lahu, lit. 'there was given birth for him', cf. 8.11 n 1.

12.23 (1) See 12.1 n 3 on ḥukm 'logical predicament'. The two possible 'predicaments' are assertion and negation (see 12.41 n 2 on these and related borrowings from logic). 'Assertion' is termed either 'īṭbāt (lit. 'confirming') or 'Ījāb (lit. 'necessitating, root w-j-b, cf. 21.1 n 4), and 'negation' is nafy (5.76 n 1) among grammarians, but salb (lit. 'dispossessing, snatching away') among logicians. There are complexities in the history of these terms (both 'īṭbāt and 'Ījāb are used apparently indiscriminately by Sibawayhi, cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index), on which see Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 532.

12.3 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #540; Alif. v 545; Qatr 351 (Muğnî I, 107); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with tumma 'there' (18.213). Yushmanov 62 makes the observation that tumma replaces wa 'and' when anything has to be coordinated with God, e.g. 'aṣhadatu llāha tumma jamā'Gatan min al-muslimina 'I call upon God and a number of Muslims as my witness'.

(2) 'Ordering and looseness of connection' is tartīb wa-tarākī (cf. 12.2 n 2 on tartīb); tarākī is lit. 'slackness, limpness', the term favoured by Ibn Hīšām and aṣ-Ṣirbīnî's immediate source, al-Azharî, on Aj. 73. Az-Zajjājî and az-Zamakšarî prefer mūhla 'interval, delay' for this feature of tumma, while Ibn Mālik, in the Alfiyya at least, opposes fa and tumma by means of the antithetical terms ittīsāl 'connection' and infiṣāl 'disconnection, separation'.

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Amr 'Amr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection, and shares in its logical predicament, except that the meaning attributed to the coordinated element is later than the meaning attributed to the antecedent, cf. the Qur'anic fa-'aqbarahu tūmma 'idā ṣā'a anšarahu 'and then he buried him; then, if he wishes, he will resurrect him'.

12.4 (4) 'aw 'or',¹ which associates the coordinated element with its antecedent in inflection and meaning: thus you say jā'ā zaydun 'aw ġamrun 'Zayd or Amr came', ra'aytu zaydan 'aw ġamran 'I saw Zayd or Amr', and marartu bi-zaydin 'aw ġamrin 'I passed by Zayd or Amr', where ġamrun 'Amr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection and shares in its logical predicament. This particle may denote one of two alternatives, e.g. jā'ā zaydun 'aw ġamrun 'Zayd or Amr came', or one of several alternatives, e.g. jā'ā zaydun 'aw ġamrun 'aw bakrun 'Zayd, Amr or Bakr came'. It can also convey a restricted choice between the two coordinated elements after a request, e.g. tazawwaj zaynaba 'aw 'uqtahā 'marry either Zenobia or her sister', or a free choice, e.g. jālis il-Culamā'a 'aw iz-zuhhāda 'sit with scholars or ascetics'. The difference between restricted and free choice is that in restricted choice it is impossible to combine the two coordinated elements, while that is possible in free choice.

12.41 It is also used after a statement (and then corresponds to a request),¹ i.e. the kind of predicative statement which can be intrinsically true or false,² to express the speaker's doubt, e.g. the Qur'anic labiţnā yawman 'aw ba'da yawmin 'we tarried a day, or part of a day',³ or to make the listener have doubts, as in the Qur'anic wa-'īnna 'aw 'iyyākum la-Calā (44b) hudan 'aw fī ūdālin mubīnīn 'verily we, or you, are in a state of guidance, or in plain error'.⁴

12.5 (5) 'am 'or',¹ which serves as a request to be specific when it occurs after the interrogative 'a ?' which denotes one of two relevant alternatives, e.g. 'a-zaydun ġindaka 'am ġamrun 'is it Zayd with you or
(3) S. 80, vv 21, 22, being the continuation of the verse quoted in 12.22. Here *ṭumma* coordinates the complex sentence *'idā šā'a 'anṣarahu*, in which *'idā* 'when' has pseudo-conditional force (5.94), i.e. it does not mean 'when he wished, he resurrected him'.

12.4 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* ##541-544; *Alf.* v 551; *Qatr* 353 (*Muğnī* I, 59); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; 'aw as a subordinating conjunction 5.56. Some idea of the extent to which later grammar moved away from the strict structuralism of Sībawayhi can be gained from Ibn Hişām's statement (*Muğnī* I, 59) that 'modern grammarians' distinguish no less than twelve functions for *'aw*, viz. doubt (12.41), making vague (12.41), division (e.g. 'words are either nouns, verbs or particles'), option (the 'restricted choice' of 12.4 n 2), allowance (the 'free choice' of 12.4 n 3), unrestricted union (syonym of *wa* 'and', 12.1), digression (synonym of *bal* 'rather', 12.7), synonymous with *'illā*, synonymous with *'illā* (see both in 5.56), approximation (e.g. 'I do not know whether he said hallo or goodbye'), condition (e.g. 'I shall beat him, whether he live or die') and finally partition (e.g. 'be ye Jews or Christians', S. 2 v 135). The translations and examples above are taken from Howell, #543.

(2) 'Restricted choice' is *takyīr* lit. only 'choice', but qualified here in order to contrast with the other type of choice involved. It is cognate with *iktīyāran* 'voluntarily', q.v. 7.5 n 2, 9.8 n 2.

(3) 'Free choice' is *'ibāha*, lit. 'permission, allowance', qualified by 'free' in the translation to fit the context. It is related to the legal term *mubāh* 'allowed', which is the neutral grade of legality between the opposite poles of *harām* 'forbidden' and *fard* ('religious obligation', synonym *wājib* 'obligatory act, cf. 9.8 n 2).

12.41 (1) Cf. 5.54, 5.55, where *talab* (here 'request') has been rendered 'demand'. The request is for confirmation of one of the two alternatives (cf. n 3 below).

(2) 'Predicative statement' is a literal translation of *al-kalām al-ḵabarī* (cf. 1.1 on *kalām* 'speech', 9.1 on *ḵabar* 'predicate'), but such classifications of sentence types are borrowings from logic and are not found in Sībawayhi. It contrasts with the *kalām* *'inšā'I* 'exclamatory statement' (lit. 'originative', Howell #1), i.e. commands, exclamations, entreaties etc. Several other classifications on the basis of meaning exist, on which see Versteegh 147, and contrast the simple formal opposition of 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentence, 9.24 n 2.

(3) S. 18 v 19, scil. 'we tarried a day, or was it part of a day?'.

(4) S. 34 v 24. On *'innā ʿinnanā* see 10.55 n 3; on *'iyyākum* see 16.506; on emphatic prefix *la* see 13.6 n 3.

12.5 (1) *Jum.* 31, 32; *Muf.* ##541, 542; *Alf.* v 548; *Qatr* 355 (*Muğnī* I, 39); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Relevant alternatives' is a free translation of *al-mansūbāνī* lit. 'the two things attributed'; while this may be connected with *nīsba* in
This 'am 'or' is called 'conjunctive', and is of two kinds: (a) preceded by the interrogative 'a '?' which, with 'am 'or', requests specification as already illustrated, and (b) preceded by the 'equalizing 'a'. This second 'am 'or' occurs before sentences in which 'a and its own sentence are together equivalent to a verbal noun, as in the Qur'anic wa-sawā' un Calayhim 'a-'angartahum 'am lam tundirhum 'it is the same for them whether you warned them or did not warn them', i.e. sawā' un Calayhim al-'ingāru wa-Cadmuhu 'the same for them is warning or the lack of it'. This 'am 'or' is only called 'conjunctive' because neither what precedes it nor what follows it can be dispensed with in a self-sufficient utterance. Both kinds of 'conjunctive 'am' associate the coordinated elements in inflection and meaning, e.g. sawā' un 'a-jā' a zaydun 'am Camrun 'it is the same whether Zayd or ʿAmr came', sawā' un 'a-ra'aytu zaydan 'am Camran 'it is the same whether I saw Zayd or ʿAmr', sawā' un 'a-maartu bi-zaydin 'am Camrin 'it is the same whether I passed by Zayd or ʿAmr'. Likewise 'a-jā' a zaydun 'am Camrun 'did Zayd or ʿAmr come?', 'a-ra'aytu zaydan 'am Camran 'did I see Zayd or ʿAmr?' and 'a-maartu bi-zaydin 'am Camrin 'did I pass by Zayd or ʿAmr?' In all these Camrun ʿAmr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection and shares its logical predicament.

There is also the 'disjunctive 'am', to which none of the above remarks on the 'conjunctive 'am' apply: it is not preceded by the interrogative 'a '?' which, with 'am 'or', requests specification, nor by the 'equalizing 'a'. It is called 'disjunctive' because it occurs between two independent sentences, and is inseparably associated with the
its grammatical sense of (genetic) relationship (cf. 11.721 n 4), it is just as likely that it here has the logical flavour of this term in its sense of predicative relationship. Cf. also 20.02 n 1.

(3) See 5.741 n 1 on interrogative 'a, and 12.51 n 6 on indirect questions. 'Specify' is ta'ayIn, the same as 'making specific' in the context of proper names (11.72).

12.51 (1) 'Conjunctive' is muttaṣīl lit. 'continuous, uninterrupted' (cf. 21.1 n 5); the same root w-s-l supplies the basic terminology of relative sentences, 11.752 n 1, and bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1.

(2) 'Interrogative 'a' is 'aļīf al-istīfḥām, q.v. 5.741 n 2; the 'equalising 'a' is 'aļīf at-taṣwaṭṣa, translated literally, also known as 'aļīf al-muṣādāla 'balancing 'a'.

(3) 'Equivalent in status' renders fi maḥall, lit. 'in the place of'. Elsewhere (5.81 n 3) it has been equated with manzīla 'status' (23.2 n 1) rather than mawdīC 'function' (3.1 n 4), even though it may seem that 'functionally equivalent' is the obvious translation. The reason is that maḥall does not denote absolute replaceability as does mawdīC, but equivalence of function between elements of different form classes (see 5.84 n 4), particularly when the element concerned is a sentence (jumla, q.v. 19.6 n 1), as sentences cannot exhibit inflection and can therefore only be regarded as having the status of inflected elements.

(4) S. 36 v 10; note vowel harmony in suffix -him in Calayhim (cf. 13.9 n 9) and past tense meaning of verb negated by 'am (5.71).

(5) 'Neither can be dispensed with' renders lā yustaḥnā bi-‘aḥabidhimā C an il-‘ākari fairly literally: in its positive form the cognate term mustaṣnī denotes a self-sufficient utterance (e.g. Kitāb I, 202, 208, 347, 480), while the negative most often appears in the context of absent elements or features (e.g. 5.44, 13.7), but see 19.6 on the notion that elements can be indispensable to the complete utterance. This explains why this type of 'am is called 'conjunctive' (n 1 above).

(6) Arabic has no distinctive structure for indirect questions, though under foreign influence there is a tendency to transfer pronouns into reported speech forms (cf. indirect speech, 10.64 n 1). Thus 'I asked him whether he was going' is either sa’altuhu ʿa-ʿanta gāḥibun, with direct speech in the subordinate sentence ('are you going?') or sa’altuhu ʿa-huwa gāḥibun, with indirect speech form ('whether he was going'). The other interrogative pronouns (5.87 n 2) behave similarly.

12.52 (1) This is 'am l-munqāṭīC, lit. 'the severed 'am' (cf. 21.11 n 2), see below, n 4, on the reason for this name.

(2) See 19.6 n 1 on jumla 'sentence'; 'independent' is a literal translation of mustaqill, now most commonly encountered in political contexts. It will be noticed that aš-Širbīnī has taken it for granted that the single nouns after this 'am will be construed as elliptical sentences (scil. jāʿa zaydūn 'am jāʿa CAmrun 'Zayd came or CAmr came'), a rare failure to grasp an opportunity for taqdfā (q.v. 2.101 n 1).
meaning of retraction, e.g. jā'ā zaydun 'am ʿAmr 'Zayd came, or else ʿAmr', raʿaytu zaydan 'am ʿAmran 'I saw Zayd, or else ʿAmr', and marartu bi-zaydin 'am ʿAmrin 'I passed by Zayd, or else ʿAmr', in the meaning of bal 'or rather'. Hence it associates in inflection but not in meaning.4

12.6 (6) 'immā 'either', (spelt with i after the '), which must be followed by another 'immā or a synonym, e.g. jā'ā 'immā zaydun wa-'immā ʿAmrn 'either Zayd came or ʿAmr' raʿaytu (45a) 'immā zaydun wa-'immā ʿAmrn 'I saw either Zayd or ʿAmr' and marartu 'immā bi-zaydin wa-'immā bi-ʿAmrn 'I passed either by Zayd or by ʿAmr', where ʿAmrn ' ʿAmr is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection and in its logical predicament. This particle is omitted from the particles of coordination by Ibn Ḥišām, following Abū ʿAlī, Ibn Kaysān and Ibn Barhān (spelt with a after the b). But in the opinion of most grammarians, when it occurs after demands, e.g. taṣawwaj 'immā hindan wa-'immā ʿuktahā 'marry either Hind or her sister' or in predicative statements, e.g. jā'ā 'immā zaydun wa-'immā ʿAmrn 'Zayd came or ʿAmr', it has exactly the same status as 'aw 'or' both in being a coordinator and in meaning, in that after demands it serves to denote restricted or free choice, and after statements it serves to denote doubt or to induce it. In the opinion of the former authorities, however, 'immā 'either' is only similar in meaning to 'aw 'or' and not in being a coordinator.5

12.7 (7) bal 'nay rather', used as a coordinator after an assertion, e.g. gāma zaydun bal ʿAmrn 'Zayd, nay rather ʿAmr stood', raʿaytu zaydan bal ʿAmran 'I saw Zayd, nay rather ʿAmr' and marartu bi-zaydin bal ʿAmrn 'I passed by Zayd, nay rather ʿAmr', where ʿAmrn ' ʿAmr is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, since it is ʿAmr, not Zayd, who is qualified by the verb.6
(3) 'Retraction' is 'idrāb, lit. 'turning away' (hence in modern Arabic 'striking' against employers, from root ʿ-r-b 'to strike').

(4) As the translations are meant to imply (by use of the comma after the first sentence), neither statement is essential to the utterance. Whether the second must always contain a retraction of the first is problematical; apart from tending to make both statements thereby indispensable to each other, it can surely be argued that this type of 'am sentence must fit somewhere into the many functions of 'aw 'or' listed in 12.4 n 1! Note that bal (12.7) replaces 'am in the paraphrase, however, and not 'aw.

12.6 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #541, 543, 544; Alf. v 553; Qatr 357, (Muğnî I, 56); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with 'amā 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3. There are two objections: however, if 'immā is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. so often occurs with wa 'and' prefixed (as in the examples here), and second that prepositions must be repeated after it (by contrasting wa-ʿimmā bi-Camrin here and wa-ʿamrin in 12.1 it is easy to grasp the objections: however, if 'immā is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. also n 6 below.

(2) The only synonym which may follow 'immā is 'aw 'or' (12.4).

(3) On Ibn Ḥišām see 1.02 n 1; Abū ʿAlī is Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, q.v. 10.71 n 1; Ibn Kaysān was a prominent pupil of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) and of Taʿlab, leaders of the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' respectively (cf. 9.4 n 3), and died in 911 or 932 (G.A.L. I, 111, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Kaysān'); Ibn Barhān was an eccentric, but highly respected teacher who died in 1064 (G.A.L. Suppl. I, 491).

(4) Here 'status' is manzila, q.v. 23.2 n 1 and contrast 12.51 n 3.

(5) See 12.4 on restricted and free choice, 12.41 on doubts.

(6) The 'former authorities' are Abū ʿAlī etc., mentioned above. For the reservations about 'immā see n 1: to those may be added the fact that 'immā always occurs in pairs, wherein the first 'immā certainly is not a conjunction. The coordinating function has to be ascribed to the wa 'and' which invariably accompanies the second 'immā.

12.7 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #545; Alf. v 550, 555; Qatr 356 (Muğnî I, 103); other refs. in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Assertion' is 'ījāb, q.v. 12.23 n 1.

(3) See 12.1 n 3 on ḥukm 'logical predicament'. Note that 'qualified' here is mawsūf, the same term that is used for the antecedent of the adjective (11.0 n 1): the reason is that verbs are also analysed as adjectival qualifiers, usually of their agents (11.45 n 1), but here, interestingly, the verb phrases ʿāma, raʿaytu and marartu bi- are all construed as qualifiers, first (formally) of Zayd and then (through retraction) of ʿAmr. While this is obvious with ʿāma, it is perhaps worth emphasizing that for the other two the implied paraphrases are *zaydun bal Camrun raʿaytuḥu 'Zayd, rather ʿAmr I saw', *zaydun bal
12.71 It also occurs after negation, e.g. mā jā'a zaydun bal ġamrun 'Zayd did not come but rather ġAmr', mā ra'aytu zaydan bal ġamran 'I did not see Zayd but rather ġAmr', and mā marartu bi-zaydin bal ġammin 'I did not pass by Zayd but rather ġAmr', where ġamrun 'ĠAmr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, since it is ġAmr, not Zayd, who is qualified by the verb. 1

12.8 (8) lā 'not',1 used as a coordinator after assertions, e.g. gāna zaydun lā ġamrun 'Zayd stood, not ġAmr', ra'aytu zaydan lā ġamran 'I saw Zayd, not ġAmr' and marartu bi-zaydin lā ġamrin 'I passed by Zayd, not ġAmr', where ġamrun 'ĠAmr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, since it is ġAmr, not Zayd, who is qualified by the verb. 2

12.81 It also occurs after the imperative, e.g. īdrib zaydan lā ġamran 'strike Zayd not ġAmr',1 where Zayd is the one who is commanded to be struck, not ġAmr, hence the word ġamrun 'ĠAmr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in inflection only. 2

12.9 (9) lākin 'but',1 (spelt with unwovelled n), used as a coordinator on certain conditions: (a) that the coordinated element be a single word, 2(b) that it be preceded by negation or prohibition 3and (c) that it not be accompanied by wa 'and', in the opinion of most grammarians. 4 Examples after negation: mā gāma zaydun lākin ġamrun 'Zayd did not stand, but ġAmr', mā ra'aytu zaydan lākin ġamran 'I did not see Zayd, but ġAmr', and mā marartu bi-zaydin lākin ġamrin 'I did not pass by Zayd, but ġAmr', where ġamrun 'ĠAmr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, as it is ġAmr who is qualified by the verb (45b) not Zayd. Examples after prohibition:5 lā ta'ārib zaydan lākin ġamran 'do not strike Zayd, but ġAmr', where Zayd is the one forbidden to be struck, not ġAmr, hence ġamrun 'ĠAmr' is a concordant of zaydun 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament.
Camrun marartu bihi 'Zayd, rather Camrun I passed by' respectively, in which the verb phrases are complex predicates of the type in 9.75

12.71 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on negation, nafy, in general.

(2) Further to 12.7 n 3: here again the verb phrases are analysed as adjectival qualifiers, scil. *zaydun bal Camrun mā ra‘aytu ‘Zayd, rather Camrun I did not see' etc. The 'logical predicament' remains a choice between assertion and negation: it is not a matter of the meaning of the proposition but simply of whether the given predicate applies to the stated subject or not.

12.8 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #545; Alf. vv 554, 555; Qatr 356 (Muğnf I, 194); other refs. in 12.0 n 1; for lā negating verbs see 5.76; for lā negating nouns categorically see ch. 22.

(2) Though not a conjunction in the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, the resumptive lā which is used as a repeater for previous negatives may as well be mentioned here. It repeats any of the various negative particles (5.76 n 1), always with wa, e.g. mā qāma wa-lā takallama 'he did not stand, nor speak', lam yaqum wa-lā takallama 'he has not stood nor spoken'. Cf. Cantarino, I, 107, Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 338, Nöldeke 93.

12.81 (1) While an elided second verb need not be assumed here (*idrib zaydan lā ta‘drib Camran), there seems to be no choice with mā ḍarabtu zaydan wa-lā Camran 'I did not hit Zayd nor (did I hit) Camran'.

(2) The translation 'the word Camrun' is necessary here because Camrun's name is quoted in the metalanguage with the indep. form as subject of 'is a concordant', rather than with dep. form as a concordant to zaydan (the alternative: 'Camran is a concordant to zaydan' is also possible, but it is not so close to the original).

12.9 (1) Jum. 31, 32; Muf. #545; Alf. vv 554, 555; Qatr 356 (Muğnf I, 226); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes lākin from lākinna (10.43): cf. 12.903 n 1 on the other 'light' (kaффf) or 'lightened' (muğaffaf) alternants of nn, and see further 3.241 n 2.

(2) 'Be a single word' renders 'ifrād lit. 'causing something to be mufrad, viz. single, singular, simple' (see 23.431 n 1 on mufrad).

(3) In Insāf prob. 68, the 'Kifans' (9.4 n 3) argue somewhat speciously (and in the absence of evidence) that lākin, being a synonym of bal 'rather' (12.7), may be used after positive sentences, e.g. 'atāni zaydun lākin Camrun 'Zayd, but rather Camrun, came to me'. The 'Baṣrans' reply does not seem very positive, probably again through lack of evidence: they concede that lākin might occur in such a position but only (a) if the second element contradicts the first (i.e. if it falls into the category dealt with below in 12.903, where it is actually an allomorph of lākinna), or (b) if the first element is an error or oversight. But in the latter case, bal already exists for the correction of errors and oversights, and so (the Baṣrans claim), lākin is not needed in that function.
This particle is not a coordinator if it is followed by a sentence, as in the verse:

\[
\text{‘inna bna warqā‘a lā tuğšā bawādiruho lākin waqā‘i’cunu ff 1-ḥarbi tuntaẓaru}
\]

'Indeed the onslaughts (bawādiru 'onslaughts' is the plural of bādiratun, i.e. hiddatun 'vehemence') of Ibn Warqā' are not feared, but his attacks in battle are anticipated'. Here waqā‘i’cunu 'attacks' is the subject, tuntaẓaru 'are anticipated' is its predicate, and lākin 'but' preceding this sentence is a particle which introduces equational sentences.

Likewise if it follows wa 'and', as in the Qur'anic mā kāna muhammadun 'ābā ‘ahadin min rijālikum wa-lākin rasūla llāhi 'Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but the apostle of God', where rasūla llāhi 'the apostle of God' is not coordinated to 'ābā ‘ahadin 'the father of one' as one single element coordinated to another, but is the predicate of an elided kāna 'is, has always been', i.e. wa-lākin kāna rasūla llāhi 'but he is the apostle of God'.

In the same way, when it is preceded by an assertion, e.g. qāma zaydun lākin ḍamrun lām ẓaḡum 'Zayd stood, but ḍAmr did not stand', ẓamrun 'Ẓamr' is the subject of an equational sentence, lām ẓaḡum 'he did not stand' is its predicate, and lākin 'but' is a particle which introduces equational sentences. It is not allowed to say lākin ḍamrun 'but ḍAmr' by itself as if it were coordinated, because the necessary condition is lacking, viz. that of being preceded by negation or prohibition.
After *wa*, lākin reverts to being an allomorph of lākinna, 12.903.

(5) See 5.76 on prohibition, *nahy*.

12.901 (1) See 19.6 n 1 on *jumla* 'sentence', and see below, n 4.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 90 (add Muṣnī I, 226; al-Ḥarīf, Taṣr. II, 147).

Although attributed to the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr (and included in his published poems), it seems that this verse is first quoted in a grammatical context by Ibn Ḥišām. Apart from the grammar of lākin, note: *‘inna with dep. nouns* (10.41); juncture in *ibnā* (23.7 n 1); semi-declinable proper name warqā’ā (3.89 (2) and (4)); passive of weak 3rd rad. verb tuqṣā (8.3 n 1 (b)); fem. sing. verb with broken plur. agent (7.22 n 1); broken plur. bawādiru (3.221); possessive suffix *hu* (4.72 n 2); preposition *fi* (26.25); juncture of *al* (11.1 n 2); passive of Stem VIII verb (8.68 n 1).

(3) Note that, since the noun precedes its verb, a nominal sentence (7.12) is created, with a complex predicate as in 9.75.

(4) 'Particle which introduces equational sentences' translates ḥarf ibtidāː: for ḥarf 'particle' see 1.25; ibtidāː is literally 'the act of starting an utterance with a noun', q.v. 9.12 n 2.

12.902 (1) The argument is that if the conjunction *wa* is already present the following element cannot also be a conjunction (cf. the case of *‘immā*, 12.6 n 1). See also n 3 below.

(2) S. 33 v 40. Note here the past tense form of *kānā* 'to be' in its 'timeless' meaning (cf. 5.52 n 2), scil. 'Muḥammad has never been...' (and see 10.11 on dep. form of predicate *‘abā* ‘āḥadin with kānā and related verbs). For *‘abā*, with long vowel inflection, see 3.61.

(3) 'As one single element to another' is *mufradin* ʾalā mufradin, see 23.431 n 1 on mufrad 'single' etc. Note that *single* refers to functional, not morphological singleness here: the annexation unit is formally composed of at least two elements, in the present instance *‘abā* ʾāḥadin and rasūla lāhī, but these are functionally equivalent to single nouns (26.91 n 1). However, even if the coordinated nouns in this verse had been single items, lākin would still not be a conjunction, as long as it has *wa* prefixed to it. In the absence of a better explanation, it is assumed that lākin here is an allomorph of lākin na (12.903).

12.903 (1) See 12.901 n 4 for the terminology, and id. n 3 for the equational (= nominal) sentence with verb phrase as predicate. In this function lākin is an allomorph of lākinna (10.43), and belongs to a set of 'light' and 'heavy' (12.9 n 1) doublets comprising *‘inna*/‘in (10.41), *‘anna*/an (10.42), ka’anna/ka’an (10.44) and lākinna/lākin (10.43). In each case (though by no means with equal distribution: 'light 'in is both archaic and rare, for example), the 'light' form is neutralized and does not bring about dependent forms in the nouns following it, cf. lākinna ḡālidan in 10.43 and lākin ʾamrun in this paragraph. *Muf.* #525; *Alf.* v 190; *Qatr* 156; *Fleisch* 199; *Bateson* 38; *Reckendorf, Ar. Synt.* 125, 129, 130.
12.91 (10) hattā 'even',\(^1\) which associates both in inflection and meaning. When the author adds: in certain positions,\(^2\) he is indicating that its use as a coordinator is rare in the opinion of the Basrans and denied altogether by the Kūfans.\(^3\) They attribute its coordinating implications to the fact that, in such cases, it is a particle which introduces equational sentences, and that an operator has been suppressed after hattā 'even', making hattā itself the operator. It operates only on four conditions: (a) the coordinated element must be a noun, because this hattā 'even' is transferred from the hattā 'till' which is an oblique operator and does not occur before verbs,\(^4\) (b) the coordinated noun must be overt: it is not allowed to say *qāma l-qawmu hattā 'anā 'the people stood, even I',\(^5\) (c) the coordinated noun must be part of its antecedent, either literally, as in 'akaltu s-samakata hattā ra'sahā 'I ate the fish, even its head', or figuratively,\(^6\) as in the verse 'alqā s-ṣahifata kay yuğaffifa rahluwa wa-z-zāda hattā naclahu 'alqāhā 'he threw away the letter to lighten his saddle, and the supplies and even his sandals he threw away',\(^7\) where the letter (46a) and the supplies can be paraphrased as 'he threw away what weighed heavily on him'. Alternatively the coordinated noun only needs to resemble a part of its antecedent when the connection between the two is extremely close, e.g. 'aṣjabati l-ījāiyatī hattā kalāmuḥā 'the girl delighted me, even what she said', while it is impossible to say *hattā waladuḥā 'even her son' because her son is neither part of her nor resembles part of her. The guiding principle for all this is that if it is correct with 'continuous exception' then it is also correct with hattā to occur before it, otherwise not.\(^8\)
12.91 (1) Jum. 30, 77; Muf. #540; Alf. v 547; Qaṭr 351; (Muğnī I, 111); Beeston 98, 99; Fleisch 222; ḥattā as a subordinating conjunction 5.53; ḥattā as a preposition 26.31.

(2) 'Positions' is mawādi, i.e. 'functions', q.v. 3.1 n 4.

(3) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans'. Surprisingly there is no trace of this dispute in the Inṣāf, where one would most expect to find it (though ḥattā as a subordinating conjunction is debated in prob. 83, cf. 5.53 n 2).

(4) It is this principle which requires that, for the Baṣrans at least (5.5), ḥattā may not operate directly upon a verb, but must operate by means of an assumed 'an 'that'; i.e. upon a noun phrase (cf. 5.53). For ḥattā as a preposition see 26.31.

(5) This condition is obscure and inapplicable, at least for modern Arabic: see Cantarino, II, 297. 'Et tu, Brute' is ḥattā 'anta yā brūṭus.

(6) 'Literally' is taḥqīgūn, lit. 'by verification', related to haqīqa 'truth, fact', which normally has as its antonym majāz 'figure of speech, metaphor' (see 13.3 n 1). Here, however, it is opposed to taʾwīlan 'by paraphrase' (cf. the cognate muʿawwal, 9.02 n 1) in a distinction which is semantic rather than syntactic: the sandals are not part of the antecedent but only of what weighed upon the rider.

(7) Schaw. Ind. (add Jum. 81). As quoted by Sibawayhi (Kitāb I, 50) this verse has naʿlīhi with obl. form (i.e. with ḥattā as preposition), though no reasons are given in the text or by the editors (Derenbourg also has naʿlīhi). In fact Sibawayhi establishes that all three cases are possible with ḥattā: indep. naʿlīhu as subject of a new sentence (with 'alqāhā as predicate as in 9.75), obl. naʿlīhi, or dep. naʿlāhu as preposed object of 'alqāhā and concording by attraction with the dep. forms zāda etc. preceding. Sibawayhi's preference is clearly for the last, but he has to acknowledge that the obl. form is commonly met (and therefore is correct!), while he has reservations about the indep. form. The same three possibilities exist with 'akaltu s-samakatā ḥattā raʾsahā: indep. raʾsuḥā as subject of new sentence, dep. raʾsahā as direct object coordinated with ḥattā, and obl. raʾsiḥā after prepositional ḥattā. In the last case, however, the meaning could be 'up to (but not including) its head'.

(8) The first grammatical criteria were ethical in origin, viz. ḥasan 'good' and qabīh 'bad', relating to structure, and mustaqīm 'right' and muḥāl 'wrong' relating to meaning (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147). With time, as grammar grew more prescriptive, these appear less often, and tend to be replaced with the simple opposition yajūz 'it is allowed'; lā yajūz 'it is not allowed' (cf. 9.8 n 2). This is the only instance in this work of ḥasuna 'to be structurally correct' (though elsewhere we find the occasional synonym, e.g. 11.82, ṣalūḥā).

(9) He means neg. continuous exception (v. 21.2), i.e. mā 'ācjabatnī l-jāriyatu 'illā kalāmuhā 'only what the girl said delighted me'.
12.911 Finally, (d) what follows ḥattā 'even' must be a limit to the antecedent in terms of some perceptible addition ultimately going back to perception and observation, e.g. fulānun yahabu l-'aḍḍāra l-kaṭfara ḥattā l-‘ulūfa 'so-and-so donates large sums, even thousands', or some abstract addition ultimately going back to the meaning of the antecedent, e.g. māta n-nāsu ḥattā l-‘anbiyā’u 'the people died, even the prophets', or some perceptible decrease, e.g. al-mu’minu yujzā bi-1-hasanā’u ḥattā m-tqâli d-darrati 'the believer is rewarded for good deeds, even for the weight of an atom', or some abstract decrease, e.g. gālabaka n-nāsu ḥattā n-nisā’u wa-s-sibyānu 'the people browbeat you, even the women and children'.

12.912 It also serves for gradation, in that its antecedent proceeds little by little, and it can convey absolute coordination like wa 'and' without any of the ordering implied by fa 'and then' or ṭumma 'then' (contrary to Ibn al-Hājib). This is proved by the Saying of the Prophet (blessing and peace upon him): kullu šay’in bi-qadārīn ḥattā l-Cajzu wa-l-kaysu 'everything is by decree and predestination, even incapacity and intelligence', for there is no ordering in decree and predestination, since ordering can only appear in things which are connected with each other.

12.92 These, then, are the ten particles (with their various meanings) which associate their antecedent with what follows them in inflection, and when you use them as coordinators with an independent antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise independent, with a dependent antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise dependent, with an oblique antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise oblique, and with an apocopated antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise apocopated. Thus you say (coordinating one independent noun with another) jā’a zaydun wa-Camrun 'Zayd and Camrun came', and in obliqueness marartu bi-zaydin wa-Camrin 'I passed by Zayd and Camrun'.

12.911 Finally, (d) what follows ḥattā 'even' must be a limit to the antecedent in terms of some perceptible addition ultimately going back to perception and observation, e.g. fulānun yahabu l-‘aḍḍāra l-kaṭfara ḥattā l-‘ulūfa 'so-and-so donates large sums, even thousands', or some abstract addition ultimately going back to the meaning of the antecedent, e.g. māta n-nāsu ḥattā l-‘anbiyā’u 'the people died, even the prophets', or some perceptible decrease, e.g. al-mu’minu yujzā bi-1-hasanā’u ḥattā m-tqâli d-darrati 'the believer is rewarded for good deeds, even for the weight of an atom', or some abstract decrease, e.g. gālabaka n-nāsu ḥattā n-nisā’u wa-s-sibyānu 'the people browbeat you, even the women and children'.

12.912 It also serves for gradation, in that its antecedent proceeds little by little, and it can convey absolute coordination like wa 'and' without any of the ordering implied by fa 'and then' or ṭumma 'then' (contrary to Ibn al-Hājib). This is proved by the Saying of the Prophet (blessing and peace upon him): kullu šay’in bi-qadārīn ḥattā l-Cajzu wa-l-kaysu 'everything is by decree and predestination, even incapacity and intelligence', for there is no ordering in decree and predestination, since ordering can only appear in things which are connected with each other.

12.92 These, then, are the ten particles (with their various meanings) which associate their antecedent with what follows them in inflection, and when you use them as coordinators with an independent antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise independent, with a dependent antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise dependent, with an oblique antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise oblique, and with an apocopated antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise apocopated. Thus you say (coordinating one independent noun with another) jā’a zaydun wa-Camrun 'Zayd and Camrun came', and in obliqueness marartu bi-zaydin wa-Camrin 'I passed by Zayd and Camrun'.
12.911 (1) 'Limit' is ǧāya, cf. also the definition of min, 1.701, and cf. 21.01 n 1.

(2) 'Perceptible addition' is ziyyāda ḥissiyya, 'abstract addition' is ziyyāda maṣnawiyya; see 3.231 n 1 on ziyyāda 'augment, increase' etc., and cf. 1.704 on ḥissiyya, 2.1 n 2 on maṣnawiyya.

(3) This sounds like one of the 'Traditions' of Muhammad (1.01 n 4), but is not listed as such in Wensinck's Concordance (others of similar content and wording, I, 294). Read miqgāli with obl. form coordinated by ḥättā with bi-l-ḥasanāti (obl. sound fem. plur., q.v. 3.83).

(4) 'Perceptible decrease' is naqs hisṣī, 'abstract decrease' is naqs maṣnawī, cf. n 2 above; naqs 'decrease' is morphological in 3.221, and cf. nāqis 'structurally defective', 9.71 n 2.

12.912 (1) 'Gradation' is tadrīj, 'making something proceed step by step', hence to be distinguished from tartīb 'ordering', 12.2 n 2.

(2) 'Absolute conjunction' is muṭlaq al-jamʿ: see 11.717 n 3 on muṭlaq 'absolute'. Here jamʿ, lit. 'gathering, uniting' is a synonym of ẓatf (q.v. 12.0 n 1), but it is also the normal term for 'plural' (3.23 n 1).

(3) See E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn al-Ḥādjib', G.A.L. I, 303, on this most famous grammarian, who was active mainly in Damascus and Cairo and died in 1239. Ibn Hišām (1.02 n 1) relies heavily upon him. Here the reference is to Ibn al-Ḥājib's Kāfiya (countless editions, try Istanbul [1964], with commentary of al-Jāmi, 405): aṣ-Ṣirfinā has evidently added Ibn al-Ḥājib's name to what he has adapted from Qatr 352.

(4) This Tradition (1.01 n 4) is in Wensinck, Concordance IV, 137, but reads bi-qadarin, omitting qaḍāʾin (cf. Qatr 353, Goguyer's note 4). Since predestination consists of God's actions, these can hardly be arranged in any order (especially grammatically or logically, unless by God himself, cf. 12.11). Cf. religious scruples in 5.751 n 1.

12.92 (1) Once again let it be stressed that meaning is not lexical (cf. 11.81 n 1). Examine the lists of 'meanings' (maṣānīf, also rendered 'senses') in 1.701-709, 10.51-55 and those of the conjunctions in this chapter, and it should be clear that all are expressed in the form of verbal nouns, in other words, as kinds of linguistic acts. Look, also, at the contents list of any Arabic grammar: it is a series of verbal nouns, in the same way that the contents list of an Islamic law textbook is a series of verbal nouns (praying, washing, marrying, giving evidence etc. etc.) and for the same reason, namely, that the purpose of both disciplines is to regulate human behaviour. Only seldom is meaning expressed by synonym ('and' in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25) or paraphrase (ch. 18 passim), which is known to lead to infinite regression (Kitāb II, 312).

(2) In passing we note that coordination does not usually occur when nouns are qualified by more than one adjective, e.g. rajulun ẓāliḥun ṣādıqun 'a good, honest man'. However, coordination is obligatory in the situation where the adjectives qualify only part of the antecedent
12.93 With verbs, when coordinating one verb with another in independence you say *yagūmu wa-yaqūdu zaydun* 'Zayd stands and sits', in dependence *Ian yaqūmu wa-yaqūdu zaydun* 'Zayd will not stand and sit', and in apocopation *lam yagum (46b) wa-yaqūdu zaydun* 'Zayd did not stand and sit'. Use these as an analogy for the rest of the particles.

12.94 Note: It is understood from the fact that coordination is not bound by the same conditions as the adjective (i.e. agreement with the antecedent in definition and indefiniteness) that it is allowed to coordinate the undefined to the defined, e.g. *jā'ā zaydun wa-rajulun* 'Zayd and a man came', or the defined to the undefined, e.g. *jā'ā rajulun wa-zaydun* 'a man and Zayd came', or the singular to the dual and plural and vice versa, or the overt to the pronoun and the pronoun to the overt.

12.95 Having finished setting out the second of the concordants, namely sequential coordination, the author now turns to the third of them, i.e. corroboration.

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**CHAPTER THIRTEEN**

13.0 Chapter on corroboration. In other words, on the 'corroborating element' (*al-muwakkid*, spelt with *i* after the *k*, but he uses the unqualified verbal noun to mean the agent noun). It is sometimes called *ta'kid* 'corroboration' with *, or *tākid*, showing alternation of *a* and *a'* , but *tawkīd* with *w* is commoner and for that reason its use is most widespread among grammarians.

13.1 Corroboration (*meaning 'the corroborating element'*) is a concordant which establishes the import of its antecedent with regard to its
viz. with dual and plur. nouns in the construction *al-luğatānī l-Carabīyyatu wa-l-īngлизīyyatu* 'the Arabic (sing.) and English (sing.) languages (dual)'; cf. Cantarino, II, 52.

12.93 (1) Coordination of sentences proper (e.g. *yaqūmu zaydun wa-yaqūdu*, where the second verb is a complete sentence) is not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī. In fact the conjunctions wa and fa may express almost any logical relationship between propositions according to context, e.g. 'while' (q.v. 19.9 n 1), 'but', 'because', 'although' etc., cf. Beeston 89, 97; Fleisch (216 n 2).

(2) The verb here is *qis* 'make an analogy!', imperative of *qāsa*, and cognate with *qiyās* 'analogy', q.v. 8.3 n 2.

12.94 (1) The complete concord of the adjective (11.02) reflects its ability to stand alone, without antecedent (11.61), with which it is, therefore, semantically and syntactically identical (this is true even for predicative adjectives: *ar-rajulu qā’imun* 'the man is standing' implies *ar-rajulu ḥawjulun qā’imun* 'the man is a standing man'). But coordinated elements share only the function of their antecedent and (though not necessarily, cf. 12.7-9) its logical predicament.

(2) Coordination of nouns with pronouns is frowned upon, however, (cf. Inṣāf, prob. 65; Muf. #158; Alf. v 557). Nöldeke 93 n 3 has a good example: *cahnhu wa-‘islāmihi* 'about him and his Muslim faith'.

12.95 (1) There exists one type of compulsory coordination, viz. between agents of verbs denoting reciprocal action, e.g. *ištaraka zaydun wa-Camrun* 'Zayd and CAmr worked together', see 25.23 n 2.

13.0 (1) Jum. 33; Muf. #132; Alf. v 520; Qatār 333; Fleisch 188; Nöldeke 47. Terminology: *tawkīd* or *ta’kīd* (also *takīd*), 'emphasizing, corroboration', *al-muwakkīd* or *al-mu’akkīd* 'emphasizer, corroborating element', *al-muwakkad* or *al-mu’akkad* 'thing emphasized or corroborated' (translated 'antecedent'). The triad of function—active element—passive element is particularly obvious here (cf. 3.84 n 3). The same vocabulary is used for the emphasizing function of *inna* 'verily' (10.41, 51) and the emphatic elements *la* and *anna* (13.6 n 3). On the alternation of *w* and *‘* see Cantineau, Études 78, 178, Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 43; for *a* to *‘* see Cantineau 77, E.I. (2), art. 'Hamza'. Like most grammarians, aš-Širbīnī is inconsistent, preferring 'akkada as the verbal form but *tawkīd*, *muwakkīd* etc. for the nominal forms.

13.1 (1) This formulation stems from Ibn al-Ḥājib, op. cit. 12.912 n 3,
relationship and scope, and is of two kinds, formal and abstract.\(^2\)

13.11 (1) In the formal kind the antecedent is repeated either (a) identically or (b) by means of a synonym.\(^1\) Both types occur with nouns, e.g. the verse

'akāka 'akāka 'inna man lā 'akā lahu
ka-sāzin 'ilā l-hayjâ'i bi-ğayri silâhin
'your brother! your brother! One who has no brother is like one who runs off into the desert with no weapon',\(^2\) where the dependent form of the first 'akāka 'your brother' is caused by an implicit ihfâṣ 'look to!', ilzam 'stay by!' or something of that sort, while the second 'akāka 'your brother' is a corroboration of the first. An example of type (b) is the expression haqīqun jadīrun 'true, right', for jadīrun 'right' is synonymous with haqīqun 'true'.\(^3\)

13.12 It also occurs with verbs, as in the verse

fa-'ayna 'ilâ 'ayna n-najâ'u bi-bağlatî
atâka atâka l-lâhiqîna ëbîsi ëbîsi
'where, whither are you rushing off with my mule? The pursuers have overtaken you, overtaken you, stop! stop!'.\(^1\) The evidence here is in the expression atâka atâka 'have overtaken you, overtaken you', in which the verb and its direct object are repeated. The agent of the first atâka 'have overtaken you' is al-lâhiqûn 'the pursuers', but the second atâka has no agent because it was not introduced in order to be a predicate but merely as a corroborative. Another example is...
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219, whence aš-Šīrbīnī may have it directly, or perhaps through Ibn Hišām, op. cit. 11.723 n 1, 550.

(2) 'Relationship' is nisba, originally 'genetic relationship' (cf. 11.721 n 4) but here in its logical sense (q.v. 20.02 n 1). 'Scope' is šumūl, lit. 'act of embracing, comprehending', cf. 14.3 n 1. On the relevance of both terms to corroboration see further 13.3. Note the dichotomous classification here (1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on 'formal', lafẓī and 'abstract', maʿnawī.

13.11 (1) 'Identically' is bi-aynīhi 'by or through itself': this can be construed as a kind of abstract corroboration with ʿayn (13.31), with an underlying structure *yuğādu l-matbūʿu bi-l-matbūʿī bi-aynīhi *'the antecedent (matbūʿC 'that which is followed'), cf. 11.01 n 1) is repeated by the antecedent itself'. 'By a synonym' is bi-muwāfīqihi maʿnānī 'by what agrees with it as to meaning' (maʿnānī is a 'specifying element', tamyīz, q.v. ch. 20).

(2) Schaw. Ind. 52: this verse is cited more often as an illustration of elided verbs than of corroboration, viz. the verb which has to be assumed in order to account for the dep. form of the first ʿaḳāka (cf. 16.311 n 1). On the anomalous lāʿaḥā lahu cf. 4.72 n 1. Note that the relative clause man lāʿaḥā lahu 'he who has no brother' (v. 11.754) has dep. status as the subject noun of ʿinna (10.41), and that sāʿīn, made obl. by ka (1.708) is of the type gāḍīn, 4.2 n 2.

(3) A kind of corroboration not dealt with by aš-Šīrbīnī is 'itbāʿC, lit. 'causing to follow' (cognate with tāḥūC, 11.01 n 1), in which a word is repeated but with a different (and meaningless) initial letter, e.g. ḥasan basan 'beautiful, beautiful'; see Pellat, Arabica 4, 131.

13.12 (1) Schaw. Ind. 124; anonymous and apparently not quoted before Ibn Hišām (e.g. Qatr 334), banal and suspiciously expedient, this verse nevertheless shows interesting juncture features in the last two words: graphically they are ʾihbisi ʾihbisi, morphologically hūs hūs and phonologically hūsī hūsī. The reasons are as follows:

(a) both are masc. sing. imperatives (5.2), i.e. the imperfect tense minus 2nd person prefix ta and mood suffix u (tāḥūsū>hūs),

(b) in context the non-canonical initial consonant cluster (2.5 n 3) is resolved by taking the final vowel of the previous word (lāḥūqūna ḥūs). If the previous word does not end in a vowel the glide vowel i is automatically supplied (ḥūsī ḥūs), cf. 11.1 n 2,

(c) in utterance initial position the cluster is resolved by prefixing an arbitrary 'i (sometimes 'u, 5.2, n 3) which, for historical reasons, is noted ', i.e. the consonant ʿalif (2.43 n 2). This ʿalif remains even when the word is not in utterance initial position, but is marked in juncture with a sign indicating that it is to be ignored,

(d) the final i of the second ḥūsī is merely the rhyming vowel, q.v. 5.88 n 4, and is to be pronounced long.

It is clear from the above that syllable and word boundaries need not be the same: the last three words of this verse are syllabically lā-ḥū-qū-nā ḥūs-bi-siḥ-bi-sī. Note also that an-najāʿu shows both the
the expression sakata ṣamata 'he was silent, he was quiet', for ṣamata 'he was quiet' has the same meaning (47a) as being silent.

13.13 It also occurs with particles, as in the verse
   lā ḍimā biḥubbī bāṭnata ʿinnahā
   ʿākdat ʿalayya maṭīɪan wa-ḥūdan
   'I shall not, not reveal the love of Batna (i.e. Butayna his beloved) for she has taken against me covenants and oaths', in which the particle of response, namely lā 'not' has been repeated. Another example is the expression 'ajal jayrī 'aye, yes', where jayrī 'yes' has the same meaning as 'ajal 'aye'.

13.14 Repetition itself is not necessarily formal corroboration, e.g. in the Qur'anic kalā iḏā dukkat il-ʿarşı dakkān ḍakkān 'nay, when the earth is crushed with a crushing, a crushing', for this means with one crushing after another and that the crushing will be repeated until the earth has become a dispersed cloud of dust. Nor is the repetition in the Qur'anic wa-jaʿa ṭabbuqa wa-l-malāku ᵉṣafṣaf ᵉṣaf 'and your Lord and the angels came, rank upon rank' formal corroboration, because it means that the angels will descend and form themselves into row after row, surrounded by the Jinn and mankind. The second element in both these verses is not a corroborative but a deliberate repetition, just as when you say 'allamatuha n-naḥwa bāban bāban 'I taught him grammar chapter by chapter'.

13.2 (2) Second is the abstract kind, which will be discussed in due course. Both kinds are concordants of the antecedent (muwakkad 'corroborated element', with a after the ki) in its independence, if the antecedent is independent, in its dependence, if the antecedent is dependent, in its obliqueness, if the antecedent is oblique, and in its definition, if the antecedent is defined. It is understood from the author's limitation to definition that corroboration is never undefined, unlike the adjective, which may be undefined.
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juncture feature of the def. art. al (11.1 n 2) and assimilation to the first consonant of the following word (11.41 n 2).

(2) 'Evidence' is ṣāḥid, lit. 'witness', a reminder of the legal influence on Arabic grammar (Carter, R.E.I. 40, 84); an evidentiary verse is a ṣāḥida 'fem. witness', plur. ṣawāḥid.

13.13 (1) Schaw. Ind. 79. The lady Buṭayna is called Baṭnā in the verse, but is universally known by the former name, which is the diminutive of the latter (3.421 n 1). See E.I. (2), art. 'Djamīl'. The following grammatical points should be noted: lā 'no, not' is called a 'particle of response' (ḥarf jawāb) by aš-Ṣirbīnī (from al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 129), presumably because the verse is an answer to a question, but thereby an inconsistency is created, for while the first lā may well mean 'no' the second can only mean 'not', i.e. is in quite a different function. YāsIn (on Taṣr. ad loc.) evades the issue by taking lā lā... to mean 'not, not...' as an answer! The name Baṭnā is semi-declinable, q.v. 3.89 (4), and so should mawāṭiqan have also been (3.89 (1)), but has tanwīn here by poetic licence (7.5 n 2), to create a long syllable for metrical purposes. For ḡalayya see 3.421 n 3, and cf. 14.2 n 2.

13.14 (1) S. 89 v 21; on kallā 'nay' cf. 1.21 n 3.

(2) S. 89 v 22 (continuing the verse cited above). The eschatological tableau which follows is found in all the standard commentaries (among them aš-Ṣirbīnī's own, IV 513), also in Qaṭr. 335.

(3) It is as well to point out that the dependent elements in the three examples do not all have the same grammatical status: the first ḍakkan 'crushing' is an 'absolute object' of ḍukkat 'is crushed' (see 17.53 n 2, 17.71 n 1), and as for the second we may accept the interpretation of aš-Ṣirbīnī or not; ẓaffān ẓaffān 'rank upon rank' and bābān bābān 'chapter by chapter' are certainly not rhetorical repetition, but 'circumstantial qualifiers' of their antecedents (see ch. 19, esp. 19.33), both being necessary for the sake of the meaning.

(4) Corroboration by synonym occurs with pronouns, e.g. ẓarabanī 'anā 'he hit me', contrast ẓarabanī huwa 'he hit me', cf. 11.717 n 4. To this type would also belong such combinations as naḥnu l-muslimūna 'we Muslims' (Beeston 43, n 1).

13.2 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish the agent from the patient noun (cf. 10.34 n 1); only one k is written, the doubling being marked diacritically with the sign called ṣadda 'tying together' (see further 24.23 n 2), hence it suffices in the spelling instructions to say al-kāf 'the k' (contrast 10.42-44 etc., where the doubling is phonemic).

(2) The second comment would not have been necessary if the first had not gratuitously implied that undefined elements could be corroborated, but this comes from following al-Azhari, Āj. 76 too closely. As may be expected, the 'Kūfāns' (9.4 n 3) assert that corroboration of undefined nouns is possible (Insāf, prob. 63), this time with a
Abstract corroboration is of two kinds: (a) the corroborative which removes the possibility of an entity being taken metaphorically, and it uses certain well-known expressions, (well-known, that is, to the Arabs), namely:

13.31 an-nafsu 'the self', al-\textit{caynu} 'the essence', these two in particular. Thus, if you say \textit{jā'a zaydun} 'Zayd came', it may be that what actually did come was news of Zayd or a letter from him, or his boy, but when you say \textit{jā'a zaydun nafsuhu} or \textit{caynuhu} 'Zayd himself came', this possibility is removed. You may say nafsu- 'self' alone or \textit{caynu-} 'self' alone, or you may combine them on condition that nafsu- is put before \textit{caynu-} in the utterance, e.g. \textit{jā'a zaydun nafsuhu} \textit{caynuhu} 'Zayd himself came', because an-nafsu 'the self' is the comprehensive term and al-\textit{caynu} 'the essence' is metaphorical for the self. They both make their plural in the \textit{af\textsuperscript{cu}} pattern (with \textit{u} after the \textit{c}), which is a plural of paucity. In pure speech the plural is compulsory with anything not singular (i.e. the dual and plural): in the dual you say \textit{jā'a z-zaydāni} 'anfusuhumā or \textit{a\textsc{c}yunuhumā}, or \textit{anfusukumā \textsc{c}yunuhumā} 'the two Zayds themselves came' (47b), though in impure speech it is allowed to say nafsuhumā or \textit{caynuhumā} '*theirselves' with singular corroboratives. In the plural you say \textit{jā'a z-zaydūnā} (or \textit{zaydun wa-camrun wa-bakr}) 'anfusuhum or \textit{a\textsc{c}yunuhum}, or \textit{anfusuhum \textsc{c}yunuhum} 'the Zayds (or 'Zayd, \textit{c}Amr and Bakr') themselves came'. It is not allowed to say nufūsuhum, \textit{uyūnuhum or nufūsuhum \textit{uyūnuhum} '*theirselves'}. In the masculine singular you say, for
considerable body of evidence. It is limited, however, to expressions of time and place, e.g. qa'adtu yawman kullahu 'I sat a whole day'; cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 167 for further examples.

13.3 (1) li-rafin li-majazi can id-dati, lit. 'for lifting the metaphor from the entity'; see 20.01 n 2 on dat 'essence, entity'. 'Metaphor' is majaz, lit. 'going across' (scil. from literal, ḥaqiqi, to figurative), but see 13.31 n 4. Majaz still needs to be further investigated: in Muqtaṣab it often means 'grammatical process'.

(2) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'.

13.31 (1) In fact, these are the only two in category (a); nafs also means 'soul', while ʿayn has many meanings ranging from 'eye' to 'spring', see further 13.9, also 20.13 n 2 for fem. gender.

(2) For the other possibility, that nafs and ʿayn might themselves be taken literally when corroborating concealed pronouns, see 13.9. Note the variant bi-ʿaynihi in 13.11 n 1, another example 22.43.

(3) Possibly there is also a historical reason, that ʿayn came into use when nafs was felt to have lost some of its force (something like the strengthening of 'same' by 'self' to give 'self-same'). 'Comprehensive term' is jumla, a word which in grammar most often means 'sentence' (cf. 19.6 n 1), but originally meant only a gathering or collection (hence also 'totality').

(4) 'Metaphorical' is mustaṣār, from istiṣāra 'metaphor', lit. 'borrowing', impossible to distinguish in translation from majaz, used already above, though they are not strictly synonymous in rhetoric: majaz is broader than istiṣāra and embraces all figurative language (cf. al-Jurjānī, op. cit. 10.53 n 1, 379, 428, E.I. (2), 'Istiṣāra').

(5) 'Plural of paucity' is a literal translation of jamal-qilla, cf. 3.221 n 2. The patterns in which this plural allegedly occurs are fiḥlatun, 'afṣalun, 'afṣulun and 'afṣilatun, but there is a great deal of inconsistency in their use (even grammarians waver between ḥurūf and 'ahruf as plurals of ḥarf). Not many nouns actually have more than one plural pattern, though ʿayn gives a good idea of the range of possibilities: as 'self' it has the plur. 'aṣyin, as 'eye' it has the plural ʿayyān, plur. of paucity 'aṣyān, while as 'dignitary' it has 'aṣyān for its plural. To complicate matters further, ʿayn also appears here as the regular name for the second radical of a word (see 3.45 n 1)!

(6) 'Impure speech' is ḡayr al-ʿafṣab, lit. 'not the most eloquent', from faṣīḥ 'eloquent, speaking clearly and correctly', the linguistic ideal of the Arabs, after which Classical Arabic is named al-ḥuġa l-fuṣḥā 'the most pure language'. It constrasts with al-ḥuğa l-ṭāmma 'the general, ordinary language'. Cf. Beeston 11, Bateson 77, Yushmanov 4.

(7) The translations reproduce the errors of the Arabic, and perhaps serve to remind us that similar forms occur in spoken English (e.g. 'hissself', 'theirselves' etc.). Why plurals of nafs and ʿayn must be
example, jā’a zaydun nafsuhu or Câynuhu or nafsuhu Câynuhu 'Zayd himself came', in the feminine singular you say jā’at hindun nafsuh or Câynuha or nafsuhā Câynuhā 'Hind herself came', and in the feminine plural jā’at il-hindâtu ‘anfusuhunna or aCâynuhunna or ‘anfusuhunna aCâynuhunna 'the Hinds themselves came'.

13.32 It will be recognized from the foregoing that in the purest speech nafs- and Câynu- 'self' must always be suffixed by a bound pronoun corresponding to the corroborated element (al-muwakkad, spelt with a after the k), except in the dual, as already mentioned.²

13.4 (b) The second kind of abstract corroborcation is that used to remove the supposition of an intended particularity in something of ostensibly general meaning. This is done by means of kullun 'all',¹ 'ajmaCū 'whole', and also (but rarely) jamîCun 'all' and Cāmmatun 'totality', with everything but the dual² (i.e. the plural and singular), provided that the non-dual entity is by itself divisible into parts, e.g. jā’a l-qawmu kulluhum or ‘ajmaCūna or jamîCuhum or Cāmmatuhum 'the people came, all of them', or is divisible into parts by its own operator,³ e.g. ištāraytu l-Cabdā kullahu or jamîCahu 'I bought the slave, all of him'. It is not allowed to say *jā’a zaydun kulluhu 'Zayd came, all of him', because 'Zayd' is indivisible both in essence and by its own operator.⁴ This corroborcation is used simply to remove the above-mentioned possibility, because when you say jā’a l-gawmu 'the people came' it is quite possible that you only mean some of them (as in the Qur’anic yajCālūna ‘ašābīCahum fī ‘ädānihim 'they put their fingers in their ears'),⁵ meaning some part of their fingers, namely the tips), so when you add kulluhum 'all of them', that possibility is removed.⁶
used when the antecedent is dual is not clear: the problem was noted very early (e.g. Kitāb II, 201), as the construction occurs in the Qur'ān, e.g. S. 66 v 4 etc. (try G.L.E.C.S. 3, 15, 26).

13.32 (1) For convenience nafsu- and ḍaynu- are quoted here in the forms ready to receive the pronoun suffixes, though the Arabic has an-nafsu, al-ḍaynu. Whether this is the 'generic article' (11.741) or the 'article of familiarity' (11.742) is an open question.

(2) Obligatory pronoun suffixation is one of the features which distinguish the corroborative from the substitute (14.12). See 4.72 n 1 for table of suffixed pronouns, and further 13.9.

13.4 (1) Jum. 33; Muf. #137; Alf. v 522; Qatr 337 (Muḥnī I, 164); Fleisch 153, 188; Nöldeke 33. 'Intended particularity in something of ostensibly general meaning' is a literal translation of 'irādatu l-ṣuṣūṣi bi-mā zāhiruhum ʿumūmun: as the examples will show, this definition assumes that kull corroborates elements bearing the generic article or equivalent (see 11.741), but see below, n 6, for kull in annexation to undefined elements.

(2) For which see 13.43.

(3) 'By its own operator' is literally bi-ṣāmīlihi (v. 2.11 n 1): the question is, does this refer to the preceding verb or to the human agent? Since the speaker is the ultimate operator on all the elements of his discourse, there is every possibility that ṣāmil here denotes the human agent (cf. Carter J.A.O.S. 93, 151 n 46, also 8.2 n 2).

(4) See 20.01 n 2 on dāt 'essence'; there are acute metalinguistic problems here (cf. 12.81 n 2), as we either have to take zaydun as the name of the agent (and thus say 'his own operator') or as an element quoted in the metalanguage (thus 'its own operator'). In the light of note 3, both are possible.

(5) S. 2 v 19; Arabic, like English, relies on common sense here!

(6) In addition to its corroborative function kull may be annexed to nouns and pronouns in all positions in the meaning of 'each, every, all', as follows:

(a) undef. sing. kullu yawmin 'every day' kullu rajulun 'each man'

(b) def. sing. kullu l-yawmi 'the whole day' kulluhu 'all of it'
    kullu l-qawmi 'all the people' kulluhum 'all of them'

(c) def. plur. kullu l-rijāli 'all the men' kulluhum 'all of them'

There is no pronominalization of (a); kullahu in 13.2 n 2 is a special case equivalent to kullu l-yawmi (cf. 11.718 n 2). Both (b) and (c) are grammatically defined, which is usually only apparent in relative sentences (kullu l-qawmi llağfina marartu bihim 'all the people by whom I passed') and in their ability to stand as subjects. Type (a) is formally undefined but occasionally appears to be defined (so Nöldeke 33, and cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 155). Compare superlative, 20.42 n 3.
13.41 kullun 'all', 'ajmacu 'whole', jamicun 'all' and Cāmmatun 'totality' must always be formally suffixed with the pronoun of the corroborated element in order to achieve a link between the corroborative and its antecedent.

13.42 The following is not corroboration: the Qur'anic kalaqa lakum mā fī l-'ardi jamīcan 'he created for you what is in the earth, totally', because it lacks a pronoun. If it had been corroboration it would have been jamicahu 'all of it', but in any case corroboration with jamicun is rare, as already mentioned, and the Revelation is not to be taken as evidence of it as Ibn Hibān claims in his Muğnī l-labīb; on the contrary, jamicun 'all, totally' in this verse is a circumstantial qualifier of the relative mā 'that which'.

13.43 The dual is corroborated by kilā (masc.) and kiltā (fem.) 'all two, both', e.g. jā'a z-zaydāni kilāhumā wa-l-mar'atāni kiltāhumā 'the two Zayds both came and both the women', provided that the predicate of both corroborated elements is the same, e.g. qāma z-zaydāni kilāhumā 'the two Zayds both stood'. If it is different kilā and kiltā 'both' must not be used to corroborate: one does not say *māta zaydun wa-Cāsa(48a) CAmrun kilāhumā 'Zayd died and CAmr lived, both of them'.

13.44 'ajmacu 'whole' is used in corroborating the masculine singular, jamacahu for the feminine singular, and jamahumah the 'whole of them two' for two together. The plural of 'ajmacu 'whole' is 'ajmacūna for corroborating the masculine plural (as already mentioned), and the plural of jamacu 'whole' is jumacu (with u after the j) for corroborating the feminine plural.

13.45 Occasionally the situation requires extra corroboration, and so certain well-known expressions are introduced, which are termed the 'subsidiaries of 'ajmacu'; and the subsidiaries of 'ajmacu 'whole', which never precede 'ajmacu, are (i.e. the 'subsidiaries of 'ajmacu') namely 'akta'cu 'all', derived from takatta'ā l-jildu 'the skin contracted', i.e. gathered itself together, 'abta'cu 'all', derived from
13.41 (1) 'ajma'cū should not be here (v. 13.6), but aš-Širbīnī is following ad-Ăzharī, Tašr. II, 122. See 5.86 n 3 on rabṭ, 'link'.

13.42 (1) S. 2 v 29; the translation reproduces the orthodox parsing of this verse, i.e. with jamīcū as a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. ch. 19), albeit with emphatic function (tawkīd!). Cf. also 24.51.

(2) 13.4.

(3) 'Revelation' is tanzīl 'causing to come down'. The reference is to Muğnī II, 111, though taken directly from al-Ăzharī, Tašr. II, 122. On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1; Muğnī 1-labīb ('All the intelligent man needs') treats particles and difficult words alphabetically, followed by two extremely important sections dealing with problems of syntax and elision: the whole work awaits a proper evaluation.

13.43 (1) 'All two' is certainly less elegant than 'both', but was chosen to reflect an assumed etymological connection between kilā and kull 'all' (so Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 141: however, kilā is also said to have the root k-l-l', Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 665, Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 157 n 4, and any link with k-l-l must be prehistoric); 'Kīfāns' (Insāf prob. 62) derive kilā from kull. Syntactically kilā is highly restricted (unlike kull), occurring only in annexation (there is no point in positing a base form *kilānī, as Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 158, Moscati #14.2), and it does not always inflect for case.

(2) Cf. 3.63, 13.7. By asserting that the predicate must be the same aš-Širbīnī obscures the fact that the subjects or agents need not be: māta zaydun wa-ămrun kilāhūm āā imānī 'Zayd and Āmru both died', zaydun wa-ămrun kilāhūm 'imānī 'Zayd and Āmru both are standing'. In hādā li-zaydīn wa-ămrin kilāhīmā 'this belongs to both Zayd and Āmru', the predicate is the same in that it can be paraphrased by the single term la-hūmā 'belongs to them both'.

13.44 (1) Heterogeneous forms are involved here: masc. sing. 'ajma'cū is semi-declinable, adj. pattern 'af'alū (3.89 (10)), so is fem. sing. jamā'cū, adj. pattern fa'lā'u (ibid.); dual jamā'cū is simply a noun (in other contexts used for 'plural', 3.23 n 1), masc. plur. 'ajma'cūna is regular (3.411, as 'afdalūna), while the fem. plur. jumanā'cū is unaccountably semi-declinable, as if being treated as a proper name (3.89 (8), and cf. Qāṭr 339 n 3, Fleisch, Tr. #55k).

(2) As 'plural' is jamā', the text reads jamā'cū 'ajma'cūna 'ajma'cūna for 'the plur. of 'ajma'cū is 'ajma'cūna' and jamā'cū jamā'cūa jumanā'cū for 'the plur. of jamā'cūa is jumanā'cū', a good specimen of the metalanguage for practice!

13.45 (1) 'Subsidiaries' renders tawābi'c 'followers' (also used for 'concordants', q.v. 11.0 n 1).

(2) The etymologies, though accurate, are not very helpful (cf. Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 151 n 1), and are taken directly from al-Ăzharī Aj. 77.
13.5 It is normal\(^1\) for an-nafsu 'the self' to be used alone without al-aynu 'the essence', for kullun 'all' to be used alone without 'ajma'u 'whole', and for 'ajma'u 'whole' to be used alone without its subsidiaries: thus you say (using an-nafsu 'the self' alone without al-aynu 'the essence', in independence) \(\text{qam\ ayzdun nafsuhu 'zayd himself stood, and (using kullun 'all' alone without 'ajma'u 'whole', in independence) ra'aytu l-qawma kullahum 'i saw the people, all of them', and (using 'ajma'u 'whole' alone without its subsidiaries, in obliqueness) marartu bi-l-qawmi 'ajma'ina 'i passed by the people, all of them'.}^{2}\)

13.6 Note: 'ajma'u 'whole' and its subsidiaries are all used as corroboratives without being annexed to the pronoun of their antecedent.\(^3\) This is because they are generally used as corroboratives only after kullun 'all', and kullun is annexed itself to the pronoun of the antecedent, so that these, being subsidiaries to it, need not be annexed, cf. the Qur'anic fa-sajada l-malā'ikatu kulluhum 'ajma'ūna 'and the angels bowed down, all of them, all'.\(^2\) They may, in fact, be used as corroboratives in their own right, without being preceded by kullun 'all', e.g. jā'a l-jayṣu 'ajma'u wa-l-qabilatu jamā'ū wa-l-qawmu 'ajma'ūna wa-n-nisā'ū jumā'ū 'the whole army came, and the whole tribe, and the whole people and all the women', and cf. the Qur'anic la-'ugwiyannahum 'ajma'ūna 'i shall most certainly lead them all astray\(^3\) and wa-'inna jannaham la-mawṣidūhum 'ajma'īna 'and verily Hell is promised to them all'.\(^4\)

13.7 According to the great majority of Basrans it is not allowed to dualize 'ajma'ū and jamā'ū 'whole', because kīlā and kīltā 'both' make the dual of 'ajma'ū and jamā'ū unnecessary,\(^1\) rather in the same way as people have on the whole dispensed with the dual of sawā'un 'like' (spelt with the 'lengthened ā') by using the dual of siyyun 'like'
The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion of š and ġ: the former is muḥmal 'undotted', lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.431 n 3), while 'dotted' is expressed by muḏjam, lit. 'made to look foreign', same root as 'iḏjam in 2.0 n 1.

13.5 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'ašl 'normal', lit. 'base, root, stock'.

2) This is the end of the chapter as far as Ibn Ājurrūm is concerned; aš-Sirbīnī ploughs on, largely with the help of al-Azhārī, Taṣr. II, 124, 126. The opportunity will be taken to give a few miscellaneous pointers. Other examples of kull annexed to nouns (i.e. not as a corroborative): 9.94, 11.61, 12.912, 17.64, 18.32, 21.61, 25.27; kull, al-kull used alone ('the whole'): 14.11, 14.2. Nafs, non-corroborative 9.91; note that nafs when annexed to nouns corresponds to 'same', e.g. marartu bi-nafsi r-rajulī 'I passed by the same man', raʾaytu nafsa r-rijāli 'I saw the same men'. The same structure with ǧayr (21.4) gives 'not the same as, other', e.g. marartu bi-ǧayri r-rajulī 'I passed by someone other than the man' (v. 21.42 n 1).

13.6 (1) Cf. 13.41 n 1. It happens that 'ajmā'ū etc. belong to a set of patterns which, as well as being semi-declinable, are somewhat ambiguous as to definition (see 3.89 n 12). Without claiming that they are, in fact, defined, we suggest that they are defined enough to be able to occur in apposition to defined elements without a suffixed pronoun. Support for this view comes from the dual jamūhumā: jamūn is the only member of the set which is fully declinable, and it alone also has the pronoun suffix (masc. plur. 'ajmā'ūn has all the syntactic features of its semi-declinable sing.). An alternative line is to oppose the 'ajmā'ū set (defined, and marked for number, gender and case) to the kull, nafs and jamīc set (undefined, marked for case but only partially for number, rest supplied by suffix pronouns).

2) S. 15 v 30.

3) S. 15 v 39. Note the emphatic prefix la, called ḫām at-tawāfīd (cf. 13.0 n 1 on tawāfīd), which is often found on verbs bearing the emphatic suffix anna (q.v. 26.34 n 2), and is also prefixed subjects (la-zaydun munțalīqun 'Zayd is going away', predicates (see next note) and regularly to the apodosis of law conditions (5.811 n 1, e.g. law gāma la-qumtu 'if he had stood I would have stood'). Muf. ##600-605; Alf. v 181; Beeston 103; Fleisch 109, 143.

4) S. 15 v 43; note that the predicate is introduced by the prefix la (see n 3 above), hence termed ḫām al-ḵabar 'predicative la' (cf. Fleisch 169), which is related to the la which appears with deictic function in various demonstrations and pronominal elements, 11.734 n 1.

13.7 (1) See 3.63 and 3.65 (7) for the substance of this debate, which is here reported in the words of al-Azhārī, Taṣr. II, 124. There, we learn, the 'Ḳūfāns' (9.4 n 3) allow the strictly analogical duals of 'ajmā'ū and jamā'ā'u, viz. 'ajmā'āni and jamā'āwāni respectively (note intervocalic '⟩w, cf. 3.62 n 2). See 13.44 for the 'orthodox' dual jamā'ū.
13.8 When these corroborative expressions are combined they must be arranged in the following order: first *kullun* 'all', then *'ajma'c*ū 'whole', then *'akta'c*ū, *'absa'c*ū and finally *'abta'c*ū 'all'. They may be used severally if it is desired to strengthen the meaning, but in this they are not like adjectives used severally of an antecedent, for this (48b) allows the successive coordination of adjectives, because their meanings differ, whereas it is not allowed to coordinate corroborative words.\(^1\) On the contrary, in the most correct speech they are mentioned in uninterrupted succession, because they all have the same meaning and thereby acquire the status of a single term.\(^2\) Coordination, on the other hand, implies some difference of meaning, so we cannot say *'jā'a zaydun nafsuhu wa-Caynuhū* 'Zayd came himself and himself', while we can say, with adjectives, *'jā'a zaydun il-Cālimu wa-s-sālihu wa-l-wariqū* 'Zayd the wise, the good and the pious came' for the reason already given. Nor is it allowed to suspend the concordance of corroborative expressions, unlike adjectives (as dealt with above).

13.9 Supplementary Note: If an independent bound pronoun\(^3\) is corroborated by *an-nafsu* 'the self' or *al-Caynu* 'the essence', that pronoun must first be corroborated by the free pronoun;\(^4\) e.g. *qumta 'anta nafsuka* 'you yourself (masc. sing.) stood', *qūmā 'antumā 'anfusukumā* 'stand you two yourselves!', *qūmā humā 'anfusuhumā* 'they two themselves stood', *qūmā 'antum 'anfusukum* 'stand you yourselves!' (masc.), *qūmā hum 'anfusuhum* 'they themselves (masc.) stood', *qumna hunna 'anfusuhunna* 'they themselves (fem.) stood' and *qumtunna 'antunna 'anfusukunna* 'you yourselves (fem.) stood'.\(^5\) This is to avoid giving the impression that the corroborative itself has agent status when there is a concealed feminine pronoun,\(^6\) since, if you were to say *'karajat Caynuhā* 'herself
(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish siyyun from šay' 'thing' and sawā' from siwan 'other than' (21.02 (c)). The objections to sawā'ni are possibly more orthographical than phonological: suffixing ā to ā' produces three consecutive 'alifs (cf. 2.43 n 2) and, even when reduced to two by an arbitrary spelling device, still leaves two together, and that is something which the language will hardly tolerate.

13.8 (1) Coordination of attributive adjectives by means of conjunctions is by no means so common with undefined nouns (cf. 12.92 n 2), but they are in any case excluded from the present topic. It must be admitted that the basis of the argument here, that adjectives need not be synonymous and corroboratives always are, seems rather weak. A series of synonymous adjectives can be coordinated just as easily. See also n 3 below.

(2) This, too, is not a feature peculiar to corroboratives: the noun and its adjectives(s) have been recognized from the first as being functionally equivalent to a single element (ism wahid 'one noun', cf. Kitāb I, 210, 351, 393).

(3) The Sprachgefühl is sound but the reasoning could be stronger. In particular the example of the adjectives is unconvincing, as the same string can qualify Zayd without coordination (ja'a zaydun il-Cālimu ǧ-sālihu l-wariJu). The answer lies in the difference of function between adjectives and corroboratives: each successive adjective is a further qualification of its noun, and all adjectives have equal status, while any additional corroboratives only reinforce the first corroborative, to which they are in apposition and without which they cannot appear (hence 'subsidiaries'), 13.45, and cf. 13.31 n 3 for nafs ǧayn).

(4) See 11.6 on qatC 'suspension of concordance'; corroboratives are in this respect closer to substitutes (badal), q.v. ch. 14.

13.9 (1) These are all agent pronouns (q.v. ch. 7 passim); dep. and obl. bound pronouns are discussed at the end of the paragraph.

(2) The other corroboratives are not affected by this condition because, in the Arab view, they retain their literal meanings even in corroborative (cf. n 8 below). An alternative explanation might be that nafs only developed its corroborative function as a reinforcement of the free pronoun that had already come to be used to repeat (for emphasis, 11.717 n 4) concealed agent pronouns and others.

(3) Random though this mixture of past tense and imperative examples may seem, it follows exactly the list in al-AzharI, Taṣr. II, 126, and seems to have been chosen so as to avoid 3rd person sing. verbs, whose 'concealed agent' (cf. 11.714 n 3) causes the problem about to be discussed. But the solution is the same, viz. karajat hiya ǧaynuh him 'she herself went out', with hiya 'she' externalizing the concealed agent.

(4) The text has karāhata 'Īhāmi l-fāCiliyyati ǧinda stītāri ǧ-damīri l-mu'annaţi, lit. 'out of reluctance for suggesting agency with concealment of the fem. pronoun', taking istitār 'concealment' from
went out’ it might be supposed to mean 'her sight went out', \(^5\) likewise *karajat nafsuhā 'her self went out' might be supposed to mean 'her life went out', thereby leading to a false correlation between the unambiguous and the ambiguous. Conversely, with qāma z-zaydūna 'anfusuhum 'the Zayds themselves stood' it is impossible to use the free pronoun, as pronouns cannot corroborate overt nouns because the pronoun is more strongly defined than the overt noun, hence it is not possible for them to be complementary to something less defined than they are. \(^6\) This in turn is different from the case of ḍarabtuhum 'anfasahum 'I struck them themselves', marartu bihim 'anfusihim 'I passed by them themselves' \(^7\) and qāmū kulluhum 'they stood, all of them', \(^8\) for here it is allowed (but not compulsory) to corroborate them with a free pronoun, because the corroborated pronoun in the first two examples is not independent and because the corroborative in the third is neither an-nafsu 'the self' nor al-aynu 'the essence'. \(^9\)

13.91 Having finished with the third of the concordants, \(^1\) the author now turns to the fourth of them, namely substitution.

### CHAPTER FOURTEEN

14.0 Chapter on substitution. \(^1\) This is a Başran term; among the Küfans it is called 'interpretation' and 'clarification' according to al- Ağfaš, though Ibn Kaysān said that they call it 'repetition'. \(^2\) The lexical meaning of the term is 'replacement'; technically it is defined
al-Azharî, Taṣr. II, 126 in preference to both MSS 'iṣnād 'predication'. It would also be possible to read karāhata nbihāmi 'out of reluctance for vagueness', following al-Azharî, ibid.

(5) More literally 'her eye went out', cf. 13.31 n 1.

(6) See 11.711, 11.761 on the hierarchy of defined elements. 'More strongly defined' is 'aqwā ... bi-l-ʾaṣrafiyya: 'aqwā is comparative of qawī 'strong', cf. 11.711 n 2, and 'ʾaṣrafiyya is an abstract noun formed from 'aṣrafi 'more defined', cf. 11.721 n 4 (as is faṣīliyya 'quality of being an agent', a line or two higher, from faṣīl 'agent').

(7) Are concealed pronoun agents more frequent than visible pronoun agents? If so, this may explain why pronoun agents must always be corroborated with free pronouns, contrast dep. and obl. pronouns, which are always visible and can therefore be corroborated with nafs etc.

(8) Unlike nafs, kull is always literal, hence may stand as agent in its own right (gaša kulluhum, sing. verb, 7.22 n 1) or in apposition to a pronoun agent as here, cf. yaqūmīnī ʾz-zaydīnī, 7.03 n 3.

(9) Observe the vowel harmony affecting suffixes hu, humā, hum, hunna after i, I (=iy, 2.43 n 2) or ay, thus minhu 'from him' but fīhi 'in him'; Beeston 40; Yushmanov 28. Other types of vowel harmony: 5.2 n 3; 19.72 n 4; 22.43 n 1.

13.91 (1) A kind of hyperbolic corroboration occurs with kull, viz. 'anta r-rajulu kullu r-rajuli, 'you are the man, all the man', i.e. 'you are all man!', cf. Noldeke 47 (esp. Spitaler n 1), Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 153. We also find 'ayy 'what' (5.86) in this construction, e.g. wa-lākinnahu ʾṣaḥbun 'ayyu ʾṣaḥbin, 'but it is difficult, what a difficult thing', i.e. 'it is very difficult' (Cantarino I, 156, where ʾṣaḥb must be corrected to ʾṣaḥb). Contrast 'anta r-rajulu ʾṣilman 'you are the man for knowledge' in 20.6 n 2 and jāʾa r-rajulu wahdahu 'the man came by himself' (v. 19.51 n 5), neither of which are corroboration constructions.

14.0 (1) Jum. 35; Muf. #150; Alf. v 565; Qaṭr 358. Terminology: badal lit. 'act of substituting' (originally legal, e.g. exchange of good merchandise for bad); mubdal minhu 'thing for which another has been substituted', i.e. antecedent' mubdal 'thing substituted', i.e. the substitute itself (sometimes also called badal).

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans', 26.01 n 3 on al-Akfaš,
as 'the concordant which is intended to follow without intermediary (49a) the same grammatical rule as its antecedent'.

Thus defined, its grammatical rule is that it concords with its antecedent in all its inflections (i.e. independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopeation), as is obvious from the author's next words:

14.01 If one noun is substituted for another or one verb for another, it concords with it in all its inflections, i.e. independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopeation, and it (i.e. the substitution of one noun or verb for another) divides into four kinds: (or rather, six, as you will soon learn).

14.1 (1) The substitution of a thing for an identical thing, i.e. where the second is the same as the first, as in the Qur'anic 'inna li-l-muttaqīna mafāzan hādīqa wa-a'zāban 'verily for the pious there is a blissful place, gardens and vineyards' (and so on to the end of the verse).

14.11 Note: The author's term for this kind of substitution is much more appropriate than that of others who call it 'substitution of a whole for a whole', since it occurs with the name of Almighty God, e.g. 'ilā shirāṭi l-Cazīzi l-hamdi llāhi 'to the way of the Mighty, the Praiseworthy, God' those who read allāhi 'God' in the oblique form take it as a substitute for al-Cazīzi 'the Mighty' in substitution of a thing for an identical thing, which can hardly be called the substitution of a whole for a whole' here because the term 'whole' can only be applied to what is capable of division into parts, and Almighty God is entirely free from such considerations.
The 'Kūfan' terms are seldom seen outside this particular context: they are 'interpretation' tarjuma, lit. 'translation', 'clarification' tabyIn, lit. 'making clear', and 'repetition' takrIr.

(3) See 1.1 n 2 on luğatan 'lexically' and iştilāhan 'technically'. 'Replacement' is cīwaq, also a legal term with the narrower meaning of 'compensation', cf. 1.44. 'Intended to follow...the same grammatical rule' renders al-maqsūdu bi-l-ḥukmī, lit. 'intended by the ḥukm', in which ḥukm could mean either 'logical predicament' (v. 12.1 n 3) or 'grammatical rule' (q.v. 24.1 n 2), the latter clearly being the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, although other commentators (e.g. Ibn ǦAqīl on Alf. v 565) paraphrase ḥukm by nisba (q.v. 20.02 n 1). We are guided by Ibn YaQīl on Muf. #150: al-badalu ṣānin yuqaddaru ǧī mawdīCī l-‘awwali 'the substitute is a second (element) estimated to be in the place of the first' (cf. taqdīr, 2.101 n 1, mawdīCī, 3.1 n 4).

14.01 (1) 'Inflections' is ʾiCrāb, cf. 11.02 n 1; substitutes do not necessarily concord in number, gender or definition, which makes them different from the other concordants (see 14.12 n 1).

(2) By subdividing the fourth kind into three, q.v. 14.4.

14.1 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the thing for the thing', badal aš-šay' min aš-šay', see further 14.11.

(2) S. 78 vv 31, 32; Palmer's translation has been used. It will be observed that this is not the only occasion when the substitution straddles two consecutive verses of the Qurʾān (cf. 14.11 n 2, 14.34 n 3, 14.6 n 2), and the chapter as a whole savours more of rhetoric than syntax. Commentators do not always agree over this verse: it can be regarded as partial (14.2) or inclusive (14.3) substitution, or even explanatory apposition (14.51 n 1)! Note inversion with undefined subject mafāzan (9.73 n 1) but still operated on by 'inna (10.41); ḥadāʾiqa is a semi-declinable broken plur. (3.89 (1)).

14.11 (1) 'Substitution of a whole for a whole' is literal for badal kull min kull: see 14.52 n 2 on kull with and without the def. article.

(2) S. 14 vv 1, 2, allāhī being the first word of v 2. For this reason it is also explained by the commentators as having indep. form (allāhu) through suspension of concordance (gatC, cf. 11.6 n 1) as predicate of an understood huwa 'he (is)', or even as the subject of the following predicative clause, scil. 'God is he to whom belongs that which is in the heavens etc.' (cf. aš-Širbīnī's Commentary, II, 160). The prepositional phrase 'ilā sirātī etc. is in turn explained as a substitute for a previous prepositional phrase, 'ilā n-nüri 'out of darkness) into the light'.

(3) Note the theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1). In the present instance aš-Širbīnī is reproducing the orthodox doctrine of tanzīh 'stripping away', i.e. the belief that God has no physical human attributes (here quoting from al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 156).
14.12 The substitute of a thing needs no pronoun to link it with the antecedent because it is the same as the antecedent in meaning.

14.2 (2) The substitution of some of a thing for the whole of it, i.e. the part for the whole, as in the Qur’anic wa-li-Ilāhi ʿalā n-nāsi ḥajju l-bayti man ʿistāṭa ‘and to God is owed by the people pilgrimage to the house (of God), whoever is able’, where man ʿistāṭa ‘whoever is able’ is a substitute for an-nāsi ‘the people’.

14.21 It makes no difference whether the part substituted is smaller, equal to or even greater than the remainder of the antecedent, e.g. ‘akaltu r-rağīfa ṭultahu or nisfahu or ṭultayhi ‘I ate the loaf, a third of it’ or ‘a half of it’ or ‘two thirds of it’. In substitution of the part for the whole the part must always be suffixed with a pronoun referring to the antecedent and linking the part with its whole, whether this pronoun be implicit (as in the above Qur’anic example, where the pronoun referring to the antecedent is implicit, viz. minhum ‘of them’), or explicit, as in the other examples given.

14.3 (3) Inclusive substitution, as in the Qur’anic yasʿālūnaka ʿan iš-šahri l-ḥarāmī qītālin fīhi ‘they will ask you about the sacred month, fighting in it’.

14.31 There is some dispute (49b) as to what includes what. One view is that the first includes the second, because the second is either a quality of the first, as in ʿāʾjabanī l-jāriyatu ḥsunuhā ‘the girl pleased me, her beauty’, or something from which a quality is acquired, as in suliba zaydun māluhu ‘Zayd was taken away, his wealth’, where the
NOTES

14.12 (1) The substitute here differs both formally and functionally from the corroboratives naʃs, C'ayn (13.31) and kull (13.4); 'ajmaC', which corroborates without a pronoun suffix (13.6) is a special case. See further 14.21, 14.34 for the types of substitute which must carry a pronoun linking them to their antecedent. The demonstrative pronouns and their nouns stand in the relationship of identical substitution: zaydun hądą 'this Zayd' (lit. 'Zayd, this one'), hądą r-rajulu 'this man' (lit. 'this one, the man', cf. 11.735 n 2).

14.2 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the some for the all', badal al-baC'd min al-kull. See 17.65 on baC'd 'some', 13.4 on kull 'all'; note that kull and baC'd are here prefixed with the def. article (contrast 14.11), a practice which is disapproved of in 14.52. In fact it is not at all uncommon for kull to occur without article, even in places where it functions as subject of a sentence, e.g. S. 8 v 54, kullun kānū zālimuna 'all were wrongdoers' (in apposition to 'Pharaoh's people'), a usage which is still current (Cantarino, loc. cit. 14.52 n 2).

(2) S. 3 v 97. Points to note: li 'for' (1.709) and C'alā 'on, against' (1.704) are used antithetically in the idiomatic sense of 'to be in credit' and 'to be in debt', e.g. lf C'alayka dirhamun 'you owe me a dirham', C'alaayya dirhamun 'I owe you a dirham' (note inversion with undefined subjects, 9.73 n 1); that man istaṭʕaC'a is a noun phrase (cf. 11.754) is neatly demonstrated here by its substitution for the noun an-nāsi.

14.21 (1) Except for niʃfun 'half', fractions have the pattern fuC'l (cf. 10.37 n 1), e.g. ūltın 'a third', rubC'un 'a quarter', up to Cušrun 'a tenth'. In ūltayhi (=ūltayni + hu) observe loss of ni in annexation (26.93 n 1) and vowel harmony with hi (13.9 n 9).

(2) A referential pronoun (Cã'id, 11.752 n 1) is needed because the partial substitute is not identical with its antecedent (contrast 14.12): in ūltahu etc. the visible pronoun hu does the job, but in man istaṭʕaC'a 'whoever is able' (14.2) the reference is vague and minhum has to be assumed. Note that 'linking' is expressed by yarbuta, a verb cognate with rābiṭ 'link', cf. 5.86 n 3, 14.34.

14.3 (1) 'Inclusive substitution' is badal al-îʃtimāl, lit. 'substitution of comprehensiveness or comprehending', cf. Sumūl 'scope, extent' in 13.1, from the same root. See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 194; note juncture features in def. article, q.v. 11.1 n 2, 11.41 n 2; vowel harmony in ffīh (*ffī-hu), 13.9 n 9.

14.31 (1) This is not a dispute which figures in the wrangles between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' collected in Inṣāf. It may have started in the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898), who is among the first to deal in these subdivisions of the badal (cf. Muqtadāb I, 27, IV, 297, and note that al-Astarābādī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 314, connects al-Mubarrad with this problem). See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) 'Quality' is sifa, elsewhere translated 'adjective' (cf. 11.0 n 1). While it is certain that this term was used by philosophers (especially...
first acquired from the second the fact of its being an owner. One refutation of this is that the sentence َDarabtu zaydun َabdahu 'I struck Zayd his slave' would then have to be allowed as a case of inclusive substitution, which is impossible. 3

14.32 The other view is that the second includes the first, the proof being َSuriqa zaydun ِtawbuhu 'Zayd was stolen, his garment', but this is refuted by َSuriqa zaydun ِfarasuhu 'Zayd was stolen, his horse'. 1

14.33 It is also said, and this is the most cogent opinion, that neither one includes the other, but that it is really substitution of a thing for an identical thing, in which the operator comprehensively includes the meaning of the substitute, e.g. ِAcbâbanâ zaydun ِgilimu or ِhusnuhu or kalâmuhu 'Zayd pleased me, his knowledge' or 'his beauty' or 'his speech', for you can see that the act of pleasing includes Zayd figuratively and his knowledge, beauty and speech literally. 2 Similarly, in َSuriqa zaydun ِtawbuhu or ِfarasuhu 'Zayd was stolen, his garment' or 'his horse', Zayd is only figuratively stolen, while his garment and horse are literally stolen. 3

14.34 In inclusive substitution, as in substitution of the part for the whole, there must always be a pronoun, either explicitly mentioned (as in the Qur’anic verse quoted above, where َQitalîn 'fighting' is an inclusive substitute of َâs-šâbri 'the month', with the hi 'it' made oblique by ff 'in' as the link between them), or implicitly, as in the Qur’anic َQutilâ 'âshárâbî l-‘ukdâdî n-nârî 'may there be killed the people of the pit, of the fire!', where an-nârî 'the fire' is a substitute of al-‘ukdâdî 'the pit', and the referential pronoun has been elided, scil. an-nârî ffinî 'the fire in it'.

کوئے مالکا ورد بانہ یلیزم منه ان یخوز ضریت زیدا عبده علی الا اشتہال وہو ممنوع وقیل هو الثانی بدیل سرق زید ثوبہ ورد سرق زید فرہ وقیل وهو الولی لی اشتہال لاحذها علی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی الی ا
theologians, Versteegh 71 n 6, 74 n 22) for 'quality' = 'predicate', it does not follow that its occurrence in the earliest grammar is due to borrowing. Rundgren's unsubstantiated assertion (op. cit. 1.01 n 2, 143) 'the adjective is called sīfa by Sībawayhi, a term which strikes one as somewhat philosophical', proves nothing.

(3) It would, of course, be allowable as a case of 'substitution of error' (14.4). 'Impossible' is weaker than the original Arabic, which has mānūC 'prohibited': in aš-Šīrīnī's source, al-Azharī, Taṣrī. II, 157, it is clear that it is the grammarians, by this stage heavily normative, who 'forbid' such usages on logical grounds (cf. 12.91 n 8).

14.32 (1) The argument seems to be that Zayd is included in the second element by pronominalization; see further 14.33 n 3.

14.33 (1) With 'whose operator comprehensively includes the meaning of the substitute' we are in the world of semantics: the connection between the two elements is variously described as iltibās, mulābasa (both approx. synonymous, 'implication, involvement') 'iḥtā 'encompassment', as well as istīmāl (cf. Muqtadab, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1). Compare the relationship between elements coordinated by ḥattā 'even' (12.91, 12.911) and the conditions for continuous exception, 21.2.

(2) See 13.3 n 1 on majāz 'metaphor', 12.91 n 6 on ḥaqīqa 'truth' (i.e. literal usage). The rhetorical aspects of this construction are well summarized by al-Astarābādī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1: 'it is a condition of inclusive substitution that it should convey no specific information through the first element, but the mind, with the mention of the first element, should remain in anticipation of an explanation, because of the very comprehensiveness of the first element'.

(3) 'To steal', saraqa, is not commonly doubly transitive (Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 76; double transitivity 16.310 n 1), hence the example is somewhat tendentious. Even so, passivization normally only requires the transfer of one object into the agent function (8.2, and see 8.0 n 5), viz. surīqa zaydun ǧawbahu or farasahu, and the argument here seems specious. This is especially obvious if we compare the active equivalent saraqtu zaydun tawbahu 'I robbed Zayd of his garment', where there is scarcely any possibility of confusing the second direct object with any kind of substitution.

14.34 (1) 14.3. Contrast identical substitution, which requires no referential pronoun (14.12). 'Inclusive substitute' for qitālin is not meant to imply that it includes aš-Šahri, but merely that the type of substitution is 'inclusive'.

(2) 'Link' is rābiṭ, cf. 5.86 n 3.

(3) S. 85 vv 4, 5. Since 'uḫdūd is here used in a (hitherto) unexplained sense (v. E.I. (2), art. 'Ašhāb al-Uḫdūd'), it might seem that an-nārī is a case of explanatory coordination ('atf bayān, q.v. 14.51 n 1), but the commentators all agree that it is inclusive substitution. The verb in this verse is formally past tense passive (ch. 8), but has optative value (duCā' 'call, prayer', cf. 5.55 n 3); other common
14.4 (4) The substitution of retraction. (5) The substitution of error. (6) The substitution of oversight. There is no formal difference between these three, which differ only in respect of the speaker's purpose. The example tasaddatu bi-dirhamin dinarin 'I donated a dirham, a dinar' is appropriate for all three kinds, according to what motivated the first element (the thing substituted for) and the second (the substitute), viz. (a) it may be that you intended to state that you had donated a dirham and then it sprang to mind to state that you had donated a dinar; both words were thus spoken intentionally, and so this is 'substitution of retraction' (which is also called 'substitution of second thoughts', spelt badā', with undotted d and the lengthened ã'), or (b) you intended only the second but your tongue was too quick with the first, so this is 'substitution of error' (i.e. a substitution for the erroneous expression, not that the substitute itself is an error, as might easily be supposed from the formal terminology); or (c) you intended the first, and then it became clear that you had made a mistake in wanting to state that you had donated a dirham, and the moment you uttered it the falseness of that intention became apparent to you after you had thought of the second. This is, therefore, 'substitution of oversight', i.e. substitution for something that was only mentioned in oversight. From what has been set out here it will be realized that 'error' is connected with the tongue and 'oversight' with the mind.

14.51 The author now illustrates the kinds of substitution mentioned above, starting with the first: e.g. jā'a zaydun 'ākūka 'Zayd, your brother, came', parsed as follows: jā'a 'came' is a past tense verb, zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent, and 'ākūka 'your brother'
examples are ῥaḥimahu ʾl-lāḥu 'may God have mercy on him', ʾaṭālā ʾl-lāḥu ṣaqqāʾahu 'may God prolong his life' (cf. also 7.02, 17.7 n 4). It is negated by lā, e.g. lā kāna 'may it never be' (cf. 10.18 n 5). Muf. ##478, 547; Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 11, 43.

14.4 (1) These are respectively ʾiḍrāb lit. 'turning away' (cf. 12.52 n 3), ṣaḥālāt 'mistake' and nisyaʾān 'forgetting'. Sībawayhi was not so hairsplitting, recognizing basically two kinds of substitution, one of which corresponds to types 1-3, and the other to types 4-6, called simply badal al-ṣaḥālāt (cf. Kitāb I, 218). This is in keeping with Sībawayhi's descriptive approach and shows that, for him at least, the language was still spoken (v. 5.432 n 1), while for al-Mubarrad (d. 898, 22.3 n 1) it was necessary to point out that these substitutes never occur in the Qurʾān, poetry and all right speech' (Muqtaḍāb IV, 297, see 1.13 n 1 on 'right'). See further n 6 below.

(2) 'Substitution of second thoughts' is badal ṣadaʾ, lit. 'of a new idea which presents itself to the mind' (ṣadaʾ is cognate with ibtidaʾ 'making a start', i.e. of an equational sentence, 9.12 n 2).

(3) This helpful comment is taken from Ibn Hišām via al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 159 (it is also in Āj. 78): what he means is that substitution here takes place in reverse, and the first element is the muṣdal (normally second) and the second is the muṣdal minhu (normally first), see further 14.54 n 2. It hardly seems likely that this was Sībawayhi's original intention!

(4) The error is of some consequence, as a dinar is worth about twenty times as much as a dirham (cf. Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.89 n 5, 129, 133 on the foreign origin of these words, also E.I. (2), s.v.).

(5) 'Intention, purpose' etc. are variously denoted by the roots qaṣada 'to aim for' (cf. maqṣūd, 14.0 n 3, 23.42 n 1), nawā 'to intend' (cf. niyya, 5.44 n 3) and ʾaṛāda 'to will'. It is clear that here, and in some other homologous constructions (notably the suspension of adjectival concordance for reasons of praise or blame, 11.6), only the motive of the speaker can distinguish them.

(6) This explanation is from Qatr 351, and was prompted by Ibn Hišām's concern that the pupil would have difficulty with the three types of substitution of error! It would be better, too, if they were not paraded in Western grammars of Arabic, e.g. Wright II, 286, Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 65 n 2. Al-Astarābdī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1, mentions that poets may deliberately use this construction for effect, rather as in hindun najmuʾun badrun Ŧamsun 'Hind is a star, moon, sun'.

14.51 (1) This adds nothing to what has been said already, so here is an outline of a construction not dealt with by aṣ-SSIP Nbī, namely explanatory coordination (ʾaṣṣ baγān, cf. 12.0): it is formally identical with substitution of a thing for an identical thing (14.1), and only differs (a) in its purpose (cf. 14.4 n 5), and (b) in that the second element must always be more specific than the first, e.g. jāʾa ʾaḡūka zaydun 'your brother Zayd came', (there is only one Zayd but
is the substitute of a thing by an identical thing, which is also called by Ibn Mālik the 'matching substitute'.

14.52 Next the author illustrates the second kind: 'akaltu r-raḡīfa ṭultahu 'I ate the loaf, a third of it', parsed as follows: akaltu 'I ate' is a verb and agent, ar-raḡīfa 'the loaf' is its direct object, and ṭultahu 'a third of it' is a substitute of ar-raḡīfa 'the loaf' in substitution of the part for the whole. (N.B. The experts do not allow al 'the' to be prefixed to kullun 'all' and baḍun 'some').

14.53 He next illustrates the third kind: nafaṣanī zaydun ʿilmuhu 'Zayd benefitted me, his knowledge', parsed as follows: nafaṣanī 'benefitted me' is a verb and direct object, zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent, and ʿilmuhu 'his knowledge' is a substitute of zaydun 'Zayd' by inclusive substitution.

14.54 The author then illustrates the fourth kind: raʿaytu zaydan il-farasa 'I saw Zayd—the horse', parsed as follows: raʿaytu 'I saw' is a verb and agent, zaydan 'Zayd' is a direct object, and il-farasa 'the horse' is a substitute of zaydan 'Zayd' in substitution of error. This is because you wanted to say 'I saw the horse' in the first place, but you made a mistake when you were about to utter the word 'horse' and substituted 'Zayd' for it. That is, you replaced 'the horse' by 'Zayd'.

14.6 So much for the substitution of nouns. As far as verbs are concerned aš-Ṣāṭibī said that the same occurs with them: an example of substitution of a thing by an identical thing in verbs is the Qur'anic man yafʿal dālika yalqā 'aḡaman yuḍṣaf 'whoever does that will meet with recompense, will be doubled (his punishment)'; since the meaning of 'doubling the punishment' is the same as 'meeting the recompense'.

14.61 An example of substitution of the part for the whole is (50b) 'in ṭuṣallī ṭasjūd li-llāhī yarḥamka 'if you pray—bow down—to God, he will have mercy on you'.
there may be more than one brother: contrast jā'a zaydun 'ağūka 'Zayd, your brother, came', where 'your brother' does not make Zayd any more specific). Muf. 155-6; Alf. v. 534; Qatr 342; Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 65.

(2) Alf. v 566; al-badal al-muṭābiq, lit. 'which fits exactly over'.

14.52 (1) See 8.21 n 1 on 'iṣrāb, here 'parsing'.

(2) Cf. 14.11 n 1. Whether there is a difference between collective al-kull and distributive kull (so Cantarino, II, 124) is arguable, especially in regard to kullun kānū zālimīna, q.v. 14.2 n 1. Cf. also 1.441 n 3; Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 140.

14.53 (1) This segmentation is adequate for the present purpose, but for practice consider the possible further levels: nafaṣanīf comprises the discontinuous morphemes n-f-c, root meaning 'benefit' and a-a for the past tense active (cf. 5.1 n 2); after the third radical is the purely lexical item a, associated with the 3rd sing. past tense, with which a concealed agent pronoun also has to be assumed (7.58 n 1); nīf is the direct object suffix I with the 'preserving n' (16.301); zaydun and cilmuhu likewise consist of the discontinuous morphemes z-y-d and c-l-m, and a-∅, i-∅ for noun pattern respectively (10.37 n 1), both with independence marker u (3.21); zaydun with nominal marker n (not necessarily indefiniteness marker, cf. 1.41, 11.8), cilmuhu with 3rd sing. possessive pronoun suffix hu (4.72 n 2).

14.54 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. article al, which appears as 1 in context (but see 11.41 n 2) and al in isolation.

(2) Surface structure and deep structure are here in open conflict: in terms of the former there can be no doubt that al-farasa is substituted for zaydan, and this is certainly how Sibawayhi understood the process. On the other hand, from the point of view of deep structure, zaydun has intruded into the intended statement ra'ay tu-1-farasa, hence it can be said, as here (reproducing Ibn Hiṣām, see 14.4 n 3), that zaydan has been substituted for al-farasa.

14.6 (1) There are several candidates for this name, but the most likely is Abū-l-Qāsim aš-Sātibī, best known as an authority upon the Qur'ān, and reputedly one of the masters of Ibn al-Hājib (12.912 n 3). Aš-Sātibī died in 1194; G.A.L. I, 409 and Suppl. (note that his name is given as al-Qāsim only, not Abū l-Qāsim, by as-Suyūṭī, Buğyat al-wuṣāh, ed. Cairo 1965, II, 260). See also 14.63 n 1.

(2) S. 25 vv 68, 69; if yudāCAF had had indep. form (yudāCAFu) this would have made a new or relative clause, 'its/whose punishment will be doubled on Judgement Day' (*yudāCAFu lahu l-Cādābu yawma l-qiyāmati), but the apocopated 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) yudāCAF precludes this.

14.61 (1) This is neither from the Qur'ān nor the 'Traditions' (1.01 n 4), and falls under the same suspicion as other specimens produced by aš-Sātibī (see 14.63 n 1). For the apoc. forms here see 3.92 for tuṣallī (weak 3rd radical), 4.82 n 2 for tasjud and yarḥam.
14.62 An example of inclusive substitution is the verse

\[ 'inna \text{\c{a}l}ayya llāhā 'an tubāyī'cā \]
\[ tu'\text{\c{a}g}a karhan 'aw tajī'a tā'ī'cān \]

'it is my duty, by God, that you should swear allegiance—that you be taken against your will and coming obediently', because being taken against one's will and coming obediently are both qualities of the act of swearing allegiance.

14.63 An example of substitution of error is 'in ta'tīnā tas'alnā nu\text{\c{c}}tika 'if you come to us—ask us—we shall give you something'. This is an abridgement of what aš-Sā'ībi\textsuperscript{2} has to say: aš-Sayh Kālid\textsuperscript{3} adds, 'that is his own responsibility'.

14.7 Supplementary note: The number of different ways of substituting one noun for another, calculated by multiplication, is sixty-four, the product of four times sixteen. This is because both nouns may be either defined or undefined, or the first defined and the second undefined and vice versa, which makes four possibilities. Then they may either be both pronouns or both overt nouns, or both different, which yields sixteen combinations. Finally there may be substitution of a thing for an identical thing, substitution of the part for the whole, inclusive substitution, or substitution of error, and this makes sixty-four all together. The details of what is allowed and what is impossible can mostly be learnt from the above.

14.8 Having finished with the independent forms of the noun, the author now turns to their dependent forms.
14.62 (1) *Schaw*, *Ind.* 147; for metrical reasons (cf. 5.88 n 4) the final a of tubāyi'cā is written and pronounced long, but has been left short in transcription so as not to obscure its function as marker of dependence after 'an (5.41). Other grammatical points to note: 'inna (10.41) has the verb phrases 'an tubāyi'cā etc. (cf. 9.02 n 2) as its inverted subject and ḡalâyya (see 14.2 n 2) as its inverted predicate; on allāha as a free-standing oath see Fischer, *Islam* 28, 9; for the verbal noun karhan as circumstantial qualifier see 19.33 n 1.

14.63 (1) The examples here and in 14.61 hardly ring true, and there can be little doubt that they are pedagogical inventions, hence the reservations expressed by aš-Šayk Kālid (q.v. n 3).

(2) This whole extract from aš-Šāṭībī has been taken from al-Azharī, Āj. 79, rather than from Taṣr. II, 161, which lacks the final remark.

(3) Here (and once more in 21.35) aš-Širbīnī reveals the name of his principal source, aš-Šayk Kālid al-Azharī, died 1499 (G.A.L. II, 278 and Suppl.). His Taṣrīḥ was written after a conversation in a dream with Ibn Hīšām (I, 3), while his Ājurrūmiyya commentary was composed especially for 'young people and children' (6). He was also a great source for aš-Ṣabbān.

14.7 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing total combinations. Even Western scholars seem unable to avoid the temptation now and then, cf. Yushmanov 33, and 4.82 n 2. The particular calculation (from al-Azharī, Āj. 79) is of little practical value, and even slightly misleading in the matter of substitution of pronouns: while there are apparently no restrictions on substituting pronoun for pronoun (e.g. ra'aytuka 'iyyāka 'I saw you, you'), the 1st and 2nd sing. pronouns are not found as antecedents of an overt noun substitute (contrast ra'aytuhu zaydan 'I saw him, Zayd', 'antum ḥā'ulā'ī 'you, these ones'). The occurrence of pronouns as substitutes for overt nouns seems even more restricted, with only 3rd sing. examples being offered (ra'aytu zaydan 'iyyāhu 'I saw Zayd, him', see *Muf.* #154, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 70). This is all distinct from corroboration, 13.14 n 4.

(2) Unlike adjectives (ch. 11) and corroboratives (ch. 13).

(3) The grounds of permissibility (jawāz) and impossibility (imtināc) are no longer based on descriptive criteria, cf. 14.31 n 3.

14.8 (1) Some items apparently having the indep. morpheme u are dealt with elsewhere, e.g. indeclinable elements (18.41), vocatives (23.41, 23.42), and cf. 22.2 for problems with nouns negated by lā 'no'. 
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

15.0 Chapter on the dependent forms of nouns.¹ The dependent forms of verbs have already been dealt with. The dependent forms of nouns² are fifteen in number: i.e. fifteen dependent forms listed summarily, each to be dealt with in a separate chapter.³ And they are (i.e. the dependent forms of nouns):

15.01 (1) the direct object,¹ e.g. ḏarabtu ḏaydan 'I struck Zayd', where ḏaraba 'to strike'² makes ḏaydan 'Zayd' dependent as a direct object, with ḏ as its dependence marker;

15.02 (2) the verbal noun,¹ e.g. ḏarban 'act of striking' in ḏarabtu ḏarban 'I struck hard', where ḏaraba 'to strike' makes ḏarban 'act of striking' dependent as an absolute object;

15.03 (3) the time-qualifier,¹ e.g. sūmtu ʔ-ʔawma 'I fasted today', where sāma 'to fast' makes the time-qualifier al-ʔawma 'today' dependent as an object of location;

15.04 (4) the space-qualifier,¹ e.g. jālāstu (51a) 'ʔamāmaka 'I sat in front of you', where jalasa 'to sit' makes the space-qualifier 'ʔamāmaka 'in front of you'² dependent as an object of location;

15.05 (5) the circumstantial qualifier,¹ e.g. jā'ʔa zaydun rākiban 'Zayd came riding', where jā'ʔa 'to come' makes rākiban 'riding' dependent as a circumstantial qualifier;

15.06 (6) the specifying element,¹ e.g. ʔāba muḥammadun nafsan 'Muḥammad was content of soul', where ʔāba 'to be content' makes nafsan 'soul' dependent as a specifying element;
15.0 (1) al-maṣūbat, lit. 'those things which have been made dependent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2), and see 3.5 n 1 on maṣb, 'dependence'. In the Arab view, this dependence is caused by a verbal operator (cf. 2.1, 2.11) or an element with the status of a verb (cf. 10.401).

(2) See 5.4 et seq. for dependent verbs and their operators.

(3) Items 15.12-15 have been treated in chs. 10-14; summarized 25.61.

15.01 (1) al-mafūl bīh, lit. 'that which it is done to', see ch. 16, esp. 16.1.

(2) See 3.52 n 3 on convention of quoting verbs in their 3rd masc. sing. past tense forms: this is especially noticeable when 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are mentioned, as in several paragraphs below.

15.02 (1) al-maṣdar, lit. 'the source, origin', see ch. 17, esp. 17.1 n 2. The other name for this element is al-mafūl al-mutlaq, 'the absolute object', cf. 17.3. A literal translation ('I struck a striking') is hardly feasible, though English does have one or two expressions of this type, e.g. 'he did a deed, saw a sight' etc.

15.03 (1) zarf az-zamān, lit. 'container of time' (cf. 1.705 n 2), see ch. 18, esp. 18.0-113. Though functionally equivalent to adverbs and prepositions, these are nouns, like all the items in this chapter.

(2) al-mafūl fīh, lit. 'that in which it is done': most modifiers of verbs are, in the Arab theory, objects of one kind or another of the verb, cf. 15.10, 15.11.

15.04 (1) zarf al-makān, lit. 'container of place', structurally identical with the time-qualifier in the previous paragraph. See ch. 18, esp. 18.0, 18.2-214.

(2) The borderline between noun and 'preposition' is often vague: the word 'amāma which is here seen in its prepositional function reverts easily to noun status, e.g. 'ilā l-'amāmi 'to the front' (now with noun markers al, 1.5, oblique form, 1.31, and oblique operator, 1.7). See further notes to 18.201-214.

15.05 (1) al-ḥāl, lit. 'circumstance, situation', see ch. 19, esp. 19.0, 19.1. If rākibān here were translated 'as a riding person' it might emphasize that it is not an integral part of the sentence, a feature which is shared by most of the dependent elements (cf. 19.1).

15.06 (1) at-tamyiz, lit. 'act of distinguishing, discrimination', see ch. 20. By now the cumulative effect of the examples should be to
15.07 (7) the excepted element," e.g. qäma 1-qawmu 'illä zaydan 'the people stood except Zayd', where 'illä 'except' makes zaydan 'Zayd' dependent by exception;

15.08 (8) the noun negated by lā 'no'," e.g. lā ġuläma safarin ḍadirun 'no boy for the journey is present', where ġuläma 'boy' is negated by lā 'no' and made dependent by it;

15.09 (9) the vocative," e.g. yā ġabda llāhi 'O ġAbdulläh!', where ġabda llāhi 'ĞAbdulläh' is made dependent by being called;

15.10 (10) the object of reason," e.g. qäma zaydun 'ijlālan li-bakrin 'Zayd stood in honour of Bakr', where qäma 'to stand' makes 'ijlālan 'act of honouring' dependent as an object of reason;

15.11 (11) the object of accompaniment," e.g. sīrtu wa-n-nilā 'I travelled with the Nile', where an-nilā 'the Nile' is made dependent as an object of accompaniment;

15.12 (12) the predicate of käna 'to be' and its related verbs," e.g. käna zaydun qä'iman 'Zayd was standing', where qä'iman 'standing' is a predicate of käna 'to be' and made dependent by it.

15.13 (13) the subject-noun of 'inna 'verily' and its related particles, e.g. 'inna zaydan qä'iman 'verily Zayd is standing', where zaydan 'Zayd' is the subject-noun of 'inna 'verily' and made dependent by it;

15.14 (14) the two objects of zanantu 'I thought' and its related verbs, (this is omitted from most manuscripts of the basic text, but is
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reinforce the impression of a favourite sentence pattern, viz. Verb — Agent (independent, indispensable) — Qualifier (dependent, dispensable). Structural confirmation is that the verb and pronoun agent are morphologically a single word (7.5 et seq.), and so sumtu, for example, is already a complete utterance, 'I fasted', whether qualified (e.g. by al-yawma 'today') or not. See further 19.1 n 1, 19.25 n 1.

15.07 (1) al-mustaṭnā, see ch. 21, esp. 21.0. Since not every noun becomes dependent in the exceptive construction (cf. 21.2, 21.3) this must be taken as a pedagogical generalization.

15.08 (1) ism lā, lit. 'the noun of lā' (note how lā here, and the items in 15.12-14, become nouns in the metalanguage, cf. 1.6 n 5), see ch. 22. Because of disagreement about the status of the a ending on single nouns negated by lā (22.12), and because there are other possible endings with the single noun (22.3 et seq.), the example chosen here is an annexation unit, which always has dependent form after lā (22.11). See 26.71 on this kind of annexation unit.

15.09 (1) al-munādā, lit. 'the person called', see ch. 23, esp. 23.0. The annexed unit is here chosen as the example because it always has dependent form in the vocative construction, whereas single nouns end normally in u, variously interpreted as an implicit dependent form or not an inflection at all (even though it is formally identical with the independent ending), cf. 23.41.

15.10 (1) al-maʃūl min 'ajjih, lit. 'that for the sake of which it is done', also called al-maʃūl lah, 'that for which it is done', see ch. 24, esp. 24.0, 24.1.

(2) Note that the verbal noun 'ijlālan, lit. 'out of honouring' cannot form an objective annexation with Bakr (see 24.31 n 1), hence the paraphrase with 'ī, scil. 'out of honouring for Bakr'.

15.11 (1) al-maʃūl maʃarah, lit. 'that with which it is done', see ch. 25, esp. 25.0, 25.1.

15.12 (1) kabar kāna wa-ʔagawātihā, lit. 'the information of kāna and its sisters' (cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism 'sisters' here and in the next two paragraphs). See 10.1 (summary presentation 25.61). In the light of 15.05 n 1 the example here could well be translated 'Zayd existed, as a standing person', since kāna zaydun 'Zayd existed' is a possible (though not common) complete sentence, cf. 10.11 n 3.

15.13 (1) ism 'innah wa-ʔagawātihā, lit. 'the noun of 'innah and its sisters', q.v. in 10.4-55 (summary presentation 25.61). The operation of 'innah is ascribed to its resemblance to a verb (see 10.401), which is certainly compatible with the probable origins of this particle, the demonstrative base n (cf. Fleisch 145, 168), giving a meaning roughly equivalent to 'lo!', i.e. 'look!'.

15.14 (1) maʃūl ẓanantu wa-ʔagawātihā, lit. 'the two objects of ẓanantu and its sisters', already dealt with in 10.6-8 (summarized in 25.61). Perhaps because the 'objects' of this verb are a statement
preserved in some), e.g. ُذانتِ زیدان ُق تَ ُمان 'I thought Zayd was standing', where زیدان 'Zayd' and ُق تَ 'standing' are both made dependent as the two objects of ُذانتِ 'I thought'; 15.15 (15) and the concordant of a dependent element, which comprises four things: (which have already been dealt with above under the independent forms of nouns), viz. the adjective, e.g. َثردتِ زیدان ُللَ تَ 'I saw Zayd the intelligent', the coordinated element, e.g. َثردتِ زیدان وَ ُمام 'I saw Zayd and ُمام', the corroborative, e.g. َثردتِ ُتَ ُحَ 'I saw the people, all of them', and the substitute, e.g. َثردتِ زیدان ُاَكا 'I saw Zayd your brother'. All four of these are made dependent by being concordant with the inflection of their antecedent. After this summary presentation, the author now turns (51b) to them in detail, dealing with each one in a separate chapter in the same order as above, beginning with an explanation of the direct object.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

16.0 Chapter on the direct object. This is given first place by the author because (except by the Basrans) the term 'object' is specifically applied to the direct object alone, the others being spoken of as 'quasi-objects', according to Ibn Hišām in his marginal commentaries.

16.1 The direct object is the dependent noun to which (i.e. upon which) the action of the verb happens, (i.e. the action originating from the agent), e.g. َرَ ُتَ زیدان 'I struck Zayd', where زیدان 'Zayd' is a
the operating verb (zanantu, cf. 10.61 n 1) is often quoted in its 1st sing. past tense form (see 10.61 n 1).

(2) Only by including zanantu and by counting all four concordants as one (15.15) can we arrive at the total of fifteen dependent elements which Ibn Ājurrūm himself has promised in 15.0. Nevertheless zanantu is missing from the version commented on by al-Azharī (Āj. 80, whence aš-Širbīnī has it), who also adds the 'Ḥijāzī mā' (q.v. 5.84 n 3).

15.15 (1) See ch. 11 on adjectives and concordance; on the juncture feature in zaydan ʾil-Ǧāqila see 11.1 n 2. Summary presentation 25.61.

(2) See ch. 12 on coordination. Summary 25.61.

(3) See ch. 13 on corroboration. Summary 25.61.

(4) See ch. 14 on substitution, summary 25.61. On a as dependence marker see 3.61.

(5) This is disputed: an element is either made dependent by a formal operator, which in these cases must be the operator which makes their antecedent dependent, or by an abstract operator (which is what our author implies here), namely concordance itself, see further 1.31 n 4.

16.0 (1) Jum. 23, 39, 44; Muf. #44; Alf. v 267; Qatr 218; Beeston 87; Fleisch 178; Bateson 45; Yushmanov 64. Terminology: fiṯl 'verb, act' (see 16.1 n 1); fāṯil 'agent, doer' (7.01 n 1); mafṯūl biḥ 'direct object', lit. 'that which it is done to', generally abbreviated to mafṯūl; muṣabbah bi-l-mafṯūl 'object-like, quasi-object', see n 2.

(2) By 'quasi-object' is meant the predicate of kāna etc., see 10.1, and 16.309 n 1 on transitivity in general. For ' Başrans' see 9.4 n 3, and 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām. The reference to his 'marginal comments' is based on al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 183 (and cf. I, 308).

16.1 (1) The Arabic reads yagṣu bihi l-ṯillu, lit. 'the act falls upon him, befalls him', and 'action of the verb' is merely an attempt to combine in translation the two distinct meanings of fiṯl; it may denote a grammatical category or a real action (cf. Versteegh 70; both Greek and Indian origins have been suggested for the terminology, v. Versteegh 72 n 10, but no proofs are offered). Cf. E.I. (2), 'Fiṯl'.

(2) 'Originating from the agent' is lit. for sādir min al-fāṯil (cf. masḏar, 24.21, cognate with sādir), and fiṯl in this context can hardly mean anything but 'action'. 
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direct object because the blow originating from the agent falls upon him, and similarly rakibtu l-farasa 'I rode the horse'. Here al-farasa 'the horse' is a direct object because the action of the verb, i.e. riding, happens to it.3

16.11 By the happening of the action of the verb is meant that it is semantically connected to the object without intermediary, in such a way that it alone can be conceived of as the object.1 This comprises, for example, mā darabtu zaydan 'I did not strike Zayd' and lā tadrib cāmarān 'do not strike 'Amri'. But 'that to which the action of the verb happens' excludes all other objects:2 in the object of accompaniment the action happens with it, not to it; in the object of location the action happens in it, not to it; the absolute object is itself the same as the action of the verb, while in the object of reason the action happens for that reason. The definition given above is purely formal, to make it easier for the beginner.3

16.2 It (i.e. the direct object) is of two kinds:1 one overt and one pronominal. The overt kind is the one already illustrated (viz. zaydan 'Zayd' and al-farasa 'the horse', whose parsing has been given above),2 and the pronominal is of two kinds, bound and free.3

16.3 The bound kind (i.e. the one which never precedes its operator, nor can it ever be separated from its operator by 'illa 'except')1 comprises twelve pronouns:

16.301 (1) the pronoun of the first person singular, namely f 'me',1 as in, for example, darabani zaydun 'Zayd struck me', where daraba 'struck' is a past tense verb, the n is preservative (i.e. to protect the verb from ending in i), f 'me' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', and zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by daraba, with u as its independence marker.
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(3) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue (Insāf, prob. 11) that both verb and agent together make the direct object dependent, because neither can exist without the other. Against this the 'Baṣrans' claim that a noun cannot have a physical effect (ta'tīr fi-fīl-ālam) on a thing, and so only the verb is the operator (exploiting ambiguity of fīl).

16.11 (1) See 5.82 n 6 on mutaqallīg 'semantically connected', and cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. The inclusion of direct objects where no event occurs, because negated or prohibited, is a refinement which Ibn Hišām attributes to Ibn al-Hājib (Qatr 219, and cf. also Qatr 181 for the agent with no 'act').

(2) On similar grounds Köbert, Orientalia NS 29, 328, makes the very reasonable observation that 'object' is thoroughly unsuitable as a translation of mafūl except in the specific case of the mafūl bih, but his alternative, 'Akkusativ' seems equally arbitrary (cf. 3.5 n 1). We retain 'object' for reasons of symmetry, v. 17.53 n 1.

(3) 'Formal' here is unusually expressed by bi-r-rāsmī, elsewhere used specifically for 'written form' (viz. 1.4, end), and the comment is taken from al-Azharī, Āj. 80. It must refer to the fact that the direct object is the noun spelt with dep. form etc. (contrast 17.1, definition of verbal noun in mnemonic terms).

16.2 (1) Direct objects are subdivided by dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) into the same formal classes as the agent, cf. 7.2.

(2) See 16.1; for completeness, aš-šīrbīnī could have added 'with a as their dependence marker', cf. 3.51, 4.11.

(3) See 11.715 on bound pronouns. With one exception (16.301) the bound object pronouns are identical with the bound possessive pronouns, paradigm 4.72 n 2 and see further 16.308.

16.3 (1) This is the same definition as has previously been given for the bound agent pronoun, q.v. 7.5; for 'operator' ġāmil see 2.11 n 1. Note that, being a suffix, the direct object pronoun precedes any overt agent (and cf. 7.9 n 1).

16.301 (1) As presented here, in the form I, the 1st sing. object suffix is identical with the corresponding possessive suffix I 'my' (q.v. 3.421 n 3), and the n is not regarded as part of the pronoun. Instead it has (so the Arabs claim) the function of preserving the final short vowel of the verb, thus retaining the contrast between ġarabānī here and ġarabī 'my wild honey', for example. The argument is not entirely satisfactory, particularly because the alternation I/nI is present in all Semitic languages with or without inflections to preserve (see 3.96 n 1 on possible origins of nūn al-wiqāya 'the n of preservation'). The Arab case might have been stronger if they had argued that n was necessary to preserve the mood inflections of the imperfect tense verb. Conversely nI remains even when there are no vowels to preserve (e.g. apoc. yarhamnī 'he might have mercy on me'), though this could be naturally generalized from ġarabānī.
(2) the pronoun of the first person plural and plural of self-magnification, namely nā 'us', as in darabanā 'Camrun 'CAmr struck us' where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, nā 'us' is a direct object (52a) with dependent status through daraba 'struck', and Camrun 'CAmr' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

(3) the pronoun of the second person masculine singular, namely ka 'you', as in darabaka bakrun 'Bakr struck you', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, ka 'you' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', and bakrun 'Bakr' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

(4) the pronoun of the second person feminine singular, namely ki 'you', as in darabaki muhammadun 'Muhammad struck you', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, ki 'you' (with i after the k) is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', and muhammadun 'Muhammad' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

(5) the pronoun of the second person dual, whether masculine or feminine, namely kumā 'you two', as in darabakumā 'Kālid struck you two', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, ku '*you' (with u after the k) is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', mā is the marker of the dual, and kālidun 'Kālid' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

(6) the pronoun of the second person masculine plural, namely kum 'you', as in darabakum sālimun 'Sālim struck you', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, ku '*you' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', m is the marker of the masculine plural, and sālimun 'Sālim' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;
16.302 (1) See 7.52 n 1 on al-mu'azzim li-nafsīh 'he who exalts himself'.

(2) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the active from the passive: with u in the first syllable d-r-b-n-ā would be read automatically as dūribnā 'we were struck' (8.62).

(3) For the same reasons as in 7.51 n 1, the verb will be translated as if it were a past stem but transliterated in the form in which it is quoted in the text (on which see 3.52 n 3).

16.303 (1) As if to demonstrate his independence from al-Azharī, Āj. 80-81, from which almost the entire contents of this chapter have been copied, aš-Širbīnī provides almost every verb with a different proper name as agent, while al-Azharī makes do with our old friends Zayd (7 times) and Āmīr (5 times)!

(2) It will be observed that suffixation of an object pronoun appears to disturb the sequence Verb-Agent-Complement (cf. 7.9 n 1), but it can be argued that darabaka 'he struck you', with concealed agent pronoun (7.58 n 1) already fulfils the conditions, and that bakrun etc. simply restate the agent more specifically.

16.304 (1) All the examples are of the 3rd sing. masc. past tense: see 16.505 n 1 for other combinations. Only 3rd weak radical verbs present any problems, and then only in the 3rd sing. masc., where the long vowel is retained but respelt with 'alif (2.43 n 2), thus ra'ā 'he saw' (spelt ra'ay, same orthography as yakṣā = yakṣay, 3.92 n 2) with object suffixes becomes ra'ānī 'he saw me', ra'āhu 'he saw him' etc. (the difference is not apparent in transliteration!). Verbs whose 3rd weak rad. is already spelt with 'alif, e.g. daʿā (10.14 n 2) do not change, thus daʿāhu 'he called him' etc., and verbs of the type lagīga (ibid.) are in this respect quite regular: lagīyahu 'he met him' etc. See 16.308 n 1 for suffixation to imperfect tenses.

16.305 (1) The segmentation problems here are the same as for the agent pronoun suffixes, q.v. 7.53-57, except that the 2nd person morpheme is here called al-kāf 'the k', and further differentiated by naming its accompanying vowel. For the sing. ka and ki a translation 'you' is accurate enough, but ku can only be labelled temporarily as '*you'; in 16.503-507 a different solution is found: because the Arabs do not regard the suffixes there as pronouns, no translation is offered at all.

16.306 (1) Since aš-Širbīnī does not give us examples of object pronouns suffixed to imperfect tense verbs, here is a typical paradigm, using daraba 'to strike' with the 3rd masc. sing. suffix hu 'him':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'adrībuhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tadribuhu</td>
<td>tadribānīhi</td>
<td>tadribūnuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tadribīnahu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yadribuhu</td>
<td>yadribānīhi</td>
<td>yadribūnuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tadribuhu</td>
<td>tadribānīhi</td>
<td>yadribnahu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES 333
16.307 (7) the pronoun of the second person feminine plural, namely kunna 'you' (with u after the k), as in darabakunna zaydun 'Zayd struck you', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, ku '*you' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', nna is the marker of the feminine plural, and zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

16.308 (8) the pronoun of the third person masculine singular, namely hu 'him', as in darabahu bakrun 'Bakr struck him', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, hu 'him' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', and bakrun 'Bakr' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

16.309 (9) the pronoun of the third person feminine singular, namely hā 'her', as in darabahā kālidun 'Kālid struck her', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, hā 'her' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', and kālidun 'Kālid' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker;

16.310 (10) the pronoun of the third person masculine and feminine dual, namely humā 'them both', as in darabahumā qāsimun 'Qāsim struck them both', where daraba 'struck' (with a after the d) is a past tense verb, hu '*them' is a direct object with dependent status through daraba 'struck', mā is the marker of the dual, and qāsimun 'Qāsim' is an agent made independent by daraba with u as its independence marker. (52b)
Suffix hu was chosen because, like humā, hum and hunna, it shows vowel harmony when preceded by i or y (13.9 n 9), contrast tadribānīkum etc. See 16.307 n 2 for dep. and apoc. verbs with suffixes, 16.308 n 1 for suffixes on 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense.

16.307 (1) There is no justification for this spelling instruction (which is not in al-Azharī, Āj. 80), as the u is non-phonemic (like that of tum etc., it is arbitrary, 7.56 n 2), nor is there any alternation kunna/kinna as in the 3rd person (13.9 n 9).

(2) Further to 16.306 n 1, here the paradigm of the dep. form of the verb  Każaba 'to strike', with the object suffix hu 'him':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'adribahu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nadařibahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taqribahu</td>
<td>tadribahu</td>
<td>tadribahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taqribahi</td>
<td></td>
<td>tadribahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yadribahu</td>
<td>yadribahu</td>
<td>yadribahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taqribahu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yadribahu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observe that this time only the 2nd fem. sing. shows vowel harmony. Apoc. forms 'adribhu, taqribhu taqribhi etc. 3rd weak rad. verbs at 16.308 n 1.

16.308 (1) 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense with suffixes: (a) if the final vowel is i (yarmī, 4.81 n 2) or i (yarmi, 3.92 n 1) complete vowel harmony prevails: yarmīhi, yarmihi; (b) final vowel ā (yagšā, for yagšay, 3.92 n 2) is respelt ā (as with ra'ā, 16.304 n 1), e.g. yagšānī, yagšāhu, otherwise regular, e.g. takšayānīhi etc., but note dep./apoc. 2nd fem. sing. takšayhi with vowel harmony (other dep./apoc. forms regular, e.g. yakšāhu, yakšawhu, and note feminine plurals ta/yakšaynahu); (c) final ū (yağzu, 4.81 n 2) or u (cf. 3.92 n 1) are regular, e.g. yağzūhu, yağzuwu, yağzuwānīhi, but note 2nd. fem. sing. dep./apoc. tağzīhi; (d) dep. forms in iya or uwa (4.82 n 1) are regular, e.g. yarmiyahu, yağzuwu.}

16.309 (1) Transitivity: verbs are (a) intransitive, lāžim, lit. 'adhering' to their agent; (a logical borrowing absent from the earliest grammar, denoting that the action inheres in the agent), or (b) transitive, muta'addī, lit. 'going across'. A link with metabasis is not impossible (cf. Versteegh 82), but more clarity is needed over Sibawayhi's use of this concept (cf. Levin in Studia Orientalia memoriae D. H. Baneth dedicata, Jerusalem 1979, 193). Intransitive verbs include those operating via a preposition (the 'intermediary', wāṣiṭa, of 16.11), but all verbs, including passives, operate on objects other than the direct object (cf. 17.53, 19.25, 24.4). Jum. 39, 44; Muf. 432; Alf. v 267; Beeston 87; cf. Yushmanov 50.

16.310 (1) Verbs may be doubly transitive (muta'addī 'ilā maʃūlayn 'going across to two objects'), in various ways: (a) by having as their objects a proposition (see 10.6), (b) as causatives, e.g. Callamtuḥu n-naḥwa 'I taught him grammar' (lit. 'made him know', causative of Callima 'to know'), 'araytuḥu l-kitāba 'I showed him the book' ('made
16.311 (11) the pronoun of the third person masculine plural, namely *hum* 'them', as in *darabahum Cāmirun* 'Cāmir struck them', where *daraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *d*) is a past tense verb, *hu* '*them* is a direct object with dependent status through *daraba* 'struck', *Cāmirun* 'Cāmir' is an agent made independent by *daraba* 'struck' with *u* as its independence marker, and *m* is the marker of the masculine plural;

16.312 (12) the pronoun of the third person feminine plural, namely *hunna* 'them', as in *darabahunna sālihun* 'Sālih struck them', where *daraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *d*) is a past tense verb, *hu* '*them* is a direct object with dependent status through *daraba* 'struck', *sālihun* 'Sālih' is an agent made independent by *daraba* 'struck' with *u* as its independence marker, and *nna* is the marker of the feminine plural, and *sālihun* 'Sālih' is an agent made independent by *daraba* with *u* as its independence marker.

16.4 These twelve pronouns all have dependent status without exhibiting inflection (as already established) because they are invariable. I have repeated their parsing simply to exercise the beginner in it: things must be judged by their purposes, but probably some carping critic will come across this and exclaim, 'What is this hotchpotch!?'.

16.5 Having finished with the direct object pronoun which is bound to its operator, the author now turns to the pronoun which is free from its operator, i.e. the one which may precede its operator or occur after *'illā 'except* or its synonyms; and the free pronoun comprises twelve also.

16.501 (1) the pronoun of the first person singular, e.g. when you say *iyyāya 'akramtu 'me I have honoured*', where *iyyā* is a preposed direct object, free from the verb, and with dependent status through *'akrama*
him see'), (c) by not distinguishing direct and indirect objects, e.g. *saraqtuhu l-farasa* 'I stole the horse from him'. Types (a) and (b) can combine to form trebly transitive structures, e.g. *'aC̱amtu̱hu zaydan nārīman* 'I informed him that Zayd was sleeping' (cf. 10.66).

16.311 (1) The occurrence of dependent forms in isolation (a modern survival is *'ahlan wa-sahlan* 'welcome') led naturally to the assumption that they were operated upon by elided verbs. Many cases were treated not as direct objects but as other dependent qualifiers, e.g. the absolute object (v. 17.7) and the circumstantial qualifier (v. 19.8), while for the space/time qualifier in non-verbal sentences a verbal operator is assumed in the underlying form (9.74). Two prominent examples of direct objects with implicit operators are the vocative (ch. 23, and cf. 16.6 n 2), and dep. adjectives in suspended concord (11.6). Generally the analysis revolves around two problems: what is the class of object (direct, absolute etc.) and is the elision of the verb compulsory or optional. See Jum. 295; *Muf.* #60; 16.503 n 1.

16.312 (1) Direct objects may also be operated upon by the verbal noun (*maṣādar*, 17.0) and agent noun (*ism al-fāC̱il*, cf. 10.34 n 1), e.g. *lawlā dafCU llāhi n-nās* 'were it not for God's holding back the people' (v. 7.11), with *an-nās* as direct object of the verbal noun *dafCU* 'holding back', *dikrī 'iyyāki* 'my thinking of you' (24.54, with free object pronoun, 16.504), *yā tāliC̱an jaban* 'O climber of a mountain' (23.45). Cf. 24.31 n 1 on paraphrases by means of subjective or objective genitive. The dep. form with agent nouns is held to imply the same meaning as the imperfect tense (thus *'anā qātilun ġulāmaka* means 'I am going to kill your slave-boy', *'aqtulu ġulāmaka*) while annexation gives the noun adjectival meaning (/'anā gātilu ġulāmika 'I am the one who killed your slave-boy'). *Jum.* 95; *Muf.* #345; Nöldeke 75; 16.512 n 1.

(2) The text has *an-nūn...li-jamC̱C̱an-niswa* 'the n is for the fem. plur.' (also in 7.57, 7.62, 16.307), and in view of the historical difficulties (7.57 n 1) it is transcribed exactly as realized, either *nna* or *na* as required. Cf. also 3.241 n 1.

16.4 (1) See 5.81 n 3 on 'status', *mabhāl*, and observe that here, too the notion of status is closely tied to the fact of invariability, *binā*, q.v. 1.41 n 4.

(2) 'Hotchpotch' renders the oxymoron *al-gattu s-samīnu*, lit. 'thin meat, fat meat', an echo of the cliché *fī-l-kalāmi l-gattu wa-s-samīnu* 'speech can be thin or meaty' (Lane, s.v. *gatt*, and cf. Ibn Kalūn, *Mugaddima*, ed. Beirut 1967, I, 786).

16.5 (1) Here are some genuine examples to make up for the wholly artificial series to follow: S. 1 v 5, *'iyyāka naC̱budu wa-'iyyāka nastāC̱īnu* 'Thee we worship and Thee we call upon for help'; S. 17 v 67, *man tadC̱ūna *'illā *'iyyāhu* 'those whom you call upon except him'.


16.501 (1) It is tempting to expect the object suffix of the 1st person sing. to be *nī* (16.301), but instead we find *ya*, evidently the
'to honour', not exhibiting inflection because it is a pronoun. The ya is a particle denoting the first person singular, and 'akramtu 'I honoured' is a verb and agent;

16.502 (2) the pronoun of the first person plural or plural of self-magnification, namely 'iyyā, as in 'iyyānā 'akramtu 'us I have honoured', where 'iyyā is a preposed direct object, free from the verb, and with dependent status through 'akrama 'to honour', not exhibiting inflection because it is a pronoun. The suffixed nā is a marker of the first person plural or plural of self-magnification, and 'akramtu 'I honoured' is parsed as before;

16.503 (3) the pronoun of the second person masculine singular, namely 'iyyā, as in 'iyyāka 'akramtu 'you I have honoured', where 'iyyā is a preposed direct object, free from the verb, and with dependent status through 'akrama 'to honour'. The suffixed (53a) ka is a particle denoting the second person, and 'akramtu 'I honoured' is parsed as before;

16.504 (4) the pronoun of the second person feminine singular, as in 'iyyāki 'akramtu 'you I have honoured', where 'iyyā is a preposed direct object, free from the verb, and with dependent status through 'akrama 'to honour'. The ki (with i after the k) suffixed to 'iyyā is a particle of the second person, and 'akramtu 'I honoured' is parsed as before;

16.505 (5) the pronoun of the second person dual, whether masculine or feminine, namely 'iyyā, as in 'iyyākumā 'akramtu 'you two I have honoured', where the parsing of 'iyyā is as before. The ku denotes the
same as the possessive suffix allomorph ya (see next note). This is consistent, however, with the Arab view that the n of nī is not part of the pronoun (cf. 16/301 n 1), as well as with their (intuitive?) realization that 'īyyā is certainly not a verb (see 16.504 n 2). For Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 281, Synt. Verh. 394, there is no question that the elements suffixed to 'īyyā are possessive ('genitive') pronouns.

(2) After long vowels and diphthongs the possessive suffix ʾmy' is realized as ya, see examples in 23.62.

16.502 (1) It is so here, but 'īyyā and suffix occur in contexts where it is apparent that they have independent function, e.g. ʾaqūlu hiya 'īyyāḥā 'I say that she is' (lit. 'that she is she'), ʾanta l-maʿniyyu wa-ʾiyyāka turādū 'you are the one meant and you are intended', and cf. the interesting variant of the Qur’anic verse quoted in 16.5 n 1: 'īyyāka tuḥādū 'Thou art worshipped', with passive verb tuḥādū (these and other examples collected and discussed by Fischer, Islamica 5, 211).

(2) See 7.52 n 1 on the pluralis majestatis, here expressed as taʾẓīm '(self-)magnification' to contrast with mušāraka 'association with others', i.e. the normal plural.

16.503 (1) In 26.96 ʾaš-Širbīnī says 'iyyāka 'an taẓunna... 'beware of thinking...', using 'iyyāka as a warning (tabḥīr). Here it is followed by a subordinate clause (but with noun status: 5.41), but a common pattern is to follow it with a dependent noun prefixed with wa 'and', e.g. 'iyyāka wa-l-ʾasada 'watch out for the lion!' (a variety perhaps of the 'object of accompaniment', but cf. 25.6 n 1). These dependent forms are always explained by the Arabs as due to an elided verbal operator, compulsorily elided in the case of 'īyyāka (which is another way of saying that the construction has acquired proverbial status and is no longer productive). Other expressions of warning with dep. nouns are frequent (e.g. ʾaḵāka ʾaḵāka 'your brother! your brother!', in 13.11), and the main problem is to decide whether 'īyyāka is, in fact, a dependent form or an old exclamatory form (cf. 25.1 n 2) which fell together with the dependent forms: see Fischer, Islamica 5, 225; cf. 16.311 n 1.

16.504 (1) Another example of 'iyyāki in 24.54, dīkī 'iyyāki 'my thinking of you', this time direct object of a verbal noun (16.312 n 1).

(2) Seven different explanations of the status of 'iyyā and its suffixes are offered in Inṣāf, prob. 98. Those who make 'iyyā the pronoun itself are rebutted on two grounds: first it is annexed to its suffixes (proved by the nominal suffix form of the 1st person ya, q.v. 16.501), and pronouns cannot be annexed to other elements; second if 'iyyā is a pronoun why does it need to be specified by suffixes? This is incompatible with the function of pronouns (11.718 n 2). Those who treat the whole compound as the pronoun are avoiding the issue, while those who take the second element to be the pronoun leave 'iyyā thereby unexplained, nor can they thus account for 'iyyāyā!

16.505 (1) See 16.305 n 1 on transliteration and translation problems.
second person, \( mā \) is the marker of the dual, and the parsing of ‘akramtu ‘I honoured’ is as before;\(^2\)

16.506 (6) the pronoun of the second person masculine plural, namely ‘iyyā, as in ‘iyyākum ‘akramtu ‘you I have honoured’, where the parsing of ‘iyyā and ‘akramtu ‘I honoured’ is as before. The \( kū \) is a particle denoting the second person, and the \( m \) is the marker of the masculine plural;\(^2\)

16.507 (7) the pronoun of the second person feminine plural, namely ‘iyyā, as in ‘iyyākunna ‘akramtu ‘you I have honoured’, where the parsing of ‘iyyā and ‘akramtu ‘I honoured’ is as before. The \( kū \) suffixed to ‘iyyā is a particle denoting the second person, and the ‘\( nna ‘ is a marker of the feminine plural;\(^2\)

16.508 (8) the pronoun of the third person masculine singular, namely ‘iyyā, as in ‘iyyāhu ‘akramtu ‘him I have honoured’, where the parsing of ‘iyyā and ‘akramtu ‘I honoured’ is as before. The \( hū ‘ is suffixed to ‘iyyā is the marker of the third person masculine singular;\(^1\)

16.509 (9) the pronoun of the third person feminine singular, namely ‘iyyā, as in ‘iyyāhā ‘akramtu ‘her I have honoured’, where the parsing of ‘iyyā and ‘akramtu ‘I honoured’ is as before. The \( hā ‘ suffixed to ‘iyyā is the marker of the third person feminine singular;\(^2\)

16.510 (10) the pronoun of the third person dual, whether masculine or feminine, namely ‘iyyā, as in ‘iyyāhumā ‘akramtu ‘them both I have honoured’, where the parsing of ‘iyyā and ‘akramtu ‘I honoured’ is as before. The \( hū ‘ is the marker of the third person, and the \( mā ‘ is the marker of the dual;\(^1\)
(2) Note that there is no general restriction on suffixation in terms of person: 1st person verb with 1st person suffix is possible, e.g.  
\[ \text{kiltunī liyam smun} \] 'I imagined myself to have a name' (10,63), \[ \text{'ajidunī fī ḥayaratin} \] 'I find myself at a loss' etc. A famous Qur'anic example, S. 12 v 36: \[ \text{'innī 'arānī... 'verily I see myself...'} \] (describing the contents of a dream).

16.506 (1) Another example is in 12.41: \[ \text{'innā 'aw 'iyyākum 'verily we, or you...'} \], avoiding the repetition of \[ \text{'inna 'verily'} \] (because it does not sound natural in the interior of a clause?).

(2) Two minor aspects of pronoun suffixation can be pointed out here:
(a) after 2nd plur. masc. past tense ū is inserted between agent and object suffix, e.g. katabtūmu ḥu 'you wrote it' (cf. 10.66 n 2), and (b) after 2nd sing. fem. past tense the ī which marks the fem. agent is occasionally lengthened, e.g. katabīthi 'you wrote it' (note also vowel harmony, 13.6 n 9); this lengthening is doubtless a survival of the Proto-Semitic original (Moscati ##137, 141).

16.507 (1) Instead of 'fem. n' (16.312 n 2), the text has here an-nūn al-mušaddada, lit. 'the tied n', referring to the convention by which doubled consonants are indicated diacritically, see 24.23 n 2.

(2) Doubly transitive verbs (16.310 n 1) may take double object pronoun suffixes, e.g. \[ \text{aCṭānāhi} \] 'he gave me it', under the general rule that 1st precedes 2nd precedes 3rd person (so 'he gave me to him' should be \[ \text{aCṭāhu 'iyyāya} \]); other examples, \[ \text{anṣādanīhimā} \] 'he recited them both to me' (Kitāb I, 437), yūClimukahu 'he informs you of it' (id. 248).

16.508 (1) Bravmann's theory for the origin of \[ \text{'iyyā} \] (J.S.S. 16, 50): it has detached itself from the double object suffix, thus \[ \text{aCṭāniyahu} \] (with archaic niya for nī) 'he gave me it' split into \[ \text{aCṭāni - yāhu} \], and the second element became free-standing as \[ \text{'iyyāhu} \].

16.509 (1) Here ḥā is spelt out in full: normally only h is named as the pronoun (e.g. 16.309, though transcribed as ḥā for convenience, and cf. 9.42 n 1 on segmentation of huwa 'he', hiya 'she').

(2) One type of apparent direct object occurs through 'latitude of speech' (saCṭat al-kalām, 18.1 n 4), and involves space/time qualifiers, e.g. allāḏī surtuḥu yawmu l-jumCṭāti 'what I travelled was Friday' for sirtu fihi 'travelled on (it)', and, with agent noun, yā sāriɡa l-laylati 'O thief of the night', i.e. 'in the night'; through the same 'latitude' these objects may become agents of passive verbs, v. 8.0 n 4. Muf. #66.

16.510 (1) Inversion (taqdīm wa-ta'kīr, 'advancing and retarding', cf. 2.13 n 1) is possible in two ways: (a) simple inversion, e.g. zaydan ḏarabtu 'Zayd I struck' (especially common in questions, e.g. \[ \text{a-zaydan ḏarabta} \] 'Zayd did you strike!?') (b) inversion with pronoun on the verb, e.g. zaydan ḏarabtu 'Zayd I struck': this is a variety of the nominal sentence with complex predicate (9.75) where the dep. form of zaydan is allowed \[ \text{zalā šariṭat at-tafsīr} \] 'on condition of explanation', i.e. that the object pronoun suffix should explain the function of the
16.511 (11) the pronoun of the third person masculine plural, namely 'iyyā, as in 'iyyāhum 'akramtu 'them I have honoured', where the parsing of 'iyyā and 'akramtu 'I honoured' is as before. The hu is the marker of the third person, and the m is the marker of the masculine plural;¹

16.512 (12) the pronoun of the third person feminine plural, namely 'iyyā, as in (53b) 'iyyāhunna 'akramtu 'them I have honoured', where the parsing of 'iyyā and 'akramtu 'I honoured' is as before. The hu is the marker of the third person, and the nna is the marker of the feminine plural.¹

16.6 In all the above examples the agent has independent status through 'akrama 'to honour'. Having finished with the direct object,¹ which is the first of the dependent elements, the author now turns to the second of them, to wit the absolute object.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

17.0 Chapter on the verbal noun.¹ The author defines it is a way which makes it easier for the beginner by saying:

17.1 The verbal noun is the dependent element which comes third in conjugating the parts of the verb.¹ Thus, if someone says to you, 'Conjugate the parts of the verb ārama "to strike"', you would reply,
preposed dep. form, v. Muf. #62.

16.511 (1) Attraction may occur when a noun occurs after a direct object, e.g. ḏarabtu ṭayyān wa-ʤamran marātu bihi 'I struck Zayd and ġamr I passed by', where ġamr, though not a direct object (marra operates through bi), has dep. form by attraction; the phenomenon has acquired the name ištīqāl 'preoccupation'. A related type of attraction occurs when a noun is both object of one verb and agent of another in the same sentence, e.g. ḏarabnī wā-ʤarabtu ṭayyān of which the English passive gives the best reproduction: 'I was struck by, and struck Zayd'. The term tanāzu 'mutual struggle, competition' is used for this circumstance. Alf. v 278; Qaṭr 200, 210.

16.512 (1) Object pronouns may also be suffixed to agent nouns and verbal nouns (16.312 n 1), though out of context qaṭluhu 'his killing' is ambiguous, as the agent may also be suffixed. Where both agent and object are present only the former is usually suffixed, the object being expressed either as a free object pronoun (qaṭluhu 'iyyāhu) or by the paraphrase with li (qaṭluhu lahu, cf. 24.31 n 1). It is seldom that more than one pronoun is suffixed to the verbal noun (see examples in Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 284), though an anonymous and late grammar does offer the ludicrous min 'iṣṭā'īhi hāhu 'at his giving him it', with three suffixes, two written separately! (Carter, Arabica 26, 271).

16.6 (1) Patient noun, ʾism al-mafūl, as a form class: 10.34 n 1.

(2) Not universally: the order varies according to the ideas of the grammarian. For az-Zamaṣṣarī the absolute object (ch. 17) has first place; the vocative (ch. 23) is treated by Ibn Ḥiṣām as a subdivision of the direct object.

17.0 (1) Jum. 44; Muf. #39; Alf. v 286; Qaṭr 240; Beeston 89; Fleisch 177; Nöldeke 35. On maṣdar 'verbal noun' see 24.21 n 1.

17.1 (1) 'Conjugating the parts' reproduces the schoolbook flavour of the term taṣrīf: its broader meaning is the derivation of all possible forms, nominal and verbal, from a given root (cf. 10.3; Muf. ##368, 482; Fleisch, Tr. #145p n 1), hence ʾaṣar for 'morphology' in general (cf. 1.01 n 2). Versteegh 64 suggests Greek origins (klisis or ptosis) but without proof (though it is true that ʾaṣar and its derivatives are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary, v. Troupeau, Lex.-Index root ʾa-r-f). There are two sets of terminology, the morphological set ʾaṣar-ṭaṣrīf-ṭaṣarruf ('process of being conjugated'), and the cognate
'dāraba, yādribu, dārban' ('he struck, he strikes, a striking'), hence dārban 'act of striking' is a verbal noun because it comes third in conjugating the parts of the verb (dāraba 'he struck' being the first, yādribu 'he strikes' being the second and dārban 'act of striking' the third).

17.2 You should know that the verbal noun occurs in three ways: (a) independent, as in 'aṭajabāni dār buka 'your striking amazed me', where aṭajaba 'amazed' is a past tense verb, n is the 'preserving n', I 'me' is a direct object with dependent status through aṭajaba 'amazed', and dār buka 'your striking' is an agent made independent by aṭajaba, with the ka 'your' (masc. sing.) being what it is annexed to; (b) oblique, as in aṭajibtu min dār bika 'I was amazed at your striking', and (c) dependent, which is the topic of this chapter.3

17.3 Note: The author could just as easily have said 'Chapter on the absolute object' instead of 'Chapter on the verbal noun', since the verbal noun is not infrequently independent and oblique (as illustrated above), in addition to being dependent as an absolute object, which is what the author really means by 'verbal noun' here.

17.4 It (i.e. the verbal noun which is dependent as an absolute object) is the noun which is congruent with the verb, not as in iḥtasāla guslān 'he bathed himself with a wash', tawaḍḍa'a wudū' an 'he made ablution with a ritual washing', or ʾuḍṭiyā ṣatā' an 'he was given a gift': these are synonyms of verbal nouns, not true verbal nouns, because they are not congruent (54a) with their verbs (the first has as its regularly derived verbal noun al-iḥtisālu 'the act of washing', the second has at-tawaḍḍu'u 'the act of ritual ablution' and the third has al-ʾiḍṭā'u 'the act of giving').

17.5 Now the verbal noun is of two kinds, (a) formal, i.e. the kind whose constituent letters agree both in form and meaning with those of the verb, and (b) abstract.1
series ʿaraf-mutaṣarraf-munṣarif, denoting the syntactic freedom of the fully inflected noun (see 18.4), the bifurcation as yet unexplained.

(2) Though third in sequence, the verbal noun is held by the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) to be the origin of all verbs (it is logically prior because it denotes an event without time). The 'Kūfans' base their expected counterview on the fact that phonological weaknesses in the verb are reproduced in the masdar (Insāf, prob. 28).

17.2 (1) 'Ways' here is 'anwāʿ, lit. 'sorts', but used evidently as an arbitrary synonym of wajh 'mode' (22.4 n 1) or ḥāla 'state' (11.2 n 1).

(2) See 16.301 on the 'preserving n', and note that here the verb must be translated as a past stem rather than infinitive (see 7.51 n 1). The verbal noun here has independent function as agent (cf. noun phrase with 'anna, 7.02), but can also function as subject of an equational sentence, e.g. ʿarabuka muntazarun 'your blow is expected' (cf. 9.02). The translation 'your striking' assumes the subjective genitive, but the objective genitive 'the striking of you' is also possible (16.512 n 1). Verbal noun as inverted subject, 12.51.

17.3 (1) 'Absolute object', mafūl mutlaq, is indeed the most common name for this function of the verbal noun; see 16.1 on mafūl, and cf. 11.717, 12.1 for mutlaq in other contexts. Köbert, op. cit. 16.11 n 2, 330, plausibly suggests that mutlaq here is not '(logically) absolute' but literally 'free to be object of any verb', transitive or not (17.53).

17.4 (1) 'congruent with the verb' renders al-jārī ʿalā l-fi ʿalā, lit. 'which runs according to the verb'; the verb jarā and its derivatives have been used from the first to describe linguistic processes both in themselves and as actions performed by the speaker, cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, root j-r-y. See also 17.51 n 1.

17.5 (1) Note the dichotomous classification (cf. 1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on the opposition between 'formal' (lafz) and 'abstract' (maḥnawī). 'Constituent letters' translates ḥurūf, plur. of ḥarāf,
17.51 If its form agrees with that of its verb it is the formal kind, e.g. gätaltuhu qatlan 'I killed him with a killing'. Here qatlan 'act of killing' is a formal verbal noun because it shares the same constituent letters and meaning as qatala 'to kill', and is made dependent by qatala as an absolute object.

17.52 If it agrees with its verb in meaning but not in form it is the abstract kind, e.g. jälastu qu'cūdān 'I sat down with a squatting action', qumtu wuqūfan 'I rose with a standing action'. Here qu'cūdān 'act of squatting' and wuqūfan 'act of standing' are dependent verbal nouns of the abstract type because they agree in meaning but not in form with jalasa 'to sit' and qāma to stand', and both are made dependent by jalasa and qāma respectively as absolute objects.

17.53 Note: The author's illustration of the formal type with a transitive verb and the abstract type with an intransitive verb is simply for the sake of clarity, not to imply any special peculiarity: both types are made dependent both by transitive and intransitive verbs, so that you may say, with the formal kind, darabtuhu darban 'I struck him with a striking action' and farihtu farahan 'I rejoiced with a rejoicing action', and with the abstract kind, qa'cādūt julūsan 'I squatted with a sitting action' and 'ahbābštuhu migātān 'I loved him with a fondness'.

17.54 The division of the verbal noun into formal and abstract follows al-Māzīnī, who asserts that the abstract verbal noun is made dependent by the accompanying verb. But others maintain that the abstract verbal noun is made dependent by an implicit verb of the same form, so that in
'particle, element, letter', q.v. 1.25 n 2; 'consonantal phonemes' could perhaps have been used for 'letters', or even 'radicals' (cf. 5.1 n 2), but it is not certain how far below the surface structure the Arab analysis intends to delve.

17.51 (1) While in 17.4 a morphological criterion is applied, the distinction here is purely lexical: both the verb and the absolute object have the same lafāz 'form' (i.e. stem, cf. 3.65 n 9), contrast the next paragraph.

(2) Perhaps 'I killed him dead' would sound more natural, but would not then reproduce the Arabic structure: rather 'dead' would correspond to a circumstantial qualifier (cf. gatalahu ʂabran 'he killed him in bonds', 24.52).

17.52 (1) Unlike Stems IV-X (q.v. 10.34 n 1), the verbal noun patterns of Stems I-III are not wholly predictable. Stem I verbal nouns range over a very large number of patterns (44 in Wright I, 110, cf. also Muf. #331; Fleisch 109), but only five are common: faqāl (gatalun 'killing'), faqāla (gasamun 'swearing', 1.71 n 2), faqāla (malāḥatun 'being pretty'), fuquūl (wugāfun 'standing') and fuquūla (quṣubatun 'being difficult'). Stem II has mostly taqāḍila (tankirun 'making undefined'), but 3rd weak rad. roots and a few odd cases have taqāḍila (tarbiyatun 'bringing up'), tajribatun 'experiment'. Stem III has mostly muqācila (muqātalatun 'combat'), less often fiqāl (qitālun 'combat').

17.53 (1) On mutaqaddī 'transitive' and lāzīm 'intransitive' see 16.309 n 1, and note that in the present passage qāsir 'falling short' occurs as a synonym of lāzīm. Only the direct object, mafūl biḥ, in fact requires a transitive verb as operator, and since mafūl is used for various other verbal complements, 'object' is retained in the translation in spite of Köbert's reservations, q.v. 16.11 n 2.

(2) It goes without saying that passive verbs may operate upon anything except a direct object (8.0): here with absolute objects, futila fātolan 'it was twisted with a twisting', i.e. firmly, tubbirubatun 'they were crumbled with a crumbling' (examples after Reckendorf, Ar. Syn. 82). The Qur'anic example in 13.14, dukkat il-’ardu dakkban dakkban 'the earth was crushed with a crushing' also shows a passive verb operating on an absolute object.

(3) On the medial vowel alternation between darabtu and fariḥtu see 10.22 n 2; 'ahbabtu 'I loved' is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) derivative of a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), whose 2nd and 3rd radicals assimilate when the latter is followed by a vowel ('ahhabba 'he loved') but otherwise remain dissimilated, as here; migatun is from a 1st rad. w root w-m-q, and the w is regularly lost in certain nominal forms (see 3.412 n 9) and the imperfect tense and imperative verbs of Stem I (10.67 n 1).

17.54 (1) Abū .getUserId(222) al-Māzinī, d. 863, is an important, but shadowy transitional figure between the earliest grammarians and such better known grammarians as his own pupil, al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1). Almost nothing survives of his works outside some substantial contributions in
jalastu qṵūdan 'I sat down with a squatting action' there is an implicit *jalastu wa-qaḍatu qṵūdan 'I sat down and squatted with a squatting action'. According to this view the verbal noun is always of the formal type, but the former opinion is more self-evident.  

17.6 Other elements indicating the verbal noun may replace it and take dependent form themselves as absolute objects:

17.61 (1) an adjective, as in sīrtu 'aḥsana s-saɣrī 'I travelled with the best of travelling', where the antecedent of the adjective has been elided because it is sufficiently indicated by having the adjective annexed to that same word, and the adjective then replaces the verbal noun and takes its dependent form;

17.62 (2) an expression indicating the number of the verbal noun, as in dārabtuhu ɣaʃara darbātin 'I struck him with ten strikings', where ɣaʃara 'ten' replaces the verbal noun. (54b) Likewise the Qur’anic fa-jiːlidūhum tamanīna jaldatan 'scourge them with eighty scourgings', whose original form3 is *fa-jiːlidūhum jalda tamanīna 'scourge them with a scourging, eighty': the verbal noun has then been elided and replaced by tamanīna 'eighty', with jaldatan 'scourging' being a 'specifying element'.

17.63 (3) an expression indicating the instrument, e.g. dārabtuhu sawtān 'I struck him with a whip' or ɣaʃan 'with a stick', or any like things with which blows are commonly known to be struck.

17.64 (4) kullun 'all' or its synonyms, annexed to the verbal noun, as in the Qur’anic fa-lā tamlīl kullu l-mayli 'so do not incline with a
phonology and morphology (largely preserved by Ibn Jinnī), yet he has been called the greatest grammarian since Sībawayhi (G.A.L. I, 168 and Suppl., and cf. R.A.K. al-"Ubaydī, Ābū Īṭmān al-Māzinī wa-mağhabuh fī-ṣ-ṣarf wa-n-nahw, Baghdad 1969).

(2) The former opinion being that attributed above to al-Māzinī, though this whole paragraph is, as might be expected, taken from al-Azhari, this time Āj. 82. The reference cannot be traced directly to al-Māzinī, and suspicion is in any case aroused by the fact that al-Mubarrad is silent both about al-Māzinī and this theory in the relevant parts of the Muqtaṣāb (esp. I, 73).

17.6 (1) Except for the type set out in 17.63, these elements are all annexed to the verbal noun: the resulting compound functions as a single element, cf. 26.91 n 1. On 'replace' see 17.61 n 2, and cf. 18.34 for the same phenomenon with space/time qualifiers.

17.61 (1) See 20.42 n 3 on the syntax of the superlative.

(2) The analysis assumes an underlying *sirtu sayran 'ahṣana sayrin '*I travelled a travelling, the best of travelling'. 'Replacing' here is nāba, lit. 'to stand in place of, deputize', used for allomorphs in 3.0, and for the agent of the passive verb in 8.0.

17.62 (1) Note that ġarbātin is sound fem. plur. (3.23): the fem. form of the verbal noun denotes individual (countable) actions, whence it is termed ism al-marra 'the noun of time' ('nomen vicis' makes clear which sense of the word 'time' is involved!). The distinction between the class of action (masc.) and the number of times (fem.) could hardly be better observed than in the treatment of the Qur’anic verse next quoted (but see below, n 4 on the reason for the fem. sing.). See 17.7 n 3.

(2) S. 24 v 4. Note the juncture feature in the imperative verb (q.v. 5.2 n 3, 13.12 n 1). See further n 4.

(3) 'Original form' is 'āsl, q.v. 8.2 n 3.

(4) After the numbers from 11 to 99 the counted noun has undefined dep. sing. form (contrast the undefined obl. sound fem. plur. after '10' above, and see further 20.21-22), and is analysed as a structurally redundant 'specifying element' (20.0), hence jaldatan does not appear in the reconstructed underlying form. Decades are used in this example to point up the functional difference between the two dependent forms, verbal noun and specifying element (cf. 18.31).

17.63 (1) Here the replacement element does not have the form of an annexation unit, but one still must be assumed, scil. ġarabtuḥu ġarba sawṭin '*I struck him the striking of a whip'. Cf. 2.5 on ġaṣan, which follows the behaviour of fatan (though its 3rd rad. is w). 'Instrument' is āla: there is a morphological category ism al-'āla 'the noun of instrument', with the patterns mif'āl, mif'āl, e.g. miṭbāk 'oven', miṭṭāḥ 'key', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36.

17.64 (1) See 13.4 on kull and its synonyms; the other corroboratives nafs and āyn (13.31) behave similarly. Cf. also 18.32.
total inclining',² where kulla 'all' is an absolute object replacing an elided verbal noun, the original form being *fa-lā tamīlū maylan kulla l-mayli 'so do not incline with an inclining, with all inclining'.

17.65 (5) baḍūn 'some' or its synonyms,¹ annexed to the verbal noun, as in the Qur'anic wa-law tagawwala Calaynā baḍa l-'aqāwîli 'and if he were to speak against us with some sayings',² where baḍa 'some' is an absolute object replacing an elided verbal noun, the original form being *wa-law tagawwala Calaynā gawlan baḍa l-'aqāwîli 'and if he were to speak against us with a saying, some sayings'. I have dealt with this topic at length in my Commentary on Qatr an-nadā³ in more detail than a short work such as this will bear.

17.7 Supplementary Note: The grammarians¹ agree that the operator of a non-corroborative verbal noun may be elided if sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse,² for example, when someone says mā jalasta 'you have not sat down', and this is answered by balā julūsan ʿawlan 'on the contrary, a lengthy sitting down' or balā jalsatayni 'on the contrary, two sittings down'.³ It may also be elided if sufficiently indicated by the context of situation, for example, when you say to someone who is arriving from a journey, qūdūman mutārakān 'a blessed arrival'.⁴

17.71 As for the corroborative verbal noun,¹ Ibn Mālik said in his Commentary on the Kāfiyā² that its operator may not be elided because the verbal noun here only occurs for the purpose of reinforcing the operator and affirming its meaning, both of which are incompatible with elision. In this he was opposed by his son.³

17.8 Having finished with the second of the dependent elements,¹ the author next turns to the third and fourth of them, namely the object of...
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(2) S. 4 v 129; see 5.76 on apocopated verbs after la of prohibition, 10.23 n 2 on hollow verbs (tamilū/mayl have root m-y-l, unrelated to root m-w-l, denominative from māl 'wealth').

17.65 (1) Synonyms of baçd are fractions, cf. 18.32. From its use in qāla baçdhum 'some (or one) of them said' etc., baçd has developed a reciprocal function, e.g. qāla baçdhum li-baçdin 'some said to others' i.e. 'they said to each other'. Cf. Yushmanov 33, Fleisch, Tr. #118j.

(2) S. 69 v 44; see next note for comments.

(3) The work is lost, but al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 328, may be consulted instead. In his own Qur'ān Commentary (IV, 323), aš-Širbīnī says nothing about the grammar of this verse, except to remark that 'aqāwil is a double plural (cf. 3.221 n 2): it is the plur. of 'aqwāl, itself the plur. of qawl 'a saying', and belongs to the semi-declinable class of 'extreme plural patterns' (3.89 (1)). On tagawwalla, Stem V of a hollow verb, cf. 8.73 n 1.

17.7 (1) 'Grammarians' is nahwiyyūn (also nuḥāh), plur. of nahwī, in the earliest stages simply 'one who concerned himself with the way people speak' (nahw, 1.02 n 1), finally 'grammarian' as grammar evolved into a self-conscious discipline under the influence of other sciences and cultures (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 76).

(2) 'Sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse' translates li-dalīl maqālī, lit. 'because of a pointer related to the discourse' (maqāla 'a saying' with gentilic suffix Ĩ, 11.721 n 4). Cf. 19.8 n 1.

(3) The 'noun of time' (ism al-marra, 17.62 n 1) usually has the pattern faclā, hence jalsatayni 'two acts of sitting', even though the verbal noun itself may have a different pattern, here fuclū (cf. 17.52 n 1). Balā 'on the contrary' is related to bal 'nay', q.v. 12.7.

(4) Reconstructed as *qadimta gudūman mubārakān '*may you arrive with a blessed arriving' (see 14.34 n 3 on optative verb). Many greetings fall into this category, cf. 16.31 n 1, also Muf. #41.

17.71 (1) An example is dukkat il-’ardu dakkan dakkan 'the earth is crushed with a crushing, a crushing', quoted in 13.14, where both the verbal nouns are absolute objects.

(2) The Kāfiya in question is Ibn Mālik's own, on which he wrote a commentary entitled al-Wāfiya 'The Copious' (G.A.L. I, 300), and see 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. Neither is published, but the reference in any case is taken from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 329. Cf. Alf. v 291.

(3) Badr ad-Dīn Muhammad, died 1287 (G.A.L. I, 300), wrote commentaries on several of his father's works, as well as on the more famous Kāfiya of Ibn al-Hājib (q.v. 12.912 n 3). The reference here is not traced, but see previous note for aš-Širbīnī's source. Such expressions as innamā 'anta sayran sayran 'you are nothing but travel travel' strongly support Badr ad-Dīn (and cf. Muqtadab III, 228).

17.8 (1) Agent nouns and verbal nouns themselves may be qualified by an
18.0 Chapter on the time-qualifier and space-qualifier. Both are termed the 'object of location', though al-Kisā’ī and his followers call these qualifiers 'adjectives' (but let us not quarrel about that!). The author begins with the time-qualifier.

18.1 The time-qualifier is the noun of time that is made dependent with the implicit meaning of *fī* 'in' (the space/time qualifier *fī*), thus excluding the rest of the objects, because the power exercised by their operators is not from the meaning of *fī* 'in'. 'Systematically' must be added to the definition, to exclude cases irregularly containing the meaning of *fī* 'in', namely nouns made dependent by latitude of speech, e.g. *dakaltu* d-dāra 'I went in the house', *sakantu* l-bayta 'I lived in the home' (55a) for their dependence is due to the latitude of omitting the particle of obliqueness, not to their being space-qualifiers: note that other verbs do not regularly behave transitively towards *ad-dāru* 'the house' and *al-bayta* 'the home', and you do not say *ṣallaytu* d-dāra 'I prayed the house' or *nimtu* l-bayta 'I slept the home'.

18.101 Having introduced us to the time-qualifier to us, the author now proceeds to mention twelve expressions of this category which it is

location, known as the 'time-qualifier' and 'space-qualifier'.

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absolute object, e.g. *murtaqiyyatun 'aC'lä l-irtiqā'i* lit. 'rising the highest rising', i.e. 'highly progressive' (the absolute object here is displaced by an annexed elative, exactly as in 17.61).

18.0 (1) Jum. 45; Muf. #64; Alf. v 303; Qaṭr 246; Beeston 88; Fleisch 179; Yushmanov 61; NLoldeke 35. Terminology: al-mafCūl fīh 'that in which the action is done' ('object of location' is intended to imply location in both space and time, cf. Kitāb I, 16, where waqt 'point' refers to both); zarf zamān lit. 'container of time', zarf makān lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1.

(2) The reference is from al-Azharī, Ṭaṣr. I, 337; al-Kisā'I, died 805, was the master of al-Farrā' (1.21 n 2) and a legendary opponent of Sībawayhi (0.1 n 1), G.A.L. I, 115, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Kisā'I. Cf. Inšāf, prob. 6 for his and other 'Kūfan' terminology.

(3) Al-Azharī (loc. cit.) has made a pun here: ʾiṣṭilāḥ can mean 'making peace' or 'agreeing on technical terms' (cf. 1.1 n 2).

18.1 (1) 'With the implicit meaning of fī "in"' renders bi-taḏḏīrī fī (cf. 2.101 n 1 on taḏḏīr), i.e. al-yawma 'today' is to be understood as *fī l-yawmi 'in this day' (asterisked because the prepositional paraphrase almost never occurs). On fī see further 1.705.

(2) 'Power exercised' is literal for tasalluṭ (denominative from sulṭān 'power, authority, Sultan'), an interesting, and coincidental parallel to the Western notion of grammatical 'governance', cf. 2.11 n 1.

(3) 'Systematically' renders bi-ṭṭirād, lit. 'uniformly, continuously', and commonly applied to generalizations and their applicability (cf. qiyyās muṭṭarīd 'a generally valid analogy').

(4) 'Latitude' is literal for tawassuC, often termed saC'a ('width', same root w-s-C as tawassuC), and undoubtedly an early borrowing from law (cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index for many examples in Sībawayhi). The present case has similarities with such English compounds as 'sleep-walker', 'nightwatchman', 'shoplifter', where the initial element corresponds to a space/time qualifier, contrast 'dog-catcher' etc. (cf. also 26.9).

18.101 (1) The choice of ẓarf 'container' for 'space/time qualifier' has been confidently explained as due to Greek influence by A. Merx, Historia artis grammaticae apud syros, Leipzig 1889, 146 (v. 1.705 n 2) but the precise manner in which the idea could have been transmitted
proper to make dependent as time-qualifiers: for example, (1) al-yawma 'today', i.e. from sunrise to sunset. It occurs undefined with final n, as in sumtu yawman 'I fasted for a day', defined, as in sumtu l-yawma 'I fasted today', and in annexation, as in sumtu yawma l-kaMiSi 'I fasted Thursday'. In all three examples yawma 'day' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.102 (2) al-laylata 'tonight', i.e. from sunset to dawn. It occurs undefined with final n, as in 'takaftu laylatan 'I made my devotions for a night', defined (i.e. without final n, because it is prevented from full inflection by being a feminine proper name), as in ji'tuka gudwata 'I came to you early' (without final n), and in annexation, as in 'takaftu laylatan l-jum'atI 'I made my devotions Friday night'. In all three examples laylata 'night' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.103 (3) gudwatan 'early', i.e. between morning prayer and sunrise. It is used undefined with final n, as in 'azüruka gudwat 'I shall visit you early', defined (i.e. without final n, because it is prevented from full inflection by being a feminine proper name), as in ji'tuka gudwata 'I came to you early' (without final n), and in annexation, as in ji'tuka gudwata yawmi l-kaMiSi 'I came to you early on Thursday'. In all three examples gudwata 'early' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.104 (4) bukratan 'on the morrow', i.e. the first part of the day. It occurs in the same three states and with the same parsing as gudwatan 'early'.

18.105 (5) saharan 'early in the morning', i.e. at the very end of the night. It also occurs in the same three states and with the same parsing as gudwatan 'early', but is only defined if you mean by it the
remains a mystery. The borrowing, if genuine, is also inspired, as the Greek (and Syriac) grammarians certainly had nothing to offer with their epirrhema and prothesis.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on ṣāliḥa 'proper', from the verb ṣaluḥa.

(3) The transliteration yawma is a compromise: the text reads yawm, presumably inflected with the case required by its context (so here yawμn, as subject of the sentence, scil. 'the word for "day"'), but yawma is chosen to remind the reader that it always has dependent form when functioning as a time/qualifier, defined or undefined. Other examples: 11.742; yawma annexed to sentences 2.44 n 1.

18.102 (1) There is an interesting possibility with layl of using the undefined masc. to mean 'by night', e.g. ʿtakaftu laylan 'I made my devotions by night', contrasting with the fem. sing. laylatan 'for one night' as in this paragraph. There is thus an exact parallel with the use of the masc. verbal noun to denote a class of action and the fem. to denote individual, countable acts (17.62 n 1, and cf. 11.44 n 2 on the fem. as an individualizing category). For yawm the procedure is different: yawman 'for a day' contrasts already with al-yawma 'today', and for the opposition 'by night/by day' another word has to be used, viz. nahāran (see also 18.41 n 2).

(2) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), of course, argue otherwise: they claim that space/time qualifiers are dependent through being 'different' from their antecedents (kišāf 'difference' or šarf 'divergence', cf. Inšāf, prob. 29, Carter, Arabica 20, 292). The basis of this interpretation is that elements which are structurally redundant tend to have dep. form (19.6, 20.01), especially when they are not identical with their antecedents (concord implies identity, cf. 19.5 n 2).

18.103 (1) This item is cognate with ḡadan 'tomorrow', 18.106.

(2) That nouns of time can be regarded as proper names is justifiable on formal grounds (absence of tanwin, cf. makkatu 'Mecca', and see 3.89 (4) on the semi-declinability of fem. proper names) as well as semantic grounds (ḡudwata must denote the morning of a specific day, cf. 11.72). But see 18.2 n 2.

(3) 'Final n' here and elsewhere in this chapter is preferred (in spite of the remarks in 1.4 n 1) for tanwIn because it makes the contrast between, say, ḡudwatan and ḡudwata more apparent.

(4) Note that yawmi ʿa-kamīṣi here is not a time/qualifier as it is in 18.101: the head word yawmi of the annexation construction has oblique form because ḡudwata is annexed to it (cf. 18.32).

18.104 (1) See 8.21 n 2 on ʿiqrāb in the sense of 'parsing', and 11.2 n 1 on ʿahwāl 'states'. Throughout these paragraphs ḡ-ṢirbInī is freely adapting al-ʿAzharī, Āj. 82-3, often without bothering to reproduce the entire material.

18.105 (1) See the previous note for 'states', 'parsing' and the reason for the failure to provide examples. They are predictable enough and
early morning of a specific day.

18.106 (6) **gadan** 'tomorrow', i.e. the day after the one you are in, as in 'ajī'uka **gadan** 'I shall come to you tomorrow', where **gadan** 'tomorrow' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.²

18.107 (7) **catmatan** 'at night', i.e. the first third of the night.¹ It occurs with the same three states and parsing as **gudwatan** 'early'. (55b)

18.108 (8) **sabāhan** 'in the morning', i.e. the first part of the day. It is used indefinite, as in 'ītūnī **sabāhan** 'come to me in the morning',² and in annexation, as in 'ītūnī **sabāha** yawmi l-jumātī 'come to me on Friday morning', where **sabāhan** 'in the morning' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.109 (9) **masā'an** 'in the evening', (spelt with a 'lengthened ā'), i.e. from noon to sunset. It occurs in the same way as **sabāhan** 'in the morning'.

18.110 (10) **'abadan** 'ever', which is a noun of infinite future time, as in lā 'adgulu d-dāra **'abadan** 'I shall not enter the house ever', and **'abada** l-**'abadīna** 'for ever and ever'. It is used both undefined with final n and in annexation,² as illustrated, where **'abadan** 'ever' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location. *

18.111 (11) **'amadan** 'ever', which is a noun of future time occurring in the same way as **'abadan** 'ever', mentioned above.²
need not be supplied here: instead we should note that the time qualifier in general can also occur as a prepositional phrase, e.g. bi-saḥarin 'in the morning', fī l-layli 'at night' etc.

18.106 (1) This is reduced from ḡadwan, and is cognate with ḡudwatan in 18.103. It seldom occurs in any but the undefined form given here, though the phrase fī l-ḡadī 'on (lit. 'in') the morrow' is found.

(2) Here might be mentioned the unique phrase ladun ḡudwatan 'from early in the morning': the first element of this phrase is evidently cognate with ladā (18.214 n 1), and the dep. form of ḡudwatan is due to assimilation to the structure of specifying elements, particularly of the numbers 11-99 (cf. 20.21 n 4), as if the n of ladun were a tanwin (contrast the variant ladun ḡudwatin, and cf. Nöldeke 58).

18.107 (1) Note that, in the absence of clocks, day and night are divided up into periods (and cf. the verbs in 10.11-16). By the time of aš-Širbīnī, however, these words had either lost their precision or become mere antiquarian items.

18.108 (1) Cf. 'asbaha 'to do, or be, in the morning', 10.13. (2) Verbs with 1st rad. 'a, such as 'ītūnī here (masc. plur. imperative of 'aṭā 'to come'), lose the ' under certain conditions. The principle is that the syllable 'v' reduces to 'V: this occurs often when ' is prefixed to the verb, e.g. Stem I, 1st sing. imperfect tense 'ātī ("'a'tī), imperatives 'īti ("'i'tī), 'ītū ("'i'tū) etc., Stem IV past tense 'ātaytu ("'a'taytu) etc., 1st sing. imperative tense 'ūtī ("'u'tī), imperative 'ātī ("'a'tī), 'ātū ("'a'tū) etc. (NB. 'aṭā is further complicated by being a weak 3rd rad. verb: its imperfect ends as yarmī, 4.81 n 2 (2), and its past tense as ra'ā, 10.65 n 1). Note 'aṭā with direct objects where English uses indirect objects: many verbs of motion are thus transitive in Arabic, e.g. jā'anī 'he came to me' (cf. also 5.82 n 5). Three verbs with 1st rad. ' behave as 1st rad. w verbs in the imperative only (10.38 n 1), viz. 'akala 'to eat' (kul 'eat!', etc.), 'āmara 'to order' (mur 'order!' etc.) and 'ākada 'to take' (kud 'take!' etc., see example in 23.31).

18.109 (1) Cf. 'amsā 'to do, or be, in the evening', 10.12. Moscati #15.2 cites sabāḥa masā'a 'mornings and evenings', without tanwin.

18.110 (1) Cf. 3.53, where az-Zamaṭshīrī's claim that lan denotes perpetual negation is not strengthened by the presence of 'abadan in the same sentence.

(2) A defined form, *al-'abada, is impossible, cf. 18.112 n 1.

18.111 (1) This is presumably a variant of 'abadan above: interchange of m and b in both directions is well attested (Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 232, Cantineau, Études 28, note especially bakka for 'Mecca'), but 'amadan/'abadan is not mentioned. Cf. also Fleisch, Tr. #9c.

(2) There is evidently no 'amada l-'amadīna, and our source, al-Azharī Āj. 83, can only cite 'amada d-dahri and 'amada d-dāhirīnä (cf. dahra d-dāhirīna), dahr meaning 'age, era, time' (cf. 18.113 n 1).
18.112 (12) ḫīnān 'at a time', which is a noun of vague time. It is used undefined with final n, as in qara’tu ḫīnān 'I read for a time', and in annexation, as in qara’tu ḫīnān ṭala抵达šūm ‘I read at the time the sun rose', where ḫīnān 'at a time' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.113 By and the like, the author indicates that all nouns of time similar to the above may properly take dependent form as time-qualifiers, whether they are (i) vague (i.e. those which it is improper for them to occur in answer to the questions 'when?' or 'how long?'), for example waqt 'point of time', sāغا 'moment, instant'), or (ii) particular (i.e. those which occur in answer to the question 'how long?'), for example 'usbū ’week', šahr 'month', hawl 'year', as in ṣumtu ‘usbū ’an ‘I fasted for a week', or šahran ‘for a month', or ṣawlan 'for a year').

18.2 Having finished with the time-qualifier, the author now turns to the space-qualifier: and the space-qualifier (which he defines thus) is the noun of place that is made dependent with the implicit meaning of ṭī 'in', that is, when it is a vague noun, since every vague noun may properly take dependent form as a space-qualifier.

18.201 The author now lists thirteen of them: for example (1) ‘amāma ‘in front of', synonymous with quddāma 'in front of', as in jalastu ‘amāma l-‘amīri 'I sat in front of the prince', i.e. quddāmah ‘in front of him', where ‘amāma 'in front of' is a space-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.202 (2) kalafa 'behind', the antonym of quddāma 'in front of', as in jalastu kalafaka 'I sat behind you', parsed as above.
18.112 (1) 'Noun of vague time' is ism li-zamān mubham (cf. 11.73 on mubham 'vague', also 18.113 n 1). Neither the generic article (11.741) nor the article of familiarity (11.742) can occur with this class of time qualifier: 'at the time' can only be expressed either by making hīn specific by means of a demonstrative (ff ḍalika l-hīn 'at that time') or by annexing it to a specific event, as in the example in the text (and cf. hīna'iğin 'at that time', like waqta'iğin etc., 5.43 n 1). Dep. plural 'āḥyānān means 'sometimes', and there is a plur. of the plur. (3.221 n 2), ff l-'āḥāyīnī 'at times'.

18.113 (1) Aš-Sirbīnī has conflated here the three classes of time qualifier in his source, al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 341. As listed there, we find (a) nouns of vague time (mubham, 18.112 n 1), the same as aš-Sirbīnī (to whose examples we should add mudda 'period', marra 'time, occasion', several words meaning an indefinite period, such as dahr, fatra, ʿaṣr, ʿawān, zamān etc., two words which occur only in annexation, viz. baʿda 'after', qabla 'before', cf. 18.41 n 2, and such pairs as tāratan....tāratan 'one time....another time', etc, not forgetting fawran 'immediately', ʿaydan 'also'); (b) nouns of specific time (muḥtaṣ), e.g. yawma l-kamīsī 'on Thursday', which answer the question 'when?' (this class may be closed: we can add only al-bāriḥata 'yesterday' and al-ʿānā 'now'); (c) nouns of countable time (maṣḥūd), e.g. šahran 'for a month', answering the question 'how long?' (this class is not quite closed: neologisms daqqa 'minute' and ṭāniya 'second' have been added, and the 'vague' noun sāʿa 'moment' has extended from class (a) to class (c) in the meaning of 'hour'). It will be seen that aš-Sirbīnī's second class is a mixture of al-Azhari's (b) and (c). Note also that in the metalanguage all items bear the definite article, e.g. al-waqtu 'the word waqt', which does not mean that they may occur as time qualifiers with the article.

18.2 (1) 'Space qualifier' is źarf makān, lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1, and see 18.4 n 2 on the difference between these nouns and pure prepositions.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on sāliḥ 'proper'. Unlike time nouns, only vague (mubham) place nouns may normally occur as space qualifiers (dāhabtu š-šāma 'I went Damascus' is cited as an anomaly, Kitāb I, 15). In his discussion of this problem, Sībawayhi makes two important points: (a) time qualifiers are inherently appropriate for verbs because time is a formal component of the verb, and (b) places have a physical being (juṭṭa 'body'), while time is merely the alternation of night and day, i.e. is cyclic whereas places are unique.

18.201 (1) There is no attempt to escape the circularity of these paraphrases (cf. 18.203!), see 12.92 n 1.

(2) That 'amāma still has an independent existence as a noun is seen in such phrases as 'ilā l-ʿamāma 'to the front', where is still has the nominal markers al (1.5) and the oblique case ending i (1.31).}

18.202 (1) This, too, retains its nominal quality, cf. 'ilā l-kalfi 'to the rear', and also occurs undefined, kalfan 'behind'. It is cognate
18.203 (3) *quddâma* 'in front of', synonymous with *'amâma* 'in front of', as in *jalastu quddâma d-dâri* 'I sat in front of the house', parsed as above.¹

18.204 (4) *warâ'a* 'behind',¹ synonymous with *galfa* 'behind', as in *jalastu warâ'a l-masjidi* 'I sat behind the mosque', parsed as above. It is also known for *warâ'a* to occur in the meaning of *quddâma* 'in front of',² as is the opinion regarding the Qur'anic verse *wa-kâna warâ'ahum malikun* 'and there was before them a king',³ in which *warâ'a* is said to have the meaning of *quddâma* 'in front of'.

18.205 (5) *fawqa* 'above',¹ for every high place; it is the antonym of *tahta* 'beneath', as in *jalastu fawqa s-sathi* 'I sat on top of the roof', parsed as above.

18.206 (6) *tahta* 'beneath', the antonym of *fawqa* 'above', as in *jalastu tahta š-Šajarati* 'I sat beneath the tree', parsed as above.¹

18.207 (7) *cinda* 'at',¹ for every near place, as in *jalastu cinda zaydin* 'I sat next to Zayd', i.e. near him, where *cinda* 'at' is a space-qualifier made dependent with the implicit meaning of *ff* 'in', and the element which makes it dependent is the preceding verb, as an object of location.

18.208 (8) *maqa* 'with',¹ which is a noun denoting a place of meeting, as in *jalastu maqa muhammadin* 'I sat with Muhammad', i.e. in his company, parsed as above.

18.209 (9) *'izâ'a* 'opposite', (spelt with *z* and 'lengthened *ā*'),¹ in
with kalīfa 'caliph', i.e. he who remains behind or follows on. For 'i'crāb 'parsing' see 8.21 n 2, and note that in these paragraphs aš-Širbīnī adapts very freely from al-Azhari, Āj. 84.

18.203 (1) Here one may register a very minor quibble against the use of the term 'preposition' by Brockelmann (Grundr. II, 420) in his discussion of this word. It was never anything but a noun, just as 'front' is a noun still; note, however, Brockelmann's comment that guddāma does not appear in this 'prepositional' function in the earliest Classical Arabic.

18.204 (1) The ' in this word causes problems for lexicographers: in one dictionary it will be found under the root w-r-', as if the ' were the 3rd radical, in another under w-r-y, as if the ' were the reflex of y after a long vowel (cf. samā’un—samāwun, 3.62 n 2).

(2) See 26.33 n 2 on the phenomenon of enantiosema.

(3) S. 18 v 79; in similar contexts English can also be illogical as, for example, when we speak of a popular movement having the 'backing' of its 'leaders'. Not the inverted sentence structure: even the subject noun and predicate of kāna (10.11) must obey the rules for equational sentence, cf. 9.73 n 1.

18.205 (1) We are still in the realm of pure nouns, though fawqa has some peculiarities of its own, q.v. 18.41 n 2. But its nominal status is assured by the existence of a diminutive (3.421 n 1), e.g. fūwayqa s-saṭḥi 'a little above the roof'.

18.206 (1) It may be worth pointing out that space qualifiers are not limited to their literal meaning, cf. taḥta 'amrika 'under your command' (and cf. also 1.704).

18.207 (1) Though a root C-n-d exists (with 'resist, oppose' among its meanings), Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 414, derives Cinda from *Cim 'at' (cognate with maʕ Ca 'with', 18.208) and a deictic element d 'there'. Nevertheless it retains nominal inflections (cf. 18.41), which suggests that for the Arabs, at least, it has come to be regarded as a regular noun. Note that, in common with several time qualifiers, Cinda combines with mā 'what' (q.v. 5.89 n 2) to form a conjunction 'when'. Beeston 57; Fleisch 208.

18.208 (1) This is the first in our list of nouns which has nearly lost its nominal quality and become, in effect, a preposition, though it retains one nominal feature, viz. that it may occur with tanwīn, e.g. sirnā maʕ Can 'we travelled together'. See previous note for etymological connections, and 26.27 n 1 on maʕ a paraphrasing the verb 'to have'. Note also maʕîyya 'withness', 25.0 n 1.

18.209 (1) This is a difficult word for scribes, hence the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2): long before aš-Širbīnī's time Classical Arabic ǧ had fallen together with z in the pronunciation of learned or literary words, and a hypercorrect spelling 'iḡā'a would probably have resulted here, by confusion with 'iḡā.
the meaning of being face to face, as in jalastu 'izā'a l-bayti 'I sat opposite the house' (55c)\textsuperscript{2} i.e. muqābalahāhu 'being face to face with it', parsed as above.

18.210 (10) hidā'a 'opposite', (spelt with dotted ġ and 'lengthened ā'),\textsuperscript{1} meaning 'near', as in jalastu hidā'a Āmīr 'I sat opposite Āmīr', i.e. near him, parsed as above.

18.211 (11) tilqā'a 'opposite',\textsuperscript{1} in the meaning of being face to face, like 'izā'a 'opposite', as in jalastu tilqā'a bākrīn 'I sat opposite Bakrīn', i.e. muqābalahāhu 'facing him', parsed as above.

18.212 (12) hunā 'here', (spelt with ū after the h and a single n), which is a demonstrative noun\textsuperscript{1} of near place, as in jalastu hunā 'I sat here', i.e. in this near place,\textsuperscript{2} parsed as above.

18.213 (13) tamma 'there', (spelt with a three-dotted ū and an a following),\textsuperscript{1} which is a demonstrative noun of remote place, as in ijlis tamma 'sit over there', i.e. in that remote place, parsed as above.

18.214 Finally: and the like.\textsuperscript{1} By this the author indicates that every vague noun of place may take dependent form as a space-qualifier, e.g. * yamīnun 'right' and šimālun 'left', as in jalastu yamīnā ṣamrin 'I sat on the right of Āmīr and the left of Zayd', in which yamīnā 'right' and šimālā 'left' are both made dependent as space-qualifiers\textsuperscript{2} with the implicit meaning of fī 'in', and the element which makes them dependent is the preceding verb, as objects of location.\textsuperscript{3}

18.3 Note: Like the nouns of time and place are the nouns which accidentally happen to denote\textsuperscript{1} one of the two, of which there are four kinds:

18.31 (1) The nouns of number\textsuperscript{1} which are followed by specifying elements, e.g. sirtu īsīrīna yawman wa-ṭalāṣīna farsāgan 'I travelled twenty days
(2) From the beginning of 18.111 to yamīnun in 18.214 (marked * in the text and translation) is missing from MS C. and has been restored from MS D. To preserve the folio sequence of MS C. for purposes of cross-reference, however, a folio 55c has been arbitrarily created.

18.210 (1) Yet another difficult word (one marvels at the choice, seeing that such common space qualifiers as bayna 'between', dūna 'beyond, without' etc. are not mentioned, q.v. 18.214 n 1).

18.211 (1) The prefix of this word seems to show dissimilation of ta to ti (so Fleisch 83, Tr. #92d), though whether, as Fleisch suggests, this was helped by the existence of synonyms with identical vowels (in this case liqā'a), or whether there was pressure from functionally similar words such as 'izā'a, biqā'a etc. is an open question. Note tujāha 'opposite', where the prefix tu appears to retain the quality of the 1st rad. w of this word (=*tawjāha?).

18.212 (1) ism 'išāra, cf. 11.73 n 1: it is a combination of deictic elements h and n (Fleisch 144); the final ā is a mystery (one might expect *hunan), perhaps it is to be compared with 'īḏā, 5.43 n 1.

(2) Parallel with the demonstratives (11.73) there is a series hunā, hunāka, hunālika for near, middle and remote distance respectively (Fleisch 144, where also other variants).

18.213 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish ūamma from ūamma 'then' (q.v. 12.3; evidently not etymologically related to ūamma). Cf. Fleisch 146. On the imperative ijlīs cf. 13.12 n 1.

18.214 (1) Several other space qualifiers can be added to the list, e.g. bayna 'between', dūna 'beyond, without', ḥawla 'around', dākhila 'inside', kārija 'outside' (the last two being agent nouns, scil. 'in that which is inside/outside' or 'being inside/outside'), kīlāla 'during, between' (lit. 'in the gaps of'), qibala 'opposite' (cf. 18.211 n 1), ladā 'at, with' (final a like 'ilā, 1.702, so ladayka 'with you'), ladun, variant of ladā (18.106 n 2). Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 466, regards the future particle sawfa (1.82) as an old 'adverb'.

(2) Though defined by annexation (11.761) these may not occur with the def. article alone: 'I sat on the right' has to be personalized or otherwise made specific, viz. jalastu yamānahu 'I sat on the right of him (or it)'. Contrast jalastu yamān (undef.) 'I sat right'.

(3) Even when space/time qualifiers occur in verbless sentences, e.g. baytuka yamīna baytī 'your house is to the right of my house', an underlying verb or equivalent is assumed (9.74, but see 19.25 n 1).

18.3 (1) 'Accidentally happen to denote' renders ġaraḏat dalālatuhu, lit. 'its denotation occurred fortuitously'. Behind this expression lurks the philosophical antithesis between 'substance' (jawhar) and 'accident' (Carad). Cf. ġariḏa 'accidental' in 5.1, also 5.88 n 4.

18.31 (1) Note first that the cardinal numbers are all nouns, which in part explains the peculiarieties of their syntax (see further 20.21-22).
and thirty parasangs", where ǧišrīna 'twenty' \(^2\) is an object of location with the dependent form of a time-qualifier, and talāṭīna 'thirty' is an object of location with the dependent form of a space-qualifier, because both have time and space terms as their specifying elements.

18.32 (2) That which is used to characterize the totality or partiality of either, e.g. sīrtu jamīca l-yawmi jamīca l-farsāki 'I travelled the whole day the whole parasang', or kulla l-yawmi kullā l-farsāki 'all day all the parasang', or baḍa l-yawmi baḍa l-farsāki 'some of the day some of the parasang', or nīʃa l-yawmi nīʃa l-farsāki 'half the day half the parasang', \(^7\) in which jamīca 'whole', kullā 'all', baḍa 'some' and nīʃa 'half' all have the dependent form of the time-qualifier and space-qualifier. \(^3\)

18.33 (3) That which is an adjective to either, e.g. jalastu ṭawīlan (min ad-dahri) ḡarbiyya d-dāri 'I sat long (in time) west of the house', from an original zamānan ṭawīlan 'for a long time' and makānan ḡarbiyyan 'in a westerly place'. \(^1\)

18.34 (4) That which was previously made oblique by having either of these two annexed to it, but then the annexing element has replaced the elided annexed element. This is very common with time-qualifiers, e.g. ji’tuka ṣalāta l-ṣaṣrī wa-qudūmā l-ḥājjī 'I came to you at the evening prayer and on the arrival of the pilgrim', from an original waqta ṣalāti l-ṣaṣrī (56a) wa-waqta quḍūmī l-ḥājjī 'at the time of evening prayer and at the time of the pilgrim's arrival'. \(^1\) It is rather rare with space-qualifiers, e.g. jalastu qurba zaydin 'I sat near Zayd', i.e. makāna qurbihi 'in the place of his nearness'. \(^2\)

18.4 Supplementary Note: In the accepted usage and technical vocabulary of the grammarians the term 'fully current' \(^9\) is applied to those nouns of time and place which are used as other than space/time qualifiers, and which are seen to occur as subjects, predicates, agents, direct
The relationship between the numeral and the counted can best be seen in a literal translation: 'I travelled twenty (in units of a) day and thirty (in units of a) parasang', the actual units being expressed as 'specifying elements' (mumayyiz, q.v. 20.0). Cf. also 17.62.

(2) Only the numbers from 11 to 99 are followed by specifying elements, the remainder being annexed to the counted noun, e.g. sirtu ūlātāta 'ayyāmin wa-ūlātāta farāşiqa 'I travelled three days and three parasangs'. It is not clear why ā-Šīrhīnī (following al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 338) omits to mention the other numbers either here or in 18.32, where they could easily have been accommodated.

18.32 (1) Cf. 11.721 n 4 on the formation of abstract nouns with the iyya suffix (kulliya 'totality' from kull 'all', likewise juz'iyya 'partiality' from juz' 'part'). See 13.4, 17.64 on kull etc.

(2) Here may be included fractions, e.g. sirtu ṣulīta 1-yawmin 'I travelled a third of the day' etc. Cf. also 12.41, 14.21 n 1, 17.65.

(3) The examples are all of defined nouns of specific time (18.113): undefined examples are sīrtu kušla yawmin 'I travelled every day' (cf. 13.4 n 6), ba'şa yawmin 'for part of a day' (cf. 12.41), nišṭa yawmin 'for half a day'. Nouns of vague time (18.112) never have kull etc. annexed to them: for 'all the time' Classical Arabic uses various verbs, q.v. 10.19-22, while in modern Arabic an impersonal form of the circumstantial qualifier has evolved, viz. dā'īman, 'lastingly', agent noun of dāma 'to last, remain' (10.23), which remains masc. sing. regardless of the antecedent (contrast 19.21 n 1). 'All the time' as a conjunction is kullämā, i.e. kull 'all' with the indefinite relative suffix mā 'what, that' (cf. 5.89 n 2).

18.33 (1) Note that ġarbiyya can be made specific by annexing it to ad-dāri (scil. 'at the western point of the house'), while ūfīlān cannot be made specific, because it cannot be annexed to a noun of specific time (18.113: *ţawīla s-sāqati 'long of hour' does not occur). Instead it is explained by a partitive phrase, scil. 'something long, from time', the article of ad-dahri here being the generic article (11.741).

18.34 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'āšl 'original'; 26.7 on annexation. In waqta šalāti l-Cašrī, waqta (marked as a time qualifier) is annexed to šalāti: when waqta is dropped šalāti (marked as annexing element) becomes šalāta, now marked as time qualifier. Note that waqta š-šalāti 'at the time of the prayer' and šalāta l-Cašrī 'at evening prayer' are possible, but not aş-šalāta or al-waqta alone (18.112 n 1).

(2) Commoner is the periphrasis bi-qurbi zaydin lit. 'in the nearness of Zayd', or the adjectival qarīban min zaydin 'near to Zayd', with the same structure as 18.33, scil. an understood makānaqān qarīban 'in a near place'.

18.4 (1) 'Fully current' is mutašarrif, lit. 'circulating freely', synonym of munšarif and mutamakkin, q.v. 1.41, 3.87 n 3. Here the emphasis is not so much on the morphology (viz. ability to bear the
objects and with other elements annexed to them, such as yawmūn 'a day' and šahrūn 'a month'.

18.41 In the accepted usage and technical vocabulary of the grammarians the term 'not freely current' is applied to those nouns which never leave the category of space/time-qualifier, such as šahara 'early' (referring to a specific day), qaṭṭu 'at all' (for bringing out the full meaning of the past tense) and ḍawḍu 'ever' (for bringing out the full meaning of the future tense); likewise those which only leave the category to become part of an equivalent construction, namely to be made oblique by min 'from', as with ānīdā 'at, with', which can be used either as a space-qualifier, e.g. jalastu ānīdakā 'I sat with you', or made oblique by min 'from', e.g. ḫarajtu min ānīdikā 'I went out from with you'.

18.5 Having finished with the fourth of the dependent elements (which is one of the two kinds of object of location), the author now turns to the fifth of them, namely the circumstantial qualifier, because of the relationship between it and the object of location in being made dependent with the meaning of fī 'in'.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

19.0 Chapter on the circumstantial qualifier. (The of ḥālūn 'a circumstance, situation' is converted from w, as can be seen from the fact that people say 'ahwālūn 'circumstances' in the plural and ḥuwaylatūn
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marker tanwIn), but on the syntactical freedom associated with tanwIn and inventoried in the ensuing lines. Note overlap of morphological and syntactic terminology (cf. 1.41 n 4, 17.1). See also Diem, Oriens 23/4 321.

(2) This flexibility is one of the features which distinguishes space/time qualifiers from prepositions. Theoretically the former are all nouns (hunā, 18.212 and γamma, 18.213 are problematical, but are at least morphologically similar to dep. nouns), while the latter are not only mostly biliterals (i.e. outside the root system, cf. 26.26 n 1), but also have only one function (scil. can only occur with a following oblique noun, cf. 1.7). Cf. Beeston 88; Bateson 44.

18.41 (1) 'Not freely current' is γayr mutašarrīf (γayr 'not', 21.42, and see 18.4 n 1 on mutašarrīf). As the examples show, these elements neither have tanwIn nor the syntactical freedom it implies.

(2) A class of nouns as yet unexplained is the seemingly fossilized locatives in u, e.g. baCDu 'afterwards', qabl 'before', ρawqu 'above', haγtu 'where, when' (cf. Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 14, Fleisch, Tr. #149b, Lekiašvili, Arch. Or. 39, 62). These have come to be known as gāyāt 'limits, ends' because they cannot be followed by an annexing element (v. Muf. #201), but this is probably a misunderstanding of Sībawayhi (Kitāb II, 44), since it is clear that gāyāt for him also applied to the rest of the space/time qualifiers (id. 1, 207). Note also invariable compounds layla naγhāra 'night and day', bayta bayta 'house to house' etc., and numerals 13-19 (20.22 n 1(a)).

(3) Numerous examples in Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 221, Nöldeke 51; one in aš-Širbīnī, 5.41 end. Because only min is found in this position it is regarded as the archetype of all prepositions (26.21 n 1).

18.5 (1) The other is the time qualifier, already dealt with (18.1) as the third kind of dependent element. It is important to distinguish between functional category ism zamān/ism makān 'noun of time/noun of place' and formal category ism al-marra/ism makān 'noun of time/noun of place: see 17.62 n 1, 17.7 n 3 on ism al-marra. The 'noun of place' mostly has the pattern maFūC, e.g. mašrab 'drinking place', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36; Bateson 18; Muf. #361.

19.0 (1) Jam. 47; Muf. #74; Alf. v 332; Qatr 257; Beeston 89, 95; Fleisch 181; Bateson 47; Yushmanov 75. Terminology 19.21 n 2. Note that this chapter deals only with nouns as circumstantial qualifiers: see 19.9 n 1 for sentences as circumstantial qualifiers.
'a small circumstance' in the diminutive. The word may be masculine or feminine, either formally or abstractly, e.g. 

The author defines it as follows:

19.1 This is the noun that is structurally redundant, of dependent form (through the verb or its equivalent) which explains what is otherwise vague in exterior aspects (from the term 'noun' it is understood that the circumstantial qualifier can only be a noun, not a verb or a particle; from 'dependent' that it is not independent or oblique, and from 'which explains what is vague in exterior aspects' that the circumstantial qualifier explains vague exterior aspects pertaining to both rational beings and others, unlike the 'specifying element', which explains what is vague in the beings themselves).

19.21 The circumstantial qualifier occurs (1) unambiguously qualifying the agent, e.g. jā'a zaydun rākibān 'Zayd came riding', where rākībān 'riding' is a circumstantial qualifier of the agent, namely zaydun 'Zayd', and is made dependent by jā'a 'to come', which also makes the agent independent. As it was not clear in what circumstances Zayd (the antecedent of the circumstantial qualifier) actually came, the circumstances are explained by saying that he came rākīban 'riding'.

19.22 (2) It occurs unambiguously qualifying the direct object, e.g. rakībū l-farasā musrajan 'I rode the horse saddled', where rakībū 'I rode (56b) is a verb and its agent made independent by it, al-farasā 'the horse' is a direct object made dependent by rakība 'to ride', and musrajan 'saddled' is a circumstantial qualifier of the direct object also made dependent by rakība 'to ride'.
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(2) See 3.421 n 1 on the diminutive. The reduction of the sequence awa (and aya) to ā is a regular feature, most noticeable in the 'hollow verbs' (cf. 8.2 n 5). 'Converted' is literal for mungalibatun, cf. the cognate taqlibu 'converts', qalbun 'conversion' in 5.71, showing again how morphological and syntactical terms form a continuum (cf. 1.5 n 3).

(3) The examples show hālun as masculine or unmarked feminine (cf. 11.43 n 3): the marked fem. hālatun exists in free variation with hālun (cf. 11.2 n 1), but does not depart from its marked gender.

19.1 (1) 'Structurally redundant' is faḍla, lit. 'a surplus', i.e. outside the minimal sentence (q.v. 20.01 n 1); the equation dependence = structural redundancy was axiomatic for Sībawayhi (Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 491), but faḍla does not appear to be in use before al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. Muqtadāb III, 116, 121). It must not be confused with mulgā 'neutralized', 5.431 n 3. See also 15.06 n 1; 19.6; 25.1.

(2) i.e. verbal nouns, agent nouns, patient nouns, see 19.25.

(3) 'Exterior aspects' renders hay'āt, lit. 'forms, states', in its sing. hay'a a term borrowed from philosophy (perhaps no earlier than az-Zamaḵšarī, e.g. Muf. #74). In some contexts it is virtually a synonym of hāl (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Hay'a', esp. 301b infra), and our present translation reflects more the need to contrast the functions of hāl and tamyīz (q.v. 20.01) than to avoid the circularity of Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation.

19.21 (1) It is taken for granted by aš-Sīrbīnī that the reader will know the concordance rules for the circumstantial qualifier, viz. that it has the number and gender of its antecedent but is always undefined (19.5) and dependent. Apart from the obligatory dependent form, the circumstantial qualifier thus follows the same rules as the predicate of an equational sentence, see further 19.7.

(2) Terminology: 'antecedent' is ghāhib al-hāl or ġū l-hāl, both lit. 'owner of the circumstance', and 'circumstantial qualifier' is simply hāl, lit. 'circumstance, situation' (it is a fair comment that hāl would be more accurately translated 'situational qualifier' here, but 'circumstantial' seems to be favoured, e.g. Wright, Cantarino, Bateson etc.). Against Merx's claim (loc. cit. 18.101 n 1) that hāl must be a borrowed term because Sībawayhi uses it without explanation (!), we should consider the likelihood that hāl was not a technical term at all for Sībawayhi, which is why al-Mubarrad (Muqtadāb IV, 166) has to make a special point of ensuring that it is recognized as such.

19.22 (1) 'Unambiguously qualifying' here and in 19.21 renders nassan, lit. 'as a clarification, proof-text', but explained by Abū n-Najā (fl. 1808) in his Commentary on al-Azharī, Āj. 84 (which aš-Sīrbīnī is now quoting) as intended to contrast these instances of the circumstantial qualifier with the ambiguous type in 19.23.

(2) This has been read as the Stem IV patient noun (q.v. 10.34 n 1) in preference to the synonymous Stem II musarrajān because the latter,
It occurs qualifying either the agent or the direct object, e.g. *laqītu* ḍabdallāḥī rākiban 'I met ḍabdullāḥ riding', where rākiban 'riding' is a circumstantial qualifier which is capable of qualifying either the agent (i.e. the tu 'I' of *laqītu* 'I met') or the direct object (i.e. ḍabdallāḥī 'Ḥabdullāh'); in any case it is made dependent by *laqiya* 'to meet', and is explanatory of its antecedent.

It also occurs qualifying both together, e.g. *laqītu* zaydān rākibaynī 'I met Zayd, both (of us) riding', where rākibaynī 'both riding' clarifies the exterior aspect of both the agent and the direct object.

By and the like, the author is referring to the examples already given above. On the whole the circumstantial qualifier does not occur with the subject of an equational sentence, though it is found with nouns made oblique by particles, e.g. *marartu* bi-hīdin ḍalisatan 'I passed by Hind sitting', and by annexation, e.g. the Qur'ānic *a-yuḥibbu* *ahadukum* *an* ya'kula *laḥma* *aḡīhi* *maytan* 'would any one of you like to eat the flesh of his brother, dead?', where *maytan* 'dead' is a circumstantial qualifier of *aḡīhi* 'his brother's'.

The predominant usage is for the noun which occurs as a circumstantial qualifier to be both derived and transient.

By 'derived' is meant the noun which denotes an entity in terms of some specifically intended semantic function, such as the agent noun, the patient noun, the quasi-participial adjective and the elative noun.
though indistinguishable in a text without diacriticals, is evidently a post-classical form.

19.23 (1) There seems to be no convention which would make reference to one or the other of the antecedents more likely (cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 98), but ambiguity can always be avoided by using the sentence type of circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1), thus *laqītu ʿabdallāhi wa-ʿanā rākibun* 'I met ʿAbdullāh while I was riding' or *wa-huwa rākibun* 'while he was riding', alternatively *laqītu ʿabdallāhi ʿarkabu* 'I met ʿAbdullāh, I riding' or *yarkabu* 'he riding'.

(2) See 10.14 n 2 on this type of weak 3rd rad. verb, and note the convention of referring to the verb in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense (3.52 n 3).

19.24 (1) Being dual, *rākibayni* can only refer to both individual antecedents together, the same as in the equational sentence *ʿanā wa-zaydun rākibāni* 'Zayd and I are (both) riding' (cf. 19.5). Note this example from Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 98: *ʿinna sawfa tudrikunā l-muqaddarāt lanā wa-muqaddarāna (lahā)* 'verily the fates will catch up with us, they predestined for us and we predestined (for them)', with two antecedents and two circumstantial qualifiers in parallel.

19.25 (1) Later grammarians (and those who relied on them, e.g. Jahn, n 8 to #110, = Kitāb I, 230) were reluctant to accept that dep. forms could occur without at least an implicit verb (cf. 16.31 n 1). But for Sībawayhi many dep. forms were the result of the operation of a previous complete utterance (Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 491), requiring no assumed verb, e.g. *huwa nārun ṭumrātān* 'he is a fire in redness', *hādā baʾlī ʿaykān* 'this is my husband, an old man' (S. 11 v 72; see also Muf. #79; Nöldeke 49).

(2) Intransitive verbs, as well as passive verbs (e.g. *qutila nāʿīman* 'he was killed sleeping', cf. also 8.0) operate on all dependent noun classes except direct objects (16.309 n 1).

(3) S. 49 v 12.

19.3 (1) See 3.65 n 12 on *gālib* 'predominant usage'; 19.31 n 1 on *muštaqq* 'derived'; 19.32 n 1 on *muftāqīq* 'transient'. On the formal classes of nouns see also 20.7 n 1.

19.31 (1) 'Derived', *muštaqq*, contrasts with *jāmid* 'underived', q.v. 20.7 n 1, and refers to the insertion of radicals into one or another of the patterns in which nouns occur (see 10.37 n 1). Each pattern has its own 'meaning' (*mušna*), translated here 'semantic function' in keeping with the use of *māşna* to denote the 'meanings' of particles (cf. 1.701 n 2), of nominal and verbal inflections (2.2 nn 5, 6), and of the imperfect tense verb (5.02).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun, and contrast *fācil* 'agent' and *maʃāl* 'patient' as functional categories in chs. 7 and 16 respectively. On the 'quasi-participial
19.32 By 'transient' is meant that which is not inherent in the antecedent.

19.33 With regard to derivation, in rare instances the circumstantial qualifier may be an underived noun, as long as it can be paraphrased without difficulty by a derived noun, for example, when it denotes a comparison, e.g. badat il-jāriyatu qamaran 'the girl appeared as a moon', i.e. 'like a moon', or an ordering, e.g. udkulū rajulan rajulan 'enter man by man', i.e. 'thus ordered', or a price, e.g. bi cṭuhu muddan bi-kaḍā 'I sold it at so much a measure', i.e. 'at that price', or mutual action, e.g. bi cṭuhu t-ṭawba yadan bi-yadin 'I sold him the garment hand in hand', i.e. 'shaking hands on that amount'.

19.34 With regard to being transient, in rare instances the circumstantial qualifier may be inherent and not transient, for example dacawtu llāha samīcan 'I prayed to God all-hearing', where samīcan '(all)-hearing' is a circumstantial qualifier which is also inherent in its antecedent. Similarly kalaqa llāhu az-zarāfata yadayhā 'atwala min rijlayhā 'God created the giraffe with its two front legs longer than its two back legs', where az-zarāfata 'the giraffe' is a direct object made dependent by kalaqa 'to create', which also makes independent the name of the Almighty which is its agent, yadayhā 'its two front legs' is a substitute of az-zarāfata 'the giraffe' by substitution of the part for the whole, 'atwala 'longer' is a circumstantial qualifier of az-zarāfata 'the giraffe', and min rijlayhā 'than its two back legs' is semantically connected with 'atwala 'longer'.

19.4 Next, what makes the circumstantial qualifier dependent in all situations is a verb or its equivalent (e.g. the agent noun).
adjective', as-ṣīfa l-muṣabbaha li-l-fiṣal (lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the verb') see 26.92 n 2, and for the 'elative noun', ḫaṣṣāda l-muṣabbaha li-l-fiṣal, see 20.4 n 1. Cf. also 19.33 n 1.

19.32 (1) 'Transient', muṭāriq (lit. 'going away') contrasts with muḥāzma l-muṣabbaha li-l-fiṣal (lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the verb') see 26.92 n 2, and for the 'elative noun', ḫaṣṣāda l-muṣabbaha li-l-fiṣal, both introduced relatively late into definitions of the circumstantial qualifier (e.g. Ṭuf. v 333, perhaps developing an idea of al-Astarābādī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 182, as both use muntaqil 'mobile' instead of muṭāriq).

19.33 (1) See 20.7 n 1 on underived nouns. The 'verbal noun' (māṣdar) may also occur as a circumstantial qualifier, e.g. qataltuhu sabran (lit. 'I killed him in bondage') (Muf. #76, and see 24.52 n 2); perhaps it has been omitted from the list of 'derived nouns' in 19.31 because of its disputed status as the source of all verbal paradigms (17.1 n 2).

(2) Another example in 13.14, ṭallamtuhu n-nahwa hāban hāban 'I taught him grammar chapter by chapter'. Cf. 12.2 n 2 on tartīb 'ordering', and see 19.51 for ordered circumstantial qualifiers of defined form.

(3) Note the 'bi of price' (bā' at-taman, a function of bi 'with, by', q.v. 1.707), and cf. 9.03 n 5.

19.34 (1) This is another theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1): it is blasphemous to imply that a quality of God is not inherent in His nature. By the same token, an exception can be made in the case of S. 4 v 28, ḵalaqa l-‘insānu daṢfān 'man was created weak' (quoted 11.741), with an inherent quality as a circumstantial qualifier because mankind is inherently weak (cf. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 333 who, however, attributes the dep. form to the repetitiousness of creation).

(2) This curious sentence is found in the earliest grammar, viz. Kitāb I, 77, where it is attributed to 'someone whose Arabic is trustworthy', i.e. a Beduin informant. Surprisingly, however, it did not attract the attention of Sībawayhi's most copious commentator (as-Sirāfī, d. 978), nor of any of the relatively early grammarians: it seems to have been resurrected only about the time of Ibn Ḥisām (d. 1360, e.g. in al-Azhārī, Taṣr. I, 368, on which as-Sirāfī is clearly drawing). Be it noted, however, that for Sībawayhi this sentence did not exemplify an inherent type of circumstantial qualifier, but simply the attraction into dependent form of an entire clause in apposition to a dependent noun, perhaps influenced by the fact that ḵalaqa 'to create' may sometimes be doubly transitive (see 10.69, and cf. 16.310 n 1).

(3) See 14.2 on partial substitution, badal al-baṢda ḫin al-kull.

(4) See 5.82 n 6 on mutaṢalliq 'semantically connected'.

19.4 (1) See 19.31 for the equivalents. Note, however, that the operator of the so-called 'emphatic circumstantial qualifier', al-ḥāl al-muʿākida is deemed to be the previous complete utterance, e.g. S. 2 v 91, huwa l-ḥaggu muṣaddīgān... 'it is the truth, verifying...' (see also 19.25 n 1).
Moreover, the circumstantial qualifier is always undefined, because, as already stated, it is predominantly a derived noun, while its antecedent (57a) is defined, hence the circumstantial qualifier must always be undefined lest it should be supposed to be an adjective when its antecedent also has dependent form (leading to a false correlation).

Even if the circumstantial qualifier does occur in defined form it is still interpreted as undefined in compliance with the need for indefiniteness already laid down, e.g. udgulū l-'āwwala fa-l-'āwwala 'enter, first the one then the other', i.e. 'thus ordered', or raja'ā'awdahu cālā bad'ihi 'he came back no better than he set out', where ā'awdahu 'return' is a circumstantial qualifier of the agent concealed in raja'ā 'he came back', but can be paraphrased as undefined either by means of a formal equivalent such as ā'idan 'returning' or a semantic equivalent such as rāji'ān 'coming back'. Another example is jā'a wahdahu 'he came by himself', where wahdahu 'by himself' is a circumstantial qualifier of the agent concealed in jā'a 'he came', but can be paraphrased as undefined either by means of a formal equivalent such as mutawāhhidan 'being by himself' or a semantic equivalent such as munfaridan 'being alone'.

Furthermore the circumstantial qualifier occurs only after the completion of the utterance, (in predominant usage). By 'the completion of the utterance' before the circumstantial qualifier is mean that the verb should already have its agent and direct object as in the examples above. It does not mean that the utterance should already be self-sufficient with regard to meaning without the circumstantial qualifier (as is the case in the above examples), because it does happen...
19.5 (1) As we shall see (19.6), circumstantial qualifiers are really predicates of their antecedents: normally only derived nouns (muṣṭaqq, v. 19.31) may function as circumstantial qualifiers because derived nouns are by nature predicative, i.e. can always be paraphrased by a verb, e.g. rākibun 'riding' = yarkibu 'he rides', musrajun 'saddled' = 'usrija 'he has been saddled' etc., see further 11.45 n 1. Herein lies the difference between 'nouns' and 'adjectives', cf. 11.61 n 1.

(2) 'Correlation' is expressed by ḥamala, lit. 'to carry', see further 23.411 n 2. Observe how discongruence in definition is a predicate marker (cf. 9.12 n 2), while congruence is an attribute marker, e.g. rakibtu l-farasa l-musraja 'I rode the saddled horse'. Cf. 18.102 n 2.

19.51 (1) Lit. 'enter, as the first and then the first'; in 'udkulū 'enter' (masc. plur.) the first vowel is present to break up the initial consonant cluster of the imperative and harmonizes with the internal vowel of the stem (5.2 n 3, and cf. 22.1 n 1).

(2) Lit. 'he came back with his return on his beginning'; note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix hu/hí 'his' (13.9 n 9). It is annexation to this suffix which causes definition, v. 11.76.

(3) See 17.51 n 1 on similar problems of derivation, here embodied in the familiar antithesis of lafẓ 'form' and maṣna 'meaning' (2.1 n 2).

(4) See 7.58 n 1 on concealed agent pronouns.

(5) There can be little doubt that wahdahu is defined by its annexation to the possessive pronoun (11.76), but there is a type of annexation which does not confer definition (q.v. 26.92-93), and circumstantial qualifiers such as waqafa 'amāmahu maktūfa l-yadayni 'he stood before him, arms crossed', lit. 'crossed of arms', are clearly undefined (cf. Cantarino, II, 191). Corroboration such as 'ajma'īna 'all together' in dependent form (Cantarino II, 189) might also belong here, in view of their intrinsic definition (13.6 n 1).

19.6 (1) Ibn ʿAjurrūm's formulation retains the term kalām 'utterance', the original descriptive title for the minimal meaningful unit of discourse (cf. 1.1 and 1.13 n 1). Later grammarians, however, (Muf. #74, Qatr 259) often prefer the term jumla 'sentence', lit. 'aggregate', first used, it appears, about the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898, e.g. Muqtadab II, 12, 17, 61, 310, III, 34, 279 etc.). This term, along with such notions as 'informativeness' (fāʿida, cf. 1.13 n 1) and falsifiability (see 9.11 n 1), reveals the penetration of philosophical ideas into grammar: 'sentence' eventually becomes indistinguishable from 'proposition', cf. Elamrani-Jamal, Arabica 26, 76.

(2) Perhaps from an undue concern with 'informativeness' (see above), the direct object is here regarded as an indispensable element, even though, from a strictly structural point of view, verb and agent alone are sufficient (cf. 7.9 n 1). The examples referred to are in 19.21 etc.

(3) 'Self-sufficient with regard to meaning' is lit. for mustaġnin min
that the utterance needs the circumstantial qualifier with regard to meaning. This is evident in the verse:

\[
\text{‘innamā l-maytu man ya‘īsū ka‘Iban kāsifan bālūhu gailī́f r-rajā‘ī́}
\]

‘the dead man is simply he who lives grieving, wretched his plight and small of hope,’ since it would be incorrect for the utterance to be made self-sufficient with only the antecedent of the circumstantial qualifier (i.e. by saying ‘innamā l-maytu man ya‘īsū ‘the dead man is simply he who lives’, without mentioning the circumstantial qualifiers ka‘Iban ‘grieving’ etc.).

19.71 An undefined antecedent may occur when justified by specialization, generalization, or inversion. (1) Specialization\(^1\) may be effected either by annexation (as in the Qur’anic wa-qaddara fīhā ‘aqwātahā fī ‘arba‘ātī ‘ayyāmin sawā‘an li-s-sā‘ilī́n ‘and he apportioned therein its foods in four days together,’\(^2\) for those who ask’, where sawā‘an ‘together’ is a circumstantial qualifier of ‘arba‘ātī ‘four’, an undefined expression made specific by being annexed to ‘ayyāmin ‘days’), or by adjectival qualification, as in the verse:

\[
\text{najjaya yā rabbi nūḥan wa-stajabta lahu fi fulukin mākirin fi l-yammi mašhūnān}
\]

‘you rescued, O Lord, Noah and answered his prayers with an ark cleaving the deeps, laden’,\(^3\) where mašhūnān ‘laden’ (57b) is a circumstantial qualifier of fulukin ‘an ark’, because the latter is qualified by the adjective mākirin ‘cleaving’ (spelt with k, dotted above, and meaning ‘splitting the water’).\(^4\)

19.72 (2) Generalization\(^1\) may be effected by negation (as in the
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jihati l-maṣrānā, the semantic correlative of structural correctness (husn 'goodness', see 12.91 n 8): an utterance which both contains the minimal number of elements (two) and satisfies the listener's need for information (cf. 1.13 n 3) is 'good for silence' yaḥṣunu s-sukūtu Calayhi (1.13), unless, as here, semantic restraints are in force.

(4) Schaw. Ind. 5, add al-üşmūnī on Alf. v 332. Three kinds of circumstantial qualifier appear in this verse: (a) the quasi-participial adjective kaʿiban (19.31), (b) the agent noun kāṣifan, here not only predicative of its antecedent (19.7 n 2) but also, because it is a 'semantically linked' adjective (11.5, 11.51), qualifying bāluhu 'his plight', (c) the undefined annexation unit qalīla r-rajāʾī, like maktūfa l-yadayni in 19.51 n 5.

19.7 (1) Note 'judged', lit. for maḥkūm (and cf. ḥukm, 24.1 n 2), a legal/philosophical borrowing (the boundaries are not as clear as Versteegh, 74 n 22 implies: qaḍiyya 'judicial verdict' is also a regular term for 'proposition', al-ḵwārizmī, Mafāṭīḥ al-ʿulūm, 146).

(2) The predicative nature of the circumstantial qualifier has been recognized from the first: Sībawayhi termed it kābar li-l-maṣrīfa 'a predicate of the defined' (e.g. Kitāb I, 221, 233 etc.), evidently as part of a general scheme opposing attributives (ṣīfa 'adjective') to predicatives (kābar) on the basis of concord (11.02) and discord (19.5 n 2) respectively (the whole topic needs further study, cf. Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 488). Note how Sībawayhi's original definition of a 'right' utterance reappears here in terms of 'informativeness' (1.13).

19.71 (1) 'Specialization', taḵṣīṣ, is an intermediate level between absolute indefiniteness and pure definition as set out in 11.7 et seq., and cf. Gätje, Arabica 17, 235f. In 9.81 it is seen that 'specialized' elements (i.e. qualified by adjectives, like fulukin māṣīrin below) are sufficiently defined to function as subjects on nominal sentences (see further 26.91 for specialization by annexation, and contrast 19.51 n 5, where the very same 'specialization' is not enough, however, to make the circumstantial qualifier defined!).

(2) S. 41 v 10. Annexation of numerals does not confer definition (cf. 26.72 n 1); sawāʾan could also be translated literally as 'straight', i.e. one after the other.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 279 (where wrongly maṣjūnān; the verse invokes S. 37 v 140, 'When he (Jonah) ran away to the laden ship!'): the dependent form maṣḥūnān is assured by the rhyme (5.88 n 4). Other points worth noting: najjayta, Stem II (8.61 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. n-j-w with regular change of w to y in augmented Stems; see 23.61 (a) on vocative yā rabbī; wa-stajabta shows juncture feature (11.1 n 2), viz. reduction of *wa-istajabta (Stem X, 8.72 n 1 of 'hollow' stem j-w-b, 8.73 n 1); in al-yamm is seen an arbitrary doubling of the second radical to create a triliteral root from an original biliteral, cf. 4.71 n 1.

(4) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, and cf. 13.45 n 3.

19.72 (1) 'Generalization' is taḵmim, cognate with ḍāmma in 13.4. The
Qur'anic wa-mä 'ahlknä min qaryatin 'illä lahä mundirüna 'and we have destroyed no town without its having warners',² where the sentence lahä mundirüna 'it has warners' is a circumstantial qualifier of qaryatin 'a town', which is a generalized undefined element because it occurs in the context of negation), or by prohibition,³ as in the saying lā yabğî mru'un ǧalā mri' in mustashilan 'let one man not oppress another man thinking it easy',⁴ in which mustashilan 'thinking it easy' is a circumstantial qualifier of the first imru'un 'man'.

19.73 (3) Inversion occurs, for example, in ff d-däri jälisan rajulun 'in the house, sitting, is a man', where jälsan 'sitting' is a circumstantial qualifier of rajulun 'a man'.

19.74 Sometimes the antecedent of a circumstantial qualifier is undefined without any particular justification:¹ Malik relates in the Muwaṣṣa'ta the following Tradition:² ǧallā rasūlu llāhi ǧallā llāhu ġalayhi wa-sallāma qāṣidan wa-ṣallā warā'ahu rijālun qiyāman 'The Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) used to pray sitting down, and men would pray behind him standing up', where qiyāman 'standing up' is a circumstantial qualifier of rijālun 'some men', with no particular justification.

19.8 Supplementary Note: The operator of the circumstantial qualifier is sometimes elided when sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse,¹ e.g. when you answer rākibān 'riding' to someone who has asked you 'how did you come?', or by the context of situation,² e.g. when you say to someone arriving after a journey, mabrūran ma'jūran 'accepted, rewarded'.
condition of general negation is, not surprisingly, also applicable to
equational sentences with undefined subjects (though not mentioned in
9.81) e.g. lā šāḥība ʿilmīn mamqūtun 'no possessor of knowledge is
despised' (22.11 n 1).

(2) S. 26 v 208; note the partitive min after the negative (cf. 7.11
n 2). The circumstantial qualifier in this verse is a nominal sentence
(see further 19.9 n 1), showing inversion of subject and predicate
because the former is undefined (9.73 n 1) and probably influenced by
the need to maintain the rhyme ʿna/Ina of the verses in this passage.

(3) See 5.76 on nahl 'prohibition' and negation in general.

(4) This forms part of Alf. v 339, and it is not clear whether it is a
'saying' proper or whether ʾaš-ʾSirbih's gawlhum simply means 'what
they (i.e. grammarians) say'. Its most interesting feature is without
doubt the word imruʿun 'man': this displays a rare regressive vowel
harmony with repetition of the inflectional vowel in the interior of
the word, thus imraʿan, imriʿin (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #77a n 2, and see
5.2 n 3, 13.9 n 6 on regular vowel harmony). Moreover imruʿun (with
normal juncture feature of initial vowel, q.v. 13.12 n 1) alternates
with a dissimilated form marʿun which, however, has no vowel harmony.

19.73 (1) 'Inversion' is here taʿkīr 'retarding', more comprehensively
styled taqdim wa-taʿkīr 'advancing and retarding', q.v. 2.13 n 1. The
choice of taʿkīr is dictated by the fact that it is the delaying of the
antecedent which is under consideration: the circumstantial qualifier
is not so much 'advanced' as simply fitted into the vacant (i.e. struc-
turally redundant) gap between defined predicate and undefined subject
(q.v. 9.73 n 1).

19.74 (1) 'Particular justification' is a free translation of musawwīg,
lit. 'that which makes allowable', a synonym of jāʿiz (q.v. 9.8 n 2)
used but rarely by ʾSībawayhi (Troupeau, Lex.-Index, s-w-g), but a
favorite of the later, more prescriptive grammarians.

(2) Mālik ibn Anas, famous early jurist of Medina, d. 795 (Brockelmann,
(1.01 n 4) is gathered in the book here cited, al-Muwatta’, the title
meaning 'the well-trodden path' (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147 for
synonyms of 'path, way' in the context of grammar). The Tradition here
adduced (which ʾaš-ʾSirbih has from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 378) does not
occur in that exact form in published editions of the Muwatta’, but see
the Karachi ed. 1962, 113 and Wensinck, Concordance V, 490.

19.8 (1) 'Indicated by the context of discourse' is li-dalīl lafẓī,
lit. 'because of some formal pointer', namely the verb jiʿta 'you came'
in the question actually asked, which is then understood as the opera-
tor on the circumstantial qualifier rākīban 'riding' uttered alone.
Cf. 17.7 n 2, dalīl maqālī, synonymous with dalīl lafẓī.

(2) 'Indicated by the context of situation' is li-dalīl bāḥīf, lit.
'because of some situational pointer'. Not to be confused with the
'language of situation' (1.1 n 3), this aspect of linguistic form has
Elision is compulsory in expressions that have become proverbial, e.g. when you say to an inconstant person ‘a-Tamīmiyan narratān wa-Qaysiyyan ‘uqrā ‘as a Tamīmi one moment and as a Qaysī the next?’, i.e. ‘you keep changing...’.

Normally it should always be permissible to elide the circumstantial qualifier, but there may be something which happens to prevent the, as, for example, when it is an answer to a question (e.g. rākiban ‘riding’, to someone who has just asked kāfya ji’ta ‘how did you come?’) or where the intention is to restrict it (e.g. lam yajī ‘i’llā rākiban ‘he came only riding’) or when it replaces a predicate (e.g. dārbī zaydān qā’īman ‘my striking of Zayd was while standing’) or when it is prohibited (e.g. lā tagrābū š-šalāta wa-‘antum sukārā ‘do not come to prayer while you are intoxicated’).

Having finished with the fifth of the dependent elements, the author now turns to the sixth of them, namely the specifying element, because it has the following in common with the circumstantial qualifier: indefiniteness, structural redundancy, clarification, and dependence through the meaning of a particle (fī ‘in’ for the circumstantial qualifier and min ‘of’ for the specifying element).
been well recognized and exploited from the first, e.g. Kitāb I, 109, 157 etc., and cf. 16.311 n 1. On elision, ḫaqf, see 3.73 n 2.

19.81 (1) Even grammarians must occasionally admit the special status of proverbs (e.g. Kitāb I, 24, 147, 302 etc.).

(2) Any restitution of a missing verb in a proverbial expression is, of course, purely arbitrary. By the same token it would be artificial to restore the time qualifier marratān 'once' (18.113 n 1) implied by the fem. 'ugrā 'other'.

19.82 (1) Another example has already been discussed in 19.6. (2) On one level, if rākibān 'riding' is to be the whole of the answer in accordance with 19.8, then it can hardly be elided! It would have been better if the text had given the complete answer ji`tu rākibān, in order to demonstrate that a reply ji`tu 'I came' alone would fail to satisfy the requirements of a correct utterance (1.13, 1.15).

(3) See 21.3 on this type of exceptive sentence, and cf. the synonymous 'innamā jā`a rākibān 'he came only riding' ('innamā, 9.83 n 2).

(4) The underlying structure is assumed to be *darbī zaydan ḍarbī 'iyyāhu qā`īman 'my striking of Zayd is my striking of him while standing' (see 16.312 n 1 on the operation of the verbal noun).

(5) S. 4 v 43; see 19.9 n 1 on the syntax.

19.9 (1) Because they are not nouns, circumstantial qualifiers in the form of sentences are not dealt with in this chapter. Both nominal and verbal sentences (9.24 n 2) have this function, however: verbal sentences are asyndetic, e.g. jā`a zaydun yarkabu 'Zayd came riding', while nominal sentences are normally introduced by wa 'and', e.g. jā`a zaydun wa-huwa rākibun 'Zayd came (and he) riding' (other examples: wa-`antum sukārā 'while you are drunk' in 19.82, wa-`antum cākifūna 'while you are secluded' in 1.705, wa-ș-samsu țalīcatun 'while the sun is rising' in 25.22; Muf. #80; Alf. v 351; Beeston 89; Fleisch 182. (2) See 20.01 for the differences between the circumstantial qualifier and the specifying element.

20.0 (1) Jum. 245; Muf. #83; Alf. v 356; Qatr 263; Beeston 60; Fleisch 185; Nöldeke 39. The range of terminology (see further n 2) gives an impression of the way in which an originally ill-defined grammatical feature can, through the development of pedagogical grammar, acquire a specific identity and place in the system (cf. the treatment of the
The specifying element is the noun (by which he excludes the verb and the particle) of dependent form (by which he excludes independent and oblique nouns, as well as everything which is structurally indispensable, e.g. zaydun ġalimin 'Zayd is learned'), (58a) which explains what is otherwise vague in entities, by which he excludes the circumstantial qualifier, because it does not remove vagueness in a noun but only clarifies its exterior aspects.

Specification is of three types: (1) explaining relationship (converted from the original agent), (2) explaining number, and (3) explaining quantity. The author gives three examples of type (1):

20.11 (a) e.g. tašabbaba zaydun ġaraqan 'Zayd dripped with sweat', where tašabbaba 'dripped' is a past tense verb, zaydun 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it, and ġaraqan 'sweat' is a specifying element explaining the relationship between the dripping and the entity of Zayd (the meaning of tašabbaba 'to drip' is sāla 'to pour'). The original form is *tašabbaba ġaraqu zaydin 'the sweat of Zayd dripped': then the predicate of the annexed element has been converted into predication of the annexing element, producing a certain vagueness about the relationship, and so the annexed element which had formerly been the agent has been restored as a specifying element.
'substitution of error' in 14.4, the 'wa of accompaniment' in ch. 25 (esp. 25.31 n 1), and see also 25.6 n 1.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'. Of the terms listed here only tamīz is common, and may denote both the specifying function and the specifying element (cf. badal, 14.0). Şibawayhi has no specific name for this construction, but treats it as a subdivision of the circumstantial qualifier (Kitāb I, 275); tamīz as a technical term seems to appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, Muqtadab II, 149, 168, 173 etc., and cf. Jum. 77 for mubayyin, tamīz and tafsīr all together.

20.01 (1) 'Structurally indispensable' is 'umda, lit. 'support, prop', antonym of faḍla 'redundant element' (19.1) and likewise not found in the earliest grammar. It refers to the fact that the minimal sentence comprises two elements (see 1.13), each indispensable to the other. This is most obvious in the equational sentence, since the uttering of a subject obliges the speaker to complete his utterance with a predicate (9.12 n 2): verbal sentences are also predicative (3.73 n 5), but their agents are in any case bound morphemes (7.9 n 1; cf. 21.31 n 1).

(2) Cf. 23.1 n 2 on ġāt 'entity, being', plur. ġawāt, contrasting with hay'āt, the 'exterior aspects' indicated by circumstantial qualifiers (19.1 n 3). Other main differences between the two are: specifying element may only be a noun (not sentence or prepositional phrase); circumstantial qualifier sometimes indispensable; there may be more than one circumstantial qualifier; specifying element may not be inverted; specifying element is normally an underived noun; (al-Ušmānī on Alf. v 363).

20.02 (1) See 11.721 n 4 on nisba in its primary meaning of 'blood relationship': in the present chapter it has the sense of 'logical relationship' (cf. mansūbaynī 'two things attributed', 12.5 n 2). For 'converted from the original agent' see 20.11 nn 2, 3.

20.11 (1) Cf. 7.21 on the parsing; the verb in this example is a Stem V (8.64 n 1), 'doubled verb' (11.3 n 1), root s-b-b.

(2) See 8.2 n 3 on 'āsīl, lit. 'root, base, etc., and note how, in the following analysis, the technique has strong similarities with our present notions of deep structure and transformation.

(3) The term here is ḥawwala 'to transform, change' (Stem II of the 'hollow verb' ḥ-w-l, 8.73 n 1), though in 8.2 etc., in the context of the transformation of active to passive verbs, the preferred word is naqala, lit. 'to carry over'.

(4) See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates of their agents, 26.7 for annexation.

(5) Direct objects converted into specifying elements, 20.8 (2). Note how, in aš-Širbīnī's text (adapted from al-Azhari, Ḧj. 86), both the intransitive ja'ā bi 'to come with, bring' (5.82 n 5) and the doubly transitive ja'ala 'to make' (10.69) appear as impersonal passives, viz. ji'ā bi 'is brought' and ju'ila tamīzan 'is made a specifying element', the latter retaining its second direct object (cf. 8.0 n 5).
20.12 (b) *tafaqqa’a bakrun šahman ‘Bakr was bursting with fat’, where *tafaqqa’a 'was bursting' is a past tense verb, *bakrun 'Bakr' is an agent made independent by it, and *šahman 'fat' is a specifying element explaining the relationship between the bursting and the entity of Bakr (the meaning of *tafaqqa’a 'to burst' is *imtala’a 'to be full to overflowing'). The original form is *tafaqqa’a *šahmu bakrin ‘the fat of Bakr was bursting’, and the same operation has been carried out here as in the first example.2

20.13 (c) *täbat nafsan 'Muhammad was content in mind', where the parsing of *täba muhammadun 'Muhammad was content' is the same as above, and *nafsan 'mind, spirit' is a specifying element explaining the relationship between the being contented and the entity of Muhammad. The original form is *täbat nafsu *muhammadin ‘the mind of Muhammad was content’, and the same operation has been carried out here as above. The motive for this construction is that to mention something vaguely at first and then to have it explained makes more impact on the mind.3

20.21 The author gives two examples of type (2) which explains number:1 (a) *ištaraytu *Cisrīna *gulāman ‘I bought twenty slave-boys’, where *ištaraytu 'I bought' is a verb and its agent, *Cisrīna 'twenty' is a direct object made dependent by *ištarā 'to buy' with I as its dependence marker instead of a and *gulāman 'slave-boy' is a specifying element explaining what is affected by 'twenty' and made dependent by it.

20.22 (b) *malaktu *tisCIna *nacjatan ‘I owned ninety ewes’, where *malaktu 'I owned' is a verb and its agent with independent status through *malaka 'to own', *tisCIna 'ninety' is a direct object made dependent by *malakā 'to own', with I as its dependence marker instead of a, and *nacjatan 'ewe' is a specifying element of the vagueness obtaining in the entity 'ninety' (because numerals are vague (58b) by virtue of being proper for every countable).
20.12 (1) The lexical glosses here and above suggest that tasabbaba and tafaqq'a were no longer readily understood. Sibawayhi, *Kitāb I*, 105, uses the example with tafaqq'a, but few later grammarians seem to have bothered with it (only *Muf.* #83 from our group). In the light of 20.6 it seems odd that tafaqq'a is here glossed as intala'a!

(2) Lit. 'there has been done to it what was done with the first example', the verb being qumila, impersonal passive of the same verb which is used in 8.2 etc. to denote the 'operation' of converting active verbs to passive, see further 8.2 n 2.

20.13 (1) Normally 'ifrāb denotes 'inflection', q.v. ch. 2, but is here used in its not uncommon sense of 'parsing', see also 8.21 n 1.

(2) Note that the verb must become feminine with nafsun as its agent: nafsun is a member of a fairly large class of unmarked feminine nouns. These comprise (a) parts of the body occurring in pairs, e.g. Caynum 'eye' (cf. 13.9, karajat 'aynuhā 'her eye went out', with fem. verb), yadun 'hand', rijlun 'leg' etc. (very few exceptions), (b) words denoting females, e.g. Cajužun 'old woman', (c) names of countries, towns, e.g. misru 'Cairo, Egypt', (d) some which are fem. by convention, e.g. nafsun 'soul'. See Wright I, 177, 11.43 n 3.

(3) 'Motive' is al-bācūt, lit. 'the rouser, provoker'. Here we may be certain that rhetorical considerations are uppermost, but it should be borne in mind that the intentions of the speaker have always been recognized as a determinant of linguistic form, see 14.4 n 5.

20.21 (1) Not all numbers: only 11-99 fall into this group, being (a) those with a fixed tanwīn preventing annexation, viz. the decades from 20 to 90, (b) compound numerals whose second element has the status of tanwīn, also preventing annexation, viz. 11 to 19. See further n 4.

(2) This verb is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) from the 3rd weak radical root š-r-y: its past tense conjugates like ra'ā in 10.65 n 1, and its imperfect tense like yarmī in 4.82 n 1.

(3) See 3.71 on 1 as an allomorph of a.

(4) The decades 20-90 are formally sound masc. plurals (see 3.412 (a)) which never occur without tanwīn: the phrase Cisrūna dīrhaman '20 dirhams' is chosen by Sibawayhi as an explanatory model for structures in which annexation is prevented for whatever reason (see Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 487).

20.22 (1) The syntax of numerals is complex: see *Jum.* 137; *Muf.* #313; Alf. v 726; Qāṭr 362; Beeston 61; Fleisch 94; Yushmanov 71; Hetzron, *J.S.S.* 12, 180. Setting aside '1' and '2', which are pure adjectives, the variables may be summarized as follows:

(a) all units (except '-1', '-2') are marked with the gender opposite to that of their counted nouns; '11' and '12' agree in gender with the noun in both tens and units, '13' to '19' agree in tens only; all numerals are fully inflected except the invariable compounds '11', '13' to '19' and the ten element of '12', which all end in a.
Lastly, type (3), specification of quantity, e.g. 

\[ \text{Cindī raṭlun zaytan wa-manawānī tamran} \]

'I have a rotl-weight of oil and two manaw-weights of dates', in which Cindī 'with me' is a preposed predicate, raṭlun 'a rotl-weight' is a delayed subject, and zaytan 'oil' is a specifying element explaining the quantity of a rotl and made dependent by raṭlun 'a rotl-weight'; likewise tamran 'dates' is a specifying element of manawānī 'two manaw-weights' and is made dependent by it. The implicit original form is \[ *raṭlu zaytin wa-manawā tamrīn Cindī 'a rotl-weight of oil and two manaw-weights of dates are with me'. \]

The author then adds: and zaydūn 'akramu minka 'aban wa-'ajmalu minka wajhan 'Zayd is nobler than you as to father and more handsome than you in face'. This does not belong to type (3) just dealt with, but to the specification of relationship, and it should by rights have been dealt with before type (2) (number).

The condition for the occurrence of a specifying element in dependent form after an elative is that it should have the meaning of an agent, as in the two examples above: you can see that it would be equally correct to replace the elative with a verb and make the specifying element into an agent, saying zaydūn karuma 'abūhu wa-jamula wajhuhu 'Zayd, his father was noble and his face was handsome'.

We have described these two as specification of relationship simply because the original form is \[ *'abū zaydin 'akramu minka wa-wajhu hu 'ajmalu minka 'Zayd's father is more noble than you and his (Zayd's) face is more handsome than yours', \] then the predicate of the annexed element has been converted into predication of the annexing element and the former annexed element made into a specifying element:
(b) after '3' to '10' counted nouns have plur. oblique form; after '11' to '99' they have sing. dependent form; after '100' upwards they have sing. oblique form, all determined by the last numeral in the series.

Most of the above principles are illustrated in the examples given in 17.62, 18.31, 19.71, 20.6, 23.45. See also 26.72 n 2.

20.3 (1) Note  ‘inda 'with me' = 'I have' (see 18.207 on ‘inda, 3.421 n 3 on suffix I), a regular use of the space qualifier to denote possession (cf. also ma‘a, 18.208, li, 26.27).

(2) See 9.73 n 1 on this inversion. According to Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 569, raṭl is a metathesized borrowing of Greek litra 'a pound'.

(3) Although according to 9.74 these verbless sentences contain an implicit verb, the operation of a self-sufficient utterance is enough to account for the dependent form (see 19.25 n 1).

(4) 'Implicit original form' is a free translation of taqdīr, lit. 'estimation' (q.v. 2.101 n 1). See 26.93 n 1 on annexed form manāwā.

20.4 (1) It will be recognized that the topic here is the comparative adjective. In Arabic both comparative and superlative adjectives are formally identical (cf. 3.411 nn 6, 7, 3.89 n 10) and are termed ism at-taftīl, lit. 'the noun of causing to excel', usually rendered 'elative'. The comparative and superlative senses are revealed by differences of syntax: see 20.42 n 2 on comparatives and 20.42 n 3 on superlatives. General references: Muf. #118; Alf. v 496; Qatr 316; Beeston 57; Fleisch 188, Tr. #89e.

(2) i.e. in 20.11-13.

20.41 (1) There is a difference here between the specifying element and the circumstantial qualifier which, though it is implied by the differences enumerated in 20.01 n 2, does not seem to have attracted the grammarians' attention: as the circumstantial qualifier is essentially a predicate of its antecedent (19.7), so the specifying element is an agent or subject (raṭlun zaytan in 20.3 can be paraphrased as az-zaytu raṭlun 'the oil is a rotl-weight', like at-tawbu kazzun 'the garment is silk', q.v. 26.72. But see Muf. #87.

(2) These sentences are of the 'two-faced' (gāt wajhayn) type, q.v. 9.75 n 1. Note the stative verbs karuma 'to be noble', jamula 'to be handsome' (cf. Fleisch 117, dislikes the term 'stative'; Yushmanov 50, 10.22 n 2). Since the elative meaning is a property of the pattern ‘afCalu (cf. 20.42 n 2), it cannot be shown in the verbal paraphrase.

20.42 (1) See 20.11 nn 2, 3 on the 'transformational' terminology of this paragraph.

(2) Comparative syntax: attributive use is not common (cf. Cantarino, II, 471), and in predicative use the form ‘afCal is used for all genders and numbers (e.g. 9.23). Comparison is shown by collocation with a phrase introduced by min, freely translated as 'than' but ultimately a noun meaning 'part' which has become a preposition (1.701). Given
this has become zaydun 'akramu minka 'aban wa-'ajmalu minka wajhan
'Zayd is nobler than you as to father and more handsome than you in face'. Here zaydun 'Zayd' is the subject, 'akramu 'nobler' is its predicate, minka 'than you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with 'akramu 'nobler', and 'aban 'father' is made dependent as a specifying element; 'ajmalu 'more handsome' is coordinated to 'akramu 'nobler', minka 'than you' is semantically connected with it, and wajhan 'face' is a specifying element.\(^3\)

20.5 The specifying element is always undefined. Contrary to the opinion of the Kūfans,\(^1\) but they have no argument in the verse which they cite:
ra’aytuka lammā 'an càrafta wujūhanā
ṣadatta wa-ṭibta n-nafsa yā qaysu Càn ċamrin
'I saw you, when you recognized our faces, turn aside, and be content in the mind, O Qays, about CAmr',\(^2\) because it is possible for the al 'the' on an-nafsu 'the mind' to be construed as redundant.\(^3\)

20.6 Note: Occasionally the specifying element has not been converted from any original form, as in intala’a l-‘inā’u mā’an 'the pot became filled with water'.\(^1\) Similarly li-llāhi darruḥu fārisan 'what an excellent rider he is!' and other like expressions conveying wonder, because these constructions have been conventionally established\(^2\) for beginning such sentences. The specifying element is also found not in an explanatory function but as a corroborative, e.g. in this verse of Abu Tālib:
that the pattern (10.37 n 1) 'afCāl originally might have an intensifying function (see Beeston 57), our present examples might be reconstructed as 'Zayd's father is extremely noble on your part (scil. 'with respect to you')' and his face is extremely handsome on your part (scil. 'with respect to you'). General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 1.25, 5.411, 9.81, 11.754, 12.21, 19.34, 23.61 (c). On the irregular ġayr 'better/best' etc. see 5.82 n 5.

(3) Superlative syntax: attributive use fairly common (e.g. al-ʻasmā'u l-husnā 'the most beautiful names', 5.86), with full concordance (see 3.89 n 10). Predicatively and substantively 'afCāl is used, annexed to a noun or pronoun (same distribution as kull, 13.4 n 6), viz. (a) undefined sing., e.g. 'ajmalu wajhin 'the most handsome face' (specifying annexation, 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing, consisting of a face'; (b) defined plur., e.g. 'ajmalu l-wujūhi 'the most handsome of the faces' (partitive, also 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing among the faces'; (c) defined sing., e.g. 'akṭaru l-waqtī 'most of the time' (particularization, 26.71). General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 3.89 end, 10.65, 17.61, and cf. 5.82 n 5.

20.5 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans'. Insāf does not record this debate, which as-Širbīnī has taken from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 394.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 106, and add Alf. vv 108, 362, which allude to this verse, also Abū Hayyān, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 34, 221. Cf. 20.13 on the regular construction, and note also: raʿaytu 'I saw' with double direct object, being a sentence (10.65), redundant 'an after lammā 'when' (5.413), assimilation of definite article al to nafs (11.41 n 2), qaysu without tanwīn in the vocative (23.41).

(3) This is the 'Baṣran' view. A third opinion is that an-nafsa is the direct object of šadadta: 'you turned—and were calm—yourself away'.

20.6 (1) This is adapted from an example in Kitāb I, 105, where it stands alongside tafaqqātu šahman 'I was bursting with fat' (see 20.12), with no indication that it is in any way different in kind from its neighbour. If an underlying form had to be found, it would require an external agent, e.g. malaʾa l-ʿināʾa māʾan 'he filled the pot with water', not malaʾa l-māʾu l-ʿināʾa 'the water filled the pot', v. 20.8.

(2) Cf. 1.14 n 1 on wudīʕa 'conventionally established'; 'construction' is tarkīf (cognate with murakkab 'compound, complex, 1.12 n 1, note the continuity of morphological and syntactical terms, cf. 1.41 n 3), see other examples in 2.14, 5.02, 8.3. The formula li-ilāhi darruhu, lit. 'to God belongs his abundance of milk' obviously defies explanation; see further 20.9 n 2 for this and similar exclamatory expressions, and see 20.7 n 2 for 'verbs of surprise', 'afCāl at-taCajjub. Note also 'interrogative kam' (kam al-istīfḥāmiyya, contrast 'predicative kam' in 26.61 n 1), 'how much/many', e.g. kam kitāban laka 'how many books do you have?' This requires a specifying element for two reasons: (a) because it denotes a vague number (cf. 20.21-22), and (b) because it can be separated from its noun (kam laka kitāban), which rules out annexation (cf. 20.21 n 4).
wa-la-qad calimtu bi-‘anna din muhammadin
min Ęayrí ‘adyání 1-bariyyati dinan

'and I already knew that the religion of Muhammad is among the best
religions in creation, as a religion',\(59a\) where dinan 'as a relig-
ion' is a specifying element corroborating his words 'the best relig-
ions in creation'. Cf. also the Qur’anic ‘inna ciddáta š-suhúri cinda
lláhi ṭná cašara šahran fí kitábi lláhi ‘verily the number of months
with God is twelve months in God's book'.\(4\)

20.7 Supplementary Note: The specifying element never precedes its
operator if the latter is an underived noun\(1\)(e.g. raṭlun zaytan 'a rotl-
weight of oil') or an underived verb\(2\)(e.g. mā ‘aḥsanahu rajulan 'what
a good man he is!'), because underived elements have no morphological
freedom\(^3\)of their own and so lack the syntactical freedom to invert the
elements on which they operate.

20.8 The specifying element may be made oblique by min ‘of', except in
three cases:\(1\)(1) specification of number (e.g. cíṣrúna dirhaman 'twenty
dirhams'), (2) the converted direct object (e.g. ğerástu l-‘arḍa
šajaran 'I planted the land with trees'), and (3) that which had the
meaning of an agent before being artificially converted\(^2\)from an agent,
e.g. ṭába zaydun nafsan 'Zayd was content in mind', since the original
form is *ṭábat nafsu zaydin 'the mind of Zayd was content'.

20.9 Having finished\(^1\)with the sixth of the dependent elements,\(^2\)the
(3) Schaw. Ind. 276, and add Abû Hayyân, op. cit. 20.5 n 2, 393. This verse belongs to a couplet said to have been spoken by Abû Tâlib, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, demonstrating (according to the orthodox interpretation) that Abû Tâlib remained a pagan in spite of a grudging admiration for Islâm (cf. aš-Sîrbînî's Qur‘ân Commentary I, 19.

(4) S. 9 v 36. It may well be that the repetition of the word for 'months' is felt to be excessive (and therefore corroborative, cf. 13.11), but this hardly alters the explanatory function of şahrân, which by its undefined sing. dependent form shows that it is operated on in the normal way by the numeral '12' (q.v. 20.22 n 1).

20.7 (1) 'Underived noun' is ʾism jâmîd, lit. 'rigid noun', i.e. having no corresponding verb (hence no deverbal cognates such as participles etc.), contrasting with ʾism muštâqq 'derived noun', 19.31 n 1.

(2) 'Underived verb' is ʾfiq jâmîd, lit. 'rigid verb', i.e. invariable and unproductive (there is doubt whether it ever was a true verb: cf. Fleisch 189 n 1). This is the 'verb of surprise', ʾfiq at-taşâjjub, and has either the form given here or a pseudo-imperative 'ahsan bihi rajulan; Jum. 112; Muf. #477; Alif. v 474; Qâṭr 379. The verbs niʿma, biʿsa (5.11) can conveniently be included here, e.g. niʿma ʾz-rajul zaydun or niʿma rajulan zaydun 'What a good man Zayd is!'; Jum. 121; Muf. #468; Alif. v 485; Qâṭr 191.

(3) 'Freedom' renders yataṣṣarrâfu (see cognates in 1.41 n 1, 18.4 n 1, 18.41 n 1); yataṣṣarrâfu ff nafsihi 'is free in itself' is understood as morphological, and yataṣṣarrâfu ff maʿmûlihi 'is free in what it operates on' as syntactical (cf. 2.11 n 1 on 'operation').

20.8 (1) Only the quantitative type (20.3) is left, e.g. raṭlûn min az-zayti 'a roti-weight of oil', with 'explanatory min' (5.82 n 3). In ʾišrûna min ad-darâhim the min is now partitive (9.03 n 4) and the meaning is 'twenty of the dirhams' (darâhim, plur.). The objection to ʾgarastu l-ʾarāḍa min ʾaṣājîn is that it makes al-ʾarāḍa look like the true direct object of ʾgarastu when it is, in fact, only metaphorical (for ʾgarastu ʾaṣâjîn ff l-ʾarāḍī 'I planted trees in the land', cf. S. 54 v 12: fajarnā l-ʾarāḍa ʾuṣûnan 'we broached the land with springs').

(2) 'Artificially' is ʾsināʿatân, lit. 'in the craft or art', which may mean 'for rhetorical reasons' but more likely refers to the technical processes of grammar: as early as Ibn Jinnî (d. 1002, cf. his Sirr ʾsinâʿat al-ʾiʿrāb 'Secret of the art of inflection') grammar had become sufficiently self-aware to regard itself as a ʾsinâʿa (=techné).

20.9 (1) Here we insert a type of dependent noun which has some slight affinities with the specifying element, e.g. ʾinna maʿṣâra l-ʾarâbî... 'verily we, the Arab people...', where maʿṣâra 'kinsfolk' has dep. form as a 'specialization' of its antecedent (taḵṣīs, not in quite the same sense as in 19.71 n 1). Adjectival discord as set out in 11.6 is usually treated as a variety of taḵṣīs.

(2) Many exclamations involve specifying elements, e.g.ʾanta r-rajulu Cîlman 'you are the man for knowledge!', waḥbahu rajulan 'alas for him.
author now turns to the seventh of them, namely exception.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

21.0 Chapter on the excepted element.¹ As defined in the TashFi,² it is 'that which is excluded, either actually or implicitly, from something stated or omitted, by means of 'illā 'except' or its synonyms, on condition that some information is conveyed'.

21.01 The term 'excluded' is generic,¹ and comprises which is excluded by substitution (e.g. 'akaltu r-rağīfa ṭūlaḥa 'I ate the loaf, a third of it'), by limitation (e.g. the Qur'anic 'atimmū ṣ-ṣiyāma 'illā l-layli 'complete the fast, until night')² as well as by exception. 'By means of 'illā 'except' and its synonyms' excludes everything but strict exception. By 'actually or implicitly' both continuous exception and discontinuous exception are included, and 'from something stated or omitted' comprises both complete exception and exhaustive exception. By 'on condition that some information is conveyed'³ are excluded such utterances as *jā'anī nāsun 'illā zaydan 'some people came to me except Zayd' and jā'anī l-qawmu 'illā rajulan 'the people came to me except a man', for these convey nothing.

21.02 The particles of exception (i.e. its instruments)¹ are eight: (he calls them all particles because the commonest of them is one).² They divide into four groups: (a) comprising two particles, viz. 'illā
as a man!': these lack verbs (contrast 20.7 n 2), even so they still
operate verbally upon extraneous elements (see further 19.25 n 1).

21.0 (1) Jum. 235; Muf. #88; Alf. v 316; Qatr 271; Fleisch 184 (also
E.I. (2), art. 'Istithna'); Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 42; Carter, J.S.S.
20, 69. Terminology is evidently a natural application of the literal
sense, viz. istithnā' '(act of) exception', harf istithnā' 'particle of
exception', mustaṭnā minhu 'excepted from it', i.e. 'antecedent', and
mustaṭnā 'thing excepted', i.e. 'excepted element', but cf. E.I. (2),
art. 'Hiyal' for istithnā' as a legal term for 'mental reservation',

(2) The reference is via al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 346, to Tashīl al-fawā'id

21.01 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph: 'generic' is jins, lit.
'genus' (v. 23.31 n 1); 'substitution' is badal, q.v. 14.21 for the
example quoted here; 'limitation' is ḍāya, lit. 'end, limit' (cf. 5.53,
5.56, 12.91, 12.911 for the overlap of 'illa, ḥattā and 'illa); 'strict'
has been added to ensure that istithnā' has its full technical sense;
see 21.1, 21.11 for continuous and discontinuous exception respectively;
'actually or implicitly' is tahqīqan 'aw taqdīran, not true antonyms,
as tahqīq and cognates are usually opposed to majāz 'figure, metaphor'
(v. 13.3 n 1) and taqdīr to lafẓ '(explicit) form' (v. 2.101 n 1).

(2) S. 2 v 187.

(3) See 1.13 on informativeness. Both utterances are meaningful with­
out the exceptive phrases, and with jā'anī nāsun there are interesting
possibilities: either nāsun 'some people' is informative enough, though
formally undefined, to be both grammatical and logical subject of the
predicate jā'anī 'came to me' (cf. 18.108 n 2 on verbs of motion with
direct object), or the logical subject is actually nī 'me', equal to
passive ji'tu 'I was come to (by unidentified agent/s)'; cf. 8.11 n 1.
The second analysis is supported by the fact that nī is the only defined
element in the utterance, cf. the considerations in 9.12 n 2, 9.73 n 1.

21.02 (1) 'Instruments' is 'adāwāt (sing. 'adāh), literally translated.
It is a synonym of harf in its meaning of 'particle' (cf. 1.25 n 2),
which at one time (e.g. Ḣanfī, intro. 72 n 1) was thought to be a mark
of 'Kūfī' grammar (9.4 n 3), but the arch-Baṣrān Sībawayhī uses it
once (Kitāb II, 143) and it seems to crop up indiscriminately.

(2) Lit. 'by predominance', taqīlban, cf. 3.65 n 12.
'except' and ḥāšā 'except' (the latter sometimes also ḥāša with elision of the final long ā, and ḥāšā with elision of the first long ā)\(^b\) (b) comprising two verbs, viz. lāṣa 'not to be' and īllā yakūnū 'is not', (c) comprising two nouns, viz. ḡayru 'other than' and siwā 'other than' (and its variant realizations, (59b) it being said as siwā, like ṭiḏā 'contentment', sawā, like ḥudā 'guidance' and sawā un, with a after the s and a long ā, this last being the most unusual),\(^4\) and (d) comprising two elements which fluctuate between being verbs and particles, viz. ḥalā 'except' and ḍādā 'except'.

21.03 The author now lists them collectively: and they are Ḵillā 'except', ḡalā 'other than' and ḍādā 'other than' (like ṭiḏā 'contentment'), sawā, like ḥudā 'guidance' and sawā un, with a after the s and a long ā, this last being the most unusual),\(^4\) and (d) comprising two elements which fluctuate between being verbs and particles, viz. ḥalā 'except' and ḍādā 'except'.

21.1 He then deals with them in detail, beginning with Ḵillā 'except' (for which he describes three states)\(^3\) because it is the parent of the whole category,\(^2\) starting with the first state: (1) The element excepted by Ḵillā 'except' has dependent form (compulsorily) if the utterance preceding it is already structurally complete\(^3\) (i.e. the antecedent has been explicitly mentioned) and positive (mūjab 'positive', with a after the j)\(^4\) i.e. is not preceded by negation or its equivalent (prohibition and interrogation). This applies to "continuous exception",\(^5\) i.e. when the excepted element is actually part of the antecedent, e.g. gāma l-qawmu ḵillā zaydan 'the people stood except Zayd' (also raʾaytu l-qawma ḵillā zaydan 'I saw the people except Zayd', marartu bi-l-qawmi ḵillā zaydan 'I passed by the people except Zayd') and karaja n-nāsu ḵillā camran 'the people went out except Ca'mran'.\(^6\)

21.11 The element excepted by ḵillā 'except' is always dependent and its dependence operator (in the preponderant opinion) is ḵillā alone, whether you have made the antecedent independent, dependent or oblique. The same applies to "discontinuous exception",\(^2\) i.e. where the excepted element is not actually part of the antecedent, e.g. gāma l-qawmu ḵillā
(3) Orthographically ḥāṣā is ḥaʾṣay, and to shorten either vowel a consonantal lengthening marker has to be elided, see 2.43 n 2.

(4) See 21.44 n 1 on luğa 'variant realization', and note the use of well known words to specify a particular morphology (an alternative to spelling out in full, q.v. 3.44 n 2). It is pedantic, but necessary, to point out that the transliterations are inconsistent here: sawāʾun is quoted in its junctural form, i.e. complete with its case vowel and final n (q.v. 1.4), not the pausal form (viz. sawāʾ, cf. 2.14 n 2), while siwāʾ, suwāʾ etc. are quoted in their pausal form, without final n (like fatāʾ, 4.2 n 2 (b)). There is no excuse for this, except perhaps that the junctural form suwan never occurs in natural language, as suwāʾ is always annexed to the following noun (2.14).

21.03 (1) Omitting laysa and lā yakūnu, which are dealt with in 21.62. Another type of exception which ought to be mentioned is the construction with 'inna mā 'only', e.g. 'inna mā daraba 'ānā 'only I struck', explained in 7.7 as synonymous with mā daraba 'īllā 'ānā 'none struck but I' (see further 9.83 n 2).

21.1 (1) 'States' is lit. for ḥālāt, cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism and 25.62 n 2 on bāb (plur. 'ābwāb) in the meaning of 'category'.

(2) Lit. 'mother of the category', cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism and 25.62 n 2 on bāb (plur. 'ābwāb) in the meaning of 'category'.

(3) 'Structurally complete' is perhaps not fully justified for the simple term tāmm, lit. 'complete, finished', and perhaps 'formally complete' would be less tendentious. The objection to 'structural' is that some of the 'complete' sentences below nevertheless contain more than a structural minimum, viz. raʾaytu l-qawma 'I saw the people' ('people' is redundant, cf. 15.06 n 1), marartu bi-1-qawmi 'I passed by the people' ('by the people' redundant). However, as āš-Sirbīnī's subsequent comment makes clear, in the context of exception these elements cease to be redundant. Further on tāmm, 9.71 n 2.

(4) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the passive mūjab from the active mūjib 'one who asserts, makes necessary' (root w-j-b, Stem IV, v. 10.34 n 1).

(5) 'Continuous exception' is fairly literal for istīṭnāʾ muttasil (muttasil, 'joined' is also used for bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1, and for a type of conjunctive construction in 12.51), and the definition provided by āš-Sirbīnī makes its application clear. What he does not explain until 21.2 (because Ibn Ājurrūm's over-simplification obscures the fact) is that continuous exception also occurs with negative sentences. Cf. Carter, J.S.S. 20, 70.

(6) The elements in the incorrect sentences in 21.01 do belong to the same class, but are too vague to be identified as being excepted from one another.

21.11 (1) See 21.14 n 1 on this dispute

(2) 'Discontinuous exception' is fairly literal for istīṭnāʾ munqatiʿ (cf. munqatiʿ 'disjunctive' in 12.52), referring, as the examples make
21.12 In all these examples the excepted element is dependent and nothing else: it is no rebuttal of this to cite the Qur'anic *kāna flhimā* "ilāhatun 'illā llāhu 'if there had been in them a god other than God', with *allāhu 'God'* in independent form, because *'illā* 'except' in this verse does not denote exception but simply has the meaning of *gāyru 'other than'*; and *'illā* has the form of a particle.

21.13 It is a matter of indifference whether the excepted element appears after the antecedent (as in the above examples) or before it, as in *qāma (60a) 'illā zaydan (or 'illā himāran) il-qawmu 'except Zayd (or 'except a donkey') the people stood'*. Consequently the same form is used of the excepted element: the soundest view is that it is *'illā* 'except' itself alone, as already stated.

21.14 Note: There is some dispute as to the precise operator of the excepted element: the soundest view is that it is *'illā* 'except' itself alone, as already stated.

21.2 (2) The author now treats the second state of *'illā* 'except'. If the utterance preceding *'illā* 'except' is negated by having before it a negative or its equivalent, and is already structurally complete (i.e. if the antecedent is explicitly mentioned), then it (i.e. the excepted element) may be treated as a substitute of the antecedent. This is substitution of the part for the whole according to the Başrans, but
clear, to exception of something not in the same class as its antecedent. This distinction has something artificial about it: Kitāb I, 363 and later Muqtadab IV, 412f recognize the phenomenon, but it seems that the contrasting terms muttaṣīl (21.1 n 5) and munqāṭṣī did not become fixed until the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, e.g. op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 41). Sībawayhi, on the other hand, not only never uses muttaṣīl in this context, but also uses munqāṭṣī in a purely structural sense ('cut off from what operates on the antecedent', ibid.) and illustrates this with examples in which the excepted element is in the same class as its antecedent.

21.12 (1) S. 21 v 22: 'them' refers to heaven and earth, and the verse continues la-fasadatā 'they both would perish'. A secular example from the earliest discussion of this case may remove the theological distractions, viz. law kāna ma'alanā rajulun 'illā zaydun la-gulīnā 'if there had been with us any man except Zayd we would have been defeated' (Kitāb I, 370), where 'illā likewise has the status of ḍayru 'other than' (21.4). An alternative explanation is that law 'if' is effectively a negative (by asserting impossible conditions, cf. 5.811 n 1), scil. 'no man but Zayd was with us', 'no god other than God was in them', hence the excepted element follows the rules of 21.2, 21.46. Sībawayhi seems to be aware of this possibility, but gives it no emphasis at all, though his commentators clearly recognize the underlying negation in this and similar constructions (cf. Jahn's notes to Kitāb #194, also Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 506).

(2) Cf. 21.41 on transfer of inflection in the opposite direction. Note sūra 'form', q.v. 11.712 n 2, and see 1.41 n 4 on invariability, binā'.

21.13 (1) The indifference here refers only to the obligatory dependent form after 'illā in positive sentences: the preferred word order remains as illustrated in 21.1 and 21.11, and inversions of the type gāma 'illā zaydan il-gawmu are rare (Reckendorf's examples, Ar. Synt. 511, are from poetry).

21.14 (1) See Inṣāf, prob. 34 on this debate between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3): some Kūfans make 'illā itself the operator, some others wrongly segment 'illā into the two dependence operators 'īnna (10.41) and lā (22.0), while the Baṣrans tend to look for an implicit verb such as 'I except' as the operator. See Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 493, for the more plausible explanation of Sībawayhi.

21.2 (1) See 21.1 n 3 for some reservations about the translation of tāmm as 'structurally complete'.

(2) Both here and in 21.1 the antecedent and the excepted element are homogeneous, hence both belong to the category of istiṭnā' muttaṣāl 'continuous exception', q.v. 21.1 n 5. This is a purely semantic classification: the logical status of the excepted element and the structure of the sentence both differ from those in 21.1.

(3) See 14.2; one might have expected inclusive substitution (14.3) to be named, since membership of classes is involved, but the Arabs prefer
is sequential coordination according to the Kūfans (because they regard 'illā 'except' as belonging to the particles of coordination, specifically in the category of exception: so said Abū Ḥayyān).

21.21 An example of the negative is the Qur'anic mā fa'alūhu 'illā qalīlun minhum 'they did not do it, except a few of them', with the independent form of qalīlun 'few' in the Seven Canonical Readings (apart from Ibn Cāmīr), here qalīlun 'few' is a substitute of theū 'they' in fa'alūhu 'they did it', by substitution of the part for the whole according to the Basrans. The operator is thus understood as repeated, from an implicit *mā fa'alūhu 'illā fa'alahu qalīlun minhum 'they did not do it, except a few of them did it'. The Kūfans consider this to be sequential coordination.

21.22 Equivalent to negation are prohibition and interrogation: an example of prohibition is the Qur'anic wa-lā yaltafīt minkum 'ahadun 'illā mra'atuka 'and let not one of you look except your wife', with the independent form of 'imra'atuka 'your wife' in the Reading of Abū Cāmīr and Ibn Kaṭīr. An example of interrogation is the Qur'anic wa-man yaqnatū min raḥmatī rabbīhi 'illā d-dālilūna 'and who despairs of the mercy of his Lord except those who err?', with the independent form in all Readings.

21.23 The author goes on: or it may take dependent form through 'illā 'except' by being excepted: which is excellent Arabic, and indeed the Seven Canonical Readings also have the dependent form in the case of qalīlun 'few' and imra'atuka 'your wife' as variants in the above examples.1

21.24 He illustrates both alternatives: e.g. mā qāma l-qawmu 'illā zaydun 'the people did not stand except Zayd' (with the independent form by substitution), or 'illā zaydan 'except Zayd'. This time with the dependent form by being excepted. Further examples: mā marartu
to regard this as a partitive relationship.

(4) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans', and İnsāf prob. 35 for the dispute alluded to here. The Kūfan position is based on the assumption that, since substitution requires no particle between the concordant elements, any particle which is there must be a conjunction (q.v. 12.0).

(5) See 26.7 n 2 on Ābu ʿAyān.

21.21 (1) S. 4 v 66; variant in 21.23 n 1.

(2) Traditionally the variants in the Qur'anic text have been systematized into seven sets called qirā'āt, of which 'Readings' is a literal translation. Each Reading is attached to the name of a prominent transmitter of the Qur'anic text, the earliest of whom was born in 641 and the latest of whom died in 804 (see Sezgin, G.A.S. ch. 1, E.I. (2), art. 'Kirā'a'; on Ibn Ǧāmīr, 641-736, see G.A.S. 1, 6, E.I. (2), s.v.).

(3) Cf. 7.62 on the pronoun suffix û.

(4) 'Understood as repeated' is a free rendering of fī niyyatī takrāri 1-Ǧāmīlī, lit. 'in the intention of repeating the operator'; niyya is a legal term corresponding exactly to mens rei, cf. the maxim al-ʾaḵmāl bi-n-niyyaṯ 'actions depend on intentions'. See 14.4 n 5.

21.22 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on nahy 'prohibition', 5.741 n 1 on istifḥām 'interrogation'; to these can be added the quasi-negative law 'if' in 21.12, and ħal min ǧāliqin ṣayru ʾllāhī in 9.03 (rhetorical question).

(2) S. 11 v 81. See 13.12 n 1 on the juncture feature in imraʿatuka.

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; for Ābu Ǧāmīr ibn al-Ǧālī, d. 770, see E.I. (2), s.v., and for Ibn Ḫūrī, 665-738, see G.A.S. 1, 7, E.I. (2), s.v. Needless to say, the existence of seven 'Readings' does not mean that every variant has seven different forms.

(4) S. 15 v 56; ǧālūna 'those who err' displays the only permitted type of over-long syllable CVC (2.43 n 2), viz. ǧāl, which occurs only on the assimilation of identical consonants (=*dālūn, cf. 10.34 n 1). Where the two consonants are different (which happens only in juncture, e.g. ʿlā-m in ʾilla mraʿatuka) the vowel is pronounced short but the spelling is unaltered. Cf. Beeston 20; Fleisch 22; Yushmanov 14.

21.23 (1) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; the variants here would read mā faʿalūhu ʾilla qaṭṭān minhum (S. 4 v 66, 21.21) and wa-lā yaltafit minkum ʾilla mraʿatuka (S. 11 v 81, 21.22). The dependent form is not appropriate to the logical status of the excepted elements, as they are, in fact, the true agents: but we may accept as-Ẓajjājī's explanation (Jum. 235) as intuitively sound, i.e. that the sentence is already complete without them. The ʾilla phrases can then be regarded as afterthoughts, their structural redundancy marked by the dependent form (cf. Carter, J.S.S. 20, 71).

21.24 (1) Etymologically ʾilla is ʾin lā 'if not', and Reckendorf may be right in claiming (Synt. Verh. 712, 714) that it originally occurred only after negative sentences as here, and that the excepted element
The text discusses the use of 'illâ 'except' with oblique form by substitution or 'illâ 'except' with dependent form by being excepted. The effect of these possibilities is explored, including the presence or absence of an implicit pronoun, and examples are given to illustrate different uses of 'illâ 'except'.

The author then deals with the third state of 'illâ 'except', focusing on whether the utterance is structurally incomplete and if it precedes by negation or its equivalent. The example of 'amrunâ wa-mâ 'our command is one' is cited to illustrate the operation of 'illâ 'except' being neutralized.

Cf. the Qur'anic wa-mâ 'amrunâ 'illâ wâhidatun 'our command is not but one', as if you had said *'amrunâ wâhidatun 'our command is one'.
had to concord with the function of its antecedent because it had that function itself (cf. the paraphrase in 21.21: *mā faCalūhu 'illā faCalahu qalflun minhum 'they did not do it, except that a few of them did it').

(2) If Reckendorf was right (n 1), this option may not have evolved simultaneously with the previous type, but would have arisen by contamination with the dependent forms in the newer type of exception after positive sentences, perhaps when the role of the dependent form as a marker of structural redundancy had become stabilized (cf. 19.1 n 1).

21.241 (1) By 'two possibilities' aš-SirbInī means the choice between substitution in the appropriate case or obligatory dependent form. In the last example quoted above the dependent form results either way, but, as the ensuing analysis reveals, the deep structure is different. When the excepted element substitutes for a direct object the underlying form is *mā ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā ra'aytu minhum.zaydan 'I did not see the people except I saw of them Zayd', the two conditions for substitution of the part for the whole (14.2) being (a) concord, hence the dependent form and (b) explicit or implicit pronoun reference to the 'whole' of which the excepted element is the partial substitute (14.21). In our example the pronoun is in minhum 'of them', and remains implicit, but this need not always be so, e.g. mā faCalūhu 'illā qalflun minhum in 21.21.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik and 21.14 n 1 on the various theories on the operation of 'illā. This time the underlying form is *mā ra'aytu l-qawma; 'illā zaydan 'I did not see the people; except Zayd', where the 'illā phrase is structurally redundant.

21.3 (1) 'Structurally incomplete' is nāgīs, lit. 'lacking', antonym of tāmm '(structurally) complete', q.v. 21.1, esp. n 3, and cf. 9.71, 9.94. In 10.11 and elsewhere in ch. 10 these terms are rendered 'syntactically complete/defective' because they denote functional categories rather than structural features of sentences.

(2) See 21.22 on the equivalents, prohibition and interrogation. There are no positive sentences in this kind of exception, cf. 21.35 n 2.

(3) 'Neutralized' is 'ulʊiya, passive verb cognate with mulʊā, q.v. 5.431 n 3, and see 21.31 n 1. On 'operators', Cawāmil, see 2.11.

21.31 (1) An utterance mā qāma can mean one of two things: there may be a concealed agent pronoun (11.714 n 3), giving 'he stood', on condition that the reference of 'he' is intended by the speaker and understood by the listener, or else there may be no pronoun agent because an overt agent is about to be mentioned (cf. 7.22 n 1). The occurrence of 'illā rules out the first possibility, hence zaydun is both grammatical and logical agent and inflects accordingly, 'illā having no effect, except to revoke the previous negative, scil. 'there stood not, if not Zayd' = 'there stood Zayd'.

(2) S. 54 v 50; there is no verb in this sentence, and mā here could equally well be interrogative, scil. 'what is our command if not one?'
21.32 If what precedes 'illā requires an object, the excepted element is made dependent as an object, e.g. mā darabtu 'illā zaydan 'I did not strike but Zayd', where zaydan 'Zayd' has dependent form as object of darabtu 'I struck', and 'illā 'except' is neutralized, as if you had said darabtu zaydan 'I struck Zayd'.

21.33 If what precedes 'illā requires an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with it, the excepted element is made oblique by a particle of obliqueness, e.g. mā marartu 'illā bi-zaydin 'I did not pass except by Zayd'. Here zaydin 'Zayd' is made oblique by bi 'by', being semantically connected with marra 'to pass', and 'illā 'except' is neutralized, as if you had said marartu bi-zaydin 'I passed by Zayd'.

21.34 This kind of exception is called 'exhaustive', because what precedes 'illā 'except' is fully occupied by what is required after 'illā and is not diverted from it by operating on anything else.

21.35 In fact, as Šayk Kālid put it, this kind of exception is really exception from an elided general antecedent, and what follows 'illā 'except' is a substitute for that elided antecedent. Thus in the independent state it is implicitly mā qāma 'aḥadun 'illā zaydun 'not one stood but Zayd', in the dependent state mā ra'aytu 'aḥadun 'illā zaydan 'I saw no-one but Zayd', and in the oblique state mā marartu bi-'aḥadin 'illā bi-zaydin 'I passed by no-one but by Zayd' (6la) but the antecedent has been elided and its operator preoccupied instead with the excepted element, for which reason they call this 'exhaustive' exception.

21.4 The element excepted by ġayru 'other than', siwā 'other than' (spelt with i after the s), suwā 'other than', and sawā'a 'other than' (ending in ā), and with a after the s, which is a purer form than siwā'un 'other than' with i
21.32 (1) Here it is only convention which expects a direct object after a transitive verb: the sentence is already structurally complete in the form mā ḍarabtu 'I did not strike', cf. 21.1 n 3. However, it is certainly true that the occurrence of 'illā here leads to the expectation of a direct object, hence the dependent form of zaydan. There can be no question of the principles set out in 21.2, 21.23 operating in this case, as there is no antecedent for which zaydan could be a substitute or from which it could be excepted (cf. 21.34).

21.33 (1) Apologies have already been offered in 3.84 n 3 for the long-winded translation of jārr wa-majrūr as 'operator of obliqueness and oblique element'. For muta'ālliq 'semantically connected' see 5.82 n 6, and cf. also 23.45 n 4.

(2) Note the assimilated 2nd and 3rd radicals in the 'doubled verb' marra, q.v. 10.61 n 1, and see 3.52 n 3 on the use of the 3rd masc. sing. in the metalanguage.

(3) When there is no antecedent, as here, 'illā can hardly be a conjunction, as the 'Kūfans' argue (21.2 n 4), contrast 21.24, where their case appears more plausible, since the preposition bī is not repeated before the conjoined element (cf. 12.1).

21.34 (1) 'Exhaustive' is mufarrāg, lit. 'emptied, made idle', a term not found in the earliest grammars (e.g. Kitāb I, 360, Muqtaḥab IV, 389), but evidently established by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 39). It would be elegant if mufarrāg here retained its primary meaning and denoted exception from an empty set, but it is more likely to have developed as the antithesis of ṣaģala 'to preoccupy, wholly engage' and its derivatives, used by Sībawayhi (loc. cit.) to express the idea that in exception the verb may or may not already be fully occupied by an agent etc., as in aš-Ṣirbānī's explanation here. Cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 95, and iṣṭiġāl, 7.30 n 2.

21.35 (1) This is aš-Šayk Kālid al-Azharī, the unacknowledged source of most of the contents of the present work (see further 14.63 n 3). The quotation is from Taṣrīr, I, 348.

(2) The translation emphasizes that the agents etc. of the verb remain positive: the structure of the verbal sentence (7.5 n 1) is such that only the verb can be negated, not its agent etc., and the type 'I passed by no man' is impossible in Classical Arabic. In modern usage, and under the influence of European languages, verbs with negated agents are tending to appear, see further 22.6 n 1.

(3) Note that 'exhaustive' exception is confined to negative sentences: a positive *qāma 'illā zaydun (or zaydan, as in 21.1), while appearing to contain a logical agent for the verb, is devoid of anything which could be its formal agent (contrast 21.31 n 1). Cf. Carter, J.S.S. 20, 71. There is, however, a positive equivalent using ġayr, q.v. 21.46 n 3.

21.4 (1) Jum. 236; Muf. #89; Alf. v 326; Qatur 276; Fleisch, Tr. #118i;
after the s) takes oblique form by having ġayru, siwā, suwā and sawāʿun annexed to it, and no other. That is, only the oblique form is allowed with these.

21.41 The inflection of these four nouns themselves is the same as that of the element excepted by 'illā 'except', viz. (a) the dependent form is compulsory for exception from the structurally complete and positive utterance, (b) they may either concur with the inflection of their antecedent or take dependent form in exception from the structurally complete and negative utterance, and (c) for exception from the structurally incomplete and negative utterance they behave according to their operators.

21.42 Examples: (a) exception from the structurally complete and positive utterance, with the antecedent in the independent state, gāma la-qawmu ġayra zaydin or siwā zaydin (with i after the s), or suwā zaydin (with u after the s), or sawāʾa zaydin (with a after the s), and long ā' ending, 'the people stood except Zayd'. In all these four the exceptive is dependent, with an explicit a on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.

21.43 Exception from an antecedent in the dependent state, raʿaytu l-qawmi ġayra zaydin or siwā zaydin (and the alternative vowels of siwā mentioned above), 'I saw the people except Zayd'. In all four of these the exceptive is dependent, with an explicit a on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.

21.44 Exception from an antecedent in the oblique state, marartu bi-l-qawmi ġayra zaydin or siwā zaydin (and the above variant realizations), 'I passed by the people except Zayd'. In all four of these the exceptive is dependent, with an explicit a on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.

21.45 Their behaviour is the same as that of the element excepted by 'illā 'except', but each of these exceptives 'is made dependent as a circumstantial qualifier, whereas the element excepted by 'illā 'is made
cf. also 21.42 n 1. See 21.02 n 4 on the spelling instructions and transliteration problems.

(2) Ibn Ājurrūm's phrase is lā ḡayrū, using the same word ḡayr that is under discussion in this paragraph, but in an invariable and evidently fossilized form, possibly connected with other quasi-adverbial elements ending in u, q.v. 18.41 n 2 (and cf. Cantarino II, 6, 147).

21.41 (1) Remember that this time it is the excepting element which varies, the excepted elements always having oblique form (21.45).

(2) The three categories correspond to the previous types of exception with 'illā thus: (a) as in 21.1, i.e. positive sentences, 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' exception, illustrated in 21.42-44; (b) as in 21.2, i.e. negative sentences, 'continuous' exception, illustrated in 21.46; (c) as in 21.3, i.e. 'exhaustive' exception, not illustrated by our author, but see 21.46 n 3. For the inflection of ḡayr see 21.45.

21.42 (1) The apparent negative meaning of ḡayr is entirely conventional, as the Arabs have always known: Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 375) states that to say 'atānī ḡayru ḡamrīn, lit. 'other than ḡAmr came to me', is to assert that he did not come, 'even though it would be quite correct for it to mean that he had come'. The negative connotation of ḡayr is so strong, however, that it is now regularly used to translate foreign prefixes 'un-', 'non-' etc., e.g. rasmiyyun 'official', ḡayru rasmiyyin 'unofficial'; maḍbūṭun 'exact', ḡayru maḍbūṭin 'inexact', cf. Beeston 101. According to Beeston 102, there is a tendency for this function of ḡayr to be taken over by the negative particle lā 'not' (22.6 n 1).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.5 on dependence markers.

21.43 (1) See 11.2 n 2 on the reason why ḥāl 'state' cannot be translated as 'case' in these paragraphs.

(2) See 21.02, 21.03; the full list would be siwā/suwā/siwāʿ/ sawāʿa.

(3) Note in passing that dep. forms of ḡayr are not confined to the exceptive construction: since ḡayr is annexed to the element it negates (21.45) it is also marked for the syntactic function of the whole unit, which may be dep. form of a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19, e.g. jāʾa zamūn ḡayra ṭākībin 'Zayd came not riding'), or as a space/time qualifier (ch. 18, e.g. jalastu ḡayra ṭawīlin 'I sat for not long') etc. But see further 21.45 n 2 and cf. Cantarino II, 150.

21.44 (1) See 21.02, 21.03. See Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 9 on the many senses of luğa, lit. 'language', but here 'variant realization' and elsewhere 'lexical meaning' as opposed to iṣṭilāḥ 'technical meaning' (e.g. 1.1). Both lexicography and dialectology are embraced by fiqh al-luğa, lit. 'jurisprudence of language' and ġilm al-luğa 'science of language', cf. J. Kraemer, Oriens 6, 201-238.

21.45 (1) 'Exceptives' here translates the more general term 'adawāt, plur. of 'adāḥ 'instrument', q.v. 21.02 n 1.

(2) See 21.11, 21.14 on 'illā as a dependence operator. Aš-Širbīnī's
dependent by being excepted. With these four, as already mentioned, the excepted element is always and only oblique.

21.46 (b) Exception from the structurally complete and negative utterance, with the antecedent in the independent state: mā qāma l-qawmu ġayru zaydin or siwā zaydin (and the above-mentioned variant realizations), 'the people did not stand except Zayd'. Either all four have dependent form like the excepted element after 'illā 'except' in the structurally complete and negative utterance (except that the dependent form of the excepted element after 'illā is due to being excepted, while the dependence of these four is that of circumstantial qualifiers); the dependence marker of each is an explicit ህ on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one on those whose inflection is implicit.

21.47 Or else each of the four is made a substitute for its antecedent with independent form, by substitution of the part for the whole, in exactly the same way as the element excepted by 'illā 'except' after a structurally complete and negative utterance; the independence marker in all four is then an explicit ህ on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.

21.48 Under this heading the rest of the above rules also apply and the examples are obvious, so we shall not say any more about them. (61b)

21.5 The element excepted by kalā 'except', cadā 'except' and hāšā 'except' may have oblique form, by assuming them to have the quality of...
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explanation of the dep. form of ǧayr is taken from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 361, and is one of three given by Ibn Ḥišām, Muṅī I, 137, the others being either that ǧayr takes the inflection that a noun after ʾillā has, or that ǧayr has dep. form by analogy with space/time-qualifiers. See also 21.47 n 1.

(3) 21.4. Conversely ǧayr never occurs without being annexed (except in the phrases layṣa ǧayru, læ ǧayru, q.v. 21.4 n 2).

21.46 (1) To complete the examples omitted by aš-Širbīnī: dep. state mā ṭā’aytu l-qawma ǧayra zaydīn 'I did not see the people except Zayd', obl. state mā marartu bi-l-qawmi ǧayra zaydīn 'I did not pass by the people except Zayd'. See further 21.47 n 1.

(2) There would be five exceptive nouns if all the variant realizations (21.02) had been included, but one, siwāʿun, has been discarded in 21.4 in favour of the 'purer' form sawāʿun (see 13.31 n 6 on 'aṣṣāb 'purer'), following al-Azharī, Āj. 88.

(3) Through following al-Azharī so closely, aš-Širbīnī omits to give examples of 'exhaustive' exception (21.3, 21.34 n 1), viz. mā qāma ǧayru zaydīn 'none stood other than Zayd' etc., but it may be that this construction is not common enough to deserve mention (only one example in Cantarino II, 148 top). On the other hand, ǧayr etc. are very frequent in positive sentences, e.g. qāma ǧayruhu 'someone else stood', ṭā’aytu ǧayraḥu 'I saw someone else', marartu bi-ǧayrihi 'I passed by someone else', but these, it could be argued, are not 'exception'.

21.47 (1) See 14.2 on 'substitution of the part for the whole'; the examples this time would be, indep. state mā qāma l-qawmu ǧayru zaydīn, dep. state mā ṭā’aytu l-qawma ǧayra zaydīn, obl. state mā marartu bi-l-qawmi ǧayri zaydīn, in which ǧayr concords with its antecedent. The variation between concording ǧayru/a/i and invariable (adverbial) ǧayra presumably represents an inconsistency in natural usage, cf. the attempts to explain it in 21.45 n 2. Not every grammarian is willing to say which variant is preferable: Muf. #89 and Qaṭr 276 are vague, Jum. 236 mentions concordance only, while Alf. v 326 alone seems clearly in favour of concordance (cf. Ibn ʿAqīl ad loc.).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.1 on inflection markers. The parsing relates only to the example in 21.46 with indep. ǧayru, the others having been omitted by aš-Širbīnī, q.v. n 1.

21.48 (1) By which aš-Širbīnī means that ǧayr etc. will be marked for dep. or obl. function as required by their concordance with the antecedent.

21.5 (1) Jum. 236; Muf. #88; Alf. v 328; Qaṭr 276; Fleisch, Tr. #150d. As is apparent from their syntactical variation, the status of these elements has become uncertain. In the case of ⪞ālā and ṣadā there can be little doubt that they are originally genuine verbs (the root notion of ɾ-l-w is 'isolation, emptiness', and that of ṣ-d-w 'turn away from, pass beyond', cognate with mutaṣaddī in 16.309 n 1), whose transition from verb to particle can be accounted for by assimilation to the
particles, or dependent form, by assuming them to have the quality of verbs, e.g. *qāma l-qawmu kalā zaydan* 'the people stood except Zayd', in the dependent form, taking *kalā* 'except' as a past tense verb with a concealed pronoun as its agent, and *zaydan* 'Zayd' as its direct object, or *kalā zaydin* 'except Zayd', in the oblique form, taking *kalā* 'except' as a particle of obliqueness, with *zaydin* 'Zayd' made oblique by it. Similarly *cadā camran* 'except Amr', in the dependent form, taking *cadā* 'except' as a past tense verb with a concealed pronoun as its agent, and *camran* 'Amr' as its direct object, or *cadā camrin* 'except Amr', in the oblique form, taking *cadā* 'except' as a particle of obliqueness, with *camrin* 'Amr' made oblique by it; so also *hāšā zaydan* 'except Zayd', in the dependent form, or *hāšā zaydin* 'except Zayd'. This time with oblique form, parsed in the same way as *kalā* 'except' and *cadā* 'except' above.

21.6 Supplementary Note: Exception by means of *mā kalā* 'excepting', *mā cadā* 'excepting', *laysa* 'is not' and *lā yakūnu* 'is not' makes the excepted element only dependent.

21.61 The reason for this in the case of *mā kalā* and *mā cadā* 'excepting' is that, since they are preceded by the 'verbal noun *mā*', the dependent form is specified by virtue of their being specifically verbal under those conditions, cf. the verse of Labīd:

*a-lā kullu ṣay' in mā kalā llāha bāCilun* 'is not everything, excepting God, vain?' (i.e. 'passing away, coming to an end', taken from the Qur'anic *kalā* 'illā wajhahu *everything shall perish except His face*'). Cf. also the verse:

*tamallu n-nadāmā mā cadānī fa'-innanī* 'the companions grow bored, excepting me, for I am inflamed by everything which my companion desires'. Occasionally these two do make the
structure of ḡayr (which is perhaps why ḡalā and ḡadā are also invariable). For the problem of ḡaṣṣā see below, n 4.

(2) See 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns formed by suffixation, in the present case harfiyya from harf 'particle' and fīcliyya from fīl 'verb'.

(3) See 7.58 n 1. The reasoning is as follows: since the noun before ḡalā is plural it cannot be the agent of the singular verb ḡalā (cf. 7.12 n 1), and therefore the agent of ḡalā is a pronoun concealed in it (scil. 'the people stood, something excluded Zayd').

(4) Historically ḡaṣṣā has been explained as 'an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily' (Fleisch, E.I. (2), art. 'Istithnā', paraphrasing Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 405). The exclamatory nature of ḡaṣṣā has some confirmation in the final ā (cf. 23.22 n 1), and an original meaning of 'beware!' has been suggested, cf. the expression ḡaṣṣā li-llāhi 'God forbid!'. This being so the transition to verbal syntax in ḡaṣṣā zaydan shows the opposite assimilation to that of ḡalā and ḡadā above, which reaches its extreme in the creation of a spurious verb phrase mā ḡaṣṣā by analogy with mā ḡalā etc., q.v. below. Likewise there is a doublet ḡaṣṣāya/ḡaṣṣāni 'except me', one showing the nominal suffix ya (3.241 n 4), the other the verbal suffix nī (16.301), cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 491. As might be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) resolutely argue that ḡaṣṣā is a verb (Inṣāf, prob. 37).

21.6 (1) These are all clearly verbs, for the reasons given in the ensuing paragraphs, though it should be noted that they are invariable in this structure, notwithstanding their behaviour in other contexts.

21.61 (1) See 10.23 n 3 on mā l-maṣdariyya 'the verbal noun mā', so called because it makes a noun phrase with its verb, scil. 'as long as one excludes...'; see 24.21 n 1 on maṣdar 'verbal noun'.

(2) See 21.5 n 2 on fīcliyya 'verbal quality', lit. 'verbality'.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 182; the verse concludes wa-kullu naʿīmin lā maḥālata zāʾilun 'and every happiness inevitably ceasing'. As well as the dep. form allāha 'God' after mā ḡalā, note kuli (13.4 n 6), lā maḥālata (22.6 n 1) and positive zāʾil (contrast 10.19). The poet Labīd was born at about the same time as the Prophet Muhammad and died some thirty years after him in about 660, aged around ninety: see E.I. (2), art. 'Labīd', G.A.L. I, 36, G.A.S. II, 126.

(4) What aṣ-Ṣīrīnī (here quoting al-Azharī, Tasr. I, 364) means is that Labīd borrowed the idea for his verse from Qurʾān S. 28 v 88. The latter is also interesting for the occurrence of dep. wajhahu 'his face' after 'illā in a verbless sentence: see 19.25 n 1 for the issues.

(5) Schaw. Ind. 140, anon. Verbal status of ḡadā is here confirmed by the suffix nī (16.301), also present on 'innanī in this line, because 'innā 'verily' is regarded as having verbal force (see 10.401 n 2). Note also kuli (13.4 n 6), this time annexed to a relative clause (see 11.753), and the 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1) tamallu, fem. sing. because its agent is a broken plural (7.22 n 1 and see also 4.12 n 3).
TEXT AND TRANSLATION 21.62-22.0

21.62 With *laya* 'is not' and *lā yakūnu* 'is not' the excepted element is always made dependent by them as a predicate (their subject-nouns being concealed in them), e.g. *qāmū laysa zaydan wa-lā yakūnu bakran* 'they stood, but not Zayd and not Bakr'. In the Traditions we find *mā 'anhara d-damma wa-dukira smu llāhi caylayhi fi-kulū laysa s-sinna wa-s-zufra* 'whatever has caused the blood to flow, as long as God's name is said over it, eat, but not the teeth and claws', with dependent forms.

21.7 Having finished with the seventh of the dependent elements, the author now turns to the eighth, namely the noun made dependent by *la* 'no'.

22.0 Chapter on *lā* 'no'. This negates generically, and is also called the 'lā of quittance', because it denotes the negation of the genus and hence, as it were, quittance from it. It operates only because it resembles *inna* 'verily' in that it precedes nominal sentences, and because it reinforces negation just as *inna* 'verily' reinforces (62a) assertion (one may correlate something with its opposite as well as with its analogue), and also in that it belongs to the beginning of the utterance. Since it only operates by correlation it has a lower rank than *inna* 'verily': consequently its noun is always undefined, its predicate may not precede its noun when the predicate is a space/time qualifier or oblique operator and its oblique element, and its noun never has final n, unlike *inna* 'verily' in these respects.
(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The work referred to here (full title al-Kulāsa l-'alfiyya 'The 1000-line Precis') is, as its name implies, a statement in about a thousand lines of low quality verse, of the main elements of Arabic grammar, and is the most famous work of its kind in the literature. The reference is to v. 330, though aš-ŠirbInī is again quoting al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 364.

21.62 (1) See 10.1 for the syntax of this kind of verb, and 10.11, 10.18 for kāna and laysa respectively.

(2) In view of the syntax of these verbs, the example might literally be translated 'they stood, it is not Zayd and it is not Bakr'.

(3) Wensinck, Concordance VII, 6. The 'Tradition' (1.01 n 4) relates to the problem of meat not ritually slain (e.g. in battle or with a stone when no knife is available): it is lawful as long as blood has flowed and the basmala (1.0 n 1) has been pronounced over it.

21.7 (1) Among elliptical expressions worth noting are laysa ġayru and lā ġayru (q.v. 21.4 n 2), and the synonymous laysa 'i'llā, e.g. jā'anī zaydun laysa 'i'llā 'Zayd came to me, none but', cf. Muf. #96, Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 431.

22.0 (1) Jum. 241; Muf. #36, 99; Alf. v 197; Qatr 166: Beeston 100; Yushmanov 77: Nöldeke 46; cf. negation in general 5.76 n 1. Note the close structural similarities between lā and vocative ġā (ch. 23), for which reason they are often treated in adjacent chapters (but contrast Qatr, which places lā among the 'cancellers', i.e. elements operating on equational sentences, q.v. ch. 10 and cf. 25.62 n 1).

(2) Terminology: lā ʾllatī li-nafy al-jins 'lā which is for negating the genus', also lā n-nāfiya li-l-jins 'lā negating the genus' (for jins see 23.31 n 1). The name lā t-tabriʿa 'lā of quittance' is not used at all by the early grammarians, but is already known to Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 194. Note that ism lā 'the noun of lā' (i.e. negated subject) and qabar lā 'the predicate of lā' follow the terminology of 10.1.

(3) See 10.4 et seq. on 'inna. The correlation (ḥaml, see 23.411 n 2) of lā and 'inna here offers a good specimen of analogical extension (qiyyās, q.v. 8.3 n 2, and see also 22.4 n 1 on naẓīr 'analogue').

(4) 'Rank' is literal for rutba: such hierarchical notions are rare in the earliest grammar, but see Baalbaki, Z.A.L. 2, 1-22, and 11.711 n 2.

(5) i.e. tanwIn, q.v. 1.4, but see notes to 22.12.
22.1 The author draws attention to some of these points. Know (‘iCLam 'know!', with i after the ’, is an imperative verb from taCLamu 'you (masc. sing.) know') that lā 'no' makes undefined nouns dependent, compulsorily, either in form or status, without final n, when it (i.e. lā 'no') directly precedes the undefined noun (i.e. is not separated from it by anything) and is not repeated.¹

22.11 It makes the undefined noun formally dependent when it is annexed to another undefined noun, e.g. lā sāhiba çilmin mamqūtun 'no possessor of knowledge is despised',¹ where sāhiba çilmin 'possessor of knowledge' is the noun of lā 'no' and is made dependent, and mamqūtun 'despised' is its predicate and made independent by it.²

22.12 It makes the undefined noun dependent in status if it is isolated from annexation or its equivalent, e.g. lā rajula fī d-dāri 'no man is in the house'. Here lā 'no' is a particle of negation and rajula 'man' is its noun which, in combination with lā 'no', ends in an invariable a and has dependent function through lā, with fī d-dāri 'in the house' as its predicate. A certain group of Baṣrans maintain that rajula 'man' and such like are formally dependent without the final n, which is clearly what our author means; this view is attributed to Sībawayhi.²

22.2 This applies when lā 'no' directly precedes the undefined noun. But if it does not directly precede it (because some element intervenes, as in, for example, the Qur’anic lā fīhā gawlun 'in it is no ill-effect' or because it precedes a defined noun, e.g. lā zaydun fī d-dāri 'not Zayd is in the house'),² the independent form is compulsory. The noun is then treated as the subject of an equational sentence.
22.1 (1) Imperative verb 5.03, 5.2. Note that in transliteration here the verb has been given the ' which appears only in utterance-initial position and is elided in juncture, q.v. 13.12 n 1.

(2) 'In form or status' translates lafzan 'aw mahallan: see 1.11 n 1 on lafz and 5.81 n 3 on mahall. Note the three-way opposition between lafz, mahall and mawdiC ('function', 3.1 n 4) throughout this chapter and see further 22.12 n 1.

(3) See 22.3 et seq. for repetition of lā.

22.11 (1) Observe the close parallel with the vocative structure in 23.44, and see 26.7 on annexation. It is a pedagogical simplification to refer to the noun here as 'undefined' (nakira, 11.8 n 1), as it has neither definition nor indefiniteness markers. Reckendorf (Synt. Verh. 343) explains this unmarked form as a survival from a stage before such markers had evolved. While he will not go so far as to assert that lā effectively defines its noun syntactically (enough to be a subject of a sentence, cf. 9.12 n 2), he makes a useful comparison with the generic article (id. 344, cf. 11.741). Since lā and al 'the' are in complementary distribution, are they simply the negative and positive members of the same function class? Cf. 19.72 n 1.

(2) Predicates (q.v. 9.11) after lā are nearly always prepositional phrases (Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 119, Cantarino II, 220).

22.12 (1) In this paragraph lafz 'form', mawdiC 'function' and mahall 'status' are used contrastively (refs. 22.1 n 2). On the one hand the final a of rajula is called the true, formal dependence marker (q.v. 3.5), and on the other hand, rajula is said to function as an unmarked dependent element. But this leaves the final a unexplained, hence, if it is not an inflection marker (cf. 3.3), rajula can only be regarded as having equivalent status, mahall, to a dependent noun.

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on Başrans, 0.1 n 1 on Sībawayhi (though āš-Šīrīnī is here quoting al-Azhārī, Āj. 89, and cf. Inšāf, prob. 53). Although tanwín is incompatible with lā (cf. 22.11 n 1), duals and sound masc. plurals with final n do occur after lā, e.g. lā taw'amayni 'no two twins' (Beeston 100). Unless we argue that a dual such as taw'amayni means 'a pair of twins' as a single, negatable category (cf. 3.65 n 2), these constructions must be seen as innovations (cf. 23.421 n 2).

22.2 (1) S. 37 v 47, meaning the harmlessness of the wine of Paradise. Here lā cannot operate on ġawlūn because the sentence is inverted (q.v. 9.73 n 1). The question to ask, however, is whether it was inverted deliberately in order to draw ġawlūn away from lā, i.e. to preserve the meaning 'there is not in it any single ill-effect' rather than 'no ill-effect is in it' (*lā ġawlūn fīhā), perhaps because 'ill-effect' is not felt to be a negatable category (cf. 22.44 n 1).

(2) As the translation implies, this is not categorical negation: where it does occur in literature (e.g. lā 'ummayata 'no Umayya', see Howell #99 for others) it is explained as equivalent to lā miṭla 'ummayata 'none like Umayya' ('ummayatu semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)). Proper names
22.3 It is also compulsory (except in the opinion of al-Mubarrad and Ibn Kaysān)\textsuperscript{1} for \textit{lā} 'no' to be repeated, e.g. \textit{lā ff d-dāri rajulun wa-lā mra'atun} 'in the house is no man and no woman'. Similarly \textit{lā zaydun fi d-dāri wa-lā Camrun} 'not Zayd is in the house and not Camr'.\textsuperscript{2}

22.31 If \textit{lā} 'no' is repeated before an undefined noun it may either operate upon it or be neutralized,\textsuperscript{1} so that, if you wish, you may say (by making it operate, as the author does here), e.g. \textit{lā rajulun fi d-dāri wa-lā mra'ata} 'no man is in the house and no woman', with a on \textit{rajulun} 'man', while \textit{imra'at-} 'woman' may be independent, dependent, or end in \textit{a};\textsuperscript{2} and if you wish, you may say (by neutralizing \textit{lā} 'no'), \textit{lā rajulun fi d-dāri wa-lā mra'atun} 'no man is in the house and no woman'.\textsuperscript{3}

(62b) This time \textit{rajulun} 'man' is independent, while \textit{imra'at-} 'woman' may be independent or end in \textit{a}.\textsuperscript{3}

22.4 The gist of all this is that there are five modes\textsuperscript{1} for the undefined noun after \textit{lā} 'no': three when the first undefined noun ends in \textit{a}, and two when the first undefined noun is independent. An illustration\textsuperscript{2} is \textit{lā hawla wa-lā quwwata 'illā bi-llāhi} 'there is no power and no might except with God'.\textsuperscript{1} Here you may give the first noun \textit{a} by making the first \textit{lā} 'no' operate upon it, leaving three possibilities for the second noun:

22.41 (1) The first, and regular way,\textsuperscript{1} is to give the second noun \textit{a} by making the second \textit{lā} 'no' operate upon it, cf. the Qur'anic \textit{lā bay'a fīhā wa-lā kullata} 'no barter on it and no friendship',\textsuperscript{2} both with \textit{a} in the Readings of Abū Ṭāmir and Ibn Kaṭīr.\textsuperscript{3}

22.42 (2) Or both may be dependent, cf. the poet's verse:
\textit{lā nasaba l-yawma wa-lā kullatan} 'there is no breeding today and no friendship',\textsuperscript{1} making the second \textit{lā}
being defined by nature or by form (11.72, 11.82 n 4), they can only be negated as individuals, not categories (cf. 3.65 n 8, 23.421 n 2).

22.3 (1) See 12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān; his master Abū l-Ḥabbās Muhammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad was born in Baṣra in about 825 and died in 898 in Baghdad, where he had established himself as the leading 'Baṣran' grammarians (cf. 9.3 n 4). We refer frequently to his Muqtaṣādab, a pedagogical reworking of the Kitāb. See G.A.L. I, 108.

(2) If we replace the first lā by layṣa 'is not' (10.18), then wa-lā reveals itself as a normal repeater negative, q.v. 12.8 n 2.

22.31 (1) See 2.11 n 1 on 'operate' and 5.431 n 3 on 'neutralized'.

(2) The abundance of alternative constructions probably reflects mere confusion rather than any actual differences of use (e.g. dialect) or meaning. Yet another possibility is adduced by Nöldeke 46, viz. lā ʿawfan wa-lā 'irama 'no ʿAwf and no Iram', with both elements dependent but differing from 22.42 in that the first noun retains its final n. Both elements are proper names and occur thus in a poem: seemingly this is an anomaly like those in 22.2 n 2.

(3) By 'end in a' we are to understand that this is not an inflection marker of the dependent form but an invariable ending, q.v. 22.12.

22.4 (1) 'Modes' here is 'awjuh, lit. 'faces, aspects, directions', a part of the linear metaphor in which grammatical abstractions were expressed in Arabic (cf. 1.01 n 1); its singular wajh has been used from the first in the sense of 'proper manner, correct way' (Troupeau, Lex. -Index, w-ž-h), retaining in grammar its original ethical connotation.

(2) 'Illustration' is a very free translation of naẓīr, lit. 'like, corresponding', rendered elsewhere as 'analogue' (e.g. 22.0). It is āš-Sīrbīnī's way of saying that the phrase discussed in the second half of this paragraph (reproducing al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 240) is 'analogous' to the principle stated in the first half of the paragraph (this time reproducing al-Azharī, Āj. 89).

(3) An often quoted, perhaps proverbial expression from the Traditions of Muhammad (1.01 n 4; see Wensinck, Concordance I, 533 for locations). Muf. #105 is devoted to it, and the following notes are largely drawn from Ibn YaḡĪ's Commentary thereon.

22.41 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'aṣl 'regular way'. Here lā quwwatā has the same form as lā ḥawla because it is regarded as making a fresh start (isti'nāf) to the sentence.

(2) S. 2 v 254, referring to Judgement Day.

(3) See 21.22 n 3 on these two. This 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) is evidently a minority one, as the standard editions have lā bayʿun fihā wa-lā ḡullatun, both with independent form as in 22.45.

22.42 (1) Schaw. Ind. 142 (and see 164 for alternative second hemistich rhyming in ar-রাতিক); it concludes ittassāʾa l-ṣaruq alā r-রাতিক 'the hole has become too wide for the patcher' (so Howell, #105 = p. 332).
redundant and corroborative, coordinating the following noun to the
status of the noun after the first lā, that status being dependence.

22.43 (3) Or the second noun may be independent, as in the verse:

hādā la-’amrukumu s-sagāru bi-‘aynihi
lā ’umma lī ‘in kāna gāka wa-lā ‘abu
‘this, by your life, is lowliness itself! I have no mother, if that be
so, and no father!’1, with independent form of ‘abu ‘father’, treating
the second lā ‘no’ as redundant, and coordinating its noun to the stat­
us of the first lā and its noun, their function being independence as
the subject of an equational sentence.

22.44 (4) You may also make the first noun independent as the subject
of an equational sentence, in which case the second noun may take a by
making the second lā ‘no’ operate upon it, as in lā lağwun fiḥā wa-lā
ta’īma ‘no vanity in it and no cause of sin’.1

22.45 (5) Or the second noun may be independent by neutralizing lā ‘no’
and coordinating its following noun to the preceding noun.1 But the
dependent form is impossible here because the antecedent is not depend­
ten in form or status.2

22.5 Supplementary Note concerning the parsing of lā ‘illāha ‘illa lāhu
‘there is no god but God’; lā ‘no’ is a particle of negation and ‘illāha
‘god’ is its noun; ‘illa lāhu ‘except God’ is a substitute with the
same function as the previous lā ‘no’ and its noun, this function being
(according to Sibawayhi)2 independence as the subject of an equational
sentence. It is not a substitute of the noun formally expressed after
lā ‘no’, because lā does not operate upon defined elements, as already
stated above. The true predicate of this lā has been elided,3 and is
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(2) This time *lā* is redundant (*zā'ida, q.v. 5.413 n 1) and only reinforces the previous negation (cf. 13.13), while the conjunction *wā* 'and' transmits the operation of the first *lā* to the second noun (cf. 12.1).

(3) 'Status' is *maḥall*, cf. 22.12 n 1; *kullatan* is genuinely dependent, but *nasaba*, to which it is coordinated, has only dependent status, not dependent form. Likewise *lā* *hawlal wa-lā* *quwwatan*.

22.43 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 11 (add *Jum.* 243, note variant). For metrical reasons (5.88 n 4) the undefined, independent form *‘abun* loses its final *n* and is pronounced (but not spelt) *‘abū*; in transliteration *‘abu* has been retained, to prevent confusion with the annexed form *‘abū*, cf. 4.7 n 1. This time the second negated noun has the independent form proper to the function of the whole phrase *lā* *‘umma* 'no mother' to which it is coordinated (*lā* *‘umma* itself, being incapable of inflection, can only be said to have the status, *maḥall*, of an independent element); the same would apply to *lā* *hawlal wa-lā* *quwwatan*. Other points to note: prefix *la* in oaths, cf. *emphatic la*, 13.6 n 3; vowel harmony in *la-Camrukum*, from *la-Camrukum*, cf. 13.9 n 9; juncture feature in *Camrukum*, 11.1 n 2; corroborative *‘ayn*, 13.31 n 2.

22.44 (1) First half of a verse (*Schaw. Ind.* 229, rhyme *muqīmun*, and cf. Qur'ān S. 52 v 23), describing the wine of Paradise. The problem is why *lagwun* is not inverted like *gawlun* in 22.2. We may come no closer than the answer of Ibn Ya‘cīs (on *Afuf*. #105, discussing the identically structured *lā* *hawlun* *wa-lā* *quwwatun*, cf. 22.4 n 3), that the first *lā* has the status of *laysa* 'is not' (10.18) with *lagwun* in the regular form of a subject-noun, the second *lā* and its noun having the normal categorical negation pattern. Note, however, that the standard editions of the Qur'ān do not have this 'Reading' (21.21 n 2), but instead the form set out in 22.45 n 1. Cf. also 23.61 n 10.

22.45 (1) Thus *lā* *lagwun* *fī* *ha* *wa-lā* *ta’tīmun* (S. 52 v 23, the orthodox 'Reading') and *lā* *hawlun* *wa-lā* *quwwatun*, with *lā* again equivalent to *laysa* (v. previous note). In *Muf.* #105 a sixth possibility is given, viz. *lā* *hawlal wa-lā* *quwwatun*, formally identical with 22.43, but with the second *lā* this time explained as equivalent to *laysa* 'is not', so that *quwwatun* is its subject-noun, not an independent noun coordinated to the function of the previous *lā*-phrase!

(2) The excluded case is *‘a* *hawlun* *wa-lā* *quwwatan* (contrast 22.42).

22.5 (1) S. 37 v 35, being the first half of the Muslim declaration of faith (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Shahāda'). On 'parsing', *‘icrāb*, see 8.21 n 1; on *harf* 'particle' see 1.25 n 1; for 'substitute', *badal*, see ch. 14, and for 'function', *mawdi‘*, cf. 22.12 n 1.

(2) *Sībawayhi* (0.1 n 1) does not discuss the syntax of this phrase, but deals with it in a general way in *Kitāb* I, 345. The actual source for aš-Sīrīnī, however, is al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. I, 246.

(3) The assumption of an elided predicate (cf. 9.93-93) accords with the fact that *lā*-phrases seem to function only as subjects (cf. Beeston 100). But al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. I, 246, reproduces a dissenting view from
implicitly lā 'ilāha fī l-wujūdī or mawjūdun 'there is no god in existence' or 'existing'.

22.6 Having finished with the eighth of the dependent elements, namely the noun of lā 'no', the author now turns to the ninth of them, which is the vocative.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

23.0 Chapter on the vocative.1 The term munādā 'vocative' is actually the patient noun of the verb nādaytuhu 'I called him', so that he has become munādā 'called'. 'Calling' (63a) (nidā' or nūdā', with i or u after the n) is lexically the unqualified action of invoking, and its technical2 meaning is invocation by means of a particular particle, of which there are eight, viz. 'a, 'ay (both in long and short varieties), yā, 'a-yā, ha-yā and wā.3

23.1 Now that you have learnt this much, you should know that the person called1 may be considered in two ways, from the aspect of his essence and from the aspect of his form.2
az-Zamaḵšarî (3.53 n 6) that no elision is involved here: rather the sentence is an inversion of an underlying complete sentence 'God is the only god' with the surface structure 'not a god is anything but God'. It is clear that az-Zamaḵšarî, as a Muqtazilite (3.53 n 5), wanted to avoid the vagueness of the orthodox explanation which, with its indeterminate elisions, substitutions and predications, left too much scope for loose thinking! Try also P. Nwiya, *M.U.S.J.* 49, 739-765.

22.6 (1) Some items not dealt with by aš-Sirbînî: (a) a number of elliptical expressions with lâ, e.g. lâ šakka 'no doubt, doubtless', lâ maḥālata 'inevitability', lâ jarama 'certainly', lâ šayru 'no other' (note final u, v. 21.4 n 2), lâ buḍda 'unavoidably', this last commonly for Eng. 'must', cf. Beeston 101 n 1, Fleisch, *Tr.* #74 n 3; (b) lâ for Eng. prefix 'un-' etc., e.g. lâ sīlki 'wireless', lâ 'adrī 'a "don't know"'; cf. 21.42 n 1; (c) the phrase lâ 'ahada 'no one' now tends to function, under influence of European syntax, as 'no-one' even in verbal sentences, e.g. lâ 'ahada yaqūlu dālika 'no-one says that': in Classical Arabic, if the sentence contains a verb, only this can be negated, thus lâ yaqūlu dālika 'ahadun, lit. 'someone does not say that', mā fāza bī-šay'īn 'he won nothing', lit. 'he did not win something', see Beeston 101; Cantarino I, 118; other examples in 12.902, 18.110, 19.72, 21.22, 21.35.

23.0 (1) *Jum.* 157; *Muf.* #48; *Alf.* v 573; *Qaṭr* 220; Fleisch 190; Nöldeke 44. Terminology: nidā' 'action of calling', ḥarf nidā' 'particle of calling', munādā 'thing or person called' (see further 23.1 n 1). In transliteration munādā is preferred to munādan, see remarks on siwā in 21.02 n 4. See 10.34 n 1 on Stem III patient nouns.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'; 'unqualified' is muṭlaq, elsewhere translated as 'absolute', cf. 11.717 n 3.

(3) These are listed in *Muf.* #554; the 'long' varieties of 'a and ay are 'ā and 'āy (here 'long', mamdu'da, lit. 'stretched' and 'short' maqṣūra, lit 'shortened', are hardly technical terms at all, contrast their special application in 3.89 n 2).

23.1 (1) Note that there is no distinction between the linguistic element (a noun with vocative function) and the external reality (the person called): both are termed munādā, cf. 16.1 n 1 on a comparable ambiguity in the term fiḍ'ī, 'action' or 'verb'.

(2) 'Essence' is dāt, an interloper from philosophy which appears for the first time perhaps in the time of Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 1249, cf. Kāfiya,
From the aspect of essence the person called is either nearby, far away or lamented. The short 'a is for the near person (unless he has the status of someone far away, e.g. someone who is inattentive, in which case all the remaining particles may be used for him as well as for the person far away: it is generally agreed that the nearby person may be invoked by particles of the far vocative for the sake of emphasis, but the converse is forbidden, according to Badr ad-Dīn Ibn Malik).

In invoking the name of Almighty God the particle yā specifically is used, and this particle also serves for calling for help.

For lamentation ha-yā and wā are used; yā is only used in lamentation when there is no danger of confusion with the regular vocative.

The vocative particle may be elided, as in the Qur'anic yūsufu 'ā ḍīḏ Can hāḏā 'Joseph, turn away from this', except in certain cases, viz. the remote vocative (e.g. yā zaydu 'O Zayd!'), calling for help (e.g. yā la-llāhi 'O God') and lamentation (e.g. yā ʿamrā 'alas for ʿAmr!'), because the desire in these three is to prolong the sound, and elision is incompatible with that desire.

Nor may it be elided when followed by a generic noun, e.g. when a blind man says yā rajulan kud bi-yadī 'O (any) man, take my hand', or followed by a pronoun (but this is rare in the vocative anyway), or by the name of Almighty God when the vocative particle is not replaced by the final compensatory double m.

From the aspect of form the person called is of five kinds:
ch. on tamyīz); see E.I. (2), art. 'Dhāt', and 20.01 n 2.

23.2 (1) 'Status' is manzila, lit. 'place of dismounting', but which has had from the earliest times the metaphorical meaning of 'standing, rank'. It was taken into grammar from law: in both systems status and function (mawdī, 3.1 n 4) are the mutually determining axes of behaviour. Cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 84; 5.81 n 3; 8.1 n 1.

(2) Son of the famous Ibn Mālik (1.02 n 2), see 17.71 n 3. The reference here is to his unpublished Commentary on the Alfiyya (e.g. Brit. Mus. Or. 25AD, = 7425 Rich., fol. 133v), though the immediate source for aš-Šīrīnī is not clear: he seems to be quoting al-Azharī, Taṣrīr II, 164, but there is no mention of Badr ad-Dīn at that point.

23.21 (1) This is an anomaly, since yā may not normally occur before nouns prefixed with al 'the', see further 23.5 n 2.

(2) 'Calling for help' is literal for istigāta, e.g. yā la-llāhi li-l-muṣulīmina 'God help the Muslims!': the prefix (lām al-istigāta '1 of calling for help') is lā before the noun invoked and li before the noun for which help is invoked. This lā may be a remnant of yā 'ālā 'O family of...', Nöldeke 5, but cf. Fleisch 143. See Jum. 178; Muf. #48; Alf. v 598; Qatr 236.

23.22 (1) 'Lamentation' is nudba, hence ḥarf nudba 'particle of lamentation', mandū 'thing or person lamented', e.g. wā zaydā(h) 'alas for Zayd'. See Jum. 190; Muf. #55; Alf. v 601; Qatr 238; another example 23.3. On the ending a(h) see Fleisch, Tr. #150g.

23.3 (1) The vocative particle is never found with allāhumma 'O God', see further 23.31 n 3. Another elided voc. rabbi 'O my Lord', 5.55(c).

(2) S. 12 v 29. Compare the converse: a minority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) of S. 27 v 25, 'allā yasjudū 'that they do not bow down' is 'a-lā yā sjudū 'why not, O, bow down?', with elision of the vocative noun (see al-Farrā', Mağānī II, 290, also Muf. #59 as expanded by Howell).

(3) See 23.21 n 2 on istigāta 'calling for help', 23.22 n 1 for nudba 'lamentation', and cf. 14.4 n 5 on motive determining linguistic form.

23.31 (1) 'Generic noun' is ism jins, lit. 'name of a genus', cf. 3.64 n 2 on semantic categories of nouns, though here it simply contrasts with the specific individual normally addressed in the vocative, q.v. 23.42 and cf. also 23.43.

(2) But yā hāgā 'O this one' etc. are not excluded because hāgā 'this' etc. are nouns, not pronouns (11.73).

(3) The final mma of allāhumma 'O God' has never been explained: the 'Basran' view (Inṣāf prob. 47) reproduced here by aš-Šīrīnī, that mma compensates for the elided yā is problematical. Fleisch 146 (Tr. #115k) sees an old demonstrative element m here.

23.4 (1) By 'kinds' ('anwā, 17.2 n 1) Ibn Ājurrūm means formal categories, not structural or inflectional varieties, contrast 22.4.
23.41 (1) the single proper name,¹ which here (as in the chapter on lā 'no') means that which is not annexed to anything or equivalent to such. This type is constructed as invariable in the short or long vowel it would have had if it had been inflected, e.g. yā zaydu 'O Zayd', which is constructed as invariable in u because if it had been inflected it would have been independent in u.² Likewise yā rijālu 'O men', yā hindātu 'O Hinds', yā hunūdu 'O Hinds', yā rajulu 'O man' (to a specific man,² being a single word and defined by the act of accosting), (63b) yā zaydāni 'O both Zayds' (constructed as invariable in ā because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected, as in jā'ā z-zaydāni 'the two Zayds came'), and yā zaydūna 'O Zayds' (constructed as invariable in ā because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected, as in jā'ā z-zaydūna 'the Zayds came').⁴

23.411 As for nouns that are already invariable before being invoked, such as sībawayhi 'Sībawayhi' and ḥaḍāmi 'Ḥaḍāmi'¹ (in the Hijāzī dialect), or which end in the 'shortened ā', e.g. al-fataḥ 'the boy', or are defective, such as al-qāḏī 'the judge', in all these the final u is implicit. The trace of this implicit inflection appears in their concordants,² e.g. yā sībawayhi l-Gālimu 'O wise Sībawayhi', with independent form of al-Gālimu 'wise' in keeping with the implicit u of sībawayhi, or else with the dependent form al-Gālima in keeping with the status of sībawayhi, in the same way as the concordants of nouns which have been given their new, invariable form,³ e.g. yā zaydu l-fādilu or l-fādila 'O virtuous Zayd', with independent or dependent form of al-fādil- 'virtuous'.⁴

23.42 (2) the specifically intended individual,¹ i.e. deliberately called to the exclusion of everyone else. This is also constructed as invariable in the form it would have had if it had been inflected, e.g. yā rajulu 'O man', for a particular man, constructed as invariable in u because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected,² as
23.41 (1) See 11.72 on ḡalam 'proper name' and 23.431 on mufrad 'single'.

(2) See 3.1 on u and its allomorphs; 'constructed as invariable' is an explanatory translation of yūbna, lit. 'is built' (cognate with bīnā' 'invariability', 1.41 n 4, and cf. mabnī li-l-mafẓūl, 8.0 n 1). As with lā 'no' (22.12), the theory of the vocative requires that the noun should have dependent function (see 23.42 n 2), hence u here cannot be an inflection marker.

(3) The examples yā rajulu and yā rijālu do not belong here, but aš-Širbīnī is following Qaṭr 222, where instead of 'single proper name' Ibn Hišām uses the category 'singled defined noun' (mufrad maṣ'īfa, see 11.8 n 1 on maṣ'īfa). See further 23.421 n 2.

(4) See 3.63 for dual, 3.41 for sound masc. plur. Note that both retain their n suffix (na or ni, 4.81 n 1), possibly to avoid confusion with sing. yā zaydu 'O Zayd', yā zaydā 'Alas for Zayd' (though this would not also account for retention of n in categorical negation as well, 22.12 n 2). The distribution of this n is a problem in itself, as it is only partially identical with that of its singular correlative tanwīn (compare paradigms in 4.11 n 1, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1).

23.411 (1) For a historical Sībawayhi see 0.1 n 1. The name is one of several ending in the invariable suffix wayhi, ultimately an adaptation of a Persian diminutive suffix ūya (cf. G.A.L. I, 101 n 1). The class of names represented by ḥadaḥīmī is somewhat obscure, cf. Fleisch, Tr. #70; Jum. 233; Muf. #193; Qaṭr 7, and see further 5.552 n 2. For the inflection of al-fatā see 2.5, for al-gāḍī 2.6.

(2) See ch. 11 on adjectival concordance, and cf. 22.12 for the opposition of lafṣ 'form' and mahall 'status'. 'In keeping with' is literal for murā'atān, though this notion is more often expressed by the true technical term ħamala 'alā to correlate', lit. 'to carry back to, bear upon', (e.g. 19.5, 22.0; in 20.5 it is rendered 'construed as').

(3) Although it is fairly clear that zaydu etc. have in some sense a 'new' form {juddida bina'uhu, lit. 'its invariability has been newly made'), there is no need for such a formulation in our text: it is only a phrase used by Ibn Mālik (Alf. v 578) under pressure of rhyme, and survives here (via al-Azhari, Taṣrīr. II, 166) by simple inertia.

(4) The rule for common nouns is different, see 23.51.

23.42 (1) 'Specifically intended individual' paraphrases an-nakira l-maqsūda, lit. 'the unknown thing aimed at' (see 11.8 n 1 on nakira). The force of maqsūd (cf. 14.4 n 5) is to single out a formally undefined element 'by the act of accosting' (bi-l-'iqbālī qalayhi, 23.41), so that it becomes defined by context.

(2) The interpretation of the status of the vocative noun given here is the orthodox 'Baṣra'ni (9.4 n 3) opinion: they suppose a compulsorily deleted verbal operator such as 'adū or 'unādī 'I call'. Most 'Kufans' dispute this, and argue that the vocative noun has no operator at all,
in jā'a rajulun 'a man came'. Likewise yā rajulāni 'O both men', for two particular men, constructed as invariable in ā because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected, as in jā'a rajulāni 'two men came'. The undefined noun in these examples behaves like the proper name in being constructed as invariable with one of the inflection markers.³

23.421 When the author says of these two kinds that they are 'constructed as invariable in u'¹ he means that they are constructed as invariable in u or whatever replaces it, as illustrated above. He omits to point out the replacements for u simply for the sake of brevity, and because the vocative is not nearly so frequent with the dual and the plural as it is with the singular.²

23.43 (3) the individual, not specifically intended in essence: only any one of various individuals is meant, as when the preacher says yā gāfilan wa-l-mawtu yaṭlubuhu 'O heedless one, while death is chasing him', where no particular heedless one is meant.¹

23.431 All the examples so far are of single nouns, since in this chapter mufrad 'single, singular' means that which is not annexed to anything or equivalent to such.¹

23.44 (4) that which is annexed to something else,¹ e.g. yā ġulāma zaydin 'O slave-boy of Zayd', where the vocative noun must be formally dependent;

23.45 (5) that which is equivalent to something annexed. This is the noun suffixed by something which completes (64a) the sense, either by being operated upon or being coordinated.¹ It must also be formally dependent. Examples of operation: yā ḥasanān wajjuhu 'O handsome of face',² where ḥasanān 'handsome' is formally dependent as a vocative and
and is only given independent form to avoid confusion with other functions, likewise lacks tankīn to distinguish it from the true indep. noun (e.g. as subject of sentence). The Başrans, not without justification, brand this as 'pure arbitrariness', İnşāf prob. 45.

(3) This is a statement of a rule rather than a description of actual practice: Nöldeke 44-46 supplies examples (admittedly mostly from poetry) of vocative nouns not only in u but also in un, a and an, often with no particular metrical constraint.

23.421 (1) AŠ-Širbīnī is here anticipating Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation in 23.5, probably from too closely following Qatr 222.

(2) Dual and plural are indeed uncommon with the vocative, as they are with the structurally similar categorical negative (cf. 22.12 n 2), and possibly for related reasons: both là 'no' and yā 'O' have the effect of particularizing their nouns (cf. 22.11 n 1), and in the case of yā it seems a fair assumption that its original purpose was to attract the attention of an individual (and in poetry, by natural extension, of a whole tribe). But see also 23.44 n 1.

23.43 (1) Cf. yā rajulan ḱuḏ bi-yadī 'O (any) man, take my hand' in 23.31. In both cases the context is decisive: neither the preacher nor the blind man can particularize any of the listeners (cf. 19.8 n 2 on the influence of context on linguistic form). Nevertheless this structure must be regarded as a secondary development from the true vocative (cf. previous note). Note the sentence introduced by wa 'and' in the function of a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1).

23.431 (1) As the explanation makes clear, mufrad, lit. 'alone' means here that the noun is isolated; elsewhere mufrad denotes 'singular' as opposed to plural etc. (e.g. 3.21, 4.11; cognate 'ifrād 'being singular', 11.02), and 'simple' as opposed to composite (murakkab, 1.12 n 1), e.g. 9.5, 11.723. Note how this term, like others, does not recognize boundaries between morphology and syntax, cf. 1.41 n 3.

23.44 (1) See 26.7 on annexation. Here we may include the phrase yā šāhibayi s-sijni 'O two companions of the prison' quoted in 26.9, as an example of the dual vocative noun. In šāhibayi we see (a) the regular loss of final n in annexation (šāhibay-ni, cf. 26.93 n 1), and (b) the resolution of the resulting consonant cluster y-s-s by insertion of the glide vowel i (see 11.1 n 2).

23.45 (1) 'Suffixed by something which completes the sense' renders mā ittasala bihi ḥay'un min tamāmi maʿnāhu, lit. 'what has attached to it something which is part of its whole meaning': for ittasala 'suffixed' was chosen because the second element of an annexation unit is regarded as a bound morpheme (see 26.91). On 'operation', ḍamāl, see 2.11 n 1, and see below, n 5 for ʿatf 'coordination' in this context.

(2) Lit. 'O handsome his face', and equivalent to the formal annexation construction yā ḥasanā l-wajhi 'O handsome of face' (26.92). Note that ḥasanan, though formally an adjective, is analysed as a verb phrase (equivalent to yaḥsunu 'is handsome'), of which wajhuhu 'his face' is
wajhuhu 'his face' is made independent by it as an agent which comple­
tes the sense; likewise yā ṭaʿīlan jabalan 'O mountain climber', where ṭāʿīlan 'climber' is formally dependent as a vocative and jabalan 'a mountain' is made dependent by it as a direct object, the agent being a concealed pronoun in ṭaʿīlan 'climber'; similarly yā mārran bi-zaydin 'O passer by Zayd', where mārran 'passing' is formally dependent as a vocative and bi-zaydin 'by Zayd' is an operator of obliqueness and obli­que element semantically connected with mārran 'passing' and with de­pendent status. An example of coordination is yā talāṭatan wa-talāṭina 'O Thirty-Three' (to someone so named): here talāṭatan 'three' is form­ally dependent as a vocative and talāṭina 'thirty' is coordinated to it and completes the sense.

23.5 Next the author sets out the rule for the first two kinds. The single proper name and the specifically intended individual are con­structed as invariable in u without final n, that is, if there is any choice. He then illustrates the single proper name: e.g. yā zaydu 'O Zayd' and as an example of the specifically intended individual, yā rajulu 'O man', addressed to one particular man.

23.51 This applies when the individual is not qualified by an adjective, in which case the Arabs prefer to make it dependent rather than give it a u, and so they say yā rajulan ġalīman 'aqbil 'O wise man, approach', cf. the Tradition yā ġaḍīman yurjā li-kulli ġaḍīmin 'O great one, in whom it is hoped for every great deed', this being the view of al-Farrāʾ, transmitted and confirmed by Ibn Mālik.

23.52 Then the author gives the rule for the remaining three kinds: and the remaining three kinds (viz. the individual not specifically intend­ed, the annexed and the equivalent to such), are dependent and nothing but. By this he means that only the dependent form is allowed; exampl­es have already been given above.
therefore not the subject but the agent; see 11.45 n 1, 26.92 n 5.

(3) Lit. 'O climbing a mountain', and equivalent to yā tāliṣa jabalin 'O climber of a mountain' (an extremely unlikely construction, cf. also 26.92). This time the agent noun tāliṣan operates on a direct object, like its equivalent verb phrase yatluṣu 'he climbs', cf. 16.312 n 1, and see 7.58 n 1 for the notion of the concealed agent pronoun.

(4) See 3.84 n 3 on 'operator of obliqueness etc.', 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', 5.81 n 3 on 'status', and cf. 21.22 n 4 on mārran (=*mārīran). In the Arab view, all prepositional phrases have dependent status through a verbal operator, cf. 9.74 n 2.

(5) 'Coordination' is ʿafiṭ, here used in a restricted sense (contrast syntactic coordination, ch. 12) for the formation of compound numbers with wa 'and' (scil. 'three and thirty'), as distinct from the genuine compound set '13' to '19', e.g. ʿaṣṣara '15' (lit. 'five-ten').

23.5 (1) There is no choice if the proper name of common noun belongs to the classes which never have tanwīn, q.v. 3.89.

(2) One type of vocative construction omitted by ʾaṣ-Ṣirbīnī is that in which, for whatever reason, the vocative noun must retain its prefix al 'the'. In that case yā may not be used (exceptions, yā llāhu 'O God', and some rarities, Muf. #52); instead 'aayuhā or yā 'aayuḥā is used, e.g. (yā) 'aayuḥā r-rajuļu 'O man', fem. 'aayatuḥā ʾa’ardu 'O Earth!' (Cantarino II, 219). The Arabs segment 'aayuḥā into a demonstrative noun 'aayu and the 'ḥā of attracting attention' (q.v. 11.735 n 1), while the vocative noun itself (as we might interpret it) is regarded as being in adjectival apposition to the actual vocative noun 'aayu, exactly as in yā ḥādā r-rajuļu 'O this man' (cf. 11.73 n 1). Jum. 161; Muf. #51; Alf. v 588; Fleisch, Tr. #114g, 150g.

23.51 (1) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'. Note that the nouns here revert to their formal state of indefiniteness. However, the other option, to use 'aayuhā with the defined noun, always remains possible, e.g. 'aayuḥā r-rajuļu ʾa-ḏāgilu 'O wise man' (variant al-Čāqilu as argued in 23.411).

(2) See 1.01 n 4 on 'Tradition'.

(3) This Tradition is not to be found in Wensinck's Concordance: the immediate source for ʾaṣ-Ṣirbīnī, however, is undoubtedly al-Azharī, Āj. 90, and cf. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 577. Curiously al-Farrāʾ himself does not mention this Tradition at the place where he deals with this very topic in Maqāmāt II, 375. Ibn Mālik 1.02 n 2, al-Farrāʾ 1.21 n 2.

23.52 (1) See 24.1 n 2 on ḥukm 'rule'.

(2) Though translated here and elsewhere as 'equivalent' (e.g. 9.7), ʿubābīh could just as well have been rendered 'analogous', since its literal meaning is 'similar, like'. However, the principle has already been established that formal similarity can imply functional similarity (cf. ʿiqyāṣ 'analogy', 8.3 n 2, and arguments in 5.02, 22.0).

(3) See 23.43-45.
23.6 Note: The author's statement applies to everything except what is annexed to the first person singular I 'my'.¹ This divides into four kinds:

23.61 (1) With six variant realizations,¹ when the last letter is sound² (e.g. yā gulām- with all three short vowels on the m, 'O my boy', meant as annexed to the first person singular I 'my'), viz.:

(a) with i, as in the Qur'anic yā Cibādi (64b) fa-ttaqūni 'O my servants, fear me',³ where i suffices for I;

(b) with a, as in the verse

wa-lastu bi-rāji Cin mā fāta minī

bi-lahfa wa-lā bi-layta wa-lā law 'annī

'nor shall I get back what has escaped me by an "O my regret" or a "would that" or an "if only I..."'⁴ where lahfa 'O my regret' is a vocative with the vocative particle elided. It was originally yā lahfā 'O my regret',⁵ but the final ā (which is itself converted from I 'my') has been elided and a suffices in its stead;⁶

(c) with u, just like the u of single, non-annexed nouns,⁷ as in the rare Reading of the Qur'anic rabbu s-sijnu 'ahabbu 'ilayya 'O my Lord, prison is more dear to me'.⁸ This was originally yā rabbī 'O my Lord', but the I 'my' has been elided for phonetic ease and the word construct-ed as invariable in u by analogy with the specifically intended individual vocative noun;

(d) with iya, as in the Qur'anic yā Cibādiya llaḏīna 'asrafū 'O my servants who have been prodigal';⁹

(e) with unvowelled ĩ, as in the Qur'anic yā Cibādi lā kawfun ĕlaykum 'O my servants, no fear be upon you';¹⁰
NOTES

23.6 (1) See 3.421 n 3, 23.62 n 3 on this suffix, which is peculiar in that it blankets out the inflection of the noun to which it is attached (note that, in the Arab analysis, the noun is regarded as being attached to the suffix, not vice versa; see further 26.7 n 3).

23.61 (1) See 21.44 on luğa 'variant realization'.

(2) 'Sound' is literal for saḥIn, i.e. not one of the 'defective' consonants ʾ, , , or y (see 2.43 n 2), and see further 23.62 on suffixation of ʾmy' to weak consonants and long vowels.

(3) S. 39 v 16; cf. yā rabbi 19.71, rabbit 5.55(c). Far more interesting in this verse is fa-ttaqūn: it is Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) of root w-q-y, showing assimilation of 1st rad. w to infix t, and loss of 3rd rad. y before masc. plur. suffix ĕ (as ramā, 4.81 n 2), also reduction of nī 'me' (16.301) to ni for the sake of rhyme, so as to give pausal form (2.14 n 2) fa-ttaqūn (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #108o).

(4) Schaw. Ind. 265; see next note on the form of lahfa 'Oh my regret'. Other points to note in this verse: lastu 'I am not' (see 10.18 n 3) here has its predicate in oblique form prefixed with bi instead of the dependent form (see 10.18 n 4); rājiC in is an agent noun (cf. 10.34 n 1) with tanwIn, therefore the following noun phrase mā ḍāta minnī 'what has escaped me' is construed as having dependent status as its direct object (see 16.312: presence of tanwIn rules out objective genitive, cf. 24.31 n 1); minnī 'from me' shows unexplained doubling of n before I suffix (*min-ī, try Fleisch, Tr. #108n); lahfa, layta etc. have become 'formal nouns' (1.6 n 5) by being prefixed with bi.

(5) It seems most unlikely that the final vowel of lahfa has anything to do with possessive suffixes: in its full form lahfā doubtless displays the ĕ suffix characteristic of expressions of dismay etc., cf. 23.22 n 1, Nödeke 45 nn 1, 2. No form lahff 'my woe' has been noted.

(6) Observe the use here of ḥafd 'elision' for both the morphological elision of yā and the phonological reduction of ĕ to a by removing the lengthening marker (cf. 3.9 n 2, 2.43 n 2).

(7) This tautology is in the text, even though it has already been explained at 23.431 that 'single' means 'non-annexed'.

(8) S. 12 v 33. It might be argued that no possessive suffix is involved here, and that rabbu, like yūsufu in the same Sūra (q.v. 23.3) is simply a case of elided yā, but the majority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) preserves rabbī, as in type (a). 'For phonetic ease' renders takffān, lit. 'so as to lighten', contrast istīqāl, 2.31 n 4.

(9) S. 39 v 53; this is optional in juncture (q.v. 11.1 n 2), the I (= iy, 2.43 n 2) being realized either as a short vowel to avoid the over-long syllable (cf. 21.22 n 4), or receiving the glide vowel as here (cf. liya in 10.63 n 3).

(10) S. 43 v 68; see 2.43 n 2 on 'unvowelled I'. On indep. kawfun after the categorical negative cf. 22.44 n 1: is it possible that this la 'no' is not categorical, but a kind of negative optative (an avenue
23.62-23.7

(f) with ʾ, as in the Qur’anic ʾyā ʾḥasratā ‘O my woe’, whose original form is *ʾyā ʾḥasratī;¹¹

This makes six variant realizations, of which the purest is to elide the ʾ and make ʾ suffice in its stead.¹²

23.62 (2) With only one recorded form.¹ This is the vocative of the defective noun ʾending in ʾ or ʾ, where it is compulsory for the ʾ element to be retained and followed by ʾ, e.g. ʾyā ʾfatāya ‘O my boy’, ʾyā ʾqādiyya ‘O my judge’. Because of resulting ambiguity this ʾyā must not be elided; moreover it may not be left unvowelled, as this produces a clash of two unvowelled consonants, nor may it be vowelled with ʾu or ʾi because these are phonetically cumbersome after y.³

23.63 (3) With two variant realizations, viz. the adjective which is equivalent to an imperfect tense verb¹ in having present or future meaning,¹ e.g. ʾyā ʾmukrimī ‘O one honouring me’, ʾyā ʾdāribī ‘O one striking me’, where the ʾ is always retained, either unvowelled or with ʾa.²

23.64 (4) With eight variant realizations, viz. ’abun ‘father’, ’ummun ‘mother’.¹ These have the six variant realizations already mentioned,² and two more: you say ʾyā ’abata or ʾyā ’abati ‘O my father’, and ʾyā ’ummata or ʾyā ’ummati ‘O my mother’, with the feminine ʾ compensating for the first person singular ʾI ‘my’.³

23.7 When the noun is annexed to a noun itself annexed to the first person singular ʾI ‘my’ you may say, in the case of ʾibnu ʾammin ‘cousin’ and ʾibnu ʾummmin ‘brother’, ʾyā ʾbna ʾummī or ʾyā ʾbna ʾummi ‘O my brother’ and ʾyā ʾbna ʾamma or ʾyā ʾbna ʾammi ‘O my cousin’.¹ (The ʾ in the preceding paragraph may have either ʾa or ʾi, and the ʾ in this paragraph likewise).
evidently not explored by the Arab grammarians)?

(11) S. 39 v 56. As with lahfā (see n 5), it is very unlikely that ṣasratā is derived from any form *ṭasratī with the possessive suffix, not least because it is in any case never found with the other pronoun suffixes (contrast wayḥāka 'woe to you' etc.), cf. Fleisch, Tr. #150h.

(12) See above, n 6 on the meaning of 'elision' in this context, and 21.44 on luğa 'variant realization'. 'Purest' is 'afsah, not stylistic but referring to the idealized Beduin norm, cf. 13.31 n 6.

23.62 (1) For luğa wāḥida 'one recorded form' was preferred, as it did not seem logical to render it 'one variant realization'.

(2) 'Defective' is muGHatt, cognate with Cilla 'defect, ailment', and subsequently 'reason, cause' (e.g, 24.22). According to Kober, Orientalia (NS) 14, 280, Cilla was borrowed from Syriac in the primary mean-

of 'cause', and the extension to 'defect' is secondary.

(3) Excluded are (a) elision of ya, leaving qāḏi, fatā (=fatay, 2.5), identical then with the unsuffixed form, (b) *qāḏiyu, *fatayy with un-
vowelled y (2.5 n 3), (c) *qāḏiyu/qāḏiyi, *fatayu/fatayi (2.31 n 4). In the end only ya is left as the allomorph of I after long vowels, e.g. yadāya 'my two hands' and ay, e.g. bi-yadāya 'with my two hands'.

23.63 (1) The text has al-wasf al-muGHabb bi-l-FiGHl al-mudāriGH, lit. 'the describing element made to resemble the imperfect tense verb'; cf. 11.0 n 1 on wāṣ, 9.81 n 4 on muGHabb, 5.02 on mudāriGH, and see also 5.01 n 1 on tenses, 16.312 n 1 on the implications here.

(2) The alternatives are yā mukrimiya, yā dāribiya, but only in junct-

ure (q.v. 23.61 n 9). Note that these elements, despite their verbal

operation, never bear the object suffix ni 'me' (16.301), even though

they may be followed by overt nouns in direct object form (16.312 n 1).

23.64 (1) These are old biconsonantal stems (cf. 4.71 n 1) which by

their nature are likely to harbour extinct or anomalous features.

(2) Viz., in the order set out in 23.61, yā 'abi, 'aba, 'abu, 'abiya,

'abi, 'abd, and likewise for yā 'ummi etc.

(3) Qatr 225, Howell #54 also cite yā 'abatā and yā 'abatī; the final t, rather than being a 'compensation' (Ciwaḏ, 1.44 n 1) is more likely to be related to the deictic t in ṣummata etc., cf. 1.83 n 3.

23.7 (1) These are alternatives to the regular yā bna 'ummi, yā bna Gammi. The old biconsonantal stem b-n displays some interesting features: in isolation a dummy syllable is prefixed to give ibn- (v. 11.1 n 2) which disappears in juncture, while in the plural the problem is re-

solved by dissimilating to banūna (see 3.412 (b)). There is a unique form ibnam-: the function of the m is unknown, perhaps it is to extend b-n into a triliteral root (Fleisch, Tr. #100e, and cf. 4.71 n 1).

(2) 'Paragraph' was inserted here to give some coherence to this rather clumsy backward reference: a-Sirbīnī is here apparently making his own paraphrase of Qatr 224-5.
23.8 Having finished with the ninth of the dependent elements, namely (65a) the vocative, the author now turns to the tenth of them, to wit the object of reason.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

24.0 Chapter on the object of reason. This is also known as the 'object for which the action is done' and the 'object because of which the action is done'. The author defines it as follows:

24.1 This is the dependent noun mentioned to explain the cause of the action's occurrence, and by 'noun' he excludes the verb and the particle. By 'dependent' he excludes the independent and oblique (although dependence is only one of its rules, and it would have been better not to mention it in the definition, which he only did to make it easier for the beginner). By 'to explain the cause of the action's occurrence' he indicates that the object of reason explains the cause for which the action takes place.

24.21 You already know that the rule is for it to be dependent, but there are certain conditions: (1) that it must be a verbal noun, because verbal nouns can give the idea of causality whereas, on the whole, concrete nouns cannot be reasons for actions—you never say, for example, *ji’suka s-samna wâ-l-Casala 'I came to you because of fat and honey', with dependent forms, because they are concrete and not verbal nouns.

24.22 (2) It must be a reason, since this is the stimulus for the
23.8 (1) The arbitrary shortening of the vocative noun, termed tarkīm 'softening' is dealt with at length by most grammarians even though it hardly occurs outside poetry, e.g. yā ṣāhi 'O friend' (for yā ṣāhibu), yā māli 'O Mālik' (for yā māliku, S. 43 v 77: the speakers, it is said, were too weak to finish the word, Qaṭr 232). Jum. 181; Muf. #58; Alf. v 608; Qaṭr 231.

24.0 (1) Muf. #71; Alf. v 298; Qaṭr 244; Fleisch 179; Nöldeke 34. Terminology: al-mafqūl laḥ 'that for which it is done', al-mafqūl min 'ajlih (or li-'ajlih) 'that because of which it is done'; see 24.6 n 1. 24.1 (1) sabab wuqdī al-fīq1, translated literally (see 24.22 n 1 on sabab 'cause'), leaving open the question of whether fīq1 is the technical term 'verb' or the common noun 'action', see further 16.1 n 1.

(2) ḥukm, plur. ḥākām, here translated '(grammatical) rule' is one of the terms which entered grammar in its second phase of contact with the law, during the ninth century, when legal methodology was becoming established (e.g. al-Mubarrad, Muqtadab II, 96, 225, 237, 314 etc.). It retains its full legal meaning in grammar, viz. 'rule, precept', but note that, at an even later stage (not before the 10th cent.), ḥukm was borrowed again, this time from philosophy, see 12.1 n 3, 19.7 n 1). Though himself heavily influenced by law (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 86), Sībawayhi never uses ḥukm (see Troupeau, Lex.-Index, root ḡ-k-m), but the examples from Muqtadab certainly show that the term was current long before the 10th cent. (cf. A. Mehiri, Les théories grammaticales d'Ibn Jinnī, Tunis 1973, 122). See E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥukm' II, for an exhaustive treatment by Fleisch of ḥukm as 'rule' in grammar.

24.21 (1) Behind the term maṣdar 'verbal noun' hides an obscure aspect of the earliest stage of Arabic linguistic speculation. It means lit. 'source, origin', but is is unknown whether this referred originally to a lexical feature (scil. 'root meaning') or an etymological one (scil. 'root form'), to mention only the two most obvious possibilities. While there is no doubt that Arab grammarians of the time of az-Zajjājī and later have assimilated Greek ideas on the 'verbal noun; there is no evidence of a Greek connection in the period of Sībawayhi or before (see Versteegh 83-89). See further 17.1 n 2.

(2) ism ḥayn, lit. 'name of a thing in itself' (cf. ḥayn, 13.31), synonym ism ḡāṭ 'name of a being' (ḡāṭ, 23.1 n 2), and ism maṣnā, lit. 'name of an idea' (maṣnā, 2.1 n 2) are the two types of common noun, 3.64 n 2.

24.22 (1) Both qāilla 'reason' and sabab 'cause' seem to be used more or
action, e.g. qaCadtu Can il-ḥarbi jubnan 'I stayed away from the war out of cowardice'. This excludes all the other types of object, because they contain no idea of causality.

24.23 (3) The action caused (muCallal 'caused', with a after the double l) must be simultaneous with the verbal noun which is causing it (muCallil 'causing', with i after the double l). It is not allowed to say *ta'ahhabtu l- yawma s-safara gadan 'I prepared today because of travelling tomorrow', because the time of the preparation is not the same as the time of journeying.

24.24 (4) The agent of the verb and the agent of the verbal noun must be one and the same. It is not allowed to say *ji'tuka mahabbataka 'I came to you because of your loving of me', because the agent of the coming is the speaker and the agent of the loving is the person addressed.

24.25 (5) The verbal noun must belong to a mental verb. It is not allowed to say *ji'tuka girā'atan li-i-Cilmi 'I came to you because of lecturing in science', using a verb of the tongue, or *qatlan li-i-Cāfiri 'because of killing the pagan', using a verb of the hand.

24.31 The author is content to illustrate all these conditions in two examples: (1) e.g. qāma zaydun 'ijlālan li-Camrin 'Zayd stood out of respect for Camrn', in which 'ijlālan 'out of respect' is a dependent verbal noun mentioned as the reason and cause of the occurrence of the action proceeding from Zayd: the cause of Zayd's standing for Camrn is his respect (65b) and esteem for him. It is parsed thus: qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood' is a verb and its agent, 'ijlālan 'out of respect' is an object of reason, and li-Camrin 'for Camrn' is an oblique operator and oblique element semantically connected with 'ijlālan 'out of respect'.

24.32 (2) qaCadtuka btiḡa'a maCrufika 'I have made my way to you out of desire for your favour'. Here btiḡa'a 'out of desire' is a dependent verbal noun mentioned as a reason to explain the cause of making one's
less indiscriminately (cf. E.I. (1), Suppl., art. 'Sabab'), though ʿILLa has become the key term in Arabic theoretical linguistics, both in the treatment of grammatical causality and the critique of method, each pursued to a high level of abstraction, v. E.I. (2), art. 'cIIla'.

24.23 (1) Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are necessary here because active and passive participles differ only by one vowel (v. 10.36 n 2).

(2) Orthographically muʿcallīl and muʿcallal are both mʿII, with diacritical vowels and a sign over what ʾaš-Širbīnī calls 'the first i' to show that it is doubled. This sign is called ṣadda or taʾdīd, lit. 'tying together', written as a small, vestigial ʃ over the affected consonant.

(3) Both MSS have mutaʿakkir ʿan 'later than', but this is clearly a mistake, and has been corrected according to ʾaš-Širbīnī’s source, al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 335. The error may be due to confusion with the example to be discussed in 24.53.

24.24 (1) See 16.501 for the free object pronoun ‘iyyāya and 16.312 n 1 for the operation of verbal nouns corresponding to both subjective and objective genitives in English. See also 24.31 n 1.

24.25 (1) 'afCāl al-qulūb, lit. 'verbs of the hearts', the heart being the seat of the intellect (Beeston 115), and explained by al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 334, as meaning 'verbs of the inner self' ('afCāl an-nafs al-bāṭiniyya) in contrast with 'verbs of the extremities' ('afCāl al-jawārīḥ). These latter include the 'verbs of the tongue' ('afCāl al-līsān) and 'verbs of the hand' ('afCāl al-yād) mentioned here by ʾaš-Širbīnī, though whether we should also reckon among them the 'verbs of the (five) senses ('afCāl al-ḥawāss) is not certain, as they show signs of assimilating to the 'mental verbs', see further 10.71. It goes without saying that these semantic categorizations are completely lacking from the earliest grammar, though there are signs of their emergence as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. 'verbs of being near', 'afCāl al-muqāraba (q.v. 10.101 n 1), Muqtadab III, 68.

(2) The traditional method of instruction was for the pupil to learn a book by heart through hearing it recited from memory by the teacher.

24.31 (1) Although the object of reason my be defined (see 24.32) it is usually undefined, and cannot therefore be annexed to its direct object (cf. 16.512 n 1). In that case a paraphrase is used, namely to prefix the direct object with li 'of, to', as in qirāʾatan li-l-Cilmī 'because of lecturing in science' in 24.25 and 'ijlālan li-Camrin 'out of respect for ʿAmr' here. The same procedure is used if the verbal noun is already annexed to its agent, e.g. qatlu zaydīn li-Camrin 'Zayd's killing of ʿAmr', i.e. the killing by Zayd of ʿAmr. With pronoun objects li or 'iyyā may be used: gatluhu lahu/ʿiyyāhu 'his killing of him'.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on '(semantically) connected', and cf. 10.34 n 1 on Stem IV verbal noun 'ijlāl, from 'doubled' root (11.3 n 1), j-l-l-

24.32 (1) See 13.12 n 1 on the initial juncture feature in ibtiğa’, a Stem VIII verbal noun (10.34 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. stem b-ḡ-y.
way. It is parsed thus: qaṣadinka 'I made my way to you'\textsuperscript{2} is a verb, agent and direct object, ibtiğā’a 'out of desire' is an object of reason, and maCrūfīka 'for your favour' is what ibtiğā’a is annexed to.\textsuperscript{3}

24.4 In these two examples the author draws our attention to the fact that there is no difference here between the transitive and intransitive verb,\textsuperscript{1} nor between the annexed verbal noun and the non-annexed.

24.5 If the cause (muCallīl 'causing', with i after the double l) lacks any one of the conditions allowing the dependent form, then the object of reason must be made oblique by one of the particles of causation, namely bi 'by', li 'for', ff 'in' and min 'from', and no others.\textsuperscript{1}

24.51 An example of the absence of the first condition (that the object of reason must be a verbal noun) is the Qur’anic ǧālaqa lakum mā fī ǧarādi jamīc an 'he created for you what is in the earth, totally',\textsuperscript{1} where the reason for the act of creation is the people being addressed, and so their pronoun is made oblique by the causal li 'for', because the reason is not a verbal noun.

24.52 An example of the absence of the second condition (that the object must be a reason) is qataltuhu ṣabran 'I killed him in bondage',\textsuperscript{1} except that in this case it is impossible to make it oblique with a causative particle, because that would then convey causality, when the intention here is nothing of the kind.\textsuperscript{2}

24.53 An example of the absence of the third condition (simultaneity) is the verse
(2) Segmented qaṣad-tu-ka: verb stem (5.1 n 2), agent pronoun suffix (7.51) and direct object pronoun suffix (16.303). Note that this verb of motion is directly transitive to its goal, cf. 18.108 n 2.

(3) Note that ibtiğāʾ is not defined by annexation to maṣrūf, because the annexation is purely 'formal' (26.92), i.e. the elements are not in a possessive or explanatory relationship. A paraphrase in the form of a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19; these may also denote purpose) shows that the object of reason is intrinsically undefined: mubtağīyan maṣrūfaka 'desiring your favour' (maṣrūf marked as a direct object), cf. Nöldeke 34 and see also 24.52 n 2.

24.4 (1) See 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. A glance at the dependent noun summary in ch. 15 will confirm that it is misleading to associate transitivity too closely with direct objects. It is better to consider first the binary structure of the minimal sentence (20.01 n 1), from which it emerges that elements occupying the 'third' position will be prepositional phrases (9.74 n 2) or dependent nouns (19.1 n 1). It also follows that, since all verbs are sentences (7.9 n 1), dependent nouns are really operated upon by sentences: this accounts for the occurrence of dependent nouns after verbless sentences, see 19.25 n 1.

24.5 (1) See 24.23 n 2 on the spelling instructions. 'Condition' is šart, the same as for the protasis of a conditional sentence (5.811 n 1) and 'allowing' paraphrases jawāz 'permissibility', q.v. 9.8 n 2.

(2) 'Particle of causation' is harf at-tacīl (see 1.92 n 1 on this way of identifying particles): tacīl is the verbal noun cognate with muṣallīl, i.e. Stem II, doubled root c-l-l (see 10.34 n 1). For bi see 1.707, for li 1.709, for ff 1.705 and for min 1.701.

24.51 (1) S. 2 v 29, previously quoted in 13.42 to illustrate the occurrence of jamiʿcan 'totally' as a circumstantial qualifier of mā fi l-ʿarḍi 'what is in the earth'. By no stretch of the imagination could the phrase lakum 'for you' be regarded as an object of reason (it also infringes conditions (4) and (5)). Strangely, in the light of his theological scruples elsewhere (v. 5.751 n 1), aš-Širbīnī does not flinch from implying that God's creation is dependent upon some external cause (perhaps because here he is following Qatr 245).

24.52 (1) The reference is to a method of execution by tying up the victim and either throwing at him till he dies or allowing him to die by neglect (the same was also done with animals), a practice much disapproved of by Muhammad (see Wensinck, Concordance III, 242).

(2) This is, in fact, classified as a circumstantial qualifier (cf. Muf. #76 and 19.33 n 1), though Nöldeke 33 objects that it is neither, but an example of the gerund, on the grounds that it fails to meet the condition of being a predicate of its antecedent (19.7). The line between the object of reason and circumstantial qualifier is, however, by nature narrow: it would be difficult to distinguish, for example, between 'he stood in respect' and 'he stood out of respect'. Cf. 24.32 n 3
wa-qad naddat li-nawmin tiyābahā

she had already doffed her clothes for sleep', where even though sleep is the reason for taking off the clothes, the time of taking off is nevertheless prior to the time of sleeping and, since they differ, the word 'sleep' is made oblique by li 'for'.

24.54 An example of the absence of the fourth condition (that both agents should be the same) is the verse:

wa-'innī la-ta'rūnī li-gikrākī hizzatun

'and there comes over me, from the thought if you, a liveliness', where the thought is the reason why the liveliness comes over him but their agents are different: the agent of the coming over is the liveliness, while agent of the thought is the speaker, because the meaning is li-gikrā 'iyākī 'because of my thinking of you', hence dikrā 'thought' has been made oblique by li 'for' (hizzatun 'liveliness' means 'briskness' or 'cheerfulness').

24.55 An example of the absence of the fifth condition (that it must be a mental verb) is the Qur'anic wa-lā taqtulū 'awlādakum min 'imlāqīn

'do not kill your children from destitution' (i.e. 'poverty'), which is the reason for the killing but is not a mental verb, and so (66a) has been made oblique by the causative min 'from'.

24.6 In my Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā I have gone further into this than a short work such as this will bear. Having finished with the tenth of the dependent elements, namely the object of reason, the author now turns to the eleventh of them, the object of accomplishment.
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24.53 (1) Schaw. Ind. 194; this is the first half-line of a verse by Imrū l-Qays, and concludes ladā s-sitri 'illā labsata i-mutafaqḍiḷi 'at the curtain, except for the garment of one about to repose'.

(2) The difference in time would not of itself disqualify nawm 'sleep' from being an object of reason (it is in fact rule (5) which is operative here): absolute simultaneity is fundamentally irrelevant to this construction, proved by such well-formed examples as jiʿtuka ʿislāhan li-ʿamrika 'I came to you for the betterment of your situation', where the time relationship is totally vague. What is essential is that the verbal noun should express a logical reason for the action, cf. ʿaṣ-Ṣaḥbān on al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 299, drawing on al-Astarābāḍī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 175.

24.54 (1) Schaw. Ind. 88; this is the first half-line of a verse ending kamā ntafada l-ʿusfurū ballalahu l-qatru 'as the bird shakes when soaked by rain'. The second hemistich is quoted in its own right as an example of a past tense verb as a circumstantial qualifier, viz. ballalahu lit. 'it soaked him', i.e. 'it having been soaked', cf. Ḳoṣṭāf prob. 32. On ʿinnī for ʿinnaṇī 'verily I....' cf. 10.55 n 3.

(2) See 16.504 on 'iyyāki, here required as a free direct object because ʿikrī 'my thinking' is already an annexed unit (subjective genitive, see 24.31 n 1). Contrast the paraphrase ʿikrī 'my thinking' (see 3.421 n 3 on possessive suffix i) + 'iyyāki with ʿikrāki 'the thought of you', invariable fem. noun ʿikrā (4.2 (c)) and possessive suffix ki (4.72 (2)).

24.55 (1) S. 6 v 151. This can usefully be compared with S. 17 v 31: wa-lā taqtulū ʿawlāḏakum ʿaṣyata ʿimlāqi 'and do not kill your children out of fear of destitution', where ʿaṣyata ʿimlāqi 'out of fear of destitution is a regular object of reason as in 24.32.

(2) See 1.701 on min in general. The category min at-taṣlīliyya 'causative min' is somewhat ad hoc, probably a simple extension of its original partitive function, scil. 'as part of becoming destitute' etc.

24.6 (1) The work is unfortunately not to be found (0.4 n 6). Historically the 'object of reason', like some other constructions (e.g. the 'wa of accompaniment', ch. 25) seems to have become more autonomous with age: al-Farrāḥ (d. 822, 1.21 n 2) does not identify it in Maṣāḥīṯ II, 123, where one might expect it (and cf. id. I, 17), while Ṣibawayhi has so many names for it (mawqūf laḥ 'that for which it happens', ʿudr 'excuse', tafsīr li-mā qaḍlah 'explanation for what precedes', mafṣūl laḥ 'that for which it is done', cf. Kitāb I, 184) that we must assume he did not want to make a technicality of it. For Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 100, it is simply a variety of the 'absolute object' (q.v. ch. 17).
25.0 Chapter on the object of accompaniment. The author only puts this after all the other objects because (unlike the others) there is disagreement about whether it is a productive construction, and because (unlike the others) its operator is joined to it through the mediation of a particle. He defines it as follows:

25.1 This is the noun (i.e. the single noun) which is made dependent (i.e. is structurally redundant), which occurs after wa 'and' with the intention of denoting accompaniment, and is mentioned to explain with whom the action of the verb is done. This wa 'and' must always be preceded by a sentence containing a verb or something with the constituent letters and meaning of a verb (such as the agent and patient nouns), i.e. by a sentence with a verb or a noun having the meaning and constituent letters of a verb.

25.11 An example of the verbal sentence is sirtu wa-n-nīla 'I travelled with the Nile', and of the sentence containing a noun with the meaning and constituent letters of a verb, 'ana sā'irun wa-n-nīla 'I am travelling with the Nile'. In both these examples it is true of an-nīla 'the Nile' that it is a noun because it is prefixed by al 'the', that it is structurally redundant because it has dependent form, that it is preceded by wa 'and' (that wa which has the meaning of 'with'), and that the wa 'and' is preceded by a sentence containing either a verb (namely sirtu 'I travelled' in the first example) or one containing a noun with the meaning and constituent letters of a verb (namely sā'irun 'travelling' in the second example).

25.21 By 'noun' are excluded such cases as lā ta'kul is-samaka wa-tašraba l-labana 'do not eat fish and drink milk together'.

25.0-25.21
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25.0 (1) Muf. #68; Alf. v 311; Ḍāṭr 251; Fleisch 191; Nöldeke 42; Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 99. Terminology: al-mafūl maṣlah 'that with which it is done', wāw al-maṣliyya 'the wa of withness' (v. 11.721 n 4 on such abstract nouns, and cf. 5.54 n 2 on letter-names for one-letter particles—wāw = 'w'); wāw bi-maṣla maṣla 'wa in the meaning of "with"'; wāw as-ṣarf 'wa of diversion'. Origins 25.1 n 2; cf. also 25.11 n 4.

(2) 'Productive' here renders qiyyāsī, lit. 'analogical' (see 8.3 n 2), i.e. a valid basis for analogical extension: the antonym is samāṣfi, lit. 'by hearing', i.e. isolated recorded data not to be generalized.

25.1 (1) On mufrad 'single' see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Fleisch 191 suggests that this is not an inflection, but a relic of the ā ending still found in lamentation etc. (23.22): he finds a possible model in such expressions as mā 'anā wa-l-mujūna (≤*mujūna) 'what have I to do with obscenity!?', lit. 'what am I and obscenity!?'.

(3) See 19.1 on ḥaḍla 'redundant element', and see further 25.23.

(4) Observe that intention is a necessary component, cf. 20.13 n 3.

(5) 'Sentence containing a verb' should be 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiṣliyya, 7.1 n 1: word order is decisive), but anticipates the looser formulation used later and in 25.11, jumla gāt fiṣli, lit. 'sentence possessing a verb', i.e. regardless of word order.

(6) See 17.5 on 'constituent letters', which here simply means that the operator must be deverbative (cf. 10.34 n 1).

25.11 (1) The verb in these examples is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2), which in the agent noun pattern fāṣil (10.34 n 1) acquires a dummy radical ', hence sā'ir instead of *sāyir.

(2) See 1.5 on al as a noun marker, 11.41 n 2 on assimilation l→n.

(3) A neat statement of this characteristic feature of dependent elements, see further 24.4 n 1.

(4) For the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) wa simply mediates (cf. 16.309 n 1) between verb and noun, but the 'Kūfans' attribute the dep. form to a kind of incongruence which they term sarf 'diversion, deviation', i.e. the difference in function between the two nouns on each side of wa (cf. Inṣāf prob. 30). A closer study suggests that the 'Baṣrans' originally shared this view, see Carter, Arabica 20, 292, and 25.34 n 1.

25.21 (1) This is a true case of 'wa of accompaniment' but is excluded here simply because the topic happens to be nouns. It is easy to see that this wa is not a coordinating conjunction (12.1): the command is
25.22 By 'single' are excluded such cases as sīrtu wa-š-šamsu tāliʿatun 'I travelled while the sun was rising', with independent form of both aš-šamsu 'the sun' and tāliʿatun 'rising'. In both the above examples the wa 'and', though it does have the meaning of 'with', in the first instance formally precedes a verb and in the second a sentence.

25.23 By 'structurally redundant' are excluded such cases as istaraka zaydun wa-camrun 'Zayd and ʿAmr worked together', where both nouns are structurally indispensable.

25.24 By 'mentioned to explain with whom the action of the verb is done' all the other objects are excluded.

25.25 By 'after wa "and"' are excluded such cases as jīʾu maʿa zaydīn 'I came with Zayd', because that is after maʿa 'with' and not after wa 'and' in the meaning of 'with'.

25.26 By 'with the intention of denoting accompaniment' are excluded such cases as raʾaytu zaydān wa-camran 'I saw Zayd and ʿAmr', when the intention is merely coordination or having seen one before or after the other.

25.27 By 'preceded (66b) by a verb or something with the constituent letters and meaning of a verb' are excluded such cases as kullu rajulin wa-jayʿatuhu 'every man and his trade', where the dependent form as object of accompaniment is not allowed because there is no preceding verb or anything of the kind.

25.3 Next, the object of accompaniment is of two kinds:

25.31 (1) One allows both independent and dependent forms, which the author illustrates as follows: e.g. jāʾa l-ʿamīru wa-l-jayṣa 'the commander came with the army', where jāʾa 'came' is a past tense verb, al-ʿamīru 'the commander' is an agent, wa 'and' is the 'wa of accompaniment', and al-jayṣa 'the army' is an object of accompaniment, of which
not 'do not eat fish, and also do not drink milk', but 'do not eat fish and drink milk at the same time', see further 25.33.

25.22 (1) In this example the sentence introduced by wa 'and' is one of the varieties of circumstantial qualifier (see 19.9 n 1). It has a particularly close resemblance to the 'wa of accompaniment' structure (a) in that the wa does mean something like 'with, while', and (b) in each case the wa-phrases are structurally redundant.

(2) The 'first instance' referred to here is the example given in the previous paragraph.

25.23 (1) It should be pointed out that structural redundancy is an ideal condition which cannot always be fulfilled (especially with circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. 19.6). See further 25.5.

(2) There might seem to be a semantic restraint here (co-operation requires at least two people), but a purely formal explanation is also possible: verbs with the t infix (Stem VIII, q.v. at 8.68 n 1) often denote reciprocal activities, hence two different agents may be needed. 'Structurally indispensible' renders ٌعَدَّا, see 20.01 n 1.

25.24 (1) This distinction is necessary because single nouns which function as verb qualifiers all have dependent form, as if they were direct objects of the verb (but see 24.4 n 1).

25.25 (1) Though ْا 'with' is here synonymous with a 'wa of accompaniment', it is a pure spaceQualifier which can only occur in annexation to its noun (see 18.208).

25.26 (1) So far ٌس-ٌرٌبٌنٌI has been following fairly closely al-AzharI Taşr. I, 342, but here he must be drawing upon some other source, most likely Qaţr 252 (or perhaps his own lost Commentary thereon, 0.4 n 6), for the importance of intention (20.13 n 3). The example is not well chosen: it is impossible to tell, as both nouns are dependent, whether the second is an object of accompaniment or merely coordinated. Qaţr 252 is better, with ٌذَأ'ا ُذَدِعَرْنَا ٌا ٌمَرَن ٌرَاء 'Zayd and ْأمَر came', ruling out wa-ٌمَرَن as an object of accompaniment. See 12.1 on coordination.

25.27 (1) Expressions of this kind are regarded as elliptical nominal sentences without a predicate; moreover, in such quasi-proverbial utterances no predicate can be restored except purely notionally, e.g. in 9.94, which supplies a vague ٌْعَذْرَلَْنَا '(are) connected' for the saying kullu ٌْنٌِمٌ ٌا ٌمَنٌ ٌنَا ٌا 'every doer and what he has done'. Nevertheless some grammarians (e.g. Muf. #29) allow kullu rajulin wa-ٌٌنٌ ٌتاٌٌحٌ with dependent form of ٌٌنٌ ٌتاٌٌحٌ as an object of accompaniment.

25.3 (1) Another example of 'rational dichotomy', q.v. 1.2 n 2.

25.31 (1) Cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 99 (who uses an alternative name for this wa, viz. ٌْاٌّمٌ al-ٌْعَذْرَبٌba, 'the wa of accompanying'). Doubts exist about the genuineness of the object of accompaniment construction (cf. reservations in 25.0). The example cited by Noldeke 42, wa-ٌّيَّدٌ 'and her' (cf. 16.509) as proof that it is not an 'invention of the
it is true to say that it is a dependent noun mentioned to explain who accompanied the commander in his coming, after the possibility that it might have been the army or something else. This is the case when you make al-jayša 'the army' dependent, but you may also make it independent by coordinating it to the agent of the verb (namely al-'amīru 'the commander), and then the wa 'and' merely denotes coordination, not accompaniment: the implicit meaning is then *jā'a l-'amīru wa-jā'sa al-jayšu 'the commander came and the army came'.

25.32 (2) The second kind specifically has dependent form, and the author's example is: istawā l-mā'u wa-1-kašaba 'the water became level with the piece of wood'. Here istawā 'became level' is a past tense verb, al-mā'u 'the water' is its agent, and al-kašaba 'the piece of wood' is a noun which specifically must be dependent as an object of accompaniment. It is not correct for it to be independent in coordination with the agent of the verb (namely al-mā'u 'the water'), because the piece of wood does not become level with the water—it is the water which becomes level with the piece of wood, i.e. reaches to it.

25.33 In this category belongs the expression lā tanha ʾan il-qabīḥi wa-ʾityānahu 'do not forbid evil while doing it', where the dependent form of ʾityāna 'doing' is compulsory because the meaning is 'do not forbid evil alongside doing it yourself'. If you coordinate here, the meaning becomes 'do not forbid evil nor the doing of it', which it the opposite of the intended meaning. Indeed it becomes a command to affirm and commit evil and to say nothing against it, because of the prohibition it contains.

25.34 Similarly māta zaydun wa-ṭulūṣa ʾal-šamsī 'Zayd died with the rising of the sun', with compulsory dependent form of ṭulūṣa 'rising',
grammarians' is somewhat weakened by the fact that 'iyyā does not automatically mark the suffixed pronoun as dependent (see 16.502 n 1). And there are inconsistencies in the technical history of the construction: it is described in detail by Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 150) but seems to have been overlooked by grammarians of the following century (or to have been regarded with some perplexity, cf. Carter, Arabica 20, 297). It eventually achieved a settled place in the pedagogical scheme by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 36). Nevertheless it does crop up in modern Arabic (e.g. Cantarino II, 214), though to what extent such occurrences are 'grammaticogenic' is not clear.

(2) This is an example of taqdīr (see 2.101 n 1): it comes as close as one could wish to the notion of deep structure in this context, though it is perhaps a pity that no such reconstructions are offered in the place where they would have been expected, i.e. in the analysis of simple coordination (ch. 12).

25.32 (1) The verb istawā is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) form of the root s-w-y, i.e. its second and third radicals (5.1 n 2) are 'defective consonants' (2.43 n 2). However, in this situation the second radical is always syllable-initial, hence behaves as a 'sound' consonant, and only the third radical is weak; istawā therefore follows ra‘ā in the past tense (10.65 n 1) and yarmī in the imperfect tense (4.81 n 2(b)). It has no passive, but in any case passives of w-y verbs follow du‘iya in 10.14 n 1, e.g. ruwiya 'it was related', yurwā 'it is related'.

(2) This specious explanation may be an original contribution from aš-Širbīnx, perhaps developed from al-Azharī, Āj. 92.

25.33 (1) This is a paraphrase of a verse often discussed in this context: là tanha can kuluqin wa-ta‘tiya mištahu; Ārun can la‘ayaka ‘in fa‘altaqā‘imun 'do not forbid a certain conduct while doing the same yourself; it is a great shame on you if you do' (Schaw. Ind. 227). In the prose paraphrase wa-‘ityānahu 'with the bringing of it' (i.e. doing of it) the dependent verbal noun functions as an object of accompaniment equivalent to the dependent verb wa-ta‘tiya 'while you bring it' (i.e. do it) in the verse, both with dep. form for the reasons given in the text (but see 25.11 n 4 for 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' dispute). Compare also the verse quoted in 5.411, where a different reason (false coordination of verb to noun) is advanced for the dep. wa-taqarra 'and it may relax', and the noun paraphrase wa-qarratu 'and the relaxation' can only have indep. form because it is correctly coordinated to the indep. noun lubsu 'the wearing'. Cf. also next note.

25.34 (1) The example is a pure grammarians' fiction (cf. 25.31 n 1), and genuine cases of this construction are rare. However, it does
because the meaning is 'Zayd died as the sun was rising', and if you were to coordinate the meaning would become '*Zayd died and the rising of the sun died', but death is not something which can occur in sunrise.

25.4 In such cases as qāma zaydun wa-'Amr 'Zayd and 'Amr stood', coordination predominates because it is the norm, although the dependent form would be possible without weakness in form or meaning.

25.5 With (67a) ištara zaydun wa-'Amr 'Zayd and 'Amr worked together' and such like, coordination is specifically prescribed because it is indispensable for the verb, since working together can only come about between two people.

25.6 Having finished with the eleventh of the dependent elements, the author now proceeds to deal with the remainder:

25.61 The predicate of kāna 'to be' and its related verbs, e.g. kāna zaydun ǧālimun 'Zayd was learned', and the subject-noun of 'inna 'verily' and its related particles, e.g. 'inna zaydan ǧālimun 'verily Zayd is learned' (add to these the two objects of zanantu 'I thought', e.g. zanantu zaydan qā' iman 'I thought Zayd was standing') have been dealt with under the independent elements, (in the exhaustive treatment following on from the chapter on the subject and predicate) i.e. there is no need for us to repeat it here; likewise the concordants which have dependent form, which are four in number, viz. the adjective, e.g. raʾaytu zaydan il-fāḍila 'I saw Zayd the virtuous', the coordinated element, e.g. raʾaytu zaydan wa-'Amran 'I saw Zayd and 'Amr', the corroborative, e.g. raʾaytu zaydan nafspahu 'I saw Zayd himself', and the substitute, e.g. raʾaytu zaydan ʾakāka 'I saw Zayd your brother', have also been dealt with there. (In four chapters following on from the 'cancellors', i.e. there is no need for us to repeat them here).

25.62 Those four categories of the predicate of kāna 'to be' and its related verbs, the subject-noun of 'inna 'verily' and its related particles, the two objects of zanantu 'I thought' and the concordants to
illustrate neatly one of the characteristic features of the dependent form, viz. the tendency not only to be structurally redundant (19.1 n 1 and cf. 25.11), but also to be excluded semantically from the antecedent ('continuous' exception, 21.1, is a good example). For this reason the dependent form is often attributed to the property of being different from, or not included in the antecedent, expressed as šarf 'diversion' or kilāf 'difference', cf. Carter, Arabica 20, 292, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 491.

25.4 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'ašl 'norm'. Both ḍaCIf 'weak' and qawĪ 'strong' have been used as value terms for well-formedness from the earliest grammar (see Troupeau, Lex.-Index, roots ḍ-C-f, q-w-y), and see Baalbaki, Z.A.L. 2, 16 on qawĪ.

25.5 (1) See 25.23. Cantarino II, 215 has a remarkable example, īṣṭaraka wa-‘ismāCIl 'he collaborated with IsmāCIl': presumably the author avoided the regular coordination īṣṭaraka huwa wa-‘ismāCIlu 'he and IsmāCIl collaborated' because it transfers the emphasis from the action to the participants. See 12.11 n 3 on coordination to pronouns.

25.6 (1) One object which did not catch on in the general exploitation of Sībawayhi's Kitāb is the mafCūl minhu, 'that from which it is done', referring to the dependent form in such constructions as 'iyyāka wa-l-‘asada 'beware of the lion!' (and cf. 26.96 'iyyāka 'an tazunna 'beware of thinking...'). Sībawayhi explains 'iyyāka as the direct object of an elided verb (scil. 'I warn'), and al-‘asada as a mafCūl minhu 'that which it is (warned) about', Kitāb I, 138.

25.61 (1) See 10.1 on kāna etc., and 6.4 n 2 on 'related'.

(2) See 10.4.

(3) See 10.6. There are inconsistencies in the manuscripts (cf. 15.14) and/or in Ibn Ājurrrūm's arithmetic: we accept aš-Širbīnī's explanation that the two objects of žanantu form one item of the inventory, likewise the four concordants together, thus making the fifteen required.

(4) See ch. 11.

(5) See ch. 12.

(6) See ch. 13.

(7) See ch. 14.

(8) See 10.1 n 3 on nawāsik 'cancellers'. Other dependent forms not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī: 16.311 n 1 (dep. forms in isolation); 20.9 n 1 ('specialization'); 22.6 n 1 (lā 'not' with single nouns); 25.6 n 1 (warnings), and cf. 11.6 for the suspension of adjectival concordance.

25.62 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing grammatical features. The actual arrangement of material is not without interest, as it reveals differences in approach: thus Muf. treats concordants entirely under oblique elements and makes one chapter of kāna and 'inna, while Qatr disperses dependent elements throughout the book, treating the vocative as a subdivision of the direct object (cf. 16.6 n 2).
dependent elements) complete the fifteen dependent elements to which the author (may God have mercy on him and be content with him) has devoted individual chapters. Having finished with the dependence of the noun he now turns to its obliqueness.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

26.0 Chapter on oblique nouns. (The word māfūdātī 'things made oblique' is annexed to al-'asāmī 'nouns' in explanatory annexation, not in order to exclude verbs, since obliqueness is not found in verbs any way: the implicit meaning is thus, 'Chapter on oblique elements, which are nouns').

This is the last chapter of the book; may God give us a good end, and our families, and those who love us and all Muslims, Amen.

26.01 The oblique elements (which are well known) are of three kinds: (1) made oblique by a particle, e.g. jalastu fī d-dāri 'I sat in the house', (2) made oblique by annexation, e.g. ġulāmu zaydin 'the slave-boy of Zayd' (but this is somewhat weak: the correct view is that it is made oblique by the element annexed to it, not by annexation itself), and (3) made oblique by concordance, in the opinion of al-Akfaš, which is what our author means by the concordant to the oblique element. (As in marartu bi-zaydin il-fādili 'I passed by Zayd the virtuous', but this, too, is rather weak). All three kinds of obliqueness (67b) are found in bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'.

26.1 The nouns made oblique by particles (of which there are twenty: three already dealt with under exception, viz. ġalā 'except', ġadā
(2) Note how, in this paragraph, bāb (lit. 'door') is used to mean both 'category' (other examples 1.41, 21.1) and 'chapter'.

(3) By way of conclusion, here is a sentence containing six qualifiers in dep. form and one prepositional phrase: ḏarabtu ḏarban zaydān bi-zawṭin nahāran hunā ta’dīban wa-tulū[a š-šamsi 'I struck hard Zayd with a whip by day here as a discipline with the sun rising' (Goguyer, Qaṭr 256 n 7, taken from aş-Ṣabbān on al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 315).

26.0 (1) Jum. 72, 155; Muf. #110, 498; Alf. vv 364, 385; Qaṭr 279; Beeston 45, 88; Fleisch 170; Yushmanov 61, 64; Bateson 44, 48. There are two unexplained sets of parallel terminology: jarr or ḫaḏḏ 'obliqueness, oblique function', see further 3.8 n 1, jārr or ḫāḏḏ 'making oblique, obliqueness operator', cf. 2.11 n 1, majrūr or māḏḏūḏ 'made oblique, oblique element', see 3.84 n 3. Apart from Sībawayhi, who uses only jarr, most grammarians seem to use both sets indiscriminately, though traditionally jarr was said to be a 'Basran' and ḫaḏḏ a 'Kūfan' term (q.v. 9.4 n 3).

(2) See 26.72 on explanatory annexation, 2.44 on the lack of oblique form in verbs, and cf. 2.101 n 1 on taqdiī 'implicit meaning'.

26.01 (1) In Western terms this also includes all those 'prepositions' which were, and often still are nouns (cf. 18.4 n 2), hence this category is structurally identical with the next one, annexation.

(2) As Arabic nouns only have three cases, of which one (independence) is a marker of subject or predicate status (chs. 7-9) and another (dependence) marks structural redundancy (cf. 19.1), annexation remains as the only possible bond between nouns (excluding concordance, chs. 11-14 and the small, unproductive class of genuine compound nouns, 3.411 n 5).

(3) See 1.31 n 4 on this argument. Al-Aḵfaš (here cited via al-Azharia, Āj. 93) is best known for having preserved and transmitted Sībawayhi's Kitāb in the version which we now have. He died in 830 or 835; G.A.L. I, 105, Fleisch, Tr. p. 31, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Aḵfash', sect. II.

(4) S. v 1, parsed above in 1.31.

26.1 (1) Jum. 72; Muf. #498; Alf. v 364; Qaṭr 279; Fleisch 175. Note the pedagogical enumeration (cf. 9.3 n 1), which is extended by Qaṭr to twenty-one by including lawlā 'if not for' (6.6 n 6), on the grounds that it may take pronoun suffixes (e.g. lawlāka 'if not for you', but lawlā 'anta 'if not for you', with free independent pronoun, is the regular construction).
26.2 The remaining fourteen divide into two kinds: 1 (1) seven which make oblique both overt nouns and pronouns. As the author 2 goes on to point out, nouns and pronouns are made oblique by:

26.21 min 'from', which is the fundamental particle of obliqueness, e.g. the Qur’anic wa-minka wa-min nūhin 'and from you and from Noah'. 1

26.22 'ilā 'to', as in the Qur’anic 'ilā llāhi marji’ukum 'to God is your return' and 'ilayhi marji’ukum 'to him is your return'. 1

26.23 ġan 'from', as in the Qur’anic țabaqan ġan țabagin 'rank after rank', raḍiyya ’ilāhu Ġanhum 'may God be content with them'. 1

26.24 ġalā 'on', as in the Qur’anic Ġalayhā wa-Ġalā l-fulki tuḥmalūna 'on it and on the ark you shall be carried'. 1

26.25 ʕī 'in', as in the Qur’anic wa-ʕī l-’ārādī ‘āyātun 'and in the earth are signs' and fĪhā mā taṣṭahī l-‘anfusu 'in it is what souls desire'. 1

26.26 To these must be added bi 'by', which the author will speak about later, as in the Qur’anic ʕāminū bi-llāhi wa-rasūlihi 'believe in God and his Prophet' and ʕāminū bihi 'believe in him'. 1
(2) See 21.5 for these.

(3) A tribe east of Mecca, regarded as speaking a western dialect with heavy eastern influences, v. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. ch. 8, F.I. (2), s.v.

(4) The usage is probably genuine enough (see this and other examples in Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 91), though grammarians never mastered it.

(5) See 10.46 on normal la"alla. The C'Uqayl tribe inhabited the eastern dialect area of the Najd, v. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 3.

(6) Schaw. Ind. 226; the line concludes bi-šay'in 'anna 'ummakum šarīmun 'through something, i.e. that your mother had a ruptured peritoneum'. The verse is as anonymous as it is unpleasant.

(7) Both MSS have 'an (5.41) for kay here, suggesting that the confusion stems from aş-Shirbīnī's radical simplification of al-Azhari, Taşr. II, 3: this states that kay is a preposition because it is prefixed to nominalized clauses (see 5.44 n 1) and also to the pronoun mà 'what', viz. kaymà, synonymous with limā 'for what, why?', see 5.44 n 4.

26.2 (1) See 26.64 for other methods of classification.

(2) The Qur'anic illustrations (cf. 1.704 n 2) are provided by Ibn Hišām, via al-Azhari, Taşr. II, 3f, contrast 1.701-13, where aş-Shirbīnī was drawing on al-Azhari, Āj. 14 in his treatment of the same particles.

26.21 (1) S. 33 v 7, and see 1.701; on 'fundamental particle', lit. 'mother of the particles' cf. 6.4 n 2, and see also 18.41 n 3.

26.22 (1) S. 5 v 48, S. 6 v 60 respectively; note that ā becomes ay before pronoun suffixes (1.702 n 1), entailing here the change hu to hi by vowel harmony (13.9 n 9).

26.23 (1) S. 84 v 19, S. 5 v 119 respectively. The latter has become the normal invocation after the mention of any dead person except Muḥammad (cf. 14.34 n 3 on optative verbs). See also 1.703.

26.24 (1) S. 23 v 22: this example (like the one in 26.21) has the added distinction of illustrating both oblique noun and oblique pronoun in the same sentence! See also 1.704.

26.25 (1) S. 51 v 20, S. 43 v 71 respectively (note al-'anfusu 'the souls' here in its literal meaning, contrast 13.9). Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 371, says that fī 'in' is originally the oblique form of fū 'mouth' (q.v. 3.42, and cf. 3.61 n 1). It is classified by Fleisch, Tr. #151f without comment as a peculiarly Arab creation.

26.26 (1) S. 3 v 179, S. 17 v 107 respectively, and see 1.707, 26.4. In common with other invariable elements (negatives, conditionals, ch. 5; conjunctions, ch. 12; demonstratives, 11.73, pronouns, 11.71 etc.), bi and most other prepositions are primitive roots which lie outside the derivational system (Beeston 31; Fleisch 134; Bateson 37). Some former nouns (e.g. mīn, 1.701) and verbs (e.g. la"alla, 10.46, ǧalā, 21.5) have drifted into this category. Others seem to be in the process of doing so, e.g. qablu etc., see 18.4 n 2, 18.41 n 2.
26.27 Likewise *lī 'for', which the author will also speak about later, as in the Qur'anic *li-llāhi mā fī s-samāwāti 'to God belongs what is in the heavens' and *lahū mā fī s-samāwāti 'to Him belongs what is in the heavens'.

26.3 Then there are seven which are peculiar to overt nouns, and these divide into four groups:

26.31 (1) those which are not peculiar to any specific overt noun, viz. *ḥattā 'till', *kā 'like', and *wā 'and, by'.

26.32 (2) those peculiar to time, viz. *muḍḍ 'since' and *muṇḍu 'since', which the author will speak about in due course.

26.33 (3) that which is peculiar to undefined nouns, namely *rubba 'how few, how many', e.g. *rubba *rajunī 'how few men, how many a man'. In some speech this particle is also found before the third person pronoun, but always in the masculine singular and followed by an explanatory specifying element of corresponding meaning, as in the verse:

\[
\text{rubbaḥu fityatan da'awtu 'ilā mā}
\]
\[
yūriṭu l-majda dā'ibān fa'-ajābū
\]

'how many of him—such youths—have I called to that which bequeathes glory perpetually, and they answered!'.

26.34 (4) that peculiar to the words *allāhu 'God' and *rabbun 'Lord' (when the latter is annexed to *al-ka'batu 'the Kaaba' or to the first person singular *ī 'my'), viz. *ta, as the author will speak about later, as in the Qur'anic *wa-ta-llāhi la-akIndanna 'aṣ'nāmakum 'and by God I will surely outwit your idols!' also *ta-rabbī l-ka'batī 'by the Lord of the Kaaba!' and *ta-rabbī (68a) la-'afcalanna 'by my Lord I shall surely do it!'. The expressions *ta-r-rahmānī 'by the Merciful One!' and *ta-ḥayātika 'by your life!' are rare.
26.27 (1) S. 2 v 284, S. 2 v 116 respectively, and see 1.709, 26.4; li is possibly cognate with 'illā (q.v. 26.22), Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 377. Note that li (and also āinda 'with', 18.207, māca 'with', 18.208) paraphrases the Eng. 'to have, possess' (cf. 26.71), and see also 14.2 n 2. The alternation li before nouns, la before pronouns (except of course 1f 'to me, mine') is unexplained.

26.3 (1) But see 26.33 and 26.4 n 2 for rare exceptions; for ḣāhir 'overt (noun) see 7.2 n 1. The distributional criteria here are taken from Ibn Hišām, via al-Azharī, Taṣrī. II, 3.

26.31 (1) See 5.53, 12.91 on ḥattā; 1.708, 26.4 on ka; 1.711, 26.5 on wa (also 12.1 on wa as a coordinating conjunction).

26.32 (1) See 26.62, esp. n 2, on the reason why these were left till last by Ibn Ājurrūm, which has been obscured by aṣ-Ṣirbīnī's arbitrary rearrangement of the material (on which see 26.4 n 1).

26.33 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on nakira 'undefined'.

(2) See 1.706. This word has contrary meanings, as appears in the translation: the phenomenon itself was well known to the Arabs, who made collections of such words under the heading of 'aqdād, lit. 'opposites' (see E.I. (2), art. 'Aqād', D. Cohen, Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe, The Hague/Paris 1970, 79, 101, esp. 95, and for rubba in particular Fleisch, Tr. #118n-q). Curiously enough, rubba itself does not appear in standard collections of words with contrary meanings, unlike waṣṣa 'behind/in front of', q.v. 18.204.

(3) See ch. 20 on tamyīz 'specifying element'.

(4) Schaw. Ind. 16. Points to note in this verse: fityatan 'as to youths', a specifying element, plural by poetic licence; daʿawtu 'I called', weak 3rd radical (10.14 n 2); yūrnī 'bequeathes', Stem IV of 1st rad. w (= yūrwītu, 8.63 n 1); dāʾīban 'habitually' (variant dāʾīman 'always', 18.32 n 3), circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19); 'ajābū 'they answered', Stem IV of hollow verb (8.73 n 1).

26.34 (1) See 1.713 and further examples in 26.5.

(2) S. 21 v 57. Note the collocation of asseverative ta and verbs prefixed with 'emphatic la' (lām at-tawkīd, 13.6 n 3) and suffixed with 'emphatic n' (nūn at-tawkīd): this n is realized as a 'light' (gaffa) form an (other examples 1.4, 5.32) or a 'heavy' (ṭaffa) form anna (see 3.241 n 2; other examples 2.101, 3.241, 5.32, 5.56, 9.92, 13.6). It has the effect of obliterating mood inflections, though these are in any case assumed to be those of the apocopated form (paradigms Fleisch 108, Tr. #119w, and cf. id. #120j, 5.32 n 4). 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argued with each other (Inṣāf, prob. 94) as to whether an was derived by lightening anna or vice versa, the 'Kūfans' maintaining the former view, the 'Baṣrans' insisting that neither was derived from the other!

(3) See Fischer, op. cit. 1.711 n 1, for numerous other forms of oath, including some entirely without particles, e.g. allāha 'by God', 14.62.
26.4 The author does not deal with the particles in this order,\(^1\) however, but continues after *rubba* 'how many, how few', of which an example has already been given above, *ka* 'like', e.g. *zaydun ka-l-‘asadi* 'Zayd is like a lion',\(^2\) and *li* 'for', also illustrated already.

26.5 Then those peculiar to the particles of swearing,\(^1\) (i.e. of swearing an oath), namely *wa*, as in *wa-llāhi* 'by God!', *bī*, as in *bī-llāhi* 'by God!', and *tā*, as in *tā-llāhi* 'by God!', the peculiarities of this last having been set out above.\(^2\)

26.61 The remaining particles are *wa* in the meaning of *rubba* 'how many, how few', e.g. *wa-laylin* meaning *rubba* *laylin* 'how many a night'.

26.62 Finally *mād* 'since' and *mundu* 'since'.\(^1\) These make oblique only overt nouns which are peculiar to time,\(^2\) whether a present time, as in *mā ra‘aytuhu mād yawmā* or *mundu yawmā* 'I have not seen him today' (the implicit meaning being that up to that time I had not seen him during that day), or past time, as in *mā ra‘aytuhu mād yawmī 1-ḵamīsī* or *mundu yawmī 1-ḵamīsī* 'I have not seen him since Thursday' (the implicit meaning being that I have not seen him from the time of last Thursday).\(^3\)

26.63 The author does not mention here among the particles of obliqueness *kalā* 'except', *ʿadā* 'except' and *ḥāšā* 'except', as he has no need to mention them here because he has already mentioned them at the beginning of the book and in the chapter on exception.\(^4\)

26.64 The senses\(^1\) of all these particles are numerous. I have mentioned most of them in my *Commentary on Qatr an-nadā*,\(^2\) where I point out that...
26.4 (1) The order that aš-Širbīnī is following is based on Qatır 279, incorporating Ibn Hišām's own comments on Alf. v 364f as expanded in turn by al-Azharī, Taṣrīh. II, 3f (cf. 3.63 n 1).

(2) The grammarians cite rare instances of pronoun suffixation to ka, e.g. kahā 'like her' (Alf. v 368, and cf. al-Ušmūnī ad loc. for ḥattāka 'till you' etc.). On ka see further 1.708.

26.5 (1) See 1.71, 1.711. Note that this wa (like all the particles of swearing) may be prefixed with coordinating wa 'and' (12.1), e.g. wa-wa-llāhi 'and by God!', and wa-ta-llāhi in 16.34.

(2) See 1.712, 26.26 on bi, 1.713, 26.34 on ta. The best known oath beginning with bi is surely bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥimi 'in the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful', q.v. 1.0 and notes.

26.61 (1) See 1.706, 26.33 on rubba; in this function wa always means 'how many', but its relation to coordinating wa (12.1) and asseverative wa (26.5) is obscure (Fleisch, Tr. #151g). Here we may include predicative kam 'how many a...' (contrast interrogative kam, 20.6 n 2), e.g. kam damFatīn ḡarafnāhā 'how many a tear we shed' (Cantarino I, 158); Jum. 145; Muf. #217; Alf. v 746; Qatır 266; Fleisch, Tr. #149n.

(2) These two are left till last because (a) they are restricted to occurrence before nouns of specific time (never pronouns) and (b) they may be followed by independent nouns as well as oblique nouns (see n 3).

(3) See 2.101 on taqdīr 'implicit meaning'. This distinction (from Ibn Hišām, Muğnī II, 21) is entirely artificial: it is of more use to know that in positive sentences munḍu can correspond to English 'ago', e.g. waṣalnā munḍu ḡalṭaṭa 'ayyāmin 'we arrived three days ago' (Cantarino II, 346). The alternative with indep. nouns is doubtless the original structure, scil. *min ḡū Cāmānī 'since that (was) two years' (Fleisch, loc. cit. n 1), cf. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 187), with assimilation to the syntax of min 'from', which often has the meaning of 'since'.

26.63 (1) These are indeed dealt with in the chapter on exception, viz. 21.5, but the reference to 'the beginning of the book' is obscure. Both MSS insist on kitāb 'book' here, rather than bāb 'chapter', so if this refers to 26.1, where ḡalā etc. are mentioned, perhaps kitāb must be taken in a loose sense as 'booklet', i.e. part of the major work. Or possibly aš-Širbīnī had a copy of al-Azharī's Taṣrīh with the same divisions as current printed versions: these dismiss ḡalā etc. on the very first page of vol. II, which aš-Širbīnī might thoughtlessly have copied.

26.64 (1) See 1.701 n 2 on maCānī 'senses'.

(2) The work is unfortunately lost,'however the information given here is substantially the same as Muf. #498, except that Cālā has been made into a category of its own. Among other ways of classifying these elements are (a) according to the number of letters (Qatır 281), and (b) by
they divide into four kinds: (1) used as both a noun and a particle, viz. muḏ 'since', mundu 'since', cān 'from', and the ka 'like' of comparison; (2) used as both a particle and a verb, viz. hāāā 'except', kalā 'except' and cādā 'except'; (3) used as a particle, a noun and a verb, viz. only cālā 'on', and (4) used as a particle only, viz. the remainder of the particles.  

26.7 The nouns made oblique by annexation,¹ (it has already been indicated that in the preponderant view obliqueness is caused by the annexed element, not by annexation), e.g. ḡulāmu zaydin 'the slave-boy of Zayd', where zaydin 'Zayd' is made oblique by what is annexed to it, not by annexation itself (thus contradicting Abū Ḥayyān and our author; nor is it made oblique by the meaning of li 'for', nor by an implicit particle which has been replaced by the annexed element, contradicting certain other grammarians).² The term iḍāfa 'annexation' lexically denotes the absolute propping up of one thing upon another, and technically it denotes the propping up of one noun upon another in such a way that the second noun has the status of a final n of tanwīn on the first noun.³ 

26.71 They are (i.e. the nouns made oblique by annexation) of two kinds:¹ (1) with an implicit li 'for', (namely the 'li of possession'),² e.g. (68b) ḡulāmu zaydin 'the slave-boy of Zayd'; this annexation may also convey particularization, e.g. sarju d-dābbati 'the horse-saddle', bābu d-dāri 'the house door'. This is by far the largest group, which is why az-Zajjāj confined himself to it.³ 

26.72 (2) with an implicit min 'from',¹ (namely the 'explanatory min').
distribution, which is the method of Ibn Ājjurrūm above.

(3) Of all these muḍ and munḍu are regarded as invariable nouns which have acquired prepositional status (Muf. #510), Can and Calū are nouns when operated upon by min (18.41 n 3, Muf. ##507, 508), and ka is a noun when operated upon by Can (Muf. #509); Calū is only a verb insofar as it has a productive verbal cognate Calū 'to be high'.

26.7 (1) Jum. 75, 155; Muf. #110; Alif. v 385; Qaṭr 283; Beeston 45; Fleisch 170; Bateson 48; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29. Terminology: 'idāfa 'annexation', lit. 'causing to lean or incline' mudāf 'annexed element', lit. 'thing made to lean against another' mudāf 'ilayh 'element to which another is annexed', lit. 'thing against which something has been made to lean', see further 26.7 n 3. See also: annexation structure 26.91 n 2; annexation to pronouns 11.718 n 2; objective and subjective annexation 16.512 n 1, 24.31 n 1; semantic categories 26.71 n 1; formal categories 26.93 n 1.

(2) See G.A.L. II, 109, E.I. (2), art. 'Abū Ḥayyān al-Ḡarnāṭī' on Abū Ḥayyān, born in Granada, died 1344 after a turbulent career both as a theologian and grammarian. On Abū Ishāq az-Zajjāj, died about 923 and one of the most famous pupils of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) see G.A.L. I, 110. The dispute (here paraphrased from al-Āzhari, Taṣr. II, 24) concerns the problem of 'formal' (lafīzī, i.e. some overt element) and 'abstract' (majnawī, i.e. the annexation function itself), cf. 1.31 n 4. Curiously this problem is not mentioned in Inṣāf.

(3) Note that it is the first element which is annexed to the second: in kitābuhu 'his book' kitābu is prefixed to hu, not hu suffixed to kitābu. A reason for this may be that the form of the first element (i.e. loss of definition markers, 26.91 n 1) is determined by the intention to annex: failing annexation the listener will expect the final n (thus kitābun 'a book'), this n being in complementary distribution with the second element (see 23.2 n 1 on manzila 'status', 1.4 on -n).

26.71 (1) In fact a third category is identified in 26.9, the Arabs showing commendable restraint in subdividing into only three a structure capable of exhibiting a virtually limitless number of relationships between its constituents (contrast Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 139, Fleisch 171, and cf. Gätje, Die Sprache 11, 61).

(2) See 26.91 n 3 on īḵtiṣās 'particularization', 26.27 on li (here lām al-milk 'the li of ownership'), 2.101 n 1 on 'implicit'.

(3) See 26.7 n 2 for az-Zajjāj.

26.72 (1) See 26.21 on min, here al-bayāniyya 'explanatory', cf. 5.82 n 3. On purely formal grounds we include here the nouns made oblique by numerals (see 20.22 n 1), viz. plural after numbers 3-10 (e.g. kamsu banātin '5 girls') and singular after numbers 100 upwards (e.g. mi'atu bintin '100 girls', 'alfā bintin '2000 girls'), with the reservation that aš-Širbīnī's predicative paraphrase breaks down here, as both al-kamsu banātun 'the five are girls' and al-banātu kamsun 'the girls five in number' are possible (perhaps 26.72 n 5 applies).
This is a numerous group, whose main principle is that the annexed element should be part of the element it is annexed to, and that it should be proper for the latter to be predicated of the annexed element, e.g. tawbu kazzin 'a garment of silk', kātamu hadīdin 'a ring of iron', because the garment is part of the silk (al-kazzu denotes a certain kind of silk), and the ring is part of the iron. Hence it is possible to say hādā t-tawbu kazzun 'this garment is silk' and hādā l-kātamu hadidun 'this ring is iron', unlike tawbu zaydin 'the garment of Zayd' and gulāmu zaydin 'the slave-boy of Zayd' in possessive annexation, and unlike ḥāṣiru l-masjidi 'the mosque carpet' and qindīlu l-masjidi 'the mosque lamp', whose annexation conveys specialization, since both conditions are contravened: in the above examples the annexed noun is neither part of what it is annexed to nor is it proper to predicate the latter of the annexed noun.

26.73 This kind of annexation is also unlike, for example, yawmu l-ḥamlsi 'Thursday', because the first condition is contravened, for, even though it would be proper to predicate al-ḥamlsu 'the fifth' of al-yawmu 'the day', it is still not part of it. Likewise this kind of (explanatory) annexation is also unlike, for example, yadu zaydin 'the hand of Zayd', because the second condition is contravened, for, even though the hand is part of Zayd, it would not be proper to predicate Zayd of it. The author concludes with: and the like. By this he means the examples of both kinds of annexation.

26.8 The concordant of the oblique element has already been dealt with under independent elements, to which reference should be made.

26.9 Note: The author omits to mention one other kind of annexation, namely with an implicit fī 'in' denoting space or time. This kind is somewhat rare, and so is mentioned only by a small group of grammarians, who have been followed by Ibn Mālik. The main principle here is that the second noun should be a space or time qualifier of the annexed noun, either temporal, as in the Qur’anic makru l-laylī 'the scheming of the night' or spatial, as in the Qur’anic yā šāhibayi s-sijni 'O two companions of the prison', since the implicit meaning is 'scheming in
(2) 'Main principle' is ǧābiṭ, lit. 'controller', elsewhere also translated as 'axiom', e.g. 3.422.

(3) Genuine semantic restraints may be operating here and at 20.3, 20.41 n 1, since one element in the construction is always a substance or measure. Evidently in both cases the original structure was ap positional (raṭlun zaṭṭun 'a ratl-weight, oil', ǧābun ḡazzun 'a garment, silk') the latter then assimilating to the annexation structure (see Fleischer, Kī. Schr. II, 1, 74, and cf. 11.9 n 1).

(4) Note in passing the suggestion (Fleisch, Tr. #56b, Bravmann, J.A. O.S. 81, 386) that the obliqueness marker ʾ (3.8) may be connected with the gentilic suffix ʾ (11.721 n 3).

(5) In Inṣāf prob. 61, the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) disallow annexation of synonyms on the grounds that a thing cannot be explanatory of itself: in masjidu l-jāmiʿī 'communal mosque', for example, an elliptical *masjadi l-mawṣūdi ʾ l-jāmiʿī 'mosque of the gathering place' is assumed.

26.73 (1) Observe how Arabic uses annexation to reproduce compound nouns from other languages, e.g. kuṣku ʾl-kutubī 'bookstall', lit. 'the kiosk of books'. But Arabic has other resources in its derivational system (10.37 n 1), e.g. maktabatuṭ 'bookshop', with the mafqūl pattern (18.5 n 1), kutubī 'bookseller', with the gentilic suffix (11.721 n 3), kitābun taṣlīmiyyun 'textbook', using simple adjectival qualification.

(2) Annexation also occurs with kull 'all' etc. (13.4 n 6), ǧayr 'other than' etc. (21.4), ʾayy 'whichever' (5.861), certain numerals (20.22 n 1), superlatives (22.42 n 3) and space/time qualifiers (ch. 18, esp. 18.34). These last may also be annexed to sentences, either directly, e.g. yawma wulida 'on the day he was born' (= *on the day of he was born', cf. 2.44 n 1), or through a nominalizer, e.g. mīn qabli ʾan yaṭiya 'before it comes' (= *before that it comes', cf. 5.41 n 8).

26.8 (1) Chs. 11-14. Because the annexation unit is indivisible (see 26.91 n 1) adjectives follow it and may qualify either element, marked accordingly: contrast yadu zaydin it-tawili 'the hand of tall Zayd' and yadu zaydin it-tawilatu 'the long hand of Zayd'.

26.9 (1) Although annexation of agents and direct objects is common, (16.512 n 1) it is felt unusual to annex space/time qualifiers (cf. the reservations about space/time qualifiers in 18.1 n 4).

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The reference here is to Alī. v 386 (ex al-Azharī, Taṣrīr. II, 25 or Āj. 95). The phenomenon was known to Sībawayhi, cf. Kībāb I, 89, who discusses the two Qur'ānic verses mentioned below and some other interesting possibilities such as wulida lahu sittūna Ǧāman 'he has been born for sixty years', lit. 'sixty years have been born for him'.

(3) S. 34 v 33, cf. yā sārika l-aylati 'O thief of the night', Kībāb, loc. cit. n 2.

(4) S. 12 v 39; see 23.44 on the juncture feature in ǧāhībayi.
the night' and 'O two companions in the prison',\(^5\) which are not the same as *tawbu zaydin* 'the garment of Zayd' or *gulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd' as the above mentioned condition is absent (because these latter convey only possession, as already stated).

26.91 This annexation, in its three kinds, is called 'pure annexation',\(^1\) because it is free from implicit (69a) separability. It is also called 'abstract annexation'\(^2\) because it conveys the definition of the first noun through the second when the first noun is annexed to a defined nouns (e.g. *gulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd') or the specialization of the first noun through the second when the first is annexed to an undefined noun (e.g. *jā' anī gulāmu mra'atin* 'a woman's slave-boy came to me'), since both definition and specialization are abstract features.

26.92 As for 'formal annexation',\(^1\) this is the result of annexing an adjectival operator (namely the agent noun, patient noun, or the quasi-participial adjective)\(^3\) to the noun on which it operates. An example of the first is the Qur'anic *hadyan bāliga l-ka'bat*i 'an offering reaching the Kaaba',\(^3\) where *bāliga* 'reaching' is an agent noun annexed to the direct object (*al-ka'bat*i), which thus has oblique form by having its operator annexed to it. An example of the second is *mağmuru d-dāri* 'inhabited of house',\(^4\) where the patient noun has been annexed to the noun on which it operates (the substitute agent) and thereby becomes more specific. An example of the third is *hasanu l-wajhi* 'handsome of face',\(^5\) where the quasi-participial adjective has been annexed to the noun on which it operates and thereby becomes more specific.

26.93 This kind is called 'formal annexation' because it conveys something formal: it simply enables the realization of forms without the *n* which is suffixed after inflection, or the *tanwIn*, and it does not of itself convey either definition or specialization.\(^1\)
Note that aš-Širbīnī does not mention the other two possibilities, that this might be particularizing (26.71) or explanatory (26.72) annexation, perhaps because he knows that some grammarians regard the type makru 1-layli merely as a variant of one of those two (e.g. al-Jāmī on Ibn al-Hājib, Kāfiya 190, as-SajāCī on Qaṭr ad loc.).

26.91 (1) 'Pure annexation' ('idāfa maḥḍa, cf. 5.552 n 1 on maḥḍa) is an inseparable bonding of two elements, most obvious when the second is a bound pronouns (cf. 26.7 n 3). The first element loses all definition markers (26.93 n 1) but is marked for the function of the whole unit (e.g. ra'aytu ḡulāma zaydin 'I saw the slave-boy of Zayd'), while the second is marked with oblique form (zaydin) or is a pronoun. If the second element is undefined, e.g. yadu rajulin 'the hand of a man', the whole unit is syntactically undefined, but see below, n 3.

(2) See 2.1 n 2 on maḥnawī 'abstract'.

(3) 'Specialization' is taḵṣīṣ, cognate (and almost synonymous with) ikṭīṣās 'particularization' (26.71), in both cases denoting an intermediate stage between absolute definition and indefiniteness (cf. Gätje, Arabica 17, 225, esp. 235f): see also 19.71 n 1.

26.92 (1) 'Formal annexation' is 'idāfa laẓẓiyya (v. 2.1 n 2 on laẓẓī) or ẓayr maḥḍa 'impure' (contrast 'pure annexation', 26.91).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun; 'quasi-participial adjective' renders aš-ṣīfa l-mušabbaha (bi-l-fāCīl) lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the agent', i.e. one having a verb phrase as its underlying form (see 11.45 n 1). The 'operation' (Camal, 2.11 n 1) referred to here is in the surface structure, viz. of the annexed noun upon the noun it is annexed to (i.e. making oblique), contrast the deep structure in the paraphrases below.

(3) S. 5 v 95; note that the annexation unit is undefined, concordant with undefined antecedent hadyan. The deep structure shows a relative clause, yablugu l-kaCūbata 'which reaches the Kaaba' (v. 11.753 n 3 on relative syntax), with al-kaCūbata now marked as a direct object.

(4) The deep structure is tuC‘maru dāruhu 'whose house is inhabited' (i.e. flourishing), itself a transformation of an underlying active verb (cf. 8.2), with dāruhu now marked as a 'substitute agent' (8.0 n 3). Unlike yablūfu in n 2, which already contains a referential pronoun (7.58 n 1), dāruhu needs an overt referential pronoun.

(5) The deep structure is yahsunu wajhu hu 'whose face is handsome', with wajhu hu now marked as agent (cf. 11.5 n 2).

26.93 (1) In 'pure annexation' (26.91) the second element functions as a definition marker in complementary distribution with al 'the' and the suffix tanwīn (1.4, 26.7) as well as its allomorphs na/nī e.g. yadā zaydin 'the two hands of Zayd' etc. (see paradigms 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). But in 'formal annexation' the second element does not define the first and so definition markers must be added as required: contrast rajulu ḥasanu l-wajhi 'a man handsome of face' and ar-rajulu 1-ḥasanu l-wajhi
Conclusion. It is possible for the annexed masculine noun to acquire feminine gender from the noun it is annexed to when the latter is properly feminine, and vice versa.  

The condition for both forms is that it should be proper for the first noun, if omitted, to become dispensable by means of the second, while the overall meaning remains correct. An example of the first is Qut'at ba'adu 'asab'ih 'some of his fingers were cut off', where ba'adu 'some' is a substitute agent of the verb Qut'at 'were cut off', and the verb predicated of ba'adu has been made feminine because ba'adu has acquired feminine gender from the noun to which it is annexed, namely 'asabih 'fingers'.

A similar case is the Reading of al-Hasan al-Basrī (but it is an abnormal Reading) of the Qur'anic Taltaqithu ba'adu s-sayyārati 'one of the caravans might pick him up', with t (spelt with two dots above) on Taltaqit 'might pick up'.

An example of the second is the verse of the poet (69b)

'Ināratu l-cāqli maksūfun bi-ṭawāqī hawān
wa-cāqī ḍālī l-hawā yazdādu tanwīran
'the illumination of the mind is eclipsed by obedience to lust, but the mind of him who disobeys lust increases in enlightenment', where maksūfun 'eclipsed' is masculine even though it is the predicate of a feminine noun, namely 'ināratun 'illumination', but the latter has acquired masculine gender by annexation to al-cāqli 'the mind'.

Perhaps to this category also belongs the Qur'anic 'innā rahmata llāhi qarībun min al-muhsinina 'verily God's mercy is near for those that do good'. The Qur'anic la-a'alla s-sāinqu tabirub 'perhaps the hour is near' on the other hand, with the masculine form of Qarībun 'near' has nothing to do with this, since there is no annexation: it has been
'the man handsome of face', in which the alternation ḥasanu/al-ḥasanu exactly parallels the 0-yahsunu/allāḏī yahsunu of relative clauses (v. 11.753 n 3). Try also Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 486).

26.94 (1) 'Properly feminine' (ṣīḥḥat al-muʿanna, lit. 'the soundness of the feminine element') is evidently a gratuitous addition by ʾṣ-Sirbīnī to his source (al-ʾAzharī, Taṣr. II, 31), apparently meaning that the cases discussed in 26.96 are not covered by this rule. As the phrase only occurs in MS C. it is to be treated with suspicion anyway.

(2) The explanation unwittingly concedes that here it is not so much a case of baʿḍu (17.65) acquiring feminine gender as of the verb qutīʿat (see 8.0 for 'substitute agent', 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates). Cf. attraction in the opposite direction in ḥāḍara l-qādiya mraʿatun 'a woman attended the judge': the masc. verb is allowed by grammarians when not immediately followed by its fem. agent (e.g. Muf. #263).

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Reading'; al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāšrī was a famous ascetic and preacher who died in 728, v. E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥasan al-Ḥāšrī'.

(4) S. 12 v 10; the orthodox Reading is yaltaqīthu, 3rd. sing. masc., concord with the grammatical gender of baʿḍu, and apocopated according to 5.90 n 2(a). The masc. verb here may be influenced by the fact that the formally fem. sayyāratun is really a collective/intensive with masc. connotation, scil. qawmum sayyāratun 'travelling people', cf. 11.44 n 2.

(5) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, here distinguishing masc. ya and fem. ta of the imperfect tense prefixes (5.3).

26.95 (1) Though lacking a term 'gender' (cf. 11.02 n 1) the Arabs were well aware of its existence: Muf. #263 treats the masc. as the unmarked form, fem. as the marked form, and distinguishes between natural gender (ḥaqīqī 'true, real') and grammatical gender (ḡayr ḥaqīqī 'not real'). See also 11.42 n 1, 11.43 n 3, 11.44 n 2, and 26.96 n 4.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 112 (add Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 274, which may be the earliest citation of this otherwise anonymous verse). Another example of masc. gender by attraction is muğṭalifun 'alwānuhu 'its colours varying' in 7.02, though the attraction here is probably due to the considerations in 11.5, 11.51 (see Reckendorf, Ars. Synt. 422 for other examples).

26.96 (1) S. 7 v 56. The prefatory 'perhaps' is needed because there are other explanations, e.g. that qarībun concords with masc. synonyms of raḥmata (e.g. ǧufrān 'forgiveness' etc.), or that it qualifies an elided masc. noun, scil. Sayʿun qarībun 'a near thing'. Note that in the text raḥmata is spelt with the 'long t', q.v. 11.42 n 1.

(2) S. 42 v 17. The problem, however, remains, and we may be dealing here with the class of adjectives in the faʿḍīl pattern (v. 3.411 n 2) which never vary for gender, because they have not lost their original noun status (so qarībun by itself may mean 'a near thing', cf. 11.61 n 1).
observed by al-Farrā'ī that the masculine of *qarībun* 'near' has been adhered to here for the purpose of differentiation, when nearness of kinship is not intended. But beware of thinking that *qarībun* is masculine because the feminine gender of *sāca* 'hour' is only figurative: that this is a misconception is proved by the compulsory feminine in, for example, *aš-šamsu tali* 'the sun is rising'. There is a different rule for the figurative and the literal when both are overt nouns, not when they are pronominalized, Ibn Hišām says in his *Muğnī*.

**EPILOGUE**

May God enrich us with His grace and generosity and seal our work with good things through Muhammad and his family. God, who is praised and exalted, knows best.

This is the end of what it has pleased God to allow of The Ājurrūmīyya’s Exposition by the Light of Intuition. This Commentary has been produced, praise be to Almighty God, so as to put in the clearest terms all the essential features of the art of Grammar and to make plain its inflections and details, over which the mind has been exercised far into the night. And if you come across some stray benefit therein, then pray for my good end, and if you come across some slip of the pen, then excuse me, for excuse is readily accepted from people of quality, and kindness is always hoped for from the character of the nobility.

That this work will be pure in His sight the Almighty God I ask, and that when the shadows of the afterlife roll back He will make me profit from my task, and on this Commentary as on the original the breeze of favour make to blow, for on all that pray to Him he does most generously bestow, and is most Mighty, as we who put our hopes in Him do know; and may He guard us from the evil of the envious, and may He not on...
NOTES

(3) See 1.21 n 2 on al-Farrā', and MaCānī I, 380 for his comments on garībun. Aš-Širbīnī's immediate source, however, is al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 31-32, from which all of 26.94-26.96 is taken.

(4) This is not a rhetorical distinction such as exists between, say, masc. manzilun 'real place, dwelling' and fem. manzilatun 'metaphorical place, status'. It means that masc. garībun does not imply that the grammatical gender of raḥmata or sāCata is also masculine, for if this were generalized there would be no need for fem. adjectives with any nouns except those of natural fem. gender, and this is disproved by aš-ṣamsu tāliCatur, where the fem. adjective qualifies a noun of unmarked fem. gender.

(5) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām; the reference is to Muqīn II, 112-3. It means that nouns may acquire the other gender following a transfer to figurative meaning, but pronouns cannot (so a verbal paraphrase of S. 42 v 17 would have to be as-sāCatu qarubat 'the hour, it is near', with fem. pronoun agent concealed in qarubat, 7.58 n 1); cf. Muf. #263 end.

EPILOGUE

(1) This is the conventional disclaimer of infallibility which often accompanies anything even slightly speculative in Muslim writings (but whose modesty may cloak a challenge to the reader to do better!).

(2) See 0.5 n 1 on the rhyming title.

(3) This part of aš-Širbīnī's epilogue bears a striking resemblance to the corresponding passage in as-Suyūtī's Commentary on the Alfiyya (e.g. in the margin of Ibn CĀqīl, Cairo 1925, 203). If this is plagiarism it is not without irony, for as-Suyūtī (d. 1505, G.A.L. II, 143) is himself best known for the energy and thoroughness with which he reproduced the contents of earlier works.

(4) Too much study of grammar, it has been remarked, drives one mad (cf. J. Kramers, Analecta Orientalia, Leiden 1956, II, 167).

(5) Translations of grammatical texts are few, and of unequal merit and reliability. Still useful is S. de Sacy, Anthologie grammaticale arabe, Paris 1829 (see below). Among available translations are:


Ibn Hišām, (a) Qāṭr an-nadā wa-ball aš-ṣadā, la pluie de rosée, étanche -ment de la soif, A. Goguyer, Leiden 1887.

(b) Al-'iCrāb Can qawāCid al-'iCrāb, de Sacy, Anthologie gram. ar.,
Judgement Day dishonour us, through His grace and bounty (70a) for He
is bountiful and generous. And I ask that He will do the same to our
parents, our brothers, our loved ones and all Muslims male and female,
for He is near and answers every prayer. Praise be to God who guided
us to this, for how else would we have been guided if not by God? And
God bless our Lord Muhammad and his Family, and his Companions, his
wives, his seed and the people of his House with blessing and peace for
ever, continuing so until the Day of Resurrection, Amen.

Appendix: This edition is based on the following manuscripts,

B. (Berlin), Ahlwardt 6679 (G.A.L. II, 238, item 10). An incomplete
manuscript of 35 folios, ending at 8.0 (=text, p. 168 l. 3, laysa, in
the present edition). The writing is hasty but easily legible, and no
evidence of date or provenance is forthcoming.

C. (Cairo). This manuscript came into the editor's possession in
Cairo. Apart from errors (e.g. 18.209 n 2) it is complete in 70 folios
and neatly written by Šāliḥ ʿAbdullāh al-Manfalūṭī al-Mālikī, who dates
the final copying at the last Friday of Rabīʿ II, 1203, i.e. the 23rd
January, 1789.

D. (Damascus), Zāhiryya 162; complete in 77 folios, very neatly and
clearly written, finished on Wednesday, 17th ʿādābān, 1046, i.e. the
14th January, 1637, by Zayn ad-Dīn ibn ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn al-Kufayrī.

Manuscript D. being the oldest, it has usually been trusted in cases of
doubt, but there are insufficient grounds to establish whether the
three manuscripts are related in any way.

N.B. Brockelmann's reference to another Damascus manuscript, Zāhiryya
68 (G.A.L. II, Suppl. 333, item 10) is wrong: this is Isfarāʾīnī's
Commentary on the Kāfiya.

Errata: 5.81, trans. p. 132 line 13, omits 'with independent status
through it' after 'huwa 'he'.'
5.89, trans. p. 142 line 7, omits 'made independent by it' after 'con-
cealed in it'.
5.90, trans. p. 142 line 16, ditto.
NOTES

155-225 (Arabic text 73-92).

Ibn Mālik (a) L'Alfiyya, L. Pinto, Constantine 1887.
(b) La 'Alfiyyah d'Ibnu Malik, A. Goguyer, Paris 1888.
(c) L'Alfiiah, E. Vitto, Beirut 1898 (Italian).
(d) Alfiyya, extracts, de Sacy, Anthologie gram. ar., 315-347 (Arabic text 134-144).

al-Muṭarrīzī, Miṣḥāb, extract, de Sacy, op cit. 224-239 (Ar. text 93-98).

Şibawayhi (a) Şibawaih's Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt, G. Jahn, Berlin 1895-1900.
(b) Kitāb, extracts, de Sacy, op. cit. 361-407 (Ar. text 152-166).
az-Zamaḳşarī, Unmūḏaj, extract, de Sacy, op. cit. 240-280 (Ar. text 99-118).

(6) See 0.5 n 2 on the rhyming prose.

(7) Nevertheless the reader should not be deterred from consulting the following works of reference for further guidance:


Linguistic Bibliography/Bibliographie Linguistique, Utrecht/Brussels 1949-.

Pearson J. D., Index Islamicus, Cambridge 1958, then London 1972-.

(8) Here we summarize what little is known about the life of aš-Širbīnī and his works. In Ibn al-Ćimād's biographical dictionary (loc. cit. G.A.L. II, Suppl. 441) aš-Širbīnī (after the village of Širbīn in his native Egypt, cf. 11.721 n 4) is conventionally eulogized as a man of outstanding piety and learning, which are confirmed by his authorship of a large Commentary on the Qur'ān, several minor religious treatises, and some grammatical works (cf. 1.0 n 3, but see 0.4 n 6). He died on the 11th January 1570, at what age is not known, though one of his biographers (aš-Ṣaqrīnī, apud al-Ḳitaḥ al-jadida, see G.A.L. II, 320) says that he had known him for forty years.

He would thus have lived through perhaps the entire reign of the most successful of the Ottoman Sultans, Sulaymān the Great (1520-66), during which period Egypt became definitively absorbed into the Ottoman Empire. This has been interpreted as an eclipse of Arabs by Turks, but culturally at least it was an era of profound intellectual complacency in which the Arabic language unquestionably remained the dominant medium, however unadventurously it functioned.
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mustaqīm right
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mustatir concealed (pronoun)
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tabyIn clarification
tadirīj gradation
taḍīl elative
taḍīlib usage predominating
tabīd incitement
tajarrud freedom from operators
taḍīff phonetic ease
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teqitb immediate consequence
tagfir affirmation
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tarajji ḥoping
ta'rif definition	tarjuma interpretation
tarkīb syntactical combination
tarkīm softening
tartīb ordering
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wājib compulsory
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wasf adjective
wāsita intermediary
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zā'id redundant, augment
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zarf space/time qualifier; ź.
makān space qualifier
ź. zamān time qualifier
ziyāda augment, lengthening,
redundant element
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