

In the Shadow of Arabic: The Centrality of Language to Arabic Culture

STUDIES PRESENTED TO RAMZI BAALBAKI
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

EDITED BY
BILAL ORFALI

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In the Shadow of Arabic
The Centrality of Language to Arabic Culture

Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

Editorial board

T. Muraoka, A.D. Rubin and C.H.M. Versteegh

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Ramzi Baalbaki

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PREFACE

This book is dedicated to Ramzi Baalbaki, the Margaret Weyerhaeuser Jewett Professor of Arabic at the American University of Beirut, on the occasion of his 60th birthday and in recognition of his remarkable career and enduring contributions to the field of Arabic studies. Much of Ramzi Baalbaki's oeuvre has been devoted to the study of the history of Arabic grammar, a field in which his scholarship remains indispensable. His works, both in Arabic and in English, on Arabic lexicography, Arabic linguistics, comparative Semitics, and the history of the Arabic script have enriched the scholarly study of these fields and contributed immeasurably to a more nuanced understanding of the Arabic language. He edited several volumes on Arabic language and grammar and, more broadly, on Arabic studies and humanities. His critical editions of classical texts constitute a model for future editors to follow. Additionally, Ramzi Baalbaki's influence extends beyond scholarly circles and has reached nearly every Arab household and international library in the form of *al-Mawrid*, the single most important English-Arabic dictionary. Launched by his father, Munir Baalbaki, *al-Mawrid* has been constantly updated by Ramzi Baalbaki, who has also completed the impressive *al-Mawrid al-Akbar* English-Arabic dictionary which his late father had left unfinished.

Ramzi Baalbaki has received numerous honors and awards during his ongoing career. He was chosen by the prestigious series, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*, to produce its volume titled *The Early Grammatical Tradition* (2007), while the *Variorum Collected Studies Series* reprinted eighteen of his articles under a single title, *Grammarians and Grammatical Theory in the Medieval Arabic Tradition* (2004). He was awarded the 1999 Prize for Humanities by the Abdel Hadi al-Dibs Foundation and received the 2010 King Faisal International Prize for Arabic Language and Literature, on the subject of Arabic Grammatical Thought. He is also a member of the editorial boards of, among many others, the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, the *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, the *Journal of Arabic Linguistic Tradition*, *Langues et Littératures du monde Arabe*, *Majallat al-Mu'jamiyya al-'Arabiyya*, *Romano Arabica*, and the *Arabic Historical Dictionary*.

Ramzi Baalbaki was born in Beirut on 27th October, 1951. He earned his BA with high distinction and Penrose Award in 1973, his MA in Arabic Language and Literature in 1975, both from the American University of

Beirut, and his Ph.D. in Arabic Grammar and Comparative Semitics from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in 1978. At the American University of Beirut, he established himself as a distinguished teacher and scholar and quickly progressed from assistant to associate to full professor; he is currently the Margaret Weyerhaeuser Jewett Professor of Arabic. He continued to teach and write at AUB even during the most difficult times of the Lebanese civil war. When asked about how he was able to produce during this trying period, Ramzi answers smilingly: "let's call it surviving through dissociation." Ramzi Baalbaki was a visiting scholar at the Universities of Cambridge (1988), Chicago (1993), Georgetown (1998), and a scholar-in-residence at Georgetown University (1999). He served as the Editor of *al-Abḥāth* (1985–1996), Chairman of the Arabic Department (1990–1993, 1996–2011), Director of the Center of Arab and Middle Eastern Studies (1985–1990), and Associate Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (1997–2004).

Ramzi Baalbaki's contribution to the field of Arabic grammar may be summed up in three aims. The first is to demonstrate, by examining early terminology and concepts, that Arabic grammatical thought is a genuine intellectual product of Arabs and Muslims, rather than the result of borrowing from other nations. The second aim is to highlight the central position that the grammatical tradition occupies within the breadth of the Arabic and Islamic scholarly tradition, particularly because grammar is firmly linked to exegesis, Qur'ānic readings, stylistics, and literary criticism. The third aim is to demonstrate the intricate and subtle analytical methods of the early grammarians, who, unlike most later authors, were keen to disclose the delicate balance between structure and meaning.

The editor has decided to limit the topics of contribution to the areas that formed the core of Dr. Baalbaki's scholarly work, to which the present collection is a homage. In fact, several of the articles of this volume were inspired by Ramzi Baalbaki's own research and address topics and questions first explored by him. Even with this limitation, the volume has swollen to a considerable size, attesting to the scale of his influence and reputation. Ramzi Baalbaki is a remarkable scholar whose impact on Arabic studies will be felt for years to come. On a more personal note, and on a scale that cannot be measured in pages or volumes, Ramzi Baalbaki is an exceptional colleague, a selfless collaborator, a humane administrator, an inspiring teacher, an unflinching humorist, and a very dear friend to many.

Bilal Orfali
Beirut, 2011

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HISTORY OF ARABIC GRAMMAR

IDEOLOGY, GRAMMAR-MAKING AND THE STANDARDIZATION OF ARABIC

Yasir Suleiman

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION: UNIFORMITY, PURITY AND CORRECTNESS

Considered from the perspective of language standardization,¹ grammar-making is a form of codification² whose *immediate* aim, as opposed to its *ulterior* motive, is to provide a set of rules for the selected variety of the language. In language policy terms, grammar-making is an aspect of corpus-planning that goes hand in hand with status planning in the standardization of a language.³ Having selected a language variety as a base for cross-dialectal standardization through status planning activities, corpus-planning seeks to provide this *standard in the making* with a writing system—or an elaboration or modification of an existing writing system—rules for spelling, a grammar (or grammars), a lexicon (or lexica) and style manuals as norm—setting measures for further elaboration and implementation. Through these measures, corpus-planning aims to fix the selected variety, mainly in its written form, by constraining variability—or enhancing uniformity—in linguistic behaviour as much as possible, and by setting norms for correctness in writing and speech.⁴ With time,

¹ Ferguson (1996: 69) defines language standardization as the “process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm—the ‘best’ form of the language—rated above regional and social dialects, although these may be felt to be appropriate in some domains.” This definition provides an adequate description of standardization in the Arabic linguistic tradition.

² Following Haugen (1966: 931) codification aims at “developing the form of a language, i.e., its linguistic structure, including phonology, grammar and lexicon.” My main interest here is grammar with some references to the lexicon. Haugen (1972: 252) lists the components of standardization as: selection of norm, codification of form, elaboration of function, and acceptance by the community.

³ Cooper (1989).

⁴ In the context of the Arabic linguistic tradition, Versteegh (1997: 53) gives the following reasons for the standardization of the Arabic language in the early Islamic period: “First, the divergence between the language of the Bedouin and the various colloquial varieties that emerged [after the rise and expansion of Islam] became a real threat to communication in the empire. Second, the policy of the central government, first in Damascus and later in Baghdad, aimed at the control of the subjects, not only in economical and

these norms become ossified or frozen, leading to a prescriptive attitude in assessing correctness in the standard.⁵

This broad characterization of language standardization masks a complex phenomenon. To begin with standardization, in principle, is an open-ended process, not least because of its fuzziness and the fact that it is the subject of contestation by different interests in society. Standard languages constantly evolve to meet the instrumental needs of their users. However, grammar-making as a form of monitoring and codification hardly ever follows suit at the same rate. It always lags behind, usually exceedingly so; hence, the rise of prescriptivism as an attitude of locking the forms of the standard language in relation to established rules and usages that, for modernizers, seek to stifle or censure innovation. For the guardians of the language prescriptivism is necessary to stop the standard from disintegration and fracture.

Second, although status planning—the choice of a standard—logically precedes corpus-planning, the two aspects of standardization cannot be neatly separated or chronologically ordered in practice. A standard language emerges through a melange of selection, codification and circulation—in varying degrees of intensity—to become the prestigious form of the language. As a super-posed variety, its acceptance by those for whom it is crafted is important for its consecration as standard, regardless of whether this acceptance is the result of rational choice, acquiescence, inertia or coercion.

Third, and this is the key point here, standardization tends to be driven by an ideology in which elite interests play a determining role. In this context, ideology is understood as a “system, or at least an amalgam, of ideas, strategies, tactics, and practical symbols for promoting, perpetuating or changing a social and cultural order.”⁶ In fact, standardization itself is a form of ideology as J. Milroy and L. Milroy aptly observe.⁷ As the main form of language planning, standardization is inextricably linked

religious but also in linguistic matters. Obviously, if Arabic was to be used as the language of the central administration, it had to be standardized. Third, the changed situation called forth a rapid expansion of the lexicon, which had to be regulated in order to achieve some measure of uniformity.” For an interesting discussion regarding the role of language in state administration see Heck (2002: 26-03). My approach in this paper differs from Versteegh’s discussion of standardization in Arabic in that it focuses on the ideology of standardization rather than on its linguistic content in grammar and lexicon as Versteegh’s discussion does.

⁵ See Bartsch (1987) for a study of language norms in the context of standardization.

⁶ Friedrich (1989: 301).

⁷ J. Milroy and L. Milroy (1991).

to the promotion and pursuit of non-linguistic or extra-linguistic ends in which issues of high culture, political and social power, identity and conflict, moral and ethical values, purity, aesthetics, epistemology and power play a significant role.⁸ As Woolard and Schieffelin point out the “term ideology reminds us that the cultural conceptions we study [standardization being one of them] are partial, contestable and contested, and interest-laden.”⁹

The principal aim of this paper is to explore the ideological content of standardization in grammar-making in the Arabic linguistic tradition during the first four centuries of Islam.¹⁰ Not only had this period witnessed the production of the first grammars of the language and their promulgation in pedagogic form, but it was also characterized by socio-political fault zones with direct bearing on grammar-making. In exploring this development I am aware that most of the research on standardization is formulated against the ideologies of modernization, ethnicity, nation-building and state formation in the modern world. It is, therefore, important that the concerns raised by these ideologies are not read into the past uncritically. However, it is also important to recognize that some of the concerns of standardization in the modern period are not so different from those of standardization in the past. It is this consideration which allows us to talk about standardization in the pre-modern world. The quest for uniformity, correctness, purity and identity in standardization as an ideology are, as I will suggest below, at the heart of grammar-making in the Arabic linguistic tradition, providing it with its socio-political and moral and ethical underpinnings.

Let us begin with some general comments on status planning in the early period of Islam. The Arabic linguistic tradition carries information on the various dialects in Arabia in the early days of the Muslim polity,¹¹ but there is overwhelming agreement in this tradition that the base variety for what emerged as standard Arabic, now called the *fushā*, was anchored in relation to the language of the Qurʾān, pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry.¹² Issues of religion, state formation and high culture are at

⁸ See Joseph (1987: 43–57) for a discussion of the socio-political, including the ideological, context of standardization.

⁹ Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 58).

¹⁰ See Ferguson (1997) and Mejdell (2006: 1–44) for a discussion of standardization in the modern period.

¹¹ Early papyri from this period display variation of different degrees.

¹² The cut-off point seems to be around the middle of the 8th century; see Suleiman (1999a: 19–21).

the very heart of this process of variety selection. As a super-posed variety this form of Arabic did not belong to any one tribe in Arabia, not even to Quraysh in spite of what the Arabic sources sometimes claim, and in spite of the fact that Quraysh may have felt a stronger claim of ownership over this variety than other tribes by virtue of their [Quraysh] connection with the person of the Prophet.¹³ Ranging over tribal affiliations, this variety was cross-dialectal in nature, this being an important factor in its ability to act (a) as a mediating channel of communication inter-tribally in sociolinguistically defined occasions, and (b) as a springboard for its acceptance as the base for standardization. The fact that this variety had a recognized canon of texts, in the form of the pre-Islamic odes and later the text of the Qurʾān, gave it the prestige and authority that were necessary for its recognition as the standard in society. The connection to high culture is inextricably linked to this canon of texts which, in comparison with spoken language, contained ‘minimal’ variations.

The Qurʾān and pre-Islamic poetry were not the only sources of data for the standard in corpus-planning terms. Another was the dialects of the Arab tribes in Central Arabia of the seventh century C.E. and roughly up to the ninth/tenth century.¹⁴ This geographical restriction is indicative of the strong concern in the standardization of Arabic with issues of linguistic purity, summed up in the principle of *faṣāḥa*.¹⁵ The key point here is

¹³ Responding to reports that the best Arabic was spoken outside Mecca, the grammarian al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) asserts the superiority of Quraysh’s speech arguing his case as follows: “Do the Quraysh not surpass the people in the beauty of their statures, in the sagacity of their minds, in the fullness of their bodies? They [those holding different views] said: ‘We know this as well as anyone. But sagacity and beauty came to them merely because the Arabs were accustomed to come to the sanctuary for Hajj and ‘Umra, both their women and their men. The women made the circuit round the House unveiled and performed the ceremonies with uncovered faces. So they selected them by sight and sound after dignity and beauty. By this they gained superiority besides those qualities by which they were particularly distinguished.’ We said: ‘In the same way they were accustomed to hear from the tribes of the Arabs their dialects; so they could choose from every dialect that which was the best in it. So their speech became elegant, and nothing of the more vulgar forms of speech was mixed up with it.’ [Al-Farrāʾ then comments] Correctness came to them from their selection of pronunciation, just as they selected their wives.” Kahle (1948: 180). Al-Farrāʾ’s argument is part and parcel of the attempt to assert the correctness of the language of the Qurʾān and its primacy [the Qurʾān] as a linguistic model over the language spoken by the Bedouins. A similar view is expressed by al-Fārābī (d. 350/961) who “declares the Quraysh dialect to possess the most correct vocabulary and sees it as the easiest to pronounce, the most pleasant to hear, and the clearest to understand.” Chejne (1969: 40–1). Four centuries later, the famous thinker Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) expressed a similar opinion, highlighting the “beauty and eloquence of the Quraysh dialect.” *ibid.*, 41.

¹⁴ By this time, it was difficult to find a Bedouin speaker whose speech could be described as *faṣīḥ* (pure); See Suleiman (1999a: 22–4).

¹⁵ See al-Kawwāz (2006) and Suleiman (1996).

the belief that contact leads to loss of purity or contamination in language behaviour through borrowing,¹⁶ and that this in turn induces incorrectness in linguistic usage or, put more neutrally, the development of new-fangled ways of using the language. The purist acts in this regard like a genealogist who, in dealing with the “bloodlines of linguistic elements,” believes that there is “some virtue in being a thoroughbred rather than a mongrel, legitimate rather than bastard.”¹⁷ The following statement by al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) names the tribes whose dialects were not accepted (at least in theory) for grammar-making purposes in the standardization project, setting out the reasons behind each judgement:¹⁸

Linguistic data were not accepted from the tribes of Lakhm or Judhāma because they neighboured the Egyptians and the Copts; nor from Quḍā‘a, Ghassān or Iyād because they neighboured the people of Syria who were predominantly Christian and used languages other than Arabic in their ritual prayers; nor from Taghlib and Namir because they neighboured the Byzantines who spoke Greek; nor from Bakr because they neighboured the Nabat and the Persians; nor from ‘Abd al-Qays because they lived in Bahrain, thus mixing with the Indians and the Persians; nor from Azd of ‘Umān because they mixed with the Indians and Persians; nor from the people of Yemen because they mixed with the peoples of India and Ethiopia and because Ethiopians were born amongst them; nor from Banū Ḥanīfa, the inhabitants of Yamāma or Thaqif or those of Ṭā‘if because they mixed with the foreign merchants who resided in their localities; nor from the townships of Ḥijāz (*ḥādirat al-Ḥijāz*) because the language transmitters noticed their language was corrupted by mixing with members of foreign nations.

For al-Fārābī contact with other nations and groups is the main linguistic disqualifier of a tribal variety in the process of standardization. This of course means that the more isolated and self-contained a tribe or social group is the more qualified it is to act as a reservoir for corpus-planning activity, at least in theory.¹⁹ Geographical isolation leads to social and linguistic isolation, which together guarantee to the group (a) the quality of being pristine, and (b) its variety as the target of corpus-planning activity.

¹⁶ This point is made by Versteegh in his discussion of the standardization (1997: 59): “[The Arab scholars] were convinced that the influx of words from other cultures would corrupt the Arabic language, which had been chosen by God for His last revelation to mankind.”

¹⁷ Thomas (1991: 23).

¹⁸ al-Suyūṭī, *al-Iqtirāḥ*, 56–7.

¹⁹ See Kahle (1948: 179–80) for a similar view with a twist: the Kūfāns, Baṣrans and Mecans subscribe to the notion of isolation as a correctness criterion, but each group claims that the tribes nearer to them had the most correct speech. Prestige and superiority, as group identity attributes, rather than a neutral measure of correctness are at the heart of these views. Correctness here is more of a sociolinguistic than purely linguistic criterion.

This confluence of effects underpins a set of practices in early Muslim society that are of interest from the viewpoint of standardization. First, it explains why the Arab grammarians used to avoid collecting data from Arab/Bedouin tribes that lived near the newly established urban centres, for example Baṣra and Kūfa in modern-day Iraq. Their preference was to travel deep into Arabia to live or collect corpus-planning data from tribes that had kept a measure of isolation from these urban centres. Connected to this is the length to which some language informants went to impress on the grammarians their authenticity as purveyors of correct speech, for example being dressed in rags and exaggerating their Bedouin speech habits, no doubt for personal gain.²⁰

Second, the concern with purity and correctness explains why the Umayyad Caliphs (41–132/661–750), and no doubt other members of the Umayyad elite, used to send their male offspring to live among isolated Arab tribes to acquire the correct speech habits of the Arabs, or to put right any ‘crookedness’ in their linguistic behaviour. This practice is an integral part of an ethical and value-laden norm in society which treated incorrectness in speech among the elite as a blemish that could impugn a person’s moral character. Examples of this abound in the literature. Prophet Muḥammad is reported to have ordered members of his community to correct the speech of one of his followers, telling them that deviation from the norms of correct speech is a form of *ḍalāl* (deviation from the right path).²¹ The literature contains many injunctions, attributed to the Prophet and other early Muslims, on the importance of reciting the Qurʾān with correct *īrāb* (desinential inflection), the implication being that incorrect recitation did exist at the time.²² The Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (d. 86/705), an accomplished user of the language, likened incorrect speech to smallpox, no doubt reflecting similar views among the elite in society: incorrect speech could disfigure a person’s

²⁰ This suggests that there was a ‘corpus-planning market’ in the first centuries of Islam which casts doubt on the authenticity of some of the materials the informants provided. An example of this is the famous *al-zunbūrīyya* controversy (*mas’ala zunbūrīyya*) which Versteegh sums up as follows (1997: 64): “In this controversy between Sibawayhi and a rival grammarian, a question was raised about the expression *kuntu aẓunnu anna al-‘aqraḇa ashaddu las’atan min al-zunbūrī fa-idhā huwa iyyāhā* ‘I thought the scorpion had a stronger bite than the hornet, but it was the other way round.’ Sibawayhi gave the correct answer—the last clause has to be *fa-idhā huwa hīya*—but he was defeated by the judgement of a Bedouin arbiter, who had been bribed by his adversary.”

²¹ See Suleiman (2003: 51).

²² See Kahle (1948).

character in the same way as smallpox could disfigure his physical appearance. In a similar vein, Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿalī (69/688)—who is credited with implementing the first reforms of the Arabic script—likened incorrect speech to the foul smell of rotting flesh or meat. ʿAbd al-Malik’s son, the Caliph al-Walīd (d. 96/715), was the butt of jokes, even in his own court, because of his faulty speech. Al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95/714), the much feared governor of Iraq, is reported to have sent the grammarian Yaḥyā b. Maʿmar into exile because he dared to correct the governor’s faulty recitation of the Qurʾān. These and other reports reveal the connection between linguistic purity, correct speech and morality in society in line with Thomas’ observation that “a close connection [exists] between puristic attitudes and the cultural ethos of a speech community.”²³

Third, the concern with purity and correctness²⁴ underlines the attitude of the early grammarians towards the vast body of Prophetic Traditions (*ḥadīths*). These grammarians refused to sanction the use of most of these *ḥadīths* in grammar-making because, in their view, they contained grammatical errors owing to the fact that some of their transmitters were not native Arabic speakers.²⁵ This was a daring position to take because of the close connection between grammar-making and the religious sciences in Islam, and the status of the *ḥadīth* reports as a source of legal rulings, second only to the Qurʾān, in Islamic jurisprudence. This attitude towards the *ḥadīth* changed among later grammarians, for example Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359–60), who admitted *ḥadīth* reports as valid data for grammar-making.

Finally, this triad of purity, correctness and ethics/morality is one of the cultural or ideological motivations behind the vast body of literature on *lahn* (solecism) in the Arabic linguistic tradition, be it what is called the solecism of the common people (*lahn al-ʿamma*)²⁶ or that of the elite (*lahn al-khāṣṣa*).²⁷ This literature continues in one form or another to this

²³ Thomas (1991: 2). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 64) comment on this matter in similar terms: “Moral indignation over non-standard forms derives from ideological associations of the standard with the qualities valued within culture, such as clarity and truthfulness.”

²⁴ The concern with incorrectness is said to be the main cause for the reforms of the Arabic script carried out by Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿalī; see Talmon (1985).

²⁵ For a modern critique of this position see Ḥassān (1982).

²⁶ See Maṭar (1967) for one of the best treatments of this subject in pre-modern times. Gal (1955) provides some information on *lahn*.

²⁷ Anwar (1981) links the development of the Arabic linguistic tradition to the interest in *lahn*.

day in the various manuals on correct speech²⁸ which, from our perspective here, testify to the open-endedness of standardization as a process that connects the past with the present. This open-endedness is further reflected in the change of attitude from the early to the later grammarians vis-à-vis the eligibility of the *ḥadīth* reports in corpus-planning as has been mentioned above.

The connection between correctness and morality/ethics is present in Arabic grammar-making from its inception. A fundamental principle in Arabic grammar is its view of speech, as a manifestation of language, as behaviour that is open to evaluation on ethical/moral grounds. Carter captures this point well when he says, reflecting on Sībawayhi's views on this matter in his *Kitāb* (d. 180/796): "Considered as an act, speech naturally falls under the same rules as all other kinds of behaviour, and this is why Sībawayhi uses ethical criteria to express the correctness and rightness or otherwise of utterances."²⁹ The reliance on such criteria reveals the close connection between standardisation and ideology. Carter sums up these criteria in the *Kitāb* as follows:³⁰

A completely correct utterance must fulfil two conditions, one semantic and one structural: it must convey the intended meaning, and it must comply with the rules for the form and arrangement of words. Such an utterance will be *mustaqīm ḥasan*, lit. '[morally] right and ethically [good]', though it is also possible for an utterance to be semantically successful but structurally incorrect, which is termed *mustaqīm qabīḥ*, lit. '[morally] right and [ethically] bad'. There are two kinds of semantically unsuccessful utterance, both entirely distinct. The first simply fails to convey the intended meaning, and is therefore called *ghayr mustaqīm* 'not [morally] right', though it may be structurally 'good' or 'bad', and even can convey some other, unintended meaning. The second kind cannot mean anything at all because it is internally contradictory, and this is termed *muḥāl* 'wrong', lit. 'perverted, twisted'.

The use of the Arabic terms for 'right', 'bad', and 'wrong'—in the sense of 'perverted' and 'twisted'—in evaluating Arabic utterances displays an ethical/moral dimension to grammar-making as a standardization measure in the Arabic linguistic tradition. This moral dimension is part of the 'cultural ethos' of the speech community, including the class of grammarians as a discourse community, or as a community of practice with its own rivalries and interests. The link with the cultural ethos of the community

²⁸ See al-Ḥamādī (1981) for a discussion of this phenomenon in the modern period.

²⁹ Carter (2004: 61). See also idem (1997: 33–4).

³⁰ Idem (2004: 61–2).

is further evident in the debate over whether the text of the Qur'ān contained non-Arabic words.³¹ This debate is an integral part of the concern for the purity of the language, although it no doubt is motivated in part by the assertion in the Qur'ān (26:195) that it was revealed in 'perspicuous' Arabic (*mubīn*).³² The insistence on the perspicuity of the Qur'ān and its supreme eloquence are again related to an ideology of standardisation that considers language contact and borrowing as sources of 'impurity.' As a people the Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia had always set great store by the purity of their lineage as I will discuss shortly. It is therefore no surprise that this fact is translated into an ideology of standardization in the Arabic linguistic tradition.

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION:

THE THEORY OF CAUSATION (*TA'LĪL*) AND THE WISDOM OF THE ARABS

The connection between ideology and standardization occurs at an even deeper level through the principle of *ḥikmat al-'arab* (wisdom of the Arabs). According to this principle, one of the major aims of grammar-making is to discover the innate qualities which make the Arabs a special people in history. This link is directly made in Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī (d. 466/1073) in his study of *faṣāḥa* (purity) in Arabic:³³

The superiority of the Arabic language over other languages is an integral part of the superiority of its Arab speakers as a nation/people (*umma*) unsurpassed by other nations in quality of character. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that if the Arabic language is indeed the creation of the Arabs... it is bound to reflect the quality of their [group] character. In claiming this, I am not driven by blind allegiance to either the language or its speakers.³⁴

³¹ Early commentators on the text of the Qur'ān acknowledged the foreign origin of some of the words used in it, but this position started to change later. Commenting on this, Versteegh (1997: 61) observes: "By the end of the second century of the [the Islamic calendar, equivalent to the eighth century in the Gregorian calendar]... some philologists had started to attack the notion that the Qur'an could contain foreign loanwords, and attempted to connect the vocabulary of the Qur'an with a Bedouin etymology... The idea of the purity of the Arabic language [became] the prevalent attitude among some Islamic scholars, and attempts by Western scholars to find traces of other languages in the Qur'an were and still are vehemently rejected."

³² See Suleiman (2003: 43–46) for a discussion of this issue.

³³ Al-Khafājī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, 52. Although this work is later than the timeframe specified in this paper (2nd to 4th/7th to 10th centuries), there is no doubt that it reflects and distils views that existed before and were of wide current among the elite at the time.

³⁴ This view of Arabic is articulated by al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048), one of the greatest scientists in Islam: "Scientists from all languages of the world have been translated into the

This act of discovery proceeds in two moves descriptive and explanatory. The first aims to establish the grammatical: rules of the language, what al-Zajjājī (d. 337/948) in his famous *al-Īdāh fī 'ilal al-naḥw* (1959) calls *'ilal ta'limiyya*, pedagogical causes. The fact that these causes/rules are correlated with pedagogy, as their name indicates, suggests a close link between this aspect of standardization, called implementation, and codification as grammar-making. This is in agreement with the modern literature on standardization which considers education as one of the main channels for promulgating the standard.

The second aims to establish the rationale behind these rules. Al-Zajjājī proposes two *'illas* of this kind: *qiyāsiyya* (analogical) and *jadaliyya nazariyya* (argumentative-theoretical causes). In addition to their role as instruments of argumentation and systematisation in grammatical thinking, causes of this type operate at different levels of abstraction to set out the systematic nature of Arabic grammar and its rational character. It is in this sphere of grammatical thinking, particularly with respect to the argumentative/theoretical causes or rationales, that the 'wisdom of the Arabs' principle operates in the sense claimed by Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī above. For this to hold, however, grammar-making must be linked to a realist epistemology which claims that Arabic grammar provides a 'true' description and explanation of the Arabic language. Is this indeed the case? And what does a realist epistemology entail in terms of the claims Arabic grammar makes about its descriptive and, particularly, explanatory enterprise?

I have argued elsewhere that grammar-making in the Arabic linguistic tradition is guided by a special type of realist epistemology which, after Karl Popper,³⁵ I called essentialism. This epistemology is also called 'God's truth'³⁶ or 'naïve realism'.³⁷ Essentialism makes the following claims:³⁸

language of the Arabs, have been embellished and become attractive, and the beauties of the language have permeated their veins and arteries, even though each people considers beautiful its own language to which it is accustomed and which it uses in its daily business. I speak from experience because I was brought up in a language in which it would be strange indeed to a science perpetuated. Then I went over to Arabic and Persian and am a guest in both languages, having made an effort to acquire them; but I would rather be reviled in Arabic than praised in Persian." Chejne (1969: 14).

³⁵ See Popper (1969: 103).

³⁶ A clear, if exaggerated, articulation of this epistemology is given by the eighteenth century German grammarian Adelung: "[The grammarian] is not the lawgiver of a people, but only the collector and the interpreter of their intentions. He never decides but only collects the votes cast by the majority . . . He presents the language as it really is, not as it could be, or as it should be in his imagination." Butler (1970: 9).

³⁷ See Hospers (1973) for a similar discussion of naïve realism.

³⁸ Suleiman (1999a: 53-4).

(1) scientific enquiry aims to provide a true theory or description of a given universe or set of phenomena; (2) a scientific theory achieves its explanatory aim by describing the essences underlying the observable facts, that is 'the realities that lie behind the appearances' of those facts;³⁹ and, (3) it is possible to establish the truth of a scientific theory beyond any doubt. From the perspective of the present discussion, point (3) does not concern us. Points (1) and (2) correspond to what al-Zajjājī calls the pedagogical and theoretical-argumentative causes, respectively. If so, both types of cause in the Arabic linguistic tradition are treated as realist in character, in the sense that they claim to capture the essences of the phenomena or states they describe and explain. Furthermore, this attitude to Arabic grammar holds sway in modern times, a view no doubt inherited from the past through pedagogical inculcation and religious training. Arabic speakers believe that the rules of Arabic grammar are true descriptions of the language, and that challenging the validity of these rules is tantamount to questioning the very essence of the language itself. The fact that there are sometimes different descriptions of the same phenomenon is not interpreted as a challenge to this essentialist conception of grammar, the point being that each of these descriptions is held to be true in its own right in the eyes of its proponents. The prescriptivism of the Arabic linguistic tradition is closely linked to this essentialist conception of grammar.

But the situation has not always been like this. In the early days of grammar-making, a variation on this realist epistemology existed that allowed for a slightly different take on grammar-making. In a statement on the subject, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 171/787) is reported to have said that the rules of Arabic grammar and their explanations may be constructions, but that they are still constructions of a realist character.⁴⁰ When asked whether the causes he applied in grammar-making were transmitted by the Arabs or invented by him, al-Khalīl gave the following response which I will quote in full because of its importance for the argument I am making here:⁴¹

The Arabs speak according to their instinct and nature and they know the structure of their [language]. In their minds there is solid knowledge about its causes (*'illas*), but these are not transmitted from them. I regard something as a cause whenever I was convinced that it was the right cause for

³⁹ Popper (1969: 104).

⁴⁰ My understanding of what al-Khalīl says indicates that he is no instrumentalist or fictionalist; see Suleiman (2003: 54–6) for these two views of epistemology.

⁴¹ Versteegh (1995: 89).

what I tried to explain with it. If I was right about this, well, that is exactly what I aimed at! If there happens to be another cause, you compare my situation to that of a judicious man who enters a house that is built with good proportions, a miracle of harmony and arrangement. Now, this man by reliable information or evident proof and manifest arguments is convinced of the sound judgement of the builder and whenever he sees some part of the house, he says: 'He did this according to such and such a cause or because of this or that reason.' He says that on account of a cause which occurs to him and which he believes might be the truth. It is possible that the wise builder of the house acted, indeed, according to the cause mentioned by the man who entered the house, but it is equally well possible that he acted according to some other cause. Nevertheless, what was mentioned by the man (who entered the house) could just as well have been right. So, if someone has in mind another cause for grammar other than the ones I mentioned, let him come forth with it!

The above statement about grammar-making is based on a number of considerations. First, the analogy with the house suggests that the Arabic language is a 'miracle of harmony and arrangement' and that these two qualities (harmony and arrangement) are not accidental properties of the language. Second, the Arabs' intuitive knowledge of their language includes what the grammarians call causes, but that these causes were not transmitted to the grammarians from the Arabic speakers of the seventh century in central Arabia (the model speakers of the language); it is, therefore, the task of the grammarians to establish/discover these causes if they want to capture the 'miracle of harmony and arrangement' in the language. Third, as a grammarian al-Khalil aims to discover the 'right' or 'true' causes in the language—in the Arabic he uses the word *aṣabtu* (lit. hit) which normally correlates with *ḥaqīqa* (truth) or *ḥadaḥ* (target)—but that he cannot be completely sure of their 'truth'. Fourth, where the veracity of the causes is in question other people/grammarians can offer different ones. However, and this is the significant point, although al-Khalil admits that other causes may be offered, he is so convinced of the truth of his own causes that he issues a challenge to others to come up with different ones. In my view the concluding sentence in the above quotation, 'let him come forth with it!', carries the implication that those who might take up the challenge are most likely to fail. If this is true, then al-Khalil's invitation to others to offer alternative causes is no more than a formal nod towards a constructivist epistemology in grammar-making rather than a real or principled commitment to such an epistemology. To this writer, his position remains of the realist kind epistemologically even though it seems to open the door for a constructivist perspective on grammar-making.

Al-Khalīl is not the only grammarian to hold a realist view of grammar-making. Two centuries later, Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002) espoused such a view with complete clarity. This is evident from his comment on the behaviour of one of his informants, al-Shajarī, who was able to explain aspects of the language in terms that are similar to those offered by the grammarians. Ibn Jinnī reports this in his *Khaṣā'is* as follows:⁴²

I asked al-Shajarī one day: ...How do you say *ḍarabtu akhāka*: acc. (I hit your brother)?' He said, 'As you have just said it'. I [then] asked him, 'Do you ever say *ḍarabtu akhūka*: nom.?' He said, 'I never say *akhūka*: nom.'. I continued, 'How do you say *ḍarabani akhūka*: nom. (your brother hit me)?' He answered, 'As you have just said it'. I then said to him, 'But haven't you just claimed that you never say *akhūka*: nom.?' He said, 'What is it you are saying? These two utterances serve different purposes/have different meanings (*ikhtalafat jihatā al-kalām*).

Commenting on this exchange, Ibn Jinnī says:⁴³

Is not this the same as our [the grammarians] saying that the object (in *ḍarabtu akhāka*: acc.) has become the subject (in *ḍarabani akhūka*: nom.)? Although al-Shajarī does not use these terms [object, subject] at all, there is no doubt whatsoever that this is [exactly] what he meant.

Ibn Jinnī gives another example in support of his view about the ability of linguistically/grammatically untutored Arabs to explain how their language works in terms similar to those of the grammarians:⁴⁴

I asked an eloquent (*faṣīḥ*) young man from the Āl al-Muhayyā tribe about a word in something he said which I cannot remember, 'Is it this or that, I asked?' He replied, 'It is such and such in the accusative (*naṣb*) because it is lighter'.

The above examples are intended to argue a number of points. First, the Arabs have an intuitive knowledge of their language, very much along the lines proposed by al-Khalīl. Second, some Arabs can explain features of their language in ways that are similar to the explanations of the grammarians. In spite of the fact that Ibn Jinnī tried to trip al-Shajarī by making him renege on his initial intuitive judgement, the latter insisted on his first hunch, coupling it with a kind of proto-grammatical explanation. Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli capture this point well when they say that in "Ibn Jinnī's opinion speakers are grammarians without knowing it,

⁴² Ibn Jinnī, *al-Khaṣā'is* 1, 250.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 1, 79.

and capable, thanks to their inherent wisdom, of making the very generalizations which the professionals of grammar try to formulate.⁴⁵ Third, this similarity suggests that the rules of the grammarians can be said to capture the essential reality of the Arabic language. Under this interpretation, grammar-making is not a matter of instrumental construction, an example of what Householder dubbed ‘hocus-pocus’ linguistics,⁴⁶ but an activity that aims to discover the truth about Arabic. This interpretation further seeks to relate this truth to the character of the Arabs, to their uncorrupted intuition (*salīqa*) born out of their mental agility (*rashāqa*) and the simplicity of their life (*basāta*). It is at this level of connecting language to people that the ‘wisdom of the Arabs’ principle applies in the standardization enterprise.

In making this connection, the starting point for Ibn Jinnī is the regularity of the Arabic language, which makes it amenable to systematic treatment.⁴⁷ Ibn Jinnī is aware that regularity is a feature of other languages, but he believes that no other language matches Arabic in its regularity. To support this, Ibn Jinnī cites the views of his teacher Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī (d. 368/978), a noted Arabic grammarian of Persian origin, who knew Persian very well and was well-versed in its grammar. According to this grammarian, Arabic has no equal in its regularity and elegance. Ibn Jinnī, himself of Greek stock, returns to this topic in his discussion of whether Arabic is of divine origin (*waḥy* or *tawqīf*) or is a matter of convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*), relating the issue of regularity in this discussion directly to the character of the Arabs. Regardless of whether it is a matter of convention or divine origin, Ibn Jinnī tells us that the regularity of Arabic is sacrosanct. If we assume a divine origin for the language, then the Arabs must have been guided to Arabic because of their innate qualities of fine perception and clarity of intellect. If we assume a conventional origin, then the regularity of the language must be related to the psychological make-up of the Arabs, its creators, who are characterized by simplicity (*basāta*), elegance (*rashāqa*) and uncorrupted innate disposition (*salīqa*) that underpins

⁴⁵ Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli (1990: 29).

⁴⁶ Householder (1952).

⁴⁷ This regularity is correlated with other ‘attributes’ of the language some of which al-Zubaydī (Abū Bakr Muḥammad, (d. 379/989) sums up as follows (in Chejne (1969: 15)): “Praise be to God Who made the Arabic language the most palatable of all languages to utter, the most accurate in its formation, the clearest in the expression of meaning, and the richest in the various branches of knowledge. He made *i’rāb* an ornament of the tongue and a line of demarcation concerning the difference in meaning.” This kind of laudatory view of one’s language is widely held in different cultures.

their pristine qualities.⁴⁸ Viewed from this perspective, grammar-making is not just about describing and codifying the language; it further aims to establish an extra-linguistic connection between the language and its speakers by revealing their wisdom as a people. These twin objectives of grammar-making in Arabic, the linguistic and the extra-linguistic, are consistent with standardization theory.⁴⁹

The connection between grammar-making and the wisdom of the Arabs may be pursued further by considering some of the methodological rules in the Arabic linguistic tradition. Methodological rules are argumentative-theoretical causes/rationales that aim to explain some of the descriptive facts of the language, the pedagogic causes and the analogical reasons (*‘ilal qiyāsiyya*) which are adduced in their support. Arabic grammar contains a set of these principles, called *qawā'id al-tawjih* by Tammām Ḥassān,⁵⁰ which most probably are modelled on similar rules in jurisprudence. I will briefly discuss two of these principles here to show how the link between grammar-making and the 'wisdom of the Arabs' principle is enacted at the methodological level in the Arabic linguistic tradition.

The first methodological principle, what I have called equilibrium (*mu'ādala*) elsewhere, deals with the balancing of the 'different pressures and forces' within the language to explain its 'effectiveness and stability' as a medium of communication.⁵¹ The most paradigmatic application of this principle pertains to the balancing of lightness (*khiffa*) and heaviness (*thiqal*)⁵² in maintaining the efficiency of the language and the economy of effort this efficiency creates for its speakers.⁵³ An example of this phenomenon is the explanation for the occurrence of the nominative case

⁴⁸ See Suleiman (2003: 75–6).

⁴⁹ This link between language, people and knowledge production, including grammar-making, is explicitly made by al-Tha'ālībī (d. 430/1038–9) in his book *Fiqh al-luġha* (in Chejne 1969: 14): "When the Almighty ennobled and exalted the Arabic language, elevated its rank and showed greater regard to it than any other language, He decreed for its safe guarding and treasuring a select people, the leaders of virtue, and the luminaries of the earth, who gave up lust and roamed the desert land in its service [a reference to the forays by linguists into the desert to collect uncontaminated data from the uncorrupted and pristine Bedouin tribes of Central Arabic]; who befriended the notebook, the bookcase and the inkstand for its acquisition; and who exerted themselves systematizing its rules, and dedicated their life to immortalizing its books."

⁵⁰ Ḥassān (1982).

⁵¹ Suleiman (1991: 356).

⁵² See Sadan (2008) for the meanings of lightness and heaviness in the Arabic linguistic tradition.

⁵³ Economy of effort is similar to what Martinet (1964: 189) called the principle of least effort, understood as man's "tendency to reduce to a minimum his mental and physical activity [by giving of] himself only so much as is necessary to attain the end in view."

with the subject (*fā'il*) and the accusative case with the object (*maf'ūl bihi*). The principle of equilibrium decrees that because the nominative is heavier than the accusative (presumably in phonetic terms), and because of the paucity (*qilla*) of the subject and the abundance (*kathra*) of the object,⁵⁴ the nominative is assigned to the subject and the accusative to the object. This distribution of the case endings in the language is said to be motivated by the need to keep the language balanced and effective as a medium of communication to ensure that the speaker achieves maximum communication using the least effort. Ibn Al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) explains this application of the principle of equilibrium as follows:⁵⁵

[Since] the subject [category] is less numerous than the object [category], and since the nominative is heavier than the accusative and the accusative lighter than the nominative, the less numerous occurs with what is heavy and the more numerous occurs with what is light, so that the heaviness of the nominative is balanced by the paucity of the subject and the lightness of the accusative compensates for the abundance of the object.

The second methodological principle is priority. This principle involves the correlation of entities with parallel status in the language by reference to a given property. The preceding example in case assignment can be explained further by reference to the property of strength/weakness in the language. According to this principle the subject and the nominative are paired because each member of this pair is stronger than its counterpart in the pair object-accusative. The nominative is said to be stronger than the accusative because the former is characterized by heaviness and the latter by lightness. It is most likely that the heaviness and lightness invoked here are a matter of phonetic production. The subject is said to be stronger than the object in a structural sense in that the former precedes the latter in the linear arrangement of the sentence, the idea being that what comes first is stronger than what comes later in an utterance. These are two different types of strength/weakness in terms of empirical content, so they can only be paired as correlated items at the abstract level by means of analogical reasoning. Ibn al-Anbārī expresses this principle by saying that a "strong element is correlated with a strong element and a weak element is correlated with a weak element."⁵⁶ This correlation

⁵⁴ The paucity and abundance here are not a matter of tokens/fillers of syntactic position but these positions themselves. In Arabic grammar, a sentence may have one subject position and up to three object positions.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār*, 78.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

is a matter of neatness and priority in the language whose aim is to preserve its systematicity.

It is not easy to establish the empirical content of 'equilibrium' and 'priority' in the Arabic linguistic tradition in spite of the fact that these methodological principles are embedded in a realist epistemology. As a result it would be hard to test these methodological principles to establish their empirical truth or falsity. But this is not an overriding concern in the Arabic linguistic tradition, although the absence of empirical validation challenges its realist claims. The overriding concern in this tradition at this level of analysis is to offer an explanation that brings out the regularity of the language and its rational character, what al-Khalil has referred to as the "miracle of harmony and arrangement" in Arabic. In epistemological terms, the methodological principles under discussion may be no more than speculation, but it is their extra-linguistic aim that counts in cultural/ideological terms. By establishing the regularity, harmony and systematicity of Arabic these principles lay the ground for making the claim that these properties of the language reflect similar qualities in the Arabs who created it, a claim we have witnessed in different forms in the above discussion. Grammar-making as a standardization measure in the Arabic linguistic tradition is charged with establishing the link between language and people to reveal what this tradition calls the "wisdom of the Arabs" principle. It is this that matters in assessing the 'validity' of the methodological principles. What is at stake here is the cultural validation provided by the methodological rules rather than their empirical validity. It is this that endows standardization in the Arabic linguistic tradition with its ideological content.

There is no doubt that this take on grammar-making was coloured by the dynamic of the inter-ethnic strife in the first centuries of Islam (and beyond) between the Arabs and non-Arabs in the Muslim empire,⁵⁷ especially the Persians to whom the term *'ajam* was restricted as an appellation from its original use, which initially included other non-Arabs. The *shu'ūbiyya*,⁵⁸ as this strife came to be known, sought to deny any privileged position to the Arabs in the state. At its height, the *shu'ūbiyya* included as targets in its attacks Arab rhetoric, oratory, weaponry, military skills, genealogy and the Arabic language. This list makes clear that the

⁵⁷ See Agha and Khalidi (2002–03) for an insightful study of the transition from tribal to an Arab supra-tribal ethnic identity in the Umayyad period (41–132/661–750). Agha and Khalidi use poetry to trace this development.

⁵⁸ See Enderwitz (1996: 513–6), Mottahedeh (1976) and Maṭlūb (1989).

Arabic language and its allied practices in rhetoric and oratory occupied a central place in the *shu'ūbiyya* attacks. This has led some modern scholars to characterize *shu'ūbiyya* as a form of linguistic strife (*ṣirā' lughawī*) without, however, denying the socio-political character of the larger movement.⁵⁹ As I have shown elsewhere,⁶⁰ it is at this time (3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries) that Arabic developed its maximal meaning as an identity-linked marker that sets the Arabs apart from non-Arabs. This is clear from the burgeoning references to Arabic in this period as the language of *ḍād* (*lughat al-ḍād*), a name given to it (a) because of the belief that it was virtually the only language that has this sound/phoneme,⁶¹ and (b) because this sound created pronunciation difficulties to non-Arabs, thus acting as a shibboleth or border-guard between the Arabs and non-Arabs. In my view, it is during this period of inter-ethnic strife that grammar-making, as an on-going practice in a never-ending standardization enterprise, developed a heightened ideological edge that attempted to discover the wisdom of the Arabs in their language or, alternatively, sought to ascribe the excellence of the language to the character of its people under the “wisdom of the Arabs” principle. It is also during this period that linguistic works were written specifically to counter the *shu'ūbiyya* attacks against Arabic,⁶² the Arabs’ infatuation with their language and Arabic grammar. Examples of these works are Ibn Durayd’s (d. 321/933) *al-Ishtiqāq*, Ibn al-Anbārī’s (d. 327/938) *Kitāb al-aḍḍād*, Ibn Fāris’ (d. 395/1004) *al-Ṣaḥībī fī fiqh al-lughā*, and al-Zamakhsharī’s (d. 538/1143) *al-Mufaṣṣal fī-l-naḥw*. That the last of these works was written well after the active embers of *shu'ūbiyya* had abated testifies to its enduring impact on Arabic linguistic thinking. This impact has survived to this day, regaining some of its pre-modern intensity in times of conflict and war as I have shown elsewhere.⁶³

The principle of the wisdom of the Arabs has survived into the modern period. One of its foremost proponents is the Arab nationalist thinker Zakī al-Arsūzī who adopted the following slogan to characterize his nationalist thinking: “the genius of the Arab nation inheres in its language” (*‘abqariyyat al-umma al-‘arabiyya fī lughatihā*). The starting point for al-Arsūzī is the view that Arabic is both a primary/pristine (*bidā’ī*) and

⁵⁹ See Anīs (1970: 192) and Goldziher (1966, vol. 1: 192).

⁶⁰ See Suleiman (2003: 60–61).

⁶¹ In his book *Sirr Ṣinā’at al-i’rāb* 1, 214–15, Ibn Jinnī writes: “Let it be known that the sound/phoneme /ḍ/ belongs to the Arabs alone; it is rarely [if ever] found in the speech of the ‘*ajam*.”

⁶² See Suleiman (2001).

⁶³ See idem (2003).

original (*badī*) language in which the pristine impulses and intuitions of the Arabs, their genius (*‘abqariyya*), are embedded. The language is also treated as a storehouse of a specifically Arab worldview. To regain their pre-eminence in world history all the Arabs have to do in the modern period is to mine their language, to extract that world-view and to harvest the pristine impulses that are deposited therein but which the Arabs have lost sight of with the passage of time.⁶⁴

As a form of linguistic archaeology, al-Arsūzī’s approach to this act of linguistic self-discovery utilizes sound symbolism and the rich morphology of the language to press his claims. Sound symbolism is used to claim that the connection between the signifier and the signified in the language was natural or non-arbitrary, at some point in the past when the Arabs were still close to their pristine and uncorrupted instincts, but that this naturalness became less and less transparent as the Arabs moved away from that original point of departure. This is not a new argument, but one that Ibn Jinnī put forward ten centuries before al-Arsūzī as I shall suggest below. Word morphology is used to make the claim that Arabic creates networks of meanings that can help us recover the original impulses of the Arabs and, in the process, reveal aspects of their worldview. This again was foreshadowed by Ibn Jinnī as I will suggest below.

To show how these two properties of the language, sound symbolism and word morphology, can reveal the genius of the Arabs I will give the following example from al-Arsūzī, the point at stake here being the

⁶⁴ This view is more or less shared by Constantine Zureik, one of the more sober champions of pan-Arab nationalism (1949: 137): “Along with the idea of the Arab Nation, a great concerted effort must be undertaken in order to revive Arabic in the mind and heart of the Arabs. I do not mean by revival of Arabic that sort of effort aiming at the glorification and superiority of the language over other languages, and the denial [of the virtues] of those languages as some nationalists proclaim... What I mean by the revival of Arabic is that kind of effort whereby old and spiritual meanings and connotations should be made alive to the people and their way of thinking. Weakness has crept up in most of the living Arabic expressions, the meanings of which have become obscure. [Consequently] the mind has become vexed as to their true meanings and images to the extent that their actual connotations have lost that magical power in the soul and heart of the people.” This view was articulated by al-Jundi in the 1920s, thus confirming the hold it had in thinking about language, identity and nation: “[Arabic] is the soul of the Arabs... It is [their] homeland, nationalism, life and *esprit de corps*... From [this] relationship between language and community, it appears to us quite evident that the regeneration of the community lies in the regeneration of the language in the same way that the soundness of the language is indicative of the soundness of the condition of the community that speaks it. It is so, because the language is the spirit of the vitality of the community and the sustenance of its nationalism. Can a body live without a soul, or can a soul hold on without a body?” Chejne (1969: 20).

ability of Arabic to provide a coherent definition of the nation from within its linguistic resources.⁶⁵ To do this al-Arsūzī focuses on the connection between the following set of words, *umm* (mother), *rahīm* (womb) and *akh* (brother):

The word for nation in Arabic is *umma*, which signifies the ideas of motherhood and goal-orientation—by virtue of its root: *umm* (mother) and *amm* (to lead the way)—at one and the same time, as if to capture the views of common historical ancestry [through *umm*] and shared aspiration [through *amm*]. . . . And, since the relationship between brothers, sisters and other members of the extended Arab family is designated by the term ‘*alāqat rahīm*, literally ‘womb relationship’, and additional meaning is added to the signification of *umma* [through *umm*] and the root *r-ḥ-m* (to be compassionate, the Compassionate as an attribute of God), to reveal at one and the same time the ideas of compassion and godliness which [this] root signifies. In a similar vein, the word which signifies the meaning of solidarity between members of the same nation is *ukhuwwa*, the meaning of whose stem *akh* (brother) captures this relation by virtue of its phonetic similarity to the interjection of pain (*ākh*).⁶⁶ On the basis of [the above network of meanings, extracted using sound symbolism and word morphology], the nation [in its original meaning in the Arab world view signifies] a familial, goal-oriented community among whose members relations of compassion and solidarity obtain by virtue of divine intervention and action.

For al-Arsūzī, a nationalist conscious lexicology is a pressing need for the Arabs in the modern period. But, as I have said above, this nationalist lexicology harks back to an earlier time when one of the serious issues in grammar-making was rebutting the claims made by the proponents of the *shu‘ūbiyya* against the Arabs, their culture and their language. This past era was a time of conflict just as the moment of writing for al-Arsūzī was. Al-Arsūzī’s ideas germinated at a time of conflict involving Turkey and France as a colonial power in his native Alexandretta region in Syria, culminating in the loss of this region (now called Hatay) to Turkey in 1939. In this highly charged context, al-Arsūzī’s call for a nationalist lexicology was no doubt intended to counter the Turkish claim that Turkish was the mother of all languages, through the ‘sun language’ theory.⁶⁷ Referring to the Turks as ‘*ajam*,⁶⁸ al-Arsūzī ridicules their claim by offering example

⁶⁵ Suleiman (2003: 154–55).

⁶⁶ The connection between *akh* and *ākh* is part of popular etymology. I remember my mother making this connection whenever she wanted to impress on us as brothers and sisters the need for sibling solidarity.

⁶⁷ For the sun language theory see Aytürk (2004: 16–17) and Lewis (1999: 57–74).

⁶⁸ Al-Arsūzī’s negative attitude toward Turks and Turkish is heightened by political conflict, but at a more fundamental level it reflects a stereotyping of the Turks of some historical depth in Arab culture. See Haarmann (1988).

after example from the Arabic lexicon to show that Arabic has a stronger claim in this regard.

Let us now turn to Ibn Jinnī to show the link between his views and those promulgated later by al-Arsūzī in the nationalist context of his day. Starting with sound symbolism, Ibn Jinnī gives a number of examples to show the natural/non-arbitrary link between signifier and signified in Arabic—what I have been referring to as sound symbolism or, following Ryding, phonosymbolism.⁶⁹ I will reproduce two of these examples here. In the verb *jarra* (to pull), /j/ occurs as the first sound because, as a tense consonant, it iconically signals that the first stage in pulling an object is the hardest since it requires the greatest expenditure of energy. The trill /r/ is repeated (through gemination) to (a) signify the continuity of the act of pulling and (b) create the sound of pulling an object on the ground as it bounces up and down.⁷⁰ The second example involves the pair of words *khaḍīma* (to munch, as in soft textured foods) and *qaḍīma* (to gnaw hard-textured foods). Ibn Jinnī says that the phonetically lax sound /kh/ occurs with the former because of the soft-texture of the items it signifies; by the same token, the phonetically tense /q/ occurs with the latter because of the hard-texture of the items it signifies. With respect to word morphology, Ibn Jinnī says that many word patterns are suited to the meanings they convey, for example the pattern *fa'alān* which iconically signifies the ideas of disturbance (*iḍṭirāb*) and movement (*ḥaraka*), as in *naqazān* (leaping in the air out of fright) and *ghalayān* (boiling water).

The similarity between Ibn Jinnī's ideas in the tenth century and those of al-Arsūzī in the twentieth century points to the continuity of the principle of the wisdom/genius of the Arabs in thinking about language in lexicology and grammar-making. Although both of these views are not offered from an explicitly standardizing perspective in Ibn Jinnī, they do point to the importance of this principle in framing the standardization of the language as an enterprise with a cultural mission. More specifically, these views reveal that standardization is a historically situated activity that is driven by an extra-linguistic objective: revealing the wisdom of the Arabs as it inheres in their language.

⁶⁹ Ryding (1997). For a general survey of sound symbolism in Arabic, see Zahrān (1999).

⁷⁰ See Ibn Jinnī, *Khaṣā'is* 2, 164.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to consider the extra-linguistic motives behind grammar-making in the early Islamic period rather than its immediate aim of codifying the language. Grammar-making is not a purely linguistic exercise, but a process that is embedded in its own cultural milieu; it is further informed by ideological considerations that derive their meaning from the socio-political context against which they are framed. In analyzing this extra-linguistic dimension of grammar-making, I have highlighted the role of purity, correctness and the wisdom of the Arabs principle as the most important factors in the standardization enterprise. In line with the definition of ideology adopted above, these factors constitute an amalgam of ideas which, at the extra-linguistic level, dominate the standardization of Arabic. As a strand in the cultural aesthetic of standardization, purity stands for a host of positive values in society, including “wholeness, unitarianess, homogeneity, originalness, inviolateness, true or original essence, simplicity and correctness.”⁷¹ Purity is also related to feelings of group identity, solidarity and superiority which treat the intrusion of foreign elements into the language as a case of ‘bastardization’ or ‘hybridization’ the group must guard against.⁷² These elements in the aesthetic of standardization explain the attitude of the Arab grammarians towards the dialects of those Arab tribes that came into contact with non-Arabs: they disqualified them as informants in grammar-making, preferring instead the dialects of those Arab tribes that lived in isolation from non-Arabs. As Thomas observes ‘purism is directed not so much at the alien culture itself as against the use of elements of that culture by persons who belong to one’s own group.’⁷³ The same aesthetic explains the denial by some Arab grammarians of the existence of any foreign elements in the Qur’ān in spite of the fact that the origin of these elements was recognized by early exegetes.

⁷¹ Thomas (1991: 31).

⁷² Thomas’ (1991: 42) observation that the “spontaneous dislike of foreign words does not necessarily translate into avoidance of them” applies in this context. Lexical xenophobia goes hand in hand with lexical accommodation vis-à-vis foreign influences. One would characterize this as a case of linguistic hypocrisy were it not that this contradiction between attitude and practice is of an ideological nature. In addition to these two areas, the Arabic linguistic tradition includes in its scope *khaṭāba* (‘Greek’ rhetoric), *balāgha* (Arabo-Islamic rhetoric) and *‘arūd* (metrics or prosody); see Suleiman (1999b: 31).

⁷³ Thomas (1991: 47).

In the Arab linguistic tradition, this concern with purity has a genealogical dimension the aim of which is to protect the bloodline of the language, keeping it as a thoroughbred among languages. The place of genealogy in grammar-making is in fact reflected in the inclusion by some grammarians of *akhbār al-‘arab* (history of the Arabs) and, more significantly for our purposes here, *ansāb al-‘arab* (genealogy of the Arabs) within the scope of the Arabic linguistic tradition. The connection between language, standardization and genealogy is therefore not just a matter of symbolic meaning or rhetorical signification but one that involves the empirical concerns of the Arabic grammatical tradition as a discipline. An example of this genre is Ibn Durayd’s book *al-Ishtiqāq* which sets out to show that “Arabic proper names are embedded in an etymology which defines what may be called linguistic genealogies by means of derivational networks . . . whose roots lie in the stock of the language.”⁷⁴

The emphasis on the importance of correctness in grammar-making reflects an ethical/moral strand in the aesthetics of Arabic standardization. This paper provides examples of how incorrectness in speech is viewed as a deviation from the right path in religious terms. This view of incorrectness in speech was offered by no other than the Prophet Muḥammad. Incorrectness in language behaviour was likened to the smell of rotten flesh: they are both repulsive and a sign of decay. Among members of the elite incorrectness was the subject of ridicule or censure. Incorrectness was also viewed, at least at the elite level in society, as a moral defect that disfigures a person’s personality. That the evaluation of utterances in terms of grammaticality and acceptability in Sībawayhi is cast in ethical terminology suggests that this aesthetic strand in grammar-making is more than a flavour: it touches the very substance of this activity. Language is not just a system of items and their structural arrangements at some set of abstract levels; it is also the basis of behaviour which, in the Arabic cultural ethos, is amenable to evaluation on ethical and moral grounds. In this context, correctness and purity are linked. The sustained infringement of correctness can induce internally generated impurities that can lead to disintegration and fracture in the language. For the purist, the normalization of these impurities in language behaviour will eat away at the attempt of standardization to “conserve what is best of the past,”⁷⁵ its pristine character and uncorrupted innate disposition that preserve for the language its cultural integrity.

⁷⁴ Suleiman (2003: 60).

⁷⁵ Thomas (1991: 39).

The moral loadings of standardization, linked as they are to purification in the Arabic linguistic tradition—be it aimed at dialecticisms or foreignisms in the language—invoke the notion of moral deficit. As a form of moral stain that must be eliminated, dialecticisms and foreignisms are the linguistic equivalent to the impurity of bloodlines which the Arabs of Central Arabia considered as a defect in genealogy (*ansāb*). This link between purity and standardization points to the ideological and political loadings of language in the Arabic linguistic tradition. Furthermore, as Shapiro points out “language purism is a move in the direction of narrowing legitimate forms of meaning and thereby declaring out-of-bounds certain dimensions of otherness,”⁷⁶ the point here being that the Other is “located most fundamentally in language, the medium for representing self and other.” It must, however, be pointed out here that this concern with purity in language is not the preserve of the Arabs in the past or now. Other cultures have engaged in purist activities which are of a more radical and pervasive nature. Turkey and Korea are two radical examples of this. It is interesting to point out in passing that most of these purist activities concerned the lexicon, as Samuel Johnson and Noah Webster had recognised,⁷⁷ and that as attempts at opening and closing of sources purist activities tend to be selective in their choice of the items to be purged. In Turkey⁷⁸ and in Iran⁷⁹ purists rejected Arabic borrowings while at the same time accepting French and other lexical importations.

The wisdom of the Arabs principle stands at the heart of this ideological amalgam. Whereas purity and correctness are extraneous to grammar-making, the ‘wisdom of the Arabs’ principle is woven into its inner fabric. This principle is an integral part of linguistic causation/rationalisation, *taʿlil*, in its capacity as the explanatory branch of Arabic grammatical theory. Grammar-making does not just aim at establishing the rules of Arabic, utilizing a realist epistemology, but, using al-Khalīl’s formulation, it further aims to discover the ‘miracle of harmony and arrangement’ in the language. A two-way dialectic applies here. The discovery of what constitutes this ‘miracle of harmony and arrangement’ in grammar-making is said to provide evidence of the superior character of the Arabs. But it is this presumed character of the Arabs that is said to endow the language with this ‘miracle of harmony and arrangement’. Al-Arsūzī sums this

⁷⁶ Shapiro (1989: 28).

⁷⁷ See Edwards (2009: 220–23).

⁷⁸ Lewis (1999).

⁷⁹ Karimi-Hakkak (1989).

dialectic well when he says that the “genius of the Arabs inheres in their language.” It is as if the language carries in it a DNA map of aspects of the Arab character. At the extra-linguistic level grammar-making as an aspect of standardization is one sure way for discovering this map. This is a circular argument, but ideology is not beholden to the same standards of validation as the empirical sciences. This is what gives ideology elasticity and resilience, two factors that explain its ‘immunity’ from logical prosecution. But it is also this that makes it useful as a tool for “promoting [and] perpetuating . . . a social and cultural order.”⁸⁰ Standardization, as an ideology, performs this task.

But ideologies are contextually determined. Reflecting on this in discussing grammar-making in Arabic I have linked standardization to the inter-ethnic strife of *shu'ūbiyya* during the first centuries of Islam. This linkage reveals the political nature of grammar-making. As an aspect of standardization, grammar-making acquires symbolic meanings arising out of a web of politically anchored phenomena that include group identity and solidarity, ethnic superiority and the imperative of defending the group and its culture against external and internal threats. The prescriptivism of standardization and its orientation towards the past are an inevitable consequence of framing grammar-making against this web of phenomena.

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⁸⁰ Friedrich (1989: 301).

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THE ANDALUSIAN GRAMMARIANS, ARE THEY DIFFERENT?

Michael G. Carter

Although it is taken for granted that grammarians from Baṣra and Kūfa belonged to scientifically distinct grammatical “schools,”¹ the same does not apply to grammarians classified by other locations in the biographical dictionaries, such as Egypt,² Qayrawān and al-Andalus. This paper argues that there were differences in grammatical thought among these regional groups of grammarians, at least among the Andalusians. The ground has already been covered well by Mutlak,³ and this paper simply adds some details.⁴

Following the practice of those less familiar with this part of the Arab world than Ibn Khaldūn, we shall take al-Andalus as standing for the whole *maghrib* (henceforth Maghrib), as the “West,” a single geographical unit embracing both the African and the Spanish domains between which scholars moved freely. However, a chronological division will be made between al-Andalus under the Umayyads (139–423/756–1031) and al-Andalus under the subsequent régimes up to the Reconquista of 1492. The two periods are highly asymmetric, but the qualitative difference between them is equally extreme.

Umayyad al-Andalus displays an aggressive intellectual emulation of the Arab East which has something in common with the cultural rivalries between America and Britain in recent centuries, with the same kind of head-hunting and the wholesale acquisition of cultural treasures and libraries from the old world to replicate the cultural environment in the new world. The figure of al-Qālī (d. Cordova 356/967) immediately springs

¹ The “Baghdad” school is largely a fiction based on the assumption that the grammarians there mixed the two schools of Baṣra and Kūfa; a Medinan school has been proposed but the evidence is inconclusive.

² Omar (1990), gives little detail on the theories of the Egyptian grammarians, though he does observe, p. 248, that they were innovative in applying the “descriptive method” (Ibn Wallād and al-Nahḥās in particular) and in providing material later used by Ibn Jinnī. He sees Ibn Wallād as “among the pioneers, if not the pioneer, of the science called: *Uṣūl an-naḥw*.”

³ Mutlak (1967).

⁴ Two recent general works on al-Andalus, Jayyusi (1992) and Menocal (2000), are specimens of almost perfect lipography, with scarcely a mention of Arabic grammar or grammarians.

to mind as the famous Easterner recruited by the West to become an ornament of the caliphal court, where he continued to be known as al-Baghdādī “the man from Baghdad” to the day of his death. Less famous, but no less interesting, is Ṣāʿid b. al-Ḥasan al-Rabʿī (d. ca. 410/1026), a drunkard and a gambler who left Baghdad and headed West because “because he heard that language [*lugha*] was in demand there.”⁵

From the time of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif and during the Almoravid and Almohade dynasties the mood changes from envy and admiration of the East to an undisguised contempt for it, and scholars tend to look more inwards than before, exhibiting an intellectual self-sufficiency which no longer relied on or even referred to the East for its inspiration, still less for its authority.⁶ Scholars continued to travel East in search of knowledge, but were always conscious of their Western origins and would mostly return to the Maghrib to teach. Those who stayed on were diligent ambassadors for their home country.

The ideological and spiritual difference between “Easterners” (*mashāriqa*, *ahl al-mashriq*) and “Westerners” (*maghāriba*, *ahl al-maghrib*) is already implied by the distinctive geographical names for the two competing branches of the Islamic Empire. One characteristic of the West which attracted attention already in the first chronological phase is the excessive use of rote-learning (*talqīn*), recognised as a problem by al-Rabāḥī (d. Cordova 358/968), who studied in Cairo and went back to al-Andalus with the specific goal of improving the standards of teaching, since in his view there was too much reliance on memorisation there.⁷

Al-Rabāḥī failed to change the learning patterns in al-Andalus. In the second chronological phase memorisation became the most prominent feature of education in the Maghrib. Ibn Khaldūn (b. Tunis, d. Cairo 808/1406), who spoke from first hand experience of both worlds, gives a critical description of educational methods in the Mashriq and the Maghrib, and singles out the tendency in the West to give too much emphasis to memorisation at the expense of understanding. In his rather gloomy survey Ibn Khaldūn observes that students in the Maghrib seem to

⁵ Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 85: *balaghahu anna l-lugha bi-l-andalus maṭlūba wa-l-ādāb hunāk marghūb fihā min mulūkihā wa-raʿiyyatihā*, see also Martínez-Gros (1995). Here *lugha* is to be taken in the broad sense, not as “lexicography.” At one time it was a common misconception in Britain that Australian universities were staffed by characters like Ṣāʿid.

⁶ The feeling was mutual: an important Andalusian figure such as Ibn Ṭalḥa was well-known in the West and completely ignored in the East, see Humbert (1995: 97).

⁷ Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 336–7. Humbert (1995: 137) mentions the Andalusians’ awareness that memorised information (*riwāya*) was inferior to intellectually acquired knowledge (*dirāya*).

“think that scientific habit is identical with memorized knowledge,”⁸ and he contrasts the lively and investigative scholarship of the East with the low quality of science in his own region, with the exception, not surprisingly, of Tunis.⁹ His diagnosis is confirmed by the report that a certain Ibn al-Aslamī (active in Toledo, d. mid-5th/11th century) completed a reading of the *Kitāb* of Sibawayhi (some 920 printed pages in the Būlāq edition) every 15 days, which would leave little time for analysis in depth.¹⁰

As if to defend themselves against the stigma of rote-learning, Andalusian scholars would take the trouble to state that they went further than merely learning a work by heart (*alā ḡahr qalb*), and actually studied it with some thought (*tafaqquh*), understanding (*tafahhum*) or conceptualisation (*taṣawwur*), with investigation (*mubāḡhatha*) or speculation (*naḡar*) about the contents, as well as making their own commentary (*tafsīr*, *ta’līq*). The terms cited here are taken at random from the *Barnāmaj* of al-Mujārī (d. [Granada ?] 862/1458, a pupil of Ibn Khaldūn), which is a record of every book he read and the teacher with whom he read it, rather like a CV.¹¹ The compilation of such lists (sometimes entitled *Fahrassa*, see under this heading in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*) is known as a predominantly “Western” practice, though it did spread eastwards.

In law and theology, too, there are geographical differences. The legal schools (*madhāhib*) tend to be associated with particular regions or populations, which needs no elaboration here. The Readings (*qirā’āt*) of the Qur’ān likewise reflect local preferences: in the Maghrib, for example, the Reading of Warsh is dominant.¹² Curiously al-Andalus is the only significant Islamic domain in which the Madrasa system did not flourish.¹³

⁸ Rosenthal (1966: 2, 430 (his transliteration and American spelling are retained when quoting him directly). See also 3, 300–305 for Ibn Khaldūn’s review of Qur’ānic and general education region by region, and 3, 392–398, for a chapter on the role of memorisation in education.

⁹ Ibid. 427–32, note especially 43: “In fact, many Maghribis who have who have traveled to the East in quest of knowledge have been of the opinion that [Būlāq adds: it was their original nature which made the people of the East more awake and clever, and] the intellect of the people of the East is, in general, more perfect than that of the Maghribis.”

¹⁰ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 59, citing al-Ṣafadī. Other sources give 25 days, but even this is a short time in which to recite the text aloud for students to learn it, which was presumably the purpose of the exercise.

¹¹ There is a curious parallel in the Oxford historian A. J. P. Taylor, who recorded every book he had read (presumably with *tafaqquh* and *tafahhum*) from 1921 to 1985. All his lists are preserved except for 1926.

¹² Here the figure of al-Adfuwī (d. 388/988) is of central importance in the transmission of Qirā’āt to the West, as he had many Andalusian pupils in Cairo.

¹³ Although there were Madrasas, “it is reasonably safe to say there that were not many of them in Spain,” in fact they were “all but non-existent,” Makdisi (1973: 155, 157). Their educational function was performed by the mosques instead.

A connection can be demonstrated between legal schools and grammar at a general level. In those countries which had them, the Madrasas were always linked to a particular legal *madhhab*, so it is only to be expected that the Baghdad grammarian Abū Bakr al-Dahhān (born in Wāsiṭ, d. 612/1315–16), who started off as a Ḥanbalī, then switched to the Ḥanafīyya, was obliged to become a Shāfiʿī before he was allowed to teach grammar at the Niẓāmiyya Madrasa. This gives rise to a satirical comment in verse from al-Tikrītī suggesting that next he will become a Mālikī!¹⁴

However, there are signs of interaction between law and grammar on the systematic level. The legal concept of *istiḥsān*, which was borrowed into grammar, was treated with suspicion by Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181), in conformity with his Shāfiʿī position on *istiḥsān* in law, while the Ḍāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) rejected it completely; the Ḥanafīs probably accepted it, though this is not clear.¹⁵

The biographical literature often indicates the legal affiliations of grammarians. Even in the early period the Ḍāhirī inclinations of Abū l-Ḥakam Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (d. Cordova 355/966, also known as a poet and theologian), were considered worth noting, though he is classed as a *naḥwī* and *lughawī*, and studied in Cairo with Ibn Wallād and al-Naḥḥās.¹⁶ Later it was said of Ibn Qāḍī l-Jamāʿa (d. Seville 592/1196), that “he had his own ideas about Arabic, deviating from the accepted ideas of the specialists, and was a Ḍāhirī in grammar.”¹⁷ Even Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. Cairo 745/1344) had Ḍāhirī tendencies ascribed to him, though he eventually renounced them and became a Shāfiʿī.¹⁸ Mutlak gives a very good picture of the Ḍāhirī views on language found in the works of Ibn Ḥazm and al-Baṭalyawsī, and of the most famous Ḍāhirī grammarian of all, Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī (d. Seville 592/1196), well-known to us for his wholesale denial of linguistic causality.

An explicit link between legal and grammatical reasoning is found in Ibn Muʿṭī (d. Cairo 628/1231), who started as a Mālikī in the Maghrib, became a Shāfiʿī in Damascus and then a Ḥanafī in Cairo, according to the biographies. His analysis of *kadhā wa-kadhā dirhaman* “so and so many dirhams,” namely that *dirham* inflects according to the number implied by

¹⁴ Al-Firūzābādī, *Bulgha*, 181.

¹⁵ Carter (2003).

¹⁶ Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 319f.

¹⁷ Al-Firūzābādī, *Bulgha*, 56 *lahu āraʾ fi l-ʿarabiyya wa-shudhūdh ʿan maʾlūf ahlithā, Ḍāhirī fi l-naḥw*. His doctrinal position is clear in the title of his *Tanzīh al-Qurʾān ʿammā lā yaliq bihi min al-bayān*.

¹⁸ See Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, intro. 18 etc., and *Manhaj*, intro. xix, xx.

kadhā (so *darāhima* if the speaker intends between 3 and 10 dirhams, etc.) drew the criticism of Ibn Iyyāz that this was “Ḥanafī reasoning,” *kalām al-muṣannif jārīn ‘alā madhhab al-imām al-a‘zam Abi Ḥanīfa*.” The remark is not proof that Ibn Mu‘ṭī was deliberately applying Ḥanafī legal methods here, but is more likely a rebuke from a colleague who regarded this type of exaggerated grammatical logic as going beyond common sense.¹⁹

Of course the biographies seldom give details about grammatical or technical views, but in the case of the Andalusian al-Suhaylī (d. Marrakesh 581–8/1185–1192) we at least learn that he was outstandingly intelligent and sharp-witted, and responsible for a number of “inventions and deductions” (*ṣāḥib al-ikhtirā‘āt wa-l-istinbāṭāt*), without being told what these were. Instead al-Firūzābādī quotes his verse in praise of a famous cheese doughnut, *mujabbana*, and thoughtfully provides the recipe!²⁰ Fortunately, thanks to Baalbaki, we now have a good idea of the nature of al-Suhaylī’s grammatical innovations.²¹

That there was something different about Westerners is, of course, a commonplace. The Andalusians were renowned for their individualism: champions of solitude and scholarly self-absorption such as Ibn Bājja and Ibn Ṭufayl preach a pessimistic attitude towards society which would not have been popular in the central Islamic lands (there is even a Ḥadīth against living a separate life from the community), and it is surely significant that Ibn Ṭufayl shows himself to be a very patriotic Andalusian in his introduction to *Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*.²²

The biographical literature portrays several eccentrics and individualists, such as al-Ṭallā’ al-Munajjim, so called because he was the first to introduce a kind of heavy Iraqi wine (*ṭilā’*) to Qayrawān. He died in al-Andalus some time before al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989), apparently on the run from the authorities, who were trying to arrest him for forging coins. He was accused of “abandoning the faith” (*al-khurūj ‘an al-milla*), which makes him an extreme case among our individuals and misfits.²³

¹⁹ Ibn Mu‘ṭī, *Fuṣūl*, intro. 23, text 244–5 and footnote there; further Carter (2003: 180f and refs. in n. 28, correct Iyyār to Iyyāz). The same construction is mentioned in al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), *Durra*, 100, where it appears to be something of an in-joke among the *fuqahā’*. However it is a working expression, cf. *kadhā wa-kadhā dīnāran* in the papyri in blank contracts used as models by the scribes (specimen in Khoury (1993: 149), not dated, for obvious reasons, but certainly no later than the 5th/11th century).

²⁰ Al-Firūzābādī, *Bulgha*, 131f.

²¹ Baalbaki (2008, esp. 290–97).

²² Andalusian individualism is vividly depicted by Hernández (1992), and he quotes Ibn Ṭufayl’s preface on p. 789.

²³ Al-Firūzābādī, *Bulgha*, 69, more details in al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 263–4.

Several of the Western grammarians were solitary characters, or just plain eccentrics, such as the irascible Ḥamdūn (d. in the 200's/800's),²⁴ or the unfortunate al-Khidabb from Seville (d. 580/1184). He was a respected teacher of the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi who also worked as a tailor, and after a pilgrimage he finished up in Cairo, where he decided he should visit Baṣra, the fountainhead of grammar, and teach the *Kitāb* there. This he did, but on his return he lost his mind and died, one source says, in Bukhārā, suggesting that he really was lost!²⁵ It is a fate that all who have studied the *Kitāb* may sympathise with.

Certain individual grammarians stand out for their self-consciously Andalusian attitudes.

The most important of these is Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Rabāḥī (d. Cordova 358/968), whom we have already met. He is a neglected figure, perhaps because he was overshadowed by his younger contemporary, the immigrant al-Qālī.²⁶ A solitary individual, he travelled East like so many of his contemporaries to study grammar in Cairo, and made an immeasurable contribution to grammar in Spain by bringing back a number of fundamental Eastern texts, among them the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi.

The testimony of his pupil al-Zubaydī is particularly informative about the state of grammatical studies in al-Andalus in his day:

at the time none of the teachers of Arabic or anyone else concerned with grammar had any great knowledge, until Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā arrived among them. The reason was that teachers were only concerned to instill the art [of grammar] by making their pupils memorise (*talqīn*) the grammatical operators and such like, and to give them only a simplified version of the concepts. They themselves did not take up the finer points and obscurities of Arabic, nor seek for reasons for grammatical phenomena, and even worse, they did not show any interest in vocalic or consonantal changes, morphology or word patterns, and gave no answers at all on these topics, until [al-Rabāḥī] showed them the analytical way and taught them what our Eastern colleagues already know, i.e. how to take a discipline to its extremes

²⁴ Al-Firūzābādī, *Bulgha*, 96 (from al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 256): Ḥamdūn knew the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi well, but "used to speak gutturally and with twisted mouth" (*yataqa'ar fī l-kalām wa-yatashādaq*), and was obviously a difficult person to deal with.

²⁵ Al-Firūzābādī, *Bulgha*, 187. The story is highly implausible and Bukhara has surely been confused with Bijāya (now Bougie, in Algeria), which would have lain on his route home to the al-Andalus, as in the account of al-Qiftī, *Imbāh* 4, 195.

²⁶ There is no mention of him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or in Sezgin (1984). For what is known of him see Humbert (1995 *passim*, esp. Ch. 6). In the Maghrib he was considered to be the equal of the Baṣran al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), and indeed they both share the honour of establishing *Kitāb* studies in their respective homelands.

in all aspects, and to exploit it to its limits, in which they well deserve to be called the leaders.”²⁷

As if to make al-Andalus intellectually both equal to and independent of the East, al-Rabāhī introduced a version the *Kitāb* of Sibawayhi which became the base text for a “Western” branch of transmission. The *Kitāb* was certainly known in al-Andalus before him, but, as Humbert has shown, it was al-Rabāhī who created the “Western” tradition of *Kitāb* studies.²⁸ The textual differences between the Eastern and Western versions are only minor, but the pride of the Andalusians in owning their own version is manifest in the preamble affixed to this family of manuscripts.²⁹

With Ibn al-Ṭarāwa (d. Malaga 528/1134) we are in the second historical phase, that of the Berber dynasties, specifically the Almoravids, succinctly described as “a fundamentalist regime that suppressed the secular arts.”³⁰ Ibn al-Ṭarāwa seems to have been undisturbed by this, and has left a specimen of grammatical reasoning of the most speculative and abstract kind, which probably went over the heads of the Almoravid rulers, who otherwise might well have been suspicious of the religious implications of mixing logic with grammar.

His theory of sentences is an adaptation of the Aristotelian modal triad of the necessary, the impossible, and the possible, as applied by logicians to subjects and predicates.³¹ The class of necessary (*wājib*) words is represented by *rajulun* “man” and *qā’imun* “standing,” of which there must be at least one in existence somewhere (otherwise the words are meaningless); the impossible category (*mumtani*) is illustrated by *lā rajula* “no man” and *lā qā’ima* “no one standing,” which cannot be universally true, because at least one of these must exist somewhere in order for it to be categorically negated; the logically permissible (*jā’iz*, replacing the theological term *mumkin* “possible”), i.e. contingent, is exemplified by the names “Zayd” and “‘Amr,” which may or may not denote existing persons.

These can be combined in various predication structures, which we shall not investigate in detail, but note that the pairing of two necessities,

²⁷ Al-Zubaydi, *Ṭabaqāt*, 336–7. The paragraphs preceding this quotation are also a valuable review of the state of scholarship, showing that at this stage the East was still the admired model, as we would expect under the Andalusian Umayyads.

²⁸ Humbert (1995, 141f and Ch. 7).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Ch. 6. Even though al-Rabāhī’s authorship is not totally certain, the motives for the preamble are clear.

³⁰ Alvarez (1998: 733).

³¹ Reported by al-Suyūṭī, *Iqtirāh*, 14 evidently from Abū Ḥayyān, though the exact source remains to be found: Abū Ḥayyān briefly alludes to the topic in *Manhaj*, 46.

such as **rajulun qā'imun* “a man is standing” is disallowed because it conveys no new information (as there must be a man standing somewhere in the universe), while the pairing of two impossibles, **lā rajula lā qā'imun* “no man is not standing” is disallowed because it conveys no information and anyway is a falsehood. What Ibn al-Ṭarāwa is leading up to here is that subjects may be contingent but predicates must be necessary, e.g. *zaydun qā'imun* (otherwise there is no point—*fā'ida*—in predicating them). In *zaydun akhūka* (*jā'iz* + *jā'iz*, both contingent) there is no new information, so this is disallowed for the reasons already given, but by inversion to *akhūka zaydun* the predicate term *zaydun* changes from contingent to necessary (*wājib*, i.e. the existence of Zayd must now be presumed, according to the above scheme), and the utterance is allowed because the listener may not be aware that the person known to him as “Zayd” is also his brother. This is not the place to dispute the plausibility of Ibn al-Ṭarāwa’s reasoning: the text is too short and there is no corroboration in other works.

Abū Ḥayyān, the source for al-Suyūṭī here, calls this reasoning “bizarre” (*gharīb*), though the idea of the three modalities is found elsewhere. Ibn al-Ṭarāwa may have taken it from al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), or he might have seen it in the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', who were active at about the same time.³² Another possible source is Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1005), who attributes them to *ahl al-naẓar*, i.e. philosophers, but he develops them in a different manner from Ibn al-Ṭarāwa.³³ It would be useful to know more about Ibn al-Ṭarāwa: he did have at least one disciple, the Sevillean Ibn Ṭalḥa (d. 618/1221), said to have “inclined to the school of Ibn al-Ṭarāwa in his approach to Arabic.”³⁴

Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī (d. 591/1195) is well-known for the vehemence of his anti-rationalist position.³⁵ His *al-Radd 'alā l-nuḥāh* begins with an angry tirade against the grammarians of Iraq, and the contents of the *Radd* itself are an explicitly Zāhirī refutation of the notion of a logical system of grammatical causes, and a denial that speakers have the freedom of will to decide for themselves not only what to say but how to say it, since speech, like all other human acts, is predetermined by God.

³² See Zimmermann on al-Fārābī’s use of these concepts, and *Raṣā'il* 3, 109, for the Ikhwān, who place the categories in a much wider context, with different aims.

³³ Ibn Fāris, *Ṣāhibī*, 179. The same notions appear in rhetoric, but after Ibn al-Ṭarāwa’s time.

³⁴ Al-Yamānī, *Ishāra*, 315. This is not the same Ibn Ṭalḥa who will be mentioned below.

³⁵ See Versteegh (1997: 140–152).

He founded no school, though there was at least one grammarian, Abū Ḥayyān, who had the highest respect for him: after a general statement about the non-existence of grammatical causes, Abū Ḥayyān goes on to criticise what he calls the “recent Eastern grammarians” (*muta’akhhirū l-mashāriqa*) for their theories, and invokes the name of Ibn Maḍā’ as one of the few “Western” grammarians (*ahl al-maghrib*) to speak out against these Eastern errors.³⁶

The personal eccentricity of some grammarians is matched by the idiosyncrasy of their grammatical opinions. It is remarkable how many Maghribi grammarians are said to hold views shared by no-one else. The Eastern grammarians were probably just as individualistic, but it is not so apparent because their theories were usually expressed as part of the Baṣran and Kūfan polarisation.

The aforementioned Ibn al-Ṭarāwa has some unique notions ascribed to him. One is his theory that the absolute object (*maf’ūl muṭlaq*) in *ḍarabtu ḍarban* “I struck forcefully” is made dependent by a verb which can never be expressed, contrary to the generally accepted view that the operator is the preceding cognate verb or verbal sentence. For Ibn al-Ṭarāwa the only way to externalise the implicit operator is to use the dummy verb *fa’ala*, so **ḍarabtu [fa’altu] ḍarban*.³⁷ There is some justification for this in the fact that the *maf’ūl muṭlaq* does not have to be cognate with the preceding verb, e.g. *jalastu qu’ūdan* “I sat down with a squatting action.”

He also is said to have adopted a “third way” (*madhhab thālith*) in the interpretation of the preposition *min* with expressions of time.³⁸ The majority view is that *min* has three discrete meanings (partitive, explanatory, beginning of a limit), the minority holds that the original meaning is the beginning of a limit and the two others are extensions of it. Regarding the beginning of a limit Ibn al-Ṭarāwa is alone in insisting that with expressions of time *min* must be followed by an *ilā* phrase (*sirtu min yawmi l-jumu’ati ilā yawmi l-aḥadi* “I travelled from Friday to Sunday”), unlike places, where *sirtu min makkata* “I travelled from Mecca” does not require a destination to be stated. He cleverly sidesteps the objection that the correct word here is *mudh* “since,” and he is surely right in saying that **mudh yawmi l-jumu’ati ilā yawmi l-aḥadi* would be incorrect anyway, because *mudh* is “temporally exhaustive” (*tastaghriqu l-zamān*), i.e. it

³⁶ al-Gharnāṭī, *Manhaj*, 229–31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 238f.

already means “for all the time between then and now,” so no *ilā* is needed to mark the end of the elapsed interval.

Ibn Ṭalḥa (b. near Seville, d. Mecca 518/1124) is on his own in the view that there is no derivational relationship at all between verbs and *maṣḍars*, i.e. the former are not derived from the latter (Baṣrans) or *vice versa* (Kūfans) but each class is independent of the other.³⁹ His supporting evidence is that there are verbs with no *maṣḍars* and *maṣḍars* with no verbs, so they cannot be in a derivational relationship.

A certain Ibn Abī ‘Āfiya (d. Granada 583/1187) is named as the only grammarian to hold the view that *la-* is not *lām al-ibtidā’* when prefixed to predicates.⁴⁰

Ibn Mu‘ṭī stands against the majority tradition on a grand scale. He is described as having a unique opinion on no fewer than seventeen grammatical issues.⁴¹ The most famous example is his view on the verb *mā dāma*, that inversion of the predicate or separation of the *mā* from *dāma* are not permitted, in which, to quote Abū Ḥayyān, he “disagrees with absolutely everybody.”⁴²

An eighteenth item which can be added to those listed by the editor is the assertion of Ibn Mu‘ṭī that the verbs *kāna*, *aṣḥaḥa* etc. when used with predicates are called “incomplete” (*nāqīṣa*) because in this function “they have been deprived of their denotation of a *maṣḍar*,” by which he seems to mean that, apart from *kawn*, the *maṣḍars* of these verbs are not used with predicates. Ibn Mu‘ṭī makes no mention at all of the conventional theory that they are called “incomplete” because they need to be syntactically completed by a predicate.⁴³

Turning now to terminology, there are many features of Andalusian grammar which, if they are indeed specific to that area (it is not easy to be certain that a term or a concept is found only in the West), would confirm

³⁹ Ibid., 137.

⁴⁰ Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 514 (biography in Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 154). The passage appears to be fragmented, and a reliable interpretation is not possible.

⁴¹ Listed in Ibn Mu‘ṭī, *Fuṣūl*, editor’s intro. 55–77. Two examples are: (1) 62 (= p. 192 in Ibn Mu‘ṭī’s text), the idea that the *maf‘ūl lahu* must be “more general” than its operating verb; (2) 67 (= p. 177) in *murra bihi* “he was passed by” the phrase *bihi* is itself the *nā‘ib ‘an al-fā‘il*, i.e. the agent of the passive verb, something like “by him got passed.” Most of the others concern individual words or patterns and even the editor admits that Ibn Mu‘ṭī is not always the only person to hold such views.

⁴² Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 618; see Ibn al-Mu‘ṭī, *Fuṣūl*, 181, and cf. al-Juzūlī, *Muqaddima*, 106. See *Fuṣūl*, editor’s intro. 55–60 for reactions to Ibn al-Mu‘ṭī.

⁴³ Ibn Mu‘ṭī, *Fuṣūl*, 183, ‘*alā l-jumla innamā summiyat hādhihi l-af‘āl nāqīṣa li-annahā sulibat al-dalāla ‘alā l-maṣḍar ‘inda ‘adamihi fa-idhā wujidat dallat ‘alayhi, wa-minhu qawluhu wa-kawnuhu ‘ibāra ‘an shakhs.*

that the grammar of the East and West were on divergent paths. A selection of the more obvious examples is given here, with the reservation that there is still a great deal of work to be done.

Some terms may be no more than an informal alternative vocabulary which does not indicate any systematic or theoretical differences, e.g. *rasm* for “definition” and *takhrīj* for “analysis.”⁴⁴ Others may be simply stylistic variants, such as *‘arraja* “to turn, incline” (in the sense of taking something seriously),⁴⁵ and *‘aḍada* “to support, help,” for the way the evidence “supports” a grammatical analysis (e.g. *ya‘duduhu l-samā’*).⁴⁶ One picturesque metaphor is the verb *tāfa*, here probably “to wander about” (*t-w-f*) rather than “to appear like a ghost” (*t-y-f*), in the discussion of the conjunction *baynā*, which may only be annexed to single nouns if there is “a verbal sense wandering about in them,”⁴⁷ i.e. if they are *maṣḍars*, so that *baynā* has the same meaning as *hīna*, e.g. *baynā qiyāmi zaydīn aqbala ‘amrun = hīna qiyāmi zaydīn*. Another personification is *ḍamīm* “adjunct, travelling companion,” lit. “person adjoined,” in reference to the fact that *mā dāma* “as long as” cannot be used as a main clause, but must be attached to some *ḍamīm*, i.e. a previously expressed accompanying idea.⁴⁸

Other terms may well imply a difference in theory: for example the word *iqāma* “performance,” seems to be used to convey the sense of the “active” voice of the verb, possibly related to *iqāma* in the context of the performance of prayers.⁴⁹ Abū Ḥayyān also refers to a category of adjectives called *nu‘ūt al-iḥāṭa*, lit “comprehensive epithets,” but it is difficult to tell from the text what he means, except that they are distinguished from participles.⁵⁰ *Al-qāṣir li-l-maf‘ūl* for the intransitive verb is not familiar

⁴⁴ Both seen together in Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 613, and passim. To be sure in p. 715 *takhrīj* is put in the mouth of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (d. 182/798), but the account may have been restated in the words of Abū Ḥayyān or his source.

⁴⁵ E.g. al-Qurṭubī, *Sharḥ*, 122, 283, 298. The Andalusian connection is reinforced by Ibn Sīda’s use of the term, quoted in *Lisān al-‘arab* on the word *lahā*.

⁴⁶ Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 618.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 511, *idhā tāfa fihā ma’nā l-fi’l ḥamlan ‘alā ma’nā hīna*. Less likely, but more dramatic would be “when haunted by the ghost of a verbal meaning.”

⁴⁸ Al-Juzūlī, *Muqaddima*, 105, possibly echoing the term *ṣila*, which denotes the adjunct/relative status of the *mā dāma* clause itself.

⁴⁹ Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 365. In a literal sense in p. 618: some allow the intransitive verb to be made passive by putting its own *maṣḍar* in the place of the agent, *iqāmat [al-maṣḍar] maqām al-fā’il*.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 281 and cf. *iḥāṭa* in the context of *tawkid* with *kull* etc. in Ibn Mu‘īṭ, *Fuṣūl*, intro 126, text 235f (from his master al-Juzūlī, see *Muqaddima*, 73ff); *muḥāṭ* also occurs in the context of *kull* in Abū Ḥayyān, *Manhaj*, 276. Since Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002) has a whole chapter on *iḥṭiyāṭ* and *tawkid* in his *Khaṣā’iṣ* we should probably assume that Abū Ḥayyān is modifying the terminology here rather than innovating.

in the East, where *lāzim* is more usual.⁵¹ Likewise *mubham* for verbs which are neither present nor future, by analogy with indefinite nouns, suggests a different concept of the tenses from that which we find in the East.⁵² Abū Ḥayyān, or more likely his source, Ibn al-Akhḍar al-Ishbīlī (d. Seville 514/1120), uses *rabaṭa* for the way the conditional particles and the imperative *li-* prefix “tie up” a verb which was previously “loose” (*muṭlaq*), i.e. modally unrestricted.⁵³

The term *lām al-tabri’a*, lit. “*lā* of quittance” for the categorical negative *lā* may be an Andalusian innovation. It is not found in the earliest grammar and seems to have been popularised by Ibn Hishām (d. Cairo 761/1360), however it was used earlier, by the Andalusian Ibn ‘Uṣfūr (d. [Tunis ?] 663 or 669/1263 or 1270).⁵⁴

Two interlocking factors contributed to the emergence of these new terms and theories, one the desire to improve the teaching of the language, the other the need for a dependable theory of grammar to support theological and legal debate. The practitioners of all these disciplines were invariably the same people, with overlapping competence, but usually specialising in one or the other branch, and mutually reinforcing their own authority and that of their colleagues.

Pedagogical texts throughout the Islamic world show a remarkable ingenuity in arrangement, and it would be difficult to single out any uniquely Western features. From the earliest times grammars were produced in all shapes and sizes to suit the learners and to demonstrate the expository skills of the author. One way to impress was to fit the subject matter into a precise but arbitrary number of sections or categories (these examples not all from the Maghrib): ten chapters in Ibn Bābshādh (d. 469/1077), a hundred operators in al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), fifty sections in Ibn Mu‘ṭī (d. 628/1231), a thousand verses in Ibn Mālik (672/1274),⁵⁵ a course promising to teach the whole language in twenty-four hours by a certain

⁵¹ Ibid., 618.

⁵² Ibn Mu‘ṭī, *Fuṣūl*, intro 115, text 163, with an extract from the commentary of Ibn Iyyāz, and cf. intro. 101 for additional comments by Ibn Iyyāz. On the other hand, the prefixing of *sa-* to future verbs has always been seen as equivalent to the prefixing of the def. article to nouns, so *mubham* is only an extension of that idea.

⁵³ Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 496f. In p. 270 *irtabaṭa* is used to denote the connection between two conditional clauses.

⁵⁴ Ibn ‘Uṣfūr, *Muqarrib* 1, 51, *lā llatī li-l-tabriya* (sic). His place of death is not certain, nor the manner, which was either by drowning or being pelted with oranges in a tavern, see editor’s intro. to *Muqarrib*, 10f.

⁵⁵ When it comes to originality, Ibn Mu‘ṭī’s rhymed grammar of a thousand lines predates the more famous work of Ibn Mālik by a generation, and Ibn Mālik knew this work and taught it himself.

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī (12th/18th century?)⁵⁶ and so on. The most spectacular attempt to formalise grammar, along with all the other sciences, is the *Jawāmi‘ al-‘ulūm* of the Transoxanian Ibn Farīghūn (fl. mid-4th/10th century), in which the technical terms of every discipline are set out in hierarchical diagrams, with lines joining the related concepts, a forerunner of our present day flow-charts, linguistic trees and neurological networks.⁵⁷

The *Fuṣūl* of Ibn Mu‘ṭī goes further than reducing grammar to an arbitrary set of fifty topics. He has a fondness for groups of three, thus the *maf‘ūl mutlaq* is divided into “vague” (*mubham*), “quantified” (*ma‘dūd*) and “specific” (*mukhtaṣṣ*). Often there are two extremes and an intermediate category, thus in exceptive constructions (*istithnā’*) the excepted nouns are (1) all *manṣūb*, (2) all *majrūr* or (3) *mutaraddid bayn* “hesitating between,” i.e. they take one of three combinations of inflections. The same terminology is used for a number of other grammatical classes.⁵⁸

It is a fair comment that this arrangement, even if unique to Ibn Mu‘ṭī, is not evidence of a specifically Andalusian approach to language. Rather it illustrates a universal tendency among teachers to create new ways of presenting the same data, partly in search of pedagogical efficiency, partly to stand out from the crowd, and partly as a claim of professional authority.

However, there are reasons to believe that the logical foundations of the grammatical system were affected by the geographical marginality of the Maghrib. The authority of grammarians is derived from two sources, the authenticity of the data (*samā‘*) and the coherence of the reasoning (broadly *qiyās*), and the Maghrib was cut off from the first and became dependent on the second to a higher degree than in the East, where the historical presence of Classical Arabic persisted long after its original users had been absorbed into a culture where it was no longer a mother tongue, but had to be learnt artificially.

In the East the systematic integration of *samā‘* and *qiyās*, of data and theory (constructed with the tools of Greek logic) was complete by the end of the fourth/tenth century, and Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002) may be the last grammarian to have consulted native speakers directly. He is also the first grammarian to ask whether language is a rational activity, which

⁵⁶ Al-Anṣārī, *al-Tuḥfa fī l-naḥw*, MS. Paris 4208 (Brockelmann 1938: S2, 921).

⁵⁷ As Biesterfeld (1990: 50) points out, this *tashjīr* “tree-making” is not new, and was used earlier by medical writers, e.g. Yūḥannā b. Māsawayhi (d. 243/857) and Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 260/873). See also C. E. Bosworth (1998) for editions of Ibn Farīghūn.

⁵⁸ Ibn Mu‘ṭī, *Fuṣūl*, 184, and cf. 189 for *istithnā’*, 203 for *an*, 204 for *idhan*, 208 for elements which are neither nouns nor verbs, 212 for prepositions.

he answered in the affirmative: as a Mu‘tazilī, he considered that the behaviour of Muslims must be treated as rational, and that language, as a subset of Muslim behaviour, is therefore also rational.

The corpus (*samā*) being by now closed,⁵⁹ and the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) established, the East had no more challenges to deal with except, as we have seen above, to find ever more ways of formulating the data pedagogically.⁶⁰ For a time the West was in the same position: grammar under the Umayyads, as described by Mutlak, was not much different from grammar in the East, striving for exhaustiveness, extremely conservative, with a great liking for commentaries and a strong desire to simplify the pedagogical content.⁶¹ This was the kind of grammar which al-Rabāhī took back with him to al-Andalus, where scholars still looked eastwards and eagerly cross-examined immigrants and visitors from the East for information about a language which was alive for the newcomers but was gradually receding into the past for the Andalusians, for whom memorisation was beginning to substitute for direct experience.⁶²

When the Umayyads were eventually replaced by Berber dynasties a bond with the East was cut, and the effects of geographical separation made themselves felt. The Maghribis could no longer claim that they, along with the Easterners, were the custodians of the original Classical language, only that some of them were descendants of those who had imported it into al-Andalus. As the Andalusian population became less and less ethnically Arab the myth that the East was still linguistically pure increased in potency, and it was there that the Maghribis travelled in search of authentic Arabic. The myth never died, but the language taught in the West became qualitatively different from the Eastern variety, even if formally identical.

The authority to determine good and bad Arabic was now transferred from the domain of recorded speech to the domain of logic. New usage could no longer be validated by reference to a live corpus, but had to conform with abstract theoretical principles instead. The East had reached

⁵⁹ The closure occurred in the fourth/tenth century when the Baṣran view that there would be no new data triumphed over the Kūfan view that new data might still emerge.

⁶⁰ Rhetoric is an offshoot of legal semantics and the last of the Islamic sciences to appear, but that development simply took grammar into a new dimension without changing its principles.

⁶¹ Mutlak (1967: 18).

⁶² Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 249ff describes how Ibn Walid al-Mahrī (d. 253/856) sought out visiting Eastern grammarians and poets. The poetry of al-Andalus went through similar stages, from trying to be as “Arabian” as possible to a conscious striving for independence both thematically and metrically (Frolov 2000: 245ff, 249ff).

that position in the fourth/tenth century, but it took a change of régime from Arab to Berber before the Maghribis were free to detach themselves intellectually from the East and rely on their own logicians and theorists to process the inherited corpus independently. The attempt of al-Rabāhī to reform the teaching system came to nothing, as memorisation remained the dominant educational instrument, but what he did achieve, by introducing the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, the *Jumal* of al-Zajjājī, and other Eastern texts, was to determine the content of all the memorisation and thereby define the evidential basis of grammatical speculation in the Maghrib.

The kind of reasoning which could result is seen in the treatment of the so-called “five (or six) nouns,” i.e. *abū* “father” etc., which have long vowel inflections. They are usually cited with the default masc. suffix *-ka*, *abūka* etc., but for *ḥamū* “brother-in-law” the forms *ḥamūki* or *ḥamūhā* are chosen in the West, with fem. suffixes, because only a woman can have a *ḥam* as her relative.⁶³ Elsewhere we have seen this type of analysis dismissed as “Ḥanafī” (see Ibn Mu‘tī above), but what is significant is that this treatment of *ḥamū* seems to occur only in Maghribi sources.

The competitiveness which is often associated with marginality is widely attested in the Maghribi grammarians, as illustrated already. A final specimen, trivial but nonetheless revealing, is provided by Ibn al-Munāṣif (d. in Deniya, about 630/1233). There had emerged in the East a practice of parsing the title of the first chapter of Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb* as a student exercise or display of professional skill, and in the fourth/tenth century two grammarians, al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) and Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) managed to discover “forty-odd” and fifty parsings respectively.⁶⁴ But Ibn al-Munāṣif goes far beyond this by dictating 130 parsings, which filled twenty fascicles!⁶⁵

A further symptom of geographical isolation might at first sight seem paradoxical, namely the striking preference in the Maghrib for one particular work (apart from the *Kitāb*), the *Jumal* of the Eastern grammarian al-Zajjājī (d. 337/948 or later). Sezgin lists some fifty commentaries

⁶³ E.g. *ḥamūki* in Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, *Tadhkira*, 278 (from the Cordovan Abū Bakr Khaṭṭāb b. Yūsuf al-Mārīdī, d. after 450/1085), and *ḥamūhā* in Ibn Mu‘tī, *Fuṣūl*, editor’s intro. 103, text 159. There was also an opinion that *ḥam* could denote a relative of the husband as well, in both Eastern and Western lexica, in which case *ḥamūka* would cause no problems.

⁶⁴ Sezgin (1984: 59, 208, 249 for al-Naḥḥās, *ibid.*, 108 for al-Fārisī). The latter work is part of a *majmū‘a* which has not been separately catalogued, hence it is not listed among the *Kitāb* commentaries in Sezgin, 58ff. The figure of “forty-odd” parsings for al-Naḥḥās is taken from a secondary source in al-Qurṭubī, *Sharḥ*, 8, fn. 2 from the previous page.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 62; there is no direct evidence, we rely on the secondary sources listed there.

and derivative works on this text by known authors,⁶⁶ and remarkably no fewer than thirty-nine are by Maghribis or by scholars who moved there from the East. This proportion would be abnormal in any context, and is all the more puzzling because al-Zajjājī had no Maghribi pupils, except an obscure Sicilian. It is difficult to account for the extraordinary popularity of the *Jumal* as anything other than a deliberate act of appropriation to mark group identity, perhaps related to the fact that al-Zajjājī's work fell out of favour in the East and was replaced by the *Īdāh* of al-Fārisī and the *Luma'* of Ibn Jinnī.⁶⁷

Much of this paper is of a speculative nature, and the evidence is often impressionistic, never exhaustive, and always vulnerable to contradiction, but the objective differences between East and West are clear enough, some documented by the participants themselves, others inferred from their grammatical texts. There is an interesting parallel in the cultural rivalries of our own time in the competing forms of English in the old and new worlds. The differences between British and American spelling may not have started out as badges of allegiance, but Webster made them so in his dictionary, which had the declared aim of asserting the autonomy of American English.

A more important parallel, very relevant to our theme, is the development of theoretical linguistics in Europe and America. European linguistics was initially descriptive and inductive (e.g. the Prague school), while in America it was conspicuously deductive, notoriously so in Transformational Grammar.⁶⁸ This is not the place to try to account for the emergence of the two conflicting schools of linguistics, we should merely note the historical fact that American theoretical linguistics was of a kind which reflected America's growing intellectual independence from the old world.

The mediaeval Maghrib faced the same challenge, to preserve the common inherited language and culture while maintaining the identity of the margin against a distant and no longer dominant centre, and just as this

⁶⁶ Ibid., 88–93. The figures are symbolic, as Sezgin counts as one item an author who wrote three commentaries (no. 36, Ibn 'Uṣfūr), and further works are still coming to light.

⁶⁷ See Versteegh (1995: 3f) for sources, in one of which the Maghribis are said to boast of having written more than 120 commentaries on the *Jumal*. A quick look at the *Īdāh* of al-Fārisī and the *Luma'* of Ibn Jinnī in Sezgin yields an inverse representation of Maghribi commentators, who are decidedly in the minority.

⁶⁸ Dahlgren (1998: ch. 2), gives a contrastive review of these opposing methodologies as they affect the linguistic analysis of Arabic.

was achieved in the legal schools, the Qurʾān Readings and the educational system, not to mention the architecture, script and poetry of the Maghrib, so it was realised through a grammar which affirmed the separateness of the Maghribis from their fellow Muslims in the East.

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KHABAR / INSHĀ', UNE FOIS ENCORE

Pierre Larcher

INTRODUCTION

Ibn Mālik, grammairien d'origine andalouse mort à Damas en 672/1274, est connu comme l'auteur de petits ouvrages didactiques, notamment la *Alfiyya* ou « quintessence de la grammaire en mille vers. » Mais il est aussi l'auteur d'un ouvrage en prose, le *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-maqāsid* (désormais : *Tashīl*), manifestement destiné à un public « avancé. » Mohamed Ben Cheneb (1869–1929), cependant, y voit un « manuel de grammaire dont la concision est proche de l'obscurité. »¹ Henri Fleisch (1904–1985) qualifie le passage du *Tashīl* consacré aux formes dérivées « d'exposé abstrait, sans aucun exemple. »² En fait le *Tashīl* est un texte qui requiert un commentaire. Ce commentaire existe. C'est Ibn Mālik lui-même qui l'avait entrepris, mais sans l'achever. Son fils Badr al-Dīn (m. 688/1286) l'a poursuivi, mais sans l'achever non plus. Ce commentaire a été publié. Un premier tome en était paru en 1974, au Caire, apparemment sans suite. Mais en 1990 une édition complète en paraissait, représentant 66 des 80 chapitres du *Tashīl*. En conclusion du compte rendu que j'avais fait de cette édition dans la revue *Arabica*³, j'écrivais : « Bien que commentaire partiel du *Tashīl* et partiellement de Ibn Mālik, cet ouvrage n'en est pas moins un « monument », pouvant rendre d'éminents services à un historien de la grammaire arabe, comme j'essaierai de le montrer au travers d'une note ultérieure consacrée aux objets ayant trait au *inshā'*. » D'autres travaux m'ont empêché de jamais rédiger cette note. Mais la rédaction récente de l'article « 'Inshā' » pour *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*⁴ m'a amené à reprendre le dossier. Je suis heureux de le proposer au *Festschrift* pour notre collègue Ramzi Baalbaki, un des historiens de la grammaire arabe à s'être intéressé à la catégorie⁵.

¹ Ben Cheneb (1927 : Ibn Mālik).

² Fleisch (1979 : 273 n. 1).

³ Larcher (1996).

⁴ Idem, (2007).

⁵ Baalbaki (2000).

1. WA-YANŞARIF AL-MĀḌĪ ILĀ L-ĤĀL BI-L-INSHĀ⁷

Le premier objet est une proposition, que l'on rencontre dans le premier chapitre du *Tashīl*, consacré au *kalām* et à la *kalīma*, c'est-à-dire à l'énoncé et à ses constituants. Après avoir rappelé qu'il y en a trois classes (nom, verbe, particule) et que le verbe lui-même est de trois espèces (*māḍī*, *muḍārī*, *amr*), Ibn Mālik (*Tashīl* 5) note à propos du *māḍī* (litt. « passé ») qu'« il est converti en présent par la performance et en futur par la jussion, la promesse, la coordination à ce dont le caractère futur est connu et la négation par *lā* ou *in* après un serment » (*wa-yanşarif al-māḍī ilā l-ḥāl bi-l-inshā' wa-ilā l-istiqbāl bi-l-ṭalab wa-l-wa'd wa-bi-l-'atf bi-mā 'ulima istiqbāluhu wa-bi-l-nafy bi-lā wa-in ba'da l-qasam*). Voici le commentaire que Ibn Mālik fait de la première phrase dans le *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* (1, 29–30) :

inshā', dans la langue, est le *maşdar* de *anşa'a fulānun yaf'alu kadhā* [« Untel s'est mis à faire telle chose »], c'est-à-dire *ibtada'a* [« il a commencé »]. Puis on a désigné par ce terme le fait d'effectuer quelque chose que l'on vise, au moyen d'une expression, la chose visée existant conjointement à l'expression, ainsi le fait d'effectuer le don en mariage au moyen de *zawwajtu* [« je donne en mariage »], la répudiation au moyen de *ṭallaqtu* [« je répudie »], la vente et l'achat au moyen de *bi'tu* [« je vends »] et *ishtaraytu* [« j'achète »]. Ces verbes et ceux qui leur sont similaires sont formellement passés, mais sémantiquement présents, parce qu'ils ont pour but la performance, c'est-à-dire l'effectuation de leurs signifiés, au moment de leur énonciation, et c'est à ces verbes et à leurs semblables que fait référence notre affirmation de « le passé se convertit en présent par la performance » (*al-inshā' fī l-lu-gha maşdar anşa'a fulānun kadhā ay ibtada'a thumma 'ubbira bihi 'an iqā' ma'nā bi-lafz yuqārinuhu fī l-wujūd ka-iqā' al-tazwīj bi-zawwajtu wa-l-ṭalīq bi-ṭallaqtu wa-l-bay' wa-l-shirā' bi-bi'tu wa-ishtaraytu fa-hādhihi al-af'āl wa-amthālühā māḍiyat al-lafz ḥāḍirat al-ma'nā li-annah qusida bihā l-inshā' ay iqā' ma'ānihā ḥāl al-nuṭq bihā fa-ilā hādhihi l-af'āl wa-naḥwihā l-ishāra bi-qawlinā wa-yanşarif al-māḍī ilā l-ḥāl bi-l-inshā'*).

Ce commentaire permet aussitôt de reconnaître dans le *inshā'* arabe l'équivalent de ce qu'on appelle dans la linguistique occidentale moderne, depuis John Langshaw Austin (1911–1960), *performatif*⁶. En ce qui concerne l'*intension* du terme, on notera que, dans les deux extraits précités, il désigne, non l'énoncé performatif, mais l'énonciation performative d'une phrase (ce que nous rendons par « performance »), qui, dans un contexte

⁶ Austin, (1962 [1970]). Cette identification est proposée dans Larcher (1980). Elle l'est également dans Moutaouakil (1982).

particulier, revient à faire ce que l'on dit que l'on fait. En ce qui concerne l'*extension* du terme, en revanche, les exemples qui en sont donnés correspondent exactement aux premiers exemples de Austin, c'est-à-dire des performatifs tout à la fois *explicités*⁷ et juridiques.

Le caractère *juridique* du *inshā'* est bien attesté par la définition qu'en donne Ibn Mālik comme *īqā' ma'nā bi-lafẓ yuqārinuhu fī l-wujūd*, où apparaît le terme de *īqā'*. Ce dernier se rencontre, dès les plus anciens traités de *fiqh*—par exemple, le *Jāmi' al-kabīr* d'al-Shaybānī (m. 189/805)—pour désigner l'effectuation d'un acte juridique. Par ailleurs, dans cette définition, on peut en principe hésiter sur ce qui, de *lafẓ* ou de *ma'nā*, est le sujet et partant l'objet de *yuqārinu*. Mais l'ouvrage de Zarkashī, m. 794/1392 (*Manthūr* 1, 205) permet de trancher qui écrit *īqā' lafẓ li-ma'nā yuqārinuhu fī l-wujūd* («le fait qu'une expression réalise quelque chose que l'on vise, cette chose existant conjointement à cette expression»). C'est une variante de cette définition qu'on trouve dans le *Sharḥ Shudhūr al-dhahab* (32) de Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (m. 760/1361), pour qui *inshā'* est, par opposition à *khabar* et *ṭalab*, l'*énoncé* (*kalām*) où «l'existence de ce qu'il vise et l'existence de son expression» (*wujūd ma'nāhu wa-wujūd lafẓihi*) «sont en connexion» (*yaqtarinā*). S'il s'agit toujours du *inshā'* *stricto sensu*, il désigne désormais, par une simple et banale métonymie du procès pour son résultat, non plus seulement l'énonciation, mais encore l'énoncé performatif. Et cette définition est répétée par Suyūṭī (*Itqān* 2, 76 et *Ham'*, 12), mais avec suppression de *wujūd*: *al-kalām (...) in iqtarana ma'nāhu bi-lafẓihi fa-huwa l-inshā'* («l'énoncé (...) si ce qu'il vise est connecté à son expression, c'est le performatif»)...

Il y a plus. La seconde des deux propositions du *Tashīl (wa-yaṣarif al-māḍī (...)) ilā l-istiqbāl bi-l-ṭalab* apparaît dans le *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (2, 225) de Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī (m. 688/1289), au chapitre du *māḍī*, sous une forme légèrement différente: «Sache que le passé est converti en futur par la performance jussive»⁸ (*wa-t'lam anna l-māḍī yaṣarif ilā l-istiqbāl bi-l-inshā' al-ṭalabī*). À l'expression de *ṭalab*, employée par Ibn Mālik, est substituée celle de *inshā' ṭalabī*, qui désigne *inshā'* et *ṭalab*

⁷ Austin (1962 [1970 : 62]) appelle « explicités » (*explicit performatives*), ceux des performatifs nommant l'acte que leur énonciation accomplit, par exemple « je vous ordonne de partir, » par opposition à « implicites » (*implicit performatives*), dont l'énonciation accomplit le même acte, mais sans le dire, par exemple « Partez ! ».

⁸ Dans Larcher (1980), *ṭalab* et *ṭalabī* sont traduits par « rogation » et « rogatif, » seulement transparents aujourd'hui pour des latinistes. Ultérieurement, nous leur avons substitué « jussion » et « jussif » qui, bien que d'origine latine, n'en sont pas moins intelligibles à tous, du fait de leur utilisation dans la linguistique d'expression anglaise.

comme étant désormais dans la relation de *genre* à *espèce*. La même relation se retrouve dans la proposition initiale du *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, entre *inshā'* et *īqā'*: « la forme verbale la plus employée dans la performance opérative⁹ est le *māḍī* » (*wa-akthar mā yusta'mal fī l-inshā' al-īqā' min amthilat al-fi'l huwa l-māḍī*). On peut alors reconstruire, par analogie au *Tashīl*, au lieu et place de cette proposition initiale explicite, la proposition implicite: « le passé est converti en présent par la performance opérative. » La seule différence entre les deux textes est que Ibn Mālik emploie ici *inshā'* dans le sens restreint d'énonciation performative, tout à la fois explicite et juridique, alors que Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī l'emploie dans le sens large de toute énonciation non assertive, mais en le subdivisant en *īqā'* et *ṭalabī*.

La terminologie du *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* est ainsi directement tributaire du *Tashīl*, ou, à défaut, d'une source commune aux deux. Cette terminologie est en effet particulière. Si la division des énoncés en *khābar* et *inshā'* est « standard, » la subdivision du *inshā'* en *īqā'* et *ṭalabī* faite dans *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (2, 225, mais aussi en 1, 211) ne l'est pas. L'encyclopédie de Kafawī (m. 1094/1683), intitulée *Kullīyyāt al-'ulūm*, la reprend (art *inshā'* 1, 331sq), mais en la rapportant (5, 266) explicitement à Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī. C'est sans doute via cette encyclopédie qu'elle a pu être connue même des arabisants, notamment Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888)¹⁰.

Enfin, la formulation de Ibn Mālik, reprise par Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, nous renseigne sur la conception que ces grammairiens se font de la valeur temporelle du *māḍī*. Même s'ils considèrent comme fondamentale la valeur temporelle de passé, qui fait le nom grammatical de cette forme, elle n'en reste pas moins fonction de la valeur pragmatique de son énonciation. Dire en effet que le « passé » devient présent dans le cadre d'un emploi performatif ou futur dans le cadre d'un emploi jussif implique qu'il n'est passé que dans le cadre d'un emploi assertif...

Du même coup, on comprend mieux pourquoi il n'existe pas, dans la terminologie grammaticale arabe, d'équivalent de notre catégorie de *mode*¹¹. Dans notre tradition, *mode* est une catégorie d'origine logique,

⁹ *īqā'* étant un adjectif de relation (*nisba*) formé sur le terme juridique de *īqā'*, nous reprenons à Austin (1970 : 42) le terme d'opératif (*operative*), auquel il a songé pour désigner les énoncés performatifs : « parmi les termes techniques, il y a en un qui, peut-être se rapprocherait le plus de ce que nous cherchons : il s'agit du mot *operative*, tel qu'il est employé (au sens strict) par les hommes de loi, lorsqu'ils veulent se référer à la partie (i.e. aux clauses) d'un acte juridique qui sert à effectuer la transaction elle-même. »

¹⁰ Cf. Fleischer (1968[1885–1888] : 1, 779–780 et 3, 541–542).

¹¹ Cf. Versteegh (2004), en particulier p. 281.

qui désigne l'attitude du sujet (pensant, avant même que parlant) face au *dictum* ou contenu propositionnel. En grammaire, les modes (indicatif, impératif...) du verbe sont censés refléter cette attitude intellectuelle ou psychologique. À première vue, une des trois formes conjuguées du verbe reconnues par les grammairiens arabes, le *fi'l al-amr* ou « verbe d'ordre, » i.e. l'impératif, semble porter une étiquette modale. Pourtant, dès le départ, c'est bien plus en termes d'actes illocutoires (ou illocutionnaires)¹² qu'en termes de modes qu'elles sont caractérisées, comme cela apparaît par exemple dans le premier chapitre du *Kitāb* de Sibawayhi (m. 177/793 ?)¹³:

La forme de ce qui n'est pas [encore] arrivé, c'est que tu dises, en donnant un ordre, *idhhab* [« va ! »], *uqtul* [« tue ! »] et *idrib* [« frappe ! »] et, en faisant une assertion, *yaqtulu* [« il tuera »], *yadhhabu* [« il ira »], *yaḍribu* [« il frappera »], *yuqtalu* [« il sera tué »] et *yuḍrabu* [« il sera frappé »] et il en va de même de la forme de ce qui ne s'est pas [encore] interrompu, mais existe, quand on fait une assertion » (*wa-ammā binā' mā lam yaqa'fa-innahu qawluka āmiran idhhab wa-qtul wa-drib wa-mukhbiran yaqtulu wa-yadhhabu wa-yaḍribu wa-yuqtalu wa-yuḍrabu wa-kadhālika binā' mā lam yanqaṭi' wa-huwa kā'in idhā akhbarta*).

Ici, c'est la syntaxe même qui désigne l'ordre et l'assertion comme des « actes de parole » (*speech acts*)¹⁴: les participes actifs des verbes *amara* et *akhbara* y apparaissent en fonction de « complément d'état » du *maṣdar qawl*; de ce fait, mais aussi du fait du pronom affixe—*ka*, représentant logiquement le sujet du verbe, et de la phrase « citée » qui suit et qui en est le complément d'objet, *qawl* est lui-même en fonction verbale (*ya'mal 'amal fi'lihi*).

Si l'on voulait parler du *inshā'*, synonyme de *iqā'* ou qualifié de *iqā'ī*, comme d'un mode, c'est seulement comme d'un mode particulier de *référence* des mots aux choses qu'on pourrait le faire. C'est le commentaire même que fait le *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* de Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī (2, 225) qui autorise cette conclusion :

¹² Austin (1962 [1970]) appelle ainsi l'acte de faire quelque chose dans le fait même de dire quelque chose (« the illocutionary act is the act performed *in* saying something »), par opposition à locutoire (ou locutionnaire), qui est simplement l'acte de dire quelque chose (« the locutionary act is the act of saying something »), et perlocutoire (ou perlocutionnaire) qui est l'acte de faire quelque chose par le fait de dire quelque chose (« the illocutionary act is the act performed *by* saying something »).

¹³ Sibawayhi, *Kitāb* 1, 12.

¹⁴ C'est là la terminologie de Searle (1969).

La différence entre le *bi'tu* performatif et le *abi'ru* par quoi on vise le présent est la suivante : l'expression *abi'ru* a nécessairement besoin d'une vente extérieure existant autrement que par cette expression. Par cette expression, on vise son adéquation à cette réalité. Si l'adéquation visée est réalisée, l'énoncé est vrai et, sinon, il est faux (...). Quant au performatif *bi'tu*, il n'a pas de référent, auquel on voudrait qu'il soit adéquat ; au contraire, la vente se réalise *ipso facto* et c'est cette expression qui en est la créatrice (*wa-l-farq bayna bi'tu al-inshā'ī wa- abi'ru al-maqṣūd bihi l-ḥāl anna qawlaka abi'ru lā budda lahu min bay' khārij ḥāṣil bi-ghayr hādihā l-lafẓ tuqṣad bi-hādihā l-lafẓ muṭābaqatuhu li-hādihā l-khārij fa-in ḥaṣalat al-muṭābaqa al-maqṣūda fa-l-kalām ṣidq wa-illā fa-huwa kadhib (...)* *wa-ammā bi'tu al-inshā'ī fa-innahū lā khārij lahu tuqṣad muṭābaqatuhu bal al-bay' yaḥṣul fī l-ḥāl bi-hādihā l-lafẓ wa-hādihā l-lafẓ mujid lahu*)¹⁵.

Autrement dit, alors que dans l'affirmation *abi'ru*, ce sont les mots qui sont ou non conformes aux choses, dans le performatif *bi'tu*, ce sont inversement les choses qui se conforment aux mots : ce sont eux en effet qui créent une réalité nouvelle, en l'espèce une vente au sens juridique du terme. *Abi'ru* et *bi'tu* s'opposent donc exactement, si l'on reprend la terminologie même de Austin, comme un énoncé *constatif* (*constative utterance*)¹⁶ à un énoncé performatif, ou encore, un énoncé référentiel à un énoncé *sui-référentiel*.

2. KHABAR INSHĀ'Ī AW GHAYR INSHĀ'Ī

Le second objet est remarquable à deux titres : ce n'est pas seulement une catégorie en forme d'*oxymore* ; encore constitue-t-elle, en l'état des publications de moi connues, un *hapax* (si l'on excepte le *Jāmi' al-ṣaghūr* de Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī).

La mention de cet objet prend place dans le *Tashīl* au chapitre du *maf'ūl muṭlaq*, fonction occupée, en principe, par un *maṣdar*. Ibn Mālik indique que le régissant de celui-ci (i.e. le verbe dont ce *maṣdar* est le complément résultatif)¹⁷ peut ou doit être ellipsé. Cette ellipse est obliga-

¹⁵ Nous limitons la citation du texte à l'essentiel. Pour une citation intégrale, cf. Larcher (1990 : 199 et 213 pour le texte et sa traduction).

¹⁶ Austin (1962) substitue au terme traditionnel d'affirmation (*statement*) celui de *constat*, afin de restreindre la catégorie aux affirmations descriptives de faits et, par suite, vraies ou fausses.

¹⁷ Dans l'expression *maf'ūl muṭlaq*, *muṭlaq* s'oppose à *muqayyad bi-ḥarf* (« restreint par une proposition ») : c'est le complément du verbe, dont le *nom* est dépourvu du syntagme prépositionnel que l'on trouve dans les noms des quatre autres compléments du verbe (*bihi, fihī, lahu, ma'ahu*). De ce fait, *maf'ūl* doit être lu au premier niveau comme « effet

toire, entre autres cas, quand le *maṣḍar* est « le substitut de l'énonciation d'un verbe usité dans (...) une affirmation performative ou non » (p. 88) (*wa-yuḥdhaḥaf 'āmil al-maṣḍar (...) wujūban (...) li-kawnihi badalan min al-laḥẓ bi-fi'l musta'mal (...) fi khabar inshā'ī aw ghayr inshā'ī*). Les exemples font défaut dans le *Tashīl*, mais le *khabar inshā'ī* est aussitôt exemplifié dans le *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* (2, 187) :

Et ce qui vient, de cette catégorie [i.e. ce dont le régissant est obligatoirement effacé du fait qu'il est le substitut de l'énonciation d'un verbe utilisé], dans une affirmation performative, c'est *ḥamdan wa-shukran lā jaza'an* [« Louange et merci, non impatience ! »], *'ajaban* [« Merveille ! »] *qasaman la-af'alannahu* [« Serment, je [le] ferai »] (*wa-l-wārid minhu fi khabar inshā'ī ḥamdan wa-shukran lā jaza'an wa-'ajaban wa-qasaman la-af'alanna*)

et, de même, un peu plus loin, le *khabar ghayr inshā'ī* :

Quant à l'affirmation non performative, c'est, par exemple, ce qu'on dit en faisant une promesse à un être cher *af'alu wa-karāmatan wa-masaratan* [« je le ferai, et très volontiers »] ou ce que l'on dit à quelqu'un contre qui on est colère *lā af'alu wa-lā kaydan wa-lā hamman* [« je ne le ferai pas, en aucune manière »] et *la-af'alanna mā yasū'uka wa-raghman wa-hawānan* [« oui, je ferai ce qui peut te nuire, à titre de vexation et d'humiliation »] (*wa-ammā l-khabar ghayr al-inshā'ī fa-ka-qawlika fi wa'd man ya'uzzu 'alayka af'alu karāmatan wa-masaratan wa-ka-qawlika li-l-maghḍūb 'alayhi lā af'alu wa-lā kaydan wa-lā hamman wa-la-af'alanna mā yasū'uka wa-raghman wa-hawānan*)¹⁸.

Avant la publication du *Sharḥ al-Tashīl*, je ne connaissais l'expression de *khabar inshā'ī*, en dehors du *Tashīl*, malheureusement sans exemple, que par le *Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr* de Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (56) :

son régissant doit être ellipsé s'il est le substitut de l'énonciation d'un verbe usité dans une affirmation performative, ainsi *ḥamdan wa-shukran lā kufran* [« louange et merci, non ingratitude ! »] (*wa-yuḥdhaḥaf 'āmiluhu (...) wujūban in kāna badalan min al-laḥẓ bi-fi'l musta'mal (...) fi khabar inshā'ī ka-qawlihim ḥamdan wa-shukran lā kufran*).

Cet opuscule ne fait rien d'autre que répéter le *Tashīl*, mais il nous conserve, pour les exemples, une leçon meilleure que celle retenue par

(de l'action) » et au second niveau comme « complément du verbe marquant l'effet de l'action », ce que nous appelons complément résultatif.

¹⁸ Selon Ibn Ya'īsh (m. 643/1245), *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* 1, 114, *lā kaydan wa-lā hamman = lā akādu an af'ala wa-lā aḥummu bi-hi hamman* = « je ne suis pas près de le faire ni n'y songe » et *raghman wa-hawānan = urghimuka bi-fi'līhi raghman wa-uhūnuka bihi hawānan* = « je te vexerai et t'humilierai en le faisant ».

l'éditeur du *Sharḥ al-Tashīl*¹⁹: *kufran*, antonyme de *shukran*, est plus vraisemblable que *jaza'an* antonyme de *ṣabran*. La correction que nous proposons est confirmée par ce qu'écrivit Badr al-Dīn, sans distinguer d'ailleurs entre un *khābar inshā'ī* et un *khābar ghayr inshā'ī*, dans le commentaire de la *Alfiyya* de son père (p. 269) :

Quant à ce qui est fréquemment employé, c'est, par exemple, ce qu'on dit, en se remémorant une grâce, *allāhumma ḥamdan wa-shukran lā kufran* ; en se remémorant une circonstance adverse *ṣabran lā jaza'an* [« Patience, non impatience ! »] ; lors de la manifestation d'un objet d'admiration *'ajaban* [« Merveille ! »] ; en s'adressant à quelqu'un dont on est satisfait *af'alu dhālika wa-karāmatan wa-masarratan* [« je le ferai très volontiers »] et en s'adressant à quelqu'un contre lequel on est en colère *lā af'alu wa-lā kaydan wa-lā hamman* [« je ne le ferai pas, en aucune manière »] et *la-af'alanna mā yasū'uka wa-raghman wa-hawānan* [« oui, je ferai ce qui t'est dommageable, très désobligeamment »] (*ammā mā kathura sti'māluhu fa-ka-qawlihim 'inda tadhakkurni'ma allāhumma ḥamdan wa-shukran lā kufran wa-'inda tadhakkur shidda ṣabran lā jaza'an wa-'inda zuhūr mā yu'jab minhu 'ajaban wa-'inda kḥiṭāb marḍī 'anhu af'alu dhālika wa-karāmatan wa-masarratan wa-'inda kḥiṭāb maghḍūb 'alayhi lā af'alu dhālika wa-lā kaydan wa-lā hamman wa-la-af'alanna dhālika wa-raghman wa-hawānan*).

On mesurera l'« originalité » de Ibn Mālik, en comparant avec ce que Ibn Ya'īsh écrit dans le *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (1, 114) sur le même sujet : « les verbes implicites régissant ces *maṣdar*-s à l'accusatif sont des affirmations par lesquelles l'énonciateur fait une assertion sur lui-même » (*hādhihi l-maṣādir af'ālūhā l-nāṣiba lahā l-muḍmara akhbār yukhbir bihā l-mutakallim 'an nafsihi*), ajoutant que « [*ḥamdan wa-shukran*] ont le sens (*bi-ma'nā*) de *aḥmadu llāha ḥamdan wa-ashkuruhu shukran* [litt. « je loue Dieu louange et le remercie remerciement »]. » Dans la mesure où *khābar inshā'ī* qualifie le verbe régissant le *maṣdar* et auquel ce *maṣdar* se substitue, il est l'équivalent arabe de ce qu'on a appelé plus haut, à la suite de Austin, « performatif explicite » (*explicit performative*), c'est-à-dire d'un énoncé de forme affirmative, mais de sens performatif : l'énoncé dit ce que ce son énonciation revient à faire. En opposant à *khābar inshā'ī* un *khābar ghayr inshā'ī*, Ibn Mālik paraît d'ailleurs confirmer cette interprétation : si *inshā'* = *ghayr al-khābar*, alors *ghayr al-inshā'ī* peut se réécrire (deux-faisant un +) *khābarī*. Ce faisant, Ibn Mālik n'oppose pas simplement *khābar* à *inshā'*

¹⁹ Ce dernier indique en note (2, 187, n. 5) que « à la place de *lā jaza'an wa-'ajaban*, il y a dans [le manuscrit] B *lā 'ajaban wa-kufran* » ! Ce n'est pas prendre un grand risque que de rétablir la leçon qui s'impose, à savoir *lā-kufran* suivi de *'ajaban*.

comme un énoncé constatif à un énoncé performatif, encore distingue-t-il entre deux façons pour une *affirmation* de se référer aux choses et que Récanati (1981) propose d'appeler respectivement *constative* et *performative*.

Mais, là encore, il y a plus. Entre les exemples qu'il donne du *khavar inshā'* et du *khavar ghayr inshā'*, Ibn Mālik ajoute en effet :

Sibawayhi a dit : « Parmi les cas où l'on fléchit à l'accusatif le *maṣdar* en tant que *maṣdar* d'un verbe occulté qu'on n'explicite pas, mais avec valeur d'admiration, l'expression de *karaman* [« Générosité ! »] et *ṣalafan* [« Vante-rie ! »], comme s'il disait *akramaka llāhu* [« Dieu t'a fait généreux ! »], parce qu'il est devenu, a ajouté Sibawayhi, un substitut de ton expression *akrim bihi* [« Qu'il est généreux ! »] et *aṣlif* [« Qu'il est vantard ! »] (*qāla Sibawayhi wa-mimmā yantaṣib fihi l-maṣdar 'alā idmār al-fi' l-al-matrūk iżhāruhu wa-lākinnahu fi ma'nā l-ta'ajjub qawluhu karaman wa-ṣalafan ka-annahu yaqūlu akramaka llāhu thumma qāla li-annahu ṣāra badal min qawlika akrim bihi wa-aṣlif*).

La citation de Sibawayhi est cependant tronquée, ainsi que le fait remarquer en note (2, 187, n. 6) l'éditeur qui renvoie au *Kitāb* (1, 165 de l'édition de Būlaq = 1, 328 de l'édition Hārūn) dont il restitue le texte :

ka-annahu yaqūlu alzamaka llāhu wa-adāma laka karaman wa-ulzimta ṣalafan wa-lākinnahum khazalū l-fi' l-hāhunā kamā khazalū fi l-awwal li-annahu ṣāra badalan min qawlika akrim bihi wa-aṣlif bihi : « comme s'il disait « Dieu t'a attaché une perpétuelle générosité » et « tu es indécrementablement vantard, » mais on a supprimé le verbe ici comme on l'a fait dans le premier cas, parce qu'il est devenu un substitut de ton expression « Qu'il est généreux ! » et « Qu'il est vantard ! ».

Et Ibn Mālik de conclure : « et je dirai : « *cela aussi fait partie de ce qu'englobe l'affirmation performative* » [c'est moi qui souligne] » (*qultu wa-hādhā aydan mimmā yatanāwaluhu l-khavar al-inshā'*).

Si j'ai souligné cette dernière phrase c'est parce qu'elle annonce une seconde occurrence de la même expression, que l'on trouve justement au chapitre du « verbe d'admiration » (*fi' l-al-ta'ajjub*), nom grammatical arabe des structures *mā af' alahu* et *af' il bihi* = « qu'il est A ! », où A est un adjectif. Du second des deux, Ibn Mālik écrit dans le *Tashīl* (p. 130) : « Tel *af' ala* est *af' il*, affirmation et non ordre, l'objet de l'admiration après lui étant régi au génitif par un *bi-* explétif inséparable » (*ka-af' ala af' il khavarān lā amran majrūran ba'dahu l-muta'ajjab minhu bi-bā' zā'ida lāzima*). Proposition dont Ibn Mālik donne le commentaire suivant (*Sharḥ al-Tashīl* 3, 33) : « il est formellement un ordre, mais sémantiquement une *affirmation performative* [c'est moi qui souligne] prédiquée de l'objet de l'admiration, régi au génitif par *bi* » (*[i]nnahu fi l-lafz amr wa-fi l-ma'nā khavar inshā' musnad ilā l-muta'ajjab minhu majrūran bi-l-bā'*).

En déclarant dans le *Tashīl* que *af'īl* (bihi) est une affirmation et non un ordre et dans le *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* qu'il est formellement un ordre, mais sémantiquement une affirmation, Ibn Mālik montre qu'il entend bien ici *khābar* au sens sémantique de « constat. » Mais en qualifiant ce *khābar* de *inshā'ī*, il admet que ce n'est pas seulement un « constat, » encore est-ce un performatif d'« admiration. »²⁰

On peut alors dire que l'expression de *khābar inshā'ī* annonce celle de *inshā' juz'uhu l-khābar* dont Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī se sert pour caractériser le *fi'l al-madh* (« verbe d'éloge ») *ni'ma* (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* 2, 311) et autres structures *exclamatives*²¹. À ceci près, qui n'est pas rien, que Ibn Mālik le conçoit comme une affirmation à laquelle *s'ajoute* une dimension performative, alors que Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī le conçoit comme un performatif *incluant* un élément (*juz'*) affirmatif. Autrement dit Ibn Mālik le conçoit comme ce que l'on appellerait dans notre tradition une affirmation « modifiée, »²² tandis que Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī ouvre la porte à l'interprétation de l'élément *khābar*, non comme *posé*, mais comme *présupposé*²³. Cette interprétation est confirmée par la description que donne chacun de ces deux grammairiens du *kam al-khābariyya* (ainsi appelé pour le distinguer du *kam al-istifhāmiyya* ou « interrogatif »). Ibn Mālik y voit (2, 442) « un nom par quoi on vise l'assertion sur le mode du *takthūr* » (*ism yuqṣad bihi l-ikhbār 'alā sabīl al-takthūr*), alors que Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī (2, 94) voit dans *kam rajulin laqītuhu* (« combien d'hommes j'ai rencontrés ! ») ce qu'il appelle un *istikthār al-liqā'*. Le terme de *istikthār* ne fait que renouveler celui de *takthūr*, dont il précise le sens :

²⁰ On ne perdra pas de vue que, dans son sens usuel, *ta'ajjub* (litt. « admiration ») est une « passion » (*infi'āl*), mais, dans l'expression *fi'l al-ta'ajjub*, le nom grammatical arabe d'une structure classée comme *inshā'* (cf. *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* 2, 307).

²¹ Le *inshā' juz'uhu l-khābar* regroupe en effet le *kam al-khābariyya* et *rubba*, étudiés au chapitre des *kināyāt* (2, 94), les deux « verbes d'admiration », étudiés en II, 308, et les « verbes d'éloge et de blâme », étudiés en 2, 311. Il fait l'objet du chapitre III de Larcher (1980). Sur les exclamatives considérées d'un point de vue pragmatique, on peut lire aujourd'hui Firānescu (2003).

²² La *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* de Port-Royal (p. 78) appelle « simple » une affirmation comme *il aime, il aimait* et « modifiée » une affirmation comme *quoiqu'il aimât*. Pour Port-Royal, bien sûr, les marques des affirmations simples et modifiées sont les modes du verbe, l'indicatif pour les premières, le subjonctif pour les secondes, dont elle note (p. 79) qu'il est appelé par certains *modus potentialis* ou *concessivus*.

²³ Par la porte ainsi ouverte, s'engouffre son propre commentateur 'Alī b. Muḥammad, dit al-sayyid al-sharīf, al-Jurjānī (m. 816/1413), qui, en marge du *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* 2, 311 indique que « la bonté de Zayd » (*ḥusn Zayd*) par rapport à *mā aḥsana Zaydan* (« Que Zayd est bon ! ») est un *lāzim 'urfī* (« implication empirique ») et non un *khābar*. Dans la mesure où *'urfī* s'oppose à *'aqlī* (« logique »), nous sommes ici très proches de ce qu'on appelle un *présupposé*.

il ne s'agit pas du sens factitif de « faire le peu prou » (*ja'ala l-qalil kathīr*), seulement du sens estimatif de « considérer quelque chose comme *kathīr* » (*'add al-shay' kathīran*). En mettant dans le champ du *istikthār* le prédicatif et non l'argument, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī commet une erreur révélatrice : il tend à transférer à *kam* l'analyse de la plupart des classes d'énoncés, c'est-à-dire un marqueur d'acte illocutoire avec dans son champ un contenu propositionnel²⁴.

L'expression de *khabar inshā'* était annoncée de même par l'idée du *ihtimāl al-iḥbār wa-l-inshā'* de Ibn al-Ḥājjib (m. 646/1249) dans ses *Amālī*. Nous avons jadis fait état de cette dictée²⁵, d'après le rhétoricien Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī (m. 773-1371) qui la cite dans le *Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ* (2, 236). La citation est fidèle, le texte donné par Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī étant identique, à quelques variantes près, à celui donné par les *Amālī* (4, 149-150, dictée n° 208) et que voici :

kam rijālin 'indī [« Que d'hommes il y a chez moi ! »] peut être performatif et assertif. Quant à la performance, c'est du point de vue du *takthīr* [à peu près : le fait de tenir pour nombreux] parce que le locuteur a exprimé le *takthīr* contenu dans son for intérieur en disant *rijālin*²⁶. Le *takthīr* est un objet que l'on vise, existant effectivement dans l'esprit, n'ayant pas une existence au dehors telle qu'on puisse dire selon qu'il s'y conforme ou non qu'il est vrai ou faux. L'assertion, c'est par rapport au fait d'être chez, car le fait qu'ils sont chez lui a une existence au dehors et l'énoncé, sous ce rapport, peut être vrai ou faux. C'est donc un énoncé qui peut être les deux choses [i.e. assertif et performatif], selon les deux considérations différentes mentionnées (*hādihā l-kalām yaḥtamīl al-inshā' wa-l-iḥbār ammā l-inshā' fa-min jihat al-takthīr li-anna l-mutakallim 'abbara 'ammā fī bāṭinihi min al-takthīr bi-qawlihi rijālin wa-l-takthīr ma'nā muḥaqqaq ṭhābit fī l-nafs lā wujūd lahu min khārij ḥattā yuqāl bi-'tibār an* [sic]²⁷ *tābaqa fa-ṣīd q wa-in lam yuṭābiq fa-kadhib wa-l-iḥbār bi-'tibār al-'indīyya fa-inna kawnaḥum 'indahū lahu wujūd min khārij fa-l-kalām bi-'tibārihi muḥtamīl li-l-ṣīd q wa-l-kadhib fa-hādihā kalām muḥtamīl al-amrayn bi-l-i'tibārayn al-madhkūrayn al-mukhtalifayn*).

²⁴ Cf. *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* 2, 97, où Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī justifie la première place de *kam* par le fait qu'il contient la valeur performative, ajoutant que « en fait, ce qui contient la valeur performative doit être en tête parce qu'il influe sur l'énoncé, qu'il fait sortir de l'affirmativité ». Dans le cas de *kam*, cependant, le transfert n'est pas total, puisqu'il ne fait pas sortir la phrase de l'affirmativité. Mais Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī est confronté au même problème en 2, 347 avec *inna*, qui « confirme » (*yu'akkid*), mais ne transforme pas (*lā yughayyir*) le sens de la phrase dans son champ. Bien qu'analysée comme une phrase nominale thème/propos, la phrase avec *kam* est, logiquement, plus proche d'une phrase existentielle, où le nom dans le champ de *kam* et la phrase « propos » sont en fait dans la relation de *mawṣūf* à *ṣifa*, soit : « Combien d'hommes [il y a, que] j'ai rencontrés ! »

²⁵ Larcher (1991 : 261-262).

²⁶ En tout état de cause, la marque du *takthīr* est *kam*.

²⁷ La leçon du *Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ* est meilleure : *bi-'tibārihi in...*

Avant même de commenter cette dictée, on notera que les trois grands grammairiens du VII^{ème}/XIII^{ème} siècle, tout en partageant l'idée de la « mixité » de ces énoncés, ne s'en font pas moins, chacun, une idée différente : pour Ibn al-Ḥāḥib, c'est une parité du *ikhbār* et du *inshā'*, pour Ibn Mālik une prépondérance du *khābar* sur le *inshā'*, pour Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī une prépondérance du *inshā'* sur le *khābar*. On conçoit qu'une historiographie linguistique bien comprise sera ennemie de toute standardisation et résolution variationniste.

Dans la dictée citée ci-dessus, Ibn al-Ḥāḥib développe une tout autre conception du *inshā'* (vs *ikhbār*). Au vrai, *inshā'* n'est défini ici ni comme énonciation, ni comme énoncé, mais comme signification, ou, pour le dire en arabe, non comme *kalām* ayant un certain *ma'nā*, mais comme *ma'nā* d'un certain *kalām*. Nous sommes donc ici moins dans la classification des énoncés, devenue habituelle au VII^{ème}/XIII^{ème} siècle, que dans la tradition antérieure des *ma'ānī l-kalām*²⁸. Dans la mesure où le *ikhbār* est caractérisé positivement par l'existence d'une référence objective et le *inshā'*, non seulement négativement par l'absence d'une telle référence, mais encore positivement comme l'expression d'une réalité psychologique, *ikhbār* et *inshā'* peuvent donc parfaitement être compris ici comme les modes *objectif* et *subjectif* du discours²⁹.

Cette conception *mentaliste* du *inshā'* peut certainement être rapprochée d'une occurrence antérieure de *inshā'* que l'on rencontre à deux reprises, avec *ma'nā* dans son champ, dans les *Dalā'il al-i'jāz* de 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (m. 471/1078). La première occurrence se trouve dans le développement que Jurjānī consacre justement aux *ma'ānī l-kalām*³⁰ et, en premier lieu, au *khābar* (p. 405 et suivantes). Il indique que celui-ci est inconcevable, non seulement s'il n'y a pas deux choses, « ce qu'on affirme » (*mukhbar bihi*) et « ce dont on l'affirme » (*mukhbar 'anhu*), mais encore une troisième, qui est « quelqu'un qui affirme » (*mukhbīr*). Autrement dit, Jurjānī est parfaitement conscient de la dimension « subjective » de l'affirmation et c'est en conclusion de ce développement qu'il écrit (p. 406) :

²⁸ Les deux sont évidemment liées, dans la mesure où les mêmes termes se disent métonymiquement soit du sens de l'énoncé, soit de l'énoncé dont c'est le sens. Les *ma'ānī l-kalām* constituent un célèbre chapitre du *Ṣāhibī* de Ibn Fāris (m. 395/1004), étudié par Buburuzan (1995).

²⁹ Dans Larcher (1993), il est montré comment cette conception, rencontrant objectivement la conception « modale » de certains grammairiens arabisants comme Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), avait durablement occulté la conception sui-référentielle et performative du *inshā'*.

³⁰ Ce passage est également étudié par Bettini (1987–1988). Sur le *khābar*, chez Jurjānī, on peut lire maintenant l'étude très détaillée de Ghersetti (2002).

Au total, l'affirmation et tout le discours sont des intentions que l'homme fait naître en lui-même, qu'il retourne dans sa pensée, qu'il confie à son cœur et à propos desquels il se réfère à sa raison et qualifiables de visées et de desseins (*wa-jumlat al-amr anna l-khabar wa-jamī' al-kalām ma'ānīn yunshi'uhā l-insān fī nafsīhi wa-yuṣarrifuhā fī fikrihi wa-yunāji bihā qalbahu wa-yurāji'uhā 'aqlahu wa-tūṣaf bi-annahā maqāṣid wa-aghrād*).

Cela est, à quelques variantes près, répété p. 418 :

Une fois établi que l'affirmation et toutes les autres significations de l'énoncé sont des intentions que l'homme fait naître en lui, qu'il retourne dans sa pensée, qu'il confie à son cœur et à propos desquelles il se réfère à lui, alors sache qu'on ne bénéficie de leur connaissance que de celui qui les fait naître et qui les vise... (*wa-idh qad thabata anna l-khabar wa-sā'ir ma'ānī l-kalām ma'ānīn yunshi'uhā l-insān fī nafsīhi wa-yuṣarrifuhā fī fikrihi wa-yunāji bihā qalbahu wa-yarji' fihā ilayhi fa-'lam anna l-fā'ida fī l-'ilm bihā wāqī'a min al-munshi' lahā ṣādira 'an al-qāṣid ilayhā*).

Si l'on admet le rapprochement que nous faisons entre la conception mentaliste du *inshā'* et le *inshā'* jurjānien, il faut alors expliquer pourquoi le *khabar* est associé aux autres *ma'ānī* « que fait naître le locuteur en lui » chez Jurjānī, alors qu'au contraire il en est dissocié chez Ibn al-Ḥājjib. La base de la dissociation se trouve chez Jurjānī lui-même quand il déclare que l'affirmation est « la plus importante de ces intentions » (*a'ḥamuhā sha'nān*). Et la dissociation devient effective dans la partie rhétorique du *Miftaḥ al-'ulūm* de Sakkākī (m. 626/1229), qui est une synthèse de l'œuvre de Jurjānī. On y voit apparaître une classification des énoncés en *khabar* et *ṭalab*, ce dernier subdivisé en cinq espèces. Sakkākī refuse de définir *khabar* et *ṭalab*. Dans le premier cas, il conteste le caractère de définition à la caractérisation du *khabar* par sa possibilité d'être vrai (ou dit vrai) ou faux (ou dit faux), comme conduisant à un cercle vicieux : si on définit l'affirmation par sa valeur de vérité/fausseté, on ne peut définir la vérité/fausseté que comme « l'affirmation faite sur une chose qu'elle est conforme ou non à ce qu'elle est (dans la réalité) » (*al-khabar 'an al-shay' 'alā/lā 'alā mā huwa bihi*). Dans le second, il justifie son refus en ces termes (p. 71) :

C'est parce que quiconque souhaite, interroge, ordonne, défend et appelle crée chacune de ses choses en lui-même en connaissance de cause (*fa-li-anna kull aḥad yatamannā wa-yastafhim wa-ya'mur wa-yanhā wa-yunādi yūjid kullān min dhālika fī mawḍi' nafsīhi 'an 'ilm*)

La caractérisation jurjānienne des *ma'ānī l-kalām* (incluant le *khabar*) a été transférée ici au seul *ṭalab*, le verbe *yunshi'* étant simplement remplacé par celui de *yūjid*. On peut légitimement supposer que le fait de privilégier le *khabar* et, à défaut de le définir, de le caractériser par sa

référence objective, a eu pour effet de caractériser, par contraste, le *ṭalab* par sa dimension subjective.

La double extension de *khavar inshāʿī* fait question. Dans la première occurrence, il désigne un performatif explicite : *khavar* s'y entend nécessairement au sens formel d'affirmation et non sémantique de constat : c'est précisément parce que l'énoncé ne constate aucune réalité indépendante de son énonciation qu'il est qualifié de *inshāʿī*. Dans la seconde occurrence, il désigne un énoncé exclamatif. *Khavar* s'y entend nécessairement au sens sémantique de constat, en ce qu'il réfère à une réalité indépendante de son énonciation, et partant, selon qu'il s'y conforme ou non, est vrai ou faux, mais non au sens formel d'affirmation, même si Ibn Mālik voit entre le verbe d'admiration et le SP *bi-hi* une relation de prédication entre un « apport » (*musnad*) et un « support » (*musnad ilayhi*)³¹. Il faut donc admettre que dans cette double occurrence, *khavar* subit une espèce de *dédoublement*.

On admettra d'autant plus volontiers ce dédoublement que le terme de *takthīr*, commun à Ibn al-Ḥāḥib et Ibn Mālik, suggère, là encore, une possible influence du premier sur le second. Or, dans deux des *Amālī* de Ibn al-Ḥāḥib, que nous avons jadis citées et commentées³², la 44^{ème} (IV, 46) et la 90^{ème} (IV, 80), apparaît une conception encore différente du *khavar* et du *inshāʿī*. Citons ici la 90^{ème}, qui concerne le *kalām*, alors que la 44^{ème} concerne le *kalām al-naḥs*³³:

L'énoncé se divise en phrase performative et en phrase affirmative. L'affirmative, c'est toute phrase sur quelque chose à quoi s'attache une connaissance, que ce soit de manière effective ou virtuelle. La performative, c'est toute phrase sur l'intenté lui-même, sans considération du fait que la connaissance s'y attache (*al-kalām yanqasim ilā l-jumla l-inshāʿīyya wa-ilā l-jumla l-khabariyya fa-l-khabariyya kull jumla ʿan mutaʿallaq ʿilm taḥqīqan aw taqdīran wa-l-inshāʿīyya kull jumla ʿan naḥs al-maʿnā min ghayr iʿtibār taʿalluq al-ʿilm bihi*).

³¹ Selon la traduction proposée dans Larcher (2000). Il y a un autre cas, où le *musnad ilayhi* est un SP, c'est celui du passif impersonnel, type *nūdiya ilā l-ṣalāti* (« on a appelé à la prière »). On rappellera que le *isnād* (« prédication ») est caractéristique de la *jumla* et, par suite, transcende la classification du *kalām* en *khavar* et *inshāʿī*.

³² Larcher (1994).

³³ Le *kalām al-naḥs* ou *al-kalām al-naḥsī* (« discours ou énoncé mental ») représente le *maʿnā* du *kalām al-lafẓī* (« discours ou énoncé oralo-verbal ») ou *kalām* tout court. La distinction des deux discours (trois si l'on y ajoute le discours écrit) est un héritage de la philosophie antique : elle a été récupérée par la théologie islamique qui attribue à Allāh le *kalām al-naḥs*, qui, seul, est éternel, le *kalām al-lafẓī* advenant, lui, dans le temps.

Ibn al-Ḥāḥib illustre ces définitions par l'exemple suivant :

Ce qui le montre, c'est que quand il te vient à l'esprit de demander de l'eau à Zayd et que tu connais le surgissement de cette demande, si tu veux exprimer cette demande en considérant le fait que la connaissance s'y attache, tu diras *ṭalabtu min Zaydin mā'an* [« je demande de l'eau à Zayd »]³⁴ mais si tu veux exprimer la demande elle-même, tu diras *isqinī* [« Donne-moi à boire ! »] (*wa-bayānuhu annaka idhā qāma bi-nafsika ṭalab al-mā' min Zayd wa-'alimta ḥuṣūl dhālika l-ṭalab fa-idhā qaṣadta l-ta'bīr bi-'tibār ta'alluq al-'ilm bihi qulta ṭalabtu min Zayd mā' fa-in qaṣadta l-ta'bīr 'an naṣ al-ṭalab min ghayr naẓar ilā ta'alluq al-'ilm bihi qulta isqinī*).

Clairement, Ibn al-Ḥāḥib n'oppose pas ici *khavar* et *inshā'* comme deux modes de référence des mots aux choses ni même comme les modes objectif et subjectif du discours. À la fin de la même dictée, il rejette d'ailleurs la caractérisation logique de l'affirmation : « quant au fait de distinguer l'affirmation par la possibilité d'être vraie ou fausse, ce n'est pas correct, car c'est une conséquence de son caractère rationnel. Il n'est donc pas correct d'en faire un trait définitoire, afin de ne pas aboutir à un cercle vicieux »³⁵ (*wa-ammā tabyīn al-khavar bi-ḥtimāl al-ṣidq wa-l-kadhib fa-ghayr mustaqīm li-annahu far' 'aqliyyatihi fa-lā yastaqīm an yuj'al mu'arriḥan li-allā yu'addīya ilā l-dawr*). En fait, il les oppose, non pas sémantiquement, mais *sémiotiquement*, comme deux façons de *signifier* une même chose, en l'espèce un événement psychologique : façons que nous avons proposé d'interpréter, en utilisant tentativement la terminologie de Karl Bühler (1879–1963), comme « représentation » (*Darstellung*) et « expression » (*Ausdruck*) de cet événement³⁶.

C'est aussi par rapport à cette conception de l'opposition *khavar/inshā'* que Ibn Mālik peut parler dans la première occurrence de *khavar inshā'*. Un argument en ce sens peut être trouvé dans un des exemples qui en sont donnés, à savoir *'ajaban* (« Merveille ! »). Alors que les autres verbes ellipsés sont bien pour nous des performatifs explicites (*aḥmadu*

³⁴ Dans le contexte, la forme *fa'altu* est sûrement choisie pour sa valeur aspectuelle d'accompli, c'est-à-dire marquant le résultat présent d'une activité psychologique antérieure. Cf. la dictée 44 (4, 46), où est donné un second exemple : « de même, quand surgit dans son esprit [i.e. celui du locuteur] un émerveillement et qu'il l'exprime en considérant son existence comme objet de connaissance, il dit *ta'ajjibtu* [« je suis émerveillé »], mais si, d'aventure, il l'exprimait en le considérant indépendamment de cela, il dirait *mā aḥsanahu* [« qu'il est bon ! »] et *mā a'lamahu* [« qu'il est savant ! »] » (*wa-ka-dhālika idhā qāma bi-l-naṣ ta'ajjub fa-'abbara 'anhu bi-'tibār ḥuṣūlihi muta'allaqan li-l-'ilm qāla ta'ajjibtu wa-law 'abbara 'anhu bi-'tibārihi min ghayr dhālika la-qāla mā aḥsanahu aw mā a'lamahu*).

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, citation du *Miftāḥ*.

³⁶ Larcher (1993).

« je loue, » *ashkuru* « je remercie, » *uqsimu* « je jure »), il n'en va évidemment pas de même de *a'jabu* (« je suis émerveillé »). En revanche, l'ellipse du verbe fait bien passer de la « représentation » à l'« expression » de l'émerveillement...

3. AL-MUNĀDĀ MAṢŪB (...) BI-UNĀDĪ LĀZIM AL-IḌMĀR (...)
MA'Ā QAṢD AL-INSHĀ'

Le troisième et dernier objet est à nouveau une proposition, qui apparaît au chapitre du vocatif (*bāb al-nidā'*), dans le *Tashīl*, p. 179. Je n'en ai cité que le segment essentiel pour notre propos, mais il convient d'abord de le restituer dans son contexte :

L'objet interpellé est fléchi à l'accusatif, formellement ou virtuellement, par *unādī*, nécessairement occulté, du fait qu'on s'en dispense, de par son évidence sémantique, avec visée performative, et du fait de la fréquence d'emploi, et du fait qu'on a mis, comme une contrepartie de ce verbe, un [élément] (*al-munādā maṣūb lafẓan aw taqdīran bi-unādī lāzim al-iḍmār istiḡhnā'an bi-zuhūr ma'nāhu ma'a qaṣd al-inshā' wa-kathrat al-isti'māl wa-ja'lihīm ka-iwaḍ minhu (...) a, yā etc...*)

Ibn Mālik donne dans le *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* (3, 385) un commentaire particulièrement stimulant :

Ce qui le régit à l'accusatif, c'est *unādī* : ce [verbe] est nécessairement occulté, à cause de son évidence sémantique, due à la fréquence d'emploi et à la visée performative, et du fait que les Arabes ont mis l'une des particules précitées comme sa contrepartie (*wa-nāṣibuhu unādī lāzim al-iḍmār li-zuhūr ma'nāhu ma'a kathrat al-isti'māl wa-qaṣd al-inshā' wa-li-ja'l al-'Arab aḥad al-ḥurūf al-madhkūra ka-l-iwaḍ minhu*).

Et Ibn Mālik d'ajouter :

Chacune de ces causes est suffisante pour rendre nécessaire le caractère inséparable de l'occultation, surtout la visée performative : y veiller est de la plus extrême importance, parce qu'explicitement *unādī* donnerait à penser que l'énonciateur affirme qu'il va effectuer un appel, alors que le but est que l'auditeur sache qu'il en est en train d'en performer un [c'est moi qui souligne] L'occultation est spécialement faite pour cela et est donc nécessaire (*wa-kull wāḥid min hādhihi l-asbāb kāfin fi ṭjāb luzūm al-iḍmār wa-lā siyyamā qaṣd al-inshā' fa-inna l-iḥtimām bihi fi ḡhāya min al-wakāda li-anna iẓhār unādī yūhīm anna l-mutakallim mukhbīr bi-annahu sa-yūqi' nidā' wa-l-gharaḍ 'ilm al-sāmi' bi-annahu munshi' lahu wa-l-iḍmār mu'ayyan 'alā dhālika fa-kāna wājiban*).

Ibn Mālik fait le lien entre grammaire classique et postclassique. Il renoue en effet avec une idée que l'on trouve déjà chez Mubarrad (m. 286/900), *Muqtaḍab* (4, 202) :

Sache que quand tu interpelles un terme en état d'annexion tu le régis à l'accusatif. Sa rection à l'accusatif est due à un verbe que l'on ne manifeste pas, ainsi *yā 'Abdallāhi* : en effet, [*yā*] est un substitut de *ad'ū 'Abdallāhi* [« j'appelle 'Abdallāh »] et *urīdu* [« je vise ('Abdallāh) »]. Non pas que tu affirmes que tu fais ; par contre, cette particule a pour effet que tu as accompli un acte, car quand tu dis *yā 'Abdallāhi* s'est effectuée l'interpellation par toi de 'Abdallāh : sa rection à l'accusatif se fait en tant qu'objet sur lequel passe ton action (*i'lam annaka idhā da'awta muḍāfan naṣabtaha wa-ntiṣābuhu 'alā l-fi' l-al-matrūk iḥhāruhu wa-dhālika qawluka yā 'Abdallāhi li-anna yā badal min qawluka ad'ū 'Abdallāhi wa-urīdu lā annaka tukhbīru annaka taf'alu wa-lākin bihā waqa'a annaka qad awqa'ta fi'lan fa-idhā qulta yā 'Abdallāhi fa-qad waqa'a du'ā'uka bi-'Abdallāhi fa-ntaṣaba 'alā annahu maf'ul ta'addā ilayhi fi'luka*).

Entre les deux, on trouve également ce texte *singulier*³⁷ de Ibn al-Sarrāj (m. 316/929), *Uṣūl* 1, 333 :

Tu dois savoir que tout objet interpellé a pour dû l'accusatif, du fait que dire *yā fulān* est le substitut de dire *unādī fulānan* : dire *yā*, en effet, c'est l'action même, en quoi [ce dire] se distingue de tout le reste du discours, parce que l'acte de parole est une énonciation dispensant de faire, alors que cette action, ici, est d'énoncer. Si tu dis : *nādaytu Zaydan*, après avoir dit *yā Zaydu*, c'est comme dire *ḍarabtu Zaydan* après lui avoir fait cela. Réfléchis-y, car ce chapitre se singularise en cela (*wa-yanbaghī an ta'lam anna ḥaqq kull munādā al-naṣb min qibal anna qawluka yā fulān yanūb 'an qawluka unādī fulānan li-anna qawluka yā huwa l-'amal bi-'aynihi wa-annahu fāraqa sā'ir al-kalām li-anna l-kalām lafẓ yughnī 'an 'amal wa-hādhā l-'amal fihi huwa l-lafẓ fa-in qulta nādaytu Zaydan ba'da qawluka yā Zaydu wa-huwa mithl qawluka ḍarabtu Zaydan ba'da 'ilmika [sic]³⁸ dhālika bihi fa-ta'ammal hādhā fa-innahu munfarid bihi hādhā l-bāb*)

Tous ces textes établissent, de la manière la plus nette qui soit, que l'interpellation est comprise par les grammairiens arabes et, ce, très longtemps avant la consécration du terme de *inshā'*, comme un acte illocutoire (ou illocutionnaire). L'apparition chez Mubarrad du verbe *awqa'a*, dont *iqā'* est le nom d'action, en est le plus sûr indice et montre que *inshā'* n'a fait que relayer des termes plus anciens. Originale, mais restée, semble-t-il,

³⁷ C'est Mike Carter qui attira, il y a près de vingt ans, mon attention sur ce texte.

³⁸ Cette lecture ne fait évidemment pas sens dans le contexte et doit être corrigée en *'amalika*.

marginale est la position de Ibn al-Sarrāj, qui en fait l'acte illocutoire type et même unique. Mais sa position a le mérite de montrer comment émerge la conscience de l'activité illocutoire. Il part de la classique opposition du dire (*al-kalām, al-laḥẓ*) et du faire (*al-'amal*), où dire, c'est ne pas faire, pour arriver à la conclusion qu'en un cas au moins dire, c'est faire, ou plutôt faire, ici, n'est rien d'autre que dire quelque chose. Remarquable, à cet égard, est la comparaison qu'il fait entre *ḍarabtu Zaydan* « j'ai frappé Zayd », rapportant l'acte de frapper Zayd, et *nādaytu Zaydan* « j'ai appelé Zayd », rapportant l'acte de dire *yā Zaydu*. Ce faisant, Ibn al-Sarrāj ne reconnaît pas seulement l'interpellation comme un acte de parole, mais encore le verbe *nādā* comme un verbe métalinguistique.

Mais tous ces textes opposent dire *yā Zaydu* comme effectuation de l'acte d'interpellation à *unādī* comme affirmation sur cet acte. Cela est dit explicitement par Mubarrad et Ibn Mālik, implicitement par Ibn al-Sarrāj. Justifier la substitution de *yā* à *unādī* par le fait que « dire *yā*, c'est l'acte même » implique en effet que dire *unādī* n'est, quant à lui, rien d'autre qu'une affirmation sur un acte. Autrement dit, la relation de *yā Zaydu* à *unādī Zaydan* n'est en aucun cas pour ces grammairiens celle d'un performatif implicite à un performatif explicite. Le *unādī* « sous-entendu » dans la structure vocative est donc purement *abstrait*. Il est postulé pour des raisons syntaxiques : il permet de rendre compte de la flexion accusatif du *munādā* qui apparaît notamment quand celui-ci est premier terme d'une annexion (e.g. *yā 'Abdallāhi*), mais il en constitue une représentation sémantique inadéquate³⁹.

Le cas du vocatif est donc particulièrement intéressant en ce qu'il apparaît à cheval sur les deux conceptions du *inshā'*. D'un côté, *yā Zaydu* est opposé à *unādī Zaydan* comme un performatif à une affirmation et, par suite, *inshā'* s'oppose bien à *ḵabar* comme le mode sui-référentiel au mode référentiel du discours. Mais, de l'autre, il est posé comme essentiel à l'accomplissement de cet acte de ne pas être « affirmé » et, sous ce rapport, *inshā'* s'oppose à *ḵabar* comme l'« expression » d'un *ma'nā* à sa « représentation » : dans la même dictée 90, Ibn al-Ḥājjib ajoute qu'« il en

³⁹ Son inadéquation tient surtout à son incapacité à représenter ce qui fait la spécificité de la structure vocative : celle de transformer le nom propre Zayd, qui est un terme de référence, en terme d'adresse. Jurjānī (*Muqtaṣid* 1, 95) en semble conscient : « ne vois-tu pas que si tu disais *ad'ū 'Abdallāhi*, on ne saurait pas si tu l'appelles ou affirmes qu'il est dans ton intention de l'appeler (...) ou as pour but d'informer quelqu'un d'autre que tu appelles 'Abdallāh » (*a-lā tarā annaka law qulta ad'ū 'Abdallāhi lam yu'lam annaka tunādīhi aw tukhbir anna min niyyatika du'a'ahu (...) aw taqṣid ikhbār ghayrihi bi-annaka tad'ū 'Abdallāhi*).

va potentiellement de même de toutes les valeurs performatives, comme l'interrogation, le souhait, l'exhortation et l'interpellation » (*wa-ka-dhālika l-taqdir fi jamī' ma'ānī l-inshā' ka-l-istifhām wa-l-tamannī wa-l-tahḍīd wa-l-nidā'*).

Il reviendra à un grammairien comme Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī de rejoindre ces deux conceptions, en qualifiant le verbe sous-entendu de « performatif, » comme en I, 9 : « quant à une expression telle que *yā Zaydu*, c'est parce que *yā'* remplace le performatif *da'awtu* » (*ammā naḥw yā Zaydu fa-li-sadd yā masadd da'awtu l-inshā'ī*)⁴⁰, avant de s'étendre en 1, 132 sur la forme qu'il donne à ce performatif :

Ce qu'on a présenté ici comme rendu nécessaire, à savoir que le verbe, s'il était sous-entendu ou que *yā* le remplaçât, serait une phrase affirmative, ne l'est pas : le verbe, en effet, a pour objet la performance. Aussi, le mieux est-il de le sous-entendre sous la forme du passé, i.e. *da'awtu* ou *nādaytu*, car, s'agissant des verbes performatifs, ils apparaissent le plus souvent sous la forme du passé (*mā ūrida hāhunā ilzāman min anna l-fi'l law kāna muqaddaran aw kāna yā 'iwaḍan minhu la-kāna jumla khabariyya ghayr lāzim li-anna l-fi'l maqṣūd bihi l-inshā' fa-l-awlā an yuqaddar bi-lafz al-māḍī ay da'awtu aw nādaytu li-anna l-aḡḡlab fi l-af'āl al-inshā'iyya maji'uhā bi-lafz al-māḍī*).

Ici, la boucle est bouclée. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī donne au plus typique des performatifs abstraits la forme *fa'altu* qui est celle du plus typique des performatifs concrets (*bi'tu* et autres « opératifs »), ce qui revient à unifier, tout en la formalisant, la description sémantique des énoncés.

CONCLUSION

On comprend pourquoi, quarante ans après son « invention, » au sens archéologique du terme, la catégorie de *inshā'* continue de me fasciner. Elle n'a pas moins de quatre extensions : elle peut désigner soit l'énonciation performative (par opposition à *ikhbār*), soit l'énoncé performatif (par opposition à *khabar*) et, dans les deux cas, soit au sens strict, soit au sens large. On a le sens restreint, quand elle désigne l'énonciation performative d'une phrase par opposition à son énonciation assertive. On a le sens large quand toute énonciation est considérée comme performative d'un acte et, en ce sens, « l'assertion aussi est une performance de parole » (*al-ikhbār aydan inshā'*)⁴¹. On a le sens restreint d'énoncé performatif quand *inshā'*

⁴⁰ La remarque est incidente. Il s'agit ici de justifier que *yā Zaydu* est bien un *kalām*, bien que n'ayant aucun des deux schémas canoniques de la *jumla*, i.e. NN ou VN.

⁴¹ Pour des références, cf. Larcher (1991 : 262–266).

est opposé à *khabar* et *ṭalab* et le sens élargi quand il est opposé à *khabar* seulement, le *inshā'* étant généralement subdivisé en *ṭalabī* et *ghayr ṭalabī*⁴². Et elle n'a pas moins de quatre intensions : elle peut désigner l'un des deux modes de référence des mots aux choses, l'une des deux façons de signifier une même chose, le mode subjectif du discours, ce dernier étant parfois réduit à une simple « assertion sur ce qu'il y a dans le for intérieur (de celui qui parle) » (*al-ikhbār 'ammā fi l-bāṭin*)⁴³.

L'interprétation du *inshā'* est d'autant plus délicate que ces différentes extensions et intensions se rencontrent à tout instant dans les textes (y compris sous la plume d'un même auteur). C'est la conséquence du fait qu'elle est au carrefour des deux grandes influences s'exerçant sur les disciplines linguistiques en islam : d'une part un courant théologico-juridique, qui favorise l'interprétation en termes de sui-référentialité, de performativité et d'activité illocutoire et d'autre part un courant logico-philosophique, qui, en privilégiant l'affirmation, sa « représentation » des choses et sa référence objective, favorise l'interprétation en termes de subjectivité et d'« expression. »

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⁴² Cette subdivision négative est plus large que *īqā'ī*, permettant de regrouper tout ce qui n'est ni *khabar*, ni *ṭalab* : pour le détail, cf. *ibid.*, 255–262).

⁴³ Pour le détail et des références, cf. Larcher (1991 : 261 et 1993 : 275).

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FROM LEXICAL TO GRAMMATICAL:
NAFS AND OTHER IDENTIFIERS

Nadia Anghelescu

This article puts forth some observations regarding the forms of semantic and grammatical evolution manifested within a small category of elements in literary Arabic, whose prototype is *nafs* (the initial, as well as the present, lexical meaning of the lexeme is “soul” and “person”). To introduce our hypotheses on this form of evolution, we shall make constant reference to the English *self*, which, like the Arab equivalent, develops out of the same lexeme, usually called an “intensifier” (my *self*) and a “reflexive marker” (I hate *myself*). I must add that *nafs* often appears as an equivalent to “same.” Other elements that are commonly grouped together in Arabic in the above-mentioned category, given that they display partially similar behavior, are *‘ayn* whose initial lexical meaning was “eye”—and *dhāt*, which originally was the feminine form of a deictic (*dhū*) whose meaning was that of “owner.” The lexical meaning of this feminine form, which also set itself apart as an identifier among deictics, was originally that of “being,” “essence.”

In the past decades, several works have discussed the functions of elements similar to *self* from a typological perspective, i.e., trying to find explanations of a typological nature for certain resemblances among languages, from the perspective we are interested in here—such as:

- a. the common lexical source, on a general or areal level, of certain metaphors that become “intensifiers” and “reflexive markers.” Schladt brings forth data from 150 languages that show the main sources of reflexive markers, mentioning among the most common: body parts names; nominal sources: person, self, owner; emphatic pronouns;¹
- b. the kinds of meanings that various authors group under the heading “intensity” or “emphasis,” which is the nature of the reflexive;²
- c. possible explanations of the formal identity of intensifiers on the one hand, and reflexive markers on the other hand, in several languages:

¹ Schladt (2000).

² For example, see König and Siemund (2000); Gast and Siemund (2006).

from the point of view of most authors, the elements of the first category, intensifiers, are at the origin of the second category, reflexive markers.

- d. the structures to which the above-mentioned elements are circumscribed, and, in relation to that, the problems associated with anaphora.³

In what follows, we shall start from some of the issues mentioned above in order to derive observations on the expression of those meanings in literary Arabic, both classical and modern. A common name shall be used for elements such as *nafs*, *ʿayn*, *dhāt*—that of “identifiers,” starting from the hypothesis that the function of expressing identity and identification is one from which others derive; we shall continue to keep the widely used terms “intensifiers” or “self intensifiers,” as well as “reflexive markers” to refer to certain specific functions within the more general function of expressing identity.

BRIEFLY, ABOUT “IDENTITY”

Ever since ancient times, the concept of “identity” has held enormous interest for philosophers, including those in the Arab world. Philosophers commonly speak of three types of identity, or rather of three ways to conceptualize identity: a *numerical* identity (two or more expressions for what is *one*: “evening star” and “morning star” are a common example of such a type of identity); a *personal* identity, of that which “remains itself” despite the changes that come about during the course of its existence: one’s genetic print, character etc. is said not to change over time; and, a *specific or qualitative* identity, if, despite differences manifested in time or space, there is a constant feature or quality that differentiates one object or being from the next. The law of identity is formally expressed by $a=a$.

An interesting distinction regarding this topic is that made by Ricoeur between identity as *mêmeité* (En. “sameness”) and identity as *ipséité* (En. “selfhood”).⁴ *Nafs* and the other elements belonging to the same category in Arabic can be equated in English with both *same* and *self*; i.e. they express both types of identity. The testimonies of various languages on the way the idea of identity is expressed, beginning with the identity of the person, are important for the very definition of the concept of

³ Reuland (2000), Frajzyngier et al. (1999).

⁴ Ricoeur (1992).

identity. But the testimonies of language (and languages) also weigh in from another perspective, directly related to this topic. It is the concept the “divided self” as expressed through metaphors, including those underlying identifiers; these concepts were tackled in works such as those of Haiman and Lakoff.⁵

Haiman’s article, which refers to the reflexive as a linguistic expression of a divided self, starts from the simple observation that reflexive structures of the type that include *self* are motivated by people doing things not only to others, but also to themselves, yet “*the self*, both as a common noun and a separate reflexive pronoun, is very far from being a humdrum morpheme in the universal inventory of human language concepts.”⁶

The appearance of such an element in the history of languages is, according to Haiman, “a cultural invention” connected to the necessity of expressing a certain idea of alienation that comes through in cultures in which the social person, who plays a specific role, is seen as distinct from the individual, with his own inclinations, attitudes, and actions. Talking about the structures that subsume identifiers, Haiman notes that the phrase that contains the reflexive is a *marked* phrase, which is conveyed for instance, in various languages, by the reflexive pronoun being one and the same as the emphatic pronoun. In most situations, the latter expresses “something remarkable or surprising.” In other words, we might say, this is a situation of invalidating expectations in the case of the so-called emphatic pronominal adjectives, or of the contrasting function of intensifiers that some authors have discussed.

In a 1992 online paper, Lakoff focuses on “the metaphorical models of the Self,” which he sees as being “inherent in our conceptual system.” The person is split, he claims, between a “Subject,” which is “the center of consciousness, will and judgment” and a “Self,” or “the rest of the person,” which includes among other aspects, for instance, the person’s body. There are, Lakoff believes, several metaphorical models that convey this split between body and spirit, i.e. the “nonphysical locus of consciousness.” The Subject, which is normally inside the Self, can be split from the latter and can perceive the Self from the outside.⁷

Philosophers, but also linguists who try to circumscribe the concept of identity (as expressing either individuality or the split self) most often refer to *personal* identity. That is one of the reasons why, in what follows,

⁵ Haiman (1995) and Lakoff (2000).

⁶ Haiman (1995: 214).

⁷ See, for instance, the English “I can’t see myself doing such a thing.”

we will refer to the evolution of the meanings of *nafs* as that which concerns the making of the concept of person and personality in the Arab culture, beginning with the pre-Islamic era.

NAFS AND THE CONCEPT OF "PERSON"

Some observations on the way in which the concept of "human being," as *individual*, might have evolved into the concept of a self-aware *person* were put forth by Joseph Chelhod,⁸ as briefly summarized below.

A word that designates a "person" seems not to have existed in the ancient period: the word *shakhṣ*, nowadays used to signify just that, then meant the physical aspect of a human being as seen from a distance, "his/silhouette, his vanishing shadow," as Chelhod says,⁹ quoting Massignon. The nomadic individual in the pre-Islamic world has weak self-awareness, and his behavior is entirely determined by the collective consciousness. When the individual is released from the social group and acquires "an autonomous individual behavior," he becomes individuated, and thus "better sees within himself":

Ce passage d'un état à l'autre, qui s'effectue insensiblement; sans solution de continuité, se traduit par une prise de conscience qui permet à l'homme de mieux voir en lui même et éveille en lui le sentiment de son unité; de son identité; de sa valeur et de son originalité.¹⁰

Before asserting himself as a person, the individual asserts himself as a *persona*, a personality: once invested with a certain social role, is sooner able to acquire a notion of his own worth. The personality, the chief, the remarkable one are referred to in Arabic through the word that means "face": *wajh*, which also means "honor," as well as through a word that means "eye"—or through the plural of *dhāt*: *dhawāt*, meaning "those who have, the rich ones" (a possible origin for the meaning of "owner" that *dhāt* holds). The word *wajh* also comes to mean "the outer appearance of a person," "the face" shown to those around: beside that, another one is presupposed to exist, since *dhū wajhayni* is "the two-faced one," i.e. the hypocrite. It may be presupposed that the concept of personal identity, to be expressed by *ʿayn* and *dhāt*, also originates in the idea of "personality," commonly linked, in ancient times, to the sense of "owner of goods."

⁸ Chelhod (1958).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

As for *nafs*, it may be presupposed that, starting from its meaning of “breath,” *nafs* acquires the abstract meaning of “soul” and becomes the favored way of expressing something as impalpable as “reason” (also called, because of that, *nafs al-‘aql*, that “soul” or “intellect” which “ties” [things], i.e. connects them, or *al-nafs al-nāṭiqā* “the soul of intellect or reason”). The same word can also express beliefs, sentiments, a meaning in which the lexeme is ambiguous: *nafs* can order or forbid something, in which case it becomes dual: *nafsāni*.¹¹

If we consider the testimonies of the ancient Arab dictionaries, it does not seem far-fetched to believe that a view of the person as “split” or “divided” might have preceded that of the person’s identity as a whole. The split can be conceived in various ways: for instance, as the exterior “face” in relation to the inner self, or as a Self split between various impulses. If we take on the terms used by Lakoff for the divided Self, i.e. “Subject” and “Self,” *nafs* is Self, i.e. an *alter ego* with its own thoughts and feelings. The reflexive can be conceived of as one of the “divided self”’s forms of expression.

LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL METAPHORS ORIGINATING IN *NAFS*

The derivation seems simple in the case of the noun *nafs*: from the breath of life to the soul and on to human being and person, and further to essence, identity and self. All these meanings can be found beginning with the first texts that have reached us.

A. *Nafs in the Qur’ān and Ancient Poetry*

Seidensticker examined the meanings of *nafs* in ancient Arab poetry and the Qur’ān in a paper focused on the “heart” and its lexical field in classical Arabic.¹² The word *nafs*, the author shows, is most often used in poetry to indicate the locus of various feelings and emotional states. These meanings, as well as that of “person,” are, to a smaller extent, present in the Qur’ān as well, as will be apparent further on. What we are interested in is that the author starts introducing the meanings of *nafs* beginning with that of “reflexive pronoun.”

¹¹ See also Lane, *sub voce*.

¹² Seidensticker (1992).

H. Fleisch draws attention to an example from the 8th century poet ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a, where *nafs*, otherwise used to mean “soul,” means “human being, person,” and in a negative sentence, “no one”:¹³

- (1) *wa mā nafsun min al-nāsi tash‘uru*
Not a **soul** noticed anything

R. Blachère dealt with the manner in which *nafs* is present in the Qur’ān in an article published in *Semitica* (1948).¹⁴ Apart from other meanings of the lexeme *nafs* (“breath of life,” frequently; “locus of evil, greed, desire, temptation,” the “heart” of the believer, answerable to divinity at Doomsday, “soul,” or rather “what lies in the soul;” Blachère notes the more “evolved” meaning of the word *nafs*, i.e. that of “human being,” “person,” as well as the reflexive use of this noun, which:

sans perdre aucunement sa valeur nominale, paraît glisser à un sens plus dégradé encore, ce qui permet de rendre en arabe la notion de réfléchi¹⁵

The action “befalls” the subject directly in examples 2 and 3 below, and indirectly, through a preposition, in example 4.

- (2) [*fa-lā talūmūnī wa*] *lūmū anfusakum!*
[Reproach not me] but reproach your own souls
[Do not blame me but] blame yourselves! (Q. XIV, 22)
- (3) *lā yastaṭī‘una naṣra anfusihim*
they have no power to aid **themselves** (Q. XXI, 43)
- (4) *mā ḥarrama Isrā’īlu ‘alā nafsihī*
what Israel made unlawful **for itself** (Q. III, 93)

Blachère thinks it might be our “European linguistic consciousness” that leads us to perceive a reflexive in the examples above. From our point of view, in the respective examples, as well as in others in the Qur’ān, there is reason to believe that we are looking at a reflexive, i.e. two co-referential arguments of a verb.

¹³ Fleisch (1979: 113).

¹⁴ The version discussed here is the one republished in *Analecta*: Blachère (1975).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

B. *Nafs with the Medieval Arab Authors*

The query conducted against the prose of Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, shows the following basic meanings:

- The current lexical meaning is that of “soul” or “mind”:

(5) *al-ʿilm miṣbāḥ al-naḥs*
Science is the light (lamp) of the **mind**¹⁶

(6) *shayʿ qad dāra fī naḥsī mirāran*
Something that often crossed my mind¹⁷

- Another relatively frequent lexical meaning is that of “conscience,” in the sense of “something hidden,” which words unveil:

(7) *idhā takallama jallā ʿan naḥsihi*
When he spoke, he unveiled his **inner self**¹⁸

(8) *al-naẓar li-naḥsihī*¹⁹
Looking within (introspection)

- With the role of an **emphatic personal pronoun**:

(9) *la tathiq bi-raʿyi naḥsika*
Do not trust your [own] opinion²⁰

(10) *uḥrus akhāka illā min naḥsihi*
Guard your brother [against anything] except against himself²¹

It appears in a similar role, again in al-Jāḥiẓ, in an anecdote starting from the different meanings that the following three words can have: *alqā* “to throw” and “to recite [a verse or a poem];” *bayt* “house” and “verse;” *sākin* “inhabitant, inhabited,” but also “[verse] rhyming in a consonant.” A Bedouin uneducated with respect to the terms used by philologists to refer to poetry is asked: “Would you like me to recite a poem with rhyming

¹⁶ Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ* 2, 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1, 129.

¹⁸ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* 1: 56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4: 91.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1, 204.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3, 271.

consonants?" (*hal ulqī 'alayka baytan sākinan?*). The Bedouin understands it to mean "[do you want me] to throw an inhabited house onto you?" He replies:

- (11) *'alā nafsika fa-alqihi*
[Better] throw the house onto yourself!²²

The contrast between the presupposed (impossible) prompt and the answer is also indicated through the word order in the example above. The construction, in which a *sui generis* reflexive appears, is obviously **marked** and it might yield clues as to how *nafs*'s transit to the reflexive value is made.

Nafs appears rather often in Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, with a value that we can see as **reflexive**, in which case it accompanies a relatively restricted category of verbs, among which:

- "to say," "to express oneself": *aqūlu li-nafsī* "I say to myself;" *man 'abbara 'ammā fi nafsihi* "whoever expresses what's in his soul;" *a'raba 'an nafsihi* "expressed himself"

- "to torment oneself"

- (12) (...) *hattā yu'adhdhib nafsahu hādhā al-ta'dhib*
So that he torments *nafs* Acc., Pron. Gen. this torment
So that he torments [himself] thus²³

- "to refrain oneself;" "to let go of oneself"

- (13) *ḥafiẓa nafsahu nuṭliqu anfusanā*²⁴
he preserved himself we let ourselves go

When not referring to people (which is relatively rare), it introduces the idea that the name it refers to represents the perfect embodiment of the notion. E.g.: with Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* in phrases such as *nafs al-bayān* with the sense "the clear expression *itself*" or "the **truly** clear expression."²⁵

²² Ibid., 2: 221.

²³ Ibid., 2, 322.

²⁴ Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'* 2, 34.

²⁵ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* 1: 273.

The word *ḥaqq* appears in the same source, as well as other authors, with the same meaning of “true, authentic, real,” when it accompanies an internal object, such as in:

- (14) *ʿarafahu ḥaqqa l-maʿrifa*
 He knew him reality *Acc.*, *art.* knowledge *Gen.*
 He really knew him

LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL WITH ʿAYN AND DHĀT

Classical Arab dictionaries give as a primary meaning for the word *ʿayn* that of “eye,” “organ of sight,” but include up to a hundred meanings of the word. Among those, we are interested in the meaning of “important person,” “personality” (especially with the plural *aʿyān*) and “essence,” “own nature,” “concrete existence.” Dictionaries mention that the structures of the type *huwa bi-ʿaynihi* can have a close or identical meaning to *huwa bi-nafsihi*, i.e. “he himself,” “in person,” or can rather suggest it, in an example such as *rajul bi-ʿaynihi* “a man who really exists,” i.e. not an abstract entity or man as a species. This meaning equates the word in *Lisān* with *nafs* and *dhāt*. It is also apparent that, unlike *nafs*, *ʿayn* relatively often accompanies non-human, sometimes abstract nouns, beginning as early as the classical era.

- (15) *innahu la-karīm ʿaynu l-karam*
 He is generous, generosity itself

Like *nafs*, in certain structures, *ʿayn* may mean “the same”: *li-l-sababi ʿaynihi/ li-l-sababi nafsihi* “for the same reason.”

In *Lisān*, *dhāt* is explained as: *ḥaqīqat shayʿin wa khaṣṣatuhu* “the real essence of a thing,” “its intrinsic nature.” *Dhāt* is primarily used by translators of philosophy and by philosophers as an equivalent for “being” and “essence.” As early as the classical age, it also appears as an emphazier, but is less used in that capacity than *nafs* in everyday speech, as al-Fārābī notes:²⁶

hādhihi l-lafza [...] aʿnī “al-dhāt” wa-“mā bi-dhātihī” wa-“dhāt al-shayʿi” lay-sat mashhūra ʿinda l-jumhūr wa-innamā hiya alfāz yatadāwaluhā l-falāsifa wa-ahlu l-ʿulūm al-naẓariyya. Wa-l-jumhūr yastaʿmilūna makānahā qawlanā

²⁶ Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, 110.

"bi-naḥsihi." Fa-innahum yaqūlūna "Zayd bi-naḥsihi qāma bi-l-ḥarb" ya'nūna bilā mu'ayyin, wa-yaqūlūna "Zayd huwa bi-naḥsihi" ay bi-dhātihi lā bi-ghayrihi ay mustaghniin 'an ghayrihi fī kulli mā yaf' aluhu.

These words [...] i.e. "*al-dhāt*" and "*mā bi-dhātihi*" wa "*dhāt*" of the thing are not common among the general public, but rather words used by philosophers, as well as those dealing with theoretical (speculative) sciences. The general public uses in their place such phrases as "Zayd through himself (*bi-naḥsihi*) rose to war," i.e. with no help, and "Zayd by himself" i.e. through himself, without the help of others.

It is possible that the evolution of the identifying function of *naḥs*, and (especially) *dhāt* also derives from the influence of translations from the Greek philosophers through a Syriac intermediary (in Syriac, the identifier is of the same Semitic origin as *naḥs*). It is important to remember Khalil Georr's remarks on the translation of reflexive pronouns from Greek, in his work on translating Aristotle's categories into Syriac and Arabic (starting with the 7th and 8th centuries):

Ces pronoms sont rendus en arabe par les noms outils (our emphasis), *naḥs* "âme," *dhāt* "essence," *ayn* "oeil," suffixés d'un pronom personnel (possessif) rappelant le sujet ou le complément, ou par l'expression '*alā ḥiyālīhi* "à part soi-même" (...).²⁷

In the modern age, *dhāt* is probably the most common among the Arab equivalents of English phrases that contain *self*: *fī dhātihi* "in itself"; *qa'im bi-dhātihi* "self-existent, independent" etc. In the case of *dhāt*, it is possible to speak of going from grammaticalization to *lexicalization* in the modern age (to be discussed shortly).

The person, as well as the *alter ego* of the divided self (expressed through a reflexive), is conveyed through *naḥs*, and far less frequently through *dhāt*. Among others, Wright adds to the commonly mentioned identifiers the word *wajh*, "face" (as an expression of the person and a mark of the reflexive in *aslamtu wajhī li-Allāh*, translated as "I resign myself to God"), as well as *rūḥ*, "spirit."²⁸ The latter, close to *naḥs* in meaning, is seldom used as a mark of the reflexive, a function it fulfills for instance in *ahlaktu rūḥī*, translated by Wright as "I have destroyed myself."

²⁷ Khalil Georr's (1948: 62).

²⁸ Wright (1971: 272).

THE FUNCTION OF IDENTIFIERS SUGGESTED BY THE
EARLY ARAB GRAMMARIANS

The ancient Arab grammarians, starting with Sibawayhi, believed that the identifiers' function, as well as that of quantifiers', was to emphasize, or intensify, and that this function is manifest within the substitutive apposition (*badal*); more precisely, in a form that implies repetition, or reiteration, as an intensifying or quantifying nominal, and also as an anaphoric pronoun.

The "intensifying" function of *nafs* and associated elements is conceived of as a result of identification (as *one, alone, him and not another one, in person, with no help*). "The caliph" (*al-khalīfa*) is accompanied by *nafs* in the examples given by a number of grammarians, precisely because he is not expected to accomplish certain acts "in person" or "by himself": see, for instance, in Sakkākī:²⁹

jā'anī l-khalīfatu nafsuhu
"The caliph in person came to me."

In the examples above, "the prince" (*al-amīr*) takes care himself, in person, of punishing the thief.

We have previously discussed the manner this meaning is dealt with in Ibn Jinnī,³⁰ i.e. under the pairing *ḥaqīqa* "proper sense" / *majāz* "figurative sense." Language as a whole, says the Arab author, is made up of elements that "go beyond" the proper sense: in the case of examples such as *qaṭa'a l-amīru l-liṣṣa* "the prince cut off [the hand] of the thief" we can understand (metonymically) that the prince had *someone* cut off the thief's hand; however, if *nafsuhu* is appended to *amīr*, we are dealing with the proper meaning.

Ibn Jinnī does come back to this in another chapter of his *al-Khaṣā'is* in connection with the possibility of *nafs* appearing as a first or second word in a construct state.³¹ The authors who consider a structure such as *nafs al-shay'*, "the *nafs* of the thing," to be incorrect support this claim by referring to the impossibility that a thing can be attributed to itself (*idāfat al-shay' ilā nafsīhi*). Ibn Jinnī attempts to demonstrate that *nafs* can appear in an appended structure precisely because it does not express the same thing as the name to which it is connected, but the essence of

²⁹ Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ*, 267.

³⁰ Angheliescu (2000 and 2004).

³¹ Ibn Jinnī, *Khaṣā'is* 3: 24–25.

a thing, its “purest part” (*khālīṣu l-shayʿ*), i.e. “part of a whole” (*al-baʿḍ min al-kull*). This interpretation is also valid for both *Zayd nafsuḥu* “Zayd himself” and *hādhā nafsu l-ḥaqq* “this is the truth itself” (and not *another one*, Ibn Jinnī adds). As proof that the *nafs* of a thing should be regarded as the part is to a whole is apparent when the poet addresses *nafs* as if it were another, shown in phrases such as *aqūlu li-nafsī* “I tell myself” and *yaqūlu lī nafsī* “my self tells me.”

Ibn Jinnī’s observations (some of which resemble relatively recent explanations related to the “divided Self”—see above) are important because they:

- explain the “emphatic” function of identifiers from the perspective of the proper sense (*ḥaqīqa*) vs the figurative sense (*majāz*);
- place the meanings of *nafs* in relation to those of the quantifiers;
- raise (for the first time, as far as can be discerned) the notion of an *alter ego* expressed through *nafs*, with examples that underline both the emphatic function of *nafs* and its function of expressing a reflexive.
- raise the possibility that identifiers may be assimilated to quantifiers as expressing “a part of the whole,” i.e. the best part, the person’s or object’s essence.

In the work of later grammarians, for instance in Ibn ‘Aqīl’s *Sharḥ*, the explanations concerning the functions of *nafs* are similar to those given by Ibn Jinnī.³² Ibn ‘Aqīl shows that using the above-mentioned words is meant to prevent us from misinterpreting the meaning of *nafs*. In the case of identifiers, a simple sentence such as *jāʿa Zayd* “Zayd has come” could be interpreted as resulting from an elision or a figurative expression (*majāz*). It could be, for instance, the news that Zayd is coming, or someone that Zayd has sent. In other words, placing *nafs* next to Zayd specifies the reference. The same might be said of several universal quantifiers: *kull*, *kilā* and *kiltā*, *jamīʿ* and *ajmaʿ*, to which *Lisān* adds *ʿammat(an)*, following Sibawayhi.

As detailed in the above discussion as well as in other works, it is apparent that the ancient grammarians offer suggestions regarding the interpretation of “intensifiers” as expressing the idea of “counter of expectation”: the example provided earlier (*jāʿanī l-khalīfatu nafsuḥu* “the caliph in

³² Ibn ‘Aqīl, *Sharḥ*, 606–609.

person came to me”) is quite conclusive in this respect. This interpretation of intensifiers or emphasizees of a number of languages is present in many contemporary works.

IDENTIFIER STRUCTURES

Identifier structures are differentiated, to some extent, in function of the particular meanings connected to identification.

A. For identification as “one” and “someone,” or emphatic identification, the identified name can appear in the following constructions:

- **in an apposition**, together with an anaphoric possessive pronoun that refers to the noun it accompanies): *al-rajulu nafsuhu* (‘aynuhu; dhātuahu) “the man himself, the same man”; *al-rijālu anfusuhum* “the men themselves, the same men” (only *nafs* has plural forms, and sometimes dual forms).
- followed by an identifier with the preposition *bi-*: *al-rajulu bi-nafsihi* (*bi-‘aynihi*; *bi-dhātihi*) “the man himself”; *al-rijālu bi-anfusihim* “the men themselves.”³³

The two structures above are defined as standard structures of identifiers. The determinant follows the determiner, in “normal” succession.

- The identifier appears in first position in a **construct state** especially with the meaning of “same”: *fī nafsi l-bayt* “in the same house,” *fī ‘ayn al-muḥīṭ* “in the same environment.” The *construct state* has become the structure preferred to mean sameness. When we speak of *construct state* as a *preferred* expression of identity as sameness, what we are thus emphasizing is that sameness also has another form of expression, i.e. the apposition, as in *fī-l-bayti nafsīhi* which can mean not only “in the same house,” but also “right in the house,” or even “in the house itself.”³⁴

³³ Note: The preposition *bi* is thought by the early grammarians to be an “expletive”: *zā’id*; however, it may have been originally used with the sense of “contiguity” or “accompaniment” which is peculiar to it: in *Zayd bi-nafsihi*, it might have meant “Zayd with himself [and no one else].”

³⁴ Note: The structures where *nafs* appears in a *construct state* as a subject (*jā’a nafsū l-rajul* “the same man came”) are to this day blamed by purists: it is said that *nafs* and other identifiers are used for corroboration in structures other than the “correct” one, i.e. the one above.

In some structures where identity is expressed as sameness, *nafs* can be replaced by *wāḥid* “one” *fī ānin wāḥid* “at the same time.”

(16) (...) *fa-yuqarriru anna l-mādda mustakhdama ‘alā l-haqīqa wa-l-majāz fī ānin wāḥid*

Decides that the root can be used literally and figuratively **at the same time**

- **in the Accusative**, with an adverbial value, next to the element it refers to: (only) ‘*aynan* “in person,” “himself.”
- **with the preposition bi-** accompanying *dhāt* with a definite article: bound together, with the adverbial value *bi-l-dhāt*:

hunā bi-l-dhāt “here **specifically**”; *fī hādha l-waḡti l-ḡariji bi-l-dhāt* “in this **particularly** crucial time.”³⁵

All the structures listed above (save for] the reflexive ones) are determinant structures, and it is important to keep in mind] that they are identical with those of quantifiers.³⁶

In principle, *nafs* agrees with the determined noun in case and number; the anaphoric pronoun agrees with the determined noun in gender and number. Not all possibilities of *nafs*’ variations in function of agreement are actually performed: in association with a dual noun, *nafs* is not always employed in the dual form, as Wright notes, citing the ancient Arab grammarians: “some authorities admit in this case the use of the singular or the dual: *jā’a l-zaydāni nafsumā* (the two Zayd **themselves** came).”³⁷ With or without the grammarians’ permission, in modern language examples of the agreement of *nafs* with the dual noun is not achieved (another proof of the weakening of the dual). The following example is drawn from the modern language (Ṭāha Ḥusayn):

(17) *wa ‘alā hādhayni l-‘unṣurayni nafsihimā qāmat ḡayātu l-‘arab al-ḡudamā’*
The life of the ancient Arabs arose from [precisely] these two elements

The agreement of anaphoric elements draws attention to the fact that the proper expression for identification is reiteration. Within structures containing *nafs* and other identifiers functioning as intensifiers, we are dealing not just with reiteration through the identifying anaphora, but with

³⁵ See Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004: 2.8.3.3).

³⁶ For quantifiers, see also Anghelescu (2004: 335–355).

³⁷ Wright (1971: 281).

a pronominal proliferation introduced by it. That also implies extracting, bringing to the surface the pronouns “hidden” in pronominal marks, where agreement, i.e. matching the marks, leads to specific restrictions if the *nafs* and anaphora are introduced. We also know from the ancient Arab grammarians, who set the norm, that *nafs* and *ʿayn* cannot be used in apposition to a nominative pronoun, hidden in prefixed and suffixed marks: it must be surfaced in order to receive emphasis through the elements mentioned:³⁸

(18) *Zayd dhahaba huwa nafsuhu*
Zayd himself left

(19) *al-qawmu ḥaḍarū hum anfusuhum*
People themselves came

When it is emphasized, the Accusative pronoun attached to the Genitive verb or pronoun attached to a preposition is not reiterated:

(20) *raʿaytuhu nafsahu*
I saw him himself

(21) *marartu bihi nafsihi*
I passed by him, himself

We must note that the last examples highlight the formal identity of the pronouns affixed to the verb and preposition, to those affixed to *nafs*: in this situation, the requirement for semantic identity to be expressed by formal identity is applied.

This identity is also manifest in the example provided by Sibawayhi speaking of *tawkīd* “corroboration” in connection to the function held by *nafs*:

(22) *raʿaytuhu iyyāhu nafsahu*
I saw him, he himself³⁹

B. In reflexive constructions, the identifier appears as a **direct or prepositional object accompanied by a possessive pronoun**, in reflexive structures: *nafs* commonly appears in such structures, usually in the singular,

³⁸ See for instance Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 111.

³⁹ Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, 393.

seldom in the plural: *yalūmu nafsahu* “he blames himself.” The normal word order is that when the object follows the verb: see, however, above (11) regarding the proposed prepositional object, in the examples from Jāhiz, *Bayān*.

The personal pronoun is the common anaphora in old texts, in a variety of situations in which the reflexive is licensed by the verb, for all three persons. From a certain moment on (which cannot be precisely pinpointed), instead of the personal pronoun, especially for the third person, the anaphora that includes *nafs* and (seldom) *dhāt*. As for the first person, even in the modern age, as the *Modern Written Arabic* authors note, frequently “a simple object pronoun is used.”⁴⁰ To this might be added that the verbs in the sentences included in this source’s examples belong to a category Arab grammarians call *af‘āl al-qulūb*, a phrase often translated as “verbs of the heart”:

- (23) *wajadtunī uḥibbu samā‘ hādhā l-kalām minhu*
I found myself liking to listen to this kind of talk from him

In the examples of classical language sentences mentioned above (9, 10, 11), *nafs* fills the place that might have been otherwise taken by a personal pronoun. As shown before, what is, however, peculiar to all sentences where *nafs* appears in place of a personal pronoun is that they are *marked* sentences. In the imperative sentence (11) where the interlocutor is invited to perform an impossible act upon himself (throw a house upon himself!) we are dealing with inversion as well, which places *nafs* in a cataphoric position (*‘alā nafsika fa-alqihī*).

C. In Arabic, identity is normally expressed through the nominal sentence: in fact, the principle of identity, formulated by philosophers as $a=a$, is expressed in Arabic through the equation-sentence *huwa huwa* “he [is] he.” The absence of the copula in Arabic makes more visible this linguistic symbol of identity through reiteration. However, the semantic interpretation of the sentence does not lead to tautologies. It might, instead, be “he is [still] him”—i.e., the subject is the same, it is merely continuous in time. *Nafs* also appears in such equational sentences.

⁴⁰ Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004: 391)

- (24) *al-kalīma hiya* *naḥṣuhā* *fi-l-‘arabiyya*
 The word it pron III f. nom *naḥṣ* pron III f. in Arabic
 The word is **the same** in Arabic
 (i.e. it has the same form in Arabic as in other Semitic languages)

The sentence that expresses trans-temporal identity (fr. *mêméité*), i.e. “he remains the same” might take the following forms:

The form normatively acceptable is:

- (25) *mā zāla* *huwa* *īyyāhu*
 He has not ceased pron III *Nom.* pron III *Acc.*

The form with *naḥṣ* in the accusative plus pronoun as nominal predicate

- (26) *mā zāla* *naḥṣahu*
 [He] has not ceased to be *naḥṣ* acc. pron III
 The transformed form, accepted

- (27) *mā zāla* *huwa huwa*
 He has not ceased (pron. nom.) to be him (pron. nom.)

The pressure of the system, within which the very idea of identity is expressed iconically through verbal repetition, means that in a sentence where continuity is asserted through the auxiliary *mā zāla* (lit.: “does not cease being”) the predicate remains in the nominative (see 27), although that auxiliary is part of a series of elements introducing temporal-aspectual values, and which usually justify the accusative case of the predicate nominal (25, 26).

OBSERVATIONS ON IDENTIFIERS IN THE MODERN LANGUAGE

Each identifier in part is defined not only by its own meanings and functions, but also through the quasi-synonymous phrases and those it is in opposition to, as will be shown further by examples in modern Arabic. It should be noted from the beginning that in modern Arabic thus far there has been no evidence of uses of the identifiers that were absent, at least in an incipient form, in the classical language.

A. Nafs

Originating in “soul” (semantically related to “breath”), *nafs* is the most appropriate form for expressing personal identity, the core of the concept of identity in the modern language, as well as in the classical language.

- *Nafs* often appears as an **emphatic form of personal pronouns**, generally in marked structures.

hājātuhu → *hājāt nafsi-hi* “his needs”

- Also in marked sentences, *nafs* serves to emphasize the **importance** or underline the **authority** of the author or authors of a statement, action, etc., often by contrasting it with expectations:

(28) *al-lugha min šun‘ al-nās anfusihim*

Language is made by the people themselves

(29) *wa-min hādhā l-bāb mā dhakarahu Sibawayhi nafsuhu*

This category includes what Sibawayhi **himself** was saying

- Non-human nouns can also be emphasized (in what follows, *nafs* singular refers to a dual noun)

(30) *wa-‘alā hādhayni l-‘unšurayni nafsihimā qāmat ḥayāt al-‘arab al-qudamā’*

The life of the ancient Arabs was based [**precisely**] on these two elements

- *Nafs* is the reflexive marker par excellence: it is the *Self* argument, in relation to the *Subject* argument. Various rapports are built between the two arguments of the verb or of other elements that can issue a reflexive (verbal nouns, participles, adjectives):
- The *Subject* can know the *Self*, or it can ignore it:

(31) *i‘raf nafsaka*

Know yourself!

(32) *a-laysa l-insān ajhal al-kā’ināt bi-dhātihi?*

Is man not the being that most ignores **itself**?

- The *Subject* can see the *Self*, “with the eyes” or with the mind’s eye (in the sense of “considering itself”):

(33) *al-mir'ātu llatī yanzuru fihā fā-yarā nafsahu kamā hiya*
the mirror into which he looks and sees **himself** as he is

(34) *yarā nafsahu fawqa l-nāsi*
Sees [considers] himself above other people

- The Subject can love its alter ego, defend it or blame it

(35) *yuhibbu nafsahu/ dhātahu*
he loves **himself**

(36) *yalūmu nafsahu*
blames himself

- The Subject can impose upon himself, can put himself in a certain position, or can “pose as”

(37) *faraḍa 'alā nafsīhi*
he imposed **upon himself**

(38) (...) *bayda anna lladhīna aqāmū anfusahum ḥumātan li-l-'arabiyya* (...)
(...) while those who posed as defenders of Arabic (...)

As in the classical texts, in modern texts the reflexive mostly accompanies the third person, and it is rarely used with the first person. It is significant that most examples where the reflexive refers to the first person provided below are from the prose of Jubrān:

- The Subject can be its own master

(39) *anā rabbu nafsī*
I am **my own** master

- The Self can be alien to the Subject, the Subject can lose and find the Self

(40) *anā gharīb 'an nafsī* (Jubrān)
I am alien **to myself**

(41) *uḍī' nafsī*
I'm **losing myself**

(42) *a'ūd ilā nafsī*

I'm coming back to myself (to my senses)

- Identification as *same* applies mostly to non-human entities and works by predilection with *nafs*:

(43) *yatakallamūna l-lughā nafsahā*

they speak **the same** language

- The frozen phrase *fī nafsī l-waqt*, appears grammaticalized as a linguistic expression of what might be called “an argumentative connector;” similarly, but less used in this function, is *fī-l waqti nafsīhi*.

B. 'Ayn

- The meanings of **individualization**, **concretization**, also applied to non-humans, are especially expressed through 'ayn, and more rarely through *dhāt*:

(44) *mawḍi' bi-'aynihi*

a **particular** place

(45) *yadull 'alā ma'nān bi-'aynihi*

indicates a **certain** (specific) sense

- Individualization can also be underlined by *wāḥid*:

(46) *laysat al-lughā rābiṭan bayna a'ḍā' mujtama' wāḥid bi-'aynihi, wa-innamā hiya (...)*

Language is not only a connection between members of a **certain** society, but (...)

- The meaning of **perfect embodiment of a concept** is expressed especially by 'ayn and *dhāt*: in this case it can be equated with “true,” “only”

(47) *al-āna, 'aynu l-waqt al-ḥāḍir*

“Now” is **precisely** (the embodiment of) the present

C. Dhāt

- Apart from the functions mentioned in the examples above, represented here in (48), *dhāt* also appears in fixed structures, as in (49) and (50).

(48) *hādhihi l-kutub dhātuhā*
precisely these books

(49) *hādhihi l-miḥan al-kathīra allatī tuṣīb al-udabā’ fī dhāt anfusihim*
These numerous attempts that strike **the profound being of the those who are scholars**

- The adverbial phrase *bi-dhāt* appears with an emphatic role:

(50) *fī dhālika l-yawmi bi-l-dhāt*
on that **particular** day

- It is relatively rarely used as a reflexive marker:

(51) *lā yuḥibb illā dhātahu*
He only loves **himself**⁴¹

(52) *yawmiyyāt nā’ib fī-l-aryāf lam yaqṣid nā’ib bi-l-dhāt wa-lā qarya bi-l-dhāt*
(...) *fahuwa yaqṣid nā’ib mu’ayyan wa-ḥayāt bi-’aynihā lahā muyūluhā wa-nawāzi’uhā wa zurūfuhā llatī qad tatakarrar kathīran fī ‘ayn al-muḥit*
(...).
“The diary of a country prosecutor substitute” focused neither on a **type** of prosecutor substitute, nor on a **village in itself** (...) It refers to a **certain** prosecutor substitute, a **specific** life, with its **own** tendencies and circumstances that can repeat themselves in the **same** environment (...)

FORMS OF GRAMMATICALIZATION IN THE
CATEGORY OF IDENTIFIERS

Remarks on the criteria that allow us to decide whether a language element is the result of grammaticalization or not start foremost from

⁴¹ Note: The tendency to specialize shown by the three identifiers discussed above can be seen in the example below. Also see here the role of the suffixed pronoun *hā*, similar to that of identifiers.

Hopper and Traugott,⁴² but also from other general works that underlie the observations presented here on the presence of this process in Arabic.⁴³ To these were recently added Brinton and Traugott, who treat grammaticalization and lexicalization in relation to each other.⁴⁴ From this latter source come our definitions of the two correlated processes.⁴⁵

Grammaticalization is thus defined as: “the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of the construction with a grammatical function. Over time the resulting grammatical item may become more grammatical by acquiring more grammatical functions and expanding its host-classes.”

Lexicalization is defined as: “the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new content-laden form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical.”

What follows focuses on grammaticalization for all three identifiers (though we especially refer to *nafs* as a prototype of this category), while processes that can be attributed to lexicalization will only be mentioned in connection to *dhāt*.

The gradual evolution of the meanings of *nafs* and associated elements toward abstract meanings, seen as grammatical, and the stabilization of structures in which *nafs*, and *dhāt* function as identifiers are manifestations of the three identifiers' tendency toward grammaticalization.

A. Moving from a concrete to an abstract meaning, and from abstract to more abstract, through a process of metaphorization (or metonymization, according to other authors), is seen as a compulsory criterion for elements undergoing grammaticalization. It is not easy to pinpoint the moment when *nafs* replaces a personal pronoun in various structures, and why that happens. However, we are lucky to have the testimony of the Arab grammarians on the structures and meanings seen as fundamental to *nafs* and its associated elements, which indicates that, at the time, there was awareness as to the statute of these elements being different from that of the lexemes from which they originated and with which they

⁴² Hopper and Traugott (2003).

⁴³ Angheliescu (2004).

⁴⁴ Brinton and Traugott (2005).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 144-145.

coexisted. We must not forget that Sibawayhi, who made certain interesting observations on the “emphatic” function of identifiers, lived in the 8th century, while other grammarians whom we referenced in various chapters lived between the 10th and 13th centuries. They all remark on the status of these elements in texts that date primarily from before the 8th century (the Qur’ān and pre-Islamic poetry).

Lacking a corpus that includes various types of medieval texts (including translations), it is only possible to formulate a hypothesis on the evolution of certain identifiers’ meanings. The trajectory of the *nafs*’s meaning as it evolved toward abstractization might be:

soul → person → Self: reflexive⁽¹⁾ → corroborative → same → reflexive⁽²⁾

The above outline, as well as previous observations, suggests that the grammatical meanings of *nafs* progression was from reflexive to corroborative and not the other way around. Another possibility is that both meanings result, somewhat simultaneously, from different (but perhaps complementary) concepts of the person. Such hypotheses have been previously formulated on the evolution of identifiers in other languages:

It is often assumed or at least implied that this process is unidirectional in the sense that SELF-intensifiers may develop into reflexives, but not vice versa. This paper has shown that the opposite direction is also possible, for instance in languages such as Japanese, where a reflexive marker can give rise to an expression of actor-oriented intensification if it combines with an appropriate case marker.⁴⁶

As elsewhere, here too the various types of lexical and grammatical meanings of identifiers coexist; therefore they cannot undergo a unique linear evolution.

It then remains for us to show why the general meaning (identification) or these particular meanings of identifiers (reflexive, sameness, emphasis or intensification) can be seen as **grammatical meanings**.

Grammatical meanings are abstract meanings, to be found in categories known to most languages: tense, aspect, determination, and grammatical number are part of these categories. Identification, a general meaning found in the particular meanings of *nafs* and related elements, is an abstract meaning which several languages treat grammatically, starting from often common lexical sources. As **intensifiers**, *nafs* and related elements can be associated to the more general category of noun “determiners,”

⁴⁶ Gast and Siemund (2006: 375).

and, within that, to the article and other quantifiers. Some uses of the definite article *al-* (*baytuka l-baytu* “your house is the [real] house”), as well as some uses of *kull* together with the definite form of the noun (*al-fatā kull al-fatā* “the young man, the real young man”) have a superlative or emphasizing value also found in structures with *nafs* and *ʿayn* (we referred to them as a superlative expression of the concept, equivalent to “real”).

What is of interest here is not just some specific uses, but also the relation between the meanings of identifiers as intensifiers, and universal quantifiers. This relation is explained by the early Arab grammarians as stemming from the common function of “corroboration.” Ibn Jinnī even speaks of a more direct semantic relation between quantifiers and identifiers, suggesting that the idea of “part of a whole” or “other part” expressed by identifiers is of the same nature as that expressed by quantifiers. From a slightly different vantage, Ibn Hishām speaks of the meaning of “globality” (*iḥāṭa*) introduced by the pronoun attached to some indefinite quantifiers (*kulluhum* “all of them”) and definite quantifiers (*thalāthatukum* “all three of you”), which might also explain the role of these anaphoric pronouns attached to identifiers used as emphasizees.⁴⁷

However, if we admit that these are noun determinants in both categories (emphasizers and quantifiers), classes of elements that some authors see as “overlapping” with the nuclear sentence, we are dealing with a possible justification of common structures.

Various languages treat the **reflexive** as a separate grammatical category, whether we are considering the inherent reflexive (expressed, in Arabic, through some T-derived forms) or about the Self reflexive, foremost expressed in Arabic through *nafs*. When speaking of “coindexing two arguments of the verb” in the case of the reflexive, that can be translated by *identifying* the two arguments. It may be presupposed that what underlay certain *nafs* reflexive forms in the classical language might have been a dual concept of the person, split between the social “face” and the inner “self” (such a concept existed in other societies as well, and endures, under certain forms, in today’s societies).

A dual concept of the person might explain the reflexive with *nafs* in *dicendi* verbs (verbs of saying), considering the fact that several authors in the classical era mention utterances as “un-covering” hidden meanings, covered in the mind or conscience (i.e. *nafs*). Modern-day reflexives are

⁴⁷ Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī* 2: 510.

an expression of various concepts of the person, including that which concerns the divided Self as an expression of alienation: see, for instance, *anā gharīb ‘an nafsī* “I am alien to myself” (Jubrān).

In order to place the reflexive in a typological perspective, König and Siemund’s observations on the meaning of predicates in reflexive structures seem relevant.⁴⁸ One relevant distinction is that between the (conventionally) other-directed and (conventionally) non-other-directed situations.

All processes of grooming (washing, dressing, shaving, etc.) are typically performed by oneself (...). All violent actions are typically directed against others. In the domain of attitudes and emotions ‘being proud of’ and ‘being ashamed of’ are examples of attitudes relating only to a person’s own sphere (...). Love, hate and jealousy, by contrast, are commonly directed towards others. All processes of communication are conventionally other directed, whereas activities like ‘defending’, ‘protecting’, ‘liberating’ and ‘preparing’ are examples of conventionally non-other directed situations.

As the authors note, these general observations can be useful in interpreting marked reflexives (such as *nafs* reflexives in Arabic, we might add). Another important observation, however, is that the reflexive with Self tends to be used in counter-expectation situations—that is, in situations where the subject applies to himself situations that would normally be directed toward others: he loves or hates himself, he speaks to himself etc.⁴⁹ Reflexive utterances are thus **marked**, the same as those containing intensifiers.

Finally, we can say that identifiers’ meanings are grammatical because Arabic, like other languages, treats them as if they were grammatical, in structures where identifiers behave similar to one another, yet different from the prototypical nominals.

Elements of semantic evolution (discussed above under A.) combine with formal elements to define the statute of identifiers as that of **functional** linguistic entities. We have chosen just some of the criteria defining elements that undergo grammaticalization, as not all elements commonly listed are relevant to the category of identifiers being discussed. By and large, these criteria might be as follows:

⁴⁸ König and Siemund (2000: 60–63).

⁴⁹ See other examples under 35, 36, 37, 41.

B. **Sequential fixation** or *syntagmatic fixation*, usually meaning that the new unit cannot permutate with its neighboring element. Extrapolating, this might refer to fixed structures shared by identifiers, but not present in the case of the nominals of the same form, or other nominal elements.

C. As for the **combinatorial possibilities**, it can only be noted that there are some tendencies in combining identifiers as intensifiers with the nouns (*nafs* tends to combine with human nouns, although it can also be combined with non-human nouns). In the case of reflexive markers, the tendency is to combine with certain verbs (see the observations above) or certain persons of the verb (the third person seems best suited for reflexive constructions).

D. As for the **formal fusion**, it can be accomplished to varying degrees, depending on the structure of the language. At the minimal level accomplished in Arabic, no other element can be inserted between the new unit resulting from grammaticalization (*nafs*, *dhāt*) and the element it accompanies. The structures where it is commonly integrated (apposition and construct state) are structures with a high degree of cohesion. The maximum level, that of a real coalescence, is accomplished in relatively few situations in Arabic.⁵⁰ In what identifiers are concerned, there are no cases of coalescence, but of bound elements. Identifiers preserve their formal independence and do not undergo the **formal paring-down** that greatly characterizes grammaticalized elements in other languages. The system of preponderantly tri-consonantal roots is also present in elements that have become functional, as is the case of quantifiers and temporal-aspectual auxiliaries.

E. **Paradigmization** represents a result of various strategies of grammaticalization, rather than a particular strategy in itself. ‘*Ayn* and *dhāt* gradually integrate in a paradigm that places *nafs* at the center of the category. *Nafs* alone has all the grammatical meanings referred to in the preceding chapter. *Nafs* alone has plural and dual forms, also as an identifier; however, for the dual there isn’t always agreement. As identifiers, ‘*ayn* and *dhāt* do not have plural forms. As such, all three share, by and large, the same morpho-syntactic behavior, different from that of their corresponding lexemes, as discussed above. However, their different lexical sources,

⁵⁰ See Baalbaki (1999).

and the evolution of their meanings also influence the structures that integrate them. *Dhāt*, as previously discussed, is the peripheral element.

F. **Frequency:** same as with other functional elements, identifiers *nafs* *ʿayn*, *dhāt* have higher frequency in texts than the corresponding lexeme, in decreasing order (e.g., the nominal *nafs* as “soul” is much less frequent than *nafs* as “self”). The frequency of *nafs* is, naturally, the highest in all identification-related meanings: intensifier, equivalent of *same*, reflexive marker. For the first two meanings, is also frequent. In the texts of classic and modern Arabic philosophy, *dhāt* is used frequently, while in everyday language it is seldom employed. Apparently, *dhāt* has a higher frequency in modern texts, especially in specialized languages, but that is of no particular interest for us here, as the element is frequently used as a lexical formant, not as an identifier.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The investigation of the meanings expressed by *nafs*, *ʿayn*, *dhāt* in both the classical and the modern language suggests that they are subsumed under the concept of “identification,” which justifies using the term “identifiers” for all these elements. The function of intensifier or emphasize is characteristic of the entire category of elements mentioned above. To this function is added that of a reflexive, expressed through *nafs* and, more rarely, through *dhāt*, as well as the functions of individualization and superlative (the notion in its perfect embodiment), predilectly expressed through *ʿayn*. *Nafs* appears as a prototype of the category through its assumption of all the functions added to the above-mentioned one, as well as through its much higher frequency of occurrence than the other elements.
2. The evolution of the meanings for *nafs*, the prototypical element in this category of words, from breath of life “to soul” and then the various meanings expressed by *self*, plus the concept of sameness, can be traced to building a concept of personal identity in its various understandings. In the mentality of pre-Islamic Arabs, the concept of “divided Self” may have preceded that of the Self seen as “one,” which might also mean that the reflexive *nafs* preceded the emphasizing *nafs*.
3. The hierarchy of occurrences of these identifiers as intensifiers follows the general animacy hierarchy, but also includes specific traits, identified in the corpus:

animate: human [proper noun, common noun], [masculine, feminine], [singular, plural] → (animate non-human) → inanimate: common noun (concrete) [singular, plural], abstract noun.

The examples of *nafs* used as an identifier provided within the text most often refer to men (in the examples given by the ancient Arab grammarians, the identified refers either to *Zayd*, or to *rajul* “man”). As for animate non-humans, the only occurrences of *nafs* that we could find are the reflexive structures in fables, where, for instance, the tiger speaks to itself: *qāla l-namiru li-nafsihi*.

4. In the modern language, there has been a widening of the usage of *nafs* as a reflexive marker. In what concerns structures containing the reflexive, we observe in modern Arabic a tendency common in other languages as well. The reflexive with *nafs* tends to be used in counter-expectation situations—in other words, in situations where the subject applies to himself situations that would normally be directed toward others: he loves or hates himself, he speaks to himself.
5. Among identifiers, the tendencies toward grammaticalization become apparent through the abstractization (metaphorization) of the original meanings and acquisition of common meanings (intensification, sameness, reflexive, etc.) that can be considered *grammatical*. Other grammaticalization indices for this category are sequential fixation or syntagmatic fixation, as well as paradigmization (i.e., fitting the three elements within a single paradigm) and increasing the frequency of use (the identifier *nafs* appears much more frequently than the lexical element *nafs*, with its sense of “soul”). Concerning structures specific to identifiers, they are foremost characterized by simple repetition or anaphoric reiteration, iconic ways of expressing identity.
6. The parallel between structures containing identifiers and structures containing quantifiers suggest a semantic and functional relation that cannot be ignored. It does not, however, necessarily mean that we are dealing with only one category of functional elements. Rather, it seems to suggest that both identifiers and quantifiers belong to the category of *nominal determinants* or *modifiers* predilectly expressed through a specific type of apposition, as well as through a specific construct state.

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LA COORDINATION À UN CONSTITUANT DU NOYAU EN ARABE

Hassan Hamzé

1. LA COORDINATION

Le *Dictionnaire de linguistique* définit la coordination de la manière suivante :: « On appelle coordination le fait qu'un mot (dit conjonction de coordination) relie deux mots ou deux suites de mots qui sont de même nature (catégorie) ou de même fonction dans la phrase. »¹

Cette définition, attribuée dans une ancienne édition du même dictionnaire à « la grammaire traditionnelle, »² appelle deux remarques :

- Les éléments coordonnés ne sont pas toujours de même nature, ni de même fonction ; ils peuvent appartenir à des catégories différentes et occuper des fonctions différentes comme c'est le cas dans l'exemple suivant donné par ce même dictionnaire : « un objet vert et d'étrange aspect » où les deux segments « vert » et « d'étrange aspect » divergent sur les deux plans mentionnés. Ce qui permet de les réunir alors dans une coordination c'est un critère distributionnel puisque les deux segments coordonnés peuvent se trouver à la même place, c'est-à-dire dans la même distribution.
- Le coordonnant n'est pas toujours un mot. Le *Dictionnaire de linguistique* parle dans ce cas d'une « absence de la conjonction de coordination » comme dans « il court, saute dans tous les sens. » Il considère les exemples de ce type comme étant une simple juxtaposition, « un cas particulier de la coordination » « caractérisé par l'absence du coordonnant, » « mais les rapports entre les termes juxtaposés sont les mêmes qu'entre les termes coordonnés. »³ Or, une simple juxtaposition n'établit pas une relation syntaxique entre les éléments. Elle n'est que la manifestation d'une coordination réalisée au moyen d'un autre type de coordonnant formé d'intonèmes. En effet, un coordonnant peut être formé de

¹ Dubois et al. (2002 : 120–121).

² Nous avons comparé l'édition de 2002 à celle de 1973 présentée à l'époque comme étant « la dernière édition revue et corrigée. »

³ On retrouve cette même analyse dans le *Dictionnaire de la linguistique* de G. Mounin qui considère la juxtaposition comme une forme de coordination.

phonèmes, auquel cas le coordonnant est un mot. Mais il peut aussi être formé d'intonèmes, auquel cas le coordonnant est, comme le dit André Roman, une « intonation continuative. »⁴

Cependant, le coordonnant est souvent un mot—et les segments coordonnés sont souvent des mots de même nature. On peut donc estimer, à la lumière de ces deux remarques, que la définition proposée n'est valable que si on ne prend en compte que les éléments les plus représentatifs de la catégorie.

La coordination apparaît comme une forme d'extension qui donne au syntagme coordonné le statut syntaxique de la base à laquelle il est coordonné. L'élément ajouté ne modifie, ni les rapports mutuels, ni la fonction des éléments de base. Contrairement à la subordination, la relation entre la base et son extension par coordination est une relation égalitaire, « non hiérarchisée. » Puisqu'il en est ainsi, la base et son extension peuvent changer de position et de rôle : la base peut devenir extension et vice-versa⁵. L'on peut dire, par exemple :

	/marar-tu	bi	zayd-in	wa	'amr-in/
Litt.	Je suis passé	près de	Zayd (gén)	et	'Amr (gén)
ou bien	/marar-tu	bi	'amr-in	wa	zayd-in/
	Je suis passé	près de	Amr (gén)	et	Zayd (gén)

2. LE NOYAU

Dans ce qui suit, nous proposons d'examiner la coordination à l'un des deux constituants du noyau de la phrase. Nous entendons par noyau les deux constituants élémentaires qui entretiennent une relation d'interdé-

⁴ Roman (2001 : 1, 135).

⁵ Cependant, cette caractéristique doit tenir compte des contraintes propres à la nature de certains éléments. Ainsi, à titre d'exemple, dans une coordination qui lie un nom à un pronom conjoint en arabe, c'est obligatoirement le pronom conjoint qui est antéposé. L'on doit dire :

	/ra'ay—tu	ka	wa	zayd-an/
Litt.	J'ai vu	toi	et	Zayd (a)
mais jamais :	*/ra'ay tu zaydan wa ka/			

De même, on dit : /anā wa-anta/,= « Moi et toi, » et /anta wa-zayd-un/,= « Toi et zayd » avec une antéposition de la 1^{ère} personne par rapport à la 2^{ème}, et de la 2^{ème} par rapport à la 3^{ème}, etc.

pendance. Cette relation est « structurelle, fondamentale, inmanquablement présente, la traduction de leur contrainte réciproque d'existence. »⁶ En effet, toute phrase est formée d'un noyau, sa forme minimale de base, et, éventuellement, d'extensions des deux constituants du noyau ou d'extensions des extensions du noyau. Le nombre d'extensions est ouvert. Il n'est limité qu'en fonction des capacités de la mémoire de l'homme.

En fonction des classes des mots, on peut envisager trois types de noyaux en arabe :

- a) Un noyau formé d'un nom et d'une modalité. C'est le cas de la modalité d'appel comme dans : /yā zayd-u/,= « Ô Zayd ! ».
- b) Un noyau formé d'un nom⁷ et d'un verbe. C'est le cas des énoncés comme : /katab-ta/,= « Tu as écrit. »
- c) Un noyau formé de deux noms. C'est le cas des énoncés comme : /zayd-un akhī/,= « Zayd [est] mon frère. »

On aura remarqué que tout noyau en arabe a besoin, obligatoirement, d'un nom qui est son premier constituant, le deuxième constituant pouvant être un nom, un verbe ou une modalité⁸.

3. LA COORDINATION À UN CONSTITUANT DU NOYAU

3.1 *Noyau formé d'un nom et d'une modalité d'appel*

Ce noyau se présente sous la forme d'un modèle unique : la modalité d'appel, quelle que soit cette modalité, est antéposée. Elle est suivie du nom. Exemples :

Litt. /yā zayd-u/
 Ō Zayd (nom)!

⁶ Roman (2001 : 1, 46).

⁷ Il s'agit, en fait, d'un morphème de personne qui est un pronom. Mais, dans la tradition grammaticale arabe, le pronom, tout comme l'adjectif et les formes dérivées sont considérés comme des sous-classes du nom. Cette hiérarchisation des parties du discours permet une « économie » remarquable du système selon l'expression de Guillaume (1988 : 25). Voir Hamzé (1994 : 93-97).

⁸ Les modalités, lorsqu'elles sont des mots comme c'est le cas des modalités d'appel, de négation, d'interrogation, etc., font partie de la classe des particules dans la tradition arabe.

En représentant par (a) le nom, premier constituant obligatoire de tout noyau, et par (b) la modalité d'appel qui est le deuxième constituant, ce modèle de noyau n'aura qu'un seul schéma :

$$b < \text{—————} > a^9$$

Aucune coordination à la modalité d'appel ne pouvant être envisagée, la seule coordination à un constituant du noyau dans ce modèle concerne l'élément nominal. Cela donne le schéma suivant :

$$b < \text{—————} > (a \quad + \quad a')$$

Exemple :

	/yā	('amr-u	wa	l-ḥārith-u)/
Litt.	Ô	('Amr (nom)	et	al-Ḥārith (nom)!)!

Dans cet énoncé le nom propre /al-Ḥārith-u/ est coordonné à l'autre nom propre /'Amr-u/. Il s'agit bel et bien d'une coordination de type (a + a') selon le schéma présenté ci-dessus :

$$b < \text{————} > (a + a')$$

et non pas d'une coordination de deux noyaux comme dans l'énoncé suivant :

	/(yā	zayd-u)	wa	(yā 'amr-u)/
Litt.	(Ô	Zayd (nom)!)!	et	(ô 'Amr (nom)!)!

En effet, supposer une modalité d'appel /yā/, = « Ô » ellipsée devant le second nom donnerait :

	*/yā	zayd-u	wa	[yā]	l-ḥārith-u/
Litt.	Ô	Zayd (nom)!	et	ô	al-Ḥārith (nom)!

Or, dit-Sībawayhi (*al-Kitāb* 2, 187) :

Introduire /yā/ devant /al-ḥārith/ est totalement inadmissible [...] c'est qu'on n'introduit pas /yā/ devant un nom qui commence par /al/. En fait, tu as affecté /yā/ aux deux noms en coordonnant /al-ḥārith/¹⁰ au premier [nom]. Mais tu n'as pas voulu introduire /yā/ spécifiquement devant /al-ḥārith/.

⁹ La flèche à double tête symbolise la relation d'interdépendance et de réciprocité qui relie les deux constituants du noyau. Elle est reprise à Roman (1990 : 87).

¹⁰ Dans l'original : /al-naḍr/, = « al-Naḍr, » au lieu de /al-Ḥārith/.

S'il en est ainsi, la coordination doit être envisagée entre /al-ḥārith/ et le constituant nominal du noyau /'amr/ selon le modèle :

$$b < \text{—————} > (a + a'),$$

seul modèle possible avec ce type de noyau.

3.2 Noyau formé d'un nom et d'un verbe

Si l'un des deux constituants du noyau est un verbe, l'autre constituant est, forcément, un morphème de personne. En effet, tout verbe en arabe constitue un noyau puisqu'il ne peut point se séparer de son morphème de personne sujet. Remarquablement, l'arabe exploite l'opposition *marqué vs non marqué* dans ses morphèmes de personne, tout comme il l'exploite pour le genre, le nombre. Comme il y a trois personnes, les deux premières personnes sont marquées par opposition à la troisième personne non marquée. Pour le masculin singulier on dit :

	/kataba-∅ ¹¹ /,= « Il a écrit, » à la troisième personne
par opposition à	/katab-tu/,= « J'ai écrit, » à la première personne
et	/katab-ta/,= « Tu as écrit, » à la deuxième personne.

À l'inachevé—le verbe arabe présente une opposition aspectuelle *achevé vs inachevé*—le morphème de personne est préfixé au morphème verbal. Ainsi, l'opposition aspectuelle se présente en arabe sous la forme d'une opposition dans la position du morphème de personne par rapport au morphème verbal : suffixé à l'achevé et préfixé à l'inachevé :

	/	katab-	ta/,= « Tu as écrit »
Litt.		écrire	Tu
	/ta	ktub-u	/,= « Tu écris »
Litt.	Tu	écrire	

Cette relation entre le morphème verbal et son morphème de personne interdit toute séparation entre les deux constituants contrairement à des langues, comme le français, où l'on peut dire, par exemple :

/Je le donne/
/Je le lui donne/

et où l'on peut dire en coordonnant au premier constituant du noyau :

/(Pierre et moi) avons lu/

¹¹ ∅ = morphème de signifiant zéro.

ou en coordonnant au deuxième constituant :

/il (lit et écrit)/

alors qu'on ne peut coordonner ni à l'un, ni à l'autre en arabe. On peut dire, par exemple :

	/anā	wa	zayd-un)	katab-	nā/	
Litt.	(Moi	et	Zayd)	avoir écrit	nous	= Moi et Zayd, nous avons écrit »

en faisant obligatoirement appel à un morphème de personne sujet du verbe : /nā/,= « Nous. » Dans une autre structure, on peut dire, en faisant toujours appel à un morphème de personne sujet :

	/katab-	tu	'anā	wa	zayd-un/	
Litt.	Avoir écrit	je	moi	et	Zayd	= J'ai écrit, moi et Zayd

Et on dit en face du deuxième énoncé français qui coordonne les deux verbes :

	/katab-	tu	wa	qara'-	tu/,= « J'ai écrit et j'ai lu »
Litt.	Avoir écrit	je	et	avoir lu	je

Avec répétition obligatoire du morphème de personne sujet /tu/,= « Je. » Tout énoncé qui ne comporte pas un morphème de personne sujet du verbe est agrammatical :

*/katab-	tu	wa	qara'-	X ¹² /
*/katab-	X	wa	qara'-	tu/
*/'anā		wa	zayd-un	katab X/
*/katabX	anā	wa	zayd-un/	

En arabe, les deux constituants sont collés l'un à l'autre et, par voie de conséquence, aucune coordination n'est possible ni au premier, ni au deuxième. Toute coordination à l'un des deux est, par là-même, une coordination d'un noyau à un autre.

Cette constatation est également valable pour la troisième personne non marquée, qui est un morphème de signifiant zéro. L'on dit :

	/kataba-	∅	wa	qara'a-	∅/
Litt.	Avoir écrit	il	et	avoir lu	il

Selon cette analyse, dans un énoncé de type : /kataba zayd-un/, Zayd n'est pas le sujet du verbe comme l'analyse la tradition grammaticale arabe,

¹² X signifie un élément absent.

mais une expansion d'identité du morphème de signifiant zéro de la troisième personne. L'énoncé sera donc présenté de la manière suivante :

/kataba- Ø zayd-un/, = « Il a écrit, Zayd »¹³
 Litt. écrire il Zayd

Les quatre énoncés du tableau suivant montrent la régularité de l'analyse proposée par rapport à la dissymétrie de l'analyse traditionnelle présentée dans le 5^{ème} énoncé :

1 ^{ère} pers.	katab	tu (je)	anā (moi)	wa	‘amr-un/	J'ai écrit, moi et ‘Amr
2 ^{ème} pers.	Katab-	ta (tu)	anta (toi)	wa	‘amr-un/	Tu as écrit, toi et ‘Amr
3 ^{ème} pers.	katab-	Ø (il)	huwa (lui)	wa	‘amr-un/	Il a écrit, lui et ‘Amr
	Kataba-	Ø (il)	zayd-un(Zayd)	wa	‘amr-un/	Il a écrit, Zayd et ‘Amr
3 ^{ème} pers.	kataba-	zayd-un	X	wa	‘amr-un	a écrit, Zayd et ‘Amr

le 6^{ème} énoncé qui aurait pu restaurer la symétrie de l'analyse traditionnelle n'est pas attesté :

3 ^{ème} pers.	*kataba-	zayd-un	huwa	wa	‘amr-un	A écrit, Zayd, lui et ‘Amr
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Une coordination éventuelle de /‘amr-un/ à /zayd-un/ ne peut donc pas être interprétée comme une coordination à un constituant du noyau, le sujet du verbe étant le morphème de la troisième personne de signifiant zéro, et non pas le nom /zayd-un/.

C'est probablement parce qu'on ne peut pas coordonner au morphème de personne sujet du verbe, que des énoncés de type :

/katab- tu X wa ‘amr-un/
 Litt. écrire je X et ‘Amr
 et /kataba- Ø X wa ‘amr-un/
 Litt. Ecrire il X et ‘Amr

¹³ Voir la justification de cette analyse dans Hamzé (1999 : 128-135), et (1987 : II, 557-562).

ont été évités en arabe¹⁴. En effet, ces énoncés mettent en situation de coordination deux éléments nominaux (*je* et *‘Amr*, ou *il* et *‘Amr*), à priori coordonnables, mais qui ne sont pas réellement coordonnés, d’où leur non-conformité à la norme. Pour que ces énoncés puissent être conformes à la norme, les deux éléments visiblement coordonnables doivent être séparés,

- soit par un morphème libre qui reprend le morphème de personne conjoint :

	/katab-	tu	anā	wa	‘amr-un/
Litt.	Avoir écrit	je	moi	et	‘Amr
	/kataba-	∅	huwa	wa	‘amr-un/
Litt.	Avoir écrit	il	lui	et	‘Amr

- soit par une tierce unité¹⁵ :

	/katab-	tu	l-yawm-a	wa	‘amr-un/
Litt.	Avoir écrit	je	aujourd’hui	et	‘Amr

L’obligation de séparer les deux éléments candidats à la coordination—que cette séparation soit réalisée par un pronom libre ou par une tierce unité—fournit un indice très fort, voire une preuve irréfutable, qu’il ne s’agit pas d’une coordination à un constituant du noyau. En effet, il est paradoxal de séparer deux éléments pour pouvoir les coordonner. C’est peut-être cette constatation qui amène Ibn al-Ḥājjib (m. 686/1288) à dire que le pronom libre a été introduit pour qu’il serve, lui, de base formelle de coordination¹⁶.

Les grammairiens arabes, depuis al-Khalīl (m. 170/786) ont justifié la non-conformité à la norme dans la coordination à un pronom conjoint sujet, par le lien très étroit entre ce pronom et le verbe¹⁷. « Plus la liaison

¹⁴ Ces énoncés, rares, ont été considérés par les grammairiens arabes comme non conformes à la norme. Voir Hamzé (2010 : ch. 3) et (1987).

¹⁵ Les grammairiens arabes donnent souvent comme exemple le verset 148 de la Sourate *al-An‘ām* [Coran, 6/148] : /mā ashrak-nā wa-lā ābā’-u nā/, = « nous n’aurions pas été Associateurs, non plus que nos pères » (traduction de Blachère). Voir Ibn Abi l-Rabi‘ (688/1290) qui considère le deuxième procédé comme étant moins conforme à la norme que le premier (*al-Basīt*, I, 345), ou Ibn ‘Uṣfūr (669/1271) qui traite la question en termes de rection (*Sharḥ al-Jumal* 1, 241).

¹⁶ Ibn al-Ḥājjib, *al-Īdāh* 1, 455.

¹⁷ Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb* 2, 378.

est forte entre le pronom [et le verbe], dit al-Jurjānī (m. 471/1079), plus la coordination est évitée. »¹⁸ Ainsi

/kataba- ∅ X wa ‘amr-un/

serait moins conforme que

/katab- tu X wa ‘amr-un/

le pronom étant non marqué dans le premier énoncé, donc plus lié, et marqué dans le second.

Dans notre analyse, le morphème verbal et le morphème de personne sont inséparables. Ni l'un, ni l'autre, ne peut donc être coordonné, ni servir de base à une coordination, contrairement à ce qui est généralement adopté par la Tradition. ‘Abbās Ḥasan s'étonne que l'un des grammairiens anciens ait pu affirmer : « Je ne vois pas un seul exemple de la coordination d'un verbe à un autre. »¹⁹ Dans des énoncés de type :

/qāma wa qa‘ada ‘aliyy-un/
Litt. Il s'est levé et il s'est assis Ali (nom)

« c'est une phrase et non pas un verbe, qui est coordonnée [à une autre]. »

L'objection de ‘Abbās Ḥasan accusant ce savant ancien de n'avoir pas saisi « la différence, fine » entre la coordination de deux phrases et la coordination de deux verbes au niveau de la forme, i.e. la rection, et au niveau du sens ne nous semble pas pertinente²⁰. Les deux énoncés qu'il donne pour prouver son point de vue ne fournissent aucune preuve valable :

/yu‘jib-u-nī an ta-qūm-a wa ta-khruj-a vs wa
takhruj-u/
Litt. Cela me plaît que tu te lèves (*sub*) et tu sortes (*sub*) vs et
tu sors (*ind*)

/lam taqum wa takhruj vs wa takhruj-u
Litt. Ne pas tu te lèves (*apoc*) et tu sors (*apoc*) vs et tu sors (*ind*)

En effet, la différence relevée entre les variantes des deux énoncés suivants n'est pas due à deux types de coordination (coordination de deux verbes dans un cas, et de deux phrases dans l'autre), mais, tout simplement, à une ellipse de /an/, = « que » dans le premier exemple et de /lam/, = « ne pas » dans le second. La coordination dans les deux cas est,

¹⁸ al-Jurjānī, *al-Muqtaṣid* 2, 958–959.

¹⁹ Ḥasan (1975 : 3, 645).

²⁰ *Ibid.* 3, 644–647.

forcément, une coordination de deux noyaux, puisque tous les verbes des deux énoncés sont munis de leurs morphèmes de personne sujet, le morphème de la deuxième personne /ta/, = « Tu » :

- /yu'jib-u nī an ta-qūm-a wa [an] ta-khruj-a vs wa
takhruj-u/
Litt. Cela me plaît que tu te lèves (sub) et [que] tu sortes (sub) vs et
tu sors (ind)
Cela me plaît que tu te lèves et [que] tu sortes vs et tu sors
- /lam taqum wa [lam] takhruj vs wa
takhruj-u
Litt. Ne pas tu te lèves (apoc) et [ne pas] tu sors (apoc) vs et
tu sors (ind)
Tu ne t'es pas levé et tu [n]'es [pas] sorti vs et tu sors

Il en ressort qu'une coordination à l'un des deux constituants du noyau verbal est impossible, et que toute tentative de coordonner à l'un des deux constituants se transforme, de facto, en une coordination de deux noyaux.

En fonction de la position du morphème de personne par rapport au morphème verbal, préfixé ou suffixé, on peut avoir l'un des quatre schémas suivants pour les noyaux coordonnés :

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | a <————> b | + | a' <————> b' | (inachevé + inachevé) |
| | ta- qra'u | wa | ta- ktubu | (Tu lis et tu écris) |
| 2. | b <————> a | + | b' <————> a' | (achevé + achevé) |
| | qara'- ta | wa | katab- ta | (Tu as lu et tu as écrit) |
| 3. | a <————> b | + | b' <————> a' | (inachevé + achevé) |
| | ta- qra'u | wa | katab- ta | (Tu écris et tu as lu) |
| 4. | b <————> a | + | a' <————> b' | (achevé + inachevé) |
| | qara'- ta | wa | ta- ktubu | (Tu as lu et tu écris) |

3.3 Noyau formé de deux noms

Dans ce qui suit, nous allons examiner la coordination à un constituant du noyau formé de deux éléments nominaux.

L'hypothèse, ici retenue et que nous souhaitons vérifier, est que cette coordination n'est possible que si l'élément coordonnable n'est pas séparé de sa base par l'autre constituant du noyau. Sinon, il s'agit d'une coordination de deux noyaux qui implique la restitution d'éléments ellipsés.

Idéalement, les deux segments coordonnés sont situés immédiatement de part et d'autre du coordonnant qui les relie. Exemple :

- al-qātil-u wa l-maqtūl-u fī l-nār-i/
Litt. Celui qui tue (nom) et celui qui est tué (nom) [seront] dans le feu

Toutefois, d'autres éléments peuvent être insérés entre les segments coordonnés. Dans le cas présent qui nous intéresse, nous faisons une différence fondamentale entre deux types d'éléments séparateurs :

1. Le séparateur est une extension du constituant.

Cette extension peut être l'une des expansions de l'arabe (annexion, identification, etc.) ou encore, une extension d'une extension du constituant. Exemple : cette expansion d'annexion du 1^{er} constituant du noyau :

/bāb-u	l-bayt-i	wa	nawāfidh-u-hu	maftūḥat-un/
Litt. La porte [de]	la maison	et	ses fenêtres	[sont] ouvertes

2. Le séparateur est l'autre constituant du noyau.

Si le séparateur est l'autre constituant du noyau, sa relation au constituant n'est pas celle d'une extension par rapport à sa base, mais une relation d'interdépendance et d'implication réciproque, puisque l'un ne peut pas se dispenser de l'autre. Exemple :

/zayd-un	zarīf-un	wa	'amr-un/
Litt. Zayd (n) [est]	gracieux	et	'Amr (n)

où l'élément séparateur /zarīf-un/ n'est pas une extension du premier constituant du noyau /zayd-un/, mais le deuxième constituant de ce noyau. La suite de l'exposé sera consacrée à ce deuxième type.

Un noyau, nous l'avons dit, est formé de deux constituants, seulement deux. Soit (a) le premier constituant du noyau nominal, (b) le second. Le constituant (a) peut être antéposé ou postposé à (b). En effet, l'élément antéposé n'est pas forcément premier. Il peut occuper la première position et être supposé second²¹. Le noyau formé de (a) et de (b) peut donc se réaliser suivant l'un des deux schémas suivants :

a <—————> b

ou

b <—————> a

²¹ Les grammairiens arabes distinguent ce qui est premier de ce qui est antéposé et ce qui est deuxième de ce qui est postposé (Ibn Ya'īsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* 1, 97–98). Ils envisagent trois cas de figure quant à la position du deuxième élément du noyau nominal, le *khavar* (l'énonciatif) : il est, soit obligatoirement postposé, soit obligatoirement antéposé, soit postposé ou antéposé. Ibn Hishām, *Awḍaḥ al-masālik* 1, 145–152).

Soient (a') et (b'), respectivement, les deux éléments susceptibles d'être coordonnés à (a) et (b). En fonction de la position de (a) et de (b) et de la position de (a') et de (b') par rapport à (a) et (b), nous pouvons avoir 12 combinaisons théoriques possibles, qui seront ramenées à six dans la mesure où la séquence (a' a) sera traitée comme (a a') et (b' b) comme (b b'). En effet, comme la relation de coordination entre (a) et (a') d'un côté ou entre (b) et (b') de l'autre est une relation égalitaire non hiérarchisée, (a') devient (a) quand il est antéposé à (a), et (a) devient (a'). Il en est de même pour (b') par rapport à (b)²². Il ne reste donc que six combinaisons : trois pour la position standard dans laquelle l'élément (a) est antéposé, et trois pour la position dans laquelle (a) est postposé. On peut schématiser ces six combinaisons de la manière suivante :

- 1) a ————— a' ————— b
- 2) b ————— b' ————— a
- 3) a ————— b ————— b'
- 4) b ————— a ————— a'
- 5) a ————— b ————— a'
- 6) b ————— a ————— b'

Dans les schémas 1, 2, 3, 4 la coordination se fait à un constituant du noyau (a' est coordonné à a, b' est coordonné à b). On aura la représentation suivante :

- 1) (a + a')²³ <—————> b

Exemple, le verset 46 de la sourate *al-Kahf* [*Le Coran*, XVIII, 46] :

Litt. /(**al-māl-u** wa **l-banūna**) zīnat-u l-ḥayāt-i l-dunyā/
 (L'argent et les enfants) [sont] l'ornement de la vie d'ici-bas

- 2) (b + b') <—————> a

Exemple, ce vers de mètre *Ramal* du poète Īliyā Abū Mādī :

/(**a (qadīm-un** am **jadīd-un)** anā fi hādihā l wujūd-i
 Est-ce (**ancien** ou **nouveau**) moi dans ce monde ?

- 3) a <—————> (b + b')

Exemple, cette hémistiche de mètre *Tawīl* du poète Ibn al-Rūmī :

/wa qāla l-ḥarāmāni (**l-mudāmat-u** wa **l-sukr-u**)/
 Litt. Il dit : les deux illicites [sont] (**le vin** et **l'ivresse**)

²² Nous ne prenons pas en compte ici les cas particuliers où l'interchangeabilité n'est pas possible. L'on dit, par exemple /anā wa anta/ en antéposant le pronom de la première personne et non pas /anta wa anā/ (toi et moi), /anā wa-fulān/ et non pas /fulān wa-anā/ (un tel et moi), /zayd-un wa-akhū-hu/ et non pas /akhū-hu wa-zayd-un/ (son frère et Zayd), etc.

²³ Les parenthèses sont utilisées pour les deux éléments coordonnés.

4) b <—————> (a + a')

Exemple, le verset 11 de la sourate *Hūd* [*Le Coran*, xi/11] :

/la hum	(maghfirat-un	wa	ajr-un)	kabīr-un/ ²⁴
Litt. A eux	(un pardon	et	une rétribution)	grande

En revanche, les deux schémas 5 et 6 présentent un type particulier de coordination, puisque l'élément candidat à la coordination est séparé de sa base par l'autre constituant du noyau. Ainsi (b) est intercalé entre (a) et (a') dans le premier cas : (énoncé 5), et (a) est intercalé entre (b) et (b') dans le deuxième cas : (énoncé 6).

5) a <—————> b + a'

Exemple :

/zayd-un	zarīf-un	wa	'amr-un/
Zayd (n)	[est] gracieux	et	'Amr (n)

6) b <—————> a + b'

Exemple :

/arabiyy-un	muhru-ka	wa	aṣīl-un/
Litt. arabe	[est] ton poulain	et	de race pure

Nous estimons que la coordination ne se fait pas entre (a) et (a') dans l'énoncé (5), et elle ne se fait pas entre (b) et (b') dans l'énoncé (6) non plus. Autrement dit, il ne s'agit pas dans ces deux énoncés d'une coordination à un constituant du noyau, mais d'une coordination entre deux noyaux. Tout schéma du type 5 ou 6 doit être réinterprété en restituant un constituant ellipsé :

a <—> b + a' <—>	(a <—> b) + (a' <—> [b'] ²⁵)
b <—> a + b' <—>	(b <—> a) + (b' <—> [a'])

Ainsi pour :

/zayd-un	zarīf-un	wa	'amr-un / <—>
/zayd-un	zarīf-un	wa	'amr-un [zarīf-un]/
Zayd (n) [est]	gracieux	et	'Amr [est] [gracieux]

²⁴ Analyser /la-hum/, = « à eux, » comme un prédicat ou comme une expansion complétive d'un prédicat ellipsé, analyse que nous adoptons, n'a aucune incidence sur la démonstration. Un autre exemple : le vers de mètre *ṭawīl* du poète omeyyade Jamil b. Ma'mar :

/sawā'-un 'alay-nā yā jamīl-u bn-u ma'mar-in idhā mitta	(ba'sā'-u l-hayāt-i wa- līn-u-hā)/
[Est] égal pour nous, Ô Jamil b. Ma'mar ! lorsque tu es mort	(le malheur [de] la vie et sa douceur)

b <—————> (a + a')

²⁵ L'élément entre crochets est un élément ellipsé qu'on doit restituer pour qu'il y ait une coordination de deux noyaux.

et pour :

/ʿarabiyy-un	muhru-ka	wa	aşīl-un	—————>
/ʿarabiyy-un	muhru-ka	wa	aşīl-un	[muhru-ka]
Arabe [est]	ton poulain	et	de race pure [est]	[ton pou- lain]

Nous estimons que les deux segments candidats à la coordination /zayd-un/ et /ʿamr-un/, ainsi que les deux segments /ʿarabiyy-un/ et /aşīl-un/ séparés de leurs bases par l'autre constituant du noyau, ne sont pas coordonnés l'un à l'autre pour, au moins, trois raisons :

1. L'accord en genre et en nombre. En effet, si /ʿamr-un/ était coordonné au premier constituant du noyau /zayd-un/, le deuxième constituant du noyau : /zarīf-un/, aurait dû s'accorder avec les segments coordonnés. Or, on constate qu'il ne s'accorde qu'avec le premier constituant. Ainsi, il est au masculin singulier avec Zayd, et au féminin singulier avec Laylā :

/zayd-un	zarīf-un	wa	ʿamr-un/
Zayd (sing) [est]	gracieux (sing)	et	ʿAmr (sing)/
/laylā	zarīfat-un	wa	ʿamr-un/
Layla (fém) [est]	gracieuse (fém.)	et	ʿAmr (masc)

2. Le changement possible de prédicat. Si les deux éléments étaient coordonnés, l'énoncé suivant serait inadmissible :

/zayd-un	zarīf-un	wa	ʿamr-un	sakhīf-un/
Zayd [est]	gracieux	et	ʿAmr [est]	léger

Or, cet énoncé est parfaitement construit. ʿAmr n'est pas coordonné à Zayd. En conséquence, il est possible de lui attribuer un prédicat (sakhīf = léger) différent de celui attribué à Zayd. Mais dans la mesure où on souhaite lui attribuer le même prédicat (gracieux) attribué à Zayd, on peut l'ellipser puisqu'il est facilement restituable par l'interlocuteur.

3. Le changement casuel. Si les deux éléments étaient coordonnés, ils auraient obligatoirement les mêmes désinences casuelles. Or, dans le verset 3 de la sourate *at-Tawba* [*Le Coran*, IX, 3] les deux noms candidats à la coordination : /allāh-a/ et /rasūl-u hu/ reçoivent deux voyelles casuelles différentes :

/anna llāh-a	barī-un	mina	l-mushrikīna	wa	rasūl-u-hu/
Litt. :Que Allah (acc) [est]	délié	des	Associateurs	et	SonEnvoyé(nom)

En effet, le nominatif de /rasūl-u/ montre bien qu'il n'est pas coordonné à /allāh-a/ qui est à l'accusatif, le noyau étant déjà constitué de /allāh-a/,

élément (a), et de /barī²-un/, élément (b). Le segment candidat à la coordination /rasūl-u/ est séparé de ce qui est censé être sa base de coordination /allāh-a/ par l'autre constituant du noyau /barī²-un/. L'énoncé, après restitution de l'élément ellipsé saisi à partir du premier noyau serait le suivant :

/anna llāh-a barī²-un mina l-mushrikīna wa rasūl-u-hu [barī²-un].../
 a <—————> b + a' <—————> [b']

Dans cette analyse, nous aurons deux noyaux coordonnés : /...llāh-a barī²-un/ et /rasūl-u-hu barī²-un/. La différence de voyelles casuelles dans les deux éléments candidats à la coordination est un indice fort que les deux éléments ne sont pas coordonnés. Leur séparation par le deuxième constituant du noyau montre bien qu'ils n'appartiennent pas au même noyau : le premier étant déjà constitué, le segment candidat à la coordination en ouvre un autre qui a besoin de la restitution d'un constituant ellipsé facilement identifiable grâce aux constituants du premier noyau.

Dans l'exemple suivant, nous avons les deux types de coordination : une coordination au premier constituant avant la constitution du noyau et une coordination de deux noyaux avec ellipse après sa constitution. Il s'agit d'un vers de mètre *Basīṭ* d'al-Mutanabbī :

/al-khayl-u wa-l-layl-u wa-l-baydā²-u ta'rif-u-nī wa-l-sayf-u wa-l-ruh-u wa-l-qirṭās-u wa-l-qalam-u/ qui doit être interprété ainsi :

/al-khayl-u wa-l-layl-u wa-l-baydā²-u ta'rif-u nī wa-l-sayf-u wa-l-ruh-u wa-l-qirṭās-u wa l-qalam-u [ta'rif-u nī]/
 (a + a₁ + a₂) <—————> b + (a + a'₁ + a'₂ + a'₃) <—————> [b']

où les segments /al-layl-u/ et /al-baydā²-u/ sont coordonnés à /al-khayl-u/, alors que les autres segments /al-sayf-u/, /al-ruh-u/, /al-qirṭās-u/ et /al-qalam-u/, candidats à la coordination, qui arrivent après la constitution du noyau avec son deuxième constituant /ta'rif-u nī/, ne sont pas coordonnés à /al-khayl-u/. Ils forment le premier constituant d'un autre noyau qui sera, lui, coordonné au premier après restitution des éléments ellipsés.

En résumé, ce qui vient d'être exposé nous permet d'énoncer les principes suivants :

1. La coordination à un constituant d'un noyau formé d'un nom et d'une modalité n'a qu'un seul schéma possible : une coordination à l'élément nominal du noyau :

b <—————> (a + a')

2. La coordination à un constituant du noyau verbal est impossible. Les deux constituants étant inséparables, toute coordination à l'un des deux constituants, le morphème verbal ou le morphème de personne sujet, est une coordination au noyau tout entier :

$$a \text{ <-----> } b \quad + \quad a' \text{ <-----> } b'^{26}$$

3. La coordination à un constituant du noyau nominal n'est possible que si l'élément candidat à la coordination n'est pas séparé de sa base par l'autre constituant du noyau. On peut coordonner au premier constituant tout comme au second :

$$(a + a') \text{ <-----> } b; \quad (b + b') \text{ <-----> } a; \quad a \text{ <-----> } (b + b'); \quad b \text{ <-----> } (a + a')$$

En revanche, si le candidat est séparé de sa base par l'autre constituant du noyau, la coordination est obligatoirement celle de deux noyaux. Il faut dans ce cas restituer un constituant ellipsé repérable grâce au premier noyau :

$$\begin{array}{l} a \text{ <-----> } b + a' \quad \rightarrow \quad a \text{ <-----> } b + a' \text{ <-----> } [b'] \\ b \text{ <-----> } a + b' \quad \rightarrow \quad b \text{ <-----> } a + b' \text{ <-----> } [a'] \end{array}$$

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²⁶ Ce schéma est valable quel que soit l'élément antéposé : (a b + a'b'), (a b + b'a'), (b a + a'b') ou (b a + b'a').

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MUSTAQĪM, MUḤĀL, ḤASAN, QABĪḤ
LES CRITÈRES DE RECEVABILITÉ DANS LE KITĀB DE SĪBWAYHI

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Soit le chapitre VI de la *Risāla* du *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi, qui traite de l'inégalité entre les productions langagières et de la recevabilité des énoncés.

Ce chapitre se présente comme suit : Au titre ainsi libellé : *hādhā bāb al-istiqāma min al-kalām wa-l-iḥāla* (De l'énoncé droit et de l'énoncé déviant)¹, succèdent deux paragraphes : le premier, d'une ligne, énonce les prédicats possibles du *kalām* :

fa-minhu mustaqīmun ḥasanun, wa-muḥālun, wa-mustaqīmun kadhibun, wa-mustaqīmun qabīḥun, wa-mā huwa muḥālun kadhibun. 7.13–14²

L'énoncé peut être droit et bon, déviant, droit et faux, droit et vilain, déviant et faux.

Le second paragraphe reprend systématiquement chaque prédicat, donne un ou plusieurs exemples de langue l'illustrant et, parfois, en donne la définition. En étudiant les exemples qui illustrent l'usage de ces prédicats dans le *Kitāb*, en reprenant les définitions, en recourant donc au rapport du concept à l'empirique et du concept avec les autres concepts, nous nous proposons d'analyser, dans les pages qui suivent, les critères de recevabilité des énoncés dans le *Kitāb*.

1. LA LITTÉRALITÉ DES TERMES

L'unité linguistique sur laquelle s'applique les prédicats d'inégalité est l'objet même du *Kitāb* : le *kalām*. Nous avons tenté de montrer ailleurs³ à partir d'une étude d'occurrences, que ce mot qui n'admet pas de pluriel, qui peut avoir à la fois une valeur verbale et une autre nominale, désigne, à la fois, dans le *Kitāb*, le fait de parler et la parole prononcée, l'énonciation et l'énoncé, l'acte de discours et le discours—et c'est parce qu'il désigne

¹ Nous justifions nos traductions au §1.

² Le premier chiffre renvoie à la page, celui après le point à la ligne. Comme la plupart des références renvoient au tome I, nous n'indiquerons le tome que s'il s'agit du tome II.

³ Cf. Ayoub (2003 : 32) et surtout Ayoub (2005).

l'action de parler, et non seulement son résultat, qu'il n'a pas de pluriel. Au niveau conceptuel, il n'est réductible à aucun des termes théoriques que distingue la linguistique moderne (*langue, langage, parole, énoncé et discours*) et les désigne tous. *Il n'est, au vrai, langue au sens de Saussure que dans la mesure où la langue ne peut être saisie que par le discours. C'est là un des fondements épistémologiques de la pensée sur le langage dans la tradition arabe. Un des fondements de la grammaire arabe elle-même.*

La littéralité des termes disant la valeur du *kalām* a une résonance esthétique et éthique, apparente le jugement linguistique aux jugements esthétique et éthique. On sait, depuis Carter (1968), qu'une bonne part du lexique du *Kitāb* relève de l'éthique⁴. Il en est d'emblée ainsi pour *ḥasan*, *qabīḥ*, *muṣṭaqīm*. Seul *muḥāl*, à connotation sémantique et logique, semble sortir de ce champ sémantique. Au vrai, *ḥasan* qui signifie 'beau,' 'bon,' et son antonyme *qabīḥ* qui signifie 'laid,' 'vilain,' relèvent, à la fois, de l'esthétique et de l'éthique, qualifiant, dès les textes les plus anciens, à la fois la beauté ou la laideur des formes et celle des actions⁵. Cette ambiguïté se retrouve dans le *Kitāb*. Le terme *jamūl*, qui y est synonyme de *ḥasan* a seulement une valeur esthétique ; *khabīth*, *radī'*, synonymes de *qabīḥ*, ont une résonance éthique. Nous retiendrons les termes « bon » et « vilain » pour traduire *ḥasan* et *qabīḥ*⁶. Ils disent bien cette duplicité du jugement linguistique, à la fois linguistique, esthétique et éthique, cette dernière

⁴ En fait, la thèse de Carter est la suivante : une bonne partie du lexique du *Kitāb* est empruntée à l'éthique. C'est la thèse de l'emprunt. El-Amrani Jamal (1986), rejetant la thèse de l'emprunt, donne à cette rencontre un caractère fortuit. Versteegh (1993 : 35), très sceptique quant à l'emprunt, souligne néanmoins l'interdisciplinarité qui est le propre des savants du 8^e s., interdisciplinarité qui rend très difficile d'isoler une terminologie propre à une discipline donnée. Ce contact et cette influence des disciplines les unes sur les autres ne signifient pas toutefois la prééminence d'une discipline sur d'autres. Il attire plutôt l'attention sur la thèse de Rundgren 1976 selon laquelle c'est la philosophie grecque, à partir de traductions perses et syriaques, qui aurait déterminé une telle classification des énoncés où se croisent catégories logiques et linguistiques. Versteegh souligne l'influence de la grammaire grecque où ce croisement était courant depuis l'introduction des théories stoïciennes en grammaire.

⁵ Si al-Khalīl dans *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, al-Jawharī dans *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* ne s'étendent pas sur la définition des deux termes, se contentant pour *qubḥ* d'un « bien connu » après avoir présenté l'antonyme, ils spécifient bien que le terme est général et s'applique à toute chose (*'āmm fi kull shay'*). Ibn Sida spécifie que le *ḥusn* s'applique à la fois aux formes et aux actions (*fi l-ṣūra wa-l-fi'l*).

⁶ Le choix de « vilain » pour *qabīḥ* fait signe aux préoccupations à la fois éthiques et esthétiques des premiers savants : Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (m. 154/770), lecteur de Baṣra et grand collecteur de la poésie ancienne, al-Khalīl (m. 175/791) fondateur de la métrique et connu pour sa grande probité. « Mauvais » eût été sans doute plus en accord avec les termes français qui disent la valeur. Mais il correspond plutôt à l'antonyme de *ḥasan* qui relève clairement de l'éthique, soit *sayyi'*, jamais utilisé dans le *Kitāb*, Troupeau (1976 : 113) recensant uniquement 3 occurrences de *aswa'*. Cette articulation du correct, de l'éthique,

dimension en cohérence avec l'ensemble du lexique du *Kitāb* et avec ce que nous pensons être un rapport principal de la langue à la loi. Après tout, les termes français bon et mauvais, d'usage courant en matière de jugement linguistique, ne gardent-ils pas cette duplicité ? La traduction de *mustaqīm*, *muḥāl* pose plus de problèmes⁷. A se reporter au *Lisān*, on se rend compte qu'il existe effectivement une notion commune à ces deux termes présentés dans le titre comme antonymes. C'est celle de direction, de cours qui serait, dans le premier cas, droit⁸, dans le second, proprement devenu déviant⁹, tortu. Dans la langue du 8^e siècle, la notion de *muḥāl* dit le changement, ce qui prend un autre tour et un autre aspect, ce qui s'est déplacé (*ḥāla ilā makānin ākhara : taḥawwala*). Le changement peut prendre une connotation négative ; c'est, alors, ce qui se gâte, se corrompt, est altéré ou détérioré. Ainsi l'arc quand il devient cambré, les jambes quand elles sont cagneuses, le jet d'urine du chameau tant il n'est pas droit. C'est ce changement d'un état à un autre, tortu ou déviant, qui distingue la notion d'une notion voisine, celle de *'iwaj* (tortuosité). Aussi le *Lisān* rapporte d'Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (m. 215/830) : *kullu shay'in taḡhayyara 'an al-istiwā' ilā l-'iwaj fa-qad ḥāla wa-staḥāla wa-huwa mustaḥilun*. Cela fait entendre dans l'usage linguistique que ce qui est tortu est perçu comme altéré, et se mesure par rapport à la loi. *aḥāla l-shay'*, par ailleurs, c'est rendre impossible quelque chose. A joindre ces deux idées, on peut dire que le *muḥāl* est ce qui, dans la langue, ayant été dévié de son cours, prend un tour impossible. C'est bien cette idée de changement, de déviation par rapport à un cours principal que le *Lisān* donne pour définir le *kalām muḥāl* (*mā 'udila bihi 'an wajhihi*), suivie de celle de corruption (*aḥalta l-kalāma idhā afsadtahu*). Cette valeur de corruption se retrouve dans le *Kitāb*, qualifiant une prédication incomplète (un *mubtada'* que rien ne complète) : *fasada l-kalāmu wa-lam yasugh laka* (347.1–2), juge Sibawayhi. Or les tours à prédication incomplète sont, on le verra plus bas, des tours

de l'esthétique mais aussi de l'ontologique est au fondement de la réflexion sur le langage dans la pensée classique, cf. (Ayoub 2001).

⁷ Il n'est que de voir la variété des traductions à laquelle la paire a donné lieu : *mustaqīm* a été traduit par « juste », « droit », *muḥāl* par « absurde », « impossible », « tortu. » Troupeau (1976 : 75) retient absurde et « impossible » pour *muḥāl*, Versteegh (1993 : 34) traduit *muḥāl* par « impossible », *mustaqīm* par « correct. » Carter (2004) traduit la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* par right/wrong, Bohas & Carter (2005) respectivement par « droit », « tortu. »

Comme *khaṭa'/'shaḥiḥ* existe également dans le *Kitāb* et qu'il s'agit d'un prédicat global d'agrammaticalité qui se laisse analyser ensuite en *qabīḥ* ou *muḥāl*, nous avons préféré garder la traduction littérale qui, nous le verrons plus bas, a un statut linguistique.

⁸ On sait l'immense fortune de l'expression coranique : *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*.

⁹ Le *Lisān* cite un proverbe : *dhāka aḥwalu min bawli l-jamali* qu'il explique ainsi : *wa-dhālika'anna bawlahu lā yakhruju mustaqīman, yadhhabu fi iḥdā l-nāḥiyatayn*.

courants dans ceux jugés *kalām ghayr mustaqīm* (énoncé non droit). Bref, pour entendre *muḥāl*, qui se présente dans ce titre du chapitre VI comme l'antonyme de *mustaqīm*, et pour entendre son statut linguistique, cette acception de tour déviant, impossible, définitivement corrompu, nous semble plus adéquate que celle, retenue parfois, d'absurde. Celle-ci est trop restrictive. Retenant cette acception, nous rejoignons Sīrāfi dans son *Sharḥ*. Car c'est bien cette acception de « déviance, » en tant que *kalām* dévié de son tour droit que retient Sīrāfi :

*wa-ma'nā l-muḥāl annahu uḥīla 'an wajhihi l-mustaqīm.*¹⁰

Et le sens de muḥāl est qu'il a été dévié de son tour droit.

L'acception de déviance que nous retenons se démarque peu de l'acception courante de *muḥāl* dans la langue du 8^e s. Or celle-ci est vivante dans le *Kitāb*. En témoigne l'usage des mots de la même racine : ainsi le verbe *aḥāla* à la voix passive :

wa-innamā dhakara l-Khalīlu hādhā li-ta'rīfa mā yuḥālu minhu wa-mā yaḥsunu 219.18

al-Khalīl n'a mentionné cette question qu'afin que tu saches ce qui en est déviant et ce qui en est bon.

ou le verbe *yastaḥīl*, utilisé dans une opposition à *mustaqīm* :

wa-innamā dhakartu laka hādhā li-taṣarrufi wujūhihi wa-ma'ānihi wa-an lā tastahīla minhu mustaqīman. 383.22–384.1

Je ne t'ai mentionné cette question que parce que ses formes et ses significations se modifient [et sont complexes] et afin que tu ne juges point déviants des énoncés droits.

Compris ainsi, le *muḥāl* serait un terme où le métalangage se distingue peu du langage [courant], semblable en cela à bien des termes du métalangage du *Kitāb*. Et, à l'instar de *mustaqīm*, *muḥāl* fait résonner, dans le jugement linguistique, un écho éthique. Ainsi l'ensemble du lexique de la valeur du *kalām* dans le *Kitāb* se révèle parfaitement homogène.

2. LE TERME ET LE CONCEPT

Ce qui précède ne suffit pas, néanmoins, à éclairer l'usage linguistique de ces termes. C'est dans les termes des concepts qu'elle forge et selon

¹⁰ Sīrāfi, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sibawayhi* 2, 90.

ses propres axiomes, postulats et analyses, que toute théorie pose les valeurs des productions langagières. On l'a vu, rien n'est plus instructif, à cet égard, que de tenter de traduire, d'une langue à une autre, d'une théorie à une autre, les valeurs d'une grammaire déterminée, ici celle du *Kitāb*. Si elles avaient été de l'ordre de l'intuition, il eût suffi de considérer les exemples pour qu'elles fussent immédiatement évidentes. Or leur explicitation n'a rien de trivial. Elles ont donné lieu à des interprétations différentes, y compris au sein de la tradition. Qu'en est-il donc de la valeur linguistique exacte de ces termes dans le *Kitāb* ?

D'emblée, Sibawayhi pose explicitement le prédicat d'inégalité qualitative entre les productions langagières comme principal, dans la mesure où il le pose dans la *Risāla*. Or poser, dans une théorie, la question de la valeur des productions langagières requiert un préalable : que toute production langagière puisse être identifiable dans les termes de la théorie grammaticale, en tant qu'unité ayant statut linguistique, fût-elle précisément mal formée. Construire le concept du grammatical, c'est donc construire au préalable un domaine considéré comme celui de l'unité langagière susceptible d'acquiescer telle ou telle valeur, que cette unité soit la phrase, l'énoncé, le mot, ici le *kalām*. Et, en effet, le chapitre VI qui dit la valeur fait suite, dans l'ordre de l'exposé, au chapitre III qui pose la relation de prédication, constitutive du *kalām*¹¹. Son titre est, par ailleurs, bien clair : c'est bien le *kalām*, que nous avons traduit ici par « énoncé, » qui est dit droit ou déviant. Cette démarche fonde, dans l'ordre de la grammaire, l'instabilité de l'irrecevable, recevable, dès lors, comme « vilain, » « déviant, » en fonction des lois de construction de l'unité linguistique. L'incorrect (*khaṭa'*) devient du *kalām* « vilain, » du *kalām* « non droit, » ou du *kalām* « déviant. » Et la même séquence fait, du point de vue de la loi, l'objet d'un prédicat global : *lam yajuz* (cela n'est point permis, n'est point possible), *khaṭa'*, et est qualifiée, par ailleurs, d'un prédicat partiel : « vilain », « pas bon », « non droit » ou « déviant. »¹² C'est que « ce qui ne se dit pas, » antécédent à la distinction syntaxique/asyntaxique, sémantique/asémantique, se laisse analyser en plusieurs prédicats dès que la théorie grammaticale tente de répondre, dans ses propres termes, aux questions suivantes : En quoi et comment cette séquence est-elle mal formée ?

¹¹ Cf. § 5.3.1.

¹² Cf. pour *lā yajūz* analysé ensuite en *muḥāl* : 199.13 ; 211.2–3 ; pour *lā yajūz* et *lā yastaqīm* 111.4–7 ; pour *lam yajuz* et *qabīḥ* : 52–53.1–2, etc.

2.1. *Des critères en cours avant le Kitāb*

Et ce qui distingue la théorie grammaticale du *Kitāb*, c'est qu'elle pose, contrairement à d'autres théories grammaticales, plusieurs critères de recevabilité, plus exactement deux paires. La première question qui se pose donc est de savoir si ces critères ont été posés par Sībawayhi ou bien s'ils étaient déjà en usage avant le *Kitāb*. A revoir le texte, on constate que les maîtres de Sībawayhi les utilisaient déjà. Néanmoins, il semble bien, à ce que nous avons pu trouver, qu'il y ait discrédence entre les deux paires *mustaqīm/muḥāl* et *ḥasan/qabīḥ*. Alors que Khalīl (m. 175/791), selon le *Kitāb*¹³, emploie les deux paires, Yūnus (m. 182/798) et Abū 'Amr (m. 153/770) emploient seulement *qabīḥ/ḥasan*. Ainsi Khalīl, toujours selon le *Kitāb*, considère-t-il certaines séquences comme *muḥāl*. Par exemple *hādhihi nāqatun wa-faṣīluhā l-rāti'āni*¹⁴ (211.5) ou bien *anā 'Abdullāhi munṭaliqan* dans certaines conditions d'énonciation (219.15–19), ou bien *kullu sakhlatihā* (264.11–14). Certaines autres sont jugées par lui comme *lā yastaqīm*, ainsi la flexion *-ū* d'un nom propre forgé sur un verbe à *w* final tel *yaghzū*¹⁵ (II, 55.2). Il qualifie certains énoncés de *qabīḥ* : *astaqbiḥu an aqūla : hādhihi mi'atun ḍarbu l-amīri* (236.15). Yūnus et Khalīl s'accordent à considérer *qabīḥ* la séquence : *wā-rajulāh* (281.20–21)¹⁶. De même Yūnus rapporte qu'Abū 'Amr considérerait *qabīḥ* la séquence : *hādihā zaydun aswada l-nāsi* (233.8). Mais nous n'avons pu trouver aucun jugement d'Abū 'Amr ou de Yūnus en termes de *mustaqīm/muḥāl*. Si nous sommes correcte, cette différenciation des critères de recevabilité en deux paires bien distinctes notionnellement est donc le fait de Khalīl, suivi en cela par Sībawayhi.

Au vrai, le *Lisān* rapporte une typologie attribuée à Khalīl où se retrouvent les deux catégories de *mustaqīm* et de *muḥāl*. Elle se présente comme suit :

al-muḥālu kalāmun li-ghayri shay'in, wa-l-mustaqīmu kalāmun li-shay'in, wa-l-ghalaṭu kalāmun li-shay'in lam turidhu, wa-l-laḡhwu kalāmun li-shay'in laysa min sha'nika, wa-l-kadhibu kalāmun li-shay'in taḡhurru bihi (Lisān : 1055).

¹³ Plusieurs études ont examiné la concordance entre la terminologie attribuée à Khalīl dans le *Kitāb* et sa terminologie quand il est cité ailleurs. Pour un bon aperçu sur la question, voir Versteegh (1993 : 16 sq.) qui conclut que Sībawayhi reprend, en ses propres termes, les théories de Khalīl.

¹⁴ Voir § 6 pour l'analyse et la traduction de ces exemples.

¹⁵ On notera que *lā yastaqīm* ne s'applique pas ici au *kalām* mais au mot.

¹⁶ Cf. § 4.4.3.

Le discours déviant (muḥāl) c'est parler pour ne rien dire. Le discours droit (mustaqīm), c'est parler pour dire quelque chose. L'erreur (khaṭa') c'est parler pour dire quelque chose que tu n'avais pas l'intention de dire. Le discours vain (laghw) c'est parler pour dire quelque chose qui ne te concerne pas. Le faux (kadhib) c'est parler pour dire quelque chose qui trompera (ton interlocuteur).

La comparaison avec le texte de Sībawayhi fait ressortir une différence saillante : alors que la typologie de Sībawayhi est une typologie des énoncés fondée sur des critères de recevabilité dont les termes ont une connotation éthique, la typologie de Khalīl semble, en dehors de toute définition du *kalām*, une classification des types de discours à partir de critères éthiques. *mustaqīm* et *muḥāl* y sont caractérisés de manière générale, peu exploitable linguistiquement : pour *muḥāl* : *parler pour ne rien dire*¹⁷ ; pour *mustaqīm*, *parler pour dire quelque chose*. Toutefois, comme le remarque Versteegh (1993 : 34) qui commente le passage, *mustaqīm* et *muḥāl* évoquent l'acceptation de Sībawayhi. Et cela sous deux aspects, à notre sens : ils sont présentés comme antonymes et ils qualifient le contenu du dire et sa capacité à faire sens et à dire le monde. Ces catégories sont prises dans une typologie plus générale des discours relative au rapport du locuteur à son dire (intentionnalité du dire : *khaṭa'* ; légitimité du discours : *laghw*), et du rapport du locuteur à l'interlocuteur (*kadhib*). *Kadhib*, *laghw*, *khaṭa'* sont également utilisés par Sībawayhi, mais en des sens qui nous semblent différents. L'acceptation de Khalīl ne peut aider, non plus, à comprendre *mustaqīm/muḥāl* dans le *Kitāb*. Hors contexte, rien n'indique qu'elle se situe au niveau linguistique.

2.2. *Laḥn, qabīḥ, muḥāl : l'irrecevable et l'heuristique*

Les critères différenciés de Sībawayhi sont d'autant plus remarquables qu'ils n'incluent pas le terme qui désigne, de manière courante dans la culture classique, la faute de langage : le terme *laḥn*. Cette absence est d'autant à souligner que *laḥn* désigne aussi, au 8^e s., la parole déviée de son cours¹⁸. Ce n'est point que le terme *laḥn* ne soit pas connu dans le *Kitāb* ni qu'il ne soit pas en usage au 8^e siècle, y compris par les maîtres de Sībawayhi. Yūnus rapporte un jugement de Abū 'Amr selon lequel le *huwa*, dans un tour où il est employé comme *faṣl* par les gens de Médine, relève du *laḥn* (349.19). Il rapporte aussi un jugement de Khalīl selon lequel *yā*

¹⁷ Nous comprenons la définition de *muḥāl* de manière différente de Versteegh (1993 : 34), qui traduit par : « parler de quelque chose qui n'existe pas ».

¹⁸ Pour le sens étymologique du mot *laḥn*, ainsi que pour ses usages linguistiques, cf. Fück (1952), Ayoub (2007).

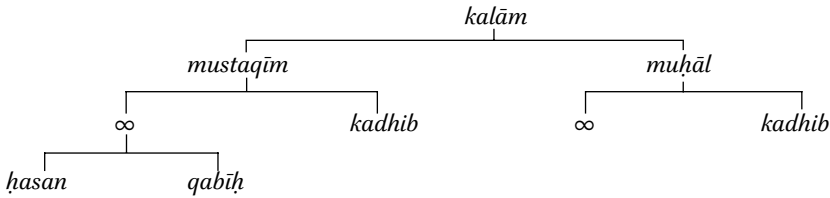
akhūnā relève du *lahn* (262.23). En revanche, Sībawayhi lui-même ne juge aucune séquence en termes de *lahn*. Les deux cas que nous venons de citer sont les deux seules occurrences du terme *lahn* dans le *Kitāb*¹⁹. L'absence de *lahn* dans les notions qui désignent la valeur pour Sībawayhi est donc significative. Le terme est écarté délibérément. Au vrai, ce terme, dans l'usage, ne qualifie pas uniquement le *kalām* et a une extension très large. Il s'applique à toute « faute » de langage, y compris celles qui concernent le mot ou le phonème, ainsi la mauvaise réalisation d'un phonème est-elle qualifiée de *lahn* par Jāhīz. Il est aussi à connotation très normative. Or, on observera que dans ce chapitre VI sont données des définitions bien précises des deux critères d'irrecevabilité : *qabīḥ/muḥāl*. Cette démarche est remarquable à un double titre. En premier lieu, parce que Sībawayhi, comme il est bien connu, ne définit pas, dans la *Risāla*, toutes les notions qu'il introduit. En second lieu, parce que la définition des critères d'irrecevabilité ne s'accompagne pas d'une définition des critères de recevabilité : *mustaqīm/ḥasan*. Seuls sont définis les critères négatifs. Ces définitions contraignent nécessairement le grammairien, ou, du moins, devraient le contraindre, et donnent à ses termes un caractère descriptif. En bref, le grammairien, en posant dans le chapitre III les deux termes constitutifs de tout *kalām*, construit l'unité linguistique sur laquelle vont s'appliquer les prédicats d'inégalité. Pour ces prédicats, il écarte des termes trop connotés, dont l'extension est large, et contraint ses jugements de grammaticalité par des définitions explicites posées d'emblée. C'est donc dans les termes de la théorie grammaticale qu'il entend désigner et décrire l'irrecevabilité des énoncés. En outre, en utilisant *qabīḥ, muḥāl* et non *lahn*, Sībawayhi ouvre large le champ à la grammaire d'utiliser l'agrammatical dans le raisonnement. Un agrammatical qui pourrait n'avoir jamais été dit, contrairement au *lahn*, mais qui est là, à l'instar des exemples qu'il dit relever du *tamthīl*, pour des raisons de méthode et d'argumentation. Il en fait un usage heuristique : l'investigation heuristique ne se contente pas de l'usage mais explore un agrammatical hypothétique afin de mieux découvrir les lois de l'usage.

2.3. Des critères articulés et hiérarchisés

2.3.1. Les critères de recevabilité sont donc multiples. Mais, telle quelle, l'assertion est incomplète. Il y faut ajouter que ces critères sont articulés et hiérarchisés. On le sait depuis Baalbaki (1979), bien des catégories linguis-

¹⁹ Cf. Troupeau (1976 : 188).

tiques s'ordonnent dans le *Kitāb* en unités binaires hiérarchisées l'une par rapport à l'autre. Ici, nous avons affaire à un autre type de hiérarchie qui fait signe à la combinabilité des éléments des paires, plutôt qu'au rapport interne entre deux éléments oppositifs d'une paire. Les énoncés sont droit et bon ; déviant ; droit et faux ; droit et mauvais ; déviant et faux. La simple lecture permet de constater que les prédicats disant la valeur sont combinables. Elle permet de poser des principes de combinaison. Les critères de recevabilité s'ordonnent en unités binaires oppositives. Cela à l'instar de bien des concepts d'analyse posés dans le *Kitāb*. De plus, les critères s'articulent à partir d'une opposition initiale qui est celle du titre même, l'opposition droit/déviant. Le mode de combinabilité peut être représenté par l'arborescence ci-dessous :



Ce schéma n'a aucun statut linguistique. Il permet, néanmoins, de bien voir comment s'organisent et s'articulent les paires. La première opposition droit/déviant est celle à partir de laquelle s'ordonnent les autres. Elle est aussi la plus délicate à cerner.

Le second branchement appelle une clarification, celui de la case vide représentée par ∞ . Se présente immédiatement à l'esprit, pour la nommer, l'antonyme du faux. L'absence de dénomination sert toutefois d'indice, on le verra plus bas.

Nous aborderons *ḥasan/qabīḥ* dans un constant souci de comparaison avec les deux premiers critères de recevabilité. Mais auparavant, nous étayerons ce que nous avons posé quant au caractère articulé et hiérarchisé des critères de recevabilité et au caractère initial de la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl*. Plusieurs observations concourent à confirmer ces deux hypothèses :

2.3.1.1. Sībawayhi ne donne, dans ce chapitre, aucun exemple d'un *kalām mustaqīm*, sans plus. Le prédicat *mustaqīm* est nécessairement combiné à un autre prédicat : *mustaqīm ḥasan* | *mustaqīm qabīḥ* | *mustaqīm kadhib*. *Istiḳāma* est donc une condition nécessaire et non suffisante pour la correction du *kalām*. Cela se confirme par les occurrences même de *yastaqīm* dans le *Kitāb*. Force est de constater, en revenant au texte, qu'il

existe peu d'occurrences d'énoncés marquées du seul prédicat *mustaqīm*. La majorité des occurrences de *yastaqīm* dans le *Kitāb* sont, en fait, des occurrences marquées d'une négation : *lā yastaqīm* (*qui n'est pas droit*).

2.3.1.2. La combinabilité a ses limites : il n'existe point de valeurs telles que *muḥāl qabīḥ*²⁰, ni, a fortiori, de *muḥāl ḥasan*. Si l'on pose que c'est bien la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* qui trace la ligne de césure décisive entre correct et incorrect, qui est l'irrecevabilité définitive, ce trait s'explique immédiatement. Dès lors qu'un énoncé est *muḥāl* ou qu'il est jugé non droit (*lā yastaqīm*), il n'est pas améliorable. Il est « corrompu. » La question du *qubḥ* et du *ḥusn* ne se posera plus pour lui.

2.3.1.3. Il existe une relativité des énoncés les uns par rapport aux autres eu égard au même prédicat : cela est valable pour *ḥusn* et *qubḥ*, non pour *istiqāma* et *iḥāla*. En effet, une détermination importante du *ḥusn* et du *qubḥ* relevée à juste titre par Carter (2004 : 63), est qu'ils admettent le comparatif *aḥsan/aqbaḥ* (meilleur/plus mauvais) ou *aqallu ḥusnan* (moins bon...).²¹ En comparaison, la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* n'admet pas un « plus » ou un « moins. » Un énoncé est *mustaqīm* ou *muḥāl*. Il n'est pas « plus *muḥāl* » ou « moins *muḥāl*, » « plus *mustaqīm* » ou « moins *mustaqīm*. » Ce trait s'explique aussi immédiatement si l'on pose que c'est bien la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* qui trace la ligne de césure décisive entre correct et incorrect. L'énoncé *muḥāl* ou jugé non droit (*lā yastaqīm*) est « corrompu » et non améliorable. L'*istiqāma* est la correction initiale, celle requise comme condition nécessaire mais non suffisante, pour qu'il y ait *kalām*. Reste à savoir ce qui détermine cette correction initiale.

2.3.1.4. Alors que bon nombre d'énoncés, dans les différents chapitres du *Kitāb*, sont jugés à la fois *mustaqīm* et *ḥasan*²², *muḥāl* se voit opposé au seul *ḥasan* dans certains jugements sur la qualité de l'énoncé. Ainsi, en 186.11 *marartu bi-rajulin ḥimarin* est dit *'alā wajhin muḥālun wa-'alā wajhin ḥasanun*. En 219.18, déjà cité, le *Kitāb* précise qu'al-Khalīl mentionne ce chapitre, *li-ta'rifa mā yuḥālu minhu wamā yaḥsunu*. De même, en 362.3, on lira : *law lam tuḍmir an kāna l-kalāmu muḥālan... fa-idhā aḍmarta*

²⁰ Nous avons trouvé un exemple en 117.19.

²¹ Selon Troupeau (1976), *aḥsan* est utilisé 108 fois. *aqbaḥ* 6 fois : il y a donc une nette différence dans l'emploi des deux termes. Cela est sans doute normal. Après tout, dans une grammaire, on cherche à améliorer un énoncé. Occasionnellement, on dit que cette manière de dire est encore plus vilaine que telle autre.

²² Cf. par exemple 58.17 ; 127.13, où c'est *yaḥsunu wa-yastaqīmu* qui est utilisé.

an ḥasuna l-kalāmu²³. L'opposition ḥasan/muḥāl qui semble contredire les paires posées au chapitre VI, s'explique immédiatement si on admet l'articulation des critères et leur hiérarchie : ḥasan, dans les contextes où il est opposé à muḥāl, est en fait l'abréviation de *mustaqīm ḥasan*, puisqu'un énoncé ne peut être ḥasan sans être au préalable *mustaqīm*.

2.3.1.5. *muḥāl* a pour antonyme *ṣaḥīḥ* en 353.12, et 21–23, ce qui confirme que le *muḥāl* dit l'incorrection fondamentale, non récupérable : dans ce passage, le même énoncé avec *ayy* reçoit deux interprétations, l'une interrogative, correcte (*ṣaḥīḥ*), l'autre « informative, » i.e. assertive, jugée *muḥāl* :

ayyu man in ya'tinā nu'ṭihi nukrimuhu fa-hādhā in ja'altahu stfihāman, fa-i'rābuhu l-raf'u fa-huwa kalāmun ṣaḥīḥun... fa-in ja'alta l-kalāma khabaran, fa-huwa muḥālun. 353.8 et 12

ayyu man in ya'tinā nu'ṭihi nukrimuhu (Qui honorons-nous, des²⁴ « si l'on vient à nous, nous leur faisons des largesses »), cela si tu en fais une interrogative, est un énoncé correct... Mais si tu en fais un énoncé informatif, il devient déviant.

2.3.1.6. *muḥāl* est synonyme de *lā sabīla ilā*²⁵ et de *lā taṣtaṭī*²⁶ avec lequel il alterne librement dans certains passages. Cela confirme à nouveau que le *muḥāl* est l'incorrection non récupérable, non améliorable, et confirme la lecture de *muḥāl* en « tour impossible. » Considérons un passage où il en est ainsi. Sibawayhi y discute de l'impossibilité de considérer le qualificatif qui se rapporte à deux noms coordonnés, l'un défini, l'autre indéfini, comme une épithète (*ṣifa*) :

« *hādhāni rajulāni wa-'Abdullāhi munṭaliqīna* » *wa-innamā naṣabta l-munṭaliqīna li-annahu lā sabīla ilā an yakūna ṣifatan li-'abdillāhi, wa-lā an yakūna ṣifatan li-l-ithnayni fa-lammā kāna dhālika muḥālan, ja'altahu ḥālan ṣārū fihī.* 220.3

« *hādhāni rajulāni wa-'Abdullāhi munṭaliqīna.* » Tu as assigné l'accusatif à « *munṭaliqīn* » car il n'est pas possible (il n'y a pas moyen) qu'il soit une *ṣifa* de 'Abdallah, ni une *ṣifa* de « *rajulāni*. » Comme ceci est déviant, ils en ont fait un état (*ḥāl*) dans lequel les deux hommes et Abdallah se trouvent.

²³ Ces citations seront reprises, traduites et analysées plus bas.

²⁴ Dans cet exemple, la double proposition conditionnelle introduite par *man* tient lieu de substantif, comme l'explique Sibawayhi dans le chapitre. Elle fonctionne, en fait, comme un sobriquet. Littéralement : *quel* de ceux... i.e. *quel homme*... ou *quel groupe*...

²⁵ Cf. 211.3 ; 220.3.

²⁶ Cf. 211.3.

2.3.1.7. Autre observation qui concourt dans le même sens, là aussi relevée à juste titre par Carter (2004 : 64). A chacun des membres de la paire *ḥasan/qabīḥ* correspondent plusieurs synonymes dans le *Kitāb*. En revanche, ni *mustaqīm* ni *qabīḥ* n'ont de synonyme. Plutôt que *ḥasan*, on trouvera *jamīl*, *qawīyy*. Plutôt que *qabīḥ*, *radī*, *khabīth*, *da'if*, qui, tous, admettent le « plus » et le « moins. » Au vrai, il ne s'agit pas d'une réelle synonymie. Néanmoins, cette synonymie relative permet de dire que seule la première paire de recevabilité *mustaqīm/muḥāl* est stricte. La seconde *ḥasan/qabīḥ* est à la fois moins tranchée au niveau du concept et moins tranchée au niveau du jugement de recevabilité. Elle permet le jeu à la fois qualitatif (plusieurs synonymes) et quantitatif (gradation) contrairement à la première. Comment expliquer cette différence ? Si l'on pose que *l'istiqāma/iḥāla* est la correction/incorrection initiale, la césure décisive entre correct et incorrect, on peut dès lors poser qu'elle délimite un domaine dans lequel les jugements de recevabilité sont relatifs. Reste à savoir en fonction de quoi ils le sont.

2.3.1.8. Enfin, le trait décisif qui sépare la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* de la paire *ḥasan/qabīḥ* est l'usage : Une suite jugée *muḥāl* ne s'utilise pas, alors qu'il peut arriver qu'une suite jugée *qabīḥ* s'utilise.

Ainsi discutant du tour : *marartu bi-rajulin sawā'in wa-l-'adamu*²⁷ que Sībawayhi juge *qabīḥ*, la séquence correcte étant : *marartu bi-rajulin sawā'in huwa wa-l-'adamu*, Sībawayhi précise : *fa-in takallamta bihi 'alā qubḥihi, rafa'ta l-'adama*²⁸ (199.4). En revanche, présentant le paradigme dont fait partie (23), Sībawayhi conclut :

wa-innamā dhakartu laka hādhā li-taṣarrufi wujūhihi wa-ma'ānihi wa-an lā tastahīla minhu mustaqīman, fa-innahu kalāmun yasta'miluhu l-nāsu.
383.22–384.1

Je ne t'ai mentionné cette question que parce que ses formes et ses significations se modifient [et sont complexes] et afin que tu ne juges point déviants des énoncés droits, car c'est là du kalām (ce sont là des énoncés) que les gens utilisent.

Juger que le *kalām* est déviant, c'est donc juger par le fait même qu'il ne s'utilise pas. Le *kalām qabīḥ* se dit, le *kalām muḥāl* ne se dit pas. Plusieurs autres passages le confirment : Ainsi, par exemple, *marartu bi-abī*

²⁷ Litt : je suis passé près d'un homme égal avec le néant, i.e. Je suis passé près d'un homme qui n'est rien.

²⁸ Si tu l'emploies, malgré sa mauvaise qualité, tu assignes le nominatif à al-'adam.

‘asharatin abūhu, et marartu bi-abī l-‘asharati abūhu (je suis passé près d’un homme dont le père a dix enfants) sont qualifiés en ces termes : *yajūzu ‘alā stikrāh* (la suite se dit, bien que détestable) 200.17. Le même énoncé est taxé de *qabīḥ* mais néanmoins recevable, en 207.11–12. Mais le cas le plus exemplaire où l’énoncé peut se dire, reste recevable *‘alā qubḥihi*, est, bien sûr, le cas des licences poétiques²⁹, la poésie étant lieu de contraintes (*mawḍi‘ idṭirār*). Sibawayhi le pose explicitement dès l’épître. Le chapitre VII y est consacré : le *qubḥ* du *kalām* est toléré en poésie, tant que le *kalām* y est droit et non contradictoire :

yaḥtamilūna qubḥa l-kalāmi ḥattā yaḍa‘ūhu fī ghayri mawḍi‘ihi li-annahū mustaqīmūn laysa fīhi naqḍun. 9.12

... Ils [les Arabes] tolèrent la vilaine [qualité] du *kalām* au point qu’ils mettraient les vocables dans une place autre que la leur vu que le *kalām* est droit et qu’il ne comporte pas de contradiction.

Nous le soulignons ailleurs³⁰, la tolérance a rapport au *shādhdh*, à l’irrégularité, et se tient dans des limites strictes ; l’anomalie ne peut concerner la rectitude de l’énoncé.

2.3.1.9. Néanmoins, le *qabīḥ* ne se réduit pas à l’irrégularité tolérée dans certains usages. Il peut être totalement irrecevable, et a en particulier un statut heuristique, semblable en ceci au *muḥāl*. La suite hypothétique irrecevable permet d’établir la loi de l’usage. Ainsi, pour expliquer le Cas de Zayd en (1) a :

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------|
| (1) a | mā sha’nuka wa-zaydan | 129.12 |
| | Quoi affaire(nom)-toi et-Zayd-acc | |
| | Qu’as-tu donc avec Zayd ? | |
| b | mā sha’nuka wa-zaydin | 129.10 |
| | Quoi affaire(nom)-toi et-Zayd-gén. | |
| c | mā sha’nuka wa-zaydun | 129.17 |
| | Quoi affaire(nom)-toi et-Zayd-nom | |

Sibawayhi procède par élimination : on ne peut avoir un Cas similaire au pronom *-ka*, cela serait *qabīḥ* (*fa-in ḥamalta l-kalāma ‘alā l-kāfi l-muḍmarati fa-huwa qabīḥun* 129.10). (1) b est donc *qabīḥ* ; (1) c où Zayd a le même Cas que *sha’n* l’est aussi et *n’est pas permis* (*lam yajuz*). Reste une seule possibilité : considérer qu’un verbe implicite assigne le Cas et, en

²⁹ Cf. Ayoub (2003 : 44–46), Carter (2004 : 62), Ayoub (2005).

³⁰ Ayoub (2003 : 46) et (2005).

conséquence, assigner l'accusatif. Le titre du chapitre le spécifie bien : *Du verbe qu'ils sous-entendent afin [d'éviter] le qubḥ du kalām s'ils venaient à donner au mot final le même Cas que ce qui le précède* (*hādhā bābun minhu yuḍmirūna fihi l-fi'la li-qubḥi l-kalāmi idhā ḥumila ākhiruhu 'alā awwalihi* 129.8). On a affaire ici à un *qubḥ* théorique qui fonctionne comme un argument essentiel de l'analyse.

De même, les suites *qabīḥ* en (2) sont aussi hypothétiques qu'irrecevables :

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------|
| (2) a | kānat zaydan al-ḥummā ta'khudhu | 27.9 |
| | était Zayd-acc la fièvre elle prend (pour : Zayd était pris de fièvre) | |
| b | marartu bi-hi wa-bi-zaydin humā | 346.14–15 |
| | je suis passé par-lui et par-Zayd eux deux | |
| c | marartu bi-zaydin wa-bi-hi l-ṭawīlayni³¹ | 346.16 |
| | je suis passé prép-Zayd et-prép-lui spirituel-gén-duel
(pour : Je suis passé près de Zayd et près de lui les deux spirituels) | |
| d | zaydun dhāka munṭaliqu³² | 52.1 |
| | Zayd-nom cela partant-nom | |

La dernière séquence, tout à fait hypothétique dans le sens voulu, à savoir « Zayd, je crois, est en route » est qualifiée par les deux prédicats : *lam yaḥsun wa-lam yajuz*. Le *qabīḥ* est, dans ce cas, totalement irrecevable.

Toutefois, même si le *qabīḥ* a différents statuts, il se distingue, néanmoins, du *kalām muḥāl*, en ceci que certaines suites peuvent se dire, contrairement aux suites qualifiées de *muḥāl*.

2.3.2. L'ensemble de ces traits nous permet de conclure non seulement que les critères de recevabilité sont articulés et hiérarchisés, mais aussi que le droit et le déviant ont bien rapport à une correction initiale, en entendant par là une correction qui est une condition sine qua non de tout énoncé, dont la violation donne lieu à une irrecevabilité absolue. La compréhension en intension de cette correction initiale permettra de comprendre la grammaire de Sībawayhi. Qu'est-ce qui la détermine ? ou, dit autrement, quelles sont donc les règles de construction élémentaires, fondamentales qui ne souffrent aucune violation ? Et comment comprendre les critères *ḥasan/qabīḥ* par rapport à *mustaqīm/muḥāl* ? Autrement dit, quelles sont les règles qui peuvent tolérer quelque transgression, qui signent une irrecevabilité relative ? Et quelles sont les conditions pour

³¹ Hārūn atteste al-ẓarīfayni en II.387.

³² Pour la valeur heuristique de cette dernière suite, voir plus bas.

qu'une suite puisse être améliorée, dans cette théorie ? Car, s'il existe un *qabīḥ* et un *aqbaḥ*, un *ḥasan* et un *aḥsan*, cela signifie que le prédicat *ḥusn/qubḥ* est de l'ordre d'un analysable dont les valeurs ne se réduisent pas à deux. Qu'est-ce qui permet ce « plus » du *aḥsan* et du *aqbaḥ* ? Comment est-il repérable ? Existe-t-il une échelle à plusieurs valeurs discrètes ou s'agit-il d'un continuum ?

3. LAFẒ / MA'NĀ

3.1. Acceptabilité

Jusqu'ici, nous avons parlé de correction initiale requise pour *istiḡāma*, d'incorrection ou d'irrecevabilité absolue pour *muḥāl*, et d'irrecevabilité relative pour *qabīḥ*, sans plus caractériser les critères de recevabilité. Des linguistes ont distingué, dans la recevabilité, entre l'acceptabilité liée à la performance, la grammaticalité, qui fait signe à la validité des règles syntaxiques et la sémantacité qui fait signe à la correction des règles sémantiques. Une suite correcte mais peu intelligible du fait de sa complexité—des enchâssements trop nombreux, par exemple—, peut être tout à fait inacceptable. Si l'acceptabilité se fonde sur la performance du locuteur, la grammaticalité et la sémantacité se fondent sur sa compétence.

On peut écarter d'emblée l'acceptabilité comme fondant un critère de recevabilité, dans le *Kitāb*. En effet, des suites tout à fait complexes et difficilement intelligibles avec plusieurs propositions enchâssées, sont jugées correctes (*ṣaḥīḥ*), sans autre commentaire :

- (2) e **ayyu man in ya'ti-nā nu'ṭi-hi nukrimu-hu tuhīnu** 353-13
 lequel-nom qui si vient -fp ψ- nous donnons-fp ψ -lui tu honores fp-u -lui
 tu dédaignes-fp u
 Quiconque nous honorons, -des « si l'on vient à nous, nous leur faisons des largesses », tu le dédaignes

3.2. Vérité : l'ordre de la langue et l'ordre du monde

Qu'en est-il du *kadhīb* (le faux) et pourquoi n'est-il pas, comme les autres critères, l'élément d'une paire ?

Les exemples du « droit et faux » sont les suivants :

- (3) a **ḥamaltu l-jabala**
 j'ai porté la montagne
 b **sharibtu mā'a l-baḥri**
 j'ai bu l'eau de la mer

Ces exemples montrent, à l'évidence, que le faux relève d'une théorie de l'adéquation au monde : ces énoncés sont faux car ils ne correspondent pas à l'ordre du monde. Ils sont empiriquement faux : on ne peut pas boire l'eau de la mer ; on ne peut pas porter des montagnes.

Selon Troupeau, « lexique... » il n'existe nulle occurrence ultérieure de *kadhib* dans le *Kitāb*. Autant dire que le vrai/faux, entendu comme adéquation au monde, ne joue pas de rôle dans la théorie grammaticale. L'absence de dénomination pour l'antonyme du faux peut être interprétée en ce sens.

Pourquoi, dès lors, le faux est-il posé dans la *Risāla*, si l'on sait, par ailleurs, la grande systématisme du *Kitāb* ? Il est extrêmement difficile de répondre. Du point de vue de l'histoire des idées, on peut invoquer l'influence des critères de Khalīl cités plus haut, bien que l'acception du faux se distingue de celle de Khalīl laquelle relève exclusivement de l'éthique. Du point de vue de l'économie du modèle, tout se passe comme si une catégorie n'était posée que pour être abandonnée, que pour servir, en conséquence, de limite à la pensée. La nature de cette limite n'est pas indifférente. Il s'agit de l'ordre du monde alors que les deux autres oppositions binaires relèvent de l'ordre de la langue.

3.3. Lafz, ma'nā

En fait, plusieurs lectures ont été proposées de la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* par rapport à *ḥasan/qabīḥ*. Elles s'accordent généralement à mettre la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* du côté de la correction sémantique, alors que *ḥasan/qabīḥ* est placé du côté de la correction formelle ou structurale. En somme, le premier ferait signe à la sémantique, le second à la grammaticalité.

Dans la tradition, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash interprète *muḥāl* du côté de la correction sémantique : *mā lā yaṣīḥu la-hu ma'nān*.³³ Nous avons vu, pour partie, l'acception de Sīrafī du *muḥāl*. Considérée dans sa totalité, son acception est bien plus générale : elle implique le sens mais ne dit pas que la violation est sémantique. Nous y reviendrons plus bas.

Dans les études récentes, Carter (1968) discute en détail des critères de recevabilité. La paire *ḥasan/qabīḥ* associée au *mawḍi'*, désigne ce qui est grammaticalement correct/incorrect³⁴. 3 thèses caractérisent *istiqāma*, selon Carter (1968) :

³³ Hārūn, I, 26 note 1.

³⁴ Carter (1968 : 225-26).

- a. Il s'agit de l'intelligibilité du discours, c'est-à-dire du caractère effectif de la communication du point de vue de l'interlocuteur. *Istiqāma* montre l'importance que Sībawayhi accorde au rôle de l'interlocuteur dans la détermination de la correction du discours.
- b. Un énoncé est qualifié de *mustaqīm* si le locuteur réussit à dire ce qu'il veut dire.
- c. La notion d'*istiqāma* implique qu'il peut exister un échec à communiquer dû à un échec à observer les conventions du discours tels qu'ils gouvernent, non point la grammaire des mots, mais le choix des mots qu'il faut utiliser.

Carter (2004 : 61–65) place *ḥasan/qabīḥ* traduits comme good/bad, du côté de la correction structurale, *mustaqīm/muḥāl* traduits comme juste/faux (right/wrong) désignent la correction sémantique. *Mustaqīm* et *muḥāl* ne sont pas antonymes. C'est *lā yastaqīm* qui est l'antonyme de *yastaqīm*. La différence entre les deux notions se résume en ceci : Alors que *lā yastaqīm* désigne ce qui n'exprime pas le sens voulu par le locuteur, tout en ayant un sens, *muḥāl* désigne la suite qui n'a aucun sens³⁵. La gradation du jugement de grammaticalité, selon Carter (2004 : 64), renvoie à des valeurs systématiques, plutôt que formelles, « that is the relative strength of the grammatical reasoning being applied. »

Versteegh (1993 : 34), qui donne un aperçu détaillé du débat relatif à la formation de la terminologie du *Kitāb*, considère que le trait commun à la typologie de Khalīl telle que la rapporte le *Lisān* et celle de Sībawayhi est que la catégorie d'*istiqāma* est employée en un sens logique. Zakaria (1992) pose que le *mustaqīm* et le *muḥāl* n'ont pas pour fondement un critère sémantique mais la structure grammaticale (*al-tarkīb al-naḥwī*). Le *kalām mustaqīm* est le *kalām* construit selon les lois grammaticales ; le *muḥāl* déroge à ces lois. Le *qabīḥ* est aussi ce qui déroge aux règles grammaticales tout en demeurant du *kalām 'arabī*.

Toutes ces acceptions s'appuient, à un titre ou à un autre, sur les définitions et les exemples de Sībawayhi du ch. VI. *Qabīḥ* y est défini en rapport avec le *lafẓ*, et, au vu des exemples, *lafẓ* peut être raisonnablement compris comme forme (cf. § 4). De même, au vu des exemples du ch. VI et de la définition de *muḥāl* où la notion de *naqḍ* est centrale, on a pu souvent

³⁵ Selon Carter (1968 : 230), *muḥāl* implique une contradiction grammaticale.

penser que la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* avait partie liée au *ma'nā*, au sens (cf. § 5 et § 6).

Néanmoins, dire que *muḥāl* ou *lā yastaqīm* sont du côté du *ma'nā*, *qabīḥ* du côté de *lafz* ne suffit pas à éclairer ces critères. Des épistémologues de la linguistique³⁶ ont fait remarquer que le véritable statut de la forme et du sens était de l'ordre de l'a-priori et, qu'au fond, le concept général de langue n'est rien d'autre, si on ne le délimite pas davantage, que l'opposition forme/sens elle-même. S'il est vrai que l'opposition forme/sens est de l'ordre de l'a-priori, toute la question est donc de savoir comment elle se traduit dans les termes d'une théorie particulière, ici celle du *Kitāb*, quel type de propositions elle permet d'articuler. Éclairer ce que signifie les deux paires de recevabilité revient à éclairer la grammaire de Sībawayhi.

C'est très précisément ainsi que nous procéderons. Bien loin de partir d'une définition du *lafz* et éventuellement du *ma'nā*, nous explorerons, munis des seules notions d'irrecevabilité relative pour *qabīḥ*, et d'irrecevabilité absolue pour *muḥāl*, les usages que fait Sībawayhi de ces notions pour déterminer, ou du moins pour aider à éclairer, quelles sont les règles qui ne souffrent aucune violation, comment ces règles se placent par rapport au *lafz* et au *ma'nā*, et comment s'articulent, en conséquence, *lafz* et *ma'nā* dans le *Kitāb*. Faisant retour à l'empirique, nous verrons que l'on est obligé d'admettre qu'il est bien difficile de placer *muḥāl* ou *lā yastaqīm* du seul côté du *ma'nā*, *qabīḥ* du seul côté du *lafz*.

4. QUBḤ, LAFZ ET MA'NĀ

4.1. Voici les exemples que donne Sībawayhi du *mustaqīm qabīḥ*

- (3') a **qad zaydan ra'ayta** 7.17
 déjà /bien—Zayd acc. tu as vu (fs) (pour: tu as déjà /bien vu Zayd)
- b **kay zaydun ya'tiya-ka** 7.17
 afin Zayd-nom. il vient (fp-a)—chez toi (pour: afin que Zayd vienne chez toi)

Leur incorrection est « intraduisible. » Toutes deux sont des suites, disons, pour faire écho à Sībawayhi, de mauvaise qualité. Elles contreviennent à une même loi, celle des agencements: elles sont ainsi formées: particule—nom—verbe. La suite est non permise car les deux particules en

³⁶ Voir les travaux de J.-C. Milner, en particulier Milner (1978).

question (*qad* et *kay*) doivent être suivies immédiatement du verbe. Les exemples ne sont pas deux, par pure redondance : ils « couvrent » les deux formes morphologiques du verbe, la forme suffixale (fs) et la forme préfixale (fp). Les particules sont aussi deux : l'une gouverne le verbe (*kay* en (3') b), l'autre ne le gouverne pas (*qad* en (3') a). Aux deux types de particules, Sibawayhi consacra deux chapitres distincts ultérieurement.

4.2. Qubḥ, lafẓ

Du *kalām mustaqīm qabīḥ*, le *Kitāb* donne une définition. Elle utilise deux concepts fondamentaux de la théorie :

wa-ammā l-mustaqīmu l-qabīḥu, fa-an taḍa'a l-lafẓa fī ghayri mawḍi'ihī. 7.17

Quant au droit et vilain, c'est que tu mettes le vocable en une place qui n'est pas la sienne.

La traduction, faute de mieux, par « vocable » de *lafẓ*, a le mérite d'être la plus neutre et la plus vague possible. On vient de le voir, *lafẓ* constitue le premier terme d'une opposition fondamentale, le second terme étant *ma'nā*. Cette paire a déjà fait l'objet d'un titre de chapitre dans la *Risāla*, le chapitre IV : *hādhā bābu l-lafẓi li-l-ma'ānī* (*Du lafẓ au regard des ma'ānī*). L'opposition *lafẓ/ma'nā* rappelle, bien sûr, l'opposition forme/sens et tout ce qui la redouble et y fait écho dans les grammaires : l'opposition signifiant/signifié, expression/contenu, etc. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que cette opposition est ce qui, du *Kitāb*, permet d'en ramasser les fils. Le terme *lafẓ* garde un écho de son sens littéral ; il évoque l'idée d'une extériorité, très sensible dans l'emploi verbal de la racine : *lafaza* : prononcer, préférer, c'est littéralement jeter ou rejeter au dehors.

Le *lafẓ*, dans cette citation, est donc ce qui, dans la langue, se laisse appréhender comme matérialité proférée. Remarquons que Sibawayhi n'emploie pas ici le terme *ḥarf* qui est un des termes fondamentaux du *Kitāb*. Le terme *lafẓ* est bien plus indéterminé, dans son acception, que *ḥarf*. Alors que *ḥarf* désigne l'unité linguistique, *lafẓ* peut désigner une ou plusieurs unités linguistiques, l'ensemble de l'énoncé ou du texte, un marqueur grammatical, etc. Il fait signe à ce qui, du langage, est de l'ordre du sensible.

Qu'en est-il du *mawḍi'* dans : *an taḍa'a l-lafẓa fī ghayri mawḍi'ihī? waḍa'a* est proprement « poser » et le terme *mawḍi'*, du fait même de sa forme—ou de son schème *maf'il*—, est ce que Sibawayhi appelle justement *ism mawḍi'* (II,263,12) et les grammairiens ultérieurs *ism makān* (nom de

lieu). Aussi bien donc par sa forme que par le sens lexical de la racine, *mawḍī'* renvoie au topos, à une topique. Il est proprement position, place³⁷. Il reste néanmoins à savoir ce que, dans cette théorie, précisément, cela signifie : s'agit-il d'une position linéaire comme les exemples le suggèrent ? On sait, depuis les travaux de Carter, que *mawḍī'* est un concept clé de cette grammaire et qu'il est loin de se réduire à la linéarité. Il nous suffira ici de poser que *mawḍī'* définit une notion de contexte relativement abstrait par lequel l'unité se laisse identifier par les relations grammaticales qu'elle entretient avec d'autres éléments de l'énoncé, acquiert une identification par autre chose que par sa forme phonique. Ainsi, dans le *qubḥ*, le vocable, forme phonique, est mis dans un contexte (forme ou configuration relationnelle) qui n'est pas le sien. Autant par le concept de *lafẓ* que par celui de *mawḍī'*, le *qubḥ* a donc partie liée à la forme, une forme qui semble ne pas impliquer le sens.

4.3. Exemples

Et il est de fait que bien des exemples jugés *qabīḥ* ont rapport au *lafẓ*, en tant que le *lafẓ* est forme qui n'implique pas le sens. Nous en fournirons trois séries :

4.3.1. La cliticisation

- (4) a **a'ṭā-hū-nī** 335-19
il a donné-lui-moi (pour : il me l'a donné)
- b **ra'aytu fi-hā iyyā-ka** 334-14
j'ai vu dans-elle support acc.-toi (pour : Je t'y ai vu)
- c **marartu bi-rajulin mukhālīṭin iyyā-hu dā'un** 193.14-15
je suis passé près d'un homme mêlé supp.acc.-lui un mal (Je suis passé près d'un homme malade)

En (4), le pronom n'est pas « à sa place. » Le clitique de 1^{ere} personne doit précéder le clitique de 3^e personne en (4) a. En (4) b, le pronom objet n'est pas cliticisé sur le verbe. Néanmoins, ces incorrections n'affectent pas le sens de la séquence qui se laisse tout à fait entendre. C'est bien « *mettre le vocable en une place qui n'est pas la sienne* » de la *Risāla*. Relève

³⁷ C'est ainsi qu'il est traduit par Troupeau (1976). Bien que *mawḍī'* ait un statut linguistique affirmé, abstrait et relationnel, qui le rapprocherait du terme « position, » plus employé dans les terminologies linguistiques, nous optons pour « place » car la notion de *mawḍī'* n'est pas seulement géométrique. Les marqueurs eux-mêmes ont des propriétés qui font qu'ils ont telle ou telle place (cf. exemples (9)).

du même type d'incorrection (4) c où le pronom objet n'est pas clitique et devrait l'être, cette séquence étant un *tamthīl*³⁸ de l'énoncé correct : *marartu bi-rajulin mukhālīṭihi dā'un* (193.14).

4.3.2. *La transgression du principe de localité entre élément gouverneur et éléments gouvernés*

La théorie du gouvernement (*'amal*) pose un principe de localité, qui est parfois d'adjacence stricte, entre élément gouverneur et éléments gouvernés³⁹. Relèvent du *qubḥ* les énoncés transgressant les contraintes d'ordre qu'il implique. Ainsi, pour exemples, les séries suivantes où l'adjacence stricte est requise : A est le gouverneur, B l'élément gouverné, tous deux soulignés, X est l'élément qui les sépare. Ces suites sont considérées *vilaines* et ne sont tolérées qu'en poésie :

— la particule ne doit pas être séparée du verbe qu'elle gouverne par un nom ou par un élément quelconque (*shay'*) :

- (5) a ji'tu-ka kay zaydun yaqūla dhāka 406.2
 A X B
 Je suis venu-toi afin zayd-nom dise (fp-a) cela
 (pour : je suis venu chez toi afin que Zayd dise cela)
- b lam zaydun ya'ti-ka 406.6
 A X B
 nég Zayd-nom est venu fp -φ- toi
 (pour : Zayd n'est pas venu te voir)

— Sous les mêmes notions de *jārr* et *majrūr*, Sībawayhi subsume la relation entre un nom et le GN qu'il gouverne dans une relation d'annexion et la relation entre une préposition et le nom qu'il gouverne. Rien ne doit les séparer sauf en poésie (406.8–9) :

- (6) yā sāriqa l-laylata ahli l-dāri 75.12
 A X B
 ô voleur-acc la-nuit-acc gens-gén la-demeure-gén
 (pour : Ô toi qui vas voler les gens de la demeure, durant cette nuit !)

³⁸ Le *tamthīl* est un exemple « *qui ne se dit pas* » mais qui est là aux seules fins de rendre explicites les relations grammaticales dans l'énoncé. cf. Ayoub (1990).

³⁹ Cf. Ayoub (1991 : 45–50). Pour une présentation de la théorie du *'amal* dans sa dimension formelle et dans son rapport au *ma'nā*, cf. ibid, 45–72 ; pour une présentation de la théorie dans leur influence subséquente sur la tradition, cf. Baalbaki (2008 : 83 sq.).

– *kāna* ne doit pas être séparé des groupes nominaux qu'il gouverne par un élément (X) gouverné par un autre gouverneur :

- (7) **kānat zaydan al-ḥummā ta'khudhuhu** 27.9
 A X B
 était Zayd-acc la fièvre elle prend (pour : Zayd était pris de fièvre)
 où *al-ḥummā* est gouverné par *kāna*, et Zayd est l'objet du verbe *ta'khudhuhu*.

4.2.3. Les « contraintes » poétiques

En relève également les exemples des « contraintes » poétiques donnés au chapitre VII comme illustration de *ce que la poésie tolère*, ainsi *fléchir entièrement ce qui ne se fléchit pas [ainsi]* (7.20), *supprimer ce qui ne devrait pas l'être* abrégant ainsi une voyelle longue ou bien allongeant une voyelle brève, etc., afin de s'y retrouver dans le décompte des syllabes et des pieds. La contrainte poétique semble ne relever que de la forme et n'affecte pas le sens. Ainsi le *Kitāb* précise :

law jāza fī l-kalāmi aw iḏḡurra shā'irun fa-qāla : thalāthatun athwāban, kāna ma'nāhu ma'nā thalāthatu athwābin. 253.2–3

Si « thalāthatun athwāban » se disait dans le kalām ou bien si un poète se voyait contraint de le dire, le sens [de cette expression] aurait été celui-là même de « thalāthatu athwābin » (trois vêtements).

4.3. Qubḥ/ma'nā

Néanmoins, force est d'admettre qu'il n'en est pas toujours ainsi du *qubḥ*, car les agencements eux-mêmes, le *lafẓ* en rapport avec le *mawḍi'*, sont producteurs de sens.

4.3.1. L'apocopé après une prohibition

Le *Kitāb* compare les 3 énoncés suivants :

- (8) a **lā tadnu min-a l-asadi ya'kul-ka** 400.15
 Ne t'approche pas du lion mange fp-φ-toi
 b **lā tadnu min-a l-asadi ya'kulu-ka** 400.17
 Ne t'approche pas du lion mange fp-u-toi
 Ne t'approche pas du lion il te dévorera
 c **lā tadnu min-a l-asadi fa-ya'kula-ka** 400.18
 Ne t'approche pas du lion fa-mange fp-a-toi
 Ne t'approche pas du lion de peur qu'il ne te dévore

(8) b et c sont jugés du *kalām ḥasan*, (8) a est jugé *qabīḥ*. La raison en est ainsi donnée :

fa-huwa qabīḥun in jazamta wa-laysa wajha kalāmi l-nāsi li-annaka lā turīdu an taj'ala tabā'udahu mina l-asadi sababan li-aklihi 400.15–16

Ceci est vilain (qabīḥ) si tu assignes l'apocope [au verbe], et ce n'est pas là la manière [correcte] de parler des gens car tu ne veux nullement dire que le fait qu'il se tienne loin du lion est cause qu'il soit dévoré.

C'est bien l'interprétation à laquelle donne lieu l'apocopé qui rend le *kalām qabīḥ*. Et Sibawayhi confirme, deux lignes plus loin, ce rapport du *qubḥ* au sens :

wa-innamā qabuḥa l-jazmu fī hādhā li-annahū lā yajī'u fīhi l-ma'nā lladhī yajī'u idhā adkhalta l-fā'a 400.19

L'apocope est vilaine ici car elle ne produit pas le même sens que celui obtenu, si tu introduisais le fā' (avant le verbe).

On remarquera que (8) a est absurde au niveau de la vérification empirique : il est absurde de penser que le fait de ne pas s'approcher du lion est cause qu'on soit dévoré par lui. Néanmoins, dans l'ordre de la langue, cet énoncé n'est pas *muḥāl*. Il est seulement *qabīḥ* !

4.3.2. La conditionnelle

L'emploi du marqueur *idhā* à la place de *in* donne un énoncé *vilain*. C'est là la différence entre (9) a, jugé *ḥasan*, et (9) b, jugé *qabīḥ* :

(9) a *ātī-ka idhā ḥmarra l-busru* 315.21
Je viendrai-toi *idhā* (*quand*) rougit les-dattes
Je viendrai chez toi quand mûriront les dattes

b **ātī-ka in ḥmarra l-busru* 315.21
Je viendrai-toi *in* (*si*) rougit les-dattes

La raison en est tout à fait sémantique, relative à la valeur de l'un et l'autre marqueur quant à la théorie de la détermination :

idhā tajī'u waqtan ma'lūman... in abadan mubhamatun. 315.20–22

idhā advient pour un moment déterminé (connu)... in est toujours indéterminé.

C'est bien la valeur des marqueurs *in* et *idhā* qui rend (9) b vilain, valeur qui n'est pas adéquate avec le contenu propositionnel : on sait que les dattes mûriront à tel moment déterminé de l'année. Or *in* est indéterminé,

(11) semble une variante de 6. En fait, la suite, jugée *vilaine*, n'est pas améliorable. L'explication qu'en donne Sībawayhi semble bien relever des propriétés interprétatives et référentielles du nom, et non point seulement de la forme, puisque seul le nom peut être qualifié :

kāna qabiḥan li-annah waṣafahu fa-ja'ala ḥālahu ka-ḥāli l-asmā'i. 198.12–13
Cela est vilain car le locuteur a qualifié dārib. Ce faisant, il en a fait un nom.

4.3.5. *Le verbe sous-entendu*

Soit :

(12) a **mā sha'nu-ka wa-'amran** 129.9
 Qu'as-tu donc à voir avec 'Amr ?

b **hādhā la-ka wa-abā-ka** 129.18
 ceci à-toi et-père acc-toi

Zayd est assigné le Cas accusatif car le sens de la séquence permet de sous-entendre un verbe : *mā sha'nuka wa-tanāwuluka zaydan* (129.12) mais si le sens de la séquence ne le permet pas comme en (12) b, l'assignation du Cas accusatif donne une suite jugée *vilaine* :

fa-qabiḥun an taṣiba l-aba li-annah lam yadhkur fi'lan wa-lā ḥarfan fihi ma'nā fi'lin ḥattā yaṣīra ka'annah qad takallama bi-l-fi'li. 130.18–19

Il est laid que tu assignes l'accusatif à ab (père) car il n'a pas mentionné de verbe ou de particule qui ait le sens d'un verbe et qui permet que cela devient comme s'il avait mentionné un verbe.

4.3.6. *Les contraintes poétiques*

Même en poésie, les irrégularités peuvent porter sur des questions qui impliquent des valeurs sémantiques et énonciatives. Un seul exemple, celui de la détermination :

(13) a **hādhā rajulun akhū zaydin** 151.14
 c'est un homme le frère de Zayd
 pour : c'est un homme qui ressemble au frère de Zayd

b **hādhā qaṣīrun al-ṭawīlu** 151.15
 ceci petit-nom le-grand-nom
 pour : c'est un petit comme le grand

Khalīl aurait considéré (13) a correct au sens de : c'est un homme qui ressemble au frère de Zayd. Le défini, interprété comme une comparaison,

pourrait alors qualifier l'indéfini (*raġul*). Par contre, le jugement de grammaticalité de Sībawayhi est négatif :

... Ceci est vilain et faible et ne peut se dire que si l'on y est contraint (*fi mawḍi' l-iḍṭirār*)... 151.14–15.

Ce jugement s'explique par un principe : un défini ne peut qualifier un indéfini, ni être un *ḥāl* d'un indéfini (*in kāna ma'rifatan lam yajuz an yakūna šifatan li-nakiratin kamā lā yakūnu ḥālan* 151.11). Pour étayer son jugement, Sībawayhi emploie un raisonnement par l'absurde, en s'appuyant sur la séquence (2) b qui présente un vrai qualificatif (*ṭawīl*) défini, qualifiant un autre, indéfini (*qaṣīr*), séquence, en outre, contradictoire, du fait de la valeur lexicale antonymique des deux qualificatifs. Le raisonnement est le suivant : si (2) a était correct, (2) b devrait pouvoir se dire.

Si ceci avait été possible, tu aurais pu dire : ḥādhā qaṣīrun al-ṭawīlu (c'est un petit le grand) en entendant par là : mithlu l-ṭawīli (comme le grand). Or ceci n'est pas possible : de la même manière il est vilain que le défini soit un ḥāl [qualifiant] un indéfini⁴⁰, sauf en poésie. C'est, en ce qui concerne le qualificatif, encore plus vilain car tu contredis ce que tu as [antérieurement] dit. 151.15–17.

On remarquera que le contradictoire a ici une valeur heuristique essentielle : il sert d'argument clé dans la démonstration, pour montrer une incorrection plus abstraite et moins visible.

4.3.7. *Le modèle théorique*

Le modèle de théorie développée par le *Kitāb* rend très difficile de distinguer ainsi entre raisons structurales et raisons sémantiques. En effet, la relation de *'amal*, où les agencements et les structures ont un rôle décisif, est productrice de sens. Elle est décisive dans le calcul du sens et de la référence, et est elle-même déterminée par le sens et la référence. C'est ce que nous avons essayé de montrer dans Ayoub (1991). Nous rappellerons ici trois arguments fondamentaux :

1. Le gouvernement⁴¹ du verbe se fonde sur des raisons sémantiques et référentielles : Si tout verbe gouverne son *maṣḍar*, un circonstanciel

⁴⁰ Nous traduisons la lecture de Hārūn : *ḥālan li-l-nakira* (I, 361.10), qui nous semble plus adéquate, plutôt que celle de Derenbourg : *ḥālan ka-l-nakira*.

⁴¹ Comme dans nos travaux précédents, nous traduirons *'amal* par gouvernement, en étant bien conscient que toute traduction est une approximation. Aucun terme, qu'il soit puisé à la linguistique contemporaine ou à la grammaire traditionnelle, ne rendra exactement la notion. Ce qui importe sont les déterminations du concept de *'amal*, celles qui

de temps et un circonstanciel de lieu, c'est en raison de la sémantique du verbe : tout verbe désigne l'événement ou le procès indiqué par son *maṣḍar*. Sa forme morphologique indique le Temps. Et tout événement s'inscrit dans un espace.

2. Des chapitres entiers du *Kitāb* peuvent se lire comme des chapitres où le débat porte sur la question suivante⁴² : faut-il assigner le nominatif ou l'accusatif à un nom à l'initiale, et la réponse de Sibawayhi se fonde, à chaque fois, sur le calcul de la référence globale de la proposition : S'il s'agit d'un ordre (impératif ou prohibitif), d'un souhait, d'une interrogation, d'une conditionnelle (*jazā'*), l'*ibtidā'* du nom, et donc l'assignation du Cas nominatif au nom qui est à l'initiale, n'est pas possible. Seul est possible le Cas accusatif. Ce sont donc les paramètres de la situation d'énonciation : la relation de l'énonciateur à son allocataire (l'ordre, l'interrogation) ou la relation du locuteur à son énoncé (souhait, hypothèse) qui rend l'assignation du Cas nominatif impossible.
3. Inversement, l'opérateur du Cas nominatif du *mubtada'*, à savoir l'*ibtidā'* dans le *Kitāb*, notion qui renvoie, selon nous, à la sélection catégorielle du nom effectuée par l'énonciateur afin de commencer son énoncé et de constituer ce nom comme premier terme de la prédication sur lequel se « construit » le second terme, cet opérateur, qui est un paramètre énonciatif, est homogénéisé aux opérateurs catégoriels de l'énoncé : verbe, nom et particule⁴³.

Si ces analyses sont correctes, il s'ensuit qu'il est difficile de distinguer des raisons structurales et des raisons sémantiques dans le modèle du *Kitāb* : tout agencement, toute assignation casuelle aboutissant à une interprétation ou résultant de paramètres énonciatifs. Le *'amal*, les agencements, les formes, construisent du sens et sont produits par du sens. Si tel est le cas, le *qubḥ* ne peut être réduit à la pure forme.

4.3.8. *Ḥasan/aḥsan ; qabīḥ/aqbah*

Enfin, l'analyse de ce qui permet le « plus » et le « moins, » c'est-à-dire la gradation des jugements de grammaticalité, fournit un argument dans le même sens.

le rapprochent comme celles qui le distinguent des concepts de ces théories. Ce sont ces déterminations qui doivent demeurer présentes à l'esprit. cf. (Ayoub 1991), Baalbaki (2008 : 83–84).

⁴² Ayoub (1991 : 67–70).

⁴³ Ibid., 61–67.

Nous considèrerons pour cela l'analyse des verbes de jugement dans des tours comme : *Zaydun aẓunnu 'āqilun* (Zayd, je crois, est sage) (I, 51). L'exemple est discuté en tant que cas d'*ilghā'* (annulation du gouvernement). Les cas d'*ilghā'* sont des cas où le verbe croire, du fait de sa place dans la phrase, ne gouverne plus les termes de la proposition qui est objet de croyance, i.e. deux « objets » liés par une relation de prédication, le premier ayant une interprétation nécessairement déterminée. Toutefois, même les verbes intransitifs gouvernent un *maṣḍar*. Il en est de même de *ẓanna* qui dispose de cette place⁴⁴.

Toute la discussion, de fait, est une réponse à la question : Quels éléments peuvent occuper cette place dans le cas d'*ilghā'*, où le verbe croire fonctionne donc, comme dans l'exemple ci-dessus, dans une proposition que nous dirons incise ? Plusieurs cas sont envisagés : celui d'un démonstratif équivalent à 'cela' (*dhāka*), celui d'une anaphore pronominale (le clitique *-hu*), le *maṣḍar* défini qui correspond au verbe, *ẓannī* (ma croyance), et, enfin, dernier cas, que cette place reste inoccupée.

Considérons les exemples de Sibawayhi et les jugements de grammaticalité qu'il en donne :

- | | | |
|--------|---|-------|
| (14) a | 'Abdullāhi aẓunnu-hu munṭaliqun | 51.13 |
| | Abdallah-nom, je crois-le, partant-nom | |
| | pour : Abdallah, je crois, est en route | |
| | b Zaydun munṭaliqun aẓunnu dhāka | 51.14 |
| | Zayd est en route je crois cela | |
| | c 'Abdullāhi aẓunnu dhāka l-ẓanna munṭaliqun | 51.15 |
| | Abdallah-nom je crois cela croyance partant-nom | |
| | d 'Abdullāhi aẓunnu ẓannī munṭaliqun | 51.15 |
| | Abdallah -nom je crois croyance-moi partant-nom | |
| | e 'Abdullāhi aẓunnu munṭaliqun | 52.3 |
| | Abdallah-nom, je crois, est partant-nom | |

On peut dire (14) a si le *-hu* a valeur de *dhāka* comme en (14) b et n'est pas coréférent de 'Abdallah (*taj'alu hādhihi l-hā'a 'alā dhāka... lā taj'aluhā li-'abdillāhi* 51.13–14) c'est-à-dire s'il fonctionne comme anaphore phrastique. Néanmoins, (14) e est plus beau (*ajmal*) et meilleur (*aḥsan*) que (14) a qui reste faible. Faibles aussi (14) b, (14) c et (14) d.

⁴⁴ *wa-ammā* « *ẓanantu dhāka*, » *fa-innamā jāza l-sukūtu 'alayhi li-annaka qad taqūlu* « *ẓanantu* » *fa-taqṭaṣiru* [*kamā taqūlu dhahabtu*] *thumma tu'miluhu fi l-ẓanni kamā tu'miluhu fi l-dhahābi. fa-« dhāka » hāhunā huwa l-ẓannu, ka-annaka qulta*: « *ẓanantu dhāka ẓannan* ». I, 40/1,13,2–5

Si tu supprimais le -hu et que tu disais « 'Abdullāhi azunnu munṭaliquṇ » (Abdallah, je crois, est en route), ce serait plus beau que de dire : « azunnuhu » (je le crois). « azunnu » (je crois) sans hā' (i.e. le clitique objet de 3e personne du singulier) est meilleur⁴⁵ parce que, sinon, [le verbe risquerait] de se mêler (yaltabisu) avec le nom qui le suit et parce qu'il est ainsi plus manifeste qu'il ne gouverne pas.

Le meilleur se justifie par une structure de l'énoncé qui prête moins à ambigüité. Il est clair que le verbe ne gouverne pas ce qui le suit en (13) c. En (13) a, par contre, le pronom anaphorique risquerait d'induire une interprétation erronée de la structure ; il risque d'être interprété comme ayant pour antécédent Abdallah et, en conséquence, d'être un argument nominal du verbe *azunnu*.

Les deux termes *dhāka* et le *maṣḍar* ne sont pas équivalents : *dhāka est meilleur parce que ce n'est pas un maṣḍar ; c'est un nom indéterminé qui [peut] désigner toute chose*⁴⁶ 51.17–18. Le *Kitāb* donne une preuve empirique de cette non-équivalence, à savoir un contexte où ils ne sont pas substituables, toujours d'ailleurs celui de l'incise. (15) a est bon ; (15) b ne l'est pas :

- (15) a **Zaydun ḡannī 'āqilun**
Zayd ma croyance sage
- b **Zaydun dhāka 'āqilun**
Zayd cela est sage

Néanmoins, ajoute *Sībawayhi*, si déjà le *maṣḍar* est vilain dans le contexte d'*ilghā'*, employer *dhāka* avec pour valeur le *maṣḍar* est, a fortiori, plus vilain.

On constatera, à partir de ce passage qui montre aussi bien l'usage de « meilleur » que de « plus vilain, » que le « plus » du *ḡasan / qabīḡ* ne désigne pas des valeurs discrètes déterminées. Les énoncés sont relatifs les uns aux autres parce qu'ils sont tous relatifs à, rapportables à un même principe grammatical, ici celui de *man' al-labs*, qui enjoint que les structures ne prêtent pas à ambigüité et soient immédiatement intelligibles. Ce principe a un corollaire dans les tours avec *ilghā'* qu'on peut, en gros, énoncer ainsi :

⁴⁵ Voici un contexte où *aḡsan* (meilleur) est substitué à *ajmal* (plus beau) qui est dans la phrase précédente. Les deux termes sont synonymes.

⁴⁶ Des différences importantes, y compris pour l'analyse, existent entre l'édition de *Hārūn* (I,125) et celles de *Derenbourg* et *Bülāq*. Le premier présente, par ailleurs, des exemples qui ne sont attestés que par un seul manuscrit. Comme ils ne sont pas essentiels à notre démonstration, nous les laissons de côté.

Le verbe *zanna* détermine une place qui le suit. Dans le cas d'un tour avec *ilghā'*, l'interprétation de cette place doit rester indéterminée.

Les valeurs des énoncés, discutées plus haut, se déduisent, à partir de là. (14) e est bon parce qu'en l'absence de tout élément lexical, il est clair que le verbe *zanna* ne gouverne pas. Le tour est immédiatement intelligible. Tous les autres tours sont faibles et vilains bien qu'il soit spécifié que (14) a puisse se dire, du fait de l'interprétation du démonstratif et du pronom qui est celle-là même du *maṣdar*. Alors que *dhāka*, ayant une interprétation indéterminée, aurait dû être préférable, il serait plus vilain s'il avait pour valeur le *maṣdar*, le « plus » se justifiant par un autre principe de la grammaire, le principe de hiérarchie concernant le premier et le dérivé⁴⁷.

On le voit, bien que dans *l'ilghā'*, le fil directeur de la discussion soit la question du '*amal*, c'est un autre principe, un principe de sémantique grammaticale, celui d'une intelligibilité plus grande de l'énoncé, qui détermine la gradation des jugements de grammaticalité.

Un énoncé peut donc être meilleur qu'un autre car, *au regard du même principe*, les éléments de langue ne fonctionnent pas de la même manière, vu leurs propriétés. Autrement dit, il y a de l'hétérogène dans la langue. Plus les propriétés des éléments sont en accord avec le principe grammatical, meilleur l'énoncé est. C'est dire que le prédicat d'inégalité (meilleur, moins bon) des énoncés s'articule dans les termes même de la théorie grammaticale et au regard de celle-ci. Mais c'est dire aussi qu'un principe grammatical permet d'explorer les propriétés empiriques des termes. Dès lors, comparer les énoncés à partir d'une variation que nous avons appelée minimale⁴⁸ revêt une valeur heuristique fondamentale ; il y est systématiquement fait recours dans le *Kitāb*. C'est bien les propriétés des éléments et leur concordance avec le principe grammatical, et non la force du raisonnement grammatical, qui nous semble déterminer le meilleur et le moins bon. Dans la gradation des jugements de grammaticalité, le choix des éléments compte.

On pourrait multiplier les exemples. Le principe d'explication serait, à chaque fois, différent ; mais nous retrouverons la configuration que nous venons d'élucider. Ainsi en est-il pour la violation du principe de localité : la configuration où le verbe est séparé de la particule qui le gouverne, est jugée plus *vilaine* que celle où le nom est séparé de la particule qui le

⁴⁷ Pour les hiérarchies des éléments linguistiques dans le *Kitāb*, cf. Baalbaki (2008 : 113ff).

⁴⁸ Ayoub (2010). On se reportera aussi à Baalbaki (2008 : 207–215).

gouverne (406.13). Le principe d'explication est un principe d'hétérogénéité, relatif aux propriétés des catégories, à savoir que « le nom n'est pas comme le verbe » (406.10–11) et du fait du grand nombre de particules qui gouvernent le nom en comparaison avec celles qui gouvernent le verbe.

4.4. Telles sont les déterminations fondamentales du *ḥasan* et du *qabīḥ* ; elles ont, sans doute, partie liée au *lafz*, à la place, et à l'hétérogène dans la langue. Mais elles ont aussi partie liée avec les propriétés des places, les propriétés des catégories et des marqueurs, y compris les propriétés sémantiques. Les 'places' construisent du sens et sont déterminées par du sens. Le *lafz* ne se laisse pas isoler du *ma'nā*.

Ce que suppose toutefois le *qubḥ* et le *ḥusn* de singulier, c'est que l'énoncé est bien construit, permet la variation minimale, ce que ne permet pas le *muḥāl* et le *mustaqīm*. Cette conclusion de l'investigation empirique confirme ce qui frappait d'emblée dans la définition du *qubḥ* : la mauvaise qualité de l'énoncé a un caractère partiel. Elle ne concerne pas tout l'énoncé. Elle concerne localement, un *lafz* et un *mawḍi'*, alors que par définition, un énoncé inclut beaucoup de places, et, en conséquence, point un seul *lafz*—bien que *lafz* puisse désigner tout l'énoncé.

Se pourrait-il, dès lors, que le *mustaqīm/muḥāl* n'ait pas rapport à ce qui, de l'énoncé, relève des unités de langue et des positions, mais qu'il ait rapport à ce qui relève de leur composition ? C'est ce que l'investigation empirique nous permettra de trancher.

5. ISTIQĀMA, LAFZ, MA'NĀ

5.1. *Mustaqīm/muḥāl* : l'extension des notions

Istiqāma et *iḥāla* n'ont pas exactement la même extension d'usage. Alors que *muḥāl* selon la recension de Troupeau, est strictement limité au premier tome de Derenbourg, c'est-à-dire à la syntaxe et à la sémantique, et s'applique, en conséquence, strictement au *kalām* sans s'appliquer ni au mot ni aux unités inférieures, *yastaqīm* se trouve dans le second tome et s'applique non seulement au *kalām*, mais aussi, en morphologie, au verbe ou au nom considérés comme unités morphologiques. Ces usages de *istaqāma*, *yastaqīm* traduits, à juste titre, par Troupeau, comme être « juste » sont souvent impersonnels : le sujet n'y est pas *al-kalām* mais une proposition introduite par *an*. Plutôt donc que : *lam yastaqīm al-kalām*, c'est : *fa-lā yastaqīmu an yakūna mā aḍaḥṭa ilayhi nakiratan* (II, 45.23) ou : *lā yastaqīmu an yakūna l-ismu illā hākadhā* (II, 55.2). Sous le même chef

doivent se ranger les passages en II, 163.10 ; II, 298.20 ; II, 361.20 où il s'agit de considérations morpho-phonologiques relatives à des formes nominales ou verbales.

Pour nous, ce sens d'*istiḳāma* n'est pas dissocié du premier ; au contraire, il le confirme, puisque nous avons posé que l'*istiḳāma* était la correction initiale, celle sans laquelle il n'y aurait pas de *kalām*. Néanmoins, comme l'*istiḳāma* ne porte pas sur le *kalām*, mais sur l'unité catégorielle, *ism* ou *fi'l*, ils ne concernent pas notre propos. En revanche, à chaque fois que *istiḳāma* porte sur une séquence, même si le terme peut se traduire par « juste » et quel que soit le tour utilisé, nous avons considéré la séquence dans notre étude de la notion.

Malgré cette différence dans l'usage, d'emblée, dès le titre du chapitre VI, *muḥāl* est présenté comme l'antonyme de *mustaqīm*. cf. aussi 383–384, déjà cité (*an tastaḥīla mustaqīman*) ; *naqḍ*, terme central dans la définition de *muḥāl* est aussi opposé à *mustaqīm* en 9.12 (*li-annahū mustaqīmūn laysa fihī naqḍun*) ; *muḥāl* est opposé à *ḥasan*, en 219.18 (*mā yuḥālu minhu wa-mā yaḥsunu*).

Mais un troisième terme vient compliquer cette figure : celui de *lā yastaqīm*. Nous avons retenu, au § 3, que *muḥāl* était l'irrecevabilité absolue. En est-il de même de *lā yastaqīm* ? Qu'est-ce qui distingue *muḥāl* de *lā yastaqīm* ? Comment se situent ces concepts les uns par rapport aux autres ?

5.2. *Mustaqīm ḥasan / muḥāl*

Soit les exemples de l'épître illustrant la paire droit/déviant ou, plus exactement, illustrant les deux prédicats combinés droit et bon (*mustaqīm ḥasan*) par opposition à déviant :

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|------|
| (16) a | ataytu-ka amsi | 7.14 |
| | je t'ai rendu visite hier | |
| | b sa-ātī-ka ghadan | 7.15 |
| | je te rendrai visite demain. | |

(16) a et b illustrent les deux formes morphologiques du verbe. Cette dernière n'est pas nue en (16) b : y est affixé la particule *sa-*. Cela lui donne une valeur temporelle univoque : celle de futur. C'est là certainement une démarche délibérée : Sibawayhi y recourt, à plusieurs reprises dans son analyse de la sémantique du verbe. Il écarte donc délibérément en (16) b la forme préfixale nue, à valeur temporelle négative selon lui (*mā lam*

yamḍī)⁴⁹, et incluant, en conséquence, plusieurs valeurs. Les deux formes verbales en (16) a et b, ont, chacune, selon le *Kitāb*, de par leur forme même, une valeur temporelle unique, non équivoque : respectivement celle de passé (*mā maḍā*) et celle de futur. Cette valeur est en accord avec les deux marqueurs temporels déictiques : *amsi* / *ghadan* utilisés respectivement en (16) a et (16) b.

Les suites illustrant le *muḥāl* viennent immédiatement dans le texte arabe après les premiers :

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|---------|
| (17) a | ataytu-ka ghadan | 7.15 |
| | je t'ai rendu visite demain | |
| | b sa-ātī-ka amsi | 7.15-16 |
| | je te rendrai visite hier | |

Les exemples (17) sont exactement ceux de (16), modulo une inversion des adverbes, confirmant bien que, du point de vue empirique, c'est le prédicat combinable *mustaqīm ḥasan* qui s'oppose à *muḥāl*, l'un qualifiant l'énoncé recevable, l'autre l'énoncé irrecevable, alors que du point de vue notionnel, nous avons deux paires d'antonymes : *mustaqīm/muḥāl* ; *ḥasan/qabīḥ*. Comme pour le *vilain*, les exemples ne sont pas redondants et couvrent les deux conjugaisons du verbe. Procédant toujours par comparaison avec le *droit et vilain*, on remarquera un trait fondamental de l'incorrection qualifiée de *déviant* : elle est « traductible ; » un lecteur français constatera immédiatement, sans avoir besoin de recourir au texte arabe, que le début de l'énoncé contredit sa fin, ainsi que le *Kitāb* caractérise les énoncés déviants⁵⁰. Quant à l'incorrection qualifiée de *vilaine*, elle n'était pas, telle quelle, traductible. Illustrant une contrainte d'ordre, elle faisait appel à la compétence du locuteur arabe et n'était traductible que moyennant une conversion, une traduction dans un ordre plus abstrait, celui des « parties du discours » et des contraintes d'ordre qui gouvernent certains de leurs éléments, dans des conditions déterminées.

Cette observation semble confirmer les hypothèses selon lesquelles la paire droit/déviant a partie liée au sens. Le terme même de *ma'nā* est utilisé à deux ou trois reprises dans des analyses impliquant la notion

⁴⁹ *Fa'ala* et *sa-yaf'alu* jouent un rôle privilégié dans les exemples de Sibawayhi. Sur cette question et d'autres connexes, relatives à l'analyse de la sémantique verbale dans le *Kitāb*, on se reportera à Ayoub (à paraître).

⁵⁰ *Wa-ammā l-muḥālu, fa-an tanquḍa awwala kalāmika bi-ākhirihī* 7.15

de droit. Et le *muḥāl*, selon la définition qui en est donnée, semble être l'application du principe de non-contradiction dans les énoncés. Sībawayhi ne dit pas, néanmoins, que la paire *mustaqīm/muḥāl* relève du *ma'nā*, du sens, et, faisant retour à l'empirique, l'on est obligé d'admettre que son abord, quoique n'infirmant pas cette hypothèse, est bien plus sinueux. Par ailleurs, toute la question est précisément de savoir ce qu'il en est du sens dans la théorie grammaticale développée dans le *Kitāb*.

5.3. *Lā yastaqīm*

Quel type de violation de règles est qualifié de non droit (*lā yastaqīm*) ?

5.3.1. *Les prédications mal formées*

Il est frappant que bon nombre des contextes du non droit soient des contextes qui impliquent, de manière déterminante, la prédication. D'emblée, l'une des rares occurrences de *kalām mustaqīm* qualifie la complétude de l'énoncé du fait que les deux termes de la prédication s'y trouvent réalisés, séquence après laquelle *le silence est bon*, i.e qui se suffit à elle-même :

- (18) a **fi-hā** 'Abdullāhi 222.17
 dans-elle Abdallah nom
 Abdallah y est
- b **taymu taymu** 'adiyyin 304.8
 Taym nom Taym nom 'Adiyy gén
- c **hādhā rajulun khayrun** / **d afḍalu** / **e abun/ f ayyun** 196.7
 ceci homme-nom meilleur nom / d préférable nom / e père nom /
 f quel

(18) b–f ne sont, en fait, qu'une illustration de ce dernier principe, c'est-à-dire de ce qui serait non droit si l'on avait l'idée de faillir à la nécessité de la composition, i.e. à l'ajout d'un prédicat pour compléter la proposition (... *Ne vois-tu pas que s'il t'était possible de dire : taymu taymu 'adiyyin dans un autre contexte que le vocatif, cela ne serait droit que si tu ajoutais dhāhibūn (... sont en train de partir)* 304.8 ; le même exemple est repris en 307.20–22. En 196.7, l'absence d'une partie du prédicat, dans des exemples concernant les étatifs, donnerait une séquence « ni droite ni bonne » (*lam yastaqim wa-lam yakun ḥasanan*).

D'autres analyses impliquant le même principe sont plus complexes. Soit :

- (19) a **Zaydun fa-ḍrib-hu** 58. 14
Zayd (nom) alors frappe-le
- b **Zaydun fa-munṭaliqun** 58.15
Zayd nom fa-partant nom

(19) a est un énoncé tout à fait correct. C'est son analyse qui fait débat. Selon Sībawayhi, (19) a l'est (*yaḥsunu wa-yastaqīm* 58.17–18) si Zayd est analysé comme *mabnī 'alā muḥtada'in muḥzarin aw muḍmar* : i.e. s'il est le second terme de la proposition : *hādhā zaydun* avec pour *muḥtada'* un « *hādhā* » implicite. En revanche, il ne serait pas droit, dit Sībawayhi, si Zayd était considéré comme un *muḥtada'* (58.14–15). Pour les besoins de la démonstration, il le compare à (19) b. On notera que, dans le passage ci-dessus, le premier *yastaqīm* signifie « juste, » le second « non droit » :

fa-idhā qulta Zaydun fa-ḍribhu, lam yastaqīm an taḥmilahu 'alā l-ibtidā'. a-lā tarā annaka law qulta : Zaydun fa-munṭaliqun, lam yastaqīm, fa-huwa dalīlun 'alā annahu lā yajūzu an yakūna muḥtada'an. 58.14–16.

Si tu disais Zaydun fa-ḍribhu, il ne serait pas juste de considérer que Zayd [est gouverné] par l'ibtidā'. Ne vois-tu pas que si tu disais : Zaydun fa-munṭaliqun (Zayd alors en route), cela ne serait pas droit. C'est donc là une preuve qu'il [i.e. Zayd en (19) a] ne peut pas être un muḥtada'.

Si Zayd en (19) a était analysé comme un *muḥtada'*, (19) a serait équivalent à (19) b, c'est-à-dire à une séquence sans verbe, qui aurait dû être un énoncé prédicatif, dont le premier terme aurait dû être *muḥtada'* et le second prédicat. Or le *fā'* empêche l'interprétation prédicative : la séquence n'est donc pas interprétable ; elle n'est pas droite. Il en est de même en (19) a.

Un autre contexte, celui de la relation de la protase et de l'apodose, donne lieu à des considérations similaires. Cette relation est similaire à celle du *muḥtada'* et du *khābar* (*shabbahū l-jawāba bi-khābari l-ibtidā'* 110.6–7). Ce qui fonde cette similitude est que *chacun des deux termes ne peut être droit sans l'autre* (*li-annahu lā yastaqīmu wāḥidun min-humā illā bi-l-ākharī*).

Dans tous ces exemples, bien loin que le « non-droit » ait rapport au choix des mots en tant que porteurs d'un sens, ou bien à un sens de la séquence qui ne serait pas celui voulu par le locuteur, le « non-droit » a rapport au sens en tant qu'il est tributaire d'une composition, d'une

« construction, » d'une « édification, » d'un *mabnī 'alā*, selon les termes de Sībawayhi, bref en tant que tributaire d'une prédication. Les séquences sont ininterprétables car elles sont mal construites. Ce sont des séquences qui n'ont pas réussi à se constituer en énoncés, y compris (19) a, si le locuteur s'avisait à interpréter Zayd comme un *mubtada'*. Elles contreviennent à une loi fondamentale de la constitution des énoncés, la loi de la prédication, à laquelle un chapitre est consacré dans l'épître. On peut mesurer combien la théorie développée dans le *Kitāb* est cohérente et les concepts systématiques en reprenant précisément la définition du support et de l'apport (*al-musnad* et *al-musnad ilayhi* : les deux termes de la prédication) du chapitre V de l'épître

humā mā lā yastaghni wāhidun minhumā 'ani l-ākhari wa-lā yajidu l-mutakallimu minhu buddan. 6.10–11

Ce sont deux termes qui ne peuvent se passer l'un de l'autre et dont le locuteur ne peut se dispenser.

al-budd, c'est le fait d'échapper à quelque chose, de l'éviter. Le locuteur ne peut trouver d'échappatoire quant à l'usage des deux termes de la prédication, dès l'instant qu'il veut proférer quelque chose. Il doit y recourir, de toute nécessité (c'est là le sens de *lā budda* dans la langue). Il en a, comme dit de Sacy dans sa traduction du passage dans « Anthologie . . . », un « besoin absolu. » Son vouloir, en somme, n'a rien à y voir. *L'isnād* est donc constitutif de tout *kalām*.

On remarquera, enfin, que les termes de cette définition font écho à ceux, cités plus haut, par lesquels le *Kitāb* jugeait du caractère non-droit des exemples (18) b et c : chacun des deux termes, y était-il dit, ne peut être droit sans l'autre. Le droit a, comme la prédication, rapport à la nécessité, à ce qui ne peut être dit autrement.

Nous avons commencé par poser que le concept d'agrammatical supposait au préalable la construction de l'unité linguistique susceptible d'être bien ou mal formée et que cette unité, le *kalām*, était construite dès la *Risāla*, en posant que tout locuteur avait besoin du *musnad* et du *musnad ilayhi*. C'est de contrevenir à cette loi de construction de l'unité linguistique que résulte l'irrecevabilité absolue, qui, dépendant d'une loi de construction du sens, est donc une agrammaticalité absolue.

5.3.2. Séquences ininterprétables et assignation casuelle

D'autres raisons font qu'une suite n'est pas droite. Soit (20) :

(20) a * *qad marartu bi-rajulin, in ṭawīlun aw qaṣīrun* 111.7–8
je suis passé près d'un homme-gén, si grand-nom ou petit-nom

- b * **umrur bi-ayyu-hum afḍalu, in Zaydun wa-in ‘Amrun** 111.7–8
 passe près de celui qui est préférable, si Zaydun-nom et si ‘Amr-nom

Ces séquences incorrectes illustrent l'incidence de la syntaxe sur la prédication et l'*istiḡāma* : si le locuteur disait *ṭawīlun* au nominatif, il aurait sous-entendu un prédicat, ce qui ne donnerait aucune interprétation acceptable, l'ininterprétabilité résultant du contenu propositionnel, non de la structure prédicative qui, elle, serait bien formée. En effet, l'*iḍmār* nécessaire pour avoir le Cas nominatif serait : *in kāna fīhi ṭawīlun/Zaydun* (s'il y a en lui un grand) ou *in waqa'a* (s'il a lieu). tous deux ne sont pas possibles. (20) a signifierait : *je suis passé près d'un homme, s'il y a en lui un grand*, ou bien *si un grand a lieu*. (20) b : *passe près du meilleur, s'il y a en lui Zayd* ou *si Zayd a lieu*. L'interprétation qui résulte d'un Cas donné (le nominatif) rend la séquence non-droite, étant donné le contenu lexical.

lā yastaqīmu fī dhā an turīda ḡhayra l-awwali idhā dhakartahu wa-lā tastatī'u an taqūla : in kāna fīhi ṭawīlun aw kāna fīhi Zaydun wa-lā yajūzu in waqa'a.
 111.7.

Ces séquences ne seraient pas droites si tu entendais autre chose que la première [glose] et tu ne peux dire : in kāna fīhi ṭawīlun (s'il y avait en lui un grand) ou kāna fīhi Zaydun, comme il n'est pas possible d'avoir 'in waqa'a (s'il a lieu).

Sous le même chef d'un tour syntaxique dont résulte une séquence ininterprétable, qualifiée de *lam yastaqīm*, est (21) :

- (21) **qawmu-ka l-awwalu fa-l-awwalu atawnā** 168.15–16
 gens-toi le premier nom ensuite-le-premier nom ils sont venus-nous
 Pour : Tes gens, l'un après l'autre, sont venus chez nous.

La séquence n'est pas droite, car l'assignation du nominatif à *al-awwalu* ne permet pas l'interprétation. Le sens lexical de *al-awwal* ne permet pas de l'interpréter comme *kullu-hum*, donc comme un *badal*. La séquence non droite est donc ici une séquence dont certains éléments sont ininterprétables du fait d'une assignation casuelle inadéquate.

5.3.3. *L'interprétation du pronom anaphorique*

L'interprétation du pronom anaphorique donne une séquence non droite, au vrai une séquence ininterprétable :

- (21) a **Zaydu_i akhū 'Abdillāhi_j majnūnun bi-hi_j** 207.14
 Zayd-nom frère-nom Abdallah fou-nom de-lui
 Zayd, frère de Abdallah, est fou de lui
- b **Zaydu_i majnūnun bi-hi_i akhū 'Abdillāhi** 207.15
 Zayd-nom fou-nom de-lui frère-nom Abdallah

(21) b est une permutation (*qalb*) à partir de (21) a où *akhu 'Abdillāhi* n'est rien d'autre que Zayd lui-même et le pronom *-hi* est coréférent avec *'Abdillāhi* : Zayd est « fou » de son frère. Le *qalb* n'aboutit à aucune interprétation acceptable : *akhū 'Abdillāhi*, traité comme *ṣifa*, est difficilement interprétable comme coréférent de Zayd, et le pronom ne peut renvoyer à *'Abdillāhi*. C'est donc l'ininterprétabilité de la séquence, dans le sens voulu, qui est ici désignée par *lam yastaqim*.

5.3.4. *Enoncé et énonciateurs : l'informativité de l'énoncé*

Une autre série d'exemples qualifiés du prédicat *lam yastaqim* contreviennent à une autre loi qui, selon l'hypothèse que nous avons posé plus haut (contrevenir à ce qui est fondamental), serait donc une loi essentielle constitutive de la bonne formation de tout énoncé dans le *Kitāb*. C'est celle relative à l'informativité de l'énoncé.

a. Analysant une occurrence du pronom *anta* dans un vers, Sibawayhi exclut qu'il faille restituer un *hādhā* sous-entendu :

wa-lā yakūnu 'alā an tuḍmira hādhā li-annaka lā tushīru li-l-mukhāṭabi ilā nafsīhi wa-lā taḥtāju ilā dhālika, wa-innamā tushīru lahu ilā ghayrihi. a-lā tarā annaka law asharta lahu ilā shakhṣīhi fa-qulta : hādhā anta lam yastaqim. 59.15sq

Et cela ne peut être si tu sous-entends « hādhā » car tu ne montres pas à l'interlocuteur sa propre personne et tu n'as point besoin de le faire, mais tu lui montres quelqu'un d'autre. Ne vois-tu que si tu lui montrais sa propre personne en lui disant : c'est toi, cela ne serait pas droit.

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|-------|
| (22) a | hādhā anta | 59.15 |
| | ceci toi, i.e. C'est toi | |
| b | kāna zaydun ḥalīman | 17.13 |
| | était Zayd-nom longanime | |
| | Zayd était longanime | |
| c | kāna rajulun | 17.18 |
| | était un homme | |

(22) a dite dans les conditions énonciatives spécifiées, contrevient à une loi essentielle réglant toute énonciation et toute relation entre le locuteur et l'allocutaire. Cette loi est celle-là même qui est énoncée dans le passage suivant où le *Kitāb* discute du statut des groupes nominaux après *kāna* et de la contrainte de détermination qui pèse sur le premier nom :

fa-idhā qulta kāna Zaydun fa-qad bada'ta bi-mā huwa ma'rūfun 'indahū mithlahū 'indaka fa-innamā yantaziru l-khabara. fa-idhā qulta: ḥalīman, fa-qad a'lamtahu mithla mā 'alimta... fa-in qulta: kāna ḥalīmun aw rajulun, fa-qad bada'ta bi-nakiratin, wa-lā yastaqīmu an tukhbira l-mukhāṭaba 'ani l-mankūri, wa-laysa hādihā bi-lladhī yanzilu bihi l-mukhāṭabu manzilataka fi l-ma'rifati. 17.15-18

Si tu disais: kāna Zaydun, tu aurais commencé [ton énoncé] par ce qui est connu de lui [de ton interlocuteur], comme de toi, et il aurait attendu l'information [nouvelle]. Aussi si tu dis: ḥalīman, tu l'aurais informé autant que toi tu es informé... Mais si tu dis: kāna ḥalīmun ou bien rajulun, tu aurais commencé ton énoncé par un indéfini/non-identifié. Il n'est pas droit/juste que tu informes l'interlocuteur à propos de quelque chose qui n'est pas identifié, et ce n'est point cela qui le rendra aussi informé que toi.

Tout acte d'énonciation « informatif » (*ikhbār*), selon ce passage, suppose une dissymétrie entre locuteur et allocutaire : le locuteur informe son allocutaire de quelque chose que l'allocutaire ne connaît pas concernant quelque chose ou quelque être qu'il connaît. Cet acte est « droit » ou « juste » si l'on peut dire, si, à la suite de l'énonciation, l'allocutaire en sait autant que le locuteur. Dans la suite *hādihā anta*, il n'y a aucune information nouvelle. Dans l'information donnée sur quelque chose de non identifié, l'allocutaire ne sait pas sur quoi porte l'information, et l'acte informatif échoue. Il n'est pas « droit. »

C'est cette loi fondamentale que violent (22) a et c. Elle est ici relative aux deux protagonistes de l'énonciation dans leur rapport à l'information contenue dans l'énoncé. C'est pourquoi ces séquences ne sont pas droites.

5.3.5. Ces exemples n'épuisent pas les données, mais ils en sont représentatifs. Au terme de ce parcours, plusieurs conclusions s'imposent : l'incorrection qualifiée de non droite implique *la totalité de l'énoncé*. Les relations prédicatives mal formées en sont un bon exemple car, par définition, elles concernent la constitution même de l'énoncé. Une autre loi, que nous avons appelé l'informativité de l'énoncé, concerne non seulement l'énoncé mais aussi l'adéquation du contenu de l'énoncé aux paramètres de la situation énonciative et à la dissymétrie locuteur/allocutaire. Elle est relative à la fonction de tout acte de communication. D'autres lois, qui paraissent plus locales, ainsi l'assignation casuelle, l'interprétation des anaphores, impliquent également tout l'énoncé, en ce sens que, pour avoir un énoncé interprétable, il est nécessaire d'assigner à tout syntagme une fonction et une interprétation. On remarquera enfin que si le *lam yastaqim* désigne à chaque fois un défaut d'interprétabilité, ce défaut peut

résulter d'une cause syntaxique, ainsi par exemple un Cas mal assigné dont ne résulte aucune interprétation acceptable. En somme, le « non droit » n'a pas trait à la position, mais à des lois de construction du sens plus élémentaires, plus fondamentales, constitutifs de tout énoncé et réglant tout acte de communication.

6. MUḤĀL, NAQḌ, MA'NĀ

Qu'en est-il de *muḥāl*? Si *muḥāl* ne semble pas l'exact antonyme de *mustaqīm*, vu qu'il n'a pas la même extension, a-t-il la même intension que *lā yastaqīm* quand il s'applique au *kalām*? De manière étrange, *naqḍ* et *muḥāl* ne semblent pas, non plus, synonymes, malgré la définition de *muḥāl* du chapitre VI. Si le déviant consiste *en ce que tu contredises le début de ton énoncé par sa fin*, dans certains passages du *Kitāb*, « déviant » et « contradictoire » (*naqḍ*) sont associés, comme s'il n'y avait pas de synonymie absolue entre les deux termes et qu'ils avaient deux sens distincts (cf. 255.15 : *kāna muḥālan wa-kāna naqḍan*). C'est donc à préciser le sens du « déviant » et à examiner son rapport au « non-droit » et au « contradictoire » que ce qui suit s'attachera ; la réflexion s'articulera, là aussi, à l'empirique.

Les suites qualifiées de *muḥāl* dans le *Kitāb* se rangent sous plusieurs chefs :

6.1. Muḥāl et valeurs grammaticales contradictoires

Certaines suites jugées *muḥāl* sont conformes à la définition de *muḥāl* du chapitre VI : Un même élément grammatical y a deux valeurs contradictoires.

6.1.1. Deux valeurs temporelles contradictoires

Les exemples qui suivent portent deux valeurs temporelles contradictoires : le Temps grammaticalisé sur le verbe a une valeur différente du circonstant temporel déictique :

- (23) a **mā a'dū an jālastu-ka ghadan** 383.21
 je n'ai pas été [avec toi] au delà du [fait] que je t'ai tenu compagnie
 demain
- b **mā a'dū an ujālisa-ka amsi**⁵¹ 383.22
 je n'irai pas [avec toi] au delà du [fait] que je te tiendrai compagnie hier

⁵¹ Nous nous appuyons pour notre traduction, non pas sur le sens de l'expression dans les dictionnaires mais sur la glose du *Kitāb* de ces exemples.

Quoique impliquant la même agrammaticalité que (17), (23) est plus complexe : le premier verbe est un verbe aspectuel ‘*adā* qui, selon la glose de Sībawayhi, garde encore son sens lexical d’« aller au-delà » (*mā a’dū* glosé par *mā ujāwizu*⁵², 383.21). Il introduit un verbe principal après *an*. Le passage étudie les combinaisons possibles des formes de conjugaison du verbe principal et du verbe aspectuel, ainsi que leur sens. Toutes les combinaisons sont possibles :

- (24) fs an fp
 fs an fs
 fp an fs
 fp an fp

Bien que *a’dū* soit une forme en *af’al* (i.e. une forme préfixale) dont la valeur temporelle, selon Sībawayhi, est *mā lam yamḍi*, donc susceptible d’exprimer le futur, *mā a’dū an.jālastuka* ne peut avoir qu’une seule valeur, celle de passé, glosée par : *ay an kuntu fa’altu dhālika*, 383.20. Autrement dit, le temps de la proposition est celui du verbe principal : *jālasa*, et non celui du verbe introducteur. D’où les agrammaticalités jugées *muḥāl* en (23), les déictiques contredisant la valeur temporelle grammaticalisée sur la forme verbale. Dans nos termes, l’ancrage temporel des énoncés est indécidable car contradictoire.

On le voit, ce qui est considéré ici *muḥāl* est en total accord avec les exemples du chapitre 6 (cf. (17)).

6.1.2. *Un seul prédicat dont les termes sont contradictoires*

Un autre exemple, qualifié par Sībawayhi de déviant, implique le contenu sémique :

- (25) **marartu bi-rajulin ḥimārin** 186.11
 je suis passé près d’un homme un âne

qui est, dans l’un de ses deux interprétations, déviant, à savoir « *quand tu veux dire [par là] que l’homme est un âne,* » autrement dit quand il y a une seule prédication avec un seul prédicat incluant deux termes contradictoires. L’interprétation correcte est celle où il y aurait deux prédications distinctes : . . . *soit que tu aies fait une erreur ou bien que tu aies oublié et que tu te sois repris, soit qu’il t’ait paru [préférable] de renoncer [à parler] de ton passage près de l’homme et de remplacer cela par ton passage près de l’âne, après en avoir voulu autrement* (186.13–14).

⁵² La glose de Sīrafī le confirme (Hārūn III, 55. note 2).

6.1.3. *Un seul « nom » et deux Cas contradictoires*

Les relations grammaticales à valeur contradictoire peuvent être des relations syntaxiques, non seulement sémantiques. On le sait, le « nom » est une entité syntaxique dans le *Kitāb*⁵³, en d'autres termes est appelé nom le groupe nominal. Celui-ci doit porter un seul Cas. En (25) :

- (25) 'indī ghulāmun wa-qad ataytu bi-jāriyatīn a fārihayni b fārihāni
 J'ai un esclave et j'ai ramené une esclave vifs acc-duel vifs- nom-duel

L'option (25) b où le qualificatif est au nominatif est *muḥāl*, car *fārihāni*, qui est au duel, aurait été le qualificatif d'un seul « nom » (groupe nominal formé de deux éléments coordonnés) dont le premier serait au nominatif et le second au Cas oblique (*lā sabīla ilā an yakūna ba'ḍu l-ismi jarran wa-ba'ḍuhu raf'an* 210.21). Aussi la seule option possible pour les locuteurs, qui leur permet d'éviter le *muḥāl* (*farrū mina l-iḥāla*), est d'assigner l'accusatif.

6.1.4. *Un seul qualificatif et un seul « nom, » défini et indéfini*

Les deux valeurs contradictoires peuvent relever de la détermination du nom. Un « nom » doit être homogène quant à sa détermination, et ne peut inclure deux éléments à valeur contradictoire. Aussi (26) est *muḥāl* :

- (26) a hādhīhi nāqatun wa-ḥāṣilu-hā r-rāṭi'āni 211.3
 Ceci chamelle et-petit-elle qui paissent librement duel
 b hādhāni rajulāni wa-'Abdullāhi b' munṭaliqīna b" • munṭaliqūna
 220.1-2
 Cec hommes nom duel et Abdallah nom b' partant acc pl b» partant
 nom pl

où *nāqa* est indéfini, *ḥāṣil* défini par le pronom : la séquence est *muḥāl* du fait d'un principe grammatical (*lā yajūzu an taṣīfa l-nakirata wa-l-ma'rīfata kamā lā yajūzu waṣfu l-mu'talīfayni*, 211.2-3). Dans nos termes, la construction de la valeur référentielle du groupe nominal ainsi constitué est impossible. Cette construction requiert des contraintes sémantiques qui ne sont pas remplies. (26) b » à enlever est un cas de *muḥāl* rigoureusement similaire. *rajulān* et *'Abdullāh*, l'un indéfini, l'autre défini, ne peuvent être qualifiés par un seul qualificatif.

⁵³ Cf. Mosel (1980).

Tous les cas qui précèdent peuvent être ramenés à un seul : 1 même élément grammatical a deux valeurs contradictoires. L'interprétation de la séquence est indécidable.

6.2. Prédication mal formée ou incomplète

Une suite où la prédication est incomplète avant le *fa-* est qualifiée de *muḥāl*. C'est là, précise le texte, l'analyse de Khalīl. Le passage oppose deux suites, l'une correcte, l'autre *muḥāl* :

- (27) a **kullu rajulin ya'tinā, fa-la-hu dirhamāni** 403.3
chaque homme vient-nous alors-à-lui dirham nom duel
Tout homme qui vient chez nous aura deux dirhams
- b **kullu rajulin fa-la-hu dirhamāni** 403.3
chaque homme alors-à-lui dirham nom duel

(27) a est ainsi glosé :

adkhala l-fā'a li-takūna l-'aṭīyyatu ma'a wuqū'i l-ityāni...fa-idhā adkhala l-fā'a, fa-innamā yaj'alu l-ityāna sababa dhālika. fa-hādhā jazā'un wa-in lam yujzam. 402.24-403.2

Il a introduit le *fā'* afin que le don soit avec la venue... S'il introduit le *fā'* c'est parce qu'il rend la venue cause de cela [du don]. C'est donc une conditionnelle (*jazā'*), même s'il n'y a pas d'apocope.

En revanche, en (27) b :

wa-law qāla: «kullu rajulin fa-lahu dirhamāni» kāna muḥālan, li-annahū lam yajī' bi-fi'lin wa-lā bi-'amalin yakūnu lahu jawāban. 403.3-4

S'il disait : «*kullu rajulin fa-lahu dirhamāni*,» cela serait déviant, car il n'aurait pas présenté une action ou un procès (*'amal*) qui aurait requis une réponse.

La suite après le *fā'* en (27) b est une « réponse » sans qu'il n'y ait d'action qui requière de réponse, ou, dit autrement, il s'agit d'un effet sans cause, alors qu'en (27) a, la venue de l'homme était cause du don. En termes grammaticaux, (27) b est *muḥāl* car il manque un prédicat à *kullu rajulin*, et, en conséquence, il manque un *mubtada'* au *jawāb*, les deux éléments du *jazā'*, on l'a vu plus haut, étant équivalents au *mubtada'* et au *khābar*. Rien, dans cette suite, n'est contradictoire. C'est une prédication doublement mal formée. La suite viole une loi fondamentale de la constitution du *kalām*.

On l'a vu en 2.3.1.5, un énoncé passablement complexe : *ayyu man in ya'tinā nu'tihi nukrimuhu* (2 f) est *ṣaḥīḥ* s'il est considéré comme une

interrogative, *muḥāl* s'il est « informatif. » La raison du *muḥāl* en est, là aussi, qu'il y manque un prédicat, comme si en français, on considérait : « lequel nous honorons » comme une assertive. En revanche, si à cette suite—déjà fort complexe—, on ajoutait le *prédicat* : *tuhīn* (*tu dédaignes*), cela deviendrait un énoncé correct ayant pour sens : « Quiconque nous honorons,—des « si l'on vient à nous, nous leur faisons des largesses »—, tu le dédaignes » (sic !). Là aussi, le *muḥāl* résulte d'une violation de la loi de la prédication : chacun des deux termes du support et de l'apport ayant besoin de l'autre.

6.3. *Pronoms de dialogue, pronoms anaphoriques, et paramètres de la situation d'énonciation*

6.3.1. *Référence des pronoms et prédication contradictoire*

Sous le chapitre des pronoms, le *Kitāb* présente des exemples où le *mubtada'* est un pronom coréférent du nom propre *khabar* :

- (28) a *huwa zaydun ma'rūfan* 218.20
 Il zayd nom connu acc
 Il est Zayd, sans nul doute⁵⁴
- b *huwa zaydun munṭaliqan*⁵⁵ 218.20
 Il est Zayd en route

(28) b est jugé *lā yajūz* et *muḥāl* en 219.18. La raison tient au fonctionnement référentiel et énonciatif du pronom et à son incidence sur la prédication. Un pronom, par définition, est le signe d'un nom que le locuteur a gardé par devers lui, implicite (*'alāmatun li-l-muḍmari*). Et il ne le garde par devers lui que parce qu'il sait que son interlocuteur sait de qui il s'agit :

wa-innamā yuḍmiru idhā 'alima annaka qad 'arafta man ya'nī. 219.20

Il ne rend implicite que quand il sait que tu sais de qui il s'agit.

Aussi est-il *muḥāl* de citer un nom propre avec lequel le pronom serait coréférent, après avoir mentionné le pronom. Cela serait absurde (déviant), du fait même du fonctionnement des pronoms dans la situation

⁵⁴ Sibawayhi glose *ma'rūf* par *lā shakka* (219.2).

⁵⁵ Il s'agit bien d'un pronom personnel coréférent et non d'un *huwa* impersonnel comme le prouvent les autres exemples : *anā 'Abdullāhi munṭaliqan*.

d'énonciation, l'interlocuteur se passant du nom propre dès qu'il entend le pronom :

lam yaqul huwa wa-lā anā ḥattā staghnayta anta 'ani l-tasmīyati. 219.19

Il a à peine dit « huwa » et « anā » que tu t'es déjà passé du nom propre.

Sauf si le locuteur, sachant que son interlocuteur ne connaît pas une personne donnée, la lui désigne et la lui présente. Tel est le cas de (28) a où le locuteur présente Zayd :

wa-dhālika annaka dhakarta li-l-mukhāṭabi insānan kāna yajhaluhu aw zananta annahu yajhaluhu. 218.20–21

Car tu mentionnes à ton interlocuteur une personne qu'il ignorait ou que tu croyais qu'il ignorait.

Aussi la seule *ṣifa* qu'il puisse mentionner dans ce contexte est *ma'rūfan*, qui vient là pour réassurer la relation prédicative et la renforcer :

wa-l-ma'nā annaka aradta an tuwaḍḍiḥa anna l-madhkūra zaydun ḥīna qulta ma'rūfan, wa-lā yajūzu an tadhkura fi ḥādhā l-mawḍi'i illā mā ashbaha l-ma'rūfa li-annahu yu'arrifū wa-yu'akkidu. 218.22–23

Et le sens, quand tu as dit « ma'rūfan » est que tu as voulu expliquer clairement que la personne mentionnée est Zayd. Il n'est pas possible que tu mentionnes à cette place autre chose que ce qui est similaire à « ma'rūf, » car il définit et réaffirme.

(28) b est, en revanche, *muḥāl*, car la présence de *munṭaliqan* signifie que le locuteur veut informer son interlocuteur d'une qualité (*ṣifa*) relative à une personne, Zayd, supposée connue par son interlocuteur. Il serait déviant/absurde de mentionner le nom propre après le pronom avec lequel il est coréférent comme si le locuteur supposait que son interlocuteur ignorait la personne et voulait la lui présenter :

wa-idhā dhakarta shay'an min ḥādhīhi l-asmā'i llatī hiya 'alāmatun li-l-muḍmari fa-innahu muḥālun an yaḥara ba'dahā l-ismu idhā kunta tukhbīru 'an 'amālīn aw ṣifatin ghayri 'amālīn wa-lā turīdu an tu'arrifahu bi-annahu Zaydun aw 'Amrun. 219.12

Si tu mentionnes quelque nom de ceux qui sont le signe d'un implicite, il est muḥāl que le nom apparaisse à sa suite, si tu informais sur une action, ou une qualité qui n'est pas une action et que tu ne voulais pas présenter Zayd ou 'Amr.

(28) b présuppose du savoir de l'interlocuteur dans la situation d'énonciation, deux valeurs contradictoires, à la fois qu'il ignore Zayd et qu'il connaît Zayd.

6.3.2. *al-Khalf*

(28) b est repris dans une analyse qui se fonde sur les paramètres de la situation énonciative, et se réclame de Khalīl lequel fait attention à ces considérations, contrairement aux « *naḥwiyyūn à qui peu importe l'arrière s'ils connaissent le Cas* » (*mimmā yatahāwanūna bi-l-khalfi idhā 'arafū l-i'rāba*) 219.16. L'arrière (*al-khalf*) ici renvoie au lieu où se trouve le locuteur au moment de l'énonciation : S'il se trouve derrière un mur et qu'il dise (28) b, le *kalām* est bon. Mais s'il est devant son interlocuteur, (28) b est *muḥāl* car le locuteur qui veut informer sur le départ de Zayd, par son usage du pronom *huwa*, le suppose connu de son interlocuteur et n'a pas besoin de le lui présenter :

wa-innamā dhakara l-Khalīlu raḥimahu llāhu hādhā li-ta'rifa mā yuhālu minhu wa-mā yaḥsunu, fa-inna l-naḥwiyyīna mimmā yatahāwanūna bi-l-khalfi idhā 'arafū l-i'rāba. wa-dhālika anna rajulan min ikhwānika wa-ma'rifatika law arāda an yukhbiraka 'an nafsīhi aw 'an ghayrihi bi-amrin fa-qāla : anā 'Abdullāhi munṭaliqan wa-huwa Zaydun munṭaliqan, kāna muḥālan, li-an-nahu innamā arāda an yukhbiraka bi-l-inṭilāqi wa-lam yaqul huwa wa-lā anā ḥattā staghnayta anta 'ani l-tasmīyati, li-anna « huwa » wa « anā » 'alāmatāni li-l-muḍmari, wa-innamā yuḍmiru idhā 'alima annaka qad 'arāfta man ya'nī. illā anna rajulan law kāna khalfa ḥā'iṭin, aw fī mawḍi'in tajhaluhu fīhi wa-qulta « man anta ? » fa-qāla « anā 'Abdullāhi munṭaliqan fī ḥājatika, » kāna ḥasanan. 219.15–21

al-Khalīl, Dieu l'aït en sa miséricorde, n'a mentionné cette question qu'afin que tu saches ce qui en est déviant et ce qui en est bon, car les naḥwiyyūn négligent l'arrière s'ils connaissent le Cas. Ainsi, si un homme de ta connaissance voulait t'informer de quelque chose le concernant ou concernant autrui et qu'il te disait : « je suis Abdallah, en route » et « il est Zayd en route, » cela serait muḥāl, car il veut t'informer sur son départ et dès qu'il a dit « huwa » (il) ou « anā » (moi), tu t'es passé du nom propre, car « huwa » et « anā » sont les signes d'un implicite. Et il n'a recours à l'implicite que s'il sait que tu sais de qui il parle. Toutefois, si un homme était derrière un mur, ou dans un lieu [donné], que tu ignorais qu'il y était et que tu dises : « Qui es-tu ? » et qu'il réponde : « anā 'Abdullāhi munṭaliqan fī ḥājatika » (je suis Abdallah partant pour ton affaire), cela serait bon.

Comme il est clair dans ce passage, ce sont donc ce que nous appelons les coordonnées de la situation énonciative qui sont décisives pour juger de la qualité de (28) b, plus précisément les coordonnées spatiales lesquelles déterminent le savoir du locuteur quant à l'identité de son interlocuteur.

6.3.3. *Pronom de dialogue et prédication*

29 illustre un autre cas de figure : l'énoncé est correct ou *muḥāl*, non pas en fonction des coordonnées de la situation énonciative, mais selon son

interprétation. Le propos est rapporté à Yūnus, lequel confirme les propos d'Abū l-Khaṭṭāb :

29 **hādhā anta taqūlu kadhā wa-kadhā** 331.22

C'est toi qui dis ceci et cela

Ce qui serait *muḥāl*, c'est que le locuteur dise *hādhā anta* voulant par là « faire faire à l'interlocuteur connaissance avec lui-même comme s'il voulait l'informer qu'il n'est pas un autre » (*an yu'arrifahu nafsahu ka'annaka turīdu an tu'limahu annahu laysa ghayrahu* 331.22–332.1). En revanche, s'il entendait par là souligner la présence de l'interlocuteur parmi eux, l'énoncé serait bon, la glose étant : *al-ḥāḍīru 'indanā anta* ou *al-ḥāḍīru l-qā'īlu kadhā wa-kadhā anta* (« Celui qui est présent parmi nous est toi » ou « Celui qui est présent et qui dit ceci et cela est toi »).

L'interprétation dite *muḥāl* est ici une interprétation absurde, l'information fournie par la proposition contredit la valeur du pronom de dialogue, et présuppose que l'interlocuteur ne sait pas qu'il est lui-même.

6.3.4. Interprétation du pronom anaphorique

Soit :

(30) a 'Abdullāhi ni'ma l-rajulu 259.20–21
Abdallah-nom excellent l'homme-nom
Quel excellent homme que Abdallah !

b 'Abdullāhi huwa fi-ha 259.21
Abdallah-nom lui dans-elle
Abdallah y est

Si *al-rajulu* n'est pas coréférent avec 'Abdullāh, en (30) a, la suite est *muḥāl*, exactement, dit Sībawayhi, comme en (30) b au cas où le pronom *huwa* n'est pas coréférent avec 'Abdullāh. s'il y a coréférence, (30) a et b seraient des énoncés corrects. Là aussi, la même suite, en fonction de son interprétation, est *muḥāl* ou bien est un énoncé correct. Le *Kitāb* ne spécifie pas plus précisément la raison de la déviance, mais l'assimilation de (30) a à (30) b semble indiquer qu'il s'agit de raisons structurales, les deux énoncés ayant la même structure.

Un bref répertoire des emplois de déviant montre qu'ils concernent l'interprétation de l'anaphore, les valeurs du déterminé et de l'indéterminé, les valeurs du Temps de l'énoncé, le fonctionnement présuppositionnel d'une particule, l'adéquation de l'énoncé aux paramètres de la situation énonciative, etc. Autrement dit, la déviance a trait, à chaque fois, au fonctionnement d'éléments grammaticaux fondamentaux pour la construction du sens. Mais si le *muḥāl* a bien rapport à du sémantique et

à de l'énonciatif, il peut aussi être le fait d'agencements, de structures, bref de syntaxe. Ce qui suit illustre certains cas de figure.

7. MUḤĀL, MA'NĀ, LAFZ

7.1. *iḍmār an*

L'énoncé (31) est loin de ne rien signifier. Il est tout à fait correct :

- (31) *jī'tuka li-tafāla* 362.1
 je suis venu-toi pour-tu fais (fp-a)
 Je suis venu afin que tu fasses

Ce qui rendrait néanmoins le *kalām muḥāl* est de ne pas sous-entendre 'an, et ce pour une raison proprement syntaxique, à savoir que *li-* assigne le Cas indirect aux noms, et non le *naṣb* aux verbes, comme le fait *an* :

law lam tuḍmirhā [an] la-kāna l-kalāmu muḥālan li-anna l-lām wa-ḥattā innamā ta'malāni fī l-asmā'i fa-tajurrāni wa-laysatā mina l-ḥurūfi llatī tuḍāfu ilā l-af'ālī fa-idhā aḍmarta an ḥasuna l-kalāmu. 362.2-3

Si tu n'avais point sous-entendu *an*, l'énoncé (*kalām*) aurait été déviant, car le *lām* et *ḥattā* ne gouvernent que les noms et ils leur assignent le *jarr*. Ils ne comptent pas parmi les particules qui s'annexent au verbe. Aussi si tu sous-entends *an*, le *kalām* devient bon.

7.2. *Co-occurrence de inna et in, de inna et de matā*

La co-occurrence de *inna in* et *inna matā*, avec adjacence des deux marqueurs, donne des suites *muḥāl* (390.7). Elle est là aussi pensée en termes syntaxiques, non en termes sémantiques :

li-annaka a'malta kāna wa-inna wa-lam yasugh laka an tada'a kāna wa-ashbāhahu mu'allaqatan lā tu'miluhā fī shay'in, fa-lammā a'maltahunna dhahaba l-jazā'u wa-lam yakun min mawāḍi'ihī. a-lā tarā annaka law jī'ta bi-inna wa-matā turīdu « inna in » wa « inna matā » kāna muḥālan fa-hādhā dalīlun 'alā anna l-jazā'a lā yanbaghī la-hu an yakūna hāhunā. 390.5-8

Car tu as fait gouverner « kāna » et « inna » et il ne t'était pas possible de laisser « kāna » et ses semblables « suspendue, » ne gouvernant rien. Aussi, lorsque tu les as fait gouverner, il n'ya plus eu de jazā' et ce n'est pas là une place où il peut être utilisé. Ne vois-tu pas que si tu disais « inna in » et « inna matā, » cela serait muḥāl. C'est là la preuve que le jazā' ne peut être ici employé.

Le discours est entièrement syntaxique. L'énoncé correct et l'explication qui en est donnée le confirme un peu plus loin :

fa-in shaghalta hādhihi l-hurūfa bi-shay'in jāzayta fa-min dhālika qawluka innahu man ya'tina na'tihi. 390.9

Si tu « occupais » ces mots par quelque chose, tu pourrais avoir un tour conditionnel ainsi : *inna-hu man ya'tinā na'tihi*.

La notion désignée par *shaghala* est une notion purement syntaxique. Elle est conceptuellement très proche de la relation de gouvernement (*'amal*) et elle implique, pour chaque opérateur, des positions d'éléments gouvernés à « occuper » afin que l'énoncé soit correct⁵⁶.

7.3. Gouvernement et muḥāl

Sous le chapitre de *ḥattā* se présente une suite dont l'interprétation est absurde. Mais ce qui est dit *muḥāl*, c'est le gouvernement du verbe (c'est d'assigner la désinence -u à fp), non l'interprétation que la désinence induit ; Une autre désinence (fp-a) est qualifiée de *muḥāl* dans ce contexte. Dans les deux cas, le *muḥāl* est de nature syntaxique :

- (32) a **sirtu ḥattā adkhulu-hā wa-taṭlu'u l-shamsu** 372.4
 j'ai voyagé jusqu'à ce que j'entre fp-u-elle et se lève-fp-u le soleil
 J'ai voyagé jusqu'à tant/ si bien que j'y suis entré et que s'est levé le soleil.
- b **sirtu ḥattā adkhulu-hā wa-taṭlu'a l-shamsu** 372.5
 j'ai voyagé jusqu'à ce que j'entre fp-u- elle et se lève-fp-a le soleil
 J'ai voyagé jusqu'à tant/ si bien que j'y suis entré et [afin] que se levât le soleil[/jusqu'au moment où s'est levé ...]
- c **sirtu ḥattā adkhula-hā wa-taṭlu'a l-shamsu** 372.5
 j'ai voyagé jusqu'à ce que j'entre fp-a-elle et se lève-fp-u le soleil
 J'ai voyagé jusqu'au moment où j'y suis entré et que le soleil s'est levé.

Ces suites présentent, après *ḥattā*, une coordination entre deux propositions, dont la première a un verbe fp à flexion -u en (32) a et b⁵⁷. Vu la contrainte de symétrie qui pèse sur les éléments coordonnés, le 2d verbe doit donc être aussi un fp-u, ainsi en (32) a. Or, si le verbe après *ḥattā* est à flexion -u, cela signifie que le procès qu'il désigne est la conséquence du procès indiqué par le verbe qui précède *ḥattā*. Cela aboutirait à l'interprétation selon laquelle c'est la marche du locuteur qui serait cause du lever du soleil (*wa-lam yakuni l-raf'u li-anna ṭulū'a l-shamsi lā yakūnu an yu'addiyahu sayruka* 372.5–6). Le *raf'* est donc *muḥāl* (*fa-hādihā*

⁵⁶ Cf. Ayoub (1991 : 52–54).

⁵⁷ On se reportera à Talmon 1993 pour une étude de *ḥattā* dans le *Kitāb*.

muḥālun an tarfa'a). Mais le *naṣb* (fp-a) de *taṭlu'*, comme en (32) b, est aussi *muḥāl* car le verbe *taṭlu'* est coordonné à un premier verbe qui est fp-u (*wa-in naṣabta wa-qad rafa'ta fi'laka fa-huwa muḥālun*). Dès lors, la seule possibilité correcte pour cette suite est que les deux verbes soient au *naṣb* (*fa-huwa muḥālun ḥattā tanṣiba fi'laka min qabli l-'atfi*).

En fait, les trois cas de figure illustrés en 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, sont dits *muḥāl* du fait d'un gouvernement « déviant. » On se serait attendu à ce qu'ils soient considérés *qabīḥ*. Dans ce qui suit, nous examinerons quelques contextes donnant lieu à des énoncés tantôt *qabīḥ*, tantôt *muḥāl*.

8. MUḤĀL /QABĪḤ

8.1. la détermination

Dans un chapitre où il discute du Cas des noms qui sont des « qualificatifs » (*ṣifāt*) sans néanmoins ressembler au nom d'agent (*fā'il*) et qui fonctionnent normalement comme des noms substantifs, tels *abū 'ashara* (père de dix [enfants]) en (33), le *Kitāb* présente le paradigme suivant :

- (33) a **marartu bi-rajulin abī 'asharatin abū-hu** 200.12-13
 je suis passé près d'un homme-gén père-gén dix-gén père-nom-lui
 Je suis passé près d'un homme dont le père est père de dix enfants
- b **marartu bi-rajulin abū 'asharatin abū-hu/ b' bi-'Abdillāhi abī l-'asharati abū-hu**
 je suis passé près d'un homme-gén père-nom dix-gén père-nom-lui/
 père-nom les-dix-gén
 Je suis passé près d'un homme père de dix dont le père est père de dix enfants
- c **marartu bi-rajulin ḥasanin abū-hu** 200.13
 je suis passé près d'un homme-gén beau père-nom-lui
 Je suis passé près d'un homme dont le père est beau/bien

En (33) a, *abī 'asharatin* fonctionne comme un gouverneur (*fi'l, 'amal*) assignant le nominatif à *abūhu*. C'est un qualificatif, similaire en cela à *ḥasan* dans le tour (33) c (200.13). Sibawayhi lie cette possibilité à une condition relevant de la référence : que *abū 'asharatin* ne réfère pas à des individus spécifiques et identifiés (*qawman bi-a'yānihim qad 'arafahum al-mukhātabu* 200.17). S'il y réfère, la séquence est *muḥāl*. S'il n'y réfère pas, la séquence se dit, bien qu'elle soit détestable (*idhā lam yakun shay'an bi-'aynihi yajūzu 'alā stikrāhin*). Si *abū 'ashara* désigne des individus spécifiques et identifiés, le seul Cas possible qu'il peut porter est le nomi-

natif (*wa-law anna l-‘asharata kānū qawman bi-a’yānihim qad ‘arafahum al-mukhāṭabu lam yakun fihi illā l-raf’u* (200.16–17)).

Ce passage permet de comparer, sur la même question, celle de la détermination, la violation qui est de l'ordre du *muḥāl* et celle qui est de l'ordre du *qabīḥ*. C'est bien la possibilité de construction de la référence, et donc l'intelligibilité, qui distingue les deux tours. Dans le cas général, un substantif a une référence spécifique. S'il réfère à des individus identifiés, connus par l'interlocuteur comme dit Sībawayhi, son fonctionnement comme opérateur aboutit à une suite déviante *muḥāl*. Car il n'a pas de référence prédicative. La séquence n'est pas intelligible. Mais plus il est indéterminé, plus il peut fonctionner comme une qualité et donc comme un prédicat et un gouverneur/opérateur. La référence peut se construire. La séquence se dit, malgré son caractère marginal et irrégulier (détestable).

8.2. Cliticisation du pronom objet

On l'a vu, la non cliticisation du pronom complément sur le verbe donne une séquence vilaine : *ra'aytu fihā iyyāka* (334.14) mais ce n'est pas le cas pour le pronom qui suit l'exceptif *illā* : *mā ra'aytu illā iyyāka* (334.20)

Cliticiser donnerait un énoncé *muḥāl* avec *illā* en fin d'énoncé : *mā ra'aytuka illā*.

Cette séquence contrevient-elle à une loi syntaxique ou sémantique ? Il est difficile ici d'isoler l'une de l'autre. La séquence contrevient à la fois aux structures syntaxiques : elle viole une containte d'ordre, à savoir que l'argument de *illā* doit la suivre. Elle est aussi mal formée sémantiquement et, en conséquence, ininterprétable.

Ici, contrairement au premier cas, une même loi, celle de la cliticisation de l'objet, si elle n'est pas appliquée dans le cas général, donne un énoncé *qabīḥ* mais interprétable. En revanche, si elle est appliquée dans un contexte sémantique déterminé, celui de l'« argument » de *illā*, cela donne lieu à une suite mal formée, du point de vue syntaxique et sémantique. La suite est *muḥāl*.

9. MUḤĀL KADHIB

Une notion constitue une difficulté du texte : celle de *muḥāl kadhib* (déviant et faux). L'exemple qu'en donne Sībawayhi est le suivant :

- (34) *sawfa ashrahu mā'a l-baḥri amsi* 7.18
je boirai l'eau de la mer hier

Comment se peut-il qu'un énoncé soit, en même temps, contradictoire et faux ? On connaît la position d'al-Akhfash à ce propos : il n'interprète pas le texte. Il le reprend : il n'y a pas de *muḥāl kadhib*. Il y a du *muḥāl* et du *khaṭa'* :

En fait partie l'erreur, c'est-à-dire ce que tu n'as pas voulu dire de manière délibérée, comme quand tu dis : darabanī Zaydun (Zayd m'a frappé) alors que tu voulais [dire] : darabtu Zaydan (j'ai frappé Zayd). L'erreur est [un propos] qui n'est pas délibéré. Quant au muḥāl, c'est ce qui ne peut avoir de sens. Ne vois-tu pas que si tu disais : ataytuka ghadan (je suis venu chez toi demain), le kalām n'aurait pas de sens et ne peut être jugé vrai ou faux » (cité en note dans l'édition de Hārūn en I,26).

Bref, pour al-Akhfash, il n'existe pas de *muḥāl kadhib*. Le *muḥāl*, tel qu'il l'entend, se laisse mieux traduire par absurde, inintelligible, mais, du coup, il ne peut être associé au faux. L'exemple donné par Sibawayhi illustre l'erreur susceptible d'affecter le propos. Elle l'illustrerait, de fait, à un double titre puisque Sibawayhi, pour parler de l'erreur, du *ghalaṭ*, commet lui-même une erreur : il parle du *muḥāl kadhib*.

En fait, (34) reprend (3) b, modulo deux valeurs contradictoires du Temps : la particule *sa-* qui précède le verbe lui donne un sens de futur ; le déictique *amsi* renvoie au passé. Le déviant et faux se laisse interpréter, si l'on admet les développements précédents, même si cette catégorie reste étrange : la prédication est interprétable. C'est elle qui permet d'assigner à l'exemple une valeur quant au faux (*kadhib*). Cet exemple est en même temps déviant, vu les deux valeurs contradictoires du Temps. En d'autres termes, son ininterprétabilité, qui se restreint à l'impossibilité d'assigner un Temps à la phrase, n'empêche pas néanmoins qu'il soit empiriquement faux... en tous temps.

Dans le *muḥāl kadhib*, le *Kitāb* combine une impossibilité relative à l'ordre du monde avec l'impossibilité de la construction du sens résultant d'éléments grammaticaux, c'est-à-dire résultant de l'ordre de la langue. Cette combinaison hypothétique rappelle les combinaisons théoriques de consonnes radicales du maître de Sibawayhi : al-Khalīl. Si cette lecture est correcte, l'existence d'une catégorie *toute théorique*, telle que « le déviant et faux, » loin d'être une incohérence, semble indiquer une attention très grande de Sibawayhi à la différence entre l'ordre du monde et l'ordre de la langue, entre la construction linguistique du sens et l'adéquation au monde.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Au terme de ce parcours, quelques conclusions se dégagent :

10.1. Dans la recevabilité des énoncés, le *Kitāb* distingue entre l'ordre de la langue et l'ordre du monde, entre la construction linguistique du sens et l'adéquation au monde. Les deux paires *mustaqīm/muḥāl*, *ḥasan/qabīḥ* relèvent de l'ordre de la langue : ce sont les relations grammaticales, les propriétés des éléments de langue et les paramètres de la situation énonciative qui construisent la recevabilité. *Kadhīb*, en revanche, relève d'une théorie de l'adéquation au monde : l'énoncé est empiriquement faux. Le *kadhīb* ne joue pas de rôle dans la théorie grammaticale. Cette notion, toute théorique, semble être posée pour servir de limite à la pensée. La nature de cette limite n'est certes pas indifférente. Elle signifie que les deux oppositions binaires *mustaqīm/muḥāl*, *ḥasan/qabīḥ* sont des critères de grammaticalité : on mettra sous la notion de grammaticalité à la fois, des critères syntaxiques, structuraux que des critères sémantiques ou des critères pragmatiques, relatifs à la situation d'énonciation, car il est bien difficile, dans le *Kitāb*, de séparer les différents types de critères.

10.2. Il semble bien difficile de ranger *ḥasan/qabīḥ* du seul côté du formel ou du structural, *mustaqīm/muḥāl* du seul côté du sémantique : Les agencements et les structures construisent du sens et résultent de relations sémantiques et l'inintelligibilité peut avoir des raisons structurales. Néanmoins, c'est dans la mesure où le sens est distinct de la forme, le *ma'nā* distinct du *lafz*, qu'il est possible d'avoir deux concepts distincts de l'irrecevable et qu'une séquence puisse être, en même temps, ni « droite ni bonne. » Concepts distincts mais aussi articulés et hiérarchisés. Il faudrait plutôt penser la différence entre les deux paires en termes d'entrée : le *qabīḥ* est ce qui, violant des lois syntaxiques ou sémantiques, reste une violation qui n'atteint pas la totalité de l'énoncé mais est cantonnée au *mawḍi'*. L'énoncé est bien construit. Il est interprétable et permet la variation minimale. Le *muḥāl* est une violation qui atteint l'existence même de l'énoncé. La séquence ne réussit pas à se constituer en énoncé. La « contrainte » poétique reste cantonnée au *qubḥ* car pour qu'il y ait énoncé poétique, il faut qu'il y ait énoncé.

10.3. Beaucoup d'exemples du *muḥāl* n'incluent pas des éléments grammaticaux à valeur contradictoire. Ce qui signifie que Sibawayhi ne

se tient pas, dans son usage de la notion, à la définition qu'il en donne dans la *Risāla*. En revanche, au vu des exemples, il se dégage une remarquable homogénéité entre deux notions : *lā yastaqīm* et *muḥāl*. Les suites *muḥāl* violent, dans l'ensemble, les mêmes lois que les suites qualifiées de *lā yastaqīm*. Nous posons, au début de ce travail, la question de savoir quelles étaient les lois dont la violation aboutissait à une agrammaticalité absolue ? Elles sont en fait coextensives de la grammaire, et se situent à tous les niveaux, tant syntaxique, sémantique qu'énonciatif, à condition qu'elles soient si importantes qu'elles aboutissent à de l'inintelligibilité. Le *muḥāl* a rapport à l'inintelligibilité du discours, mais seulement comme résultant de la violation de toutes sortes de lois grammaticales, et non seulement de lois sémantiques. Deux lois se dégagent qui touchent à la constitution de l'énoncé et dont la violation aboutit à une agrammaticalité absolue : la loi de la prédication, les paramètres de la situation énonciative. Mais d'autres lois, tant syntaxiques que sémantiques, peuvent causer l'inintelligibilité d'une séquence : les lois de l'interprétation des anaphores, de la détermination des noms, de l'assignation casuelle. Notre interprétation de *muḥāl* rejoint celle de Sirāfi :

wa-ma'nā l-muḥāli annahu uḥīla 'an wajhihi l-mustaqīmi, alladhī bihi yufhamu l-ma'nā idhā tukullīma bihi. Sirāfi : II,90

Et le sens de muḥāl est qu'il a été dévié de son tour droit, par lequel on comprend le sens si on le dit.

La violation n'est pas sémantique : elle peut être de tout ordre mais elle aboutit à ne pas comprendre le sens !

Cette idée du *Kitāb* que les incorrections syntaxiques peuvent aboutir à de l'inintelligible rejoint celle, très belle, de Jakobson reprenant et commentant la notion de signification grammaticale chez Boas. Qu'on en juge plutôt : « *L'agrammaticalité effective prive un énoncé de son information sémantique. Plus les formes syntaxiques et les concepts relationnels qu'elles véhiculent viennent à s'oblitérer, plus difficile est-il de soumettre le message à une épreuve de vérité et seule l'intonation de la phrase tient encore ensemble* » (« *des mots en liberté* ») (Essais de linguistique générale, T. I, p. 206)

10.4. Le *qabīḥ* et le *muḥāl* ont un rôle heuristique fondamental : ils permettent d'explorer les données et de mieux comprendre les lois de l'usage. En ce sens, le *Kitāb* développe une théorie qui recourt à l'agrammatical pour étayer son argumentation et fonder ses analyses. Il est significatif que plusieurs exemples de *lā yastaqīm* ((19) a, (21) a), *muḥāl* données par

Sibawayhi aient deux interprétations : l'une *muḥāl*, l'autre correcte (cf. (28) b, (29), (30), (31)).

10.5. Nous concluons enfin par deux points qui touchent l'histoire de la grammaire et l'édification de la théorie grammaticale. 1—C'est Khalil, selon le *Kitāb*, qui inclut dans les critères de recevabilité d'un énoncé, non point seulement la correction des relations grammaticales, mais aussi l'adéquation de l'énoncé aux paramètres de la situation énonciative et sa fonction communicationnelle, contrairement aux *naḥwīyyūn* qui pensent qu'un énoncé est recevable dès l'instant où l'*i'rāb* est correct. 2—Il existe une hésitation certaine dans le *muḥāl* entre la définition du ch. 6 et l'usage empirique de la notion. Néanmoins, c'est bien par un point de sémantique « logique » que Sibawayhi définit le *muḥāl* dans la *Risāla*, alors que, nous l'avons vu, le *muḥāl* ne se réduit pas aux suites où un élément grammatical a deux valeurs contradictoires. Il est certain que c'est par ce trait distinctif que les suites *muḥāl* nous semblent se distinguer de « *lā yastaqīm*. » Mais cette mise en relief d'un point de sémantique logique en rejoint un autre : On remarquera que (22) a est un pléonasse. Sans être une tautologie, il n'a aucune valeur informative, à l'instar des tautologies lesquelles ont, avec les contradictions, un statut bien défini en logique. Rejoignant un débat qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre depuis Merx, on peut dès lors légitimement se poser la question, après les travaux de Versteegh 1987 et 1993, de la mesure dans laquelle la logique [aristotélicienne] était connue dans le cercle Khalilien.

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AN AFRIKAANS FOOTNOTE TO THE HISTORY OF ARABIC GRAMMAR:
SHEIKH ISMAIL GANIEF'S GRAMMAR OF ARABIC (CA. 1958)¹

Kees Versteegh

Since the middle of the 17th century, there has been a thriving Muslim community in South Africa. The first Muslims to arrive in the Cape Colony were free people from Malaysia and the Indonesian archipelago, the so-called *Mardijkers*; they were joined by deportees and political exiles from the Dutch East Indies. At a later stage, larger numbers of Muslims were brought in as slaves and labourers from India and South Asia. In addition, many members of the Black community in South Africa converted to Islam. Collectively, the Muslims in the Cape were sometimes called 'Cape-Malays,' although the majority of them had no connection with Malaysia at all.² By the 19th century a rich scholarly tradition had been established in the Muslim communities, initially based on texts written in Arabic and/or Malay.³ In the second half of the 19th century, however, many scholars started to write their treatises in Afrikaans, often transcribed in Arabic script.

Afrikaans is a variety of the Dutch language that was brought by the colonists who founded the Cape Colony in 1652. Their language was taken over in creolized form by some of the inhabitants, who spoke Khoisan or Bantu languages. Although Afrikaans was the language variety spoken by the White and part of the Black population, Dutch remained the standard language of the Cape Colony until 1925, when Afrikaans was recognized as an official language. There is a fierce controversy, fuelled by ideological considerations, about the extent to which this standard form of Afrikaans is based on the creolized variety or represents a somewhat modified version of the Dutch language.⁴

¹ I wish to thank my former student Iris Hoedemaekers, who collected a large number of photocopies of Arabic-Afrikaans literature during her stay in South Africa in 2005, among them the text of the grammar analyzed in the present article. In her M.A. thesis, Hoedemaekers (2006) presented an analysis of the writing system and the language of these works, see also Hoedemaekers and Versteegh (2009). I also thank my former colleague Abdulkader Tayob, now professor at University of Cape Town for helping me to procure some of the literature for this article and for his enthusiastic support of this research.

² On the use of this label in the Cape Colony, see Stell (2007: 90, 93); Stell et al. (2007: 291–293).

³ Davids (1980).

⁴ Valkhoff (1972); Van Rensburg (1989).

In the Muslim communities in South Africa, various languages were used, depending on the group. Indian Muslims spoke Urdu or one of the other Indian languages, such as Gujarati, while the 'Malays' used Malay. These languages remained in use for some time within the family. But when the members of these communities started to use Afrikaans outside their homes, it soon became the first language for many Muslims. By the end of the 19th century, Malay was no longer used in the schools and mosques and had been replaced by Afrikaans as the main language of instruction in the Muslim communities.⁵ When the ban on Islamic teaching was lifted in the Cape Colony in 1804, with the granting of religious freedom to all communities, local sheikhs started to organize public instruction for Muslims and wrote treatises for the school curriculum. Arabic, of course, had a special position as the holy language of Islam, which it has retained till today.⁶ But it was a language learnt in the schools, where teaching took place in Afrikaans, the language that the various groups of Muslims had in common.

The Muslim authors who started to write Afrikaans may have been the first to write this language, using Arabic script. The Afrikaans spoken by Muslims had characteristics that set it apart from the Afrikaans of the non-Muslim population of the Cape. While for the other speakers of Afrikaans Dutch remained a target,⁷ for the Muslims Afrikaans became their new language, without any ties with Dutch. The use of Afrikaans as the lingua franca of the Muslim communities may have been instrumental in developing a new Afrikaans standard, especially so after the use of the Arabic script was discontinued and the language was written with the Latin alphabet.

The Arabic alphabet as used in the Muslim Afrikaans literature (often called Arabic-Afrikaans) exhibits various special features, the most conspicuous of which is the presence of additional consonants and the consistent notation of all vowels.⁸ For the Afrikaans consonants *p*, *ng*, *tj*, *v* new letters were added to the alphabet, borrowed either from the Jawi script that was used to write Malay, or, at a later stage, from Ottoman Turkish. The influence of the Ottoman Turkish script, visible for instance in the transcription of Afrikaans *p* with *bā'* with three subscript dots, rather than *fā'* with three superscript dots, may be explained by the fact that one of the first writers of Arabic-Afrikaans literature, Abu Bakr Effendi (ca. 1835–1880), was an Ottoman emissary to the Cape Colony, and that some of the Arabic-Afrikaans books had been printed in Istanbul.⁹ Note

⁵ Stell et al. (2007: 293).

⁶ Tayob (1999: 108–110).

⁷ Stell (2007: 115–116).

⁸ Stell et al. (2007: 295–296); Hoedemaekers (2006).

⁹ Davids (1991).

that in the text presented here, the *fā*' with three superscript dots transcribes Afrikaans *w*, whereas *v* is represented by normal *fā*'.

The notation of the vowels presented a complicated problem for the writers of Arabic-Afrikaans, since Afrikaans has a large inventory of vowels.¹⁰ The solution they chose was to vocalize the texts throughout, using various combinations of vowel signs and glides to represent those vowels that do not exist in Arabic. There was considerable variation in the orthography used, partly because there was no standard form of Afrikaans as yet, and partly because writers tended to devise their own system of transcription. For a list of the vowel signs in the grammatical treatise presented here see Table 1.¹¹

Table 1: Representation of Afrikaans vowels in Arabic script in the *Nayl al-arab*.

Afrikaans vowel	Arabic script	example	transcription	Gloss
/a/	َ -	مَنْ	<i>man</i>	'man'
/a:/	َا -	نَامَ	<i>naam</i>	'name'
/ɛ/	ِـي -	لَيْسَ	<i>les</i>	'lesson'
/e/	ِيـي -	تَوَي	<i>twee</i>	'two'
/ɪ/	ِـ -	فِرْ	<i>fir</i>	'for'
/i/	ِـ -	دِ	<i>di</i>	'the'
	ِيـي -	رَفِيرْ	<i>rafier</i>	'river'
/ɔ/	ُـو -	أُونَسْ	<i>ons</i>	'us'
/o/	ُوـو -	فُورْتْ	<i>woort</i>	'word'
/ə/	َـ -	تَافِلْ	<i>tafel</i>	'table'
/y/	ِيـي -	أَيْرْ	<i>ure</i>	'hours'
/u/	ُـو -	مُتْ	<i>moet</i>	'must'
	ُوـو -	هُوْ	<i>hoe</i>	'how'
/ø/	ِيـي -	دِيرْ	<i>deur</i>	'door'
/aj/, /ej/ (= ei, y)	ِيـي -	سَكْرِيْفْ	<i>skryf</i>	'write'
/aw/	ُوـو -	نُوْ	<i>nou</i>	'now'
/œj/	ِيـي -	بَيْتْكَ	<i>buik</i>	'belly'

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ From Hoedemaekers and Versteegh (2009: 291).

When Cape Afrikaans was written using the Roman alphabet, the system of transcription chosen to represent the Arabic names and loanwords was based entirely on pronunciation and used the rules of Dutch spelling. Thus, for instance Arabic /u/ was mostly represented by *oe*, /ḥ/ by *g*, as in the name *Mogamat* (*Muḥammad*), and /gh/ by *qh*, as in *loeqha* (*luḡha*).

Most of the literature in Arabic-Afrikaans concerned religious topics. A list of the extant literature, containing more than seventy-four treatises, is given by Kähler,¹² with additions by Davids.¹³ This list shows that from the earliest examples (van Selms 1953) till the last products of this Arabic-Afrikaans literature in the first half of the 20th century, the vast majority of the works was devoted to religious matters. There are exceptions, but these are few and far between. One example is an election pamphlet from 1872, which shows that Arabic-Afrikaans was indeed used as a practical language for everyday life and was not restricted to the school curriculum.¹⁴ It is very well possible, and indeed probable, that there were more examples of this non-religious use of the language, but these have disappeared or are still awaiting discovery in one of the many personal archives in the Cape.

Along with the core religious sciences, published writings in Arabic-Afrikaans also dealt with some of the ancillary Islamic sciences, such as grammar or recitation (*tajwīd*). One author who was prolific in publishing such works composed the grammatical treatise presented in this paper. The author's name on the title page is Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf al-Azharī; he was commonly known as Sheikh Ismail Ganief Edwards and lived from 1908 till 1958.¹⁵ His English surname probably came from one of his ancestors, who may have taken the name of his employer after the abolition of slavery in the Cape Colony; Sheikh Ganief did not use it when writing in Arabic.

After his initial training in a Cape Town *madrassa* and later in a public school, he studied in Mecca from 1923 till 1924, but left the city for Egypt when Wahhabi rule was established.¹⁶ From 1924 till 1931, he studied at the Azhar University in Cairo, where he obtained his M.A. in Islamic studies. Upon returning to Cape Town, he held various teaching positions and became imam at the Nur al-Islam Masjid in Bo-Kaap in Cape Town.¹⁷

¹² Kähler (1971).

¹³ Davids (1990, 1993); see also Haron (1996; 1997).

¹⁴ Hoedemaekers (2006: 75–77).

¹⁵ Ebrahim (2004).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 84–86.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 102–119.

Sheikh Ismail Ganief left behind more than thirty works written in Arabic-Afrikaans, some of them translations, but also original compositions.¹⁸ He published treatises on *fiqh* and *kalām*, collections of *ḥadīth*, collections of *khuṭab*, burial rituals, the celebration of the Prophet's *mawlid*, recitation, marriage and divorce law, pilgrimage, *tafsīr*, and ethics. His first and largest work, *al-Muqaddima al-Ḥaḍramiyya*, a compendium of Shāfi'i *fiqh*, was published in Cairo in 1928. His last published work is the grammatical treatise discussed in the present article, one of a series of textbooks for the teaching of Arabic, which also include a small dictionary and a conversation manual for pilgrims traveling to Egypt and Saudi-Arabia. The grammar of Arabic is intended for speakers of Afrikaans and constitutes one of the last examples of Arabic-Afrikaans literature. The text is handwritten and was probably multiplied by cyclostyle. The title page mentions in a print letter "[Kaaapstad] [ca. 1948]," i.e. Cape Town, possibly an addition by the archive or library. The treatise consists of two parts, the first concerned with *mabādi' al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, the second with *al-qawā'id al-naḥwiyya*.

The first part of the grammar is entitled *Nayl al-arab fi lughat al-'Arab*, transcribed in Latin letters on the title page as *Nailoel 'arabie fee loeqhatiel 'arabie*, and translated in Afrikaans as *Handboek van Arabies en Arabiese grammatica* and in English as *Handbook of Arabic and Arabic grammar*. It consists of a few short chapters in which first the letters and then the different terms of Arabic grammar are explained briefly. Pp. 11–30 contain an alphabetical list of Arabic verbs with their Afrikaans equivalent, followed by a thematic vocabulary with example sentences.

The second part is entitled *al-Qawā'id al-naḥwiyya li-tadrīs al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, transcribed as *Al Kawaa'iedoe 'n-nahweeyatoe lie tadriesie 'l-loegatiel-'arabeeyatie*, and translated in Afrikaans as *Die grammatiese beginsels vir die onderrig van die Arabiese taal* and in English as *The grammatical principles for the teaching of the Arabic language*. This part is more directly concerned with grammatical rules and deals with the entire grammar of Arabic. The grammatical definitions and rules are explained in Arabic, which is translated sentence by sentence, sometimes word by word, into Afrikaans.

At times, the translation is very literal, even to the point where the particle *fa-*, whenever it occurs in the Arabic text is represented by a redundant *nou* 'now, then' in the Afrikaans text; likewise, *inna* is always

¹⁸ Ibid., 132–151.

translated with *waarlek* 'indeed'. The Arabic verb-first word order is simply taken over in Afrikaans, even though it is incorrect. In some cases, it is obvious that the author simply replaces the Arabic words with Afrikaans words, especially in relative sentences, where the Arabic *'ā'id* (*bihi*) is repeated in Afrikaans (*met hom*):

fa-l-mubtada' ism ubtudi'a bihi l-jumla
nou di mubtada' is een isem wat di jumla met hom bagin wort
 "The *mubtada'* is an *ism* with which the *jumla* is started [lit. which the *jumla* is started with him" (II, 24.2–3)

The question to consider here is whether the Arabic text was taken over from an Arabic source by Sheikh Ismail Ganief, or written by himself and then translated into Afrikaans. The author was known for his creativity in composing texts and for opposing authors who simply copied the Arabic texts. In this respect, he followed the standards set forth by his teachers at the Azhar University, like Mahmud Shaltut and Rashid Rida, who followed the reformist ideas of Muḥammad 'Abduh and were very much in favour of freeing themselves from the shackles of *taqlīd*.¹⁹ His approach differed from that of most of the other Muslim authors in the Cape community. That Sheikh Ganief regarded himself as the original author of his work seems to be implied by the Arabic title page of the *Nayl*, where he calls the grammar his *ta'liḥ* (establishing his authorship with the additional remark *ḥuqūq i'ādat ṭab' hādihā l-kitāb mahfūza li-l-mu'allif*).

Another reason for assuming that he regarded himself as the author is that he explicitly mentions his didactic aims. Thus, for instance, he explains in the first part (I, 3.13–17) that he will deal with the pronouns and the nouns here, rather than in the grammatical part later on, because he wishes the beginners to become acquainted with grammar gradually, starting with what is essential, and progressing gradually to more complicated issues.

The reason why I speak about *ḍamīr* precisely here in the first part of the book, and not about the other species of *ism*, is that the knowledge of how to attach the *ḍamā'ir* to the *ism* that is manifest and to the *fi'l* is necessary for the beginner; without this, he is unable to translate any sentence correctly. (*di rede wat ek spesiaal net praat hier in di eeste part fan di kitaab op di ḍamīr en nie op di andre soorte fan di isem nie dier di gawetenskap hoe om aan te las di ḍamā'ir an di isem wat openbaar is en an di fi'l is nootsaaklek fir di begener dier sonder det is hei onbekwaam om een sin reg te fertaal*)

¹⁹ Ibid., 90–98.

This seems to suggest that he determined the order of the materials rather than slavishly adhering to the source he was translating. Nonetheless, it turns out that he did indeed translate an existing treatise. Not surprisingly, he did not follow any of the grammatical models that were used at this time for the description of Dutch and other European languages. The teaching of Arabic in the Muslim community in South Africa was closely related to that in the Arab world and, given the orientation of the South African Muslims and the initial use of Malay in the local *madrasas*, also to that in the Malay world. The traditional method of teaching Arabic in the Malay-speaking world consisted in the translation of Arabic grammatical treatises. The teacher translated an entire Arabic text into Malay sentence by sentence, while the student wrote this translation between the lines of the Arabic text. No understanding of grammatical rules was involved here,²⁰ just the memorization of the text.

In the 19th century, a new method of teaching was introduced, the so-called 'Meccan' method.²¹ In this system, the students first received lessons in spelling, and then progressed to the elementary terms and the rules of inflection. Next, they learned the rules of grammar, exemplified by sentences that had to be parsed. This method was fairly progressive in that the students actually learned about Arabic grammar rather than simply learning a text by heart, and understanding it through a literal translation. There is some information on the kind of Arabic treatises that were used in Indonesia at the time²² and that are still in common use in Indonesia in the curriculum of the *pesantren* schools.²³ The most popular texts were the *Taṣrif 'Izzī* by 'Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī (d. 660/1262); the *'Awāmil al-mi'a* by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078); the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd (d. before the beginning of the 8th/14th century);²⁴ and of course the *Ājurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323) and the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274), as well as the numerous commentaries on these last two works.

The 'Meccan' method was in line with a larger trend in the Malaysian world, to move away from the traditional manuscript tradition and the passive learning of Arabic towards the active reading of newly printed Arabic books, whose availability may be seen as a sign of modernity.²⁵

²⁰ Kaptein (2000: 333).

²¹ Drewes (1971).

²² Ibid.

²³ van Bruinessen (1990).

²⁴ Cf. Åkesson (2001: 7–8).

²⁵ Laffan (2008).

Some Malay scholars even wrote manuals of Malay grammar, the most famous one being the *Bustān al-kātibīn* and the *Kitab pengetahuan bahasa* by Raja Ali Haji (ca. 1809–ca. 1872). He wished to teach his students to write Malay correctly and for this purpose wrote elementary textbooks in Arabic and Malay, using the model of Arabic grammar in both.²⁶

In the Arab world, an even more revolutionary change in teaching grammar took place at the end of the 19th century, when modern textbooks were introduced to replace the traditional treatises, at least in primary and secondary schools. During his studies in Mecca and at the Azhar University, Sheikh Ganief must have become acquainted with this new graded approach to teaching grammar and with the new didactic materials that had been developed. Thanks to a piece of firsthand evidence, we can even trace the exact source for his own grammar. In 1921, the Dutch consul in Jeddah, Emile Gobée, wrote a report about the new school curriculum that was introduced in the Hijaz.²⁷ He describes the curriculum and the exams that were taken in Jeddah in 1918–1920, and notes that the traditional texts for the study of grammar, the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Alfiyya*, had been replaced by a more recent text, the *Qawā'id al-lughā al-'arabiyya* by Ḥafnī Bak Nāṣif and others.²⁸

According to the introduction to the *Qawā'id*, this book had been printed originally in Cairo as two textbooks for secondary schools, one about grammar by Ḥafnī Bak Nāṣif, Muḥammad Bak Diyāb, Muṣṭafā Ṭumūm, Maḥmūd Afandī Ghamr, and the second about rhetoric, by the same authors (except for the fourth author who had been replaced by Sulṭān Bak Muḥammad). The grammar book was approved by the inspectorate for the secondary schools in 1309 A.H., with the support of the Sheikh al-Azhar. The second part was approved by the inspectorate in 1892. When a fourth year was added to the secondary school curriculum in 1905, the two parts were slightly revised and printed together that same year in Cairo under the title *Kitāb Qawā'id al-lughā al-'arabiyya li-talāmīdh al-madāris al-thānawīyya*.

That this was the source used by Sheikh Ganief in his grammatical textbook is immediately obvious from the definitions he gives at the beginning of the second part (II, 1–2). 'Grammar' is defined as *al-naḥw qawā'id yu'raf bihā aḥwāl awākhīr al-kalīmāt al-lughā* [sic!] *al-'arabiyya*. This definition is almost identical to the one with which the *Qawā'id*

²⁶ See Kaptein (2000).

²⁷ van Bruinisse (1990).

²⁸ Gobée (1921).

starts (1.4–5): *al-naḥw qawā'id yu'raf bihā ṣiyagh al-kalimāt al-'arabiyya wa-aḥwālīhā ḥīna ifrādihā wa-ḥīna tarkībīhā*. Its first part resembles the one in al-Shirbīnī's commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya*,²⁹ *'ilm bi-fuṣūl yu'raf bihā aḥwāl awākhir al-kalim*, but it uses a different term for the basic rules, *qawā'id*.

The definition of *kalām* in the *Nayl* (II, 7) *al-jumla al-murakkaba llatī tufid al-fā'ida l-maqṣūda* is clearly based on the phrasing in the *Qawā'id* (1.7) *al-murakkab al-mufīd fā'ida yaḥsun al-sukūt 'alayhā yusammā kalām wa-jumla*. The definition of *kalima* in the *Nayl* (II, 1.10) *al-kalima lafẓ mufrad dāll 'alā ma'nān* is virtually identical to the one in the *Qawā'id* (1.6) *al-kalima hiya l-laḥẓ al-mufrad al-dāll 'alā ma'nān*.

In the *Ājurrūmiyya* tradition, the emphasis in defining the parts of speech, noun, verb, and particle is on their morphological characteristics, rather than their meaning. Although the commentator al-Shirbīnī states that the noun and the verb indicate an intrinsic meaning (*tadull 'alā ma'nān bi-naḥsīhā*), unlike the particle, and that the verb is connected with one of the three tenses, while the noun is not,³⁰ he puts most of his efforts into listing the morphological markers of the three parts of speech, for instance, that the noun may be combined with an article and the verb with the particle *sa*.³¹ This tradition differs from the one represented by Sheikh Ganief's definitions (*Nayl* II, 1–2), which focus on the meaning of the parts of speech and were copied almost verbatim from the *Qawā'id*. For the verb, the definition in the *Nayl* is *al-fi'l kalima dālla 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-l-zaman juz'un minhu* (cf. *Qawā'id* 1.9 *al-fi'l mā yadull 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-l-zaman juz' minhu*); for the noun it is *al-ism kalima dālla 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-laysa l-zaman juz'an minhu* (cf. *Qawā'id* 1.11 *al-ism mā yadull 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-laysa al-zaman juz'an minhu*); and for the particle it is *al-ḥarf kalima lā yaẓhar ma'nāhā illā ma'a ghayrihā* (cf. *Qawā'id* 1.13 *al-ḥarf mā yadull 'alā ma'nān ghayr mustaqill bi-l-fahm*). Only the definition of the particle, therefore, exhibits any significant difference between the *Nayl* and the *Qawā'id*.

The examples used to illustrate the grammatical rules and those used for parsing exercises may have been partly invented by the author, because they are unfamiliar from the Arabic sources. Thus, for instance, he uses a sentence like *ḥāṣara jaysh al-islām madīnat al-Iskandariyya fi khilāfat*

²⁹ Carter (1981: 6.8–9).

³⁰ Carter (1981: 12).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 14–34.

al-Fārūq sanatan wa-shahrayni ‘the army of Islam laid siege to the city of Alexandria for one year and two months during the caliphate of ‘Umar’ (II, 44.20) to illustrate the parsing process. The procedure in itself is not unknown in the Arabic tradition, but is usually applied to verses from the Qur’ān. On the other hand, there are definitely cases where he has borrowed his examples from the *Qawā’id*. In the chapter on *tawkīd*, for instance, the examples from the *Qawā’id* (28–29), *qadima qadima l-ḥājj*; *al-ḥaqq wāḍiḥ wāḍiḥ*; *na’am na’am*; *ṭala’a l-nahār ṭala’a l-nahār*; *aktub anā*; *kunta anta l-raḳība ‘alayhim*, have been copied faithfully in the *Nayl* (II, 38; instead of *nahār* he uses *fajr*). As for the thematic vocabulary in the first part and the parsing exercises in the second part, these seem to consist of exercises he invented for the practical teaching of Arabic. The sentences to be parsed, such as *tamurr al-furaṣu marra l-saḥā’ibi l-sāfirati* ‘the occasions pass like the passing of the traveling clouds’, *al-ikhwānu zīnatun fi l-rakhā’i* ‘brothers are an ornament in prosperity’, *bi’tu kulla amlākī illā ‘ishrīna kitāban* ‘I sold all my possessions except for twenty books’ (*Nayl* II, 47–48) look like proverbs or made-up examples, not necessarily drawn from any specific source.

The dependence on the *Qawā’id* is also clearly visible in the order in which the various parts of grammar are treated (Table 2). The order of topics matches almost exactly that in the textbook by Ḥafnī Bak Nāṣif and his co-authors, in particular the fact that the grammar starts with the treatment of the verb, whereas the traditional order in grammatical treatises follows the order of the parts of speech, first the nouns, then the verbs, and finally the particles. The presentation of morphology is mixed with that of syntax, so that for instance all constructions involving nouns are dealt with under the heading of the noun. The general category of *tawābi‘* in the *Nayl* includes adjectives, coordination, apposition and emphasis, just like the arrangement in the *Qawā’id*.

Table 2: Contents of the second part of the grammar.

Title of the chapter	Page
<i>aqsām al-fi’l</i>	II, 2
<i>al-mudhakkār wa-l-mu’annath</i>	II, 4
<i>al-mufrad wa-l-muthannā wa-l-jam‘</i>	II, 5
<i>al-kalām</i>	II, 7
<i>al-mabnī wa-l-mu’rab</i>	II, 8
<i>aṣnāf al-mabniyyāt</i>	II, 10
<i>anwā‘ al-i’rāb</i>	II, 14
<i>i’rāb al-muthannā</i>	II, 15

Table 2 (cont.)

Title of the chapter	Page
<i>al-fi'l al-mu'tall al-ākhīr</i>	II, 16
<i>i'rāb al-af'āl al-khamsa</i>	II, 17
<i>mawāḍi' al-i'rāb</i>	II, 18
<i>naṣb al-fi'l</i>	II, 19
<i>jazm al-fi'l</i>	II, 19
<i>raf' al-fi'l</i>	II, 21
<i>al-kalām 'alā l-ism</i>	II, 21
<i>al-fā'il</i>	II, 21
<i>nā'ib al-fā'il</i>	II, 22
<i>al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar</i>	II, 22
<i>ism kāna</i>	II, 24
<i>khabar inna</i>	II, 25
<i>al-manṣūbāt min al-asmā'</i>	II, 25
<i>al-maf'ūl bihi</i>	II, 26
<i>al-maf'ūl al-muṭlaq</i>	II, 26
<i>al-maf'ūl li-ajlihi</i>	II, 27
<i>al-maf'ūl fīhi</i>	II, 27
<i>al-maf'ūl ma'ahu</i>	II, 28
<i>al-mustathnā bi-illā</i>	II, 29
<i>al-hāl</i>	II, 29
<i>al-tamyīz</i>	II, 30
<i>al-munādā</i>	II, 31
<i>khabar inna</i>	II, 31
<i>ism inna</i>	II, 32
<i>jarr al-ism</i>	II, 32
<i>al-muḍāf ilayhi</i>	II, 33
<i>al-muḍāf li-yā' al-mutakallim</i>	II, 34
<i>al-tawābi'</i>	II, 35
<i>al-na't</i>	II, 36
<i>al-'atf</i>	II, 37
<i>al-tawkīd</i>	II, 37
<i>al-badal</i>	II, 39
<i>al-i'rāb al-maḥallī</i>	II, 40
<i>kayfiyyat al-i'rāb</i>	II, 43
<i>khātima fī i'rāb 'iddat 'ibārāt</i>	II, 44

The book is not simply a copy of the *Qawā'id*, however. The author reproduces only the essential rules and leaves out the more complicated constructions. It is, of course, possible, that there circulated simpler versions of the *Qawā'id* for the earlier years of secondary schools, which could have served as his source, but since these are not available, it is impossible to check whether the graded method the authors of the *Qawā'id* advocate extended to elementary textbooks for the lower grades.

Even though the *Nayl* was therefore not an original work by Sheikh Ganief, he deserves praise for the initiative he took in adapting the Arabic sources for a non-Arabic audience. His didactic qualities are clear and he transformed this Arabic textbook into a suitable textbook for his South-African students. The use of Afrikaans, although it had become customary in Muslim scholarship in South Africa, still took a lot of effort. For an Afrikaans description of Arabic, a host of technical terms had to be coined, and since there are no known examples of any predecessors one has to assume that most of these technical terms were his own doing. What strikes one immediately, apart from the exotic character of the Arabic script to represent Afrikaans, is the use of Arabic loanwords, most of them integrated syntactically, sometimes even morphologically in Afrikaans. The use of these loanwords is not limited to grammatical terminology, since they are found everywhere in Cape Afrikaans writings, especially for religious notions.³² To quote a few examples: *af'āl* is translated with *fi'ls* 'verbs,' i.e., the singular of the Arabic term is used with an Afrikaans plural ending -s (I, 10.7). Likewise, one finds *mithāls* 'examples' (II, 18.5) and *isems* 'nouns' (II, 41.10), and, with another Afrikaans plural ending, *kitāpe* 'books' (II, 48). On the other hand, *di ḥurūf* 'the letters' (I, 1.12) is used with an Arabic broken plural. In some cases, the Arabic nouns are used with verbal prefixes, as in *wat ga-i'rāb wort* 'that which is declined' (II, 14.11) with the prefix of the past participle, or they are used as an infinitive, e.g. *hoe om te i'rāb* 'how to decline' (II, 43.1). Compounds with Arabic loanwords are also found, e.g. *kitaapverkoper* 'bookseller' (I, 39, left column 7), or *jā'izskap* 'permissibility' (II, 38.2).

The integration of loanwords is not restricted to those borrowed from Arabic, but also applies to those adopted from English. The interference from English, not only visible in the use of English loanwords, but also in the use of prepositional idioms and perhaps even in the word order, "points to all-purpose code-switching from Afrikaans to English among the Cape Malay community at the time of the author's writing."³³ In the vocabulary in part I we find, for instance, for *ḥikma* the word *wisdom* (I, 41, right column 4); for *fi l-safar* the translation *in di trefel* lit. 'in the travel' is given (I, 41, left column 12); and the usual translation of *ma'nā* is *meen-ing* (I, 9.3). Other examples of English loanwords include: *difrent patrone* 'different patterns' (I, 1.10); *in di eeste part* 'in the first part' (I, 3.14), *eidar*

³² See Kähler (1971: 199–202).

³³ Stell et al. (2007: 299–300).

'either' as translation for *immā* (II, 13.11); *mesteik* 'mistake' (II, 18.19), *oder* 'order' (II, 19.19), and *ekspelenasi* 'explanation' (II, 43.11).

In other varieties of Cape Afrikaans, Malay loanwords often occur,³⁴ but at the late stage when Sheikh Ganief wrote his grammar book for use in the schools, the knowledge of Malay among the Muslim community had dwindled, and the language of the *madrassa* had already shifted to Afrikaans. Accordingly, Malay loanwords were used much less in writing.³⁵ Some Malay loanwords, however, had become so current in the lexicon, that they were preserved even when the speakers no longer used Malay. Examples are *bayang* 'many' (II, 13.7), *baca* 'to read' (II, 43.12), and *pisangs* for 'bananas', with an Afrikaans plural ending (I, 35, right column 15).

The use of English, Malay, and Arabic loanwords in the language of Sheikh Ganief's writings is consistent with the variety of Cape Afrikaans that was current at the time of the author, and that is still spoken by Muslims today.³⁶ In some cases, it is not entirely clear, whether he writes his own idiolect, for instance, when he omits the indefinite article, as in *is foorbeeld* instead of *is een foorbeeld* (I, 7.12). But the majority of the linguistic features of his language are attested from other writings and must therefore be part of the general structure of Cape Afrikaans. In the field of phonology, for instance, we find *lat* for *dat* 'that [conjunction]' (e.g., II, 15.6); the prefix *ga-* in the past participle rather than *ge-*,³⁷ e.g. *gagee* 'given' (II, 48.4; Standard Afrikaans *gegê*, Standard Dutch *gegeven*); *dj* for *j*,³⁸ e.g. *djaar* for *jaar* 'year' (I, 38 left column 15), *djou* 'you' instead of *jou* (II, 13.7); further the elision of *r* in words like *eeste* (Afrikaans *eerste*) 'first'.³⁹

Morphologically, the language of Sheikh Ganief's writings is characterized by a creative use of neologisms with the help of Dutch/Afrikaans derivational suffixes. Stell gives some examples of such neologisms, such as *maakloon* 'creation; creator' (from Afrikaans *maak* 'to make').⁴⁰ In the case of grammatical terminology, we find, for instance *pleklek* for (*i'rāb*) *mahallī*, which can hardly be regarded as an existing Afrikaans/Dutch

³⁴ Kähler (1971: 47–64).

³⁵ Cf. Stell et al. (2007: 299).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., 296.

³⁸ Ibid., 297.

³⁹ Ibid., 297.

⁴⁰ Stell (2007: 101–102).

word (< *plek* 'place'; II, 40.19) and *wereksloon* 'verbal action' (< *wer(e)k* 'work'; II, 27.14).

Syntactic features in Sheikh Ganief's work that are characteristic of Cape Afrikaans include the use of the preposition *fir* 'for' to introduce an animate object,⁴¹ which may be connected to Malay grammar,⁴² and the frequent use of the word order SVX in subordinate clauses, possibly as a result of interference from English.⁴³ With respect to word order, it may also be noted that the word order VSX occurs relatively frequently in his work; this may be the result of a too literal translation from Arabic.

For the grammatical technical terminology, Sheikh Ganief did not have an Afrikaans model on which he could fall back. He introduced some terms in their Arabic form, as we have seen above (*hurūf* 'letters,' *fi'l* 'verb,' *i'rāb* 'declension,' etc.), but not all grammatical technical terms are represented by loanwords. Some of them are translated into Afrikaans. Even those terms which are always used in their Arabic form are translated at their first occurrence, possibly as a form of explanation. Thus, for instance, the author gives the following translations for the three parts of speech (*Nayl* I, 2) *naam*, *werekwoort*, *artikel*. It may be noted here that the terms are not quite the same as in Dutch grammatical terminology (instead of *naam* one would expect *naamwoort*, and instead of *artikel* one would expect *partikel*). After this first explanatory translation, the Arabic terms are used consistently, sometimes with a Dutch plural ending, like *fi'ls* 'verbs,' and sometimes with an Arabic plural, e.g. *di hurūf* 'the letters' (I, 1.12). Likewise, the term *fā'il* is first translated as *doener* 'doer' (II, 21.14), after which the Arabic term is used. *Mubtada'* is translated the first time as *di wat bagin wort meen* lit. 'that with which it is begun' (II, 23.22), and *khabar* as *verteleng* lit. 'narration' (ib.). In some cases, the Arabic term is followed by *det meen* 'this means' with an Afrikaans paraphrase.

For some terms, Afrikaans translations are apparently preferred because they always occur in this form. In Table 3, some examples of translated terms are given.

⁴¹ Ibid., 105–106; Stell et al. (2007: 302).

⁴² For a discussion of the origin of this construction see Raidt (1976).

⁴³ Stell et al. (2007: 307–310).

Table 3: Examples of translated technical terms in the *Nayl*.

Arabic term	Afrikaans translation	English gloss	page
<i>mabniyya</i> ‘ <i>alā l-sukūn</i>	<i>gabou op di sukūn</i> (cf. <i>di gaboude</i> ‘the built,’ i.e. <i>al-mabniyy</i> II, 14.13)	‘built on the <i>sukūn</i> ’	II, 48.16
<i>adawāt al-sharṭ</i>	<i>artikels van di voorwaarde</i>	‘articles of the condition’	II, 21.5
<i>li-ta‘adhdhur taḥrikiḥā</i>	<i>om die onmoglekgeit om te roer</i>	‘because of the impossibility of moving it’	II, 17.16
<i>ism zāhīr</i>	<i>een deideleke isem</i>	‘a clear <i>ism</i> ’	II, 22.14
<i>fi‘l mabniyy li-l-majhūl</i>	<i>een fi‘l wat gabou is fir di onbekende fā‘il</i>	‘a <i>fi‘l</i> that is built for the unknown <i>fā‘il</i> ’	II, 23.7
<i>‘āmil</i>	<i>werker</i>	‘worker’	II, 8.8
<i>alfāz mubhama</i>	<i>ondaidlike woorde</i>	‘unclear words’	II, 30.11
<i>ḥarf al-nidā’</i>	<i>ḥarf fan di roep</i>	‘ <i>ḥarf</i> of the call’	II, 31.13
<i>al-mutakallim</i>	<i>di prater</i>	‘the speaker’	II, 34.20
<i>tābi‘</i>	<i>folger</i>	‘follower’	II, 36.14
<i>al-i‘rāb al-maḥallī</i>	<i>di plekleke i‘rāb</i>	‘the local <i>i‘rāb</i> ’	II, 40.19
<i>na‘t</i>	<i>manier</i>	‘manner’	II, 36.12

The translation sometimes falls short of conveying the exact meaning of the Arabic term. One example of this is (II, 48.4):

Mubtada’ marfū‘ bi-l-ibtidā’
Mubtada’ hei is gagee raf‘ met di baginsel
 ‘a *mubtada’* that has been given *raf‘* ‘with the beginning’

One wonders how any beginning student could have understood the meaning of this expression, which presupposes at least some knowledge of the principle of *‘amal*. The theory of *‘amal* is practically absent from the grammatical sketch, although *i‘rāb* is defined as “changes at the end of the word [caused] by the change in the constructions of the speech” (*wa-l-mu‘rāb alladhī yataghayyar bi-taghayyur tarākīb al-kalām* (*Nayl* II, 8.13–14), and the *mabniyy* is defined explicitly as a word that is not changed “by the governors that affect it” (*bi-l-‘awāmil al-dākhila ‘alayhi*, *Nayl* II, 8.7). The notion of *‘āmil* is mentioned once, translated as the *werker* ‘worker’ (*Nayl* II, 8.8), but no further explanation of this term is given.

There is only one instance of the use of Malay technical terms. The Arabic names for the vowels, *ḍamma*, *fatha*, *kasra* and *sukūn*, are translated with *di dapan*, *di dietis*, *di bawaa* and *di dua*, respectively (*Nayl* II, 14.17–18).

The first three terms represent the traditional Malay names for the vowel signs in the Jawi script that is based on Arabic: (*baris*) *di depan* or *hadapan* '(written) in front,' i.e. *ḍamma*; (*baris*) *di atas* '(written) above,' i.e. *fatha*; and (*baris*) *di bawah* '(written) under,' i.e. *kasra*.⁴⁴ The Malay names are themselves calques of the Persian names for the vowel signs: *pīsh* 'front,' *zebar* 'upper side,' *zīr* 'under side.' The fourth term in the *Nayl*, *di dua*, must be a mistake, since in Jawi script (*baris*) *dua* '(written) twice' is used for the *tanwīn*, whereas the *sukūn* is usually called *mati* 'eye.' In the rest of the grammatical treatise, only the Arabic terms for the vowel names are used, without any translation.

The Arabic grammar was not only Ismail Ganief Edwards' last scholarly work, but it also marked the end of the Arabic-Afrikaans tradition. The literature in Cape Afrikaans written with Arabic characters died out in the early 1960s, although even today there may still be a few people who sometimes use it for private correspondence.⁴⁵ At present, Arabic is learnt in South Africa both within Qur'ānic schools and within an academic setting, for instance at the University of Cape Town; in addition, it is also studied by people in private or in groups.⁴⁶ Yet, teaching has progressed from the religious and academic context and has come to include communicative use of the language. The model used in this curriculum is the Western model for teaching grammar, and the model of the Arabic grammarians is no longer used, except possibly in some of the Qur'ānic schools.⁴⁷ In this sense, Sheikh Ismail Ganief's work marks the end of an era in which the teaching of Arabic was inextricably connected with the use of the Arabic grammatical model.

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⁴⁴ See Herbert and Milner (1989: 103).

⁴⁵ Tayob (p.c.).

⁴⁶ See Jeppie (2006).

⁴⁷ Cf. Mohamed (1998).

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PROFILES OF GRAMMARIANS

PIONEERS OF ARABIC LINGUISTIC STUDIES

Monique Bernards

Both the origins as well as the originality of the Arabic linguistic tradition continue to attract the attention of students of Arabic linguistics. Some scholars assert the existence of foreign influence, while others ardently argue against it. Most of these studies take grammatical evidence from extant sources as the only valid basis for studying the roots of Arabic linguistics, though some have explored social circumstances as well.¹ In this article, the issue of the origin and originality of Arabic linguistics is discussed from the perspective of its practitioners rather than the contents of their works. Reports from the literary genre of *awā'il*—describing inventors and inventions—that have been traditionally ascribed to Arabic linguists from the first four centuries of Islam, will be scrutinized to provide insight into how the linguistic tradition itself marked the highlights of its development.

1. THE GENRE OF *AWĀ'IL* LITERATURE

The term *awā'il* derives from the expression *awwalu man . . .*, “the first person who . . .,” or *awwalu ma . . .*, “the first time something . . .” It refers to narratives about inventors and inventions, about someone doing something for the first time or something having been done for the first time. The genre of *awā'il* probably found its origin in the development of historical awareness or in a universal curiosity about humankind's background. It is not limited to the Arabic-Islamic tradition; the Chinese have a large literature on the origin of *Chinoiserie* and, in the Western world, there are various works dating from the late Middle Ages that bear the title *De originibus rerum*. In the Arabic-Islamic tradition the genre dates from the very beginning and individual *awā'il* are found in the earliest *ḥadīths*. The first *awā'il* compilations started to appear in the early years of the third/ninth century, initially in the form of separate chapters in *ḥadīth* collections

¹ Versteegh (1993: 20–36) summarizes the divergent theses on the subject of possible foreign influences on the development of Arabic grammar.

(Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*), then as a genre of its own (*Kitāb al-Awā'il* by Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Madā'inī).²

Awā'il are globally divided according to their subject matter into three classes: information (a) on pre-Islamic innovations, (b) on the Prophet and his Companions, and (c) on historical events of the Islamic era from the Prophet's time onwards. Information on innovations from pre-Islamic times is mostly legendary, as indicated by the many references to biblical figures. *Awā'il* of the second kind revolve around sayings of and acts by the Prophet and his Companions, and serve as basis for the introduction and justification of certain manners and customs in Islam, for instance, dyeing one's beard, using tooth-picks, or cutting one's nails. *Awā'il* of the third kind tell about historical events, referring back to authoritative individuals who did something for the first time which, in retrospect, had a long lasting effect—introducing a new tool, originating a science, going where no one ever dared to go before and so forth. These so-called historical *awā'il* probably have their roots in the origin and development of *isnāds*, a device for authorizing and legalizing practices by referring back to someone authoritative—and in the case of *awā'il* to the inventor or initiator—through uninterrupted chains of transmission.

It is this last kind of narrative, the historical *awā'il*, that are of concern here. Although historical *awā'il* are part of a tradition whose authenticity has to be considered with great care, they have one important advantage that makes them very useful: *awā'il* express pride about the glory of Islam and whoever wants to stress the inventiveness, originality and creativity of a person, people, nation—not avoiding exaggeration—will probably, as commonsense dictates, tend to date an invention earlier than it actually happened, but not later. In other words, *awā'il*, if invented, would generally not postdate an event but rather predate it. So when an *awā'il* informs us, for instance, that al-Khalil's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was introduced for the first time in al-Andalus by someone who died in the year 302/914–5, it is very unlikely that it took place later than the end of the third/ninth or the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. *Awā'il* thus provide us with a maximum limit in dating the events they describe.³

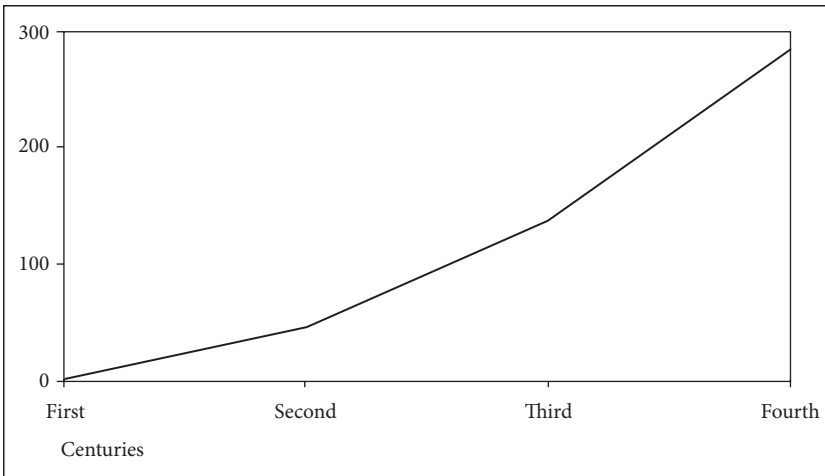
² For the genre of *awā'il* in general, see Rosenthal (1986); for its relevance to historical research see Juynboll (1983: 10–12, 104–105). *Awā'il* as a literary genre still exists in our day and age; cf. Fu'ād Sayyid's *Muʿjam al-Awā'il*, of which chapter 18, for instance, includes the first person to translate the English works of Jubrān Khalil Jubrān into Arabic, see Sayyid (1992: 352) and the first Egyptian to obtain the Thèse Doctorat from the Sorbonne, see *ibid.*, 375.

³ This argumentation follows Juynboll (1983: 104–105). For a more exact dating of events, account has to be taken of a scholar's active years before his demise, amongst other factors. This point will be taken up later under the heading "Chronology."

In what follows, historical *awā'il* that have been traditionally attributed to the group of linguists studied here will be scrutinized to provide insight into how the linguistic tradition itself marked the highlights of its own development. It should be mentioned at this point that only *awā'il* that were found in biographical dictionaries have been taken into account.⁴

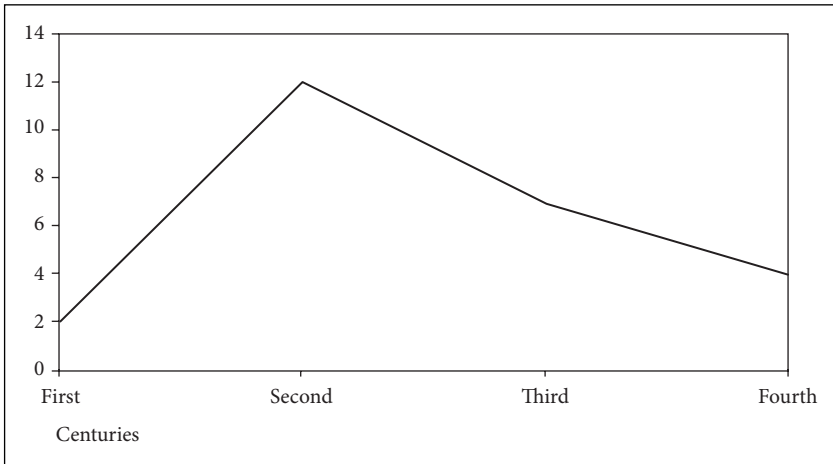
2. DISTRIBUTION OF LINGUISTS' *AWĀ'IL* OVER TIME

Twenty-nine linguists (4% of the total of 704 known grammarians who lived up to the year 400 AH) have been accredited by the sources with one or more *awā'il* of various kinds. Information regarding these linguists and their *awā'il* have been plotted in the two following graphs that show the distribution over time in terms of centuries of (1) all linguists who have an explicit



Graph 1: Distribution over time (century) of linguists in general with an explicit year of death before or in 400/1000.

⁴ Data come from my Ulama Project database containing 704 linguists (*naḥwīyyūn* and *lughawīyyūn*) of the first four Islamic centuries, that is, up to the year 1000 of our era. Focusing on what the biographical dictionaries include as *awā'il*—instead of, for instance going systematically through *awā'il* works that aim to be thematically complete, in search for particular topics—increases the chances that the image that emerges reflects more of the historical development as seen from the biographical tradition, which is my goal here. The limitation of sources used accounts for the fact that the *awā'il*-stories granting the Caliph 'Ali the honor of being the first “grammarian” are not discussed because 'Ali is not a grammarian/linguist according to the biographers' selection. See for a description of the selection of linguists Bernards (2005: 427–429).



Graph 2: Distribution over time (century) of linguists with an explicit year of death before or in 400/1000 and who are responsible for one or more *awā'il*.

year of death that falls before or in the Islamic year 400 and (2) those who meet these same criteria but have additionally an ascribed *awā'il*.⁵

The first graph shows a gradual increase over time of general linguistic activity; the sharp curve of the second graph, however, clearly illustrates a burst of innovative activity in the second century: 40% of *awā'il* date from that century.⁶

3. CATEGORIZATIONS OF *AWĀ'IL*

Now that we have obtained insight into numbers and chronological setting, we can move to matters of substance. The *awā'il* ascribed to the

⁵ The exact years of death of these linguists fall between 69/688–9 and 385/995.

⁶ Three of the twenty-nine linguists who have an *awā'il* do not have a recorded year of death. Their approximate death-years are 238/852–3, 275/888–9 and 334/945–6. If they would have been included in the graph, the curve downwards would have been a bit more gradual. The omission of a year of death is rather curious since the story of an inventor or invention would considerably benefit from an explicit date attached to the event. I think that a biographer would do his utmost to present complete information and this idea is corroborated by the fact that a relatively large proportion of *awā'il*-bearers have alternative years of death: 44% of them have an alternative death year whereas the proportion of the whole group is 28% (of the 480 whose years of death are explicitly mentioned, 135 have alternative years of death). So it seems that when an *awā'il* was involved, the biographer tried to embed the story in a plausible historical context even if it included a bit of guesswork.

linguists being singled out address a variety of subjects and/or events. Although most of the stories revolve around aspects of language and linguistics, not all *awā'il* have direct bearing on linguistic studies. Moreover, some of the *awā'il* do not refer to real inventions, that is, to the creation of something that did not exist before, but to the introduction of a certain device or concept in a particular region, for instance, the introduction of al-Khalil's *Kitāb al-'Ayn* in al-Andalus. Tables 1 through 3 (displayed below) include all *awā'il* ascribed to linguists divided into three categories: Table 1 displays *awā'il* that deal directly with linguistic inventions as such; Table 2 includes linguistic *awā'il* which I label "indirect" because they narrate introducing something (geographic, personal) rather than tell about original inventions related to content; and Table 3 shows the non-linguistic *awā'il*. Additionally, Table 4 presents the linguistic *awā'il* in chronological order and Table 5 provides an overview of the people behind the *awā'il*, the names of "the pioneers of Arabic linguistics"—our foremost topic.

In what directly follows, I shall first look at a general description of the *awā'il* that are indubitably linguistic, direct or otherwise (Tables 1 and 2). I will then discuss the chronology emerging from the *awā'il* as they are presented in Table 4. Non-linguistic *awā'il* (Table 3) speak for themselves; they are of no real concern for the subject at hand and therefore better left alone for now but included for the sake of comprehensiveness.

Table 1: Direct linguistic *awā'il* about inventors/inventions.

<i>assasa l-'arabiyya</i>	to lay the foundation of the Arabic language
<i>waḍa'a l-'arabiyya</i>	to put down, record the Arabic language
<i>nahaja subul al-'arabiyya</i>	to open up the paths of the Arabic language
<i>waḍa'a qiyās al-'arabiyya</i>	to put down, record the analogy of the Arabic language
<i>takallama fī l-naḥw</i>	to talk about grammar
<i>rasama l-naḥw</i>	to delineate grammar
<i>sabbaba l-naḥw</i>	to explain the reasons [for the study] of grammar
<i>waḍa'a l-naḥw</i>	to put down, record grammar
<i>ba'aja l-naḥw</i>	to disclose, reveal [the secrets] of grammar
<i>fataqa l-qiyās fī l-naḥw</i>	to disclose, reveal the use of analogy in grammar
<i>madda l-qiyās</i>	to expand the use of analogy
<i>sharaha l-'ilal</i>	to explain the causes of grammar
<i>waḍa'a l-taṣrif</i>	to put down, record morphology
<i>ṣannafa l-lugha ('alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam)</i>	to classify, compile the lexicon (on the basis of the letters of the alphabet)
<i>ṣannafa gharīb al-ḥadīth</i>	to classify, compile the uncommon of <i>ḥadīth</i>

Table 1 (cont.)

<i>naqaṭa l-maṣāḥif</i>	to provide Qurʾāns with dots
<i>allaḥa wa-tatabbaʿa wujūh al-Qurʾān</i>	to collect, compile and study thoroughly the homonyms of the Qurʾān
<i>tatabbaʿa l-shādhah min wujūh al-Qurʾān wa-baḥatha ʿan isnādihi</i>	to study thoroughly the exceptional expressed in the homonyms of the Qurʾān and investigate its <i>isnād</i>
<i>istakhrāja l-ʿarūḍ</i>	to elucidate prosody
<i>jamaʿa shiʿr al-ʿArab</i>	to collect, put together the poetry of the Arabs
<i>fassara l-shiʿr (taḥta kull bayt)</i>	to explain, comment on poetry underneath every verse)
<i>amlā gharīb kull bayt min al-shiʿr taḥtahu</i>	to dictate the uncommon underneath every verse of poetry

Table 2: Indirect linguistic *awāʿil* about geographic and personal novelties.

<i>jamaʿa l-fiqh fi l-dīn wa-ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya bi-l-Andalus</i>	to combine <i>fiqh</i> and linguistic studies in al-Andalus
<i>adkhala kitāb al-Kisāʾī ilā l-Andalus</i>	to introduce al-Kisāʾī's book in al-Andalus
<i>adkhala kitāb al-ʿAyn ilā l-Andalus</i>	to introduce <i>Kitāb al-ʿAyn</i> in al-Andalus
<i>takallaḥa min ahl al-Baṣra taṣḥīḥ al-kalām wa-irābahu ʿalā mā jāʿa ʿan al-ʿArab</i>	of the Basrans to critically edit the <i>irāb al-kalām</i> on the basis of Bedouin speech
<i>aḥdatha l-samāʿ bi-l-Baṣra</i>	to introduce [the principle of] attestation in Basra
<i>waḍaʿa min al-Kūfyīn kitāban fi l-naḥw akhadha ʿan Abī l-Aswad al-Duʿalī dawwana ʿan al-Kisāʾī</i>	of the Kufans to write a book on grammar to study under Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿalī to collect from al-Kisāʾī

Table 3: Non-linguistic *awaʿil*.

<i>adkhala al-ṭilāʾ al-ʿirāqī bi-l-Qayrawan</i>
<i>adkhala qirāʾat Nāfiʿ wa-Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik ilā l-Andalus</i>
<i>aḥbara l-sunna fi Khurāsān</i>
<i>ittakhadha majlisān fi masjid Abī Jaʿfar Amīr al-Muʾminīn bi-Dār al-Salām</i>
<i>aḥbara l-ḥadīth bi-l-Andalus</i>
<i>aḥbara l-ʿuqūq bi-l-Baṣra</i>
<i>ʿayyana l-shahāda bi-Baghdād li-qawmin wa-manaʿa ghayrahum</i>
<i>khuṭiba lahu ʿalā l-manābir baʿd al-khalīfa</i>
<i>luqqiba fi l-Islam shāhanshāh</i>
<i>summiya l-ṣāḥib min al-wuzarāʾ</i>
<i>ʿuniya... bi-l-nujūm</i>

4. LINGUISTIC *AWĀ'IL*—GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Table 1 above shows that the category of direct linguistic *awā'il* can be subsumed under several domains of linguistics. I shall discuss them in the order in which they are listed in the table: Arabic language (*al-'Arabiyya*), grammar (*naḥw*), lexicography (*luḡha*), Qur'ānic studies, and poetry. The discussion that follows will initially limit itself to the interpretation of the terms used, and will examine specifics of the terms involved as well.⁷

4a. *al-'Arabiyya*

Four different *awā'il* revolve around *al-'Arabiyya*, literally, the Arabic language, but in the context of these *awā'il* to be interpreted in terms of “the study of the Arabic language” and not the language itself. I suggest this interpretation on the basis of the expression *nahaja subul al-'Arabiyya*, “to open up the paths,” which contains an explicit reference to this aspect in the use of the word *sabīl*, pl. *subul*, “path, way.” Terms like *sabīl*, *naḥw*, *madhhab*, *ṭarīqa*, for instance, all incorporate this same connotation around which Islamic science in general revolves.⁸ “The first to open up the ways of the Arabic language” stands, in my view, for “the first to devote himself to [the study of] the Arabic language” but not making explicit the manner in which this was done. *Assasa*, then, speaks for itself and, going a step further, it refers to the establishment of the basics of language studies, the foundation upon which the linguistic tradition is built and expands.

The use of the term *waḍa'a* is more difficult to interpret in the context of *al-'Arabiyya* in general. *Waḍa'a*, literally “to put down,” contains the aspect of “taking together and putting into place” or “giving something its proper form and place”—and it is not easy to imagine that something being “the study of the Arabic language,” let alone “the Arabic language” itself is put into place. However, *waḍa'a* is also to be interpreted in terms of “putting down in writing, record” which is a process of creation. The creative aspect in *waḍa'a* together with the aspect of “originality” that is inherent in *awā'il* renders *awwal man waḍa'a l-'Arabiyya* as “the one who invented [the study of] the Arabic language.”⁹

⁷ In general, I have relied on Lane (1863–1893) as the point of departure for interpreting the terminology.

⁸ Carter (1985) hence speaks of “the *naḥw* metaphor.” On the use of the term *madhhab* for “way; school” in the Arabic linguistic tradition, see Bernards (1999).

⁹ See, however, below under the heading “Chronology” for a possible interpretation of *al-'Arabiyya* as referring to lexicographical studies.

Therefore, *waḍaʿa qiyās al-ʿArabiyya* would be rendered “the one who invented *qiyās*, the use of analogy, in [the study of] the Arabic language.” The reference to *qiyās* in connection with the beginning of linguistic studies makes perfect sense, the device of comparison being one of the first steps in the study of language in general.¹⁰

4b. *Naḥw*

Five *awāʿil* narrate the beginnings of *naḥw*—grammar or grammatical studies in general. Although they use, at least in part, the same terminology, the invention-stories about grammar are more self-evident than the *al-ʿArabiyya* ones discussed. This is probably because the meaning of the term *naḥw*, despite some initial abstruseness, clearly refers to what later became a distinct field of intellectual endeavor.¹¹ The expressions *takallama fī l-naḥw* and *rasama l-naḥw* narrate the very beginning of this intellectual endeavor; they honor the first to “talk about grammar” and the first to “delineate grammar.” The content of this “talking about grammar” is not revealed by the sources, but the expression implies that there was a notion of language as a topic to investigate. *Rasama* has connotations with leaving imprints, writing, outlining something in writing, sketching something, and is also used for the outlines of Arabic characters without the additional punctuation. The first to “delineate grammar” allegedly had in mind what linguistic studies should be and how grammar should have its place in this context. Both expressions, i.e., *takallama* and *rasama*, it should be noted, do not necessarily indicate a personal involvement in linguistics.

I take the expression *awwal man sabbaba l-naḥw*, “explain the reasons [for the study] of grammar,” to refer to the anecdotes about the reasons for establishing a study of Arabic grammar.¹² The term *waḍaʿa* discussed in the previous paragraph also appears in connection with *naḥw*. In light of this discussion, *awwal man waḍaʿa l-naḥw* in its plain form is “the one who invented *naḥw*, grammar,” whereas *awwal man waḍaʿa l-taṣrīf*, “the one who invented *taṣrīf*, morphology,” notes the event when *naḥw* came to

¹⁰ For the use of *qiyās* in linguistic studies see Versteegh (1980); Bohas et al. (1990: 22–26); Suleiman (1999: 25–33); Baalbaki (2008: 47–56); Maróth (2009).

¹¹ About the origin and development of the use of the term *naḥw* for “grammar” see Carter (1985); Versteegh (1995: 147–156); also later in the article where *taṣrīf* is discussed.

¹² Traditionally, corruption of the pure Arabic language by the *mawālī* provoked the invention of grammar; see, for instance, Versteegh (1987: 150–151; 1995: 147–156); Bohas et al. (1990: 103); Troupeau (1993: 913); see also below under the heading “Pioneers.”

refer specifically to “syntax” and was separated from morpho-phonology indicated by *taṣrīf*.¹³

Both *ba‘aja* and *fataqa* carry the meaning of “to slit open, to rip open” so as to reveal what is inside or to remove what is not right. My rendering “to disclose, reveal [the secrets] of grammar,” and “to disclose, reveal the use of analogy in grammar” implies that we are not dealing here with a creative process, but with a way of consolidating what already has been invented. The same goes for *madda*, “expand” the use of analogy and for *sharaḥa l-‘ilal*, *sharaḥa* having the same connotation as *ba‘aja* and *fataqa* of “tear apart, rip open” to make something visible—in this case the causes of grammar.¹⁴

4c. *Lugha*

In comparison with the terms just mentioned, the two *awā‘il* about *lugha*, lexicography, are straightforward. *Ṣannaḥa l-lugha ‘alā ḥurūf al-muḥjam*, “to classify the lexicon on the basis of the letters of the alphabet” looks to the first alphabetized dictionary. I have categorized the other expression, *ṣannaḥa gharīb al-ḥadīth*, “to classify the uncommon of *ḥadīth*,” under the heading *lugha* because of the genre of *gharīb* which refers to the subfield of lexicography that specializes in rare and uncommon words and expressions, in this particular case those rarities that occur in *ḥadīth*.

4d. *Qur’ānic Studies*

“The first to provide Qur’āns with dots” refers to distinguishing the letters of the alphabet that look alike (like *bā’/tā’/thā’/nūn*, *sīn/shīn*, *‘ayn/ghayn*, etc.) by dotting them differently. The term *muṣḥaf/maṣāḥif* denotes a collection of written sheets of paper put together between covers, more particularly the Qur’ān which was the first of this kind in Islam.¹⁵

The next two *awā‘il* concern Qur’ānic studies as well as lexicography in its primary stage. The term *wajh*, pl. *wujūh*, “way, manner,” also “aspect, object of speech” refers in this case to the distinct class of words with different meanings, homonyms, that occur in the Qur’ānic text.¹⁶ The *awā‘il*

¹³ On the subject of the development of the terms *naḥw* and *taṣrīf*, for instance, Versteegh (1995: 147–156; 173–174); Versteegh (1999); and Åkesson (2009).

¹⁴ For *‘illa/‘ilal*, see Jarrar (1992); Versteegh (1995; 2007); Suleiman (1999); Baalbaki (2008: 56–68).

¹⁵ On the relevance of the *muṣḥaf* in linguistic studies, see Beck (1945); also Endreß (1982); Versteegh (1993); Motzki (2003).

¹⁶ On *wujūh al-Qur’ān*, see Gilliot (2006: 332–333); also Versteegh (1993: 86–88).

indicate that these homonyms are collected and studied with specific focus on *shādhdh*, literally “something apart,” which stands for “deviating from common usage, exception.” Moreover, research of *isnāds* to support these exceptions is being done for the first time.¹⁷

4e. Poetry

The *awā'il* referring to poetry have more or less the same pattern as those discussed above (i.e., from general to the more specific); they include the more general *jama'a shi'r al-'Arab*, “to collect” the Arabs' poetry, and *fas-sara l-shi'r*, “to explain, comment on” the poetical verses. *Istakhraja l-'arūd*, on the other hand, refers to the more specific “extracting, bringing out into the open,” hence “to elucidate prosody,” and in *amlā gharīb* . . . we see again the interest in the uncommon, the anomaly, of poetry this time.

5. INDIRECT (GEOGRAPHIC, PERSONAL) LINGUISTIC AWĀ'IL

Three of the eight indirect linguistic *awā'il* make explicit reference to linguistic activities in al-Andalus, namely the introduction of a book of (the Kufan scholar) al-Kisā'i, the introduction of the famous *Kitāb al-'Ayn* (written by the Basran linguist al-Khalīl), and the first time a scholar explored the traditionally favorite combination of linguistic and juridical studies.¹⁸

Three *awā'il* concern linguistic activities in the alleged rivalry between the schools of grammar of Basra and Kufa. One refers to the first Basran to undertake the painstaking task of correcting and authenticating the language and its *i'rāb* on the basis of what came down on the authority of the Arabs. Another *awā'il* touches upon a related subject by narrating the introduction of the principle of *samā'*, attestation by received usage, in Basran grammatical circles of learning.¹⁹ The third *awā'il* concerns the first Kufan to write a book on grammar.

The last two of the indirect *awā'il* refer implicitly to the schools, just like the ones above regarding the introduction of linguistic works in al-Andalus, by mentioning the first to transmit from Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī

¹⁷ *Shādhdh*, pl. *shawādhdh* and *shādhdha* later come to denote non-canonical readings of the Qur'an, lacking sufficient support of authoritative *isnāds*; cf. Bellamy (2006: 238; 249); Leemhuis (2004: 357); also Gilliot (2006: 331–332).

¹⁸ For the connection between the development of Arabic linguistic studies and that of Islamic jurisprudence see Carter (1972).

¹⁹ For *samā'* in linguistics, see Suleiman (1999: 16–25); Baalbaki (2008: 35–47).

(claimed by the Basrans) and the first to put [something] down in writing on the authority of (the Kufan scholar) al-Kisā'ī.

6. LINGUISTIC *AWĀ'IL*—CHRONOLOGY

An interpretation of the message these *awā'il* contain is best based on a discussion of the chronology of the stories, because it is not *what* has been invented (we know from extant works what linguistics was about in the Arabic tradition), but *when* it was reportedly invented that we are interested in. Table 4 lists both the direct and indirect linguistic *awā'il* in chronological order.²⁰

Table 4: Chronology of the *awā'il* on the basis of mean year of death.

69			<i>assasa l-'arabiyya</i>
69			<i>nahaja subul al-'arabiyya</i>
69			<i>waḍa'a qiyās al-'arabiyya</i>
69			<i>takallama fī l-naḥw</i>
69			<i>rasama l-naḥw</i>
69			<i>takallaḥa min ahl al-Baṣra taṣḥīḥ al-kalām wa-i'rābahu</i>
89			<i>akhadha 'an Abī l-Aswad al-Du'alī</i>
89			<i>waḍa'a l-naḥw</i>
89			<i>sabbaba l-naḥw</i>
89			<i>fataqa l-qiyās fī l-naḥw</i>
106	69		<i>naqaṭa l-maṣāḥif</i>
117	89	69	<i>waḍa'a l-'arabiyya</i>
123			<i>ba'aja l-naḥw</i>
123			<i>madda l-qiyās (fī l-naḥw)</i>
123			<i>sharaḥa l-'ilal (fī l-naḥw)</i>
160			<i>jama'a shi'r al-'arab</i>
168			<i>ṣannafa l-luḡa ('alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam)</i>
168			<i>istakhrāja l-'arūḍ</i>
170			<i>allaḥa wa-tatabba'a wujūh al-Qur'ān</i>
170			<i>tatabba'a l-shādh dh min wujūh al-Qur'ān wa-baḥatha 'an isnādihi</i>
177			<i>fassara l-shi'r (taḥta kull bayt)</i>
178			<i>aḥdatha l-samā' bi-l-Baṣra</i>
182			<i>waḍa'a min al-Kūfīyyīn kitāban fī l-naḥw</i>
189			<i>waḍa'a l-taṣrīf</i>
194			<i>dawwana 'an al-Kisā'ī</i>

²⁰ Where alternative years of death were present, the average between the two was used to create the order presented in the table.

Table 4 (*cont.*)

198		<i>adkhala kitāb al-Kisā'ī ilā l-Andalus</i>
210		<i>ṣannaḡa gharīb al-ḡadīth</i>
216		<i>amlā gharīb kull bayt min al-shi'r taḡtahu</i>
238		<i>jama'a l-fiḡh fi l-dīn wa-'ilm al-'arabiyya bi-l-Andalus</i>
302	313	<i>adkhala kitāb al-'Ayn ilā l-Andalus</i>

[The last *awā'il* is attributed to a father and his son who went to al-Andalus together, so the earliest death-date counts in this case.]

The following development can, generally speaking, be derived from the chronology these stories reveal:

The study of the Arabic language (*waḡa'a l-'Arabiyya*), the invention of grammatical studies (*waḡa'a l-naḡw*), and the beginnings of Qur'ānic linguistic or textual studies (*naḡaḡa l-maṣāḡif*) go back to the transition from the first to the second Islamic century, between 89/708 and 123/741. Inasmuch as these dates are the years of death of the *awā'il*-bearers, account has to be taken that these inventors were active from around the year 55/675 onward.²¹

Eight out of fifteen early *awā'il* concerning *al-'Arabiyya* and *naḡw* go back to 69/688–9—to Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī, traditionally considered the founding father of Arabic linguistics—and, as such, activities in these domains would have then started from 34/654–5 onwards. However, as discussed at the outset of this article, only the latest date for an invention is to be taken as an indicator of historical reality. As such, only one of these earlier *awā'il* stands out: it dates the beginning of linguistic activities in Basra.

Three of the early *awā'il* can be traced to a scholar who died in 123/741 (Ibn Abī Ishāq); they do not strictly deal with creative inventions, as we have seen above, but rather refer to the consolidation of certain technicalities—*ba'aja l-naḡw wa-madda l-qiyās wa-sharaḡa l-'lāl*. With these *awā'il*, it seems that we have arrived at a crucial point in the development of the linguistic tradition. It had all started as a general interest in the study of the Arabic language (*al-'Arabiyya*) and a careful probing of ways to do so (*naḡw, qiyās*). Then a pupil of Abū l-Aswad (Naṣr b. 'Aṣim al-Laythī) elevated linguistic studies to a more advanced level by “inventing

²¹ In pre-industrial societies a generation is considered to be 35 years. Inasmuch as the average age of the '*ulamā'*' who found their way into the biographical dictionaries is close to 80, I have assumed that a scholar was “active” around the age of 45. See Bulliet (1983).

grammar" (*waḍaʿa l-naḥw*) and informed the world why this was necessary (*sabbaba l-naḥw*). At the same time, the way for using *qiyās* in grammar to formulate rules—a technical device his predecessor had used for *al-ʿArabiyya* in general—was solidly paved. Moreover, with *waḍaʿa l-ʿArabiyya* it seems that a first attempt was made (by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz) to distinguish between grammar on the one hand and lexicography on the other.²²

We then face a gap of about forty years after which *awāʿil* show a growing interest in the Arabic language heritage through the collection of poetry, the first study of prosody and the beginnings of poetical commentary (attributed to Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and al-Akhfash al-Akbar, scholars living until the sixties and late seventies of the second Islamic century, that is, the seventies through early nineties of the eighth Christian century).

The period is also marked by new developments in lexicographical studies concerning the Qurʾānic text and the *qirāʾāt*, ascribed to a scholar who was active between 135/752–3 and 170/786–7, which was the year of his death (Hārūn b. Mūsā). Moreover, the field of lexicography, now called *luḡha*, is further enhanced through activities ultimately culminating in what we now know to be the first Arabic dictionary by al-Khalīl.

Yet another gap, albeit one of only about ten years, brings us to the invention of the more technical linguistic field of *taṣrīf*, which, as we have seen above, marks the separation of syntax and morpho-phonology as well as a change in the meaning of the term *naḥw*. This innovation is attributed to a scholar who died in 189/805 (Muʿādh al-Ḥarrāʾ), so this domain probably originated in the period from 155/772 onward. In this very same period the so-called grammatical school of Kufa started to manifest itself by producing its first book on grammar (by a linguist who died around the year 182/798; al-Ruʾāsī) and, by putting to writing for the first time lessons heard directly from one of the school's most prominent representatives, al-Kisāʾī (the pupil at hand, ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak al-Aḥmar, died in 194/809–10).

The occurrence of the *aḥdatha l-samāʿ bi-l-Baṣra* story seems a bit odd in this timeline. This oddity is due to the fact that *qiyās* and *samāʿ* belong to grammatical theory as equal components and, as we have already seen, *qiyās* had been established as a core principle more than fifty years earlier. Inasmuch as the *samāʿ awāʿil* (attributed to Khalaf al-Aḥmar) appears

²² On the development of lexicography alongside grammar in the Arabic tradition, see Haywood (1965: 11–19); also Versteegh (1993: 63–95).

alongside the one that recounts the first book on grammar to appear in Kufa, its function may have been to emphasize the traditionally alleged difference between the two schools—Basra being the rational one leaning on *qiyās*, now for the first time being confronted with Kufa's more traditional principle of *samā'*.²³

Further events occurring at that same time concern the genre of *gharīb*—characterized by an interest in anomalies—developing into a specific field of its own. We see this development reflected in the invention of *gharīb al-ḥadīth* (by someone whose year of death is 210/825–6; Abū 'Ubayda) and *gharīb . . . al-shi'r* (by a scholar who died around 216/831; al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ) indicating the existence of specialized levels of a field of endeavor, in this case lexicography, at the turn of the second/third Islamic century.

As we have already seen, three *awā'il* refer to the westernmost part of the Islamic empire, al-Andalus. They pin down inventions or innovations in Andalusian linguistic activities in the period 165/781–2 onwards when one of al-Kisā'i's books was introduced into al-Andalus by someone who died in 198/813–4 (Jūdī b. 'Uthmān al-Mawrūrī). The popular combination of *fiqh* and linguistics found its way into Andalusian circles of learning at the end of the second or the beginning of the third Islamic century, since this *awā'il* is attributed to someone who passed away in 238/852–3 ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā). The introduction of al-Khalīl's famous *Kitāb al-'Ayn* in Andalusian circles is ascribed to a father and his son who predeceased him, respectively, in 313/926 (Thābit b. Ḥazm) and 302/914–15 (Qāsim b. Thābit), so the event took place somewhere between the years 275/888–9 and 300/912–3 or the last quarter of the third Islamic century.

Table 5: The people behind the *awā'il*: The pioneers of Arabic linguistics.

Year of death	Name	Ethnicity	<i>Min ahl . . .</i>	Additional fields of endeavor
69	Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī	Arab	Basra	poetry; <i>fiqh</i> ; <i>ḥadīth</i> ; <i>qirā'a</i>
89	Naṣr b. 'Aṣim al-Laythī	Arab	Basra	<i>fiqh</i> ; <i>ḥadīth</i> ; <i>qirā'a</i>
106	Yahyā b. Ya'mar	Arab	Basra	<i>adab</i> ; <i>fiqh</i> ; <i>ḥadīth</i> ; <i>qirā'a</i>
117	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz	Mawlā	Medina	<i>ḥadīth</i> ; <i>qirā'a</i> ; Arab/ Arabic heritage

²³ The point of this difference between the two schools will be taken up later under the heading "Pioneers."

Table 5 (*cont.*)

Year of death	Name	Ethnicity	<i>Min ahl...</i>	Additional fields of endeavor
123	Ibn Abī Ishāq	Mawlā	Basra	<i>ḥadīth; qirā'a</i>
160	Ḥammād al-Rāwiya	Mawlā	Kufa	<i>adab; Arab/Arabic heritage</i>
168	Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad	Arab	Basra	poetry; <i>ḥadīth; astronomy</i>
170	Hārūn b. Mūsā	Mawlā	Basra	<i>ḥadīth; qirā'a</i>
177	Al-Akhfash al-Akbar	Mawlā	Basra	poetry
178	Khalaf al-Aḥmar	Mawlā	Basra	poetry; <i>adab</i>
182	Al-Ru'āsī	Mawlā	Kufa	
189	Mu'ādh al-Ḥarrā'	Mawlā	Kufa	poetry; <i>ḥadīth; qirā'a</i>
194	'Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Aḥmar		Kufa	poetry; <i>adab</i>
198	Jūdī b. 'Uthmān al-Mawrūrī	Mawlā	Andalus	
210	Abū 'Ubayda	Mawlā	Basra/ Baghdad	<i>ḥadīth; tafsīr; Arab/Arabic heritage</i>
216	Al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ	Mawlā	Basra	poetry; <i>ḥadīth</i>
238	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā		Andalus	<i>fiqh; qirā'a; tafsīr</i>
302	Qāsīm b. Thābit	Arab	Andalus	poetry; <i>fiqh; ḥadīth</i>
313	Thābit b. Ḥazm	Arab	Andalus	poetry; <i>fiqh; ḥadīth</i>

7. THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE *AWĀ'IL*: THE PIONEERS OF ARABIC LINGUISTICS

The beginnings of Arabic linguistic activities are clouded in mystery and, as we have just seen, the chronological discussion of linguistic *awā'il* does not clear up this matter. Based on these *awā'il*, the very inception of Arabic linguistics is indeed brought back no further than around the year 55/675 when Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī's pupil, Naṣr b. 'Āṣim al-Laythī, established the study of grammar and elucidated the need for such grammatical studies.²⁴ The six *awā'il* attributed to Abū l-Aswad together account for the

²⁴ For biographical data on Abū l-Aswad, see Abū Ḥamid, *Marātīb*, 139; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātīb*, 6–11; Dhahabī, *Sīyar* 4, 81–86; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* 12, 10–11; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 185; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2, 535–539; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 534–535; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, 99; Jazārī, *Ghāya* 1, 345–346; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 7–21; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb* 33, 37–38; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 1, 48–58; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār*, 13–20; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 22–23; Tanūkhī, *Ta'rikh*, 164–178; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 21–26.

For Naṣr b. 'Āṣim see Abū Ḥamid, *Marātīb*, 140; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* 89, 210–211; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 9–10; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb* 29, 347–349; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 3, 343–344; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār*,

invention of every main aspect of Arabic linguistics, but the man has only one unique *awā'il* which in itself is very intriguing: it explicitly positions the beginnings of Arabic linguistic activities in Basra. This suits the theory of retrojection according to which the fourth/tenth century linguists in Baghdad legitimized their activities by referring to a long and glorious tradition that is tightly linked to the linguistic center of Basra.²⁵ The initiative to study *al-'Arabiyya* and to delineate grammar came from Abū l-Aswad (whether on the instigation of the caliph 'Alī, as tradition wants it, or not), but it was his (and Yaḥyā b. Ya'amar's) pupil Naṣr b. 'Āṣim who transformed the study into a scientific field of endeavor, well worth one's while.²⁶

Yaḥyā b. Ya'amar, an Arab scholar who lived and worked in the East and was the first to be active in systematic Qur'anic studies, links the origin of this field of endeavor with Basra as well.²⁷ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz, a scholar of non-Arab descent who reportedly was part of a Medinan school, but spent his life in the Egyptian town of Alexandria, received the honor of being considered the very first to lay down the foundations of *al-'Arabiyya* whether or not to mark the difference between the fields of grammar and lexicography (as I suggested earlier).²⁸ Each of the four above-mentioned scholars were *tābi'ūn*, and all except one ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz) were of Arab descent; they were active in *ḥadīth*, *qirā'a*, *naḥw* and/or *al-'Arabiyya*, and all of them except one (again 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz) were active in *fiqh* and "*Baṣrī min ahl. . .*" Yaḥyā b. Ya'amar is the only one of them who reportedly had an interest in *adab*.

20–21; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 313–314; Tanūkhī, *Ta'riḥ*, 157–159; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* (IA) 6, 2749; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 27.

²⁵ The theory of retrojection is embedded in the debate of the historical reality of the dichotomy between the grammatical schools of Basra and Kufa, initiated by Weil (1913).

²⁶ A short reflection on the Abū l-Aswad stories is found in Versteegh (1997a: 3–5; 1997b: 50, 58). See Talmon (1985a) for a study of the transmission of the Abū l-Aswad stories and of the discrepancy in these data (*ikhṭilāf al-akḥbār*).

²⁷ Biographies of Yaḥyā b. Ya'amar in: Abū Ḥāmid, *Marātib*, 139; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 11–12; Dhahabī, *Sīyar* 4, 441–443; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzḥa*, 10–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* 11, 305–306; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* 5, 523–524; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 6, 173–176; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, 368; Jazārī, *Ghāya* 2, 381; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 21–22; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 32, 53–55; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 4, 24–27; Sirāfi, *Akhbār*, 22–23; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 345; Tanūkhī, *Ta'riḥ*, 155–156; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* (M) 20, 42–43; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 27–29.

²⁸ Biographies of Ibn Hurmuz in: Dhahabī, *Sīyar* 5, 69–70; Dhahabī, *Ta'riḥ* 117: 414–415; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzḥa*, 10; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt* 1, 153; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* 6, 290–291; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* 5, 106–107; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 465; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, 283–284; Jazārī, *Ghāya* 1, 381; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 17, 71–78; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 172–173; Sirāfi, *Akhbār*, 21–22; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 91; Tanūkhī, *Ta'riḥ*, 163; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 26. This *awā'il* attributed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz led Talmon (1985b) to hypothesize a Hijazi center of grammar.

‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ishāq, *mawlā* of Ḥaḍramawt, specialized in *ḥadīth* and *qirā’a* besides grammar, and had a central position within the network of early grammarians.²⁹ Naṣr b. ‘Āsim and Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar were among his teachers and Ibn Abī Ishāq himself is the earliest of those active in the field of grammar mentioned in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb*. He reportedly systematized the study of Arabic by elaborating the use of *qiyās* (the biographical tradition depicts him as the “father of *qiyās*”) and by explaining the causes of grammar. Despite the fact, then, that the three *awā’il* attributed to him do not concern real inventions in the strictest sense, it is very plausible to consider Ibn Abī Ishāq to be the first real grammarian of the Arabic linguistic tradition.³⁰

So far, all linguistic activities are firmly linked to the Basran center of learning, where about fifty years after Ibn Abī Ishāq’s death the works of Sībawayhi and al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad consolidated Basra’s reputation for being the analytical school of grammar, leaving Kufa renowned for the collection of poetry and the preservation of Arab/Arabic heritage.³¹ While Sībawayhi has not been credited with an innovation or invention in Arabic grammar, the biographical literature emphasizes that the field of lexicography was greatly enhanced by the famous scholar al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the first to write a dictionary of Arabic and the founder of the study of prosody and metrics (*al-‘arūḍ*). Al-Khalīl was of Arab descent, affiliated with Basra, and very versatile in his scholarly activities which ranged from *ḥadīth* and grammar to poetry and astronomy.³²

In the meantime, the first to collect Arabic poetry was Ḥammād al-Rāwīya, a non-Arab scholar from Daylam, a region in northwest Jibāl. Originally a *zindiq*, he became a *mawlā* of Shaybān and, confirming the school’s renown, a Kufan affiliate. His scholarly interest was in battles of

²⁹ Biographies of Ibn Abī Ishāq in: Abū Ḥāmid, *Marātib*, 139; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 12–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* 5, 148; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* 5, 61; Jazarī, *Ghāya* 1, 410; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 14, 305–308; Qiftī, *Inbāh* 3, 104–108; Ṣafādī, *Wāfi* 17, 186; Sīrāfi, *Akhbār*, 25–28; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 42; Tanūkhī, *Ta’rikh*, 152–154; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 31–33.

³⁰ That Ibn Abī Ishāq is the first real grammarian is Talmon’s (1985a) conclusion amongst others; cf. Fleisch (1961: 27–28) and Bohas et al. (1990: 1–2); also Carter (1972) and Talmon (1982).

³¹ For divergent reflections on the traditionally recounted difference between the Basran school as the more technical and abstract one and the Kufan as the more traditional one, see e.g., Weil (1913); Fleisch (1961); Baalbaki (1981); Versteegh (1990).

³² Biographies of Khalīl b. Aḥmad in: Abū Ḥāmid, *Marātib*, 140; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 27–41; Dhahabī, *Sīyar* 7, 429–431; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 27–29; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 380; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2, 244–248; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 541–542; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 56–72; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 8, 326–333; Qiftī, *Inbāh* 1, 376–382; Sīrāfi, *Akhbār*, 38–40; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 557–560; Tanūkhī, *Ta’rikh*, 123–134; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam* (M) 11, 72–77; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 47–51.

the Arabs (*ayyām al-‘Arab*), poetry and lexicography. The Basran poet and *adīb* Khalaf al-Aḥmar, Farghānī *mawlā* of Ash‘ar, was generally praised for his enormous knowledge of ancient Arabic poetry. He reportedly went to Kufa to hear the poetry that Ḥammād al-Rāwiya had collected. Upon returning home, Khalaf al-Aḥmar allegedly introduced the Kufan principle of *samā‘*, attestation by hearsay, to Basran circles of grammatical learning.³³

The originally Jewish *muḥaddith* and *qārī‘* Hārūn b. Mūsā, *mawlā* of ‘Atīk, was specialized in lexicography and additionally promoted Qur’anic studies by focusing on the transmission of *al-shādhdh min wujūh al-Qur’ān*, exceptional homonyms, thus contributing to the later distinction between canonical and non-canonical readings of the Qur’ān. Al-Akhfash al-Akbar (in addition to grammar) was also active in poetry and the first to devote attention to *tafsīr al-shī‘r*, or poetic commentary. Like Hārūn b. Mūsā he was of non-Arab descent, and *mawlā* of Qays b. Tha‘alaba; both scholars were affiliated with Basra.³⁴

The Kufan school, on the other hand, contributed to inventions in linguistic studies through its assumed founder, al-Ru‘āsī, a *mawlā* of the Jewish tribe Qurayza, who was the first of the Kufans to write a book on grammar, and through the Kufan affiliates Mu‘adh al-Harrā’ and ‘Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Aḥmar.³⁵ Al-Ru‘āsī seems to have been responsible for the invention of *taṣrīf*, the specialization that ultimately divided the field of

³³ Biographies of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya in: Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 72–73; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 7, 157–158; Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh* 155:115; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 22–25; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt* 1, 239; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 134–135; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2, 206–210; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 54; Šafadī, *Wāfi* 13, 137–142; Sirāfi, *Akhbār*, 44; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 549; Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt* 1, 256–259; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam* (M) 10, 258–266; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 191.

For biographies on Khalaf al-Aḥmar, see: Abū Ḥamid, *Marātib*, 140; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 46–47; Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh* 180: 107–108; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 34–35; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 544; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 72–80; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 1, 383–385; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 554; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam* (IA) 3, 1254–1258; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 161–165.

³⁴ Biographies of Hārūn b. Mūsā in: Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh* 170: 492–493; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 21; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* 11, 14–15; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* 9, 237; Jazarī, *Ghāya* 2, 348; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb* 30, 115–119; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 3, 361–362; Šafadī, *Wāfi* 26, 206; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 321.

Biographies of al-Akhfash al-Akbar in: Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 23; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 7, 323; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 27; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2, 380; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 47; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 157–158; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 74; Tanūkhī, *Ta’rikh*, 138–139; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 40.

³⁵ Biographies of al-Ru‘āsī in: Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 24; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 279; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 4, 105–109; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 82–83, 109, 492; Tanūkhī, *Ta’rikh*, 194–196; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam* (M) 18, 121–125; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 125.

For Mu‘adh al-Harrā’, see: Dhahabī, *Siyar* 8, 482–484; Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh* 187, 401–402; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 32; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt* 1, 316; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 5: 218–221; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 276–277; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 3, 288–295; 4, 169–170; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 290–293; Tanūkhī, *Ta’rikh*, 193–194; Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt* 1, 312; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 125.

Arabic linguistics into syntax (*naḥw*) and morpho-phonology (*taṣrīf*), as detailed above. *Taṣrīf* is a technical device that one would expect to have been invented by a representative of the more analytical Basran school. And, indeed, the further development of the particular field of *taṣrīf* seems to have been carried out by the Basrans whose famous member al-Māzinī (d. 248/862) wrote the first extant monograph on the subject (although not an *awā'il* proper). Mu'adh al-Harrā' was of non-Arab descent, active in *ḥadīth*, Qur'ān reading and poetry and lived, according to the sources, to an age that granted him the title *mu'ammār* (which would antedate the invention of *taṣrīf* another twenty years, but since we do not know his age I have not corrected the dating for *mu'ammār*-ship).

The other Kufan contribution consists of the collection of writings supposedly by al-Kisā'ī by his pupil 'Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Aḥmar, presumably after having studied them through *samā'*.³⁶ Al-Aḥmar earned his living as a member of Hārūn al-Rashīd's bodyguard; he learned Arabic grammar in his free time and was a great admirer of al-Kisā'ī, whom he succeeded as court grammarian.³⁷ As an aside, 'Alī b. al-Mubārak reportedly wrote a book on *taṣrīf* as well, indicating that the Kufans actually were the original specialists in the field. Besides linguistics, 'Alī b. al-Mubārak was active in *adab* and poetry as well.

Two other Basrans have *awā'il* accredited to them, both having to do with the invention and enhancement of *gharīb*, the genre that studies anomalies. Abū 'Ubayda, originally from the East and *mawlā* of Taym, was specialized in various fields of the Islamic sciences, ranging from grammar to Qur'ānic exegesis, and he was the first to focus on *gharīb* in *ḥadīth*. He had an additional interest for *ayyām al-'Arab*, but this seems to have originated in or to have led to a fierce hatred of the Arabs and his being considered a *shu'ūbī*. Al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, like Abū 'Ubayda a non-Arab from the Eastern regions (he is affiliated with Balkh besides Basra), was a *mawlā* of Dārim. In the grammatical tradition, he has the focal position of the first to transmit the *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, although this is not an *awā'il* proper. He, too, was specialized in *ḥadīth*, in addition to grammar,

³⁶ Biographies of 'Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Aḥmar in: Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 89–90; Baghdādī, *Ta'riḥ* 12, 104–105; Dhahabī, *Sīyar* 9, 92–93; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 59; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 301; Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 313–317; 4, 110; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 158–159; Tanūkhī, *Ta'riḥ*, 187; Yāqūt, *Mujam* (M) 13, 5–11; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 134.

³⁷ The stories about the succession of al-Kisā'ī as court grammarian are anchored in the supposed Basra/Kufa dichotomy; see Bernards (1989).

lexicography and prosody. His innovative contribution was in *gharīb* of poetry.³⁸

Jūdi b. ‘Uthmān al-Mawrūrī, a *mawlā* of ‘Abs who lived and worked in al-Andalus, went for his linguistic studies to the *Mashriq* and brought back with him the works of al-Kisā’ī. The Andalusian scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā, on the other hand, did not travel farther east than Cairo, Egypt. He was an accomplished authority in various scholarly fields, ranging from Qur’anic studies and linguistics (including *balāgha*) to Islamic jurisprudence. He was a Mālikī *qāḍī* in Istija and is accredited with being the first to combine the skills of linguistics and *fiqh* in al-Andalus.³⁹

Finally, Thābit b. Ḥazm and his son Qāsim b. Thābit were also from al-Andalus. They were Arabs of the Banī ‘Awf and traveled together in their search for ‘ilm. They went to Cairo and the *Mashriq* (Mecca included) to study *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and linguistics—both were specialized in grammar and lexicography—and they introduced al-Khalīl’s *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* in Andalusian academic circles. After his son’s untimely death, the father, who was a Mālikī *qāḍī* in Saraqusta, finished Qāsim’s book on *ḥadīth*.⁴⁰

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have seen that activities in the field of Arabic linguistics started in the second half of the first Islamic century and culminated in an outburst

³⁸ Biographies of Abū ‘Ubayda in: Abū Ḥāmid, *Marātib*, 140; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 44–46; Baghdādī, *Ta’riḫ* 13, 252–258; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 9, 445–447; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 64–69; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* 9, 196; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 5, 235–243; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 543; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 28, 316–321; Qiftī, *Inbāh* 3, 276–288; Sirāfi, *Akhbār*, 67–71; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 294–296; Tanūkhī, *Ta’riḫ*, 211–213; Yāqūt, *Muḥam* (M) 19, 154–162; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 175–178.

Biographies of Al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ in: Abū Ḥāmid, *Marātib*, 142; Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 68–69; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 10, 206–208; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 84–85; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt* 2, 36; Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, 97–99; Qiftī, *Inbāh* 2, 36–43; Sirāfi, *Akhbār*, 50–51; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 590–591; Tanūkhī, *Ta’riḫ*, 85–90; Yāqūt, *Muḥam* (M) 11, 224–230; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 72–74.

³⁹ Biographies of Jūdi b. ‘Uthmān al-Mawrūrī in: Qiftī, *Inbāh* 1, 306–307; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 490; Yāqūt, *Muḥam* (M) 7, 213–214; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 256–257.

Biographies of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā in: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Andalus* 1, 439–440; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāj*, 242; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 90; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 253–254.

⁴⁰ Biographies of Thābit b. Ḥazm in: Dhahabī, *Siyar* 14, 562–563; Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ* 313: 450–451; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Andalus* 1, 184–185; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt* 2, 266; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāj*, 168; Qiftī, *Inbāh* 1, 297; Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* 4, 259; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 480; Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt* 2, 199; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 284–285.

Biographies of Qāsim b. Thābit in: Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ* 302: 97; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Andalus* 2, 605–606; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāj*, 322; Qiftī, *Inbāh* 3: 12; Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* 4, 259; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 252; Yāqūt, *Muḥam* (IA) 5, 2191; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 284–285.

of innovations one century later. Highlights in the development of the Arabic linguistic tradition—as mirrored by *awā'il* stories—reflect fairly closely what is known from extant linguistic sources: commencing with a general study of the Arabic language in close connection with Qur'ānic studies, Arabic linguistics gradually developed into a technical, scientific field of its own, covering the study of syntax, morpho-phonology and lexicography, as well as elaborate studies of poetry. This development is reflected in the first monograph on specific topics, appearing for the first time in the second half of the second century. The study of *fiqh* in combination with Arabic grammar underscores the development of the linguistic tradition in al-Andalus.

Summarizing the information on ethnic background and *min ahl* so-and-so of the group of linguists credited with one or more *awā'il* (see Table 5), we observe six Arabs, ten *mawālī*, and two scholars whose ethnic background is not explicitly mentioned by the biographical dictionaries. Although the very beginnings of the Arabic linguistic tradition seem to have been an exclusively Arab affair, no biographer has really tried to claim linguistic *awā'il* for the Arabs. The overall picture of 40% Arabs and 60% *mawālī* reflects the normal distribution within the group of scholars active in the field of linguistics up to the year 250/864. *Mawālī*, by the way, have been relatively better represented in Arabic linguistics than in any of the other Islamic sciences—an observation that in itself is intriguing.⁴¹

Concerning affiliation with one of the two schools of grammar (ten Basrans and four Kufans), there is a clear overrepresentation of Basran scholars. As already mentioned, this suits the theory of retrojection by referring to a long and glorious tradition of the Basran school and it reflects the success of the Basran “PR.” Surprising is the alleged Kufan invention of *taṣrīf* but even here the Basrans succeeded in taking over and further enhancing this domain of Arabic linguistics.

Finally, from the most right-hand column of Table 5, it appears that the majority of linguists were also active in the field of *ḥadīth* and that, alongside *qirā'a*, poetry and *adab* were other favorite fields of endeavor. From this, we may conclude that our group of pioneers in linguistic studies, Arabs and *mawālī* alike, showed a clear interest in both the Arabic language and Arab heritage as well as in the emerging Islamic religious sciences.

⁴¹ I have dealt with the topic of the relative overrepresentation of *mawālī* in Arabic linguistic studies in Bernards (2005).

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AL-ZAJJĀJ AND GLASSMAKING
AN EXPANDED RANGE OF OPTIONS IN A COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

Wadād al-Qāḍī

Two of the famous grammarians of early Islam have nicknames that seem to point to a connection with glass, *zujāj*. The first is “al-Zajjājī” Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq, who died in 337/948 or 339–40/949–50. His nickname, however, has nothing to do with glass, strictly speaking; he was given this *nisba* because of his long association with his principal teacher who was nicknamed “al-Zajjāj.”¹ The nickname of this second grammarian, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. [Muḥammad b.] al-Sarī, who died in 311/923,² did indeed have a connection with glass. In fact, the source of this connection is a rather long story that he himself narrated and that the biographical historians found so attractive and informative that they included it in their tomes.³

The story, narrated in the first person, contains a number of glass-related statements. Al-Zajjāj begins by saying: “I used to clip glass, then had a strong urge to [study] grammar (*kuntu akhruṭu al-zujāj fa-shtahaytu l-naḥw*).” He continues that he attached himself, with the hope of learning grammar, to al-Mubarrad [d. 286/899], who never taught for free, but rather charged specific fees for teaching. Al-Mubarrad asked him about his profession—presumably to ascertain how much he could afford to pay him. Al-Zajjāj answered, “I clip glass (*akhruṭu l-zujāj*), and my earnings are one and one-third *dirhams* or one and one half *dirhams* per day (*wa-kasbī fī kull yawm dirham wa dānaqān⁴ aw dirham wa nisf*).” Al-Zajjāj goes on to say that he offered al-Mubarrad one *dirham* per day until death parts them. Al-Mubarrad accepted the offer, and al-Zajjāj kept his

¹ See C. H. M. Versteegh (2002b).

² See *idem* (2002a).

³ See al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* 1, 274; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* 6, 614; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* 1, 159; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 1, 52; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* 5, 348; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1, 411. Even al-Samʿānī, whose *al-Ansāb* provides normally short entries, cites the first, glass-related, part of the story; see *al-Ansāb*, 272. Other sources cite the main, glass-related sentence of the story, as did Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 1, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb* 2, 62.

⁴ A *dānaq* (from the Persian *dang*) is equal, in monetary terms, to 1/6 of a *dirham*, although it could also be used for gold (*mithqāl*); see Hinz (1955).

promise throughout al-Mubarrad's life. After al-Zajjāj had "graduated" and become an independent authority on grammar (*istaqlaltu*), a group of people⁵ from al-Šarāt, a town near Baghdad, sought al-Mubarrad's advice regarding a grammar teacher (*mu'alliman nahwīyyan*) for their children. Al-Zajjāj asked al-Mubarrad to recommend him to them (*asminī lahum*). Al-Mubarrad obliged, and al-Zajjāj became a grammar teacher in al-Šarāt. After some time, 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān [d. 288/901]—meaning the caliphs al-Mu'tamid's and al-Mu'taḍid's vizier—asked al-Mubarrad to identify a tutor for his son al-Qāsim. Al-Mubarrad said, "I would not name for you except one man, a *zajjāj*, in al-Šarāt," who works for a particular family (*lā a'rifu laka illā rajulan zajjājan bi-l-Šarāt ma' Banī Mārīma*).⁶ 'Ubaydallāh wrote to those people, asking them to give up al-Zajjāj. They did, and al-Zajjāj became the private tutor of al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān [d. 291/904], who eventually became vizier to the caliphs al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muktafi. Al-Zajjāj became a very rich and influential man and a companion to the same caliphs, al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muktafi.

The story tells us relatively much about al-Zajjāj's association with glass. He worked with glass before he began to study grammar, and had worked with it long enough to consider himself a professional "glass person," and hence identify himself as a *zajjāj* when he introduced himself to al-Mubarrad. He continued to work with glass when he was studying grammar, presumably for several years, as it was from his earnings as a glass craftsman that he could pay the one-*dirham*-per-day fee to his teacher al-Mubarrad. It is this that explains why al-Mubarrad continued to refer to him as a *zajjāj* much later in life, after he had successfully made a career change and become a teacher in al-Šarāt. That job, and the following one as a tutor, were clearly full-time jobs, and presumably ended al-Zajjāj's work with glass. He, nevertheless, continued to be identified as a "glass person" during the latter, scholarly phase of his career, by his students and others, even after his death, by posterity, including us today. Perhaps there was no other glass person who became a distinguished grammarian; but al-Zajjāj had certainly not been an amateur glass person.

⁵ The tribal affiliation of this family is uncertain, since it occurs in a variety of forms in the sources: Banū Mārīma, Māzīma, Mārīqa, Mārīya, Māzin. See the comment of I. 'Abbās in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 1, 52, n. 3.

⁶ Mārīma is the most common reading, but it is by no means certain (see previous note). There is no Banū Mārīma in the classic works on genealogy, including Ibn Durayd's *al-Ishtiqāq*.

The story and al-Zajjāj's nickname give us some idea of what he exactly did as a glass craftsman. He was certainly not a seller or dealer in glass objects, otherwise he would have been nicknamed "al-Zujājī," not "al-Zajjāj"⁷—and he would not have had a fixed wage. Rather, he "made" glass, or, as he himself said, he "clipped" glass. The word he used for identifying his specific skill is *kharāṭa*. This is an unusual word in the context of glass, since *kharrṭ* is mostly associated with wood, either in the living form of branches and tree trunks,⁸ or in the dead form, as in a carpenter's workshop,⁹ and occasionally with iron¹⁰ and gems.¹¹ The last association, however, gets us closer to understanding what is meant by the *kharrṭ* of glass. As Dozy has noted, we do encounter the verb *kharāṭa* connected with malachite, a green mineral used as a decorative stone; it means to polish stones that are cut out, carved, shaped, trimmed, or framed.¹² It also occurs once in connection with glass, though still in reference to precious objects, as *al-zujāj al-makhrūṭ al-naḥīs*, where its meaning is to cut, cut out, cut down, or clip.¹³ This leads one to think that *kharrṭ*, al-Zajjāj's specific work with glass in his pre-scholarly career, involved not a primary process in glass production, but an advanced one, that is, he worked with pieces of glass that had already been worked on by someone else on a more basic level—clipping them further, or polishing them, or making them smooth, planed, or trimmed.

This kind of work clearly needs a relatively high level of technical skill, which suggests that it should be relatively well compensated. Al-Zajjāj tells us that his daily wages from working with glass were a *dirham* and a half (or a third), which means that his monthly income was at most

⁷ See Lane (1980, z-j-j).

⁸ See idem (1980, kh-r-ṭ). Thus, *kharāṭa l-waraq* means rubbing "off the leaves from the branches, by grasping the upper part, and passing the hand along it to the lower part." Similarly, *kharāṭa l-shajar* means "he pulled off the leaves, and the bark, or peel, from the trees with his hand [in the manner above described]." In the same manner, one says *kharāṭa l-ʿunqūd*, meaning "he pulled off the grapes, or the like, from the bunch with all his fingers . . . or he put the bunch in his mouth and drew forth its stalk bare," and *kharāṭa l-ʿūd* means "he removed the bark, or peel, from the wood, or stick, and planed it, or made it even, with a *mikhrāṭ*."

⁹ This is what I understand by the text of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb* 1, 429 explaining *kharrāṭ*: "this *nisba* comes from the *kharrṭ* of wood."

¹⁰ In Lane (1980: kh-r-ṭ): *kharāṭa l-ḥadīd* means "he made the iron long, like a column, or pole, or rod."

¹¹ In *ibid.*, *kharāṭa l-jawhar* means "he collected the jewels in a *kharīṭa* [i.e., a pouch]."

¹² R. Dozy (1981, kh-r-ṭ), where *yakhrutuhu l-kharrāṭūn* is said of malachite in Ibn al-Bayṭār's treatise.

¹³ *Ibid.* The text occurs in Ibn Ḥawqāl's section on Armenia.

45 *dirhams*. It is, of course, difficult to understand the value of money outside of a comparative context; but we know that the salary of a judge in Baghdad at the end of the third/ninth century, i.e., not long before al-Zajjāj was born, was between 200 and 300 *dirhams* a month.¹⁴ Al-Zajjāj's compensation seems quite low by comparison. We have to keep in mind, however, that a judge is a highly compensated state employee due to the high religious and intellectual qualifications which he must possess and, as importantly, which he must constantly develop and refine, whereas a glass-clipper, no matter how competent, performs a skilled job whose requirements are both limited and mechanical: once he has mastered them, he most likely needs no further skills to perform his work. But al-Zajjāj himself did not seem to think his income was low. When he gave away one whole *dirham* to al-Mubarrad out of his daily pay during his student days, he seemed to be quite capable of living on half a *dirham* or less a day.

Where did al-Zajjāj work, for whom, and what objects did he produce? While the answer cannot be specific, a range of possibilities may be conjured. These are, if one were to think in general terms, or even to take one's inspiration from S. Carboni's entry "zudjādj" in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, limited to two broad categories of glass manufacturers in whose workshops al-Zajjāj could have worked. The first category is that of the manufacturers of objects and commodities for everyday use, like vessels, flasks, bottles, cups, and bowls. The second is that of the manufacturers of art objects, where the chemistry, technology, and manipulation of glass is artistically varied, leading to the creation of artifacts whose glass is enamelled, painted, ribbed, relief-cut, finely incised, or calligraphically inscribed. If al-Zajjāj indeed worked in either one of these two kinds of workshops, he would have been privately employed, and he would be involved in producing commercial objects of varying degrees of artistry. There is, however, a third possibility which Carboni neglected to mention,¹⁵ and which normally does not occur to people, including historians, when they think of glassmaking. It is that al-Zajjāj could have worked in the government-run workshops, where officially authorized weights and measures made of glass were manufactured, for the correct, or "honest," use by merchants and the public in the market place.

¹⁴ See al-Qādī (2009, 25–26).

¹⁵ Although, to his credit, he did mention a few works about this area in the bibliography, notably A. H. Morton's important book, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum*.

We actually know little about these workshops, but the thousands of glass weights and stamps that have survived indicate unequivocally that such workshops existed and were under close government control from Umayyad through Mamluk times.¹⁶ The use of glass for the making of weights and measures had been adopted by the Byzantines in pre-Islamic times,¹⁷ because glass, unlike metals, hardly loses any of its weight over time and because it is difficult to add to or take away from its weight without detection, given that it breaks easily.¹⁸ After probably a period of experimentation with metals,¹⁹ the Muslims adopted the use of glass for weights and measures, and indeed greatly expanded and developed its manufacture.²⁰ That manufacture began during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (reg. 65–86/685–705), when the Umayyad state was embarking on its well known monetary and other administrative reforms, and eventually included the production of coin weights (gold, silver, and copper), heavy weights (for commodities like meat and grapes), and vessel stamps, disks affixed to vessels containing a wide array of dry and wet substances, like spices, drugs, and oil, to indicate their capacity. An Umayyad weight was normally stamped with words indicating some or all of the following: the weight’s (official, government sanctioned) weight, the commodity it is supposed to weigh, the name(s) of the issuing government official(s) who rendered it officially authorized, its date of production, and a relevant pious formula. The weights were routinely changed, i.e. re-manufactured, whenever the financial administration of the province or administrative district changed, since the change would have to be reflected on the stamps on the glass in order to make the weights legal tender.²¹ Although the vast majority of glass weights that have survived

¹⁶ For surveys on Islamic glass weights, see the following classic works: Miles (1949: 1–69); Muḥammad (1957: 1–42); Balog (1976: 1–36); idem (1980: 55–57); Morton (1985: 9–45); idem (1991: 19–42).

¹⁷ See Ettinghausen (1939: 74); Miles (1964: 78–79); Morton (1992: 20); idem (1985: 31). See also n. 19 below.

¹⁸ See Ettinghausen (1939: 74).

¹⁹ Several early bronze weights have been discovered. See Walker (1935: 241–258) (for a bronze weight in the name of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf); Miles (1962: 113–118); Curiel and Gignoux (1976: 165–169); Elias Khamis (2002: 143–154). See also Miles (1939); Morton (1986: 177–182). Artuk (1952: 21–25) identifies a lead seal minted in the name of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, with the mint name *Filastūn*; but Paul Balog is convinced that this is actually a lead weight, not a seal; see Balog (1976: 21). See also idem (1970: 223–256, esp. 233, 339).

²⁰ See Miles (1964: 78); Morton (1991: 20).

²¹ On changing glass weights immediately upon change in administration, see Balog (1976: 10).

come from Egypt, we know that they were also produced in Syria.²² In Iraq none have been found; but there is no need to suppose that the widespread use of glass weights did not take place there as well.²³

According to scholars of Islamic glass weights, matters pertaining to glass weights were under the control of the financial officer of the province or administrative district, and, in fact, hundreds of weights have survived on each of which was inscribed normally the name of an identifiable *ʿamil* or *ṣāhib al-kharāj*, the Financial Director, mostly preceded by the verb *amara* (he ordered). When the Financial Director's name is inscribed alongside that of the reigning caliph, the verb *amara* is shifted, understandably, to the caliph, and the Director's name is preceded by the phrase *ʿalā yaday* (at the hands of), thus making clear that his authority derived directly from the caliph's. When the Financial Director's name is inscribed along with the name of another person (usually unidentifiable), the phrase *ʿalā yaday* is shifted to the name of the other person, indicating that this person was the Director's subordinate in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the office in charge of weights and measures, an "executive" or a "prefect," who served as a mid-level bureaucrat. In some cases, the names of other men appear, normally after the noun (or verb) *ṣanʿat* (*ṣanaʿahu*), "the making of/he made it," or *ṭabʿat* (*ṭabaʿahu*), "the stamp of/he stamped it." Such engravers, with their apprentices or assistants, occupied the lowest bureaucratic position in the office responsible for producing glass weights.²⁴ I would also suggest that they were actually the "glass persons" who handled glass with their hands, either at a basic level or at a more developed one.

²² For weights from Syria, see, in addition to the heavy weight discussed below, Dja'far [Abdel-Kader] (1935: 139–142); idem (1939: 399–400); Nāyif al-Qsūs (2000: 55–62) (the weight was found in the area of Irbid in northern Jordan). To these must be added the "seal" published by Artuk and believed by Balog to be a bronze weight (see n. 19 above); it carries the stamp *Filasṭīn*, and hence comes from the administrative/military district of Palestine.

²³ Other than the bronze weight of al-Ḥajjāj mentioned in n. 19 above, there is literary evidence about four Umayyad governors of Iraq who were particularly strict about weights: al-Ḥajjāj (in office 75–95/694–714), ʿUmar b. Hubayra (in office 102–105/720–723), Khālid al-Qasrī (in office 105–120/723–738) Yūsuf b. ʿUmar (in office 120–126/738–744). See Qudāma b. Jaʿfar, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, 39; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh* 4, 417 (*sub anno* 76); al-Damīr, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* 1, 91–92; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* 1, 177–178.

²⁴ On the employees involved with glass weights and measures and their bureaucratic hierarchy, see Ettinghausen (1939: 74); Muḥammad (1957: 4, 11, 16–19, 30); Balog (1963: 219); idem (1976: 408); Morton (1985: 11–14); idem (1991: 25–30); Eldada (2002: 118–119, 143).

The above information, while quite detailed, does not answer the main question that this paper wishes to address, namely: has any of the people whose names are stamped on glass weights been nicknamed *al-zajjāj*, “glass man,” because of his involvement in glassmaking? If there was such a person, then a *zajjāj* would be the nickname applied to an employee of the government’s public sector,²⁵ not only to a craftsman in the employ of some commercial concern, and his existence would expand the range of options for glassmakers in early Islamic society to the third possibility explained above, namely employment in government-run workshops where official weights and measures made of glass were manufactured. This, in turn, allows us to take a fresh look at the profession of the grammarian al-Zajjāj and, viewing it within a comparative context, to ask whether he, too, could have been employed in the manufacture of glass operated by the government. Given the shifts in al-Zajjāj’s career between glassmaking and scholarship, it would be necessary that, if this other *zajjāj* were to be identified, his career and its shifts be analyzed in as much detail as possible, as a prelude to comparing him with the grammarian al-Zajjāj. Even if the research does not produce conclusive results, it has the potential to open a new avenue for consideration when we try to understand the professions in which Muslim scholars were involved in early Islamic society.

I have been able to locate one person from late Umayyad times whose name is inscribed on a glass heavy weight that has survived,²⁶ and who some literary sources call *al-zajjāj*, others a Finance Director, and practically all a *ḥadīth* scholar; his name is al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. The small, thick, bluish green glass pound weight disc carrying his name is displayed at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland, and its image, together with a transcription of the text that appears on it and a study of

²⁵ For a discussion of whether there were also private workshops issuing unofficial weights, as suggested by Morton (1985: 20), see the clear arguments against this assertion in Eldada (2002: 142–143).

²⁶ There is another glass weight at the Fouquet Collection in Paris which Paul Casanova said has the name “al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān” inscribed on it; see Casanova (1893: no. 167, p. 373). Whether this is the same al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān mentioned on the weight discussed in this paper (see next note) is very possible, although more work is needed before definite conclusions can be reached. I am indebted to the herculean efforts of my friend Wolfhart Heinrichs in providing me with a copy of Casanova’s catalogue.

it, were published by Richard Ettinghausen in 1939.²⁷ On one side of the disc the following Kufic inscription had been stamped:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَمْرٌ
بِالْوَفَاءِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ يَزِيدُ
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلٍ [ي] يَدِي
الْوَالِدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ
حَمْنِ سَنَةِ سِتِّ [و] عَشْرٍ
بَيْنَ مِائَتَيْ رَطَلٍ
وَأَفٍ

In the name of God. He (God) commands honesty. The servant of God Yazīd, Commander of the Faithful, at the hands of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, in the year six and twenty and one hundred. Full *raṭl*.

Ettinghausen identified al-Walīd from al-Ṭabarī’s *History*²⁸ as the “financial director of the treasury [sic] in Damascus in the year 126 H.,” a date that fits perfectly the date of the short caliphate of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd (Yazīd III), whose name is also stamped on the weight.²⁹ Relying on this information, and on the fact that the records of the Walters Art Gallery indicate that the weight was found in Syria, Ettinghausen dedicated much of his article to establishing what in 1939 was a rather new fact, namely that Islamic glass weights were indeed manufactured in places outside of Egypt, and that Syria was one such place.³⁰ Now, seventy years after the publication of that weight, the numerous literary sources that mention al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān can provide far more information,³¹ as can the weight itself—which is a documentary source.

²⁷ Ettinghausen, (1939: 73–76).

²⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* 7, 255–256 (*sub anno* 126).

²⁹ Ettinghausen (1939: 75).

³⁰ For more on Syrian glass weights, see above, n. 22.

³¹ The literary sources that mention al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān are either *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* works that include traditions narrated, among others, by him, so that his name appears in the traditions’ chains of transmissions (see nn. 68–82 below), or predominantly biographical dictionaries that include a biography of him. These include Ibn Ma‘īn, *Tārīkh Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn* 2, 187; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* 8, 147; Abū Zur‘a l-Dimashqī, *Tārīkh Abī Zur‘a al-Dimashqī*, 354, 703; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma‘rifā wa-l-tārīkh* 3, 381; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl* 9, 9; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāḥir ‘ulamā’ al-amṣār* 1, 184; idem,

Due to its formal characteristics as described above, the weight proves unequivocally that al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was a Finance Director during the caliphate of Yazīd III in 126/744. In that year, Yazīd assumed the caliphate following a bloody coup that ended the caliphate of his predecessor, thus necessitating the manufacture, at his “order” (*amara*), of new weights carrying his name (*‘Abdallāh Yazīd amīr al-mu`minīn*), “at the hands of” (*‘alā yaday*) his named Finance Director (*al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān*).

Now al-Ṭabarī’s additional information adduced by Ettinghausen is indeed quoted *sub anno* 126, but it actually refers to al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as Finance Director (*‘āmil kharāj*) not under Yazīd III, who ruled for some months only in 126/744 (27 Jumādā I-7 Dhū al-Ḥijja/17 March-20 September), but under the caliph Hishām, who ruled for two decades, 105–125/723–743. This indicates that al-Walīd’s tenure as Finance Director began at least two years earlier, and almost certainly ensures that he served in this capacity for three consecutive caliphs: Hishām, al-Walīd b. Yazīd (al-Walīd II; reg. 125–126/743–744), and Yazīd III. A closer analysis of al-Ṭabarī’s text may actually allow us to date his tenure even further back. From this text we learn that shortly after the revolt of Zayd b. ‘Alī in 121/739, al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān foiled the elaborate scheme of the powerful governor of Damascus, Kulthūm b. ‘Iyād al-Qushayrī (d. 122–124/739–741),³² to implicate his opponent, the celebrated former governor of Iraq Khālid al-Qasrī (d. 126/743), in a series of arsons started by a gang of thieves led by a certain Abū l-‘Amarras. Upon the capture of Abū l-‘Amarras together with the members of his gang, al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān wrote to the caliph Hishām informing him of their capture: “he named them one by one, mentioning their tribal attributions and the towns in which they were registered” (*sammāhum rajulan rajulan wa-nasabahum ilā qabā’ilihim wa-amṣārihim*).³³ This kind of detailed information about citizens, and the courage to go against an influential state

al-Thiqāt 7, 552; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tasmīyat man akhrajahum al-Bukhārī* 1:250; Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl* 2, 235; al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 127; Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Tārīkh* 63, 158; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif* 2, 352; idem, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 7, 495; idem, *Tajrīd asmā’ al-ṣaḥāba* 2, 129 (“al-Walīd al-Jurashī,” without a father’s name); al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmā’ al-rijāl* 31, 42; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 11, 140; idem, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih bi-tahrīr al-mushtabih* 1: 317; idem, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* 3, 647 (no. 9203) (“al-Walīd al-Jurashī,” without a father’s name, like al-Dhahabī’s *Tajrīd*); Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tadhhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl* 1, 416; idem, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb* 2, 582.

³² On the various dates of death mentioned in the sources for Kulthūm b. ‘Iyād, see Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Tārīkh* 50, 225.

³³ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* 7:256.

official in his own backyard of Damascus, point to an older, seasoned, and skillful administrator, almost certainly with strong local support, or *‘aṣabiyya*. Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān thus probably became Finance Director under Hishām long before the last year of Hishām’s caliphate; by 126/744, when the glass weight was stamped with his and the caliph Yazid III’s names, he had already been a highly placed, powerful, and well established government official for at least five years.

There is another corrective to Ettinghausen’s conclusions that has to be mentioned here. Al-Ṭabarī does indeed identify al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as the Finance Director *of Damascus*. But he is the only source to do so: all the other sources say that he was the Finance Director of *al-Ghūṭa*, a suburban area of Damascus, albeit a very large one.³⁴ This certainly appears to be the accurate identification of his post for at least two reasons.³⁵ The first is that its original sources, Muḥammad b. ‘Ā’idh (d. 233/847) and Abū Zur’a l-Dimashqī (d. 281/894), are not only early but had firsthand access to that kind of information: the former was himself the Finance Director of al-Ghūṭa under al-Ma’mūn (d. 218/233),³⁶ and the latter was a highly knowledgeable historian of Syria who traveled extensively throughout the country and met many of its scholars, including one familiar with al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.³⁷ The second is that I have not encountered during Umayyad times a Finance Director (*‘āmil kharāj*) of the city of Damascus, the seat of the empire, or of the totality of the military/administrative district of Damascus (*jund Dimashq*) alongside its “governor” (*amīr Dimashq*, *‘āmil Dimashq*, or whoever is identified as *waliya Dimashq* or, in an abbreviated form, *‘alā Dimashq*).³⁸ Al-Ghūṭa, or *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, on the other hand, was one of several districts of the *jund*

³⁴ Of the works mentioned in n. 31 above, those with long biographies of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū Zur’a, al-Mizzī, Ibn ‘Asākir, and Ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdhīb*)—mention this fact.

³⁵ There is a third reason that may also be adduced and that will be discussed below regarding the settlement of the Jurash in al-Ghūṭa.

³⁶ See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 53, 288.

³⁷ Abū Zur’a source on al-Walīd is Maḥmūd b. Khālīd, who met a scholar named al-Haytham b. ‘Imrān, who had met al-Walīd; see Abū Zur’a, *Tārīkh*, 354, 713. As we shall see, al-Walīd hailed from Ḥimṣ, and Abū Zur’a actually visited Ḥimṣ in 214/829 and wrote a book about its scholars, the *Tasmīyat ahl Ḥimṣ*, which has not survived but was frequently quoted by Ibn ‘Asākir; see Abū Zur’a, *Tārīkh*, 707, and the introduction of its editor, 34–36, 50. See also Wadād al-Qāḍī (2010, at nn. 53, 59).

³⁸ It is interesting that Kulthūm b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Qushayrī, the governor of the administrative district of Damascus under Hishām, was identified within one biography as having been *waliya Dimashq*, *amīr Dimashq*, and *‘āmil Hishām ‘alā jund Dimashq*. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 50, 217, 218, 224. Kulthūm is said to have been *‘alā Dimashq* in the text of al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh* 5, 255 adduced by Ettinghausen.

Dimashq and an abundantly irrigated, intensely cultivated, vast suburb of Damascus, that had its own autonomous administrator (*‘āmil*) under the Umayyads as well as the early ‘Abbāsids, “with a separate *dīwān* whose chief activity was the collecting of the *kharāj*.”³⁹

Now that we are closer to forming a better picture of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, we must focus on what it is that links him directly to glass-making. For, contrary to what Ettinghausen has intimated, the fact that al-Walīd was a Finance Director at the very time when the glass weight was stamped in his name does not necessarily link him to glassmaking, even if his position puts him in charge of an office that supervises the production such weights—i.e., it does not make him a *zajjāj*. A Finance Director in Umayyad times, after all, was, together with the governor, a province’s or a district’s highest official, and was, like the governor, appointed directly by the caliph. His administrative power and social status were, thus, hardly comparable to the power and status of a mere glass-maker. And, in fact, not a single Finance Director whose name appears on glass weights and stamps in the early period, in Egypt, Syria, or elsewhere, has been called a *zajjāj* in the sources.⁴⁰ But al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān has. How that occupation fits into his life is what we should now proceed to investigate, trying in the process to reconstruct his biography, to the extent possible, from the disparate references in the sources, and to trace the major shifts in his career, the career that was crowned with his appointment as Finance Director of al-Ghūṭa under Hishām.

Examining the way in which al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s name is given in the sources, one is struck immediately by the fact that his lineage is never carried beyond his father—we do not thus know the name of his grandfather or great grandfather—nor is his *kunya* ever mentioned.⁴¹ This certainly indicates that he was not a member of any of the influential Arab tribes, the *ashrāf*, who shaped much of the first hundred years of Islamic history. And indeed his tribal affiliation is given unanimously

³⁹ N. Elisséef (1991: s.v., last paragraph). Note also that al-Ṭabarī calls al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān a *‘āmil kharāj* (albeit inaccurately “over Damascus”) in the text adduced by Ettinghausen.

⁴⁰ Consider the celebrated Finance Director of Egypt in 116–124/734–741, ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, for example, on whom, see R. G. Khoury (2000)! It would be unthinkable that he should be called a *zajjāj*.

⁴¹ In one instance (Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 52, 306), he is given the rather peculiar *kunya* “Abū al-Mukhāriq.” But this seems to be a mix-up: “Abū l-Mukhāriq” was certainly the *kunya* of al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith al-Ghāmīdī, who is mentioned alongside al-Walīd in the same sentence. In fact, the editor of Ibn ‘Asākir remarks (in n. 6) that only one of the manuscripts he used for his edition entered this *kunya* after al-Walīd’s name.

as al-Jurashī, i.e. from the clan of Jurash of the South Arabian tribe of Ḥimyar.⁴² As for his city of origin, it is given as Ḥimṣ, in northern Syria, hence his being called *min ahl Ḥimṣ* or *al-Ḥimṣī*.⁴³ For that reason, he was probably entered in the now-lost *Tārīkh al-Ḥimṣiyyīn* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā l-Baghdādī, who died in the late third/ninth or early fourth/tenth century.⁴⁴ Only occasionally is he referred to more generally as a Syrian (*Shāmī*) or as “one of the Syrian scholars” (*min fuqahā’ ahl al-Shām*).⁴⁵

The full name of al-Walīd’s father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, when it is mentioned in the sources, clarifies his descent and gives the first clues about his association with glassmaking. It comes in two varieties: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zajjāj⁴⁶ or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zajjāj.⁴⁷ The first variety indicates that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a glassmaker, whereas the second indicates that his father, al-Walīd’s grandfather, was a glassmaker. It appears that al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān came from a family that, for at least two generations, had been glassmakers. It thus comes as no surprise that al-Walīd himself was also called “al-Zajjāj,” though infrequently,⁴⁸ and is thus given

⁴² “Al-Jurashī” is given in all his biographies and many of the references to him (see the sources mentioned in n. 31 above); the specifics of the Ḥimyarī clan from which he came are mentioned in Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl* 2, 235; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, 127; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb* 1, 272; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* 2, 126; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih* 1, 316. The *nisba* “al-Jurashī” should be distinguished from the *nisba* “al-Jarashī,” which is an attribution to the city of Jarash (the Roman Gerasa) in the military/administrative district (*jund*) of al-Urdunn. “Al-Jarashī” may also be an attribution to a clan from the Quḍāʿa, as is mentioned in the above cited sources and Ibn Mākūlā’s *al-Ikmāl* 2, 236.

⁴³ Of his biographies mentioned in n. 31 above, the following cite his Ḥimṣī origin or attribution: Abū Zurʿa, al-Fasawī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Mizzī, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Khazrajī, in addition to the two biographies of “al-Walīd al-Jurashī,” namely al-Dhahabī’s *Tajrīd* and Ibn Ḥajar’s *al-Iṣāba*.

⁴⁴ It is very possible that Ibn ʿAsākir copied this biography, or part of it, from al-Baghdādī’s book into his own *Tārīkh* 63, 160–161. He does not say so, but he used this book many times in biographies of Ḥimṣīs in his *Tārīkh*. For a biography of al-Baghdādī, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* 6, 221; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* 5, 433.

⁴⁵ See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* 63, 161, 163.

⁴⁶ See a biography under that name in Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba* 3, 293. This form of his name occurs in a few of the chains of transmission of his Kaʿba *ḥadīth* (see below, n. 60). This form is also in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* 23, 250, 253.

⁴⁷ See biographies under that name in Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt* 5, 99; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* 3, 68 (no. 6209). The majority of the chains of transmission of his Kaʿba *ḥadīth* use this form of his name (see below, n. 60). This form is also in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* 23, 249; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* 12, 605; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 4, 376.

⁴⁸ In his biographies in Ibn Ḥajar’s (d. 852/1448) *Tahdhīb* 11, 140 and al-Khazrajī’s (born 900/1494) *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb* 1, 582. The late date of these sources should leave no doubt that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Ibn) al-Zajjāj was al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s father, nor that al-Walīd belonged to a family of glassmakers. Ibn Ḥajar actually cites the early, third-fourth/ninth-century legal and *ḥadīth* scholar al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) as writing:

the name al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurashī al-Ḥimṣī al-Zajjāj, making him a third-generation glassmaker, from “a family of glassmakers,” in the well-known tradition of craftsmen across societies and time periods.⁴⁹ And actually it is the status of his father that further refines our knowledge of his background.

This father is said to have been owned by Umm Ḥabība, the Prophet’s wife and Mu‘āwīya’s sister.⁵⁰ Umm Ḥabība, it is reported, asked the Prophet to permit her to free him, which he did, and so she freed him. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān must have been a child then, since the sources gingerly attribute to him “seeing” the Prophet (*lahu ru’ya*) but not companionship.⁵¹ And it is probably his early servile status that made al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869) call his son, al-Walīd, a *mawlā*,⁵² and several authors afterwards followed suit,⁵³ implying that he was not an Arab. This claim was categorically rejected by the towering historian of Syria, Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571/1175),⁵⁴ eliciting a correct though unconvincing explanation from

“al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurashī al-Ḥimṣī al-Zajjāj.” This is actually verifiable, since it occurs in a chain of transmission of a *ḥadīth* (on the legality of the circumambulation of the Ka’ba by a woman who then menstruates) that al-Taḥāwī cites in his *Sharḥ ma’ānī al-āthār* 2, 232. Perhaps more significantly, there is another late tradition in Ibn Ḥajar’s *Iṣāba* 3, 68 (on the freeing of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān; see below) that he also takes from an earlier source, Ibn Mandah [Muḥammad b. Ishāq] (d. 395/1005). This tradition has a very interesting chain of transmission whose first narrator is al-Walīd’s grandson: “‘Umar b. ‘Uthmān b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zajjāj;” he narrates the tradition on the authority of “my father or another [member] of my family (*ahli*).” The same tradition with the same chain occurs in an even earlier, third-/ninth-century source, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Fākihī’s (217–275/832–888) *Akhbār Makka* 1, 147. There, al-Fākihī says he took over the tradition from his contemporary Ya‘qūb [al-Fasawī] (d. 292/904). In this version, “‘Umar b. ‘Uthmān b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zajjāj” narrates the tradition on the authority of his father—his grandfather (*‘an abīhi ‘an jaddihi*). The grandfather is, of course, our al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

⁴⁹ On the involvement of successive generations in making glass among Copts in Egypt, for example, see Muḥammad (1957: 5, 12).

⁵⁰ See the sources mentioned in nn. 45 and 46 above. Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb’s biography is in Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* 8, 68.

⁵¹ Note that Ibn Ḥajar places his biography (in *al-Iṣāba* 2, 68) in the second, not first, *qism* of the “Companions” whose names start with the letter *‘ayn*. He also says in the same biography that al-Bukhārī placed him among the *tābi‘ūn*. Similarly, in Ibn al-Athīr’s biography of him (*Uṣd al-ghāba* 3, 293) Abū Nu‘aym is quoted to the effect that, although some thought ‘Abd al-Raḥmān met (*adraka*) the Prophet, he was in fact a *tābi‘ī*.

⁵² A *mawlā* of the family (*āl*) of a certain Abū Sufyān al-Anṣārī (a mistake for Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb?); see al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* 8, 147.

⁵³ These are al-Fasawī, *al-Ma‘rifā* 3, 381; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ* 9, 9; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* (citing others) 63, 159, 160; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* 31, 43–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 11, 140.

⁵⁴ According to Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 63, 160, “his [al-Bukhārī’s] statement ‘*mawlā āl Abī Sufyān*’ is incorrect (*ghayr ṣaḥīḥ*), for he is an Arab from the Jurash.”

Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1448).⁵⁵ The simple explanation, it seems to me, is that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, an Arab boy, possibly from a rather lowly family of glass-makers, from the unremarkable clan of Jurash from the Ḥimyar, was taken as a prisoner of war as a child during a campaign in early Islamic times, freed, then at some point was taken by his family to settle in Ḥimṣ, or he settled there, perhaps together with many settlers from the Ḥimyar, some of whom participated in the conquest of Syria and populated the city after its conquest in 16/637.⁵⁶

If ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had made it to Ḥimṣ, he most likely would have worked as a craftsman in the commercial sector of glass production, for although Ḥimṣ had a mint as of the year 72/691–2,⁵⁷ the use of glass for manufacturing coin weights, and presumably other weights, was not introduced before the reforms of ‘Abd al-Malik took root, i.e. after the late 70’s of the first century A.H./the turn of the eighth century C.E.,⁵⁸ when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān would have been quite old. He had become involved with one more small activity, though, of which the sources took note: he transmitted the tradition that asserts that the Prophet did indeed pray in the Ka‘ba in Mecca, narrating it on the authority of the Companion Shayba b. ‘Uthmān al-Qurashī al-‘Abdarī, the *ḥājib* of the Ka‘ba.⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that most references to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān are found within the biography of Shayba b. ‘Uthmān or when discussing the Ka‘ba tradition.⁶⁰ This suggests that he never became sufficiently well known to have many biographies dedicated for him. This is why we are not surprised when we learn of a remark by a late, major *ḥadīth* scholar, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī

⁵⁵ “It is possible that he be a *mawlā* through confederacy (*ḥilf*), even though he was ethnically an Arab (*‘arabī al-aṣl*)” (*Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 11, 140).

⁵⁶ On the conquest of Ḥimṣ and its settlement by the Ḥimyar (and other South Arabian tribes), see N. Elisséef (1986); Wilferd Madelung (1986b: 141–185).

⁵⁷ See, for example, a coin bearing the name of the mint (Ḥimṣ) and the date (72) in Stephen Album and Tony Goodwin (2002, no. 305).

⁵⁸ Note that metal coin weights were used before the introduction of glass weights; see above, at n. 19.

⁵⁹ There is also a *ḥadīth qudsī* attributed to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān in al-Dāraqutnī’s *al-‘Ilal al-wārīda fī l-aḥādīth al-nabawīyya* 6, 69–70.

⁶⁰ See al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* 4, 241; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim Aḥmad b. ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī* 1, 438; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ* 4:335; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* 7, 297; al-Bayhaqī, *Shu‘ab al-īmān* 3, 455; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Mūḍih awḥām al-jam‘ wa-l-tafriq* 2, 245; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 23, 250; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba* 3, 29; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 12, 605; al-Haythamī, *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id* 3, 295; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* 2, 161 (no. 3945), 3, 68 (no. 6209); idem, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 4, 376; 11, 140; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ummāl* 5, 300; al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī* 3, 521.

(d. 807/1404), that he has “not found any author who wrote a biography of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zajjāj.”⁶¹

Al-Walīd’s date of birth is unknown, but it could not have taken place after the year 50/670, because it is reported that he participated in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ⁶² that took place in 65/684 in the Ghūṭa near Damascus, and because he was placed in the third or fourth class (*ṭabaqa*) of the *tābi‘ūn* of Syria⁶³—early enough to be make it meaningful to report on the manner he dyed his beard.⁶⁴ About his private life we know next to nothing—only that he had a son by the name of ‘Uthmān and a grandson by the name of ‘Umar.⁶⁵ We know much more about his public life, given that the sources were interested in two aspects of it: his activities in *ḥadīth* transmission, and his government service.

The sources dedicate the largest space to al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān when they discuss his activities as a *ḥadīth* transmissiter. This is due in part to their own interest in the subject, but also because al-Walīd achieved some prominence in it: he was unanimously judged as *thiqa* (reliable) by all leading *ḥadīth* critics,⁶⁶ and his transmissions were included in all of the Sunnī canonical *ḥadīth* collections, both the *Ṣaḥīḥs* and the *Sunans*.⁶⁷

An analysis of al-Walīd’s transmissions shows that he was only slightly involved, certainly much less than others of his Syrian contemporaries, with transmitting pro-Syria *ḥadīths*,⁶⁸ although he did transmit a *ḥadīth* foretelling the rewards that the Muslims will receive (presumably through the conquests),⁶⁹ and there is one *ḥadīth* (falsely) attributed to him that

⁶¹ Al-Haythamī, *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id* 3, 295.

⁶² This participation was mentioned only by al-Dhahabī in his *Tajrīd al-ṣaḥāba* 2, 129 and was repeated by Ibn Ḥajar in his *al-Iṣāba* 3, 647.

⁶³ Ibn Zur‘a placed him in the third class and Ibn Sumay‘ in the fourth; see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* 31, 43; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 63, 160; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 11, 140.

⁶⁴ In Abū Zur‘a, *Tārīkh*, 713, reporting on the authority of a person who met him, says that he used to dye his beard red (*kāna yakhdīb bi-l-ḥumra*).

⁶⁵ The names of both the son and grandson appear in the chain of transmission of the tradition in which al-Walīd’s father, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, narrated the story of his freeing from slavery; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* 3, 68. See also the end of n. 48 above.

⁶⁶ Such as Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, Abū Zur‘a, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Khirāsh (on him, see below, n. 89), Ibn Ḥibbān, and Muḥammad b. ‘Awn. The statements of these critics are mentioned, among others, in al-Walīd’s biography in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 63, 158–163.

⁶⁷ As it will be clear from the following footnotes.

⁶⁸ On these and similar “Sufyānī” *ḥadīths*, see Madelung (1986a: 5–48).

⁶⁹ The foretelling *ḥadīth* occurs in, among other sources, Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah* 1, 4; ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, *al-Aḥkām al-shar‘iyya l-kubrā* 3, 298.

can easily be seen as anti-Shī'ī.⁷⁰ Only one, widely cited, of the *ḥadīths* narrated on his authority is a conquests-oriented, Syria-centered, and apparently Umayyad-leaning *ḥadīth*. In it the Prophet, shortly before his death, rejects the claim that fighting was over, and instead asserts that now was the time to fight, stating that those of his community in the right would be fought by errant groups in order to undermine them, and he repeats two widely circulated dictums: that goodness is always attached to the horses' forelocks (*al-khayl ma'qūd fī nawāshihā l-khayr ilā yawm al-qiyāma wa-ahluhā mu'ānūna 'alayhā*), and that Syria is the center of the believers' lands (*'uqr dār al-mu'minīn al-Shām/bi-l-Shām*).⁷¹ Another two of his transmissions have been widely cited. In one, the Prophet draws an elaborate picture of how the Qur'ān will march on the Day of Judgment headed by its first two long *sūras*, al-Baqara and Āl 'Imrān,⁷² and in the other, the Prophet praises religious scholarship (*'ilm*) and identifies humility (*al-khushū'*) as its key component.⁷³ Others transmissions of his cover legal issues (staying up during Ramaḍān;⁷⁴ funerals;⁷⁵ fasting;⁷⁶ and prayer⁷⁷), or ethical and

⁷⁰ This is the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet is supposed to have held in his hand pebbles that praised God. When he gave these pebbles to Abū Bakr, then to 'Umar, then to 'Uthmān, they praised God; but when he gave them to 'Alī, they did not. Many Sunnī authors commented negatively on this *ḥadīth*, declaring it forged. It was reported by al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ* 2, 59 and *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* 3, 81.

⁷¹ This *ḥadīth*, with al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān as one of its transmitters, occurs in many sources, the main ones of which are al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-kabīr* 4, 70; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* 4, 104; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārikh* 1, 336; 2, 298; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī l-kubrā* 4, 311; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān* 9, 207; al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* 1, 576, 3, 320; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh* 1, 115–117; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib al-kamāl*, 11, 323; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* 7, 308.

⁷² The Qur'ān *ḥadīth* occurs in several sources, among them al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-kabīr* 8, 147; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* 1, 554; Abū 'Awāna Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Isfarāyīnī, *Musnad Abī 'Awāna* 2, 485; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 4, 183; al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* 2, 320; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* 1, 153; al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuhfat al-ahwadhī* 8, 154.

⁷³ The *'ilm ḥadīth* occurs in many sources, some of which are al-Bukhārī, *Khalq af'al al-'ibād* 1, 79; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6:26 ; al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 5:392; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 7, 48; 8, 254; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* 18, 43; idem, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* 1, 155, 156; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* 1, 168, 716, 3, 297, 4, 187; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *al-Asmā' al-mubhama* 6, 404; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Ist'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb* 2, 534.

⁷⁴ See, among other sources, Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shayba* 2, 164; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 5:163; al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī* 2, 42; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan* 1, 420; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* 3, 169; Abū al-Jarūd al-Naysābūrī, *al-Muntaqā*, 108.

⁷⁵ For *ḥadīths* on funerals, see Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* 3, 12; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak* 3, 584.

⁷⁶ For *ḥadīths* on fasting, see al-Dārimī, *Sunan* 2, 26; Ibn Khuzayma al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzayma* 3, 194; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh* 47, 260.

⁷⁷ For *ḥadīths* on prayer, see Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* 2, 49; al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān* 3, 115; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh* 13, 156.

pietistic concerns (greed;⁷⁸ the reward for spending in the path of God⁷⁹), while others discuss aspects of the Prophet's *sīra* (the *isrā'*;⁸⁰ the difficulties of his early ministry and his daughter Zaynab's fear for him⁸¹). There is also one pietistic *ḥadīth qudsī* attributed to him.⁸² Altogether, al-Walīd seems to have been more of a solid *muḥaddith* than a prolific or influential one: Ibn Ḥazm even declared that he did not know him.⁸³

Moving from the contents of al-Walīd's *ḥadīths* to their chains of transmission, something quite peculiar emerges that helps further trace his movements. As far as his teachers are concerned, an analysis of their biographies shows that they were overwhelmingly Ḥimṣīs (5 out of 7).⁸⁴ In contrast, an analysis of the biographies of his *students* reveals that none of them hailed from Ḥimṣ; rather, they were overwhelmingly Damascene (5, possibly 6, and possibly even 7, out of 9),⁸⁵ with one student who hailed from al-Ṭā'if and resided in Wāsiṭ in Iraq,⁸⁶ and another who hailed from and resided in al-Ramla in Palestine.⁸⁷ These two facts need little interpretation to lead one to conclude—even after allowing for some travel among *ḥadīth* scholars—that al-Walīd spent his youth in Ḥimṣ but left it for Damascus—or its surrounding area—when he was still relatively young and started to become active in transmitting *ḥadīth*—in, say, the seventies of the first Islamic century/the last decade of the seventh century C.E., perhaps not long after his participation in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ

⁷⁸ See the *ḥadīth* on greed in al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* 20, 78.

⁷⁹ The *ḥadīth* on spending appears in al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* 7, 21; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādādi, *Mūdiḥ awḥām al-jam' wa-l-tafrīq* 2, 502; al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr al-Baghawī* 1, 164; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* 47, 260, 261.

⁸⁰ The *ḥadīth* of the *isrā'* occurs in al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* 3, 110; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* 3, 21.

⁸¹ This *ḥadīth* was widely circulated; see, for example, Ibn Abī 'Āṣim Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Shaybānī, *al-Aḥād wa-l-mathānī* 4, 364, 365; 5, 374; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* 3, 268; 20, 283; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* 11, 407; 13, 156; 52, 306; 57, 181; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba* 1, 321; 4, 340; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* 1, 275; 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl* 12, 450.

⁸² "My very servant is the one who remembers me..." is in Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* 36, 266.

⁸³ See Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā* 7, 172.

⁸⁴ The Ḥimṣīs are Jubayr b. Nufayr al-Sakūnī, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith al-Ghāmīdī, Salama b. Nufayl al-Sakūnī, 'Iyāḍ b. Ghuta'f al-Sakūnī al-Kindī, and Abū Umāma al-Bāhili Ṣudayy b. al-'Ajlān. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Aws al-Thaqafi hailed from the Ḥijāz and resided in al-Ṭā'if, and Abū Hurayra resided in Medina but came to Damascus during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya.

⁸⁵ His Damascene students are Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Aftas, Khālid b. Dihqān, Muḥammad b. Muḥājir al-Anṣārī, 'Abdallāh b. al-'Alā' b. Zabr, and Yūnus b. Maysara b. Ḥalbas al-A'mā. Bashshār b. Abī Sayf is identified generally as Syrian (*Shāmi*) with one historian erroneously mistaking him for a Baṣran. Dāwūd b. Abī Hind Dīnār was Baṣran but he came to Damascus and transmitted his *ḥadīth* there.

⁸⁶ This is Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā' al-'Āmirī.

⁸⁷ This is Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abla Shamir al-Ramlī. See also below, at n. 95.

in 65/684. It was in that area that he spent most of the rest of his life. Other scattered accounts in the sources confirm this move. He is reported to have addressed a question to ‘Āmir b. Ludayn al-Ash‘arī, ‘Abd al-Malik’s judge over Damascus,⁸⁸ which we can assume took place in Damascus. He is also reported to have visited (*wafada ‘alā*) al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁸⁹ This visit probably took place in Damascus, which al-Ḥajjāj frequented throughout his political career. It, however, could also have taken place in Iraq (note that one of al-Walīd’s students resided in Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥajjāj’s own creation), or, less likely, in the Ḥijāz.⁹⁰

There is finally another account about al-Walīd which places him, for reasons that are not disclosed, in the administrative/military district of Palestine (*Filasṭīn*); it is a “firsts” (*awā’il*) report.⁹¹ Al-Walīd is said to have been the first person to start the then-controversial study⁹² and discussion of the Qur’ān and its readings there (*awwal man aḥdatha l-dirāsa . . . bi-Filasṭīn*). In so doing, he was following in the footsteps of a very influential Qurashī scholar and administrator, Hishām b. Ismā‘īl b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra l-Makhzūmī,⁹³ who initiated the study and discussion of the Qur’ān and its “seven readings” in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, attracting to his circle a large number of distinguished politicians, jurists, and *ḥadīth* scholars, including the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik. The connection that the sources make between these two “firsts” may point to a sojourn by al-Walīd in Palestine after an extended period of residence

⁸⁸ His question to Ibn Ludayn is mentioned by al-Bukhārī (*al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* 6, 453), in the biography of Ibn Ludayn. We do not have a date of death for Ibn Ludayn, but it seems he was one generation older than al-Walīd, since Ibn Sumay‘ placed him in the third *ṭabaqa* of the *tābi‘ūn* of Syria; see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 26, 92.

⁸⁹ Al-Walīd’s rather formal visit (*qadīma ‘alā*), as it seems, is mentioned in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 63, 163; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* 31, 43; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* 11, 140. The report can be traced back to an early authority, Ibn Khirāsh ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yūsuf, the Baghdādī *ḥāfiẓ*, who died in 283/896. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 36, 107.

⁹⁰ Al-Ḥajjāj was governor over the Ḥijāz only briefly (74–75/693–694; see Iḥsān Ṣidqī al-‘Amad (1973: 145 ff.), whereas he was governor over Iraq for two decades (75–95/694–714; *ibid.*, 165 ff.).

⁹¹ The report appears in Abū Zur‘a, *Tārīkh*, 713; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 2, 283; 63, 161; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 9, 159–160. Abū Zur‘a, the first to report it, did so with an impressive Syrian chain of transmission: he narrated it from a Jurashī scholar, who narrated from no less than al-Awzā‘ī, who took his information from al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān’s student, Khālīd b. Dihqān.

⁹² On the controversial nature of this kind of study, see the objections of the Jordanian scholar and administrator, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Azrab al-Ash‘arī in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 2, 284–285. For more on al-Ḍaḥḥāk, see Wadād al-Qāḍī (2007: 367–369) and n. 89.

⁹³ Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī was the governor of Medina under the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. ‘Abd al-Malik married his daughter, who bore him the future caliph Hishām. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 73, 377.

in Damascus, where the phenomenon of *al-dirāsa* began, and after he had become an established scholar with name recognition, firm standing in religious scholarship, and with a number of students. The fact that the *dirāsa* took place in *the mosque* in Palestine means that the city in which the mosque was located was a principal one. It is unlikely that it should be Jerusalem, because then the city would probably be identified by its highly recognizable and venerated name. It, therefore, must be al-Ramla, the major city of the administrative/military district of Filasṭīn—and capital towns were sometimes given the name of their province, like *Miṣr*, for both al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Egypt. In addition, al-Ramla was the only Muslim-founded garrison town in Syria, and the town that witnessed enormous efflorescence and construction activities in the last decades of the first Hijrī century/late seventh early eighth centuries with the residence of the future caliph Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (reg. 96–99/714–717) in it.⁹⁴ It was almost certainly in al-Ramla that al-Walīd transmitted the *ḥadīths* that his prolific Ramlī student Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Abla (d. 157/773) carried from him.⁹⁵ All in all, al-Walīd’s stay in Palestine could not have been extended to the point that it would make the sources attribute residence in it to him. Rather, I would suggest that after Palestine he returned to the area of Damascus in which he had been previously residing.

Why did al-Walīd move from Ḥimṣ to Damascus early in his career? In the absence of explicit information in the sources, we can only speculate on his motive for the move. If this motive were merely scholarly, then perhaps staying in Ḥimṣ and transmitting *ḥadīth* there would have served him better than moving to Damascus, since Ḥimṣ was practically as good as the capital in this respect in the last few decades of the first century. This is so because of its location in the heart of the military/administrative district of Ḥimṣ, on the active frontier with Byzantium, whence its attractiveness to innumerable scholars, ascetics, and warriors, and its becoming, as a result, an active—perhaps an over-active—center for *ḥadīth* transmission.⁹⁶ Al-Walīd’s motive, thus, must be due to more than his desire to practise scholarship in a vibrant milieu, which means that it either had to do with the other aspect of his public life, namely his craft and source of livelihood, glassmaking, or with a personal factor that had meaningful social implications.

⁹⁴ On al-Ramla, see E. Honigmann (1995).

⁹⁵ On Ibn Abī ‘Abla, see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 6, 427.

⁹⁶ On the lively atmosphere of Ḥimṣ for *ḥadīth* transmission, see the two articles by Madelung (1986a) and (1986b) mentioned above (nn. 56 and 68).

Postponing for the moment discussion of the personal factor, and concentrating on glassmaking, we can venture into some speculation. For, there is no doubt that Damascus presented a golden opportunity for a skilled craftsman in glass production which Ḥimṣ could not provide, namely working not in the commercial sector of glass manufacturing, but in the public sector—for the government, in its newly instituted workshops in or near the capital, one would assume, for the production of glass weights for coins and commodities, following the swift progress of the monetary reforms of ‘Abd al-Malik, and the establishment of glass as a better medium for measuring weight than any metal. In the absence of impediments to moving, anyone with ambition to earn a better living would move; and the government must have been in need of skillful hands to man its workshops and meet the demand for the new weights. In addition, as Paul Balog has noted, the emission of weights and stamps “was a constant source of revenue for the government,”⁹⁷ hence its desire to keep up the production of those weights. Being a principal reason for moving to Damascus and his primary professional occupation there, glassmaking continued to be the identifying mark of al-Walīd as *al-zajjāj*, the glass person, even when he was engaged in other activities, such as transmitting *ḥadīth*. Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine that the move to Damascus, with the opportunities it opened for him, tipped the balance of his priorities in the direction of increased association with government matters and figures than with *ḥadīth* transmission and transmitters—that is, with religious scholarship. This is at least what the historical sources seem to intimate when they refer to his interaction with government figures, such as the towering Umayyad government powerhouse al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and ‘Abd al-Malik’s judge over Damascus ‘Āmir b. Ludayn. Even al-Walīd’s most visible scholarly activity, his initiation of the study of the Qur’ān in al-Ramla/Palestine was done, it seems, as a replication in Palestine of the work of an innovative scholar-official at the Umayyad mosque in Damascus. I would even go a little further and suggest that al-Walīd’s trip to Palestine/al-Ramla could very well have been related to his job as an expert glassmaker of weights for the government.⁹⁸ After all, we do

⁹⁷ Balog (1976: 10).

⁹⁸ Paul Balog’s extensive work on glass weights and stamps convinced him that “from the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik until that of Yazīd III (67–126 H.) a special weight system was used in Syria (Filasṭīn).” idem (1976: 21).

know that al-Ramla had its own mint starting as early as 101/719 and possibly earlier.⁹⁹

Overall, then, the move to Damascus brought al-Walīd closer to government circles and put him on the road to joining them. What the stations on this road were, other than making glass weights, before the caliphate of Hishām, is impossible to pin down, other than to assume that they involved his promotion into positions with more responsibilities and, with that, more experience and visibility. One could thus imagine him rising gradually from a lowly employee who handles glass with his hands—“stamps” or “makes” weights—to an “executive” or “prefect”¹⁰⁰ with bureaucratic rather than menial responsibilities. Without this rise in the hierarchy of the staff at the office in charge of weights and measures, it would be difficult to account for his becoming one of the highest-ranking financial officers in Syria—arguably in the empire—during the caliphate of Hishām. By the time of that caliphate—perhaps some twenty or thirty years after his move to the Damascus area—he must have accumulated sufficient experience in matters technical and enough administrative acumen in office management, and he must have become visible enough that the caliph himself, the highest authority in the empire, appointed him Finance Director over the vastest stretch of fertile lands surrounding the capital, al-Ghūṭa, a position in which he was autonomous, despite being administratively subordinate to the governor of Damascus. As such, he could report directly to the caliph, as we have seen him indeed do during the crisis of Abū l-‘Amarras and his gang, without going through the governor of the *jund* of Damascus.

Al-Walīd’s assumption of this position made him obviously achieve great power, so that his intervention was sought by people of all walks of life,¹⁰¹ and even those of great wealth. This we learn from a report cited by Ibn ‘Asākir.¹⁰² The context of the report is the strained relations between the caliph Hishām and his former powerful governor of Iraq, Khālīd al-Qasrī, after the latter’s dismissal from office in 120/738. Hishām learned that Khālīd had bought a piece of land in the Ghūṭa without first seeking his permission. Angered by this, Hishām sent a letter to his governor over Damascus, the above mentioned Kulthūm b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Qushayrī, ordering

⁹⁹ For some surviving coins that carry the engraving of the mint of al-Ramla, see John Walker (1956: 255–259, nos. 846–879). The earliest dated coin carries the date 101/719–20, but several coins are undated.

¹⁰⁰ See above, at n. 24.

¹⁰¹ See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* 34, 245; 63, 163.

¹⁰² In *ibid.*, 1, 198–199.

him to immediately give Khālīd's two agents one hundred lashes each and to parade them in the streets while someone proclaims their transgression: buying land without the permission of the Commander of the Faithful. He also ordered him "to impose a fine of 400 *dīnārs* on my agent (*ʿāmilī*) over the Ghūṭa, al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and to send them [the *dīnārs*] to me, since a piece of land has been bought without his [the caliph's] permission."¹⁰³ If Hishām's letter assumes that al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was capable of coming up with 400 gold *dīnārs* on the spot, then al-Walīd must have been capable of doing so. This means that, under Hishām, he had become a very wealthy man.

The last report raises the question of where exactly in the Damascus area had al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān resided, at least part of the time, after leaving Ḥimṣ—and perhaps also the question of the possible personal motive with meaningful social implications for his move from Ḥimṣ. A close examination of some texts in the historical sources may allow us to answer these questions.

Some of these texts¹⁰⁴ occur in the reports on the last stages of the successful coup that Yazīd III carried out against the sitting caliph al-Walīd II in 126/744. Yazīd's supporters, mainly from South Arabian tribes, entered Damascus and took control of its mosque and treasury, many proceeding to it from villages in the Ghūṭa, such as Dūma, Ḥarastā, Saṭrā, al-Ḥadītha, and Dayr Zakkā.¹⁰⁵ The sources thus call them "the people of this-or-that place": *ahl Dūmā wa-Ḥarastā . . . ahl . . . Saṭrā wa-ahl al-Ḥadītha wa-Dayr Zakkā*. Now among those groups *ahl Jurash/Jarash* are also mentioned. Since the context is the Ghūṭa, the city of Jarash (in al-Urdunn) cannot be meant; what is meant is the clan of Jurash. This presents a very interesting but also strange dilemma: how can the word *ahl*, "the people of," be attached to a clan's name? If the clan is meant, then "Jurash" is sufficient, without *ahl*. The explanation is simple and has been noted frequently by Muslim scholars: tribes/clans settle in places and give these places their own names. This is why we have, for example, the town of al-Awzāʿ in the Ghūṭa, although the Awzāʿ are originally a tribe. *Ahl Jurash* in our texts, then, must mean: the people of the village in the Ghūṭa called Jurash, whose inhabitants were primarily (or at first, at its foundation) from the clan of Jurash. What this means for our purposes here is that there must

¹⁰³ Ibid., 1, 199.

¹⁰⁴ In al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* 7, 241–242; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 5, 285.

¹⁰⁵ Yāqūt mentions that these villages were located in al-Ghūṭa. See his *Muʿjam al-buldān* 2, 486 (Dūma); 2, 242 (Ḥarastā); 3, 220 (Saṭrā); 2, 232 (al-Ḥadītha); 2, 513 (Dayr Zakkā).

have been some mass emigration of Jurashīs to the Ghūṭa near Damascus several decades before 126/744, and those immigrants increased over time; by 126/744 they had become numerous enough and sufficiently dominant in their new abode that their village was called by the name of their clan—and probably even registered as such in the government's tax records.

Could al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān have been part of this emigration out of Ḥimṣ into al-Ghūṭa? This is very likely: the timeframe of his life certainly permits it, including his possible participation in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, which took place in al-Ghūṭa, as does, of course, his eventual appointment as the highest financial officer over al-Ghūṭa at the height of his career. It also would explain how he was able to compose a list for the caliph Hishām with the names and "tribal attributions and the towns in which they were registered" of every thief who participated in the stream of arsons in al-Ghūṭa organized by the gang leader Abū l-'Amarras: al-Walīd probably knew of them from having lived in al-Ghūṭa for a very long time, not only because he had government records at his disposal. It is to be noted, that the Jurshī settlement in al-Ghūṭa seemed to have increased after al-Walīd's tenure as overseer of its financial affairs. Half a century later, in 174/790, during the rebellion of Abū al-Haydhām against the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Rashīd, there were four villages with independent names belonging to the people of Jurash;¹⁰⁶ and more than three centuries later, there was still a village named "Ḥadīthat Jurash" in al-Ghūṭa.¹⁰⁷

We can now return to the question posed at the beginning of this study: whether the nickname of the grammarian al-Zajjāj could have come from his working as a glass person for the government prior to his becoming a private tutor and a companion of viziers and caliphs. The answer is, of course, it is possible, as it was possible in the case of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān two centuries earlier—even if al-Zajjāj had started his career in glassmaking in the private sector. Indeed, the opportunities of working for the government during al-Zajjāj's time were certainly more numerous than they were during the lifetime of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. In al-Walīd's life we are not sure what the office that supervised the pro-

¹⁰⁶ Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* 26, 72; the safe conduct requested for the *qurā Jurash* were written to the following villages: Bayt al-Balāt, Bayt Qūqā, al-Ḥadītha, and Jisrīn. On the revolt, see Paul M. Cobb (2001: 82ff).

¹⁰⁷ It was in this village that the jurist and Qur'ān reciter al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nahrabīnī was buried when he died in 530/1135; see Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* 14, 302.

duction of glass weights was called—whether the name *dār* (or *dīwān*) *al-makāyil wa-l-awzān* or *dār al-‘iyār* existed then, or was retroactively used in the later sources; and there probably was not yet a *muḥtasib* in charge of observing, among other things, the use of correct weights in the market.¹⁰⁸ By al-Zajjāj’s times, such institutions had become ubiquitous administrative entities, clearly identifiable. It is also quite interesting to note that both al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and al-Zajjāj are success stories of the ambitious and the skillful in that unstratified early Islamic society, both starting out from obscure beginnings steeped in the craft of glass-making in the commercial sector, and both ending up becoming involved in government circles and becoming rich and influential. Both also were involved in scholarship. However, whereas in the case of al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān his scholarly career remained in a way parallel to his professional one of glassmaking, al-Zajjāj’s immersion in scholarship and then in teaching seems to have put an end to his professional career as a glassmaker. And whereas al-Walid’s eventual immersion in his work for the government subordinated his involvement in scholarship, al-Zajjāj’s career developed in the opposite direction, leading to what seems to have been a complete immersion in scholarship. Despite that, though, al-Zajjāj, like al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān—and actually more than him—continued to be known until the end by the epithet *al-zajjājī*!

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¹⁰⁸ Much of Morton’s article (1991) is dedicated to dealing with this issue and argues that the office of the *muḥtasib* indeed existed in late Umayyad times. While this is not impossible, more work is needed for ascertaining the exact nature—and name—of the office in charge of weights and measures in Umayyad times.

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AGAINST THE ARABIC GRAMMARIANS
SOME POEMS

Geert Jan van Gelder

There is hardly a nobler discipline, in the history of Arab-Islamic civilization, than grammar. Few would dispute its usefulness, or the subtlety and insights of its practitioners since the time of Sibawayhi and al-Khalil b. Aḥmad in the eighth century. Few would and few did; but it is precisely on these few that this contribution will focus, not to argue that they are correct, but by way of light relief, and perhaps to show and expose some of the excesses of these grammarians. This paper will not address the serious refutation of the grammarians (or rather of some of their methods) by an Arab Sextus Empiricus,¹ Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī (d. 592/1195), in his *al-Radd 'alā l-nuḥāt*, but instead will analyze a few poems that grumble against the rules imposed by the grammarians, or mock those who need explicit rules rather than an innate ability to produce correct speech. Ramzi Baalbaki mentioned two such poems in his editorial introduction to a collection of studies exploring the early Arabic grammatical tradition; he also quotes a telling line by Ibn Fāris (a grammarian and lexicographer himself), describing a Turkish girl, whose languid eyes (attractive in a pretty girl or boy) are “weaker than a grammarian’s argument” (*ad'afa min ḥujjati naḥwīyyī*).²

One of these two poems is attributed to Abū Ghassān Rufay' b. Salama b. Muslim b. Rufay' al-'Abdī, nicknamed Damādh (also pronounced Dimādh), which, according to al-Marzubānī (d. 384/993), is a Persian word meaning *fasīla*, or “offset of a palm-tree,” or “small palm-tree.”³ This man was the servant, *ghulām*, or the scribe, *kātib*, of Abū 'Ubayda (d. 210/825), and short entries are given to him in works on grammarians, even though

¹ Sextus Empiricus (d. c. AD 250), sceptic philosopher and author of *Against the Grammarians*.

² Baalbaki (2007: xxxix); the line by Ibn Fāris is found in Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* 3, 403, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4, 87, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 1, 119, al-Ṣafadī, *Nuṣrat al-thā'ir* 85, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1, 352 and several other sources; also quoted by Ibn Maḍā', *al-Radd* (Ḍayf) 72, and Ibn Maḍā', *al-Radd* (Bannā) 64. See also Baalbaki (2009: 103), on Rufay' b. Salama.

³ Al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 223; cf. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān, FSL*. I have not found the word in Persian dictionaries. Instead of Rufay', some editions have Rafī', e.g. Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* 2, 156, al-Qālī, *Amālī* 3, 186, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd* 2, 488.

they mention specifically that he was Abū 'Ubayda's *kātib fi l-akhbār*, scribe for his historical writings.⁴ Apparently, he became exasperated with the study of grammar when hearing about the discussions of the use of the subjunctive; that, at least is clear from the poem, which I present here in the version of al-Marzubānī:⁵

*tafakkartu fi l-naḥwi ḥattā maliltu / wa-ʾatʾabtu rūḥi bihi wa-l-badan
wa-ʾatʾabtu bakran wa-ʾaṣḥābahū / bi-tūli l-masʾili fi kulli fann
wa-kuntu ʾalīman bi-ʾiḍmārihi / wa-kuntu ʾalīman bi-mā qad ʾalan
fa-kuntu bi-zāhirihi ʾalīman / wa-kuntu bi-bāṭinihi dhā fiṭan
siwā ʾanna bāban ʾalayhi l-ʾafā- / ʾu li-l-fāʾi yā laytahū lam yakun
wa-li-l-wāwi bābun ʾilā janbihi / mina l-bughḍi ʾaḥsibuhū qad luʾin
ʾidhā qultu hātū li-mādhā yuqā- / lu lastu bi-ʾātika ʾaw taʾtṭyan
ʾabīnū li-mā qīla hādhā ka-dhā / ʾalā l-naṣbi qālū li-ʾiḍmāri ʾan
wa-mā ʾin ʾalimtu lahā mawḍiʾan / yabīnu wa-ʾaʾrifu ʾillā bi-zann
fa-qad khiftu yā Bakru min tūli mā / ʾufakkiru fi baʾdi dhā ʾan ʾujann*

I have thought about grammar until I was bored;
I have wearied my body with it and my soul;
I have worn out al-Māzinī⁶ and all his friends
With long queries and problems on all kind of things.
In the past I knew matters implicit in it
And I used to know all things explicit in it,
I was knowledgeable about evident things,
Full of insight in things that is hidden in it,
There is only one chapter: the particle (Fie
On it!) *fa*, and I wish it would never have been!
And there's one on the particle *wa*, next to it,
That's so hateful I think that it must have been cursed.
When I say, "Tell me, please, why on earth do they say,
'I will *not* come to you, or it be that you come?'
Please explain why they use the subjunctive mood here!"
Then they say, "Here the particle 'that' is implied".
Yet I cannot see any clear reason for it
To be there; I don't know and I can only guess.
My dear Bakr, I've been thinking for such a long time
About part of this thing I'm afraid I'll go mad.

⁴ Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 181, al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 6, al-Bakrī, *Simṭ* 2, 87.

⁵ Al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 224; for other versions of the poem see Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* 2, 156–57, al-Qālī, *Amālī* 3, 186, Ibn ʾAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd* 2, 489, al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn* 423, al-Sirāfī, *Akḥbār* (Krenkow) 78, (Bannā) 88–89, Ibn ʾAbd al-Barr, *Bahja* 1, 68 (where Damādh's name is wrongly given as Ghassān b. Rufayʿ), al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 5–6. See also Jabbārīn (1999: 332). For the sake of the clarity of the prosody, when transliterating verse, I indicate word-initial *hamza*, normally omitted.

⁶ Abū ʾUthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Māzinī (d. 247/861), grammarian from Basra. He commented on this line: "I don't think he ever asked me, so how could he have worn me out?" (al-Qālī, *al-Amālī* 3, 186).

Al-Marzubānī explains:

This happened because the Basrians maintain that a verb is put in the subjunctive mood only when the particle *an* (“that”) is understood. Thus, when someone says,

lā tanha ‘an khuluqin wa-ta’tiya mithlahū
‘ārun ‘alayka ‘idhā fa’alta ‘azīmū

Do not forbid a vice and then do the like:
 A grave and shameful thing, if you do that!⁷

then the interpretation [explaining the subjunctive *wa-ta’tiya*] is: let not these two things come together for you, that (*an*) you forbid a vice and that (*an*) you do the like. If you say, “I will not come to you or it be that you come (*‘aw ta’tiya*) to me” then the interpretation is “I will not come to you unless (that) you come (*‘illā ‘an ta’tiya*) to me”. As for the particle *fa*, in God’s word “Would that I had been with them, and I attained (*fa-‘afūza*) a mighty triumph!” (Q 4:73), the interpretation is: “Would that it had come together for me, that I had been with them and that I then had attained (*fa-‘an ‘afūza*) a mighty triumph”.

Even though he claims in his poem to have understood all of grammar, both its obvious and its more obscure topics, apart from the chapters on the particles *fa* and *wa*, Damādh was not the only one to be baffled by the subjunctive mood in such cases.⁸ For the grammatical background I could refer to the grammarians themselves, above all of course to the master-grammarian who is the recipient of this volume, and who has written authoritatively precisely on these “cursed” chapters.⁹ There is one oddity connected with this: in the poem we find *lastu bi-‘ātika ‘aw ta’tiyan*. One notices in passing that the grammars do indeed use the verb *‘atā* “to come” in their illustrative sentences. However, one would have expected *‘aw ta’tiyā*, the pausal form of *ta’tiya*, so why is *ta’tiyan* used? At first sight this looks like the so-called energetic form, but I am

⁷ Often quoted; attributed to al-Akḥṭal in Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb* 1, 424, to Ḥassān b. Thābit in al-Sīrāfi, *Sharḥ abyāt Sibawayhi* 2, 188, to al-Mutawakkil al-Laythī in al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, 142, al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* 7, 160, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iqd* 2, 311, al-Marzubānī, *Mu’jam* 339, to Sābiq al-Barbarī by al-Ḥātimī, *Hilya* 1, 296; anonymously in Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* 2, 19. See also al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna* 8, 566–67, al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa* 2, 15, etc.

⁸ See e.g. Stefan Wild (1980) and al-Hamadhānī, *al-Maqāmāt* 366 (*al-Maqāma al-Dīnārīyya*): *yā aqbaḥa min ḥattā fi mawāḍi‘a shattā* (in Prendergast’s translation: “you worse than *ḥattā* in its various constructions!”)—with thanks to Bilal Orfali for reminding me of this phrase. The particle *ḥattā* can serve as a preposition, or an adverb, or a conjunction followed by the perfect, the imperfect indicative, or the subjunctive. The grammarian al-Farrā’ (d. 200/822) famously said “I’ll die with something about *ḥattā* still on my mind” (e.g. al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 301, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 7, 180).

⁹ Baalbaki (2001).

not aware that this can ever be used instead of a subjunctive. The solution is to consider it a shortening of *ta'tiyanī*, “you come to me,” which would be very unusual in Abbasid times, but is at least attested in early poetry; Damādh seems to allude specifically to a line by al-A'shā quoted in Sibawayh's *Kitāb*.¹⁰

The other sources for this poem do not offer important variants, but a few deviations should be mentioned. The third line, with the words *wakuntu 'alīman bi-'iḍmārihī*, is found only in al-Marzubānī. It is interesting that it contains the word *iḍmār*, which nicely anticipates line 8, on the “implied” presence of *an*, the matter that gave rise to the poem; *iḍmār* is used here as a near-synonym of *taqdīr*, “theoretical reconstruction”.¹¹ Clever though it may be, I think the line may be a later addition, an amplification of the idea expressed in the following line, where the antonymous pair *iḍmār* and *i'lān* (here used as a *merismus*: the implicit and the explicit, i.e. all of it) is replaced by another pair, *bāṭin* and *ẓāhīr*. One cannot be sure, of course, and that Damādh liked to play with words is clear from his amusing paronomasia, *bāban* (‘*alayhi l-‘afā!*) *li-l-fā*’, “a chapter–Fie on it!–on *fā*”. In the oldest sources, Ibn Qutayba, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, and al-Qālī, the last line is *fa-qad khiftu yā bakru min ṭūli mā / ‘ufakkiru fī ‘amri ‘an ‘an ‘ujann*, “My dear Bakr, I’ve been thinking for such a long time / On the matter of ‘that’ that I fear I’ll go mad”, a reading I prefer not so much because it may be older as for the appropriate use of the subjunctive and the witty repetition of *‘an*. The penultimate line as found in these sources is *wa-mā ‘in ra‘aytu lahā mawḍi‘an / fa-‘a’rifā mā qīla ‘illā bi-ẓann*, “Yet I cannot see any clear reason for it / To be there so I know it; I can only guess.” One notices that it contains precisely the same kind of subjunctive, after *fa-* in this case. To me this, too, seems a superior reading, because it shows that to those who grew up with the language (and Damādh, in spite of his nickname, was an Arab by descent) do not need explicit knowledge of the rules of grammar in order to apply them correctly.

¹⁰ *fa-hal yamna‘annī rtiyādu l-bilā- / di min ḥadhari l-mawti ‘an ya’tiyan*; another line from the same poem ends... *‘idhā mā ntasabtu lahū ‘ankaran*, see Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb* 2, 151, 290; cf. also Wright (1896–98: 2, 371). Another archaic feature in the poem is the variant *fakkartu*, found instead of *tafakkartu* in the version of al-Sirāfi: the elision of the first short syllable in the *mutaqārib* meter called *kharm* (normally found only in the opening line of a poem) is very rare in *muḥdath* poetry. It is probably the original reading, since it is unlikely that al-Sirāfi would have introduced it.

¹¹ The terms refer to the same thing from different points of view: *iḍmār* means that the speaker “hides” something, *taqdīr* means that the grammarian “reconstructs” it.

This is precisely what is suggested by another poem, which is more explicitly directed against the grammarians. Damādh may not have been a real grammarian but at least he was part of the circle of scholars. This second poem is by someone outside the purviews of scholarship but very much inside the world of original Bedouin poetry. Again, it is found in various sources and forms; I present the longest version, from Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *Bahjat al-majālīs*, where the poet is said to be an otherwise unknown ‘Ammār al-Kalbī.¹²

mādhā laqītu mina l-musta‘ribīna wa-min 1
qiyāsi naḥwihimū hādhā lladhī btada‘ū
’in qultu qāfiyatan bikran yakūnu lahā
ma‘nan yukhālifu mā qāsū wa-mā ṣana‘ū
qālū laḥanta fa-hādhā l-ḥarfu munkhafīḍun
wa-dhāka naṣbun wa-hādhā laysa yartafi‘ū
wa-ḥarrashū bayna ‘abdi llāhi fa-jtahadū
wa-bayna zaydin wa-ṭāla l-ḍarbu wa-l-waja‘ū
fa-qultu wāḥidatan fihā jawābuhumū 5
wa-kathratu l-qawli bi-l-’ijāzi tanqaṭi‘ū
mā kullu qawliya mashrūḥun lakum fa-khudhū
mā ta’rifūna wa-mā lam ta’rifū fa-da‘ū
ḥattā ’a’ūda ’ilā l-qawmi lladhīna ghudhū
bi-mā ghudhītu bihī wa-l-qawlu yattasi‘ū
fa-ta’rifū minhu ma’nā mā ’afūhu bihī
ka-’annanī wa-humū fī qawlihī shara‘ū
kam bayna qawmin qadi ḥtālū li-mantiqihim
wa-bayna qawmin ‘alā l-’irābi qad ṭubi‘ū
wa-bayna qawmin ra’aw ’ashyā mu’āyanatan 10
wa-bayna qawmin ḥakaw ba’ḍa lladī sami‘ū
’innī rubītu bi-’arḍin lā yushabbu bihā
nāru l-majūsi wa-lā tubnā bihā l-biya‘ū
wa-lā yaṭā l-qirdu wa-l-khinzīru turbatahā
lākin bihā l-rīmu wa-l-rī’bālu wa-l-ḍabu‘ū

¹² Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Bahja* 1, 69–70; cf. Ibn Jinnī, *al-Khaṣā’iṣ* 1, 239–240, al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtā’* 2, 140, al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ* 533–534 (where the poet is given as ‘Ammār al-Kilābī), al-Qiftī, *Inbāh* II, 42–43, Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’* 7, 104, (where the poet is called ‘Amr al-Kalbī), al-Zawzanī, *Ḥamāsa* 288, al-‘Alawī, *Nadra* 454. Seven lines, from the versions of Yāqūt and al-Wāḥidī, are quoted and translated in Fück (1950: 90, 1955: 137–138).

They are a pain, these would-be Arabs and that thing of theirs 1
 They have invented, called “Grammatical Analogy”!
 When I compose a virgin¹³ poem that contains a thing
 That goes against their novelty and their Analogy,
 They say, “A solecism! This should be a genitive!
 That word is an accusative! No nominative there!”
 They take great pains to set Abdallah against Amr and Zayd,
 And the result is much protracted beating and much pain.
 I’ve made one poem that will answer them once and for all: 5
 A lot of talking is cut short by means of brevity.
 Not everything I say will be explained to you: so take
 Whatever you understand; and what you do not, leave alone!
 Then I’ll return to my own people, who’ve been fed on what
 I have been fed myself, where one is free to speak at large.
 Then they¹⁴ will understand what I intend to say to them,
 And they and I will be, in what we say, on equal terms.
 How different are those who must make efforts when they speak
 From those who, by their nature stamped, speak perfect Arabic!
 How great the gap between those who have seen with their own eyes 10
 And those who merely imitate some things that they have heard!
 Where I have been brought up no fires are ever kindled by
 The Zoroastrians, nor are there any churches built.
 No monkey and no pig will ever trample on its soil:
 The antelope, the lion, the hyena are found there.¹⁵

The poet is particularly incensed about *qiyās*, analogy (vss. 1–2); although *mantiq* in vs. 9 seems to mean “speech,” it is possible that the poet puns on the secondary meaning, “logic.” *Qiyās* has always been controversial, and not only in grammatical analysis, of course, especially when it takes on a life of its own. Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī (d. 202/817) condemns, not grammar as such, but grammarians who apply *qiyās* too rigorously:¹⁶

¹³ I.e. with original motifs, never used before.

¹⁴ Preferring the reading *fa-ya’rifū*, with al-Wāḥidī, instead of *fa-ta’rifū*, “then you will know”: the poet seems to refer to his own people, who will understand him. The line is not found in the other sources.

¹⁵ Al-Tawḥīdī has *al-hayqu wa-l-sidānu wa-l-ṣada’ū*, “the male ostrich, wolves, and young mountain goats (or young antelopes, onagers, camels)”, al-Qifṭī has *al-’inu wa-l-dhayyālu wa-l-ṣada’ū*, “large-eyed oryx cows, wild bulls...”

¹⁶ al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 287, al-Sirāfī, *Akhbār* (Krenkow) 44–45, (Bannā) 61–62, Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’* XX, 31–32, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā’* 71, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 163–164. See also Jabbārīn (1999) 331.

*kunnā naqīsu l-naḥwa fīmā maḍā / 'alā lisāni l-'arabi l-'awwali
ḥattā 'atā qawmun yaqīsūnahū / 'alā lughā 'ashyākhi quṭrabbulī
fa-jā'anā 'aqwāmun yaqīsūnahū / 'alā lisāni l-nabaṭi l-'ardhalī
fa-kulluhum ya'malu fī naqḍi mā / bihī yuṣābu l-ḥaqqu lā ya'tali
'inna l-kisā'iyya wa-'aṣḥābahū / yarqawna fī l-naḥwi 'ilā 'asfalī*

In the past the old Bedouin language we used
As our standard to argue in grammar,
Until people arrived whose standard is now
From the slang of old men in Quṭrabbul.
And yet others have come, whose standards derive
From the tongue of the vile Nabataeans.
Thus they all are at work in destroying the ways
That the truth may be found, without tiring.
Al-Kisā'ī, in league with his colleagues, ascends
With his *naḥw* in a downward "direction".¹⁷

Al-Kisā'ī (d. c. 180/796 or 189/805) is said to have used informants of Bedouin ancestry living a sedentary, suburban life in Quṭrabbul, near Baghdad; it is the same al-Kisā'ī who, in a poem, praised grammar as a useful discipline and defined it as *qiyās: 'innamā l-naḥwu qiyāsun yuttaba' / wa-bihī fī kullī 'ilmīn yuntafa'* ("Grammar is nothing but analogy to be pursued, / and put to use in every discipline").¹⁸

'Ammār al-Kalbī is perhaps the first, but by no means the last, to make fun of the ubiquity of Zayd, 'Amr, and 'Abd Allāh in grammatical exemplary sentences, where they are always beating one another. The Egyptian poet Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Jazzār (d. 669/1270 or 679/1281) says, at the beginning of in a longer poem,¹⁹

*qaṭa'tu shabībātī wa-'aḍa'tu 'umrī / wa-qad 'at'abtu fī l-hadhayānī fikrī
wa-mā lī 'ujratun fihī wa-lā lī / 'idhā mā tubtu yawman ba'ḍu 'ajrī
qara'tu l-naḥwa tibyānan wa-fahman / 'ilā 'an ki'tu minhu wa-dāqa ṣadrī
fa-mā stanbaṭtu minhu siwā muḥālin / yuhālu bihī 'alā zaydīn wa-'amrī
fa-kāna l-naṣbu fihī 'alayya naṣban / wa-kāna l-raḥu fihī li-ghayrī qadrī
wa-kāna l-khaḍu fihī julla ḥaẓẓī / wa-kāna l-jazmu fihī li-qaṭ'i dhikrī...*

I spent my youth, I wasted all my life,
And I wore out my mind with poppycock,

¹⁷ One of the basic meanings of *naḥw* ("grammar, syntax") is "direction".

¹⁸ Yāqūt, *Muḥam al-udabā'* 8, 191, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Baḥja* 1, 68, al-Qiftī, *Inbāh* 2, 267, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 21, 71, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 164. Some of the oldest sources, with *fī kullī 'amrīn* ("in every matter") instead of *fī kullī 'ilmīn*, make grammar and *qiyās* even more universally useful: Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, *al-Waraqah* 27, al-Marzubānī, *Muḥam*, 138.

¹⁹ Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt* 4, 285, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 28, 202–203 (which, in the last verse, has *fihī maḥalla* instead of *fihī julla*).

Without a wage, nor will there ever be,
 When I repent one day, any Reward.
 I studied grammar with clear insight, but
 Then I lost heart and felt depressed by it.
 All I got out of it were things absurd,
 For playing silly tricks on Amr and Zayd.
 Accusative, that swindle, stands accused,
 Nominative named only other men,
 The Genitive was never genial to me,
 The Jussive Mood to me was never just.²⁰

An epigram attributed to al-Ma'mūnī (d. 383/993) is quoted by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr:²¹

sa-'atruku l-naḥwa li-'aṣḥābihī / wa-'aṣrifu l-himmata fī l-ṣaydī
'inna dhawī l-naḥwi lahum himmatun / mawsūmatun bi-l-makri wa-l-kaydī
yaḍribu 'abdu llāhi zaydan wa-mā / yurīdu 'abdu llāhi min zaydī

Grammar I'll leave to those who practice it;
 I'll turn my mind to hunting.
 Grammarians have minds that bear the stamp
 Of scheming and of cunning.
 Abdallah's beating Zayd, but what on earth
 Does this Abdallah want from Zayd?

An unnamed Bedouin, at a session of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 214/829 or 215/830), says it as follows:²²

laysa li-l-naḥwi jī'tukum / lā wa-lā fihī 'arghabū
'ana māli wa-li-mri'in / 'abada l-dahri yuḍrabū
khalli zaydan li-sha'nihī / 'aynamā shā'a yadhhabū

I haven't come to you for grammar,
 I do not long for it.
 What have I got to do with one
 Who's always being hit?
 Leave Zayd alone and let him go
 Wherever he thinks fit.

²⁰ It is not possible to translate the punning in lines 4–6 adequately. A more literal version of the two last lines would be “The accusative (*naṣb*, ‘setting up’) in it to me was a swindle (*naṣb*), / The nominative (*raf'*, ‘raising’) in it raised only other people’s status, // The genitive (*khaf'*, ‘lowering’) in it was all I got, / The jussive (*jazm*, ‘cutting off’) in it only cut short my reputation”.

²¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Baḥja* 1, 67; a different version, ascribed to *ba'd al-warrāqīn*, in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *al-'Iqd* 2, 487.

²² Al-Sīrāfī, *Akhhār* (Krenkow) 54, (al-Bannā) 69; cf. al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 107, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, 490–491, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* 104, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 237, according to the editor found in the margin of the manuscript.

It is always irksome when one hears what seems to be one's own language but finds it wholly unintelligible. By way of introduction to the poem by 'Ammār al-Kalbī, al-Qifṭī recounts the following anecdote:²³

A Bedouin stopped by a class of al-Akhfash and heard them speak about grammar (or syntax, *naḥw*). He was bewildered and amazed. He bowed his head and muttered to himself (*waswasa*). Al-Akhfash said to him, "Hearing anything odd, Arab brother?" He replied, "I see you speak with our speech about our speech things not found in our speech!" Then al-Akhfash recited [this poem], by a Bedouin.

The same bewilderment is expressed by an anonymous Bedouin in the following epigram:²⁴

*mā zāla 'akhdhuhumū fi l-naḥwi yu'jibunī
ḥattā ta'āṭaw kalāma l-zanji wa-l-rūmī
ḥattā sami'tu kalāman lastu 'a'rifuhū
ka'annahū zajalu l-ghirbāni wa-l-būmī
rafaḍtu naḥwahumū wa-llāhu ya'šimunī
mina l-taqāḥḥumi fi tilka l-jarāthīmī*

Their ways with grammar never fail to baffle me:
They seem to deal with speech of Blacks and Byzantines.
I hear their speech and do not understand a thing:
It sounds much like the raucous cries of crows and owls.
Their grammar I reject hereby! May God keep me
Immune from stumbling upon anthills (dust-heaps?) such as these.²⁵

Abū l-Zahrā' Ṣalaṭān b. 'Awsaja, another Bedouin, does something similar in a poem, in which he ungratefully attacks his kind host in Kufa, Abū Ḥammād, a merchant and seller of date, who was an admirer of the

²³ al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2, 42, in the entry on Sa'īd b. Mas'ada al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. c. 215/830). According to al-Qifṭī, al-Akhfash then recited the poem *Mādhā laqītu*, "by some Arab". Yāqūt has a different introduction, in which 'Amr al-Kalbī (thus) is peeved when "an erudite person" (*ba'd ahl al-adab*) tells him that the word *maz'ūj*, in a line recited by 'Amr, should be *muz'aj* (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 7, 103).

²⁴ Al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 58, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Bahja* 1, 69; it is attributed to "Abū Muslim, the tutor of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān" in al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 125–126, al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 3, 292; 4, 169 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2, 291. See also Jabbārīn (1999: 331). A reply by Mu'ādh al-Harrā' is quoted in these sources, which makes for problematic chronology, for Mu'ādh (d. 187/803), though born, it is said, during the reign 'Abd al-Malik (d. 86/705), can hardly have been old enough to address the caliph's tutor, yet in the accompanying anecdote Abū Muslim is said to have attended his *majlis*. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 8, 193–194 and al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi* 21, 72: . . . *bi-maf'alin fa'ilin lā ṭaba min kalimin / ka'annahū zajalu l-ghirbāni wa-l-būmī*. According to the version in al-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt* 1, 20, which has *fi l-shi'ri* instead of *fi l-naḥwi*, it is the study of prosody rather than grammar that is mocked here.

²⁵ I am not wholly certain of the translation; *jurthūma* means "root, base of a tree; dust-heap around a tree;" it can also mean "anthill", which seems to suit the context.

speech of the Bedouin Arabs and who questioned his guest on a matter of grammar:²⁶

*yusā'ilunī bayyā'u tamrin wa-jardaqin
wa-māziju 'abwālin lahū fi 'inā'ihī
'anī l-rafi' ba'da l-khafḍi lā zāla khāfiḍan
wa-naṣbin wa-jazmīn ṣīgha min sū'i rā'ihī
fa-qultu lahū hādihā kalāmūn jahiltahū
wa-dhū l-jahli yarwī l-jahla 'an nuzarā'ihī. . .*

I am asked by seller of dates and of cakes,
a mixer of all kinds of piss in his vessel,²⁷

About “raising” [nominative] and “lowering” [genitive]—may he “lower” forever!—

and “erecting” [accusative], and “clipping” [jussive], formed from his evil ideas!

I told him: these are words of which you are ignorant;
an ignorant man will transmit ignorance from his equals. . .

In the rest of the poem he proceeds to lampoon the grammarians rather than their grammar: “Who is then that clothier, someone who shits in his clothes?” (on al-Kisā'i, whose name means “clothier”).

One of the problems of works on syntax—and the same could be said about most treatises on prosody, *ilm al-'arūḍ*—is that they often seem remote from normality. Just as the works on poetic meters are full of verses that are either fabricated or exceptional, works on grammar contain sentences that nobody would ever produce. An anonymous request for information in the form of an epigram addressed to Abū Bakr b. 'Umar Ibn al-Da'ās al-Fārisī (d. 667/ 1269) may have been meant seriously, but one suspects that it was a way of mocking the grammarians:²⁸

*'ayyuhā l-fāḍilu finā 'aftinā / wa-'azil 'annā bi-fatwāka l-'anā
kayfa i'rābu nuḥāti l-naḥwi fi / "'ana 'anta l-qāribī 'anta 'anā'?*

Distinguished Sir! Please give us your advice,

And with your fatwa end our misery:

How do the syntacticians parse this:

“I whom you are my hitter me is me”?

²⁶ Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd* III, 493–494 (I am grateful to Bilal Orfali for this reference). On this Abū l-Zahrā', see Nagel 2003.

²⁷ Abū Ḥammād's neighbours sold date wine.

²⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 470.

Abū Bakr, who is indeed a *faqīh* and a poet as well as a grammarian, is undaunted and replies in verse:²⁹

“’ana ’anta l-ḏāribī” muḥtada’un / fa-’tabirhā yā ’imāman sananā
 “’anta” ba’da “l-ḏāribī” fā’iluhū / wa-“’anā” yukhbiru ‘anhū ‘alanā
 thumma ’inna “l-ḏāribī ’anta ’anā” / khabarun ‘an “’anta” mā fīhi nthinā
 wa-“’ana” l-jumlatu ‘anhū khabarun / wa-hya min “’anta” ’ilā “’anta ’anā”

I shall not attempt to translate this into iambic English verse. The learned Abū Bakr explains that the sentence makes grammatical sense, even though it is difficult to imagine someone who needs to express himself in this manner except to tease. The words ’ana ’anta l-ḏāribī (“I whom you are my hitter”) are the subject of an embedded nominal sentence; the word ’anta (“you”) that follows is the subject of the verb implied in the participle ḏāribī (“my hitter”), the final ’anā (“I”) is a clarification, for the sake of emphasis, of the suffix object pronoun -ī (“me”) in ḏāribī. The words l-ḏāribī ’anta (“my hitter me”) are the predicate of the second ’anta (“you”); the words from the first ’anta until the end function as the predicate of the first ’anā, together forming the sentence as a whole. That is, if I understand it correctly; in yet other words, “I, the hitter-(which is you)-of-whom-(which is me) is you, am in fact me.” It is doubtful whether this sentence is very informative even when it is understood, but one is struck by the fact that it is, again, about hitting people. At least all this hitting of Zayd and ‘Amr vividly underlines that learning and studying Arabic syntax can be a painful process; and in a sense it is better than the way I was taught Arabic, Hebrew, and a bit of Syriac in the 1960s, for the most popular paradigmatic verb at the time was *qatala* / *qaṭal*, “to kill.”³⁰

Some poets express aversion to all scholarship, lumping grammar together with other disciplines. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jazzār, after the verses quoted above, goes on to mock prosody with its *mafā’lun mafā’lun fa’ūlun* and other dummy words; Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Mihrawayhi

²⁹ A similar grammatical fatwa in verse by the Andalusian poet and grammarian Muḥammad b. Yahyā Qalfāṭ (d. 302/915) is given by al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 280–281, in reply to a query that is lost (and possibly in verse, and meant as mockery) about how to apply the pattern of *mushankik* (i.e. *muf’anlil*) to the roots ’YN and ’NY; according to al-Zubaydī he makes a mess of the morphology.

³⁰ Brockelmann (1965a: 4*–9*), Lettinga (1962: 90–91), Harrison (1962: 158–165), Brockelmann (1965b: 126–129), Costaz (1964: 133–138), Höfner (1943: 59–72). One may compare the complaint of the Greek poet Palladas in an epigram, about grammar books starting with “wrath”, “woes” and other curses, taken from the beginning of the *Iliad* (*The Greek Anthology* 3, 90–91).

(d. c. 275/88), author of a lost book on poets, quoted the following lines (with an untranslatable wordplay in *naḥḥi l-naḥwa*):³¹

'a-'ādhilu naḥḥi l-naḥwa fa-l-shu'mu fī l-naḥwī
wa-kulli 'arūḍiyyin khaliyyin mina l-sarwī
wa-mā jtama'ā wa-l-khayra fī manzili mri'in
takallama bi-l-taq'iri fī majlis l-laghwī

You who reproach me, take away this “grammar”! There’s bad luck in grammar

and in every prosodist lacking nobility.

There has never been anything good in these two coming together in the house

of a man who speaks pompously where people gather to speak drivel.

Among the rudest verses on grammar may well be the distich by Abū l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (d. 5th/11th century), said by the foul-mouthed eponymous protagonist of *Ḥikāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī*:³²

'in 'āba mawlāya qawlī / wa-ghṭabanī bi-qabiḥī
kharītu fī bābi 'af'al- / tu min kitābi l-faṣīḥī

If you find fault, my dear Sir, with my words,

And calumniate me,

I'll shit in the chapter “To Make Someone Do”

Of *The Book of Good Arabic Usage*.

Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ is without doubt the well-known work of Tha'lab (d. 291/904), which has a chapter entitled *bāb fa'altu wa-af'altu bi-khtilāf al-ma'nā*, “Chapter on Verbal Forms I and IV with Different Meanings.”³³ Perhaps even ruder is Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001), who said at the end of a longer poem:³⁴

shaykhī 'abū murratin wa-'ayshīya law / 'aṣaytuhū kāna fāsīdan murrā
law 'ābanī sībawayhi qultu lahū / kharā l-kisā'ī fī liḥyati l-farrā

The devil (lit. “Father of Bitterness”) is my master, and my life,

If I would disobey him, would be bad and bitter.

Were Sībawayhi to blame me, I would say to him:

May al-Kisā'ī's shit be on the beard of al-Farrā'.

³¹ Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* 28, 225, which has Mahduwayh instead of Mihrawayh (but see e.g. Sezgin, *Geschichte* II, 95, 457, 506, 507). Instead of the edition's 'a-'ādhila I read 'a-'ādhilu.

³² [al-Tawḥīdī], *al-Risāla* 57 and Azdī, *Ḥikāya* 7. Its most recent editor has attributed the work, on uncertain grounds, to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. The earlier edition, by Mez, wrongly has *wa-'ābanī* and *al-faḍīḥī*.

³³ See Tha'lab, *Faṣīḥ* 11–14.

³⁴ Ibn Nubāta, *Taltīf* 135 (I thank Emily Selove for this reference).

In the last verse the poet manages to insult three leading early grammarians, Sibawayh (d. c. 177/793), al-Kisā'ī, and al-Farrā' (d. 207/822). Moreover, the line will only scan correctly (in *munsariḥ* meter) if grammar itself is violated, by shortening *al-Kisā'iyyi* to the uninflected *al-Kisā'ī*:³⁵ the poet is simultaneously rude and subtle, aptly exploiting apparent ineptness.

The ungrammaticality committed by Ibn al-Ḥajjāj in this verse is exceptional and thereby seems to confirm the general observation that although poets may grumble against the rules imposed by the grammarians they are not seriously rebelling against them. The works of grammarians are to a large extent descriptive rather than prescriptive; nevertheless their rules were, quite naturally, taken (and intended) as normative and binding. This could not but cause some slight resentment in the minds of those who had naturally incorporated the rules to such an extent that they needed neither explicit rules nor a plethora of technical terms.

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³⁵ That al-Farrā' is robbed of his final *hamza* is an added bonus, but this is a common license in verse and hardly counts as a violation.

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LINGUISTICS

LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS ON THE THEONYM *ALLĀH*

Aziz Al-Azmeh

The purpose of this essay is to look into the character and possible provenance of the divine name *Allāh*, which became ultimately the supreme theonym in the Qurʾān. The discussion to follow is concerned primarily with matters of direct pertinence to the divine name *Allāh* as a linguistic phenomenon; other aspects of this theonym, such as the contexts of its use among pagan Arabs, of the use and semantic status of theonyms in general, and its use in the Qurʾān, have been treated elsewhere.¹ Further, the following paragraphs shall confine their treatment to the pre-Qurʾānic *Allāh* almost exclusively as a proper name: as an iconic sign having no determinate semantic content or standard pragmatic interpretation, and virtually irrespective of any interpretative code which might establish its intension and extension, as a member of the “linguistically poor universe” of proper names.²

Morphologically, it is clear that *Allāh* is related to the Semitic *ʾlh*, of which it is an amplified form.³ Whether a morphological treatment based upon the standard stem and pattern model common in Semitic philology overall be an appropriate guide to semantical pragmatics and historical linguistics is a view that I hold to be doubtful, not least as this model appears to be a tool of grammatical and lexicographic rationalisation rather than a description of actual word formation, with the stem being an artifact rather than a linguistic reality.⁴ Be that as it may, following an opinion common among Arab grammarians, and attributed to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *Allāh* has generally been taken to be a syncope of *al-ʾIlāh* by a haplology, with the suppression of the *hamza* according to a regular pattern in Arabic nominal terms (*ʾlh* < *ilāh* < *al-ilāh* < *Allāh*),⁵

¹ This essay is an amended version of a section in ch. 5 of my forthcoming *A History of Allah: Islam in Late Antiquity*. General points made throughout this essay are sustained by detailed discussion there.

² Eco (1977: 87 and § 2.9.2); Ullmann (1971: 122).

³ Thus, not from *ʾil* and the morphologically related *ʾIlⁿ, *ʾIlahay, *ʾIlat and others, as suggested by Moubarac (1955: 98f.).

⁴ See in particular, Larcher (1995: *passim*); idem (2007: 94 ff.); Porkhomovsky (2007: 46).

⁵ Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb* 2, 195ff. drawing an analogy with *unās* < *al-unās* < *al-nās*. See Fleisch (1961: § 30h); Testen (1998: 215ff.).

though the degree of regularity of this rule has been disputed.⁶ There does seem to be a certain contrivance in the labour of classical Arab linguists who devoted some considerable attention to this matter. Some preferred to see Allāh generated from *'llāh*, others from *lāh*; often, in the manner usual for the time and still common in Islamic Studies today, a marked preference was given to considerations of etymology.⁷ This said, it must also be stated that this view is morphologically and semantically satisfactory and presents no serious phonetic difficulties.

The trouble with such morphological genealogies is that they privilege etymologies and pseudo-etymologies of supposedly ultimate origin and initial condition (what Arabic grammarians and lexicographers termed *wad'*) over a more historical pursuit of realised semantic fields and of pragmatics,⁸ and, indeed, over the history of language. They draw semantic conclusions from morphological connections incautiously, appearing far too bookish and unhistorical, in this case postulating implicitly for the authors of Safaitic inscriptions, and for Muḥammad, an improbable application to morphology as various derived forms of the stem *'lh* were deployed. In this sense, the evasion of historical, semantic and a socio-linguistic approach to the matter would amount to a somewhat incurious *lectio facillior*.

In contrast, paralinguistic and non-philological considerations would, however, indicate a number of more pertinent matters. *'Lh* had been vocalised as Allāh when used as the theophoric element in a variety of personal names, spread widely, and this is shown by late antique Greek epigraphic and literary transliterations in northern Arabia and its extensions further north (as *-allas* or *-allos*).⁹ One might note, anticipating a point which will be made below, that Allāt, or rather *'lt*, to which the Arabic definite article is almost invariably imputed, is a name not attested epigraphically in the form Allāt. She was an ubiquitous deity, worshipped far beyond territories

⁶ Winnett (1938: 247).

⁷ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, 'l-h; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* 1, 87ff.; Gimaret (1988: 121ff.). For Allāt: Krone (1992, 43ff.). For a review of the morphology of Allāh and other divine names in the Qur'ān according to Arabic grammarians, see al-Zajjājī, *Ishtiqaq asmā' Allāh*. For reasons that remain unclear, Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqaq*, 11, 482, declared, uncommonly, that he was disinclined to pursue this matter.

⁸ On the root fallacy of Biblical vocabulary and associated themes, see Barr (1961, 107 ff.); in briefer compass but with succinct focus, Sawyer (1999: 116), and the works there cited.

⁹ For instance, J.-B. Chabot and G. Ryckmans (1907–1950: ## 2049, 2066, 2096) (the last an uncertain reading), and passim, derivatives from *'lhy*, with the *y* serving as a *mater lectionis*; Haussig (1965: 422); Wuthnow (1930: *passim*—the evidence here stems from Egypt); Bin Sarāy and al-Shāmīsī (2000: 33); Sourdel (10, 52, 88).

where the definite article *al-* was in use, and long before there is any evidence for the use of this phoneme as a definite article.

Moreover, on the common assumption of the presence of a definite article attached to these theonyms, the Dadanitic *hlh* and Thamudic *h'lh* should in fact have been *ha-Lah*, or *han-'Ilah*,¹⁰ not *ha-* or *han-Allah*, and clearly not *Allāh*. In the context of compounds from *'lh* in Arabic, one might also consider Arabic forms of jurative invocation, not very frequent but common enough, that use *lah* as their nominative element, but without the velarised or emphatic *l*, of *Allāh*, such as *ta-l-Lāh*, *li-l-Lāh* and (more commonly) *bi-l-Lāh*. Like *li* and *bi*, the element *ta* functions grammatically as a preposition, and all these expressions are formulaic ellipses excluding *uqsimu* ("I swear") and similar formulae.¹¹ In all these cases, Arabic grammar detected a contracted *Allāh* component, although these jurative invocations actually have the form of *ta-'llah* and *bi-'llah*, with *hamzat al-waṣl* omitted. One possible conclusion that might be drawn from the foregoing is that the *ha* element in Ancient North Arabian may well have been a prefixed vocative particle rather than a definite article, a phenomenon which is attested.¹² Transposing this into the suggestion that the *al-* in *Allāh* may be a vocative particle is attractive, but it would seem to be unique to *Allāh*, as there is no incidence elsewhere in Arabic of its use as a vocative particle.

Whatever conclusion may or may not be drawn from this, it is likely that, in terms of its history, the form *Allāh* was not so much a morphological derivation from *ilāh* or *lāh*, as integrally primary, it was a name adopted, in an obscure way that is probably no longer recoverable, in its absolute form irrespective of its morphology. This is a matter also highlighted in Arabic grammar, where the *al-* element was seen in this case to be integral to the word's structure, and not used as a mark of definitiveness, not least on the devotional argument that the supreme name of God cannot be indefinite,¹³ a perceptive intuition nevertheless. The implausibility of the morphological hypothesis discussed is further sustained by the fact that the addition of the definite article *al-* to *Lāh* or *Ilāh* would

¹⁰ The definite article in Dadanitic changes from *h-* to *hn-* only before glottals and pharyngals: Macdonald (2004: 517f.).

¹¹ cf. Fleisch (1961: § 151g), and see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* 1, 572.

¹² Ibn Manzūr. *Lisān al-'Arab*, "h"; Macdonald (2004: 519).

¹³ Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb* 2, 195f.; Khan, *Die exegetischen Teile des Kitāb al-'Ayn*, 112; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li Ahkām al-Qur'ān* 1, 103; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* 1, 543). See the discussion of the related questions of definitiveness in proper and common names in Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf fī masā'il al-khulāf*, # 101, and of *al-* in Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī al-labīb*, 50f.

yield different but allophonic values for the medial vowel *a* (/œ/ and /a/ respectively, according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, for Lah/Ilah and Allah). This is at least the case with their enunciation according to standard Qur'ānic modes of cantillation.

This brings us to the related matter of *tafkhīm*, emphasis by velarisation of the phoneme /l/ in *Allāh* which, like definitiveness, was regarded in classical Arabic grammar and much modern scholarship alike as arising from moral enhancement and tonal emphasis, without adequate attention to its grounding in Arabic phonetics and historical linguistics.¹⁴ The velarised /l/ in *Allāh* appears irregular and *sui generis*;¹⁵ the only rule that might be formulated would be that the phoneme /l/ has the allophone [l̥] in the sequence /-llāh/ when it is not preceded by /i/ and when it means God.¹⁶ Regardless of whether the velarised *l* should be regarded as an allophone or an independent phoneme, this is an unusual phenomenon in which a phoneme of such rare occurrence in the total lexicon of the Arabic language yet appears in one particular morpheme which occurs very frequently. This phenomenon is not altogether unknown in other languages.¹⁷

The peculiar phonetic character of *Allāh* invites consideration of its provenance, in so far as this might be ascertainable. It has been proposed that *Allāh* came from the Aramaic in the absolute state *Allāhā*, as a proper name, duly arabised by dropping the determinative affix *ā*.¹⁸ But there is no trace of *Allāhā* in Syriac, only of *Alāhā*, and there is no doubling of consonants in this language.¹⁹ Indeed, the point was made that the Syriac form might have been derived from the Arabic,²⁰ a point which might gain sustenance from the occurrence of **Ilaha* in Thamudic,²¹ with a tendency

¹⁴ al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* 1: 543, and the comments of Ambros (1981: 24).

¹⁵ Ambros (1981: 23, 27).

¹⁶ Ferguson, (1956: § 2). This and other features would distinguish velarisation of the divine name from the other instances of the velarised /l/, in the neighbourhood of certain consonants, and in unpredictable items such as loan words—see *ibid.*, § 1 and cf. Ambros (1981: 25, 28 n. 26).

¹⁷ Ferguson, (1956: § 2), where the author cites a similar phenomenon respecting the phonetic value ð in English (as the *th* in *this*) which occurs, of course, in many more morphemes.

¹⁸ Jeffery (1938: 66f.); Winnett (1940: 122); Trimmingham (1979: 251 n. 14); Nau (1933: 26 n. 2), who concludes unnecessarily from this that the origin of Muḥammad's *Allāh* is Christian.

¹⁹ Blau (1972: 175f.).

²⁰ Littmann (1934: x), and see Blau (1972: 176).

²¹ The best studied instance is a famous Greek/Nabatean inscription dated A.D. 166–9 at al-Rawwāfā, 75 km southwest of Tabūk, with an invocation to [l̥]h', read as **ilaha*. Text in Milik, (1971: 58), commentary in Bowersock (1975) and Beaucamp (1979).

in late sixth- and early seventh-century Syriac towards the emphatic articulation of the /a/, giving it a tonal colour comparable to the Arabic *ā* in contact position with velarised consonants.²² In all, the matter of the relationship between Arabic and Syriac in this regard needs to be adjudged inconclusive, but must also bear consideration in terms of the possibility that this divine name with *tafkhīm* might have been yielded by the contact area of Syriac and Arabic in northern Ḥijāz (and in al-Ḥira as well), taking into account also the possibility of a velarisation in Ḥijāzī dialect, many of whose features remain, of course, largely hypothetical.

One might regard emphasis to have a prosodic feature connected with Muḥammad's preaching, or indeed, if one accepted that Allāh was used by the Arabs, the possibility that emphatic articulation was introduced by Muḥammad, as a mark of acoustic differentiation from previous uses of this divine name.²³ Finally, it has been suggested that the loss, by syncope discussed above, of the stem-initial syllable *i* of *ilāh* in conjunction with the definite article,²⁴ might indicate a specifically Ḥijāzī feature added to another, that of velarisation. If this be accepted, it would yield *al-Lāh* as the original form. This would then bring the theonym into the regional ambit of the central Arabian usage of this particular form, on evidence of a unique occurrence in an Arabic inscription written in south Arabian *musnad* script, some centuries prior to Islam, at Qaryat al-Fāw, mentioning, among others, a divinity called *'lh*, vocalised as **Lāh*.²⁵ However, this identification of the original form would carry conviction only if one were to eliminate the definite article as an element of explanation, and settle for the absolute form *Allāh* without velarisation.

This last statement is made from an argument of plausibility. The foregoing discussion lends sustenance to the major point being made here, that Allāh was a divine name available in its absolute form, in which perspective morphological considerations would, when and if convincing, serve at best a purely antiquarian interest at best, without historical explanatory value. Moreover, if, in contrast, one persisted in making the unsafe assumption that Allāh was derived from *Lāh* morphologically,

²² Ambros (1981: 30).

²³ Ambros (1981: 27f., 31, 31 n. 37, 32); Ferguson (1956: § 5, and cf. the reservations of Blau (1972: 176f., 176 n. 8), regarding emphasis in Syriac, who also proposes that Allāh and Alāhā emerged independently.

²⁴ This is relevant to three words occurring in the Qur'ān: *Allāh*, *nās*, and *ūlī*: Testen (1998: 214, 214ff.).

²⁵ Testen (1998: 217ff.); The inscription: al-Anṣārī (1982, 21—the inscription is reproduced photographically at 146).

one might point out that it does occur in Arabic that the *al-* functions as a demonstrative pronoun (*ism ishāra*) in adverbial form in addition to functioning as an article indicating definitiveness, a feature shared with the Hebrew *ha-*;²⁶ this would take us again to the possibility of considering this proper name in the vocative mode.

The integral adoption of *Allāh* in the absolute form, prior to suffixation or any other grammatical operation performed upon this word, was a point noted in classical Arab grammar, where, in addition to the view attributed to al-Khalīl and mentioned above, it is maintained that *Allāh* as a proper name fell into the nominal class of *ism murtajal*. What is being suggested about the lack of an etymological relationship of *Allāh* to the definite article *al-* has also been safely established with respect to the *al-* component in the name of 'lt, Allāt.²⁷ The *murtajal* is that class of proper names that exist only as integral proper names, with the name specific to an individual or improvised for an individual, in contrast to the other class of derived proper names termed *manqūl*, a substantive or verbal construct characterised as tropical or as transferred, from another use, such as generic use (an example would be the proper name *Asad*, lion), metaphorical transference of meaning or attribute (*Asad* for a brave man), onomatopoeia or some other operation.²⁸ That divine names are hallowed in themselves, and that their punctilious enunciation is necessary for unlocking the numenal energies they conjure, is a fact that would in itself lend a certain credibility to this hunch of Arabic linguists. This sets the name *Allāh* apart from names such as *Rabb* or *Ba'1*, into which is transferred a general meaning of superordination among humans, or indeed from 'lh. His autonomy from the world involving *āliha* is a point that I have argued in detail elsewhere.

What is being suggested, that the divine name *Allāh* as it entered the Arabic language, irrespective of its origin or etymology, is an independent personal name of the *murtajal* class,²⁹ designating a particular individual being, is sustained by a number of further considerations. It is a specific

²⁶ Ba'albakī (1999: 249f.): thus the Arabic *al-yawm* and the Hebrew *hayyom* for "today". It is established that the demonstrative *-ha* is related to the alternation between the initial 'l and the initial h: Zaborski (2006: 1, 188).

²⁷ Hämeen-Anttila and Rollinger (2002: 87f.). In a similar vein, I have shown elsewhere that kalbiya invocations containing *Allāhumma*, often cited in confirmation of the cultic workshop of *Allāh*, are irrelevant, *Allāhumma* being a generic epicletic versions of which stretch as far as Ugaritic texts.

²⁸ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, 'l-h; Caetani and Gabrieli (1915: 1, § 8); Wright (1967: § 191(8)); 'Alī (1968-73: 6, 23).

²⁹ Cf. Testen (1998: 222).

and indeed a unique proper name indicating a particular deity who, in the early period of the Qur'ān, nevertheless retained both a generic and a specific local meaning, being an intransitive name but with properties shared by others. To the Qur'ānic polemical question in a Meccan sūra (Q, 19.65) as to whether the hearers of the Qur'ānic Recitation knew of anyone who shared the name of Muḥammad's Rabb, so far generic but also with a specific habitation, the implied answer was clearly in the negative.

Ultimately, whatever the historical or the remote morphological connections of the proper name Allāh, it appears that the phenomenon under consideration is best regarded from the perspective of pragmatics, historical linguistics, and socio-linguistics. At Zabad, some 60 km southeast of Aleppo, an important trilingual Arabic/Aramaic/Greek inscription on the lintel of a church, dated A.D. 512 and one of the earliest Arabic inscriptions written in an alphabet that is recognisably Arabic, invokes the succour of *'l-lh*, "the God," a common epithet for named divinities, here uniquely with the Arabic definite article *al-*.³⁰ But the authors of this inscription used *al-Ilāh, and clearly had no cause to form a syncope, which is possible for Arabic morphology, but not inherently necessary to the Arabic language. Morphology may account theoretically for the form of the word, but not for its history, for its connotations, or for a cult.

The emergence to primacy, and then to exclusivity, of Muḥammad's deity Allāh is therefore indeed "not self-evident."³¹ We are not in a position to account for the spread of the name Allāh, a name afloat in jurative formulae and theophoric compounds that exist in poetry and inscriptions, possibly also in documentary form. We still lack a map of the geographical distribution of this name and of its users, and we have as yet no way of telling if its geography indicated any spatial or social hierarchy that governed its incidence and frequency, or if we need to assume a model of random dispersal. But some suggestions regarding the attractiveness of Allāh, leading to His ultimate adoption by Muḥammad, are not inconceivable.

It may or may not have been the case that the Arabs of the Ḥijāz, and reputedly elsewhere, would appeal on occasion to a certain Allāh in

³⁰ Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet (eds.) (1931–1935: § 2). An excellent photograph of this inscription, capitally important for the study of the rise of Arabic and Arabic script (a point first noted by Sachau (1882: 189)), is given in Grohmann (1971: 16 and Tafel II.1,2). The most up-to-date revised and amended reading of this much-discussed inscription is by Robin (2006: 331f., 337).

³¹ Simon (1991: 133).

situations of special distress.³² One would interpret this, if true, in line with the aggregative nature of pagan divinities implied in syncretism, as an appeal to multiple deities in case of need, and to a remoter, vaguer being for good measure and added value. Whatever the truth of the matter, the opaque, distant presence of an Allāh among a multiplicity of other, more frequently invoked and cultically more concrete local deities, would certainly have been an advantage for this floating signifier. This was the advantage of a certain distinctiveness, no matter how vague,³³ and in circumstances such as this, vagueness of designation could add force to an enunciation,³⁴ in this case a vocative enunciation. The appeal to locally rootless exotic deities in such circumstances is not unusual in the history of religions,³⁵ and mystifying obscurity does play a role in binding acolytes to masters, however defined.³⁶ In this regard, Allāh bears certain historical affinities to the Israelite Yhwh. The latter was also a remote, exotic, non-Israelite and non-Palestinian divinity, the meaning of whose name is hard to establish,³⁷ His very remoteness conveying a sense of abeyance and regularity.³⁸

Poetic evidence, and old Arabic poetry is only most minimally religious,³⁹ points to some sparing use of Allāh in a formulaic and generic sense (and as the deity of a Christian monk, which might be a later interpolation or a rendition of the Aramaic Alāhā). This formulaic sense, used almost as a topos, might strengthen His appeal in oaths. There is a report concerning a document written by the hand of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad’s paternal grandfather, relating to a loan he made to a person in Ṣan‘ā’, to which is added the statement that Allāh is a witness to the agreement. A document of alliance between the same person and Khuzā’a concludes with a

³² Muslim traditions, in which this idea occurs, have contradictory views of this very common claim: Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat Ibn Ishāq*, §§ 15, 127.

³³ It has been noted that having no idol was in itself a mark of distinctiveness for Allāh: Healey (2001: 84). A comparison with the vague distinctiveness of Sol and of the solar cult attributed to the Syrians and Syrian Arabs during an earlier period might yield interesting results: see Seyrig (1971).

³⁴ Cf. Eco (1977: § 2.7.3).

³⁵ See, for instance, Hierapolitan (west Anatolian) appeals to the distant Ionian Apollo of Claros, rather than the local Apollo, during the outbreak plague in the mid-second century: Potter (1994: 4).

³⁶ Cf. Gellner, (1957: 34).

³⁷ Toorn (1999: 913), where (at 91f.) his provenance is identified as having been Midian.

³⁸ Weber (1993: 17f., 34).

³⁹ See Hirschberg (1939: 28ff.), for an attempt to disengage the religious contents in the poetry of one group of urbanised and courtly pre-Islamic Arab poets, and Brockelmann (1922: 100f., 105ff.).

similar statement—if the documents quoted be genuine, for the mention of Allāh may well have been a later gloss, as is the monetary denomination quoted to this document, although the rest of the document has the due form and the linguistic character expected of a text of such vintage.⁴⁰

Thus also, in a situation remote from solemnity, a repartee between two lovers shows the mistrustful woman insisting tartly that her lover should swear by Allāh's right hand rather than by his own.⁴¹ One could say that this jurative use of Allāh might be compared in some respects to the exclamation of an old-world Englishman invoking Jove.⁴² Closer to home, there is a demotic linguistic expression that seems to underline the obscurity of byways taken by divine names, some characterised by extraordinary longevity and disengagement from "original" senses and contexts of use which are difficult to account for. In the dialect of Damascus and other regions of Syria, one still occasionally appeals to a Yāhū in situations of vexation, frustration and distress. This expression, not unknown in other, ancient contexts, has been interpreted as a secondary form of Yhwh, but may very well have been entirely independent in origin.⁴³ In all cases, the use of a divine name in jurative exclamations falls within the category of speech-acts, actions performed *by* an enunciative act (perlocution) or *in* an act of enunciation (illocution). What we have in these and in similar instances altogether is an enhancement of illocutionary energy corresponding to a diminution in propositional or otherwise semantic content.⁴⁴

If Allāh was indeed, as often claimed, considered to be the "High God" by the pre-Islamic Arabs,⁴⁵ His elevation must be interpreted as denoting

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 8; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Munammaq*, 91; Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl al-'Arab*, 88–9.

⁴¹ Poems by al-Nābigħa al-Dhubyānī (17.18) and Imru' al-Qays (200.4–5) in Arazi and Masalha (1999); "Allāh" in *ibid.*, "Concordance," s.v. God's right hand is also mentioned by Mālik b. al-Rayb, in al-Qaysī, *Shu'arā' Umawīyyūn*, 21:2.

⁴² Similarly, mincing the name of God as "gosh" and "golly" might well have involved initially a hedging, by nominal transference, against insincerity and profanation, before the divine association and the fear of profanation were lost, with the jurative or vocative function of this speech-act remaining.

⁴³ It is proposed in "Yahweh," *Dictionary of Divinities and Demons*, 900, that there were abbreviated secondary forms for the Yhwh theonym: Yā, Yāhū, Yāhō. The Damascene expression receives an implausible common explanation in terms of Arabic as "Oh He!", usually as part of the more general exclamation "yā 'ālam, yā hū."

⁴⁴ These notions were first developed by Austin (1975: 98ff., 101ff., 144ff.), and have produced a vast body of work in semantics and philosophy. For a technical discussion of these and associated notions, see Fodor (1980: 21ff.). It is noteworthy that the notion of illocutionary force used above is unclear in Austin.

⁴⁵ Contra this view, Brockelmann (1922: 104f., 104 n. 1).

less a celestial location and individuation with an associated cosmology and myth, than a supernumerary remoteness, that of a *deus otiosus*, of a “potential” deity,⁴⁶ semantically a floating signifier. To this might be added that this *deus otiosus* was not one who had withdrawn from managing the affairs of the world, devolving his rule to lesser deities, according to some pantheonic mythological scheme, but that he never played such a role or formed part of such a system. It has long been realised, but without drawing concrete conclusions, that the pre-Muḥammadan Allāh lay outside the ambit of Arab cultic divinities,⁴⁷ and that, for all His attributes, meagre as they are, recoverable from Arabic poetry, such a deity bereft of cult cannot be considered to have been a generic deity in the form of a “collective singular,” abstracted from local deities and appropriating their functions, as a High God might.⁴⁸ If such a god be invoked in moments of distress, such invocation would need to be interpreted as an act of doubling the force of the vocative illocution involved, rather than an appeal to a specific divine being whose name has specific connections with particular functions and capacities. This invocation would have been an appeal to supernatural agency in general, over and above a particular deity or group of deities in particular, much as indistinct spirits might be invoked.

Such invocation without acts of worship can have little consequence for religious history, as it is not cultically and socially rooted, for the deity thus invoked appears to have been understood as a god of all in general and of no one in particular which, in the context of Arab paganism, is incongruous. Vague distinctiveness along with an indistinct presence, an interstitial condition within and without boundaries, everywhere dispersed, a presence however vague and diffuse: such a condition can also give rise to claims of self-evidence, of truth obscured by facts of prevailing religion, claims systematised in classical Arabic historiography and in Islamic literature, and accepted, in large measure uncritically, by modern scholarship. How this vague distinctiveness was achieved might only be determined once an historical geography of the distribution and use of the name Allāh becomes available.

⁴⁶ Chelhod (1964: 97).

⁴⁷ Wellhausen (1927: 223f.).

⁴⁸ Brockelmann (1922: 104, 105ff.) who adopts, by way of interpretation, a theory no longer tenable, that there did exist among a variety of people in Australia, America, Africa, as among ancient Aryans and as with the El Elyon and El Olam of the Israelites, a general belief in an ultimate Creator (*Urheber*), but is nevertheless keen to differentiate this from the notion of an *Urmonotheismus* (119 f.).

That He has no namesake, though His names be several, al-Rabb, al-Rahmān, or Allāh, and that He be invoked by His qualifiers and predicates, his Beatific Names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*), by his epithets and epicleses; that He be unique yet polyonymous, multiple in name; that He could admonish his worshippers and deniers by asserting that He is but One (Q, 41.6 and *passim*) without the necessity for qualification: such are serious claims, and make severely counter-intuitive and very inhabitual demands on votaries and worshippers. For what is claimed here, as a theonym becomes a specific deity and what is demanded, is submission to a tautology, the tautology of a deity making self-referential claims to self-definition and self-naming, a self-identical deity who speaks in the manner of a previous one who stated: "See now that I, I am He" (Deut. 32.39). Inhabitual, and perhaps counter-intuitive as well, demands mark the point from which is exercised a claim for the indivisibility of legitimacy by which order is established and a habitus, new or continuing, is inculcated.⁴⁹ In the case of the Muḥammadan Allāh, the very arbitrariness, indeed, in the eyes of Muḥammad's adversaries, the very absurdity of the claims he made for his deity, will in themselves have been the sharp edge of self-demarcation from Arab polytheism, in which what appears arbitrary and absurd to the foe comes to confirm the position of the protagonist.⁵⁰

This "self-predication of God," has a venerable history,⁵¹ not least in the self-definition of the Israelite Yhwh whose very name is cast in a verbal form that has been interpreted as *'hyh*, "I am,"⁵² making it altogether possible to dispense with the theonym altogether and to consider it superfluous.⁵³ Self-predication appears as an important marker of the move to monolatry and monotheism, and dramatises the transition from divine names to the names of God,⁵⁴ when the generic appellative becomes a proper name, when the theonym loses memory of origin, and when its object acquires personality capable of taking on attributes.⁵⁵ This is the

⁴⁹ The notion of "symbolic violence" might usefully be employed as an overarching category here—cf. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: Bk. I).

⁵⁰ See the comments on the uses of arbitrariness and absurdity in Bourdieu (1971: 310), and "Absurdität," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*. Bell (1968: 51, 97), considers that Muḥammad liked to introduce unfamiliar words, a certain obscurity being appropriate to divine revelation, by design.

⁵¹ Westermann (1967: 125).

⁵² See Toorn (1999: 913f.) for this and other possible interpretations.

⁵³ Gladigow (1950–78: II, 1214f.).

⁵⁴ This is emblematised by Usener (1896: 337 and *passim*) in the change from *peri tōn theōn tōn onomāton* to *peri theion onomāton*.

⁵⁵ Usener (1896: 326f.).

ultimate form for the expression of authority, premised on a charter of limitless arbitrariness and at the zero degree of signification. As noted by an early Qur'anic exegete, the meaning of a divine name is essentially Rabb-hood, boundless sovereignty and superordination overall (*rubūbiyya*).⁵⁶ This is the abstract and boundless lordship of a deity who, however named, is yet individual and a person, combining His individual identification mark with a generic concept which was ultimately to indicate Him alone, moving from precise denotation and specific location to connotation and a very considerable extension of semantic range.⁵⁷

This arbitrariness marks the development discussed ultimately as a political process and as a command economy of the divine, rather than as a natural emergence from a process internal to the morphological transformations of *'lh*.

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⁵⁶ Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān* 4, 285.

⁵⁷ cf. Ullmann (1972: 71 ff.).

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ARABIC DATIVES, DITRANSITIVES, AND THE PREPOSITION *LI-*

Karin Christina Ryding

1. INTRODUCTION: CASE-MARKING AND ARABIC DATIVE STRUCTURES

The dative “case” is one of the most widely studied topics in case analysis and in theoretical approaches that include some aspect of semantic and syntactic roles typically marked by case or by case-type relations (e.g., theta-roles, frame semantics, construction grammar, lexical semantics). Arabic is a nominative/accusative language with the genitive as the third separately marked case in inflectional paradigms. Overt case-marking is therefore restricted to these inflectional exponents and the realization of typical dative structures such as the beneficiary/goal/recipient category are signaled either by accusative or genitive markers. Syntactically, Arabic dative structures are marked as accusative (in the ditransitive structure) or marked by the benefactive/allative preposition *li-* prefixed to the Recipient argument, which carries the genitive case. In the case of the Arabic ditransitive dative, therefore, there is dative-accusative syncretism, and in the case of the prepositional dative, there is dative-allative syncretism. In this paper I study Arabic dative structures by examining the particular semantic properties of verbs that impact verb-phrase syntax through the analysis of core case roles which, as Pinker notes, are “also called predicate argument structures, subcategorization frames, subcategorizations, case frames, lexical forms and theta grids.”¹ One of the reasons I find Arabic intriguing on this count is the attention that classical Arabic grammarians paid to syntax and its interaction with the semantics of derived forms of the Arabic verb. In particular, Arabic grammarians long ago posited the existence of underlying conceptual structures to rationalize surface structure anomalies (e.g., *taqdīr*, *idmār*).²

The morphological structure of Semitic lexical items wherein lexical root information combines with morphosyntactic pattern information, offers a productive perspective from which to examine key issues in syntactic and semantic theory through the analysis of the formal semantics of

¹ Pinker (1989: 4).

² See especially Baalbaki's discussions of *taqdīr* (2009: xxxiv, and 1979: 8–14).

Arabic lexical roots and their derivational modifications. Whereas English lexical items may be polysemous or homographic because of semantic and morphological merging over time, Modern Standard Arabic lexical items remain largely transparent in terms of their lexical structure and syntactic argument requirements. When derivational or syntactic modifications yield ditransitive constructions, it is often possible to discover semantic reasons for particular syntactic constraints. This paper forms part of a larger study I am undertaking to examine case and grammatical relations in Arabic, particularly relations that involve predicate-argument structures, prepositions, and semantic structure.

2. DATIVE AND DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Syntactic analysis in this paper relates components of semantic structure to the valency or argument structure of Arabic verbs and prepositions in context, in particular the dative structure and its ditransitive realization. Case grammar, construction grammar, lexical semantics, componential analysis, and argument structure all provide useful ways to examine the interrelationships of syntax and semantics in dative and ditransitive verb phrases and prepositional phrases. In particular, these theoretical approaches provide ways to demonstrate how semantic and lexical distinctions interact in certain types of syntactic structures, including such topics as locative, dative, and directional uses of spatial predications. Analysis so far has shown a rich and systematic internal structure for Arabic verbs and prepositions as well as conditions for parametric variation of Arabic prepositional phrases contrasted with English. This article focuses primarily on the Arabic preposition *li-* ‘to,’ ‘for,’ and its discourse function as a component of dative structures. In particular, it provides an analysis of dative-type argument structures and shows how semantic components of Arabic verbs interact with syntax to frame predictable double-object or ditransitive alternations, and how these contrast with similar English verbs.

2.1. *Current Studies of Ditransitivity and the Dative*

The ditransitive instantiation of the dative structure occurs in a number of languages. Goldberg notes that “it is the only construction in which an argument with “recipient” semantics is expressed by a postverbal NP.”³ She

³ Goldberg (2006: 222).

also proposes that the “recipient in a ditransitive is a ‘secondary clausal topic’” that “evokes an analogy to subjects, which are primary clausal topics,” and that “the syntactic expression of the recipient argument of ditransitives is based on simultaneous analogies with causee-objects and possessor-subjects.”⁴ She links this observation with a strong generalization that such languages all “have a ‘cause-to-have’ construction in which the recipient argument c-commands the theme argument.”⁵ Bresnan and Nikitina provide a detailed study of the “gradience” of different types of dative alternations, noting that “differing semantics dictates the differing syntactic expressions of the dative.”⁶ Næss states that the “common semantic core” of dative case usage “is commonly understood to mark recipients, benefactives/malefactives, experiencers, goals, and purposes.”⁷ In situations where no autonomous marker of the dative relation exists, analysis of semantic roles can yield information on underlying datives.

Levin notes that “the dative alternation is characterized by an alternation between the prepositional frame ‘NP₁ V NP₂ *to* NP₃’ and the double object frame ‘NP₁ V NP₃ NP₂.’”⁸ She distinguishes this from what she calls the “benefactive alternation” which “differs from the dative alternation in involving the benefactive preposition *for* rather than the goal preposition *to* in the prepositional variant.”⁹ Of course, in Arabic the preposition *li-* fills both these functions. Sadler and Spencer review dative shift operations, distinguishing between two types of meaning-changing operations: first, those that “alter the semantic content of predicates,” called “morpholexical operations,” and the second, which “alters the syntactic manifestation of a given semantic representation, particularly the way it is mapped on to grammatical relations.”¹⁰ They consider this distinction somewhat analogous to the distinction between derivation and inflection in traditional grammars.

2.2. *Earlier Work on the Arabic Dative Shift*

In an earlier article¹¹ I pointed out the clear delineation between Arabic verbs that take two arguments (Agent and Object) and verbs that take

⁴ Ibid., 199.

⁵ Ibid., 200.

⁶ Bresnan and Nikitina (2003: 12).

⁷ Næss (2009: 573).

⁸ Levin (1993: 47).

⁹ Levin (1993: 49).

¹⁰ Sadler and Spencer (2001: 208–209).

¹¹ Ryding-Lentzner (1981).

three (Agent, Object, Recipient), and how this distinction correlates systematically with constraints on the deletability of the dative preposition *li-*. This finding supported Green's assertion that "in general, syntactic properties and distributions are determined by semantic properties."¹²

More recent research has elaborated a number of different approaches to the issue of ditransitivity, or the "double-object" construction in English and other European languages,¹³ but considerably less has been done to investigate the nature of ditransitivity, argument structure, or transitivity alternations in Arabic. The issue of ditransitivity masks several different underlying semantic structures, but through componential analysis of Arabic structures and through examination of the requirements of specific predications, some of the issues raised by research on ditransitive constructions can be made clearer.

2.3. *Ditransitive Structures*

Ditransitive structures in Arabic include the following. This is not a complete list, but includes several of the most frequent structures. Some verbs are doubly transitive because of the lexical content of the root, others are doubly transitive due to a derivational modification of the root.

1. The dative-alternation construction where the beneficiary argument shifts place, with preposition deletion, is often based on the notion of "giving."
2. Causative constructions where a valency-changing derivation modifies the lexical root, e.g.

Form IV <i>aḥḍara</i> —to bring	(Cause-to-come)
Form IV <i>aṭ'ama</i> —to feed	(Cause-to-taste) ¹⁴
3. Verbs of permission or denial, e.g.

<i>mana'a</i> —to forbid
<i>manaḥa</i> —to grant
4. Verbs of perception and cognition (*af'āl qalbiyya*), e.g.

<i>'adda</i> —to consider, deem
<i>i'tabara</i> —to consider, deem
<i>wajada</i> —to find, deem

¹² Green (1974: 66).

¹³ Pinker (1989), Levin (1993), Goldberg (1995 and 2006), Saint-Dizier (2006).

¹⁴ For an interesting related analysis of valency in a Semitic language see Amberber (2000). For more on the semantics of 'cause' in Arabic, see Marcelaru (2006).

5. Verbs of transformation (*af'āl al-taḥwīl*), e.g.
ṣayyara—to convert
ittakhadha—take, adopt (as)
ja'ala- to make
'ayyana—to appoint
tawwaja—to crown¹⁵

In this paper I will be dealing primarily with the first three categories.¹⁶

3. PREDICATE-ARGUMENT STRUCTURE, VALENCE THEORY, AND SEMANTIC ROLES

3.1. *Background to Valence and Predicate Calculus*

The concept of valence is concerned with the number of semantic roles that are associated with the meaning of a particular verb. Analysis based on argument structure labels these semantic roles as to their function (Agent, Patient/Object, Beneficiary/Recipient), or refer to them with semantically-neutral labels such as X or Y.¹⁷ The roots of predicate-argument theory lie in predicate calculus as applied to language structure by German mathematician and logician Gottlob Frege in his *Grundgesetze der Arithmetik*.¹⁸ Originally, predicate calculus was a way of stating how certain objects, or arguments, relate to a predicate, and mapping the arguments to appropriate truth values. The concept of valence (or valency) was borrowed from chemistry by French linguist Lucien Tesnière and applied metaphorically to linguistic predicate argument structure in order to specify and classify the number of arguments taken by particular predicates.¹⁹ Valence is also

¹⁵ Categories 4 and 5 include verbs which belong to the traditional '*nawāsikh*' category in Arabic grammar, that is, verbs that shift one or more arguments in the VP to accusative case. See Ryding (2005: 176–179) for further description of this category.

¹⁶ Limitations of space prevent me from exploring all five categories, but I plan to study the grammatical relations involved in all these topics in a subsequent publication.

¹⁷ Labels of 'cases' or arguments vary substantially. Although case frames and function labels cannot be directly equated with traditional or pre-theoretical grammatical terms, I would for the purposes of this paper like to make a few indications in this regard. For the traditional notion of indirect object, Fillmore (1968) used "dative" and Chafe used "beneficiary," whereas Goldberg and others use "recipient." For the traditional concept of direct object, Fillmore used "object" or "objective," Blake and others have used "patient," and others use the term "theme," introduced by Gruber (1976, 2006). In this paper I will use the term Recipient for the 'indirect object' and Object for the 'direct object,' capitalizing the terms for case labels to make them easier to identify.

¹⁸ Frege (1893/1903; 1962).

¹⁹ "Le verbe est au centre du noeud verbal... Il est donc le régissant de toute la phrase verbale." Tesnière (1959: 103).

sometimes referred to as “arity,” after terms such as “unary,” “binary,” and “tertiary.” There are therefore two metaphors at work here: one based on mathematical logic and the other based in chemistry. Each one helps to deconstruct the semantics of the verb and to explicate the case-role frame required for each instance.

3.2. *Definitions and Terms*

The valence of a verb or other predicate (such as a preposition) is expressed in terms of the number of core arguments that the predicate requires. Thus a verb such as ‘give’ in English or *a ʕā* in Arabic has a valence of three (Agent, Object, and Recipient), whereas a verb such as ‘buy’ or *ishtarā*, has two core arguments (Agent and Object). Pinker proposes the term “thematic core” for the set of a predicate’s required arguments and suggests: “a thematic core is a schematization of a type of event or relationship that lies at the core of the meanings of a class of possible verbs.”²⁰ Goldberg considers argument structure of central importance in relating semantics to syntax, stating that “argument structure constructions are a special class of constructions that provides the basic means of clausal expression in a language.”²¹ In some approaches to argument structure, such as Fillmore’s ‘case grammar,’²² the different arguments are distinguished according to thematic role labels such as “Agent,” “Patient,” and “Beneficiary.” As Haspelmath notes, “Fillmore’s intention was to highlight the importance of abstract semantic roles for languages like English that have (almost) no case distinctions.”²³ Anderson states that “if we interpret the relations involved here [in dative and accusative relations] as semantic... in the case of the post verbal elements (at least), then their identification is ensured by the semantic valency of the verb, which regulates the syntax. This... is the crucial insight of ‘case grammar.’”²⁴

Other approaches to predicate-argument structure, such as Pinker (1989) and Levin and Rappaport (1988), forgo the semantic labeling of arguments and differentiate them only as X and Y. In a later work, Levin and Rappaport describe the verb’s semantic core structure using the term

²⁰ Pinker (1989: 73).

²¹ Goldberg (1995: 3).

²² Fillmore (1968 and 1977).

²³ Haspelmath (2009: 507).

²⁴ Anderson (2006: 28). For more on case roles and theta roles in Arabic, see LeTourneau (2006 and 2009).

“lexical semantic template.”²⁵ In a later article on morphology and lexical semantics, Levin and Rappaport Hovav distinguish between “the lexical syntactic representation, often called ‘argument structure,’ and the lexical semantic representation which . . . has come to be known as ‘lexical conceptual structure’” (LCS).²⁶ Thus, a number of alternative perspectives have been proposed regarding the nature of semantic core arguments required by predicates, focused on the interrelationship between the syntax and semantics of the clause, and on linking or mapping the semantic information to surface structure.

3.3. *Formal Notation for Argument Structures*

A useful way to represent verb meaning in explicit terms is to take what Levin and Rappaport Hovav characterize as a “predicate decomposition approach.” In such an approach, “the verb’s meaning is represented using members of a fixed set of primitive predicates together with constants—typically chosen from a limited set of semantic types”.²⁷ Levin and Rappaport Hovav see the predicate decomposition process as key to understanding the “the grammatically relevant components of meaning.”²⁸

3.3.1. *Giving*

The nucleus of a predication of giving must involve three arguments: an Agent to do the giving, an Object which is given and a Recipient who receives the Object.²⁹ None of these arguments may be omitted without impairing the entire concept. The predication may be formalized as follows:

Predication: Predicate (Argument 1, Argument 2, Argument 3)
 or more specifically: Give (A, O, R)
 where A is the Agent, O is the object given, and R the Recipient.

²⁵ Levin and Rappaport (1995: 24).

²⁶ Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1998, 2001: 249).

²⁷ Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2004: 251).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ For further reading on the nature of ‘giving’ constructions and the Recipient role in particular, see Newman (1998).

3.3.2. *Buying*

Verbs of buying, on the other hand, do not require three arguments to complete the concept; they only require two: the Agent and the Object.

Predication: Predicate (Argument 1, Argument 2)
 or more specifically: Buy (A, O)
 where A is the buyer and O the object bought.

3.3.3. *Buying for*

The notion of doing something *for* someone else is external to the nucleus of the predication and relates to the nucleus as does any adverbial modifier, at a level external to that of the main predication:

Predication: For (Argument 1, Argument 2)
 where Argument one is the Recipient and Argument 2 is another predication, i.e.,
 For (R, <buy: A, O>)

4. DATIVE ALTERNATION IN ARABIC

Although Modern Standard Arabic is a “word-marking language”³⁰ and marks desinential inflection of substantives through exponents in its surface structure, there is no distinctive case-marker for the dative. Therefore one of two structures is used:

4.1. *Prepositional Dative*

In the first case the indirect object or “Recipient” becomes the object of the preposition *li-* ‘to, for’ and receives the genitive case:

- (1) *aʿṭay-tu l-miftāḥ-a li-l-bint-i.*
 I-gave the-key to-the-girl
 ‘I gave the key to the girl.’

This is often referred to as the “prepositional dative.”

4.2. *Ditransitive Dative*

In the second case the Recipient occurs without the dative preposition *li-* and receives accusative case, just as the direct object does. In this situ-

³⁰ Blake (1994: 207).

ation, however, in Arabic as in English, the Recipient argument lacking the dative preposition must immediately follow the verb. Pinker labels the Recipient in this case the “second object” or the “second direct internal argument.”³¹

- (2) *aṭay-tu l-bint-a l-miftāh-a*
 I-gave the-girl the-key
 ‘I gave the girl the key.’

This type of construction is usually referred to as “double-object” or “ditransitive.”

4.3. *Dative Alternation*

The process involved in the change between these two has been called “dative movement,” “dative shift,” and “dative alternation.” It has occasioned a number of theories in recent years (see earlier work on the Arabic dative shift above) that provide hypotheses about the nature of the shift and its underlying semantic motivation. For example, Pinker examined dative and causative phenomena at length, as well as the locative and passive alternations.³² Levin also examined transitivity alternations and classified English verbs according to their syntactic and semantic properties.³³ Goldberg analyzed ditransitive constructions as networks “linked by inheritance relations which motivate many of the properties of particular constructions.”³⁴

5. TO-DATIVES IN ARABIC: THREE CATEGORIES

The components of the conceptual structure of verbs involving the dative relation reveals why some are three-place (three-argument) predications and others are only two. The semantic structure of three-place verbs, such as Arabic *aṭā* ‘give’ consists of semantic primitives or primes that formulate a CAUSE-TO-HAVE structure. That is, R (Recipient) comes to possess O (Object) because A (Agent) causes this to happen. The means by which this is caused is lexicalized as one of the three-place verbs (e.g., *aṭā* ‘give,’ *manaha* ‘grant,’ *bā’a* ‘sell’).

³¹ Pinker (1989: 34–35).

³² Ibid.

³³ Levin (1993).

³⁴ Goldberg (1995: 67).

Arabic to-datives can be subdivided into two classes:

5.1. *Verbs which Involve an Underlying CAUSE Predicate:*³⁵

5.1.1. Verbs lexicalizing a causative-transitive semantic structure (e.g., Form IV *aṭʿama* ‘to feed’), Form IV *aʿṭā* ‘to give’ or Form I *manaḥa* ‘to grant’). These verbs may manifest either ditransitive or prepositional datives.

5.1.2. Verbs lexicalizing a causative-intransitive structure (e.g., Form IV *aḥḍara* ‘to bring’) and that manifest only the prepositional dative.

5.2. Verbs without a CAUSE predicate and that manifest only the prepositional dative.

5.3. *Cause Predicate Structure*

Each of these categories, the two CAUSE predicate classes and the non-CAUSE class, has a particular relationship with the dative preposition *li-*. Transitive predicates require two arguments; intransitives require only one. The syntax of a typical transitive verb such as Arabic *ṭaʿima* ‘taste’ takes the following form:

- (3) *ṭaʿim-a li-safīr-u li-ʿinab-a*
 he-tasted the-ambassador the-grapes
 ‘The ambassador tasted the grapes.’

Which can be formalized into the following predicate-argument structure:

Two-argument predication: taste <ambassador, grapes>

The syntax of a typical intransitive verb such as Arabic *ḥaḍara* ‘to come’ would take the following form:

- (4) *ḥaḍar-a li-safīr-u*
 he-came the-ambassador
 ‘The ambassador came.’

One-argument predication: come <ambassador>

These two verbs, *ḥaḍara* and *ṭaʿima* serve as lexical base forms for the Form IV causative derivations *aḥḍara* ‘to bring’ and *aṭʿama* ‘to feed.’ Thus

³⁵ Words in caps represent semantic primitives.

‘to bring’ is constructed conceptually as ‘to cause to come’ and ‘to feed’ is ‘to cause to taste.’ The Form IV derivation shifts the semantics of the verbs to include the CAUSE component.

(5a) *aḥḍar-tu l-zuhūr-a li-l-bint-i*
 I-brought the-flowers to-the-girl
 ‘I brought the flowers to the girl.’

(5b) *aṭʿam-tu l-ʿinab-a li-l-bint-i*
 I-fed the-grapes to-the-girl
 ‘I fed the grapes to the girl.’

In English, each of these clauses is subject to dative-movement with to-deletion. But in Arabic, only *aṭʿama* can delete *li-*:

(6a) *aṭʿam-tu l-bint-a l-ʿinab-a*
 I-fed the-girl the-grapes
 ‘I fed the girl the grapes.’

But not

(*6b) *aḥḍar-tu l-bint-a l-zuhūr-a*
 I-brought the-girl the-flowers
 ‘I brought the girl the flowers.’

The Arabic verb *aḥḍara* ‘to bring’ requires *li-* or *ilā* ‘to, toward’ in the surface structure whereas *aṭʿama* ‘to feed’ does not. The componential semantic structure of these causative verbs reveals the reason for the difference. The structure of *aṭʿama* ‘feed’ is as follows, based on a system where the predicate is followed by a list of arguments enclosed in pointy brackets. When an argument is itself a predication, the embedded predication is noted in square brackets.

Predication: CAUSE <Agent, predication [taste <Recipient, Object]> >

That is, the Agent argument ‘causes’ something to happen—another predication involving (specifically) the act of tasting, whose two arguments involve the taster (Recipient/Agent) and the Object tasted. In such a CAUSE structure, the Recipient is a key argument, central to the predication, and cannot be deleted. The Recipient/ Beneficiary/Dative case in this structure is an underlying agent (of the verb ‘taste’) as well as a recipient of the CAUSE predication, thus playing two roles and linking itself into a key position in the semantic structure. In Arabic, the causative form of the base verb *ṭaʿima* ‘to taste,’ is lexicalized as *aṭʿama*, a Form IV derivation.

The Form IV verb *aḥḍara*, on the other hand, is the causative derivation of an intransitive or single-argument predicate:

Predication: CAUSE <Agent, predication [come < Object>]>

Again, the Agent argument ‘causes’ something to happen, but there is no Recipient involved in the semantic core structure. The Recipient must therefore be introduced by means of an external predication using the dative preposition (*li-* or *ilā*) which functions as an independent predicate with the semantic content ‘FOR THE BENEFIT OF’ and links the Recipient argument to the main predication:

Predication:

FOR THE BENEFIT OF < Recipient [CAUSE <Agent, predication [come <Object>]]>>

6. FOR-DATIVE RESTRICTIONS

The componential structure of for-dative verbs involves only a two-place predication. It does not involve a CAUSE predicate and is therefore not a lexicalization of a three-argument concept. As in the case of Arabic *ishtarā* ‘buy,’ the conceptual structure resembles that of any transitive verb, involving an Agent of some sort and an Object. This structure is semantically less complex than that of *aḥā* ‘give,’ the relationship with a Recipient not being intrinsic to its meaning. In order to add the Recipient argument to this type of verb phrase, it must be attached outside the nucleus of the main clause by a different predicate (the preposition *li-* ‘for’). This independent predicate is on a separate conceptual tier and therefore cannot be dropped from the surface structure.

There are two indirect object or recipient-marking prepositions: ‘to’ and ‘for’ in English. In many ways their syntactic structures are parallel, and in English the for-dative undergoes dative-movement in much the same way that the to-dative does:

- (7a) I bought a flower for the girl.
 (7b) I bought the girl a flower.

Arabic uses the preposition *li-* to express ‘for’ as well as ‘to,’ e.g.:

- (8) *ishtaray-tu zahrāt-an li-l-bint-i*
 I-bought a-flower for-the-girl
 I bought a flower for the girl.’

In Arabic, however, the *li-* which is used in the sense of ‘for’ cannot be omitted from the surface structure and the dative-movement phenomenon cannot take place. What may and often does occur, however, is preservation of the prepositional dative and its movement to the position immediately following the verb, preceding the direct object. Thus:

- (9a) *ishtaray-tu li-l-bint-i zahrāt-an*
 I-bought for-the-girl a-flower
 ‘I bought (for) the girl a flower.’

is perfectly acceptable, but not:

- (*9b) *ishtaray-tu l-bint-a zahrāt-an*
 I-bought the-girl a-flower
 ‘I bought the girl a flower.’

For Arabic for-datives, the only sort of dative-alternation possible is dative-movement without preposition deletion. That is, the main clause, BUY-A-O, is simply one of the two arguments that the prepositional predicate ‘for’ takes, the other being the intended Recipient. When it is an independent predicate, ‘for’ (or *li-*) cannot be omitted from the surface structure of the Arabic sentence. The two-tiered hierarchical nature of this structure contrasts with the single tier used for verbs of giving.

When functioning with verbs of giving the preposition (*li-* in Arabic, ‘to’ in English) is not an independent predicate; it is a case-marker for the case function Recipient. If that Recipient is moved to the position directly following the verb in Arabic, the *li-* is no longer required and the recipient is case-marked for the accusative. One can thus posit that there are two *li-*s: one which acts as a surface structure marker of a predicate-nuclear Recipient, and one which is an independent predicate whose meaning is: FOR THE BENEFIT OF. The latter links the Recipient with a verb-phrase predication on a separate level, outside the nuclear predicate-argument structure of the main clause.

There is thus a major difference in syntactic behavior between the to-dative and the for-dative in Arabic, even though they are represented in the surface structure by an identical lexical item, *li-*. The *li-* of the to-dative is in certain instances deletable whereas the *li-* of the for-dative must be retained. Native Arabic speakers queried about this restriction expressed the sense that the indirect object of the for-dative was not “directly involved in the action” and could not therefore be optionally made accusative. Certain speakers also felt that the term “indirect object” for the to-dative object was inappropriate, and that it should be replaced

with a conceptually tighter term such as “second object.”³⁶ This insight on the part of the native speakers is important in that it captures the idea that there is a basic conceptual difference between verbs which require *li-* and those for which *li-* is optional. In terms of componential analysis, it can be demonstrated that verbs such as *aʿṭā* ‘to give’ have a different number of logical arguments intrinsic to their predication than verbs such as *ishtarā* ‘buy.’ It is this structural semantic difference which is crucial in determining whether *li-* is optional or not, and which introduces an element of hierarchy into the underlying structure of dative phrases. Whereas such structural accuracy is intuitive on the part of native speakers of Arabic, to a learner of Arabic as a foreign language, such constraints can and frequently are seen as illogical and confusing—especially if those constraints do not apply to their first language. An understanding of componential analysis of these verbs is essential for those who teach Arabic as a foreign language in order to explain (in simpler terms) the rationale behind the rules.

7. CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN ARABIC

Arabic ditransitive constructions are rich in semantic and syntactic research possibilities, especially in view of the wide-ranging theoretical discussions and hypotheses that have been proposed for English and other European languages. Arabic contrasts in subtle but highly systematic ways with English, and further research will certainly enhance understanding of the parameters of semantic roles and syntactic structures.

This paper is a very preliminary study of decompositional procedures, semantic roles and grammatical relations in Arabic, and has focused on only one preposition, *li-* and its surface structure role in dative-type and ditransitive syntactic structures. By analyzing the conceptual structures of verbs and examining their predicate-argument relations, the role of prepositions and case-marking can be elucidated and rendered predictable to a great extent, as well as the constraints on the presence or non-presence of *li-*.

³⁶ See also Pinker (1989: 34).

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DIALECTS OF THE DATIVE SHIFT: A RE-EXAMINATION OF
SĪBAWAYHI'S DISPUTE WITH THE NAḤWIYYŪN OVER DITRANSITIVE
VERBS WITH TWO OBJECT PRONOUNS

David Wilmsen

Ditransitive verbs are accorded prominent treatment in the Arab grammatical tradition. For the classical Arab grammarians, the presence of a verb with two object nouns in the accusative case would have been sufficient to spark their interest. Using the verb *aʿṭā* 'to give' as a model, they posed constructions such as *aʿṭā ʿaliyy-an al-darāhim-a* 'he gave Ali the dirhams' to illustrate the operation of case. The preference for nominal objects is to place the indirect object (the beneficiary) before the direct object (the patient), where Ali is the beneficiary of the act of giving dirhams, even though the two nominal objects may appear in either sequence.¹ Traditional treatments of such verbs make no distinction between the notional indirect object and the direct object, but this becomes important if one or both of the objects are represented by pronouns. As it happens, Arab grammar books, both ancient and modern, have little to say about pronominal objects. The reason for the classical grammarians' apparent lack of interest may have been that such constructions do not illustrate the accusative case of the two objects of the ditransitive verb, as pronominal objects in Arabic do not exhibit case. Yet the presence of object pronouns in ditransitive constructions affects the ordering of the notional objects. With one pronominal object and one nominal, whichever of the objects is represented by the pronoun is affixed to the verb and, as a consequence, precedes the nominal object, regardless of which is the beneficiary: *aʿṭā-hu al-darāhim-a* 'he gave him the dirhams' and *aʿṭā-hā li- ʿaliyy-in* 'he gave them to Ali.' In the first instance, a double object construction is maintained, whereas in the second, a dative-like construction must be employed,² and the ordering of the notional indirect and direct objects is reversed.

¹ But see Soltan (2009: 537), Ryding (2005: 70–71), and Peled (1993: 207, fn. 2) for opposing views of their permissible or preferred ordering.

² There is, of course, no dative case in Arabic; the movement shown here is sometimes called a "dative shift."

When both objects are prepositional, three options are available: either a prepositional dative construction or one of two double object constructions may be formed. Sībawayhi³ does address pronominal objects of ditransitive verbs adducing both double object constructions: *a'ṭā-hū-hā* and *a'ṭā-hu iyyā-hā*, both apparently meaning 'he gave-him-them.' According to Sībawayhi, the latter of the two options is preferable to avoid affixing two pronouns of the same person to the verb, which, because they are both of the third person, is awkward.

A rarity (even an anachronism) in modern writing, a verb with two affixed object pronouns was evidently so even in Sībawayhi's day.⁴ Sībawayhi himself acknowledged that the second pronoun was more often attached to the free object pronoun than it was to the verb. Gensler presents compelling reasons for regarding the affixing of two object pronouns to the verb as an archaic Semitic feature which may have been disappearing in Arabic by the time of the Qur'ānic revelation and was perhaps in an even greater stage of eclipse by the time Sībawayhi was writing more than a century and a half later.⁵

A critical consideration here, and one with which Sībawayhi and later grammarians appear little concerned, is the ordering of the patient and beneficiary with respect to the verb, be they nominal or pronominal. For Sībawayhi also permits the opposite sequences *a'ṭā-hā-hu* and *a'ṭā-hā iyyā-hu*, stating that the ordering of the objects is unimportant so long as the proper sequencing of persons is preserved. Accordingly, in his reckoning, the proper sequencing of the persons of object pronouns is that a 1st person pronoun precedes a 2nd person, which precedes a 3rd. Thus, Sībawayhi rejects as ill-formed the constructions *a'ṭā-hū-ka* 'he gave-3rd-2nd' and *a'ṭā-hū-ni* 'he gave-3rd-1st,'⁶ wherein a 3rd person object pronoun precedes a 2nd person or 1st person pronoun. This against some of his contemporaries' willingness to accept just such a violation of his prescribed sequence of attached object pronouns. Sībawayhi contends that these rival grammarians were for the sake of symmetry imposing on the language a regularity that did not actually exist. Against this, Sībawayhi prescribes the sequence *a'ṭā-hu iyyā-ka* 'he gave-3rd iyyā-2nd,' wherein the second pronoun in the sequence is detached from the verb and affixed

³ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* 2, 362–3.

⁴ Diem (2002: 20).

⁵ Gensler (1998).

⁶ Following idem (1998: 278–280), I am deliberately glossing these examples without translating the object pronouns, precisely because the meaning of the utterances is ambiguous.

to the free object pronoun *īyyā-*, in what may be called a pronominal double object construction. Therewith a violation of the prescribed sequence for two affixed pronouns is averted.

Here again, the disposition of the beneficiary with respect to the patient is of issue. In modern usage, whether written or spoken, it is usually the patient that is attached to the free object pronoun.⁷ If that were also true in Sibawayhi's day, then in the constructions under discussion here, even that to which Sibawayhi objects, the patient is the second of the two object pronouns affixed to the verb. This seems to imply that the sequence Sibawayhi endorsed was not only that of 1st+2nd+3rd persons but also that he took as given the sequence verb-beneficiary-patient (V-IO-DO).

This cannot be established with certainty, and the ambiguity inherent in the various orderings of the elements of these double object constructions has led to confusion amongst western commentators. For example, Wright glosses *a'ṭā-hu īyyā-ya* as 'he gave me to him' and *a'ṭā-nī-hi* as 'he gave it/him to me'.⁸ Meanwhile, Reckendorf gives the opposite interpretation to the two statements, with *a'ṭā-hu īyyā-ya* glossed as 'he gave him to me' and *a'ṭā-nī-hi* as 'he gave me to him'.⁹ The confusion is forgivable, for Sibawayhi does not gloss his examples. Nor does the free object pronoun of necessity mark the patient, but it can sometimes mark the beneficiary.¹⁰ An indisputable precedent for this appears in Qur'an 9: 114:

وَمَا كَانَ اسْتِغْفَارُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ لِأَبِيهِ إِلَّا عَنْ مَوْعِدَةٍ وَعَدَهَا إِيَّاهُ

wa- mā kāna stighfār-u	ibrāhīm-a	li-abī-hi	illā 'an
and not was asking forgiveness	Ibrahim	to father his	but for
maw'ida-t-in wa'ada-hā	īyyā-hu		
a promise he promised it	PRON-him		

But Ibrahim's asking his father for forgiveness was only for a promise; he had promised it him

⁷ Compare Cantarino (1974-5: 168-70).

⁸ Wright (1974: 1, 103).

⁹ Reckendorf (1921: 285).

¹⁰ Ḥasan (2007: 274-275), in a modern grammatical work that does discuss pronominal objects, would apparently agree with Reckendorf, for he states that the "more sentient" (*a'raf*) of the two is the one that must be separated from the verb, gives the example, *a'taytu-humā-hu*, which becomes *a'taytu-humā īyyā-hu* 'I gave them (dual) [the pen and the book] to him.' Notice that here, as in Reckendorf's rendering, the sequence V-DO-IO prevails. Regardless, marking the beneficiary with *īyyā-* seems a rarity in modern writing. In all of Cantarino's (1974-5: 168-169) examples, it is the patient that is marked by *īyyā-*.

As it happens, prepositional dative constructions with ditransitive verbs also appear in the Qurʾān, one of them being another verb of giving: *wahaba*. Of the twenty-two instances of that verb in the Qurʾān, it is always used in a dative construction, eight of those with a pronominal object, for example Qurʾān 3: 7:

وَهَبْ لَنَا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ رَحْمَةً

wa hab la-nā min	ladun-ka	raḥma-t-an
and grant to us	from in possession-your	mercy
And grant to us from thyself mercy		

Regrettably, the verb *wahaba* never appears in the Qurʾān with two pronominal objects.¹¹ For its part, *aʿṭā* is used in the Qurʾān about one third as often as *wahaba* (7 times), never with a prepositional dative. Nevertheless, prepositional dative constructions are found with the verb *aʿṭā* in very early Arabic writings, some of them penned only fifty years or so after Sībawayhi's day:¹²

قد أعطى لكل ذي حق حقه

qad aʿṭā	li-kull-i dhī	ḥaqq-in ḥaqq-a-hu
past gave	to every attributive	due due his
He gave his due to everyone to whom it was due ¹³		

أعطي المال لابنة الأخ

aʿṭī	l-māl-a	li-bnat-i	l-ax-i
give (f.s.)	the money	to daughter	the brother
Give the money to the brother's daughter ¹⁴			

¹¹ In modern writing, with two object pronouns, it is used with both a prepositional dative construction and a prepositional double object construction, with the preference toward the prepositional dative. For example, a search of a fairly large sample of modern novels and other writings in the arabiCorpus of Brigham Young University (<http://arabicorpus.byu.edu/>), in a corpus of about 500,000 words it is used with the free object pronoun five times and with the prepositional dative not at all. Meanwhile, in a search of an entire year of journalistic writing from five Arabic newspapers from various parts of the Arab world between Morocco and Kuwait available in the same database, in a corpus of about 60 million words, *wahaba* is used with the prepositional dative 58 times and with a prepositional double object construction 9 times. In pre-modern writing, a corpus of about 900,000 words yields 57 instances of the prepositional dative and none of the prepositional double object construction.

¹² Attested in Diem (2002: 81).

¹³ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, no. 17006.

¹⁴ Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, no. 2928.

So too is it regrettable that in none of the earliest examples that Diem attests do both objects appear as pronouns. It is, therefore, not possible to state categorically but neither is it unreasonable to suppose that dative constructions with two pronominal objects existed in the Arabic language in Sībawayhi's day and before.

Indeed, with the inherent ambiguity of pronominal double object constructions, it is reasonable that speakers would have sought recourse to an alternate means of disambiguation. Such a device is readily at hand in the form of what we might call a pronominal prepositional dative construction, found in phrases such as *a'ṭā-hā la-hu* 'he gave-her/it/them to-him.' Structures like this cannot be misconstrued; only the beneficiary may be attached to the dative preposition. On the other hand, with constructions like *a'ṭā-hū-hā* and *a'ṭā-hā-hu* and their counterparts *a'ṭā-hu iyyā-hā* and *a'ṭā-hā iyyā-hu*, it is not immediately apparent who is giving what to whom.

In light of the foregoing, the constructions to which Sībawayhi objects, *a'ṭā-hū-nī* and *a'ṭā-hū-ka*, merit a second look. Why would Sībawayhi's contemporaries propose such a thing? Were they actually imposing an artificial analogy on their data, as Sībawayhi contended, or were they reflecting a reality, however imperfectly described? That is, were there dialects of Arabic in Sībawayhi's day that permitted what Sībawayhi considered an inopportune sequencing of object pronouns?

In that regard, it is noteworthy that Sībawayhi, contrary to later orthographic convention, writes the double affix construction with a long vowel on the first of the two suffixed 3rd person pronouns such as *a'ṭā-hū-hā*. The long vowel in the penultimate syllable would probably have attracted stress; were it to be read aloud in his day (the final long vowel in {-hā} may have been pronounced as short or half-long as it is in modern speech).¹⁵ So too is it intriguing that Sībawayhi's contemporaries were apparently

¹⁵ The classical Arab grammarians were evidently uninterested in the placement of stress. See Birkeland (1954) and Ferguson (1997). It may be that stress patterns did not vary across spoken varieties in the 2nd/8th to 3rd/9th centuries as they do today, and the grammarians then took it for granted that their readers would know where to place stress (see Blau (1972), to whom we shall return later, for an attempted reconstruction of Old Arabic stress patterns). If so, this would not be the only instance of the grammarians assuming knowledge of Arabic in their readers. Marogy (2010: 23) also points this out with reference to Sībawayhi's use of terminology without explanation. Consider also Carter (2004, 133) quoting "a certain Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/912 or 320/932), who declares 'the book of Sībawayhi... needs more clarity and lucidity in its expressions, for it is a work composed at a time when the people were familiar with these terms and so it is confined to their ways of thought.'"

willing to permit a violation of the implicitly prescribed sequence of the notional objects. In both instances, the violation of the sequence and the attraction of stress, the examples that Sībawayhi adduces find analogies in modern spoken usage in those dialects employing the prepositional dative. Just such a lengthening of the vowel on the affixed object pronoun and an arrangement of the notional direct object before the indirect is found in spoken Egyptian Arabic.

DIALECT DITRANSITIVES

It has been noticed¹⁶ that the North African spoken vernaculars of Arabic, including the Egyptian, are constrained to cast two pronominal objects of ditransitive verbs in a prepositional dative construction, of the type *iddēt-hā luh* 'I gave her/it to him.' In the spoken Arabic of Egypt, for example, no other construction is permissible with two pronominal objects.¹⁷ Eastwards, spoken vernaculars of Arabic show no such constraint; they may use a prepositional dative construction, such as the Levantine *aʕtayt-ā la il-u* 'I gave it/them to him,' but they are more likely to use the free object pronoun *yyā-* (generally represented as /yā/ when transcribing spoken samples) to mark one of the object pronouns, thus *aʕtayt-u yā-hā* 'I gave him it/them.'

Gensler points out that of all the possible orderings of two pronominal objects (i.e., both IO and DO before the verb in either order, one before and one after the verb, etc.), Arabic utilizes only two: with either the beneficiary preceding the patient, both following the verb (V-IO-DO) or the opposite (V-DO-IO).¹⁸ Of these, the disposition of the two object pronouns can vary. Retsö shows the range of possibilities:¹⁹

The A types (V-IO-DO)

- A₁: a verb with affixed indirect object and direct object pronouns
- A₂: a verb with an affixed indirect object pronoun and a direct object pronoun affixed to *yyā-*
- A₃: a verb with an affixed indirect object pronoun and an independent direct object pronoun

¹⁶ Brustad (2000: 372–373) & Retsö (1987: 225, 227 & 242).

¹⁷ See Woidich (2006: 255–257).

¹⁸ Gensler (1998: 253 & 2003: 199, 201 & 205).

¹⁹ Retsö (1987: 224).

- A4: a verb with no affixes and an indirect object pronoun affixed to [l-] and a direct object affixed to *yyā-*
 A5: a verb with no affixes and an indirect object pronoun affixed to [l-] and an independent direct object pronoun

The B types (V-DO-IO)

- B1: a verb with an affixed direct object pronoun and the indirect object pronoun affixed to [l-]
 B2: a verb with affixed direct object pronoun and indirect object pronouns
 B3: a verb with no affixes and an object pronoun affixed to [l-]

Of all these possibilities, the two most common occurring in the spoken dialects Retsö studied are A5 and B1.²⁰ The B1 construction is exactly of the type *a'tā-hu la-ka*. The B2 construction hardly occurs at all. It is, however, noteworthy that in those cases, the sequence of attached pronouns appears to be precisely of the sort to which Sibawayhi objects (and in case of the Algerian example, precisely the utterance as well!):

Egypt:	<i>tiddihāni</i>	'you give it me'
Algeria:	<i>a'tāhūnī</i>	'he gave it me'

About the first of these, Spitta-Bey, who adduces the utterance, categorically denies that old Arabic double object suffixation occurs in spoken Egyptian Arabic.²¹ Expressing doubt that this really is a double affix construction, he points out that in the {-ni} suffix is a variant of {-li}, apparently following a regular phonological shift from /l/ to /n/ or vice versa (cf. *jurnāl* -> *jurnān* 'journal' and *finjān* -> *finjāl* 'coffee cup'). Indeed, such a shift is a feature of Semitic languages in general and not Egyptian Arabic alone. In the Algerian case, Marçais echoes this assumption, indicating that the /l/ assimilates to /n/ in first person plural suffixes to produce such constructions as *ijbhunna* 'bring it to us,' where the usual dative pronoun {li-} has been assimilated to the following /n/ when attached to the 1st person plural object affix {-nā}.²²

That being so, the utterances adduced above are somewhat exceptional, but they are also explainable as variations of the usual order of the B1 type

²⁰ Ibid., 225 & 227.

²¹ Spitta-Bey (1880: 241).

²² Marçais (1902: 133). He points this out without comment when discussing the change in vowel quality to the affixed 3rd person pronominal clitics {-hu} and {-ha}, which become /-hū/ and /-hā/ with "allongement de l'accent," which he indicates thus: [hû] and [hâ]. "Après les deux premiers, la série vocalique des enclitiques regime indirect est seule employée, anisi : *lha, nna, lkum, thum, jamias vlha*, etc. (his emphasis)."

that predominates in the western vernaculars. For its part, the B₃ type is unremarkable, in that many ditransitive verbs can be reanalyzed to take a single object, in which case, if the object were a beneficiary, it would perforce be expressed with a prepositional dative.

It is not surprising, then, that even if type A constructions are not found in the western vernaculars, type B constructions may be found in the Eastern vernaculars. Of particular interest are the peninsular Arabic vernaculars, where such type B constructions are attested:²³

Najd:	<i>sharōhin laham</i>	'they brought them for them'
Mecca:	<i>jāb-ahum liyya</i>	'he brought them for me'

What is more, of the peninsular vernaculars, that of Mecca is particularly remarkable for some of the variations it will allow. For example, the latter expression is interchangeable with an A₅ construction, in which a verb is followed by a clitic pronoun representing the beneficiary affixed to {li-} and a patient represented by an independent object pronoun:²⁴

Mecca:	<i>jāb li humma</i>	'he brought to me them'
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This in turn, in the Meccan dialect at least, is interchangeable with an A₃ construction:²⁵

<i>sallim-ni hīya</i>	'give me it'
<i>addēt-ak hūwa</i>	'I gave you it'

Retsö appears to equivocate about the frequency of occurrence of these two when he states that, "contextually the construction A₃ is the most frequent, lexically A₅ dominates."²⁶ In this somewhat vague manner, he seems to be saying that the most commonly occurring verb/object formation is that of A₃ but that overall ditransitive verbs of the A₅ formation appear more often in the texts he studied. Such an interpretation is buttressed by his equally vague statement that of the "few instances of A₃ it appears that these verbs belong to the semantic field of "give" and it is thus not surprising that most cases in the texts are with *aḥā*."²⁷

²³ Retsö (1987: 225).

²⁴ Ibid., 226.

²⁵ Ibid., 227–8.

²⁶ Ibid., 228.

²⁷ It is well worth noting that ditransitive verbs are of relatively rare occurrence when compared to other types of verbs, but that some of them (especially verbs of giving) are disproportionately represented in speech (but not in writing). This is the third time Retsö remarks upon the special status of verbs in the semantic field of "to give." He mentions it first (p. 225) when noting that in Algeria, or at least in the dialect of Tilmisān, only the

Meanwhile, Retsö does not mention it but it is nevertheless the case that constructions A2 and A4 are, as he puts it with reference to A3, contextually very frequent and, as it happens, also sometimes interchangeable, as in *Allah yi-khalli-ni yā-k* and *Allah yi-khalli li yā-k*, both meaning ‘God keep you for me’ (a rather elaborate way of saying “thank you” among other things) and both commonly heard in Levantine vernaculars. What is more, in the Najd dialect, B1 constructions are interchangeable with A4:²⁸

sharō laham iyyā-hin ‘they brought for them them’

In the face of such variability even within peninsular varieties of Arabic, the question surely arises whether such variability existed in the same abundance in the peninsular Arabic of Sibawayhi’s day, and whether the grammarians with whom he often disagreed actually were adducing a genuine spoken form in their proposed *aʿtā-hū-ni*.

DIALECT PRESERVES

Data drawn from contemporary spoken varieties do not necessarily provide incontrovertible evidence of past forms; new forms may have arisen within local vernaculars as a natural process of language development. As Owens observes, “the general problem [is] whether dialect forms of the diaspora are due to post-diaspora innovation, or are reflective of pre-existing diversity on the Arabian Peninsula.”²⁹ Saying this, Owens goes on to make a credible argument for the reconstruction of a peculiar dialect feature found in various North African vernaculars (including some Egyptian varieties), in which the first person indicative verb is marked by {n-} rather than the usual {a-}, as a post-diaspora development; he even establishes a tentative locale for its origin and spread.

Remarking upon the “rich multiplicity” such as we have seen above in the treatment of two pronominal objects in the contemporary Arabic dialects, Gensler argues without much justification that these are indeed post-diaspora innovations that arose “as independent parallel

verb “to give” takes two suffixed object pronouns. Thus, Marçais (1902: 134), “un seul, *aʿtā* se construisent avec deux enclitiques.” For a second time (p. 227), he observes of his own data that, “There is only one verb which consistently has the PS [pronoun suffix] as o² [our patient], vis *ʿy give*’ (the root may have different shape in different dialects).” The special status of verbs “to give” and perhaps especially *aʿtā* cries out for further investigation. It is, however, beyond the scope of this paper to engage the issue.

²⁸ Retsö (1987: 225).

²⁹ Owens (2004: 715).

developments” as a result of “the passage of classical language to the modern colloquials.”³⁰ He thereby implies that in their treatment of two pronominal objects the modern dialects each represent individual developments away from ancient peninsular Arabic, or at least from the classical Arabic that Sībawayhi, his contemporaries and successors were attempting to describe.

But Gensler is never clear as to what he means by “classical Arabic.” He often seems to be referring to an earlier stage of the language, as when he states his assumption that classical Arabic was the language from which a second stage development of two affixed object pronouns emerges, wherein a second object pronoun is affixed to a pre-existing single object construction (in what he calls “second-stage cliticization”): “The key fact,” he says, “is that in the input language (Classical Arabic) a single suffixed pronominal object may either be DO or IO, allowing the second-stage object to be either IO or DO, respectively.”³¹ Even though he had earlier³² demonstrated quite convincingly that two-pronominal-object-suffix constructions are very likely Proto-Semitic anachronisms present in the earliest Arabic writing, he still proposes that such a construction comes at a later stage in the development of what he calls Classical Arabic when the “inherited Classical single-object form [has a] new enclitic added to the right” of the attached pronoun.³³ He thereby seems to be extending

³⁰ Gensler (2003: 202).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

³² *Idem* (1998: 269 & 275–276).

³³ *Idem* (2003: 205). To be fair to Gensler, he here uses the term ‘clitic’ to mean pronouns that are not affixed tightly to the verb, and thus wishes to refer to a different and later development in the dialects than the older affixing of two pronominal object pronouns to the verb. This observation does not completely exonerate him, however, because he also proposes (1998: 270–272) that the double affixed pronominal objects began in Proto-Semitic in the same manner: first as a singly affixed pronoun with a second object loosely bound as a “proto-clitic,” which then underwent a syntactic tightening of its bond to the verb, whereby a doubly affixed verb construction was born. This in itself presents difficulties, in that it implies that the doubly affixed verbs underwent subsequent syntactic loosening, whereupon the more distant object pronoun again became cliticized and affixed to, for example, *yyā-*. The process then began once again post-diaspora in the dialects, when, “the newly bound element is fairly clearly a clitic and not a suffix, in keeping with the recency of its creation. Over the course of time, however, one can readily envision the typical blurring of morpheme boundaries and tightening of syntactic bond that would obliterate the difference in “degree of clitichood” between the old inner marker and the new outer marker. The clitic would grammaticalize to an affix, and the outcome would be a verb with two affixal markers” *idem* (2003: 205).

As we shall argue below, it is more parsimonious to assume that the observed affixed forms and cliticized forms, whatever their ultimate origin, emerged as developments within the peninsula before the diaspora; these are the forms that survived individually in the Arabized dialects.

his notion of classical Arabic into the dim and undocumented past of the language.

This adds unnecessary difficulty to the burden of reconstructing the sources of both the modern spoken dialects of Arabic and the canonical classical language. What is usually called “classical Arabic” is generally considered to encompass the language of pre-Islamic poetry, the Qurʾān, and the writing of the post-Islamic golden age of Arabic literature (however that is delineated). It sometimes seems that when Gensler uses the term “classical Arabic” he means precisely this, but at other times, as we have seen, he seems to regard an earlier form of Arabic as the classical language.

Regardless, it becomes clear from an examination of the early sources that the language of pre-Islamic poetry represents an earlier phase of Arabic than does that of the Qurʾān. This has been demonstrated by Corriente with respect to the case markings on nouns, which, as he puts it, carry more of a functional load in pre-Islamic poetry than they do in the Qurʾān (and later works).³⁴ In a random sampling of the famous pre-Islamic ode *qifā nabki* by Umruʿu l-Qays, the first thirty verses of *sūrat Yūsuf* from the Qurʾān, two early (first and second century AH) post-Islamic works (one poetry and one prose), and two modern works (also one poetry and one prose), he discovers that in only 10.4% of instances of case marking in the pre-Islamic ode is the information provided by the case “functionally necessary.” In the Qurʾān, the percentage is reduced to zero, while it never rises above 3% in medieval writing or modern poetry, and is again reduced to zero in modern prose.³⁵

³⁴ Corriente (1971: 34–37). By “functional load,” he means when the nominal endings themselves convey critical meaning.

³⁵ Corriente is careful to point out that the functional necessity of case in the Qurʾān cannot be zero, but that there simply were no instances of “functional loading” in his sample, observing that, “in the case of the Qurʾānic sample, we felt at once that the absolute lack of functional case morphemes was a mere coincidence, and this was confirmed by a brief supplementary survey of the first thirty verses of Sura V, in which, as we expected, a few such instances did indeed turn up” Corriente (1971: 37). He cites Qurʾān V:6 to illustrate, saying (ibid.: fn. 26): “For example, V 6 *udhkurū niʾmata llāhi wa-mithāqahu alladhī wāthaqakum bihi*, where the Acc. *mithāqa* yields the translation “re-member God’s favor and his pledge to you,” while the Nom. would mean “remember God’s favor, his promise being what he had pledged to you.”

His assertions, however, did not remain uncontested. Blau (1972a) objects that a low functional yield by itself does not indicate that the case endings were falling into disuse. Corriente (1973: 154), allows that his “position on the issue does not command immediate and universal acceptance, nor is it free of reasonable objections.” Remarking upon his own collection techniques, he himself admits to “some misgivings . . . about the soundness of the counting system used,” offering that “perhaps, rather than obtaining rates by reckoning

Similarly, respecting the variability of old Arabic as opposed to later forms of classical Arabic, Belnap and Gee demonstrate not only that the language of pre-Islamic poetry exhibits more variability in agreement categories between human and non-human plural head nouns than does the Qur'ān, but that a strikingly similar variability as was found in old Arabic is retained in the modern spoken vernaculars of Arabic.³⁶ Specifically, feminine singular agreement (or “deflected agreement”), which is almost categorical with non-human plural nouns in post-Islamic and modern written Arabic, is sometimes used with human plural entities in old Arabic (e.g., *qālat al-naṣārā l-masiḥu bnu llāh* ‘said (f.sg.) the Christians, “the Messiah is the son of God”’ as opposed to *qālū in-nā naṣārā* ‘they said (pl.), “we are Christians”’), more so in sixth century pre-Islamic poetry than in the Qur'ān. Conversely, plural agreement may be used with non-human plural head nouns, whereas in modern writing, deflected agreement is the norm (viz, *ayyām ma'dūdāt* ‘a limited (pl.) number of days’ as opposed to *ayyām ma'dūda* ‘a limited (f.sg.) number of days’), again more often in pre-Islamic poetry than in the Qur'ān and hardly ever in later Arabic writing.³⁷ While this kind of variable agreement does not generally

the total of instances with and without the feature under discussion, we should consider only those instances where the case opposition was not neutralized.”

³⁶ Belnap and Gee (1994).

³⁷ Of course, agreement pairs such as *ayyām ma'dūdāt* may be and actually are lifted out of their early context and inserted into modern writing for their evocative value. For that matter, deflected agreement with human plurals is occasionally used in modern writing, apparently either as a reproduction of speech or as a deliberate classicizing anachronism. For example, a search of the arabiCorpus database of modern literature revealed that with the word “people” (*nās*), out of a total 1,229 instances of the appearance of that word in the various works present in the database, it occurred 9 times with deflected verbal agreement, six of which were in dialogue written in the vernacular, the other three times were with the verb “to know” (*ʿarafa*), for example, in a novel by Edouard Kharrat:

وسمع مجد الدين أسماء لم يسمعها من قبل عن بلاد لير يكن يصدق أنها موجودة. كل الناس تعرف أن هناك
دولة اسمها الهند

The search was conducted solely with verbs following the token noun; in all other instances of verbal agreement with the verb following the noun (36 instances), agreement was plural. With the verb preceding the noun, the agreement was categorically masculine singular, the default form when the verb precedes the subject. It is not clear that the verb “to know” has any special semantic characteristics that would attract deflected agreement. I have elsewhere collected examples of deflected agreement with human plurals in writing as, for example, this instance from the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahrām*:

إنّ الناس لا تصاب بحالة جنون مفاجئ أو تصرف غير متوقع بدون أسباب

According to the principles governing the use of deflected agreement that Belnap (1993) discovers, it is unusual for a verb exhibiting deflective agreement to follow the human

apply in modern Arabic writing, it is quite common in the contemporary spoken Arabic of Cairo³⁸ and indeed may be found in other vernaculars as well (consider the lyrics sung by Lebanese diva Fairuz: *'al maḡra' tunṭur nās* 'at the crossroads people wait (f.sg.)' but *sa'alū-ni n-nās* 'ann-ak yā ḡabībi' 'the people asked (pl.) about you, O my darling').

Nor is such variability random, but it has an underlying semantic motivation. Agreement follows a hierarchy from non-human, through animate, to human, with the tendency to use plural agreement increasing along the animate-human scale. What is more, it reflects speaker cognition with deflected agreement tending to be used with conceptually unified plurals (thus, in the example above, all Christians as a group), while plural agreement tends to be applied to individuated plural entities, seen as countable (or potentially so) or otherwise groups of distinct individuals (e.g., a particular group of Christians).

This "striking parallel" between old Arabic and modern vernaculars leads Belnap to conclude that the variability of agreement patterns in spoken vernacular Arabic appears to be a survival of Pre-Islamic patterns and that the "robust survival of such patterns in many, if not most, varieties of spoken Arabic... attests to the conservative nature of [the] Arabic dialects, which are popularly believed to be much corrupted descendants of Classical Arabic."³⁹ The implication here is that while the spoken vernaculars of Arabic retained aspects of old Arabic variability, the classical language became somewhat simplified, perhaps partly and indirectly as a result of the efforts of Sibawayhi and his successors to describe and codify the language.

The same principle may be applied to the Arabic treatment of double object pronouns. Indeed, it is more satisfactory to suppose that the variability in the treatment of pronominal objects with ditransitive verbs exhibited by modern vernaculars was present in the pre-diaspora peninsular dialects than it is to imagine, as Gensler does, that such variability arose independently in each of the spoken vernaculars after the expansion of Arabic speaking tribes out of the Arabian Peninsula during and after the 1st/7th century. This does not undercut the overall soundness of Gensler's analysis, it simply pushes the mechanisms he proposes further back in time. Gensler's developments may just as easily have arisen within the Arabian Peninsula itself before the diaspora. Indeed, it requires fewer

plural tokens, as it does here. The usual pattern would be for the verb showing deflected agreement to precede the noun, even in vernacular Arabic.

³⁸ Belnap (1993).

³⁹ Ibid., 179–182.

steps in the process of changing from a proto object marking system to the systems found in classical Arabic thence to the dialects to suppose that, than it does to posit that the process began in Proto-Semitic (or even Proto-Afroasiatic) diversity, converged into the situation presumed to be present in the classical Arabic of Sibawayhi's day—such as it was, and then branched again into dialectal diversity, as Gensler proposes. It does not, however, explain how it came to be that all of the North African dialects exhibit the B form only, casting two pronominal objects into a prepositional dative construction and none other. To explain that requires some reconstruction.

DIALECT RECONSTRUCTIONS

Arguing from Semitic and Afroasiatic sources, Gensler outlines a process whereby clitic object constructions and thence double object suffix pronouns can develop.⁴⁰ He begins with the observation that verbs in all Semitic languages can take a single object pronoun suffix and then reconstructs the process whereby they came to take two. He also speculates that the original pronominal suffix came to be tightly bound to the verb in the first place through the same mechanism. The process then, adapted from Gensler would proceed as follows:

1. The verb acts on an independent pronominal object.
2. The independent pronominal object undergoes cliticization, optionally acquiring a preposition
3. The pronominal object clitic undergoes syntactic tightening and becomes affixed to the verb
4. A verb+suffixed-pronominal-object construction acts on a second independent pronominal object
5. The second pronominal object undergoes cliticization, optionally acquiring a preposition
6. The pronominal object clitic undergoes syntactic tightening and becomes affixed to the verb

The first three steps are purely hypothetical but reasonable, especially as the continuing process represented by steps 4 to 6 are evident in some modern A-type Arabic vernaculars, most notably for our purposes, that of

⁴⁰ Gensler (1998: 271–274).

Mecca, step 4 resulting in an A₃ construction of the type *addēt-ak hūwa*, and step 5 realized in an A₅ of the type *jāb li humma*, as seen above. The final step results in an A₁ construction, something close to which is found, for example, in Aleppo, where “it is normal to say ‘*aṭṭyon hi*’⁴¹ (‘give them it’) or southeast Turkey, where the construction ‘*aṭaytuhū-wē* ‘I gave it him’ is found.⁴² In these two vernaculars, the second element is a clitic and not a true suffixed pronoun. Nevertheless, a true A₁ construction is, of course, attested by Sibawayhi in *aṭānīhi* and its sisters.

The same process with the notional objects in the opposite ordering is even easier to imagine. That either the notional direct or indirect object may be affixed to the verb is undisputed; thus with a notional direct object pronoun affixed to a verb acting upon a notional indirect object, the prepositional dative can arise easily. Gensler demonstrates its subsequent cliticization with the Egyptian vernacular B₁ construction *iddi-hā li*, about which he says,

That this *li-* marker is functioning as a clitic and not an independent [prepositional phrase] is indicated by the fact that the combination generally (though not always) undergoes phonological reduction and merges phonologically with the verb as a single word. For example, in the . . . example above, the verb suffix *li-* contrasts with the independent *liyya* ‘to me’ and has no word accent of its own.⁴³

Indeed, with the elongated vowel of the first of the two object pronouns attracting stress, the entire construction is being treated as a single word according to Egyptian word stress rules, whereby stress is usually assigned to the penultimate syllable. This may be seen clearly when it is considered that were there to be only one pronoun affixed to the verb, that pronoun would undergo vowel reduction and the stress would shift away from it, thus: *iddī-ha*. It seems clear that once a preposition is added to an independent object pronoun, cliticization would rapidly follow.

It is a short step from here to a construction like Spitta-Bey’s *tiddihāni*, supposing, as he does, that this is actually a dative construction with /l/ having assimilated to /n/ as seen in the Algerian dialect. Such a process would produce a construct such as *aṭāhūnnā*, which although not attested by Marçais is predictable from the rule he outlined; perhaps this

⁴¹ Or optionally *aṭṭyon hi(ya)*.

⁴² Retsō (1987: 219 & 221).

⁴³ Gensler (1998: 258).

explains the odd construction he does attest, *aʿtāhūnī*, as a similar case of assimilation.⁴⁴

Indeed, a case may be made for the Algerian model as a remnant of an older “original” peninsular form of Arabic. That argument must be made obliquely, however, by considering that North African stress patterns may in fact reflect an original peninsular system. About such a possibility Blau remarks,

Only a minority of scholars dealing with the problem of stress in Arabic regard the accepted accentuation of Classical Arabic (of the Eastern type) as original. Most of them consider the stress system that may be reconstructed from the Maghribi type of stress (which one may call ‘the ancient Maghribi stress system’) to be nearer to the original stress pattern, and many of the proofs adduced by them seem quite convincing.⁴⁵

Blau’s attempt at identifying an original stress pattern seems somewhat naïve given what is known about the diversity of Arabic dialects in the Arabian Peninsula before Islam. It is just as likely that there were original stress *patterns* as that there was a single pattern prevailing throughout the peninsula. Nevertheless, his observation points to the likelihood of a western peninsular Arabic stress pattern that spread even further west with the expansion of Arabic speakers into North Africa after the advent of Islam. If this were so, the western dialects exhibiting that stress pattern seem also to have been dialects that had effectuated a categorical dative shift with their object pronouns before being carried by their speakers westward across North Africa.

Buttressing this case for stress patterns as indicators of dative dialects, Blau echoes our observation about Sībawayhi’s treatment of vowels:

The pronominal suffix 3rd pers. masc. sing. was, as a rule, pronounced *-hū* in Classical Arabic. After a long vowel, however (and to some extent also after a closed syllable), it was shortened to *-hu*. . . One wonders . . . whether this phenomenon could not be explained by a stress system corresponding to the Maghribi one, in which the stress is generally oxytone (and therefore, as a rule, *-hū* was preserved), yet a long vowel preceding the last syllable becomes stressed. . . In this connexion it is interesting to note that

⁴⁴ He does adduce another odd one in which the /l/ becomes /m/: *yaʿtēuhūmmek* ‘ils te les donneront.’ Spitta-Bey (1880: 26) demonstrates how a similar process obtains in Egypt, wherein the liquid consonants assimilate one to the other and that /n/ can become /m/ in the presence of a bilabial: “Die Liquidae wechseln häufig mit einander. So wird *l* zu *r* in: *rakhar* fem. *rukhra* = *lakhar*, *lukhra* entst. aus *elakhar*, *elukhra*. . . *l* wird zu *n* in *enbāreh* gesprochen *embāreh* ‘gestern.’”

⁴⁵ Blau (1972: 477–8).

according to Sibawaihi *-hū* generally remains long after a closed syllable, as opposed to the opinion of later grammarians. One could claim that Sibawaihi's opinion reflects the Maghribi stress system, according to which only long vowels, rather than closed syllables, attract the stress, whereas later grammarians were used to a different stress pattern. Yet, admittedly, all this is quite inconclusive.⁴⁶

Inconclusiveness is a chronic malady, which, because it cannot be cured, must be endured in attempting reconstructions of early Arabic. Nevertheless, a western dialect origin could explain the construction that Sībawayhi found so unlovely. His location on the far north-eastern edge of the Arabian Peninsula may have meant that he simply never had contact with a native speaker of a dialect in which such constructions (or similar ones) existed.

If it is agreed that the modern spoken vernaculars retain old Arabic usages that were subsequently lost to the later classical Arabic, it is not hard to conceive that such dialects did exist in or around Mecca, especially considering that similar features are present in the spoken Arabic of Mecca today. Seen in this light, Gensler's rich multiplicity of independent parallel developments in the treatment of double object pronouns found in the spoken vernaculars are better seen as individual steps along a single development continuum, with the sequence becoming arrested in some vernaculars and earlier steps preserved alongside later ones in others. In the type A dialects especially, independent, cliticized and suffixed forms may exist side-by-side with each other or with B forms within a single dialect.

DIALECT GRAMMARIANS

This brings us back to Sībawayhi's dispute with contemporary grammarians, his *naḥwīyyūn*, on this point. Might his rivals have been confusing their ill-formed attestation with a prepositional dative of the shape *a'tā-hū l-ī* or even attesting a construction that actually did exist in the form of an assimilated prepositional dative construction of the type now seen in Algeria but was not attested in the dialect areas with which Sībawayhi was the most familiar?

The vexed question of these grammarians' identities has only marginal bearing on this issue, and any possibility may fit the thesis proposed

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 482.

here; for, were they representatives of a coherent grammatical school of thought, as Talmon proposes, especially if their locale was in the Hijaz and not Mesopotamia,⁴⁷ the possibility for which he later leaves open,⁴⁸ they could have been describing a dialect unfamiliar to Sībawayhi, perhaps those of Mecca and Medina and adjacent dialect areas.⁴⁹ If, on the other hand, they were, as Carter suggests,⁵⁰ mere dilettantes exercising primitive descriptive methodologies, they may then simply have made the mistake of confusing a pronominal prepositional dative construction for a double object suffix construction. It is, after all, often very difficult to hear the difference between, say, *yi-khallī-ni yāk* and *yi-khallī-li yāk*, a contrast existing in some modern vernaculars; how much more difficult must it be to hear the difference between *aʿtāhūnī* and *aʿtāhūlī*!

Baalbaki, in summarizing the various arguments about the identity of Sībawayhi's enigmatic *naḥwīyyūn* cautions that all such speculations are best viewed within the "framework of a working hypothesis, which we should not unduly expect to yield any definitive results.⁵¹ Low expectations are inescapable due to the scarcity of genuine sources from the period." This advice is applicable to any reconstructions of the past state of Arabic; at best, we can attempt to form a framework for a working hypothesis about any possible dialectal origins for the grammarians' attestation of an out-of-sequence ordering of the notional objects of ditransitive verbs. That we have done here.

A FINAL CONSIDERATION AND CONCLUSION

A question we have not yet addressed is the origin of the free object pronoun *īyyā-* itself. This is almost always and without much reflection

⁴⁷ Talmon (1982).

⁴⁸ Idem (1985).

⁴⁹ Baalbaki (2008: 24–25) doubts that there was ever a "grammatical school" as such in Medina. He further points out that Sībawayhi apparently never actually went into the desert to collect data *in situ* from the Bedouin, but relied upon Bedouin speakers who came to the cities of Mesopotamia to act as native informants for the grammarians working there. Nevertheless, his teachers and contemporaries did go into the desert and were familiar with Hijazi dialects, and he himself voiced his esteem for the Hijazi dialects, even if rather patronizingly, see Baalbaki (2008: 39) and Carter (2004: 4).

⁵⁰ Carter (1972: 77 & 1985: 265–266) proposes that the closest rendering of the word *naḥw* as it is employed in *al-Kitāb* means 'manner of speaking' (*façon de parler*) and not 'grammar' as in later usage, concluding that, "the derivative *naḥwīyyūn* can hardly mean 'grammarians', and... during this period simply meant 'those concerned with the way people speak.'"

⁵¹ Baalbaki (2008: 21).

treated as if its main function were marking an object pronoun, such that Gensler in one instance⁵² calls it an “independent object pronoun” and an “independent object base” in another.⁵³ Bravmann goes further, by calling it an “accusative pronoun.”⁵⁴ This unselfconscious acceptance of the free object pronoun as such may have its origins in Sībawayhi’s own treatment of it, wherein he seems determined to attribute to it the marking of an object pronoun and perhaps nothing else. Indeed, in his eagerness to establish this, he engages in a bit of his own analogy building, adding an unnecessary level of explanation when a simpler one is at hand. For, *īyyā-* has other functions, including simply standing in the place of an independent pronoun (with an appropriate pronominal affix, of course).⁵⁵

As it happens, a hint at such an explanation is provided by Retsö, who says this:

It appears . . . that the different constructions with two pronominal objects arise from a reluctance to attach the bound pronominal suffixes to each other, i.e., these suffixes are usually attached directly to nouns and prepositions only. Even in [standard written Arabic], where double suffixes are allowed, there is an alternative construction with the second suffix attached to the *demonstrative element īyyā*.⁵⁶ (emphasis added)

While Retsö attempts some structural justifications for labelling *īyyā-* a demonstrative, there is evidence aplenty that it is so used. Some modern writers use it as often in demonstrative form as they do in marking the prepositional object of a verb.⁵⁷ Consider one example from many that could be adduced:

بإيد إياها أكتب

bi- l-yad	īyyā-ha	a-ktub
with the hand	īyyā-it	I write
With this very hand do I write		

⁵² Gensler (1998: 242).

⁵³ Idem (2003: 203). Badawi, Carter, and Gully (2004: 145, 239, 291, 373–5, & 447) call it variously the “free object pronoun,” from which we derive our usage; the “detached object pronoun”; and even the “dummy pronoun” or “dummy element.” In their first mention of it (p. 46), they call it a “compound free pronoun,” remarking that its “origins are still unexplained.” The Arab grammarians apparently had no name for it.

⁵⁴ Bravmann (1971: 50).

⁵⁵ For a fairly complete list of the functions of *īyyā-*, see Wilmsen (2010: 108–112).

⁵⁶ Retsö (1987: 229).

⁵⁷ Wilmsen (2010: 113–114).

Sibawayhi is at such great pains to establish that *īyyā-* marks an object pronoun that he misses its deictic function:⁵⁸

ومما يد لك على أنه ينتصب على الفعل وأن يا صارت بدلاً من اللفظ بالفعل قول العرب: يا إياك،
 إنما قلت: يا إياك أعني ولكنهم حذفوا الفعل وصار يا وأيا وأي بدلاً من اللفظ بالفعل. وزعم
 الخليل رحمه الله أنه سمع بعض العرب يقول: يا أنت فزعم أنهم جعلوه موضع المفرد وإن شئت
 قلت: يا فلان بمنزلة يا زيد ثم تقول: إياك. أي: إياك أعني.

What indicates to you that it is made accusative by the verb and that the *yā* becomes a substitute for pronouncing the verb, is the statement of the Arabs *yā īyyāka*, which is to say, 'I mean you!,' whereby *yā* and *ayā* and *ay* become substitutes for the verb. Al-Khalīl, God rest his soul, claimed to have heard some Arabs say *yā anta!*

He maintained that they were causing it to take the place of the word. So, if you wanted, you could say *yā fulānu* [O, so-and-so] with the status of *yā Zayd*, then you would say, *īyyā-ka!*, that is, 'You, I mean.'

That *īyyā-* does function as a deictic element may be seen when somewhat earlier Sibawayhi⁵⁹ discusses *īyyā-* in the phrase used in warning, *īyyāka wa l-asad-a!* 'you! the lion!' This is, of course, conventionally translated as "beware the lion," undoubtedly arising from Sibawayhi's gloss, "as it were, 'You! Know [be aware of] the lion.'" Here his concern has shifted away from the deictic *īyyā-* to a hypothetical (he would say elided) verb's action upon the lion, rendering the noun accusative. In his eagerness to account for that, it appears he has committed the same error that he attributes to the *naḥwīyyūn*, with whom he so often disputes, by making an analogy to a verbal sentence when an easier interpretation is at hand. The phrase as a warning simply means, "Hey you! There's a lion!" Or, as the Arabic has it, "You! The lion!"

Regarding *īyyā-* as a demonstrative rescues us from such a fanciful reconstruction as that attempted by Bravmann,⁶⁰ who argues that the element developed from the {-iya} suffix of such prepositional affix compounds as *fī-ya* 'in me' *alay-ya* 'on me' and with defective nouns with a suffixed 1st person singular possessive pronoun, such as *aṣā-ya* 'my stick.' This, he argues, then became attached to the usual object suffix {-ni}—for which he proposes an original form analogous to the {-iya} suffix **-niya*

⁵⁸ Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb* 1, 290.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 272.

⁶⁰ Bravmann (1971: 50–52).

on the verb *a'ṭā*—through a series of unlikely steps to go from *a'ṭānīhi*, or rather from his proposed original form **a'ṭānīhū*, to another proposed original form **a'ṭānīyahū*. Whence the suffixed pronoun split away from the verb along with its attached pronoun and in the process other pronominal suffixes could by analogy be agglomerated onto the element *īyyā-*, and the star was born, as it were.

This rather cumbersome process is made all the more untidy by Bravmann's assertion that the Arabic form is the original from which the Aramaic *yāth-*, the Hebrew *ōth-*, and the Ethiopic *kīyā-* and “the majority of the independent object pronouns found in the Semitic languages other than Arabic” were derived. To him, these are “etymologically related to the Arabic forms” (which is no doubt true), but “the comparable forms outside Arabic are less original than the Arabic form.” All of this leads to the conclusion that, “it seems very probable that the . . . Semitic forms outside Arabic represent modifications of the more original Arabic form.”⁶¹ With this curious reasoning, Bravmann appears to be saying that the Arabic retains the underlying original Proto-Semitic form from which the analogous forms in other Semitic languages developed. While that may be true, his reconstruction would require that all other Semitic languages with such a deictic element undergo a similar process with constructs analogous to his Arabic **a'ṭānīyahū*.

In our reconstruction, however, the process would have proceeded in rather the opposite manner from Bravmann's: the verb with an object suffix acts upon an independent pronoun, which may have an alternate form marked by *īyyā-* (perhaps as *yā-k*, *yā-h*, etc.); the *īyyā-* form becomes cliticized; thence syntactic tightening occurs to form a double object suffix. This is more plausible both for its reliance upon attested Arabic forms and because it posits that the *īyyā-* (or *yā-*) form predate the double object pronoun construction. This, in turn, is a much more satisfying explanation for the presence of similar deictic elements in other Semitic languages.

To complete the picture, Hasselbach suspects that the prepositional [l-] also began as a demonstrative element used to express far deixis in Afroasiatic, adding the intriguing clue that *yā* ‘that’ continues in use in Amharic to express far deixis when both the speaker and the listener are distant from the object.⁶² All of these considerations taken together provide a coherent accounting of several phenomena: double affixed object

⁶¹ Ibid., 50.

⁶² Hasselbach (2007: 22). That it was originally a Semitic demonstrative cannot be in doubt after Barth (1913: 77–80) has demonstrated its use as such in Aramaic, Ethiopic,

pronouns, the pronominal double object construction and its alternative pronominal prepositional dative construction, and finally a plausible explanation for the categorical use of the dative shift in the dialects of North Africa.

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STYLE, LEXICOGRAPHY, AND PHONOSYMBOLISM

HOMONYMIE, POLYSÉMIE ET CRITÈRES DE DISTINCTION

Ibrahim Ben Mrad

1. HOMONYMIE ET POLYSÉMIE DANS LA TRADITION LINGUISTIQUE ARABE

Il est inutile de rappeler que le thème étudié est très classique et qu'on lui a consacré une littérature linguistique très abondante. Il a attiré notre attention depuis les débuts des années quatre-vingt dans les articles que recevait le Comité de rédaction de la *Revue de la Lexicologie* que publie l'Association de la Lexicologie Arabe en Tunisie (et que nous dirigeons), puis dans les mémoires et les thèses de nos étudiants à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de la Manouba. En fait, une grande confusion régnait—et règne encore—dans la littérature linguistique arabe moderne, aussi bien sur les concepts que sur la terminologie utilisée pour les dénoter. La linguistique arabe classique a bien connu les phénomènes d'homonymie et de polysémie, mais elle leur donnait ensemble le nom de « *mushtarak* » dont la signification littérale est « commun. » Aḥmad b. Fāris, par exemple, définit le « *mushtarak* » par « le fait qu'un mot admet deux significations ou même plus » (*an takūn al-lafza muḥtamila li-ma'ṇayayni aw akthar*)¹. Dans un autre chapitre—« Comment les noms désignent—ils les choses? »²—il traite le phénomène sans le nommer mais il le divise en deux catégories: (a) « la désignation de plusieurs choses par un seul mot » (*tusammā l-ashyā' al-kathīra bi-l-ism al-wāḥid*) en l'illustrant par l'exemple de « *ʿayn* » = œil et quelques unes de ses acceptions³; et (b) « la désignation d'un seul objet par plusieurs noms » (*yusammā l-shay' al-wāḥid bi-l-asmā' al-mukhtalifa*) qu'il exemplifie par « *sayf* » (épée) et quelques uns de ses « noms, »⁴ mais ici il s'agit d'un cas de synonymie.

Reprenant le dernier passage d'Ibn Fāris, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī considère la première catégorie comme seule représentante du « *mushtarak*. »⁵

¹ Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiqh al-lughā*, 269.

² Ibid., 96–98.

³ Ibid., 96.

⁴ Ibid., 96. Nous notons ici qu'Ibn Fāris précise bien que le « *sayf* » est le seul « nom » que cet objet porte, et que ses autres dénominations ne sont que des « adjectifs » (*ṣifāt*).

⁵ Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lughā* 1, 369.

Il ajoute même à la définition donnée par Ibn Fāris une autre définition plus précise empruntée à « *ahl al-uṣūl* »: « le *mushtarak* est un seul mot qui porte deux significations qui s'égalent, au point de vue des locuteurs de la même langue, ou plus de deux. »⁶ Ce concept de « *mushtarak* » est exprimé aussi par une autre définition que portent quelques traités de lexicographie arabes comme titre: « Les mots ayant la même forme phonique mais des significations différentes » (*mā ttafaqa lafzuhu wa-khtalafa ma'nāhu*)⁷. On constate bien, d'après la première définition et l'exemple de « *ʿayn* » qui l'illustre, que le terme de « *mushtarak* » désigne surtout « la polysémie. » Mais, à l'exception de la définition illustrée par « *sayf* » qui réfère bien à la synonymie, les deux autres définitions que donnaient Ibn Fāris et Suyūfī laissent à croire que le terme désigne aussi bien l'homonymie que la polysémie. Le terme « *mā ttafaqa lafzuhu wa-khtalafa ma'nāhu* » que portent certains traités de lexicographie n'échappe pas lui-aussi à cette généralisation. Mais d'après les exemples que l'on trouve dans les traités de philologie arabe pour illustrer le phénomène⁸, le terme de « *mushtarak* » renvoie surtout à la polysémie, sauf dans les cas où l'exemple donné pourrait être un nom et un adjectif à la fois⁹.

D'ailleurs, cette tendance à désigner par « *mushtarak* » le phénomène de la polysémie est confirmée par les écrits philosophiques et logiques arabes. Des écrits philosophiques nous mentionnons, par exemple, « *Risāla fī l-ḥudūd* » (Épître des Définitions) d'Ibn Sīnā. Plusieurs termes philosophiques sont, dans cet épître, qualifiés de « *mushtarak* » parce qu'ils dénotent un certain nombre de concepts, c'est-à-dire, en terminologie lexicologique, un certain nombre de significations. C'est, par exp., le cas de « *ʿaql* »¹⁰ (raison), de « *naḥs* »¹¹ (âme), de « *ṣūra* »¹² (forme), de « *jism* »¹³ (corps) ... etc. Cette association du terme à plusieurs sens est explicitée par al-Jurjānī dans « *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt* » (Le Livre des Définitions). Pour cet auteur logicien, le « *mushtarak* » est un « mot que l'on a établi pour déno-

⁶ Ibid. 1, 369.

⁷ Aḥmad Sharqāwī Iqbāl donne dans son *Muʿjam al-maʿājim*, 290–292 dans un chapitre intitulé « *Maʿājim al-ishṭirāk* » la liste commentée d'une douzaine de traités lexicographiques portant le titre de « *mā ttafaqa lafzuhu wa-khtalafa ma'nāhu*. »

⁸ Cf. par exemple Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Fiqh al-luḡha*, 410–411 (Chap. « *Fī wuqūʿ ism wāḥid ʿalā ašyāʾ mukhtalifa* ») (De la désignation de différents objets par un seul nom).

⁹ Tel que le mot « *ʿadl* » donné par Thaʿālibī (Ibid., 411) qui est un nom qui signifie « justice » et un adjectif qui signifie « homme juste. » La différence en catégorie lexicale est l'un des critères que nous adoptons pour faire la distinction entre polysémie et homonymie.

¹⁰ Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fī l-ḥudūd*, 79.

¹¹ Ibid., 81.

¹² Ibid., 82.

¹³ Ibid., 87.

ter plusieurs significations... comme « *ʿayn* » à cause de son association à des significations multiples. »¹⁴ L'un des commentateurs de « *Kitāb al-Ghurra fī l-mantiq* » du même Jurjānī, ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Ṣafawī al-Ījī, met le « *mushtarak* » en opposition avec le « monosème » qu'il dénomme « *munfarid*. »¹⁵

Cette tendance à privilégier la polysémie pourrait s'expliquer, en vérité, par le fait que l'homonymie était souvent considérée, dans la tradition linguistique arabe, comme une figure de rhétorique appelée « *jinās*, » et qui rappelle les jeux de mots, comme les exemples que l'on trouve dans ce vers du poète et écrivain Ibn Rashīq de Kairouan:

*Wa dārihim in kunta fī dārihim *wa arḍihim in kunta fī arḍihim*

que l'on peut traduire par: « Flatte-les quand tu es dans leur maison, et fais-leur plaisir quand tu es sur leur terre. » Dans ce vers, l'expression « *dārihim* » s'applique à l'impératif du verbe « *dārā* » qui signifie « flatter » ou « circonvenir, » auquel est ajouté le pronom « *-hum*, » et au nom « *dār* » qui signifie « maison » et auquel est ajouté le même pronom; quant à l'expression « *arḍihim*, » elle s'applique à l'impératif du verbe « *arḍā* » qui signifie « satisfaire » ou « faire plaisir à, » auquel est ajouté le pronom « *-hum*, » et au nom « *arḍ* » qui signifie « terre » et auquel est ajouté le pronom « *-hum* » aussi. Il ne s'agit pas, dans ces exp., de vraies unités lexicales homonymes, mais d'expressions mises rhétoriquement et syntaxiquement en relation de « *jinās* » que l'on appelle aussi « *tajnīs* » et « *mujānasa* » et que l'on traduit d'une manière variable par « paronymie, » « allitération » et « homonymie. »¹⁶

2. HOMONYMIE ET POLYSÉMIE, DEUX TERMES DE LEXICOLOGIE

Ce qui nous intéresse des deux termes c'est leur usage lexical. Les linguistes arabes modernes ont souvent tendance, quand ils décrivent des phénomènes linguistiques, à traduire la terminologie linguistique occidentale;

¹⁴ al-Sharif al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt*, 215: « *al-mushtarak: mā wuḍiʿa li-maʿnā kathīr...* »; or, dans les cas polysémiques, il ne s'agit pas de « *wadʿ* »—institution ou établissement de signification—mais d'une évolution sémantique de la signification première d'une unité lexicale vers de nouvelles significations au cours de l'histoire de son usage.

¹⁵ ʿĪsā al-Ṣafawī al-Ījī, *Sharḥ Kitāb Ghurra al-mantiq*, 128. Remarquons que l'éditeur, dans un index des « termes de logique » traduit (p. 238) le « *lafẓ mushtarak* » par « Equivoque, » et « *lafẓ munfarid* »—qui devient dans l'index « *lafẓ mufrad* »—par « Expression simple, mot in complexe »!

¹⁶ La littérature relative à cette figure de rhétorique en arabe est très abondante. Cf. une synthèse avec une bibliographie détaillée dans Heinrichs, « *Tadjnis*, » 70–73.

et nous avons bien remarqué, dans plusieurs articles qui ont été envoyés à la *Revue de la Lexicologie*, que les deux phénomènes d'homonymie et de polysémie sont appelés ensemble « *ishtirāk lafẓī* » qui signifie, littéralement, que deux ou plusieurs mots s'associent à la même articulation ou la même prononciation. Nous avons même constaté une sorte de confusion entre les deux phénomènes dans des glossaires de termes linguistiques ou même des livres de philologie arabe où l'on traduit clairement « homonyme » par « *mushtarak lafẓī* » en donnant, parfois, l'exemple de « 'ayn. »¹⁷ Dans le meilleur des cas, s'il y a distinction entre les deux phénomènes, on fait de « *ishtirāk lafẓī* » l'équivalent d'homonymie, et on se contente de calquer le sens de « polysémie » en le traduisant par « *ta'addud ma'nawī* » (multiplicité de sens), sans penser à utiliser « *ishtirāk dalālī* » qui a plus de légitimité, à cause du vieux usage de « *mushtarak* » et d'« *ishtirāk* » dans la tradition linguistique arabe pour désigner le phénomène sémantique¹⁸.

Une telle généralisation résulte, en vérité, des difficultés que l'on trouve, en linguistique moderne, à faire la distinction entre l'homonymie et la polysémie. On leur donne, il est vrai, deux définitions différentes, mais très proches l'une de l'autre. Dans un dictionnaire de terminologie linguistique comme celui de Georges Mounin, l'homonymie « est une relation existant entre deux (ou plusieurs) formes linguistiques ayant le même signifiant, mais des signifiés radicalement différents. »¹⁹ Quant à la polysémie, le même dictionnaire lui donne la définition suivante: « Propriété qu'a un même signifiant de présenter plusieurs signifiés. »²⁰ Mais le problème c'est

¹⁷ Cf. par exemple 'Alī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi, *Fiqh al-lughā*, 189–190; l'Académie de Langue Arabe du Caire, *Majmū'at al-muṣṭalahāt al-'ilmīyya wa-l-fannīyya* 1, 622; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Dirāsāt fī fiqh al-lughā*, 301–309; ALECSO, *Unified Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*, 62, 110, où « *ishtirāk lafẓī* » est donné comme équivalent à homonymie et polysémie en même temps; 'Alī al-Qāsimī, *ʿIlm al-muṣṭalah*, 357–363.

¹⁸ Cf. par exp. Bassam Baraké, *Dictionnaire de linguistique*, 100 (homonymie y est rendu par « *mujānasa* » et « *tajānus lafẓī* »), et 162 (où polysémie et un autre synonyme écrit « polysémémie » sont rendus ensemble par « *ta'addud al-ma'ānī*, *ta'addud al-dalālāt*, *ishtirāk lafẓī* »); Mubārak Mubārak, *Mu'jam al-muṣṭalahāt al-alsunīyya*, 132 et 229 (il donne à homonymie « *tajānus lafẓī* » et « *ishtirāk lafẓī* » et rend polysémie par « *ta'addud al-ma'ānī* » mais il copie sur Baraké « polysémémie » qu'il sépare de polysémie et auquel il donne deux des équivalents de Baraké: « *ishtirāk lafẓī* » et « *ta'addud al-dalālāt*. » Malgré la distinction donc l'« *ishtirāk lafẓī* » est commun à homonymie et à polysémie! Nabil El-Zohairy, *A Dictionary of Computer Science & Computational Linguistics*, 165 (homonymie est traduit par quatre termes arabes: « *ishtirāk lafẓī*, » « *jinās*, » « *tajānus* » et « *tajnis* »), et 282 (polysémie est rendu par cinq équivalents: « *ma'nā kathīr* » (sic!), « *ta'addud al-ma'ānī*, » « *ishtirāk*, » « *iḥtimāl* » (sic!), « *ittifāq al-lafẓ wa-khtilāf al-ma'nā*. » Remarquons que « *iḥtimāl* » est, dans ce dictionnaire, l'équivalent de « probability » aussi (293); Aḥmad al-Ma'tūq, *Zāhirāt lughawīyya*, 94–97.

¹⁹ G. Mounin, *Dictionnaire de la linguistique*, 164.

²⁰ Ibid., 264.

qu'on ne sait pas toujours avec certitude quand les formes linguistiques ayant le même signifiant et des signifiés différents constituent-elles de vrais homonymes ou de vrais polysèmes. Pour un auteur comme G. Mounin, « la polysémie diffère de l'homonymie en cela que les signifiés différents sont tout de même perçus comme présentant des traits sémantiques communs, alors que dans l'homonymie ils n'ont rien de commun. »²¹ Mais le problème que pose cette distinction c'est qu'elle impose arbitrairement à des formes linguistiques identiques n'ayant pas des traits sémantiques communs d'être des homonymes.

Cette distinction entre les deux phénomènes devient arbitraire parce qu'elle dépend, en fin de compte, de la conviction du sémanticien ou du lexicographe vis-à-vis des signifiants et des signifiés qu'il traitent. Cette conviction n'est pas, parfois, le résultat d'une vérification scientifique des données linguistiques mais d'une sorte de dogmatisme qui préfère une approche à une autre. Ainsi, de tels mots, comme les noms « *baie* » et « *bouton*, » les adjectifs « *cher* » et « *pauvre*, » et les verbes « *appliquer* » et « *descendre*, » pourraient être considérés par d'aucuns comme des homonymes et on les classe, dans le dictionnaire, en distribuant leurs différentes significations sur des entrées séparées, et c'est l'approche synchronique adoptée, par exp., par J. Dubois et *alii*, les auteurs du *Dictionnaire du français contemporain*, qui traitent le verbe « *appliquer*, » par exp., sous trois entrées distinctes et séparées par des numéros : 1- *appliquer*, v. tr., *appliquer une chose* (objet, matière), *sur, contre, à*; 2- *appliquer*, v. tr., *appliquer quelque chose* (sans complément); 3- *appliquer* (s'), v. pr., (sujet nom de personne)²². On parle, dans ce cas, d'un « dégroupement » des homonymes où le mot est considéré comme « *une unité du discours* définie par son contexte: situation et distribution. »²³ Ces mêmes mots pourraient aussi être considérés comme des polysèmes, et on les classe en utilisant, pour chacun d'eux, une seule entrée qui regroupe les différentes significations, et c'est l'approche diachronique adoptée, par exp., par A. Rey et *alii*, les auteurs du *Petit Robert*, qui traitent les différentes acceptions du verbe « *appliquer*, » par exp., sous la même entrée: « *appliquer*, » qui est subdivisée en deux grandes parties ou deux sous-entrées: I. (*Actif*) qui regroupe deux acceptions numérotées du verbe transitif; et II. *S'appliquer* (*v. pron.*)

²¹ Ibid., 264–265.

²² J. Dubois, R. Lagane, G. Niobey, D. et J. Casalis, H. Meschonnic, *Dictionnaire du français contemporain*—l'exemple mentionné est donné par J. et C. Dubois, *Introduction à la lexicographie*, 68–69.

²³ J. et C. Dubois, *Introduction à la lexicographie*, 67.

qui regroupe trois acceptions numérotées dont deux au figuré²⁴. Dans ce cas, on peut parler d'un « regroupement » des polysèmes où le « mot » est considéré comme « une unité de langue, dont les réalisations dans le discours impliquent des variations de sens selon les contextes. »²⁵ Selon A. Rey, « Même en sélectionnant une partie des emplois d'une forme lexicale, de manière à constituer une unité moins complexe, la polysémie ne peut être complètement éliminée: les différents « sens » de l'unité de traitement doivent être ordonnés et chacun d'eux doit être décrit. Une description hiérarchisée des types fonctionnels, des sens en contraste et des variations contextuelles est indispensable, jointe à une représentation des relations entre ces diverses sous-unités. »²⁶ Donc, ce qui est polysémique pour un auteur devient homonymique pour un autre, parce que ces auteurs ne suivent pas la même approche²⁷.

3. DES CRITÈRES DE DISTINCTION

Pour trouver une solution à un tel problème, on sait que plusieurs linguistes ont proposé des critères de distinction²⁸. Deux critères considérés comme fondamentaux sont donnés: le premier est d'ordre étymologique. Pour qu'un mot soit considéré comme polysémique, il faut que ses différentes significations remontent à une origine étymologique commune. Mais ce critère est souvent invalidé parce qu'il se base sur la recherche diachronique et l'histoire de la langue, et cela transgresse les normes de la synchronie. D'après J. Lyons, « le critère de relation étymologique n'est pas aussi évident qu'on pourrait le penser à première vue (...). En dépit des avantages qu'il peut y avoir à fournir dans les dictionnaires des détails sur l'histoire des mots, ces informations n'ont, ou ne devraient avoir aucune valeur dans l'analyse synchronique des langues. »²⁹ Donc pour respecter l'usage synchronique de la langue, le lexicologue et le lexicographe doi-

²⁴ Alain Rey et Josette-Rey Debove (dir.), *Le Petit Robert. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, 86.

²⁵ J. et C. Dubois, 67.

²⁶ Alain Rey, *De l'artisanat des dictionnaires à une science du mot*, 116.

²⁷ Cf. d'autres détails et discussions concernant les deux approches dans J. et C. Dubois, 66–82; J. Picoche, *Précis de lexicologie française*, 69–89; A. Rey, 114–118.

²⁸ Cf. par exp. J. Lyons, *Sémantique linguistique*, 178–180; J. Gardes-Tamine, *La Grammaire, 1/Phonologie, morphologie, lexicologie*, 109–110; A. Lehmann et F. Martin-Berthet, *Introduction à la lexicologie. Sémantique et morphologie*, 68–86; A. Niklas-Salminen, *La Lexicologie*, 123–127; V. Nykees, *La Sémantique*, 193–204; F. Gaudin et L. Guespin, *Initiation à la lexicologie française*, 198–205.

²⁹ J. Lyons, *Sémantique linguistique*, 179.

vent la couper de son histoire pour ne penser qu'aux emplois actuels des mots, c'est-à-dire aux « *unités du discours* » telles qu'elles se présentent dans les contextes.

Le deuxième critère est d'ordre sémantique. C'est l'existence d'une relation de sens, dans le cas de la polysémie, par opposition à l'absence d'une telle relation dans le cas de l'homonymie. Pour le même J. Lyons, « il est clair que c'est la considération importante et on peut même arguer que c'est la seule considération pertinente du point de vue synchronique. »³⁰ Cette relation de sens nous rappelle les traits sémantiques communs que les polysèmes doivent avoir pour être considérés comme de vrais polysèmes. Mais ce critère pourrait être invalidé lui aussi par le fait que l'absence de relation de sens entre deux formes du même signifiant ne prouve nullement qu'une telle relation n'a pas existé dans une étape quelconque de l'histoire du mot en usage. L'évolution métaphorique des unités lexicales dans l'usage est un fait linguistique reconnu et il ne doit pas échapper à l'attention du lexicographe pour bien saisir, parfois, les significations exactes des « *unités du discours* » qu'il définit.

4. A PROPOS DES PROPRIÉTÉS DISTINCTIVES

Les deux critères précédents sont donc nécessaires pour la distinction mais ils sont insuffisants. En effet, pour que la distinction soit suffisante et rigoureuse, nous proposons d'appliquer la théorie des propriétés distinctives des termes telle qu'elle était élaborée par J.-C. Milner dans son *Introduction à une science du langage*³¹ puis revue et appliquée à l'arabe par nous-même³². L'essentiel de la théorie de Milner est de fonder la théorie du lexique-dans le sens linguistique théorique-sur la théorie des termes, qui sont les unités lexicales simples, c'est-à-dire les « *mufradāt* » en arabe (les « mots, » dans le sens ordinaire). Pour que les termes qui constituent le lexique appartiennent à un système et s'y relient entre eux, il faut qu'ils s'attribuent des propriétés spécifiques qui leur permettent de se distinguer les uns des autres. Ces propriétés, selon J.-C. Milner, sont au nombre de trois: (1) l'appartenance catégorielle (= C); (2) la forme phonologique (= P); et (3) la signification lexicale (= S). Mais la description de l'arabe, qui a un système de structure morphologique non concaténative, et, en

³⁰ Ibid., 179.

³¹ J.-C. Milner, *Introduction à une science du langage*, 324-355.

³² Cf. surtout I. Ben Mrad, *Introduction à la théorie du lexique*, 106-114; idem., *Du lexique au dictionnaire*, 18-20, 86-89.

plus de son aspect morphématique, il a un autre aspect représenté par les « *šiyagh* » (pl. de « *šigha*, »³³ terme traduit souvent par « schème ») que nous appelons « formes types, » nous a permis d'ajouter une quatrième propriété: la forme morphologique (= *M*). Ce sont donc des propriétés distinctives dont chaque terme ou unité lexicale simple doit en avoir au moins une qui le spécifie pour différer des autres termes dans le lexique. Ces propriétés sont formalisables de la manière suivante [où (–) note la ressemblance, et (+) note la différence]:

- (1) [+*P*, +*M*, +*C*, +*S*]

Dans cette forme les différences entre les deux mots sont totales. On peut l'illustrer par les deux mots « *kalb* » (chien) et « *kalib* » (enragé). Les deux mots sont différents parce qu'ils n'ont ni la même forme phonologique (la présence du phonème [i] dans le second a changé la forme du premier), ni la même forme morphologique (deux formes types différentes: *fa'l* ≠ *fa'il*), ni la même appartenance catégorielle (nom ≠ adjectif), ni la même signification lexicale.

- (2) [–*C*], [+*P*, +*M*, +*S*]

Dans cette forme les deux mots ne se ressemblent qu'en appartenance catégorielle. C'est le cas des deux verbes « *hasaba* » (calculer) et « *hasuba* » (devenir noble) qui diffèrent en forme phonologique (la présence du phonème [u] dans le second modifie la forme en [a] du premier) et en forme morphologique (deux formes types différentes: *fa'ala* ≠ *fa'ula*), en plus de leur différence en signification.

- (3) [–*C*, –*M*], [+*P*, +*S*]

Dans cette forme les deux mots se ressemblent en appartenance catégorielle et en forme morphologique. C'est le cas des deux adjectifs « *qādir* » (capable) et « *qāšir* » (incapable) qui, en plus de leur appartenance à la

³³ L'étude des « *šiyagh* » est la « *šighamiyya*, » discipline de la morphologie dérivationnelle qui se distingue de la « *šarfamiyya* » dont l'objet est l'étude des « *šarāfim*, » c'est-à-dire les « morphèmes. » Cette deuxième discipline est donc « la morphématique; » quant à la première, propre au système morphologique des langues ayant—en plus des morphèmes—des « *šiyagh* » comme les langues sémitiques, elle n'a pas de nom dans la littérature linguistique moderne. Nous lui avons proposé le terme « morphomatique, » un néologisme dérivé du grec μορφωμα (*morphōma*) qui signifie « forme » et « figure. » Les unités qu'étudie la morphomatique sont donc de deux genres: les « *šiyagh* » elles-mêmes ou formes types que nous appelons « morphomes, » et les unités lexicales simples qui s'y intègrent et que nous appelons « morphomèmes »—Cf. I. Ben Mrad, *Du lexique au dictionnaire*, 73–95, et VI–VII (note 12).

catégorie de l'adjectif, ont la même forme morphologique type « *fā'ūl.* » Ils diffèrent donc en forme phonologique ([d] ≠ [ṣ]) et en signification.

(4) [-P, -M], [+C, +S]

Cette forme représente la ressemblance en forme phonologique et en forme morphologique, et la différence en appartenance catégorielle et en signification. On l'illustre par les deux mots « *nāmūs* » (loi) et « *nāmūs* » (moustique). Ces mots ont la même forme phonologique parce qu'ils sont homophones et homographes, et la même forme morphologique type « *fā'ūl.* » Mais ils sont différents en signification lexicale et en catégorie puisque le premier est un nom emprunté au grec νόμος (nómos), et le second est un adjectif se rattachant à la racine arabe « *√n.m.s.* »

(5) [-C, -S], [+P, +M]

Dans cette forme les deux mots se ressemblent en appartenance catégorielle et en signification lexicale, et se différencient en forme phonologique et en forme morphologique. Cependant, la ressemblance en signification lexicale indique bien qu'il s'agit d'un cas de synonymie. Sans entrer en discussion de l'existence ou l'inexistence de la « synonymie absolue, »³⁴ nous remarquons que ce phénomène n'est nullement rare surtout en onomasiologie où l'on trouve facilement de différents noms désignant le même objet. Parmi les noms de plantes qui illustrent bien ce phénomène et en même temps cette 5^{ème} forme, nous mentionnons les deux termes « *zu'ān* » et « *shaylam* » qui désignent ensemble l'ivraie. Leur différence en forme phonologique et en forme morphologique est nette, et leur ressemblance en catégorie et en signification lexicales est claire.

(6) [-C, -P, -M], [+S]

Cette forme représente la ressemblance en trois propriétés et la dissemblance en une seule: la signification. On peut l'illustrer par le couple de termes: « *khurṣ* » qui signifie « palme, » et « *khurṣ* » qui signifie « boucle d'oreille. » Les deux termes ont, en effet, la même forme phonologique, la même forme morphologique et la même catégorie lexicale puisqu'il s'agit de deux noms ; mais ils ont deux significations différentes.

(7) [-C, -M, -S], [+P]

³⁴ Cf. quelques éléments de cette discussion dans J. Lyons, *Linguistique générale*, 341-346; J.-C. Milner, *Introduction à une science du langage*, 341-347. Cf. aussi I. Ben Mrad, *Du lexique au dictionnaire*, 20-21. Cependant, il est à signaler que le trait [-C] est capital pour établir une relation de synonymie entre deux termes.

Cette forme nous présente une ressemblance presque parfaite entre les deux mots puisqu'ils ne se différencient qu'en forme phonologique et que cette différence est souvent le résultat d'un changement phonologique—une mutation—qu'a subit un mot dans l'usage et qui se manifeste dans une nouvelle forme représentant un deuxième mot. Il s'agit donc d'un seul mot qui a changé de forme phonologique. C'est, par exemple, le cas du mot « *jashīsh* » (blé écrasé) qui s'est transformé en « *dashīsh* » après la mutation du [ʒ] en [d].

5. PROPRIÉTÉS DISTINCTIVES ET CRITÈRES DE DISTINCTION

Cette théorie des propriétés distinctives des unités lexicales simples nous permet, en vérité, de formaliser la différence entre l'homonymie et la polysémie en tant que phénomènes du lexique qui touchent aux unités lexicales. Parmi les sept formes que nous venons de présenter, il y a deux qui attestent de vrais cas d'homonymie: les (4) et (6). En effet, dans la (4) les deux mots ont, en plus du trait [+S], le trait [+C] qui indique qu'ils appartiennent à deux catégories lexicales différentes. Le mot « *nāmūs* » recouvre donc deux emplois différents qui représentent deux mots différents. Cette dissemblance est consolidée par l'existence d'une autre différence: l'origine étymologique puisque l'un des deux « *nāmūs* » est un nom d'origine grecque. Prenons un deuxième exemple: le vocable arabe « *barr* » qui a, lui aussi, deux appartenances catégorielles et deux significations différentes. En effet, il y a « *barr* » comme nom qui signifie « terre ferme, » et « *barr* » comme adjectif qui signifie « charitable. » On ne peut pas dire qu'il s'agit du même mot bien que les deux emplois du mot remontent à une même origine étymologique, la racine « $\sqrt{b.r.r.}$ » qui donne, en fait, deux dérivés: un verbal « *barra* » qui signifie « être pieux » et auquel se rattache l'adjectif « *barr^m*, » et un nominal « *barr^m* » qui signifie « terre ferme. » Il s'agit donc de deux unités lexicales distinctes parce que la différence entre le nom et l'adjectif est établi et un terme ne peut pas appartenir à deux catégories en même temps.

Quant à la forme (6), elle nous présente un cas plus problématique puisque les deux mots ne sont différents que par le trait [+S]. En effet, les deux emplois de « *khurs*, » dont l'un signifie « palme » et l'autre signifie « boucle d'oreille, » appartiennent à la catégorie du nom. Dans ce cas, rien dans l'apparence, ne nous permettrait de trancher pour dire qu'il s'agit d'un même mot de nature polysémique ou de deux mots de nature homonymique. Seul le recours à une cinquième propriété distinctive: l'origine

étymologique (= *E*), nous permettrait de voir clair et de trancher à propos de la nature du phénomène. C'est elle qui nous permet de constater que « *khurṣ* » dans le sens de « palme » est arabe parce qu'il se rattache à la racine « √*k.r.ṣ*, » et que « *khurṣ* » dans le sens de « boucle d'oreille » est d'origine non arabe parce qu'il est emprunté au grec « χρυσός » (*khru-sos*) qui signifie « or » et « objets fabriqués en or. » D'après la théorie des propriétés distinctives, nous sommes donc ici en présence de deux unités lexicales qui diffèrent en signification lexicale et en origine étymologique. Elles sont donc vraiment différentes et ne peuvent être que des homonymes.

Cette même propriété (= *E*) a aussi de l'importance dans les cas de polysémie. Prenons le vocable arabe « *ʿayn* » (œil) auquel sont attribuées dans le dictionnaire arabe plusieurs significations³⁵ dont « œil » (c'est-à-dire l'organe de la vue), « source d'eau, » « monnaie, » « notable » et « espion. » En appliquant la théorie des propriétés distinctives, on constate que les différents emplois de « *ʿayn* » se ressemblent en trois propriétés: l'appartenance catégorielle puisqu'il s'agit d'un nom, la forme phonologique et la forme morphologique qui sont identiques dans les cinq cas. Le recours à la cinquième propriété distinctive: l'origine étymologique (= *E*) nous permet de constater que les cinq emplois de « *ʿayn* »—ainsi que les autres cas de sens attribués dans le dictionnaire au même vocable—se rattachent tous à la racine « √*ʿ.y.n.* » Parmi les cinq propriétés distinctives, les différents emplois de « *ʿayn* » ne diffèrent qu'en une seule propriété: la signification lexicale. Il s'agit donc d'un terme polysémique puisque nous sommes en présence du même terme, auquel les locuteurs de l'arabe ont attribué, pendant la longue histoire de son usage, plusieurs significations par extension métaphorique.

6. DES FORMULES DE DISTINCTION

A partir des propriétés distinctives appliquées à l'arabe, nous pouvons proposer, pour la distinction des deux phénomènes de polysémie et d'homonymie, deux formules qui peuvent constituer des règles. Concernant la polysémie, on constate qu'elle se réalise selon la formule suivante:

$$[-P, -M, -C, -E], [+S]$$

³⁵ Une quinzaine dans *al-Muʿjam al-wasīf* de l'Académie de Langue Arabe du Caire 2, 664–665.

C'est-à-dire que les polysèmes se ressemblent en quatre propriétés distinctives: la forme phonologique, la forme morphologique, l'appartenance catégorielle et l'origine étymologique. Le vieil exemple arabe « *ʿayn* » ainsi que son équivalent français « *oeil* »—issu du latin « *oculus* » et auquel sont assignées dans le *Nouveau Petit Robert* quatorze significations réparties en quatre groupes³⁶—illustrent parfaitement la formule proposée.

Quant à l'homonymie, si l'on met à l'écart les homophones tels que « *dessein* » / « *dessin* » et « *saut* » / « *sceau* » qui ne posent pas de problèmes de distinction, elle se réalise selon l'une des trois règles suivantes:

Dans la 1^{ère}, la différence entre les deux termes est dans l'appartenance catégorielle—et c'est un critère décisif—en plus de la signification lexicale:

[-P, -M, -E], [+C, +S]

Dans ce cas, les deux mots ont des formes phonologiques, des formes morphologiques et des étymologies identiques, mais ils n'ont pas les mêmes appartenances catégorielles et les mêmes significations. L'exemple de « *ʿadl* » en arabe est semblable à « *barr* » mentionné ci-dessus. En fait, dans des exemples comme « *ʿadlu l-qāḍī* » (la justice du juge) et « *qāḍīⁿ ʿadlⁿ* » (un juge juste), les deux mots « *ʿadl* » n'ont ni la même appartenance catégorielle—puisque le premier est un nom et le deuxième est un adjectif—ni la même signification.

Dans la 2^{ème}, la différence est en signification lexicale et en origine étymologique:

[-P, -M, -C], [+S, +E]

Dans ce cas, les deux mots se ressemblent en forme phonologique, en forme morphologique et en appartenance catégorielle. Pour que les deux mots soient homonymes, leur différence en origine étymologique devient indispensable. L'exp. de « *khurṣ* » en arabe, mentionné ci-dessus, illustre bien cette règle. Les mots français « *son* » (sensation auditive) et « *son* » (résidu de la mouture du blé ou d'autres céréales) l'illustrent bien aussi puisque le premier est issu du latin « *sonus*, » et le second se rattache à une origine présumée anglo-saxonne « *seon*. »

Dans la 3^{ème}, la différence est en appartenance catégorielle, en signification et en étymologie:

[-P, -M], [+C, +S, +E]

³⁶ J. Rey-Debove et A. Rey (dir.), *Le Nouveau Petit Robert*, 1769–1770.

Dans ce cas, les deux mots se ressemblent en forme phonologique et en forme morphologique. Comme dans la 1^{ère} règle, la différence en appartenance catégorielle est décisive pour faire des deux mots deux homonymes, mais la différence en étymologie est capitale elle aussi pour appuyer cette nature homonymique. L'exp. arabe de « *nāmūs* » mentionné ci-dessus illustre bien cette règle. Les mots français « *feu* »—un nom issu du latin « *focus* » et désignant « dégagement d'énergie et de lumière »—et « *feu*, » en tant qu'adjectif remontant au latin « *fatum* » et qui désigne « qui est mort depuis peu de temps, » sont aussi deux bons exemples.

7. CONCLUSION

Pour conclure, nous insistons sur le fait que pour faire la distinction entre l'homonymie et la polysémie, on se trouve obligé de prendre en considération la propriété étymologique des termes, c'est-à-dire de remonter à une étape reculée de l'histoire du mot en usage. Même s'il est considéré, dans le dictionnaire, comme une « *unité du discours* » dont la signification se réalise dans le contexte, sa description sémantique dans une définition satisfaisante nécessite du lexicographe une connaissance profonde de son évolution sémantique pour bien saisir ses significations actuelles. L'adoption d'une approche diachronique est donc nécessaire pour trancher si des termes tels que « *ʿayn*, » « *khurṣ* » et « *nāmūs* » sont des homonymes ou des polysèmes. Mais, d'après la théorie des propriétés distinctives des termes, la propriété étymologique n'est sûrement pas la seule importante. D'après les formules de distinction que nous avons proposées dans le paragraphe précédent, les autres propriétés sont aussi importantes et particulièrement l'appartenance catégorielle et la signification lexicale.

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SULAMĪ'S TREATISE ON THE SCIENCE OF THE LETTERS
(*ʿILM AL-ḤURŪF*)

Gerhard Böwering

THE SCIENCE OF THE LETTERS (*ʿILM AL-ḤURŪF*) IN SUFISM

The terms, “Sufism” and “the Science of the Letters” (*ilm al-ḥurūf*)¹ mentioned together frequently awaken associations with the most widely known work on magic in Islam, *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif* (“The Brilliance of Knowledge and the Subtleties of its Gift”) of Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Būnī (d. 622/1225).² The author was a native of the town of Bone (i.e., ʿAnnāba) on the Mediterranean coast between Algiers and Tunis, an old Phoenician settlement that became known as the Roman city of Hippo, the bishopric of Saint Augustine (395–430), which passed into the hands of the Muslim conquerors in the beginning of the second/eighth century.³ The *Shams al-maʿārif*⁴ exists in three versions, a short one, the oldest (dated 618/1221), a middle-sized one, and a long one.⁵ The work may be best understood as a kind of encyclopedia of magical practices popularly known in North Africa,⁶ that relies on superstitions and insights into the supernatural world, covering a medley of topics, such

¹ Where the spelling of Arabic and Persian terms or place names is included in English dictionaries, I have adopted standard American usage. The exceptions to this rule are “Qurʾān” and “Qurʾānic” for Koran and Koranic. Personal names are written in long form when they appear for the first time in the text, thereafter they are quoted in their short form with the definite article “al-” dropped whenever I refer to personal names denoting descent or origin (*nisba*).

² A. Dietrich (2004: “al-Būnī”); D. A. M. Pielow (1995); M. Ullmann (1972: 390–1). For the relationship of Būnī’s works to the *Kitāb al-jafr al-jāmiʿ* by Abū Sālim Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa (d. 652/1254) and the *Miftāḥ al-jafr al-jāmiʿ* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454), see T. Fahd (1966: 228–30).

³ G. Marcais (1960: 1, 511–2).

⁴ The Arabic text is extant in a great number of manuscripts, see *GAL* I, 497; *GALS* I, 910. The short version (*al-ṣuḡhrā*) appeared in lithographs, Bombay 1237; 1296; 1298; and Cairo 1291; and was printed in Cairo 1319 and 1322; the middle-size version (*al-wuṣṭā*) is extant in MS. *Ahlwardt 4125*; and the long version (*al-kubrā*) appeared in lithograph in Bombay 1296 and was printed in 4 volumes in Cairo 1905 (al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥusayniyya); see also, T. Fahd (1966: 230–4).

⁵ H. A. Winkler (1930: 67–86); W. Ahrens (1922: 157–77).

⁶ D. Doutté, (1909); W. Ahrens (1922: 157–77 and 1925: 104–10); G. Bergsträsser (1923: 227–35).

as directions for the use of amulets, magical use of letters and numbers, letter-squares, qur'ānic verses and names of God. The author of the work is known as a Sufi (*al-Ṣūfi*) who was given the honorific name of Muḥyī l-Dīn, a name he shares with his famous contemporary Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240). The latter also employs "the science of the letters" at the very heart of his magnum opus, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* ("The Meccan Revelations"), a huge encyclopedia that offers a highly intellectual synthesis of mystico-philosophical Sufism.⁷

Having worked on it for some thirty years, Ibn al-'Arabī divides his work into six voluminous parts (*faṣl*), each subdivided into sections (*juz'*) or chapters (*bāb*). The prologue, chapter 1, begins with a reflection on the reality of being (*al-ḥaqīqa l-wujūdīyya*), the Logos and its manifestations (*al-ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*) and the origin of the world (*nash'at al-kawn*), followed by an epistle to his master and *shaykh* 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mahdawī of Tunis, disciple of Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197). Chapter 2 outlines the six parts of his work (*al-ma'ārif*, *al-mu'āmalāt*, *al-aḥwāl*, *al-manāzil*, *al-munāzalāt*, and *al-maqāmāt*). Chapter 3 offers the actual introduction (*muqaddimat al-kitāb*), where he presents his theory on the nature of knowledge and its modes, prophetic, mystical, philosophical and theological, the latter of which he criticizes severely. He ends this chapter with three types of the profession of faith, that of the ordinary believers, based on the teachings of Qur'ān and Sunna, that of the theologians, derived from intellectual reflection on the data of faith, and that of the philosophers rooted exclusively in rational reflection. Chapter 4 then details his own profession of faith, a declaration that is both mystical and metaphysical and is based, in theory and practice, on his religion, "the essential adoration" (*al-'ibāda al-dhātīyya*) uniting his own being with the absolute ground of existence (*wujūd*).

Upon this mystical and metaphysical core idea, Ibn al-'Arabī develops his hermeneutical method of "the science of the letters" (*'ilm al-ḥurūf*), beginning in the second half of chapter 4 and ending with chapter 7. His in-depth study of the letters of the alphabet provides a key to his whole work, examining them against the background of his autobiographical experience and finding in them the building blocks of his spiritual metaphysics. Interpreting the letters one by one in chapter 6, he presents an idiosyncratic order of the alphabet that reminds the reader of his *Fuṣūṣ*

⁷ Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (1329) and (1392/1972ff); see also, W. C. Chittick (1995: "Ebn al-'Arabī").

al-ḥikam ("The Bezels of Wisdom"),⁸ the final synthesis of his long years of writing, which he develops along the lines of prophetic prototypes, also quoted in his idiosyncratic order. In chapters 8 to 10 of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Ibn al-ʿArabī applies his hermeneutical method to the origin of the world, "the word" (*al-kalima*) that brought forth the universe through the command, "Be!" (*kun*). He completes his reflections with the interpretation of the word that embodies the revelation through the command, "Say!" (*qul*), as he focuses on the *Basmala*, the first verse of the Qurʾān, and *al-Fātiḥa*, its opening chapter. To illustrate the power, whether that of creation or revelation, that he sees hidden in the letters giving expression to speech, Ibn al-ʿArabī refers to Ibn Barraġān (d. 536/1141) who predicted the recapture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 through numerological manipulation of the letters.⁹ With the completion of these chapters in 599/1203 in Mecca, Ibn al-ʿArabī set the stage for the development of a multifaceted application of the science of the letters by Sufi authors and movements in the centuries that followed.¹⁰

The two principal works of Būnī and Ibn al-ʿArabī stand as beacons on the Sufi shore of "the science of the letters" (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*)¹¹ which, in Islam, is constituted by vast tracts of literature on the meaning of the letters that constitute the Arabic alphabet and function as the basis of numbers in Arabic arithmetic. By delving into the depths of the meaning of the letters, Muslim scholarship over the centuries has kept its focus on the sacred meaning of the Arabic language and found its fulcrum in the laws and elements that constitute its structure and composition, down to the first and last letter of its alphabet. Conceived as a constantly growing standard dictionary co-authored by Ramzi Baalbaki, the scholar whom we honor in these pages, the *Mawrid* has played a leading role in preserving and maintaining its sacredness.¹²

In Western scholarship much research has also been conducted on the letters of the Arabic alphabet¹³ as well as on the unconnected Arabic letters, found separately or in groups, that stand at the head of twenty-nine

⁸ Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

⁹ I. Goldziher (1914: 544); A. Faure (1971: "Ibn Barraġān").

¹⁰ The section on the science of the letters in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* has been examined meticulously by D. Gril (2004: 2, 105–219).

¹¹ T. Fahd (1971a: "Ḥurūf").

¹² *Al-Mawrid al-ḥadīth*, authored by Munir Baalbaki and Ramzi Baalbaki, Beirut, numerous editions; see also, Ramzi Baalbaki (2007).

¹³ General and detailed information about the development of the Arabic alphabet and script can be found in B. Gruendler (2001: "Arabic Script").

suras of the Qurʾān as “the openers of the suras” (*awāʿil al-suwar*).¹⁴ Other studies have devoted particular attention to the magical interpretation of the letters by the means of geomantic (*khatt al-raml*)¹⁵ and divinatory techniques (*zāʾirja*).¹⁶ In his *Muqaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 780/1378) treated this topic extensively and distinguished several basic approaches to the interpretation of the Arabic letters.¹⁷ Among these are the method of recording dates by chronograms (*ḥisāb al-jummal*),¹⁸ the method of determining the secret properties of the letters by analyzing their putative alchemical compositions (*ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ*),¹⁹ and the method of drawing prognostications from their relation to astrological conjunctions, calculating portents and predicting religious and political change (*ʿilm al-awfāq*),²⁰ often with the help of numerology.²¹ The letters of the alphabet were also used in the creation of talismans (*ṭilasm*)²² and amulets (*tamīma*)²³ that play a significant role in Muslim folklore. Most importantly, the letters of the Arabic alphabet were employed as numerals for commercial purposes,²⁴ deriving from the older Arab practice of expressing cardinal numbers through the position of the fingers (*ʿilm al-ʿaḳd*).²⁵

The Sufis, for their part, cultivated the interpretation of the Arabic alphabet, known as “the science of the letters” (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*),²⁶ as a distinct hermeneutical approach to the sacredness of the Arabic language. They tried to discern the mystical meaning hidden in the letters of the Arabic

¹⁴ H. Hirschfeld (1902: 101–3); T. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl (1909; 1919; 1938: 2, 68–78); H. Bauer (1921); E. Goosens (1923); A. Jeffery (1924); M. S. Seale (1959); A. Jones (1962); P. J. E. Cachia (1968); J. Bellamy (1973); K. Massey (2003, “Mysterious Letters”).

¹⁵ For geomancy (*khatt al-raml*) and the various terms used to define it, see, T. Fahd (1978: “Khatt”); the use of the term *raml* (*ʿilm al-raml*) for divination refers originally to tracing lines in sand (*raml*); see also T. Fahd (1966: 195–203).

¹⁶ T. Fahd and A. Regourd (2002: “Zāʾirja”); T. P. Hughes (1935: “Daʿwah”).

¹⁷ F. Rosenthal (1967: 3, 137–61; especially 3, 118–136; 156–245).

¹⁸ G. S. Colin (1971: “Ḥisāb al-djummal”). The chronograms, termed *ramz*, consist in a group of letters whose numerical equivalents, added together, interpret past or predict future events; see also W. Heinrichs and A. Knysh (1995: “Ramz”).

¹⁹ T. Fahd (1971b, “Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān”).

²⁰ D. Pingree (1986: “Ḳirān”); D. Pingree (1986: “ʿIlm al-hayʾa”).

²¹ T. Fahd (1995: “Nudjūm”); P. Kunitzsch (1995: “Nudjūm”).

²² J. Ruska and B. Carra De Vaux (2000: “Tilsam”); T. Fahd (1997: “Siḥr”); the article, “Tilsam,” *EL* 10, 500–2 spells the term in its popular form, “*tilsam*,” rather than in its technically correct form, “*ṭilasm*,” pl. “*ṭalāsīm*.”

²³ T. Fahd (2000: “Tamīma”).

²⁴ M. Souissi (1971: “Ḥisāb al-ghubār”); A. I. Sabra (1971: “ʿIlm al-ḥisāb”); M. Souissi (2004: “ʿIlm al-handasa”).

²⁵ Ch. Pellat (1971: “Ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd”).

²⁶ T. Fahd (1971a: “Ḥurūf”).

alphabet (*ḥurūf al-hijā*)²⁷ and to discover the symbolic significance of the mysterious unconnected letters of the Qur'ān (*al-ḥurūf al-muqatta'a*).²⁸ In the course of its history Sufism produced a variegated literature on *ilm al-ḥurūf* that culminated at the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century in the popular and mystical *Shams al-ma'ārif* and the mystico-philosophical *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyya*. These two works mark the great divide in Sufi literature on the "the science of the letters" (*ilm al-ḥurūf*). In the period preceding these two encyclopedic works, many building blocks can be found that were used in the intellectual architecture of the period that followed them. Most of the scholarly attention, however, has been given to the Sufi treatises on "the science of the letters" in the period after Ibn al-'Arabī, especially with regard to the movement of the Ḥurūfiyya,²⁹ and, to some extent, the Nūrbakhshiyya.³⁰ More recently, P. Lory has examined the science of the letters with special emphasis on Shi'ism and Islamic philosophy,³¹ B. Aladdin edited a collection of papers on aspects of Ibn al-'Arabī's letter symbolism,³² and M. Melvin-Koushki has presented the first fruits of his research on the "scientific lettrism" of Ibn Turka al-Iṣfahānī (d. 835/1432).³³ Apart from the studies of L. Massignon and A. Schimmel, scholarly attention, has rarely been given to "the science of the letters" (*ilm al-ḥurūf*) as found in early Sufi literature.³⁴

SULAMĪ AND THE AUTHORITATIVE BASIS FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTERS

The present analytical examination of Sulamī's treatise, *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf* ("Explaining the Meaning of the Letters"), intends to shed light on the interpretation of the Arabic letters in the environment of early Sufism.³⁵

²⁷ H. Fleisch (1971: "Ḥurūf al-hidjā").

²⁸ A. T. Welch (1986: "Al-Ḳur'ān").

²⁹ The Sufi movement of the *Ḥurūfiyya*, traced back to Faḍlallāh al-Astarābādī (d. 796/1394), elaborated a system of numerological interpretations of the letters of the Arabic/Persian alphabet and correlated them to the human form in an incarnationist doctrine, see H. Algar (2004, "Horufism"), and the literature quoted in the article. See also, S. Bashir (2005).

³⁰ S. Bashir (2003).

³¹ P. Lory (2004).

³² B. Aladdin (2007).

³³ M. Melvin-Koushki (forthcoming).

³⁴ Occasional references to the early Sufi interpretations of the letters can be found in L. Massignon (1982); idem (1913); A. J. Arberry (1937); A. Schimmel (1975: 41–25).

³⁵ The Arabic text of the *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf* is included in al-Sulamī, *Rasā'il ṣūfiyya*, 1–19. The text is based on MS. *Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ūd 218* (ff. 2b–12a), which has 227 folios

The treatise, recently edited, was composed by Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī, who died in 412/1021 in Nishapur, the city of his birth (in 325/937 or 330/942).³⁶ To date, Sulamī remains one of the most important authorities for the history of early Sufi literature, and many of his writings that have been preserved over the centuries have been published since the middle of the last century.³⁷ More than any other Sufi source, Sulamī’s treatise on the explanation of the mystical meaning of the letters shows the way in which Sufis of the second/eighth to the fourth/tenth centuries interpreted the letters of the Arabic alphabet and the letter groupings that are found at the head of Qur’ānic *sūras*.

As explicitly stated in his introduction, Sulamī conceived this short treatise (# 1–76) as an addendum and conclusion to *Ḥaqā’iq al-tafsīr*, his major Qur’ānic commentary.³⁸ In it he intended to collect and record early Sufi statements about the letters of the Arabic alphabet and their mystical meanings in a coherent document (# 2). Many Sufi statements are quoted anonymously (*qāla ba‘duhum*) or, as it appears, are culled from a great variety of sources (*qīl*) and, in part, reported from memory. A number of

and was copied some sixty years after the author’s death in 474/1081 at Samarqand by the copyist, ‘Abd al-Sayyid b. Aḥmad b. Yāsīn al-Khaṭīb al-Maskhā’ī al-Asrūshānī. A description of the manuscript, which is the oldest known of Sulamī’s writings, except for one short text, can be found in G. Böwering (2006: 219–230).

³⁶ Sulamī’s life and work have been examined in G. Böwering (1991); see also, G. Böwering (1997, “al-Sulamī”); for a general survey of Sulamī’s life and work see, L. Berger (1998); for a recent study of Sulamī’s life and work see, J. J. Thibon (2009); for documentation from Arabic primary sources, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 461/1073), *Ta’riḫh Baghdād* 2, 248–9 (nr. 717); Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), *Sīyar a’lām al-nubalā’* 17, 247–55; idem, *Ta’riḫh al-Islām* (yrs. 401–20), 304–7, with additional references.

³⁷ For a detailed examination of Sulamī’s writings, see the English introduction to the Arabic text edition of select Sufi treatises of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī by G. Böwering and B. Orfali in al-Sulamī, *Rasā’il ṣūfiyya*. In quoting the text of *Sharḥ ma’ānī l-ḥurūf*, the sign # refers to the paragraphs in the Arabic text, independently from page numbers.

³⁸ The edition of the *Ḥaqā’iq al-tafsīr*, published by Sayyid ‘Imrān under the title, *Tafsīr al-Sulamī wa-huwa Ḥaqā’iq al-tafsīr*, has been printed in two volumes, Beirut 1421/2001. Unfortunately, it is based on one single manuscript, MS. *Fatih* 261 (316ff.; 600 h) and is lacking a considerable part of the text, missing in the manuscript on folio 100a. Thus there is a large lacuna (volume 1, page 325–6) including the end of Sulamī’s commentary on sūra 11 (*Hūd*), from verse 11:90 onward, all of his commentary on sūra 12 (*Yūsuf*), and the beginning of sūra 13 (*al-Ra’d*) until verse 13:2. In addition, there are many mistakes in the published text, often due to the state of the underlying manuscript, but often also due to the less than painstaking way this edition was produced. The *Ḥaqā’iq al-tafsīr* is known to exist in about sixty Arabic manuscripts found in libraries all over the world. Most of them are listed in GAS 1, 671–4, and G. Böwering (1996: 41–56). Two additional manuscript references should be added: MS. *St. Petersburg*, Nr. 9 (*ANC-9*), Nr. 60 (306ff., 7th c. h) and MS. *Medina* 16 (312ff., 704 h). When citing text portions that do not appear in the printed version of volume 1, page 235, I cite this page and add in parenthesis the Qur’ānic verse under which it is quoted in Ms. Br. Mus. Or.

Sufis, however, are cited by name along with their statements, occasionally supported by chains of narrators (*isnād*) to authenticate a particular statement. Sulamī's most frequently quoted narrator of Sufi statements cited by name is Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī, who is known to have played a pivotal role as a direct source in the compilation of the *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* and *Ziyādāt al-ḥaqā'iq*, Sulamī's major and minor commentaries on the Qur'ān.³⁹

Sulamī begins the treatise with reference to a saying traced to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661),⁴⁰ confirmed by a statement transmitted on the Prophet's authority, which serves Sulamī as the justification for his discourse on the meanings of the letters: "Each verse of the Qur'ān has a "back" (*ẓahr*, i.e., a literal and outer meaning), and a "belly" (*baṭn*, i.e., a hidden and inner meaning), and each letter (*ḥarf*) has a horizon (*ḥadd*, i.e., a boundary, a definition) and a point of ascent (*maṭla'*, *muṭṭala'*, i.e., an allegory, a symbolism)." Sulamī adds explicitly, "this saying justifies the discourse on the letters and their meanings" (# 3). This tradition affirms the well-known distinction between the literal from the allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān (*ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*), the foundation of Sufi hermeneutics. Operating on two levels, it attributes to each Qur'ānic verse an outer or literal and an inner or metaphorical meaning. Furthermore, it discerns in each letter a specifically defined and a symbolically implied meaning.⁴¹ It would appear that by "letter (*ḥarf*)" the Arabic sources are referring generally to any discrete element of speech that can be pronounced, whether it be a sound, a consonant, a consonant and vowel, a particle, a word or even a phrase.⁴² In his *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf*, however, Sulamī employs the term *ḥarf* as referring particularly to the mysterious letters of the Qur'ān (*al-ḥurūf al-muqatta'a*) found at the head of twenty-nine suras and, more generally, to each letter of the Arabic alphabet found in the Qur'ān. To further sanction the compilation of his treatise, Sulamī cites a tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687),⁴³ in which the Prophet explains

³⁹ The importance of this narrator for the writings of Sulamī has been analyzed in G. Böwering (1996).

⁴⁰ 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) is regarded as the originator of the *jafr*, T. Fahd (1965: "Djafr"); G. Windfuhr (2008: "Jafr") and the select literature quoted in the article. Sulamī, however, does not raise the issue of the *jafr* in his *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-ḥurūf*, and his explanations of the letters do not coincide with the table of the *jafr* designed by L. Massignon (1968: 98–101).

⁴¹ Cf. G. Böwering (2003), in particular, 351, 360.

⁴² W. Fischer (1989); G. Böwering (2003: 360).

⁴³ Ibn 'Abbās, i.e. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (d. 68/687), is considered the father of Qur'ānic exegesis and the greatest scholar of the first generation of Muslims, L. Veccia Vaglieri (1960, "Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās").

that the Arabic alphabet (Abū Jād) includes “all the marvels that exist” (*al-a‘ājib kulluhā*, #4). Sulamī uses these two Hadith statements as the foundation for his treatise—one arguing for the allegorical interpretation of the letters of the Qur’ān, and the other providing the basis for the metaphorical interpretation of the letters of the Arabic alphabet.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE *ABJAD*

Having based his work on traditions backed by the Prophet’s authority, Sulamī develops his treatise in three stages. First, he offers his interpretation of the Arabic alphabet following the pattern of the *Abjad* (# 5–7). Second, he selects a small number of mystical interpretations of the letters by representatives of early Sufism (# 8–21). Third, in the bulk of the treatise (# 22–76), Sulamī follows the successive alphabetical order (*hurūf al-hijā’*) of the Arabic dictionary (*mu‘jam*) or lexicon (*qāmūs*), listing interpretations of each of the twenty-eight consonants and adds the *Lām-Alif* in the penultimate position of the alphabet, comprising twenty-nine letters in all.⁴⁴ In the first stage of his treatise, Sulamī turns to the Arabic alphabet following the pattern of its traditional order of memorization, known as the *Abjad* and, in popular parlance, referred to as Abū Jād. The *Abjad* divides the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic alphabet into eight pronounceable but meaningless groups of words, using them as a mnemonic device and giving them a numerical value from one to thousand: *abjad*, *hawwaz*, *ḥuṭṭiy*, *kalamun*, *sa‘faṣ*, *qurishat*, *thakhadh*, *ḍaḏagh*.⁴⁵ Without regard to their numerology, Sulamī assigns an inner meaning to these letters, connecting a number of them with citations of Qur’anic phrases (# 5). Interestingly, Sulamī offers a particular interpretation separately for each consonant of the first four mnemonic groups (*abjad*, *hawwaz*, *ḥuṭṭiy*, *kalamun*), but presents only a cumulative interpretation for the next two groups (*sa‘faṣ*, *qurishat*), while neglecting the last two groups altogether (*thakhadh*, *ḍaḏagh*). In so doing, Sulamī seems to have an interpretation ready for the first six groups that faithfully preserve the order of the old Phoenician alphabet and correspond to the sequence of the Hebrew alphabet,⁴⁶ while he is silent about the six letters of the last

⁴⁴ The *Lām-Alif* is inserted as a twenty-ninth letter to distinguish the *Alif* as the long vowel “ā” from the *Alif* with *hamza*, known as the glottal stop or the *Alif* as *spiritus lenis*.

⁴⁵ G. Weil-[G. S. Colin] (1960: “Abdjad”); G. Krotkoff, *Abjad* (1985: “Abjad”); W. Lane (1968: 1, 4).

⁴⁶ S. A. Horodezky (1972: 1, 747–9).

two groups that represent the supplementary consonants peculiar to the Arabic alphabet known as *rawādif* ("mounted on the hind quarters").⁴⁷ It may also be noted that Sulamī makes no reference to the legend that explains the origin of the Arabic alphabet through Murāmīr b. Murra as the inventor of the Arabic characters.⁴⁸

To reinforce the basis of his interpretation of the letters in this first stage of the treatise, Sulamī cites a tradition of the Prophet on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) in which 'Īsā b. Maryam explains the *Basmala*⁴⁹ in dialogue with a Jewish teacher and scribe (# 6). Furthermore, in a tradition traced back to Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687) and cited later in the text (# 27), 'Īsā b. Maryam explains to a rabbinical teacher that the *Alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, symbolizes God (*al-Alif Allāh 'azza wa-jalla*, # 27). Having based his treatise on the statements of the prophets, Muḥammad and 'Īsā b. Maryam, Sulamī offers a second series of interpretations of each letter of the Arabic alphabet, following the order of the first six groups of the *Abjad* (# 7), but again without interpreting the six letters of the last two groups of this mnemonic device. One notices, however, that the pattern of both the fifth and sixth group is broken in the manuscript, because the interpretation of the *shīn* is omitted altogether and the *sīn* is wrongly replaced by doubling up on the *ṣād* (# 7). There appears to be no plausible explanation for these two flaws in the technical accuracy of the manuscript.

EARLY SUFI STATEMENTS ON THE MYSTICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTERS

In the first stage of the treatise (# 5–7), formed by his statements on the *Abjad*, Sulamī interprets the letters of the Arabic alphabet with reference

⁴⁷ T. Noeldeke (1904: 124–39); H. Bauer (1913: 501).

⁴⁸ As the legend has it, Murāmīr b. Murra gave his sons the names of the eight groups of words that make up the *Abjad*; see T. P. Hughes (1935: 3). In general the Islamic historical sources refer only briefly to Murāmīr b. Murra and sometimes include a reference to him in the biography of the calligrapher Ibn Bawwāb (d. 413/1022; see, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* 3, 344 (under Ibn al-Bawwāb); Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* 17, 319 (under Ibn al-Bawwāb); idem, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, yrs. 401–420, 329 (under Ibn al-Bawwāb), while the lexicographical sources record a memory of him under the root letters of his name; see, Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. after 400/1010), *al-Awā'il* (in chapter *awwal man waḍa'ū l-khaṭṭ al-'arabī*); Firūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 2, 132; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* 3, 171 and al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* 14, 112–3.

⁴⁹ I. Goldziher, (1979: "Bismillah"); B. Carra de Vaux and L. Gardet (1960: "Basmala"); W. A. Graham (2001: "Basmala").

to their eternal origin in God, His blessings and His divine names, as well as in relation to the eschatological realities of life to come, the bliss of paradise, the damnation of hell, the resurrection, the remission of sins, the revelation of God's eternal word and His everlasting rule (# 5). In the second stage of his treatise (# 8–21), he introduces the statements of certain early Sufi masters that illustrate basic mystical explanations of “the science of the letters” (*‘ilm al-ḥurūf*). These Sufi masters are: Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857; # 8),⁵⁰ Abū Sa‘īd Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890–1; # 17),⁵¹ Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Adamī (d. 309/921 or 311/923–4; # 9),⁵² al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922; # 11; 12; 15),⁵³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/932; # 16), Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jahdar al-Shiblī (d. 334/946; # 10),⁵⁴ Abū l-‘Abbās al-Qāsim b. al-Qāsim al-Sayyārī (d. 342/953–4; # 14) and two anonymous Sufis (# 13, 19) followed by a general statement (# 20). Concluding this section by a statement of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Sulamī cites a report by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Shādhān al-Rāzī, known as Ibn Shādhān (d. 376/986): “the science of the letters (*‘ilm al-ḥurūf*) belongs to the safely-kept sciences that are known only to the learned divines (*al-‘ulamā’ al-rabbāniyyūn*). If I could find a place to put them, I would divulge them” (# 21).

Each of the sayings of the great Sufi masters illustrates an essential aspect of “the science of the letters” as it was understood in early Sufism. Muḥāsibī maintains the notion that God created the letters (*al-aḥruf*) at the dawn of creation, calling them to obedience and drawing their particular shape from the upright *Alif*, a letter that remained standing separately (# 8). Divinely entrusted to Adam, rather than to the angels, the secret of the letters was articulated by Adam, in Ibn ‘Aṭā’s view, after God had given each letter its particular shape (# 9). Each letter proclaimed

⁵⁰ Muḥāsibī’s statement is also cited by Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq* 1, 326 (Q 13:1) and Baqlī, *‘Arā’is* 2, 216 (Q 13:1).

⁵¹ Kharrāz’s statement is also cited by Sarrāj, *K. al-Luna’*, 45. A similar statement is attributed to Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jurayrī (d. 312/924) in Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq* 1, 219 (Q 7:1) and Baqlī, *‘Arā’is* 1, 413 (Q 7:1).

⁵² This statement of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ is also cited by Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq* 1, 219 (Q 7:1) and 1, 326 (Q 13:1) and Baqlī, *‘Arā’is* 1, 413 (Q 7:1). It is also included in Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, 30. The statement can be traced back to Abū l-‘Abbās b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Adamī rather than Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Rūdhābārī (d. 369/980), as claimed by A. D. Knysh (2007: 13), following R. Gramlich (1989: 31).

⁵³ Ḥallāj’s statement in # 11 is also cited by Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq* 1, 325 (Q 13:1) and Baqlī, *‘Arā’is* 1, 413 (Q 7:1); Ḥallāj’s statement in # 15 is also cited by Baqlī, *‘Arā’is* 1, 413 (Q 7:1).

⁵⁴ Shiblī’s statement is also cited by Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq* 1, 325 (Q 11:90) and 1, 326 (Q 13:1) and Baqlī, *‘Arā’is* 2, 216 (Q 13:1).

the glory of God and revealed the secret it contained by articulating it on its tongue and in its particular language, as stated by Shibli who adds, "this is the secret of God in His creation through which the richness of insights and the fullness of thoughts are made manifest" (# 10). Reserving the mystical experience of the letters for men endowed with pure souls, discerning eyes and enlightened hearts, Kharrāz compares the experience of each letter with a particular sensation, and states that each letter provides "a fountain of insight" (*mashrab fahm*), "a fresh flavor" (*ṭa'm 'adhb*) and "a pleasant taste" (*madhāq shahīyy*), different from all others (# 17). Commenting on the first and the last letter of the Arabic alphabet, an anonymous Sufi explains the *Alif*, the first letter, as a symbol for God's oneness and the *Yā'* the last letter, as a symbol for the human being as God's servant. When pronounced together, they result in the vocative, *yā'*, "O," in the invocation of God, "O Allāh! O Benefactor! O Merciful!" which gives expression to the mystic quest, whether in the sigh of the ascetic (*zāhid*) or the longing of the mystic (*'arif*) (# 18).

Turning to the discussion of the number of the Arabic letters Sulamī cites Abū l-'Abbās al-Qāsim b. al-Qāsim al-Sayyārī (d. 342/953), who insists that there are thirty letters because God revealed twenty-nine of them (counting the *Alif* twice, as long vowel and glottal stop, or adding the *Alif-Lām* as a separate letter), while concealing one other ineffable letter that can be neither pronounced nor imagined but holds the key to the secret of the letters that God conveys to His friends (*awliyā'*) as He pleases (# 14). Wāsiṭī counts twenty-eight Arabic letters and sees in each of them an allusion to a particular divine attribute (# 16). By contrast, the lexicographer al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. between 160/777 and 175/791), from whom "the plan of the dictionary undoubtedly comes,"⁵⁵ argued that their number was twenty-nine, representing qualities (*ṣifāt*) of human beings and animals to which God referred in the Qur'ān (# 16).⁵⁶

Adopting the fundamental distinction between the literal sense of the letters (*ẓāhir*) and their inner meaning (*bāṭin*), an anonymous Sufi states that God revealed the inner meanings (*ma'ānī*) of the letters so that His divine address (*khiṭāb*) of the Qur'ānic proclamation could be understood

⁵⁵ R. Sellheim (1978: "al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad"); see also S. Wild (1965).

⁵⁶ In his treatise on the letters, al-Khalīl enumerates 29 letters of the Arabic alphabet, adding the *Lām-Alif* in the penultimate position, and explains each letter with reference to qualities (*ṣifāt*) of human beings and animals (rather than with reference to divine attributes, as Sulamī's wording may be misunderstood); cf. Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *al-Ḥurūf*; idem. *K. al-Ḥurūf wa-l-adawāt*; Ramaḍān 'Abd al-Tawwāb (ed.), *Thalāth kutub fī l-ḥurūf li-l-Khalīl b. Aḥmad wa Ibn al-Sikkīt wa-l-Rāzī*, 33–48.

in depth (# 20). God entrusted this in-depth knowledge to the elite among His friends, so that they would be able to discourse about them offering spiritual advice, moral counsel, mystical insight and increasing faith. In this way their souls became intimately familiar with the meanings of the letters, their hearts delighted at the moral lessons they include, and their inner beings were enlightened by their contemplation. Each Sufi became aware of them according to his capacity while the realities of the letters remained under God's guard and are disclosed only by divine messengers and select prophets as evidenced in the Qur'ān: "Knower of the Unseen, and He discloses not His Unseen to anyone, save only to such a Messenger as He is well-pleased with" (Q 72:67–8). A further anonymous Sufi statement distinguishes between three classes of mystics—the aspiring penitents (*tā'ibūn*), striving novices (*murīdūn*) and accomplished mystics (*'arifūn*)—who actualize particular letters engraved in their inmost beings according to the extent of their mystical experience. The accomplished mystics achieve a deep awareness of being at peace before God, drawing near to Him and being intimately in communion with Him so that they are empowered to reveal the wisdom enshrined in the letters and able to communicate with all creatures, whether they are human beings, demonic beings (*jinn*), beasts of prey, birds or animals. The penitents only become acquainted with the recitation of the divine address while the novices are able to derive from their proclamation what God has decreed (# 19).

ḤALLĀJ'S ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTERS

The fulcrum of Sulamī's *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf* is without doubt Ḥallāj, who stands out as the principal Sufi authority most frequently quoted by name in the treatise (# 11, 12, 15, 54, 74, 75). In his *K. al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 or 388/998) attributes to Ḥallāj a treatise on the letters entitled *K. al-Aḥruf al-muḥdatha wa-l-azaliyya wa-l-asmā' al-kulliyya* ("The Book on the Created and Eternal Letters and the Universal Names"), and also mentions two other titles that indicate themes discussed in Sulamī's treatise, namely *K. al-Nuḡṭa wa-bad' al-khalq* ("The Book of the [Primordial] Point and the Beginning of Creation") and a book known as *al-Alif al-maḥṭū' wa-l-alif al-ma'lūf* ("The Alif standing separately and the Alif that is connected").⁵⁷ These three works of Ḥallāj are no longer extant,

⁵⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist*, 241–2.

but Ḥallāj's *K. al-Ṭawāsīn*, studied by L. Massignon,⁵⁸ includes interpretations of the letters that resonate with statements found in Sulamī's *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf*. Furthermore, in an autobiographical statement, Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) relates that he was sent by his master Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq (d. 405/1015) to Sulamī's library to look through a pile of books for a small red volume of four parts, including Ḥallāj's poetry, and bring it to him surreptitiously. Feeling embarrassed to remove the book by stealth, Qushayrī revealed his predicament to Sulamī. The latter handed him a volume of six parts, including the teaching of Ḥallāj (*min kalām Ḥusayn*), with the admission that he, Sulamī, had copied Ḥallāj's verses from it in his own writings.⁵⁹ Although the incident stresses Ḥallāj's poetry, the reference to the six-part volume as including Ḥallāj's words (*min kalām Ḥusayn*) suggests prose as well as poetry as its content. It also shows Sulamī's uninhibited use of Ḥallāj's writings.⁶⁰

In his treatise, *Dhikr miḥan al-mashāyikh al-ṣūfiyya* ("The Persecutions of the Sufi Masters"), Sulamī describes one way in which Ḥallāj was believed to have acquired his knowledge of the privileged sciences that included the science of the letters.⁶¹ Taking Sarrāj's *K. al-Luma'* as his source,⁶² Sulamī mentions an incident that occurred while Ḥallāj was a student of the great Sufi master Abū 'Abdallāh 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Kurayb b. Ghuṣaṣ al-Makkī (d. 291/904), stole a fascicle (*juz'*) of his master's writings on the privileged sciences (*'ulūm al-khāṣṣa*) and fled with the book. Makkī cursed Ḥallāj because of this theft and predicted that he would suffer a violent death, with his hands and feet cut off—and this is what happened with Ḥallāj's brutal execution in 309/922. Farīd al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār (d. 627/1230) embellishes the incident and describes the content of the stolen manuscript, entitled *Ganjnāma* (i.e., *K. al-Kanz*)⁶³ by 'Aṭṭār, as relating to Satan's damnation and mystical redemption.⁶⁴ The sources are in agreement that it came to a fall-out between Ḥallāj and 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī whose disciple he was for about a year and a half, after having been the pupil of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) for two years from 260/873–

⁵⁸ Massignon (1913).

⁵⁹ Abū l-Qāsim Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, 486–7.

⁶⁰ Cf. introduction to Sulamī, *Rasā'il ṣūfiyya* by G. Böwering and B. Orfali.

⁶¹ Sulamī, *Dhikr miḥan al-mashāyikh al-ṣūfiyya*.

⁶² Sarrāj, *K. al-Luma'* (*Pages from the Kitāb al-Luma'*), 9.

⁶³ L. Massignon (1982: 1, 73), where the title of 'Amr al-Makkī's manuscript stolen by Ḥallāj, is given as *K. al-Kanz*.

⁶⁴ Farīd al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* 2, 37–8, who cites the title of the stolen manuscript as *Ganjnāma*, relating its content to the story of Iblis, i.e., the secret of Satan's damnation and mystical redemption.

262/875 and before joining Junayd (d. 297/910) as a disciple for a short time.⁶⁵ Other than the theft, however, two alternate reasons are quoted in the sources for the falling out. Makkī is said either to have disapproved of Ḥallāj's claim that he was able to compose writings equal in wording to the Qur'ān or to have resented Ḥallāj's choice of the daughter of Abū Ya'qūb al-Aqtā' al-Baṣrī as his bride, a woman in whom his teacher also had an interest.⁶⁶

There is no doubt, however, that Ḥallāj was a master at interpreting the mystical meanings of the letters. The crux of Ḥallāj's explanation of the letters and the central image of his interpretation are the two vectors of the *Lām-Alif*, written in the Arabic script with a downward and upward stroke. These strokes are reversed in direction at their turning point, the "point" or "dot" (*nuqṭa*), thus representing the pattern of descent from and re-ascent to God. The term, *nuqṭa*, is ordinarily employed to denote the diacritical points (*nuqṭa*, pl. *nuqat*) that distinguish the Arabic letters, many of which are identical in their basic shape, from one another. The term is also used to denote the vowel points that indicate the pronunciation and division of syllables in Arabic. The *nuqṭa* as the dot underneath the first letter of the *Basmala*, the beginning verse of the Qur'ān, is understood in Sufism since early times as signifying God's manifestation of creation.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the term *nuqṭa* designated "earth" as the first of the four elements that are regarded as fundamental constituents of the universe in ancient and medieval cosmologies. In this doctrine, adopted by the Nuṣṭawīyya in the ninth/fifteenth century, "earth" was seen as the starting point (*nuqṭa*) of all things, from which the remaining three elements (air, water and fire) are derived.⁶⁸

Ḥallāj understands the "point" symbolically against the background of a mathematical point, a point that has location but no extension, such as the extremity of a line. In Ḥallāj's view, the knowledge of everything is discovered in the Qur'ān, where it is hidden in the mysterious letters introducing twenty-nine of its suras. The knowledge of these mysterious letters is encapsulated in the joined pattern of the two letters, *Lām-Alif* that intersect at their turning point and imply the meaning of negation expressed by "lā," "no!" Furthermore, the knowledge of the *Lām-Alif* is hidden in the *Alif*, the symbol of God, and its knowledge, in turn, is hidden

⁶⁵ G. Böwering (1980: 62).

⁶⁶ L. Massignon (1975: 38 (Arabic text), 118 (French translation)); G. Böwering (1980: 62).

⁶⁷ al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 88–9.

⁶⁸ See H. Algar (1995: "Nuṣṭawīyya").

in the dot. To know this dot (*nuqṭa*) requires realizing one's primordial intuitive knowledge (*al-ma'rifa al-aṣliyya*) that conveys the knowledge of eternity *a parte ante* (*'ilm al-azal*). This conceals the divine will of God expressing the ineffable "He" (*hū*) that no one else knows but He, God (# 11)—"like Him there is naught" (Q 42:11). Developing further this idea of the primordial point, the "dot" (*nuqṭa*), Ḥallāj is cited later in the treatise describing the way in which the mystic arrives at this dot as the inmost point of his mystical experience: "The allusion of all the letters is hidden in the *Lām-Alif*, the allusion of the *Lām-Alif* is hidden in the *Alif*, the allusion of the *Alif* is hidden in the dot (*nuqṭa*), and the allusion of the dot is hidden in the complete passing away in the vision of God, the Everlasting" (# 75).

Sulamī may well have had a reason for quoting anonymously a Sufi saying that immediately follows Ḥallāj's reflection on the dot (*nuqṭa*), possibly intentionally concealing Ḥallāj as its author. The provocative saying is nothing short of the earliest testimony to the idea of the "Perfect Human Being" (*al-insān al-kāmil*), a concept that became a central idea of Islamic mysticism after its presentation in the first chapter in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.⁶⁹ The statement goes to the core of Islamic monotheism because it explicitly challenges the gulf that exists between God and creation in the orthodox interpretation of Islam that leaves no room for associating anything with God (*shirk*). The nerve of *shirk* is touched by this statement because it perceives the dot (*nuqṭa*) as a spiritual figure mediating between the divine and the human realms. It says (# 13): "In each word (*kalīma*) of God's speech (*kalām*) there is the entire speech, and the entire speech is (encased) in each word. The word is (encapsulated) in the letter (*ḥarf*), and the letter in the dot (*nuqṭa*). The dot is its rank (*miqdār*, lit. "measure, extent"), the rank of the kind, spiritual, perfect, upright, complete and universal servant (*al-ʿabd al-latīf al-rūḥānī al-kāmil al-muḥkam al-tāmm al-jāmiʿ*)." This perfect, universal and spiritual servant links the divine and the human realms at the point where they touch one another.⁷⁰ There is no Sufi statement in the sources prior to Ibn al-ʿArabī that proclaims the idea of the "Perfect Human Being" more forcefully than this anonymous saying.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, chapter 1, 50.

⁷⁰ For an examination of the idea of the Perfect Human Being in early Sufism, see G. Böwering (1998: "Ensān-e kāmel").

⁷¹ The saying of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874–5) that a friend of God becomes a "totally perfect" mystic (*al-kāmil al-tāmm*), however, does not relate the idea with the primordial point (*nuqṭa*) of Ḥallāj; see Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayrīyya*, 523.

A second statement of al-Ḥallāj combines the interpretation of the *Lām-Alif*, with the mysterious triune letter pattern, *Alif-Lām-Mīm*, found at the head of six *sūras* in the Qurʾān (2; 3; 29; 30, 31; 32), and is written in Arabic with the *Alif* standing separate while the *Mīm* is linked to the *Lām*. Seen from the dynamics of this triune letter pattern, the entirety of the letters is viewed by Ḥallāj as resembling a kingdom (*mulk*) and the king of the kingdom (*malik al-mulk*) is the *Alif*. The *Lām* is the counter image of the *Alif*, standing opposite to it. The *Alif* is the source infusing life into the *Lām* and thus becomes the soul, intellect or spirit (*rūḥ*) of the *Lām*. The knowledge of the *Lām* is rooted in the essence of the *Alif*, while the knowledge of the *Mīm*, which is the universe symbolized by the entirety of the letters, is anchored in the essence of the *Lām*. Hence the *Lām* is the soul (*nafs*) that gives life and light to the *Mīm*, infusing the universe with the life-giving force it has received from the *Alif*. Or, in another image, both the *Alif* and the *Lām* are manifest (*ẓāhir*), but the *Mīm* is hidden (*bāṭin*) being linked to the *Lām* that enlivens and enlightens the universe (# 12).

A third statement of Ḥallāj's offers his interpretation of each Arabic consonant plus the *Lām-Alif*, giving each letter a fixed conceptual value and following an alternative order rather than the standard order of the long alphabet (# 15). Beginning with two patterns of three letters each, *Alif, Lām, Mīm* and *Ḥāʾ, ʿAyn, Dāl*, he lists the remaining letters in the successive alphabetical order, with the *Lām-Alif* coming in the penultimate position before the *Yāʾ* at the very end of the list (# 15). It may have been by intention or by scribal error that the *Qāf* is omitted and the *Nūn* placed out of order after the *Waw* and before the *Lām-Alif*, followed by the *Yāʾ* at the very end of the list. The pattern of the *Alif, Lām, Mīm* is interpreted as referring to God, symbolized by the vertical stroke of the letter *Alif*, standing in isolation and meaning the one and only God. The *Lām* symbolizes the divine gifts (*al-ālāʾ*) and the *Mīm* the divine kingdom (*mulk*) of the universe. The *Alif* is further described to be *al-alūf al-maʿlūf*, the Confidant (*al-alūf*) in whom one confides (*al-maʿlūf*), i.e., the subject and object of mystical intimacy.⁷² Another passage of Sulamī's treatise (# 26), attributed

⁷² It is possible that Ḥallāj developed Ibn ʿAṭā's statement, "the *Alif* is the Confidant one confides in" (*al-alūf al-maʿlūf*) to express God's primordial act of love in which God, the subject of His act of creation (*al-alūf*) makes Himself manifest in its object (*al-maʿlūf*), the world of His creation. This explanation, traced back to Massignon, is upheld by J. N. Bell in the introduction to his translation of Daylamī's treatise on mystical love; see J. N. Bell and H. M. Abdul Latif al-Shafie (2005: 56–8); see also, Daylamī, K. *ʿAtf al-alif al-maʿlūf ʿalā l-lām al-maʿlūf*.

to Ibn 'Aṭā' (Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' al-Adamī), clarifies the somewhat enigmatic phrase of *al-alūf al-ma'lūf* by employing the word play, "The *Alif* symbolizes intimacy (*al-ulfa*) because it is the Confidant one confides in (*al-alūf al-ma'lūf*)." He goes on to explain that God makes the spirits of the mystics, prophets and friends of God intimately familiar with Himself. In the second pattern, *Hā'* stands for the praise of God (*al-ḥamd*), the 'Ayn for the Knower and the known (*al-'ālim wa-l-ma'lūm*), and the *Dāl* for the judgment and the turns of fortune (*al-dīn wa-l-dawl*). To each of the remaining letters, Ḥallāj assigns two particular mystical meanings, making use of alliteration and presenting them in tandem by hendiadys, except for the *Bā'*, *Tā'*, *Zā'*, *Ghayn* and *Hā'*, for which he cites only one mystical meaning.

Later in the treatise, Sulamī cites Ḥallāj's view on the creation of Adam and his spouse, depicted as figures of light and symbolized by the joined letters of *Lām-Alif*: "With regard to the *Lām-Alif* al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥallāj) said: The *Alif* alludes to the upright posture of Adam's physique. His Lord created him with an erect bearing and a beautiful composition of shape. Then He revealed to him a light in the manner of the *Lām*. When Adam caught sight of it, he liked its company. So God said to him, 'Do you want to have her?' He replied, 'Yes, I do.' So God said, 'There she is,' and gave him the light, and Adam embraced her" (# 74). Reading the joint *Lām-Alif* as the Arabic particle of *lā* ("no"), so Ḥallāj continues, the *Lām-Alif* received the figurative shape expressing true monotheism by denying that God had any opponents and peers, as stated in the Qur'ān, "there is no god but God" (47:19; 37:35). "The *Lām-Alif*," so Ḥallāj concludes, is the shape of Adam in his embrace of the light, by which his heart was favored among all other creatures" (# 74).

SULAMĪ'S CATALOGUE OF THE INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTERS

Setting forth the main body of his treatise on the mystical interpretation of the letters, Sulamī examines each of the letters of the alphabet for their mystical meanings (# 22–76), including the joint letters of *Lām-Alif* (# 73–74) appearing in the penultimate position before the *Yā'* at the very end of the treatise. He begins this long section by citing the name of Abū Naṣr 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, i.e., Sarrāj (# 22) and quotes him twice later on (# 28, 47) as a source for his explanation of the letters. The content and subject matter of Sulamī's *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf* is not copied, however, from Sarrāj's *K. al-Luma'*. In fact, Sulamī quotes most of the content of his

treatise from sources that are cited anonymously and introduced simply by, "it has been said" (*qīl*). This makes it impossible to identify his specific source for the several hundred statements on particular letters included in the treatise. Some seven statements are introduced by named narrators other than Sarrāj, such as Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh al-İṣfahānī (# 26, 30, 48), Abū Ḥaḥṣ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Shāhīn al-Baghdādī (d. 385/995; # 27), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shādhān al-Rāzī (d. 376/986; # 40, 71), and Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd b. al-Khashshāb al-Muḥarrimī al-Baghdādī (d. 361/971–2; # 51).

In Sulamī's treatise only ten prominent Sufis are quoted by name as authors of brief particular sayings. They are: Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860; # 40), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Warrāq al-Balkhī al-Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm (d. 280/893; # 40, 46, 71), Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (# 72), Junayd (# 46), Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥīrī (d. 298/910; #33), Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jurayrī (d. 312/924; # 47), Ibn ʿAṭāʾ (# 26, 30, 48, 52, 65), Ḥallāj (# 54), Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir al-Abharī (d. ca. 330/941–2; # 54), Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Hāshimī (# 55) and Abū Muḥammad Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Khuldī (d. 348/959–60; # 51, 53). Sulamī also adds verses of the poet Abū l-Ḥasan Maṣṣūr b. Ismāʿīl al-Tamīmī al-Ḍarīr al-Miṣrī, known as Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh (d. 306/918; # 56), and the Sufi Abū ʿAlī al-Rūdhabārī (d. 322/934; # 28, 56) to illustrate a point. He makes no effort, however, to present a comprehensive view about the science of the letters as expressed by any of these Sufis.

Sulamī's Letter by Letter Explanation

Commenting on the letters, one by one, Sulamī favors an explanation that focuses on alliteration. He prefers to view each letter first from the side of God and then from the side of the mystics. Offering a cross section of a great variety of brief Sufi definitions, Sulamī frequently selects divine names and Sufi hallmarks or virtues as the terms hidden behind particular letters. To illustrate, he sometimes first and last references a Qurʾānic verse, a Hadith statement, a general maxim and a poetical verse. Overall, he avoids provocative interpretations of the letters and supports instead a moderate explanation of their meanings. Sulamī gives no special attention to the mysterious letters that introduce twenty-nine suras of the Qurʾān, consistently omitting any reflection on their meaning. His predominant method of alliteration is quite different from the method of allegory employed by Ḥallāj. It reflects a general Sufi consensus that

the meaning of the letters can be uncovered by resemblance, principally, with the first consonant of a respective term and, occasionally, with a consonant hidden in the middle of a particular term. As such, Sulamī's explanation of the meanings of the letters is more or less reconcilable with mainline Islamic views. His analysis of the letters presents very much his own views culled from a vast quarry and amorphous treasury of Sufi opinions. Following the long Arabic alphabet with the *Lām-Alif* placed in the penultimate position, Sulamī takes up each letter in order and states as follows:

The *Alif* (# 22–27), the only letter standing upright among all the other letters of the alphabet, symbolizes God's singularity. It appears in the beginning and the end of the personal pronoun "I" (*anā*) which, spoken by God in self-affirmation, excludes any rival or partner and encases between the two *Alifs* the symbol for God as the light (*nūr*) of the heavens and the earth. The *Alif* also alludes to God's perfection and oneness, indicates His eternity (*azal* and *abad*), and means that God is the First (*al-awwal*) who has none prior to His being first. Furthermore, the *Alif* can symbolize God's power to unite the opposites, such as spirit and lower soul despite their disparity in origin and goal. Seen from the side of the human beings, the *Alif* can symbolize the human beings standing upright in performance of their religious duties, but it can also indicate, as Ibn 'Aṭā' maintains, the intimacy (*ulfa*) of the mystics in their communion with God.

The *Bā'* (# 28–30) symbolizes that through God (*bihi*) all things are brought forth and made to perish. It can also indicate that God is the Eternal (*al-abadī*) for whom eternity *a parte ante* (*azal*) and *a parte post* (*abad*) has no reality. This thought is illustrated by a verse of Abū 'Alī al-Rūdhabārī, "You are troubled because He conceals from Himself His affection for you, hides from you His affection for you, and hides from you your affection for Him. Like a beam that flashes up from a beacon, he wanders aimlessly about in passionate love for you, unless you yourself are the flash." The *Bā'* can also signify the divine names that begin with the letter *Bā'*. With regard to human beings, the *Bā'* refers to them as God's servants who follow His commands with loyalty and zeal or, in the words of Ibn 'Aṭā', it manifests God's kindness (*birr*) toward the prophets.

The *Tā'* (# 31–32) indicates the bewilderment (*tayhūhiyya*) of humans before God's essence and attributes and the imagination (*tawahhum*) with which they surmise about the divine realities. For the mystics the *Tā'* intimates the virtues of repentance (*tawba*), abandoning indifference (*tark al-tawānī*) before God's commands, vigilance (*tayaqquḥ*) and trust in God

(*tawakkul*, *tafwīd*, *taslīm*), the reliance on being granted divine success (*tawfiq*) and true profession of God's oneness (*taṣḥīḥ al-tawḥīd*).

The *Thā'* (# 33–4) alludes to firmness (*thubūt*) in following the Holy Custom (*sunna*), trusting in God (*thiqa*) in all words, ridding one's actions from seeking God's reward for them (*thawāb*) and the realization of one's weakness to express God's praise (*thanā'*), as the Prophet did when he said, "I cannot recount the praises due to You."

The *Jīm* (# 35) expresses the mystic's desire to be close to God (*jāwara l-ḥaqq*) as stated by the Prophet, "Exalted is the one who seeks Your protection ('azza *jāruka*)!" It may allude to the maxim, "Give away this world and the next (*jud bi l-kawnayn*) for the sake of God," inviting the mystics to relinquish (*mujāwaza*) all joy in transient things and to act according to God's omnipotence (*jabbāriyyatu l-ḥaqq*).

The *Ḥā'* (# 36–37) alludes to God's praise (*ḥamd*) and reminds humanity of God's word, "I gave praise to Myself by Myself when nobody had praise for Me as yet. Had I not praised Myself (*lawlā ḥamidtu nafsi*), no one would have known how to praise Me!" It refers to God's forbearance (*ḥilm*) and forgiveness and makes humanity aware that God holds the proof (*ḥujja*) of the divine trust, which He entrusted them to carry (*ḥamluhum al-amāna*, Q 72:33). Further, the *Ḥā'* alludes to the curtain (*ḥijāb*) that hides God from humanity, which is lifted for God's friends here and now and for the rest of the believers in the world to come. It also refers to the zeal (*ḥathth*) with which God's servants seek to do what is lawful (*ḥalāl*) and avoid what is unlawful (*ḥarām*). Further, it signifies that God's friends are God's proof (*ḥujjat Allāh*) for His servants and that the one who is the "proof" (*al-ḥujja*) among His friends is the leader of the people of divine friendship (*imām ahl al-wilāya*). Using the terminology of Sahl al-Tustarī anonymously, Sulamī describes this "proof" as, "the one who knows God and God's commandments and has assimilated the characteristics of God's Messenger" (#37).

The *Khā'* (# 38–39) alludes to eternal life (*khulūd*) either in paradise or in hellfire and to the fear of death (*khawf al-mawt*), the fear of God's wrath (*khawf ghaḍābihi*), punishment and justice, and all the other fears the mystics have about their sins and omissions. It also alludes to receiving one's share (*al-akhdh bi-ḥaẓẓika*) as allotted by God's command and being content with it without seeking any other reward than witnessing the One who gives the command. It also signifies purity of intention (*ikhhlās*) in any state or at any time.

The *Dāl* (# 40–41) alludes to the everlastingness (*daymūmiyya*) and eternity of God (*dawām al-ḥaqq*), who has neither beginning nor end, and

to constancy (*mudāwama*) in one's preoccupation with life to come and one's incessant gratitude (*mudāwamat al-shukr*) and lasting joy (*dawām al-farah*) in God's service. It also refers to personal prayer (*du'ā*) and the call (*da'wa*) to follow God's precepts and perform the religious duties (Q 16:125).

The *Dhāl* (# 42–43) alludes to God's remembrance (*dhikr al-ḥaqq*) of His servants from all eternity and the blessings of His remembrance that inspires them to remember God (Q 2:152) and be grateful for His remembrance, so that He may remember them in times of need. For the mystic it signifies the passing away of the subject of recollection (*fanā' al-dhākir*) as one witnesses God, the object of recollection (*fī mushāhadat madhkūrihi*), and the practice of silent recollection (*al-dhikr al-khafī*), as favored by the Prophet, "The best recollection is the silent one." The *Dhāl* can refer to the reproach of the soul (*dhamm al-nafs*), the passions and this world because they obstruct the way to God for the mystic, but it can also allude to the passing away (*dhahāb*) of distractions and intentions and one's total turning to God.

The *Rā'* (# 44–45) alludes to beholding the divine grace (*ru'yat al-faḍl*) and eliminating separation from God (*ru'yat al-faṣl*). It is also a reference to the spirit (*rūḥ*) that abides in witness of the spiritual meaning (*ma'nā*) because it belongs to it but is not identical with it. It can also refer to God's compassion (*ra'fat al-ḥaqq*) for creation. When God harbors compassion toward someone, He makes him compassionate to others, as He enabled the Prophet to be "gentle to the believers, compassionate" (Q 9:128). The *Rā'* can also point to the desire of God which, if done for a selfish purpose, alienates the doer from God, if done for the sake of paradise, brings the doer its rewards, and if done for the sake of God, transforms a person into God's beacon for all to see. The *Rā'* alludes to God, the compassionate Benefactor (*al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*), for God spreads His mercy (*raḥma*) over creation so that they may show one of His hundred mercies toward others and look forward to enjoying the other ninety-nine on the Day of Resurrection, according to a saying of the Prophet (# 45).

The *Zā'* (# 46) alludes to seeking increase (*ziyāda*) in the mystical states and gradually drawing near to God, although if this is done for one's own sake, so Junayd observes, one remains abandoned in the deserts of distance from God. The *Zā'* can also refer to renunciation (*zuhd*) that belittles this world and the next, allowing ascetics to reach their Creator. It can signify that one refrains from being adorned (*tark al-tazyīn*) by conditions and actions or, as Abū Bakr al-Warrāq says, relinquishes the fame of this world (*tark zīnat al-dunyā*) and the show of piety.

The *Sīn* (# 47–48) alludes to submission and surrender to God (*istislām*). As Jurayrī says, “To surrender when encountering God is to be courageous, to revel in the honor of being intimate with God is to be heedless.” The *Sīn* also stands for extolling God as “Master” (*sayyid*) and for being made a master by God, so that the other creatures serve him like slaves serve their master. This is what is meant by the maxim, “the ‘Master’ is the one who leads the masters seeking to love His sovereignty.” The *Sīn* is also understood as referring to the equality of one who is “master” (*istiwā’ al-sayyid*) with God in that he brings about the precepts concerning pleasant and despicable things as well as blessings and misfortunes. The *Sīn* is also the key to God’s name, Giver of peace (*al-salām*) because God honored His friends by calling them Muslims, making them dwell in the Abode of Peace (*dār al-salām*) and having them saluted by the angels’ greeting of peace (Q 36:58). For Ibn ‘Aṭā’, the *Sīn* stands for the secret (*sirr*) God shares with the mystics, His friends, by granting them clairvoyance (*firāsa*) and intimacy with Him because they keep aloof from everything other than God.

The *Shīn* (# 49–50) alludes to the radiance of eternal light (*ishrāq anwār al-azal*) cast on those God wishes to enlighten, which fills them with illumination (*shumūl al-anwār*). It can signify divulging the state of mind of someone who turns away from God (*shītāt sirr man a’raḍa ‘anhu*), being preoccupied with inappropriate things. It also refers to thanksgiving (*shukr*) for increased faith, graces that were foreordained, states enjoyed time after time, and the awareness that nothing can be returned to God through thanksgiving. The *Shīn* can also stand for the ambiguity of mystical states (*ishkāl aḥwāl al-‘arīfīn*) in the moment of mystical experience (*waqt*) because of the resemblance between their beginnings and ends. It can also mean giving up pleasures and comforts (*tark al-shahawāt wa-l-rāḥāt*) from the time they are first desired to the moment when the desire is fulfilled. It can also allude to the mystics witnessing (*mushāhada*) the signs of God (*shawāhid al-ḥaqq*) so that they see through illumination and insight what they know with their hearts, “like Him there is naught” (Q 42:11). It may also refer to the yearning (*shawq*) of those who are longing for God.

The *Ṣād* (# 51–52) alludes to scrutiny of the soul and sincerity (*ṣidq*) in word and action, by sincerely trusting in God and voicing true knowledge. It also indicates perseverance (*ṣabr*) as the appropriate response in misfortunes and as the key to blessings. For Ja’far al-Khuldī this perseverance has to be applied instantly in any adversity. The *Ṣād* also refers to the everlastingness of God (*ṣamadiyyat al-ḥaqq*) that makes it impossible for

Him to coexist with likenesses or adversaries and for humans to grasp or comprehend and compare Him. It can also mean the firm belief to be near to God and behold Him. In Ibn 'Aṭā's view, the *Ṣād* refers to cleansing the hearts (*taṣfiyat al-qulūb*) from turning to anyone other than God.

The *Dād* (# 53) alludes to the brilliance of God's illumination (*diyā' anwār al-ma'rūf*) spreading in the inmost beings of the mystics. In Ja'far al-Khuldī's view it refers to humanity's faithfully safeguarding (*damān*) the trust when the heavens and the earth failed to accept it.

The *Ṭā'* (# 54) alludes to one's spiritual and moral purification (*ṭahāra*). According to Abū Bakr 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir al-Abharī, it refers to the goodness of the lovers' hearts (*ṭīb qulūb al-muḥibbīn*) before God, their Beloved, and according to Ḥallāj to God's unforeseen disclosures (*tawālī' al-ḥaqq*) that overcome the inmost beings of the elite of His friends and sweep them clean of any other than the Almighty.

The *Zā'* (# 55), according to Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Hāshimī, alludes to the principle of thinking only the best of God (*ḥusn al-zann bi-llāh*) and thinking only the worst of the lower self (*sū' al-zann bi-l-nafs*) and, according to one anonymous Sufi, to the thirst (*zama'*) the ascetics experience in the midday heat and, according to another, to God's name, "the Manifest" (*al-zāhir*), through whom moral and spiritual benefits become manifest to the mystics.

The *'Ayn* (# 56–58) refers to the immediate knowledge (*'ilm*) God has of all things and to God's help (*ma'ūna*) for His servants. It alludes to the quintessence of things (*'ayn al-ashyā'*) about which the poet Manṣūr al-Faqīh had the following verse: "They said, 'Take the eye, the purest of all things!' I replied to them, 'There is an excellence in the eye, but the nerves of the eye are like two lines in a thousand neatly written scrolls, and often you may not find two fine lines in a thousand scrolls,'" while the Sufi Abū 'Alī al-Rūdhabārī (d. 322/934) illustrated it by the verse, "You are an eye to the eye when it sees you. It strives for you just as it aspires to see." The *'Ayn* also alludes to the various sciences of humanity (*'ulūm al-khalq*), their subdivisions and their source (*ma'din*). The source for the reality of knowledge of God is Muḥammad's heart (*qalb Muḥammad*) as intimated by Q 68:4 and 47:19. The *'Ayn* holds the key to God's names, "the Mighty" (*al-'azīz*) and "the Omniscient" (*al-'alīm*). It exemplifies the appropriate interaction (*mu'āmala*) with God and signifies one's constant life (*'aysh*) through and with God.

The *Ghayn* (# 59–60) points to "the Unseen" (*al-ghayb*) that is hidden from all creatures. It also refers to the "covering" (*ighāna*) the Prophet experienced on his heart when he passed from the state of witnessing to

that of proclamation. Some interpret this covering as the Prophet's permissible care for his family and children. A Sufi of Khurasan understood the *Ghayn* as a reference to casting down the eyes (*ghaḍḍ al-ṭarf*) before forbidden things with reference to Q 24:30, while a Sufi from Baghdad said, it means casting down the eyes before all things after one has obtained knowledge of God. Another Sufi understood the *Ghayn* as an allusion to the highest degree of divine love, when the lover is bereft of all awareness in encountering the Beloved.

The *Fā'* (# 61) refers to one who succeeds (*fāza*) in overcoming his wishes and following God's command, or to one who entrusts (*fawwada*) all affairs to God. It alludes to fleeing from God to God (*al-firār minhu ilayhi*), to the absence of vain ideas in the pure thought (*ṣafā' al-fikr*) about God or to the liberation of the soul (*fakk al-nafs*) from the fetters of physical nature by turning to God.

The *Qāf* (# 62) is the key to the divine names, "the Subsisting (*al-qayyūm*), the Strong (*al-qawī*), the Restrainer (*al-qābiḍ*) and the Holy (*al-quddūs*)," because God established all things with his omnipotence (*qudra*), set them straight with His power (*quwwa*), held them in His grip (*qabḍa*) and gave glory to Himself (*qaddasa naḥsahu*). The *Qāf* can also refer to performing (*qiyām*) God's commands, to the hearts of the mystics abiding in God presence (*qarār qulūb al-ʿarīfīn ma'a llāh*), and to the bewilderment of creation at the resurrection (*qiyāma*) and its terrors (Q 80:37).

The *Kāf* (# 63) refers to God's perfection (*kamāl al-ḥaqq*) in His essence and in His bringing forth creation with shortcomings. Among creation only the one from whom God has removed all blemish is perfect, as when He selected Moses, saying, "I have chosen you" (Q 7:144) for Myself, and when He took an oath by Muḥammad's life saying, "By your life" (Q 15:72). Manifest perfection belongs to the prophets and ritual perfection belongs to God's friends and the sincere mystics. A human being can only become perfect by being raised to God's perfection. The *Kāf* also refers to all being (*al-kawn*), the divine command, "Be!" (*al-kun*), and what came into being (*al-kān*). *Al-Kān* is God's speech, *al-Kun* God's command and *al-Kawn* God's creation. For others the *Kāf* is an allusion to God as "the Sufficer" (*al-Kāfi*); whoever is content with God is protected by Him (*man iktafā bihi kafāhu*) and led to the place of contentment (*maḥall al-kifāya*).

The *Lām* (# 64) alludes to the blame (*malāma*) the novices put on themselves because they know that they fall short in their duties. But it also alludes to the bounty of "the Benevolent" (*al-laṭīf*) who shows His bounty (*lutf*) to the mystic's heart so that one becomes graceful and friendly (*yaltufu*).

The *Mīm* (# 65–66) alludes to God as the king (*malik*) who holds sway over the kings. Whoever seeks the kingdom (*mulk*), falls short of finding the king, but whoever seeks the king, is made the owner of the royal lands. Ibn 'Aṭā' held that the *Mīm* refers either to the meanings (*ma'ānī*) of the divinely proclaimed command and interdiction or to the graces (*minan*) God accords the novices. Some held that the *Mīm* alludes to the inclination of the soul (*mayl al-naḥs*) to follow its passions and oppose those who prevent it from doing so, while others had the *Mīm* allude to the inclination of the mystics (*mayl al-ʿarīfīn*) to seek God's pleasure. Some said, the *Mīm* alludes to the disgust for the soul that seduces (*maqt al-naḥs al-musawwila*), while others said, it alludes to the desire of death (*ḥubb al-mamāt*) in longing for the almighty King (*al-malik al-jabbār*).

The *Nūn* (# 67–69) alludes to the light (*nūr*) that God casts into the hearts of His friends. The mystics see in this light the leader of God's friends (*imām al-awliyā'*) who was made a sign of God's mercy for creation and, by virtue of this light, is able to perceive the invisible things with his own eyes. About him the Prophet said, "When that light was cast in the heart, it became wide and was opened." When the light of the servant's spirit (*nūr rūḥ al-ʿabd*) overwhelms the darkness of his body, the heart is widened and opened. When the darkness of the body overwhelms the light of his spirit, it darkens both spirit and body. There are many lights God reveals to human beings: in the head, the light of revelation, between the eyes, the light of intimate conversation, in the ear, the light of certitude, in the tongue, the light of explanation, in the chest, the light of faith and in the heart, the light of mystical knowledge. When any of these lights flares up somewhat, it overpowers one of the other lights and enters into its domain. When all lights are ablaze, they become light upon light, and "God guides to His light whom He wills" (Q 24:35). The key of the *Nūn* is derived from God's name, "the light" (*al-nūr*). God enlightens the heavens and the earth with visible lights and the bodies with invisible lights, such as their well-being. He illuminates the hearts of the prophets and the elite of His friends with His special light of mystical knowledge. The *Nūn* refers to God declaring Himself above (*tanzīh al-ḥaqq*) all comprehension and description. "So declare Him above what He declared Himself to be above in reality, so that He may sanctify you with the lights of His compassion and mercy and make you reach the utmost limit of your quest, now and in the future" (# 69). God declared Himself above (*nazzaha naḥsahu*) anyone being brought near Him except through Him or truly giving thanks to Him for an instant of grace, because praise is the utterance of the divine Speaker and thanksgiving is the search for more grace.

The *Wāw* (# 70) may allude to the arrival (*wurūd*) of illuminations in the inmost being of the mystics, to God's love (*mawaddat al-ḥaqq*) for His friends from the very moment of creation, or to the revelation (*waḥy*) that God grants His servants, such as the direct revelation (*waḥy al-mushāfaha*) granted to Moses and Muḥammad, the mediated revelation (*waḥy al-wasā'it*) granted to the rest of the prophets, the inspiration of the bee (*waḥy al-ilhām li-l-naḥl*, Q 16:68), the revelation (*waḥy al-qadhif wa-l-ilqā'*) cast into the hearts of Jesus' disciples (Q 5:11) and infused into the heart of Moses' mother (Q 68:7). The *Wāw* also alludes to rendering respect to the Prophet (*tawqīr al-muṣṭafā*), acknowledging the friendship of God's friends (*wilāyat al-awliyā'*), and upholding God's oneness and singularity (*al-wāḥidiyya wa-l-waḥdāniyya*).

The *Hā'* (# 71–72) signifies the end of the allusions (*ghāyat al-ishārāt*). Its reality is God Himself, encompassing all things (*Allāh 'azza wa-jalla l-muḥīt*), as stated in Q 6:103, 65:12 and 20:110. The *Hā'* indicates God's guidance (*hidāya*). In Abū Bakr al-Warrāq's view, it alludes to abandoning the passions (*tark al-hawā*) and all the lusts of this world, while in Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz's view, the *Hā'* stands for the He-ness of God (*huwiyyat al-ḥaqq*) and the forlornness of creation (*tayhūhiyyat al-khalq*) in His He-ness. For others the *Hā'* signifies the disdain for the existent beings in Muḥammad's inmost being and for Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥirī it signifies that the souls are yoked together (*muqāranat al-humūm*) in the vale of tears to that they may reach gladness on the Day of Judgment (Q 52:26).

The *Lām-Alif* (# 73–75) represents the *Alif* giving witness, standing up straight, and the *Lām* being humbled by standing crooked in front of the *Alif*. The *Alif* is the only letter standing separately and upright and thus gives witness to God's oneness and singularity, "like Him there is naught" (Q 42:11). The *Alif* has the strength to carry the crooked *Lām* when it expresses the negation in the combination of the two letters, meaning "No!" (*lā*). When a second *Alif* is added in front of the "lā," the result is the particle of exception, *illā*, which is the most intense way of affirmation. The *Lām-Alif* alludes to the reproaching of the soul (*malāmat al-naḥs*) and misleading censure (*lawmat al-lā'im*).⁷³

The *Yā'* (# 76) alludes to God educating you (*yu'addibuka*), strengthening you (*yuḥawwimuka*) and assisting you (*yu'īnuka*) to fulfill His commands. The letter *Yā'* causes you (*yūrithuka*) sadness in the vale of tears

⁷³ A curious way of interpreting the *Lām-Alif* is represented by A. J. Arberry (1937).

and joy in the nearness to God, and draws you near (*yudnīka*) to what you hope for.

Interpretations of the Letters Omitted in Sulamī's Treatise

Looking back on the third part of Sulamī's treatise, *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-ḥurūf*, in which he explains the letters of the alphabet one by one in mystical terms, it appears to have been Sulamī's intention to provide a moderate interpretation of the letters. In certain instances, he aligned a particular letter of the Arabic alphabet with the initial letter of a divine name or attribute, but in most cases, he arranged it to coincide with the first or middle letter of a crucial term for Sufi ideals and values. In this process, the allusion (*ishāra*) evoked by Sulamī is usually obvious rather than deeply hidden and symbolic. It points to a method of alliteration rather than allegory and substitutes the similarity of words or sounds for the symbolism of esoteric interpretation. Except for the second part of his *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf*, in which Ḥallāj stands out for his deeply symbolical interpretation of the letters, there is hardly any Sufi cited by name in Sulamī's treatise who could be considered as offering an allegorical or symbolical interpretation of the letters. Sulamī's interest in recording moderate Sufi explanations of the science of the letters, rather than more esoteric or allegorical interpretations, also explains his omission of references to early Sufi authorities known for more daring interpretations of the meaning of the Arabic letters. That this was an intentional rather than an inadvertent omission on Sulamī's part is proven by the absence of interpretations of the letters attributed to Sahl al-Tustarī, Ibn Masarra and Ja'far al-Šādiq.

It is striking that Sulamī does not refer by name to Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), an early Sufi who is credited with a treatise on the letters (*Risāla fi l-ḥurūf*).⁷⁴ In his *Dhikr miḥan al-mashāyikh al-ṣūfiyya* Sulamī documents, however, that he was aware of two incidents reported in Sarrāj's *K. al-Luma'* about Sahl al-Tustarī's expulsion from his hometown to Basra and his association with Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Bakr al-Šubayḥī (d. ca. 315/927).⁷⁵ Šubayḥī taught the interpretation of the letters (*ḥurūf*) at Basra and was bolstered in this by Sahl al-Tustarī's moral support, "we have opened the bag of asafetida (*jirāb*

⁷⁴ MS. *Chester Beatty* 3168/3 (ff. 83–87, 686 h); M. K. Ja'far (1974: 366–75).

⁷⁵ Sulamī, *Miḥan al-mashāyikh al-ṣūfiyya*, MS. *Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ūd* 2118 (ff. 79a–88b).

al-ḥiltīt) for the people.”⁷⁶ Nevertheless, there is one anonymous saying in Sulamī’s treatise on the explanation of the letters (# 37) when he comments on the meaning of “the proof of God” (*ḥujjat Allāh*), stating that he is “the leader of divine friendship” (*imām al-wilāya*). Sulamī’s citation of this statement resembles a controversial saying about the qualities of the religious leader attributed to Sahl al-Tustarī in other Sufi sources⁷⁷ and, in all likelihood, is a saying of Sahl al-Tustarī that has been cited anonymously.

Sulamī also reveals no awareness of the *Risālat al-i’tibār* and the *K. Khawāṣṣ al-ḥurūf*, both treatises of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Masarra b. Najīḥ al-Jabalī al-Andalusī (d. 319/931) focused on the interpretation of the opening letters of the suras.⁷⁸ Furthermore, there is no indication that Sulamī used the *K. ‘Atf al-alif al-ma’lūf ‘alā l-lām al-ma’ṭūf* of his contemporary, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī, who was a disciple of Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Khafif b. Isfakshād al-Ḍabbī al-Shīrāzī (d. 371/981).⁷⁹ Obviously, it would have gone far beyond the limits Sulamī imposed on his field of vision, had he drawn on Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’s *K. al-Ḥurūf*.⁸⁰ Most surprisingly, however, Sulamī does not name Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq a single time in his treatise on the meaning of the letters, although in his major Qur’ān commentary he attributes to him a number of interpretations of the letters.

In his introduction to *Ḥaqā’iq al-tafsīr*, Sulamī expresses scepticism about the authenticity of the Sufi statements attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq by noting that these statements were ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq without any order.⁸¹ Nevertheless he included them in this Qur’ān commentary under Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s name, quoting them from oral or written sources without identifying their specific provenance or citing them on the basis of

⁷⁶ Sarrāj, *K. al-Luma’ (Pages from the Kitāb al-Luma’)*, 9; *ḥiltīt* is a gum resin extracted from the plant *asafetida* that is used as a medical remedy and has a sulphur like smell.

⁷⁷ G. Böwering (1980: 64–5).

⁷⁸ *Risālat al-i’tibār*, MS. *Chester Beatty* 3168/4 (ff. 88–95, 686 h) and *K. Khawāṣṣ al-ḥurūf*, MS. *Chester Beatty* 3168/2 (ff. 65a–83, 686 h); M. K. Ja‘far, *Min al-turāth al-falsafī*; Ibn Masarra, *al-Ḥurūf*; M. Asin Palacios (1914); Engl. tr. E. H. Douglas and H. W. Yoder (1978); M. N. Bardakçı (1999); R. Arnaldez (1971: “Ibn Masarra”).

⁷⁹ Daylamī, *K. ‘Atf al-alif al-ma’lūf*.

⁸⁰ Fārābī, *K. al-Ḥurūf*. Sulamī could hardly have consulted the (*Risāla fī*) *Asbāb ḥudūth al-ḥurūf* of Ibn Sīnā (370/980–428/1037). It is not known, however, whether Ibn Sīnā completed this treatise before or after Sulamī’s death in 412/1021. Ibn Sīnā’s *Asbāb ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*; cf. M. Bravmann (1934); P. N. Khānlārī (1333sh/1963); K. I. Semaan (1963); N. Radhouane (2002).

⁸¹ Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq al-tafsīr*, 19–20.

two chains of transmitters that are intertwined with the *isnād* of the Shī'a family (*ahl al-bayt*).⁸² In the introductions to his major and minor Qur'ān commentaries, Sulamī also refers to various criteria of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's method of Qur'ān interpretation.⁸³ The specimens of the interpretation of the letters that Sulamī actually quotes on Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's authority, however, belong to the category of alliteration and suggest little in the way of symbolical or allegorical modes of interpretation.

For example, Sulamī states the following interpretations on Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's authority in his *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*: With regard to *bismi*, ("in the name of"), the beginning of the *Basmala*, the *Bā'* alludes to God's subsistence (*baqā'*), the *Sīn* to God's names (*asmā'*) and the *Mīm* to God's reign (*mulk*),⁸⁴ or in other terms, the *Bā'* refers to God's beauty (*bahā'*), the *Sīn* to God's splendor (*sanā'*) and the *Mīm* to God's magnificence (*majd*),⁸⁵ or by way of yet another alliteration, the *Bā'* refers to the door of prophecy (*bāb al-nubuwwa*), the *Sīn* to the secret of prophecy (*sirr al-nubuwwa*) and the *Mīm* to God's rule on the Day of Judgment (*mamlakat al-dīn*).⁸⁶ The name of God, "Allāh," is analyzed by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as a tetragram, the *Alif* meaning the pillar of divine oneness ('*amūd al-tawḥīd*), the first *Lām* the tablet of understanding (*lawḥ al-fahm*), the second *Lām* the tablet of prophecy (*lawḥ al-nubuwwa*), and the *Hā'* infinity (*nihāya*) by way of allusion.⁸⁷ The word *al-ḥamd* (the "praise" belonging to God) in the first *sūra* of the Qur'ān (1:2), is disassembled by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in such a way that the *Hā'* alludes to God's singularity (*waḥdāniyya*), the *Mīm* to God's reign (*mulk*) and the *Dāl* to God's everlastingness (*daymūmiyya*)⁸⁸ or, in other terms, *al-ḥamd* including the definite article has the *Alif* referring to God's gifts (*ālā'*), the *Lām* to God's grace (*lutf*), the *Hā'* to God's praise of Himself (*ḥamd nafsihi*), the *Mīm* to God's magnificence (*majd*), and the *Dāl* to the religion of Islam (*dīn al-Islām*).⁸⁹ The five Arabic consonants constituting God's name, "the Impenetrable" (*al-ṣamad*, Q 112:2), are

⁸² G. Böwering (1996: 35–56). It is not entirely clear why certain Sufis appropriated the name of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq to cover their own Qur'ān interpretations, but one can surmise that this may have been done during the early Būyid rule in Baghdad after 334/945.

⁸³ Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* 1, 22, and *Ziyādāt ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, 2.

⁸⁴ Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* 1, 22 (ad Q 1:1); Baqlī, *Arā'is al-bayān*, 1, 15.

⁸⁵ Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* 1, 22 (ad Q 1:1).

⁸⁶ Ibid. 1, 26 (ad Q 1:1).

⁸⁷ Ibid. 1, 31 (ad Q 1:1).

⁸⁸ Ibid. 1, 33 (ad Q 1:2); Baqlī, *Arā'is al-bayān*, 1, 19–20.

⁸⁹ Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* 1, 35 (ad Q 1:2).

taken by Ja'far al-Şādiq to signify the proof of God's oneness (*aḥadiyya*) for the *Alif*, the proof of God's divine nature (*ulūhiyya*) for the *Lām*, the proof of God keeping His promises (*ṣadaqa fīmā wa'ada*) for the *Şād*, the proof of God's absolute reign (*mulkuhu wa-huwa l-malik 'alā l-ḥaḳīqa*) for the *Mīm*, and the sign of God's everlastingness (*dawāmuḥu fī abadiyyatihi wa-azaliyyatihi*) for the *Dāl*.⁹⁰

To sum up, Sulamī's treatise on the meaning of the Arabic letters integrates three hermeneutical stages. In the first stage, he offers an interpretation of the Arabic alphabet (*abjad*) along traditional lines and justifies his assigning of inner and hidden meanings to each of the Arabic letters. In the second stage, he presents a cluster of sayings by Sufis of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries that attest to the emergence of a mystical, allegorical and symbolic interpretation of the letters of the alphabet and the mysterious letters at the head of twenty-nine suras of the Qur'an. His application of the emerging "science of the letters" (*'ilm al-ḥurūf*) in this early Sufi environment is scattered and disjointed, without pattern or order. Moreover, it reveals his inattention to the interpretation of the letters by a number of Sufis known in his time but neglected in his treatise. He draws special attention, however, to two aspects of the letters. Most importantly, he endorses the Qur'anic view that the Arabic letters, created by God in their particular shape at the very dawn of creation, were entrusted to Adam, the first human being. Adam then articulated them and applied them to the multiplicity of objects found in the universe of all created things. For their part, the Sufi mystics discover the inner sense hidden in each of the letters of the Qur'anic proclamation and disclose the treasure of their multifarious meanings. In this stage of the treatise, Sulamī focuses in particular on Ḥallāj's allegorical interpretation of the Arabic letter pattern, *Alif-Lām-Mīm*, and Ḥallāj's vision of the combined letters of *Lām-Alif* as the symbol for the process of creation. This process of creation combines God and the universe at the point (*nuqṭa*) where the two strokes of the *Lām-Alif* intersect and divine eternity and human temporality meet. In the third stage, Sulamī offers a catalogue of the interpretation of the Arabic letters, explaining them letter by letter with the method of alliteration and attesting to a panorama of meaning that the Sufis discovered behind each of the Arabic letters. As a whole, Sulamī's

⁹⁰ Ibid. 2,429 (ad Q 112:2).

treatise on the "science of the letters" collects a great variety of interpretations offered by early Sufism in its hermeneutics of the Arabic alphabet and the mysterious Qur'ānic letters, a variety that cannot be found elsewhere in such a rich and concentrated form. The treatise maintains the sacredness of the Arabic language, as the only language suitable in structure, form and style to contain God's self-communication to humanity in the Qur'an.

TRANSLATION OF SULAMĪ, *SHARḤ MA'ĀNĪ AL-ḤURŪF*

- 1 Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being in the beginning and in the end. May God bless Muḥammad and grant him salvation.⁹¹ Praise belongs to God who enlightened the hearts of His friends and the elite among His servants with understanding of His word (i.e. the Qur'ānic revelation). He gave them the capacity to understand the difficult and obscure passages by turning them to Him and making them mystics who possess knowledge of Him and know His names and attributes. He caused them to transcend their ordinary ability to comprehend His Proclamation and the subtle meanings of the letters of His Book. He instilled in them a profound knowledge of each letter of his proclamations through understanding its meanings and, through their vision and insight, made them ponder their hidden meanings. In every letter He placed for them an increment of explanation and a special understanding and proof. "And God singles out for His mercy whom He wills" (Q 2:105).
- 2 Now then, I say: After having completed the book of "The Realities of Interpretation" (*Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*), I was asked to write something about the meaning of the letters (*ma'ānī l-ḥurūf*) and what the wise men among the mystics said about them so as to append it to "The Realities of Interpretation" and conclude the book with it. I did as I had been asked and begged God for help in compiling it, after disavowing my own power and strength to do so and turning to the One in whose hand are all blessings. May God grant success to its completion through His grace and abundance of His mercy.
- 3 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is reported to have said, as is the Prophet, supported by a chain of transmitters: "Each verse of the Qur'ān has a 'back' (*ẓahr*, i.e., a literal and outer meaning), and a 'belly' (*baṭn*, i.e., a hidden and inner meaning), and each letter (*ḥarf*) has a horizon (*ḥadd*, i.e., a boundary, a definition) and a point of ascent (*maṭla'*, *muṭṭala'*, i.e., an allegory, a

⁹¹ I have made the following emendations to the Arabic text of *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-ḥurūf*: # 23, line 1, read *annā* rather than *innā*; # 25, line 5, read *al-qalam bihā* rather than *al-qalam bihi*; # 27, line 4, read *a-lā* rather than *lā*; # 35, line 2, read *fi qalbihi* rather than *fa-qalbuhi*; # 35, line 3, read *'azza* rather than *'izz*; # 49, lines 2–3, read *bimā lā yalīqu bihi*, rather than *bimā yalīqu bihi*; # 63, lines 3 and 4, spell *bi-ḥayātihi* with long *alif*, rather than *wāw* (*alif al-tafkīm*); # 69, lines 5–6, delete *wa-qīla nazzaha nafsahu* as redundant due to a scribal error.

symbolism).” This report justifies the discourse on the letters and their meanings.

- 4 What further substantiates the teachings about the letters is the statement of God’s Messenger, about which Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Quraysh told me: al-Ḥasan b. Sa‘īd told me that Aḥmad b. Naṣr reported Dāwūd b. Sulaymān al-‘Aṭṭār to have reported on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ziyād – al-Furāt b. Sulaymān – Abān b. Abī ‘Ayyāsh – Ibn ‘Abbās that the God’s Messenger said: “Learn the alphabet (Abū Jād) and its interpretation! Woe unto the scholar who ignores its interpretation!” They replied, “O Messenger of God, what is it about the alphabet?” He replied, “In it are all the wondrous things that there are.”
- 5 With regard to *abjad*, the *Alif* is God and the gifts of God. The *Alif* is a letter drawn from God’s names, the *Bā’* is God’s beauty, the *Jīm* God’s paradise and the *Dāl* God’s Judgment. With regard to *hawwaz*, the *Hā’* is the bottomless pit of Hell and the agony of those fallen into it, the *Waw* are the woes of the people of Hell, and the *Zā’* is the corner (of Hell) and God save us from what lurks in the corner. With regard to *ḥuṭṭiy*, the *Hā’* refers to the remission of sins for those who seek forgiveness in the Night of Power and the news Gabriel brought down together with the angels at the rise of dawn in the Night of Power; the *Ṭā’* refers to, “Theirs is blessedness and a fair resort” (Q 13:29), a tree implanted before Him by His own hand, whose branches can be seen reaching out from behind the walls of paradise laden with ornamentation and clothing flowing over its inhabitants; and the *Yā’* refers to God’s hand above His creation, “Glory be to Him! High be He exalted above that they associate with Him!” (Q 10:18; 16:1; 30:40; 39:67). With regard to *kalamun*, the *Kāf* is God’s speech, “No man can change His words; apart from Him you will find no refuge” (Q 18:27); the *Lām* is the respectful greeting of one another by the inhabitants of paradise with words of peace, welcome and visitation; the *Mīm* is God’s rule that will never end; and the *Nūn* is, “*Nūn*, By the Pen, and what they inscribe” (Q 68:1), a book of light and a pen of light “in a parchment unrolled” (Q 52:3) in “a book inscribed” (Q 52:2). With regard to *sa‘afaṣ*, it means, He gives tit for tat and an eye for an eye, that is He returns in equal measure “and God desires not wrong for His servants” (Q 40:31). With regard to *qurishat*, the *Qāf* is the goal of humanity and God gathers them for the Day of Resurrection, “and justly the issues shall be decided between them, and they not wronged” (Q 39:69).

- 6 Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khallālī informed us, Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Razīn told us in Homs that Ibrāhīm b. al-'Alā' Zabriq reported on the authority of Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh, Ismā'īl b. Yaḥyā said that Ibn Abī Mulayka had it from whomever informed him on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd and Mis'ar from 'Aṭīyya who had it from Abū Sa'īd al-Khuḍrī that the Messenger of God said: "The mother of Jesus sent him to school to be taught. The teacher told him, 'Write!' Jesus asked, 'What shall I write?' He replied, 'In the name of God' (*bism*). Jesus asked him, 'What does 'in the name' mean?' The teacher answered, 'I do not know.' So Jesus replied to him, 'The *Bā'* is God's beauty, the *Sīn* God's exaltedness and the *Mīm* God's kingdom. God (*Allāh*) is the god of the gods. He is the Benefactor (*al-Raḥmān*), merciful in the world to come and in this world, and the Compassionate (*al-Raḥīm*), compassionate in the world to come."
- 7 As to the *Abjad*: The *Alif* signifies God's gifts, the *Bā'* God's beauty, the *Jīm* God's majesty, the *Dāl* the everlasting God. *Hawwaz*: The *Hā'* signifies the pit of Hell—woe to the people of hellfire, the *Wāw* refers to a valley in Hell, the *Zā'* refers to the garb of the unbelievers among the people of this world. *Ḥuṭṭiy*: The *Ḥā'* signifies God's forbearance, the *Ṭā'* refers to God claiming every right so as to return it to whom it is due, the *Yā'* are the marks of the people of hellfire, namely suffering pains. *Kalamun*: *Kāf* signifies God, the Self-Sufficient; *Lām* God, the Omniscient, *Mīm* God, the Ruler, *Nūn*, leviathan. *Sa'afas*: *Ṣād* is God, the Truthful, *'Ayn* God, the Omniscient, *Fā'* God, the Understanding, *Ṣād* God, the Everlasting. *Qurishat*: *Qāf* is the mountain range encircling this world, infusing the sky with green, *Rā'* is the hypocrisy of the people about that which God expounds, *Sīn* is the hell God has made, *Tā'* is fulfilled forever.
- 8 I heard Manṣūr b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī say, Abū 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār told him on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Anṣārī that Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī said: "When God created the letters, He called them to obedience. They answered according to the manner in which the divine proclamation adorned and clothed them. The shape of all letters was drawn from the *Alif* except the *Alif* itself, which remained in the shape and adornment with which it had been brought into being."
- 9 I heard Manṣūr (b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī) say, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān told him that Ibn 'Aṭā' said: "When God created the letters, He made them a secret unto Himself. When He created Adam, He divulged this secret through him, but did not make it known to any of His angels. So, the letters flowed from Adam's tongue in all kinds of ways and all sorts of words, and God made for each of them a particular shape."

- 10 I heard Manṣūr (b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī) say, I heard al-Shiblī say: "There is not a single letter of the alphabet that does not exalt God with a tongue and remember Him with its own language. Each tongue has a letter and each letter has a tongue. This is the secret of God in His creation in which lies the richness of insights and the fullness of thoughts."
- 11 Al-Ḥusayn (Ḥallāj) said: "In the Qur'ān there is the knowledge of everything and the knowledge of the Qur'ān is hidden in the letters which stand at the beginning of the *sūras*. The knowledge of the letters is hidden in the *Lām-Alif*, the knowledge of the *Lām-Alif* in the *Alif*, the knowledge of the *Alif* in the point, the knowledge of the point in the primordial knowledge, the primordial knowledge in the knowledge of pre-eternity, the knowledge of pre-eternity in the divine will, and the knowledge of the divine will in the unseen of the 'He' (*huwa*) of 'like Him there is naught' (Q 42:11), which no one else knows but He."
- 12 Al-Ḥusayn (Ḥallāj) said: "The entirety of the letters is a kingdom, and the king of the kingdom (*malik al-mulk*) is the *Alif*. The *Lām* is its outer form (*ṣūra*) and the *Alif* is the soul (*rūḥ*) of the *Lām*. The knowledge of the *Lām* is in the essence of the *Alif* and the knowledge of the *Mīm* is in the essence of the *Lām*. The *Lām* is the soul (*naḥs*) and light of the *Mīm*. The *Alif* is manifest with respect to the *Mīm* that is hidden (behind it), while the *Mīm* is linked to the manifest *Lām* (before it)."
- 13 A certain Sufi said: "In each word (*kalima*) of God's speech (*kalām Allāh*) there is the entire speech, and the entire speech is (encased) in each word. The word is (encapsulated) in the letter (*ḥarf*), and the letter in the point (*nuqṭa*). The point is its rank (*miqdār*, lit. "measure, extent"), the rank of the kind, spiritual, perfect, upright, complete and universal servant (*al-'abd al-laṭīf al-rūḥānī al-kāmil al-muḥkam al-tāmm al-jāmi'*)."
- 14 Al-Qāsim said: "There are thirty letters. God revealed twenty-nine of them but concealed one. He made it the key to the secret of (God's) friends, revealing it to whomever He wished among them." It has been said: "It is something that can neither be expressed by a word nor intuited by imagination."
- 15 Al-Ḥusayn (Ḥallāj) said: "Are you not aware that the *Alif* is the Confidant in whom one confides (*al-alūf al-ma'lūf*), the *Lām* the divine gifts, and the *Mīm* the kingdom. The *Ḥā'* refers to the praise, the *'Ayn* to the Knower and the known, and the *Dāl* to the judgment and the turns of fortune. The *Bā'* is the praise, the *Tā'* the perfection and

penitence, the *Thā'* the commendation and constancy, the *Jīm* the (divine) glory and beauty, the *Khā'* good demeanor and character, the *Dhāl* personality and responsibility, the *Rā'* gentleness (*rawḥ*) and kindness, the *Zā'* increment and adornment, the *Sīn*, splendor and secret, the *Shīn* circumstances and will, the *Ṣād* sincerity and purity, the *Ḍād* brightness and forenoon, the *Tā'* purification, the *Zā'* protection (*zill*), the *Ghayn* the Unseen, the *Fā'* dawn and insight, the *Kāf* capacity and generosity, the *Waw* friendship and affection, the *Hā'* spiritual guidance, the *Nūn* illumination and enlightenment (*niwāl*), the *Lām-Alif* rejoicing in union with the divine (*tahlil*) and the *Yā'* support and confirmation."

- 16 Wāsiṭī said: "There are twenty-eight letters that were brought into being." Al-Khalīl (i.e., Abū 'Amr Khalīl b. Aḥmad b. 'Amr b. Tamīm al-Farāhīdī, d. between 160/777 and 175/791) said: "there are twenty-nine letters, which are all attributes (*ṣifāt*) when the Distinguisher distinguished them by saying, 'not a thing, fresh or withered' (Q 6:59) and, 'We have neglected nothing in the Book' (Q 6:38). For anyone who can differentiate or reflect, each letter points to an attribute. And each one can reflect about what is appropriate to it and what is its definition, locus and condition."
- 17 Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz said: "To each letter there is a fountain of insight different from any other, a fresh flavor different from any other and a pleasant taste different from any other. Only men endowed with pure souls, discerning eyes and enlightened hearts are aware of them."
- 18 A certain Sufi said: "(God) made the *Alif* the first and the *Yā'* the last of the letters. The *Alif* signifies the divine oneness and singularity, the *Yā'* signifies human pride (poverty?), worship and obedience. When you link the two letters, the first that is the *Alif* and the last that is the *Yā'*, and reverse them, they become an interjection that is the manifestation of worship by the servants before their Master by calling out: 'O God, O Benefactor, O Merciful!' (*yā Allāh, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥīm*). In this consists the goal of the quest of all ascetics and mystics, when the needs of the ascetics are fulfilled and the exclamations of the mystics answered."
- 19 A certain Sufi said: "(God) made engravings of the letters in the inmost beings of the mystics, the aspirants and the penitents. Each one of them turns in his inmost being to a particular letter, becomes familiar with it and feels at ease with it according to the degree of his state. When the mystics have completely achieved the station of knowledge, are at peace before the Object of their knowledge and stand upright

in His presence on the carpet of power, close to Him and in conversation with Him, they transcend the secret meanings of the letters. So they become fully acquainted with the various aspects of wisdom that God has entrusted to each of the letters. Then all creatures, whether they are human beings, jinn, beasts of prey, birds or animals, become familiar and at ease with them. They speak with the mystics and the latter understand them and, vice versa, the mystics speak to them and are understood by them. This is a mighty station. The aspirants become aware of the letters as utterances of the divine proclamation while the penitents merely become familiar with listening to their articulation without reaching the understanding the mystics and aspirants possess.”

- 20 It has been said: “God manifested the letters and the meanings associated with them for the ordinary understanding of the divine proclamation, but He entrusted the elite of His friends with the knowledge of their inner meanings. So they discoursed about them with discerning minds and spiritual allusions, offering moral counsel, mystical insight and increasing faith. Their souls became familiar with the meanings of the letters, their hearts delighted at the moral lessons they include, and their inner beings became enlightened by their visualization. Each of them perceives according to their capacity, whereas the realities of the letters, well-protected in God’s presence, can only be discovered by God’s messengers and the elite of His prophets. This is what is meant by the Qur’ānic verse, ‘Knower He of the Unseen, and He discloses not His Unseen to anyone, save only to such a messenger as He is well-pleased with’ (Q 72:26–7).”
- 21 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Rāzī said, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim reported ‘Iṣām to have reported on the authority of Ādam b. Abī Iyās that Abū Ja‘far al-Rāzī had it from al-Rabī‘ on the authority of Abū l-‘Āliya that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, said, “The knowledge of the letters belongs to the occult sciences that are only known to the learned divines. If I had found a place to put them, I would have divulged them.”

[Listing the letters of the Arabic alphabet, one by one, Sulamī explains]:

The Letter *Alif*.

- 22 I heard Abū Naṣr al-Ṭūsī say, I heard al-Ḥuṣrī say: “The *Alif* is an allusion to the singularity of God with regard to the divine will and wish

that are His alone. It also is an allusion to whoever is solitary and alone before God and stands upright before Him performing the religious duties, just as the *Alif* stands upright among the letters.”

- 23 It has been said: “God saying, ‘I am’ (*Anā*), signifies that, by virtue of the two *Alifs* (in *Anā*), He affirms His ‘I-ness’ and obliterates any affirmation of other than Him. The letter ‘n’ (in *Anā*) symbolizes God’s light by which He transcends the heavens and the earths and what is within them.” It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Alif* is, He is the First who has none prior to Him, being first because He exists before anyone being first.” With regard to the *Alif*, it has been said: “It means, ‘I am alone, I have no partner!’” It has been said: “Through the revelation of the *Alif* among the letters, creation got accustomed (*alifa*) to worship and thus, by virtue of the *Alif*, creation became united (*ta’allahū*) in faith (*dīn*). God said, ‘Had you expended all that is in the earth, you would not have brought their hearts together’ (Q 8:63).”
- 24 It has been said: “The allusion included in the *Alif* is an indication of God’s perfection and oneness because, by the might of His omnipotence, He possesses the power to unite the opposites, uniting them in the same way as He unites the lower soul and the spirit despite their disparity in origin and goal.” It has been said: “The *Alif* is a symbol for the coming about of what God has decreed and for the express divine will existing since pre-eternity.” It has been said: “The *Alif* is a symbol for being first (*awwaliyya*) which is eternity because, in reality, it has neither a first nor a last but points to eternity by being without beginning and end.” It has been said: “The allusion included in the *Alif* indicates the greatest name (of God). Outwardly, it is the One uniting the souls, and, inwardly, the One uniting the hearts.”
- 25 A certain Sufi said: “The *Alif* is the key to the divine names of being the One and Only, because the *Alif* alludes to the solitariness of the pre-eternal singularity which subsists by itself, for the *Alif* stands upright by itself without being joined to anything else. When standing at the beginning of words and nothing joined with it, the *Alif* is a symbol for pre-eternity and sempiternity, and for beginning and end.” It has been said: “The *Alif* is an allusion to affection and intimacy.” It has been said: “The first thing God created was the *Alif*, then He created the *Lām*, then the *Qāf* and then the *Mīm*—and it was called the Pen (*al-qalam*). So He made it a pen and had it write what He wished to

make manifest until eternity what the world would be and of what it would consist."

- 26 I heard Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdallāh say, I heard Abū l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz in Egypt say that Ibn 'Aṭā' said: "The *Alif* indicates intimacy because it is the Confidant one confides in (*al-alūf al-ma'lūf*). God makes the spirits of the mystics intimately familiar by having them dwell with Him. He makes the spirits of the prophets intimately familiar through friendship, prophecy and message. He makes the hearts of the friends intimately familiar through love and assistance." Ibn 'Aṭā' also said: "The *Alif* has six directions: right, the works of obedience; left, the acts of disobedience; above, opposing God's command; below being a loyal servant; back, His manifest gifts; and front, His blessings granted one after another."
- 27 I heard 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Shāhīn in Baghdad say, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-'Askarī said that 'Alī b. Ḥusayn and Zayd b. Ḥubāb told him on the authority of Ḥusayn that Yazīd al-Naḥwī reported 'Ikrima saying, Ibn 'Abbās said: "Jesus was sent to the scribes. One of them said to him, 'Say, *Alif*!' which he did. Then he said to him, 'Say, *Bā*!' Jesus replied, 'Can you not tell me what the *Alif* stands for?' The scribe answered, 'I do not know what it means.' Jesus replied, 'The *Alif* is God, Mighty and Exalted is He.'"

The Letter *Bā*'.

- 28 The *Bā*' is the symbol that the things are brought forth by God and made to pass away. By His self-disclosure they become beautiful and by His remaining concealed they become ugly. So, whoever has a pure intention before God, God belongs to him in reality. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Sarrāj said al-Wajīhī had this verse of Abū 'Alī al-Rudhabārī: "You are troubled because He conceals from Himself His affection for you, hides from you his affection for you, and hides from you your affection for Him. When a beam flashes up like from a beacon, it wanders aimlessly about in passionate love for you, unless you yourself are the flash."
- 29 With regard to the *Bā*', it has been said: "God brought forth the existent beings through His express will and volition." It has been said: "The *Bā*' indicates eternity because God is the Eternal, even if in reality there was neither sempiternity nor pre-eternity." It has been said: "The *Bā*' is an allusion to lasting worship, outwardly and inwardly. Outwardly, it expresses following the divine command and abiding

by the rules of the law with great zeal, and inwardly, it expresses bearing up under forebodings and being patient in afflictions.”

- 30 It has been said: “The *Bā'* alludes to the sound beginning according to the Holy Custom so that the final stages will be sound with regard to the experiences of unveiling and witnessing.” It has been said: “The *Bā'* is an allusion to God’s names, the Everlasting, the Reviver, the Originator, the Beneficent, the Inward and the Dispenser. It is an allusion to God’s everlastingness and His permanence without end, limit, or time.” I heard Maṣūb b. ‘Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī say, I heard Abū l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz in Egypt say that Ibn ‘Aṭā’ said: “The *Bā'* is God’s kindness to the spirits of the prophets through the inspiration of prophecy and messengership.”

The Letter *Tā'*.

- 31 It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Tā'* signifies that the servants are bewildered by God’s essence and attributes, because they only know Him by names and adhere to Him by regulations.” It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Tā'* signifies that the minds are perplexed by the reality of God’s truth. Nobody can reach Him on the level of reality and nobody can dissociate from Him on the level of regulations.” With regard to the *Tā'*, it has been said: “Creation associates with God by way of imagination and assumption, imagining that they reach some grasp of the divine realities, but they are only imagining to do so in their surmising. God said: ‘And the most of them follow only surmise’ (Q 10:36).”
- 32 It has been said: “The *Tā'* indicates the path of the penitents to God; it is turning away from all that there is to the One who owns all that there is.” With regard to the letter *Tā'*, it has been said: “It signifies abandoning indifference toward the divine commandments.” It has been said: “It signifies the pursuit of vigilance with regard to spiritual premonitions.” It has been said: “The *Tā'* alludes to the path of genuine trust in God.” It has been said: “It signifies perseverance in the stations of entrusting and surrendering oneself to God.” It has been said: “It signifies depending on success granted by God and divine grace without relying on one’s actions and acts of worship.” It has been said: “The *Tā'* signifies the end of the allusions because it signifies the firm profession of God’s oneness, which includes the soundness of all mystical stations.” It has been said: “It indicates genuine repentance,

which is to be remorseful for your omissions, so that God may forgive you the sins you have committed.”

The Letter *Thā'*.

- 33 It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Thā'* signifies the station of steadfastness before God with complete sincerity and steady character, based on the rule of religious law (*sharī'a*), its regulations and rules of behavior. This steadfastness is by virtue of knowledge, the steadfast knowledge is by virtue of the Prophet, and the Prophet's steadfastness is by virtue of God. God said: ‘Had We not confirmed you, surely you were near to inclining unto them a very little’ (Q 17:74).”
- 34 It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Thā'* signifies being unshakeable in following the Holy Custom of the Prophet.” It has been said: “It alludes to trust in God in all you say.” It has been said: “It signifies the weakness to stand firm in the duty of giving praise to God, just as the Prophet said returning from the path of praise to the path of weakness, ‘I cannot count the praises that are due to You.’” It has been said: “It alludes to divesting your actions of the search for God's reward because when one seeks a reward for God's service, one comes near to the border of greed.”

The Letter *Jīm*.

- 35 The allusion hidden in the *Jīm* is seeking refuge with God and fleeing all others. Whoever seeks refuge with God in his heart, has all things and all others slip his memory. Thus one becomes strong, is strengthened, and invigorates everyone else. This is why the Prophet said in his prayer: “Exalted is the one who seeks your protection!” It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Jīm* signifies, ‘Give away this world and the next for the search of Us, because nobody reaches Us in whose heart there is a stake in other people or entities.’” It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Jīm* is to surpass the joys ordinary people seek in transient delights and to relinquish relying on something that has no permanence.” It has been said: “The *Jīm* alludes to the omnipotence of God who compels everyone to act as He wishes for the sake of what He wishes, invariably and unchangeably. God said: ‘He is the All-mighty, the All-compeller’ (Q 59:23).”

The Letter *Ḥā'*.

- 36 It has been said: "The allusion hidden in the *Ḥā'* is, 'I gave praise to Myself by Myself when nobody had praise for Me as yet. Then I directed My servants to praise Me. Had I not praised Myself, nobody would know how to praise Me!'" It has been said: "The *Ḥā'* is an allusion to God's forbearance and His forgiveness toward His servants. He did not eradicate them for their perpetration of transgressions. Had He eradicated them for their transgressions, none would have survived." It has been said: "The *Ḥā'* alludes to the proof God holds over His servants by offering them to carry the divine trust, demanding them to attest it. God said, 'We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to carry it and were afraid of it; and man carried it' (Q 33:72)."
- 37 It has been said: "The *Ḥā'* alludes to the veil that makes humanity incapable of perceiving God and keeps God concealed from His servants. God raises the veils now only for His friends and in the next world for the rest of the believers." It has been said: "It alludes to the zeal with which the servants seek to do what is lawful. Lawful action in reality pertains to actions in which there is no doubt, unlawful actions are actions that God has specified by His interdiction. Doubtful actions are the licenses of the learned by virtue of subterfuges." It has been said: "The *Ḥā'* alludes to God's friends because they are the proof of God for His servants. The proof among God's friends is the leader of the people of divine friendship, and he is the learned man who knows God and His commandments and has been molded by the ethical conduct of the Prophet."

The Letter *Khā'*.

- 38 It has been said: "The *Khā'* alludes to the concerns about eternal life in either paradise or hell, on account of what the Prophet is reported to have said: 'Death barks on the bridge over hell.' Then the call is heard, 'O people of paradise, yours is eternal life without death!' and, 'O people of hellfire, yours is eternal life without death!'" It has been said: "The *Khā'* alludes to the prompting of anxieties. The greatest anxiety is the fear of passing away, namely that God may leave one behind; after that, the fear of God's wrath and punishment; after that, the fear of God's justice: after that, the fear of falling short of His service and obedience; after that, the fear of negligence in the commandments of the Prophet; after that, the fear of squandering mysti-

cal moments; after that, the fear of having hardly any fear; after that, the fear of lacking sincerity in fearing God; and after that, the fear of hypocrisy in fearing God; and from here on to what can no longer be described by stations of fear.”

- 39 It has been said: “The *Khā'* alludes to putting into practice your share of the divine commands under the supervision of the One who gives the command, until you see for yourself no further place to perform it nor seek for yourself a stake in it, neither a recompense nor a reward. Because one who gains control of his soul with joy about what he is commanded to do, is distracted from seeking a reward for it, and is set free to witness the One who gives the command.” It has been said: “It alludes to purity of intention in every moment and state and at every time and breath.”

The letter *Dāl*.

- 40 It has been said: “The *Dāl* alludes to the everlastingness, sempiternity and perpetual existence of God into all eternity and from all eternity because in reality there is neither pre-eternity nor sempiternity.” I heard Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Rāzī say, Abū Bakr al-Khawāshī reported Abū Bakr al-Warrāq to have said: “The *Dāl* alludes to abandoning this world and turning away from it and being preoccupied with life to come and drawing near to it.” Dhū l-Nūn said: “It alludes to continuous service (of God) in full conformity with the conditions of the Holy Custom, incessant gratitude for what God has enabled you to do with regard to His service, and the lasting joy that He has assigned you a station to act according to His commands and prohibitions.”
- 41 It has been said: “The *Dāl* alludes to incessant gratitude toward God for the abiding blessing He granted you. So, do not let up giving thanks to Him just as you are not deprived of blessings you are given by Him again and again.” It has been said: “It alludes to the prayer of those who implore God when disaster strikes.” It has been said: “The *Dāl* alludes to the summons to God, His decrees and precepts. God said to His prophet: ‘Call you to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good admonition’ (Q 16:125).”

The Letter *Dhāl*.

- 42 It has been said: “The *Dhāl* alludes to God’s remembrance of His servants in pre-eternity. He saw to it that the blessing of His

remembrance reached them so that they recollected Him. God said: 'So remember Me, and I will remember you' (Q 2:152), that is to say, 'Remember My remembrance of you in pre-eternity and give thanks to Me for it, I will remember you in moments of need and want.' A certain Sufi said: "The *Dhāl* signifies the one who is recollecting (God) as he passes away in the act of witnessing the One who is recollected. He holds his tongue preventing the recollection to be revealed and resumes the silent recollection. This means that there remains no place for anything else in him except that he is recollecting God. God's Messenger said: 'The best recollection is the silent one.'"

- 43 It has been said: "The *Dhāl* alludes to reproaching egotism, passion and this world because of their many evils and their cutting the servants from the path of access to the divine realities for, together and individually, they are a place of misfortunes." It has been said: "The allusion hidden in the *Dhāl* is to vanish from your qualities, pass away from the thoughts and intentions that preoccupy you, and return to God totally until there remains no share in you for egotism, nor any space in you for other people, this world, lust and passion."

The Letter *Rā'*

- 44 It has been said: "The allusion hidden in the letter *Rā'* refers to seeing divine grace as one eliminates seeing separation." It has been said: "The letter *Rā'* alludes to the constancy of the spirit in witnessing the meaning, because the spirit belongs to the meaning but it is not all the meaning." It has been said: "The letter *Rā'* alludes to God's compassion toward creation. When God harbors affection for someone through His compassion, He makes him compassionate toward His servants. Consider, when the Prophet's share in compassion increased, God referred to him, saying, 'Gentle to the believers, compassionate' (Q 9:128)."
- 45 It has been said: "The allusion hidden in the *Rā'* signifies the desire for God on the part of the aspirants. Anyone who desires God for his own sake, increases in distance, being preoccupied with serving his own self, and hence not free to serve God. Anyone who desires God for the sake of paradise and its blessings, God grants him their possession. Anyone who desires God for the sake of God, God makes him pass away from any desire other than God and appoints him to be a landmark among His servants and God's beacon in his lands." It has been said: "The letter *Rā'* alludes to God's names, 'the Merciful'

and 'the Compassionate.' God spreads His mercy among His creation, now and in the future. He revives them with His refreshing protection and illuminates their hearts with the lights of His knowledge. In this world, they are shown traces of mercy and, in the world to come, its reality. God's Messenger said: 'God has a hundred acts of mercy; from their number He accords one mercy to His servants, by virtue of which the creatures show mercy to one another, and He keeps ninety-nine mercies in store for the Day of Resurrection.'

The Letter *Zā*'.

- 46 It has been said: "The allusion hidden in the *Zā*' signifies the search for more in the mystical states, nearness to the One who grants more, and expectation of more step by step. For this reason al-Junayd said: 'Whoever seeks to obtain more from his own self and his capacities, is kept waiting in the desert of remoteness.'

It has been said: "The *Zā*' alludes to renunciation. God induces you to renounce this world and the next, seeking to make you reach the One who created them." It has been said: "It signifies refraining from being adorned with capacities and actions." It has been said: "It alludes to the search for more from God by standing on the platform of doing good works, which is divesting oneself of everything in witnessing God." I heard Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī say, Abū Bakr al-Khawāshī reported Abū Bakr al-Warrāq to have said: "The *Zā*' signifies refraining from the adornment of this world and being adorned with the ornament of piety."

The Letter *Sīn*.

- 47 It has been said: "The *Sīn* signifies submission and surrender to God." I heard 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī say, Abū l-Ṭayyib al-'Akkī narrated that al-Jurayrī said: "To surrender when encountering God is to be courageous, to revel in the honor of being intimate with God is to be heedless." It has been said: "The *Sīn* alludes to God's name, 'Master' (*al-sayyid*). He is Master in reality. Whosoever extols someone else than Him or puts his hope in or has fear of someone other than Him, does not know this name. Whosoever extols Him in truth, is made by God a 'master' among His servants—they will serve him as slaves serve their master. The 'Master' is the one who leads the masters seeking the love of His sovereignty."

- 48 It has been said: “The *Sîn* signifies that the master (*al-sayyid*) is equal to God in bringing about the precepts concerning pleasant and despicable things, as well as blessings and misfortunes.” It has been said: “The *Sîn* is the key to God’s name, ‘Giver of peace’ (*al-salām*). There is no giver of peace other than Him, because He honored His friends by calling them Muslims. He made them dwell in the house of peace, honored them with the angels’ greeting of peace, and saluted them without any intermediary. God said: ‘Peace, such is the greeting, from a Lord All-compassionate’ (Q 36:58).” I heard Manşūr b. ‘Abdallāh say, I heard Abū l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz in Egypt say that Ibn ‘Atā’ said: “The *Sîn* signifies the secret God has with the people of His friendship among the mystics by inspiring clairvoyance and familiarity with Him through alienation from everything that is other than Him.” It has been said: “The *Sîn* alludes to the servant blocking himself from entering the door of transgressions.”

The letter *Shīn*.

- 49 It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Shīn* is the radiance of the eternal lights God casts on those whom He wishes to enlighten.” It has been said: “The *Shīn* signifies bathing in light those who are endowed with knowledge.” It has been said: “It means divulging the state of mind of someone who turns away from God and being preoccupied with inappropriate things.” It has been said: “It refers to truly giving thanks for seeking to receive more, obtaining the graces that were foreordained, and being in the state in which one finds oneself time after time. One knows that the person giving thanks for God’s blessings performs but the duties of his soul, without in reality returning anything to the One to whom thanks are given.”
- 50 It has been said: “The *Shīn* signifies the ambiguity of the mystical states in the mystical moment and the similarity of their beginnings to their ends.” It has been said: “It signifies to abandon the pleasures and comforts from the moment when they are desired to the point when the desire is fulfilled, so that one may be brought back to the state of ease and comfort.” It has been said: “It alludes to witnessing the evident signs of God that appear to the mystics when God manifests Himself to the elite of His friends so that they witness Him through their illuminations and secret communications in the same way as they know Him with their hearts—‘like Him there is naught’ (Q 42:11).” It has been said: “It alludes to the yearning of those who are longing for God.”

The Letter *Ṣād*.

- 51 Ja'far b. Muḥammad said: "The *Ṣād* alludes to the servant's scrutiny of his soul, the sincerity in his intentions, deeds and states, the high degree of sincerity in putting trust in God, and his way of expressing authentic knowledge. God said: 'Men who were true to their covenant with God' (Q 33:23), none of their actions and states were lacking sincerity. Thus the servant is content because sincerity is the scale weighing the actions and states." It has been said: "The *Ṣād* refers to perseverance in misfortunes and unpleasant situations and to perseverance under the divine command and interdiction. Perseverance is the key to blessings." On this point I heard Abū l-'Abbās b. al-Khashshāb al-Baghdādī say that Ja'far al-Khuldī said: "The good of this world and the hereafter lies in persevering instantly. This is to say, when an adversity happens upon you in a work of obedience, you persevere in it at once. When your lower self challenges you to give in to a passion and a work of disobedience, you abstain from these immediately."
- 52 It has been said: "The *Ṣād* alludes to the everlastingness of God and that all good works go back to Him. Because of His impenetrable nature, God cannot accept likenesses, opponents and peers, nor accept being grasped and comprehended." It has been said: "It alludes to the firm belief in the pleasure, proximity and vision that God promised His friends." Ibn 'Aṭā' said: "The *Ṣād* alludes to the purification of the heart from falsehoods and the purification of the inmost being from turning toward others than God."

The Letter *Ḍād*.

- 53 It has been said: "The *Ḍād* alludes to the bright illuminations that God, the Object of knowledge, casts on the inmost beings of the mystics, the 'knowers'." Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Khuldī said: "The *Ḍād* alludes to faithfully safeguarding the trust laid on humanity when the heavens and the earth and all that they include shirked from carrying it."

The Letter *Ṭā'*.

- 54 A certain Sufi said: "The allusion hidden in the *Ṭā'* is the purification of the inmost beings from everything other than God and the purification of the limbs from all transgressions." Abū Bakr b. Ṭāhir

said: "It refers to the goodness of the hearts of the lovers by virtue of their Beloved." Al-Ḥusayn (Ḥallāj) said: "It alludes to God's unforeseen appearances suddenly coming upon the inmost beings of the elite of His friends, sweeping them clean of all kinds of other things that dwell there and making them pure before the One, the Almighty, because nobody dwells together with the Almighty and alights in His abode. Rather, God subdues everyone who enters His dwelling and alights in His abode, being at ease."

The Letter *Zā'*.

- 55 Muḥammad b. 'Īsā (al-Hāshimī) said: "The *Zā'* alludes to having good thoughts about God and bad thoughts about the lower self." A certain Sufi said: "The *Zā'* alludes to being on one's guard about harboring evil thoughts about people, because it has been said that the evil thought by one who speaks evil reveals evil thought about your own self rather than others." A certain Sufi said: "The *Zā'* alludes to the thirst the ascetics endure in the high midday heat." Another Sufi said: "The *Zā'* alludes to God's name 'the Manifest'. Through Him moral lessons and spiritual benefits become manifest to the mystics' inmost beings."

The Letter *'Ayn*.

- 56 A certain Sufi said: "The *'Ayn* signifies the knowledge God has of the things in reality not by way of study or discovery. It alludes to God's help for a servant He loves so as to lead him to be obedient to Him." It has been said: "The *'Ayn* alludes to the quintessence of things, which is God's special property that is brought to completion only by Him." In this sense Manṣūr al-Faqīh had the following verse:
 "They said, 'Take the eye, the purest of all things!' I replied to them, 'There is an excellence in the eye, but the nerves of the eye are like two lines in a thousand neatly written scrolls, and often you cannot find two fine lines in a thousand scrolls.'" Or as (Abū 'Alī) al-Rūḍhabārī, writing to to Abū 'Umar (al-Dimashqī), composed: "You are an eye to the eye when it sees you. It strives for you just as it aspires to see."
- 57 It has been said: "The *'Ayn* alludes to the different sciences of humanity that have subdivisions. The reality of the sciences belonging to humanity is based on the Shari'a. This science, when the servant has seriously ascertained it, hands down to him the knowledge of the realities. The knowledge of the divine throne has the angels as its

source. The knowledge of the tablet has the archangels as its source. The mystical knowledge has the friends of God as its source. The knowledge of the divine essence has the prophets as its source. The real knowledge of God has Muḥammad's heart as its source and no one else. This is why God said: 'Surely you are possessed of a mighty character' (Q 68:4) because you were able to bear the realities of the sciences that none other than you were able to endure. This is why God addressed Muḥammad with the words, 'Know you therefore that there is no god but God' (Q 47:19)."

- 58 It has been said: "The 'Ayn is the key to God's name 'the Mighty.' He is mighty in His majesty and loftiness above comparison and comprehension." It has been said: "It is the key to God's name, 'the Omniscient' because He knows the human beings that He happened to create and what they will make manifest in the passage of time and destiny." It has been said: "The 'Ayn alludes to the appropriate way of interacting with God and the proper perception of God interacting with humanity by becoming oblivious to perceiving one's interaction." A certain Sufi said: "The 'Ayn signifies living constantly by virtue of God and with God."

The Letter *Ghayn*.

- 59 A certain Sufi said: "The *Ghayn* alludes to the Unseen that is hidden from all of God's creatures, although their beginning and end are in the Unseen, so that nobody may rely on any of his circumstances and thus feel secure in them." It has been said: "The *Ghayn* alludes to the 'covering' of which the Prophet spoke when he said, 'It covers my heart.' This refers to his transition from the state of witnessing to the state of proclamation. In this state he experienced a 'covering' until he returned to the state of witnessing." Someone commented on this 'covering,' saying, "It refers to the delight the Prophet took in the permissible actions of this world such as living together with family and children and the care he had to give to their concerns."
- 60 A Sufi of Khurasan said: "The *Ghayn* alludes to the radical turning away from forbidden things, because God says: 'Say to the believers that they cast down their eyes' (Q 24:30)." A Sufi of Baghdad said: "The *Ghayn* refers to casting down the eyes before all things after one has witnessed God and obtained knowledge of Him." A certain Sufi said: "The *Ghayn* is an allusion to the highest feeling in love when the lover no longer has any sensation or awareness in the encounter with the beloved."

The Letter *Fāʾ*.

- 61 It has been said: “The allusion hidden in the *Fāʾ* refers to one who succeeds in being free of all his wishes and follows the divine command.” It has been said: “The *Fāʾ* alludes to entrusting oneself to God. Whoever entrusts his affairs to God, will remain unharmed by oncoming trials and the apprehension of evil.” It has been said: “The *Fāʾ* alludes to escaping from God to God.” It has been said: “It alludes to the absence of vain ideas in the pure thought about God.” It has been said: “It refers to the liberation of the soul from the fetters of physical nature by turning to God, knowing that He is the real Giver and Withholder.”

The Letter *Qāf*.

- 62 A certain Sufi said: “The allusion hidden in the *Qāf* is that it is the key to God’s names, “the Subsisting,” “the Strong,” “the Restrainer” and “the Holy.” God established all things with His omnipotence, set them straight with His strength, held them in His grip, and glorified Himself by stripping Himself from everything that does not pertain to Him.” It has been said: “The *Qāf* alludes to performing the divine commands with proper conduct.” It has been said: “It signifies that the mystics’ hearts abide in the presence of God without turning from Him to anything of the world and what it includes.” It has been said: “It signifies standing within the limits of knowledge and refraining from crossing its boundaries.” It has been said: “It refers to the resurrection, its terrors, and the bewilderment of creation when it happens—‘every man that day shall have business to suffice Him’ (Q 80:37).”

The Letter *Kāf*.

- 63 It has been said: The allusion hidden in the *Kāf* is the perfection of God in His essence and in His bringing creation into being with manifest shortcomings. Only such a one, whom God has perfected by removing any blemish from him, is a perfect being among creation. This is so because God chose Moses for His own sake when He said, ‘I have chosen you’ (Q 7:144) for Myself, and when He took an oath by Muḥammad’s life saying, ‘By your life’ (Q 15:72). The complete degree of perfection pertains to the Messenger because He brought

him to life with it and took an oath by his life. The manifest perfection belongs to the messengers and the incipient perfection belongs to the friends of God and the sincere mystics. Any human being who becomes perfect, becomes perfect by being raised to God's perfection and witnessing it." It has been said: "It is an allusion to existence, Be! and being. Being is God's speech, Be! is God's command, and existence is God's creation." It has been said: "It refers to God as the 'Sufficer.' Whoever is content with Him, God suffices him in the face of anxiety about this world and the next, and makes him reach the place of sufficiency."

The Letter *Lām*.

- 64 It has been said: The allusion hidden in the *Lām* is the blame the novices put on themselves in all their states, whether it is a good deed or a bad deed, because they know that they fall short with regard to their duties." It has been said: "The *Lām* alludes to the bounties of the 'Benevolent' arriving in the heart and inmost being so that one becomes sensitive about knowing them and being aware of them."

The Letter *Mīm*.

- 65 It has been said: "The allusion hidden in the *Mīm* is, 'I am king, I hold sway over the kings!' Whoever desires kingship, shall seek it from Me. Whoever seeks kingship, misses the king. Whoever seeks the king, is granted by him the kingly possessions." I heard Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdallāh say, I heard Abū l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz say that Ibn 'Aṭā' said: "The *Mīm* refers to the meanings of the commands and interdictions proclaimed by God." Ibn 'Aṭā' also said: "The *Mīm* signifies God's graces for the novices in that He grants them His attention and guides them to the designs of His sovereignty."
- 66 It has been said: "The *Mīm* alludes to the inclination of the lower self to follow its passions and to oppose people who prosper in following their passions." It has been said: "It refers to the inclination of the mystics to seek the pleasure of the Lord Most High." It has been said: "It signifies the aversion of the soul that seduces." It has been said: "It signifies wishing death to come in longing for the King, the 'Omnipotent.'"

The Letter *Nūn*.

- 67 It has been said: The allusion hidden in the *Nūn* is the light that God casts in the hearts of His friends. So they see it behind and before them, to their right and to their left, and perceive the (divine) kingdom and all it includes. This light (i.e. Muḥammad) signifies the leader of God's friends who was made a mercy for creation and, by virtue of that light, sees the invisible things, seeing them with his own eyes like one who sees them as present before him. (This light) is such as the Prophet, describing their hearts, said, 'When this light was cast in the heart, it became wide and was opened.'
- 68 It has been said: "When the light of the servant's spirit overwhelms the darkness of his body, then the heart is widened and opened on account of this. When the darkness of man's body overwhelms the light of his spirit, it darkens both the spirit and the body. The lights which God makes manifest for creation are manifold: in the head, the light of revelation, between the eyes, the light of intimate conversation with God, in the hearing, the light of certitude, on the tongue, the light of explanation, in the chest, the light of faith and in the heart, the light of mystical knowledge. When any of these lights flares up a little, it overcomes one of the other lights and enters into its domain. When it enters all the other lights it becomes light upon light—'God guides to His light whom He will' (Q 24:35), that is to say, to one of these lights."
- 69 It has been said: "The key of the *Nūn* belongs to God's name, 'the light.' It is God who illuminates the heavens and the earth with the visible lights, endows the bodies with his hidden lights, that is (their) well-being, and enlightens the hearts of the prophets and the elite of the friends of God with his special light which is mystical knowledge." It has been said: "The *Nūn* refers to God declaring Himself above being grasped and comprehended by humans and above descriptions that are inappropriate for Him. So declare Him above what He declared Himself above in reality, so that He may sanctify you with the lights of His compassion and mercy, and bring you to the utmost limit of your quest, now and in the future." It has been said: "God declared Himself to be transcendent, so that anyone drawing near Him would do so only through Him and anyone reaching the reality of giving thanks for any of God's gifts would do so only through Him, because praise is the word of the one who says it and thanksgiving is the search for more, and God grants success."

The Letter *Wāw*.

- 70 It has been said: "The *Wāw* alludes to the subtle benefits, illuminations and marvels of grace granted by the Omnipotent that reach the inmost beings." It has been said: "It refers to God's love for His friends since the dawn of creation." It has been said: "It alludes to God implanting the revelation He revealed to His servants. To it belongs the direct revelation, mouth to mouth, by which God favored the lofty envoy (*al-safīr al-a'lā*) and the Beloved drawn near (i.e., Muḥammad) and the Spokesman (i.e., Moses), the revelation by means of mediators granted to the rest of the prophets, the revelation by inspiring the bee (Q 16:68), the revelation by casting and infusing it into the hearts of the disciples (i.e., of Jesus, *al-ḥawāriyyīn*), as God said, "When I inspired the disciples" (Q 5:111), and (the revelation) of what was infused into the heart of Moses' mother, when God said, 'We revealed to Moses' mother' (Q 28:7)." It has been said: "The *Wāw* alludes to respect for the Prophet, upholding of the Sharī'a, acknowledging the friendship of the friends of God and abandoning disavowing them." It has been said: "The *Wāw* signifies divine singularity and oneness and only that."

The Letter *Hā'*.

- 71 It has been said: "The *Hā'* is the symbol for the end of the allusions. Their reality is God who encompasses and comprehends all things, and there is no one who encompasses Him or comprehends His true nature. 'The eyes attain Him not, but He attains the eyes' (Q 6:103), 'God encompasses everything in knowledge' (Q 65:12), 'and they comprehend Him not in knowledge' (Q 20:110)." It has been said: "The *Hā'* refers to the guidance that God will guide to Him or cut off from Him whomsoever He wills." I heard Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī say, Abū Bakr al-Khawāshī reported Abū Bakr al-Warrāq to have said: "The *Hā'* signifies abandoning all passions and lusts of this world."
- 72 Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz said: "The *Hā'* alludes to the He-ness of God and the forlornness of creation in His He-ness, because this is the ultimate extent to which they can make allusions." It has been said: "The *Hā'* refers humanity (*al-akwān*) having little esteem for Your secret when they boast about the absolute Real (*ḥaqq al-ḥaqq*) in Your presence." Abū 'Uthmān (al-Ḥirī) said: "The *Hā'* signifies the souls being yoked together in the vale of tears which is the prison of the believers so

that they may reach gladness on the Day of Judgment; God said, 'We were before among our people, ever going in fear' (Q 52:26)."

The Letters *Lām-Alif*.

- 73 It has been said with regard to the *Lām-Alif*: "The *Alif* gave witness by standing up straight and the *Lām* was humbled by standing crooked in front of the *Alif* that stood alone—'like Him there is naught' (Q 42:11). Because of its strength, the *Alif* carried the weakness and deficiency of the *Lām*, and clothed it in the attribute of negation, and so it denied opponents, other lords and likenesses by saying, 'No!' (*lā*)." It has been said: "The *Alif* alludes to the divine singularity and solitariness. When the *Lām* is joined to it, it clothes it with the qualifier of negation. When another *Alif* is added to it, it becomes the particle of exception and of affirmation after negation, which is the most intense way of affirmation."
- 74 With regard to the *Lām-Alif* al-Ḥusayn (Ḥallāj) said: "The *Alif* alludes to the upright posture of Adam's physique. His Lord created him with an erect bearing and a beautiful composition of shape. Then He revealed to him a light in the likeness of the *Lām*. When Adam caught sight of it, he liked its company. So God said to him, 'Do you want to have her?' He replied, 'Yes, I do.' So God said, 'Here she is,' and gave him the light, and Adam embraced her. Then God revealed from it a form in the likeness of the *Lām-Alif* and assigned to it a shape that would deny that He had any opponents and peers, saying, 'There is no god but God' (Q 47:19; 37:35). The *Lām-Alif* is the shape of Adam and his embrace of the light, by which he was favored among all other creatures prior to him."
- 75 Al-Ḥusayn (Ḥallāj) said: "The allusion of all the letters is hidden in the *Lām-Alif*, the allusion of the *Lām-Alif* is hidden in the *Alif*, the allusion of the *Alif* is hidden in the dot (*nuqṭa*), and the allusion of the dot is hidden in completely passing away in the vision of God, the Enduring." It has been said: "The *Lām-Alif* refers to reproaching the lower self and having little satisfaction with it." It has been said: "The *Lām-Alif* signifies that an accuser's censure should not bother you in striving for God."

The Letter *Yā'*.

- 76 It has been said: "The *Yā'* alludes to God educating you to be close to Him, strengthening you for good conduct in His service, and

designating you to fulfill His commands." It has been said: "The *Yā'* is the letter that bequeathes you sadness in the vale of tears and joy and delight in the closeness to the 'Merciful.'" It has been said: "The *Yā'* brings you near to the Object of your desire."

Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, and blessings upon His Messenger Muḥammad and His virtuous family.

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STYLE FORMULAIRE ET PARALLÉLISME DANS LE CORAN

Georges Bohas

PRÉLIMINAIRES

1. Transcription

Quand nous analysons des vers dans le cadre khalilien, nous sommes contraint d'adopter les conventions des grammairiens et métriciens arabes selon lesquelles ce que nous appelons une voyelle longue est composé d'une voyelle brève et d'un glide : $\bar{a} = a^u$ ¹, $\bar{i} = iy$ et $\bar{u} = uw$; on écrira alors *fa'uwulun* et non *fa'ulun*.

2. Métrique

La métrique classique à laquelle nous ferons souvent allusion est résumée dans le tableau suivant.

<i>Watid initial</i>							
1	<i>hazaj</i>	[∪-]	..	[∪-]	. -	////////////////////	////////////////////
2	<i>wāfir</i>	[∪-]	X-	[∪-]	X-	([∪-] -)	////////////////////
3	<i>muḏāri'</i>	[∪-]	..	[∪-]	. -	////////////////////	////////////////////
4	<i>ṭawīl</i>	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	..	[∪-] . [∪-] . -	
5	<i>mutaqārib</i>	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-] . ([∪-] -)	
<i>Watid final</i>							
6	<i>rajaz</i>	..	[∪-]	..	[∪-]	(.. [∪-])	////////////////////
7	<i>sarī'</i>	..	[∪-]	..	[∪-]	.∪-/ — —	////////////////////
8	<i>kāmil</i>	X-	[∪-]	X-	[∪-]	(X- [∪-])	////////////////////
9	<i>munsariḥ</i>	..	[∪-]	..	[∪-]	.. [∪-]	////////////////////
10	<i>muḡtaḏab</i>	..	[∪-]	..	[∪-]	////////////////////	////////////////////
11	<i>basīṭ</i>	..	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	.. [∪-] (. [∪-])	
12	<i>mutadārak</i>	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	. [∪-] (. [∪-])	
<i>Watid médian</i>							
13	<i>ramal</i>	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	.	(. [∪-] -) //////////////////////
14	<i>khafīf</i>	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	.	(. [∪-] -) //////////////////////
15	<i>muḡtathḥ</i>	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	-	////////////////////
16	<i>madīd</i>	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-]	.	[∪-] - //////////////////////

¹ Nous utilisons " pour transcrire le *alif*.

X = ◡ ◡ ou –

. = unité métrique variable, brève (◡) ou longue (–)

◡ = syllabe formée d'une consonne et d'une voyelle brève à l'intérieur du vers (CV)

– = syllabe formée

→ d'une consonne et d'une voyelle brève en fin de vers (CV#); ou bien

→ d'une consonne et d'une voyelle longue (C \check{V}); ou bien

→ d'une consonne, d'une voyelle brève et d'une consonne CVC.

[◡–] *watid majmūʿ*

[◡] *watid mafrūq*

(..) = facultativement réalisé.

///// = jamais réalisé.

Dans le 12 *mutadārak*², les pieds se réalisent –◡– ou ◡◡– ou – – (par synérèse: ◡◡ > –). Dans 6 et 7, les deux premiers pieds sont strictement identiques, la différence tient au dernier pied. S'il a la structure écrite en 7, alors le vers est un *sarīʿ*.

Tout hémistiche comporte au moins deux pieds et possiblement trois ou quatre comme indiqué par les parenthèses. Le vers comporte deux hémistiches. Le nombre de pieds par hémistiche est identique dans tout le poème.

Si une séquence peut être analysée 13 et 16, la bonne analyse est 16.

Ce tableau engendre tout le *shīʿr ʿamūdī*

INTRODUCTION

Notre but est d'amorcer une étude sur le style formulaire³ dans le Coran. Parry, qui fut le premier à en systématiser l'étude chez Homère, définit la formule poétique orale comme *un groupe de mots régulièrement employé dans le même contexte métrique pour exprimer une idée donnée*⁴. Le style formulaire consiste donc à *construire des vers ou des demi-vers métriques au moyen de formules et d'expressions formulaires*⁵ traditionnelles qui ont été préalablement apprises et assimilées. La formule est donc un groupe de mots et une structure métrique. Rappelons un des acquis de notre étude de 2007: les structures prévalentes que l'on peut détecter dans le Coran sont conçues comme une forme faible du double parallélisme trouvé en poésie arabe classique. En d'autres termes, en poésie, le parallélisme est absolu tandis que dans le Coran il est relatif. Ainsi, dans la sourate *al-Raḥmān*, on observe la structure prévalente :

² Selon les ouvrages des métriciens arabes. Selon Bruno Paoli, dans la réalité de la production poétique, l'existence du pied –[◡–] semble peu attestée.

³ Voir l'étude de Paoli (à paraître).

⁴ Parry (2007: 270).

⁵ Lord (1960, 4).

P1	P2	P3	P4
.. [↘-]	. [↘-]	. [↘-]	.. [↘-]
79%	77%	76%	73%

où P1 et P4 sont des réalisations de *mustaf'ilun*, et P2 et P3 des réalisations de *fā'ilun*.

Dans un *basīṭ* classique complet, la proportion serait évidemment de 100 % dans chaque case, puisque tous les P1 et P3 sont des réalisations de *mustaf'ilun* et tous les P2 et P4 des réalisations de *fā'ilun* :

P1	P2	P3	P4
.. [↘-]	. [↘-]	.. [↘-]	. [↘-]
100%	100%	100%	100%

A. Première formule

La première formule que nous allons étudier est constituée par la particule *idhā*, précédée de *wa* (et une fois de *fa*), à l'initiale du verset, suivie d'un nom portant l'article et d'un verbe. Le groupe *wa'idhā* s'analyse lui-même métriquement en ↘↘-, unité que les métriciens ont nommé *fāšila sughrā* : *mutafā*" comme '*alima*', *ḍaraba*" etc⁶.

La sourate *al-takwīr* (tak) et celle qui contient le plus de structures de ce type⁷ :

2

wa'idhā l-nujūmu nkadarat

↘↘-↘-↘-↘-↘-

3

wa'idhā l-jibālu suyirat

↘↘-↘-↘-↘-↘-

4

wa'idhā l-ishāru 'uṭṭilat

↘↘-↘-↘-↘-↘-

⁶ Tibrizī, *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, 18.

⁷ Nous avons pu réaliser notre recherche grâce au site : <http://quran.muslim-web.com>.

5
wa'idā l-wuḥūshu ḥushirat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

6
wa'idhā l-biḥāru sujǰirat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

7
wa'idhā l-nufūsu zuwwijat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

8
wa'idhā l-maw'ūdatu su'ilat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

10
wa'idhā l-ṣuḥufu nushirat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

11
wa'idhā l-samā'u kushiṭat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

12
wa'idhā l-jaḥīmu su'irat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

13
wa'idhā l-jannatu 'uzlifat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

On peut constater que *wa'idhā* induit presque toujours la formation d'un pied de type *mutafa'ʿilun*, comme dans le *kāmil*, qui est suivi d'un pied de type *mustaf'ʿilun* comme dans le *rajaz*. Ce que nous allons montrer en détail. Dans notre théorie métrique⁸ *mutafa'ʿilun* : ◡◡ [◡◡] est formé par diérèse :

– [◡◡] > ◡◡[◡◡] en partant d'un pied de type .. [◡◡] où les deux variables (.) sont réalisées –, la première étant objet de diérèse.

⁸ Bohas et Paoli (1997).

Nous analysons donc le verset 2 :

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ - // - ◡ ◡ ◡ -

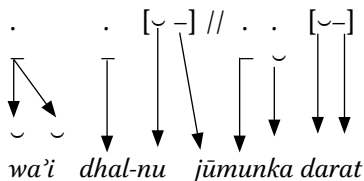
comme une réalisation d'une structure métrique . . [◡-] // . . [◡-]

ce que nous allons expliciter :

structure métrique

réalisation des variables

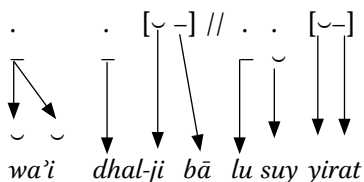
diérèse



Dans le verset 3, seule variera la réécriture des brèves dans le deuxième pied :

réalisation des variables

diérèse



Il en va ainsi de tous les versets, sauf 8, 10 et 13, ce qui devient manifeste lors de la mise en tableau :

	pied <i>kāmil</i>			pied <i>rajaz</i>		
2	◡	◡	- [◡-]	-	◡	[◡-]
3	◡	◡	- [◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
4	◡	◡	- [◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
5	◡	◡	- [◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
6	◡	◡	- [◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
7	◡	◡	- [◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
8	◡	◡	- - - ◡	◡	◡	[◡-]

Le premier pied de 8 n'a évidemment pas la structure *mutafa'ilun*. Convenons d'écrire en **contour** ombré ces pieds qui posent problème au parallélisme et continuons la mise en tableau.

10	◡	◡	- ◡ ◡	◡	◡	[◡-]
----	---	---	-------	---	---	------

Dans ce verset, c'est le premier pied qui pose problème, puisque au lieu du *watid* attendu, on observe la présence de deux brèves.

Les versets 11 et 12, en revanche, sont parfaitement réguliers :

10	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
11	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]

Enfin, le verset 13 pose un problème analogue à 10:

13	◡	◡	-	-	◡	◡	-	[◡-]
----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------

Récapitulons les tableaux :

	pied <i>kāmil</i>				pied <i>rajaz</i>		
2	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	-	◡	[◡-]
3	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
4	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
5	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
6	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
7	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
8	◡	◡	-	-	◡	◡	[◡-]
10	◡	◡	-	◡	◡	◡	[◡-]
11	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
12	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
13	◡	◡	-	-	◡	-	[◡-]

Il est clair que *wa'idhā l-N_i V_i*⁹ est corrélée à une structure métrique prévalente : pied de *kāmil*/pied de *rajaz*.

Cette constatation va être confirmée par l'étude de la sourate *al-mursalāt* (mur) :

⁹ Par l'usage des indices nous entendons que le pronom de rappel dans le verbe réfère au nom.

8

fa'idhā l-nujūmu ṭumīsat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

9

wa'idhā l-samā'u furijat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

10

wa'idhā l-jibālu nusifat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

11

wa'idhā l-rusulu 'uqqitat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Tous les versets sont conformes à la structure prévalente, sauf le dernier dans lequel le premier pied présente la même déviation que le verset dix de la sourate précédente.

	pied <i>kāmil</i>				pied <i>rajaz</i>		
8	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
9	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
10	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
11	◡	◡	-	◡ ◡	◡	-	[◡-]

La sourate *al-infiṭār* (inf) comporte trois versets avec *wa'idhā* :

2

wa'idhā l-kawākibu ntatharat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

3

wa'idhā l-biḥ āru fujjirat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

4

wa'idhā l-qubūru bu'thirat

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Seul le deuxième pied du verset 2 fait difficulté ; en effet : ◡ - ◡ ◡ - ne peut pas être un pied de *rajaz*. Pour résoudre le problème, il faudrait recourir à la notion de syllabe orpheline que nous avons élaborée dans

des publications antérieures¹⁰. En restant dans le cadre classique, nous écrivons donc ce pied en « contour ».

	pied <i>kāmil</i>				pied <i>rajaz</i>		
2	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	(◡) = ◡	[◡-]	
3	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
4	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]

Reste un verset de la sourate *al-inshiqāq* (insh)

3
wa'idhā l-'ar ḍu muddat
 ◡◡-- // ◡--

Contrairement aux apparences, le premier pied peut être analysé comme un pied de *kāmil* final (*fa'ila'tun*) comme dans

salabat lamī su fu'ādī // watarah ḥalat bisawādī
 ◡◡- [◡-]// ◡◡-- ◡◡- [◡-] // ◡◡--

Il en va de même pour le deuxième ◡-- , puisque *fa'ūlun* est une forme possible du dernier pied du *rajaz* (*makhbūn maqṭū'*) comme dans :

'in kāna lā yurjā liyawmi khayrī
 - - [◡-] // - - ◡-] // ◡ - -

Récapitulons, en écrivant en « contour » les pieds récalcitrants :

		pied <i>kāmil</i>				pied <i>rajaz</i>		
Tak	2	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	-	◡	[◡-]
Tak	3	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
Tak	4	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
Tak	5	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	◡	[◡-]
Tak	6	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
Tak	7	◡	◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	[◡-]
Tak	8	◡	◡	- - -	◡	◡	◡	[◡-]
Tak	10	◡	◡	-	◡◡	◡	◡	[◡-]

¹⁰ Bohas (2002).

(cont.)

		pied <i>kāmil</i>				pied <i>rajaz</i>		
Tak	11	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	∪	[∪-]
Tak	12	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	-	[∪-]
Tak	13	∪	∪	=	=	∪	-	[∪-]
mur	8	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	∪	[∪-]
mur	9	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	∪	[∪-]
mur	10	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	∪	[∪-]
mur	11	∪	∪	-	∪∪	∪	-	[∪-]
Inf	2	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	(∪)	-	(∪)
Inf	3	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	-	[∪-]
Inf	4	∪	∪	-	[∪-]	∪	-	[∪-]
insh	3	∪	∪	-	-	∪	-	-

Cela suffit à établir que la structure prévalente est bien :

<i>wa 'i dha l</i>	$-N_i$	V_i
v v -	[∪-]	. . [∪-]
pied <i>kāmil</i>	pied <i>rajaz</i>	

B. Deuxième formule

Les sourates *al-ādiyāt* ('ād) et *al-mursalāt* (mur), toutes deux mecquoises, présentent une similitude frappante. Analysons-les.

al-mursalāt

- 1) *wa-l-mursalāti 'urfā*
--∪--∪--
- 2) *fa-l-āṣifāti 'aṣfā*
--∪--∪--
- 3) *wa-l-nāshirāti nashrā*
--∪--∪--
- 4) *fa-l-fāriqāti farqā*
--∪--∪--
- 5) *fa-l-mulqiyāti dhikrā*
--∪--∪--

al-‘ādiyāt

1) *wa-l-‘ādiyāti ḍabḥā*

---◡---◡---

2) *fa-l-mūriyāti qadhā*

---◡---◡---

3) *fa-l-mughīrāti ṣubḥā*

---◡---◡---

La mise en tableau fait apparaître un profil métrique prévalent : -- [◡-]//

◡---

mur1	-- [◡-]	◡---
mur2	-- [◡-]	◡---
mur3	-- [◡-]	◡---
mur4	-- [◡-]	◡---
mur5	-- [◡-]	◡---
‘ād1	-- [◡-]	◡---
‘ād2	-- [◡-]	◡---
‘ād3	-- [◡-]	◡---

La structure métrique est identique, au premier pied de ‘ād3 près. La structure syntaxique aussi, puisqu'on observe toujours la séquence : *wa/fa* + féminin pluriel + N accusatif.

Examinons de plus près la structure métrique ;
pour la métrique classique, mur1 s'analyse en :

m	u	s	t	a	f	‘	i	l	u	n	f	a	‘	u	w	l	u	n
w	a	l	m	u	r	s	a	l	a	“	t	i	‘	u	r	f	a	“

ce qui est **exactement** un vers de *munsariḥ manhūk* avec la *ziḥāfa* : *khabn*, comme l'exemple cité par Tibrīzī¹¹ :

hal bi-l-dīyāri ‘insū

---◡---◡---

¹¹ Tibrīzī, *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, 108.

Pour s'en convaincre il suffit de regarder le tableau ci-dessous :

m	u	s	t	a	f	'	i	l	u	n	f	a	'	u	w	l	u	n
w	a	l	m	u	r	s	a	l	a	"	t	i	'	u	r	f	a	"
h	a	l	b	i	l	d	i	y	a	"	r	i	'	i	n	s	u	w

Non seulement nous avons détecté une formule commune à ces versets, mais, de plus, cette formule correspond métriquement à un vers : *munsariḥ manhūk*, où nous avons écrit le *watid* en gras.

Le *munsariḥ* fait partie des vers à *watid* final, groupe dont le *rajaz* est en quelque sorte la tête de file. Il ne s'agit donc pas de *qaṣīd* (vers à deux hémistiches). Dans ce groupe les *manhūk* attestés sont relativement peu nombreux mais anciens, comme :

rajaz manhūk

yā laytanī fihā jadha' de Durayd b. al-Ṣimma : quatre vers

et

munsariḥ manhūk

ṣabran banī 'abdi d-dār de Hind bint 'Utba : trois vers.

Dans Tibrīzī p.105 une main anonyme a ajouté : *wa hādḥā 'indī laysa shi'ran*.

L'objet de la remarque est sans doute de dire qu'il ne s'agit pas de *qaṣīd*, de vers à deux hémistiches, mais de vers de type *rajaz* à un seul hémistiche¹². Il est vrai que le problème se pose : est-ce que ces sortes de refrains de 3 ou 4 vers constituent de la poésie, tout comme ces vers que Hind est soupçonnée avoir composés à la bataille de Uhud ?

نمشي على النمارق

نحن بنات طارق

أوتدبروانفارق

إن تقبلوانعاق

فراق غير وامق

naḥnu banātu ṭāriq
namshī 'ala l-namāriq
in tuqbilū nu'āniq

¹² Bruno Paoli a attiré mon attention sur ce point.

aw tudbirū nufāriq
*firāqa ghayra wāmiq*¹³

sont de la poésie? Le texte ajoute qu'elle était accompagnée au tambourin par les femmes pour exciter les combattants ; n'aurait-on pas plutôt un genre intermédiaire entre la prose et la poésie? Notons que les vers de Hind sont riches en parallélismes (rime riche et métrique) que nous signalons par l'usage des caractères gras :

naḥnu banātu ṭāriq
 - ◡ - - ◡ - -
namshī 'ala l-namāriq
 - ◡ - - ◡ - -
in tuqbilū nu'āniq
 - - ◡ - ◡ - -
aw tudbirū nufāriq
 - - ◡ - ◡ - -
firāqa ghayra wāmiq
 ◡ - ◡ - ◡ - -

-	◡	[◡-]	◡	-	-
-	◡	[◡-]	◡	-	-
-	-	[◡-]	◡	-	-
-	-	[◡-]	◡	-	-
◡	-	[◡-]	◡	-	-

C. Formules et parallélisme

Revenons à *al-ādiyāt* et *al-mursalāt* et à l'étude des parallélismes dans ces versets. À cet effet, insérons tous les versets dans le tableau *mustaf'ilun fa'awlun* :

¹³ Il existe d'autres versions avec deux vers de plus.

Nous sommes filles de l'étoile du matin
Nous marchons sur des coussins
Si vous attaquez, nous embrassons
Si vous reculez, nous nous séparons
D'une séparation sans tendresse.

m	u	s	t	a	f	'	i	l	u	n	f	a	'	u	w	l	u	n
w	a	l	m	u	r	s	a	l	a	"	t	i	'	u	r	f	a	"
f	a	l	'	a	"	ṣ	i	f	a	"	t	i	'	a	ṣ	f	a	"
w	a	l	n	a	"	sh	i	r	a	"	t	i	n	a	sh	r	a	"
f	a	l	f	a	"	r	i	q	a	"	t	i	f	a	r	q	a	"
f	a	l	m	u	l	q	i	y	a	"	t	i	dh	i	k	r	a	"
w	a	l	'	a	"	d	i	y	a	"	t	i	ḍ	a	b	ḥ	a	"
f	a	l	m	u	w	r	i	y	a	"	t	i	q	a	d	ḥ	a	"
f	a	l	m	u	gh	i	y	r	a	"	t	i	ṣ	u	b	ḥ	a	"

Le premier pied du dernier verset est écrit en "contour" pour marquer sa différence.

Ne considérons maintenant que les segments :

w	a	l	m	u	r	s	a	l	a	"	t	i	'	u	r	f	a	"
f	a	l	'	a	"	ṣ	i	f	a	"	t	i	'	a	ṣ	f	a	"
w	a	l	n	a	"	sh	i	r	a	"	t	i	n	a	sh	r	a	"
f	a	l	f	a	"	r	i	q	a	"	t	i	f	a	r	q	a	"
f	a	l	m	u	l	q	i	y	a	"	t	i	dh	i	k	r	a	"
w	a	l	'	a	"	d	i	y	a	"	t	i	ḍ	a	b	ḥ	a	"
f	a	l	m	u	w	r	i	y	a	"	t	i	q	a	d	ḥ	a	"
f	a	l	m	u	gh	i	y	r	a	"	t	i	ṣ	u	b	ḥ	a	"

L'usage du gras ombré permet de mettre en évidence un réseau dense de parallélismes, l'un desquels consiste en la rime en "a". Le verset 'ād3, qui s'écartait du lot par son premier pied, est en quelque sorte récupéré et intégré par les parallélismes phonétiques, ou morphologiques comme l'article dans la deuxième et la troisième colonne. Ce réseau dense de parallélismes entre différents points de la séquence du discours, parallélismes qui

sont définis aux niveaux de représentation « superficiels » de la séquence¹⁴, est justement un des indices de la poéticité d'un texte. Mais la différence entre le Coran et la poésie arabe, sous l'aspect de la poéticité, apparaît bien maintenant : le Coran comporte des parallélismes manifestes que notre étude a mis en évidence, mais ces parallélismes ne sont pas codifiés¹⁵. Dans la poésie arabe classique, les parallélismes sont strictement codifiés, ce qui fait toute la différence.

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¹⁴ Ruwet (1975) qui reformule le principe de Jakobson (1960).

¹⁵ Voir Bohas, à paraître.

STYLES IN PREMODERN ARABIC POPULAR EPICS

Peter Heath

Premodern Arabic literature has left a substantial legacy of popular narrative. One category of this literary tradition is a genre of narratives that has become termed *al-sīra al-sha'biyya*, or popular epic. Reports about this genre first appear in the 6th/12th century. Its members constitute a very large corpus of public popular storytelling texts, the most famous example of which is *Alf layla wa-layla*, known in western literature as *The Thousand and One Nights* or *The Arabian Nights*. In addition to the stories of love and magic that predominate in the *Nights* and the popular epics discussed here, which focus on conflict and adventure, this vibrant Arabic tradition of storytelling encompasses pseudo-historical accounts of popular history, humorous tales, fables, and religious stories of prophets and saints.¹

Studying these Arabic popular epics presents challenges. The details of how this thriving tradition of popular storytelling developed over time can only be delineated generally since secondary references to it are scarce. Elite literary scholars in the premodern era held these narratives in disdain and therefore commented on them rarely. They tended to mention these narratives only to condemn them as puerile specimens of literature with little aesthetic merit or as distortions of elite traditions of history and religion that dangerously misled the ignorant masses.²

Another challenge to understanding the tradition involves modalities of transmission. Most of these stories moved fluidly over the centuries between oral and written narration. A significant number of manuscripts or print examples of the written tradition exist, yet their specific relationship to the oral tradition remains largely unstudied. In the few cases where Arabic oral traditions of narration still exist, such as with *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, disciplinary demarcations have limited comparative study. Folklorists

¹ The term *al-sīra al-sha'biyya* is modern. The narratives themselves equally and interchangeably use the terms *al-sīra* and *al-qīṣṣa*. For general accounts of Arabic popular epic and its study, see Heath (1996: 3–64), Lyons (1995: 11–8), Irwin (1994: 42–62), and respective chapters in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (2006). Canova (2003) is devoted to articles on this subject and also contains an extensive bibliography of articles on the subject.

² Cf., Heath (1996: 8–11) and Connelly (1986: 12–18).

and ethnomusicologists tend to focus on oral versions, literary scholars on written ones. Although an increasing body of sophisticated research has grown in both disciplines, little opportunity for cross-comparison has occurred. Indeed, few individuals study either form of transmission.³

A third obstacle stems from the lack of availability of many of these epics. Although numerous copies of manuscripts of a single narrative often exist, they are scattered in libraries throughout the world. Printed versions appear in cheap editions published in various Arab countries, but as is the case with much of Arabic literature, once these printed runs sell out, copies become difficult to obtain. Given their popular nature and chapbook quality, many university libraries neglect even to buy copies of these works. Hence, although there is a significant corpus of material available in different places and written at various points in time, studying it remains difficult and time-consuming.

Moreover, the very size of this corpus, many of whose texts extend over thousands of pages, has hindered its analysis. When confronted with a narrative that continues for thousands of pages, it is sufficiently laborious to analyze one version without facing the challenge of examining multiple examples of either the same work or undertaking to compare them with other members of the genre. Few scholars have had the time or the energy to engage in extensive surveys of this literature. Researchers have at most attempted comparisons of a few versions of a single epic; hardly any have embarked on intensive comparative analysis.⁴

Other difficulties face students of this narrative tradition. One of these is the linguistic diglossia that characterizes Arabic. Written and spoken forms of the language have diverged over the centuries; beyond this, the spoken language has splintered into many dialects. The corpus of popular literature reflects this linguistic diversity. Styles in it display both the centrifugal pull of standard written Arabic and the centripetal push of the dialects. Such linguistic diversity presents a challenge to scholars accustomed to holding separate written and spoken registers of Arabic. They need to accept that either linguistic register, or more likely some mixture of the two, a form usually termed Middle Arabic, is normal for this literature. Although the linguistic evidence that these narratives contain

³ Cf. the studies of Ott (2003) and Gavillet Matar (2005) devoted to written versions with those of Slyomovics (1987) and Reynolds (1995), who offer studies of the oral performance tradition.

⁴ Among those who develop a comparative framework are Lyons (1996: vol. 1) and from the methodological vantage point of folklore, El-Shamy (1995, 2004, 2006).

represents a great opportunity for understanding aspects of the historical development of Arabic, researchers in Arabic linguistics are few; those who study dialects fewer; those who focus on Middle Arabic rare; and—to my knowledge—those who have examined this genre of literature from the disciplinary perspective of linguistics are near to non-existent.⁵

Given these challenges, the following analysis into the stylistic features that characterize Arabic popular epics is preliminary. It seeks to outline general categories and to sketch certain tendencies in order to provide a basis for further study. Moreover, just as the analysis that follows has limited aspirations, so does its methodology. The discipline of literary stylistics has enjoyed ups and downs. In general, it has thrived during periods of innovation in the field of linguistics, such as the early twentieth century when comparative historical linguistics influenced the new field of comparative literature, or during the latter half of the same century when formalist and structuralist linguistics and transformational grammar appeared to offer great promise for advancing literary study. Similarly, the philosophical movements of hermeneutics and phenomenology also provided methodological impetus for research in stylistics. As the immediate potential for innovation in these movements was exhausted, interest in literary stylistics correspondingly declined. It has recently revived somewhat due to current research in cognitive linguistics, nonetheless, it continues to play a subsidiary role in literary scholarship. In this study aspirations for methodological sophistication are modest. Nevertheless, because such aspirations are low, it may be that the validity of the results endures longer.⁶

This study of style in Arabic popular epic is based on three assumptions. The first is that the default mode for all forms of premodern Arabic popular storytelling is unadorned prose using simple syntactic structures. Although simple prose may be assumed to be the default, it must be emphasized that it is only one stylistic trend. Many narratives exhibit varying degrees of stylistic enhancement and rhetorical embellishment, corresponding mainly to the extent to which rhymed prose and poetry

⁵ “Middle Arabic is the language of mediaeval A[rabic] texts in which classical, post-classical, and also often NA [Neo-Arabic] and pseudo-correct elements alternate quite freely. Nevertheless, the different strata tend to merge into one superstructure.” Blau (2002: 14).

⁶ A brief overview of contemporary stylistics is Simpson (2004), which also has an extensive bibliography. Ħarb (1999: 358–74) offers a brief discussion of general aspects of *sīra* style.

infuse their texts. Hence one way to differentiate styles is to ascertain the extent to which the text utilizes rhymed prose and poetry.

The second assumption is that Middle Arabic is the default linguistic register of these texts. Again, however, this default is only one point along a continuum. One may fruitfully consider this register as a colloquial dialect that becomes integrated with degrees of literate syntax and vocabulary as it enters written form. As the scribe or editor transcribes the narrative he recasts it into standard Arabic usage and grammar according to his level of education. The text undergoes a process of translation from Middle Arabic to standard written Arabic, retaining nonetheless many of the stylistic enhancements of rhymed prose and poetry. This translation process can theoretically occur at different points, when an oral version is transcribed, when a Middle Arabic manuscript version is copied by a more learned scribe, or when a manuscript is published in printed form. It can also occur over time, as scribes of different educational background recopy manuscripts they may inject into the new copy varied levels of grammar and usage.

The third assumption is that repetition is an essential facet of this storytelling tradition. Repetition of themes and motifs occur throughout. The extent to which repetition in language, the use of formulaic language, is emphasized is another point of differentiation among styles. Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord have done the most to broaden understanding of the use of formulaic language in their studies of Serbo-Croatian poetic epics and Homeric poems. Their analytic approach offers a framework within which to examine this aspect of style.⁷

These three assumed axes of stylistic differentiation interlace. Rhetorical embellishment relies extensively on linguistic and formulaic repetition. Middle Arabic usage should be regarded as a natural feature of these narratives, but it is not mandatory, just as the use of standard Arabic is not a requirement. Formulaic repetition is common, but occasional inspired literary innovation also occurs. The continuum of possibilities is therefore broad. Nevertheless, there are general trends and it is analysis of these which will be the object of focus.

I have previously presented an overview of the major narratives that fall under the genre of Arabic popular epic. So that a common conception of this genre is shared, this earlier summary is quoted below:

⁷ Lord (1960); Parry (1971).

Further research may establish some idea of the historical development of the genre of popular *sīra*. At present, however, it is more practical to list them in the chronological order of their subject matter. From this perspective, they can be organized as dealing with characters from pre-Islamic Persian history, pre-Islamic Arabian history, early Islamic history, and finally characters and plots drawn from later dynasties in Islamic history.

There are three *sīras* that take early Persian history as their subject matter: *Sīrat Fīrūz-Shāh*, whose protagonist is the son of the Achaemenid King Darius II; *Sīrat Iskandar*, whose central focus are the deeds of Alexander the Great; and the *Story of Bahrām Gūr*, whose main character is the Sassanid Shāh Bahrām.

Pre-Islamic South Arabian history forms the backdrop for *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan*, while pre-Islamic North Arabian history is dealt with in *Sīrat ‘Antar*, as well as in the story of *al-Zīr Sālīm* and other accounts of tribal battles, such as the *War of Basūs* between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib.

Many *sīras* combine elements of both Iranian and pre-Islamic Arabic history. *Sīrat Amīr Ḥamza*, for example, narrates the adventures of Ḥamza b. ‘Abdallāh, an Arab warrior who becomes a major player in Iranian court politics and military affairs. Similarly, the *geste* of Alexander, while innately dealing with Iranian history, is Arabized by having events presented from the perspective of an Arab hero.

Another group of narratives dealing with early Islamic history takes as its protagonist ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. These narratives can from one perspective be considered as forming a part of an associated genre of *maghāzī* narratives, which relate the accounts of the battles and raids that the Prophet Muhammad ordered or engaged in. Nonetheless, longer examples of these narratives, which clearly contain fictional and fantastic elements, can also be considered as being so close to *sīra* narrative structures and patterns as to be clearly a part of the same type of storytelling. Such works as ‘Alī’s raid against Ra’s al-Ghūl or the long work known as *Ghazwat al-Arqaṭ*, in which ‘Alī plays a central role, should be analyzed within the same general framework as popular *sīras*.

The best known *sīra* after ‘*Antar* and the *Banī Hīlāl* is *Sīrat al-Amīra Dhāt al-Himma*, which deals with the tribal feuds and holy wars of the Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsīd Caliphates; another narrative reflecting this time period and the theme of the spread of Islam is *Sīrat al-Badr Nār*, which exists only in manuscript and is as yet unstudied.

Fatimid and Mamluk history are treated in *Sīrat al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh* (unpublished) and *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars*, respectively. Related in time period to these latter works are the stories of rogues (‘*ayyārīn*) and scoundrels (*zu’r*), typified by the cycles of *Aḥmad al-Danaf* and ‘*Alī Zaybaq*. These characters are not martial heroes, although they are brave and capable enough when it comes to a fight, but rather trickster figures who rely on craft, deceit, and guile to achieve their aims.

There are significant differences in style, content, and historical origin among members of the genre. *Sīrat Fīrūz Shāh*, for example, is Persian in origin, while *Sīrat al-Zīr Sālīm* is based on pre-Islamic *Ayyām al-‘Arab* sources.

Sīrat al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan is full of sorcery and demons, while *Sīrat 'Antar* and *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma* are generally devoid of magic. *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars* tends toward unadorned prose, while other *sīras* rely heavily on rhymed prose and poetry. Nevertheless, these works form a cohesive genre by reason of their shared emphasis on heroes and heroic deeds of battle, their pseudo-historical tone and setting, and their indefatigable drive towards cyclic expansion: one event leads to another, one battle to another, one war to another, and so on for hundreds and thousands of pages.

Viewed from a wider cultural perspective, these popular epics are Arabic examples of a larger body of vibrant popular literature that existed in most parts of the Islamic world. Premodern Persian and Turkish literatures also developed strong traditions of popular epic, and there is convincing evidence that despite their linguistic differences neighboring traditions of popular storytelling borrowed and translated from and mutually influenced one another. *Sīrat 'Antar*, for example, exists in an Ottoman Turkish translation, and many of these epics exist in multiple versions across disparate linguistic borders. Renditions of *Sīrat Amīr Ḥamza*, for instance, exist in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Georgian, Urdu, and Malay, while versions of the Alexander story (*Sīrat Iskandar*) are even more widely disseminated in Eastern and Western literature.

Arabic and other Islamic popular epics, moreover, constitute only one portion of a vast tradition of multi-lingual Islamic popular literatures that also encompasses non-epic pseudo-historical narratives (*maghāzī* and *futūḥāt*), religious literature of various types (popular biographies of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, saints legends, accounts of miracles, etc.), numerous genres of popular poetry, song, proverb and humor, and tales of wonder and fantasy, the best known being the compilation known as *Alf layla wa-layla*. The history and nature of this large corpus of literature is still largely uncharted, as are the ways in which different genres, whether within single linguistic traditions or across them, influenced or impacted one another. Nevertheless, no single example of these popular literatures should be considered without at least an awareness of the existence of this larger literary and social context.⁸

These remarks present an overview of the corpus termed Arabic popular epic, or *al-sīra al-sha'biyya*. To this extended quote should be added Edward W. Lane's observations regarding performances of *sīra* narratives that he witnessed during his stays in Cairo in the 1820's and the 1830's. He noted three modalities of performance which, we shall see, also reflect three general narrative styles. One group of narrators specialized in *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars*; they recited in simple prose without relying on books. The second group specialized in *Sīrat 'Antar*; they read from books

⁸ Heath (2006: 323–24). See also Heath (1996: xv–xvii, 43–64) and the articles in Canova (2003) and those on popular literature in Allen and Richards (2006).

but chanted the poetry and recited rhymed prose in “the popular manner.” The third group specialized in reciting *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*; they did not rely on a text but recited and sang the epic to the accompaniment of a one-stringed *rabāba*.⁹

Lane’s tripartite designation of *sīra* recitation generally reflects stylistic distinctions among popular epics. For purposes of analysis, we will broaden his first two groups into three categories, so that we have four in all. The first three styles represent a continuum with straightforward prose on the one side and extensive use of rhymed prose and poetry on the other. For purposes of analysis, these will be termed “simple prose,” “enhanced prose,” and “embellished prose.” Examples of plain prose are versions of *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars*, *Aḥmad al-Danaf*, and the Egyptian version of *Qiṣṣat ‘Alī Zaybaq*. “Enhanced prose,” the most common style, uses greater adjectival description, including regular insertions of rhymed prose and poetry to describe people and places, proverbial situations, and emotions (such as love or grief). This enhanced style is prevalent in the Būlāq version of *Alf Layla* and in such popular epics such as *Amīr Ḥamza*, *Fīrūz Shāh*, or the *Story of ‘Umar al-Nu‘mān* that is found in the *Nights*. The other extreme of the stylistic continuum is “embellished prose.” Narratives employing this style exhibit high usage of rhymed prose (*saj’*) and longer examples of poetry that serve to describe animate and inanimate objects and emotions adjectivally but is also utilized adverbially to portray extended action scenes, such as travel and especially battle. *Sīrat ‘Antar*, *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan*, and *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma* typify this embellished style. As mentioned above, these three styles represent gradations of Lane’s first two categories. The fourth style, that found in printed versions of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, forms a separate category parallel to the first three. This style is characterized by a combination of enhanced rhymed prose combined with a high degree of poetic insertion, used especially to portray direct speech between characters and narrative reiteration of events.

Before examining examples of these four types of styles, two caveats must be raised. First, one should realize that individual narratives can be recast from one style to another. Albert Lord noted in the case of the Serbo-Croatian tradition of epic oral formulaic narration that storytellers who master one or more styles can easily reformulate any given plot outline into a specific style. Hence the above-adumbrated categories should

⁹ Lane (1966: 397–431, quote from 420).

be taken as general. Each specific text of a *sīra* falls into one of these categories, but different versions of the same *sīra* may fit different categories. A second caveat is that this current discussion focuses mainly on written versions of *sīras*. It does not encompass transcriptions of oral performances. Detailed comparison between written and oral versions of *sīras* remains a separate desideratum.¹⁰

SIMPLE PROSE

A typical example of “simple prose” style is found in the Syrian version of *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars* published in eight volumes by Georges Bohas and Katia Zakharia. This printed version is an annotated transcription of a manuscript copied in 1949 from that used by the last professional storyteller (*ḥakawātī*) in Damascus. An example of this style follows below.

قال الراوي: يا سادة يكرام، صلوا على خير الأنام! أما بعد، فإنه كان بقدير الزمان وسالف العصر والأوان، ملك من ملوك الإسلام يقال له الصالح أيوب—رحمة الله عليه، وعلى من سبقنا إلى رحمة الله—وكان ذلك الملك من أهل الله ظاهراً وباطناً، وكان كرسي ملكه في مصر العديه، وله زوجه مثله على بركات الله.

فاتفق لذلك الملك ليلة من إحدى الليالي، كانت ليلة الجمعة، فنظر منام هائل الأحلام. فلما انتبه من منامه ولذيد أحلامه، نسي ما رآه، ففروصار يدور حواله الفرشة ويتنفض الشرشف، وهو يقول: لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم! وين راح المنام؟ فانتبهت زوجته شجرة الدر، لقتة عمال يلوب ويتحول فظنت أنه فاقد له شيء. ففرت واثبه على الأقدام وقالت له: ما لك يا ملك الزمان؟ فقال لها: نظرت منام وشرد مني فهل نظرتيلي إياه؟ قالت له: نعم! نظرتة وأرسلته إلى وزيرك الآغا شاهين.

قال . . . فلما سمع الملك ذلك الكلام، طاب خاطره وانبسط، وقام طلع على قاعة عرب، سار حتى يصلي الصبح ويقرأ أوراده. أما الملكة، حالاً أرسلت خبر إلى الوزير شاهين، بأنه الملك نظر منام وراح من باله، فسألني عنه، قلت له: أرسلت لك إياه للوزير فأنا حدثه عليك، فأعرف

¹⁰ Lord (1960: 32–45, 99–123); see also Ahlwardt (1896: vol. 8). One excellent in-depth study encompassing consideration of both the written and oral traditions is Ott (2003: 138–218).

كيف يكون جوابك له. وأما الملك، فإنه بعد ما صلي وقرأ أوراده، بعث طلب الآغاشاهين فحضر إلى بين يديه، فدخل أخذ اتكه وصبح عليه، فأمر الملك بالجلوس فجلس، فقال له: هل جبت لي تفسير المنام الذي أرسلته لك شجرة الدر؟ قال له: أفندم، وصلني المنام ولكن أرسلته إلى شيخ الأزهر، الشيخ محمد دقيق العيد حتى يجيب لك شرحه. قال له الملك: عفرم! وبعث طلب الشيخ محمد. فقام الشيخ حضر إلى بين يديه وسلم عليه فأمر له الملك بالجلوس فجلس، فقال له الملك: جبت لنا شرح المنام؟ قال له: نعم أفندم! وكان ياساده، الوزير شاهين أرسل للشيخ محمد خبر بصورة الدعوى قبل حضوره لعند الملك. فدیده الشيخ لتحت باطه وطالع كتاب التفسير، وقال للملك: أفندم، سعادتك نظرت بنومك نارحواله مصر، فصار لك منها رجة عظيمة. وبعد ذلك أقبل من جهة بحر النيل طيور صاروا يعبؤا من البحر ويرشوا على النار، وينهم غراب أسود وهو ساطي على جميع الطيور. فإنه لازال يطنى بالنار حتى أخذ لهيها. فقال الملك: أي نعم، وعزة الله! هذا هو المنام بعينه ولكن ما يكون تفسيره؟ قال له الشيخ: أفندم سوف ينتشى بد ولتلك وجاقات ويظهر بينهم شراق يكون نجمة عالي ويخدمه السعد وهو جبار وقته. فيصير ضد أعداء الدين، ويفتح فتوحات عظيمة، ويكتب بد يوان المغازين في سبيل الله، ويصير له تذكار وتاريخ، وترحم عليه العباد إلى أبد الأبد ما قام قائم وقعد. وهذا أفندم، تفسير المنام.

قال صاحب التاريخ إن الوزير شاهين، لما أرسل خبر للشيخ محمد بصورة الدعوى كما قدمناه، فتح الشيخ الكتاب وجد المنام على حاشية الكتاب وتفسيره تحته وهو له يراه سابق.

The narrator related, "Oh, Noble Gentlemen, with blessings on the Best of Mankind [i.e. the Prophet Muhammad]":¹¹ In olden times, in a previous age, there was once a king of Islam called al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, (May God have mercy on him and on all who have preceded us to God's mercy). This king was a pious believer, both externally and internally. His seat of power lay in fair Egypt. He had a wife who was his equal in deserving the blessings of God. It happened that one night, on a Friday night, the king had a dream. He had an amazing dream. When he awoke from sleep and the pleasure of his dream, he forgot what he had dreamt. He sprang up and began to overturn the mattress and shake out the sheets, saying, "There is no power and no strength

¹¹ Insertions referring to the internal narrator of the story are put in italics for the sake of clarity.

save in God, the Great and Almighty! Where did my dream go?" His wife, Shajarat al-Durr, awoke and found him continuing to search and repeating this phrase and she thought that he had lost something. She sprang to her feet and said, "Oh King of the Age? What's wrong?" He said to her, "I had a dream that went astray. Have you seen it?" She said, "Yes! I saw it and I sent it to your vizier, Lord Shāhīn.

He said: When the king heard those words, his mind eased and he relaxed. He left the Hall of the Arabs and continued until he had completed his morning prayers and his daily portion of Qur'ān recitation. As for the queen, she immediately sent word to vizier Shāhīn that, "The king has had a dream that he forgot. He asked me about it and I said to him that I had sent it to the vizier and passed it on to him. So know what your answer to him will be!" As for the king, after he had completed his prayers and Qur'ān recitation, he sent after Lord Shāhīn. He appeared before him, prostrated himself, and wished him good morning. The king ordered him to sit, so he sat down. He said to him, "Have you brought me an interpretation of the dream that Shajarrat al-Durr sent to you?" He said, "Sire, I received the dream, but I sent it on to the Sheikh of al-Azhar, Sheikh Muḥammad Daqīq al-Īd, so that he could bring you its explanation." The king said to him, "Well done!" *Oh Gentlemen:* Prior to his own appearance before the king Vizier Shāhīn had sent word to Sheikh Muḥammad by letter inviting him to court. [Thus forewarned] the sheikh stretched his hand out from within his underarm and pulled out a written interpretation. He said to the king, "Sire, Your Majesty, I saw in your dream fire around Egypt and a great disturbance coming to you from it. Afterwards, there arrived from the direction of the Nile birds which drank water from the river and sprayed it onto the fire. Among them was a black raven who was the leader of the other birds. He continued to put out the fire until its flames were extinguished." The king said to him; "Yes! By God's Glory! This is the dream exactly! But what is its interpretation?" The sheikh said to him, "Sire, army regiments will be raised in your kingdom and there will appear from among them a skilled youth who will be its great star. Fortune will serve him and he will become the most powerful leader of his time. He will set out against the enemies of the Faith and win great victories. He will be recorded in the registry of those warriors who fight on the path of God. He will win renown and go down in history. Believers will remember him in their prayers until the end of time, wherever one stands or sits. This, Sire, is the interpretation of your dream."

The narrator of the story said: Vizier Shāhīn had sent word to the sheikh in the form of an invitation, as we have previously related. When he opened this letter, he had found the dream written on its margin with its interpretation below.¹²

This passage, the first two and a half pages of *Sīrat Baybars*, exhibits most of the characteristics of what is termed here "simple prose" style. This style

¹² Bohas and Zakharia (2000-07: 1, 17-19).

is ubiquitous since it is the default mode for written versions of almost all premodern Arabic storytelling texts. One can find equally representative examples of it in many narratives, including those from other genres such as the stories of magic and romance in *The Thousand and One Nights*. As we shall see, even narratives which display more elaborate styles rely on “simple prose” for their underlying structure.

The basic structure of this form is subject, verb, and complement, with the complement being either a direct object or the object of a prepositional phrase. In other words, this style is shorn of description. Adjectives are used sparingly; descriptions of either nouns or verbal action that comprise more than a word or two are rare. In the above passage, for example no personal attributes other than official function are offered concerning the characters. We learn that there is a king, a queen, a vizier, and a Sheikh of al-Azhar, but we do not know whether they are young, middle aged, or elderly, attractive or ugly, generous or miserly, etc. Personal names provide the only other distinguishing feature, helping us to keep the king, queen or vizier distinguishable from another king, queen or vizier. The only personal attribute explicitly provided in this text is religious piety, a quality which the king and queen share, although not it appears the vizier or the Sheikh of al-Azhar. Similarly, place names provide geographical context. We know that the events occur in Egypt, which is termed “fair” or “salubrious.” Other than this, no description of the condition of the country or its capital occurs. We do not know if the city or country is large or small, prosperous or poor, orderly or chaotic. The name Egypt is mentioned and whatever image this word connotes in the minds of the story’s audience, that is how it is to be understood. Nor is any other place, such as the royal palace described. Conversations are reported, but they are brief and to the point, serving only to move action along in the story.

Most of the nouns and verbs that dominate this style refer to concrete objects or actions; abstract concepts tend not to appear. Emotions are noted but only common ones, such as happiness, fear, anxiety, or anger. There is no representation of interior thought or portrayal of reflection or planning. Instead, character is displayed by action.¹³ We know what characters think after we have seen how they act. From this passage, for example, one senses that the king may be pious but that he is also naïve and unintelligent. The queen and the vizier in cooperation take advantage of the king’s lack of intelligence and agitated state of mind to achieve

¹³ Cf. Todorov (1977).

their own political aims. From this we surmise that they both are clever and politically astute. The character of the Sheikh al-Azhar emerges as a political tool rather than religious figure. Interestingly, although the king and queen are described as pious, no such description is given for the Sheikh al-Azhar.

Context is provided telegraphically though the use of verbal tense and concrete nouns or phrases. We know that this is a story about the past because of the text's inclusion of formulas common to this genre: "In olden times," the narrator related. These phrases and the consistent use of the past tense bracket our understanding of events to occur in what Bakhtin termed the "epic past," a time, the audience understands, when the constraints of current expectations of realism are loosened.¹⁴

The style relies heavily on metonymy to provide social context. We learn the structure of political rule through the metonymic use of titles, such as king or queen. We become aware of the dominant religious context through insertions of religious formulas or practices common to Islam: blessings on the prophet, daily prayer, daily Qur'ānic recitation. Similarly, the relation between the profane and spiritual is delineated indirectly by inclusion of the belief in the efficacy of dreams or miracles. Although the supernatural is an ever-present force in everyday life, note how the queen and the vizier use the occasion of the king's dream to attain their political goals. In *sīras* supernatural event is subordinate to human ambition and action.

External context unfolds as the story progresses. Geography is denoted by place names. As cities, towns, or regions are mentioned the geographical scope of the narrative grows, but locations are only mentioned as they become relevant for the story. In like fashion, we learn about new characters when they appear in the story, and we discover their natures through narrative portrayal of their actions rather than reliance on extended use of external adjectival description.

The following passage provides a typical illustration of the relation between the portrayal of action and the use of description. Based on the interpretation of his dream, the king orders the vizier to buy *mamluks*, i.e. military slaves. The vizier orders merchants to go out and find suitable slaves. One of these merchants is 'Alī Āghā al-Warrāq, the individual who will buy Baybars, the slave who will one day become Sultan of Egypt. Here is how the story introduces 'Alī Āghā al-Warrāq:

¹⁴ Bakhtin (1981: 15–20).

فاسمع ماجرى وصلي على خير الوري، بأن الرجل علي آغا الوراق كان رجل تاجر عمده، مافوق يده يد بالتجاره. وكان سخي الكف، بشوش الوجه محضره خير، حسن الأخلاق، ولكن كان بذلك الوقت مكسور وجاير عليه الزمان وقاعد في بيته لا شغل ولا عمل. وكان السبب بكسره هو أنه مره من إحدى المرات شد متجر بليغ، وسافر به على الساحل. وكانت السواحل بوقتها كلها إفرنج، وكان علي آغا محبوب عند الجميع، نصارى وإسلام، لسخاوة كفه وحسن اخلاقه. وكان يسافر إلى جميع الجهات وهو مشهور بجميع البلاد براً وبحراً. فلما شد ذلك المتجر وتوجه وصل إلى بيروت ونزل في البحر وسار. فاقطع شيء قليل الإقرن البحر وغرق المركب، فتعلق علي آغا على شقفة دفة وقد فته الأمواج على البر وهو بالزلط. فطلع مسكين عمال يرجف من برده وصار يتنقل من مكان إلى مكان والناس تحن عليه ببعض الملابس والمأكول إلى أن وصل لبيروت فقعديومين ثلاثه وما خلا أحد يشوفه من التجار. ورجع علي الشام إيد من وراء إيد من قدام، ودخل بعد المغرب على بيته وقعد بتفكر بما جرى له وغلب عليه الحياء من التجار لأنه كان مستلم منهما أموال بليغه.

Listen to what happened, and pray for the best of mankind [i.e. the Prophet Muhammad]: This man, 'Alī Āghā al-Warrāq, was a leading trader, no one more skilled than he. He was open-handed, had a cheerful mien, was popular among his associates, and possessed good morals. But at this time he was suffering from penury and ill-fortune. He sat at home without work or business. The reason for his poverty was that one time he had amassed a large cargo of merchandise and traveled with it to the coast. At that time the whole coast was occupied by Crusaders but 'Alī Āghā was beloved among all, Muslim and Christian alike, because of his generosity and good morals. He would travel everywhere and he was well-known to all, on land and on sea. So after he packed up his merchandise and set out, he arrived in Beirut and then set out traveling by sea. A short time later a storm arose and the ship sank. 'Alī Āghā al-Warrāq clung onto a piece of the rudder until the waves threw him on shore, completely naked. He emerged shivering from cold and moved from place to place. People took pity on him and gave him some clothing and food until he reached Beirut. He stayed there two or three days but did not let any merchant see him. He returned to Damascus completely penniless. He finally entered his house in the evening and sat thinking about what had happened to him. Embarrassment overcame him about seeing any merchant because they had invested a lot of money for him to trade with.¹⁵

¹⁵ Bohas and Zakharia (2000-07: 1, 21-22).

The story continues for some time as ‘Alī Āghā’s merchant friends discover his return and out of affection for him, provide funds for him to trade again. He sets out anew but again faces misfortune when highwaymen rob his caravan. He returns home penniless and full of shame he again hides in his house. Since he has no money, he sends his wife to sell their household goods until nothing is left. He falls into a quarrel with his local grocer over money owed, but is rescued by the Aḥmad Pasha al-Aqwāṣī, brother-in-law to the governor of Damascus and leader of the city’s guild of rogues and scoundrels [*zuʿr*]. While being supported in style by Aḥmad Pasha, ‘Alī Āghā al-Warrāq is asked by the representative of the king to buy slaves for him, among whom will be Baybars.

Notice how we learn about ‘Alī Āghā al-Warrāq’s character. While he is described by a few adjectival phrases (he is generous, virtuous and popular), his true personality emerges through the action of the story. We learn of his industry from his willingness to work hard, by which he has become wealthy and held in respect by his neighbors. We see how he reacts with shame when through no fault of his own he loses wealth not once but twice. And we see how his persistence and consistent good behavior are rewarded by the friendship of fellow merchants and the support of city leaders, and finally by the king’s representative asking for him by name to buy military slaves on the ruler’s behalf. Depiction of events reveals ‘Alī Āghā’s character. Similarly their portrayal sheds light on the moral structure of the narrative: that in the end God rewards virtue, even if He tests such virtue at times by means of underserved adversity. And at the same time, a story is created. As it unfolds ‘Alī Āghā’s story becomes an episode of the *sīra* when in the course of five pages we learn all that befalls him.

The linguistic register for “simple style” is typically a form that may be termed Middle Arabic storytelling prose. It is a mixed dialect that Muhsin Mahdi has termed a “third language,” neither fully colloquial nor written, but one that exhibits its own combination of usage and lexica from Levantine and Egyptian dialects while it also displays the strong lexical influence of Ottoman Turkish, that is, Turkish and Persian vocabulary borrowed indirectly through Ottoman.¹⁶ As previously noted, editors, whether those working in the manuscript or print traditions, can “clean up” texts by replacing Middle Arabic orthography, lexicon, and usage with forms of standard written Arabic. Such revision can either involve only linguistic replacement or, depending on the expertise of the editor, it can entail

¹⁶ Mahdi (1984: 1, 37–51), Pinault (1992: 15); Marzolph et al. (2004: 1, 1–5). Gavillet Matar (2005, vol. 1) provides another printed example of this Middle Arabic storytelling style.

more radical translation from one stylistic level to another. An example of this possibility is found in the two printed versions *‘Alī Zaybaq*. The editor of the Egyptian version replaced Middle Arabic with standard forms but otherwise left the style as it was. The editor of the Levantine version translated the text into the more literary “enhanced” style.

Poetry is infrequent in simple prose style. At most a few lines appear intermittently. When it does appear, poetry performs several distinct functions. Most commonly, it serves the same purpose as proverbs or other phrases that express conventional wisdom. For example, when ‘Alī Āghā’s merchant friends meet him on his return from Beirut they console him on the loss of his property with the following words.

والذي يصعب عليك يهون علينا، أما سمعت ما قال الشاعر:
 إذا سلمت رؤس الرجال من الردى فما المال إلا مثل قص الأظافر

What is hard on you is easy on us. Have you not heard the words of the poet:
 “As long as men’s heads have been saved from destruction, wealth is only as important as nail clippings.”¹⁷

Brief citations of poetry are also used as praise or greetings. When ‘Alī Āghā meets the king he recites four lines of praise poetry (1: 22), when Baybars meets the same ruler he recites two lines wishing him good fortune (1: 193). Similarly a few lines of poetry may be recited to describe a woman’s beauty (1: 199), or to disparage enemies in battle (1: 151). However, although one encounters verses of poetry or limited use of rhymed prose in brief formulaic phrases (such as the story’s beginning: *bi-qadīm al-zamān wa-sālif al-aṣr wa-l-awān*), such occasions are infrequent; tens of pages of narrative can pass without them occurring.

As mentioned, this simple prose style underlies all premodern Arabic storytelling texts. Certain *sīras* rely on it totally. In addition to this version of *Sīrat Baybars*, this style is predominant in the Egyptian version of *Sīrat ‘Alī al-Zaybaq* and the two manuscript versions of *Aḥmad al-Danaf*. Although this style is plain, one should not doubt its functionality. *Sīras* that rely only on it extend for hundreds of pages and retained their popularity for centuries. The style may be linguistically and aesthetically simple, but it exerts its own type of effectiveness.

¹⁷ Bohas and Zakharia (2000–07: 1, 22).

ENHANCED PROSE AND EMBELLISHED PROSE

The most straightforward way to elucidate the nature of how simple prose, enhanced prose, and embellished prose interrelate is to juxtapose examples of the latter two and then compare them with each other and with the examples of simple prose cited above.

Qiṣṣat al-Amīr Ḥamza begins with this description of Shah Anūshirwān, ruler of the Sassanid kingdom, as follows, he was:

الملك الأكبر أي ملك الأعجم والديالمة وكان يقيم في المدائن اسم عاصمة المملكة وقد أطلق على كل ملك ملك على تخت هذه الممالك كسرى أنوشروان صاحب التاج والإيوان وذلك أن تاجه يجمع من كل أنواع الحجارة الكريمة الكبيرة القدر الغالية الثمن حتى ضرب بها المثل بين الناس منذ تلك الأيام إلى ما بعدها وكانت سائر الملوك تحسده عليه وتمناه لها والإيوان كان عالياً جداً حتى قيل إن قنطرة مرتفعة ارتفاعاً لا ينطوي تحت دائرة العقل أي الغيم يلحق بها وكثير مرات ما يمر من تحتها وفي نصف هذه القنطرة حلقة من الذهب كبيرة ضخمة جداً بقيت زمن الأكاسرة زمنًا طويلاً معلقة بأعلى القنطرة. وأما مذهب العجم كان في تلك الأيام المجوسية والنار فيعبدونها ويسجدون لها دون الواحد الجبار.

The Great King, king of the Persians and Daylamites who resided in Ctesiphon, the capital of the kingdom, and appointed kings over every kingdom. On the throne of this empire was Shah Anūshirwān, owner of the Crown and the Great Hall.¹⁸ His crown was adorned with every type of precious stone of such great value and high price that it became proverbial among folk from that time on. Other kings envied him it and desired it. The Great Hall was so lofty that its arch reached inconceivable heights; even clouds touched it and would often even pass below it. In the middle of this arch hung an enormous golden ring which remained hanging long after the age of the Shahs. The religion of the Persians in those days was Zoroastrianism. They would worship and bow down to fire rather than the One Almighty.¹⁹

In contrast to the initial reference to the king of Egypt in *Sīrat Baybars*, whose description consisted of noting his piety, *Qiṣṣat al-Amīr Ḥamza*'s opening passage magnifies the greatness of the Persian king by noting

¹⁸ This Hall (*īwān*) was an enormous open portico. Its ruins still stand outside ancient Kufa.

¹⁹ *Qiṣṣat al-Amīr Ḥamza* (Beirut) 1, 5; (Cairo) 1, 2.

how he ruled over other monarchs and how his crown and palace were of such grandeur that they became proverbial. This description of the king, his court and his two viziers continues for another page or so. Each detail is described at length and put into its proper context. As a result, not only does the audience become impressed with the power and glory of this ruler, they also become aware of the notable historical features that were specifically associated with him and his reign, such as his magnificent crown and the Grand Hall. Such attributes are derived from popular association with specific historical figures. Embedding such historical features in these epics allows details of popular history to be retransmitted to their audiences. This more refined attention to detail and greater use of description are the hallmarks of the “enhanced style.” In each story we have a king, but the level of detail and the sophistication of articulation employed by the enhanced style are in marked contrast to the simple style. How does this “enhanced style” compare to the “embellished style”? Compare the two descriptions of kings offered above with that found at the beginning of *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan*.

كان في قديم الزمان وسالف العصر والآوان ملك من الملوك السابقة ذو عز وتمكين وهيبة عند
أهل القرى والمدن وسكان تلك الأرض والمدن لأن جميع الخلق تخشى من سطوته الملوك تفرح
من هيئته لأنه قوي الأركان شديد البطش والسلطان ولم يوجد له مثال من ملوك الزمان وهو من
بني حمير الذين أخبارهم بين جميع الخلق شائعة وأفعالهم عند الملوك متسامعة .

In olden times, in a previous age, there was once a king of among the kings of old, possessor of power, and ability, and respected by the inhabitants of villages and cities and of those residing in both open and populated areas. Commoners feared his authority and kings were terrified by his grandeur because he was strong in resolve and great in power and rule and without peer among the kings of the age. He was of the tribe of Ḥimyar, whose reputation is known among all and whose deeds among rulers heard by all.²⁰

This is an example of what I term the “embellished style” of premodern Arabic popular narrative. The difference between this description of a king and that of the “enhanced style” in the passage from *Amīr Ḥamza* given above is a much greater reliance on attributes strung along in rhymed prose to portray the king. The “enhanced style” certainly uses rhymed prose, as for that matter does at times “simple style.” But in the “embellished

²⁰ *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf bin Dhī Yazan* (Beirut) 1, 6; (Cairo) 1, 2.

style” rhymed prose dominates. Compare another example of the difference between the enhanced and embellished style in the following two presentations of a lion. Amīr Ḥamza volunteers to wrestle a mighty lion. When the lion is released from his cage he: “gives a roar like thunder and rises up on his hind legs and springs toward Amīr Ḥamza.

فأر بصوت اشبه بالرعد ورفع يديه إلى فوق وبقي واقفا على أرجله وانحذف على الأمير حمزة
أسدا هائل المنظر²¹

Contrast this to the lion the hero encounters in *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan*; he sees that:

أسدا هائل المنظر وقد فرق شملهم في البر والاقفر وهو يهيمهم ويهدر وهو قدر الثور أو أكبر
يطير من عينيه الشرر ويقطب الوادي إذا همهم وهدر وله انياب أحد من النوايب وأظافيره
كأنهما الكلايب والفرسان دائرة به من اليمين والشمال خائفين من شرب كأس الوبال.

A lion, terrifying of aspect, had scattered the group across the land and plains. He growled and roared, the size of a bull or larger; sparks flew from his eyes and the valley overturned when he growled and roared. He had teeth sharper than calamity and claws like sharp hooks. Warriors surrounded him to the right and left, fearing to taste the cup of perdition.²²

Both lions are ferocious but the second passage portrays its lion more vividly and with the dynamic force that rhymed prose allows. This verbal convention not only allows strings of modifiers, it encourages it so that one descriptive phrase follows another. An equally important component of the embellished style is that rather than featuring only adjectives and nouns, verbal modifying phrases also appear. The addition of verbal phrases increase the scene’s potential to induce a sense of dynamism and vibrancy. The passage above employs verbal phrases to modify a noun, but the potency of the embellished style is greater than this. Verbal rhymed prose allows the storyteller to string together phrases that depict not only objects but also action scenes. One therefore finds the portrayal of battle scenes, so predominant a theme in these stories, or such activities as travel, to be replete with the combined adjectival and verbal-based rhymed prose that distinguishes this style. It is true that these phrases are formulaic; but they are strung together to fill pages and to create action

²¹ *Qiṣṣat al-Amīr Ḥamza* (Beirut) 1, 108.

²² *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan* (Beirut) 1, 319.

scenes of vitality and drama. The passage cited below, only one of a multitude of possible examples, is typical of this mixture of description of people and objects and portrayal of action.

ثم إن الأمير جندبة ركب بعد ذلك هو وقاتلة الشجعان على خيولهم، إلى أن أدركوا القوم
وصاحوا يا آل كلاب وحمل الأمير جندبة، كأنه شعلة نار على العداء ونزل بهم ونادى، وقال
أنا ناصل ومهلك الرجال ومبيد الأبطال وكاشف العار ومدرك النار، أنا قاطع العمار ومبيد
الأبطال والهزبر المختار، ثم إنه طعن فارس أرماه وآخر بالسيف أرداه، وثالث فجأه ورابع
أعدمه الحياة، ثم إنه صاح وأعلن بالصياح يا آل كلاب يا آل كلاب، فأجابته زوجته: لبيك هانحن
بين يديك، أنت من على اليمين وأنا من على الشمال، فبددوا عند ذلك الأبطال وقتلوا الأقران
وأهلكوا الشجعان وطعنوا في صدور الرجال وأزلوا على بني شيبان الذل والخبال.

Prince Jundaba then rode with a force of his mounted warriors until they reached the foe. They shouted out: "Oh Tribe of Kilāb!" Prince Jundaba then charged the enemy like a blaze of fire. He entered their midst and shouted, saying, "I am the blade, the destroyer of men and the annihilator of heroes, the revealer of shame and the taker of revenge. I am the curtailer of lives, the annihilator of heroes, the chosen lion." He thrust at a warrior [with his lance] and threw him from his horse, he then went after another with his sword, and then a third. A fourth came at him and he took his life. Then he shouted out loud, "Oh Kilāb, Kilāb!" His wife answered him, saying, "At your service! We are here with you. You are on the right, I am on the left." Then they destroyed heroes and killed warriors and annihilated brave men. They pierced the breasts of men and inflicted on the Banī Shaybān humiliation and turmoil.²³

Another way that the "embellished style" differs from the first two is the extent to which it incorporates poetry into the narrative. As with the other two styles poetry is used to supplement description, to portray a beautiful woman, a handsome youth, or a wonderful garden or orchard. It is likewise employed to insert proverbial wisdom, to praise kings and rulers and to express strong emotions, such as love or grief. Nonetheless, it is more prevalent in the embellished style; it appears more frequently and the poems cited or recited are much longer. Poetry is also a frequent element in battle scenes where warriors recite poems before and during

²³ *Sīrat al-Amīra Dhāt al-Himma* 1, 40–41. See also Heath (1996: 101–48).

battle to praise their own prowess and valor and to disparage that of their enemies.²⁴

As noted previously, a particular style may be common to specific *sīras*, but such correlation should not be considered absolute. One must examine each narrative, or when the manuscripts are composites stemming from different hands, even separate parts of a work. For example, the two printed versions of *Sīrat 'Antar* both use the embellished style even though they differ somewhat in their narration of events. In contrast the Egyptian version of *Sīrat 'Alī Zaybaq* employs the simple style while the Levantine version uses the enhanced style. A master of the enhanced or embellished style can easily “translate” a narrative from one style to another. For this reason, versions of narratives must be examined individually to ascertain which style is being employed.²⁵

THE BANŪ HILĀL STYLE

For at least the last two centuries, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* has been the most widely narrated and most popular of the *sīra* corpus. It has correspondingly generated a significant body of manuscripts and printed texts. Since it has had the most extensive tradition of public performance in the Middle East and North Africa, folklorists, literary scholars, and ethnomusicologists have during the last half century assembled a sizable collection of recorded performances and analyzed both performed and written versions of this *sīra*.

In printed form the *sīra*'s subject matter may be divided into five parts. The first is *Sīrat al-Zir Sālim*, which is an independent narrative but which also serves as prologue to the story of the Banī Hilāl proper. Thereafter follows the story of the tribe's history in the east and of the birth of *sīra*'s main hero, Abū Zayd. The third part entails the depiction of the tribe's suffering from an extended famine in the Najd and their sending a small scouting party to identify a new homeland. Fourth is the account of the tribe's westward migration and their struggles to win a new home in Tunisia. And finally come stories of the adventures and eventual deaths of the tribe's heroes' after they become established in their new western home. Although one may take this outline of events as a guide, it should be understood as indicative. The *sīra* was so popular and its narration

²⁴ Heath (1996: 142–48) and Heath (forthcoming, “Antar hangs his *mu'allāqa*”).

²⁵ Heath (forthcoming, “Antar Hangs his *Mu'allāqa*”).

so widespread that storytellers could add episodes and events at their pleasure.²⁶

In terms of style, printed versions of the *sīra* are uniform. They are composed in “enhanced prose style” using an intermediate level of rhymed prose to portray objects and events. Where they differ from other *sīras* is in the way that poetry functions in the text. As we have seen, in the simple and enhanced styles, poetry is cited to reinforce proverbial wisdom or to provide brief descriptions of people, places, or emotional states. In the embellished style, it provides occasions for longer descriptions of love and the beloved, description of places, and in battle scenes to express self-praise and invective. In contrast, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* and *al-Zīr Sālīm* consistently employ poetry to express direct speech or to recount narrative event. When characters address one another in the narrative, they do so with extended insertions of poetry. This poetry at times expresses thoughts or emotions, but just as often these poems are narrative in intent, as the following example demonstrates.

After al-Zanātī Khalīfa imprisons the three youths who have accompanied Abū Zayd al-Hilālī on his reconnaissance trip to the west, Abū Zayd returns to Najd to report on what has transpired. On his return to the Banū Hilāl camp:

فاجتمعت الفرسان من كل جانب ومكان حتى احتبك الديوان وحينئذ سألوه عن الأمراء مرعى
ويحيى ويونس
فعند ذلك بكى الأمير بكاء شديداً أو أشار يخبرهم عما جرى له من التعب الشديد بهذه القصيدة
يقول وعمر السامعين يطول:

يقول أبو زيد الهلالي سلامة	ولي قصة من أعجب الأخبار
في سفرتي للغرب قد أوردتها	وفي رجعتي قاسيت هموم بكار
دخلت إلى أرض الزناتي ووردتها	وردت ميا منها ووردت يسار
وأخذ حشيش الأرض بيدي أدفته	وأعلمه خوف لا أحرار
حتى إذا جاءت هلال وعامر	على خيلهم بالعسكر الجرار

²⁶ On the division of subject matter see Connolly (1986: 26–32) and Reynolds (1995: 15–19). On the performance tradition of the *sīra*, see these studies and also Slyomovics (1987).

هذا دليل يا عرب اجهار	يقولوا فما هذا الحشيش الذي هنا
حتى وصلت لتونس والدار	وما زلت أكشف المدن والقرى
فاتاني منها عسكر جرار	دخلنا على بستان بجوار تونس
الله تعالى عالرأسرار	فصحت عليهم صيحة الله أكبر
وضرب يقطع سيفنا وحجار	فمسكونا من بعد حرب عنيفة

Warriors gathered from every side and place until the court was full. Then they asked about the princes, Mar‘ā, Yaḥyā, and Yūnus. At that point the Prince [Abū Zayd] wept copiously and began to inform them of his great weariness with this poem (*Long may its listeners live!*), saying:

Abū Zayd al-Hilālī says, “Peace!”	I have a tale of wondrous news.
I bring it from my journey to the west.	I have suffered great sorrow on my return.
I entered and traveled the land of al-Zanātī.	I traveled its east and its west.
I took [our] land’s grass in my hand and planted it,	carefully, without hesitation.
Until Hilāl and ‘Āmir came along	on their horses with a fast-moving troop
Saying, ‘What is this grass here?’	This is proof, Oh Arabs, as clear as day!’
I continued to explore cities and villages	until I reached Tunis and the palace.
We entered an orchard outside of Tunis,	from which emerged a fast-moving troop.
I cried out, ‘God is Great!’	God the Almighty, Knower of Secrets!’
They captured us after a fierce fight	and struggle that broke our swords and stones. ²⁷

The poem’s narrative continues another twenty-seven lines during which Abū Zayd reports his sorrowful departure from the three princes, who are being held hostage by al-Zanātī Khalīfa and of his return journey to Najd.

Almost all poetry in this tradition consists of direct speech that expresses either a message or a report. Such poetry is very common in the

²⁷ *Taghribat Banī Hilāl* (Cairo), 30; (Beirut), 35–36.

narrative. Although most written versions combine prose and poetry as indicated above, there are in fact written and manuscript versions of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* and *Sīrat al-Zīr Sālim* whose texts consist entirely of narrative poetry.²⁸ This reliance on poetry for narration may be a reflection of the oral narrative tradition of this particular *sīra* where the performer chants narrative and sings speech using a different rhythm and tune. Fully establishing the dynamics of this style would require extensive comparative investigation into the different forms of its written and oral traditions. At any rate, the prevalent use of poetry to represent direct speech is a significant enough feature to warrant putting this style into a separate category.²⁹

CONCLUSION

At this stage of research into the premodern Arabic popular narrative, conclusions regarding demarcations of style are necessarily preliminary. Many texts in manuscript and print remain unexamined. Nevertheless, however introductory the discussion above and its categories may be, it does reflect the evidence found in a significant body of printed texts of Arabic popular epics and related narratives. One must begin analysis somewhere, even if its results are later superseded or—more precisely—so that they it be further refined and eventually superseded.

At this point little investigation has been undertaken of the semantic and linguistic elements that underlie the overall use of rhymed prose in Arabic literature. For a style so prevalent in premodern literature, such study remains a desideratum. In like fashion, analysis of the poetry so ubiquitous in Arabic popular epics awaits more detailed investigation. Despite these caveats, the preceding discussion attempts to provide a holistic overview of one significant aspect of style in this genre of literature. As such, it opens the door for further study.

²⁸ Gavillet Matar (2005: 1:29–32).

²⁹ For studies of the oral performance of this *sīra*, see Reynolds (1995), and Slyomovics (1987). For examination of the interaction among written versions of *al-Zīr Sālim*, see Gavillet Mater (2005: 1:21–99), and on the poetry *idem.* (2005: 1:100–27). For an Arabic transcription of one major performance of the *sīra*, see Al-Abnūdi (2002).

APPENDIX

NOTES ON VERSIONS OF *SĪRA* TEXTS

Arabic popular epics are intermittently printed and reprinted in seemingly unsupervised versions by presses in various parts of the Arab world. In many cases the text of each *sīra* remains relatively stable. One senses that the printer takes a previously published text, resets it in type, and issues a new version. At times a publisher prints a whole run of *sīras*; at other times only a single work. For example, in the 1960's the two Cairo presses of Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī and Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣubayḥ printed a series of these works. In the 1980's the Beirut press of al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya did the same. In contrast, in 2003 Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī printed the text of the *Taghribat Banī Hilāl*; but so far it has not extended its activities to other *sīras*. Discrepancies in such popular versions tend to be limited to typos or slightly different wording as workers in the press omit or add words or make minor changes to "improve" the text. Some of these "improvements" correct previous typos, others add new ones.

At times, more radical textual revision occurs. For example, in 1983 Dār al-Hudā al-Waṭaniyya printed a one volume version of *Sīrat Baybars* that much curtailed the narrative but also infused it with a dose of Marxism when it referred to lords and landowners in the text as "feudal lords" (*iqtā'īyyūn*). Then there is the case of *Sīrat 'Alī Zaybaq al-Miṣrī ibn Ḥasan Ra's al-Ghūl* published in 2005 by Nawfal Publishers in Beirut. *'Alī Zaybaq* exists in two printed versions, which I term the Egyptian and the Levantine according to where each has been most commonly reproduced. The two versions overlap in their presentation of the most popular characters of the story and they share in outline some of the best known parts of the narrative. Otherwise they differ substantially in both content and style. The Egyptian version uses "simple style" while the Levantine text, which is about twice as long as the Egyptian recension, uses the "enhanced style." M.C. Lyons provides an English summary of the Egyptian version.³⁰ The Levantine version is so far unstudied, although I am preparing an analysis of both versions, as well as of the two main manuscript versions of *Qiṣṣat Aḥmad al-Danaq*.

³⁰ Lyons (1996: 2:9–17).

Nawfal took as its base text a copy of the Levantine version of *Qiṣṣat ‘Alī Zaybaq* (which had long been out of print) published Aleppo in 1876.³¹ Realizing that much of the vocabulary stems from the Ottoman age, the publisher entrusted the text to an elderly school teacher who had attended an Ottoman school in order to provide lexical glosses and contextual notes. Many of these notations are useful for helping to understand the story. On the other hand, this editor also omitted portions of the phrases in the rhymed prose and introduced typos into the text. So the value of the notes is counterbalanced by the corruption of the text. It is therefore preferable that for scholarly purposes one obtains a copy of the old text and reads it referring to the generally but not consistently useful notes of the Nawfal publication.

In regard to other versions of *sīras*, *Sīrat ‘Alī Zaybaq* is an example of the same story having both different context and employing different styles. The two printed versions of *Sīrat ‘Antar*, in contrast, provide an example of two texts being different in wording and in some details but the same in regard to style: both rely on “embellished style.” My article “Antar hangs his *mu‘allaqa*” provides a discussion of how the two versions vary in regard to one episode of the epic. Except for these two above-mentioned cases, most printed versions of *sīras* are uniform and differ only in occasional minor variations of wording. However, as scholars published more manuscript editions of these narratives, such as those produced by Bohas and Zakharia (2000–2007) and Gavillet Matar (2005), it is possible that these texts themselves will become the basis for new popular printings of these narratives. Ironically, if this should happen it is more than likely that publishers will “clean up” the Middle Arabic language of the texts by “correcting” it and changing it using standard grammar and lexicon. We will have to wait to see if this occurs.

³¹ The version of Beirut 1896 cited in the bibliography below is a later printing which is the same as the Aleppo version.

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ARABIC CONTEXTUALIZED

GHAZAL AND GRAMMAR:
AL-BĀ'ŪNĪ'S *TADMĪN ALFIYYAT IBN MĀLIK FĪ L-GHAZAL*

Bilal Orfali

Learning grammar is considered by many the most boring part of studying a language, and grammarians are often stereotyped as lacking creativity. Arabic grammar and grammarians are no exception. Few would doubt the prestige enjoyed by grammar within the Arabic-Islamic civilization and that it was considered among the most noble and useful fields, but usefulness is not a measure of attractiveness or creativeness. After all, in most grammatical traditions grammar straddles descriptive and/or prescriptive approaches, but does not intend or need to be creative.

The beginnings of Arabic grammar featured a close relation with other disciplines such as *qirā'āt* (Qur'ānic readings), *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis), *mu'jam* (lexicography), *balāgha* (rhetoric), *naqd* (poetics), *fiqh* (Islamic law), and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of Islamic law), and some of these disciplines even influenced the development of Arabic grammar. For instance, Michael Carter suggests that Sibawayhi's (d. ca. 180/796) approach in *al-Kitāb* is a legal one. He highlights the similarities between the legal and grammatical terminology and suggests that there was a direct influence from the former.¹ Kees Versteegh advocates that in the first century of Islam there were not yet specialized disciplines focusing on only one aspect of Qur'ānic studies. He suggests that the close relationship between the Kūfan tradition of Arabic grammar and Qur'ānic reading has left its mark on the terminology of the Kūfan tradition and in its analysis of language.² The complex relation between Arabic grammar and *qirā'āt* is further discussed by Ramzi Baalbaki who explains that in the 3rd and 4th centuries of Islam a sharp distinction evolved between the *naḥwīyyīn* and the *qurrā'* which manifests itself in the harsh criticism of the *qurrā'* by the *naḥwīyyūn*.³ Baalbaki, additionally, highlights an important link between grammar and *balāgha*, suggesting that the latter was a result of "the failure of the grammarians in interpreting linguistic data primarily in accordance

¹ See Carter (1972, 69–97), (1983, 65–84), (1997, 33–34).

² See Versteegh (1993), especially 191–206.

³ See Baalbaki (1985).

with meaning rather than the formal considerations they employed—let alone their inability to create a coherent grammatical theory based on meaning,” nevertheless, this new discipline of *balāgha* “has its very roots embedded in *naḥw*.”⁴ By comparing two key figures of *naḥw* and *balāgha*, respectively Sibawayhi and al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), he brings to light the delicate relation between *naḥw* and *balāgha* with respect to concept, method, and terms, and clarifies the undermined contribution of the early Arab grammarians to syntactical and stylistic studies.⁵

Grammar soon distanced itself from these disciplines, and they from it. Naturally, it continued to prove useful and remained a basic requirement in most disciplines. There were of course some who criticized grammarians and at times ridiculed them, fewer complained about the difficulty of their discipline, and still fewer doubted its usefulness or satirized its methods and techniques.⁶ These critical voices were barely audible and grammar remained a useful and noble discipline. Nonetheless, except perhaps when commenting on the grammarians’ farfetched explanations regarding odd grammatical rules, few would use the word “creative” to describe Arabic grammar. Creative minds nevertheless had to learn Arabic grammar, for it was an essential requirement in most, if not all, curricula. In pre-modern Arabic literature, few of these creative minds, after becoming established in their disciplines, thought to play with the rigid terms and rules of grammar by drawing unexpected links between grammar and other far-flung disciplines.

One of these creative minds was the famous Sufi and Qur’ānic commentator Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072).⁷ Al-Qushayrī,

⁴ See idem (1991, 89).

⁵ See idem (1983).

⁶ After Sibawayhi, the increased interest of grammarians in the formal aspects of structure and the complexity, arbitrariness, and farfetchedness of their justifications of grammatical rules led to harsh attacks and ridicule. Ibn Maḍā’ (d. 592/1196) is a famous example who, in his *al-Radd ‘alā l-nuḥāt*, criticized the methods of grammarians in their theory of *taqdīr* and *ta’līl*, see *Radd* 78–82. The lexicographer Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1009), satirizes the grammarian’s insupportable arguments; his statement “weaker than a grammarian’s argument” became a popular proverb. See al-Tha’alibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* 3, 403, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 1, 119, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 1, 352. Students of grammar confessed that they often understood little or nothing of the lessons of famous grammarians such as al-Māzinī (d. 249/863), al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), and al-Fārisī (d. 377/987). See Baalbaki (2008: 267–278). Ramzi Baalbaki discusses other instances of criticism aimed at grammarians from the second century forward. Geert van Gelder analyzes a few poems that grumble against the rules imposed by the grammarians, or mock those who need these rules. See his contribution to this volume. See also Baalbaki (2007: xxxix).

⁷ For a detailed analysis of al-Qushayrī’s life, education, and legacy see the recent dissertation by Martin Tran Nguyen (2009).

famous for his *Risāla fi l-taṣawwuf*, wrote two short treatises on “spiritual grammars,” the *Naḥw al-qulūb al-kabīr* and the *Naḥw al-qulūb al-ṣaghīr*, or the “Major” and “Minor” versions of the “Grammar of the Hearts.” Al-Qushayrī, who is perhaps the first to draw a link between grammar and Sufism, adopts in these two works the format of grammar texts. However, he uses the grammatical terms figuratively to discuss the principles of Sufism. The major version of the work consists of sixty sections, while the minor version entails only five sections.⁸ The well-known treatise on grammar by the Moroccan Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323)⁹ enjoyed a number of esoteric commentaries in Sufi circles. The oldest surviving work of these is *al-Risāla al-Maymūniyya fi tawḥīd al-Ājurrūmiyya*¹⁰ by the Moroccan Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Maymūn b. Abī Bakr b. Yūsuf al-Hāshimī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī (d. 917/1511) who lived in Damascus.¹¹ Ibn ‘Ajība (d. 1224/1809)¹² is another personality who used *al-Ājurrūmiyya* and the terms and rules of Arabic grammar as a gateway to express Sufi principles through his commentary *Sharḥ al-Ājurrūmiyya*.¹³ At least three other Sufi commentaries on *al-Ājurrūmiyya* are mentioned in the primary sources. The first is by the Moroccan Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 899/1493),¹⁴ the second by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (or Yūnus) b. Aḥmad b. al-Sayyid ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Dajānī al-Qushāshī (d. 1044/1634–5),¹⁵ and the third is *Sharḥ al-Ājurrūmiyya ‘alā lisān al-sāda*

⁸ See al-Qushayrī, *Naḥw al-qulūb*, 266, 705–706. See also Tamás Iványi (1996). For a presentation and a translation of *Naḥw al-qulūb al-ṣaghīr* into French, see Francesco Chiabotti (2008–2009)—with thanks to the author for drawing my attention to this article.

⁹ For a study and a translation of a commentary on this text, see Carter (1981). Interestingly, Ājurrūm is a Berber expression meaning *faqīr* or *ṣūfi*, see *ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ MS. *Jāmi‘at al-Malik Su‘ūd* 3635 of this work carries the title of *Kitāb Naḥw al-qalb sharḥ al-Ājurrūmiyya*. Among the other surviving manuscripts of this work in Morocco are MSS. *al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya li-l-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya* 95 F, 505-D, and 1680-D and in Egypt, MS. *Dār al-Kutub* 23130-D. For a critical edition of the text, see A. Al-Ghazlani (1997–1998) cited after Chiabotti (2008–2009: 390).

¹¹ See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* 1: 271; al-Bābānī, *Hadīyya* 1, 741; Kaḥḥāla (1993: 2, 537); al-Ziriklī (2002: 5, 27); Brockelmann, *Geschichte* II, 123, SII, 153.

¹² See J. L. Michon (1986: III, 696a–697a).

¹³ Ibn ‘Ajība’s commentary entails two levels, grammatical and esoteric, the second has been extracted by ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Kūhanī (also spelled al-Kūhīnī) and has been published in several editions under different titles, see bibliography. The full text of Ibn ‘Ajība has been published under “*Sharḥ al-futūḥāt al-quddūsiyya fi sharḥ al-muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya*,” in a collection of Ibn ‘Ajība’s works entitled *Kitāb Sharḥ ṣalāt al-quṭb Bin Mashīsh*. Excerpts of this *sharḥ* are translated by J. L. Michon (1990).

¹⁴ See on him, Ali Fahmi Khushaim (1976) and Scott Kugle (2006). For his commentary on *al-Ājurrūmiyya*, see Khushaim (1976: 69).

¹⁵ See al-Muḥibbī 3, 281–282 and al-Bābānī 2, 278. His name is given as Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in al-Muḥibbī and al-Bābānī, but Muḥammad b. Yūnus is used by al-Muḥibbī 1, 343 and al-Ziriklī (2002: 1, 239) in the entry on his son Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1071/1661).

al-šūfiyya by the Ḥanafi jurist Abū l-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭarābulūsī al-Qāwuqjī (d. 1305/1888).¹⁶

Poetry is another area where these ingenious links with grammar can be observed, particularly through a rhetorical technique termed *taḍmīn*. The term *taḍmīn*, however, refers to a number of practices in Arabic literature, so it might be useful to outline the nuances of the term before embarking upon its relevance to the links between poetry and grammar. In two detailed studies of this term, Amidu Sanni, highlighted its three main implications.¹⁷ He designated by “grammatical *taḍmīn*,” often translated as “enjambment,” the “over-running of lines of a given poem;” the relationship between the lines in such cases is either syntactic or semantic.¹⁸ For Sanni, “rhetorical *taḍmīn*” refers to the cases where the poet or prose writer, “deliberately quotes, with or without indication, from poems or statements by others.” Sanni added a third use of the term in the area of scriptural interpretation that means “implication,” quoting al-Rummānī who defined it as occurring “when a *maʿnā* “motif” which lies within the utterance can be elicited without the need to mention any adjective or noun which may be considered to express that idea.”¹⁹

It is the rhetorical *taḍmīn* that is relevant to our discussion. Sanni detailed the history of this use of the term beginning with its introduction by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908) in his *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*. Sanni elucidated the related terms given by the Arab critics such as *tamthīl* and *tamaththul* (citation), *iqtibās* (quotation), *ijtilāb* (injection), *istilhāq* (annexation), *dīʾāma* (propping up), *iṣṭirāf* (expropriation), *ihṭidām* (lit. demolition, that is, cannibalization), *istizāda* (supplementation), *iḥāla* (insinuation), *ishāra* (allusion), *raḥw* (padding), *istishhād* (illustrative citation), *ḥall* (prosification), and *naẓm* (versification).²⁰

Poems that surveyed rules of Arabic grammar, as in most of the disciplines of the Arabic-Islamic civilization, were popular. Among the most successful were *Mulḥat al-īrāb* by al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) and the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274). The popularity of these poems in traditional and modern curricula continues to the modern period, so it is no surprise

¹⁶ See al-Bābānī 2, 387–388 and al-Ziriklī (2002: 6, 118).

¹⁷ My summary of the implications of *taḍmīn* is based on Amidu Sanni (1989 and 1998). See also Adrian Gully (1997) and the primary and secondary literature provided by these two authors.

¹⁸ Other related terms, each indicating a different concept, are *taʿlīq lafẓī*, *taʿlīq naẓmī*, *taʿlīq maʿnawī*, *iḡhrām*, and *al-silsila*. See Sanni (1998: 3–4).

¹⁹ See al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat* 70, reference and translation quoted from Sanni (1998: 17).

²⁰ Sanni (1998: 7–17).

that scholars and poets drew heavily from these two texts in their *taḍmīn* games. These two poems belong to the genre of “educational poetry” (*shī'r ta'limī*), so they lack the artistic aspect of poetry, if even considered poetry. However, their rigidness and popularity made them ideal for such poetical games. By employing the grammatical rules and the peculiar examples of these rules in an unexpected context, the poets demonstrated an extraordinary talent and entertained their educated audiences, who were familiar with the original stiff context and took pleasure in its abuse.

These *taḍmīn* poems, though difficult, were not rare, as is apparent in the primary sources and extant manuscripts. Al-Ṣafadī mentions that his polymath contemporary *al-qāḍī* 'Umar b. Muẓaffar b. 'Umar Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Wardī al-Ma'arrī (d. 749/1349) incorporated hemistiches from *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* of al-Ḥarīrī in sixty-six lines of poetry.²¹ Similarly, the poet Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī praised Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355) with seventy-five lines, the second hemistich of each is from *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* which Taqī al-Dīn's son, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) included in his *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*.²² Aḥmad b. al-Maqqarī al-Tilmisānī (d. 1041/1631) included in his voluminous *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* a brotherly correspondence that reached him after he had moved east sent by one of his western friends, *al-shaykh* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marrākushī al-Tāmilī. Al-Marrākushī²³ attached to his letter a separate pamphlet containing a forty-two line panegyric *urjūza* in which the second hemistich of each line after an introduction of seven lines is a quotation from *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*.²⁴ The Mauritanian jurist al-Nābigha al-Ghallāwī (d. 1245/1829) eulogizes his teacher Aḥmad b. al-Āqil al-Dīmānī (d. 1244/1827) with a long *urjūza* in which the second hemistich of its lines, after the three introductory lines, is taken from *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*.²⁵ Al-Nābigha probably borrowed the idea from his maternal uncle, 'Abdallāh b. al-Faqīh al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājī al-Muṣṭafā al-Ghallāwī (d. 1208/1793) whose poem *Manzūma fi-l-Madīḥ*

²¹ See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr*, 3, 681, 686 and Ibn al-Wardī's biography in idem, *al-Wāfi* 23, 141ff where the all sixty-six lines are included in 149–152. See also *Dīwān Ibn al-Wardī*.

²² See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 9, 300–307 and the Ibn Nubāta, *Dīwān*, 582–585.

²³ See his biography in al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa* 4, 271–272; Ibn Ma'ṣūm, *Sulāfa*, 604–606; Kaḥḥāla (1993: 12, 138).

²⁴ The correspondence and the *urjūza* can be found in al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ* 2, 470–478 and a selection of eighteen lines from the *urjūza* is cited by Ibn Ma'ṣūm, *Sulāfa*, 605–606, al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa* 4, 271.

²⁵ See al-Shinqīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ*, 90–91.

in which he quotes hemistiches from *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* may no longer be extant.²⁶

The above survey, though certainly not comprehensive, demonstrates that the practice of composing panegyrics and elegies containing extensive quotations from poems of grammar was not atypical. The poet in such cases, perhaps to preserve the entertaining aspect of these literary productions, tries to keep the length of the poem reasonable. Among these grammatical *taḍmīn* attempts one stands out, not only because of its extensive length and its early attempt to use *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* in *taḍmīn*, but also because it tackles yet another unanticipated genre-*ghazal* (love poetry).

The story starts with the love poetry or the *nasīb* prelude in Ibn Nubāta's *taḍmīn* of *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* in which he praises Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī. This love poetry seems to have attracted the attention of a certain personality who asked Ibrāhīm al-Bā'ūnī (d. 870/1465) to compose a *ghazal* poem that incorporates quotations from *Mulḥat al-i'rāb*. Al-Bā'ūnī happily carried out this task and composed a poem worthy of his talent. When this poem circulated, the audience recalled *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* and questioned the possibility of incorporating its difficult lines in *ghazal*; the majority deemed the task not viable regardless of the excellent and talented minds who tried. Al-Bā'ūnī could not tolerate the underestimation and rose to the challenge composing a lengthy poem of 773 lines in which he tells the story of its composition (1–28) and begins with *ghazal* and *mujūn* (licentious poetry) (29–576) without a clear distinction between them, then moves to *madiḥ* (panegyric poetry) (577–771) praising the *qāḍī* Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 830/1426),²⁷ and concludes with two lines (772–773) addressing the audience asking them to correct the faults they find rather than censuring him for these faults.

The poem is the oldest identified attempt to use *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* in *taḍmīn* and, as far as I was able to determine, is the only extant *taḍmīn* poem that combines grammar and *ghazal*. The poet, in a venture to prove his talent, strives to incorporate as many lines of the *Alfiyya* as possible; this however impacted the poem negatively since the hemistiches of a few lines clearly lack harmony. The poet nevertheless succeeds in proving to his skeptic audience his poetic skill and the viability of subsuming the

²⁶ See al-Bartallī al-Walāṭī, *Fath*, 172. An attempt to incorporate *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* in a moral and *wa'z* context was tried in the modern period by Shaykh Ja'far b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Tustarī (d. 1335/1916), a selection of this attempt is given in Muḥsin al-Amin (1983: 4, 117–118).

²⁷ Al-Najm Abū l-Futūḥ 'Umar b. Ḥijjī b. Mūsā b. Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Sa'dī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī, see his biography in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'* 6, 78–79.

intransigent lines of *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* in an alluring context such as love and licentious poetry.

The above discussion briefly tries to shed light on several forgotten links between Arabic grammar and other disciplines in pre-modern Arabic literature such as Sufism and different genres of Arabic poetry. These attempts gave rise to new hybrid genres in classical Arabic literature such as the genres of *naḥw al-qulūb* (grammar of the hearts), and the merging of poems treating Arabic grammar with other topics in Arabic poetry. These bypassed links are essential to understanding the complex relationship between grammar and these disciplines, the value of grammar in classical Muslim education, and more relevant to the subject of this volume and the scholarship of its honoree, the centrality of Arabic grammar to Arabic culture. The remaining part of this paper presents an edition of the Arabic text of *Tadmīn Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik fī l-ghazal*, but before this some information about the author of the work is in order.

IBRĀHĪM B. AḤMAD AL-BĀ'ŪNĪ (D. 870/1465)²⁸

His full name in the sources is Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Nāṣir b. Khalīfa b. Faraj al-Maqdisī al-Nāṣirī al-Bā'ūnī al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī. The manuscript of *Tadmīn Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik fī l-Ghazal* has the *nisba* of al-Ḥalabī, but he does not seem to have been associated with the city of Aleppo. He was born in Ṣafad in 777/1376 where he spent his early years studying the Qur'ān and some religious texts under the tutelage of al-Shihāb Ḥasan b. Ḥasan al-Farḡhānī. He moved to Damascus around puberty where he studied *fiqh* under al-Sharīf al-Ghazzī and was a companion of al-Nūr al-Anbārī who further taught him *fiqh* and the sciences of Arabic language and literature. He then moved around 804/1401 to Egypt where he studied with al-Kamāl al-Damīrī, al-'Irāqī, and al-Haythamī. A few years later he returned to Damascus and studied with his father, Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Bā'ūnī, al-Jamāl b. al-Shrā'iḥī, al-Taqī Ṣāliḥ b. Khalīl b. Sālim, 'Ā'isha bint Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, and al-Shams Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. He gave the Friday sermons in the Umayyad mosque then headed the Bāsiṭiyya Khānqāh where he taught his students. Sources ascribe a number of literary works to him, such as the *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ al-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Jawharī, a *Dīwan* of sermons and letters, and another *dīwān*

²⁸ See his full biography in *ibid.* 1, 26–29; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr* 1, 12; al-Suyūṭī, *Nazm*, 13–14; al-Tūnkī (1344: 3, 63–64); al-Ziriklī (2002: 1, 30); Kaḥḥāla (1993: 1, 13).

of poetry entitled *al-Ghayth al-hātin fī wasf al-'idhār al-fātin*. He died on 24 Rabī' al-Awwal 870/1465 in his house in al-Bāsiṭiyya and was buried in the cemetery at the foot of the Qāsyūn Mountain.

TADMĪN ALFIYYAT IBN MĀLIK FĪ L-GHAZAL

MS. *Kongelige Bibliotek Cod. Arab. 188* under the title *Tadmīn Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik fī l-ghazal* was bought in 1763 in Cairo by the Danish philologist Frederik Christian von Haven (d. 1763), a member of the Carsten Niebuhr expedition 1761–1767. The manuscript consists of fifty-one folios, the first folio lists the name of the author as Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī who must be Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Bā'ūnī based on the biography of the latter in al-Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*. Al-Sakhāwī relates on the authority of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba that the latter was received by al-Bā'ūnī in his house in the presence of al-Najm Ibn Ḥijjī, where al-Bā'ūnī read his *tadmīn* of *Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik* in which he praised Ibn Ḥijjī.²⁹

To make the text manageable for the reader, I have numbered the verses of the Arabic text. To facilitate easy reference to *Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik*, I have used bold letters to highlight the quoted hemistich or line from *Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik* and referred at the end of each line to the corresponding line in Ramzi Baalbaki's edition of *Sharḥ Ibn 'Aqīl 'alā Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik*.

²⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* 1, 26.

تضمين ألفية ابن مالك النحوي في الغزل
للعلامة إبراهيم بن أحمد الحلبي رحمه الله تعالى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين

وصلّى الله على سيّدنا محمّد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلّم

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| يقول إبراهيم بن أحمد | ١ | الحمد لله دواماً سرمداً |
| ثمّ الصلاة والسلام الأبدي | ٢ | على النبيّ المصطفى محمّد |
| أشرف ممدوح من الأنام | ٣ | وآله وصحبه الكرام |
| وبعد فأعلم أيها الناظر في | ٤ | رياض هذا الكلم المقوّف |
| أنّي رأيتُ الفاضل الفريدا | ٥ | التّخبة المفنّن الوحيداً |
| أبن نباتة أديب العصر | ٦ | الشّاعر الفرد البليغ المصري |
| قد مدح الشيخ الإمام السبكي | ٧ | برجز حلو لطيف السبك |
| ضمّنه من ملحّة الحريري | ٨ | في التحو نحو الربع في التقدير |
| مفتتحاً بغزل رقيق | ٩ | ألفاظه كالدرّ والعقيق |
| يفعل بالألباب فعل الرّاح | ١٠ | لا بلّ فعلاً أعين الملاح |
| فراً منّي بعض أهل الرّتب | ١١ | ممن له تولّع بالأدب |
| تضمينها في غزل لطيف | ١٢ | وفي مجون داخل طريف |
| فلم أجد بُدّاً من أمثال ما | ١٣ | قد رام منّي حسبما قد رسماً |

- ٣٤ لو لم يكن للغصن يدلي بنسب ما كان في تشنية له أنتسب ٨٦٩
- ٣٥ حُلُو لَمَى عجبت حين أفتّر من مؤنثٍ عارٍ ثلاثي كسين ٨٥١
- ٣٦ ذو حاجبين ما تشا أحكٍ عنهما كُنُونِي أَذْهَبَنَّ وَأُقْصِدَنَّهَمَا ٦٣٥
- ٣٧ إن قال صدغي مثل لامٍ صدقا وبعضهم بالواو رفعا نطقا ٩١
- ٣٨ فردفه والخصر كل يفتن فردفه والخصر كل يفتن ٢٩
- ٣٩ وخاله مُشْبِهٌ نَقَطُ بِقَلَمٍ كَعَلِمَ الْأَشْخَاصِ لَفْظًا وَهُوَ عَمَّ ٧٩
- ٤٠ قلتُ لخدّه الأسيلِ القاني ووسطه خالان أسودان ٩١
- ٤١ جاوزت في لطافةٍ مداكا وقد بغى وأعتديا عبداكا ٢٨١
- ٤٢ لام عذاره البديعِ الوصفِ وميمٌ ثغره اللذيذِ الرّشِفِ ٩١
- ٤٣ وواو صدغه الأنيقِ الحُسنِ لشبهه من الحُرُوفِ مُدْنِي ١٥
- ٤٤ له قوامٌ أهيفٌ كالألِفِ وواو صدغٍ حسنه غير خفي ٩١
- ٤٥ تيمني بصاد عينٍ وبخذ بحالتيه قبلَ واوٍ يُعْتَمَدُ ٧٤٥
- ٤٦ حكى ثنّي الرّمَحِ منه القدُّ ولحظه فيه سنانٌ حدُّ ٩١
- ٤٧ فقلتُ للآثمِ فيه أنظر إلى حدّ المثنى ما به تكَمَلَا ٧٨٣
- ٤٨ فنيئُ في ميمٍ فمٍ له أبتسم عن دررٍ نظّمها باري التّسم ٩١
- ٤٩ وصرتُ فيه بعدما متّ لقا والميمُ أولى من سِوَاهُ بِالْبَقَا ٨٣٠
- ٥٠ حبّي هضم الكشحِ ذو أحداقٍ سُكْرِي بِهِ إِلَى الْمَمَاتِ بَاقِي ٩١
- ٥١ كم قلتُ فيه حين فرّمتني كأنّ زيّدًا عالمٌ بأنّي ١٧٥
- ٥٢ رمى حشايَا طرفه الكميّ وقيل في المرميّ مرْمُويُّ ٨٦٢
- ٥٣ جاء إليّ يبتغي بعض الدّكرِ ووصله^٣ بظرفٍ أو بحرفٍ جرُّ ٤٨٤
- ٥٤ فقلتُ قدّم وأرتشف ما خطرا وجوّزوا التّفْديمَ إذ لا ضَرَرَا ١٢٨

^٣ بعلبكي: وفصله.

- ١٤ فعندما أبرزتُها عَروسا مرصَّعًا بدرّها الطَّروسا
- ١٥ تذاكروا أَلْفِيَّةَ ابْنِ مالِكٍ وهل ترى يمكن فيها ذلكُ
- ١٦ وَهَلْ يَطِيقُ أَحَدٌ مَمَّنْ مَهْرُ وفاقَ في فرطِ الذِّكا حتَّى بهرُ
- ١٧ تضمينها في ذلكِ الأسلوبِ محقِّقًا نهايةَ المطلوبِ
- ١٨ فأستبعدوا وقوعه بل جزموا بأنه ممتنعٌ وألتزموا
- ١٩ فعند ذا أبتدأتُ في التَّضمينِ منظرًا لدرِّي الثَّمينِ
- ٢٠ مبتدئًا أولَّها بغزلٍ مستعدَّبًا كالسَّلسيلِ السَّلسلِ
- ٢١ وبمجنونٍ كَلَمَى الحبيبِ يُضحِكُ سنَّ الواجمِ الكئيبِ
- ٢٢ خلصتُ منه لمديحِ فائقِ مستعدَّبِ الألفاظِ حلوِّ رائقِ
- ٢٣ به خصصتُ قاضيَ القضاةِ الحَسَنَ الوجهِ اللَّطيفَ الذَّاتِ
- ٢٤ نجمَ الدُّنيا والدِّينِ ذا الإحسانِ^١ من أنطقتُ هباته لسانِي
- ٢٥ دامت لنا ظلاله الوريْفه وحلَّدت أيامه الشَّريفه
- ٢٦ فقلتُ من غيرِ توقيفِ ولا تكلفٍ لنظمها مرتجلا
- ٢٧ أقول بعد حمدِ ذي الجلالِ مُصلِّيًا على النَّبيِّ والآلِ
- ٢٨ والصَّحبِ أجمعينَ والتَّباعِ لهم بإحسانٍ بلا أنقطاعِ
- ٢٩ أفدي مليحًا حسنه بديعٍ قلبي من عشقي له صريعُ
- ٣٠ صدّ فلم يعطفُ عليّ أصلا وقد يُبيحُ الغيبُ فيه وَصلا ٦٧
- ٣١ إذا وصفتَ الطَّرْفَ قلتَ أكحلا وغيرَ ذي وصفٍ يضاھي أشهلا ٤٧٩
- ٣٢ قلبي من هواه قَطُّ ما عَطَلُ إن يُسْتَطَلَّ وصلٌ وإن لم يُسْتَطَلَّ ١٠١
- ٣٣ قوامه الخطارُ قد حكى الألفِ فالمدّ في نظيره لا يختلفُ^٢ ٧٧٤

^١ كذا في الأصل، وهو مكسور الوزن ولعله: نجمُ الدُّنا.

^٢ في تحقيق بعلبكي: فالمدّ في نظيره حتمًا عُرف.

- ٥٥ وأَسْمَحُ وَصِلُ فَالْوَصْلُ لِي فِيهِ أَمَلٌ وَرَغْبَةٌ فِي الْخَيْرِ خَيْرٌ وَعَمَلٌ ١٢٧
- ٥٦ وَأَمْزَجَ بِجِزءٍ مِنْ قَدِيمِ الرَّاحِ نَظِيرَهُ مِنْ بَارِدِ قُرَاحٍ
- ٥٧ وَصَبَّ صَافِي الْمَاءِ فِي الْأَوَانِي وَأَمْنَعُهُ حِينَ يَسْتَوِي الْجُزْآنِ ١٢٩
- ٥٨ فَقُمُ وَشَاهِدْ حَسَنَهُ يَا صَاحِ وَأَسْتَجْلِهَا فِي ذَا النَّهَارِ الصَّاحِي
- ٥٩ وَقُلْ لَهُ نَحْوَ آدُنْ مَتِي إِنْ حَضَرَ وَنَحْوَ عِنْدِي دِرْهَمٌ وَلِي وَطَرٌ ١٣٢
- ٦٠ وَقُلْ لِمَنْ لَامِكُ فِيهِ أَوْ مَنَعُ كَمِثْلِ كُلِّ صَانِعٍ وَمَا صَنَعُ ١٣٩
- ٦١ فَاحْضِرْ وَبَادِرْ فَالْحَبِيبُ قَدْ دَنَا وَرَجُلٌ مِنَ الْكِرَامِ عِنْدَنَا ١٢٦
- ٦٢ خَاطَبْتَهُ بِأَحْرَفٍ مَكْتَمَلَةٌ عَلَى ضَمِيرٍ لَائِقٍ مُشْتَمِلَةٌ ٩٦
- ٦٣ وَكَلِمَاتٍ لِلْمَنَى مَحْصَلُهُ وَكُلُّهَا يَلْزَمُ بَعْدَهُ صِلَهُ ٩٦
- ٦٤ لَمَّا بَدَيْتَ طَالَمَا غَابَ الْقَمْرُ كَذَاكَ نَحْوُ تَتَجَلَّى وَأَسْتَتَرُ ٩٩٤
- ٦٥ هَوَاكَ فَرُدُّ كَلِمَهُ لِلْقَلْبِ عَمُّ وَكَلِمَةٌ بِهَا كَلَامٌ قَدْ يَوْمُ ٩
- ٦٦ لِحَظُّكَ ذَا الصَّارِمِ قَدْ سَبَانَا وَالْفَمُّ حَيْثُ الْمَيْمُ مِنْهُ بَانَا ٢٨
- ٦٧ حَاجِبُ عَيْنِكَ الَّذِي بِهَا قُرْنُ نُونٌ إِنْثَاءٌ كَيَّرَعْنَ مَنْ فُتْنُ ٢٠
- ٦٨ رَأَيْتَ لِلنَّبِيلِ الَّذِي رَمَتْنِي بِهِ كَأَلْحَاطِكَ قَدْ أَمَّتْنِي
- ٦٩ لَمَّا أَصَابْتَ لِي حَشًّا وَكَبْدًا فَعَمَلًا إِلَى نُونِ الْإِنْثَاءِ أُسْنِدَا ٦٤٥
- ٧٠ خَالَكَ قَدْ جَاوَرَ لَامَ الصُّدْعِ وَهُوَ الَّذِي عَقْرَبَةٌ لِلدَّغِ
- ٧١ يَسْبِي الْحَجَى بِحَسَنِهِ إِذَا بَدَا أَوْ كَانَ مُسْنَدًا لِذِي لَامِ ابْتِدَا ١٣١
- ٧٢ طَلَبْتُ سِرًّا مِنْهُ وَصَلًّا فَتَنَّهُزُ وَلَا أَرَى مَنَعًا إِذَا الْقَصْدُ ظَهَرُ ٢٥٣
- ٧٣ قَلْتُ لَهُ يَا ذَا الْجَمِيلِ الْجَمْلَهُ كَلِي بُكَا بُكَاءَ ذَاتِ عَضْلَهُ ٢٩٧
- ٧٤ فَقَالَ لِي عَشْفُكَ أَمْرٌ قَدْ وَصَحُ فَمَا أُبِيحَ أَفْعَلُ وَدَعُ مَا لَمْ يُبِيحُ ٢٦٣
- ٧٥ وَلَسْتُ بِالْمُخَلِّ أَصَلًّا إِنْ وَصَلُ بِالْفِعْلِ مَا لَمْ يَكُ مَانِعٌ حَصَلُ ٢٦٥
- ٧٦ صَدُودُهُ عَنِّي مِنْ إِحْدَى الْكُبْرُ وَشَاعَ فِي ذَا الْبَابِ إِسْقَاطُ الْخَبْرُ ٢٠٥

٧٧	لَيْنٌ عِطْفٍ وَصَلُهُ وَقَدْ قَسَا	١٦٥	نَزَرُ وَكَادَ الْأَمْرُ فِيهِ عُكْسَا
٧٨	قَلْتُ لَخَلِّي إِذْ تَشْنَى وَخَطْرُ		وَالْقَلْبِ مِنْ صَدُودِهِ عَلَى خَطْرُ
٧٩	لَا تَذَكُرُ الْغَصْنَ لَصَبًّا إِكْتَفَى	٨٥٠	بِالْأَصْلِ كَالْعُطْفِ يَعْني الْمِعْطَفَا
٨٠	رَضَابُهُ يَزْرِي بِشَهْدِ النَّحْلِ	٢٤٦	كَالْأَوَّلِ أَجْعَلَنَّهُ كَأَسْتَحْلِي
٨١	أَبَيْتُ أَنْ أَنْفِكَ عَنْهُ حِينَ لَمْ	٩٩٨	وَأَلْتَرَمِ الْإِدْغَامُ أَيضًا فِي هَلْمُ
٨٢	قَلْبِي الَّذِي بِهِ الْغَرَامُ حَصَلَا	٦٢٦	مُغْرَى بِهِ فِي كُلِّ مَا قَدْ فَصَلَا
٨٣	أَحْبَارُهُ تَسْرَتْنِي إِنْ رُوِيَتْ		لِي مِثْلَ مَا أُحِبُّهُ وَأُمْلِيَتْ
٨٤	أَوْ حُكَيْتَ بِالْقَوْلِ أَوْ حَلَّتْ مَحَلَّ	١٧٩	حَالٍ كَزُرْتُهُ وَإِنِّي ذُو أَمَلٍ

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٨٥	هَذَا وَلِي حَبِيبَةٌ تَجْلُو الصَّدَى	١٩١	وَرَبِّمَا أَسْتُغْنِي عَنْهَا إِنْ بَدَا
٨٦	مَلِيحَةٌ لَهَا الْبَدُورُ تَعْتَرِفُ		خَلْخَالُهَا وَقَفَّ عَلَى السَّاقِ التَّرْفُ
٨٧	فَأَحَكِّ لِمَنْ لَمْ يَرَهَا يَا مَنْ سُئِلُ	٧٥٠	عَنْهَا فِي الْوَقْفِ أَوْ حِينَ تَصِلُ
٨٨	فَاتِنَةٌ لِكُلِّ عَقْلٍ أَدهَشَتْ		قَلْتُ لَغَصْنِ الْبَانِ لَمَّا أَنْ مَشَتْ
٨٩	إِشْهَدْ لَهَا بِأَنَّهَا مِثْلُ الْأَلْفِ	٩٥٩	وَيَا كَمْ مَوْقِنٍ بَذَا لَهَا اعْتَرَفُ
٩٠	مَنْ خُرِّدَ عَيْنٍ لَغْزَلَانَ النَّقَا		كَمْ قَدْ حَلَلْنَ عَقْدَ صَبْرٍ وَتَقَى
٩١	هَنَّ لِمَنْ وَاصَلْنَهُ حَيَاءُ	٩٤	وَمَوْضِعَ الْبَلَاتِي أَنْى ذَوَاتُ
٩٢	قَالَتْ لِمَا دَاخَلَهَا مِنَ الْحَسَدِ		وَسَوْفُهَا عِنْدَ كَثِيرٍ قَدْ كَسَدُ
٩٣	كَمْ قَائِلٍ بِقَوْلِهِ لِي يَنْتَصِرُ	٨٢	بِذِي وَذِهِ تِي تَا عَلَى الْأَنْثَى أَقْتَصِرُ
٩٤	عِشْقِ الْإِنَاثِ بِاتِّفَاقٍ أَجْمَلُ	٥٩٧	وَشَاعَ فِي سَبِّ الذَّكَورِ فَعَلُ
٩٥	قَالَ وَقَدْ شَاعَ لِذِي الْأَحْدَاثِ	٥٩٦	فِي سَبِّ الْأَنْثَى وَزُنُّ يَا خَبَاثِ
٩٦	أَنْتِ لِكَاعِ وَخَبَاثِ يَا مُرَّه	٨١	كَذَا فَجَارِ عَلَمٌ لِلْفَجْرَةِ
٩٧	فَقَلْتُ إِرْضَاءً لِكُلِّ مِنْهُمَا		وَلَيْسَ مِثْلِي مَنْ يَحِيدُ عَنْهُمَا

- ٩٨ الحسن في الغادات والغيد معا واللاء كالتدين نَزْرًا وَقَعَا ٩٢
- ٩٩ ما لهما من مشبه في الحسن لا مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَا عَلَيْهِمَا مِنْ دَخَلَا ٣٧٨
- ١٠٠ قَدَاهُمَا كَأَلْفٍ قَدْ خُطَّتِ وَالْيَا إِذَا مَا تُنْيَا لَا تُثْبِتِ ٨٨
- ١٠١ فالرَّاح والكأس الذي به أمتلا كذا لما ضاهاهما قد جُعِلَا ٨١٨
- ١٠٢ رضابها إن كان لي فَهُوَ شِفَا فَإِنِّي مِنْ هَجَرِهَا عَلَى شَفَا
- ١٠٣ وَوَضَّلَهَا بِغَيْرِ تَحْرِيكِ بِنَا أُدِيمَ شَدَّ فِي الْمُدَامِ اسْتُحْسِنَا ٨٩٨
- ١٠٤ وَقَفْتُ مَدْمَعِي عَلَيْهَا فَهَمَا لِلْوَقْفِ نَثْرًا وَقَشَا مِنْتَظِمَا ٨٩٩

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- ١٠٥ وصاحبٍ أقولُ فيه قولٌ حقُّ كاخْضُصْ بُوذٌ وَثَنَاءٍ مِنْ صَدَقِ ٥٤٠
- ١٠٦ فاوضتُهُ فِي قَمَرٍ مَذْكَرٍ مَتَّصِلٍ أَوْ مَفْهِمٍ ذَاتِ حَرٍ ٢٣١
- ١٠٧ فَقُلْتُ يَا أَعَزَّ أَصْحَابِي هَلْ مِنْ صَلَاةٍ أَوْ غَيْرِهَا نَلْتُ الْأَمْلَ ٦٠٤
- ١٠٨ فَأَغْنِمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ إِلَيَّ أَجْرِي أَوْ بِإِضَافَةٍ كَوَصَلٍ يَجْرِي ٢٦٤
- ١٠٩ فَلَنْ تَرَى فِي النَّاسِ مِنْ رَفِيقٍ أَوْلَى بِهِ الْفَضْلُ مِنَ الصَّدِيقِ ٥٥٥
- ١١٠ وَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ أَنَّنِي فَلْتَرْتُ لِي مُرَوِّعِ الْقَلْبِ قَلِيلِ الْحَيْلِ ٣٨٩
- ١١١ إِنْ رَمْتُ حَذَفَ بَعْضُ وَجْدِي لَمْ يُضِرْ كَحَذَفِ مَا سَيَقُ جَوَابًا أَوْ حَصِرَ ٢٧٦
- ١١٢ أَوْ رَمَتْ حَذَفَ جَزْعِي وَرُبَّمَا وَقَدْ يَكُونُ حَذْفُهُ مُلْتَزِمًا ٢٧٧
- ١١٣ لِي مَهْجَةٌ ذَابَتْ بِنَارِ الصَّدِّ وَمَدْمَعِي جَرَى بِصَحْنِ الْخَدِّ
- ١١٤ قَدْ كَادَ أَنْ يَحْفَرَ فِيهِ سَرَبًا وَمِثْلُ كَادَ فِي الْأَصْحِ كَرَبًا ١٨٦
- ١١٥ يَوْشِكُ قَلْبِي أَنْ يَذُوبَ إِنْ شَكَا وَأَسْتَعْمَلُوا مَضَارِعًا لِأَوْشَكَا ١٧٠
- ١١٦ لِي لَوْعَةٌ بِمَهْجَةٍ مَنِّي تَقْدُ وَبِمُفْعُولٍ فَعِلٌ نَحْوُ كَبِدُ ٨١٤
- ١١٧ إِنِّهَاضُ عَظْمِي بِالتَّوَى مِنْ لِي أَمْتَهِنُ وَرَفْعُهُ بَعْدَ مُضَارِعٍ وَهَنْ ٧٠٠
- ١١٨ عَسَى تَرَقُّ لَغْرِيْبٍ مِنْفَرْدُ بَعْدَ عَسَى اخْلَوْلَقَ أَوْشَكَ قَدْ يَرُدُ ١٧١

- ١١٩ وقلتُ لَمَّا لم نرَ الأميرا كَأَيْنَ مَنْ عَلِمْتُهُ نَصِيرَا ١٣٤
- ١٢٠ لعلّه ينصفني من ذي لَمى طَالِبَ مَفْعُولَيْنِ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْتَمِي ٢١٥
- ١٢١ إن جاد لي بوصله يا فرحا إِنْ جَادَ لِي بِوَصْلِهِ يَا فَرِحَا ١٤٤
- ١٢٢ فوصله وما نراه باذله قَلَّ وَمَنْ يَمْنَعُهُ فَانْصُرْ عَادِلَهُ ٥٧٦
- ١٢٣ وما لنفعٍ ولضرٍ إقتضى فَبَابُهُ النَّقْلُ كَسَخَطٍ وَرِضَا ٤٤٧
- ١٢٤ أقولُ إذ أبدى لموعدي خُلُفا نَحْوَهُ عَلَيَّ أَلْفُ عُرْفَا ٢٩٦
- ١٢٥ فإن أراد ضعفها تماما فَمُطْلَقًا كَمَلَّ بِهَا الكَلَامَا ٤٠٧
- ١٢٦ فقال في الألف المضاف عندما قَارَنَهَا كَنِعِمَّ عَقْبِي الكَرَمَا ٤٨٦
- ١٢٧ أجاب إذ جاء بها يحاولُ بَنَحْوِ نِعَمٍ مَا يَقُولُ الفَاضِلُ ٤٨٩
- ١٢٨ وجاء يسعى بجمالٍ باهرٍ كَطَاهِرِ القَلْبِ جَمِيلِ الظَّاهِرِ ٤٦٨
- ١٢٩ فقام زيدٌ إذ أتى واعتدا لِوَاحِدٍ كَمَدَّهُ فامْتَدَا ٢٧١
- ١٣٠ فانهضُ وبادرُ عاجلاً فقد أتى زِيدٌ مَنِيرًا وَجْهَهُ نِعَمَ الفَتَى ٢٢٥
- ١٣١ أكرم به من مالِكٍ كاتبتهُ وقلتُ لَمَّا إنني خاطبتهُ ٢٧١
- ١٣٢ ملكتني بلامٍ عارضٍ خفي واللامُ لِلْمَلِكِ وَشَبَّهَهُ وَفِي ٣٧٢
- ١٣٣ كم قال إذ قلتُ له أتسكرُ كَأَفْعَلٍ نَوَافِقُ نَغْتَبِطُ إِذْ تَشْكُرُ ٦٠
- ١٣٤ لَمَّا أنثنى ورام يمضي إذ صحا قلتُ له نحو النحاة الفصحا ٢٧١
- ١٣٥ تقول إذ رمت الجفا ولم تُقَمِّ كَلَامُنَا لَفْظٌ مَفِيدٌ كَأَسْتَقَمُّ ٨
- ١٣٦ نِعَمَ الفتى هذا الغلام الحسنُ وَالْحَذْفُ فِي نِعَمِ الفَتَاةِ اسْتَحْسَنُوا ٢٣٦
- ١٣٧ فيا صديقي إن رأيتَ البدرَ لا تَعْدِلْ بِهِ فَهُوَ يُضَاهِي المَثَلَا ٤٩٤
- ١٣٨ وقلْ إذا ما الموت فيه أسندا لِأَثْنَيْنِ أَوْ جَمْعٍ كَفَارَ الشُّهَدَا ٢٢٧
- ١٣٩ وأنشدُ أذ شاهدته قد حصلا عِنْدِي مِنْ بَعْدِ الجَفَا وَوَصَلَا ٢٢٧
- ١٤٠ فيّ ألا يا حَبِّذا الفَاعِلُ ذَا وَإِنْ تُرِدْ ذَمًّا فَقُلْ لَا حَبِّذَا ٤٩٣

١٤١ وأطرب له فإته نادانيا كعبد عبدي عبد عبدا عبديا ٥٩٢

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- ١٤٢ وبى رشا خشيت فيه تلني قوامه الرشيق مثل الألف
- ١٤٣ لعينه الصاد غدت علامه والنون إن تشدد فلا ملامه ٨٩
- ١٤٤ أهيف مثل الغصن يزري بالقنا الحاظه تسكرني إذا رنا
- ١٤٥ قلت له والصبر عني منفصل علامه الفعل المعدى أن تصل ٢٦٧
- ١٤٦ كم قال لي مازحا لما شرب كمثل أما أنت برا فاقترب ١٥٦
- ١٤٧ صرفته في المال والروح معا ولم يكن تضريفه ممتنعا ١٩٤
- ١٤٨ وقلت جد لي كرما بوصل أو تنفيس أو لو وقليل ذكر لو ١٩٥
- ١٤٩ وأنظر إلى قضيتي المسطره مفردة جاءتك أو مكررة ١٩٧
- ١٥٠ وأرفق بمسكين ضعيف الحال لا حول ولا قوة والثاني اجعلا ١٩٩
- ١٥١ صب كئيب طال ما بكى وأن من دون لىت ولعل وكان ١٨٩
- ١٥٢ وأعطف عليه وتفضل كرما له بما للنت ذى الفضل أنتمى ٢٠٣
- ١٥٣ وأعط عينيه من المنام ما تستحق دون الأستفهام ٢٠٤
- ١٥٤ وعجل الوصل بلا ممانعه والثاني التالي تا المطاوعه ٢٤٥
- ١٥٥ وراع صبا مغرما كم أنتحب وما لباع قد يرى لنحو حب ٢٤٨
- ١٥٦ وجد على صب له الوجد برى حتما موافقا لما قد أظهره ٢٥٦
- ١٥٧ أضحى لعشقي كقتيل وزمن وهالك وميت به قمن ٨٠٤
- ١٥٨ غرامه إن لاح للعين شرر فهو وإلا فضمير أستتر ٢٢٦

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١٥٩ وبى بديع الحسن والجمال يزري بدير التّم في الكمال

- ١٦٠ عذاره لما بدا سبى البشرُ وشدّ نحوُ زان نورُهُ الشَّجَرُ ٢٤١
- ١٦١ جاوره خالٌ كلون النَّدِّ ليسَ له في حسِنِهِ من نِدِّ
- ١٦٢ سوداء قلبي الممتلئ من الرِّجا قد عَشِقتُ سوادَهُ الذي دجا
- ١٦٣ عشقُ بهِ الموتُ عليَّ هيِّنُ لأنَّ قِصْدَ الجِنسِ فيه بيِّنُ ٢٣٦
- ١٦٤ ثلاثة شَبَّهَ بها جمالَهُ معوِّذاً برَبِّها كمالَهُ
- ١٦٥ بدرٌ محيَّاهِ وسحرٌ لحظُهُ وجوهرٌ مبسمُهُ ولفظُهُ
- ١٦٦ وغصنٌ قدَّهُ رشيقٌ ذو مَيِّدِ والرَّابِعُ الشَّبِيهُ بِالْمَزِيدِ قَدْ ٨٢٧
- ١٦٧ قلتُ له وجمرٌ وجدي يُسَعِرُ ممَّا بهِ عنه مَبِينًا يخبرُ ١٣٣
- ١٦٨ قد برَّحتُ واللهِ بي آلامِي يا من غدا عذاره كالآلامِ
- ١٦٩ فَصِلْ مُحِبًّا في هواكُ قد تَلَفُ وأجبر بردُ اللامِ منه ما أَلَفُ ٨٧٣
- ١٧٠ فزارني بعد الصَّدودِ ورضي وَهُوَ لِنَصَبِ ما سِوَاهُ مَقْتَضِي ٤٣٥
- ١٧١ أقام عندي جمعةً لَمَّا عَزَمُ إِقامَةً وَغالبًا ذا التَّالِمِ ٤٥٠
- ١٧٢ رَقِبْتُهُ هَجْمًا عليَّ دَخَلَا لِلْمَحِ ما قد كان عنه نُقْلًا ١٠٩
- ١٧٣ فقال لي ذقت الرُّضابَ السَّكْرِي كَذَا وَطَبَّتِ النَّفْسُ يا قَيْسُ السَّرِي ١٠٨
- ١٧٤ فقلتُ قل لي هل عليكُ من ضررُ إن قيلَ زيْدٌ عاذرٌ من أَعْتَدُرُ ١١٣
- ١٧٥ عُلِقَتْ قلبي بالجمالِ الرائِعِ كَعُلِقَةِ بنفسِ الاسمِ الواقِعِ ٢٦٦
- ١٧٦ ورَبِّ صاحِبِ علينا هجما فلم يَعْقُ عن عَمَلٍ قد عَلِمَا ٣٨١
- ١٧٧ في مجلسٍ بهِ تعاطى التُّدْمَا وَالتُّزِمَ التَّعْلِيْقُ قَبْلَ نَفِي ما ٢١٢

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- ١٧٨ وبني غزالٌ طرفه سَحَّارُ فيه العقولُ كلُّها تحتارُ
- ١٧٩ حلُّ المعاني فيه صبري قد فني فأعجب لواءِ صدغِهِ المُزْرَفِ
- ١٨٠ وقد غدا من فوقِ وردٍ قد قُطِفُ مماثلاً لما عليه قد عُطِفُ ٤١٥

- ١٨١ فَأَلِفُ الْقَدِّ الْقَوِيمِ مِنْهُ عَنْ هُذَيْلٍ أَنْقَلَابُهَا بَاءٌ حَسَنٌ ٤٢٣
- ١٨٢ يَمُوتُ فِيهِ مِنْ عَرَفِهِ وَجُدَا وَلَا يَزَالُ مِنْهُ يَا بِي نَجْدَا
- ١٨٣ فَلَيْتَ حَالِي وَالْكَرَى مَنْفَصْلُ كَحَالِهِ إِذَا بِهِ يَتَّصِلُ ٤١٦
- ١٨٤ بِشَرْطِ عَطْفٍ أَوْ إِضَافَةٍ إِلَى مِثْلِ الَّذِي لَهُ أَضَفَتِ الْأَوَّلَا ٤١٧
- ١٨٥ قَلْتُ لَهُ مَخَاطَبًا لَمَّا حَضَرَ وَالْقَلْبُ مِنْ صَدُودِهِ عَلَى خَطَرُ
- ١٨٦ قَدْ سَبَقَ الْوَعْدُ لَنَا وَمَا أَتَّفَقُ وَالْغَرَضُ الْآنَ بَيَانُ مَا سَبَقُ ٥٣٤
- ١٨٧ فَأَعَطَفُ فَمَا زَلَّتْ عَطُوفًا رَوْفَا وَالْعَطْفُ مَطْلَقًا بَوَاوٍ ثُمَّ فَا ٥٤١
- ١٨٨ وَطَالَ مَا أَنْشَدَ فِيكَ ذُو الصِّفَا حَتَّى أَمَّ أَوْ كَفَيْكَ صِدْقٌ وَوَفَا ٥٤١
- ١٨٩ فَيَا سُرُورِي حِينَ يَأْتِي مَنْزِلِي إِنْ كَانَ عَنْ مُضِيِّهِ بِمَعَزِلِ ٤٢٨
- ١٩٠ فَإِنْ ظَفَرْتَ بِالَّذِي قَدْ ذُكِرَا كَانَ وَإِلَّا فَنَأْوِهِ مُقَدَّرَا ٣٠٤
- ١٩١ وَإِنْ أَتَاكَ زَائِرًا فَضَمَّنَا قَوْلَ بِنِ مَالِكُ كَهِنَا امْكُثْ أَرْمْنَا ٣٠٣
- ١٩٢ وَأَخْفَهُ عَنِ عَيْنِ حَاسِدٍ فَمَا يَقْبَلُهُ الْمَكَانُ إِلَّا مُبْهَمَا ٣٠٥
- ١٩٣ وَلَا زِمَ الْمَفْعُولُ فِيهِ إِنْ وَرَدَ وَالْفَاعِلُ الْمَعْنَى كَطَبِ نَفْسًا تُفَدُّ ٣٦٠
- ١٩٤ وَمَا يُرَى ظَرْفًا وَغَيْرَ ظَرْفٍ فَذَلِكَ ذُو تَصَرْفٍ فِي الْعُرْفِ ٣٠٨
- ١٩٥ وَلَا تَقُلْ لَا إِنْ رَأَيْتَهُ لَزِمَ ظَرْفِيَّةً أَوْ شَبَّهَهَا مِنَ الْكَلِمِ ٣٠٩
- ١٩٦ فَالشَّخْصُ فِي مَقَالِهِ قَدْ يَعْتَرُ وَذَلِكَ فِي ظَرْفِ الزَّمَانِ يَكْثُرُ ٣١٠
- ١٩٧ وَمَجْلِسُ اللَّهْوِ فِيهِ اللَّوْمُ قَدْ يَأْتِي وَلَكِنْ نَضَبَهُ أَخْتَرُ إِنْ وَرَدَ ٣١٨

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- ١٩٨ وَبِي غَزَالٌ سَاحِرُ الْأَجْفَانِ طَاوِي الْحَشَا صَبْرِي فِيهِ فَانِي
- ١٩٩ قَلْبِي مِنْ فَرَطِ هَوَاهُ لَا يَكِنُّ يُشْتَقُّ فَهَوَ ذُو ضَمِيرٍ مُسْتَكِنٌ ١٢١
- ٢٠٠ مَلِيحٌ وَجْهِ حَسَنُهُ الْبَدِيعُ كَمْ بِخَدِّهِ خَالًا بِهِ الْجَمَالُ عَمُّ
- ٢٠١ تَمَامُهُ فِي الْحَسَنِ غَيْرٌ مُنْتَفِي وَذُو تَمَامٍ مَا بَرَفَعٍ يَكْتَفِي ١٥٠

- ٢٠٢ دعوته يوماً فما تأبى وشذَّ إيلاءَ يدي للبى ٣٩٨
- ٢٠٣ قد شاقني مقبلٌ منه سبى عقلي وردفٌ كالكثيبِ قد ربا
- ٢٠٤ فقلتُ لَمَّا عاق عنه الرُقبا وقد أتاني يتمشى في قبا
- ٢٠٥ كم منعوني رشفات حُلوهُ وَمَنَعُوا إِتْبَاعَ نَحْوِ ذِرْوَه ٧٨٩
- ٢٠٦ وغادة سحارة الألحاظِ معسولة الرضابِ والألفاظِ
- ٢٠٧ على لطيفِ طينها معولي وَحُكْمُهَا فِي الْقَصْدِ حُكْمُ الْأَوَّلِ ٣٢٥
- ٢٠٨ قلتُ لها مستجلباً لمرحمة كَلِمَ تَكُونِي لِتَرُومِي مَظْلَمَه ٤٥
- ٢٠٩ فضحكك قائله يا أشعبُ وهل معي بذا الكلام تلعبُ
- ٢١٠ أراك قد علقت بي الآمالا كَأَنَّكَ أَبْتِهَاجَكَ أَسْتَمَالا ٥٧٠
- ٢١١ وألقتك إلى غزالي قائله وَهِيَ بِلَا شِكِّ إِلَيْهِ مَائِلَه
- ٢١٢ لا تعدلن عن ذا الفتى الوضي وَلَيْسَ أَنْ يُبَدَلَ بِالْمَرَضِيِّ ٥٣٩
- ٢١٣ فإن جنت بعد صدودها ألفُ وَأَوَّلُهَا مَا كَانَ قَبْلُ قَدْ أَلْف ٧٨٠
- ٢١٤ وقل إذا رأتك عجل بندا ما لِلنَّدا يَصْلُحُ نَحْوُ أَحْمَدَا ٦١٩
- ٢١٥ وأشرب مع الذكور والإناثِ وَالْأَمْرُ هَكَذَا مِنَ الثَّلَاثِي ٥٩٦
- ٢١٦ فكدت أن أجن من فرط الطربِ وَقَلْتُ مَا لِي فِي سِوَاكِ مِنْ أَرْب ٧٨٠
- ٢١٧ والحق أني بهما مفتونُ وشاهدي مدمعي الهتونُ
- ٢١٨ وفيهما زاد غرمي مع ما ضاهاهما وَقَلَّ فِي غَيْرِهِمَا ٨١٦
- ٢١٩ أحبب بها رشيقة الأعطافِ حازت من الحسن بلا خلافِ
- ٢٢٠ غايته القصوى وفاقت ورضا وَكُونَ قُصُوى نَادِرًا لَا يَخْفَى ٩٦٥
- ٢٢١ قلتُ لها لَمَّا غدت في حيره وَوَقَعَتْ فِي عَلِيَّةٍ بِالْغَيْرِه
- ٢٢٢ لم يبق لي في إلفه قطُ غرضُ وَحَذْفُهَا بِالنَّقْلِ رَبَّمَا عَرَضُ ٩٨٠
- ٢٢٣ فقال لي من هو بمثلها كلفُ إِغْلَالُهَا بِسَاكِنِ غَيْرِ أَلْف ٩٧٠

- ٢٢٤ لَمَّا رَأَتْ وَجْدِيَّ بِالْمَعْشُوقِ وَشَغْفِي بِقَدِّهِ الْمَمْشُوقِ
 ٢٢٥ كَفَّتْ عَنِ الْكَلَامِ لِي وَلَمْ تَصِلْ وَالْكَفُّ قَدْ يُوْجِبُهُ مَا يَنْفَصِلُ ٩١٠
 ٢٢٦ مَعَ أَتْنِي لَمْ أَرْ فِي الْآفَاقِ وَغَيْرِهَا مِنْ سَائِرِ الْعَشَاقِ
 ٢٢٧ مَن سَارَ فِي بَرِّ الْغَرَامِ سِيرَنَا دُونَ سَمَاعِ غَيْرِهَا وَغَيْرِ نَا ٩١٢

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- ٢٢٨ وَبِي مَلِيحُ إِسْمُهُ عَلِيٌّ يَلُومُنِي فِي حَبِّهِ الْخَلِيٌّ
 ٢٢٩ كَمْ قَلْتُ لَمَّا أَنْ بَدَا الْمِلَاحُ لِي كَلِمَ يَنْفُوا إِلَّا أَمْرُؤًا إِلَّا عَلِي ٣٢٥
 ٢٣٠ وَاعْدَ أَنْ يَزُورَ يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ وَيَكْبِتَ الْحَسَادَ أَيَّ الْكَبْتِ
 ٢٣١ فَلَا تَقُلْ إِنْ زَارَنِي فِي الْجَمْلَةِ كَجَاءَ زَيْدٌ وَهُوَ نَاوٍ رِحْلَهُ ٣٥١
 ٢٣٢ جَلَسْتُ فِي بَعْضِ اللَّيَالِي فِي الْقَمَرِ مَشَاهِدًا لَهُ إِلَى وَقْتِ السَّحَرِ
 ٢٣٣ فَعِنْدَمَا جَاءَ سَمِيرًا زَائِرِي قَلْتُ وَقَدْ عَمَّ السَّرُورُ سَائِرِي
 ٢٣٤ أُنْسْتُ بِالْبَدْرِ وَقَدْ غَابَ الْفَتَى وَلَيْسَ عِنْدِي لِزَمًا إِذْ قَدْ أَتَى ٥٦٠
 ٢٣٥ أَغْرَانِي الْوَجْدُ بِهِ لَمَّا سَفَرُ عَنْ طَلْعَةٍ مَشْرِقَةٍ مِثْلِ الْقَمَرِ
 ٢٣٦ يَسْبِي الْوَرَى فَقَالَ لِي عَلَيْكَ وَهَكَذَا دُونَكَ مَعَ إِلَيْكَ ٦٢٩
 ٢٣٧ مَسْتَعْدَبُ التَّطْقِ خَفِيفُ الرُّوحِ أَجْفَانُهُ إِلَى الْقُلُوبِ تُوْحِي
 ٢٣٨ أَنْشَدَنِي فِي حَالَةِ الْمُلَاعَبَةِ مَمَازِحًا بِالطَّفِ الْمُدَاعِبَةِ
 ٢٣٩ فَمَدَّكَ أَكْفَفُ شَرِّهِ عَنَّا إِذَا كَانَ لِأُنْثَى كَأَبْتِ هِنْدُ الْأَذَى ٢٣٠
 ٢٤٠ وَمَا نَسَيْتُ وَهُوَ أَيْضًا يُنْشِدُ شَعْرًا إِلَى فَهْمِ الْمَعَانِي يُرْشِدُ
 ٢٤١ كَمْ مِنْ عَقُودٍ دُرُّهَا الَّذِي صَفَا بِهَا كُنُطُقُ اللَّهِ حَسْبِي وَكَفَى ١٢٠
 ٢٤٢ فَاسْتَعْنِ بِالْيَقِينِ مِنْ بَيَانِي فَذَكْرُ ذَا وَحَدْفُهُ سَيَّانِ ١١٠
 ٢٤٣ فَقَلْتُ عَنْهُ مِثْلَ مَا قَالَ الْوَرَى عَنْ وَاحِدٍ كَهُمْ سَرَاةً شَعْرًا ١٤٢
 ٢٤٤ كَمْ قَالَ وَهُوَ يَتَحَرَّى جَبْرِي حِينَ عَدِمْتُ فِيهِ كُلَّ صَبْرِ

- ٢٤٥ قولاً لتمزيق حياتي يرفو بِكَسْرٍ رَا كَغَارِمًا لَا أَجْفُو ٩٠٩
- ٢٤٦ قد كتَبَ الحُسْنُ على خدِّ لَهْ خَطًّا تعالَى اللهُ مَا أَجْمَلَهْ
- ٢٤٧ بنا جميعَ مَا تَرَى قد فعلا وَالْفِعْلُ إِن لَمْ يَكْ نَاسِخًا فَلَا ١٩٢
- ٢٤٨ قال وقد سألتَه للطفِهِهْ عن عِلَّةٍ من رَمَدٍ في طرفِهِهْ
- ٢٤٩ وأيُّ طرفٍ سَاحِرٍ نظيرُ ذَا لَمْ يَكْ مُعْتَلًّا كَرَامٍ وَقَذَا ٤٢٠

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- ٢٥٠ وربّ ذي لطفٍ وذي دلالٍ رضابُه الباردُ كالزَّلَالِ
- ٢٥١ قصدتُ أَنْ أَلْثَمَ فاهُ فزوى حاجبه وَعَتَيَّ العنقَ لوى
- ٢٥٢ أهيفُ مثل الغصنِ يزري بالقنا أَلْحَاطُهُ تَسْكُرَنِي إِذَا رَنَا
- ٢٥٣ فقلت معشوقك قد تألّما وَجَوَوزُنَهْ مُطْلَقًا فِي كُلِّ مَا ٦٠٩
- ٢٥٤ قلتُ له وَالصَّبْرُ عَنِّي منفصلُ عِلَامَةُ الفِعْلِ المُعَدَى أَنْ تَصِلَ ٢٦٧
- ٢٥٥ فذابَ قلبي من جواهْ وَأَنْفَلِقُ بوسمِهْ أو وسمٍ ما بهِ أَعْتَلِقُ ٥٠٧
- ٢٥٦ فقلتُ عِدْنِي إِذْ بذلتُ رُوحِي بقبلةٍ عُمِّرَتْ عَمَرَ نوحِ
- ٢٥٧ فلم يردّ لي جوابًا أَصْلا فقلتُ وَالقَلْبُ بِنَارٍ يَصْلى
- ٢٥٨ وَأَقْرُنْ بِنَا حَتْمًا جَوَابًا لَوْ جُعِلَ شَرْطًا لِإِنْ أَوْ غَيْرِهَا لَمْ يَنْجَعِلَ ٧٠١
- ٢٥٩ فرامَ صرْفًا وَالْفَوَادِ ملتهفُ ذُو المَنْعِ وَالْمَصْرُوفُ قَدْ لَا يَنْصَرِفُ ٦٧٥
- ٢٦٠ لَمَّا خَشِيَتْ ضَرَرًا من ماردِهْ كَفَلْتُهُ بِحُجَّةٍ من والِدِهْ
- ٢٦١ وقلت للصبِّ الذي مثلي قُتِلَ بِهِ كَمَنْ عِنْدِي الَّذِي أَبْنُهُ كُفِلَ ٩٧
- ٢٦٢ وإنّه لعارفٌ بَأَنِّي كُفَاءٌ وَلَكِنَّ ابْنَهْ ذُو ضِعْنِ ١٧٥
- ٢٦٣ أبدى عليّ غضبًا بسببِ لَمْ أتعَمَّدُ فعَلَهْ لا والتبّي
- ٢٦٤ فسألوه الصّفْحَ عَنِّي إِذْ خلا وَبَعْضُ الاغلامِ عَلَيهِ دَخَلا ١٠٩
- ٢٦٥ قال وقد أنشدته قريضا يشبهه رُوضَ زَهْرٍ مريضَا

٢٦٦ كما شاعرٍ قد عيبَ لَمَّا فَضَّلا ما لَيْسَ مَعْنَاهُ لَهُ مُحَصَّلًا ١٢٢

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- ٢٦٧ وبي بديعُ الحسن حاز لطفنا نار صبايتي به لا تُطْفئى
- ٢٦٨ يעדُنِي منه بِنَيْلِ أَمَلِي فَيَسْتَحِقُّ مَا لَهُ مِنْ عَمَلٍ ٤٣٣
- ٢٦٩ قَلْتُ وَعَظَمِي بِالْبَعَادِ وَاهِي يَا رَبِّ يَا اللَّهَ يَا إِلَهِي
- ٢٧٠ لَا تُخَلِّني إن زارني في الليلِ مَنْ مَذْلُولِي الفِعْلِ كَأَمِنْ مِنْ أَمِنْ ٢٨٦
- ٢٧١ كم قال خلُّ عنك علمَ التَّحْوِ ودرسهُ وقمَّ وبادرُ نحوي
- ٢٧٢ لا تشتغل عني بفعللٍ وما غايِرَ لِلزَّيْدِ أَوْ النَّقْصِ انْتَمَى ٩٢٤
- ٢٧٣ ولا فَعَالٍ قَطُّ أَوْ فَعَالٍ مُصَاحِبِي تَضْعِيفٍ أَوْ إِغْلَالٍ ٧٩٨
- ٢٧٤ وَأَنْهَضُ وَلَا يَعْقُكُ أَفْعَاءُ مُثَلَّثِ العَيْنِ وَفَعْلَاءُ ٧٦٨
- ٢٧٥ وَفُعْلٌ لاسمٍ رُبَاعِي بِمَدِّ قَدْ زِيدَ قَبْلَ لَامٍ أَغْلَالًا فَقَدْ ٨٠٠
- ٢٧٦ ولا تَفَزَّعْنِي بِذِكْرِ لَاحِقٍ وَشَذَقِمٍ وَهَيْلَةٍ وَوَأَشِقِ ٧٣
- ٢٧٧ ولا بِأَمٍّ عَرِيْطٍ لِلْعَقْرِبِ وَهَكَذَا تُعَالَةٌ لِلتَّغْلِبِ ٨٠
- ٢٧٨ ولا حُبَارِي لَا وَلَا سِبْطَرِي ذَكَرِي وَحِثِّي مَعَ الكُفْرِي ٧٦٦
- ٢٧٩ ولا تروِّعني بوصفِ شَبْعِي وَمَرَطِي وَوَزُنُ فَعْلِي جَمْعًا ٧٦٥
- ٢٨٠ ولا بشيئٍ من مَبَانِي الأُولَى يُبْدِيهِ وَزُنُ أَرْبَى وَالطَّوَلَى ٧٦٤

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- ٢٨١ وربُّ شخصٍ داخلِ الطَّبَاعِ فِي صِنْعَةِ الطَّحْنِ وَسِيَعِ البَاعِ
- ٢٨٢ قال وقد جاء ولم يهبنني مَتَّبِعُهُ كَاصْطَفَ هَذَا وَأَبْنِي ٥٤٤
- ٢٨٣ فأختر من الأنواع ما شئت وفي نَفِي وَشِبهِ النَّفِي تَخْيِيرٌ قَفِي ٩٩٧
- ٢٨٤ ما قال للتَّسْوَةِ دَعَنَ الخَطْلَا وَقَرَنَ فِي أَقْرَرْنَ وَقَرَنَ نُقْلًا ٩٩٠

- ٢٨٥ في الخمرِ قد أنفقَ حملِي ورقِ في أَدَانٍ وَأَزْدَدُ وَأَدَكِرُ دَالًا بَقِي ٩٨٧
- ٢٨٦ أصبح في صناعة له أنتمى كَحَيَزَبُونِ فَهُوَ حَكْمٌ حَتَمًا ٨٣١
- ٢٨٧ وهو هذا الفنّ الطّريفِ منفردُ كَذَاكَ فِي أَنْشَاءِ أَيْضًا يَطْرُدُ ٨١١
- ٢٨٨ ترى الذي ينتاب بيته بلا واسِطَةٍ هُوَ الْمُسَمَّى بَدَلًا ٥٦٥
- ٢٨٩ كم قال مَنْ نَهَاكَ لَا تُطِعْهُ وَأَضْعِ إِلَى قَوْلِي وَلَا تَضَعْهُ ٥٦٤
- ٢٩٠ لَا تَشْرَبِ الْمَدَامَ صَرَفًا أَصْلًا وَعَكْسَهُ اسْتَعْمِلْ تَحْدَهُ سَهْلًا ٥٦٤
- ٢٩١ وإن مزجت ما له أضيفا أَوْ مِثْلَ جُرْئِهِ فَلَا تَحِيْفَا ٣٤٢
- ٢٩٢ وإن أتوا بالراح صرفًا صافية فَجِيءَ بِهَا مَثْلُوَّةٌ لَا تَالِيَهُ ١٤٩
- ٢٩٣ أو نصبوا الراوق كي يصقَى به المدام الصّرف فأتِ الصّرفا ١٦٠
- ٢٩٤ فأشرب وأسق كلّ ذي غُنْجٍ ودلُّ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَنْصُوبٍ بِمَا أَلَزَمَ حَيْثُ حَلُّ ١٦٠
- ٢٩٥ فإنني يعجبني رشف اللمى وَعَيْنٌ مَا آخِرُهُ قَدْ زِيدَ مَا ٩٧٤
- ٢٩٦ وكلّ نون منه تحكي الذهبا وَجُمْلَةٌ وَمَا بِمَنْزِجِ رُكْبَا ٧٧
- ٢٩٧ وإن نأت عنك سُلَيْمِي فَأَعْتَبِ وَإِنْ أَتَتْ فَالْقَوْلُ أَضْمِرُ تُصَبِّ ٥١٢
- ٢٩٨ وإن أبت بحيها فأغصبها وَكُلَّ آلَاتِ الْمَدَامِ أَنْصَبَهَا ٢٩٨
- ٢٩٩ وما سوى الراوق ممّا علّقا بِالرَّافِعِ النَّصْبُ لَهُ مُحَقَّقًا ٢٥٤
- ٣٠٠ فأنصبه ليلاً وتلذذ بالسّهز وَنَصْبُ غُدُوَّةٍ بِهَا عَنْهُمْ نَدْرُ ٤٠٨
- ٣٠١ رجّع إذا غنيت واخفض مطلقا وَالْمَدُّ أَوْلَى وَكَدَى الْبُعْدُ أَنْطِقًا ٨٤
- ٣٠٢ لا تحضرن مجلس أنسٍ مطلقا فِي جَمْعٍ مَا فَوْقَ الثَّلَاثَةِ أَرْتَقِي^٤
- ٣٠٣ وأحذر إذا حذر شرًا أنتصب مُحَذَّرًا بِمَا اسْتِتَارُهُ وَجَبُّ ٦٢٢
- ٣٠٤ فيا له من ناصحٍ شفوقِ يَرَعَى عَلَى طَوْلِ الْمَدَى حَقُوقِي

^٤ لم يرد هذا الشطر في تحقيق بعلبكي ولكنه في تحقيق محمّد محيي الدين عبد الحميد، القاهرة:

- ٣٠٥ طباعُهُ لِلطَّفْهَاءِ كَالرَّاحِ يُقْفِي عَلَيْهِ كُلَّ ذِي اقْتِرَاحِ
- ٣٠٦ وكيف لا يُثْنِي عليه وهو ما خَالَفَ فِي البَابَيْنِ حُكْمًا رُسِمَا ٨٣٧
- ٣٠٧ لَمَّا طَفَى لوعْتِي المَشْوَبَهُ بِرِيقِهِ المَحْبُوبِ وَالمَحْبُوبَهُ
- ٣٠٨ قَلْتُ وَقَدْ ناولْتُهُ كَيْسَ الذَّهَبِ كَالْمُعْطِيَانِ يُرْضِيَانِ وَوَجِبَ ٩٥٨
- ٣٠٩ فكم شربتُ فِي المَقَامِ مَعُهُمَا مِنْ وَاحِدٍ لِأَرْبَعٍ فَلْتَعَلَّمَا ٦٥٧
- ٣١٠ راحًا غَدْتُ فِي وَسْطِ الدَّنَانِ مِنْ بَعْدِ أَرْبَعٍ كَزَعْفَرَانِ ٨٤٢
- ٣١١ فَانْظُرْ إِلَى أَحْسَنَهُمَا تَرَ العَجْبَ وَالزَّمَّ بِنَا النُّوعَيْنِ فَهُوَ قَدْ وَجِبَ ٦٣٤
- ٣١٢ وَرَكِبَ الصَّرْفَ الَّذِي مَا رَكِبَا تَرْكِيْبَ مَرْجٍ نَحْوِ مَعْدِي كَرِبَا ٦٦٢
- ٣١٣ وَهَاتِهِ كَالذَّهَبِ الصَّبِيْبِ وَأَسْقِنِي مِنْهُ مَعَ الحَبِيْبِ
- ٣١٤ وَقُلْ لَهُ يَا صَاحِبِي إِذَا بَدَا كَزُرَّهُ خَالِدًا وَقَبْلَهُ البِدا ٥٦٨
- ٣١٥ وَمُرَّهُ أَنْ يَرشِفَنِي رِيْقًا حَلا وَالأَمْرُ إِنْ كَانَ بِغَيْرِ أَفْعَلٍ فَلَا ٦٩١

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- ٣١٦ وَمَا نَسِيتُ لَسْتُ أَنْسَى إِذْ أَتَى يَوْمًا إِلَيَّ مَعَهُ أَيُّ فَتَى
- ٣١٧ حَلُّو المَعَانِي طَرْفُهُ كَحَيْلٍ قَدْ قَالَ عَنْهُ خَصْرُهُ النَّحِيلُ
- ٣١٨ هَذَا مَلِيحٌ كَامِلٌ لَا يَخْتَفِي وَمَا سِوَاهُ نَاقِصٌ وَالتَّقْصُ فِي ١٥١
- ٣١٩ يَعْجِبُنِي مِنْهُ لَمَّى كَالقَرَقَفِ وَكَفَلٌ ظَهْرُهُ غَيْرُ خَفِي
- ٣٢٠ فَسَرَّنِي بِقَرَقَفٍ مَدَّخِرٍ عُلِّقَ أَوْ بِظَاهِرٍ مُؤَخَّرِ ٧١٦
- ٣٢١ وَنَاعَسِ الأَحْدَاقِ كَمْ لِي أَسْهَرَا لَهُ مَحِيًّا حَسْنُهُ قَدْ أَبْهَرَا
- ٣٢٢ سَهْمٌ لِحَاظِهِ الَّذِي لِي كَلَّمَا صَيْغٌ مِنَ الفِعْلِ كَمَرَمَى مِنْ رَمَى ٣٠٦
- ٣٢٣ قَصَدْتُ فَكَ طَوْقِهِ فَمَا رَضِي فَقُلْتُ لِمَ لَا يَا أَخَا الوَجْهِ الوَضِي
- ٣٢٤ هَيَّا فَتَى كَمْ مَاتَ فِيكَ مَنْ ° نَظَرُ وَحَيِّي أَفْكَكُ وَأَدْعَمُ دُونَ حَدْرُ ٩٩٤

° فِي الأَصْلِ: مَذ.

- ٣٢٥ يعجبني نرجسُ طَرْفٍ قد ذبلُ وَنَحْوَهُ فَكُ بِنَقْلِ فَقُبِلِ ٩٩٣
- ٣٢٦ وحُلَّ طَوْقُهُ فبانَت العُكُنُ وَفُكَّ حَيْثُ مُدْغَمٌ فِيهِ سَكُنُ ٩٩٦
- ٣٢٧ أراد أن يسكنه في حجره مَليحةٌ جواره بالأجره
- ٣٢٨ فقلتُ كَلِمَةً له يا لكِ من كَلِمَةٍ إِنْ يَسْكُنُ كَأَيِّرٍ وَائْتَمِينَ ٩٤٩

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- ٣٢٩ وأهيفُ الأعطافِ كالعَسالِ قلبي عليه لم يكن بسالِ
- ٣٣٠ مِعْصَمُهُ عليه كم أسبلَ كُمُ وَنَحْوُهُ وَجْهَيْنِ فِي ثَانِيهِ أُمُ ٩٥٢
- ٣٣١ لَمَّا رَأَيْتُ صَدْعَهُ الْمُعْفَرِبا قلتُ مقالاً للوجودِ أطربا
- ٣٣٢ يا من لحبِّ صَدِّ عن مثلي كَتَمُ وَاوَأُ أَصِرُّ مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ لَفْظًا أَتَمُ ٦٥١
- ٣٣٣ يسرَّ قلبي إن جفا أو أبتعدُ فا أَمْرٍ مُضَارِعٍ مِنْ كَوَعَدُ ٩٨٨
- ٣٣٤ فأن أقولُ حين يأتي المنزلا ظَلْتُ وَظَلْتُ فِي ظِلِّكَ اسْتَعْمِلَا ٩٩٠
- ٣٣٥ فلو رأه مرةً في داري خلِيَّ عبد الواحد الحواري
- ٣٣٦ ما قالَ مثلَ كَلَلٍ وَلَبَبِ وَلَا كَجَسَسِ وَلَا كَأَخْضَصِ أَبِي ٩٩٢
- ٣٣٧ أقسمُ بالله الذي قد خلقه بدرَ الدجا مصوِّراً من علقه
- ٣٣٨ لا بُدَّ أن أعملَ إن منِّي أقترَبُ إِضَافَةً مَبْدُوءَةً بِأَبْنِ أَوْ أَبُ ٨٧١
- ٣٣٩ قلتُ له يوماً وقد حادثتهُ وفي مسائلِ الجوى باحثتهُ
- ٣٤٠ قدَّرتُ أمراً فيك يا أميري وَيُعْرَفُ التَّقْدِيرُ بِالضَّمِيرِ ٧٥٩

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- ٣٤١ ويدرِ تمَّ فوق غصنِ آسِ ليسَ لمن أمرضه من آسي
- ٣٤٢ في ثغره وورد خدّه النَّضْرُ فَدَيْتُهُ ماء الحياة والخَضْرُ
- ٣٤٣ قد قلتُ لَمَّا أن تبدى خدُّه يزهو به ريحانه ووردهُ

- ٣٤٤ وَجَنَّتُهُ تُحْرِقُ قَلْبِي بِالشَّرِّ
- ٣٤٥ مِنْ صَدْعِهِ الْوَائِي غَارَتْ أَلْفُ
- ٣٤٦ نَادَيْتِ لَامٍ عَارِضٍ لَهُ رُسْمٌ
- ٣٤٧ أَغِثْ مُحِبًّا فِي هَوَاكَ قَدْ تَلِفَ
- ٣٤٨ رَأَتْ صَبَابَاتِي بِهِ فِغَارَتِ
- ٣٤٩ ثُمَّ غَدَّتْ تَقُولُ مِنْ فِرْطِ الْأَلَمِ
- ٣٥٠ لَا تَذَكَّرُنْ بِلَامِهِ الْخَفِيَّةِ
- ٣٥١ إِذَا رَأَى نَاطِرَهَا الْخَالَ وَقَدْ
- ٣٥٢ فَلَانَهُ هُنَاكَ بَاكِ جَدًّا
- ٣٥٣ كَمْ عَاشِقٍ تَشِي عَلَى خِصَالِهِ
- ٣٥٤ فَمَيِّزِ السَّامِي إِلَيْهِ مِثْلَ مَا
- ٣٥٥ وَفُهُ بِهِ مُخْبِرًا كَعَشْرَةَ
- ٣٥٦ وَكَمْ شَكُوْتُ مَا أُلَاقِي مِنْهُ
- ٣٥٧ صَبِرِي أَتَى صَدَّ عَنِّي قَدْ غَلَبَ
- ٣٥٨ فِي الْقَلْبِ مِنْ لَامِ الْعِدَارِ حَسْرَةَ
- ٣٥٩ لَمَّا رَأَيْتِي قَدْ قَبِضْتُ الدَّهْبَا
- ٣٦٠ قَالَ جُعَلْتُ لِلْحَبِيبِ إِلْفَا
- ٣٦١ ثُمَّ مَضَى يُنْشِدُ وَهُوَ مَنْطَلِقُ
- ٣٦٢ فَقَلْتُ خَذْ مَتِّي لَا مِنْهُ فَمَا
- ٣٦٣ فَقَالَ لَمَّا كَانَ مَا كَانَ وَحَى
- ٣٦٤ سَاقِ السَّرُورِ لِفَوَادٍ أَرْعَجَهُ
- ٣٦٥ وَقَالَ شِعْرًا مِثْلَهُ لَمْ يَتَّفِقُ
- ٣٩١ إِنَّ وَصَلْتَ بِالثَّانِ كَالجَعْدِ الشَّعْرُ
- والقلبُ من فرطِ هواهُ دَنَفُ
- من فوقِ خَدِّ بِالجمالِ قَدْ وُسمُ
- ٦٠٠ وَلامُ ما أَسْتُغِيثُ عَاقِبَتُ أَلْفُ
- وَنظَرْتُ جمالَهُ فِحارَتِ
- في عارضٍ شَبِيهِ خَطِّ بَقَلَمِ
- ٦٥٣ وَالغَيْنُ عَارِضَ الوَصْفِيَّةِ
- حَلَّ بِخَيْرِ خَدِّهِ الَّذِي فُقِدَ
- ٦٠٧ وَقَائِلُ وَعَبْدِيَا وَعَبْدَا
- هَمَّتْهُ سَمْتُ إِلَى وَصَالِهِ
- ٧٤٦ مَيِّزَتْ عِشْرِينَ كَكَمِ شَخْصًا سَمَا
- أَوْ مِائَةَ كَكَمِ رِجالِ أَوْ مَرَّةِ
- ٧٤٨ وَقَلْتُ لَمَّا إِنَّ سَلَوْتُ عَنْهُ
- وَدُونَ قَضِدٍ غَلَطُ بِهِ سُلْبُ
- ٥٦٧ وَالعينُ فِيها عَن تَمِيمِ كَسْرَةَ
- ٧٣٠ مِنْ ذَلِكَ المولى كمالِي وَهبا
- وقَدْ جَعَلْتُ لِي عَلَيْهِ النُّصفا
- ١٦٩ كَذَا جَعَلْتُ وَأَخَذْتُ وَعَلِقُ
- ٩٧٤ يَخْصُ الْأَسْمَ وَاجِبٌ أَنْ يَسَلَمَا
- ٢٨٥ نَحْوِ أَظُنُّ وَيَظُنُّنِي أَخَا
- هَمُّ وَغَمُّ زَائِدٌ قَدْ أَخْرَجَهُ
- ١٦٩ كَأَنْشَأَ السَّائِقُ يَحْدُو وَطَفِقُ

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- ٣٦٦ ورُبَّ قومٍ فيه قد ساعدني وقال لي والحبّ قد واعدني
 ٣٦٧ بشائر الخيرات أحياناً تقع بِكَثْرَةِ كَبَغْتَةٍ زَيْدٌ طَلَعُ ٣٣٧
 ٣٦٨ وكم أتى الأصحاب يوماً بصبي قد كان في ابتغائه غير غبي
 ٣٦٩ أهدى إلى والده ذاك الشّقي مَعْمُولَهُ دَفْعًا لَوْهَمِ أَتَّقِي ٥٦٢
 ٣٧٠ كم قلتُ إذ شاهدتُ أيام الصبا في الصّيد حين مرّ بي سربُ ظبا
 ٣٧١ هذان ظبيان وظيفتانِ كَأَبْنَيْنِ وَأَبْنَتَيْنِ يَجْرِيانِ ٣٣
 ٣٧٢ فقال والمدى بعيدٌ ساحقٌ لا تخشَ من فوتِ فإني لاحقُ
 ٣٧٣ ورُبَّ عَيْنًا قد رأتها عيني ما بين عينٍ قد جَلَبَنَ حَيْني
 ٣٧٤ في قصرها تسبي بحسنٍ يبهُرُ وَقَصْرُهَا مِنْ نَقْصِهِنَّ أَشْهَرُ ٣٠
 ٣٧٥ أتى لها كالطّيفِ في المنامِ ولم يخفُ شخصًا من الأنامِ
 ٣٧٦ وقال يا ذات المحيّا البهجِ طَفِي ببردِ الرّيقِ حرّ المهجِ
 ٣٧٧ وللهزّ أنصبي فنصبه ظهْرُ وَرَفَعُهُ يُنَوِي كَذَا أَيضًا يُجْرُ ٤٨
 ٣٧٨ لا تدعي أستعمالها بهيت لك والياء والهيا من سليه ما ملك ٥٦

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- ٣٧٩ وكم أتى بأغيدٍ وغيدِ أشبه شيءٍ بظباء البيدِ
 ٣٨٠ وقال قولٌ عاقلٍ لبيبٍ إذا تخوّفتَ من الرّقيبِ
 ٣٨١ حدّهما وقل إذا ما أتيا نَحْوِ أَحْشَيْنِ يا هِنْدُ بِالْكَسْرِ وَيَا ٦٤٣
 ٣٨٢ فكم رقيبٍ قد مشى في العتمة لِعِلْمِ عِرْفَانٍ وَظَنَ تَهْمَهُ ٢١٤
 ٣٨٣ وأنت فأخشَ يا فلانُ وكذا أَمْرُ الثُّلَانِي كَأَخْشَ وَأَمْضِ وَأَنْفُذَا ٩٤٠
 ٣٨٤ وذا وذه قدم على حبّهما واحطّ بطيبِ العيش من قربهما
 ٣٨٥ وإن رأيت القلبَ فيهما اختلفَ فأقرأ كَلِلايسِرِ مِلْ تُكْفَ الكُلْفُ ٩١٣

- ٣٨٦ وإن خشيت ضرراً من الرصد فدرهماك من يمله لم يصد ٩٠٥
 ٣٨٧ ودار عن وقتك كيف أمكنا إن قيل جا قوم لقوم فطنا ٧٥٥
 ٣٨٨ لا سيما إن قيل هذا قد عرف كمن بإثر ذا بنسوة كلف ٧٥٤
 ٣٨٩ وقال لي قول شفوق إذ نظر دموع عيني سائلات كالمطر
 ٣٩٠ شكوالك بين للحبيب وصدق ومثل مع ومن وعن بها انطق ٣٧٤

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- ٣٩١ وكم أتى إلى مقام الأنس مبادر قبل مغيب الشمس
 ٣٩٢ يتبعه صاحب حسن رائع وعلقة حاصله بتابع ٢٦٦
 ٣٩٣ جاء بخشفين هضيمي الحشا تفعل الحاطهما بي ما يشا
 ٣٩٤ وبتيف عمره خمسون أو ستون تحريراً على ما قد روأ
 ٣٩٥ وقال صلهم قلت صل ذين بما أحببت من مال وأجزل منعا
 ٣٩٦ وهبهما ألفين متي مكملة وما سواهما فوسطه صلته ٧١٨
 ٣٩٧ وجاء في وقت بأمردين ردفهما في ثقل كالدين
 ٣٩٨ أحدهما أحسن من رفيقه بذال له يشهد شهيد ريقه
 ٣٩٩ فقلت هذا كالقنا يحول ويحذف الثاني فيبقى الأول ٤١٦
 ٤٠٠ لم أنس إذ قلت له في وقت أشكو إليه واشياً ذا مقت
 ٤٠١ خلوت يوماً مع حبيبي ضحى وقلت من حر الغرام ما صحا
 ٤٠٢ وكان ذا بمجلس في دارنا فانتشق الواشي شذا أخبارنا
 ٤٠٣ فعندما وافى ضحى لا سلما إلى ثلاثة رأى وعليما ٢٢٠
 ٤٠٤ فقال لي برقة الحواشي لا تلتفت إلى كلام الواشي

^٦ في الأصل: ضبحاً، ولعله (صحا).

- ٤٠٥ فيا لَهُ من حَسَنِ الأَخلاقِ من أَلطفِ النَّاسِ على الإِطلاقِ
 ٤٠٦ يحتملُ اللَّعبَ ولا يَغضبُ منِ صَفحِ عَظيمٍ في قَدالِيهِ يَرُنُّ^٧
 ٤٠٧ عَجِبْتُ إِذْ^٨ قالَ لَمَنْ ما خِجلا مِنْ فِعْلِهِ كَنَدَلاً اللَّدَّ كائِداً^٧ ٢٩٢
 ٤٠٨ ما قالَ لِلصَّافِحِ كُفَّ عَنَّا وَما لِتَفْصِيلِ كِإِما مَنّا ٢٩٣
 ٤٠٩ ساحله لِلعَبِ فيه ساحه وَكيف لا وَهو محلُّ الرِاحه
 ٤١٠ به رأيتُ لِلصُّقاعِ الزائِدِ هَمَزاً يُرى في مِثْلِ كَالقَلائِدِ ٩٤٥
 ٤١١ قالَ لِتِرِبٍ كُنَّ قد مَنعَنهُ من بَعْدِ ما في عُنُقِهِ صَفَعَنهُ
 ٤١٢ مَعْرَضاً وَلفِرطِ حَقيدٍ قد علا كَما زَكَا إِلا فِتاءُ ابْنِ العَلا ٢٣٣
 ٤١٣ أَقام في صَفَعَتِهِ سَنيِنا وَسَلَّكَ آيتَه على البَنيِنا
 ٤١٤ جِراءَ عَليهِم إِذ سَيَّرَهُ كَذا إِذا كَسَبَعانَ صَيَّرَهُ ٩٦٢
 ٤١٥ أَذكَرُ لَمّا جاءَ عامَ أوَّلِ بَعْدِ العِشاءِ بِصَبِيٍّ أَحولِ
 ٤١٦ فقلتُ من ذا لي قَلا بَينَ المَلا ذا أَفَعَلٍ كَأَعِيدِ وَأَحولاً ٩٧١
 ٤١٧ ثمَّ غدا يَنشُدُني مَذاكِرا لَما رَأَني باهَتا مَفكِّرا
 ٤١٨ في مَضَدِرِ المُعْتَلِّ عَينًا وَالفِعْـلِ مِنْهُ صَحيحٌ غالِبًا نَحوُ الحَولِ ٩٥٥

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- ٤١٩ وَقولُه لَمّا تزَوَّجتُ بِبَكرُ كَما حارَ في جَمالِها الفاتِنِ فَكَرُ
 ٤٢٠ فَخذ سَريعاً وَجَهِها أو القَفا وَابْدِلْناها بَعْدَ فَتَحِ أَلفا ٦٤٨

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- ٤٢١ وَقولُه إِذ جاءَني عَن بَرَكَه مَسائِلاً فَعَلِمْتُ ما من حَرَكه

^٧ في الأصل: يزنُّ.^٨ في الأصل: إذا.

- ٤٢٢ قال فريدٌ قلت مثل الد[. . .] فقال أفديك بأمي و[أبي]
 ٩٧٦ ٤٢٣ لساكنٍ صحَّ أنقلِ التَّحريكِ مِنْ ذِي لَيْسِنِ آتِ عَيْنِ فِعْلٍ كَأَبْنِ

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- ٤٢٤ وقوله ما قلت في الأتراكِ فأنت ذو فهمٍ وذو دراكِ
 ٤٢٥ وما تعوز فطنةً وحزما فقلت والحق أقول جزما
 ٩٨٢ ٤٢٦ أحبُّ منهم كلَّ ظبيِّ كالقمرِ نَحْوِ مَصْوُوعٍ^٩ وَمَصُونٍ وَنَدْرٍ
 ٣٣٦ ٤٢٧ عَرَفْتُكَ الْحَالَ فَمَا شَرَطُ فُقِدُ وَالْحَالَ إِنْ عُرِفَ لَفْظًا فَاغْتَقِدُ

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- ٤٢٨ وقوله لَمَّا شَكُوْتُ بَدْرِي إِلَيْهِ وَالْغَرَامُ مَلءُ صَدْرِي
 ٤٢٩ عِنْدِي مَلِيحٌ بَارِعُ الْجَمَالِ يَفُوقُ بَدْرَ التَّمِّ فِي الْكَمَالِ
 ٢٨٩ ٤٣٠ وَقَدْ يَنْوِبُ عَنْهُ مَا عَلَيْهِ دَلٌّ كَجِدِّ كُلِّ الْجِدِّ وَأَطْرَحِ الْجِدْلُ^{١٠}
 ٤٣١ فقلت لا أبغي وصال المردِ وصلُّهُمُ كما علمت مُرْدِي
 ١٠٢ ٤٣٢ أكفالههم كم حذفنا من علي والحذف عندهم كثيرا ينجلي
 ٤٣٣ فقال عندي ذاتُ عُنجٍ لَمِيَا أَحْسَنُ مِنْ ظَبِيَّةٍ فَفِرِ ظَمِيَا
 ٧١٣ ٤٣٤ غيذاء لا أراك مسرورا إذا لَمَ يَكُ قَوْلٌ مَعَهَا قَدْ نُبِذَا
 ٤٣٥ له أخ في غاية الفصاحة وحاز ما شاء من الملاحه
 ٤٣٦ يغضب من كلِّ عشيرٍ إن صدف ما لَمَ يُصَفِّفُ أَوْ يَكُ بَعْدَ أَلِّ رَدْفٍ
 ٤٣٧ قلت له لَمَّا ثَنَا الْمَعَاطِفَا وَهَزَّهَا مِنْ عُجْبِهِ مَلَاظِفَا
 ٢٩٦ ٤٣٨ إن قلت أنت سيدي لا يخفى والثان كابني أنت حقا صرفا

^٩ بعلبي: مبيع.^{١٠} بعلبي: وافرح الجدل.

- ٤٣٩ فأعْرِفْ به ولا تَقُلْ للمعتقِدْ تنكِيرُهُ مَعْنَى كَوَحْدِكَ اجْتَهَدْ ٣٣٦
- ٤٤٠ واعلَمْ بأنِّي لا أبَدِّي أحدا عليهما من الملاحِ أبدا
- ٤٤١ وليس عندي في جميع الأسمَا أَحَبُّ من محمَّدٍ وأسمَا
- ٤٤٢ لا سيِّمَا إذا عليَّ جُلِّيَا وَلَا مِنَ الْأَفْعَالِ مَا كَرَضِيَا ١٨٤
- ٤٤٣ ينبُ عن بدرِ الدُّجَى إن لم يَبِينُ هما وَفِي الْحُضُورِ مَعْنَى فِي أَسْتَبِينُ ٣٨٠
- ٤٤٤ وذاتُ حَسَنِ مِثْلُ ما فِي النَّفْسِ بيضاء حمراء كمثلِ الشَّمْسِ
- ٤٤٥ لها عَشِيْقٌ أَقْرَعٌ دُوَيْسِرِي قرعته تشبهُ قُحْفُ النَّسْرِ
- ٤٤٦ دعوتُهُ جَهْرًا بلا مخافُهُ كَعَبْدِ شَمْسٍ وَأَبِي قُحافُهُ ٧٨
- ٤٤٧ وعندها لسرُّها عَجُوزُ إبقاؤها عندي لا يجُوزُ
- ٤٤٨ فها هنا المقنُوحُ شيخٌ أدرُدُ وَقَلَّ أَنْ يَضْحَبَهَا الْمُجْرَدُ ٣٠١
- ٤٤٩ قالتُ وقد شَكَتُ إليها بعلها كذا الَّذِي كم حَمَلتُه ثقلها
- ٤٥٠ فمرّةٌ أصيحُ لَمَّا أن أَعْلُ لَأَمَّا وَفِي مِثْلِ هِرَاوَةِ جُعِلُ ٩٤٧
- ٤٥١ فقال لَمَّا أن شكَّتْ فتورُهُ معتذرا عن نفسهِ ضروره
- ٤٥٢ جسمي منه قد تداعى الطَّلُّ وَخُفِّفْتُ إنَّ فَقَلَّ الْعَمَلُ ١٩٠
- ٤٥٣ فعندما أَمَعَنْتُ في ذا النَّظْرَا قلتُ لَهُ قَمِ هَاتِ مَهْمَا حَضْرَا
- ٤٥٤ فجاءني بكلِ شمسٍ وقمرُ فيهم أطعْتُ صبوتي فيما أَمْرُ
- ٤٥٥ وقال لي بعد ثلاثٍ ماضِيَهُ وعيشتي بهم هناكِ راضِيَهُ
- ٤٥٦ صرفًا حَثُوا خمرَكَ والمُلْحَقُ بِهِ بَعَكْسِ ذَاكَ اسْتَعْمَلُوهُ فانتَبِيَهُ ٤٠
- ٤٥٧ وما به أَلْحَقْتِ من برِّ حُمْلُ كأذْرِعاتٍ فِيهِ ذَا أَيضًا قُبِلُ ٤٢
- ٤٥٨ فقمُ وجدُّ لَهُمُ الكرامَةُ وبلَّغِ القلبَ الَّذِي قد رامُهُ
- ٤٥٩ وبعضُ ما لَدَيْكَ إن كان رُشِفُ فالبااءُ^{١١} فَاسْتَعْمِلْ بِما فِيهِ أُلْفُ ٦١٥

^{١١} بعلبكي: فالباقي.

- ٤٦٠ وما يلي الحبيب إمزجه بما
٦١٦ لَوْ كَانَ بِالْآخِرِ وَضَعًا تَمَّمَا
- ٤٦١ وَضَمَّ كُلَّ مَنْ بَحْسِنِ زُنَيْنَا
٥٨٢ مِمَّا لَهُ أُسْتِحْقَاقُ ضَمِّ بَيْنَا
- ٤٦٢ وَنَادِ إِنْ أُسْقِمَكَ الصَّدُودُ
وَقَرِحَتْ بِدَمْعِكَ الْخُدُودُ
- ٤٦٣ مَوْمَلًا زَوَالَ مَا أَهَمَّ مَا
فِي سَاعَةِ الْأَسْحَارِ يَا اللَّهُمَا
- ٤٦٤ جُدْ بِالشِّفَا لَجَسَدِي الْمَرِيضِ
٥٨٤ وَشَدِّ يَا اللَّهُمَّ فِي الْقَرِيضِ^{١٢}
- ٤٦٥ وَقَلْتُ لَمَّا أَنْ أَتَى عَنْ قِصَّتِي
مَسَائِلًا وَقَدْ تَمَادَتِ غِصَّتِي
- ٤٦٦ أَحَبَّ قَلْبِي مِنْ ذَوَاتِ الْغُنْجِ
وَالْأَعْيُنِ السُّودِ الْمَرَاضِ الدَّعْجِ
- ٤٦٧ تَسَعَّ ظَبَاءٌ قَدْ فَتَنَ الْبَشْرَا
٧٤٤ وَشَاعَ الْأُسْتِغْنَا بِحَادِي عَشْرَا
- ٤٦٨ فَقَالَ لِي بَعْضُ ثِقَاتِي أَقْصَدُهُ إِنْ
يَصِلُ إِلَيْنَا يَسْتَعِينُ بِنَا يَعْنُ
- ٤٦٩ وَمَنْ أَحْبَبَانِكَ إِنْ خَفَتِ الْمَيْلُ
٥٨٥ أَلْزَمَهُ نَضْبًا كَأَزِيدُ ذَا الْحَيْلُ
- ٤٧٠ فَقُلْتُ لَمَّا زَادَ بِي غِرَامِي
سَاعِدَ أَخَاكَ يَا أَخَا الْكِرَامِ
- ٤٧١ وَأَرْغِمِ الْيَوْمَ لِأَنْفِ اللَّاحِي
وَأَنَّ ذَلَّلْتَنَا عَلَى الْمِلَاحِ
- ٤٧٢ فَأَفْتَحْ مِنَ الْإِخْفَاءِ بَابًا مَغْلَقًا
٨٤ وَبِأَوْلَى أَشْرٍ لِيَجْمَعَ مُطْلَقًا
- ٤٧٣ وَبِهُنَا أَوْ هَاهُنَا أَشْرُ إِلَى
دَانِي الْمَكَانِ وَبِهِ الْكَافَ صِلَا
- ٤٧٤ فِي الْبُعْدِ أَوْ بِثَمَّ فَهُ أَوْ هُنَا
٨٧ أَوْ بِهُنَالِكَ أَنْطِقُنْ أَوْ هُنَا
- ٤٧٥ وَأَطْرِبِ السَّمْعَ بِأَطْيَبِ الْغِنَا
وَفِي حَبِيبِ الْقَلْبِ أَنْشُدْ إِنْ دَنَا
- ٤٧٦ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَفَا وَصَدَّ وَنَأَى
٧٧٥ بِهِمْزٍ وَضَلَّ كَأَرْعَوَى وَكَأَرْتَأَى
- ٤٧٧ لَا تَذَكُرِ النَّمَامَ لِي وَالْوَأَشِي
فَلَسْتُ مَمَّنْ لِهَمَا بِخَاشِي
- ٤٧٨ وَلَا أَخَافُ مِنْ رَقِيبٍ أَصْلَا
وَلَوْ قَضَى غِيظًا عَلَيَّ نَصْلَا
- ٤٧٩ أَقُولُ إِنْ سَاءَ لَتَنِي يَوْمًا كَمَا
١٣٦ تَقُولُ زَيْدٌ بَعْدَ مَنْ عِنْدَكُمَا
- ٤٨٠ وَعِنْدَ طَرَقِ الْبَابِ لِاسْتِفْهَامِ
قَوْلَ أَمْرِيٍّ مُغْرَى بِضَرْبِ الْهَامِ

^{١٢} بعلبكي: في قريضي.

- ٤٨١ من ذا الذي يطرُق في الظلامِ
٩٥ أو مَنْ إذا لَمْ تُنلِّغْ في الكلامِ
- ٤٨٢ وأعلمْ بأني صاحبٌ مُصافي
لستُ أرى الميلَ عن الإنصافِ
- ٤٨٣ أبغضُ كلَّ ذي نفاقٍ مستكنٌ
٩٨٤ كذاكَ ذا وَجْهَيْنِ جا المُعْمولُ مِنْ
- ٤٨٤ وعادتي إذا خلوتُ مع^{١٣}
كلِّ جميلٍ للجمالِ قد جمعُ
- ٤٨٥ فإِنني غيرَ مريدٍ خَطَلا
٤٧٩ وَغَيْرِ سَالِكِ سَبِيلِ فَعِلا
- ٤٨٦ وكيف لا والرِّشْفُ والتَّقبيلُ
٤٣٢ في كَثْرَةِ عَن فاعِلٍ بَدِيلُ
- ٤٨٧ أكره من قبيلِهِ لي خاذلهُ
٨٠٦ وَضَفَيْنِ نَحْوِ عاذِلٍ وَعاذِلُهُ
- ٤٨٨ خذُ إن نظمت في أمداحي
وعذلي المقولِ في الملاحِ
- ٤٨٩ لكلِّ بيتٍ من قريضي الباهرِ
٧٧٢ ثُبوتُ قَصْرِ بِقياسِ ظاهِرِ
- ٤٩٠ أموتُ سكرًا إن نظمت نَظْمًا
إلى زلالةِ القلوبِ تظما
- ٤٩١ وذاك حالِي قديمًا قد أَلِفُ
٧٥٦ وَنادِرِ مَنْونٍ في نَظْمِ عُرْفِ
- ٤٩٢ أسألك مع ما بي من الغرامِ
في عَقَّةِ مسالكِ الكرامِ
- ٤٩٣ ثمَّ الغرامُ بي يكاد حقًا
٣٣٣ يَغْلِبُ لِكِنْ لَيْسَ مُسْتَحَقًّا
- ٤٩٤ كم كَلَمْتُني الحَدَقُ المراضُ
وما على كلامها اعتراضُ
- ٤٩٥ ثمَّ إذا طلبتُ وصلها بجِدُّ
٣٤٠ أَبْؤًا وَلَا أَمْنَعُهُ فَقد وَرَدُّ
- ٤٩٦ وربِّ يومٍ مرَّ بي طويلُ
وليلةٍ زاد بها عويلُ
- ٤٩٧ إن حميت بها السَّها والعين في
٨١٣ نَحْوِ طَوِيلٍ وَطَوِيلَةٍ تَفِي
- ٤٩٨ وقلت عن عارضه المُنمنمِ
١٨١ لا لَامَ بَعْدَهُ بِوَجْهَيْنِ نَمِي
- ٤٩٩ قد قال ثغره الذي قد جَمعا
لألَّا بمثلها ما سُمعا
- ٥٠٠ من خمرة النَّفوسِ قد نلت الأملُ
وهي التي برشفتها ليس يملُ
- ٥٠١ وما بِجَمْعِهِ عُنيتُ قَدْ كَمَلُ
٩٩٩ نَظْمًا على جُلِّ المُهَمَّاتِ أَشْتَمَلُ

^{١٣} كذا في الأصل ولعله: وعادتي إذا أنا خلوت مع.

- ٥٠٢ وغادة جمالها تباهى يعجبني إن مُدحتُ غناها
- ٥٠٣ ذات جمالٍ فَتَنَتْ بِقِيلِهَا بحسناها وعهدنا وقلبها
- ٥٠٤ ما قاله من رجزٍ بعض الأول نَعَتْ وَتَوَكَّيْتُ وَعَطَفْتُ وَبَدَلْتُ ٥٠٦
- ٥٠٥ رأت أختا وجدٍ له الشوقُ برى فَأَعْطَيْتُ مَا أُعْطِيَتْهُ خَبْرًا ٥١١
- ٥٠٦ كم قلتُ إذ همت بمقلتيها كَلِمَ أَكُنْ فِي مَرَعٍ بَلْ تَيْهًا ٥٥٥
- ٥٠٧ وقلتُ لَمَّا أَنْ نَضْتُ سَيْفَ الْحَوْرُ فِي يَا أَبْنَ أُمَّ يَا أَبْنَ عَمٍّ لَا مَفْرَ ٥٩٣
- ٥٠٨ بثثتها بعضَ الذي أقاسي وقلتُ يا أحسنَ كلِّ النَّاسِ
- ٥٠٩ أثقلتِ ظهري بعدما قد خفنا مِتِّي وَعَنِّي بَعْضُ مَنْ قَدْ سَلَفَا ٧٠
- ٥١٠ قلبي فيك قد قضى لَمَّا كَلِفْتُ بسحر عينيكِ غرامًا فَتَلِفْتُ
- ٥١١ وَأَيُّ فِعْلٍ آخِرٌ مِنْهُ أَلْفٌ أَوْ وَاوٌ أَوْ يَاءٌ فَمُعْتَلًا عُرِفُ ٤٩
- ٥١٢ لفظك سحرُ اللَّفْظِ ولي سَحْرًا أَوْ وَاوٌ أَوْ يَاءٌ فَمُعْتَلًا عُرِفُ ٥٢
- ٥١٣ قلبي له إليه على الحبِّ بنا وَالْأَصْلُ فِي الْمَبْنِيِّ أَنْ يُسَكَّنَا ٢١
- ٥١٤ فسكّني يا منيتي خفوقه وفي هواكِ أَرَعِي لَهُ حَقْوَقَهُ
- ٥١٥ لا تَوَثِّرِي لِفَقْرِي انفصالي وَقَدِّمِ الْأَخْصَرَ فِي اتِّصَالِ ٦٦
- ٥١٦ يا ليتني منك قضيتُ الوَطْرًا وَلَيْتَنِي فَشَا وَلَيْتَنِي نَدْرًا ٦٩
- ٥١٧ إلى متى يسعى كذا في تَلْفِي قَدْنِي وَقَطْنِي الْحَذْفُ أَيْضًا قَدْ يَفِي ٧١
- ٥١٨ أهواكِ يا روحي واتصالا أختارُ غَيْرِي أختارُ الانْفِصَالَ ٦٥
- ٥١٩ وذاتِ دلالٍ وجهها مثل القمرِ قوامها غصنٌ ونهدنا تَمَرُ
- ٥٢٠ قلتُ لها معاتبًا لَمَّا جفنتُ وواصلتُ منِ أَشْتَهَتْ وما وَفَتْ
- ٥٢١ غيري مواصلٌ على ما قد دُكِرُ وهكذا ذو عِنْدَ طَيِّءٍ شَهْرُ ٩٣
- ٥٢٢ وطفلةٍ قلبي إليها قد صبا أعطاها سَوَى بِخَمْرِهِ الصِّبَا
- ٥٢٣ ظريفةٍ قالت وقد أردتُ أَنْ أجبره فيها بمنطقٍ حَسَنُ

- ٥٢٤ لا تدخل العود إلى التسليل
٢١٦ ولا تُحجزُ هُنا بلا دليل
- ٥٢٥ قلتُ لها الهوى قلبي قد لَسَعُ
٢٩١ وفي سِواه لِلدليلِ مُتَسَعُ
- ٥٢٦ معَ أَنني لم أر في الآفاقِ
جميعها من سائر العشاقِ
- ٥٢٧ من سار في سير الغرام سيرنا
٩١٢ دونَ سَماعِ غَيرها وَعَيرنا
- ٥٢٨ وكم رميتُ حملتي عليه
وقلتُ أشكو غصّتي إليه
- ٥٢٩ أهل الهوى بالشهد كلُّ قد رُمي
٩٨٥ ونَحوُ نَيامِ شذوذُهُ نَمي
- ٥٣٠ كم عَبراتٍ لهمُ قَدْ يُقْتَصِرُ
٩٩٥ فيه عَلى تا كَتَبَينُ العَبْرُ
- ٥٣١ ونَعَصِ جِرْعَني فما سَكُنُ
٩٩٦ لِكَوْنِهِ بِمُضَمِّ الرَفْعِ أَقْتَرَنُ
- ٥٣٢ فهم مساكين ولا سيما أنا
فكم أقاسي حسراتٍ وعنا
- ٥٣٣ أتى لبات الأَنس ما بي من لَهْفُ
٧٧١ فَتَحًا وكانَ ذا نَظيرِ كالأسفِ
- ٥٣٤ كم صورةٍ عدتُ لها متيِّما
٧٧٣ كَفِعْلَةٍ وَفُعْلَةٍ نَحوُ الدُمى
- ٥٣٥ ومَتَّ في الفَيدِ وفي الفِيداتِ
كما هو المعروف من عاداتي
- ٥٣٦ قلت ولي بهجرهم قد قتلوا
وفي الهوى بي فعلوا ما فعلوا
- ٥٣٧ قولًا به العقلُ الصَّحيحُ يشهدُ
٢٧٣ معَ أَمْنِ لَبْسِ كَعَجَبْتُ أَنْ يَدوا
- ٥٣٨ وقلتُ للمحجوب لَمَّا أن قَدِمُ
وركن صبري بالبعاد قد هُدِمُ
- ٥٣٩ من بعدما غاب زمانًا في السَفَرِ
٣٧٠ نَكِرَةً كَمَا لِباغِ مِنْ مَفَرِ
- ٥٤٠ وللتّي بهجرها لا أقوى
غيرَكَ يا أسماءُ لستُ أهوى
- ٥٤١ وَمَا رَوُوا مِنْ نَحوِ رَبِّهِ فَتَى
٣٦٨ نَزَرَ كَذَا كَها وَنَحوُهُ أُنَى
- ٥٤٢ قالت وقد صَحْتُ من الحريقِ
قم يا فلانُ طَفَّه بريقي
- ٥٤٣ فقمتم مسرورًا لأقضي أربي
فأعرضتُ ولم تُنَفِّسْ كربي
- ٥٤٤ والآنَ كلَّنا إلى الرِّيقِ كما
٩٦٠ يُقالُ هيمٌ عِنْدَ جَمعِ أهيمَا
- ٥٤٥ فخذ على رغم الحسود بيدي
وأطفِ ببرد الرِّيقِ حرَّ كبدي

- ٥٤٦ فعندما عاينني كالميتِ رِقٌّ وقال^{١٤} أنهضُ وأمَّ بَيْتِي
٥٤٧ فليس عندي في مكاني غير ذي وَهْنَدَ وَأَبْنِي وَالْغُلَامِ وَالَّذِي ٥٣

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- ٥٤٨ قلت ولي أيضًا حبيبٌ قد كُسي ثوبَ الجمالِ لعهودي قد نسي
٥٤٩ مفرطٌ في هجره قد لجأ فاديتُ منه الحاجبَ الأزجا
٥٥٠ شكَّ الحشا من طرفه بسهمٍ وَأَبْدِ نَضَبَ ما كِيدَعُو يَرْمِي ٥٠
٥٥١ قد قيل لي وهندٌ عندي جالسةٌ أنظر إلى صورته مخالسةً
٥٥٢ وأعجب بغنج طرفه وسحره وأنظر إلى ترتيبِ درِّ ثغره
٥٥٣ ولا تشبهُهُ نظمه بعقد ذي وَرَاعِ ذَا التَّرْتِيبِ إِلَّا فِي الَّذِي ١٧٦
٥٥٤ أقسمتُ ما يشبهه درُّ خُزْنٍ مَعَ بَقَا النَّفْيِ وَتَرْتِيبِ زُكْنٍ ١٥٨

فصل

- ٥٥٥ أظبيةٌ أخرى لها أَلْحَاظُ مبصرها تُهلِكُه الأَغْنَاظُ
٥٥٦ ما لهما من مشبهٍ في الحسن لا مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَا عَلَيَّهِمَا مِنْ دَخَلَا ٣٧٨
٥٥٧ لو وعدا بالوصلِ يومًا قلتُ ما أَوْفَى خَلِيلَيْنَا وَأَصْدِقُ بِهِمَا ٤٧٥
٥٥٨ عليٍّ لا أعرفُ فيما عتبا وَفِي وَقَدْ يُبَيِّنَانِ السَّبَبَا ٣٧٣
٥٥٩ فقال طبُّ نفسًا وقرَّ عينا ولا تخف من هذا بينا
٥٦٠ وبالمدام الصَّرفِ غُبٌ إن حضرا وعانق الغصنَ الرطيبَ النَّضْرَا
٥٦١ وقل إذا به خلوتَ وخلا هَاكَ حُرُوفَ الجَرِّ وَهَيَّ مِنْ إِلَى ٣٦٤
٥٦٢ وطال ما أحضر يومًا أغيدا لِنَفْسِهِ أَوْ غَيْرِهِ فَالْمُبْتَدَا ٢٩٥
٥٦٣ وقال خذُ دينارَ تبرٍ أصفرا وخذُ من النَّحاسِ فلسًا أحمرَا

^{١٤} في الأصل: وقا.

٥٦٤	فَالأَوَّلَ أَجْعَلُ لِلحَبِيبِ مَا أْبَى	وَالثَّانِ لِذِي أَقْتَضَى تَقَلُّبًا	٤٤٤
٥٦٥	وَهُوَ لَمَّا مِنْ ذَلِكَ الأَمْرِ مَنَعٌ	مُوهِمٌ مَا أَسْتَبَانَ أَنَّهُ أَمْتَنَعُ	١٥٣
٥٦٦	يَأْتِي إِلَيْنَا بِالظُّبَا أُسْرَابًا	وَيَتَعَاطَى مَعَهُمُ الشَّرَابَا	
٥٦٧	وَكُلٌّ مِنْ قَدْ غَابَ مِنْهُمْ وَأَنْقَطَعُ	مُثْنَى أَوْ جَمْعًا سَبِيلُهُ أَتْبَعُ	٣٩٣
٥٦٨	لَيْسَ يِبَالِي حِينَ يَلْحُو بِأَحَدُ	وَلَا يُضَافُ أَسْمٌ لِمَا بِهِ أَتَّحَدُ	٣٩٤
٥٦٩	كَمْ قَالَ فِي الطَّبِيبِ الَّذِي تَصَيَّدَا	إِنْ زَادَ فِي التَّنْفُورِ عَنْكَ قَيِّدَا	
٥٧٠	فَقُلْتُ مِنْ رَاضٍ نَفْسَهُ إِذَا أَبَتْ	وَأَمْنَعُ زِيَادَةً بِلَا قَيْدٍ ثَبَتْ	٩٣٧
٥٧١	وَقَالَ لَمَّا رَاحَ يَبْغِي أَغْيِدَا	مَهْفَهْفَ القَدِّ رَشِيقًا أَجْيِدَا	
٥٧٢	إِفْهَمُ إِذَا خَشِيَتْ خَوْفَ ذِي حَسَدُ	مَعْنَى وَأَوَّلُ مُوهِمًا إِذَا وَرَدُ	٣٩٤

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٥٧٣	وَإِنْ أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تَضَيِّفَ خِذْنَا	إِلَيْكَ مِنْ حَبْلِ الوَرِيدِ أَدْنَى	
٥٧٤	فَلَا تَضِفْ إِلَّا مَلِيحًا أَمْرِدَا	وَبَعْضُ الأَسْمَاءِ يُضَافُ أَبْدَا	٣٩٦
٥٧٥	فَكُنْ لَبِيبًا حَسَنَ التَّصَرُّفِ	وَلَا تُضِفْ لِمُفْرَدٍ مُعَرَّفِ	٤٠٥
٥٧٦	وَأَنْفِقِ المَالَ وَأَعْطِ سَلَفَا	وَمَا يَلِي المُضَافَ يَأْتِي خَلَفَا	٤١٣

فصل

٥٧٧	وَلَسْتُ أَنْسَى الحِبَّ لَمَّا أَنْ وَرَدُ	ثُمَّ بَدَّلُهُ فَا قَرَّ وَرَدُ	
٥٧٨	فَقَالَ إِذْ يَرُدُّنِي ^{١٥} تَعَدَّى	مِنْ ذِي ثَلَاثَةِ كَرَدِّ رَدَا	٤٤٠
٥٧٩	وَكَفَّ عَنْهُ كَفِّي الصَّدُودُ	فَحُفِرَتْ بِدُمْعِهِ الخُدُودُ	
٥٨٠	فَلَا تَسَلْ مَا تَمَّ لِي وَمَا حَصَلُ	كَفَّرِحْ وَكَجَوَّى وَكَشَلَلْ	٤٤١
٥٨١	وَمَا أَتَى وَلَا وَفَى إِذْ وَعَدَا	وَفَعَلَ اللّازِمُ مِثْلَ قَعَدَا	٤٤٢

^{١٥} في الأصل: إذ يرد تعدى.

- ٥٨٢ فقلتُ عُدَّةً لا يَفْصِلُ مقالا ما لَمْ يَكُنْ مُسْتَوْجِبًا فِعَالًا ٤٤٣
- ٥٨٣ فلم يقف عندَ كلامي هذا لَمَّا رأى صدودَه لي آذَى
- ٥٨٤ وراحَ راکضًا جوادًا قد كَمَلُ سَيْرًا وَصَوْتًا الفَعِيلُ كَصَهْلُ ٤٤٥
- ٥٨٥ فجاءني به فقال أَعْنَمُهُ وقمُ وعانقُ عنقَه وألثمُه
- ٥٨٦ وأنعم إذا لثمتَ فاهُ بالشَّنْبِ وَسَبِقُ ما تَعْمَلُ فيه مُجْتَنَبُ ٤٧٠
- ٥٨٧ وقال هذا الوقتُ وقتُ الصَّدَقَةِ وزوجتي تطلبُ مِنِّي نفقَه
- ٥٨٨ وفرسي تدعو لك الله إذا أَصْفَتها كَمُدُّ حِنْطَةٍ غِذا ٣٥٨
- ٥٨٩ فقلتُ خذْ ما شئتَ من أموالِي بشرط أن تنظرَ في أحوالي
- ٥٩٠ فقال قد جئتُ به مفاجأه فَقَالَ قد جئتُ به مفاجأه ٧٠٢
- ٥٩١ والفِعْلُ مِنْ بَعْدِ الجِزا إِنْ يَفْتَرِنُ بِالفا أو الواوِ بِتَثْلِيثِ قَمِنُ ٧٠٣
- ٥٩٢ والشَّرْطُ يُعْنِي عَن جِوابٍ قَدْ عَلِمُ والعَكْسُ قَدْ بَأْتِي إِنْ المَعْنى فُهِمُ ٧٠٥
- ٥٩٣ فأعمدُ إليَّ عاجلاً يا من جزمُ جِوابٍ ما أَخْرَتَ فَهوَ مُلْتَرَمُ ٧٠٦
- ٥٩٤ وأنتَ في ذينِ أَمَعنتَ النَّظْرُ فالشَّرْطُ رَجَحٌ مُطْلَقًا بِلا حَذَرُ ٧٠٧
- ٥٩٥ لا تلتفتِ بالقلبِ أصلاً يا فُلا لِمَا سِوى ذَينِكَ وَأخْصَصُ أَوَلا ٣٨٧
- ٥٩٦ قلتُ له وذلكَ الظَّبيانِ يا آفةَ النِّساءِ والصَّبِيانِ
- ٥٩٧ إن جئتَ والله العظيمِ بهما يَثْلُو الجِزاءَ وَجِوابًا وَسِما ٦٩٨
- ٥٩٨ فقال لي أنتَ بليغٌ ذو لَسَنُ وَيَعَدُ ماضٍ رَفْعَكَ الجِزا حَسَنُ ٧٠٠
- ٥٩٩ وَرَبِّما رَجَحَ بَعْدَ قَسَمِ شَرْطُ بِلا ذِي حَبَرٍ مُقَدِّمِ ٧٠٨
- ٦٠٠ فأبشرُ لما أمّلتَ وأنفِ الوَهْمَا وَأَجْزِمُ بِإِنْ وَمَنْ وَمَا وَمَهْمَا ٦٩٦
- ٦٠١ قلتُ وقد مررتُ مرَّةً على بابٍ له منه تنشقُّ الطُّلا
- ٦٠٢ كم قد حوى مِن ذي جمالٍ منفردُ ذا البابُ وَهُوَ عِنْدَ قَوْمٍ يَطْرُدُ ٣٨
- ٦٠٣ فإن طرقتَ بابَه معَ من طَرِقَ فأفْتَحَ وَقَلَّ مَنْ بِكَسْرِهِ نَطِقُ ٣٩
- ٦٠٤ فإنَّهم لَقَدَرِ مُعلونا وَبابُه أُلْحِقَ والأَهْلونا ٣٦

- ٦٠٥ فدُّقُهُ دَقًّا لَطِيفًا بِأَدَبٍ مراعيًا لمن بشغلك أنتدب
- ٦٠٦ وقل إذا ما قيل من ذا حضرا كمثل زيد في جواب من قرا ٢٢٩
- ٦٠٧ ورج ما تشاء من نيل الأمل وسو في ذا الباب وصفا ذا عمل ٢٦٥
- ٦٠٨ كم أغيد لَمَا اختشى عليه من مراقبٍ مراصدٍ وما أمِنُ
- ٦٠٩ أخفاه حتى صار أخفى من صدَى أو خبر أسم ليس يبدو أبدا ٤٩٠
- ٦١٠ وقال لَمَا أن تمشت سلمى لبيته وزينب وأسما
- ٦١١ لعاشقٍ أعط التضرار جازما ثلاثهن تقض حكما لازما ٥١
- ٦١٢ سمعته يوما يقول لأبيه وهو لعمري أحد في فنه
- ٦١٣ من بت حبل الوصل أنشده إذا كان مسكنا كمن بت أنيدا ٩٧٥
- ٦١٤ وإن جمعت بين عاشقين في بيت به للبسط مخدع خفي
- ٦١٥ غمض إذا ما أحدق العيون وأجعل لنحو يفعلان التونا ٤٤
- ٦١٦ ومن يسبق جاء فأخصص أولا أو أعطه التعريف بالذي تلا ٣٨٧
- ٦١٧ إن غابت الغادة أهد أغيدا أيضا وتعويض بذاك قصدا ٩٠
- ٦١٨ لَمَا مضى إلى الحبيب سائرا فلم يوافق أن يجيء زائرا
- ٦١٩ جاء ووجهه لَمَا قد جرّبه مضاف أو مضموب أل كالعقبه ١١١
- ٦٢٠ وقال لي يا من لوصلي قد منع إن الدواء لا يفيد إن صنع
- ٦٢١ لدفع سقم لا وخالق الورى عن جثة وإن يفد فأخيرا ١٢٤
- ٦٢٢ وقال حين لم يصادف أمردا كما لنا إلا أتباع أحمدا ١٣٥
- ٦٢٣ قل [لي] عن زيد به القلب الدنف فريد أستغني عنه إذ عرف ١٣٧
- ٦٢٤ وآله به يا من له الشوق برى عن الذي خبره قد أضمر ١٤٠
- ٦٢٥ وأعلم بأن البدر إن كان احتجب وغاب من بعد الطلوع لا عجب
- ٦٢٦ فالأصل في الفاعل أن يتصلا والأصل في المفعول أن يتصلا ٢٣٧
- ٦٢٧ وقال خذ [أو] اشتغل بهذا يا من له طول الصدود آذى

- ٦٢٨ وَأَصْبِرْ عَلَى حَرِّ الصَّبَابَاتِ إِذَا
٣٨٦ لَمْ يَكْفِ^{١٦} أَلَا ذَاكَ وَاللَّامَ خُذَا
- ٦٢٩ وَقَامَ لَمَّا شَاطَ غِيظًا وَأَتَمَزْ
بِقَوْلِ شَعْرٍ فِيهِ مِنْ بَحْرِ الرَّجْزِ
- ٦٣٠ مَدَامَ هَذَاكَ الَّذِي عَنَّا أَحْتَجِبُ
٨٥٥ وَكُلُّ مَا تَلِيهِ كَسْرُهُ وَجَبُ
- ٦٣١ وَوَالَّذِي صَبَّرَهُ لِي فَتَنَهُ
لِئِنْ رَأَيْتُهُ لِأَضْرِبَنَّه
- ٦٣٢ وَإِنْ أَسَاءَ فِي الْخَطَابِ أَوْ شَتَمَ
١٤١ كَضَرْبِي الْعَبْدَ مُسِيئًا وَأَتَمُّ
- ٦٣٣ حَتَّى يَقُولَ كُلُّ مَنْ رَأَى
٣٩٢ كَزَيْدُ الضَّارِبِ رَأْسِ الْجَانِي
- ٦٣٤ مَعَ هَجْرٍ عَامٍ كَامِلٍ بَلِ أَرْبَعَهُ
١٤٥ لِشِبْهِ نَفِيٍّ أَوْ لِنَفِيٍّ مُتَّبِعَهُ
- ٦٣٥ وَقَالَ لِلْأَصْحَابِ زَيْدٌ قَدْ رَضِيَ
وَأَعْتَاضَ^{١٧} بِالْأَبْسَمِ عَنْ ذَاكَ الْوَضِي
- ٦٣٦ وَرَاحَ مَشْغُوفًا بِهِ إِذْ لَمْ يَجِدْ
١٧١ غِنَى بِأَنْ يَفْعَلَ عَنْ ثَانٍ فُقِدْ
- ٦٣٧ لَا أَنْتَهِيَ عَنْ عِشْرَةِ الْمِلَاحِ
وَلَا أُصَيِّخُ لِكَلَامِ الْآلَاحِي
- ٦٣٨ كَمْ عَاذِلٍ قَدْ لَامَنِي وَزَادَا
وَقَالَ مَا قَالَ فَمَا أَفَادَا
- ٦٣٩ قَدْ قَلْتُ إِذْ رَهَّبَنِي إِرْهَابَا
٢٣ لِأَسْمٍ وَفِعْلٍ نَحْوَلَنْ أَهَابَا
- ٦٤٠ كَمْ مِنْ غَزَالٍ ذِي جَمَالٍ فَائِقِ
فِيهِ تَغَزَلْتُ بِكُلِّ رَائِقِ
- ٦٤١ وَكَمْ مَدْحٌ مِنْ جَبِينِ كَالْقَمَرِ
فَقَالَ لِي مَنْ لَيْسَ يُعْصَى إِنْ أَمُرُ
- ٦٤٢ لَا تَمْدَحَنَّ قَمَرَ الْجَبِينِ
وَأَمْدَحْ إِذَا مَدَحْتَ نَجْمَ الدِّينِ
- ٦٤٣ وَطَرَّزَ الطَّرْسَ بِمَدْحِ الزَّهَرِ
بِنَصْبِهِ كَكَانَ سَيِّدًا عُمَرُ
- ٦٤٤ قَاضٍ لَهُ قَالَ الْوَرَى قَوْلِ رِضَا
١٠٤ كَأَنْتَ قَاضٍ بَعْدَ أَمْرٍ مِنْ قَاضِي
- ٦٤٥ عَلُومُهُ قَالَتْ لَنَا لَمَّا حَكَمَ
١٤١ تَبَيَّنِي الْحَقُّ مَنُوطًا بِالْحِكْمِ
- ٦٤٦ صَرُحٌ بِأَوْصَافٍ لَهُ قَدْ كَمَلَتْ
وَإِنْ نُعَوْتُ كَثُرَتْ وَقَدْ تَلَّتْ
- ٥١٦ ٥١٩ وَمَا مِنَ الْمَنْعُوتِ وَالنَّعْتِ عَقْلُ
- ٦٤٨ لَا تَجْعَلِ الشُّكْرَ الْجَزِيلَ الْمُتَّصِلُ
٥٣١ إِلَّا مَعَ اللَّفْظِ الَّذِي بِهِ وَصَلُ

^{١٦} بعلبكي: لم يضلح.

^{١٧} في الأصل: وأعتاض.

- ٦٤٩ وأصبح في علمٍ غريبٍ المعنى وَعَمَلٍ أَتْبَعَ بِغَيْرِ اسْتِئْثْنَانَا ٥١٥
- ٦٥٠ له السَّادُّ قد غدا مرافقًا فِي الْحُكْمِ أَوْ مُصَاحِبًا مُوَافِقًا ٥٤٣
- ٦٥١ فالقولُ بالصَّوَابِ قد حُصِّصَ كما قَدْ حُصِّصَ الْفِعْلُ بِأَنْ يَنْجَزِمَا ٢٤
- ٦٥٢ كم قال قولًا حسنَ اللَّفْظِ كَمَنْ يَصِلُ إِلَيْنَا يَسْتَعِينُ بِنَا يُعْنُ ٥٧٢
- ٦٥٣ ولم يقل لَمَنْ إِلَيْهِ يَلْتَجِي مُكْرَرًا كَقَوْلِكَ أَدْرُجِي أَدْرُجِي ٥٣٠
- ٦٥٤ عَفَّتْهُ كم أنشدتُ لمستمعٌ مَعْنَى كَمَحْمُودِ الْمَقَاصِدِ الْوَرَعِ ٤٣٩
- ٦٥٥ وأمرُهُ بخشِيَّةِ اللَّهِ أَشْتَهَرُ وَشَاعَ نَحْوُ خَافَ رَبَّهُ عَمَرُ ٢٤١
- ٦٥٦ وكم له مجد غدا، مفسرُهُ مُمَيِّزٌ كَنِعْمَ قَوْمًا مَعَشَرُهُ ٤٨٧
- ٦٥٧ بقوله يردعُ زجرًا وَمَتَى عَاقَبَ فِعْلًا فَكَثِيرًا ثَبَتَا ٥٠٤
- ٦٥٨ لا ينثني يومًا عَنِ الْهَيْجَاءِ وَلَوْ تَوَالَّتْ زَمْرُ الْأَعْدَاءِ ٣٠٢
- ٦٥٩ كم مبطلٍ قَدْ كَفَّهُ بقولِ حَقِّ وَمَدَّ سَكْرَانَ وَمَا بِهِ أَلْتَحَقُّ ٨٣٩
- ٦٦٠ يَمْنَعُ عَارًا لِصَلَاحٍ وَتَقَى وَشَرَطُ مَنَعَ الْعَارِ كَوْنُهُ أَرْتَقَى ٦٦٤
- ٦٦١ ليس بجافٍ أَبَدًا مُصَادِقًا فِي الْحُكْمِ أَوْ مُصَاحِبًا مُوَافِقًا ٥٤٣
- ٦٦٢ فِي النَّاسِ نَادَى عَدْلُهُ كَلًّا كَلَّا يَبِغُ أَمْرًا عَلَى أَمْرِيءِ مُسْتَسْهِلًا ٣٣٩
- ٦٦٣ وقال نهياً لظُلومٍ أَعْتَدَى كَنَحْوِ لَا تَعَثْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مُفْسِدًا ٣٤٩
- ٦٦٤ فكم له لجائرٍ قد ظلما مَنَعَ تَصَرَّفَ بِحُكْمِ حَتْمًا ٤٧٧
- ٦٦٥ لبابه ائْتِ وَأَسْتَجِرْ يَا مَنْ ظَلِمَ وَأَسْتَعِذْ اسْتِعَاذَةً ثُمَّ أَقِمْ ٤٥٠
- ٦٦٦ وطالما قد صحبتُ منه الخبيرُ لِأَمْ أَبْتَدَاءِ نَحْوِ إِنِّي لَوَرَزُ ١٨٣
- ٦٦٧ أنشدَ فيه سَعْدُهُ أَنْعِمَ بِذَا لَقَدْ سَمَا عَلَى الْعِدَا مُسْتَحْوِذَا ١٨٥
- ٦٦٨ حَذَّرَ سَطَاةَ سَايِرِ الْأَشْرَارِ كَالضَّيْعَمِ الضَّيْعَمِ يَا ذَا السَّارِي ٦٢٤
- ٦٦٩ ثوبِ معاليهِ الَّذِي قد لبسا قَدْ أَقْتَضَى نَظَافَةً لَا دَنَسًا ٢٣٤
- ٦٧٠ حاشاه من كلامٍ شَانَ كَلِمَا وَقِيلَ حَاشَا وَحَاشَا فَاحْفَظْهُمَا ٣٣١
- ٦٧١ كَالْعَلَمِ الْمَنْشُورِ عَرَضُهُ الْحَسَنُ وَالْعَلَمِ أَحْكَمِيَّتُهُ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَنْ ٧٥٧

٦٧٢	له بيانٌ كم رواه ناقلٌ	قسُ الإيادي ^{١٨} لديه باقلُ
٦٧٣	بحرٌ يوديه لسانٌ وشفه	حقيقة الأمر به مُنكثفه
٦٧٤	جمُ العطا لسانه ما أعتاد لا	به جوابٌ كنعمٌ وكبلى
٦٧٥	كم قال جودًا وهو بالجود ملي	كربٌ راجينا عظيم الأمل
٦٧٦	وقال لأمرئٍ على الجود عدلٌ	كمثلٌ نحنُ العرب أسخى من بدلٌ
٦٧٧	سماحنا الجزيلُ وصفٌ مستمرٌ	وبالتدورِ أحكمٌ لغيرٍ ما ذكرُ
٦٧٨	وفضله الجمّ الذي قد كَمَلَا	على الأصحّ ما لغيرٍ جعلَا
٦٧٩	كم قلتُ إن نلتُ لديه فائده	كالله برُّ والأيادي شاهده
٦٨٠	صاحب حكمٍ كم له الإغضاء عن	بعنٌ تجاوزا عنى من قد فطنُ
٦٨١	دونهم إلى المعالي وحتيمٌ	لزومٌ أفعالٍ السجايا كنهمُ
٦٨٢	مرسومه إذا لبرٌ أطلقا	أسمٌ يعينُ المُسمى مُطلقا
٦٨٣	يخجلُ منه البحرُ حين يُذكرُ	مما به عنه مُبينًا يُخبرُ
٦٨٤	فقل لمن قَصَرَ عنه في الجدا	لؤمانُ نؤمانُ كذا وأطردا
٦٨٥	إن قيل بحرٌ وحسابٌ ووصفا	فذاك بالوجهين عنهم يُلفى
٦٨٦	بحرٌ منه نيلٌ جودٌ وندا	وأعللٌ إذا لم تتحرَّ الأجودا
٦٨٧	من يديه سحُ الهوامي مرسله	على الذي استحقَّ ^{١٩} أنه الصلّه
٦٨٨	بالفضل والإحسان والتوكيد قد	يُعنى وزائداً لتوكيدٍ ورذُ
٦٨٩	وطال ما نادى جداه دون يا	كأيها الفتى بائر أرجونيا
٦٩٠	للجود وهو مرتجى مأمولٌ	فَعَالٌ أَوْ مِفْعَالٌ أَوْ فَعُولٌ
٦٩١	أنى لفرط الجود أن يقول في	مغناه كالمُعطي كغافاً يكتفي
٦٩٢	له هباتٌ تُخجلُ الصّحابة	إذا همتٌ وتملاً الرّحابة

^{١٨} في الأصل: قس بل الإيادي.

^{١٩} بعلبكي: استقرّ.

- ٦٩٣ قالت لمن طابت إليه نُزُلًا
٦٩٤ كم راحلٍ من عنده بكى لِمَا
٦٩٥ قد قال فيه ذو بيان برعا
٦٩٦ يسخو ببذلٍ لا كمثلٍ مَنْ مَنْعَ
٦٩٧ وأمره العالي لِكُلِّ مَنْ خَزَنَ
٦٩٨ كم قاصدٍ من عنده قد أرسلَهُ
٦٩٩ قال وقد سيرها نحوي معه
٧٠٠ لَمَّا رَأَتْ مَقْلَتُهُ وَأَبْصَرَتْ
٧٠١ ما قال لي وَهُوَ لَبِيرٌ مُقْتَطِعٌ
٧٠٢ مدحي مقصورٌ عليه في الوري
٧٠٣ كم قلتُ وهو جالسٌ بين الملا
٧٠٤ لأملٍ حَقَّقَهُ جودًا كِلا
٧٠٥ صندوقه وكيسه كلي سَلِيمٌ
٧٠٦ يقول كلُّ أوحدٍ إذا سخا
٧٠٧ صرْتُ سعيدًا منذ لي قد وصلا
٧٠٨ فلم أقل من فرطٍ ما لي قد عذُرُ
٧٠٩ قال لِحَظِّي وَهُوَ بِالْخَيْرِ قَمِينُ
٧١٠ مدحٌ سواءٍ في دمشق بالبدا
٧١١ مولى لِكُلِّ صِفَةٍ تُرْضَى مَنْحُ
٧١٢ أَلْفًا مِنَ التَّبَرِ وَغَيْرِهِ مَتَى
٧١٣ لا يتعدى ذا إذا أولى الجدا
٧١٤ دينارُهُ من جِبَّةِ الجود عري
- ٤٤٦ كَسَهَلَ الأَمْرُ وَزَيْدٌ جَزُلًا
أَمَلَهُ مِنْ جودِهِ الَّذِي طَمَا
٣٤٤ ذَا راحِلٍ وَمُخْلِصًا زَيْدٌ دَعَا
٦٥٠ صَرَفَ الَّذِي حَوَاهُ كَيْفَمَا وَقَعَ
٦٨٥ حَتْمٌ كَجُدِّ حَتَّى تَسُرَّ ذَا حَزَنَ
لمنزلي مفتقدًا لي بصله
٣١١ كَنَحْوِ سِيرِي وَالطَّرِيقِ مُسْرِعَهُ
شروطَ الاستحقاقِ فِيَّ أَنَحْصِرْتُ
٣٠٠ مَعَ الشُّرُوطِ كَلِيزُهُدٍ ذَا قَنِعِ
٤٧ جَمِيعُهُ وَهُوَ الَّذِي قَدَّ قَصْرًا
وقدره العالي على الكلِّ علا
٣٢٠ تَمَرَّرَ بِهِمْ إِلَّا الْفَتَى إِلَّا الْعَلَا
٦٥١ مِنْ أَنْ يُرَى بِنَاءِ تَأْنِيثِ حُتَيْمِ
٢٨٥ زَيْدٌ وَعَمْرُو أَخَوَانِ^{٢٠} فِي الرَّخَا
وَعَمَّنِي بِكَرَمٍ مَا أَنْفَصَلَا
٣٤٦ نَحْوِ سَعِيدٍ مُسْتَقِرًّا فِي هَجْرَ
٥٨٠ كَنَحْوِ زَيْدِ بْنِ سَعِيدٍ لَا تَهْنُ
١٩١ مَا نَاطِقٌ أَرَادَهُ مُعْتَمِدًا
لخير جودٍ أو سخاءٍ إن مدح
٨٤٤ زَادَ عَلَيَّ أَرْبَعَةَ لَنْ يَثْبُتَا
٩١٧ وَأَنْ يُزْدَ فِيهِ فَمَا سَبَعًا عَدَا
٩١٥ حَرْفٌ وَشَبَّهُهُ مِنَ الصَّرْفِ بَرِي

^{٢٠} في الأصل: أخوين.

- ٧١٥ كم وقفة له على الفعلِ المَعْلُ
- ٧١٦ وكم له قال السخا لما همى
- ٧١٧ فعَظُمَ البحرَ إذ البحرُ ذُكِرَ
- ٧١٨ فجودُهُ هذا الَّذي قد أَشتهرُ
- ٧١٩ وهو وقد حَقَّقَ لي التَّأميلا
- ٧٢٠ أثنى قبيلًا يوقف عاملُهُ
- ٧٢١ وهو بما يفعل^{٢١} فيه متَّحد
- ٧٢٢ عنا فقل عسى يزولُ عَنَّا
- ٧٢٣ صلاتُهُ قد كثرَتْ وقد تلت
- ٧٢٤ أتبعني ببرِّه الوافي وَمَن
- ٧٢٥ كم قصد أثنان وجمعٌ منزله
- ٧٢٦ فصدروا من بعد ما قد وردوا
- ٧٢٧ فأبرز من الشكرِ لدى أخذِ الذَّهَبِ
- ٧٢٨ حتَّى يقول من تحقَّقَ الحَبْرُ
- ٧٢٩ فصغ من الدُّعا له بلا ملل
- ٧٣٠ وبالمحاسنِ التي قد شتت
- ٧٣١ فقد رأيتُ واجبًا تصدَّما
- ٧٣٢ وكم من محسنٍ وصفٍ في سوي
- ٧٣٣ إن قلت بيتًا مفردًا له أتصف
- ٧٣٤ لا تقتصرُ على القليلِ وتقف
- ٧٣٥ وأحدٌ اذْكَرُ وصَلَنهُ بعَشْرُ
- ٧٣٦ وإن أضيفَ عدَّةٌ مُرْكَبُ
- ٨٩٣ بَحَذَفِ آخِرِ كَأَعِطِ مَنْ سَأَلَ
- ١٤٦ كَأَعِطِ مَا دُمْتَ مُصِيبًا دِرْهَمًا
- ٤٨٢ وَلَا تَقْسُ عَلَيِ الَّذِي مِنْهُ أُثِرُ
- ٤٨٤ مُسْتَعْمَلٌ وَالْخُلْفُ فِي ذَاكَ اسْتَقْرُ
- ٦ مُسْتَوْجِبٌ ثَنَائِي الْجَمِيلَا
- كما به أحاط علمًا شاكلُهُ
- ٢٩٩ وَقُتْنَا وَفَاعِلًا وَإِنْ شَرِطُ فُقِدُ
- ٢٩٣ عَامِلُهُ يُحَذَفُ حَيْثُ عَنَّا
- ٥١٦ مُنْفَتِقِرًا لِذِكْرِهِنَّ أَتِيَعَتْ
- ٤٢٧ راعى في الاتباعِ المَحَلَّ فَحَسَنُ
- فضاعف البرَّ لهم وأجزله
- ٢٢٨ وَقَدْ يُقَالُ سَعِدَا وَسَعِدُوا
- ١٠٣ بِفِعْلٍ أَوْ وَصَفٍ كَمَنْ نَرَجُو بِهِ
- ١٠٥ كَمُرَّ بِالَّذِي مَرَرْتُ فَهُوَ بَرُّ
- ٧٢٤ كَصَوْنِ وَاقٍ مِنْ وَقَى اللهُ الْبَطْلُ
- ٧٢٠ أَخْبِرْ مُرَاعِيًا وَفَاقِ الْمُثَبِّتِ
- ٧٢١ أَخْبِرْ عَنْهُ هَاهُنَا قَدْ حُتِمَا
- ٦٩٤ مَا مَرَّ فَأَقْبِلْ مِنْهُ مَا عَدَلُ رَوَى
- ٧٢٨ وَمِائَةٌ وَالْأَلْفُ لِلْفَرْدِ أَضْفُ
- ٧٢٨ فَمِائَةٌ بِالْجَمْعِ نَزْرًا قَدْ رُدْفُ
- ٧٢٩ مُرْكَبًا قَاصِدًا مَعْدُودِ ذَكَرُ
- ٧٣٧ يَبْقَى الْبِنَا وَعَجْرُ قَدْ يُعْرَبُ

^{٢١} بعلبكي: يعمل.

- ٧٣٨ عَشْرَةَ كَفَاعِلٍ مِنْ فَعَلَا وَصُغَ مِنْ اثْنَيْنِ فَمَا فَوْقُ إِلَى ٧٣٧
- ٢٧٠ ثَوْبَ الْمَعَالِي وَالْمُضَاهِي أَقْعِنَسَا لَكُمْ بِهِ مِنْ مَا جَدِ قَدْ لَبَسَا ٧٣٨
- ٧٢١ أُخْبِرَ عَنْهُ هَا هَنَا قَدْ حُتِمَا تَصْدِيقَ كُلِّ كَامِلٍ فَأَفْهَمَ بِمَا ٧٣٩
- ٦٩٨ يَتَلَوُ الْجَزَاءَ وَجَوَابًا وَسِمَا إِذَا مَدَحْتُهُ بَعُشْرٍ نَظْمَا ٧٤٠
- ٣٦٠ مُفْضَلًا كَأَنَّتَ أَعْلَى مَنْزِلَا فَقُلْتُ وَالْبَدْرُ مِنَ الْأَفْقِ عِلَا ٧٤١
- ١٣٨ حَتْمٌ وَفِي نَصِّ يَمِينٍ أَسْتَقَرَّ يَا مَنْ يَسَارُ جَوْدِهِ الَّذِي غَمَّرَ ٧٤٢
- ٤٤٩ وَزَكَّاهُ تَرْكِيَةً وَأَجْمَلَا حَقَّقُ لِمَنْ أَتْنَى عَلَيْكَ الْأَمَلَا ٧٤٣
- ٥٦٣ وَعَطَفَكَ الْفِعْلَ عَلَى الْفِعْلِ يَصِحُّ فَكَفَّنَكَ الْكَرِيمُ بِالْجُودِ سَمَحُ ٧٤٤
- مِنْ صَفَفٍ مُنِي بِهِمْ وَاصِبِ عَبْدُكَ يَا مَشْرِفَ الْمَنَاصِبِ ٧٤٥
- ٥٧٧ عَلَى الَّذِي رَفَعَهُ قَدْ عَهْدَا فَأَخْفَضَ لَهُ الْعَيْشَ عَلَى رَغَمِ الْعِدَا ٧٤٦
- ٨٧٧ فَجَبَّرَهُ وَفَتَحَ عَيْنَهُ التُّزْمَ وَأَجْبُرَ كَسِيرًا لِكَسْرِ بَيْتِهِ لَزْمَ ٧٤٧
- ٨٧٤ وَحَقُّ مَجْبُورٍ بِهِذِي تَوْفِيهِ يَفِي بِشُكْرِ ظَاهِرٍ لَنْ يَخْفِيهِ ٧٤٨
- ١٤٤ كَكَانَ ظَلَّ بَاتَ أَضْحَى أَضْبَحَا فَكَانَ مِثْلَ الْبَحْرِ لَمَّا سَمَحَا ٧٤٩
- مِنْ السَّوَالِ وَعَلَى الثَّنَا أَقْتَصِرُ قُلْ لِلَّذِي لَجَاهُ أَفْصِدُ وَأَخْتَصِرُ ٧٥٠
- ٤٧٦ إِنْ كَانَ عِنْدَ الْحَذَفِ مَعْنَاهُ يَصِحُّ وَأَحْذَرُ فَضُولَ الْقَوْلِ أَيُّهَا الْمَلِخُ ٧٥١
- ٥٠٧ وَالنَّعْتُ تَابِعٌ مُتِمٌّ مَا سَبَقُ نَعْوَتُهُ طَيْبٌ شَذَاهَا قَدْ عَبَقُ ٧٥٢
- ٥٥ وَلَا يَلِي إِلَّا اخْتِيَارًا أَبَدَا قَدْ نَصَبُوهُ لِلْقَضَا نَجْمَ هَدَى ٧٥٣
- ٥٥٦ فِي الْعَجَبِ الْمُثَبِّتِ وَالْأَمْرِ الْجَلِيِّ سِيرَتُهُ الْبَيْضَاءُ قَالَتْ إِذْ وَلِي ٧٥٤
- فَقَدْ غَدَا نَظِيرَهُ وَزَائِدَا إِنْ يَكُنِ السَّبْكِيُّ كَانَ مَفْرَدَا ٧٥٥
- ٤٣٤ فِي الْحُكْمِ وَالشُّرُوطِ حَيْثُمَا عَمِلُ وَمَا سِوَى أَنْفَرَادٍ مِثْلُهُ جَعِلُ ٧٥٦
- ٣٩٠ وَتِلْكَ مَحْضَةٌ وَمَعْنَوِيَّةُ لِفِكْرِهِ عَارِضَةٌ قَوِيَّةُ ٧٥٧
- ٩٠٩ وَكَفُّ مُسْتَعْمِلٍ وَرَا يَنْكَفُ مَهَابَةُ الْعِلْمِ بِهِ تَحْفُ ٧٥٨
- ٥٤٧ يَكُونُ إِلَّا غَايَةَ الَّذِي تَلَا مَدِيحُهُ يَسْتَغْرَقُ الْوَصْفَ وَلَا ٧٥٩

- ٧٦٠ تراه والإشكال داجي السلفِ مُبدي تأوُلِ بلا تَكَلُفِ ٣٣٤
- ٧٦١ من بيتِ فضلٍ للعلومِ حَمَلَهُ وَشاعَ نَحْوُ كَامِلِ وَكَمَلَهُ ٨٠٣
- ٧٦٢ بنالِهِ الجودَ بناءً قد غدا وَلِيُجِرَ مُجْرَى ذِي بِناءِ جُدِّدا ٥٧٨
- ٧٦٣ بشكرِهِ للحاسدينَ أكمَدُ في نَحْوِ خَيْرِ القَوْلِ إِنِّي أَحَمَدُ ١٨٢
- ٧٦٤ وكم له بين الأنامِ مِنْ عَمَلٍ بِرِّ يَزِينُ وَلِيَقَسُ ما لَمْ يُقَلِّ ١٢٧
- ٧٦٥ أقسم أَنَّهُ إمامٌ كُلِّ فَنَ لكونِهِ بمضمَرِ الرَفْعِ أَقترنُ ٩٩٦
- ٧٦٦ يوهَبُ من رآه الخِلاصَهُ^{٢٢} كَمَا أَفتَضَى غِنَى بلا خِصاصَهُ ١٠٠٠
- ٧٦٧ وتمَّ ما أَرَدْتَهُ منَ المديحِ هنا مع التَّقْصِيرِ والتَّنْظِمِ المِليخِ
- ٧٦٨ فأحَمَدُ اللهُ مصلِّياً على مُحَمَّدِ خَيْرِ نَبِيِّ أرسلا ١٠٠١
- ٧٦٩ وآلِهِ العُرِّ الكِرَامِ البَرَرَةَ وَصَحْبِهِ المُنْتَخَبِينَ الخَيْرَةَ ١٠٠٢
- ٧٧٠ ما مدح القُمري بروضةٍ وناخِ ونطقَ المُحِبِّ بالحبِّ وباخِ
- ٧٧١ وسارَ ركبُ الحجيجِ ووصلُ واللطفُ من ربِّ البرايا قد حصلُ

تمت والحمد لله على كل حال

ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي

العظيم وصلى الله على

سيدنا محمد وعلى

آله وسلّم

٧٧٢ وإن تجدَ عيباً فسُدِّ الخِلا تبق عندَ النَّاسِ في عينِ المَلا

٧٧٣ ولا تعابير من به عيبٌ وقُلِّ جَلِّ من لا عيبَ فيه وعلا

اللَّهُمَّ صلِّ على من بَلَّغَ الرِسالَةَ سيدنا مُحَمَّدَ وعلى آله وصحبه وسلّم

^{٢٢} كذا في الأصل.

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THE QUR'ĀN AS A LATE ANTIQUE TEXT

Angelika Neuwirth

We are used to regarding the Qur'ān as the “Islamic text” *par excellence*. Historically viewed this is, however, not evident at all. For more than twenty years before rising to the rank of the founding document of Islam, the Qur'ān was an oral communication. Its message was not yet addressed towards Muslims—who would become the faithful only by adopting the Qur'ānic communication as their scripture, but to pre-Islamic listeners whom we might best describe as persons educated in late antiquity learning. Western research usually approaches the Qur'ān as the Scripture that it was to become later and interprets it in a teleological manner—as if its ultimate significance had already been inscribed in it in *statu nascendi*. Striving to understand the Qur'ān as it was communicated, as a message targeting not-yet-Muslims, one has to relinquish the usual procedure of reading it through the lens of Islamic texts but contextualize it within pre-Islamic, late antique traditions instead. This article is intended to introduce this approach which is presently pursued within the framework of the project *Corpus Coranicum* at the Berlin Academy of Sciences.¹

The Qur'ān as a text in *statu nascendi*, as a text of Late Antiquity, is not a modern discovery. By the 3rd/9th century, the Basran polymath al-Jāhiz had insisted on the particular historical context of the Qur'ān as a factor in its evolution, and moreover on its interaction with listeners whose education should have constituted the *erwartungshorizont*, the frame of expectation into which the form of the Qur'ān had to be accommodated. Al-Jāhiz regards this particular surrounding of the Qur'ān's emergence as an essential advantage of the Qur'ān vis-à-vis the emergence of other scriptures. He evaluates the sequence of the three great messengers in the following way:

Every Prophet is given a sign to manifest his rank as a messenger: Moses was sent to Pharaoh whose people excelled in magic. To convince them he had to perform a miracle of magic: he changed a rod into a snake. Jesus appeared in an age when the most prestigious art was medicine, he worked a scientific miracle—he resurrected the dead. Muḥammad—still later—was sent to a people who would no longer be impressed by material exceptionalities, but—being professionals in rhetoric, *balāgha*—demanded a more sublime

¹ Marx (2008: 41–54).

prophetic sign. Muḥammad, therefore, presented a linguistic miracle. He brought a scripture, the Qurʾān.²

This review of the prophetic ministries, dismissive toward the earlier messages as it may be, does touch on an important point: the perception of the kind of scripture the Qurʾān constitutes. Al-Jāhīz aptly underscores the Qurʾān's claim to both semantic *and* aesthetic significance. He explains that claim in *historical* terms rooting the Qurʾān in an epoch of particular stylistic sensibility, a judgment that would be affirmed by modern scholars such as James Montgomery³ who has demonstrated the massive ideological impact of ancient Arabic poetry as the manifestation of cultural and even political autonomy.

Yet, not only by virtue of Muḥammad's addressing a linguistically demanding audience should the Qurʾān be acknowledged as closely related to *balāgha*, but equally by virtue of its form. The Qurʾān is uniquely speech-centered. Unframed by any narrative scenario the entire Qurʾān is direct address. This address, moreover, often entails a meta-discourse, being speech about speech, be it a comment on the Qurʾānic message itself or on earlier traditions. This text-referentiality again is hardly surprising in the historical epoch foregrounded by al-Jāhīz. In the later biblical texts 'Sages', indeed scriptural interpreters in general, had taken over part of the ancient prophet's role. For, to quote James Kugel, "if the word of the Lord was no longer reliably spoken by chosen messengers sent directly to Israel, it was because that word had already been set down in writing, in the great library of divine wisdom that Scripture had become."⁴ Similar to the Biblical Sages, the Qurʾānic speaker continuously refers to the earlier scriptures, while adapting them to the epistemic horizons of his audience. And yet, the overall shape of the Qurʾānic expression is presented as spontaneous prophetic speech, which in the Arabian Peninsula—contrary to Israel—seems to have survived well into Late Antiquity. Muḥammad therefore should be regarded as both a prophet, in the antique style *and* as an interpreter of tradition, an exegete in the vein of the later Sages.

It is not an exaggeration, then, to classify the Qurʾān—in addition to its being prophecy—as 'exegesis'. Viewed in terms of its contents, the Qurʾān, on a broad level, interprets and rephrases well-known biblical and post-biblical traditions, while viewed in terms of its form, it largely professes an apologetic-polemical debate.⁵ The Qurʾānic age roughly coincides

² Paraphrase of a section from al-Jāhīz, *K. Khalq al-Qurʾān*, quoted after Pellat (1967: 80).

³ Montgomery (2006).

⁴ Kugel (1989: 17).

⁵ McAuliffe (1999: 163–188).

with the epoch, when the great exegetical corpora of monotheist tradition were edited and published, such as the two Talmudim in Judaism and the patristic writings in Christianity. Daniel Boyarin has stressed that the Talmud is no less than the writings of the Church fathers imbued with Hellenic rhetoric. The Qur'ān is communicated to an audience whose education, we assume, already comprises Arabian and post-biblical lore, whose nascent scripture therefore should provide rhetorically persuasive answers to the questions raised in biblical exegesis, answers, clad in a language matching the standards of ancient Arabic poetry.

Al-Jāhīz makes another important point. *Balāgha* in his perspective is not theory, but a linguistic practice enacted publicly in oral speech. He is aware that the Qur'ān as an oral communication involved listeners, whose expectations, linguistic and ideological, operated as the parameter of the persuasiveness of the Prophet's speech. The awareness of this dramatic character of the Qur'ān's first communication is almost totally absent from both Islamic and Western Qur'ānic scholarship; consequently, the literary genre of the Qur'ān is often wrongly identified. The majority of scholars view the Qur'ān not as the transcript of an orally performed, open-ended drama, but rather as written, pre-meditated corpus of prophetic sayings—in my view, a teleological misconception. This thesis demands a brief review of certain scholarly approaches that have been pursued until today.

BRIEF REVIEW OF EARLIER SCHOLARSHIP

Traditional Muslim scholarship clearly distinguishes between the written and the oral text, even providing technical terms for both, *muṣḥaf*, meaning the codex, and *qur'ān* denoting the oral performance. The vast library of masoretic scholarship on the Qur'ān comprises a sizable corpus of writings on aspects of *oral performance* including euphony and the position of pauses when reciting among others. To this very day, the Qur'ān is taught as an orally performed text whose phonetic realization is cherished as an aesthetically sophisticated art. The *oral transmission* of the Qur'ān is equally highly esteemed, even considered superior to the written, thus the printed Cairo edition most frequently used today is based not on manuscripts, but on oral tradition. Still, there is little concern with *oral composition*,⁶ let alone curiosity about the epistemic implications of orality. That is, reciting through perceived as an act of mimesis of the Prophet's

⁶ Kellermann (1995: 1–33).

receiving the word of God, does not aim at the recollection of the particular scenario in history, that the recited text is about, for instance the prophet's debate with individual opponents, as a step in the progress of the message. Recitation is rather taken as the mimesis of a moment in the prophetic *illud tempus*. This metahistorical perception of the Qur'ān is of course related to the decisive progress in canonization, which occurred, when with the death of the prophet the living voice of communication was silenced and the text came to fill the void. Canonization, Aziz Al-Azmeh tells us, involves a revolutionary reader's approach to the text, turning it from a historical document into a timeless symbol. To quote his classical description: "The historical nature of the canonical text as a genealogical charter of rectitude demands a status beyond history, figuring as a vantage point from which chronometric time becomes neutralized."⁷ The text's final shape thus appears as if teleologically necessitated—a perception incompatible with the notion of a dialectical unfolding of the message.

An awareness of Scripture as a meta-historical charter of truth, *mutatis mutandis* had been prevalent in pre-modern Christian and Jewish Biblical studies as well. Western scholarly preoccupation with the Bible had however crystallized into a highly sophisticated theology whose theoretical potential increased thanks to the dramatic revisions it underwent during the Reformation and the Enlightenment. The Bible thus was familiar in virtually all its facets of meaning, when the epistemic revolution occurred that modern scholars refer to as the "major break in Biblical studies," the introduction of historical critical scholarship in the 18th and 19th centuries, when, to quote Robert Wilken, "Biblical scholarship acquired a life of its own as a historical enterprise independent of the church and of the synagogue."⁸

What may be viewed as a critical turn in Biblical studies in Western Qur'ānic scholarship was not an innovation nor a renewal, but the very beginning. The Qur'ān had been virtually unknown to Western scholars when it was submitted to the newly developed approach of historical-critical research. It is true that in Muslim scholarship at approximately the same time, critical attempts to explore new theological and anthropological dimensions of the Qur'ān were underway: in the second half of the 19th century Muslim reform thinkers put forward new approaches that shared important ideas with Western Biblical scholarship. Those approaches were, however, sidelined and have remained detached from

⁷ Azmeh (2007: 107).

⁸ Wilken (1998: 197–212).

Western developments. Western Qur'ānic studies thus started with a striking non-synchronicity, with both biblical studies—which it only superficially resembled—and Muslim Qur'ānic studies, which were from the outset excluded from its scope.

From the point of view of Western cultural critique however, the beginnings of critical Qur'ānic scholarship deserve recognition as a significant achievement, given that well into the 19th century the Qur'ān had been regarded polemically as the writing of a false prophet, despite empathic views held about his person by some Enlightenment and later Romantic thinkers. Abraham Geiger,⁹ who in 1833 published his famous “Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?,”¹⁰ offered a pivotal revalorization of the Qur'ān, intimately linked to a new evaluation of Muḥammad as a sincere seeker of truth. Geiger was one of the founders of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, a movement that strove to historicize the Hebrew Bible following Christian philological models, but also to contextualize Judaism within the three religious traditions. However complex his motives, by applying the historical critical approach to the Qur'ān he submitted the text to the most recent scholarly methods of his time. The result, though, proved to be highly ambivalent. Historical critical scholarship is a quest for the *urtext* or *urtexts* of Scripture—a quest that for the Bible had resulted in the unearthing of a large number of ancient Near Eastern traditions. These texts were apt to throw light on the historical setting of the Bible, but rarely could seriously compete with their far more sophisticated counterparts, shaped by the Biblical authors. In the Qur'ānic case however, the opposite is true: what was discovered was not an “inferior text,” but the most prestigious ancient text imaginable: the Hebrew Bible itself. To Geiger the Qur'ān presented itself as a florilegium of innumerable biblical and rabbinic traditions that the Qur'ān's author had borrowed from Judaism in order to compose a work of guidance for this community. Since deviation from such an authoritative *urtext* equaled a distortion, the Qur'ān emerged as an unsuccessful attempt to rival the Bible and remains stigmatized as an epigonic text until the present day.

Yet the scholarship of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* certainly marks the climax of Western Qur'ānic studies. After its violent disruption with the expulsion of Jewish scholars from the German universities during the Nazi terror in the 1930s Qur'ānic studies took a new and less ambitious course, following a trend in the vein of the *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, focusing

⁹ Geiger's work is discussed in Hartwig et al., (ed) (2008).

¹⁰ Geiger (1833).

the person of the prophet and his psychological development.¹¹ The Qur'ānic text as such disappeared from the fore.

The scholar who finally brought the text back to learned attention is John Wansbrough. Rigorously rejecting the traditional historical setting of the Qur'ān, Wansbrough in his 'Qur'ānic Studies' of 1977¹² imagined the text to be the self-expression not of the emerging community at Mecca and Medina, but of an already extant community, a text put to writing in order to provide that community with as scripture enshrining its Arabian myth of origin. Wansbrough thus declared the Qur'ān an "open text," no longer possible to locate in time and place, and thus virtually inaccessible to historical investigation. No surprise that his work brought about a schism in the scholarly community, pitching traditionalists against skeptics, a grotesque situation that still prevails.

To retrieve the Qur'ānic text once more we have to go back to al-Jāhiz's claim that the Qur'ān began as an oral communication that originated during the age of rhetoric in Late Antiquity.

"DISCOURSES OF THE QUR'ĀN"

Viewed as a document born of an oral communication process, the Qur'ān effected a double achievement: it caused the emergence of a canon *and* the emergence of a community. The Qur'ān not only contributed to shape a new community, but, at the same time, documented that process. The Qur'ān's audience by developing ever more sophisticated cultic rituals, and by reaching a consensus on theological positions and exegetical stances gradually assumes a collective identity, a process that—we contend can be roughly reconstructed. Relying on Theodor Nöldeke's still indispensable chronology,¹³ one can trace a sequence of topics or even discourses, theological, ethical and liturgical, which should have preoccupied the community during the ministry of Muḥammad. Since these observations remain hypothetical as long as they do not crystallize into a plausible, irreversible, chain of developments, I will try, in the remarks that follow, to broadly outline how I imagine such a development.

In view of the fact that oral communications seldom proceed linearly but tend to describe a zigzag movement of trial and error, we may assume

¹¹ Fück (1936: 509–525).

¹² Wansbrough (1977).

¹³ Nöldeke (1860).

various turns and breaks to have occurred in the process of the emergence of the text. The community whom we consider as the passive co-authors of the text, should have been urged to re-think positions, to expound or even revise earlier views. The text seems to reflect this movement in a sequence of discourses that develop out of each other but that are at the same time exposed to constant reconstruction and revision.

Let me label the first of these Qur'ānic discourses the "liturgical." The earliest communications on closer look reveal themselves as in dialogue with the Psalms.¹⁴ Not only in terms of poetical form, but equally in their imagery and the devotional attitude of their speaker, they clearly reflect the language of the Psalms familiar from Jewish and Christian liturgy. Yet the early Qur'ānic communications differ from traditional liturgical speech: They are informed by a meta-discourse, the discourse of knowledge.

Let us consider the introduction of one of the earliest *sūras*:

<i>iqra' bi-smi rabbika l-ladhī khalaq,</i>	<i>Recite in the name of thy lord who created</i>
<i>khalaqa l-insāna min 'alaq</i>	<i>created man from clotted blood</i>
<i>iqra' wa-rabbuka l-akram</i>	<i>recite, for thy lord is the most generous</i>
<i>al-ladhī 'allama bi-l-qalam</i>	<i>who taught by the pen</i>
<i>'allama l-insāna mā lam ya'lam</i>	<i>taught man what he did not know</i>

These verses are hymnic in a psalmic vein, where creation figures as God's most celebrated deed. Yet what comprises God's generosity is not as in the Psalms, primarily the maintenance of his creation but his furnishing creatures with the gift of understanding. It is divine knowledge, conferred by the transcendent act of writing, *qalam*, which God generously, *akram*, shares with them. The bestowal of Scriptural knowledge is not part of the psalmic inventory of divine grace, it fits however with the image of the divine drawn in a Biblical apocryph¹⁵ and the Syriac treatises of Ephrem of Nisibis.¹⁶ Jewish-Christian models of liturgy have thus become tools of rhetoric to promote an argument, in this instance the discourse of divinely communicated knowledge, which, in turn, is the premise for mankind's ultimate rendering account of the end of time.

¹⁴ Neuwirth (2008: 157–190).

¹⁵ Najman (1999: 379–410).

¹⁶ See Becker (2008).

ESCHATOLOGY

I will touch on the second discourse—"the end of time," "eschatology"—only in passing. The friction aroused by this new focus which rigorously called the, until then, cherished social values into question, can hardly be overestimated. Whereas hymnic texts in praise of the Lord can easily be accommodated even in a heterogeneous pagan *and* monotheist cultic community, the idea of the Last Judgment that unsettles the confidence in virtually all the existing social and ideological structures cannot. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the so-called "break with the pagan Meccans," studied exhaustively by Uri Rubin,¹⁷ the revocation of the original cult communion that is signaled by the believers' choosing new times of prayer, is connected with the emergence of the second discourse, the controversial and even polarizing idea of the Last Judgment.

FROM MECCA TO JERUSALEM—ELECTEDNESS

It is only logical that the community, having attained independence in cultic matters and now following the monotheists' hours of prayer, should have looked upon the structure of those services as models. In Middle Meccan times the Qur'ānic *sūra* displays the structure of a monotheist service with the recital of a Biblical narrative at its core framed by a polyphonal or even antiphonal beginning and end. A verbal service after Jewish Christian models had obviously come to counterbalance the until then predominant ritual. At the same time, the *Fātiḥa*, obviously a communal prayer, is introduced to give voice to the community itself.¹⁸ The *Fātiḥa* is clearly evoked as a prayer already in use in one of the central texts of the Qur'ān, *Sūrat al-Ḥijr* (15: 87), a Middle Meccan *sūra*, that entails the primordial election of the Qur'ānic community.¹⁹ This enormous increase in prestige is conveyed through a narrative (15: 26–43), capsulized by the following: Satan/Iblīs,²⁰ commanded by God to bow down before the newly created Adam, refuses. He is condemned, but granted a respite to fulfill an essential task: to test mankind by means of seduction. There is one group, however, that he will have *no* access to: "God's faithful servants," *'ibāduka l-mukhlaṣūn*, who in the same text are identified as the Qur'ānic community,

¹⁷ Rubin (1987: 40–67).

¹⁸ See Neuwirth, A. / Neuwirth, K. (1991: 331–337).

¹⁹ Neuwirth (2000: 143–172).

²⁰ Idem (2001: 113–152).

the historical listeners to the Qur'ānic recitation. This community in pre-existence is received among God's elect, not unequal to the Israelites, whose leader Moses is the prototype of their leader, Muḥammad. No surprise that the community marks its new adherence to the Biblical tradition by adopting the direction of prayer cherished by the older religions, toward Jerusalem,²¹ to express their preference for the Biblical tradition over the local Meccan.

For the audience of the Qur'ān to become a Scriptural community, however, more than a divine assignment was required. Core texts of the older traditions have to be re-read and adapted to the newly developing world view as well as to the Arabic linguistic standards. The re-reading of Ps 136 in *sūrat al-Raḥmān*²² most strikingly reflects this ambitious enterprise, being an artistic *tour de force* that draws on virtually all the registers of the Arabic language: phonology, morphology, and even syntax.

Let us briefly look at the two texts. A number of common structural characteristics, primarily the unique phenomenon of antiphonal speech, the employment of a refrain, suggest that Q 55 is not just a text replete with references to the equally antiphonal Ps 136, but a critical "re-reading," a counter-text that is intended as such. Already the two refrains expose the essential difference between both texts. The psalm has the hymnic *kī le-ʿōlām ḥasdō*, "for his kindness endures forever," a conviction deduced from historical experience, whereas the Qur'ānic refrain is an address to men and demons universally, *fa-bi-ayyi ālā'i rabbikumā tukadhdhibān*, "so which of your Lord's bounties/signs do you both deny?" i.e., a call for the entire creation to attest that there are divine self-manifestations in signs that should be heeded. *Remembering historical experience*, pivotal in Jewish tradition, is confronted with the Qur'ānic *call for understanding* the divine signs.

Sūrat al-Raḥmān begins:

<i>Al-Raḥmān</i>	<i>The merciful</i>
<i>ʿallama l-qur'ān</i>	<i>He taught the Qur'ān</i>
<i>khalāqa l-insān</i>	<i>He created man</i>
<i>ʿallamahu l-bayān.</i>	<i>He taught him clear speech—or: understanding</i>

What is inherent in the world since the act of creation is the divine message *and* the distinctness of human articulation or understanding (*bayān*). God created the world as a manifestation of his presence, as a text of

²¹ Idem (1993: 227–270) and idem (1996: 93–116, 483–95).

²² Idem (2008: 157–190).

no lesser standing than his verbal revelation, and endowed man with the understanding of both his verbal and his creational self-expression. The text of Q 55 with its insistence on symmetry and dual structures sets out to rhetorically orchestrate this double theological claim to a sign system in creation *and* in Scripture.

Both texts remain closely parallel in their initial parts extolling the acts of divine creation. It is only at the point where the Psalm turns to expound God's past interventions for His people's sake; that the *sūra* diverges. In the Qur'ānic world view it is *not history, but creation and its entelechy in the beyond* that is proof of God's presence. *Sūrat al-Raḥman* which had begun with the contention that creation and language are part of *the same* primordial divine project, ends with a dual and extremely ornate linguistic representation of the consummate character of creation in paradise. In the Qur'ān, an eschatological future celebrated in language has taken the place of a historical past.

We now will move beyond a number of Meccan discourses and turn to Medina, singling out one important discourse.

MEDINA: INHERITING BIBLICAL TRADITIONS FROM THEIR JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN CLAIMANTS

Whereas at Mecca Biblical traditions had been current as part of common knowledge, at Medina the real heirs of Biblical tradition, learned Jews and Christians, appeared to reclaim their monopoly on the exegesis of biblical tradition. Debates over particular issues have left their traces in the Qur'ān. To choose a short exemplar, I will briefly discuss Q 112, *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, "the pure belief." It reads:

<i>Qul huwa llāhu aḥad</i>	Say: He is God, one
<i>Allāhu l-ṣamad</i>	God the absolute
<i>lam yalid wa-lam yūlad</i>	He did not beget, nor is He begotten
<i>wa-lam yakun lahu kufiwan aḥad</i>	and there is none like Him.

It is difficult to miss the fact that v. 1 "Say: He is God, One," *qul, huwa llāhu aḥad*, echoes the Jewish credo "Hear Israel, the Lord, our God, is One," *Shema' Yisrā'el, adōnāy elōhēnū adōnāy eḥād*. It is striking that the Jewish text remains audible in the Qur'ānic version, which—against grammatical norms—adopts the Hebrew-sounding noun *aḥad* instead of the more pertinent adjective *wāḥid*, for the rhyme. This 'ungrammaticality' cannot go unnoticed. I am referring to the notion analyzed by Riffaterre, regarding the awkwardness of a textual moment that semiotically points to another

text, which provides a key to its decoding. This other text in our case is the Jewish credo.²³

This striking translanguing quotation is part of the Qur'ānic negotiation strategy that appropriates the Jewish credo. Although the Qur'ānic transcript is altered, being universalized having not exclusively Israel, but any believer in general addressed, it continues, through the sustained sound presence of the Jewish credo, to partake in the older text's authority—an important political stratagem: The new version sounds like a challenge addressed to Jewish listeners in particular, who during the first Medinan years needed to be won over to the new movement. In this short sura, however, still another credo is involved: the Nicene creed:

Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum	Deuteronomium 6,4	Qur'ān, Sura 112 (al-Iklās)
We believe in one God,	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν	Hear, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One.
the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible	Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀορατῶν.	Say: He is God, one, God the absolute,
And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds (æons), Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made,	Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,	He did not beget, nor is He begotten
being of one substance with the Father;	ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί·	And there is none like Him

²³ Riffaterre (1978: 92).

V. 3 “He did not beget nor is he begotten”, *lam yalid wa-lam yūlad*, is a reverse echo of the Nicene Creed; it rejects the emphatic affirmation of Christ’s sonship “begotten, not made”—*genethenta, ou poiethenta* by using a no less emphatic double negation. This negative theology is summed up in v. 4 “And there is none like Him”, *wa-lam yakun lahu kufiwan aḥad*. That verse not only inverts the Nicene formula of Christ’s being of one substance with God—*homoousios to patri*—but forbids one to think of any being, equal in substance to God, let alone a son. Although these verses negate the essential statement of the Nicene Creed, they ‘translate’ the Greek/or Syriac intertext, adopting its rhetorical strategy of *intensification*. Theology is modified—rhetoric is maintained.

A GAZE BEYOND THE QUR’ĀN: FROM POLYPHONY TO DICHOTOMY

What has been presented is not recorded in Islamic tradition. The *sīra* takes little interest in the debates with the older communities, and is even less willing to acknowledge them as foundations of text generation. Few traditional readers, if any, would read *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* or *Sūrat al-Raḥmān* in light of their pre-Islamic intertexts. Why not?

The period of the Qur’ān’s emergence which al-Jāḥiẓ had labeled *‘aṣr al-balāgha* and which we have translated as Late Antiquity, in the Islamic context is usually referred to as *al-jāhiliyya*, “the age of ignorance.” Much ink had already been spilled on the meaning of *jāhiliyya* when Franz Rosenthal²⁴ in 1970 proffered the hypothesis that the term *jāhiliyya* might be explained as a Qur’ānic pun. The word *jāhiliyya* occurs four times in the Medinan *sūras*, always denoting a negatively judged collective or a negative moral stance. It is usually translated as the “age of paganism,” though in the Qur’ānic context this is an impossible meaning, since the new age of Islam at that time had not yet been conceived of, let alone begun. Yet the word, to quote Rosenthal, “appears to have been used by Muḥammad with peculiar forcefulness. This would suggest that some more specific and meaningful connotation was concealed behind the term.” Rosenthal looks for a solution outside the Qur’ān. “Such special significance might have accrued to the term through its connection with the famous Jewish concept of *galut*, exile, diaspora. . . . Exile stands for the very qualities of savagery, immorality and ignorance of the true God that Muḥammad finds objectionable in the *jāhiliyya*.” The relationship indeed

²⁴ Rosenthal (1970: 32–34).

is striking. Both terms—*jāhiliyya* and *galut*—viewed from this retrospective, have induced an excessively dichotomic understanding of the world, a wholesale reduction of entire epochs of real history to a travesty of idealized *heilsgeschichte*.

It is true that the newly coined term *al-jāhiliyya* has not yet been exploited in the Qur'ān for its ideological potential; rather, the Qur'ānic *jāhiliyya* points primarily to manners and customs of the ancient Arabs who had been morally ostracized. Yet, the verdict enshrined in the concept of *jāhiliyya* has strongly contributed to successfully eradicate a comprehensive memory of this great epoch in Arab history. Nobody has foregrounded this concern more urgently than the Lebanese historian Samir Kassir²⁵ who claims that in current Near Eastern perceptions of history, a self-exclusion from pre-Islamic culture is at work: The myth of origin that identifies the beginning of the significant history with the ministry of the Prophet, reduces the previous history to an era of almost exclusively nomadic culture. Kassir claims: "One can hardly overestimate the turn in worldview that would occur once the Golden Age that preceded the Golden Age is recognized." Kassir's demand for an intellectual self-liberation from teleological constraints, however, addresses only half of the revision required. The Near Eastern self-exclusion from European history is matched by the equally determined Western exclusion of the Qur'ān from its history, epitomized in the highly political notion that the Qur'ān is a text fundamentally alien to European culture, while other writings from the same geographical area and standing in the same line of tradition—most prominently Biblical and post-Biblical literature—are assimilated as founding documents of European identity.

Returning to al-Jāḥiẓ's observation and locating the Qur'ān in the *ʿaṣr al-balāgha*, in Late Antiquity, we may hope for a final resolution to the disturbing a-synchronicity inherent in Western Qur'ānic studies and at the same time join the plea voiced by Near Eastern intellectuals to rethink the borderlines of Near Eastern and European cultures.

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²⁵ Kassir (2004).

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A FORMAL DESCRIPTION OF SENTENCES IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC¹

Everhard Ditters

1. INTRODUCTION

At first instance, I thought of a contribution to the *Festschrift* for Ramzi Baalbaki in the form of an *e*-based verification, in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*, of his arguments about *ḥikāya* particles.² However, I received too much data, while lacking enough time to properly discuss all these data in the field of the *History of Arabic Grammar*. So, I decided to return to my field of research: the formal description of Modern Standard Arabic syntax within a processing environment.

On the instigation of Pierre Larcher, I suggested a formalized *Modern Standard Arabic Sentence Grammar*.³ This draft was, indeed, more theoretical than formal. My Ph.D.:⁴ *A Formal Description of the Arabic NP and VP*, had the same shortcomings. In another publication,⁵ I examined, in some depth, the use of 'additional' features for the disambiguation of analysis results. Once again, it concerned a comprehensive, but still theoretical account of the state of the art of ongoing research in my field of interest. Here, I reformulate some essentials in the description of Arabic sentence structure, but now tested by means of a formal grammar with operational status.

In this contribution, I comment on several aspects of the testing of an operational formal grammar for the *e*-analysis of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) text data within the, language independent, AGFL processing environment for, among others, natural languages.⁶ I will examine my

¹ The progress I recently made in the development of my formal grammar for MSA has not been possible without the support of Kees Koster and Olaf Seibert of the Faculty of Physics, Mathematics and Computer Science of the Radboud University in Nijmegen. Jan Hoogland placed the Arabic entries with word categorization of his Arabic-Dutch dictionary (Hoogland, 2003) at my disposal.

² Baalbaki (2007).

³ Ditters (1991).

⁴ Idem (1992).

⁵ Idem (2007).

⁶ I opted for the AGFL (Affix Grammar over Finite Lattices) processing environment (conceived by Kees Koster (1970), and developed by him and his colleagues), instead of

description at certain corpus and ‘derived’ data samples, exclusively at the upper layers of description, including: the root ‘utterance’; several interrogatives; as well as at a number of (forged) declarative alternatives.⁷ The only trespassing of beyond-sentence-level activities concerns the inclusion of certain elliptic varieties of the aforementioned categories. More details about a formal description of MSA sentence structure, at lower levels, till end-markers for a sentence, are visible in the parsing results, but not commented upon in this paper.

I use, here, a fully vocalized version of my hypothesis about MSA sentence structure in transcribed Arabic. Its counterpart in Arabic graphemes has been developed simultaneously. Un-vocalized versions of both varieties are generated by a formal rule, stating: a short-vowel position may be ‘filled’ or ‘empty.’⁸ The main discussion about the parsing results takes place in the body of the notes of Appendices 2 and 3.

1.1. *Linguistic Preliminaries*

For the linguistic analysis of a natural language, a descriptive model accounting for the sequence of elements as well as for mutual relationships has to be adequate and comprehensive. Such a description progresses from the most abstract or general structure level to the most specific final entries as listed in the lexicon. For the description of Arabic I use an Immediate Constituency Grammar (ICG) approach to account for word order, enhanced with a layer to account for relationships between constituents as well as between the elements within a constituent.⁹

the EDG (Extensible Dependency Grammar) processing environment (conceived by Ralph Debusmann (2006), and developed by him and his colleagues), because, in the former I can in a more implicit way formulate my hypothesis of MSA sentence structure to a language independent processing environment. While it may be curious for an Arabist, describing a root-and-pattern organized agglutinating language, to account for the absence of a surface ‘space’ by means of a ‘+’ operator in the formalism, it works! Marwan Odeh (2004) used the EDG environment for his Arabic grammar.

⁷ Negation will be dealt with in the form of alternative realizations, because it always occurs as such (with the only exception for the Arabic lexical verb *laysa* ‘not to be’ with a rather restricted conjugation paradigm).

⁸ However, there are significant differences: the un-vocalized versions, transcribed or in Arabic graphemes alike, have fewer, simpler rules, but, as would be expected, a far higher rate of ambiguity. How larger the context the entry occurs in (for us the sentence), the easier disambiguation will be.

⁹ As reference work, I prefer like to use the comprehensive grammar of Badawi, Carter, and Gully (2004), because of its frequent citing of verifiable Arabic data from Cantarino (1974–5).

The constant through the formal grammar is constituted by alternating layers of the description of functions (in terms of head and modifiers) and categories (in terms of functional slots and fillers). Relationships and dependencies are described by means of parameters (such as: person, gender, number, case, etc.), attached to the fillers of functional slots. The highest unit of linguistic description is the sentence or a sequence of sentences.¹⁰ The lowest level is constituted by the final entries of the lexicon, including the graphemes of the consonantal and vowel system, as well as sentence or constituent end markers.

For other than linguistic analysis *e*-purposes such as: information retrieval (IR), data routing (DR), text mining (TM), some forms of automatic tagging (AT), automatic lexicon building (LB) etc., a Dependency Grammar (DG) based approach might be more appropriate. However, it is a simple step to deduce, from the enhanced ICG description, the basic number of dependency triples needed to provide enough information on the 'aboutness'¹¹ of a text in order for it to be used for Arabic IR or TR.

The object of linguistic research, Modern Standard Arabic language structure, does not present an additional problem to the AGFL (Affix Grammar over Finite Lattices) formalism and processing environment as another formal or natural language does. The linguistic description is language specific. The AGFL formalism and processing environment is language independent.¹² Linguistics does not need, in this cooperation, to make any concession to informatics.

1.2. *Formal Preliminaries*

The AGFL formalism,¹³ as well as its processing environment, is based on a context-free two-level grammar formalism. The first level describes the

¹⁰ By rewriting an Arabic utterance into: a sentence, or: a sentence, followed by a sentence, a corpus of Arabic text data can be analyzed. However, a sentence grammar is lacking the disambiguation power of a text grammar, which accumulates the information of earlier parsed sentences.

¹¹ I here quote, in a relaxed way, from WIKIPEDIA: "In linguistics, aboutness is simply 'meaning,' the 'end of language.' In psychology, it is 'intentionality.' In psycholinguistics or cognitive linguistics, it is 'language of thought in vogue,' or something like that."

¹² For an overview of the state of the art in the field of Arabic computational linguistics see: Ditters (2006) and, more recently, but less comprehensively as fields of application are concerned, Farghaly (2010).

¹³ For more information about this formalism Google AGFL (agfl.cs.ru.nl). There you can also find a bibliography, including the article about AP4IR (Arabic Phrases for Information Retrieval) (Ditters-Koster (2004)), as well as a more general document about: Phrase-based Document Categorization (Koster et al. (2010)).

sequence of relevant elements¹⁴ by means of statements, rewriting one unique right-hand non-terminal into one or more other non-terminals or final entries or terminals. The second level describes, also by means of a context-free grammar, the realization of values of variables (from now on technically called: affixes), attached to the non-terminals of the first level of description. The term ‘realization’ here comprises the description of factual relationships and dependencies between constituents and between elements of a constituent, as well as the possibility of conditioning (via so-called empty rules within the formalism) the realization of specific affix values leading to a parsing result.

2. SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

2.1. *Sentence Level*

The root symbol in our formal Arabic grammar is utterance:¹⁵

utterance:

bound coord(CAT) +
base;
[free coord(CAT)],
base.

Here it is stated, that any utterance in Arabic consists of a base, optionally preceded by a [free coord(CAT)], or followed by a [bound coord(CAT)]. The difference between the sequence separators (‘,’ and ‘+’) is, that the first includes a space between sequential elements, while the second glues the first to the following non- or terminal element of description.

In the lexicon those [free coord(CAT)] and [bound coord(CAT)]¹⁶ elements are listed as follows:

“fa”	bound coord(consec)
“wa”	bound coord(cumul)

¹⁴ Here I use, in the context of linguistics, the term ‘element’ without any reserve. In the formal environment, I prefer to use the term ‘non-terminal’, which can, could, and should be rewritten into one or more other non-terminals or terminal values.

¹⁵ Square brackets refer to an optional realization of a non-terminal at the first level.

¹⁶ A meta rule, at the second level of description, defines the values for the affix variable (CAT) into the terminals: consecutive; cumulative; alternative; explicative; inclusive; restrictive; and successive.

“’am”	free coord(alter)
“’aw”	free coord(alter)
“’immā”	free coord(alter)
“bal”	free coord(explic)
“lā”	free coord(exclus)
“ḥattā”	free coord(inclus)
“lākin”	free coord(restrict)
“walākin”	free coord(restrict)
“walākinna”	free coord(restrict)
“thumma”	free coord(success)

In the formal grammar presented here, I describe the base as follows:

base:

s type(SPECIES);
 s type(SPECIES),
 bound coord(cumul) +
 s type(SPECIES).

In other words, an utterance, in Arabic, has a base consisting of one or more alternatives for: s type(SPECIES).¹⁷ It is interesting to see what different values for (SPECIES) result in distinct realizations at the first level of description for s type. In this account, the domain description of values for the affix name SPECIES has been given in:

SPECIES::declarative|elliptic_declarative|interrogative|elliptic_interrogative.

With this declaration of values at the second (affix) level of description, we know to be dealing with: declaratives or elliptic declaratives,¹⁸ as well as with interrogatives or elliptic interrogatives. The inclusion of a third value for SPECIES (conditional|elliptic_conditional) goes beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁷ Values for this second level affix name are, in this contribution, restricted to: interrogative, declarative, as well as elliptic realizations of those.

¹⁸ In the AGFL formalism, a vertical bar (|) separates alternative values at the second level of description.

2.2. *Interrogatives*

Interrogatives usually are divided into two classes: Yes-No questions (including tag-questions), and WH-questions.¹⁹ Specific for Yes-No questions, in Arabic, is the occurrence of a complete statement (ques tail), in most cases preceded by an (bound or free) interrogative particle such as 'a or *hal*, respectively, and a question mark (if punctuation conventions are being respected). For a negative Yes-No question, these conventions suffice to combine the interrogative introductory with a negative particle such as 'alā, 'alan, or *hallā*, and the like, with the meaning of: 'isn't?', 'doesn't?', 'hadn't?'

As far as tag-questions are concerned, in literary Arabic a complete statement (ques tail) is usually followed by a sequence such as '*alaysa dhālika?* 'isn't?', testing the truth-value of the preceding, affirmative or negative, utterance.²⁰ In WH-questions, an interrogative (pro)noun or particle, such as 'ayy 'which?', *man* 'who?', *mādhā* 'what?', *kayfa* 'how?', *matā* 'when?' (or a finite set of other alternatives), a prepositional phrase, combining a preposition and an interrogative (pro)noun, like *bima* 'by means of what?' or *lima* 'wherefor(e)?' realizes a function (subject, object, modifier, adverbial, or other), to conform to the basic requirements for a 'grammatically or semantically correct' utterance in MSA.

With that, as well as with some text data as reference,²¹ I like to describe the structure of an interrogative sentence in MSA, by means of formal rewrite rules within the AGFL environment as: a single non-terminal at the left-hand side is rewritten into one or more non-terminals or terminals at the right-hand side. A colon is the rewrite symbol. A comma separates sequences at the right-hand side rewriting. A semi-colon separates alternative rewritings of the left-hand side at the right-hand side. A plus sign at the right-hand side of a rewrite rule glues two consecutive non-terminals together (without a space at sentence level). A period ends the rule. So we get:

¹⁹ Cantarino (1974, 135) made a distinction between the questioning about: intrinsic validity, an essential element, or circumstantial aspects in an Arabic interrogative. This corresponds with my differentiation into: part|sub|obj|avba at the affix level in my formal description of interrogatives.

²⁰ In colloquial Arabic, at least in the Levantine region, a registered form of for instance *mush hēk* 'isn't?' should be interpreted as a speaker-awareness-confirming-interjection, rather than asking for an objective answer.

²¹ Cantarino (1974–75).

s type(interrogative):

- bound inter part +
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- free inter part,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- interrogative pronoun,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- internoun group(GENDER,NUMBER,CASE),
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- inter adv,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- prep(TYPES),
 - inter adv,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- prep(TYPES) +
 - inter adv,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- prep(TYPES),
 - interrogative pronoun,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark;
- prep(TYPES) +
 - interrogative pronoun,
 - ques tail +
 - inter mark.

Here it is stated, that an interrogative sentence in Arabic: may be introduced by a bound or free interrogative particle (bound inter part and free inter part respectively); may end in a question mark (inter mark); and, should include a statement (ques tail). Some alternative realizations of these interrogatives are listed as well. For example, interrogatives introduced by: an interrogative pronoun; an interrogative noun; an interrogative adverbial; or alternatives preceded by a prepositional particle.

However, for practical purposes, they are listed, in a lexical module, in the form of:

“’a”	bound inter part
“hal”	free inter part
“man”	interrogative pronoun
“mā”	interrogative pronoun
“mādhā”	interrogative pronoun
“mandhā”	interrogative pronoun
“’ayy”	inter noun
“alāma”	inter adv
“alāmā”	inter adv
“’ilāma”	inter adv
“’ayna”	inter adv
“kayfa”	inter adv
“kam”	inter adv
“matā”	inter adv
“’annā”	inter adv
“lima”	inter adv
“bima”	inter adv
“?”	inter mark

As we did for the affix name (CAT), by means of meta rules, we need to declare the values for variables such as: GENDER, NUMBER, CASE, and TYPES. They, too, are defined by meta rules:²²

CASE	::acc gen nom invar.
CAT	::alter consec cumul exclus explic inclus restrict success.
GENDER	::fem masc.
NUMBER	::coll dual PLUR sing.
PLUR	::explu inplu.
TYPES	::accomp causal compb contc direc finalintr finalprep partprep place timeprep.

²² In the AGFL formalism, a double colon (::) is used as the rewrite symbol of an affix name (left-hand side) into its values (right-hand side) at the second level of description. A vertical (|) separates alternatives.

We still need to describe: the body of the interrogative (ques tail), as well as its alternative in the rewriting of the left-hand nonterminal s type(interrogative), the interrogative noun 'ayy:

ques tail:

```
predicate(MODE,DEFNESS,PERSON,GENDER,NUMBER);
topic comp(GENDER,NUMBER),
    topic(GENDER1,NUMBER1);
topic(GENDER,NUMBER),
    topic comp(GENDER1,NUMBER1).
```

internoun group(GENDER,NUMBER,CASE):

```
inter noun +
    gendermorph(GENDER,NUMBER) +
    casemorph(DECLEN,DEFNESS,GENDER,NUMBER,CASE),
```

```
np(HEADREAL,undef,GENDER,NUMBER,PERSON,gen);
```

```
inter noun +
```

```
    casemorph(DECLEN,DEFNESS,GENDER,NUMBER,CASE),
    np(HEADREAL,undef,GENDER,NUMBER,PERSON,gen).
```

We skip here the rewriting of the left-hand sides of ques tail and internoun group,²³ but list the meta rules we used:

```
DECLEN      ::defec|dipt|invar|norm.
DEFNESS     ::def|indef.
HEADREAL    ::com|count|relativeb|intn|min|nad|neg|nnum|nomcom|num|pers|prop|quesb|vera|vern|vob.
MODE        ::nominal|verbal.
PERSON      ::first|second|third.
```

To account for elliptic occurrences we dropped in the description parts of the left-hand sides of the interrogatives such as: a bound or free inter part, and the ques tail:

²³ One can deduce different structural descriptions from the parse results in both Appendices 2 and 3.

s type(elliptic_interrogative):
 prep(TYPES) +
 inter adv +
 inter mark;
 inter adv;
 ques tail +
 inter mark;
 ques tail +
 inter mark;
 interrogative pronoun +
 inter mark;
 internoun group(GENDER,NUMBER,CASE) +
 inter mark;
 inter adv +
 inter mark;
 prep(TYPES),
 inter adv +
 inter mark;
 prep(TYPES) +
 inter adv +
 inter mark;
 prep(TYPES) +
 interrogative pronoun +
 inter mark.

Testing the formal grammar on the first input sentence (Appendix 1) results in two parses:

1 wahiya fi 'addāri?

```
# parsing 1 time 0.007 penalty 724
utterance <alt 1:2>
bound coord(cumul) "wa" [1]
base <alt 1:1>
s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>
ques tail <alt 1:1>
```

²⁴ Those rather incomprehensible line endings such as: penalty 7; <alt 1:2>; and [1], are automatically generated during parsing when I apply the option '-v parser' for diagnostic purposes. Ambiguities, missing links, faults, and/or other inconsistencies in the formal description can be traced more easily. In official publications, this option is normally set off.

predicate(nominal, def, third, fem, sing) <alt 2:1>
 np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:2>
 head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 18:1>
 pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) “hiya” [1]
 pom(def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 2:2>
 prep(place) “fi” [1]
 nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 art “’ad” [1]²⁵
 head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 common noun(norm, fem, sing) “dār” [1]
 casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) “i” [1]
 HEAD₁ type is predetermined(com) <alt 3:1>
 GENUM₁ agreement is(fem, fem, fem, sing, sing, sing) <alt 4:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(pers) <alt 2:1>
 headreal is(pers) <alt 4:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

This first parse concerns an elliptic interrogative, consisting of a ‘part of a statement’ (ques tail), and ending in a question mark (inter mark). This ‘part of a statement’ is here realized by a nominal predicate in the form of a head-postmodifier construction: *fi l-dāri* as postmodifier of *hiya*. I chose not to block such a result for a personal pronoun, because noun phrases, with a common noun as head, like ‘my uncle in San Francisco’, should also be described and ‘correctly’ analyzed.

There appears to be a lot of surface noise in such a parse tree. The result of the parsing of example 1 could have been (and can be, by means of transduction) reduced to:

utterance
 s type(elliptic_interrogative)
 ques tail
 head
 postmodifier
 inter mark.

²⁵ In an analysis environment, it is not difficult to account for assimilation phenomena in Arabic. Alternatives are simply listed in the lexicon as distinct entries.

If the formal description of a natural language, in our case Arabic, is exclusively oriented towards analysis, one should eliminate, from the description within the AGFL environment, many, so-called ‘empty-rules’, like those selected from the first parse:

HEAD₁ type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>
 GENUM₁ agreement is(fem, fem, fem, sing, sing, sing) <alt 4:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(pers) <alt 2:1>
 headreal is(pers) <alt 4:1>

These rules condition for instance: determination, gender and case agreement. For other perspectives, computer-assisted language learning or generative or retrieval oriented applications, these empty-rules proved to be relevant. However, they can, by means of transduction, be left out in the representation of the parsing results.

The second parse of the first example sentence concerns an elliptic interrogative, consisting of a ‘part of a statement’ (ques tail), and ending in a question mark (inter mark). This ‘part of a statement’ is here realized by a topic-comment structure with a personal pronoun in the topic, and a prepositional phrase in the comment position.

parsing 2 time 0.007 penalty 7²⁶
 utterance <alt 1:2>
 bound coord(cumul) “wa” [1]
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>
 ques tail <alt 1:3>
 topic(fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 18:1>
 pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) “hiya” [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>
 pp <alt 1:1>
 pp marker(place) <alt 1:1>

²⁶ This parsing is also characterized as an elliptic interrogative because of the absence of an interrogative particle at the beginning. However, the complete statement has been analyzed as a topic-comment construction.

```

prep(place) "fi" [1]
pp compl <alt 1:1>
nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
art "'ad" [1]
head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
  common noun(norm, fem, sing) "dār" [1]
  casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) "i" [1]
  HEAD1 type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>
inter mark "?" [1]

```

Relevant remarks on the parse results of the other sentences are provided for in the notes to Appendices 2 and 3.

2.3. *Declaratives*

Deleting the question markers such as *'a* or *hal*, and *'?* from the interrogatives, we obtain declarative alternatives of the test sentences. A more positive definition of a declarative is: a positive or negative statement with the main focus on an entry of the verb lexicon (verbal sentence) or on an entry of the noun lexicon (nominal sentence). For illustrative purposes only, below follows a selection of the rewrite rules used for the description of declarative sentence structure occurring in the parse results:²⁷

```

s type(declarative):
  s(VARIETY) +
  end marker.

```

```

s(basic):
  sentence(ORDER).

```

The domain of the values for the affixes VARIETY and ORDER are defined by the meta rules:

```

ORDER      ::focus|pred|topic|elliptic_topic.28
VARIETY    ::basic|double|elliptic.

```

²⁷ As one can see in Appendix 4 (parser statistics), in its current form the formal grammar comprises 1400 rules with more than 1800 alternatives.

²⁸ In the next round of corrections, the domain of values for the affix variable will be extended with: *elliptic_pred* to account for an elliptic verbal sentence.

In the following rules we see the use of square brackets indicating the optional occurrence of, in this case, a complement, a sentence adverbial or a negator:

```
sentence(pred):
  verbal head(imper,second,GENDER,NUMBER,COMPL),
    [compl(COMPL1)];
  [sent avb],
    predicate(verbal,DEFNESS,PERSON,GENDER,NUMBER),
      [sent avb].
```

```
sentence(topic):
  topic(GENDER,NUMBER),
    topic comp(GENDER1,NUMBER1),
      [sent avb];
  topic comp(GENDER,NUMBER),
    topic(GENDER1,NUMBER1),
      [sent avb];
  [negator],
    predicate(nominal,def,PERSON,GENDER1,NUMBER1),
      indef t(GENDER,NUMBER),
        where agreement
is (GENDER,GENDER1,NUMBER,NUMBER1);
  introducer(INITIAL),
    topica(INITIAL,GENDER,NUMBER),
      bound coord(CAT),
        topic comp(GENDER1,NUMBER1),
          anaphoric
relation(GENDER,GENDER1,NUMBER,NUMBER1);
  neg topic(GENDER,NUMBER),
    neg topic comp.
```

```
sentence(elliptic_topic):
  topic(GENDER,NUMBER);
  topic comp(GENDER,NUMBER).
```

```
topic(GENDER,NUMBER):
  np(HEADREAL,DEFNESS,GENDER,NUMBER,PERSON,nom|invar);
  prep(finalintr),
```

np(HEADREAL,def,GENDER,NUMBER,PERSON,gen);
 prep(finalintr) +
 np(HEADREAL,def,GENDER,NUMBER,PERSON,gen).

An alternative rule accounts for the rewriting of a topic into a complement clause,²⁹ in the past a more frequently used structure than in contemporary Arabic, but tests on large corpora of text data should confirm this presumption:

topic(masc,sing):
 ccl(so).

In the following rule is stated that a comment (topic comp) may consist of a verb phrase, a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, an adverb phrase, or a prepositional phrase, each of them in its turn to be described into left-hand sides.

topic comp(GENDER,NUMBER):
 predicate(verbal,DEFNESS,third,GENDER,NUMBER);
 np(HEADREAL,DEFNESS,GENDER,NUMBER,PERSON,nom);
 adjp(DEFNESS,GENDER,NUMBER,CASE);
 ap;
 pp.

Elliptic declaratives are those sentences in which the predicate of a verbal sentence, and the topic or the comment in a nominal sentence have been omitted, usually because of their earlier occurrence in the context.

Below we discuss the second example of the declaratives (Appendix 3):

2 taʿrifinahu.

```
# parsing 1 time 0.025 penalty 9
utterance <alt 1:1>
base <alt 1:1>
s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
s(basic) <alt 1:1>
```

²⁹ For example: *'an taṣūmū khayrun lakum* (Sura 2, 184) 'If ye fast it is better for you' (Palmer, 1953, 23).

sentence(pred) <alt 1:2>
 predicate(verbal, DEFNESS, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 vp(indic, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 verbal head(indic, second, fem, sing, acc) <alt 2:1>
 prefix(three, au, active, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 prefcon(second, fem, sing) "t" [1]
 prefvow(three, au, active) "a" [1]
 verb(three, normal, COMBI, i, indic, active, acc) <alt 1:1>
 verb elements(19, 11, 21, normal, COMBI, indic, 2, active) <alt 13:1>
 rad(19) <alt 19:1>
 "ʔ" [1]
 rad(11) <alt 11:1>
 "r" [1]
 vow(2) <alt 2:1>
 "i" [1]
 rad(21) <alt 21:1>
 "f" [1]
 verb stem i lexicon(19, 11, 21, acc, 1, 2) <alt 276:1>
 suffix(normal, COMBI, indic, second, fem, sing) "īna" [1]
 where gen num pers is(second, fem, fem, sing, sing, fem, sing) <alt 6:1>
 where vowel fits derivation(three, au, i) <alt 4:1>
 compl(acc) <alt 1:1>
 compl phr(acc) <alt 1:1>
 direct obj(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, masc, sing, third, acc) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, masc, sing, third, acc) <alt 19:1>
 pers pronoun(masc, sing, third, acc) "hu" [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 end marker "." [1]

This result tells us that this sentence consists of a predicate including a verb phrase in the indicative mood, with an internal subject (feminine, singular, second person), an attached direct object in the form of a personal pronoun (accusative, masculine, singular, third person), and a dot as end marker.

As far as the finite verb form is concerned, the result tells us that it consists of a strong verb with a three-consonantal root in the indicative mood and active voice of the first stem. Directly linked to the verb base are a prefix and a suffix. A distinct module (verb elements) of verb stems

is included in the grammar. It lists, among others, the below described left-hand side:

verb elements(RA, RB, RC, normal, COMBI, MOOD, VOWIMPERF, active):
 rad(RA) +
 rad(RB) +
 vow(VOWIMPERF) +
 rad(RC).

In another module (verb stem i lexicon) the verb entry concerned is listed by integers for its radicals.³⁰ Here, the combination of: 19,11,21, stands for: 'rf ('arafa/ya'rifu 'to know'). The lexical rule states, also by means of integers, that this entry has an *a* (1) as vowel of the second radical in the past tense, and an *i* (2) as vowel of the second radical in the present tense. Moreover, the verb may govern a direct object in the accusative:

verb stem i lexicon(19,11,21,acc,1,2): .

3. DISCUSSION

The description, so far, may have given an idea about the form of a formal grammar for Modern Standard Arabic in the AGFL formalism, as well as of the parsing of sample data of the language described within the AGFL processing environment. The formal grammar is operational.³¹ This means in no way that the description, as a product, is ready, finished, achieved or complete, and 100% reliable.

The formal description is a hypothesis about the syntactic structure of contemporary literary Arabic and its final entries for communication interchange. This hypothesis should be tested, over and over again, on a corpus of language data in a cyclic process of testing, correction, and adaptation. Corrections are being made by optimization, the fine-tuning

³⁰ By means of so-called fact tables the matching between these integers and the graphemes, transcribed or in Arabic characters, is guaranteed.

³¹ 'Operational,' here, means that the AGFL processing environment, during compilation of the description, did not find any serious violations of or infringements on the internal logic of the formalism. This is the initial stage for, in our case, the linguistic testing of the description of the natural language described. As long as we stick to the syntactic and semantic logic of the formalism, we have an operational grammar that can then be linguistically tested.

of the description of sentence structure, the elimination of undesired ambiguities, and by the expansion of the lexicon. In short, once started it is a continuous process.

PERSPECTIVES

We only discussed, here, within the upper layers of Arabic sentence structure my description of (some) interrogatives. By a ‘deus ex machina’ trick, I tested and described the results of the parsing of (some) declaratives. In earlier versions of my formal description of MSA, I lodged the so-called *protasis* in conditional sentences in the slot for ‘sentence adverbial’. However, it remained difficult to describe, within the overall description, the occurrence of certain particles or specific values for the verb realization in the so-called *apodosis*. Therefore, I agreed upon, and developed the description of a third alternative of sentence structure: conditional sentences, still to be tested.

The following steps in the planning are: the insertion of an ‘empty’ value for short vowels (*a*, *i*, and *u*) in the MSA grammar for transcribed and Arabic input; the ‘transfer’ of the Arabic entries from an Arabic-Dutch/Dutch-Arabic dictionary³² to vocalized and non-vocalized versions of our formal lexicon; and the parsing of Arabic data from the Nijmegen corpus.

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³² Hoogland (2003).

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APPENDIX 1

EXAMPLES

- 1 wahiya fi l-dāri?
and she in the house?
Is she in the house? (C.I,136,1)³³
- 2 'ata 'rifinahu?
(q) you know him?
Do you know him? (C.I,137,2)
- 3 hal 'indakum mariḍun?
(q) nearyou ill?
Is somebody ill in the family? (C.I,139,6)
- 4 man hādhā?
who this?
Who is this? (C.I,142,2)
- 5 'alāma ta'safu?
on what you regret?
What do you feel sad about? (C.I,149,6)
- 6 'ayyu 'insānin 'anta?
which man you?
What kind of a man are you? (C.I,152,12)
- 7 kam ḥafizta?
how much preserved you?
How much did you learn? (C.I,158,3)
- 8 'ilā 'ayna?
to where?
Where? (C.I,162,3)
- 9 matā?
when?
When? (C.I,162,6)
- 10 kayfa?
how?
How? (C.I,162,5)
- 11 limādhā?
for what?
Why? (borrowed from: C.I,145,5)

³³ This formula should be read as: Cantarino, Vol. 1, p. 136, ex. 1.

APPENDIX 2

INTERROGATIVES

Input

- 1 wahiya fi al-dāri?
- 2 'ata'riffinahu?
- 3 hal 'indakum mariḍun?
- 4 man hādhā?
- 5 'alāma tāsafu?
- 6 'ayyu 'insānin 'anta?
- 7 kam ḥafizta?
- 8 'ilā 'ayna?
- 9 matā?
- 10 kayfa?
- 11 limādhā?

Results

- 1 wahiya fi al-dāri?³⁴

parsing 1 time 0.007 penalty 7

utterance <alt 1:2>

bound coord(cumul) "wa" [1]

base <alt 1:1>

s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>

ques tail <alt 1:1>

predicate(nominal, def, third, fem, sing) <alt 2:1>

np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:2>

head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 18:1>

pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) "hiya" [1]

pom(def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 2:2>

prep(place) "fi" [1]

nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>

np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>

art "al" [1]

head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>

common noun(norm, fem, sing) "dār" [1]

casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) "i" [1]

HEAD1 type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>

³⁴ The first parsing concerns an elliptic interrogative in which *fi al-dāri* has been analyzed as a post modifier of the head *hiya*. I did not block such an analysis result for a personal pronoun, because it is useful to analyze noun phrases such as 'my uncle in San Francisco' as a noun phrase.

GENUM₁ agreement is(fem, fem, fem, sing, sing, sing) <alt 4:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(pers) <alt 2:1>
 headreal is(pers) <alt 4:1>
 inter mark "?" [1]

parsing 2 time 0.007 penalty 7³⁵
 utterance <alt 1:2>
 bound coord(cumul) "wa" [1]
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>
 ques tail <alt 1:3>
 topic(fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 18:1>
 pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) "hiya" [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>
 pp <alt 1:1>
 pp marker(place) <alt 1:1>
 prep(place) "fi" [1]
 pp compl <alt 1:1>
 nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 art "al-" [1]
 head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 common noun(norm, fem, sing) "dār" [1]
 casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) "i" [1]
 HEAD₁ type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>
 inter mark "?" [1]

2 'ata'rifinahu?

parsing 1 time 0.036 penalty 10
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(interrogative) <alt 1:1>
 bound inter part "'a" [1]
 ques tail <alt 1:1>
 predicate(verbal, DEFNESS, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 vp(indic, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>

³⁵ This parsing is also characterized as an elliptic interrogative because of the absence of an interrogative particle at the beginning. However, the complete statement has been analyzed as a topic-comment construction.

verbal head(indic, second, fem, sing, acc) <alt 2:1>
 prefix(three, au, active, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 prefcon(second, fem, sing) “t” [1]
 prefvow(three, au, active) “a” [1]
 verb(three, normal, COMBI, i, indic, active, acc) <alt 1:1>
 verb elements(19, 11, 21, normal, COMBI, indic, 2, active) <alt 13:1>
 rad(19) <alt 19:1>
 “ʿ” [1]
 rad(11) <alt 11:1>
 “r” [1]
 vow(2) <alt 2:1>
 “i” [1]
 rad(21) <alt 21:1>
 “f” [1]
 verb stem i lexicon(19, 11, 21, acc, 1, 2) <alt 276:1>
 suffix(normal, COMBI, indic, second, fem, sing) “īna” [1]
 where gen num pers is(second, fem, fem, sing, fem, sing) <alt 6:1>
 where vowel fits derivation(three, au, i) <alt 4:1>
 compl(acc) <alt 1:1>
 compl phr(acc) <alt 1:1>
 direct obj(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, masc, sing, third, acc) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, masc, sing, third, acc) <alt 18:1>
 pers pronoun(masc, sing, third, acc) “hu” [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

3 hal ‘indakum marīḍun?

parsing 1 time 0.018 penalty 6

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(interrogative) <alt 1:2>

free inter part “hal” [1]

ques tail <alt 1:2>

topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>

pp <alt 1:2>

pp marker(place) <alt 1:1>

prep(place) “īnda” [1]

pp compl <alt 1:1>

nounphrase(def, masc, inplu, second, gen) <alt 1:1>

np(pers, def, masc, inplu, second, gen) <alt 1:1>

head(pers, def, masc, inplu, second, gen) <alt 18:1>

pers pronoun(masc, inplu, second, gen) “kum” [1]

DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>

topic(GENDER, coll|dual|sing|explu) <alt 1:1>

np(nad, indef, GENDER, coll|dual|sing|explu, third, nom) <alt 1:1>

head(nad, indef, GENDER, coll|dual|sing|explu, third, nom) <alt 11:3>
 adj base(norm, masc, sing) <alt 1:6>
 adjecF(norm, masc, sing) “marīḏ” [1]
 casemorph(norm, indef, masc, sing, nom) “un” [1]
 DEF is(nad, indef) <alt 4:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

4 man hādhā?³⁶

parsing 1 time 0.011 penalty 3
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>
 ques tail <alt 1:2>
 topic comp(masc, sing) <alt 1:2>
 np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 8:1>
 interrogative pronoun “man” [1]
 DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
 topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 7:1>
 dem(masc, sing, nom|invar) “hādhā” [1]
 DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

parsing 2 time 0.011 penalty 3
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>
 ques tail <alt 1:3>
 topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 8:1>
 interrogative pronoun “man” [1]
 DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
 topic comp(masc, sing) <alt 1:2>
 np(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 7:1>
 dem(masc, sing, nom) “hādhā” [1]
 DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

³⁶ Penalty 3 tells us, that only 3 elements of final entries of the lexicon are involved in the parse result of this sentence. That we have two parses for this input originates from the question: which element or constituent in this sentence should be considered as topic?

5 'alāma tāsafu?³⁷

parsing 1 time 0.025 penalty 9

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(interrogative) <alt 1:5>

inter adv "alāmā" [1]

ques tail <alt 1:1>

predicate(verbal, DEFNESS, second, masc, sing) <alt 1:1>

vp(indic, second, masc, sing) <alt 1:3>

verbal head(indic, second, masc, sing, prep) <alt 2:1>

prefix(three, au, active, second, masc, sing) <alt 1:1>

prefcon(second, masc, sing) "t" [1]

prefvow(three, au, active) "a" [1]

verb(three, normal, COMBI, i, indic, active, prep) <alt 1:1>

verb elements(1, 13, 21, normal, COMBI, indic, 1, active) <alt 13:1>

rad(1) <alt 1:1>

"ʔ" [1]

rad(13) <alt 13:1>

"s" [1]

vow(1) <alt 1:1>

"a" [1]

rad(21) <alt 21:1>

"f" [1]

verb stem i lexicon(1, 13, 21, prep, 2, 1) <alt 9:1>

suffix(normal, COMBI, indic, second, masc, sing) "u" [1]

where gen num pers is(second, masc, masc, sing, sing, masc, sing) <alt 5:1>

where vowel fits derivation(three, au, i) <alt 4:1>

inter mark "?" [1]

parsing 2 time 0.025 penalty 9

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(interrogative) <alt 1:5>

inter adv "alāmā" [1]

ques tail <alt 1:1>

predicate(verbal, DEFNESS, third, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>

vp(indic, third, fem, sing) <alt 1:3>

verbal head(indic, third, fem, sing, prep) <alt 2:1>

prefix(three, au, active, third, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>

prefcon(third, fem, sing) "t" [1]

prefvow(three, au, active) "a" [1]

verb(three, normal, COMBI, i, indic, active, prep) <alt 1:1>

verb elements(1, 13, 21, normal, COMBI, indic, 1, active) <alt 13:1>

³⁷ For non-Arabist readers, the present time realization of the second masculine singular and the third feminine singular present finite verb form are identical.

rad(1) <alt 1:1>
 “” [1]
 rad(13) <alt 13:1>
 “s” [1]
 vow(1) <alt 1:1>
 “a” [1]
 rad(21) <alt 21:1>
 “f” [1]
 verb stem i lexicon(1, 13, 21, prep, 2, 1) <alt 9:1>
 suffix(normal, COMBI, indic, third, fem, sing) “u” [1]
 where gen num pers is(third, fem, fem, sing, sing, fem, sing) <alt 3:1>
 where vowel fits derivation(three, au, i) <alt 4:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

6 ’ayyu ’insānin ’anta?

parsing 1 time 0.042 penalty 6
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(interrogative) <alt 1:4>
 internoun group(masc, sing, nom) <alt 1:2>
 inter noun “’ayy” [1]
 casemorph(norm, def, masc, sing, nom) “u” [1]
 np(com, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 head(com, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 common noun(norm, masc, sing) “’insān” [1]
 casemorph(norm, indef, masc, sing, gen) “in” [1]
 DEF is(com, indef) <alt 3:1>
 ques tail <alt 1:1>
 predicate(nominal, def, second, masc, sing) <alt 2:1>
 np(pers, def, masc, sing, second, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, masc, sing, second, nom) <alt 18:1>
 pers pronoun(masc, sing, second, nom) “’anta” [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 headreal is(pers) <alt 4:1>
 inter mark “?” [1]

7 kam ḥafızta?

parsing 1 time 0.020 penalty 9
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(interrogative) <alt 1:5>
 inter adv “kam” [1]
 ques tail <alt 1:1>
 predicate(verbal, DEFNESS, second, masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 vp(perfect, second, masc, sing) <alt 1:3>

verbal head(perfect, second, masc, sing, TRANS) <alt 1:1>
 verb(three, normal, COMBI, i, perfect, active, TRANS) <alt 1:1>
 verb elements(7, 21, 18, normal, COMBI, perfect, 2, active) <alt 1:1>
 rad(7) <alt 7:1>
 "ḥ" [1]
 avow "a" [1]
 rad(21) <alt 21:1>
 "f" [1]
 vow(2) <alt 2:1>
 "i" [1]
 rad(18) <alt 18:1>
 "z" [1]
 verb stem i lexicon(7, 21, 18, TRANS, 2, 1) <alt 80:1>
 perf suffix(normal, second, masc, sing) <alt 3:1>
 rad(4) <alt 4:1>
 "t" [1]
 avow "a" [1]
 type agreement is(normal, normal) <alt 1:1>
 inter mark "?" [1]

8 'ilā 'ayna?

parsing 1 time 0.001 penalty 3
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:8>
 prep(direc) "'ilā" [1]
 inter adv "'ayna" [1]
 inter mark "?" [1]

9 matā?

parsing 1 time 0.015 penalty 2
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:7>
 inter adv "matā" [1]
 inter mark "?" [1]

10 kayfa?

parsing 1 time 0.021 penalty 2
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:7>
 inter adv "kayfa" [1]
 inter mark "?" [1]

11 limādhā?³⁸

parsing 1 time 0.016 penalty 3

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>

ques tail <alt 1:1>

predicate(nominal, DEFNESS, third, GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 3:3>

pp <alt 1:2>

pp marker(causal) <alt 1:1>

prep(causal) "li" [1]

pp compl <alt 1:1>

nounphrase(indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>

np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>

head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 8:1>

interrogative pronoun "mādhā" [1]

DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>

inter mark "?" [1]

parsing 2 time 0.016 penalty 3

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:3>

ques tail <alt 1:1>

predicate(nominal, DEFNESS, third, GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 3:3>

pp <alt 1:2>

pp marker(causal) <alt 1:1>

prep(causal) "li" [1]

pp compl <alt 2:1>

nounphrase(indef, masc, sing, third, gen|invar) <alt 1:1>

np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen|invar) <alt 1:1>

head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen|invar) <alt 8:1>

interrogative pronoun "mādhā" [1]

DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>

inter mark "?" [1]

³⁸ With three final terms involved (penalty 3), we got three parses. All parses are qualified as elliptic interrogatives. However, in the realization of the prepositional complement (pp compl), there is a genitive case value (gen) realized in the first parse, while in the second there is a genitive or invariable value (gen|invar) for the CASE concerned. In the next rounds of corrections this ambiguity will be solved. Moreover, I can only imagine an exclamatory context for such a rather rhetorical question-like utterance. I prefer the third result.

parsing 3 time 0.016 penalty 3
utterance <alt 1:1>
base <alt 1:1>
s type(elliptic_interrogative) <alt 2:10>
prep(causal) "li" [1]
interrogative pronoun "mādhā" [1]
inter mark "?" [1]

APPENDIX 3

DECLARATIVES

Input

- 1 wahiya fī al-dāri.
- 2 taʿrifinahu.
- 3 ʿindakum mariḍun.
- 4 man hādhā.
- 5 ʿalāma tāsafu.
- 6 ʿayyu ʿinsānin ʿanta.
- 7 kam ḥafiḏta.
- 8 ʿilā ʿayna.
- 9 matā.
- 10 kayfa.
- 11 limādhā.

Results

- 1 wahiya fī ʿaddāri.³⁹

```
# parsing 1 time 0.007 penalty 7
utterance <alt 1:2>
bound coord(cumul) "wa" [1]
base <alt 1:1>
s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
s(basic) <alt 1:1>
sentence(topic) <alt 2:1>
topic(fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>
head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 19:1>
pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) "hiya" [1]
DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>
pp <alt 1:1>
pp marker(place) <alt 1:1>
prep(place) "fī" [1]
pp compl <alt 1:1>
nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
```

³⁹ In the first parse result, we are dealing with a topic-comment (topic comp) structure. The second concerns a declarative realized in the form of an elliptic nominal sentence with a head-postmodifier (pom) construction. In the next round of corrections we will eliminate this intermediate layer by creating an elliptic_declarative value for the affix variable (SPECIES) of sentence type (s type).

np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 art “’ad” [1]
 head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 common noun(norm, fem, sing) “dār” [1]
 casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) “i” [1]
 HEAD₁ type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

parsing 2 time 0.007 penalty 7
 utterance <alt 1:2>
 bound coord(cumul) “wa” [1]
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:1>
 topic(fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:2>
 head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 19:1>
 pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) “hiya” [1]
 pom(def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 2:2>
 prep(place) “fī” [1]
 nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 art “’ad” [1]
 head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 common noun(norm, fem, sing) “dār” [1]
 casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) “i” [1]
 HEAD₁ type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>
 GENUM₁ agreement is(fem, fem, fem, sing, sing, sing) <alt 4:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(pers) <alt 2:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

parsing 3 time 0.007 penalty 7⁴⁰
 utterance <alt 1:2>
 bound coord(cumul) “wa” [1]
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:2>
 topic comp(fem, sing) <alt 1:2>

⁴⁰ Here we have an analysis result representing the structure of an elliptic declarative, uniquely consisting of a comment with a head-post modifier realization, and an end marker, of course.

np(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:2>
 head(pers, def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 19:1>
 pers pronoun(fem, sing, third, nom) “hiya” [1]
 pom(def, fem, sing, third, nom) <alt 2:2>
 prep(place) “fi” [1]
 nounphrase(def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 np(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 art “’ad” [1]
 head(com, def, fem, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
 common noun(norm, fem, sing) “dār” [1]
 casemorph(norm, def, fem, sing, gen) “i” [1]
 HEAD₁ type is predeterminable(com) <alt 3:1>
 GENUM₁ agreement is(fem, fem, fem, sing, sing, sing) <alt 4:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(pers) <alt 2:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

2 ta’rifinahu.⁴¹

parsing 1 time 0.025 penalty 9
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(pred) <alt 1:2>
 predicate(verbal, DEFNESS, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 vp(indic, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 verbal head(indic, second, fem, sing, acc) <alt 2:1>
 prefix(three, au, active, second, fem, sing) <alt 1:1>
 prefcon(second, fem, sing) “t” [1]
 prefvow(three, au, active) “a” [1]
 verb(three, normal, COMBI, i, indic, active, acc) <alt 1:1>
 verb elements(19, 11, 21, normal, COMBI, indic, 2, active) <alt 13:1>
 rad(19) <alt 19:1>
 “” [1]
 rad(11) <alt 11:1>
 “r” [1]
 vow(2) <alt 2:1>
 “i” [1]
 rad(21) <alt 21:1>
 “f” [1]
 verb stem i lexicon(19, 11, 21, acc, 1, 2) <alt 276:1>
 suffix(normal, COMBI, indic, second, fem, sing) “ina” [1]

⁴¹ This example we commented upon in the body of the text.

where gen num pers is(second, fem, fem, sing, sing, fem, sing) <alt 6:1>
 where vowel fits derivation(three, au, i) <alt 4:1>
 compl(acc) <alt 1:1>
 compl phr(acc) <alt 1:1>
 direct obj(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, masc, sing, third, acc) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, masc, sing, third, acc) <alt 19:1>
 pers pronoun(masc, sing, third, acc) “hu” [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

3 ‘indakum marīḏun.⁴²

parsing 1 time 0.018 penalty 5
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(topic) <alt 2:2>
 topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>
 pp <alt 1:2>
 pp marker(place) <alt 1:1>
 prep(place) “inda” [1]
 pp compl <alt 1:1>
 nounphrase(def, masc, inplu, second, gen) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, masc, inplu, second, gen) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, masc, inplu, second, gen) <alt 19:1>
 pers pronoun(masc, inplu, second, gen) “kum” [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 topic(GENDER, coll|dual|sing|explu) <alt 1:1>
 np(nad, indef, GENDER, coll|dual|sing|explu, third, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(nad, indef, GENDER, coll|dual|sing|explu, third, nom) <alt 12:3>
 adj base(norm, masc, sing) <alt 1:6>
 adjecF(norm, masc, sing) “marīḏ” [1]
 casemorph(norm, indef, masc, sing, nom) “un” [1]
 DEF is(nad, indef) <alt 4:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

⁴² A straightforward result, it seems. However, the formal description of adjectives, a subcategory of the nouns in the traditional Arabic language description I work with, sometimes resembles looking for the solution of a Sudoku puzzle.

4 man hādhā.⁴³

parsing 1 time 0.013 penalty 3

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>

s(basic) <alt 1:1>

sentence(topic) <alt 2:1>

topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>

np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 1:1>

head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 9:1>

interrogative pronoun "man" [1]

DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>

topic comp(masc, sing) <alt 1:2>

np(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>

head(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 8:1>

dem(masc, sing, nom) "hādhā" [1]

DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>

end marker "." [1]

parsing 2 time 0.013 penalty 3⁴⁴

utterance <alt 1:1>

base <alt 1:1>

s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>

s(basic) <alt 1:1>

sentence(topic) <alt 2:2>

topic comp(masc, sing) <alt 1:2>

np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:1>

head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 9:1>

interrogative pronoun "man" [1]

DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>

topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>

np(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 1:1>

head(min, def, masc, sing, third, nom|invar) <alt 8:1>

dem(masc, sing, nom|invar) "hādhā" [1]

DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>

end marker "." [1]

⁴³ A first disambiguation of the occurrence of the lexical entry *man*, as well as for other members of this subcategory, I obtained by declaring, that, in Arabic, some (possibly: the) interrogative pronouns, as well as their homonyms (the indefinite pronouns) are always indefinite. All depends on the context in which these pronouns occur. With that, part of the ambiguity problem had been solved. Notwithstanding that, here we are confronted with five parse results for this test sample.

⁴⁴ While in the first parse, we were dealing with a topic-comment realization, in the second the order of these constituents is inverted.

```

# parsing 3 time 0.013 penalty 345
utterance <alt 1:1>
base <alt 1:1>
s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
s(basic) <alt 1:1>
sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:1>
topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:2>
head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 9:1>
interrogative pronoun "man" [1]
pom(indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 4:6>
relcl(indef, masc, sing, nom) <alt 2:1>
rel comp <alt 1:1>
cl <alt 1:1>
STYPE(declarative) <alt 1:1>
np(min, def, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 1:1>
head(min, def, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 8:1>
dem(masc, sing, CASE) "hādḥā" [1]
DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>
GENUM1 agreement is(masc, masc, masc, sing, sing, sing) <alt 1:1>
CASE1 agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
HEAD1 type is postmodifiable(min) <alt 1:1>
end marker "." [1]

```

```

# parsing 4 time 0.013 penalty 3
utterance <alt 1:1>
base <alt 1:1>
s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
s(basic) <alt 1:1>
sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:1>
topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, invar) <alt 1:2>
head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, invar) <alt 9:1>
interrogative pronoun "man" [1]
pom(indef, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 4:6>
relcl(indef, masc, sing, CASE) <alt 2:1>
rel comp <alt 1:1>
cl <alt 1:1>
STYPE(declarative) <alt 1:1>
np(min, def, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 1:1>

```

⁴⁵ The third, fourth and fifth parse results have in common that they are analyzed as declaratives of the type *elliptic_topic*. In parses 3 and 4 the comment is missing, while in parse 5 the topic is missing. In all cases we are dealing with a head-post modifier realization, the post modifier being an asyndetical relative clause. In the next round of corrections, I shall reconsider this description of alternatives.

head(min, def, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 8:1>
 dem(masc, sing, CASE) "hādhā" [1]
 DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>
 GENUM₁ agreement is(masc, masc, sing, sing, sing) <alt 1:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(invar, CASE, invar) <alt 4:1>
 DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(min) <alt 1:1>
 end marker "." [1]

parsing 5 time 0.013 penalty 3
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:2>
 topic comp(masc, sing) <alt 1:2>
 np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 1:2>
 head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 9:1>
 interrogative pronoun "man" [1]
 pom(indef, masc, sing, third, nom) <alt 4:6>
 relcl(indef, masc, sing, nom) <alt 2:1>
 rel comp <alt 1:1>
 cl <alt 1:1>
 STYPE(declarative) <alt 1:1>
 np(min, def, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, def, masc, sing, third, CASE) <alt 8:1>
 dem(masc, sing, CASE) "hādhā" [1]
 DEF is(min, def) <alt 9:1>
 GENUM₁ agreement is(masc, masc, sing, sing, sing) <alt 1:1>
 CASE₁ agreement is(nom, nom, nom) <alt 1:1>
 DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
 HEAD₁ type is postmodifiable(min) <alt 1:1>
 end marker "." [1]

No parse for:

5 'alāma tāsafu.⁴⁶

6 'ayyu 'insānin 'anta.

⁴⁶ A rather acceptable result since 'alāma has been listed in the lexicon as an interrogative adverbial, not occurring in the description of declaratives. The same holds for examples 7–10. However, the *kam* in example 7 could also be interpreted as an exclamatory particle!

parsing 1 time 0.053 penalty 6⁴⁷
utterance <alt 1:1>
base <alt 1:1>
s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
s(basic) <alt 1:1>
sentence(topic) <alt 2:1>
topic(GENDER, sing) <alt 1:1>
np(intn, indef, GENDER, sing, third, nom) <alt 4:1>
head(intn, def, GENDER, sing, third, nom) <alt 7:1>
inter noun “’ayy” [1]
casemorph(norm, def, GENDER, sing, nom) “u” [1]
postdet(indef) <alt 1:1>
np(com, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
head(com, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
common noun(norm, masc, sing) “’insān” [1]
casemorph(norm, indef, masc, sing, gen) “in” [1]
DEF is(com, indef) <alt 3:1>
HEAD₃ type is postdeterminable(intn) <alt 2:1>
topic comp(masc, sing) <alt 1:2>
np(pers, def, masc, sing, second, nom) <alt 1:1>
head(pers, def, masc, sing, second, nom) <alt 19:1>
pers pronoun(masc, sing, second, nom) “’anta” [1]
DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
end marker “.” [1]

parsing 2 time 0.053 penalty 6
utterance <alt 1:1>
base <alt 1:1>
s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
s(basic) <alt 1:1>
sentence(topic) <alt 2:2>
topic comp(GENDER, sing) <alt 1:2>
np(intn, indef, GENDER, sing, third, nom) <alt 4:1>
head(intn, def, GENDER, sing, third, nom) <alt 7:1>
inter noun “’ayy” [1]
casemorph(norm, def, GENDER, sing, nom) “u” [1]
postdet(indef) <alt 1:1>
np(com, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
head(com, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 2:1>
common noun(norm, masc, sing) “’insān” [1]
casemorph(norm, indef, masc, sing, gen) “in” [1]
DEF is(com, indef) <alt 3:1>

⁴⁷ In the first parse, the personal pronoun *’anta* is analyzed as a comment and as a topic in the second. However, since *’anta* is a definite noun phrase marked for nominative case value, I prefer to choose the second parse result, and to block the first.

HEAD₃ type is postdeterminable(intn) <alt 2:1>
 topic(masc, sing) <alt 1:1>
 np(pers, def, masc, sing, second, nom) <alt 1:1>
 head(pers, def, masc, sing, second, nom) <alt 19:1>
 pers pronoun(masc, sing, second, nom) “’anta” [1]
 DEF is(pers, def) <alt 2:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

No parses for:

7 kam ḥafīẓta.
 8 ’ilā ’ayna.
 9 matā.
 10 kayfa.

11 limādhā.⁴⁸

parsing 1 time 0.016 penalty 3
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:2>
 topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>
 pp <alt 1:2>
 pp marker(causal) <alt 1:1>
 prep(causal) “li” [1]
 pp compl <alt 1:1>
 nounphrase(indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 9:1>
 interrogative pronoun “mādhā” [1]
 DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
 end marker “.” [1]

parsing 2 time 0.016 penalty 3
 utterance <alt 1:1>
 base <alt 1:1>
 s type(declarative) <alt 3:1>
 s(basic) <alt 1:1>
 sentence(elliptic_topic) <alt 3:2>

⁴⁸ By a secret path (np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen) <alt 1:1>), two results have been obtained for this sample entry, only differing in a distinct realization (gen versus gen|invar) of its case value. The ambiguity in case realization should be eliminated. The resulting unique parse result should be blocked, unless one chooses to accept an exclamatory rhetorical question-like input.

topic comp(GENDER, NUMBER) <alt 1:5>
 pp <alt 1:2>
 pp marker(causal) <alt 1:1>
 prep(causal) "li" [1]
 pp compl <alt 2:1>
 nounphrase(indef, masc, sing, third, gen|invar) <alt 1:1>
 np(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen|invar) <alt 1:1>
 head(min, indef, masc, sing, third, gen|invar) <alt 9:1>
 interrogative pronoun "mādhā" [1]
 DEF is(min, indef) <alt 9:1>
 end marker "." [1]

APPENDIX 4

STATISTICS

1	parser statistics	#
	syntax rules	1401
	syntax alternatives	1824
	groups ⁴⁹	0
	options	28
	commits	0
	lexicon rules	54
	terminals	38
	regex matches	0
	regex skips	0

Figure 1: parser statistics.

2	interrogatives	results		
#	data	parses	time/s	penalty
1	wahiya fi al-dāri?	2	0.007	7
2	'a ta'rifinahu?	1	0.036	10
3	hal 'indakum mariḍun?	1	0.018	6
4	man hādhā?	2	0.011	3
5	'alāma tāsafu?	2	0.025	9
6	'ayyu 'insānin 'anta?	1	0.042	6
7	kam ḥafizta?	1	0.020	9
8	'ilā 'ayna?	1	0.001	3
9	matā?	1	0.015	2
10	kayfa?	1	0.021	2
11	limādhā?	2	0.016	3
	Totals	15	0.212	
	Average	1	0.014	

Figure 2: parse statistics interrogatives.

⁴⁹ I did not use 'groups', nor 'commits', regular 'skip' or 'match' expressions in the current formal grammar. The use of groups might be useful for optimization purposes. The 'commit' operator may have had its longest time in the AGFL formalism. As far as regular expressions are concerned, I should be convinced of their usefulness for the description of Arabic. On the other hand, the '+' operator is all-important.

3		declaratives			results	
#	data	Parses	time/s	penalty		
1	wahiya fi al-dāri.	3	0.007	7		
2	taʿrifinahu.	1	0.025	9		
3	ʿindakum mariḍun.	1	0.018	5		
4	man hādihā.	5	0.013	3		
5	ʿalāma tāsafu.	0	0	0		
6	ʿayyu ʿinsānin ʿanta.	2	0.053	6		
7	kam ḥafiḏta.	0	0	0		
8	ʿilā ʿayna.	0	0	0		
9	matā.	0	0	0		
10	kayfa.	0	0	0		
11	limādhā.	2	0.016	3		
	Totals	14	0.132			
	Average ⁵⁰	1	0.009			

Figure 3: parse statistics declaratives.

⁵⁰ One should not, however, jump to a conclusion about any bias of this formal description towards 'declaratives'.

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