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ARABIC MORPHOLOGY AND PHONOLOGY
ARABIC MORPHOLOGY
AND PHONOLOGY

Based on the Marāḥ al-arwāḥ by Āḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Maṣʿūd

Presented with an Introduction, Arabic Edition,
English Translation and Commentary

BY

JOYCE ÅKESSON
# CONTENTS

Preface ......................................................................................... ix

## PART ONE

### I. Introduction

- § 1 The Background: Works on Morphology .............................. 3
- § 2 Aḥmad b ‘Ali Mas‘ūd ..................................................... 7
- § 3 The Commentaries .......................................................... 9
- § 4 The Manuscripts of the Marāḥ ........................................... 13
- § 5 The Printed texts of the Marāḥ .......................................... 14
- § 6 The Principles of Edition .................................................. 15
- § 7 Topics in works dealing with morphology ......................... 24
- § 8 A general Introduction to the Marāḥ .................................. 27

### II. Arabic Text, Translation and Commentary

- II.1 Arabic Text: المقدمة ..................................................... 38
- II.1 Translation: Introduction ................................................ 39
  - II.1.1 Commentary: Introduction ......................................... 40
- II.2 Arabic Text: الباب الأول في الصحيح ............................... 48
- II.2 Translation: The 1st Chapter is about the Strong Verb .......... 49
  - § 1 فصل في الماضي ............................................................. 54
  - § 1 The perfect ................................................................... 55
  - § 2 فصل في المستقبل ......................................................... 66
  - § 2 The imperfect ............................................................... 67
  - § 3 فصل في الأمر والنهج .................................................... 72
  - § 3 The imperative and the prohibition .................................... 73
  - § 4 فصل في اسم الفاعل ....................................................... 80
  - § 4 The active participle ....................................................... 81
  - § 5 فصل في اسم الفاعل ....................................................... 86
  - § 5 The passive participle .................................................... 87
  - § 6 فصل في اسم الزمان والمكان ....................................... 88
  - § 6 The nouns of time and place .......................................... 89
  - § 7 فصل في اسم الأكْثَر ..................................................... 90
  - § 7 The noun of instrument ................................................ 91
  - II.2.1 Commentary: The Strong Verb ................................. 92
PART TWO

II.3 Arabic Text: الباب الثاني في المضارع .................................................. 194
II.3 Translation: The 2nd Chapter is about the Doubled Verb ....................... 195
   II.3.1 Commentary: The Doubled Verb ................................................. 204
II.4 Arabic Text: الباب الثالث في المهموز .................................................. 240
II.4 Translation: The 3rd Chapter is about the Hamzated Verb ..................... 241
   II.4.1 Commentary: The Hamzated Verb ................................................ 250
II.5 Arabic Text: الباب الرابع في المثل ..................................................... 270
II.5 Translation: The 4th Chapter is about the Verb with Weak 1st Radical ...... 271
   II.5.1 Commentary: The Verb with Weak 1st Radical .............................. 274
II.6 Arabic Text: الباب الخامس في الأجوز .................................................. 282
II.6 Translation: The 5th Chapter is about the Verb with Weak 2nd Radical ..... 283
   II.6.1 Commentary: The Verb with Weak 2nd Radical .............................. 296
II.7 Arabic Text: الباب السادس في الناقص ............................................... 326
II.7 Translation: The 6th Chapter is about the Verb with Weak 3rd Radical ..... 327
   II.7.1 Commentary: The Verb with Weak 3rd Radical .............................. 336
II.8 Arabic Text: الباب السابع في اللفظ ..................................................... 372
II.8 Translation: The 7th Chapter is about the Verb that is doubly Weak .......... 373
   II.8.1 Commentary: The Verb that is doubly Weak .................................. 376

III. Bibliographical references ........................................................................ 380
III.1 Primary sources ...................................................................................... 380
   § 1 Manuscripts used ................................................................................. 380
   § 2 Printed texts used .................................................................................. 380
   § 3 Literature ............................................................................................... 380
III.2 Secondary sources .................................................................................... 386

IV. Abbreviations ............................................................................................. 393
   § 1 Abbreviations of terms .......................................................................... 393
   § 2 Abbreviations of titles ............................................................................ 393

V. Indices ......................................................................................................... 395
   § 1 Index of Qur’anic quotations in the Marâh ............................................ 395
   § 2 Index of verse quotations in the Marâh ................................................. 396
   § 3 Index of names in the Marâh ................................................................. 397
   § 4 Index of examples in the Marâh ............................................................. 398
   § 5 Index of Qur’anic quotations in the Introduction and Commentary ....... 407
   § 6 Index of Qur’anic readers in the Introduction and Commentary ............ 410
   § 7 Index of verse quotations in the Commentary ....................................... 411
   § 8 Index of poets in the Commentary ......................................................... 414
§ 9  Index of peoples, tribes, leaders, celebrities, schools, places, languages and deities in the Introduction and Commentary ........................................... 415
§ 10 Index of authors and titles in the Introduction and Commentary ........................................... 418
§ 11 Glossary and subject-index of the Commentary ......................... 426
PREFACE

Writing this book has been a very thrilling and rewarding experience. This is partly due to my passion for the field of Arabic morpho-phonology which made me venture into and even beyond its various disciplines, and to the support that I have received from different persons.

This study comes after my book, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Marāh I, which deals with the strong verb, that has been published some ten years ago. After it I embarked on preparing the second part of the work, which is a study of the doubled, the hamzated and the weak verbs. The more I studied books in this field, the more I realized that the collected results of my research could, when properly systematized, represent a sort of “comprehensive” study of the Arabic morpho-phonology with its two main topics: on the one hand a presentation of the morphological forms, and on the other, a study of the phonological rules and theories that led to their making. This incited me in presenting together in this work the strong verb, the doubled, the hamzated and the weak verbs. The above mentioned Part I studied in this volume embodies many substantial additions, and can therefore be considered as an altogether different work from the earlier published book. Furthermore, references are made to the published book in those parts that have been studied more in detail there. The entire present study presented here grew to become more than just an Edition, Introduction, Translation and Commentary of Ibn Ma‘ūd’s Marāh. It is both a convenient introduction to a specific Arabic text in morpho-phonology of the 13th century A.D., —and even before this period—, and to the field of morpho-phonology in general with its basics and intricacies; and since no other Arabic text in morpho-phonology has been published in modern times with an English translation and a comprehensive commentary, it is my hope that it will be of use for the readers.

Ibn Ma‘ūd’s Marāh can be regarded as the fruit of some six centuries of studies in morpho-phonology. At the time of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s living, as I established it to be sometime between the 2nd half of the 7th/13th and the beginning of the 8th/14th century, Arabic grammar has reached its climax through a succession of distinguished and original Arab grammarians.

The Marāh, which we have have here between our hands, is concise but still comprehensive, and so demands for its understanding a vast literature. During these years of intensive research I was impelled to use various linguistic works, such as lexicons, grammars compiled by both Arabs and Arabists, works on Arabic morphology, syntax, linguistic principles and theories, debates between the grammatical “schools”, sessions between different Arabic grammarians, Qur’anic readings, poetry, and many other topics. I have as well interested myself in a few well-known works on the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. References to them are integrated whenever I felt them to be relevant. My ambition has been constantly to integrate as many works as possible relating to this field, my belief being that it is necessary to consult many sources to become familiar with the subject, and my contention that the matters treated by these eminent researchers all merit our respectful interest and attention.

The Marāh is divided into seven chapters. The first one focuses on the study of the strong verb, the second one on the doubled, the third one on the hamzated, the fourth one on the verb with weak 1st radical, the fifth one on the verb with weak 2nd radical, the sixth one on the verb with 3rd weak radical and the seventh one on the verb that is doubly weak. Each of these chapters presents as well the maṣdar of the characteristic class of verb and its nine derivatives specified to be: the perfect, the imperfect, the imperative and the prohibition, the active participle, the passive participle and the nouns of time, place and instrument.

The present volume covers five main parts: the Introduction, the Arabic Edition accompanied with the English Translation and the Commentary, and the Indices.

As previously indicated in my first book’s preface, the present Edition has been restricted to the oldest manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale and to two printed texts from the University of Cairo. MS A is the basic manuscript of my Edition. Editing principles have been kept
simple with only some adopted conventions necessary to present a correct Arabic text. Whenever I remarked by comparing with the other MSS and two prints, that trifling slips of the pen occurred in MS A, such as grammatical errors, errors of spelling, missing or misplaced added words affecting the context’s correctness or its sense, I corrected these errors, supplied the missing word or elided the misplaced added one directly in my Arabic text. I have pointed to the deficiency in the Apparatus and referred to the source or sources of the adapted variant or variants. The original page numbers of the MS A are included in the margin. Poetical lines are presented between double guillemets “” and Qur’anic verses between brackets ( ). I have also furnished the Arabic section with comprehensive indices.

The English Translation alongside the Arabic text and the translations of the Arabic extracts in the Introduction and Commentary do not aim to be more literal than the original ones. They may seem unidiomatic for some because of a desire to stay as close as possible to the Arabic texts. I have, in cases of enumerations, and in order to clarify for the reader, divided the long texts into sections and in many instances I have numbered them. I have tried to use short sentences, and I have added explanations between straight brackets [ ] whenever I judged them as being necessary for the understanding of the context. The attribution to the different Qur’anic suras and the indication of the different morphological forms are included as well by me between straight brackets.

Each word or passage in the Translation that is commented on in the Commentary is followed by a number between brackets.

The Commentary is arranged by numbered sections, most of which consist of one or more paragraphs. The numbering refers to the English Translation, separates different topics from each other, facilitates cross-reference, and hopefully, gives a certain order and structure to the work. The sub-paragraphs are introduced by letters. They contain mostly additional material connected in some manner with the basic topics.

When dealing in the Commentary with so many authorities, some of whom necessarily influenced Ibn Mas‘ūd, it became essential in the Introduction to provide the reader with a general background that introduces them and their works briefly, and that touches on some general questions, such as a few essential themes found in works of morphology, which I consider as important for the study of the Marāḥ in particular and for other works of this character in general.

The Commentary does what it can do to clarify most of the issues emerging in the Marāḥ and inspired by it, by integrating in some details the opinions of important researchers chosen before and after the compilation. It is necessary to specify that I do not discuss all the opinions concerning a special topic, but that I usually select the one or ones which I consider as the most representative. If for instance one of the well-known exploiters of the Arabic inheritance: Zamaḥšarī, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, Ibn Mālik, Badraddin, Howell or Wright is referred to for a topic, this does not imply usually that this authority is its inventor, but that he/she has been chosen for explaining best an issue that is existent in the Marāḥ or that is inspired by it. Naturally, the older the grammarian is the more original the theory is, and philologists such as Sibawaihī, Ibn Fāris, al-Zağgağī and Ibn Ğinnī can be considered mostly as founders. It is also important to mention that if many linguists are referred to, this does not mean that they all treated the question in the same manner. Some developed this special topic more than others by shedding new lights on it, whereas others summarized and introduced new topics demanding further inquiries, which I also tried mostly to integrate in the study.

Ibn Mas‘ūd’s presentation of the morphological forms is concise and his examples are limited to the most important ones. This makes me believe that his book’s function was at first meant to be pedagogical and that the group to which he addressed himself to was the majority. In such cases I have felt impelled to develop a little more the study of the forms by referring to other grammarians who have dealt with them more exhaustively. I have as well supplied para-
digms whenever I felt it to be appropriate. Likewise, whenever I felt that important definitions, rules and processes were required, and that other controversies were involved, I have tried to present them, and in most cases, also develop them as clearly as possible. Important themes such as the arguments of the Basrans and the Kufans concerning the question of the origin of the derivation of the *masdar* or the verb, the reasons of the declension or the undeclinability of the noun, verb and particle in Arabic, the reasons why a certain vowel is chosen to mark a specific form, the controversies concerning the *'afal* of superiority in the forms indicative of colours, subjects relating to syntax and to some linguistic theories, a few discussions raised in some of the grammarians’ sessions, are only some examples of the topics which are presented and discussed in this work. I have as well and as frequently as possible, integrated quotations from various Arabic sources, ancient as well as modern, which I have as well translated. Quotations from Western sources are not neglected either. The intention with this material is to provide general background information in the field of morho-phonology, to present a lively picture of the linguistic thinking, and to enable the reader to study these passages in their contexts, verify the advanced statements and hopefully, be stimulated for further investigations.

Qur'anical quotations in the English sections are inserted between brackets and are attributed to the suras and verses of *The Holy Qur'an* edited by Yusuf Ali.

Verses of poetry are identified by reference to some of their various sources. It is my hope that they bring out, beside the linguistic feature for which they have been chosen, some of the poets’ special topics, interests, experiences and spiritual aspirations, so as to provide the reader with insight into the Arabic culture.

The English section has as well been rounded off with extensive indices, which facilitate the use of the book. Most of the discussed matters in the Translation and in the Commentary are mentioned and referred to by their paragraph’s numbering in the section Glossary and subject-index of the Commentary. Numbers followed by letters there refer only to the sub-paragraphs found in the Commentary. They contain mostly additional material connected in some manner with the basic topics. I trust that this index will be of use in practice since it contains most of the topics that are treated in the field of morho-phonology and should enable the reader to find readily those themes dealing with the topics that interest him. The Arabic examples used in the *Marâh*, the Qur'anic quotations, verses of poetry, grammarians, tribes, Qur'anic readers, peoples, schools, places, languages, dialects, referred to in the *Marâh* or in my Introduction and Commentary, or in both, are enclosed in separate indices.

I am indebted to the personnel of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, who have facilitated my labour in every respect during the summers of 1986 and 1987 when I was studying the Manuscripts of the *Marâh* preserved there. I am as well grateful to the University of Cairo who went to the trouble of sending me the copies of some printed texts of the *Marâh*.

I have as well appreciated the criticisms and comments of distinguished authorities, some who have helped me by writing constructive reviews of my previous book.

I would like to offer my appreciation and gratitude to Professor Gösta Vittem at the Department of Middle East Languages at Lund University. It is he who has directed my attention to both Ibn Mas'ûd’s *Marâh* and to Dûnûzî’s *Sârîh al-marâh*, and who has kindly initiated the project of studying the fascinating field of Arabic morpho-phonology some seventeen years ago. He has helped me and encouraged me at various stages of my research with his enthusiasm, kindness, sensitivity, witty remarks and suggestions.

I am very thankful to the late Prof. Tryggve Kronholm, Department of Asian and African Languages of the University of Uppsala, for many inspiring and valuable discussions.

I owe much gratitude to Prof. Kees Versteegh, Nijmegen University, who kindly read two versions of this work, and offered me his invaluable insights, suggestions, criticism and references to important literature. I thank him very much as well for his willingness in including the work in the series Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics.
I extend my heartfelt thanks to Mrs Trudy Kamperveen, Editor of the Middle East and Islamic Studies and Mr. Jan Fehrmann, Editor of the Islamic and Asian Studies Department of E.J. Brill, for their untiring cooperation.

Last but not least, my family and friends deserves my deepest gratitude. They have all shared my dreams and encouraged me with their affectionate support. My parents, Mounir Hakim and Irene Egeland, have always stressed the value of education and different cultures. My brother, James Hakim, and his family and my parents in-law, Carl-Eric and Ellen Åkesson, have always been encouraging and enthusiastic. My husband, Ph. D. Anders Åkesson, and our son, Filip, have been very caring, helpful and understanding. It is to them that I dedicate this book.

Needless to say, the errors, oversights and infelicities are entirely my own.

Lund, August 2000
PART ONE

I. INTRODUCTION
§ 1. The Background: Works on Morphology

The study of the morphemes “morphology” independently from the syntax occurred before the Marāḥ al-arwāḥ, even if it was not very common, as most of the grammarians considered the Kitāb of Sibawaihi (d. 177/793), which embraced both fields while still distinguishing them from each other, a model which they followed in their works.

The study of morphology alone seems to have been introduced in Kūfa by the Kufan grammarian Abū ʿUṣayn Ahmad who wrote the Kitāb al-tasrīf. It was then treated by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥmar (d. 194/809) in his book al-Tasrīf, by al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) in his book with the same title, and by al-Aḥfāṣ al-Awsat (d. 215/830 or 225/839) in his book with the same title as well. It was further developed by the Basran grammarians Abū ʿUmar al-Ğarmī (d. 225/839) who wrote the Kitāb al-abniya wa l-tasrīf, Abū ʿUṭmān al-Māzīnī (d. 249/862).

1. Ibid., p. 72, 345, 74, 86.

2. See, inter alia, Brockelmann, 80, 74, teacher language 'Ali 796.

3. The tafnīya al-arwāf, studied other, Suyūṭī, Tabaqāt Gal 225/839).

4. See, for example, Tareaq, Lexique 8). Concerning him, Roman, Étude 43 remarks:

“Sibawaihi, apparaît, dans le livre qu’il a signé, comme l’observateur le plus fin des faits de langue et comme l’inventeur admirable d’une organisation de ces faits organisés par lui dans la mesure où sa critique autorisait une systématisation des faits observés...”.

For an idea of the citations referring to ancient grammarians in al-Kitāb see Troupeau, Grammairiens 309-311; for an idea of the formation of the Arabic grammatical terminology see Troupeau, Lexique 12 sqq., Versteegh, Gramm 2-9; for discussions concerning some defective constructions see Yaqūt, Tarākīb 77-110.

2. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist 66, he was a pupil of al-Ruʾṣsī (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sāra, the teacher of al-Kisāʾī and of al-Farrāʾ, see for him Suyūṭī, Buḫyā I, 82-83, Sezgin, Geschichte IX, 125-126) and studied well the teachings of the famous Kufan grammarian al-Kisāʾī.

3. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, he was also named Ibn al-Mubārak and was known as al-Ḥarm the šāhi of the Arabic language and the friend of al-Kisāʾī. Beside his work in morphology, he wrote Tafattun al-balāqāʾ. For him see Suyūṭī, Buḫyā II, 158-159, Sezgin, Geschichte VIII, 118-119. He is not to be mixed up with Ḥalaf al-Ḥarm d. 180/796.


6. The book is referred to by Sezgin, Geschichte IX, 133. A reference to it is given in a discussion concerning the reading of ʿan, ʿant, in the sura 14: 22 “Nor can ye listen to mine [cries]”. Ḥamza chose to vocalise its 2nd y with a kasra, i.e. ʿant, while the remaining readers vocalised it with a ḍaṭḥ. It is on this occasion that Abū ʿAlī said: “Al-Farrāʾ said in his book ‘Al-Tasrīf... “ (cf. Bagdādī, Ḥizāna II, 259, Hindawī, Manāḥīḵ 66).


10. Al-Māzīnī, Abū ʿUṭmān Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Baqīyya, see Suyūṭī, Buḫyā I, 463-466, Yaqūt, Muʿṣām VII,
who wrote the *Kitāb al-*taṣrīf, al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898)\(^{11}\) who wrote *al-*taṣrīf\(^{12}\) or *al-*taṣārīf\(^{13}\) al-Rumānī (d. 384/994)\(^{14}\) who wrote the *Kitāb al-*taṣrīf,\(^{15}\) and later, the Baghdadian grammarians Abū ‘Ali l-Fārisī (d. 377/987)\(^{16}\) who wrote *al-*Taḵmilā\(^{17}\) and Ibn Ḥinnī (d. 393/1002)\(^{18}\) who wrote the *Muḥtaṣar al-*taṣrīf al-*mulākāt,*\(^{19}\) *Munṣif fi šarḥ taṣrīf al-*Māzinī and the *Sirr ṣīnāʿat al-*iʿrāb.*

A new discipline was now established, and among the well-known grammarians treating the subject of morphology before Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. Masʿūd who was active during the 2nd half of the 7th/13th century or the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the following ones can be mentioned: al-Muʿaddib (who lived during the 4th century/10th century)\(^{20}\) who wrote the *Dīqāʾiq...*  


“Let him be ashamed, he who wanted to achieve something great in grammar after Sibawaihi!”


\(^{12}\) Cf. Qiftī, Inbāh III, 252.  

\(^{13}\) Cf. Ibn Ḥaṭīr, *Fihrist* 312.  


\(^{15}\) It is referred to by Sezgin, *Geschichte IX,* 112.  


\(^{17}\) Cf. Qiftī, Inbāh I, 274, 387, Suyūṭī, *Buḡya I,* 496.  


\(^{19}\) It was edited and translated into Latin by G. Hoberg in Ibn Ḥinnī, *de Flexione.* An Arabic edition by M. Saʿīd b. Muṣṭafā al-Naṣṣānī, Cairo 1913, exists as well (cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte IX,* 178).  

\(^{20}\) We do not know anything about al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Muʿaddib except that he is the author of this important work in morphology, that he was one of the learned of the 4th century, and that he was the pupil of al-Haiṭam b. Kulaib al-Ṣāfī (d. 330) in the provinces of al-Šāfs (see the introduction written by the editors of his work Muʿaddib, *Taṣrīf* I).
al-taṣrīf,21 al-Maidānī (d. 518/1124)22 who wrote the Nuṣḥat al-ṭarf fī ʿilm al-ṣarf,23 Ibn Yaʾīṣ (d. 642/1245)24 who wrote the ʿSārḥ al-mulākā, Ibn al-Ḥāǧīb (d. 646/1249)25 who wrote the ʿSaffya, al-Zanāḡānī (d. 654/1256-57)26 who wrote the Kitāb al-ʿIzzī.27 Ibn ʿUṣfūr (d. 669/1270)28 who wrote al-Mumiti fī l-taṣrīf. Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273)29 who wrote the Lāmiyyat al-ʿafūl.30 Ibn Mālik’s son, Badr al-Dīn (d. 686/1286)31 who wrote the Lāmiya’s commentary32 and al-Astārābāḏī (d. 686/1286)33 who wrote the ʿSārḥ ʿaṣfīyat Ibn Ḥāǧīb.

The Marāḥ usually forms a part of the compilation Mağmūʿ al-mutūn “A Compilation of Linguistic Texts”. It is usually followed by the ʿIzzī compiled by al-Zanāḡānī, the Maṣqūd compiled possibly by the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa,34 and both the Bināʾ and the Amīla compiled by anonymous writers.35

Four works in morphology written by Baghdadian grammarians are known to have been edited with a translation, namely the Kitāb al-taṣrīf al-mulākī compiled by Ibn Ğīnī, the Kitāb al-

21 For a discussion concerning the subjects treated in this book and some comments concerning its importance see Muʿaddī, Taṣrīf 4-7.  
23 The work is also mentioned in the introduction to Ibn Ğīnī, de Flexione 3.  
27 The ʿIzzī is one of the first grammatical works known in Europe. It was translated into Latin and edited in Rome by J. B. Raymundus in 1610. It was commented on by ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī in a book named ʿSārḥ al-ʿIzzī (cf. Derenbourg 97, Flügel 179).  
29 Ibn Mālik, Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāḥ, see Suyūṭī, Buğya I, 130-137, Brockelmann, SI, 521-527. He studied under al-Ṣalāwīwāy and al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāb and others. Ibn Yaʾīṣ was his pupil. Beside his work mentioned in morphology, he wrote al-Fawāʾid fī l-nahw, al-ʿAṣfīya al-ṣaṣīya [its summary being al-ʿAlīya] and other works.  
30 The work is composed in verses which render it obscure. It was translated by Goguyer into French in the same volume containing the ʿAlīya.  
31 Badr al-Dīn, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāḥ, see Suyūṭī, Buγya I, 225, Brockelmann, SI, 527. He studied under his father Ibn Mālik. Beside his work mentioned in morphology, he wrote al-Mīsāḥ fī ḥṣīr al-maṣīḥ fī l-maʿānī, ʿSārḥ al-mulha, ʿSārḥ al-ḥāṣibīya, ʿSārḥ al-ʿalīya (a commentary on his father’s ʿAlīya) and ʿSārḥ al-kāfyā (a commentary on his father’s ʿAṣfīya) and other works.  
32 Ibn Mālik, Lāmiya followed by Badraddīn’s commentary, was translated into German by Kellgren and edited both with the Arabic text and Kellgren’s translation by Volck.  
33 Al-Astārābāḏī, al-Rāḏī, see Suyūṭī, Buğya I, 567-568. He wrote also a commentary on al-Kāfyā.  
34 This is the usual assumption. Derenbourg 97 referring to Zenker, Bibliotheca Orientalis I, no 138, mentions that the author is named “l’imām Yousuf le Hanīfī”. A tract of a manuscript mentioned by Brill, Manuscripts 82 (181), fol. 124b-146b, contains a commentary in Turkish of this work ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa. Flügel 180 mentions also the eventualty that Zain al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarīzā could be the writer.  
35 Flügel 180 mentions that both works were commented on together in a book by Ǧamīl al-Kaffawī, and that there exists also another commentary of them both named Asāṣ al-bināʾ. Another commentary of this work exists in a tract of a manuscript mentioned by Brill, Manuscripts 82 (181), fol. 20b-121a, named Maṣūd al-ǧīnā ʿSārḥ ʿaṣfīlat al-bināʾ. The Bināʾ al-ʿafūl is not written by al-Dunqūzī as stated there.
al-ʿizzī compiled by al-Zaṅgānī, the Lāmīya al-afʿāl compiled by Ibn Mālik and the Lāmīya’s commentary compiled by Ibn Mālik’s son, Badr al-Dīn.

Troupeau mentions two editions relating to this period, namely the Kitāb al-taṣrīf al-mulūkī compiled by Ibn Ǧinnī and the Kitāb al-ʿizzī compiled by al-Zaṅgānī.36 Beside these a few editions without corresponding translations exist, namely al-Takmila37 compiled by Abū ‘Ali I-Fārisī, both al-Muṣnūf and the Sīrū ṣīnaʿ at al-iʿrāb compiled by Ibn Ǧinnī, the Daqāʿiq al-taṣrīf compiled by al-Muʿaddib, the ʿSarḥ al-mulūkī compiled by Ibn Yaʿīs, al-Muṭṭittī38 compiled by Ibn ʿUṣūfūr and the ʿSarḥ ṣāḥiḥat Ibn Ḥāḡib compiled by al-Astarābdī.

A few well-known books dealing with some special morpho-phonological topics are al-Qalb wa-l-ībdāl by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858),39 the Kitāb al-maqṣūr wa-l-mamdūd ʿalā ṣurūf al-muʿgam by Ibn Waḷlād (d. 332/943),40 the ʿIlal al-taṭnīya41 and al-Muqṭadāb fi ʾism al-maʃʾāl al-muʿḍall al-ayn42 by Ibn Ǧinnī and the Kitāb al-afʿāl by Saraquṣṭī (d. after 400/1010).43

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36 Troupeau, Grammaire 403.
37 This treatise was edited by Kāẓim al-Marḡānī and published by the Cairo University 1972.
38 Ibn al-Sikkīt, Yaʿqūb b. Ǧaḥāq, see Suyūṭī, Buγya I, 349, Brockelmann, G I, 120-121, S I, 180-181, Sezgin, Geschichte VIII, 129-136, IX, 137-138. He studied under both the Basrans and the Kufans grammarians, such as al-Farrāʾ, Abū ‘Amr al-Šabīyānī and al-Atram. He wrote many books in grammar. He was the tutor of the children of al-Mutawakkil, who caused him to be trampled to death by the Turkish bodyguard because he refused to say that his two pupils, al-Mutawakkil’s sons, were dearer to him than the two sainted youths, Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, the sons of ‘All. Instead, Ibn al-Sikkīt declared that Qanbar, ‘All’s servant, was better than him and both his sons.
39 Ibn Waḷlād, ʿAḥmad b. Muḥammad, see Suyūṭī, Buγya I, 386, Brockelmann, S I, 201, Sezgin, Geschichte IX, 206-207. He was the pupil of al-Zaḡgāqī.
40 It was edited by Ǧ, al-Tammīmī and R. Abū al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1992.
41 It was edited by E. Probster, Leipzig 1904 under the title of al-Muqtaṣab, and by W. F. al-Kīlānī, Cairo 1343/1924. It is a study of the passive participle that is derived from verbs with 2nd weak radical. It was commented on by al-Garnāṭī (d. 528) (cf. Mēhīrī, Théories 71).
Other books with the same title are the Kitāb al-afʿāl by Abū Bakr b. al-Qawṭīya, printed in Leiden 1894 and in Cairo 1371/1952, and the Kitāb al-afʿāl by Ibn al-Qaṭṭā, printed in Ḥaʾdār Abād 1361 A.H.
§ 2. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd

We do not know anything about Šams al-Milla wa-l-Dīn Abū l-Fadāʾīl b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd, except that he wrote the Marāh al-arwāḥ in morphology, which according to Suyūṭī is a "famous concise book at the disposal of the people", but of whose author's identity we do not find any biography. Ḥāǧī Ḥalīfa also mentioned him and presented some of his commentators, but he did not mention anything else about his life.

He did not escape the attention of de Sacy who refers to him by writing: "Ahmed, fils d'Ali, fils de Masoud, dans son Traité du tasrif où de la conjugaison intitulé مَرَاحُ الآلْرَوَاحُ compte 15 lettres permutable..." Furthermore, concerning the quadrilateral verbs, he refers to him by writing: "Ahmed, fils d'Ali, fils de Masoud, dans le مَرَاحُ الآلْرَوَاحُ, ne reconnaît que six formes des verbes quadriliteres...".

He was not neglected either by Hoberg who used a printed text of the 13th century of the Marāh al-arwāḥ from the Maṣmūṭ al-maṭālūn as a source of references in his commentary to Ibn Ginni, de Flexionæ.

He was as well referred to as "the writer of the Marāh" by the archbishop and grammarian Germānos Farḥāt of the eighteenth century in his book Bahṭ al-maṭālūb, and by his commentator Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Ḥūrī l-Šartūnī of the same book. It is concerning the definition of the derivation that Farḥāt refers to Ibn Masʿūd by quoting from the Marāh in the following manner:

"الابتشاق... مقاله صاحب الراح وهو أن تجد بين اللفظين تناسباً في اللفظ والممعن.

The derivation... is what the author of the Marāh said concerning it, that you find a reciprocal relation between the two words, both in pronunciation and in meaning".

Quotations from the Marāh written by al-Šartūnī in the notes are also found in Farḥāt, Bahṭ suggesting that the Marāh has been studied and appreciated by both these authors.

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1 Cf. Ahlwardt nr. 6809.
2 Suyūṭī, Buγya I, 347.
3 Cf. Ḥāǧī Ḥalīfa, Kaṣf II, 1651.
4 De Sacy, I, 33. The consonants of substitution are presented in the Arabic text fols. 33b-34b ll. 5.
5 De Sacy, I, 126 in the note. The reference is to the Arabic text fols. 4a-4b ll. 5-6 and see my notes in the commentary (41).
6 He was born in Aleppo 1670 A.D., was an archbishop there in 1725 and died 1732 (cf. the note 1 of al-Šartūnī to Farḥāt, Bahṭ 3).
7 I am thankful to Abu Haidar, Reviews of Books 442, who drew my attention to this fact. The book that I had the privilege to study is at the Library of Uppsala, and was formally given as a gift from the Jesuit missionaries of Beirut (Syria) to His Majesty, Oscar the Second, king of Sweden and Norway. Bahṭ al-maṭālūb was often printed in the Orient, and was as well commented on. Among its commentaries, I can mention Miṣḥāb al-tālīb fi baḥṭ al-
8 Quāṭ al-
9 Miṣḥāb 7. The passage is found in the Arabic text fols. 2a-3a ll. 8-9.
10 See Farḥāt, Bahṭ 16, 58, 59.
Ibn Mas'ūd lived probably before the beginning of the 8th/14th century because the first commentator whom we know about, namely Ḥasan Pāša b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Aswad al-Niksārī died in 827/1424.10

Suyūṭī distinguishes between Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas'ūd, the writer of the Marāḥ, and Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas'ūd b. ‘Abd Allāh, known as Ibn Saqqā’. The latter was learned in grammar, was a pupil of both al-Ḥassāb and Abū I-Waqt and died in 613/1216-7.11

We are a bit perplexed however, by a statement made by al-Bagdādī,12 attributing a commentary of the Marāḥ, namely Fāṭḥ al-fattāḥ fī šarḥ al-marāḥ or Fāṭḥ al-fattāḥ bi-qūṭ al-arwāḥ—known to us to be commented on by Tāḡ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī b. Muhammad al-‘Urḍī al-Ḥalabī al-Šāfi‘ī (d. 967/1559)13—as commented on by Tāḡ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zangānī (d. 654/1256-57),14 the author of the ‘Izzī. This error can be explained by the similarity of both names.

The thought that al-Zangānī known to us as the author of Šarḥ al-hādī, Matn al-hādī and al-‘Izzī of the 7th/13th century, could be a commentator of the Marāḥ al-arwāḥ as well, written many years after him, is rather confusing.

Of course, we can assume that Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas'ūd lived during the beginning of the 7th/13th century, that he and Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas'ūd b. ‘Abd Allāh, known as Ibn Saqqā’, are one and the same, and that both Tāḡ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Šāfi‘ī and Tāḡ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zangānī wrote two different commentaries to which they gave the same title.

This would have been possible if other biographers had pointed out that fact, or if we had found out that some of the manuscripts of the Marāḥ were from the 7th/13th century, i.e. before or during al-Zangānī’s lifetime, but this is not the case.15

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10 Cf. Bağdādī, Ḥadiyya I, 287.
12 Bağdādī, Ḥadiyya I, 638.
14 He is mentioned in my introduction pp. 5–6.
15 For a general discussion concerning Ibn Mas’ūd see Sellheim, Handschriften 56-58.
§ 3. The Commentaries

The many commentaries which have been written bear witness to the importance of the Marāh al-arwāḥ and its popularity among its readers. These are some of them:

– Ḥasan Pāšā b. ‘Alā’ā I-Din al-Aswad al-Niksārī’s commentary al-Mifrāḥ (800/1397)2

“The One who rejoices whenever Fortune renders him happy”. Bagdādī specifies that Ḥasan Pāšā b. ‘Alā’ā I-Din ‘Alī I-Aswad al-Rūmī settled in Brussa and died in 827 (1424).3 It starts with:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَهُوَ الَّذِي صَرِّفَ أفكار قلوبنا إلى الصراط المستقيم وُلِّيْنَا

“The name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. He on Whom we turn for help. Praise be to God Who directed our hearts thoughts towards the straight way and Who enlightened them with the guidance’s light towards the true religion”.4

Niksārī writes praising the Marāh:

فَانَ الكِتَابُ المَسِيمُ بَيِّنَاءُ الأَرْوَاحِ فِي التَّصَرِيبِ لِلْإِمَامِ... أَفْضِلُ التَّارِخِينَ كَأَشْفُث

Arsurat al-tadźimiyyan Abi al-fallah Abu ‘Uthmān bin Mas‘ūd... كتاب جليل القدر عظيم

al-shān Ẓahar al-khār jāmī‘ al-‘arwāh مَسْتَجِبٌ لَّفَوايْدٍ شَرِيفٍ وَمَحْتُوْ لَفْوَايْدٍ لِّفْطِيْاً”.

“It is so that the book given the title Marāh al-arwāh in morphology, [written] by the Imām,... the best among the later authors who reveals the secrets of the earlier authors, Abū l-Fadl Ahmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Mas‘ūd... is of great value and importance. Its significance is revealed by its methods of demonstration, by its collection of distinguished results and by its intellectually refined material”.5

Ḥāgī Ḥalīfa notes that the commentary mediates between conciseness and lengthiness, containing some useful lessons.6


‘Abd al-Mahdī l-Hanāfī’s commentary.7 According to Ḥāgī Ḥalīfa, his name was Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Ahmad al-Khānāfī, and he died in 855 [1451]. He named his commentary Mallāh al-arwāḥ “The Sailor of the Souls”. It was one of his first works, compiled when he was 19 years old.8

1 It can be noted that most of these commentaries are manuscripts or unedited printed texts found in different libraries.
2 He is mentioned by Brockelmann, GAL II, 21, S II, 14. A manuscript is found in Münch. 758, Vienna I, 187, 204, Br. Mus. Or. 5814 (DL 49), Manch. 739, Bodl. II, 419, Pet. 153, etc. I also possess a manuscript, Niksārī, Mifrāḥ, which I used in my commentary. Its main part was written in the 18th century. It consists of 62 fols with 21 lines to the page, and measures 208 X 134 mm.
3 Bagdādī, Ḥadiyya I, 287.
4 Niksārī, Mifrāḥ, fol. 2a ll. 1-3.
5 Niksārī, Mifrāḥ, fol. 2a ll. 7-11.
6 Ḥāgī Ḥalīfa, Kaṣf II, 1651.
7 Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 14. A manuscript is found in Dam. Z. 65, 13, Alger 27, Cairo II, 85. The date which is given is incorrect 939/1435. It is corrected in GAL II, 21 as 839/1435.
8 Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 14. In GAL II, 21, he is named ‘Abdul Mahdī Hanafya and is said to be mentioned in Dehli Fārāq Press, 1883.
9 Ḥāgī Ḥalīfa, Kaṣf II, 1651.
- Šarh al-marâh, written by Šams al-Dîn A. Dunqûz, whom Ḥâqqî Ḥalîfa states as being called Ahmad and being known as Dîkqûz. His full name is Šams al-Dîn Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallah al-Rûmî l-Ḥanafî, and he lived around 860 [/1456] in Brussa. It starts with:

\[\text{اللهِ يا مَصِيرُ القُلُوب صَرِّفَ قلوبنا نحو رُسَالَتُك وَصَلَّى عَلَيْ مِن أَوَّلِ جَوَايْمِ الكِلَمُ من بين أَنيِبَانْدُ.}\]

"O God, You who dispose freely over our hearts, direct our hearts to Your approval, and pray upon the One to Whom the universal language has come to among your prophets."

Ḥâqqî Ḥalîfa writes that it is a useful commentary which was taken into consideration. A commentary on the commentary of Šams al-Dîn A. Dunqûz written by an anonymous scholar. It starts with:

\[\text{الحَدِيثُ اللّهِ الّذِي أَفَاصِلَ الْخَيْرَ والْجَوْدَ عَلَى كُلّ مِن اَلْتَصْفِي بِصَفْهٍ الْوَجْهُ.}\]

"Praise be to God who poured forth welfare and generosity on each one who has distinguished himself with the quality of living."

- Ibn Kamâl Pâşa’s (d. 940/1533) commentary al-Fâlâh: "The Success". It has also been translated into Turkish and named Rayhân al-arwâh, "the Sweet Odour of theSouls". Two other commentators have also given this title to their commentaries of the Marâh, namely ‘Ali b. Safar and Muhammad Ḥâmid al-Ālûsî.

It starts with:

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10 Cf. Brockelmann, GAL II, 21, S II, 14, Dâr al-kutub al-miṣrîya II, 63 (13), Brill, Manuscripts 76 (166), (167). I also possess a manuscript which I have used in my commentary, namely Dunqûz, Šarh, that was written by the copyist Muṣṭafâ b. Muhammad at the beginning of ‘Amlâh II 1003/March 1585. It consists of 99 fols with 19 lines to the page, and measures 206 X 139 mm. A manuscript is also found in Berl. 6814 (anon.), Vienna 203, Krafft 755, Bol. 328/30, Paris 4185/6 etc. It has also been printed with al-Fâlâh in its margin (see Ibn Kamâl Pâşa, Fâlâh in the bibliography; and for other printed texts see Dâr al-kutub al-miṣrîya II, 63 (138, 139, 269)).

11 For an interesting etymological study of the word see Sellheim, Handschriften II, 58-59 in the note.

12 Ḥâqqî Ḥalîfa, Kašf II, 1651. In the Šarh al-Marâh B, he is referred to as al-mawûl “the master” Fâdîl al-Hiqâq known as Dunqûz. I am very thankful to Prof. Gösta Vitestam, Department of Middle East languages, Lund, who drew my attention to this manuscript and who had the great kindness to let me study it during many years.

13 Cf. Bağdâdî, Hadîya I, 131, Kahbâla, Muṣâm I, 220, Brockelmann, S II, 14, Ḥâqqî Ḥalîfa, Kašf II, 1651, Sellheim, Handschriften II, 58. Two manuscripts referred to as nr. 10/ Mûnûr Wâli and nr. 327/ Ga’far Wâli respectively, are at the University of Alexandria (cf. Zaydân, Maḥṣūṭât II, par. 806 and 807 p. 67). The manuscripts are wrongly attributed to Hasan b. ‘Alî al-Dîn al-Aswâd.

14 Compare sur. 9: 127 (صرف الله قلوبهم) "God hath turned their hearts".

15 Ḥâqqî Ḥalîfa, Kašf II, 1651.


17 Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 14. A manuscript is found in Berl. 6813 (cf. Ahlwardt), Pet. AMK 941, Egypt (cf. Dâr al-kutub al-miṣrîya II, 65 (39, 138, 139 and 272)). A tract of the work is found in a manuscript mentioned by Brill, Manuscripts 81 (180), fols 128-101b. I have used a printed text, Ibn Kamâl Pâşa, Fâlâh, in my commentary.

18 Ḥâqqî Ḥalîfa, Kašf II, 1651.


20 Sellheim, Handschriften II, 58 discusses the possibility that he could be the copyist of a manuscript instead.
"Ibn Kamāl Pāšā writes praising the Marāḥ:

"When I saw the abridged study in morphology that the eminent researcher and the accurate scholar, the most erudite of all men, Šams al-Milla wa l-Din Ahmad b. ‘Ali Ibn Mas‘ūd,—may God join him to his prophet in a praised abode—has compiled, in spite of its small size and the conciseness of its structure, comprising the finest of precious pearls and the most useful of lessons, containing the intricacies of the Arabic secrets and the witty remarks of the literary learnings... I desired to devise a commentary upon it which would eliminate its difficulties and which would bring out the quintessence from its cover".

— ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ḥālīl’s commentary which is a summary of Dunqūz’s commentary and which starts with:

الحمد لله الذي أطعنا على كتابه بالعلوم العربية والتصريف.

"Praise be to God who revealed to us His book with the Arabic learnings, and the morphology, etc."  


It starts with:

الحمد لله الذي صرفنا أحسن تصريف.

— Muṣṭafā b. Ša‘bān’s commentary. He was known as Surūrī and died in 969/1561.  

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21 Ibn Kamāl Pāšā, Falāḥ 1 II. 1-2.
22 Ibn Kamāl Pāšā, Falāḥ 2 II. 4-18.
23 Cf. Ḥāṭīr Halīfa, Kašf II, 1651, Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya II, 63 (36). Brockelmann, GAL II, 21 names the commentator as ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥalīf Rūmī. A manuscript is found in Kraft 54. Another manuscript referred to as nr 8/ Mūnir Wali is found at the University of Alexandria (cf. Zaydān, Maḥāṭūtāt II, par. 805. pp. 66-67).
25 Cf. Ḥāṭīr Halīfa, Kašf II, 1651.
INTRODUCTION

– Muṣnafak’s extensive commentary, which is found in the library of Abū l-Fāṭḥ in his mosque and which starts with:

"الحمد الله المتقدِّس من الإِدَّام". 26

“Praise be to God who is holy and not incorporated”.

– M. b. A. b. Hilāl’s commentary. 27
– H. ‘A. Fāse’s commentary. 28
– Sanān al-Dīn Yūsuf’s commentary Rawwāh al-arwāh “The Promptness of the Souls”. He was known as Qirra Sanān and was also the author of al-Damā‘ir “The Pronouns”. He was one of the learned men in the Ottoman state. 29

It starts with:

"الحمد الله الذي أرسل رسوله إليتنا باللغة الفصيحة وريق ما يدل على كلامه القديم بالتنوع البليغة";

“Praise be to God who has sent to us his prophet with the perspicuous tongue and who has embellished all that is suggestive of His old language with an eloquent witticism”.

– Al-Iṣbāḥ al-marāh al-arwāh “The Entering upon Morning on the Marāh al-arwāh” by an anonymous author. 30
– A commentary by an anonymous author. 31
– Another commentary by an anonymous author. 32

It starts with:

"قال العبد الفتئر إلى الله السورود وإنما اختار الثبت لأن المقام مقام الاستعانة في التأليف وإظهار العبر والاحتياج".

“Thus speaks the slave in need of the Friendly God, and he chose poverty because the situation in the compilation is to ask for help, to give a good example and to show one’s need”.

26 Ibid.
27 Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 14, Ḥāǧīḥ Ḥalīfa, Kašf II, 1651. A manuscript is found in Pet. AMK 941.
28 Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 14. A manuscript is found in Qar. 1219.
29 Cf. Ḥāǧīḥ Ḥalīfa, Kašf II, 1651, Dār al-kutub al-misrīya II, 63 (14).
31 Cf. Brockelmann, GAL II, 21. A manuscript is found in Pet. 154, Krafft 55, etc.
§ 4. The Manuscripts of the Marāḥ

The manuscripts are referred to in many catalogues, among which:
– Ahlwardt VI, 179-180 nr. 6805-6806.
– Atsiz, nr. 181.
– Azhar IV, 94-96.
– Derenbourg, 97-99 nr. 163-166.
– Ğubūrī III, 381 nr. 5801.
– Flügel, 178-184 nr. 189-198.
– Levi Della Vida V, 337.
– Mingana IV, 284-285 nr. 1524-1526 and 1531-1532.
– Šibin al-Kūm1 33, 2; 51.1.
– de Slane, nr. 4166-4187 and 7106.2
– Steiner I, 240-241 nr. 3874-3875.
– Tałas, 193 nr. 2657.
– Taškent, 406; 3795.
– Topkapi, nr. 7971, 1; 7972, 2; 7973, 1; 7978, 1; 7979, 1.
– University of Cairo, nr. 16394, 16408, 16429, 16540.
– Yale, nr. 4-5.

1 Cf. RIMA II, 267 and 270.
2 Only the MSS 4166/74 are mentioned by Brockelmann, S II, 14.
§ 5. The Printed texts of the Marāḥ

The Marāḥ has been printed both independently and as included with other works in the Mağmāʿ al-matūn. It has been printed as an independent work in Cawnpore 1885, Dehli 1887, Lahore 1887,1 Bülāq 1240/1824, 1244/1828, 1247/1831, 1249/1833, 1257/1841, Ind. 1267/1851, Delhi 1293/1875, Lahore 1906 and Istanbul 1286/1861, 1291/1873.2

It has been printed with other works in Istanbul 1233/1817, Bülāq 1244/1828,3 1262/1846, 1276/1860, 1280/1864, 1282/1866 and Cairo 1299/1881, 1305/1887, 1309/1891, 1321/1904, 1344/1927.4 The Dār al-kutub al-miṣriya refers to the above-mentioned Bülāq printed texts of the Mağmāʿa, i.e. 1244/1828 (65 and 81), 1262/1846 (45), 1268/1852 (59),5 1280/1864 (53) and 1282/1866 (55 and 56)6 and to the following: the printed text of al-Astāna printing house 1254/1838 (82), 1278/1862 (57), the printed text of the printing house al-Šarqīya, Cairo 1298/1880 (95 and 104), the printed text of the Wahbiya printing house, Cairo 1299/1881 (90 and 103) and the printed text of the printing house al-Maymaniya, Cairo 1309/1891 (142 and 143).7

To these may be added the printed text of the Printing house al-ʿUṭmaniya 1304/1886 found at the Library of Cairo University8 and the printed text of Bülāq 1841 found at the Library of Tübingen University.9

1 Brockelmann, GAL II, 21.
2 Ibid, S II, 14.
3 Ibid, GAL II, 21.
5 See Ibn Masʿūd, Print U.
6 See Ibn Masʿūd, Print K.
7 Dār al-kutub al-miṣriya II, 67-68.
8 See Ibn Masʿūd, Print L.
9 See Ibn Masʿūd, Print T.
§ 6. The Principles of Edition

For the edition of this extract I have chosen the oldest manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale and two prints from Cairo University. It can be stressed that the variant readings between the manuscripts are few, and that the printed texts are mostly copies of each other with only small variations. It is important for the reader to note that they are mostly found in libraries and are almost impossible to find in circulation.

A (= l) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 4166. Fol. 1a gives us the name of an ancient owner of the manuscript, namely Muḥammad b. Tamār al-Kirsāni. It also has the stamp of the Bibliothecæ Regia. De Slane describes it as follows:

"Papier. 73 feuilles. Hauteur, 19 centimètres; largeur, 13 centimètres et demi. 13 lignes par page".

The Marāḥ al-arwāḥ is the first part of this codex which consists of four works that constitute the Maḡmūʿ al-mutūn. It ends on fol. 36 and is followed by al-ʿiczī ft-l-taṣrīf which ends on fol. 49, al-Maḥṣūd which ends on fol. 66 and al-Amṭila al-muḥtaṭifa which ends on fol. 72. All four works are written in nasḵī script.

The text in fol. 72b finishes with the following postscript revealing the name of the copyst:

"تم الكتاب بعون الله الملك الوهاب على يد عبد الضعيف محاسم بن يحيى بن يوسف الأرشيقي غفر الله له ولوالديه ولأجداده ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات والملائكة الآخرين منهم والأموات في يوم مضيء الجمعة الخامس عشر من محرم الحرام في سلك شهر سبع وأربعين وتسعين سنة من الهجرة السالفة المخطوفة والحمد لله على التسامح والرسول أفضل الناس وعليه رحمة الله".

"The book was completed with God’s assistance, the Giver, at the hand of the weak slave Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Yūsuf al-Aruniqī, may God watch over him, his parents, his ancestors, all the believers,—men and women,—the Muslims,—men and women, the dead among them and the living,—on the forenoon of Friday the 25th of Muḥarram al-Ḥarām among the course of the months in the year 947 [1540] of the chosen Hijrā of the Prophet, praise be to God for His perfection and the best greeting to the Messenger, his honourable family and his followers".

After this postscript follow four verses of poetry in Turkish.

The handwriting is neat. Many glosses commenting on the Marāḥ occur between the lines and in the margins, representing in an artistic and graceful manner, trees, flowers, jugs, columns and other objects. The text is rarely wove but is on the whole reliable and does not contain many corrupt readings.

One of the features of this text is the hyphenation of some words in the left margin, mostly after the conjunction wa, e.g. ٌ- for ٌ- داء and ٌ- لاهم for ٌ- باداء, but also elsewhere, e.g. ٌ- for ٌ- خمسة and ٌ- اشتاق for ٌ- و- اشتاق.¹²³

¹ For the plates see Ibn Masʿūd, Marāḥ I, XIV-XXII.
² As an example, it can be noted that Ibn Masʿūd, Print T, is almost a copy of Print L, Print U and Print Y.
³ De Slane, 671.
⁴ MS A, fol. 2a ll. 2-3.
⁵ Ibid, fol. 4b ll.1-2.
⁶ Ibid, fol. 12b ll. 8-9.
⁸ Ibid, fol. 15a ll. 11-12.
The tā’ marbūṭa occurs in some cases instead of the tā’ maṣṭūha, e.g., which is also noticed in the MSS BCDI, and the exclamation,10 the accusative instead of the nominative, e.g., as in the MSS BI for וַאֲנָתָה as in the MSS BCDEG for וַאֲנָתָה of the fem., e.g., and the fem. instead of the masc., e.g.,. A few corrupt readings occur as well, e.g., and the fem. and the masc. instead of וַאֲנָתָה תְרַנְשָׁי.15

B (= ב) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4167. The Marāh is the first work and is followed by the ‘İzzi on fol. 52, al-Maṣūd on fol. 72 and al-Anṭila al-muḥāfīfa on fol. 96. De Slane describes it thus:15

“It was completed with the assistance of God, the Giver in the year 966 [1559]. The needy Yūsuf b. ‘Abdallāh wrote it in Dar Mahriṣa, Constantinople.”

The manuscript ends in the following way:

“It was accomplished with the assistance of God and the good fortune granted by Him, Amen, O Lord over both worlds”.

The handwriting is clear, and all the three works were written in naṣḥi script by the same copyist. It does not have many glosses between the lines or in the margins.

The alif mamdūda occurs in some cases instead of the alif maṣūra, e.g.,.20

Corrupt readings indicating mechanical copy-
ing and a poor knowledge of the Arabic language occur, e.g. 24
کد نکاد کدینگ instead of عصر عصر
لذ عالی instead of لذ عالی
for " عصر لذ عالی " as in the MS I, and 25
masdar instead of masdar
The use of Form VII of the verb instead of the passive voice of Form I, e.g. 26
and is common with MSS DGH and the Print L,27 as well as the use of one form of the masdar
instead of MS A’s form, e.g. Form III مشابهة for Form V مشابهة, which is common with MSS
DGH and the Print L,29 as well as additions, e.g. after
المسند after
المسند after
المسند after
which is common with MSS CG, indicates that it belongs to a different source.

C (= ج ) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4168. The Marāḥ is followed by the ʿIzzī on fol. 38
and al-Maqsūd on fol. 65. De Slane describes it as follows:33

"Papier. 81 feuillets. Hauteur, 19 centimètres; largeur, 14 centimètres. Écritures diverses du XVIe siècle".

The text is richly commented on. The name of the copyist is not revealed, nor is the date of the copy. It ends in the following way:

"انت مجاناً على الملك مثال".

"It was completed wholly with the assistance of the Ideal King".

In some cases, the tāʾ maṣrūq occurs instead of the tāʾ marbūta, e.g. 34
علامه for
وکسرتنه
and the ی replaces the ی e.g. 35
It has also some additions, e.g. after
بیان”= after
به هدایت
and after
بیان=
and after
بیان
Corrupt readings occur, e.g. 36
for یوودیة

D (= د ) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4169. The Marāḥ is followed on fol. 38 by the ʿIzzī
and on fol. 54 by al-Maqsūd. De Slane describes it thus:37

24 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 17, the note below.
25 Ibid, fols. 4b-5a l. 9, the note below.
26 Ibid, fols. 34b-35a l. 3, the note below.
27 Ibid, fols. 35a-35b l. 4, the note below.
28 Ibid, fols. 12a-13a l. 9, the note below.
29 Ibid, fols. 13a-13b l. 9, the note below.
30 Ibid, fols. 5a-5b l. 10, the note below.
31 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 9, the note below.
32 Ibid, fols. 15a-16a l. 8, the note below.
33 De Slane, 671.
34 The Arabic text fols. 14a-15a l. 3, the note below.
35 Ibid, fols. 7b-8b l. 2, the note below.
36 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 12, the note below.
37 Ibid, fols. 7b-8b l. 9, the note below.
38 Ibid l. 17, the note below.
39 Ibid, fols. 14a-15a l. 14, the note below.
40 Ibid, fols. 24a-24b l. 2, the note below.
41 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 5, the note below.
42 De Slane, 671.
“Papier. 69 feuillets. Hauteur, 20 centimètres et demi; largeur, 12 centimètres et demi. 13 lignes par page. Ms. du XVIe siècle”.

The manuscript contains only a few glosses. The handwriting is neat and the script is naskhi. Neither the name of the copyist nor the date of the copy is revealed. The manuscript, which curiously enough also introduces the book of Cultic Purity, ends in the following way:

“Then the book was accomplished with the assistance of God, the Giving King. The Book of Cultic Purity. God, the Sublime, said: O You who believe, if you rise to pray, wash your faces and hands until the elbows and rub your heads and legs until the ankles as the duty of the cultic purity is the washing of the members and the rubbing of the head and the elbows”.

The tā’ maftūha can in some cases occur instead of the tā’ marbūta, e.g. بسأوات for سائوات.43 which is common with MSS Gl, and the tā’ marbūta can occur instead of the tā’ maftūha, e.g. وعَدَت for وعَد.44 Additions are noticed, e.g. after which is common with MS I and the print K, after which is common with MS I, after which is common with MS I, after which is common with MS I, after which is common with MS I, after which is common with MS I, after which is common with MS I.

E (=د) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4170. The Marāḥ is the first work and is followed on fol. 46 by the ‘Izzī, on fol. 64 by al-Maqṣūd, on fol. 82 by Binā’ al-afāl, on fol. 93 by al-Antila al-muḥtalīfa and on fol. 107 by a prayer written in Turkish and which is recited at funerals. De Slane describes it as follows:49

“The book was ended with the assistance of God, the Giving King, and the good fortune”.

The manuscript ends in the following way:

“Then the book was accomplished with the assistance of God, the Giving King, and the good fortune”. The text is nearly devoid of glosses. The handwriting is clumsy.

The Marāḥ ends in the following way on fol. 46:

The text is nearly devoid of glosses. The handwriting is clumsy.

De Slane, 671.

43 The Arabic text fols. 20a-21a l. 4, the note below.
44 Ibid., fols. 26a-26b 1. 3, the note below.
45 Ibid., fols. 14a-15a l. 12, the note below.
46 Ibid., fols. 20a-21a l. 3, the note below.
47 Ibid., fols. 23a-24a l. 9, the note below.
48 Ibid., fols. 32a-32b l. 16, the note below.
49 De Slane, 671.
“The book was accomplished with the assistance of God, the Giving King... May You pray on Muhammad and on Muhammad’s family as You have prayed on Abraham and Abraham’s family. You are praiseworthy and glorious, O God, bless Muhammad and Muhammad’s family as You have blessed Abraham and Abraham’s family”.

Hyphenation occurs inconsistently at the left margin, e.g. ḥayy̱n instead of ḥayy̱, ḥayy̱n instead of ḥayy̱n al-‘ashraf, etc.

Additions could imply the involvement of the copyist or the contamination of another tradition; e.g. after وزالاً occurs وزال، which is in accordance with MS B’s reading, after لَأَنَّ الْيَاءِ كُسْرَانِ وَلَمْ يُعْلَمَ لِلْفُرْعَ عَلَى الْأَصْلِ إِلَّاٗ التَّلَالِيَّّ وَلَا وَلَٰكِنَّ الحُشُوْرُ ثَلَاثَةٗ 53 after لَأَنَّ الْيَاءِ كُسْرَانِ وَلَمْ يُعْلَمَ لِلْفُرْعَ عَلَى الْأَصْلِ إِلَّاٗ التَّلَالِيَّّ وَلَا وَلَٰكِنَّ الحُشُوْرُ ثَلَاثَةٗ 53 In some cases the alif is omitted in the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect, e.g. قالوا, instead of ضربوا, ضربوا instead of ردوما, which is common with MSS ACEI, etc. The first element of an idāfa construction can occur as made definite, e.g. لَأَنَّ الْيَاءِ كُسْرَانِ وَلَمْ يُعْلَمَ لِلْفُرْعَ عَلَى الْأَصْلِ إِلَّاٗ التَّلَالِيَّّ وَلَا وَلَٰكِنَّ الحُشُوْرُ ثَلَاثَةٗ 53 In some cases, the tā’ marbūta occurs instead of the tā’ marbūta, e.g. for وَرَحَمَةٗ and the $ instead of the $, e.g. وُسْنَأْةٗ.

G (= ز) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4172. The Marāḥ is followed by the ʿIzzi on fol. 60 and the Maqsūd on fol. 85. De Slane describes it in the following way:54

“Papier. 111 feuilllets. Hauteur, 18 centimètres; largeur, 12 centimètres et demi. 11 lignes par page. Ms. du XVIe siècle”.

No collation is included in the manuscript. The handwriting is clear. It is dependent on the MSS BDGE, as it contains some of their variants, e.g. ابْنُ هِفْرَانِ وَرَكَّةٗ instead of ابْنُ هِفْرَانِ وَرَكَّةٗ etc. In some cases, the tā’ maftūha occurs instead of the tā’ marbūta, e.g. كَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ لَكَثْرَتْ L. 1. 56

50 MS E, fol. 3a ll. 8-9.
51 Ibid., fol. 4b ll. 11-12.
52 Ibid., fol. 8a ll. 1-2.
53 Ibid., fols. 3a-4a l. 9, the note below.
54 Ibid., fols. 10b-11a l. 3, the note below.
55 Ibid., fols. 16b-17a l. 7, the note below.
56 Ibid, fols. 16b-17a l. 7, the note below.
57 Ibid, fols. 2a-3a l. 16, the note below.
58 Ibid, fols. 4b-5a l. 9, the note below.
59 Ibid, the note below.
60 Ibid, fols. 27b-28a l. 10, the note below.
61 Ibid, fols. 2a-3a ll. 4-5, the note below.
62 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 3.
63 Ibid, fols. 15a-16a l. 12, the note below.
64 De Slane, 671.
65 The Arabic text fols. 9b-10b l. 4, the note below.
66 Ibid, fols. 10b-11a l. 15, the note below.
67 Ibid l. 4, the note below.
and after 위치ً occurs على وزن أبوذ بعد الفعل,68 والحرضة

H (= ﺗـ) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4173. The Marâh is followed by the ‘Izzî on fol. 38, al-Maqsid on fol. 53, Binā’ al-af‘āl on fol. 69 and al-Amîla al-muhtalîfa on fol. 79. De Slane describes it in the following way:

“Papier. 92 feuilllets. Hauteur, 21 centimètres; largeur, 12 centimètres. 15 lignes par page”.

The name of the copyist is not revealed. The Marâh ends in the following way on fol. 38a:

“تمّ الكتاب بعون الله الوجه سنة 2141”.

“The book was accomplished with the assistance of God, the Giver, in the year 1033 [1624]”.

The manuscript ends as follows:

“تمّ الكتاب بعون الله الوجه سنة 1033 الحمد لله على الإسلام والصلاح والسلام
على سيد الأنام وعلى آل وأصحابه الأكرام”.

“The book was accomplished with the assistance of God, the Giver, in the year 1033 (1624). Praised be God for the completion and the prayer and the greeting for the Master of mankind, his honourable family and followers”.

A short vowel can occur lengthened, e.g. الس for الس للدال لة71 the ﺃ occurs instead of the ﺃ, e.g. وكسرت ﻟ(805,220),(834,237) for لكسرت ﻟ(807,238),(833,254) and the ﻟ instead of the ﺅ, e.g. وكتره72 A few additions can occur, e.g. after للأوامر المجلبة occurs لزيادة مدة صوت الضاد من الطائرة74 after الاحتمال الممكن75 and after الاحتمال الممكن occurs السيّدة الصاحب76 Some corrupt readings occur, e.g. يضربين instead of الصحاeb ﻟ(791,459),(829,476)77, يقين78 RI السحيب instead of السحيب,79 etc.

I I (= ط) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 4174. The Marâh is followed by the ‘Izzî on fol. 38, al-Maqsid on fol. 52, Binā’ al-af‘āl on fol. 66 and al-Amîla al-muhtalîfa on fol. 74. De Slane describes it in the following manner:

“Papier. 87 feuilllets. Hauteur, 21 centimètres; largeur, 13 centimètres. 13 lignes par page. Ms. du XVIIe siècle”.

The Marâh ends in the following way:

“تمّ الكتاب بعون الله الوجه العالم قد وقع الفعلام من هذه النسخة الشريفة في آخر

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68 Ibid, fols. 17a-17b l. 6, the note below.
69 Ibid, fols. 30b-31b l. 4, the note below.
70 De Slane, 672.
71 The Arabic text fols. 10b-11a l. 8, the note below.
72 Ibid, fols. 11b-12a l. 13, the note below.
73 Ibid l. 11, the note below.
74 Ibid, fols. 20a-21a l. 1, the note below.
75 Ibid l. 14, the note below.
76 Ibid, fols. 21a-22a l. 4, the note below.
77 Ibid, fols. 11a-11b l. 5, the note below.
78 Ibid, fols. 22a-23a l. 4, the note below.
79 Ibid, fols. 25b-26a l. 2, the note below.
80 De Slane, 672.
The book was accomplished with the assistance of God, the Omniscient. This honourable transcript was completed in the end of Ġumādi. The guilty in need of God’s mercy, Murād b. Naṣūh, wrote it. May God forgive him and his parents and do well to them both and to him.

In some cases the ꞌz occurs instead of the d, e.g. ꞌspirit instead of ꞌs. The ꞌz is sometimes used as a ligature of ꞌs and ꞌt, e.g. ꞌsatwa instead of ꞌt. Additions to the体版 are also common, e.g. ꞌhomonymous at the beginning of the verse, etc.

The following prints have been used in this edition:

K (= κ), the print of the printing house al-Ḥaidawīya, 1282/1865. It does not contain any vowel and is almost an exact copy of the Print U, and the Print Y. The name of the man who printed it is not revealed. It offers only very few glosses in the margins. Corrupt readings also occur, e.g. ꞌyisr for ꞌyisr, ꞌayyin for ꞌayyin, etc.

Additions occur as well, e.g. ꞌayyin for ꞌayyin, ꞌyisr for ꞌyisr, etc.

L (= λ), the print of the printing house al-‘Uṭmānīya, 1304/1886. It has been printed by ‘Abd

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81 The Arabic fols. 13a-13b l. 7, the note below, fols. 33b-34b l. 12, the note below.
82 Ibid, fols. 11b-12a l. 9, the note below.
83 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 14, the note below. For discussions concerning the case of the d that occurs instead of the ꞌz and the ꞌz instead of the d in Middle Arabic see Knutsson, Studies 106.
84 The Arabic fols. 4b-5a l. 6, the note below.
85 Ibid, fols. 12a-13a l. 13, the note below.
86 Ibid, fols. 5b-7a l. 6, fols. 30a-30b l. 8, the notes below.
87 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 2, the note below.
88 Ibid, fols. 13a-13b l. 11, the note below.
89 Ibid, fols. 4a-4b l. 5, the note below.
90 Ibid, fols. 5b-7a l. 13, the note below.
91 Ibid, fols. 9b-10b l. 2, the note below.
92 Ibid, fols. 14a-15a l. 4, the note below.
93 Ibid, fols. 30b-31b l. 2, the note below.
94 Ibid, fols. 9b-10b l. 6, the note below.
95 Ibid, fols. 22a-23a l. 12, the note below.
96 Ibid, fols. 33b-34b l. 4, the note below.
97 Ibid, fols. 10b-11a l. 8, the note below.
98 Ibid, fols. 14a-15a l. 11, the note below.
al-Qadir Râsid known as Ḥuluşî Zâdah who, as he himself states it, served as a corrector at the Printing house al-‘Utmâniya 1304 [1/1886]. It is nearly a copy of the print K with only some variances, which I showed in my Apparatus. It contains a few quotations copied from al-Niksârî’s commentary al-Mifrâh, Dunqûze’s Šarh al-marâh and Ibn Kamâl Pâsâ’s al-Falâh and a few vowels given to some words. Unfortunately, many defective vowelings occur, e.g., instead of وَخَنَق وَصِغرُ instead of وَخَنَق وَصِغرُ instead of عَدَدُ instead of عَدَدُ instead of عَدَدُ which render it unreliable. I have not inserted these variances in my Apparatus.

It is not stated in the print which is the basic manuscript that was used. I believe that it is a later manuscript than the MS A. The additions that reveal an attempt to explain for the reader, e.g., for ياء, which instead of the first vowel, 109 can imply that it belongs to a later tradition. The additions of the first vowel after الكسرة and after the digit after the sentence seem to be typical of the prints. I chose the MS A as my basic manuscript because it is the oldest one among the MSS mentioned by Brockelmann, 111 because of its relatively good language and because of its lack of additions of the kind that I observed in the other MSS and both prints,—a fact which makes me believe that it is closer to the original redaction. For example, MS E has after الباقورة اول بالتفعيل the print K has الباقورة اول بالتفعيل 112 MS B and the print K have after وأو: وهو: يَعَدُف 113 etc.

It is unrealistic to believe that it is possible to establish the author’s original text exactly without possessing it. The subsequent manuscripts and prints offer small variances which are dependent on the copyists’ linguistic backgrounds, their involvement in the study and other factors. By variances, I mean in this case correct words or expressions and even reversed order of words. As examples of correct words or expressions I mention the use of يَحْزُر يَكُون instead of يَحْزُر يَكُون in the MSS BCDEG instead of in the MS A, 114 يَحْزُر in the MSS BCI and both the prints KL instead of يَحْزُر in the MS A, 115 وَاعْشُوْشُن in the MSS BDEGI and the prints KL instead of يَحْزُر in the MS A, 116 يَلْقَمُ التَّفَقَلُ in the MSS DEGI for يَلْقَمُ التَّفَقَلُ in the MS A, 117 the use of one form of a verb

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99 L. 143.
100 Ibid. 1. L. 4.
101 The Arabic text fols. 3a-4a l. 4.
102 L. 4 l. 19.
103 The Arabic text fols. 3a-4a l. 16.
104 L. 18 l. 10.
105 The Arabic text fols. 15a-16a l. 12.
106 L. 18 l. 10.
107 The Arabic text fols. 15a-16a l. 14.
108 Ibid, fols. 7b-8b l. 2.
109 Ibid l. 6.
110 Ibid, fols. 4b-5a ll. 10-11.
111 Brockelmann, S II. 14.
112 The Arabic text fols. 10b-11a l. 8, the note below.
113 Ibid, fols. 7a-7b l. 13, the note below.
114 Ibid, fols. 7b-8b l. 5, the note below.
115 Ibid, fols. 20a-21a l. 13, the note below.
116 Ibid, fols. 4a-4b l. 2, the note below.
117 Ibid, fols. 14a-15a l. 6, the note below.
instead of another, e.g. وينجزم in the MSS BGHI instead of ويجزم in the MS A,118 and the use of one form of a مَسْدَار instead of another, e.g. ولعدام in the MSS BCDEGI and the prints KL instead of لعدم in the MS A.119 As some examples of reversed order of words I can mention وَأَعْجَفُ وَأَعْجَفُ in the MSS CDE and the prints KL instead of وَأَعْجَفُ وَأَعْجَفُ in the MSS BDEGI for and, 112 and chosen among them instead of وينظر in the MS A with as well the variant وَيَتْبَغْسُ وَيَتْبَغْسُ in the MSS BDH and the print L for مَيَتْبَغْسُ and in the MSS BGHI in MS A.120

I do not believe either that the remaining manuscripts and prints found in the different libraries all over the world would have contributed much to the constitution of the text. Adopting the MS A as my basic manuscript means that I followed its readings when they were correct, but did not hesitate to correct the ones which break the laws of classical Arabic grammar, or to supply the missing words important for understanding the context. In doing so I based my judgement on the other MSS and the prints. I did not neglect to report most of these variances in the Apparatus, except for the cases of hyphenation and corrupt shadda, madda, and hamza, which I did not insert but adjusted directly in the edition. The hamza usually occurs on the line when it should be on the alif, e.g. A madda sometimes occurs over the alif, e.g. أَكْرَمْ. I changed these variations in accordance with accepted practice. The alif is elided in which is typical of this period, and I have kept it this way. I have indicated the original fol. numbers of the MS A in the margin and I have presented the poetical lines between double guillemets “” and the Qur’anic verses between brackets ( ). The addition of is unique in MS A127 implying the involvement of the copyist. I have as well added a fair number of vowels, mostly to all the morphological forms and examples, and in other instances as well, to facilitate the reading of the text.

118 Ibid, fols. 12a-13a l. 9, the note below.
119 Ibid, fols. 22a-23a l. 6, the note below.
120 Ibid, fols. 3a-4a l. 13, the note below.
121 Ibid, fols. 13a-13b l. 9, the note below.
122 Ibid, fols. 14a-15a l. 10, the note below.
123 Ibid, fols. 20a-21a l. 11, the note below.
124 Ibid, fols. 26b-27b l. 16, the note below.
125 Ibid, fols. 12a-13a l. 6, the note below.
126 Ibid, fols. 2a-3a l. 8, fols. 5b-7a l. 17, l. 18, fols. 24b-25b l.1.
127 Ibid, fols. 11a-11b l. 7, the note below.
§ 7. Topics in works dealing with morphology

As was already mentioned, the first well-known treatise that deals with syntax and morphology is Sibawaihî’s al-Kîtâb. The subject of morphology is found in the major part of the second volume. The main morpho-phonological topics that Sibawaihi presents are the forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs in the groundwork and in the augmented forms, the phonological change(s) due to the unsoundness of a weak consonant in forms that have a weak consonant or more, the substitution of the consonants, the addition of an augment to a form, the linguistic analogy between one form and another and the assimilation of one consonant to another.1 These themes can be considered as classical for many works in morphology that follow it.

The phonological procedures that are carried out in a word are specifically recognized by Ibn Ğinni in his Muḥtaşar al-taṣrîf al-mulākî2 as: زيادة بدل حذف تغيير بحركة أو سكون ادغام “Addition, substitution, elision, change by giving a vowel or a sukûn and assimilation”.3 Ibn Ğinni’s study in this particular work is based on these vital points and is a presentation of the specific forms affected by them.

It is with his commentary on al-Mâzînî’s study al-Muṣnîf,4 namely al-Muṣnîfî šārîḥ taṣrîf al-Mâzînî,5 that the study of morpho-phonology developed in particular. This book’s importance resides in the fact that it was compiled by this brilliant linguist, well-known for his ability in integrating theories in his analyses, commenting on the early work in morpho-phonology of the Basran grammarian, al-Mâzînî. It does not only give a picture of the study of morphophonology when it was still new after the period of Sibawaihi, but also of how it was treated by a later grammarian during a period that witnesses more than a century and a half of theoretical activities. Concerning it, Guillaume remarks:

“Il suffit en effet de lire quelques pages du MUN [Muṣnîf] pour se rendre compte à quel point l’analyse de IG [Ibn Ğinni] est plus riche [que celle de al-Mâzînî], et intègre des problématiques et des démarches nouvelles, qui, au-delà de son apport personnel, au demeurant non négligeable, représentent le fruit de plus d’un siècle d’activité théorique intense”.6

Its chapters’ titles reveal to us most of the topics which are usually studied in this field. It can be observed generally that the book deals with the base forms of the nouns and verbs, the augmented forms by an augment or more, the linguistic analogy between one strong form and another, the forms with 1st radical y or w, the forms with 2nd radical y or w, the forms in which the w is changed into a y, the forms with 3rd radical hamza in verbs with 2nd radical y or w, the forms with 3rd radical y or w, the forms in which the y is changed into a w, the forms with 2nd and 3rd radical yâ’s, the forms with 2nd and 3rd radical wâws, the linguistic analogy between one weak form and another, and forms in which the infixed t of Form VIII is changed into another consonant. Again we notice that the main points that are stressed by Sibawaihi regarding morphology are taken into consideration, with the exception of the assimilation of a consonant to another that pertains to the doubled verb.

In his Sirr Šinâ‘at al-i‘râb,7 Ibn Ğinni takes up the twenty-nine consonants of the Arabic

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1 Cf. Hindâwî, Manâhiḥ 41.
2 For a short description of the work see Mêhîrî, Théories 71.
3 Ibn Ğinni, de Flexione 8.
4 Al-Mâzînî’s work was never found alone.
5 For a short description of the work see Mêhîrî, Théories 74-75.
6 Guillaume, Morphonologie 224.
7 For a discussion concerning the title Šinâ‘at al-i‘râb, which may confuse the reader because of the word i‘râb in it, by making him possibly believe that Ibn Ğinni has treated syntax and not morphology in this work,—which is not the case—, see Hindâwî, Manâhiḥ 70-73 and Hindâwî’s introduction to Ibn Ğinni, Sirr I, 24-25. The conclusion that Hindâwî, Manâhiḥ 73 reaches, is that Ibn Ğinni with the title of his book, intended to treat the formation of the
words regarding the phonological procedures that affect them. It is these same words that bring forth the syntactical rules when they are combined in sentences.

9 For a description of the work see Mehiri, Théories 76-78, Hindawi’s introduction to Ibn Ğinni, Sîr 17-19.


10 Cf. Fleish, Esquisse 16. Al-Muṭṣassal which deals with both syntax and morphology, forms the basis of C. Caspari’s Grammatica Arabica of 1848 that Wright, Grammar is based on. It is commented on by Ibn Ya‘îs, Šarḥ al-Muṭṣassal which forms the basis of Howell’s Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language.

alphabet which he studies at the level of phonetics, phonology and morphology. Each section treats a consonant regarding its originality in the base form, its addition, its elision, its substitution and its unsoundness,—if it is a weak consonant,—in many different forms.\footnote{For a description of the work see Mehiri, Théories 76-78, Hindawi’s introduction to Ibn Ğinni, Sîr 17-19.}


The part of the Mufaṣṣal that deals with morphology presents the following topics: the pronouns, the masdar, the active and passive participles, the assimilated adjective, the elative, the nouns of time and place, the noun of instrument, the groundform and the derived forms of the triliteral and quadriliteral nouns, the quinquilateral nouns, the perfect, the imperfect and the imperative, the groundform and the derived forms of both the triliteral and quadriliteral verbs, the energetic, the alleviation of the hamza, the augment in nouns and verbs, the substitution of the consonants, the unsoundness of a weak consonant and the assimilation of a consonant to another. These classical morphological themes, with the exception of the groundform and the derived forms of the triliteral and of the quadriliteral and quinquilateral verbs, are as well dealt with by Ibn Mas‘ûd in a more concise manner and in a differently structured work, but with an interest in explaining the reasons of each linguistic phenomenon which does not occur frequently in the Mufaṣṣal.

A study of the ‘Izzî, which follows the Marâh in the compilation Maḏmûn ‘al-mutûn “A Compilation of Linguistic Texts”, can give us a glimpse of its general plan. Al-Zanâqâni deals with it in the groundform and the derived forms of the triliteral and quadriliteral verbs, the perfect, the imperfect and the imperative, both the energetic nûns, the doubled verb, the weak verbs: the verbs with 1st radical w or y, those with 2nd radical w or y, those with 3rd radical w or y, the verbs that are doubly weak and the hamzated verbs. He integrates at the end of his work the active and passive participles and the noun of instrument. He does not study the substitution of the consonants as Ibn Mas‘ûd does, nor does he treat the assimilation and the unsoundness of a weak consonant as exhaustively as him.

A question which might be of interest is why the ‘Izzî follows the Marâh in spite of the fact that al-Zanâqâni lived before Ibn Mas‘ûd. The answer would be, according to my opinion, that the Marâh is larger than the ‘Izzî and that it was more popular for the readers because of its pedagogical character. Differently from the ‘Izzî, it contains references to some important grammarians, to both the Basran and the Kufan grammarians, to qur‘ânic citations, to verses of poetry, and to some dialectal variants. Another important factor which is worth having in mind, is Ibn Mas‘ûd’s method of presenting the morphological data and of explaining the reasons of each phonological procedure. Both works can therefore be separated from each other regarding the different methods that have been adopted. Al-Zanâqâni’s descriptive method is more similar to al-Zamaḥṣari’s in his part of the Mufaṣṣal that treats morphology.

As for the Maḏsûd which occurs usually after the ‘Izzî in the same compilation, it is a sort of summary of it. The Bīna\footnote{Cf. Fleish, Esquisse 16. Al-Muṭṣassal which deals with both syntax and morphology, forms the basis of C. Caspari’s Grammatica Arabica of 1848 that Wright, Grammar is based on. It is commented on by Ibn Ya‘îs, Šarḥ al-Muṭṣassal which forms the basis of Howell’s Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language.} which occurs after it deals only and generally with the forms of verbs.

In Ibn Mas‘ûd, MS J, the Šâfîya of Ibn al-Ḥâqib replaces the ‘Izzî, which means that it has
also been a part of some of the works of the Mağmû‘ al-mutûn. Deeply influenced by al-Zamaḥšarî, it is not surprising that Ibn al-Hāqîb has also commented on the Mufassal in a Şarh, which he called al-İdâh. It is also interesting to observe that one of the commentators of the Şarh al-sâfiya, namely al-Ğârburdiy (d. 746/1345), copied al-Zanâni extensively.

Summarizing this short discussion it can be said that Sibawaihi was among the first who formulated the morphological themes. Ibn Ginni elucidated many issues by integrating the methodological questions relating to both morphology and phonology. A trend has been established that has been followed and developed by many grammarians, among them Ibn Mas‘ûd.

It is hence possible in many works to distinguish between two different approaches, one that is mainly concerned in presenting the morphological data and another one which integrates as well the theoretical speculations.

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11 Cf. Suyūṭî, Buğya II, 135.
12 Ten commentaries of al-Şâfiya exist (cf. Fleish, Esquisse 16).
13 Al-Ğârburdiy, Ahmad b. al-Hasan Faḥr al-Din, see Suyūṭî, Buğya I, 303. Beside his mentioned work, he wrote Şarh al-kaššaf and other works.
14 Cf. Suyūṭî, Buğya II, 122.
§ 8. A general Introduction to the Marāb

Having taken into account the works on morphology compiled before the Marāb and some of the main morpho-phonological topics treated in some of them, the following observations can shed light on the general background which helped develop Ibn Mas‘ūd’s method in dealing with the subject of morpho-phonology. The obstacles which stand in the way of examining the author’s private background is that we do not know anything about his life, his teachers and his pupils. In spite of the fact that his work has been commented on, little as well is known about his commentators and their commentaries which are preserved mostly in manuscript forms and are housed in different Libraries in the world. Perhaps some future investigations shall answer some puzzling questions concerning our author, his commentators and their private circles.

As Ibn Mas‘ūd indicates in his introduction,1 the Marāb is divided into seven chapters: the strong verb, the doubled verb, the hamzated verb, the verb with 1st radical w or y, the verb with 2nd radical w or y, the verb with 3rd radical w or y, and the verb that is doubly weak. Each chapter deals with its characteristic class of verb, its maṣdar and the nine subordinates derived from it: the perfect, the imperfect, the imperative and the prohibition, the active participle, the passive participle, the nouns of time and place and the noun of instrument. A work of this nature studies the procedure(s) of al-tasrif that affect(s) a certain form.

It should be borne in mind when studying such a late work that many of the morpho-phonological themes that are taken up have been treated in earlier studies. This does not mean however that the methods adopted by our writer are the same as those of his predecessors. If we are looking for an original contribution, it is in the techniques employed by Ibn Mas‘ūd in presenting and looking for the reasons that lay behind the phonological procedures,—whether they relate to the development of a form from a base form, as e.g. قَوْلٌ “to say”, a verb with 2nd w radical, or to the generation of a form from another as e.g the active participle “hitting” ضَرْبٌ from the verb in the perfect ضَرَبُ “to hit” - that we may find it.

Here qiyās “analogy” plays a vital role. By it is meant this intellectual ability of explaining the “order of things” with the intention of proving that everything falls within the language’s well-established system. The methods adapted are to compare the various issues with other ones already met and investigated, and by doing so being able to discover a certain pattern2 or more, in order to put together the common facts and to isolate the deviant ones. This process of reasoning relies on rules, causes3 and principles, such which leads to the integration of logic into grammar.4 As Guillaume writes concerning grammar and the integration of principles in it:

“La grammaire, en effet, n’est pour les GA [grammariens arabes] qu’un ensemble de principes explicites visant à reproduire une capacité intuitive et comme innée des anciens Arabes: celle de produire un nombre infini d’énoncés grammaticalement corrects”.5

1 Cf. the Arabic text fol. 1b-2a.
3 One of the early works that deals with the grammatical causes is al-Idāh fi ‘ilāl al-naww by al-Zağgāği (d. 339) (al-Zağgāği, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Iṣḥāq, see Suyūṭī, Buqya II, 77, Zubaidī, Tabaqāt 119, Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzha 379, Qīṭī, Inbāh II, 160-161, Ibn al-Imlād, Ṣaḍarāt II, 357, Brockelmann, GAL I, 112, S I, 170-171, Versteegh, Zağgāği 2-6. He studied under al-Zağgāği. He wrote as well al-Gumāl, al-Kāft, Sāḥṣ kitāb al-alif wa-l-lām lī-l-Ma‘zīn, al-Lāmāt, al-Ammāt and other books). The book treats the causes of the grammatical facts by citing the Kufans’ opinions with the terms used by the Basrans (cf. Zağgāği, Idāh 78). The science is introduced by Dā‘if in his preface to this work as “the philosophy of the grammatical causes” implying the infiltration of logic into grammar (for discussions see Versteegh, Zağgāği 45-46). The work is translated and commented on by Versteegh, Zağgāği.
4 For discussions concerning the possible influence of Stoic logic see Versteegh, Elements.
5 Guillaume, Morphonologie 240.
There is a difference of meaning between the *qiyyās* in the earliest period and the one that occurs in later Arabic grammar. Concerning its original meaning Versteegh remarks:

"... Originally *qiyyās* was the rule by which words are derived from other words, and which divides words into various classes, each with its own rule... The verb *qāsa* means "to formulate, to set up a rule which governs certain groups or classes of words".6

Concerning both its meanings he remarks:

"In later Arabic grammar, the *qiyyās* became an instrument to set up linguistic arguments, which were always based on similarities between words and parts of speech, but in the earliest period the *qiyyās* was an instrument of language production: with its help the grammarians could produce new forms, that were not attested in the language of the Beduin. It could even be used to correct existing forms, if they did not conform to the genius of the Arabic language, which is the real sense of the *qiyyās al-'Arabiyya"."7

*Qiyyās* in later Arabic grammar is the fruit of the scientific spirit nourished by the translations from the Greek, which developed mostly during the 3th century of the Hiğra8 and onwards. It is this interest in Greek philosophy that drove hundreds of pupils at the beginning of this period into listening daily to Abū Bīšr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 338/940), the translator of *Posterior Analytics*, explaining the *Organon* of Aristotle.9

In the field of grammar, these Arab grammarians who were well-acquainted with philosophy and religion,10 became challenged by new methods of dealing with theories, and found themselves obliged to explain old themes, which did not create any problem before in a new satisfying manner.11 Concerning this change of attitude in presenting their discipline Guillaume remarks:

"Il semble en effet qu'à cette époque bien des choses qui allaient de soi pour les anciens grammairiens commencent à faire problème, et que même le statut privilégié dont jouissait leur discipline dans l'ancienne organisation du savoir sont remis en cause par l'introduction de problématiques et de démarches nouvelles. Il y a là comme un "défi" qui oblige les GA (grammairiens arabes) à explicitier une bonne partie des fondements théoriques de leur pratique, à énoncer les conditions auxquelles leurs analyses sont recevables et à démontrer qu'elles y satisfont".12

The importance of analogy is attested by many of the Arabic grammarians. Ibn al-Anbārī writes:

"إعلم أن إنكار القياس في النحو لا يتحقق، لأن النحو كله قياس... فسن أنكر القياس فقد أنكر النحو".

"Know that the denial of the analogy in grammar cannot be possible because grammar is all based on analogy... And the one who denied analogy also denied grammar".13

6 Versteegh, *Qiyyās*.
7 Versteegh, *Grammar* 37.
8 Endress’s edition of twelve extracts from the Institution Theologica, translated from works on Greek philosophy by Arabs of the 3rd century: *Proclus Arabus*, gives us an idea of how well the Arabs were acquainted with the Greek philosophy.
9 Cf. Arnauld, *Sciences* 366. Among one of the recent works concerning the Arabic translations of the *Organon*, the work of Abd al-Rahman al-Badawi, of which three volumes have been published in Cairo 1948, can be referred to (for discussions see Walzer, *Translations*; for discussions concerning the translation of Aristotle’s work into Arabic see Peters, *Aristote 57-67*, for discussions concerning the existence of a well-defined Arabic philosophy see Madkūr, *Falsefa 1-27*).
11 For discussions see Versteegh, *Zaḡḡāṭī* 45.
12 Guillaume, *Morphologie* 233.
13 Ibn al-Anbārī, *Luma* 44. It is also quoted by Hassān, *Usūl* 168 and referred to by Versteegh, *Elements* 111 in his notes.
Also Abū 'Alī l-Fārisī is known to have said to Ibn Ğinnī:

"أخطئ في خمسين مسألة في اللغة ولا أخطئ في واحدة من القيام".14

"I might commit errors in fifty linguistic questions, but I do not commit any error in any question concerning analogy".14

Ibn Ğinnī also affirms that any grammarian of great competence can present theories contrary to those of the Kufans and of the Basrans by using the analogy.15

By applying the methods of qiyās, Ibn Masʻūd is enabled to compare a word’s pattern in which a phonological procedure is carried out, e.g. an assimilation, a substitution, an elision or a change that is caused by an unsound weak consonant, etc., to a so-called "an underlying form", or to another word’s pattern, or also to compare a part of speech to another, e.g. the imperfect verb to the active participle, etc.,16 and by doing so, revealing some important rules and principles, which leads to a better understanding of the investigated data. For instance among the many examples that Ibn Masʻūd presents in his study, he takes up "to be red" underlyingly "to be red" that is formed according to the stem IX ʻāfûl ʻāfûl ʻāfûl, in which both last consonants of the base forms are assimilated because they are identical. By reading the example ارتوى "to abstain", which is a 3rd radical w verb, he could observe from the word’s pattern that it is formed according to ʻāfûl.17 and by comparing it with ʻāfûl, he could conclude that no assimilation of one weak consonant to the other is carried out in it resulting in ارتوى, on the basis that the w and the y are not identical weak consonants, and by being so, prohibit the assimilation.18 The treatment of a given issue can be complex because it can depend on numerous rules that touch other points of the question, among which many are connected to other issues. For instance, by explaining why no morpho-phonological procedure is carried out in قول "a saying", Ibn Masʻūd contrasts the vowelless weak consonant preceded by a fatha in it with the vowelless weak consonant preceded by a kasra in موزان in which a phonological change is carried out by changing the w into a y resulting in "balance", and with the vowelless weak consonant preceded by a damma in يسر in which a phonological change is carried out by changing the y into a w resulting in "is well off".19 The difference that is highlighted in the sequences of these three examples is the vowel preceding the vowelless weak consonant, a fatha in the first case, a kasra in the second, and a damma in the third. The deduced rule is that the fatha is light when it precedes a light vowelless weak consonant,

14 Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥṣāṣīṣ II, 88.
15 Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥṣāṣīṣ I, 189. This is possible as long as what is reported does not contradict the foundations of the language, as putting the object in the nominative, the subject in the genitive and the second element of the idāfa in the nominative, as mentioned by Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥṣāṣīṣ I, 387.
16 Ḥṣāṣīṣ is interpreted by Bohas, Aspects 205, especially note 7, as "abstract representation" or "underlying representation". The use of the term "underlying form" does not mean that it has occurred historically before the current form (for discussions see Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥṣāṣīṣ I, 256-257, Guillaume, Morphonologie 222-241, Aspects 342-358, Mokhli, Taṣrif 43-45).
17 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4b-5a, fols. 9b-10b and my notes (43), (47), (93), (122).
18 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4a-4b and my notes (40).
19 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 26b-27b.
which is the reason why no phonological change is carried out in قَوْلٍ, by contrast to the other cases in which the vowels are considered as heavy.

By looking for the reasons of most of the morpho-phonological phenomena, e.g. the choice of an augment or more, the elision of a consonant or of a vowel, the transfer of a vowel or of a consonant, the assimilation, the change carried out due to an unsound weak consonant, the substitution, the inflection or unfinalledness of a word, etc., Ibn Mas'ūd is able to draw his conclusions by supporting his theories on principles and causes that have been established before him. Like many of those grammarians well-acquainted with logic\textsuperscript{20} who precede him, he adheres to the idea that everything in the Arabic language must have an explanation.\textsuperscript{21} His intention is to show that there exists in the field of morpho-phonology a perfect system of logical principles and causes which can be discovered by an intuitive soul.\textsuperscript{22}

Most of the judgements in presenting general linguistic theories are made according to the principles of what is necessary, forbidden, liked, disliked, weak or possible. One of the general principles is that what is not considered in the Classical language cannot be used in the analogy.\textsuperscript{23} Consequently, he writes that the pattern فَوْلٍ does not exist in “their language”,\textsuperscript{24} by which he means according to both the Basran and Kufan grammarians,—and even also before their time, as the Arabic language is considered to have been talked correctly by the Ancients,\textsuperscript{25}—which implies that no word can analogically be formed according to it.

The following are some of the causes\textsuperscript{26} and principles that Ibn Mas'ūd relied on in his arguments, which determine for instance the choice of a vowel or of a vowellessness, the elision or the addition of an augment, the dislike of certain combinations, the commensurability to a certain form or the declension or the undeclinability of a certain part of speech:

- The cause of resemblance between two parts of speech, as e.g. the resemblance of the

\textsuperscript{20} The difference between logic and Arabic grammar has been treated by some, e.g. Ahmad b. al-Tayyīb al-Sarāšī, the pupil of al-Kindī (cf. Abed, Logic XIV) and Yahya b. 'Adī (cf. Elamrani-Jamal, Ibn 'Adī 1-15). For discussions concerning the grammarians’ conception of grammar and logic see Versteegh, Elements 123-127; for discussions concerning the debate between the grammarians and the logicians see Abed, Logic XIV sqq.

\textsuperscript{21} This is also stressed by Ibn Ginnī, Ḥasan ʿīs 1. 53-54.

\textsuperscript{22} Guillaume, Principes 17 writes concerning this insight that those interested in the reasons of linguistic facts have:

“Une intuition: que le désordre apparent des faits linguistiques recouvre un ordre secret, caché—merveilleux”.

Or as he writes in Système citing Antoine Meillet:

“Chaque langue forme un système où tout se tient et a un plan d’une merveilleuse rigueur”.

\textsuperscript{23} Cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf Q. 94, 273, particularly ll. 9-11.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 16b-17a.

\textsuperscript{25} According to Zağāgī, ʿIdāh 65-66 who refers to al-Ḥalīl’s saying, the grammarian’s task is similar to the one of a wise man who penetrates a monument that is remarkably built and who tries to imagine how the architect has built it. For each thing that this man discovers in the building, he wonders: Somehow, this was constructed because of this reason or that other. It is possible that this monument’s wise architect has built this special construction for the same reason that the man who penetrated the monument mentions, as well as it is possible that he did it for a completely other reason. The grammar is then a reconstruction adapted to the natural temperament of the Ancient idealized desert Arabs. Referring to them Bohas, Aspects 209 writes:

“Ces Arabes étaient bien sūr, ceux de l’époque ancienne, seuls détenteurs de la langue arabe, locuteurs par excellence et les seuls dont l’usage linguistique soit recevable, selon toute la tradition des grammairiens arabes”.

For a more detailed discussion concerning this subject see Fück, ʿArabīya ch. 9, Bohas, Aspects 214-215, Guillaume, Morphonologie 240-241, Versteegh, Zağāgī 31-32.

\textsuperscript{26} Zağāgī, ʿIdāh 64-65 presents three sorts of grammatical causes: theعلَّم تعلُّمية “educational causes”, theعلَّم تعلُّمية علىPECIAL “causes accordant with analogy”, and theعلَّم تعلُّمية على وقِت “theoretical causes proposed as a basis for discussion” (for discussions see Bohas, Aspects 210-214, ʿĪd. Uṣūl 137-138, Versteegh, Zağāgī 90-91).
imperfect to the active participle which is a noun, which is why the imperfect is made declinable as the noun.\textsuperscript{27}

The resemblance of the \textit{li}-- of indirect command prefixed to the jussive, e.g. لِيَضْرِبَ “let him hit!” to the preposition \textit{li}-- prefixed to the noun in the genitive, which is the reason why it is given a kasra, as the jussive in verbs corresponds to the genitive in nouns.\textsuperscript{28}

The resemblance of an example which is formed according to a certain form to an example commensurable to the same form. Examples are فُحَدّ “thigh” and فُهُر “which are formed according to فُحَدّ فُهُر which are commensurable to فُحَدّ فُهُر “and so he” is commensurable to فُحَدّ فُهُر. The similarity between both these examples is the \textit{f} vowelled by a fatha and the resemblance between both the forms فُحَدّ فُهُر. The vowel of the \textit{h} that follows the vowelled \textit{f} in فُحَدّ is elided resulting in فُحَدَ on the analogy of the elision of the vowel of the \textit{h} that follows the conjunction, the \textit{fa}-, in فُهُر resulting in فُهُر. In accordance with this rule, the \textit{li}-- of indirect command following both the conjunctions, the \textit{wa}-- and the \textit{fa}-, is made vowless, e.g. وليَضْرِبَ “and let him hit!” said instead of فُحَدّ فُهُر and لِيَضْرِبَ “and so let him hit!” said instead of فُحَدّ فُهُر.\textsuperscript{29}

The resemblance in meaning between two words can be the reason of an existent similarity between both their patterns. An example is مَسِكَّة “poor”, which takes the \textit{tā’ marbūṭa} in spite of its being on the pattern مَعْبُول that does not have a separate form for the fem., because it is compared with its synonym مَسِكَّة “poor”.\textsuperscript{30}

The contrary may also apply, i.e. the fact that two words have opposite meanings can be the cause that a similarity exists between both their patterns. Examples are عَدُوّ “enemy (fem.)”, which takes the \textit{tā’ marbūṭa}, in spite of the fact that it should not be suffixed to the pattern مَعْبُول that has the meaning of the active participle, because it is compared with its opposite صَدَيقَة “female friend”,\textsuperscript{31} and الموتان “much death” to which the ending -\textit{ānu} is suffixed to, because it is compared with its opposite الحَيْوَان “much life”.\textsuperscript{32}

The cause of differentiating between two linguistic phenomena to avoid ambiguity, as suffixing the \textit{alif mamdūda} after the agent pronoun \textit{ā} that marks the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect, e.g. رضوّ “they were satisfied”, to differentiate this \textit{w} from w of the conjunction that occurs between two verbs, e.g. حضَر وَتَكُّلَم رَبِّ “Zaid came and talked”, which could have been read حضَر وَتَكُلُّم “they were present, he talked” if this \textit{ā} did not occur.\textsuperscript{33}

The infixed \textit{r} is made to precede the \textit{n} in the ending -\textit{īna} of the 2nd person of the fem. of the

\textsuperscript{27} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4b-5a, fols. 9b-10b and my notes (43), (47), (93), (122).

\textsuperscript{28} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 11b-12a, and my notes (107), (108).

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 11b-12a and my notes (109), (110).

\textsuperscript{30} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 15a-16a and my notes (151).

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 15a-16a and my notes (152).

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 27b-28a and my notes (271), (271 b).

\textsuperscript{33} Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4b-5a and my notes (50).
sing., e.g. "you hit, fem. sing.", to differentiate this form from the pl. form "you hit, fem. pl.".\textsuperscript{34}

The suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the 1st person of the pl. of the perfect is a n followed by an á, namely the -ná, e.g. ضْرَبَتْ "he hit" to differentiate this n from the n of the fem. of the 3rd person of the pl. vowelled by a fatāḥa, namely the -na, e.g. ضْرَبَتْ "they hit, fem. pl.".\textsuperscript{35}

- The cause of treating equally two patterns, as giving the common gender to the pattern that has the meaning of the passive participle which means مَفْعُولٌ فَتِيلٌ or مَفْعُولٌ فَتِيلٌ "murdered" for both the masc. and fem. sing., and to مَفْعُولٌ فَتِيلٌ that has the meaning of the active participle which means "patient" for both the masc. and fem. sing., so that both these patterns are treated equally.\textsuperscript{36}

- The cause of priority,\textsuperscript{37} as giving the sukūn to the immediately consonant following a prefix, e.g. ضْرِبَتْ "he hits", or preceding a suffix, e.g. ضْرَبَتْ "they hit, fem. pl.", in order to prevent the disliked succession of four vowels, because this consonant is prior in its position to be given the sukūn than any other consonant.\textsuperscript{38}

The suffixed pronouns of the nominative of both the 1st and 2nd persons are not suppressed but manifested, e.g. ضْرِبَتْ "I hit", ضْرِبَتْ "you hit / masc. sing.", ضْرِبَتْ "we hit", etc., because it is prior to maintain them due to the strength of these persons,\textsuperscript{39} in relation to the 3rd persons of the sing., e.g. ضْرِبَتْ "he hit" and ضْرِبَتْ "she hit".

- The cause of heaviness,\textsuperscript{40} which justifies the elision of a consonant, as e.g. the elision of the weak consonant w in يُعَدْ "he promises" underlyingly يُوَعَدْ, because of its occurrence between a y and a kasra,\textsuperscript{41} which implies a heaviness which is disliked; and the elision of the á in Хَيَأَتْ "very thick milk" underlyingly هَيَأَتْ "a lot of sheep, also a fat man" underlyingly هَيَأَتْ "a needle" underlyingly هَيَأَتْ because of the dislike that the Arabs have for long words.\textsuperscript{42} Ibn Ğinnī remarks that each time you have difficulty in explaining [a linguist-
tic fact], search [for the reasons of its particularity] in the field of the lightness and heaviness of the pronunciation. In the light of this rule, the assimilation is justified, e.g. "to be very red" and "to be red" underlyingly ٍحَامِرًا and ٍحَامِرٌ respectively.

- The cause of compensating for what is lost, as in which is said instead of ٍعَدَّة ٍالَاْمَر which is adopted in ٍعَدَّة the elided ٍتُاْ marbūṭa of ٍعَدَّة that is the second element of the idāfa construction, is a compensation for the ٍتُاْ marbūṭa in which the ٍتُاْ marbūṭa is a compensation for the elision of the vowel of the 2nd weak radical w of the verb that is changed into an ā.

- By principle the verbs should be undeclinable.
- By principle the marker of invariability should be the sukūn.
- By principle, the declension pertains to nouns.

- Two markers of the fem. are not to be combined, e.g. ِمُسْلِمَات underlyingly ِمُسْلِمَات. According to this rule the suffix -t marker of the 3rd person of the fem. sing. of the perfect, e.g. ِضَرَّبتُ "she hit", is elided in the 3rd person of the fem. of the pl., e.g. ِضَرِّيْنُ "they hit /fem. pl.", which did not become ِضَرِّيْنِ.

- Two vowelless consonants are not to be combined. This is why the suffixed t of the fem. is vowelled by a fatha in the dual, namely -t(a)ā, as it precedes the vowelless ā, in e.g. ِضَرِّيْنَ "they both hit /fem. dual", and why the vowelless alif maṣāra of ِجَبَلَ "pregnant" is changed into a y vowelled by a fatha in the plural ِجَبَلَات.

- The combination of two unsound weak consonants is forbidden. In accordance with this principle the 2nd radical w of the base form ُطَوْيُ "to fold" that is vowelled by a fatha and preceded by one, is not changed into an ā,—and thus remains sound,—to prevent such a

"The Arabs have no root with more than five letters, whether noun or verb. So whatever letters you find in noun or verb in excess of five must be addition to the root, not part of the original form of the word".

This remark said by al-Ḥalil is also mentioned by Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 184, 396.

43 Ḥaṣāṣ ib I, 78.
44 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4a-4b.
45 Cf. ibid. fols. 25b-26a-fols. 26a-26b and my notes (248).
46 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 26b-26a and my notes (249).
47 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 13a-13b, fols. 4b-5a and my notes (43), (44).
48 Cf. my notes (45).
49 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4b-5a and my notes (43), (44).
50 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 5a-5b.
51 Cf. ibid.
52 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 5b-7a, 13a-13b, 21a, 21a-22a, 22a-23a, 23a-24a, 24b-27b, 28a-29a, 29a-30a, 30a-30b, 30b-31b, 32a-32b, 35a-35b. The principle is also mentioned by Ibn al-Anbārī, ِІnṣāf Q. 96, 283 I. 9. Ibn Ǧinnī, ِІhāṣaṣ I, 90, II. 497 remarks that a cluster of vowelless consonants may occur in Persian. Furthermore, he notes 493 sqq. that in some examples and in the pause this cluster can occur (for discussions concerning the cluster see my notes (229)).
53 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 5a-5b.
54 Cf. ibid.
55 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 27b-28a. This rule is also mentioned by e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, ِІnṣāf Q. 112, 329.
combination, as it is taken into account that the verb’s 3rd radical y is changed into an *alif maqsūra* resulting in *waw*.

- It is impossible to start with a vowelless consonant. Ibn Ğinnī writes that the case [of those who pretend that one can start with a vowelless consonant] is similar to the case of the sophists who doubt of evident things and those whose mind is deficient.

- The frequency of usage of a word can be the reason of the elision of a consonant in its structure, e.g. *bī yāsamm al-lāh* “in the name of God”.

- The heaviness implied by a sequence of two vowels, two consonants, or a consonant and a vowel of which the combination is disliked, should be avoided. Thus no noun of the pattern *fa'īl* occurs because of the dislike of combining the đamma and the kasra. As an exception to this rule, Ibn Mas‘ūd mentions *waw* “a mountain goat” and *dāl* “a jackal”. Not only the combination of the kasra and the đamma following each other in a word is disliked, but also the combination of the y and the w which therefore do not occur as 2nd and 3rd radical. By analogy with the disliked *fa'īl*, the kasra that precedes the đamma in *fa'īl* is forbidden. An exception to this rule is the anomalous rare noun *jābīl* that is according to this form. A combination of kasras is as well disliked. This is why the 2nd radical *m* is vowelled by a fatha in the name of place *al-ṣurūrī* “a place of throwing or shooting arrows” that is said instead of *rasīl* 59 with the last y considered as two kasras. The pattern becomes commensurable to *fa'īl* instead of *mufallal* to avoid this combination, and so breaks the rule that requires that *rasīl* is according to the conjugation *fa'īl* 60 of which the noun of place should principally be according to *mufallal*.

- A vowelless consonant that occurs between two vowelled consonants is not taken into account, because the vowelless consonant is not considered as a firm separative between them both. This is why the *w* of *qum* “sheep or goats taken for oneself” is changed into a y, i.e. *qum* on account of the kasra of the *q* that precedes it by two consonants of which the 2nd has a sukūn, and why the connective hamza of the imperative in *aktab* is given a đamma instead of the kasra on account of the đamma of the 2nd radical of the verb that follows it by two consonants of which the 2nd has a sukūn.

- The elision of what has no meaning in a word in relation to what has, is prior.

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58 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 36b-37a.
59 Cf. ibid, fols. 10b-11a and my notes (102). This rule is also mentioned by e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Insāf* Q. 105, 306 l. 5.
60 Ibn Ğinnī, *Munsīf I*, 53. However, he notes in *Ḥasā‘is I* 91 that his teacher Abū ‘Alī did not seem to express a dislike that words in Persian can begin with a vowelless consonant.
61 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 12a-13a.
62 Cf. ibid, fols. 13b-14a, 26a-26b.
64 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 26a-26b, Ibn Ğinnī, *Munsīf I*, 20.
65 Cf. my notes (133).
66 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 16b-17a.
67 Cf. ibid, fols. 11b-12a, 30a-30b. This principle is also mentioned by e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Insāf* Q. 118, 343.
68 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 12a-12b and my notes (113).
69 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 11b-12a, 12a-13a and my notes (111), (112).
70 Cf. the Arabic text fols. 10b-11a and my notes (101).
the marker is not to be elided.\footnote{Cf. the Arabic text fols. 5b-7a, 10b-11a, 30b-31b and my notes (101).} Examples that can be mentioned are verbs of Form V and VI that occur in the imperfect of the 2nd person of the fem. and the 3rd person of the masc. sing. with one of the tā’s elided, whether it is the imperfect prefix tā or the infix tā of reflexivity, namely \( \text{تُنَفِّمُ} \) and \( \text{تَنَفَّسُ} \) respectively, depending on which \( t \) is viewed as less prior than the other.\footnote{Cf. my notes (101).}

- Four consecutive vowelled consonants cannot be combined together, which is the reason why a vowelless consonant is meant to break their combination. By analogy to this rule, the \( d \) in “he hits”, which is the immediate consonant after the prefix, is given a sukūn. This means also that the immediate consonant before a suffix is given a sukūn, e.g., \( \\text{ضَرْبُ} \) and \( \\text{ضَرْبَةُ} \). As what concerns \( \\text{هُدَايَةُ} \) and \( \\text{عَلَبُةُ} \) in which the four vowels follow each other, they are the alleviated forms of \( \\text{ضَرْبُ} \) and \( \\text{مَكَٰنُ} \). As for the four vowels following each other in “he hit you”, they are accepted because the verb and its suffixed pronoun of the accusative, the -\( \\text{ka} \), are regarded as two separated words in spite of their occurrence as one word.\footnote{Cf. the Arabic text fols. 10b-11a.}

- No noun occurs with a \( w \) at its end that is preceded by a consonant vowelled with a dāamma unless the pronoun \( \\text{هُوَ} \) which is counted to pertain to the same category as the noun, if one considers that the parts of the speech are three: noun, verb and particle.\footnote{Cf. ibid, fols. 5a-5b and my notes (55).} This is the reason why the plural of the noun \( \\text{دَفْنُ} \) “bucket” is made \( \\text{أَدَلُّ} \) to avoid the occurrence of the \( w \) at the end of the word.\footnote{Cf. the Arabic text fols. 5b-7a and my notes (63).} However, the \( w \) can be found at the end of the verb, e.g., \( \\text{يَيْدُو} \) “he invites”.

- The \( m \) has the characteristic of only being suffixed to the noun, and more specifically to the pronoun, which is counted to pertain to the same category as the noun.\footnote{Cf. my notes (10 b).}

The author of the \textit{Marāḥ} does not only present many of the morphological patterns and explain the reasons of most of the phonological procedures concerning them, but he also wants to justify the facts, and sometimes his explanation goes beyond the field of grammar. He writes for instance that the \( t \) is made a marker of the fem. in “she hit”, because the \( t \) originates from the second point of articulation, in the same manner as the female species is second in the creation after the male.\footnote{Cf. the Arabic text fols. 4b-5a and my notes (52).}
II. ARABIC TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY
المقدمة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

11.1. Arabic Text: 

قال المفسرون إلى الله الودود، أحمد بن علي بن مسعود، غفر الله له ووالديه، وأحسن إليهما واليه: أعْلم أن الصرف أم العلوم وال نحو أبوها، ويجو في الدراسات 3 داروها، ويطغي في الروايات عاروها، فجاهت فيه كتاباً موسعاً برامج الأرواح، وهو للصبي جناح النجاح وراح رحراح، وفي ميعادته حين راح مثل تفاح أو راح، والله

أعتصم عناّ يصم وأستعين، وهو نعم الويل ونعم العين.

اذا إعلم مصدق الله أن الصرف يحتاج في محورة الأزمان إلى سبعة أبواب الصحيح والمضاعف والمهذور والشمال والأخف، والنقاش واللفيف واشتياقي تسعة أشياء من كل مصدر وهي الماضي والمستقبل والأسر والنتهي وأسم الفاعل والمفعول والزمان

والمكان وآلة فكسته على سبعة أبواب

Fols. 1b-2a

الصرف: التصريف في الدراسات: الدرايا 4/5 عاروها: مارها ب/6 بصم: بصم ب 7

اعلم... الله ز/7 الله: + في المدرس 5/6 وهي: فهي ج/6 والمفعول: والمفعول 1/6

1-8 والزمان والمكان: والمكان والزمان ب 5/6
II.1. Translation: Introduction

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

[Fol. 1 b] Thus speaks Ahmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd,(1) a man in need of the friendly God,(2) may He forgive him and his parents their sins and do good to them both and to him:

“Know that morphology is the mother and syntax the father of sciences,(3) and those who comprehend it [sc. her: i.e. the mother, morphology] become stronger in the sciences, and those who are devoid of it go astray in the traditions.(4) So I compiled on this subject a book entitled مراح الأرواح “The Place of Rest of the Spirits”,(5) and it is for the boy the wing of success(5) and a wide palm, and in his “abdomen”(7) when he finds rest, like apples or wine.(8) And by God, I seek protection from what is distressing and I turn to Him for help, and He is [sur. 8: 40] “the Best to protect” and to help.(9)

Know then, may God make you happy, that in order to know the morphological patterns [Fol. 2 a], the grammarian needs seven classes [of verbs]: المضاعف الصحيح “the Strong Verb”, “the Doubled Verb”, “the Hamzated Verb”, “the Verb with Weak 1st Radical”, “the Verb with Weak 2nd Radical”, “the Verb with Weak 3rd Radical” and “the Verb that is doubly Weak”; and the derivation of nine patterns from each infinite noun [which are the following]: الماضي “the perfect”, المستقبل “the imperfect”, الأمر “the imperative”, الفاعل والفعلون “the active and passive participle” اسم الفاعل والفعل “the [nouns of] time, place and instrument”.(10)

This is why I divided it [sc. the book] into seven chapters.
II.1.1. COMMENTARY

Introduction

(1) For discussions concerning Ibn Mas‘ūd see the Introduction pp. 7-8.

(2) The epithets that a man often writes before his name (for discussions see my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 40). Furthermore some consider that poverty in this earth can be rewarded by paradise after death (cf. Ğawziya, Arwāḥ 111-112).

(3) Both terms and the ṣarf have been used to designate “morphology”. The Marāḥ al-arwāh has also been considered as a book in the ṣarf. For instance Ibn Mas‘ūd, MS A, fol. 1b has instead of the ṣarf (cf. the Arabic text fol. 1b-2a in the notes). Suyūtī, Muzhir I, 347 mentions Āḥmad b. ‘Ali Ibn Mas‘ūd as the author of the Marāḥ in the ṣarf. More specifically, al-ṣarf is the study of the structure of the words, whereas al-taṣrīf (for the main definitions see Hindawi, Manāḥīg 15-16; for the definitions according to Sibawaihi, al-Rummānī, Ibn Ğinnī and al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979) see Hindawi, Manāḥīg 16-20; for a detailed discussion with interesting references see Fleisch, Taṣrīf, Owens, Foundations 98 sqq., Bohas, Étude 15-21, Bohas/Guillaume/Kouloughli, Linguistic 73 sqq.) is the study of the processes that lead to their making. There are two main parts referred to by al-taṣrīf (cf. Ibn ‘Uṣūr, I, 31-32; for discussions see Bohas/Guillaume/Kouloughli, Linguistic 76-80). The first one relates to the derivation of the forms from a root, and for this reason it is associated with “derivation” (for discussions concerning the derivation see Suyūtī, Muzhir I, 200-207, Bohas, Étude 174-178; for a distinction of four sorts see Owens, Foundations 106-108), and more specifically with the “little derivation” (cf. (14); for the derivatives see (10)). Zabidi, Tāg XXIV, 20 notes:

“Al-taṣrīf in the language is the derivation of some of them [sc. the words] from each other”.

Owens, Foundations 98 remarks:

“The core of Arabic morphology revolves around the concepts of taṣrīf, which can be broadly translated as ‘morphology’ and in some contexts as ‘derivation’, and to a lesser degree ‘isṭiqaq ‘derivation’’.

There is then a close relationship between al-taṣrīf and the derivation (for discussions see Hindawi, Manāḥīg 48 sqq.). According to the procedures of al-taṣrīf and of the derivation, one single word is enabled to circulate freely from one form to another so that it obtains this specific form’s meaning (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Munṣif I, 3-4). For instance the word can be made commensurable to so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes (and so that it becomes. According to the procedures of the derivation, the root is taken into consideration, and from
it different forms are derived. For instance, from the masdar, the perfect ضَرَبُ, the imperfect ضَرَبُ, the active participle ضَرَبُ, etc., are derived.

The second part of al-taṣrīf relates to the study of the phonological change(s) that is/are carried out in the base form of a word in order to make it circulate to another form, without however changing its meaning (cf. Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 33-34). Some examples are the phonological changes that are carried out for instance in some weak verbs, e.g. قَالَ ِّفَوْلُ that becomes “to say” (cf. 266)), يَبِعُ that becomes يَبِعُ “to sell,” and أَوْرَعَّدُ that becomes “to promise” (cf. 198). Concerning both sorts of taṣrīf, it can be noted generally that the main phonological procedures that are carried out in a word are recognized as the addition of an augment or more, the substitution of one consonant for another, the elision of a consonant or of a vowel, a vowel’s change and the assimilation of one consonant to another. As Ibn Ǧinni, de Flexione 8 writes:

"فعني التصرف هو ما ارتباك من التلعب بالحروف الأصل لما يراد فيها من المعاني المغايرة منها... فليعلم أن التصرف يقسم إلى خمسة أضراب زيادة بدل حذف تغيير بحركة أو سكون إغام".

"The meaning of al-taṣrīf is what we have showed you concerning the “circulation” of radicals in order to obtain the meanings gained by them [sc. the range of forms]. Let it be known than, that al-taṣrīf is divided into five classes: addition, substitution, elision, a vowel’s change, sukūn and assimilation”.

Ibn Ya‘īs, Mulāḥī 95 writes:

"لا يكن بد من نطق خاص يدل على ذلك المعنى بعينه. فهذا وجه التصرف واختلاف الأئمة بالزيادة والنقص والتغيير و نحو ذلك ليدل كل لنقل على المعنى المراد".

"It was necessary to have a special word which would indicate this special characteristic meaning. This is why al-taṣrīf was necessary and the variations of forms [which occur] by addition, elision, change and so on, so that each word would refer to the intended meaning".

The term can be defined as: التصرف, but it is more specifically the study of the morphemes (cf. Baṣar, Dirāṣāt 221, Ḥassān, Luğa 153), which is the smallest meaningful entity in a word. It can be a prefix as the -mu that marks the active participle of Form IV, e.g. مَكْرُوم “honouring” or its passive participle, e.g. مَكْرُومُ an infix as the a that marks the active participle of the groundform فاعلْ, or a suffix, e.g. the ending -āni that marks the dual of the masc. sing. of the nominative, the ending -ūna that marks the pl. of the nominative, the ending -ātu that marks the fem. pl. of the nominative, etc. (for other examples of morphemes see Astarābādī, Šarh al-kāfiya I, 5; for further discussions see Hindāwī, Manāḥīg 20 sqq.). Carter, Širbīnī 343-344: 17.1 (1) distinguishes between two sets of terminology:

"the morphological set ṣarf-taṣrīf-taṣarruf (‘process of being conjugated’), and the cognate series ṣarf-mutaṣarrif-munṣarif, denoting the syntactic freedom of the fully inflected noun...".

The fully inflected noun and imperfect verb are submitted to the ṣūrah (for discussions concerning the decline imperfect see (122)). The term can mean as well the complete
vowelling of the form (for discussions see ‘Ukbarī, Masā’il 102-105, Fleisch, I′rāb 1250, Owens, Foundations 40). The formal i′rāb is different from the syntactical i′rāb, as the latter is mainly concerned with the ending of the declinable word in accordance with its operator′s rule (cf. my notes (43)). Carter, Šīrbīnī 37: 2. 15 (1) distinguishes between both its meanings with the following words:

‘I′rāb 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’).

Concerning this conception of morphology as as a generative system Owens, Foundations 122 remarks:

“There is no doubt that the morphological system was regarded as a generative system, one which not only accounted for all existing morphological patterns, but also allowed the speakers to apply the rule to create new patterns as they needed them”.

b. النحو “syntax” (for definitions see Ismā’il, Tadrīs 201-202, Sayyid, Kāfī I, 2) is the science of knowing the changing or the invariant state of the forms’ ending in the sentence (cf. Ibn Ginnī, Munsif I, 4), so that the meaning of the sentence is understood. The word′s ending can be مَعْرُوبَة “declinable, variable”, which has to do with the word′s position or the operator′s operation on it in the sentence, or مَنْسِبَة “undecinable, invariable” (for discussions concerning مَنْسِبَة and إِعرَابَة) is compared by Ibn Mas′ūd to the father who corrects the children. Both morphology and syntax constitute together the science of grammar. Its knowledge enables the person to express himself with coherence and to understand what is told or written (cf. Zāgāgī, Iḥā’ 95-96, Ibn Ḥaldūn, Muqaddima 13, 320, Versteegh, Elements 130, Zaḡāɡī 164; for discussions concerning the profit of the study of grammar and its connection to logic see Versteegh, Elements 123-127). It can be added that the ability of learning a science requires as well a certain love towards it. The love of the Arabic language is expressed by many writers (e.g. Ibn Fāris, Sāhibī 40-46, Zubaidi, Ṭabaqāt 11, al-Ṭā’lībī (d. 429/1037) in the Fiqh al-ṣūr al-ʿarabīya translated by Loucel, Origine 65-66)). As well, for some persons, grammar, beside other sciences, is studied “with the aim of seeing the greatness of the Creator” (cf. Riad′s commentary 68 to Ibn Ḥazm, Aḥlāq 15 I. 15). Furthermore, the term النحو can as well mean generally grammar. According to the tradition it is believed that the first (cf. Mubārak, Nahw 10-37) to have written about grammar was Abū I-Aswad al-Du′alī, Zālim b. ‘Amr (d. 69688) (for him see Sirāfi, Aḥbār 13-20, Zubaidi, Ṭabaqāt 13 sqq., Ibn Ḥallikān, Dictionary I, 662, Luḡāwī, Marātīb 24, Qiftī, Inbāh I, 4 sqq., Suyūṭī, Bugyā II, 22-23; for some discussions referring to him as the one who divided with his studies grammar and lexicography see Haywood, Lexicography 11-17). The question is however disputed, as some believed that the first who wrote about grammar was ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ḥishāq (cf. Pellat, Milieu 130, Talmon, Who 128-145), whereas others believed that it was Naṣr b. ʿĀsim (d. 89/708) (cf. Sirāfi, Aḥbār 20, Zubaidi, Ṭabaqāt 27), or ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Hurmuz (d. 117/735) (cf. Sirāfi, Aḥbār 21-22), or both Yahyā b. Ya′mar (d. 129/747) and ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī I-Aswad al-Du′alī (cf. Qiftī, Inbāh I, 380-381). For further discussions see Versteegh, Grammar 160 sqq.

(4) The importance of morphology (for discussions see Ibn Fāris, Sāhibī 191) and its usefulness in the acquisition of sciences (cf. Massignon, Opera I, Presses Universitaires de France, 205) is stressed upon by Ibn Mas′ūd. By doing so, he specifies the subject of his study.
“the place of rest” is the noun of place of راحة، one of whose meanings is “to find rest, recreation, to be pleased”. Both the masdūr راحة and راحة can mean “rest” (cf. Ibn Manzūr, III, 1767, Zābidī, Tāqī IV, 418). “(There is for him) Rest and Satisfaction”. Ibn Manzūr, III, 1766 and Zābidī, Tāqī VI. 426 link one of its meanings to the gladness and happiness deriving from the truth, so by ‘Ali. It is also interesting to compare the meanings that are associated with the word راحة (for discussions with references to other works see Riad’s commentary p. 63 to Ibn Hazm, Aḥlāq 9) in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages. According to Ibn Fāris, Maqāyīs II, 454, the three consonants, the r, w and h combined together (روحة) point to سمة “widens or power”, “ampleness, extensive possibilities, or holidays” and “continuity”. Leslau, Soqotri 395 mentions that Soqotri rah “to be at rest” corresponds to ʿSauri šerīh “to relax”, Daṭīna راه, Arabic ʿastirwā راه “to relax”, Hebrew רָחָה “to be large”, Syriac روحة and South Arabic hrwḥt “enlargement, magnification”. Ibn Masʿūd means that the place of rest of the “the spirits, the intellectuals, or the higher beings” is acquired through higher knowledge and contemplation (see my introduction to Ibn Masʿūd, I, 28). According to Ibn Kamāl Pāشا, Falāḥ 4. روح is derived from الروح, Ibn Kamāl Pāša 4 ll. 34-35 writes:

"The روح is a noun of place from the refreshment" with the volwelling of the r by a fatha, from الاستراحة “the rest, recreation”, and الروح “the souls, spirits” is the pl. of الروح, which is the rational eloquent soul. Its meaning is then originally the place of rest of the rational eloquent souls. It [sc. the book] was somehow given this title, because when the rational soul aspires for scientific perfections,—and they can only be obtained with its tools,—it suffered and grieved until it found this tool, like the sick men suffer until they find a curing medicine. So this book comprises the specific tool for the acquisition of these teachings that the souls take delight in and thus become harmonious”.

Furthermore, according to the Qurʾān and to the Arabic philosophy, there is a difference in meaning between الروح “the spirit” and النفس “the soul”. The Spirit is God’s, which he breathed into Adam, and by doing so elevated his status as sur. 15: 29 says: (فَإذَا سَوَى ِّهُ) “When I have fashioned him (in due proportion) and breathed into him of My spirit, fall ye down in obeisance unto him”. As for the soul, it is the carnal soul as referred to by sur. 12: 53 (وَمَا أَبْرَىٰ تَفْسِيرُ إِنَّ النَّفْسَ لَأَمَّةٌ بِالْسُّوَءِ) “Nor do I
absolve my own self (of blame): the (human) soul is certainly prone to evil”. It can however achieve full rest and satisfaction as sur. 89: 27-28 says: 

إِنَّ اِلْحَقَّ عَلَى الْخَيْرِ وَالْمَغْفُورَةَ مَنْ حَافَظَ عَلَى الْقِنْصَةِ (The righteous soul will be said:) “O (thou) soul, in (complete) rest and satisfaction! Come back thou to thy Lord,—well pleased (thyself), and well-pleasing unto Him!”.

(6) جَناحِ النَجَاحِ and with the words that follow them, i.e. رَاحُ رَاحُ أَنْفُسِكَ “a wide palm” and “apples or wine”. As for the concept of “wing” that is associated with knowledge, Ibn Manzūr, 1, 697 referring to the Ḥadīth, mentions that the Angels lay down their wings for the person who pursues knowledge, so that they shall be a ground for him when he walks and as a sign of humiliation to glorify his claim. This lowering of the wings of the Angels refers to the sur. 2: 34 when God by His grace taught Adam the nature of things: 

وَأَجْلَلْنَا لَهُ الْإِلَهَةَانِ (وَسُجِّدُوا لَأَمَامِ فَسُجِّدُوا) And behold, We said to the Angels ‘Bow down to Adam:’ and they bowed down”, or when He breathed into Him of His spirit as sur. 15: 29 says (for it see (5)). Adam and mankind are synonymous here. This general idea of humiliation associated with the lowering of the wings, is pointed out as well in sur. 15: 58 “But lower thy wing (in gentleness) to the Believers”, sur. 17: 24 “And, out of kindness lower to them the wing of humility” and in sur. 26: 215 “And lower thy wing to the Believers who follow thee”. “the success”, which is the person’s strive after growth, is an important factor that contributes to his happiness and to future success and increasing growth (for this theme see Ismā‘īl, Tadrīs 68; for the qualities required for acquiring success in different fields see Gāwziyya, Fawā‘id 246-247).

(7) The word مَعِيدَة “abdomen” is used by Ibn Mas‘ūd as a metaphor instead of “intellect”, which he is referring to. Each is the nourishment’s place: the intellect is the place of the nourishment of the soul as the stomach is the place of the nourishment of the body.

(8) According to Ibn Mas‘ūd, the importance of this book to the reader equalizes the importance of apples or wine to the body and soul (cf. my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 42). It is possible that this comparison reveals a certain inclination towards Sufism. It can be mentioned that the word نَاصِحَة “apple” pointing to its beneficency, has been used by Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) (Ahmad b. Muhammad, see for him Suyūṭi, Buğya I, 362) in the title of his work dealing with syntax, al-Tuffāḥa fi l-nahw “The Apple in Syntax” (for its description see Omar, Studies 243-244). Wine is considered by the Sufi as being able to cure the sick and to bring back the dead to life. A poet, quoted by Baldick, Islam 135, writes:

“And if an enchanter (the Sufi teacher) had traced the letters of the wine’s name on the forehead of one possessed the sign would have cured him”.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ, quoted by Baldick, Islam 135, writes:
“And if they had sprinkled some of that wine on the dust of a dead man’s tomb
His spirit would have returned to him and his body would have come back to life”.

Furthermore wine refers to the ecstasy felt by the Sufi through his union with God as a
vagabond (cf. Ibn al-Fārīd, Poems 39-40, Baldick, Islam 82). It can be linked with reality
and spiritual truth (cf. Ḥāfiz, Diwān 98, Baldick, Islam 100), it has overnatural powers (cf.
Ḥayyām, Rubā‘īāt XLIII), guides the disciple on the right path and prevents him from going
astray through the miraculous grace of the spiritual “friends”, who can be physically absent
or dead teachers (cf. Baldick, Islam 100).

(9) Ibn Mas‘ūd relies here with humility on God so that He helps him fulfill his task.
This is an echo of the sur. 22: 78 “And hold fast to God! He is your Protector—The best
to protect and the best to help!”. Compare also Sirbīn’s words in Carter, Sirbīnī 4: “for He is the most bountiful
of those to whom prayers are addressed, and the mightiest on whom all our hopes rest”.

(10) It was common for the grammarians to explain the grammatical rules after the verb
“Know o young man!” (cf. Ḥassan, Uṣūl 27). The pedagogical spirit seems to
have started being manifest in al-Farrā’s period who directs himself in Ma‘ānī I, 17 to
the “the beginner in the instruction”. After him, it is al-ḥṣafṣ who tested his pupils
with deliberate errors inserted in forged verses for the purpose of teaching them the
language (cf. Baghdādī, Ḥizānā II, 300).

According to the Basrans, the derivatives (for discussions concerning the derivation see (3),
(14)) are: the perfect, the imperfect, the imperative, the active and passive participles, the
assimilated adjective, the elative, the nouns of time, place and instrument; and the maṣdar
is considered as the origin of the derivation by them. However according to the Kufans, the
maṣdar is included among the derivatives whereas the perfect is excluded, as they consider
the verb to be the origin of the derivatives (cf. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Shurf 79). This debate between
the Basrans and Kufans concerning which of the maṣdar or the perfect is the origin of the
derivation, is discussed by Ibn Mas‘ūd in the present Arabic text fols. 2a-3a, 3a-4a and in my
notes (12)-(21). The maṣdar is not always included among the derived nouns, because of, as
Carter, Sirbīnī 373 in his notes 19:33 (1) remarks, “its disputed status as the source of all verbal paradigms”. Ibn Mas‘ūd who follows the Basrans, presents nine derivatives of the
maṣdar. The same derivatives are presented by Bustānī, Miṣbāḥ 19, the editor and commentator of Farḥāt, Bahīt. Suyūtī, Aṣbāḥ II, 288, who refers to the Taḏkara of Ibn al-Sāʿīḏ, presents as well nine derivatives of the maṣdar, but some of them being different than those
that are mentioned by Ibn Mas‘ūd, namely: the verb, the active participle, the

“[the forms of] the active participle denoting intensification” which he named مُتَّلَنَّ, namely:
the patterns مَتَّلَنَّ, مَتَّلَّنَ, التَّلَّنَّ, the passive participle, the elative, the assimilated
adjective, the noun of the maṣdar, the noun of instrument, and the nouns of time and
place which he counts as one. Abū Hanīfa, Maṣṣūd 3 refers to six derivatives of the maṣdar,
namely: the perfect, the imperfect, the imperative, the prohibition and the active and passive
participles. Rāqīḥī, Taḏbīq 75-89 refers to six nouns derived from verbs, namely: the
comparative noun, the active and passive participles, the nouns of time, place and instrument and

اسم مَتَّلَنَّ “the noun which expresses intensiveness”. Zamaḥṣārī, 96, commented on by Ibn
Ya‘ṣī, VI, 43, presents eight derivatives of nouns connected with verbs, comprising: the
_maşdar_, the active participle, the passive participle, the assimilated adjective, the elative, the nouns of time and place and the noun of instrument. With his division of forms that are derived from the _maşdar_, Ibn Mas'ūd intends to make the reader believe that the verbs are derived from the _maşdar_, which is the opinion of the Basrans, and that he sides with them (for discussions see my notes (12)-(21)). As for the assimilated adjective and the noun of superiority referred to by Zamaḥšāri, Ibn Mas'ūd presents them within the chapter of the active participle (see the Arabic text fols. 14a-15a, 15a-16a).

b) As remarked, the division of the forms presented here by Ibn Mas'ūd, includes only the category of the noun and the verb. The _maşdar_, the active and passive participle, the adjective, the nouns of time, place and instrument and the pronoun pertain to the noun category, whereas the verb tenses, namely the perfect, the imperfect, the imperative and the prohibition, pertain to the verb category. As noticed, the particle, which is the third category of speech according to the Arabic grammatical tradition, is not treated by him in this study, as it is not included among the categories of words that are derived from the verb or the _maşdar_.

This division of the language into three main categories: ًاسمْ “noun”, ًفعلْ “verb” and ًحرفْ “particle” has been transmitted by Sibawaihi, I, 1 (cf. Rundgren, _Einfluss_ 129, Versteegh, _Elements_ 39, Owens, _Foundations_ 125). Zaggagi, _Idāh_ 41-45 presents a critique to this tripartite division, which he then however defends. This division seems to have been borrowed from the Greeks (for discussions considering the Greek influence see Merx, _Historia_ 137-153, _Origine_ 13-26, Weiss, _Nationalgrammatik_ 349-390, Versteegh, _Grammar_ 22-23, _Elements_ 38-89, _Education_, Fischer, _Origin_ LIII, 1962-1963, 1-21, LIV, 1963-1964, 132-160; for opinions considering the Arabic linguists to be free from Greek influence see Massignon, _Réflexions_ 6, Weiss, _Nationalgrammatik_ 349, Carter, _Origines_, Troupeau, _Lexique_ 13, _Origine_ 125-138, _Logique_ 246, Badawi, _Aristotles_ 126-127, Sezgin, _Geschichte_ 9 sqq.).
الباب الأول في الصحيح

الصحيح هو الذي ليس في مقابلة الفاء والعين واللام حرف علة وتضريف وهمزة نحو ضرب، وختص العلماء والعين واللام للوزن حتى يكون فيه من حروف الشفقة والوسط والحلق شيء. فقولاً الضرب مصدر يتوالد من الأشياء التسعة، وهو أصل في الإشتقاق عند البصريين لأنه مفهوم واحد ومفهوم الفعل متعدد للدلالة على الحدث والزمان، والواحد قبل الم кудد. وإذا كان أصلًا للفعل يكون أصلًا للتعلقاتها أو لأنه اسم.

والاسم مستغن عن الفعل وأيضًا يقال له مصدر لأن هذه الأشياء تصدر عنه.

الإشتقاق أن تجد بين النظرين تنباساً في اللفظ والمفعول وهو على ثلاثة أنواع: صغير وهو أن يكون بينهما تناساب في الحروف والترتيب نحو ضرب من الضرب، وكبير وهو أن يكون بينهما تناساب في اللفظ دون الترتيب نحو جهد من الجهد، وأكبر وهو أن يكون بينهما تناساب في الخرج نحو تعق من التهج. والثبات من الإشتقاق المذكور هنالك إشتقاق صغير، قال الكوفيون ينبغي أن يكون الفعل أصلًا لأن إعالة مدار لإعلان المصدر وجوداً وعدماً، أما وجوداً فإنه يُعَد عدَّة وقَامٌ قياماً، وأما عدماً فإنه يُنْجَل وِلَث وقَامٌ قياماً. فَأُمِّرَ وَمَدْرَأَتُهُ تَدْلُّ عَلَى إِصَالَةً وَايضاً يَوْدُ الفعل به نحو ضرب ضرباً.

هو بكلمة ضربت ضربت والمَوَكَّد أصل دون المؤكد، ويقال له مصدرًا عن الفعل كما قالوا له مضرب عذب ومركَّب فارة أي مضروب ومركَّوب. قلنا في جوابهم إعالة المصدر للشاكسة لا للسقداريْية كحذف اللام في تعد وماهزة في تكير أصل.

Fols. 2a-3a

48

II.2. Arabic Text:

الله الحكيم الحارم.

الياقوت

الصحيح هو الذي ليس في مقابلة الفاء والعين واللام حرف علة وتضريف وهمزة نحو ضرب، وختص العلماء والعين واللام للوزن حتى يكون فيه من حروف الشفقة والوسط والحلق شيء. فقولاً الضرب مصدر يتوالد من الأشياء التسعة، وهو أصل في الإشتقاق عند البصريين لأنه مفهوم واحد ومفهوم الفعل متعدد للدلالة على الحدث والزمان، والواحد قبل الم кудد. وإذا كان أصلًا للفعل يكون أصلًا للتعلقاتها أو لأنه اسم.

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II.2. Translation: The 1st Chapter is about the Strong Verb(11)

The strong verb is the one in which neither the ḥ[sc. the 1st radical] nor the ħ[sc. the 2nd radical] and nor the l[sc. the 3rd radical] is a weak consonant, a doubled consonant or a hamza, e.g. ضْرَبُ “he hit”. The ḥ, the ħ and the l were chosen for the pattern [sc. مَلَّ], so that there would be a labial, a medial and a guttural consonant in its structure. As for our saying ضْرَبُ “the hitting”, it is then an infinite noun from which the nine patterns originate. It is the origin of the derivation according to the Basrans because its meaning is one, whereas the meaning of the verb which is indicative of the accident and the time [Fol. 2 b] is various, and because the one is prior to the numerous. And if it is the origin of the derivation of the verb, it is also the origin of the derivation of their derivatives, or because it is a noun and the noun can do without the verb. It is also stated as maṣdar “a source of derivation” because these patterns are derived from it. The derivation is that you find a reciprocal relation between two words, both in pronunciation and in meaning, and it is of three kinds:

1- small, meaning that there should be a reciprocal relation between them both in the consonants and in the order, e.g. ضْرَبُ “he hit” from ضْرَبُ “the hitting”.

2- big, meaning there should be a reciprocal relation between them in the pronunciation but not the order, e.g. جَدْدُ “to attract” from جَدْدُ “the attraction”.

3- bigger, meaning that there should be a reciprocal relation between them both in the point of articulation, e.g. تُكَرَّمُ “to croak” from تُكَرَّمُ “the bray”.

It is the small derivation that is meant when taking up the question of the derivation here. The Kufans said that the verb ought to be the origin of the derivation, because the existence of an unsound weak consonant in its structure is the crucial factor for the existence of an unsound weak consonant in the maṣdar, and when [the factor is] non-existent, of its non-existence [in the maṣdar]. When existent, as in e.g. قَيَامًا “to promise” and فَأَمَّ “to stand up” and when non-existent, as in e.g. تُرْكَ إِلَيْهَا “to be afraid” and فَأَمِّ “to resist” [Fol. 3 a]. The fact that it is the crucial factor indicates that it is the origin as well, as the verb is also emphasized by it, e.g. ضْرَبُ ضْرُبًا “I hit a hitting”, which is of the same rank as ضْرَبُ ضْرُبًا “I hit I hit”; and the emphasized is the origin and not the emphasis. It is also named maṣdar since it is issued from the verb, as they applied [for their theory] the example ضْرُبُ عَدَّ “a fresh drink” and ضْرُبٌ فَارِغُ “a quick mount” by which they meant ضْرُبٌ “a drink” and ضْرُبٌ “a mount” [as passive participles]. We [sc. the Basrans] answered them and said that the change due to an unsound weak consonant that is carried out in the maṣdar is for the purpose of analogy and does not point to the crucial factor, as the elision of the w in ضْرَبُ “you promise” and the hamza in ضْرَبُ “you honour”.

(11)
فصول 3-4a

\( k_a + k_b = \phi \cdot 1 / 2 \) برزق: ترتقي 1 جد وثليتين / ورقة

\( k_a = \phi \cdot 1 / 2 \) ونساء فين: وثليتين / ترتقي 1 جد ورقة

\( k_a = \phi \cdot 1 / 2 \) ونساء فين: وثليتين / ترتقي 1 جد ورقة

\( k_a = \phi \cdot 1 / 2 \) ونساء فين: وثليتين / ترتقي 1 جد ورقة
The emphasized word does not indicate that it is the origin of the etymological derivation, but of the declension, as in "إِنَّما نَزِيدُ عَدَمِي" (Zaidun, Zaidun came to me). As for their saying "fresh drinking place" and "a quick place of travelling" [regarded as nouns of place by us], they belong to the same chapter as the river streams and the drain flows.

The masdar of the triliteral is formed upon many patterns, and according to Sibawaihi, it amounts to thirty-two, namely: "killing", "proligacy", "occupying", "having mercy", "seeking", "being turbid", "praying", "remembering", "announcing happy news", "softening", "escaping", "demanding", "strangling", "being small", "guiding" [Fol. 3 b]. It is formed upon the pattern of the active participle and of the passive participle, e.g. "I rose, I stood up" and in the words of the Allmighy [sur. 68: 6] "Which of you is afflicted with madness". It is used to express energy or intensification, e.g. "much fermentation", "intensive sporting", "much incitement" and "much guidance". The masdar of the forms beyond the groundform of the triliteral follows an invariable rule, except in "الكلام" "to talk" of which the masdar is "كلام" "a talk", in "الكلام" "to fight against" of which the masdar is "كلام" "a fight, a battle", in "كلام" "to burden oneself" of which the masdar is "كلام" "a burden" and in "كلام" "to shake" of which the masdar is "كلام" "a concussion, convulsion, an earthquake".

The verbs which are derived from the masdar fall into thirty-five forms:

- Six of them belong to the groundform of the triliteral verb, e.g. "كلام" "to hit", "كلام" "to kill", "كلام" "to know", " بكل" "to be generous" and " بكل" "to assume". The first three are named the pillars of the conjugations because of the variation of the vowels of their 2nd radical in the perfect and in the imperfect, and because of their numerousness. "كلام" "to open" is not included among the pillars due to the lack of variation [of the medial vowel], and because it only occurs with a guttural consonant [Fol. 4 a]. "كلام" "to lean" and "كلام" "to refuse" belong to the dialectal varieties which intruded and to the anomalies. As for "كلام" "to stay", "كلام" "to pass away" and "كلام" "to fry", they belong to the dialect of the Tayyis who escaped form the kasra and applied the fatha. "كلام" "to be generous" is not included among the pillars either because it only occurs among the verbs which are descriptive of a state or of a quality. So is "كلام" "to assume" [not included] because of the rarity of its use.

"كلام" "to remain", "كلام" "to be about to do", which is anomalous as "كلام" "to persevere".
واثنا عشر لمنشعة الثلاثي نحو أُكرم وقطع وقاتل وِقَضَّ وِتُفَضَّ وِتُضَارَب وِانْصِرَف وِاحْتَفَر
وِاسْتَخْرِج وِاعْشُوْب وِاجْلُوْد وِاِحْمُار وِاِحْمُر أَصْلَهَا اِحْمَارُ وِاحْمُرُ فِادْغِنَة لِلْجِنْسِ
وِبِيدْلٍ عِلْبِه أَرْعَوْي وِهْنَ تَقَاس مِن بَاب آفَّل وِلَا يُدْخِم لِالْعَدَمِ الْجِنْسِ وِواَحِد لِلْرَبِيعِ
الْمُجَرَد يَحْرَج وِتَلَثِّة لِإِسْتِقْلَالِ الْرَبِيعِيّ يَحْرَجَا وِقَرْنُج وِقَرْنُج وِتَدْخِر وِقَرْنُج وِتَدْخِر وِسَبْتُه لِلْحَق
١٥٠ ب١٤٨ يَحْرَج يَحْرَج وِشَخْل وِحَوْف وِثيَّر وِجَهْر وِقَفْنُس وِقَفْنُس وِقَفْنُس وِحَمْسَة لِلْحَق تَدْخِر يَحْرَج
تَجْبَر وِتَجْبَر وِتَجْبَر وِتَجْبَر وِبِيْنَة وِبِيْنَة وِتَرْهُوْك وِتَرْهُوْك وِتَسْكَن وِإِثْنَان لِلْحَق إِخْرَنْج يَحْرَج يَحْرَج
وِاسْلَقَة وِمِصْدَاقِ الْإِحْلَاقِ اِتْحَادِ الْمَصْدِرِين

Fols. 4a-4b

THE STRONG VERB

– Twelve of them belong to the derived forms of the triliteral verbs, e.g. [Form IV] آَكَرُم “to honour”, [Form II] قَطْط “to cut”, [Form III] فَانَٰث “to fight”, [Form V] شَنقَّ “to deign”, [Form VI] يَنِئْر “to strike”, [Form VII] مُنَصَّر “to depart”, [Form VIII] أَحْتَقَّ “to despise”, [Form X] أَعْلَوْشُب “to remove”, [Form XII] أَحْتَمْر “to cover with luxuriant herbage”, [Form XIII] أَحْتَمْر “to last long”, [Form XI] أَحْتَمْر “to be very red” and [Form IX] أَحْتَمْر “to be red”\(^\text{39}\)

underlyingly أَحْتَمْر in which both of them [sc. the ra’s] are assimilated because they were of the same kind. أَرَعَى “to abstain”, which is a verb with weak 3rd radical formed according to the pattern أَرَعَى, proves this [sc. the theory of assimilation concerning two identical consonants], as no assimilation is carried out in it because of the lack of similarity [of the weak consonants].\(^\text{40}\)

– One belongs to the groundform of the quadriliteral, e.g. [Form I] دَحْرَج “to roll”.

– Three belong to the derived patterns of the quadriliteral, e.g. [Form III] دَحْرَج “to gather together in a mass”, [Form IV] دَحْرَج “to shudder with horror” and [Form II] دَحْرَج “to roll along”.

– Six belong to the patterns which are coordinated by an augment to [Fol. 4 b] [Form I of the quadriliteral] دَحْرَج “to roll”, e.g. دَسْتَحِجُّ “to gather ripe dates and also to be active or nimble”, دَحْرَج “to say”, دَحْرَج “there is no power and no strength save in God”, دَحْرَج “to practise the veterinary art or farriery”, دَحْرَج “to utter one’s speech in a loud voice”, دَحْرَج and دَحْرَج “to put on a cap called قَلَّة”.

– Five belong to the patterns which are coordinated by more than one augment to [Form II of the quadriliteral] دَحْرَج “to put on a جُنُب, جُنُب “to put on a جُنُب, a sock”, دَحْرَج “to act like a devil”, دَحْرَج “to show a feebleness in one’s walk” and دَحْرَج “to become poor”.

– Two belong to the patterns which are coordinated by more than one augment to [Form III of the quadriliteral] دَحْرَج “to have a hump in front” and دَحْرَج “to lay on one’s back”.

The criterion of the coordination by an augment or more [to a specific pattern of a verb] is the identical structure between the patterns of both [their] مَسَدَر.\(^\text{41}\)
فصل في الماضي

ويجب، على أربعة عشر وجهًا نحو ضرب إلى ضربًا. وإذا نسي الماضي لفوات

موجب الاعراب فيه وعلى الحركة لمشابهته بالإسم في وقوعه صفة للكرة نحو مرّة برجل

ضرب وضرب وعلي الفندق لأنه أخ السكن لأن الفتح جزء الآله ومال الآله أو

السكون ولم يعرب لأن اسم الفاعل لم يأخذ منه العمل بخلاف المستقبل لأن اسم

الفاعل أخذ من العل فأعطيت الاعراب له عوضًا عنه أو لكترة مشابهته له يعني يُعين

المضاعف لكترة مشابهته باسم الفاعل أوني الماضي على الحركة لقّلة مشابهته له، ولم الأمر

على السكن لعدم مشابهته له. زبيد الآله والواو والونون في آخره حتى يدّلّين على

هذا وهموا وهما، وضمّ الّباء في ضربًا. بحلق رمّوا لأن الميم ليست بما قبلها

وضمّ في رمّوا وإن لم يكن الضاد ما قبلها حتى لا يلزم الخروج من النكرة التحقيقية

إلى الحسبة التقديرية. وكتب الآله في ضربًا. للفريق بين وراح الجمع وواو العطف

في مثل حضر وتكلم زيد وقبل للفريق بين وراح الجمع وواو الواحد في مثل لم يدّعوا

أو يدّعوا. جعلت النّاء علامة للمؤنث في مثل ضربًا لأن النّاء من الخرج الثاني والمؤنث

أيضاً ثان في التخليق. وهذه النّاء ليست بضمير كما يجيء. وأسكنت الّباء في مثل

Fols. 4b-5a


ورضارد: أو ضارد ل. (1): أخو ل. الفتح: الفتح ل. جزء ل. ج: 4-5 والآله

السكون: 1-5: والآله لأذ السكون ب/ 4-5: أخو ل. الفاعل + الماضي / 6 قاعطي:

واقعين / عنده: - 1 لكترة: لنكرة ب ط: 7 باسم: لاسم / أ باسم الفاعل: له ب جد / 7-


التحقيقية: ك: - 1 ب جد ح: 8 التقديرية: ك: - 1 ب جد ح: 8 وكتب:


ب 10-12: ل. يدّعوا ولم يدّعوا ب جد ح: 12 مثال: - 14 / 14

كما: لما 5/ يجب، + من بعد ب: سبب: ل/
§ 1. The perfect

It falls into fourteen patterns from “he hit” to “we hit”.\(^{(42)}\) The only reason the perfect was made undecinable was because it lacks the factor that would make it declinable;\(^{(43)}\) and with a vowel [given as its marker of invariability], because of its resemblance to the noun when it occurs as an epithet that modifies an indefinite noun, e.g. مَزَّرَتُ بْرَجُلٍ ضَرْبٌ وَضَرَّبَ “I passed a man who was hitting”.\(^{(44)}\) And with the fatha [as its marker], because it is the brother of the sukun, as the fatha is a part of the alif and the alif is the brother of the sukun.\(^{(45)}\) It was not made declinable, because the active participle [in the sense of the past] did not acquire from it [sc. the perfect] the ability to operate, by contrast to the imperfect, as the active participle acquired its ability to operate from it [sc. the imperfect].\(^{(46)}\) So the declension was given to it [sc. the imperfect] instead of it [sc. the perfect], or because of its great resemblance to it [sc. the active participle].\(^{(47)}\) i.e. that the imperfect was made declinable because of its great resemblance to the active participle, the perfect was made undecinable with a vowel [sc. the fatha] because of its small degree of resemblance to it, [Fol. 5 a] and the imperative was made undecinable with the sukun because of its lack of resemblance to it.\(^{(48)}\)

The َa [in e.g. ُضَرَّبُ, ُضَرَبْ] and the w [in e.g. ُضَرِّبَ] are suffixed [to the form] to be suggestive of هُمَا “they both/dual”, هُمُّ “they /masc. pl.” and هُمْ “they /fem. pl.”. The b is vowelled by a dama in َضَرِّبَأ “they hit /masc. pl.” for the sake of the w, by contrast to [the m vowelled by a fatha in] رَضَا “they threw /masc. pl.”, because the m is not the immediate consonant preceding it [sc. the w]. However, it [sc. the consonant preceding the w] is vowelled by a dama in َضَرِّبَا “they consented /masc. pl.”, in spite of the fact that the d is not the immediate consonant preceding it, so that it will not be necessary to incline from the underling kasra [of the base form َضَرِّبَأ] to the adventitious َضَرِّبَا [of َرضَا].\(^{(49)}\)

The َa is suffixed in َضَرِّبَا “they hit /masc. pl.” to differentiate between the w of the pl. and the w of the conjunction, as in e.g. حَضَرَ وَتَكَلَّمْ زَيدٌ “Zaid was present and talked” [which can also be read as حَضَرَ وَتَكَلَّمَ زَيدُ “they were present, he talked”];\(^{(50)}\) and it is said to differentiate between the w of the pl. and the w of the sing., e.g. لَمَّا يَدْعُو “they did not call /masc. pl. (jussive)” and لَمَّا يَدْعَوُ “he did not call (jussive, used defectively in a dialectal variant)”.\(^{(51)}\)

The t was made a marker of the fem. in ضَرِّبَت “she hit” because the t originates from the second point of articulation,\(^{(52)}\) and the female species is also second in the creation. This t is not a pronoun as it will be discussed.

The b was made vowelled in
ضرَبِ يَوْمَ يُبْلِغُهُ ثُمَّ يَمُتْ بِهِ حَتَّى لا يَجِدَ عَرَضَةً أَرْبَعَ حَرَكَاتٍ مَّتَوَالِيَاتٍ فِيهَا وَهَا كَالْكَلِمَةُ الْوَاحِدَةُ وَمَن تَمُّ، لا يَجِزُ العِطْفُ عَلَى الْمُضْرَبِ يَوْمَ يُبْلِغُهُ ثُمَّ يَمُتْ بِهِ حَتَّى لا يَجِدَ عَرَضَةً أَرْبَعَ حَرَكَاتٍ مَّتَوَالِيَاتٍ فِيهَا وَهَا كَالْكَلِمَةُ الْوَاحِدَةُ وَمَن تَمُّ، 2 يُبْلِغُ صَدِيقَتُهُمُ الْعَرَضَةُ مَتَّعَةً فِي هِيَ فِي حِكْمِ الْبِكْرَةَ وَمَن تَمُّ ثَقَالٌ 5 بَلْ 5 الأَلْفَ فِي رَمْيَةٍ لِّكُونِ الْحَرَكَةُ مَعَارِضَةَ إِزَا لَا يُأْمَرُ إِذَا يَقُولُ أَهْلَها رَمَّا تُخَافُ كَثِيرَةً مَثْلُ 5 ضَرْبَاتٍ الْأَلْفِ لَيْسَ كَالْكَلِمَةُ الْوَاحِدَةُ فِي صَبِيرَةٍ مُنْصُوبَةٍ وَلَا يُخَافُ كَثِيرَةً مَثْلُ 5 أَصْلَهَا هَدَايَةً وَعِلَابَةً ثُمَّ قَصَرَهُ يَخَافُ كَثِيرَةً مَثْلُ 5 مَثَلُ ضَرْبَاتِهَا لَيْسَ كَالْكَلِمَةُ الْوَاحِدَةُ فِي صَبِيرَةٍ مَّتَوَالِيَاتٍ فِيهَا وَمَن تَمُّ 6 عِلَامَةٌ الْبِكْرَةَ يَتَشَفَّى وَثَقَالُ الْبِكْرَةَ مَثْلُ 6 لْعَدَدٍ مَّتَوَالِيَاتٍ لَعْدَمَ الْبِكْرَةَ وَلْعَدَمَ الْقُلُوبُ فِي الْإِسْمِ. 9 وَسِلْ مِنْ بَثْنِيَتِي الْخَالِقَةَ وَالْخَاطِبَةَ وَبِينَ الْخَابَاتِ أَيْضاً لَقَةَ الْإِسْتِعْمَالِ فِي الْبَثْنِيَةِ. 12 وَخَصَتُ الْمِلْمَ الْزِّيَادَةُ فِي ضَرْبَةٍ حَتَّى لا يَحْوَلُ آخِرُ مَكَابِرُهُ وَصَحَّةً وَخَصَتُ الْمِلْمَ الْزِّيَادَةُ فِي ضَرْبَةٍ حَتَّى لا يَحْوَلُ آخِرُ مَكَابِرُهُ وَصَحَّةً Fols. 5a-5b

1 ضَرِبْ يَوْمَ يُبْلِغُهُ ثُمَّ يَمُتْ بِهِ حَتَّى وَلَا ضَرِبْ يَوْمَ يُبْلِغُهُ ثُمَّ يَمُتْ بِهِ حَتَّى وَلَا ضَرِبْ يَوْمَ يُبْلِغُهُ ثُمَّ يَمُتْ بِهِ حَتَّى وَلَا ضَرِبْ يَوْمَ يُبْلِغُهُ ثُمَّ يَمُتْ بِهِ حَتَّى
“they hit/fem. pl.” and “/1 sing.”, “/2 masc. sing.” and “/2 fem. sing.”, so that four consecutive vowels would not be combined together, [because the vowelled agent suffix is considered] as if belonging to the same word. However, it is impossible to couple to the pronoun [of the nominative] without emphasizing it. It is not allowed to say “I hit and Zaid”, but it is said “I and Zaid hit”. It [sc. the vowelledness of the b in ضرَّبَهُ] is contrasted to [its vowelling in] “they both hit/fem. dual” [that implies the combination of four consecutive vowels], because the t [which becomes vowelled in it] is ruled by the sukūn [of the vowelless ā]. However, the alif [maqṣūra] is dropped in “they threw /fem.dual”, because the vowel is adventitious, except in a defective dialect [Fol. 5 b] whose people say ولماننا. It is also contrasted to [its vowelling in] “he hit you /masc. sing.” [in which four consecutive vowels are combined], because it [sc. ضرَّبَهُ] is not considered as one single word as its pronoun is in the accusative. It is also contrasted to [the combination of four consecutive vowels in] “very thick milk” and “a lot of sheep, also a fat man” underlyingly and مَخْيَاطٍ “a needle,” which are both shortened for the sake of alleviation, as in مَخْيَاطٍ “a needle” underlyingly ضَرَّبَهُ, so that two markers of the fem. will not be combined together, as in مَخْيَاطٍ [underlyingly ضَرَّبَهُ “muslim women”, in spite of the fact that they [sc. the t and the n of ضرَّبَهُ] are not of the same kind, [but the elision is carried out] because of the heaviness [implied by both their combination] in the verb, contrarily to حُلْيَاتٍ “pregnant women” because they [sc. the two markers of the fem.] are not of the same kind and [the elision of one marker is not carried out] because the heaviness does not take place in the noun. The duals of the 2nd person of the masc. and of the fem. [of ضَرَّبَهُ] were made homonym, as well as one form was made sufficient for the 1st person of the sing. [sc. ضَرَّبَهُ “I hit” and of the pl. [sc. ضَرَّبَتِ “we hit”], because the dual is rarely used.

The pronouns are suffixed for the sake of abbreviation and so that there will not be any risk of mixing up the persons together.

The m is infixed in ضَرَّبَهُ “you both hit /masc. and fem. dual” so that it will not be mixed up with the sing. form [sc. ضَرَّبَهُ] in which the alif of saturation can be suffixed [i.e. ضَرَّبَهُ], as the case which occurs in the saying of the poet:

“Your brother is the brother of cheerfulness and laughter
And may God preserve your life, in what condition are you in?”.

The m is specifically chosen to be infixed in ضَرَّبَهُ “you both hit /masc. and fem. dual” because انِّي “you both /masc. and fem. dual” is suppressed in its form. The m is infixed in انِّي because of the proximity of the m to...
التاء في المخرج الشفوي وقيل تبعا لِهُم وضِعَت التاء لأنها ضمير الفاعل وفتحت التاء في الواحد خوفا من التنقيب بالتكلم ولِلاسباب في التثنية وقيل إتباؤا للضم لأن الميم شفوي فجعلوا حركة التاء من جنبها وهو الضم الشفوي زيدت الميم في ضميرها حتى يُطرد بَسْتة وضمير اليم في مُحذوف وهو اليوم لأن أصله ضميروا فُحّفت اليم لأن الميم بمنزلة الإسم ولا يوجد في آخر الاسم وهو ما قبلها مضموم إلا وهو ومن ثم يقال في جميع دلائل أدلة أدلأ بخلاف ضميروا لأن ياء ليس بمنزلة الاسم ويخلاف ب ضميرِنَهْو لأن اليم خرج من الطرف بسبب الضمير كما في العظاية. وشدد النون في ضمير دون ضرير لأن أصله ضميرًا فأصلهم الميم في النون لقرب الميم من النون ومن ثم يبدل الميم من النون في مثل ضمير أكثر من قليل أصله ضمير فأريد أن يكون ما قبل النون ساكنا لِتُطَرَد بجميع نونات النسا ولا يُمكن إسكنة الناطمة لاجتاع الساكين ولا يُمكن حذفها لأنها عامة وللعلامة لا تُحذَف فأدخل النون لقرب النون من النون ثُم دأغم فصار ضريرًا. زيدت التاء في ضمير لأن تحته أنا مضر ولا يُمكن الزيادة من حقوق آنا لِلإسباب فاختير التاء لوجوده في أخواته. زيدت النون في ضريرًا لأن تحته نحن مضر ثم زيدت الألف حتى لا يُلبَس بضيرين فصار ضريرًا وقيل تحته إتنا مضر.

وتدخل المضمرات في الماضي وأخواتها وهي تترتقى إلى ستين نوعا إلا أنها في الأصل ثلاثة مرفوع ومنصب ومجرور ثُم يصير كل واحد منها اثنين نظرًا إلى اتصاله وانفصله، فاضرب الاثنين في الثلاثة حتى بصير ستة ثم أخرج المجرور المفصل حتى لا

Fols. 5b-7a


اب جده ر.
the t in the point of articulation originating from the region of the lips,\(^{60}\) [Fol. 6 a] and it is said in accordance with ما هم “they both / masc. and fem. dual”. The t is vowelled by a damma [in ضَرَبَتْ] because it is the pronoun of the subject. It is vowelled by a fatha in the [2nd person of the] masc. sing. from fear of mixing it up [with the 1st person]. Such a confusion is not implied by the dual, and it is said [that it is vowelled by a damma] for the sake of analogy with the m, because the m is labial. This is why they [sc. the grammarians] vowelled the t according to [a vowel of] its kind, which is the labial damma. The m is suffixed in ضَرَبَتْ “you hit / masc. pl.,” so that it is analogous to its [sc. the verb’s m of the] dual [sc. ضَرَبَتْ]. The pronoun of the pl., which is the a, was elided in it, as it is underlyingly ضَرَبَتْ, because the m is a noun suffix;\(^{62}\) and hence there is no noun that ends up with a w that is preceded by a consonant vowelled by a damma except هو “he”,\(^{63}\) On account of that, the pl. of دَلْوَر “a bucket” is said to be أدْلَوْرَهُ, “he”,\(^{64}\) underlyingly دَلْوَرَهُ “a bucket”.\(^{64}\) It [sc. the case of ضَرَبَتْ is contrasted to [the case of] ضَرَبَتْ “they hit / masc. pl.” [in which the w at the extremity is preceded by a damma], because its [sc. ضَرَبَتْ] s’s b is not a noun suffix, and it is contrasted to [the case of] ضَرَبَتْ “you hit him / masc. pl.”, in which the w left its position at the extremity of the word [Fol. 6 b] because of the object pronoun,\(^{65}\) similarly to the case of “a certain reptile” [in which the y left its position at the extremity of the word because of the التَأَّلْمُاربِعَة].\(^{66}\) The n of ضَرَبَتْ “you hit / fem. pl.” is doubled and not [the n] of ضَرَبَتْ “they hit / fem. pl.”, because it is underlyingly ضَرَبَتْ, in which the m is assimilated to the n on account of the proximity of the m to the n;\(^{67}\) – and hence the m is substituted for the n in e.g. ضَرَبَتْ “a storehouse” underlyingly ضَرَبَتْ.\(^{68}\) And it is said [by some] that its base form is ضَرَبَتْ, and the intention was that the consonant preceding the n should be vowelled so that it would be followed by the n of the fem. pl., but it was impossible to make the t of the 2nd person of the fem. vowelled as this would imply the cluster of two vowelled consonants, as well as it was impossible to elide it because it is a marker [of the 2nd person], and the marker should not to be elided, so the n was infixed because of the proximity of the n to the n, and then it was assimilated to it so that it became ضَرَبَتْ.\(^{69}\) The t is suffixed in ضَرَبَتْ “I hit”, because اَنْهَ “I” is suppressed in its form. It was impossible to suffix any of اَن’s consonants from fear of confusion.\(^{70}\) So the t was chosen because it occurs in its cognates. The n is infixed in ضَرَبَتْ “we hit” because اَنْهَ “we” is suppressed in its form, and then the a is suffixed so that it will not be mixed up with ضَرَبَتْ “they hit / fem. pl.”, and it was said that اَنْهَ “we” is suppressed in its form.

The pronouns enter the perfect and its cognates and develop up to sixty forms,\(^{71}\) which however are underlyingly three: those which are in the nominative, those which are in the accusative and those which are in the genitive. Then [Fol. 7 a] each one of them becomes two regarding its being suffixed and separate. So multiply the two by three so that you get six, and then extract the separate pronoun of the genitive, so that it will not
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ARABIC TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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be necessary to let the element governed by the operator of the genitive precede the operator of the genitive, [e.g. ﺖَرَيْبٍ inst. instead of ﺖَرَيْبُ ﺖَوْدٌ instead of ﺖَوْدٌ “by Zaid” or ﺖَوْدٌ “by you”], and so five are left for you:

- The suffixed and separate pronoun of the nominative.
- The suffixed and separate pronoun of the accusative.
- The suffixed pronoun of the genitive.

Then direct your attention to the suffixed pronoun of the nominative, which implies eighteen patterns in the mind:

- Six for the 3rd person of the masc. and the fem.
- Six for the 2nd person of the masc. and the fem.
- Six for the 1st persons.

Five were made sufficient for the 3rd person of the masc. and fem. with the homonymy of the dual, because it is so rarely used. This is also the case of the 2nd person of the masc. and fem. Two were made sufficient for the 1st persons of the sing. and pl., because in most cases the 1st person sees or knowns by his voice if he is a male or a female. So there are twelve patterns left for you.

And if one single part of this division implies twelve patterns, then each of the others implies the same, and by multiplying the five patterns by twelve you obtain sixty [Fol. 7 b]:

1- Twelve for the suffixed pronoun of the nominative from ضَرَبْ “he hit” to ضَرَبَ “we hit”.

2- Twelve for the separate pronoun of the nominative from ضَرَبْ “he hit” to ضَرَبْ “we hit”. The base forms of ضَرَبْ “he” are said to be ضَرَبْ هوُ “he /sing.”, ضَرَبْ “they both /masc. dual” and ضَرَبْ “they /masc.pl.”, with the w changed into a m in the pl. on account of the one-ness of both their points of articulation and because of the dislike of combining two waws at the extremity of the word, so it became ضَرَبَ, and then the w was elided as has been mentioned concerning the case of ضَرَبَ “you hit /masc. pl.”. Then the dual was ascribed to it, and it was said so that the m, which is a strong consonant, becomes vowelled by a fatha.

The m is infixed in ضَرَبَ “you hit /masc. dual” as was mentioned concerning the case of ضَرَبَ “you hit /masc. dual”, and then the pl. was ascribed to it.

The w of ضَرَبْ should not be elided because of its small number of consonants in proportion to the proper number determining a word. It is however elided if it is suffixed to another word, because of the large number of consonants obtained through the suffixation together with the occurrence of the w at the extremity of the word. The h remains unchanged vowelled by a damma, e.g. ضَرَبْ “to him”. It is vowelled by a kasra if the consonant preceding it is vowelled by a kasra or if it is a vowelless y, so that it will not be necessary to deviate
من الكسرة إلى الضغة نحو غلام، فيه وبجع بالله، هي ألغاء كما يجعل اليا، في يا غلام
فيقال يا غلام وفي يا بادية يا باداء ويجعل يا، هي لمبا في الثنية حتى لا تقع التفتحة
3 على اليا، والفيجة مع ضفها وشدد عون كما من غير ضريتن، واثنا عشر للمتصت
المتصت نحو ضربه إلى ضرنيتا ولا يجوز فيه اجتماع ضريتن الفاعل والمفعول في مثل
ضرنين وضربتي حتى لا يكون الشخص الواحد فاعلا ومعفولا، في حالة واحدة لا في
أفعال الفاعل نحو تكرارا وفاضلا وتعلثم النثرين ما ليس بفوق في
الحقيقة، ولذا قبل في تقديره على فصل، وعللته فضيل، واثنا عشر للتصت
المتصت نحو إياها ضربه إلى إيانا ضرنيتا، واثنا عشر للجبرور المتصت نحو ضاربى إل
ضارينا، وفي مثل ضاربينى جعل اليا، ثم أدنى، كما في مهدى، أصله مهدى،
والرفوع المتصت يستمر في خمسة مواضع في الغانب نحو ضرب وضرب وضرب ولا
يشترى في الغانب نحو ضرب وضرب وضرب ولا تضرب ولا تضرب في المخاطب الذي في
غيره الماضى نحو تضرب وضرب ولا تضرب، ويا، تضربين علامة الخطاب وفاعل.
مستمر عند الأخيف، وردت العامة هي ضمير يارا للفاعل كواى ضرتنون، غن اليا، في
تضربين لمجته في هذى أمة الله للتانثى، ول يرده في تضربين من خروج أنت للالتزام
بالتثانية في زيادة الآلف واجتماع النونين في زيادة النون وتكرار التاين في زيادة النا،
وأمر اليا، في تضربين للفرق بين وين جمعا ولم يفرق بحمرة ما قبل النون حتى لا
يقببس النون، للفعلة في الصورة ولا يُحفد النون حتى لا ينتسب بالمذكر في المضارع
للمتكلم نحو ضرب وضرب وضرب في الصفة نحو ضارب وضاربان وضاربان إلى آخره.

Fols. 7b-8b

from the kasra to the dāamma, e.g. “his boy” and “in him”. The y of “she” is changed into an ā [in ِها “her”] in the same manner as it is changed [into one] in “Oh my boy!”, which is said ِيا ُلمعي ِيا ُلمعي ِيا ُلمعي “Oh, desert!” [which is said]. The y [of “she”] is changed into a m in the dual [ِهم “them /dual”] so that the weak fatha does not have to vowel the weak y [i.e. ِها]. The n of ِهم “them /fem. pl.” is doubled as was mentioned concerning ِضَرَّبَتْ “you hit /fem. pl.”. 3—Twelve for the suffixed pronoun of the accusative from ِضَرَّبَتْ “he hit him” to ِضَرَّبَتْ “he hit us”. It is impossible to combine both the agent and the object pronouns [of the same person], e.g. ِضَرَّبَتْ “you hit you” [corrupt], and “I hit I” [corrupt], so that the one only person does not become an agent and an object at the same time, except in the verbs of heart, e.g. ِعلَّستُ ُقاضاً “you knew yourself being eminent” and ِعلَّستُ ُقاضاً “I knew myself being eminent”, because the first [sc. the object pronoun] is not the real object, and this is why it is said by implication ِعلَّستُ ُفاضاً “you knew your eminence” and ِعلَّستُ ُفاضاً “I knew my eminence”. 4—Twelve are for the separate pronoun of the accusative from ِضَرَّبَتْ “he hit” to ِضَرَّبَتْ “we hit ourselves”. 5—Twelve are for the suffixed pronoun of the genitive from ِضَرَّبَتْ “the one who is hitting him” to ِضَرَّبَتْ “the one who is hitting us”. In the example ِضَرَّبَتْ “the ones who are hitting me”, the w is changed into a y, and is then assimilated to it [i.e. ِضَرَّبَتْ “rightly guided, Mahdi” underlyingly ِهموِي ِهموِي. The suffixed agent pronoun is latent in five cases: 1—In the third person of the masc. sing., e.g. ِضَرَّبَتْ “he hit (perfect)”, ِضَرَّبَتْ “he hits (imperfect)”, ِضَرَّبَتْ “let him hit (imperative)” and ِضَرَّبَتْ “he shall not hit (prohibition)”. 2—In the third person of the fem. sing., e.g. ِضَرَّبَتْ “she hits (perfect)”, ِضَرَّبَتْ “she hits (imperfect)”, ِضَرَّبَتْ “let her hit (imperative)” and ِضَرَّبَتْ “she shall not hit (prohibition)”. 3—In the second person of the masc. sing. in other [Fol. 8 b] than the perfect, e.g. ِضَرَّبَتْ “you hit (imperfect)”, ِضَرَّبَتْ “hit! (imperative)” and ِضَرَّبَتْ “you shall not hit (prohibition)”. The y of ِضَرَّبَتْ “you hit /fem. sing.” is the marker of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. Its subject is latent according to al-Aḥfaṣ, although it is the prominent pronoun of the subject according to the majority, as the ā of ِضَرَّبَتْ “they hit”. The y was chosen in ِضَرَّبَتْ because of its occurrence in [ِهِدَي] ِهِدَي ِهِدَي ِهِدَي “this is God’s maid-servant”, in which it marks the fem. None of the consonants of ِضَرَّبَتْ are infixed [instead of it] in ِضَرَّبَتْ from fear of mixing it up with the dual by infixing the ā, of combining both the nūn by infixing the n and of repeating both the tā’s by infixing the t. So the y was made prominent in ِضَرَّبَتْ to differentiate between it and its pl. [sc. ِضَرَّبَتْ “you hit /fem. pl.”]. No distinction [between ِضَرَّبَتْ and ِضَرَّبَتْ] was made by means of vowelling what precedes the n so that it will not be mixed up with the doubled n in the representation [i.e. ِضَرَّبَتْ]. The n is not elided either so that it [sc. the form] will not be mixed up with the 2nd person of the masc. sing. [sc. ِضَرَّبَتْ]. 4—In the 1st persons of the imperfect, e.g. ِضَرَّبَتْ “I hit” and ِضَرَّبَتْ “we hit”. 5—In the epithet, e.g. ِضَرَّبَتْ “hitting /masc. sing.”, ِضَرَّبَتْ “/masc. dual” and ِضَرَّبَتْ “/masc. pl.”, etc.
و]{،} Fi الرفع { دون المنصوب والجرور لأنه بنزلة جزء الفعل، واستمر في الغائب والغانية دون الثنية والجمع لأن الإستئثار خفيف فإطاء، الخفيف للفرد السابق أول 2، دون المتكلم والمخاطب اللذين في الماضي لأن الاستئثار قريبة ضعيفة والإبراز قريبة قوية، فإطاء، الإبراز القوي للمتكلم القوي والمخطأب القوي أول، واستمر في مخاطب المستقبل ومتكلم للفرق وقيل يستتر في هذا المواضيع دون غيرها لوجود الدليل فيها وهو عدم الإجاز في مثل ضرب والتاء، في مثل ضرية والباء، في مثل يضرب والتاء، في مثل قصبة والهمزة في مثل ضرب والتنو في مثل نضرب وهي حروف ليست بأسائ، والصفة في مثل ضارب وضاربان وضارين ولا يجوز أن يكون النها في ضرية ضيرجا كتاء ضريت لوجود عدم حذفها بالفاعل الظهر نحو ضريت هذه ولا يجوز أن يكون ألف ضارب ضيرجا لأنه يتغير في حالة النصب والجر والضمير لا يتغير كالف كاذب يضربان، والاستئثار واجب في مثل أفعال ونفعل وأفعال ونفعل لدلالة الصيغة عليه وقبح أفعل زيد ونفعل زيد ونفعل زيدون.

Fols. 8b-9b

It [sc. the pronoun] was made latent in the nominative and not in the accusative and the genitive because it holds a position as being a part of the verb.

It was made latent in the 3rd person of the masc. and of the fem. sing. and not in the dual and in the pl. because the latency is light. So giving [Fol. 9 a] the light latency to the antecedent which is in the sing., is more prior than giving it to the 1st and to the 2nd persons of the perfect, because the latency is a weak evidence [of the subject] and the prominence is a strong evidence of it. So giving the strong prominence to the strong 1st person and to the strong 2nd person is prior. It was made latent in the 2nd person of the masc. sing. and the 1st person [of the sing. and pl.] of the imperfect for the purpose of making a distinction [between the perfect and the imperfect]. It was said that it was made latent in these cases and not in others, because of the existence of the evidence in them, namely: the latency, in e.g. ضرّب “he hit”, the τ in e.g. ضرّبت “she hit”, the γ in e.g. ضرّب “you hit /masc. sing.”, “she hit /fem. sing.”, the hamza, in e.g. ضرّب “I hit” and the ι, in e.g. ضرّب “we hit”, and they [sc. the imperfect prefixes] are prefixes and not nouns [sc. agent pronouns] - and in the epithets, e.g. ضرّب “/masc. sing.”, ضرّاب “/masc. dual” and ضرّابون “/masc. pl.”. (90)

It is impossible that the τ in ضرّبت “she hit” is a pronoun as the τ in ضرّبت “I hit”, “/2 masc. sing.” and “/2 fem. sing.”, because it is not elided by the manifested subject, e.g. ضرّبت “/2 masc. sing.” and “/2 fem. sing.”, because it is not elided by the manifested subject, e.g. ضرّبت “/2 masc. sing.”

It is also impossible that the α in ضرّاب “hitting /masc. dual (active participle)” is a pronoun, because it varies in the case of the accusative and the genitive, and the pronoun does not vary as the α of ضرّاب “they both hit /masc. dual”.

[Fol. 9 b] The latency is obligatory in فعل “do! /masc. sing. (imperative)”, فعل “/2 masc. sing. (imperfect)”, فعل “/1 sing.” and فعل “/1 pl.” because of the indication of the [verb’s] form to it [sc. the latent subject].

As for “Zaid do! (imperative)”, “I-Zaid do” and “You Zaid do”, “Zaid does”, “we Zaid do”, they are disliked.
فصل في المستقبل

هذا أيضاً يجيء على أربع عشر وجهاً نحو يضمر إلى آخره ويقال له مستقبل
لوجود مفعول الاستقبل في معناه ويقال له أيضاً مضارع لأنه مثابه يضارب في الحركات
والسكنات وفي وقعته مفعمة للنكرة وفي دخول إمام البيت، نحو إن زيداً لاقانم وليقوم
وباسم الجنس في العصر والعصور يعني أن اسم الجنس يختصر بالله المهد كذا
يختص في ضمر بضعف أو بالبيض من ملائمين في الإشارات بين الحال والمستقبل.
زيادة على الماضي من حروف آتية حتى يصير مستقبلاً لأن الماضي يتقدير النقصان منه
يصير أقل من القدر الصالح وزيادة في الأول دون آخر لأن في الآخر يلتبس الماضي
واشتقت من الماضي لأن الماضي يدل على الشبات بخلاف المستقبل وزيادة في
المستقبل دون الماضي لأن الزيد عليه بعد الجمل والمستقبل بعد زمن الماضي
 فأعطي السابق للسابق واللاحق للاحترق، وعُنيت الالف للتكلم ووحد أن الالف من
أقصى الحقن وهو مبدأ المخرج، والمتكلم هو الذي يبدأ الكلام وقيل للسماقة
بينه وبين آن ونطق البا للمناظر يكون من منتهي المخرج والمطاطب هو
الذي ينتهي الكلام به ثم نُقْلَب البا تا، حتى لا يجمع الباوات في مثل
وزوجة في المعطى، ومن ثم قبل الأول من كل كلمة لا يصلح لزيادة البا وحُكم
أن با ورُنْتُل أصل، وعِينت البا للغائب لأن البا من وسط الفم، والباقي هو
الذي في وسط الكلام بين المتكلم والمطاطب، وعِينت البا للتكلم إذا كان
18 ب معه غيره لتعينها لذلك في ضريبة، وقيل زيدت النون، لأنه لم يبق من
حروف

Fols. 9b-10b

2 ضمر: + يؤولان يضمرون ط / ٥ ٥ ح. ك. / ٥
اسم الجنس: -/ ٥ يخصص / المعهد + نحو الرجل م / ٥ يخصص / وواجع في يطين بعد ك / ٥
زيادة: - د/ ح ز / ١١ واعدة: - د/ ب/ الكلام: + ح ك / ١٥ مثل: نحو ح / لزيادة:
نبيادة / وحكم: وحكي ح / وحكي ح. ولهذا حكي ك / ١٧ الذي: + يكون د / الكلام... المتكلم: كلام المتكلم د /
§ 2. The imperfect

It also falls into fourteen patterns from "he hits" etc. It is named "future" because of the existence of the meaning of the future in it. It is also named "[the pattern] which is similar" because:

- It is commensurable with "hitting" [sc. the active participle] in its vowels and in its sukūn.
- It occurs as the epithet of the undefined noun.
- It admits the inceptive l, e.g. "certainly Zaid is standing and stands".
- It is similar to the generic noun in being general and particular, i.e. that the generic noun is distinguished by the article that is used to denote previous knowledge as يُضْرِبَ is distinguished by sawfa and by the s [which concern the future].

The consonants of آتٍ are prefixed to the perfect so that it becomes an imperfect, because if the perfect is decreased it will be less than the proper number [determining a word]. They are prefixed rather than suffixed, because if they were suffixed, it [sc. the imperfect] would be mixed up with the perfect. It is derived from the perfect [Fol. 10a] because the perfect denotes stability by contrast to the future. The prefixation occurs in the imperfect and not in the perfect, because the word which is augmented by prefixes comes after the word which is unaugmented, and the future comes after the perfect tense. So the antecedent [sc. the suffixation] is given to the antecedent [sc. the perfect] and the following [sc. the prefixation] to the following [sc. the imperfect]. The alif [sc. the '?'] was chosen [as a prefix] for the 1st person alone, because the alif originates from the farthest part of the throat, which is the starting point of the points of articulation, just as the 1st person is the one who starts the conversation. It was also said because of the agreement between it and نَا "I". The w was chosen [in the base form as a prefix] for the 2nd person, as it is the ultimate of all the points of articulation, and the 2nd person is the one by whom the conversation ends. Then the w was changed into a r to avoid the combination of many waw's, as in وَوَجَّلْ "and you are afraid" [instead of the correct وَوَجَّل] in the case of the syndesis. Hence, it was said that it is incorrect to prefix a w to the word. So the w of وَرَتَنَّلْ "a calamity" is deemed as a radical. The y was chosen [as a prefix] for the 3rd persons [masc. sing. and pl., fem. pl. and the duals], because the y originates from the middle of the mouth, just as the 3rd person stands in the middle of the conversation between the 1st and the 2nd person. The n was chosen [as a prefix] for the 1st person of the pl. because it was also chosen in ضَرِّبَنا "we hit". It was also said that the n was prefixed [Fol. 10b] because there were no
العيلة، وهو قريب من حروف العيلة في خروجها عن هواء الخيشوم. وفتحت هذه الحروف للحافة إلا في الراوي وهو فعل وفعل وفاعل وفاعل لأن هذه الأربعة رابعة والراوي فرع الثلاثة والضم أيضا فرع للفتح وقبل لغة استعمالها يفتح ما وراءهم لكثره حروفها. أما يهريق فأصله بريقص وهو من الرغوي يربطه الها على خلاف القياس، وتكسر حروف الضراعة في بعض اللغات إذا كان ماضية مكسور العين أو مكسور الهرة حتى تدُل على كسرة الماضي نحو وعلّم وتعلّم واعلم وتعلم ومستنصر ومستنصر ومستنصر. وفي بعض اللغات لا يكسر اليا لقبل الكسرة على اليا، وعُنيت حروف الضراعة للدلالة على كسرة العين في الماضي لا أن لها رائدة وقيل لأنه يلزم بكسر الغاء تولى الحركات وبكسر العين يلزم الإبتسام بين يغلع ويغلع بكسر الالام يلزم إبطال الأعراة. وتتحذف الناء الثانية في مثل وتلتقد وتتباعد وتتبقّح لاجتماع الحرفين من جنس واحد وعدم إمكان الإذام، وعُنيت النواة الثانية للحذف لأن الأولى علامة والعلامة لا تتحذف. وأسكنت الغاء في يضرب فراراً عن تولى الحركات وعُنيت الغاء للسكون لأن تولى الحركات لزم من اليا فإسكان الحرف الذي هو قريب منه يكون أولي، ومن ثم يُبتبت اليا في ضرّه للإسكان لأنه قريب من النون الذي لزم منه تولى الحركات. وسوى بين المخاطب والغائية في المستقبل لاستواهما في الماضي نحو نصرت وتصرت ولكن لا يُسكن في غاية المستقبل لضرورة الابتداء بالساسكن ولا يلزم

Fols. 10b-11a

2 وفاعل وفعل وأفعل وفعل وأفعل وفعل: 6 للفتح: الفتح: الفتح. 5 للكسرة: كثرة ز 6 ويكسر ويكسر: ويكسر 6 للغة: اللغة 6 للدالة: الدالة. 6 للكسرة: كسر ب ج 6 خ ح 6 ك 6 ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. للكسرة: كسر ب ج. 6 خ. ح. ح. 6 ك. ل. L

الل귀ة: اللغة، لغة، لغة، لغة. لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، L

اللغي: اللغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، L

اللمس: اللغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، L

المستقبل: اللغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، L

المستقبل: اللغة، لغة، لغة، لغة، L

المستقبل: اللغة، لغة، L

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المستقبل: اللغة، L

المستقبل: اللغة، L
weak consonants left over [to be chosen], and because it is close to the weak consonants which are issued from the inside of the nose. These prefixes were vowelled by a fatha for the sake of lightness, except in the measures whose structure is formed of four consonants [in which the prefixes are vowelled by a ɗamma], which are: [Form I of the quadriliteral], [Form IV of the groundform of the triliteral], [Form II of the groundform of the triliteral], and [Form III of the groundform of the triliteral], because these four are constituted of four consonants, and they are derived from measures constituted of three consonants, just as the damma is also derived from the fatha. It is said [that they are vowelled by a ɗamma] on account of the rarity of their use, and they are vowelled by a fatha [in the measures] beyond them [i.e. those formed of five and six consonants], because of their large number of consonants. As for "he spills", its base form is ٌبشر ٌبشر, which is formed of four consonants in which the ḥ is infixed [before the 1st radical] in opposition to the analogy. The imperfect prefixes are vowelled by a kasra in some dialects, if the 2nd radical or the [prefixed] hamza of its perfect is vowelled by a kasra, so that the kasra is indicative of the kasra [of the 2nd radical or of the hamza] of the perfect, e.g. ٌيعمل ٌيعمل ٌيعمل ٌيعمل, ٌيتأمل ٌيتأمل ٌيتأمل ٌيتأمل, ٌيُستنصرٌ ٌيُستنصرٌ ٌيُستنصرٌ ٌيُستنصرٌ, ٌيُستنصرٌ ٌيُستنصرٌ ٌيُستنصرٌ ٌيُستنصرٌ, ٌيُفعّلٌ ٌيُفعّلٌ ٌيُفعّلٌ ٌيُفعّلٌ, ٌيُفعّلٌ ٌيُفعّلٌ ٌيُفعّلٌ ٌيُفعّلٌ, "he asks for assistance" and "3 fem. sing.". In some dialects, the 3rd is not given a kasra because of the heaviness of the kasra vowelling the ɣ. The imperfect prefixes are chosen to give indication of the kasra of the 2nd radical of the perfect, because they are prefixed. It is said that vowelling the 1st radical with the kasra would necessarily imply the [disliked] succession of the [four] vowels, vowelling the 2nd radical with the kasra [Fol. 11 a] would necessarily imply mixing up [the forms] and, and vowelling the 3rd radical with the kasra would necessarily cancel the declension. The 2nd ṭ was elided in ٌيُفَعّلٌ ٌيُفَعّلٌ ٌيُفَعّلٌ ٌيُفَعّلٌ, "you assume / masc. sing." and "3 fem. sing.", "you leave / masc. sing." and "3 fem. sing."; "you perfume yourself / masc. sing." and "3 fem. sing.", on account of the combination of two consonants of the same kind and the impossibility of assimilating one to the other. The 2nd ṭ was chosen to be elided because the 1st one is a marker, and the marker is not to be elided. The 1st radical was made vowelled in ٌيُقَتْلُ ٌيُقَتْلُ ٌيُقَتْلُ ٌيُقَتْلُ "he hits" to avoid the [disliked] succession of the [four] vowels. The 1st radical was chosen to be vowelled because the succession of the vowels was caused by the [imperfect prefix] y, so it became prior to give a sukūn to the consonant that is next to it. Hence the բ is ٌضَرَّبٌ ٌضَرَّبٌ ٌضَرَّبٌ ٌضَرَّبٌ. "they hit / fem. pl." was chosen to be vowelled because it was next to the n which caused the succession of the vowels. The 2nd person of the masc. and the 3rd person of the fem. sing. were made homonymous in the imperfect tense [e.g. ٌيُقَتْلُ ٌيُقَتْلُ "you or she hits] because of their homonymy in [the representation in] the perfect, e.g. ٌتَقْتُ ٌتَقْتُ "you or she saved / masc. sing.". However, it [sc. the y] was not made vowelled in the 3rd person of the fem. of the imperfect because it was the initial consonant. It was not vowelled by a ɗamma
حتى لا يلتقي بالجهل في نحو تصدح ولا يكسر حتى لا يلتقي بلغة علم.

فإن قيل يلزم الالتباس أيضا بالفتحة، فإنما في الفتحة علامة بينها وبين أخواتها مع خفة
الفتحة. وأدخل في آخر المستقبل نون عامة للرفع لأن آخر الفعل صار باتصال ضمير
الفاعل بمثلة وسط الكلمة إلا نون يضريبن وهي علامة للتأنيث كما في فعلين ومن ثم
يقال يضريبن باليا، حتى لا يجتمع علامة التأنيث، واليا، في تضربين ضمير الفاعل كما
مر، وإذا أدخل لم على المستقبل ينقل معناه إلى الماضي لأنه مشابه بكلمة الشرط في
النقل والله أعلم.

Fols. 11a-11b

1 نحو: – 4 ه/ يكسر تكسر ج/ زو الالتباس: الألباس د/ بالفتحة: في الفتحة ب/ قلنا: +
اذ لأخواتها: أخواته ج/ 2 الفتحة: الفتح ج/ 5 وهي: وهو ه/ في: 4 الماضي نحو ك/ 5
يضريبن: – 1 د/ علامات: علامة ح/ التأنيث: تأتي ط/ تضربين: يضربين ح/ 6 وإذا:
قبل / ل... المستقبل: على المستقبل لم 9 ه/ ينقل: ينتقل 9 د/ مشابه: + في العمل ب: مشابهة
في العمل ه/ بكلمة: كلمة / 7-5 في النقل: – جد 9 ه/ والله أعلم: – ب جد ه ز حوط

كما/
so that it would not be mixed up with the passive voice, as e.g. 
\[
\text{تُضْرِبُونَ} \quad \text{“you are praised /masc. sing.”}
\]
and “3 fem. sing.”, and it was not vowelled by a kasra so that it would not be confused
[Fol. 11 b] with the dialectal 
\[
\text{تَعَلَّمُ} \quad \text{“you know /masc. sing.”}.
\]
(103) If it is said that the fatha also implied confusion, we answer that there was a similarity between it [sc. the fatha of the t/ and its cognates(104) together with the fact that the fatha is light.

The n was suffixed to the imperfect [in the 2nd person of the fem. sing. تَضْرِبَيْنَ] as a marker of the indicative, because the pronoun of the subject [sc. the t/ that is attached to the final radical of the verb holds the position of the middle of the word. It is different from the n of 
\[
\text{بَيْضَرُونَ} \quad \text{“they hit /fem. pl.”}
\]
which is the marker of the fem. as in 
\[
\text{قُلُونَ} \quad \text{“they did /fem. pl.”}
\]
Hence it is said [بَيْضَرُونَ] with the [imperfect prefix] ﺑٍ [and not the t/ so that two markers of the fem. [sc. the t and the n/ will not be combined together. The t in بَيْضَرَيْنَ “you hit /fem. sing.” is the pronoun of the subject as was mentioned above.

If ﺑٍ “not/ (jussive particle)” is prefixed to the imperfect, it will transfer its meaning into the past, because it is similar to the conditional word [ إنْ “if”] in [the particularity] of transferring, —and God knows best—.
فصل في الأم والنهي

الأمر صيغة يطلب بها الفعل عن الفاعل نحو ليضرب إلى آخره وراضب إلى آخره وهو مشتق من المنصاع المناسبة بينهما في الإستقبالية، زيدت الالام في الغائب لأنها من وسط المخارج والغائب في وسط كلام المتكلم والخاطب وأيضاً من حروف الزوايد وهي التي تشملها قول الشاعر:

۶۱۲ هـ

هويت السان فضتيني ... وقد كنت قدما هويته السان.

أي حروف هويت السان، ولم يزد من حروف السنة حتى لا يجتمع حرف علة، وكسرت الالام لأنها مشابهة بالام الجابة لأن الجزم في الأفعال بمنزلة الجر في الأسماء، وأسكتت الالام بالواو والفاء نحو وراضب فلضرب كنما أسكتت الجاء في فخذ ونظيره بالواو وله بسكون الها، وفي الناف فهو وجهد حرف الاستقبال في الخاطب فين بين مخاطب المضارع، وعن الحذف في الخاطب لكثرة استعماله، ومن ثم لا تُذَفَ مع الام في مجهوله نحو لراضب لفة استعماله. وأجتبت هزة الوصل بعد حذف حرف المضارع إذا كان ما بعده ساكناً للانتファ، وكسرت الهزة لأن الكسرة أصل في تحريك همسات.

Fols. 11b-12a

٢ عن: من / لضرب + لبضروا لبضربوا ط / وراضب... آخره: - ۱ ۵ ۳ الاستقبالية:

المستقبل ط / زيدت / في + امر / واٍ والغائب ... والحذف: ۵ margin


١ وضHeroes / للفرق: + ولم يزد من حروف السنة حتى لا يجتمع حرف علة: / ۵ ۵ / بينه

مجهول: مجهر / نحو: عمي يقال ب حد حط / هزة الوصل: الهزة ۵ ۵ / للانتفا،

بالإنهاء: ب / وكسرت: عمي ب حد: وكسرة ز / تحريك: - ۱ ۵ / هزات الوصل: الساكن
§ 3. The imperative\(^{(105)}\) and the prohibition

The imperative is a mood through which the action is ordered from the subject, e.g. لَتَصْرُبْ “let him hit” etc. and اْضْرُبْ “hit! /2 masc. sing.” etc. It is derived from the imperfect because of a similarity between them both in indicating future time.

The َli– [of command] was prefixed to the 3rd person of the sing., because it originates from one of the middle points of articulation, and the 3rd person stands in the middle of the conversation between the 1st and the 2nd person. It is also one of the additional consonants which are included in the poet’s saying:

"مَهْوَىَ السَّيْمَانَ فُقْشِبْتُمْي وَقَدْ كُنْتَ قَدْماَ مَهْوَىَ السَّيْمَانَ”.

“I loved the plump women, and they turned me hoary, when I had of old loved [Fol. 12 a] the plump women”\(^{(106)}\)

– meaning the consonants of -مَهْوَىَ السَّيْمَانَ.

None of the weak consonants were prefixed to it to avoid the combination of two weak consonants. The َl [of the imperative] was vowelled by a kasra because it resembles the preposition,\(^{(107)}\) as the jussive mood in the verbs corresponds to the genitive case in the nouns.\(^{(108)}\)

The َli– was made vowelless by [the conjunctions] the َوَا– and the َفَا–, e.g. وَلَيْصِرْبَ “and let him hit!” and َفَلَيْصِرْبَ “then let him hit”, just as the َةَ was made vowelless in َفُحَدَ “thigh”\(^{(109)}\)

Its counterpart with the َوَا– is وَحُوَ “and he” with the vowellessness of the َةَ and with the َفَا– َهُحُوَ “and so he”.\(^{(110)}\)

The imperfect prefix was elided in the 2nd persons of the masc. and fem. sing. and pl. [in the imperative] to differentiate them from the 2nd persons of the masc. and fem. sing. and pl. of the imperfect. The elision was chosen for the 2nd persons because of the frequency of their use. Hence, it is not elided with the َli– in its passive voice, e.g. لَتَصْرَبِ “may you be hit!” because it is so rarely used.

The connective hamza was prefixed after the elision of the imperfect prefix that is followed by a vowelless consonant, to begin the word. It was vowelled by a kasra because the kasra is principal in vowelling the connective hamza.\(^{(111)}\)
120 ًب ُه يجَّعِل َوَأَي ْقُلُوُةَ يَا، َفَيْقَالُ ْقُنُبُةٌ، َوَقِيلُ ْيُضُمُّ َلِلْإِنْبَعُ. وَفَتْحُ الْغِ يُبِينُ َمَعَ كُونِهِ َلَلَوْصُ، َأَنَّ َجَعَلَ يَبِينَ ْوَأَيْلَهَ لِلْقَطْعِ ُهُمَّ ُجَعَلَ لِلِلوْصُر َلِكُتْرِ، َوَفَتْحُ الْغِ يُبِينُ َمَعَ كُونِهِ. ُثُكَرَ لِكُتْرِهِ أَيْسَرُ. وَفَتْحُ الْغِ يُبِينُ َمَعَ كُونِهِ يِلَسَ ْمِنَ ْأَلْفَ َلُغَ أَكْرَمٌ لِفُهْرَةٌ ِلِلْأَبْتَغَاءِ كُتْرِهِ ْمُخْلَفَةَ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ ِلِلْأَبْتَغَاءِ ُلَوْصُ، َلَا يَلْتَبِسُ ُهِلْيُمُ ْوَأَيْلَهَ مَنْ ْبَعْرُم ِلِلْأَبْتَغَاءِ ُلَوْصُ، َفَإِنَّ ْبَعْرُم ْمَعَ ْلَوْصُ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَكَانَ ْلَوْصُ لِكُتْرِهِ ْمُخْلَفَةَ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ِلِلْأَبْتَغَاءِ كُتْرِهِ ْمُخْلَفَةَ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ لِلْإِنْبَعُ، َوُقْرَتُ ْبِنْيَانِ ْفُلْتَرِخُ، َوَلاَ ُهُدِفُتُ L0.1_Arabic_text_and_translation.png
It was not vowelled by a kasra in أَكْتَبَ “write!” because if the kasra was chosen, it would be necessary to deviate from the kasra to the đamma [of the 2nd radical]. The vowless k is not taken into account because the vowless consonant is not considered as an impassable separative by them. On account of that, the w of قُتْوَة “sheep or goats taken for oneself / not for sale, acquisition” was changed into a y. [Fol. 12 b] and it was said قُتْبَة “qutba” (113) and it is stated that it [sc. the connective hamza] was vowelled by a đamma for the purpose of analogy.

The alif of أَيْسُ “oaths” was vowelled by a fatha in spite of the fact that it is connective, because it is the pl. of أَيْسٍ in which the alif is the disjunctive alif that is then made connective because of the frequency of its use. (114)

The alif of the definite article [ُال-] was also vowelled by a fatha because of the frequency of its use as well. (115)

The alif of [Form IV] أَكْرُم “honour!” was vowelled by a fatha because it is not the [prefix] hamza of the imperative, but a disjunctive alif from أَكْرُم “you honour / masc. sing.”, which was elided on account of the combination of the two hamzas in أَكْرُم “I honour”.

The connective hamza was not elided in the writing, so that the imperative of the groundform علم “he knew” [sc. علم] will not be mixed up with the imperative of [Form II] علم “he taught” [sc. علم]. If it was said that it could be recognized by the dots, we would answer that the dots are often omitted. Thereupon, they differentiated between علم “Omar” and علم “Amr” by adding the w. (117)

It was elided in اسم الله “in the name of God” because of the frequency of its use. It was not elided in اسم “recite in the name of your God” because it was so rarely used. (118)

The 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperative is put in the jussive mood by means of the الـ according to a common consensus, because the الـ is similar to the conditional word [sc. لن “if”] in the [particularity of] transferring.

In the same manner, the 2nd persons [of the masc. and fem. sing. and pl.] are put in the jussive mood according to the Kufans, because they consider the origin of الـ “hit!” to be الـ “may you hit”. (119) Hence the prophet, may God grant him salvation, recited [sur. 10: 59] “In that, may you rejoice”. (120) The الـ [in الـ] was elided because of the frequency of its use. Then the imperfect prefix was elided to differentiate it [sc. the imperative] from the 2nd persons of the imperfect. The d remained vowelled, [Fol. 13 a] and the connective hamza was chosen and prefixed instead of the imperfect prefix, and the influence of the marker of the future was given to it, just as the action of the الـ was given to the [conjunction] fa before الـ “many”, as in the poet’s saying:
فبذلك حيل قد طرقت ومرضعٍ فألهمها عن ذي تمام مخولٍ.

وعند البصريين فهو مبني لأن الأصل في الأفعال البنا، وإنما أعرب المضارع لشابه بينه وبين الاسم ولم تُتبع المشابهة بينه وبين الأمر بحذف حرف المضارع ومن ثم قبل فلتفحموا معرق بالإجماع لوجود علة الإعراب وهي حرف المضارع. وزيدت في آخر الأمر تاء التاكيدي لتأتي معنى الطلب نحو لِيضرِّبَنِ لِيضرِّبَن لِيضرِّبَنا لِيضرِّبْنا

ففتح النون للفتحة وحذف وُلِيضرِّبَنا أكتفاً بالضمْة ويا، مضربنا اكتفاً بالكسرة ولم يُحذف ألف التثنيه اكتفاءً بالفتحة حتى لا يتلبس بالواحدة، وكُثرت النون الثقيلة بعد

فملت ألف التثنيه تشبهاً بِنون التثنية، وحذف النون التي تدل على الرفع في مثل هِل يضرِّبْنا لأن ما قبل النون الثقيلة يصير مبنياً وأدخلائف الفاحصة في مثل لِيضرِّبَن فراراً من اجتماع النونات. وحكم الخفيفة مثل حكم الثقيلة إلا أنها لا تدخل بعد الألفين لاجتماع الساكنين في غير حدة، وعند يونس تدخل قيساً على الثقيلة. وكلاهما يدخلان على الفعل في سبع مواضع لوجود معنى الطلب فيها الأمر كما مرّ وَالنهي نحو لا تضرِّبْنا والاستهام نحو هل تضرِّبْنا والتمي نحو ليضرِّبْنا والعرض نحو لا تضرِّبْنا والقسم.

Fols. 13a-13b
“And many a pregnant woman suckling her baby such as you I have come to by night and I diverted her from her squint-eyed child with an amulet”. (121)

According to the Basrans, it [sc. the imperfect] is undecinable (122) because verbs are by principle undecinable. (123) But somehow, the imperfect was made declinable because of a similarity between it and the noun. Such a resemblance did not remain between it [sc. the noun] and the imperative after the elision of the imperfect prefix. (124) Thereupon, it was said that is declinable according to a common consensus because of the existence of the cause of the declension, which is the imperfect prefix.

Both the energetic nūns are suffixed to the verb of command to intensify the order, e.g. لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ "may he hit!", لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ /3 masc. dual", لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ /3 fem. sing., لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ /3 fem. dual", لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ /3 fem. pl. and similarly لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ "hit! /2 masc. sing. (imperative En. I)" etc. (125)

The b is vowelled by a fathā in لِيَضْرِبَا to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants and the n is vowelled by a fathā for the sake of alleviation.

The َā of لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ "let them hit!" [resulting in لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ] is elided with the sufficiency of the َālāma. The ِ of لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ "hit /2nd person of the fem." [resulting in لَيْلَمْ رَبِّيَّ] is elided with the sufficiency of the kasra. The َā of the dual is not elided with the sufficiency of the fathā so that there would not be any confusion with the sing. The doubled n is vowelled by a kasra after the alif of the dual because of its resemblance to the n [Fol. 13 b] of the dual. (126) The n which marks the indicative is elided in هُلْ يَضْرِبِيَّ because what precedes the doubled n becomes invariable. (127)

The separating َā is infixed in لِيَضْرِبَا "let them hit! /fem. pl." to avoid the combination of the nūns. (128)

The predicament of the single n is the same as the predicament of the double n, except that it is not suffixed after both alifs [sc. the alif of the 2nd persons of the masc. and fem. dual of the imperative En. II resulting in لِيَضْرِبِيَّ and the alif infixed in the 2nd fem. pl. of the imperative En. II resulting in لِيَضْرِبَا], to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants at the extremity. (129) But according to Yūnus [and to the Kufans], it is suffixed on the analogy of the doubled one. (130) Both of them [sc. the energetic nūns] are suffixed to the verb in seven cases because they contain the meaning of the order:

– The imperative, as was mentioned.
– The prohibition, e.g. لَا تَضْرِبِيَّ “do not hit!”.
– The interrogation, e.g. هِلْ تَضْرِبِيَّ "will you hit?".
– The optative, e.g. لِيَضْرِبَا تَضْرِبِيَّ "I wish you would hit".
– The request, e.g. أَلْيَضْرِبَا تَضْرِبِيَّ “are you not going to hit?”.
– The oath,
 نحو والله لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً لِمِشَابِهَتِهِ بَالنِّيْهُ لَنَحْوَ لِأَضْرَيْنَ دُنْفٍ قَلِيْلاً L;JI ~_.

وصيغة فُعُلٍ في الماضي لأنَّ معناها غير معقول و هو إسناد الفعل إلى الفعل فجعلت صيغته أيضاً غير معقولة و هي فُعُلٍ ف من ثمّ لا يجي، على هذه الصيغة كلمة في الاسماء، إلا وُلّ وذَنُّل. و في المستقبل على يُفْعَلْ لأنَّ هذه الصيغة غير معقوله أيضاً لأنها مثل فَعَّلُ في الحركات والسكنات ولا يجي، عليه كلمة أيضاً، ويجي، في الزوايد من الثلاثي المجرّد بضمّ الؤلّ و كسر ما قبل الآخر في الماضي نحو أَكَرُّ بِرَيْضُ الؤلّ وفتح ما قبل الآخر في المستقبل تبعاً للثلاثيّ إلا في سبعة أُبْوَاب و بِرَيْضُ الؤلّ المتحرّك مع ضمّ الؤلّ و كسر ما قبل الآخر و هي تُفْعَل و تُفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و فَعَّلٌ وأَفْعَلُ و اَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و اَفْعَلُ و اَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و اَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و فَعَّلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و تَفْعَلٌ و}
e.g. "by God, do not hit!") (131)

- The negation is rarely used because of its resemblance to the prohibition, e.g. لا تَضَرِّبِ "do not hit!", and the prohibition is similar to the imperative in all respects, except that it is
declining according to a common consensus.

The passive voice of the patterns mentioned occurs in the perfect, e.g. ضرَّبِ "he was hit"
etc., and in the imperfect, e.g. ضرَّبِ "he is being hit" etc. The purpose of using it is either to
express the baseness of the subject, its sublimity, celebrity, anonymity, the dread from it or the
fearing for it. (132)

It is specified with the pattern نَعْلُ in the perfect because [Fol. 14a] its meaning, which is
the reference of the verb to the object is not rational. This is why its pattern which is نَعْلُ, was
also made irrational. Hence no noun occurs according to this pattern except رَبْلُ "a mountain
goat" and دُنْلِ "a jackal". (133)

It occurs in the imperfect according to نَعْلُ because this pattern is as well irrational as it is
similar to نَعْلُ in the vowels and in the sukūn, and there is no noun that occurs according to
this pattern.

It occurs in the derived patterns of the triliteral verbs in the perfect by vowelling the 1st
consonant by a ẓāma and the consonant before the last one by a kasra, e.g. [Form IV]
أَكُرِ "to be honoured", and in the imperfect, by giving the 1st mobile consonant a ẓāma and the
consonant preceding the last one a fatha in conformity with the triliteral, except in seven
forms in which the 1st prefixed consonant and the vowelled consonant are given a ẓāma and
the consonant preceding the last one is given a kasra, namely:

1– [Form V] نَعْلُ.
2– [Form VII] نَعْلُ.
3– [Form VIII] أَفْعَلُ.
4– [Form VII] أَفْعَلُ.
5– [Form XIV of the triliteral or Form III of the quadriliteral] أَفْعَلُ.
6– [Form X] أَسْفَعَلَ.
7– [Form XIII] نَعْلُ. (134)

The 1st radical was vowelled by a ẓāma in the first two forms so that they would not be
mixed up with the imperfect of [Form II] فَأَعْلَ [sc. نَعْلُ] and of [Form III] نَعْلُ in
the pause] respectively. The 1st mobile consonant was vowelled by a ẓāma in the five re-
mainning forms, so that there would be not be any confusion with the imperative in the pause,
i.e. if you say [concerning Form VIII] وأَفْعَلُ by vowelling the t with a fatha instead in the
passive voice in the pause by connecting the hamza and وأَفْعَلُ in the imperative, they were
necessarily mixed up, so the t was vowelled by a ẓāma to avoid the confusion, and the re-
mainning [forms] were made commensurable to it. (135)
فصل في اسم الفاعل

ف. 150 وهو اسم مشتق من المضارع لين قام به الفعل يعني الحدوث واشتق منه لناستمها

في الوقوع صفة للنكرة وغيره. وصيغته من الثلاثي على وزن فاعل وحذف عامة

الإستقبال من يضرب فأدخل الفعل لاختسه بين الفاء، والعين لأن في الأول يصير مشابهًا

بالمتكلم وكسر عليه لأن يتقدير النصب يصير مشابه باعي الفاعلة ويتقدير الضم

يلزم النقل ويتقدير الكسر أيضًا يلزم الإذن بامر باب الفاعلة ولكن أبقى مع ذلك

للضرورة وقبل اختيار الإذن بامر أول لأن الأمر مشتق من المستقبل والفاعل مشابه

به، ونجي، الصفة المشبهة على هذه الأشبهة نحو فرق وكسور وصلب وحذف وانعكاس وحسن

وختام وجناج وجناج وأحول وهو مختص بباب فعل الآتية أواب تجي، من

باب ففعل نحو أحق وأحاق وأدم وأسم وأمس وأعجم. ورد الأصبغي الأنجح.

قال الفراء الأححمد من حسن وح نحو لغة في حسن وكذلك يجي، حَرَق وسَر وعَجِف

15 أعني فعل لغة فيهم. وبيحي، أفعل لتفضيل الفاعل من الثلاثي غير مزيد فيه منا ليس

بلون ولا عيب ولا يجي، من المزيد فيه لعدم إمكان محافظة جميع حرفيه في فعل ولا

يجي، من لون ولا عيب لأن فيما يجي، أفعل للفصلة فيلزم الإذن ولا يجي، أفعل

Fols. 14a-15a


بيحي: لاعلم 1/ 6 خذ: 1/ 0 وحذف: 1/ 6 وحذف: عامة علامات ج/ 5 فاعل: 1/ أن: لأن: 1/ 5 بالالمكلم: للمتكلم: لبادي + وفي الآخر يصير مشابهًا لفتح: لفتح: ما خذ 7/ 6 يصير: مفصل 7/ 8 والفاعل...

§ 4. The active participle

It is a noun which is derived [Fol. 14 b] from the imperfect denoting the subject, whereby the accident caused by its verb exists. It is derived from it [sc. the imperfect] because of the similarity that exists between them both in occurring as the epithet of the indefinite noun and for other reasons [which have been mentioned].

Its pattern [of the groundform of] the triliteral is according to the imperfect prefix elided from بَلْحُبّـ “he hits” and the a′ infixed because of its lightness between the 1st and the 2nd radical. The reason why it was not prefixed is that it would resemble the 1st person of the sing. [of the imperfect].

The 2nd radical was vowelled by a kasra because:
- If it was vowelled by the marker of the accusative [sc. the fatha] it would resemble the perfect of the pattern [of the msdar of Form III] فِعَالٌ مَعَةٍ مَعَةٌ.
- If it was vowelled by a damma the heaviness would be unavoidable.
- If it was vowelled by a kasra it would be mixed up with the imperative of the pattern [of the msdar of Form III] فِعَالٌ مَعَةٍ مَعَةٌ, but it was retained in spite of that, because it was necessary. It was said that the choice [of the pattern] which could cause a confusion with the imperative is prior, because the imperative is derived from the imperfect, and the active participle is similar to it [in its derivation].

The assimilated epithet occurs according to these patterns, e.g. فِرْقَ “fearful”, شَكْسُ “perverse, stubborn”, حَاشِبَ “hard, rigid”, حُسِنَ “handsome”, جَنِبَ “polluted”, حَمْسَ “to be unskillful”, فَعَلَ “belong to”, حَشَّأَ “rough”, مَهْمَجُ “courageous”, حَنْدَ “coward”, حُسْبَأَ “thirsty”, حَشْبَأَ “squinting”, which pertain to the conjugation فَعَلَ, with the exception of six which occur derived from the conjugation، فُعَلَ، e.g. حَشَّأَ “unskillful, clumsy”, آفَأَ “brown”, أَرْعَنَ “careless, silly”, أَحْمَقَ “be unskillful”, أَحْمَقَ “be brown” and أَحْمَقَ “be lean, meagre”. Al-Aṣma‘i added أَضْرَأَ “non-Arab, dumb, speechless”, [Fol. 15 a] and al-Farrā‘ said that أَحْمَقَ is from حَقِيقَ which is a dialectal variant of حَقِيقَ. In the same manner أَحْمَقَ “to be unskillful”, سَمْرَ “to be brown” and هَجَفَ “to be lean” occur, which I mean are formed according to فَعَلُ as a dialectal variant.

The أَفْعَلُ that expresses the superiority [or excess] of the active participle is formed from the groundform of the triliteral, and not from its derived forms or from verbal adjectives that denote colors or deformities.

It is not formed from the derived patterns because of the impossibility of maintaining all of its consonants within the pattern أَفْعَلُ.

It is not formed from verbal adjectives that denote colors or deformities because in them أَفْعَلُ denotes the epithet, and so the confusion would be unavoidable.

It is not formed
لتفضيل الفعل حتى لا يتبين بفضيل الفاعل فإن قيل لا يجعل على العكس حتى لا يلزم الإشباص قلنا جعله الفاعل أول لأن الفاعل مقصود ولفعل فصلة في الكلام.
وأيضاً يُمكن التعبير في الفاعل دون الفعل ونحو أُغلُق من ذات التحويض لفضيل الفعل وهو أعطاه وأوَلاهم من الزوايد وأحق من هيئة من العمود شاذ، ويجي الفعل بنوأ الفعل نحو نصير ويستوي فيه الذكر والمؤنث إذا كان يعني الفعل نحو قتيل وجريج فرقة بين الفاعل والفعل إلا إذا جملة الكلمة عن عدد الأسماء نحو ذيحة ولفظية وقد شبهنا ما هو يعني الفاعل نحو قوله تعالى إن رحمة الله قريب من المحسنين، ويجي، على فعول للبلاغة نحو معنى ويستوي في الذكر والمؤنث إذا كان يعني الفعل نحو من أوراقة صبور ورجل صبور ويقال في فعول يعني الفعل نحو ناقة حلوة وأعطي الاستواء في فعول للفاعل وفي فعول الفاعل طلباً للعدل بينهما، ويجي للمبالغة نحو صنار وسيف مجد وهو مُشتركون بين آلة والبلاغة للفاعل وقبيب كتابة وكتابة ونسبة وزاوية وفرقة وضحكا وفجاعة ومدَجَة ومسقم وممطر، ويستوي الذكر والمؤنث في التسعة الأخيرة للقرآن. وأما قولهم مسكونة فحصل على قرية كما قالوا هي عدوة الله وإن لم يدخل اليها في فعول الذي للفاعل حصل له على صدقية لأن تقضيه، وسماه من غير الثلاثي المجرد على صيحة المستقبل بيمم مضمومة وكسر ما

Fols. 15a-16a

2 مقصود: + في الكلام ه ح ط أ أعطاه وأوَلاهم: أعطيهم ه وارواهم، + ب الفعل- لصبر ورجل: قبيل وجريج: جبل قبيل وأوراقة قبيل ب، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل: قابل بر، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل: ب فحكم، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل، + ب الفاعل.

3 ونحو: يقال... ناقة / فعول يعني: - 1/3 واتفعي: - 1/3 وقبيب: - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 واقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب، - 1/3 وقبيب.
to denote the superiority of the مَفْوَلُ "passive participle", so that it will not be mixed up with the superiority of the فَعَّلِ "active participle". If it is asked why the situation was not reversed in order to avoid the confusion, we answer that granting [the superiority] to the subject is prior because it is it which is intended, and the object is of secondary importance in the sentence. It is also possible to universalize the subject and not the object. However, the examples أَشْغَلَ من ذات التحبَّنِ "more preoccupied than the owner of the two butter jars"(141) denoting the superiority of the passive participle, هُوَ أَعْطَاهُمْ وَأَلَاهُمْ "he is the one among them who gives more freely and bestows more liberally" [denoting the superiority] of the derived forms [sc. Form IV].(142) and أَحْمَى فِي يَدَيْهِ "more stupid than Habannaqa"(143) denoting [the superiority of one of] the deformities, are anomalous. The active participle occurs according to the pattern فَعَّلُ e.g. مَوْعَدُ "helper". The masc. and the fem. become of common gender in it [Fol. 15 b] if it had the meaning of the passive participle, e.g. قَتِيلُ "murdered" and جَرِيحُ "wounded" to differentiate between with the meaning of] the active participle from [the one with the meaning of] the passive participle,(144) except if the word is counted among the nouns, e.g. a female victim" and حَيَّةُ "a female foundling". It has the meaning of the active participle was formed according to it [sc. فَعَّلُ in the words of the Allmghty [sur. 7: 34] "Verily God’s mercy is nigh unto them who do well".(146) It occurs according to مَفْوَلُ to denote intensification, e.g. مَمْيَزُ "one who is offering great resistance". The masc. and the fem. become of common gender if it has the meaning of the active participle, e.g. إِسْمَةَ صَبْرٍ "a patient woman" and جَلِيلُ صِبْرٍ "a patient man"(148) but it is said concerning جَلِيلُ "a she-camel for milking" denoting the passive participle, e.g. نَافِعَةُ حَلْوَةٍ "a she-camel for milking". The common gender was given to فَعَّلُ that has the meaning of the passive participle and to مَفْوَلُ that has the meaning of the active participle, so that they are both treated equally. It also occurs to denote intensity, e.g. نَفَعَ "having an intense degree of patience", سَفِيفٌ مَجْدَمٌ "a sword which cuts off quickly" which is common to the instrumental noun and to the pattern that denotes the intensification of the active participle,(149) فَيْقٌ "very sinful", كَبَارٌ "very large", طَوْائِنٌ "very tall", رَأْوَى "very learned", سَابِعٌ "one who hands down poems or historical facts by oral tradition", فَوْقَةٌ "very timid", سُحُكَةٌ "prone to laughter", مَجَادَلٌ "very ridiculous", مُسْقَطٌ "a man who quickly cuts the tie of affection", مَعْطَيرٌ "often diseased" and مُقَطَّعٌ "one who uses much perfume".(150) The masc. and the fem. were made common in the last nine patterns because they are so rarely used. As for their saying "poor /fem. sing.", it is sylleptic to قَفْرُ "poor".(151) [Fol. 16 a] Likewise they said مَسْكِينَةٌ "her God’s enemy", in spite of the fact that the h [sc. the t marbūṭa] is not to be suffixed to the pattern مَفْوَلُ with the meaning of the active participle, on the analogy of مَسْكِينَةٌ "female friend", because it is its opposite in meaning.(152) Its pattern in the forms beyond the groundform of the triliteral is according to the pattern of the imperfect with the m vowelled by a damma and the consonant before the last one vowelled by a kasra.(153)
قبل الآخر نحو مكَّرم، فاختير اليم لتعذَر حرف العلة ّة وقرب اليم من الوف في كونها شفوية وضمَّ اليم للفرق بينه وبين الوض من نحو مسْتهب للفاعل على صيغة المفعول من أسْهَبِ وياقو من أيقَع شاذ، ونُبوي ما قيل تاء التأنيث على الحركة في نحو ضارِيّة لأنه صار بمنزلة وسط الكلمة كما في نون التأكيد وباء النسبة وعلى الفتحة اللخفة.

Fol. 16a

e.g. مكرم “a man who treats you with respect”. The $m$ was chosen because of the impossibility of prefixing any of the weak consonants and because of the proximity of the $m$ to the $w$ in being formed by the lips. The $m$ was vowelled by a damma to differentiate it [sc. the active participle] from the noun of place [sc. the pattern مفعل].

As for مهبة “loquacious in his speech” from [Form IV] أسهب “to prolong in the speech” as a pattern of the active participle that has the form of the passive participle, and يافع “a grown-up boy” from [Form IV] يفغ “to grow up”, they are anomalous.\(^{154}\)

The consonant preceding the $t$ that marks the fem. is given a marker of invariability which is a vowel, e.g. ضاربة “hitting /fem. sing.”, because it becomes holding the position of the middle of the word, as the case of [the consonant preceding] the energetic $n^{155}$ and the $y$ of the relative noun or adjective.\(^{156}\) Its vowel is the fathā because of its lightness.
فصل في اسم الفاعل

هو اسم مشتق من يَفْعَلُ لم وقع عليه الفعل. وصيغته من الثلاثي على وزن مفعول
 نحو مَضْرَوبٍ وهو مشتق من يَفْعَلْ بُلْسَةً بينهما. فأدخل اليم مقام الزائد لتعذر 2 حرف الصلة فصار مَضْرَوبٌ ثم فتح اليم حتى لا يلتبس بمفعول باب الإفعال فصار مَضْرَوبٌ ثم ضم الراء حتى لا يلتبس بالموضع فصار مَضْرَوبٌ ثم أشبعت الضمة لانعدام 0 0 16b
 مَفْعُولٍ في كلامهم يغير التاء فصار مَضْرَوبٌ. وغيّر مفعول الثلاثي دون مفعول سائر 6 الأفعال والموضوع حتى يصير مشابها في التغيير باسم الفاعل أعني غير الفاعل من يَفْعَل ويُفْعَل إلى فاعل والقياس فاعل وفاعل فَعَّالُ المفعول أيضًا لواخاً بينهما. وصيغته من غير الثلاثي على صيغة الفاعل يفتح ما قبل الآخر نحو مَسْتَخْرُجُ.

Fols. 16a-16b

2 مضروب: مَضْرَوبٌ ج/ حرف فادخل: د حرف: حروف ب ج 5–5 كم...
5 مضروب: ج/ حرف: حروف ب ج 5–5 كم...
Margin: s margin

التاء: + احتراز من مكرم ج 5; احتراز عن مكرم ط/ حرف: حرف: حرف: حرف
§ 5. The passive participle

It is a noun which is derived from [the passive voice] يَفْعَلُ denoting the one [or thing] on whom or on which the act falls upon.

Its pattern in [the groundform of] the triliteral is according to the pattern مَضْرُوبُ. "he is hit /masc. sing.". It is derived from مَضْرَبٌ “he is hit” because of a similarity between them both. The m was prefixed instead of the prefixed consonant [of the imperfect] because of the impossibility of prefixing a weak consonant, so it became مَضْرُبٌ. Then the m was vowelled by a fatha so that it would not be mixed up with the passive participle of the pattern [of the taṣdar of Form IV] لَمَّعَلُ, so it became مَضْرُبٌ. Then the r was vowelled by a dama so that it would not be mixed up with the noun of place so it became مَضْرُبٌ. Then the ُلا was lengthened [Fol. 16 b] because the pattern لَمَّعَلُ does not exist in their [sc. the Arabs’] language without a t so it became مَضْرُوبٌ.

The modification [of the structure in relation to the root] concerns the pattern of the passive participle of the [groundform of the] triliteral, and not the patterns of the remaining verb forms or the noun of place, so that it would be similar in the modification to the active participle [of the triliteral]. I mean that the active participle of يَفْعَلُ and لَمَّعَلُ was modified to become لَمَّعَلُ, in spite of the fact that the analogy would have required لَمَّعَلُ and لَمَّعَلُ, so the pattern of the passive participle was also modified because of a similarity between them both.

Its pattern in the forms beyond the groundform of the triliteral is according to the pattern of the active participle, but with the consonant preceding the last one vowelled by a fatha, e.g. مَسْتَخْرَجُ “extracted from”.158
فصل في اسم الزمان والمكان

اسم المكان هو اسم مشتَقّ من يفعلُ مكان وقع فيه الفعل فزيدت اليم كما في المعقول لنفسه وبينهما وكونهما مخلّقين لوقوع الفعل ولم يزد الزمان حتى لا يثبت به وصيغته من باب يفعلُ مفعّلَ كالمتّهَبّ إلا من المثال فإنّه يكسر العين فيه نحو السؤال والمؤجل حتى لا يَتَّنَّ أن وزنه فواعلاً مثل جوزة لأنه اسم ليس من اسم المكان والزمان ولا يُظَنّ في الكسر لأنّ فعال لا يوجد في كلّه. وصيغته من باب يفعل مفعّل

167 

لا من الناقص فإنه يفتح العين فيه نحو السورّيّ فرآراً عن تواقي الكسرات ولا يُبّني من يفعل مفعّل لتقيل ضعف موضعه بين مفعّل ومفعّل وأعطى الفعل أحد عشر اسم نحو المُسّيد والمُسّيد والمُطَّلِع والمُشْرَق والمغرب والمشرق والسنّط والمُسّكن والمُسْرْق والمُسجد والباقي للفعل لفحة الفتحة. اسم الزمان مثل المكان نحو مُقَتّل الحسين.

Fols. 16b-17a

§ 6. The nouns of time and place

The noun of place is a noun derived from مَقَعُولٍ denoting the place with respect to the occurrence of the act therein.

The م was prefixed [instead of the imperfect prefix] as in the passive participle because of a similarity between them both in being the recipients of the occurrence of the verb therein.

The و was not prefixed [as in the passive participle] so that it would not be mixed up with it.

Its pattern of the conjugation مَقَعُولٍ is مَقَعُولٍ “the place of departure”, except in the verb with 1st weak radical, as its 2nd radical is vowelled by a kasra, e.g. ﷽: “the place of a promise or an appointment” and ﷽: “the place that is dreaded”. So that it would not be believed that its pattern is مَقَعُولٍ جَوَّرَبِ “a sock or stocking”, (161) which is neither a noun of place or time. It is not accepted with a kasra either because وَعُلٍ does not exist in their [sc. the Arabs’] language.

Its pattern of the conjugation [Fol. 17 a] مَقَعُولٍ, except in the verb with 3rd weak radical, as its 2nd radical is vowelled by a fatha, e.g. ﷽: “a place of throwing or shooting arrows”, (162) to avoid the combination of the kasras.

The pattern مَقَعُولٍ is not to be formed of مَقَعُولٍ because of the heaviness of the damma.

So the noun of place was divided between the patterns مَقَعُولٍ and مَقَعُولٍ, and the following eleven nouns were given to the pattern مَقَعُولٍ: مَقَعُولٍ السَّنَسَادُ “the place where a sacrifice is offered during a religious festival”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where animals are slaughtered, slaughterhouse”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where a plant grows”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where the sun rises, the east”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where the sun sets, the west”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place of division, the crown of the head”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where anything falls”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place on which one rests, the elbow”, and مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place of prostration in prayer, a mosque”. (163)

The remaining patterns occur formed upon the pattern مَقَعُولٍ because of the lightness of the fatha.

The noun of time is similar to the noun of place, e.g. مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the time or place of the killing of Husain”. 

The noun of place is a noun derived from مَقَعُولٍ denoting the place with respect to the occurrence of the act therein.

The م was prefixed [instead of the imperfect prefix] as in the passive participle because of a similarity between them both in being the recipients of the occurrence of the verb therein.

The و was not prefixed [as in the passive participle] so that it would not be mixed up with it.

Its pattern of the conjugation مَقَعُولٍ is مَقَعُولٍ “the place of departure”, except in the verb with 1st weak radical, as its 2nd radical is vowelled by a kasra, e.g. ﷽: “the place of a promise or an appointment” and ﷽: “the place that is dreaded”. So that it would not be believed that its pattern is مَقَعُولٍ جَوَّرَبِ “a sock or stocking”, (161) which is neither a noun of place or time. It is not accepted with a kasra either because وَعُلٍ does not exist in their [sc. the Arabs’] language.

Its pattern of the conjugation [Fol. 17 a] مَقَعُولٍ, except in the verb with 3rd weak radical, as its 2nd radical is vowelled by a fatha, e.g. ﷽: “a place of throwing or shooting arrows”, (162) to avoid the combination of the kasras.

The pattern مَقَعُولٍ is not to be formed of مَقَعُولٍ because of the heaviness of the damma.

So the noun of place was divided between the patterns مَقَعُولٍ and مَقَعُولٍ, and the following eleven nouns were given to the pattern مَقَعُولٍ: مَقَعُولٍ السَّنَسَادُ “the place where a sacrifice is offered during a religious festival”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where animals are slaughtered, slaughterhouse”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where a plant grows”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where the sun rises, the east”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where the sun sets, the west”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place of division, the crown of the head”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place where anything falls”, مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place on which one rests, the elbow”, and مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the place of prostration in prayer, a mosque”. (163)

The remaining patterns occur formed upon the pattern مَقَعُولٍ because of the lightness of the fatha.

The noun of time is similar to the noun of place, e.g. مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the time or place of the killing of Husain”. 

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The remaining patterns occur formed upon the pattern مَقَعُولٍ because of the lightness of the fatha.

The noun of time is similar to the noun of place, e.g. مَقَعُولٍ ﷽: “the time or place of the killing of Husain".
فصل في اسم الآية

وهو اسم مشتق من يَفْعَل لالله وصيغته مَفْعُول. ومن ثم قال الصرفُيون المَفْعُول
للوضع والَمَفْعُول لالله والَمَفْعُول للسَّرَّة والَمَفْعُول للحالة. وكسرت الميم للفراق بينه وبين
الموضع ويجيء على وزن مَفْعُول نحو مَفْعُول ومَفْعَال. ويجيء مضموم العين والميم نحو
السَّرَّة والسَّنَح، قال سيبويه هذان من عداد الآثاء. يعني أن السَّرَّة والسَّنَح

۱۷۰ ب اسم هذا الوعاء، وليس بالله وكذلك أخواته كالمُدْهَن والمُدْق.

Fols. 17a-17b

۲ للموضع: + ويجيء على وزن مَفْعُول كمَكْسَحّة، وتَكْسِر: وكسرة آ/، وَيِجيِء: + مَفْعُول.
مقارس: مَقْارَس/، السَّقَاط ب حَتْط/، سِبيروه: + رحة الله عليه/، أن: آ/، ۶
اسم: + مَخْتَصّ ط/، أخواته: أخوات ح/، كالسَّدْحُن والمُدْق: ۱/۵: نحو المدق والمكلفة
والخِرَة ز/.
§ 7. The noun of instrument

It is a noun which is derived from مَفَعَلُ denoting the instrument, and its pattern is مَفَعَلُ.

Hence, the grammarians said that مَفَعَلُ is for the noun of place, مَفَعَلُ for the noun of instrument, مَفَعَلُ for the noun that expresses the doing of an action once and مَفَعَلُ for the noun of kind.

The m was vowelled by a kasra to differentiate it from the noun of place.

It occurs formed upon the pattern مَفَعَلُ, e.g. مَفَرَضُ “a pair of scissors” and مَفَرَضُ “a key”.

It occurs with the 2nd radical and the m vowelled by a damma, e.g. مَُفَعَلُ “an instrument for introducing medicine into the nose” and مَُفَعَلُ “a sieve”. Sibawaihi said that both these nouns are counted among the nouns [which are not derived], i.e. that مَُفَعَلُ and مَُفَعَلُ are respectively the names of these recipients [Fol. 17 b] and not nouns of instrument, and so are their cognates, e.g. مَُفَعَلُ “a thing [or pot or vase] in which oil, flash or phial was put” and مَُفَعَلُ “a thing with which one bruises, brays or pounds”.
II.2.1. COMMENTARY

The Strong Verb


(12) This is an important question that Ibn Mas’ūd discusses by referring to the Basrans’ (for a detailed presentation of these grammarians and their works see Brockelmann, S I, 158-177, GAL I, 96-116, Flügel, Schulen 26-114, Sezgin, Geschichte IX, 28-115) and the Kufans’ (for a detailed presentation of these grammarians and their works see Brockelmann, S I, 177-184, GAL I, 117-124, Flügel, Schulen 117-180, Sezgin, Geschichte IX, 116-150) debate.

According to the Arabic grammatical tradition, the Basran “school” has been established by al-Mubarrad in Bağdād with his work Ṭabaqāt al-nahwīyīn al-baṣrīyīn (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist 59). Facing al-Mubarrad in Bağdād, was his rival, the Kufan Ṭa’lāb (d. 291/904) (Ṭa’lāb, Ahmad b. Yaḥyā b. Yaṣār al-Ṣāyḥānī, see Suyūṭī, Buγya I, 396-398, Zubaidī, Ṭabaqāt 155; Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzha 293, Yaqqūt, Mu’ṣam V, 102-146, Qiftī, Ibnāh I, 138, Brockelmann, GAL I, 121-122, S I, 181-182, Sezgin, Geschichte VIII, 141-147, IX, 140-142), who was a follower of al-Kisā’ī (d. 183/799) (al-Kisā’ī, ‘Ali b. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd Allāh see Suyūṭī, Buγya II, 162-164, Brockelmann, GAL I, 117-118, S I, 177-178, Sezgin, Geschichte VIII, 117, IX, 127-131) and al-Farraj. It was Ṭa’lāb with his Kitāb iḥtiyāf al-nahwīyīn (which is not preserved), who paved the way for the genre of grammatical debates between the schools (cf. Fleisch, Esquisse 10). The historical reality of both these schools has been however challenged (for discussions see Versteegh, Elements chapter 5, Zayd Ibn ‘Alī’s commentary 9-11, Bernards, Traditions 93-98, Owens, Foundations 9, Theory 2-3, Talmon, ‘Ayn 278-280). What is agreed upon is that the Basrans and the Kufans are known to have adopted two different attitudes towards the Arabic language (for a discussion concerning their methods see Fleisch, Traité 7-11). The Basrans are known to be normative and orthodox whereas the Kufans are known to be descriptive and heterodox (cf. Suyūṭī, Iqṭirāh 100, Weil in his introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf 47, Carter, Ṣirbīnī 195 note 9.4 (3), Sarf 299-304). This does not mean however that the Kufans neglected the grammatical analogy (cf. Versteegh, Elements 111). It is thanks to them that many of the interesting linguistic features that deviate from Classical Arabic have been presented, discussed and preserved (cf. Blau, Judaean-Arabic 9 note 4). Concerning the grammatical terminology, the Basran terminology is more known than the Kufan one. Carter, Sarf, Maḥzūmi, Madrasa, especially 303-316, Troupeau, Lexique 15-16, Rāğiḥī, Farrā’; Versteegh, Grammar 9-16 have contributed in revealing some of its obscurities. Concerning some well-known studies (for a detailed presentation see Sezgin, IX, 23-24) that deal with the debates of both these “schools”, the three following works can be mentioned: the ʿĪdāh by al-Zağaḡāḡī, the Inṣāf by Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) (Ibn al-Anbārī, Abū l-Barakāt Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. ‘Ubaid Allāh, see Suyūṭī, Buγya II, 86-88, Brockelmann, S I, 494-495) and the Masā’il by al-'Ukbarī (d. 616/1218) (al-'Ukbarī, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusain b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusain, see Suyūṭī, Buγya II, 38-40, Brockelmann, S I, 495-496). The Masā’il resembles the Inṣāf in character, but presents only some of the debates.

Bağdād became the center for the successors of the Basran grammarian Mubarrad and the Kufan grammarian Ṭa’lāb. Some of these grammarians mixed the doctrines of both the “schools” in their teachings (for a discussion concerning the opposition of both the “schools” and their

According to Mu‘addib, *Taṣrīf* 44, the *maṣdar* "verbal noun" has been termed as so by Ḥalil b. Ahmad. A special definition of the *maṣdar* is presented by Sibawaihī, *I*, 11, namely "the noun of the action", or "the noun of both the action and the accident (of the agent)". Zamahšari, 16 writes:

"هو المصدر سيأتي بذلك لأن الفعل يصدر عنه ويسبقو الحدث والحدثان...

وينقسم إلى مبهم نحو ضربت ضرية إلى موقف نحو ضربت ضرية وضريتين".

"It is the *maṣdar*; it was named so because the verb is derived from it, and Sibawaihi named it the noun indicative of the accident or (of) both the accident and the action... And it is divided into vague e.g. "I hit a hitting" and having a limited extent in space or time, e.g. ضربت ضرية ضريتين "I hit one hitting and two".

The debate between the Basrans and Kufans that is presented by Ibn Mas‘ūd, concerns the *maṣdar* and the verb. The *maṣdar* is considered as being the origin of derivation according to the Basrans (for an introduction to their opinions see Zağġāyi, *Īdāh* 56, Ibn Ġinni, *Munṣif I*, 65, Ḥasāʾ *iś I*, 113, 119, 121, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* Q. 28, 102-107, *Aṣrār* 69, 71, 176), whereas the verb is considered as being the origin of the derivation according to the Kufans (for an introduction to their opinions see Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* Q. 28, 102-109, Qirawāni, *Mušakkil* fol. 15; for a study of the debate between both schools see Zağġāyi, *Īdāh* 56-63, Zamahšari, 16-18, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* Q. 28, 102-107, ‘Ukbari, *Maṣā‘il* 68-76, Ibn Ya‘īš *I*, 110 sqq., de Sacy, *I*, 278-280, Lane, *II*, 1662, Bohas, *Étude* 129-148). The Basrans tend to deal with the *maṣdar* and the verb as logicians whereas the Kufans tend to deal with them as philologists (cf. de Sacy, *I*, 280, my notes 13b)). As remarked below, many of the arguments presented by the Basrans offer some similarities with the ones that are used in other fields than the one of pure grammar. This occurs easily when such serious notions as أصل “origin” and نفع “derivative” are involved. As Arkoun, *Logocentrisme* 10 remarks:

"Ašl: source, racine, origine, fondement, signale au départ la différence inauguratrice à laquelle il faut sans cesse revenir pour vérifier la légitimité de toute initiative humaine et du discours qui l’exprime. Mais l’esprit s’éloigne de la différence à mesure qu’il s’engage dans la recherche d’une cohérence logique”.

The main idea emphasized here by Ibn Mas‘ūd, is the Basrans’ concept of the *maṣdar*’s oneness contra the verb’s plurality. What is meant by these notions is that the *maṣdar* does not distinguish between the tenses because it points to an unlimited time, it has only one pattern, e.g. "the hitting" and the "killing" and points only to the "the happening". As for the verb it is divided into three tenses: ماضي "perfect", حاضر "present" or "a verb referring to present time" (for discussions concerning it see Zağġāyi, *Īdāh* 86-88, Ibn Ya‘īš, *VII*, 4) and مستقبل “imperfect”. It points to a fixed time, has many patterns and points to two things: the happening and the time. According to Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* Q. 28, 103, the *maṣdar*’s reference to an unlimited time characterizes it as السُلطان "the absolute" whereas the verb’s reference to a limited time characterizes it as المُقيَّد "the limited". The Basrans’ logical
conclusion is that just as the absolute is the origin of the limited and the number one is the origin of the number two, the *masdar* is the origin of derivation of the verb (for these arguments see Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* Q. 28, 103-104, my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 43-44).

b) Each *masdar* is a noun whereas each noun is not a *masdar*. The *masdar* is named specifically as “the noun of the action”, or “the noun of both the action and the accident [of the agent]” by Sibawaihi, I, 11 as it was mentioned. It is interesting to remark that the Basrans’ conception of the *masdar*’s superiority in relation to the verb, resembles their conception of the noun’s superiority in relation to the verb and to the particle. The superiority of the noun seems according to some (e.g. Ibn Ğinnī, *Ḫaṣā‘ ʾiṣ* I, 41-42) to have been determined by the sur. 2: 31 “And He taught Adam the nature of all things”, [literally: the names, or nouns of things]”. This incited Ibn Ğinnī, *Ḫaṣā‘ ʾiṣ* I, 41-42 to write:

"كان قيل: فَاللغةُ فيها أسماء، وأفعال، وحروف، وليس يجوز أن يكون المَلَّوم من ذلك الأسماه دون غيرها: ما ليس باسماء، كيف خصَّ أسماء وحروف؟
قيل: اعتمد ذلك من حيث كُنت الأسماه أقوى القِيَّل الثلاثة، ولا بد لكل كلم مفيد من الاسم، وقد تستغنى الجمل المستقلة عن كل واحد من الحرف والفعل."

“If it was said: the language comprises nouns, verbs and particles, and it is impossible to learn about the nouns without the other categories. Why then, did He [sc. God in this sur.] give importance to the nouns only?
One would answer: this determination is due to the fact that the nouns are the strongest among the three [categories]. Each statement that means something is in need of a noun, and an independent proposition can manage without both the particle and the verb”.

Already in the dispute presented by Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* Q. 1, 1-6 and ‘Ukbarī, *Masā‘ il* 54-62 concerning the morphological derivation of the *ʾism* (for discussions concerning this word in the Semitic languages see Rundgren, *Bildungen* 152-155), the Basrans claimed that it is derived from the *sūrūn* “the highness, exaltedness” (for their opinions see Ibn Ğinnī, *Tafsīr* 184, Ma‘ārī, *Risāla* 133, Ibn Sīdā, *Muḥāṣṣaṣ XVII*, 134, Ibn al-Šaḡārī, *Amālī I*, 66), whereas the Kufans claimed that it is derived from the *ʾism* “the sign” (for their opinions see Ma‘ārī, *Risāla* 133). The Kufans were mostly interested in the etymology of the word, whereas the Basrans stressed on the superiority of the noun, which according to their definition elevates itself above the named one, and is indicative of what is beneath. They added also that it was superior in rank in relation to the verb and to the particle. Their argument (for it see Versteegh, *Zaḡgāṣi* 137-138) is that in nominal sentences the noun can be used as a مَيْبَدَةَ “topic” or حِيْبَرْ “predicate”, whereas the verb can only be used as a predicate, and is for this reason dependent on the agent (cf. (13)), and the particle cannot be used for any of these purposes.

(13) The Basrans’ argument referred to by Ibn Mas‘ūd, is the independence of the *masdar* as a noun contra the dependence of the verb on its agent in the sentence (cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* 103, Weiss, *Subject* 615, *Speech* 28-36, my notes (12 b)). Nouns are independent as they can occur in nominal sentences without any verb and can function as topics or predicates. Furthermore two nouns combined together can form a complete sentence with one of them being a topic and the other one a predicate (cf. Versteegh, *Zaḡgāṣi* 137). If verbs are to occur in such
sentences, they can only function as predicates to the nouns, and not as topics. In both verbal or nominal sentences, no verb can exist without that it refers to an agent, manifested or suppressed. In some cases the subject of a verb could be a latent pronoun,—and it should be kept in mind that according to most of the Arab grammarians the pronoun belongs to the same category as the noun, as the categories are three: noun, verb and particle (cf. (10 b), (63)) -, but this does not mean that the verb is deprived of a subject (for some remarks concerning the relations between the verb and its agents see Retsô, Sentences 72). Weiss, Subject 617 writes:

“The verb carried within itself the demand for completion into a sentence, the noun did not; hence the verb could function only as a predicate-expression, whereas the noun was syntactically versatile”.

Rundgren, Representation 112 points to the dependence of the verb with these words:

“From another point of view I would like to repeat the fact that it is never the ‘verb’ in itself that ‘indicates’, simply because the ‘verb’ is only an entity by abstraction. The verb can never as such be a ‘component of a sentence’, only as a predicate phrase qatala can have this function, or, more correctly, the function of being an immediate constituent of a texteme”.

b) Concerning both the main ideas of the masdar’s oneness and independence contra the verb’s plurality and dependence (see further Versteegh, Elements 130 sqq. for his particular comments concerning this question), I find it appropriate in this context to interject the following comments that refer to the fields of philosophy and theology, as it is interesting to notice that the Basrans are using some of the arguments of the philosophers and theologians to prove their views. In both these fields, the ideas concerning oneness contra plurality can be associated with the Oneness of God Who is at rest (for it see Abû Rida, Rasâ’il I, 153), as opposed to the plurality of the stages in the person’s life (cf. Gazâli, Tabernacle 57-58), before that he reaches a state of oneness with God (cf. Grunebaum, Islam in his 1st page to L’idéal humain 243-282), or as opposed to the plurality of God’s Signs (cf. Hallaq, Ibn Taymiya 59). God is independent (for discussions see ibid 51, Ibn Sîna, Šifâ 65 sqq, Lawkari, Haqq 181-183, Heer, Existence 227), self-subsisting, whereas the created is not (cf. Gazâli, Tabernacle 52). Each man and each created object refer to God with some of their qualities (cf. Hallaq, Ibn Taymiya 59-60, Ibn Taymiya, Šahd 189), which prove that they derive from Him. The unlimited time linked to the masdar (cf. (12)) can be associated with the concept of God Who does not enter in temporality and is Eternal (cf. Ġâmi, Naqd 103). God is as well referred to as al-qadîm “the Eternal” by Abû 1-Hudail (d. 227/842 or 235/850), one of the founders of the Mu’tazîlite’s doctrines in Vitestam’s introduction to Dârimi, Radd 32. This epithet is also used by Ibn Ğinni, Ḥasâ’îs I, 45, Suyûtî, Muzhir I, 9 and Ibn Sîda, Muḫassas 5. In the Qur’ân, God is identified with Time by the pagans. Sur. 45: 24 has: “We shall die and we live, and nothing but Time can destroy us” (cf. Wensinck, Concordance II, 155). In the same manner, God’s language, the Qur’ân, is considered as being untouched by time (cf. Roman, Expression 11, Origine 14, in particular the notes, Étude I, 38).

(14) For the little derivation or minor etymology see Suyûtî, Muzhir I, 202 204, Weiss, Subject 618-619, Wadh 353-354, Subhî, Fiqh 173-186, for the big derivation see Subhî, Fiqh 186-209 and many of the examples mentioned by Bohas, Matrice 95-141, and for the biggest derivation see Ibn Ğinni, Ḥasâ’îs II, 133-139, Subhî, Fiqh 210-242. An early work that treats the subject of the big derivation is Ibn Fâris, Maqâyîs (for some remarks concerning it see Haywood, Lexicography 101-102). For the three sorts of derivation see Ibn Mâlik, La Alîyya in the “Lexique” 290, Lane, II, 1577, Bustâni, Muḫîṭ 495, Bohas, Étude 174 in the notes; for a brief differentiation between the minor an the major etymology see Weiss, Wadh’ 353; for the derivatives see (10).
b) The phenomenon of the transposition of the consonants in a word (for discussions concerning some cases see (291), (292), (293), (294); for its occurrence in some modern Arabic dialects see 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Taṭawwur 58-60; for a developed study of the metathesis in some of the Semitic languages see Brockelmann, Grundriss 267-278), that distinguishes it from another word, is usually associated with the big derivation. In his "the chapter on the transposition", Ibn Fāris, Šāhībī 202 discusses the customary procedures that the Arabs have of transposing the consonants, e.g. جَعْلَ يُهُبَّ "to attract" (cf. Suyūṭī, Muẓhir I, 282 sqq., the notes of Barth to TaṬālab, Fāșiḥ 28-29). There exists however a difference of opinion concerning both جَعْلَ and جَعْلِ "the chapter" إِبْنِ الْقُلَبُ, the Kufans considering the shifting of the consonants to be a phenomenon of transposition whereas the Basrans considering the two different words as pertaining to two different dialectal variants (cf. 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Taṭawwur 60). Ibn Manẓūr, I, 573 and Lane, I, 373 precise that جَعْلَ belongs to the dialect of Tamīm.

e) An allusion to the biggest derivation is made by Ibn Fāris, Šāhībī 201-202 within باب "the chapter of the conformity and distinction of word categories" in which he also treats اختلاف النطق والمعنى "the distinction between both words and meanings", اختلاف النطق واتفاق المعني "the distinction between both words and the conformity of their meanings", اختلاف النطق واتفاق المعني "the conformity of both words and the distinction of their meanings", اختلاف اللحن واتفاق المعني "the conformity of both words and the opposition of their meanings (i.e. opposites, enantiosema)" (for Arabic works dealing with opposites see Ibn al-Anbārī, Addād, Qutrub, Addād 241-284, 385-461, 493-544, Haffner, Addād, for studies undertaken by Orientalists see Redslab, Wörter, Cohen, Etudes 80-104, Addād, Giese, Addād, for a discussion of such words with references to some of the other Semitic languages see Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 67-101) and تقارب اللحنين والمعنيين "the conformity of both words and meanings", which refers to the biggest derivation. As examples Ibn Fāris takes up الحَرْم "the firmness" and الحَرْن "the hard ground"... الخَصْصُ "the act of munching, which is with the whole mouth" and القَصْصُ "the act of gnawing, which is with the extremity of the teeth" (for examples see (340 c), (368), (374), and for further examples see many of those mentioned by Bohas, Matrices 144-152). Ibn Ǧinnī, Ĥaṣṣa ‘iṣ Il, 157-158 studies as well the meaning of the consonants q and ḥ in the القَصْصُ and الخَصْصُ (cf. Šūbī, Fiqh 143).

(15) One of the Kufans’ arguments is introduced here. It pertains to the field of phonology and stresses the idea of the dependence of the māṣdar on the verb regarding the unsoundness or the soundness of the weak consonant in its structure. If a phonological change due to the unsoundness of the weak consonant is carried out in the verb, then a phonological change is carried out as well in the māṣdar. If the weak consonant remains sound in the verb it remains as well sound in the māṣdar.

(16) It is the phonological change that is carried out in a verb due to the unsoundness of the weak consonant in it or the lack of change due to the soundness of the weak consonant in it, that determines according to the Kufans, whether the weak consonant of its māṣdar is unsound or sound. This dependency of the māṣdar on the verb is the reason why the Kufans chose to consider the verb as entitled to be the origin of the māṣdar (for their arguments see Ibn al-
Anbārī, Ḥāṣaf 102, my notes to Ibn Masʿūd, I, 45-46; for a refutation against this opinion see (19)). An example of a verb with the 1st radical w unsound is ʿayd “he promises” in the imperfect, underlyingly ʿayd, in which the w is elided (cf. (244)), which determines that its maṣdar is ʿaḏda “a promise” underlyingly ʿaḏda w with the w that is elided as well (for this elision see (247), Sibawaihi, II, 81, Wright, II, 118, Lane, II, 2952), and with the tāʾ marbūṭa suffixed in it as a compensation for this elision. Another example is ʿallāma ʿādama in which the w is changed into an a, whose maṣdar is ʿaḏma in which a phonological change due to the unsound weak consonant is carried out to accord with the phonological change that is carried out in its verb, as it is underlyingly ʿaḏmat in which the w is changed into a y. Some examples of verbs in which the weak consonant is sound are ʿaḏmat (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 266, Zamaḥṣari, 178) and ʿaḏmat, both of which retain their 2nd radical w. It is this soundness of the weak consonant in the verb that leads consequently according to the Kufans, to its soundness in the maṣdar’s structure, i.e. ʿaḏmat and ʿaḏmat respectively.

(17) According to the Kufans who refer to the phrase ʿaḏmat “I hit a hitting”, the maṣdar emphasizes the verb ʿaḏmat (for a refutation of this argument see (20)). The maṣdar is the ʿaḏmat “emphasizer” and the verb is the ʿaḏmat “emphasized”, and they say that it is appropriate that the emphasized is the origin of the emphasis. This argument has been deduced by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Anbārī (d. 238/939), one of Taʿlab’s pupils and one of the best Kufan grammarians (for him see Qīṭī, Ḥāṣaf III, 201, Suyūṭī, Buḫṣa I, 212-214, Sezgin, Geschichste VIII, 151-154, IX., 144-147). Another argument proposed by the Kufans that refers to the field of syntax which can be added here, is that the verb is the regent and governs the maṣdar, which is a noun, in the accusative (for discussions see Zaḡgaḏī, ʿĀdāh 61, Ibn al-Anbārī, Ḥāṣaf 102, ʿĀbbarī, Maṣāʾil 74, Suyūṭī, ʿĀbbar I, 130, my notes to Ibn Masʿūd, I, 46-47). It has then a power over the noun and is so endowed to be its origin. In the phrase ʿaḏmat “I hit a hitting” is put in the accusative by the verb ʿaḏmat.

(18) According to the Basrans, the literary meaning of the word maṣdar is the place of issuance of the verb (for their argument see (21)). They take up the example ʿaḏmat “the place of issuance of the camels” and consider the place of issuance as entitled to be the origin of the derivation of the action, which is the issuance of the camels. Hence the noun of place that is traditionally seen as derived from the verb, is in this case the place of derivation of the verb. The Kufans object against this argument as they regard the meaning of the pattern ʿaḏmat as being similar to the meaning of the pattern of the past participle ʿaḏmat, which is a derivative of the verb (cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, Ḥāṣaf 103). In order to defend their opinion they take up the examples ʿaḏmat—which is a noun of place according to the Basrans, “a quick place of riding” —that they themselves consider as the past participle ʿaḏmat—which is a noun of drinking according to the Basrans —that they consider as the
past participle مَشرّبٌ “a drink”. The example مَشرّبٌ في the meaning of the past participle مَشرّبٌ “a drink” that is used to defend the Kufans’ theory, occurs in a verse said by Nuṣaib, cited by Zağāği, Īdāh 62:

“Again the freshness of the water had become sea, and my thirst augmented that the fresh drink became salty”.

Another variant is cited by Ibn Manzūr, I, 215:

“Again the water of the earth became sea, and my sickness augmented that the fresh drink became salty”.

(19) The Basrans’ arguments against the Kufans’ theories which pertain to the field of phonology are presented here. The Kufans believe that it is the dependency of the sound or the unsound weak consonant in the maṣdar on the sound or the unsound weak consonant in the verb, that makes the verb fit to be the origin of derivation of the maṣdar (for their opinion see (16)). According to the Basrans, the phonological change of the unsound weak consonant that is carried out in the maṣdar, which is on the analogy of the one that is carried out in the verb, is only due to avoid a certain heaviness in its structure (for their arguments see Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf 105). According to them, this does not point to the origin or to the derivative. In order to defend their theory, they take up the example يَعَدُ “he promises” underlyingly يَعَدُ, in which the w is elided because it occurs between the y and the kasra, which causes a heaviness in the structure. The w is also elided from تَعَدُ “/2 masc. sing.” and “/3 fem. sing.” underlyingly يَعَدُ, in spite of the fact that it does not occur between the y and the kasra, so that it is similar in its form to يَعَدُ. Another example is أَكَرُ underlyingly أَكَرُ “I honour”, in which one of both hamzas is elided because of the heaviness of both their combination. It is also elided from أَكَرُ “/2 masc. sing.” and “/3 fem. sing.” underlyingly أَكَرُ, in spite of the fact that two hamzas are not combined in them, by analogy to أَكَرُ (compare the case of the imperative of Form IV أَكَرُ “honour!” discussed in my notes (116)). This does not mean that the 3rd person يَعَدُ or the 1st person أَكَرُ is the base form of the remaining persons. Furthermore another Basran argument that can be added here against the Kufan one, is that there exist verbs in which the weak consonant is unsound whereas the weak consonant of their maṣdars is sound. An example is يَعَدُ “to promise” that loses its 1st radical w in the imperfect يَعَدُ, but that has also the maṣdar with the 1st radical w retained, and عَزَنَ “to balance” that loses its 1st radical w in the imperfect يَعَدُ, but that has the maṣdar with the 1st radical w retained (cf. Zağāği, Īdāh 60, ‘Ukbarī, Masā’il 75). This means that the soundness or unsoundness of a weak consonant in the verb is not a necessary condition for the soundness or the unsoundness of a weak consonant in the maṣdar.

(20) The Basrans’ arguments against the Kufans’ who regard the maṣdar as the emphasizer
of the verb (for it see (17)) are presented here (cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf 105-106, my notes to Ibn Mas'ūd, I, 46-47). According to the Basrans, the emphasized word is not the origin of derivation of the other word, but can be considered as the origin of its declension, as in "Zaidun, Zaidun came to me", in which the first Zaidun can only be the origin of the second one regarding the aspect of the declension, and the second Zaydun is not derived from it. Furthermore, in an example as ضرْبَتُ ضَرْبًا it is the written maṣdar that is emphasized, and not the information and the time that the verb encompasses. In other words, the verb ضرْبَتُ ضَرْبًا is not emphasized by the maṣdar. Thus ضرْبَتُ ضَرْبًا cannot be compared to the example ضرْبَتُ ضَرْبًا "I hit, I hit", in which the second verb emphasizes the first one, but rather to ضرْبَتُ ضَرْبًا “I let happen a hitting, a hitting”, in which the second maṣdar emphasizes the first one.

b) Nouns, verbs and particles can be emphasized (for a general definition of maṣdar and with examples see Reckendorf, Syntax 68-69; for a general study of the emphasis see Howell, I, fasc. I, 389-394, Carter, Sirbīnī 294-298). A case that concerns the emphasis of a noun that can be presented, is that occurs in the following verse said by Miskin al-Dārīmī, cited by Sibawaihī, I, 108, Sirbīnī, Sarḥ 42, Sīnqīṭī, Durar I, 146, Carter, Sirbīnī 296, Howell, I, fasc. I, 158:

"أَخَذَّـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~]
[Cleave to] your brother, your brother; verily he who has no brother is like one running to the fray without a weapon".

c) Some cases concerning the emphasis of verbs that can be presented, are that occur in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Sirbīnī, Sarḥ 42, Sīnqīṭī, Durar II, 145, 158, Carter, Sirbīnī 296, Howell, I, fasc. I, 392:

"فَأَيْنَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~] "Where, to where are you hurrying with my mule? The pursuers have come to you, have come to you. Stop! Stop!"

d) A case concerning the emphasis of a particle that can be presented, is that occurs in the following verse said by Gāmil, cited by Sirbīnī, Sarḥ 42, Sīnqīṭī, Durar II, 159, Carter, Sirbīnī 298, Howell, I, fasc. I, 392:

"لَا لَا أَبْوُحُ لِي بَيْنَتْكَا أَخَذَتْ عَلَى مَوْئَلَكَا وَعُمْوَدَا"

“I will not, not reveal the love of Baṭnā [sc. Buṭaina] for she has taken against me covenants and oaths”.

(21) This is the Basrans’ last argument against the Kufans’ theory (for it see (18)) concerning the maṣdar which according to them refers to the passive participle and not to the noun of place (see my notes to Ibn Mas'ūd, I, 48-50). The maṣdar is considered by the Basrans as the noun of place from which the action issues (cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf 107; see further for the particular questions and views Zaggağı, İdāh 61-62 who takes up a discussion between himself and Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī and the interpretation of the text by Versteegh, Zaggağı 78-79). The
example "مَزِكَّةٌ" refers to the place of riding by them and "عَذَابٌ" to the place of drinking; and the quickness and freshness were attributed metaphorically to these nouns of place respectively, because of a proximity in the meaning between them, in the same manner as it is said in the sura 2: 25, 61: 12, 64: 9, 65: 11, etc.

"Beneath which rivers flow", and the river does not flow but the water flows in it.

(22) This sentence is quoted from Zamâlṣâri, 96-97. The patterns that are presented are

1) معْمَالٌ (1) فَعْلٌ (11) فَعْلٌ (10) فَعْلٌ (9) فَعْلٌ (8) فَعْلٌ (7) فَعْلٌ (6) فَعْلٌ (5) فَعْلٌ (4) فَعْلٌ (3) فَعْلٌ (2) فَعْلٌ (1)

2) معْمَالٌ (13) فَعْلٌ (21) فَعْلٌ (20) فَعْلٌ (19) فَعْلٌ (18) فَعْلٌ (17) فَعْلٌ (16) فَعْلٌ (15) فَعْلٌ (14) فَعْلٌ (13) فَعْلٌ (12) فَعْلٌ (11) فَعْلٌ (10) فَعْلٌ (9) فَعْلٌ (8) فَعْلٌ (7) فَعْلٌ (6) فَعْلٌ (5) فَعْلٌ (4) فَعْلٌ (3) فَعْلٌ (2) فَعْلٌ (1)

3) معْمَالٌ (31) فَعْلٌ (30) فَعْلٌ (29) فَعْلٌ (28) فَعْلٌ (27) فَعْلٌ (26) فَعْلٌ (25) فَعْلٌ (24) فَعْلٌ (23) فَعْلٌ (22) فَعْلٌ (21) فَعْلٌ (20) فَعْلٌ (19) فَعْلٌ (18) فَعْلٌ (17) فَعْلٌ (16) فَعْلٌ (15) فَعْلٌ (14) فَعْلٌ (13) فَعْلٌ (12) فَعْلٌ (11) فَعْلٌ (10) فَعْلٌ (9) فَعْلٌ (8) فَعْلٌ (7) فَعْلٌ (6) فَعْلٌ (5) فَعْلٌ (4) فَعْلٌ (3) فَعْلٌ (2) فَعْلٌ (1)

Two other patterns that can be added are: e.g. "seeking" and e.g. "disliking" (cf. Ibn Kamāl Pāša, Fâlâh 13). For a general study of the nasâd in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 195-196.

b) Some other patterns that include as well other classes than the strong verb (for a study see Wright, I, 111-112 who mentions fourty-four forms, Howell, I, fasc. IV 1516-1517 who mentions fourty-six forms and Ibn Mâlik, Lâmiya verse 62-70 who mentions fourty-nine forms), are as follows: "being lord", "being haughty", "ability to repel foes", "being", "becoming", "ease", "becoming adolescent", "affliction", "perishing", "displeasing" and "overcoming".

c) As for some of these patterns’ indications with other examples as well:

The measure is from transitive verbs of the forms فَعْلٌ and فَعْلٌ, e.g. "to hit": فَعْلٌ and فَعْلٌ. The transitive verbs refer to the doing of an action that falls on something or someone contrarily to the intransitive verbs (cf. Mubarrad, Muqâtdab IV, 299, Ibn Ya’ârîs, VII, 62; for a general study of the transitive and intransitive verbs see Zamâlṣâri, 115-116, Ibn Ya’ârîs, VII, 62-69, Howell, II-III, 96-119; for rendering intransitive verbs transitive and transitive verbs intransitive see Abû Ḥanîfa, Muqâstâd 8). For instance in the examples "you hit Zaid" and "you talked to ‘Amr” that comprehend the transitive verbs and the action of the hitting fell upon Zaid and the action of the talking was made to reach ‘Amr (cf. Mubarrad, Muqâtdab IV, 299). In the examples of the intransitive verbs "he rose" and "he went", it is not asked on whom the action of rising fell (cf. Ibn Ya’ârîs, VII, 62). A distinctive feature that exists between the transitive and intransitive verbs is according to Mu’addib, Taṣrîf 148, that the pronoun of the accusative is fit to be suffixed to the transitive verb, e.g. "I hit him" and whereas it is not fit to be suffixed to the intransitive verbs, e.g. "I got up" and "I sat down".

– The measure فَعْلٌ is from the intransitive verbs of the form فَعْلٌ, when indicative of colors,
e.g. “to be tawny”. It can also be indicative of defects, e.g. “inflation of the belly”, and “scrotal hernia”.

- The measure  فعال “delayed payment”. An example formed according to this measure is  فعال “hatred” (cf. Ibn Manzūr, IV, 2335), which is also allowable with the fatha of the 2nd radical as it has been read by some in the surr. 5: 3 “And let not the hatred of some people in (once) shutting you out”.

- The measure  فعال is from the intransitive verbs of the form  مرض “to be sick”, and  فرح “to be glad”.

- The examples formed according to the form  فعال are “guiding” and “journeying by night”. has been treated both as a masc. noun and as a fem. (compare the  ضرب  ضرب 181 which has been treated both as a masc. noun and as a fem. in the examples presented by Wright, II, 2850, VI, 4638 and Fischer, Infinitive 854, in which the verb  مُعِدَّى that follows it, occurs as a 3rd person of the masc. sing. by Ibn Manzūr, IV, 2850 and Fischer, Infinitive 854, and as a 3rd person of the fem. sing. by Ibn Manzūr, VI, 2850:

  "And verily, the Path has been illuminated for you, and the accesses to the noble deeds have been made clear, as the [sc. your] leadership has helped [you on the way]."

- The measures  فعال “being comely”,  فعال “salty”,  فعال “generosity” and  فعال “beauty”, are from the form  فعال which is indicative of a state or descriptive of a quality (for this form see (34)).

- The measure  فعال is indicative of:
  a)–sound, but not as frequently as  فعال “crying of the he-ostrich”.
  b)–the time of the accident being close, e.g. “season for reaping”.
  c)–refusal, e.g. “to refuse”, إياا “to run away”.

- The measure  فعال (for a study see Diem, Fu‘al 43-68) is usually indicative of:
  a)–ailment, e.g. “to cough”.
  b)–sound, e.g. “to scream”.

In some cases, both  فعال and  فعال are used for sound, e.g.  صرخ “to scream”, and  نباح “to bark”.

- The measure  مفعول is from the transitive or intransitive verbs of the form  معل when indicative of a craft or an office, e.g. كتب “to write”.
The measure مَؤُولْ (for a linguistic study with statistical results see Malāʾika, Fuʿāl 3-30) is from the intransitive verbs of the form مَعَّلْ, e.g. رَكَعٌ, “to bow” and دَخَلْ, “to enter”.

As for the measure مَؤُولْ, the only example formed according to it according to al-ʿAṣmaʿī, referred to by Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 51, is مَؤُولْ “accepting”.

formed according to the measure ذَكَرْي, مَؤُولْ occurs in the sur. 51: 14 “But teach (thy Message): For teaching benefits the Believers”. It also occurs in the following verse said by Ğamil, Dīwān 159, cited by Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 53:

فيَا قَلْبٌ دَعْ ذَكَرْيٍ بَيْنِيَّةً إِنَّ فَمَ قُلْتَ تُهْوَاها تُضَنُّ وَتَبَخَلْ.

“O heart, give up remembering Buṭaina! For even if you do love her, she is enervated and will not grant you [anything]”.


(23) The example قَايَانُ that is formed according to the pattern of the active participle مَؤُولْ replaces the maṣdar قَايَانُ that is formed according to مَعَّلْ, and has its meaning. مَؤُولْ said instead of مَعَّلْ occurs in the following verse cited by Ibn Fāris, Ǧahībī 237 who discusses the active participle as a substitute for the maṣdar:

فَمَ قُلْتَ قَانَا لَقِيتَ عِبْدًا قَانَا.“

“Get up! Get up! You met a sleeping slave!”.

The active participle occurs also instead of the maṣdar in the following verse said by Bišr b. Abī Ḫāsim praising Aus b. Ḥārīta b. Lāʾm al-Ṭāʿī, cited by Zamaḥšāri, 97, Ibn Yaʿṣīf, VI, 51, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1557, Fleischer, Beiträge III, 331, in which كَافِي occurs anomalously in the nominative instead of the accusative كَافِي, the y is being made vowelless by poetic licence, in the meaning of كَفَائِي:

كَفَائِي بِالْيَتِى مِنْ أَسَاسِي كَافِي ولَيْسَ إِلَّا بِيْنَاهَا إذْ طَالَ شَافِي.“

“Sufficient indeed [for me as a trial] is the distance from Asmāʾ; and there is no healer for the love of her, since it has lasted long”.

Compare with the nominative كَافِي كَافِي mentioned above another case in which the y is elided for the sake of poetic licence in the following verse said by Maġnūn b. ʿĀmir, cited by Ibn Yaʿṣīf, VI, 51 and Ibn Hiṣām, Muḡnī I, 289, in which كَافِي is treated defectively as a noun in the nominative used instead of the accusative كَافِي:
In mention and of Ta$r'if Creation cited. The terrible Zamagsari, any
the accusative Dual, the

1552, "{}amm
The

The

The

The

The

The

The

And a biting time, O Ibn Marwān, which has left all wealth either depleted or badly ravaged."

b) The maṣdar can occur on the measure of قاَيِلَة ُ (for a study see Ibn Fāris, Ṣahīḥi 237, Zamaḥsārī, 97, Ibn Ya’īš, VI, 50-52) as in the sur. 69: 8

Then seest thou any of them left surviving?!

in which قاَيِلَة ُ has the meaning of بَقَاء ُ. In the sur. 56: 2

كَذِبَ (الوقتِهَا كَادِية) ُ "Then will no (soul) entertain falsehood", in which كَذِبَ has the meaning of كَذِبَ ُ (فَامَا شَوَّهُ فَاتَهَّكَوْا بِالْطَّغَيْنِ) ُ 4

"But the Thamūd,—they were destroyed by a
terrible storm of thunder and lightning!", in which بِالْطَّغَيْنِ has the meaning of بِالْطَّغَيْنِ.

(24) The example المَفْتَون replaces the maṣdar المَفْتَون that is formed according to the pattern of the passive participle مَفْتَون and has its meaning. The sur. is also cited by Ibn Fāris, Ṣahīḥi 237, Zamaḥsārī, 98, Ibn Ya’īš, VI, 53. The passive participle occurs also instead of the maṣdar in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1551, in which مَفْتَون occurs instead of مَفْتَون: "لَمْ يُتِركُوا بِعَظَمَةِ ْنَحْما ْلَأَفْوَاهُ مَفْتَونا."

They have not left flesh to his bones, nor understanding to his mind."

b) The pattern of the maṣdar can occur instead of the pattern of the passive participle, and has its meaning (for some cases of the active and passive partiple occurring instead of the maṣdar and vice versa see Wright, II, 132-133), as in the sur. 31: 11 "Such is the Creation of God", in which خَلَقَ occurs instead of خَلَقَ the "created".

c) The maṣdar of the derived patterns of the triliteral occurs formed according to the pattern of the passive participle of the specific form, which is also applicable to the passive participle and to the nouns of time and place. This pattern is found in these following examples, just to mention a few:

— In the following verse said by Umayya b. Abī al-Šalt, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 267, Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 125, Zamaḥsārī, 98, Ibn Ya’īš, VI, 50, 53, Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4206, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1552, in which مَضْسَانَا occurs instead of مَضْسَانَا the الإصْبَاح: إِلَيْهِ
“Praise be to God at our entering upon the evening, and at our entering upon the morning! May my Lord make us pass the morning, and make us pass the evening, in weal”.

— In the following one said by a man of the Banū Māzīn, cited by Zamaḥṣarī, 98, Ibn Yaʿīš, VI, 53, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1552, in which المجرب occurs instead of المجرب:

“Then verily the feeding between two drinkings is a starting and riding”.

— In the following one said by ʿAlqama b. ʿAbada, cited by Zamaḥṣarī, 98, Ibn Yaʿīš, VI, 54, Ahlwardt, *Divans* 107, Freytag, *Hamasae* 346, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1552, in which الموقف occurs instead of الموقف:

“Verily the preservation shall be like my having been preserved”.

— In the following one said by Ruʿba b. al-ʿAggāq, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 268, Zamaḥṣarī, 98, Ibn Yaʿīš, VI, 54, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1553, in which مقاتلا occurs instead of مقاتلا:

“A cat at home is more than a lion abroad”.

— In the following one said by an unknown poet, cited by Zamaḥṣarī, 98, Ibn Yaʿīš, VI, 55, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1553, in which مصلحته occurs instead of مصلحته:

“As though the sound of the cymbal were in his [sc. the horse’s] neighing”.

— In the sur. 23: 29 (إنزلنِي مَنْرَلا مَبَارِكًا) “Enable me to disembark with thy blessing” mentioned by Ibn Muğāhid, *Sabʿa* 445, that is read with مَنْرَلاinstead of مَنْرَلا by ʿĀsim;—the sur. 11: 41 (ياَسَمَ الله مَجْرَاهَا وَمَرْسَاهَا) “In the name of God whether it move or be at rest” read so by the majority, and that is cited with the following two variants (ياَسَمَ الله مَجْرَاهَا وَمَرْسَاهَا) (cf. Muʿaddib, *Taṣrīf* 125);—and the sur. 26: 277 (أي مَتَّبَقُ بِيْقَالِبٍ) “What vicissitudes their affairs will take!”.
d) The pattern of the passive participle of what exceeds three consonants occurs formed according to the pattern of a noun of time, as مُهْجَرُ 80 of the sur. 17: “My Lord! Let my entry be by the Gate of Truth and Honour, and likewise my exit by the Gate of Truth and Honour” (cf. Penrice, Dictionary 41, 47), and of a masdar, as مُهْجَرُ 19 of the sur. 34: “And we dispersed them all in scattered fragments”. For discussions and references see further Nöldeke, Grammatik 16-17.

e) The masdar can occur instead of the imperative, and has its meaning, as in the sur. 30: 17 (فسِحَانُ اللَّهُ حَيَّةً نَتَّسِمُونَ وَحُيْنَ نَصِبُونَ) “So (give) glory to God when ye reach eventide and when ye rise in the morning”, in which مُسِحَّانُ occurs instead of فِسِحَانُ and in the sur. 47: 4 (فَإِذَا لَقِيتُمُ الْمُطَنِّيْنَ كَفَرَوْا فِرْصَبَ رَجُلَيْنَ) “Therefore when ye meet the Unbelievers (in fight), smile at their necks”, in which مُسِحَّانُ occurs instead of مُسِحَّانُ (cf. Mu‘addib, Taṣrīf 105-107).

f) The masdar can occur instead of the adjective, as in the sur. 15: 2 “a seriously ill man” in which مُسِحَّانُ occurs instead of مُسِحَّانُ, مُسِحَّانُ “pleasant people” in which مُسِحَّانُ occurs instead of مُسِحَّانُ and in the sur. 17: 26 “a just man” in which مُسِحَّانُ occurs instead of مَعْلِمُ (cf. Ibn Gınnı, Ḥaṣā'ıs III, 259).

g) The active participle can occur instead of the passive participle, and has its meaning, as in the sur. 11: 43 “This day nothing can save from the Command of God”, has the meaning of مُسِحَّانُ of the sur. 69: 21 “And he will be in a life of Bliss”, has the meaning of مُسِحَّانُ and in the sur. 29: 67 (جَعَلْنَا حَرَماً أمِنًا) “We have made a Sanctuary secure”, has the meaning of مُسِحَّانُ (cf. Ta‘ālibi, Fiqh 215).

h) The passive participle can occur instead of the active participle and has its meaning, as in the sur. 19: 61 (إِنَّهُ كَانَ وَعْدُهُ مَاتِيًا) “For his promise must (necessarily) come to pass), has the meaning of مُسِحَّانُ (cf. ibid).

(25) The examples تَلِمَّاعُ and تَلِمَّاعُ are Form I masdars that are formed according to the measure تَلِمَّاعُ, which denotes multiplication and intensification, i.e. much "fermenting" and لَعْمَ "sporting" (for a study of these measures see Sibawaihi, II, 261, Zamaḥšāri, 98, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VI, 55-56, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1559-1563, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 22, Wright, II, 116-117). The pattern تَلِمَّاعُ with the t given the kasra does not denote intensification, and the two examples that are known to be formed according to it are تَلِمَّاعُ "explanation" and تَلِمَّاعُ "meeting" occurs in the sur. 16: 89 “And We have sent down to thee the Book explaining all things”. لَعْمَ occurs in the meaning of لَعْمَ "meeting" in the following verse said by al-Rā‘ı, cited by Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1561:

"أَمِلَّ خَيْرَكُ هَلْ تَنَا مَوَاءً فَاْيُومٍ قُصَّرِ عَنْ تَلِمَّاعِ آلَامَ".
“I have hoped for your bounty. Will its promises come? For today hope has fallen short of meeting you.”

Both تشراب and تشراب “drinking” that are formed according to Prometheus and Prometheus have also been heard. Some read defectively تشراب instead of تشراب from the following verse said by Tarafa, cited by Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1561:

"And my tipping wines ceased not, and my pleasure, and my selling and my expending my property new and old”.

Both (see Ibn Manzur, II, 773, Lane, I, 512) and دليلي (see Ibn Manzur, II, 1414, Lane, I, 901) are Form I masdars formed upon the measure ميالي, which also denotes multiplication and intensification. Other examples are خيتي “much mischief-making”, هجري “much evil-speaking” and خيتي “being much engrossed with the business of the Hilafa” (cf. Daqr, Mu'jam 57, my notes (270 b)). The last example occurs in the saying said by Umar in the tradition لولا خيتي لآذنت "Had I not been much engrossed with the business of the Hilafa, I would chant the call to prayer”.

Can as well be formed from Form VI رميا (cf. Ibn Wallad, Maqsur 56) from Form VI in the example كان تبنهم رميا "there was between them much shooting one at another”.

(26) The masdars’ patterns of the derived forms of the groundform of the triliteral and quadriliteral (for a study see Ibn Malik, Lamiya 246-249, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 20-23, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1529-1545, Wright, II, 115-118) are analogous with their verbs (cf. Zama'hashari, 97). The reason of this resemblance in forms, is that these verbs’ forms follow special patterns, and do not vary as the forms of the groundform of the triliteral in which the vowel of the 1st radical in many cases alternate in the perfect and in the imperfect (cf. Ibn Ya'nis, VI, 47). The order of the masdars’ derived patterns of the triliteral and quadriliteral which follow the specific forms of verbs, is presented in the following manner by Zama'hashari, 97:

افعال: افعال افعال افعال افعال افعال افعال افعال افعال
افعال افعال افعال افعال
افعال افعال افعال افعال
افعال افعال افعال.

b) The well-known patterns of the derived forms of the masdar of the triliteral with their numbering are according to Western grammars:

Form II: افعال
Form III: افعال
Form IV: افعال
Form V: افعال
Form VI: افعال
Form VII: افعال
Form VIII: افعال
(27) The examples of the masdar of the derived patterns of the triliteral and groundform of the quadriliteral which are introduced here (cf. Zamaḥšari, 97, Ibn Ya\\'iš, VI, 47-50), are those that are not analogous with their verbs. كلام is formed according to the pattern of the masdar of Form II ّب، with the 1st radical voweled by a kasra and the 2nd radical doubled. The pattern occurs by the Yemenites (cf. Rabin, 37), and is current in Daṭina (cf. Landberg, Dathina 536).

An example that can be added is ٍب which occurs in the sur. 78: 28 (وركذبوا باباننا كذابًا) "But they (immoderately) treated our signs as false". The alleviated form occurs in the sur. 78: 35 (لا) "No Vanity shall they hear therein, nor Untruth". According to Ibn Manẓur, V, 3841, al-Farrā\\’ said that ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭālib alleviated the form in both these surs., i.e. said ٍب، whereas ‘Aṣim and the inhabitants of al-Madina said ٍب، which is a correct Yemenite dialectal variant. The alleviated form occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1534:

"وَأَلْسِمَةَ يَنْفَعُهَا كَذَابًا."

"Then I spoke truth to her, and then I lied to her: and man is profited by his lying".

تقاتل with the q voweled by a kasra and the 2nd radical lightened, is formed according to the masdar of Form III ّب، and ٍبEMAIL with the infixation of the ٍ is formed according to the masdar of Form III ّبEMAIL is formed according to the pattern of Form V ّبEMAIL. Another example that can be added is ٍب "affection", which occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Zamaḥšari, 97, Ibn Ya\\'iš, VI, 47, IX, 157, Mulūk 194, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 21, Freytag, Hamasae 551, Ḥuḍari, Ḥāsiya II, 38, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1538:

"ثلاثة أَحَبَاب فَحْب عَلَا، وَحْبَ سَلَام وَحْبٌ هُوَ الْقَنْتِلَ".
“There are three loves; for there is a love that is attachment, and a love that is affection, and a love that is murder”.

(28) The conjugations of the groundform of the triliteral verbs and its derived forms are at first presented, and then are followed by the groundform of the quadriliteral and its derived forms (see (29)-(41)). For some well-known definitions of the verb see (12 b). For the debate concerning the verb as being the origin of the derivation according to the Kufans and the masdar as being the origin of derivation according to the Basrans see (12)-(21).

(29) The verbs’ conjugations of Form I can be termed as “verbal stems”, “modifications” (cf. Leemhuis, Stems I), “stirps” (cf. Diakonoff, Semito-Hamitic 97) or “forms” (cf. Goshen-Gottstein, System 70 note 1). فعل يفعل ضرب يضرب is formed according to the conjugation فعل يفعل فعل يفعل فعل يفعل (for a study of the forms see Wright, II, 30, 57-59, Vernier, I, 129-134). Concerning the form فعل (for discussions see Bakkūs, Taṣrīf 87-94, Bohas, Étude 53-60), it may be remarked that whenever the Quraishiš vowel the 2nd radical of verbs in the perfect with a fatha, e.g. رعد “to abstain” and حقد “to harbor feelings of hatred”, the Banū Tamīm vowel it with a kasra, i.e. حقد and حقد (cf. Şuḫī, Fiqh 82). The imperfect of فعل with fatha of the 2nd radical can become ضرب يضرب or ضرب يضرب “to hit” and ضرب يضرب “to kill”. Verbs of the form فعل with the damma are more numerous than those of the form فعل with the kasra: 802 / 516, and in the Qur’ān 102 / 88 (cf. Bakkūs, Taṣrīf 91). Verbs of the conjugation فعل يفعل (for discussions concerning its use see ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Šarf 63-64) denote generally superiority, e.g. شعرة “he excelled him in composing poetry”. This form is referred to as البالغة (cf. Wright, II, 58), or is specified for the superi ority (cf. Astarābādī, Šarf al-Sāfiya I, 70; for a study of this form see Roman, Étude II, 985-992).

فعل (for discussions see Bakkūs, Taṣrīf 85-87, Bohas, Étude 60; for discussions concerning its use see ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Šarf 65-66) with the kasra of the 2nd radical in the perfect and its fatha in the imperfect, namely فعل، can denote: 1– a temporary state or condition, e.g. “to be angry” and رح “to be happy”, 2– refer to physical activities or needs, e.g. ركب “to ride” and شرب “to drink”, or 3– is indicative of the subject’s submission to the verb without any participation of his will, e.g. نع “to follow” and حسم “to loose”. In most of the cases it becomes ضرب except for some anomalies mentioned below. The Banū Tamīm vowel the 2nd radical of the verb in the imperfect with a fatha showing a preference for the form فعل يفعل فرعًا فرعًا “he is finished with” whereas the Quraishiš vowel it with a damma showing a preference for the form فعل يفعل (cf. Şuḫī, Fiqh 82, Anīs, Lahgāt 88). There exist some anomalies concerning the form فعل (for the dialectal variant known as the تallest see my notes
Sibawaihi, II, 279 mentions some cases of verbs in which the 2nd radical is made vowelless in the perfect and the 1st radical is given a kasra, e.g. نَعَمُ لَعْبَ “to play”, نَعُومُ لَعْبِ “to lead a life of ease”, بَنْسُ لَعْبٍ “to be miserable” (for a detailed study concerning نَعْمُ لَعْبٍ and بَنْسُ لَعْبٍ see Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 217-229; it can be mentioned that they are considered as two nouns by the Kufans, whereas they are considered as two undclinable verbs in the perfect by the Basrans, for their debate see Ibn al-Anbâri, Insâf Q. 14, 47-57) and نَعَمُ لَعْبٍ “to witness”. Instead, شَهَدتُ instead of شَهِدتُ occurs instead of شَهَدتُ in the following verse said by al-Âṭal, Dhwân 64, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 279, Mu‘addib, Tasrif’207 (with صَيْحَة mentioned by Mu‘addib instead), Åkesson, Elision 23:

"إذا غاب عننا غاب عننا فراشنا وأنا شهدنا اجتدي فضل الله و изделияه."  

"If he withdrew from us then the sweet water has withdrawn, and if he was present then his graciousness was of use and so were his curriculums".

An anomaly concerning the form نَعَمُ لَعْبٍ from نَعْمُ لَعْبٍ that can be mentioned, is that its 2nd vowelless radical is given a kasra resulting in نَعْمُ لَعْبٍ. This peculiarity pertains to the dialect of the Banû Huḍail. An example mentioned by Sibawaihi, II, 457 and Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 217 [with القُوم “the people” instead of الحَي “him” by him] is نَعْمُ لَعْبٍ “to lead a life of ease”, which occurs in the following verse said by Ṭarafa:

"بِعْمَ الساعَةَ في الحَي الشَّطَر.”  

"So wonderful you take care of the remotest quarter!".

The Banû Tamîm and the Banû Huḍail give the same anomalous kasra to the 1st radical when it is followed by a kasra in adjectives and nouns, e.g. بِحَيْفٍ لَيْمَ instead of لَيْمَ “ignoble” بِحَيْفٍ لَيْمَ instead of لَيْمَ “skinny” and بِحَيْفٍ لَيْمَ instead of لَيْمَ “flat loaf of bread” (cf. Ibn Sîdî, Muḥasâṣ XIV, 213, my notes (174)). According to Ibn Ġînî, Ǧasâ'îs II, 143, this inclination of a vowel to the vowel of a guttural consonant pertains to “the partial assimilation” (for it see (174)).

b) A question worth taking up in this context is why the conjugation نَعَمُ لَعْبٍ with the kasra given to the 2nd radical in the perfect becomes بِعْمُ لَعْبٍ with the fathâ of the 2nd radical in the imperfect, and why the conjugation نَعُومُ لَعْبٍ with the fathâ given to the 2nd radical in the perfect becomes بِعْمُ لَعْبٍ with the kasra of the 2nd radical in the imperfect. According to the theories presented by Ibn Gînî, Munsîf I, 187, the vowel of the 2nd radical of the imperfect must differ from the vowel of the perfect, as each tense is opposite to the other. So the imperfect of فَعَمُ is formed according to بِعْمُ and the imperfect of فَعَمُ is in most of the cases formed according to بِعْمُ. There is as well according to him, a certain harmony in the sounds between the fathâ and the fathâ in two different words of an example, e.g. مَرَأَتُ بُعْمَرُ “I passed by ‘Umar“ and مُرَأَتُ بُعْمَرُ “I hit ‘Umar“, and in the inclination of the kasra to the fathâ and the fathâ to the kasra in,
e.g. “I hit the Hinds” and “I passed by the Hinds”.

(30) is formed according to . As a rule it can be said that when the 2nd or 3rd radical of the verb is a guttural consonant, namely a hamza, h, t, q, or h, the 2nd radical of the imperfect is vowelled by a fatha (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 270-272). According to Ibn Qinni, Ḥaḍāʾīs II, 143, the fatha that is chosen, which is made to accord with the fatha of the 2nd or 3rd guttural consonant, pertains to the “partial assimilation” (for discussions concerning it see (174)).

b) Some anomalies occur that do not follow the rule, e.g. د خل يمد خل “to sit”, ف عل يعع “to enter” with the 2nd radical of the imperfect given the َةلما, and رجع يررجع “to return” with it given the kasra. Furthermore, verbs of this conjugation could have the 2nd radical of the imperfect given the fatha or the kasra, e.g. ينعع ينعع or لعل ينعع “to croak”, or the fatha or the damma, e.g. يررجع يررجع or يررجع or يررجع “to flay”, or even one of all three vowels, e.g. يررجع or يررجع or يررجع “to incline (of a scale of a balance)” (cf. Wright, II, 58; for further discussions see Wright, II, 57-58, Aro, Vokalisierung 56-57, Fleisch, Traité II, 258-260).

(31) is formed according to . It is anomalous as it follows the rule of verbs having a guttural consonant as their 2nd or 3rd radical (cf. (30)), while not having any itself. It could be a combination of two forms (cf. Wright, II, 58) or of two dialectal varieties (cf. Lane, I, 1148).

(32) a verb with 3rd y radical, is formed according to . It is anomalous as it follows the rule of verbs that have a guttural consonant as their 2nd or 3rd radical (cf. (30)), when it is its 1st radical that has one. Sibawaihi, II, 273 notes that they compared يأتي بتأي and يأتي بتأي (cf. Wright, II, 93). The formation يأتي تائي with the imperfect prefix vowelled by a kasra that is meant to conform with the kasra of the 2nd radical of the perfect أتى أتى, pertains to the dialectal variant known as the (for discussions see Sibawaihi, II, 275-277, my notes (99)). يأتي is said by most of the Arabs except the Ḥiqāzīs (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 11). The أتى which does not usually apply to the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect, because of the dislike that the Arabs have for the y being combined with a kasra, which they find heavy (cf. Fleisch, Traité I, 137-138). However the case of أتى occurs which is anomalous. This verb with a hamza as its 1st radical is formed according to ييجل “he is afraid”, a verb with 1st weak radical on the basis of its integration within the conjugation فعل and having a y that follows the imperfect prefixed y (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 276)

(33) All the three verbs أتى لائى and أتى لائى are with 3rd y radical and are formed according to . The y, which is preceded by a kasra in them, is usually changed into an alif maqṣūra by the
The Strong Verb

ταύτης, i.e. ἐν κατώτερης κατηχήσει (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 331, Rabin, 196-197, Åkesson, Conversion 28-29).

is formed according to يَفْعَلُ يُؤْتُمُ. This conjugation denotes the quality and is intransitive (for a study see Sibawayhi, II, 272, Wright, II, 59, Vernier, I, 134, Bakkūṣ, Tasrif 84, Åkesson, Verb and Intransitive 38-39, ‘Abd al-Rahīm, Šarf 67, Bohas, Étude 60-62, Guillaume, Aspects 383-391). The form فَعَلُ يَفْعَلُ is indicative of a lasting state whereas the form فَعَلُ يَفْعَلُ is indicative of a momentary one (cf. de Sacy, I, 145; for a study concerning both forms see Fleisch, Traité II, 249-257).

b) A question worth taking up in this context is why the heavy dāma, and not the fāthā or the kasra, is chosen to vowel the 2nd radical of the conjugation فَعَلُ. According to a theory presented by Ibn Ġinnī, Mansif I, 189, verbs of this conjugation are intransitive, and intransitive verbs occur less frequently than transitive verbs, which implies that the intransitive is heavier than the transitive. By analogy, the heavy dāma is chosen for the heavy intransitive verb, so that what is heavy occurs less in the language than what is light, and the light fāthā or kasra is chosen for the 2nd radical فَعَلُ or فَعَلُ because the transitive verbs are frequently used.

is formed according to يَفْعَلُ يُؤْتُمُ (for a study see Ibn ʿUsfūr, I, 176-177, Howell, II-III, 253, Wright, II, 58, ‘Abd al-Rahīm, Šarf 67). Volland, Volkssprache 129, referring to Baidāwī, notes that Ibn ʿAmīr, Hāmza and ʿĀṣim read يَحْسِبُ instead of يَحْسِبُ from all the sur. of the Qurʾān. Chouēmī, Verbe 65 points to the fact that some dialectal particularities occur with verbs of this form which have been preserved in the Qurʾān. Furthermore, references to this form in some of the other Semitic languages are given.

is a verb with 2nd radical w. Its base form is كُوْدُتْ كَتَكَّاُدْ and it is formed according to يَفْعَلُ يُؤْتُمُ. In the perfect كُوْدُتْ, the w is changed into an ā, i.e. كَتَكَّاُدْ, which causes a cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ā and the d. So the ā is elided and the k is vowelled by a dāma to notify of the elided w, i.e. كَتَكَّاُدْ. In the imperfect كُوْدُتْ, the fāthā is shifted from the w to the k, i.e. كُوْدُتْ, and then the vowelless w is changed into the ā due to the influence of the fāthā preceding it, i.e. كَتَكَّاُدْ. Concerning this particular change that is carried out in the base forms كُوْدُتْ كَتَكَّاُدْ resulting in كَتَكَّاُدْ. Nīkśārī, Mifrāḥ fol. 5b ll. 21-23 writes:

"أَنَّ اَلْسَلِيْمَا كُوْدُتْ كَتَكَّاُدْ فَأَعْلَنَّ الأَبْيَلَ بِثَلَِلَ الْوَلَا أَلْفَاءُ ثُمَّ اَلْسَلِيْمَا كَتَكَّاُدْ".

"As both their [sc. كُوْدُتْ and كَتَكَّاُدْ] base forms are كُوْدُتْ كَتَكَّاُدْ. Then a change due to the unsound weak consonant is carried out in the first one [i.e. كُوْدُتْ] by changing the w into an ā, which caused the cluster of two vowelless consonants [i.e. كَتَكَّاُدْ]. So the ā was elided and the k was vowelled by a dāma to notify of the elided w [i.e. كَتَكَّاُدْ]. And [a change is carried out] in the
second one [i.e. تَكُودُ], by shifting the vowel from the w to the consonant preceding it [i.e. تَكُودُ], and then changing it [sc. the w] into an ā, so that it became تَكُودُ.

is mentioned by Sibawaihi, II, 240 as a dialectal variant by some Arabs (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Munṣīf I, 189). Ibn Manzūr, V, 3952 precisifies that it is the dialectal variant of the Banū ‘Adīy (cf. Saraquṣṭī, Aʃrāl II, 193 in the notes). The most usual form used by the majority of the Arabs is however كدت 'with the k vowelled by a kasra as remarked by Saraquṣṭī, Aʃrāl II, 193. It occurs in the following verse said probably by Šābī', Gūrār 321:

"أما أشتقت يا مولائي حسن فقدتيتي فقد كنت من شوقي إليك أطيباً."

"Were you not filled with longing when you lost me, my lord? I almost flew towards you so much I yearned for you!".

(37) فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ should have occurred formed according to فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ (for discussions concerning the conjugation see (29)), but it occurs anomalously as though it is formed according to فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ. Concerning it, Sibawaihi, II, 240 remarks that it is an anomaly, and that would have followed more the analogy. However, Niksārī, Mifrāḥ fol. 6a ll. 3-6, who refers to Ibn Ḥaǧīb’s saying, means that by him it is not an anomaly. He writes:

"إِنَّ الْقَوْمَ مِن كَلَّامِ الصَّنَفِ أَنْ فَضْلٍ يَفْضُلُ شَأَدَ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ عِنْدَ اِبْنِ الحَاجِبِ رَحْبَةٌ لَهُ

ليس شاذ بل من باب التداخل وذلك لأن العرب يقولون فضل يفضل بالفتاح في الماضي والضم في الغاير وفضل يفضل بالكسر في الماضي والفتح في الغاير فأخذ الماضي من الثاني والضارع من الأول فقيل فضل يفضل.

"It is understood from the saying of the writer [sc. Ibn Mas‘ūd] that فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ “to remain” is anomalous. However, according to Ibn al-Ḥaǧīb, may God have mercy upon him, it is not anomalous, but is subjected to the intrusion of dialectal variants. This is so because the Arabs say فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ with the fatha [of the 2nd radical] in the perfect and with its ḍamma in the imperfect, and فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ with the kasra [of the 2nd radical] in the perfect and with its fatha in the imperfect. So the perfect is taken from the second example [sc. فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ], and the imperfect from the first one [sc. فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ]."

فضل occurs in the following verse said by ‘Īsā b. ‘Umar to Abū l-Aswād, cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Munṣīf I, 256:

"ذَكَرَتْ أَبِي عَبَّاسِ بِيْبَابِ أَبِي عَمَّارِ وَمَا مَرَّ مِنْ عِيْشِي مَضْتُ وَمَا فَضَلْتُ."

"I remembered Ibn ’Abbās at the door of Ibn ‘Āmir. And I remembered all that passed of my life and what remained [of it]".

Other anomalous examples are حضُرُ يَحْضُرُ and حضِرُ يَحْضُرُ “to be present” and حضِرُ يَحْضُرُ and حضُرُ يَحْضُرُ “to be affluent” (cf. Wright, II, 58-59). As a counterpart of فَضْلُ يَفْضُلُ Ibn Durād, Iṣtiqāq 64 takes up only حضُرُ يَحْضُرُ “to attend”.

"
(38) The base form of دمْتُ تدومُ, a verb with 2nd radical w, is دمْت تدومُ (for discussions see Ibn Ginni, Munšīf I, 256). Concerning it Ibn Manzūr, II, 1457 writes:

“Abū l-Hasan said: “There is a speculation concerning this word. The linguists believed that is rare as "to dye" and "to remain" and "to attend". Abū Bakr believed that it is a combination [of two forms]. He said: is according to "to say", and is according to "to be afraid".

Then both dialectal variants were combined together, and some people believed that is formed according to and is formed according to.”

Concerning the variant بيدامُ, it occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn Ginnī, Ḥaṣa‘īs I, 380, Ibn Manzūr, II, 1457, Guillaume, Aspects 400:

"يا مي لا غزور ولا ملامة في الحب إن الحب لن يدام”.

"O Mayya, there is no wonder and no reproach in love,—as verily love is not to last!—”.

Concerning there exists another dialectal variant known to be of the Ṭayyīs, namely مت تسوت (cf. Vollers, Volkssprache 191), which occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4295, Howell, II-III, 254:

"بنيتي سيدة البنات عشي ولا ناهي ان نتاني.

“My little daughter, princess of daughters, you are my life, and we do not feel safe from fear that you should die”.

can also be said مت (for discussions see Rabin, 114-115, Vollers, Volkssprache 141-142).

The readings of مت / مت in the sur. 2: 157, sur. 19: 23, sur. 19: 66 are inconsistent. The tendency of the upholders of the Ḥiḡāzī tradition seem to be مت, but not in all cases.

(39) The presentation of the order of the derived forms of the triliteral verb differs between Arabic and the Western grammars. For instance concerning the Arabs' presentation, Zanqānī, Ḥezzī 2-3 presents at first the perfect that is formed of four consonants: 1- أَكْرُمْ, e.g. “to honour”, 2- فَغْلَ, e.g. “to gladden” and 3- فَاغْلَ, e.g. “to fight”. He then proceeds with the perfect that is formed of five consonants: 1- تَكْسِّرْ, e.g. “to break”, 2-
COMMENTARY

e.g. “to become distant”, e.g. اقتَعّط “to disrupt”, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to assemble” and 5- اَفْعَلْ “to be red”. He concludes his presentation with the perfect that is formed of six consonants: 1- اَفْعَلْ, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to remove”, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to be very red”, 3- اَفْعَلْ, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to be covered with luxuriant herbage”, 4- اَفْعَلْ, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to have a hump in front”, and 6- اَفْعَلْ, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to last long”.

b) Ibn Mas’ūd enumerates the derived forms of the triliteral verb as twelve, although the well-known are fourteen. The two more anomalous forms which are not mentioned by him are the following: Form XIV: اَفْعَلْ, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to be dark” and Form XV اَفْعَلْ, e.g. اَفْعَلْ “to be swollen or filled with rage”. This is a presentation of them with their numbering and their various meanings according to Western grammars. Some of the paradigms of the verbs are presented in both the perfect and the imperfect:

(2): Form II: اَفْعَلْ “to cut” (for a study of this form with its corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, *Comparative Grammar* 198-202). In the Semitic languages Form II can be designated by the symbol D that refers to the doubled 2nd radical (cf. Ungnad, *Bezeichnung*).

Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

The meaning of Form II:
- It intensifies the meaning of the root.
- It can be similar to the groundform, e.g. زَيَّنْتَهُ “I separated it” (cf. Zamahsari, 129, Howell, *II-III*, 271). It can also have its meaning or the meaning of Form V, e.g. بَدَّلْ بَدْلًا and بَدَّلْ “to exchange”. Some verbs are also intransitive (cf. Blachère, 51). For some examples found in the dialects see Marçais, *Dialecte* 91, Cantineau, *Dialecte* 147.
THE STRONG VERB

- It makes causative transitive verbs, e.g. "to know" in the groundform, "to teach".
- It indicates the time when a thing is done, e.g. صبحنا مسنين وسحرنا "we went to find him in the morning, in the evening and at dawn" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 251).
- It has an estimative meaning, e.g. قلب "to believe" in the groundform, كذب "to consider as sincere", and كذب "to lie" in the groundform, كذب "to consider as a liar".
- It makes someone or something do a thing, e.g. كتب "to make someone write".
- It is derived from nouns and expresses their meanings, e.g. "bread", "to consider as sincere", and "to lie" in the groundform, "to consider as a liar" (cf. Vernier, I,138).
- It expresses the negation of the idea existing in the groundform, e.g. "to fear", "to deliver from fear" (cf. Vernier, I,138).
- It denotes a movement from one place to another, e.g. "to go to the Orient", "to go to the Occident" (cf. Vernier, I,137) and "to go to al-Kufa" (cf. Howell, II-III, 271).
- It denotes becoming its root, e.g. "the woman became an old woman" (cf. Howell, II-III, 271).

(3): Form III: قالت, e.g. "to fight" (for a study of this form with its corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 202-204).

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

The meaning of Form III:
- It denotes the idea of reciprocity, e.g. "I hit him and he hit me" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 253).
- It denotes the idea of rivalry, e.g. "to be high-ranking" in the groundform, "to vie for precedence in honor or nobility" (cf. Vernier, I, 139).
– It denotes enduring the action of the groundform, e.g. قَسَى “to be harsh” and قَاسَى “to suffer” (cf. Vernier, I, 139).
– It comprehends the meaning of the prepositions, e.g. جَالِسُ السَّلَطَانَ and جَالِسُ عَنْدَ السَّلَطَانِ “he sat near the sultan” (cf. Vernier, I, 138-139).
– It can be similar to the groundform, e.g. سَافَرَ and سَافَ “to go forth to journey” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 129, Howell, II-III, 272).
– It can be similar to Form II نُعِمَتُ “I doubled [the thing]”, like ضَعْفَتُ (cf. Zamaḥšari, 129, Howell, II-III, 273).
– It can be similar to Form IV أَفْعَلْ “make your ear to be possessed of mindfulness for us”, like أَفْعَنَ (cf. Howell, II-III, 272).

(4): Form IV أَفْعَلْ “to honour” (for a study of the Semitic causative conjugation see Retsö, Diathesis 49-138). In the Semitic languages Form IV can be designated by the symbol C (causative) and by the symbol H that refers to the hamza in Arabic, and to the prefix, etc. in the other Semitic languages (cf. Ungnad, Bezeichnung).

Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>أَكْرَمْنَا</td>
<td>أَكْرَمُوُنَّا</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>أَكْرَمَتْ</td>
<td>أَكْرَمْنَّا</td>
<td>أَكْرَمُوُنَّا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>أَكْرَمَتْ</td>
<td>أَكْرَمْنَّا</td>
<td>أَكْرَمُوُنَّا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>أَكْرَمَ</td>
<td>أَكْرَمْنَا</td>
<td>أَكْرَمُوُنَّا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>أَكْرَمَ</td>
<td>أَكْرَمْنَا</td>
<td>أَكْرَمُوُنَّا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
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<td>كُرِمْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>كُرِمْتُ</td>
<td>كُرِمْنِينَ</td>
<td>كُرِمْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
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<td>كُرِمْنِينَ</td>
<td>كُرِمْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>كُرِمْ</td>
<td>كُرِمْنِي</td>
<td>كُرِمْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>كُرِمْ</td>
<td>كُرِمْنِي</td>
<td>كُرِمْنَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of Form IV.

– It can be similar to the groundform, e.g. أَشْفَعْتُ “I busied him” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 129, Howell, II-III, 268). For a general presentation of some verbs of Form I and IV in Arabic with their different meanings see ٹالِب، Faṣīḥ 11-14. For a list of manuscripts and books treating the subject see Saraqūṭ, Afāl I, 8-9. The independent works that he mentions are: the Kitāb fa‘alultu wa-af‘alultu by al-Asma‘i, of which the manuscript 2/28 exists in Cairo, the Kitāb fa‘alultu wa-af‘alultu by Abū ʿUbad, of which the manuscript 3/281 exists in Cairo, the Kitāb fa‘alultu wa-af‘alultu by Abū Hātim al-Siġistānī, of which many manuscripts exist in Cairo and the Kitāb fa‘alultu wa-af‘alultu by Abū ʿIṣāq al-Zağga, which was printed in Cairo 1368 A.H. For a detailed presentation of such verbs in both these forms with different meanings in which the 1st radical is: the hamza see Saraqūṭ, Afāl I, 67-82, the b, IV,
70-100, the $t$, $III$, 354-363, the $t$, $III$, 613-621, the $g$, $II$, 253-280, the $h$, $I$, 336-377, the $b$, $I$, 440-473, the $d$, $III$, 294-311, the $d$, $III$, 589-596, the $r$, $III$, 18-61, the $z$, $III$, 443-457, the $s$, $III$, 500-532, the $s$, $II$, 330-363, the $s$, $III$, 383-403, the $d$, $II$, 208-222, the $t$, $III$, 249-262, the $g$, $III$, 579-583, the $g$, $I$, 204-254, the $g$, $II$, 7-24, the $f$, $IV$, 8-37, the $q$, $II$, 55-95, the $k$, $II$, 146-165, the $l$, $II$, 417-442, the $m$, $IV$, 144-172, the $n$, $III$, 128-177, the $h$, $I$, 131-144, the $w$, $IV$, 227-253 and the $y$, $IV$, 295-297. For a presentation of a list of verbs of both these forms with identical meaning see Retso, *Diathesis* 223-235, and for a presentation of such verbs in which the 1st radical is $a$: hamza see Saraqusti, *Af'āl* I, 65-67, $b$, $IV$, 65-70, $t$, $III$, 353-354, $g$, $II$, 244-253, $h$, $I$, 327-336, $h$, $I$, 434-440, $d$, $III$, 289-294, $d$, $III$, 588-589, $r$, $III$, 1-18, $z$, $III$, 438-443, $s$, $III$, 492-499, $s$, $II$, 323-330, $s$, $III$, 376-383, $d$, $II$, 205-207, $t$, $III$, 247-249, $g$, $III$, 579, $t$, $I$, 195-204, $g$, $II$, 1-6, $f$, $IV$, 8-37, $q$, $II$, 50-55, $k$, $II$, 141-146, $l$, $II$, 410-416, $m$, $IV$, 137-144, $n$, $III$, 116-128, $h$, $I$, 128-131, $w$, $IV$, 219-227 and $y$, $IV$, 294-295. For a presentation of verbs in the groundform and in the causative forms in Ge'ez, Syriac and Biblical Hebrew with identical meaning see Retso, *Diathesis* 206-214.

- It can be similar to Form II ꧯPALU, as it signifies to make someone do something or supposes an action or a state, e.g. أَكْتُبْ “to make someone write” and أُنْهِرْ “to accuse someone of being a liar”. For a study of the agreement and differenciation in meaning of both Form II and Form IV in Arabic see Lemaehuis, *Stems* 8 sq., and for this study in Hebrew see 16-17. For a comparison between Form IV in Arabic with the one in some the Semitic languages see Roman, *Étude* 925, Rosenthal, *Aramaic* & 99, 157, 166.

- It can be formed from nouns, e.g. أَبَابْ “to become a desert” from فَنَّرْ “desert”, هَضَبْ “suspicion” (cf. Sibawaihi, *II*, 250, Howell, *II-III*, 272, Vernier, *I*, 140). It denotes entering a place or time, e.g. أَجْعَلْ “to enter Nağḍ”, أَجْعَلْ “to enter the mountain” and أَصْحَأْ “to enter upon the morning” (cf. Howell, *II-III*, 267, Vernier, *I*, 140).

- It denotes moving from one place to another, e.g. أَحْجُرْ “he went to al-Hiğāz” and أَجْرُ “he went to the Occident” (cf. Vernier, *I*, 140-141).

- It denotes finding a quality in the object, e.g. أَحْمَدْتُهُ “I found him such as to be praised” (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 128, Howell, *II-III*, 268).

- It denotes exposing (for discussions see Larcher, *Af'ala* 7 sqq.), e.g. أَفْتَنْتُهُ “I exposed him to slaughter” and اِفْتَنْتُهُ “I exposed him to sale” (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 128, Howell, *II-III*, 267).

- It denotes depriving, e.g. أَسْفَقَتْهُ “I removed his complaint” (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 129, Howell, *II-III*, 268).

- It denotes negating the groundform, e.g. شَفَى “to be cured” and شَفَى “not to be cured” (cf. Vernier, *I*, 140).

5: Form V ꧯPALU, e.g. ꧯPALU “to deign”.

Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
<td>ꧯPALU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلْتِ</td>
<td></td>
<td>تَفَضَّلْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
<td>تَفَضَّلَتْنَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of Form V:

- It is the reflexive to Form II, e.g. "I broke it in pieces and it broke in pieces" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 127, Howell, II-III, 261).
- It denotes affecting, e.g. "he encouraged himself", or endeavouring to acquire, e.g. "he endeavoured to acquire forbearance" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 255, Zamaḥšari, 127, Howell, II-III, 261-262).
- It is similar to Form X, with its two meanings of believing and requiring, e.g. "he believed himself to be great" and "he sought the settlement and manifestation of it" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 127-128, Howell, II-III, 262).
- It denotes a repeated action that occurs progressively in time, e.g. "he swallowed it in successive gulps" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 127, Howell, II-III, 263).
- It denotes taking for oneself, e.g. "I took the place for an abode" and "I took the dust for a pillow" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 128, Howell, II-III, 263).
- It denotes associating with a religion, a sect, a nation or a tribe, e.g. "to become a Christian", "to become a Jew", "to associate with the Qaisi tribe", "to become an Arab" and "to become a Syrian" (cf. Vernier, I, 143).
- It denotes abstaining from the action of the groundform, e.g. "to stay awake at night" and "to abstain from sin" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 128, Vernier, I, 143).

(6): Form VI, e.g. "to strike" (for a study of this form with its corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 212-214).

Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتِ</td>
<td></td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتِنَّ</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
<td>تَصَارَبْتُنَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3rd fem.  

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

The meaning of Form VI:

- It denotes an action done by two and more, e.g. "they both fought together" and "they fought together" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 128, Howell, II-III, 265).
- It is similar to the groundform, e.g. "I flagged in the matter" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 128, Howell, II-III, 264).
- It is the reflexive of Form II جعلت فعل "I glorified him and he was glorified" (cf. Vernier, I, 143).
- It is the reflexive of Form III جعلت, e.g. "I made him to remove to a distance, and he removed to it" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 128, Howell, II-III, 265).
- It is similar to Form VIII جعلت، تقاتلو "they hit each other", and جعلت, and قاتلوا "they killed each other" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 254).
- It denotes stimulating an action or a state, e.g. جعلت "I feigned to be ignorant" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 128, Howell, II-III, 264).

(7): Form VII جعلت "to depart" (for a study of this form with its corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 215-218). Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>انصرف</td>
<td>انصرفنا</td>
<td>انصرفنا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>انصرف</td>
<td>انصرفنا</td>
<td>انصرفنا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>انصرف</td>
<td>انصرفنا</td>
<td>انصرفنا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The meaning of Form VII:

- It is the passive of the groundform, e.g. "I broke it and it broke" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 252, Zamaḥšari, 129, Howell, II-III, 273).

(8) Form VIII, e.g. احترَف الافعال "to despise". When it is compared to some of the other forms of the derived verbs, as Form IV الافعال, Form V الافعال and Form X الافعال استفتعل, it is the only form in which the augment occurs after the 1st radical. Furthermore in some of the other Semitic languages as in Hebrew, e.g. hitpaqqed that corresponds to استفتعل to "to miss" (cf. 'Abd al-Rahīm, Șarf 39) and in the Aramaic reflexive (cf. Wright, II, 42), the t precedes the 1st radical (for a possible explanation of the actual form see Wright, Comparative Grammar 208). This is why its base form may be احترَف, and then the t and the 1st radical f changed place together (cf. 'Abd al-Rahīm, Șarf 39, ‘Abdat, ʿAḥbat 136-137).

Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

The meaning of Form VIII:

- It is similar to the groundform, e.g. كَسَب "to obtain" (cf. Zamaḥšari, 129, Howell, II-III, 276, Vernier, I, 145).

- It is the reflexive of the groundform, e.g. "to hear" and "to listen to" and جَع "to collect" and جَج "to collect themselves".

- It is similar to Form VI الفعال, e.g. تَحِاورًا and "they killed each other" and تُبْتَلُوا and جَج "they became mutual neighbours" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 254).

- It is similar to Form VII الفعال, e.g. "I grieved him and he grieved" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 252, Zamaḥšari, 129, Howell, II-III, 274).

(9): Form IX اَحْمِرَ و, e.g. اَحْمَرُ “to be red”.
Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>اَحْمِرَتْ</td>
<td>اَحْمِرَتْ</td>
<td>اَحْمِرَتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>اَحْمِرْتُم</td>
<td>اَحْمِرْتُم</td>
<td>اَحْمِرْتُم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>اَحْمِرْتِي</td>
<td>اَحْمِرْتِي</td>
<td>اَحْمِرْتِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتُ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتُ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتِ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتِ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتِ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتُن</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتُن</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتُن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
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<td>اَحْمَرْتِن</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْتِن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْنَ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْنَ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْنَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْنَ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْنَ</td>
<td>اَحْمَرْنَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of Form IX:
– It is used for permanent colours or defects.

(10): Form X استَخْرَجْ, e.g. استَخْرَجْ “to extract” (for a study of this form with its corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 214-215).
Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتُم</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتُم</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتُم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِن</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِن</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>استَخْرَجَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
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<td>استَخْرَجْتُن</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتُن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِن</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِن</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْتِن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
<td>استَخْرَجْنَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The meaning of Form X:
- It is similar to the groundform, e.g. `aš-šurūr “to rest” (cf. Zamāḥšārī, 130, Howell, II-III, 277).
- It denotes the request of the act, e.g. `aš-šaḥāla “he required his working” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 255, Zamāḥšārī, 130, Howell, II-III, 277).
- It denotes becoming transmuted, e.g. astaḥ getPassword “the clay became stone” (cf. Zamāḥšārī, 130, Howell, II-III, 277).
- It denotes finding someone to be of a certain quality, e.g. astaḥjāra “I found him to be grand” (cf. Zamāḥšārī, 130, Howell, II-III, 278).
- It denotes appointing someone for a position, e.g. astoṣṣūr “to appoint one as a minister” (cf. Vernier, I, 146).

11 Form XI: `aš-šuṣṣūr, e.g. `aš-šuṣṣūr, “to be very red”.
The meaning of Form XI:
- It intensifies Form IX.

12 Form XII: `aš-šawṣawṣ, e.g. `aš-šawṣawṣ, “to become very harsh”.
The meaning of Form XII:
- It denotes intensity.

13 Form XIII: `aš-šuṣṣūr, e.g. `aš-šuṣṣūr, “to last long”.
The two more anomalous forms which are not mentioned by Ibn Masʿūd are the following:

14 Form XIV: `aš-šaḥm, e.g. `aš-šaḥm, “to be dark”.

15 Form XV `aš-šaḥrūr, e.g. `aš-šaḥrūr, “to be swollen or filled with rage” (cf. Wright, II, 46-47).

Absal Hamid, Tāṣrīf 599 mentions thirty-seven forms of triliteral verbs that include the groundform, the augmented, and the `aḍāl “coordinated to the quadriliteral by an augment or more” (for it see 41). A larger list comprising forty-three forms, excluding the groundform, is presented by Howell, II-III, 254-257. For a presentation and study of the triliteral verbs’ forms see Zamāḥšārī, 126-130, Zağanī, 77-2-3, Vernier, I, 125-150, Howell, II-III, 245-279, Wright, II, 29-47, Blachère, 38-73, Roman, “Toude II, 917-947, Fischer, Grammatik 87-89, Fleisch, Traité II, 227-340.

40 The reason of the assimilation of the r to the r in both the base forms `aḍrūr and `aḍḥār and, respectively, is the combination of two voweled identical consonants. No assimilation of the w to the alif maqṣūra is carried out in arūwī in spite of the verb’s formation, as with the case of `aḍḥār; on the pattern of `aḍḥār, on the account that both these weak consonants are not of the same kind. Hence arūwī is not said by the Arabs (cf. Wright, II, 43, 91). It can be interesting to remark that the question concerning the measure of `aḍḥār occupied Ibn al-Ḥayyāt (d. 320/932) (Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Maṣṣūr Abū Bakr, see Zubaidī, Ṭabaqāt, Yaqūt, Muʿjam XVII, 141, Suyūṭī, Muṣḥir I, 48, Sezgin, Geschichte IX, 163-164. He was well acquainted with both the Basrans’ and the Kufans’ methods and was one of al-Zāgāgī’s teachers. He wrote Maʿānī l-qurʾān, al-Nahw l-kabīr, al-Muqniʿī l-nahw and other works), referred to by Suyūṭī, Asbāb III, 210-211 who writes:
"Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayyāt, who is one of the teachers of Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaḡgāḡī and one of the friends of Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yahyā [Taʿlab], said: "I spent years inquiring about the measure of [Arabic: أَرْجَعُ] without finding anyone who knew it. It is so that its measure has a derivative and a base form. Its base form is that it should be formed according to [Arabic: أَرْجَعُ] as if it was [Arabic: أَرْجَعٌ] but they disliked to say it so, because the doubled w does not occur as the last weak consonant neither in the perfect nor in the imperfect. And if they said [Arabic: أَرْجَعُ] and then suffixed the [agent] r to it, then it would have been necessary to separate both the waws, in the same manner as when they suffixed the t to [Arabic: أَحْرَصُتُ] and said "I became red" and dissolved. But they did not say [Arabic: أَرْجَعُتُ] with the combination of both waws in the same manner as they did not say [Arabic: أَحْرَصُتُ] "I became strong", so they changed the 2nd w in it into another [weak] consonant. There is no doubt that one of both the waws is additional, as well as there is no doubt that one of both the rāʾs in [Arabic: أَحْرَصُتُ] is additional”. He said: "And if it was asked what happened with the measure [Arabic: أَرْجَعُ]”. He answered: "It is possible that it is on the measure of [Arabic: أَفْعَلُ]." He said: "And if a sayer said it is on the measure [Arabic: أَفْعَلُ], it would also have been a possibility, but the first follows better the analogy.”


(41) Quadrilateral verbs (for a general presentation see Zamahšari, 130, Vernier, I, 150-154, Howell, II-III, 280-282, Wright, II, 47-49, Blachère, 73-76, Roman, Étude II, 982-983, Fischer, Grammatik 89-90, Fleisch, Traité II, 427-463) can: 1– be formed from foreign words of more than three consonants, e.g. [Arabic: سَرَأَوْلُ] “to put on” [Arabic: سَرَأوْلَ ‘trousers or drawers’” from the Persian [Arabic: َبَسْلَ ‘in the name of God’” (see below), 3– be a repeated biliteral root (for discussions see
Bohas, *Structure* 39-44) expressing a sound or a movement, e.g. رَكَّزَ “to shake”, 4– be a developed triliteral verb through the insertion of a 4th consonant or more (cf. Wright, II, 47-48, de Sacy, I, 125, 126-128 note 1, Roman, *Étude II*, 982-983 and my presentation below), e.g.

زَحَفَ “to roll along” from رَكَّزَ “to advance slowly”.

Ibn Mas'ūd presents the groundform of the quadrilateral and its well-known three derived forms. A fourth one that is more anomalous exists as well. An introduction to them with their numbering and their general meanings is here presented:

1. **Form I**: e.g. دَخَّرَ “to roll”. The form is similar to the groundform of the triliteral فعلَ.

As for the derived forms, they are:

2. **Form II**: e.g. تَدَخَّرَ “to roll along”. The form is the passive of the groundform of the quadrilateral فعلَ.

3. **Form III**: e.g. اَِمْرَتْ “to gather together in a mass”.

4. **Form IV** e.g. أَطْمَعُ “to shudder with horror”. The form denotes intensity.

5. **Form V**: e.g. أَهْرَمَ “to be fast in the race” (cf. Vernier, I, 153). It denotes intensity.

The development of the triliteral verb into being of four, five, or six consonants, is what Ibn Mas'ūd, who follows the traditional grammarians, names for مَلَحَقٌ “coordinated to another pattern by the addition of an augment or more to its root” (cf. 'Abd al-Hamid, *Tasrif* 599, Fleisch, *Traité II*, 464, Fleisch, *Tasrif*, Bohas, *Étude* 100-116, Mokhlis, *Tasrif* 90-92). The verb which is coordinated to another pattern of verb by an augment or more, has a mascul which is of the same structure as this verb’s mascul. An example is the triliteral verb جَلَبَ “to bring about”, which by the duplication of its 3rd radical b becomes جِلَبُ “to clothe with a garment” coordinated to Form I of the quadrilateral دَخَّرَ, of which the masculinity جَلَبَة is of the same structure as دَخَّرَة. Some of the different forms of quadrilaterals that a triliteral verb can be coordinated to are the following:

- مَلَحَقٌ دَخَّرَ coordinated to Form I of the quadrilateral فعلَ, e.g. دَخَّرَ by the addition of an augment (cf. 'Abd al-Hamid, *Tasrif* 598).
- مَلَحَقٌ تَدَخَّرَ coordinated to Form II of the quadrilateral فعلَ, e.g. تَدَخَّرَ by the addition of more than one augment (cf. Suyūṭī, *Muzhir II*, 27).
- مَلَحَقٌ اَِمْرَتْ coordinated to Form III of the quadrilateral مَلَقُ, e.g. اَِمْرَتْ by the addition of more than one augment (cf. Suyūṭī, *Muzhir II*, 27).

De Sacy, I, 125 writes referring to the quadrilaterals بَطِرٍ "to pierce, stab" *etc.*

"Je ne crois pas devoir faire une classe particulière de certains verbes nommés par les grammairiens arabes des "quadrilateres" c’est à dire attached à la suite du verbe quadrilatère, ou pour m’exprimer d’une manière plus concise, quasi-quadrilatères. Ce sont des verbes de quatre lettres, formés de racines trilatères, soit par le redoublement de la dernière lettre, comme جَلَبَ, dérivés des racines جَلَبَ, شَمَلَ et جَلَبَ, soit par l’insertion entre les radicales d’un و or d’un ي; tels sont les verbes
The presentation of these coordinated forms relate only to the groundform of the quadriliteral, and not to all the forms as one would expect with the generalization De Sacy does not discuss here the forms that are coordinated to Form II or Form III of the quadriliteral. But it is also possible that only verbs of four consonants are considered as quadriliteral by some grammarians, and not those others consisting of more consonants as those of the derived forms of the quadriliteral. This discussion is taken up en passant in his note 1 to pp. 126-128:

“Car plusieurs autre lettres que le ٌ, le ٌ et le ٌ semblent être entrées comme lettres accessoires ou formatives dans des racines trilittères, pour donner naissance à des verbes ou à des noms de quatre, de cinq et de six lettres...” [to which he gives some examples, but he concludes his analysis with these words]: “... mais toutes ces observations ne pourraient conduire qu’à des hypothèses étymologiques tout à fait étrangères à la grammaire”.

The example of verbs that are coordinated by an augment or more to Form I of the quadriliteral presented by Ibn Mas’ûd are not however, complete. In fact, de Sacy, I, 126 in the note remarks:

“Ahmed, fils d’Ali, fils de Masoud, dans le مَرَاحُ الْأَرْوَاحِ, ne reconnaît que six formes des verbes quadrilitteres, qu’il appelle مَلَخَقُ حَوَقَلُ وَشَشَلَل, et voici les exemples qu’il en donne بِيِّطَرُ حَوَقَلُ وَشَشَلَل, et سيِّطَرُ حَوَقَلُ وَشَشَلَل [which should have been “قلَّسُ”, الْعَصَيْرُ حَوَقَلُ وَشَشَلَل [which should have been “قلَّسُ”, جَهَورُ حَوَقَلُ وَشَشَلَل [which should have been “قلَّسُ”].

Abû Ḥanîfa, Maqsûd 2 recognizes also six forms that are coordinated to the groundform of the quadriliteral only, but instead of “خَرَحْ”, he has the form “عَصَيْرْ”, e.g. “حَرَحْ”, “عَصَيْرْ” “to stumble”. The forms that are coordinated by an augment to the groundform of the quadriliteral vary from one grammarian to another (e.g. Ibn ‘Usfûr, I, 167 sqq., “Abd al-Hamid, Taṣrîf 598-599, Suyûṭî, Muẓhir II, 27-28, Howell, II-III, 257-258). De Sacy, I, 126 in the note discusses some variations between the grammarians including among them Ibn Mas’ûd whom he names. One of them to whom he refers to, Lumsden, M., A Grammar of the Arabic language 149-150, presents seven forms that are coordinated to the groundform of the quadriliteral, but adds according to de Sacy: “qu’on pourrait beaucoup en augmenter le nombre”. Ibn Mas’ûd refers with his examples to six forms that are co-ordinated to Form I of the quadriliteral according to “عَصَيْرْ”, without mentioning the forms. The forms are presented here with a discussion:

(1) شَشَلَلَ, فَعَلَلُ with the two last radicals identical, e.g. شَشَلَلَ, فَعَلَلُ.
(2) مَوْلَلَ with the infixed w after the 1st radical, e.g. مَوْلَلَ. The verb is usually a combination of syllables in the frequently used expression “لاِ لَوْلَأ فَوْقَةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ” “there is no power and no strength save in God”. It means however to grow old in the following verse said by Ru’ba, cited by Ibn Ğinni, Munṣîf I, 39, III, 7, Ibn Ya’îś, VII, 155, Mâlûkî 66, Ibn Manzûr, II, 947, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1541:

"يَا قَوْمِ قَدْ حَوَقَلْتُ أَوْ دُوَّنُتْ وَعَدُّ حَيَّالُ أَرْجَالِ آلِمَوتْ."
“O my people, I have grown old and impotent, or have come near to it; and after men’s growing old and impotent is death”.

Other examples that are similar to حَوَّلَنَّ in being a combination of syllables in well-known expressions, but which are formed according to فَعَلَ and not to فعلَ، are:

- “to say بِنَامِ اللَّهِ جَعَلَ فِدَاكَ جَعَفَدَ “may I become your ransom!”
- “to say in the name of God”
- “God is sufficient for me”
- “praise belongs to God”
- “may God make your strength last”
- “God be praised”
- “peace be with you!”
- “may God make your life last!”
- “whatever God intend”
- “this then is so and so much”
- “Come to the prayer!”

To the caller during the morning said: “So come to prayer!”

The masdar is حَيْبَالَتْ, and it occurs in the following verse said by unknown poet, cited by Ta‘alibi, Fiqh 253, Mu‘addib, Taṣrif 398, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4693, Subhi, Fiqh 244:

“أَوْلَىٰ لَهَا وَدَمَّعَ العَيْنَ جَارِ الْمُتَّحَرِّكِ حَيْبَالَتِ الْسَّنَادِٰ”

“I say to her while the tears of the eyes are shedding: “Doesn’t the caller’s invitation for prayer make you sad?”.

(3) فعلَ لَبِنَامِ غَيْبَةَ وَقَدْ عَلَى ّا وَقُلْتُمْ فَعَلَ and فَعَلَلَ see Fleisch, Verbes 84-88).

(4) فعلَ لَبِنَامِ غَيْبَةَ وَقَدْ عَلَى ّا وَقُلْتُمْ فَعَلَ and Howell, II-III, 257 has فَعَلَ, فَعَلَلَ, فَعَلَلَ, and فَعَلَلَ. The following derived forms of the triliteral, which form patterns coordinated to the groundform of the quadriliteral فَعَلَلَ, are added below. It is worth noting concerning this presentation, that not all these forms are considered by the grammarians to be coordinated to the quadriliteral’s pattern, but are formed according to it:

A– the following forms with prefix:
THE STRONG VERB

(7) the t: ْبَرَئَالْدِيَادُ، e.g. ْبَرَئَالْدِيَادُ “to absent oneself from battle” from رَنْسُ “to conceal” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 10, Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Howell, II-III, 255).

(8) the s: ْبَيْنُ “to hasten” from نَبَسُ “meaning” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 9, Howell, II-III, 255, Wright, II, 47).

(9) the ۶: ْبَطَخَ “to laugh much” i.e. رَزْحَقُ (cf. al-Ḥallī in his introduction to the Kitāb al-ʿayn translated by Haywood, Lexicography 32, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 9, Ibn Manzūr, III, 1878, Howell, II-III, 254, Wright, II, 48).

(10) the h: ْبُهْنَمَ، e.g. ْبُهْنَمَ “to swallow” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Howell, II-III, 255).

(11) the m: ْبِرْجَ “to welcome” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27).

(12) the n: ْبَنْعَ “to be dirty” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27).

(13) the y: ْبَيِّنَ “to dye red with henna” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27).

B– the following forms with infix after the 1st radical:

(14) The ۶: ْبَخْرُ “to shed blood or something else” (cf. Fleisch, Traité II, 441; for more examples concerning this particular form see 441-442).

(15) the m: ْبَنْعَ “to eject (the stallion) its semen before insertion” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 10, Howell, II-III, 255).


(17) the h: ْبُهْينَ (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27), e.g. ْبَنْعَ “to conceal” from رَنْسُ (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 9, Howell, II-III, 255; for more examples concerning this particular form see Fleisch, Traité II, 440-441).

C– the following forms with infix after the 2nd radical:

(18) the ۶: ْبِرْئِالْدِيَادُ، e.g. ْبِرْئِالْدِيَادُ “the cock ruffled the feathers of his neck” (cf. Howell, II-III, 257).


(20) the ۶: ْبِنْعَ “to walk slowly because of a disturbance” (cf. Fleisch, Traité II, 442. For more examples concerning this particular form see 442-443).

(21) the 1st radical: ْبَخْرَ، e.g. رَزْحَقُ in the meaning of “to destroy” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27). However, according to Ibn Manzūr, III, 1878 and others already mentioned, رَزْحَقُ is in the meaning of “to laugh boisterously, which classifies it under ْبَخْرُ mentioned above.

(22) the m: ْبِنْعَ “to shave (one’s head)” from ْبُلْحَ (cf. Howell, II-III, 255, Wright, II, 47).

(23) the y: ْبَنْعَ (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Taṣrīf 599), e.g. ْبَنْعَ “(a man) stooped to coition” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 9, Howell, II-III, 255).

D– the following forms with suffix:

(24) the r: ْبِشْحَرُ، e.g. ْبِشْحَرُ “to be proud” from ْبِشْحَرُ “to be high” (cf. Fleisch, Traité II, 444).
(25) the ș: e.g. مَلْسُ, فَلَسُ “to seduce and take away” from مَلْسُ “to delude” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 9, Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Howell, II-III, 254, Wright, II, 47, Fleisch, Traité II, 444).

(26) the l: e.g. جَعَّلَ, جُعْلَ “to spread itself” from جَعَّلَ “to be scattered” (cf. Wright, II, 47, Fleisch, Traité II, 443; for more examples see Fleisch, Traité II, 443).

(27) the m: e.g. مَلْسُ “cut his epiglottis” from مَلْسُ (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 10, Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Howell, II-III, 255; for more examples concerning this particular form see Fleisch, Traité II, 443-444).

(28) the n: e.g. مَلْسُ “to smear (the camel) with pitch” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 9, Howell, II-III, 255, Wright, II, 48).

Ibn Mas'ūd refers with his examples to five forms that are formed according to Form II of the quadriliteral تَفْعِّلُ according to تَفْعِّلُ, without mentioning them. They are the following:

1. (1) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixed t and the two last radicals identical, e.g. تَجْلَبُ.
2. (2) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixed t and the infixed w after the 1st radical, e.g. تَجْمُّرُ.
3. (3) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixed t and the infixed y after the 1st radical, e.g. تَجْمَّرُ.
4. (4) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixed t and the infixed w after the 2nd radical, e.g. تَمْرُوعُ.
5. (5) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixed t and the infixed m before the 1st radical, e.g. تَسْمِكُ.

The following forms may be added:

A– The following form with infix after the 1st radical:

(6) the h: e.g. تَرْجَمُ “to suck” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 9, Howell, II-III, 255).

B– The following forms with infix after the 2nd radical:

(7) the n: تَفْعِّلُ, Tَفْعِّلُ “to put on oneself a cap” (cf. Ibn 'Uṣfūr, I, 168, Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27).

(8) the y: e.g. تَرْجَمُ “(the clouds) moved, and were prepared for the rain” (cf. Ibn Manzūr, III, 1748, 'Abd al-Ḥamid, Taşrīf 599).

C– The following forms with suffix:

(9) the t: تَفْعِّلُ, e.g. تَعْرَفُ “to act as a devil” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 27, Wright, II, 48).

(10) the l: تَفْعِّلُ, e.g. تَمْحَرُ “to disperse itself” from تَمْحَرُ (for discussions see Fleisch, Traité II, 443).

(11) the alif maqṣūra: تَفْعِّلُ, e.g. تَسْلَقُ “to be thrown down upon one’s back” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Malik 10, Howell, II-III, 255).

Ibn Mas'ūd refers with his examples to two forms that are formed according to Form III of the quadriliteral تَفْعِّلُ according to تَفْعِّلُ, without mentioning them. They are the following:

1. (1) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixation of the hamza, the infixation of the n after the 2nd radical and the suffixation of the s, e.g. تَفْعِّلُ.
2. (2) تَفْعِّلُ تَفْعِّلُ with the prefixation of the hamza, the infixation of the n after the 2nd radical and the
suffixation of the *alif maqṣūra*, e.g. اُسْلَال. Another example that can be mentioned formed according to this measure is اِحْوَنَصْ. (cf. Saraqustī, *Afāl I*, 432), which means according to Abū ʿUṯmān “laying on the back and lifting up one’s legs”. It can also mean according to al-ʿAṣmaʿi “to prepare oneself for anger and evil”. To these the following forms may be added:

A– The following form with infix after the 1st radical:


B– The following forms:

(4) the doubled *m* after the 2nd radical: اَمْسَلْ, e.g. اَمْسِلْ “to be dark (the night)” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, *Ibn Mālik* 10, Howell, *II–III*, 256).


C– The following form with suffix after the 3rd radical:


Ibn Masʿūd does not refer to any measure formed according to Form IV of the quadriliteral which is identical: اَمْسَلْ, with the prefixation of the hamza and the doubling of the last radical. The following forms can be mentioned:

A– The following forms with infix after the 1st radical:

(2) the *I* (cf. Suyūṭī, *Muzhir II*, 28), e.g. اِسْلِمْ “to be agitated (the body) and altered” from اِسْلِمْ (cf. Volck/Kellgren, *Ibn Mālik* 9, Howell, *II–III*, 256).


B– The following form with infix after the 2nd radical:


(42) The paradigm of a strong verb of Form I, e.g. ضَرَّ “to hit”, in the perfect, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَنَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَنَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَنَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>ضَرَّ</td>
<td>ضَرَّ</td>
<td>ضَرَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَتْ</td>
<td>ضَرِّيَنَّ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a general study of the “perfect” see Muʿaddib, *Taṣrīf* 15–27, Zamāḥṣarī, 108, Ibn
Ya‘īṣ, VII, 4-6, Howell, II-III, 4-7, Wright, III, 1-18. The perfect is considered as being divided into three kinds by Mu‘addib, Taṣrīf 17: “literally”, by which he means that the form is the perfect’s form and the meaning is the past, “representative of”, by which he means that the form is the perfect’s form whereas the meaning is the future (for discussions see my notes (44 b)), and “permanent, lasting”, as in the sur. 33: 27 that he presents p. 19 (وَكَانَ اِنَّهُ رَأَهُ مُّنْتَقٌ إِلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرًا “And God has power over all things”, i.e. He has had power in the past, He has power today and power after today as well. Perhaps these special terms have been used by other Kufans. I myself was unable to find them by any one else than by al-Mu‘addib. For a study of the perfect in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 165-179.

(43) “uninflectedness, undeclinability, invariability” (for definitions see de Sacy, I, 395, Lane, I, 260) and (44) “inflection, declension” (for discussions concerning both these terms see Sibawaihi, I, 1 sqq., Ibn Fāris, Sāḥibī 77-78, Ibn Ḏinnī, Ḥasā‘is I, 35 sqq., Luma‘ 1-2, de Sacy, I, 394-395, Bohas/Guillaume/Kouloughi, Linguistic 53-55; for an interesting study from the perspective of the dialectal variations existing between the tribes, together with Sibawaihi’s attempt to present them in a neat theory see Baalbaki, Irāb 17-33; for discussions concerning how long ago the inflectedness has been existent in the bedouins’ living speech see Fleisch, Traité I, 281-282, Blau, Judaeo-Arabic 2-3) pertain mostly to the field of the language “syntax” (for it see (3 b)). However can as well refer to the formal iʿrāb, which is the complete vowelling of the word (for discussions see (3)). ينِبِيْنِ (43) ينِبِيْنِ implies that the word’s ending is invariable, whereas ينِبِيْنِ implies that the ending’s state varies in accordance with the operator governing it. Nouns are by principle declinable, except for some which are undeclinable (for the reasons why a noun can be undeclinable see Zamaḥšari, 9-10, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, I, 58-71, Zabīdī, Taq XXIV, 21-22). The perfect verb is undeclinable whereas the imperfect is declinable. All particles are undeclinable. Concerning the declinable noun, the case inflections are َالتَّصُّمِّيمِ “the nominative”, َالْفِعْلُ “the indicative”, َالجُرْمُ “the subjunctive” and َالْجَزِيرَةِ “the jussive”. Concerning the declinable imperfect verb, the mode inflections are َالْعَفْوُ “the indicative”, َالْمُمْضِبِّعُ “the subjunctive” and َالْجُزِيرَةِ “the jussive”. The question concerning which of the three parts of speech (for a discussion concerning them see (10 b)): the noun, verb or particle, is entitled to be declinable or undeclinable, has been a debated subject by many Arab grammarians (e.g. Zaqqūgī, Idāh 77-82; for discussions see Versteegh, Zaqqūgī 127-128). The declension has been given principally to the nouns whereas the undeclinability has been given to the verbs,—with the exception of the imperfect (for discussions see (47), (122),—and to the particle. Zaqqūgī, Idāh 77 presents the Basrans’ opinion concerning this question with these words:

“قال الخليل وسيوبي وجميع البصريين: المتعلق للإعراب من الكلام الأسماء، والمتين للكلام الأفعال والحروف. هذا هو الأصل… لكل اسم رأيته مُعَرَّبًا فهو على أصله، وكل اسم رأيته غير مَعَرَّب لُجِب في خارج عن أصله، وكل فعل رأيته حَلْفًا فهو على أصله، وكل فعل رأيته مَعَزًا فقد خرج عن أصله، والحرف كله مَبْنِية على أصله”. 

Al-Ḥalil, Sibawaihiand all the Basrans said: “What deserved the declension in the language are
the nouns and what deserved the undeclinable are the verbs and the particles. This is the principle... So each noun you find declinable follows its basic principle, and each noun you find undeclinable has deviated from it. Each verb you find undeclinable follows its basic principle, and each verb you find declinable has deviated from it, and all the particles are basically undeclinable”.

The reason why the declension is given to the nouns, with the exception of some, is to make it possible in the sentence to separate the subject from the object (cf. Ibn Ginni, Ǧašā‘īṣ I. 35), the operator from the governed noun, etc. (cf. de Sacy, I. 395 and Anthologie 186 in the commentary), whereas the undeclinability is given to the verbs and particles as they are not divided into such categories (cf. Zaḡgāġi, Ǧumal 260). Ibn Ginni, Ǧašā‘īṣ I. 35 writes:

“لا ترى أنك إذا سمعت أکرم سعيد أباه وشكر سعيدا أبوه، علمت برفع أحدهما ونصب الآخر الفاعل من الفموئ، ولو كان الكلام شرحاً واحداً لاستهم أحدهما من صاحب”

“Don’t you notice that if you hear: “Saʿīd honoured his father” and “شكر سعيدا أبوه” “his father thanked Saʿīd”, you know by the fact that one [noun] is in the nominative and the other in the accusative, who is the subject and who is the object. If all the nouns had the same declinable ending, then they both [sc. the nominative and accusative cases] would be confused”.

It is possible to state that the perfect, imperative and particles are undeclinable because of a lack of resemblance to the noun, whereas the imperfect is declinable because of its resemblance to the noun. The reason of the perfect’s undeclinability is as insinuated by Ibn Masʿūd with his words, that: “it lacked the factor that would have made it declinable”, by which he meant that it does not resemble the noun completely (cf. (44)).

b) A question noteworthy to be taken up here is why the marker of the declension occurs at the end of the word, and not at its beginning or its middle (for discussions see Zaḡgāġi, Ǧdāh 76, ‘Ukbari, Masā’il 95-98, Suyūṭi, ʿAbbāh I, 83, Versteegh, Zaḡgāġı 118-120). One reason presented by Zaḡgāģi, Ǧdāh 76, is that as the noun is formed according to different forms in which the middle radical can be vowelless or vowelled by different vowels, e.g. َفعلُ َبَعَلُ َبَعَلُ اَتْبَعَلُ etc., the marker of the declension could not occur at the middle of the word, as the listener would not be able to know if it is a marker of declension or undeclinability. According to Qutrub’s (d. 210/825) (Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr Abū ‘Ali, see Suyūṭi, Buḫya I, 242-243, Brockelman. GAL I, 910-102, S.I, 161, Sezgin, Geschichte VIII, 61-67, IX, 64-65) opinion, the marker of the declension could only occur at the end of the word, so that the measures would not all be mixed up together, or so that two vowelless consonants would not be combined together, or so that the word would not begin with a vowelless consonant (cf. ‘Ukbari, Masā’il 95-96). ‘Ukbari, Masā’il 95-96 refers to his opinion in this manner:

“وَقَالَ ٍقُطُرْبُ: إِنَّمَا جَعَلَ أَخِيرًا لِلْإِجْزَاء جَعَلَهُ وَسْطًا، إِذْ لَوْ كَانَ وَسْطًا لَكُلِّ الْبَيْنَةِ ، وَرُسِئَ إِلَى الْبَيْنَةِ مِنْ صَائِكَانِينَ، أَوْ الإِبْتِدَاءَ بِالسَّاَكِنِينَ، وَكَلْذَلِكَ خَطَا لَا يَوْحَى مَثَالٌ فِيهِ إِذَا جَعَلَ أَخِيرًا”

“And Qutrub said: “Somehow it [sc. the marker of the declension] was made to occur at the end of the word, because of the impossibility of its occurrence at its middle. If this was to occur, then the measures would unavoidably be confused, and this would possibly lead to the cluster of two vowelless consonants or to beginning the word with a vowelless consonant. And all of that is erroneous, and can only be avoided if it occurs at the end of the word”.”
These theories are propounded almost in the same manner by al-Mubarrad to whom Abū Išāq al-Zağāq (d. 311/923) (Ibrāhīm b. al-Sirr b. Sahl, see Zubaidī, Taḥqīqāt 121, Suyūtī, Buğya 411-413. He was the pupil of al-Mubarrad and the teacher of al-Zağāqī. He wrote Ma‘āni l-Qur‘ān, al-Iṣtiqāq, Fa‘alūt wa-fa‘alūt (mentioned in 39 b), Muḥtaşar al-nahv and other works] refers to (cf. Zağāqī, Īdāh 76).

c) Another interesting discussion concerns which is original, the marker of the declension or undeclinability (for discussions see ‘Ukbarī, Masā‘il 106-109, Suyūtī, Aṣbāḥ I, 163). One argument is that the declension is original, as it makes the meaning of the sentence understandable by indicating who/which is the subject and who/which is the object, whereas the undeclinability does not, as its markers are of no help to explain the sentence’s meaning (cf. ‘Ukbarī, Masā‘il 107). Those who believe that the undeclinability is original refer to the argument that the markers of the undeclinability are fixed whereas the markers of the declension are circulating, and as the fixed is original in relation to the circulating, the markers of the undeclinability are original in relation to the markers of the declension (cf. ‘Ukbarī, Masā‘il 108). The answer to this argument is that the notion of the derivative and of the origin is not determined regarding what is fixed or what is circulating, but regarding the usefulness of clarifying the sentence’s meaning, which is why the marker of the declension is original in importance (cf. ‘Ukbarī, Masā‘il 108-109).

(44) The reason why the perfect is undeclinable and why its marker of undeclinability is a vowel, is that the perfect is partly similar to the noun. Its vowelling separates it from the undeclinable imperative, which does not present any similarity with the noun, and which for this reason is given a marker that does not exist in the noun, namely the sukūn (for discussions see Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VII, 4-5, my notes (48)). This similarity of the perfect to the noun is noticed in the fact that like the noun, it can function as a modifier, صَبْتِه (for discussions concerning this term see Owens, Foundations 154-156), to the indefinite noun. This is remarked in the sentence مَرْتُ بِرْجَلِ ضَرْبٍ وَضَارِبٍ in which both the perfect ضَرْبٍ and the active participle of the noun ضَارِبٍ have the same function (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VII, 4). It can as well in the same manner as the active participle, function as a predicate “predicate” in a nominal sentence. An example is زَيْدُ قَامَ “Zaid was getting up”, in which the perfect قَامَ is a predicate to the topic زَيْدُ in the same manner as the active participle قَامَ is a predicate to the same topic in the sentence زَيْدُ قَامَ “Zaid rose”, (cf. ibid). It can as well have the same meaning as the imperfect, which is considered to be the form that is similar to the declinable noun, and thus can replace it. For instance in a sentence as إنَّكَ فِی پیتْ اَمَّنَ (cf. ibid, my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 54-55 and see further for examples (44 b)). The reasons why the perfect and the imperative are undeclinable and the imperfect is declinable are presented by Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VII, 4-5 in the following manner:

وقَالَ وَهُوَ مَبْنِیٌ عَلَی الْقُبْحِ وَلِلْمُسْلِمِ اَنَّ يُسَالَ فِی الْفَجُورِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَبْنِی الْفَعْلُ الْمَاضِی عَلَی الْفَجُورِ فَالْفَجُورُ اَنَّ الْفَعْلُ فِی الْفَجُورِ كَلِیاً أَنَّهُ تَكوْنَ سَاکِتةٌ اَخْرَیُّ وَذَلِکْ أَنُّ الْفَعْلُ الَّذِی مِنَ الْحَمْلِ وَجِبْ اِعْرَابِ الْإِسْمَاءِ غَیرُ مُوَجْبَةٍ فِیْهَا لَکِ الْعَلَةِ الْمُوْجِبَةِ إِلَیْ اِعْرَابِ الْإِسْمَاءِ الْفَصِّلِ بَینُ فَاعْلِهِ وَمَفعُولِهِ وَلَئِنْ ذَلِکْ فِی الْفَعْلِ إِلَّاَ أَنَّ الْفَعْلَ اَقْسَمَ ثَلَاثَةٌ أَقْسَامٍ
And he [sc. Zamaḫšārī, 108] said that it [sc. the perfect] is undeclinable and vowelled by a fathā, such which incites the questioner to ask why the perfect verb is given the fathā as its marker of invariability. The answer is that by principle, all the [tenses of] verbs should have had a sukūn as their marker of invariability, because the reason which made it necessary to make the nouns declinable is not existent concerning them. As for the reason of the nouns’ declinability, it is to distinguish between their subjects and their objects, and this is not to be found as what concerns the verbs. However, the verbs are divided into three categories: One category which “predicate”, as you say “Zaid was getting up”, in which it “قَامَ [قَامُ]” is used instead of “قَامَتْ” “الجُرْحَاء”, e.g. “I passed by a man getting up”, which occurs instead of “مرَّ بَرْجُلِي قَامَ” ... It also occurs instead of the imperfect in the conditional sentence, e.g. “إِنْ تَقُومَ أَفْمََمْ قَاتِلَ” “If you rise, I shall rise”, and the intended is “إِنْ تَقُومَ أَفْمََمْ قَاتِلَ” Since it possesses the similarities that we mentioned with the nouns and with the imperfect, it was distinguished with a vowel from the imperative”. b) It is not only the perfect’s resemblance to the noun which makes it suitable to be given a vowel as its marker of undeclinability, but its resemblance as well to the imperfect. As it is this resemblance which is one of the reasons that its marker is the fathā, I find it here of interest to present some cases in which the perfect replaces the imperfect. The meaning can be the present or the future. Some examples referring to the present are: “كِنتْ” “you were” used in the meaning of “you are” according to Ibn Fāris, Sāhibī 236, in e.g. the sur. 27: 27 “فَعَلَ سَمِتْ أَصْدَقَتْ أَمَّنْ” “I will do the same” “(Solomon) said: “Soon shall we see whether thou hast told the truth or lied!” and the sur. 143: 2 “And We appointed the Qibla to which thou
wast used”, “you were” used in the meaning of “you are” in the sur. 3: 110 “Ye are the best of Peoples” and “In you” used in the meaning of “I say” according to Ibn Fāris, Ṣāhibī 219 and Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 17 in the sur. 16: 1 “(Inevitable) cometh (to pass) the Command of God”. Both al-Ḥalīl and Sibawaihi remark concerning the sur. 30: 51 “And if We (but) send a Wind from which they see (their tilth) turn yellow,—behind, they become, thereafter, ungrateful (Unbelievers)!”, that occurs in the meaning of ”يُظْلِمُونَ” (cf. Makki, Musakkal 484, ‘Abd al-Qādir, Ṭātar 60). Some examples that refer to the future are according to Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 17-18 found in the sur. 35: 9 “It is God Who sends forth the Winds, so that they raise up the Clouds and We drive them”, in which “يُفَضِّلُونَ” occurs instead of “يُفْسَدُونَ”. Likewise, Ibn al-Anbārī referred to by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 49, remarks that the perfect has the meaning of the future in both the sur. 22: 25 “As to those who have rejected (God), and would keep back (men) from the Way of God”, in which “ فأَحْزَنُ” occurs instead of “فَيُقْلُونَ” and the sur. 3: 37 “إِلَّا أَلْهَةُ الْيَوْمِ يَشْهَدُونَ” “Except for those who repent before they fall into your power”, in which “يَعْرَبُونَ” occurs instead of “يَقُولُونَ”. Farrā‘, Ma‘ānī I, 243-244 believes that in the sur. 3: 156 “يا أَيَّاهَا الْيَوْمُ” “O ye who believe! Be not like the Unbelievers, who say of their brethren, when they are travelling through the earth...”, “إِذِ ۖ ۗ يُضُرِّبُوا” is used in the meaning of the future. The proof of this argument is that if it referred to a past time, then it would have been used, and not “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا ضُرِّبَوا” which is specially made to precede the imperfect and indicates future time (for discussions concerning “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا” that determines the past and the future see Ibn Manẓūr, I, 49-50; for a general presentation of examples with “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا” see Cantarino, Syntax III, 284-290 and with “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا” see Wright, III, 9-11, Cantarino, Syntax III, 291-306). Likewise, when the conditional particle “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا” is made to precede a definite noun, the meaning of the verb that is said in the past tense is the future, as in the sur. 81: 2-1 “إِذَا أَلْهَمَّتُ كُورِّتُ ۖ” (وَإِذَا أَلْهَمَّتُ ۖ كُورِّتُ) “When the sun (with its spacious light) is folded up; when the stars fall, losing their lustre” (cf. Wright, III, 9-10). In spite of the fact that “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا” which determines the past occurs in the sur. 6: 93 “فَوَلَّى ۖ ۗ إِذَا أَلْهَمَّ تُ ۖ رَأَيْنَ ۖ إِذَا أَلْهَمَّ ۖ أَنْ تَكُنْ ۖ أَنَّ ۖ” “If thou couldst but see how the wicked (do fare) in the flood of confusion at death!”, its meaning is that of “إِذِ ۖ ۗ إِذَا” that determines the future, as al-Laiṭ referred to by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 49 remarks, because this situation did not
occur yet. It is not only after the conditional particle إذا that the perfect can have the meaning of the present or future (cf. Ṣādīlī, ʿAnāṣir 19-20), but also after نِرُ (for examples see Cantarino, Syntax III, 320-326) (for examples see Wright, III, 13-14, Cantarino, Syntax III, 84-97), the adverbial relatives نِرُ (for examples see Wright, III, 17, Cantarino, Syntax III, 177 sqq.) and نِرُ (for examples see Cantarino, Syntax III, 225-227).

(45) Similar to the term ُأخ “brother” chosen by Ibn Masʿūd that indicates the close relationship between the vowel and the weak consonant, is the term ابنت “daughter” (cf. Carter, Šīrīnī 47: 3.1 (2)). Concerning such a term Carter remarks in his notes 47: 3.1 (2) that it is:

“an extremely common anthropomorphism. That the short vowels a, i, u are homorganic with the consonants ئ, ى, َء has been an axiom of Arabic phonology from the first”.

Ibn Masʿūd states that the fatha is the brother of the sukūn, by which he means that it is closest to it regarding the lightness of the pronunciation. For this reason it is appropriate to be given as a marker of invariability to the undeclinable perfect. Principally, the perfect, like all other tenses of verbs, should have had a vowelless invariable ending. However, as it is partly similar to the noun (for the arguments see (43)), it was given a vowel. This vowel could not be the dāmma, because the dāmma was given to the imperfect that is totally similar to the noun (cf. (47), (93)). It could not either be the kasra because the kasra is forbidden to mark the verbs’ endings in the same manner as the sukūn is forbidden to mark the nouns’ endings (for discussions why the verbs cannot have a genitive and the nouns a jussive see Zagīgī, Īdāh 107 sqq., Versteegh, Zagīgī, 182 sqq.), so it was given the fatha as the fatha is somewhere in between the sukūn of the undeclinable verb, i.e. the imperative that is not at all similar to the noun (cf. (48)) and the dāmma of the declinable imperfect (cf. Ibn Yaʿīs, VII, 5, my notes to Ibn Masʿūd, I, 55-56). Another reason that can be added proposed by Ibn Yaʿīs, VII, 5 concerning why the perfect’s ending cannot be given the dāmma, is that some Arabs used the dāmma instead of the عَلَا to mark the pl., e.g. قَامَ said instead of قاموا “they rose /masc. pl.”. Another example is ُكانَ said instead of كانوا in the following verse said by an anonymous poet, cited by Muʿaddib, Taṣrif 15, Ibn Yaʿīs, VII, 5, Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirāʿat I, 352, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 72, 222, (Q. 56, 169 with ابنتالسَفَة instead of ابنت), Afandi, Tanzil 353, Nöldeke, Beiträge 17, Howell, I, fasc. II, 517 with وَلَوَ instead of فَلَوُ:

فلَوَ أن أَطْلَبَ ْكُنَّ هُوَلَيَّ وَكَانَ مِنْ آَنُطَبَةِ الْأَسَّاَةُ”.

“O, if the physicians had been around me and the surgeons were with the physicians!”.

Other examples with the dāmma replacing the suffixed pronoun of the nominative, the عَلَا presented by Muʿaddib, Taṣrif 296 are لَمْ يَذْهَبْ لِقَلْوَانَا 성 “your brothers did not go” said by some Arabs with لَمْ يَذْهَبْ لِقَلْوَانَا Some read as well the sur. 53: 31 as لَمْ يَذْهَبْ لِقَلْوَانَا 성 “So that He rewards those who do Evil” with 성 instead of 성 The same phenomenon occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet recited by al-Kisāʾī, in which طَارَأَوْا occurs instead of طَارَأَوا:
“When I say that the house was emptied from its kinsfolk, as though they flew away on a bird’s wings”.

Ibn Manzūr, I, 697 presents the last verse with مَتَى أَفَلَوْنَ حَلَكَتْ عَنْ أَهْلِهَا الْمَدَارُ كَانُونِهِمْ بِجَناحي طَارُ طَارُ instead of مَتَى أَفَلَوْنَ حَلَكَتْ عَنْ أَهْلِهَا الْمَدَارُ كَانُونِهِمْ بِجَناحي طَارُ طَارُ, and according to him the verse is recited by al-Farrā’. Zamahšari, Kasāf II, 25 mentions concerning the sur. 23: 1 (قد) “The Believers must (Eventually) win through,” that according to the reading of Tulhā b. Muṣarrar, counselors occur with the damma given to the last radical marking the pl., similarly to مَتَى أَفَلَوْنَ حَلَكَتْ عَنْ أَهْلِهَا الْمَدَارُ كَانُونِهِمْ بِجَناحي طَارُ طَارُ which occurs with the elision of the (a) of the pl. of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect with the 3rd radical made vowelless in سَنَعَ مَتَى أَفَلَوْنَ حَلَكَتْ عَنْ أَهْلِهَا الْمَدَارُ كَانُونِهِمْ بِجَناحي طَارُ طَارُ which occurs in the verse mentioned in (307 d)). Another theory propounded by Mu’addib, Taṣrif 16-17 concerning why the perfect’ final radical is vowelled by a fatha, is that because the perfect’s action is completed and done with, it is deemed as weak. For this reason it is given the weakest of the three vowels, which is the fatha. The proof of the fatha’s weakness according to him, is that the Arabs do not elide it from any form, contrarily to the damma and the kasra (for this elision see (109); for a study of the anomalous elision and addition of a vowel see Åkesson, Elision 21 sqq.). An exception to this rule is the example يُفْلِعُ قَطْعَ عَسَرُ سَاعِدٍ وَهَبٍ which is considered by Mu’addib as belonging to an unknown dialectal variant that is not to be taken into consideration, in the following verse (cf. Mu’addib, Taṣrif 17, Åkesson, Elision 25):

قَطْعَ عَسَرُ سَاعِدٍ وَهَبٍ

“Amr has cut off both Wahab’s arms”.

The rare elision of the fatha of the 2nd radical occurs as well in a case of a verb of Form VII, e.g. ائْتَلَّقَ 23: 17 instead of ائْتَلَّقَ “to take off” (cf. Sibawaih, II, 278, Åkesson, Elision 23).

(46) The resemblance that exists between the perfect and the active participle form of the noun, اسم الفاعل, is that the active participle refers to past time when it is used as the first element of an ’ādāf construction, as in e.g. “I am the killer of your servant”, in which the active participle قاتل that is put in the nominative before the noun in the genitive غلام, reveals that the action of the killing is completed, in the same manner as does in the sentence “I have killed your servant”. The difference between the perfect and the active participle is that the active participle that occurs as a first element of an ’ādāf construction, and thus refers to a completed action in the past, is unable to govern the noun after it in the accusative as the perfect does. As remarked in the sentence 23: 17, the active participle قاتل does not operate on غلام, غلام, as the perfect does in the sentence ائْتَلَّقَ غلام. It is this difference that Ibn Mas‘ūd refers to when he writes that “the active participle [in the sense of the past] did not acquire from it [sc. the perfect] the ability to operate”. This is one of the reasons why the perfect, which does not resemble the active participle completely, is made undelinable. The active participle loses its resemblance in mean-
ing with the perfect and becomes similar to the imperfect in its reference to future time when it is used as a subject that governs the noun after it in the accusative, as in e.g. “I am going to kill your servant”, which has the same meaning as “I have killed your servant”.

It is this similarity of the imperfect to the active participle that is referred to by Ibn Mas‘ūd with these words: “by contrast to the imperfect, as the active participle [in the sense of the future] acquired its ability to operate” (see further for a study Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1631-1637, Reckendorf, Syntax 174-175). The active participle in the sense of the future that operates as a verb on the noun by putting it in the accusative, is also termed by the Kufans as “the permansive verb” (cf. (46 b)). An amusing story which illustrates for us an example of an active participle that has the sense of the past and so is unable to govern the noun in the accusative, and an example of one that has the sense of the future and so is able to do so, is narrated by Suways, Aṣbāḥ III, 535-536. It reports a dialogue told by al-Marzubani, who in his turn has heard it from someone else, between the grammarians al-Kisā‘i and the judge Abū Yūsuf in the presence of Hārūn al-Rašīd (193/809). It praises also the importance of syntax:

“[sc. al-Kisā‘i] met with the judge Abū Yūsuf by Hārūn al-Rašīd, and Abū Yūsuf started dispraising syntax by saying: “What is syntax!” So I said to him with the intention of teaching him the importance of syntax: “What would you say to a man who said to another: ‘I am the killer of your servant’ and the other said to him: ‘I am going to kill your servant’, whom of the two would you arrest?”. He said: “I would arrest them both”. So Hārūn who had a good knowledge of Arabic, said to him: “You are wrong”. So he got embarrassed and said: “In which manner?”. He answered: “The one who is to be arrested for the killing of the servant is the one who said: ‘I am going to kill your servant’ by using an idāfa construction, because it [sc. the active participle in it] refers to an action in the past. As for the one who said: ‘I am the killer of your servant’ without using an idāfa construction, he is not to be arrested because it [sc. the active participle] refers to [an action in] the future, which did not yet occur”.

It can be mentioned in this context that the active participle of the sur. 18: 18 (وَكَلَّمَهُمُ الْيَدُ) “Their dog stretching forth his two fore-legs on the threshold”, that is made to govern the noun after it in the accusative, refers to the past by some (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Muḥtasib II, 327), and more particularly by al-Kisā‘i (cf. Ibn Hīsām, Masālik 217), and by Hīsām and Abū Ga‘far (cf. the notes to ibid), whereas it is considered as having the meaning of the present time by the majoriy (cf. Ibn Hīsām, Masālik 217, Suways, Aṣbāḥ I, 385, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1633).

b) The Kufans name the active participle for the perfect of the verb “the permansive verb” (the term is
also mentioned in (93), (174 b); for discussions including some references to some modern researchers who accept it and others who refuse it see Rāġiḥi, Fārrā’ 115-138) when it operates on the noun following it, and sometimes as well for the “noun”. When it does not operate, they include it among the noun categories and name it as “the noun” (cf. Rāģiḥi, Fārrā’ 115). The use of the term “nouns” is criticized by the Basrans (for the controversy between both schools see Versteegh, Zağīgī 146). The notion of a derived noun, i.e. the active participle, as being considered as a verb is totally rejected by the logicians (for discussions see Farābī, Šarīḥ 42, Abed, Logic 130-136). Some allusions to the controversies are referred to by Zağīgī, Mağālis 318 in the session between Abū l-‘Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā [Ṭa’lab] and Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Kaisān:

“Some of our friends said to me: “Abū l-Ḥasan b. Kīsān reported to us, he said: “Abū l-‘Abbās said to me: “How do you say “I passed by a man whose father is standing”?”. I answered him: “by putting “standing” in the genitive and “the father” in the nominative. So he asked me: “By what do you govern it in the nominative”?. I answered: “By “father” “standing”. So he said: “Is it not a noun according to you and you reproach us of naming it for a permansive verb”?. He said: “Its form is a nominal form, and if it occurred in the position of the imperfect verb and led to its meaning, it governed similarly to it, because words which are not verbs govern as verbs when they become similar to them”.

In the session between the Kufān Abū l-‘Abbās Ṭa’lab and the Basran Abū l-‘Abbās al-Mubarrad, Zağīgī, Mağālis 349 writes:

“Ta’lab said: “I talked one day with Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Ḥāṣrī [sc. al-Mubarrad], and he said: “Al-Fārā’ī was contradicting himself by saying that [the active participle] “standing” is a verb while it is a noun, as it admits the nunation. So if it is a verb it cannot be a noun, and if it is a noun then you ought not name it a verb”.

So I said: “Al-Fārā’ī said that “standing” is a verb “permansive verb”, whose form is a
nominal form as it admits the marking signs that are characteristic for the nouns, and whose meaning is the verb’s meaning as it governs in the accusative, as it is said قائمًا “he is standing a standing” and ضاربًا “the one who is hitting Zaid”. So according to the aspect in which it is a noun it is not a verb, and according to the aspect in which it is a verb it is not a noun. How about yourself, why did you make it govern in the accusative while you consider it as a noun?”. He said: “Because of its similarity to [the imperfect] يَفْعَلُ.”

The main arguments against considering the active participle as a permansive verb (for them see Sirafi, Šarh I, fol. 493, quoted by al-Mubarak, the editor of Zağāğı, Idāh in his notes 86) are the following: The active participle is a noun, and examples such as ضاربًا قائمًا and their likes, are affected by factors that affect the nouns only and not the verbs. They are declinable as the nouns are, by being put in the nominative, accusative and genitive, they accept the nunation and the definite article, and they can occur as an element of an idāfa construction. The operating function of the active participle on the noun that follows it which is similar to the verb, is not a sufficient reason to name the active participle a verb, as this would mean that each term that operates in the same manner as another one can be named by the other’s name, which is unacceptable. Examples to that are the conjunction ان “that” and its sisters, مضرين “twenty” and its likes, and in some cases the masdar, all which could have been named verbs as they put the noun that follows them in the accusative as the verb does. In the same manner, nouns that put the nouns following them in the genitive could have been named prepositions, as the prepositions are specifically recognized to put the nouns following them in the genitive. If the meaning of the active participle in a phrase as زيد ضاربًا عرما “Zaid is hitting ‘Amr” relates to the meaning of the imperfect in زيد يضرب عرما “Zaid is hitting ‘Amr”, then it is also possible to make the imperfect relate to the active participle and to name the imperfect a noun. According to Mažum to whom Rāghi, Farrā’ 136 refers, the permansive verb that al-Farrā’ considered as being the active participle, corresponds to the stative in the Akkadian language (cf. Ungnad-Matouš, Des Akkadischen 64-65, Rowton, Permansive 233-303).

(47) One of the reasons why the imperfect is declinable is its resemblance to the active participle form of the noun, اسم الأفعال which is a noun (cf. (46), (93)). The phonological form of the imperfect ضاربًا يضرب and of the active participle ضاربًا are commensurate regarding the vowelling or the vowellessness of both these forms’ respective consonants (cf. Owens, Foundations 208).

(48) The imperative is undeclinable according to the Basrans (for their opinion see Ibn Ğinni, Ḥaṣa ’is III, 83, Tamān 15, Suyūt, Ašbāh II, 353-354). Its last radical is given the sukūn, which is a marker that is not given to the noun,—except in the pause which is a special case —, because its does not offer any similarity nor in meaning nor in form, with the noun (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, VII, 4, my notes to Ibn Masʿūd, I, 55). However according to the Kufans the imperative is underylingly declinable rather than undeclinable, and the loss of the last vowel is a process which is similar to the case of the declarable imperfect that is put in the jussive mood when it follows the li— of the imperative, e.g. يَفْعَلْ “let him do” (cf. my notes (119), (120), (184); for the Kufans’ opinion see Farrā’, Maʿānī I, 491, Ta’lab, Mağālis II, 456, Ibn al-Anbārī, Qaṣāʾid 38; for the debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf Q. 72, 214-224, Asrār 125-126, Zamāḥsarı, 114-115, ‘Ukbart, Masʿāʾil 114-119, Ibn Ya’iš, VII, 61-62).
(49) The 3rd weak radical is elided in the weak verbs to which the pronoun of the agent of the masc. pl., the ā, is suffixed to, e.g. رَمَوْا (cf. (303)), and رَضْوَى (cf. (327)). In رَمَوْا (cf. (303)), the sequence رَمَوْا becomes رُوُأ, namely رَضْوَى. In رَضْوَى, the sequence رَضْوَى becomes رُوُأ (for discussions see Wright, II, 89).

(50) Different opinions concern the reason of the occurrence of the separating alif, the élif otiosum, after the suffixation of the agent pronoun of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. to a verb in the perfect, e.g. “they came”. It is also named “الْيُنْفِةُ الْوَقَايَةُ “the guarding alif” (cf. Wright, I, 11). According to al-Farrā’s theory, this alif is suffixed after the w that marks the pl. so that it is possible to differentiate between the w which is a radical in verbs with 3rd weak radical and the w that marks the pl. As an example of a verb in the sing. that ends with a w radical, “he calls” can be mentioned and as an example of a verb in the jussive that ends with the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the masc. pl., the ā preceding the alif, لم يَدْعُو “they did not call” can be mentioned. Had it not been for the alif, both the singular and the pl. of the verb would be mixed together. As for al-Aḥfaṣ, he believes that it was suffixed so that the w of the pl. is not confused with the w of the conjunction wa (cf. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb’s note on Rāzī, in Ḥalil b. ʿĀhmād ..., Ḥurūf 135). The example حضَرَوْتَكُمْ mentioned by Ibn Masʿūd refers to the opinion of al-Aḥfaṣ. If an alif did not occur after the w, it could be read as حضَرَوْتَكُمْ “He came and talked” or حضَرَوْتَكُمْ “they came, he talked”, which would cause an inevitable confusion. Wright, I, 11 and Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 21 adhere to this opinion without referring to al-Aḥfaṣ. See further Ṣāli, Adab 246, Fleisch, Traité II, 116-117 note 2.

b) Different additional alifs (seventeen sorts are presented by Ṭaʿālībī, Fiqh 226-227 and fourty by Fairūzābādī, Başāʾır II, 9-11) can be mentioned in this context (for them see Rāzī, in Ḥalil b. ʿĀhmād ..., Ḥurūf 134-135):

- “the connective alif” (for it see (111), (111 b), (114), (115), (118)).
- “الْيُنْفِهُ التَّعْطُع” “the disjunctive alif” (for it see (114), (115), (116)).
- “الْيُنْفِهُ الْإِسْتِفْهَام” “the alif of interrogation”, e.g. ﴿أَزِيدْ عَنْكَ؟ “is Zaid by you?”.
- “الْيُنْفِهُ الْنَّدَاة” “the vocative alif”, e.g. ﴿أَزِيدْ أَقِلْ “O Zaid approach!” (for it see Wright, II, 294).
- “الْيُنْفِهُ الْأَصْل” “the alif radical”, e.g. ﴿هَذَا أَسْأَلْ “this is a lion”.
- “الْيُنْفِهُ الْبِدْل” “the substituted alif”, e.g. ﴿هَذَا أَحْدَ “this is someone” (for the substitution of the hamza for the w see (235), (290), (291), (292), (316) (317), (318), (318 b), (319), (321), (322), (323), (327 c)).
- “الْيُنْفِهُ التَّفْضِيل” “the alif prefixed to the comparative and superlative forms”, e.g. زَيَدْ أَفْضِلَ مِنْ عِبْرُ “Zaid is better than ‘Amr” (for the elative see (139)-(143 c)).
- “الْيُنْفِهُ الْعَلْب” “the alif changed from another consonant”, e.g. ﴿قَالَ ﴿“he said” (for the substitution of the alif for the w see (36), (38), (211), (265), (266), (270), (276), (278), (279), (284), for the y see (33), (54), (81), (265), (270), (285), (303), (304) and for the hamza see (217), (218), (220), (237), (327 b), (369)).

“... you did satirize Zabban: then you came, apologizing for satirizing Zabban: you did not satirize [him], nor did you leave [him] alone”.

‘Abd Yaqut b. Waqqas al-‘Arifiti has used anomalously as an indicative instead of the jussive in the following verse which he said when he was imprisoned. It is cited by Ibn Ğinni, Sīr I, 76, Mu‘addib, Taṣrīf 398, Zamahšari, 185, Afandi, Tanzi 564, Ibn Ya‘is, X, 107, Ibn Hīsām, Muğnī I, 277, Ğami’ 15, Ḥudari, Ḥasīya 62, Tibrizi, Iḥtiyāf 771, Ibn Manzūr, IV, 2325, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1577, Freytag, Darstellung 505:

“...and as old woman laughs at me, as though she had not seen a Yamani captive before me”.

Zamahšari, Kaššāf II, 547 cites the last part of the verse in his commentary to sur. 20: 77 ْلَلَّا خَافَ ْلَا تَخْفَى “Without fear of being overtaken (by Pharaoh) and without (any other) fear”, (i.e. do not be afraid of being overtaken (by Pharaoh) and do not be scared), in which the weak last radical of the verb ْلَا تَخْفَى is retained, in spite of its being a negative imperative. Furthermore, he writes that ْلَا تَخْفَى has been read as ْلَا تَخْفَى by some.
An unknown poet has for لَا أَنْسَاهُ لَا أَنْسَاهُ in the following verse cited by Zamāḫšāri, 185, Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 107, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1577, Wright, IV, 389:

“ما أَنْسَاهُ لَا أَنْسَاهُ أَخْرِ عَشَيقَيْيْنِ ما لَاح بِإِلَّامِ عُرَاءٍ رَمَع سَرَابٍ”.

“Whatever I forgot, I shall not forget him to the end of my life, so long as there appears on the rugged ground a quivering of mirage”.


ٍإِذْ الْمَجْرَبُ ُغَصِبَتْ فَطَلِقَ َوَلَا تَرْضَاهُ َوَلَا تَسَلِقَ.

“When the old woman is angry, then divorce [her]; and seek not to pacify her, nor coax [her]”.


b) As anomalous as the use of the indicative instead of the jussive is the use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive, which occurs in the reading of Ibn Muḥaisīn of the sur. 2: 233 (إِنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُقِرِّرَ الرَّضَاةَ يَتَّمُّ) “If the father desires to complete the term” with (إِنْ يُقِرِّرَ الرَّضَاةَ يَتَّمُّ) instead of (إِنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُقِرِّرَ الرَّضَاةَ يَتَّمُّ) (cf. Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 30). It has also been read so by Ibn Muĝāhid (cf. the notes to Ibn Ğinni, Mansūf I, 446). This phenomenon occurs also in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ṭa’lāb, Mašālis 322, Ibn Ğinni, Sirr II, 549, Ḥaṣa‘iṣ I, 390, Mansūf I, 278, Ibn Ya‘īš, VII, 9 in the notes, 15, Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 30, Bağdādī, Ḥizāna III, 559, Ibn ‘Usfūr, Darā’ir 163, Suyūṭī, Asbāḥ I, 296, Howell, II-III, 593, in which (إِنْ تَقْرَأَ) occurs instead of (إِنْ تَقْرَأَ):

“أَنْ تَقْرَأَ عَلَى أَسْمَاءٍ وَيَحْكُمَا مِنَ الْسَّلَامَ وَإِنْ لَا تَسْتَعَروْ احْدِثْ”.

“That you two should pronounce over Asmā’ [mercy be upon you two!] from me is the greeting, and that you do not let anyone know”.

c) Another anomaly is the occurrence of the subjunctive after the suppressed subjunctival لَا، as in the following verse said by Maisīn bint Bahdal, the wife of Mu‘āwīya b. Abī Sufyān and the mother of his son Yazīd, whose longing for the desert and her poetry caused Mu‘āwīya to divorce her, in which (أَلْبَسْنَ عِبَاءَةً وَتَقَرَّرَ عَيْنِيَّ) أَحْبَ إِلَيْ مِنْ لَيْسَ الْأَقْفَ.)

“And the wearing of a woolen garment and [that] my eyes be cool [from tears] are dearer to me than the wearing of the finest garments”.
d) Another anomaly is the use of the jussive after the subjunctival َآنَّ, which occurs in the verse said by Imru’u l-Qais in which َآنَّ أَبَاتَ َنَا (cf. Nöldeke, *Grammatik* 1). It is cited by Ibn Hišām, *Muqni* I, 30, Howell, *II-III*, 592, Šādīlī, *‘Anāṣir* 40:

"إذا ما غَدَّوْا قَالَوْا أَهَلاَنا تَعَالُوا إِلَى أَبَاتَ أَصْدِيقُ نَحْطُبٍ.

"Whenever we go forth in the morning, the lads of our people say: ‘Come, until the hunting come to us we will gather firewood [to roast it]’"

The same phenomenon occurs in the following verse said by Ǧamil, cited by Ibn Hišām, *Muqni* I, 30, Åkesson, *Elision* 27, Howell, *II-III*, 592, in which َآنَّ تَعَلَمَ َنَا أَبَاتُ أَصْدِيقُ نَحْطُبٍ فَتَعَلَّمُوا لَقَالُوا عَلَى كَمَا هَيَا.

"I fear that she would know it (sc. my want), and would reject it, and leave it to be a burden upon me, as it already is”.

The use of the jussive after َآنَّ is adapted in the dialectal variant of some tribes, as the Banū Ṣabāḥ from Ḍabba (cf. Šādīlī, *‘Anāṣir* 40). The verb takes the jussive also after َلَنَّ as well in this dialect (cf. Ibn Mālik, *Ṣawāhid* 160). The indicative has also been used after َآنَّ and its sisters (cf. Suyūṭī, *Hamʾ* II, 3). For further discussions concerning the confusion between the moods see Howell, *II-III*, 592-594, Wright, *IV*, 389, Baalbaki, *Iʿrāb* 18.

e) The jussive occurs anomalously instead of the indicative in the sur. 11: 105 (يَوْمُ يَاَلِثُ). “The day it arrives”, in which َيَاَلِثُ occurs instead of َيَاَلِثُ. The elision of the y and the maintenance of the kasra is frequent in the dialect of Hudail (cf. Zamaḥšāri, *Kašşāf* II, 293, Ibn Manzūr, I, 22; see further for discussions Rābin, 89, Nöldeke, *Grammatik* 11). The jussive occurs anomalously with the pronoun of the accusative suffixed, e.g. َيَبْعَعُهُ which is said instead of َيَبْعَعُهُ “he follows them” (cf. Vollers, *Volkssprache* 143). Another example is َيَبْعَعُهُ which is read in this manner from the sur. 26: 224 instead of َيَبْعَعُهُ “Follow them” (cf. ibid 128, referring to Baidāwī). The jussive or the subjunctive with the elision of the n of the indicative from a verb that occurs in the 2nd person of the fem sing. of the imperfect, replaces anomalously the indicative in the following verse said by an anonymous poet, cited by Carter, *Ṣirbīn* 82, Ṣinqīṭī, *Durar* I, 27, in which َتَدْلِكِ َتَدْلِكِ occurs instead of َتَدْلِكِ

"إِيِّيُنَا ِنَبْيُيَوْتُي َتَدْلِكِ وَجَهَدَ بِالْعُنْبِيَّةَ وَالْبَلْدِ أَنَا ذُكِّيَّ.

“I pass the night weeping, and you spend the night rubbing your face with amber and pure musk”.

f) The subjunctive occurs anomalously after the apocopative ُلَّا in the reading of Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Manṣūr of the sur. 94: 142 ُلَّا يَعْلَمُ لَأَنَا ذُكِّيَّ (َلَأَنَا ذُكِّيَّ) “Have We not expanded thee thy breast?” (cf. Šādīlī, *‘Anāṣir* 218). Comparable to it is the occurrence of the subjunctive after the apocopative ُلَّا in the reading of Ibn Waṭṭāb and al-Naḥṣī of the sur. 3: 142 ُلَّا يَعْلَمُ لَأَنَا ذُكِّيَّ (َلَأَنَا ذُكِّيَّ) “Without God testing those of
you who fought hard (in His Cause)” (cf. ʿAqil, ‘Anāsir 219; for discussions concerning this dialectal variant that occurs by some Arabs see Baalbaki, I’rāb 18).

(52) The t suffix that is attached to the root in the 3rd person of the fem. sing. of the perfect, e.g. ضَرَبَتْ “she hit”, originates according to Ibn Masʿūd, from the second point of articulation. As the t is a dental consonant, it detains a position between a laryngeal and a labial. On this basis, it and other dentals come after laryngeals, and so originate from the second point of articulation (cf. Smyth, Reviews of Books 712). Other sorts of t exist (cf. Rāzī, in Ḥālīl b. Aḥmad ... , Ḥurūfī 150), which can be mentioned in this context. It can: 1– be prefixed as a t prefix in the imperfect, e.g. تَفَعَّلَ “you are doing”, 2– be suffixed as a tāʾ tawila in the noun, e.g. a spider”, 3– be suffixed as a tāʾ marbūta marking the fem. sing., e.g. the one who is hitting /fem.sing./ and the noun “the one who is rising” (for discussions concerning the origin of the t of the fem. as a suffix and its occurrence as a tāʾ marbūta or tawila with interesting references to some other researchers’ opinions see Fleisch, Traité I, 312-314), 4– be substituted for the s (for this substitution see (194), (329), (333), (334)), 5– be substituted for the w (for this substitution see (96), (198), (247), (330), (331)), 6– strengthen the idea of intensiveness: “the t meant to strengthen the idea of intensiveness” (see Rāḍī, Naẓārīya 257-258, Wright, II, 139-140, my notes (150), (274)), and 7– be “the t of particularization” applied to the noun “the noun of individuality”. For a study of the t’s occurrence in some of the Semitic languages see Brockelmann, Grundriss 383-388, 405-410.

(53) In spite of the fact that the suffixed pronoun of the nominative is considered to be at one with its verb, it is not allowed to conjoin another agent to it by a conjunction without emphasizing the suffixed pronoun by an independent pronoun (cf. Ibn Ǧinnī, Lumaʾ 39). The suffixed pronoun of the agent can be manifest as the -tu of ضَرَبَتْ in e.g. ضَرَبَتْ أَنَا وَزَيْدُ “I hit, I and Zaid” or suppressed as in e.g. ضَرَبَتْ فَخَرْجَتْ “get up, you and Zaid”. The reason of this emphasis of the suffixed agent, whether manifested or suppressed, is to differentiate such types of sentences from those coupling between two actions, e.g. ضَرَبَتْ وَعَلَسَتْ “I hit and I sat”. An example that can be presented with such a coupling that occurs after a verb in which the pronoun of the agent is suffixed is found in the sur. 21: (قَالَ أَلَّا كُنْتُمْ أَتَّمُّنَّ وَأَيَابَكُمْ فِي صَلَائِي مَيِّسٍ) 54 “He said, “Indeed ye have been in manifest Error -ye and your fathers”, in which كُنْتُمْ أَتَّمُّنَّ وَأَيَابَكُمْ is said instead of كُنْتُمْ رَأَبَكُمْ and an example in which the pronoun is suppressed is found in the sur. 2: (وَقَلْنَا أَمَّا أَتَّمُّنَّ وَرَأَبَكُمْ) 35 “We said: “O Adam! dwell thou and thy wife in the Garden;” in which أَتَّمُّنَّ is said instead of أَسْكَنْ أَتَّمُّنَّ وَرَأَبَكُمْ (see further for a study Mubarrad, Kāmil I, 321-322, 322-323, Zamaḥṣārī, 50, Ibn Yaʿīs, III, 76-77, Ibn ʿAqīl, II, 236-238, Howell, I, fasc. I, 492-498, Reckendorf, Syntax 332). This is in accordance with the teachings of the Basrans. As far as the Kufans are concerned, they accept this connection without having to emphasize the antecedent (for the debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 66, 196-198, for discussions see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Fushā 229-231). The coupling with the separate emphasizing pronoun did not occur anomalously for the sake of metric exigency in the following verse said by ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, cited by Sibawaih, I, 342, Mubarrad, Kāmil I, 322, Ibn Ǧinnī, Ḥṣāṣaʾ ʿīs II, 386, Zamaḥṣārī, 50, Ibn Yaʿīs, III, 76, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 66, 197, Ibn ʿAqīl, II, 238, Alee,
b) According to the Basrans, if a noun is coupled by a conjunction to a pronoun in the genitive suffixed to a preposition preceding it, it must be preceded by an emphasizing preposition, e.g. مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدَ "I passed by you and by Zaid", which is said instead of مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدُ as well as it must be put in the genitive. The Kufans however believed that it is possible to couple after the suffixed pronoun of the genitive without a preposition, i.e. مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدَ "I passed by you and Zaid". For their debate see Ibn al-Abnārī, Insāf Q. 65, 192-196. Ibn Ginni, Ḥaṣāš 'īs I, 102-103 this coupling without a preposition, but with the noun being put in the accusative, namely: مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدُ. In line with the Kufans teaching, the accusative مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدُ as a noun in the genitive (cf. Zamaḥṣārī, 51, de Sacy, Anthologie [Hariri, Durra] 44). Ibn Ya'īṣ, III, 78 mentions that this reading was considered as weak by most of the grammarians. Concerning مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدُ of this sur., the Kufan grammarian al-Farrāʾ showed a preference to the Basrans’ theory, which forbade the coupling after the suffixed pronoun without a preposition, and preferred to read مَرَوْتُ بَلدَة وَزِيدُ. Ibn Ḥalawaihi does not however consider Ḥamza’s reading as weak (for discussions see Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirāṭʾīt I, 127-129, Rāghihi, Farrāʾ 43). Another example in which the conjoining with the emphasizing preposition did not occur for the sake of metric exigency is في بَلدَة وَزِيدُ which is said instead of في بَلدَة وَزِيدُ (cf. Zamaḥṣārī, Kaṣṣāf I, 493), that occurs in the following verse cited by Sibawaihi. I, 344, Ibn al-Sarrāq, Usūl II, 119, Ibn Ya'īṣ, III, 78, 79, Ibn al-Abnārī, Insāf Q. 65, 192, Ibn 'Aqīl, II, 240, Bağdādi, Ḥizāna II, 338, Howell, I, fasc. I, 498:

"فَالَّذِينَ قُرِّبَتْ نَهْجُونَا وَتَحْمِيلاً فَأَذَّنُوا فَمَا بَلدَة وَأَلَا يَمَامُ منْ عَجِيبٍ."

"And today, you approached us satirizing and reviling us: so go away, for there is not any wonder at you and the days!".

(54) The base form of رَمَيَّانِي is رَمَيَّانِي in which the й vowelled by a fatha is changed into an ā due to the influence of the fatha preceding it, so that it became رَمَيَّانِي. The reason why the ā is elided in رَمَيَّانِي is that it precedes the suffixed й that marks the fem. sing. of the 3rd person in رَمَيَّانِي, which is underlyingly vowelless, but which is given accidently the fatha in the dual to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the vowelless й and the vowelless ā of the dual following it, i.e. يِ رَمَيَّانِي is said instead of يِ رَمَيَّانِي. As the underlying sukūn of the suffix й of the 3rd person of the sing. is still taken into consideration, the ā (which is underlyingly a й radical vowelled by a fatha before its being changed) is elided from يِ رَمَيَّانِي, as it is assumed theoretically that there is
a cluster of two vowelless consonants, the vowelless ā of the changed y radical and the vowelless suffixed t of the fem. (cf. 304; compare the discussion which is almost similar concerning ِدعوتا دَعوَتَا in (289)). Some people whose dialectal variant is defective maintain however the ā of the changed y radical and say راتا (cf. Zamaḥšārī 154, Ibn Yaʿīš, IX, 27-29, Wright, II, 89, Åkesson, Conversion 28) in consideration of its formal vowel.

(55) The case of the perfect verb in which the 3rd radical is made vowelless when the pronoun of the nominative is suffixed to it, e.g. ضَرَبَن “they hit, /fem. pl.” and ضَرَبْتَ “I hit”, “you hit, /masc. sing.” and “you hit /fem. sing.” is contrasted to the case of the perfect verb in which the 3rd radical is given a fatha when the pronoun of the accusative is suffixed to it, e.g. ضَرَبَتْ “he hit you.”, thus allowing the disliked combination of four vowelled consonants (for the principle that four vowelled consonants cannot follow each other in one word see Zağğāgi, ʿIdāh 75, Ibn Ğinnī, Sīrūn I, 220-221, Hassan, ʿUṣūl 228). In spite of the fact that the attached pronouns of the nominative and the accusative are suffixed to the verb, the suffixed pronoun of the nominative is considered by the Arab grammarians as one with its verb, whereas the pronoun of the accusative is regarded as another word separated from it (cf. Bohas, Étude 93). The verb is in need of an agent, manifest or suppressed (for discussions see (12 b), (13)), which is why it is considered as one with its pronoun of the agent, whereas it can manage without an object, which is the reason why it and its pronoun of the object are considered as two separate words (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Sīrūn I, 221).

(56) ُهَدَايَدُ is underlyingly مَخْيَاطٍ and ُهَدَايَدُ is underlyingly مَخْيَاطٍ formed according to ُعَفَّالُ both having their ā elided. The disliked succession of the four vowels occurs in both these abbreviated forms (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 366). A similar case with the four consecutive vowels occurring in one word is found in َعَرَّنَتْ “a plant used in dyeing” formed according to ُعَفَّالُ underlyingly مَخْيَاطٍ, in which the n is elided (cf. Ibn Manzūr, IV, 2869), and َجَنْدُلُ “stones” formed according to ُعَفَّالُ underlyingly مَخْيَاطٍ in which a contraction is carried out (cf. Ibn Manzūr, I, 699; for discussions see Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥaṣṣāʾ īṣ III, 114, Ibn Yaʿīš, VI, 136).

(57) The base form of ُمَخْيَاطٍ in which the ā is elided (cf. my notes (278), Zamaḥšārī, 182, Ibn Yaʿīš, X, 86) for the sake of alleviation.

(58) A parallel is drawn between the elision of one of the two markers of the fem. in both the examples: the t in the verb ضَرَبَن underlyingly ضَرَبَن with the t marking the fem. sing. and the -na marking the fem. pl. combined together, and the t of the noun ضَرْبَن underlyingly ضَرْبَن with the t marking the fem sing. and the t of the ending -ātu of the fem. pl. combined together. The reason of eliding one of both tāʾs of the fem. in ضَرْبَن is the heaviness implied by the combination of two consonants of the same kind together (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥaṣṣāʾ īṣ III, 235, Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf Q. 4, 20). In spite of the fact that the two markers of the fem. are not identical in the verb ضَرَبَن, one of them, i.e. the t, is elided because there is a heaviness implied by this combination when it takes place in the verb (compare the case of ضَرْبَن in which the y was chosen as an affix, and not the t to avoid the combination of two identical markers of the fem.
(88) and the case of يَضْرِبَ أَيَّامُ in which the y was chosen as a prefix and not the t to avoid the combination of two markers of the fem. (97)), contrarily to if it was to occur in the noun (see e.g. the case of حَالَاتُ discussed in (59)), as verbs are considered as heavier than nouns. This theory concerning the heaviness and lightness is well-known in the Arabic grammatical tradition (cf. Sibawaihi, I, 5; e.g. Zağgâti, İdâh 100-101 has reserved a chapter for the reasons of the heaviness of the verb and the lightness of the noun). The main argument why the verb is considered as heavier than the noun is that it cannot manage without an agent, whether this agent is a noun or a pronoun and whether it is manifest or suppressed, and that it implies with its form both the event and the agent. As for the noun it can do without a verb, can function as a topic or predicate in a nominal sentence, and does not with its form refer to the accident (for discussions see (12 b), (13), Baalbaki, Hierarchy 15, Versteegh, Zağgâti 177-181, Guillaume, Cause 242-243).

(59) The alif maqṣūra that marks the fem. in حَالَاتُ is allowed to be combined with the t that marks the fem. pl. of the ending -ātun after this alif’s change into a y, i.e. حَالَاتِ. (cf. Zamaşšari, 79, Ibn Ya’tîs, V, 61-62, Wright, II, 192, 197), because both the y and the t are different consonants. The alif maqṣūra’s change into a y vowels by a fatha occurs necessarily to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the vowelless alif maqṣūra and the vowelless ā of the fem. pl. ending -ātun, i.e. حَالَاتُ or حَالَاتِ becomes حَالَاتِ. There is no heaviness implied by the combination of both these markers of the fem. when it takes place in the noun contrarily to if it is to occur in the verb (see e.g. the case of يَضْرِبَ أَيَّامُ that occurs instead of يَضْرِبَ أَيَّامٍ (58)), as the theory referred to here is that nouns are lighter than verbs (for discussions see (58)).

(60) The poetical special language offers peculiarities that are not found in other styles of writing (for a discussion concerning some possible peculiarities occurring in some well-known verses see Ibn al-Sarrâg, Usâl III, 435 sqq., Râdi, Nazariya 295 sqq.; for a discussion criticizing the poets’ usages see Ibn Fâris, Dammm, edited, introduced, translated and discussed by Sanni, Ibn Fâris 11-20; for a discussion criticizing the grammarians’ control over the language of poets and the reciters of the Qur’an see Şûbi, Fiqh 131-134; for a general study concerning works dealing with speech errors in Arabic, both in reading and writing, and also those that are made in understanding the Qur’an see Anwar, Fathers; for a short list referring to the famous poets of the Banû Tamîm and of the Hudaillis see Şûbi, Fiqh 66). Al-Ḥalîlî is said to have admitted that the poets are given possibilities which are not permitted to others than them (cf. Ḥâzim al-Qartâğanni, Minhâq 143-144). According to al-Âhfaš, the poets are obliged to use certain words for the sake of metric exigency, which makes them accustomed to these expressions and constructions in their language (cf. Anîs, Asrâr 323). Ibn Ğinnî, Ḥaṣâṣ ‘îs II, 392-393 alludes to the poet’s desire of adventurous experimentation. The metre of the verse cited by Ibn Mas‘ûd is wâfîr. The poet is unknown. The same verse occurs in Ibn al-Anbârî, Insâf Q. 96, 284 and the same explanation mentioned by Ibn Mas‘ûd is presented. أَنَّا ذَا فِي أَيَّامٍ lenthened into an ā occurs as a pronoun of the masc. sing. of the 2nd person instead of the normal أَنَّا. If the form for the dual أَنَا ذَا the inflexion of the m did not exist, both the sing. and the dual would be confused. The ā suffixed to أَنَّا resulting in أَنَّا is named "the alif suffixed after a final short vowel" (cf. Ibn al-Anbârî, Insâf Q. 96, 284). Concerning the normal structure of أَنَّا, the Basrans believed that أَنَّا is the pronoun and that the أَنَّا is a suffix
that specifies the 2nd person (cf. Carter, Šīrbīnī 256 and the notes 257). Another verse reminiscent of the one cited by Ibn Masʿūd regarding the theme is cited by Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3881:

"Some brothers keep on laughing and joking and some brothers are in another state of mind".

Zamaḥšārī, Asāṣ 545 has instead:

"And some brothers keep on laughing and joking and some brothers greet you with a “may God preserve your life!” and welcome you]."

Another example concerning that marks the sing. with the suffixation of this particular alif occurs in the following verse said by Sālim b. Dāra, cited by Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 25, Ibn Yaʿīs, I, 127, 130, Bağdādī, Ḥizānā I, 289, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 45, 144, Q. 96, 284:

"O Murr, O Ibn Wāqī', O you! it is you who divorced [your wife] in a year when you were hungry!".

A variant of the verse is believed to be by al-Āhwaṣ (cf. Howell, I, Fasc. I 47A, Daqr, Muʿgam 393), but it is probably by Sālim b. Dāra al-Ǧatafānī mentioned above (cf. Qālī, Nawādir 455). It is also cited by Ibn Ginnī, Sirr I, 359, in the notes of the commentator al-Šartūnī of Farḥāt, Bahāt 241, Daqr, Muʿgam 393:

"O Abīr Ibn Abīgār, O you! it is you who divorced [your wife] in a year when you were hungry!".

b) It is usual that in poetry, the ā, the w or the y that lengthens the fatḥa, dāamma or kasra is suffixed to the word at the ends of verses. This lengthening of the vowels is appropriate for the repetition and the reiteration of sound, and marks a difference between poetry and prose (cf. Ibn Yaʿīs, IX, 78). This occurs in the following verse said by Imruʿuʾ l-Qais, cited by Sibawayhi, II, 325, Ibn Ginnī, Munṣūf I, 224, Ibn Yaʿīs, IX, 78, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 791, in which occurs instead of وَمَنْزِلٍ:

"Tarry you two: we will weep at the remembrance of a beloved and a place of alighting".

The verse is also cited by Howell, I, fasc. I, 351, with instead. A linguistic feature worth to be mentioned is the use of the dual to the verb (for a discussion why the dual might have been chosen see Abū Haidar, Dual 40-48, Ākessōn, Conversion in the notes to 29-30). The lengthening of the vowel occurs as well in the following verse said by Ibn Hilīza al-Yaṣūkūrī, cited by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 791, in which occurs instead of اَسْمَاءٌ, اَسْمَاءٌ and اَتْهَوْاَوْ and instead of اَتْهَوْاَوْ:

"[The beloved] Asmāʿ has announced to us her intention of departing. Many a sojourner [there is], of whose sojourn one is wearied!".

(61) The points of articulation of the *m* and the *t* are close to each other. The *t* is formed by the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors and the *m* is formed between the lips (see my notes (188)).

(62) Besides being an infix in a pronoun, e.g. ْأَنَثَأَ “you two”, or a suffix in it, e.g. ْأَنَثَمَ “you / masc. pl.”, the *m* can be a prefix in a noun (for discussions see Fleisch, *Traité I*, 422-434), e.g. ْمُوَدَّ “a place of a promise or an appointment” or a suffix in it (for discussions see Ibid, 465-467), e.g. ْمُنَبَّ “the son” in which it marks intensification (cf. Zağgāği, *Mağālis* 134). It is not to be prefixed, infixed or suffixed directly to the verbs (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, *Mulāki* 150). In the cases of the 2nd persons of the masc. and fem. dual and the masc. pl. of the perfect, e.g. ْمُشَيْتَأ “you hit / masc. and fem. dual” and ْمُشَيْتَمَ “you hit / masc. pl.”, the *m* is a part of the suffixed pronouns ْتَمُّمُ and ْتَمُّمُ. For a study of the *m*’s occurrence in some of the Semitic languages see Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 396.

b) In some anomalous cases of verbs the *m* can be prefixed or infixed (for examples see Ibn Ğinni, *Sirr I*, 432-433). These forms are ْتَمُّّلُ and ْتَمُّّلُ ْتمُّلَ. Examples formed according to ْتَمُّلُ “the man became poor”, ْتَمُّلَ “he wore a loose outer garment of wool with sleeves, slit in front”, ْتَمُّلَ “to clean oneself with a handkerchief”, ْتَمُّلَ “to tighten one’s belt”, ْتَمُّلَ “the man named himself Muslim” and ْتَمُّلَ “to behave arrogantly”. Examples formed according to ْتَمُّلُ “may God welcome you and make the place smooth, plain, or not rugged for you”, ْتَمُّلُ ْتَمُّلَ ْتمُّلَ “is from the expression ْتمُّلَ ْتمُّلَ ْتمُّلَ from ْتمُّلَ ْتمُّلَ ْتمُّلَ “Thou hast come to a people who are like kinsfolk, and to a place that is smooth, plain, or not rugged” (cf. Lane, *I*, 1453), and ْتمُّلَ “the man was profuse in liberality, bounty, or munificence”.

(63) The pronoun is considered by many Arab grammarians as belonging to the same category as the noun, as generally the parts of speech are three: the noun, verb and particle (cf. Sibawaihi, *I*, 1). This tripartite division of the language seems to be an influence from the Greeks (see my notes (10 b)). The point at issue here is that there is no noun ending with a *w* preceded by a َدَمْمَ (cf. Ibn Ğinni, *de Flexione* 42-43, Ibn Ya’iš, *X*, 104) except the pronoun َهُبَ. The verbs however can end with a *w* preceded by a َدَمْمَ without this combination being deemed heavy, e.g. ِبِغْرُو “he assaults” and ِبِغْرُو “he calls”.

(64) The reason why the pl. of َدَلْوُ with 3rd weak radical is formed according to the pattern ْمُلُ, namely ْمُلُ (cf. Ibn Ğinni, *de Flexione* 43, Zamaḫšāri, 185, Ibn Ya’iš, *X*, 107-108, Ibn Mālik, *Alfya* 147, Goguyer’s commentary to verse 617, Lane, *I*, 909, Wright, *II*, 209) and not on the pattern ْمُلُ, namely ْمُلُ, is to avoid having it ending with a *w* preceded by a َدَمْمَ, which is disliked by the Arabs.
The underlying ā in ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ is maintained between the pronoun of the nominative of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., -tum, and the pronoun of the accusative of the 3rd person of the sing., -hu, and thus is not longer at the extremity of the word, which is the reason why it is not elided. The base form of ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ is ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ and the suffixed pronoun of the accusative, the -hu, is also another reason why the verb is brought back to its base form (cf. Ibn Ya'īš, III, 95). The principle that the pronouns bring back the words to their base form can be considered a rule (cf. Sibawaihi, I, 341-342). The suffixed pronoun of the pl. of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., the ā, can be elided according to Yūnus referred to by Sibawaihi, I, 342, who accepts instead of the examples ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ and ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ and ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 103 considers the saying of Yūnus of ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ to be an anomaly. It can be added as well that it is not only the suffixed pronouns, but as well the dual endings (cf. Suyūṭī, Asbāḥ I, 203-204; for a general discussion concerning the dual suffix -āni marking the nominative see Carter, Sīrbīnī 59: 3.43 (1); for examples concerning the dual of the three cases see 91-93: 4.5 (1)) and the diminutive (cf. Suyūṭī, Asbāḥ I, 218, (363)) that bring back the word to its base form (for discussions see Rāḍī, Naṣārīya 192-193).

The suffixation of the tā’ marbūṭa in ُةْ is the reason why the hamza, which is not longer at the extremity of the word, is changed into the y resulting in ُةْ (cf. Ibn Ya’īš, X, 109; for discussions see Ibn Ğinnī, Munṣīf II, 128-129).

The theory that is presented by Ibn Masʿūd concerning ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ, is that its base form is ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ. The m is assimilated to the n as their points of articulation are close to each other: the m originates between the lips and the n from the upper part of the nose (cf. (188)). Another theory presented by Ibn Ya’īš, III, 87 concerning the doubling of the n in ُضَرْيِحَتْوَهُ َةْ is that two nūns should arise as compared to the m and the ā of the masc. pl., i.e. ُضَرْيِحَتْوَا َةْ (cf. my notes to Ibn Masʿūd, I, 61).

The base form of ُشَبِيْثَبْ َةْ is ُشَبِيْثَبْ َةْ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 342, Ibn Ğinnī, de Flexione 26, Zamahṣarī, 174-175, Ibn Ya’īš, X, 33-36, Bohas, Étude 229-232, my notes (365)). The substitution of the m for the n is necessary when it occurs vowelless before the b because of the heaviness implied by the combination of the soft and nasal n and the rigid b. Another example is ُشَبِيْثَبْ َةْ “having sharp canine teeth” said instead of ُشَبِيْثَبْ َةْ. ُشَبِيْثَبْ َةْ.

According to this theory, the base form of ُضَرْيِحَتْوَا َةْ with the doubling of the -nna, is ُضَرْيِحَتْوَا َةْ with the alleviation of the -na that marks the fem. pl. The -tu preceding the -na that marks the fem. pl. in ُضَرْيِحَتْوَا َةْ should have been vowelless, i.e. ُضَرْيِحَتْوَا َةْ, similarly to the consonant preceding the n that marks the fem. pl. of the 3rd person of the fem. ُضَرْيِحَتْ “they hit”. However the -tu of the addressed 2nd person of the pl. could not be vowelless, i.e., ُضَرْيِحَتْ, as this would imply a cluster of two vowelless consonants, the b and the t. So it was necessary to vowel it,
and the vowel that was chosen was a dama, namely ُضَرْبَتْ. Moreover, in order to avoid mixing it up with the 1st person of the sing. ُضَرْبَتْ, it was necessary to infix an augment after the -\(tu\). If one is to speculate which among the usual infixes and suffixes, namely the \(m\), \(y\), \(\check{a}\), and \(\check{u}\), is the appropriate augment that is to be infixed, it could not be the \(m\) because the form does not refer to the dual or to the masc. pl. of the 2nd person. It could not be the \(\check{a}\) or the \(y\) either, on account of the dama of the \(t\) that forbids it, nor could it be the \(w\) to avoid that the marker of the masc. pl., i.e. the \(\check{u}\), would be combined with the marker of the fem. pl., i.e. the -\(na\), so the \(n\) was chosen to be infixed, and was then assimilated to the \(n\) of the fem. pl. (cf. my notes to Ibn Mas'\(\ddot{u}\)d, \(I\), 61-62).

(70) The reason why the attached pronoun -\(tu\) was chosen to be suffixed to the base form of the perfect ُفَعَّلَ in the perfect of the 1st person of the sing. resulting in ُضَرْبَتْ, and why none of the \(\check{a}\), the \(n\) or the \(\check{a}\) of \(^{\check{a}}\), or of the weak consonants, the \(w\) or the \(y\), was suffixed instead, is that if the \(\check{a}\) was suffixed it would be confused with the 3rd person of the masc. dual ُضَرْبَا, if the \(n\) was suffixed it would be confused with the 3rd person of the fem. pl. ُضَرْبَتْ, if the \(w\) was suffixed it would be confused with the 3rd person of the masc. pl. ُضَرْبَوا, and if the \(y\) was suffixed it would be impossible to vowel it with the marker of the nominative, i.e. the dama, because of the heaviness implied by this combination (cf. my notes to Ibn Mas'\(\ddot{u}\)d, \(I\), 62).

(71) Sixty sorts of pronouns and the same distribution presented by Ibn Mas'\(\ddot{u}\)d are as well mentioned by Carter, Širbîni 194. As for this manner of referring to determined numbers, Carter, 195 remarks in his notes:

“The urge to calculate total combinations of elements is a relatively late phenomenon in grammar... 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”.

(72) The dual of the 3rd person of the masc. of e.g. ُضَرَبَبَ is ُضَرْبَبَا and of the fem. sing. ُضَرَبَتْ. The \(\check{a}\) alone is the pronoun in both these duals, because in the case of the fem. the \(t\) is the marker of the fem. and not a pronoun. This is the homonymy of both the dual of the fem. and masc. meant by Ibn Mas'\(\ddot{u}\)d regarding the suffixation of the \(\check{a}\) to the basic form of the perfect. The dualizations of both the 3rd person of the masc. and fem. sing. are Proto-Semitic (cf. Moscati, Grammar 141).

(73) Two expressions are given to the 1st persons: انا “I” and َنَحْنُ “we” (for َنَحْنَ see (74)), because “of the rarity of ambiguity in the 1st persons” (cf. Howell, \(I\), fasc. II, 513-514). Concerning the reason why no form for the dual has been chosen for the 1st person of the sing. انا, differently from the 2nd person انتَ which has the dual انتَا, Ibn Manţûr, \(I\), 160 presents the following theory:

"فَإِنْ قَبِلَ فَلَمَّا حَمَّلْتُ أَنَا وَلَمْ يُحَمِّلْ أَنَا فِيْلًَ أَنَا؟ قَبِلَ فَلَمَّا حَمَّلْتُ أَنَا وَلَمْ يُحَمِّلْ أَنَا لِرَجُلٍ"
And if it is asked: “Why did they give a dual form to أنتь as they said أنتما and they did not give a dual form to أنت؟”. It is answered: “When it was not possible to say أنتما and أنتا [with the latter أنت] referring to another man, they did not form a dual [for it]. As what concerns أنتما they gave it the dual form أنتما because it is possible for you to say to a man أنتما and أنتا [with the latter أنت] referring to another one with him. For this reason it was given a dual form”.

b) A debate concerning the structure of أنت in “I” was raised between the Basrans and the Kufans, the Basrans considering the أ and the n as being the pronoun, and the أ as being suffixed after the n to make the fatha plain, whereas the Kufans consider the أ as belonging to the pronoun’s structure (for discussions see Ibn Ya’is, III, 93-94, Howell, I, fasc. II, 520-522, Carter, Şirbini 256).

c) There exist four dialectal variants concerning أنت, namely أنت, أنتان, and أنت (for أنت see my notes (345), (373)) according to Qutrub (cf. Ibn Manṣūr, I, 160). Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirā‘at I, 92 mentions these four: أنت and أنتا and أنتما. The usual أنت أنتا أنتما occurs in the following verse said by ‘Udail according to Ibn Manṣūr, I, 160, but it is probably said according to my opinion by Humaid b. Ḥuraib b. Baḥdal al-Kalbi (cf. the notes to Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 538, the notes to Ibn Ǧinni, Munṣif I, 356, the notes to Ibn Ya’is, III, 93). It is also cited by Ibn Ǧinni, Munṣif I, 10, Howell, I, fasc. II, 521:

“أنا سيفاً المشيرة فأعزفوني حسباً قد تذرعت ألسنا”.

“I am the sword of the paternal kinsfolk; therefore know me praiseworthy, having mounted upon the summit”.

أنت which is of the dialectal variant of Quḍā’a, occurs in the following verse said by ‘Adiy, cited by Ibn Manṣūr, I, 160:

“يا ليت شعروني! أنت ذو عجة متي أرى شريحاً حموياً أصيب؟”.

“I wish I knew! I am the one who is yelling. When do I see water around a flowerpot?”.

It may be noted when comparing the independent personal pronoun of Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic, that the 1st and 2nd persons of the sing. and pl. belong to the same system -an plus suffixes (cf. Moscati, Grammar 102).

(74) One form is sufficient for the separate pronoun of the 1st person of the pl. نحن (for discussions concerning its structure see Fleisch, Traité II, 10-11). The 1st person of the pl. can refer to himself/herself and to another or to others, e.g. نحن خارجان “we are both going out” and نحن خارجون “we are going out /masc. pl.”. According to Ibn Ya’is, III, 94, the 1st person is aware of himself (or herself) by his senses, and he is talking about himself and others. As he cannot be confused with another, there is no need to have separate forms for the dual (for the question of the dual to the 1st persons in Semitic see Wagner, Dualis 229-233), the fem. and
the masc. The same theory applies as well for the 1st person of the sing. (أنا (cf. (73)).

b) Different theories exist as for why the 2nd n of "نحن" is vowelled by a دamma (for them see Ibn Ya’îs, III, 94). According to Abû Ishaq al-Zağqāqî, the دamma is chosen because دامّنا marks the pl., and the دamma is close in its nature to the ُذّ that marks the pl. in verbs, e.g. "they got up", and in nouns, e.g. "the Zaïds". According to Abû ِ-Abbâs al-Mubarrad, دامّنا was compared and made commensurable to ُذّ "before" and ُذّ "after" that are used before the sing., the dual and the pl. According to Abû l-Hasan al-Aḥfâs al-Sâqîr, دامّنا is the agent pronoun, which is the reason why the َn should be given the vowel of the nominative, i.e. the دamma. According to Qutrub the base form of دامّنا is دامّنا with the 2nd radical vowelled by the دamma, which was then shifted to the 3rd radical َn (for this theory see also Zağqâqî, Mağâlis 136-137). According to Mu’âddîb, Taṣrîf 206-207, the دamma, which is the strongest of vowels, was chosen because دامّنا reveals strength as it comprehends two meanings, the one of the dual and the one of the pl., e.g. دامّنا ضربنا زيداً can be used for the dual, i.e. "we have both hit Zaid" and for the pl., i.e. "we have hit Zaid".

(75) The paradigm of the attached pronouns of the nominative is the following:—It can be noted that the 3rd person of the masc. and fem. sing. is latent, and that the suffix of the 3rd person of the fem. sing., the دامّنا, is a marker of the feminine form and not a pronoun—:

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

For the paradigm of the verb ضرب "to hit" in the perfect, active see (42).

b) Some questions worth taking up are why the ِذّ of the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the dual is given a دamma, e.g. ضربنا, a faṭḥâ in the 2nd person of the masc. sing., e.g. ضربت, and a kasra in the 2nd person of the fem. sing., e.g. ضربت. The main ideas presented below by Niksârî, are that the دamma of the ِذّ ضربنا marks the nominative because the suffixed pronoun is the pronoun of the agent, and the دamma is the agent’s vowel. Furthermore there is no risk of confusing this form with the 1st person ضربت because of the infixation of the m followed by an ā. The faṭḥâ was chosen to mark the masc. sing. in ضربت and the kasra was chosen to mark the fem. sing. ضربت because the masc. form is considered as a base form in relation to the fem. For this reason the light faṭḥâ was chosen for it and the heavy kasra was chosen for the fem. Niksârî, Mifrâh fol. 7a ll. 19-fol. 12 ll. 1-5 writes:
"The reason why the 틀 was vowelled by a đamma in singular ضرَّعْتْنَا "you both hit /dual" is that the -tu is the agent pronoun, and its vowel is the nominative’s vowel, and there is no difference between the nominative and the đamma in the meaning. As for the fatha of the -ta that marks the 2nd person of the masc. sing. [in e.g. ضرِّعْتْ], it was given to avoid the confusion, because if it was given a đamma the confusion would be unavoidable with the 1st person of the sing. [i.e. ضرَّعْتْ], and if it was given a kasra it would be necessarily confused with the 2nd person of the fem. sing. [i.e. ضرِّعْتْ]. And if it is asked: “Why was the fatha chosen to mark the 2nd person of the masc. sing. [i.e. ضرِّعْتْ] and the kasra [chosen to mark] the 2nd person of the fem. sing. [i.e. ضرِّعْتْ], and not vice versa by choosing the kasra to mark the 2nd person of the masc. sing. [i.e. ضرِّعْتْ] and the fatha to mark the 2nd person of the fem. sing. [i.e. ضرِّعْتْ],] which would as well eliminate the possibility of confusing [the forms together]?” We answer: “The fatha is prior [to be chosen] to mark the 2nd person of the masc. sing. and the kasra is prior to mark the 2nd person of the fem. sing, because the masc. sing. is the base form and the fem. sing. is the derivative, and the fatha is light and the kasra is heavy, and so giving the light vowel to the base form is more prior than doing the contrary. Such a confusion [with other forms] cannot occur in the dual because of the đamma of the -tu, and this is why the đamma was given to the 틀 in it”.

(76) The twelve forms of the separate pronoun of the nominative are the following comprising two identical forms in the dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أناَ</td>
<td>نَحْنُ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>أَنْتَ</td>
<td>أَنْتِ أَنْتَا</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>أَنَتْ</td>
<td>أَنَتِ أَنَتَا</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>هُوَ</td>
<td>هُنَّ هُنَا</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>هِنَّ</td>
<td>هُنَا هُنَّ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Some interesting questions worth taking up in this context are why the 틀 in أَنْتَ is given a
fatha in the masc. sing., a kasra in the fem. sing. أَنَتْ and a dama in the dual أَنْتُا (for the theories presented here see Zağgāqī, Mağālis 136: the session between Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Kaisàn with Abū l-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazid al-Mubarrad). According to some the r was given the fatha in أَنْتَ “you” marking the masc. sing. and the kasra in أَنْتَ marking the fem. sing., to differentiate between both these 2nd persons. The t marking the dual form followed by the mā ending, was vowelled by a dama in أَنْتُا “you two”, because it is known that this vowel does not mark neither the masc. nor the fem. sing., so it became specific for the dual. According to others the t of the dual was vowelled by a dama to differentiate it from the t of the sing., whose vowel varies from a fatha if it marks the masc. sing. to a kasra if it marks the fem. sing.

(77) A debate between the Kufans and Basrans was raised concerning the structure of هوُ (for it see Zağgāqī, Mağālis 137, Ibn Ya‘īs, III, 96-97, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 96, 282-285, Howell, I, fasc. II, 522 sqq., Carter, Šīrínī 256). According to the Kufans, the pronoun is the h alone, as they consider the lengthening element, the w, as strengthening the word. Their main argument is that the w is dropped in the dual مَا and in the pl. مِهُ. As for the Basrans, they consider both the h and the w to form its underlying structure. It may be noted when comparing the independent personal pronouns of the 3rd persons in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic, that their structures relate to the demonstratives (cf. Moscati, Grammar 102).

b) The w of the pronoun مِهُ is elided for the sake of metric exigency in the following verse said by ‘Uğair al-Salūli Gāhīliy, cited by Ibn Ginni, Ḥasā‘īs I, 69, Ḥarūrī, Šarḥ 214, Ibn al-Sarrāq, Uṣūl III, 460, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 96, 282, Bağdādí, Ḥizāna II, 396, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4596, Howell, I, fasc. II, 523, in which مَفْيِينَا هوُ is said instead of مَفْيِينَا مَا

‘فَيِينَا مَا يُبْثَرُ رَلْحَةُ قَالَ قَاتِلٌ لِسْلَمِيْنَ رَحْوَوُ آلَ سَلَامَةَ نُجِيبُ ٌ

“Then, while he was selling his camel-saddle, a sayer said: ‘Who has a he-camel soft in the side of the hump, well-bred?’.

c) The y of the pronoun هَيِّ is elided for the sake of metric exigency in the following verse said by Ibn al-‘Abbās, cited by Sibawaihi, I, 8, Ibn Fāris,  onDataChange 19 Ibn Ginni, Ḥasā‘īs I, 89, Ḥarūrī, Šarḥ 215, Ibn al-Sarrāq, Uṣūl III, 461, Mu‘addib, Taşrīf 539, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 96, 282, 284, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4596, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1559, in which هوُ إِذَّ هِيَ is said instead of هوُ إِذَّ هِيَ

هَلْ تَعْرِفُ آلَدَارَ عَلَى نِيرَاكَا دَاٰرُ لِسُمَدِّي إِذَّ هِيَ مِنْ هُواَكَا ٌ

“Do you know the dwelling on Tibrāk? It was a dwelling of Su‘dā when she was one of your beloved”.

d) As for some anomalies concerning the structutes of هوُ and هَيِّ, the Banū Asad make vowelless the w and y and say هوُ and هَيِّ (cf. Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4597). Some of the Arabs (Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4597), among them the Hamdan, double the w and y, and say instead هوُ and هَيِّ (cf. Rabin, 71)
(78) According to the theory presented here, the masc. pl. base form of هوّا, of which the 1st w is changed into a m because of the heaviness implied by the combination of both the wāws, so the form became هوّا. Then the 2nd w and the ą were elided resulting in هوّا. In the dual, the ą was suffixed, the dual’s base form being هوّا according to him, so it became هوّا. Another theory concerning هوّا with the affixation of the m is propounded by Ibn Ya‘īš, 97 who considers its base form to be هوّا, and not as Ibn Mas‘ūd هوّا (cf. my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 63). Concerning the pronouns هوّا and هوّا, some believed that هوّا is the pronoun while others believed that all the consonants form these pronouns’ structure (cf. Carter, 256).

(79) The base forms of the duals and pl. of هوّا and هوّا are deprived of the m, i.e., هوّا masc. and fem. dual", هوّا pl. and هوّا pl. with the alleviation of the n. These forms with the affixation of the m become هوّا and هوّا (cf. my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 63).

(80) The ḍammatan is given to the suffixed pronoun of the genitive of 3rd person of the masc. sing., the isations, if the vowel preceding it is a fatḥa, e.g., هوّا “to him/it”. The kasra is given to it if it is preceded by the kasra, e.g., هوّا “by him/it” or by a vowelless هوّا “he/it has” (for discussions see Sibawaihi, 320-322 in his chapter treating the h which is the attached pronoun vowelled by the kasra). For the paradigm of the suffixed pronouns of the genitive see (85).

b) Anomalies can occur. Al-Kisâ‘i’s mentions that in the dialect of Qudā’a هوّا occurs instead of هوّا, e.g., هوّا “I passed by him” and هوّا occurs instead of هوّا, e.g., هوّا “the money is his” (cf. Ibn Ḥaṣṣā‘is I, 390, II, 10). Sibawaihi, 321 mentions that the Ḥīḍāṣiyyūn say هوّا, e.g., هوّا “the money is his” instead of هوّا, e.g., هوّا “I passed by him before” and هوّا instead of هوّا, e.g., هوّا “he has money” (for further examples see Rabin, 99).

(81) When the vocative (for its study see Zamahšari, 18-23, Ibn Ya‘īš, I, 127, II, 2-17, Howell, I, fasc. I, 160 sqq., Wright, III, 85-94, Carter, 418-432, Daqr, Mu‘āğam 392-399) ﷲ precedes a noun in which the pronoun of the genitive of the 1st person of the sing., the ą, is suffixed to, e.g., هوّا, its ą can be changed into an ā in the Tayyīs‘ dialectal variant, and consequently the consonant before it, i.e., the m, is vowelled by a fatḥa, i.e., هوّا (cf. Ibn Ginni, Luma‘ 45, Vernier, I, 382-383, Åkesson, Conversion 29-30). Other allowable dialectal variants that can be added here are: 1– the final ą can be elided with the consonant preceding it being vowelled by a kasra: i.e., هوّا, 2– maintained, i.e., هوّا 3– elided with the consonant preceding it being vowelled by a ẓammat, i.e., هوّا 4– the ā can be elided with the sufficiency of the fatḥa preceding it, i.e., هوّا (cf. Ibn Ya‘īš, II, 10-11, Howell, I, fasc. I, 176-177). If the vocative precedes a word in which the y is a radical and is preceded by a kasra, e.g.
it is changed into an ā, i.e. یا باداته instead of یا باداته (cf. Ibn Ya‘Īs, II, 11, Ākesson, Conversion 30).

b) In other cases than with the vocative, the y of a word is changed into the ā by the Banū Ḥārīt b. Ka‘b when it is vowelless and preceded by a consonant given the fatha, e.g. “upon her” that becomes لدیكْ (cf. Rabin, Taṭniya 57-68). This occurs as well in some nouns in the dual in the accusative and genitive cases, of which the ending some Arabs change into (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Taṭniya 57-58, Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Laysa 333, Ibn ‘Aqīl, Musā‘īd 40, Ākesson, Conversion 30-31). Ibn Ğinnī, Taṭniya 57-58 refers to this dialectal variant by presenting the examples “I hit both Zaits” in which occurs instead of ﮐلأ ﮐلأ ﮐلأ “I passed by both Zaids” in which ﮐلأ ﮐلأ ﮐلأ.

(82) The twelve forms of the attached pronoun of the accusative are the following comprising two identical forms for the dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>یا</td>
<td>یا</td>
<td>یا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>یکم</td>
<td>یکم</td>
<td>یکم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>یکما</td>
<td>یکما</td>
<td>یکما</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>یبِه</td>
<td>یبِه</td>
<td>یبِه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>یبِها</td>
<td>یبِها</td>
<td>یبِها</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Concerning the 2nd person of the fem. sing., the -ki, in the dialectal variant known as ﮐلأ ، the Banū Bakr add the s after it, e.g. “I gave you” (cf. Mubarrad, Kāmil II, 224) said instead of ﮐلأ in pause, or even substitute the s for it. As for the Rabī’a and the Banū Asad, they add the s after it in their own dialectal variant known as ﮐلأ , e.g. ﮐلأ ﮐلأ “I saw you” and ﮐلأ ﮐلأ said instead of ﮐلأ “in you” (for further examples and references see Vollers, Volkssprache 11-12, Brockelmann, Grundriss 206; for a discussion why the -ki is affected by the kaškāša and not the agent pronoun, the -ti see Watson, Kašša 66-79). The Arabs did not always differenciate between ﮐلأ and ﮐلأ , as they named both phenemena for either of these terms (cf. Cantineau, Cours 118). Furthermore both the -ki and the 2nd person of the masc. sing., the -ka, have been replaced by the s, which pertains to another dialectal variant known as ﮐلأ that is peculiar to the dialect of the Yemenites and the inhabitants of Śīhr in Hadramaut, e.g. said instead of ﮐلأ “at your service” (for discussions see Rabin, 49-50). The Banū Tamīm change the -ki into a -s in pause, e.g. said instead of ﮐلأ “May God bless you in your home” (cf. Mubarrad, Kāmil II, 223). This substitution can occur as well in context, e.g. the sur. 19: 24
“Hath provided a rivulet beneath thee” that has been read by some as جعلكَ بَعْضَ تَحْكَمٍ سِرِّيًّا (cf. Cantineau, *Cours* 84, *Études* 65).

(83) It is impossible to combine both the suffixed agent and object pronouns that refer to the same person in the verb, except in some mental verbs (for them see Zamaḥšāri, 117-118, Ibn Yaʿīsī, VII, 77 sqq., Howell, *II-III*, 133-165, Wright, *III*, 48 sqq., Blachère, 264-265, Daqr, *Muʿgam* 213). In most cases, except in the examples cited below, the mental verb is followed by a “circumstantial accusative“ or by a verb that expresses the state or the condition of the suffixed object in connection with the act. The reason why this combination is accepted is that the suffixed object pronoun is not the real object of the verb. Examples that can be added to the ones presented here are “I knew myself going away”, “you found yourself doing this” and “he considered himself great” (cf. Zamaḥšāri, 118). The combination without a following circumstantial accusative or a verb is accepted however in the verbs “to loose” and “to mislay”, e.g. فَقَدْ فُجِيَ عَدِمُتْي “I lost myself” and فَقَدْ فُجِيَ عَدِمُتْي “I mislaid myself” (cf. Ibn Maḍā, *Radd* 107 in the notes, Ibn Yaʿīsī, VII, 88-89). A verse said by Ǧirān-‘Awd, cited by Zamaḥšāri, 118, Ibn Yaʿīsī, VII, 88-89, Howell, *II-III*, 166, has فَقَدْ عَدِمُتْي with the combination of both the agent and object pronouns:

"لَفَدَ كَانَ لِي عَنْ ضَرْتِيْ عَدِمُتْي وَسَأَ أَلْقَى مِنْهَا مَزَحَّرٍ.

“Indeed I have got from two rival wives—may I loose myself! [i.e. may I perish!]—and from that [trouble] which I undergo from them both a place of retreat!”.

(84) The twelve forms of the separate pronoun of the accusative are the following, comprising two identical forms for the dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>إِياَيُ</td>
<td>إِيَانَا</td>
<td>إِيَانَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>إِياَكُن</td>
<td>إِيَاكُنا</td>
<td>إِيَاكُنا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>إِيَاهُ</td>
<td>إِيَاهُنَا</td>
<td>إِيَاهُنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>إِيَاهُ</td>
<td>إِيَاهُنَا</td>
<td>إِيَاهُنَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>إِيَاهُ</td>
<td>إِيَاهُنَا</td>
<td>إِيَاهُنَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Different opinions concern the forms’ structure (for discussions see Ibn Ǧinni, *Sirr* I, 312-313, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Insāf* Q. 98, 288-292, Zamaḥšāri, *Kaṣṣāf* I, 60-61, Ibn Yaʿīsī, *III*, 98 sqq.; for a discussion concerning the origin of the particle ِإِيَا see Bravmann, *Studies* 182-185). According to the teachings of the Kufans, the -ka in إِيَايُ، the -hu in إِيَاهُ and the -ya in إِيَايُ are the pronouns of the accusative, and إِيَا is a lengthening element that strengthens the word. Some believed also that the whole word is the pronoun. As for the Basrans they considered إِيَا to be the pronoun and the -ka, -hu and -ya to be suffixes which are entitled to invariability.

(85) The twelve forms of the attached pronoun of the genitive are the following, comprising two identical forms for the dual:
(86) When the suffixed pronoun of the genitive of the 1st person of the sing. is attached to a word that ends with the diphtong -(u)ū, e.g. ضائي ‘the ones who are hitting me’ in the nominative case from the sound pl. ضارب or the diphtong -(i)ū, e.g. ضارب in the accusative and genitive from the sound pl. ضارب, the w is changed into a y in the first example, and is then assimilated to it resulting in ضارب, and the y in the second example is assimilated to the 2nd y resulting in ضارب. It can be added that the same phenomenon occurs if the word ends with the diphtong -aw or -ay, e.g. مسطفوي “my elect” for both مسطفوي in the nominative case from مسطفوي, and مسطفوي in the accusative and genitive from مسطفوي, which are the sound pl.s. of مسطفوي. For a study see Sibawaihi, II, 104, Wright, II, 252-253, Vernier, I, 340, 381.

(87) The reason for al-ʿAḥfaṣ to state that the infixed ʾ in ضرِّبِين is not a pronoun but a marker of the feminine form and that the pronoun is latent, is that both the 2nd person of the masc. and 3rd person of the fem. sing. of the imperfect in e.g. ضرِّبِين, are common and lack a prominent pronoun. It is then for the sake of analogy that al-ʿAḥfaṣ insisted in having the sings. of the imperfect as treated uniformly (cf. Howell, I, fasc. II, 519, ʿṢādiqī, ‘Aʿnāṣir 30).

(88) The reason why the y was chosen as an infix in ضرِّبِين and not the t, is that the prefixed t of the addressed 2nd person prohibited this infixation, as this would imply a disliked repetition of two tāʾs if ضرِّيْن is said. This dislike of combining two markers of the fem. in the verb is noticed in the case of the perfect of the 3rd person of the fem. pl. ضرِّبِين (for discussions see (58)) and in the case of the imperfect of the 3rd person of the fem. pl. ضرِّبِين in which the y was chosen as a prefix and not the t (for discussions see (97)).

(89) The h that marks the fem. sing. in the demonstratif pronoun هده is substituted for the y of the base form هده (cf. Rāzī, in Ḥallī b. ʿAṭamad ..., Ḥurāf 154, Sibawaihi, II, 341, Ibn ʿĞinnī, Sirr II, 556, Zamaḥṣārī, 176, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, III, 131, X, 44-45, Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ I, 404, my notes (346)). This implies that there exists a closeness between the h and the y in marking the the feminine form and justifies why the y was chosen as an infix that marks the fem. in ضرِّبِين.
Blachère, 202 mentions the forms of the demonstratifs pronoun هذّه and هَذَا, but does not discuss the phenomenon of substitution.

b) There exist different dialectal variants concerning هذّه (for them see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1363-1364). The Banū Tamīm say هذّه for هذّة in the pause, and هذّة هذّه when they continue. Qais and the people of al-Hiğāz make pause and context alike and say هذّة هذّه or هذّه هذّه. Sibawaih, II, 322 mentions that he has heard the phrase هذّه آمن الله said by one who was confident of his Arabic among the Arabs as هذّه آمن الله, with the h rendered voiceless.

(90) The well-known cases of the latency of the suffixed agent pronoun (for discussions see Howell, I, fasc. II, 544, Ibn Madā, Radd 90-93, Bustānī, Miṣbāḥ 23, Daqr, Mu'gam 217-218) concern the 3rd person of the masc. and fem. sing. of the perfect, the 1st persons of the sing. and pl., the 2nd person of the masc. sing. or the 3rd person of the fem. sing. and the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect, the 2nd person of the masc. sing. of the imperative and all the epithets, verbal nouns and adverbs.

(91) For a study of the imperfect see Mu'addib, Taṣrīf 28-43, Zamaḥsari, 108-114, Ibn Ya'āqīb, VII, 6-58, Howell, II-III, 8 sqq., Wright, III, 18 sqq.. The imperfect is considered as being divided into two sorts by Mu'addib, Taṣrīf 28: تصَـيَـّـم “literally”, which means that the tense stands for what the imperfect stands for, namely the present or the future, e.g. يُضْرَب رَبِّيَّةُ نَمْلُأَا “Zaid shall hit 'Amr tomorrow”, and يُضْرَبُ “representative of”, which means that the form is the imperfect’s form but that the meaning is intended for the past tense (for a discussion concerning this subject see (93 c)). As I remarked about al-Mu'addib’s terminology concerning the division of the perfect into three sorts (see (42)), it is possible that he was the only one to use this terminology concerning the division of the imperfect into two sorts, or that it has been used by other Kufans. I myself was unable to find it by any one else than him. For a study of the imperfect in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 179-188.

(92) The imperfect has three moods: the indicative, subjunctive and jussive. The strong verb of Form I يُضْرَب becomes يُضْرَب in the imperfect of the indicative, active. Its paradigm is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>يُضْرَبُ</td>
<td>نضْرَبُ</td>
<td>نضْرَبُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تضْرَبُ</td>
<td>تضْرَبُ</td>
<td>تضْرَبُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تضْرَبُ</td>
<td>تضْرَبُ</td>
<td>تضْرَبُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يضْرَبُ</td>
<td>يضْرَبُ</td>
<td>يضْرَبُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يضْرَبُ</td>
<td>يضْرَبُ</td>
<td>يضْرَبُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning the ending -āna that marks the masc. pl. and -āni that marks the dual of the imperfect of the indicative, it can be remarked that they are the same as those that mark the sound pl. and the dual respectively of nouns occurring in the nominative, e.g. مُمَدْعَوْنَ “teachers”.  مُمَدْعَوْنَ
“two teachers”. The reason why they were chosen to be attached to the imperfect is the similarity between the imperfect and the noun (for it see (93)). Another question of interest here is why the ā was chosen to mark the dual and the ā' chosen to mark the sound masc. pl. in nouns occurring in the nominative. According to Ibn Ğinnī, Tašrif 70-72, the dual is more frequently used than the masc. sound pl., because not all nouns can have a masc. sound pl. Some have a broken pl. and others have a fem. pl. with the ending -āt. So the light ā was chosen for the frequently used dual and the heavy ā' for the rarely used pl., so that what is deemed as heavy becomes rarely used and what is deemed as light becomes frequently used in the language. According to Abū ‘Ali referred to by Ibn Ğinnī, Tašrif 72, the pl. is stronger than the dual as it refers to different numbers whereas the dual refers only to two. For this reason the w; which is stronger than the ā, was chosen to mark the pl. that is stronger than the dual (for discussions see Zağāği, Ğdāh 121-129, Versteegh, Zağāği 216-230). Concerning the -na of the indicative of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. in the ending -ina (for the reasons of the choice of the y see (88), (89)), e.g. ٌتَضَرِّعٌ ٌسَمُّ أَلْطَالِبِيَّن ٌتَضَرِّعٌ “I saw the demanding persons” and of the genitive, e.g. ٌبَنْ أَلْطَالِبِيَّن ٌتَضَرِّعٌ “by the demanding persons”, which is probably the reason why it was as well vowelled by a fatha (cf. Mu‘addib, Tašrif 34). This is why Mu‘addib, Tašrif 35 states that the n of أَمِن “Amen” was as well vowelled by a fatha because of its similarity with the -na of the ending -ina in the sound masc. pl. of nouns. The n of the imperfect of the indicative of the dual of 2nd person of the masc. and fem. e.g. ٌتَضَرِّعٌ أَلْطَالِبِيَّن ٌتَضَرِّعٌ, of the 3rd person of the masc. ٌتَضَرِّعٌ and of the 3rd person of the fem. ٌتَضَرِّعٌ that follows the ā, is given the kasra because of a similarity between it and the n of the ending -āni of the dual vowelled by a kasra in nouns occurring in the dual of the nominative, e.g. أَلْطَالِبِيَّن “two students”. According to al-Kisā’î’s theory referred to by Mu‘addib, Tašrif 29-30, the n was vowelled by a kasra, because when two vowelless consonants of which the 1st one is the weak consonant ā, are combined in one word it is of common usage that the 2nd consonant is vowelled by a kasra. Examples are ٌمْذَرَّك “attain you! (an imperative verbal noun meaning ٌفَقَامُ “Qaṭāmi, name of a woman” (for it see Ibn Manzūr, V, 3682) and ٌحَدَّامُ “Hadām, name of a woman” (for it see Ibn Manzūr, II, 813). Another theory mentioned by Mu‘addib, Tašrif 30 is that the n of the dual of the ending -āni is given a kasra to differentiate it from the n of the pl. of the ending -ūna given a fatha. The n of the dual has been given anomalous vowels in nouns (cf. Rabin, 67, Mu‘addib, Tašrif 197, Ibn Ğinnī, Tašrif 87, Ibn ‘Aqīl, Musā‘id 40, Ibn Ya‘īs, IV, 143). An example with the n given anomalously a fatha in a verb is recorded in (تَعَدَّانِي) اتَّعَدَّانِي “Do you hold out the promise to me” (cf. Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirāṭāt II, 318). Furthermore the n of the 2nd and 3rd persons of the masc. pl. that follows the w in e.g. ٌبَنْ أَرْضِيَّنِ ٌبَنْ أَرْضِيَّنِ offers a similarity with the n vowelled by a fatha that follows the ā in nouns of the masc. sound pl. of the nominative, e.g. وَالْأَرْضِيَّنِ “the Zaidis”. According to Abū ‘Ali’s theory reported by Muhammad b. al-Mustanir Qutrub referred to by Mu‘addib, Tašrif 30, the reason of vowelling the n in nouns of the masc. sound pl. of the nominative with the lightest of vowels, the fatha, is to lighten its combination with the heaviest weak consonant among the weak consonants marking the declension, which is the w.

The paradigm of Form I ضَرِب in the subjunctive, active, is the following:
For a general study of the subjunctive see Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 35-41, Zamaḥšāri, 109-112, Ibn Ya’īš, VII, 15-40, Howell, II-III, 20-54b, Wright, III, 22, 24-34. A question worth taking up is why the fāṭhā was chosen to mark the subjunctive. According to some theories mentioned by Ibn Ya’īš, VII, 15, the subjunctival an resembles the conjunction an that puts the noun following it in the accusative. The resemblance between both these words is not only in their shapes, but the verb in the subjunctive after an together with it can be replaced by the verb’s masdar, which is put in the accusative by the verb preceding it. As the accusative in nouns corresponds to the subjunctive in verbs, the verb after an is put in the subjunctive mood. Furthermore the subjunctivals an and an are brought into relation with an. Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 40 presents the following examples: “I shall get up so that you get up with me” which can mean “so that you get up”, and an “I like you to get up”. The verb after an has the meaning of the masdar, and the sentence can be likened to: an “I like your getting up” with an put in the accusative by the verb an. Another example is “I like you to sit down” which can be replaced by the sentence “I like your sitting down”.

The paradigm of Form I ضرب in the jussive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ضربُ</td>
<td>تعربُ</td>
<td>تضربُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ضربَ</td>
<td>تعربَ</td>
<td>تضربَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تعربَ</td>
<td>ضربَ</td>
<td>تعربَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>ضربَ</td>
<td>تعربَ</td>
<td>تضربَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تعربَ</td>
<td>ضربَ</td>
<td>تعربَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a general study of the jussive see Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 41-43, Zamaḥšāri, 112-114, Ibn Ya’īš, VII, 40-58, Howell, II-III, 55-88, Wright, III, 22-24, 35-41. A question worth taking up is why was the sukūn chosen to mark the jussive mood. One theory mentioned by Ibn Ya’īš, VII, 41, is that the apocopatives ُ “not” and ُ “not yet” transfer the verb that is in the present tense to the past tense. As the verb is transferred to a limit in time which is not possible to be applied to the noun, it took an inflectional marker that is not existent in the noun, which is the sukūn. To the question why the subjunctivals an “that” and an “shall not”, which transfer the verbs to the future tense and put them in the subjunctive mood, do not put them instead in the jussive mood by giving them a sukūn marker, Ibn Ya’īš answers that they resemble the heavy conjunction an.
so they operated in the same manner as it. According to Qutrub’s theory (cf. Mu’addib, *Taṣrīf* 42), the jussive that has the sukūn marker is applied to the heavy verb, because the sukūn is lighter than the vowel, and the light noun does not need to become more alleviated by the light sukūn. According to Abū Ḥaṭf al-Ruʿāsī (cf. ibid), the apocopatives operate on the verb by putting it in the jussive mood because they can only be prefixed to the verb and not to the noun, moreover, they indicate an action that occurs in the past with a form of a verb that is specific for the present or for a coming action. Hence it is impossible to say لَمَّا عَبَدَ اللَّهُ يُخْرِجَ “Abd Allāh did not go out”. So when they were combined uniquely with the verbs, they operated on them by putting them in the jussive mood which is particular for the verbs. According to the theory of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim (cf. ibid), the verb in the jussive mood to which لَمَّا is prefixed to, is transferred to the past time, whereas it is transferred to the future time when the subjunctival لَنَّ is prefixed to it. In order to differentiate between these moods, the verb in the jussive received a sukūn marker whereas it received a fatha marker in the subjunctive.

(93) The main arguments according to the Arabic grammatical tradition which prove that the imperfect is similar to the noun (for them see Ibn Ya’īs, *VII*, 6; my notes (46), (47), are presented here. The imperfect’s form is commensurable to the active participle’s form. For instance the form ضَارِبُ “he hits” is commensurable to the form of the active participle ضَارِبُ ضَارِبُ، as each of its consonants corresponds in its mobility or vowellessness to the state of the consonant of the other form (cf. (47)). Just like the active participle, the imperfect can occur as a modifier، of an indefinite noun. In a sentence as هذا رَجُلٌ يُصَبِّرُ “this is a hitting man”, the imperfect that follows the indefinite noun functions as a modifier, and corresponds in its meaning to the modifier in the example (cf. Owens, *Foundations* 208). The inceptive *la-* which is specific to be prefixed to nouns which it emphasizes, e.g. إنَّ زَيْدًا لَقَامَ “verily Zaid is getting up”, can be prefixed to the imperfect, i.e. إنَّ زَيْدًا لَقَامَ، and the meaning is the same. This particular *la-* cannot be made to precede the perfect, i.e. إنَّ زَيْدًا لَقَامَ with the very same specific meaning that this affirmative *la-* introduces. The imperfect can be general, by which it is meant that it is vague, because it can be valid for the tenses of the present and future (cf. Ibn Ḥalawaihi, *I’rab* 4), e.g. يَضَرَّبُ “he hits, he is hitting or he shall hit”. It is this vagueness that is considered as similar to the vagueness of the indefinite noun, e.g. رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا “I saw a man”, in which رَجُلًا “a man” refers to an indefinite man. The prefixation of the *s* or *sawfa* (for discussions concerning their etymology see Rundgren, *Bildungen* 122-123) to the imperfect specifies its meaning by making it refer to a special tense which is the future, e.g. زَيْدُ سِيْضَرَّبُ “Zaid will hit”, in the same manner as the prefixation of the definite article to the indefinite noun renders it definite (for the question concerning which is prior the indefinite noun or the definite one see Şaymari, *Tabsira* 97-98), e.g. رَأَيْتُ الرَّجُلَ “I saw the man”. The imperfect functions as a حال “denotative of state”, in e.g. زَيْدُ يُصَبِّرُ، and corresponds in its function and
meaning to the active participle, in e.g. “Zaid is hitting”. The Kufans name the active participle which operates like the verb as “الفعل الدائم” “the permansive verb” (for discussions see (46 b)), which is a term that is criticised by the Basrans. Another important resemblance of the imperfect to the noun that can be added, is its dual and pl. suffixes, respectively -ُنِ and -ُنا (for discussions see (92)), which are particular to be suffixed to the noun (for a detailed discussion see Maḥṣūlī, Nahl 136-137). The declension of the imperfect is specified with the “indicative mood” that corresponds to the nominative case of the nouns. “the subjunctive mood” (for the reasons why the fatha was chosen see (92)) that corresponds to the accusative case of the nouns and “the jussive mood” (for the reasons why the sukūn was chosen see (92)) that corresponds to the genitive case of the nouns. It can be mentioned that a debate arose between the Basrans and the Kufans concerning the reasons of vowelling the imperfect’s final consonant with a damma. The Kufans believed that the imperfect prefixes imposed on it the indicative mood, and when the particles which govern the verb in the subjunctive and jussive mood were made to precede it, the subjunctive and the jussive moods were imposed on it. Otherwise it had to be inflected with the رفع, i.e. the vowel ك of the nominative (for discussions see Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf Q. 74, 226-228, Asrār 13-14, Ibn Ya‘īš, VII, 12-13).

b) Not only the active participle ضارب can replace the imperfect ضارب “Zaid is hitting”, but also both these passive participles مَجْعُوب and ميَطَرَب which occur in the sur. 11: 103 “That is a Day for which mankind will be gathered together: that will be a Day of Testimony” (cf. Zarkašī, Burhān III, 376).

c) The imperfect resembles the perfect in some cases as it can occur with the meaning of the past. This is indicated by Ibn Fāris, Sāhibī 219, who refers to a verse which is said to have been said by Šāmr b. ‘Amr al-Ḥanafi, in which ٌمَرَّتُ أَمْرٌ has the meaning of

هُنَّ وَقَلِيلٌ لا يَغْفِرُونَ

“At times I have passed by the evil one who insulted me, but I moved away from him and said: ‘It does not matter to me’.”

Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥasāṣ 330, 332, the commentator to Zamaḥṣārī, Kāṣṣāf I, 70, Ibn Hīšām, Muğnī I, 102, Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ II, 103, 600, Ibn Manẓūr, I, 508, Daqr, Muğ'am 124, Rādī, Nazariya 314 have فَضَّلْتُ فَتَتَّلَّتْ فَقَلِيلٌ لا يَغْفِرُونَ “but I moved away, and then I said: ‘It does not matter to me’”. Zamaḥṣārī, Kāṣṣāf I, 70 mentions that there is no reference to a special time in the sur. 1: 7 “The way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace”, in the same manner as there is no indication of time in Other examples concerning the imperfect having the meaning of the perfect occur in the sur. 2: 91 “Why then have ye slain the prophets of God in times gone by” in which فَقَتَّلُونَ أُبْيَاءٌ أَنْبِياءَ (ْلَمْ تُقَتِّلُونَ أُبْيَاءَ أَنْبِياءَ) has the meaning of (cf. Ibn Fāris, Sāhibī 220, Rāghī, Farrā’ 61), in the sur. 2: 102 “They followed what the evil ones gave out (falsely)” in which فَقَتَّلُونَ (وَمَا تَقَتَّلُونَ مَا تَقَتَّلُونَ) has the meaning of فَقَتَّلُونَ, and in the sur. 5: 20 (تَقَتَّلُونَ أَلْهَوُودٌ وَالنَّاسُ).
“Both the Jews and the Christians say: “We are sons of God, and his Beloved. Say: “Why then doth He punish you for your sins?”, in which
فلم یعْمَدَی یکَمُ؟

d) The imperfect is used to indicate present time when it occurs after the affirmative la-, as in the sur. 12: 13 “Really it saddens me that ye should take him away”, and the negative لا as in the sur. 31: 34 “Nor does any one know what it is that he will earn on the morrow”. It also denotes the present in independent and general statements, in dependent positions and to express something that occurs habitually (for discussions with examples see Cantarino, Syntax I, 63-64, Șâdîli, Ānāsîr 23-24).

e) The imperfect denotes the future when the s or sawfa is prefixed to it (cf. (93)). Other cases are when it determines an action that is contrasted with a present or past situation, in questions, after an imperative and in simple statements projected into the future that have the meaning of an imperative (for discussions with examples see Cantarino, Syntax I, 66-67).

(94) The four prefixes of the imperfect can be combined in different mnemonic words (cf. Ibn Mālik, Lāmiya 238, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 10, Raymundus, Tarsiphî 17, Wright, II, 56): e.g. تأتي ن ماتي ن or ماتي ن تأتي ن.

(95) The past is stable in relation to the present or the future because the accident in the past is accomplished and cannot be changed whereas present or future actions can be changed.

(96) According to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s original theory, the imperfect prefix of the 2nd person is underlyingly a w, which is substituted by the t (for other cases of the substitution of the w by the rsee (52), (198), (247), (330), (331)). The reason of this substitution is to avoid the possible combination of three wâws in the case of the syndesis when a verb is with 1st radical w, e.g. ونعجك and you are afraid” said instead of the correct ونعجك. Dunqûz, Šarh fol. 33a ll. 16-17 remarks concerning this combination of the wâws:

“وهو مستكره لأنه يشبه بناء الكلب“.

The reason of the choice of the original w is according to Ibn Mas‘ūd, that it is the ultimate of the points of articulation, just as the 2nd person that is addressed by the 1st person is the one by whom the conversation ends. If one considers that the consonants’ points of articulation originate from between the farthest part of the throat to the lips, then Ibn Mas‘ūd’s theory can be justified as to why the vowelled alif or the hamza that originates from the farthest part of the throat and is a laryngal, is chosen as an imperfect prefix for the 1st person of the sing., and why the w, which originates more exactly from between the lips and is a labial (for the consonants see (188)), is chosen originally for the 2nd person.

In “a calamity” (cf. Ibn Ḳinni, Ḥaṣā’îs I, 140, 212, Zamaḥṣarî, 170, Ibn Ya‘îs, IX, 150, Ibn Manzûr, VI, 4820), the w is not a prefix but a radical, as the pattern is فعْمَلا ی.

(97) “the 3rd person” here in which the imperfect prefix is a y, refers to the masc. sing., the masc. pl., the fem. pl. and the duals. According to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s original theory, the y
was chosen as an imperfect prefix because it originates from the middle of the mouth, just as the third person stands in the middle of the conversation between the first and the second person. The y originates more exactly from the middle of the tongue and the middle part of the upper palate (for the consonants see (188)). The reasons why the t was chosen as an imperfect prefix, and not the y for the 3rd person of the fem. sing., e.g. תָּמַרְצוּבּ “she hits, fem. sing.” and not בָּמַרְצוּבּ, is on the one hand to avoid confusing it with the masc. sing. תָּמַרְצוּבּ, and on the other, to conform this t with the t which is chosen as a suffix that marks the fem. sing. in the perfect (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 184), i.e. שָׁמַרְצוּבּ “she hit”. The y and not the t, was chosen however as an imperfect prefix for the 3rd person of the fem. pl., i.e. בָּמַרְצוּבּ and not בָּמַרְצוּבּ (compare with the forbidden form בָּמַרְצוּבּ). The t occurs instead of the correct one בָּמַרְצוּבּ referred to by the accepted form in Hebrew בָּמַרְצוּבּ cf. ibid, 185), to avoid the combination of two markers of the fem.: the t prefix and the n suffix if the r was to be chosen instead (compare the case of בָּמַרְצוּבּ underlyingly discussed in (58) and the case of בָּמַרְצוּבּ discussed in (88)). An exception to this rule is the anomalous reading בָּמַרְצוּבּ of the sur. 42: 5 which has been recorded instead of the correct form בָּמַרְצוּבּ “Rent asunder” (cf. Wright, II, 56, Comparative Grammar 185). The prefixation of the t in this example is due probably to a false analogy with the 3rd person of the fem. sing. The y occurs very rarely as a prefix to nouns in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages (for examples see Wright, Comparative Grammar 182, Cohen, Études 34). It occurs in some nouns of animals, e.g. בָּמַרְצוּבּ “male vulture”, בָּמַרְצוּבּ “horse”, of plants, e.g. בָּמַרְצוּבּ “a kind of plant”, and in a few adjectives, e.g. בָּמַרְצוּבּ “green”. These nominal forms could have derived from verbs in the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect with some modifications (for examples and discussions see Cohen, Études 34).

(98) בָּמַרְצוּבּ “he spills” seems to be formed of five consonants, and according to the rule should have had its imperfect prefix given a fatḥa. However it is underlyingly Form IV בָּמַרְצוּבּ in which the h is anomalously infixed (for discussions see (212); compare it with בָּמַרְצוּבּ in Hebrew). Furthermore it can be mentioned concerning this verb that in its Form I בָּמַרְצוּבּ “I spilled”, a kind of alleviation of the hamza being its inceptive consonant can be remarked by its change into a h, i.e. בָּמַרְצוּבּ (for discussions see (343)). It is possible that the h is infixed in Form IV because of an analogy with this substituted h.

(99) Dialectal variants (for a presentation see Suyūṭi, Muẓhir I, 133-136, Karmali, Lugāt 529-536, Rīḍā, Luġa 114-115, Köfler, Dialekte 47-49, Rabin) are generally divided into an Eastern group centered on the Persian Gulf under Tamim and a Western one under Ḥīḡāz (cf. Blau, Judaeo-Arabic 1, Rabin, 11). The allusion made here by Ibn Masʿūd is to the dialectal variant known as the תָּלְתַּלְתַּלְתַּלְתַּל (for discussions see Sibawaihi, II, 275-277, Fleisch, Traité I, 137; and see the example תָּלְתַּלְתַּל discussed in my notes (32)). The תָּלְתַּלְתַּל is peculiar to the inhabitants of Bahraʿ who pronounce the imperfect prefix vowelled by a kasra, e.g. בָּמַרְצוּבּ “you
do” to conform it with the kasra of the 2nd radical of the perfect of Form I نَفَعَ. The same partularity occurs in the dialect of Qais, and is named تَضْحِجَةُ قَبْسِ. Also Tamīm (for a detailed study of this dialectal variant and its particularities see Šubhā, Fiğh 72-105), Rabī’a and most of the Arabs, except the Ḥijāzis, give a kasra to the imperfect prefix of all the persons, except the 3rd person of the masc. sing., a phenomenon which however seems to occur in the Qūfi’a dialects (cf. (100)). The forms of the verbs presented here in which the imperfect prefix is vowelled by the kasra in this dialect, is Form I formed according to the conjugation نَفَعَ يَفْعَلُ. “to know” in which the kasra gives notice of the kasra of the 2nd radical l of the perfect علمٌ یَعْلَمُ “I know”, علمٌ "/2 masc. and 3 fem. sing. (imperfect)"، "/3 masc. sing” and "/1st pl.”, Form X يَعْلَمُ یَفْعَلُ، e.g. "he asks for assistance” with a kasra given to the imperfect prefix whose perfect is "يَفْعَلُ، therefore, so that the kasra gives notice of the hamza’s kasra of the perfect. Furthermore it can be added that the imperfect prefix is given a kasra in Form V انْفَعَلْ يَفْعَلُ، e.g. "you talk or she talks”, in Form VII انْفَعَلْ يَفْعَلُ، e.g. "you dash along or she dashes along” and in Form II of the quadriliteral انْفَعَلْ يَفْعَلُ， e.g. انْفَعَلْ يَفْعَلُ "you roll along, or she rolls along” (cf. Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 11).

(100) The dialectal variants alluded by Ibn Mas‘ūd are probably those of Qais, Tamīm, Asad, Rabī’a and most of the Arabs who give the imperfect prefix a kasra, except when it concerns the 3rd person of the masc. sing. (cf. Rabin, 61), on account of the heaviness of the combination of the y and the kasra. An anomalous verb with this vowelling occurs however (see the example of يَيْتِي discussed in my notes (32)). The vowelling of the y imperfect prefix of the 3rd person of the masc. sing. with a kasra takes place in the Qūfi’a dialects, in Hebrew, Western Aramaic and Ugaritic (cf. Rabin, 61).

(101) According to a general principle, the marker should not be elided (cf. Ḥassān, Uṣūl 142, my introduction pp. 34-35). In verbs of Form V انْفَعَلْ and VI انْفَعَلْ that occur in the 2nd person of the fem. and the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect, e.g. انْفَعَلْ “you assume /masc. sing.” and انْفَعَلْ “/3 fem. sing.” and انْفَعَلْ “you move away or she moves away”, two ta’ās are combined together. The 1st one is the imperfect prefix and the 2nd one is the marker of reflexivity. The repetition of the ta’ās is considered as heavy by some who prefer to elide one of them for the sake of alleviation (for a study of this particular elision see Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1822-1828, de Sacy, I, 221, Wright, II, 65, Vernier, I, 346, my notes (207)). Thus انْفَعَلْ becomes انْفَعَلْ after the elision and انْفَعَلْ becomes. Ibn Mas‘ūd, who follows the theory of Sibawaihi, II, 475-476 and that of the Basrans, believes that the 2nd t that marks the reflexivity is more fit to be elided, because the 1st one is more important as it is the prefix marking the imperfect. The Kufans however believe that it is the 1st t that should be elided because the 2nd one marks the reflexivity whereas the 1st one is prefixed, and its elision is easier (for the debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q, 93, 269-271; for the assimilation of the t that marks the reflexivity to the 1st radical see (207)).
(102) The imperfect prefix \( t \) of the 3rd person of the fem. sing., e.g. ضَرَبْتُ “she hits”, is not rendered vowelless contrarily to the suffixed \( t \) of the feminine form of the perfect, e.g. ضَرَبَتْ “she hit”, because of the principle that it is impossible to begin with a vowelless consonant.

(103) The dialectal variant referred to by the example عَلَمَ is the taltala (for discussions concerning it see (99)).

(104) The imperfect prefix \( t \) is given the fatḥa on the analogy that the other imperfect prefixes of the imperfect, the hamza of the 1st person of the sing., the \( n \) of the 1st person of the pl. and the \( y \) of the 3rd persons are given the same vowel.

(105) For a study of “the imperative” see Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 99-121, Zamaḥṣari, 114-115, Iḥn Ya’iš, VII, 58-62, Howell, II-III. 88-96, Wright, II. 61-62, Blachère, 46-47, Beeston, Language 84. For a study of the imperative in Arabic and in some of the Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 188-191.

The paradigm of Form I ضَرَبُ in the imperative is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>اضْرَبْا</td>
<td>اضْرَبُنِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>اضْرَبْا</td>
<td>اضْرَبُنِي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Twenty-three meanings of the imperative in the Qur’an are distinguished from each other by Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 118-121, namely:

1- “duty or obligation”, as in the sur. 2: 43: And be steadfast in prayer; practise regular charity.

2- “promising”, as in the sur. 41: 40: “Do what ye will”.

3- “consideration”, as in the sur. 27: 69: “Say: Go ye through the earth and see”.

4- “invitation or incitement”, as in the sur. 62: 10: “And seek of the Bounty of God: and celebrate the Praises of God often”.

5- “elucidating, explaining”, as in the sur. 10: 101: “Behold all that is in the heavens and on earth”.

6- “permission, authorization”, as in the sur. 5: 3: “But when ye are clear of the Sacred Precincts and of pilgrim garb, ye may hunt”.

7- “treatening”, as in the sur. 9: 64: “Say: ‘Mock ye!’”.

8- “warning, awakening, rousing”, as in the sur. 6: 47: “Say: ‘Think ye, if the Punishment of God comes to you, whether suddenly or openly’”.

9- “politeness, good manners”, as in the sur. 24: 61: “But if ye enter houses, salute each other”.

10- “reprimand, rejection”, as in the sur. 6: 91: “Say: ‘Who then sent down the Book which Moses brought?—a light’.”
“testimony, statement”, as in the sur. 5: 9 “Stand out firmly for God, as witnesses to fair dealing”.

“mildness, gentleness”, as in the sur. 17: 93 “Say: “Glory to my Lord! Am I aught but a man,—an apostle?”

“intimidation”, as in the sur. 2: 94 “Then seek ye for death, if ye are sincere”.

“transmutation, transformation, metamorphosis”, as in the sur. 7: 166 “We said to them: “Be ye apes, despised and rejected”.

“cautioning”, as in the sur. 4: 71 “O ye who believe! Take your precautions”.

“bringing forth, shaping, creating”, as in the sur. 16: 40 “(If) a man asketh, “What hast thou willed?”, then pronounce that which ye willed.

“For to anything which We have willed, We but say the Word, “Be”, and it is”.

“supplication, prayer”, as in the sur. 3: 61 “Say: “Come! let us gather together,—our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves: then let us earnestly pray”.

“death, defiance”, as in the sur. 9: 83 “Then sit ye (now) with those who lag behind”.

“asking for forgiveness”, as in the sur. 71: 10 “Ask forgiveness from your Lord; for he is Oft-Forgiving”.

“seeking the protection”, as in the sur. 23: 97 “And say “O my Lord! I seek refuge with Thee from the suggestions of the Evil Ones”.

“reproach, rebuke”, as in the sur. 2: 93 “Say: “Vile indeed are the behests of your Faith”.

“disturbance”, as in the sur. 17: 64 “Lead to destruction those whom thou canst among them”.

“Invocation, call, prayer”, as in the sur. 40: 60 “Call on Me; I will answer your (Prayer)”.

(106) The metre is Mutaqārib. The verse is said by al-Māzinī and is cited by Ibn Ğinnī, de Flexione 9, Munṣif I, 98, Harirî, Sârî, 173, Ibn Ya‘îsî, IX, 141, Mülâkî 100, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1096. Ibn Ğinnī, de Flexione 8-9 and Ibn Ya‘îsî, IX, 141 mention that Abû l-‘Abbâs [Mubarrad] asked Abû ‘Uṯmân [Māzinī] about the additional consonants, and so he recited the following verse to him. Other phrases containing the augment (for them see Zamaḥṣarî, 170, Ibn Manzâr, III, 1898, Lane, I, 1275-1276) are “today you forget it” (cf. my commentary to Ibn Mas‘ûd, I, 66). “Sulaimān came to him” and “you (masc. pl.) have asked me about them”. For a study of the addition of the augment to the forms see Ibn Ğinnī, de Flexione 8-19, Mu‘addib, Taṣrîf 368-377, Ibn ‘Uṣfûr, I, 201-294, Zamaḥṣarî, 170-172, Ibn Ya‘îsî, IX, 141-158, Mülâkî 100-212, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1770-1813, IV, fasc. I, 1091-1181.
For a detailed study including among these consonants the b, the f, and the k which are not mentioned among the augments mentioned above, beginning with: 1—the hamza see Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr I, 107-118, 2—the b, 133-143, 3—the t, 157-167, 4—the f, 260-264, 5—the k, 291-292, 6—the l, 321-409, 7—the m, 426-433, 8—the n including the nunation see Sirr II, 444-518, 9—the h, 563-571, 10—the w, 594-650, 11—the ą, 687-727 and 12—the y, 767-769.

(107) The li—of the imperative is given a kasra because of its resemblance to the li—that is the preposition, e.g. لِيَصْرَبُ “let him hit!”’ Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr I, 390 remarks, referring to the saying of al-Farrâ’, that some vowel the –l of the imperative anomalously with a fatha, e.g. ليَصْرَبُ زيد “let Zaid get up!”.

(108) The jussive mood in the verbs corresponds to the genitive case in the nouns (cf. Sibawaihi, I, 4). Nouns cannot be put in the jussive mood in the same manner as verbs cannot be put in the genitive case (cf. Carter, Šīrīnī 40, 42; for discussions concerning why the verbs cannot occur in the genitive case see Zağgaği, İđāh 107 sqq.).

(109) "thigh" underlining مَذْعَة occurs with the elision of the kasra of the 2nd radical (cf. Åkesson, Elision 21). Sibawaihi, II, 277 mentions that the elision of the kasra occurs in the dialectal variant of Bakr b. Wā’il and of a lot of the people of the Banū Tamīm. The elision of the unstressed dama occurs as well, e.g. رَجِلُ the man, and of the fatha, e.g. حَصْبُ “fuel” (cf. Voller, Volkssprache 97, Åkesson, Elision 25). The elision of the kasra occurs as well in an active participle of Form VIII, e.g. مَتَّفَخَا said instead of مَنْتَفَخَا “to be swollen” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 278, Åkesson, Elision 22). The Bakr b. Wā’il and the Banū Tamīm elide the kasra as well from the 2nd radical in the perfect in some verbs of Form I in the active voice, e.g. عَلِمَ said instead of علم “he knew”. Another example is ضَجْرُ used instead of ضَجْرَ which occurs in the following verse said by Aļṭal, Diwān 217 satirizing Ka’b b. Ğu’a’il, cited by Mu’addib, Taşrif 16, Ibn Ğinnî, Munṣif I, 21, Ibn Ya’iś, Mulūkî 31, Ibn Manẓîr, IV, 2554, Ibn al-Anbārî, Inşāf Q. 14, 56, Howell, II-III, 245-246, Åkesson, Elision 22:

فَإِنَّ الَّذِي يَضْجِرُ كَما ضَجْرَ يَلْزَلُ مِنَ الْأَلْدَمِ دِبْرَتْ صَفْحَتَهُ وَغَارِبَةً.

“And if I satirize him, he will groan as groans a youthful he-camel of the intensely white [ones], whose two sides and the top of whose hump have been galled”.

Compare in Ethopic the special form of the intransitive verbs with the elision of the kasra from the 2nd radical, e.g. gabra said instead of gabra “to do” and mēhra said instead of mahira “to have pity upon” (cf. Wright, II, 98).

The elision of the kasra of the 2nd radical occurs as well in the passive voice, e.g. قَصَدَ for قُصُدَ “was saved, economized”, which occurs in the example لَمْ يَحْرَمَ مِنَ قَصَدَ لَهُ “he was not to be deprived, he for whom it has been economized” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 277-279). Another example of a verb in the passive voice is for عُصْرَ “was pressed out”, mentioned by Sibawaihi, II, 278, which occurs in the following verse said by Abū I-Nağm, Diwān 103, cited by Mu’addib, Taşrif 17, Ibn Ğinnî, Munṣif I, 24, II, 124, Ibn al-Anbārî, Inşāf Q. 14, 57, Ibn Manẓîr, IV, 2971, Åkesson, Elision 22:
For the elision of the fatha of the 2nd radical of a verb in the groundform and in the derived form see (45).

(110) There exists a similarity between the há’s of both the separate pronouns of the 3rd person of the masc. sing. هُوَ and fem. sing. هَيْ made vowelless after the conjunctions وا- and fa- and the intensifying particle la-, i.e. وَهُوَ “and he”, وَهُوُّ “and so he”, and وَهُّ “indeed he”, and the ـ of the 3rd person of the imperative or indirect command (for its study see Wright, III, 35-36, Beeston, Language 84) made vowelless after the fa- and the wa-, e.g. فَلْيُضْرِبُ “then let him see” and وَلْيُضْرِبِ “and let him hit” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 298, Åkesson, Elision 25).

b) The ـ of the imperative is anomalously made vowelless after ـ “then” in the reading of al-Kisâ‘î of both the sur. 22: 15 (335) (ـ نم ـ يِقْطَعُ) “And cut (himself) off” and the sur. 22: 29 (ـ نم ـ يِقْطَعُ) “Then let them complete the rites prescribed for them” said instead of (ـ نم ـ يِقْطَعُ) (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, Sîr r I, 335). It is also the readings of ‘Â shim and Hamza (cf. Ibn Muğâhid, Sab’a 434-435, Hindawi, Manâhiq 111-112, Åkesson, Elision 21-22). The reading of sur. 22: 15 with this elision carried out, is also attributed to the Kufans by Ibn Ğinnî, Ḥaṣâ‘îs II, 330, and is found ugly by him.

c) the ـ of the imperative is anomalously elided (for examples see Wright, III, 35-36) for the sake of metric exigency in the following verse said by ‘Umrân b. Ḥattân, cited by Fârisî, Masâ’il 469, Ibn Ğinnî, Sîr r I, 390, Ibn Ya’îs, VII, 6, IX, 24, in which ـ occurs instead of ـ:

فَقَضَيْتُ حَسْبًاٰ مَا تُحْبِبِ لَدَعَّةٍ، وَلَا تُسَمِّعُ الدَّعَائِي وَيَسْمِعْكَ مِنْ دَعَةٍ.

“And you became crazy not listening to any prayer, nor did you let the implorer be heard. And may God let you hear the one who implored!”.

(111) According to the Basrans the connective hamza is by principle given the kasra. The Kufans believe however that the connective hamza should follow in its vowel the vowel of the 2nd radical of the verb (for the debate see Ibn al-Ânbârî, Insa‘f Q. 107, 309-312 and cf. Bohas, Étude 95-105). According to others, the connective prefixed hamza should by principle have been vowelless because it is a prefix, and it is prior to consider a prefix as being vowelless than vowelled (cf. Ibn al-Ânbârî, Insa‘f Q. 107, 310). However, as it is impossible to begin a word with a vowelless consonant, Ibn Mas‘ûd remarks that the kasra is given to it, as by principle the kasra is given to the vowelless consonant. It can be added that Ibn Ğinnî, Sîr r I, 116 referring to Qutrub’s saying, mentions that the hamza is given a kasra anomalously instead of the dama which is meant to agree with the 2nd radical’s vowel, in ـ “kill!” said instead of ـ “kill!”.

Likewise, he discusses among some examples, أَغْرُي “attack! / fem. sing.” whose hamza is given a dama in spite of the fact that the 2nd radical is given a kasra, and اَرْمَوُا whose hamza
is given a kasra in spite of the fact that the 2nd radical is given a damma. As for the reason of giving it such a vowel, he points out that the base form of اَسْمَاعُوَالْحَضْرَى and اَرْمَوَوْا, "the disjunctive hamza" and "the light alif" for "the connective hamza" (for discussions see Rāghibī, Farrā’79 sqq.). The hamza of آيَسْمُ عَيْرُ اَسْمُ اَيَسْمُ "with" and من "from" that becomes من when combined with it, and the assertative particle la-, e.g. لَاِيَسْمُ "by the oaths of God", in which it becomes a wasla, or ضَمَّرُ "son" in which it is elided (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 296-297, Ibn Ğinnī, Munsif I, 61, Zaghāǧī, Ğumal 85-86, 257-259, Wright, I, 20, Vernier, I, 105-106). The reason of its weakening is the frequency of its use. It can be added that a debate was raised between the Kufans and

b) The connective alif (for a general study see Wright, I, 19-24) can occur at the beginning of some nouns, e.g. هذَا أَيْبَدُ “this is your son”. In both nouns and verbs it takes the wasla when it does not begin the sentence. This alif which is existent in Arabic, is in some cases not existent in some of the other Semitic languages. Some examples are: ﺡُنْيِ and ﺡُمْثُ “son”, ﺡُسْهِ and ﺡُسْمُ “backside”, ﺱُمْحِ and ﺱُمْحٍ “noun”, ﺘُمْسُ and ﺘُمْسٍ “to be killed” (for discussions see Barth, Nominalbildung 681, 694-695, Grammatik 7-10, 21).

(112) The vowelless consonant that occurs between two voweled ones is not a sufficient separative between two vowels or between two weak consonants whose combination is disliked, to prevent the change of one into the other (for discussions see (113), (290)). This is a principle which is taken into consideration (cf. Hassān, Usūl 217, My Introduction p. 34).

(113) ﺻَمْحَ ﺭَتْرِ ﻛُنْوَةٌ is mentioned in (257). The w of the base form ﺻَمْحَ ﺭَتْرِ ﻛُنْوَةٌ is changed into a y (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥaṣa’is I, 93, Ibn Manẓur, V, 3759), on account of the influence of the kasra of the q. In spite of the fact that the n separates both the qi and the wa, its sukūn renders it too weak to stop the influence of the kasra preceding the w by two consonants, which is the reason why the w is changed into the y in order to agree with the kasra. In some cases, the Hiǧāzī dialect has a y and kasra against Eastern w and damma, e.g. ﻛَوْنَةٌ ﺎًبْنَ ﺧَذْرَاءٍ “a codex” against ﺻَمْحَ ﺭَتْرِ ﻛُنْوَةٌ and ﻚُنْوَةٌ ﺎًبْنَ ﺧَذْرَاءٍ by the people of Tamīm (cf. Rabin, 101). As verbs, ﺻَمْحَ ﺭَتْرِ ﻛُنْوَةٌ “I took the cattle to milk it” are considered as pertaining to two dialectal variants (cf. Ibn Manẓur, V, 3759 who refers to the Kufans). According to Ibn Ğinnī, Ḥaṣa’is III, 59, the best of both these dialectal variants is ﺻَمْحَ ﺭَتْرِ ﻛُنْوَةٌ.

(114) A curiosity that can be noted is that Ibn Mas’ūd uses the Kufan term ﺦَاءٌ ﻦَفَوْا instead of the Basran term ﻦَفَوْا ﻦَفَوْا ﻦَفَوْا ﻦَفَوْا (cf. Rāghibī, Farrā’79, for examples of other terms see 79, 139-143, Māḥūmi, Madrasa 306-316, Versteegh, Grammar 12). Al-Farrā’, and so also the Kufans, used specifically the term alif for ﺦَاءٌ ﻦَفَوْا ﻦَفَوْا “the disjunctive hamza” and ﺦَاءٌ ﻦَفَوْا “the light alif” for ﺦَاءٌ ﻦَفَوْا "the connective hamza" (for discussions see Rāghibī, Farrā’79 sqq.). The hamza of ﺦَاءٌ ﻦَفَوْا is underlyingly a disjunctive hamza, which became considered as connective, because it is softened after the prepositions ﻰِنِ ﺧَذْرَاءٌ and ﻰِنِ ﺧَذْرَاءٌ "with" and ﻰِنِ ﺧَذْرَاءٌ "from" that becomes ﻰِنِ ﺧَذْرَاءٌ when combined with it, and the assertative particle la-, e.g. لَاِيَسْمُ ﺦَاءٌ ﻦَفَوْا "by the oaths of God", in which it becomes a wasla, or ضَمَّرُ "son" in which it is elided (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 296-297, Ibn Ğinnī, Munsif I, 61, Zaghāǧī, Ğumal 85-86, 257-259, Wright, I, 20, Vernier, I, 105-106). The reason of its weakening is the frequency of its use. It can be added that a debate was raised between the Kufans and
the Basrans about “oath”, the Kufans judging it as being the pl. of يَمْنِين “the right hand, an oath, power” and the Basrans judging it as being a noun in the sing. derived from “prosperity, good fortune” (cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 59, 176-178, Goguyer’s notes to verse 941 of Ibn Mālik, Alfiya 213).


“Then a group of the people said: “yes” when I soughted them, and another group said: “By the oaths of God, we do not know”.

b) Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 106 cites another variant of this above-mentioned line with إِذَا (is this him?, if I went toward them” instead of إنَّ هُمْ. The variant إِذَا is the result of the substitution of the hamza for the h of اَهْدَا, i.e. إِذَا, together with the insertion of the á between it and the interrogative i, i.e. إِذَا (for the substitution of the hamza for the h see (115 b), (235), (325); for the insertion of the á between two vowelled hamzas see (233)).

(115) According to al-Ijālī, the definite article (for different interpretations concerning it see Ibn ‘Aquīl, I, 178) is the hamza and l- together, and the hamza is considered as disjunctive by him, because it is not vowelled by a kasra. As for Sibawaihi, the article is the l- only, and the hamza is connective (cf. ibid, 177, Hariri, Šārār 14, my notes to Ibn Mas`ūd, I, 67). The dispute is also mentioned by Barrānī, Muṭṭalib 104, Carter, Šīrbīnī 264-267. Concerning al-Ijālī’s and Sibawaihi’s different opinions regarding this question, Ullendorff, Article 633 remarks:

“Khalil’s opinion is somewhat more consistent insofar as he considers exclusively the graphic picture, while Sibawaihi takes some account also of pronunciation—though without being able to rid himself of the compelling impact of the spelling pattern”.

According to Wright, II, 269, the article is formed of the demonstrative consonant, the l-, and the prosthetic alif is prefixed to lighten the pronunciation. He remarks however, that some grammarians regard the alif as integrated in the article’s structure. The article ʾal- is connected with the idea of ʿعجبيه “previous knowledge” and functions as جنسية “generic”. Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 49-50 distinguishes between three different types respectively (for discussions see Gully, Semantics 146-148; for the assimilation of the l- of ʾal- to the solar consonants see (176); for the article ʾam substituted for ʾal- in some dialects variant see (364); for the insertion of the interrogative hamza ʾa- to the definite article and the lengthening of the alif into a madā see (229), (233 b)).

b) Other functions of ʾal- apart from being the definite article are:

– the relative ʾal- which is prefixed to a noun, as in the sentence من الَّذين الرَّسُولُ أَنَّهُ مِنْهُم which is said instead of من الَّذين الدَّينِ الرَّسُولُ أَنَّهُ مِنْهُم “the people of whom is the Apostle of God” (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 117).
– prefixed to the imperfect, as in the following verse said by al-Farazdaq addressed to one of
the Banū ʿUdra, cited by Carter, Širbini 22, Šinqūṭ, Durar I, 61, Howell, I, fasc. II, 596, in which occurs instead of [the first half-verse is cited by de Sacy, I, 449]:

“ما أنتُ بِالحِكم الْمُرْضُي حَكْمَةُ، وَلَّا الْأَسَبِيلِ وَلَّا ذَي أَرَّاى وَالْجَدَّلُ”.

“You are not the judge whose judgement is approved, nor the man of pure lineage, nor the possessor of sound opinion and skill in argument”.

– prefixed to an adverb, as in the following verse said by an anonymous author, cited by Ibn Hišām, Muğni I, 49, Howell, I, fasc. II, 596, in which occurs instead of [the first half-verse is cited by de Sacy, I, 450]:

“منْ لا يَزَالُ شَاكِراً عَلَى الْسَمِع، فَهُوَ حَرُّ بِعَبِيَتِهِ دَائِنِ السَمِع.”

“The one who does not cease to be thankful [to God] for what is with him is worthy of a life endowed with plenty”.

– the interrogative ٠لَّا َعَمْتُ which occurs instead of ْهَلْلَنَّ ْعَمْتُ, prefixed to a verb in the perfect, e.g. َلَنْ َعَمْتَ said instead of ْهَلْلَنَّ ْعَمْتَ “have you done?” (cf. Carter, Širbini 22, who refers to Qutrub’s report) occurring with the substitution of the hamza of ’al- for the h of ْهَلْلَنَّ (for further discussions concerning the substitution of the hamza for the h in other examples than with ’al see (114 b), (325)).

(116) The reason why the prefixed hamza in the imperative of Form IV ُتَكْرُمُ is given a fatha, is to avoid confusing it with the hamza of Form I ُكَرِمُ “honour! /masc. sing.” formed according to ُكَرِمُ, in which the prefixed hamza is given a kasra. The base form of the imperfect Form IV ُيَكْرُمُ is ُيَكْرُمُ, of ُتَكْرُمُ, ُتَكْرُمُ, etc., with the infixed hamza of Form IV elided, on the analogy of its elision in ُكَرِمُ ُيَكْرُمُ ٌ/1st person sing., in which the combination of two hamzas is disliked, resulting in ُكَرِمُ ُكَرِمُ ُيَكْرُمُ “/1 sing.” (cf. Bohas, Étude 208-209, my notes (19)). The conclusion that is to be drawn is that the prefixed hamza in the imperative ُتَكْرُمُ is in reality the disjunctive hamza vowelled by a fatha of the Form IV of the perfect ُكَرِمُ which is existent in the base form of the imperfect ُتَكْرُمُ before its elision resulting in ُكَرِمُ. It can be added that the passive ُيَكْرُمُ with the anomalous retention of the hamza occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn Ğinni, Müșf I, 37, Ibn al-Anbārī, Insaf Q. 1, 4, Q. 28, 105, Q. 112, 328, Fleisch, Traité II, 281 in the note:

“فَأَيْنَاءُ أَهْلُ لَنَّ يُكَرِمُ”.

“Because he deserves to be honoured”.

According to Kuryłowicz, Apophonie & 96 and 73 note 3, the hamza in the imperfect yuqtalu never existed. This is contradictory to the example ُيَكْرُمُ cited above. For a discussion against Kuryłowicz’s opinion see Fleisch, Traité II, 280-281 in the note.
(117) Both names عُمرو and عمر have the same three radicals, but have different vowels, namely عمر "Umar" and عُمرو "Amr" (cf. Wright, I, 12). عمر is the nominative and عمر is the accusative and genitive whereas عُمرو is triptotic. The addition of the w to these three radicals distinguishes "Amr" from "Umar", and does not affect the sound of the tanwîn. Hence عُمرو "Amrun" is said in the nominative whereas the accusative is عمرة and the genitive is عُمرو.

(118) The connective hamza is elided in بَلِّ يَسَمُّ اللهُ الْحَقَّ which is said "In the name of God" when it commences a sentence and is not followed by a verb (cf. Wright, I, 23, Vernier, I, 109, Bustâni, Muhit 431, Penrice, Dictionary 72). Compare بَلِّ يَسَمُّ اللهُ الْحَقَّ (cf. Wright, I, 23). This elision occurs in the expression بَلِّ يَسَمُّ اللهُ الْحَقَّ because of the frequency of use. The Arabs’ usage of abbreviating words which are frequently used, is also reported by al-Farrâ’ (for discussions see Râghi, Farrâ’ 28). بَلِّ يَسَمُّ اللهُ الْحَقَّ is not abbreviated in the sur. 56: 74 (تَسَّمَّى بَلِّ يَسَمُّ رَبِّيّ) “Then celebrate with praise the name of thy Lord, the Supreme!”, as it is not frequently used.

(119) The Kufans believed that the imperative is declinable, and that the loss of the last vowel is a process which is similar to the case of the declinable imperfect that is put in the jussive mood when it follows the لَي– of the imperative (cf. (48); for discussions see the example قَاتِلُوا in (120) and the imperative أَسْتَدْدُ in (184)).

(120) For a general study concerning the Qur’anic readings by the Kufans see Hindawi, Manâhiq 104-107, by the Basrans see 107-118 and by the learned in morphology see 118-143. The example قَاتِلُوا of this sur. as a 2nd person of the masc. pl. is mentioned by Zaghâghi, Gümâl 216, Ibn Ya‘îs, Mulûk 348, Ibn al-Anbârî, Inṣâf Q. 72, 214. It is read in this manner instead of the usual 3rd person of the masc. pl. قَاتِلُوا found in the Qur’ân. According to Mu’addib, Taṣrîf 111, it is the reading of al-Hasan al-Basîrî, whereas according to al-Farrâ’”s saying as reported by Râghi, Farrâ’ 49, it is the reading of Zaid b. Tâbit. The point of taking up this example in this context is that the Kufans only recognize the imperative as a part of the declinable imperfect, as it is originally by them an imperfect preceded by the لَي– of command (for discussions see Ḥadîth, Nuhât 84, my notes (48), (119)).

(121) There exist sixteen dialectal variants concerning رُب (cf. Ibn Hišâm, Muqni I, 138). Eight interpretations of it exist, all of them having the meaning of either plurality and frequency or littleness and rarity (cf. Suyûtî, Hawami’ II, 25). The Kufans believe that رُب is a noun whereas the Basrans believe that it is a particle (for their debate see Ibn al-Anbârî, Inṣâf Q. 121, 354-355). In examples in which the conjunction, the wa– or the fa–, precedes a noun in the genitive that is assumed to be preceded by an elided رُب (for a study of some examples see Reckendorf, Syntax 330; for a detailed study of رُب maintained or elided in many examples see Howell, II–III, 348-356), e.g. قَرَبُ مَلَكُكْ رَبٍّ “for many as you”, the Kufans and
the Basran grammarian al-Mubarrad believed that the conjunction preceding the elided رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ is governed by itself the indefinite noun in the genitive. As for the Basrans, they believed that it is not the wa- of رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ which governs, but the virtual رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ (cf. my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 68-69; see for this debate Ibn al-Anbārī, İnşāf Q. 55, 165-167). As for the verse (for two other versions see my notes to Ibn Mas‘ūd, I, 69), the metre is jawil and the poet is Imru‘ul-Qais. It is cited by Ḥārīrī, Šārk 12, 66, Ibn Ḥišām, Muqni‘ I, 136, Masālīk 73, Ibn Manzūr, III, 1660, Nahḥās, Commentary 14-15, Bustānī, Mu‘īf 338, Daqr, Muʿgam 195. Another variant is also cited by Ibn al-Anbārī, İnşāf Q. 55, 166, in which مَّلِئٌ is governed in the genitive without a conjunction and without رَبِّ preceding it:

"Many a weakened and frightened [camel] as you or even better than you I have left, agitating its eyes if a bird flew!"

Other examples with رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ governing in spite of its elision are found in these verses, just to mention a few:
– In the following said by Imru‘ul-Qais cited by Ta‘ālībī, Fiqh 257, Ibn Ḥišām, Muqni‘ II, 361, Masālīk 75, Howell, II-III, 355, Daqr, Muʿgam 195, Sayyid, Kāfī I, 308, Ḥasan, Bahāt 83, in which مَّلِئٌ occurs instead of رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ:

"And many a night like the wave of the sea, that let down its curtains upon me with various worries to try [me]!"

– in the following said by Nahṣal b. Ḥārīrī, cited by Ibn al-Ḡawzī, Kanz 40 translated and commented on by Vitestam p. 63, in which مَّلِئٌ occurs instead of رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ:

"For how many a day did it not seem as if those who were baked in its heat, were lying—even if it was not a real fire—on glowing embers”.

– in the following said by Ru‘ba Ibn al ‘Aġgāg, cited by Daqr, Muʿgam 195, in which مَّلِئٌ occurs instead of رَبِّ مَّلِئٌ:

"But many a city whose road between two mountains is filled with dust, from where nor its linen nor its ġūhrūmīs[sc: inhabitants from a village in Fāris] can be bought!”

– in the following said by Ğamil, Diwān 118, cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 133, Ḥāṣa‘is I, 285, III, 150, Ibn al-Anbārī, İnşāf Q. 55, 166, Ibn Ḥišām, Muqni‘ I, 121, Masālīk 77, Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ I, 588, Ibn Manzūr, I, 665, Howell, II-III, 352, Daqr, Muʿgam 195, in which مَّلِئٌ occurs with both the conjunction, the wa-, and رَبِّ رَبِّ, which is rare:

"Rūmī Darār 737458 في طَلَّاءٍ كَذَّبَ أَفْضَيَ الحَيَّةَ مِنْ جَلِّهَا."
“Many a vestige of a dwelling, in the ruins whereof I stood, for the sake of which I almost ended life!”

(122) According to the Basrans, the perfect, imperfect and imperative are originally undeclinable, as by principle verbs are undeclinable. The imperfect became however declinable because of its similarity to the noun (cf. (46), (47), (93)). The opinion of the Kufans concerning this declinability differs slightly from the Basrans. They agreed with the Basrans that the imperfect should be declinable, but believed that its declinability is original. By introducing this idea, they opposed the rule that the declinability is principal for the nouns, and assumed that it can as well apply to the verbs as in the case of the imperfect. Their main argument is that the imperfect could refer to different tenses, as the future or a continuous time in the sentences. As well as the use of the three moods, the indicative, subjunctive or jussive, imposes on it different significations. This flexibility similar to the noun’s flexibility is according to them the reason of its original declinability. For a study of these arguments see Zağgāgī, Ḩadīth 80-82, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 73, 224-225, ‘Ukbarī, Masāʾil 83-85, Ibn Ya’īs, VII, 12-14.

(123) Verbs are by principle undecidable (cf. Hassān, Usūl 220). This is the opinion of the Basrans that Ibn Masʻūd is referring here to, which is that the perfect, imperfect and imperative are originally undecidable. The Kufans believe however that the imperfect is originally declinable (cf. 122), and that the imperative was declinable before that it became undecidable (cf. (48), (119), (120)).

(124) For the reasons of the imperfect’s declinability see (46), (47), (93).


The paradigm of ضرَبَ in the imperfect, active, Energetic I, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أضرَبُ</td>
<td>أضرَبُ</td>
<td>نضرَبُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>نضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>نضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يضْرَبْ</td>
<td>يضرَبْ</td>
<td>يضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تسْرَبْ</td>
<td>تسْرَبْ</td>
<td>نضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect, active, Energetic II, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أضرَبُ</td>
<td>أضرَبُ</td>
<td>نضرَبُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>نضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>تضرَبْ</td>
<td>نضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يضرَبْ</td>
<td>يضرَبْ</td>
<td>يضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تسْرَبْ</td>
<td>تسْرَبْ</td>
<td>نضرَبْ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Its paradigm in the imperative, active, Energetic I, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperative, active, Energetic II, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
<td>اضْرَبِنَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) The single n is suppressed when a vowelless consonant occurs after it in order to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants. This is noticed in لا تَهَيْنَ، which occurs instead of لا تَهَيْنَ that precedes a word starting with the definite article, and thus implying a cluster of two vowelless consonants, in the following verse said by al-Adwā b. Qurai’ al-Sa’di, cited by Zamaḥsari, 156, Ibn Ya’is, IX, 43, 44, Ibn ‘Aqil, II, 316, Alee, Šaṣī 227 sq., Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3751, Howell, II-III, 442, 717, Daqr, Muʿgam 416:

لا تَهَيْنَ الْفَقْيِرَ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَرْ كِ يُومَ أَوِ الْدَّهْرِ قَدْ رَفَعْتَ

“Do not despise the poor: maybe that you may be low one day, when fortune has raised him.”

c) The single n is elided anomalously in, e.g. اضْرَبَ which occurs instead of اضْرَبِنَّ for the sake of metric exigency, in the following verse said by Tarafa, cited by Ibn Ǧinnī, Ḥaṣaṣ I, 126, Ibn Ya’is, IX, 44, Ibn ‘Aqil, II, 317 in the notes, Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3751, Howell, II-III, 717-718:

اضْرَبَ عَلَدَكَ الْهُوَامَ طَرَقَهَا ضَرِّيكَ بَلِ السَّيْفِ فَوْنِسُ الْفَرْسُ

“Do surely strike away the worries from you, their comer by night, like your striking with the sword the crest of the horse”.

d) The doubled n is elided anomalously in the following verse said by ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha al-Anṣāri, cited by Suṣūṭ, Šarḥ 315, Howell, II-III, 716-717, in which لَاتَمَّهَا occurs instead of لَاتَتمَّهَا:

لا وَأَيِّي لَاتَمَّهَا جَمِيعًا وَلَوْ كَانَتْ بِهَا عِرْبَ وَرَوْمً

“Then no, by my father, verily we will undertake it [sc. the warlike expedition], all together, even though Arabs and Greeks”.

e) The doubled n is not to be suffixed to the perfect, but this occurs anomalously in دَامَ in the following verse said by an unknown poet, mentioned by al-Šartūni, the commentator of Farḥāt, Bahṭ 38 in the notes, Howell, II-III, 710:

دَامَ ـ سُعُودَكَ لَوِ رَحَصَتْ مَيِّماَ لَوَلَكَ لَمْ يَكْ لِلصَّبَائِنَ جَانَاحًا

“Everlasting may your good fortune be if you take pity upon a thrall that, if it were not for you, would not be inclined to fondness!”.
f) The doubled  is not to be suffixed to the active participle, but this occurs anomalously in which is an active participle preceded by the alif of interrogation, in the following verse said by Ru’ba, mentioned by Suyūṭī, Šahr 257, Ǧīnqīṭī, Durar II, 101, Howell, II-III, 715:

“أَرَيْتَ أَنْ جَاءَ بِهِ أَمْلُودًا مُّجَّلًا وَبَيلَسٍ آلِرُودًا أَفْالَنِّ أَحْضَرُوا آللُهُوُاداً.”

“Tell me, if she brings him delicate, combed, and wearing striped garments, will you indeed say: ‘Present the witnesses’?”.

This suffixation of the  to the active participle in the following verse is probably caused by the resemblance of the active participle to the imperfect (for discussions concerning this similarity see (46), (47), (93)).

g) The doubled  can be anomalously alleviated and replaced by a single . Both the sur. 6: 80 “(Come) ye to dispute with me” and the sur. 15: 54 “Of what, then, is your good news?”), were read by Nāfī’ with the alleviated , i.e. (cf. the notes to Ibn al-Sarrāq, Uṣūl II, 201).

(126) Different from the cases in which the agent suffixes, the  marking the pl. in both the 2nd person of the masc. pl. in e.g. and the  marking the fem. in the 2nd person of the fem. sing. in e.g. are elided, with the amma of the  being indicative of the  in both and , and its kasra being indicative of the , the  of the agent marking the dual, i.e. the dual of the 2nd person of the masc. and fem., in e.g. and the dual of the 3rd person of the masc. in e.g. and of the fem. in e.g. , is maintained, to prevent any confusion with the sing. forms. These forms are namely the 2nd person of the masc. sing., the 2nd person of the fem. sing., the 3rd person of the masc. sing., and the 3rd person of the fem. sing. Another reason why the  is not elided is, according to Ibn ʿAqīl, II, 314, its lightness.

b) The reason why the doubled  is vowels by a kasra in the duals is because of its resemblance to the - of the declarative forms, i.e. the - of the dual of nouns, e.g. “two men”, and the - of the imperfect of the indicative forms, e.g. “they both hit /masc. dual”. It is this 0’s occurrence after the infixed  which made it similar to the - of the dual occurring after the infixed  (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 160).

(127) “/3 masc. dual” is underlingly , in which the 1st , which is the - of the indicative marking the declension, is elided as it is combined with the doubled  that is invariable. The reason of this elision is to avoid the combination of a declinable marker with an undecinable one.

(128) The  is inserted before the double  in “let them hit! /fem. pl.” that is said instead of to avoid the combination of the - that marks the fem., namely in

(129) Both the alifs referred to by Ibn Mas'ud concerning the examples "2nd masc. and fem. dual (imperative En. II)" and "2nd fem. pl. (imperative En. II)", are the $\tilde{a}$ of the dual in the first example, and the $\tilde{a}$ which is infixed before the single $n$ in the 2nd person of the fem. pl. in the second example (compare it with the $\tilde{a}$ that is infixed before the doubled $n$ in (128)). As discussed in (130), these forms with the vowelless single $n$ suffixed to them are not accepted by any grammarian because of the implied cluster of two vowelless consonants, the vowelless $n$ and the vowelless $\tilde{a}$, except by Yûnus.


(131) For the cases of the occurrence of the doubled and the single $n$ see Sibawaihi, II, 152 sqq., Vernier, I, 40-42. For the paradigms of the Energetic I and II see (125).

(132) For a study of “the passive voice” see Zamaḫšârî, 116-117, Ibn Ya‘îs, VII, 69-73, Howell, II-III, 120-132, Cantarino, Syntax I, 52-58, Carter, Śīrīnî 170-187, Retso, Passive 21 sqq. A question worth taking up in this context is why the damma was chosen to vowel the 1st radical of the form لفظ. According to Mu‘addib, Taṣrîf 206-207, the damma, which is the strongest of vowels, was given to it because the passive voice reveals strength by referring to both the agent and the object.

The paradigm of a strong verb of Form I, e.g. ضرب in the active voice that becomes ضرب in the perfect, passive, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, passive, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
<td>ضرب</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For a study of the form *yuqtail* as a passive marker in Biblical Hebrew, Ugaritic and Byblos see Retsö, *Diathesis* 32-48. For a study of it and of the derived forms in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, *Comparative Grammar* 222-226.


"َجاَوَأْنَّا بِجِيَشٍ لَوْ قَيْسَ مَعْسَرَهُمُ ما كَانَ إِلَّا كَعْمَرَ أَذَلِنَّ".

"They brought an army such that, if its halting-ground were measured, it would be only like the halting ground of the weasel".

Another variant than *ذَلِنَّ* that can be mentioned for the sake of curiosity is *فِي الْدَلِّيْلِ* which is the gait of the wolf. It occurs in the following verse, which according to Ibn Manzūr, *II*, 1312, Sibawaihi recited when he was referring to what the Arabs have mentioned among the tales said by the animals. It concerns a lizard talking to its son, and is cited by Ibn Wālīlād, *Maṣṣūr* 47, Ibn Manzūr, *II*, 1312:

"أَهْدِمُوا بِيَتُّكُنُّ لَا أَبَا لَكَ وَأَنَا أَمْشِي الْدَلِّيْلِ حَوَائْكَ؟".

"Did they destroy your home—then you do not have any father—, while I am walking the gait of the wolf around you?"

(134) The paradigms of the derived forms of some of the verbs that are cited as examples only (in the active voice) by Ibn Masʿūd in the Arabic text fols. 4a-4b, in the perfect and imperfect of the indicative, passive, are the following:

Form II *فعلَ*، e.g. *قَطَعَ* “to cut” becomes *قَطَعَ* in the perfect, passive and *يَقْطَعُ* in the imperfect of the indicative, passive. Form III *فاعلَ*، e.g. *قَاتِلُ* “to fight” becomes *قَاتِلَ* in the perfect, passive and *يَقَاتِلُ* in the imperfect of the indicative, passive. Form IV *أَكْرَمَ*، e.g. *قَوْنَتَ* “to honour” becomes *قَوْنَتْ* in the perfect, passive and *يَقَوْنَتُ* in the imperfect of the indicative, passive. Form V *تَغْفِلَ* in the perfect, passive and *يَتَغْفِلُ* in the imperfect of the indicative, passive (it can be noted as well that the active form *تَغْفِلَ* can be used as a passive, for its
paradigm and meaning see (39 b)). Form VI تَفْعِلُ in the perfect, passive and يَنْفَعُ in the imperfect of the indicative, passive. Form VII أَنْفَعُ becomes in the perfect, passive and بَنْفَعُ in the imperfect of the indicative, passive (it can be noted as well that the active form أَنْفَعُ can be used as a passive, for its paradigm and meaning see (39 b)). Form VIII أَحْتَفِرُ “to despise” becomes أَحْتَفَرُ in the perfect, passive and أَحْتَفَرُ in the imperfect of the indicative, passive (it can be noted as well that the active form أَحْتَفِرُ can be used as a passive, for its paradigm and meaning see (39 b)). Form IX أَفْتَفِرُ has usually no passive. Form X أَفْتَحْرُ “to extract” becomes أَفْتَحَرُ in the perfect, passive and يُفْتَحُ in the imperfect of the indicative, passive.

Retsö, Passive 29 presents five different passive forms for the transitive Form I qātal–yāqūtal, namely: 1–qātil–yāqūtal, 2–yīqātal–yāqātal, 3–unqīt–yāqūtal, 4–yiqātal yāqūtal–and 5–yiqūtal–yūqūtal. He presents p. 30 three passive forms from the intensive-factive Form II qātal–yūqūtal, namely: 1–qūtil–yūqūtal, 2–taqātal–yataqātal–and 3–tuqūtal–yūtaqūtal. The forms added by Ibn Mas‘ūd are: Form VI أَنْفَعُ, Form X أَفْتَحْرُ, Form XII أَفْتَحْرُ and Form XIV of the triliteral or Form III of the quadriliteral أَمْشِيُّلَلُ. Those that are not mentioned by him are active forms that have the meaning of the passive, namely: Form V أَفْتَحُ and Form VII أَفْتَحُ and Form VIII أَفْتَحُ. For a general discussion of the derived forms of the triliteral in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 223-226.

(135) The 1st radical is given a ّdammā together with the characteristic t that marks the reflexivity in Form V and VI of the passive voice, i.e. أَفْتَحُ. The prosthetic alif and the 1st radical are given the ّdammā in Form VII, i.e. أَفْتَحُ and the prosthetic alif and the prefixed t are given the ّdammā in both Form VIII, i.e. أَفْتَحُ and Form X أَفْتَحُ. Cf. Wright, II, 64.

(136) For a study of اسم الفاعل the permissive verb” by the Kufans see (46 b)).

(137) For the similarity between the active participle and the imperfect see (46), (47), (93).

(138) The assimilated adjective (for a detailed presentation see Zamaḥšārī, 99-101, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VI, 68-80, Wright, II, 131-132, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1606-1650, Bohas, Étude 148-152. For a general study of it in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 196-197. For its being named “the permissive verb” by the Kufans see (46 b)).
(139) For a study of the elative, the أَفْعَلُٰ of superiority, see Wehr, Elativ (1952) 565-621, Fischer, Farb– 142 sqq., Fleisch, Traité I, 409-417, Wright, II, 140-143, Blachère, 97-98, Cantarino, Syntax II, 467-486, Daqr, Mu’gam 11-20, Bohas, Étude 157-158. The elative أَفْعَلُٰ resembles the Form IV أَفْعَلُ, and there could be a slight similarity in meaning between them both in a few cases of verbs of Form IV that denote finding a quality in the object. An example is زَيْدٌ أَكْبَرُ أَنْمَلُ ْحَمٌ (Zayd is greater than his friend) and Form IV of the verb أَكْبَرُ أَنْمَلُ “I made Zayd great”. The first زَيْدٌ أَكْبَرُ أَنْمَلُ can suggest that Zayd has become greater than his friend because I made him so by being impressed by him, and the latter زَيْدٌ أَكْبَرُ أَنْمَلُ that I was so impressed by Zayd’s greatness that I made him greater than his friend. Perhaps this connection between both forms explain why the h is as well prefixed in Hebrew elatives and the š in Akkadian. However Wehr, Elativ 37 does not find any connection between both these forms. A common origin is as well assumed between the pattern أَفْعَلُ that denotes colours or defects and the elative أَفْعَلُ with reservations by Fischer, Farb– 6, 64, 142. It may be added that a debate (for it see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 15, 57-68) was raised between the Kufans and Basrāns concerning the classification of أَفْعَلُ in a ta’aggub phrase of the type مَا أَحْسَنَ زَيْدٌ أَنْمَلُ “How wonderful Zayd is!”, the Kufans regarding أَفْعَلُ as a noun and the Basrāns regarding it as a verb. For discussions concerning the alif prefix in nouns and verbs that denote the intensive, expressive and affective see Løkkegaard, ‘Ašrē hā- َّs 264-266.

(140) The elative is not to be formed on the pattern specific for colours. The Kufans how-
ever allow the of superiority to be formed of the colors “whiteness” and “blackness”, e.g. “whiter than” and “blacker than” (for see Fischer, Farb–243-249, 273-277) whereas the Basrans do not allow it (for their debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inšāf Q. 16, 68-70). is used to denote superiority in the following verse said by Ru’ba b. al-‘Aggāq and cited by Ibn al-Anbārī, Inšāf Q. 16, 68, Ibn Ya’īs, VI, 93, Ibn Manzūr, I, 397, Bustānī, Muḥīṭ 63, 439, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1700, Lane, I, 283:

“ابيض من أخذ بني أبيض” جارية في درءها الفضاظ.

“A maid in her wide shift whiter than the sister of the Banū Ibād”.

(It can be noted that Howell writes (ابيض). Nöldeke, Grammatik 16 mentions a part of the verse and discusses on pp. 16-17 other cases of anomaly of the elative.

Another verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn al-Anbārī, Inšāf Q. 16, 70, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1701, has also (ابيض من من) but it does not denote superiority in this case, but refers to a thing,—in this case a sword,—which is white. And من is used in the meaning of “of” in it:

وأبيض من من ما، الحديق كانة شهاب بدأ وانليل جاه عساكره”

“And a white [sword], of water of iron, [flashing] as though it were a shooting-star that appeared when the shades of night were dark”.

is used to denote superiority in the following verse said by al-Mutanabbi and cited by de Sacy, Anthologie [Hariri, Durra] 34, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1700, Bustānī, Muḥīṭ 439:

“بِعَدُ بَعِدَةً يَيَاضًا لا يَيَاضُ ليَدَ آتَ أسودُ في عَيَني مِنَ الظَّلَمُ”

“Begone [i.e. may you perish!], whiteness that hast no lustre. Assuredly you are blacker in my eye than darkness itself”.

(141) The elative in the proverb (cf. Zamaḥšārī, 102, Freytag, Proverbia 687, Lane, I, 1567, Bustānī, Muḥīṭ 471) is formed anomalously as an elative of the pattern of the passive participle . The proverb is connected with a woman from Banū Taim Allāh b. Tallaba who came to the market of ‘Ukāz to sell two jars of butter, and who was so busied by them when she was carrying them that she was assaulted by Ḥawāṭ b. Ğubair al-Anṣārī without being able to defend herself (cf. Bustānī, Muḥīṭ 471).

(142) The elatives and are formed anomalously from Form IV “to give” and “to entrust”. Other examples of the elative from the derived form occur in the sur. 2: 282 “ذَلَّكْ أَقْضَطْتُ مَنْذَ أَنَّهُ وَأَقْضَطْتُ لِلسَّهَادَةَ” “It is juster in the sight of God, more suitable as evidence, and more convenient to prevent doubts among yourselves”, in which is formed from Form IV “to act justly” and from Form IV “to make right”. Likewise “more dreadful” is formed anomalously from
“stupid” is an adjective formed according to the form اَفْعَلُ specific for defects.

In the proverb (cf. Zamahšari, 102, Freytag, Proverbia II, 392), it is used anomalously as an elative, i.e. “more stupid”. The proverb is connected with the story of Yazid b. Ṭawān al-Qāisi who had around his neck a necklace of sea-shells and coloured pearls to remind him of whom he was if he lost his way. One day when his brother had stolen it from him when he was asleep, he did not know more who he was and believed that his brother was Yazid (cf. Bustānī, Muhīr 195).

b) Other proverbs with the anomalous formations of the elative occur (for a detailed presentation and discussion of some cases of anomalies see Sibawaihi, II, 268-269, Zamahšari, 102, Ibn Ya‘īs, VI, 91-95, de Sacy, Anthologie [Hariri, Durra] 33-34, 51-52, Vernier, I, 229-231, Wright, II, 141-143), as formed from:

- a substantive, e.g. ṣamī‘ ‘more of a robber than Šizāq’ from فَلَيْنِهَا ‘easy’ (cf. Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1702) and أَفْعَلُ ‘more skilled in good management of camels than Hunaif al-Ḥanātim’ from the active participle أَفْعَلُ ‘he is more self-conceited than a cock’ (cf. Zamahšari, 102, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1703, Vernier, I, 230) from ُبَقِّينَ ‘easy’.

e) Some words can be formed on the pattern of the elative without referring to excess being so used as epithets, as the use of أَفْعَلُ ‘easier’ in the meaning of “easy” in the sur. 30: 27 (وَهُوَ أَفْعَلُ)

“It is He Who begins (the process of) creation; then repeats it; and for Him it is most easy” that has been interpreted as well as “... and it is easy to Him” (cf. Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1720), and أَفْعَلُ ‘taller’, which occurs in the meaning of “tall” according to Vernier, I, 231, in the following verse said by al-Farazdaq, cited by Zamahšari, 103, Ġargāwī, Ġarĥ, 164, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1718:

“Verily, He that raised the heaven has built for us a house, whose pillars are mighty and tall”.

However, according to Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1718, the meaning of أَفْعَلُ ‘mightier than the pillars of every house and taller than they’ with a suppression occurring anomalously.

(144) The example نَبِيْلُ formed according to the pattern نَفَعَلُ in the meaning of the passive

(145) When the adjective according to the pattern فعلُ in the meaning of the passive participle مَفْعُولٌ is taken as a substantive, it has a separate form for the fem. (cf. Vernier, I, 370, Wright, II, 186). Another example that can be added is رَأَیتُ تَفییة الْحُرُوبِ “I saw (the woman) whom the Ḥarūris had murdered” (cf. Wright, II, 186).

(146) This sur. is also cited by Zamaḥšarī, 83, Ibn Ya‘īš, V, 102, Wright, II, 186. أَقْرَبْ which is formed according to the pattern فعلُ in the sur. إِنَّ رَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ أَقْرَبُ مِن الْحُسْبَيْنِ has the meaning of the active participle فعل. The rule would have required that the fem. أَقْرَبْ is used in accordance with the substantive رَحْمَةُ that is in the fem. It is however anomalously taken as an adjective that has the meaning of the passive participle (for them see (144)), which is why it does not have a separate form for the fem.

(147) The adjectives of the form فعلُ can instead of denoting a high degree of their subject’s quality indicate an act done with frequency or violence (cf. Wright, II, 136). It denotes intensiveness when it is formed from a transitive triliteral verb, e.g. غُفُورٌ “much forgiving” from غَفَرْ “to forgive”, and it is an assimilated adjective when it is formed from an intransitive verb, mostly from مَطْهُرٍ, e.g. مَطْهُرٌ “pure” from مَطْهَرٍ “to be pure” (cf. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Fuṣḥā 149). As an example of the patternفعلُ ‘عَمِيقُ القَلْبِ “deep” is used mostly for medicaments (for a list see ibid, 147-149).

(148) When an adjective is on the pattern فعلُ in the meaning of the active participle فعل.
it does not have a separate form for the fem., e.g. صبور for both the masc. and fem. in the
meaning of “patient/masc.” and صبيرة /fem.” (cf. Wright, II, 185, Fleisch, Traité I, 337).
An anomalous case, namely عدوة occurs however (see (152)).

(149) The form مَفَالَ “Zaid is a great slaughterer of the fatted beast” (cf. Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1614). مَفَالَ refers to one that is an apparatus and instrument for the act, e.g. مَحْرَب “warlike” and that مَفَالَ refers to one that is accustomed to the act, e.g. إِمَاءُ مُدِكَارَ “a woman accustomed to give birth to male and female” (cf. Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1622).

b) The forms مَفَالَ, مَفَالَ, and مَفَالَ were underlingly nouns of instrument, but became afterwards intensive adjectives (cf. Wright, II, 186, Fleisch, Traité I, 337). They do not have a separate form for the fem. (for discussions see ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Fuṣḥā 166-168). An anomalous case, namely مُسَكِّبَة occurs (see (151)).

(150) The adjectives presented by Ibn Mas‘ūd are formed according to patterns that denote intensiveness (for a detailed presentation of such forms with examples see Wright, II, 137-140, Vernier, I, 213-214, Blachère, 90-91). These patterns without the suffixification of the tā‘ marbūta are:

1- فَيْعِلَ as “very sinful, wicked” and شرِيبَ “addicted to wine”.
2- مَفَالَ as “very large” and طوال “very tall”.

To these may be added:

3- فَوْعَلَ as “timid” and قُوْمَ “everlasting”.
4- قُرْوسَ as “most holy”.
5- قُبَّ as “shifting”.
6- فَأَعْوَلَ as “timid”.

Among the forms mentioned in (149), i.e. مَفَالَ, مَفَالَ, and مَفَالَ, Ibn Mas‘ūd takes up:

7- مُسَقَّامَ as “often diseased”.
8- مِعْطِيرَ “one who uses much perfume”.

To these may be added:

9- مُرِجَّمَ as “pressing much”.

As for the adjectives with the suffixification of the tā‘ marbūta (for “the tā‘ meant to strenghen the idea of intensiveness” see my notes (52), (274)), Ibn Mas‘ūd mentions the following:

10- مَفَالَ from عَلَمَ “very learned” and مَسْأَبَة “a great genealogist”.
11- مَفَالَ from راْوَيْة “one who hands down poems or historical facts by oral tradition”.
12- مَفَالَ from فَعْوَلَ as “very timid”.
13- مَفَالَ from مُسْحَكَة “prone to laughter”.
188

COMMENTARY

فَعْلٍ “very ridiculous”.
فَعْلٍ “a man who quickly cuts the tie of affection”.
To these may be added:
فَعْلٍ “very timid”.
These patterns are common for both the masc. and fem. sing.

(151) The form مَعْلِمُ (for it see (149), (150)) designates intensiveness, and does not have a separate form for the fem. However anomalously مسْكِينةٌ, which is on this pattern is in the fem. This occurs because it is compared to its contrary فُقِيرةٌ “poor” (for a discussion concerning words formed to accord with their contraries see Suyūṭi, Ašbāh I, 420-426) that is formed according to the pattern فَعْلٌ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 218, Ibn Manẓūr, III, 2056, Lane, I, 1395, Vernier, I, 373-374).

(152) The form قَاعِلُ مَعْلُ in the meaning of the active participle Qā’il does not have a separate form for the fem. (for it see (148)). However anomalously عَدْوَةٌ, which is on this pattern is in the fem. In this case it has been compared to its contrary صِدِیقَةٌ “friend /fem” which is on the pattern فَعْلٌ (cf. Suyūṭi, Ašbāh I, 422, Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2848, Lane, II, 1910, Vernier, I, 369).

b) The masc. sing. مَعْلِمٌ alike its opposite صَدِیقُ can occur to mark the pl. (see further for other examples (296, b)). As an example, عَدِوَةٌ occurs in the sur. 4: 101 (إِنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ كَانُوا لَكُمْ عَدِوَةً) “For the Unbelievers are unto you open enemies”. Both the singulars عَدِوَةٌ and صَدِیقُ applied for the pl., are combined in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Afandi, Sarh 206, Howell, I, fasc. III, 967:

ٌتَوَقَّفُ عَلَى ذَوِي مَنْتَرَةٍ أَراَهُمْ عَدِوَةً وَكَانُوا صِدِیقَانَ

“And many a people full of hostility against me I thought them to be enemies, when they were friends”.

(153) The active participle of the derived forms of the triliteral verb is formed according to the form of the imperfect by replacing the imperfect prefix with the -m voweled by a damma and by having the 2nd radical voweled by a kasra (for examples see Vernier, I, 38, Wright, I, 300-301). Some of the derived forms of the triliteral of the active participle of the verbs mentioned in the Arabic text fol. 4a-4b that can be presented here are:

Form II مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form III مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form IV مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form V مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form VI مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form VII مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form VIII مَمْتَفِضٌ, Form IX مَمْتَفِضٌ and Form X مَمْتَفِضٌ: مَمْتَفِضٌ.

As for the groundform and some of the derived forms of the quadriliteral verb, the following examples may be presented:

Form I مَحْرُوجُ, Form II مَحْرُوجُ, Form III مَحْرُوجُ, Form IV مَحْرُوجُ.
(154) Form IV ـلـ(cf. Ibn Manzûr, III, 2131, Lane, I, 1450) from the verb of Form IV ـلـ, is the form that is intended for the active participle. It is formed anomalously according to Form IV of the passive participle ـلـ, and not according to Form IV of the active participle ـلـ. As for ـلـ “a grown-up boy” it is the only active participle of the verb of Form IV ـلـ, which is anomalously formed according to the form of the active participle of the verb of Form IV ـلـ (cf. Ibn Manzûr, VI, 4963, Vernier, I, 169).

(155) For the corroborative n see (125).

(156) “the relative noun or adjective” (for a study see Zamaḥšâri, 89-93, Ibn Ya'îsh, V, 141-157, Wright, II, 149-151, Blachère, 99-101, Fleisch, Traité I, 434-450, Fischer, Grammatik 65-66) is formed by adding the ending -iyya to the word from which it is derived. It indicates that a person or thing is connected with it in respect of origin, family, sect, trade, character, etc., e.g. ـلـ “born or living in Damascus”, ـلـ “solar” from ـلـ “the sun” and ـلـ “intellectual” from ـلـ “the intellect”.

(157) For a study of “the passive participle” see Zamaḥšâri, 101, Ibn Ya'îsh, VI, 80-81, Wright, II, 131-132, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1651-1661, Bohas, Étude 152-154. For a general study of it in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 197-198.

(158) The passive participle’s derived forms of the triliteral, as well as Form I of the quadriliteral and its derived forms are formed according to the imperfect’s form by replacing the imperfect prefix vowelled by the damma by the -m and having the 2nd radical vowelled by a fatha. Some examples are Form II ـلـ, “to compose”: ـلـ “composed”, Form IV ـلـ “to honour”: ـلـ “honoured” and Form I of the quadriliteral ـلـ “to roll”: ـلـ “rolled”, etc. (cf. Wright, II, 300-301, Vernier, I, 166-167). Some of the derived forms of the triliteral of the passive participle that can be presented here of the verbs mentioned in the Arabic texts 4a-4b are:


As for the groundform and some of the derived forms of the quadriliteral verb mentioned by him, the following examples may be presented:


The form مَعْلُومُ as a noun of place of verbs with 1st radical و (for a study see Sibawaihi, II, 266, de Sacy, I, 303, Wright, II, 126-127, Vernier, I, 189) retains the 1st radical and has its 2nd radical invariably vowelled by a kasra, e.g. مَوْعِدَةٌ “the time or place of a promise or appointment” from وعد “to promise” whose imperfect is مَوْجِلٌ “a place that is dreaded” from جَوَل “to be afraid” whose imperfect is جَوَلٌ.

(161) is an arabicized word from the Persian كُوربُ or كُوربُ “tomb of the foot” (cf. Lane, I, 403).

The form مَعْلُومُ as a noun of place of verbs with 3rd radical ی (for a study see Zamahšari, 104, Wright, II, 127-128, Vernier, I, 188) has always its 2nd radical vowelled by a fatha whenever the vowel of the imperfect is, e.g. السُّرْمَى “a place of throwing or shooting arrows” from رمَى “to throw” whose imperfect is مَطَوى “a fold” from طوى “to fold” whose imperfect is مَطَيْعٍ “pasture-ground” from دَيْعٍ whose imperfect is مَطَيْعٌ.

(162) Another noun of place formed according to مَعْلُومُ (for a presentation of examples see Zamahšari, 104, Wright, II, 125-126, Vernier, I, 189, Blachère, 95), which is not mentioned by Ibn Mas‘ūd, is السَّنَسَاد “the place where the breath passes through the nose”. Both السَّنَسَاد and مَسْنَاد with the s vowelled by a kasra or a fatha have been read of the sur. 22: 67 “Have We appointed rites and ceremonies” (cf. Mu‘addib, Taṣrīf 124, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4412).

The form مَعْلُومُ with a kasra is said to be of the dialect of Tamīm and مَعْلُومٍ with a fatha is said to be of the dialect of the Ḥiŷāzis (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 264, Volck/Kellgren: Ibn Mālik 24, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 2689; for a general presentation of some words occurring in two dialectal variants with different vowels given to one of their consonants or with other phonetic changes affecting them see Ta‘lab, Faṣlī 41-43). In the sur. 97: 5 حَتَّى مَعْلُومٌ السَّمَّاءٌ “Until the rise of Morn!” means مَعْلُومٌ means مَعْلُومٌ السَّمَّاءٌ. The reading with the kasra is al-Kisā‘ī’s, by which he meant the noun of place (cf. Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirā‘āt II, 510, Ibn Mu‘āhīd, Sab’ā 693).


(165) The form مَعْلُومٍ refers to nouns that express the doing of an action مَرَأ “once” (for a study with examples see Zamahšari, 98, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VI, 56-57, Zaṅgānī, ʿĪzzī 13-14, Farḥāt, Baḥṭ 51, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 20, Wright, II, 122-123, Fleisch, Traité I, 332-334, Vernier, I, 184-186). It is formed by adding the tā’ marbūta to the maṣdar. مَعْلُومٍ is chosen for the groundform of the triliteral, مَعْلُومٍ to Form II and مَعْلُومٍ to Form I of the quadrilateral.

(166) The form مَعْلُومٍ refer to the الحالة “the noun of kind”. It points out to the manner of doing
what is intended by the verb. Examples are "way of sitting" and "way of riding". For a presentation with examples Zamaḥṣarı, 98, Farḥat, Baḥṭ 51, Wright, II, 123-124, Vernier, I, 187.

(167) For a study of the instrumental noun formed according to the measure مَعْلَى with examples see Sibawaihi, II, 267, Zamaḥṣarı, 104-105, Wright, II, 130. Instrumental nouns are also formed on the measure مَعْلَى or مَعْلَة. Hence, the nouns مَعْلَةُ مَحْسَةٍ and مَعْلَةُ مَغْرَفةٍ and combined together formed upon the measure مَعْلَةٍ occur in a verse said by al-Farazdaq in an elegy on a groom, cited by Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1757:

"ليِّبيكِ أبا أَلْحَنْسَاء بُغل وبَعلة وَمَعْلَةَ صَفْرَاءٍ بالِّسَبْعَةَ وَمَعْلَةَ صَفْرَةٍ مَطْرُوحةٍ وَمَحْسَةٍ"

"Let a he-mule, and a she-mule, and a nose-bag of evil, whose barley has been wasted, and a rejected broom, and a curry comb, and a yellow whip whose thongs are worn out, bewail Abū I-ḥansī".

(168) The passage referred here in which Sibawaihi discusses the nouns of recipients, is found in Sibawaihi, II, 265. For сُدْهُنَ and сُدْهُنَة formed according to the pattern مَعْلَة see Zamaḥṣarı, 105, Ibn Mālik, Lāmiya 254, Volck/Kellgren, Ibn Mālik 26-27, Raymundus, Traité I, 429. Other examples exist, as сُدْهُنَ "the sword" (cf. Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4447), and сُدْهُنَة (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 265). According to the rule, the сُدْهُنَ should have been сُدْهُنَة, or it was so underlyingly (cf. Ibn Manzūr, II, 1446, Lane, I, 927). Instrumental nouns of the measure مَعْلَة exist as well, but they are said to be anomalous, e.g. "a thing in which there is a preparation of pulverized antimony used for darkening the edges of the eyelids" (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 265) and "a vessel made of wood, or of brass" (cf. Ibn Manzūr, II, 837, Lane, I, 549.)
PART TWO
II.3. Arabic Text:

الباب الثاني في المضاف

ويقال له اسم لشبته ولا يقال له صحيح لمصرورة أحد حرفه خلف علية في نحو
تقضي البازى. وهو يجيء، من ثلاثة أبوب نحو سر سر سر يفقر وعجع وعجع ولا
يجيء، من باب فعل يفعل إلا قليلًا نحو حب يحب فهو حبيب وليب يلقب فهو ليبيب.
وإذا استمر فيه حرفان من جنس واحد أو متقاربان في الخرج يدغم الأول في الثاني
لنقل المكرر نحو مدة إلى آخره وتحو أخرج. شتاتها، وقائت طائفة، الإدغام الباب الحرف
في مخرجه مقدار إلء الحرفين كما تُنقل عن جار الله العلاءمة وقيل إسكان الأول
وإدراجه في الثاني، والمدغم والمدغم فيه حرفان في النطق وحرف وحرف واحد في الكتابة
نحو مدة أو حرفان في النطق والكتابة كالحرمس. اجتماع الحرفين على ثلاثة أضرب الأول
أن يكون متحركين يجري فيه الإدغام نحو مدة إلا في الإحصائيات نحو قردة حتى لا
يبطل الإحصاء والأوزان التي تلزم الإنجاز فيها مثل سكاك وسسر وسسر وطمل ومد.
حتي لا يلبس بصلد وسر وسر وطمل ومد. ولا يلبس في مثل رد رفر عوض لأن
رد يعلم من يرد أن أصل ردد لأن المضاف لا يجيء، من فعل يفعل وفرر أيضًا
يعلم من يفوت أن أصل فتر لأن المضاف لا يجيء من فعل يفعل وعوض أيضًا يعلم
من يعطض أن أصل مضض لأن المضاف لا يجيء من فعل يفعل ولا يدغم حبي في
بعض اللغات هي لا يقع الضم على البناء في يحى وقيل البناء الأخريرة غير لازمة
لأنها تسقط تارة نحو حيوا وتشلب تارة ألفا نحو يجي، والثاني أن يكون الأول

Fols. 17b-18a

2 ثلثة: ثلاثة / 4 يفعل: + بعض المعين فيما / حب: + أصل حب / حب: - 1 / يلبس
- 1 / 1 إلى آخره: - 1 / مدة مدة: ط / نحن أخرج: وأخرج 0 الحرف: + الدواف / 0 نحو
مد: - 1 / مدة + إجهاض: 2/0 واجهنا: - 0 الحرفين: + في الكلمة / نحو مدة: - 0 ب / فيها: - 0 / ب / منحل: نحو / 0 وجد: 1 / حرا: - 1 / 1 أن / يفعل: + بعض العين فيما / 0...
فوز: - 0 يفعل: + بعض المعين فيما / حبا
16 يقع الضم: نفع الضمة / البناء: + الضفيف حط / 17 تسدق: يسقط / ألفا: - 1 /
II.3. Translation: The 2nd Chapter is about the Doubled Verb

It is named “the solid verb” because of the doubling [of the consonants] in it. It is not named strong, because one of its both consonants can [in some cases] be changed into a weak consonant, e.g. “the hawk flew down swiftly”. It falls into three conjugations, e.g.: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Form</th>
<th>Second Form</th>
<th>Third Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“to gladden”</td>
<td>“to escape”</td>
<td>“to bite”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conjugation does not occur unless rarely, e.g. لبيب “to love” and he is لبيب “a person of understanding”. If two consonants of the same kind or close to each other in the point of articulation are combined, the 1st one is assimilated to the 2nd one because of the heaviness of the repeated consonant, e.g. مداد “to stretch” etc., e.g. [sur. 48: 29] “Which sends forth its blade” and قال ذاته “a sect said”. The assimilation can either be carried out [from one consonant] to a consonant that remains in its own point of articulation or between two [identical] consonants that remain in their own point of articulation. This is what was transmitted by “the neighbour of God, the most learned of men” [sc. Zamaľšari]. It was said that it is assimilating the 1st vowelless consonant to the 2nd one [which is vowels]. The consonant that can be assimilated [to another] and the consonant to which it is assimilated to can be two consonants in the pronunciation and one consonant in the writing, e.g. مداد or two consonants in the pronunciation and in the writing as e.g. الرحمن “the Merciful”. The combination of two consonants falls into three categories:

1- the first is that both consonants are vowels. In this case the assimilation is necessary, e.g. مداد [underlyingly مداد], except in the coordinatives, e.g. قرود “elevated ground”, so that the formation would not [Fol. 18 a] be excluded [from coordination to مفعل], and in the patterns which would cause confusion [between a paradigm and another], e.g. مکان “the colliding of the knees in running”, سرور “bedsteads”, جدد “the stripes that are on the back of the ass”, طل “the remains of a dwelling or house” and مداد “assistance”, so that they would not be mixed up with صاد “a written acknowledgement of a debt”, صسر “the navel-string of a child”, جد “a part of the river near the land”, طل “weak rain” and مغد “extension”. There is no risk of confusion that can arise concerning e.g. ردد “to drive back”, فر “to escape” and عض “to bite”, because it is known from that ردد that is underlyingly ربود as the doubled verb does not occur according to the conjugation فرر from that فر that is underlyingly فرر as the doubled verb does not occur according to the conjugation مداد and from عض that is underlyingly عض عض as the doubled verb does not occur according to the conjugation. In some dialectal variants the assimilation is not carried out in “live”, so that the دamma does not have to vowel the y in “he lives”. It was said that the last y is not necessary, because it is dropped sometimes, e.g. حيوا “/3 masc. pl.” and it is changed into an alif [maqṣura] sometimes, e.g.

2- The second is that the 1st consonant

الاسم “the solid verb” because of the doubling [of the consonants] in it. It is not named strong, because one of its both consonants can [in some cases] be changed into a weak consonant, e.g. “the hawk flew down swiftly”. It falls into three conjugations, e.g.: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Form</th>
<th>Second Form</th>
<th>Third Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“to gladden”</td>
<td>“to escape”</td>
<td>“to bite”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conjugation does not occur unless rarely, e.g. لبيب “to love” and he is لبيب “a person of understanding”. If two consonants of the same kind or close to each other in the point of articulation are combined, the 1st one is assimilated to the 2nd one because of the heaviness of the repeated consonant, e.g. مداد “to stretch” etc., e.g. [sur. 48: 29] “Which sends forth its blade” and قال ذاته “a sect said”. The assimilation can either be carried out [from one consonant] to a consonant that remains in its own point of articulation or between two [identical] consonants that remain in their own point of articulation. This is what was transmitted by “the neighbour of God, the most learned of men” [sc. Zamaľšari]. It was said that it is assimilating the 1st vowelless consonant to the 2nd one [which is vowels]. The consonant that can be assimilated [to another] and the consonant to which it is assimilated to can be two consonants in the pronunciation and one consonant in the writing, e.g. مداد or two consonants in the pronunciation and in the writing as e.g. الرحمن “the Merciful”. The combination of two consonants falls into three categories:

1- the first is that both consonants are vowels. In this case the assimilation is necessary, e.g. مداد [underlyingly مداد], except in the coordinatives, e.g. قرود “elevated ground”, so that the formation would not [Fol. 18 a] be excluded [from coordination to مفعل], and in the patterns which would cause confusion [between a paradigm and another], e.g. مکان “the colliding of the knees in running”, سرور “bedsteads”, جدد “the stripes that are on the back of the ass”, طل “the remains of a dwelling or house” and مداد “assistance”, so that they would not be mixed up with صاد “a written acknowledgement of a debt”, صسر “the navel-string of a child”, جد “a part of the river near the land”, طل “weak rain” and مغد “extension”. There is no risk of confusion that can arise concerning e.g. ردد “to drive back”, فر “to escape” and عض “to bite”, because it is known from that ردد that is underlyingly ربود as the doubled verb does not occur according to the conjugation فرر from that فر that is underlyingly فرر as the doubled verb does not occur according to the conjugation مداد and from عض that is underlyingly عض عض as the doubled verb does not occur according to the conjugation. In some dialectal variants the assimilation is not carried out in “live”, so that the دamma does not have to vowel the y in “he lives”. It was said that the last y is not necessary, because it is dropped sometimes, e.g. حيوا “/3 masc. pl.” and it is changed into an alif [maqṣura] sometimes, e.g.
سأكا يُجب فيه الإذاعة ضرورة نحو ممَّا على وزن فُعل. والشاذ أن يكون الثاني سأكا والإذاعة فيه منيع لعدم شرط الإذاعة وهو تحرّك الثاني وقيل لبَد من تسكين

180 1. الأول فيتجه ساكانا فتفرَّ من ورطة وتقع في ورطة أخرى ويحلّ في اتجاه الساكانا بعدها في مَّقطعٍ نحو أُرضى كما جَزَّوا القلب في نحو تفضي البازى، وعلى قراءة من قرأ

6 (وثَنِّ في نَبُوْتِكَ) 1 من القرآن أصله القُرن، فخُذَّل الرأة الأولى فتغلبت حركتها إلى القاف ثمَّ حُذفت الهمزة لعدم الإحتلاج فيها فصار قرَّن وقيل من وَقَرْ وقَرَّا. وإذا قرَّ، قرَّن يفتح القاف يكون من أَكْرَ بألْما كان وهو لغة في أَكْرُ فيكون أصله أَكْرَن

9 فتغلبت حركة الراء إلى القاف فصار قُرن، هذا إذا كان سكونه لأَما، وإذا كنَّ عارضاً يجوز الإذاعة وعدمه نحو أَمدَّدُ وُمَّد يفتح الدال وسَدُّ بالكسر لأنَّ الكسر أصل في تحريك الساكن ومَّد بضم الأنباء، ومن ثم لا يجوز فُر بضم الراء لعدم

الإتباع ولا يجوز الإذاعة في أَمدَّن لأن الساكن الثاني لازم وتقول بالنون الشقيلة

110 آ ٤٥٠ أَمدَّن أَمدَّدُان أَمدَّدُان أَمدَّدُان، أو بالخفيفه أَمدَّدُان أَمدَّدُان

اسم الفاعل ماذٍ المفعول مُسّدود واسم الزمان والمكان مَّد وِلَأَ كُل مَّد، ويند ويجوز الإذاعة إذا وقع قبل نعَة، إلا أنَّ مَّد يجوز اثْدُدَرَ سُمِّي ضَطْرُ

١٥ُ طَوْيُ نحو اثْدَدَر وهو شاذ ونحوَاتْجَرْ نحوْ أُثَّرْ ويجوز فيه أُثَّر بالتأ، لأنَّ الناء

Fols. 18a-19a


١٥ حرف من: ٥/٦/١٦ بالتأ: ١: من الآلة ٥/
is vowelless, and in this case the assimilation is necessary, e.g. مُدَّ “an extension”, which is according to the pattern مَدُّ.

3— The 3rd is that the 2nd consonant is vowelless. In this case the assimilation is forbidden as the condition of the assimilation which is the vowelling of the 2nd consonant, is absent. Then it was said that it was necessary to render vowelless the 1st consonant, but this would lead to the combination of two vowelless consonants, so you would escape from one difficult situation and fall into another [Fol. 18 b]. It was also said [that it is forbidden] because of the existence of the lightness due to the [2nd] vowelless consonant together with the absence of the condition of the assimilation, [which is the vowelling of the 2nd consonant]. However, the elision [of one of the identical consonants] is made possible by them in some cases on account of the combination of two identical consonants, e.g. مَدُّ “you continued all day [masc. sing.]”,181 as is also the change into a weak consonant, e.g. مُدَّ “the hawk flew down swiftly”.182

Accordingly [with the elision], some recited [sur. 33: 33] (مُدَّ “And stay quietly in Your houses”): [مُدَّ is] from the القرار “a state of settledness”. Its base form is مُدَّ “stay! /2 fem. pl. of the imperative”, in which the 1st r is elided and its vowel is shifted to the q, and then the prosthetic alif is elided because it is not longer needed, so it became مَدُّ. It was also said that it is from مُدَّ “to sit quiet”. [Some held that] if مُدَّ is read [with the q vowelled by the fatha], it would be from مُدَّ “I rest or remain (in the place)”, which is a dialectal variant of مُدَّ, so its base form would be مُدَّ “a state of settledness”. Its base form is مُدَّ “stay! /2 fem. pl. of the imperative”, in which the 1st r is elided and its vowel is shifted to the q, so that it became مَدُّ. This is the case if the sukūn [of the 2nd consonant] is obligatory. However, if it is accidental, the assimilation is sometimes possibly carried out and sometimes not, e.g. مُدَّ “stretch! /masc. sing. of the imperative”, مَدُّ “with the vowelling of the d by a fatha [to alleviate], by the damma because the kasra is principal in vowelling the vowelless consonant and مَدُّ by the damma for the purpose of analogy [with the vowel of the 1st radical]. On account of that [sc. that the damma in مَدُّ is given for the purpose of analogy], it is impossible to say مُدَّ “flee! /masc. sing. of the imperative” with the vowelling of the r by a damma because of the lack of analogy [with the vowel of the 1st radical]. The assimilation is made impossible in مُدَّ “stretch! /fem. pl. of the imperative” because the sukūn of the 2nd [consonant among two identical consonants] is obligatory.183

You say with the energetic ن [Fol. 19 a]: /اْمَدُّ “امَدُّ”, “/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. 1)”, “/2 dual”, “/2 masc. pl.”, “/2 fem. sing.”, “/2 fem. pl.”. With the single ن: /اْمَدُّ “امَدُّ”, “/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. II)”, “/2 fem. sing.” and “/2 fem. pl.”. The active participle is مَدَّ, the passive participle مَدَّ, the nouns of time and place مَدَّ, the noun of instrument مَدَّ, and the passive voice مَدَّ, مَدَّ, etc.184 The assimilation is possibly carried out if one of the consonants of مَدَّ precedes the [infixed] t of [Form VIII] e.g. مَدَّ “to take” which is an anomaly, and مَدَّ “to trade”, and مَدَّ “to get one’s revenge”, possibly said مَدَّ with the t.185
والثاني، من الهوسية وحروفها سُمحَّلُتْ حُصُفًا فيكونان من جنس واحد نظراً إلى الهوسية فجَّرَتِهِم الإدَّعَامَ بجعل التنا ثامناثاً، وتحوَّلَ أنَّهُ لا يجوز فيه غير إدَّعَامُ الدالِّ في الدالِّ لأنَّهُ إذا جُلّتَت التنا ثامِناثاً لم يُنَدِّجَ لهُنَّ من الدالِّ في الموسَّيَة 7...

فكثير حينئذى كوضع القصعة الكبيرة في الصغيرة، أو لأنه يوالي يادان، وتحوَّل أسماء يجوز فيه الإدَّعَام، بجعل السين ثامِنُهُ البيع في.cudaً أسماء في اعداد الصوت ويجوز البيان لعدم الجنسية في الذات... وتحوُّل إشباع مثل أسماء وتحوَّل أسماء يجوز فيه اصطِبَار، لأن الصاد من المستعَلِامية، وحروفها كظاهرة يُفَضَّلُ خِفَقُه، الأربعة الأولى، مستعَلِامية مُطبَّقة، والثانية الأخيرة مستعَلِامية فقط والثانية من المنخفضة فجعلُ التنا طاء لمساعدة بينهما في الإستعَلِامية، وقرب التنا 8...

فجَّرَتِهِم الإدَّعَامام به لجعل الطاء، صاداً نظراً إلى اتحادها في الإستعَلِامية، نحو إصطِبَار، لا يجوز فيه الإدَّعَام، فيه يجعل الصاد طاء، لرَمْيُهُ لعدم الجنسية في الذات، وتحوَّل إصطِبَار، مثل...
and the َt are among the voiceless consonants, which are comprised in "Hasfah shall press you in the matter".\(^{188}\) So both are of the same sort on account of their being among the voiceless consonants. You can therefore assimilate by changing the َt into a َt and the َd into a َd. As for 4–آذَرْكَرَة, "to buy upon credit", only the doubling of the َd is possible in it. As for the reason of this, it is that when the [infixed] َt, which is among the voiceless consonants, is changed into the َd in spite of its distance to it in this respect, it is done so on account of the proximity of the َd to it in the point of articulation, such which causes necessarily the combination of two identical consonants, so that one is assimilated to the other.\(^{189}\) As for 5–آذَكَرَة, "to remember", both آذَكَرَة and آذَكَرَة are possible to be used instead, because the َd [and the َd] are among the voiced consonants. Thus the َt is changed into the َd as in اذْكَرْتَ, and then you can possibly [Fol. 19 b] assimilate on account of both their conformity in being among the voiced consonants, by changing the َd into the َd and the َd into the َd. It is possible as well to dissolve as they both [sc. the َd and the َd] disagree in the essence.\(^{190}\) As for 6–آذَاوَنْ, "to be ornamented", it is similar to آذَاوَنْ. It is however impossible to assimilate in it by changing the َz into the َd because of the excellency of sibilance of the َz in comparison to the َd. Hence it [sc. the procedure] would be as if placing the large bowl over the little one, or [on the other hand, if the َz is assimilated to the َd] there would be a confusion with اذَاوَنْ.\(^{191}\) As for 7–أَسْعَ, "to listen", the assimilation is possibly carried out in it because the َs and the َt are among the voiceless consonants. It is impossible however to assimilate by changing the َs into the َt because of the excellency of sibilance of the َs. It is possible as well not to assimilate [in َسْعَ], because they both [sc. the َs and the َt] disagree in the essence. As for 8–أَسْتَعْبِر, "to liken" it is similar to [regarding the assimilation]. As for 9–أَصْبَرْ, "to acquire patience", it is possible to use أَصْبَرْ instead of it,\(^{192}\) because the َs is among the elevated covered consonants which are فَصْتَ َضْطَر٣٠٣٠. The four 1st ones are elevated and covered and the three last ones are only elevated.\(^{193}\) The َt is among the depressed consonants, but it is changed into the َt which is among the elevated consonants, in spite of the distance between them both in this respect, because of the proximity of the َt to the َt in the point of articulation, so it became أَصْبَرْ [Fol. 20 a], similarly to "six" underlyingly، سُدْس٣٠٣٠, in which the َs and the َd are changed into the َt because of the homogeneity of the َs and the َt in being among the voiceless consonants and because of the proximity of the َt to the َd in the point of articulation, and then an assimilation is carried out so that it became أَصْبَرْ.\(^{194}\) So it is possible for you to assimilate [in أَصْبَرْ] by changing the َt into the َs on account of both their conformity in being among the elevated consonants, i.e. أَصْبَرْ. It is not possible for you however to assimilate by changing the َs into the َt because of the excellency of sibilance of the َs. I mean that it is impossible to say أَصْبَرْ. It is possible as well not to assimilate because of their [sc. the َt and the َs] lack of similarity in the essence. As for 10–أَضْرَبُ, "to be in a state of agitation", \(^{195}\) it is similar to
اصحابي يعني يجوز اضرار واضطرب ولا يجوز اطرار نحو اظلم لا يجوز فيه غير الإعدام لاجتماع الحروف من جنس واحد بعد قلب تاء الانتقال طاء لقرب النحو من النحاء في الخرج و نحو الظلم يجوز في البيان لعمل النحو طاء والظاط طاء

3 لمساء بهما في الظلم و يجوز في البيان لعمل النحو طاء في النحو طاء بعد الموافقة، لأنه إن لم يكن يجوز تاء عصبة لكره ما قبلها فيلزم حين يسعك الفعل مرة بآني نحو ابتعد مرة وآني نحو يبتعد لعدم موجب القلب أو يلزم تولي الكسرات و نحو أشعر فجعلتَ النهر فاراً عن تولى الكسرات ولم يُدغم في مثل ابتعد لأن النهر ليست بلازمه يعني تدير هسرة إذا جعلت

6 ثلاثيا نحو أقل، ومن ثم لا يُدغم حيي في بعض اللغات و إدغام ابتعد شاذ. و يجوز الإعدام إذا وقع بعد تاء الانتقال من حروف تدْتَدُو سمتِ تسطّر نحو يقتَنِ ويبطَل وينصرف ويداع ويفضل ورابط وينظير ولكن لا يجوز في إدغامه إن الإعدام يجعل النحو مثل العين لضعف استبداء المؤثر. وعند بعض الصرفين لا يجي، هذا الإعدام في الماضي حتى لا يتبع بصري التفعيل لأن عندهم تنقل حركة التاء إلى ما قبلها وتخذف الهمزة/selfici/حلة، وعند بعضهم يجي

12 بكسر اللفاء نحو خصم لأن عندهم كسر اللفاء للاقفاء، والراكين، عند بعضهم يجي، بالاجتيبة نحو خصم نظرًا إلى سكون أصل ويجوز في مستقبله كسر اللفاء

Fols. 20a-21a

1 يجوز: + في / أطراب: + لزيادة صفة الشاذ د ط: + لزيادة مدة صوت الشاذ من الطاء

6/ ت: o: ما: 1/ لمساء: لمساء: د ط: 7 لعدم... الحالة


1/ 17 ويبطَل: + 1/ ويبطَل: ويداع ويفضل ورابط وينصرف: + 1/ لضعف... المؤثر: + 14 لضعف استبداء، الحروف التي بعد تاء الانتقال

1/ 14 يجي: يجوز ب ح ك: 14 الهمزة: همزة: أ: + لعدد

الاحتياج إليها د: 15 كسر: يكسر /
I mean that both اَطْلُبُ and اَطْلُبَ are possible, but not اَطْلَبَ (to seek). As for 11-الَّذِيفَ [أَلْبِيْأَثَّرُ] “to take upon oneself the bearing of the wrong”, the assimilation is possibly carried out in it by changing the t into the z and the z into the t on account of the similarity between them both in being among the emphatic consonants. It is possible as well to dissolve because of their lack of similarity in the essence, i.e. [with the change of the t into the z]، اَطْلُبُ [with the change of the z into the t]، اَطْلُبُ [with the dissolution].(97) As for 13-الَّذِيفَ [أَلْبِيْأَثَّرُ] “to accept a promise”, the w [of الَّذِيفَ] is changed into the t, because if this did not occur, it would have to be changed into the y due to [the influence of] the kasra [Fol. 20 b] of the consonant preceding it. Hence the verb would necessarily seem to be at one time as though having a y radical, i.e. إِيَّمُ، and at another as though having a w radical, i.e. يُوَتَّلَدُ because of the impossibility of changing the [weak] consonant into another, or the succession of the kasras will be unavoidable.(98) As for 14-الَّذِيفَ “to play at hazard”, the y [of الَّذِيفَ] is assimilated to the t to avoid the succession of the kasras.(99) The assimilation is not carried out in اَيْتَكُنَ “to eat, devour”, because the y is not necessary, i.e. that it becomes a hamza if you bring it back to the groundform, i.e. اَيْكَلُ,(100) On account of that [i.e. because the y is not necessary], the assimilation is not carried out in حَيَّيَ “to live” in some dialects.(101) As for the assimilation that is carried out in اَتَخَذَ “to take for oneself”, it is anomalous.(102)

The assimilation is possibly carried out if one of the consonants of سَمِعُ تَمَّ الْمُتَّسَلَط تَمَّ الْمُتَّسَلَط is followed by the [infixed] t of Form VIII، e.g. يَمَّلُلُ 1-اَتَخَذَ “to contend among themselves”,(103) يَمَّلُلُ 2-يَمَّلُلُ “to change”, 3-يَمَّلُلُ “to excuse one’s self”, 4-يَمَّلُلُ “to snatch, tear away”, 5-يَمَّلُلُ “to smile”,(104) يَمَّلُلُ “to dispute”, 7-يَمَّلُلُ “to struggle”, 8-يَمَّلُلُ “to collide, clash” and 9-يَمَّلُلُ “to expect”.(105) The assimilation is only possibly carried out in them by changing the [infixed] t into the consonant of the 2nd radical, because of the feebleness of the request of the [infixed] consonant that comes after [the radical]. By some grammarians this assimilation is not carried out in the perfect [of such verbs], so that it [sc. the perfect] is not mixed up with the perfect of [Form II of the masdar] اَفْتَلَبَ [i.e. اَفْتَلَبَ], because according to them the vowel of the [infixed] t [of Form VIII] اَفْتَلَبَ is shifted to the consonant preceding it, and the prosthetic alif is elided [resulting in، e.g. خَصْمُ اَفْتَلَبَ from Form VIII اَفْتَلَبَ]. By others, it [sc. the assimilation] is carried out by giving the 1st radical the kasra، e.g. خَصْمُ اَفْتَلَبَ [underlying خَصْمُ اَفْتَلَبَ] “to quarrell, argue”, because according to them the reason of vowel ling the 1st radical with the kasra [in خَصْمُ اَفْتَلَبَ] is to avoid the cluster [Fol. 21 a] of two vowelless consonants [i.e. خَصْمُ as they elide both the vowelled infixed t of خَصْمُ without shifting its vowel to the 1st radical, and the prefixed hamza]. By others， it occurs with the prosthetic alif، i.e. خَصْمُ on account of the sukun of [the b of] the base form [sc. خَصْمُ]. It is possible in its imperfect to vowel the 1st radical with the kasra
وفتحها كما في الماضي نحو يَخْصَمُ وفي فاعله ضم الألفاء، لالتباع مع فتحها وكسرها قبل نحو مُضْحَيَّن. ويجي، مصدرها خامساً بكسر الخاء، لائقها الساكين أو لنقل كسر النون إلى الخاء، ويجي، إخضماً اعتباراً لسكون الأصل. وتدعم تاء تفعَّل وتفاعل فيما بعدها باجتلاف الهمزة كما مر في باب الإنشاء نحو أطَهَرُ أصله تطهَرُ واِنْفَاقُ أصله تئاقل لا يَدْخَمُ في نحو استفْطَمُ لسكون الطاء وتحقيقاً في نحو استذَانُ لأن أصله استَذَاَساً بسكون الدال تقديراً ولكن يجوز حذف تاء في بعض المواضع نحو استَطَاعُ يَسْطِعُ كما مر في ظلحت وإذا قلت: استطاع ففتح الهمزة يَسْطِعُ بضم الباء، يكون السين زائداً لأن أصله أطاع كانها في أُهاَراق.

Fol. 21a

or with the fatha as in the perfect, i.e. ِبَحْسَمُ. In the active participle, the 1st radical is vowelled by the damma by analogy [with the damma of the prefixed َم] or by the fatha or the kasra [on the analogy of those who vowel its perfect with a fatha or a kasra]. Hence it is said مَحْسُونٌ or مَحْسُونٌ.(206)

Its masa'dar is َخَصَامُ with the ِبَحْسَمُ that is given the kasra either to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants or because of the transfer of the kasra of the [infixed] ِبَحْسَمُ to the ِبَحْسَمُ. َخَصَامُ occurs as well with the ِبَحْسَمُ vowelled by the fatha if you take into consideration the vowel of the assimilated ِس. Both َخَصَامُ and َخَصَامُ occur as well on account of the sukun of the base form [sc. َخَصَامُ].

The [prefixed] ِبَحْسَمُ of [Form V] َبَحْسَمُ and of [Form VII] َبَحْسَمُ is assimilated to the consonant that follows it after the prefixation of the prosthetic alif as was mentioned about [the ِبَحْسَمُ of Form VIII] َبَحْسَمُ concerning its assimilation to one of the consonants of َبَحْسَمُ following it], e.g. َبَحْسَمُ "to purify one's-self" underlyingly َبَحْسَمُ and َبَحْسَمُ "to be borne down heavily" underlyingly َبَحْسَمُ.(207)

No assimilation [of the infixed ِبَحْسَمُ of Form X] to the consonant following it] is carried out in َبَحْسَمُ "to ask for food" due the sukun of the ِبَحْسَمُ in reality, and in َبَحْسَمُ "to take up a loan" underlyingly َبَحْسَمُ due the sukun of the ِد theoretically.(208)

However the elision of the [infixed] ِبَحْسَمُ of Form X is possibly carried out in some cases, e.g. َبَحْسَمُ "to be able, have power",(209) as was mentioned about َبَحْسَمُ "you continued all day /masc. sing.".(210) However, if you said َبَحْسَمُ with the hamza vowelled by the fatha and َبَحْسَمُ with the the y vowelled by the damma, then the ِس is infixed, because its base form is [Form IV] َبَحْسَمُ "to obey",(211)—[and its infixation is] similar to the infixation of the ِبَحْسَمُ in َبَحْسَمُ "to pour"—.(212)
II.3.1. COMMENTARY

The Doubled Verb


(170) In some examples of doubled verbs, the 2nd of the doubled consonants, which is the 3rd radical, can be substituted by a y (for examples see Ḍābī, Amtāl 84-85). This substitution is carried out for the sake of alleviation. In the example Form V ُتَفْقَضُ للبَيْزِي becomes ُتَفْقَضُ للبَيْزِي (cf. Zamāḥšārī, 173, Lane, II, 2536-2537, Vernier, I, 73, my notes (182), (352)). The reason of this substitution is the heaviness of the repeated consonants, the ādām, in this combination. The example ُتَفْقَضُ للبَيْزِي is found in the verse said by ‘Aqqā, Divān 28, cited by Ğawāliqī, Sarḥ 331, Zağāq, Maʿānī I, 341, Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 759, Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 438, Ḍābī, Amtāl 85, Ibn al-Sīkkīt, Qalb 58, Mufaḍḍal, Fāḥīr 5, Tāmnī, Musalsal 215, Qālī, Amālī II, 172, Baṭalawṣī, Iṣṭiḥāb 138, 413, Ibn al-Shāgārī, Amālī I, 389, Abū ʿUbaid, Garṭī I, 124, Afandī, Tanẓīl 426, Ibn Ya’īš, X, 24, ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, Taṭāwurw 40, Rāzī in Ḥalīl b. ʿAbd al-Nasir ... , Ḥurūf 155, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1292:

“إذا أكبدوا أهالي بدر فقضة أبيضي إذا أبيضي كسر

“When the generous hasten to the noble deed, he hastens with the swoop of the falcon, when the falcon contracts his wings”.

Other examples pertaining to Form V that can be mentioned in which the 3rd radical is changed into a y (for them see Sibawaihi, II, 447, Roman, Étude I, 361) are: تَثْوَّرَتْ أَنْتِي for تَثْوَّرَتْ أَنْتِي “I had a concubine” in which the 2nd r is changed into a y. يَأْمُّي for يَأْمُّي “I formed an opinion” in which the 2nd n is changed into a y and ُتَقْفِضُ للبَيْزِي for ُتَقْفِضُ للبَيْزِي “I remembered [his words]” in which the 2nd Ϝ is changed into a y. The y is substituted for the 3rd radical in other forms than Form V. It is substituted for the 2nd / in Form IV أَكَلْبُكْ أَمْبَيَّتْ أَمْبَيَّتْ “I dictated” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 447, Roman, Étude I, 361) and for the 2nd m in Form VIII يَأَمِّتْي for يَأَمِّتْي that occurs in the following verse said by Kutayyir, Divān 300 in which he is praising ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. It is cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 760, Zamāḥšārī, 173, Ibn Ya’īš, X, 24, Mulākī 252, Ibn ʿUsfūr, I, 374, Ḍarāʾir 228, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1292:

وَأَمْلِيكُ أَنْمَارَ أَمْرًا أَمَا إِلَى الْخَيْرِ فِيْتِي

“Nor will I order a matter, unless it be for the best in your case”. 
“We will visit a man such that, whatever betide, God he fears, and, whatever betide, by the deed of the righteous he takes example”.

This change of the 2nd consonant among the doubled consonants into a y is carried out as well in nominal forms, e.g. the masdar Form II for that occurs in the sur. 8: 35 (وما كان «صلائهماعند أليبت إلا مكاء»، وتخصيصة “Their prayers at the House (of God) are nothing but whistling and clapping of hands”). It is not however carried out in Form II of its verb that occurs with the doubling of the d in the sur. 43: 57 (إذًا قومك من يصدرون) “Thy people raise a clamour thereat (in ridicule)!” Another example of a masdar occurring with the doubling of the d is Form V that is cited by Hassan, namely صلائهماعند أليبت والسكة “their prayer is the clapping with the hands, and whistling” (cf. Lane, II, 1670).

(171) The three common conjugations of the double verb are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>فعال: يَبْحَبَ</td>
<td>فعال: يَبْحَبَ</td>
<td>عَضْض: يَبْحَبَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The more anomalous conjugation is 4 (cf. Wright, II, 68). Two well-known examples of verbs seem to be formed according to this conjugation, namely حَبْبَ حَبْبَ and حَبْبَ حَبْبَ, but there exist other verbs as well, namely رَمْمَ رَمْمَ "to repair" and حَبْبَ حَبْبَ "to be light" (cf. Bakkūs, Taṣrīf 99) and شَرِّرْ شَرِّرْ “to become evil” (cf. Lane, I, 494, Wright, II, 69). According to Ibn Ğinnī, Munṣif I, 240 “you became possessed by understanding, so you are a person of understanding” was said by Yūnus, and “I became evil, or acted with evil” was said by Qutrub. The reason why it is preferred not to use the conjugation حَبْبَ حَبْبَ is according to Ibn Ğinnī, Munṣif I, 240, to avoid the heaviness of the damma on one of the doubled consonants. In the perfect of the doubled verbs, the vowel of the 2nd radical is dropped and the 2nd radical is assimilated to the 3rd: سَرَّرُ and then سَرَّرُ becomes فَرَّرُ and then فَرَّرُ becomes and then عَضْض: فَرَّرُ. صَرَّرُ and then صَرَّرُ becomes حَبْبَ حَبْبَ and then حَبْبَ حَبْبَ. In its imperfect, the vowel of the 2nd radical is not dropped but switched to the 1st radical, and then the 2nd radical is assimilated to the 3rd: يَبْسُرُ becomes يَبْسُرُ and then يَبْسُرُ becomes يَبْسُرُ and then يَبْسُرُ becomes and then يَبْسُرُ becomes حَبْبَ حَبْبَ.

The paradigm of سَرَّرُ in the perfect, active, (of which the imperfect is يَبْسُرُ with the imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel being a damma), is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>سَرَّرُ</td>
<td>سَرَّرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>سَرَّرُ</td>
<td>سَرَّرُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Its imperfect in the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أسرُ</td>
<td>أسرُ</td>
<td>أسرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تسرُون</td>
<td>تسرُون</td>
<td>تسرُون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تسرُين</td>
<td>تسرُين</td>
<td>تسرُين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يسرُون</td>
<td>يسرُون</td>
<td>يسرُون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperfect in the subjunctive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>نُسِّر</td>
<td>نُسِّر</td>
<td>نُسِّر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تسروا</td>
<td>تسروا</td>
<td>تسروا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تسري</td>
<td>تسري</td>
<td>تسري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يسرُوا</td>
<td>يسرُوا</td>
<td>يسرُوا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperfect in the jussive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أسرِ</td>
<td>أسرِ</td>
<td>أسرِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تسروا</td>
<td>تسروا</td>
<td>تسروا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تسري</td>
<td>تسري</td>
<td>تسري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يسرُوا</td>
<td>يسرُوا</td>
<td>يسرُوا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
<td>يسرُين</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) The paradigm of ٍِفُرُ in the perfect, active, (of which the imperfect is ٍِفُرُ with the imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel being a kasra), is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>فَرْتُ</td>
<td>فَرْتُ</td>
<td>فَرْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>فَرْتُمْ</td>
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<td>فَرْتُمْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>فَرْتَن</td>
<td>فَرْتَن</td>
<td>فَرْتَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>فَرْتُ</td>
<td>فَرْتُ</td>
<td>فَرْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>فَرْتُن</td>
<td>فَرْتُن</td>
<td>فَرْتُن</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Its imperfect in the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أفَرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperfect in the subjunctive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أفَرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperfect in the jussive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أفَرُ or أفَرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or نَعُر</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or نَعُر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or تَغْرُ</td>
<td>تَغْرُ or تَغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يُغْرُ or يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ or يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ or يُغْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>يُغْرُ or يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ or يُغْرُ</td>
<td>يُغْرُ or يُغْرُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e) The paradigm of 

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

Its imperfect in the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>تَعُشَ</td>
<td>تَعُشَ</td>
<td>تَعُشَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَعُشَ</td>
<td>تَعُشَ</td>
<td>تَعُشَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2nd fem. تعَضَّن تعَضَن تعَضَن تعَضَن
3rd masc. يَضُن يَضُن يَضُن يَضُن
3rd fem. يَضُن يَضُن يَضُن يَضُن

Its imperfect in the subjunctive, active, is the following:

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

Its imperfect in the jussive, active, is the following:

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

(172) The assimilation can be carried out between two identical vowelled consonants. مَدُّ is underlyingly مَدّد with two vowelled dāls being its 2nd and 3rd radical. The reason of the assimilation of one consonant to the other is "the heaviness of the repeated consonant" مَدّد pertains to the conjugation فعل يفعل. Its perfect, active, is مَدّد. Its imperfect of the indicative, active, is مَدّد of the subjunctive, active, مَدّد and of the jussive, active, مَدّد. Its active participle is مَدّد. Its passive participle is مَدّد. Its ṭasdar is مَدّد.

b) As for the paradigm of its derived forms:

Form II: Its perfect, active is مَدّد. Its imperfect is مَدّد. Its active participle is مَدَّد. Its ṭasdar is مَدّد. Its perfect, passive is مَدّد. Its imperfect is مَدّد. Its passive participle is مَدّد.

Form III: Its perfect, active is مَدّد. Its imperfect is مَدّد or مَدّد. Its imperfect is مَدّد. Its active participle is مَدّد or مَدّد. Its ṭasdar is مَدّد or مَدّد. Its perfect, passive is مَدّد or مَدّد. Its imperfect is مَدّد or مَدّد. Its passive participle is مَدّد or مَدّد.

Form IV: Its perfect, active is مَدّد. Its imperfect is مَدّد. Its imperative is مَدّد or مَدّد. Its
active participle is ًامَّدُ. Its 

masdar is ًامَّدُ. Its perfect, passive is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its passive participle is ًامَّدُ.

Form V: Its perfect, active is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its imperative is ًامَّدُ. Its active participle is ًامَّدُ. Its 

masdar is ًامَّدُ. Its perfect, passive is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its passive participle is ًامَّدُ.

Form VI: Its perfect, active is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its imperative is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its active participle is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its 

masdar is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its perfect, passive is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its passive participle is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ.

As for Form VII, can be presented. Its perfect, active is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its imperative is ًامَّدُ. Its active participle is ًامَّدُ. Its 

masdar is ًامَّدُ. Its perfect, passive is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its passive participle is ًامَّدُ.

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its imperative is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its active participle is ًامَّدُ. Its 

masdar is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its perfect, passive is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its passive participle is ًامَّدُ.

Form X: Its perfect, active is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its imperative is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its active participle is ًامَّدُ. Its 

masdar is ًامَّدُ or ًامَّدُ. Its perfect, passive is ًامَّدُ. Its imperfect is ًامَّدُ. Its passive participle is ًامَّدُ.

(173) The assimilation can be carried out between two consonants which are close in the points of articulation, of which the 1st is the ultimate consonant of one word and the 2nd is the initial consonant of the second word following it (for a general study see Sibawaihi, II, 455 sqq., Zamaḥšārī, 191 sqq., Ibn Yaʾūs, X, 134 sqq., Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1666 sqq., Vollers, Volkssprache 25 sqq., Cantineau, Études 35 sqq., Fleisch, Traité I, 83 sqq., Roman, Étude I, 390-427, Wright, I, 15-16). In the reading of the sur. ًامَّدُ (cf. Zamaḥšārī, 193) underlyingly ًامَّدُ, the voweled ُ which is the last consonant of the first word is assimilated to the voweled ُ which is the 1st consonant of the second word, resulting in the doubling of the ُ. In the example ًامَّدُ, the voweless ُ which is the last consonant of the first word is assimilated to the voweled ُ of the second word, resulting in the ُ's doubling.

1– Another example than ًامَّدُ that occurs with the assimilation of the ُ to the ُ is ًامَّدُ “expel ُ” (cf. Zamaḥšārī, 193, Ibn Yaʾūs, X, 138, Vollers, Volkssprache 32).
– Another extraordinary assimilation is the one of the ُ to the ُ, as what was said by al-Yazidi concerning the reading of Abūʾ Amr of the sur. 70: 3-4 “Lord of the Ways of Ascent. [The angels and the Spirit] ascend” (cf. Zamaḥšārī, 193, Ibn Yaʾūs, X, 138, Ibn ʿUsfūr, II, 722, Vollers, Volkssprache 26).

2– Another example than ًامَّدُ that occurs with the assimilation of the ُ to the ُ is the
reading of the sur. 4: 81 “a section of them meditate all night” (cf. Vollers, Volkssprache 32, Cantineau, Études 35).

The t can be assimilated to:

– the t, e.g. سكت ثامرا “a wealthy man was silent” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1795, Cantineau, Études 35).

– the g, e.g. sur. 22: 210 “When they are down on their sides (after slaughter)” (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 193, Vollers, Volkssprache 27).

– the d, e.g. sur. 35). “describe Dulāmata” (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 146, Vollers, Volkssprache 29).

– the d, e.g. sur. 51: 1 “By the (Winds) that scatter broadcast”, read so by Ibn al-‘Alāʾ and Hamza (cf. Vollers, Volkssprache 29, Cantineau, Études 35).

– the z, e.g. سكت دارجرا “a diviner was silent” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1795, Cantineau, Études 35).

– the s, e.g. سكت سامرا “a converser by night was silent” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1795, Cantineau, Études 35).

– the s, e.g. “she obtained a drink” (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 139, Vollers, Volkssprache 31).

– the s, e.g. سكت صابر “a patient man was silent” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1795, Cantineau, Études 35).

– the d, e.g. شددت صافئها “her plaits were tightenend” (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 193). Vollers, Volkssprache 32 has شددت صحافها “she tighten her plaits” instead.

– the z, e.g. زلیم was silent” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1795, Cantineau, Études 35).

b) Some interesting cases of assimilation in the readings of some surs. that can be presented are the following:

3– The b’s assimilation to:

– the b in the sur. 3: 151 (الرَّعب نَا) “Terror [into the hearts of the Unbelievers], for that”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (cf. Ibn ʿUṣfūr, II, 719); the sur. 2: 19 (بُسَمِّئ) “He would take away their faculty of hearing”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 195, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 147).

– the m in the sur. 2: 284 (وَبِعَدَ مَا يُنْتَهِ) “And punisheth whom He pleaseth” (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 195, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 147, Vollers, Volkssprache 35).

4– The t’s assimilation to:


5– The h’s assimilation to:


6– The d’s assimilation to:

– the ṭ in the sur. 16: 91 (وَلَّا تَنفِضُوا الْأَيْمَانَ بَعْدَ تَوَكِّيدهَا) “And break not your oaths after ye have confirmed them”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (cf. Ibn ʿUṣfūr, II, 723).

– the d in the sur. 41: 50 (بَعْضُ وَالْعَاقِبَةِ) “After some adversity has touched him”.

7. The d’s assimilation to:

– the g in the sur. 33: 10 (ذَكَرُ رَحْمَةٍ) “Behold! they came on you” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 193, Vollers, Volkssprache 27).

8– The r’s assimilation to:

– the r in the sur. 7: 77 (وَعَنَّهُ عَنَّ أَمَرَيْنِ) “And insolently defied the order of their Lord” and the sur. 19: 2 (ذَكَرُ رَحْمَةٍ) “(This is) a recital of the Mercy”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (cf. Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, II, 722).

– the I in the sur. 3: 147 (أَسْتَغْفِرُ لَهُمْ) “Whether thou ask for their forgiveness”, the sur. 61: 12 (تَغْفِرُ لَكَمْ ذَوْنَكِمْ) “He will forgive you your sins”, all read so by Abū ‘Amr as mentioned by Abu Bakr b. Muğāhīd (cf. Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 143, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, II, 724).—However, according to Vollers, Volkssprache 35 the last sur. is read so by Ya‘qūb al-Hadrāmi—; the sur. 11: 78 (فَهُنَّ أَطْهَرُ لَكُمْ) “They are purer for you (if ye marry)” and the sur. 22: 65 (سَحَّرَ أَنْثَى) “Has made subject to you (men)” (cf. Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 143, Vollers, Volkssprache 35).

9– The s’s assimilation to:


10– The s’s assimilation to:


11– The d’s assimilation to:


12– The s’s assimilation to:

– the š in the sur. 2: 255 (مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عَنْهُ) “Who is there can intercede in His presence” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 192, Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 136).

13– The g’s assimilation to:

– the g in the sur. 3: 85 (وَمَنُ يَبْتَغُ غَيْرَ الإِسْلَامِ دُنِيَّا) “If anyone desires a religion other than Islam (submission to God)” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 192, Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 137).

14– The f’s assimilation to:

– the b in the sur. 34: 9 (تَخْفِفُ لَهُمْ) “We could cause the earth to swallow them up”, read so only by al-Kisā‘i and is considered weak (cf. Zamaḥšari, 195, Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 146, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, II, 720, Vollers, Volkssprache 25).


15– The g’s assimilation to:
the q in the sur. 9: 99 “And look on their payments as pious gifts bringing them nearer to God” (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, X, 138); and the sur. 7: 143 “When he recovered his senses he said” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 193, Ibn Ya’iš, X, 138).


16- The k’s assimilation to:

the q in the sur. 47: 18 “When they go out from thee, they say” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 193, Ibn Ya’iš, X, 138, Voller, Volkssprache 34).

the k in the sur. 20: 35 “For Thou art He” (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, X, 138); and sur. 20: 33 “That we may celebrate Thy praise without stint, and remember Thee without stint” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 193, Ibn Ya’iš, X, 138).

17- The t’s assimilation to:

the r in the sur. 2: 170 “Nay! we shall follow the ways” (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, X, 142).


18- The m’s assimilation to:

the b in the sur. 4: 156 “Mary [a grave] false charge”, the sur. 6: 53 “Mary [a grave] false charge”. (رفیع, بیهتنا) “[Does not God] know best those who are grateful?” and the sur. 16: 70 “لکیلا یعلم ۰ (بیلحاخاکرین) “So that they know nothing after having known (much)”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (Ibn Ya’iš, X, 147, Ibn ’Uṣfir, II, 719).

the m in the sur. 1: 2-3 “Most Merciful; Master of the Day of Judgment” (Ibn Ya’iš, X, 147).

19- The n’s assimilation to:

the r in the sur. 7: 167 “Behold! thy Lord did declare” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 194, Ibn Ya’iš, X, 143).

the l in the sur. 2: 133 “to Him we bow (in Islam)”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (Ibn ’Uṣfur, II, 725).

the y in the sur. 3: 129 “He forgiveth whom He pleaseth” (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, X, 147, Voller, Volkssprache 36).

20- The l’s assimilation to:

the l in the sur. 29: 26 “But Lūṭ had faith in Him” (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, X, 143).

the h in the sur. 25: 43 “[As taketh] for his god his own passion (or impulse)?”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (Ibn ’Uṣfur, II, 726).

21- The y’s assimilation to:

the y in the sur. 11: 66 “And from the Ignominy of that Day”, read so by Abū ‘Amr (Ibn ’Uṣfur, II, 725).
21– The ʾw’s assimilation to:

- the ʾw in (cf. Sibawaihī, II, 457) said instead of “Fear [2nd person of the masc. pl. of the imperative] one who sets fire!”.

(174) The term ʿad ʿam “assimilation” is used according to two different forms by the Basrans and the Kufans. Form IV of the maṣdar ʿad ʿam is among the terms used by the Kufans whereas Form VIII ʿad ʿam is among the terms used by the Basrans (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1663, Fleisch, Traité I, 243, Rāğihi, Farrāʾ ʿ79). Dunqūz, Ṣarḥ fol. 54b II.12-13 remarks:

“الإِدْخَالَ إِفْعَالًا مِن عِبَارَاتِ الْكُوفِيَّةِ وَالإِدْخَالَ إِفْعَالًا مِن عِبَارَاتِ البَصْرِيِّينَ”.

“The pattern ʿad ʿam [with a single d] according to the Kufan grammarians whereas the pattern ʿad ʿam [with a double d, underlyingly ʾad ʿam] according to the Basran grammarians.”

The assimilation (for a detailed study see Sibawaihī, II, 443 sqq., Ibn ʿUṣfūr, II, 631 sqq., Zamahṣarī, 188 sqq., Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1663 sqq., Roman, Étude I, 349 sqq.) can be carried out between both “two homogeneous consonants”, i.e. two different consonants originating from a common point of articulation or from two close points of articulation, or between “two identical consonants”, i.e. two consonants originating from one point of articulation (cf. Zamahṣarī, 188). When the consonants are from different points of articulation, one of them is assimilated to the other which remains in its own point of articulation. This is what Ibn Masʿūd means with إِلِيَابِ التَّحَرِّفِ في مُخْرِجِه “the consonant remaining in its own point of articulation”. The consonants that are homogeneous can either originate from one point of articulation or from two close points of articulation, or they can be akin in character (for discussions concerning the consonants’ points of articulation and their characters see (188), (188 b)). The reason why the assimilation is carried out is the dislike of repeating twice the same consonant or of pronouncing two consonants that originate from the same point of articulation or from close points of articulation, or that are akin in character (cf. Fleish, Arabe 24, Cantineau, Études 199-202, Greenberg, Morphemes 162-181). Ibn ʿĪnī, Ḥaṣāʾ ʿīṣ I, 151 specifies:

“وَكَلَّمَا نَدَانَا الْحُرُفُانَ أُسِرَ ائْتِلَابُ أَحَدِهِمَا إِلَى صَاحِبٍ.”

“The more two consonants are close to each other the easier it is to change one of them into the other”.

Consequently, the distance that exists between two consonants, for instance the ʾh and the ʾṣ, forbids the change of one into the other (cf. Ibn Sīda, Muḥāṣṣaṣ XIII, 274). In this context it is interesting to mention that Ibn ʿĪnī, Ḥaṣāʾ ʿīṣ II, 139-145 distinguishes between two sorts of assimilation (cf. Rāğihi, Farrāʾ ʿ102-103):

الإِدْخَالُ الأَكْبَرُ “the big assimilation” (for discussions see Ibn ʿĪnī, Ḥaṣāʾ ʿīṣ II, 139), which is carried out between two identical consonants or between two different consonants originating from the same point of articulation or from two close points of articulation, or that are akin in character. It implies that one consonant is totally assimilated to the other so as to form a dou-
bled consonant. Examples are مَدْدُ “an extension” with two dāls written of which the 1st is vowelless and the 2nd vowelled, resulting in مَدْدُ with the doubled d, مَدْدُ “to stretch” with two vowelled dāls resulting in مَدْدُ and many cases of Form VIII, e.g. مَدْدُ “to listen” that results in مَدْدُ (cf. (192)) after the assimilation of the t to the s. As can be remarked both the t and the s originate from close points of articulation (for the consonants’ points of articulation see (188)) and are similar in character in being among the voiceless consonants (for them see (188 b)).

“the little assimilation” (for discussions see Ibn Ğinnī, Hașā ’is II, 141 sqq.), is according to Ibn Ğinnī carried out between two consonants that are phonetically related or between two vowels of which one of them is inclined to the other. In the case of consonants that are related, it implies that the 1st consonant is substituted for another consonant that is closer to the 2nd one in the point of articulation. This particular assimilation is also termed as إِدْعَامٌ جَزِيرِي “partial assimilation” because it implies an assimilation that is not completed (cf. Bakkūš, Tasrif 67 in the notes) or المَتَّةٌ المَتَّةٌ جَزِيرِي “partial progressive assimilation” because the 1st consonant forces a change on the 2nd one (cf. ‘Abd al-Rahīm, Sarf 38). Examples concerning this assimilation are some cases of verbs of Form VIII (for some examples see (374)), e.g. استَطَعُ said instead of أَسْتَطَعَ “to acquire patience” (for it see (192 c), (374)), أَضْرَبَ said instead of أَضْرَبْ “to be in a state of agitation” (for it see (195), (374)), in which the ir fixed t is changed into the t, and أَزْدَانُ أَزْنَانُ said instead of أَزْدَانَ أَزْنَانُ “to be ornamented” (for it see (191)), in which the infixed t is changed into the d. The substitution of the s for the s in, e.g. سُوقُ “market” for مَسْوقٍ (for it and for other examples see (368)) is as well included by Ibn Ğinnī, Hașā ’is II, 143 within this category. Concerning the case of the partial assimilation that is carried out between two vowels, Ibn Ğinnī, Hașā ’is II, 141 takes up the أَمْلَاةُ that implies the inclination of the fāṭha to the kasra (for it see (347)), for instance the inclination of a vowel to the vowel of a guttural consonant, e.g. أَلْفَيْفُ أَلْفَيْفُ “loaf of bread” (for it see (29)), in which the fāṭha of the r is changed into a kasra due to the influence of the kasra of the guttural g, and the fāṭha given to the imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel in verbs of the conjugation يَفْعَلُ (for it see (30), (30 b)) with the 2nd or 3rd guttural consonant that is given the same vowel, e.g. سَلَّ يَسْأَلُ “to ask” and سَبَّ يَسْبَحُ “to swim”.

Jar allah al-‘alāmah (175) is a well-known nickname given to Zamaḥšārī because he frequently resided in the Holy city of Mekka (cf. Suyūṭī, Bugya II, 279, Howell, I, fasc. I, XVII-XVIII).

الْمَدْنِمُ (176) is the consonant that is to be assimilated to another and مَدْمَعُ فيه is the consonant to which it is assimilated to. In مَدْمَعَ two dāls are uttered in the pronunciation: the 1st one is vowelless and the 2nd one is vowelled, namely مَدْدُ, whereas in the writing one d is written with a šadda over it. In the al- the l– of the definite article al– is assimilated to the r. It
is pronounced "ar-Rahmān" with both the rā’s whereas it is written الرَّحْمَانُ with the l and with
the r that carries the sadda. This assimilation of the l-left to the consonant following
it is carried out when the l-left is combined with one of the consonants, namely: the t, d, d, r, z, s, š, s, d, t, ž, l and n (cf. Wright, I, 15, Fischer, Grammatik 25,
Bakkūs, Taṣrīf 65). The alphabetical order of the consonants differs by the Arab grammarians
who present them according to their phonetic factors. Zamaḥšari, 193 distributes these
consonants as follows: the l left of the definite article, then the t, d, d, r, z, d, t, š, s, ž, d, t and n. The t, d
and l are dentals, the z, d and t are interdentals, the š, s and z are sibilants, the š and d are
lateral and the n, r and l are liquids (cf. Ullendorff, Article 632 note 2, my notes (188 b)). The
reason why the l-left is assimilated to these consonants is that they all originate from between
the teeth to the lower part of the palate, and thus are all close to the l-left’s point of articulation (cf.
Bakkūs, Taṣrīf 66). The remaining consonants are named "the lunar or moon-
consonants". The nomination “solar” is associated with the word ٱلْشَّمْسِ “sun”, which begins
with one of the solar consonants and the nomination “lunar” is associated with the word ٱلْقَمْرِ
which begins with one of the lunar consonants. For a discussion concerning the consonants,
their characters and nominations see (188, b).

(177) مَدَّةً is underliningly مَدَّةً with both the dāls vowelled, which makes the assimilation
necessary. The assimilation is however avoided in the "the coordinatives" or "the words
that are coordinated to the patterns of other words by an augment or more" (for discussions see
(41)), in spite of the fact that both identical consonants are vowelled. An example is قَرْدِذَدْ (cf.
Sibawaih, I, 448, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 122) from the root قَرْدْ "it became contracted together", in
which the 2nd d is added to the form, and no d is to be assimilated to the other because the word
is quasi-coordinate to the measure َفَعَلٌ (cf. Lane, II, 2513).

b) Triliteral roots can in Arabic be extended to become quadriliteral and even quinqueliteral
through the repetition of one or two of their consonants (for a study see Fleish, Arabe 74-79,
Yasū‘i, Gārā‘îb 44-49). This phenomenon does not occur through gemination. An example of a
verb that became augmented is طُرُطِبَ "to be agitated, when said of the water" from جَرِبَ "to
be moved by joy or sadness", of a noun قَرْطَسَ "a little mosquito" and of adjectives ِفَقِيرٌ "hard"
and قَفِيقٌ "thick" (cf. Fleish, Arabe 75).

I. The measures with the repetition of the 3rd consonant of the triliteral are formed according to:

1. e.g. فَعَلْنَ َبَرِدَدْ، َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ، َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ، َبَرِدَدْ "intruder" and
   2. دَخَلْنَ َبَرِدَدْ، َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ، َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ، َبَرِدَدْ "intruder", e.g. َبَرِدَدْ "bat", َبَرِدَدْ "retreat", and 6) َبَرِدَدْ "intra-
   "ashes" (cf. ibid 75-76; and compare with these forms the six forms mentioned by Howell, I,
fasc. IV, 1796-1798 that concern the unaugmented strong quadrilateral in which no repetition
of a consonant occurs in their structures, namely: ِفَعَلْنَ َبَرِدَدْ "brook", 2) َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ "claw", 3) َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ "ornament" and 6) َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ َبَرِدَدْ "time before the creation of mankind").
2: The first vowel is short, the second one lengthened (for it see زَّنَزَالُ (27)), e.g. "quick", e.g. "very silent", "very black", and "to be separated" (cf. Fleish, Arabe 76-77).

II. The form with the repetition of the 2nd and 3rd radical of the triliteral: e.g. "very hard to bear" (cf. ibid 77).

III. The forms with the repetition of a biliteral element: e.g. قَنْلَانْل قَنْلَانْل Qanlan "ring for the legs"; Qanlan "nightingale"; Qanlan "apricot"; Qanlan "cricket", and Qanlan "short in stature" (cf. ibid 78-79).

For a detailed presentation of some measures with the repetition in the Semitic languages see Brockelmann, Grundriss 520, Ahrens, Verba 168-175, Nöldeke, Beiträge 107-123.

(178) The assimilation between two identical vowelled consonants is forbidden in some examples that are formed according to special patterns, so that they do not become mixed up with other examples in which the assimilation is carried out (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 122-123, Sibawaihi, II, 445-446). 

"bedsteads" to جَيْدَ جَيْدَ Gjyd, "the stripes that are on the back of the ass" to جَيْدَ جَيْدَ Gjyd, and both to جَيْدَ جَيْدَ Gjyd, "the remains of a dwelling or house" and جَيْدَ جَيْدَ Gjyd, "assistance" to جَيْدَ جَيْدَ Gjyd. Concerning سَرْرُ وَ فَعَلْ سَرْرُ وَ فَعَلْ Srr U Fsl instead of it and alleviated. It can be added that the assimilation between two identical consonants is not to be carried out in the wonder, e.g. "How dear is Zaid to me!" so that the formation would not be canceled (cf. Ibn ‘Aqīl, II, 591, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1699, Wehr, Elativ).

(179) The following variations (for them see Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1699) occur concerning the doubled verbs رَدَّ رَدَّ "to drive back", فُرُ "to escape" and عُض "to bite":

1 with the 1st radical vowelled by a dāmma, kasra or fatha and the 2nd radical assimilated to the 3rd that is vowelled by a fatha. These variants pertain to the dialect of Asad and some other people.

2 with the kasra given to the 2nd radical which is assimilated to the 3rd. These variants pertain to the dialect of Ka‘b and Numair.

3 with the alliteration of the vowel of the 1st radical and the 2nd radical assimilated to the 3rd vowelled by a vowel that is made to conform with the vowel of the 1st. These variants pertain to the dialect of Ka‘b and Numair.

(180) No assimilation is carried out in some dialectal variants concerning حَصَي (for discussions see Sibawaihi, II, 430-431, Zamaḥsārī, 187, Ibn ‘Aqīl, II, 588, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 115-117, Howell, IV, fasc. I 1624 sqq., fasc. II, 1693 sqq., Wright, II, 94-95, Vernier, I, 342-343, de Sacy, I, 259-260, Nöldeke, Geschichte 245), which is a verb with weak 2nd and 3rd radical (for its paradigm see (376 b)), in spite of the fact that two identical vowelled weak consonants, i.e. the يَا’s, are combined in it. In some other dialectal variants however, the يَا’s can be assimilated.
The reason why some prefer not to assimilate the yā’s in the perfect, i.e., ِحَيُّ, is that they feel obliged by analogy to assimilate them in the imperfect causing the damma to vowel the y, i.e., ِحَيُّ, which is regarded as heavy. Those who assimilate in the perfect consider both yā’s as two identical vowelled weak consonants in one word. They avoid however to assimilate the yā’s in the imperfect, i.e., ِحَيُّ, because of the implied heavy combination. This means that ِحَيُّ occurs by all instead of ِحَيُّ. It can be added that ِحَيُّ with the alif mamdūda substituted for the alif maqṣūra occurs instead of ِحَيُّ, in e.g. the sur. 8: 44 ‘And those who lived might live after a Clear Sign’. As for the reason of this substitution it is to distinguish the imperfect from the proper name ِحَيُّ Yahiyya “John”. No assimilation of the yā’s is allowable as well concerning the subjunctive ِحَيُّ “he shall not quicken”, in spite of the fact that the damma does not vowel the y in this case. It occurs in the sur. 75: 40 “The power to give life to the death”. It is also mentioned with one y, i.e., ِحَيُّ, by Ibn Ğinni, Ḥasa‘ī’s I, 306, and is the reading of Ṭalḥa b. Sulaimān and al-Fa‘īl b. Ḥaẓwān (cf. the notes in ibid). It can be noted that no assimilation of the yā’s is carried out as well in the active participle, e.g., ِحَيُّ “I saw a quickener”. Ibn Mas‘ūd refers to a case in which the last y is dropped by some in the perfect of the 3rd person of the masc. pl., i.e., ِحَيُّ. This elision of the y brings forth the statement that it is not necessary for the structure. Hence the resulting form is ِحَيُّ in which the y becomes then vowelled by a damma, i.e., ِحَيُّ. ِحَيُّ occurs for the sake of the ā of the pl. (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 431, Ibn Manẓūr, II, 1080). ِحَيُّ occurs in the following verse said by an anonymous poet cited by Sibawaihi, II, 431, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 116, Ibn Manẓūr, II, 1080, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1630:

“وَكَنَّا حَسِبَنَا هُمْ فَوْرًا َكِمَّس ِحَيُّوَا بِعَدَمَا مَاتُوا مِنَ الْدِّهْرِ اعْصَرُوا.”

“And we have accounted them to be horsemen of Kahmas [a man from Tamīm celebrated for horsemanship and valour], who after they had died, lived through ages of time”.


“ِحَيُّوَا بَعَمْرُ َكَانَ ِحَيُّوَا بِعَدَمَا مَاتُوا مِنَ الْدِّهْرِ اعْصَرُوا.”

“They boggled over their business, as the ostrich boggled over her egg”.

Another version of this verse is said with ِحَيُّ instead of ِحَيُّ. In Ethiopic no contraction occurs in the groundform of the triliteral in the perfect of the 3rd person of the masc. sing., e.g., ḫb ḫa’wa “to live”, ḫb ḫa’ya “to weep”. The only case of contraction is in ḫb ḫa’lō “he was” for ḫb ḫa’lāwa that corresponds to Form II in Arabic (for a study see Wright, Comparative Grammar 255). In Syriac, a contraction occurs in
the imperfect of "to live" into َنَّسَا for َنَّسَأ, but this is not the case in Mandaean َنَّسَأ (cf. ibid, 265).

(181) The elision of the /l/ in َلْتَيْلَتْ is mentioned in (210). َلْتَيْلَتْ offers a sequence of two identical consonants of which the 1st consonant is vowelled and the 2nd is vowelless, such which prevents the assimilation. The elision of one of the lams is possible however resulting in َلْتَيْلَتْ or َلْتَيْلَتْ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 446, Ibn Mālik, La Alfiya 222, Ibn ‘Aqil, II, 584, Vollers, Volkspcrache 132, Wright, II, 69, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1836 sqq., de Sacy, I, 228, and Wright, Comparative Grammar who takes as well up some corresponding cases in some the other Semitic languages). In the dialectal variant of the Banū ‘Āmir, the 2nd radical of َلْتَيْلَتْ is elided, and the fatha which is the vowelling of the 1st radical remains unchanged, namely َلْتَيْلَتْ, whereas in the dialect of the Ḥiǧāzīs the 2nd radical is elided after that its kasra is shifted to the 1st radical, namely َلْتَيْلَتْ (cf. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Taṣrīf 611, Talmon, ‘Ayn 184). Concerning the variant Sibawaihi, II, 446 notes that they compared it to َلْتَيْلَتْ "I am not", and concerning the variant َلْتَيْلَتْ, he writes that they elided [the /l/ in it and shifted the vowel to the 1st radical, as they said َلْتَيْلَتْ. "I was afraid" [underlyingly َلْتَيْلَتْ]. The alleviated form َلْتَيْلَتْ occurs in the sur. 20: 97 "Of whom thou hast become a devoted worshipper", which can be read with the form َلْتَيْلَتْ as well in the dialectal variant of the Ḥiǧāzīs (cf. Baida’wī, Anwār I, 605), and in the sur. 56: 65 "And ye would be left in wonderment", mentioned by Ibn Ḥalawayhi, Qirā’at II, 199, which can be read with the form َلْتَيْلَتْ (cf. Baida’wī, Anwār II, 309). َلْتَيْلَتْ or َلْتَيْلَتْ can occur in the following verse said by ‘Umar b. Abi Rabi’ā al-Maḥzūmī, cited by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Taṣrīf 611 in the note:

"َلْتَيْلَتْ فيها ذات يوم واقفًا أسال أسأل هل في غُرب؟"

"And this day I remained standing by it, asking the house if it had any news".

Both َلْتَيْلَتْ or َلْتَيْلَتْ with the elision of the /l/ and َلْتَيْلَتْ with its maintenance are combined in the following verse said by ‘Umar b. Abi Rabi’ā, cited by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Taṣrīf 611 in the note:

"ِوَمَا َلْتَيْلَتْ وَلَكْنَ رَأَدَ حُسَيْنَمَا ذَكَرْتَكَ إِلَّا َلْتَيْلَتْ كالسَّدَرَ"

"I did not become weary but my love for you has increased. Whenever I think of you I become as the possessed".

(182) The base form of َبَلَيْلَتْ is mentioned in (352). The base form of َبَلَيْلَتْ is underlyingly َبَلَيْلَتْ in which the last /l/ is changed into a َلْتَيْلَتْ, i.e. َبَلَيْلَتْ (for discussions see (170); it is also mentioned in (352)). It can be noted that َلْتَيْلَتْ is underlyingly َبَلَيْلَتْ in which the 1st vowelless /l/ is assimilated to the 2nd vowelled one. No assimilation of the 2nd /l/ to the 3rd one is possible as this would cancel the formation َلْتَيْلَتْ, as well as by principle the 3rd radical of the perfect becomes vowelless when the suffixed
vowelled agent pronouns are suffixed to it, i.e., /1st sing., 2nd sing., 2nd masc. sing., 2nd fem. sing., 1st pl., 2nd masc. pl., 2nd fem. pl./, etc., and by being vowelled prevents the assimilation to it, as the condition of the assimilation is that the 2nd of two identical consonants should be vowelled.

(183) The base form of the imperative قَرْن (for a study see Ibn Mālik, La Alfiya 222, Ibn ʿAqīl, II, 584-585, Ibn Manṣūr, V, 3579, Lane, II, 2499, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1839 sqq., de Sacy, I, 229, Penrice, Dictionary 116) of the 2nd person of the fem. pl. is قَرْن from the root قَرْن with 2nd and 3rd radical r (cf. Ibn Manṣūr, V, 3578). In it the 2nd r is vowelled due to the suffixation of the -na marker of the fem. pl., and by being so prevents the assimilation. قَرْن is formed according to the jussive قَرْن which occurs for the sake of alleviation with the elision of the 1st r of قَرْن after that its kasra is shifted to the q and its hamza of the imperative is elided. قَرْن is another dialectal variant, and its base form is then قَرْن instead of قَرْن in the sur. 33: 33 قَرْن (i.e., قَرْن) occurs, which is the reading of Nāfīʿ and ʿĀṣim (cf. Ibn Ḥalawaihī, Qirāʿat II, 199, Ibn ʿAqīl, II, 585). The elision of the 2nd radical after shifting its vowel to the 1st radical is carried out as well in the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the imperfect قَرْن formed according to قَرْن resulting in قَرْن.

(184) The 2nd d is vowelled in the imperative of the 2nd person of the masc. sing. أَمْدَدْ on account that the sukūn is a marker of the imperative in this form. The sukūn is stated by Ibn Masʿūd as a warsh “accidental” here. On the one hand it is possible to consider the sukūn, which is the marker of the imperative, as accidental when adopting the Kufans’ theory, who themselves regard the undervowel imperative underlyingly as a declinable imperfect that is put in the jussive mood by the “virtual” ʿamal of command (for discussions concerning this question see (48), (119), (120)). This means that أَمْدَدْ is underlyingly أَمَدُدْ according to the Kufans. On the other hand, the sukūn is considered as accidental if in a certain sentence أَمْدَدْ precedes a word in which the 1st consonant is vowelled, as the article l- with wasla underlyingly al-, prefixed to a noun, as in this case the sukūn must be replaced by a kasra or ẓāma, which is a vowel of juncture (for discussions concerning the vowel of juncture see (270), (288), (377)), to avoid the cluster of two vowelled consonants. An example is أَمْدَدْ which is said instead of أَمَدُدْ أَلْلَهْ “extend the hand”. As the 2nd consonant of two identical consonants is accidentally vowelled, both the dissolution, i.e., أَمَدُّ, and the assimilation, i.e., أَمْدَدْ and أَمَدُدْ are possible (for them see Wright, II, 70). Those who dissolve are the Ḥijāzīs, whereas those who assimilate are the people of Tamīm (cf. Wright, II, 70 in the notes). Concerning the dissolution that is usual in the Ḥijāzī dialect, Dunqūz, Ṣ̄arrh fol. 57b. 1.1 remarks:

"لا يدغم وهو لغة الحجازيين وهو الأقرب إلى القياس ... نحو أَمَدُّ بِفَالِ الإِذِام"
"No assimilation is carried out in it, which is the dialectal variant of the Ḥīgāzīs, and it is the closest to the analogy... e.g. أَمْدُدْ with the dissolution in the imperative of the 2nd person of the masc. sing."

Some examples referring to Tamīm’s readings with the assimilation that is carried out in some verbs are said instead of تَسْتَكَمَ (إن تَسْتَكَمْ حَسْتَةٌ) in the sur. 3: 120 “If aught that is good befalls you”, instead of يُحَلٌ in the sur. 20: 81 “And those on whom descends My Wrath” and instead of تَسْتَكَمَ (وَلا تَسْتَكَمْ) in the sur. 74: 6 “Nor expect, in giving, any increase (for thyself)” (cf. Șubhî, Fiqh 81). The Qurānīs read these examples with the dissolution (cf. ibid).

(185) It is impossible in the imperative of the 2nd person of the masc. sing. فَرْ فَرْ to say فَرْ فَرْ with the dāma, because the dāma is disliked after the kasra of the 1st radical. It is however accepted in the imperative of the 2nd person of the masc. sing. فَرْ (mentioned in (184)) in which the dāma is given to the d on the analogy of the dāma of the 1st radical m. فَرْ and فَرْ are possible to be said with the fathā and the kasra of the r respectively (cf. de Sacy, I, 229, Wright, Comparative Grammar 230 who takes up as well some corresponding cases in some of the other Semitic languages), because the combination of the fathā following a kasra and a kasra following a kasra in them is not disliked. The assimilation is not carried out in the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the imperative of مَدَّ which is stated أَمْدَدْ (and not أَمْدَدْ) because the 2nd of two identical consonants, namely the d, is necessarily vowelless on account of the suffixation of the agent pronoun of the 2nd person that marks the fem. pl., the -na. It is this vowellessness that prevents the assimilation (cf. Daqr, Mu‘gam 354). The sukūn in أَمْدَدْ is stated as لَازِمَ “obligatory” and not accidental in comparison to the adventitious sukūn of أَمْدَدْ (for it see (184)).

(186) The paradigm of مَدَّ in the perfect, passive, is the following:

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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>مَدَّةٌ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>مَدَّةٌ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>مَدَّةٌ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>مَدَّةٌ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>مَدَّةٌ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
<td>مَدَّةَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperfect in the indicative, passive, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أَمَدْ</td>
<td>أَمَدُ</td>
<td>أَمَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>أَمَدْ</td>
<td>أَمَدُ</td>
<td>أَمَدُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(187) The infixed $t$ of Form VIII is either assimilated to or is assimilated by one of the fourteen consonants (for a study of the consonants' points of articulation and characters see (188)) preceding it which is the 1st radical (for a general study of this particular assimilation see Zamaḥšari, 195-196, Wright, II, 66-67, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1803 sqq.). These consonants are: 1– the hamza, 2–t, 3–t, 4–d, 5–g, 6–z, 7–s, 8–š, 9–g, 10–d, 11–t, 12–ž, 13–w and 14–y. The verbs that are presented refer to each of these cases, and thus begin with verbs with 1st radical hamza and end up with verbs with 1st radical y. For a study of such forms that occur in some of the Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 209-213.

b) The 1st radical hamza is assimilated to the infixed $t$ of Form VIII. An example is اَتْخُذَ from اَخَذُ “to take”, a verb with 1st hamza radical. The process that leads to this assimilation is not direct. اَتْخُذَ becomes at first اَتْخُذَ, with the substitution of the $y$ for the hamza because of the influence of the kasra preceding it, then اَتْخُذَ with the substitution of the $t$ for the $y$, and then the infixed $t$ is assimilated to the $t$, so that it becomes اَتْخُذَ. This change of the $y$ which is not the underlying radical from the form اَتْخُذَ into the $t$ resulting in اَتْخُذَ before that the tāʾs are assimilated, is considered as anomalous because the $y$ is already substituted for the hamza which is the radical of the form اَتْخُذَ. For this reason some grammarians prefer to believe that Form VIII اَتْخُذَ is formed from اَتْخُذَ and not from اَخَذُ (cf. 202). Concerning it
Dunjûz, Šarh fol. 58a l.8-11 writes:

"...and how the sound of tâhâ‘ occurs when a vowel is doubled, i.e., it is a vowel that precedes tâhâ‘. The sound of tâhâ‘ is anomalous if it is from the maṣdar with 1st hamza radical. The sound of tâhâ‘ is anomalous if it is from the maṣdar with 1st hamza radical. This is because, according to the analogy, it cannot be changed from another consonant.

It is so that the assimilation that is carried out in the taking, because its base form is the 1st radical. The hamza in it is changed into a y on account of its vowellessness and of the influence of the kasra preceding it, then the y is changed into a t, and then the t is assimilated to the t. Such which is not according to the analogy, because the y which has already been changed from another consonant cannot be changed into a t, as it is rather so that the y that can be changed into a t according to the analogy should be a radical y, and the y is not a radical here—‘..."

Compare with it discussed in (200).

e) The 1st radical t is assimilated to the infixed t of Form VIII. The example is the sound of tâhâ‘.

The infixed t of Form VIII is assimilated to the 1st radical t of Form VIII. The example is the sound of tâhâ‘ underlyingly.

The 1st radical t can possibly be assimilated to the infixed t of Form VIII, namely the sound of tâhâ‘ “to crumble” which can also be said with the doubled t. A similar case to the sound of tâhâ‘ discussed in (200).

(188) comprehends the ten voiceless consonants (cf. Zamašari, 189, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1725, (188 b)). Sibawaihi, II, 453 presents them in this order: the h, h, j, k, s, t, s, t, s, t, s.

Ibn Mas‘ūd does not discuss fully the consonants and their points of articulation. This is why it can be appropriate to present them here. In his chapter “the chapter concerning the assimilation”, Sibawaihi, II, 452 sqq. treats in the first section the subject of phonetics. He enumerates p. 453 the twenty-nine base consonants and specifies that they have sixteen points of articulation with the intention of explaining the phenomenon of assimilation in the next chapter. According to him:

1-3: The hamza, h and  are from the farthest part of the throat, the ‘ and h from the middle of the throat and the g and h from the nearest part of the throat.

4-5: The q is from the farthest part of the tongue, and the part of the upper palate above it. The k is from lower than the q from the next parts of the tongue and palate towards the upper palate.

6- The g, s and  are from the middle of the tongue, and from the middle part of the upper palate.
7– The d is from “the 1st part of the side of the tongue, and the molars below (on the left or right side”).

8– The f is from “between the nearest part of the side of the tongue, to the end of its tip, and the part of the upper palate next to it, a little above the premolar, canine, lateral incisor, and central incisor”.

9– The n is from “what is between the tip of the tongue and the part (of the palate) a little above the central incisors”.

The r is from “the point of articulation of the n except that it is farther in on the back of the tongue because it turns towards the point of articulation of the l”.

11– The t, d and t are from “the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors”.

12– The s, z and s are from “the part which is between the tip of the tongue and the tops of the two upper central incisors”.

13– The s, g and t are from “the tip of the tongue and the edges of the two upper central incisors”.

14– The f is from “the inside of the lower lip and the edges of the two upper central incisors”.

15– The b, m and w are from “what is between the lips”.

16– The single n is from “the upper part of the nose”.

According to Western grammars, the ā, hamza and h are laryngals, the h and ā are pharyngals, the b and g are velars, the k and q are post-palatalas, the ș ı and y are pre-palatalas, the t, d, t, d, and r are alveolars, the s, z, n, s and l are dentals, the f, d and z are interdentals and the f, b, w and m are labials (cf. Versteegh, Language 20).

b) As for their characters the Arabic consonants of the alphabet are divided between:

1 “voiceless, low, soft, whispered”, which are the ten consonants of the (mentioned above). They are weak in the stress laid upon them so that they do not impede “the breath” that therefore runs on with them.

2 “voiced, loud, clear, sonorous” (mentioned as well by Ibn Mas’ūd), which are the remaining nineteen consonant comprised in “the shade of Qaww was a shelter, when an obedient host made a raid” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1726). They prevent the breath from running on with them. Sibawaihi, II, 453 presents them in this order: the ā, ā, ā, ā, ā, q, q, q, y, d, l, n, r, t, d, z, z, d, b, m and w.

The two categories can be compared to the categories voiceless and voiced. Some discussions have been raised concerning this comparison (see Wallin, Laute (1855) 1-69, (1858) 599-675, Vollers, System 130-154, Bravmann, Materialien, Gairdner, Phonetics 252-275, Garbell, Remarks 303-337, Blanc, Fronting 12-16, Fleisch, Études 225-285, Mağhûra 193-210, Traité I, 219-222, Roman, Étude I, 73-86).

3 “rigid” which are the eight consonants combined in “you have made
your dish excellent”, whose current of sound is confined in their point of articulation, upon their vowellessness.

4—لِمْ يِتَأَوَّنَ الرِّخَوَةُ "lax" which are the thirteen consonants: the h, h, g, b, s, d, z, s, z, t, d and f, whose current of sound is not confined upon their vowellessness.

5—لامِنَ الشَّدِيدَةِ والرِّخَوَةِ “intermediate” which are the eight consonants combined in "why does he frighten us?" (cf. Fleischer, Beiträge 109).

6—المُشْرِضُ "covered" (cf. (192), (193)), which are the four consonants: the s, d, t and z, whose point of articulation is covered by the upper palate.

7—المُشْفَضُ "open" which are the consonants that are the opposite of the covered.

8—المُشْفَضَةُ "elevated" (cf. (192), (193)), which are the seven consonants: the four last-mentioned within the "covered" and the three with which there is no covering: the h, g and q, which by articulating them, the tongue rises to the palate.

9—المُشْفَضَةُ "depressed" which are contrary to the elevated (cf. (192), (193)).

10—الدَّافِعّ "liquid" which are collected in مُرَ بِذَلِلْ "order [a distribution of] booty or spoil" (cf. Fleischer, Beiträge 101). They originate from the tip of the tongue and the lips.

11—المُدْمَٖ "muted" which are contrary to them, i.e. the twenty-three remaining consonants.

12—حرفُ الْعَلْفَةِ "resonant" which are the five consonants combined in قدَّ طَجِّ "it has been thumped", and are named so because of the loudness of their sound.

13—الصَّبِير "sibilant" which are the three consonants: the s, z and s which make a whistling.

14—اللِّبَح "soft" which are the three weak consonants: the ā, w and y that are the weak consonants of softness susceptible to lenthen the sound.

15—السَّحْفِ "swerving" which is the l, because when one articulates it, the tongue swerves toward the interior of the palate.

16—السُّكِّر "reiterated" which is the r, because when paused upon, the tongue falters on account of the reiteration in it.

17—الهَاوِ "airy" which is the ā, of which the point of articulation expands more strongly to the air of the sound than the point of articulation of the w and the y.

18—المَهْنُوت "gabbled", which is the t from their saying رَجْلُ مِهَتْ a man copious in speech". For a detailed study see Sibawaihi, II, 452 sqq., Zamaḥšari, 188-190, Kasāf I, 100 sqq., Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1702-1738, Troupeau, Commentaire 168-182. For a study of the main divergences between Sibawaihi’s and Mubarrad’s section dealing with phonation and the manner of articulating sounds see Danecki, Mubarrad 91-99. Furthermore, according to Zamaḥšari, 190, al-Halil, the author of the Kitab al-‘ayn names the ‘ā, h, h, g and b for حَلْقَةٌ "guttural", the q and k for حَلْقَةٌ "uvular", the g, s and d for شَجْرَةٌ "orificial", the s, s and z for آْسْلِيَةٌ "apical", the t, d and t for دُوْلَةٌ "ante-palatal", the z, d and t for دُوْلَةٌ "gingival", the r, l and n for دُوْلَةٌ "tippy", the w, f, b and m for شَفْقَةٌ "labial", and the weak consonants of prolongation and softness for حُجْفُ "hollow" (for a study see Zamaḥšari, 190-191, Howell, IV fasc. II, 1702-1739, Fleisch, Traité I, 212-213, Roman, Étude I, 47-274, Versteegh, Language 87-88).
Ibn Manẓūr, I, 17-20 has discussed the consonants by referring to some Arab linguists in “the section of the consonants’ nominations, their characters and particularities”. For a description of these consonants by Arab modern linguists see Ḥassān, ʿUsāl 119-121, Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 34-45; for the solar and lunar consonants see (176); for the augment see (106); for the consonants of substitution see (312).

(189) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the 1st radical \( d \) preceding it. Ibn ʿAqil, II, 582, Lane, I, 942-943) from دَينٌ “to profess a religion”, before that the assimilation is carried out in it. The \( t \) is among the voiceless consonants (for them see (188), (188 b)) and the \( d \) is among the voiced consonants (for them see (188 b)), which implies a distance between them both concerning their character. The voiced consonants are stronger than the voiceless consonants, which is the reason why it is the voiceless \( t \) that is assimilated to the voiced \( d \) (cf. Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 66), and not vice versa. Furthermore, both the \( t \) and the \( d \) are alveolars (cf. (188)), which implies a closeness of both their points of articulation. This is a reason more why the \( t \) is changed into the \( d \), and then one \( d \) is assimilated to the other.

(190) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( g \) preceding it. Ibn ʿAqil, II, 582, Lane, I, 942-943) from دَكَرْ “to see” and among them both concerning their character. The voiced consonants are stronger than the voiceless consonants which is the reason why the voiceless \( t \) is assimilated to the voiced \( d \) (cf. Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 66). Two other variants than دَكَرْ exist, namely دَكَرْ with the \( d \) following the \( d \) and دَكَرْ with the doubling of the \( d \) (cf. Ibn ʿAqil, III, 331, Zamahšari, 195, Ibn ʿAqil, II, 582, de Sacy, I, 222, Vollers, Volkssprache 117-118, Vernier, I, 344-345, Wright, II, 66, Fleischer, Beiträge II, 306, ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Taṭawwur 29). In all these cases, the process is more complicated. The \( t \) of the base form دَكَرْ is changed into the \( d \) in both of them, i.e. دَكَرْ, because the \( t \) is among the voiceless consonants (for them see (188), (188 b)) and the \( d \) is among the voiced consonants (for them see (188 b)), which implies a distance between them both in character. However as the \( t \) and the \( d \) are alveolars (for them see (188)), the \( t \) is changed into the \( d \), as voiced consonants are stronger than voiceless consonants. In one دَكَرْ, the dissimilation is made possible as both the \( d \) and the \( g \) are different consonants. It can as well be borne in mind that the \( d \) and the \( d \) are among the voiced consonants, which implies a similarity in both their character. This explains why it is easy to substitute one for the other, i.e. دَكَرْ and دَكَرْ. The Form V دَكَرْ with the assimilation of the \( t \) to the \( d \) occurs in the sur. 80: 3-4 “But what could tell thee but that perchance he might grow (in spiritual understanding)? Or that he might receive admonition, and the teaching might profit him?” and the sur. 2: 269 “But none will grasp the Message but men of understanding” (mentioned also in (207)). It can be added that the sur. 54: 15 with the noun دَكَرْ occurring in it دَكَرْ “Is there any that
will receive admonition?” has been anomalously read (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1816).

(191) The infixed t of Form VIII is assimilated to the z preceding it. The base form of اَرَانُ (cf. Zamaḥšari, 176, 196, Wright, II, 66, Lane, I, 1279, my notes (174), (374)) before the assimilation. It can as well resemble اَذَّثَطَرَ (for it see (190)) in the change of the t into the d, as the t in اَرَانُ can be changed into a d as well, namely اَرَانُ. It is only the d that can be changed into the z resulting in اَرَانُ and not vice versa resulting in اَرَانُ, because in spite of the similarity of character of both these consonants in being among the voiced consonants (for them see (188 b)) which permitted the change of one into another, the z is among the sibilant consonants (for them see (188 b)), which are considered as stronger in the sound than the d. Another reason why the z is not changed into the d and then assimilated to it resulting in اَرَانُ, is to avoid mixing it up with this verb (for اَرَانُ see (189)). It can be noted that the form اَرَانُ in the sur. 10: 24 “Till the earth is clad with its golden ornaments and is decked out (in beauty)” (cf. also (207)) does not point to Form VIII, but to Form V in which the infixed t in اَرَانُ underlyingly assimilated to the z after that the hamza has been imported by inception. However, at the interior of the word, as in this case after the w of the conjunction, the hamza is not more needed and اَرَانُ became اَرَانُ with waṣla.

(192) The infixed t of Form VIII is assimilated to the s preceding it. The base form of اِسْمَعُ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 472, Zamaḥšari, 196, de Sacy, I, 220, Wright, II, 66, my notes (174)) before the assimilation. Both the t and the s are similar in character in being among the voiceless consonants (for these consonants see (188), (188 b)) and originate from close points of articulation, as the t is from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors and is an alveolar, and the s is from the part which is between the tip of the tongue and the tops of the two upper central incisors and is a dental (for the consonants see (188)). The s is among the sibilant consonants (for them see (188 b)) that are strong in the sound, which is the reason why it could not be changed into the t and then be assimilated to it, i.e. اِسْمَعُ. It can be noted that has been anomalously read by some instead of اِسْمَعُ in the sur. 6: 25 i.e. اِسْمَعُ (وَسِيَّمَعُونَ) اِلَّا (إِلَّا اِسْمَعُونَ) اِسْمَعُ “Of them there are some who (pretend to) listen to thee”. Furthermore the form اِسْمَعُونَ of the sur. 37: 8 “(So) they should not strain their ears in the direction of the Exalted Assembly” is Form V اِسْمَعُونَ underlyingly [and not Form VIII اِسْمَعُونَ], in which the t is assimilated to the s. Some read the sur. with Form I اِسْمَعُونَ instead for the sake of alleviation (cf. Ibn Manzūr, III, 2095). Both suras are mentioned in (207).

b) The infixed t of Form VIII is assimilated to the s preceding it. The base form of اِشْقَبُ is اَشْقَبُ before the assimilation.

c) The infixed t of Form VIII is assimilated to the s preceding it. The base form of اِضْرِبُ is اَضْرِبُ before the assimilation.
before the assimilation. Another possibility is the substitution of the \( t \) for the \( t \), i.e. ٍصَطَبَ (cf. Ibn Ğinni, *Munsif II*, 326-328, Zamaḫšārī, 176, Wright, *II*, 67, Vernier, *I*, 345, Bohas, *Étude* 238-239, my notes (174), (374)). It can be noted that both the \( s \) and the \( t \) have different characters: the \( s \) is among the مَسْتَعْطَإَةٌ “the elevated consonants” and the \( t \) is among the شديدة “the depressed consonants”, and the \( t \) is among the الرخوة “the rigid consonants” and the \( s \) is among the بث “the lax consonants” (for the consonants’ characters see (188 b)). Both the \( t \) and the \( t \) pertain however to close points of articulation as they both originate from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors, and are alveolars (for the points of articulation see (188)), which is the reason why the \( t \) is changed into the \( t \), i.e. ٍصَطَبَ.

(193) The consonants of مَسْتَعْطَإَةٌ “ellevated” are known as ممَستَعْطَإَةٌ “covered”. They comprehend four consonants that are characterized asمَسْتَعْطَإَةٌ “covered”, namely the \( s \), \( t \), \( d \) and \( z \), of which the point of articulation is covered by the upper palate, and three consonants with which there is no covering, namely the \( b \), \( g \) and \( q \), which by articulating them, the tongue rises to the palate (for them see (188 b)). The \( t \) is among the الرخوة “the depressed consonants” which are contrary to the elevated ones (for them see (188 b), Zamaḫšārī, 190, Howell, *IV*, fasc. II, 1729-1731).

(194) سَدْسُ is underlyingly formed according to the pattern َتَبَعُ. Another example on this pattern is سَدْسُ ِذَرُ which occurs in the sur. 54: 16 (فَكَيِّفَ كَانَ ُذَرُ وَنَذرُ) “But how (terrible) was my Penalty and my Warning?”. The \( d \) and the \( s \) of the base form سَدْسُ are each substituted by the \( t \), i.e. ٍصَطَبَ, and then one \( t \) is assimilated to the other (cf. Sibawaihi, *II*, 479, Ibn Ğinni, *Munsif II*, 331, Zamaḫšārī, 175, 196, Ibn Manẓūr, *III*, 1973, Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 178, Talmon, *Ayn 142*, my notes (329), (333)). If one is to analyze the relations between the \( s \), the \( d \) and the \( t \) in order to understand the process of substitution that leads to the assimilation, the \( s \) is among the voiceless consonants whereas the \( d \) is among the voiced consonants and the \( s \) is among the lax consonants whereas the \( d \) is among the rigid consonants (for the characters of the consonants see (188 b)). So in order to eliminate these differences of character between them, the \( s \) is changed into the \( t \) as both are akin in being among the voiceless consonants and the \( d \) is changed into the \( t \) because of the proximity of both their points of articulation as they both originate from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors, and are alveolars (for the consonants’ points of articulation see (188)). The change of the \( d \) into the \( t \) is carried out in spite of the difference of both their characters, as the \( d \) is among the voiced consonants and the \( t \) is among the voiceless consonants (cf. (188 b)), and then one \( t \) is assimilated to the other so that it became سَدْسُ. The similarity referred to by Ibn Masʿūd between ٍصَطَبَ (cf. (192 c)) and سَدْسُ concerns two consonants having different characters of which one is changed into the other because they originate from close points of articulation. In ٍصَطَبَ the \( t \) of the base form is changed into the \( t \) in spite of both these consonants’ different characters (for discussions see (192 c)), on account that both the \( t \) and the \( t \) are alveolars, and in سَدْسُ the
d is changed into the t, in spite of both these consonants’ different characters, on account that both the d and the t are alveolars as well. This substitution of the t for both the d and the s in سدس is considered as rare by Sibawaihi, II, 341. An interesting example with سُتْ in it is presented by Lane, I, 1304, namely "O thou who occupiest the six places in relation to me; or, who art above me, below me, before me, behind me; on my right, and on my left". The base form سدس formed according to فَعَلُ occurs anomalously in the following verse said by Manṣūr b. Misḡāb al-Ḍabbī, cited by Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1973, Howell, I, fasc. III, 962:

"فَطِفَ كَثْرًا طَافَ السَّمْسَدُ وَسَطَّهَا يَخُيِّرُ مِنْهَا فِي الْبُوُازِلِ وَالْسََدْسُ."

"Then he went round, as the collector of the poor-rate goes round, in their midst, being allowed to choose from them the nine-year-old and the six-year-old [camels]."

(195) The infixed t is assimilated to the d preceding it. اضْتَرَب is underliningly اضْتَرَب before the assimilation. The infixed t of the base form اضْتَرَب can as well be changed into the t, i.e. اضْتَرَب (cf. Zamaḥšari, 195, de Sacy, I, 222, Wright, II, 67, Vernier, I, 345, Bohas, Étude 238, my notes (174), (374)).

(196) The infixed t is assimilated to the f preceding it. The base form of اطْلَب is اطْلَب before the assimilation (cf. Zamaḥšari, 195, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 46, Wright, II, 67, my notes (374)). The reason of this substitution is that both the t and the f originate from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors (for the consonants see (188)).


The t of اطْلَب is changed into the t resulting in اطْلَب because of the proximity of both their points of articulation as they both originate from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors, and are alveolars (for the consonants see (188)). Two possibilities are at hand: اطْلَب that occurs with the change of the t from اطْلَب into the z and اطْلَب with the change of the z into the t. This substitution of the t for the z and vice versa is carried out on account of both these consonants’ common character in being among the emphatic consonants. Both Form I of the passive voice اطْلَب and Form VIII of the active voice اطْلَب occur in the following verse said by Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā al-Muzānī who is praising Harīm b. Sinān in Zuhair, Šir‘ 104, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 472, Ibn Ṣinīn, Sirr I, 219, Mu‘addib, Tasrīf 170, Zamaḥšari, 195, Afandi, Tansil 520, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 47, Mulākim 316, 319, 320, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1813:
“He is the magnanimous, who gives you his largesse spontaneously; and is wronged at times, and than puts up with that wrong”.

All the three variations or as being the last word of the rime are cited in different works (see for references Fischer/Braünlich, Sawāhid 227).

(198) The 1st radical w is assimilated to the infixed t of Form VIII. The base form of ʿawād (cf. de Sacy, I, 240, Wright, II, 80-81, Lane, II, 2902) is ʿawād from “to promise”. The w in ʿawād is substituted by the t resulting in ʿatṭād, and then an assimilation of one t to the other is carried out. The substitution of the t for the w is frequent (cf. (96), (247), (330), (331)), on account that the points of articulation of the t and the w are close to each other as the t is formed from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors, and is an alveolar, and the w is formed between the lips, and is a labial (for the points of articulation see (188)). If the w of the perfect ʿawād ʿatṭād is not replaced by the t, it would have to be replaced by the y because of the influence of the kasra preceding it, i.e. ʿayṭṭād, would be said instead of ʿatṭād, which would confuse the reader by making him believe that the verb is with 1st weak y radical, i.e. ʿiyāṭṭād. As well as the combination of the kasras in ʿayṭṭād, if one is to assume that the y is formed of two kasras and that it is preceded by a kasra −, is regarded as heavy. Furthermore, this awkward variation of the weak 1st radical that could refer erroneously to a y radical in the perfect, i.e. ʿayṭṭād, and to a w radical in the imperfect ʿiyāṭṭād, is unacceptable.

(199) The 1st radical y is assimilated to the infixed t of Form VIII. The base form of istīṣār (cf. Zamaḥšāri, 175, 178, de Sacy, I, 240, Wright, II, 80-81) is ʿayṭṭād “to be easy”. The y in istīṣār ʿayṭṭād is substituted by the t resulting in istīṣār ʿayṭṭād, and then an assimilation of one t to the other is carried out. The substitution of the t for the y is frequent (cf. (187 b), (200), (332)), on account that the points of articulation of the t and the y are close to each other as the t is formed from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors and is an alveolar and the y is formed from the middle of the tongue and from the middle part of the upper palate and is a pre-palatal (for the consonants’ points of articulation see (188)). This substitution is carried out to avoid the succession of the kasras if ʿayṭṭād ʿayṭṭād is said. In this forbidden variant the y is counted as two kasras and is preceded by a kasra, which is regarded as a heavy combination (compare the case of ʿayṭṭād discussed in (198)). It can be noted as well that the heaviness would be extreme in the masdar if the form ʿayṭṭād is said instead of the correct form ʿayṭṭād, as it would imply a heavy succession of four kasras, the y being counted as two kasras −, which is unacceptable.

(200) The base Form VIII of ʿakl “he ate”, a verb with 1st hamza radical, is ʿayṭṭād with a vowelless 1st radical hamza that is then changed into a y, i.e. ʿayṭṭād (cf. Zamaḥšāri, 178, Ibn ʿAqil, II, 581, Lane, I, 72) due to the influence of the kasra preceding it, and in this case there is
no change that is carried out from the y into the t that would result in ﷲ. The y is consid-ered as unnecessary in it as it replaces a hamza which is indicated by the groundform ﷲ, and does not refer to a verb with 1st weak radical y, i.e. ﷳ. An anomalous case occurs however that can be mentioned here, namely Form VIII ﷲ “to put on a loin-cloth” of اَبَرَّر “to surround”, a verb with 1st hamza radical. is underlyingly ﷲ with 1st radical hamza, then it became اَبَرَّر اَبَرَّر with the y substituted for the hamza due to the influence of the kasra preceding it, and then اَبَرَّر اَبَرَّر with the y changed into the t and the t assimilated to the infixed t (cf. Ibn 'Aqil, II. 581; and compare with it اَنْخَذ in (187 b), (202)).

(201) One y is not assimilated to the other in حيـي in some dialects because the 2nd y is considered as unnecessary in the form, and the condition of the assimilation is that the 2nd of two identical consonants should be existent, as it is can be elided in the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect, e.g. حيـي or it can be changed into an alif maqṣūra in the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect, e.g. ﷲ (for discussions see (180)).

(202) Form VIII اَنْخَذ (compare with it the case of اَبَرَّر discussed in (200)), is underlyingly with a 1st radical hamza that refers to اَنْخَذ “he took”, a hamzated vero becomes اَنْخَذ with the substitution of the y for the hamza due to the influence of the kasra preceding the hamza (cf. (187 b)). The y in اَنْخَذ is considered as unnecessary in the form, because it is not the verb’s real radical, but the weak consonant by which the hamza is substituted. Similarly to this y, the y in حيـي (for it see (200)) and the y in حيـي which can be elided (see (201)) are considered as unnecessary. As mentioned in (187 b) some grammarians prefer to believe that اَنْخَذ is formed from اَنْخَذ (cf. (329)), and their theory became integrated in the language. As Ibn Manṣūr, I, 37 remarks:

"والانخاذ: افعال أيضاً من الاحذ إلا أنه أذُعم بعد تلئين الهمزة وأبدل الناء، ثم لمسا كثر استعماله على لفظ الافعال تؤخذوا أن الناء أصلية فبنوا منه فعل يفعل. قالوا: اَنْخَذ يَتُخَذ".

:الانخاذ، [Form VIII اَنْخَذ] is also from the اَنْخَذ, except that an assimilation is carried out in it after that the hamza is changed into a weak consonant [i.e. اَبَرَّر] and a change [of the y] into the t is carried out [i.e. اَنْخَذ]. Then as it was often used on the pattern اَفْعَال اَفْعَال اَنْخَذ اَنْخَذ, they believed that the t is underlying, and so they formed from it اَنْخَذ يَتُخَذ, and said:

For a study see Zağgâgi, Mağâlis 333, Ibn Ğinnî, Ḥaṣa‘îs II, 287, Siğîstânî, Fa‘al’tu 140-141, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1848 sqq., de Sacy, I, 236, Wright, II, 76-77, Lane, I, 29, Fleisch, Traité I, 150. It can be noted that al-Ḥasan and Ibn Mas‘ûd read the sur. 18: 77 (لا شئت اَنْخَذَتْ عليه).
“If thou hadst wished, surely thou couldst have exacted some recompense for it!” with اتخذت (cf. the note 4 to Ibn Ginni, Ḥaṣa‘īṣ II, 287). By doing so they applied the kasra instead of the fatha and referred to the variant اخيل instead of using the usual form اتخذت that refers to اخذ. According to Ibn Manẓūr, I, 37, Abū Maṣūr reported that this was the reading of Ibn ‘Abbās and Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā‘. Concerning it, Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ III, 97-98 in مجلس أبي عمرو بن العلاء، remarks:

...‘Abū ʿAli b. Sulaimān told us: “Muḥammad b. Yazid has told me, he said: al-Māzīnī has reported to us from Abū ‘Ubaida. He said: “I heard Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā‘ read (ستُخذت عليه أجرًا) “Surely thou couldst have exacted some recompense for it!” So I asked him concerning it and he said: “It is a correct language.”...

Both اتخذت اتخاذا and اتخذت اتخاذا are used with the same meaning”.

It can be mentioned furthermore that the t can be substituted by the s, namely Form VIII can become استخذت (for discussions see (329)). The more usual form occurs in the sur. 2: 116 (كنتًا أعمِّتكَ 41) “They say: “God hath begotten a son”, the sur. 29: 4 (والله 125) “Is that of the Spider, who builds (to itself) a house” and the sur. 4: 116 (أنا لآدم) “For God did take Abraham for a friend”. Compare in Syriac and أنا لآدم which seem to be derived from the secondary radicals and تجر and تجر “to trade”, and أنا لآدم which seem to be derived from the radical Aṣma (cf. Wright, II, 77, Comparative Grammar 46, 280-281).

(203) The infixed t of Form VIII is assimilated to one of the nine consonants following it, which is the 2nd radical. These are: 1– the t, 2– d, 3– g, 4– z, 5– s, 6– š, 7– d, 8– t and 9– z. The verbs that are presented refer to each of these cases and thus begin with verbs with 2nd radical t and end up with verbs with 2nd radical z. This assimilation is carried out in the imperfect and rarely in the perfect, except in the case of خصص resulting in خصص (for it see (206)), the reason being to avoid mixing Form VIII of those verbs in the perfect with Form II of the same tense, as there is a tendency by some grammarians to shift the vowel of the infixed t to the 1st radical and to elide the prefixed hamza. Some examples, if such an assimilation is to be carried out in Form VIII which would result in a confusion with Form II, would be: اقتثل “to contend among themselves” becoming ابتدّل, اقتثل “to change” becoming ابتدّل, اقتثل “to excuse oneself” becoming ابتدّل, اقتثل and then اشترع, ابتدّل “to snatch, tear away” becoming
b) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( t \) following it. The base form of 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]

with the 2nd radical being a \( r \), is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُ} 
\]

“to contend among themselves” in which the fatha of the 1st \( t \), which is the infixed consonant, is shifted to the 1st radical \( q \) and the infixed \( t \) is then assimilated to the 2nd radical \( t \). It can be be added that both 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتِ} 
\]

and 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]


(204) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( d \) following it. The base form of 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]

with the 2nd radical being a \( d \), is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُ} 
\]

“to change” in which the fatha of the infixed \( t \) is shifted to the 1st radical \( b \) and the infixed \( t \) is then assimilated to the 2nd radical \( d \). Another example of a verb with 2nd radical \( d \) in which a similar assimilation is carried out is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتِ} 
\]

(\text{أنَّ لَهُ بِيْلِيْدٍ}) “Or he who finds not guidance (himself)”. Abū 'Amr and Nāfi' read it with both vowelless consonants combined, namely 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتِ} 
\]

which is disapproved by the majority and Abū Bakr read it with both the \( y \) and the \( h \) voweled by a kasra, namely 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتِ} 
\]


b) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( d \) following it. The base form of 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]

with the 2nd radical being a \( d \), is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُ} 
\]

“to excuse oneself” in which the fatha of the infixed \( t \) is shifted to the 1st radical \( b = \text{يَبِلْدُ} \) and the infixed \( t \) is then assimilated to the 2nd radical \( d = \text{يْبِلْدَ} \).

c) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( z \) following it. The base form of 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]

with the 2nd radical being a \( z \), is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُ} 
\]

“to snatch, tear away” in which the fatha of the infixed \( t \) is shifted to the 1st radical \( n = \text{يَبِلْدُ} \) and the infixed \( t \) is then assimilated to the 2nd radical \( z = \text{يْبِلْدَ} \).

d) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( s \) following it. The base form of 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]

with the 2nd radical being a \( s \), is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُ} 
\]

“to smile” in which the fatha of the infixed \( t \) is shifted to the 1st radical \( b = \text{يَبِلْدُ} \) and the infixed \( t \) is then assimilated to the 2nd radical \( s = \text{يْبِلْدَ} \).

(205) The infixed \( t \) of Form VIII is assimilated to the \( s \) following it. The base form of 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلَ} 
\]

with the 2nd radical being a \( s \), is 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُ} 
\]

in which the fatha of the infixed \( t \) is shifted to the 1st radical \( b = \text{يَبِلْدُ} \) and the infixed \( t \) is then assimilated to the 2nd radical \( s = \text{يْبِلْدَ} \). As another variant occurs as well (cf. de Sacy, \textit{I}, 223). The 3rd person of the masc. pl. 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْتُن} 
\]

occurs in the sur. 36: 49 (\text{وهَمُّ يَبِلْسُون} “While they are yet disputing among themselves!”). Seven different readings concerning it are known to have been transmitted (for them see Ibn Manẓūr, \textit{II}, 1177 in the note), namely: 

1- 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْسُنْ} 
\]

2- 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْسُنْ} 
\]

3- 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْسُنْ} 
\]

4- 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْسُنْ} 
\]

and 7- 

\[ 
\text{بيبَّلْسُنْ} 
\]

Fleisch, \textit{Traité I}, 142 referring to Bāḏawi, mentions that Abū Bakr
Furthermore, referring to the *Taysir* 184, he mentions that Ibn Kaṭīr, Warṣ and Hišām read ِمَخَضَّسُونَ with a vowel of support, i.e. *yaḥšaṣi-mūna* (for discussions see Fleisch, *Traité I*, 144, Cantineau, *Voyelle* 57), Ḥamza read ِمَخَضَّسُونَ and ‘Āṣim, Ibn Dākwan and al-Kisā’ī read ِمَخَضَّسُونَ. Mu’addib, *Taṣrīf* 166 mentions that was read so by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Ğa’far and Abū ’Amr, both ِمَخَضَّسُونَ and ِمَخَضَّسُونَ were read so by Abū ’Amr. ِمَخَضَّسُونَ was read so by al-‘A’maš and both ِمَخَضَّسُونَ and ِمَخَضَّسُونَ were read so by other readers (see further for the different readings Ibn Muḥāhid, *Sab’a* 541, Ibn Ḥalawaihi, *Qirāʿat II*, 234, Makki, *Kāf* II, 207).

b) The infixed *t* of Form VIII is assimilated to the *d* following it. The base form of ِمَخَضَّسُونَ with the 2nd radical being a *d*, is “to struggle” in which the fatha of the infixed *t* is shifted to the 1st radical *n* and the infixed *t* is assimilated then to the 2nd radical *d*.

c) The infixed *t* of Form VIII is assimilated to the *f* following it. The base form of ِمَخَضَّسُونَ with the 2nd radical being a *f*, is “to collide, clash” in which the fatha of the infixed *t* is shifted to the 1st radical *l* and the infixed *t* is then assimilated to the 2nd radical *f*.

d) The infixed *t* of Form VIII is assimilated to the *z* following it. The base form of ِمَخَضَّسُونَ with the 2nd radical being a *z*, is “to expect” in which the fatha of the infixed *t* is shifted to the 1st radical *n* and the infixed *t* is then assimilated to the 2nd radical *z*.

(206) Three variants exist concerning the active participle Form VIII of ِمَخَضَّسُونَ, namely:

1. in which some give the ḍamma to the *h* on the analogy of the ḍamma that vowels the prefix *m* which is characteristic for the active participle of Form VIII.

2. in which some give the *h* the fatha on the analogy of the fatha of the *h* of both the contracted forms of the Form VIII of the perfect ِمَخَضَّسُونَ, namely ِخَضَّسُونَ and ِخَضَّسُونَ, whose *h* they vowel with the fatha.

3. in which some give the *h* the kasra on the analogy of the kasra of the contracted form of the perfect ِخَضَّسُونَ, namely ِخَضَّسُونَ, whose *h* they vowel with the kasra. The variant ِخَضَّسُونَ is presumed to be ِخَضَّسُونَ at first after the elision of the prefixed hamza from ِخَضَّسُونَ and after that the infixed *t* is assimilated to the 2nd radical *s*. The *h* in ِخَضَّسُونَ is given the kasra, i.e. ِخَضَّسُونَ, to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants: the *h* and the 1st *s* of the doubled sād, if ِخَضَّسُونَ is to be said, as both the assimilated sād are formed of a vowelless *s* followed by a voweled one, i.e. ِخَضَّسُونَ which is forbidden. Another contracted form of the perfect with the *h* given the kasra mentioned by Ibn Mas‘ūd, is ِخَضَّسُونَ. It can be noted as well that in both these contracted forms of the perfect ِخَضَّسُونَ and ِخَضَّسُونَ, it is specifically the kasra which is given to the vowelless consonant *h* of the base form ِخَضَّسُونَ, as by principle the kasra is closest to the sukūn. Differently from Ibn Mas‘ūd, Mu’addib, *Taṣrīf* 167 mentions only the last two variants
of the active participle, i.e. مَخْصَمٌ and مَخْصَمٌ. His theories are as well different concerning the choice of the specific vowel of the ل. He remarks namely that those who give the ل the fatha, i.e. مَخْصَمٌ do so to vowel it with the vowel of the infixed ل of مَخْصَمٌ, and those who vowel it with the kasra, i.e. مَخْصَمٌ do so because of the ل’s nearness to the س which is vowelled by the kasra.

(207) The infixed ل of Form V and VI can be assimilated to the 1st radical of the verb (for a study see Zamaḥṣari, 196, de Sacy, I, 220-221, Wright, II, 64-65, ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Ṭatawur 29) following it, when it is a: 1–ل, 2–ل, 3–غ, 4–د, 5–ذ, 6–ظ, 7–س, 8–س, 9–س, 10–ذ, 11–ل or 12–ظ, after that it loses its vowel. The forms thus originated, take a prosthetic alif in the perfect as they begin with a doubled consonant: Form L becomes َيَفْعَلُ and Form VI َيَفْعَلُ. The prosthetic alif is not needed in the imperfect: Form V َافْعَلُ becomes َيَفْعَلُ and Form VI َيَفْعَلُ becomes َيَفْعَلُ.

1–Form V ِ أَطْهَرُ said instead of ِ أَطْهَرُ “to purify oneself” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, II, 1887, Penrice, Dictionary 91). The prefixed ل of ِ أَطْهَرُ is changed into the ل, then the ل is assimilated to the ل, i.e. أَطْهَرُ, and the prosthetic alif is prefixed to prevent that the word begins with a vowelless consonant, i.e. أَطْهَرُ that is with the dissolution أَطْهَرُ with the 1st radical vowelless which is not accepted. Another example that can be added is Form V ِ أَطْهَرُ said instead of ِ أَطْهَرُ “to see an evil omen” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Wright, II, 65). The 1st person of the masc. pl. occurs in the sur. 27: 47 “They said: [1] omen do we augur from thee and those that are with thee”.

2–Form VI ِ أَتَقَلَّبُ said instead of ِ أَتَقَلَّبُ “to be borne down heavily” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, I, 344, Penrice, Dictionary 25). The prefixed ل of ِ أَتَقَلَّبُ is changed into the ل, then the ل is assimilated to the ل and the prosthetic alif is prefixed to prevent beginning the word with a vowelless consonant, i.e. أَتَقَلَّبُ instead of أَتَقَلَّبُ that is theoretically أَتَقَلَّبُ with the 1st radical vowelless. The 2nd person of the masc. pl. ِ أَتَقَلَّبُ occurs in the sur. 9: 38 (ِ أَتَقَلَّبُ إلى أَذْرَضُ في سُبُلِ اللهِ “In the Cause of God ye cling heavily to the earth?”). The following examples can be added with the assimilation of the prefixed ل to the 1st radical being:

3–the ل, e.g. Form V ِ أَتَرْسُ “shielded himself” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829).

4–the غ, e.g. ِ أَجَارُ “to compete” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829).

5–the د, e.g. Form VI ِ أَدَارَ “to repel” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, I, 865, Penrice, Dictionary 47). The 2nd person of the masc. pl. ِ أَدَارُ أَتَرَامُ occurs in the sur. 2: 72 (ِ أَدَارُ أَتَرَامُ “And fell into a dispute among yourselves as to the crime?”).

6–the د, e.g. Form VI ِ أَذَكَرُ “to be reminded” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, I, 968, Penrice, Dictionary 52). The imperfect of the 3rd person of the masc. sing. ِ أَذَكُرَ.
occurs in both the sur. 80: 3-4 “But what could tell thee but that perchance he might grow (in spiritual understanding)? Or that he might receive admonition, and the teaching might profit him?”, and the sur. 2: 269 “But none will grasp the Message but men of understanding” (mentioned in (190)).

7– the z, e.g. Form V اَرْزُعُ instead of اَرْزُعُ “to decorate itself” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, I, 1279, Wright, II, 64, Penrice, Dictionary 64). The 3rd person of the fem. sing. اَرْزُعُ occurs in the sur. 10: 24 “Till the earth is clad with its golden ornaments and is decked out (in beauty)” (mentioned in (191)).

8– the s, e.g. Form V اَسْمَعُ instead of اَسْمَعُ “to listen” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, I, 1427, 1428, Wright, II, 65, Penrice, Dictionary 72). The imperfect of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. اَسْمَعُ occurs in the sur. 37: 8 “(So) they should not strain their ears in the direction of the Exalted Assembly” (mentioned in (192)). It can be noted that اَسْمَعُ that occurs in the sur. 6: 25 “Of them there are some who (pretend to) listen to thee” is Form VIII اَسْمَعُ (cf. (192)) and not Form V اَسْمَعُ.

9– the š, e.g. Form VI اَشْجُرُ اَشْجَرُ “to be embroiled” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829).

10– the s, e.g. Form VI اِصْبَرُ اِصْبَرْ “to bear patiently” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829, Lane, II, 1643).

11– the d, e.g. Form VI اِصْطَرْبُ اِصْطَرَبَ “to fight” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829).

12– the z, e.g. Form VI اِظْطَالُ اِظْطَالْ “to wrong” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1829).

For the elision of one of the ša’s in verbs of Form V and VI that occur in the imperfect of the 2nd person of the fem. and the 3rd person of the masc. sing., i.e. resulting in تَنَفَّلُ and تَنَفَّلُ respectively, see (101)).

(208) There is no way of assimilating the infixed ṭ of Form X استَطْعَمَ to the vowelless ṭ following it (cf. Zamaḥšāri, 196, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 151, Howell, IV, fasc. II, 1821-1822), because of the sukūn of the ṭ “in reality” that prevents the assimilation, as the condition of the assimilation is that the 2nd consonant should be vowelled. It is not possible either to assimilate the infixed ṭ of Form X استَطْعَمَ to the d following it in spite of the fact that it is vowelled by a fatha, because the d is meant to be vowelless, as the base form of استَطْعَمَ. This is why the vowelled d is considered as being vowelless تَتَكَرُرْا “implicitly” on account that the base form of the verb with the vowelless d is kept in mind and referred to.

(209) is Form X underlyingly استَطْعَمَ (cf. Ibn Manṣūr, IV, 2721, de Sacy, I, 224, Vernier, I, 152, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1174-1176, fasc. II, 1830-1831, Fleisch, Traité I, 150), in which the infixed ṭ is elided for the purpose of alleviation. Both استَطْعَمَا with the infixed ṭ elided and استَطْعَمَا with the ṭ retained occur in the sur. 18: 97 (فَنَا أَسْطَعَمَا آنَّى يُظْهِرُوْهُ 97)
“Thus were they made powerless to scale it or to dig through it”.

(210) The base form of ظُلْتُ is ظُلْتُ in which the 1st l is elided and its kasra is shifted to the z (cf. (181)).

(211) The base form of أَسْطَاعَ بُطَعْ is أَسْطَاعَ بُطَعْ in which the s is anomalously inserted after the prefixed hamza. The reason of the infixation of the s is considered by Sibawaihi, I, 7 to be a compensation for the departure of the vowel of the 2nd radical, as أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ is underlyingly أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ with the 2nd w radical, in which the fathā of the w is shifted to the t, i.e. أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ, and thus is considered by him as elided, and its vowelless w is changed into a vowelless ā. Ibn Ğinni, Sirr I, 199 refers to Sibawaihi by writing:

وَأَمَّا قُولُهُمُ “أَسْطَاعَ بُطَعْ” فذِهَبْتُ سُبْبَهُ فِي أَلِ اِلَّا أَنْ أَصْلِهُ أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ، وَأَنَّ السِّينَ زِدَتْ عَوْمًا مِنْ سُكُونٍ عِينَ الفَعْلِ، وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ أَطَعَ اِلَّا أَصْلِهُ أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ، فَنَقَلَتْ فَتْحَةٌ الْوَأَرِ إلى الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ، فِي الْفَصَّارِ ما قَبْلَهَا الْآنِ”.

“As for their saying أَسْطَاعَ بُطَعْ “to obey”, Sibawaihi believed that its base form is أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ and that the s is a compensation for the departure of the vowel of the 2nd radical of the verb, because أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ is underlyingly أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ, in which the fathā of the w is shifted to the t so that it became by implication أَطَعَ اِلَّا بُطَعْ, and then the w is changed into an ā on the basis that it is vowelled in the base form and that the fatha precedes it now”.

As for al-Mubarrad he rejects Sibawaihi’s theory concerning the compensation for an elided vowel, as it is more, according to him, a question of vowel transfer than vowel elision. Ibn Ğinni, Sirr I, 199 referring to al-Mubarrad, writes:

“وَتَعْقِبُ أَبُو الْبَيْسَ - رَحْمَهُ اللهُ - هَذَا الْقُولُ، قَالَ: إِنَّا يُعْوَضُ مِنَ الشَّيءِ، إِذَا فَلِدَ وَذَهِبَ، فَأَمَّا إِذَا كَانَ مَوْجُودًا فِي الْفَتْحِ فَلا وَجْهٌ لِلْتَعْوِيضَ مِنِّهِ، وَفَتْحَةُ الْعِينِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ فِي الْوَأَرِ قدْ تَقُلَّتْ إِلَى الْفَتْحِ الَّتِي هِيَ الْغَاءٌ، وَلَا تَعْدُمْ، وَإِنَا تَقُلَّتْ، فَلا وَجْهٌ للْعِوْضَ مِنَ الشَّيءِ، مَوْجُودٌ مَغْفُودٌ.”
Abū l-’Abbās, may God grant him salvation, rejected this account by saying: “Somehow a compensation for a thing is carried out if it is lost or elided, but if it is still existent in the pronunciation then there is no reason to compensate for it. The fatha of the 2nd radical \( w \) [of \( \text{اثْقُر} \)] is shifted to the \( t \) which is the 1st radical [i.e. \( \text{اثْقُر} \)], which means that it is not elided but shifted. So there is no reason to compensate for something which is existent and not lost”.

His opinion is also discussed by Ibn ‘Usfūr, I, 224, Ibn Ya‘īš, X, 6, Mulūkī 207. As for al-Farra’, his opinion is totally different from the one of Sibawaihī, al-Mubarrad and Ibn Mas‘ūd who refer all correctly to Form IV. According to him the base form of \( \text{أَفْلَحْتَ} \) is form VIII with the infixed \( t \) elided and with the hamza given at first a kasra, i.e. \( \text{أَفْلَحْتَ} \), and then anomalously given a fatha and made disjunctive, i.e. \( \text{أَفْلَحْتَ} \). Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 200-201 refers to his theory by writing:

“وقال الفراء في هذا: "تشْهِوا أَسْطُعَتْ بِأَفْلَحَتْ "...فَهَذَا يَدِلُّ مِن كُلَّ أَحْلَالٍ عَلَى أَنْ أَصْلَهَا: أَسْطُعَتْ، فَلَمْ تَحْذَفْ النَّا، بَيْنَهَا عَلَى وَزْنِ "أَفْلَحَتْ "، فَفُتْحَتْ هَمْرَتَهُ وَقُطْعَتْ، وَهَذَا غَيْرٌ مَّرْضٌ عَنْدَنَا...”.

“And al-Farra’ said concerning this: “They compared \( \text{أَفْلَحْتَ} \) with \( \text{أَفْلَحْتَ} \). This is indicated from his [sc. Sibawaihī’s] saying that its base form is \( \text{أَسْطُعَتْ} \), and when the \( t \) was elided, it remained on the pattern \( \text{أَفْلَحْتَ} \) , then the hamza was given a fatha and was made disjunctive”. But this [theory] is not satisfying by us [sc. Ibn Ğinnī, and his followers]”.

Thus the imperfect is then \( \text{يُسْطَعِبْ} \) by al-Farra’ with the vowelling of the imperfect prefix with a fatha and not \( \text{يُسْطَعِبْ} \) with a damaa (for his opinion cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 200-201, Ibn Ya‘īš, Mulūkī 208, Ibn ‘Usfūr, I, 226).

(212) The insertion of the \( h \) after the prefixed hamza in Form IV \( \text{أَرَقَ} \) is similar to the insertion of the \( s \) in Form II \( \text{أَرَقَ} \) (for it see (211), Sibawaihī, II, 364). The insertion of both these consonants is considered as a compensation for the departure of the vowel of the 2nd radical of the verb. \( \text{أَرَقَ} \) with the vowelled \( ā \) is underlyingly \( \text{أَرُقَ} \) with the 2nd radical \( w \) vowelled by a fatha that is shifted to the \( r \) preceding it, i.e. \( \text{أَرُقَ} \), and then the vowelled \( w \) is changed into an \( ā \) due to the influence of the fatha preceding it. Concerning \( \text{أَرَقَ} \), Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 201 remarks:

"...أَنَّهُمْ قَدْ عَوَّضُوا مِنْ ذِهَابِ حَرْكَةِ هَذِهِ الْعَيْنِ...اِلَّهَا، فِى قُولِهِنَّ: "اَهْرَقْتُمْ", فُسْكَنَ الْهَّاءَ، وَجَعَلْنَهَا بِبَيْنَ الْهَمْرَةِ، فَالْهِلْيَا، هَنَا عَوَّضٌ مِنْ ذِهَابِ فَتْحَةِ الْعَيْنِ، لَنَّ آَلِهَّا: أَرُقُّتْ أَوْ أَرَقُّتْ، وَلَا أَرَقُّتْ أَنْدِي أَقِسُ ".

"...They have compensated for the loss of the vowel of this 2nd radical... with the \( h \) in the saying of he who says "I poured", so he made the \( h \) vowelled and combined it with the hamza. Then the \( h \) here is a compensation for the departure of the fatha of the 2nd radical, because the base form
is ارْقَفَتَ or أرْقَفَتْ and according to my opinion the w [in ارْقَفَت] is more according to the analogy”.

Cf. Ibn ‘Uṣūr, I, 225-226. For the change of the hamza that is the inceptive consonant in the verb of Form I “I spilled” into a h, i.e. هَرَقَتْ, see (98) and (343).

It can be mentioned that another example of a noun in which the h is inserted is أمِّي (for a discussion of the word in Arabic and in some of the other Semitic languages see Nöldeke, Beiträge 69-72) underlyingly أمَّاتٌ which is said to be the pl. of أمَّةٍ “mothers” (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, de Flexione 18). It occurs in the following verse said by Qusayy b. Kilāb, an ancestor of the Prophet, cited by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1167: [Only the last verse is cited by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 136].

“إِنَّ لَمَّا حَرَبَ رَمَيْتُ الْلِّبَابَ   مَعَازِمُ الْصُّوْلِةِ عَالِيَ أَلْسَنِ
أمِّي جَندَفَ وَأَلْيَسَ أَبِي".

“Verily in battle I am easy in mind, resolute in attack, lofty in lineage: my mother is Ḥindif [the cognomen of Laila bint Ḥulwān b. Iμrān, the wife of al-Yās b. Muḍar] and my father is al-Yās”.

Both the base and the augmented form are combined in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 136, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1169:

“إِذَا أَلْمَّهَا فَيُبْحَنَ الْوَجْهَةَ   فَرِجَتْ أَ ظَلَامَ بَأَمِّيْكَا".

“When the mothers are ugly in faces, you dispelled the darkness with your mothers”.

For some examples presented with the h inserted and considered as an augmentative consonant see Zamaḥsārī, 171-172, Ibn Ya’īš, X, 5.
II.4. Arabic Text:

الباب الثالث في المهمز

لا ينبغي له صحيح لصيرورة هزته حرف ملة في التليلين. وهو يجيء على ثلاثة أضرب.

مهيمز اللفا، نحو أخذة والعين نحو سال واللام نحو قرأ، وإن حكم الهمزة

هكذا الحرف الصحيح لأنها تخفف بالقلب وجعلها بين بين أي بين

مخرجها وبين مخرج الحرف الذي مهيمزه وقيل بين الهزرة وبين الحرف الذي

بذلك حركة ما قبلها والحذف وهو ثلاثة أقسام، الأول يكون إذا كانت ساقطة وتحركما ما

قبلها تقلب بشيء يوافق حركة ما قبلها لبين عريك الساكن واستدعاء ما قبلها نحو

رأس والوس وبدا، والثاني يكون إذا كانت متحركة وتحركما ما قبلها ثم تثبت لقوة

عريكتها نحو سال والوس وسم إلا إذا كانت مفتونة وما قبلها مكسورًا أو مضومًا فإنها

لا تثبت بل تجعل واما أو يا نحو مبر وجوه لأن الفتحة كالسكون في اللين تقلب

كما في السكون، فإن قبل لم تقلب أليا في سال وهزتها مفتونة ضعيفة فلتنتحتها

صارت قريبة بفتحة ما قبلها ونحو لا هناك المرتع شاذ، والثالث يكون إذا كانت متحركة

وساقطة ما قبلها ولكن تلین فيه أولاً لبين عريك الساكن ثم تخفف لاجتماع

الساكنين ثم أعطي حركتها لما قبلها إذا كان ما قبلها حرفًا صحيحة أو واما أو ياً;

أصلين أو مزيجتين لمعنى نحو ملالة أصلية ساكنة وملك مالك من الألوكة وهي

الرسالة والأحمر يجوز فيه لخمر لأن الله لاجل سكون اللام وقد انعدم ويجوز فيه

الخمر لطرد حركة اللام وجبان وجوية واوين وايني مره ويجوز تحويل الحركة على

Fols. 21a-22a


الحركات/ أ أنها: + قد ه ك/د/ 5 وقبل... قبلها: - 5 قار: حرف/ا

وهو... أقسام: - 1 جد ه حطر /8 ويدر: +5 إذا كانت مفتونة وما قبلها مكسورًا أو

مضومًا تجعل واما ودا / 8 ورسوم: وسمل د ك /4-1 هنالك... بل: 1 جد حط/1-2 تجعل: 2

د/10 معلتي: + واحد د/ أصل سالاس: - 1 جد ه حطر/ ملك/ 1 ملك/ ط: +

II.4. Translation: The 3rd Chapter is about the Hamzated Verb

It is not named strong because its hamza can be changed into a weak consonant when it is softened. It falls into three sorts: [Fol. 21 b] 1– verbs with hamza as 1st radical, e.g. أخزذ “to take”, 2– verbs with hamza as 2nd radical, e.g. سال “to ask” and 3– verbs with hamza as 3rd radical, e.g. فر “to read”. The predicament of the hamza is the same as the predicament of the strong consonant, except that it [sc. the hamza] is alleviated 1 by [its] change into a weak consonant, 2 by [its] change into a hamza, intermediate hamza”, i.e. that is between its point of articulation and the point of articulation of the weak consonant [which supports it] that its vowel is connected to, and it is said between the hamza and the weak consonant from which it acquires the vowel, and by [its] elision. Then it [sc. the alleviation] is of three sorts: 1– The first one [sc. the change into a weak consonant] is carried out if it is vowelless and the consonant preceding it is vowelled. In this case it is changed in a manner that agrees with the vowel preceding it, because of the faint nature of the vowelless consonant and the requirement of what [sc. the vowel that] precedes it, e.g. رأس “head”, لوم “blame” and ير “well, spring”. 2 The second one [sc. the change into an intermediary hamza] is carried out if it and the consonant preceding it are vowelled. It is however made firm afterwards because of the strength of its nature, e.g. سلام “to ask”, يوم “to be wicked” and سلم “to be weary”, unless it is vowelled by a fatha and the consonant preceding it is vowelled by a kasra or damma, as it does not stay firm but is changed into a w or y, e.g. بير “exciting disension among the people” and جون “receptable for bottles or the like”, because the fatha is similar to the sukun in being faint. So it [sc. the hamza] is changed in the same manner as if it had a sukun. If it is asked why it is not changed into an ا in سلام “to ask”, in which the hamza is vowelled by a fatha and is faint, we answered that its fatha became [Fol. 22 a] stable due to the [influence of the] fatha preceding it. As for لا هنالك المزتع “may the pasture not be pleasant to you!”, it is anomalous. 3– The third one [sc. the elision] is carried out if it is vowelled and the consonant preceding it is vowelless. In this case it is made faint at first because of the faintness of its nature when it is combined with a vowelless consonant, then it is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, and then its vowel is shifted to the consonant preceding it if it is: 1– a strong consonant or 2– an original or an augmentative w or y that is attached for a meaning, for example “a matter” underlyingly مالك and سال “an angel” underlyingly دك، which is from meaning “the message”. As for لحمر “red” can occur instead of it, because its a [of the article] is prefixed for the sake of the vowelless l which is not vowelless any more. Also can occur because of the softness of the l’s vowel, “female hyena”, “Gawaba (name of a water)”, “the father of Job” and “I seek for his matter” occur as well. It is possible to shift the vowel [of the hamza] to
حرف العلة في هذه الأشياء، فقواتها، وطروحة الحركة عليها، وإذا كان ما قبلها حرف ليس
مربعاً، فأن كان ياء أو واوا أو مدتين أو ما يشبه المدة كيا، التصغير جعلت مثل
ما قبلها تم أدعتم في الآخر لأن نقل الحركة إلى هذه الأشياء يقضي إلى تحويل
الضعيف في دعع نحو خطية ومقروءة وأفيس، فإن يلزم يلزم الضعيف أيضاً في
الإدخال وهو اليا، اليا الثانية قلنا اليا، اليا الثانية أصلية فلا تكون ضعيفة كيا. جبل، وإن كان
ألفاً جعل بين بين لأن اللف لا يتحمل الحركة والإدخال نحو سايلي والقابل، وإذا اجتمع
هيزتان في كلمة واحدة كانت الأولى مفتوحة والثانية ساكنة تغلب الثانية ألفاً نحو أخذ
وأم، إلاإ في أية جعلت هيزتها ألفاً، كما في أحد، ثم جعلت ياء لا اجتماع الساكنين، وعند
اللكفيين لا تغلب هيزتها بالالف حطى لا يلزم اجتماع الساكنين ورقي، عندهم
ألفاً الكفور بالنسبة. فإن قيل اجتماع الساكنين في حدده جانس فلم لا يجوز في
آمة كلمة الالف في أمة ليست بدة فكيف يكون اجتماع الساكنين في حدده. وإذا
كانت مكسورة تغلب ياء نحو أيسر، وأوأ، إذا كانتا في كلمة واحدة، وإذا إذا كانتا
 نحو أو أيسر. وإذا كان كل ممز وحذاء شاذان. هذا إذا كانتا في كلمة واحدة، وإذا إذا كانتا
في كلمتين تخفف الثانية عند الخليل نحو (فقد جا، أشراطها)، وعند أهل
الحجار تخفف كلها، ومن بعض العرب تفتح بينها ألف للضصل نحو أنت
كقول المشاعر آنت طيبة في أم سالم، ولا تخفف الهرزة في أول الكلمة لقوة
المثلك في الإبداء وتخيفها بالحرف في ناس أصله أمان شاذ وكذلك إلاإ فجعلوا

Fols. 22a-23a

أ ولطرية: وطرة أ / 2 نظر: + إلى ذلك الحرف ط / ياء أو واوا: واوا أو ياء / لوا (أ)ـ / ـ/ـ /ـ /ـ
the weak consonant in these forms because of its [sc. the weak consonant’s] soundness and
because of the lightness of the vowel on it.\(^{(224)}\) If the consonant preceding it [sc. the vowelled
hamza] is an augmentative [vowelless] weak consonant, it is taken into account. If it is a \(w\) or
\(y\), one of the two glides lengthening the preceding vowel or what resembles to a glide as the
diminutive \(y\), it [sc. the hamza] is changed into the same [weak] consonant as the weak conso-
nant preceding it, and then [the preceding weak consonant] is assimilated to it. As for the
reason of this, it is that shifting its [sc. the hamza’s] vowel to them [sc. the weak consonants]
[Fol. 22 b] results in imposing a vowel on the weak one [sc. the infixed weak consonant of the
intended pattern], which is why an assimilation must [instead] be carried out [from the preced-
ing weak consonant to the hamza changed into a weak consonant following it], e.g. َحَمْضِيةٌ
“a sin”, َأَنْسُ “a writing read” and َأَنْسُ “a little axe”. If it is said that this would as well necessi-
tively imply imposing a vowel on the weak one, which is the 2nd \(y\) [or the 2nd \(w\) through
the assimilation, we answered that the 2nd \(y\) [or \(w\)] is underlying [i.e. that it replaces an underlying
radical which is the hamza] and is therefore not weak, as the [augmentative] \(y\) of َجِيلٌ [that is
sound].\(^{(225)}\) If it [sc. the weak consonant preceding it] is an \(a\), it [sc. the hamza] is changed into
a hamza َبَيْنَا َبَيْنَا because the \(a\) cannot accept neither the vowel nor the assimilation, e.g.
َسَابِلٌ “a questioner” and َقَابِلٌ “teller”.\(^{(226)}\) If two hamzas, of which the 1st is vowelled by a fatha
and the 2nd is vowelless, are combined in one word, the 2nd one is changed into an \(a\), e.g. َأَخَذْ
“the one who holds mostly against” and َأَدَّمَ “tawny”,\(^{(227)}\) except in َأَيْسِرْ “leaders in religion”
whose hamza is changed into an \(a\) as in َأَخَذْ, and then into a \(y\) to avoid the cluster of two
vowelless consonants. However according to the Kufans, its hamza is not changed into an \(a\)
to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, and it was recited by them [sur. 9: 12
(أَنْشَه)] َكُفَرْ “the chiefs of Unfaith” with both hamzas.\(^{(228)}\) If it is stated that the combination of two
vowelless consonants is possible at the beginning of the word,\(^{(229)}\) then why is it not possible in
َأَيْمَ “elided”, we answer that the alif in َأَمَّ “is not a [real] madda,\(^{(230)}\) so how could the combination of two
vowelless consonants be made possible at its initial? If it [sc. the 1st hamza] is vowelled by a
kasra, it [sc. the 2nd hamza] is changed into a \(y\), e.g. َأِسْرَ “capture! /2 masc. sing.” underlyingly
َأَيْمَ “elided”. If it [sc. the 1st] is vowelled by a damma, it [sc. the 2nd] is changed [Fol. 23 a] into a \(w\).
e.g. َأُوْتِرْ “he, or it was preferred /passive” [underlyingly َأَلْتَرْ “order!” and
َحَدِّ “take!”], they are anomalous.\(^{(231)}\) This is the case if they [sc. the hamzas] are both combined
in one word. However, if they are combined in two words, the 2nd one is lightened by al{-Halil,
e.g. [sur. 47: 18] َفَقَدَ جَاءَ أَشْرَاطُهَا “But already have come some tokens”, whereas both are
lightened by the Hīgāzīs.\(^{(232)}\) By some of the Arabs, the separating \(a\) is inserted between both the
hamzas, e.g. َأَلْتَ “Are you a female gazelle or Umm Sālim?”.\(^{(233)}\) The hamza is not lightened at the beginning of the word because it is strongly
pronounced by the speaker at the beginning. As for its lightness through its elision in َأَنْسُ “people” underlyingly
َأَنْسُ, it is anomalous.\(^{(234)}\) So is also َإِلَهٌ “a god”, in which they elided
العاقلة فصار لا ثم أدخل ألفا واللام ثم أدخل فصين الله وقيل أصله الله فعذفت
العاقلة الثانية وثلقت حركتها إلى الإمام فصار اللام ثم أدخل فصين الله كما في برى أصله
يَبْرِيَ فَلْتَ الْياء الْمَنْعَةُ لَتَمْ لَيْنُ هِمْ بِأَشْرَكٍ فَعذفت
العاقلة وأعطت حركتها إلى الباء فصار برى وهذا التخفيف واجب في برى دون أخواتها
لكحدمة الاستعمال مع اجتياز حرف العلة بالهمزة في الفعل الكثير وفي من ثم لا يجب أن يلقي
في برى وإسْلَم في مسال ومسال في مسال ونقول في القلاب والصائر رأى أبي رأوا
ذات رَأْئِيّ رَأْيٍ رَأَيْتُمْ أَيْآءُ أَيْآءٍ أَيْنَكُمُ الْأَخَرَةُ وَإِعَالَةُ الْيَاهَ سُجِي، في باب الناقص،
المستقبل برى غير بريون ترى ترى ترى ترى ترى ترى ترى ترى ترى ثَرِينَ ثَرِينَ ثَرِينَ ثَرِينَ أَرِى
تَرِى وَحَكِيمٌ كَحْكِيمِ بَرَى وَلَكِنْ حُذْفُ الْأَلْفِ الْذِيْ زِجْرَ تَرِىْ جَمْعُ السَّاَكِنِين
يَوْا لَجْمٍ وَجْرُكُ الْياءِ إِلَى بَرِيْفِ الْجَرْكِ والْلَّقْبُ الْمُحْرَكُ لَقْبُ الْحَرَكَةِ وَلَا تَقْلِبُ الْياءَ أَلْفًا أَيْنَكُم
يَجْمَعُ السَّاَكِنِين وَمَثْلُ حُذْفِ فِلَبِبِسِ بَالْوَاحِدِ إِلَيْهِ مِثْلُ لَمْ يَبْرِيْ وَقَرْنِ ثْرِيْنَ
تَرِيْنَ عَلَى وَزْنِ تَفْعَلْنِ حُذْفِ الْعَاقِلَةِ كَمَا في بَرِيْ وَقَرْنِتْ حَرَكَتِهَا إِلَى الْأَبْرَاءَ فَصَار
تَرِيْنَ ثُمَّ جَعُلَتِ الْياءُ الْمَنْعَةُ لِتَحْرِكَهَا وَفَتْحُ مَا قَبْلَهَا فَصَارُ بَرِيْنَ ثُمَّ حُذْفُ الْأَلْف
لَجْمِ السَّاَكِنِين فَصَارُ تَرِىْ وَسُوَّيْ بِهِ بَيْنَ جَمْعِهِ إِكْتُفَا لِلْفِرْقِ التَّقْدِيرِيْ كَمَا في
تَرِمْيِمِ وَسُجِي، في باب الناقص. وإذا أدخلت النون القليلة في الشرط كما في قوله

Fols. 23a-24a

244 ARABIC TEXT AND TRANSLATION

١٠٠٠ (١٠٠٠)
the hamza so that it became َلا، and then the ‘a together with the / which is assimilated [to the 2nd /] were prefixed, and it became َلا. It is said that its base form is َلا whose 2nd hamza is elided and its vowel is shifted to the / so it became َلا، and then an assimilation was carried out, and it became َلا.  

So is also the case of َلا “he sees” whose base form is َلا, in which the [3rd radical] y is changed into an َا on account of the fatha preceding it, then the hamza is changed into a weak consonant [sc. an َا: َلا], such which entailed a cluster of three vowelless consonants [the r, the َا and the alif maqṣūra], so the hamza is elided and its vowel is shifted to the r so that it became َلا. This alleviation is necessary in َلا and not in its cognates because of the frequency of its use, [Fol. 23 b] and because of [the heaviness of] the combination of the weak consonant and the hamza in the heavy verb.

However it is not allowed to say ِّيَنَّالُ َلا for “he retires”, ِّيَنَّالُ َلا “he asks” and ِّيَنَّالُ َلا “an aspect”.  


In the imperfect: َلا, “he sees”, َلا, “I see”, َلا, َلا “he / I see”, َلا, “she / he sees”, َلا, َلا “I / she see”, َلا, َلا “we / you see”, َلا, َلا “they see”, َلا, َلا “we / they see”, َلا, َلا “you see”, َلا, َلا “I see”, َلا, َلا “he / I see”, َلا, َلا “she / he see”, َلا, َلا “we / you see”, َلا, َلا “they see”, َلا, َلا “we / they see”, َلا, َلا “you see”, َلا, َلا “I see”, َلا, َلا “he / I see”, َلا, َلا “she / he see”, َلا, َلا “we / you see”, َلا, َلا “they see”, َلا, َلا “we / they see

The predicament of َلا is similar to the predicament of َلا except that the alif maqṣūra in َلا is elided [from َلا] to avoid the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, among them the َا of the pl.

The y in َلا is vowelless because of the lightness of the vowel. It is not changed into an َا, because if so was the case, there would be a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants [sc. the alifs: َلا] that would necessitate its elision, such which would cause a confusion with the sing. [َلا], and so َلا “they shall not see /subjunctive, dual, (defective)” [with the elision of the y instead of َلا] would be confused with [the sing. َلا].

The base form of َلا is according to the pattern َلا. The hamza is elided [in it] as in َلا and its fatha is shifted to the r so it became َلا. then the y is changed into an َا because of its mobility and because of the [influence of the] fatha preceding it, so it became َلا. and then the َا is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [sc. the َا and the y] and it became َلا. It is made homonymous with its plural with the virtual difference being sufficient, as in َلا “you throw, /2 fem. sing. or pl.”, which shall be discussed in the section treating the verbs with weak 3rd radical. If the energetic n is suffixed to it in the condition [Fol. 24 a] as in the words of...
تعالى فإنما ترَبَّين من البَحْرَ أحادًا، حذف النون علامة للجزم وكسرت يا، التانين حتى يطرد بجميع نونات التاكيد كما في أَخْشِين ويجي، تسامه في باب اللعف، الأمر على الأصل إِراً وعلى الحذف رَبَّين رَفِعَ يَرِي رُبَّين رُبَّين، ولا يَجْعَل اليا، إِنْ أَيْ فِي رَبَّين
تبعًا لِيُرَيْان ويمرُون بها، الوقت نحو رَّفِعَ حذفها حمرته كَا في يَرِي ثم حذفتها اليا، لأجل السكون، وبالنون الحذفية رَبَّين رُبَّين دون رَبَّين رُبَّين ويجي، باليا، في رَبَّين
لائبع السكون كما في أَرَمْيَن لم يَحْذَفوا إِراً في رَّوْن دون رَّوْن. الفاعل رأى، إلى آخره ولا يَحْذَف حمرته لَا يَجِي، في الفعل وقيل لأن ما قبلها ألف والألف لا
تقلب الحركة ولكن يجوز لِلء أن تجعل حمرته بين بين كما في سائر وقت، 240
على هذا أَرَيَ يُرَي إِراً، الفعل مُنْرَي إِراً آخره أَرَيَ مُرْيَ فُأَمِل كَا في مُنْرَي ولا يَجْعَل حذف حمرته لأن وجوب حذف الهزة في فعله غير قياس كما مرَ فَلا يَمْسِكُ الفعل مُنْرَي وحده، وحذفته في مُنْرَي أَرَي مُرْيَ 12
لكثرة مستثناه وهو أَرَي وَيَرِي وأَخْوَانهما، والوضع مُرْيَان والآلهة مُرْيَان
وإِذا حذفت الهزة في هذه الأشياء، يجوز بالقياس على نظائرها أَلَّا أن
غير مستعمل. الفاعل رُيَ كَي يُرَي إِراً آخره إِراً لهير، الهوضة النافع، يجي، من خمسة
أبُوب نحو أَخَذُ يَاخُذَ وادَبُ يادَب وآهَبُ يَاهَب وآرَجُ يآرَج وآسَلُ يآسَل

Fols. 24a-24b

1 علامة: "2" بجمع 5 نونات: النون 1: نون 5: أَخْشِين + ونظيره أَخْشِين
بيانين قلبت اليا، الأولى ألفا لَلتحركة وإحتجاج ما قبلها جِي، ويجي، مبكي، 5 رٌ: على...
الحذف: دـ ١ـ ٥ـ ١ـ ٦ـ رٌ: فِي، ١ـ ٥ـ حط كـ ٤ـ ٠ـ ٠ـ
ومل: فِي، ٥ـ حط: حذف دـ ٤ـ ١ـ ٧ـ أَغْزِن، ١ـ ٥ـ، ويجلو، ونطق بالنون حـ ـ ويجب
والنون الحذفية: والخفيفة ٢ـ الفاعل: اسم الفاعل بـ، راـ: + رانان باذن: طـ ١٠ حذف:
the Allmighty [sur. 19: 26] “And if thou dost see any man”, the n is elided as a marker of the jussive and the y of the fem. is vowelled by a kasra so that it would be followed by the energetic n, as in “you do surely dread! (imperative En. 1)”. It shall be fully discussed in the section treating the verbs that are doubly weak.

The imperative is underlingly ḍo and after elision .Groups, “2 masc. pl.”, “/2 dual”, “/2 masc. pl.”.

The y is not changed into an ā in ḍo on the analogy of ḍo. It [sc. the masc. of the 2nd person of the imperative] is allowable with the h of the pause, e.g. ḍo whose hamza is elided as in ḍo, and then the y is elided for the sake of the sukūn.

It occurs with the energetic n, “/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. 1), “/2 masc. pl.”, “/2 dual”, “/2 fem. sing.”, “/2 dual” and “/2 fem. pl.”. It occurs with the y in ḍo because of the absence of the sukūn [in the structure] as in ḍo “throw! /2 masc. sing.”. The w of the pl. is not elided in ḍo because the consonant preceding it is not vowelled by a damma, as opposed to ḍo “attack! /2 masc. pl.”.

It occurs with the single n, “/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. II), “/2 masc. pl.” and “/2 fem. sing.”.

The active participle is ḍē, ḍi, etc. Its hamza is not elided when it occurs in the passive participle, and it is said because the weak consonant preceding it is an ā, and the ā does not accept the vowel. However, it is possible for you to change its hamza into a hamza bayna bayna, as in “questioner” [sc. ساٌل “ما”. Analogously, ḍi [Form IV] “to show” occur.

The passive participle is ḍē, ḍi, etc., underlingly ḍē, ḍi, etc., in which a change due to unsoundness is carried out [Fol. 24 b] as in مَرَأَى... . The hamza should not be elided, because the necessity of eliding it in its verb [sc. بَرَى] is not in conformity with the analogy as was mentioned, so the passive participle and other forms [sc. the active participle, the imperative and others] did not follow it.

It is elided in مَرَأَى [the passive participle of Form IV] underlingly مَرَأَى from frequency of usage of the form that it is subordinated to [i.e. the verb of Form IV in the imperfect “to show” and both its cognates [sc. the imperative and the prohibition].

The noun of place is مَرَأَى and the noun of instrument is مَرَأَى. The elision of the hamza is possible in these forms on account of the analogy with their equivalents [sc. the imperfect, imperative], but it is not carried out.

The passive voice is مَرَأَى etc.

The verbs with hamza as 1st radical fall into five conjugations, e.g. أَدْبُ “to take”, أَخُذُ “to take”, أَجْزَ “to invite (to a party or banquet)”, أَهْبُ “to prepare”, أَهْبُ “to be flagrant” and أَسْلُ “to sharpen”.
الهموز العين يجيء من ثلاثة أبواب نحو رأس وعينين: بينيس ويلو ومهموز
اللام يجيء من أربعة أبواب نحو هنا وهنما ويسا وصدئا: بيدو وجزر وجزر ولا
يجيء في المضاد إلا مهموز الفاء نحو أن ييمن ولا تنفع المهمزة في موضع حرف الجمع
وسين ثم لا يجيء في المثال إلا مهموز العين أو اللام نحو وأد ووجا ولا في الأحرف إلا
ورأي ولا في الفرفق إلا مهموز العين نحو وأي ولا في الم تكون إلا مهموز الفاء
 نحو أيو. وتكتب المهمزة في الأولى على صورة الألف في كل الأحوال نحو وأم وأيم
لتحفة الألف وقورة الكاتب عند البنداء على وضع الحركات في الوسط إذن إذا كانت ساكنة
تكتب على ورق حركة ما قبلها نحو ولوم وينبر وينبر للشاملة وإذا كانت متحركة
تكتب على ورق حركة نفسها حتى تعلم حركتها نحو ولوم وينبر وينبر وإذا كانت
متحركة في آخر الكلمة تكتب على ورق حركة ما قبلها لا على ورق حركة نفسها لأن
الحركة طويلة عارضة نحو قر ونظر وفيه. وإذا كان ما قبلها ساكنا لا تكتب على
صورة شيء لطول حركتها وعدم حركة ما قبلها نحو نب ونبر ونبر.

Fols. 24b-25b

ه ك 8 إذا... تكتب: - آج 9 تكتب: - B ج د 6: وإي: وإي: - D:
سال: سال: وسال: وسال: سال 11 ما... حركة: - 1/12 13... مارضة: ع د ه
The verbs with hamza as 2nd radical fall into three conjugations, e.g. رَأَى يُرَأَى "to see", لَوَمُ يَلْوَمُ "to despair" and لَوْمُ يَلْوَمُ "to be wicked".

The verbs with hamza as 3rd radical fall into four conjugations, e.g. هَمَا يَهْمَى "to be beneficial", جُرُوَّ يَجْرُوُ "to buy, collect (wine)" and صُدْدٍ يَصُدْدَا "to become rusty" and جُرُوَّ يَجْرُوُ "to dare, venture".

Only the verbs with hamza as 1st radical occur as a doubled verb, e.g. يَنْ يَنْ "to groan, moan", and here the hamza does not replace the weak consonant.

Only the verbs with hamza as 2nd radical or 3rd radical occur as verbs with weak 1st radical, [Fol. 25a] e.g. وَأَدُ "to bury alive (a newborn girl)" and وَأَدُ "to beat".

Only the verbs with hamza as 1st or 3rd radical occur as verbs with weak 2nd radical, e.g. أَنْ "to come, to approach" and جاء "to come".

Only the verbs with hamza as 1st or 2nd radical occur as verbs with weak 3rd radical, e.g. أَيُ "to refuse" and رَأَى رَأَى "to see".

Only the verbs with hamza as 2nd radical occur as verbs with weak 1st and 3rd radical, e.g. وَأَيُ "to promise".

Only the verbs with hamza as 1st radical occur as verbs with 2nd and 3rd weak radical, e.g. أَوْرَى "to seek refuge".

The hamza is represented by an alif at the beginning of the word in all cases, e.g. أَبُ "father", أَمُ "mother" and إِبْلُ "camels", because of the lightness of the alif and because of the determination of the writer to vowel the initial consonant of the word.

If it is vowelless in the middle of the word, it is written according to the vowel preceding it, e.g. رَأَى "head", لَوْمُ "baseness, meanness", بِنْ "spring" and ذَنْ "wolf" for the sake of similarity. If it is vowelled, it is written according to its own vowel so that it becomes revealed, e.g. لَوْمُ "to be wicked, evil" and سَنْمُ "to be weary, tired".

If it is vowelled at the end of the word, it is written according to the vowel preceding it, and not according to its own vowel, because the vowel at the extremity of the word is accidental, e.g. لَوْمُ "to read", فُرُزُ "to descend, to break in" and فُرُزُ "not to cease to be, to refrain". If the consonant preceding it is vowelless, it is written [unsupported] without representing anything [sc. a weak consonant], because of the weakness of its vowel and the vowellessness of the consonant preceding it, [Fol. 25b] e.g. حُبُ "a hidden thing", دُفُ "warmth" and قِبُ "recovery".
II.4.1. COMMENTARY

The Hamzated Verb

(213) For a general study of the Hamzated Verb see Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 405-434, Zanągānī, 'Īzā 12-13, ʿAbd al-Hamid, Taṣrīf 614-618, de Sacy, 232-236, 240-241, 247-248, 256-258, 260-261, Farhät, Bahāt 58-62, Brockelmann, Socins Grammatik 40-42, Wright, 72-77, Blachère, 162-164, Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 107-118, ʿAbd al-Rahīm, Șarf 24-27. The verbs with 1st radical hamza fall into the following conjugations: 1- فعل يفعلُ “to take”, 2- فعل يفعلُ “to come”, and 3- فعل يفعلُ “to invite (to a party or banquet)”, e.g. أَحْدُ يَأْتِي (to see) , أَحْدُ يَأْتِي (to refuse) “to prepare”, e.g. أَهْب يَأْهُب “to find no sleep”, 4- فعل يفعلُ “to think”, e.g. أَرْجُ يَأْرَجُ “to be flagrant” and 5- فعل يفعلُ “to sharpen”. The verb with 1st radical hamza is more numerous than the verb with 2nd radical hamza: 180 / 154 (cf. Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 114).

The verbs with 2nd radical hamza fall into the following conjugations: 1- فعل يفعلُ “to ask”, and 2- “to see”. It can be noted that the fatḥa is given to its 2nd radical because it is a guttural consonant in the same manner as it is given to the 2nd radical of the strong verb of which the 2nd or 3rd radical is a guttural consonant (for it see (30)). 3- فعل يفعلُ “to despair” and 4- فعل يفعلُ “to be wicked”, e.g. نُشِصِ بِيَسَاس “to desperado”.

The verbs with 3rd radical hamza fall into the following conjugations: 1- فعل يفعلُ “to become evil”, 2- فعل يفعلُ “to become evil”, e.g. جَايِ بِيَتَ “to be beneficial”, فعل يفعلُ “to emerge” and 3- فعل يفعلُ “to emerge” and 4- فعل يفعلُ “to buy, collect (wine)”, e.g. جَرَوْ يَحْرُو “to dare, venture”.

For a study of this class of verb with corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Brockelmann, Grundriss 589-594, Wright, Comparative Grammar 277-285.

(214) The paradigm of أَحْدُ, a verb with 1st radical hamza, in the perfect, active, which pertains to the conjugation فعل يفعلُ is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدُنَا</td>
<td>أَحْدُتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدُتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدُتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدُتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدَتْ</td>
<td>أَحْدُتْ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:
THE HAMZATED VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>يَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the subjunctive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يَأْخَدُ يَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>يَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the jussive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>يَأْخَدُ يَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>يَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ تَأْخَدُ</td>
<td>تَأْخَدُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperative is تَأْخَدُ. Its active participle is تَأْخَدُ. Its imperfect, passive is تَأْخَدُ. Its perfect, passive is تَأْخَدُ.

b) سَأَلَ, a verb with 2nd radical hamza, pertains to the conjugation فعلُ يَفْعَلُ. Its perfect, active, is سَأَلَ. Its imperfect of the indicative, active, is سَأَلَ, of the subjunctive, active, يَسَالَ, and of the jussive, active, يَسَالَ. Its imperative is سَأَلَ. Its active participle is سَأَلَ. Its maṣdar is سَأَلَ. Its perfect, passive is سَأَلَ. Its imperfect, passive, is يَسَالَ. Its passive participle is سَأَلَ.

An example of a verb with 2nd radical hamza that pertains to the conjugation فعلُ يَفْعَلُ, and thus has a w with hamza as its 2nd radical in the perfect, is بَوْسُ “to be strong”. Its paradigm of the groundform and derived forms is the following:

Form I: Its perfect, active is بَوْسُ. Its imperfect is بَوْسُ. Its imperative is بَوْسُ. Its active participle is بَوْسُ. Its maṣdar is بَوْسُ. Its perfect, passive is بَوْسُ. Its imperfect is بَوْسُ. Its passive participle is بَوْسُ.
Form II: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form III: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form IV: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form V: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form VI: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form VII: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

Form X: Its perfect, active is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperative is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its active participle is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its mašdar is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its perfect, passive is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its imperfect is بَيْنُ النَّس. Its passive participle is بَيْنُ النَّس.

The paradigm of its derived forms is the following:

Form II: Its perfect, active is قَرَأ. Its imperfect is قَرَأ. Its imperative is قَرَأ. Its active participle is قَرَأ. Its mašdar is قَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is قَرَأ. Its imperfect is قَرَأ. Its passive participle is قَرَأ.
Form III: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

Form IV: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

Form V: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

Form VI: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

Form VII: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

Form X: Its perfect, active is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its active participle is ٍقَرَأ. Its masdar is ٍقَرَأ. Its perfect, passive is ٍقَرَأ. Its imperfect is ٍقَرَأ. Its passive participle is ٍقَرَأ.

(215) The hamza can either be pronounced fully or be lightened (cf. Şubhî, Fiqh 77-78, Rabin, 130-131). Its being pronounced fully makes it similar in its predicament to the strong consonant. The reason of its alleviation is that it is a hard heavy consonant, uttered from the farthest part of the throat. Its softening pertains to the dialect of Quraish and to most of the inhabitants of al-Hijaz, whereas its pronouncing fully pertains to the dialect of Tamim and Qais (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 168, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 812, 930). According to Abû Zaid referred to by Ibn Manzûr, I, 26, the Hijazis, the Hudail, and the inhabitants of Makkah and Madina do not pronounce the hamza. 'Isa b. 'Umar mentioned that Tamim pronounce it fully and that the Hijazis do so only if they are obliged to.

(216) The hamza bayna bayna is termed as betwixt and between by Howell, Grammar IV, fasc. I, 930 sqq. (cf. Cachia, Monitor 12). This lightened hamza, which is preceded by a fatha, is a sort of mixture between the hamza and the weak consonant to which its vowel is connected to (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 168-169, Ibn Ya'îs, IX, 107, Roman, Étude I, 324-326). If the hamza is over the alif and thus vowelled by a fatha, it is changed into the ā, e.g. سَالٍ used instead of سَالٍ.
“he asked”, if it is ‘alā kurš t-ya’ and thus vowelled by the kasra, it is changed into the ġ, e.g. سَمِّيَ he was weary”, and if it is over the w and thus vowelled by the damma, it is changed into the w, e.g. لَوْمَ “he was base” (cf. Lane, I, 288). Concerning it, Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 48 writes:

وَأَما الهمزة المخففة فهي التي تسمى همزة بَيْنَ بَيْنَ - ومنع قول سبيله بِيْنَ بَيْنَ
أي هي بين الهمزة وبين الحرف الذي منه حركتها - إن كانت مفتوحة فهي بين الهمزة والالف، وإن كانت مكسورة فهي بين الهمزة والواو... فالفتحة نحو قولك في سأل: سأل، والكسرة نحو قولك في سْمِ، والمضومة نحو قولك في لْوُمِ: لْوُمْ.

“As for the lightened hamza, it is the one that is termed bayña bayña. The meaning with Sibawaihi’s saying bayña bayña is that it is between the hamza and the weak consonant to which its vowel is connected to. If it is vowelled by the fatha it is then between the hamza and the ġ, if it is vowelled by the kasra it is then between the hamza and the ġ, and if it is vowelled by the damma it is then between the hamza and the w... As for the one vowelled by the fatha it is in your saying concerning سأل as for the one vowelled by the kasra it is in your saying concerning سْمِ “he was weary”, and as for the one vowelled by the damma it is in your saying concerning لْوُمِ “he was base: لْوُمْ.

Nöldeke, Grammatik 5 compares the hamza bayña bayña with the french diphthong oi, ie or the Dutch oot, eeu, etc. This hamza is considered as vowelless according to the Kufans whereas it is provided by a faint vowel close to the sukun according to the Basrans (for their debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 105, 306-307).

(217) The vowelless hamza is considered as weak because of its sukun. It is therefore subjected to the influence of the vowel preceding it, which is considered as strong, and is for that reason able to force it to be changed into a weak consonant that should be of the same nature as itself. When the vowelless alif with hamza is preceded by the kasra, it is changed into a ġ, e.g. بَيْرُ “well” for بِيْرَ (cf. Fischer/Jastrow, Dialecte 39, Bohas, Étude 265), when it is preceded by the fatha it is changed into an ġ, e.g. رَأْسُ “head” for رَأْسَ (cf. 369), Nöldeke, Grammatik 6; for other examples see (216), (220)), and when it is preceded by the damma it is changed into a w, e.g. مُوْمَيْنَ “believer” for مُوْمَيْنَ (cf. Bohas, Étude 264-265), and لْوُمُ used instead of لْوُمُ (cf. 362)). This change is said to be caused by the Arabs’ eagerness that the vowel of the weak consonant paused upon should be made plain (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 810). The same change of the hamza into an ġ as in رَأْسُ رَأْسَ occurs in Hebrew, as the hamza becomes first נא מ and then נא מ רֹאֶשׁ. The Aramaic has מָעֹר for מָעֹר and the Assyrian has רֶסֶע or rêsē (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 45).

In ordinary cases when the vowelless hamza is not changed into a weak consonant, the vowel preceding it determines as well its shape. When it is preceded by the damma it is changed into a w with hamza, ġ, e.g. لْوُمُ “baseness”, written with a w with hamza instead of لْوُمُ written with the hamza over the alif, and when it is preceded by the kasra it is changed into a hamza ‘alā
The hamzated verb

255

kursî l-yā'ī e.g. مسنّ "well, spring", written with a hamza ʿalā kursî l-yā'ī instead of ʿbayr َ مَسْنُ "written with the hamza under the alif (cf. Wright, II, 72).

(218) When the hamza that is vocalized by a dama or by a kasra and that is preceded by a fatḥa is not alleviated by its change into a hamza bayna bayna, it is written over – in the case of the ۡ، or under, – in the case of the ۡ، the particular weak consonant that its vowel is connected to (for discussions see de Sacy, I, 95, Wright, II, 75). If the hamza is vocalized by a dama, which in the base form is written over the alif, i.e. the ۡ، it is changed into a hamza over the w ۡ. An example is لْوُمَ "to be wicked" written with the hamza over the w instead of the base form لَوَمَ written with a hamza over a dama. If the hamza is vocalized by a kasra, which in the base form is written under the alif, the ۡ، it is changed into a hamza ʿalā kursî l-yā'ī ۡ. An example is سَمِعُ "to be weary" written with the hamza ʿalā kursî l-yā'ī instead of the base form سَمَعُ written with a hamza under the alif.

Otherwise, the vocalised hamza that is preceded by a fatḥa can be softened and changed into a hamza bayna bayna, e.g. لْوُمُ and سَمِعُ used instead of لَوَمُ سَمَعُ (for discussions see (216)).

(219) The base form of مِسْرُ مِسْرُ is جَوُنْ جَوُنْ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 169, Zamaḥšari, 166). In both these examples the hamza of the base form is vocalised by a fatḥa and preceded by a kasra or a dama respectively. The fatḥa is considered as faint and thus similar to the sukūn in that respect, which is why the hamza that is vocalised by the fatḥa is changed into a weak consonant of the nature of the vowel preceding it, in the same manner as the hamza that is vocalless does (for examples see (216), (217), (362)). Thus if this vowel is a kasra as in جَوُنْ جَوُنْ it is changed into the y and if it is a dama as in جَوُنْ جَوُنْ it is changed into the w (cf. Ibn Wallâd, Maqṣûr 166). مِسْرُ is taken up by Zamaḥšari, 173 as an example in which the j is substituted for the hamza (for this substitution see (217), (351)), and جَوُنْ جَوُنْ is taken up by ibid, 174 and by Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 573 as an example in which the w is substituted for the hamza (for this substitution see (217), (362)). جَوُنْ جَوُنْ exists also meaning "dark, black". Taʿalibi, Fiqh 247 and Ibn Durraid, Iṣṭiqaq 224 remark that the word can mean both white and black. For a study of the word see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1319, Fischer, Forb- 27-36. The Aramaic has نَحْ، ٍناحْ meaning "colour" (cf. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 94).

(220) The hamza of هِنَاكُ is lightened resulting in هَاكُ, or the َ is substituted for the hamza (for further examples of this substitution see (217), (369)). This alleviated form occurs in this line for the sake of metric exigency. The complete line is:

ٍراِحَتْ بِسَلْسَةِ ِلْبَغَالَ عَشَّةٍ قَآرِعُ فَرَارَةٌ لَا هَنَاكُ السَّرَّعُ

"The mules have gone away with Maslama at evening. Then graze your camels, Fazāra. May the pasture not be pleasant to you!".

The verse is said by Farazdaq, Diwān 508, and is cited by Sibawaihi, II, 175, Ibn Ğinnî, Haṣā ِی.
The sorts of vowelless consonants, whether strong or weak, that can precede the hamza that is vowelled by a fatha, causing the hamza’s elision and the transfer of its fatha to them, can be: 1– a strong consonant, e.g. the radical s in مسألة “a matter” (see (222)), the radial l in مسألة the 1st radical s, preceding it. The base form of مسألة “angel” (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif II, 102-104, Zamaḥṣāri, 166, Ibn Manṣūr, I, 110-111, Wright, II, 77, Vernier, I, 101-102, Fleischer, Beiträge 139, Lane, I, 81-82), in which the vowelless hamza is elided, and its vowel, the fatha, is shifted to the vowelless strong consonant, the 1st radical s, preceding it. The base form of مسألة "to convey" before that a transposition of consonants is carried out in it so that it became مسألة, whereas according to Abū Ubaida it is from مسألة and according to Ibn Kaisān from مسألة. The base form of مسألة is from والد and الولدة becomes by transposition of the l before the hamza مسألة (cf. Talmon, ʿAyn 142). It can be noted that Derenbourg printed in Sibawaihi, II, 209 l. 1 مسألة while the content requires مسألة and مسألة are said in the meaning of “message”. Both مسألة and مسألة occurs in the verse mentioned in (224). Compare in Hebrew מִלָּה, but מִלָּה for מִלָּה, the Aramaic מִלָּה, and the Ethiopic מִלָּה (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 44-45, Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 34).

The vowelled hamza of the 1st radical s is elided, and its vowel, the fatha, is shifted to the vowelless strong consonant, the l, of the article ,opt preceding it. Then the connective hamza is elided, i.e. 

(221) The sorts of vowelless consonants, whether strong or weak, that can precede the hamza that is vowelled by a fatha, causing the hamza’s elision and the transfer of its fatha to them, can be: 1– a strong consonant, e.g. the radical s in مسألة “a matter” (see (222)), the radial l in مسألة the 1st radical s, preceding it. The base form of مسألة “angel” (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif II, 102-104, Zamaḥṣāri, 166, Ibn Manṣūr, I, 110-111, Wright, II, 77, Vernier, I, 101-102, Fleischer, Beiträge 139, Lane, I, 81-82), in which the vowelless hamza is elided, and its vowel, the fatha, is shifted to the vowelless strong consonant, the 2nd radical l, preceding it. According to al-Kisāʿī, مسألة is derived from الْدَلُّ “to convey” before that a transposition of consonants is carried out in it so that it became مسألة, whereas according to Abī Ubaida it is from مسألة and according to Ibn Kaisān from مسألة. The base form of مسألة is from والد and الولدة becomes by transposition of the l before the hamza مسألة (cf. Talmon, ʿAyn 142). It can be noted that Derenbourg printed in Sibawaihi, II, 209 l. 1 مسألة while the content requires مسألة and مسألة are said in the meaning of “message”. Both مسألة and مسألة occurs in the verse mentioned in (224). Compare in Hebrew מִלָּה, but מִלָּה for מִלָּה, the Aramaic מִלָּה, and the Ethiopic מָלָה (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 44-45, Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 34).

(222) The base form of مسألة “a matter” (cf. Zamaḥṣāri, 166, Ibn Yaʿīs, IX, 109), in which the vowelless hamza is elided, and its vowel, the fatha, is shifted to the vowelless strong consonant, the 1st radical s, preceding it. The base form of مسألة is مسألة “angel” (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif II, 102-104, Zamaḥṣāri, 166, Ibn Manṣūr, I, 110-111, Wright, II, 77, Vernier, I, 101-102, Fleischer, Beiträge 139, Lane, I, 81-82), in which the vowelless hamza is elided, and its vowel, the fatha, is shifted to the vowelless strong consonant, the 2nd radical l, preceding it. According to al-Kisāʿī, مسألة is derived from الْدَلُّ “to convey” before that a transposition of consonants is carried out in it so that it became مسألة, whereas according to Abī Ubaida it is from مسألة and according to Ibn Kaisān from مسألة. The base form of مسألة is from والد and الولدة becomes by transposition of the l before the hamza مسألة (cf. Talmon, ʿAyn 142). It can be noted that Derenbourg printed in Sibawaihi, II, 209 l. 1 مسألة while the content requires مسألة and مسألة are said in the meaning of “message”. Both مسألة and مسألة occurs in the verse mentioned in (224). Compare in Hebrew מִלָּה, but מִלָּה for מִלָּה, the Aramaic מִלָּה, and the Ethiopic מָלָה (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 44-45, Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 34).

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The cases that are mentioned concern the transfer of the hamza’s fatḥa after the hamza’s elision, to the y or to the w preceding it, whether this specific weak consonant is underlying or an augment. If the weak consonant is an infix, the conditions of the hamza’s elision and consequently of its fatḥa’s transfer to it, is that that this weak consonant is not a weak consonant of prolongation, i.e. a weak consonant that lengthens the sound of the vowel preceding it (a glide), as the ṣ in the /ṣmʾ/ that lengthens the kasra preceding it, or the ʿ in /ʾmʿ/ that lengthens the damma preceding it, or a weak consonant that is specific for the diminutive, as the y of ḵimʾ, because in these cases the hamza is assimilated to the weak consonant preceding it (for such cases see (225)). Hence, the alleviation of the hamza and the transfer of its fatḥa to the preceding weak consonant occur in ḥāl said instead of ḥāl “female hyena” from the root ḥl (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 529, Lane, I, 370) and in ḡwʿaba (name of a water) from the root ḡb (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 938), in which the augmentative y and w are for co-ordination with ḵimʾ and ḡwʿaba respectively.

The alleviation of the hamza is carried out as well if the vowelless weak consonant is not in the same word as the hamza. In this case the vowelled hamza, which is the initial consonant of the second word, is elided, and its vowel, the fatḥa, is shifted to the vowelless weak consonant which precedes it that is the ultimate weak consonant of the word before it (for a study see Sibawaih, II, 171-172, Zamaḥšārī, 166, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 938 sqq., Vernier, I, 104). This occurs in /yqimʾ/ “I seek for his matter” and in /yqimʾ/ “the father of Job” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 940). In the first example, the y of /yqimʾ/ is the 3rd radical of the verb /qimʾ/ and in the second example the w of /yqimʾ/ is the nominative’s ending, as /yqimʾ/ is the first element of a construct state. The fatha of the hamza that is shifted to these weak consonants in /yqimʾ/ and /yqimʾ/, and in the nouns mentioned above, i.e. ḥl and ḡwʿaba, is counted as feeble, because it belongs in the base forms to the hamza. This is the main reason why the weak consonants in these examples remain sound and are not changed into an ʾa due to the influence of the fatha preceding them. Some other examples that can be added with the vowelless consonant preceding the hamza being either a weak or a strong consonant are قَاضِيُّ أَبِيُّ بَلَدٍ “the author of their matter” (cf. Ibn Yaʿīṣ, IX, 109), قَاضِيُّ بَلَدٍ “the judges of your father” and مَلْكُ أَبِيُّ بَلَدٍ “who is your father” (cf. ibid, 110, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 940). Some alleviate the hamza in the sur. 23: 1 “The Believers must (eventually) win through”, read instead of قَدْ أَلَقَ فَبَرَصَتْهُمُ الْمَوْسِمُونَ “The Believers must (eventually) win through”, read instead of قَدْ أَلَقَ فَبَرَصَتْهُمُ الْمَوْسِمُونَ (cf. Ibn Yaʿīṣ, IX, 110, Nödèke, Neue Beiträge 3) and in the sur. 4: 71 “Come to us”, read instead of قَدْ أَلَقَ فَبَرَصَتْهُمُ الْمَوْسِمُونَ إلى الْهَدَايَاتَناَّ}
(cf. Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 934-935). Other examples, just to mention a few, are: "if" for لَوْ أَنْ أَنَّى "he has become" for قَدْ أَصِيبَ. It can be noted that the one who says لَحَمْرُ (see (223)) with the elision of the connective hamza of the article, says as well لَمْ أَنْ أَنَّى with the n given a Sukūn instead of لَمْ أَنْ أَنَّى, and the one who says لَحَمْرُ with the connective hamza given the fatha says لَمْ أَنْ أَنَّى with the n vowelled by a fatha (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, *IX*, 116, Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 960). Accordingly with the elision of the connective hamza of the article, some read sur. 2: 71 as: قَالَوْا لَمْ أَنْ جَنَّتَ بَيْنَ الْحَرَّامِ. They said: "Now hast thou brought the truth" (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, *IX*, 116) instead of قَالَوْا لَمْ أَنْ جَنَّتَ بَيْنَ الْحَرَّامِ. Some also assimilate the *tanwin* of the first word to the l of the article of the second word, elide as well the hamza of the second word and shift its dāamma to the l, as Abū Amr did when he read لَمْ أَنْ أَنَّى instead of لَأَنْ أَنَّى "And that it is He who destroyed the (powerful) Ancient ‘Ād (people)” (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, *IX*, 116). Zamaḥṣari, *Kāṣṣāf IV*, 34 notes that some even read the sur. with لَمْ أَنْ أَنَّى instead. This is the reading of both Abū ‘Amr and Na‘fī’ (cf. Ibn Muğāhid, *Sab‘a* 615 and see further Fischer, *Beiträge* 602-603). Furthermore the n of لَمْ أَنْ أَنَّى is elided in juxtaposition with the article, e.g. مَلِكُذَبَ is said instead of مِلْكِذَبَ in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn Ğinnī, *Sirr II*, 539, *Hāṣā‘is I*, 311, *Ill*, 275, Ibn al-Śaḡāri, *Amālī*, 97, 386, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, *IX*, 100, 116, Ibn Manẓūr, *I*, 110, Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 961:

"أَيْتَلَّ أُبَّهُ دَخْنِن توْسَ مَلَكُذَبَ مَعْلُوٰٰ بَيْنَ الْحَرَّامِ.

"Convey to Abū Daḥṭanūs a message, not that which is sometimes said, consisting of falsehood".

(225) The vowelless consonant preceding the vowelled hamza can be an augmented weak consonant, namely a w or a y. The condition of the hamza’s assimilation to the infixed weak consonant is that this consonant should be a weak consonant of prolongation, i.e. a glide that lengthens the sound of the vowel preceding it, as the i in the “a sin”, e.g. خَطْيَةُ “a writing”, that lengthens the sound of the kasra preceding it, or the a in مَفْعُوْلاَةَ “a writing read”, that lengthens the sound of the dāamma preceding it, or that it is specific for the diminutive, as the y of أَقِيلَ, e.g. أَقِيلَ أَفْوَسَ pl. of أَفْوَسَ “axe”. If the infixed weak consonant is not any of these mentioned weak consonants and the hamza’s vowel is a fatha, the hamza is elided and its fatha is shifted to the weak consonant preceding it (for discussions cf. (224)). The base form of أَقِيلَ أَفْوَسَ is خَطْيَةٌ, of مَفْعُوْلاَةَ مَعْرُوفَةٌ, and of أَقِيلَ أَفْوَسَ (cf. Sihawaï, *II*, 171, 175, Ibn Ğinnī, *Munṣif I*, 327-330, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, *IX*, 108-109, Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 936-937, de Sacy, *I*, 370, Vernier, *I*, 102, 350). The vowel of the hamza in these examples could not be shifted to the weak consonant preceding it after the hamza’s elision, – as in e.g. أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ resulting in أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ (222), in أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ resulting in أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ (223) and in أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ (224), because the weak consonant is an infix in them. Thus could not become أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ and could not become أَفْوَسَ مَسْلَةٍ. This is why the hamza is at first lightened by its change into the same weak consonant as the one preceding it, and then an assimilation is carried out from the 1st
weak consonant to the 2nd one. Thus becomes _ خطبة_ after the change of the hamza into a ی, and then _ خطبة_ after the assimilation of the ی to the ی. مقررۃ becomes مقررۃ and then یسیس. The 1st ی is the infixed weak consonant in both _ یسیس_ and then _ یسیس_ formed according to _ فیعول_ and then _ یسیس_ formed according to _ فیعول_ whereas the hamza in them is a radical, namely the 3rd radical in _ خطا_ and the 2nd radical in _ قاس_. According to a theory referred to by Ibn Masʿūd, infixed weak consonants are considered as weak in comparison to radicals which are considered as strong, unless if the radical is elided in the word, because in this case the existent infixed weak consonant can be considered as strong in comparison to the absent radical. It is the 2nd ی among the doubled یا’s and not the 1st one, in both _ خطبة_ which resulted from _ یسیس_ and _ یسیس_ which resulted from _ یسیس_ that can carry the vowel, because it is a radical hamza in the base forms _ خطبة_ and _ یسیس_ that has been changed into a ی in them. Furthermore, regarding its strength, the ی in both these examples is compared to the augmentative ی of _ یسیس_(cf. (224)) that is infixed in order that the form is formed according to _ یسیس_. It is only because the radical hamza of the base form _ یسیس_ is elided, that the ی infix can be considered as strong by relation to it, in spite of the fact that the ی is not a radical. Other examples similar to _ یسیس_ are are “creation” underlingly^n_ جبر_ “prophet” underlingly^n_ نبی_ . Compare with the Arabic _ خطبة_, the Ethiopic _ *םיה_ and the Aramaic _ *םיה_ (cf. Nöldeke, _Neue Beiträge_ 36). It can be noted that _ نبی_ it is a loanword from the Hebrew, through the Aramaic, in which the hamza was already lost (cf. Nöldeke, _Geschichte_ 1; for a study of the word see Wright, _Comparative Grammar_ 46).

(226) If the voweled hamza is preceded by an ـ، which is a glide that lengthens the sound of the fatha preceding it, the hamza is changed into a hamza _bayna bayna_ (for discussions see Sibawaihi, II, 171, Roman, _Étude I_, 333). The reason of this change is that the ـ، cannot take the vowel of the hamza if it is shifted to it, as well as it cannot be assimilated to another ـ، if the hamza is changed into one. Some patterns in which the ـ، is a glide, are the active participle _ سائل_ “questioner” with the 2nd radical hamza voweled by a kasra, from _ سائل_ “to ask”, that results after the change into a hamza _bayna bayna_ in _ سائل_ and _ سائل_ “teller” with the 2nd radical ـ، from _ سائل_ changed into a hamza voweled by a kasra, from _ سائل_ “to tell”, that results after the change in _ سائل_ and the broken pl. of the nouns _ معفعل_ “questions” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 171, Roman, _Étude I_, 333). An example that can be taken up in which the hamza is voweled by a damma and preceded by the ـ، of prolongation is _ جواد_ “a recompense” that is formed according to the pattern _ مفعل_ in the sentence presented by Sibawaihi, II, 171 “his mother’s recompense”. The hamza in it is changed into a hamza _bayna bayna_ resulting in _ جواد_ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 171, Roman, _Étude I_, 333).

(227) The base form of _ دم_ and _ دم_ which are both formed according to the pattern _ أفْعَلُ_ (for it see Sibawaihi, II, 174, Ibn Ğinni, _Sîr II_, 579, 665, my notes (138)).
two hamzas are combined at the beginning of the word, the 1st of which is vowelled and the 2nd vowelless, the 2nd one is changed into an ă, i.e. ā, and then both the 1st hamza and the ā become a madda.

b) Both hamzas are not alleviated when they are in the position of the 2nd radical on the measure of al-țālī, e.g. رأسلاَّ “a seller of heads” and خاطبَ “a frequent asker” (cf. Ibn ‘Aqīl, II, 554, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 963-964, de Sacy, I, 53). However, some grammarians accept the assimilation of the 1st one to the 2nd one, so that they become رأسلاَّ (cf. Rāghiḥ, Basīt 165). In the vulgar dialects the alif may interchange with the w, e.g. رأسلاَّ for رأسلاَّ (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 47).

(228) The plural of ‘اسمَ is إمامٌ (for a study see Zamahṣari, 167, Ibn Manẓūr, I, 133, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 971 sqq., Lane, I, 91, Vernier, I, 101), in which the 2nd hamza is changed into a y for the purpose of alleviation, because the combination of two hamzas at the beginning of the word is regarded as heavy.

b) The anomalous combination of two hamzas sounded true at the beginning of the word is however permitted by the Kufans who recite the sur. 9: 12 as (نَافِطَوا أَسْمَتْ آلَّهُمَا) “Fight ye the chiefs of Unfaith”, with أَسْمَتْ instead of أَسْمَتْ (cf. Ibn Ḥīlawi, Qirāt at I, 235). This is also the reading of al-Kisā‘i, Ḥanẓa and Ibn ʿĀmir (cf. Ibn Muğāhid, Sab’a 98), and it is disliked by Ibn Ginni (cf. Ibn Ginni, Ḥassā’s III, 143, Sirr I, 81). Likewise, ʿĀṣim, Ḥanẓa, al-Kisā‘i and Ibn ʿĀmir read the sur. 67: 16 (آَسْمَتْ مِنْ فِي آللْسَّاء) “Do ye feel secure that He Who is in Heaven”, with أَسْمَتْ in which both hamzas are combined at the beginning of the word (cf. Ibn Muğāhid, Sab’a 644). Other readings with this disliked combination are those of the sur. 106: 2 (إِنِّي بَيْنَآَنَ) “Their covenants”, and of the sur. 10: 15 (فَأَوْمَعْنِي) “Bring us a Reading”. Cf. Zamahṣari, 167, Ibn Ya‘qūb, IX, 117, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 965, 977-978.

The combination of both hamzas sounded true at the interior of the word is more accepted in e.g. اللهُ غَفِرَ لِلْخَطَايَاي) “O God forgive me my sins” (for discussions see Talmon, ‘Āyn 239-240, Mokhli, Tasyrīf 200-201) in the sentence اللهُ غَفِرَ لِلْخَطَايَاي) which according to Zamahṣari, 167, Abū Zaid has heard from Abū l-Samh and his cousin Raddād. It can be noted concerning the word خاطبَ which is the pl. of خاطبَ, that the Kufans believed that is on the pattern خاطبَ, whereas the Basrans believed that it is on the pattern خاطبَ (cf. Ḥassān, Uṣūl 534-154; for their debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf Q. 116, 338-341).

c) When two hamzas, of which the 2nd hamza is vowelled by a fatḥa, occur at the beginning of the word, the 2nd hamza can be changed into a ă for the purpose of alleviation. This substitution is carried out in some cases of the 1st person of the sing. of the imperfect after the imperfect prefix hamza, e.g. the imperfect ُأَلِلَّسَّانَ from ُأَلِلَّلَّسَّانَ in the sentence ُأَلِلَّلَّسَّانَ “his teeth decayed” (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 112) that becomes ُأَلِلَّلَّسَّانَ, and Form II ُأَلِلَّسَّانَ “to make safe” from ُأَلِلَّلَّسَّانَ “to be faithful”, that becomes ُأَلِلَّسَّانَ (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 976).

(229) The cases referred to here concern the cluster of two vowelless consonants at the
beginning of a word. This occurs when the interrogative hamza, the 'a, is prefixed to a noun that begins with a conjunctive hamza vowelled by a fathā, e.g., اللهُ يُسَبِّحُ أَنْبَأْنِهِ "Is the blessing of God your oath?", and in nouns to which the definite article 'al- is prefixed to, as e.g., اللهُ يُسَبِّحُ أَنْبَأْنِهِ "Is al-Hasan with you?" (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1003 and for other examples see (233 b)). أَمْسَأَ with a madda is not accepted as it does not belong to this category (cf. (230), (233)). It can be added that in some other cases than the ones referred to here, the cluster of two vowelless consonants is accepted (for discussions see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 988 sq., Bohas, étude 309-311): 1– in a word occurring in pause, 2– in a word in which an assimilated letter is preceded by a weak consonant, e.g. "dear particular friend" (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 990, 994), in which both the y and the 1st ñ among the doubled ñâds is vowelless, 3– in uninflected nouns such as "‘ayn", قاف, "qâf", بُكِر" "Bakr", 4– when the numerals are enumerated, e.g. "اثنان" “two" (cf. ibid, 1001-1002), and 5– in such an expression as أَلَا أَلَّامَ àلَا اَلَّامَ in the oath (cf. ibid 1005-1006), in which both the final ñ of أَلَّامَ and the 1 of the definite article of أَلَّامَ are vowelless.

(230) أَمْسَأَ is considered as erroneous, and is therefore not accepted (cf. 229). It is underlyingly أَمْسَأَ in which the 2nd hamza is changed into a y by the Basrans for the purpose of alleviation (cf. (228)), and then both mims are assimilated. The 2nd hamza is changed into an ñ at first, namely أَمْسَأَ, and then the ñ is changed into a y resulting in أَمْسَأَ. The reason why the alif in أَمْسَأَ is not considered as a pure madda is that the madda should be constituted of an alif that belongs to the base form, namely one that has not been changed from any other consonant, or one that is changed from the w or the y, and the alif in أَمْسَأَ is the result of the assimilation of two hamzas. Dunqûz, Šarḥ fol. 66b ll. 8-9 remarks concerning it:

"أَلْنَةُ المَدَّةُ هِيَ الْأَلْفُ الغِيْرُ المَلْقِبَةُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ أَوِ الْمَلْقِبَةُ مِنْ وَأَرَى أَوِ يَأَرَى، وَالْأَلْفُ فِي أَمْسَأَ لَيِسْتُ كَذَلِكَ، وَلَقَدْ مَدَّتَ."  

"Because the madda is the alif which is not changed from any other consonant or the one changed from a w or a y, and the alif in أَمْسَأَ is nothing of this sort".

(231) The elision of the hamza is obligatory in the imperatives حَدِّدْ “take!” and كُلْ “eat!” (cf. Ibn Ǧinni, de Flexione 33, Ibn Yaʿāsh, IX, 115, Howell, II-III, 89-90, IV, fasc. I, 957-958, Wright, II, 76, Comparative Grammar 280, Vernier, I, 103, Talmon, ʿAyn 184), which are not to be said كُلْ أَوُلَدْ أَوُلَدْ and حَدِّدْ. However, both مَرْ أَمْرُ وُلِّيَةَ "enjoin!” can be said (cf. Ibn Yaʿāsh, IX, 115). Even occurs in the sur. 20: 132 (وَأَمْرُ أَهْلَكَ بِالْضَّلُوْعَة) and in the sur. 7: 199 (وَأَمْرُ بِالْمُعَذِّبِ حَدِّ اَلْغَفِّر) "Enjoin prayer on thy people” and in the sur. 7: 199 “Hold to forgiveness; Command what is right”. It can be noted that a similar phenomenon with the elision of the prefixed hamza from of a verb in the imperative occurs in Syriac in يَا “go”, which however is يَا (Ezra V. 15) in Biblic Aramaic,
and "in the Targums (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 280).

(232) For al-Ḥalil, b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm al-Farāḥiṭīy (d. 175/791) see Sirāfī, ʿAḥbār 38-40, Suyūṭī, Buḫyā I, 557-560, Qiftī, Inbāḥ I, 341 sqq., Zabālīdī, Tabaqāt 43 sqq., Darwīs, Maʿāqīm 13-16, Brockelmann, GAL I, 98, S I, 159-160, Sezgin, Geschichte VIII, 51-56, IX, 44-48, Talmūn, ʿAyn 1-81. He wrote Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ, Kitāb al-ṣawāḥīd, Kitāb al-nuqāt, Kitāb al-nagām, Kitāb al-ʿawāmīl, Kitāb al-ğumal and Kitāb al-iqāʾ. He is mostly known for his Kitāb al-ʿarūḍ “the book of prosody” and his lexicon starting with the consonant ʿ, the Kitāb al-ʿayn “the book of the ʿayn”, which incited others after him to write lexicons (for an idea of its plan see the translation of its introduction by Haywood, Lexicography 28-37 and the remarks following it, 37-40; for the grammatical teaching, the material and its position in early grammar see Talmūn, ʿAyn 127-287; for a study concerning the writing of dictionaries after it see Haywood, Lexicography 41 sqq., Wild, ʿAyn 58 sqq.; for a short discussion concerning the science of lexicography see Ibn Ḥalūdūn, Muqaddima III, 325-332, translated by Rosenthal). Al-Ḥalil is known as Sibawayhi’s teacher. According to Reuschel, Halil 9, Sibawayhi refers to him in his al-Kitāb on 410 occasions, according to Troupeau, Lexique 228 on 608 occasions, according to Nāqīdī, Sibawayhi 98 on 522 occasions and according to Sirāfī, ʿAḥbār 40 each time that he writes: “And I asked him”, or “he said”, without naming the sayer in support of his statements. According to Weil in his introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf 69, al-Ḥalil is: “der größte Konstrukteur der einheimischen Grammatik”. For discussions concerning his terminology see Versteegh, Grammar 16-20.

The linguistic phenomenon that is discussed here concerns the combination of two hamzas in two words, the 1st of which is the ultimate consonant of the first word and the 2nd one the initial consonant of the second one (for a study see Sibawayhi, II, 172-173, Zamāḥšārī, 167, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 983-986). According to al-Ḥalil’s and some other Arabs’ usage, it is the 2nd hamza that is alleviated and not the 1st one. This occurs in the sur. 47: 18: (فَقَدْ جَاءَ أَشْرَاطُهَا) that he and his followers recite as ʿāsraṭāḥa changed into a wasla. The Ḥiǧāzīs however alleviate both the hamzas by eliding the 1st one and changing the 2nd one into a wasla, namely. Other examples that can be added of some surahs. read with the elision of the 1st hamza are the sur. 32: 5 “From the heavens to (the earth)” read as the sur. 19: 7 “O Zakariya! We give thee good news” read as ʿāsraṭāḥa, and the sur. 46: 32 “(And no) protectors can he have (besides God): such men” read as ʿāsraṭāḥa, ʿāsraṭāḥa.

(233) This part of the verse is transmitted by Ibn Masʿūd with “gazelle” (for discussions concerning the gazelle motif in Arabic poetry see Bürgel, Gazelle 1-11) added to it, i.e. ʿāsraṭāḥa instead of ʿāsraṭāḥa, to clarify the meaning. The verse is said by Dū ʿI-Rumma, Dīwān 767, and is cited by Sibawayhi, II, 173, Ibn Ḵīnī, Sīr II, 723, Lumaʿ 44, Ḥaṣāʾīṣ II, 458, Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 32, Zamāḥšārī, 14, 167, Ibn Yaʿṣīs, IX, 118-120, Mūlākā 308, Ḥārīrī, Séances 323, 324, Ibn Manẓūr, I, 3, Howell, I, fasc. I, 119, IV, fasc. I, 982:

“فَقَيْيَا ʿطَيْبَةً "اَوْوُسُسْاَءْ، بِيِّنَّاً جَلِيْلٌ وَسِّيِّبُنٌ اَنْقَاَةُ أَنْتُ اَمْ ٌمُّسَّالُ.”

“Then, O gazelle of the soft sandy ground between Ġulāqīl and the sand-hill, is this really you or Umm Sālīm?”"
When reciting the verse, some Arabs prefer to separate the two vowelled hamzas in 
اتبًا (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 173). Likewise, the insertion of the \( \ddot{a} \) is noticed in
“is it him?” that is used instead of 
اتبًا in the following verse said by Ġamī’ b. ‘Amr b. Mūrjiya
al-Kalbi, cited by Bağdādi, \( \text{Şar\'f} 349-350. \) According to Ibn Manzūr, II, 858, it is said by a man
from the Banū Kalb. It is also cited by Ibn Ḥinni, \( \text{Sır} \) II, 723, Zamaḥšāri, 167, Ibn Ya‘īš, \( \text{IX}, 118, \) Howell, \( IV, \) fasc I, 982:

\[
\text{هَزَقَ، لَا تَكُنْ آيَةً يَعْمَنُونَ أَمْ قَرَّاءً.}
\]

“[He is] short [in stature]: Whenever the people bring out a jest, he considers whether him they
mean or an ape”.

Ibn Manzūr, I, 22 mentions this verse with \( \dot{a} \ddot{d} \) (اَبِدُوْا “to bring about” instead of
اِبْدِوْا). \( \text{‘Abd Allāh} b. \text{Abī Ishāq}, \) referred to by Ibn Manzūr, I, 22, read as well the sur. 2: 6 (انْدَرْنَهُمْ)
“Whether thou warn them”, with the \( \ddot{a} \) inserted between both the hamzas of
انْدَرْنَهُمْ. So is also
the sur. 12: 90 (انْذَا لَنَتْبَوَسَ) “They said: “Art thou indeed Joseph?” read by some with the
\( \ddot{a} \) inserted between both the hamza of
انْذَا and
لَنَتْبَوَسَ (cf. Howell, \( IV, \) fasc I, 982). Other examples are
found in sur. 13: 5 (انْذَا) “when” and
انْذَا “shall we indeed then be” read instead of
انْذَا and
انْذَا by \( \text{‘Abd Allāh} b. \text{Abī Ishāq}, \) as told by Ibn \( \text{‘Amir} \) referred to by Ibn Muğahīd, \( \text{Sab} \)’a 357-358, 499-500.

b) The insertion of the interrogative hamza -a to the definite article -al, and the lengthening
of the alif resulting in \( \text{a madda}, \) is also carried out by some (cf. \( (229)\). It is remarked in
the reading of the sur. 6: 143 (الذَّكْرَٰنْ حَرِيمَ اَمْ اَنَاثِيْنَ) “Hath He forbidden the two males, or the two
females” and the sur. 27: 59 (سَيَّرُ الْحَرِيمَ اَمْ اَمْ يُشَرَّكُونَ) “(Who) is better? – God or the false gods
they associate (with Him)?” (cf. Mu’addib, \( \text{Ţaşrīf} \) 32-33).

(234) The base form of 
اتُبِّنَ (انَّاسُ نِسَاحُ) (for examples with the occurrence of both forms see
Nöldeke, \( \text{Grammatik} \) 15-16; for discussions concerning انَّاسُ نِسَاحُ see Nöldeke, \( \text{Neue Beiträge} \) 111
note 5), in which the hamza at the beginning of the word is elided anomalously (cf. Ibn Ḥinni,
\text{Hasā’ is III, 151, Zamaḥšāri, \text{Kaṣṣāf I, 35-36, Ibn Manzūr, I, 147, Howell, I, fasc I, 174, Fleisch,}
I, 151). The base form occurs in the following verse said by \( \text{Dū Ġadan al-Ḥumairi,} \) cited by Ibn Ya‘īš, \( \text{II, 9, Ibn Manzūr, I, 147, Howell, I, fasc I, 174:}

\[
\text{إِنَّ الْأَلَّمِيِّا يُطْلِعُ عَلَيْ الْالَّمِيِّا أَلَّمِيِّا.}
\]

“Verily the fates come unawares upon the men free from fear”.

Compare with انَّاسُ نِسَاحُ, Talmud and Mandaean St. emph. انَّاسُ نِسَاحُ (cf. Nöldeke,
\( \text{Beiträge} \) 60, Brockelmann, \( \text{Grundriss} \) 351).

(235) For a study of the word \( \text{اللَّهَ} \) see Zaġgāği, \( \text{Mağālis} \) 69-71, Ibn Manzūr, I, 114-116,
Nöldeke, \( \text{Grammatik} \) 16, Vernier, I, 101. For it occurring in some of the Semitic languages and
for some reflexions concerning its origin see Fischer, \( \text{Mitteilungen} \) 445-446. The base form of
is in which the hamza is elided. However, according to Abū l-Haṭam referred to by Ibn Manzūr, I, 114, the base form of الْمَرْكَزَةُ is in which the w is changed into a hamza. A variant of this form, الْمَرْكَزَةَ, is discussed by Ibn ʿUsfūr, I, 43, who answers against those who pretend that it could be the base form of الْمَرْكَزَةُ. The alleviated variant, الْمَرْكَزَةٌ, occurs in the following verse said by al-Aʾṣā, cited by Noldeke, Grammatik 16 who, referring to Baghdādi, Ḥizānā I, 347, points to the fact that the verse is completely or partly a falsification:

"كلمةً من أبي رياح يسمعها لأهله الكبار".

"As an oath from Abū Riyāh, which the great God has heard".

Ibn Ġinnī, Sirr I, 430 and Ibn Manzūr, I, 116 cite the verse with الْمَرْكَزَةَ instead of الْمَرْكَزَةٌ. It is also recited by al-Kisāʿī as: "which God has heard, and God is great". Farrāʾ, Maʾrūnī I, 204 has الْمَرْكَزَةَ instead. Ibn Yaʿīš, Mulākī 361 has الْمَرْكَزَةُ لَمْ يَسْمَعْهَا الْمَرْكَزَةَ الْكَبْرَ instead. Ibn Yaʿīš, Mulākī 361 has الْمَرْكَزَةُ لَمْ يَسْمَعْهَا الْمَرْكَزَةَ الْكَبْرَ occurs in the following verse said by al-Baʿīt b. Ḥurāt, cited by Zamāḥṣari, Kaṣṣāf I, 35, Howell, I, fasc. I, 173-174:

"معاذ آل إله أن تكون كتبة ولا دمية ولا غيبة ريباً.

"God forfend that in beauty she should be only like a doe-gazelle or a decorated image or a noble cow of a herd of wild cattle".

It can be added that the form HLH, a variant of الله، occurs in the Liḥyānite inscriptions of the 5th century B.C. The form Hallāh is existent in the Ṣafā inscriptions five centuries before Islam and in a pre-Islamic Christian Arabic inscription ascribed to the 6th century found in Syria (cf. Hitti, History 100-101). The connection between the h and the hamza is of interest here, as the substitution of one for the other and vice versa is a common phenomenon (for a study of the substitution of the h for the hamza see (98), (220), (343); for the substitution of the hamza for the h see (114 b), (115 b), (325)).

Furthermore it can be mentioned that God’s greatness and oneness in the creation is pointed out in the sur. 23: 91 (ما اتخذن الله من ولد وما كان معه من إله إلا أنه دهاب كل إله بيا خلق) “No son did God beget, nor is there any god along with Him: (if there were many gods), behold, each god would have taken away what he had created”.

b) The variant اللهم (for discussions see Buhl, Allāhumma 327) with the double m, has given rise to some speculations. It is traditionally, and as I believe it to be, part of the suppressed proposition يا الله أَسْأَلَةً بِحَيْرَةٍ “O God, bring us good” (cf. Howell, I, fasc. I, 186, Penrice, Dictionary 8). Sibawaihī, I, 7, Ibn Ġinnī, Ḥaṣāʾ ʿis I, 265, Daqr, Maʿṣam 395 believe that it is a compensation for the elided vocative particle يا. Roman, Identité 159 in the notes, draws a parallel between the element unma after الله and the suffixed element unna of the energetic.

Barth, Nominalbildung 128 likens the element unma with the Akkadian demonstratif amnum. الله has given rise to a debate between the Basrans who do not allow the combination of الله with the vocative يا and the Kufans who allow this combination (for it see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 47, 151-153). It occurs without the vocative يا in the sur. 39: 46 (فل اللهم فاطر السموات)

“إِنِّي إِذَا مَا حَدَّثَ أَلْلَهُ أَفْؤَلْ بَيْنَ الْخَلْقِينَ“.

Verily I, whenever a calamity befalls me, say: “O God, O God [bring me good!]”.

الله is an alleviated variant of الله with the elision of the m (for discussions see Roman, Identité 158-159).

c) Another variant worth to be mentioned is the Goddesses’s name آلهة underlyingly الإلهة (al-Ṭātu “Herodotus’s Alilat” cf. Brockelmann, Grundriss 257), in which the hamza is also elided. Lāt may be the original of the Greek “Leto”, the mother of Apollo the sun-god. As pointed out by Yusuf Ali in Qur’ān 1623, it represents certainly a wave of sun-worship. It is also the name of one of the Pagan deities known in the Ka’ba and round about Mecca, the other deities being ‘Uzzā that represents the planet Venus, and Manāt “allotted faith” whose origin is obscure, but which is also probably astral (cf. Hitti, History 98-99). It may be noted for the sake of curiosity that in Babylonian religion, Allatu is referred to as the stern queen of the infernal regions (cf. Frazer, Adonis I, 8-9), the goddess of darkness and desolation, as against Ishtar associated with the planet Venus, who was the goddess of the upper regions, of reproduction and fertility (cf. Gray, Mythology 25, 36). Ibn Fāris, Maqāyīs I, 127 and Ibn Manzūr, I, 115 mention that the Arabs used to name the sun الإلهة when they adored it. The word occurs in the following verse, which according to Ibn Manzūr, I, 115, was said by Mayya bint Uṭba Ibn al-Ḥārīt, or according to Ibn Barri to whom he refers to, by Bint ‘Abd al-Ḥārīt al-Yarbu‘i, or Nā‘iḥa ‘Uṭaiba b. al-Ḥārīt, or Umm al-Banīn bint ‘Uṭaiba b. al-Ḥārīt who is mourning over her father ‘Uṭaiba. It is also cited by Ibn Ginnī, Sīr II, 784, Ibn Duraid, Ǧanhara I, 316:

َمَا كَرَّوُّنا مِنَ الْعَبَاءِ عَصْرًا فَغَيْبَتْنَا الْإِلَهَةَ أَنْ تَوَبَّ وَيْاً

“We returned to our homes from La’bā’ [sc. a stony place in Ḥazm b. ‘Uwāl] in the evening, so we urged the sun to return”.

Ibn Fāris, Maqāyīs I, p 127 cites the last half of the verse with نابِدَرْنَا “and we rushed” instead of  فَعِبَّأْجَلْنَا. A variant of the verse is recited by al-Fārisī, and is referred to by Ibn Manzūr, V, 4041, Zabidī, Tāḡ IV 214:

َمَا كَرَّوُّنا مِنَ الْعَبَاءِ قَصْرًا فَغَيْبَتْنَا الْإِلَهَةَ أَنْ تَوَبَّ وَيْاً

“We went back to our homes from La’bā’ [sc. a stony place in Ḥazm b. ‘Uwāl] in a state of inertness, and we urged the sun to return”.

The base form of يَبِرَأُ يَبِرَأَيْ in which the hamza is elided for the sake of alleviation because it is preceded by a vowelless consonant (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 170, Wright, II, 93, Vernier,
I, 73-74) and its fatha is shifted to this consonant. However in poetry, in consideration to the metric exigency, the hamza can be retained. This is remarked in *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) that occurs in the following verse said by Suraq a. b. Mirdās al-Azdi al-Bārīqi in Bārīqi, Diwān 78, cited by Ibn Qinn, Sīrī I, 77, II, 826, Ḥaṣā ʿīs III, 153, Muḥtasib I, 128, de Flexione 34, Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 422, Ibn Ḥalawaih, Qirāʿāt I, 156, Ibn Yaʿīs, Muḥāk 370, Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1538, Ibn ʿUṣfūr, II, 621, Ibn Hišām, Mughī I, 277, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 941:

"أرَى عَيْنِيْيَ مَا لَمْ تُرْأِيْهُ كَلََّا عَامَّ بَيْنَ الْبَرَِّيْهَاتِ."

"I make mine eyes see what they have not seen: each of us is knowing in falsehoods".

The alleviation of the hamza is anomalous when it is carried out in the perfect of the 2nd person of the masc. sing., e.g. *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) that is used instead of *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ). It occurs in the following verse said by Ismāʿīl b. Yāsār, cited by Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 422, Zamaḥṣārī, Kaṣṣāf IV, 288, Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1538, al-Ṣartūnī, the commentator of Faḥāt, Baḥ 89 in the notes, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 955, Bustānī, Muhī I, 317, Vernier, I, 103:

"صَاحِبِ ِْهَلَّ َرَيْتَ أَوْ سَيْغَفَ بِرَأْعَ َرَدَّ فِي الْمِصْرَعِ مَا قَرَى فِي أَحْلَبَ.

"Comrade, have you seen or heard of a herdsman who put back into the udder what he had collected in the milking-vessel".

The hamza is elided in *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) after the interrogative hamza, i.e. *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) that is said instead of *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ). This occurred in the reading of some of the sur. 107: 1 *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) instead of *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) “Seest thou". Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1539 mentions that it is the reading of most of the Arabs, except the Hīgāzīs, and that al-Kisāʾī read it with this alleviation. The alleviated form *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) occurs in the following verse said by Abū l-Aswād al-Duʿālī, cited by Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1538, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 955:

"آرْيَتْ أَمَّرًا كَنْتُ لَمْ أَلْبَهْ أَنَّى فَقَالَ أَتْخَذْتُ يَخْفِيًا."

"Have you considered, [i.e. Tell me what you think of] a man that I had not proven, who came to me and said “Do you take me for a friend”?

Afandi, Tanẓīl 479 has *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ) instead of *(آيت َارْأَيْتُ), which is not the alleviated form and which is without the interrogative i.

It occurs also in the following verse said by Rakkād b. Abbaq al-Dubairī, cited by Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1538:

"آرْيَتْ لَمْ مُنْعِتْ كَالَّمُ حَصَيَ أَنْسَعِيْيَ عَلَى لَبِسَانِ."

"Have you considered [i.e. Tell me], if you prevent me from speaking to Ḥubbā, shall you prevent me from weeping for Lailā?"

Another version of the same verse exists, as reported by Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1538, with *(لِبِسَانَ) occurring instead of *(حَصَي). It is cited in this manner by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 955. Also another is mentioned by Bustānī, Muhī I, 317 with *(لِبِسَانَ) occurring instead of *(لِبِسَانَ), namely:

"آرْيَتْ لَمْ مُنْعِتْ كَالَّمُ يَحْسَيَ أَنْسَعِيْيَ عَلَى لَبِسَانِ."

"Have you considered [i.e. Tell me], if you prevent me from speaking to Ḥubbā, shall you prevent me from weeping for Lailā?"
“Have you considered [i.e. Tell me], if you prevent me from speaking to John, shall you prevent me from weeping for John?”.

(237) The alleviation of the hamza by eliding it in نسألاً resulting in نسألاً is anomalous (cf. de Sacy, I, 236, Wright, II, 77, Vernier, I, 74). Furthermore it can be noted that the alleviation of the hamza by changing it into an å is carried out in this verb. Some examples are:

سألاً that is used instead of سألاً in the following verse said by Hassan b. Tabit al-Ansari in Ansari, Dīwān I, 443, cited by Ibn Ginni, Ḥaṣa‘īs III, 152, Ibn al-Sarrago, Uṣūl III, 470, Mu’addib, Taṣrif 530, Ibn Ya’īš, IX, 114, Mulākī 230, Afandi, Tanzil 445, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 951, Roman, Etude I, 334:

سألاً هذيل رسول الله فاجتحاَََ صننلُ هذيل وما سألاً وَمُّ تَصْبَحَ.

“Huṣail asked of the Apostle of God a lewd boon. Huṣail erred in what it asked, and did not right”.

سألاً that is used instead of سألاً in the following verse said by Zaid b. ‘Amr b. Nufail al-Qurashi al-‘Adawi, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 175, Ibn Fāris, Šāhibī 176, Ibn al-Sarrago, Uṣūl III, 470, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 951 [it is not alleviated by Ibn Ḥalawayhi, Qirā‘at II, 180]:

سألاً الذي ألطاق فن رأيتي قلن ما قل جنثامي بنكر.

“They [sc. my two wives] have asked me for divorce, because they have seen me to be such that my wealth has become small. You [i.e. an enallage from the 3rd person to the 2nd] have brought to me an unseemly matter”.

Afandi, Tanzil 445 cites the same verse as follows:

سألاً الذي ألطاق أني رأيتي قلني قد جنثامي بنكر.

“They [sc. my two wives] have asked me for divorce, because they have seen that what I possessed has become small. You [i.e. an enallage from the 3rd person to the 2nd] have brought misfortune to me!”.

The alleviation of the hamza in نسألاً is not carried out by elision, but also by transposing the 2nd radical hamza before the 1st radical s, i.e. يسألاو. This occurs in a verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 956:

إذا قام قوم ياسلون مليكوهم عطا فدفهاء آلهذي أنا سألاً.

“When people arise, asking of their king a gift, then Dahmā’ is that gift which I shall be asking for”.

(238) “aspect” has its hamza retained (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 941). Other examples that can be added are مرأة “outward appearance”, and مرأة “mirror”.

(239) The imperfect of the indicative of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. of رأى is رأى and its Energetic I is رأي. As for Rā‘i, the imperative of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. is أحشى “fear you”, and when the doubled n is suffixed to it, it became أحشين “do you surely dread”
comparable to the binomial treatment of the y of the fem. with the kasra when the doubled n is suffixed to it, to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants: the y and the 1st vowelless n of the doubled ones if it is said لَمِنْ.

b) It can be remarked concerning لَمِنْ of the sur. 19: 26: “And if thou doest see any man”, that it was anomalously read by Ṭaḥša as being the imperfect of the indicative of the 2nd person of the fem. sing., i.e. لَمِنْ, with the substitution of the n of the indicative for the energetic n (cf. Šādīlī, Anāṣir 219). Its anomaly resides in the fact that the n of the indicative was not elided in the jussive as it should have been in this case.

c) Concerning the 2nd person of the masc. sing., it can be noted that in the dialect of the Ṭamūyis, the y, when being a 3rd radical, is elided after the kasra or fatha. It is said لَمِنْ يَا زِيَدَ, “You do surely dread, O Zaid”. Hence in their dialect, لَمِنْ instead of لَمِنْ يَا زِيَدَ, “You do surely dread, O Zaid”. Hence in their dialect, لَمِنْ occurs anomalously instead of لَمِنْ, (which is replaced by لَمِنْ in another version) in the following verse said by Ħuraiṭ b. Ħannāb al-Nabhānī al-Tā’ī, cited by Zamahsārī, 40, Howell, I, fasc. I, 364, Freytag, Hamasaie 279. It was meant to be with the single n, but this one was suppressed by poetic licence:

"إِذَا قَالَ قَفْنِي فِي نَاسِكَ حَلَّةٌ لَّمِنْ عَيْبٌ عَيْبًا إِنَّا آمَنْتُمْ إِنَّا آمَنْتُمْ.

“When he says: “Enough for me [is the draught of camel’s milk], I say, [I swear] by God an oath, assuredly you shall make the contents of your vessel independent of me, [i.e. of my drinking it], all of it”.

Likewise, لَمِنْ occurs instead of لَمِنْ in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1564:

"وَلَمِنْ عِيْشًا تَفْقَطْي بَعْدَ جَدَّتِي، طَابَتْ أَصْلَاهُ فِي ذَلِكَ الدُّلْدَمِ.

“And do weep for a life that has passed away after its newness, whose evenings were pleasant in that country”.

(240) The imperative of لَمِنْ is لَمِنْ, “/2 masc. sing., etc., by the Taim, with the prefixation of the initial hamza of the imperative, the vowelling of the hamza of the 2nd radical with a fatḥa and the elision of the 3rd weak radical. It is however لَمِنْ “see! /2 masc. sing.”, لَا، لَمِنْ “/2 dual”, رَا، لَمِنْ “/2 masc. pl.” and زِيَدَ، لَمِنْ “/2 fem. pl.” by the Ḥiğāzīs who elide the initial hamza of the imperative together with the 2nd and 3rd radical and vowel the 1st radical with a fatḥa (cf. Ibn Ḥālawihi, Qirāˈāt I, 156-157, Lane, I, 998).

(241) Different variants (for them see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 807-812) concerning البَلْطَ “slowness”, البُطُ، الْبَطُ “the buttress” and البَطُ “a hidden thing” exist, in which the hamza is preceded by a vowelless consonant. The Ḥiğāzīs alleviate by shifting the vowel of the hamza to the consonant preceding it, and then elide the hamza together with the shifted vowel on account of the pause, i.e. البَطُ and البَطُ “الْبَطُ، الْبَطُ. The Banū Tamīm give the 2nd radical a vowel that is similar to the vowel of the 1st radical, and then change the hamza into a weak consonant that carries the
hamza, which is of the same nature of the vowel preceding it, i.e. \(\text{الْجُرُدَةٍ} \) and \(\text{الْحُجْرَةٍ} \) in all three cases of the nominative, accusative or genitive. Some Arabs elide and do not shift the vowel of the hamza, and then change the hamza into a weak consonant that is homogeneous with its vowel, i.e. \(\text{الْجُرُدَةٍ} \) and \(\text{الْحُجْرَةٍ} \). Others shift the vowel of the hamza and change the 3rd radical into a weak consonant, i.e. \(\text{الْجُرُدَةٍ} \) and \(\text{الْحُجْرَةٍ} \). The hamza is alleviated in, which is read as \(\text{الْجُرُدَةٍ} \) by Nāfī’ of the sur. 27: 25 (\(\text{تَكْمِلَهَا دَفْءَ} \)) “Who brings to light what is hidden”, in \(\text{دَفْءَ} \) by Nāfī’ of the sur. 16: 5 (\(\text{دَفْءَ} \)) “From them ye derive warmth” and in \(\text{رَدَءَ} \) by Nāfī’ of the sur. 28: 34 (\(\text{رَدْءَ} \)) “So send him with me as a helper” (cf. Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 526-527, Ibn Muđahid, Sab’a 494). For a discussion concerning the elision of the hamza at the end of the word in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 46.
II.5. Arabic Text:

الباب الرابع في المثل

ويقال للمتغلب الغاء مثل مثلاً مثلاً مثل الصحيح في الصحة وعدد الإعراب وقيل لأن

أمره مثل أمير الأجواف نحو عدو وزن. وهو بي، في خمسة أبواب ولا بي، من فصل

يفعل الأ والود في لغة بني عامر فحذف الواو في بيدن في لغتهم لتقل الواو مع

ضم ما بعدها وقيل هذه لغة ضعيفة فاتبع لبيد في الحذف. وحكم الور وأياء إذا

وقعنا في أول الكلمة كحكم الصحيح نحو وقيد وقيد وقيد وقيد وقيد وقيد وقيد

ويسر ويسن ويسن ونظرها لقوة المتكلم عند الإبداء. وقيل الإعراب قد يكون بالسكون

آخر أو بالقلب إلى حرف الصلة أو بالحذف وإذا لا يمكن أمّا بالسكون فتغذّره

وذلك اللقب لأنّ المقلب به غالباً يكون بحرف الصلة وحرف الصلة لا يكون إلا ساكنا

وأما بالحذف فلفظانه من القدر الصالح في الثلاثي والتتابع الثلاثي في النزوان، ولا

يُعَوَّض بالتأنّي في الأول والآخر حتّى لا يلبس بالمستقبل والصدر في نفس الحروف ومن

ثم لا يجوز إدخال التاء في الأول في عدة لالتباس ويجوز في التكلم بعدم الإتباس

وعند سبيله يجوز حذف التاء، كما في قول الشاعر: واحذروه عند الأمر الذي وقعا

لأن التعبير عن الأموال الجائزة عنده عند الفراء لا يجوز الحذف لأنها عوض من

Fols. 25b-26a
II.5. Translation: The 4th Chapter is about the Verb with Weak 1st Radical

The verb with weak 1st radical is named مَخَلَّاتٍ "assimilated, similar", because its perfect is similar to [the perfect of] the strong verb on account of its being sound and unaffected by a phonological change due to the weak consonant, and it was said because its imperative is similar to the imperative of the verb with 2nd weak radical, e.g. َعَدَّ "promise!" and َذِنَ "decorate!" [from َذِن]. It falls into five conjugations. Only َعَدَّ "to find" occurs according to فعلٍ يَقُلُلُ which pertains to the dialectal variant of Banū 'Āmir. The w is elided in َعَدَّ [underlyingly َيُوَجَّدُ] in their dialect, because of the heaviness of the w followed by [a consonant vowelled by] a qamma, and it was stated that this dialectal variant is weak. As for َلِعَدَّ "let him promise!", it conforms with it regarding the elision [of the w].

The predication of the w and the y as 1st radicals is the same as the predication of the strong consonant, e.g. َوَعَذُ وَعَدَ "to promise, [active and passive]", َوَقَرَ وَقَرَ "to stay, remain, [active and passive]", َيَعَشَ يَعَشُ "to become ripe, [active and passive]", ُنَسَرَ ُنَسَرُ "to be or become easy, [active and passive]", ُسِئَ ُسِئُ "to be lucky, fortunate [active and passive]", and their likes, because of the determination of the speaker to pronounce fully the initial consonant of the word.

It is said that the phonological change due to the unsound weak consonant can be carried out by: 1-- rendering it [sc. the weak consonant] vowelless, [Fol. 26 a] 2-- replacing it by another weak consonant or 3-- eliding it. None of these methods can be carried out [when it concerns the 1st radical in Form I of the perfect]: As for giving it the sukūn because of the impossibility of doing so [i.e. beginning the word with a vowelless consonant], so is also the change into another consonant because the changed consonant is mostly into a weak consonant [sc. the َم], and the weak consonant can only be vowelless, and so is also the elision, because it implies that it [sc. the form] becomes less than the proper number determining a word in the groundform of the triliteral, – and the derived forms conformed to it -. Furthermore, it [sc. the elision] is not to be compensated by a prefixed or a suffixed t, so that it [sc. the perfect] is not mixed up with the imperfect and the masdar with the same consonants. Hence, it is impossible to prefix the t in َعَدَ "a promise" for fear of confusion. However, it is possible [to prefix it] in َبِلْتَكَانُ "confidence", because no confusion can occur [with the imperfect]. According to Sibawayhi, the elision of the t is made possible [in َعَدٍ which occurs instead of َعَدَ], as in the saying of the poet:

"وَأَهْلَفْنَا َعَدَ الْأَمْرَ الَّذِي وَعَدْنا".

"And they have broken to thee the promise of the matter which they promised".

- because the compensation is among the possible procedures according to him. However, according to al-Farrā', it is impossible to elide it, as it is already a compensation for
المذكور إلا في الإضافة لأن الإضافة تقوم مقامها وكذلك حكم الإقامة والاستقامة ونحوها
ومن ثم حذفة النها، في قوله تعالى (وأقام الصلاة). وستقول في الحلق الضائر
260 ب وعود وعدا وعدوا إلى آخره، ويجوز في إغفال النداء في الناء لحرف مخرجها. المستقبلي بعد يعودون إلى آخره أصل يعود حذفة الهاو لأنه يلزم
التحقيقية ومثل هذا تقبل ومن ثم لا يجيغ، للغة على وزن فعل وفعل إلا حذف ودغل.
6 وحذفة أيضا في تعبير المشاكسة وحذفة في مثل يوضع لأن أصل يوضع حذفة الهاو ثم
جعل يضع نظرا إلى حرف الحلق ولا تجعل في يعود لأن أصل يعود. والأمر عبد عدا
عدوا إلى آخره والفاعل وأعدا إلى آخره ولفاعل معود إلى آخره ولفاعل موضع موعود والآلة
ببعض فنقل الهاو ياء لسكونها وكسرة ما قبلها وهم يقلبونها ياء في الحاجز في نحو
فظيعة وبالحارج يكون أغلب.

Fols. 26a-26b
1 الحذف: الحذف جد حز + وهو الهاو ح: الحروف الأصلية ه فلا: + حالة ط مقامه:
مقام الناء ط 2 التاء: -إسم الط: الصلاة: الصلوحة ل: جد حز: الهاو ح: الصلوحة ل: +
وايتاء الركوة ب ز ط + وأيتاء الركاة ل: ل: عبد وعدا: - إسم حز: وعدا: وعده د 5
يعدان عبدون: - إسم حز حز: 5 ومن...التحقيقة: ج: الحالة د: 
التحقيقية ه ط وحذفة ب د: حذفة جز ط + الهاو ح: وحذفة...
لمشاكسة: امل مثل: -د ل يوضع + بالكسر ٌ/حذفة: وحذف ٌ/حذف ز/ حرف حروف د ط تحرف: حذف ب جد حز حز: ياؤعد، يعود حاء والأمر
the elided weak consonant [sc. the w in the base form ُعَلِّدَتْ، except in the construct state, because the second element in the construct state occurs as a compensation for it [sc. the tāʾ marbūṭa].

So is also the predicament of “the act of being constant (in prayer)” and “the act of walking uprightly in the paths of religion” and both their likes [regarding the compensation with the tāʾ marbūṭa]. On account of that [sc. that the second element in the construct state is a compensation for the elided tāʾ marbūṭa], the t is elided in the words of the Allmghty, [sur. 21: 73] “to establish regular prayers.”

You say when attaching the pronouns: “he promised”, “/3 masc. dual”, “/2 masc. dual”, etc.

It is possible in [Fol. 26 b] that the d is assimilated to the t because of the proximity of both their [sc. the d’ and the t’s] points of articulation.

The imperfect is يُعَلِّدُونَ “/3 masc. sing.”, يُعَلِّدَانِ “/3 masc. pl.” etc. Its [sc. w] base form is يَوَعَدُونَ, in which the w is elided to avoid the inclination from the virtual kasra [sc. the y] to the virtual damma [sc. the w] and from the virtual damma [sc. the w] to the underlying kasra [of the 2nd radical], which is deemed as heavy. On account of that, only “paths” and “a jackal” as dialectal variants occur according to the pattern يُعَلِّدُ and يُعَلِّدَ.

It [sc. the w] is also elided in يُعَلِّدَ “/2 fem. sing. or 3 fem. sing.” for the sake of similarity [with يُعَلِّدُ].

It is also elided in يُضَعُ “he puts” underlyingly يُوَعَضُ, in which the w is elided so that it became يُضَعُ on account of the guttural consonant.

However, it is not elided in يُوَعَدُ [Form IV], because its base form is يَوَعَدُ.

The imperative is ُعَلِّدِ، “/2 masc. sing.”, عَدِداً “/2 dual”, عَدَداً “/2 masc. pl.”, etc. The active participle is مَوَعْدُ، etc., the noun of place is مَوَعْدُ, etc., the noun of instrument is مَيْعَدُ, in which the w [of its base form مَوَعْدُ] is changed into a y because of its sukūn and [the influence of] the kasra preceding it. They usually change it [sc. the w] into a y even if there is a separating consonant [between two vowelled consonants], as in فِنَبْثَة “sheep or goats taken for oneself / not for sale, acquisition” [underlyingly فِنَبْوَة]. So without any separating consonant, it [sc. the w of مَوَعْدُ] is even more entitled to be changed.
II.5.1. COMMENTARY

The Verb with Weak 1st Radical


(243) The five conjugations that are referred to are: 1- وَعَدَ يُعَدُّ، فعل يُعَدُّ “to promise”, 2- وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ، فعل يُوْجَلْ “to be afraid”, 3- وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ، فعل يُوْجَلْ “to give” underlyingly ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ، e.g. ـَِّيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ “to be a man of distinction”, 5- وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ، فعل يُوْجَلْ “to love tenderly” underlyingly ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ، e.g. ـَِّيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ “to love” underlyingly ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ. In the case of ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ the w is elided because it is considered as heavy before the kasra in the base form ـَيُوْجَلْ (for discussions see (252)). In the case of ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ it is retained whereas in the case of ـَيُوْجَلْ it is elided to distinguish the conjugation ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ from ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ (cf. Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 125, ‘Abd al-Rahīm, Sarf 28-29). In some rare cases of verbs of the conjugation ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ the w can as well be changed into a y or into an ā, e.g. ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ (cf. Wright, II, 79, Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 125). Furthermore, the anomalous example ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ “to find” should have been ـَيُوْجَلْ ـَيُوْجَلْ according to the conjugation ـَيُوْجَلْ وَجَلَ يُوْجَلْ, and not according to ـَبَيُوْجَلْ ـَبَيُوْجَلْ, of which the 1st radical w is elided and the 2nd radical, the گ, is given the kasra. This form occurs by all tribes except the Banū ʿAmīr (cf. Ibn Manṣūr, VI, 4769, Zabīdī, Tāḥ IX, 253, 254, Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 123 in the notes) who vowel the گ with the ڞamma, i.e. ڞيُوْجَلْ. The verb according to their dialect is found in the following verse said by Ğarīr (cf. Fischer/Bräuſlich, Sawāḥid 211, Ğarīr, Dīwān 453, Ed. M. al-Šawī), in a poem in which he satirizes al-Farazdaq. It is not said by Labīd b. Rabī‘a al-ʿAmīrī, as mentioned by Ibn Manṣūr, VI, 4769, Zabīdī, Tāḥ IX, 253, 254, Howell, II-III, 247-248. Both Ibn Manṣūr and Zabīdī mention as well that according to Ibn al-Barri the verse is said by Ğarīr, but Zabīdī adds that according to Ibn ʿUdais it belongs to the dialectal variant of the Banū ʿAmīr, and that the verse is by Labīd. This is stated as well by al-Farrā‘, copied from him by al-Qazzāz in al-Ḡāmi‘ and cited by both al-Sirāfī in the Kitāb al-ignā‘ and by al-Līhānī in al-صاد. It is also cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 596, Munṣif I, 187, Ibn ʿUṣfur, I, 177, Ibn Ya‘īḥ, Mulāḵī 49:

"لَا َّشَنَّتُ قَدْ نَقَّضَ الْفَوَادُ ٍبِشْرًا ِٞتَذَعُّ ٗالْصَوَادِي نَّبَيْنَ غَلِبًا."
“If you had wanted, your saliva would have quenched [the thirst of] the heart with a single draught leaving the thirsty [ribs of the breast in such a state that] they would not experience heat of thirst”.

(244) *يعدد* is underlaying *يمعَد* of which the 1st radical w is elided in the imperfect (cf. Zamahšari, 178, de Sacy, I, 238, Vernier, I, 57, my notes (16)). Not all verbs with 1st radical w have their w elided in the imperfect. The Kufans believed that the elision of the w is carried out to distinguish the transitive, e.g. *وعَدَتْ* and *وعَدَتْ* “promised it”, from the intransitive in which the w is retained, e.g. *وعَدَتْ* “to fall into the mud”, and *وعَدَتْ* “to fear”. Their theory is however wrong as there exist verbs in the intransitive of which the w is elided, e.g. *كَفَّرَ الْيَتَّبَعُ* “the tent, or house, dripped with rain-water”, imperfect *كَفَّفَ* and imperfect *يَكَفَّرَ* “the fly dropped excrement”, imperfect *يَكَفِّرَ* For a study see Ibn Ğinni, *Munsif I*, 188, Ibn al-Anbâri, *Insāf Q.* 112, 326-327, Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 1418, Bohas, *Étude* 209-212.

(245) The paradigm of *يعدد* or *يعدد* in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the subjunctive, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the subjunctive, active, is the following:
COMMENTARY

3rd fem. 

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the jussive, active, is the following:

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

Its imperative is وعد. Its active participle is وعد. Its 

maṣdar is وعد or وعد. Its perfect, passive is وعد. Its imperfect is وعد. Its passive participle is وعد.

As for its derived Form VIII:

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is وعد. Its imperfect is وعد. Its imperative is وعد. Its active participle is وعد. Its maṣdar is وعد. Its perfect, passive is وعد. Its imperfect is وعد. Its passive participle is وعد.

b) The paradigm of يَسُرُّ “to be easy”, a verb with 1st radical y, that pertains to the conjugation فعل بفعل, in the groundform and in the derived Forms IV, VIII and X, is the following:

Form I: Its perfect, active is يَسُرُّ. Its imperfect is يَسُرُّ. Its imperative is يَسُرُّ. Its active participle is يَسُرُّ. Its maṣdar is يَسُرُّ. Its perfect, passive is يَسُرُّ. Its imperfect is يَسُرُّ. Its passive participle is يَسُرُّ.

Form IV: Its perfect, active is يُوسُرُ. Its imperfect is يُوسُرُ. Its imperative is يُوسُرُ. Its active participle is يُوسُرُ. Its maṣdar is يُوسُرُ. Its perfect, passive is يُوسُرُ. Its imperfect is يُوسُرُ. Its passive participle is يُوسُرُ.

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is يَتَسُرُّ. Its imperfect is يَتَسُرُّ. Its imperative is يَتَسُرُّ. Its active participle is يَتَسُرُّ. Its maṣdar is يَتَسُرُّ. Its perfect, passive is يَتَسُرُّ. Its imperfect is يَتَسُرُّ. Its passive participle is يَتَسُرُّ.

Form X: Its perfect, active is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its imperfect is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its imperative is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its active participle is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its maṣdar is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its perfect, passive is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its imperfect is يَسِتِيسُرُ. Its passive participle is يَسِتِيسُرُ.

(246) The 1st weak radical cannot be affected by any change in the perfect of verbs. An example is وعد “he promised” in which the w remains sound. As remarked, the w cannot be made vowelless in it, i.e. وعد, as by principle, the initial consonant of a word must be vowelled.
It cannot either be changed into an ā, i.e. عَدَّ، because the ā is vowelless. It cannot either be elided, i.e. عَدَّ، because the number of radicals would only be two, and Arabic verb forms should consist of three radicals. Furthermore if such a case can be admitted, this elision of the w cannot be compensated by a t at the beginning, i.e. تَعَدَّ، as there is a risk of mixing this t with the prefixed t of the imperfect, which would mean that the perfect and the imperfect would be confused in the representation, i.e. تَعَدَّ and تَعَدَّ “you promise”. The elision cannot either be compensated by the suffixed t, i.e. عَدَّت، as the perfect would be confused in the representation with the maṣdar عَدَّة.

(247) The t is not prefixed in the maṣdar عَدَّة but suffixed as a compensation for the elided w of the base form (for a presentation of such examples of maṣdars see Suyūṭī, Muzhir II, 158-159). If the t is supposedly prefixed, namely تَعَدَّ, then the maṣdar can be mixed up with the imperfect تَعَدَّ. The risk of confusing two forms is not implied however by تَكُنَّانَ which in which the t is prefixed as a compensation for the elided w of the base form، as the ending -ānun specific for nouns keeps this form apart from the imperfect تَكُنَّانَ “you commit anything into another’s keeping /masc. sing., or she commits anything into another’s keeping” from وَكِنَّ. Another theory is that the t replaces the w in it (cf. (330)).

(248) The complete verse is:

إِنَّ الْخَلَٰلِقَ أَجْدَدْنَآ إِلَّيْشَنَآ وَأَلْحَفَذُ عَدَّ آمَرَ الْذَّيِّ وَعَدَّوَا.”

“Verily the familiar friends have renewed the separation, and made off, and have broken to you the promise of the matter which they promised”.

It is said by Abū 'Umayya al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās b. 'Utbah b. Abī Lahab in Faḍl, Šīr 47, who has been contemporary with the Ḥalīfa 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65-86/684-705) and his sons and successors al-Walid (r. 86-96/705-715) and Sulaimān (r. 96-107/715-118). It is cited by Ibn Ğinni, Ḥaṣā‘īṣ III, 171, Mu‘addib, Taşrif 285, Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ III, 248, Ibn Sīda, Muḥaṣṣaṣ XIV, 188, Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4871, al-Šartūnī, the commentator of Farḥāt, Baḥāt 67 in the notes, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1527-1528, IV, fasc. I, 1423-1424. The point at issue concerns عَدَّة of which the tā’ marbūta is elided when it occurs as a first element of the construct state عَدَّة أَمْرٌ أَلْفَهُ which is said instead of عَدَّة أَمْرٌ أَلْفَهُ in this specific verse. As already mentioned, the tā’ marbūta in عَدَّة أَمْرٌ أَلْفَهُ is a compensation for the elided w of the base form (cf. (247)), and the elision of the tā’ marbūta in عَدَّة أَمْرٌ أَلْفَهُ seems to be compensated by the second element of the construct state أَمْرٌ أَلْفَهُ in this verse. Sibawaihi’s attitude regarding the elision of the tā’ marbūta (for other examples and discussions see Sibawaihi, II, 260-261) is more flexible than al-Farra’ís, as he can accept this elision even when the word to which which the tā’ marbūta is suffixed to is not the first element of a construct state, whereas al-Farra can only accept this
elision when the word is the first element of the construct state, as in عَدَدُ الْأَلْفِ of this verse, as
he considers the second element, i.e. عَدَدٌ المَرْبُوعُ, to be a compensation for the elided التَّ مَرْبُوع (cf.
Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 285). It can be added as well that there is a difference of opinion between al-
Farrā’ and al-Asma’ī concerning the variant عَدَدُ of this verse. According to al-Asma’ī, عَدَدٌ should be read عَدَدٌ as he considers it to be the pl. of عَدَدٌ (cf. Ibn Ḥiđinni, Ḥaṣṣā’iṣ III, 171-172).

Another theory is as well propounded by Ḥalīl b. Kultaṣm who reads it as عَدَدٌ, pl. of عَدَدٌ in
the meaning of الضَّرَّاءُ “side, part” (cf. the notes to Ibn Ḥiđinni, Ḥaṣṣā’iṣ III, 171), and the meaning
of the verse becomes then: “and have failed to perform to thee the particulars of the matter that
they promised”.

For the same reason as with عَدَدٌ, the التَّ مَرْبُوع is elided from عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ used instead
according to the opinion of al-Farrā’ in the sur. 30: 280 عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ الفَلِيكَةِ في أَدْنَى الْأَرْضِ وَهُمْ مِنْ عَدَدٍ 3-1
“The Roman Empire has been defeated – in a land close by; but they, (even) after (this) defeat of theirs, will soon be victorious”, in which عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ is used instead of عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ (cf. Ibn Manzūr, V, 3278-3279, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1527). In the case
of عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ, it can be noted that it is a noun to which a pronoun of the genitive is suffixed to.
Furthermore, both the second noun that is the second element in the construct state and the
suffix pronoun are governed in the genitive. A case is pointed out by Zamanṣārī, Kaṣṣāf I, 401, quoted by Afandi, Tānzīl 369, concerning the reading of some of the sur. 2: 280 (ورَآنُ)
“If the debtor is in a difficulty, grant him time till it is easy”, in
which عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ مَيْسَرَةٌ has been read with the ج د ء given a ḍammah or a kasrah, and with the التَّ مَرْبُوع elided by some as they curiously consider it to be an element of a construct state, similar to both the
cases of عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ (see above) and عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ (cf. (249)). Another case is pointed out by
Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ III, 248-249, which is the reading of some of the sur. 9: 46 عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ أَرَادُوا
(الْجَرَّاح) لَعَدَدْهُمْ “If they had intended to come out, they would certainly have made some
preparation therefor”, in which عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ occurs with the elision of the التَّ مَرْبُوع instead of عَدَدٌ غُلْبَةٌ.

(249) The base form of the masdar of Form IV إِقَامَةٌ, in which the middle radical ج that is vowelled by a fatha is changed into an َā after that its fatha is shifted to the q, so that it became إِقَامَةٌ. Then one of the alifs is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the alifs, and the التَّ مَرْبُوع is suffixed to the word to compensate for this elision (cf. (279)).

Likewise, the base form of the masdar of Form X استِقْمَاعٍ, in which the middle radical ج that is vowelled by a fatha is changed into an َā after that its fatha is shifted to the q, so that it becomes استِقْمَاعٍ. Then one of the alifs is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, and the التَّ مَرْبُوع is suffixed to the word to compensate for this elision. The
reason of the elision of the التَّ مَرْبُوع in إِقَامَةٌ that is said في إِقَامَةٌ in the sur. 21: 73 وَإِقَامَةٌ غُلْبَةٌ عَدَدٌ إِقَامَةٌ (وَإِقَامَةٌ) is the same as in إِقَامَةٌ غُلْبَةٌ عَدَدٌ إِقَامَةٌ, as the sur. is the second element
of the construct state; واقعه الصلة, and functions as a substitute that compensates for the elided 
تاء marbūta. Cf. Sibawaihi, II, 260-261, Zamaḥšāri, 179, Ibn ʿAqil, II, 574, de Sacy, I, 294, 

(250) For the paradigm of وعَدَ see (245).

(251) The assimilation of the 3rd radical d to the suffixed t (cf. Vernier, I, 57) in perfect 
verbs, e.g. “you promised /masc. sing.”, وَعَدْتَ, “/f fem. sing.” and وَعَدْتِ, “/I sing.” instead of 
وَعَدْتُ and وَعَدْتَ is a possibility. The reason of this assimilation is the proximity 
of the t to the d in the point of articulation, as they both originate from the tip of the tongue and 
the roots of the two upper central incisors (for the consonants see my notes (188)).

(252) For the paradigm of وعَدَ in the imperfect of the indicative, active, see (245). 
الكسرة the كتابة the التقديرية is translated as “the kasra that is virtually existent” and “the damma 
that is virtually existent”. The w is elided from the base form of the imperfect وَعَدْنَي resulting 
in يعَدْنَا because of the dislike that the Arabs have for the combination of the kasra that follows 
the damma and vice versa in one word. The prefixed y of the imperfect in يَعَدْنِ is considered 
as implying the existence of a virtual kasra because the kasra refers to the y, and the radical w 
implies the existence of a virtual damma because the damma refers to the w, and so both their 
combination together or the inclination of one to the other, is deemed as heavy. Furthermore 
الكسرة التحقيقية “the real kasra” that vowels the 2nd radical يعَدْنِ follows the w or the 
virtual damma, which is a reason more why the w should be elided.

(253) The disliked combination of the damma preceding the kasra is found in the noun 
حَبْدُو (cf. Lane, I, 503) and of the kasra preceding the damma in the noun دَبْلُ (for discussions and 
other examples see (133)).

(254) The imperfect of وَعَدَ, namely يَعَدُ of which the 1st radical is a w, is formed accord- 
ing to the conjugation يفعلُ with the 2nd radical vowels with a kasra. The 2nd radical is 
however vowelled by a fatha, i.e. يَعَدُ, due to the influence of the 3rd radical which is a 
guttural consonant (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1419; for discussions concerning strong verbs with 
2nd or 3rd radical as a guttural consonant see (30), (30 b)).

(255) The w is not elided in the imperfect Form IV يَوعَدُ underlyingly with the infixed 
hamza in it, as its perfect is أَعَدْ. The reason why the w is retained in 
Form II يَوعَدُ is that it occurs in the base form يَوعَدُ between a hamza vowelled by a fatha preceding it 
and a kasra following it, which is not considered as a heavy combination. The position of the w 
in Form IV يَوعَدُ is different from its position in Form I يَوعَدُ in which it follows a y and
precedes a kasra resulting in a disliked combination, which is the reason of its elision there (cf. (252)).

(256) is used in the imperative instead of or after the change of the 1st radical vowelless \( w \) into a \( y \) on account of the influence of the kasra preceding it, i.e. \( \text{اء عد} \) (cf. Wright, II, 78, de Sacy, I, 238). The elision of the 1st radical \( w \) in the imperative seems to be on the analogy of its elision in the imperfect \( \\text{عد} \), as the imperative can be considered to be derived from the imperfect.

The paradigm of \( \\text{عد} \) in the imperative is thus the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>عد</td>
<td>عدانا</td>
<td>عدنا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>عدي</td>
<td>عدنا</td>
<td>عدن</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(257) For discussions concerning \( \\text{عد} \) in which the vowelled \( w \) is changed into a \( y \) see (113).
الباب الخامس في الأجر

وقال له أجوُف لخلو جوفه عن الحروف الصحيحة وقال له ذو الثلاثة لتصورته على
ثلثة أحرف في المتكلم نحو قُلْتُ. وهو يجَّل من ثلاثة أحرف نحو قال يَقُول وَبَاع
يَبْعِث وَحَافِظ يَحَافِظ. قال بعض الصرافين أَصْلًا شَامًٍا في باب الإحال يخرج جميع
المسلال منه وهو قولهم إن الإحال في حروف القلعة في غير القلعة يتصور فيه على ستة عشر
وجها لأنه يتصور في حروف القلعة أربع أوجه الحركات الثلاثة وال-suite وما قبلها.

فقال كذلك فاضرب الأربعة في الأربعة حتى يحصل لك ستة عشر وجها ثم اترك الساكنة
التي ما فوقها ساكنا لتتعرّف اجتياز الساكنين في حيّت لك خمسة عشر وجها الأربعة منها إذا
كان ما قبلها متضاها نحو قول وَيَبْعِث وَحَافِظ وَطُلُب، ولا تعلو الأولى لأن حرف القلعة إذا
سُكت جعلته من جنس حركة ما قبلها إلى أن عريكة الساكن واستدعاه ما قبلها نحو
مِّيْرَان أَصْلَ مُؤْنِزَ وَيُوسُرُ أَصْلُ يِيْسُرُ إلا إذا افتحت ما قبلها لختة الفتحة والسكون.

وقد بعضهم يجوز القلب نحو قال وَيَبْعِث نحو أغْرَز، أَصْلُ أغْرَزُ بَوَا ساكن
ب ۲۷۰

بتعال يُغْرِي وَيَبْعِث، نحو كُونَة من الكون مع سكون الوراء واختلاف ما قبلها لأن
كُونَة عند الجلَيل فَدَافعَت قَصَّرت كُونَة كما في مَة أَصْلُ مَيْسُوتَ تَمَّ أَدْعِفُت
فلختت البياء الثانية فَصَّرت كُونَة كما اتخذت في مَة وقيل أَصْلُ كُونَة بضَمَّ الكاف
ثم فتح حتى لا يصير البياء، وأُوا في نحو الصَّرِيْرة والضَّغْيَبة والپَلُوْلة ثم جعلت الوراء
ياء لجعو القياسات ل كثيرها، ومن ثم قبل لا يجيء من الوراءات غير كُونَة والديِمُومة.

Fols. 26b-27b

۲ أَجُوُفِ: أَجْوُيْ، لَ/ السَّجَيْحَةُ، الصَّحيحةُ كَ/ الثلاثة جُزاء لَ/ الصُّيَبَرْدَةِ لَ/ الصُّيَبَرْدَةِ
ثلثة جُزاء لَ/ السَّجَيْحَةُ، الصَّحيحةُ كَ/ الثلاثة جُزاء لَ/ الصُّيَبَرْدَةِ لَ/ الصُّيَبَرْدَةِ
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ 
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ 
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ 
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ 
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ 
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ 
۲۷۰ بُطِّفَ كَالثَّلَاثةِ جُزاء لَ/ الفَنْاءِ: وَقَالَ لَ/ أَلْبَا: اِلْقَلْبُ
II.6. Translation: The 5th Chapter is about the Verb with Weak 2nd Radical

It is named "hollow" because its middle is devoid of a strong consonant. It is also named "the one with the three consonants", because it becomes formed of three consonants in the 1st person of the sing. [of the perfect], e.g. قالَ أُقِيلَ “I said”. It falls into three conjugations: 

- "to say", 2- مُحَمَّد - 3- حَفِّر - 4- "to fear".(259) Some of the grammarians [Fol. 27 a] established some general principles concerning the subject of the weak consonants' unsoundness from which all the issues derive. They stated that the change due to the unsoundness of the weak consonants, when they are in other [positions] than as 1st [initial] radicals, can be conceived in sixteen cases: four cases can be thought of concerning the weak consonants, namely the vowelling by [one of] the three vowels and the vowellessness, and the same concerns the consonant preceding them. So multiply the four by four until you get sixteen cases, then exclude the vowelless weak consonant which is preceded by a vowelless consonant, because of the impossibility of combining two vowelless consonants, and so fifteen cases are left for you.(260) I—Four of them if it [sc. the weak consonant] is preceded by a fatha, e.g. 1- "a saying", 2- مُحَمَّد "to sell", 3- حَفِّر "to fear" and 4- طَلْب "to become long". No change is carried out in the first [sc. قَوْلٌ] on the basis that if the weak consonant is vowelless it would have to be changed into a weak consonant of the nature of the vowel preceding it, because of the weakness of the nature of the vowelless weak consonant and the influence of the vowel preceding it [on it], e.g. مُحَمَّد "balance" underlyingly مُحَمَّد, and مُحَمَّد "is well off" underlyingly مُحَمَّد unless if the consonant preceding it is vowelled by a fatha [as in قَوْلٌ in which the weak consonant remains sound], because of the lightness of the fatha followed by the sukūn. By some of them, the change [into the ۱] is made possible, e.g. مُحَمَّد “a saying”. A change due to the unsoundness is carried out in "I attacked" underlyingly مُحَمَّد with a vowelless ۱, on the analogy of مُحَمَّد “he attacks”.(262) A change is carried out also in مُحَمَّد “being”, that is from مُحَمَّد with the vowelless ۱ and the consonant preceding it being vowelled by a fatha, because its base form [Fol. 27 b] is مُحَمَّد according to al-Ḥajil, then an assimilation is carried out and it becomes مُحَمَّد—similarly to مُحَمَّد “a dead man” underlyingly مُحَمَّد in which an assimilation is carried out —, and then the 2nd ۱ is lightened so that it becomes مُحَمَّد as it is lightened in مُحَمَّد. It is said [by the Kufans] that its base form is مُحَمَّد with the ۱ vowelled by a damma, which is then given a fatha, [and with the ۱ changed into the ۱] so that the ۱ does not have to be changed into a ۱, formed according to [the masdars of verbs with 2nd radical ۱ e.g. "becoming", "unconsciousness" and ۱ “sleeping at midday”. So the ۱ is changed [in مُحَمَّد with 2nd radical ۱] into a ۱ on the analogy of the masdars with 2nd radical ۱ because of their frequency.(263) Hence, it is said that only "continuation".
والسُبُدَدُة والهَمْطُوْنَة. قال ابن جَيْنِي في الثَلَاثة الأخيرة تسكن حروف الرَّسُول فيها للخدمة ثم تُقلب ألفاً لاستدعاها، الفتحة وليست شرارة الساكن إذا كان في فعل أو في اسم على وزن فعل إذا كانت حركتان غير عارضة ولا تكون فتحة ما قبلها في حكم السكون ولا ينصح في مفعَّل الكلمة اضطراب ولا ينصح في إتعلم ولا يلزم ضم حروف الرَّسُول في مضارع ولا يترك للدلتا على الأصل ومن ثم يُعمل نحو قال أصله قول ونحو دار أصله دور.

لوجود الشروط المذكورة يُعمل مثل ديار تباعاً لواحدة ومثل قيام تباعاً لفصله ومثل سيَّاط تباعاً لسائر واحده وهي مشابهة بالف دار في كونها مبنية. أعني تُعلَّه هذه الأشياء وإن لم تكن أفلاكاً ولا على وزن أفلاك للتابعة ولا يُعمل نحو الحَوْكَة والهَوْنَة والهَمْطُوْنَة وحيدى وصوّري لخُروجِن رونَف الفعل بعامة التانيث وقيل حتَّى يبدلون على الأصل ونحو دَعَوا القَوْم لطور حركته ونحو عوَّر واجْذُور لْأَن حركة العين والدال في حكم السكون أي في حكم عين إعور ولف تجاوز ونحو الحَوْكَة حتَّى يبدل حركته على اضطراب معناه والمؤثِّن محول عليه لان تقضيه ونحو طَوْي حتَّى لا ينصح فيه إتعلم وطويًا محول عليه وإن لم ينصح فيه إتعلم ونحو حَيِّي حتَّى لا يلزم ضم الباء في المضارع يعني إذا قلت حارُت يحيى مستقبله بحاري ونحو القُوَّة والصُبِيد حتَّى يبدل على الأصل.

Fols. 27b-28a

1 جَيْنِي: الجَيْنِي د. الثَلَاثة: ثلاثُه جد هزّة ن. فيما: أولاً 1/2 في: - د / 1/2 ولا تكون: ويكون

2 تكون: يكون اب د هزّة قبلها: 6 لا 5 الساكن ب د حطة: لحو دوار: ودار د / 6 ديار + أصله دار / 7 سيِّاط: + أصله سواط / تعلي: يعقل اب د هزّة حطة

3 تكون: يكن د هزّة حطة على... أفلاك: اسماً على وزن فعل د / 6 بديل: بديل د / 10 ضمواً: دعو د هزّة دعوي ح / 1 حكمة: - د / 12 حتَّى لا: لسلا د / 14 إذا: +

10 قليت العين من حَيِّي حا: والصُبِيد: - د هزّة
“predominance” and “vomiting” occur as masdars with 2nd radical w. Ibn Ğinni said concerning the three last ones [sc. the weak consonants], that the weak consonants are made vowelless in them for the purpose of alleviation, and that they are then changed into an ā due to the influence of the fatha [preceding them], and because of the feebleness of the sukūn’s nature.

Thus [the phonological change due to the unsoundness of the w and y is carried out]: 1- if they are in a verb or in a noun with a verbal pattern; 2- if their vowelling is not accidental; 3- if the fatha of the consonant preceding them does not have the state of the sukūn; 4- if the corresponding meaning of the word does not refer to intensive mobility; 5- if there is not in it [sc. the word] a risk of combining two phonological changes; 6- if the weak consonants do not necessarily become vowelled with a dāamma in the imperfect; and 7- if they are not meant to give a clue to the base form.

1- Thus the phonological change is carried out in دار “to say” underlyingly قول, and in دار “house” underlyingly دور, because of the existence of the mentioned [Fol. 28a] conditions. As for the change that is carried out in ديار “houses”, it is on the analogy of its sing. [sc. دار], in قائم “standing” on the analogy of its verb, and سوق “whips” on the analogy of the w of its sing. [sc. سوق], which is similar to the ā of دار in its being “dead”. I mean that the phonological change due to the unsoundness of the weak consonant is carried out in these examples even if they are not verbs or being on the verbal measure سك-ل for the sake of analogy.

The phonological change is not carried out in الحوينة “the weavers”, حيدى “the traitors”, صورى “(a he-ass) shying at his own shadow because of his liveliness” and ساورا “name of a water”, as they are excluded from [resemblance to] the verbal pattern due to the feminine marker [sc. respectively the t of the feminine and the abbreviated alif], and it is also said so that they give a clue to the base form.

2- It is not carried out either in دعوى “they called out for the people”, because of the faintness of its vowel [sc. the dāamma of the w]. 3- Nor in عور “to be one-eyed” and عور “to be neighbours” on the basis that the vowel of the عور [of عور and the vowel of the عور] are ruled by the sukūn, i.e. by the [sukūn of the] vowelless عور and the [sukūn of the vowelless ā of عور] [respectively]. 4- Nor in الحيوان “animal, much life”, so that its vowelling gives notice of the mobility referred to by its corresponding meaning. 5- Nor in طري “to fold” to prevent the combination of two unsound weak consonants. 6- Nor in حي “to live” so that it is not necessary to vowel the [2nd] y of the imperfect by a dāamma, i.e. if you said حاي, its imperfect would be حاي. 7- Nor in القود “the retaliation” and in السيد “a disease in a camel’s head”, so that they give a clue to the base form.
الأربعة منها إذا كان ما قبلها منحوتً نحو "بَيْعَ وَبَيْعٍ وَبَيْعٌ"، وتُبَرِّرُ وَلَنْ يَدْعُو بِجُعل الِياءَ.

في الأعلى واذا لَضْحُماً ما قبلها ولَين مَرْكِبة الساكن فِصْار مَوْسَرًا وَأَيْدِيَة تَسْكِن
لَفَظَة وَثُمْ تَجَعل واذا لَضْحُماً ما قبلها ولَين مَرْكِبة الساكن فِصْار بَيْعٌ، وَأَيْدِيَة تَسْكِن
ما قبل حَرف الِياءُ من جَنَّه سَخَرُ فِصْار جَيْنَدَ بَيْعٌ، وَتُسْكِن في التَثْلِيث لَفَظَة فِصْار
يَغُزَو وَلَنْ تَعْلَ في الِياءُ لَفَظَة الْفِصَادة وَمَثْمُ لا يَعْلَ عِبْدَةَ وَنَوْمَةِ الأَرْبَعُ منَهَا إِذَا كَان
ما قبلها مَكْسُورًا نحو "مَؤْوَرَان وَدَعْوَة وَرَضْيَة وَتَرْمَيْسَان" فِصْار الِياءُ اسْتَدْعَاء، ما قبلها ولَين مَرْكِبة الساكنة فِصْار دَابِعٍ وَلا يَعْلَ مِثْل دَابِعٍ
لَانَ الأَسْمَاء الَّتِي لَسْتُ بِشَشَتَة مِن الْفِلْح لا تُعْلَ لَفَظَتهَا إِذَا كَانَ عَلَى وَرْن الْفِلْح
وَهُوَ لِيْسُ عَلَى وَرْن الْفِلْح وَفِي الِياءُ تَسْكِن الِياءُ لَفَظَة تُحَذَ لاجِتِيَاع الساكنين
فِصْار رَضْوَا وَالِياءُ مَشْلُوَة في الْإِعاَلِ، الشَّشَتَة إِذَا كَانَ ما قبلها ساكنًا نحو
يَحَوِّي وَبَيْعَ وَبَيْعٍ وَبَيْعٍ يَعْلَّ مَرْكِبة الِياءُ إِذَا ما قَبْلِهَا مَضْعَف حْرَف الِياءُ وَقْوَة
الْحَرَف الَّتِي لَا مَكْسُورُ تَجَعل في يَحَوِّي أَنَا لَفَظَة ما قَبْلِهَا ولَين مَرْكِبة الساكن
الْعَارض بِخَافِفِ حَرْفٍ فِصْار بِخَافِفٍ وَبَيْعَ وَبَيْعٍ وَبَيْعٍ. لا يَعْلَ نحو آمِنٍ وَأَتْوَر حَتَّى لا
يَلْتِبِسِ بِالْفَعَالِ وَنَحْو جَدُوُّ حَتَّى لا يَبْطِل الْإِيعَاسِ وَنَحْو قَوْمِ حَتَّى لا يَبْطِل الإِعاَلِ في
الْإِعاَلِ وَنَحْو الْرَّقِي حَتَّى لا يَبْطِل الساكنة في آخر المُعْرِف وَنَحْو تَقْوُيَة وَبَيْعُون وَمُقَوَّال

Fols. 28a-29a

II- Four of them if what precedes it [sc. the weak consonant] is vowelled by a ্ḍāmma, e.g. 5-
“prosperous”, 6-
“was sold”, [Fol. 28 b] 7-
“he attacks” and 8-
“he shall not call”. Hence in the first [sc. ्मृष्टि], by changing the y into a w due to the influence of the ्ḍāmma preceding it and the faintness of the nature of the vowelless weak consonant, so it became ्मृष्टि. In the second [sc. ्युः], by making it [sc. the y] vowelless for the purpose of alleviation, and then by changing it into a w due to the [influence of the] ्ḍāmma preceding it and the faintness of the nature of the vowelless weak consonant, so it became ्युः. If the vowel preceding the weak consonant [sc. the y of ्युः] is changed into its kind [sc. the kasra], it became then ्युः, which is also a possibility. In the third [sc. येत्रुस्], it [sc. the w] is made vowelless for the purpose of alleviation, so it became येत्रुस्. No change is carried out in the fourth [sc. लेन ्युः], because of the lightness of the fatha. On account of that [sc. the lightness of the fatha], no change is carried out in “one who reproaches much” and ्वृष्टिः “one who sleeps much”.

III- Four of them if what precedes it [sc. the weak consonant] is vowelled by a kasra, e.g. 9-
“a balance”, 10-
“the one who invites /fem.”, 11-
“they were pleased /masc. pl.” and 12-
“you throw /fem. sing.”. Thus in the first [sc. ्र्पयाः], it [sc. the w] is changed into a y as was mentioned. In the second [sc. ्दातृस्], it [sc. the w] is changed into a y due to the influence of vowel preceding it and the faintness of the nature of the fatha, so it became ्दातृस्. However, no change is carried out in “turns of fortune”, because the change is not to be carried out in nouns which are not derived from verbs because of their lightness, unless if they are formed according to a verbal measure, which is not the case here. In the third [sc. ्र्पयाः], the y is made vowelless for the sake of alleviation, and it is then elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, so it became ्र्पयाः [with the damma of the d instead of the kasra].

The change in the fourth [sc. ्तंतृसि] is similar to it [sc. the one in ्तंतृसि].

IV- Three of them if it [sc. the weak consonant] [Fol. 29 a] is preceded by a vowelless consonant, e.g. 13-
“he is afraid”, 14-
“He sells” and 15-
“he says”. In them, the vowel [of the weak consonant] is shifted to the consonant preceding it because of the faintness of the weak consonant and the strength of the strong consonant. However, in ्वा, it [sc. the w] is changed into an a due to the influence of the fatha preceding it [after the transfer of the w’s fatha in ्वा to it] and the faintness of the nature of the accidental vowel [sc. the fatha], as opposed to [the original fatha of ्वा “fear” in which the w is sound because of the fatha’s lightness]. Thus they became ्वा and ्वा. No change is carried out in “eyes” and ्वा “houses”, so that they would not be mixed up with the verbs, nor in ्वा “a rivulet”, so that the formation [according to ्वा] does not become canceled. Nor in ्वा “to straighten” to avoid a change due to an unsound weak consonant occurring after another change. Nor in ्वा “the throwing” to prevent the occurrence of a vowelless consonant at the end of a declinable word. Nor in ्वा “setting up”, ्वा “demonstration”, ्वा “loquacious”
ومخاطط حتى لا يجتمع الساكنان بتقدير الإعلان ومخاطط منقوص من المخاطط فلا يعله، فإن قبل لم يعل الإقامة، وحمل أمامهم إذا أعلل كأعمال آخائها قلت أتعل أصلم في الاعلال، فإن قبل لم يعل القويم تعل أصلم وهو تعل أصلم في الاعلال، قالوا أعلل قويم، واستناد قام وإن كان أصلم في الإعلان لقوة قويم، في الآلهة مع القويم ولا يصح أعلل أن يكون موقفًا لقاء لأنه ليس من تعل أصلم ولا يعمل مثل ما أقول أن يغيب المرأة واستند على القويم، وقول في الإقامة قالت أعلل إلى آخره وأصل قال قويم فأعلل الفا كا مر، وأصل قأل قول قلبت الراو لفافا كما مر، ثم جدف لاجتمع الساكنان قصار قلبن ثم ضم الطاف حتى يدل على الراو المحدودة ولا يضن اللفاء في حقن لأن الأصل في النطق يتقلحركة الراو إلى ما قبلها لهؤلها ولا يكين هذا النطق في قلبن لأنه يلزم فينف المفتوحة ولا يفرق بينه وبين جميع المعنى في الأمر لأنهم لا يعتبرون الاشتراك الضبي.

ويكمن بالفرق التقديرية كما في عن وهو محترم بين العلماء والمجهول أيضا أو وقع من غرة الواضح كما في الاثنين والجماعة من الأمر والراضي في تفعل وتفاعل وتفاعل، ولا يفرق بين فعل وفعلن نحو لعلن وقلن لأنه يعلم من الطويل أن أصل علمن طويل إن الفعل يجيء من فعل غالبا كما يعلم الفرق بين فعلن وعليه من مستقبلها، عندي يجعل

Fols. 29a-30a

and “needle”, to avoid the combination of two vowelless weak consonants if the change is carried out. مَحِيطٌ is contracted from مَحِيطً and no change is carried out in it for the sake of the analogy with it. If it is asked why a change is carried out in الإِقَامَةٌ “the performance” that causes in it a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, as it is affected by a change that is similar to the one that could have been carried out in its cognates [sc. التَّقَيُّمُ and others], we answer that it is in conformity with قَامَ “to stand up”, a triliteral verb with weak radical that is fit to undergo a change. If it is asked why is a change not carried out in [the masdar of Form II] التَّقَيُّمُ on the analogy of قَامَ, a triliteral verb with weak radical that is fit to undergo a change, we answer that if it was to undergo a change on the analogy of قَامَ, a triliteral verb with weak radical that is fit to undergo a change, it would cancel [Form II] قَوْمٍ [Fol. 29 b], which is his [sc. the speaker’s] saying, and which is related to تَقَيُّمُ. Hence [Form IV] أَقَامَ is not fit to reinforce [the meaning of] قَامَ, because it is not a Form I triliteral verb. No change is carried out in لَعَلَّكُمُ اللَّهُ أَقْرَأَتْ “how well he speaks!”، “the woman suckled her child while she was pregnant” and لَتَنْهَأَ “to overwhelm”, so that they give a clue to the base form. You say when attaching the pronouns: قَالَ “he said”, قَالَ/7� masc. pl. “قالوا”, قَالَ/3 fem. sing.”، “/3 dual”, قَالَ/7� fem. pl. etc. is underlyingly قَوْلٌ, in which the w is changed into an ā as was mentioned. قَيْلِ is underlyingly قَوْلُ، in which the w is changed into an ā as was mentioned, then it is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, so it became قَيْلٌ, and then the q is vowelled by a damma to give notice of the elided w. However, the 1st radical is not vowelled by a damma in خَفْنُ “they were afraid /fem. pl.”, because the principle of shifting [a vowel] is to shift the vowel of the w [of the base form خُوَفُ] to the consonant preceding it because of its lightness. This transfer [of the w’s vowel of the base form خُوَفُ] is not possible in قَيْلٌ, because it would impose the fatha on a consonant that is already vowelled by a fatha [sc. the q of قَوْلُ]. No difference is made between it [sc. قَيْلِ] and the [2nd person of the] fem. pl. of the imperative [sc. قَيْلَ], as they do not consider the homonymy of the damma [of the 1st radical], but were contented by the virtual difference [between the base forms]. So is also the case of بَعْنُ “they sold, or they were sold /fem. pl.”, which is common for both the active and passive voice. Or it [sc. the homonymy] is due because of the inadvertency of the one who “posited” the language, as it occurred between the dual and pl. [of the 2nd person of the masc.] of the imperative and [the dual and pl. of the 3rd person of the masc.] of the perfect of [Form V] تَعْمَلُ and [Form VI] تَعْمَلُ and [Form II of the quadriliteral] تَعْمَلُ [as well as] تَعْمَلُ and تَعْمَلُ. No distinction is made between [the conjugations] تَعْمَلُ and تَعْمَلُ [after the phonological change], e.g. بَلَنَّ “they became long /fem. pl.” and بَلَنْ, as it is known [Fol. 30 a] منْ طَولِمْ “long” that طَلَنْ is underlyingly طَولِمْ, because فِعْلُ is mostly from فعلْ. As well as the distinction between [the conjugations of] بَعْنُ and بَعْنُ is known from both their imperfects. I mean that it is known
من يُحَافِظ أنَّ أَصِل حَفُنَ حَفْنِ فَلْيُؤْفَعُ الْإِنَّ بَاب قُوْلُهُ يُفْعَلُ لا يُحْفَرِي، إلَّا أنَّ حَرُوف الْحَلْق
ويَلْفَم من يُنْبِعٍ أنَّ أَصِل بَعْنَ بَعْنِ لَنَّ الْأَجْوَابَايْنِي لا يُحْفَرِي، فَلْيُؤْفَعُ يُفْعَلُ،
الْمُسْتَقْبِل يُقُولُ إِلَى أَخْرِه أَصِلُ يُقُولُ وَأَعْلَهَهُ مَا مَرَّ فَحَدَّفَت الْوَارُ إِلَى الْقُوْل رَفَعَت
اِلْحَمْلِ أَلْفَانِ، الأَمْر قَدَّلَ إِلَى أَخْرِه أَصِلُ أَقُولُ فَحَدَّفَت حَرْكَة الْوَار إِلَى الْقُوْل رَفَعَت
وَأَنَّ مِنْ يُحِبّ فِي الْسَائِكَانِ لَنَّ الْحَرْكَة أُقِلَّلَت حَصَلَت الْخَارِجِي فَنُكْرُوَ في حَكْمِ
الْسَكُون تُقَدِّرُا بِخَلْف قُوْلُ وَقُولُ لَنَّ الْحَرْكَة فِي حَصَلَت الْخَالِصِيِّنَ وَهُمُ الْأَلْفَانِ
الْفَعَّال وَأَلْفَانُ الْخَالِصِيِّنَ وَهُمُ بَيْنَة الْدَاخِلِيَّةَ وَمِنْهُمْ جُعُلَوْا مَعَ أَخْرِي الْخَارِجِي مَيْنَبًا
نَحْوً، ۲۰۰۰ هـ يُفْعَلُ وَيُحَدَّفُ الْأَلْفِ فِي دَمَّ أَنَّ حَصَلَت الْحَرْكَة بِالْفَعَّال لَنَّ الْيَتَّاء لِيُسَتَّر
مِنْ نَسَبِ الْكَلْمَة بِخَلْف الْيَدَمَ في قُوْلُ. وَقَوْلُ بِنَبُونِ الْخَالِصِيِّنَ قَدَّتَهَا قُوْلُ قُوْلُ
قُوْلُ قُوْلُ قُوْلُ قُوْلُ وَقُولُ، وَقُولُ. الْفَعَّال قَادّرٌ إِلَى أَخْرِه أَصِلُ أَقُولُ قَلْبَتَ
الْوَار أَلْفَانُ لَنَّ الْحَرْكَة وَأَنْفَتْ حَمْلِهَا كَمَا فِي كُسُو، أَصِلُ كَسَاوٍ وَجُعَلَ واَوَهُ أَلْفَانْ لِوَقْوعُهُ فِي
1۲ الْبَرْطُف لَنَّ جُعِلَ حَمْلُ إِنْ تَأْبَأَ لَنَّ الْأَلْفَانِ لَنَّ أَلْفَانٍ لَنَّ اِلْحَجَّة حَصَلَتِ فَجَعَلَهَا
الْأَلْفَانُ وَلَا يُكْنِي إِسْقَاطَ الْأَلْفِ لَنَّ يَبْتَسُ الْمَلَامِي وَكَذَّبَانِ ثَانِيَةً فَحَرَكَتُ الْأَخِيرَة
فَصَارِحُ هَمّةٍ، وَجِيْبِي فِي الْبَعْض بِالْفَحْدَف نَحْوَ فَصَارِحُ وَالْبَعْضُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ فَصَارِحُ وَالْأَلْفُ Fols. 30a-30b
from "he is afraid" that \( \text{خَفَفَ} \) is underlyingly فَمُّلَ يَفْعَلُ as the conjugation فَمُّلَ يَفْعَلُ does only comprehend verbs with guttural consonants [as 2nd or 3rd radical]. And it is known from "he sells" that \( \text{بُيِّنَ} \) is underlyingly يُفَعَّل, as the verb with 2nd y radical does not occur according to the conjugation يُفَعَّل. The imperfect is يُقُولُ "he says" etc., underlyingly يُفَعَّل in which the change due to the unsoundness of the weak consonant has been mentioned. The \( w \) is elided in [the base form ] resulting in "they say /fem. pl" to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [sc. the vowelless \( w \) and \( f \)]. The imperative is فَلْ "say!" etc., underlyingly أَؤُولُ in which the vowel of the \( w \) is shifted to the \( q \), then its \( w \) is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [sc. the vowelless \( w \) and \( f \)], and then the [prosthetic] alif is elided because it is not more needed. The \( w \) is elided in [sc. ] "say the truth", in spite of the fact that two vowelless consonants [sc. the vowelless \( w \) and \( f \)] are not combined in it [sc. the base form ] on the basis that the vowel [of juncture] is given to it [sc. the \( l \) of ] due to an external consonant [sc. the vowelless -l of the definite article of the following word ] which means that it is ruled by the sukūn virtually, by contrast to [the maintainance of the \( w \) in ] “/2 dual (imperative)” and قُولْ “/2 masc. sing.”, in which the vowelling [of the \( f \)] is caused by both internal consonants [respectively], namely the \( a \) of the agent pronoun and the energetic \( n \), which occupy an internal position of the word. On account of that [sc. that the energetic \( n \) is internal], they made the last radical of the imperfect invariable [vowelled by the fatha] before it, e.g. فَلْ هُلَّ "are they doing? /2 masc. sing. (imperative En. 1)". The \( a \) [that is substituted for the 2nd radical \( w \)] [Fol. 30 b] is elided in دَعُوُا "they prayed /fem., dual" [from دَعُوُا دَعَوُا], in spite of the fact that the vowel is given to it [sc. the \( l \) on account of the agent pronoun \( a \), as the \( t \) is considered as not belonging to the same word, contrarily to the [radical] \( f \) in ] “Say! /2 dual (imperative)”. You say with the energetic \( n \): قُولْ "/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. 1)”, قُولْ "/2 masc. pl.”, قُولْ "/2 fem. sing.”, قُولْ "/2 dual” and قُولْ "/2 fem. pl.”, and with the light one: قُولْ "/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. II)”, قُولْ "/2 masc. pl.” and قُولْ "/2 fem. sing.”. The active participle is قَانُولُ etc., underlyingly قَانُولُ, in which the \( w \) is changed into an \( a \) on account that it is vowelled and because of [the influence of] the fatha preceding it, as in كَسَارُ "a wrapper" underlyingly كَسَأْرُ, in which the \( w \) is changed into an \( a \) because of its occurrence at the extremity of the word, and then it [sc. the \( a \)] is changed into a hamza. The [infixed] \( a \) of the active participle [in ] is not taken into account because it is not a firm separate [between the vowelled \( q \) and the vowelled \( w \)], so two alifs [sc. the infixed \( a \) of the active participle and the \( w \) changed into an \( a \) in ] were combined together. It was impossible to drop the 1st one,—and so as well the 2nd one -, because it [sc. the active participle] would be mixed up with the perfect [sc. قَالُ "he said"]. So the last one was given a vowel and became a hamza [sc. ] It [sc. the active participle] occurs in some [forms] with the elision of the 2nd radical], e.g. مَاء "vomitting" and لُيْعُ "suffering" underlyingly لَيْعُ and لُيْعُ. Among them [sc. these forms] are also the words of
311  
فقالوا نسيكاً كنا في عصبة ومنه انيق انقى فأقنى ث مقدم الافض على الافض قيداً أقنى ثم
جعل الافض يا على القياس الافض أقنى. الافضل مقولأ نقولأ فاعل كإباع يقال

فصال مقولف فاجتمع الساكنان حذفت الافض الزائد عند سبيوعاً لأن حذف الزائد
أول وألف الافض عند الإسفنج لان الزائد عامة والعملة لا حذف. وقال سبيوعاً في
جوابه لا حذف الالوان إذا لم يوجد عامة أخرى وفيه يوجد عامة أخرى وهي اليم
فيكون وزنه عندم مقولف عند الإسفنج مقولف وكذلك مبيع الافض مبيعه يعني أفعل
كإباع مبيع فصال مبيعه فاجتمع الساكنان يلا، والافض حذفت الافض عند سبيوعاً.
فصال مبيع ثم كسر اليا، حتى تسلم اليا، عند الإسفنج حذفت اليا، فأعلمي الكشرة

312  
ب لما قبلاها كنا مر في بغث فصال مبيع ثم جعل الافض يلا كما في ميزان فيكون وزنه مقولف
عند سبيوعا وعند الإسفنج مقولف. الموضع مقالاً أصله مقولأ فاعل كنا في يباع وكذلك
بيع أصله مبيع فأعلم كنا في يباع ودكتفي بالفرق التقديرية بين الموضع وبين اسم
المقولف وهو معتذر عندهم كما في الغفل إذا قدرت أصله ككسرون أصله، يكون
جمعه نحو قوله تعالى (حتى إذا كنت في الغفل وجرّب فهمه) وإذا قدرت
كسرون ككسرون كسر يكون واحدا نحو قوله تعالى (في الغفل كخشوع).  

Fols. 30b-31b

2 مثل عصوه: - 5/7 ثم 1/7 وزن الافض بعد الافض ز: + على وزن الافض: + على وزن الافض بعد الافض: 5/7
قاسى 1/7 فصال أنيق: - 1/7 حط: أنيق: أقنى ثم جعل الافض يلا على غير القياس 5/7
مقولف: + على آخره: 7 فصال مقولف: - 1/7 حذفت: حذفت 1/7 حذفت الزيادة: 8/7 حذفت الزيادة: 
الحذف للزيادة: 7/7 الحذف بالزيادة: 6/7 الزائدة: الزائدة: 5/7 حذفت: 8/7 حذفت: 8/7
وفيه يوجد: فيكون يوجد فيه اثري: - 5/7 أصله مبيع: - 1/7 زور: 10 فاجتمع
والافض: 5/7 الساكنان: ساكنان في اليا، والافض: - 1/7 حذفت: حذفت 1/7 في اليا، والافض: 5/7
حذفت 5/7 لما: ما 5/7: 14 ويبين اسم: 1/7: 14 يهم: 1/7 ببريج طيبة ب: 5/7
the Allmighty “and you were” [sur. 9: 109] “On an undermined sand-cliff”, i.e. [291] ١٠٩ [292] ١٠٩ The transposition is possible in their language, e.g. ١٠٩ “sharp” underlyingly ١٠٩ “bows” underlyingly ١٠٩ “sticks”, then it became ١٠٩ “sticks” →, then it became ١٠٩ to avoid the combination of both the waws at the extremity [of the word], and then the q was vowelled by a kasra [Fol. 31 a] on the analogy of what followed it, so they said ١٠٩ as in ١٠٩. Among them [293] ١٠٩ [294] ١٠٩ The passive participle is ١٠٩ “said” etc. underlyingly ١٠٩, in which a phonological change is carried out similar to the one in ١٠٩ “he says”, so it became ١٠٩, which caused a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants [sc. the waws], so the infixed w was elided by Sibawaihi on the basis that the elision of the augment is prior, whereas the original w [that is the 2nd radical] was elided by al-Aḥfaṣ on the basis that the augment is a marker, and the marker should not be elided. Sibawaihi answered him by saying that the marker should not be elided if there is no other marker [in the word], and here there is another marker, which is the m [prefix]. Hence its pattern is according to him ١٠٩ and according to al-Aḥfaṣ ١٠٩. So is also the case of ١٠٩ “sold” underlyingly ١٠٩, meaning that a phonological change is carried out in it similar to the one in ١٠٩ “he sells”, so it became ١٠٩; then two vowelless weak consonants, the y and the w, became combined together, and the w was elided according to Sibawaihi, so it became ١٠٩, and then the b was vowelled by a kasra so that the y was sounded true [i.e. ١٠٩]. However according to al-Aḥfaṣ, the y [of the radical] was elided, and the kasra was shifted to the consonant preceding it, as was mentioned about ١٠٩ “you sold”, so it became ١٠٩, and then the w was changed into a y as in ١٠٩ “balance”. So its pattern is ١٠٩ according to Sibawaihi and ١٠٩ according to al-Aḥfaṣ. The noun of place is ١٠٩ underlyingly ١٠٩ “speech”, in which a phonological change is carried out similar to the one in ١٠٩ “he fears”. So is also the case of ١٠٩ “offered for sale” underlyingly ١٠٩, in which a phonological change is carried out similar to the one in ١٠٩ “he sells”. The virtual difference [between the base forms], and it is taken into consideration by them-, is sufficient [concerning ١٠٩] to differentiate between the noun of place and the passive participle, as the case of ١٠٩ “the ships”, which is a plural if you take into account its sukūn which is similar to the sukūn of ١٠٩ “lions”, as in His saying the Sublime [sur. 10: 22] ١٠٩ “So that ye even board ships;—they sail with them”, and it is a singular if you take into account its sukūn which is similar to the sukūn of ١٠٩ “nearness”, as in the words of the Allmighty [sur. 26: 119] “In the ark filled (with all creatures)”.[295]
الآلة مقال أصل مقول: الجهة قيل السطر الثاني آخره أصله قول: فاسكن
الواو لليلة قصار قول وهو لغة ضعيفة للفصل عليه بالواو وفي لغة أخرى أعطي
كسرة الواو إلى ما قبلها قصار قول ثم صار الواواء لكسرة ما قبلها قصار قبل وفي
لغة تشتت حتى يعلم أن أصل ما قبلها مضوم وكذلك بيب واحتيار وأقيصر له وقلت
وأبني يعني يجوز فيهن ثلاث لغات ولا يجوز الإشمام في مثل أقيم لعدم ضمة ما قبل
الواو ولا يجوز بالواو أيضا لأن جواز الواوا لانضمام ما قبل حرف العلة وهو ليس
بوجود: وسوي في مثل فن وأيمن بين المعلوم والمجهول اكتمالا بالفرق التقديري. وأصل
يقال: يقول: فاعل كائن مخفى.

### Fols. 31b-32a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>الآلهة مقال:</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>١</td>
<td>مقال أصل: D/ الا آخره: - / فاسكن: فاسكن D/</td>
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<td>٢</td>
<td>مع الواو: والواو: اخرى: ٢ ٢ D/ الا ماء: ماء D/ د ه ط قول: Fصار: - ط/ ٣- ٥-</td>
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| وفي لغة: اخرى خط: ن تشتم: يشتما ب د ه ز مضوم: مضوم حض مه: ك: ل ه: 
| ٥/ ٧ في: - ٥/ وبين: - ٥/ ٨ كائن: مثل ب د ط/ |
The noun of instrument is مَقَولٌ. The passive voice is مَقَولٌ, etc.,(297) underlyingly تَيَلُّ, in which the w is made vowelless for the purpose of alleviation, so it became تَيَلُّ, which is a feeble dialectal variant, because the āẓama is deemed heavy when it is combined with the w [following it]. In another dialectal variant the kasra of the w [of تَيَلُّ] is shifted to the consonant preceding it, so it became تَيَلُّ, and then the w was changed into the y due to [the influence of] the kasra preceding it, so it became تَيَلُّ. In another dialectal variant, it [sc. the kasra of the consonant preceding the y of تَيَلُّ] is given a flavour of the ẓamma, so that it is known that underlyingly the consonant preceding it is vowelled by a ẓamma [sc. تَيَلُّ].

So is also the case of بِعَ “it was sold”, أَخَبَرَ “it was guided to him”, فَلَسَ “were said /fem. pl.” and بِعَ “were sold /fem. pl.”, meaning that the three dialectal variants are possible to be applied concerning them.(298)

However, it is impossible to give the flavour of the ẓamma in the example أَقِيمَ “it was performed”, because the consonant preceding the y is not vowelled by a ẓamma. It is also impossible [that it is said] with the w [instead of the y] because the w occurs only possibly [Fol. 32 a] if the consonant preceding the weak consonant is vowelled by a ẓamma, which is not the case here.(299)

The active and passive voice are made homonymous in فَلَنَ and بِعَ with the sufficiency of the virtual difference [between their base forms].(300)

The base form of يَخَافُ يَقَوْلُ يَقَالَ, in which a phonological change is carried out as in يَخَافُ [underlyingly يَخَفَ “it is dreaded”].
II.6.1. COMMENTARY

The Verb with Weak 2nd Radical

(258) For a general study of "the Hollow Verb" or "the verb with 2nd radical w or y" see Mu'addib, Taṣrīf 254-291, Ibn Ǧinnī, Munṣif I, 233, II, 110, Ibn Yaʿiš, Mulaḵī 52-58, Ibn ʿUsfūr, II, 437-518, Zaṅgānī, ʿIzzī 8-9, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Taṣrīf 624-634, de Sacy, 241-247, Farhāt, Bahṭ 71-79, Brockelmann, Socins Grammatik 43-45, Wright, 81-87, Blachère, 136-146, Fischer, Grammatik 116-119, Bakkūṣ, Taṣrīf 134-150, ‘Abd al-Rahīm, Ṣarf 29-33, Roman, Etude II, 961-971. For a comparative study with corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 242-255, Bauer, Grammatik 110-113. Moscati, Grammar 169 who refers to von Soden, Grundriß 154-156, remarks that some of the verbs of which the 2nd radical is w “describe a change of condition or transition from one situation to the opposite one, e.g. Sem. mwt “to die”, West Semitic qwm “to get up”, while others “refer to types of motion, e.g. Akkadian dwl “to go to and fro”, Hebrew and Ethiopic rws “to run”. As for verbs with 2nd radical y, some of them “describe a physiological function, e.g. Semitic ʿyn “to urinate”, while others connote “a definite outcome or result, e.g. Semitic ʿym “to place, fix”, Akkadian Arabic Ethiopic ġyr “to elect”.

(259) Jīlā ṣaww, a verb with 2nd radical w, pertains to the conjugation ṣaww. Its paradigm in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the subjunctive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ṣaww</td>
<td>ṣaww</td>
<td>ṣaww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ṣaww</td>
<td>ṣaww</td>
<td>ṣaww</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Its paradigm in the imperfect of the jussive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd fem.</th>
<th>3rd masc.</th>
<th>3rd fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>نقولا</td>
<td>يقولوا</td>
<td>يقال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يقال</td>
<td>نقولا</td>
<td>يقولوا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يقولوا</td>
<td>نقولا</td>
<td>يقال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نقولا</td>
<td>يقولوا</td>
<td>يقال</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its imperative is قُول. Its active participle is قال. Its imperfect, passive is مقول. Its perfect, passive is مقول.

The paradigm of the derived forms of this class of verb is the following:

Form II: Its perfect, active is قَولُ. Its imperfect is يُقُولُ. Its imperative is قِلْ. Its

masdar is نقولا. Its perfect, passive is قَولٌ.

Form III: Its perfect, active is قَالَ. Its imperfect is يُقاَلُ. Its imperative is قِيلْ. Its

masdar is مَقاَلَة. Its perfect, passive is قُولَ.

Form IV: Its perfect, active is إِقِيل. Its imperfect is يُقَيلُ. Its imperative is قِيلْ. Its active

participle is مَقْالَة. Its masdar is مَقاَلَة. Its perfect, passive is مَقْالاَت.

Form V: Its perfect, active is مقول. Its imperfect is يُقُولُ. Its imperative is قِلْ. Its

masdar is مَقاَلَة. Its perfect, passive is مَقْالاَت.

Form VI: Its perfect, active is مقول. Its imperfect is يُقُولُ. Its imperative is قِلْ. Its

masdar is مَقاَلَة. Its perfect, passive is مَقْالاَت.

As another example of Form VII, قدام of قدام “to rise” can be mentioned. Its perfect, active is قدام. Its imperfect is قدَامُ. Its imperative is قدام. Its active participle is قدام. Its masdar is قدام. Its perfect, passive is قدام. Its imperfect is قدام. Its passive participle is قدام.

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is قدام. Its imperfect is قدام. Its imperative is قدام. Its active participle is قدام. Its masdar is قدام. Its perfect, passive is قدام. Its imperfect is قدام. Its passive participle is قدام.

As another example of Form X, استماع can be mentioned. Its perfect, active is استماع. Its imperfect is استماع. Its imperative is استماع. Its active participle is استماع. Its masdar is استماع.
Its perfect, passive is ٍضِقَمَ. Its imperfect is ٍضِقَمَ. Its passive participle is ٍضِقَمَ. 

"underlyingly "حُرف " نَخْفَ رَحْفَ " يَخَافَ " يَخَافَ " يَخَافَ " يَخَافَ " يَخَافَ. Its perfect, active, is ِضِقَمَ. Its imperfect of the indicative, active, is ِضِقَمَ. Its active participle is ِضِقَمَ. Its imperative is ِضِقَمَ. Its active participle is ِضِقَمَ. Its maṣdar is ِضِقَمَ. Its perfect, passive is ِضِقَمَ. Its imperfect, passive, is ِضِقَمَ. Its passive participle is ِضِقَمَ.

(260) 'Ilāl refers to the phonological change that is carried out in a word in which a weak consonant is counted as unsound. This unsoundness is caused by the weak consonant’s vowelling or vowellessness and by the vowelling or the vowellessness of the sound consonant, whether strong or weak –, preceding it. Among the common phonological changes that can be mentioned is that the weak consonant is made vowelled, is changed into another weak consonant or is elided (cf. Rāğīḥī, Basīṭ 159, the Arabic text fol. 25b-26a). The sequence involved is that of a weak consonant preceded by a vowelled or by a vowelless sound strong or weak consonant. Hence the 1st weak radical that is not preceded by any other consonant in the perfect, e.g. the w in waʿada “to promise” cannot be made unsound (for discussions see (246)). The phonological change is however carried out when the 1st radical is preceded by a prefix, e.g. مِزَان that becomes مِيزَان “balance” (cf. (261)). Furthermore, the sequence of two vowelless weak consonants is as well excluded, as it is impossible to combine two vowelless weak consonants. A presentation comprehending fifteen sequences can be thought of:

1- The weak consonant is vowelled and preceded by a fāṭha.
2- The weak consonant is vowelled by a fāṭha and preceded by a fāṭha.
3- The weak consonant is vowelled by a kasra and preceded by a fāṭha.
4- The weak consonant is vowelled by a dāmma and preceded by a fāṭha.
5- The weak consonant is vowelled and preceded by a dāmma.
6- The weak consonant is vowelled by a kasra and preceded by a dāmma.
7- The weak consonant is vowelled by a dāmma and preceded by a dāmma.
8- The weak consonant is vowelled by a fāṭha and preceded by a dāmma.
9- The weak consonant is vowelled and preceded by a kasra.
10- The weak consonant is vowelled by a fāṭha and preceded by a kasra.
11- The weak consonant is vowelled by a dāmma and preceded by a kasra.
12- The weak consonant is vowelled by a kasra and preceded by a kasra.
13- The weak consonant is vowelled by a fāṭha and preceded by a sukūn.
14- The weak consonant is vowelled by a kasra and preceded by a sukūn.
15- The weak consonant is vowelled by a dāmma and preceded by a sukūn.

(261) The base form of مِزَان is مُزَان (from the root وُزَن) in which the 1st radical w is changed into y because of its vowellessness and the influence of the kasra preceding it (cf. Ibn
Činni, Munṣif I, 220-221, Bohas, Etude 260). Its pl. is مَوَارٍ إِنَّى with the w of the base form retained. It can be mentioned that the substitution of the y for the w is carried out anomalously despite of the fact that there is no kasra preceding the w in الـِسَاطِيق said instead of الـِسَابِيق in the following verse said by ʿIyād b. Durra al-Ṭāʾī, cited by Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4764, Howell, I, fasc. III, 1198:

“حتى لا يَبَدَّ الَّذُّهَبَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِنَا وَلَا نَسَالُ الَّأَقْوَامَ عَقَدَ الشَّيَاطِينِ.”

“[Our preserve is] a preserve that is never made free, save by our leave; nor do we ask of the peoples the contracting of engagements”.

is Form IV of the verb ِيُسَرَ with 1st y radical, in the imperfect of the indicative, active. For its paradigm in the groundform and derived forms see (245 b). The 1st vowelless radical y of the base form ِيُسَرَ is changed into a w, i.e. ِيُوَسَرَ, due to the influence of the َذَمَّة preceding it. The vowelless y when preceded by a damma, is changed into a glide, namely a lengthened w as in this mentioned example, and when preceded by a kasra into a glide, namely a lengthened y, e.g. ِيُسَرَ for ِيُسَرَ “be well off!” (cf. Wright, II, 80).

(262) ِأَغْرَيْتُ is mentioned in (311). The verb is underlingly a 3rd weak radical w verb from ِغَزَرُ. In Form IV, the w of the base form ِأَغْرَيْتُ “I raided” is changed into a y: ِأَغْرَيْتُ “approved” underlingly ِمَرْضَيْتُ. However, the w of the passive participle remains sound if the 2nd radical of its verb is vowelled by a fatha, e.g. ِمَغْرُبُ “raided” from ِغَزَرُ whose 2nd radical z is vowelled by a fatha (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I 1279-1280). This is why the change of the w into y in ِعَدَّي مَعْدَدٌ in which the 2nd radical d of the verb is vowelled by a fatha, is anomalous in the following verse said by ʿAbd Yaḡūt b. Waqqās al-Ḥarīṭi. It is cited by Ibn Ġinni, Sirr II, 691, Munṣif I, 118, II, 122, Ibn Yaʿīs, X, 22, 110, Mulākī 480, Ibn ʿAqīl, II, 577, Tibrīzī, Iḥtiyārāt 771, Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2325, 2847, Bağdādī, Šarḥ 400-401, Ḥizāna I, 316, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1280, Wright, II, 91:

“وَقَدْ عَلَىٰ مَغْرِبٍ مَلِيْكَةٌ أَنِي أَنَا الْلَّيْبُ مَعْدَدٌ عَلَيْهِ وَغَلَايِ.”

“And my wife Mulaika has known that it is I who am the lion, when assailed, and when assailing”.

The example with the weak consonant kept sound, i.e. with مَعْدَدٌ said instead of مَعْدَدَا, is cited by Sarakuṣṭū, Afāl I, 247. Another variant of the verse is read by some with مَغْرِبٌ عَلَيْهِ
“when raided, and when raiding” instead of مغفدياً عليه وعادياً مغفرًا, with the anomalous change of the weak consonant that is carried out in.

(263) كيمونة is formed according to the pattern فعمالنة. The 2nd radical w is vowelled by a fatha in it and follows a vowelless y. The phonological change is carried out by changing the w into a y and assimilating the two yā’s, i.e. كيمونة (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munsif II, 10). The base form كيمونة is used mostly in poetic licence. It occurs in the following verse said by al-Nahšali, cited by Ibn Ğinni, Munsif II, 15, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 115, 334, Suyūṭī, Asbāb III, 335, Ibn Manzūr, V, 3926, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1461:

"يا ليت أنا ضيماً سفينيّ حتي يعود الوصل كيمونة.

“O would that we and the beloved were so placed that a boat held us, to the end that union might return in being!”

An alleviated form exists as well, namely كيمونة (for discussions see Zağgā, Mağalis 309-310, Ibn Ğinni, Munsif II, 9-15, Zamahšari, 179, Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 115, 334-335, Nazha 200, Ibn Ya’īs, X, 68-70, Suyūṭī, Asbāb III, 35, Ibn Manzūr, V, 3959, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1461-1464, Wright, II, 120, Bustānī, Muḥīf 799). It occurs with a y following the 1st radical, and not with a w in spite of the fact that it is a maṣdar of a verb with middle radical w, because it is made formed according to the maṣdars of verbs with 2nd radical y which are much more numerous (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munsif II, 12). The examples of maṣdars of verbs with 2nd radical y that Ibn Maṣ‘ûd takes up here to which كيمونة is formed according to are: صار يصرى مسيورَة from "to become”, قال يقل غاب يغيب غيوبة from "to be unconscious” and تقللنة from "to take a midday nap”. It can be mentioned that a debate was raised concerning كيمونة, the Basrans believing that it is alleviated from كيمونة, whereas the Kufans believing that it is alleviated from كيمونة (for discussions see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 115, 334-335).

which became كيمونة after the assimilation and كيمونة after the alleviation is compared to ميت with the 2nd radical vowelless w followed by a y with a kasra, which became after the assimilation of the w to the y and ميت after the alleviation. ميت is lightened by the elision of the 2nd y so that it became ميت, because of the combination of two yā’s and a kasra which is deemed as heavy. Another example is سيد which is lightened from سيد. According to the Kufans, the base form of ميت and ميت is سيد, whereas according to the Basrans the base form is سيد, and some believed as well فعل (for their debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf Q. 115, 334-338). Curiously enough, the Kufan al-Kisā’i believed that the form فعالس, with the doubling of the y, underlyingly سيد, is on the pattern فعالس, and by doing so, followed the Basrans’ theory (cf. Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 266). Another example that conforms to صب which occurs in the sura 9: 36 “That is the straight usage” and that occurs in the sura 2: 19 “Or (another similitude) is that of a rain-laden
cloud from the sky”. It can be mentioned that Ya'qūb al-Hadrāmī, one of the ten readers of the Qurʾān (see for them Ḥāhabī, Qurrā’ 157), used the alleviated form ميت (بلدة ميتة) “A dead land”. He used ميت with the doubling of the y to designate what had a soul (cf. Mu’addib, Tafsīr 265-266). Vollers, Volkssprache 151, referring to Baidawi mentions that Ibn Kāṭir, Ibn ‘Amīr, Abū ‘Amr and Abū Bakr preferred to use ميت, whereas Nāfi‘ preferred ميت. Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirā‘at I, 109-110 mentions that Nāfi‘, Hamza and al-Kisā‘ī read ميت with the doubling of the y all through the Qurʾān, whereas the remaining readers among the seven read it with the single y. The alleviated form occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, cited by al-Ṣartūni, the commentator of Fārhāt, Bahī 257 in the notes, Bustānī, Miṣbāḥ in the notes 287, Bravmann, Studies 528, Carter, Sirāṣīn 376:

“إِنَّا أَلْسِنَتُ مِنْ يَعِشْ كَنِيْسَةً كَساَفًا بَيْنَ قِلْبِ الْرَّحْمَةِ”

“The dead man is simply he who lives grieving, wretched his plight and small of hope”.

Both forms ميت and ميت are combined in the following verse said by ‘Aḍī b. al-Ra‘lā, cited by Mu’addib, Tafsīr 113, 268, Ibn Ḥānnī, Munsīf II, 17, III, 62, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 69, Mulākī 466, Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4295, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1461, Bravmann, Studies 528:

“لَنِسْ مِنْ مَاتِ فَأَصْرَأَحُ مَيتُ إِنَّا أَلْسِنَتُ مِيتُ الْأَحَوْاَىِ”

“He that has died, and taken his rest, is not really dead: the really dead is only the dead of the living [i.e., is only he that is living, while his state is like that of the dead]”.

For discussions see Ibn Ḥānnī, Munsīf II, 15-17, III, 61-62, Zamaḥšārī, 173, Ibn ‘Aqīl, II, 566, Wright, II, 120, Rāqīḥī, Farrā‘ 182-183. For discussions concerning ميت with references to other Semitic languages see Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 209.

(264) There exist only four words of patterns of masdars with 2nd radical َw that occur formed according to فِعْل مُؤْتَمٍ, namely “to be” [from “to be” “to continue” [from “to rule” and “to rule” and “to vomit” (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3959).

(265) بِيْعُ becomes after the phonological change حُفُّ بِيْعَ “tree” (for discussions see Ibn Ḥānnī, Munsīf I, 247 to whom Ibn Mas‘ūd refers to). The reason of the change of the 2nd vowelled weak radical into an ā is due to the weak consonant’s vowelling and to the influence of the fatha preceding it. There exist some conditions that permit the phonological change of the vowelled َw or the y into an ā. Ibn Mas‘ūd mentions seven that he presents and discusses, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1237 sqq. discusses eleven and Bohas/Guillemaud/Kouloughli Linguistic 85-86 discuss three. One of the conditions that can be added here (for it see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1249-1250) is that if the 2nd radical is a weak consonant that replaces an underlying strong consonant, it cannot be affected by any change as it is not the real radical of the word. An example is شَجَرَة “tree” (for it see Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2197 sqq.) in which the y is substituted for the underlying strong consonant, the َg. The pl. variant شِرَاتَ said
instead of ـَ شَبْرَات occurs in the following verse said by Umm al-Hutaim, and cited by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1250, 'Abd al-Tawwab, Tatawwur 20:

"If there be not in you any shade, nor any fruit, then God curse you for trees!"

For some other examples of anomalies see 'Abd al-Tawwab, Fusul 113.

(266) The change of the underlying w vowelled by a fatha into an a is carried out in ـَ قول which becomes ـَ قال “to say” and in ـَ دُوَر which becomes ـَ دَار “house”. The reason of this change is that they conform to the first condition mentioned by Ibn Mas’ud, which is that ـَ قول is a verb and ـَ دُوَر is a noun that is formed according to the verb form ـَ فَعُل. It can be noted as well that both weak consonants are vowelled by a fatha and are preceded by one.

In the broken pl. ـَ دِيْار (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1264), the 2nd radical w vowelled by a fatha is changed into a y due to the influence of the kasra preceding it. This change is on the analogy of the change that is carried out in its sing. ـَ دَار that becomes ـَ دَار “house”.

b) The change of the w into the y is carried out in the ـَ مَعْلَدْر ـَ ٌ قِيَم “standing” underlyingly ـَ تَوَام in which the w is vowelled by a fatha and preceded by a kasra. This change is on the analogy of the change of the weak consonant that is carried out in its verb ـَ قَام “to stand” underlyingly ـَ قَوْم in which the w that is vowelled by a fatha and preceded by one is changed into an a. Other examples than ـَ قَام ـَ ٌ قِيَم in which this specific change is carried out are ـَ أَتْعَوَاد ـَ اَٰتْعَوَاد “submissiveness” and ـَ أَتْتَعَوَاد ـَ اَٰتْتَعَوَاد “accustoming oneself” underlyingly ـَ أَتْعَوَاد and ـَ أَتْعَوَاد (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1261-1262). It can be remarked as well concerning ـَ قَيَام that there exist cases in which the a is lacking in it, as in the reading of Nafi’ and Ibn ‘Amir of the sur. 4: 5 in which ـَ قَيَام occurs instead of ـَ قَيَام, i.e. (جعل الله لكم فيناء وآرفاهم) (قَيَام) “[To those weak of understanding make not over your property,which] God hath made a means of support for you but feed and clothe them” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1263). The variant ـَ قَيَام occurs as well instead of ـَ قَيَام in the sur. 5: 100 in the reading of Ibn ‘Amir, i.e. (جعل الله لكم فيناء لِلُّجَدَّة الْحَرَامَ قَيَامًا للناس) “God made the Ka’ba, the Sacred House, an asylum of security for men”. For discussions see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1261-1263.

(267) A change of the weak consonant is carried out in ـَ سُوَادْ (mentioned in (379)) underlyingly ـَ سُوَاد, in which the w is changed into a y, because its vowelled w is compared to the vowelless w of its sing. ـَ سوَاد that is described as ـَ مَيْت “dead”, i.e. vowelless. Ibn Mas’ud who follows Zamaḥšari, 182, compares it with the vowelless a of ـَ دَار “house”. Being compared to a vowel-
less weak consonant, the vowelled w in سوَاطُ is treated as being so, and as it is preceded by a kasra it is changed into the y, namely ِسَوَاطُ. Other examples that can be added are حِيَاضُ حِوَاسُ which is the pl. of حِيَاضَةُ “cistern” and حِوَاسَةُ “garden”. Cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1264-1265.

(268) حُوكَة (which is the pl. of حُوكَةُ حَانَة) and حُوُأَة (which is the pl. of حُوَأَةُ حَانَة) are anomalous (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munsif I, 332-334, Zamaḥšari, 181, Ibn al-Anbāri, Luma’55, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1510). Both these triliterals differ from their verbs’ measures حُوَكَة “to weave” and حُوُأَة “to betray” due to the f of the feminine form. This is the reason why the w vowelled by a fatha and preceded by one is not changed into an a in them, and serves by its maintainance to give a clue to their base forms.

(269) حَيْدَيْيُ (which is an epithet (cf. Daqr, Mu’gam 56) on the measure فَلَّلِي with the alif of the feminine form peculiar to the noun, and hence forbidding a phonological change due to unsoundness (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1251). Thus the y is sound in it. Other examples of epithets on this measure with strong 2nd radical that can be mentioned are: دَلْتَلْيُ “a man who thrusts vehemently” and وَقَرْيُ “a flock of sheep” (cf. Lane, I, 684). An example of a mašdar on this measure is مَرْطَيْيُ, as in the example مَرْطَيْيُ “he runs quickly, i.e. with this kind of running”, and of a substantive بَرْدَيْيُ “a stream at Damascus” (cf. Howell, I, fasc. III, 1147).

(270) حَيْدَيْيُ is a substantive with 2nd weak radical on the same measure, and is referred to as being the name of a water in Madina (cf. Ibn Wallād, Maqsūr 74). This word caused a dispute as it is considered by some, including Ibn Mas’tūd, to be on the measure فَلَّلِي with the alif of the feminine form peculiar to the noun, and hence forbidding the change of the weak consonant, whereas according to others it resembles the verb, as it could be formed according to فَلَّلِي (for discussions see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1248). The measure فَلَّلِي exits as well. It can be noted that in the expression حَالَةَ في مُسْتَقِبِي حَيْدَيْيُ “he moved his shoulders in his walk”, is underingly فَلَّلِي formed according to the pattern فَلَّلِي, with the initial consonant vowelled by a damma that is then changed into a kasra so that the y is sounded true. The same concerns فَلَّلِي in the sur. 53: 22 “A division most unfair!” (cf. Ibn al-Sarrāq, Uṣūl III, 267, Ibn Wallād, Maqsūr 76, Daqr, Mu’gam 56) from ضَوَأَةَ حَقَّة “he defrauded him of his right”, underingly فَلَّلِي formed according to the measure فَلَّلِي. For a study see Zamaḥšari, 183, Ibn Ya’īs, X, 97-98, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1308-1309.

b) Some different patterns of nouns ending with the alif of the feminine form that can be presented here are: فَلَّلُي “announcement of glad tidings”, فَلَّلُي “quick”, فَلَّلُي “a place”, فَلَّلُي “general invitation”, فَلَّلُي “a bustard”, فَلَّلُي “a place”, فَلَّلُي “a plant”, فَلَّلُي “a clan of the Anṣār”, فَلَّلُي “a
game for boys”, *"being much engrossed with the bussiness of the Halifa*” (cf. حَرْبَيْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ, “compassion” as *فَعْلَيْنَى*; جَوْرَلَى فَعْلِيٍّ and *فَعْلَيْنَى* “calamity”, “suffixed” as *فَعْلَيْنَى*; مُرْجَعِي فَعْلِيٍّ, “mean”, “a kind of gait”, “the down under, or amidst, the hair of the she-goat”, هُبْرَيْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ “a kind of walk, inclining to one side”, بَرْدَرَيْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ “a place”, زَكَرْيَا فَعْلِيٍّ, “calamity”, “a sidelong gait”, دَرْبَايْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ “a sort of place”, جَلََنْدَيْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ or فَعْلَيْنَى “a man’s name”, دَقْتِي فَعْلِيٍّ, “a falsehood”, سَحَارَيْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ, “deserts” (see for it (315)), دَمَتْيَايْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ “a swaggering gait” and دَمَتْيَايْنَى فَعْلِيٍّ “custom”. Cf. Zamahšari, 84-85, Ibn Ya’īs, V, 107-110, Howell, I, fasc. III, 1146 sqq., Daqr, *Mu’jam 55-57*.

(270) In دُوُّاُمُ القُوُمُ “they called for the people” (for other examples occurring with the vowel of juncture see (184), (288), (377)), the w of دُوُّاُمُ remains sound in spite of the fact that it is vowelled and preceded by a fatha. The reason of its soundness is that the dama over it is considered as accidential as it is a vowel of juncture (for discussions concerning the vowel of juncture see Roman, *Étude II*, 747-749; for discussions concerning it being a kasra see 749-752; for it being a fatha see 752-755; for general discussions see Ibn al-Sarrāq, *Usul II*, 367-371) given to it to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the vowelless underlying suffixed pronoun, i.e. the wālī of the pl. of دُوُّاُمُ, and the vowelless l- following the wasla of the definite article al- prefixed to the second word لَقُوُمَ. This is the reason why the dama of the w of دُوُّاُمُ, which does not belong to the basic form but is supplied by an external factor, is characterized as feeble, and as being so, cannot force the phonological change that is usually due to the unsoundness of the w vowelled by the dama and preceded by the fatha, which is the change of the wā into an ā.

Compare with this example the example اَخْشَوْا وَأَفَادُوا “Fear [2nd person of the masc. pl. of the imperative] one who sets fire!”, in which the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc pl., the w, is vowelless and remains so, as there is no risk of combining two vowelless weak consonants, because the w that is the initial weak consonant of أَفَادُوا, in the word following it, is vowelled by the fatha. Sibawaihi, *II*, 457 presents اَخْشَوْا وَأَفَادُوا (cf. (173)) with an assimilation that is carried out from the 1st w of the first word to the 2nd w of the second word (for the assimilation that is carried out in two words see (173)). It can be noted that the alif wiqāya of اَخْشَوْا is elided, resulting in اَخْشَوْا.

Form 1 أَعْرُورُ “was blind of one eye” has the meaning of Form VIII أَعْرُورُ أَعْرُورُ, which is the reason why the fatha of the ‘ that precedes the vowelled w in أَعْرُورُ is counted as being ruled by the sukūn of the ‘ of أَعْرُورُ. Hence the 2nd vowelled radical w of أَعْرُورُ is not changed into an ā in spite of the fact that it is vowelled and preceded by a fatha, on the analogy of the vowelled w in أَعْرُورُ that is preceded by a sukūn, which is the reason why it is not changed into an ā. It is then as if the sukūn of the ‘ of أَعْرُورُ rules as well the vowelled w of أَعْرُورُ and by doing so prevents it to be
changed. Another example that can be compared to it is ١ُؤ١َ ١ُؤ١َ “squinted”, which has the meaning of ١ُؤ١َ ١ُؤ١َ, and which for the same reason as with ١٤٧٤ ١٤٧٤ does not have its vowelled w changed into an ١. For a study see Sibawaihi, II, 399, Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif I, 259-260, Zamaḥṣari, 180, Ibn Ya’iṣ, Mulaḥi, 219, 222-223, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1241-1242, Bohas, Étude 250-251. It can be noted en passant that Wright, Comparative Grammar 243 was perplexed by the uncontraction in ١٤٧٤ ١٤٧٤ and ١٤٧٤, as he writes:

“I do not know why ١٤٧٤ became ١٤٧٤, and ١٤٧٤ whilst ١٤٧٤ and ١٤٧٤ remained uncontracted”.

Form VIII ١٩٥ ١٩٥ has the meaning of Form VI ١٩٥ ١٩٥, which is the reason why the fatha of the r preceding the vowelled w in ١٩٥ ١٩٥ is counted as being ruled by the sukūn of the vowelless ١. Hence the 2nd vowelled radical w of ١٩٥ ١٩٥ is not changed into an ١ in spite of the fact that it is vowelled and preceded by a fatha, on the analogy of the vowelled w in ١٩٥ ١٩٥ that is preceded by a vowelless ١, and which is not for that reason changed into an ١. It is then as if the sukūn of the vowelless ١ of ١٩٥ ١٩٥ rules as well the vowelled w of ١٩٥ ١٩٥. It can be said that it is a rule that when Form VIII ١٩٥ with 2nd vowelled radical w preceded by a fatha has the meaning of Form VI ٢٠٥ ٢٠٥ that denotes the reciprocity, the wa is not changed into an ١. Another example is Form VIII ١٩٥ ١٩٥ “they intermarried” that has the meaning of Form VI ١٩٥ ١٩٥. The change of the vowelled weak consonant into an ١ is necessary otherwise, e.g. ١٩٥ ١٩٥ “was unfaithful” underlingly ٠١٩٥ ٠١٩٥, that has the meaning of Form I ١٩٥ ١٩٥. If the 2nd radical is a y, the change of the vowelled weak consonant preceded by a fatha is necessary even if it is indicative of reciprocity, e.g. ١٩٥ ١٩٥ “they were distinct, one from another” which has the meaning of Form VI ١٩٥ ١٩٥. For a study see Sibawaihi, II, 399-401, Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif I, 260-261, Zamaḥṣari, 180, Ibn Ya’iṣ, X, 74-75, Howell, II-III, 275, IV, fasc. I, 1242-1243. For a study of such cases with references to other Semitic languages see Wright, Comparative Grammar 253-254.

(271) The base form of ١٢٥ ١٢٥ (٢١٥ ٢١٥) in which the 2nd y is changed into a w for the purpose of alleviation, as the combination of two yā’s is disliked (cf. Lane, I, 682). The 1st vowelled y, the ya, preceded by a fatha of the base form ١٢٥ ١٢٥ could have been changed into an ١, namely ١٢٥ ١٢٥, or the 2nd y instead resulting in ١٢٥ ١٢٥ with two alifs, and then ١٢٥ ١٢٥ with the elision of one ١. This change is not however carried out as it is preferred that the y is maintained with its vowel, so that the word corresponds in mobility to what it represents, which is a mobile animal (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1409). The example ١٢٥ ١٢٥ can seem strange as there is no verb to which it can refer with 2nd radical y and 3rd radical w (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif II, 285). It occurs in the sur. 29: 64 (٢٩:٦٤) “that is Life indeed”. ١٢٥ ١٢٥ is not to be confounded with the dual ١٢٥ ١٢٥, of which the 2nd y is changed into an ١ (cf. Ibn
Another example that can be added is "ḥaywa [sc. the name of a man]" underlyingly "ḥaywa, with the w being a substitute for the y (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif II, 285).

b) ġinni is the opposite in meaning of ġinni and is therefore formed according to its pattern (for discussions see Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4296, Lane, I, 679, 682, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1244, 1409, 1465; for other examples of nouns formed according to their contraries see (151), (152)).

(272) The base form of "to fold" is طَوْرَى in which the vowelled 3rd radical y that is preceded by a fatha is changed into an alif maqṣūra. The vowelled 2nd radical w that is preceded by a fatha is not changed into an ā resulting in ِتَوْرَى, to prevent the occurrence of two phonological changes due to both weak consonants in it, as this would necessarily imply a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the alif mamdu'a and the alif maqṣūra.

The dual of the 3rd person of the masc. sing. طَوْرَا "/dual" has its 3rd radical y sound and vowelled by a fatha preceding the suffix ā of the dual. Its 2nd radical w, vowelled by a kasra, the wi, could have been changed into an ā due to the influence of the fatha preceding it resulting in ِتَوْرَا, without a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants being implied, but this is not carried out as it is preferred that the form is made analogous to ِتَوْرَا, in which the w is sound.

The vowelled 2nd radical y preceded by a fatha is not changed into an ā in the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the perfect حَيُّ "to live", i.e. حَيٍّ, so that its imperfect does not have to, by analogy with the perfect, have its 2nd vowelled radical y that is preceded by a fatha changed into an ā resulting in ِحَيَّيٍّ, with the final y vowelled by a damma, which is counted as a heavy combination (see for discussions (180)). For this reason the variant ِحَيَّيِّ is preferred.

(273) Both القُوْدِ "the retaliation" and الصَيَد "a disease in a camel’s head" have their weak consonants sound as they are intended to notify of the base forms (cf. Zamaḥṣari, 173, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1251), i.e. the roots قُوْد and صَيِد respectively. This means that the vowelled w preceded by a fatha in القُوْد is not changed into an ā as this would cause confusion on whether it is from the root قُوْد "to lead" with 2nd w radical or the root قُوْد "to bind" with 2nd y radical.

In the same manner the y in الصَيَد is not changed into an ā as this would cause confusion on whether the form is from the root صَيِد with 2nd w radical that is the base form of the صَاد "the [consonant] šād", or the root صَيِد "to hunt" with 2nd y radical.

(274) The verb دَعَوُ "to call" that occurs in the subjunctive, namely لَنْ يَدَعُو has its 3rd radical w vowelled by a fatha as a marker of the subjunctive. The reason why the vowelled w remains sound in it in spite of the influence of the damma preceding it,—which could have resulted in its vowellessness and its assimilation to the damma, and thus in the lengthened w/ā, i.e. لَنْ يَدَعُو, is that the fatha that vowels it is considered as light (for other examples see Ibn Ğinni, Munṣif II, 114). So there is no need to alleviate more by saying لَنْ يَدَعُو instead of لَنْ يَدَعُو.
It can be noted as well that the fathā, marker of the subjunctive, is given to it by an external factor which is the subjunctive operator َنِّ، and if this change were carried out, the subjunctive would be confused with the indicative (for examples of a few anomalous cases see my notes (51 b)). In line with this theory that the weak consonant vowelled by a fathā and preceded by a َدَمْامَةَ remains sound, the y vowelled by a fathā and preceded by a َدَمْامَةَ remain sound (cf. Zamahšāri, 181, Ibn Ya‘īś, X, 82-83). The suffixed taha‘marbūta marks intensiveness (for it see (52), (150)) in both of them.

(275) The w in مَوْرَان “a balance” is vowelless and preceded by a kasra, which is the reason why it is changed into a y, i.e. مَوْرَان (cf. (260)).

The w in دَعَوْا “the one who invites /fem.” from the verb دَعَوْا “to call” with w as 3rd radical, is vowelled by a fathā and preceded by a kasra, which is the reason why it is changed into a y, i.e. دَعَوْا.

The 3rd radical y in the base form رَضِّيَوْا “they were pleased /masc. pl.” is vowelled by a َدَمْامَةَ and preceded by a kasra. It can be noted that رَضِّيَوْا َرَضِّيَوْا is underlingly vowelled (for its paradigm see (303 b)) with the 3rd radical w changed into a y due to the influence of the kasra preceding it (cf. Lane, I, 1099). رَضِّيَوْا is the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect with the agent pronoun, the á, suffixed to the 3rd weak radical vowelled by a damma. As a rule, the 3rd weak consonant is elided between the short vowel and the agent suffixed pronoun, the á (cf. Wright, 80). According to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s theory, the 3rd radical y vowelled by a damma in رَضِّيَوْا is made vowelless due to the influence of the kasra preceding it and the heaviness that is implied, i.e. رَضِّيَوْا, and then is elided, i.e. رَضِّيَوْا, to avoid the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the vowelless y radical and the vowelless á of the pl. Then the kasra of the á preceding the w of the pl. is replaced by the damma so that this w remains sound, i.e. رَضِّيَوْا (cf. further (49), (303), Daqr, Mu‘ṣam 390-391). Concerning this theory Dunqūz, Šahr fol. 80a II. 18-19 writes:

“ نحو رَضِّيَوْا أُسْكُن حَرْف العَلِّةِ لِمُخْتَلِفَةٍ لِمُخْتَلِفَةٍ عَلَى الْيَاءِ، ثُمّ تُحِذَّف حِرْف العَلِّةِ لِإِقْتِصَادِ السَّلَكِينَ ثُمَّ يُعْلِمُ مَا قَبْلِ وَالجِمَعِ لِصِيَاهُّهَا عَنَ التَّغِيِّرِ فِيِّ قَصَارِ رَضِّيَوْا.”

“In the example رَضِّيَوْا “they were pleased /masc. pl.”, the weak consonant [sc. the y] is made vowelless [i.e. رَضِّيَوْا] for the sake of alleviation because of the heaviness of the damma on the y, then the weak consonant [sc. the y] is elided [i.e. رَضِّيَوْا] to avoid the cluster of two vowelless [weak] consonants [sc. the vowelless y and the vowelless suffixed á of the agent in رَضِّيَوْا], then the consonant [sc. the á] preceding the á of the pl. is given a damma to prevent any change to affect it [sc. the á], so it became رَضِّيَوْا.”

Furthermore concerning رَضِّيَوْا underlingly رَضِّيَوْا, Ibn Ḥinnī, Munṣif II, 125-126 means that
it is necessary to say it in this manner, as it is said in the sur. 5: 71 (فَعَلَوْا وَقَصُّوْا). “So they became blind and deaf” [in which فَعَلَوْا is underlingly فَعَلَوْا]. His theory (ibid, 126) concerning the phonological change is slightly different from Ibn Mas‘ūd’s and Dunqüz’e’s. According to him, the damma is elided from the y in ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن, and transferred to the consonant preceding it, namely the d, implying the change of the d’s kasra into the damma as well, which results in the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the w and y, i.e. ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن. The y is then elided to prevent this cluster resulting in ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن. It can be mentioned furthermore for the sake of curiosity that al-Māzīnī, who is referred to by Ibn Ğinnī, Munsif II, 125, reports that some Arabs say ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن with the d made vowelless and the y sound. According to Ibn Ğinnī, ibid, 126 the d is made vowelless by these Arabs for the sake of alleviation and the vowelled weak consonant remains sound as it is preceded by a sukūn.

The 3rd radical y in ْتَرْمَيْن is vowelled by the kasra and preceded by one ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن from “to throw”, a verb with 3rd y radical (for its paradigms see (302)), is the 2nd person of the fem. sing. of the imperfect of the indicative with the ending, -inya, suffixed to the 3rd radical vowelled by a kasra. The 3rd vowelled radical y in ْتَرْمَيْن is made vowelless because of the heaviness of the kasra that vowels it, i.e. ْتَرْمَيْن, and then is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, namely the vowelless y radical and the vowelled suffixed pronoun y that marks the 2nd person of the fem. sing., so that it becomes ْتَرْمَيْن. Concerning this theory, Dunqüz, Šarh fol. 80b ll. 1-2 writes:

“تَسَكَّن الْيَاء فِي تَرْمَيْن لِتَنْقِلُ الْكَسْرَا عَلَيْهَا ثُمَّ تَحْذِفُ لَاجْتِمَاعِ السَّاِكِنِينَ.”

“The y in ْتَرْمَيْن “you throw” is made vowelless [i.e. ْتَرْمَيْن] because of the heaviness of the kasra that vowels it, then it is elided [i.e. ْتَرْمَيْن] to avoid the cluster of two [weak] vowelless consonants”.

This elision of the 3rd weak radical is usual in the defective verb with the ending -inya of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. of the imperfect suffixed to it (cf. Wright, II, 89, Daqr, Mu‘gam 391). This phonological change that results in the elision of the 3rd weak radical is similar to the one that is carried out in ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن, with the only difference that the 2nd radical in ْتَرْمَيْن is vowelled by the kasra and the 2nd radical in ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن is vowelled by the damma. It can be noted that this difference of the vowelless refers to their 3rd radical’s vowel in the base forms. The 3rd radical y in ٌرَضَّ أْمَيْن is vowelled by the damma because the agent pronoun ُا that marks the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect is suffixed to it whereas the 3rd radical y in ْتَرْمَيْن is vowelled by the kasra because the ending -inya of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. of the imperfect is suffixed to it.

(276) No phonological change is carried out in ْتَرْمَيْن “eyes” and ْتَرْمَيْن “houses” (cf. Zamāhṣari, 182), in spite of the fact that there exists in them a sequence that is constituted of a weak consonant vowelled by a damma and preceded by a sukūn. The change that can be carried out in such a sequence, e.g. َيُقُولُ “he says”, is the transfer of the damma of the w to the vowelless
consonant preceding it and the lengthening of the w into \( \breve{u} \), i.e. یَقُولُ “I assist”. This change cannot be carried out in یَعْشَ “he is afraid” if one considers the sequence of a weak consonant vowelled by a fathā and preceded by a sukūn. The phonological procedure that is carried out in یَعْشَ is the transfer of the fathā of the w to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e. یَعْشَ and then the change of the vowelless w into an \( \breve{a} \) due to the influence of the fathā preceding it, i.e. یَعْشَ (cf. Bohas/Guillaume/Koukouhli, Linguistic 87-89). However this procedure cannot be carried out in یَجَدَّلُ “to make firm” because it is formed according to the measure یَجَدَّلُ (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1524). Therefore it is impossible to shift the w’s fathā to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e. یَجَدَّلُ, and then change the w into an \( \breve{a} \) due to the influence of the fathā preceding it, i.e. یَجَدَّلُ, as this would cancel the formation.

(277) The base form of یَتَوَّسُ before the assimilation is carried out in it, i.e. یَتَوَّسُ. The sequence of its 2nd w vowelled by a fathā and preceded by a sukūn is comparable to the sequence of the w in یَعْشَ (for the phonological change concerning it see (276)) that is vowelled by a fathā and preceded by a sukūn. The fathā in it could not be shifted to the vowelless weak consonant preceding it, i.e. یَعْشَ as this would lead to the change of the 1st w vowelled by a fathā and preceded by one into an \( \breve{a} \), i.e. یَقَارَمُ. The result would become a forbidden combination of two vowelless weak consonants, the \( \breve{a} \) and the w. This is what is meant by الإِعَالَةُ في الإِعَالَةُ which refers to a phonological change that is carried out after another phonological change, which thus implies a forbidden combination of two vowelless weak consonants.

No change is carried out in الرَّضِيعُ یَبِعَ “he sells” that is preceded by a sukūn. The phonological change that is carried out in یَبِعَ is the transfer of the kasra of the y to the vowelless consonant precede-
ing it and the lengthening of the y, i.e. بَيْع. If such a phonological change were to be carried out in the case of the nominative, the fatha in the case of the accusative and the kasra in the case of the genitive, to the vowelless consonant preceding it. In the case of the damma, the assimilated laryngeal would become and then the y would have to be changed into a vowelless w to accord with the damma preceding it, i.e. ﺔـ. In the case of the fatha, the assimilated laryngeal would become and then the y would have to be changed into a vowelless a to accord with the fatha preceding it, i.e. ﺔـ. In the case of the kasra, the assimilated laryngeal would become and the vowelless y would be lengthened, i.e. ﺔـ.

In all these three cases, this declinable noun would have to end with a vowelless weak consonant and without a marker of declension, which is the reason why it is preferred that in order to safeguard the declension, this y remains sound. Other cases of declinable substantives that end with a weak consonant, which can be vowelled by one the three different markers of the declension, and which is preceded by a sukun, are ﺔـ “gazelle” with the sound y and ﺔـ “bucket” with the sound w. The case of such substantives in which the last weak consonant remains sound differs from the cases of verbs in the imperfect, e.g. بَيْع, in which a phonological change is carried out resulting in بَيْع, and the verb يَقَوم يَقَوم (for this see Bohas/Guillaume/ Kouloughli, Linguistic 88). The reason of the soundness of the weak consonant in these nouns is to safeguard the marker of the declension. Had it not been for this reason, then the sequence that involves the last weak consonant in these substantives would be affected by a phonological change on the analogy of the change that affects the sequence that involves the weak consonant in the mentioned verbs’ imperfects. This also seems to be the answer to the question that Bohas/Guillaume/ Kouloughli, Linguistic 88 ask:

“As the imperfect of the FA’ALA verb always has the structure yaCCVC, say yafulu for example, we assume under a qiyas that gawama has yaqumu for the primary form of the imperfect, and we will have seen that the passage from yaqumu to yaqumu (yaqumu) has been affected by means of metathesis. But why must the sequence Cuw be transformed into Cuw, when it is commonly found in the language, for example in dalwun (‘bucket’), and in gabyun (‘gazelle’)?”

The weak consonant remains sound in both the substantives بَيْع and تَمْرَيْان in spite of the fact that it is vowelled and preceded by a sukun. The reason why no change is carried out in these substantives is on the one hand to prevent having a cluster of two vowelless consonants, and on the other, to prevent confusing these substantives with other forms. If supposedly the kasra of the w of تَمْرَيْان is shifted to the q. i.e. تَمْرَيْان, then a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the w and y, would result. The w would have to be changed into the y due to the influence of the kasra preceding it, i.e. تَمْرَيْان, that would imply a cluster of two vowelless ya’s, and then one y would have to be elided, which would result in one lengthened y, i.e. تَمْرَيْان. The substantive could therefore be confused in its representation with the imperfect of Form IV بَيْع “you set up”. If the fatha of the y of بَيْع is shifted to the b, i.e. بَيْع, then a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the y and the a would result. The y would have to be changed into an a due to the influence of the fatha preceding it, i.e. بَيْع, which would result in a cluster of
two vowelless weak consonants, the alifs, and then one ā would have to be elided, and the
result would be ُتِبَانٍ. The word could be confused in its representation with the passive voice
of Form I of the 2nd person of the masc. sing. or the 3rd person of the fem. sing. of the imperfect,
namely ُتِبَانٍ “you are, or she is being made clear”.

(278) with 2nd w radical, is contracted from the base form مَجَالٍ “loquacious, elo-
quent”, and مَحْيَاةٍ with 2nd y radical is contracted from the base form مَحْيَاةٍ “a needle” (for it see (57)). So their pattern مَجَالٍ is the contracted form of مَمَعَالٍ. The sequence in them is that of
a weak consonant vowelled by a fatha and preceded by a sukûn which is similar to the sequence in
“he is afraid” in which a change is carried by shifting the w’s fatha to the consonant
preceding it, and changing the w into an ā resulting in يَخَافُ (for discussions see (276)). How-
ever the 2nd weak radical remains sound in them both on the analogy of its soundness in both
their base forms مَجَالٍ and مَحْيَاةٍ respectively. If by assumption a change is carried out in
مَجَالٍ by means of shifting the fatha of the w to the consonant preceding it, i.e. مَجَالٍ, the result would
be a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the w and the ā. The w would have to be changed
into an ā due to the influence of the fatha preceding it, i.e. مَجَالٍ, and one of the alifs
would have to be elided, i.e. مَحْيَاةٍ. If a similar change is carried out in مَحْيَاةٍ by shifting the
fatha of the y to the consonant preceding it, i.e. مَحْيَاةٍ, the result would be two vowelless weak
consonants, the y and the ā. The y would have to be changed into an ā because of the fatha
preceding it, i.e. مَحْيَاةٍ, and one of the alifs would have to be elided, i.e. مَحْيَاةٍ. If this is to occur
in both these cases, then the intended form مَمَعَالٍ would be canceled. It is noteworthy to men-
tion however, that according to some grammarians a change ought to have been carried out in
مَحْيَاةٍ and in ماَمَعَالٍ as they consider them to be on the pattern مَمَعَالٍ with the imperfect
prefix vowelled by a kasra which pertains to the dialectal variant the āltala (for more details see
Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1522-1524; for the āltala see (32), (99), (100), (103)).

(279) The base form of the masdar of Form IV ُأَقَامَ is ُأَقَامَةَ مَكَالٍ with the 2nd radical w vowelled
by a fatha and preceded by a sukûn. A change is carried out in it by shifting the fatha of the w
to the consonant preceding it, i.e. أَقَامَ، which results in the cluster of two vowelless weak
consonants, the w and the ā, then the w is changed into an ā due to the influence of the fatha
preceding it, i.e. أَقَامَ، which results in the cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the ā and
the ā, and then one of the alifs is elided and the تُأَمَّلَ marbûta is suffixed to the word as a
compensation for this elision, i.e. أَقَامَةَ (cf. (249)). According to some grammarians, it is the 1st
ā of أَقَامَةَ that is substituted for the 2nd radical w, which is elided whereas according to others
it is the 2nd one that is the infixed ā of أَقَامَةَ (cf. Ibn Ya‘îş, VI, 58, ‘Abd al-Rahîm, 5arûf 125).
Concerning this example and its likes, Ibn Ġinnî, Munṣîf I, 291-292 remarks:
"Abū l-Faṭḥ [sc. Ibn Ğinn] said: “The base form of "یملا" “setting up”, "خافیة" “frightening” and their "ءایة" "setting up", "ءیف" "frightening" are called "ءایة" "setting up" and their "ءیف" "frightening". They intended to carry out a phonological change due to the unsoundness of the weak consonant in the "ءید" because of the phonological change that is carried out in its verb [of "ءید"] “to set up” and its verb [of "ءیف"] “to explain”. So they shifted the fatḥa from the w [of "ءید"] and from the y [of "ءیف"] to the consonant preceding them, then they changed them [sc. the w and the y] into an ā preceding the prefixed ā of the verbs, so they became as you remark.

Abū l-Ḥasan believed that the elided ā is the 1st ā, whereas al-Ḥalīl believed that it is the 2nd one, which is the infixed one,—according to what has been presented from their theories”.

The change is not carried out in the cognate of "ءید" "setting up", namely the "ءید" "setting up", that Ibn Masʿūd is referring to (cf. (277)).

The change due to the unsoundness of the 2nd weak radical in "ءید" is carried out on the analogy of the one that is carried out in the verb "ءید" underlyingly "ءید" "setting up", in which the vowelled w is changed into an ā after that its fatḥa is shifted to the q. As well, the change that is carried out in "ءید" is on the analogy of the one that is carried out in "ءید" of which the vowelled w is changed into an ā due to the influence of the fatḥa preceding it, i.e. "ءید". This is what Ibn Masʿūd means by stating that the change that is carried out in "ءید" is on the analogy of the one that is carried out in Form I of the verb "ءید".

(280) The "ءید" of Form II "ءید" is not to the verb of Form I "ءید". As there is no change that is carried out in "ءید", there is no change that is carried out in "ءید" for the sake of the analogy with it (for both see (277)).

(281) The 2nd weak radical in the verb of wonder "ءید" "how well he speaks!" with 2nd w radical and "ءید" "how well he sells!" with 2nd y radical, is not changed into an ā probably to avoid confusing the forms with Form IV of the verbs. It can be noted as well that no change is carried out in the "اء" of superiority, e.g. "زاید" "how well he sells!" “Zaid is a better speaker than ‘Amr” and "ءید" "a better salesman” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 403, Ibn Yāʿīṣ, X, 76, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1485).
(282) No phonological change is carried out in َفِلَتْ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 400, Zamaḥṣari, 180, Ibn Yaʾīš, X, 76, Suyūṭi, Muzhir I, 137), which are considered as anomalous.

(283) For the paradigm of َقَالُ in the perfect, active, see (259).

(284) One form can represent two different forms, and it is only by the virtual difference that exists between both their base forms that it is possible in some cases to separate one from the other. As an example َقَلَنْ is taken up, which is intended for both the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the perfect “they said, fem. pl.” and for the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the imperative “Say! fem. pl.”. The dāmma of the q does not give a clue to the intended form, as it is known that it is the result of the phonological change due to the unsoundness of the 2nd weak radical. The Arabs were satisfied with both these tenses’ base forms to distinguish them from one another. The base form of the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the perfect is َفِلَتْ and of the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the imperative َفِلَتْ. As for the change that is carried out in the perfect َفِلَتْ, the 2nd vowelled radical w is changed into an ā as it is vowelled by a fāṭha and preceded by one, i.e. َقَلَنْ, then the ā is elided to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ā and the l, i.e. َقَلَنْ, and then the q is vowelled by a dāmma to give notice of the elided 2nd radical w, so it became َقَلَنْ (cf. Bakkūṣ, Taṣārif 136; for discussions that َقَلَتْ is underlyingly according to the conjugation َفَعَلَ َفَعَلْنَ َفَعَلْتْ َفَعَلْتْ, and not َقَلَتْ َفَعَلْتْ in line with the theory of some who chose to believe so in order to justify why the dāmma is given to the 1st radical see Ibn Ğinni, Munṣīf I, 236-237, Bakkūṣ, Taṣārif 142-143, Bohas/Guiillaume/Kouloughli, Linguistic 73). As for the change that is carried out in the imperative َفِلُتْ, the dāmma that vowels the w is deemed as heavy on it and is therefore shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e. َفِلُتْ, then the w is elided to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the w and the l, i.e. َفِلْتْ, and then the prefixed vowelled alif of the imperative is elided, as the reason of its prefixation originally is to prevent starting the word with a vowelless consonant, which is not the case here anymore as the 1st radical is now vowelled by a dāmma, so it became َقَلَنْ.

(285) The virtual difference between both the base forms of َبَيِّنَ in the active and in the passive voice (cf. (300)), is that the active voice is َبَيِّنَ with the b and the y vowelled by a fāṭha whereas the passive voice is َبَيِّنَ with the b vowelled by a dāmma and the y with a kasra. As what concerns the change that is carried out in the base form of the active voice َبَيِّنَ, the 2nd vowelled radical y is changed into an ā as it is vowelled by a fāṭha and preceded by one, i.e. َبِيَّنَ, then the ā is elided to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ā and the َبِ; i.e. َبِيَّنَ, then the b is vowelled by a kasra to give notice of the elided 2nd y radical, i.e. َبِيَّنَ. As what
concerns the change that is carried out in the base form of the passive voiceِ َبِعْسْنَ، the kasra of the 2nd radical ِل is shifted to the 1st radical because of the heaviness of the kasra that vowels the ِل, i.e.ِ َبِعْسْنَ, then the ِل is elided to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ِل and the ِل, i.e.ِ َبِعْسْنَ.

(286) For the paradigm of َقَالَ in the imperfect of the indicative, active, see (259). The change procedure that is carried out in َيَقُولُ which results in َيَقُولُ “he says”, is that the damma of the َو is shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it leading to the lengthening of the َو (cf. Ibn Ğinni, Muṣṣif I, 247). According to one theory, the lengthened َو is considered to be the result of the assimilation of the َو to the damma (cf. Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 136).

The base form of َيَقُولُ َيَقُولُ in which the damma of the َو is deemed heavy and is shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e.ِ َيَقُولُ, resulting in the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the َو and the ِل, which is why the َو is elided, i.e.ِ َيَقُولُ. According to another theory the َو is said to be shortened, which takes place when it is followed by a sukūn (cf. Bakkūš, Taṣrīf 136).

(287) The paradigm of َقَالَ in the imperative is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>قَلْ</td>
<td>قُولَا</td>
<td>قُولَائِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>قَلْ</td>
<td>قُولَا</td>
<td>قُولَائِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The base form of قَلْ “say!” is أَقُولُ أَقُولُ, in which the vowel of the َو is shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e.ِ أَقُولُ, resulting in the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the َو and the ِل, which is why the َو is elided, i.e.ِ أَقُولُ. As the 1st radical ِل in أَقُولُ is vowelled, the prefixed prosthetic alif of the imperative is elided, because the reason of its prefixation in the first place is to prevent starting the word with a vowelless radical, which is not more the case here.

(288) The َو is elided in the imperative قَلْ that is used instead of قَوْلَ to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the َو and the ِل. It can be mentioned that Bravmann, Studies 195 believes that the short ِل best expresses the special intensity of the imperative. The general principle that is followed to avoid a cluster of two vowelless consonants that occur in two words is that the 1st vowelless consonant, which is the ultimate consonant of the first word, is vowelled by a kasra (cf. (184), (270), (377)). In the example قَلْ َالْحَقَ, the 3rd radical ِل of َقَلْ َالْحَقَ, which is underlyingly vowelless as it marks the imperative, is given a kasra, i.e.ِ قَلْ to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ِل and the -l of the article -al, prefixed to the word occurring after it, i.e.ِ َالْحَقَ. This vowelling of the ِل of َقَلْ is due to an exterior factor and is therefore considered as accidental and not pertaining to the base form, which is why Ibn Masʿūd states that the ِل is “ruled by the sukūn virtually”. For this reason, the accidental vowel due to an external consonant, is not a sufficient reason to maintain the 2nd
weak radical, as the elision of this weak radical marks the imperative. It can be added concerning the vowel of juncture, that in some cases, the 1st vowelless consonant, that is the ultimate consonant of the first word, can be vowelled by a damma for the purpose of alleviating the damma of the consonant that precedes it or that occurs in the word following it. Examples in which the damma precedes the vowel of juncture are: 

"Stand (to prayer) by night" in the reading of some instead of ﷲ ﴿ ﴿ (for a study see Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1024 sqq.) and the sur. 10: 101 (Sibawaihi, II, 299).

Examples in which the damma occurs in the word following it are: the sur. 12: 31 "And she said (to Joseph), “Come out before them”, the sur. 38: 41-42 "And suffering!”. (The command was given:) “Strike with thy foot” and the sur. 73: 3 "Or a little less” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 299, Bohas, Étude 97).

(289) The َ of َ َ َ that Ibn Mas'ūd refers to, is the 2nd vowelled radical w that is changed into an َ due to the influence of the fathā preceding it, i.e. َ. As for the reason of its elision, it is to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the َ and the t, as it is understood that the suffixed t of the feminine form of the 3rd person of the fem. sing. is underlingly vowelless, and in this case it is only accidentally vowelled by a fathā for the sake of the suffixed agent of the dual, the َ (compare the case of َ discussed in (54)). It should also be kept in mind that the pronoun of the 3rd person of the fem. sing. is latent, and that the suffixed t is not a pronoun but a marker of the feminine form. Seen from this perspective it does not belong to the same word as the suffixed pronoun of the subject, i.e. the -tٰ “1st person sing.”, the -ta “2nd person masc. sing.”, the -ti “2nd person of the fem. sing.”, etc. Thus in the same word, the marker of the feminine form is regarded as external, whereas the pronoun of the nominative that is suffixed to the verb is regarded as internal and thus belonging to the same word (see further for discussions (55), b)).

Both the 3rd radical l and the agent suffix of the dual, the َ, in َ “Say! dual (imperative)”, are regarded as internal and thus belonging to the same word. The fathā vowel that is given to the l is regarded as accidental, because it is given to it to prevent it from being combined as vowelless with the vowelless agent pronoun of the dual that follows it, namely the َ. As the radical l is internal and followed by the agent pronoun that is also considered as internal, the rule of the virtual sukūn that is the underlying marker of the imperative before that the agent pronoun of the dual, the َ, is suffixed to it, is not taken into account and hence does not cause the elision of the 2nd w radical. Hence َ is said with the w maintained contrarily to its elision in َ (cf. (288)) and contrarily to the elision of the 2nd weak radical changed into an َ discussed above. It can be added furthermore that the w is not elided in َ resulting in َ so that the verb with 2nd weak radical will not be confused with a verb with 3rd weak radical. Another reason why the 2nd radical w is sound when the pronoun is suffixed to the verb is that by principle the pronoun brings back the word to its base form (for this principle see (65)).

(290) The paradigm of the active participle َ is:

THE VERB WITH WEAK 2ND RADICAL
Other encountered forms which are less regular are: قالُن for the masc. pl. (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3778).

The sequence in قَاوْلَ (and قَالَ) is that of a vowelled weak consonant preceded by a fatha, as in the examples قَوْل: that becomes حَافٌ “to fear”, قَوْلَ that becomes قَالَ “he said” and قَوْلِهِ “he sold”. In spite of the fact that there exists an ʾā between the vowelled w and the vowelled q in قَاوْلَ, this ʾā is not taken into account as it is vowelless and occurs between two vowelled consonants. So the vowelled w is changed into an ʾā due to the influence of the fatha preceding it, i.e. قَالَ. The reason why one of the alifs is not dropped resulting in قَالَ is to prevent that the active participle is confused with the perfect قَالَ “he said” in the representation. The 2nd ʾā in قَاوْلَ is therefore changed into a hamza to prevent the combination of two vowelless alifs, i.e. قَالَ. The vowelled ʾā in the base form قَاوْلْ can also be compared to the vowelled ʾā in كَسَوْرَ that is not taken into account, in which the vowelled w is also changed into an ʾā due to the influence of the fatha preceding it, i.e. كَسَأ. Then the ʾā is changed into a hamza to prevent the cluster of two weak vowelless consonants, both the alifs, i.e. كَسَأ (cf. 319). Other similar examples which may be added are سَمَأَ “sky” (underlyingly دَعَأَ, سَمَأَ) and حَافَ “prayer” (underlyingly دَعَأَ).

(291) The active participle هَأَعُ “to vomit” in which the 2nd radical w is changed into an ʾā, i.e. هَأَعُ, is underlyingly هَأَعُ, in which the hamza replaces the 2nd radical w resulting in هَأَعُ (compare for the procedure the case of قَاوْل mentioned discussed in (290)). The active participle لَعَ “to suffer, burn” in which the 2nd radical w is changed into an ʾā, i.e. لَعُ, is underlyingly لَعَ, in which the hamza replaces the 2nd radical w resulting in لَعَ. The active participle هَأَرُ “to demolish” in which the 2nd radical w is changed into an ʾā, i.e. هَأَرُ, is underlyingly هَأَرُ, in which the hamza replaces the 2nd radical w resulting in هَأَرُ.

All these three active participles, i.e. هَأَعُ, لَعَ, and هَأَرُ occur with the elision of their 2nd weak radical, which is the hamza that replaces the w of their base forms, and seem to be formed according to the pattern فَعَلْ ُ ردْهَا ٌ حَجَّرُ ٌ هَارُ of the sur. 9: (عَلَى ُ ٌ حَجَّرُ ٌ هَارُ ٌ قُلْ ُ ُ ردْهَا ٌ نَامُ ٌ قَاوْلَ ٌ ٌ فَعَلْ ُ ردْهَا ٌ حَجَّرُ ٌ هَارُ ٌ هَأَعُ “On an undermined sand-cliff”, it can be noted that Ibn Katīr, Ḥamza and Ḥafṣ read هَأَرُ anomalously with the fatha from ʾĀsim, whereas the remaining readers among the seven read it هَأَرُ (cf. Ibn Ḥalawaihi, Qirāʿ at-T, 255).

The القلب (292) refers to the transposition of the consonants, i.e. the transfer of a consonant to the...
position of another one. In the 2nd radical of the base form شَوَّدُ changed place with the 3rd radical and became at first شَوَّدُ. As the form ends with a weak radical, it resembled the active participle of verbs with 3rd weak radical, e.g. رَآمُ “one who is throwing” for the nominative and genitive underlyingly رَآمُ for the nominative and شَوَّدُ for the genitive (cf. (309)). This is why its last radical is changed on the analogy of this category of forms, so that it became شَوَّدُا شَوَّدُ. This occurs in the following verse said by یارب b. تَمَم الامام التَمَم, cited by مُسْلَف, II, 419, Ibn گَنَّي م, مُسْلَف II, 53, III, 66, Ibn یَلِاَِم, Qirā’āt I, 255, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1494:

"فَمَعْرُوفُ مُلَامَّا أَنَا ذَاكُمْ شَاكِ سَلِيحُي فِي الْحَوَادِيْث مَعْلُومٌ.

"Then seek to know me: verily that I, this one, [am such that] sharp is my weapon in mishaps, am a bearer of the cognizance, or badge, or device, of the valiant”.

It can be noted that the ی is given to شَاكِ as a case marker when it occurs as the first element of a definite idāfa, e.g. شَاكِ السَّلِيح (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge* 213) which is cited by یامِشُار, *کالسِف* I, 205 who refers to a verse said by Zuhair:

"لَدِي أَسْدِ شَاكِ السَّلِيح مَُقَذِّفٌ لِهُ أَبْد أَطْفاَرَةَ لَتَذْلَمُ.

"In the presence of a lion whose weapon is sharp in mishap for having hurled down [its victims], that has a mane and claws which have not been pared”.

Both سَعِي, مُذْحِر I, 285 and یامِشِ تَابِب, *تَابِبَة* 60 refer to the saying of یامِشُار al-Nahās that only the procedure of the transposition of consonants, that occurs in یاء ف هار and یاء ف هار جُرَد ف هار (cf. (291)) is entitled to be considered as a transposition. Two other variants than یاء ف هار which may be added in this context are یاء ف هار which is the usual form, that is underlyingly یاء ف هار in which the 2nd radical ی is changed into a hamza, and یاء ف هار that occurs with the elision of the 2nd radical ی and is similar to the cases discussed in (291). یاء ف هار occurs as the first element of the idāfa in یاء ف هار السَّلِيح in the following verse said by یامِشُار al-Yahūdiy when he met یامِشُار. It is cited by Ibn یَلِاَِم, IV, 2363:

"قَدْ عَلِّمُتُ ۖ خَبَرٌ أَيْ بَيْعُ ۖ شَاكِ السَّلِيحِ بَطَلٌ ۖ بُعْرَبِ.

"And یامِشُار has known that I am Marhab with the sharp weapon, a proven hero”.

For discussions see Ibn گَنَّي م, مُسْلَف II, 52-54, یامِشُار, 180, Ibn یَلِاَِم, X, 77-78, Ibn یَلِاَِم, IV, 2362-2363, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1494-1498, Fleischer, *Beiträge* IV, 253. For discussions concerning forms liable to a contraction similar to the one in یاء ف هار in some of the other Semitic languages see Wright, *Comparative Grammar* 250-251.

As for حاَد its base form is یاء ف هار and in which the 1st radical ی is shifted after the 3rd radical ی, i.e. یاء ف هار. As the ی, which is the infixed ی of the active participle یاء ف هار is vowelless, it is impossible to start the word with it, which is the reason why the 2nd radical ی is shifted before
it, i.e. حادٌ, and the kasra of the ُه is shifted after the vowelless ُد and the ُه is given a fatha, i.e. حادٌ. The ُم in حادٌ is then changed into a ُن on account of the influence of the kasra of the consonant preceding it, i.e. حاديّ. As it resembles the active participles of verbs with 3rd weak radical (compare the case of شالِل discussed above) in its ending with a weak consonant, a similar change is carried out in it so that it becomes حادٌ. So the pattern of حادٌ is not فاعلٌ حاديّ but عاَّفَ.

Concerning it Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4779 writes:

"وَقَالُوا: هُوَ حاديّ عشرهمَّ وَهُوَ تاني عشرهمَّ، والليلة الحاديّة عشرةٌ والتَّمَوَّمُ الحاديّ عشرةٌ فَقالَ قِبَاسُ. وَهَذَا مْنْقَوْبٌ كُنَّا قِبَاسُ جَدِّ شَيْءٍ وَجَدَّ، قَالَ أَبِي سِيدٍ: حاديّ عشرُ مْنْقَوْبٍ مْنْقَوْبٌ أَلْفَ، إِلَى الْمَلَامِيْلَ. وَهَوْنا فَاقِلُ نَقَلَ إِلَى عَالِف، فَأَطْلُبُتُ الْمِلْكَ الَّذِي رَوَى الْأَصْلَ بَعْدًا لَا أَكَشَرُ باَّمَّا قَبْلَهَا. وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: مُعَلِّمَ عَشِرَةَ فَاحَدُهُنَّ لِي، أَنْ يَسْتَرَّهُنَّ لِأَحَدٍ عَشْرٍ. قَالَ أَبُو مَنْصُورٍ: جَعَلَ قِبَاسُ فَاحَدُهُنَّ لِي، مِنْ الحاديّ لا ۖ أَنْ يَسْتَرَّهُنَّ لِأَحَدٍ. قَالَ أَبُو سِيدٍ: وَظَاهِرًا ذَلِكَ يَوْسُبُ الْحاديّ فَاعِلٍ، قَالَ: وَأَلْوَجَ أَنْ كانَ هَذَا الْمِلْكَ صِحْبًا هَٰذَا الْمِلْكُ مْنْقَوْبٌ مِنْ وَحَدْتٍ إِلَى حَدَّوْتٍ، وَذَلِكَ اِنْتِهْ لَا نَا رَاوِي الْحاديّ في ظَاهِرِ الآمَر عَلَى صَوْرَةِ فَاعِل، صَارَ كَانَهُ جَارٌ عَلَى حَدَّوْتٍ.

"And they said: He is حاديّ عشرهمَّ ‘the twenty-first among them’ and حاديّ عشرهمَّ ‘the twenty-second among them’, and حاديّ عشرُ ‘the eleventh’ and حاديّ عشرُ ‘the eleventh day’. He said: ‘A transposition of consonants is carried out [in حاديّ عشرٍ] similar to [the one that is carried out] when they said جَدُّ and جَدَّ ‘to attract’ [(cf. (14), (291)]. Ibn Sida said: ‘A transposition of consonants was carried out in حاديّ عشرٍ between the 1st and the 3rd radical, which can only be carried out in this manner, because it is on the pattern فاعلٍ in which a transposition of consonants is carried out by changing it to the pattern عاَّفَ. Then the ُم which is the radical, is changed into the ُن on account of the kasra preceding it. Ya’qūb said: ‘I have ten so make them to be eleven to me’, i.e. آخذُهُنَّ لِي، أَنْ يَسْتَرَّهُنَّ لِأَحَدٍ عَشْرٍ. هُوَ يَقُولُ: مُعَلِّمَ عَشِرَةَ فَاحَدُهُنَّ لِي، مِنْ الحاديّ لا ۖ أَنْ يَسْتَرَّهُنَّ لِأَحَدٍ. أَبُو مَنْصُورٍ: جَعَلَ قِبَاسُ فَاحَدُهُنَّ لِي، مِنْ الحاديّ لا ۖ أَنْ يَسْتَرَّهُنَّ لِأَحَدٍ. أَبُو سِيدٍ: وَظَاهِرًا ذَلِكَ يَوْسُبُ الْحاديّ فَاعِلٍ، قَالَ: وَأَلْوَجَ أَنْ كانَ هَذَا الْمِلْكَ صِحْبًا هَٰذَا الْمِلْكُ مْنْقَوْبٌ مِنْ وَحَدْتٍ إِلَى حَدَّوْتٍ، وَذَلِكَ اِنْتِهْ لَا نَا رَاوِي الْحاديّ في ظَاهِرِ الآمَر عَلَى صَوْرَةِ فَاعِل، صَارَ كَانَهُ جَارٌ عَلَى حَدَّوْتٍ.

(293) A transposition of consonants is carried out in قَوْسُ which is the pl. of قَوْسٍ فَاعِلٍ is on the pattern لَعْلَعَ in which the radicals are transposed resulting in قَوْسُ which is formed according to لَعْلَعَ, as if it is the pl. of قَوْسٍ and not of قَوْس. The wāws in قَوْسُ are
changed into ya’s, i.e. دَمَّـمُ، because they occur at the extremity of the word, which is disliked, then the damma of the i is changed into a kasra due to the influence of the ya’s, i.e. دَمَّـمُ، and then the q is voweled by a kasra on the analogy of the kasra and y that follow it, i.e. دَمَّـمُ. The same procedure is carried out in دَمَّـمُ or دَمَّـمُ pl. of عَـصْـمَ. For discussions see Howell, I, fasc. III, 930, IV, fasc. I, 1583-1585, de Sacy, I, 108, Vernier, I, 340-341. Compare with قُوَوْنُ the Hebrew ضَرْفَ, the Targum ضَرْفَ, [Ez. I, 28] the Syriac ضَرْفَ and the Ethiopic ضَرْفَ (cf. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 132-133).

(294) The pl. of دَلْوَمُ, then as the damma is deemed heavy upon the w, the w is transposed made to precede the n, i.e. دَلْوَمُ, and then the y is substituted for the w, i.e. دَلْوَمُ. (cf. Howell, I, fasc. III, 1074). This change of the w into y does not follow the analogy as the w is voweled and preceded by fat, a, but it is carried out anyway for the sake of alleviation. Compare with it ضَرْفَ, ضَرْفَ and ضَرْفَ; for a detailed study with references to other similar forms see Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 205.

(295) مَفْوَلُ is the base form of the passive participle of the verb قَانَ underlyingly قُوَوْنُ with 2nd radical w and مَبْيِعُ is the base form of the verb بَاغُ "to sell" underlyingly مَبْيِعُ with 2nd radical y. In مَفْوَلِ, the damma is deemed as heavy over the w and is therefore shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e. مَفْوَلِ, which causes a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, both the wāws. The question at issue here is which of the wāws is elided. According to Sibawaihi, it is the infixed w of مَفْوَلِ that is elided, so the pattern is formed according to مَفْوَلِ, according to him, with the damma shifted backwards from the 2nd radical as mentioned, and the 2nd radical retained. However according to al-Aḥfāṣ, the 2nd radical w is elided, so the pattern is formed according to مَفْوَلِ according to him. In مَبْيِعُ, the damma over the y is deemed as heavy and is therefore shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it, i.e. مَبْيِعُ, which causes a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the y and the w. According to Sibawaihi, the infixed w is elided resulting in مَبْيِعُ, and then the b is given a kasra, i.e. مَبْيِعُ. According to al-Aḥfāṣ, the 2nd radical y in مَبْيِعُ is elided, i.e. مَبْيِعُ, and then the b is given a kasra so that it indicates that the verb is with 2nd radical y and not 2nd radical w, so it became مَبْيِعُ. As the vowelless w is preceded by a kasra it is changed into a y, i.e. مَبْيِعُ similarly to مِرَأَنَ, underlyingly مِرَأَنَ (cf. (260)). The pattern is then formed according to مَفْوَلِ according to Sibawaihi and to مَفْوَلِ according to al-Aḥfāṣ (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 401). For a study see Zamaţšari, 180-181, Ibn Yaʕīs, X, 78-81, Zanģāni, Iżeğ 9, Howell, IV, fasc. I 1498-1501, Guillaume, Aspects 367-373.

b) The form مَفْوَلِ with 2nd radical y is used instead of مَفْوَلِ with 2nd radical w in the following example, just to mention a few:

- مَشْبَعُ “mixed”, which occurs in the following verse said by al-Sulaikī b. al-

"سيئِفٌ ضَرِبَ الْقُوم لَحْمَ مَعْيَنٍ وَمَا فَذَرَ في الْقُصَاع مُسَيِبٍ".

"Flesh laid out in the court to dry, and water of cooking-pots in the bowls, mixed [with seeds for seasoning and with sauces], will suffice thee for the sour milk of the people".

The Banū Tamīm make the passive participle with 2nd weak radical y complete formed according to the word "a gar sentient", "sewn", "measured" and "(food) dressed with olive oil, whereas the Ḥiḡāzīs elide the infixed w of the passive participle and say مَكْيِلٌ مَحْيَطٌ مَعْيَبٌ and مَيِّلٌ مَيِّثَتٍ formed according to مَخْيَطٌ مَعْيَبٌ. Some examples used in the qurʾān by the Ḥiḡāzīs are: (45) "And castles lofty and well-built", and (14) which occurs in the sur. 73: "And the mountains will be as a heap of sand poured out and flowing down".

Some examples found in verses of poetry are the following:

- The fem. form مَيِّثَيَة which occurs instead of مَيِّثَة in the following verse said by al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami in ʿAbbās, Diwān 108, cited by Ibn Ğinni, Haṣāʾīṣ I, 261, Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 276, Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 3196, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1503, Lane, II, 2218:

> قَدْ كَانَ قَوْلُ يَحْسَبُونَ سَيْدًا وَخَالَ أَنْثَا سَيْدٌ مَعْيِينٍ،

"Your people have been accounting you to be a chief; but I fancy that you are a chief smitten by the evil eye".

- The fem. form مَيِّثَيَة which occurs instead of مَيِّثَة in the following verse said by ʿAlqama b. ʿAbāda, describing a male ostrich after having described a camel. It is cited by Ibn Ğinni, Haṣāʾīṣ I, 261, Munṣif I, 286, III, 47, Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 276, Zamahšari, 181, Ibn Yaʿimi, X, 80, Muḥākī 354, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1503, Ahlwardt, Divans 112:

> ِلَتْ تَذَكَّرُ بيضَةّ وَهَيْجَةٌ يَوْمٌ رَدَادٌ عَلَيْهِ الْدَجْحِ مَيِّثَيَةٍ،

"Until he remembered eggs [belonging to him]; and a day of light rain, in which clouds were covering the overclouded sky, which aroused him".

- The fem. form مَيِّثَيَة which occurs instead of مَيِّثَة in the following verse said by a Tamīmī poet who is describing wine, cited by Ibn Ğinni, Haṣāʾīṣ I, 261, Munṣif I, 286, III, 47, Muʿaddib, Taṣrīf 275, Zamahšari, 181, Ibn Yaʿimi, X, 80, Muḥākī 353, Ibn ʿUṣfūr, II, 460, Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2732, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1503:

> وَكَانَتْ لَقَاحَةٌ مَيِّثَيَةٍ،

"And it is as though it were a scented apple".

Both the Banū Tamīm and the Ḥiḡāzīs agree however upon making defective the passive participle with 2nd weak radical w, except for some forms that occur anomalously, e.g. لَفْظ مَقْولٍ "a word said" and مَقْولٌ مَصُوْدٌ "a garment preserved", but the more used forms are مَقْولٌ and
(296) المبني *applies to both the noun of place and the passive participle. The virtual difference is only noticed between their base forms. The base form of the noun of place is مبني *formed according to مفعل *in which the kasra is shifted to the vowelless consonant preceding it and the *is lengthened, and the base form of the passive participle is مبني *for the change see (295) formed according to مفعل *

Differently from the form مبني *that has two base forms for the noun of place and the passive participle respectively, the noun مبني *can apply to both the sing. or the pl. and does not have any base form that is specific for each one. By comparing its vowelless middle radical to the vowelless middle radical of "lions" (formed according to the pattern مفعل *), which is the pl. of مبني *, (formed according to the pattern مفعل *), it is a pl., and by comparing it to the vowelless middle radical of the * of the verb * "to be near", it is a sing. Hence it occurs in the different sur. as:

- a pl. (and a fem.) in the sur. 10: 22 “So that ye even board ships;—they sail with them”; in which مبني * which is a dialectal variant of مبني * has been used in the reading of Abū l-Dardā.

- a masc. sing. in the sur. 26: 119 “So we delivered him and those with him in the ark filled (with all creatures)”, in the sur. 16: 14 "And thou seest the ships therein that plough the waves" and in the sur. 35: 12 "And thou seest the ships therin that plough the waves”.

- a fem., and may be either pl. or sing. in the sur 2: 164 “In the sailing of the ships through the Ocean”.

It is said that when it is masc. sing. it is regarded as meaning the مركب * "ark", and when it is fem. it has the meaning of the سفينة * "ship" (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3465, Lane, II, 2443).

b) A few examples which apply to both the sing. and pl. (for a study see Ta‘ālībī, * and see the example cited in (152 b)) as the case of مبني * mentioned by Ibn Mas‘ūd and discussed above, that can be added in this context, are the following:

- the adjective جنب * "in a state of ceremonial impurity", e.g. رجال جنب ب "a man in a state of ceremonial impurity" and رجال جنب ب "men in state of ceremonial impurity", which occurs as a pl. in the sur. 5: 7 “If ye are in a state of ceremonial impurity bathe your whole body”.

- the substantive العدوى * "the enemy/enemies", which occurs as a pl. in the sur. 26: 77 (فانهم *)
(عدو لي إلا رب ألمفين) (عفوك لأخيك) "For they are enemies to me; not so the Lord and Cherisher of the Worlds", and as a sing. in the sur. 4: 92 (فإن كان من قوم عندك ثم وجوه مؤمن) "If the deceased belonged to a people at war with you, and he was a Believer".

- the substantive "the guest/guests", which occurs as a pl. in the sur. 15: 68 (هؤلاء "These are my guests: disgrace me not".

e) A few examples which apply to both the masc. and fem. sing. as the case of يلائل are the following:

- the substantive الطائفة "the Evil One" which occurs as a masc. in the sur. 4: 60 (يريدون أن يتهموا إلى الطائفة وقذ أتموا أن ينكرون بها) "Their (real) wish is to resort together for judgement (in their disputes) to the Evil One, though they were ordered to reject him", and as a fem. in the sur. 39: 17 (ونذان أن يتهموا إلى الطائفة أن يعبدوها) "Those who eschew Evil,—and fall not into its worship" (for a study see تاءالبيث, Fiqh 219; for other examples see (296)).

- the substantive الصوت which is a noun in the masc. that is treated as a fem., in the following verse said by Ruwaiṣid b. Kaṭīr al-Ṭāʿī, cited by تاءالبيث, Fiqh 217, Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2521, Lane, II, 1742:

"يا أيها الراكب السُرْجُي مطليَة سايب بنى آسد ما هذه الصوت".

"O you, the rider urging on his beast, ask the sons of Asad what is this clamour?"

- the noun بعض which is a masc., is sometimes treated as a fem. when it occurs as a first element of an idāfa construction and is followed by a second element in the non-human pl., e.g. قطع بعض أصابعه "some of his fingers were cut off", in which بعض is put in the fem sing., and the anomalous reading of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī of the sur. 12: 10 (أتنحت بعض الأسياَرات) (أتنحت بعض الأسياَرات) "He will be picked up by some caravan of travellers", in which بعض is put in the fem. sing. (cf. Carter, سيرحني 462). A parallel case is found in the following verse said by an anonymous poet, cited by سرخ 298, al-Šartūnī, the commentator of Farḫāt, Bahr 277 in the notes and Carter, سيرحني 462, in which the first element of an idāfa construction, the noun إناة, which is fem. has a predicate in the masc., i.e. مكستفون instead of مكستفون "The illumination of the mind is eclipsed by obedience to lust, but the mind of him who disobeys lust increases in enlightenment"

For discussions see Carter, سيرحني 463 and for other examples see a part of my notes (22 c).

(297) قال (for its paradigm see (259) becomes قبل in the perfect of the passive voice. Its imperfect of the indicative of the passive is قبل, of the subjunctive قبل and of the jussive قبل.
(298) the meaning giving the consonant preceding the w or y a flavour of the dama so that it notifies of the base form. In the cases discussed here, it is carried out if the consonant preceding the w or y is vowelled by the dama in the base form of the passive voice. The three dialectal variants meant by Ibn Mas‘ūd concerning:

- underlyingly بَعْثَ in which the y is preceded by a dama and so conforms to the condition, are: 1) بَعْثَ أَخْطَرَ (حُدَّرَ), and 3) *iṣmām* “a flavour of the dama” to the consonant preceding the y of the base form, i.e. بَعْثَ أَخْطَرَ (حُدَّرَ) (note in this last case that the b’s dama precedes the kasra).

- underlyingly أَخْطَرَ بَعْثَ أَخْطَرَ (حُدَّرَ) and 3) *iṣmām* to the consonant preceding the y of the base form, i.e. أَخْطَرَ بَعْثَ أَخْطَرَ (حُدَّرَ).

- underlyingly أَخْطَرَ بَعْثَ أَخْطَرَ (حُدَّرَ) are: 1) أَنْقُدِدْ 2) أَنْقُدِيِّدْ and 3) *iṣmām* to the consonant preceding the w of the base form, i.e. أَنْقُدِدْ بَعْثَ أَنْقُدِدْ (حُدَّرَ).

- underlyingly أَنْقُدِدْ بَعْثَ أَنْقُدِدْ (حُدَّرَ) are: 1) بَعْثَ أَنْقُدِدْ 2) قُلْنَ and 3) *iṣmām* to the consonant preceding the y of the base form, i.e. بَعْثَ أَنْقُدِدْ (حُدَّرَ).


“Would that—but does a ‘would that’ profit anything’—Would that youth were sold and that I bought”.

Furthermore both بَعْثَ and بَعْثَ مَّأَكِلَةَ in the sur. 44: "Then the word went forth: ‘O earth! swallow up thy water, and O sky! withhold (thy rain)!’ And the water abated”, were read with *iṣmām* by the seven readers (cf. Howell, *II-III*, 123).

(299) أَقْفُمَ “to be performed” can only be said with the kasra given to the 1st radical q, and the two remaining states, namely the change of the y into a w and *iṣmām* are not allowable for it. Its base form is أَقْفُمَ, with the consonant preceding the w being vowelless. The condition for the two states is that the consonant preceding the w or y should be vowelled by the dama. A similar example which can only be said with the kasra is أَقْفُمَ أَقْفُمَ “to be straightened up” underlyingly أَقْفُمَ أَقْفُمَ, with the consonant before the w being vowelless. Cf. Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 1484.
(300) The virtual difference between the base forms of the active and passive voice of 
\[\text{قَلِنَّ} \] and 
\[\text{بَعِينَ} \] (for it see (285)) is the following: 
\[\text{قَلِنَّ} \] in the active voice is underlyingly 
\[\text{قَولُنَ} \] with the 
\[q\] vowelled by a fatha formed according to 
\[\text{قَولُنَ} \] whereas it is underlyingly 
\[\text{بَعِينَ} \] in the passive voice with the 
\[q\] vowelled by a damma conformed to 
\[\text{بَعِينَ} \] in the active voice is underlyingly 
\[b\] vowelled by a fatha, whereas it is underlyingly 
\[\text{بَعِينَ} \] in the passive voice with the 
\[b\] vowelled by a damma. It may be noted that the damma that vowels the 
\[q\] of 
\[\text{قَلِنَّ} \] underlyingly 
\[\text{قُولُنَ} \] and the kasra that vowels the 
\[b\] of 
\[\text{بَعِينَ} \] in the active voice, are accidental due to the phonological change that is caused by their unsound 2nd weak radical, whereas they are underlyingly in their passive voice, namely 
\[\text{قُولُنَ} \] and 
\[\text{بَعِينَ} \] respectively that are formed according to the pattern 
\[\text{قَلِنَّ} \]. It can be mentioned in this context that Sibawayhi did not wish to change the vowel of the 1st radical in the active and passive voice, as he seemed satisfied by the virtual difference of their base forms, whereas Ibn Malik would rather have preferred verbs with the 1st radical vowelled by a kasra in the active voice, e.g. 
\[\text{لَهُ نَفَئَتْ} \] “I was afraid”, to be vowelled by a damma in the passive voice, and verbs with the 1st radical vowelled by a damma in the active voice, e.g. 
\[\text{سَمِمتْ} \] “I got”, to be vowelled by a kasra in the passive voice (cf. Daqr, 
\[Mu‘gam\] 389).
الباب السادس في الناقص

ويقال له ناقص لنقصاته في الآخر وذور الأربعة لأنه يصير على أربعة آحرف في الإباض
2 عن نفسه نحو رميلا ودعاوت، ولا يجيء من ياب فحل يفعل. وقول في الإباض الفضائر
رمي رميما رمياً رميماً رميماً إلآ آخره ورمي أصله رمي فقيلت الباب ألا تتحركها
والبحث ما قبلها كما مرت في قال، وأصل رميا رمياً أصلت الباب ألا تتحركها وانتفاخ ما
قبله فصار رمياً فاجتمع ساكنان فحدث الباب رمياً وكذلك رضوا إلا أنه
3 ضم السداد فيه بعد الحذف حتى لا يلزم الخروج من الكسرة إلى الواو، وأصل رميا
رمياً أصلت الباب كما في رميا وتحذف الباب، في رميا وإن لم يجتمع فيه الساكنان
1 لفظا لأنه يجتمع فيه الساكنان تقيدا وثامه مرفقي فيها، ولا يجتمع في رميا كما مرت
في القول المستقبل يرمى إلى آخره أصل يرمى فأسكت الباب لنقل التضمة عليها ولا
يُعقل في مثل يرمى لأن حركته فتحة وهي خفيفة وأصل يرمى يرمى فأسكت
12 الباب ثم حدثت لاجتماع الساكنين فصار يرمى ثُمّ ضم اليمين حتى لا يصير الواو
ياء لسكتها وانكسار ما قبلها فصار يرمى فأسكت الباب عند رميما وتحذف الباب، وسمي بين الرجال والنساء في
مثل يرمى ودعاوت اكفاء بالفرقة التقديري والواري في النسا، أصلية والنون
15 علامة التانتيت ومن ثم لا تضبط في قوله تعالى (الأن يعفون) وأصل ترمين ترمين
فأسكت الباب ثم حدثت لاجتماع الساكنين وهو مشترك في اللغز مع جماعة

Fols. 32a-32b

326
II.7. Translation: The 6th Chapter is about the Verb with Weak 3rd Radical

It is named “defective” because of the defect of its 3rd radical, and “the one with four consonants” because it becomes formed of four consonants when you are talking about yourself [sc. in the 1st person of the sing. of the perfect], e.g. رَمَيْتُ “I threw” and رَمَيْتَ “I invited”. It does not occur according to the conjugation فعل يفعلون. You say when attaching the pronouns: رَمَيْتُ “/3 masc. sing.” [with the pronoun suppressed], رَمَيْتُ رَمَاوًا “/3 masc. dual”, رَمَيْتُ رَمَاوًا “/3 masc. pl.”, رَمَيْتُ “/3 fem. sing”, رَمَيْتُ “/3 fem. dual”, رَمَيْتُ “/3 fem. pl.”, etc. is underlyingly رَمَاوًا, in which the y is changed into an َā on account of its vowelling and of the [influence] of the fatha preceding it, as was mentioned about قَالَ “he said”. رَمَاوًا is underlyingly رَمَاوَا, in which the y is changed into an َā due to its vowelling and the [influence of the] fatha preceding it, so it became رَمَاوَا. Then as there resulted a cluster of two vowelless consonants, the َā was elided so that it became رَمَاوَا. So is also the case of رَمَاوَا “they consented” [regarding the elision of the 3rd radical], except that the d is vowelled by a dama in it after the elision [of the y of رَمَاوَا], so that it is not necessary to incline from the kasra [of the d] to the َā [of the suffixed pronoun].

is underlyingly رَمَاوَا, in which the y is elided as in رَمَاوَا. The y is elided in [underlyingly رَمَاوَا] in spite of the fact that two vowelless consonants are not combined in the pronunciation, because they [sc. the suffixed r of the fem. which is underlyingly vowelless and the َā of the dual] are combined [as vowelless] virtually. Its counterpart was mentioned in قِولُ “Say! / masc. dual (imperative)” [with the 2nd radical w retained].

No change due to the unsound weak consonant is carried out in رَمِيْنُ “/3 fem. pl.”, as was mentioned about القولُ “the saying”. [Fol. 32 b] The imperfect is بِرَمَيْنُ “/3 masc. sing.” etc. underlyingly بِرَمَاوَا, in which the y is made vowelless because of the heaviness of the dama on it. No change is carried out in بِرَمُيْنُ “/3 masc. dual” because the vowel [of the y] is a fatha and it is light. بِرَمَاوَا “/3 masc. pl.” is underlyingly بِرَمَاوَا, in which the y is made vowelless and is then elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [sc. the y and the w, so it became بِرَمَاوَا. Then the m is vowelled by a dama to prevent that the w is changed into a y due to its sukun and to the kasra preceding it, so it became بِرَمَاوَا. The 3rd person of the masc. and fem. pl. are made homonymous in the example “they remit” with the sufficiency of the virtual difference [of their base forms]. It is so that the َā [in بِرَمَاوَا] in the fem. pl. is a [3rd] radical and the -نا is the marker of the fem. pl. Hence, it is not dropped in the words of the Allmighy [sur. 2: 237] “Unless they remit it”. “/2 fem. sing.” is underlyingly تَرَمَيْنِ, in which the [3rd radical] y is made vowelless and is then elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants. It is also homonym in the pronunciation with the 2nd person.
النساء، وإذا أدخلت الجامع تسقط اليا، عامة للجزم ومن ثم تسقط اليا، في حالة
الرفع عامة للوقف في قوله تعالى (أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا) ونصب إذا أدخلت النواصب لفحة
النصب ولم تنصب في مثل لن يُخْشَى لأن الألف لا يحتل الحركة. الأمر إِسْرَاءً إِلَى آخره
أصل إِسْرَاءً فحَذَفَ اليا، عامة للجزم فصار إِسْرَاءً. وأصل إِسْرَاءً فحَذَفَ اليا، ثم
حَذَفَ لاجتماع الساكنين. وأصل إِسْرَاءً فحَذَفَ اليا، عامة للفحة الأصلية ثم حَذَفَ لاجتماع
الساكنين، وقبل بينون الشاكيد الفقهية إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً
والأخلاقية إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً إِسْرَاءً
والرفع والجزم ثم حَذَفَ اليا، لاجتماع الساكنين ولا تسكن في حالة النصب لفحة النصب.
أصل رامىون الفحَذَفَ اليا، ثم حَذَفَ لاجتماع الساكنين ثم ضم اليه
لاستدعاء اليا، و 버ض الألف وإذا نسُفَت النثوبات إلى نسُفة فقلل زاباجِي في حالة الرفع
راميي في حالة النصب والجزم بإذن عامة النصب والجزم في ياء الإضافة وإذا أضاف
الجمع إلى نفس فقلل زاباجِي في جميع الأحوال وأصله في حالة الرفع راموي فأضاف فالمفعول
راميي إِلَى آخره أصله مَرْحَمَي  فأضاف
اجتمع الحرفان من جنس واحد في الخالة. المفعول مَرْحَمَي  إِلَى آخره أصله مَرْحَمَي  فأضاف
320 ب ك ب راميي إذا أضافَت النثوبات إلى ياء الإضافة فقلل مَرْحَمَي  في حالة الرفع وفي حالتين
النصب والجزم مَرْحَمَي  بارع بآت. وإذا أضافَت الجمع إلى ياء الإضافة فقلل مَرْحَمَي

Fols. 32b-33b
ا تسقط(1)؛ يسقط د/ اليا(2) : -أ/ د/ النواصب: النصب ب جدز حط/ 2
النصب: النصب ب: النثوبات: 4/ ب النواصب: النصب ب جدز حط/ 3

(1) تقطع(2)؛ يسقط د/ اليا(3): -أ/ د/ النواصب: النصب ب جدز حط/ 2
النصب: النصب ب: النثوبات: 4/ ب النواصب: النصب ب جدز حط/ 3

(2) تقطع(3)؛ يسقط د/ اليا(4): -أ/ د/ النواصب: النصب ب جدز حط/ 2
النصب: النصب ب: النثوبات: 4/ ب النواصب: النصب ب جدز حط/ 3
of the fem. pl. If you make [any of] the apocopatives precede [أَمِّيْ], the y is dropped as a marker of the jussive. However, the y is dropped in the case of the indicative as a marker of the pause in the words of the Allmghty [sur. 89: 4] “and by the Night when it passeth away”. If you made [any of] the subjunctivals precede [أَمِّيْ], you give the y a fatha as a marker of the subjunctive because of the lightness of the fatha. However, you do not give the fatha as a marker of the subjunctive [to the y changed into an alif maṣūra] in “he shall not dread”, because the alif [maqṣūra] does not accept the vowel. The imperative is “/2 masc. sing.”, etc., that is underlyingly بَعْضٌ, in which the y is elided as a marker of the jussive, so it became “/2 masc. pl.” is underlyingly لأَمِّيْ, in which the y is made vowelless and is then elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [the y and the w].

[Fol. 33 a] “/2 fem. sing.” is underlyingly لأَمِّيْ, in which the radical y is made vowelless and is then elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [the y and the y]. You say with the energetic n: “/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. 1), أَمِّيْ, “/2 masc. dual”, أَمِّيْ, “/2 masc. pl.”, أَمِّيْ, “/2 fem. sing.”, أَمِّيْ, “/2 fem. pl.”, أَمِّيْ, and with the single n: “/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. II)”, أَمِّيْ, “/2 masc. pl.” and أَمِّيْ. The active participle is أَمِّيْ, etc., underlyingly أَمِّيْ, in which the y is made vowelless in both the nominative and the genitive [because of the heaviness of the dāmma and the kasra vowelling it], and is then elided to avoid the cluster of two sukūn [the y’s sukūn and the nunation]. However, it is not made vowelless in the accusative because of the lightness of the fatha. أَمِّيْ is underlyingly أَمِّيْ, in which the y is made vowelless [sc. أَمِّيْ], and is then elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants [the y and the w], and then the m is vowelled by a dāmma due to the a’s request for the dāmma. If you suffix the dual’s ending [sc. أَمِّيْ], you would say أَمِّيْ, /nominative and أَمِّيْ, /accusative and genitive] to yourself [sc. the 1st person of the sing.].

If you suffix the pl.’s ending [sc. أَمِّيْ, /nominative and أَمِّيْ, /accusative and genitive] to yourself [sc. the 1st person of the sing. -يَل, you would say أَمِّيْ, in all the cases, which is underlyingly أَمِّيْ, in the case of the nominative, and أَمِّيْ, in both the cases of the accusative and genitive by assimilating the marker of the accusative and of the genitive [of the dual: sc. the y] to the [suffixed pronoun] y of the genitive [of the 1st person of the sing.]. If you suffix the pl.’s ending [sc. أَمِّيْ, /nominative and أَمِّيْ, /accusative and genitive] to yourself [sc. the 1st person of the sing. -يَل, you would say أَمِّيْ, in all the cases, which is underlyingly أَمِّيْ, in the case of the nominative, in which an assimilation is carried out due to the combination of two consonants of the same kind [sc. the w and the y] regarding their being among the weak consonants. The passive participle is أَمِّيْ, etc., underlyingly أَمِّيْ, in which an assimilation [of the w to the y] is carried out as in أَمِّيْ. If you suffix the dual’s ending [Fol. 33 b] to the [suffixed pronoun] y of the genitive [of the 1st person of the sing.], you would say أَمِّيْ, in the case of the nominative and أَمِّيْ, in both the cases of the accusative and genitive with four yā’s. If you suffix the pl.’s ending to the [suffixed] y of the genitive, you would say أَمِّيْ.
أيضاً، تابع يَبَتَ في كل الأحوال، موضوع مَثْلِي الأصل فيه أن يأتي على وَزْنٍ متفق إلا
أنهم فروا عن تولى الكُرَات. الكلمة مَثْلِي السُّجُول رَفْعٌ يُرْمَيْ فُقيت الآية، الله كمِى في رَفْعٍ، وحكم غزى يُغِرَّ مثال
رَفْع يُرْمَي في كل الأحوال إلا أنهم يبدوون الْوَارَ يابه في أَفْرَى تابع لُقْيَ مع أن الآية
من حروف الإبدال، وحُرُفها إسْتَبْنُجَة بِقْمِ سَال رَطَب، الهَمْرَة أُبْدِلت وُجُوا مَطْرَدًا من
الألف في نحو سُحَرَ، لأنهم أَلف في الأصل كَفْرُكَ ثَمَّ جَعَلْ هَمزة لِمُوقَعُها
دُولًا، بعد ألف زاندة ومن ثم لا يجوز جعلها همزة في نحو صَحَرَى يعني، لو كانت في
الأصل همزة لِجَازِ صَحَرَى بالأُهرَة في صورة ما إذا جاء في، خُطِّيَة ومن الْوَار
وجُوا مَطْرَدًا في نحو أُوَلِي فَرْأَة عن اجتاع الْوَارَات، وفي نحو قاتل كمِى مَرّ في نحو
اِلْوَارِ لَتَقْلَ الْبَقْلَة على الْوَارَ في نحو كِسَاء، لِمَوْجِعُ الْحُرُكَات المُلْتَخِفَة على الْوَارَ ومن الْإِياء
وجُوا مَطْرَدًا نحو بَانِع كمِى مَرّ وُجُوا مَطْرَدًا من الْوَارَ المُضْمَة نحو أَجُوَّه لِمُوقَعُه
الْبَقْلَة على الْوَارَ، ومن الْوَار غير المُضْمَة نحو إِبْحَاَر وَنَحْوُ أَحَدٌ أَحَدً في الحُدُثِبِي وَمَن
الإياء نحو قِطْعٍ الله أَدْبِه لِتقْلَ الحُرْكَة على الْيَاء، ومن الْيَاء، نحو مَا أَصِل مَتَّ وَمَن كَمِى
يَحِي، جَعَلَ مِياءً مِن الْأَلْف نحو وَلَهِ هَيْجَت شَوْقُ الْشَّمْشَة، وَنَحْوُ قَرَاءة مِن قَرَأ
(وَلَا أَلْلَهُ أَلْلَهُ) بالْهَمْرَة وَمِن الْمَعَيْن نحو * آبَٰب يَعْرَحُ ضَاحِلَ رَفْقوٍ *
لِتَحَدَ عِمْرَجِه، السِّين أُبْدِلت بِنَصْبٍ، نحو أَصْلُ أَتْخُذُ عند
تَحْمَةٍ، أَصِلَّلَ وَجَحَّةَ وَنَحْوُ أَخْتُ لِقَرْب مَخْرَجهُا وَمِن الْيَاء، نحو ثُنَانُ أَصِلٍّ

Fols. 33b-34b

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also with four yā’s in all the cases. The noun of place is 母校ٍ, which by principle should have been formed according to the pattern مَعَلَةٌ, except that they avoided the succession of the kasras. The noun of instrument is مَحْزُونٌ. The passive voice is مَحْزُونٌ نَمْيَةٌ etc. No change due to the weak consonant [sc. the y] is carried out in 母校ٍ because of the lightness of the fathā [on it].

The hamza is underlyingly مَحْزُونٌ, in which the y is changed into an alif [maṣāra] as in مَحْزُونٌ. The predicament of مَحْزُونٌ “to attack” is the same as the predicament of مَحْزُونٌ in all cases, except that they substituted the y for the w in أَعْزِيِتُ “I attacked” in conformity with مَحْزُونٌ “He attacks”, (31) as the y is among the consonants of substitution which are: مَحْزُونٌ “sister”, (32) because its hamza is the alif [of the feminine] underlyingly, which is similar to the alif [maṣāra] of مَسْتَرَى “drunk /wet “, (34) and then it is changed into a hamza because of its occurrence at the extremity of the word after the augmentative alif. However, it is impossible to change it [sc. the alif of the feminine] into a hamza, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “deserts”, meaning that if it [sc. the alif of the feminine] is underlyingly a hamza, then مَسْتَرَى with the hamza retained would have somehow been possible, as it is possibly retained in [Fol. 34 a] e.g. مَسْتَرَى “sin”. (31) 2- necessarily, the w, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “joining (pl.)”, to avoid the combination of the wāw in مَسْتَرَى “saying” as was mentioned, (31) in مَسْتَرَى “houses” because of the heaviness of the dāamma on the w (3) and in مَسْتَرَى “a wrapper” to avoid the different vowels on the w. (39) 3- necessarily, the y, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “seller”, as was mentioned [concerning مَسْتَرَى]. (20) 4- possibly, the w which is vowelled by a dāamma, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “faces”, because of the heaviness of the dāamma on the w. (5) 5- the w which is not vowelled by a dāamma, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “baldric” (32) and in مَسْتَرَى “God cut off his hands”, because of the heaviness of the vowel on the y (30) 7- the h, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “water” underlyingly مَسْتَرَى, and hence its pl. is مَسْتَرَى 8- the ā, as in his saying: مَسْتَرَى “You have excited the yearning of the yearner”, (20) and in the reading of he who reads [sur. 1: 77] (بالله اعذّب) “Who go not astray”, (20) 9- the s, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “Like a billow of a laughing, far-extending sea”, —due to the oneness of their [sc. the hamza’s, the h’s, the ā’s and the s] point of articulation— (20) The s is substituted for: 1- the t, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “to take for one’s self” underlyingly مَسْتَرَى according to Sibawaihi, because of their common character in being among the surd consonants. (29)

The t is substituted for: 1- the w, in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “a malady like cholera” underlyingly مَسْتَرَى and in مَسْتَرَى “sister”, (31) due to the proximity of both their points of articulation. 2- the y, [Fol. 34 b] in e.g. مَسْتَرَى “the second to the one” underlyingly
شيّان، واستنعن أصله، استنعن حتى لا تقع الحركة على الياء، ومن السين نحو ست أصله
سَدْسُ و نحو عصر عَسْرَان عَشَر أَلْثَانٍ، ومن الصاد نحو آخر لَجَرِيْهِم في
المحوريات، ومن الباء نحو الألفات التّون، أُبدلت من الْوَاْو نحو كُسْتَة لَقَرْبَهَا الرَّخۡمۡ.
حروف الْعَلَة، ومن الْلَّهْام نحو لنعُ لَقَرْبَهَا في المُهجِريّة، أُبدلت من الْبَاء المُشْدَدة
 نحو اَبَى على حتّى لا تقع الحركات المختلفة على الياء، ومن غير المُشْدَدة حَلَّة على
الْمُشْدَدَة نحو قوله:
الدا ابِدلت من الْتَاء نحو قرَّدٍ و اجْتَمَعَ أَلْفَ مَجْرَهُمَا. الْبَاء أُبدلت من الْهَمْرَة
 نحو خَرْقٍ، ومن الْآفِل نحو حَيْهَةٍ وأَقَرَّا، وَمَن الْبَاء، في هذه أَمَّة الله لَعِنُّها بِحُرُوفِ الْعَلَة
في الخَفا، وَمَن ثُمَّ لَا تُنْتَبِعُ الإِمَامَة فِي مَثَل يَضْيِبُهَا وَتُنْتَبِعُ فِي مَثَلْ أَكْتُبُ عَلَّبًا وَمَن
الْتَاء، وَجُوابًا مُطَرَّداً، في مَثَل طَلْحَة لِتَغَرَقّ بَيْنَا وَبِينَا النَّيَا، الْيَاء
أُبدلت من الْآفِل وَجُوابًا مُطَرَّداً نحو مُنْتَبِعُ وَسَوْارًا وَجُوابًا مُطَرَّداً نحو
مِبَّا قَلَبُهَا وَمَن الْهَمْرَة جَوَازًا مُطَرَّداً نحو ذِيْبٍ وَمَن أَحَد حُرُوف
الْتَضَعِيف نحو تَقْضَيْ آلَبَايِزٍ وَمَن الْتَوْن نحو أَنْسَيَ وَدُيَّانُ لَقَرْبَ الْبَاء، مَن الْتَوْن
وَمَن الْعَمِيّ نحو ضَفَّادٍ لِتُقَدِّلُ الْعَيْن، وَكُسْرَة مَا قَلُبُهَا وَمَن الْتَاء، نحو إِيْلَتُّ لَنَ أُصِلُه
وَأَوْ سَأَكَّن ما قَلُبُهَا مُكْسُورُ وَمَن الْبَاء، نحو ثَقَالٍ وَمَن السِّيْنِّ نحو السَّادِي
وَمَن الْشَّاء، نحو الْفَالِقِ أَصِلُهُ التَّاذِي لَكُسْرَة مَا قَلُبُهُ، الْوَاْو أُبِدِلَت مِن الْآفِل

Fols. 34b-35a

and in "they experienced drouth or barrenness" underlyingly (332) to avoid vowelling the y. 3- the s, in e.g. "six" underlyingly (333) and in: عَمَّـرُ ِبَنَ ِمُسَيْلَٰمِ ِشَرْفَر ِعِكْبٍ "Amr b. Māṣūd, the worst of men!". (338) 4- the s, in e.g. "robber" (335) because of their being among the surd consonants. 5- the b, in e.g. "worn-out rags" (336).

The n is substituted for: 1- the w, in e.g. "from a city in al-Yaman" (333) because of the proximity of the n to the weak consonants. 2- the l, in e.g. "perhaps" (338) because they [sc. the n and the l] are akin in being among the voiced consonants.

The g is substituted for: 1- the doubled y, in e.g. "Abū 'Aliğgi [sc. Abū 'Alī]" (339) to avoid vowelling the doubled yā's [in: "Abū ًعَلِّيَّةً"]. 2- the single y in conformity with the doubled one as in his saying:

 فلا يَرَالَّ شَاحَجَ يًأَلَّتَ يُوِّجَبَ. "Łāhām in َكْنَتْ قَبْلَ حَجَجَ"

"O God, if Thou hast accepted my pilgrimage, then a mule, shall not cease to bring me to Thee" (340).

The d is substituted for: 1- the t, in e.g. "I succeeded" (341) and اَجْعَمَعْوَا "they gathered together" (342) because of the proximity of both their points of articulation.

The h is substituted for: 1- the hamza, in e.g. "I spilled". (343) 2- the d, in e.g. "come along!" (344) and اَنَّ "I". (345) 3- the y, in e.g. "this is the servant of God". (346) because of its [sc. the h's] being akin to the weak consonants regarding the lightness. And hence, the deflection is not forbidden in e.g. "to hit her", whereas it is forbidden in "I ate grapes". (347) 4- necessarily, the t, [Fol. 35 a] in e.g. طَلْحَا "Talḥa" to differentiate it from the t of the verb. (348)

The y is substituted for: 1- necessarily, the d, in e.g. مُفْتِيْحُ "a little key". (349) 2- necessarily, the w, in e.g. مَيْقَاتُ "time appointed for performance of an action", due to [the influence of] the kasra preceding them both [sc. the underlying d and w]. (350) 3- possibly, the hamza, in e.g. ذَيْبُ "a wolf". (351) 4- one of the doubled consonants, in e.g. تَفْقِيْحُ "the hawk flew down swiftly". (352) 5- the n, in e.g. أَنْسَيُ "men". (353) and دَيْنَارُ "a dinār" (354) because of the proximity of the y to the n. 6- the ḍ, in e.g. مَغَفَّاتُ "frogs", because of the heaviness of the ḍ and [the influence of] the kasra preceding it. (355) 7- the t, in e.g. "it joined", because it [sc. the word] has underlyingly a vowelless w that is preceded by a consonant vowelled by a kasra. (356) 8- the b, in e.g. "foxes". (357) 9- the s, in e.g. السَّادِي "the sixth". (358) 10- the ẓ, in e.g. الزَّاٰذَي "the third" underlyingly لَذَٰلِكَ (359) due to the kasra preceding them.

The w is substituted for:
وجوباً مطرداً نحو ضواحي لقريهما في الالية واجتمعت الساداتين ومن الياء، وجوباً مطرداً نحو مصغرة ما قبلهما ومن الهزة جواراً مطرداً نحو لوم كما مر. اللهم أبدلت من

200) الواو نحو قم لاتحاذ مخرجهما ومن الام نحو قوله: على السلام ليس من أمر أمسيام في

أسفر لقريهما في الجمهورية ومن النون الساكنة نحو عبير ومن المتحركة نحو ولكل

المضيع البناء لقريهما في الجمهورية ومن الياء نحو ما زالت رائتاً لاتحاذ مخرجهما.

الصاد أبدلت من السين نحو أصبع لقرب مخرجهما. الألف أبدلت من أختيها وجوباً

مطرداً نحو قال وباغ ومن الهزة جواراً مطرداً نحو رأس كما مر. اللهم أبدلت من

النون نحو أصبعان و من الضاد نحو الطبع لاتحاذهم في الجمهورية، الزاء أبدلت من

السين نحو يزداد ومن الصاد نحو قول الحائط 0 هكذا فزدي أنه 5. الطاء أبدلت من

النون وجوباً مطرداً في الاتباع نحو إصطبغ في حفص لقرب مخرجهما، والوضع

الذي لم يُقيد من الصور المذكورة يكون جائزاً غير مطرد.

Fols. 35a-35b

1) وجوباً مطرداً(1): - 5 به ض. واجتمعت: فقامت ب/ 2 فم: قم ب/ عليه

السلام: تعالى ط/ امر ب ح: عبير ط/ 3 أسفر: صقر ط/ عبير ب/

ومن: 5 النون غ/ المتحركة: للتحرك ب/ نحو(2): 6 النبام ج د/ وثلا/...

النون: الزاء ان تاذ/ البناء: الام / نحو: 5/ 6 الصاد: التحرك ط/ 7 الهزة: الهزت د/

8 النون: + جوارا غير مطرداً ح/ اصبعان: اصبع 5/ 9 يزداد: + لاتحاذ مخرجهما ح/

الحائط: الام ح ح/ كذا: وفداً ح: أنه: - به ح ض. 10 الإتبايع: افعل د ح/

ط: باب افعل ل/ حفص: محصص ب/
1- necessarily, the ā in e.g. َمَنْ أَمْسَأَتْ “striking, /pl.”, because of both their common character in being among the weak consonants and to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants.(360) 2- necessarily, the ñ in e.g. َمَوْفَنْ “to be certain”, due to [the influence of the] damma preceding it.(361) 3- possibly, the hamza, in e.g. َلَوْمَ “blame” [underlyingly َلَوْمَ] as was mentioned.(362)

The m is substituted for: 1- the  w, in e.g. َمَنْ “mouth”,(363) because both their points of articulation are identical. 2- the l, as in His saying, may God grant Him salvation، لَيْسَ مِنْ أَمْسَأَتْ “fasting in [Fol. 35 b] travelling is not an act of piety”,(364) because of their common character in being among the voiced consonants. 3- the vowelless n, in e.g. َعَبْرُ “a warehouse”,(365) and the vowelled one as in َوَكَفَّالَ أَلْحَضَبَ أَلْبَنَامَ “and of your hand dyed in (the tips of) the fingers with henna”,(366) because of their common character in being among the voiced consonants. 4- the ñ, in e.g. َمَا رَّتَلَّ رَأْسًا “I have not ceased to be constant”, because both their points of articulation are identical.(367)

The s is substituted for: 1- the s, in e.g. َأَصْبَعُ “to make flow in exceeding measure”, because of the proximity of both their points of articulation.(368)

The  is substituted for: 1- necessarily, both its sisters [sc. the w and the y), in e.g. َقَالَ “to say” and َيَبْعَ “to sell”. 2- allowably, the hamza in e.g. َرَأَسٌ “a head”, as was mentioned.(369)

The l is substituted for: 1- the n in e.g. َأَسْيَأَتْ “evening”,(370) 2- the t, in e.g. َتَطَأَجَ “to lay down to sleep”,(371) because of their [sc. the l’s, the n’s and the ñ’s] common character in being among the voiced consonants.

The z is substituted for: 1- the s, in e.g. َيَزِدُ “he loosens (his garment)”,”(372) 2- the s as in e.g. the saying of al-Hātim َكَهَدَا فَزِديَ آنَهُ “this is my way of bleeding, mine”,(373)

The f is substituted for: 1- necessarily, the infixed t of [Form VIII] َإِصْطَفِيَّرَ “to have patience”,(374) and [the suffixed t of the nominative] in e.g. َفَحَصَّتْ “I scraped a hollow”,(375) because of the proximity of both their points of articulation.

As for the cases in which it [sc. the substitution] does not follow the mentioned procedures, they are possibilities that do not follow the general rules.
II.7.1. COMMENTARY

The Verb with Weak 3rd Radical

(301) For a general study of “the Defective Verb” or “the verb with 3rd radical w or y” see Mu’addib, Tāṣrīf 292-334, Ibn Ya’īs, Mulūkī 58-61, Ibn ‘Uṣführ, II, 518-560, Zangānī, ‘Īzī 9-11, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Tāṣrīf 635-642, de Sacy, 249-256, Fārḥāt, Bahṭ 80-88, Brockelmann, Socins Grammatik 45-46, Wright, 88-91, Blachère, 146-161, Fischer, Grammatik 119-122, Bakkūṣ, Tāṣrīf 151-163, Daqr, Mu’gam 390-391, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Sarf 33-36, Roman, Étude II, 947-961. The verb with 3rd radical y is more frequent than the verb with 3rd radical w: 354 / 259 (cf. Bakkūṣ, Tāṣrīf 157). For a comparative study with corresponding forms in some of the other Semitic languages see Brockelmann, Grundrīṣ 618-632, Wright, Comparative Grammar 255-276, Bauer, Grammatik 109-110. For a study of the verb and noun in the Semitic languages see Diem, Verba und Nomina 15-60. Moscati, Grammar 169, referring to von Soden, Grundrīṣ 154-156, remarks that some of the verbs with 3rd radical y are of “terminative meaning, e.g. Semitic (except Ethiopic) bny “to build”, Hebrew Aramaic gly “to reveal”, whereas verbs with 3rd radical y or w “describe durative actions, e.g. Ancient West Semitic r’y “to see”, Akkadian Hebrew Aramaic mnw “to count”.

(302) The paradigm of رَمَيَّا, a verb with 3rd radical y and the 2nd radical being vowelled by a fatḥa, in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the subjunctive, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>نَرَمَى</td>
<td>نَرَمَى</td>
<td>نَرَمَى</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>نَرَمَى</td>
<td>نَرَمَى</td>
<td>نَرَمَى</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The verb with weak 3rd radical

| 2nd fem. | نَمَّى | نَمَّى
| 3rd masc. | تُمَّى | تُمَّى
| 3rd fem. | نَمَّى | نَمَّى

Its paradigm in the imperfect of the jussive, active, is the following:

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

Its imperative is نَمَّى. Its active participle is نَمَّى. Its perfect, passive is نَمَّى. Its imperfect is نَمَّى. Its passive participle is نَمَّى.

b) An example of a verb with 3rd radical w is دَعُو “to call”. Another example is نَدُّر underlingly “to call”. The paradigm of its groundform and derived forms is the following:

Form I: Its perfect, active is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its active participle is نَدُّر. Its maṣdar is نَدُّر. Its perfect, passive is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its passive participle is نَدُّر.

Form II: Its perfect, active is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its active participle is نَدُّر. Its maṣdar is نَدُّر. Its perfect, passive is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its passive participle is نَدُّر.

Form III: Its perfect, active is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its active participle is نَدُّر. Its maṣdar is نَدُّر. Its perfect, passive is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its passive participle is نَدُّر.

Form IV: Its perfect, active is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its active participle is نَدُّر. Its maṣdar is نَدُّر. Its perfect, passive is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its passive participle is نَدُّر.

Form V: Its perfect, active is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its active participle is نَدُّر. Its maṣdar is نَدُّر. Its perfect, passive is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its passive participle is نَدُّر.

Form VI: Its perfect, active is نَدُّر. Its imperfect is نَدُّر. Its active participle is نَدُّر. Its maṣdar is نَدُّر. Its perfect, passive is نَدُّر. Its
imperfect is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its passive participle is ِیُبِنَّادَی.

Form VII: Its perfect, active is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its imperfect is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its imperative is ِآَنَدِ. Its active participle is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its ِمَاسِدَر is ِآَنَدِ. Its perfect, passive is ِآَنَدِ. Its imperfect is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its passive participle is ِیُبِنَّادَی.

Form VIII: Its perfect, active is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its imperfect is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its imperative is ِآَنَدِ. Its active participle is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its ِمَاسِدَر is ِآَنَدِ. Its perfect, passive is ِآَنَدِ. Its imperfect is ِیَبِنَّادَی. Its passive participle is ِیُبِنَّادَی.

Form X: Its perfect, active is ِیُسَتَنَّدَی. Its imperfect is ِیُسَتَنَّدَی. Its imperative is ِسَتَنَّدِ. Its active participle is ِیُسَتَنَّدَی. Its ِمَاسِدَر is ِسَتَنَّدِ. Its perfect, passive is ِسَتَنَّدِ. Its imperfect is ِیُسَتَنَّدَی. Its passive participle is ِسَتَنَّدِ.

رَضِیٌ (303) is formed according to the conjugation َبِنَّالَ. In the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect َرَضِیٌ, the 3rd vowelled radical y preceded by a fatha is changed into an ۡا due to the influence of the fatha, i.e. ۡرَضِیٌ, and then the ۡا is elided to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ۡا and the ۡو, resulting in ۡرَضِیٌ (cf. (49)). رَضِیٌ is formed according to the conjugation َبِنَّالَ. It is underlyingly َرَضِیٌ with the 3rd vowelled radical w changed into a y on account of the influence of the kasra preceding it (cf. Lane, I, 1099). This means that َرَضِیٌ is underlyingly َرَضِیٌ with the 3rd vowelled radical w changed into a y due to the influence of the kasra preceding it. Then as the dama that vowels the y in َرَضِیٌ is deemed as heavy, it is shifted to the ۡا, i.e. ۡرَضِیٌ, which causes a cluster of two vowelless weak consonants, the y and ۡو (cf. Ibn Činni, Munsif II, 126). So the y is elided and it became َرَضِیٌ (cf. further (49), (275)).

b) The paradigm of َرَضِیٌ, a verb with 3rd radical y (underlyingly w) and the 2nd radical being vowelled by a kasra, in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm of the imperfect of the indicative, active, is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ترَضِیٌ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ترَضِیٌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ترَضِیٌ</td>
<td>ترَضِیٌ</td>
<td>ترَضِیٌ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Its paradigm of the imperfect of the subjunctive, active, is the following:

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

Its paradigm of the imperfect of the jussive, active, is the following:

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

Its imperative is Ṭrūṣā. Its active participle is Ṭrūṣā. Its masdar is Ṭrūṣā. Its perfect, passive is Ṭrūṣā. Its imperfect is Ṭrūṣā. Its passive participle is Ṭrūṣā.

(304) Ṭrūṣā is underlyingly Ṣarāṣa in which the 3rd vowelled radical y preceded by a fatha is changed into an ā, i.e. Ṭrūṣā, and then the ā is elided in spite of the fact that the r following it is vowelled and not vowelless (for discussions see (54); compare the discussion concerning Ṣarāṣa in which the 3rd radical w is changed into an ā which is then elided, see (289)). The vowel of the r is considered as accidental due to the suffixation of the ā of the dual, and the underlying sukūn that it carries as a marker of the fem. is taken into consideration. The counterpart of Ṣarāṣa and Ṣarāṣa in which the 3rd weak radical is elided is ʿālā “say!” in which the 2nd radical w is retained (for discussions see (289)).

(305) Ṭrūṣā from Ṣarāṣa underlyingly Ṣuṣu “to be obliterated”, can apply to both the 3rd person of the masc. and the fem. pl. of the imperfect. The base form of the 3rd person of the fem. pl. has the -na marker of the fem. pl. suffixed to it and is formed according to Ṣuṭṭu, i.e. Ṣuṭṭu, whereas the base form of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. has the ending -ūna that marks the masc. pl. suffixed to it, and is formed according to Ṣuṭṭu, i.e. Ṣuṭṭu. It can be noted that in Ṣuṭṭu that
refers to the 3rd person of the fem. pl., the ă is the 3rd radical and the -na is the marker of the 3rd person of the masc. pl., whereas in یعنی that refers to the masc. pl., the ă is the suffixed agent pronoun of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. on account that the 3rd radical w is elided from the base form یعنی and the -na is the marker of the indicative. The -na of the indicative is dropped in the 3rd person of the masc. pl. in the case of the subjunctive, e.g. the sur. 2: 237 “And the remission (of the man’s half) is the nearest to righteousness”, and in the case of the jussive as a marker for these moods. For a study see Hariri, Ṣaḥḥ 257, Zamaḥšari, Kaṣṣaf I, 374-375, Howell, II–III, 16-17, Daqr, Muṣam 47.

(306) As a rule the 3rd radical y or w of the verb with 3rd weak radical is elided in the jussive as a marker of this mood. The reason of this elision is that the weak 3rd radical holds the same position as the vowel of the strong verb. As the strong verb’s 3rd radical loses its vowel and carries the sukūn as the marker of this mood, e.g. یَصَبْرُ یَصَبْرٌ “he did not hit”, the verb with weak 3rd radical loses its weak radical, e.g. یَصَبْرُ (for its paradigm see (302)). Anomalous cases occur however in which the weak 3rd radical is retained (for discussions see (51)).

(307) According to Ibn Mas‘ūd, the y in یَسَرْ یَسَرُ is elided in یَسَرْ یَسَرُ (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 519, Munsif II, 74, Ibn al-Sarrāǧ, Uṣūl II, 389, Ibn Ya‘īs, Mulākī 384, Ğeksson, Elision 24) in spite of the fact that the verb is in the indicative, as a marker of the pause (for general discussions concerning the pause see Sirwāwīhī, II, 326-330, Zamaḥšari, 160-163, Ibn Ya‘īs, IX, 66-90, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 772-873). Another variant is یَسَرْ (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 471) with the y elided and the sukūn given to the 2nd radical r. According to Zamaḥšari, Kaṣṣaf IV, 249, the y in یَسَرْ یَسَرُ is elided in context in the course of the reading resulting in یَسَرْ یَسَرُ, and that it and its kasra are elided as marking the pause. According to Ibn Muḥāhid, Sab‘a 683-684, Ibn ‘Āmir, ‘Ăṣim, Hamza and al-Kiṣā‘ read یَسَرْ یَسَرُ without a y in context, and not in pause. Ibn Kaṭir read it with a y in both context and pause. Nafi’ read it with a y in context and without a y in the pause. Abu ‘Amr read it یَسَرْ as a jussive in both the cases of the context and pause (cf. Ibn Ḥalawān, Qirā’at II, 476). Al-Farrā’, Ma‘anī III, 260 prefers the reading with the elision of the y and with the kasra preceding it being maintained (cf. Rāgiḥi, Farrā’ 45). Similar to the reading یَسَرْ یَسَرُ if the 3rd radical y elided and the r given a kasra, is the reading of some of both the sur. 18: 64 “That was what we were seeking after” (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, Munsif II, 74, Ibn Ya‘īs, Mulākī 384), in which یَسَرْ یَسَرُ is said instead of یَسَرْ یَسَرُ (al-kibīr אלֹאָמְכָל) 9 “He is the Great, the most High” (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 519, Ibn al-Sarrāǧ, Uṣūl II, 376), in which یَسَرْ یَسَرُ is said instead of یَسَرْ (الֹאָמְכָל). Similar to the reading یَسَرْ یَسَرُ with the r vowelless in یَسَرْ یَسَرُ is the reading of some of the sur. 18: 64 “That was what we were seeking after” (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 471). Likewise, یَسَرْ یَسَرُ with the elision of the y and the 2nd radical made vowelless in pause or being voweled by a kasra, occurs in the verse said by Zuḥair, Diwān 813, cited by Sirwāwīhī, II, 316, 327, Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 47, 520, Munsif II, 74, 232, Zamaḥšari, 162, Ibn Ya‘īs, IX, 79, Ṣinqūţī, Durar II, 233, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 832, Ahlwardt, Divans 82, Freytag, Ḥamasae 821:
“You do surely cut out what you have at first measured; while some people measure, and then do not cut out, [i.e. you fulfill the matter which you prepare yourself for while others evaluate the matter and do not set ahead with it].”

There seems to be a tendency that in many anomalous cases of verbs, mostly with 3rd radical y, that occur in the imperative and jussive, the vowel of the 2nd radical is made vowelless after that the 3rd weak radical is elided when a pronoun is suffixed to them (cf. Nöhrdeke, Grammatik 10, Rabin, 93 note 16, Fleisch, Traité II, 393). An example is وآرنا said instead of وآرنا in the sur. 2: (وآرنا مناسكن) 128 “And show us our places for the celebration of (due) rites”, which is read with the sukūn of the r, i.e. وآرنا by Ibn Kaṭīr and al-Sūsī (cf. Baidāwī, Anwar I, 84). Ibn Muğāhid, Sab‘a 170 mentions that Ibn Kaṭīr read it in this manner with the sukūn over the r whereas Nāfi‘, Hamza and al-Kisā‘ī read it with the vowelling of the r by a kasra. According to Zamaḥṣārī, Kaššāf I, 311, وآرنا is read with the r made vowelless by some in conformity with فذخ "thigh" from (cf. 109), but that this reading is disliked.

b) The 3rd weak radical is not elided in Form V in the sur. 92: ‘وآللإ إذا يغبني’ "By the Night as it conceals (the light); by the day as it appears in glory” in the pause contrarily to its elision in وآللإ إذا يسَر An explanation can be the lightness of the alif maqṣūra (cf. Ibn Ya‘īs, Mulākī 384) contra the heaviness of the y. It can be noted as well that the verb that occurs after يسَر is not a jussive in spite of the fact that it can, as in the example mentioned above, resemble one. In very rare cases, due to metric exigency, إذَا يسَر can seem to govern the verb in the jussive. This occurs in the following verse said by ‘Abd al-Qais b. Ḥaffāf, cited by Daqr, Mu‘qam 6, Barrānī, Maṭālib 97, Carter, Sīrīnī 146, Akesson, Elision 24, in which the jussive Form IV تُصَبِّبَد is used instead of the indicative تُصَبِّبَد: "Be satisfied with what God has provided you of wealth, and if poverty falls upon you, be patient!".

c) The suffix pronoun of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. of the agent, the i, is elided in the imperative, and the sukūn is given to the last consonant in pause anomalously in a strong verb of Form V تَكُتِّمْهَا used instead of تَكُتِّمْهَا “talk!” in the following part of a verse said by ‘Antara, Dīwān 183, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 329, Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 520, Ibn al-Sarrāg, Uṣūl II, 391, Tibrīzī, Qaṣṣa‘ād 264, Akesson, Elision 26:

“O abode of ‘Abla in al-Ǧiwā, speak!”.

d) Likewise, the suffix pronoun of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the agent, the ā, is elided in the perfect, and the sukūn is given to the last consonant in pause anomalously in a strong verb of Form I صَنَعْوَا in the following verse said by Tamīm, Dīwān 168, cited by Sibawaihi, II, 328, Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 520, Zamaḥṣārī, 162, Ibn Ya‘īs, IX, 78, 79, Ibn al-Sarrāg, Uṣūl II, 390, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 835, Akesson, Elision 26:
Compare with this case the elision of the ʕ and the 3rd radical given a ǧamma in ِکْانَ “they were”, in the verse cited in (45): “O, if the physicians had been around me”..., and the examples following it. See further for the shortening of a long vowel in the middle and at the end of the word some cases illustrated by Wright, IV, 383-384.

(308) تَنْصَبُ means that you give the fatha as a marker of the subjunctive mood or that you govern the verb in the subjunctive mood. The two other terms that concern the verb’s inflection is تَنْصَبُ which means that you give the ǧamma as a marker of the indicative mood or you govern the verb in the indicative mood, and تَنْصَبُ which means that you give the sukūn as a marker of the jussive mood, or you govern the verb in the jussive mood. The base form of لَنْ يُخْشَى تَنْصَبُ in which the 3rd radical vowelled y is changed into an alif maqṣūra due to the influence of the fatha preceding it. According to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s theory the alif maqṣūra is not vowelled by a fatha in the case of the subjunctive because it cannot take the vowel. Another theory that can be added is that the marker of the subjunctive is assumed to be upon the alif maqṣūra (cf. Howell, II-III, 14).

(309) In the active participle of verbs with 3rd radical y, the 3rd radical is elided and the tanwil replaces the kasra of 2nd radical, e.g. رَأَمِي رَأَمِي and the genitive رَأَمِي (cf. Wright, II, 90, my notes (292)). The reason why the y is made vowelless, namely رَأَمِي and is then elided in both these cases, is the heaviness of both the ǧamma or the kasra vowelling it. It is not elided in the accusative, i.e. رَأَمِي because, as Ibn Mas‘ūd states, the fatha, by which he means the nunation with fatha, that vowels the y is light.

(310) In the passive participle of verbs with 3rd radical y, the infixed ʕ of the مَقْمَعُول preceding the 3rd radical y, is influenced by it and changed into it, and consequently the preceding ǧamma that vowels the 2nd radical becomes a kasra (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1543, de Sacy, I, 108, Wright, II, 91, Vernier, I, 340-341). An example is ِمَرَمَوُيِّ that becomes ِمَرَمَوُيِّ.

(311) In Form IV اـُغْرِي اـُغْرِي“I attacked”, the vowelless y is substituted for the w of the base form اـُغْرَي on the analogy of the imperfect Form IV يَغْرَي “he attacks” underlyingly يَغُرَي (for discussions see (262)).

(312) The consonants comprised in the expression اِسْتَنْدَجَهُ بِيَوْم صَالِ رُطُّ “he asked him for succour on the day some Zuṭt (a race of Hindus) attacked” that starts with the hamza and ends with the f, are the consonants of substitution (cf. Zamaḥšari, 172, Ibn Ya‘fis, X, 7-8, Hariri, Séances 646, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1192-1193, Fleischer, Beiträge 112, Åkesson, Conversion
27). It is this passage of the Marāh that drew De Sacy’s attention and incited him to refer to Ibn Mas’ūd in his Grammaire I, 33, as mentioned in my Introduction p. 7. Other phrases containing less consonants are combined by some grammarians: eleven as “do well (mayst thou be destroyed for it)”, thirteen as “he asked him for succour on a day that was long”, fourteen as “a grandfather was silent on the day a cook slipped”, and fifteen as “be silent on the day the grandfather of Tāḥ [sc. a man’s name] has slipped” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1191-1192). According to their order in the phrase 

(313) The hamza in ضَحْرَاءُ is substituted for the alif of the feminine form (cf. Ibn Ḥinnī, de Flexione 25, Sirr I, 83-84, Ibn ‘Usfūr, I, 329-331, Zamāḥṣāri, 172, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 9, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1205). The base form is ضَحْرَاءُ with an alif maqṣūra preceded by an ā. The reason of replacing the alif maqṣūra by a hamza is to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ā and the alif maqṣūra.


(315) The broken pl. of سَحَرَاءُ “desert” is سَحَرَاءٌ (for it see (269 b)) or سَحَرَاءَ. The variant دَحَرَاءُ سَحَرَاءٌ with the hamza retained is not existent, which proves that the hamza does not belong to the base form (cf. Ibn Ḥinnī, Sirr I, 85). Contrarily to it, خَطَيَّة “sin” occurs with the hamza of the 3rd radical retained, which proves that its 3rd radical is a hamza. Another possibility concerning it is خَطَيَّة with the hamza changed into a y and then assimilated to the infused t of the pattern دَحَرَاءٌ (for this assimilation see (225); compare the pl. form suffixed to the pronoun of the genitive of the 1st person of the sing. خَطَايَايِي “my sins” with two hamzas that are combined together used instead of خَطَايَايِي discussed in (228 b)). The base form of the broken pl. of سَحَرَاءُ is سَحَرَاءٌ (cf. Ibn Ḥinnī, Munṣif I, 158, Nöldeke, Beiträge 53 in the notes, Howell, I, fasc. III, 9969).
**COMMENTARY**

"I used to see you in the early morning upon a sorrel that traverses the deserts."

"Assuredly I sometimes go forth in the early morning upon a sorrel that traverses the deserts."

A noun on the same pattern as ʿuddāʾa ʿṣāḥirāʾ is "maiden". Its pl. is ʿuddārī or ʿuddārī, and its base form is ʿuddārī.

(316) The pl. of "joining" is forty ʿawāṣ, under the following form ʿawāṣ (for a study see Zamaḥsari, 172, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 10, Ibn ʿAqil, II, 552, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1218-1222, Fleisch, Traité I, 152, ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Tatwaww 41) that is formed according to the measure ʿawāṣ. In the 1st radical w that is vowelised by a fatha is changed into a hamza to prevent the heavy combination of the wās. Another example that can be added is the pl. ʿawāṣ under the form ʿawāṣ, of the sing. ʿawāṣ "preserver". Another example occurs in the following verse said by Muḥalhil Abī Lailāʿ Abī b. Rabīʿa al-Ṭagrībi, the brother of Kulaib b. Rabīʿa. It is cited by Ibn Ginnī, Sirr II, 800, Munsīf I, 218, Zamaḥsari, 172, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 10, Ibn ʿAqil, II, 263, Ibn Ḩiṣām, ʿSūḏār 42, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4901, al-Ṣartūnī, the commentator of Farḥāt, Bahīt 242 in the notes, Howell, I, fasc. I, 162, Wright, IV, 388:

"She smote her bosom marvelling at me [i.e. at mine escape], and said, O ʿAdī, assuredly the preservers have preserved thee!".

The hamza is not substituted for the 1st radical w if the 2nd w replaces the infix ʿā of ʿāʿl, as the passive voice of Form III ʿawāṣ, that has the active voice ʿawāṣ, which occurs in the sur. 7: 20: ʿawāṣ, "That was hidden from them". The reason of the substitution of the 2nd w for the ʿā of ʿāʿl is the influence of the damma preceding it.

Contrary to the substitution of the hamza for the w vowelised by a fatha at the initial of the word is the substitution of the w for the hamza vowelised by a fatha. An example is waḥān ʿābād said instead of ʿābād "your father" in ʿābād, and in ʿābād, "he hits your father", and in ʿābād, "he kills your brother" (for these examples and others see Ibn Ginnī, Sirr II, 573-574). Note in this context the connexion between the ʿa in ʿārakh "to date" and the wa in ḍ ḍā warḥy “month” in Ethiopian (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 71).

(317) ʿālī is the active participle of the verb with 2nd w radical ʿawāṣ. The hamza in ʿālī is substituted for the pl. ʿawāṣ, and the 2nd w radical is sound, e.g. the active participle ʿawāṣ with the w as 2nd radical and ʿālī with the y as 2nd radical. These examples accord with their verbs ʿawāṣ, "to be blind of one eye" and ʿālī, "to be large in the eye"
respectively, in which the 2nd radical is sound from fear of confusing them with مَعَرَ "rendered blind of one eye" and عَان "to smote with the evil eye".

(318) (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 341, Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr I, 98, de Flexione 25, Zamaḥṣarî, 172, Ibn ʿUsfûr, I, 335-336, Ibn Yaʿîš, X, 10-11, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1224-1225) is the pl. of ٛادْرُز. The hamza in it is substituted for the single 2nd radical w vowelled by a ẓamma, i.e. ٛادْرُز. The reason of the change of the w into a hamza is the heaviness of the ẓamma on the w. Other examples that can be added are ٛنُورٛ for underlyingly ٛنُورٛ "fire" and ٛنُورٛ being the pl. of ٛنِورٛ "taur" "fire". occurs in the following verse said by ʿUmar b. Abî Rabîʿa, Dīwān 88, cited by Ibn Ğinnî, Sirr II, 804, Ibn Yaʿîš, X, 11, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1224:

"أَنفَلَا قَفَّدتُ الصُّرُوتُ مِنْهُ مَضَائِهِ وَأَطْفَنتْ مَصَابِيحُ شَيْبٍ بَلَامْسِهِ وَٛنُورٛ".

“And when I lost the sound of them; and lamps that burned brightly at nightfall, and fires, were extinguished".

b) The hamza can be substituted for the w that is combined with another w (cf. Ibn Ğinnî, de Flexione 25, Sirr I, 98, Ibn ʿUsfûr, I, 335-336, Zamaḥṣarî, 172, Ibn Yaʿîš, X, 10-11, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1224-1225), e.g. underlyingly ٛسُوُّرٛ that is the pl. of ٛسَّاقْ "shank", and ٛسُوُّرٛ underlyingly ٛسُوُّرٛ that is the maṣdar of ٛجَر "to sink".

(319) The hamza of ٛكَسَر replaces the 3rd radical w (cf. Ibn ʿUsfûr, I, 326, Zamaḥṣarî, 172, Ibn Yaʿîš, X, 9-10, Ibn al-ʿAnbârî, Maqṣûr 48, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1203-1204, Mokhlîs, Taṣrîf 195, my notes (290)) of the base form ٛكَسَر. The different vowels that can be given to the w which would cause a heaviness in the pronunciation, are those of the declension, i.e. the vowel of the nominative, the accusative or the genitive. The hamza replaces as well the 3rd radical y for the same reason, e.g. "gazelles" underlyingly ٛظِبَّاءٛ and ٛظِبَّاءٛ "evanescence" underlyingly ٛظِبَّاءٛ.

(320) ٛبَّانِغٛ is the active participle of the verb with 2nd radical y ٛبِنٛح. The hamza in it is substituted for the 2nd radical y (cf. Zamaḥṣarî, 172, 180, Ibn Yaʿîš, X, 10, Ibn ʿUsfûr, I, 327-329, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1209-1210, Mokhlîs, Taṣrîf 195) of the base form ٛبَّانِغٛ. In this example, the unsoundness is carried out by changing its weak 2nd radical into a hamza to accord with its verb in which the 2nd radical y is changed into an ā, i.e. ٛبَّانِغٛ that becomes ٛبَّانِغٛ (for the change in the verb see Ḵeṣṣon, Conversion 27).

(321) The base form ٛوَجُوسٛ ٛوَجُوسٛ ٛوَجُوسٛ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 341, Ibn Ğinnî, de Flexione 25, Sirr I, 92, Ibn ʿUsfûr, I, 332, Zamaḥṣarî, 172, Ibn Yaʿîš, X, 10-11, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1224-1225), which is the pl. of ٛوَجُوسٛ "face" from ٛوَجُوسٛ "to be a man of distinction", a verb with 1st radical w. In underlyingly ٛوَجُوسٛ, the hamza is substituted for the 1st radical w vowelled by a ẓamma.
The dislike of having the w vowelled by a ɗamma, which is the reason of its substitution into a hamza, is referred to as well by Sibawaihī, II, 391. Another example with this substitution is that occurs in the sur. 77: 11 “And when the apostles are (all) appointed a time to collect;” - ꞌAmmā. It is anomalously read with ꞌAmmā instead by Abu ꞌAmr whereas the remaining six readers read it with ꞌAmmā (cf. Ibn Ḥālāwahī, Qirā'at II, 428).

(322) The hamza in إِشَاحٍ is substituted for the 1st radical w (cf. Sibawaihī, II, 341) vowelled by a kasra of the base form وَشَاحُ. This substitution occurs in the Huḍailī dialect. Some other examples are إِسَادَةٍ “cushion” for إِسَادَةٍ and إِسَادَةٍ “embassy” for إِسَادَةٍ. Tamīm b. Abī Muqbil has غَمَادَةٍ instead of غَمَادَةٍ in the following verse cited by Sibawaihī, II, 392, Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 102, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 14, Muṣlīm 274, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4881, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1229:

"Wādha, fasārūtū rukānī, 'awdh al-gerābiyīr bil-bilās, wa'lla'am.

"As for the embassy, its cavalcades got hold sometimes of misfortune, and sometimes of favors, in the presence of the tyrants".

Sā‘īd b. Ğubair read the sur. 12: 76 “the baggage of his brother” for غَمَادَةٍ, غَمَادَةٍ (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 102, Zamaḥšarī, 172). Zamaḥšarī, 172-173 notes that al-Māzinī considered this substitution of the w vowelled by the kasra by the hamza, as qiyās. Qudāma, Naqūd 48 discusses this substitution as a general principle. See further Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 14, Fleisch, Traité I, 135-136. Note in this context the connexion between وَشَاحُ and ꞌAmmā “joint” in Hebrew (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 71).

(323) It is related in a tradition that Muḥammad said to a man: "And had one man instead of another, " (cf. Rāzī in Ḥalīl b. Ahmad ... , Hurūf 137 in the note, Zamaḥšarī, 172, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 14-15, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4782, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1230, ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, Fuṣūl (1st edition) 108-110) with the substitution of the hamza for the w vowelled by a fathā, when he saw him making the sign with his two forefingers in reciting the creed.

(324) The hamza is substituted for the initial y vowelled by a fathā that occurs instead of the base form ثَبَتْ (cf. Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 346-347, Zamaḥšarī, 173, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 15, Ibn Manzūr, VI, 4951, Vernier, I, 346, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1231). The reason of this substitution is the heaviness of the fathā that vowels the y. It can be noted that أَدْيَا with the d being vowelless instead of أَدْيَا is printed by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1231 and commented on in IV, fasc. I, 111A. For a study concerning ثَبَتْ in some of the Semitic languages see Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge 113-116. لِلَّنَّ “a shortness of the upper teeth” is also said with this particular substitution of the hamza for the initial y vowelled by a fathā, instead of بَيْنَلَلَلَّ.

(325) “water” is from the root مَوِّه “to mix”, a verb with 2nd w radical. The h in it is substituted by the hamza, so that it became مَوَّه (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 100-101, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I,
348-351, Zamaššari, 173, Ibn Ya‘iš, X, 15-16, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1232-1235; for a study of 
the Semitic languages see Nödelke, *Neue Beiträge* 166-170). Its pl. form is ميَّاه and its di-
minutive is موَيَّة (cf. Ibn Manžür, VI, 4302). Another pl. form is مَوَاوَةٰ in which the h is as well
substituted by the hamza so that it became مَوَاوَةٰ أَمَوَا. The reason of this substitution is that
the points of articulation of the hamza and the h are identical, as they both originate from the
farthest part of the throat, and are laryngals (for the consonants see (188)). Another, which
occurs in the following verse recited by Ibn Ginni which he heard from Abū ‘Ali, and is cited by Ibn Ğinni,
4302, Bağdādi, Şarḥ 437, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1233:

"And many a land, whose waters were exhausted, and whose shades were passing away in the
part of the noon when the sun was hight".

(326) The active participle Form VIII مشْتَنِقَ (in pause), from شَوَّق "to desire", a verb with
2nd radical w, occurs anomalously instead of مشْتَنِقُ، with the substitution of the hamza for the
ā, so that the vowelled hamza corresponds to the 3rd radical of the foot مشْتَنِقُ in the verse.
The reason of this substitution is that the points of articulation of the hamza and the ā are
identical, as they both originate from the farthest part of the throat, and are laryngals (for the
consonants see (188)). According to Bağdādi, Şarḥ 175, Ibn al-Mustawfā said that the verse
was recited by al-Farrā’ to Ru’ta. Also the hamza has been transmitted instead of الشَّنِقُ. The verse
Manžür, II, 1405, IV, 2361, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1227. It runs as follows:

"وَدَاً دَارْيَا بِيَذَكَارِيَ الْبَرْقُ
صَرَأً فَقَدْ هَيْتَلَحَ شَوَّقُ الشَّنِقِّ"

"O abode of Mayya [sc. a woman’s name] in the low-lying sands, sands mixed with stones and
earth, give me patience, for you have excited the yearning of the yearner".

(327) The hamza in the pl. form of this sur. is substituted for the ā of the base form المناَين. It is
said that لَيْلَة has been read with this substitution by Ayyūb al-Sītiyānī (cf. Ibn Ginni, Sirr
I, 72, ِHaşā’iš III, 147, Muḥtasib I, 46, Ibn Ḥālawaihi, Qirā’āt I, 52, Zamaššari, Kaššāf I, 73,
Ibn Ya‘iš, IX, 130, Ibn ʿUṣfūr, I, 320). In the same manner, al-ʿAḡāḡ, *Diwān* 289 (the 1st half
of the verse) and 299 (the 2nd), said اَلْعَامُ instead of الْعَامَ with the substitution of the hamza for
the ā in the following verse cited as well by Ibn Ginni, Sirr I, 90, Ibn Ḥālawaihi, Qirā’āt II,
153, Zamaššari, 172, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1227:

"وَدَاً دَارْيَا يَا آسِيَيْ مَنَاَيْيِي
فَخْدَفَ هَيَا هَذَا الْعَالَمَ"

"O abode of Salmā, O hail, again hail! Then Ḥindif is the head of this world".

ابيَاشُ Occurs instead of اَبِيَاشُ with this substitution in the following verse said by Dukain,
"And his milking was until his milk-pail became white".

The substitution of the hamza for the ā occurs curiously enough in the speech of some in pause, as in the example "I saw a man" (cf. Talmun, ‘Ayn 217, Ibn Ginni, Munsif I, 150), that is said instead of بَلَّا أَسْوَدَهَا فَتَجْلِلَتْ يَاضًا وَأَمَّا بِيَضَةَ فَآدَّهَاْمَا تَلمَعْنَا نَيَّةَ وَأَمَّا بِيَضَةَ فَآدَّهَاْمَا تَلمَعْنَا نَيَّةَ..."

b) Contrary to the substitution of the hamza for the ā for the ḍalāl for the hamza. This occurs in Ibn Katif’s reading of the sur. 27: 24 (وَكَفَّتْ عَنْ سَاقِهَا) “And she (tucked up her skirts), uncovering her legs”, with ساقِهَا read instead (cf. Ibn Ginni, Ḥaṣṣaʾ ’is III, 145, Ibn Ḥālawahi, Qirāʾat II, 152), and in ‘Amr b. ‘Ubaid’s reading of the sur. 55: 39 (فَوَيْمَنَّهُ لا يَسَّالُ عَنْ ذَنْيِ اَنْسَ وَلَا جَانَ “On that day no question will be asked of man or Jinn as to his sin”, with جَان read instead (cf. Ibn Ḥālawahi, Qirāʾat I, 53, Ibn Manẓūr, I, 704, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 13, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 321).

c) The w is pronounced with a hamza anomalously, as if it is substituted for the w in for and for in the following verse said by Ġarīr, Dīwān 288, who is expressing his love to both his children Mūsā and Ga’da in a poem in which he is praising Ḥiṣām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. It is cited by Ibn Ginni, Sirr I, 79, Munsif I, 311, II, 203, Ḥaṣṣaʾ ’is II, 175, III, 146, 149, 219, Afandi, Tanẓīl 365, Ibn Ḥiṣām, Muḫnī II, 684, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 91, II, 203, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1230-1231, de Sacy, Anthologie [Baidawi, Tanẓīl] 17:

"أَحَبَّ السَّوْفَودَينَ إِلَى مُوسَى وَجَعَدَةْ إِذْ أَضْاءَهَا الْوَفُوْدٍ."

“Assuredly very dear to me are the two kindlers [of fire], Mūsā and his sister Ga’da, when the blaze [of generosity] has lighted them up”.

Zamaḥṣāri, Kaṣṣāf I, 138 has لحِبَّ السَّوْفَودَانْ instead. He cites the following verse in his commentary to the sur. 2: 4 (وَمَا أَنْزَلْ مِنْ فِي الْأَجْلَانِ وَالآخِرَةِ هُمْ يُوقَّنُونَ) “And sent before thy time, and (in their hearts) have the assurance of the Hereafter”, in which يُوقَّنُونَ is read as يَقَوْنُونَ by Abū Ḥaṣya al-Numairi (cf. also Ibn Ḥiṣām, Muḫnī II, 684). According to Afandi, Tanẓīl 365, who refers to Abū ‘Alī who has heard it from al-Aḥfaṣ, it is known that Abū Ḥaṣya al-Numairi used to give a hamza to each vowelless w that is preceded by a consonant vowelled by damma.
has been read for بَالسَّوُقُ بَالسَّوُقُ (بَالسَّوُقُ وَالثُّرُقُ) 32 “Over (their) legs and their necks”. Ibn Ḥinnī, Sirr I, 79, Makkī, Kaṣf II, 160, Ibn al-Ḳazari, Naṣr III, 227-228 refer however to the reading of Ḥunbul. Zamaḥṣīrī, Kaṣṣāf III, 374 compares the reading مؤْسَسِي بَالسَّوُقُ with بَالسَّوُقُ mentioned above.

(328) أَبَاَبُ (328) أَبَاَبُ عَبَيْبُ with the substitution of the hamza for the ‘. The reason of this substitution is the closeness of the points of articulation of the hamza and ‘, as the hamza originates from the farthest part of the throat and is a laryngeal and the ‘ originates from the middle of the throat and is a pharyngal (for the consonants see (188)). This theory of the substitution concerning it is however criticized by Ibn Ḥinnī, Sirr I, 106, who does not consider the hamza to be substituted for the ‘; but that the form is أَبَاَبُ فَعَالُ “to prepare itself”. His remark is also mentioned by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 4. أَبَاَبُ occurs in the following verse cited by Ibn Ḥinnī, Sirr I, 106, Zamaḥṣīrī, 173, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 15, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 352, Baḡdādī, Šaḥr 432, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1235:

ـ وَجَّاهَ سَاعَاتِ مَعَ الْأَوْلِيِّيَّ أَبَاَبُ بِحَرُّ ضَاحِكٍ ضَحِقٍ ـ.

“And the deserts of intense heats were agitated at times, like a billow of a laughing, far-extending sea”.

ضَحِقٍ instead of ضَحِق قُوَّ عُنُقُ has been transmitted by both Ibn Ḥinnī, Sirr I, 106 and Ibn Manẓūr, I, 4.

b) Compare the opposite case of the ‘which replaces the hamza that is the initial consonant, e.g. أَلْفَ أَلْفُ “that you” in the dialectal variant of Qais and Tamīm known as المَعْمُوَّنا (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir I, 133). Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 8, Ákesson, Verb and Infinitive 35 note 2, cite the following verse of Maḡnūn, Dīwān 207 in which أَقْعَبِكَ أَبَاَبُ جَيْبَكَ جَيِّدًا سُوَى عَنْ عَظْمِ أَلْفِاقِ مَكَّةَ دَقِيقٍ.

“Then your two eyes are her two eyes, and your neck is her neck; but the bone of your shank is slender”.


“Are you searching for Ḥa[q]‘a’s abandoned encampment? The water of fervent longing from both your eyes is shedding”.

c) Other cases concerning the ‘ being substituted by or for another consonant, which can be added here are:


“لَا يَا صِاحِبِي ُمَا لَعَنَّا أَنَى ُعْرَضَاتِ أَوْ أَثْرَ ُعْرَضَاتِ.”
“Tarry, O my two companions, with us: maybe we shall see the courts, or the trace of the booths”.

The گ can be substituted by the ی in the dialectal variant of Daṭina, e.g. یم said instead of گم “sheep” (cf. Jastrow, Dialekte 106). This particularity is found as well in the Yemenite dialect (cf. Diem, Dialekte 77 sq.). According to Rüžička, the گ in Arabic does not belong to the base form of the word (for his particular theories see Rüžička, Question 176-237).

- The substitution of the vowelless ی when combined with the t by the n, e.g. یتًا for “to give” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir I, 133-134). This dialect is known as یتًا and is peculiar to the dialect of Sa’d b. Bakr, Hudail, al-Azd, Yaman, Madina and Qais (for more details and interesting references see Rabin, 31-33, 54, 126).

- The substitution of the ی for the h, e.g. یت یت for “until” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muzhir I, 133). This dialect is known as یت and is peculiar to the dialect of Hudail. As an example it can be said that the sur. 12: ۳۵ (یت حسن) has been read by the reader of the Qurʾān Ibn Masʿūd as (یت حسن) (cf. Ibn Ḥinna, Muḥtasib I, 343, the notes to Sirr I, 241, Zamaḥṣari, Kaššāf II, 319, Jeffery, Materials 49, Rabin, 84). For further discussions see Rabin, 84-86, Rundgren, Bildungen 29-32. The opposite case of the ی being substituted for the ی is also found in the dialect of Hudail (for more details see Rabin, 85-86).

(329) In the case of اِسْتَخْدَم (compare with it the case of اِتْخَذ (187 b), (202)), is meant, in which the s is substituted for the 1st t (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1192). The passage referred to Sibawaihi, is found in Sibawaihi, II, 480. The reason why the t is changed into the s is because they are both among the voiceless consonants (for them see (188 b)). Two theories concerning اِسْتَخْدَم are presented by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 37, the first one is the one meant by Ibn Masʿūd in this context. As for the second one, it advances the idea that اِسْتَخْدَم is formed according to Form X اِسْتَخْدَم from اِتْخَذ and is presented here for the sake of curiosity. Ibn Manẓūr (ibid) notes that اِسْتَخْدَم could have اِتْخَذ or اِتْخَذ as a root (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 480, Ibn Ḥinna, Munṣif II, 329, my notes (202)):

“وَهْكَى السِّبْأِرَةُ إِنْ بَعْضُ الْعَربِ يَقُولُونَ: إِسْتَخْدَمَ فَلَانُ أَرْضًا يَرِدُ إِسْتَخْدَمَ أَرْضًا فَتَبَدَّلُ مِنْ إِلَى الْبَيْنَيْنَ سَيْنَا كَاً أَيْدِلُوا الْتَأْثِرَ عِنْدَهُمْ. وَيَجُوزُ أَنْ يُكُونَ أَرَادَ اِسْتَخْدَمَ مِنْ تَخْذَ لَ يَخْذَ لَ اِسْتَخْدَمَ فَحِذْفَ إِلَى الْبَيْنَيْنَ تَنْفِقُهَا، كَا قَالُوًا: عَلَى مِنْ ظَلْلَتْ.”

“Al-Mubarrad reported that some of the Arabs say: اِسْتَخْدَمَ فَلَانُ أَرْضًا “an unnamed person occupied an area”, by which he intended [Form VIII] اِتْخَذَ أَرْضاً، in which one of both the tāʾs is substituted by the s, in the same manner as they substituted the s for the t in their saying “six” [(for it see (194), (333)]. It is also possible that they meant اِسْتَخْدَم [Form X] اِتْخَذَ اِسْتَخْدَمُ from which they elided one of both the tāʾs for the sake of alleviation, as they said: ظَلْلَتْ “I continued all day” [(for it see (181))].
The $t$ in “a malady like cholera” replaces the $w$ of its base form $\text{يَخَّلَيْنَ}$. Some other examples in which this substitution is carried out (cf. Ibn Ya‘ish, $X$, 37-39) are: $\text{نَجَاكُمْ} “in front of”, $\text{تَفْقُرُ} “grave”, $\text{يَكَانُ} “incapacity and reliance upon others” (for it see (247)), $\text{كَلَّا} “a man incapable, committing his affair to another”, $\text{يَهْمُه} “staff to lean upon”, $\text{يَفْقُرُ} “suspicion”, $\text{يَفْقُرُ} “fear”, $\text{يَفْقُرُ} “to be cautious” (cf. Ibn Wallâd, $\text{مَعْشَر} 22$), $\text{بَنَّى} “being consecutive, uninterrupted” (cf. ibid) that occurs in the sur. 23: 44 “Then sent We Our apostles in succession”, $\text{بَنَّى} “the covert of the wild animal, into which he enters”, $\text{يَفْقُرُ} “inheritance” that occurs in the sur. 89: 19 “And ye devour Inheritance—All with greed”, $\text{يَفْقُرُ} “old property, what was born in your possession”, and $\text{يَفْقُرُ} “putting inside” that occurs in the following verse said by Imru‘u l-Qais, cited by Zamaḥšarî, 175, Ibn Ya‘ish, $X$, 37-38, Howell, $IV$, fasc. I, 1343:

\begin{quote} 
رب رام من نبي نعل متعلق كفيه في فتره.
\end{quote}

“Many a marksman of the Banû Ṭu‘al, putting his two hands inside his lurking-places!”.

Ibn Manzûr, $I$, 484 mentions the verse with $\text{مَحْرَح} “taking out” instead of $\text{مَتْلَح}$. For other cases of the substitution of the $t$ for the $w$ see (96), (198), (247), (331).

$\text{أَخُوت} $ is from the root $\text{أَخُوت} $, a verb with 3rd radical $w$. The base form of $\text{أَخُوت} $ is formed according to the pattern $\text{فعلة} $, i.e. $\text{فعلة} $, $\text{أَخُوت} $, and then it is changed into the pattern $\text{فعلة} $, i.e. $\text{فعلة} $, $\text{أَخُوت} $ in which the 3rd radical $w$ is changed into the $t$, so that it became $\text{أَخُوت} $ (cf. Zamaḥšarî, 175, Ibn Ya‘ish, $X$, 39-40, Ibn Manzûr, $I$, 326 sqq., Howell, $I$, fasc. III, 1370-1372, $IV$, fasc. I, 1347-1348, ‘Abd al-Tawwâb, $\text{Tatâwur}$ 91).) The $t$ does not mark the fem. in it according to Sibawaihî, as it is preceded by a vowelless consonant, whereas by others it is underlyingly the $h$ of the fem. (cf. Ibn Manzûr, $I$, 41). Another example that can be added in which the 3rd radical $w$ is changed into the $t$, is $\text{بَنَّى} “daughter”$ (for a discussion concerning it and $\text{بَنَّى} $ in some of the Semitic languages see Nöldeke, $\text{Neue Beiträge}$ 135-139) underlyingly $\text{بنّى}$. According to the Basrans, the $t$ in $\text{أَخُوت} $ and $\text{أَخُوت} $ does not mark the fem., but is a substitute for the 3rd radical in a state that is related to the feminine form, which is why it is preceded by a vowelless consonant, whereas according to the Kufans it is the $t$ of the feminine form in pause and in context (cf. Ibn al-Anbârî, $\text{Mūdakkar}$ 1, 199, Râqîhi, $\text{Farrâ}\text{ }^\text{a}$ 146). The Kufan theory seems valid as another dialectal variant of $\text{أَخُوت} $ is $\text{بَنَّى} $ with the $\text{تَاْ} \text{مَارْبَعَة}$ that marks the fem. It occurs in the sur. 66: 12 \begin{quote} (\text{And Mary the daughter of ‘IMRÂN} [which is cited as $\text{مَمْدُّدَة} $ with the $\text{تَاْ} \text{مَارْبَعَة}$ by Mu‘addib, $\text{Tasrîf} 517$] and in the following verse said by Abû l-‘Amaîtal, cited by Bağdâdî, $\text{Hızâna}$ II, 309, Howell, $\text{Grammar}$ $IV$, fasc. I, 1348: 
\end{quote}

$\text{وَتَحْذِيْنَ حَرَمّ مَصِيّ عَلَى الْعَمَّر} $ $\text{فَكْفُّنُهَا ثَانِيَتَيْنَ كَالْعَالِمِ مِنْهُمَا}$
“I met Zainab, the daughter of the Sahm [sc. a relative noun from Sahm, a clan of Qurayš and Bahila as well] after a period, when we were entering upon the state of pilgrimage, on the evening of the tenth of the first ten [days of ḏā l-Hiǧǧa]; and I spoke to her two [words, one] of which there was like snow upon [i.e. with thirst], and the other one hotter than live coal”.

“The thing” (for discussions concerning it see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge* 119-120, Fischer, *Miscellen* 873) is as well similar to أختُ بَنَتَ هُنَوَاتُ (cf. Zamaḥšari, 175, Ibn Ya’is, X, 40, Ibn ‘Usfūr, I, 388, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1349-1350) with 3rd y radical, from the expression أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ. “I was a second to the one” and in Form IV أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ (cf. ibid) with 3rd y radical. Referring to Ibn Nizār, Sibawaihi, II, 341 notes that the substitution of the t for the y as a 3rd radical is rare. According to some grammarians, أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ is from سَّنَةَ الْأَوْجَدَ, of which the 3rd radical is a w on account of the saying أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ “a hard year”, which means that they consider the t to be substituted for the w (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1349-1350). It can be mentioned that أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ enters in dialectal variant of Tamīm (cf. Daqr, *Mu‘gam* 2 in the notes, 338) whereas أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ and أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ occur by the Hiǧāzīs (cf. ibid, 338).

The double t in أَصْلُ الْأَوْجَدَ is substituted for the d and the s of the base form سَدَسَ (cf. (194), (329)).


"يا قايتل الله النَّائِسَاتُ عَشَرَ أَكْيَاتَ، فيَّ عَفَا، وَلَا أَكْيَاتَ".
“O [my people] God slay the sons of she-devils, 'Amr b. Mas‘ūd, the worst of men, incontinent and not sharp-witted!".

(335) The t in لَصَّبَ لَصَّبُتْ is substituted anomalously for the 2nd s of the doubled șāds of the base form لَصَبَ لَصَبُتْ with this particular substitution occurs instead of لَصَبَ لَصَبُتْ in the following verse, which is said either by 'Abd al-Aswad b. 'Āmir b. ʿUwain al-Ṭāʾi according to Bağdādi, ʿAṣḥāb 475, or by 'Abd al-Aswad al-Ṭāʾi according to Ibn Duraidd, Ǧamhūra I, 102-103, or by Abū 'l-Aswad al-Ṭāʾi according to Ibn Duraidd, Ǧamhūra II, 19. It is also cited by Ibn Ǧinnī, Siyr I, 156, II, 586, Zamaḥṣarī, 175, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 41, Ibn Manẓūr, V, 4031, IV, 3194, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1353:

“Then they left Nahd [sc. a clan of Yemen] with its children destitute, and the Banū Ǧināna like insolent robbers”.

(336) The r in ذَّ عَالِبَذَّ عَالِبَ is substituted for the b of the base form ذَّ عَالِبَذَّ عَالِبَ. It occurs in the following verse, which according to Ibn Manẓūr, II, 1504, 2100, is said by one of the Banū 'Aʾf b. Saʾd. It is also cited by Ibn Ǧinnī, Siyr I, 157, Bağdādi, ʿAṣḥāb 472, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1355:

“ 그렇게 ذَّ عَالِبَذَّ عَالِبَ يُبِعُ أَمْرِي لَيْسَ بِبَصْطَائِي”.

“The bargain of the poor needy purchaser, wearer of worn-out rags is, in irrevocability and conclusiveness, like a sale by a man that is not desirous of rescinding”.

Another form is ذَٰلِبَذَٰلِبَ which can occur instead of ذَّ عَالِبَذَّ عَالِبَ. The base form ذَّ عَالِبَذَّ عَالِبَ without the substitution of the l for the b, occurs in the following verse said by Ruʾba b. al-'Afghāg, cited by Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 41, Ibn Manẓūr, II, 1504, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1355:

“مَنْ يَسْرَأَ عَنْ ذَٰلِبَذَٰلِبَ آخِرِهِ”.

“With the bits of rags stripped off him [below]”.

(337) The relative noun of “a city in al-Yaman” should have been صَنْعَايَةُ صَنْعَاءُ، but صَنْعَايَةُ صَنْعَاءُ, "a tribe", whose relative noun should have been بِهَرَاءٍ بِهَرَاءِ، but which is said بِهَرَاءٍ بِهَرَاءِ Both nouns are mentioned in (353). For discussions see Ibn Ǧinnī, de Flexione 25-26, Munṣif I, 158, Siyr II, 441, Zamaḥṣarī, 175, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 36, Ibn 'Uṣfur, I, 395-396, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1335-1336. Compare the Hebrew forms כַּלִּי כְּלִי from כַּלִּי כְּלִי and כַּלִּי כְּלִי (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 138-139).

(338) In لَعْنَ لَعْنَ the n is substituted for the l of the base form لَعْنَ "maybe" (cf. Ibn Ǧinnī, Siyr II, 442, Zamaḥṣarī, 175, Ibn Yaʿīṣ, X, 36, Ibn 'Uṣfur, I, 395, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1336-1337; for the relations between the l and the n see Cantineau, Esquisse 134, Consonantisme 89). According to the Kufans the first l in لَعْنَ is a radical, whereas the Basrans believed that it is an augment (for their debate see Ibn al-Anbārī, Insāf Q. 26, 96-99). The variant لَعْنَ occurs instead
of نَمَا in the following verse said by Abū l-Naḡm, cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 443, Luḡawī, Ibdal II, 297, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, VIII, 79:

أَعْفَ لِمَنَّا لِلرَّحْمَانِ تَرَكَسَلّ.

"Be early in the morning; maybe we shall send him in the competition".

(339) The ǧ is substituted for the double y in عُلِّجَ that occurs instead of عَلِّجَ in the construct state أَبُو عَلِّجَ of the verse cited below. Also أَبُو عَلِّجَ occurs instead of أَبُو عَلِّجَ. This phenomenon pertains to the dialectal variant of Qudā’a, Banū Tamīm and Banū Sa’d, and is known as the المُحَمَّجَةُ.


ٌالْطَعَمُانُ اللَّهُمَّ بِالْعُلِّجَ.

"My maternal uncle ‘Uwayf and Abū ‘Aliḡā [sc. Abū ‘Ail], they who provide me for food at evening”.

Ibn Manzūr, IV, 2814 mentions the verse with خَالِي لْقِيِّطٍ "my maternal uncle Laqīṭ” instead of خَالِي عُوْنِيف.

(340) The ǧ is substituted for the single y, but less often than the double one in pause. An example is for يئُبْجَ حَجَّجَ, and for وَفَرَتْجَ, that occur in these verses, whose author is Abū Zaid: Sa’id b. Aus b. Ṭābit al-Anṣārī, the author of al-Nawādir (cf. the editor’s notes to Ibn al-Sarrāḡ, Usūl III, 274). It is also cited by Ta’lab, Maḡālis 117, Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 177, de Flexione 30, Zamahṣarī, 176, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 50, Mūlākī 329, Baḡdādī, Ṣarḥ 215-216, Luḡawī, Ibdal I, 260, Ḥudarī, Ḥāsiya II, 229, Ibn ‘Usfūr, I, 355, ʿDarāʾīr 231, Ibn Manzūr, I, 527, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1376, Lane, I, 47, Vernier, I, 356-357, Freytag, Einleitung 81, Nöldeke, Poëtie 41:

لاَهُمَّ أَنَّمُ كُنْتُمْ قِبْلَتُ حَجَّجَ فَلاَ يَزِالُ شَاجِحٌ بَانِيَدُ بِحَجَّجَ أَفَضُّ نَهَاتُ بَيْنَيَّ وَفَرَتْجَ."

"O God, if You have accepted my pilgrimage, then a mule, white, braying, that jogs my hair extending to the lobe of the ear, shall not cease to bring me to You”.

Another example that can be mentioned is for سَعَدَى for سَعَدَ "Sa’dī" (cf. Sibawaihi, I, 361, Brockelmann, Grundriss I, 280). For references to Tigre see Brockelmann, Grundriss I, 280.

b) The ǧ is also substituted for the y even when not in pause, as in أَسْمَى أَسْمَى, and أَسْمَى أَسْمَى. "to enter upon the time of evening” underlyingly أَسْمَى أَسْمَى, and أَسْمَى أَسْمَى respectively, which become when substituted أَسْمَى أَسْمَى and أَسْمَى أَسْمَى (the latter with the weak consonant of unbinding becomes أَسْمَى أَسْمَى). They both occur in the following verse whose poet, according to one of the commentators of

"حتى إذا ما أُسوَّجت وأمسِجٌّ.“

“Until, whenever she entered, and he entered, upon the time of evening”.

For the substitution occurring at the interior of the word see Brockelmann, Grundriss I, 139.

c) As for other cases of substitution concerning the ġ that can be added here, it can be mentioned that some Arabs substitute it for the k, e.g. the Ka’ba” (cf. Suyūṭī, Muchir I, 134). In the context of the biggest derivation (cf. (14 c), there is as well a semantic relation between both the ġ and the k, e.g. جد that جد “to strive earnestly” and كد “to work hard” (cf. Bohas, Matrices 152, for more examples see ibid, 144-146). Furthermore, the Banū Tamīm substitute the q by the sound g that is between the k and the q, e.g. al-gawn for the people” (for a study see Blanc, Fronting 33-34). A semantic relation exists as well between the uvular k and q, e.g. كَحَط “to be without (is said of the rains)” and فَخَط “to fail to set in (rains)” (cf. Bohas, Matrices 148, for more examples see ibid, 148-149).

(341) The base form of فَرَث I succeeded” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 176, 196, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 48, 151, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1373) from نُزَر. The d in it is substituted for the t due to the influence of the z. As for the reason of this substitution, it is that the z is among the voiced consonants and the t is among the voiceless consonants, which implies a distance between them both regarding their characters (for the consonants’ characters see (188 b)). So the voiceless t is changed into the voiced d due to the influence of the voiced z, resulting in فَرَث, because the d, similarly to the z, is a voiced consonant.

(342) The d in Form VIII is substituted for the infixed t of the base form (cf. Ibn Fāris, Şāhibī 109, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 49, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1372). The substitution is carried out as well in the active participle مَجِيسَعُ that becomes مَجِيسَع (cf. Talmon, ʿAyn 142). Another example is اجَذَرَ “to cut” that occurs instead of احَذَرَ in some dialectal variants. It is found in the following verse which is believed to have been said by Yazīd b. al-Tāṭīya, but which according to Ibn al-Barrī referred to by Ibn Manzūr, I, 615, has been said by Mudarris b. Ribī al-Asadī. Bagdādi, Šarh 481-484 discusses also the dispute concerning the attribution, and concludes himself that he found it as having been said by Mudarris b. Ribī al-Fiqāṣī. It is also cited by Ibn Fāris, Şāhibī 109, Ibn Ğinnī, Sīr I, 187, II, 764, Muḥtasib I, 74, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 49, Mulākī 236, Ibn ʿUsfūr, I, 357, Ibn al-Anbārī, Qaṣā‘id 16, Ibn Manzūr, I, 591, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1372, Abū Ḥaidar, Dual 43:
“Then I said to my companion “Do not detain us from roasting the flesh by pulling it [sc. the tree] out by its roots, but cut some wormwood”.

(343) The \(h\) in Form I \(\textit{مارقت} \) is substituted for the hamza of its base form \(\textit{أزرت} \) “I poured” (cf. Sibawaihi, \textit{II}, 341, 364, de Sacy, \textit{I}, 247, 224 note 1, Vernier, \textit{I}, 152, 100, my notes (98); for the anomalous inflexion of the \(h\) in Form IV see (98), (212)). So is also the case of \(\textit{هرخت} \) “I brought back the beast to the nightly resting-place” from \(\textit{لرخت} \). Other examples are \(\textit{هيِّاك} \) said instead of \(\textit{يِّاك} \) (cf. Ibn Ya‘īs, \textit{X}, 42, Ibn Manzūr, \textit{I}, 188), which have been read by some of the sur. 1: 5: “We do we worship, and Thine aid we seek” said instead of \(\textit{وأتي صوائجها فلئت هذه الآلذي منح الآلودة لبيوتنا وحافنا} \).

“And he came to her [sc. his beloved’s] companions; and they said “Is this he who bestowed affection on others than us, and forsook us?”

(344) \(حَيِّيَّل \) is formed of \(حَيِّي \) and \(يَلل \) or \(هَل \), two sounds that mean urging and hastening (for a general study see Zamaḥṣāri, 62-63; 156, 175, Ibn Ya‘īs, \textit{IV}, 44-47, \textit{IX}, 45, \textit{X}, 43, Howell, \textit{I}, fasc. II, 680-682, \textit{IV}, fasc. I, 856). \(حَيِّيَّل \) is the noun of the verb, which underlyingly is \(حَيِّي هَل \) (cf. Zamaḥṣāri, 156, 175, Ibn Ya‘īs, \textit{X}, 43), with the \(h\) substituted for the final vowelless \(ā \) in pause. The other variants are \(حَيَّي هَل \) with sukuṇ of the \(l\) in pause and \(حَيِّي هَل \) otherwise (cf. Wright, \textit{II}, 294). \(حَيِّيَّل \) and its variants belong to this category of words that has been determined by Sibawaihi, \textit{I}, 104 as “nouns in the sing. pertaining to verbs, (whose action they denote)”. Other examples of such words are: إِلَيْكَ حَذَارِكَ “beware!” “go away”, “carefully” and حَصَّ “quiet”. What is characteristic for them is that they all have an imperative or prohibitive meaning (for a study see Sibawaihi, \textit{I}, 105-107, Versteegh, \textit{Zağgāsī} 63). A verse said by a man of the Banū Bakr b. Wa‘īl, cited by Zamaḥṣāri, 62, Ibn Ya‘īs, \textit{IV}, 46, Ibn Manzūr, \textit{VI}, 4693, Howell, \textit{I}, fasc. II, 682, has حَيِّيَّل with the damma as a vowel of declension over the \(l\):

“...And he [sc. the camel-driver] roused the tribe from an abode; and a day, in which the calling of one to another and “make haste” were many, was spent by them”.

\(حَيِّيَّل \) with the vowelless \(l\) occurs in the following verse said by Labīd b. Rabī‘a 1-Āmīrī in
Labid, Dīwān 183, cited by Mu’addib, Taṣrīf 171, Ibn Ya’īš, IV, 45, Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4693, Howell, I, fasc. II, 681:

“...وَلَفَدَ يَسَّمَعُ قَوْلِي حَيْلَ."

“He doubts about what I have said to him; and assuredly he does hear my saying ‘Come along’.”

(345) The h in آن (for it see (73 c), (373)) is substituted for the ā of آن (cf. Ibn Ginni, Sirr I, 163, II, 555, de Flexio ne 22, 28, Za’māshāri, 175, Ibn Ya’īš, III, 138, IV, 6, IX, 80-81, X, 43, Howell, I, fasc. II, 577). According to Ibn Ginni referred to by Ibn Manẓūr, I, 160, the h in آن could be a substitute for the ā in آن, because it is so frequently used, or it could be suffixed to mark the vowel preceding it as in كتابي “my book” and حسابي “my account”. Some other examples that consider this particular substitution (for further discussions see Wright, IV, 369-370) are مَا ذَيَّنَهَا مَهَنَّهَا نَفْسًا “here” and مَا ذَيَّنَهَا نَفْسًا “what (am I to do)?”, which occur in the verse said by an unknown poet, cited by Ibn Ginni, Sirr I, 163, II, 555, Munṣif II, 156, de Flexione 22, 28, Za’māshāri, 175, Ibn Ya’īš, III, 138, IV, 6, IX, 80-81, X, 43, Mulākī 312, 315, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 400, Baġdādi, Šarḥ 479, Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4716, Howell, I, fasc. II, 577:

“قد وَرَدَّتْ مَنْ أَمَكْنَتْ مَنْ حَقَّهَا وَمَنْ هَرَّهَا إنَّمَا أَرَها فَقُهْ."”

“They [sc. the camels] have come to water from many places, from here and from there: if I quench not their thirst, what [am I to do]?”.

b) Some examples that consider the sufffixation of the h of silence (for a study see Za’māshāri, 156, Ibn Ya’īš, IX, 46, Howell, II-III, 719-725, Wright, IV, 372-373), which follow the y are مَلَائِكَة “she” for مَلَائِكَة as in the sur. 101: 10: “what this is”, مَلَائِكَة “my wealth”, and مَلَائِكَة “my power”. Both last sura.

and a discussion concerning the sufffixation of the h of silence are reported by Zağkāği, Mağālis 188 in the session between Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā and a man of the inhabitants of al-Madina. In it, the man of the inhabitants of al-Madina recited to Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā a verse ending up with the word مَرْأَتِي “sense of honor”, in which the h of silence is sufffixed. To this, Abū ‘Amr scolded him by saying: “What do we have to do with this weak poetry? Indeed this h is not sufffixed to any word unless it renders it weak!”. The inhabitant of al-Madina argued against him by referring to the above-mentionned sura., and Abū ‘Amr was defeated. The h is also sufffixed after the w in هَرَّهَا “he” for هَرَّهَا, that occurs in the following verse said by Ibn Ṭabīb al-Anṣārī al-Ṣaḥābi, cited by Howell, IV, fasc. I, 854:
This anomalous as to in Howell, partial substituted to precedes not vowels, vowels, Cours ~

also avoided. Also (346) this strike (347)

When the lad grows up among us, it is not said of him: “Who is he?”

c) The h of silence is only suffixed in pause, is vowelless, and thus is rejected in context. This is why its occurrence in context and vowelled in ~

The h is anomalousy vowelled by a dama or a kasra in ~ to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the a and the h, in the following verse said by ‘Urwa b. Ḥizām al-'Udhri, cited by Zamaḥšari, 156, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, IX, 46, Howell, II-III, 725:

يَا مَرْحَبَاءُ يَصِبَّ عَفْراً إِذَا أَثَّنَ قَرِينِهِ بَيْنَ شَأْءٍ

“O people, welcome to the he-ass of ‘Afrā’! When he comes, I will entertain him with what he wants”.

Also has been said instead of عفراّ and instead of شاء for the sake of metric exigency in this verse.

(346) The h in ~ is substituted for the y of the base form حَنَي (cf. (89)). The h is as well substituted for the y in the diminutive حَنِيْة “things disapproved”, which is said حَنِيْة (cf. Howell, I, fasc. I, 18) on the basis that the 3rd radical of حَنَيْة is biform, alike سِنَائِ “a year” that has the diminutive سِنَائِ and that becomes after the substitution of the h for the y حَنِيْة (cf. Howell, I, fasc. III, 1194-1195, Wright, II, 173).

(347) اماة “deflection” (for a study see Zamaḥšari, 158-163, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, IX, 53-66, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 738-771, Wright, I, 10, Roman, Étude I, 460 sqq.) is carried out by taking the fatha towards the kasra. According to Ibn Ğinni, Haṣa‘iṣ II, 141, it pertains to the partial assimilation” (for it see (174)), as it implies the inclination of one vowel to another. It is not allowed to be carried out if the kasra precedes the a by two vowelled consonants as in اَكْلَتْ عُنْبَا “I ate grapes”, in which the kasra of the ‘of عُنْبَا is preceeding two vowels, or by three vowels, as in كَتَلَتْ عُنْبَا “I twisted hemp”, in which the kasra of the q of عُنْبَا is preceeding three vowels, because of the distance of the kasra from the a. However, in يَرِيدْ أَنْ يَشْرَبْهَا “he wants to strike her” (cf. Zamaḥšari, 158, Ibn Ya‘īṣ, IX, 56-57, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 745-746, Cantineau, Cours 132-136, Fleisch, Traité I, 215-216),—in spite of the fact that the kasra of the r of يَشْرَبْهَا precedes the a by two vowels—, it is anomalous but allowed, because the h that is faint is not
taken into account. There is then a certain analogy between the faintness of both the h and the weak consonants. It is this faintness of the weak consonants that allows the substitution of the h for them, e.g. the y in the example "And upon him be peace and mercy!" (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, V, 89, and the following words that occur in these verses said by Abū l-Nağm, cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 163, Ḥaṣṣā ʾis Ḥ, 304, Ibn Ya’iš, V, 89, IX, 81, ʿInqīṯī, Durar II, 214, 235, Širbīnī, Šarḥ 45, 46, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 845, Rāğiḫi, Farrāʾ 142, 143, namely: ʿaṣfīn (cf. (345)).

(348) The h in ًان ًis substituted for the ṭāʾ marbūta of the base form ًان in pause. Another example in which this substitution occurs is the name ًحو (that is said in pause instead of ًحو. For a study see Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr II, 562-563, Zamaḥṣarī, 176, Ibn Ya’iš, X, 45, Ibn ʿUsfur, I, 402, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1364-1365, Fleisch, Traité I, 183-184. This substitution is carried out specifically in nouns to differentiate between the ṭāʾ marbūta that marks the fem. in them and the suffixed țāʾ tawīla that marks the fem. in verbs, e.g. َضَرَبَتْ "she hit". Furthermore it can be noted that the characteristic țāʾ tawīla suffixed in verbs cannot be substituted by the h in pause, i.e. َضَرَبَتْ cannot become َضَرَبَهَا, as there is then a risk of confusing this h with the suffixed pronoun of the accusative of the 3rd person of the masc. sing., the َة "him", because in the written form without vowels both ٌداًرَابَه and ٌداًرَابَة َضَرَبَهَا "he hit him" would look alike.

b) The substitution of the țāʾ tawīla by the h is possibly carried out in the anomalous verb َضَرَبَتْ that is said َضَرَبَتْ of the sur. 23: 36 which was read َضَرَبَتْ "Far, very far", by some. An example of a noun is َضَرَبَتْ that has been read as so by Ubbay and Zaid b. Taḥbit instead of َضَرَبَتْ in the sur. 2: 248 “A Sign of his authority is that there shall come to you the Ark of the Covenant”. Ibn Ya’iš, X, 45 remarked that َضَرَبَتْ pertains to the dialectal variant of al-ʾAnṣār and َضَرَبَتْ to the dialectal variant of the Quraishi. Rabīn, 109 and Vollers, Volkssprache 158 note that it is the alleged Medinean form. Rabīn mentions furthermore that both the Arabic word and the Ethiopic ṭēbōt come from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic ṭēbūtā, ṭēbhōtā, which derive from Hebrew ṭēbāhā (for a discussion of the word’s passage into some of the Arabic dialects see Rabīn, 109-110).

c) The h is substituted for the țāʾ tawīla marker of the fem. pl. that is characteristic for nouns, in the dialectal variant of the Ṭayyīṣ. An example is َعَفَّ َكَيْفُ َالِخَوَاةَ َوَالْخَوَاةَ “How are the brothers and the sisters” in which َكَيْفُ َالِخَوَاةَ َوَالْخَوَاةَ is said instead of َعَفَّ َكَيْفُ َالِخَوَاةَ َوَالْخَوَاةَ “how are the sons and the daughters?” in which َكَيْفُ َالِخَوَاةَ َوَالْخَوَاةَ is said instead of َعَفَّ (cf. Ibn ʿUsfur, I, 402).

d) An opposite phenomenon worth mentioning is that some of the Arabs, when pausing upon the țāʾ marbūta change it into a țāʾ tawīla. This is known to be a wide-spread dialectal variant as mentioned by Ibn Ya’iš, IX, 81, and is usual by the Ḥumair, e.g. َعَبَّرَتْ for َعَبَّرَتْ in pause as mentioned by Ibn Fāris, Šāhīt 108. Some other examples are َعَبَّرَتْ and َلَرَحَّمَتْ said instead of َلَرَحَّمَتْ in the expression َوَلَعَلَّهُمُ َعَلَّامَةَ َوَلَرَحَّمَتْ َوَلَرَحَّمَتْ “And upon him be peace and mercy!” (cf. Ibn Ya’iš, V, 89, and the following words that occur in these verses said by Abū l-Nağm, cited by Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 163, Ḥaṣṣā ʾis Ḥ, 304, Ibn Ya’iš, V, 89, IX, 81, ʿInqīṯī, Durar II, 214, 235, Širbīnī, Šarḥ 45, 46, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 845, Rāğiḫi, Farrāʾ 142, 143, namely: َعَبَّرَتْ for َعَبَّرَتْ, َلَرَحَّمَتْ for َلَرَحَّمَتْ.
and (in which the $\bar{a}$ of the base form is substituted by the $h$, similarly to for “I” cf. (345)), (cf. (345)).

And God saved you by my hand, O Maslama, after, and after, and after that the souls of the people had reached the epiglottis, and the free-born girl was nearly being called a servant!”

This substitution can also occur in context as in “God’s blessing” (cf. Brockelmann, *Socins Grammatik* 65) and in sur. 11: 73 “The Grace of God” for رحمة الله “Glorify God” (cf. Wrigh, *Comparative Grammar* 133). Brockelmann, *Socins Grammatik* 65 compares also this phenomenon with the Hebrew st. cstr. 77 and absol. 7. Some other examples with the $t$ $\text{tawila}$ used instead of the $t$ $\text{marbūṭa}$ are the readings of Nāfī’, Ibn ‘Amīr and Ḥāmza of the sur. 44: 43 (ิน شجرة آرام) “Verily the tree of Zaqqūm” that occurs as (ین شجرة آرام) and the sur. 66: 10 (زوجة نوح وأمارة لوط) “The wife of Noah and the wife of Lūṭ” that occurs as (زوجة نوح وأمارة لوط) (cf. Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 845-846).

is the diminutive of متانا، and is formed according to فعْيِعْيِلِلْ. The last vowelless $y$ in this example is substituted for the $\bar{a}$ (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, *de Flexione* 23, *Sirr II*, 731-732, Zamaḥšari, 173, Ibn Ya’îš, X, 21, Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 1256, Bohas, *Étude* 259-260), as it is preceded by a kasra. The pattern فعْيِعْيِلِلْ is applicable to every quinquinsertal noun, of which the 4th is an $\bar{a}$, $w$, or $y$, e.g. متانا، صبْبِحُ “little lamp” (as متانا، فَرْبَيْسْ “a pommel of a saddle”: متانا، صبْبِيِلْ “little candelabrum”. For a study see Sibawaihi, *II*, 119-120, Zamaḥšari, 87, Howell, I, fasc. III, 1167, Wright, *II*, 166, Vernier, *I*, 198.

The base form of متانا، is متانا، and its diminutive متانا،. The 1st radical $w$ in متانا، is substituted by the $y$ on account of its vowellessness and the influence of the kasra preceding it. It can be noted that this change is not carried out in متانا، “receptacle of a thing”, because the $w$ is vowelised in it, or in متانا، “continuance of journeying”, and متانا، “clinging to the neck”, because the $w$ is double in them. For a study see Ibn Ğinnī, *Sirr II*, 732-733, Zamaḥšari, 173, 185, Ibn Ya’îš, X, 21, Howell, *IV*, fasc. I, 1270-1271. Another example in which the vowelless 1st radical $w$ is substituted by the $y$ is متانا، “balance” (cf. (260)).

The 2nd radical $w$ vowelised by a fatha is substituted by the $y$ in the noun in the sing. متانا، “being” and then the $\bar{a}$’s are assimilated together, i.e. متانا، (cf. (263)). Other examples concerning the substitution of the $w$ by the $y$ are the broken pl. متانا، “houses” resulting in متانا، “stands” (cf. (266)), the broken pl. متانا، “whips” resulting in متانا، (cf. (267)) and the متانا، “stand-
ing” resulting in مّوَتِيْ (cf. (266 b)). The w vowelled by the kasra is changed into the y in مّيْوَتِيْ “a dead man” and then the ya’s are assimilated together, i.e. مّيْتِيْ (cf. (263)).


(352) The y in نقْضُيْ آلَازِيْ is substituted for the last d in نقْضُ (cf. (170), (182)).

(353) (anse) (cf. Ibn Ya‘īṣ, X, 27, Ibn Manzūr, I, 148, Howell, I, fasc. III, 100, IV, fasc. I, 1296) is said to be the pl. of عَمِّسْانَ and not of عَمِّسْيَ “a human being, man”. Its base form is عَمِّسْيَ (cf. (355)) in which the y is substituted for the n, in the same manner as the n is substituted for the w in بِهْرَأْيَ (cf. (337)). It occurs in the sur. 25: وَرَبِّيْ (آنسّي كثيْرآ) 49 “And men in great number”. Some of the Arabs say also عَمِّسّيْ according to the base form.

(354) The base form of دَنَاّرُ is from the Persian دَنَّارْ, or more probably from the Greek δηνάριον (cf. Penrice, Dictionary 49) on account of its pl. دَنَّارْ and diminutive دَنَّاير. The y in it is substituted for the n (cf. Ibn Ėinni, de Flexione 24, Sirr II, 757, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1298, I, fasc. III, 1197, Wright, II, 175). It can be noted that both the y and the n are among the intermediate consonants (for the consonants' characters see (188 b)), which is why it is possible to substitute one for the other.

(355) The y in ضَفَادِيْ is substituted for the ‘ of the base form ضَفَادِع (cf. Nöldeke, Grammatik 13). The ‘ in ضَفَادِع is counted as heavy because it is a guttural consonant, and as the kasra preceding it is closer to the y than to the ‘, it became more natural to replace the ‘ by the y.

(356) The base form of اوْتُرَصَتْ has a vowelless w that is assimilated to the infixed r of Form VIII, i.e. اوْتُرَصْتَ. The 1st t of the doubled tā’s is anomalously changed into a y resulting in اوْتُرَصْتَ. It occurs in the following verse said by an unknown poet, in which he is describing a wild cow searching for her calf. It is cited by Ibn
(357) The y in the base form داللب. occurs instead of داللب. and instead of داللب. (cf. Nöldeke, *Grammatik* 13) in the following verse which is believed to have been said by Abū Kāhīl al-Yaškārī, as reported by Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Tahātīb* 606, Ibn Durāid, *Gamhara* II, 13, Ibn Manzūr, I, 445, III, 1742, IV, 2232, VI, 4789, Bağdādī, *Srāh* 443-446. Ibn Manzūr, I, 485 and Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, *Darā‘ īr* 226 write as well that it has been said by a man from the Banū Yaškar. Bağdādī, *Srāh* remarks that some believed it to have been said by al-Namir b. Tawlab. This is also the opinion of Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1297 who refers to Abū Ḥālīl al-Namir b. Tawlab al-Yaškūrī, who is describing a female eagle, named Ǧubba, that belongs to the Banū Yaškur. However, those who refer to Abū Kāhīl al-Yaškārī, whom I also believe to be the poet, mean that the poet compares his camel to an eagle. The verse is also cited by Sibawaihī, I, 300, Tā’lab, *Mağālis* 190, Ibn Wallād, *Intiṣār* 183, Ibn Ğinnī, *Srāh* II, 742, Ibn al-Sarrāg, *Usūl* III, 467, Zamāḫṣārī, 174, Ibn Ya’iš, X, 24, 28, *Mulūk* 254, Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, I, 369, *Darā‘ īr* 226, Srīnīqī, *Durar I*, 157, II, 213, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1297:

"لِئَهُمَا إِقْحَٰرًا مِنْ لَحْمٍ نَّمَارِةٍ مِنْ التَّمَالِبِ وَوَرَحُ مِنْ أَرَانِيَّةٍ"

"She [sc. the eagle] has bits of flesh that she dries, of foxes, and a little of her hares".


"إِذَا مَا عَدَّ أَرَبَاعَةَ فَسَلَ"  "فَزُوُّجْ خَانِسًا وَأَبُوكَ سَادِيَّ "

"Whenever four mean unmanly fellows are reckoned, your husband is fifth, and your father sixth".

Ibn Manzūr, III, 1979 mentions the verse with "and your father-in-law is sixth" instead of أَبُوكَ سَادِي.


"يَقْدِدُ يَا ذَرَّعُ أَيُّو وَخَلاْيُ قدْ مَرَّ يُوْمَانَ وَهذا التَّلِيّيَ "  "وَأَنْتُ بَلْهَجِرُانَ لَا تَبَاَيُّ "

"My father and my maternal uncle shall be a ransom for you, O Zur'a! Two days have passed and this is the third; and you do not care for the desertion".
(360) The base form of the active participle **ضَوَارِبُ** (ضَوَارِبُ) is the broken pl. of the active participle **ضَارِبٌ**. In its base form, the َا that marks the pl. is infixed after the infixed َا of the active participle **ضَارِبٌ** which causes a cluster of two vowelless consonants, the vowelless alifs, i.e. َا. The 1st َا is substituted by the َ in to prevent this cluster so that it became **ضَوَارِبُ** (cf. Ibn Ğinni, *de Flexione* 24, Sīr II, 581-582, Zamaḥşari, 174, Ibn Ya‘iš, X, 29).

b) The regular broken pls. of the fem. (for a study see Zamaḥşari, 79, Howell, I, fasc. III, 989) of the epithet َا without the **تَاءَ المَرْبَعَة** e.g. َا “menstruating” and َا “divorced”, and of َا َا with the **تَاءَ المَرْبَعَة** e.g. َا are the following:
- **ضَوَارِبُ**, َا “striking”, َا “killing”, َا “going ut” and َا “sitting up”.
- **ضَوَارِبُ**, َا “sleeping” and َا “visiting”.

(361) The base form of the active participle Form IV َا is the broken َا “he was certain”. The vowelless 1st radical َ of َا is substituted by the َ on account of the influence of the َام preceding it, i.e. َا. A similar case is the active participle Form IV َا from Form IV َا “was well off”, underlyingly َا in which the 1st radical vowelless َ is also substituted by the َ because it is preceded by a َام. Cf. Sibawaihi, II, 342, Ibn Ğinni, *de Flexione* 24, Sīr II, 584, Zamaḥşari, 174, Ibn Ya‘iš, X, 30, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1301, Mokhliš, *Taṣrif* 177. It can be noted as well that the imperfect Form IV َا from َا, is underlyingly َا in which the vowelless 1st radical َ is changed into a َ on account of the َام preceding it (cf. (261)).

(362) The َ in َا is substituted for the vowelless hamza of the base form َا (cf. (217)). The reason of this substitution is the weakness of the vowelless hamza and the request of the َام preceding it to be lengthened. The َ is as well substituted for the hamza in the 1st person of the sing. of the imperfect verbs َا said instead of َا “his teeth decayed” and َا said instead of َا “I make safe” from َا “to be faithful” (cf. 228 c)).

(363) The base form of َا َا (cf. Talmon, ‘Ayn 236) on the measure of َا “crowd”. Its 2nd radical is a َ and its 3rd radical is a َ, as it is proven by its broken pl. َا and its diminutive َا, because they both restore the nouns to their base form (for the principle that the diminutive brings back the noun to its base form see (65)). The َ of َا is elided for the purpose of alleviation and the َ is changed into a َ, i.e. َ (cf. Zāğâşī, *Mağālis* 327, Ibn Ğinni, Sīr I, 413-421, Zamaḥşari, 174, Ibn Ya‘iš, X, 33-34, Wright, II, 173, Vernier, I, 16-17, Bohas, *Étude* 232-235). According to Sibawaihi, II, 342, the substitution of the َ for the َ in َا is rare. Furthermore, it is mainly used when no pronoun is suffixed to it and when it is
undinite, e.g. "this is a mouth", "I saw a mouth" and "I watched a mouth". It was used anomalously decline with a pronoun suffixed to it, namely "his mouth" in pause, in this saying of Ru‘ba b. al-‘Ağgāq, cited by Ḥarīrī, Durra 69, Howell, I, fasc. I, 24:

كَالَحاوْتِ لا يَرْيِيْهِ شَيْءٌ يَلِهَّهُ يُصَبْحُ عَطْشَانٍ فِي الْبَحْرِ فِيِّهَا.

"Like the fish, whom not a thing that he swallows satisfies, who becomes thirsty while his mouth is in the sea".

طَسْانٍ has also been used instead of عَطْشَانٍ in this verse in other works (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1323). In the case of when a pronoun is suffixed to it, the base form is used, e.g. "He spoke his mouth". "His mouth spoke", "he kissed his mouth" occurs in the genitive in the pause in this saying which is believed to be by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. However, Ibn Wallād, Maqṣūr 27 and Ibn Manzūr, I, 707 who refer to Ibn al-Kalbi, mention that the one who said the verse is ‘Amr b. Uḥt Gadhima al-Abraṣ. Ibn Manzūr mentions as well that according to the tradition ‘Alī said this verse. It is cited by Ibn Manzūr, I, 707, Saraqūṭi, Afā’il II, 278, Howell, I, fasc. I, 24, Lane, I, 472:

هَذَا جَحَنَّ تَحْجَرَهُ فِيَّةٍ إِذْ كَلُّ جَانِ يَدْهُ إِلَى فَيَّهَا.

"This is my gathering; and the best of it is in it, when every other gatherer has had his hand to his mouth".

Another form that can be added is مَتَمَّتُ with the vowelling of the f by a dama and the doubling of the m, which has been transmitted anomalously in the following verse that is supposed to be by Ru‘ba b. al-‘Ağgāq, but which according to Ibn Manzūr, IV, 2672, is either by al-‘Umānī al-Rāqiz, whose real name is Muhammad b. Du‘aib al-Fuqaimiy, or as Ibn Ḥalawaih to whom he refers to mentions, by Garīr who said it concerning Sulaimān b. ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Āzīz. It is cited by Ibn Ğīnī, Sīr I, 415, Ḥaṣā’iṣ III, 211, Ibn Ya‘īs, X, 33, Ibn ‘Usfūr, I, 391, Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ I, 261, Ṣinqīti, Durar I, 13, Ibn Manzūr, V, 3492, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1322:

يَا لَيْتَهُ قَدْ جَرَبَتْ مِنْ فَيَّهُ حَتَّى يُعْوَدُ الْمَلِكُ فِي أَسْفَهِهَا.

"O would that it [sc. a word that was to be spoken] had issued from his mouth, so that the kingdom might return to its owner, and its rightful claimant!".

For a discussion concerning the different forms of مَتَمَّتُ in the Semitic languages see Noldeke, Neue Beiträge 171-178.

(364) مَتْ مَتْ denotes determination in the dialect of Ṭayyī and Ḥimyar. This dialect is named the ṭayyī (cf. Rabin, 49). Rabin, 35-37 discusses it within the chapter treating the Yemenite dialects, but points out p. 25 that some of the material belongs to the next three chapters that treat the dialects of Himyar, Azd, and Northern Yemen. مَتْ is said to replace anomalously the usual definite article al- by substituting the m for the l. It is also possible that it refers in some cases to a demonstrative element (for discussions see Cantineau, Études 51). It is usually prefixed to nouns of which the initial consonant is a moon-consonant (for discussions see Ibn
Hišām, *Muğnī I*, 49; for the moon- and solar-consonants see (176)), but in some cases, it occurs prefixed to nouns that begin with a solar-consonant, as some of the nouns of the example of this tradition and the verse cited below. Some examples occurring in the Yemenite dialect in which it is combined with the interrogative particle *سن* and with a nunated definite noun whose initial consonant is a moon-consonant are *سنَّ مَنْ أَمَّ قَانَمُ* “who is the one standing?” said instead of *سنَّ فِي أَمَّ بَابِكَ* and *سنَّ مَنْ أَمَّ قَانَمُ* “who is at the door?” said instead of *سنَّ فِي أَمَّ بَابِكَ* (cf. Bustānī, *Muḥtī* 15, Rabin, 36). This awkward nunation could be a nasalisation which affects a vowel that is standing in the pause position, as the *m* used in the Ōmūr colloquial near Palmyra, e.g. *buyūtakā* for *buyūtaka* “your houses” (cf. Cantonain, *Parlers* 18, Rabin, 36-37). The noun after this article could as well end with a vowel which marks that it is definite, as in the example cited by Ibn Hišām, *Muğnī I*, 49 “ride the horse”.


A verse said by Buğair b. ʿAnama al-Tāʾī, cited by Zamaḥšārī, 153, Ibn Hišām, *Muğnī I*, 48, Suyūṭī, Ṣaḥīh 58, Ibn Manzūr, Ṣaḥīh I, 139, Howell, *II-III*, 676, Rabin, 36 [who however, has *بعُشْتابِنٍ* for *بعُشْتاب* and *وَاسِلَتَهُمْ* and *وَاسِلَتَهُمْ* instead of *وَاسِلَتَهُمْ* and *وَاسِلَتَهُمْ* instead of *وَاسِلَتَهُمْ*]

“عُامَرْتُ أَغْرَمْتُ يَوْمِي وَرَأَيْتُ بَاسِلَهُمْ وَاسِلَتَهُمْ”

“That is my friend and he that unites with me, casting behind me the arrow and the stone [i.e. defending my reputation behind my back]”.

The *m* of the article *مَن* can be assimilated to the *m* of the initial of the noun following it in the dialectal variant of Daṭīna. This occurs in the saying cited by Landberg, *Études II*, 118 and quoted by Roman, *Étude I*, 200, in which *يا أَمْجَعْلِي* is probably underlyingly *يا أَمْجَعْلِي*:

“قل لعمِّي عليْ يا أَمْجَعْلِي بر عوض “

“Say to your uncle ‘Alī, O am-Meʤ’ali [sc. al-Meʤ’ali], son of ‘Awad”.

*(365)* The vowelless *m* in *عِنْبِي* is substituted for the vowelless *n* of the base form *عِنْبَر* (cf. (68)).

*(366)* The *m* in *يَبِنْنُ* is substituted anomalously for the vowelled *n* of the base form *يَبِنْنَ* (cf. Nöldke, *Grammatik* 12). It occurs in the following verse said by ‘Agāḡā, *Diwān* 144 in the
The substitution of the letter ْب (b) for ْم (m) in the verse 1:1334, Lane, I, 1029:

“Hast thou hastened the morning? Builders, let us join the morning and beget the morning.”

The substitution of the letter ْب (b) for ْم (m) is connected with Māzin b. Bakr (for the literature relating to him see Köfler, Dialekte (XLVII, 1940), 69) and with the dialectal variant of Māzin b. Rabī’ā. Ḥarīrī, Durra 73 reports (cf. Sirāfī, Abhār 76, Rabin, 201):

“Abū ‘Uṯmān [al-Māzinī] said: ‘Then when I appeared in front of him [sc. the Caliph al-Wāqīʿ], he asked: ‘From where is the man?’ I answered: ‘From the Banū Māzin.’ He asked: ‘From which of the Banū Māzīn? From the Māzin of Tāmīm, the Māzin of Qais or the Māzin of Rabī’ā?’ I an-

The interchange of ْب (b) for ْم (m) is also connected with Māzin b. Bakr (for the literature relating to him see Köfler, Dialekte (XLVII, 1940), 69) and with the dialectal variant of Māzin b. Rabī’ā. Ḥarīrī, Durra 73 reports (cf. Sirāfī, Abhār 76, Rabin, 201):
wivered: “From the Māzīn of Rabī’a” So he addressed me in the dialectal variant of my people and asked me: “What’s your name?”, because they usually change the m into the b and the b into the m. But I disliked to answer him according to the dialectal variant of my people as I did not want to say: “Makr”, so I answered: “Bakr, O Commander of the Faithful...”.

B and m interchange also in the cognate languages. In Ḥimyaritic יז stands for יב “who”, and יב for יב “from”. Compare also יב “time”, מיל , יב and יב. In Assyrian, the m passes into an aspirated b or v, e.g. argamānu or argavānu “purple”, Hebrew יבר and Aramaic יבר (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar 65).

(368) The s in أصْبَحَ is substituted for the s of its base form أصْبَحَ (for a study see Zamaḥšari, 176, Ibn Yaʿīs, X, 51-52, Howell, IV, fasc. 1, 1378-1380, Fleisch, Traité I, 80-81). It occurs in the sur. 31: 20 “And has made His bounties flow to you in exceeding measure”, underlingly أصْبَحَ, read with both the s and the š (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, Sirr I, 212). This substitution is carried out if the š occurs before the g. The reason of this substitution is the proximity of both the s and the š as they both originate from the part which is between the tip of the tongue and the tops of the two upper central incisors (for the consonants see (188)). Both as well are akin in character in being among the sibilant consonants (for them see Ullendorff, Article 632, my notes (188 b)). Another example is أصْبَحَ that occurs instead of أصْبَحَ “shedding the tooth, which takes place in the sixth year”. It can be added that such a substitution is carried out as well if the š precedes:

- the š as أصْبَحَ instead of أصْبَحَ “stripped of”.
- the q. as the readings of some of the sur. 54: 48 (مسَّسَ صَقْرَ) “The touch of hell” instead of مسَّتِ صَقْرَ, and صَقْرَ “market” said instead of صَقْرَ (cf. (174)) by the Banū 1-ʿAnbar b. Tamīm (cf. Rabin, 195). According to Ibn Ğinnī, Haṣāʾ is II, 142-143, this substitution of the š for the s pertains to the الأدَّاعِ غَمَامِ الأَصْدَارِ “the little assimilation” (for it see (174)).

- the t as أصْبَحَ underlyingly صَرَاطَ “path” (cf. Jeffery, Muqaddimatān 148) and أصْبَحَ underlyingly مُسَيِّطَر “dominating” (cf. ibid, Talmon, ʿAyn 343). It can be noted that Ibn Kāṭīr read أصْبَحَ the š according to its base form from the sur. 2: 6 (إِنَّهَا الْصَّرَاطُ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ) whereas the remaining readers among the seven read it with the š (cf. Ibn Ḥālawayhi, Qirāʾ at I, 49). In the context of the derivation (cf. 14 c), there is a semantic relation between the š and the s (cf. Bohas, Matrice 150), e.g. صَرُّ “to manifest, or give forth what is in one’s bosom” (cf. Lane, I, 1344) and Form II of صَرُّ, namely صَرُّ “to make apparent, or manifest what is in one’s mind” (cf. ibid, II, 1675).

(369) The ā in قَالُ is substituted for the w of the base form قَولُ (cf. (266)) and the ā of بَيَّنَ is substituted for the y of the base form بَيَّنَ (cf. Âkeson, Conversion 27). The ā of رَأَسَ is substituted for the hamza of the base form رَأَسُ (for it see (217); and for another example, namely هَنَاكَ said instead of هَنَاكَ, see (220)).
(370) The *l* in ‘أصْبَالٌ’ is substituted for the *n* of the base form ‘أصْبَالٌ’ (cf. Wright, II, 175).


\[\text{“Waqfta fa‘} ina ‘asblālā ‘asbaliha} “\]

“I stopped in it a short time at evening, questioning it [about its inmates]: it was unable to answer, nor was any one in the abode”.

Ibn Ya‘īs, *II*, 80 and Afandi, *Tanzīl* 379 mention the verse with أصْبَالٌ said instead of أصْبَالٌ. Afandi has as well أصْبَلُ instead of أصْبَلَ.


\[\text{“Waq} ṣtā fa‘} ina ‘alā ilā ‘arṭā‘a ḥaqf ‘alṭāμ"} “\]

“When he [sc. the wolf] saw that there was no ease, and no gluttoning of his appetite [in the pursuit of the gazelle], he turned aside to an Arṭā tree of a curving tract of sand, and lay down to sleep”.

All the four variations ‘أصْبَلَ’ ‘أصْبِلَ’ ‘أصْبَلُ’ ‘أصْبُلَ’ are as the last word of the rime are cited in different works (cf. Fischer/Braunlich, *Ṣawāḥid* 134).

(372) The *z* in ‘بَرَزَّلْ’ (cf. Ibn Ğinnī, *Ṣirr* I, 196, Zamaḥṣāri, 177; Ibn Ya‘īs, *X*, 52; Ibn Manẓūr, *III*, 2036). Another example with this substitution is ‘بَرَقَ’ for ‘بَسِق’ “to spit” (cf. Cantineau, *Cours* 56, *Études* 47). It can be mentioned that during the 6th/12th century, the people of al-Andalus and of Morocco used to say ‘بَرَقَّ’ for ‘بَرَزَّ’ “cellar” (cf. Laḥmī, *Madḥal* 439), and currently the people in Egypt and even other Arabs say ‘بَقَّ’ for ‘بَسِق’ “wild thyme” (cf. Dasūqī, *Taḥdīb* 66). The *s* in ‘سَقَر’ “hell” is substituted for the *s* of ‘سَقَر’ and in its turn, it is substituted by the *z* as it is said ‘زَقَر’ in the dialect of Kalb. This substitution of the *z* for the *s* is known as ‘زاَكْر’ (cf. also a part of (373)).

b) The *s* is as well substituted for the *z*. This occurs in many Arabic dialects. An example is ‘زَقَّف’ that is said instead of ‘زَقَّف’ “to crawl” (cf. Dāġīr, *Taḍkira* 85).

(373) The *z* in ‘أَقْذَرِي’ is substituted for the *s* of the base form ‘أَقْذَرِي’. This substitution is carried out when the *z* is vowelless and precedes the *d*. 'أَقْذَرِي' occurs in this phrase said by Ḥatīm.
when he had slaughtered a she-camel for a guest and he was asked: “Why did you not bleed her?” and he answered: “Ibn Zamalsari, 177, Ibn Ya‘ïš, X, 52, Freytag, Proverbia II, 867, Howell, IV, fasc. I, 856, 1383). It can be mentioned that both هذَا and هذَا are said in this sentence. Another interesting phenomenon in his saying is the substitution of the h in اان for the a of the base form اان that occurs in pause (cf. (73 c), (345)). Another example that can be added with this substitution is ضرَّهُ. As remarked in it, the z has been made vowelless for the sake of alleviation. It occurs in يَعَدُ ذَا الْيَوْمِ ﴿َفَبَلَّ الْقَلِّ يَرَكَّذَ ذِي الْيَوْمِ ﴾َمِنْ الْقَلِّ جَيْبٍ ﻦَمْرُودّاَهَا. “And let the object of your love alone before hating [him]: the leaving of the object of love, while unimpared in its forces, is better as an issue than rupture”.

The substitution of the z for the s is carried out when the s is vowelled and in other cases than when it precedes the d, e.g. ﴿َفَبَلَّ الْقَلِّ يَرَكَّذَ ذِي الْيَوْمِ ﴾َمِنْ الْقَلِّ جَيْبٍ ﻦَمْرُودّاَهَا. “to spit”, ﴿َفَبَلَّ الْقَلِّ يَرَكَّذَ ذِي الْيَوْمِ ﴾َمِنْ الْقَلِّ جَيْبٍ ﻦَمْرُودّاَهَا. “to pinch” and ﴿َفَبَلَّ الْقَلِّ يَرَكَّذَ ذِي الْيَوْمِ ﴾َمِنْ الْقَلِّ جَيْبٍ ﻦَمْرُودّاَهَا. “to scream” (cf. Cantineau, Cours 56, Études 47). It pertains to the dialectal variant of Kalb and is known as al-rasoo. (cf. (372)).

(374) The š in Form VIII اَفْتَّعَلَ is substituted for the infixed t of the base form اَصْطَبَرَ (192 c), (174). This substitution is necessary in Form VIII اَفْتَتَعَلَ if the t follows one of the consonants of covering (for them see (188 b), (193); for discussions see Bohas, Étude 237-239) that is the 1st radical, e.g. اَفْتَتَعَلَ “to be in a state of agitation” underlining اَصْطَبَرَ (cf. (195), (174)), اَفْتَتَعَلَ “to seek” underlining اَطْلَبَ (cf. (196)), and اَفْتَتَعَلَ “to put with wrong” underlining اَطْلَبَ (cf. (197)). According to Ibn Ğinni, Haša’is II, 142-143, this substitution of one of the consonants of covering that is the 1st radical for the t pertains to the “little assimilation” (for it see (174)). In the context of the derivation (cf. 14 c), there is a semantic relation between the t and the t (cf. Bohas, Matrice 149-150), e.g. اَتْرَ “to become separated or cut off” (cf. Lane, I, 299) and اَتْرَ “to cut off” (cf. ibid, II, 1833).

(375) The š in اَفْتَتَعَلَ is substituted for the t that is the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the 1st person of the sing. in the base form اَفْتَتَعَلَ (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 341, Ibn Ğinni, Sirr I, 219-
This substitution is carried out when the pronoun of the nominative of the 1st person, the -\(tu\), or of the 2nd persons, the -\(ta\) “masc. sing.” and the -\(ti\) “fem. sing.” of the perfect, is suffixed to a verb whose 3rd radical is one of the consonants of covering (for them see (188 b), (193)). Some examples are. ~ for “I kept”, ~ for “you kept”, ~ for “I sealed” and ~ for “you sealed”. This substitution is usual in the dialect of the Banū Tamīm. The reason of it, is that both the \(t\) and the \(t\) originate from the tip of the tongue and the roots of the two upper central incisors (for the consonants see (188)).

Another theory than the pure phonetical one that is advanced by Ibn Ḥinnī, Munsif II, 332-334, is that the suffixed -\(t\) of the nominative in Form I ~ is compared to the infixed -\(t\) of Form VIII ~ that is substituted by the \(t\) when it follows one of the consonants of covering, because both these tā’s are considered as being a part of the verb, differently from the suffixed pronoun of the accusative that is considered as separate from it (for the separation of the object suffix from the verb see (55)).

b) The substitution of the \(t\) for the \(d\) is carried out as well and is anomalous, e.g. ~ instead of ~ “to prolong”, and ~ instead of ~ “removing to a distance” (cf. Howell, IV, fasc. I, 1369-1370).
الباب السابع في اللينة

يقال له اللينة للفظ حرفي اللينة فيه وهو على ضروب مفرق ومقرئون. المفرق مثلQuéما قيام حكم قيام برمي وكذلك حكم

361 آخواتهما، الأمر قيام قيام وقيلون بنون التأكيد قيام نحن قيام قيام وبالخفيفة قيام نحن قيام الفاعل وألف والمفعول موفي والموضع موفي والآلة ميمي. المجهول

وقت يوقي. المقرئ نحو طوي ينطوي على أخرهما وحكهما حكم الناقد ولا يعقل

عينهما كما مر في باب الأجوف. الأمر أطو أطوى أطوى أطوى أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان. وتقول

بنون للتأكد أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان أطويان

أطويان. وتقول في الأمر من روي بروي روي إروي إروي إروي إروي إروي إروي إروي إروي إروي. وتقول

التأكد المشقولة من روي بسرى أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس

وبالخفيفة إرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس أرسيس. وإذا أردت أن تعبر أحكام نوني التأكيد في

الناقد واللينة. فالنافية إلى حرف اللينة إن كانت إصلية محدوبة في الواحد نتعد لأن

361 حرفها كان للسكون. وهو انعدام بدخول النون وتلفت للفتحة نحو أطويان

وأغزى أروين كما في أطويان وأغزى وأغزى وإن كانت ضميأ فانظر إلى ما قبلها

Fols. 35b-36b

2 حروف ب: حروف د ط وهو فهو في مفرق ومقرئون: مقرئ ومفرق / حكم

-1 نون وقيلون بنون: بنوني 5 وقيلون: المفعول / الموضع / والآلة: التاء / 2

الآخرهما: - 6 تقول بنون: بنون 12 د ز وتقول... أروين: - 1، وتقول

من روي بروي 5 بنون: بنوني 5 وقيلون: المفعول... بروي: - 5 ز / 12 وتلفت: ويتح
II.8. Translation: The 7th Chapter is about the Verb that is doubly Weak (376)

It is named/ānālīf “complicated, tangled” because of the combination of two weak consonants in it. It falls into two classes: مرفوع -1 “verbs with weak 1st and 3rd radical”, and 2 “verbs with weak 2nd and 3rd radicals combined”. An example of a verb with weak 1st and 3rd radicals is /ānālīf “to guard, preserve”. [Fol. 36a] The predicament of both the 1st radicals [of its perfect and imperfect] is the same as the predicament of [the 1st radicals of the verb with 1st weak radical] /ānālīf “to promise”, and the predicament of the 3rd radicals [of its perfect and imperfect] is the same as the predicament of [the 3rd radicals of the verb with 3rd weak radical] /ānālīf “to throw”. So is also the predicament of both their cognates [i.e. the active and passive participles]. The imperative is قَيَّمِى "preserve /masc. sing.", قَا "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. sing.", "/2 dual" and قِين "/2 masc. pl." You say with the energetic نَفَّس "/2 masc. pl. (imperative En. 1)", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. pl.", and with the single نَفَّس "/2 masc. pl." and فِين "/2 fem. pl.". The active participle is مَوْعِى the noun of instrument مَوْعِى and the passive voice مَوْعِى. An example of a verb with weak 2nd and 3rd radical is /ānālīf “to fold”, etc. The predicament of [the 3rd radicals in] both of them [sc. its perfect and imperfect] is the same as the predicament of the verbs with weak 3rd radical. Their 2nd weak radical is kept sound as was mentioned in the chapter about the verb with weak 2nd radical. (377) The imperative is "/2 masc. sing.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 dual" and "/2 fem. pl.", You say with the energetic نَفَّس "/2 masc. sing. (imperative En. 1)", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. sing.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. pl.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", and with the single نَفَّس "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. sing.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. pl.", "/2 dual", and "/2 masc. pl." and "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. pl.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", and with the single نَفَّس "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. sing.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. pl.", "/2 dual", and "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. sing.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.", and with the single نَفَّس "/2 masc. pl.", "/2 fem. sing.", "/2 dual", "/2 masc. pl.". If you want to know the predicament of the corroborative nuns in the verbs with weak 3rd radical and in the verbs that are doubly weak, take notice of the weak consonant. If it is a radical and elided in the sing. [in the imperative], it is restored, because its elision was due to the sukūn. [Fol. 36b] This [cause] is not more existent when the n is suffixed. It [sc. the weak 3rd radical] is vowelled by a fatha because of the lightness of the fatha, as e.g. [the y] in /ānālīf "/2 masc. sing.", [the w] in /ānālīf "/2 masc. sing.", "/2 dual" and ارْوَى "/2 dual", "/2 masc. sing.", "/2 dual" and ارْوَى "/2 masc. sing.", similarly to /ānālīf "/2 masc. sing.", "/2 dual" and ارْوَى "/2 dual". If it [sc. the weak consonant] is a pronoun take notice of the consonant preceding it:
كان مفتوحاً تُحرك لطرو حركتها وخفَّة حركتها ما قبلها نحو أروض واروين. كما في قوله تعالى: (ولا تنسوا ألمضى بينكم) وإن كان غير مفتوح تُحدد لعدم الخفة فيما قبلها نحو أروض واروين كما في أعرَى ألمضى وما إسراء أغرى ققققوق، الفاعل طار ولا يُعمل واهما كما في طور. وتقول من السري ريان وإنان رواياً رياً وراوناً أيضاً ولا يُعمل واهماً كما في سياحة حتى لا يجتمع الإعلان، لقلب البار الذي عين الفعل ب فأغربه عيب في سياسة لا يستطيع وانقول في تنبيه المتقدم في حالتى النصب والخفض ربيمه مثل ططَّين. وإذا أضفته في حالة النصب إلى بها التكلم فقط ربيمة بخمس إيات، الأولى منقلة عن البار الذي عين الفعل والثانية لمفعل والثالثة مرفقة عن الفعل التاني والرابعة علامة النصب والخامسة يا الإضافة. الفعل مطوي الموضوع مطوي الالمضي المطوي الجاهز طوي ُطوي إلى آخرها، وحكم لم هذه الأشياء كحكم لا المنافق وحكم عينهن كحكم عين طوي في التي اجتمع فيها إعلان يبدع إعلانا في التي لم يجتمع فيها إعلانا يكون حكماً أيضأ كحكم طوي للمتبثة نحو طوي وطوابن. تع

Fols. 36b-37a

1 تُحرك: + على وفق حركة نفسها د/ حركة - 5/5 بينكم - 5/5 كان: كانت/

1- If it [sc. the weak consonant preceding the suffixed pronoun] is vowelled by a fatha, it [sc. the suffixed pronoun] is given a vowel because of the faintness of its own vowel and the lightness of the vowel preceding it, e.g. اَرُوُئُنُ /سَرُوُةُ/ “/2 masc. pl.” and اَرُوُئُنُ /سَرُوُةُ/ “/2 fem. sing.” similarly to [the suffixed pronoun that is given a vowel in ] in the words of the Allmghty [sur. 2: 237] (ولَ وَنَسَّوْاَ الْفَضْلَ سَيْنَكُمْ) “And do not forget liberality between yourselves”. 2- If it [sc. the weak consonant preceding the suffixed pronoun] is not vowelled by a fatha, it [sc. the suffixed pronoun] is elided because of the heaviness of the vowel preceding it, e.g. اَطْوَنُ “/2 masc. pl.” [from اَطْوَنَ “/2 fem. sing.” [from اَطْوَنَ], as [it is elided in the pronunciation] in “raid on the people! /masc. pl.” and in يَا إِمَرَةً أَعْرَى الْقَوْمُ “O woman, raid on the people!”).

The active participle is طَارِلٌ of which the [2nd radical] w is kept sound, as [it is kept sound] in طَوْيٍ. You say [concerning the active participle] of رِبَّيْتَانٌ /مَرْسَيْتَانٌ “/masc. sing.”, رَيْبَيْنٌ “/fem. sing.”, رُبَّيْنٌ “/masc. dual”, رُبِّيْنِرٌ “/fem. sing.”, رَبَّيْنِرٌ “/fem. dual” and رُبَّيْنِيْرٌ “/fem. pl.”. Both their [sc. the homonym masc. and fem. pl.’s] w [of رُبَّيْنٌ] is not changed into a y as in سِبْاطٌ “whips”, to avoid that two unsound weak consonants are combined in it, [one of them being] the changed w that is the 2nd weak radical of the verb into the y, and the [other one being the] changed y that is the 3rd weak radical of the verb into the hamza. You say in the dual of the fem. in both the cases of the accusative and the genitive رُبِّيْنِيْرٌ, as غُمْشَيْنِيْرٌ “thirsty”. If you suffix to it [sc. the dual of the fem.] in the case of the accusative the y of the 1st person of the sing. of the genitive, you would say رُبِّيْنِيْرٌ with five yā’s: the 1st one being [the one] changed from the w, [Fol. 37 a] which is the 2nd radical of the verb, the 2nd one being the 3rd radical of the verb, the 3rd one being [the one] changed from the alif of feminization, the 4th one being the marker of the accusative and the 5th one being the y of the genitive.

The passive participle is طَوْيٌ, the noun of place مِطْوَيٌ and the passive voice طَوْيٌ مُطْوَيٌ etc. The predicament of the 3rd radical of these forms is the same as the predicament of the 3rd radical of [the forms of] the verbs with 3rd weak radical, and the predicament of their 2nd radical is the same as the predicament of the 2nd radical of طَوْيٌ on account that two unsound weak consonants would be combined together if a change concerning it is to be carried out. As for those [sc. the forms] in which there is no risk that two unsound weak consonants are combined together in them, their [2nd radical’s] predicament is also the same as the predicament of [the 2nd radical in] طَوْيٌ for the purpose of analogy, e.g. طَوْيٌ “/3 dual” and طَأْرِيْنٌ “/dual, nominative (active participle)”.

It [sc. the book] was completed".
II.8.1. COMMENTARY

The Verb that is doubly Weak

(376) For a general study of “the Verb that is doubly Weak” see Ibn Ğinnî, Munsîf II, 187-241, Mu’addib, Tasrif 335-358, Ibn ʿUsfûr, II, 562-589, Zanjâni, ʿAzzi 11-12, ʿAbd al-Hamîd, Tasrif 643-648, de Sacy, 258-260, 261-262, Farhât, Bahî 90-93, Wright, II, 91-96, Fischer, Grammatik 122, Blachère, 164-165, Roman, Étude II, 970-971, 981. For a presentation of some verbs in some of the Semitic languages see Moscati, Grammar 168. There also exists, but rarely, verbs in which all three radicals are weak, e.g. Arabic َنَبَيّ “to write the letter ي” and Akkadian awû “to speak”, ewû “to become”.

The paradigm of َنَبَيّ “to guard”, a verb with 1st radical w and 3rd radical y in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its imperfect in the indicative, active, is the following:

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

Its imperfect in the jussive, active, is the following:

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

Its active participle is َنَبِيّ وَأَرْقَ.
b) The paradigm of حيـو “to live” (for discussions see (180)), a verb with 2nd and 3rd radical \( y \) in the perfect, active, is the following:

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

Its imperfect in the indicative, active, is the following:

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

Its imperfect in the jussive, active, is the following:

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

Its active participle is حيـو.

(377) The soundness of the \( w \) in حيـو is discussed in (272).

(378) In ارْوُن “/2 masc. pl. (imperative En. 1)”, the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., the \( w/wu \), that marks the masc. pl. in the imperative ارْوُن, follows a fatha and precedes the doubled nuns, i.e. ارْوُن. The suffix \( w \) in the base form ارْوُن is vowelless, but it is in this case given a damma to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the \( w \) and the first vowelless \( n \) of the doubled nuns, as the base form ارْوُن is vowelless. The same reasoning concerns ارْوُن “/2 fem. sing. (imperative En. 1)”, of which the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the fem. sing., the \( y/yi \), that in the base form is vowelless, is given the
kasra to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the $y$ and the first vowelless $n$ of the doubled $n$ūns, as the base form of اُرْوَيْبَنَن is اُرْوَيْبَيْنَ.

There is a similarity concerning the vowelling of these suffixed pronouns of the agent following a fatha and preceding a vowelless consonant, which is the first $n$ of the doubled $n$ūns, and the vowelling of the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., the $w/wu$, in the sur. “you forget /masc. pl.” (cf. Sibawaihi, II, 299, Bohas, Étude 326-327; for other examples see (184), (270), (288)), with the dāmma. The suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., the $w/wu$, that marks the masc. pl. of the jussive in لا تَنَسَّوا، follows the fatha of the $s$ and precedes a noun to which the vowelless article $l$– is prefixed to, namely المُؤَلَّفَة. The suffix $w/wu$ is underlingly vowelless, i.e. تَنَسَّوا, but is in this case given a dāmma, which is a vowel of juncture, to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the $w$ and the - $l$ that comes after the wasla of the article $l$– prefixed to المُؤَلَّفَة following it. Other examples mentioned by Sibawaihi, II, 299 and Bohas/Guillaume, Étude 326-327 with the vowelling of the $w$ of the pl. with a vowel of juncture that is the dāmma, are رَمَوُّهُ أَبَنَٰكَ and أَحْسُوُهُ اللَّهُ “they shot your son” and أَفْرَّهُ اللَّهُ “fear God!”. Sibawaihi, II, 299 mentions furthermore that some people vowel the $w$ of لا تَنَسَّوا المُؤَلَّفَة with a kasra, i.e. تَنَسَّوا المُؤَلَّفَة, which is rare.

The base form of اُطَوْنِن is اُطَوْنِن in which the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., the vowelless $w/ā$, is preceded by the dāmma of the 2nd radical $w$. The combination of the $w$ preceded by a $w$ vowelled by a dāmma is deemed as heavy, which is one of the reasons why the ā suffix is elided. Another reason of its elision is to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the $w/ā$ and the 1st vowelless $n$ of the doubled $n$ūns. The base form of اُطَوْنِن is اُطَوْنِن in which the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the fem. sing., the $y/i$, is preceded by the kasra of the 2nd radical $w$. The combination of the $y$ preceded by the kasra is deemed as heavy, which is one of the reasons why the $i$ suffix is elided. Another reason why this elision is carried out is to prevent the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the $y/i$ and the 1st vowelless $n$ of the doubled $n$ūns. There is a similarity between the elision of these suffixed pronouns of the agent following a dāmma or a kasra and the elision of both the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc. pl. of the imperative, the ā, following a dāmma in the pronunication in القَوْمُ and the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the fem. sing., the $i$, following a kasra in the pronunciation in أَكِرُوا القَوْمُ. In أَكِرُوا القَوْمُ, the suffixed pronoun, the vowelless ā, preceded by the dāmma, is elided in the pronunciation, i.e. 'ugzi $l$-qawma is said and not 'ugzi $l$-qawma, to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the ā and the - $l$ of the definite article following the wasla prefixed in القَوْمُ following it. The same applies to أَسْأَلُوا القَوْمُ, in which the suffixed pronoun, the vowelless $i$, preceded by the kasra is elided for the same reason in the pronunciation, i.e. 'ugzi $l$-qawma is said and not 'ugzi $l$-qawma, namely to avoid the cluster of two vowelless consonants, the $i$ and the - $l$ of the definite article prefixed to the noun following it. This elision is only carried out in the pronunciation and not in the writing, so that no confusion between the different persons in the sing. and pl. occurs.
THE VERB THAT IS DOUBLY WEAK

(379) ْرواَءْ (cf. Zamahšari, 182, Ibn Ya'is, X, 87-88, Howell, I, fasc. IV, 1671, IV, fasc. I, 1267-1268, 1529) is the pl. of ْرواَيْانَ, in which the w is changed into a y, and is then assimilated to the y on the pattern of ْفَمَلَّانُ. The base form of ْرواَاءْ is ْروَأِي, whose y is changed into a hamza as it occurs after an augmentative alif (cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, Maqṣūr 45). The change of its 2nd radical w is forbidden to avoid that two unsound weak consonants are combined together.

(380) For discussions concerning ْسَيَاطُ underlyingly ْسَيِاطُ see (267).
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### IV. ABBREVIATIONS

#### § 1. Abbreviations of terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>anno Domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.H.</td>
<td>anno Hegirae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>(Lat. exempli grata) for example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol.</td>
<td>folio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>(Lat. id est) that is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### § 2. Abbreviations of titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia</td>
</tr>
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<td>Arabica</td>
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<td>Bulletin des Études Arabes</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Journal of Arabic Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
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<td>JLA</td>
<td>Journal de linguistique arabe</td>
</tr>
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<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jewish Quarterly Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OL</td>
<td>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientalia</td>
<td>Orientalia. Commentarii Periodici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAL I</td>
<td>Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics I, Papers from the first Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAL V</td>
<td>Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics V, Papers from the Fifth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picss</td>
<td>Proceedings of the International Conference of Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORAS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SO</td>
<td>Studia Orientalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAL</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für arabischen Linguistik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. INDICES

§ 1. Index of Qur’anic quotations in the Marāḥ

The references are to the fols. of the Paris MS A indicated under each page of the Arabic Edition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qur’anic Quotations</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33b-34b (1: 7)</td>
<td>22a-23a (9: 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32a-32b (2: 237)</td>
<td>30b-31b (9: 109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36b-37a (2: 237)</td>
<td>30b-31b (10: 22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a-16a (7: 54)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 2. Index of verse quotations in the Marāḥ

33b-34b

أباه بحث ضاحك زهوق

5a-5b

أخود أخو مكشرة وضحلاة

34b-35a

عُنْرَوُ بِنَ مُسْتُوُّدُ شرار آلْنَات

13a-13b

فُتْشَكُ حَيْلِي قَدْ طَرَقْتُ وَمُرْضَع

لا هناد المرتع 21a-22a

34b-35a

لأهم ان كنت قيلت حجت

11b-12a

هويت السنان فشيمني

33b-34b

هيجت شوقٌ للشتناق

25b-26a

واخلقك اع الامر الذي وعدوا

35a-35b

وكفلك لألخصب البدنام
§ 3. Index of names in the Marāh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الأخفش</td>
<td>Sibwaih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30b-31b</td>
<td>7b-8b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14a-15a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الأصبغي</td>
<td>33b-34b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a-13b</td>
<td>2a-3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>البصريون</td>
<td>طنّيّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ابن جَنَّي</td>
<td>بنو عامر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b-27b</td>
<td>25b-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أهل الحجاز</td>
<td>الغزاة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a-23a</td>
<td>14a-15a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الخليل</td>
<td>الكوفيون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b-27b</td>
<td>22a-23a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(الزمخشري) جار الله العالمة</td>
<td>22a-23a . 12a-13a . 2a-3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b-18a</td>
<td>يونس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13a-13b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 4. Index of examples in the Marāḥ

This index includes most of the significant Arabic examples used in the Marāḥ. The references are to the fols. indicated under each page of the Arabic Edition.

- البَيْتَ
  24b-25b نَاثِرَةً
  22a-23a أُتْتَ
  24b-25b أَنْ
  24b-25b يُبَانِي
  21a-22a آيَاتُهُ

- الْحَمْرَاةُ
  3a-4a أَبِيُّ الْيَأْيُوبِ
  24b-25b أَبِيُّ، أُمِّيُّ
  22a-23a أُوْمِرَ
  33b-34b أَخْطَتْ

- الْبَيْاءُ
  21a-22a يُبَنِّي
  24a-24b باَذَّاءٍ، يُبَنِّي

- البَيْتُ
  7b-8b بِرَّ
  10b-11a يَبْتَغُي*
  20a-21a يَبْنَ

- الْجَمِيعُ
  7b-8b بَيِّنَ
  24b-25b بِرَّ
  20a-21a بِبَعْثَ
  3a-4a بِكُلِّ

- البَلْدَةُ
  10b-11a بِبَعْثَ
  21a-22a بِبَعْثَ
  3a-4a بِبَعْثَ
  4a-4b بِبَعْثَ

- الْمَلَائِكَةُ
  26b-27b بَيِّنَ، بِبَعْثَ، بَيِّنَ، بِبَعْثَ
  28a-30a بَيِّنَ، بِبَعْثَ، بَيِّنَ، بِبَعْثَ
INDEX OF EXAMPLES IN THE MARĀḤ

- التاء
  18a-19a
  21a-22a

- الثاء
  18a-19a
  21a-22a

- أتُّ، أتُّ، أتُّ
  4a-4b
  3a-4a

- تحمرُ
  4a-4b
  3a-4a

- حسب يحسب
  14a-15a
  4a-4b

- الحُمْلَة
  15a-16a
  3a-4a

- الجيم
  14a-15a
  3a-4a
  21a-22a

- جَبَّبُ جَبَّبُ
  2a-3a
  17b-18a
  28a-29a

- جَدَّدَ جَدَّدَ
  15a-16a

- المُحْزَرُ
  16b-17a
  4a-4b

- تجلّب
  4a-4b

- إِجْنَوْنَ
  34b-35a

- اجْدِعَوا
  14a-15a

- جَنَاح
  1b-2a
  4a-4b

- جَهْرُ
  21a-22a

- حَدِيْة
  27b-28a

- اجْتُنَّ، تجاوَرِ
  16b-17a

- جَوْرِب
  4a-4b

- تَجَوْرَب
  21a-22a

- جَنَّ
  24b-25b

- جَئِل
  21a-22a

- الحاء
  17b-18a

- حَبَّ، حَبَّ، حَبَّ بِحَبَّ
  16a-16b

- 20a-21a

- حَبِيُّ حَبِيُّ حَبِيُّ حَبِيُّ
  17b-18a

- الحَبِيُّ بِحَبِيُّ بِحَبِيُّ
  17b-18a

- 14a-15a

- 27b-28a

- الحَيْوَان
  27b-28a
الذال

34b-35b، 24b-25b
ذنب، ذيب
15a-16a
ذبحة، الذبحة
34b-35b
اذكر، أذكرو
19a-20a
ذكر
3a-4a
ذهاب
3a-4a
الذبحة
16b-17a
الراء
24b-25b
رأس، رأس
21a-22a
33a-35b
23a-24a
رأى، برى
24b-25b
رأى، برى
24a-24b
بري، برى
24a-24b
مرأى، مراه
24a-24b
مرأى، مراه
24a-24b
مراه، مرأى، أرى
12a-13a
رـ
35a-35b
راما
3a-4a
مرجع
17b-18a
رَّحمة، الرحمـ
17b-18а
رد، يرد

INDEX OF EXAMPLES IN THE MARRI

32a-32b, 28a-29a, 4b-5a

3a-4a

سُمَّى

سَأَلَ، مَسْلَّةً

21a-22a

24b-25b

سَأَلَ، يَسْأَلً

24b-25b

سَأَلَ، سَأَلَ

34b-35a, 19a-20a

السَّاجِدُ

16b-17a

34b-35a

سَأَلَ، سَأَلَ، سَأَلَ

17b-18a

3a-4a

17a-17b

3a-4a

16b-17a

15a-16a

33b-34b

16b-17a

15a-16a

33b-34b

16b-17a

15a-16a

33b-34b

16b-17a

15a-16a

33b-34b

16b-17a

15a-16a

33b-34b

16b-17a

15a-16a

4a-4b

14a-15a

27b-28a

36b-37a, 27b-28a

الشَّيْن

19a-20a

الشَّيْن

14a-15a

2a-3a

المَشْرَقُ

16b-17a

32b-32b

28a-29a

4b-5a

5a-5b

33b-34b

السَّمِّي، مَرْحَبٍ

16b-17a

33b-34b

السَّمِّي، مَرْحَبٍ

28a-29a

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي، مَرْحَبٍ

32b-33b

مَرْحَبٍ، مَرْحَبٍ، مَرْحَبٍ

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي، مَرْحَبٍ

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي، مَرْحَبٍ

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي

32b-33b

وَلَمْ رَأَيْتِي

32a-32b

28a-29a

23a-24a

4a-4b

1b-2a

15a-16a

35b-36b

36b-37a

رَأِي

الزَّاء

35a-35b

بَدِّلُ

3a-4a

زَرَّلَ، زَرَّلَ، ابْنُ زَرَّلَ

3a-4a

زَهَادَةُ

19a-20a

اِذَآرَانَ

- السَّيْن

24b-25b, 21a-22a

سَأَلَ، سَأَلَ

23a-24a

نَسَلُ، بَيِّنُ

22a-23a
INDEX OF EXAMPLES IN THE MARĀḤ

14a-15a
العَمّْامُ
11b-12a
فَخْرُ
15a-16a
عَدْوَةٌ
20a-21a
يُعْرَفُ
30b-31b
عَصِيٌّ، عُصْـ٣ـ٤١
17b-18a
عَضُّ يَـ٣ـ٤٢
15a-16a
مَعْطِيرٌ
36b-37a
مَعْطِشًا، 14a-15a
عُطَـ٣ـ٤٣
15a-16a
أَعْطًاٰهُم
5b-7a
المَعْطَآٰيٌّ
32a-32b
يُعْقَـ٣ـ٤٥
5a-5b
مَلْبَـ٣ـ٤٦
403
35a-35b
أَبُو عِجلٌ
10b-11a
عَلَـ٣ـ٤٧
3a-4a
، يَـ٣ـ٤٨
15a-16a
عَلَّـ٣ـ٤٩
12a-13a
عِمْرٌ، عُمَـ٣ـ٤١
35a-35b
عِمْرٌ، عِمْرٌ ، 5b-7a
27b-28a
عِورُ، إِـ٣ـ٤١
28a-29a
أَعْـ٣ـ٤٢
26b-34b
فَمْ يَـ٣ـ٤٣
36b-37a
أَعْـ٣ـ٤٤
3a-4a
عِـ٣ـ٤٥
3a-4a
غَـ٣ـ٤٦
7b-8b
يا غَـ٣ـ٤٧
28a-29a
تَـ٣ـ٤٨
26b-27b
الغَـ٣ـ٤٩
22a-23a مُقْرِبَة
30b-31b قُرْبَ
17b-18a قُرْدَد
18a-19a القُرْدَد
18a-19a أَقْرَرُ، أَقْرَرُ
17a-17b مقَضَّاء
30b-31b القُرْسِيَّة، فَعِيل
4a-4b أَطْعِرُ
18a-19a، 17b-18a تَطْسِيْبُ البَارِزِي
4a-4b قَطْع
33b-34b قَطْعِ اللَّهِ الْأَدِّيَّة
4a-4b اِعْمَسُسْ
10b-11a تَتْقَفُّ
4a-4b قَلْسِيَ، قَلْسِيَ
3a-4a قَلْسِيَ، بَيْعَيْنِ
26a-26b، 12a-13a قُوْنُةٌ، قَفَّةٌ
27b-28a الْقُوْنُة
35a-35b، 29a-30a، 27b-28a، 26b-27b قَالَ، قَالَ... 29a-30a قَالَ، قَالَ، قَالَ، قَالَ... 27b-28a، 29a-30a قَالَ... قَالَ، قَالَ، قَالَ، قَالَ... 33b-34b، 30a-30b قَالَ، قَالَ، قَالَ... 30b-31b الْقُوْلُ، مَفْوَلُ... 32a-32b الْقُوْلُ، مَفْوَلُ... 31b-32a قَوْلًا، قَوْلًا... 28a-29a مَفْوَلُ... 29a-30a مَا أَقْوَلُهُ... 30a-30b فَنَّ الْحَقِّ... 26b-27b الْقُوْنُة... 2a-3a قَامُ تَيَامَانِ... 27b-28a قَيَامُ... 3a-4a قَسْتُ قَانَاتًا...
INDEX OF EXAMPLES IN THE MARAJH

30a-30b
35a-35b
28a-29a
11a-11b

2a-3a
2a-3a
31b

3a-4a
2a-3a

4b-5a
14a-15a
34b-35a

4b-5a
12a
34b-35a

5a-5b
5a-5b

3a-4a
3a-4a

16b-17a
16b-17a

21a-22a
21a-22a

5b-7a
5b-7a

4b-5a
4b-5a

24b-25b
24b-25b

23a-25b
23a-25b

30a-30b
30a-30b

2b-3a
2b-3a

7b-8b
7b-8b

5b-7a
5b-7a

7b-8b
7b-8b

7a-7b
7a-7b

11b-12a
11b-12a

17a-17b
17a-17b

27b-28a
27b-28a

27b-28a
27b-28a

24b-25b
24b-25b

24b-25b
24b-25b

2a-3a
2a-3a

44b-44a
33b-34b
أجْوَةٌ

30b-31b
واحَدٌ، حَادٌ

33b-34b
أحْدَّ أَحْدًّا

33b-34b
وْحَةً، تَحْمَةً

9b-10b
وَرَنَّئِل

30b-31b، 26b-27b
مَيْزَانُ، مَيْزَانُ

33b-34b
اَشْحَدَ

33b-34b
أَوَاسِلُ

34b-35a
إِنْتَصَلَتْ

26a-26b
يَضُعُ يَوْضُعُ

25b-26
وَعَدُهُ وَعدُهُ

35b-36b
وَعَدُهُ يَعْدُ

25b-26a
عَدَدَةٌ

26a-26b
يَغْفِرُ، يَفْغِفُ

20a-21a، 35a-35b
مُوقِئُ، مُوقِئُ

26a-26b
الِمَوْعِدُ

16b-17a
موْعَدُ

13b-14a
وَعُلْ

34b-35a
مَيِّقَتُ

25b-26a
وَفَرَّ وَفَرَّ

18a-19a
وَفَرَّ يَعْرُ وَقَارَأَ

35b-36b
وَقَرَّ يَقِي

25b-26a
النَّكَائُنُ

15a-16a
أَوالاَمَنُ

9b-10b
وَوَجَّلُ

- الَيَاءُ -

7b-8b
يَا

24b-25b
يَنِسْ يَيَاسُ

33b-34b
أَدْيَةٌ

25b-26a
يَسَرُّ يَسَرَ

26b-27b
أَيُّسِرُ، يَسِيرُ، يَسِيرُ

22a-23a
يُسْرُ، يُسِرُ، يُسِرُ

28a-29a
أَيُّسِرُ، مُسِيرُ، موْسِرُ

28a-29a
يَسِيرُ، مُسِرُ، موْسِرُ

35a-35b
يَسِيرُ، يَسِيرُ، يَسِيرُ

12a-13a
يَسِيرُ، يَسِيرُ، يَسِيرُ
§ 5. Index of Qur’anic quotations in the Introduction and Commentary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sur.</th>
<th>v.</th>
<th>par. or p.</th>
<th>Sur.</th>
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<th>par. or p.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>(233), (368)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>(192), (207)</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>(173 b), (263)</td>
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<td>167</td>
<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>(170)</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<td>143</td>
<td>(44 b)</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>(228 b)</td>
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<td>(207)</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>(248)</td>
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<td>(105 b)</td>
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<td>(305)</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>(348 b)</td>
<td>9:</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>(291)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>(173 b)</td>
<td>9:</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>p. 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>(190), (207)</td>
<td>10:</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(228 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>280</td>
<td>(248)</td>
<td>10:</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(296)</td>
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<td>282</td>
<td>(142)</td>
<td>10:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(191), (207)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>(173 b)</td>
<td>10:</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(204)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(173 b)</td>
<td>10:</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>(105 b), (288)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>(105 b)</td>
<td>11:</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>(24 c)</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>(24 g)</td>
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<td>(298)</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>(348 d)</td>
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<td>142</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>(105 b), (224)</td>
<td>12:</td>
<td>76</td>
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<td>(173)</td>
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<td>(202)</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>(296 b)</td>
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<td>Indice</td>
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<td>(38)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>(82 b)</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>(109)</td>
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<td>(110 b)</td>
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<td>(295 b)</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>(163)</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>(9)</td>
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<td>23:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(45), (224)</td>
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<td>(24 c)</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>(348 b)</td>
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<td>(330)</td>
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<td>91</td>
<td>(235)</td>
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<td>(173 b)</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>(263), (353)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>26:</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>(296 b)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>26:</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>(296)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26:</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26:</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>(51 e)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26:</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>(24 c)</td>
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<td>27:</td>
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<td>(241)</td>
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<td>(44 b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(23 b)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>(345 b)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>(190), (207)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(105 b)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>(330)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(288)</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>(307 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(295 b)</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(180)</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(228 b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 6. Index of Qur’anic readers in the Introduction and Commentary

‘Abd Allâh b. Abî Ishâq (233)
Abû ‘Amr (92), (109), (173, b), (202), (204), (205), (224), (263), (307), (321)
Abû Bakr (204), (205), (263)
Abû l-Dârâ (296)
Abû Ğa’far (46), (51 f), (205)
Abû Ḥâyya al-Numârî (327 c)
Al-A’maš (205)
‘Amr b. ‘Ubâd (327 b)
Al-A’rağ (205)
‘Âsim (24 b), (35), (110 b), (183), (205),
Ayyûb al-Sîtiyyâni (327)
Al-Fa’d b. Gâzwân (180)
Hafîs (291)
Ḥamza p. 2, (35), (53 b), (110 b), (173), (205), (209), (228 b), (263), (291), (307), (348 d)
Al-Ḥâṣan al-Baṣrî (120), (205), (296 c)
Ḥâṣâm (46), (205)
Ibn ‘Abbâs (202)
Ibn al-‘Alâ’ (see Abû ‘Amr)
Ibn ‘Âmir (35), (109), (228 b), (233), (266), (307), (348 d)
Ibn Daḵwân (205)
Ibn Kâṭir (109), (205), (263), (291), (307), (327 b), (327 c), (368)
Ibn Mas’ûd (202), (328 c)
Ibn Muğâhid (51 b)
Ibn Waṭṭâb (51 f)
Al-Kisâ’î (46), (110 b), (163), (173 b), (205), (228 b), (235), (236), (263), Nâfi’ (125 g), (183), (204), (224), (241), (263), (266), (307)
Al-Nâhî (51 f)
Qâlûn (205)
Qunbul (327 c)
Ṣa’îd b. Ǧubâir (322)
Al-Sûsî (307)
Ṭâlîh b. Muṣârâf (45), (180), (239 b)
Ubbay (348 b)
Waŗ (205)
Ya’qûb al-Ḥadrâmi (109), (173 b), (263)
Zâid b. Ṭâbît (120), (348 b)
§ 7. Index of verse quotations in the Commentary

(60 b) آذنتنا بينها أسماءٌ...

(140) إنّما بعدت نياتًا لا ياضعٌ لَهُ

(224) أبلغنا دُخُنتس مالكةٌ

(51 c) أبياً أبيك وطلبي تذكري

(51 d) أخادر أن تعلم بها فتردها

(327 c) أحبب الموقدين إلى موسى

(20 b) أخاد أخاد إنّا نَمّا أخا له

(51) إنّما عُجُور غضب طلق

(212) إذا الأهلات فنحن الوجه

(170) إذا الكرام أُنذرو اللب بدر

(29) إذا غاب عنّا غاب عنّا فرانتا

(239 c) إذا قال قطعي قلت له اللالة

(237) إذا قام قومٌ يسألون ملكهم

(265) إذا لم يكن فينّك ظل ولا جنى

(345 b) إذا ما تروع فينا الفعلٌ

(358) إذا ما عاد أريعة فالس

(51 d) إذا ما غدونا قال ولدان اهدنا

(331) أريي آين نزار قد جفاني وعسي

(236) أريد أنّا كاتم لِله

(125 f) أريد إنّا جات بِهِ مولود

(236) أريدك أنّك كلام حبي

(236) أريدك أنّك كلام يجري

(236) أمّي غنيي ما لم تراجع

(307 b) استعن ما أغننا ركّ بالغني

(125 c) أضرع عند الهوى طرفاها

(328 b) أعن ترضيت من خوفها، مرارة

(338) أعد لنا في الرحاب حريرة

(24 c) أتَائتِي حيتي لا أرى في مقاطع

(41) أقول لها، ودمع العين جار

(344) ألا أبلغ لي وقولاً لها

(24 c) الحَدَّ لله مسأنا وصيحة

(41) إلى أن دعا داعي الصباح فحُبعل

(36) أمّا أشتكى يا مولاي حسن قدّنتني

(322) أمّا الآادة فاستولت ركابها

(25) امتّن عبّاده، هل تأتي معاً؟

(51 b) إنّا تقرا على أسّاء، ونحصّنا

(296 c) إقامة المثل مسجف بطّاغ اليهوى

(73) آنا سيسب المشرّر قانفوني

(248) إن الخطيط أُنجّى أبيّن فانجدروا

(143 c) إنّنا سلّم أسماءً، نَفّي لنا

(234) إنّ لنا يأتي بطّاغ على الأناس ألماني

(24) إنّ الله مثّل ما وقفت

(60) إنّ من الأؤوين أخوان كثرة

(263) إنّا ليست من عيش كنبّا

(235 b) إنّي إذا ما حُدتُ أُنا

(212) إنّي لبيرة خبر في الّباب

(133) أهدموا بيتنا، لا أبا لَا

(121) بل فلذ لنا المنقّاج قبل

(38) بنوّي سيدة النبات

(235) تروحاً من اللب، عصرًا

(235) تروحاً من اللب، فصرًا

(27) ثلاثة أحبّ حتّى علقة

(331) جاوروا بجيش أو فيس معرسفه

(140) جارية في درهمها الفضفض

(340 b) حَتَّى إذا ما أضجت وأمسج

(295 b) حُتَّى ذكرت بعضاً وهيبة

(261) حُتَّى لا يحلّ الدهر إلا بإذنها

(233) حَوْق إذا ما قَوْم أبدوا فكاهة

(339) خالٍ عنيف وابو علينا

(125 c) دأمن سعدك لى وحست مثبّا

(364) دّكرت أنّ بالبيب وباب آب

(37) راحّت بسرّة الثقل غلاب عنيبة

(330) ربّ رآم من بني نعّل
كان صوته الساحق في مسلمة (24)

كحيلة من أبي رياح (235)

كيف بالتأتي من أنساء كافى (23)

لا تكون الليلك قد وُلِّد (125)

لا لا أحب أن ينتهي😉 (20)

لا أتَّمَّ إن كنت قبلا حجم (340)

لا يعود الله أثابنا تركلهم (307)

لدى أسد شاهي السلاج مغفر (292)

فقد ذكرنا على أجل (315)

لقد كان له عن ضرورتين عدمينتي (83)

لقيت أبّة السهفي ينبرع عن عفر (331)

لا تركوا لعفائه لحا ما لا قواده معقولا (24)

لا رأي أن لا ذته ولا شرع (371)

ليها استمر من لحم شمسة (357)

لو ظن أن قط الساءيش (243)

لو ضر عمي منه البان والصخير (109)

لمكن أيها الخنساء بقليل وصلة (167)

ليح وحده يتبين شينا لبيت (298)

ليس من مات مسأله ببيت (264)

ما أنت بالحكم الضرى حكمة (115)

ما أنس لا أنساء آخر عيشتي (51)

ما أطول حل بين أنتيهما الدار (45)

ملكون أو صبر تركلم رذية (121)

معاذ الله إن تكون كفيلة (235)

من لا يزال شاكل على ألسنة (115)

مسرحا عنه ذقالابة الحق (336)

نور أمرنا أنا الله فيتي (170)

بعم الساعون في الصلت السع (29)

هوجو ريان ثم جبت معتدرا (51)

فهذا حتاى ورحمة (363)

هل تعفف فدان على تراكا (77)

هل بنعلون الطول إن هبّهم (367)

هو الذي أتراب أثابنا نائلة (197)

وأبى أيضا تقصي بعد جدته (239)

وايض من ما الجديد كانه (140)

وأنت صاحبها فلازن هذا الدي (343)
ياً قوم قد حُولْتَ أو ذُنوت (41)
ياً ليت أنا ضمانًا سفينه (263)
ياً ليت شعرُي، أنَّ غَدًا عُجُبة (73)
ياً ليتها قد خرجت من قَبْرَه (363)
يا مرحبًا بِحَمْرَةَ مَعْرًا (345)
يا مَرْيَمْ يا بني وَافِقُ يا أَنْتَ (60)
يا مَيّ لا غَرَبِ ولا مَلَاحِ (38)
يا هَالِكَ ذَات النَّطق السَّنَمَ (366)
يُبَارَى في الآلي قَلِتَ لَهُ (344)
يُقْدِيِدُ يا زَرعٌ أَبِي وَخالِي (359)

ياً قُومٌ، يا عادٌ غَدِبُ الله بِحَجَرٍ فَزَادِي (18)
ياً قُومٌ، يا عادٌ الغَدِبُ الله بِحَجَرٍ فَزَادِي (18)
ياً قُومٌ، يا عادٌ الغَدِبُ الله بِحَجَرٍ فَزَادِي (18)
ياً قُومٌ، يا عادٌ الغَدِبُ الله بِحَجَرٍ فَزَادِي (18)
### § 8. Index of poets in the Commentary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poet Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami</td>
<td>295 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha al-Ansāri</td>
<td>125 (d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al-Aswad b. 'Āmir b. Guwain al-Tā'ī</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al-Aswad al-Tā'ī</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al-Qais b. Ḥafṣāf</td>
<td>307 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd Yaqūt b. Waqqās al-Hārīṭi</td>
<td>51, (262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd b. al-Abras</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abī l-Aswad al-Tā’ī</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū Kāhil al-Yaškari</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abī l-Naqūm</td>
<td>109, (338), (348) d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abī ‘Umaitai</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū Umayya al-Darū</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Utbā b. Abī Lahab</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abī Zaid: Sa‘īd b. Aṣ b. Ṭābit al-Ansārī</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Āṣā</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ba‘īth b. Hurairāt</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bint ‘Abbāl-Hārīṭ al-Yarbū’ī</td>
<td>235 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīr b. Abī Ḥāzim</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buqair b. Guanama al-Tā’ī</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dū Ḍādan al-Ḥumairi</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukān</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūl-Ruma</td>
<td>233, (328) b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Farazdaq</td>
<td>23 (15), 292 (b), (295) b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāmī‘ b. ‘Amr b. Murāhiya</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kalb</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamīl</td>
<td>20 (d), 22 (c), 51 (d), 121, (343)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garīr</td>
<td>243 (c), 327 (c), 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gīrān al-Awd</td>
<td>83, (209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥašāf al-Aḥmar</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ḥānsa‘</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥassān b. Ṭābit al-Anṣārī</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥumāid b. Ḥuraij b. Ḍabhāl al-Kalbī</td>
<td>73 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurairāt b. ‘Annāb al-Nabhann al-Tā’ī</td>
<td>239 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrāhīm</td>
<td>22 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Bāṭār b. Bkh</td>
<td>60 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Ṭābit al-Ansārī al-Sabībī</td>
<td>345 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ilbā‘ b. Ḍəqāq b. Yaškari</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immū‘ l-Qāis</td>
<td>51 (d), 60 (b), 121, (330), 358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Isâ b. 'Umar</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismā‘il b. Yassār</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Iyād b. Durra al-Tā’ī</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka‘b b. Mālik al-Ansārī</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutayyir</td>
<td>170 (c), 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labīd b. Rabī‘a al-‘Āmirī</td>
<td>243, (344)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma‘ūn b. ‘Āmir</td>
<td>23, (328) b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maisūn bint Bahdāl</td>
<td>51 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānsūr b. Miṣqāh al-Dabbī</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manzūr b. Muṭṭīd al-Asadī</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marḥab al-Yahūdī</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayyā bint 'Umm Utba</td>
<td>235 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Abbas</td>
<td>51 (c), 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miskīn al-Dārīmi</td>
<td>20 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudārris b. Rabī‘ al-Asadī</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhālīb Abī Lāli‘ ‘Adī b. Rabī‘a</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ta’lībī</td>
<td>140 (b), 345 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahšal b. Ḥarrī</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusaib</td>
<td>18, (114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Qaisī</td>
<td>340 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quṣāyy b. Kīlāb</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Rā‘ī</td>
<td>25, (147)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakkād b. Abbaq al-Dubairī</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru‘bā‘ b. al-Aγgāg</td>
<td>24 (c), 41, 51, 121, 125 (f), 140, (170), 298, (363), (366), (367)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruwāṣīd b. Kaṭīr al-Tā’ī</td>
<td>296 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ṣāhi‘</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālim b. Dāra al-Gaṭafānī</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šāmr b. ‘Amr al-Ḥanafi</td>
<td>93 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sulāik b. al-Salik al-Sa‘dī</td>
<td>295 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surāqa b. Mirdās al-Azdi al-Bārīqī</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamīmī b. Abī Muṣṭil</td>
<td>307 (d), 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta‘āfa</td>
<td>25, (29), (125) c, 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṭarīf b. Tamīm al-‘Ambarī al-Tamīmī</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Udai</td>
<td>73 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Uḡair al-Safūlī</td>
<td>77 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Umānī al-Rāğīz</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Umar b. Abī Rabi‘a</td>
<td>53, (181), (318), (343)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umayyā b. Abī al-Ṣālī</td>
<td>24 (c), 235 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm al-Banīn bint ‘Utaib b. al-Hārīṭ</td>
<td>235 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm al-Ḥuṣayn</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Umrān b. Ḥaṭṭān</td>
<td>110 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Urwā b. Ḥizām</td>
<td>345 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazīd b. al-Ta‘ṣrī</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaid b. ‘Amr b. Nufair al-Qurašī</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā al-Muzanī</td>
<td>197, (292), (307)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The page numbers in parentheses are indicative of the sections or subsections in the commentary.*
§ 9. Index of peoples, tribes, leaders, celebrities, schools, places, languages and deities in the Introduction and Commentary

'Abd al-`Aziz (363)
'Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwān (170), (327)
'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (248)
Abū l-Fath p. 12
Abū Sufyān (133)
`Ād (224)
Adam (12 b), (53)
Adonis (235 c)
Akkadian (46 b), (73 c), (77), (139), (169), (235 b), (376)
`Āli b. Abī Tālib p. 6, (5), (27), (292), (363)
Allatu (235 c)
`Amr b. Mas`ūd (334)
Ancient West Semitic (301)
Ancients p. 30
Al-Andalus p. 5, (372)
Al-Anṣār (269), (348 b), (348 b)
Apollo (235 c)
Arab p. 28, 33, (13), (43), (55), (63), (64), (176), (188 b)
Arabic p. 24, 28, 30, (12), (13 b), (14 c), (22), (39), (45), (46), (58), (60), (71), (73 c), (77), (89 b), (91), (93), (97), (105), (111 b), (132), (134), (136), (153), (157), (158), (169), (177 b), (180), (188 b), (212), (225), (233), (235), (242), (246), (258), (328 c), (348 b), (367), (372 b), (376)
Arabs p. 30, 33, (14 b), (32), (36), (37), (40), (42), (45), (51 f), (71), (77 d), (81 b), (82 b), (89 b), (97), (100), (118), (125 d), (133), (138), (217), (232), (233), (235 c), (236), (241), (252), (275), (284), (329), (340 c), (348 d), (353), (372)
Aramaic (39 b), (100), (217), (219), (222), (225), (231), (301), (348 b), (367)
Asad (77 d), (82 b), (100), (179)
Assyrian (217), (367)
Azd (328 c), (364)
Babylonian (235 c)
Bagdad (12)
Baghdadian p. 4, (12)
Bahilā (331)
Bahara` (99)
Bakr b. Wa`il (82 b), (109), (344)
Banū `Adiy (36)
Banū `Āmīr (181), (243)
Banu l-Anbar b. Tamīm (368)
Banū `Awf b. Sa`d (336)
Banū Dubair (298)
Banu Faḥ`as (298)
Banū l-Hāırī b. Ka`b (81 b)
Banū Ibād (104)
Banū Kīnāna (335)
Banū Māzīn (24 c), (367)
Banū Sa`bāh (51 d)
Banu Sa`d (339)
Banū Taim Allāh b. Ṭallaba (141)
Banū Ṭu`al (330)
Banū Ṭūr (115 b)
Banū Ya`shkar (357)
Banū Ya`shur (357)
Basrans p. 3, 6, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, (10), (12 b), (13 b), (14 b), (18)-(20), (21), (28), (29), (40), (43), (46 b), (48), (53 b), (60), (73 b), (77), (84 b), (91), (93), (101), (111), (114), (120)-(123), (139), (140), (174), (216), (228 b), (230), (235 b), (263), (311), (338)
Beduin p. 28
Biblic Aramaic (231)
Brussa p. 9, 10
Byblos (132)
Christian Arabic (235)
Classical p. 30
Constantinople p. 16
Dābba (51 d)
Damascus (269)
Daţına (5), (27), (328 c), (364)
Dūma (147)
Eastern (99)
Ethiopic (73 c), (77), (180), (222), (225), (242), (258), (293), (301), (316), (348 b)
Europe p. 5
Fāris (121)
French p. 5
German p. 5
Greek p. 28, (10 b), (63), (71), (125 d)
Guhrumis (121)
Hadramaut (82 b)
Ḥamdān (77 d)
Ḥarim b. Sinān (197)
Ḥarqā` (328 b)
Hartūs (145)
Hasan p. 6
Hawmū b. `Uwāl (235 c)
Ḥawat b. Ğubair al-Ansāri (141)
Hebrew (5), (39), (73 c), (77), (97), (98), (100), (132), (139), (217), (222), (225), (258), (293), (301), (322), (337), (348 b), (367)
Herodotos (235 c)
Ḥīḡāzī (32), (38), (80 b), (89 b), (99), (113), (163), (181), (184), (215), (232), (236), (240), (241), (295 b), (332)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Yās b. Muḍar</td>
<td>(212)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazīd</td>
<td>(51 c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Yazīdī</td>
<td>(173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>(355), (364)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemenites</td>
<td>(27), (82 b), (328 c), (334),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusuf Ali</td>
<td>(235 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaqqūm</td>
<td>(348 d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## § 10. Index of authors and titles in the Introduction and Commentary

The authors are those used in the bibliographical references and those referred to in the Introduction and Commentary. The titles are only those used in the bibliographical references, and do not include those cited in the Introduction and Commentary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Pages Referenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Abbas (295 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd Allâb b. Abî Ishâq (3 b), (233)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Azîz (53), (147), (149 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Alâmîd (11), (39 b), (41), (169), (181), (213), (242), (258), (301), (376)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Mahdî [Al-Hanafî] p. 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Qâdir (44 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Qâdir Rashîd [Hulûsî Zâdah] pp. 21-22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Râhimî (10), (11), (29), (34), (35), (39 b), (138), (169), (174), (213), (242), (243), (258), (279), (301)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Râhimî [I'llâlî p. 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Rahman al-Badawî p. 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Rahmân b. Haflî Rûmî p. 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Rahmân b. Hurmûz (3 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abd al-Tawwâbî p. 6, (14 b), (50), (170), (190), (207), (265), (292), (316), (323), (331)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Abdat (39 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abed p. 30, (46 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdî (180)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Abbas Abîmahd b. Yahyâ [Ta'lab], see Ta'lab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Abbas [al-Baiûrîyî], see al-Baiûrîyî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Abbas [Muhammad b. Yazîd Muhammad], see Muhammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Ali [al-Fârisî], see al-Fârisî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Ali al-Salawbîn p. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Amr b. 'Alâ'î (51), (202), (345 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Aswad al-Du'allî (3 b), (133), (236)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Bakr (17), (21), (38), (40)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Bakr b. al-Qawwâlîya [Ibn al-al-Qawwâlîya] p. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Mansûr Ibn al-Hasyââyî (40)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Bakr Muhammad b. al-Qâsim b. al-Anbârî (17), (21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Bîsî Mattâ b. Yûnus p. 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Fath [Ibn 'Çinnî], see Ibn 'Çinnî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Ğâfar al-Nahjâhsî (292)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Ğâfar al-Ru'âsî p. 3, (92)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Haidar, F., p. 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Haidar, J., (23), (60 b), (342)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu l-Hajîrî (235)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Hanîfa p. 5, (10), (22 c), (41)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu l-Hasan (38), (46 b), (74 b), (279), (343)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu l-Hasan al-Âhfaš al-Šâquîr (74 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Hasan Mubârâk p. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Hasan 'Ali b. al-Muzaffar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Hasan [al-Dabbâg], see al-Dabbâg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Hasan Muhammad b. Kaisân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Huqûq (13 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Ishâq [Zâqqâq], see Zâqqâq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Mansûr (202), (262)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Muqaddas al-I'sâhâni p. 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Muhammad 'Abd Allâh b. Muslim (92)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Nâghî (109), (338), (348 d)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Rida (13 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Samî (228 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Ubâid (39 b), (170), (373)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Ubâida (202), (222)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Umar al-ɀarmî p. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû 'Uṭmân [al-Mâzînî], see al-Mâzînî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû l-Waqî p. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Yûsuf (46)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abû Zaid [Anšârî], see Anšârî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afandaî (45), (51), (152 b), (170), (197), (220), (236), (237), (248), (327 c), (370)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ağâqâq (24 c), (51), (140), (170), (327), (336), (340 b), (363), (366), (367)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Âhfaš [al-Awsat] p. 3, (10), (50), (60), (74 b), (87), (133), (295), (327 c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahlwardt p. 7, 13, (24 c), (295 b), (307), (370)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Mas'ûd, see Ibn Mas'ûd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Mas'ûd b. 'Abd Allâh [Ibn Saqqâ], see Ibn Saqqâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad b. al-Ţâyyîb al-Šarâfî p. 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahrens (177 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahtal (29), (109)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åkesson (29), (33), (34), (45), (51 d), (54), (60 b), (81 b), (109), (110 b), (307 b, c, d), (312), (320), (328 b), (369)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec (53), (125 b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali (5), (27), (292), (363)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. 'Isâ al-Raba'i p. 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. Safâr p. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Âlusî [Muhammad Hâmîd] p. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anîs (29), (60)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anšârî, [Abû Zaid], (215), (228 b), (334), (340)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anšârî, b. 'T., (237)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Antara (307)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ibn al-Sarrāq p. 4, (53 b), (60), (77 b, c), (114), (125 g), (130), (180), (220), (237), (269), (270), (307, c, d), (331), (339), (340, b), (357), (370)
Ibn Sīdā (13), (29), (292)
Ibn al-Sikkāt p. 6, (170), (334), (357), (370), (373)
Ibn Sīnā (13 b)
Ibn Taymiyya (13 b)
Ibn Tīgūbirādī p. 4
Ibn ‘Udā‘ais (243)
Ibn ‘Usfūr p. 5, (3), (35), (41), (51), (106), (170), (173), (174), (211), (212), (220), (235), (236), (242), (243), (258), (295 b), (301), (312), (313), (315), (317), (318, b), (319)-(321), (324), (325), (327, c), (328, b), (332), (334), (337)-(340, b), (342), (343), (345), (348, c), (351), (355), (356)-(359), (363), (364), (366), (367), (371), (373), (375), (376)
Ibn Wālīyād p. 6, (25), (133), (219), (269), (330), (355), (357), (363)
Ibn Ya‘rī p. 5, 6, 25, (3), (10), (11), (12), (22 c), (23, b), (24, c), (25), (26), (27), (41), (42), (43), (44), (45), (48), (51, b, c), (53, b), (54), (56), (57), (59), (60, b), (62, 63), (64)-(68), (73 b, c), (74, b), (77), (78), (81), (83), (84 b), (89), (91)-(93), (96), (105), (106), (109), (110 c), (120), (122), (125, b, c), (130), (132), (133), (136), (138), (140), (143 b), (144), (146), (156), (157), (159), (164), (165), (169), (170), (173 b), (177), (178), (180), (196), (197), (208), (211), (212), (216), (220), (222)-(225), (228 b), (231), (233), (234), (235 b), (236), (237), (242), (243), (258), (262), (263), (269, b), (270), (274), (279), (281), (282), (292), (295 b), (298), (301), (307, b, d), (312)-(327, b), (328, b), (330)-(332), (334)-(340, b), (341)-(345, b, c), (347), (348, b, d), (349)-(351), (353), (355)-(360), (361), (363), (364), (366)-(368), (370)-(372), (373), (375), (379)
‘Īd p. 30
Imrū‘u l-Qais (358)
‘Īsā b. ‘Umar (215)
İsmail (3 b), (6)
Jastrow (217), (328 c)
Jeffery (328 c), (368)
Al-Kaffāwī [Hamīd] p. 5
Kafrawī (364)
Kabhbāl p. 10
Karmālī (99)
Kelğren p. 5, (22 c), (25), (26), (27), (32), (41), (94), (99), (163), (165), (168)
Al-Kīlānī p. 6
Al-Kindī p. 5, 30
Al-Kisâ’t p. 3, (12), (45), (46), (80 b), (92), (110 b), (120), (130), (163), (173 b), (205), (222), (228 b), (235), (236), (263), (307), (343)
Knutsson p. 21
Köfler (99), (367)
Kopf p. 28
Kösüt (51)
Kouloughli p. 27, (3), (43), (265), (276), (277), (284)
Kronholm (138)
Kuryłowicz (116)
Kuṭayyīr (170), (327)
Labīd [b. Rabī‘a l-‘Āmirī] (344)
Laḥmī (372)
Al-Lait (44 b)
Landberg (27), (364)
Lane (12), (14, b), (16), (25), (31), (43), (62 b), (64), (106), (133), (140), (141), (151), (152), (154), (161), (168), (170), (171), (177), (183), (189), (191), (194), (197), (198), (200), (202), (207), (209), (253), (269), (271, b), (275), (295 b), (296), (296 c), (303), (339), (340), (363), (367), (368), (374)
Larcher (39 b)
Lawkār (13 b)
Leemhuis (29), (39 b)
Leslau (5)
Levi Della Vida 13
Al-Lāḥyānī (243), (343)
Lekkegaard (139)
Loucel (3 b)
Lugāwī (3 b), (138), (327), (338), (339), (340), (373)
Lumsden (41)
Ma‘arrī (12 b)
Maḍkūr p. 28
Mağ numérique (23), (328 b)
Maḥzūmī (12), (46 b), (93), (114)
Al-Mādinānī p. 5
Makki (44 b), (205)
Malā‘ika (22 c)
Marçais (39 b)
Al-Marqānī [Kāzīm] p. 6
Marzūbānī (46), (355)
Massignon (4), (10 b)
Matouš (46 b)
Al-Māznī [Abū ‘Uṭmān] p. 3, 4, 24, (41), (51), (106), (202), (275), (322), (367)
Méhiri p. 4, 6, 24, 25
Meillet p. 30
Merx (10 b)
Mingana p. 13
Mokhīlīs p. 29, (41), (228 b), (319), (319),
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moscati</td>
<td>(72), (73 c), (77), (169), (242), (258), (301), (376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'addib</td>
<td>p. 4, 5, 33, (11), (12), (22 c), (24 c), (29), (41), (42), (44 b), (45), (50), (51), (60), (73 c), (74 b), (77 c), (91), (92), (105 b), (106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qirra Sanān</td>
<td>p. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qudrāma</td>
<td>p. 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutrub</td>
<td>(44 c), (43 b), (73 c), (74 b), (92), (111), (115 b), (171)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rābīn</td>
<td>(27), (33), (38), (51 e), (77 d), (80 b), (81 b), (82 b), (92), (99), (100), (113), (215), (307), (328 c), (348 b), (364), (367), (368)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raddīd</td>
<td>(228 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rādi</td>
<td>(52), (60), (65), (93 c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāghūl</td>
<td>(10), (12), (44 b), (46 b), (93 c), (114), (118), (120), (174 b), (227 b), (263), (307), (331), (348 d), (371)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymundus</td>
<td>p. 5, (94), (168)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāzī</td>
<td>(50 b), (52), (89), (170), (323), (334), (359), (366), (367), (370)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reckendorf</td>
<td>(20 b), (46), (53), (93), (121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redslab</td>
<td>(14 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retso</td>
<td>(13), (39 b), (132), (134), (138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuschel</td>
<td>(232)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riād</td>
<td>(3 b), (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūādā</td>
<td>(99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIMA</td>
<td>p. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>p. 3, (12), (13 b), (29), (39 b), (41), (170), (173), (174), (188 b), (216), (226), (235 b), (237), (242), (258), (270), (301), (347), (364), (376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenthal</td>
<td>(39 b), (232)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowton</td>
<td>(46 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ru'āsī</td>
<td>[Abū Ġa'far] p. 3, (92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Rummānī</td>
<td>p. 4, (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rundgren</td>
<td>(10 b), (12 b), (13), (93), (194), (328 c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūzīgāḥa</td>
<td>(328 c), (367)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sābī'</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sābīyānī</td>
<td>[Abū 'Amr] p. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Sacy</td>
<td>p. 7, (11), (12), (34), (41), (43), (53 b), (101), (115 b), (138), (140), (143 b), (144), (160), (169), (180), (181), (183), (185), (190), (192), (195), (198), (199), (202), (205), (207), (209), (213), (218), (225), (227 b), (237), (242), (244), (249), (256), (258), (293), (301), (310), (312), (327 c), (328 b), (343), (364), (376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāğīrī</td>
<td>(44 b), (51 d, f), (87), (93, c, d), (239 b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safadi</td>
<td>p. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sāfīt</td>
<td>p. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sāḥāwī</td>
<td>p. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sā'īd b. Muṣṭafa al-Na'sān</td>
<td>p. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanān al-Dīn Yūsuf [Qirra]</td>
<td>p. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanīn</td>
<td>(60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saraqūstī</td>
<td>p. 6, (36), (39 b), (41), (262), (363)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF AUTHORS AND TITLES IN THE INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

Zain al-Din Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tabrizi p. 5
Zamašari p. 25, 26, (10), (12), (16), (22), (23), (24), (25), (26), (27), (39 b), (41), (43), (44), (45), (48), (51), (53), (54), (57), (59), (60), (64), (68), (81), (83), (84) b, (89), (91), (92), (93) c, (96), (105), (106), (114), (125) b, (130), (132), (136), (138), (141), (143), (146), (147), (159), (162), (168), (170), (173), (175), (176), (180), (187), (188) b, (189), (190), (192), (193), (194), (197), (199), (200), (203) b, (207), (208), (212), (219), (220), (222), (224), (228) b, (232), (233), (234), (235), (236), (239) c, (244), (248), (249), (263), (267), (269) b, (270), (273), (274), (276), (282), (292), (295) b, (305), (307) d, (312), (313), (316), (318) b, (319), (327), (328), (329), (330), (332), (334), (335), (337), (339), (340), (341), (343), (345) b, (347), (348), (349), (351), (355), (357), (361), (363), (364), (366), (367), (368), (370), (372), (373), (375), (379)
Zanqani p. 5, 6, 8, 25, 26, (11) (39) b, (159), (165), (169), (213), (242), (258), (295), (301), (376)
Zarkashi (93) b
Zaydân p. 10, 11
Zenker p. 5
Zubaidi p. 3, 4, 27, (3) b, (12), (40), (43) b, (138), (232), (373)
Zuhair (197), (292), (307)

Wild (232)
Wright p. 7, 25, (11), (16), (22) b, (24) b, (25), (26), (29), (30) b, (31), (32), (34), (35), (37), (39) b, (40)-(42), (44), (49), (50) b, (51) d, (52), (54), (59), (64), (81) b, (83), (86), (91), (92), (94), (97), (101), (105), (109), (110) c, (111) b, (114), (115) b, (117), (118), (125), (132), (134), (136), (138), (139), (143) b, (144)-(149) b, (150), (153), (156), (160), (162), (169), (171), (173), (176), (180), (181), (184), (185), (187), (190), (192) c, (195)-(199), (207), (213), (217), (218), (222), (223), (225), (227), (231), (236), (237), (241)-(243), (256), (258), (261)-(263), (270), (275), (292), (301), (307), (309), (310), (316), (322), (337), (344), (345) b, (346), (347), (348) d, (349), (354), (363), (364), (370), (376)
Yahya b. 'Abd ar-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Malik Ar-Razi (3)
Yahya b. Ya'mar (3) b
Yale p. 13
Yaqūb (292)
Yaqūt p. 3, 4, (12), (40)
Yasū'î (177) b
Al-Yazgī p. 7
Yūnus p. 3, (65), (129), (130), (171)
Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh p. 16
Yūsuf b. 'Abd-al-Malik [Ibn Baṣṣāyiš], see Ibn Baṣṣāyiš
Zabdi (3), (5), (43), (138), (216), (235) c, (243)
Zagāgī [Abū Iṣḥāq Iṣḥāq b. 'Umar] p. 4, 6, 27, (39) b, (43) b, (74) b, (170)
Zagāgī p. 27, 28, 30, (3) b, (10) b, (12) b, (17)-19), (21), (22) c, (40), (43) b, (45), (46) b, (50), (51) c, (55), (58), (62), (74) b, (76) b, (77), (92), (108), (114), (120), (122), (202), (235), (263), (344), (345) b, (363), (373)
§ 11. Glossary and subject-index of the Commentary

The topics are selective only, and refer to the Commentary and to the English Translation by paragraph number. The numbers followed by letters refer to the sub-paragraphs in the Commentary only. These contain mostly additional material connected in some manner with the basic topics.

'A interrogation. The insertion of the 'a to the definite article and its lengthening (229), (233 b).
Absolute mušlaq (12).
Accidental 'ārid (54), (184), (223), (288), (289), (304).
Active-participle ism al-fā'il (136...). Anomalous case of an active participle of Form I of the triliteral formed on the measure of the passive participle of a verb of Form IV and of Form IV formed on the measure of the active participle of the verb of Form I (154). Anomalous case of an active participle of Form VIII whose kasra of the 2nd radical is elided (109). The active-participle being designated as al-fi'l al-dā'um "the permansive verb" by the Kufans (46 b), (136). The active participle as a substitute for the maṣdar (23). The maṣdar formed according to the measure of fā'il (23 b). The active participle as a substitute for the passive participle (24 g). The passive participle as a substitute for the active participle (24 h). The resemblance and difference between the active participle and the perfect. The resemblance of the active participle to the imperfect in its reference to future time (46). Anomalous suffixation of the doubled n to the active participle because of its resemblance to the imperfect (125 f).

Paradigms of the active participle of the derived forms of the strong verbs of the triliteral, and Form I of the quadriliteral and its derived forms (153). Examples from paradigms of the doubled verb (172), (172 b), of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c), of verbs with 1st radical w (245), or y (245 b), of a verb with 2nd weak radical (290), of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b), of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b), of a verb with 1st radical w and 3rd weak radical (376) and of a verb with 2nd radical y and 3rd weak radical (376 b).

Addād "enantiosema".
Addition of:
- an ā between two vowelled hamzas (233).
- the h (212).
- the h of silence (345, b, c). Anomalous suffixation and vowelling in context (345 c).
- the s (211).
- the s or š after the pronoun of the accusative or genitive of the 2nd person of the fem. sing., the -ki (82 b).

Additional consonants, augments, hurūf al-ziyāda. See augments.
Adjective šīfa. The anomalous vowelling of the 1st radical by a kasra when followed by the 2nd radical vowelled by a kasra in adjectives: the form fi'ilun instead of fa'ilun (29). The form fa'ilun in the meaning of maf'ilun (146). The common gender given to the adjective of the form fa'ilun in the meaning of maf'ilun (144). Its being taken anomalously as having the meaning of maf'ilun (146). The form fa'ilun of intensiveness and as an assimilated adjective (147). The common gender given to the form fa'ilun in the meaning of fa'ilun (148). Anomalous case (152). Cases of adjectives compared with their contraries (151), (152). Cases of adjectives occurring for both the sing. and pl. (296 b). The forms of intensiveness fa'ilun, mif'alun, mif'ilun (149), mif'alun, mif'alun, mif'ilun (149 b), (150). The forms fi'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun, fa'ilun (150). The common gender given to mif'alun, mif'alun and mif'ilun (149 b). Anomalous separate fem. form given to mif'ilun (151). The adjective of the form fa'lā (with final alif maqṣūra) (314). Regular broken pls. of the fem. of the epithet fa'ilun and fa'ilun (360 b). The adjective being substituted by the maṣdar (24 f). Adjectives formed on the pattern of the elative that do not refer to excess (143 c).
Afāl al-qulāb "mental verbs".
Ağwaf "verbs with 2nd weak radical".
Alif. Alif al-asl "the underlying alif" (50 b).
Alif al-badāl "the substituted alif" (50 b).
Alif al-dāmir "the alif which is the pronoun of the dual of the nominative" (50 b), (92).
Alif al-ilhāq "the appended alif" (50 b).
Alif al-istikhām “the alif of interrogation” (50 b).
Al-alif al-mamdūda “the lengthened alif” (50 b).
Al-alif al-maqūṣra “the alif that can be abbreviated” (50 b).
Al-alif al-munqaliba “the alif changed from another consonant” (50 b).
Alif al-nilā “the vocative alif” (50 b).
Alif al-nudhba “the alif of lamentation” (50 b).
Alif al-qat “the disjunctive alif” (50 b), (114), (115), (116). The reason of vowelling the prefixed alif of Form IV with a fatha in the imperative (116).
Alif al-taʃqil “the alif prefixed to the comparative and superlative forms” (50 b).
Alif al-taʃrī “the alif of the feminine form” (269), (269 b).
Alif al-waʃl “the connective alif” (50 b), (111, b), (114), (115), (118). “The connective alif of the imperative”. Its vowelling. Different opinions according to the Basrans and the Kufans. Its anomalous vowelling (111).
Alif al-waʃl wa-l-ʃīla “the alif suffixed to a final short vowel”. The alif suffixed in antā (60).
Alif al-wiqāya “the guarding alif”. Different opinions concerning the reason of the occurrence of the suffixed ā after the ā of the pl. of the perfect (50).
- The ā inserted between two hamzas (114 b), (233).
- The ā inserted between the -na marker of the fem. and the doubled n in the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the Energetic I (128).
- The ā inserted between the -na marker of the fem. and the single n in the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the Energetic II (129).
Anthropomorphism (45).
Ārīd “accidental”.
Aʃī “origin”, “principle”, “base”.
Aʃī “underlying”, “underlyingly”.
Assimilated adjective ʃīfā muʃabbaha (138).
Assimilation ʿiddiqām. The two measures ʿidgām and ʿiddiqām. Two sorts of ʿiddiqām: ʿiddiqām ʿakbar “total assimilation” (174) and ʿiddiqām ʿaʃgār “little assimilation” (29), (30), (174), (347), (368), (374). Reasons why the assimilation is carried out (174). The assimilation that is carried out in strong verbs of Form IX and XI (40).
Assimilation of:
- the 1st radical hamza to the infixed t of Form VIII (187 b), (200).
- the infixed t of Form V and VI to the 1st radical of the verb following it, which is: the d, the ǧ, the t and the ū, (207), (190), the s, the ẓ (207, (191), the ā, the š, the ž, the t, and the ž (207).
- the infixed t of Form VIII to one of the following consonants preceding it, which is the 1st radical: the hamza (187 b), (202), the d (189), the ǧ (190), the ū (195), the s (192), (174), the š (192 b), the ž (192 c), the t (187 c), the ū (196), the ž (191) and the ẓ (197).
- the infixed t of Form VIII to one of the following consonants following it, which is the 2nd radical (203): the d (204), the ǧ (204 b), the ū (205 b), the s (204 d), the ſ (205), (206), the t (203 b), the ū (205 c), the ž (204 c) and the ẓ (205 d).
- the 1st radical ū to the infixed t of Form VIII (187 c).
- the 1st radical ū to the infixed ū of Form VIII (187 c).
- the 1st radical ū to the infixed ū of Form VIII (198).
- the 1st radical ū to the infixed ū of Form VIII (199).
- the 2nd radical to the 3rd in the perfect and imperfect of doubled verbs (171).
- the 3rd radical ū to the suffixed ū in perfect verbs (251).
- the hamza changed into a weak consonant and the assimilation of both weak consonants (225), (227, b).
- the l– of the article to the solar consonants (176).
- the m of the article -am to the initial m of the noun following it (364).
- the m to the n (67).
- the numation of the first word to the l of the article of the second word (224).
- two identical consonants (172).
- the w to the ū (356).
- the w to the y (86).
– the y to the y (86), (180), (263), (350).
– the ultimate consonant of the first word to the initial consonant of the second word (173)-(173 b):
  – the ultimate ‘ to the initial ‘(173 b).
– the ultimate b to the initial b, m (173 b).
– the ultimate d to the initial d, ū, t (173 b).
– the ultimate d to the initial ã (173 b).
– the ultimate d to the initial š (173 b).
– the ultimate f to the initial b, f (173 b).
– the ultimate ţ to the initial ʂ, t (173).
– the ultimate ţ to the initial ã (173 b).
– the ultimate ţ to the initial h, l (173 b).
– the ultimate h to the initial ‘, ř (173 b).
– the ultimate k to the initial k, q (173 b).
– the ultimate l to the initial r, t (173 b).
– the ultimate m to the initial b, m (173 b).
– the ultimate n to the initial l, r, y (173 b).
– the ultimate q to the initial k, q (173 b).
– the ultimate r to the initial l, r (173 b).
– the ultimate s to the initial š (173 b).
– the ultimate š to the initial s (173 b).
– the ultimate t to the initial d, ã, ū, s, š, ţ, t, z, ţ (173).
– the ultimate t to the initial ţ (173 b).
– the ultimate w to the initial w (173 b).
– the ultimate y to the initial y (173 b).

Augments, additional consonants, hurūf al-ziyāda (39 b), (41), (69), (106), (177 b), (212), (221), (225), (338), (379).

Badal “substitution”.

Base, underlying asl (3), (19), (36), (38), (39 b), (40), (44), (54), (57), (65), (67)-(70), (74 b), (75 b), (78), (79), (89), (111), (113), (116), (125), (180), (182), (183), (187 b), (188), (190), (191), (192, b, c), (194)-(200), (203 b)-(206), (208), (210)-(212), (218), (219), (222), (224), (225), (227), (230), (234)-(236), (243), (247)-(249), (252), (255), (261)-(263), (268), (271)-(273), (275), (277)-(279), (284)-(292), (295), (296), (298)-(300), (305), (308), (311), (313), (315), (319)-(322), (324), (327), (328 c), (330), (331), (333), (335), (336), (338), (341)-(343), (346), (348 d), (350), (353)-(357), (360)-(363), (365)-(372), (373)-(375), (376), (378), (379).

Bina “invariability”.

Cluster of two vowelless consonants iliqa` al-sākinain (36), (43 b), (54), (59), (69), (125 b), (129), (130), (184), (206), (229), (239), (241), (249), (270), (272), (275), (277), (278), (279), (284)-(289), (295), (303), (307), (313), (345 c), (360), (378). General principle when two vowelless consonants are combined in two words (270), (288), (377).

Common gender:
  – the adjective of the form fa’īlun in the meaning of maf’īlun (144).
  – the form fa’īlun in the meaning of fa’īlun (148).
  – the adjectives mif’īlun, mif’īlun and mif’īlun (149 b).

Compensation ta’wīd. Compensation of:
  – the elided 1st weak radical of the maṣdar by the tā’ marbūta (16), (247), (248), and by the prefixed r (247).
  – the elided 1st weak radical of the maṣdar by the suffixed r (247).
  – the unsound 2nd weak radical or the infixed ą by the tā’ marbūta (249), (279).
  – the elided tā’ marbūta in a word that is the first element of an iḍāfa construction by the word being its second element (248).
  – the departure of the vowel of the 2nd radical by the infixed s (211) or the infixed h (212).
  – the elided vocative particle yā by the ending -mnma in allāhumma (235 b).

Conjugation. The vowelled h of the independent pronouns of the 3rd person of the singular huwa and hiya and the vowelled l– of command given a sukūn after some conjunctions (110). The question
according to the Kufans and Basrans on whether the conjunction that precedes rubba or the theoretical elided rubba governs the noun in the genitive or not (121). The emphasis of a preposition in the case of a noun coupled by a conjunction to a pronoun in the genitive suffixed to a preposition. The acceptance of such a coupling without emphasizing the preposition by the Kufans and by others. An anomalous case (53 b).

Consonants, letters, hurūf: The consonants, their points of articulation, their characters and nominations (188, b):
- additional consonants, augments hurūf al-ziyāda. See augments.
- airy consonant al-harf al-hāvī (188 b).
- alveolar consonants (188), (194).
- ante-palatal consonants al-hurūf al-nīṣṭīya (188 b).
- apical consonants al-hurūf al-asaﬁya (188 b).
- covered consonants al-hurūf al-munṭḥaqa (188 b), (193), (374), (375).
- dental consonants (52), (176), (188).
- depressed consonants al-hurūf al-munḥafida (188 b), (192 c), (193).
- elevated consonants al-hurūf al-musta’īya (188 b), (192 c), (193).
- emphatic consonants (197).
- gabbled consonant al-harf al-mahtūṭ (188 b).
- gingival consonants al-hurūf al-litajwīya (188 b).
- guttural consonants al-hurūf al-halqīya (29), (30), (31), (174), (188 b), (254), (355).
- interdental consonants (176), (188).
- intermediate consonants al-hurūf bayna l-ṣādīda wa-l-rahwa (188 b), (354).
- labial consonants al-hurūf al-ṣafawīya (188, b), (367).
- laryngeal consonants (188), (325), (326).
- lateral consonants (176).
- lax consonants al-hurūf al-rahwa (188 b), (192 c), (194).
- liquid consonants hurūf al-dalāqa (188 b), (176).
- lunar, or moon-consonants al-hurūf al-qamarīya (176). Definite nouns occurring anomalously nunated whose initial consonants are moon-consonants (364).
- muted consonants al-hurūf al-musmata (188 b).
- open consonants al-hurūf al-munafītha (188 b).
- orificial consonants al-hurūf al-ṣağarīya (188 b).
- pharyngeal consonants (188), (328).
- post-palatal consonants (188).
- pre-palatal consonants (188).
- reiterated consonant al-harf al-muqarrar (188 b).
- resonant consonants hurūf al-qalqa (188 b).
- rigid consonants al-hurūf al-ṣādīda (188 b), (192 c), (194).
- sibilant consonants hurūf al-ṣafir (188 b), (176), (368).
- soft consonants al-hurūf al-layyīna (188 b).
- solar, or sun-consonants al-hurūf al-ṣamsīya (176), (364).
- consonants of substitution hurūf al-badai (312).
- swerving consonant al-harf al-munhafar (188 b).
- tippy consonants al-hurūf al-dawlaqīya (188 b).
- two uvular consonants al-hurūf al-lahawīyatīnī (188 b), (340 c).
- velar consonants (188).
- voiced consonants al-hurūf al-maḏhūra (188 b)-(190), (191), (194), (341), (364).
- voiceless consonants al-hurūf al-maḥmūsa (174), (188, b)-(190), (192), (194), (329), (341).
- weak consonants hurūf al-‘illa. See weak consonants.
- weak consonants of prolongation, glides, al-hurūf al-layyīna. See glides.
- weak consonants of prolongation and softness, hollow weak consonants, glides, al-hurūf al-ḡūf. See glides.

Context (82 b), (89 b), (331), (307), (345 c), (348 d).
Coordinated to another pattern by the addition of an augment or more to its root mulḥaq, definition, forms coordinated to: Form I of the quadriliteral fa‘ala, Form II of the quadriliteral ta‘ala, Form
III of the quadriliteral ʼiʃ’alala and Form IV of the quadriliteral ʼiʃ’alal (41). Coordinatives ilhāqiyyāt (177).

Corroborative n (125), (126), (130), (131). Reason of vowelling the doubled n with a kasra (126 b). Elision of the single n when a vowelless consonant occurs after it (125 b). Its anomalous elision (125 c). Elision of the doubled n (125 d). Anomalous suffixation of the doubled n in the perfect (125 e). Anomalous suffixation of the doubled n to the active participle (125 f). Alleviation of the doubled n and its replacement by a single one (125 g). Anomalous suffixation of the single n on the analogy of the doubled one (130).

Declension ʼiʃ’āb (3), (43). Definitions (43). The reasons of the declension or undeclinability of the three parts of speech. The Basrans’ opinions concerning the declension and undeclinability (43). The Basrans’ and the Kufans’ opinions concerning the undeclinability of the verbs (123), the declension of the imperfect (122) and the undeclinability or declension of the imperative (44), (48), (119), (120), (123), (184). The reasons why the marker of declension occurs specially at the end of the word and not at its beginning or middle (43 b). A discussion concerning why is underlying the declension or the undeclinability (43 c).

Definite article al-taʼrīf. Different opinions concerning its structure (115). Assimilation of the l of the article al– to the solar consonants (176). Am– (364). Other categories of al– than being the definite article. Al– prefixed to the noun, to the perfect, to the imperfect and to the adverb (115 b). The insertion of the interrogative ʼa to the definite article and its lengthening (229), (233 b). Definite noun occurring with the nunation (364). Elision of the n of the preposition min in juxtaposition with the article (224).

Deflection imāla (347), (174).

Demonstrative pronoun of the fem. sing. hādiḥi underlyingly hādī. Substitution of the h for the y in it (89). Its different dialectal variants (89 b).

Derivation ʾistiqaq (3). Three sorts of derivation: little, big and biggest (14), the big d ʾerivation (14 b), the biggest derivation (14 c), (340 c), (368), (374).

Derivative ʾir’ (12), (13 b), (43 c). The muṣda’s or the verb’s derivatives (10).

Dialectal variants. The ʾağ ʾağa (339), ʾan’ana (328 b), ʾal-ʾistiṭā ʾ (328 c), kaskasah, kaskašah (82 b), ʾinṣinna (82 b), qaḥfaḥa (328 c), rasw (372), (373), taltala (32), (99), (103), (278), ʾumʊmānīya (364), warāt (334).

Dissolution (178), (180), (181), (184), (185), (190), (208).

Doubled verb mudāʾaf (169...). Its four conjugations. The assimilation that is carried out in its perfect and imperfect (171). Paradigms of doubled verbs of Form I in which the imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel is: a damma (171), (172), a kasra (171 b), a fatha (171 c). Paradigm of a verb in the derived forms (172 b). The assimilation of the 2nd radical to the 3rd in the perfect and imperfect (171). The change of the 2nd of the doubled consonants, which is the 3rd radical, into a y (170), (182), (352). Elision of one of its radicals (181), (183), (210). Anomalous cases of verbs (179).

Dual. Change of the ending of the dual of the accusative and genitive -ayni into -āna, -ānu or -āni (81 b), (92). The ā of the dual that occurs anomalously (81 b). The reasons why the ā is chosen for the dual (92). The reasons why the n of the dual is vowelled by a kasra (92). Anomalous vowellings (81 b), (92).

Elative ism al-tafaḍl (139...). The elative formed according to the pattern specific for colors (140), the passive participle (141), the pattern of the derived Form IV of a verb (142), the pattern specific for defects (143), formed from a substantive and the passive voice of a verb (143 b). Words formed according to the pattern of the elative without referring to excess (143 c). The elative of verbs with 2nd weak radical (281).

Elision hadf. Elision of:
- the connective alif of the article (223), (224).
- the ā (266 b), (278), (289), (303), (304).
- the ā in the quadriliteral forms faʾalilun and faʾalilun resulting in faʾalilun and faʾalilun (56).
- the ā in the instrumental form mifʾāl resulting in mifʾāl (57), (278).
- the damma of the 2nd radical in nouns of Form I: faʾlun for faʾalun (109).
- one of the doubled consonants (181), (183), (210).
- the fatha of the 2nd radical in nouns of Form I: faʾlun for faʾalun (109).
- the fatha in verbs of Form I: faʾla used instead of faʾala and in a verb of Form VII (45).
the hamza (19), (114), (221), (222), (223), (224), (231), (232), (234), (235), (235 c), (236), (237), (240), (241), (291), (292).

the prefixed vowelled hamza of the imperative in doubled verbs (183), (184), (185) and in verbs with 2nd weak radical (284), (287).

one of the hamzas in a verb with 1st radical hamza in the 1st person of the sing. of the imperfect (19).

the prefixed hamza of the imperative (231), (240).

the prefixed hamza of Form VIII of the perfect (206).

the i' suffixed pronoun of the agent of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. in the imperfect and imperative and the sukûn given to the last consonant in pause (307 c). Its elision in the Energetic (126).

the i' suffixed pronoun of the agent of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. in the imperative of a verb with 3rd weak radical in the pronunciation (378).

the kasra of the 2nd radical in nouns of Form I: fa'ilun for fa'ilun (109) and in an active participle of Form VIII (109).

the kasra of the 2nd radical in verbs of Form I of the active voice: fa'ila for fa'ila (109), the kasra of the 2nd radical and its transfer to the 1st radical: fi'ila for fi'ila (29), the kasra of the 2nd radical in verbs of Form I of the passive voice (109).

the li' of the imperative (110 c).

the vowel of the li' of the imperative (110, b).

one marker of the fem. (58).

the 2nd weak radical changed into a hamza in 2nd weak radical active participles (292).

the 3rd radical h (363).

the indicative n in the 2nd person of the fem. sing. (51 e).

the indicative n before the doubled n in the 3 person of the masc. dual of the Energetic (127).

the single n (125 b), (125 c).

the doubled n (125 d).

the doubled n and its replacement by a single one (125 g).

the infix n in a noun (56).

the n of the preposition min in juxtaposition with the article (224).

rubba (121).

the tâ' marbûta in words being the first term of an idâfu construction and in other cases (248), (249).

the infixed i marking the reflexivity or the prefixed i of the imperfect in verbs of Form V and VI in the 2nd person of the fem. and the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect (101).

the infixed i in a verb of Form VIII (211).

the infixed i in a verb of Form X (209).

the ì suffix pronoun of the agent of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the perfect, and the sukûn given to the last consonant in pause (307 d). Its elision in the Energetic (126). Its elision in the perfect (45), (307 d).

the ì suffix pronoun of the agent of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of the imperative of the Energetic I in a verb with 2nd and 3rd weak radical (378), and of a verb with 3rd weak radical in the imperative in the pronunciation (378).

the unsound 2nd weak radical (36), (38), (249), (279), (284), (285), (286), (287), (288), (289), (291), (292), (295).

the unsound 2nd weak radical or the infixed ì (249), (279).

the vowel of the indicative (51 e).

the vowel of the 2nd radical in doubled verbs in the perfect (171).

the wa of hiwa (77 b).

the w as the 1st radical in the perfect of a verb with 1st radical w (246).

the w as the 1st radical in the imperfect of a verb with 1st radical w (16), (19), (244), (252), (254), and in the masdar (16), (247), (248).

the 2nd weak radical or the infixed w in passive participles of verbs with 2nd weak radical (295).

the 2nd weak radical changed into a hamza in active participles of verbs with 2nd weak radical (291), (292).

the 3rd radical w in a verb with 3rd radical w (305).

the 3rd weak radical in participles of verbs with 3rd weak radical (295), (309), and in the jussive (306).
– the ya of hiya (77 c).
– the 3rd radical y in participles of verbs with 3rd radical y (23), (295), (309).
– the 3rd radical y in verbs with 3rd radical y (33), (49), (51 c), (54), (180), (201), (239 c), (240), (275), (292), (303), (304), (307).
– the 3rd radical y after the kasra or fatha before the doubled n in the 2nd person of the masc. sing. of the Energetic I (239 c).

Emphasizing, the emphasized mu‘akkad, the emphazer mu‘akkid (17), (20), (20 b). The emphasis that occurs with nouns (20 b), verbs (20 c), particles (20 d). The emphasis of the suffixed pronoun of the nominative when an independent agent is coupled to it. An anomalous case. The Kufans’ acceptance of this connection without the necessity of emphasizing the pronoun (53). The emphasis of a preposition in the case of a noun coupled by a conjunction to a pronoun in the genitive suffixed to a preposition. The acceptance of such a coupling without emphasizing the preposition by the Kufans and by others. An anomalous case (53 b).

Enantiosema addad (14 c).
Fi‘l dâ‘im “permansive verb”.
Fir‘ “derivative”.
Gâzm “jussive”.
Glides, weak consonants of prolongation, al-ḥurf al-layyina, al-ḥurf al-ḡaf (188 b), (224), (225), (226), (261).

Grammar nahu. The first grammarians to write about it (3 b).
 Ḥabar “predicate”.
 Ḥadat “accident”.
 Ḥaf “elision”.

Hamza. Its alleviation (98), (114), (116), (118), (215), (216), (217), (218), (219), (220), (221), (222), (223), (224), (225), (226), (227), (228), (231), (232), (234), (235), (236), (237), (241). Reason why it is alleviated (215). Its sounding true (116), (215), (227 b), (228 b), (231), (236), (238). The hamza bayna bayna (216), (218), (226). Combination of two hamzas in two words (232). The substitution of the hamza for: the ā (326), (327), the alif of the feminine form (313), the w (50 b), (235), (290), (291), (292), (316), (317), (318 b), (319), (321), (322), (323), (327 c), or written as a w with a hamza (218), (327 c) and the y (228 b), (319), (320), (324), (379).

Hamzated verbs mahmuz. Its conjugations (213...). Paradigms of verbs with 1st (214), 2nd (214 b) or 3rd radical hamza (214 c).

Heaviness tiqal:
– the dama is heavier than the fatha or the kasra (34 b).
– the combination of the dama preceding the kasra and the kasra preceding the dama is heavy (133), (252), (253).
– the heaviness of the combination of both the waw (78).
– the heaviness of the combination of the two ta‘: the r prefix of the imperfect and the r infix marker of the reflexivity in Form V and VI in the 2nd person of the fem. and the 3rd person of the masc. sing. of the imperfect (101).
– the intransitive is heavier than the transitive (34 b).
– the kasra is considered as heavy in relation to the light fatha (75 b).
– the pl. is considered as heavy in relation to the dual (92).
– verbs are considered to be heavier than nouns (58).
– the vowel is heavier than the sukun (92).
– the heavy ā is chosen for the rarely used masc. pl. and the light ā for the frequently used dual in nouns (92).

Hiffa “lightness”.

Homonymy istiräk. Homonymy of:
– both the noun of place and the passive participle of a verb with 2nd weak radical (296).
– both the suffixed pronouns of the nominative of the fem. and masc. of the duals of the 3rd person: the ā (72).
– the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the perfect and the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the imperative of a verb (284).
- the 3rd person of the fem. and the 3rd person of the masc. pl. of a verb (305).
- a few verbs designating both the active and passive voice (285), (300).

**Glossary and Subject-Index of the Commentary**

**Humāsī** “quinquiletal”.

**Hurūf** “consonants, letters”:

- al-hurūf al-asaliya “the apical consonants”.
- hurūf al-badal “the consonants of substitution”.
- al-hurūf bayna l-šādīda wa-l-rahwa “the intermediate consonants”.
- hurūf al-dalāqa “the liquid consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-dawlaqīya “the tippy consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-ghūf “weak consonants of prolongation and softness, hollow weak consonants, glides”.
- al-hurūf al-ḥaqlīya “the guttural consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-ḥāwī “the airy consonant”.
- al-hurūf al-lahawfīya “the two uvular consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-layyina “the glides of prolongation”, “soft consonants”, “glides”.
- al-hurūf al-lijawiya “the gingival consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-maḥhūra “the voiced consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-mahmūsa “the voiceless consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-maḥtūt “the gabbled consonant”.
- al-hurūf al-mukarrar “the reiterated consonant”.
- al-hurūf al-munḥafida “the depressed consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-munharif “the swerving consonant”.
- al-hurūf al-mustaʿīya “the elevated consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-muḥbaqa “covered consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-muʾīya “the ante-palatal consonants”.
- hurūf al-qalqala “the resonant consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-qamariya “the lunar, or moon-consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-raḥwa “the lax consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-šādīda “the rigid consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-šafawiya “the labial consonants”.
- hurūf al-ṣafir “the sibilant consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-ṣaḥarīya “the orificial consonants”.
- al-hurūf al-ṣamsīya “the solar, or sun-consonants”.
- hurūf al-ziyāda “the additional consonants, the augments”.

Iṣd and iḍā (44 b). Iḍā that seems to govern the verb in the jussive (307 b).

Iddigūm “assimilation”. Iddīgūm ‘akbar “total assimilation” and Iddīgūm ‘aṣgar “partial assimilation”.

Iłāl “unsoundness of the weak consonant”.

Iḥāqyyāt “coordinatives”.

Iltiqā’ al-sākinain “cluster of two vowelless consonants”.

Imlā “deflection”.

**Imperative amr**. Its paradigm (105). Twenty-three meanings in the Qurʾān (105 b). The Kufans’ opinion that it is declineable (48), (119), (120), (123), (184), and that of the Basrans that it is undeclineable (48), (123). The reason why the imperative is undeclineable (45), (48). Reasons why the connective hamza of the imperative is given a kasra. Its anomalous voewing (111). The reason why the prefixed hamza of Form IV is given a fatha (116). The imperative being substituted by the maṣdar (24 e). Elision of the r being the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. in the imperative, and the last consonant being made vowelless. Cases of verbs with 3rd radical y, in which the short vowel of the 2nd radical is made vowelless after the elision of the 3rd weak consonant (307). Paradigms of strong verbs, Energ. I and II (125). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical w (256). Paradigm of a verb with 2nd radical w (287).

**Imperfect muḍārī’.** Its two sorts (91). Its prefixes (94), (96), (97), (104), the infix (88), the infixes and suffixes (92). The opinions of the Kufans and Basrans concerning its declension (122), (123). The reasons why it is declineable (46), (47), (93). Cases concerning the active participle (93, b) and the passive participle occurring instead of the imperfect (93 b). The resemblance of the active participle to the imperfect in its reference to future time (46). The imperfect’s occurrence instead of the perfect
(93 c). The imperfect's occurrence as indicating present time (93 d). The imperfect denoting the future (93, e). The debate between the Basrans and Kufans concerning the reasons of vowelling the imperfect's final radical with a damma (93). The reason why the y is chosen as an infix in the ending -ina suffixed to the imperfect of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. (88), (89). An opinion stating that the i is not a pronoun but a marker of the fem. (87). Its elision in the Energetic (126). The reasons why the ù is chosen to mark the masc. pl. (92). Its elision in the Energetic (126). The reasons why the n of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. and 2nd and 3rd persons of the pl. of the imperfect of the indicative is vowelled by a fatha. The reasons why the n of the 2nd person and 3rd persons of the dual of the imperfect of the indicative is given a kasra (92).

Paradigms of the imperfect of a strong verb of Form I in the indicative, subjunctive and jussive (92). Paradigms of strong verbs, Energ. I and II (125). Paradigms of doubled verbs of Form I whose imperfect's 2nd radical is vowelled by a damma (171), (172), kasra (171 b) and fatha (171 c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st radical w (245), or y (245 b). Paradigms of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b). Paradigms of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical w and with 3rd weak radical (376) and of a verb with 2nd radical y and with 3rd weak radical (376 b).

Importance of morphology (3), (4).

Indicative ra'f. Its use instead of the jussive (51), (239 b) and the subjunctive (51 b). Its being replaced by the jussive (51 e). The reasons why the n of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. and 2nd and 3rd persons of the pl. of the imperfect of the indicative is vowelled by a fatha. The reasons why the n of the 2nd person and 3rd persons of the dual of the imperfect of the indicative is given a kasra (92).

Paradigm of the imperfect of the indicative of a strong verb of Form I (92). Paradigms of doubled verbs of Form I whose imperfect's 2nd radical's vowel is a damma (171), (172), kasra (171 b) and fatha (171 c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st radical w (245), or y (245 b). Paradigms of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b). Paradigms of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical w and with 3rd weak radical (376) and of a verb with 2nd y and with 3rd weak radical (376 b).

Inflection i'rāb (3).

Intransitive lāzim (22 c), (34 b). The intransitive is heavier than the transitive (34 b).

Invariability bīnā. Definitions. The Basrans' opinions concerning the declension and the undeclinability (43). A discussion concerning which is underlying the declension or the invariability (43 c). The reasons why the imperfect is declined (47), the perfect is undeclinable (44), and the imperative is undeclinable (45), (48).

I'rāb "declension", "inflection" (3), (43).

Išbāh "saturation".

Iṣm "noun":

iṣm al-ālā "noun of instrument".

iṣm al-fā'īl "active participle".

iṣm al-ghīn "generic noun".

iṣm al-māfi'īl "passive participle".

iṣm al-mašān "noun of place".

iṣm al-tāfāll "elative".

iṣm al-waḥda "noun of individuality".

iṣm al-zamān "noun of time".

Iṣmān "flavour of the damma". Its condition (298). Cases in which it is forbidden (299).

Iṣṭiqaq "derivation".

Iṭṭirāk "homonymy".

Juncture wašl (184), (270), (288), (378).

Jussive al-ḡazm. The reason why the sukūn is chosen to mark it (92). The jussive mood in the verbs corresponding to the genitive case in the nouns (108). Its being replaced by the indicative (51), (239 b). Its occurrence after the subjunctival an (51 d). Its replacing the indicative (51 e). Cases in which the jussive is not taken into consideration (51), (51 f). Cases of verbs with 3rd radical y, in which the short vowel of the 2nd radical is made vowelled after the elision of 3rd weak radical (307). Iḏā seeming to govern the verb in the jussive (307 b).

Paradigm of a strong verb of Form I in the imperfect of the jussive, active (92). Paradigm of doubled
verbs of Form I whose imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel is a ẓamma (171), (172), kasra (171 b) and fatha in the active voice (171 c). Paradigm of a doubled verb of Form I whose imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel is a ẓamma in the passive voice (186). Paradigms of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st radical w (245), or y (245 b). Paradigms of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b). Paradigms of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical w and 3rd weak radical (376) and of a verb with 2nd y and 3rd weak radical (376 b).

Lafīf “verbs with 1st and 3rd weak radicals, and verbs with 2nd and 3rd weak radical”.
Lāzīm “intransitive”, “obligatory”.
Lā– “the assertative particle” (114).
Letters ḫurāf. See consonants.
Lī– imperative lām al-amr (107), (110). The sukūn given to the li– of command after some conjunctions (110). Its being anomalously given the sukūn after ṭāmma (110 b). Its anomalous elision (110 c).

Lightness ḳiffa.
– The light ā is chosen for the frequently used dual and the heavy ā for the rarely used masc. pl. in nouns (92).
– The fatha is considered as light in relation to the heavy kasra (75 b).
– The fatha and kasra are lighter than the heavy ẓamma (34 b).
– Nouns are considered to be lighter than verbs (58), (59).
– The sukūn is lighter than the vowel (92).
– The transitive is lighter than the intransitive (34 b).
Maḥḥūl “passive voice”.
Maḥma “hamzated verb”.
Maṣḍār “verbal noun”.
Mental verbs afāl al qulūb. Combination of both the pronouns of the nominative and of the accusative of the same person in them (83).
Metathesis (14 b).
M as an infix or suffix in a pronoun or noun (62). Anomalous cases in which the m can be prefixed or infixed to the verbs (62 b).
Miẓāl “verbs with weak 1st radical”.
Morpheme (3).
Morphology sarf, taṣrīf. A generative system (3). Importance of morphology (3), (4).
Muʾakkad “emphasized”, muʾakkid “emphasizer”.
Muḥtada “topic”.
Muḍāʿ af “doubled verb”.
Mulḥaq “coordinated to another pattern by the addition of an augment or more to its root”.
Mutʿaddī “transitive”.
Mutlaq “absolute”.
N. Corroborative n (125), (126), (130), (131). Doubled and single nūns. Paradigms (125). Reason of vowelling the doubled n with a kasra (126 b). Elision of the single n when a vowelless consonant occurs after it (125 b). Its anomalous elision (125 c). Elision of the doubled n (125 d). Anomalous suffixation of the doubled n to the perfect (125 c) and to the active participle (125 f). Alleviation of the doubled n and its replacement by a single one (125 g). Anomalous suffixation of the single n on the analogy of the doubled one (130).
The reasons why a kasra is chosen for the n of the dual. Its anomalous vowellings. The reasons why the n of the 2nd person of the fem. sing. and the 2nd and 3rd persons of the pl. of the imperfect of the indicative is vowelled by a fatha. The reasons why the n of the 2nd person and 3rd persons of the dual of the imperfect of the indicative is given a kasra (92). Anomalous elision of the 3rd radical y preceding the energetic n in the 2nd person of the masc. sing. (239 c).
Nāqis “verbs with 3rd weak radical”.
Naqil “transfer”, “shift”.
Naṣb “subjunctive”.
Nīdā “vocative”.
Noun ʾism. The debate between the Basrans and the Kufans concerning the etymological derivation of al-ʾism: the Basrans regarding the noun as logicians whereas the Kufans regarding it as philologists (12
b). The noun's superiority in relation to the verb according to the Basrans (12 b), (13 b). The resemblance of the noun to the imperfect (47), (92), (93), (126 f). Nouns are considered to be lighter than verbs (58), (59). The reasons why the ā is chosen for the dual (92) and the ā for the sound masc. pl. (92). Nouns being treated as masc. and fem. (22 c), (296 c). Cases concerning a noun that occurs for the masc., fem., sing. and pl. (296). Cases of nouns that occur for both the sing. and the pl. (152 b), (296 b). Nouns formed according to their contraries (151), (152), (271 b). Patterns of nouns ending with the alif of the feminine form (269, b). Examples of nouns with a -y prefix (97). Examples of nouns in which the disliked combination of the daamma preceding the kasra and the kasra preceding the daamma occurs (133). A noun in the nominative occurring instead of the accusative (23). Anomalous elision of the kasra or damma of the 2nd radical in nouns of Form I (109). The separate gender given to the form faʾl in the meaning of mafʿul (145). Nouns in the sing. pertaining to verbs (whose action they denote) (344).

Noun of individuality ism al-wahda (52).

Noun of instrument ism al-āla (164...). The patterns mifʿalun, mifʿalatun and mifʿalun (167). The patterns mufʿulun, mufʿulatun and mifʿalatun (168).

Noun of kind ism al-ḥāla (166).

Noun of place ism al-makān (159...). Examples of nouns of place on the measure mafʿilun (163). Noun of place of the verb with 1st radical w (160). Noun of place of the verb with 3rd radical y (162).

Noun of time ism al-zamān (159...). The form of the passive participle of what exceeds three consonants occurring as the form of the noun of time (24 d).

Nouns that express the doing of an action once ism al-marra (165).

Obligatory lāzīm. The sukūn in the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the imperative of the doubled verb is stated as obligatory (185).

Oneness tawḥīd. The Basrans' concept of the maṣdar's oneness contra the verb's plurality (12). Comments concerning the concepts of oneness and independency contra plurality and dependency referring to the fields of philosophy and theology (13 b).

Origin asl (12), (13 b), (43 c).

Passive-participle ism al-maʃīl (157...). The passive participle as a substitute for the maṣdar (24). The maṣdar as a substitute for the passive participle (24 b). The maṣdar of the derived forms of the triliteral occurring on the pattern of the passive participle (24 c). The form of the passive participle of what exceeds three consonants occurring as the form of the noun of time and as a maṣdar (24 d).

The active participle as a substitute for the passive participle (24 g). The passive participle as a substitute for the active participle (24 h). The passive participle occurring instead of the imperfect (93 b). The Kufans' argument that the maṣdar is formed according to the passive participle contra the Basrans argument that it is formed according to the noun of place (18). The forms mafʿilun and mafʿilun of the passive participle of verbs with 2nd radical w or y (295). The form mafʿilun used instead of mafʿilun and mafʿilun (295 b).

Paradigms of the passive participle of the derived forms of strong verbs of the triliteral, and Form I of the quadriliteral and its derived forms (158). Examples from the paradigms of doubled verbs (172), (172 b), of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c), of verbs with 1st radical w or y (245), (245 b) of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b), and of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b).

Passive voice al-maʃīl (132...). The reason why the daamma is chosen to vowel the 1st radical of the form faʿla (132). Faʿla said instead of faʿla (109). Homonymy of a few verbs designating both the active and passive voice (285), (300). The elative formed from the passive voice of a verb (143 b).

Paradigm of a strong verb of Form I in the perfect and imperfect (132). Paradigms of the derived forms II-X of the strong verb in the perfect and imperfect of the indicative (134). Examples from the paradigms of doubled verbs (172), (172 b), (186), of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c), of verbs with 1st radical w or y (245), (245 b) of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b), of a verb with 2nd radical w (297), of verbs with 2nd weak radical (298), of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b), of a verb with 1st radical w and 3rd radical weak (376) and of a verb with 2nd radical y and 3rd radical weak (376 b).

Pause waqq (48), (82 b), (89 b), (220), (229), (241), (326), (307, b, c, d), (327), (331), (340 b), (344), (345 c), (348 d), (363), (373). Addition of the h of silence (345) after the y and the w (345 b). Its anomalous vowelling in some cases (345 c). Substitution of the ġ for the single y (340), the tâʾ tawilā
for the tāʿ marbūṭa (348 d) and the h for the ā in pause (345, 348 d). Elision of the 1, suffix pronoun of the agent of the 2nd person of the fem. sing., in the imperative, and the sukūn given to the last consonant (307 c). Elision of the ā, suffix pronoun of the agent of the 3rd person of the masc. pl., of the perfect, and the sukūn given to the last consonant (307 d) or the dāmma (45). Cases of verbs occurring with the elision of the 3rd radical y and the kasra or sukūn given to the last consonant (307).

Perfect mādī. Its three sorts (42). The reasons why the perfect is undecinable (44), (46). The reason why the perfect’s marker of invariability is the fatha (45). Cases of the elision of the suffixed ā of the 3rd person of the masc. pl. in the perfect (45), (307 d). The occurrence of the perfect instead of the imperfect, and thus its resemblance to it (42), (44 b). The resemblance and the difference existing between the active participle and the perfect (46). The perfect being substituted by the imperfect (93 c). A verb designating both the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the perfect and the 2nd person of the fem. pl. of the imperative (284). Anomalous suffixation of the doubled n in the perfect (125 e).

Paradigm of a strong verb of Form I in the perfect active (42). Paradigms of the derived forms of the strong verb of the triliteral in the perfect and imperfect (39 b). The quadrilateral and its derived forms (41). Paradigms of doubled verbs of Form I whose imperfect’s 2nd radicals’ vowel is a dāmma (171), (172), kasra (171 b) and fatha (171 c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c). Paradigms of verbs with 1st radical w or y (245, b). Paradigms of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b). Paradigms of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical w and 3rd radical weak (376) and of a verb with 2nd radical y and 3rd radical weak (376 b).

Permansive verb al-fiʿ al-dāʾīm (46), (46 b), (93), (136).

Phonology, morphology, conjugation, taṣrīf (3).

Plural. The reason why the n of the sound masc. pl. is vowelled by a fatha. The reasons why the ā is chosen to mark the sound masc. pl. in nouns and in verbs in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the masc. pl. of the imperfect of the indicative (92).

Predicate habar (12 b), (13), (44), (58).

Principle asl.

– The diminutive (65), (363), the pronouns (65), the dual (65), (289) and the broken pl. (363) bring back the word to its base form.
– The marker should not be elided (101).
– Two markers of the fem. can be combined together in the light noun (58), (59).
– Two markers of the fem. cannot be combined together in the heavy verb (58), (97).
– A declineable marker should not be combined with an undecinable one (127).
– The -na agent pronoun of the 3rd person of the fem. pl. should not be combined with the doubled n (128).
– Verbs are undecinable (122). The Basrans’ and the Kufans’ opinions (123).
– Four vowelled consonants cannot follow each other in one word (55). Cases in which this occurs (55), (56).
– A vowelless consonant cannot begin a word (43 b), (102), (111), (207), (284).
– A vowelless consonant is not a sufficient separative between two vowelled ones (112), (113), (290).
– Two vowelless consonants cannot be combined. See cluster of two vowelless consonants. General principle when two vowelless consonants are combined in two words (270), (288), (378).
– Two tāʾs of the fem. cannot be combined together (58), (88), (97).
– The w at the end of the word cannot be preceded by a dāmma in nouns (63), (64).

Pronouns.

– The independent pronouns of the nominative. Paradigm (76).

The independent pronoun of the nominative of the 1st person of the sing. anā (73), (345), (373). Its dialectal variants (73 c). The debate between the Basrans and the Kufans concerning its structure (73 b). The reason why one form is sufficient for it (73).

The independent pronoun of the nominative of the 2nd person of the masc. sing. with the suffixed ā, antā. The structure of this pronoun without the suffixed ā, i.e. anta (60).

The reason why the m is infixed in the independent pronoun of the nominative of the dual antumā (60). The reason why the dual exists for the 2nd persons (73). The base forms of antumā and antum
The reasons why the t in anta is given a fatha, the t in anti is given a kasra and the t in antumā is given a damma (76 b).

The h of the independent pronouns of the 3rd person of the singular huwa and hiya given a sukūn after both the conjunctions (110). Different opinions concerning the structure of huwa and hiya by the Kufans and Basrans (77). Anomalous elision of the wa of huwa (77 b) and the ya of hiya (77 c). Some anomalies concerning their structures (77 d).

Theories concerning humā and hum (78).

The reason why no dual is chosen for the independent pronoun of the nominative of the 1st person of the pl. nahnu (74). The reason of the vowelling of its 2nd n with the damma (74 b).

– The suffixed pronouns of the nominative of the perfect. Paradigm (75). The suffixed pronoun of the nominative is considered by the Arab philologists as one with its verb differently from the pronoun of the accusative (55). The reason why the suffix agent pronoun of the 1st person of the sing., the -tu, is chosen for the perfect (70). Substitution of the t for the t in the suffix agent pronouns -tu, -ta and -ti (375). The reasons why the suffixed t is given a fatha to mark the 2nd person of the masc. sing., a kasra to mark the 2nd person of the fem. sing. and why the infixed i is given a damma to mark the dual (75 b). The homonymy of both the suffixed pronouns of the nominative of the duals of the fem. and of the masc. of the 3rd persons, the ṣ (72). The reason why the n in the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the 2nd person of the fem. pl., -tunna, is doubled (67), (69). The emphasis of the suffixed pronoun of the nominative when it is coupled to another agent. An anomalous case. The Kufans’ acceptance of this connection without the necessity of emphasizing the antecedent (53). Latency of the suffixed pronoun of the nominative (90).

The reason why the y is chosen as an infix in the ending -īna suffixed to the imperfect of the 2nd person of the fem. sing (88), (89). Its elision in the Energetic (126). The reasons why the ṣ is chosen as a suffix for the dual (92). The reasons why the ṣ of the agent marking the dual of the imperfect Energ. I and II is not elided (126). The cases when the ṣ is maintained or elided in the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the 2nd person of the masc. pl., -tunma, of the perfect (65). The reasons why the ā is chosen to mark the masc. pl. in the imperfect of the indicative (92). Its elision in the Energetic (126).

– The separate pronouns of the accusative. Paradigm (84). The opinions of the Kufans and Basrans concerning their structures (84 b).

– The suffixed pronouns of the accusative. Paradigm (82). The combination of both the suffixed pronouns of the nominative and of the accusative of the same person in the mental verbs (83).

– The suffixed pronouns of the genitive. Paradigm (85). The change of the suffixed pronoun of the genitive of the 1st person of the sing., the ʾl, when attached to a noun following the vocative yâ, into an ā (81).

The vowelling of the suffixed pronoun of the genitive of the 3rd person of the masc. sing., hu or hi (80). Some anomalies (80 b).

The emphasis of a preposition to which a pronoun of the genitive is suffixed to when coupled to another noun in the genitive with a preposition by the Basrans. The acceptance of such a coupling without emphasizing the preposition by the Kufans and others. An anomalous case (53 b).

Qalb “transposition”.

Quadriliteral rubāʾī. The derived measures of the triliteral that are formed according to Form I of the quadriliteral faʾlala, to Form II of the quadriliteral tafaʾlala, to Form III of the quadriliteral ʾifʾalalā and to Form IV of the quadriliteral ʾifʾalalla (41). Triliteral roots which can be extended to become quadriliteral (177 b) through the repetition of one or two of their consonants (27), (177 b). The elision of the ṣ in the forms faʾlilīn and faʾalilīn resulting in faʾlīlīn and faʾalīlīn (56).

Quinqueliteral ḥumāṣī. Triliteral roots which can be extended to become quinqueliteral through the repetition of one or two of their consonants (177 b).

Raf “indicative”.

Repetition. Some measures with the repetition of one or two consonants (27), (177 b).

Rubāʾī “quadriliteral”.

Rubba. Its occurrence and its elision. The question according to the Kufans and Basrans on whether it is the conjunction that precedes rubba or the theoretical elided rubba that puts the noun in the genitive (121).

Ṣaḥīḥ “strong verb”.
Šarf “morphology”.
Saturation isbā’ (60), (60 b).
Shift naql. See transfer.
Šifa “adjective”.
Šifa mušabbaha “assimilated adjective”.

Soundness of the weak consonant. Cases in which no change of the weak consonant is carried out (19), (224), (268), (269), (270), (272), (273), (274), (276), (277), (278), (279), (280), (281), (282), (289), (317), (350), (377).

Strength.
- The dāmma is the strongest among the vowels (74), (132).
- The infixed weak consonant is considered as strong in relation to the elided radical (225).
- The passive voice reveals strength by referring to both the agent and the object (132).
- The pl. is stronger than the dual (92).
- The radical is considered as strong in relation to the augment (225).
- The separate pronom of the 1st person of the pl., naḥnu, reveals strength as it comprehends two meanings, the one of the dual and the one of the pl. (74).

Strong verb saḥiḥ (11...). The conjugations: fa‘ala yaf‘ulu (29), concerning a verb with 1st weak and 3rd gutteral radical (254), fa‘ala yaf‘ulu (29), fa‘ila yaf‘alu, the anomalies fi‘ila and fi‘la (29), fa‘ala yaf‘alu when the 2nd or 3rd radical is a gutteral consonant (30), (174), some anomalies (30 b), fa‘ala yaf‘alu (36), fa‘ala yaf‘ulu (34), fa‘ila yaf‘ulu (35) and fa‘ila yaf‘ulu (38). Anomalous forms of verbs (29), (30 b), (31), (32), (33), (35), (36), (37), (38). The reasons why fa‘ila becomes yaf‘alu and fa‘ala becomes yaf‘ulu in the imperfect (29 b). Fa‘ula yaf‘ulu (34). The reason why fa‘ula has its 2nd radical vowelled by a dāmma (34 b). Fa‘ula yaf‘ulu (37). Tif‘al (the dialetical variant: the tattala) (32), (99), (103), yif‘alu (32), (100).

A presentation of the order of the derived forms of the triliteral in Arabic grammars (39). Presentation of the order of the derived forms of the triliteral verb with their numbering according to Western grammars, their paradigms in both the perfect and the imperfect, and their meanings (39 b). Assimilation carried out in verbs of Form IX and XI (40).

A presentation of the quadriliterals and its derived forms with their numbering and their meanings (41). Quadriliterals formed from the patterns of triliterals that are coordinated to other forms of quadriliterals by the addition of an augment or more to their roots mulhaq (41), definition, measures coordinated to the groundform of the quadriliteral fa‘ala, measures coordinated to Form II of the quadriliteral ta fa‘ala, to Form III of the quadriliteral ‘if‘anlala and to Form IV of the quadriliteral ‘if‘ala (41).

Examples of verbs of four consonants being a combination of syllables in well-known expressions (41).

Subjunctive nasb. The reason why the fatha has been chosen to mark it (92). Its being replaced by the indicative (51 b). Its occurrence after the suppressed subjunctival an (51 c). Its replacing the jussive (51 f).

Paradigm of a strong verb of Form I in the imperfect of the subjunctive, active (92), of doubled verbs of Form I whose imperfect’s 2nd radicals’ vowel is a dāmma (171), (172), kasra (171 b) and fatha (171 c), of a doubled verb of Form I whose imperfect’s 2nd radical’s vowel is a dāmma in the passive voice (186), of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c), of verbs with 1st radical w or y (245), (245 b), of verbs with 2nd radical w (259), or y (259 b), and of verbs with 3rd radical y (302) or w (302 b), (303 b).

Substitution badal.
1) Substitution of forms:
- the active participle for the masdar (23).
- the imperfect for the perfect (93 c).
- the indicative for the jussive (51), (239 b).
- the indicative for the subjunctive (51 b).
- the jussive for the indicative (51 e).
- the masdar for the adjective (24 f).
- the masdar for the imperative (24 e).
- the masdar for the passive participle (24 b).
– the passive participle for the *masdar* (24).
– the perfect for the imperfect (42), (44 b).
– the subjunctive for the jussive (51 f).

2) Substitution of consonants and vowels:
– the ā for the alif *maqṣūra* (180).
– the ā for the hamza (50 b), (217), (218), (220), (237), (327 b), (369).
– the ā for the w (36), (38), (50 b), (211), (265), (266), (270), (276), (278), (279), (284), (369).
– the ā for the y (33), (50 b), (54), (81 b), (265), (270), (271), (285), (303), (304), (369).
– the alif *maqṣūra* for the y (272), (308).
– the ‘ for the h (328 c).
– the ‘ for the hamza (328 b).
– the ‘ for the ā (328 c).
– the b for the m (367).
– the d for the t (207), (341), (342).
– the d for the t (207).
– the d for the t (207).
– the damma for the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the masc. pl., the ā, (45).
– the g for the q (340 c).
– the g for the ‘ (328 c).
– the g for the k (340 c).
– the g for the double y (339).
– the g for the single y in pause (340) and in context (340 b).
– the h for the ā (344), (345), (347), (348 d), (373).
– the h for the hamza (98), (220), (235), (343).
– the h for the *tā’ marbūta* (348), for the *tā’ tawila* (348 b) and for the t of the fem. pl. (348 c).
– the h for the y (89), (346), (347).
– the hamza for the ā (326), (327).
– the hamza for the alif of the feminine form (313).
– the hamza for the ‘ (328).
– the hamza for the h (114 b), (115 b), (235), (325).
– the hamza for the w (50 b), (235), (290), (291), (292), (316), (317), (318 b), (319), (321), (322), (323), (327 c), or written as a w with a hamza (218), (327 c).
– the hamza for the initial w vowelled by a damma (321), by a kasra (322), by a fatha followed by an augmentative w (316), for the single w (323), for the middle w vowelled by a damma (318) and for the w coupled with another w (318 b).
– the hamza for the y (228 b), (319), (320), (324), (379).
– the hamza for the initial y (324).
– the hamza for the y in the active participle of a verb with 2nd radical y (320).
– the *hamza ‘alā kuršī l-yā*’ for the hamza (217), (218), (241).
– the l for the d (371).
– the l for the n (370).
– the m for the b (367).
– the m for the l (364).
– the m for the vowelless n (68), (365) and for the vowelled n (366).
– the m for the w (78), (363).
– the *madda* for both hamzas (227 b), (229), (233 b).
– the n for the vowelless ‘ (328 c).
– the n for the l (338).
– the n for the w (337), (353).
– the single n for the doubled n (125 g).
– the n of the indicative for the energetic n (239 b).
– the s for the t (202, (207), (329).
– the s for the z (372 b).
– the s for the s (368), (372), (174).
– the s for the t (207)
– the ẓ for the k (82 b).
– the ẓ for the t (207).
– the t for the b (336).
– the t for the d (194), (333).
– the t for the s (52), (194), (329), (333), (334).
– the t for the ẓ (335).
– the t for the t (209).
– the t for the w (52), (96), (198), (247), (330), (331).
– the t for the y (187 b), (199), (200), (332).
– the t for the 3rd radical w (331).
– the tāʾ marbūta for the elided w (16).
– the tāʾ tawila for the tāʾ marbūta (348 d).
– the ẓ for the t (207).
– the t for the d (375 b).
– the t for the t (174), (192 c), (194), (195), (196), (197), (207), (374), for the t being the suffixed pronoun of the nominative of the 1st and 2nd persons of the sing. (375).
– the t for the ẓ (197).
– the w for the augmented ā (360).
– the w for the hamza (217), (218), (219), (226), (227 b), (228 c), (362).
– the w for the y (261), (271), (303), (361).
– the w with hamza for the hamza (217).
– The wasla for the hamza (232).
– the y for: the ẓ (355), the ā (59), (230), (349), the b (357), the d (170), (182), (352), the d (170), the ẓ (265), the hamza (66), (187 b), (200), (202), (217), (218), (219), (225), (226), (228), (315), (351), the l (170), the m (170), the n (170), (353), (354), the r (170), the s (358), the š (170), the t (356), the t (359) and the w (113), (257), (260), (262), (263), (266 b), (267), (275), (293), (294), (295 b), (310), (311), (350), (379), (380).
– the z for the s (372).
– the z for the ẓ (372), (373).
– the z for the t (207).
– the z for the t (197).
Syntax nahlw. The aim and usefulness of grammar. Love of the Arabic language (3 b).

T. The tāʾ marbūta and tawila (52).

Al-tāʾ li-l-talqīš “the t of particularization” (52).
Al-tāʾ li-taʾā wa al-mubālağa “the t meant to strengthen the idea of intensiveness” (52), (150), (274). Augmented t (52).

Substituted t: the t for the b (336), the t for the d (194), (333), the t for the s (52), (194), (329), (333), (334), the t for the ẓ (335), the t for the t (209), the t for the w (96), (198), (247), (330), (331), the t for the y (187 b), (199), (200), (332), the t for the 3rd radical w (331), the tāʾ marbūta for the elided w (16), the tāʾ tawila for the tāʾ marbūta (348 d).

Al-taʾrif “definite article”.

Tasrīf “conjugation”, “morphology”, “phonology”.

Taḥwīd “oneness”.

Taḥwīd “compensation”.

Terms. Basrans and Kufans (46 b), (136), (174).

Ṭqal “heaviness”.

Title Marāḥ al-arwāh (5). Its importance (8).

Topic muḥtaba (12 b), (13), (44), (58).

Transfer, shift naqīl (14 b), (36), (74 b), (92), (181), (183), (203)-(205 b, c, d), (210)-(212), (221)-(226), (236), (241), (249), (275)-(279), (284)-(287), (292), (295), (296), (303). Transfer of:
– the vowel of the hamza to the consonant preceding it in one word (221)-(224), (241), and in two words (224).
– the vowel of a weak consonant to the consonant preceding it (36), (211), (212), (249), (275)-(279), (284)-(287), (295), (296), (303).
– the vowel of the 2nd radical to the 1st radical in the imperfect of the doubled verb (171).
– the vowel of the 2nd radical, which is the 1st consonant among the doubled consonants, to the 1st radical after the 2nd radical’s elision in the perfect of the doubled verb (181), (210), in the imperative of the 2nd person of the fem. pl. and in the 3rd person of the fem. pl. of the imperfect (183).
– the vowel of the infixed ı of Form VIII to the 1st radical (203, b), (204, b, c, d), (205, b, c, d).
– the vowel of the ı of nahu to the h preceding it (74 b).

Transitive muta’addi (22 c). The transitive is lighter than the intransitive (34 b).
Transposition qalb (14 b), (222), (237), (292), (293), (294).

Tripartite division: noun, verb and particle (10 b), (63). The reasons of their declension or undeclinability (43).

Unsoundness of the weak consonant ʾtāl (15), (16), (19), the different sequences (260).

1) Change of:
– the ʾa into the hamza (290).
– the augmented ʾa into a w (360).
– the ʾa into the y (349).
– the w into the ʾa (16), (38), (40), (243), (249), (266), (270), (276), (278), (279), (284), (289).
– the w into the hamza (290), (291), (292).
– the w into the y (16), (113), (257), (243), (260), (262), (263), (266 b), (267), (275), (292), (293), (294), (295 b), (303), (350), (379).
– the y into the ʾa (270), (285), (303).
– the y into the ʾalif maqṣūra (180), (201), (272).
– the y into the hamza (319), (379).
– the y into the w (261), (271), (361).
2) Elision of:
– the w as the 1st radical in the perfect of a verb with 1st radical w (246).
– the w as the 1st radical in the imperfect of a verb with 1st radical w (16), (19), (244), (252), (254), and in the masdar (16), (247), (248).
– the unsound 2nd weak radical (36), (38), (249), (279), (284), (285), (286), (287), (288), (289), (291), (292), (295).
– the unsound 2nd weak radical or the infixed ʾa (249), (279).
– the 2nd weak radical or the infixed w in passive participles of verbs with 2nd weak radical (295).
– the 2nd weak radical changed into a hamza in active participles of verbs with 2nd weak radical (291), (292).
– the 3rd radical w in a verb with 3rd radical w (305).
– the 3rd weak radical in participles of verbs with 3rd weak radical (295), (309), and in the jussive (306).
– the 3rd radical y in participles of verbs with 3rd radical y (23), (295), (309).
– the 3rd radical y in verbs with 3rd radical y (33), (49), (51 c), (54), (180), (201), (239 c), (240), (275), (292), (302), (303), (304), (307).
– the 3rd radical y after the kasra or fatḥa before the doubled n in the 2nd person of the masc. sing. of the Energetic I (239 c).

Relative noun or adjective ism al-nisba (156).

Underlying, underlyingly, base asṣīf (16), (19), (48), (49), (50 b), (54), (56), (58), (65), (77), (88), (96), (97), (98), (109), (114), (119), (121), (127), (149 b), (161), (169), (171)–(174), (177), (180), (181), (182), (184), (187 b, c), (189), (191), (192), (194), (195), (200), (209), (211), (212), (220), (221), (224), (226), (228), (229), (230), (235 c), (243), (244), (248), (255), (257), (259), (262), (263), (265)–(267), (269), (270), (271), (275), (279), (284), (288)–(293), (295), (298), (299), (300), (302)–(305), (311), (316)–(319), (321), (329), (331), (332), (340 b), (344), (350), (361), (364), (368), (374), (378), (379), (380).

Verb fitʿ (28), (29). Verbs being considered to be heavier than nouns (58). The debate concerning the verb which is considered as the origin of the derivation according to the Kufans, and the masdar which is considered as the origin of derivation according to the Basrans (12)-(21): The verb’s dependency or its agent in the sentence contra the independence of the masdar as a noun (12 b), (13), (58). The Basrans’ concept of the verb’s plurality contra the masdar’s oneness (12). Some comments about some terms referring to the fields of philosophy and theology (13 b). The Kufans’ argument
pertaining to the field of morphology that stresses upon the idea of the dependence of the *maṣdar* on the verb, regarding the unsoundness or the soundness of the weak consonant in its structure (15), (16). The Basrans’ argumentation against this opinion (19). The Kufans’ argument referring to the field of syntax: the verb is the regent and governs the *maṣdar* in the accusative and the *maṣdar* is emphasized by the verb (17). The Basrans’ and the Kufans’ opinions concerning the undeclinability of the verbs (123), the declension of the imperfect (122) and the undeclinability or the declension of the imperative (48), (119), (120), (123), (184).

Anomalous elision of the kasra of the 2nd radical in verbs of Form I (109). Anomalous elision of the fatha in a verb of Form I and in a verb of Form VII (45). The 2nd radical made vowelless in the perfect together with the 1st radical given a kasra (29). The anomalies *fi’ila* and *fi’la* (29).

Verbal noun *maṣdar*. Its definitions (12, b). Its derivatives (10). The debate concerning the *maṣdar* being the origin of derivation according to the Basrans and the verb being the origin of the derivation according to the Kufans. See for it Verb. The Kufans’ argument that the *maṣdar* is formed according to the passive participle contra the Basrans argument that it is formed according to the noun of place (18). The Basrans’ argumentation that the *maṣdar* is regarded as a noun of place (21).

The *maṣdar* being substituted by the active participle (23). The *maṣdar* formed according to the measure of *fi’ila* (23 b). The *maṣdar* being substituted by the passive participle (24). The passive participle being substituted by the *maṣdar* (24 b). The *maṣdar* as a substitute for the imperative (24 e). The *maṣdar* as a substitute for the adjective (24 f).

The *maṣdar*’s patterns of the groundform of the triliteral (22). Other forms including other classes than the strong verb (22 b). The patterns’ indications (22 c). The *maṣdar* of the derived forms of the triliteral occurring on the pattern of the passive participle (24 c). The form of the passive participle of what exceeds three consonants occurring as the form of the *maṣdar* (24 d). Some forms that express intensification: *taf’alun* and *fi’itlay* (25). The analogy of the *maṣdar*’s measures of the derived forms of the triliteral and quadriliteral with their verbs’ measures (26). Well-known derived forms of the *maṣdar* of the strong triliteral verb with their numbering. Well-known forms of the *maṣdar* of the groundform and derived forms of the quadriliteral with their numbering (26 c). Forms of the *maṣdar* of the derived forms of the triliteral and quadriliteral which are not analogous with their verbs: *fi’ibalun*, *fi’alun* and *fi’talun* (27). Examples from the paradigms of doubled verbs (172), (172 b), of verbs with 1st, 2nd or 3rd radical hamza (214, b, c), of verbs with weak 1st radical in the groundform and derived forms (245), (245 b), of verbs with 2nd radical *w* (264), of verbs with 3rd radical *w* (259), or *y* (259 b) and of verbs with 3rd weak radical *y* (302) or *w* (302 b), (303 b).

Verbs with weak 1st radical *mitāl* (242...). The different conjugations. The conjugation *fa’ala* *yaf’ulu* (243). Paradigms of verbs with 1st radical *w* or *y* (245), (245 b). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical *w* in the imperative (256). The elision of the *w* in the imperfect of a verb with 1st radical *w* (16), (244), (252) and in the *maṣdar* (16), (247), (248). Its elision in the imperative (256). Its maintainance in different forms (16), (244), (246), (255). The reason of its maintainance or its elision in the imperfect according to the Kufans and to the Basrans (244). Noun of place of the verb with 1st radical *w* (160).

Verbs with 2nd weak radical *aḡwaf* (258...). Paradigms of verbs with 2nd radical *w* (259), or *y* (259 b). Paradigm of a verb with 2nd radical *w* in the imperative (287) and in the passive voice (297). Paradigm of the active participle with 2nd weak radical (290). Some active participles with the anomalous elision of the 2nd weak radical changed into a hamza (291), some with the transposition of the consonants (292), and some with the change of the hamza into a weak consonant (226). Form I *fa’ila* that has the meaning of *if’alla* and Form VIII *if’ta’ala* that has the meaning of Form VI *tāf’ala* in verbs with 2nd radical *w* (270). The forms *ma∫f’alun* and *ma∫f’alun* of the passive participle of verbs with 2nd radical *w* or *y* (295). The form *ma∫f’alun* used instead of *ma∫f’alun* and *ma∫f’alun* (295 b). Passive participle and noun of place with 2nd radical *y* (296).

Verbs with 3rd weak radical *nāqis* (301...). Paradigms of a verb with 3rd radical *y* (302) or *w* (302 b), (303 b). The elision of the 3rd radical (33), (49), (54), (239 c), (275), (292), (303). Cases of verbs occurring with the elision of the 3rd radical *y* and the kasra or sukūn given to the last consonant in the pause (307). A case in which the 3rd radical is retained in pause (307 b). Cases in which the jussive is not taken into consideration (51), (51 f). The vowelling of the 3rd radical *y* when it precedes the energetic *n* in the 2nd person of the fem. sing. (239). Its elision by some in the 2nd person of the masc. sing. (239 c). Active participle of a verb with 3rd radical *y* (309), passive participle (310), noun of
An anomalous case concerning a verb of Form IX (40). Verbs with weak 1st and 3rd radical and verbs with 2nd weak and 3rd radical laff (376...). Paradigm of a verb with 1st radical w and 3rd weak radical (376) and of a verb with 2nd radical y and 3rd weak radical (376 b). Discussions concerning an example (180). The vowelling of the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person of the masc. pl. and the 2nd person of the fem. sing. of the imperative of the Energetic 1 before the doubled nūns (378).

Vocative nidā'. When the vocative yā precedes a noun to which the suffix pronoun of the genitive of the 1st person of the sing., the ī, is attached to, different dialectal variants are allowable. Change of the suffixed ī into an ā when preceded by a kasra, and of the underlying ya into an ā when preceded by a kasra (81).

Compensation of the doubled m of allāhumma for the elided vocative particle (235 b).

Waqf “pause”.

Wasl “juncture”.

Weak consonant(s) hurāf al- illa (15), (16), (19), (36), (40), (45), (70), (92), (111), (112), (180), (188 b), (202), (216)-(219), (224), (225), (229), (241), (260), (262), (265), (266 b), (267), (269), (270), (274)-(279), (290), (292), (303), (340 b), (347), (379).

Weakness.

– The fatha is considered as the weakest among the three vowels (45).
– The h is considered as too weak to hinder the deflection (347).
– The infixed consonant is considered as weak in relation to the radical (225).
– The elided radical is considered as weak in relation to the infixed consonant (225).
– The perfect is considered as weak as its action is completed and done with (45).
– The sukūn between two vowelled consonants is considered as too weak to hinder the influence of the vowel preceding it on the vowel following it (112), (113), (290).