A Grammar of Standard Classical Arabic

The Authors

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https://adamiturabi.github.io/arabic-tutorial-book/

Contents

Work in progress

Preface

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

The primary texts of Islām (the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth) are in Arabic. So too is much of its scholarly literature. However, there are many Muslims for whom Arabic is not a native language, yet who are familiar enough with English to study textbooks written in this language. The goal of this book is to help them learn Arabic so that, together with a study of the appropriate expositional texts, they can start to understand the primary texts in their original language. We hope that this will, if Allāh wills, make them more connected to the primary texts and their teachings. Furthermore, they can be empowered to study the vast body of Arabic Islāmic literature.

Regarding the title of this book: the Arab grammarians were describing the Arabic language of the time of the Prophet ﷺ and his companions. They were doing this by drawing upon a corpus that included transmitted texts and the dialectal speech of informants. We term the language of this corpus to be *Classical Arabic*, because of its considerable volume and its agreed upon significance and eloquence. In the process of the grammarians' sifting through and describing the dialectal variation of Classical Arabic, a standard variety emerged and gained prevalence. Thenceforth, virtually all composed texts attempted to conform to the grammar of this standard. And it is the grammar of this *Standard Classical Arabic* (SCA) that is the subject of this work.

SCA, as a standard, is not exactly defined in its entirety. There is a core which is more or less agreed upon, and then there are fringe dialectal, rare, and anomalous usages, regarding whose acceptability the grammarians have differed. We have attemped to convey both these aspects when the occasion has demanded it.

While the grammar which we cover in this book is of SCA, the vocabulary may include legitimate post-classical words and meanings. But we stop short of dealing with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Because the preponderance of its modern vocabulary would detract from the main focus of this book. And also because Western grammar works which focus on MSA tend to use modern

texts as a corpus to re-describe and re-codify its grammar. Which is fine, as a methodology, because their goal is to understand the meaning of MSA texts. If we were to include MSA, as thus defined, in this book, then we would have to explain the conflicts between it and SCA. Which is something we are not ready, or equipped, to deal with.

This book is a learning or teaching grammar, as opposed to being strictly a reference grammar. Therefore, whenever we were able to, we have tried to explain topics, and give examples, in a manner that assumes an understanding of only preceding content. We have, at the same time, generally tried to group content coherently for convenient reference during learning.

We have also aimed to make this a self-instruction textbook so that a diligent student should, if Allāh wills, be able to study it independently. The target learner is someone who has not been exposed to grammatical terminology beyond a grade school level. While terminology is necessary for a rigorous non-immersive learning of language, we have tried to steer away from Latin-based terms like *accusative*, *jussive*, etc. Such terms, when first encountered by an uninitiated learner, may deter him from proceeding further. So we have in some places translated the meaning of Arabic grammar terms to English. In other places, we have used established English grammar terms where the terms are basic enough. We have even, in places, invented terms where we deemed appropriate. We have also used some grammatical terminology from Arabic directly, usually in cases where our target learner may have already been exposed to them from Qurʾān recitation rules, or where the term is complex enough that creating a term specifically in English wouldn't make it any simpler. The drawback to this non-standard approach, however, is that the student may not be able to immediately relate the terminology he has learned in this book to established terminology in other grammar textbooks. To remedy this to some extent, we provide a glossary which maps the grammatical terminology used in this book to other, established, Latin-based and Arabic-based counterparts.

Because this is an instructional textbook, we have generally avoided quoting verbatim when drawing material from cited sources, But we haven't shied away from sticking close to the cited text when we felt we could not better its expression or organization for our purposes. Citations are absent for basic topics, and also where we were not able to find an exact reference for some point that we are trying to make. In any event, any errors that remain in this book are our own.

Technical matters

- This book is produced using the Quarto authoring and publishing framework and set in the Charis, Vazirmatn, and Amiri typefaces.
- Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the Qurʾān are by Ṣaḥeeḥ International™, sourced from https://quran.com.
- Unless otherwise indicated, the numbering of Ḥadīth is that used by https://sunnah.com.

- The page numbers for citations may vary across different editions and publishers. We have attempted to specify the edition that we are using in the references.

THE AUTHORS

Work in progress

Part I.

Advanced

Chapter 1.

Sentence and government theory

> ⚠️ **Warning**
>
> **THIS BOOK IS A WORK IN PROGRESS. IT IS INCOMPLETE AND MAY HAVE TYPOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER ERRORS. IT IS NOT YET READY FOR STUDY.**

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will study the Arabic grammatical model for constructing sentences. We will first define some linguistic terms.

1.1.1. Truth-evaluability

Statements are classified into two types:

  i. a truth-evaluable statement
  ii. a non-truth-evaluable statement

A *truth-evaluable* statement is one that can be judged to be true or false. In other words it is falsifiable. For example, if we have a statement:

(1) زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ
   Zayd is standing.

The above statement may be judged to have a truth value. If zayd is actually standing, then the statement is true. And if zayd is not standing, then the statement is false.

A *non-truth-evaluable* statement, on the other hand, does not have a truth value. Here are some examples of non-truth-evaluable statements:

(2) اضْرِبْ زَيْدًا
   Beat Źayd!

(3) لَا تَفْعَلْ
     Don't do [it]!

(4) يَا زَيْدُ
     O Zayd

(5) مَنْ هُوَ
     Who is he?

1.1.2. Syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and stylistics

Syntax and semantics

Semantics is the study of the meanings of words. And *syntax* is the study of how words combine to form phrases and sentences. Syntax deals with the grammatical relationships between the words in a sentence. For example, consider the adjectival noun كَبِير. Semantically, it gives the meaning of something being big. When it is in a linguistic environment, like a phrase or a sentence, then its syntactical role is determined by the grammatical relationships it has with other words in the sentence.

Consider the following sentence:

(6) الْبَيْتُ كَبِيرٌ
     The house is big

In the above sentence, كَبِير is *syntactically* a info.

Now consider the following sentence:

(7) دَخَلَ بَيْتًا كَبِيرًا
     He entered a big house.

Now the same noun كَبِير is syntactically a attribute. In both examples, كَبِير has the same semantic signification.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics is the study of what sentences mean in a specific context or situation.

Stylistics

In order to express a meaning, there will often be a normal way to choose words or construct a sentence's structure. If, for some effect (rhetorical, persuasive, literary, etc.), the speaker chooses to deviate from this norm, then he is doing so for stylistic reasons.[1]

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[1]Hickey, L, "Stylistics, Pragmatics, and Pragmastylistics"

1.2. The theory of government

A sentence in Arabic is constituted from elements. An element can be a noun, a verb, or a particle. Of these elements, some have the quality of state. These are called *stateful* elements. The stateful elements are nouns and stateful verbs. A noun may be either in the u-state, a-state, or i-state. And a stateful verb may be either in the u-state, a-state, or o-state. The theory of government states that a stateful element is put in a particular state by a *governor*. For example:

(8) فِي الدَّار
in the house

In the above example, the gpreposition فِي causes the noun الدَّار to be in the i-state. So we say that the governor فِي *governs* الدَّار (the *governee*) in the i-state.

1.3. Some common governees

Let's look at some common governor-governee relationships. We will make use of the following example:

(9) قَرَأَ الْغُلَامُ الطَّوِيلُ كِتَابَ الجَارِيَةِ فِي الدَّارِ الْكَبِيرَةِ

The i-state noun

A noun in the i-state is governed by a preceding preposition or annexe noun. We have already seen that the i-state noun الدَّار is governed by the preceding preposition فِي. We also see that the i-state base noun الجَارِيَةِ is governed by the annexe noun كِتَابَ.

The doer

The doer of a verb is governed by its preceding verb. In our example the verb قَرَأَ governs its doer الْغُلَامُ in the u-state.

The direct doee

The direct doee is also governed by its verb. In our example the verb قَرَأَ governs its direct doee كِتَابَ in the a-state.

The attribute

A attribute is governed by governor of its attributee. In our example, the attribute الطَّوِيلُ is governed in the u-state by قَرَأ, which is the governor of its attributee الْغُلَامُ. Similarly, the attribute الْكَبِيرَة is governed in the i-state by the preposition فِي because فِي also governs its attributee الدَّارِ.

Ungoverned elements

Not every element in a sentence is governed by a governor. For example, the perfect verb قَرَأ has no state, and thus, no governor.
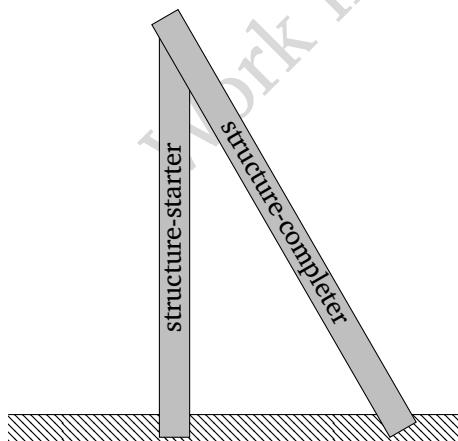
Here is a diagram depicting the above governor-governee relationships:

DIAGRAM

1.4. The two structural elements of a sentence

In the Arabic grammatical model, a sentence is analagous to the structure of a simple *lean-to* building. This structure requires two *structural* elements in order to be structurally complete.[2] These two structural elements are:

  i. The structure-starter
  ii. The structure-completer

The structure-starter is the primary structural element. It represents whom the sentence is about, i.e. its topic. The structure-completer rests against the structure-starter. It expresses some property about the structure-starter that completes the meaning of the sentence.

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[2]الجملة العربية لفاضل السامرائي 13ff; Wright 2/250ff

Once the two structural elements are in place, the sentence is structurally complete. Other *dispensable* elements (see section (ref) below) may be added in addition to the structural elements to add meaning to the sentence, but they are not required to make the sentence structurally complete.

Let's look at the structural elements for the two types of Arabic sentences:

1.4.1. The structural elements of a nounal sentence

In a nounal sentence the subject is the structure-starter and the info is the structure-completer. Consider the following nounal sentence:

(10)   زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ
     Zayd is standing.

DIAGRAM

Example (10) above is a nounal sentence. The subject زَيْدٌ is the structure-starter. It is the topic of the sentence. The info قَائِمٌ is the structure-completer. It is a comment on the topic, giving us some information about زَيْدٌ.

1.4.2. The structural elements of a verbal sentence

In a verbal sentence the verb is the structure-completer and its doer is the structure-starter. Consider the following verbal sentence:

(11)   قَامَ زَيْدٌ

DIAGRAM

Example (11) above is a verbal sentence. The doer زَيْدٌ is the structure-starter. It is the topic of the sentence. And the verb قَامَ is the structure-completer. It is a comment on the topic.

1.5. Foundational government

In order to build a sentence from the structural elements, a sentence needs *foundational government*.[Owens §2.3.6.1, 54] Foundational government is any and all government prior to, and until, the first governed structural element.

One of the two structural elements is the foundational government

In some sentences, the intitial governor may be one of the two structural elements. In example (11) above, the verb قَامَ governs its doer زَيْدٌ. The perfect verb قَامَ has no state and thus needs no governor. So it is, itself, the foundational government.

DIAGRAM

Another (non-structural) element is the foundational government

The intitial governor may be internal to the sentence but not one of the two structural elements.

Here are some examples:

(12) لَمْ يَضْرِبِ الرَّجُلُ غُلَامَ زَيْدٍ [Owens, J., *The foundations of grammar* §2.2.3, 41]
The man did not beat Zayd's slave.

DIAGRAM

(13) إِنَّ زَيْدًا قَائِمٌ
Indeed Zayd is standing.

DIAGRAM

The abstract foundational government

Very commonly, the foundational government is not an actual word, but only an abstract concept. When there is one or more stateful structural elements in a sentence with no overt (i.e. observable) governor, then this necessitates bringing in a *abstract* foundational government.[3] For example:

(14) زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقٌ [Peled, *Sentence types* 87]
Zayd is setting out.

The abstract foundational government governs both the structure-starter (the subject زَيْدٌ), and the structure-completer (the info مُنْطَلِقٌ) in the u-state.

(15) يَقُومُ زَيْدٌ
Zayd stands

The abstract foundational government governs the structure-completer (the stateful verb يَقُومُ) in the u-state. And, as usual, the verb يَقُومُ governs its doer زَيْدٌ (the structure-starter) in the u-state.

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[3]Owens, J., *The foundations of grammar* 55; Peled, *Sentence types* 87–88

1.6. Dispensable elements

A dispensable element is any stateful element in a sentence, after the foundational government, that is not either of the two structural elements. The source of government for a dispensable element must be, directly or indirectly, one of the structural elements.

We know from section (ref) above, that in a nounal sentence the structural elements are the subject and the info. And that in a verbal sentence the structural elements are the verb and its doer. So all other elements besides these (and elements that constitute the foundational government) are dispensable elements. Here is an (incomplete) list of some common dispensable elements:

- the attribute
- the direct doee (usually)
- the absolute doee (see chapter (ref))
- the adverb of time and the adverb of place (see chapter (ref))
- the adverb of reason (see chapter (ref))
- the accompanying doee (see chapter (ref))
- the ḥāl (see chapter (ref))
- the tamyīz (see chapter (ref))

By the way, when we say *dispensable*, we mean that an element is dispensable in the sense that it is not required to complete the sentence *structurally*. We don't mean that it is superfluous in terms of its meaning. In fact, a dispensable element may be essential for the correct meaning of the sentence. For example, consider the āyah:

[معاني النحو 1/14 cited by 21:16 سورة الأنبياء] وَمَا خَلَقْنَا ٱلسَّمَآءَ وَٱلْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا لَعِبِينَ (16)
And We did not create the heaven and earth and that between them in play.

لَاعِبِينَ is a ḥāl (see in chapter (ref)), which is a dispensable element. If we remove it from the sentence, then the sentence will be structurally complete but it will have an incorrect meaning.

1.7. Refining the definitions of the nounal sentence and the verbal sentence

We know that there are two basic types of Arabic sentences:

  i. The nounal sentence
 ii. The verbal sentence

Previously we had said that a nounal sentence is one that begins with a noun. And a nounal sentence is one that begins with a verb. We will now refine these definitions:

A *nounal sentence* is one whose structural elements are two nouns: a subject (as the structure-starter) and an info (as the structure-completer). And a *verbal sentence* is one whose structural elements are a verb (as the structure-starter) and and its doer (as the structure-completer).

Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(17) بَلْ زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ
    Rather Zayd is standing.

The first word in the sentence above is بَلْ. It is a particle and not a structural element. Removing it from the sentence, we see that the remaining structural elements are two nouns: زَيْدٌ (the subject) and قَائِمٌ (as the info). So the sentence is a nounal sentence.

Let's take a look at another example:

(18) زَيْدًا رَأَيْتُ [Peled, *Sentence types* 28]
    [It was] Zayd I saw.

The first word in the sentence is زَيْدًا. It is a direct doee. We learned in section (ref) above that a direct doee is not usually a structural element. Rather, it is usually a dispensable elements Stripping the sentence of this dispensable element, we are left with رَأَيْتُ *I saw*. This is a verbal sentence. The verb رَأَى is the structure-completer and its doer, the pronoun تُ, is the structure-starter.

1.8. Identifying the structural elements in a nounal sentence

It can sometimes be complicated to tell which of the twp structural elements in a nounal sentence is the structure-starter and which is the structure-completer. We will discuss several cases below:

1.8.1. When there is an overt foundational government

When there is an overt foundational government, like إِنَّ, كَانَ, etc., then it is usually easy to tell which is the structure-starter and which is the structure-completer. For example:

(19) فَإِنَّ حَسْبَكَ ٱللَّهُ [سورة الأنفال 8:62]
    then sufficient for you is Allāh

In example (19) above, حَسْب is in the a-state as the subject and the word ٱللَّهُ is in the u-state as the info. This tells us that حَسْب is the structure-starter and the word ٱللَّهُ is the structure-completer.

1.8.2. One structural element is definite and the other structural element is indefinite

When one structural element is definite and the other structural element is indefinite, then it is usually the case that the definite element is the structure-starter (as the subject) and the indefinite element is the structure-completer (as the info).

In terms of pragmatics, the structure-starter and the structure-completer represent 'given' and 'new' information. That is, the listener knows who the structure-starter is and can identify him or it. So the structure-starter is a 'given' to the listener. And the speaker is providing 'new' information about the structure-starter to the listener. The definite element represents the 'given' information, which the listener already knows. And the indefinite element represents 'new' information.

Let's take a look at an example:

(20) تَمِيمِيٌّ أَنَا [Peled, *Sentence types* 121]
    A Tamīmite I am.

The pronoun أَنَا is definite. Therefore it is the structure-starter (as the subject). And the word تَمِيمِيٌّ is indefinite. Therefore it is the structure-completer (as the info). Example (20) is an inverted order sentence where the info is fronted and the subject is placed after it.

In special cases, some grammarians hold that it is possible to have an indefinite subject and a definite info.[4] One special case is when a question noun is the subject. (Question nouns are considered indefinite.) For example:

(21) كَمْ مَالُكَ [حاشية الصبان على شرح الأشموني لألفية ابن مالك 231/1]
    How much is your wealth?

(22) أَيُّ لَيْلَةٍ لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ [جامع الترمذي: 3513]
    Which night is the night of Decree

Another special case is when the subject is an indefinite comparative noun in sentences like:

(23) خَيْرٌ مِنْكَ زَيْدٌ [حاشية الصبان على شرح الأشموني لألفية ابن مالك 231/1]
    Better than you is Zayd

In the above sentence, خَيْرٌ is considered the subject of the sentence.

1.8.3. Both structural elements are definite

When both structural elements are definite, then typically the first is the subject and the second is the info. For example:

(24) الدِّينُ النَّصِيحَةُ [صحيح مسلم :55a]
The Religion is sincerity.

However, if it is known from context that one if the two elements is the 'given' information and the other is the 'new' information, then the given information will be the subject and the new information will be the info, regardless of word-order.[5]

For example, consider a situation where one wishes to say, "Abū Yūsuf is [like] Abū Ḥanīfah." (Imām Abū Yūsuf was the foremost student of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah.) The normal way to express this sentence is:

(25) أَبُو يُوسُفَ أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/233]
Abū Yūsuf is [like] Abū Ḥanīfah.

DIAGRAM

However, if it is pragmatically known that the topic of the sentence is أَبُو يُوسُفَ, then it is 'given' that أَبُو يُوسُفَ is the structure-starter (as the subject). Similarly, it is known that likening him to أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ is the 'new' information. Therefore, أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ is the structure-completer (as the info). In this case, the sentence order can be flexible, and the info can be fronted (stylistically), for the same meaning, thus:

(26) أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ أَبُو يُوسُفَ
[Like] Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yūsuf is.

DIAGRAM

1.8.4. Both structural elements are indefinite

When both structural elements are indefinite then, again, the first is likely to be the subject and the second to be the info. Examples:

(27) أَفْضَلُ مِنْ زَيْدٍ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/232]
[The person] better than Zayd is better than Ɛamr.

(28) وَجَزَٰٓؤُا۟ سَيِّئَةٍ سَيِّئَةٌ مِّثْلُهَا [سورة الشورى 42:40]
And the retribution for an evil act is an evil one like it

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[5] شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/233; معاني النحو 1/168

1.9. The info as a complete sentence

In a nounal sentence, the info is, by default, a single noun. See example (1) again:

(1) زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ
Zayd is standing.

In example (1), قَائِمٌ is a single word and it is the info. This is what we may call a *simple* nounal sentence.

In contrast, in a *compound* nounal sentence, the info is itself a complete sentence. For example:

(29) زَيْدٌ يَقُومُ
Zayd – he stands

In example (29) above, زَيْدٌ is the subject and يَقُومُ is the info. But يَقُومُ is not a single word here. It is in fact a complete sentence. This is because, as we know, a verb *must* be followed by its doer. And if there is no overt doer, then a latent doer pronoun is implicated. So يَقُومُ is a a verbal sentence with the meaning *he stands*.

Here is example of a compound nounal sentence, whose info is also a nounal sentence:

(30) زَيْدٌ أَبُوهُ قَائِمٌ [التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 4/26]
Zayd – his father is standing.

(FIXME: MOVE THIS TO KAANA CHAPTER):

Compound sentences are very common with كَانَ. Remember from section (ref) above that كَانَ is a deficient verb, and thus needs a info to grammatically the sentence. This info may be a single word, like:

(31) كَانَ زَيْدٌ قَائِمًا
Zayd was standing.

Or the info of كَانَ may be a complete sentence:

(32) كَانَ زَيْدٌ يَقُومُ
Zayd used to stand.

(END FIXME)

The info of a compound nounal sentence is typically a truth-evaluable sentence. But it need not be so. A non-truth-evaluable sentence is also valid as a info[6] For example:

(33) زَيْدٌ اضْرِبْهُ [التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 4/27]
Zayd – hit him!
(i.e. *Hit Zayd!*)

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[6] التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 4/27; شرح جمل الزجاجي لابن عصفور 1/347

1.9.1. The government of the compound nounal sentence sentence

The info of a compound nounal sentence is a complete sentence. Therefore, it has its own independent internal government for all elements within it (including its own foundational government). But the *entire* info is governed, albeit not markedly, by a governor in the outer sentence. For example, consider the following compound nounal sentence:

(34) زَيْدٌ لَمْ يَضْرِبْ عَمْرًا
    Zayd – he did not hit Ɛamr

In example (34) above, لَمْ يَضْرِبْ عَمْرًا is a complete sentence that is the info of the outer sentence. This inner sentence has its own internal government, starting with its foundational government لَمْ. The foundational government لَمْ governs the verb يَضْرِبْ in the o-state. And the verb يَضْرِبْ governs an implicated latent doer pronoun (هُوَ) in the u-state, and the direct doee عَمْرًا in the a-state.

We will say that the inner sentence لَمْ يَضْرِبْ عَمْرًا is *in place* of a u-state noun as the info of the outer sentence.

The government of this compound sentence is illustrated in the diagram below:

DIAGRAM

1.9.2. Invalid inner sentences

Some sentences are not valid as inner sentences:

- A sentence beginning with لَكِنْ, حَتَّى, or بَلْ is not valid.[7]

- A vocative sentence is not valid.[8] So. we cannot say, for example:

    (35) ✗ زيد يا أخاه [التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 4/28]
        "Zayd – O his brother."

1.9.3. The link between the inner and outer sentence

It is usually necessary for there to be a link between the inner sentence, and the subject of the outer sentence. This link is typically supplied by a pronoun. Let's look at some examples:

(36) زَيْدٌ قَامَ أَبُوهُ [المقتصد للجرجاني 1/278]
    Zayd – his father stood up.

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[7] التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 4/28
[8] التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 4/28

DIAGRAM

In example (36) above, the link is the pronoun هُ in abuuhu.

(37) زَيْدٌ قَامَ [المقتصد للجرجاني 1/278]
Zayd – he stood up.

DIAGRAM

In example (37) above, the link is the implied singular masculine pronoun that is the doer of قَامَ.

Generally, if there is no such link between the inner sentence and the subject of the outer sentence, then the compound sentence is invalid.[9]{.citex} So we cannot say, for example:

(38) ✗ زَيْدٌ قَامَ عَمْرٌ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل citing 94 *Sentence types* ,Peled]
Zayd – Ɛamr stood up

A pointing noun as the link

Instead of a pronoun, an pointing noun may serve as the link. For example:

(39) وَلِبَاسُ ٱلتَّقْوَىٰ ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ [سورة الأعراف 7:26 cited by شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/204]
But the clothing of righteousness - that is best.

A repeated subject as the link

The subject of the outer sentence may be repeated in the inner sentence, and this is sufficient as the link. For example:

(40) ٱلْحَآقَّةُ ۝ مَا ٱلْحَآقَّةُ ۝ [سورة الحاقة 69:1-2 cited by شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/204]
The Inevitable Reality - What is the Inevitable Reality?

No need for the link

In cases where the info of the outer sentence is more general than its subject a link is not needed. For example:

(41) زَيْدٌ نِعْمَ الرَّجُلُ [Wright 2/256D, شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/204]
Zayd – an excellent man

The link is also not needed when the subject of the outer sentence and its info are perfectly identical in meaning. For example:

─────────────────────
[9]Peled, *Sentence types* 94 citing شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل؛ المقتصد للجرجاني

(42) نُطْقِي اللَّهُ حَسْبِي [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 204/1, Wright 2/256D]
My utterance is "Allāh is sufficient for me."

(43) قَوْلِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 204/1, Wright 2/256D]
My saying is "There is no god but Allāh."

An implied link

The link, even when technically required, is sometimes omitted. But it remains implied. This is in cases in which the sense is perfectly clear without it.[10] For example:

(44) ٱلسَّمْنُ مَنَوَانِ بِدِرْهَم [شرح الرضي على الكافية 238/1; المقتصد للجرجاني 278/1; Wright 2/256C]
The ghee is (at the rate of) two manās for a dirham.

In the example above, the sentence with the link restored is ٱلسَّمْنُ مَنَوَانِ مِنْهُ بِدِرْهَمٍ *two manās **of it** for a dirham.*

1.10. Other complete sentences in place of nouns

It is not only the info which can be replaced with a complete sentence. Other grammatical categories are also, by default, a single noun, but which can be replaced with complete sentences. We will discuss some of these categories below, and treat other categories in their respective chapters (like the ḥāl, the condition-response, and verbs of perception).

1.10.1. The direct doee as a complete sentence

A sentence which is direct speech occurs in the place of a direct doee. For example:

(45) قَالَ إِنِّى عَبْدُ ٱللَّهِ [شرح شيخ زاده على قواعد الإعراب 23/1 cited by سورة مريم 19:30]
[Jesus] said, "Indeed, I am the servant of Allāh.

In the example above, the sentence إِنِّى عَبْدُ ٱللَّهِ is in place of the a-state direct doee of قَالَ.

A complete sentence can also occur as a direct doee with verbs of perception. Examples:

(46) ظَنَنْتُ زَيْدًا يَقْرَأُ [شرح شيخ زاده على قواعد الإعراب 24/1]
I believed Zayd [to be] reading.

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[10]Wright 2/256B

In the example above, the verbal sentence يَقْرَأُ is in place of the a-state direct doee of ظَنَنْتُ. We will learn more about this category in chapter (ref), if Allāh wills.

1.10.2. The attribute as a complete sentence

The attribute is, in principle, a single noun.

However, an sentence entire sentence may occur in place of the single noun. For example, instead of saying مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ قَائِمٍ, we can replace the single word attribute قَائِمٍ with the sentence يَقُومُ, thus:

(47) مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ يَقُومُ [308 الإيضاح للفارسي]
I passed by a man [that] stands.
(literally: *I passed by a 'he stands' man.*

Note that the stateful verb يَقُومُ is in the u-state. This is because يَقُومُ is a complete sentence (with an implied doer pronoun). So it has its own internal government that is not affected by any element in the outer sentence. Thus, the state of the attributee رَجُلٍ has no effect on any state within the sentence-attribute. However, the entire sentence attribute is *in place* of a i-state noun as the attribute of رَجُلٍ.

Substituing a single-noun attribute with its corresponding stateful verb is the most basic form of the sentence-attribute. However, more complex sentence-attributes may also be formed. For example:

(48) وَاتَّقُواْ يَوْمًا تُرْجَعُونَ فِيهِ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ [سورة البقرة 2:281 cited by ابن هشام أوضح المسالك 3/276]
And fear a Day when you will be returned to Allāh.

In example (48) above, the sentence تُرْجَعُونَ فِيهِ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ is a attribute of يَوْمًا.

There are three conditions that must be met in order for a sentence to occur as a attributeˆ: [أوضح المسالك لابن هشام 3/275–278]

1. The attributee must be indefinite, either in wording or in meaning.
2. The sentence-attribute must contain a link that links back to the attributee.
3. The sentence-attribute should be truth-evaluable.

Let's discuss each of these conditions.

Indefiniteness of the attributee

We already saw an example of an indefinite (in wording) attributee in example (48) above. Here is an example of a attributee which is definite in wording, but indefinite in meaning:

(49) وَلَقَدْ أَمُرُّ عَلَى اللَّئِيمِ يَسُبُّنِي [أوضح المسالك لابن هشام 3/276]
And indeed I pass by the ignoble [person that] insults me

In example (49) the attributee اللَّئِيمِ is referring to a general person, and is therefore indefinite in meaning.

A link that links back to the attributee

In example (48), the link, which links back to the attributee يَوْمًا, is the pronoun ه in فِيهِ.

Sometimes the link is not explicit, but is implied. For example:

(50) وَاتَّقُواْ يَوْمًا لَّا تَجْزِى نَفْسٌ عَن نَّفْسٍ شَيْئًا [سورة البقرة 2:123 cited by أوضح المسالك لابن هشام 3/277]
And fear a Day when no soul will suffice for another soul at all

The implied link is the pronoun ه in an implied فِيهِ, i.e. لَا تَجْزِى فِيهِ.

The sentence-attribute should be truth-evaluable

The following sentence is impermissible because the attribute اضْرِبْهُ is a non-truth-evaluable sentence.

(51) ✗ مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ اضْرِبْهُ [أوضح المسالك لابن هشام 3/278]
I passed by a man – hit him

1.10.3. The base noun in an annexation as a complete sentence

The base noun in an annexation may be a complete sentence instead of a single noun. For example:

(52) هَٰذَا يَوْمُ يَنفَعُ ٱلصَّٰدِقِينَ صِدْقُهُمْ [سورة المائدة 5:119 cited by شرح شيخ زاده على قواعد الإعراب 1/28]
This is the Day when the truthful will benefit from their truthfulness.

In example (52) above the entire sentence يَنفَعُ ٱلصَّادِقِينَ صِدْقُهُمْ is the base noun to the annexe noun يَوْمُ. As with sentence-infos and sentence-attributes, the sentence-base noun has its own internal government. And the sentence-base noun is *in place* of an i-state noun.

Here is another example:

(53) يَوْمَ هُم بَٰرِزُونَ [سورة غافر 40:16 cited by شرح شيخ زاده على قواعد الإعراب 1/29]
The Day they come forth

1.11. **A foreign element separating a governor from its governee**

A foreign element is one that is not *directly* governed by a governor. In most cases, a foreign element should not come between (and thus separate) a governor from its governee(s). For example, consider the following sentence:

(54) عَلِمْتُ مُحَمَّدًا يُؤَلِّفُ كِتَابًا [الجملة العربية لفاضل السامرائي 66]
    I knew Muḥammad [to be] writing a book.

In the example above the verbal sentence يُؤَلِّفُ كِتَابًا is in place of the second direct doee of عَلِمْتُ. The noun كِتَابًا is governed directly by the verb يُؤَلِّفُ. So كِتَابًا is a foreign element for the verb عَلِمْتُ. Therefore, the following sentence is impermissible:

(55) ✗ عَلِمْتُ كِتَابًا مُحَمَّدًا يُؤَلِّفُ [الجملة العربية لفاضل السامرائي 66]

1.12. **The state-of-affairs pronoun**

Usually, for pronouns, the pronoun's referent is a single noun that occurs before it. For example, if we say

(56) زَيْدٌ هَوَ مُنْطَلِقٌ
    Zayd is setting out.

Then the pronoun هُوَ refers to the noun زَيْدٌ which occurs before it.

There is a special pronoun, called the *state-of-affairs pronoun* (ضَمِيرُ الشَّأْن) that behaves differently from other pronouns It is used to begin compound nounal sentences. Here is an example of a sentence with a state-of-affairs pronoun:

(57) هُوَ زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقٌ [معاني النحو 1/57]
    [The state of affairs] is: Zayd is setting out.

The pronoun هُوَ is the state-of-affairs pronoun It is the subject of the outer sentence. Its info is the inner sentence زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقٌ. What the state-of-affairs pronoun is referring to is explained by the entire sentence زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقٌ that occurs after it.

The state-of-affairs pronoun is typically used for statements that are momentous. Consider, for example, a situation where one hears some hubbub, and wonders, "What is the state of affairs that is causing this hubbub?" The answer to this question is:

(58) هُوَ الأَمِيرُ مُقْبِلٌ [شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/464]
    It is: the commander is approaching.
    (the pronoun "it" is referring to "the state of affairs".)

This pronoun is often left untranslated. So example (58) may simply be translated as *The commander is approaching.*

Here are some rules and guidelines regarding the state-of-affairs pronoun:

The gender of the state-of-affairs pronoun

If the subject of the following sentence is masculine, then the state-of-affairs pronoun is generally the masculine pronoun هُوَ. And if the subject of the following sentence is feminine, then the state-of-affairs pronoun is generally the feminine pronoun هِيَ. Examples:

(59) هُوَ زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ [البسيط لابن أبي الربيع 745]
      [The state of affairs] is: Zayd is standing.

(60) هِيَ هِنْدٌ قَائِمَةٌ [البسيط لابن أبي الربيع 745]
      [The state of affairs] is: Hind is standing.

As mentioned, the gender of the state-of-affairs pronoun generally matches the gender of the following subject (as above). Sometimes, however, it is found to mismatch. For example:

(61) هِيَ زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ [البسيط لابن أبي الربيع 745]
      [The state of affairs] is: Zayd is standing.

(62) هُوَ هِنْدٌ قَائِمَةٌ [البسيط لابن أبي الربيع 745–756]
      [The state of affairs] is: Hind is standing.

The state-of-affairs pronoun is always a singular pronoun

The state-of-affairs pronoun is always a singular pronoun, regardless of whether the subject of the following subject is singular, dual, or plural.[11]

(63) هُوَ الزَّيْدَان قَائِمَان
      [The state of affairs] is: the two Zayds are standing.

(64) هِيَ الْهِنْدَاتُ قَائِمَاتٌ
      [The state of affairs] is: the Hinds are standing.

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[11] معاني النحو 1/59

The state-of-affairs pronoun is always a pronoun for the absentee person

Even if the subject of the inner sentence is a pronoun for the speaker or adressee persons, the state-of-affairs pronoun is always a pronoun of for the absentee person. For example:

(65) هُوَ أَنَا زَيْدٌ [معاني النحو 1/59]
    [The fact] is: I am Zayd.

The sentence أَنَا أَنَا زَيْدٌ is possible, but in this case the pronoun أَنَا is not a state-of-affairs pronoun. Rather it is repeated for emphasis.[12]

The state-of-affairs pronouns هُوَ and هِيَ only introduce nounal sentences

The state-of-affairs pronouns هُوَ and هِيَ only introduce nounal sentences.[13] This can be seen in the examples above.

We will see, in sections (kaana) and (inna), that the state-of-affairs pronoun can also be used with كَانَ and إِنَّ (and its sisters). In these cases, the state-of-affairs pronoun may introduce verbal sentences. For example:

(66) فَإِنَّهَا لَا تَعْمَى ٱلْأَبْصَٰرُ [سورة الحج 22:46 cited by شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/467]
    For indeed, it is not eyes that are blinded

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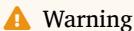
[12]معاني النحو 1/59
[13]شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/467

Work in progress

Chapter 2.

The doer participle as a verb-like governor

> ⚠️ **Warning**
>
> **THIS BOOK IS A WORK IN PROGRESS. IT IS INCOMPLETE AND MAY HAVE TYPOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER ERRORS. IT IS NOT YET READY FOR STUDY.**

2.1. Introduction

The verb is the basic, and strongest, governor of a doer or doee. Deverbal nouns, because they are derived from the verb, can also govern in a verb-like manner. In this chapter we will discuss the rules of how such nouns may act as verb-like governors.

2.2. The doer participle as a verb-like governor

The doer participle is the closest of the deverbal nouns to the verb, and thus the strongest of the deverbal nouns in its capacity to act as a verb-like governor.

Consider the following sentence:

(67) زَيْدٌ يَقُومُ
   Zayd – he stands

As we know from chapter (ref), this is a compound sentence. زَيْدٌ is the subject of an outer sentence. The info of the outer sentence is the inner sentence يَقُومُ.

Instead of using the stateful verb يَقُومُ, we can use its doer participle قَائِم, thus:

(68) زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ
   Zayd is standing

As you can see, we have translated the stateful verb يَقُومُ as *stands* and the doer participle قَائِم as *standing*. We will discuss the difference in meaning between the stateful verb and the doer participle in more detail in chapter (ref), if Allāh wills. For now, we will focus on the grammar of the two sentences.

There is one notable similarity between the grammar of examples (67) and (68), and one notable difference:

The similarity

The stateful verb يَقُومُ, and the doer participle قَائِمٌ both govern a latent doer pronoun, implicated as [هُوَ].

The difference

The stateful verb يَقُومُ and its latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] are complementary structural elements that constitute a complete sentence. The latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] is the structure-starter and the stateful verb يَقُومُ is the structure-completer. The sentence formed by the stateful verb يَقُومُ and its latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] is in place of a u-state noun as the info of the subject (زَيْدٌ) of the outer sentence.

On the other hand, and the doer participle قَائِمٌ and its latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] are *not* complementary structural elements. Rather, قَائِمٌ (as the structure-completer) and زَيْدٌ (as the structure-starter) are complementary structural elements. This is a simple sentence, not a compound sentence. The latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] is not the structural element of any sentence. But, despite being dispensable from the perspective of sentence completion, the latent doer pronoun is an essential governee of the doer participle.

Let's take a look at another example:

(69) رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا قَائِمًا
       I saw a standing man.

The structural elements of this sentence are رَأَيْتُ: the verb رَأَى and its doer pronoun تُ. The entire phrase رَجُلًا قَائِمًا has only dispensable elements. قَائِمًا is a attribute of رَجُلًا, governed by the verb رَأَى. The doer participle قَائِمًا has a latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] that refers back to رَجُلًا. But because قَائِمًا is a (dispensable) element of an existing sentence (whose structural elements are رَأَيْتُ), therefore it cannot be the structural structure-completer of a new sentence with its latent doer pronoun [هُوَ].

So, as you can see, whenever the doer participle has a latent doer pronoun, that doer pronoun is not the structure-starter of any sentence. This is because the doer participle, as a single element, is already a member of an existing sentence.

In contrast, a verb always forms a sentence (as the structure-completer) with its doer (as the structure-starter). If we replace the doer participle قَائِمًا with the verb يَقُومُ thus:

(70) رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا يَقُومُ

then يَقُومُ is a complete sentence with the verb and its latent doer pronoun as structural elements. This complete sentence is the attribute of رَجُلًا.

2.3. The doer participle as the governor of a latent doer pronoun

Let us look into the latent doer pronoun of the doer participle in more detail. It makes sense for a verb to have a doer but how can a noun have a doer? The reason is that the doer participle, because of its closeness to the verb, can act like one. When acting with verbal force, it can govern a doer. It can also, as we will see soon, if Allāh wills, govern a direct doee.

The doer of the doer participle is, by default, a latent pronoun. And it refers back to a referent that occurs before it. In example (68) زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ the doer of the doer participle قَائِمٌ is the latent pronoun [هُوَ]. And the referent of this doer pronoun is the subject زَيْدٌ.

DIAGRAM

Let's see another example:

(71) صَاحَ الرَّجُلُ الْقَائِمُ
The standing man shouted.

then الْقَائِمُ governs a latent doer pronoun [هُوَ], that refers back to الرَّجُلُ.

The fact that the doer participle has a latent doer pronoun is, in fact, the reason why a doer participle in the info will match the subject in gender.[1]

For example, if we say:

(72) هِنْدٌ قَائِمَةٌ
Hind is standing.

then the feminine marker ة is added to the doer participle قَائِم only because it has to match the feminine gender of the latent doer pronoun [هِيَ] that occurs with, and is governed by, the doer participle. (The latent doer pronoun [هِيَ] refers back to هِنْد.)

When the referent of the latent doer pronoun changes for number or gender, then the latent doer pronoun will change to match it. For example:

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[1]Non-agreement of Mubtada and Khabar

(73) الزَّيْدَانِ قَائِمَانِ [حاشية الصبان على شرح الأشمونى لألفية ابن مالك 1/291]
The two Zayds are standing.

(74) الزَّيْدُونَ قَائِمُونَ [حاشية الصبان على شرح الأشمونى لألفية ابن مالك 1/291]
The Zayds are standing.

In example (73) above, the latent doer pronoun of قَائِمَانِ is implicated as هُمَا.

And in example (74) the latent doer pronoun of قَائِمُونَ is implicated as هُمْ.

As a point of technicality, the alif in the dual suffix of قَائِمَانِ and the و in the plural suffix of قَائِمُونَ, are not themselves the doer pronouns.[2] Rather, the doer pronouns for the doer participles above are latent.

This is different than for verbs. In the verbs يَقُومَان and يَقُومُونَ, the alif in ان and the و in ونَ are, themselves, considered the doer pronouns. And these pronouns are *overt*, not latent.

2.4. The doer participle as the governor of a direct doee

We have seen that the doer participle, when acting with verbal force, governs a doer. In a similar manner, the doer participle for transitive verbs can, optionally, govern a direct doee. In order to introduce this behavior, we use again, as our starting point, the u-state stateful verb. Consider the following example:

(75) زَيْدٌ يَضْرِبُ عَمْرًا
Zayd beats Amr

Example (75) above is parsed as follows:

- زَيْدٌ is a subject.
- يَضْرِبُ is a stateful verb in the u-state. It governs a latent pronoun (implicated as هُوَ) in the u-state as its doer. The latent doer pronoun هُوَ refers back to its referent: the subject زَيْدٌ.
- عَمْرًا is a direct doee, governed in the a-state by the verb يَضْرِبُ.
- يَضْرِبُ عَمْرًا is an inner sentence which is in place of a u-state noun as the info of the subject زَيْدٌ.

Instead of using the verb يَضْرِبُ in example (75) above we may instead use its doer participle ضَارِب, thus:

(76) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ عَمْرًا
Zayd is beating Amr

Example (76) is parsed as follows:

- زَيْدٌ is a subject.

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[2]haazimi 30/5 https://shamela.ws/book/36130/531

- ضَارِبٌ is the info of the subject زَيْدٌ. It governs a latent pronoun (implicated as هُوَ) in the u-state as its doer. The latent doer pronoun هُوَ refers back to the subject زَيْدٌ.
- عَمْرًا is a direct doee, governed in the a-state by the doer participle ضَارِبٌ.

As you can see, the doer participle ضَارِبٌ can govern a direct doee just like the verb يَضْرِبُ.

However, while a transitive verb can govern a direct doee unconditionally, a doer participle can only govern a direct doee if certain conditions are satisfied. We will discuss these conditions in section (ref) below.

By the way, we again highlight the difference in the doer of the verb يَضْرِبُ vs the doer of the doer participle ضَارِبٌ: The verb يَضْرِبُ and its doer are complementary structural pairs that constitute a complete sentence. Whereas, the doer participle ضَارِبٌ does not form a new sentence with its doer.

2.4.1. A doer participle defined by أل as the governor of a direct doee

Example (76) shows the government of a direct doee by an doer participle that is not defined by أل. In a similar manner, an doer participle that *is* defined by أل, can also govern a direct doee. For example:

(77) هَذَا الضَّارِبُ زَيْدًا [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/84]
This [person] is the beater of Zayd.

By the way, you my be wondering what is the difference between the sentence in example (77) هَذَا الضَّارِبُ زَيْدًا above, and if we had used an annexation thus:

(77) هَذَا ضَارِبُ زَيْدٍ *This [person] is the beater of Zayd.*

This is touched upon in section (ma3aani_ism_faa3il).

2.4.2. Word order of the direct doee and its governing doer participle

As with verbs, the direct doee usually follows its governing doer participle (as in the examples above). But when an doer participle is not prefixed by ال, then its direct doee is allowed to precede it. So we can say:

(78) هذا زيدا ضارب [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 1/259]
This [person] is beating Zayd.

While the direct doee is permitted to precede its governing doer participle (as above), it is very common, in such a case, for a strengthening-لِ to be used with an indirect doee instead, thus:

(79) هذا لِزيدٍ ضارب
This [person], to Zayd, is beating.

(80) لِلضَّيْفِ مُكْرِمٌ [Fischer 113]
to the guest, is honoring
(i.e. *honoring the guest*)

The strengthening-ل is discussed in more detail in section (later chapter).[3]

Also, the freedom for the governee of a doer participle to precede it is only given to the doer participle not prefixed by ال. When an doer participle is prefixed by ال, then its direct doee is not allowed to precede it.[4] So we cannot say:

(81) ✗ هذا زيدا الضارب

We would have to say instead

(82) ✓ هذا الضارب زيدا

TODO: Fronting the direct doee is not permitted for participle-like adjective. See link in example above. Add to section on participle-like adjective

2.4.3. A dual or plural doer participle as the governor of a direct doee

A dual or plural doer participle may govern a direct doee just like the singular. So we can say:

(83) هذان ضاربان زيدًا [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/97]
These two [persons] are beating Zayd.

(84) هم ضاربون زيدًا [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/97]
These [persons] are beating Zayd.

(85) الهندات ضاربات عمرا [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 1/439]
The Hinds are beating Ɛamr.

Doer participles defined by أل are again also permitted:

(86) هذان الضاربان زيدا [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 2/40]
These two are the beaters of Zayd.

(87) هؤلاء الضاربون الرجل [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 2/40]
These are the beaters of the man.

(88) وَٱلْمُقِيمِينَ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَٱلْمُؤْتُونَ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ [سورة النساء 4:162 cited by شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 2/40]
And the establishers of prayer [especially] and the givers of zakāh

---

[3]See also Wright 2/69CD, Fischer §203 Note 2 p. 113 (who consider this strengthening-ل obligatory), and النحو الوافي 2/475–476 (who doesn't consider it obligatory).

[4]النحو الوافي 3/263

For plurals, the sound plurals are more worthy of being used as verb-like governors[5] as in the examples above. However, broken plurals are permitted as well. So we can say:

(89) الزيدون ضُرّابٌ عمرًا [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/97]
The Zayds are beating Ɛamr.

(90) الهِنْداتُ ضوارِبٌ عَمرًا [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/97]
The Hinds are beating Ɛamr.

Flexible word order is again permitted for the dual and the plural as it was for the singular:

(91) الزيدان عمرا ضاربان [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 1/439]
The two Zayds are beating Ɛamr.

(92) الزيدون عَمْرًا ضُرّابٌ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/97]
The Zayds are beating Ɛamr.

(93) الهندات عمرا ضاربات [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 1/439]
The Hinds are beating Ɛamr.

(94) الهِنْداتُ عَمرًا ضوارِبُ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/97]
The Hinds are beating Ɛamr.

2.5. Conditions for the doer participle to govern a direct doee

As we mentioned above, there are conditions that must be satisfied in order for an doer participle to be able to govern a direct doee in this manner. The conditions are different for when the doer participle is defined by أَلْ, and when it is not defined by أَلْ. We will discuss each of these cases separately below:

2.5.1. When the doer participle is not defined by أَلْ

When the doer participle is not defined by أَلْ, then two conditions must be satisfied:

1. The verbal aspect of the doer participle must be imperfect. That is, it must indicate an ongoing (whether present or past) or future action. Examples:

   • present ongoing:

   (95) هذا ضارب زيدا الآن [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/106]
   This [person] is beating Zayd now.

   • past ongoing:

---

(96) كان زيد ضاربا عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
Zayd was beating Ɛamr.

(97) وَكَلْبُهُمْ بَاسِطٌ ذِرَاعَيْهِ بِٱلْوَصِيدِ [سورة الكهف 18:18 cited by شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/106]
while their dog stretched his forelegs at the entrance

- future:

(98) هذا ضارب زيدا غَدًا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/106]
This [person] will beat Zayd tomorrow.

If the verbal aspect indicated by the doer participle is perfect, then the doer participle may not govern a direct doee. So, for example, we cannot say:

(99) ✗ هذا ضارب زيدا أمس [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/106]
This [person] beat Zayd yesterday.

If we desire to use the doer participle, then it will not have verbal force. And زَيْد will have to be a base noun in a annexation. Furthermore, this annexation will be *real* (see chapter (ref)).

(100) هذا ضارب زيد أمس [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/106]
This [person] was the beater of Zayd yesterday.

An exception is made for for transitive verbs that take more than one direct doee, like جعل, أعطى, etc. When the doer participle of such a verb is annexed to what would have been the first direct doee, then second direct doee is permitted to be in the a-state, even if the aspect is perfect.[6] For example:

(101) هذا معطي زيد أمس درهما [شرح التسهيل لابن مالك 3/78]
This [person] was the giver of Zayd, yesterday, a dirham.

Even the first direct doee may remain in the a-state, if separated from the doer participle. For example:

(102) هذا ظان أمس زيدا فاضلا [شرح التسهيل لابن مالك 3/78]
This [person] was the believer, yesterday, of Zayd as an eminent person.

2. The second condition that should be satisfied is that the doer participle must have *governing support*. This governing support can be provided by the following means:

- The doer participle occurs after a question word. Example:

(103) أضارب زيد عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
Is Zayd beating Ɛamr?

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[6]See also البحر المحيط لأبي حيان for سورة فاطر 35:1 and الدر المصون للسمين الحلبي for سورة فاطر 35:1

(104) هَلْ مُكْرِمٌ أَنْتَ زَيْدًا [Wright 2/65D]
Will you be treating Zayd with respect?

- The doer participle occurs after a vocative particle: Example:

(105) يا طالعا جبلا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
O scaler [of] a mountain!

- The doer participle occurs in a negation: Example:

(106) ما ضارب زيد عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
Zayd is not beating Ɛamr.

(107) مَا أَنْتَ بِتَابِعٍ قِبْلَتَهُمْ [سورة البقرة 2:145 cited by Wright 2/65D]
Nor will you be a follower of their qiblah

(108) مَا مُجِيرٌ أَحَدٌ عَدُوَّ أَحِبَّاءِهِ [Wright 2/65D]
No one gives protection to the enemy of his loved ones

- The doer participle occurs as a attribute. Example:

(109) مررت برجل ضارب زيدا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
I passed by a man beating Zayd.

(110) مَرَرْتُ بِفَارِسٍ طَالِب ثَأْرَ أَبِيهِ [Wright 2/65C]
I passed by a horseman (who was) seeking vengeance for (the murder of) his father

An implied attribute is also considered permissible. Example:

(111) كَمْ مَالِئٍ عَيْنَيْهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ غَيْرِهِ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/108; Wright 2/65C]
How many a one fills his eyes with a thing of [someone] other than him
(i.e. كَمْ شَخْصٍ مَالِئٍ *How many a person fills...*)

(112) كَنَاطِح صَخْرَةً يَوْمًا لِيُوهِنَهَا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/109; Wright 2/65C]
Like the gorer of a rock, one day, to try to weaken it
(i.e. كَوَعِلٍ نَاطِحٍ *like a goring mountain goat...*)

- The doer participle occurs as a ḥāl. Example:

(113) جاء زيد راكبا فرسا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
Zayd came riding a horse.

- The doer participle occurs as a info. Example:

(114) زيد ضارب عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
Zayd is beating Ɛamr.

We will learn in later chapters, if Allāh wills, different forms of infos. The following examples show these different forms, with references to the later chapters.

(115) كان زيد ضاربا عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
       Zayd was beating Ɛamr.
       (See chapter (kaana).)

(116) إن زيدا ضارب عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
       Indeed Zayd is beating Ɛamr.
       (See chapter (inna).)

(117) ظننت زيدا ضاربا عمرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
       I thought Zayd [was] beating Ɛamr.
       (See chapter (zanna).)

(118) أعلمت زيدا عمرا ضاربا بكرا [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/107]
       I let Zayd know Ɛamr is beating Bakr.
       (See chapter (zanna).)

2.5.2. When the doer participle is defined by أَلْ

When the doer participle is defined by أَلْ, then it is permitted to govern a direct doee for a perfect or imperfect aspect. Furthermore, no governing support is required for it to be a governor,[7] (as was required for the doer participle without أَلْ in section (ref) above).

So we can say:

(119) جاء الضَّارب زيداً أمس أو الآن أو غداً [شرح شذور الذهب للجوجري 2/683]
       The beater of Zayd came yesterday/today/tomorrow

2.6. The doer participle as the governor of an overt doer pronoun

The latent doer pronoun becomes overt in some circumstances. In this section, we will discuss one such circumstance. Consider the sentence:

(120) الفارس الحصانُ مُتْعِبُه [النحو الوافي 1/463]

This grammar is parsed as follows:

- الْفَارِسُ is the subject of the outer sentence.
- الْحِصَانُ is a second subject. It is the subject of the inner sentence.
- مُتْعِب is the info of the inner sentence. It is also a annexe noun.
- The pronoun هُ is a base noun.
- The inner sentence الْحِصَانُ مُتْبِعُهُ is the info of the subject (الْفَارِسُ) of outer sentence.

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[7] النحو الوافي 3/254

The info of the inner sentence مُتْعِب *one who makes tired* has a latent doer pronoun, implicated as [هُوَ]. It is possible for this latent doer pronoun to refer to either الْفَارِسُ or الْحِصَانُ. Let's discuss both these meanings:

   i. If the latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] in مُتْعِب refers to الْحِصَانُ then the meaning is that *the horse makes the horseman tired*. In this case, the pronoun هُ in مُتْعِبُهُ refers to الْفَارِس.

   ii. And if the latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] in مُتْعِب refers to الْفَارِسُ then the meaning is that *the horseman makes the horse tired*. In this case, the pronoun هُ in مُتْعِبُهُ refers to الْحِصَانُ.

Both meanings are possible.

If only the second meaning is desired, then the latent doer pronoun [هُوَ] can be made overt and added after the doer participle مُتْعِب, thus:

(121) الفارس الحصانُ مُتْعِبُه هُوَ [النحو الوافي 1/464]
   The horseman – the horse – [he] makes him tired.
   (i.e. *The horseman makes the horse tired.*)

Now only the second meaning is possible. If the first meaning is desired, the doer pronoun of مُتْعِب must stay latent and the ambiguity will remain.

By the way, the ambiguity arose in the original sentence (الفارس الحصانُ مُتْعِبُه) only because both subjects (الْفَارِسُ and الْحِصَانُ) are singular masculine nouns. If the two subjects are distinguishable in number or gender then there will be no ambiguity. However, even in this case, according to some grammarians, if the info is to refer to the subject of the outer sentence, then the doer pronoun of the doer participle in the info should be made overt. For example:

(122) زَيْدٌ هِنْدٌ ضَارِبُهَا هُوَ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 1/207]
   Zayd – Hind – [he] is beating her.
   (i.e. *Zayd is beating Hind.*)

But according to other grammarians, because ضَارِب can refer only to Zayd and not to Hind, the doer participle's doer pronoun can remain latent,[8] thus:

(123) زَيْدٌ هِنْدٌ ضَارِبُهَا
   Zayd – Hind – [he] is beating her.
   (i.e. *Zayd is beating Hind.*)

2.7. The sababi info

Consider again example (75) زَيْدٌ يَضْرِبُ عَمْرًا. From this original sentence, we replaced the verb يَضْرِبُ with its doer participle and came up with (76) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ عَمْرًا.

Now consider the following example:

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(124)　زَيْدٌ يَضْرِبُ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا
　　　Zayd – his father beats Ɛamr

In example (124) above the doer of يَضْرِبُ is not Zayd but Zayd's father. If we use this sentence as our starting point, we can again replace the verb يَضْرِبُ with its doer participle ضَارِبٌ and say:

(125)　زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا
　　　Zayd – his father is beating Ɛamr

أَبُوهُ is the (overt) doer of the doer participle ضَارِبٌ. And عَمْرًا is its direct doee. So just like a verb can have an overt noun as its doer instead of a latent pronoun, so too can the doer participle have an overt noun as its doer instead of a latent pronoun.

Again, there is one important difference between using the verb يَضْرِبُ vs using its doer participle ضَارِبٌ. And that is that يَضْرِبُ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا in example (124) is a complete sentence. This inner sentence is the info of the outer sentence. Therefore, example (124) is a compound sentence.

However, ضَارِبٌ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا in example (125) is not a complete sentence. ضَارِبٌ itself, as a single word, is the info of the subject زَيْدٌ.[9] So example (125) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا is not a compound sentence.

The info ضَارِبٌ in example (125) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا is called a sababi info.[10] A deverbal noun is termed *sababi* when it governs a doer which is annexed to a pronoun that refers back to the original referent of the deverbal noun.[11] In our example, the deverbal noun ضَارِبٌ governs a doer أب which is annexed to a pronoun هٔ that refers back to the original referent of the deverbal noun, the subject زَيْد.

2.7.1. Varying the number or gender of the overt doer of the sababi info

Here is another example of a sentence with a sababi info:

(126)　كَانَ زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقًا أَبُوهُ [Peled, *Sentence types* 208]
　　　Zayd – his father was setting out.

In example (126) above, مُنْطَلِقًا is the sababi info of كَانَ. The overt doer of the مُنْطَلِقًا is the singular masculine noun أَبُوه *his father*.

Let's see what happens when we vary the number or gender of this overt doer of the sababi info.

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[9] مختصر المعاني للتفتازاني 86

[10] الأشباه والنظائر للسيوطي 287/4; الخبر السببي لوجيهة السطل

[11] الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي (also cited by) شرح ألفية ابن مالك للشاطبي 404/4 (161

(127) كَانَ الزَّيْدَانِ مُنْطَلِقًا أَبَوَاهُمَا [Peled, *Sentence types* 208]
   The two Zayds – their fathers were setting out.

In example (127) above, the sababi info مُنْطَلِقًا remains in the singular, even though its doer is the dual أَبَوَاهُمَا.

This is analagous to a verb, which remains in the singular for dual and plural doers. For example كَانَ الزَّيْدَانِ يَنْطَلِقُ أَبَوَاهُمَا, etc.

If the gender of the doer participle's doer is feminine, then the doer participle remains in the singular but it is feminized. For example:

(128) زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقَةٌ أُمُّهُ
   Zayd – his mother is setting out.

(129) كَانَتْ هِنْدٌ مُنْطَلِقَةً خَالَتَاهَا
   Hind – her two maternal aunts were setting out.

This again is analagous to the feminizing a verb that has a feminine doer.

If the doer of the doer participle is a plural, then we have an choice:

If the doer participle has a sound plural, then, again, it is not used and the doer participle remains in the singular. For example:

(130) كَانَ الزَّيْدُونَ مُنْطَلِقًا آبَاؤُهُمْ
   The Zayds – their fathers were setting out.

(131) زَيْدٌ مُنْطَلِقَةٌ خَالَاتُهُ
   Zayd – his maternal aunts are setting out.

But if the doer participle has a broken plural, then it is allowed to be used, and is indeed preferred,[12] when the doer is a plural.

For example:

(132) كَانَ الزَّيْدُونَ قِيَامًا آبَاؤُهُمْ
   The Zayds – their fathers were standing

Here are some examples of sababi infos from the Qur'ān:

(133) فَإِنَّهُ ءَاثِمٌ قَلْبُهُ [سورة البقرة 2:283]
   his heart is indeed sinful
   (Other analyses besides a sababi info are also possible.[13] One such differing
   analysis is discussed in section (ref) below.)

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[12] البسيط لابن أبي الربيع 693–694 cited by Peled, *Sentence types* 208 (footnote)
[13] الدر المصون للسمين الحلبي for سورة البقرة 2:283

(134) وَظَنُّوٓا۟ أَنَّهُم مَّانِعَتُهُمْ حُصُونُهُم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ [سورة الحشر 59:2]
and they thought that their fortresses would protect them from Allāh
(Another analysis is also possible: حُصُونُهُمْ can be a subject, and مَانِعَتُهُمْ is
its fronted info.[14])

2.7.2. Word order of the doer and the direct doee in a sababi info

If the doer participle is transitive, then the normal word order is doer participle,
doer, direct doee. For example:

(135) هَذَا ضَارِب أَبوهُ زيدا [الهمع للسيوطي 3/89]
This [person] – his father is beating Zayd.

But the direct doee can be made to precede the doer thus:

(136) هذا ضارب زيدا أبوه [حاشية الصبان على شرح الأشموني لألفية ابن مالك 2/453]
This [person] – his father is beating Zayd.

2.8. The sababi attribute

In section (ref) above we have seen how a doer participle can govern a overt
doer when it is a sababi info. In a similar manner, a doer participle can govern
a overt doer when it is a sababi attribute.

Consider the following example:

(137) مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ مُنْطَلِقٍ أَبُوهُ
I passed by a man whose father is setting out

The doer participle مُنْطَلِق is a attribute of the attributee رَجُلٍ. Because it is a
sababi attribute, it has a doer أَب that is annexed to a pronoun هُ which refers to
the attributee رَجُلٍ.

We know that, in general, a attribute will match its attributee in four aspects:

  i. state
  ii. definiteness
  iii. gender
  iv. number (singular/dual/plural)

The sababi attribute will also match its preceding attributee in state and def-
initeness. (You can see the attribute مُنْطَلِق matches its attributee رَجُلٍ in the
i-state and in being indefinite.) But in matching gender and number the sababi
attribute has different rules. Consistent with we learned for the sababi info
above, the sababi attribute will, in general, always be singular, and it will match
its doer in gender. Here are some examples that show different combinations:

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[14] الدر المصون للسمين الحلبي for سورة الحشر 59:2

(138) مَرَرْتُ بِالرَّجُلِ الْمُنْطَلِقِ أَبُوهُ
I passed by the man whose father is setting out.

(139) مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ مُنْطَلِقٍ أَخَوَاهُ
I passed by a man whose two brothers are setting out.

(140) رَأَيْتُ رِجَالًا مُنْطَلِقًا آبَاؤُهُمْ
I saw men whose fathers are setting out.

(141) رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا مُنْطَلِقَةً أُمُّهُ
I saw a man whose mother is setting out.

(142) جَاءَنِي زَيْدٌ الْمُنْطَلِقَةُ أَخَوَاتُهُ
Zayd whose sisters are setting out came to me.

(143) جَاءَتْنِي امْرَأَةٌ مُنْطَلِقٌ أَبُوهَا
A woman whose father is setting out came to me.

(144) مَرَرْتُ بِالْمَرْأَةِ الْمُنْطَلِقِ أَخَوَاهَا
I passed by the woman whose two brothers are setting out.

The above examples use the doer participle مُنْطَلِق which only has sound plurals. Therefore it remains in the singular. If an doer participle has a broken plural, it is permitted (and in fact preferred) to use the broken plural for a plural doer.[15] Examples:

(145) مَرَرْت بِرِجَال قِيام آباؤهم [شرح قطر الندى وبل الصدى 288]
I passed by men whose fathers are standing.

(146) مَرَرْت برجل قعُود غلمانه [شرح قطر الندى وبل الصدى 288]
I passed by a man whose slave-boys are sitting
(Note that the attributee رَجُل is singular in this case.)

Some more aspects of gender agreement of the sababi doer with its governing deverbal noun will be discussed in section (sifah_mush sababi na3t), if Allāh wills.

2.9. The doer participle as the governor of a non-sababi overt doer

When the doer of the doer participle is overt then it will often be a sababi doer, as we have seen in sections (sababi-xabar) and (sababi-na3t) above. However, it is also possible for the doer participle to govern a non-sababi overt doer. For example:

(147) مررت برجل متكلم محمدٌ في داره [البسيط لابن أبي الربيع 1075]
I passed by a man [whom] Mu ammad was speaking in his house.

---
[15] النحو الوافي 453–454/3; شرح قطر الندى وبل الصدى 288

In the example above محمد is the doer of the doer participle متكلم. But because it is not annexed to a pronoun which refers back to رجل, therefore it is not a sababi doer.

2.10. Conditions for the doer participle to govern a doer

In section (ref) above, we discussed the conditions for the doer participle to govern a direct doee. Correspondingly, there exist conditions for the doer participle to govern a doer.

The doer participle can have either an overt doer (either as a noun or as a pronoun), or a latent doer pronoun. We will treat each of these separately below:

2.10.1. Conditions for the doer participle to govern an overt doer

The grammarians differed with regard to the conditions under which the doer participle is allowed to govern an overt doer. According to some, the same conditions are applicable as for governing a direct doee, namely that when an doer participle is not defined by ال, then it can only govern an overt doer when

    i. It has an imperfect aspect.
   ii. It has governing support

So it is not allowed to govern an overt doer for a perfect aspect. The following example would then be disallowed:

(148) ✗ زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ أَبُوهُ أَمْسِ [134 الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي]
    Zayd – his father stood yesterday.

Other grammarians, however, allowed such a sentence.[16]

when an doer participle is defined by ال, then it can only govern an overt doer unconditionally. So it can govern with perfective aspect and without governing support. Examples:

(149) جاءني القائم أبوه [449/1 شرح ألفية ابن مالك للشاطبي]
    The one whose father is standing came.

(150) القائم أبوه ضاحك [257/3 التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان]
    The one whose father is standing is laughing.

(151) جاء الضارب أبوه زيدًا أمس [59 شرح ابن الناظم على ألفية ابن مالك]
    The one whose father beat Zayd yesterday came.

---

[16] 134 الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي

2.10.2. Conditions for the doer participle to govern a latent doer pronoun

As a default, the doer participle requires a latent doer pronoun. So it governs a latent doer pronoun unconditionally, except when it is prevented from doing so because of one of the following situations:

The doer participle is already governing an overt doer noun

If the doer participle is already governing an overt doer, then it will not also have a latent doer pronoun. This is because one doer participle cannot have two doers.[17] Example:

(152) زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ أَبُوهُ [139 الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي]
Zayd – his father is standing

Beware though, that sometimes it may appear that an doer participle is governing an overt doer, but actually another interpretation may also be possible. Consider the following āyah that we discussed in section (ref) above:

(133) فَإِنَّهُۥ ءَاثِمٌ قَلْبُهُۥ [2:283 سورة البقرة]
his heart is indeed sinful

We had discussed this as a case of a sababi info. But another analysis is also possible: The doer participle ءَاثِمٌ is governing a latent doer pronoun, and قَلْبُهُ is a sub for the latent doer pronoun.[18]

The doer participle is already governing an overt doer pronoun

We discussed in section (ref) above, a situation in which the originally latent doer pronoun of a doer participle becomes overt. Because the doer is now overt the doer participle will not govern an additional latent doer.[19]

(122) زَيْدٌ هِنْدٌ ضَارِبُهَا هُوَ [1/207 شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية]
Zayd – Hind – [he] is beating her.
(i.e. *Zayd is beating Hind.*)

---

[17] 139 الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي
[18] 2:283 سورة البقرة for الدر المصون للسمين الحلبي
[19] 144 الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي

The doer participle is the annexe noun in a real annexation

When doer participle is the annexe noun in a real annexation, then it will not
govern a latent doer pronoun.[20] This can happen when the doer participle
indicates a perfective aspect. We saw an example of this in the conditions for
governing a direct doee above:

(100) هذا ضارب زيد أمس [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/106]
       This [person] was the beater of Zayd yesterday.

By the way, this does not mean that the doer participle cannot govern a latent
doer pronoun whenever it signifies a perfective aspect. It only cannot do so in a
real annexation. So doer participle will govern a latent doer pronoun when it
has a perfective aspect, but no annexation. For example:

(153) هذا ضاربٌ أمس
       This [person] was a beater yesterday.

The doer participle has crossed over to a entity noun

When the doer participle has crossed over to a entity noun (see section (ref)
below), then, in general, it does not govern a latent doer pronoun.[21]. For
example:

(154) زَيْدٌ صَاحِبٌ
       Zayd is a companion

But even for entity nouns, the the latent doer pronoun can re-emerge when
needed (see section (sec-the-doer-participle-crossover-to-substantive-as-a-
attribute)).

2.11. Superficial annexation

Superficial annexation used to eliminate tanwīn

Consider again the sentence:

(76) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ عَمْرًا
       zaydun ḍāribun ʒamran
       Zayd is beating Amr

---

[20] الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي 142
[21]See citations in الضمير المستتر لسعود بن عبيد الله الصاعدي 154

The doer participle ضَارِبٌ has a tanwīn which is pronounced before pronouncing the direct doee عَمْرًا. In an effort to make the pronunciation easier, this tanwīn is often eliminated and replaced with an annexation. The direct doee is then made into a base noun in the i-state. The meaning remains the same. So the above sentence then becomes:

(155) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبُ عَمْرِو
  zaydun ḍāribu ȝamrin
  Zayd is beating Amr

This is called a superficial annexation, as opposed to a real annexation, which is what we have been studying so far. This is because it is only an annexation for the purposes of easing the pronunciation, not in meaning.

Regarding terminology, عَمْرو syntactically becomes a base noun in the superficial annexation. But in meaning, it is still the direct doee of the doer participle ضَارِب. We will refer to it as the *semantic direct doee*.

By the way, the sentence زَيْدٌ ضَارِبُ عَمْرو can also be a real annexation. In which case, the meaning will be: *Zayd is the beater of Ɛamr.* So if we come across such a sentence, how can we tell if it is a real annexation or a superficial annexation? The answer is, in this case, context should guide us. We will see below that the superficial annexation is not always identical in form to the real annexation. So in those cases, the form of the annexation will tell us whether it is a real annexation or a superficial annexation.

Here are some more examples of a superficial annexation used to eliminate a tanwīn:

(156) الْهِنْدَاتُ ضارباتُ عمرو [modified from شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1/682]
  The Hinds are beating Ɛamr
  (ضارباتٌ عمرًا instead of)

When the doer participle is a semi-flexible, it will not have a tanwīn. But the superficial annexation may still be used in such a case because a tanwīn would have been present if the word were fully-flexible.[22] For example:

(157) الْهِنْدَاتُ ضوارِبُ عَمْرو [modified from شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1/682]
  The Hinds are beating Ɛamr
  (ضوارِبُ عمرًا instead of)

Superficial annexation used to eliminate the ن of a dual or plural suffix

The superficial annexation is used in situations when the governing doer participle has tanwīn (as above), and also in situations when it ends with a ن arising from a dual or sound plural. Examples:

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[22] شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1/682

(158) الزَّيْدَانِ ضاربا عَمْرو [modified from شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1/682]
The [two] Zayds are beating ʕamr
(ضاربانِ عَمْرًا instead of)

Definiteness of the superficial annexation

Because this is a superficial and not a real annexation, the annexe noun is not made definite by a definite base noun. In the examples so far, the base nouns have been proper nouns (زَيْد, عَمْرو) which are definite. But the doer participles (ضَارِبَا, ضَارِب, etc.) remain indefinite, because they did not originally have أل when governing a direct doee. This example proves the above claim:

(159) هَدْيًا بَٰلِغَ ٱلْكَعْبَةِ [سورة المائدة 5:95 cited by شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/84]
as an offering [to Allāh] delivered to the Kaʕbah

In example (159) above, the doer participle بَالِغ is a annexe noun to the definite base noun الْكَعْبَة. But this is a superficial annexation. So بَالِغ does not become definite. Therefore بَالِغ can be a attribute to the indefinite هَدْيًا.

If the doer participle is to be made definite in a superficial annexation then a أل is added to it. For example:

(160) هذان الضاربا زيدٍ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/132]
These two are the beaters of Zayd.
(هذان الضاربان زيدًا instead of)

(161) وَٱلْمُقِيمِى ٱلصَّلَوٰةِ [سورة الحج 22:35 cited by شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/132]
and the establishers of prayer

Adding أل to the annexe noun is particular to a superficial annexation. As we know, it is not permitted in a real annexation. So when we see أل with a annexe noun, then we will know that the annexation has to be a superficial one.

When the doer participle does not have tanwīn or a suffixed ن

Consider the following case of a doer participle governing a direct doee:

(162) الضَّارِبُ زَيْدًا
the beater of Zayd

There is no tanwīn of suffixed ن after the doer participle. Therefore, a superficial annexation is not permitted, and we cannot say:

(163) × الضَّارِبُ زَيْدٍ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/132]

The following are similarly not permitted:

(164) ✗ الضارب رجلٍ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/47]
  the beater of the man

(165) ✗ الضَّارِبُ عَبْدِ زَيْدٍ [Wright 2/66B] *the beater of the slave of Zayd*

(166) ✗ الضَّارِبُ عَبْدِهِ [Wright 2/66B] *the beater of his slave*

If, however, the direct doee is defined by أل, or is itself a annexe noun to a base noun that is defined by أل, then, as an exception, the superficial annexation is again permitted.[23] For example:

(167) الضَّارِبُ الْعَبْدِ [Wright 2/66A]
  the beater of the slave

(168) الضَّارِبُ رَأْس الْعَبْدِ [Wright 2/66A]
  the beater of the head of the slave

(169) الضَّارِبُ الرَّجُلِ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/132]
  the beater of the man

(170) الضَّوَارِبُ/الضُّرَّابُ/الضَّارِبَاتُ الرَّجُلِ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/47]
  the beaters of the man

(171) الضَّوَارِبُ/الضُّرَّابُ/الضَّارِبَاتُ غُلَام الرَّجُلِ [شرح ابن عقيل على الألفية 3/47]
  the beaters of the slave-boy of the man

Two or more direct doees connected by وَ or أوْ

When a doer participle governs two or more direct doees connected by وَ or أوْ then, if the first is in a superficial annexation then the second may either be in the i-state or the a-state. For example

(172) هذا ضاربُ زيدٍ وعمرٍو/وعمرًا [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 4/81]
  This [person] is beating Zayd and ʕamr

By the way, if the first direct doee is in the a-state, then it is not an annexation and the second direct doee would follow in the a-state.

(173) هذا ضاربٌ زيدًا وعمرًا
  This [person] is beating Zayd and ʕamr

---

[23]Wright 2/66A

Superficial annexation with a overt doer

Consider an doer participle that has a overt doer and is governing a direct doee
thus:

(174) مررت برجل ضارب أبوه زيدا [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 2/458]
    I passed by a man whose father [was] beating Zayd.

If we wish to use a superficial annexation, then the doer participle can only be
annexed to its direct doee and not to its doer. So we can say:

(175) مررت برجل ضارب زيد أبوه [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 2/74]
    I passed by a man whose father [was] beating Zayd.
    (Remember from section (ref) above that the word order ضَارِبٌ زَيْدًا أَبُوهُ is
    permissible.)

We cannot say:

(176) ✗ مررت برجل ضارب أَبِيهِ زيدا [التذييل والتكميل لأبي حيان 10/359]

2.12. The doer participle with a pronoun as its direct doee

When the doer participle governs a direct doee that is a pronoun, there is
considerable variation seen

One possibility is is to separate the doer participle from its doee pronoun using
the prefix إيَّا, thus:

(177) ضَارِبٌ إيَّاكَ [شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/434]
    beating you

(178) الضَارِبُ إيَّاكَ [شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/434]
    the beater of you

(179) الضَارِبُونَ إيَّاهُ [Wright 2/67A]
    the beaters of me

The second possibility, and by far the more common usage, is to use a superficial
annexation, thus:

(180) ضَارِبُكَ [شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/434]
    beating you

(181) الضَارِبُكَ [شرح الرضي على الكافية 2/434]
    the beater of you

(182) الضاربِي [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
    the beater of me

(183) الضارباتِي [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
    the beaters$_f$ of me

When the doer participle has a overt doer, then it will follow the attached pronoun, thus:

(184) هَذَا ضَارِبِي أَبُوهُ
This [person] – his father is beating me.

For the dual and sound *ūn* plural in a superficial annexation, the ن of the suffix is regularly deleted. So we will say:

(185) هذان ضارباك [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 1/196]
These two are beating you.
(from ضاربان)

(186) هؤلاء ضاربوك [شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 1/196]
These [persons] are beating you.
(from ضاربون)

(187) الضارباك [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
the two beaters of you
(from الضاربان)

(188) الضاربوك [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
the beaters of you
(from الضاربون)

(189) ضارباىَ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
the two beaters of me
(from الضارِبَان)

(190) الضارِبَيَّ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
the two beaters of me
(from الضارِبَيْن)

(191) الضارِبِيَّ [شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 2/135]
the beaters of me
(from الضاربون and الضاربين)

Occasionally a ن is inserted between the doer participle annexe noun and the pronoun base noun. This would permit words like: الضَّارِبُوني, ضَارِبُنِي, etc. For example:

(192) فَهَلْ أَنْتُمْ صَادِقُونِي فِيهِ [24] [https://hadithunlocked.com/nasai-kubra:11291]
So will you tell me the truth about it?

It seems that this usage did not make its way to Standard Classical Arabic. But some grammarians permit this usage by poetic license, or as a rare usage.[25]

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[24] also narrated as صَادِقِيَّ in صحيح البخاري 3169.
[25] See for more details شرح ابن يعيش على المفصل 1/285; النحو الوافي 2/44; شرح كتاب سيبويه للسيرافي 2/137; Wright 2/67AB

2.13. The doee participle as a verb-like governor

https://shamela.ws/book/17116/3534

2.14. The participle-like adjective as a verb-like governor

الأشباه والنظائر: ذكر ما افترق فيه الصفة المشبهة واسم الفاعل

https://shamela.ws/book/13301/1472

https://shamela.ws/book/13301/582#p1

https://shamela.ws/book/9985/799

2.15. The doer of a deverbal noun that fulfils the role of the info

In our discussion of the doer of deverbal nouns, we have consistently stated that the doer of a deverbal noun is not a structural element. This is because the deverbal noun, which has a doer, is typically already part of an existing sentence. See example (125) زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ أَبُوهُ عَمْرًا above.

However, there is one special kind of sentence where that the doer of a deverbal noun *is* a structural element.

Before presenting this special *doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info* sentence, we will first give some background. Consider the sentence:

(193) زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ
    Zayd is standing.

In example (193) above, زَيْدٌ is the subject and قَائِمٌ is its info.

We can rearrange the word order to front the info thus:

(194) قَائِمٌ زَيْدٌ
    Standing, Zayd is.

This fronted info will be common in negative and question sentences. For example:

(195) أَقَائِمٌ زَيْدٌ [Wright 2/257B]
    Is Zayd standing?

(196) مَا قَائِمَةٌ هِنْدٌ [Wright 2/257B]
    Hind is not going

Now we come to the special doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info sentence:

In negative and question sentences like examples (195) and (195) above, the deverbal noun can be analyzed as a subject, and its following doer will fulfil the role of the info.

So, in examples (195) and (195) above, قَائِمٌ can be considered a subject زَيْدٌ and can be its doer that fulfils the role of the info. Now, you might be thinking: what is the reason for this strange doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info analysis?

Why can't we just consider قَائِمٌ a fronted info and زَيْدٌ the backed subject?

The answer is that we can indeed consider قَائِمٌ a fronted info and زَيْدٌ the backed subject as one option. But, as another option, the doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info analysis allows us to keep the deverbal noun in the singular for dual and plural subjects. So we can say:

(197) أَقَائِمٌ الزَّيْدَان
Are the two Zayds standing?

(198) مَا ذَاهِبَةٌ الْهِنْدَاتُ
The Hinds are not going

Sentences (197) and (198) are legitimate, but are only permitted for negative and question sentences.[26] If it is not a negative or question sentence, then the doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info construction is not permitted. So the following are not correct as complete sentences:

(199) ✗ قَائِمٌ الزَّيْدَان
The two Zayds are standing.

(200) ✗ ذَاهِبَةٌ الْهِنْدَاتُ
The Hinds are going

This is because the deverbal noun قَائِم cannot govern the overt doers الزَّيْدَان and الْهِنْدَاتُ without the governing support that is provided by being in a negative or question sentence.

So when it is not a negative or question sentence, then only the fronted info construction is permitted and the info will typically match the backed subject in number and gender. For example:

(201) قَائِمَانِ الزَّيْدَان
Standing, the two Zayds are.

(202) ذَاهِبَاتٌ الْهِنْدَاتُ
Going, the Hinds are.

The fronted info construction is also permitted, as an option, even for negative and question sentences. For example:

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[26]Some grammarians did not require this condition based on the sentence خَبِيرٌ بَنُو لِهْبٍ. For details on the dispute, see أوضح المسالك لابن هشام 1/191 footnote 3.

(203) أَقَائِمَانِ الزَّيْدَان
Are the two Zayds standing?

(204) مَا ذَاهِبَاتٌ الْهِنْدَاتُ
The Hinds are not going

When the deverbal noun and the doer are both singular, and it is a negative or question sentence, then a double analysis is possible[27]:

   i. the fronted info analysis
  ii. the doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info analysis

Such is the case in examples (195) أَقَائِمٌ زَيْدٌ and (196) مَا قَائِمَةٌ هِنْدٌ above.

Here are some more examples of doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info sentences:

(204) هَلْ مَضْرُوبٌ بَنُوكَ [Wright 2/257C]
Are your sons beaten?
(بَنُو is a deputy doer.)

(205) أَرَاغِبٌ أَنْتَ عَنْ ءَالِهَتِي يَٰٓإِبْرَٰهِيمُ [سورة مريم 19:46 cited by Wright 2/257D]
Have you no desire for my gods, O Abraham?
(A double analysis is reportedly possible, but the doer-that-fulfils-the-role-of-the-info analysis is preferred.[28])

(206) خَلِيلَيَّ مَا وَافٍ بِعَهْدِي أَنْتُمَا [Wright 2/257D]
My two friends, you are not keeping my promise.

(207) أَمُنْجِزٌ أَنْتُمْ وَعْدًا وَثِقْتُ بِهِ [Wright 2/257D]
Are you fulfiling a promise that I put my trust on?

2.16. The maṣdar as a verb-like governor

https://shamela.ws/book/36130/1479#p1

مسألة الفرق بين اسم الفاعل والمصدر في العمل - كتاب ما لم ينشر من الأمالي الشجرية - ابن الشجري

الدرر السنية

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[27]Wright 2/258A

[28]See البحر المحيط لأبي حبان for سورة مريم 19:46