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BASIC TENETS OF SĪBAWAIHI'S FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

1 Introduction

This book investigates the basic tenets of the structural-functional approach of Sībawaihi, and the establishment of the truth of his complete independence from Greek Grammar, whenever a principal point of contrast is encountered. The discussion is conducted with the aid of lengthy quotations from Sībawaihi's grammar book: **al-Kitāb**. The researcher has provided English translations of such quotations whenever deemed necessary. Most of the English renderings for the Arabic linguistic terms are those of Howell (1883-1903) and Wright (1896-8). In some cases, where it is felt that a new rendition is required to reflect the originality of the source term, a literal translation is supplied by the researcher after quoting the original Arabic text. The book will also compare certain statements mentioned in al-Kitāb with similar ones expressed by the authors of the fundamental linguistic works in the twentieth century, as well as those prevailing in the functionalist approaches.

It is important to remark here that owing to the highly advanced linguistic thinking embodied in al-Kitāb, its 1200-year-old statements have been found approachable in terms of the linguistic values and standards of modern times without doing injustice to them. One positive outcome of such a comparison has

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been getting at further evidence confirming the observations already made by a very limited circle of Western linguists about the advanced and sound bases of the description offered in al-Kitāb (e.g., Carter: 1973, 1997; Edzard: 2000; Lefranc and Tahhan, 1991; Levin: 1999).

For reasons related to the massive undertaking of al-Kitāb, which offers the most complete description of CA language, the discussion of the principles on which its approach is based can only be selective, not exhaustive. Thus, the following discussion will concentrate on just those basic linguistic issues that have often been the subject of interest and debate in modern linguistics. Among these are descriptive adequacy; data selection and analysis; grammaticality and transitivity; levels of linguistic representation; information structure; time in relation to tense; the theories of markedness, government, distinctive features, speech act, and implicature; the use of tests in argumentation, and similar vital issues. The overall aim is to do justice to Sībawaihi and his teacher al-Khalīl by highlighting their important contribution to the science of linguistics, a fact rarely given its deserved recognition in Western books on general linguistics.

2 Sībawaihi and al-Khalīl: A Brief Profile

Sībawaihi's, whose full name is Abū-Bishr, or Abul-Ḥasan, 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qanbar, is of Persian origin as his last name 'Qanbar' shows (Howell, 1883: xxii). Persian too is his nickname 'Sībawaihi', by which has become known to the world, and which still lives on in popular speech as the **symbol of erudition** (Lefranc and Tahhan, 1991: 47-75). History books do not specify his exact date of birth, nor do they agree about the year of his death. As a freedman of Banūl-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, he came to the southern Iraqi city of Basra during the second half of the 2nd/8th century to continue his education. First, he studied topics of Islamic law under the tutorship of Ḥammād ibn Salama ibn Dīnār (*d.*167 AH),

and was soon acknowledged to be 'highly receptive' (القفطى: II. 341). However, learning Arabic as a second language, he publicly made a grammatical mistake while copying the text of a Prophetic Tradition, an event that made him turn to the study of Arabic Grammar (إبن خلكان: I. 263). This change of heart proved to be very fortunate, for it induced him to join the circle of one of the greatest linguistic geniuses of all times, al-Khalīl ibn Ahmad al-Farāhīdī (*b.* 100, *d.* 175 AH).

Al-Khalīl was an accomplished lexicographer, musicologist, prosodist, phonologist, and grammarian. In addition, he was also actively engaged in many other areas of practical research-work, such as the punctuation and diacriticization of the Glorious Qur'an, the commentary on dialectical theology and controversy, and the exposition of the techniques of chess and backgammon (المخزومي: 1964: 48).

Besides al-Khalīl's tutorship, Sībawaihi attended lectures given by the greatest masters of the time: 'Abū-'Amr ibn al-'Alā' (*d.* 145), 'Īsā ibn 'Umar (*d.*149), Abul-Khaṭṭāb al-'Akhfash al-'Akbar (*d.* 177), Yūnus ibn Ħabīb (*d.* 182), and Abu Zaid Sa'īd ibn 'Aus (*d.* 215). However, it is certain that his relationship with al-Khalīl had been the most influential as obviously reflected in Sībawaihi's work: al-Kitāb (= ′The Book), which is said to have been authored '*in order to give life to the science of al-Khalīl*' (الزَبيدي, 1373: 77-8).

A few years after the death of his teacher al-Khalīl, Sībawaihi died following his return to his homeland at the age of about 40, around 180/796. He trusted al-Kitāb to one of his students, al-'Akhfash al-'Awsaṭ (*d.* 211), who introduced it to his own students and through them to one generation after another of the students of linguistics.

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In constructing al-Kitāb, Sībawaihi shows himself both a scholar of integrity, and a grammarian of the first rate. The keenness he exhibits in acknowledging his debt to al-Khalīl does not prevent him from presenting himself as a capable and free-minded linguist actively engaged in critical thinking and empirical research-work. Occasionally, he is even seen justifiably in disagreement with al-Khalīl after a fair exposition of the teacher's views (e.g. al-Kitāb: I. 361). Though the role of al-Khalīl constitutes an integral part of the entire work, it is certain that the systematic organization of the book as a whole belongs to Sībawaihi, who had a holistic concept of the entire undertaking (Carter *et al.*, 2002: 3).

From the statements above, it becomes clear that the achievements of al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi are fused together as far as al-Kitāb, the oldest CA grammar book, is concerned, and that, in many cases, reference to one requires reference to the other.

3 Characteristics of al-Kitāb

Al-Kitāb is a grammar book that shows how a linguistic theory can be implemented in concrete terms to offer the most complete description of the language. It does not attempt to offer the abstract formulation of the components of the theory itself. Such a statement should not be construed to involve downplaying the role of the theory itself since the making of a description must involve the application of a certain theory to data, for there is no theory-free description of data (Halliday, 1994: xii). Conversely, an adequate theory is the one that can provide a complete and logically coherent analysis of any data to which it is applied (Corder, 1975: 6). It is hoped that the ensuing discussion will serve the purpose of showing the principles of such an adequate theory. For the sake of easy reference, quotations from al-Kitāb are serially numbered, and since all are quoted from Hāroun's (1968-77) edition of al-Kitāb

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in Cairo, the editor's name will not be mentioned in the documentation of these quotations.

3.1 Exhaustiveness and Consistency

3.1.1 Preliminaries

Al-Kitāb remains up to the present time one of the most exhaustive descriptions of Classical Arabic, if indeed not the most exhaustive one. From the very beginning, the reader of the book can discern that what the author intends to offer is nothing less than the entire 'science of Arabic speech' in its various dialectal variations. In Sībawaihi's time, the book was described as 'a one-thousand-page grammar book' (السـيرافي: 48). The single-volume edition of Calcutta (1887) has 1104 pages. Hāroun's edition of 1968-77 in Cairo falls into four volumes of a total of 1960 pages. Al-Kitāb is organized in 553 sections of variable length, all bearing evidence to its author's personal insight into the nature of language and his analytical genius (Carter *et al.* 2002: 2).

3.1.2 Method of Description

Al-Kitāb adopts a top-bottom description of Arabic, which begins with seven introductory chapters setting out the basic analytical concepts of his grammar (including a general explication of the parts of speech and lexical relations), then proceeds to examine syntax, morphology, and ends with phonology. In between, the book discusses various important semantic and pragmatic aspects of speech as will be seen in the following sections. Practically, nothing in the language is left out without rigorous description, a fact which Saussure (1916: 44) was thinking of when he expressed his belief that 'language can be pictured in its

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totality'. This is why the renowned Arab grammarian, al-Māzini (المازني) (d. 249 AH) is quoted to have said:

<div dir="rtl">

من أراد أن يعمل كتاباً كبيراً في النحو بعد سيبويه فليستحي .
</div>

He who wants to write a big book on (Arabic) grammar after the book of Sībawaihi should be ashamed (of himself)'.

<div dir="rtl">

(إبن النديم : 77)
</div>

The approach of analysis is descriptive, not prescriptive, since language is described as it **is**, not as what it **should be** in accordance to personal preferences. This fact has led Carter (1973: 146n) to remark that ' The Book itself is so descriptive as to be useless as a prescriptive grammar'. Being the oldest CA grammar book that has survived time, all later Arabic grammar books have been more or less influenced by al-Kitāb, and their authors have drawn in one way or another on Sībawaihi's views and used or developed his own terminology. Besides its accomplished completeness, the type of authentic description and the sound arguments presented in al-Kitāb point to its author's perfectionist bend. Such perfectionism has induced one of the authorities in Arabic grammar, al-Mubarrid (d. 285 AH) to proclaim that:

<div dir="rtl">

لم يُعْمَلْ كتابٌ في علم من العلوم مثلُ كتاب سيبويه ، وذلك أن الكتـب المصـنّفة فـي العلـوم مُضْـطرَّة إلـى غيرهـا ، وكتـابُ سيبويه لا يحتاج من فهمه إلى غيره .
</div>

' *There is no book in any science that can match Sībawaihi's book. This is because all the books written about any science necessarily require to be supplemented by the knowledge found in some other books; however the one who has grasped Sībawaihi's book does not need any other [grammar] book.*'

<div dir="rtl">

(إبن النديم:77)
</div>

This conviction has been so firmly established that many of the great Arabic grammarians have long since come to the inevitable conclusion that it is unwise to disagree with Sībawaihi's sound descriptions and arguments. In this respect, it is curious to find out that none of the remarks of disagreement or the additions

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made by any of the commentators on al-Kitāb has proved to be necessary or justifiable.

3.1.3 Sībawaihi's Concept of Grammar

The fact that al-Kitāb deals with the various semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological aspects of the language shows that for Sībawaihi, النحـو = *al-Naħwu* (i.e. the Grammar) envelops nothing less than the entire 'science of Arabic speech' (= علـم مـا الكلـم مـن العربية) (al-Kitāb: I. 12). This use of the term **grammar** co-extensively with **the study of the language as a whole** is certainly quite advanced for his time. The more so because the Arabic term for **grammar**, (النحو), unlike its Greek counterpart, is not related to the study of *letters* or *literature,* nor to written language*,* but to actual speech. As a common word, (النحـو) simply means 'following the path', while as linguistic term it denotes 'the description of the systematic way along which the **speech** of the native Arabs went'. In other words, grammar encompasses the language as a whole. This shows how the use of fortunate linguistic terms can lead to adequate description of language, similar to that of the modern Chomskyan and the Hallidayan approaches to grammar. Like Halliday, too, al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi see grammar to be precisely concerned with making statements about how the language-speaker produces actual speech (or discourse), the latter linguistic unit being the sole manifestation of language-in-use. In this respect, Saussure's idealized concept of **langue** (or the similar Chomskyan notion of **competence**) is rejected in favour of the concrete speaker-based notion of **parole**. This standpoint is systematically obtained in the entire body of al-Kitāb, and is in keeping with the modern view that it is impossible, in principle, to draw a demarcation line between *the system* and *the use of the system* since the two are so inextricably intertwined (Brown, 1984: 46). Therefore, all the statements made in

al-Kitāb conform to how language is used rather than conforming to some abstract, non-extant and invented language forms whose chance of occurrence in actual speech is practically nil.

The grammar of Sībawaihi and al-Khalīl envisages morphology and syntax to be inseparably related to each other on the one hand, and to **semantics**, on the other. Among the semantic topics discussed are those of sense relations in the language. These relations are briefly described in the Fourth Chapter of al-Kitāb in the following manner:

 (3)

هذا باب اللفظ للمعاني . اعلم أن من كلامهم إختلافَ اللفظين لإختلاف المعنيين ، و اختلافَ اللفظين والمعنى واحد، واتفاق اللفظين و اختلاف المعنيين. و سترى ذلك إن شاء الله...

This chapter is about the relationship between the spoken forms and their meanings.
Bear in mind that their speech involves (the use of) two different lexical items for two different meanings, and the use of two different lexical items for one meaning, and the use of two identical lexical items for two different meanings, as you shall see later on, by Allah's will...

(al-Kitāb: I. 24)

In the discussion above, Sībawaihi's differentiates between mononymy, synonymy, and polysemy. He explicitly states that when two different meanings are expressed in the language via two homophonous forms, then the two identical homophones are not one and the same. Instead, they are two different lexemes having the same speech form. This heralding view has become the standard procedure now, prevailing in the fields of both lexicography and lexical semantics.

In addition to the description of the various important semantic and pragmatic aspects of the language as will be seen later on, the discussion of syntax takes up the greatest space of al-Kitāb, extending over some 1180 pages (I. 32 - III. 334). Second in size falls the description of morphology, which is discussed over 726

pages (III. 335 - IV. 431). The study of phonology, which is dealt with in fifty pages (IV. 431-481), constitutes the final part of the book. Such an organization reflects Sībawaihi's definition of the domain of the science of Arabic Speech. It is worth stating here that defining the limits of any science serves to avoid inaccuracies and vague formulations of ideas that are likely to lead to confusion (Ďurič, 1989: 10).

The following paragraphs aim at outlining the treatment of the three components of the grammar above according to their sequential description in al-Kitāb. The discussion of certain other components that are accounted for are dealt with in separate sections.

The syntactic part of al-Kitāb is prefaced with the following generalization, whose postulation provides the necessary basis for capturing all the possible syntactic structures in CA:

(4)

<div dir="rtl">

هذا باب المسند والمسند إليه

وهما مالا يستغني واحدٌ منهما عن الآخر ، ولا يجد المتكلم منـه بدّاً . فمن ذلك الاسمُ المبتدأ و المبنـى عليـه . وهو قولك (عبدُ اللهِ أخوكَ) ، و (هذا أخوكَ) .

ومثل ذلك (يذهبُ عبدُ اللهِ) ، فلا بد للفعل من الاسم كما لم يكن للاسم الأول بدٌّ من الآخر في الابتداء .

وممـا يكون بمنزلـة الابتداء قولك: (كـانَ عبدُ الله منطلقاً) ، و (ليتَ زيداً منطلقٌ) ، لأن هذا يحتـاج إلى مـا بعده كاحتياج المبتدأ إلى مـا بعده .

</div>

This chapter is about the propping and the propped to.

These two parts are both obligatory in that each one of them requires the other, and the speaker cannot omit any one of them. Examples of these include the enunciative noun and what is built on it such as your saying: (عبدُ الله أخوكَ)[NP NP] and (هذا أخوك)[NP NP].

A similar utterance is (يـذهبُ عبـدُ اللهِ) [VP NP]. So, the verb requires the noun just as the inceptive noun requires the second noun in the inchoative construction.

Of a similar rank to the inchoative construction is your saying   (كان عبـدُ اللهِ منطلقـاً)

and (ليـتَ زيـداً منطلـقٌ)[VP NP$_{ACC}$ NP$_{NOM}$] because in these constructions the first noun is in need of what comes after it just like the inchoative is in need of what comes after it.

(al-Kitāb: I. 23)

Three pairs of key binary syntactic terms are introduced in the text above. The first two are borrowed from the Classical Arabic register of building:(المسند / المسند إليه), and (الاسم المبتدأ/المبنى عليه). The third is categorial: (الاسم/الفعل). Later on, the discussion will show how Sībawaihi's persistence in his systematic analysis of all linguistic structures in terms of binary units is the forerunner for the modern linguistic conviction that the dichotomous scale reflects one of **the fundamentals of language** (Jakobson & Halle, 1956).

The first pair, which encompasses the basic general members of (المسند) and (المسند إليه), reflects Sībawaihi's originality as a grammarian, and his expertise in dealing with highly abstract constructs. In fact, the two members mentioned above can be legitimately considered as one of the enduring contributions of Sībawaihi's and al-Khalīl's legacy to the general theory of linguistics since there is nothing like them in the entire literature of Western linguistics, at least up to his time. They are even fundamentally different from the modern concepts of: *topic/comment* or *argument/predicate* as will be shown later on. Both of Sībawaihi's terms are derived from the common root (سَنَدَ), and both are related to that language of construction, where some structure is *propped up* by having it supported with some other *propping* structure. The basic idea here is that all utterances are structured in the same manner in which buildings are erected: a foundation or a basis is laid first, on which the rest of the building is propped up. The fact that this metaphor of building is invoked by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi on the one hand and Saussure (1916: 115, 123, 183) on the other shows how the structuralist linguists of all ages think in same terms.

For reasons related to the entrenchment of the grammatical notion of *sentence* in modern linguistics, the discussion below replaces al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's term **utterance** by **sentence** though the Arabic equivalent for the western

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grammatical term: 'sentence' (الجملة) is never used in al-Kitāb. For a discussion of this issue, see section (3.3.5).

The first term in (4) above, the propping element (المسند), has nothing to do with the notion of the *subject* of the sentence since in the Arabic verbal sentence, (المسند) actually correlates with the verb, not the subject, as clearly stated by Sībawaihi in his discussion of the grammatical functions of the syntactic components in the second of the two examples given above, which are reproduced hereunder in the reverse order:

(1)

a. عبدُ الله	يـذهبُ	b. أخوك	عبدُ اللهِ
←	←	←	←
subject	verb	noun+pro	noun
al-musnad ilaihi	al-musnad	al-musnad	al-musnad ilaihi
abdulla	*go (present)*	*your brother*	*abdulla*
(go Abdullah)		*(Abdullah your brother)*	
Abdullah goes)		*Abdulla (is) your brother*	

The second member of the pair, (المسند إليه), has nothing to do with the notion of the *predicate* since the verb in all Arabic syntactic structures is realized as (المسند). So, what is the grammatical meaning of (المسند) and (المسند إليه)? The key to the answer lies in the fact that the verbal element is not an obligatory part of all sentences in Arabic as is the case in English, German, and French, for example. Among the three types of the verbal, nominal, and adverbial indicative sentences, only the first requires a verbal element as shown in the following example:

(2)

Nominal Sentence	*Verbal Sentence*	*Adverbial Sentence*

a. اللهُ إلهُنا	*b.* جاءَ الحقُ	*c.* على المنضدةِ كتابٌ
NP NP	*NP VP*	*NP PP*

←—————————————————————————

The three sentences above show that while the NP is an obligatory part in all types of sentence, the VP is only found in the verbal sentence. In other words, the NP is the central sentential element in Arabic, functioning as the minimal common denominator. It occurs in all sentences, whether equative, ascriptive, locative, possessive, intransitive, transitive, or assertive as shown in *(3)* below.

(3)

a. اللهُ ربُّنا	**NP NP** NP	equative
b. محمدٌ ناجحٌ	**NP NP**	ascriptive
c. للتاريخِ عبرٌ	**PP NP**	possessive
d. في المدرسةِ كتبٌ	**PP NP**	locative
e. جاءَ الأستاذُ	**VP NP**	intransitive
f. كافأ المعلمُ التلاميذَ	**VP NP** NP	monotransitive
g. رأيتُ محمداً منتصراً	**VP NP** NP NP	ditransitive
h. أريتُ ولدي الأمرَ اليقينَ	**VP NP** NP NP NP	tritransitive
i. رسمتُ الحرفَ رسماً	**VP NP** NP NP	assertive

To write a grammar for the sentences in (3) above, the general rewrite rule of subject-predicate, or NP VP does not work since it accounts for sentences (3) e-i, but not (3) a-d. On the other hand, the rewrite rule NP NP can account for (3)a-b, but not the rest. In a nutshell, no single general rewrite rule can be formulated to accurately account for the sentences (3) a-h above if the grammarian confines himself to the representative constituents of such categories as NP, VP, PP, or the subject-predicate formula. Handling these grammatical categories with adequate exactitude, without losing touch with reality requires six rewrite rules. If the rules are allowed to be applicable both

from the right to the left and in the opposite direction (as is the case in Classical Arabic), then three basic rules will be the minimum:

$$S \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} VP \\ NP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} NP$$

However, a grammarian of Sībawaihi's caliber can only be after a higher level of generalization, without losing sight of the necessity of keeping in touch with the solid ground. Such a level requires a single, general rewrite rule of the type:

$$S \longrightarrow X\ Y$$

in order to account for the structures of all the sentences in (3) above. These two highest-level XY sentence elements are al-Kitāb's (المسند) and (المسند إليه), *the propping* and *the propped to*, mentioned on page (I. 23-4) above, and (II. 78, 126). Arab grammarians are accustomed to regard each one of them as (العماد), which means: *the column* or *the pillar*. In modern linguistic terms, these are the nuclear constituents of the sentence (Lyons, 1968: 334). With the exception of the slight difference in the application of these two terms to the nominal sentence alone, the basic idea behind their grammatical import remains essentially the same for all Arab grammarians. Sentence elements other than (العماد) are called (الفضلة), meaning: the *surplus* or *extra* (i.e., complement), though by no means always optional.

Now comes the issue of defining these two terms. Sībawaihi's exemplary definition has as its criteria their being the two **obligatory** elements of speech. Once the speaker utters any one of them, then the second has to follow; otherwise, the whole structure collapses due to the lack of the necessary propping pillar [cf. Halliday's (1970: 161) likening of the *theme* to 'the peg on which the message is hung']. The grammatical relationship established between these two elements is termed: (الإسناد), which means the *propping up*. So, (الإسناد) is the

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grammatical relationship of affirming, negating, asking, or requiring Y from X. Consequently, this relationship is assumed to be present in all types of sentences. So, the sentence element Y, to whose referent is ascribed a certain X-attribute, X-action, or X-occurrence (or such X is negated, asked of, or required), is termed (المسند إليه**),** while the X-attribute, the X-occurrence, or the X-action ascribed to, negated from, asked about, or required from Y is termed (المسند).

In actual distributional terms, Sībawaihi calls the initial element in all Arabic sentences (المسند), whether such element is nominal or verbal, while the second nominal element (and the initial PP) is always (المسند إليه). In formal terms, both of these two elements occupy the sentence-slot which is typically characterized by the nominative (independent) case of (الرفع) (the *lifted* or *upright*) in contrast with the other major, extranuclear part of the sentence (الفضلة=complement), which always keeps the contrastive accusative case of (النصب)(the *set-up*). Thus, the various sentences constituents given in (3) above are all elegantly and uniformly describable in terms of (الإسناد)**,** as shown hereunder (**X** is المسند, and **Y** is المسند إليه):

(4)

a. اللهُ ربُّنا	**NP NP** NP	**XY**	equative
b. محمدٌ ناجحٌ	**NP NP**	**XY**	ascriptive
c. للتاريخ عبرٌ	**PP NP**	**YX**	possessive
d. في المدرسة كتبٌ	**PP NP**	**YX**	locative
e. جاءَ الأستاذُ	**VP NP**	**XY**	intransitive
f. كافأ المعلمُ التلاميذَ	**VP NP** NP	**XY**	transitive
g. رأيتُ محمداً منتصراً	**VP NP** NP NP	**XY**	ditransitive
h. أريتُ ولدي الأمرَ اليقينَ	**VP NP** NP NP NP	**XY**	tritransitive
i. رسمتُ الحرفَ رسماً	**VP NP** NP NP	**XY**	assertive

The fact that the binary terms: (المسند) and (المسند إليه) can adequately account for the basic (obligatory) structures of all the nine different sentences above (in addition

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to many more) clearly reflects their wide range of operationality, and the high level of generalization they realize in grammatical description. Unfortunately, these two terms are not found in the grammar books of the West, old or new, prior to Mathesius' (1939: 171-4) introduction of the similar binary terms: **foundation** and **core** which are replaced in current English writings of the Prague linguists by the classical terms: **theme** and **rheme**. In addition to the syntactic components above, the function of (المسند إليه) can be assumed by the enunciatives of the defective verbs (الأفعال الناقصة), *leisa*-like functors (المشبهات بليس), and *inna*-sisters (أخوات إنّ). As for (المسند), its function can be assumed by the subject, the pro-agent (the subject of the passive sentence), the ungoverned inchoative, and the inchoatives governed by the defective verbs (الأفعال الناقصة), *leisa*-like functors (المشبهات بليس), *inna*-sisters (أخوات إنّ), and the geno-negator *la* (لا النافية للجنس). Accordingly, the postulation of these two formal-functional theoretical constructs represents the first structural reconstruction of the organization of speech in terms of *slots* and *fillers* since they represent the basic slots available to be filled by the three parts of speech (nouns, verbs, and articles). Moreover, they specify the obligatory and optional sentence constituents (structural syntagmatic relations) over and above those parts of speech that are selectable to fill in these slots (systemic paradigmatic relations) as will be seen from their enumeration in the following sections.

The description above clearly shows that Sībawaihi's definition of the sentence is strictly formal/functional. This approach is quite different from that of Thrax who defines the sentence (*lógos*) in notional terms as 'the expression of a complete thought' (Robins, 1967: 33). It is also different from Aristotle's grammatical notions that were couched in logic, which compelled him ' to work only with statements whose truth or falsity can be determined from present experience' alone (Dinneen, 1967: 82).

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The second pair of terms introduced by Sībawaihi in the text given on page (6) is related to another type of grammatical relation called (الإبتداء). These two terms are (المبتدأ) and (المبني عليه), and both are related to the **information structure** in the speech as will be discussed separately in section (3.3.4).

3.1.4 Syntactic Component

Going back to the grammatical notion of (الإسناد), it is important to mention here that the exhaustiveness and consistency of al-Kitāb are closely related to the systematic description of all types of (الإسناد) from page (I. 330) to page (III. 334). With the end of such description comes the end of the chapters in al-Kitāb that deal with syntax. In other words, the whole body of the syntax of Arabic is coextensive with the description of the various syntactic structures involving (الإسناد)(henceforth: *syntactic structuring*). Another outcome of such systematization is the profound internal coherence of the huge syntactic component of al-Kitāb, that coherence which has not always been properly understood. This point will be discussed by tracing the procedures followed by Sībawaihi in the presentation of the syntactic component of al-Kitāb, which takes up 1180 pages as mentioned above.

The syntax of CA is organized into four major successive parts, all related to the different syntactic components (الكلم) occurring in the basic syntactic structures of (الإسناد). The first part discusses *verbal* structuring (I. 33-402). The second part discusses the basic syntactic structuring of the *noun*, in its apparent (explicit), perfect form (I. 403-II. 130). The third part describes the basic article-dependent syntactic structures involving *verb-like* elements (II. 131-350). The fourth, and

final, part presents the basic syntactic structures involving *imperfect nominal* forms (II. 350-III. 334). This organization can be diagrammed as follows:
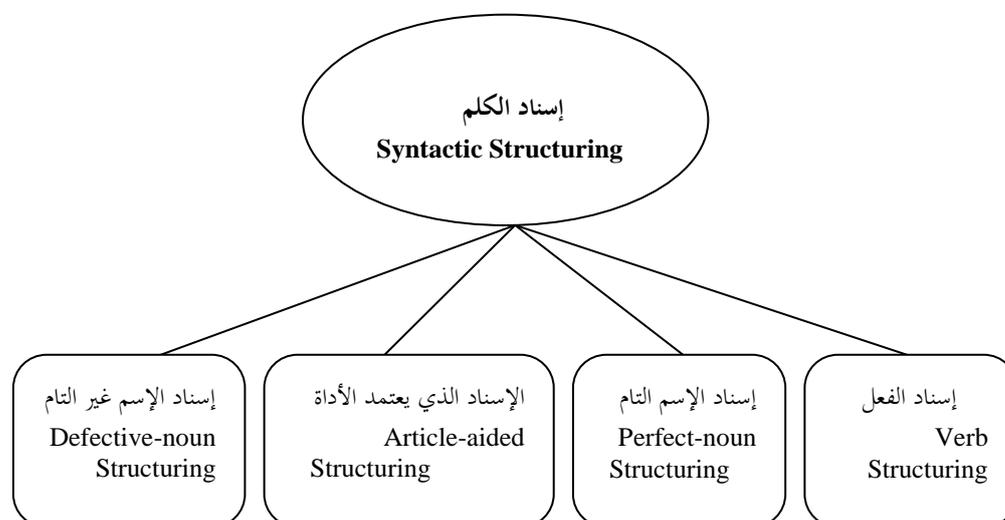

Figure (4) Sībawaihi's Plan of the Syntactic Component in al-Kitāb

So, adopting the discoursal notion of *speech* **(الكلام)** as the highest unit of linguistic analysis, Sībawaihi describes how all speech consists of *structured utterances* **(الكلم)** that are syntactically realized as instantiations of the structural relationship of *propping* **(الإسناد)**. Then, he divides his syntactic component into the four interrelated subparts involving **(الكلم)**: verb, perfect noun, article-aided, and defective-noun structuring. His top-bottom scale is comprised of the three ranks of: speech, structured utterances, and *al-musnad* and *al-musnad ilaihi*, wherein each unit is related to the preceding one in a consist-of relationship.

The list below shows the types of syntactic structures that are discussed under the heading of each of the four major subparts in figure (1) above.

I.   Types of Verbal Structuring (The Verbal Element Plus the Nominal Element Structured upon it)(I. 33-400)

1. Types of Structuring by the Overt Verb (What Takes the
   Nominative and the Accusative Case through the
   Governance of the Overt Verb itself)(Summarized in
   Chapter 8, p. 33, under the Rubric: (باب الفاعل)

a.   Intransitive Verb

b.   Monotransitive Verb

c.   Verb Transiting to Cognate (Unrestricted)Object

d.   Verb Transiting to Time

e.   Verb Transiting to Place

f.   Ditransitive Verb

g.   Tritransitive

h.   Ditransitive Passive Verb

i.   Monotransitive Verb Transiting to Circumstance (after the
Object)

j.   Verb Transiting to Enunciative and Inchoative

2. Types of Structuring by those Elements that are Used Just Like the Verb,
Though they are Non-Verbs, nor Have the Latters' Strength

a.   Types of Structuring by those Elements that are Used Just Like
the Verb, Though they are not Verbs nor Have

                the Latters' Strength

b.   Exclamation via the Verbal Pattern (Paradigm)of *(افعل)'af 'ala*

3.Symptoms in the Structuring of the Verbs and Verbals

a.   Contest (Dispensing)

b.   Preoccupation

b.1. The Structuring of the Verb upon the Noun in the
     Declaratives

b.1.1. The Structured upon is a Noun, Not an Adverb

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b.1.2. The Structured upon is an adverb

b.1.3. The Structured upon is Coindexed with a

      Preceding Nominal Sentence with a Verb

b.1.4. The Structured upon is Coindexed with a

      Preceding Sentence Where the Verb is

      Structured upon the Noun or the Vice-Versa

b.2. The Structuring of the Verb upon the Noun in the

    Interrogatives

  b.2.1. Question

  b.2.2. Verbs Made Accusative by the Question

      Article (ألف) *'alif*

   b.2.3. Active an Passive Participles Made Accusative

      by the Question Article (ألف) *'alif*

b.3. The Structuring of the Verb upon the Noun in

    Command, Prohibition, and Invocation

b.4. The Structuring of the Verb upon the Noun in

    Negatives

c.   Apposition

4. Structuring via those Elements which Act Like Verbs

a.   Active Participle

b.   Passive Participle

c.   Infinitives

d.   Assimilate (Epithet)

e.   Superiority via the Paradigm of (أفعَل) *'af 'al*

f.   Relational Specificity

g.   What is Similar to the Structure of : (" هو أشجعُ الناسِ رجلا)

h.   Specification of Number

5. The Accusative by the Covert Verb

a.   Verb Governance According to the Surface Structure, Rather than the (Grammatical) Meaning of the Infinitive

b.   Verb Governance According to the Surface Structure, Rather than the (Grammatical) Meaning of the Adverb

c.   Verb Governance According to the Surface Structure, Rather than the (Grammatical) Meaning of the Manner Infinitival

d.   Verb Governance According to the Surface Structure, Rather than the (Grammatical) Meaning of the Infinitive Showing the Verb's Type, Number, or Prominence

 6. Suspension (Relinquishing Verb Governance)

a. Suspension of Verbs

b. Suspension of Verbal Nouns

7. Structuring of Covert Verb

a.   Suppression of the Normally Overt Verb

b.   Suppression of the Normally Suppressed Verb

c.   Suppression of the Normally Non-Overt Verb

8.The Accusative of Optional Overt and Covert Verbal

Nouns, and Quasi-Verbal Nouns (*Nomen Actionis*)

a.   The Explicative and Specificative Accusative

b.   The Circumstantial Accusative

c.   The Assertive Accusative (Asserting Itself or its Precedent)

9.The Structuring of Noun-Like Infinitivals or Circumstantial

          Nouns in Special Constructions

a.   The Quasi-Infinitive in the Structure:(أما كذا فكذا)

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b.   The Noun in the Structure:(أما كذا فكذا)

c.   The Nouns whose Singular Agrees with what Follows

d.   Nouns that Price Definites where the Verb is Subsumed (Covert)

e.   Nouns that Price the Indefinites where the Verb is Overt

f.   Determinate Adjectives in the Construction: (أما كذا فكذا)

g.   Superlative Adjectives

II.   Types of the Structuring of the Overt Complete Noun and the States of Making it Follow what Precedes it (I.403 - II.130)

1.The Structuring of Locals and Temporals upon the
    Enunciative

2. The Dragging if the Noun by Adjoining it with what
    Precedes it

3. The Satellites (Epithets, Coordinates, and Appositives)

4. What Takes the Accusative Case, being a Circumstantial
    Noun that Describes a Definite Noun Structured upon the
            Enunciative

5. What Takes the Accusative Case, being a Circumstantial or
    Other Noun, because it does not Describe what Precedes it

6. The Structuring of the Equative upon the Enunciative

III.   Types of Structuring by Verb-Like Particles (II. 131-310)

1. The Five Special Verbal Structures

2. كم *(Kamm)*

3. Vocation

4. Quasi-Vocation

5. Negation with *la*

6. Exception

IV.   Types of Structuring Defective Nouns (II. 350 - III. 334)

1. Markers of Overt Signaling

2. Incomplete Noun

3. Indeclinable Noun

4. Aplastic Nouns in Reported Speech

The lengthy list above allows drawing three conclusions about the various syntactic manifestations of (الإسناد) in CA. The first of these, already stated above, is that the latter concept is powerful enough to account for all the syntactic structures in CA. The second conclusion naturally follows from the first premise, in that once the general principle of organization is identified, the next logical step is to arrange its various linguistic manifestations according to their relative importance.

Now for a question, 'What was Sībawaihi's procedural criterion in the selection of the components of his grammar according to their relative importance? ' The answer is his systematic use of **the theory of markedness** in putting first things first. Accordingly, the description is planned to proceed from the unmarked structures to the marked ones. This is why the description of the syntactic structures involving the perfect verbs and nouns precedes those related to imperfect verb-like and noun-like elements. Moreover, and within each subsection, the description starts with the overt and typical structures to the covert, less typical, and exceptional ones. As soon as all the syntactic realizations of such schematized elements are methodologically accounted for, there remains nothing in the syntax of CA to be described. In other words, Sībawaihi adapts the general principle of **preference** that characterizes language-use by the speakers to the requirements of presenting his grammar. It might be worth

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mentioning here that Sībawaihi's systematic use of the theory of markedness at all levels of description justifies attributing to him, together with his teacher al-Khalīl, the credit of initiating the whole of this theory, more than twelve centuries before its reinstatement in modern linguistics. The issue of markedness and preference will be the subject of section (3.3.3) and its subsections.

The systematicity mentioned above, though intuitively felt by many scholars (e.g., Ibnul-Sarrāj, *d. 316* AH; al-Anbārī, *d.577* AH; al-Ṣaffār, *d.680* AH; Carter, 1972: 485; al-Ħadī<u>th</u>ī, 1986:104…etc), was not specifically understood before it was ingeniously unraveled by al-Bakkā' in 1986.

3.1.5 Morphological Component

After syntax comes the description of both derivational and inflectional morphology, which constitutes the second major part of al-Kitāb as stated earlier. Each section in this part, as is the case in the other two parts, typically begins with the statement of a general morphological-realization rule(s), followed by examples for the application of such rule to the relevant parts of speech. Again, the organization is always based on the principle of markedness to the effect that the description and the examples given first are both typical and applicable to the most frequent subclasses, followed by the less frequent, often more complex, ones. Then the description moves to the cases where the application of the previously stated rule(s) involve(s) certain morphological modification(s) or non-application to some other speech (less typical and/or frequent) forms. The list below summarizes the contents of this part of al-Kitāb in very broad lines:

I.   Nominal Relational Structuring (III. 385-390)

1.   General Rule

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2.   The Addition of (ي)*iyy* without Morphological Change

3.   The Addition of (ي)*iyy* with Change (i.e., Elision)

a.   Analogous Change

b.   Non-analogous Change

   4. Relational Structuring where the Suffix (ي)*iyy* is Dropped off

a.   Nominal Ending in Long Vowels

b.   Perfect (Sound) Plural

c.   Dual Nouns

d.   Fusional Compounds

e.   Annexed Compound

f.   Quotation

g.   Plurals that Have no Singular Forms

h.   Compound Nouns

   II.   Dualization (III. 385-390)

1.   General Rule

2.   Non-Shortened and Non-Prolonged Lexical Items

a.   Triliteral, Shortened Items

b.   Quadrilitral Shortened Items

c.   Items Having More than Four Radicals

III.   Pluralization (III. 391-415)

1. Masculine Perfect Plurals

   a. General Rule

   b. Shortened Items

   c. Prolonged Items

   d. Unpluralizables

   2. Feminine Perfect Plurals

   a. General Rule

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b. Proper Nouns

c.   Masculine Nouns Having Feminine Perfect Plural Forms

3.   Broken Plurals

a.   General Rules

b.   Items not Admitting this Type of Plural

c.   Annexed Items

d.   Anomalous Plurals

IV.   Special Cases Concerning the Morphological Processes I, II, and III Above

1.   Dualization of Vague Nouns Ending in Long Vowels

2.   That which Undergoes Change when Annexed to Proper Nouns

3.   Annexation of (ياء) *yā'* to Reduced Nouns

4.   Annexation of All Nouns Ending in (ياء) *ya'* to the Former (ياء) *yā'*

V.   Diminutive Formation (III. 415-496)

1.   General Rules

2.   Triliteral Forms

3.   Quadriliteral Forms

4.   Double Forms

5.   Triliteral Forms

6.   Augmented Quinqueliteral Forms

7.   Forms Suffixed by the Feminine Functors (ألف و نون)(*'alif* and *nūn*)

8.   Diminutive Analogous with the Broken Plural

9.   Diminutive Requiring the Deletion of the Augmentative Sounds (Triliteral Forms)

        10. Diminutive Requiring the Instatement of the Augmentative
           Sounds

        11. Diminutive Requiring the Deletion of the Augmentative

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Sounds (Quadriliteral Forms)

2.   Mobilization of the Nunation in Prevalent Nouns

3.   Annexation of the Single and Double (نون)*nūn* to the Emphasized Verb

a.   In Command

b.   In Prohibition

c.   In Avowal

d.   In Invocation

e.   In Interrogative

f.   In Conditional with (ما)*mā*

g.   In Conditional with Particles Other than (ما)*mā*

VIII. Dropping of the Emphatic (نون) *nūn* (III. 508-521)

IX.   Pause at the Single and Double (نون) *nūn* (III. 521-529)

1.   Pause at the Single (نون) *nūn* Pause at the Single and Double (نون) *nūn* in the Dual Verb and Feminine Plural

2.   Fixation of the Double and Single (نون) *nūn*

3.   Forms that do not Admit Nunation

X. Derivation of Reduplicated Verbs (III. 529-540)

1.   General

2.   Sound Verbs

3.   Verbs Ending in Long Vowels

a. Verbs Ending with (ألف) *'alif* (Shortened Verbs)

        b. Verbs Ending with (ي) *ya'* (Reduced Verbs)

d.   Verbs Ending with Prolonged (همزة) *Hemza* (Prolonged Verbs)

XI. *Hemza* (همزة) Annexation (III. 541-556)

1.   Full Realization of (همزة) *hemza*

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2.   Lightening of (همزة) *hemza*

3.   Substituting of (همزة) *hemza*

XII.   Derivation of Number (III. 557-567)

1.   Cardinal Numbers

2.   Ordinal Numbers

XIII.   Forms (Paradigms) of Verbs and their Derivatives (IV. 5-431)

1. Derivation of Triliteral Verbs that Have no Long Vowels

       a. General (فَعَل-يَفعُلُ ، فَعَل-يَفعِلُ ، فَعَل-يفعَلُ)   *fa'ala-yaf'ulu, fa'ala-yaf'ilu,*

       fa'ala-yaf'alu Paradigms

       b. Derivation Paradigms of Verbs

       c. Symptom-Indicating Paradigms

e.   *(فَعَلان) fa'alan*

f.   *(أفعَل) 'af 'ala*

g.   Paradigms of Attributes in Things

h.   Paradigms of Transitive Verbs

i.   Paradigms of Intransitive Verbs

j.   Paradigms of Verbal Nouns Ending with the Feminine-
   Marker: (ألف) *'alif*

k.   Paradigm of (فعول) *fa'ūl* in Verbal Nouns

l.   Paradigms of *Nomina Vicis*

m.   Paradigms of *Nomina Speciei*

3.   Derivation of Triliteral Verbs Containing Long Vowels

a.   Verbs whose First Radical is a Long Vowel

b.   Verbs whose Second Radical is a Long Vowel

c.   Verbs whose Third Radical is a Long Vowel

    4. Derivation of Quadriliteral Verbs

a.   The Paradigm of (أفعَل) *'af 'ala* Versus (فَعَل) *fa'ala*

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b.   The Paradigm of (فَعَّلَ) *fa''ala* Versus (أَفْعَلَ) *'af 'ala*

c.   The Paradigm of (إِنْفَعَلَ) *'infa'ala* Versus (إِفْتَعَلَ) *'ifta'ala*

d. The Paradigm of (فُعِلَ) *fu'ila* Versus (فَعَلْتُ) *fa'altu*

e. Addition of the Augmentative Speech Sounds to

    the Paradigm of (فَعَلْتُ) *fa'altu*

f. The Paradigm of (إِسْتَفْعَلَ) *'istaf 'ala*

g. The Paradigm of (إِفْتَعَلَ) *'ifta'ala*

h. The Paradigm of إِفعوعَلَ   ( ) *if'aw'ala*

i. That which does not Accept إِفتعلَ () *ifta'ala*

4.   Verbal Nouns Derived from Triliteral Verbs to which the Augmentative
Sounds are Inserted

5.   Infinitives Following Paradigms Other than those of the Verb

6.   Shortened forms Annexed with the Feminine Particle to Substitute the
Dropped Sounds

7.   Abundance-Indicating Paradigms of (فَعَلَ) *fa'ala*

8.   Verbal Nouns Derived from Quadriliteral Verbs

9.   Paradigms of *Nomina Vicis*

10.   Other Forms of Quadriliteral Verbs

XIV. Derivation of Locatives Nouns

1.   Locative Nouns (General)

2.   Locative Nouns Containing Long Vowels

a.   Forms whose First Radical is a Long Vowel

b.   Forms whose Second Radical is a Long Vowel

XV. Derivation of Names of Instruments

1.   General

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2.   Triliteral

3.   Instrument Nouns whose Radicals are more than Three, etc.

The lengthy list above cites only a fraction of the morphological processes described by Sībawaihi. The exhaustiveness achieved is both unprecedented and unsurpassed as far as CA is concerned. All the possible morphological paradigms of the different categories of the nouns and verbs and their subcategories are described and amply exemplified. In cases where the morphological pattern described has few exponents, Sībawaihi invariably offers **all** the lexical items structured according to such pattern that are available in the language, without forgetting to keep his readers informed about their frequency, and about the categories of each of the said items. Hereunder is just one quotation out of hundreds to this effect found in al-Kitāb:

(5)

وليس في الكلام أفعيل ، ولا أفعَوْل ، ولا أُفعال ، ولا أَفْعِيل ولا أفعال إلا أن تكسِّر عليه اسماً للجمع . ولا أفاعِلْ ، ولا أفاعِيل إلا للجمع ، نحو أجادِلَ وأقاطيع .

ويكون على (أَفَنْعَلٍ) في الاسم والصفة ، وهو قليل . فالاسم نحو : أَلْنْجَج ، وأبَنْيْم والصفة نحو : أَلْنْدَدٍ ، وهو من أللَّدَدِ . . . وهذا في الاسم والصفة قليل ، ولا نعلم إلا هذين .

ويكون على (إفعِيلَى) نحو : إهْجِيرَى وإجْرِيّا ، وهما اسمان ولا نعلم غيرهما . ويكون على (أفْعَلَى) ، وهو قليل ، ولا نعلم إلا أجْفَلَى .

There are no lexical items in speech that are structured according to the paradigms of (أفعــيل), (أفعَوْل), (أُفعال), (أَفْعِيل), and (أفعـال), unless you derive a broken plural according to these paradigms. And there are no lexical items structured according to the paradigm of (أفاعــلْ) and (أفاعـيـل) except for the plural items such as (أجادِل) and (أقاطيع).

The paradigm of (أَفَنْعَلٍ) occurs in nouns and epithets, though it is rare. Examples of nouns are (أَلْنْجَج) and (أبَنْيْم). In epithets, there is the example of (أَلْنْدَدِ), which is a transform of (أللَّدَدِ), and we do not know any other examples but these two.

The paradigm (إفعِيلَى) occurs in (إهجِـيرَى) and (إجْرِيّا). Both of them are nouns, and we do not know any other examples.

The paradigm of (أفْعَلَى) also occurs, but is rare, for we know one item only: (أجْفَلَى).

(al-Kitāb: IV. 247)

As seen in the quotations above, the morphological description on the basis of paradigms is made use of as a bridge to the study of **lexis**, and then to relating lexical items to syntax. In other words, paradigms lead to the realizations of lexical items, and the specification of the form classes of the latter leads to syntax. Highly productive paradigms are specified as such, and representative examples are offered. Less productive paradigms are meticulously indicated, and sometimes a complete list of their exponents are given, together with their meanings as is the case with (ٱلنَّدَد) in (5) above. Many of such rare exponents that are described have passed unnoticed even by the most copious of CA dictionaries (e.g. Hāroun's footnotes: IV. 12, 303). Theoretically possible, but actually non-used paradigms are also pointed out. In addition, a statement is made about the grammatical category of the exponents of each paradigm. Even transitivity and intransitivity are shown to be paradigm-specific (e.g., al-Kitāb: IV. 5). In this way, morphology is made to relate to syntax through lexis.

Over an above all this, lexis is also made to relate to semantics by the detection of types of morphological motivations (morphemic symbolism). Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi observe that the exponents of certain morphological patterns (paradigms) are characterized by their indication of a certain common idea such as that of movement, partition, fear, ailment, smell, voice, commotion, disagreement, etc. Sībawaihi's statement in this respect is that 'the Arabs tend to structure items that are similar in meaning according to a particular paradigm, though not exclusively so' (al-Kitāb: IV. 12, 15). Sometimes, the same paradigm is used for the realization of both members of bipolar antonyms such as (قبيح/وسيم)[ugly/handsome], (صغير/كبير)[small/large], and (قليل/كثير)[few/many], all following the paradigm of *faʿīl* (al-Kitāb: IV. 30).

Such degree of exhaustiveness has been unanimously acclaimed and acknowledged by the authorities in Arabic Grammar up to the present time. One representative statement to this effect is al-Ħadīthī's (1964: 19): ' *I have come to the conclusion that the morphology we study at our institutes and universities, or that which we read in the books of the scholars after Sībawaihi, is nothing but the morphology of Sībawaihi himself, plus insignificant additions* '.

3.1.6 Morphophonemic Component

Next to morphology comes phonology. This section is actually preceded by lengthy discussions of morphophonemics within the morphological component, especially the sections extending from page 101 to 242 in the forth volume of al-Kitāb. Among the morphophonemic topics discussed are vowel harmony, morphological haplology (dropping one of two consecutive morphs of identical or similar form), vocalic change (vowel weakening, elongation, diphthongalization, and intrusion), and consonantal and syllabic transformations. Just one example will be given in this respect.

(6)

هذا باب الهمز

اعلم أن الهمزة تكون فيها ثلاثة أشياء : التحقيقُ ، والتخفيفُ ، والبدلُ . فالتحقيق قولك : (قرأتُ . . . .) . وأما التخفيف فتصير الهمزة فيه بينَ بين وتبدّل وتُحذف . . .

اعلم أن كل همزةٍ مفتوحةٍ كانت فتحةٌ أنك تجعلها إذا أردت تخفيفها بين الهمزة والألف الساكنة وتكون بزنتها محققةً غير أنك تضعِف الصوتَ ولا تتمه وتخفي ؛ لأنك تقربها من هذه . . .

وإذا كانت الهمزة منكسرة وقبلها فتحة صارت بين الهمزة والياء الساكنة . . . وإذا كانت الهمزة مضمومة وقبلها فتحة صارت بين الهمزة والياء الساكنة . . . فكل همزة تُقرّب من الحرف الذي حركتها منه ، فإنما جُعلت هذه الحروف بينَ بين ولم تُجعل ألفات ولا ياءات ولا واوات لأن أصلها الهمز ، فكرهوا أن يخففوا على غير ذلك فتُحول عن بابها فجعلوها بينَ بين ليعلموا أن أصلها الهَمز.

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This is the chapter on glottality. Bear in mind that the glottal stop assumes three cases: actualization, weakening, and substitution. Actualization is exemplified by   (qara'tu)…and the like. In weakening, the glottal stop becomes in-between, as I shall explain, by God's will. Bear in mind that a glottal stop followed and preceded by a *fatħah* /**a**/ can willingly be rendered into something between /**'**/ and /**a:**/. In that case, while it is actualized, the sound is weakened, concealed, and not completed since it is approximated to /**a:**/… If the glottal stop is followed by *kasra* /**i**/, and is preceded by *fatħah* /**a**/, it becomes something between /**'**/ and /**i:**/… And if the glottal stop is followed by *dhamma* /**u**/ and preceded by *fatħah* /**a**/, it becomes between/**'**/ and / **u** /… Every glottal stop in contact with the glide that follows it is approximated to that glide. They have been rendered in-between and not /**a:**/, /**i:**/, or /**u:**/ because they are originally glottal stops, and lest that that entity will be lost. They have made them as such to indicate that glottality is their primary origin…

(al-Kitāb: III. 541-2)

3.1.7 Phonological Component

The phonological part is found in the last seven chapters of al-Kitāb (IV. 565-71), all entitled *'Idghām* (literary: *fusion*), meaning: **assimilation**. The description of all the phonemes and **allophones** is given first by describing both the **place** and **manner of articulation** for each and every phoneme. Among the classificatory categories of phonemes that are meticulously described are bilabials, dentals, labiodentals, nasals, trills, laterals, alveolars, palatals, velars, pharyngeals, and laryngeals. The discussion unequivocally shows an advanced understanding of the notion of phonetic **distinctive features** as will be seen. Then comes the description of the various manifestations of **partial** and **total** assimilation functioning at the **segmental** and **suprasegmental** levels in CA, as well as phonological **haplology**. These topics will be discussed first before rounding off this section with a word about the relationship between exhaustiveness of al-Kitāb and Sībawaihi's consensus-based grammar.

As usual, it is not surprising to see that many of the key concepts that are claimed to have been originated by this or that Western phonologist actually belong to al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi. Among these concepts are the phoneme, allophone, various phonological transformations, as well as those processes that are typed in bold letters above.

The first paragraph of **idghām** reads as follows:

(7)

هـذا بـاب عـدد الحـروف العربيـة ، و مخارجهـا ، و مهموسـها و مجهورهـا، و أحـوال مهموسـها و مجهورهـا ، و اختلافها. فأصل حروف العربية تسعة و عشرون حرفاً : الهمزة ، و الألـف ، و الهـاء ، والعين ، والحـاءُ ، والغَيْن ، والخـاء ، والقـاف ، والكـاف ، والضـاد ، والجيم ، والشـين ، واليـاء ، واللام ، والـراء ، والنـون ، والطـاء ، والـدال ، والتاء ، والصـاد ، والـزاي ، والسـين ، والظـاء ، والـذال ، والفـاء ، والبـاء ، والميم ، والـواو .

و تكـون خمسـة و ثلاثـين حرفاً بحـروف هـن فـروع ، و أصلهـا مـن التسـعة و العشـرين ، و هـي كثيـرة يؤخـذ بهـا و تستحسن فـي قراءة القـرآن و الأشـعار ، و هـي : النـون الخفيفـة ، و الهمـزة التـي بـينَ بـينَ ، و الألـف التـي تمُـال إمالـة شـديدة ، و الشـين التي كالجـيم ، و الصـاد التي تكـون كالـزاي ، و ألـف التفخيم ...

وتكـون إثنـين وأربعين حرفاً بحـروف غيـر مستحسنة ولا كثيـرة فـي لغـة مـن تُرتضـى عربيتـه ، ولا تُستحسن فـي قـراءة القـرآن ولا فـي الشـعر وهـي الكـاف التـي بـين الجيم والكـاف ، والجيم التي كالكـاف ، والجيم التـي كالشـين ، والضـاد الضعيفة ، والصـاد التي كالسين ، والطـاء التي كالتـاء ، والظـاء التـي كالثـاء ، والبـاء التـي كالفـاء .

This is the section of the number of Arabic phonemes, their places of articulation, those that are voiced or voiceless and their states, and how they differ from each other. The **primary** Arabic phonemes are twenty-nine in number: *hamza, alif, hā', 'ain, ħā', khā', ghain, qāf, kāf, dhād, jīm, shīn, yā', lām, rā', nūn, dāl, ta', ṣād, ṭā', zai, sīn, dhā', thāl, fā', bā', mīm, and wāw.*

And they occur as thirty-five in number through the addition of those phonemes that are their **branches**, whose origin are the first twenty-nine phonemes. These added phonemes are frequent and acceptable; and are proper in Qur'anic and poetry recitations. These are the light *nūn*, and the in-between *glottal stop*, the *alif* that is strongly deflected, the *shīn* that is like the *jīm*, the *ṣād* that is like the *zai*, and the energizing *alif*.

And they occur as forty-two in number in sounds that are not preferably acceptable, nor frequent in the language of proper speakers. These (variants) are not preferable in the recitation of the Qur'an nor in poetry: the *kāf* which is between *jīm* and the *kāf*, the *jīm* which is similar to the *shīn*, the weak *dhād*, the *ṣad* which is like the *sīn*, the *ṭā'* which is similar to *tā'*, the *dhā'* which is similar to the *thā'*, and the *bā'* which is like the *fā'*.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 431-2)

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Sībawaihi arranges the primary CA phonemes according to the sequential order of their successive points of articulation in the vocal tract, beginning with the **larynx** (the glottal stop), and closing with the **lips** (mīm /m/, and wāw /w/), a fact which reflects his systematic approach to linguistic description. Besides, the text above offers the first record of a linguistic description of the **allophones** in CA, or, most probably, in any language. Allophones are conceived of as **branches** of the **primary** or original phonemes. When recurrent, then proper; otherwise, not. As clearly specified in the quotation, the identification and the description of these allophones are based on the contrastive pairing of similar speech sounds.

Following the specification of all the available speech sounds, the latter are described in terms of their **manner** and **place of articulation**. Sixteen places of articulation are defined in the production of CA speech sounds. Like modern phonologists, the vocal tract is divided into three main parts (cavities): the laryngio-pharynxial part (الحلق), the oral (buccal) part (الفم), and the nasal one (الخياشيم); and four articulatory regions are identified in the tongue (al-Kitāb: IV. 433-4).

Ten of the primary phonemes are specified as voiceless (مهموس : **whispered**), while the other nineteen are voiced (مجهور : **sonorant**). The use of the term *whisper* in this respect is related to Sībawaihi's method of detecting voicing and devoicing in speech sounds. This unique method consists in his discovery of an inherent relationship between the possibility of producing the speech sound in whisper, and its voicing. Voiceless speech sounds can all be reproduced **intact** in whisper, while voiced speech sounds become **devoiced** when produced in a low, whispering pitch. For example, if the voiced speech sound /d/ is articulated

repeatedly: /d-d-d-d-d.../ at the normal level of sonority, then, this level is gradually reduced to that of whisper, the speaker would eventually get at a point of production in which the /d/ **turns into** a /t/ due to its **loss** of voicing. Sībawaihi explains this linguistic phenomenon in the following manner:

(8)

و أما المهموس فحرفٌ أُضعف الإعتماد في موضعه حتى جرى النفس معه ، و أنت تعرف ذلك إذا اعتبرت فرددت الحرف مع جري النفس

. و لو أردت ذلك في المجهورة لم تقدر عليه . فإذا أردت إجراء الحروف فأنت ترفع صوتك أن شئت بحروف اللين و المد ، أو بما فيها منها .

وإن شئت أخفيت .

As for the whispered [i.e., voiceless] phoneme, this is a sound whose articulation in its point is weakened to the effect that the (whispering) breath passes with it. You can recognize that if you experiment by repeating the sound while the (whispering) breath is flowing. However, if you tried that with the voiced phonemes, you would not be able to do so. For if you wanted to let the whispering breath pass with the voiced phonemes you could only do that by raising your voice through the intrusion of the phonemes of leniency and prolongation [= long vowels: a:, u:, i:], or their shorter variants [i.e., a, u, i]; otherwise you can opt to making the (impossible-to-produce) voiced phoneme mute (cannot be heard).

(al-Kitāb: IV. 434)

A less terse description attributed to Sībawaihi in this respect is found in a manuscript containing al-Sīrafī's unpublished commentary of al-Kitāb. The latter distinguished grammarian quotes directly from Sībawaihi's student and the first promulgator of al-Kitāb, Abul-Ḥasan al-'Akhfash 'Al-'Awsaṭ. This text was first found and translated into French by both Fleisch (1958) and Troupeau (1958). Hereunder is its English translation from Arabic as rendered and interpolated by Blanc (1967, 132):

Said Sībawaihi: What distinguishes the *majhūra* from the *mahmūsa* is that you cannot pronounce the *majhūra* clearly unless it includes noise-from-the-chest [viz. Glottal tone or 'voice']. All the *majhūra* are of this sort; the sound [that accompanies them] coming out of the chest and flowing in the throat. However, the **m** and **n** have their sounds coming out of the chest and flowing into

the throat AND the nasal cavity, so that what flows in the nasal cavity becomes a nasal twang that mingles with what flows in the throat. This is shown by the fact that if you hold your nose and pronounce either of these sounds, you will find them both distorted. As for the *mahmūsa*, their sound comes from their points of articulation [only], and that is what brings out the sound. Their contact [* i'timād*, lit. 'pressing, leaning against '] is not like that of the *majhūra*, and so the sound is brought out of the mouth weakly. This is shown by the fact that if you speak softly, you whisper these same consonants, something you cannot do with the *majhūra*.

Other types of speech sounds described are **plosives** with complete closure (الشديد), **open approximation** (رخو), and **close approximation** (بين الشديد و الرخو); **lateral** (المنحرف), **nasal** (صوت غنة), **trill** (المكرر), **non-consonantal** (اللّين), **palatalized** or **lidded** (المطبق) consonants against **open (non-palatalized)** (المنفتح) ones (al-Kitāb: IV. 434-6).

Phonological thinking in terms of binary **distinctive features** is clearly described in definitive terms, as is the case in the passage when Sībawaihi says that '*without palatalization, the ţā' turns into dāl, the şād into sīn, the đhā' into thāl, while the dhād would be out of speech since there is no other sound that has its (correlate) place of articulation* ' (al-Kitāb: IV. 436). The statement above shows that the phonemic theory of al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi is based upon oppositional paradigmatic relations between **sets** of correlated, contrastive series of phonemes.

Now that it has been established that Sībawaihi's grammar proceeds from the general to the specific, from syntax to morphology and phonology, one important question needs to be asked: 'How does this directionality compare with that followed by the grammarians of Ancient Greece?' The answer is that Sībawaihi's method does not only run opposite to that of Greek grammarians, but also to the whole legacy of Traditional Grammar in the West up to mid-twentieth century as explained by Halliday in this excerpt.

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In the history of western linguistics, from its beginning in ancient Greece, this was the direction that was taken: first the forms of the words were studied (morphology); then, in order to explain the forms of words, grammarians explored the forms of sentences (syntax); and once the forms had been established, the question was then posed: ' what do these forms mean?'
(Halliday, 1994: xiv)

The discussion above, it is hoped, reflects the breadth, richness, and originality of the description offered in al-Kitāb. A pertinent question in this respect is: 'how did Sībawaihi manage to attain such a degree of unsurpassed exhaustiveness?' A part from his personal talent and diligence, one extremely important factor at play here is related to Sībawaihi's cumulative-integrative approach to both data collection and description. All utterances reported to be heard from Arab speakers belonging to different tribes are accounted for. In addition, Sībawaihi draws on popular proverbial sayings (41 instances), linguistic evidence found in Qur'anic Verses (320 instances), frozen expressions (320), poetry (1061 verse lines), and Prophetic Traditions (8 Sayings). Moreover, he quotes and discusses grammatical viewpoints and dialectal varieties stated and confirmed by at least ten grammarians and numerous 'Reciters of al-Qur'an', as well as many other informants who had either predeceased him or were his contemporaries. The most frequent reference is, of course, to his teacher: al-Khalīl (608 instances), then to Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb (203 instances). Other references include at least the following grammarians (whose date of death ranges from 69 to 215 *AH*): Abul-'Aswad al-Du'alī (4 times), 'Abdullah ibn Abī 'Isħāq (9 times), Abu 'Umar ibnul-'Alā' (52 times), 'Īsā ibn 'Umar (22 times), Abul-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭāb al-'A<u>kh</u>fash al-'Akbar (46 times), 'Abu-Zaid al-'Anşārī (2 times), and Marwān al-Naħwī (once). References are also made to Reciters of the Glorious Qur'an: al-Ḥasan al-Başrī (2 times), Hārūn ibn Mūsā (5 times), al-'A'raj (3 times), and al-'Aşma'ī (2 times) (see Howell, 1883: vii, Part I; Reuschel, 1959: 18; Hāroun's edition of al-Kitāb, 1968-77: V).

All these references help the reader of al-Kitāb to discern a unique pattern of knowledge-accumulation, based upon the appreciation and discussion of all the relevant findings of the grammarians who have died more than a century before his birth. Such cumulative-integrative approach, that opts to seek consensus, helps to make al-Kitāb transcend above the drawbacks of 'ancestor-hopping', which characterized most of the linguistic literature throughout the past century (Beaugrande, 1991: 345).

3.1.8 In-Depth Analysis

Another important factor behind the exhaustiveness of al-Kitāb can be attributed to the fact that al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's in-depth analysis of CA speech cares to describe **all** the possible alternatives that are available to the language user via this or that related structures by correlating forms with functions. For the sake of economy, just one example will be given of such in-depth analysis.

(9)

هذا باب من الفعل يُبْدَلُ فيه الآخِرُ من الأول ويُجْرَى على الاسم ويُجْرَى أَجْمَعُونَ على الإسم كما يُجْرَى أَجْمَعُونَ على الإسم ، ويُنْصَبُ بالفعل لأنه مفعول .

فالبدل أن تقول : ضُرِبَ عبد الله ظهرُه وبطنُه ، وضُرِبَ زيد الظَّهرُ والبطنُ وقُلِبَ عمرو ظهرُه وبطنُه ، و مُطِرْناَ سَهْلُنا و جَبَلُنا ، و مُطِرْنا السَّهْلُ و الجبلُ . وإن شئت كان على الإسم بمنزلة أجمعين توكيداً . و إن شئت نصبت ، تقول : ضُرِبَ زيدٌ الظَّهرَ و البطنَ ، ومُطِرْنا السَّهْلَ والجبلَ ، وقُلِبَ زيدٌ ظهرَه وبطنَه . فالمعنى إنهم مُطِروا في السهل والجبل ، وقُلِبَ على الظهرِ والبطنِ. ولكنهم أجازوا هذا ، كما أجازوا (قولهم) : دخلت البيت ، وإنما معناه دخلت في البيت . والعامل فيه الفعل ، وليس المنتصب ههنا بمنزلة الظرف ؛ لأنك لو قلت : (قُلِبَ) هو ظهره وبطنه وأنت تعني على ظهرِه ولم يجز.

ولم يجيزوها في غير السهل والجبل ، والظهر والبطن ، كما لم يجز دخلتُ عبد الله ، فجاز هذا في ذا وحده ، كما لم يجز حذف حرف الجر إلا في الأماكن ، في مثل : دخلت البيت . و اختصت بهذا . .

This is the section of the verb where the last noun [in the utterance] is the appositive of the first, and the appositive noun follows the inflection of the first noun - just like (أَجْمَعُونَ) [all] follows [the inflected form of] its noun - and assumes the set-up case because it is an object.

Apposition occurs in your saying:

ضُرِبَ عبد الله ظهرُه وبطنُه

 [VP(pass) NP(NOM) NP(NOM) and NP(NOM)]

Abdulla was hit his back and belly;

ضُرِبَ زيد الظّهرُ والبطنُ

[VP(pass) NP(NOM) NP(NOM) and NP(NOM)]

 Zaid was hit his back and belly;

قُلِبَ عمرو ظهرُه وبطنُه

[VP(pass) NP(NOM) NP(NOM) and NP(NOM)]

'Amr was turned his back and belly;

مُطِرْنا سَهْلُنا و جَبَلُنا

[VP(pass) NP(Pro) NP(NOM) and NP(NOM)]

we were rained our plain and mountain;

مُطِرْنا السَّهْلُ و الجبلُ

[VP(pass) NP(Pro) NP(NOM) and NP(NOM)]

we were rained the plain and mountain.

And if you wish, you can make it [the concordant last noun] assert the [first] noun as you assert it with (أجمعين)[= all]. And if you wish, you can make the last noun assume the set-up case (instead of the upright one). Thus, you say: (ضُرِبَ زيدٌ الظّهرَ و البطنَ), (مُطِرْنا السَّهْلَ والجبلَ) and (قـلِبَ عمـرو ظهـرَه وبطنَـه), to mean 'in the plain and mountain' and 'on his back and belly'. However, they have allowed themselves to make this [prepositional deletion] as they have done in their saying: (دخلت البيت) (VSO) [I entered the house] to mean (I entered in the house). The regent here is the verb. It is not the case that the noun assuming the set-up case here has the status of an adverbial since it is not permissible to say: (قُلِبَ هـو ظهـرَه وبطنَـه) [he was turned his back and belly] to mean (على ظهره) [on his belly].

The Arabs have not rendered such a case permissible in utterances other than those containing (the lexical items) (السـهل والجبـل)[the plain and mountain], and (الظهـر والبطن)[the back and belly]. Accordingly, it is impermissible to say (دخلـتُ عبد الله)[I entered Abdulla]. So, deletion is permissible in such cases only, just like the deletion of the preposition is only permissible before locatives like those in the utterance (دخلت البيت). So, the deletion has become special in these cases.

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: I. 158-9)</div>

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Three possible grammatical relations are contrastively described in (9) above: apposition, assertion, and the object of preposition functioning as an adverbial. In the first case, the inflection of the appositive noun follows that of its antecedent noun, while the nouns in the second and third cases-the assertive and the adverbial- assume the set up case due to the regency of the verb.

The recurrence of the expression 'if you wish' shows that Sībawaihi, like Hartmann and Halliday, understands grammar as the description of linguistic **possibilities**, or of the potentials offered by a set of alternative forms and functional correlates, which determine the actual use (Hartmann, 1963: 226; Halliday, 1985: 25, 49).

Such description cannot be carried out adequately without the discussion of sense-sign or form-function relationship. In this instance, the same set-up case obtains in both of the assertive and adverbial functions of the nominal form, i.e. sub-category differentiation is functionally conditioned.

The set of possibilities offered by the grammar is not of a static membership. Alternative choices can be broadened, as is the case of preposition-deletion in (و ضُرِبَ زيدٌ الظَّهرَ البطنَ). However, such widening is subject to what is grammatically **possible** in the language. In this instance, the widened set of choice in the realization or deletion of the preposition in Arabic is restricted to locative objects, and that is why (دخلت البيت) is permissible, while *(دخلتُ عبد الله) is impermissible. In addition, the deletion can be lexis-bound, and that is why it correlates with the lexical items (السهل والجبل), and (الظهر والبطن), but not with other similar conjuncts. A comparably similar case in English is the permissibility of the expression: 'to go home', but not '*to go school'.

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Given that the discussed forms function differently, the choice of this or that member of the set is context dependent, and that is why the choice of the utterance (قُلِبَ هو ظهره وبطنه) does not satisfy the function of indicating (على ظهره). In other words, the use of the language in real events cannot be separated from the speaker's motivations.

Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's discussion through the use of grammatical tests or asterisked utterances such as *(دخلتُ عبد الله) represents one of the important characteristics of their in-depth analysis of the language. In fact, all the generalizations made in al-Kitāb stem from the meticulous testing of contrastive forms in terms of their occurrence versus nonoccurrence (e.g. quotations in 3. 3. 5. 1). In this particular instance, the generalization made is that lexis-bound forms are instances of the grammatical phenomenon of **specialization**: (اختصاص). This concept, clearly described and exemplified above, has become one of the important explanative notions in modern linguistics, more often replaced by the similar notion of **idiomaticization** (Chafe, 1970: 40f).

3.2 Grammatical Categories, Functions, and Terms

This section discusses Sībawaihi's classification of CA divisions (parts) of speech first, then it relates this classification to functional categories and terms on the one hand and to those of the Greek grammarians on the other. Sībawaihi opens al-Kitāb with the following section:

 (10)

هذا بابُ علم ما الكَلِمُ من العربية

فالكَلِمُ إسمٌ ، وفِعْلٌ، وحرْفٌ جاءَ لمعنى ليس باسمٍ ولا فعلٍ. فالإسمُ : رجلٌ وفرسٌ وحائطٌ. و أما الفعل فأمثلةٌ أُخذتْ من لفظ أحداثِ الأَسماءِ ، وبُنيتْ لما مضى، ولما يكون ولم يقعْ ، وما هو كائنٌ لم ينقطعْ. فأما بناءُ ما مضى فذهبَ وسمعَ ومكُثَ وحُمِدَ ، وأما بناءُ ما لم يقع فأنه

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قولك آمراً: إذهبْ وأقتلْ وإضربْ ، و مخبراً: يَقْتلُ ويَذهبُ ويَضربُ ويُقتلُ ويُضربُ ، وكذلك بناءُ ما لم يَنقطع وهو كائن إذا أخبرتَ . فهذه

الأمثلةُ التي أخذت من لفظ أحداث الأسماء ،ولها أبنيةٌ كثيرةٌ ستُبيّن إنْ شاءَ الله . والأحداث نحو الضربُ والقتلُ والحمْدُ. وأما ما جاءَ لمعنى

وليس بإسمٍ ولا فعلٍ فنحو :ثُمَّ ، وسوف ، و واو القسم ، ولام الإضافة ، ونحو هذا .

This is the Section of the Science of (the Nature of) Words-in-Construction (Structured Words) in Arabic:

Structured words are the noun, the verb, and the particle that conveys a [grammatical] function, which is neither a noun nor a verb. (Examples of) the noun are **rajulun** [man+NOM], **farasun** [mare+NOM], and **ħa'iţun** [wall+NOM]. As for verbs, these are derivatives taken from the sounds of the infinitival happenings and are then structured to what had passed; what may occur, but has not (yet); and what has taken place, but has not discontinued. Examples of structuring to what had passed are:(سمِعَ) [heard (he)], (مكـُـثَ) [stayed (he)], and (حمِـدَ) [acquired (he) good fame]. Examples of structuring to what has not taken place (yet) are your saying in the directive: (أذهـب) [go], (أُقْتـُلْ) [kill], and (أضرب) [strike]; and when you inform [in the declarative]: (يَقْتـلُ) [kills], (يَـذْهبُ) [goes], (يَضْربُ) [strikes], (يُقتـلُ) [is killed], and (يُضْربُ) [is struck]. So is the structuring of what has not discontinued after its occurrence when you [use the last five verbs to] inform. These are the derivatives taken from the sounds of the infinitival nouns denoting happenings and they have many paradigms, which we shall present by Allah's will. As for the infinitival happenings, these are exemplified by [such nouns as]: (الضـربُ) [the striking+NOM], (القتـلُ) [the killing+NOM], and (الحمْـدُ) [the praising+NOM]. As for those [parts] that come to convey a [grammatical] function, and are neither noun nor verb, these are exemplified by (ثـمّ) [then], (واو القسـم) [jurative *waw*], (لام الإضافة) [annexation *lām*], and the like.

(al-Kitāb:I. 12)

In the quotation above, Sībawaihi sees grammar as the science of words-in-construction (الكلِم), not 'the technical knowledge of letters' as Thrax does (Dinneen, 1967: 98, 102). Form classes are only definable when they occur in uttered syntactic structures (words-in-construction) and that is why the sentential case endings of his examples are given. CA form classes are divided into three, not eight categories as done by Thrax, Palaemon, Donatus, and Priscianus. The three categories recognized are those of noun, verb, and article. Sībawaihi's criterion for such classification is **formal** (morphological) and **functional**. His resort to combining these two criteria is in keeping with the axiom that language represents a fully formed functional system.

The form class of noun is negatively defined: what is not verb or article is noun since the former two categories are explicitly defined. Significantly, the three examples of nouns *(man, horse,* and *wall)* are given in accordance with the modern **Person/Animacy Hierarchy**:

Human > Animate > Inanimate

where the symbol > means 'having priority over' (Dik, 1997: 34-6).

Unlike the primary category of (الاسم) noun, the category of (الفعل) verb is a derivative form class, not a primary one. Verbs are speech forms derived from the infinitival noun-forms such as الضرب [the striking], القتل [the killing], and الحمد [the praising] that denote a happening or an event. The derivation of verbs is carried out by structuring it to denote a happening, and by attaching occurrence (tense) markers to such nominal forms. While the distinctive features of verbs are **derivation** and **tense-indication**, nouns are neither derivative nor tensed forms. In contrast with the nouns and verbs, which function lexically, the article functions as a grammatical form class, i.e. a **function word**. Such succinct statement can hardly be expressed in shorter terms.

One pertinent question in this respect is how far Sībawaihi is justified in his statement that verbs are derived from infinitival nouns, given that the grammarians of the Kufi school claim that the opposite is the case: nouns are derived from verbs. To begin with, Sībawaihi (following al-Khalīl and his predecessors) has noticed the fact that there are far more nouns in CA than verbs. Such a fact entails that had so many nouns been derived from verbs, then the number of verbs should be greater than nouns, which is not the case in CA. In addition, while there are infinitival nouns for all verbs, there are no verbs for thousands of CA nouns. Another motivation is, yet again, related to the implications of the theory of markedness: nouns are more versatile, frequent,

and fully inflected than verbs. When members of the latter category admit inflections, they can only do so by assuming a form that is parallel to that of the nouns. This theory was so deeply entrenched in the tradition of Classical Arabic Grammar that the only inflected form of the verb, the imperfect, was (and is still) called: (المضارع) *the corresponding* or *the parallel form* of the noun due to its formal symmetry with the archetypal form of the agentive noun. Such symmetry applies to both the number of phonemes (consonants and vowels), and syllables, as shown in the following example:

(5)

> Imperfect Verb: يَضْرِبُ y- a – <u>dh</u>- r – i - b- u
>
> C V C C V C V
>
>   **1**   **2**   **3**
>
> Agentive Noun: ضارِبٌ <u>dh</u>- ā - r - i – b - u - n
>
> C V C V C V C
>
>   **1**   **2**   **3**

Significantly, historical studies of Semitic languages conducted in the twentieth century have indeed confirmed Sībawaihi's statement above. Here is a translation of a quotation from Bergsträsser about this issue:

> A lot of the (Arabic) triliteral nouns are original (primary) too, especially the nouns of substantial things that can be seen and touched. Some of these belong to animals such as (نمر) [tiger], (ذئب) [wolf], (أيل) [deer]..; and to plants such as (عنب) [grape], (ثوم) [garlic]..; and to body parts such as (رأس) [head], (عـين) [eye];..as well as other nouns such as (سماء) [sky], (شـمس) [sun], … .
>
> All the nouns above are of Semitic origin and are found in all Semitic languages. Three observations lead to the conclusion that these nouns and many others are not derived from verbs.
>
> First
>
> In many cases the meanings of the nouns cannot possibly be derived from any verb in the first place. Is it possible to derive nouns such as (ذئب) [wolf], (قـوم) [people], (رأس) [head], and (ارض) [earth] from verbs? Could there be any verb older than

such nouns and the like of them?

Second

Some of these nouns are completely different from the verbs that correspond to them such as the noun (الأُذن) [ear], for one cannot imagine this noun to have been derived from the infinitival from (السـمع) [hearing] since the two words do not share any common phoneme. So is the case of the noun (العين) etc.

Third

There is no relationships between the paradigms of these nouns and their meanings, for we see that the nouns that share one semantic field have different paradigms such as (الثور) [bull], (الحمـار)[donkey], (العـين) [eye], and (الاذن)[eye]. Had these nouns been derived from verbs, then each field of meaning should have followed one particular paradigm, or at least few paradigms.

(Bergsträsser, 1929: 98-9)

The tripartite division of form classes in CA is attributed to the Fourth Caliph 'Ali (*d.* 40 AH), the Prophet Mohammed's paternal cousin and son in law (القفطي: I. 4). It has proved to be one of the enduring accomplishments of CA grammar. Its postulation requires a remarkably high level of abstraction, which is only attainable through the simplification of the problem of the fuzziness and complexity of the numerous speech forms in CA. More important, this classification was neither borrowed from any previous models of analysis, nor couched in philosophical pretentiousness. It was based upon pure linguistic structuralism. Significantly, many twentieth-century linguists in the West have independently arrived at the same results in their classification of the major Arabic form classes. One notable attempt is that of Bishai (1978: 357) who summarizes his findings in the following terms (emphasis added):

By segmentation and substitution, Arabic positionally free morphemes or clusters of morphemes may be easily divided into three types of morphotagmemes. The first class consists of those which join the definite article *ʔal-* 'the' or could be substituted for by those than join it. This class may be termed as **'noun'** morphotagmemes. The second class consists of those which join certain paradigmatic suffixes such as –*ta*, -*tu*, and -*ti*, and may be called **'verb**

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morphotagmemes'. The third class consists of those which do not join either type of affixes and may be called '**particle** morphotagmemes'. *Arab grammarians have rightly classified Arab words into these three categories and called them 'divisions of speech'.*

Besides its simplicity, economy, and high level of abstraction, the tripartite division of parts of speech has appealed to many modern linguists in their description of language parts of speech, including Halliday and Hasan who offer the following diagram for the English word classes:
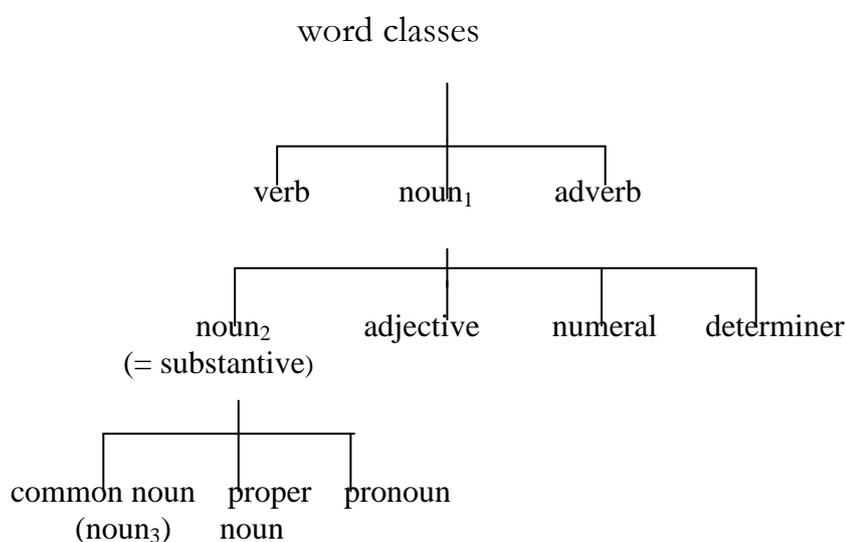
word classes

verb   noun$_1$ adverb

noun$_2$ adjective   numeral   determiner
(= substantive)

common noun   proper   pronoun
(noun$_3$)   noun

Figure (5) Halliday and Hasan's (1976, 41) Classification of Word Classes in English

Similarly, Robert Longacre (1998: 80), in his article 'Reshaping Linguistics' observes that "Mary Haas has described the earlier grammars of American Indian languages, especially those produced under her direction by graduate students. It became almost traditional in the grammar of this period to group somewhat loosely the words of a language into nouns, verbs, and particles."

In addition to the three form classes, structured words are also analyzed in terms of seventy-five function classes, each mapped into binary units, on the basis of their grammatical equivalence and substitutability (Sa'adeddin, 1980: 28). The following list gives just a fraction of the battery of syntactic functions discussed by Sībawaihi:

المسند / المسند إليه ، المبتدأ / الخبر ، الفعل / الفاعل ، الفعل اللازم / الفعل المتعدي ، الجار / المجرور ، المضاف/ المضاف إليه، العطف / المعطوف ، الحال / صاحب الحال ، الاسم / المصدر ، الصفة / الموصوف ، البدل / المبدل منه ، الاسم/ الصفة ، المسئول / المسئول عنه ، المضمر / المظهر ، المستثنى / أداة الاستثناء ، المنادى / حرف النداء ، القسم / أداة القسم ، الوقف / الوصل ، النفي/ أداة النفي ، الجزم / أداة الجزم ، الاستثناء المفرغ/ الاستثناء التام، اسم الفعل / اسم الفاعل ، الصلة / الموصول ، الندبة / المندوب ، الضمير المنفصل / الضمير المتصل ، الشرط /أداة الشرط ، الاشتغال / المشتغل عنه ، المستغاث/ المستغاث له ، النهي/ المنهي منه ، المشتق / المتعلق به ، متمكن أمكن/ متمكن غير أمكن ، الفعل الناقص / الفعل التام ، التمييز / عامل التمييز ، العدد / المعدود...

The list above shows that the grammarians of CA, in order to cope with the inherent indeterminacy and fuzziness of grammatical categories, have come to the conclusion that observing the formal precision in this respect requires the description to be based on a scale of many levels of generalization. At the highest level, formal and functional commonalties give way to the tripartite classification mentioned above. Within each class, sub-classification requires the re-application of the same formal-functional criteria to achieve greater degrees of delicacy, to the effect that once such recursive application ceases to be applicable, all the niceties of the subcategories are exhaustively uncovered. In addition to the precision and exhaustiveness achieved in an area couched with substantial indeterminacy and fuzzy boundaries, this system attains a recommendable degree of economy.

To clarify how this system works, one can cite the example of the form class of noun. This class of CA includes at least nine subtypes of pure nouns, adjectives, infinitives, participles, pronouns, demonstratives, relatives, numerals, and adverbial nouns (*nomina vasis*). Within all these subclasses, the following form-function general correspondences are linguistically manifested. Stripped of annullers, those nouns (or nominals) that can stand alone as phrase-heads by assuming the grammatical functions of *al-'Isnād* (i.e. functioning as either *al-Musnad* or *al-Musnad ilaihi*) are always in the upright (nominative) case. Similar nominals

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functioning as surpluses (الفضلة) always assume the set-up (accusative) case. Nominals that occur in annexations (whether with other nouns or following a preposition) assume the dragged (genitive) case. Nouns functioning as appositives (epithets, syndetic and serial explicatives, assertives, and substitutions) always assume the same case as that of the head nouns, which they modify.

Stripped of subjunctivals, verbs are primarily uninflected forms. Thus, the imperative, imperfect (aorist) and perfect (past) verbs are not declinable, the first assumes a *quiescent (سكون)*, the second a *fatħa (فتحة)*, while the third a *dhamma (ضمة)* ending. As for the particles, which serve the primary function of connecting various sentential components, they all have uninflected forms (مبنية).

To sum up, the formal marker of the function of **propping (الإسناد)** is (الرفع)=the *upright* case; of the **surpluses** *(الفضلة)*(i.e., complements), (النصب) = the *set up* case; of **annexation** *(الإضافة)*, (الجر) = the *dragged* case; while the non-nominal forms (*verbs* and *particles*) are basically uninflected forms. Such are the powerful generalizations made available by virtue of the systematic detection of form-function correspondences in CA.

As for the use of terminology, there are no correspondences whatsoever between the terms used in Sībawaihi's Grammar, al-Kitāb, (most of which are functional or meaning-based in nature) and any other previous, non-Arabic grammatical models of description. For example, while the term 'verb' is derived from the Latin *verbum*, meaning 'word', the Arabic nearest equivalent term (فعل) has a formal-functional signification in that it simply means 'act' or 'action'. So does the nearest Arabic term for the 'subject' of the sentence, which is (الفاعل),

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meaning 'the doer' or 'actant', not the logic-based 'thrown under' as is the case in Latin.

In addition, the different types of objects (المفاعيل = patients) are expressed as cases of semantic roles involving **prepositional** differentials (*in, on, for, with, to…*), exactly as rediscovered by Fillmore's '*The case for case*' (1968). Thus, the direct object is termed: (المفعول به), the indirect object: (المفعول به الثاني), the causal object: (المفعول لأجله), the adverbs of place and time: (المفعول فيه), the concomitant noun: (المفعول معه), and so on. The only type of object that cannot be replaced by a preposition is the absolute (cognate object) one, whose form is related to that of the same verb of the sentence, such as 'song' in the English sentence: '***die** a miserable* **death**'. It is important to state here that these objects are all nouns that assume the set up case, and are, therefore, only differentiable on functional, rather than formal terms.

Such singularity and richness in terminology has induced Troupeau (1978) to carry out a count of all the linguistic terms mentioned in al-Kitāb, and he was able to identify a total of (1820) terms which he classified into five categories, after excluding (220) non-specialized ones. He found that the greatest number of terms is related to Sībawaihi's linguistic methodology, (650) in number; followed by those related to general principles, totalling (390). Third and fourth in frequency come the terms of morphology and phonology, (320) each; while those related to grammatical structure are (250). In his refutation of the claim made by some Orientalists that the ancient Arab Grammarians have borrowed six terms from the Greek Grammarians, either directly or via Syriac grammar books, Troupeau (ibid. 69) affirms:

> It is obvious that the ancient Arab Grammarians had a lot of grammatical terms at their disposal. Therefore, it is impossible that they should have been in need to borrow [those] few terms of foreign origin, whether Greek or Syriac.
>
> (Translated from Arabic)
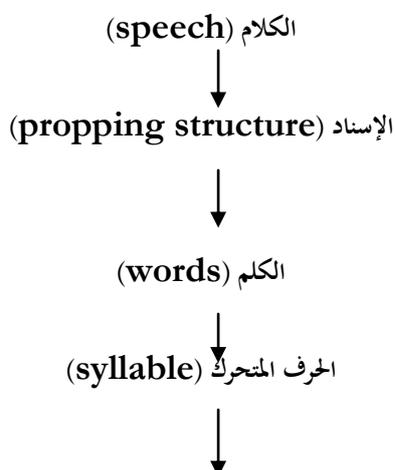
Troupeau (ibid. 70) concludes his study by saying:

> Finally, I am of the opinion that the science of al-Naħwu [= Arabic Grammar] is the most Arabic of all Islamic sciences, and is the farthest from foreign influence during its first phase, and that is what I have tried to explain on the basis of Sībawaih's Kitab – that famous book which is the oldest Arabic book of grammar.
>
> (Translated from Arabic)

In a similarly vein, Firth (1957: 216) states that al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's grammar is **independent** of Latin and Indian counterparts (emphasis added):

> What modern linguist would wish to find serious fault with the grammatical outlines of Panini for Sanskrit, of Dionysius for Greek, of Donatus and Priscian for Latin, or of Sibawaihi and Alkhalil for Arabic? Three **very different** systems, the Ancient Indian, the Greco-Roman, the Arabic, owe some of their excellence to their **independence**, to the absence of any international or universal dogma.

In terms of rank based on part-whole relation, the following hierarchy can be clearly discerned about the described units of grammar in al-Kitāb:

الكلام (**speech**)

↓

الإسناد (**propping structure**)

↓

الكلم (**words**)

↓

الحرف المتحرك (**syllable**)

↓

(**phoneme, non-syllable**) الحرف الساكن

Figure (6) The Ranks of Grammar in al-Kitāb

3.3 Markedness

Various definitions for the notion of linguistic markedness exist. The term refers to the idea that some linguistic structures are 'special' or 'less natural' or less 'basic' than others. For example, the use of 'break' in 'she broke my heart' can be considered marked in relation to the use of 'break' in 'she broke a cup' which is unmarked (Ellis, 1994: 713). Many other oppositional binary terms have been proposed in reference to this same principle by linguists of various strands such as: light/heavy, normal or typical /atypical, salient/non-salient, general/specific, dominant/non-dominant, optimal/non-optimal, prototypical/ non-prototypical, prominent/non-prominent, core/periphery, etc.

Regardless of the terms used, this principle has proved to be extremely useful in the identification, description, and formulation of powerful intralingual and interlingual structural generalizations. Croft (1990: 64) considers markedness a **fundamental** concept that underlies much of the work in language typology. All linguistic models aiming at discovering cross-linguistic commonalties and symmetries are essentially based on this theory   (e.g. Greenberg, 1966; Chomsky, 1981; Prince and Smolensky, 1993). Three main types of linguistic evidence are identified as indicators of markedness (Croft, 1990: 64):

1. **Structure**: this concerns the presence or absence of a feature. For example, plural can be considered more marked than singular because it typically involves the addition of a morpheme.

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2. **Behaviour**: this concerns whether one element is grammatically more 'versatile' than another-the more versatile, the more unmarked. Versatility is evident in the number of inflections a specific grammatical category possesses (for example, singular third person has three forms in English-*he*, *she*, and *it*-whereas plural third person has only *one-they*). It can also be evident in the number of syntactic context on which a specific grammatical element can occur (for example, more constructions occur with the active voice than with the passive voice).

3. **Frequency**: the unmarked value is likely to occur with greater frequency than the marked value, both in actual use (i.e., in actual texts) and also in the world's languages.

Givón (1995: 28) adds a fourth criterion specified as follows:

4. **Cognitive Complexity**: the marked category tends to be cognitively more complex - in terms of mental effort, attention demands, or processing time -than the unmarked one.

According to Trask (1993: 167), "the terms *marked* and *unmarked* were apparently introduced by Nikolai Trobetzkoy and Roman Jakobson, though the idea goes well back into the nineteenth century". Such statement is obviously uninformed of Sībawaihi's al-Kitāb, nor of CA grammar works dating from the ninth century onwards. Otherwise, the whole of the theory of markedness should have been attributed to Sībawaihi and his teacher al-Khalīl.

Significantly, al-Khalīl was the one linguist who had meticulously unravelled the fact that the principles of this theory underlie the structure of meter in Arabic poetry. Accordingly, he rigorously formulated his quantitative system of all the possible prosodic meters on the basis of the regular variations in the bipolar opposition between (المتحرك) *mobile* versus (الساكن) *quiescent* sounds (i.e. non-syllables versus syllables). To cover all the possible syllabic variations in meter, three

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minimal common denominators were identified: (سبب)[*string:* **CVC/CVCV**],(وتد)[*peg:* **CVCVC/CVCCV**], and (فاصلة)[*disjunct:* **CVCVCVC/CVCVCVCV**]. Then he made use of circles in which he plotted the first possible combinatorial alternation of his self-discovered three minimal denominators above (using a dot for a non-syllable and a small ring for a syllable). Through substitution and recursion, the next possible alternation was plotted, and so on till the structure of all the possible (used or unused) meters were exhaustively formulated, with the aid of additional ten metric feet (Dhaif, 1968: 31; al-Hāshimī, 1973: 5). This science, together with all its battery of original terminology, has remained intact and uniquely functional up to the present time. More significantly, the underlying system involved was both a genuinely generative one, and had universal implications in that it proved to be empirically useful in describing the prosodic structures of Hebrew, Persian, and even Turkish poems.

Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's explication and use of the theory of markedness is characterized by the following properties:

A. The whole organization of al-Kitāb is based on the theory of markedness whereof the description systematically moves from the unmarked to the marked structures and forms (cf. section: 3.3.1.2).

B. The theory is deployed at all levels of descriptive analysis: syntax, morphology, and phonology as a means of explaining a wide range of structural motivations.

C. The concept is seen as fundamentally multiple, gradient, relational, hierarchical, and having a very broad scope of operationality. These characteristics render such operationality interactive and in continuous tension. Where one type of markedness stands in clash with some other type of a lower rank, the highest-ranking unmarked form always wins out.

D. All the four types of markedness stated above are very clearly identified and described, together with their numerous sub-types.

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E. The discovery of the existence of an implicational relationship that correlates the value of markedness of the linguistic forms at the paradigmatic level with its value at the syntagmatic level.

F. Markedness is seen as a synchronic phenomenon. Its values are strongly dependent on the prevailing state of the language, to the effect that one marked value at one time can become unmarked at another if its motivation is lost.

G. In view of the characteristics above, one can safely state that the theory of markedness was not only originated by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi, but was also developed to a level that far exceeds that attained in the description of any other language, up to the present time.

The task of exemplifying and commenting on all the instances where this theory is reverted to in al-Kitāb needs a whole book since one can hardly come across a page that does not make some mention or use of its principles. Therefore, this section will concentrate on those quotations that serve to exemplify the seven claims above, and justify attributing to Sībawaihi and his teacher al-Khalīl the credit of originating this theory in linguistics.

Among the first excerpts where this theory is applied and explained in al-Kitāb is the following quotation (I. 20-3), which discusses the marked/unmarked values of word classes by relating such values to their syntactic behaviour (key relevant terms in the original text are underlined):

(11)

واعلم أن بعض الكلام أثقلُ من بعض ، فالأفعال أثقل من الأسماء لأن الأسماء هي الأولى ، وهي أشـد تمكناً ، فمن ثم لم يلحقها تنوين ولحقها الجزم والسكون ، وإنما هي من الأسماء . ألا ترى أن الفعل لابدّ له من الاسم وإلا لم يكن كلاماً ، والاسم قد يستغني عن الفعل ، تقول : اللهُ إلهنا، وعبدُ الله أخونا .

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واعلم أن ما ضارع الفعل المضارع من الأسماء في الكلام و وافقه في البناء أُجري مجرى لفظه مجرى ما يستثقلون ومنعوه ما يكون لما يستخفون

وذلك نحو أبيض و أسود و أحمر [وأصفر] ، فهذا بناء أذهب وأعلم فيكون في موضع الجر مفتوحا ، استثقلوه حين قارب في الكلام و وافق في البناء .

وأما مضارعته في الصفة فإنك لو قلت :أتاني اليوم قوي ، وألا بارداً ، ومررت بجميل ،كان ضعيفاً ، ولم يكن في حسن :أتاني رجلٌ قويٌ ، وألا ماء بارداً ، ومررت برجلٍ جميلٍ . أفلا ترى أن هذا يقبح هنا كما أن الفعل المضارع لا يتكلم به إلا و معه الاسم ، لأن الاسم قبل الصفة ، كما انه قبل الفعل. ومع هذا ترى أنك ترى الصفة تجرى في معنى يفعل،يعني هذا رجل ضارب زيدا ،[وتنصب كما ينصب الفعل].وسترى ذلك إن شاء الله .

فأن كان اسماكان أخف عليهم ، وذلك نحو أفكل و أكلب ، ينصرفان في النكرة .

ومضارعة أفعل الذي يكون صفة للاسم أنه يكون وهو اسم صفة كما يكون الفعل صفة ، وأما يشكر صفة وهو اسم ، وإنما يكون صفة وهو فعل .

واعلم أن النكرة أخف عليهم من المعرفة ،وهي أشد تمكنا ، لأن النكرة أول ، ثم يدخل عليها ما تعرف به . فمن ثم أكثر الكلام ينصرف في النكرة .

واعلم أن الواحد أشد تمكنا من الجميع ، لأن الواحد الأول ، ومن ثم لم يصرفوا ما جاء من الجميع ما جاء على مثال ليس يكون للواحد ، نحو مساجد و مفاتيح .

واعلم أن المذكر أخف عليهم من المؤنث لأن المذكر أول ، وهو أشد تمكنا وإنما يخرج التأنيث من التذكير .ألا ترى أن (الشيء) يقع على كل ما أخبر عنه [من قبل أن يعلم أذكر هو أو أنثى] ، و الشئ ذكر ، فالتنوين علامة للأمكن عندهم والأخف عليهم ، وتركه علامة لما يستثقلون .وسوف يبين ما ينصرف وما لا ينصرف أن شاء الله . و جميع ما لا ينصرف إذا ا أدخلت عليه الألف واللام أو أضيف انجر ، لأنها أسماء أدخل عليها ما يدخل على المنصرف. وأدخل فيها الجركما يدخل في المنصرف ،ولا يكون ذلك في الأفعال،وأمنوا التنوين. فجميع ما يترك صرفه مضارع به الفعل،لأنه إنما فعل ذلك به لأنه ليس له تمكن غيره ،كما أن الفعل ليس له تمكن الاسم .

واعلم أن الآخر إذاكان يسكن في الرفع حذف في الجزم . لئلا يكون الجزم بمنزلة الرفع ، فحذفوا الحركة ونون الاثنين والجميع . وذلك قولك لم يرم ولم يغزُ ولم يخشَ. وهو في الرفع ساكن الآخر، تقول : يرميْ ويغزوْ ويخشىْ.

Bear in mind that certain parts of speech are heavier than others, for the verbs are heavier than the nouns because the nouns are the primary [original] structures and are more completely declinable. Accordingly, the verbs do not admit the nunation declension [nūn-suffix addition] whereas they undergo the deletions affected by the jussive and quiescent cases since the verbs are derived from the nouns. You can also see that while the verb must co-occur with the noun for

the realization of the [well-formed] speech, the noun can occur in [well-formed] speech without the verb. Thus you say:

الله إلهنا   [NP+NP+NP],

and:

عبد الله أخونا [NP+NP+NP].

Bear in mind that nouns whose speech forms match the paradigm of the aorist [imperfect] verb and its structure are all molded according to the way the latter's heavy structures are spoken. Hence, such forms as: (أبْيَضَ), (أسْوَدَ), (أحْمَرَ), and (وأصْفَرَ) are hindered from admitting the declensions of the lighter parts of speech since these nouns have the same structure as those of the verbs: (أذْهَب), and (أعْلَم'). Therefore, these heavier forms admit a *fatħa* ending [in stead of the usual *kasra*] when they occur in the dragged [genitive] position because their speech forms and structures match those of the verb.

As for the epithets whose structures match the aorist verb, these forms are also weak [when they occur without the noun] in your saying:

أتاني اليومَ قويٌّ   [VP+NP+NPLOC+Adj],

ألا باردآ   [Qpart+Neg+Adj],

مررت' بجميلٍ   [VP+NP+Prep+Adj],

in that they are not as well-formed as:

أتاني رجلٌ قويٌّ   [VP+NP+NP +Adj],

ألا ماء باردآ   [Qpart+Neg+NP+Adj],

مررت' برجلٍ جميلٍ [VP+NP+Prep+NP+Adj],

[where the epithet occurs with the noun, not alone]. You can see here again that such speech structures are not well-formed, just like the structures in which the aorist verb cannot stand alone without the noun since the noun has precedence over the epithet as it does over the verb. Still, the epithet can occur in the [verbal] paradigm of *yaf'alu*, expressing the meaning of the aorist verb as is the case [in the utterance]: (هـذا رجـلٌ ضاربٌ زيدآ) and it can [just like the verb] cause the noun to assume the set-up [accusative] case as you shall see by Allah's will.

However, if the structure [that matches the paradigm of the aorist verb] is itself a noun, then such structure is rendered lighter by the speaker as is the case with:(أفْكَل') and (أكُلُـب) both of which inflect when they are indefinite.

Forms that follow the paradigm of *'af'ala* and modify the noun are themselves nouns that undergo functional change just like the verb that functions as an epithet. However, *'af'ala* forms like:(يَشْـكَرَ) do not function as epithets when they are nouns; they function as epithets only when they are verbs.

Bear in mind that the indefinite nouns are lighter for the speakers than the definite ones, so the first nouns are more completely declinable. This is because the indefinite forms are the primary

[initial] forms to which the definite article is then added. Accordingly, most speech forms are completely declinable when indefinite.

Bear in mind that the singular is more completely declinable than the plural because the singular is the primary [initial] form. Accordingly, speakers do not completely inflect those plurals that follow a paradigm that singular forms do not follow such as: (مساجد) and (مفاتيح).

Bear in mind that the masculine is lighter than the feminine because the masculine assumes the primary [original] form, and is therefore, more completely declinable since the feminine forms are derived from the masculine ones. You can see that the [general] word (الشـيء) (the thing) denotes whatever entity spoken about, regardless of its being masculine or feminine though this word is masculine. So, the nunation is the mark that the speakers use for whatever they regard to be more completely declinable and lighter in speech, while the non-nunation is their mark for what they regard to be heavy, and we shall see what are completely declinable and what are not by Allah's will.

In addition, all diptote forms that admit [the definite article] *al* or are annexed [to other nouns] take the dragged [genitive] case. So, given that these nouns admit what the inflected nouns admit, then they assume the dragged case just like the completely inflected forms. As such cases do not occur with the verbs, so the speakers do not add the nunation [suffix] to them. Consequently, all forms of speech that are not completely inflected are parallel to the paradigm of the verb. This is done to such forms because they are not as strong [completely declinable] as the other forms, just like the verb which is not as strong [completely declinable] as the noun.

Bear in mind that in all the cases where the word-final sound is acquiescent in the upright [nominal] case, such sound is deleted in the jussive case in order to differentiate between the jussive case and the nominal one. So, they delete this last sound as they do with the short vowels at the end of words and the *nūn* that marks duality and plurality as when you say:

لم يرمِ [NEG+Pres+VP(JUSS)],

لم يغزْ [NEG+Pres+VP(JUSS)],

لم يخشَ [NEG+Pres+VP(JUSS)],

where such forms have a quiescent ending in the upright case since you say:

يرميْ [Pres+VP+ (he)],

يغزوْ [Pres+VP+ (he)], and

يخشـىْ [Pres+VP+ (he)].

The quotation above clearly shows how the concept of markedness has been developed into a remarkably powerful theory by Sībawaihi and al-Khalīl. In fact the whole of his grammar is based on the principles of this theory. It is used to explain why certain parts of speech require to be derived from others; why

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certain speech forms are fully inflected while others are not; why certain speech forms are required to co-occur with others; why certain utterances are possible, impossible, more well-formed, or less well-formed. In brief, the theory of markedness, which remained totally unknown to the Greek grammarians (Troupeau, 1978), is systematically used in formulating powerful generalizations, principles, and rules, and in explaining why the language is structured in the way it is. In elucidating this theory, Sībawaihi resorts to oppositional dichotomies to differentiate between the marked and the less marked structures. These dichotomies can be listed as follows:

1. أثقل/ أخف – يستثقل/يستخف

2. قبل -الأول / مثال

3. أشد تمكنا-الأمكن/ليس له تمكن غيره

4. حسن / ضعيف

5. يكون / لا يكون

6. الإدخال/ الحذف

7. كلام / ليس كلاماً

The seven pairs of contrastive terms above are meant to capture some of the different specific cases of markedness. Instead of describing a certain structure as being marked first and then showing in what way it is so, Sībawaihi preserves a separate contrastive pair for each type of markedness.

3.3.1 First Binary Pair: أثقل/ أخف – يستثقل/يستخف

The first double pairs of such terms (أثقل/ أخف- يستخف/ يستثقل) are preserved to those structures that show contrastive additions. Two observations are relevant here. The first is that the pair (أثقل/ أخف) **(heavier/lighter)** are used both as general cover

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terms and specific. Thus, all marked structures are specified first as being *heavier* than the unmarked ones. Moreover, when one form is derived from another some affixation, then the original form is described as being *lighter* for the speaker than the heavier derived form. The term *heavy* has been widely adopted by modern linguists in relation to the marked value of forms. One example is Haegeman and Gue'ron's (1999: 221-4) use of the term **heavy NP shift** in connection with the rightward movement of the direct object in certain English sentences, in violation of its canonical position adjacent to the verb.

The second part with the pair of (يستخف/يستثقل)(**finds the form lighter /finds it heavy)** is used in relation to the speaker. Linguistic structures are not marked or unmarked *per se*; it is the language speakers themselves who find certain forms lighter than others because their production or comprehension requires more or less efforts in fact render them so. Here, Sībawaihi relates his theory of markedness to another theory of his own and that is **the law of the least effort** (cf. Saussure, 1916: 148f, Sapir, 1921: 46, 64, 85) which is unambiguously and repetitively stated in the quotation above.

The insightful statement made by Sībawaihi in the quotation above is that some heavier forms are denied certain inflections simply because admitting such inflections would render them heavily non-oppositional (non-differential). This is especially true of those parts of speech whose paradigms assume structures typical of some other different parts of speech as when the nouns or epithets follow the paradigms of the incomplete verb, which is in itself heavier than those of the noun from which it is derived. In other words, the heavier form has a marked value because it does not admit certain more usual inflectional forms that are admitted by the contrastive unmarked forms. Accordingly, such marked forms involve lesser structure as is the case with the epithet (أبيض) which does not admit the noun-specific nunation case (أبيضـاً*). A comparable case in

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English would be the two contrastive forms: *from/fro* where the latter (i.e. *fro*) is the marked form, occurring only in the expression *to and fro*, though it involves a lesser structure. Such ingenious statement reveals Sībawaihi's awareness of the hierarchical functionality of marked forms in that *frequency* has precedence over *extra structure* when they stand in *tension* with each other. Conversely, where a form of an extra structure is more frequent, both these two parameters will collaborate to the definition of the marked value of these forms. Hence, markedness is a relational principle that is realized in accordance with *state of affairs* prevalent in the language.

To illustrate how the capability of nouns to admit the typical (more frequent) nunation case renders them less marked, Sībawaihi likens function-related morphosyntactic values of markedness to another functional type of markedness: a lexico-semantic one. His example is related to what is now called: **generic masculine** (Spolsky, 1998: 38). In a typically built-in remark, Sībawaihi cites how the zero-sign gender of the lexical item **(الشيء)** (*the thing*) is masculine, though it can be used as a general word to refer to both masculine and feminine entities alike. On the other hand, the overtly indicated feminine gender cannot be used to indicate generic gender. Such status assigns to the masculine gender in CA an unmarked value due to both lesser contrastive structure and referential generality. Greenberg (1966) makes a similar statement eleven centuries after Sībawaihi.

As the zero-marked masculine form is generic, so the zero-admissibility of the nunation inflection is the typical indicator of unmarked non-nominal forms. This value of unmarkedness is additionally confirmed by the fact that the secondary feminine form is derived from the primary zero-signed masculine form; a point which is discussed in the following sections.

3.3.2 Second Pair: مثال / الأول - قبل

The members of the second binary pair **(مثـال / الأول –قبـل)** **(precedent,**
primary/derivative) refer to the primary/basic unmarked forms from which the
secondary marked forms are derived. According to Sībawaihi, the nouns are the
basic forms from which the verbs are derived, at least because there are more
nouns in the language than verbs. Consequently, the nouns have typical,
unmarked forms, while the verbs have marked ones (syntagmatic behaviour).
Here the theory of markedness is used in the description and establishment of
the parts of speech (paradigmatic relations). This issue has already been
discussed in section (3.3.2) and will be revisited in (3.3.5).

3.3.3 Third Pair: أشد تمكنا -الأمكن/ليس له تمكن غيره

The members of the third pair **(أشـد تمكنـأ- الأمكـن/ ليس لـه تمكن غيـره)** **(stronger,**
strongest/not as strong as) are related to purely morphosyntactic forms of
markedness. Parts of speech that do not assume all the usual inflectional forms
are specified as being not *as firm as,* or inherently less *strong,* than the other *stronger*
forms, and are therefore less completely declinable. Similar to al-Khalīl and
Sībawaihi, Jespersen (1924: 339) uses the term *stronger* in explaining the clash
between conflicting grammatical tendencies. This point is discussed later on in
this section.

Here again, Sībawaihi makes a statement about the interaction between
frequency and extra structuring. While the indefinite nouns have lesser structures
than the definite ones, since the latter have the definite article added to them, the
indefinite nouns are also less marked because the majority of these nouns are

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perfectly declinable. Here the extra structure effected through the addition of the definite article at the beginning of nouns renders them less declinable. The *clash* established between the extra structures added to the beginning and at the end of words is resolved in favor of the latter forms, resulting in a majority of perfectly declinable structures.

3.3.4 Fourth Pair: حسن / ضعيف

The fourth pair **(حسن /ضعيف) (good/weak)** relate the theory of markedness to the concept of the well-formedness of sentences, which is another major linguistic contribution made by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi. It is worth mentioning here that Sībawaihi avoids using the ambiguous grammatical term: *sentence* (الجملة in Arabic) in preference of the more accurate term (كلام): *utterance*, or *speech* (i.e. communicative speech)(cf. Saussure, 1916: 124; Pike, 1967: 147, 484). Here again the notion of well-formedness of speech is conceived of as a gradient one. Thus, a sentence of the type: [VP+NP+PP]**(مررتُ بجميلٍ)** is described as *weak* in comparison with the well-formed sentence:**(مررتُ برجلٍ جميلٍ)** [VP+NP+PP+NP]. The weak sentence means: *I passed by a handsome*, which is obviously ambiguous in that it does not tell who is the handsome person that the speaker has passed by. This means that the sentence requires the occurrence of the noun which the epithet **(جميلٍ)** modifies. In English, such a sentence would be ungrammatical since an epithet cannot be preceded by a preposition, nor by an indefinite article as is the case with the noun. In Arabic, it is syntactically well-formed, but functionally odd since it *upgrades* the epithet **(جميلٍ)** to the function of the noun (i.e. assigns to it a higher rank in the hierarchy of markedness). This is a possible measure in that, categorially, epithets and nouns are grouped together since the epithets admit all the inflections of nouns and behave just like nouns, such as

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being precedable by prepositions. Consequently, epithets in Arabic can only be differentiated from nouns on functional grounds, not categorial ones.

Now all these remarks are, strictly speaking, purely syntactic in nature, and seem to have nothing to do with the theory of markedness. In order to get at the interplay between this theory and the well-formedness of utterances, the grammarian has to have a wider perspective of the working of the language as a whole, and to correlate the markedness of the structures of all the possible sentences with the markedness of all the parts of speech in the language.

In contrast with the eight parts of speech of the Greek and Latin grammarians, Arabic grammarians formally recognize only three: (الاسم) the noun, (الفعل) verb, and (الحرف) article. Nouns are conceived of as the original unmarked forms, verbs are the secondary marked forms derived from the nouns, while the articles serve the sole function of relating sentence parts together. Put along a cline of markedness, the nouns are the unmarked category, the verbs are more marked, while the articles are the most marked forms since the latter cannot stand alone, are much fewer in number, and are totally uninflected (aplastic). When these three categories are correlated with the possible sentence constituents, the far-sighted grammarian can discover a remarkable correlation between the degree of markedness by which each category is characterized (a paradigmatic relation) and its selection or contribution in the formation of well-formed sentences (a syntagmatic relation).

Sībawaihi's approach in this respect is reflected in Saussure's (1916: 137) statement that each linguistic item needs to be considered not in isolation but in relation to the whole system of other items of which it forms a part since a language is a system of systems. Broadly speaking, CA well-formed sentences fall into two kinds: nominal and verbal. A nominal sentence consists of two nouns,

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while the verbal sentence has a minimal constituency of a verb plus a noun. In both of these two types, the noun is the obligatory constituent. Since the articles cannot stand on their own as main parts of the sentence, their contribution in sentential structure is strictly related to modifying the other two major parts of speech: the nouns and the verbs. This leaves us with the last two categories: nouns and verbs. While a well-formed sentence can be built out of two successive nouns, two successive verbs cannot make up a well-formed one. In other words, all well-formed sentences in CA require at least one nominal form. If the sentence is a nominal one and begins with a noun, then it should contain another noun; if it is a verbal one and begins with a verb, then it should also contain a noun. In short, while the noun is an obligatory part of all sentences, the verb is not. Consequently, there is a correlation between the degree of markedness of the formal categories of noun and verb and the scope of their contribution to the formulation of well-formed sentences. The less marked category of noun is an obligatory part of all sentences, while the more marked category of verb is only optional and is required to co-occur with the unmarked one that acts as the minimal obligatory sentential constituent.

Sībawaihi projects the gradient principle of grammaticality to the relative principle of markedness so that when the relative principle of markedness ceases to be operational, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. In other words, once the degree of the sentence's well-formedness stands off-line the given hierarchy of permissible marked forms, the sentence is then deemed not to be well-formed. Here another hierarchy becomes functional and that is the hierarchy of the degree of the markedness of the non-well-formed sentences.

3.3.5 *Fifth Pair:* يكون / لا يكون

The fifth pair of **(يكون/ لا يكون)(can/cannot exist)** establishes the relevance of the theory of markedness to the functional subparts of the category noun (الاسم). This is strictly related to both the functionality and the grammaticality and non-grammaticality of formal categories and sentences. Sībawaihi explains that within the category of noun, pure nouns are unmarked, while their subcategory of epithet is marked and this is why the sentence **(مَرَرْتُ بِجَميل)** is functionally weak. Moreover, the epithet can both function as a verb and assume the latter's formal paradigm *yafʿalu*. The marked epithet of the last paradigm, while versatile enough to assume the form and function of the verb, *cannot* be upgraded to function as the unmarked noun occurring after prepositions and indefinite declensions. In contrast, nouns following a verbal paradigm such as (يَشكَر) retain their nominal function (i.e. cannot be downgraded) and *cannot* function as epithets, whereas the verbs of the same paradigm *can*. In addition, both nominal and verbal well-formed sentences *cannot* be built up without nouns. Such is the interplay between markedness and formal and functional well-formedness.

3.3.6. *Sixth Pair:* الإدخال/ الحذف

The sixth pair **(الإدخال/الحذف)(affixation/deletion)** is related to the relationship between the annexation and the deletion of forms on the one hand and markedness on the other. Firstly, minimal form classes stripped off any additions are specified as unmarked. Thus, the indefinite noun is lighter (less marked) than the definite one, the masculine is lighter than the feminine, and the singular is lighter than the plural since the heavier forms admit the additional grammatical categories of definiteness, gender, and number. Secondly, In Arabic, the article of definiteness *al* is added at the beginning of the nouns while the inflections of gender and person are added to the end. However, the imperfectly declinable forms that do not admit the dragged case (الجر) when indefinite become less

marked whenever the definite article is annexed to them since their new forms allow them to admit this case. Here we are in front of two simultaneous but *clashing* types of markedness: one form is rendered marked through the annexation of the definite article and unmarked through the same cause that makes it typically inflected. In other words, the added article of definiteness makes the already marked diptote-noun a more marked one as far as both the declinability and definiteness are concerned. But since such an addition changes the same noun from a diptote to a completely inflected one, this makes it less marked as far as typical inflections are concerned, though indeed more marked than the definite triptote-nouns (i.e. markedness is a relative phenomenon).

3.3.7 *Seventh Pair:* كلام / ليس كلاماً

The last contrastive pair of (كلام/ليس كلاماً)(**speech/non-speech**) are strongly related to the fifth pair **(يكون/ لا يكون)**. Sībawaihi terms a completely ungrammatical sentence as simply being *not a speech* since it does not actually occur in the speakers' normal utterances. Here the value of markedness is not a matter of *more or less* but of *either this or that*.

Before closing this discussion, a word requires to be said about the existence of *tension* or *clash* between the morphological markers of grammatical categories as seen by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi. This is yet another one of their many important contributions to the theory of linguistics; the more so because this concept has been correlated to that of markedness. In fact, the functioning of the principle of markedness can only be identified through the formal results manifested in consequence of the *clash* among the various values of markedness. In other words, the concept of *clash* is the driving force that underlies the functionality of markedness.

In the quotation above, an explanation is given for how the clash between the upright and the jussive cases is resolved. In CA, aorist verbs ending in one of the three long vowel sounds [$\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{u}$, and $\bar{a}$] cannot show the inflectional marker [$\breve{u}$] of the nominative case. Consequently, these verbs keep the quiescent inflection (i.e. zero sign) in the nominative case. The clash occurs because this same inflection (i.e. the quiescent) is also the general marker of the jussive case in these verbs. In order to differentiate between the markers of these two different cases, this specific set of verbs undergo vowel weakening where the long vowels above are changed into short ones: [i, u, and a]. Consequently, this set of verbs has an inherently marked (unusual) morphological form in both the upright and the jussive cases, while the resolution of the formal clash between their inflectional markers causes the marked value of the jussive case to be higher than the upright one.

The lengthy discussion above was needed to account for just one quotation from al-Kitāb. The question is: 'how many volumes are required to comment on the whole of it?' The answer to this important question awaits new specialized research. What should be stressed here is that the previous discussion of some aspects of the theory of markedness in al-Kitāb does not do justice to al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi, for there is barely a page in the whole book that does not make an explicit or implicit mention of it. To make up for this deficit, the following sub-sections attempt to outline the basic principles and uses of the theory of markedness in al-Kitāb. This outline will concentrate upon the role of the three principles of markedness: *basicality* (original, or primary forms), *frequency* (consensus, recurrence), and *analogy* (regular, standard). It will also touch upon the use of these principles in explaining linguistic *motivation*, and *well-formedness*.

3.3.8 Basic Forms

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As has seen before, Sībawaihi uses the notion of the basic (i.e., primary, or original) form to explain why the form class of noun in Arabic is lighter, more completely inflected, and has precedence over both verbs and epithets in its function as the obligatory part of sentences. Frequently, this principle is used in making general linguistic statements or supporting various arguments about why certain linguistic structures are well-formed, possible, have a certain grammatical behaviour, or belong to a certain form class. The following paraphrased passages are self-explanatory in this respect.

1. Primary State: A deleted part of speech, if operant, functions equally in affecting the (الرفع) *upright* (nominative), (النصب) *set up* (accusative), and the (الجر) *dragged* (genitive) cases.

Argument: A preposed object having the set-up case in a sentence cannot be claimed to be governed by the postposed verb in that same sentence if such a verb can only function transitively via a preposition. For, if it were so, then that object of preposition should assume the dragged case, not the actual set up one, due to the presence of the preposition.

"فمن زعم أنه إذا قال : (أ زيداً مررتَ به) إنما ينصبه بهذا الفعل فهو ينبغي له أن يجرّه لأنه لا يصل إلا بحرف إضافة . و إذا أعملت العرب شيئاً مضمراً لم يخرج عن عمله في الجر و النصب و الرفع ..."

(al-Kitāb: I. 49)

2. Primary State: A deleted preposition cannot remain operative (regent).

Argument: A verb that can only function transitively through a preposition cannot be deleted.

"و لا يجوز أن تضمر فعلاً لا يصل إلا بحرف جر لأن حرف الجر لا يضمر... ولو جاز ذلك لقلت (زيدٍ) ‘تريد: مُرَّ بزيدٍ."

(al-Kitāb: I. 54)

3. Primary State: An operative verb should occur at the sentence initial position.

Argument: The postposed verb **(ظن)** and its sisters are inoperative because whenever the speech is prolonged, the postposed constituent becomes **weaker**.

"الأصل والحد أن يكون الفعل مبتدأ إذا عمل ... لأنه كلما طال الكلام ضعف التأخير إذا أعملنا الفعل ."

(al-Kitāb: I. 61)

4. Primary State: The admittance of prefix *fa'* in the apodosis (the main clause) of all conditional sentences.

Argument: The article *'ammā* functions to indicate a conditional clause because it always co-occurs with *fā'*.

"وأما (إما) ففيها معنى الجزاء كأنه يقول (عبد الله مهما يكن من أمره فمنطلق) ألا ترى أن (الفاء) لازمة لها أبداً ؟"

(al-Kitāb: I. 312)

5. Primary State: All deviant nouns (nouns turned from their original form to another) are not completely inflected (i.e. diptote) Argument: Deviant nouns **(عمر، زفر، لكع ، فسق ، احاد ، ثناء..)** are diptotes.

"و أما (عمر) و(زفر) فإنما منعهم من صرفهما و أشباههما انهما ليسا كشيء مما ذكرنا و انهما محدودان عن البناء الذي هو أولى بهما و هو بناؤهما في الأصل ."

(al-Kitāb: III. 223)

6. Primary State: A noun cannot be formally characterized with both initial augmentative sounds and the paradigms of the verb.

Argument: Nouns that begin with initial augmentative sounds but do not follow the paradigms of the verbs (e.g. **أصليت، أسلوب ، ترتيب ينبوت**) are completely inflected forms.

"ليس أصل الأسماء عندهم على أن يكون في أوائلها الزوائد وتكون على (بناء الفعل) ".

(al-Kitāb: III. 197)

7. Primary State: Completely inflectional form classes are the more capable categories that can fill in a larger set of slots.

Argument: Nouns that are incapable of functioning in all the slots other nouns can fill are marked forms such as the noun **(قط)** (which cannot occur after a preposition) in comparison with the relatively less marked noun **(حسب)** (which can occur after a preposition).

"واعلم انهم إنما قالوا:(حسبك درهم) و(قطك درهم) فأعربوا (حسبك) لأنها اشد تمكنا ، ألا ترى إنها تدخل عليها حرف جر ، تقول :(بحسبك) ، وتقول : (مررت برجل حسبك) فتصف به ، و (قط) لا تمكن هذا التمكن ."

(al-Kitāb: III. 268)

8. Primary State: Only a noun can follow a preposition.

Argument: A preposition-like form (e.g. على) is a noun since it can be preceded by another preposition.

"كما إن (على) بمنزلة (فوق) وأن خالفتها في أكثر المواضع ، سمعنا من العرب من يقول : (نهضت من عليه) كما تقول : (نهضت من فوقه) ."

(al-Kitāb: III. 268)

9. Primary State: The Arabs never give two proper names to a single entity.

Argument: In case two adjacent proper names co-occur, both referring to one entity, then the second noun is an annexed, epithet-like form that **modifies** the first noun; not a second referent noun to the same entity.

"إذا لقبت مفرداً بمفرد أضفته إلى الألقاب وهو قول أبي عمرو ويونس الخليل و ذلك قولك : (هذا سعيد كرز) (هذا قيس قفة قد جاء) و(هذا زيد بطة) فإنما جعلت (قفة) معرفة ، لأنك أردت المعرفة التي أردتها إذا قلت (هذا قيس)، فلو نونت (قفة) صار الاسم نكرة ، لأن المضاف إنما يكون معرفة قبل ذلك ثم أضفت إليها ...

فإذا لقبت المفرد بمضاف ، والمضاف بمفرد جرى أحدهما على الآخر كالوصف وهو قول أبي عمرو ويونس والخليل ، وذلك قولك : (هذا زيد وزن سبعة) و (هذا عبد الله بطة يا فتى) ، و كذلك أن لقبت المضاف بالمضاف، وإنما جاء هذا متفرقاً هو والأول ، لأن أصل التسمية والذي وقع علية الأسماء أن يكون للرجل اسمان أحدهما : مضاف ، والآخر مفرد مضاف ، و يكون أحدهما وصفاً للآخر ، وذلك الاسم والكنية وهو قولك : (زيد أبو عمرو) و (أبو عمرو زيد) فهذا أصل التسمية وحدها . "

(al-Kitāb: III. 294)

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10. Primary State: Every *wāw* sound occurring at form-initial position is a primary , not an augmentative sound.

Argument: The initial *wāw* in the words (ورنتل) and (وكواك) is an original sound, not an augmentative one.

"فأما (ورنتل) فالواو من نفس الحرف ، لأن (الواو) لا تزاد أولاً أبداً . و(الوكواك) كذلك ،و لا تجعل (الواو) زائدة لأنها بمنزلة (القلقال) ".

(al-Kitāb: IV. 315)

11. Primary State: Arabic speech has no *fa'ūli* word paradigm.

Argument: The *alif* /a:/ sound in the base of the two forms (قطوطي) and (ذلولي) is an original sound, not an additive one.

"وأما (قطـوطي) فمبنية إنها (فعوعل) لأنك تقول : (قطوان) فتشتق منه ما يذهب الواو و يثبت ما الألف بدل منه ، وكذلك : (ذلولي) ، لأنك تقول : (إذلوليت) وإنما هي : (أفوعلت) وكذلك (شجوجي) وإن لم يشتق منه ،لأنه ليس في الكلام (فعولي) وفيه (فعوعل) ".

(al-Kitāb: IV. 311)

12. Primary State: (a) Arabic disallows form-classes beginning with an augmentative *mīm* except for those nouns that follow the paradigms of their verbs. (b) Arabic disallows two successive augmentative sounds in nouns or epithets that do not follow the paradigms of their verbs.

Argument: The *mīm* sound in (منجنيق) is not augmentative.

"أما (منجنيق) فالميم فيه من نفس الحرف لأنك إن جعلت (النون) فيه من نفس الحرف فالزيادة لا تلحق بنات الأربعة أولا إلا الأسماء من أفعالها نحو : (مدحرج) ، وإن كانت (النون) زائدة فلا تزاد (الميم) معه ، لأنـه لا يلتقي في الأسماء ولا في الصفات التي ليست على الأفعال المزيدة في أولها حرفان زائدان متواليان ولو لم يكن في هذا إلا إن الهمزة التي هي نظيرتها لم تقع بعدها الزيادة لكانت حجة ،فإنما (منجنيق) بمنزلة :(عنتريس) . .

(al-Kitāb: IV. 309)

13. Primary State: When the plural-indicating suffix *ta'* clashes with the feminine-indicating suffix *ta'*, the plural-indicating morpheme **stays** while the feminine-indicating morpheme is **deleted**.

Argument: The feminine noun (بنت) has the plural form (بنات), not (* بنتات).

"فمن ذلك إذا كان اسما لرجل تقول : (بنات) من قبل أنها تاء تأنيث لا تثبت مع تاء الجمع كما لا تثبت الهاء ، فمن ثم صيرت مثلها ، و كذلك(هنت) و (أخت) لا تجاوز هذا فيها . وأن سميت رجلا بـ (ذيت) الحقت تاء التأنيث فتقول : (ذيات) و كذلك (هنت) اسم رجل تقول : (هنات) " .

(al-Kitāb: III. 406)

14. Primary State: A) The third person singular pronoun (هو) does not function as a distinctive pronoun (a pronoun of separation) unless it is followed by a definite noun. B) A pronoun cannot function as an epithet for an overt noun.

Argument: A) The pronoun (هو) in (ما أظن أحدا هو خير منك) is not separative, but inchoative. B) The same pronoun above cannot be an epithet in the Qur'anic

verse: (ويرى الذيـن أوتوا العلم الذيـ أُنزل إليك مـن ربك هو الحـق).

"واعلم أن (هو) لا يحسن أن تكون فصلاً حتى يكون ما بعدها معرفة أو ما أشبه المعرفة ."

(al-Kitāb: II. 392)

"أن (هو) في قولهم : (ما أظن أحدا هو خير منك) ليس فصلا ، إنما هو بمنزلة اسم مبتدأ.

(al-Kitāb: II. 395)

" وقد زعم ناس أن (هو) ها هنا صفة . فكيف يكون صفة وليس في الدنيا عربي يجعلها ها هنا صفة للمظهر ، ولو كان كذلك لجاز :
(مررت بعبد الله هو نفسه) فـ (هو) ها هنا مستكرهة لا يتكلم بها العرب ، لأنه ليس من مواضعها عندهم ".

(al-Kitāb: II. 390)

15. Primary State: The order of the suffixed pronouns in one VP proceeds from the nearest to the farthest.

Argument: The order of the suffixed pronouns is: the pronoun of the speaker first, the pronoun of the addressee next, then the pronoun of the absent third.

"فإن بدأ بالمخاطب قبل نفسه فقال (أعطاكني) أو بدأ بالغائب قبل نفسه فقال (قد أعطاهوني) فهو قبيح لا تتكلم به العرب لكن النحويين قاسوه ... كراهية أن يبدأ المتكلم في هذا الموضع بالأبعد قبل الأقرب. "

(al-Kitāb: II. 363-4)

16. Primary State: A proper noun does not function as an epithet.

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Argument: Since (أخاك) in (إن الذي رأيت أخاك ذاهب) is more specific than (الذي) then the specific noun (أخاك) does not function as an epithet, just as the proper noun (زيد) does not function as an epithet.

"ومن قال : (أن هذا أخاك منطلق) قال: (إن الذي رأيت أخاك ذاهب) ولا يكون الأخ صفة لـ (الذي) لأن (أخاك) أخص من (الذي) ولا يكون له صفة من قَبلِ أن (زيدا) لا يكون صفةً لشيء".

(al-Kitāb: II.149)

3.3.9 Frequency

As a natural language grammar book, al-Kitāb oftener than not informs its reader about the level of the prevalence of the description given, and whether it is based on consensus, majority, or minority use. Again the theory of markedness, as realized by frequencies of use, is deployed to make statements about the degree of the well-formedness of speech. However, Sībawaihi never loses sight of the inherently possible tension between this value and the other marked values. Before giving some of the relevant quotations about frequency, it might be a good idea to give just one translated example for the interplay between the frequencies of use, original state, and the acceptability of abbreviated forms as described by Sībawaihi in the following quotation:

(12)

هـذا باب يُحـذف منـه الفعل لكثرته في كلامهم حتى صـار بمنزلة المَثَل . وذلك قولك: (هـذا ولا زعماتك) . أي : (ولا أتوهم زعماتك)

...ولم يذكر : (ولا أتوهم زعماتك) لكثرة إستعمالهم إياه ، ولإستدلاله مما يرى من حاله أنه ينهاه عن زعمه ... ومن ذلك قول العرب :

(كليهما وتمراً) ، فذا مَثَلٌ قد كثر في كلامهم واستعمل ، وترك ذكر الفعل لما كان قبل ذلك من الكلام ،كأنه قال : (أعطني كليهما وتمراً)

...ونظير ذلك من الكلام قوله : (انته يا فلان أمراً قاصداً) . فإنما قلت:(انْتَهِ و أْتِ أمراً قاصداً) ، إلا أن هذا يجوز لك فيه إظهار الفعل،

فإنما ذكرتٌ لك ذا لأمثّل لك الأول به ، لأنه قد كثر في كلامهم حتى صار بمنزلة المثل ، فحذف كحذفهم : (ما رأيت كاليوم رجلاً).

This is the section of (the speech) where the verb is omitted due to its high frequency in their speech to the effect that it has assumed the rank of a 'proverbial' speech.

This occurs in your saying (هـذا ولا زعماتك), meaning   (ولا أتـوهم زعماتك)[where the VP (أتـوهم) is not deleted]... However, [the latter utterance](ولا أتوهم زعماتك) does not occur in speech because of the high frequency of the deleted form in the speakers' speech, and because the addressee can infer from the circumstances he is in that the speaker is prohibiting him from making [false] claims...

Another similar case is the 'proverbial' (كليهمـا وتمـرآ) which has become so recurrent and established that the original mentioning of the verb fell into disuse and this [verbless structure] has become equal to your saying (أعطني كليهما وتمرآ) .

Parallel to that in speech is his (the speaker's) utterance (انْتَهِ يـا فـلان أمـرآ قاصـدآ) , which realizes your saying (انْتَهِ و أْتِ أمرآ قاصـدآ) though you may make the verb overt in this utterance. I have mentioned this [utterance] to you in order to put it as a clarifying example for the former [ones] because such utterances have become so frequent in their speech that they have assumed the rank of a 'proverb', so they

omit as they omit in the utterance:(ما رأيت كاليوم رجلآ) .

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: I. 280-4)</div>

As typical of Sībawaihi's theory-laden description, the discontinuous quotation (12) above puts forward the following arguments. Firstly, high frequency of use motivates the emergence of abbreviated utterances to the effect that such utterances become frozen and the initially undeleted forms fall into disuse. Such a process transforms these utterances from their original status as freely structured utterances consisting of many elements into 'blocked' utterances whose parts become inseparably bound together. As a result, it undergoes a change in its rank (منزلة) from a multiple-element structure into a one-element structure of a new status similar to that of a single form class (مثال) derived from another.

Secondly, this diachronic process, motivated by frequency, is a continuous one, and that is why there are other parallel utterances in the language where the deleted verb can be retained, as is the case with the utterance (انْتَهِ يا فلان أمرآ قاصدآ). The latter form is undergoing a diachronic state of dynamic evolution whose synchronic realization at the time of Sībawaihi makes it occupy the rank between those utterances of totally undeletable elements and those totally unrecoverable

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'blocked' ones. In order to elucidate this process, Sībawaihi juxtaposes these related examples which clarify each other.

Third, as for the pertinent question of why this process affects some of the frequent utterances only by transforming them to such a rank, the suggested answer here is that the context of situation collaborates with the impact of frequency to bring about such a change. Deletions are more likely to occur in the elements that are contextually recoverable for the sake of economy. The invocation of the notion of the **context of situation** (which assumes the status of *common knowledge* in all Arabic Grammar books from the ninth century AD onwards) hints at a third important factor effecting the acceptability of deleting speech forms and that is the necessity of avoiding ambiguity. If the context of situation in which such utterances are exchanged allows for disambiguation, then the process of 'blocking' is consolidated, especially because it involves less effort. This is, then, why the speaker and hearer are mentioned in the quotation. Ten centuries after Sībawaihi, another great grammarian also mentions them in his description of this same grammatical phenomenon, which he labels 'formulas':

> If, then, free expressions are defined as expressions created on the spur of the moment after a certain type which has come into existence in the speaker's subconsciousness as a result of his having heard many sentences possessing some trait or traits in common, it follows that the distinction between them and formulas cannot always be discovered except through a fairly close analysis; to the hearer the two stand at first on the same footing, and accordingly formulas can and do play a great part in the formation of types in the minds of speakers, the more so as many of them are of very frequent occurrence.
>
> (Jespersen, 1924, 20)

Fourth, Sībawaihi always explicitly specifies that the deleted elements in all the examples given (and in many more provided by him but are not mentioned here for the sake of economy) are the verbs. A cursory look at the deleted structures

in Sībawaihi's examples shows that the verbs spoken of are only the main deleted elements, and that, in the instances cited, the deleted constituents are in fact a whole verbal sentence which is comprised of a head verb plus its covert subject [(أتوهم (أنا))in the first example, and the head verb plus a (S)O (أعطني) in the second example]. If so, why then mention the verb only? The obvious answer is that Sībawaihi is speaking here in categorial terms, and that the verbs mentioned are conceived of as complex VP nodes, each dominating a V, plus one or two of its dependent sister NPs. This is exactly the way the generativists analyze the VP node in their Standard PS-rules. In addition, Sībawaihi's analytical system does not consider the 'word' as the basic unit of speech organization, which is in line with the fact that in actual communication language users resort to multi-word units that have functional autonomy within the ongoing discourse to speed up processing (Ellis, 1994: 96).

Fifth, what is the motivation behind offering Sībawaihi's last example of: (ما رأيت كاليوم رجلاً)whose deleted element is neither specified nor explained? The answer lies in one of the unique characteristics of Sībawaihi's methodology in presenting his grammar. In order to relate the different manifestations of essentially the same grammatical phenomena (verb deletion in this instance) that require to be described in his book in separate previous sections, he re-mentions in the second occasion an utterance previously described by him in the first occasion as a reminder. In all such cases, the re-mentioned utterance in the following occasion is considered as an exemplar of the preceding phenomenon. So, to get at the import of the last example (ما رأيت كاليوم رجلاً) the reader is required to revert to the relevant section in which it is first mentioned: page (224) of the same volume in this instance. This point is re-discussed in section (3.3.12).

To summarize, the quotation above defines the interrelationship between markedness induced by primary states, frequency, and blocked structures on the

one hand, and the utterance acceptability and ease of production and comprehension on the other. In modern linguistic parlance, such interrelatedness can be reformulated in the following terms:

State (1) Primary Markedness

In the utterance A, if the obligatory member X is overt, then A is unmarked; if covert, then A is marked. In both cases, the utterance is grammatical (occurs in speech):

   Overt X = Unmarked Value (Grammatical)

   Covert X = Marked Value (Grammatical).

State (2) Frequency Markedness

In the utterance A, if the obligatory member X becomes frequently covert, then A with covert X is unmarked, and A with an overt X is marked. In both cases the utterance is grammatical (occurs in speech):

   Overt X = Marked Value (Grammatical)

   Covert X = Unmarked Value (Grammatical).

State (3) Blocked Markedness

In the utterance A, if the member X is obligatorily covert, then A with an overt X is ungrammatically marked (does not occur in speech):

   Overt X = Markedly Ungrammatical

   Covert X = Unmarked (Grammatical).

In the reformulation above, State (2) is the opposite of State (1), while State (3) launches a totally new situation wherein the **Overt X** renders the utterance ungrammatical.

Now the discussion turns to types of frequencies described by Sībawaihi. The first type can be termed **unanimous** use (or disuse) as expressed in the following translated quotations from al-Kitāb:

  (13)

                 " و هذا أكثر من أصفه لك في كلام "

العرب.

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And this is **too frequent to be described** in the speech of Arabs.

(al-Kitāb: II. 102)

(14)

" فأما المفرد إذا كان منادى فكل العرب ترفعه بغير تنوين ، و ذلك لأنه كثُر في كلامهم ، فحذفوه وجعلوه بمنزلة الأصوات نحو (حوب) و ما أشبهه."

As for the non-compound (proper) noun in the vocative, **all Arabs** assign to it the upright case without *nunation*. This is because such a noun has became **so frequent** in their speech that they deleted the *nunation* and assigned to these nouns the rank of Ejaculation (Interjection) such as (حوب), and other similar forms.

(al-Kitāb: II. 185)

(15)

" وإن زعم زاعم أنه يقول : (مررتُ برجلٍ مخالطٍ بدنِه داءٌ) فـفرق بينـه وبين المنـون . قيل لـه : ألسـتَ تعلم إن الصفة إذا كانت للأول فالتنوين وغير التنوين سواء إذا أردت بإسقاط التنوين نحو قولك : (مررتُ برجلٍ ملازمٍ أباك) و (مررتُ برجلٍ ملازمِ أبيكَ ،أو ملازِمِك) ؟ فإنه لا تجد بداً من أن يقول : (نعم) و إلا خالف جميع العرب والنحويين ."

And if one (speaker) argues that he says: (مررتُ برجلٍ مخالطٍ بدنِه داءٌ) in which he differentiates between the *nunated* an *non-nunated* noun, the reply is: 'Don't you know that in case the epithet belongs to the first noun then *nunation* and non-*nunation* are the same even when you want to drop the *nunation* just as when you say: (مررت برجل ملازم أبيك) or when you say: (مررتُ برجلٍ ملازم أباك) (،أو ملازمك)?' Accordingly, he has no alternative but to say 'yes', or else he would violate (the speech of) **all the Arabs** and grammarians.

(al-Kitāb: II. 19)

(16)

" والتضعيف أن يكون آخر الفعل حرفان من موضع واحد ، وذلك نحو : (ردْت) و(ودِدْت) و(اجتررت) .. فإذا تحرك الحرف الأخير فالعرب مجمعون على الإدغام ."

Reduplication consists in a verb ending with two sounds, both produced from the same place (of articulation) such as: (ردْت) , (ودِدْت) and (اجتررت). However, if the last of the two sounds becomes mobile (turned into a syllable through the addition of a short vowel), then **the Arabs are unanimous** in assimilating (fusing) these two sounds.

(al-Kitāb: III. 529)

(17)

"وتقول : (أنتَ تأتينا في كل صباحٍ مساءٍ) ليس إلا . وجعل لفظهن في ذلك الموضع كلفظ (خمسةَ عَشَرَ) و لم يبين ذلك في غير هذا الموضع . و هذا قول جميع من نثق بعلمه و روايِته عن العرب ولا أعلمه إلا قول الخليل ."

And you can only say: (أنت تأتينا كل صباح مساء) by making their forms in their slot just like that of (خمسة عشر). No other place shows a similar structure. This is the opinion of **all** those whose authority and (the authenticity of) their report from the Arabs we trust, and, to my knowledge, it is the opinion of al-Khalīl.

(al-Kitāb: III. 303)

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(18)

" وأعلم أن الهمزتين إذا التقتا و كانت كل واحدة منهما من كلمة فأن أهل التحقيق يخففون أحدهما ويستثقلون تحقيقها معاً لما ذكرت لك ، كما أستثقل أهل الحجاز تحقيق الواحدة ، فليس من كلام العرب أن تلتقي همزتان فتحققان. "

Know that when two glottal stops co-occur adjacent to each other, and each is a part of a different word, then those who realize glottal stops in their speech dilute (reduce the weight) of one of them because they find the full realization of both too heavy for the reasons that I have told you before, just like the inhabitants of al-Ħijāz find it too heavy to produce the single glottal stop. Accordingly, in **no Arab speech** are both of the two adjacent glottal stops realized.

(al-Kitāb: III. 548-9)

(19)

"وليس من العرب أحدٌ إلا وهو يقول : (تَنَبأ مُسيلمةُ) ، وإنما هو من (أَنبأْتُ)."

All the Arabs (without exception) say: (تنبأ مسيلمة) which is derived from (أنبأ ت).

(al-Kitāb: III. 460)

(20)

"والذي ذكرت لك قول الخليل ، ورأينا العرب توافقه بعد ما سمعناه منه. "

What I have mentioned to you is said by al-Khalīl, and we have seen afterwards that (the speech of) **the Arabs** agree with it.

(al-Kitāb: 117, II)

(21)

"و جميع ما وصفناه من هذه اللغات سمعناه من الخليل ـ رحمه الله ـ ويونس و العرب. "

And all that we have described of these languages (dialects) we have heard it from al-Khalīl (may Allah's grant him mercy), and Yūnus, and **the Arabs**.

(al-Kitāb: II. 214)

(22)

" وسألته عن : (على كم جذعٍ بيتُك مبنيٌّ ؟) فقال : (القياس النصب وهو قول عامة الناس) ."

And I asked him (i.e. al-Khalīl) about the utterance (على كـم جـذعٍ بيتُك مبنيٌّ ؟), and he replied: the analogous form is the set-up case, which is what all (the Arab people) say.

(al-Kitāb: II. 160)

The second type of frequency is described as (أكثر) (more recurrent), or (كثير) (recurrent, abundant) as shown in the following selected examples:

(23)

" ومّا جرى نعتاً على غير وجه الكلام : (هذا جحرُ ضبٍّ خربٍ) فالوجه الرفع و هو كلام أكثر العرب وأفصحهم وهو القياس ."

And among those epithets that have got deviant forms are those found in the utterance (هـذا

(جحـرُ ضـبِّ خـربٍ) since the normal form is the upright case, which is what the majority and the most

eloquent of Arabs say, and is the analogous form.

(al-Kitāb: I. 436)

(24)

" وإذا كان الاسم على البناء (فَعَالِ) نحو : (حَذَامِ) و (رَقَاشِ) لا تدري ما أصله أمعدولٌ أم غير معدول أم مذكر أم مؤنث فالقياس فيه

أن تصرفه لأن الأكثر من هذا البناء مصروف غير معدول مثل الذهاب والصلاح والفساد و الرباب . "

If the noun is structured according to the paradigm of *fa'āli* such as the nouns (حَـذَامِ) and   )

(رَقَـاشِ and you do not know whether it is a transformed one or not, whether masculine or

feminine, then according to analogy, you make it a declinable one because the majority of nouns

following this structure are declinable, non-transformed ones such as: (الـذهاب),   الصـلاح ( ),

(الفسـاد), and (الرباب).

(al-Kitāb: III. 280)

(25)

" و أما (إن) الجزاء و (أن) التي تنصب الفعل فبمنزلة (عن) و أشباهها، و كذلك (إن) التي تلغى في قولك (ما إن يفعل) و(أن) التي في

معنى (ما)، تقول في تصغيرها : هذا (عني) و (أني)، و ذلك أن هذه الحروف قد نقصت حرفاً وليس على نقصانها دليل على أي

الحروف هو فتحمله على الأكثر ، والأكثر أن يكون النقصان (ياء)."

As for the conditional (إن) and the subjunctival (أن), both have the same status as that of (عـن) and

the likes of it. So is the non-functional (إن) in your saying (مـا إن يفعـل), and (أن) which has the

meaning of (ما). All these you derive their diminutive by saying: ʻ this is (عنـي) and (أنـي). The case

is so because these articles have one deleted phoneme of unascertained identity. Therefore, you

assume that the deleted phoneme is the same as that which is deleted in the majority of similar

cases, and the majority reveals that this deleted phoneme
is actually the *ya′ [/i:/]*.

((al-Kitāb: III. 454)

(26)

" وقد جاء بعض مصادر ما ذكرنا على (فعال)كما جاء على (فعول) وذلك نحو : (كذبته كذباً) و (كتبته كتاباً) و   (حجبته

حجاباً) . . . وقالوا : (الشكور)كما قالوا : (الجحود) فإنما هذا الأقل نوادر تحفظ عن العرب ولا يقاس عليها و لكن الأكثر يقاس

عليه ."

The verbal-noun forms of the items we have mentioned follow the paradigm of (**فعـال**), while others follow the paradigm of (**فعـول**) such as your saying (كذبتـه كـذابا), (كتبتـه كتابـا) and (**حجبتـه**)… There are in their speech such forms as (**الجحـود**) and (**الشـكور**). But these few examples are rare ones that require to be learnt by heart from the speech of Arabs without drawing analogies on them since analogy (in derivation) is based upon the most recurrent cases.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 6-7)

(27)

" وتقول : (هذه ناقة وفصيلها راتعين) وقد يقول بعضهم : (هذه ناقة وفصيلها راتعان) وهذا شبيه بقول من قال : (كل شـاة وسخلتها

بدرهم) إنما يريد : (كل شـاة وسخلة لها بدرهم) . . . والوجه (كل شـاة وسخلتها بـدرهم) ، و (هـذه ناقة وفصيلها راتعين) لأن هـذا

أكثر في كلامهم وهو القياس ، و الوجه الآخر قد قاله بعض العرب . "

And you say (هـذه ناقة و فصيلها راتعان), which is (*هذه ناقة و فصيلها راتعان*). However some speakers may say (هـذه ناقة و فصيلها راتعان) similar to the utterance (كل شـاة وسخلتها بدرهم) made by some speakers who intend to say (كل شـاة وسخلة لها بدرهم)… The normal forms are (كل شـاة وسخلة لها بدرهم) and (هـذه ناقة و فصيلها راتعين), which are more recurrent in their speech and are the analogues forms, while the other forms are only spoken by some of the Arabs.

(al-Kitāb: II. 82)

(28)

" وقد اختلفت العرب في (مِنْ) إذا كان بعدها (ألفُ) وصل غير الألف واللام فكسره قوم على القياس وهي أكثر في كلامهم وهي

الجيدة . "

Arab speakers are in disagreement about (مـن) when followed by the continuative **alif** other than the **alif** and **lām**. Some speakers utter it with a **kasra** in accordance with the analogous form, which is more recurrent in their speech and is the good form.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 145)

(29)

" والظروف قد تبين لنا أن أكثرها مذكر حيث حقرت فهي على الأكثر و على نظائرها . "

As for the adverbs, we have seen that the majority of them are masculine when diminutive. So they follow the rule of the majority of cases, and according to the forms of their corresponding [non-diminutive] adverbs.

(al-Kitāb: III. 267)

Similar to the term (أكثر) and (كثير) are the other two indicators of frequency used in al-Kitāb: (مطرد)[widespread (and straight or regular)], and (غالب) [major in number].

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(30)

"فقلت : أرأيت الرفع على أي شيء هو إذا قال : (يا زيدُ الطويلُ) ؟ قال هو صفة لمرفوع . قلت : (ألست قد زعمت أن هذا المرفوع في

موضع نصب فلم لا يكون كقوله : (لقيتهُ أمسِ الأحدثَ) ؟ قال: (من قبل أن كل اسم مفرد في النداء مرفوع أبداً ، وليس كل اسم في

موضع (أمسِ) يكون مجروراً فلما أطرد الرفع في كل مفرد في النداء مرفوع أبدا صار عندهم بمنزلة ما يرتفع بالابتداء أو بالفعل فجعلوه

وصفه إذا كان مفرداً بمنزلته . "

So I said to al-Khalīl, 'What is the upright form in his saying (يا زيدُ **الطويلُ**) due to?' He replied, ' It is an epithet to an upright noun.' Then I said,' Given that you have said that this upright noun occupies the set up position, then why does its epithet not assume this positional case as it does in the utterance (لقيتهُ أمسِ الأحدثَ)?'

He replied, 'Because all single nouns in the vocative utterances always assume the upright case, whereas not every noun that occupies the position of (أمـس) assumes the dragged case. So, when the upright case became **the more widely used** case for vocative single nouns, these have acquired in the speakers the same status as that of the noun that assumes the upright case due to its occurrence in the utterance-initial position or to a preceding verb. Accordingly, the speakers made the epithet of this single noun assume the same case as that of the noun it modifies.'

(al-Kitāb: II. 183)

(31)

" فالبدل مطرد في كل حرف ليس من حروفهم يبدل منه ما قرب منه من حروف الأعجمية . . . و أما مالا يطرد فيه البدل فالحرف الذي

هو من حروف العرب نحو : (سين) : (سراويل) ، و (عين) : (إسماعيل)."

So, substitution (in loan words) is **widespread** in all the (foreign) phonemes that are not Arabic by replacing them with the nearest equivalent phoneme in Arabic… As for the foreign phonemes that are **not regularly replaced**, these are of the phonemes that are already found in Arabic such as the phoneme ***seen*** in (سراويل) and ***'ain*** in (إسماعيل).

(al-Kitāb: IV. 36)

(32)

" واعلم أن لغة للعرب مطردة يجرى فيها : (فُعِلَ) من : (رَدَدتُ) مجرى : (فُعِلَ) من : (قُلتَ) وذلك قولهم : (قد رِدَّ وهِدَّ) و (

رَحُبَتْ بلادُكَ وظِلَّتْ). "

Let it be known to you that there is **a wide spread** language of the Arabs where the forms of the paradigm (فُعِلَ) for such verbs as (رددت) are actually derived according to the derivation of the

paradigm of (فُعِلَ) for such verbs as (قلت) as is the case in their saying (قد رِدَّ), (وهدَّ), and رَحَبَتْ
(بلادُكَ), and (ظِلَّتْ).

(al-Kitāb: IV. 222-3)

(33)

" ومثل (هُلاَّك) قولهم : (مِراضٌ) و (سِقامٌ) ولم يقولوا : (سَقْمَى) فالمجرى الغالب في هذا النحو غير (فَعْلَى) . "

Just like their saying (هــلاّك), they say (مـراض) and (ســقام), but they do not say (ســقمى). So the
most frequent paradigm used in these cases is not (فَعْلَى).

(al-Kitāb: III. 649)

Last but not least come the two terms: (قليل في الكلام) [infrequent in speech], and (أقل)

[least in frequency]. Hereunder are a few examples for the use of both of these

terms:

 (34)

" و يكون على : (فُعَّيْلٍ) وهو قليل في الكلام قالوا : (المريق) حدثنا أبو الخطاب عن العرب . وقالوا : (كوكب دريءٌ) ، وهو صفة. "

And it occurs according to the paradigm (فُعَّيْـلٍ), which is **infrequent** in speech. The speakers of
Arabic utter the form of (المريق) according to the testimony of Abul-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭāb from the Arabs. And
they say (كوكب **دريءٌ**), which is an epithet.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 268)

(35)

" وزعم الخليل أنه سمع عربياً يقول : (ما أنا بالذي قائلٌ لك شيئاً) وهذه قليلة ، ومن تكلم بهذا فقياسه : (اضرب أيهم قائل لك شيئاً
) . "

Al-Khalīl claims that he has heard one Arab saying (ما أنا بالذي قائل لك شيئاً), which is **infrequent** but
is **analogous** with the utterance (اضرب أيهم قائل لك شـيئاً).

(al-Kitāb: II. 404)

(36)

" وقــــد تركــــوا التغيــــير في مثــل : (حنيفـــة) ولكنـــه شـــاذ قلــيلاً ، وقــد قــالوا في : (ســليمة) : (سَـــليميٌّ) وفي
: (عَميرة) : (عَميريٌّ) وقال يونس (هذا قليل خبيث) . "

And the speakers of Arabic have relinquished change in forming the relational form of such nouns as (حنيفة) which is slightly **odd**, so they have derived (سَــليميّ) from (سَــليمة) and derived (عَــميريّ) from (عميرة), but Yūnus has said ' This is **infrequent** and bad'.

(al-Kitāb: III. 339)

(37)

" فأما (ذِفْرى) فقد اختلفت العرب فقالوا : (هذه ذَفْرّى أسيلةٌ) فنونوا وهي أقلهما . "

As for (ذِفْـرى), the Arabs are not unanimous in their use of it, for there occurs in their speech (هـذه ذَفْرّى أسيلةٌ) with *nunation*, which is **the least frequent** form.

(al-Kitāb: III. 211)

(38)

"اعلم أن ما يجعل بمنزلة اسم ليست فيه (هاء) اقل في كلام العرب . "

Let it be known to you that what is rendered like the status of a noun without **hā** [in the derivation of curtailed (مُرَخّم) forms] is **less frequent** in the speech of Arabs.

(al-Kitāb: II. 250)

(39)

"وحدثني الخليل و هارون أن ناساً يقولون : (مُرُدِّفين) (الأنفال ، الآية 9) فمن قال هـذا فإنه يريد : (مُرْتَدِفِين) ، و إنما أتبعوا الضمة الضمة حيث حركوا وهي قراءة لأهل مكة ، كما قالوا : (رُدُّ يا فتى) فضموا لضمة (الراء) . . . . . ومن قال هذا قال : (مُقُتِّلينَ) وهذا أقل اللغات . "

I was informed by al-Khalīl and Haroun that some people say (مُـرُدِّفين) (al-'Anfāl, Verse: 9). So, those who say this form mean to say (مُرْتـدِفِين). Here, they let the second *dhamma* follows the first one when they intervocalize according to the Meccan reading of this verse as they do in the utterance (رُدّ يا فتـى). So, they use the second *dhamma* because the initial **rā** has this *dhamma* also…And those who say this structure also say (مُقُتِّلـين), but this is **the rarest** of *languages* (al-Kitāb: IV. 444)

3.3.10 Standard and Regular Forms

Sībawaihi uses the term (القياس) to mean *standard*, or *analogous* form though the meaning of regularity is also subsumed in the terms (مطرد), (حد الكلام), (وجه الكلام), (متلئب) and (مستقيم) mentioned above. The term (القياس) itself has also been mentioned in the previous quotations numbered (22-3), (24), (26), (27), (28), and (35), so there is no need to exemplify its use again here. The important thing in all these examples is that they unequivocally state that standard forms are almost always related to the most frequent ones, and that is why the term (القياس) co-occurs in connection with the other frequency-indicating terms. However, Sībawaihi is also careful enough to elucidate cases where the most frequent form is an irregular one as stated in the following quotation:

(40)

" وزعم الخليل أنه كان القياس أن تثبت الهمزة في (يُفْعِلَ) و (يُفْعَلُ) وأخواتها كما ثبتت (التاء) في (تَفَعَّلْتُ) و   (تَفاعَلْتُ)

في كل حال ، ولكنهم حذفوا (الهمزة) في باب : (أَفْعَلَ) من هذا الموضع فأطرد فيه لأن الهمزة تثقل عليهم ."

   Al-Khalīl has claimed that the **standard** [analogous] form should have been the realization of the glottal stop in [the verbs derived according to] the paradigms of (يُفْعِـلُ), and (يُفْعَلُ), and their sisters as is the *tā′* realized in all the cases derived according to the paradigms of (تَفَعَّلْـتُ) and (تَفاعَلْتُ). However, they deleted the glottal stop as far as the paradigm (أَفْعَـلَ) is concerned in this respect. Consequently, such [elided, irregular] form became the most frequent one because the realization of the glottal stop was too **heavy** for them.

<div align="right">(al-Kitāb: IV. 279)</div>

So, here again the clash between the value of regularity and economy, or ease of production, has been settled in favour of the easier-to-produce form because the last constraint has a higher ranking. The concept that the higher ranking constraint wins out in the competition for surfacing (introduced to linguistics first by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi) has become one of the basic tenets in Preference Theory (Vennemann, 1983, 1988), as well as the Optimality Theory (McCarthy and Prince, 1994). This point will be discussed in section (3.3.8).

The contrasting term for standard in Arabic is (شاذ) [= odd or irregular], which also appears in quotation (26) above in connection with the motivation of the unchanged relational forms derived from the quinqueliteral proper nouns whose third phoneme is a *yā'*. Herein are a few more quotations of this same term:

(41)

" وقال : (ما فيهم يَفْضُلُك في شيء) . يريد : (ما فيهم أَحَدٌ يَفْضُلُك) كما أراد : (لا بَأْسَ عليكَ) أو نحوه . والشواذ في كلامهم كثيرة

" .

And he says (لا) meaning (ما فيهم أَحَدٌ يَفْضُلُك) meaning (ما فيهم يَفْضُلُك في شيء) as he does when meaning

بَأْسَ عليكَ) or the like, for **the irregular forms** are **numerous** in their speech.

(al-Kitāb: II. 115)

(42)

" وليس هذا النحو إلا شاذاً و الأصل في هذا عربيٌّ كثير ، وذلك قولك : (أَحْسَسْتُ) و(مَسِسْتُ) و (ظَلِلْتُ) . "

This grammar is only **odd**, and its **origin** is Arabic and **frequent** such as your saying (أَحْسَسْتُ),
(مَسِسْتُ), and, (ظَلِلْتُ).

(al-Kitāb: IV. 422)

(43)

"وذلك قولك : (تَسَرَّيْتُ) و(تَظَنَّيْتُ) و (تَقَصَّيْتُ) . من القصة . و (أمليت) كما أن (التاء) في (أَسْنَتُوا) مبدلة من (الياء) ،

أرادوا حرفاً أخف عليهم منها وأجلد ، كما فعلوا ذلك في : (أَثْلَجَ) وبدلها شاذ هنا بمنزلتها في (سِتٍّ) . وكل هذا التضعيف فيه

عربي كثير جيد . "

This occurs in your saying (تَسَرَّيْتُ), (تَظَنَّيْتُ), (تَقَصَّيْتُ)-- from (القصة) – and (أمليت) just like the phoneme *tā'* in (أَسْنَتُوا) is a substitute for the *yā'* since they were after a lighter and a more distinguishable sound as they have done in (أَثْلَجَ) whose substitute is **odd** here, having the same status as that of (سِتٍّ). However, reduplication [instead of substitution] in all these cases is [quite] Arabic, **frequent**, and good.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 424)

(44)

"ولو سميت رجلاً بـ (أَلْبَبَ) ثم حقَّرته قلت (أُلَبَبُ) كما ترى فرددته إلى قياس (أَفْعَلَ) وإلى الغالب في كلام العرب . "

And if you name a man by (أَلْبَبَ), and then you want to derive its diminutive form, you say (أُلَبَبُ).
As you see, you restructure it according to the paradigm of (أَفْعَلَ), and to the structure of **the most frequent** similar form in the speech of Arabs.

(al-Kitāb: III. 431)

(45)

" وأما الأفعال فلا يحذف منها شيء لأنه لا تذهب في الوصل في حال . وذلك : (لا أَقضي) و (هو يقضي ويغزو ويرمي)، إلا أَنهم قالوا :

(لا أَدْرْ) في الوقف ، لأنه كثر في كلامهم فهو شاذ ، كما قالوا : (لم يَكُ) ، شبهت (النون) بـ (الياء) حيث سكنت ، ولا يقولون : (

لم يَكُ الرجلُ) لأنها في موضع تحرُّكٍ . "

As for the verbs, no (final) phoneme can be deleted from them in all the cases when this verb is a continuative one, such as (لا أقضي), (هو يقضي), (هـو يغـزو), (هـو يرمـي). However, there occurs in their speech the elided form (لا أَدْرْ)[instead of (لا أَدْري)] when spoken in separation. This is because this from has become **frequent** in their speech though it is **odd**. A similar case occurs in their utterance (لم يَكُ) wherein the final deleted phoneme of **nūn** is likened to the final [deleted] **ya´**[of the verbs above] when quiescent. However, they do not say (لـم يَكُ الرجـلُ) because it [=the verb] (يَكُ)] is in a continuative [non-junctural] position.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 184)

The few quotations above show how objective is al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's attitude towards odd, non-analogous forms that are accepted as manifestations of **the actual state of language**, an expression which is explicitly mentioned several times by Sībawaihi: (هذه حال كلام العرب في...) [*This is the state of the speech of Arabs regarding…*] (al-Kitāb: IV. 431). The judgements they pronounce are never based upon personal bias or dogmatic preferences, but upon what can occur in speech and how frequent such occurrence is. In addition, they are always after explaining why such and such a state of affair takes place, avails, or otherwise retracts in use by mentioning the functional motivations at play, as briefly discussed in the next section.

3.4 Information Structure

Al-Kitāb dedicates many passages to the description of the interrelationship between grammatical structure and information structure in CA utterances, most probably for the first time in linguistic history. In many of such passages, Sībawaihi is keen to discuss the requirements of both of the two participants in

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the communicative event: the speaker and the hearer. Before letting al-Kitāb speak for itself in this respect, a word about the terminology used is felt to be necessary first.

As mentioned in (3.3.1.3 & 3.3.1.4), there are two basic types of CA sentences, or utterances in Sībawaihi's terms: the nominal sentence and the verbal one, both being the informational-functional realization of the formal structure of **al-'Isnād**. The nominal sentence consists of a minimum of two constituents that are termed by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi: (المبتدأ) [i.e., 'the inchoative'], and (الخبر)[i.e., 'the enunciative']. The first term means, literally: '**what is begun with** ', while the second one: '**the piece of news**'. Since the last term clearly indicates that the information supplied by the enunciative (الخبر) is new, hence the word 'news', the inchoative (المبتدأ), then, conveys **old**, **given**, or contextually **shared** information. Consequently, the unmarked linear informational structure of the CA nominal sentence is:(المبتدأ), followed by (الخبر).

The syntactic structure of the second type of sentence, which is the verbal one, requires a minimal constituency of two syntactic elements too, albeit of a different grammatical nature: the verb (الفعل), plus the subject (الفاعل). The first term literally means '**the act** ' or '**action**', while the second means '**the doer**' or '**actant**'. As the main verb in the utterance always conveys new information, the subject, then, conveys the old or already known information. This is partly reflected in the grammar of CA by the possibility of dropping the contextually retrievable subject in all such sentences. The Arabic grammarians call such understood subjects '**veiled doer**' (فاعل مستتر). Contrary to the nominal sentence, the unmarked informational structure of the verbal sentence beginning with an intransitive verb is that of new (verb) followed by old (subject) information. The same applies to the sentence with a transitive verb which shares with its object(s)

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in delivering the new information, too. But this is not the whole story as seen in these three quotations from al-Kitāb:

(46)

هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله إلى مفعول و ذلك قولك : ضَرَبَ عبدُ الله زيداً . فعبدُ الله ارتفع ههنا كما ارتفع في ذهب ، وشغَلتَ

ضربَ به كما شغَلت به ذهب ، و انتصب زيدٌ لأنه مفعول تعدى إليه فعل الفاعل .   فإن قدمت المفعول و أخرت الفاعل جرى اللفظ كما

جرى في الأول ، وذلك قولك : ضَرَبَ زيداً عبد الله ؛ لأنك إنما أردت به مؤخراً ما أردت به مقدماً ، ولم تُرد أن تشغل الفعل بأولَ منه و

إن كان مؤخراً في   اللفظ . فمن ثمَّ كان حد اللفظ أن يكون فيه مقدماً ، و هو عربي جيد كثير ، كأنهم إنما يقدمون الذي بيانه أهم لهم و هم

ببيانه أغنى ، و إن كانا جميعاً يهمانهم و يعنيانهم .

This is the section of the doer whose verb extends to a patient. Such is your saying (ضَرَبَ عبدُ الله) [VSO]. Here the doer: (عبدُ الله) is in the upright case as it is in the utterance (ذَهبَ عبدُ الله) [VS], and you have caused [the verb] (ضربَ) to be occupied with it exactly as you have made (زيدٌ) [V]. And (زيدٌ) [O] assumes the set up case because it is a patient to which the act of the doer has overreached. If you front the patient and postpose the doer as in your saying: (ضَرَبَ زيداً عبد الله) [VOS], each pronounced item keeps the same inflection as it does in the first case. This is because your intention with the patient when postposed is the same as that when it is preposed, and you did not intend to cause the verb to be occupied with what immediately follows it even when the patient is extraposed in the utterance. Accordingly, the statement of this utterance requires the fronting of the patient, and such a structure is Arabic and frequent. It is as if the case that the speakers front what they consider to be more important for mentioning and what preoccupies them, though both of the doer and the patient are important and relevant for them.

(al-Kitāb: I. 34)

(47)

واعلم انه إذا وقع في هذا الباب [أي باب (كان)] نكرةٌ و معرفةٌ فالذي تَشْغَلُ به (كان) المعرفة ، لأنه حدُّ الكلام ، لأنهما شئ واحد ، و

ليس بمنزلة قولك: (ضربَ رجلٌ زيداً) لأنهما شيئان مختلفان ، و هما في (كان) بمنزلتهما في الإبتداء إذا قلت (عبدُ الله منطلقٌ) . تبتدئ

بالأعرف ثم تذكر الخبر ، وذلك قولك : (كان زيدٌ حليماً) ، و (كان حليماً زيد) ، لا عليك أَقَدَّمت أَم أَخَّرت ، ألا أنه على ما وصفتُ لك

في قولك : (ضَرَبَ زيداً عبدُ الله) . فإذا قلت: (كان زيدٌ) فقد إبتدأتَ بما هو معروف عنده مثلَه عندك فإنَّما ينتظر الخبر. فإذا قلتَ:

(حليماً) فقد أعلمتَه مثل ما علمتَ. فإذا قلتَ (كان حليماً) فإنما ينتظرُ أن تُعرِّفه صاحبَ الصفة ، فهو مبدوءٌ به في الفعل و إن كان مؤخراً

في اللفظ. و إن قلتَ : (كان حليمٌ) أو (رجلٌ) فقد بدأت بنكرةٍ ، و لا يستقيم أن تُخبر المخاطبَ عن المنكور ، و ليس هذا بالذي يَنْزِلُ به

المخاطب منزلتك في المعرفة ، فكرهوا أن يقربوا باب لَبْسٍ .

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وقد تقولُ : (كان زيدٌ الطويلُ منطلقاً) ،إذا خفت إلتباسَ الزيدين ، وتقولُ : (أَسَفيهاً كان زيدٌ أم حليماً) ، و (أَرَجُلاً كان زيدٌ أم صبيًّا)

، تجعلها لزيدٍ ، لأنه إنما ينبغي لك إن تسأله عن خبرٍ مَن هو معروفٌ عنده كما حدَّثته عن خبرٍ من هو معروفٌ عندك فالمعروفُ هو المبدوءُ

به .

ولا يُبدأ بما يكون فيه اللَّبْسُ ، وهو النكرة . ألا ترى أَنَك لو قلت : (كان إنسانٌ حليماً) أو (كان رجلٌ منطلقاً)كنت تُلْبِسُ ، لأَنَّه لا

يُستنكرُ أن يكون في الدنيا إنسانٌ هكذا ، فكرهوا أن يبدءوا بما فيه اللَّبْس و يجعلوا المعرفةَ خبراً لما يكون فيه هذا اللبس . وقد يجوز في

الشعر وفي ضَعْفٍ من الكلام .

Bear in mind in this connection [i.e. the use of defective verb *kāna* to introduce the nominal sentence], that if it occurs that you have an unknown (i.e. indefinite) plus a known (i.e. definite) noun, then the place that immediately follows *kāna* should be the known noun. Such is the defining characteristic of the utterance because the two [i.e. the inchoative and the enunciative] are the same [i.e. equative and/ or attributive], and do not have the same status of (ضـربَ رجـلٌ زيداً)[VSO] because they [i.e., the subject (رجـل : a man) and the object (زيـد : Zaid, a proper noun)] are different entities. Moreover, these two constituents [i.e. the definite and indefinite nouns] have the same status as that of your saying (عبـدُ الله منطلـقٌ) [NP$_{1def}$ NP$_{2ind}$]. So, you begin your utterance with the more known noun, then you give the news. This is the case when you say (كان زيدٌ حليماً) [AUX NP$_{1\ def}$ NP$_{2\ ind}$], and (كان حليماً زيدٌ) [AUX NP$_2$ NP$_1$], regardless of your fronting or delaying the enunciative or the inchoative since the case here is the same as that which I have described to you in your saying (ضَـرَبَ زيـداً عبـدُ الله)[VSO]. When you say (كان زيدٌ) [AUX NP$_{1\ def}$], then you have begun your utterance with what is known by the hearer as it is known to you, so the hearer will wait to hear the piece of news [NP$_2$]. And when you say after that (حليمـاً) [NP$_2$] (to complete your utterance), then you have imparted to him that piece of information which you know. But if you say (كان حليماً) [AUX NP$_{2\ indef}$], then the hearer will wait till you let him be informed of the acquirer of this epithet. Here this acquirer is the one entity that is really started with though it is delayed in the utterance. But if you say (كان حليمٌ) or (كان رجـلٌ) [AUX NP $_{(indef.)}$], then you have begun your utterance with what is unknown. However, it is not straight to begin your speech with what is unknown since such a measure does not make the speaker attain the same state of knowledge as that of yours. So, they (the speakers of the language) have shunned from approaching such ambiguity.

However, you may say (كان زيدٌ الطويلُ منطلقـاً) [AUX NP$_{1\ def}$ (N+A) NP$_{2\ indef}$] when you want to avoid the ambiguity that can arise from the existence of two persons having the one name of (زيـدٌ). And you ask (أَرَجُـلاً كـان زيـدٌ أم صبيّـا) [QuesArt NP$_2$ indef AUX NP$_{1\ def}$ or NP$_{2\ ind}$] and (أَسـفيهاً كـان زيـدٌ أم حليمـاً) [QuesArt NP$_{2\ indef}$ AUX NP$_{1\ def}$ or NP$_{2\ ind}$] by attributing the epithets [i.e. NP$_2$] to (زيـدٌ) [NP $_{1\ def}$] since you have to ask the hearer about the news [enunciation] of what is known to him just as you have

to inform him about the news [enunciation] of what is known to you. So, what (the utterance) is begun with is that which is known.

Speech is not started by what can cause ambiguity, which is the unknown (noun). That is why when you say (كان رجلٌ منطلقاً)(كان إنسـانٌ حليمـاً) [AUX NP$_{1indef}$ NP$_{2\ indef}$] (*a man was wise*), or [AUX NP$_{1indef}$ NP$_{2\ indef}$] (*a man was setting out*), you make your speech ambiguous since the existence of someone in this world having such attributes is not something unusually unbelievable. So, they have avoided starting their speech with what can cause ambiguity like the one arising from making the known entity the news [enunciation], which is ambiguous. However, such a measure might be permissible in poetry or in weak speech…

<div align="right">(al-Kitāb: I. 47-8)</div>

(48)

<div align="right">هذا باب تخبر فيه عن النكرة بنكرة و ذلك قولك: ما كان أحدٌ مثلك ، و ما كان أحدٌ خيراً منك ، و مـا كـان أحدٌ مجترئـاً</div>

<div align="right">عليك   وإنما حَسُنَ الإخبار ههنا عن النكرة حيث أردت أن تنفي أن يكون في مثل حاله شيء أو فوقـه ، لأن المخاطب</div>

<div align="right">قد يحتاج إلى أن تعلمه مثل هذا .</div>

<div align="right">وإذا قلت كان رجلٌ ذاهباً   فليس في هذا شيء تعلمه كـان جهلـه   ولـو قلت كـان رجلٌ من آل فلانٍ فارساً حسن ؛</div>

<div align="right">لأنـه قد يحتاج إلى أن تعلمه أن ذاك آل فلان وقد يجهله. ولو قلت كان رجلٌ في قومٍ عـاقلاً لم يحسن ؛ لأنـه لا يستنكرُ</div>

<div align="right">أن يكون عاقلٌ وأن يكون من قوم   فعلى هذا النحو يحسن ويقبح .</div>

This is the section where you inform (enunciate) of the indefinite noun with another indefinite noun such as your saying (ما كان أحدٌ مثلك), (ما كان أحدٌ خيراً منك) and (ما كان أحدٌ مجترئاً عليك) [Neg Aux NP NP PP]. Such enunciation becomes proper for the indefinite noun if you intend to rule out the existence of things equal or superior to him, because the addressee might need to be informed as such.

And if you say (كان رجلٌ ذاهباً)[Aux NP NP], {*there was a man going*}, then this utterance does not contribute to tell the addressee anything that is unknown to him. And if you say (كان رجلٌ من آل فـلانٍ فارسـاً) [Aux NP PP NP NP], {*there was a man belonging to so-and-so clan who was a knight*}, then this utterance is proper because the addressee might require to be told that such a state is related to (آل فلانٍ) {so- and-so a clan} of which he might have been unaware. And if you say (كان رجلٌ فـي قـومٍ عـاقلاً) [Aux NP PP NP]{*there was a man in a clan who was wise*}, then this utterance is not proper because it is not unusual to find someone who is wise and belongs to certain a clan. Such is the status of the proper and improper utterances.

<div align="right">(al-Kitāb: I. 54)</div>

Quotation (46) above describes object NP-movement or fronting as a grammatical phenomenon serving the function of highlighting or focussing the most important piece of information in the utterance. This phenomenon allows

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the fronting of the highlighted object NP and retaining its accusative case. In other words, such fronting does not affect the inflectional form of the object NP; or its grammatical function as the object of the utterance, not its subject. Given that the unmarked structure of such an utterance is that of VSO, the VOS structure, though marked, is frequent and proper for the realization of the function involved.

In (47), the difference between the semantic structure of the nominal and the transitive verbal sentence is defined in terms of the relationship between the two NPs found in both. In the nominal sentence this relationship is that of **equation** or **endocentricity**: (شيئ واحد) or (هو هو), while in the verbal sentence it is of **difference** or **exocentricity**: (شيء مختلف). In the first case, the initial NP has to be a definite one when the sentence is in the affirmative. In other words, the bare nominal sentence has to begin with some given or old information followed by the new (indefinite) information, otherwise it would be not only **ambiguous**, but also **ungrammatical**. This means that the given-new criterion *has its principal application in determining the syntactic structure* of the nominal sentence in CA, contrary to the statement made by Lyons (1968: 336) that such a case cannot occur 'possibly in all languages'. In addition, the known information has to be specific enough to allow cognitive identification or differentiation, and that is why the sentence (كان إنسانٌ حليماً*)[*a man was wise*] is **improper** since its non-specificity makes it disfunctional in communicating any new information, i.e., it is **uninformative**.

When one of defective verbs is made to precede the two basic elements of the nominal sentence, the sentence remains essentially a nominal, not a verbal one. This explains why the sentence (كان زيدٌ حليماً)[Aux NP NP] has a different functional structure than that of (ضربَ رجلٌ زيداً)[VP NP NP), though both have the same formal structure.

Quotation (48) shows how the negative sentence can begin with an indefinite noun in case the functional relation sought is that of the superlative degree of comparison, which is specific enough for differential identification. In this and other similar cases, while the functional-formal rule of not starting the nominal sentence with an indefinite noun is suspended, the informational rule of communicating certain new knowledge (الفائدة) obtains, and that is why the sentence (كان رجلٌ من آل فلانٍ فارساً) is improper, while (كان رجلٌ في قومٍ عاقلاً) is. Accordingly, al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi consider **informativity** (الفائدة) to be the one principal factor behind the acceptability of all speech.

The discussion conducted so far clarifies the fact that al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi recognize three interrelated, but different **structures** (S) in the grammar of all utterances: a syntactic structure (SS), functional structure (=relational)(FS), and an informational structure (IS) one as shown in Table (2) and (3).

Table (2) Three Types of Grammatical Structure (Nominal Sentence)

	عبد الله	أخوك ⟶
Syntactic Structure (SS)	Musnad	Musnad 'Ilaihi
Functional Structure (FS)	Inchoative	Enunciative
Information Structure (IS)	Given	New

Table (3) Three Types of Grammatical Structure (Verbal Sentence)

	ضربَ	رجلٌ	زيداً ⟶
Syntactic Structure (SS)	Musnad	Musnad 'Ilaihi	
Functional Structure (FS)	Act	Actor	Acted Upon (Goal)

		(Doer)	
Information Structure (IS)	New	Given	New

In view of the preceding discussion, it is fair to say the structures shown in Table (2) and (3), which were first discovered and meticulously described by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi, were then rediscovered and developed by Daneš in his well-known article in *TLP 1* (1964: 225-240) and Halliday (1974: 43-53).

1.3.5 *Grammaticality, Objectivity, and Natural Language Grammar*

This section discusses Sībawaihi's concept of how language should be described, what kind of data should be used, how grammaticality requires to be stated, and what the objectives of grammar are.

Sībawaihi tells his readers in the very first section of al-Kitāb (I. 12) that the subject of his book is simply: (علم ما الكلم من العربية) ,i.e. 'the science of structured words in Arabic', not the *art* that deals with 'the *technical* knowledge of the language used by poets and writers' as Thrax does (Dinneen, 1967: 98). In presenting his organized knowledge of Arabic speech, Sībawaihi does not conceive of the objectives of grammar as the 'explanation of the principal poetic tropes', nor the 'preservation and explanation of glosses and mythological examples'. More importantly, 'the critical consideration of the composition of poets' is not considered as the 'nobler part' of his job as Thrax does, rather, it is defined in terms of poetic deviation from normal speech. Language is understood as a flexible and dynamic social phenomenon whose standards are different from those of poetry as shall be seen.

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The basic rule followed in determining grammatical utterances is whether or not such utterances are extant in speech. Therefore what exists in speech is described as grammatical while what does not exist is judged as non-grammatical. This is why Sībawaihi terms totally ungrammatical utterances as being *non-utterances*: (ليس كلاماً) or (لم يكن كلاماً). In addition to his total dependence on what is heard or used, Sībawaihi considers (السماع=hearing) to supersede analogy. Thus perfectly analogous (regular) forms that are not heard or used are completely disallowed. Such objective positivism is typical of al-Kitāb. The following are just three exemplary quotations in this respect.

(49)

" واعلم أن (فَعالِ) جائزة من كل ما كان على (فَعَلَ) أو (فَعُلَ) أو (فَعِلَ) ، ولا يجوز من(أَفْعَلْتُ) لأنّا لم نسمعه

من بنات الأربعة إلا أن تسمع شيئاً فتجيزه فيما سمعت ولا تجاوزه "

Let it be known to you that derivation in accordance with the paradigm *fa'āli* is allowable in all the nouns that are structured in accordance with the paradigms *fa'ala, fa'ula, fa'ila*. However, such derivation is not permissible from those nouns that have the initial paradigm of *'af'altu* for we have not heard such derivation from those nouns that are the sisters of the quadriliteral unless you hear some examples [first] and then you would consider it permissible due to your actually hearing it, and you are not free to violate this (rule).

(al-Kitāb: III. 280)

(50)

" وقالوا : غرِيَ يغرَى غَرَى وهو غَرٍ ، والغراءُ شاذّ ممدود كما قالوا الظَّماء . وقالوا : رضِيَ يَرْضى وهو راضٍ وهو الرّضَا ، ونظيره : سَخِطَ

يَسْخَطُ سَخَطاً وهو ساخِطٌ وكسروا الراء كما قالوا : الشِّبَع فلم يجيئوا به على نظائره . وذا لا يُجسَر عليه إلا بسماع . . . . . وأما الغَراء

فشاذٌّ . وقالوا : بدَا له يبدُو له بداً ونظيره حَلَبَ . يَخْلُبُ حَلَباً . وهذا يُسمَع ولا يُجسَر عليه ، ولكن يُجاءُ بنظائره بعد السمْع . "

And they (the Arabs) say *ghariya, yaghra, ghara*, and he is *gharin*, while *al-gharā'* is a deviant form in ending with a glottal stop just like *adhdhimā'*. And they say *radhiya, yardha*, and he is *rādhin* and it is *al-ridha*. Similar to it is *sakhiṭa, yaskhaṭu*, and he is *sākhiṭ*. They made the phoneme *rā'* followed by the short vowel *kasra* just like the noun *al-shabi'*, and such structure must never be said without prior hearing it… As for *al-ghirā'*, this is a deviant form… such structures require to be attested for by hearing them spoken, otherwise they must not be ventured since their analogous forms could only be derived after hearing their [actual] existence in speech [first].

(al–Kitāb: III. 538-9)

(51)

" والقياسُ في (فَعْلٍ) ما ذكرنا ، وأمّا ما سوى ذلك فلا يُعلَم إلا بالسمع ، ثم تَطلب النظائر ، كما أنَّك تَطلبُ نظائر   الأفعال هاهنا "

Analogous forms following the paradigm of *fa'lin* are those that we have just mentioned. Forms other than those mentioned are not known unless they are heard first, then their analogs are sought.

(al-Kitāb: III. 568)

So, permissible structures are only those that are actually used by the language speakers and heard by the addresses. Theoretically possible analogous forms that are not used are disallowed since these are alien to the **actual state of the language**, and the probability of their occurrence in speech is null.

As for those utterances that are in use, their Grammaticality is described as a multi-faceted, and a relative matter that requires to be dealt with in accordance with the prevalent social and dialectal standards of communicative speech. In the sixth chapter of al-Kitāb (I. 25-6), Sībawaihi makes the first introduction of his conception of the notion of grammaticality:

(52)

هذا بابُ الاستقامة من الكلامِ و الإحالةِ . فمنه مستقيمٌ حسنٌ، ومحالٌ ، و مستقيمٌ كذبٌ ، و مستقيمٌ   قبيحٌ ، وما هو محال

كذب . فأما المستقيمُ الحسنُ فقولكَ : أتيتكَ أمْسِ وسآتيكَ غداً . وأما المحالُ فأن تنقضَ أوَّلَ كلامك بآخرهِ فتقولَ   أتيتكَ غداً وسآتيكَ

أمسِ . وأما المستقيمُ الكذبُ فقولكَ : حملتُ الجبلَ ، وشربتُ ماءَ البحرِ ونحوه . وأما المستقيمُ القبيحُ فإن تضعَ اللفظَ في غيرِ موضعِهِ ،

نحو قولكَ : قدْ زيداً رأيتُ ، وكي زيداً يأتيكَ ، وأشباه هذا . وأما المحالُ الكذبُ فإن تقولَ : سوفَ أشربُ ماءَ البحرِ أمسٍ .

This is the section about the communicativity (straightness) and implausibility in speech.
Speech can be communicative (straight) and proper, implausible, communicative (straight) but false, communicative (straight) but improper, and implausible and false.
As for the proper and communicative, this is your saying: (أتيتـك أمـسِ) [I came to you yesterday] *and* (سـآتيك غدأَ) [I shall come to you tomorrow].

As for the implausible, this occurs when you contradict the beginning of your speech with its end when you say: (أتيتـك غـداً)[*I came to you tomorrow*] and   (سـآتيك أمـس) [*I shall come to you yesterday*].

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As for the communicative but false, this occurs in your saying: (حملـتُ الجبـلَ)[*I lifted the mountain*]
and (شـربتُ ماءَ البحر) [*I drank the water of the sea*] and so on.

As for the communicative but improper, this is your placing what you say in the wrong position as
in your saying: (قـد زيـداً رأيـت) [*surely Zaid (ACC) saw (I)*] and (كـي زيـداً يأتيـك) [*so that Zaid (ACC)
comes to you*] and the like of these.

As for the implausible and false, this is your saying سـوف أشـرب ماء البحـر أمـس (I shall drink the water
of the sea yesterday]*.

In the quotation above, six terms of grammaticality are specified. These are by
no means the only categories introduced and explained in al-Kitāb as will be seen
later on in this section, though they represent the major exponential categories
of grammaticality. Put on a scale, the following hierarchy can be obtained:
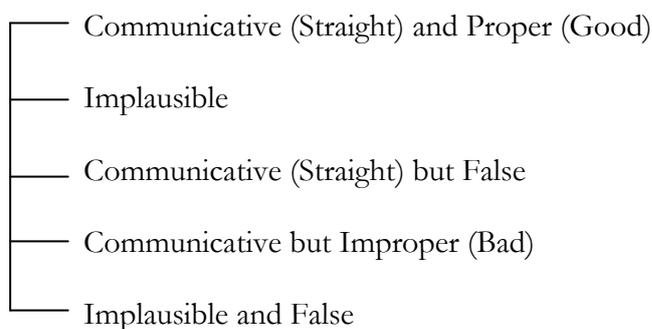
Communicative (Straight) and Proper (Good)

Implausible

Communicative (Straight) but False

Communicative but Improper (Bad)

Implausible and False

Figure (7) Sībawaihi's Hierarchy of Grammaticality

In the following paragraphs, the proposed definition for each of the six terms
above is given first, then the motivation behind such definitions are discussed,
together with their exemplification in al-Kitāb.

At the highest level there are those CA utterances that are both *communicative
(straight)* and *proper (good)* as lexically signalled by the last two epithets. According
to Sībawaihi, the criterion for being straight is the *informativity* of the utterance and
its non-ambiguity. Straight utterances are those that are intelligibly structured in
accordance with the social norms of language use in communicative events.
Sībawaihi considers the quality of speech-informativity to be hearer-centered in
that it guarantees that the language used fulfils the function of communication,

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and this is the speaker's job in the first place as will be seen. Straightness of speech is not independent of proper structuring of speech elements, and that is why the epithet *straight* co-occurs with *proper* in the quotation above and elsewhere in al-Kitāb.

The quality of being proper/improper is determined by the extent to which the units of the utterance satisfy the three requirements of proper structural slot filling: *order, distribution,* and *functions*. Observing such requirements is detrimental to grammaticality, though an utterance can be grammatical without being informative if it lacks the other correlated qualities of straightness, plausibility, and truth conditions as described hereunder.

Plausibility and implausibility are related to the absence or presence of *self-contradiction* in the utterances, while the terms true and false describe the requirement that the information conveyed in the utterance should conform to *conceivable states of affairs* and *shared world knowledge*.

As mentioned above, Sībawaihi considers totally ungrammatical (=non-informative) utterances as being *non-utterances*: (ليس كلامًا) or (لم يكن كلامًا). This is because language is usually used for transmitting the speaker's meaning in the first place, and the failure to intelligibly do so means that the utterance is rendered non-functional and non-communicative since the state of affairs does not undergo the intended change in consequence of its performance. A similar idea is expressed by Hartmann (1963: 230) who considers ungrammatical utterances as not belonging to the language.

Going back to the definitions given to Sībawaihi's six qualities of grammaticality, it is felt here that letting al-Kitāb speak for itself is the best way of defining the terms used. Such a measure is indispensable with in any objective explanation of

Sībawaihi's approach to grammar. The more so because Sībawaihi is not as much interested in presenting a theory of how language should be adequately described as in showing how this academic goal can actually be successfully fulfilled. Therefore, many of his exemplified but unexplained terms can only be adequately understood by referring to his book, not to his exegetes.

Hereunder are some extracts from al-Kitāb where the term *straight* (مستقيم)is described:

(53)

و يحتملون قبحَ الكلام حتى يضعوه في غير موضعه ، لأنه مستقيم ليس فيه نقص ، فمن ذلك قوله : (و قلّما وصالٌ على طولِ الصدودِ يدوم) و إنما الكلام (وقلَّما يدوم وصال) .

And they (the poets) tolerate certain **improper** utterances so that they can place them in positions other than their proper ones since the produced utterances remain still **straight** and complete, such as the one who says: "And scarcely a union upon rejection continues", for which the (proper) speech is: "And scarcely a union continues (upon rejection)".

(al-Kitāb: I. 31)

(54)

و لا يستقيم أن تخبر المخاطب عن المنكور و ليس هذا بالذي يَنزلُ به المخاطبُ منزلَتك في المعرفة .

It is not **straight** to make the enunciative in your utterance an indefinite (indeterminate) entity since such an utterance would not make the addressee attain the same status of knowledge as that of yours.

(al-Kitāb: I. 48)

(55)

ولا يجوز أن تقول : (ما زيداً عبدُ الله ضارباً ، وما زيداً أنا قاتلاً) ، لأنَّه لا يَستقيم ، كما لم يَستقيم في كان و ليس ، أن تقدِّم ما يَعْمَلُ فيه الآخِرُ . فإن رفعتَ الخبرَ حَسُنَ حملُه على اللغة التميمية .

And it is not **permissive** for you to say "Not Zaid [ACC] Abdulla [NOM] hitting [ACC]" nor " Not Zaid [ACC] I [NOM] killing [ACC]" since such structure is not **straight**, as it were not **straight** with *kana* and *laisa*, to put the regimen before the regent. However, if you put the enunciative in

the upright [nominative] case, then it is **proper** to interpret it in accordance with (the norms of the) language of the tribe of Temīm.

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: I. 71)</div>

(56)

<div align="right">

ولـــو قلــت : (هـــذا رجـــلٌ خـــيرٌ ، وهـــذا رجـــلٌ أفضـــلُ ، وهـــذا رجـــلٌ أبٌ)، لم يَســـتقم ولم يكــن حَســـناً

وكذلك أيٌّ . لا تقول : (هذا رجلٌ أيٌّ).

</div>

If you say " This (is) a man good", " This (is) a man better", and "This (is) a man father", the speech is neither **straight** nor **proper**. So is the case with *ayyu (what).* You do not say "This (is) a man what".

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: II. 25)</div>

(57)

<div align="right">

ومما يقوّى تركَ ذلك في النكرة أنه لا يستقيم أن تقول : ((رجلٌ خيرٌ منك))   . ويقول : لا يستقيم (أظن   رجلاً خيراً منك)، فإن قلت

: (لا أظن رجلاً خيراً منك) فجيدٌ بالغ ..

</div>

And the evidence that makes abandoning that in the indefinite (i.e., indeterminate) noun stronger is that it is not **straight** if you say: " A man [NOM] (is) better [NOM] than you". And he [al-Khalīl] says "to say 'I think a man [ACC] better [ACC] than you' is not **straight**, but if you say ' I do not think any man [ACC] (is) better [ACC] than you', then this is **good** and communicative (reaching).

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: II. 397)</div>

The five quotations above unequivocally show that the epithet **straight** is used by Sībawaihi to denote *grammatical but non-communicative* utterances, while **improper** ones involve *deviations* in the utterance's *distributional relations*. Non-communicative utterances are exemplified by: (ما زيداً عبدُ الله ضارباً) , (ما زيداً أنا قاتِلاً) , ( )

which (رجلٌ خيرٌ منك) and (أظن رجلاً خيراً منك) , (هذا رجلٌ أيٌّ) , (هذا رجلٌ أبٌ) , (هذا رجلٌ أفضلُ) ,(هذا رجلٌ خيرٌ) are all uninformative since they lack referential specificity (= are ambiguous). Such lack renders them nonfunctional in the context of situation since they make no contribution to the hearer's knowledge. In four of the quotations above, the epithet **straight** co-occurs with **proper**, (حسن) **good** (جيد) or **improper** (قبيح), two of which (53 & 55) denoting the observation of proper slot-filling while the last two (56 & 57) show distributional deviation. Significantly, such deviation also

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causes non-informativity (non-straightness), and that is why the two epithets **straight** and **improper** tend to co-occur.

 Quotation (55) makes a significant reference to the *language of the tribe of Temīm*. Such references to acceptable dialectal variations are typical in al-Kitāb, which is considered by Levin (1999) to be *The First Book of Arabic Dialectology.* Temīm is one of the big Arab tribes whose dialect shows certain differences from the standard dialect of al-Hijāz. It is worth mentioning here that Sībawaihi uses the term *language* (لغة) in reference to prevalent dialectal variations, not *dialect* (اللهجة). Such a terminology clearly indicates that al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi consider dialectal variations to be given social facts that require to be accounted for as acceptable forms of social language use. No comparably objective attitude could be found in the preceding Greco-Latin books of grammar, or in Indian ones, nor indeed in the whole anteceding legacy of the Traditional Grammars in the West, all idealizing certain dialects on the expense of others. This clearly shows how al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's linguistic theory is neither based upon dogmatic preferences, nor upon any form of data idealization. Rather, it is based upon the description of natural language use; upon how language actually is, not how it should be. This point will be discussed later on in this section.

Going back to Sībawaihi's taxonomy of grammaticality, the third important term **plausible** can well be considered to be the first treatment in grammar books of the idea of **selection restrictions** introduced by Chomsky. Consequently, Sībawaihi's implausible utterance: '*I came to see you tomorrow*' represents the spiritual forerunner of the Chomskian nonsensical sentences: '*Colourless green ideas sleep furiously* ', and '*Sincerity may frighten the boy...*' (Chomsky, 1965: 63f).

As said before, the six terms of grammaticality mentioned above are supplemented by a host of other terms that are more or less related to certain

manifestations of the linguistic phenomena described above. Among these contrastive terms are the following (arranged according to frequency):

(جيد/أجود) [allowed/disallowed], (جائز/ غير جائز) (يقال/ لا يقال) [said/not said],

[good/better], (ضعيف/ قوي) [weak/strong], (مستعمل/ غير مستعمل) [used/not used],

(يقع/ لا يقع)[occurs/does not occur], (مستكره/متلئب) [disfavoured/wide-spread and

straight],(بعيد/ مطرد) [far-fetched/frequent], (تمثيل و لا يتكلم به/ تمثيل و إن لم يتكلم به)

[simulation and not spoken/simulation though not spoken], (قليل/ شاذ)

[rare/deviant], (رديء/ أردأ) [bad/worse], (غلط/ خطأ /الحن) [wrong/mistaken

/solecism], (خبيث/أخبث)[defective/more defective], (أجمل/أحسن) [commoner/better],

and last but not least (حد الكلام/ليس حد الكلام) [standard speech/non-standard speech].

Of special interest is the pair (تمثيل و لا يتكلم به/ تمثيل و إن لم يتكلم به) [simulation and not uttered/simulation, though not uttered] which deserve some further discussion here. The term (تمثيل) occurs in eighteen occasions in al-Kitāb, always followed by the clause (ولا يتكلم به). In all those occasions, this term refers to some abstract, initial structure, which is known as **deep structure** in modern linguistics, serving as the basis for some other more concrete structure, now termed **surface structure** by the generativists, as stated in the following three quotations:

(58)

هذا باب ما يكون فيه الاسم مبنياً على الفعل قدم أو أُخّر وما يكون فيه الفعل مبنياً على الاسم.. وإذا نصبت زيداً

لقيت أخاه ، فكأنه قال : لابست زيداً لقيت أخاه . وهذا تمثيل ولا يتكلم به .

This is the section about (the structures in which) the noun is built upon the verb whether fronted or backposed, and about (the structures in which) the verb is built upon the noun…
And if you choose the set-up (accusative) case in the utterance (زيداً لقيت أخاه)[Zaid (ACC) I met his brother], then it is as if the speaker had said (لا بست زيداً لقيت أخاه), [I contacted Zaid I met his brother], but this is simulation and it is not spoken.

(al-Kitāb: I. 83)

(59)

هذا باب ما ينصب من المصادر على إضمار الفعل غير المستعمل إظهاره . وذلك قولك : سقياً ورعياً ، ونحو قولك : خيبةً ، دفراً ، وجدعاً

. . . . . . وإنما ينتصب هذا وما أشبهه إذا ذكر مذكورٌ فدعوت له أو عليه ، على إضمار الفعل ، كأنك قلت : سقاك الله سقياً ، ورعاك (

الله) رعياً ، وخيبك الله خيبةً . فكل هذا وأشباهه على هذا ينصب . وإنما أختزل الفعل هاهنا لأنّهم جعلوه بدلا من اللفظ بالفعل ، كما

جعل الحذر بدلا من أحذر . . . وما جاء منه لا يظهر له فعل فهم على هذا المثال نصب ، كأنك جعلت جمراً بدلاً من جمرك الله ، فهذا

تمثيل ولا يتكلم به .

This is the section of those infinitival forms that assume the set up (accusative) case owing to the deletion of the verb whose mentioning is disused

This occurs in your saying (سـقياً) [watering] and (رعيـاً) [caring] and your saying (خيبـةً) [failing], (دفـراً) [bad-smelling], and (جـدعاً) [causing-a-famine]. All these infinitival forms [cognate objects] and the like assume the set up case when a certain person is mentioned and you want to invoke to or against him by deleting the verb. It is as if you had said (سـقاك الله سـقياً)[VSO$_{COG}$: watered you God a watering = may God grant you plenty of water](رعاك (الله) رعياً), [VSO$_{COG}$: cared you God a caring = may God bestow a great care upon you] and (خيبـك الله خيبـةً) [VSO$_{COG}$: failed you God a failing = may God bring upon you a great failure]. So, all the former forms and the like assume the set up case because of this. The verb has been cancelled here because the speakers have made these expressions (the infinitival forms) substitute for the mentioning of the verb as they made the infinitival form (الحـذرَ) [caution] stands for the verb (أحـذر) [be cautious]... So expressions of this type that do not contain the verb are given the set up case. It is as if you had made the infinitival form (جمـراً) [misery] stand for (جمرك الله) [made misery you God = May God make you miserable], though the latter form is simulation and does not occur in speech.

(Al-Kitāb: I. 311-2)

(60)

هذا باب ما ينتصب لأنه ليس من اسم ما قبله ولا هوَ هوَ

ومثل ذلك : هذا درهم وزناً . ومثل ذلك : هذا حسيبٌ جداً . ومثل ذلك: هـذا عربي حسبه .حدثنا بذلك أبو الخطاب عمن نثق به من

العرب . . .كأنه قال: هو عربي اكتفاء .فهذا تمثيل ولا يتكلم به .

This is the section of those forms that assume the set up case because they are neither part of the noun that antecedes it, nor are equative.

An example of such forms is (هـذا درهـم وزناً) [this is a dirham weight = this (item) weighs a dirham] and (هـذا عربي) [هـذا حسـيب جـداً) [this a noble very = this is a very noble man]. Another example is (حسـبه) [this an Arabic descent his = this man is of an Arabic descent]. This has been told to us by

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Abul-Khaṭṭāb from trustful Arabs. It is as if he had said (هو عربي اكتفاء) [this an Arab true = this man is a true Arab], but this is simulation and is not mentioned in speech.

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: II. 118)</div>

Accordingly, the level of simulation is envisaged by Sībawaihi to be an abstract underlying structure that provides the basis for certain transforms that have become instated in actual speech to the effect that that the initial structures no longer occur in actual speech. As in mathematics and psychiatry, the main reason behind the postulation of such simulative structure is functional in that it allows for powerful explanation of the uncommon properties of structure. This point will be further discussed in section (3.3.11).

Going back to the varieties of CA that are acknowledged as acceptable standard *languages* despite the fact that they show certain deviations from the language of al-Ḥijāz, it is worth to say here that such an attitude is quite an advanced one even in terms of modern standards. In contrast with the just two social standards of British and American English acknowledged as acceptable varieties by Quirk *et al* (1985: 33), Sībawaihi and his teachers acknowledge and accept at least twelve standards of CA *languages*. For besides the language of al-Ḥijāz (or more widely of *Banū-Bakr*), Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi acknowledge the acceptability of special structures in the *languages* of the following eleven Arab tribes without any reservation except for their frequency: *Temīm, Qais, 'Asad, Ṭayyi', Fuzara, Banū-Sulaim, Banū-Sa'd, 'Azdul-Surāt, Ka'b, Ghaniy*, and even *Khath'am* as expressed in the following quotations.

(61)

<div align="right">"ودعاهم سكونُ الآخرِ في المثلين أن بيَّن أهلُ الحجاز في الجزم فقالوا : (ُأرْدُدْ) و (لا تَرْدُدْ) وهي اللغة العربية القديمة الجيدة ".</div>

The reason why the last phoneme in the double similar ones is rendered quiescent is that the inhabitants of al- Ḥijāz realize the second phoneme [quiescent] in the jussive case for they say *'urdud* and *lā tardud*, which is the old, proper language.

<div align="center">(al-Kitāb: IV. 473)</div>

(62)

"فأما ما كان آخره (راء) فأن أهل الحجاز وبني تميم فيه متفقون ويختار بني تميم فيه لغة أهل الحجاز كما اتفقوا في

(يرى) ، والحجازية هي اللغة الأولى القدمى " .

As for verbs ending in *rā´*, the inhabitants of al-Ħijāz and (the speakers) of Banū-Temīm are in agreement since Banū-Temīm choose (here) the language of the inhabitants of al-Ħijāz, which is the original, old language.

(al-Kitāb:III. 278)

(63)

"مما يدلك على إن الإدغام فيما ذكرت لك أحسن أنه لا يتوالى في تأليف الشعر خمسة أحرف متحركة ، وذلك نحو قولك : (جَعَلَ لَكَ) ..

والبيان في كل هذا عربي جيد حجازي " .

That assimilation in what I mentioned to you is better can be proven to you by the fact that there are no five successive mobile sounds in poetry such as your saying *ja'alalaka* and the realization in all this is good Ħijāzi Arabic.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 437)

(64)

" وإن لم تدغم فقلت : (هل رأيت ؟) فهي لغة لأهل الحجاز وهي عربية جائزة " .

And if you do not assimilate and say *halra'aita,*[instead of *harra'aita*],then this is in accordance with a language of the inhabitants of al-Ħijāz, and it is a permissible

Arabic.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 457)

(65)

" وزعم الخليل أن ناساً من بكر بن وائل يقولون : ((رَدَّنَ وَمَدَّنَ و رَدَّتُ)) جعلوه بمنزلة : (رَدَّ) و (مَدَّ) ، وكذلك جميع المضاعف يجري

كما ذكرت لك في لغة أهل الحجاز وغيرهم و البكريين " .

Al-Khalīl claims that some people from the tribe of Bakr bin Wā'il say ‘*raddana, maddana*, and *raddatl* by rendering them in the same state of *radda* and *madda*. The same change applies to all verbs ending in two successively reiterated sounds as I have mentioned to you in the language of the inhabitants of al-Ħijāz and the others and those from the tribe of Bakr.

(al-Kitāb: III. 535)

(66)

" يقولون : (هو منا) و (إنا إلى الله راجعون) وهم بنو تميم ، ويقوله أيضاً قوم من قيس وأسد ممن ترضى   عربيته " .

They say (هو منا) and (إنّا إلى الله راجعـون) and they are Banū-Temīm, and such expressions are also said by some people belonging to the tribe of Qais and Asad whose Arabic is acceptable.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 125)

(67)

" وأما أهل الحجاز وغيرهم من قيس فألزموها (الهاء) في الوقف وغيره كما ألزمت طيئ (الياء) "

As for the inhabitants of al-Ḥijāz and others from Qais, They make it end with *ha'* in juncture just like the tribe of Ṭayyi' who end it with *yā'.*

(al-Kitāb: IV. 182)

(68)

" حدثنا الخليل و أبو الخطاب إنّما لغة لفزارة وناسٍ من قيس وهي قليلة ".

We were told by al-Khalīl and Abul-Khaṭṭāb that such [an expression] is a language used by the tribe of Fuzāra and some people from Qais, but it is infrequent.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 181)

(69)

" وزعم أبو الخطاب ــ وسألته عنهم غير مرة ــ إن ناساً من العرب يوثق بعربيتهم وهم بنو سليم يجعلون باب (قلتُ) أجمع مثل (ظننت) ".

Abul-Khaṭṭāb claims, and I have asked him about this subject many a time, that some Arabs from Banū Sulaim, whose Arabic is trustful, render the entire grammar of (قلتُ) just like that of (ظننت).

(al-Kitāb: I. 124)

(70)

"وزعم أبو الخطاب أن أزد السراة يقولون : (هذا زيدو) ، و (مررتُ بزيدي و بعمري) جعلوه قياساً واحداً فأثبتوا (الياء) و (الواو) كما أثبتوا الألف ".

Abul-Khaṭṭāb claims that the members of the tribe of Azdul-Surāt say (هـذا زيدو) and (مـررتُ بزيدي و بعمـري) by standardizing and rendering them (the final short vowels) into the longer vowels of *yā'* and *wāw* just like their realization (of the longer vowel) of *alif.*

(al-Kitāb: IV. 167)

(71)

" وأما ناس من بني سعد فأنّهم يبدلون (الجيم) مكان (الياء) في الوقف لأنّها خفية فأبدلوا في موضعها أبين الحروف."

As for some people from Bani Sa'd, they replace the final sound of *yā'* with that of *jīm* in juncture because the *yā'* is faint. So, they substitute it with the most distinctive sound.

(al-Kitāb: IV. 182)

(72)

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"ومن العرب من يكسر ذا أجمع على كل حال فيجعله بمنزلة : (أضرب الرجل) . . . ومن يكسر كعب وغني " .

Some Arabs make the final sound always followed by *Kasra* by giving it the same status as that of)
أضرب الرجل). Of those who use this *Kasra* are the tribe of Ka'b and <u>Gh</u>aniyy.

(al-Kitāb: III. 534)

(73)

" و (ذو صباح)بمنزلة (ذات مرة) تقول : ((سير عليه ذات صباح)) أخبرنا بذلك يونس عن العرب إلا أنه قد جاء في لغة لختعم مفارقاً لـ(

ذات مرة) و (ذات ليلة) ، وأما الجيدة العربية فأن يكون بمنزلتها ، وقال رجل من خثعم : عَزَمتُ على إقامةِ ذِي صَباحٍ ... فهو على

هذه اللغة يجوز فيه الرفع. "

As for (ذو صباح), (ذات مرة) . You say (سير عليه ذات صباح), this has the same status as that of (ذو صباح). We
have been informed of this by Yūnus, from (the speech of) Arabs. However we have also been
informed about a language that belongs to the tribe of <u>Kh</u>ath'am which uses forms different from
that of (ذات مرة) and (ذات ليلة) though good Arabic has the latter forms. One poet from <u>Kh</u>ath'am
has (been reported to have) said (عَزَمتُ على إقامةِ **ذِي صَباحٍ**)... So, according to this language, the
upright case is allowable.

(al-Kitāb: I. 226-7)

The criteria used in acknowledging these languages are, again, based to the two
standards of markedness: primacy (originality) and frequency, with the last
criterion having a dominant role. Thus, the language of al-Ḥijāz, though being
the original and older variety, is not considered more prestigious in those
grammatical uses that are of rarer frequencies as shown in (74) below:

(74)

"وقد بلغنا أن قوماً من أهل الحجاز من أهل التحقيق يحققون (نبئ) و (بريئة)وذلك قليل رديء."

We were told that some people from al-Ḥijāz do not delete the glottal stop in words such as (نبئ)
and (بريئة), but this is infrequent and not good.

(al-Kitāb: II. 170)

As for Sībawaihi's attitude towards poetry, this is defined by his recognition of
the fact that poets resort to several types of deviations for the sake of meeting
the requirements of meter and rhyme in what is called: poetic necessity. In the

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seventh chapter of his book, Sībawaihi has the following words to say under the rubric of: *What can be Tolerated in Poetry* (emphasis added):

(75)

هذا باب ما يحتمل الشعر .إعلم <u>أنه يجوز في الشعر ما لا يجوز في الكلام من صرف ما لا ينصرف</u> ، يشبهونه

بما ينصرف من الأسماء، لأنها أسماء كما أنها أسماء . وحذف مالا يحذف يشبهونه بما قد حُذف وأستعمل محذوفاً . . . . <u>وليس شيء</u>

<u>يُضطرَّون إليه إلا وهمْ يحاولون به وجهاً</u> . وما يجوز في الشعر أكثر من أن أذكره لك هاهنا لأن

هذا موضع جُمَلٍ ، وسنبيّن ذلك فيما نستقبل إن شاء الله .

This is the section of what can be tolerated in Poetry

Let it be known by you that **there are allowances in poetry that are disallowed in speech** such as the declination of uninflected nouns by likening them with the uninflected nouns since both are nouns, and the deletion of what cannot be deleted by likening them with what can be deleted and are used as such…

And they try out whatever measure they find to be **necessary**. In fact what is allowable in poetry is too much to be mentioned all here since this is a place for general facts and we are going to clarify this in the forthcoming places by Allah's will.

(al-Kitāb: I. 26, 32)

Two important standpoints seem obvious from the quotation above. The first is that the grammar of poetry manifests a variety of grammatical structures that deviate from those of ordinary speech. The second is that poets resort to such deviations in order to satisfy the requirements of poetic language. In other words, the grammar of ordinary speech is different from that of poetry since the requirements of poetic language necessitate deviations. These two linguistic facts were only recognized and discussed by the linguists and stylisticians of the twentieth century (c.f. the concept of **foregrounding** as deviation from the standard norm introduced by Mukařovský, 1932). Before the advent of modern linguistics, the language of poetry was revered and idealized as the manifestation of what language ought to be and what grammar is required to describe. Instead of considering the language of poetry the **best** or **purest** variety that requires to be accounted for by the grammarian, Sībawaihi dismisses it as deviant and warns

that deviations that are acceptable in poetic language are disallowed in normal speech. In other words, grammar is conceived of as being primarily concerned with accounting for natural speech, not literature.

1.3.6 Functional Motivation

One of the characteristics of CA Grammarians is their pioneering work on the interplay between form and function under the rubric of (العِلَل), which means *causes, reasons*, or what is better known now in the linguistic literature as *motivation*. Underlying such work was the belief that form-function pairing constitutes an empirical linguistic reality and can, therefore, have a fruitful *explanatory power*.

According to Ibin Jinnī (*b.* 302, *d.*393 AH), the first CA Grammarian who worked in this field was Abu-'Amr Ibnul 'Alā' (*b.* 70, *d.* 154 AH) (al-Khaṣā'iṣ: 249, I). Ibin Jinnī quotes al-'Aṣmaʻī to have reported his teacher Ibnul 'Alā' to have said:

" سمعت رجلاً من اليمن يقول : (فلانٌ لَغوبٌ. جاءته كتابي فأحتقرها) فقلت له : أتقول : جاءته كتابي ؟ قال : نعم ، أليس بصحيفةٍ ؟ "

I heard a man from Yemen say:

فلانٌ لَغوبٌ جاءته كتابي فأحتقرها Mr. So & So is negligent. He received my letter but despised it.

[NP (NOM) + NP (NOM)]. [VP (FEM) + Pro +NP + COOR +VP (FEM) + Pro + Pro]

[*wherein the feminine case is assigned to verbs related to the normally masculine Object NP* (الكتاب

= *the letter)].* So I asked him, ' Do you say (جاءته كتابي)?', and he said, ' Yes, is it not a paper?'

In the quotation above, the grammarian, keen to observe speech as heard when uttered by his informant, asks the speaker whether it is his habit to use the feminine case with the normally masculine noun (الكتاب = the letter). The informant answers affirmatively, and explains that his *cause* for such use is that

the noun in question (الكتاب) is actually a piece of **paper** (صحيفة), which is feminine, not masculine. Here, the grammarian was expecting formal agreement (concord) in gender, while the speaker opted for a notional (semantic) one. A comparably similar concord occurs in English number system, when collective nouns (e.g. *family, committee*, etc.) are either followed by a singular *be*-form (when meant as a single body), or a plural one (when meant as consisting of many members).

The study of functional motivation in phonology, morphology, and syntax was systematically furthered and developed by al-Khalīl, the genius student of ʿAmr Ibnul-ʿAlāʾ. Unfortunately, no written work in this field has survived, though al-Kitāb, indeed, abounds in quotations from al-Khalīl's description of functional motivations. Later, this field of research was perfected, and whole books were written about (العلل في النحو = causes or causality in grammar). In fact, one can safely state that the perfection the study of functional motivations has attained in CA Grammar exceeds anything achieved in this field in the West up to its rediscovery by the linguists who have launched OT in the nineties of the last century (Prince and Smolensky, 1993).

The first book about functional motivations in grammar that has reached us, that of az-Zajjājī (*d.* 340 AH), quotes al-Khalīl to have explained his position regarding functional motivations in the following manner:

ذكرَ لنا بعض شيوخنا إن الخليلَ بن أحمد رحمه الله سُئِل عن العللِ التي يعتلُ بها في النحو فقيل له : عن العرب أخذتَها أم اخترعتها من نفسك؟ فقال : إن العرب نطقت على سجيتها وطباعها ،وعرفتْ مواقعَ كلامها ،وقام في عقولها عللُه وإن لم يُنقَلْ ذلك عنها. واعتللتُ أنا بما عندي أنه علةٌ لما عللته منه، فأن أكن أصبت العلّة فهو الذي التمستُ ، وإن تكن هناك علة له (أُخرى) فمَثَلي في ذلك مثَلُ رجلٍ حكيمٍ دخلَ داراً محكمة البناء عجيبةَ النظام والأقسام، وقد صحّت عنده حكمةُ بانيها بالخبرِ الصادقِ أو بالبراهينِ الواضحةِ والحججِ اللائحةِ ، فكلّما وقف هذا الرجل في الدار على شيءٍ منها قال: إنما فعلَ هذا هكذا لعلةِ كذا وكذا   ...   [التي]سنحت له وخطرت بباله محتملة لذلك . فجائزٌ أن يكون الحكيمُ الباني للدار فعل ذلك للعلة التي ذكرها هذا الذي دخل الدار ، وجائزٌ أن يكون فعله لغير تلك

العلة ، إلا أن ذلك مما ذكره هذا الرجل محتمل أن يكون علةً لذلك .فإن سنحت لغيري علةٌ لما عللته من النحو هي أليق ممّا ذكرته بالمعلول

فليأتِ بها .

Some of our scholars have reported that al-Khalīl, may Allah bestow mercy upon him, was asked about the *causes* he makes in grammar, and the question was, "Did you take them from the Arabs, or did you invent them yourself?"

Al-Khalīl answered,' The Arabs spoke in accordance with their nature and conventions, they knew the places of their speech, and the *causes* of their speech were instated in their minds, though these *causes* were not reported of them. As for me, I put forward what I assume these causes to be. So, in case I hit the target, then that is what I am after. But if there are some *causes* other than those of mine, then my position is similar to that of a wise man who enters a perfectly structured house that is wondrously organized and compartmentalized. Now, this expert knows for sure that the architect of this house is a wise man on the basis of true information, or obvious evidence, and sound argumentation. So, whenever this expert investigates some part of the house, he says, ' the architect had made this structure for such and such a purpose, or for this or that cause', which conforms with what he thinks to be proper and deems to be probable. Now, it is possible that the architect of the house had actually made this or that part for the same purpose mentioned by the expert, who has entered the house. However, it is also possible that what the architect had in mind when he constructed those parts was some other cause, though the cause mentioned by the expert is also a potential one. So, if the grammarians are aware of certain causes other than those that I have put forward for the grammar, and they think their counter-causes are more adequate to the subject of explanation than mine, then let them put these causes forward.

(az-Zajjājī, al-'Īdhāḥu fī 'Ilalin-Naḥwi: 66)

Six conclusions can be drawn from the quotation above. Firstly, al-Khalīl understands functional motivations to be **probable**, but **potential factors** that bring about certain final states. Secondly, these motivations have **cognitive bases** in the **collective mind of language speakers**. Thirdly, language is understood as having an unequivocally **genius structure**, and, fourthly, this structure **serves certain discoverable purposes**. Fifthly, native speakers use the knowledge of their language **intuitively and naturally** to fulfil these purposes according to **the prevalent social conventions and linguistic context of situation.** Finally, **differences about the feasibility of the proposed**

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functions are understandable, but those that have **higher explanatory power are liable to win out**.

All the functional motivations put forward by Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi have their basis on the theory of markedness and have bipolar manifestations. In addition, they unravel themselves as clashing but dynamic points of attraction of variable strength. In (3.3.3), the discussion dealt with just seven of such bipolar values: /ليس) and (الإدخال/ الحذف) , (حسن/ ضعيف) , (ألأمكن/ليس له تمكن غيره) , (الأول **/** مثال) , (يكون / لا يكون) , (أثقل/ أخف) , كلام كلاماً). The two other marked and grammatical values of (مستقيم/محال) , (حسن/قبيح) are discussed in the subsections of (3.3.3).

In addition to these values, numerous other functional motivations are mentioned on every page in al-Kitāb. Among these are the following pairs:

(كثرة الاستعمال / قلة الاستعمال) ، (الوجود / عدم الوجود) ، (الجواز / عدم الجواز أو الامتناع) ، (الاستكراه / التفضيل) ، (الحاجة / عدم الحاجة) ، (الاستغناء /عدم الاستغناء) ، (العدل / رد الشيء إلى أصله) ، (المشابهة أو المضارعة / عدم وجود الشبه) ، (الإجحاف / عدم الإجحاف) ، (الالتباس أو الإبهام / البيان أو التوضيح) ،   (التفريق / المماثلة) ، (الثبات / التغير).

frequent/infrequent, existent/non-existent, permissible/impermissible, preferred/dispreferred, needful/non-needful, deletion or substitution/ non-deletion or non-substitution, transformed / detransformed, similarity/dissimilarity, catachresis/non-catachresis, ambiguation/ disambiguation, contrastive/ discontrastive, stability/change.

In every case where one of these terms is used, it serves to explain why this or that form occurs or not, why more that one form occurs for one function, which brings us closer to understanding how form interact with function and help to shape each other. Simultaneously occurring forms are ranked according to their frequency, usability, and permissibility. Such an approach has been rediscovered and adopted now by a number of the most recent and influential linguistic

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schools in the West, especially Optimality Theory (OT). The latter approach, which is acknowledged even by its opponents as to have **swept the field** of, at least, phonological research, use the term *constraints* to denote functional motivations (Newmeyer, 2000: 2). At the core of this theory is the governing of the interaction of universal constraints by their strict ranking on a language-specific basis.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, OT postulates a generator (GEN) capable of describing all possible linguistic structures or content (the 'input'). Selection of structures as the 'output' of particular grammars is determined by the relative strength of the members of a universal, but minimally violable, set of ranked constraints (CON). Such selection process, *the optimization function*, which minimizes the maximum constraint violation, is called evaluation (EVAL) (Bresnan, 2001: 2). Optimal form selection is carried out by postulating that for each underlying form ($input_i$) there is a surface form ($output_i$) which is the candidate from the set:

$$\{\mathbf{candidate_1, candidate_2,\ldots,candidate_n}\}$$

that best satisfies the constraint ranking (Rosenthall, 1994: 10).

The brief description above shows that OT shares with al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi their acceptance of the basic tenets of: i) markedness, ii) the latter's hierarchical nature, iii) the clash among marked values, and iv) the violability of constraints. This sharing of basic concepts is not coincidental, it reflects the rediscovery of the viability and the high explanatory power of the sound linguistic principles discovered and explicitly stated first in al-Kitāb, as well as the solid grounds and utility of the functional creed in linguistic research throughout the history of linguistics. This fact has recently been acknowledged by Edzard (2000: 63) who states (emphasis added):

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The central idea of Optimality Theory is that surface forms of language reflect resolutions of conflicts between competing constraints. A surface form is "optimal" if it incurs the least serious violations of a set of constraints, taking into account their hierarchical ranking. Languages differ in the ranking of constraints, and any violations must be minimal. **Sībawaihi's presentation and discussion of contemporary Arabic data, in phonetics, phonology, and elsewhere, is in harmony with these principles. It illustrates and supports an explanatory approach to Arabic morphophonology in terms of naturalness and preference theory in general, and of Optimality Theory in particular**.

1.3.7 Transitivity

Arab grammarians use the term (التعدية), which means **passing over** or **trespassing,** to refer to the syntactic relation of **transitivity**. Unlike English, the opposite phenomenon of **intransitivity** is not negatively denominated in CA grammar, but has it own special term of (اللزوم), meaning the verb's tendency to **stick to** the subject. Intransitive verbs are described in al-Kitāb (IV. 47) as 'structures structured not to pass over the doer' (أبنيةٌ بُنيت لا تَعَدّى الفاعل=). The formal definition offered here is a distributional one since Arabic is essentially a VSO language, and as such, the transitive verb has to pass over the following subject to any nominal structure that can occur after it.

Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's do not restrict the concept of transitivity to object-NPs, but see it as a function of all verbs, active or passive, as well as all nominative operants. The mentioning of the term **operants** is crucial here since all the utterance's constituents to which the operant transits assume the accusative case, except the passive object or the deputy agent, which assumes the nominative case of the agent it deputizes. In this particular case, distributional constraints, in terms of the positional value, rule over functional ones, causing

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the fronted object-NP in the passive utterance to take up the positional inflection of the actual doer (subject) rather than that of its own (al-Kitāb: II. 33-45). Putting aside this special case, the syntactic fact that all the nominal structures to which the operants pass on assume the accusative case allows correlating the concept of transitivity to that of government. Al-Kitāb adopts this particular approach throughout the description by considering all the accusative nominal forms in the utterance, other than operant and the doer, as being under the reach of the transitive operant. Such a generalized view allows the relational phenomenon of transitivity to apply to cognate objects, time and place nominals, state denotatives, specificatives, exceptives, and concomitant and causative subjects. Moreover, when the **intransitive** verb passes on to any of the functional categories above, then it becomes a **transitive** one (al-Kitāb: I. 34-6, 44, 204-5, 294-7, 330-1, 369, 372-5). The following continuous quotation explains some of the facts above about al-Kitāb's view of the transitivity of the intransitive verbs:

(76)

واعلم أنّ الفعلَ الذي لا يتعدى الفاعلَ يتعدى إلى اسم الحدثان الذي أُخذ منه ؛ لأنّه إنّما يُذكر ليدل على الحدث . ألا ترى إن قولك (قد ذهبَ) بمنزلة قولك (قد كان منه ذهابٌ) وإذا قلت (ضرب عبد الله) لم يُستبن أنّ المفعولَ زيدٌ أو عمروٌ ، [ولا يدل على صنف كما أن (ذهب) قد دل على صنف وهو الذهاب] ، وذلك قولك (ذهبَ عبدُ الله الذهابَ الشديدَ) ، و(قعدَ قعدةَ سوءٍ) ، و(قعدَ قعدتين) . ولما عمل في الحدث عمل في المرة [منه] والمرتين وما يكون ضرباً منه . فمن ذلك : (قعد القرفصاء) ، و(أشتمل الصماء) ، و(رجع القهقرى) ، لأنه ضرب من فعله الذي أخذ منه . ويتعدى إلى زمان ، نحو قولك (ذهبَ) لأنه بنى لما مضى منه وما لم يمض منه ، كما أن فيه استدلالاً على وقوع الحدث . وذلك قولك (قعد شهرين) . و(سيقعد شهرين) ، وتقول : (ذهبتُ أمس) ، و(سأذهب غداً) فإن شئت لم تجعلهما ظرفاً فهو يجوز في كل شيء من أسماء الزمان كما جاز في كل شيء من أسماء الحدث . ويتعدى إلى ما أشتق من لفظه اسماً للمكان وإلى المكان ؛ لأنه إذا قال (ذهبَ) أو (قعدَ) فقد علم أن الحدث مكاناً وإن لم يذكره كما علم أنه قد كان ذهابٌ، و ذلك قولك (ذهبت المذهب البعيدَ) ، و(جلست مجلساً حسناً) . . . . ويتعدى إلى ما كان وقتاً في الأمكنة كما يتعدى إلى ما كان وقتاً في الأزمنة لأنه وقت يقع في المكان ، ولا يختص به مكان واحد ، كما أن ذاك وقتّ في الأزمان ولا يختص به زمن معين . فلما صار بمنزلة الوقت بالزمن كان مثله ؛ لأنك قد تفعل بالأماكن ما تفعل بالأزمنة وإن كان الأزمنة أقوى في ذلك .

Bear in mind that the verb that does not pass over to the agent, can pass over to the verbal noun denoting the happening (the cognate object) which is derived from (the same) verb since this noun is mentioned in speech for the purpose of referring to the event. Thus you can see, your saying (قد ذهبَ = (he) did go) has the same status as that of your saying (قد كان منه ذهابٌ =there was a going from him). And when you say (ضربَ عبدُ الله =Abdulla hit), the hearer will not know whether the patient is (زيدٌ =this particular person) or (عمروٌ =that particular person), nor does your utterance refer to any particular affected entity. This is contrary to the state of verb (ذهب = went) which refers to a particular action of going in your saying (ذهبَ عبدُ الله الـذهابَ الشـديد),   (قعـدَ), سـوءٍ قعدةَ), and (قعـدَ قعـدتين). So, given that the intransitive verb governs the action indicated by the nominal form derived from its verb, then it also governs the verbal noun that occurs once or twice, plus all sorts of verbal nouns that represent one specific type of the action indicated by the verb itself. Examples of such related verbal nouns are (أشـتمل الصماء), (قعد القرفصاء), and (رجـع القهقـرى), all indicating one sort of the same action derived from the verb.

The intransitive verb also passes over to time, such as your saying (ذَهَبَ = (he went) because the verb itself is structured to that action that passes and what does not. So, if the speaker says (ذَهَبَ), then this is a proof that the happening has occurred in the past time. And when he says (سَـيَذهَبُ =(he) will go) then this is a proof that the action will occur in the future. So, the structure of the verb has of itself the indication of what has occurred and what has not, as well as its indication of the action in the first place. So you say (قعـد شـهرين =he stayed two months), (سـيقعد شـهرين=he will stay two months),   (ذهبـتُ أمـس =I went yesterday), and (سـأذهب غـداً =I shall go to morrow) by opting not to render them as adverbials. And the intransitive verb can possibly pass over to any of the temporal nouns, as it does to all verbal nouns (cognate objects).

The intransitive verb also passes over to what is derived from its phonological structure to indicate a noun for a place or to a place. This is because if the speaker says (ذَهَبَ= went) or (قَعَدَ = sat), then one would know that there is a particular place for the action, just like his knowing of the going. This occurs in your saying (جلسـت مجلسـاً حسـناً) and (ذهبت المذهب البعيد)...

In addition, the intransitive verb can transit to what is a measure in places as does to what is a measure in times. This is because the action is a time that occurs in some place, and is not restricted of any one place, just like it is a measure in some time and in not restricted to any particular time. So when the place became like a measure in time, it behaved like the latter since you can do in places what you can do in times, though the latter are stronger.

(al-Kitāb: I. 34-6)

Depending on their type, transitive verbs can reach over not only to the accusative structures stated above, but also to one, two, or three object-NPs (al-Kitāb: I. 33-43). In case the double objects cannot be construed to constitute a

nominal sentence when stripped off the initial VS, then one of the multiple objects is deletable, otherwise, they are non-omissible (al-Kitāb: I. 40-43). Transitive verbs are of two types: strong, self-transitive verbs; and less strong, non-self-transitive verbs that require the mediation of a preposition for their transitive action (al-Kitāb: I. 93, 157, 160, 175). All verbs that are followed by object-NPs are considered to be transitive ones, even the members of the defective set of verbs known as (كان و أخواتها = *kāna and its sisters*) that are followed by the two constituent of the nominal sentence: the inchoative and enunciative (al-Kitāb: III. 169).

The syntactic relation of transitivity, like that of government, is not restricted to verbal sentence since the nominal ones also transit to object-NPs such as the active participle and the passive participle as is the case in the sentence (له صريفٌ بالمسدِ القعوِ صريفَ)[PP NP ${}_{i\,(NOM)}$ NP ${}_{i\,(ACC)}$ NP PP] (al-Kitāb: I. 355).

It is unfortunate that CA grammarians after al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi have resorted to narrowing the scope of transitivity by excluding the grammatical relations obtaining in utterances with such paradigmatic groups of functionally specialized verbs as (كان و أخواتها = *kāna* and its sisters), (أفعال المقاربة = verbs of appropinquation), (أفعال الرجاء = verbs of hope), and (أفعال الشروع = verbs of starting) from its cycle of functionality. Their narrowing also excludes choices made from such paradigmatic systems of adverbial nouns, exceptives, and specificatives, a measure which highly impoverishes the explanation power of transitivity as envisaged in al-Kitāb.

1.3.8 Time and Tense

It has been mentioned in (3.3.2) that the first section of al-Kitāb defines the temporal references of verb forms as that of the present, past, and future.

Sībawaihi's exact terms in this respect are "the structuring to what is happening and has not terminated yet" (البناء لما هو كائن غير منقطع), "the structuring to what has passed" (البناء لما مضى), and "the structuring to what will happen but has not happened yet" (البناء لما يكون ولم يقع). Here, the use of the term **structure** (literally: *building*) confirms the fact that Sībawaihi is describing first those temporal references that are strictly signalled by the formal (morphological) markers of the verb-form itself. Statement to this effect are repeated in many passages of al-Kitāb, such as this one:

(77)

فإذا قال (ذَهَبَ) فهو دليل على أنّ الحدث فيما مضى من الزمان ، و إذا قال (سَيَذْهَبُ) فإنه دليل على أنّه يكون فيما يُسْتَقْبَل من الزمان

، ففيه بيان ما مضى و ما لم يمض منه ، كما أن فيه استدلالاً على وقوع الحدث.

If the speaker says (ذَهَبَ) [went], then this is a proof that the event occurred in what has passed in time, and if he says (سَـيَذْهَبُ) (will go), then this is a proof that the event will take place in future time. So, the form of the verb tells about what had passed and what has not, over and above its telling about the occurrence of an event.

(al-Kitāb: I. 35)

In the quotation above and elsewhere, Sībawaihi unequivocally asserts that temporal reference is inherent to the verb as a form class, i.e. its tense. This assertion is restated in the passage he dedicates for the explanation of why verb transitivity to temporal adverbials is stronger than spatial ones:

(78)

و إنّا جُعل في الزمان أقوى لأنّ الفعل بُني لما مضى منه و ما لم يمض ، ففيه بيان متى وقع ، كما أن فيه بيان أنّه قد وقع المصدر و هو

الحدث.

The functioning of verb in time is stronger because the verb is structured to what has passed of this time and what has not passed. In it is expressed when the action has occurred as well as the happening of the action itself.

(al-Kitāb: I 36)

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Besides the expression of time via morphological markers, the tensed verb, together with the infinitival forms of the active participle and the passive participle, can refer to temporal relations by virtue of their linguistic environment, either through adverbials or specialized time-indicating articles (al-Kitāb: I. 216-230). In such modes of time-relation, the one and same verb-form can be made to indicate a variety of possible temporal relations, whether past, present, or future as shown in the following subsections. However, when a clash occurs between a relational temporal indicator and the tense form of the verb, then the utterance becomes **implausible** such as:(أتيتك غداً) [*I came to you tomorrow*] and (سآتيك أمس) [*I shall come to you yesterday*] (al-Kitāb: I. 25). In other words, the rules of grammaticality allow tense indicators to supersede textual indicators of time by imposing certain constraints on the range of possible time span expressed via these indicators.

1.3.8.1 Past Form

In addition to its usual reference to past events, this verb form can be used with certain textual indicators of time to express past perfect, present perfect, and future time. Verbs in the past tense form can indicate **distant past** when preceded by the defective verb (كان = *kāna*: was) following or after the verb asserter (قد = verily), as is the case in this verse line:

<div dir="rtl">

قد كان شمَّرَ للصلاة ثيابـُه   حتّى وقفتِ له بيابِ المسجدِ

</div>

He had already tucked up *his garments for prayer when you stood for him at the mosque's door.*

In **contractual** speech acts, the past form of the verb indicates the present time as when the speaker says (بعث =*I sold*, meaning "done", or "I agree to your

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bidding price, and so, you've got yourself a deal"). The same rule applies to oaths such as the one beginning with (نَشَدتُك الله) (al-Kitāb: III. 105-6).

Futurity expressed via this verb form can be realized, among other structures, in invocations, conditionals, and negation by (لا), (ما), and (إن) such as in the utterance: (لئن زُرْتَه ما يَقبلُ منك)(even if you *visited* him, he won't give his accord to you) (al-Kitāb: III. 108-9).

1.3.8.2 Present Form

Sībawaihi's description of the usual meaning of this verb form, which follows the paradigm of **yaf 'alu**, is "when the speaker says (هو يفعل) 'he does', this means that he is in a state of doing" (al-Kitāb: III. 117). However, this form can be used to refer to the future, past, and past perfect temporal relations. For example, in negative forms with (لا), the verb indicates futurity. In this respect al-Kitab states that "the negative paradigm of (لا أفعل = I do not do) negates the speaker's utterance (أفعل = I do) where the verb has not occurred yet" (al-Kitāb: I. 92). Other occasions that make the aorist verb indicate the future include cases where this verb is suffixed by assertive nunation, prefixed by (لَ) of avowal, in conditionals and promises, and when it occurs in the jussive case, or is preceded by (كان) and all its sisters except (ليس); (أن), (لن), (كي), and (إذن) (al-Kitāb: I. 9, 45, 73; III. 8, 19-20, 24, 30, 111f; IV. 229).

1.3.8.3 Imperative Form

Unlike the other two previous forms, textual temporal indictors cannot cause this specialized verb form to indicate any time other than that of the future.

1.3.8.4 Time and Tense: Conclusion

The quotations and discussion above testify to the fact that Sībawaihi and al-Khalīl unambiguously draw a demarcation line between formal reference to time and the relational or textual one. In the first case, CA offers just three tenses, while in the second case, there are many more possible expressions of time. Such differentiation clearly shows how unjustified Wright was in his claim that (italics added):

The Arabian Grammarians themselves have not, however, succeeded in keeping this important point [*i.e., relational indication of time*] distinctly in view, but have given an undue importance to the idea of time, in connection with the verbal forms, by their division of it into the past (الماضي), the present (الحاضر or الحال), and the future (المستقبل), the first of which they assign to the Perfect and the other two to the Imperfect.

(Wright, 1933: 51)

Wright's statement above does not only show the author's failure to acquaint himself with such an important grammar book as al-Kitāb, but also his preference for reductionism since it does not mention the tense of the imperative form of the Arabic verb which is, obviously, neither *perfect* nor *imperfect*, but future (al-Kitāb: I. 12).

1.3.9 Government

The theory of government, besides that of markedness, is central to the grammar of CA. Following the terminology of al-Kitāb, it is better known in Arabic as (نظرية العامل) 'the theory of the operant or controller' which was originated by al-Khalīl (Dhaif, 1979: 38). The essence of this theory is that the constituents of the

utterance co-engage in certain dependency relations according to which the **governing** element (العامل =regent, operant) causes its **governed** element(s) (المعمول =regimen) to assume certain inflectional form(s) due to the syntactic office of **government** (عمل العامل). Within this triangular structural relationship, a change in one type of governor (henceforth: **operant**) always causes certain formal change in some case or mode form of the governees.

The explanatory power of this theory in CA cannot be overestimated since it accounts for the entire system at play behind all the inflectional forms of the constituents in utterances of the language. In such utterances, the nominal form can assume one of three cases: i) the upright (-*u*, called *rafʻ*), ii) the set-up (-*a*, *naṣb*), and iii) the dragged case (-*i*, *jarr*). The verb can also have one of three cases: i) the upright (-*u*, *rafʻ*), ii) the set-up or subjunctive case (-*a*, *naṣb*), and iii) the curtailed or jussive case (-*ø*, *jazm*). Put together, there are four cases in CA, two are shared by the noun and verb (*rafʻ* and *naṣb*), one restricted to the noun (*jarr*), and one restricted to the verb (*jazm*). According to al-Khalīl's theory of government, all the four cases (called *Iʻrāb* =inflection) above are the result of the effect of certain syntactic operants that are markers of the grammatical relationship of dependency. The facts above are described in the following excerpt from al-Kitāb (emphasis added):

(79)

هـذا مجاري أواخر الكلم من العربية : و هي تجري على ثمانية مجارٍ : على النصب و الجرِّ و الرفع والجزم ، والفتح و الضمِّ والكسر و الوقف. و هذه المجاري الثمانية يجمعهنّ في اللفظ أربعة أضرب : فالنصب والفتح في اللفظ ضرب واحد ، و الجر و الكسر فيه ضرب واحد ، و كذلك الرفع و الضم ، والجزم و الوقف .

وإنما ذكرت لك ثمانية مجار لأفرّقَ بين ما يدخله ضربٌ من هذه الأربعة لمّا يحدِث فيه العامل — وليس شئ منها إلا و هو يزول عنه — و بين ما يُبْنى عليه الحرف بناءً لا يزول عنه لغير شئ أحدَث فيه ذلك من العوامل ، التي لكل عامل منها ضربٌ من اللفظ في الحرف ، و ذلك الحرف حرف الإعراب.

فالرفع و الجر و النصب و الجزم لحروف الإعراب . و حروف الإعراب للأسماء المتمكنة ، و للأفعال المضارعة لأسماء الفاعلين ...

و النصب في الأسماء : رأيت زيداً ، و الجرّ : مررت بزيدٍ ، و الرفع : هذا زيدٌ . وليس في الأسماء جزم لتمكنها و للحاق التنوين ، فإذا

ذهب التنوين لم يجمعوا على الإسم ذهابه و ذهاب الحركة .

و النصب في المضارع من الأفعال : لن يفعلَ ، و الرفع : سيفعلُ ، و الجزم : لم يفعلْ ، و ليس في الأفعال المضارعة جرّ لما أنّه ليس في

الأسماء جزم ؛ لأنّ المجرور داخل في المضاف إليه معاقبٌ للتنوين ، و ليس ذلك في هذه الأفعال .

This is the section of the pathways of the inflections of the structured words in Arabic. These follow eight pathways (or *streams*): the set-up, the dragged, the upright, and the curtailed (apocopative, jussive); and *al-fatħ* (-a), *adhdham* (-u), *al-kasr* (-i), and *al-waqf* (-ø).

These eight pathways are correlated in the pronounced items with four (binary) classes: the set-up and *al-fatħ* constitute one class in spoken elements, so do the dragged and *al-kasr*, the upright and *adhdham*, the curtailed and *al-waqf*.

I have mentioned eight pathways to you in order to differentiate between those cases where the four types of inflections occur due to the effect of **the operant**, all of which being impermanent cases, and those where the structuring to one of these inflections is permanent, and is not due to the effect of **the operant**. Each **operant** has a certain type of inflectional effect that is called the phonemes of inflection.

So, the upright, dragged, set-up, and curtailed cases are restricted to the inflection phonemes that occur in completely inflected nouns (strong nouns), and the aorist (imperfect) verbs that have a symmetrical structure to that of the active participles…

The set-up case occurs in nouns such as the utterance (رأيت **زيداً**). So does the dragged case (مررت **بزيدٍ**), and the upright (هـذا **زيدٌ**). Nouns do not admit the curtailed case because they are strong, and because they admit the nunation case. So, given that the nunation case is deletable, the speakers did not add up to its deletion the deletion of its inflection phoneme.

The set-up case occurs in verbs such as the utterance (لـن **يفعـلَ**). So does the upright case (سـيفعلُ), and the curtailed on (لـم **يفعـلْ**). Verbs do not admit the dragged case just as the nouns do not admit the curtailed case because dragging enters the annexation that replaces the nunation, and such a case does not occur in verbs.

<div align="right">(al-Kitāb: I. 13-4)</div>

The operant can be a noun, a verb, or an article; though the verb is the strongest since it 'stands in poverty' by virtue of indicating an event that requires a participant, a time, a place, and a reason. In addition, the operant can be concrete or abstract. The first has a phonological realization, the second is distributional such as the upright case of the aorist verb effectuated by its taking

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up the position of the initial noun in the utterance (al-Kitāb: I. 34). Moreover, the operant can be explicit or implicit such as the subjunctive article *anna*, which operates whether explicit or not (ibid. II. 99f, 153f).

The general office of the regents is not absolute, but gradient. It oscillates between the strong, multiple effect (e.g., full transitive verbs, annullers, and subjunctives); the weakly, context- dependent effect (e.g., *semi-laisa* articles); and the non-operative elements (e.g., the two future-indicating articles of *saufa* and *sīn*)(ibid. 14-5). This shows how the theory of markedness is not only operative here, but also strongly interacts with the range of government functionality.

Government is also subject to semantic roles (preoccupation), clash, c-command (proximity), cancellation, and suspension as described in the following quotations.

(80)

هذا باب ما يكون فيه الاسم مبنيّا على الفعل قُدِّم أو أُخِّر ، و ما يكون فيه الفعل مبنيّا على الاسم . فإذا بنيت الاسم عليه قلتَ: ضربتُ

زيداً ، و هو الحد ، لأنّك تريد أن تُعمله و تحمل عليه الاسم ، كما كان الحد ضَربَ زيدٌ عمراً ، حيث كان زيدٌ أوّل ما تشغَل به الفعل. و

كذلك هذا إذا كان يَعمَلُ فيه . و إن قدّمتَ الاسم فهو عربي جيد كما كان ذلك عربيا جيداً ، و ذلك قولك: زيداً ضربتُ...

فإذا بنيت الفعل على الاسم قلت : زيدٌ ضَرَبْتُه ، فلزمته الهاء. و إنّما تريد بقولك مبنيٌّ عليه الفعل أنه في موضع منطلقٍ إذا قلت : عبد الله

منطلقٌ ، فهو في موضع هذا الذي بُني عليه على الأول و ارتفع به ، فإنما قلت عبد الله فنسبته له ثم بنيت عليه الفعل و رفعته بالابتداء...

و إن شئت قلتَ: زيداً ضربتُه ، و إنما نصبُه على إضمار فعلٍ هذا يفسره ، كأنك قلت : ضربتُ زيداً ضربته ، إلا أهم لا يُظهرون هذا

الفعل هنا للاستغناء بتفسيره . فالاسم ها هنا مبني على المضمر.

This is the section about the noun that is structured upon the verb whether preposed or postposed, and about the verb which is structured upon the noun. So, when you structure the noun upon the verb you say (ضربتُ زيداً)[VSO]. This is the standard sequence because you mean to make the verb the operant, and to make the noun sylleptic [=loaded] upon it, as is (ضَربَ زيدٌ عمـراً)[VSO] the standard sequence where you make the noun (زيدٌ)[S] the first element with which the verb is loaded. But if you front the noun (before the verb), such as your saying (زيـداً ضربتُ)[OVS], then this sequence is as Arabic and proper as the previous sequence is...

So, if you structure the verb upon the noun you say (زيدٌ ضَرَبْتُه) [NP$_1$ VP NP2 Pro$_1$] by making (the dependent pronoun) *ha'* suffixed to the verb. This is because what you mean in your making it structured upon the verb is that the verb occupies the position of (the infinitival noun) (منطلق) when you say (عبدُ الله منطلقٌ). So the verb here takes such a position, and assumes its upright case because of it. Accordingly, when you say (عبدُ الله), you mean to assign this position to it; and you structure the verb upon it and make the doer [NP] have the upright case due to its inception.

But if you wish, you can say (زيداً ضربتُه)(O$_i$VSO$_i$) wherein the initial noun (زيداً) assumes the set up case due to the government of a covert verb which is understandable from the occurrence of the same verb after it. Here, it is as if you have said (ضربتُ زيداً ضربته)[V S $_i$ O$_j$ V S$_i$ O$_{pro-j}$](hit I Zaid hit I him = I hit Zaid, I hit him), but the speakers of Arabic do not make the initial verb [ضربتُ] overt in such utterances since they substitute it with its replacive one. So, the initial set-up noun [زيداً] is structured upon a covert verb.

<div align="right">(al-Kitāb: I. 80-1)</div>

(81)

هذا باب الفاعلين و المفعولين اللذين كل واحد منهما يفعل بفاعله مثل الذي يفعل به و ما كان نحو ذلك . و هو قولك : ضربتُ و

ضربني زيدٌ ، و ضربني و ضربت زيداً ، تحمل الاسم على الفعل الذي يليه . فالعامل في اللفظ أحد الفعلين ، و أما في المعنى فقد يعلم أنَّ

الأول قد وقع إلا أنه لا يُعمل في اسم واحدٍ نصبٌ و رفعٌ . وإنّما كان الذي يليه أوْلى لقرب جِواره و أنّه لا ينقُضُ معنى ، و أن المخاطب قد

عَرَفَ أنّ الأول قد وقع بزيدٍ، كما كانت خَشَّنْتُ بصدره و صدر زيد وجه الكلام ، حيث كان الجرّ في الأول و كانت الباء أقربَ إلى الاسم

مـــــن الفعـــــل و لا تَـــــنقُض معـــــنى ، سَـــــوُّوا بينهمـــــا في الجـــــر كمـــــا يســـــتويان في النصـــــب .

This is the section of the doer and goal where each acts upon its doer in the same way that the doer acts upon it, and other similar cases. This occurs in your saying (ضربتُ و ضربني زيدٌ)[V (S$_j$) and V O$_j$ S] [hit (I) and was hit I Zaid = I hit and was hit by Zaid], (ضربني و ضربت زيداً)[V O$_i$ and V S$_i$ O] (hit me and I hit Zaid) where you load the noun upon the verb that precedes it. So, the operant in such utterance is just one of the two verbs. As for the grammatical function, it can be the case that the first verb is known to have happened, but it is not possible to subject the same noun to the government of both the upright and the set-up case. Now, the verb that precedes the noun (Zaid) is a better candidate to be the operant because of its closer proximity, and because it does not cancel any grammatical function. The addressee here knows that the first verb has happened to (Zaid) just like the sequence: (خَشَّنْتُ بصدرِه و صدرِ زيدٍ)[V S O (PP pro) and O (PP NP)] [angered I in heart his and heart Zaid = I angered his heart and Zaid's heart] is the standard sequence where the dragged case occurs in the first noun, and the preposition *ba'* is closer to the noun than the verb, and does not contradict any grammatical function. Accordingly, the speakers have made

the two affected nouns inflect in the same dragged case as they have taken the same set-up case in the first example.

(al-Kitāb: I. 73-4)

(82)

و إذا أعملت العرب شيئاً مضمراً لم يخرج عن عمله مظهراً في الجر و النصب و الرفع ؛ تقول: (و بلدٍ) ، تريد : (و ربّ بلدٍ). و تقول:

(زيداً) ، تريد : (عليك زيداً) . و تقول : (الهلالُ) ، تريد : (هذا الهلالُ) ، فكلُّه يعمل عمله مظهراً.

When the Arabs make certain covert element operant, then such an element assumes the same effect that it does when overt, by bringing about the dragged, set-up, or upright case. You say: (و بلدٍ)[dragged], intending (ربّ بلدٍ); and you say: (زيداً)[set up], intending (**عليك** زيداً); and you say: (الهلالُ)[upright], intending (**هـذا** الهلالُ). So, all these covert elements assume the same governing effect they do when overt.

(al-Kitāb: I. 106)

(83)

هـذا باب الأفعال التي تستعمل و تلغى ، فهي (ظننتُ) و (حسبتُ) و (خلتُ) و (أُريتُ) و (رأيتُ) ، و (زعمتُ) ، و ما يتصرف من

أفعالهن. فإذا جاءت مستعملة فهي بمنزلة (رأيتُ) و (ضربتُ) و (أعطيتُ) في الإعمال و البناء على الأول ، في الخبر و الاستفهام و في كل

شيء . و ذلك قولك: (أظن زيداً منطلقاً) ، و(أظن عمراً ذاهباً) ،و (زيداً أظن أخاك) ، و (عمراً زعمتُ أباك)... فإن ألغيت قلتَ : (عبدُ

الله أظن ذاهبٌ) و (هذا أخالُ أخوك) و (فيها أُرى أبوك) . و كلما أردت الإلغاء فالتأخير أقوى ، و كلٌ عربي جيد... وكلما طال الكلام

ضَعف التأخيرُ إذا أعملت ، و ذلك قولك : (زيداً أخاك أظن) فهذا ضعيف كما يضعف (زيداً قائماً ضربتُ) لأنّ الحدَّ أن يكونَ الفعل

مبتدأ إذا عَمِلَ .

This is the section of the verbs that are either made to govern, or their governing effect is cancelled. These are (ظننتُ), (حسبتُ), (خلتُ), (أُريتُ), (رأيتُ), (زعمتُ), together with their other derivative verbal forms. When these verbs are used as operants, they behave like [the verbs] (رأيتُ), (ضربتُ) and (أعطيتُ) in their government in statements, questions and everything, as well as in the structuring of their complements [S, O, Adv) upon the first element in the utterance. Such is the case in your saying: (أظن زيداً منطلقاً), (أظن عمراً ذاهباً), (زيداً أظن أخاك) and (عمراً زعمتُ أباك). And if you want to cancel their governing effect, you say   (عبدُ الله أظن ذاهبٌ), (هذا أخالُ أخوك) and (فيها أُرى أبوك). So, whenever the utterance gets longer, then the postpositioning of the verb becomes less proper if you want this verb to be operant. This is the case of [the expression] (زيداً أخاك أظن) which is as weak as your saying (زيداً قائماً ضربتُ) because the standard sequence is to make the verb the initial element in the utterance if you want this verb to be operant.

(al-Kitāb: I. 118-20)

(84)

و زعم الخليل أنّ (أَيُّهم) في (اضربْ أَيُّهم أفضلُ) على أنّه حكاية ، كأنّه قال (اضربِ الذي يُقال له أَيُّهم أفضلُ)... أما يونس فيزعم أنه

بمنزلة قولك (أشهد إنَّك لَرسولُ الله) ، و (اضرب) معلَّقة .

Al-Khalīl claims that (أَيُّهم) in the utterance (اضربْ أَيُّهم أفضلُ) is reported speech, and that it is as if the speaker who produces this utterance means to say (اضربِ الذي يُقال له أَيُّهم أفضلُ). As for Yūnus, he claims that this structure has the same status as that of (أشهد إنَّك لَرسولُ الله), and that [the imperative verb] (اضرب) is suspended [from its governing effect].

(al-Kitāb: II. 400)

Certain prepositions and articles whose grammatical function as slot-fillers is neutral in the utterance represent one important manifestation of government in CA. All these non-slot fillers, such as (ما), (لا), (في), and (إن), retain their semantic function as **augmentative** in the utterance, but not their governing agency. Sībawaihi terms them (لغو) (otiose), but carefully specifies their significant semantic function (al-Kitāb: IV. 221).

1.3.10 Pragmatics

Being primarily concerned with the function of utterances in the context of situation, al-Kitāb offers numerous descriptive passages discussing the use of the utterance as a communicative activity defined with reference to the intentions of the interlocutors. This topic is now studied under the rubric of **pragmatic** aspects of speech that addresses the basic question of 'What is it to use language?' (Verschueren, 1995: 21). Though the central concern is that of the description of speech from the grammatical point of view, the functionalist approach of al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi to speech leads them to make astonishingly advanced statements about the relationship between speaking and doing in the communicative context of situation. The results they have arrived at through

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functional structuralism in this field conform with those obtained through philosophical contemplation in the twentieth century about the role of the utterance in relation to the behaviour of speaker and hearer in interpersonal communication. In the ensuing discussion only two pragmatic insights of al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi will be touched upon, speech act theory, and the differentiation between the utterance meaning and the speaker's meaning.

Austin (1962: 62) has asserted that in saying anything one is performing some kind of speech act since all utterances are analysable as beginning with the performative prefix: "I state that…". Essentially the same assertion is stated in al-Kitāb (cf. I. 291) when al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi argue that all speech initially began with a vocation starting with the performative prefix: "I call…", which was then elided due to its high frequency in speech and contextual recoverability:
 (85)

و إنّما فعلوا هذا [أي حذف التنوين من الاسم الأول] بالنداء لكثرته في كلامهم ، و لأنّ أول الكلام أبداً النداء، إلا أن تَدَعَه استغناءً

بإقبال المخاطب عليك ، فهو أوّل كلِّ كلام لك ، به تَعطف المُكلَّمَ عليك ، فلمّا كثُر و كان الأول في كل موضع ، حذفوا منه تخفيفاً ؛ لأنَّهم

مما يغيِّرون الأكثر في كلامهم …

They have resorted to this (i.e. the deletion of the nunation from the first noun following the vocative article and its deleted vocative verb) due to its high frequency in their speech. This is because the initial expression in all speech is vocation unless you dispense with the vocation by substituting it with the addressee's coming to you. So, the first element in every one of your utterances is vocation (i.e. the vocative article and its verb) with which you make your addressee coordinate with you. But when these vocative utterances became too frequent, and were the first in all contexts of verbal situations, the speakers have resorted to clip them out from the utterance for the sake of economy since they tend to delete the more frequent elements in speech.

(al-Kitāb: II. 208)

One of the reasons behind al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi's interest in speech acts is purely structural in that it is related to their theory of government in the first place. In CA, the operative verb causes all its objective elements (الفضلة) to assume

the set-up, or accusative case. Thus, the unmarked sequence of utterances involving elements other than the action (verb) and its doer (subject) is VS $(O_1 O_2 O_{3LOC}...)$. Given that Arabic is a pro-drop language, so when the utterance-initial verb is deleted in certain speech acts, only the objective nominals in the accusative case remain as the first elements in the utterance, leaving the VS clause out. Accordingly, the grammarian has to account for such utterances by considering the initial accusative nominals to be the objective and/or adverbial complements of certain deleted VS clause. As the S element in this clause is normally the first person singular (the speaker), there remains the problem of deciding upon what the actual deleted verb is. However, the **assumption** (التقدير) of the exact deleted verb cannot be made without the careful study of the pragmatic use of the utterance itself in the possible contexts of situation, as well as the analysis of the communicative intentions of the speakers themselves.

Al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi conduct such a study of the utterance-initial performative clause under the rubric of:(إضمار الفعل المتروك استعماله (أو غير المستعمل إظهاره)), which is literally translatable as "the conscientious deletion of the verb whose surfacing in the utterance is disused". The arguments put forward in the quotation above and elsewhere are quite similar to those of Gazdar's (1979: 18), who is of the opinion that every sentence has a performative clause in deep structure whose subject is the first person singular. Similar too is his claim that this clause is always the highest one and is deletable since the accusative case of the initial nominal elements of the utterance is the result of their dependency upon the elided VS clause.

(86)

فإذا قال: (يا عبدَ الله)كأنه قال : (يا ، أُريد عبد الله) ، فحَذَفَ (أُريد) ... و صار (يا) و (أيا) و (أي) ، بدلا إذا قلت إذا قلت (يا فلان) عُلم أنّك تريده . و مما يدلك على أنّه ينتصب على الفعل و أنّ (يا) صارت بدلاً من اللفظ بالفعل قول العرب : (يا إيّاك) ، إنّما

قلت: (يا إيّاك أعني)...

So, if the speaker says (يـا عبـدَ الله)[Lo, Abdulla], then it is as if he said (يـا ، أُريـد عبـد الله) [Lo, I mean (or want) Abdulla] in which he deletes the clause (أُريد) [I mean], and where the vocative article (يا) (etc.) replaces it. The proof that the vocative noun assumes the set-up case due to the deleted verb and that the vocative article replaces this verb is found in the Arabs' saying (يا إيّاك)[Lo, you] which is actually your saying ‎(يا إيّاك أعني)[Lo, I mean you].

(al-Kitāb: I. 291)

In invocation, warning, well wishing, and similar speech acts the deleted subject is **Allah**, in the first case, and **you** in the other cases. So it is inaccurate to assume that the deleted subject in all speech acts is always the first person singular pronoun. In fact the omitted subject can be any entity spoken about:

(87)

هذا باب ما ينصب من المصادر على إضمار الفعل المستعمل غير إظهاره .وذلك قولك : سَقْيًا وَرْعياً ، ونحو قولك : خَيْبَةً ، وَ دَفْرًا ،

وجَدْعاً . . . وإنما ينتصب هذا وما أشبهه إذا ذُكر مذكورٌ فدعوتَ له أو عليه ، على إضمار الفعل كأنك قلت : سَقاك اللهُ سَقْياً، ورَعاك [

الله] رَعْياً ، وخَيَّبَك اللهُ خَيْبَةً . فكلُّ هذا وأشباهه على هذا ينتصب .

وإنما اختُزل الفعل هاهنا لأنهم جعلوه بدلاً من اللفظ بالفعل ، كما جُعل الحذرَ بدلاً من احذرْ . وكذلك هذا كأنه بدل من سَقاك اللهُ ورَعاك

[اللهُ] ، ومِنْ خَيَّبَك الله .

This is the section of the infinitives that assume the set-up case due to the deletion of the verb whose surfacing is disused. This occurs in your saying (سَـقْيّا), (رْعياً) and (خَيْبَةً) …and the like. All these infinitives and the like of them assume the set-up case when some certain person is mentioned in speech and this reference occasions your invocation to or against him by deleting the verb. Here, it is as if you say: (سَـقاك اللهُ سَـقْياً), (ورَعاك [الله] رَعْياً), and (خَيَّبَك اللهُ خَيْبَةً)..

(al-Kitāb: I. 311)

(88)

هذا باب ما جرى من الأسماء مجرى المصادر التي يُدْعى بها.و ذلك قولك : تُرْباً ، وجَنْدَلاً ، وما أشبه هذا . فإن أدخلتَ (لكَ) فقلت :

تُرْباً لك ، فإنّ تفسيرها ههنا كتفسيرها في الباب الأوّل ، كأنه قال : ألْزمك اللهُ وأطعمَك اللهُ ترباً وجندلاً ، وما أشبه هذا [من الفعل].

This is the section of those nouns that follow the path of the invocative infinitive. This occurs in your saying (تُرْباً), (جَنْدَلَاً), and the like. And if you insert (لك) (to you) in your utterance, you say:(تُرْباً لك). The explanation of such utterances is the same as that of the first section. It is as if the

speaker has said (أَلْزَمَك اللّه ترباً), (أَلْزَمك اللّه جندلاً), (أطعمَك اللّه ترباً), and (أطعمَك اللّه جنـدلاً), or their likes of the verbs.

(al-Kitāb: I. 314)

(89)

هذا باب ما أُجري مُجرى المِصادر المَدْعُوَّ بِها من الصفات . وذلك قولك : هَنيئاً مَرِياً [كَأنك قلت : ثَبَتَ لك هَنيئاً مَريئاً ، وهنأه ذلك هنيئاً] .

This is the section of those adjectives that follow the path of the invocative nominals. This is your saying (هَنِيئاً مَريئاً) which is similar to your saying (ثَبَتَ لك هَنيئاً مَريئاً) or (هنأه ذلك هنيئاً).

(al-Kitāb: I. 316)

Omissible verbs in Arabic are of two types: those discussed so far, which are obligatorily deleted, and those that the context of the situation (both the verbal interaction and the communicative activity shared) allows their optional deletion. As is the case in the first type, the specification of what verb is omitted in the second type requires the analysis of the speech acts involved on the basis of the intentions of the interlocutors in the context of situation. In other words, to get at their **illocutionary force**.

Needless to say, such a study is both grammatical and pragmatic in nature as seen in the following quotations, which are self-explanatory:

(90)

هذا باب ما جرى من الأمر و النهي على إضمار الفِعل المستعمَل إظهاره إذا عَلِمت أن الرجل مُسْتَغْن عن لفظك بالفعل . وذلك قولك (زيداً) و (عمراً) و (رأسَه) ، وذلك أنك رأيت رجلاً يَضْرِبُ أو يَشْتِم أو يقتل فاكتفيت بما هو فيه من عمله أن تلفظ له بعمله فقلت : (زيداً) أي (أوقع عملك بزيد) . أو رأيت رجلاً يقول (أضرب شر الناس) فقلت : (زيداً) أو رأيت رجلاً يُحدث حديثاً فقطعه فقلت (حديثَك) . أو قدم رجل من سَفَر فقلت : (حديثَك) . استغنيت عن الفعل بعلمه أنه مستخبر...

وأمـــا النهـــي فإنــه التحـــذير ، كقولــك : الأَسـدَ الأَسـدَ ، و الجـــدارَ [الجــدار] ، وإنمــا نَهيتــه أن يقـــرب الجــدار المخـوف [المائل] ، أو يقرب الأسد ، أو يوطئ الصبي . وأن شاء أظهر في هذه الأشياء ما أضمر من الفعل ، فقال : أضرب زيداً وأشتم عمراً ، ولا توطئ الصبي ، وأحذر الجدار ، ولا تقرب الأسد .

This is the section of those types of directives and prohibitives that follow the path (i.e. grammar) of deleting the verb whose surfacing is used (normal). Such deletion occurs when you are aware that the man (your interlocutor) can make up for the deleted verb on the strength of your

utterance. This occurs in your saying (زيـداً) [Zaid: O$_{acc}$], (عمـراً) [Omar: O$_{acc}$], and (رأسَـه) [his head: O$_{acc}$] when you see a man beating or insulting or killing another man. Accordingly, you find the action he is doing to be sufficient, and you do not utter his action, but you say (زيـداً)[Zaid: O$_{acc}$] meaning: 'direct your action against Zaid'. Or you see a man saying 'I beat the evilest of men', so you say (زيـداً)[Zaid: O$_{acc}$]. Or you see a person talking, then he cuts his speech short, so you say(حديثَك) [your speech: O$_{acc}$] where you substitute the verb by the addressee's knowledge that he is being asked to continue relating his information.

As for prohibition, this occurs in warnings such as your saying (الأسـدَ الأسـدَ)(the lion, the lion), (الجدارَ الجدار) (the wall, the wall) and (الصبيَّ الصبيَّ) (the boy, the boy). Here you warn the addressee against the danger of approaching the threatening wall (which is aslant), or the lion, or riding behind the boy. However, if the speaker wishes, he can surface these deleted verbs by saying 'Beat Zaid', 'Insult Omar', 'Don't ride behind the boy', 'Beware the wall', or 'Do not draw close to the lion'.

(al-Kitāb: I. 253-4)

(91)

هذا باب ما يضمر فيه الفعل المستعمل إظهاره في غير الأمر والنهي . وذلك قولك ، إذا رأيت رجلاً متوجهاً وجهة الحاج، قاصداً في هيئة الحاج ، فقلت : مكةَ ورب الكعبة . حيث زَكنت أنه يريد مكة ،كأنك قلت : يريد مكة والله .

This is the section of the deletion of the verb whose surfacing is normal in utterances that are neither directive nor prohibitive. This occurs when you see a person travelling in the route of the pilgrims, intentionally wearing the clothes of a pilgrim, then you say (مكةَ ورب الكعبة)[Mecca, by God]. This is because you have come to the conclusion that he wants to go to Mecca, so your speech means 'This man wants to go to Mecca by God'.

(al-Kitāb: I. 257)

After identifying the specific verbs of the two types involved, al-Kitāb groups them into two major classes: (الفعل الواجب)[the necessitive verbs] and (الفعل غير الواجب)[the non-necessitive verbs](al-Kitāb: I. 99, 434; II. 8, 24, 101, 509, 513; IV. 232). The members of the second class of verbs are characterized by their optional occurrence, and are subclassified into eight groups according to what is now known as their illocutionary force: conditionals, directives, prohibitives, vocatives, interrogatives, wishes, requests, and urgings. All other types of non-negative verbs are necessitive ones that must occur in the utterance.

In many occasions, al-Kitāb discusses the difference between 'what is said' (i.e., the purely linguistic content of the utterance), and 'what is implicated' (in the Gricean sense)(Grice, 1976; 1978). Such distinction, better known in the literature as *the distinction between linguistic meaning and speaker's meaning* has proved to be very fruitful in challenging the proposed philosophical analysis of various epistemological, logical, and ethical terms such as 'looks', 'knows', 'or', and 'good'. Kripke (1977: 268) has illustrated how the extravagant claims of philosophers, such as Russell's (1905) theory of description, can be avoided by invoking the distinction between the semantic reference and speaker's reference to show how that the difference between **referential** and **attributive** uses of definite descriptions is actually a pragmatic issue. This distinction, attributed to Strawson (1950), is explicitly stated in al-Kitāb as seen in the following passages:

(92)

إذا قلت (هذا الرجلُ) فقد يكون أن تعني كماله ، ويكون أن تقول (هذا الرجل) و أن تريد كل ذكر تكلم و مشى على رجلين فهو رجل.

When you say (هذا الرجلُ)[this is the man], it might be the case that you are referring to **the man's perfection**. It might also be the case that you say (هـذا الرجلُ)[this is the man] to refer to **every male person who speaks and walks on two**, and so he is a man.

(al-Kitāb: II. 94)

(93)

و قد زعموا أن بعض العرب تقول (هذا إبنُ عِرْسٍ مُقْبِلٌ) ، فرفعه على وجهين ، فوجهٌ مثلُ (هذا زيدٌ مقبلٌ) ، و وجهٌ
على أنه جعل ما بعده نكرة ، فصار مضافاً إلى نكرة ، بمنزلة قولك (هذا رجلٌ منطلقٌ) .

They have claimed that some Arabs say (هـذا إبـنُ عِـرْسٍ مُقْـبِـلٌ) [this is Ibnu-'Irs coming NOM]. The nominative case of (إبنُ عِرْسٍ) is attributable to two meanings. The first is similar to that of (هـذا زيـدٌ مقـبلٌ) [this is Zaid coming], while the second is that the speaker has made what follows it indefinite, and so it became annexed to an indefinite noun, just like your saying (هذا رجلٌ منطلقٌ).

(al-Kitāb: II. 97)

In (93) above, the difference between one utterance and the other is not structural but intentional in that it is entirely related to the speaker's meaning. Thus, the utterance (هذا الرجلُ) can refer to a certain **perfect** man, or to the

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prototype of any man, in accordance to the speakers intention in the context of situation. Similarly, the utterance (هذا إبنُ عِرْسٍ مُتُقبِلٌ) can refer either to a **determinate** person whose name is *'Ibnu 'Irs*, or to an **indefinite** person **in the state of coming**; i.e., the prototype of any person coming.

3.11 Levels of Syntactic Structures

When two utterances express similar propositional content, al-Kitāb does not stipulate that any one of them is derived from the other by way of some transformation rule, as the earlier generativists did (Harris, 1952; Chomsky, 1957). In such a case, the relationship between the two is defined as that of **equality in meaning**. Sībawaihi's term in this respect is that 'utterance A has the same status (بمنزلة), or meaning (المعنى واحد) as that of structure B'.

(94)

ألا ترى أن قولك (قد ذهبَ) <u>بمنزلة</u> قولك (قد كان منه ذَهابٌ).

You can certainly see that your saying (قد ذهبَ)[AssPart V(S) = *verily went (he)*] **has the same status** as your saying (قد كان منه ذَهابٌ) [AssPart AUXpast PP NP = *verily was from him going* (*verily, there was a going from him*)].

(al-Kitāb: I. 34)

(95)

ألا ترى أنك تقول (ضربتُ زيداً) ولا تجاوز هذا المفعول ، وتقول (ضُربَ زيدٌ) فلا يتعداه فعله لأن <u>المعنى واحد</u> . وتقول (كسوتُ زيداً ثوباً) فتجاز إلى مفعول آخر ، وتقول (كُسي زيدٌ ثوباً) فلا تجاوز (الثوبَ) لأن الأول <u>بمنزلة</u> المنصوب لأن <u>المعنى واحد</u> وإن كان لفظه لفظ الفاعل .

You can certainly see that you say (ضربتُ زيداً) [VSO$_{ACC}$ = *hit I Zaid$_{ACC}$, I hit Zaid*] without your passing over this last patient [Zaid]; and you say (ضُربَ زيدٌ)[Pass. VP NP$_{NOM}$, *was hit Zaid$_{NOM}$ = Zaid was hit*] where the verb does not pass over the patient because the meaning is the same. And you say (كسوتُ زيداً ثوباً)[(VSO$_{1\ ACC}$ O$_{2\ ACC}$)(*dressed I Zaid a dress = I dressed Zaid a dress*)] where you pass over the first patient to a second one. However, you say (كُسي زيدٌ ثوباً) [(Pass.VP NP$_{NOM}$ NP

_{ACC}) (*was dressed Zaid_{NOM} a dress = Zaid was dressed a dress*)] without passing over the patient (الثوبَ) because the preceding [nominative] noun has the same status as that of the set-up noun [the first accusative patient (زيداً) in (كسـوتُ زيداً ثوباً)], and the meaning is the same though its uttered form is that of the subject [the nominative (زيدٌ)].

(al-Kitāb: I. 42-3)

Of particular interest is text (94) since it tackles the now-famous passive- active transformation, not as a derivation of one structure from another, but as the same meaning being expressed by two different structures. Passive constructions in CA require the accusative patient of the active sentence to take up the nominative case, acting as a pro-agent. Here lies the first motivation behind considering the two structures formally different, but semantically similar. The second motivation is that utterances in CA are not structured to the passive voice unless the speaker is intent on agent-deletion; either because such an agent is well known and needs not to be mentioned, or totally unknown, or is known but the speaker does not want to mention him. Such an agent deletion makes the passive utterance have a lesser syntactic and informative structure than the active one. In this case, the serviceable information structure dictates the speaker's choice of one syntactic structure rather than the other.

Besides the case of two different structures that express the same meaning, al-Kitāb differentiates between two related levels of syntactic representation: **the uttered structure** and **the meaning structure**. Sībawaihi's corresponding Arabic terms for these two structures are (في اللفظ) and (في المعنى), respectively.

(96)

هذا باب استعمال الفعل <u>في اللفظ</u> لا <u>في المعنى</u> لإتساعهم في الكلام و الإيجاز و الإختصار . فمن ذلك ان تقول على قول السائل (كم صيد عليه؟) و (كم) غير ظرف لما ذكرت لك من الإتساع و الإيجاز ، فتقول (صيد عليه يومان) . و إنّما المعنى (صيد عليه الوحشُ في يومين) ، ولكنه اتسع و اختصر .

This is the section of using the verb according to the uttered structure rather than the meaning due to the speakers' extension of speech, and for brevity and economy. Of such cases is the one in

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which you say, after hearing the question:(**كـم صـيد عليـه ؟**) [*how much was hunted on it*], (**صـيد**),

عليـه يومـان)[*VP PASS PP NP = hunted on it two days*]. The question word (كـم) [*how much/many*] is
not an adverbial in this utterance but is used according to what I have mentioned to you about the
extension and brevity. Here your answer means (**صـيد عليـه الـوحشُ فـي يـومين**) [*the beasts were
hunted on it for two days*], but the first utterance has been extended and made briefer.

(al-Kitāb: I. 211)

(97)

و إنَّـا أضـمروا مـا كان يقع مظهراً استخفافاً ، و لأن المخاطب يعلم ما يعني ، فجرى بمنزلة المثل ، كما تقول (لا عليك) ، وقد عرف

المخاطب ما تعني أنه (لا بأس عليك).

Arab speakers suppress what was primarily overt for the sake of making speech lighter, and
because the addressee knows what is meant. So, in such cases, it [the suppressed utterance]
acquires the status of a proverb [idiom] as in your saying   (لا عليك)[*no on you*]. Here the
addressee knows that what you mean is   (لا بأس عليك)[*no harm on you = don't worry*].

(Al-Kitāb: I. 224)

It is obvious that the two levels of syntactic structure and meaning structure
roughly correspond to TG's **surface** and **deep** structure (later: the modified D-
structure and S-structure)(Horrocks, 1987: 98, Radford, 1988: 456). Al-Kitāb
describes the relationship between the two as that of spell-out since the second
structure lexicalizes all the suppressed components in the first structure.
However, Sībawaihi knew that it was unwise to stipulate that one structure is the
basic and the other is its **transform** simply because of the linguistic
phenomenon of idiomaticization which renders the spelt-out structure no longer
acceptable after its currency (c.f. 3.3.5). In other words, the meaning structure in
such cases turns into a purely abstract structure that serves the sole purpose of
grammatical description. As seen in quotations (58-60), Sībawaihi calls such
structure (تمثيل و لا يُتكلم به)[simulation that does not occur in speech].

3.12 Coherence

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In (3.3.1.2), it was mentioned that the organization of al-Kitāb is based on the top-bottom description of the language; starting with syntax, then moving to morphology, and closing with phonology. This plan is essentially a speaker-oriented one, starting with meaning and closing with phonation. Books of grammar in the West – Thrax (100 BC) of Ancient Greek, Priscian (6th century AD) of Latin, and Jespersen (1933) of English – typically follow the **opposite** direction, though Thrax does not deal with syntax (Dinneen, 1967: 95-105). It has also been shown in (3.3.3) that Sībawaihi anchors his description upon the theory of markedness by making the discussion proceed from the general to the particular, from whole to part, and from the prototypical structures to the atypical ones (e.g. al-Kitāb: I. 12-3, 33; III. 385; IV. 43). A third technique prevalent in al-Kitāb constitutes in the juxtaposition of the different manifestations of related, or similar, grammatical phenomena, as briefly discussed in (3.3.1.4). Clearly, these three procedures systematize the description, and add coherence to it.

Coherence in al-Kitāb is also enhanced by virtue of a fourth technique: the selection of an exemplar for each particular structure, which is reiterated throughout the discussion whenever deemed contextually necessary as a sort of cross-reference. The presumable expectation here is that the learner of the grammar starts his study of al-Kitāb on a step by step progression from the beginning till the end, and gets acquainted with each exemplar in the process of learning. That is why the learner or the researcher who does not start from the beginning of al-Kitāb may encounter an exemplar that looks as if it were out of context. One instance of such a case has already been mentioned in the discussion of quotation number (12), and hereunder is another one, cited for the sake of confirmation since it succinctly elucidates all the four techniques above:

(98)

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هذا باب ما يكون استثناءً بإلاَّ .

اعلم أنَّ (إلا) يكون الاسم بعدها على وجهين : فأحد الوجهين أن لا تغير الاسم عن الحال التي كان عليها قبل أن تَلحقَ ، كما أن (لا) ،

حين قلتَ (لا مرحباً و لا سلامٌ) ، لم تغير الاسم عن حاله قبل أن تَلحقَ ، فكذلك (إلا) ، ولكنها تجيء لمعنى كما تجيء (لا) لمعنى .

و الوجه الآخر أن يكون الاسمُ بعدها خارجاً مما دخل فيه ما قبله ، عاملاً فيه ما قبله من الكلام ، كما تعمل (عِشرونَ)

فيما بعدها إذا قلت (عشرون درهماً) .

This is the section of exception with the particle (َّإلا) [*'illā = but,* or *except*].

Bear in mind that the noun following (*'illā*) takes one of two cases. In the first case, you let the name (following *'illā*) keep the same inflectional endings that it has before your adding of (*'illā*) to it .This is similar to the case when you add (لا) [*lā =* not] in your saying (لا مرحباً و لا سلامٌ) wherein you keep the inflection of the noun as it was before your addition. The same is the case with (*'illā*), though it occurs in the utterance to perform a certain grammatical function as does (*lā*).

In the second case the noun after (*'illā*) is exclusive of what is added to it and is governed by the preceding (*'illā*), just like the regimen of (عشـرون)[twenty] in your saying (عشـرون درهمـاً =twenty dirhams).

<div align="right">(al-Kitāb: II. 310)</div>

The text above starts by stating the general rule of **exception** with the exceptive particle (إلا)(*'illā).* In CA, exception as a grammatical function has its particular formal correlates, and is not – like in English – a matter of using **prepositions** like *except* or *but* before the excluded nouns. Sībawaihi begins his discussion by stating the **general rule** in the first line: two cases. The **particular** grammatical manifestations of this rule are then described in nineteen successive pages (II. 310-19).

After the general rule, Sībawaihi explains that in the first case the noun to which the particle (إلا)(*'illā)* is added remains morphologically unchanged. Then he **juxtaposes** this case with the similar case, previously discussed on page (295) of the same volume, according to which it was shown that the negative particle (لا)(*lā)* is added to the utterance without changing the morphological form of the noun after it. Here, Sībawaihi does not forget to assert that the non-operative

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particles (لا)(*lā*) and (إلا)(*'illā*) both serve to carry out a specific grammatical function: **negation** in the former and **exception** in the latter.

In the second case, the added particle of (إلا)(*'illā*) causes the noun after it to assume the set-up case because this noun is not equative with the other noun that occurs before (إلا)(*'illā*). This issue is discussed on page (II. 319), and is exemplified by the utterance (ما فيها أحدٌ إلّا حماراً) wherein (*'illā*) is followed by the noun (حماراً) in the accusative case because this noun stands in an exocentric relation with the remainder of the utterance (ما فيها أحد), which is a complete, self-sufficient clause. Sībawaihi's term for the distributional relation of exocentricity is (خارجاً مما دخل فيه) 'exclusive of what is added to it'. Another more widely used term in al-Kitāb to denote this relationship is (و لا هو هو), meaning 'the two constituents are not the same'. Having explained the second case, Sībawaihi reminds the reader of a similar previous case wherein the first element is operative upon the second, and the two also engage in an exocentric relationship. To such cross-reference lies the import of the **exemplar** of (عشرون درهماً), in which the first constituent (عشرون) causes the second constituent (درهماً) to assume the set up case, because it is exclusive of it, in what is known as (تنوين النصب), **the accusative of nunation**, discussed on page (II. 118) and elsewhere in al-Kitāb.

Sībawaihi's approach of juxtaposing contrastive structures and relations has induced Carter (1978) to trace the use of (عشرون درهماً) as one particular exemplar of coherent integration of different, but related, grammatical relations in al-Kitāb. His study discusses at least (22) instances where this expression is used by Sībawaihi, gives their context, and shows both their explanatory and integrative functions. Carter's conclusion in this respect is that: 'Western researchers are known to have misunderstood Sībawaihi due to their failure to appreciate the import of [the exemplar] (عشرون درهماً).'

4 Conclusion

It is hoped that the discussion conducted so far has provided concrete textual evidence validating the hypothesis that reads:

‘The linguistic thinking in al-Kitāb has no relationship, whatsoever, with the linguistic tradition of Ancient Greek, and is quite more advanced than its Grecian counterpart’.

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