

PATTERNS OF REASONING: SĪBWAYHI'S ANALYSIS OF THE *HĀL*

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This is a somewhat experimental paper. If it succeeds it will show that Sībawayhi's thinking is essentially non-linear, that is, he works with a complex array of interlocking notions, all of which are present in his mind simultaneously, rather than in a sequence of ideas, each following progressively from the previous one. If the paper fails, it will at least have demonstrated that Sībawayhi's thinking is of a kind which lesser minds cannot reduce to some arbitrary scheme.

Non-linearity is now a familiar presence. With computers we can construct texts which do not have to be read in any particular order¹; while under the pseudonym of "hypertext" a document may consist of many linked texts, between which we move at will with a click of the mouse. And computer programmers use "parallel processing" and "neural networks" to replicate in machines the activity of thinking in the brain.

Muslims have been using a hypertext for centuries: it was Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), who pointed out that the Qur'ān talks to itself, i.e. it is full of internal self-references, with the result that the meaning of a verse may not become apparent until the contents of some other verse are taken into account². Moreover, for the *ḥāfiẓ* who has internalized the Qur'ān, it has physically become part of his neural network, and he can access it both in a linear way (scanning through a sequence of verses) or a non-linear way (making random connections between words or verses), according to need. And this, in turn, reflects the theological status of the Qur'ān, whose original version has no dimensions at all, but exists as a prototypical hypertext with God, which the *ḥāfiẓ* re-creates in his own mind.

Since the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi has itself been called the "Qur'ān of grammar" it seems appropriate to apply similar thinking to the arrangement of its subject matter. Sībawayhi certainly displays an almost God-like omniscience about the contents of the *Kitāb*: there are forward and backward references extending over hundreds of pages, leaving no doubt that he did indeed have the complete *Kitāb* in his head, at

¹ This has been a literary conceit for some time, e.g. Pavič 1989, which may be read in any order (and which, moreover, appears in a "male" and "female" version differing in only one paragraph, but that is a different kind of joke).

² Ibn Fāris, *Ṣāhibi* 239ff. He says he has even written a book about it (which is unfortunately not extant). Islam has long been characterized as "intertextual", but in this case we are dealing with what might be called "intratextuality".

least at the stage where he was composing the version he worked on with his pupil al-Aḥfaṣ, the one we now have.

It is already curious that Sibawayhi deals with the *ḥāl* in so many different places and from so many different perspectives, pragmatic, structural, semantic etc., in clusters of chapters broadly as follows: (1) as a Transitivity problem, i.e. the *ḥāl* as one of the Objects of the Verb and therefore having Dep. form, which also raises questions of the Dep. form as a default Case for items occurring outside complete phrases or sentences, (2) as an Agreement problem, largely involving the difference between Predication and Adjectival Qualification (which require Agreement) on the one hand, and Adverbial Qualification (which requires Dep. forms) on the other, again raising related questions of Definiteness, Class Membership at both syntactical and semantic level, and word order, (3) as a social act implementing the speaker's choice, usually affected by the Context of Situation, and often in connection with free Dep. forms as *ḥāls* of elided or unexpressed Verbs and (4) as affected by the various morphological and semantic constraints on the choice of *ḥāl* (not every Verbal Noun can be a *ḥāl*, not every Adj. can occur in the place of a Noun etc.).

But before we can begin, there are three problems with the word *ḥāl* itself:

(1) It may not even be a specific technical term for Sibawayhi. Although by the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 286/898) it had evidently become one (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 166),

هذا باب من المفعول ولكننا عزّ لنا مما قبله لأنّه مفعول فيه وهو الذي يسمّيه النحويون
الحال

it is very often used in the *Kitāb* to refer simply to the context of an utterance (in the following quotation it is used both for "state or condition" and "speaker's situation"):

وذلك قولك أتميمياً مرةً وقيسياً أخرى وإنما هذا أنك رأيت رجلاً في حال تلوّن وتنفّل
فقلت أتميمياً مرةً وقيسياً أخرى كأنك قلت أتحوّل تميمياً مرةً وقيسياً أخرى فأنت في
هذه الحال تعمل في تثبيت هذا له وهو عندك في تلك الحال في تلوّن وتنفّل وليس يسأله
مسترشداً عن أمر هو جاهل به ليفهّمه إياه ويخبره عنه ولكنه وبّخه بذلك [I, 144/172]

Sometimes it is impossible to distinguish between *ḥāl* in the literal meaning of "situation or circumstance" and *ḥāl* in the technical meaning of "Dep. Noun in the function of Circumstantial Qualifier", e.g.

هذا باب ما ينتصب لأنه حالٌ صار فيها المسؤول والمسؤول عنه * وذلك قولك ما شأنك قائماً
وما شأن زيد قائماً وما لأخيك قائماً فهذا حالٌ قد صار فيه وانتصب بقولك ما شأنك كما
ينتصب قائماً في قولك هذا عبدُ الله قائماً بما قبله [I, 211-2/247-8]

There may be a good reason for this indeterminacy, which is a general feature of the terminology of the *Kitāb*: Sibawayhi evidently had no interest in separating the real world from the linguistic world: the word *fi'l*, for example, can just as well de-

note an action as a Verb, i.e. a non-linguistic event or a Part of Speech, *ṣifa* can denote a quality or an Adjective, *badal* an act of substituting or the substituted word itself, and so on. It appears that Sibawayhi consciously ignored the boundary between the extra-linguistic context and the strictly linguistic features of an utterance, because for him there was a continuum of participation in the act of speaking, within which the speaker and his words have different levels of autonomy according to the circumstances³. For the purposes of this paper, however, as a term *ḥāl* will always be used to mean the Dep. Noun Qualifier.

(2) It is somewhat strange that Sibawayhi does not concern himself anywhere in the *Kitāb* with the syntax of the Sentence *ḥāl*, confining his analysis to the Dep. Noun type of *ḥāl*, yet he is perfectly aware of the existence of the Sentence *ḥāl* and not only uses one to paraphrase the Noun *ḥāl* but also uses a Sentence *ḥāl* containing the word *ḥāl* itself, *wa-ḥādīhi ḥāluhu* "this being his situation":

وذلك قولك كلمته فاهُ إلى فيَّ وبأبعثته يداً بيد كأنه قال كلمته مشافهةً وبأبعثته نقداً أي كلمته في هذه الحال وبعض العرب تقول كلمته فوه إلى فيَّ كأنه يقول كلمته فوه إلى فيَّ أي كلمته وهذه حاله فالرفعُ على قوله كلمته وهذه حاله والنصبُ على قوله كلمته في هذه الحال فانصب لأنه حال وقع فيه الفعل [I, 165/195-6]

It was left to the later grammarians to classify this structure and, since it was not a formal *ḥāl* in Sibawayhi's sense, they were obliged to call it the "implicit *ḥāl*", *ḥāl muqaddar*⁴.

(3) For reasons best known to himself Sibawayhi likes to play with the verb *ḥāla* in the sense of "to intervene" when speaking of the grammatical *ḥāl*:

فالاسمُ الأولُ المفعولُ في ضربتُ قد حالٌ بينه وبين الفعل أن يكونَ فيه بمنزلة كما حالَ الفاعلُ بينه وبين الفعل في ذهبَ أن يكونَ فاعلاً وكما حالتِ الأسماءُ المجرورةُ بين ما بعدها وبين الجارِ في قولك لي مثله رجلاً ولي مثله عَسلاً [I, 16/20]

It is true that Intervention and Separation are important concepts in his general theory of Dep. forms (see below), but this word-game hardly makes it easier to follow the argument⁵!

In order to display graphically the contents of a non-linear system of thinking, a Cube has been chosen (Fig. 1) because it is easy to represent eight different but inter-linked topics in this configuration. Of course there are other notions which should

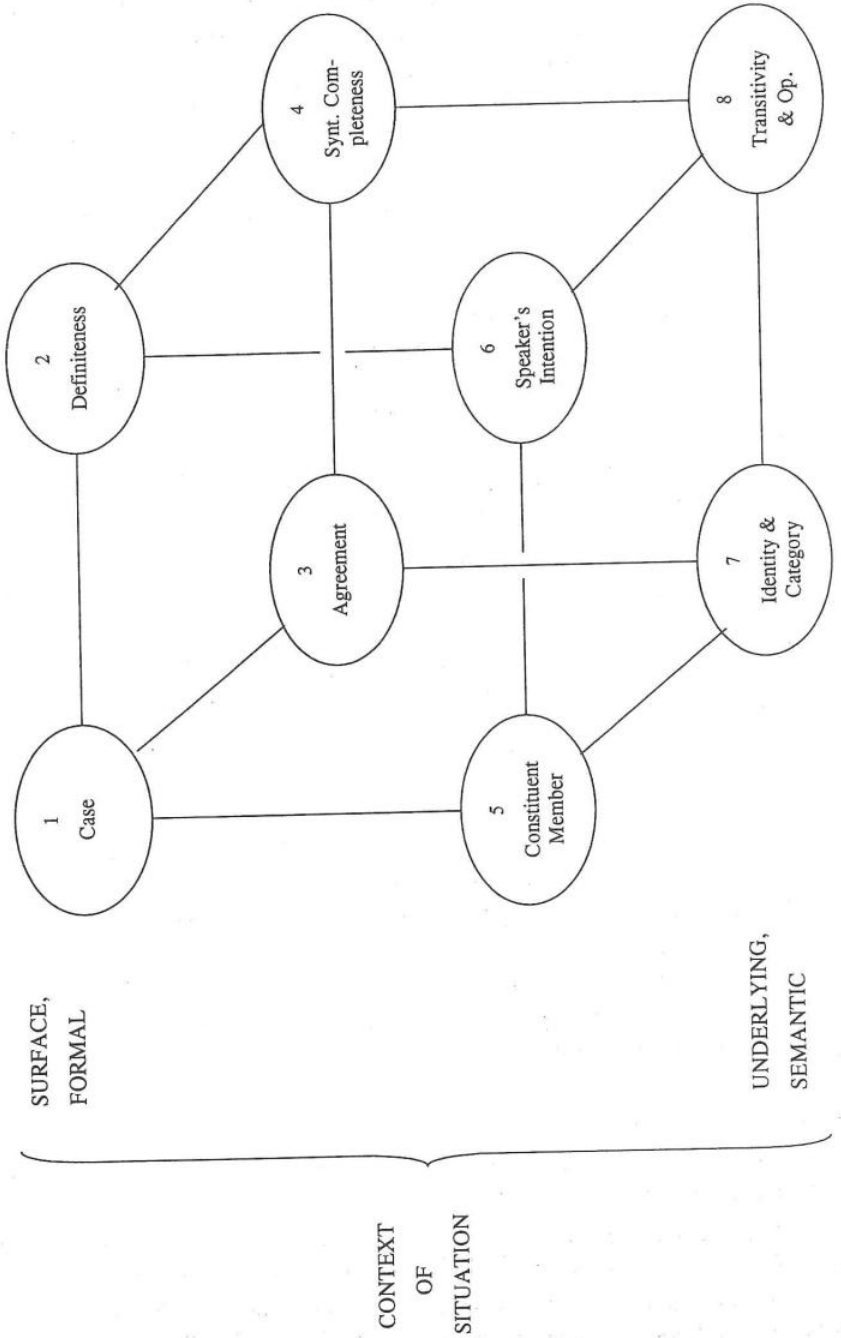
³ The impression is reinforced by Sibawayhi's use of the term *kalām* in so many different senses, see T. Iványi's paper in these *Proceedings* 17-36.

⁴ The sentence *ḥāl* is well recognized later, of course, as a "clause with an inflectional function", *ḡumla labā maḥall fi l-ḡrāb*, e.g. in Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* Chapter 2 (II, 41-83, esp. 46ff).

⁵ For a similar example of grammarian's wit see the acronym SNIP (Separation and Non-Identity Principle) which was coined for this phenomenon by Owens (1990:109).

Figure 1

The Cube below represents only a sketch of the possibilities: to illustrate the relationships between the concepts in appropriate graphic detail would require many more connecting lines than shown here.



be included, but this would require a more complex diagram. For simplicity the joining lines are limited to those forming the sides of the Cube: in true non-linear thinking every topic will be connected with all the others, requiring 16 more lines. Finally it is not claimed that the position of each concept on the Cube is the only possible one, though in practice this is only of graphic relevance: since all the concepts were available to Sībawayhi simultaneously, his thinking is not even spatial and cannot be reproduced as such.

A vertical division separates the Context of Situation from the Speech Act proper, and there is a horizontal division of Surface and Underlying features, which occupy the top and bottom surfaces of the Cube respectively.

The concepts are as follows, illustrated by the most conveniently brief examples from a large selection (numbers correspond to points on the Cube, and the references to the *Kitāb* are to Derenbourg/Būlāq, with the vowels of the Būlāq edition)⁶:

(0). CONTEXT OF SITUATION (unnumbered because it is outside the utterance): Every speech act occurs in a real context, which often affects grammatical form. Indeed the Context itself may itself be a Substitute (*badal*) for part of an utterance:

وأما النصبُ فكأنه بناء على قوله قدِمْتُ فقال قدِمْتُ خيرَ مَقْدَمٍ وإن لم يُسْمَعْ منه هذا
اللفظُ فإنَّ قدومه ورؤيته إياه بمنزلة قوله قدِمْتُ [I, 114-5/136-7]

Sībawayhi's approach is conspicuously pragmatic, and many of the factors listed below depend on the Context of Situation in one way or another.

(1). CASE: the choice is usually between Dep. form and some other Case determined by the factors below, such as Syntactical Completeness, Identity/Non-identity or Constituent Membership, with Dep. as the default case for the true *hāl*:

هذا باب ما يَعْمَلُ فيه الفعلُ فيَنْتَصِبُ وهو حالٌ وقع فيه الفعلُ [I, 15/20]

(2). DEFINITENESS: the *hāl* is normally Indef.:

فإذا كان الاسمُ حالا يكون فيه الأمرُ لم تَدْخُلْه الألفُ واللامُ ولم تُضَفْ لو قلتُ ضربتهُ القائمُ
تريد قائماً كان قبيحاً ولو قلتُ ضربتهُ قائمهمُ قائمهمُ تريد قائمينُ كان قبيحاً [I, 158/189]

Its Antecedent is normally Def. because it is the topic of some additional information (*habar*) provided by the *hāl*, and thus it follows the rule for Predication that the Subj. must be identifiable to the listener, though Sībawayhi somewhat takes this for granted:

باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ فيه الخبرُ لأنه خيرٌ لمعروفٍ يَرْتَفِعُ على الابتداء [I, 222/260]

(3). AGREEMENT: in Case is a marker of non-*hāls*, viz. Adjectival Qual. or Pred., and so may be relevant if the intention is to construct such a unit or to Coordinate two items in the same Constituent, which will both contrast with the Dep. (i.e. non-Agreeing) form of a *hāl*:

⁶ The edition of Hārūn has the Būlāq pagination in the margin.

وكذلك مررتُ برجلٍ معه الفرسُ راكباً بِرَدُونًا إن لم ترد الصفةُ نصبتُ كأنك قلتُ معه الفرسُ راكباً برَدُونًا فهذا لا يكون فيه وصفٌ ولا يكون إلا خبراً [I, 206/242]

Agreement in Definiteness will likewise indicate that the item is not a *ḥāl*:

وذلك قولك ضربتُ عبدَ الله قائماً وذهبَ زيدٌ راكباً فلو كان بمنزلة المفعول الذي يتعدى إليه فعلُ الفاعلِ نحو عبد الله وزيد ما جاز في ذهبٍ ولجاز أن تقول ضربتُ زيدا أباك وضربتُ زيدا القائمَ لا تريد بالأب ولا بالقائمِ الصفةَ ولا البَدَلُ [I, 15-16/20]

(4). SYNTACTICAL COMPLETENESS: a *ḥāl* is typically found after the completion of an utterance, hence completeness may determine whether an element is a *ḥāl* or not:

وانتصبَ لأنّ هذا الكلام قد عمَل فيها كما عمل الرجلُ في العِلْم حين قلتُ أنت الرجلُ عِلْمًا فاعلمُ منتصبٌ على ما فسرتُ لك وعمل فيه ما قبله كما عمل عشرون في الدرهم حين قلتُ عشرون درهما [I, 235/274-5]

Note that the expression *ʿišrūna dirḥaman* is invoked here as the symbol of the syntactically complete unit which must therefore be followed by Dep. elements (see also below).

(5). CONSTITUENT MEMBERSHIP: this is a grammatical feature usually marked by Agreement in Case and/or Definiteness, e.g. of Noun and Adj. or Subj. and Pred., or between Coordinated items. A *ḥāl* is not a member of these units, and will therefore show lack of Agreement (cf. also the notion of Intervention below, 8):

هذا باب ما يُنصبُ فيه الاسمُ لأنه لا سبيل له أن يكون صفةً * وذلك قولك هذا رجلٌ معه رجلٌ قائمينِ فهذا يُنصبُ لأنّ الهاء التي في معه معرفةٌ فأشرك بينهما [I, 210/246] واعلم أنه لا يجوز أن تصف النكرةَ والمعرفةَ كما لا يجوز وصفُ المختلفين وذلك قولك هذه ناقةٌ وفصيلُها الراتعان فهذا محالٌ لأنّ الراتعان لا يكونان صفةً للفصيل ولا للناقة ولا تستطيع أن تجعل بعضها نكرةً وبعضها معرفةً وهذا قول الخليل [I, 211/247]

(6). SPEAKER'S INTENTIONS: these are closely linked with the extra-linguistic context, but in any case are often the sole syntactic determinant, e.g.

وأما الرفع فعلى أنه جعل ذلك أمراً ثابتاً ولم يرد أن يجعله على الفعل وجعله مبتدأً أو مبنياً على مبنداً فكأنته قال هذا خيرٌ مَقْدَم [I, 115/137]

where the choice of *ḥayru maqdamin* or *ḥayra maqdamin* is entirely up to the speaker.

(7). IDENTITY AND CATEGORY: these are the semantic attributes of Constituent Membership, i.e. Identity will tend to result in Agreement, and non-Identity will be marked by Dep. forms, reflecting the fact that the latter are not members of the same Constituent. The second and third items in the following list are non-identical and therefore Dep.:

واعلم أن الشيء يوصف بالشيء الذي هو هو وهو من اسمه وذلك قولك هذا زيد الطويل ويكون هو هو وليس من اسمه كقولك هذا زيد ذاهباً ويوصف بالشيء الذي ليس به ولا من اسمه كقولك هذا درهمٌ وزناً لا يكون إلا نصيباً [I, 237/276]

(8). TRANSITIVITY AND GRAMMATICAL OPERATION: Composite elements (normally complete units, such as Subj. + Pred., Verb + Ag.) will operate on others in the Dep. form; Sībawayhi uses this notion to account both for the regular occurrence of Dep. forms after Complete Sentences and also for the occurrence of Dep. forms in situations where the Verb has been either replaced by another element or omitted altogether because the Context of Situation makes it unnecessary:

وذلك قولك ويحـه رجلاً [...] وانتصب الرجل لأنه ليس من الكلام الأول وعمل فيه الكلام الأول فصار الهاء بمنزلة التنوين [I, 258/299]

An important correlative of Transitivity is the Separation Principle, which states that elements which are prevented from being Adjacent to an Operator will take Dep. Form. The "20 Dirhams" structure (see below) is the model for this, but it is also stated by Sībawayhi without reference to that example:

فمنطلق [في هذا عبد الله منطلقاً] حالٌ قد صار فيها عبدُ الله وحالٌ بين منطلق وهذا كما حال بين راكب والفعل حين قلت جاء عبدُ الله راكباً صار جاء لعبد الله وصار الراكبُ حالاً [I, 218/256]

A number of concepts simply cannot be included in the diagram, because it would require a much larger polygon and many more connecting lines, and in any case such a graphic representation of non-linear thinking can never be truly isomorphic or exhaustive: it is merely intended to be illustrative.

Among the notions not depicted on the Cube are:

- Lexical and Semantic considerations, of which Sībawayhi was well aware⁷.
- Morphological restraints on the kinds of words which can function as *hāl*.
- Word Order issues, among the most important of which is the directional nature of grammatical effect (*amal*) which does not normally permit words to operate on elements which precede them. The neutralization of grammatical effect is also well recognized and forms part of the argument in Example B below.
- Time and Simultaneity, though Sībawayhi certainly discusses them in the context of the word-classes which may function as *hāls*.
- Various distributional factors, often involving the syntactic "power" (*quwwa*) and "freedom" (*taṣarruf*) of words, depending on the form-class they belong to. The substitutability (*badal*) of elements of equal status (*manzila*) is part of many discussions of the *hāl*.

⁷ Thus you can say *huwa r-raġulu 'ilman wa-ḥikman* "he is the man for wisdom and sagacity" but not "he is the man for horses and camels", *ḥaylan wa-ibilan* [I, 163/194].

- Compulsory v. Optional deletion, whether it is a decision of the speaker or follows an observed Bedouin practice.

Here follow two examples of Sibawayhi's discussion of the *ḥāl* using the ideas set out above. They are chosen mainly because of the high concentration of different topics raised, but are typical of Sibawayhi's analysis throughout the *Kitāb*.

(A). Uses Context of Situation (0), Case (1), Agreement (3), Syntactic Completeness (4), Constituent membership (5), Intention (6) and Transitivity (8).

هذا باب ما يَرْتَفَعُ فِيهِ الْخَبْرُ لِأَنَّهُ مَبْنِيٌّ عَلَى مَبْتَدٍ أَوْ يَنْتَصِبُ فِيهِ الْخَبْرُ لِأَنَّهُ حَالٌ لِمَعْرُوفٍ مَبْنِيٍّ عَلَى مَبْتَدٍ * فَأَمَّا الرَّفْعُ فَقَوْلُكَ هَذَا الرَّجُلُ مُنْطَلِقٌ فَالرَّجُلُ صِفَةٌ لِهَذَا وَهَمَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ اسْمٍ وَاحِدٍ كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ هَذَا مُنْطَلِقٌ [...]]

[...] وَأَمَّا النَّصْبُ فَقَوْلُكَ هَذَا الرَّجُلُ مُنْطَلِقًا جَعَلْتَ الرَّجُلَ مَبْنِيًّا عَلَى هَذَا وَجَعَلْتَ الْخَبْرَ حَالًا لَهُ قَدْ صَارَ فِيهَا فَصَارَ كَقَوْلِكَ هَذَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ مُنْطَلِقًا وَإِنَّمَا يَرَى فِي هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ أَنَّ يَذْكُرُ الْمُخَاطَبَ بِرَجُلٍ قَدْ عَرَفَهُ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ وَهُوَ فِي الرَّفْعِ لَا يَرِيدُ أَنْ يَذْكُرَهُ بِأَحَدٍ وَإِنَّمَا أَشَارَ فَقَالَ هَذَا مُنْطَلِقٌ فَكَأَنَّ مَا يَنْتَصِبُ مِنْ أَخْبَارِ الْمَعْرِفَةِ يَنْتَصِبُ عَلَى أَنَّهُ حَالٌ مَفْعُولٌ فِيهَا لِأَنَّ الْمَبْتَدَأَ يَعْمَلُ فِيمَا بَعْدَهُ كَعَمَلِ الْفِعْلِ فِيمَا يَكُونُ بَعْدَهُ وَيَكُونُ فِيهِ مَعْنَى التَّنْبِيهِ وَالتَّعْرِيفِ وَيَحُولُ بَيْنَ الْخَبْرِ وَالاسْمِ الْمَبْتَدَأِ كَمَا يَحُولُ الْفَاعِلُ بَيْنَ الْفِعْلِ وَالْخَبْرِ فَيَصِيرُ حَالًا قَدْ ثَبَتَ فِيهَا [I, 221-2/260]

The differences between *ḥādā r-raḡulu muntaliqun* and *ḥādā r-raḡulu muntaliqan* are explained as follows:

They are due to the speaker's choice (6) between Predication and *ḥāl*.

If Predication is chosen the two elements *ḥādā* and *ar-raḡulu* must be members of the same Constituent (5) and therefore Agree (3) because *ar-raḡulu* is an Adj. Qualifier of *ḥādā*, which allows them to function together as the Subj., with *muntaliqun* as the Pred., both therefore in Indep. case (1).

But if the *ḥāl* is chosen (6) the Dep. case of *muntaliqan* is required (1), because *ar-raḡulu* is now the Pred. of *ḥādā*, hence no longer in the same Constituent (5). Further, the *ḥāl* option has the purpose (6) of reminding the listener about somebody he already knows (0), whereas the the Subj.-Pred. unit, with Agreement (3) simply intends to inform the listener that a certain person indicated (but not necessarily known to the listener before) has gone away.

The Dep. Case (1) occurs after a syntactically complete statement (8) where the first element (Subj. or Verb) operates on the second (4), in which the second element (Pred. or Agent) intervenes (8) between the first and third elements, causing the Dep. form. The third element here indicates a situation (*ḥāl*, here in the literal sense!) in which the action is done, and the previous (complete) sentence is intended (6) to alert or inform the listener of the topic of the *ḥāl*, the *ḥāl* itself being a comment (*ḥabar*) indicating the circumstances (0).

(B). Uses Case (1), Definiteness (2), Agreement (3), Syntactic Completeness (4), Constituent Membership (5), Speaker's Intention (6), Identity and Category (7) and Transitivity (8).

هذا باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ فِيهِ الْخَبْرُ لِأَنَّهُ خَيْرٌ لِمَعْرُوفٍ يَرْتَفِعُ عَلَى الْإِبْتِدَاءِ قَدَمَتَهُ أَوْ أَخْرَجَتْهُ * وَذَلِكَ قَوْلِكَ فِيهَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ قَائِمًا وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ فِيهَا قَائِمًا فَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ ارْتَفَعَ لِابْتِدَاءِ لَأَنَّ الَّذِي ذَكَرَ قَبْلَهُ وَبَعْدَهُ لَيْسَ بِهِ وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ مَوْضِعٌ لَهُ وَلَكِنَّهُ يَجْرِي مَجْرَى الْأَسْمِ الْمَبْنِيِّ عَلَى مَا قَبْلَهُ أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّكَ لَوْ قُلْتَ فِيهَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ حَسَنَ السَّكُوتِ وَكَانَ كَلَامًا مُسْتَقِيمًا [...] فَصَارَ قَوْلُكَ فِيهَا كَقَوْلِكَ اسْتَغْرَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تُخْبِرَ عَلَى آيَةٍ حَالٍ اسْتَغْرَ فَقُلْتَ قَائِمًا فَقَائِمٌ حَالٌ مُسْتَقَرٌّ فِيهَا وَإِنْ شِئْتَ أَلْفَيْتَ فِيهَا فَقُلْتَ فِيهَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ قَائِمٌ [...] كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ الْبِرُّ مَكْنُوزٌ عِنْدِي وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ قَائِمٌ فِيهَا [I, 222-3/261]

Here the speaker's choices (6) lie between *fibā 'abdullāhi qā'imān* and *fibā 'abdullāhi qā'imūn*.

The Dep. form (1) is accounted for by the fact that *qā'imān* is a comment (*ḥabar*) on a Def. element (2) which is Subj. of a (complete) Sentence (4), so the Sentence operates on it like a Verb (8) and makes it Dep. (1)

Under those circumstances *fibā* functions as a Pred. (5), even though it is not actually identical with the Subj. (7) but only a location for it to be in, making an utterance which is self sufficient and structurally complete (4), as if you had started with *istaqarra 'abdullāhi* and then wanted (6) to say in what situation, so you added *qā'imān*. Here Sībawayhi invokes the theory of the *zarf*, which shares several features with the *ḥāl*, particularly the property of non-identity, hence a Subj. cannot "be" a location, only be "in it", though this is enough to form a complete utterance.

Alternatively the *fibā* can be neutralized (*alḡayta*), losing its grammatical effect (8), whereupon you say *fibā 'abdullāhi qā'imūn*, now with *'abdullāhi* as Subj. and *qā'imūn* as Pred. (5), (7), and *qā'imūn* is Indep. (1),(3) as if you had said *'abdullāhi qā'imūn fibā*, with *'abdullāhi qā'imūn* already a complete utterance (4)

What this paper has tried to show is that Sībawayhi often analysed the same topic more than once and from several different angles simultaneously, and, furthermore, that all of these considerations were always present in his mind. It therefore seems appropriate to interpret his thinking as non-linear. The physical linearity of the *Kitāb* itself is, of course, merely the result of the need for the ideas to be expressed in time and space.

These conclusions represent a third attempt on the writer's part to come to grips with Sībawayhi's thinking. The first was in a paper examining Sībawayhi's use of the expression *'iṣrūna dirhamān* in the *Kitāb* (Carter 1972), showing how this innocent-looking phrase, which occurs some two dozen times in the *Kitāb*, served as a kind of shorthand for a bundle of linguistic principles with which Sībawayhi could explain a number of quite different syntactical structures. What all these structures have in

common is that (a) the first element is a complete syntactical unit, (b) the second is always in Dep. form and nearly always Indef., and (c) the second element is semantically excluded from the first, being non-identical with it. The *ḥāl*, it will have been noticed, already fits these three criteria and indeed *ʿiṣrūna dirhaman* is quoted in connection with it⁸.

A second study, which was delivered as a paper in this very city three years ago, concerned the term *dāraʿa* “to resemble” (Carter 1998). Like *ʿiṣrūna dirhaman*, the concept of “resemblance”, *mudāraʿa*, is applied to a much wider range of topics than might be expected, given that the term is now restricted almost entirely to the form of the Imperf. Verb and, rather infrequently, to a variety of the Vocative construction. By contrast, in the *Kitāb* we find *mudāraʿa* applied to linguistic phenomena at all levels, from phonology to syntax, covering about twenty different types of “resemblance” between sounds, word-forms and structures. Without going into details, it is enough to point out that this “resemblance” is an objective property of many linguistic forms, which Sībawayhi carefully distinguishes both from other kinds of formal “similarity” between elements and from the general process of analogy, *qiyās*, which often determines the linguistic behaviour of speakers and speech elements.

In both these studies the conclusion was drawn that Sībawayhi preferred a unified approach which he could apply throughout the whole *Kitāb*⁹. At the time this seemed as far as it was possible to go, but from the perspective of the present paper these two topics can now be seen as part of an extremely complex set of interlocking ideas. Indeed not only is “20 Dirhams” invoked in connection with the *ḥāl* as already noted, but “resemblance” even crops up, albeit rather tangentially, to account for the fact that *sīra ʿalayhi* can either be qualified by *ḥāl* (Dep.) or an extended Adjectival Phrase (Indep.) (Carter 1998:10, item 4):

[...] سير عليه شديدا وسير عليه حسنا فالنصب في ذا أنه حال وهو وجه الكلام لأنه وصف السَيْر ولا يكون فيه الرفع لأنه لا يقع موقع ما كان اسماً ولم يكن ظرفاً لأنه ليس بحين يقع فيه الأمر إلا أن تقول سير عليه سَيْرٌ حسنٌ أو سير عليه سَيْرٌ شديدٌ فإن قلت سير عليه طويلٌ من الدهر وشديدٌ من السَيْر فأطلت الكلام ووصفت كان أحسن وأقوى وجاز ولا يبلغ في الحسن الأسماء وإنما جاز حين وصفت وأطلت لأنه ضارع الأسماء لأن الموصوفة في الأصل الأسماء [I, 96/116-7]

⁸ See the ex. from I, 235/274-5 above.

⁹ Additional evidence for this is the distribution of the linguistic criteria *ḥasan/qabīḥ* “structurally correct/incorrect” (and their important correlatives *mawḍiʿ* “place, (syntagmatic) function” and *manzila* “(paradigmatic) status”), and *mustaqīm* “semantically right” and *muḥāl* “semantically wrong, absurd” throughout all the major sections of the *Kitāb*, the latter pair inevitably somewhat sparsely in the phonological chapters.

Furthermore, the arguments about the *ḥāl* are used to explain other Dep. forms in the same terms, such as the *zarf*, which differs from the *ḥāl* only in that the Dep. Noun denotes a time or place:

هذا باب ما ينتصب من الأماكن والوقت * وذلك لأنها ظروفٌ وقع فيها الأشياء وتكون فيها فانتصب لأنه موقعٌ فيها ومكونٌ فيها وعمِلَ فيها ما قبلها كما أن العِلْمَ إذا قلت أنت الرجلُ عِلْمًا عمِلَ فيه ما قبله وكما عمِلَ في الدرهم عشرون إذا قلت عشرون درهماً
[I, 170/201]

Likewise the *maf'ūl mutlaq* can be analysed either as a *ḥāl* or the object of an elided verb:

ومما يجيء توكيداً وينصب قوله سير عليه سيراً وانطلق به انطلاقاً وضرب به ضرباً فينصب على وجهين أحدهما على أنه حال على حد قولك ذهب به مشياً وقتل به صبراً وإن وصفته على هذا الحد كان نصبا تقول سير به سيراً عنيماً كما تقول ذهب به مشياً عنيماً وإن شئت نصبته على إضمار فعل آخر ويكون بدلا من اللفظ بالفعل [I, 97-8/118]

Note that in this final example Sībawayhi leaves it completely open as to whether the *maf'ūl mutlaq* is a *ḥāl* or the object of an elided verb, doubtless because only the speaker can know this, since the surface structure is identical¹⁰. This suggests a possible reason for the evident non-linearity of his method, for it now appears to lie not so much in Sībawayhi's way of thinking as in the behaviour of the speaker as he describes it. This is particularly obvious in the treatment of "resemblance", where Sībawayhi appears to fall into the trap of circularity, by asserting more than once that element A "resembles" B while elsewhere element B is said to "resemble" element A (Carter 1998:6f). In Sībawayhi's defence Ibn Ġinnī (d. 392/1002) justifies this by attributing it to the the psychology of the speaker (*Ḥaṣā'is* I, 304), and this insight was in fact the inspiration for this paper.

In the light of Ibn Ġinnī's observation, Sībawayhi's non-linearity can be interpreted as a deliberate analogue of the competence of the native speaker in all its complexity. Such a speaker knows all the rules of the language instantaneously, indeed true competence is impossible without this total, unordered knowledge¹¹. Sībawayhi is often difficult to follow precisely because he seeks to account for so many simulta-

¹⁰ It is worth recalling that Sībawayhi has a lawyer's approach to language, and assumes that the overt utterance directly expresses the speaker's intention, and that the listener has no other access to knowledge of that intention, apart perhaps from the context.

¹¹ This interpretation has another point in its favour: it removes the problem of diachronicity in sound changes. With the weak radical verbs, for example, a *post facto* analysis of Apoc. *yaqul* has to assume three stages of derivation merely for the sake of linguistic coherence, viz. **yaqwulu* > *yaqwuḷu* > *yaqurw* > *yaqul*. A speaker might know that *yaqul* is somehow connected with **yaqwulu*, but his unconscious, synchronic performance requires no knowledge of those theoretical stages. The implications of this were brilliantly explored by Ibn Ġinnī, and his ideas are analysed with similar profundity in Guillaume 1981.

neous and interconnected processes, and any symbolic representation of such a complicated activity would be equally impenetrable, as the Cube incidentally also demonstrates. Nevertheless, this is surely the way the *Kitāb* ought to be read, with the reader trying to reproduce in his mind the vast range of information and ideas Sībawayhi constantly accesses and deploys as a unity: like the Qur'ān, parts of the *Kitāb* can only be understood in terms of other parts.

The non-linear thinking of Sībawayhi contrasts very strongly with the style of reasoning known as scholasticism, which is manifestly linear in nature. Where Sībawayhi is implicitly programmed, leaving it to the reader to replace the spatial sequence of ideas by non-spatial mental links, scholasticism is very explicitly programmed, advancing cumulatively from one idea to the next. And where Sībawayhi is internally structured (the overt arrangement of the *Kitāb* is not the same as the underlying principles of its composition), scholasticism, with its prefaces, statements of purpose, tables of contents, chapter divisions and so on, is clearly externally structured. As is well known, the history of the *Kitāb* is largely the story of its eventual conversion into a scholastic text: one may compare it with, say, Ibn Ya'īš's Commentary on the *Mufasssal*, which is about the same size, but which presents an image of a science worlds apart in structure and intent from the network of ideas created by Sībawayhi.

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