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Suprasegmental Critearia in Mediaeval Arabic Grammar

Manuel Sartori

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Manuel Sartori. Suprasegmental Critearia in Mediaeval Arabic Grammar. The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics V. Kitāb Sibawayhi The Critical Theory, E. J. Brill, pp.198-222, 2022, 10.1163/9789004389694_016 . hal-02141823v1

HAL Id: hal-02141823

<https://hal.science/hal-02141823v1>

Submitted on 20 Mar 2022 (v1), last revised 22 Dec 2022 (v2)

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The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics IV

The Evolution of Theory

Edited by

Manuela E.B. Giolfo
Kees Versteegh



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Definition and Determination in Medieval Arabic Grammatical Thought

Manuel Sartori

1 Introduction

The grammatical tradition of Arabic may seem to be based entirely on the oldest grammar book to have reached us, the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (d. 180/796?), its later development being nothing more than a reinterpretation and/or a reorganization of this first material. Yet, fundamental and significant additions have been brought to bear on this first and crucial work. Suffice it to mention here the category of *'inšā'*, which emerged in the post-Classical period of Arabic grammar (after the first half of the 5th/11th century), probably as the result of influence from the legal sciences.¹

The term *'inšā'* is not the only one to have remained unrecognized for a long time. This is also the case of *taḥṣīṣ*, usually rendered by 'particularization' which, without being totally unknown, has remained largely unrecognized. It has been shown to appear in Arabic grammar relatively late, around the end of the 4th/10th century. Its first occurrences are in the form of nouns derived from the consonantal root *ḥ-ṣ-ṣ*, first in the form of *ihṭiṣāṣ* with al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), then of *muḥaṣṣiṣ* with 'Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987). The term *taḥṣīṣ* itself appears with Ibn al-Warrāq (d. 381/991), similar in sense to its later use, but it is primarily with Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002), then with 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), and especially with al-Zamaḥṣārī (d. 538/1144) that *taḥṣīṣ* acquires its technical and grammatical meaning of 'particularization'.²

After studying the term *taḥṣīṣ*, I turn to the term *taḥlīṣ* that occurs in combination with it, in order to specify the time of its appearance, and then we analyze the terminological distributions in connection with the opposition definition/indefinition (*ta'rīf/tankīr*) in Arabic. First, we shall take a look at the concepts of definition/indefinition and determination/indetermination.

1 On the origin of the *'inšā'* category, see Larcher's articles, republished in Larcher (2014).

2 For these historical data and the technical sense of *taḥṣīṣ*, see Sartori (2018).

2 Definition/Indefinition and Determination/Indetermination

Two pairs of notions should be effectively and logically distinguished on the following basis: all that is definite is determinate, but all that is determinate is not necessarily definite.³ In this context, the terms of the first pair, definition/indefiniteness, refer to definite and indefinite expressions. An example of an indefinite and indeterminate expression is *man*, i.e. a single noun devoid of any marker of definition or determination. From there, a move towards definition begins: *a man* is an indefinite and determinate expression (here by a quantification, the article *a*, which is an indefinite determiner), while *a tall man* or *a man of science* remain indefinite expressions, which are, however, more determinate than the first one (for they have a quantification, *a*, and a qualification, *tall* or *of science*). These expressions are not yet as definite as *the man*, which by itself is a definite expression (where the article *the* is a definite determiner). This expression is then both definite and determinate. However, it is less determinate than for example *the tall man*, which adds a determination (*tall* or *the man of science*) for the same reasons.

In Arabic, the pair definition/indefiniteness is identified easily with that of *ta'rīf/tankīr*, whose terms are connected to *ma'rifa* and *nakira*, respectively. In Arabic terminology *ma'rifa* is a 'definite expression', while *nakira* is an 'indefinite expression'. The definite term in Arabic is so either by nature (e.g., a proper name like *Zayd*), or by the article (*al-rajul*) or by annexation (*rajul al-madīna*). As for the indefinite term, whereas in English a term may be indefinite and indeterminate (*man*), in Arabic a term is minimally determinate since *rajul* equals 'a man' and not 'man'.

In technical terms, indefiniteness is thus *tankīr* and definition *ta'rīf*. Could it be the case that *taḥṣīṣ*, whose meaning is 'particularization', is a form of determination? This is precisely the question that the present article wishes to answer.

3 *Taḥṣīṣ* and Its Complementary Term

3.1 *The Technical Sense of taḥṣīṣ in Arabic Grammar*

As 'particularization', *taḥṣīṣ* is not entirely unknown in the secondary literature. However, when it appears, it is always incidentally, no special section being dedicated to it. This is the case of Wright (since it is an addition made by Wright

3 Which opposes the scheme proposed by Kouloughli (2001:40), who claims that a definite term can at the same time be indeterminate.

in a footnote, it does not derive from Caspari, see Sartori 2018: 205, n. 5), Reckendorf, Gätje, Fleisch, Troupeau, Carter, Badī Ya'qūb and 'Āṣī, and Brustad.⁴ One even finds the concept referred to without the term in the articles *idāfa* and *specificity* of the *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*.⁵ In the vast majority of cases, the term and its technical scope are ignored.⁶

On the basis of the scattered data I have collected the following may be said about the technical meaning of the word: *taḥṣīṣ* appears in connection with semantic annexation (*'idāfa ma'nawīyya*), with qualification (*na't*), and even in connection with the explanatory apposition (*'atf bayān*), albeit merely as an extension of qualification in Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274) (*Šarḥ* 1, 533; see Sartori 2018).

Regarding *taḥṣīṣ*, Carter speaks of a “weaker type of definition”. For Wright it is a “partial determination”, and for Reckendorf a *nāhere Bestimmung* (almost determination/definition).⁷ Apparently, *taḥṣīṣ* is assigned two significations (determination and definition), which it would seem useful to distinguish.⁸ For reasons to be explained below, confusing the two leads to inadequacy. It seems that Arab grammarians were aware of a distinction to be made between definition and determination. Suffice it for now to say that as a technical term, *taḥṣīṣ* has the meaning of particularizing an indefinite term by another one,

4 See Wright (1996:11, 198D, 199A, 260–261D); Reckendorf (1921:57, 193, 200, 218); Gätje (1970:221, 235); Carter (1981:377, 461); Fleisch (1986:1008b); Badī Ya'qūb and 'Āṣī (1987:1, 154, 367, 11, 868, 1254); Troupeau (1993:1034a); Carter (2000:241b); Brustad (2000:21).

5 See Ryding and Versteegh (2007:295b), Hoyt (2009:316b).

6 See Silvestre de Sacy (1831); Forbes (1863); Palmer (1874); Socin (1885); Vernier (1891); Howell (1911); Fleisch (1961, 1979), and finally Blachère and Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1975). Regarding recent grammars of Arabic, it is still completely absent. See Cantarino (1974); Kouloughli (1994); Neyreneuf and Al-Hakkak (1996); Badawi et al. (2004); Buckley (2004); Holes (2004); Alish (2005); Ryding (2005); Hassanein (2006); McCarus (2007); Imbert (2008); Schulz et al. (2008); El-Ayoubi et al. (2010).

7 See Carter (2000:241b); Wright (1996:11, 261D); Reckendorf (1921:200). German dictionaries indicate that *Bestimmung* means both 'definition' and 'determination', which demonstrates its vagueness from a terminological point of view.

8 The confusion between definition/indefiniteness and determination/indetermination is fairly common. Some authors speak of *Determination und Indetermination* for *ta'rif* and *tankīr* and of *Qualifikation* for *taḥṣīṣ* (see Gätje 1970: 226). This is also the case with Wensinck (1931), whose study is entitled “The article of determination in Arabic”, whereas Heselwood and Watson (2015) speak of “The Arabic definite article”. As noted by Jan Retsö, “they [the Franco-German school] use the term ‘indetermination’ variously for indefiniteness, non-definiteness (or both), ‘indefinite article’, or the ending *-n*”, where he distinguishes between “non-definite” = indefinite and indeterminate (e.g. *house*) and “indefinite” = indefinite and determinate (e.g. *a house*) (Retsö 1986:342f.). One can regret with Pierre Larcher that the terms of the couple *ta'rif/tankīr* are renamed “détermination” and “indétermination” in Arabist grammars (see Larcher 1991:146, n. 18). See also Kouloughli (2001, especially 39f.).

itself indefinite, whether it is the second term of an annexation (*zāranī rajulu falsafatin* ‘a man of philosophy paid me a visit’), or a qualifier in the broadest sense of the term, that is to say, an attributive adjective (*rajulun ṭawīlun* ‘a tall man’), including qualifying clauses (*rajulun yaktubu risālatan* ‘a man who writes a letter’) and prepositional phrases (*rajulun min banī tamīmin* ‘a man from the Banū Tamīm’), or an explanatory apposition (*ištaraytu ḥalyan siwāran* ‘I bought jewelry, a bracelet’).⁹ In this sense, *taḥṣīs*, without being properly speaking intermediate to *tankīr/taʿrīf*, is connected with these terms, according to a suggestion made by the rhetorician al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), for whom “the completion of the particularization is [made] by definition” (*al-taḥṣīs kamāluhu bi-l-taʿrīf*, *ʾĪdāh* 41). From this reading, it is possible to understand those of Wright, Reckendorf and Carter. In this sense, *taḥṣīs*, as ‘particularization’, would indeed be a form of ‘determination’.

3.2 *The Complementary Terms to taḥṣīs*

While the technical term *taḥṣīs* was not entirely unknown, the situation is different for its complementary terms, which are nowhere treated in the secondary sources cited above, nor in the primary sources.

3.2.1 *Taḥlīs*

The first appearance of a term used as complementary to *taḥṣīs* in its technical sense is apparently in Ibn Jinnī’s *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* (I, 392), when he speaks about the different case endings in the expression *bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmānu/a l-raḥīmu/a*:

and this is because when [the noun] *Allāh* is qualified, the goal is not to define it by what follows in terms of qualifiers, since concerning this name there is no doubt that it would need to be qualified in order to specify it, for it is the name of one with whom no-one is associated [...]. Thus, since it is not exposed to doubt, its qualification does not intervene in order to specify, but to praise Allāh [...], and so making it follow its declension formally takes the same course as that what follows for purposes of specification or particularization (*wa-dālika ʾanna Allāh taʿālā ʾidā wuṣifa fa-laysa l-ğaraḍ fi dālika taʿrīfahu bi-mā yatbaʿuhu min šifatihī li-ʾanna hādā l-ism lā yaʿtarīdu šakk fihī fa-yaḥtāja ʾilā waṣfihī li-taḥlīšihī li-ʾannahu l-ism al ladī lā yuṣāraku fihī ʾalā wajh wa-baqīyyat ʾasmāʾihī— ʾazza wa-jalla—ka-l-ʾawṣāf al-tābiʾa li-hādā l-ism wa-ʾidā lam yaʿtarīdu šakk fihī lam tajī šifatuhu li-taḥlīšihī bal li-l-tanāʾ ʾalā llāh taʿālā [...] wa-dālika ʾanna ʾitbāʾahu ʾirābahu jārin fi l-lafẓ majrā mā yatbaʿ li-l-taḥlīs wa-l-taḥṣīs*)

⁹ See about these points Sartori (2018).

The term *taḥlīs* ‘specification’,¹⁰ here is used by the same author along with *taḥṣīs* in a passage related to qualification (*Ḥaṣā’iṣ* II, 146, see also II, 447): “and this is because qualifications in speech are of two types, either for specification and particularization, or for praise and eulogy” (*wa-dālika ’anna l-ṣifa fi l-kalām ’alā ḍarbayn ’immā li-l-taḥlīs wa-l-taḥṣīs wa-’immā li-l-madhī wa-l-tanā’*). Nevertheless, it is not yet possible to comprehend either term in a very precise way since Ibn Jinnī does not say more than this. Thus, the only certain thing is that these two terms operate together at the level of qualification.

The term *taḥlīs* is absent from Sibawayhi’s *Kitāb*,¹¹ appearing for the first time in al-Mubarrad’s (d. 285/898) *Muqtaḍab*, and later in al-Zajjājī’s (d. 337/949) *Kitāb al-lāmāt* in a non-technical sense, without any connection either with *taḥṣīs*, or with annexation or qualification.¹² At the same time as Ibn Jinnī,¹³ we find *taḥṣīs* in Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), once again in connection with adjectives (*Ṣāḥibī* 52):

The adjective follows two courses. One of them is to distinguish a noun from a noun, as when we say *zaydun al-’aṭṭāru* ‘Zayd the perfumer’ and *zaydun al-tamīmīyyu* ‘Zayd the Tamīmīte’, distinguishing it by means of its adjective from others sharing the same name. The other [course] has the meaning of praise and of blame, like *al-’āqil* ‘the judicious’ and *al-jāhil* ‘the ignorant’ (*wa-l-na’t yajrī majrayayn ’aḥaduhumā taḥlīs ism min ism ka-qawlinā zaydun al-’aṭṭāru wa-zaydun al-tamīmīyyu ḥallaṣnāhu bi-na’tihi min alladī šarakahu fi ismihi wa-l-’aḥār ’alā ma’nā l-madhī wa-damm naḥwa al-’āqil wa-l-jāhil*)

In the examples produced by Ibn Fāris, the aim is indeed to complete a definite term (here the proper name *Zayd*) by a term that itself is definite (*al-’aṭṭār* and *al-tamīmī*).

10 I have chosen this translation for the term in order to retain the etymology of Latin *species*, which denotes an element within a class at a lower level/from a lower level, on the understanding that a species, i.e. an element within a class, is less general than the class itself and thus is more definite, which is what is at stake with concepts of *taḥlīs* (and *taḥṣīs*, and so on).

11 Troupeau (1976:85) records only one occurrence each of *ḥallaṣa* and *ḥallaṣa min*, the former in the sense of ‘to clarify’, the latter in that of ‘to get free from’.

12 See Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 567 and Zajjājī, *Lāmāt* 114.

13 The appearance, at that time, of these words is a striking manifestation of the introduction of logic in the Arab world. This is true of *taḥlīs* understood as ‘specification’ (i.e., from genus to species).

In this connection it is important to note that in other authors, particularly in the family of treatises related to al-Zajjājī's *Jumal*, *taḥlīs*, as a single term, is replaced by a noun phrase from the root *š-r-k*, whose trace is found in the quotation from Ibn Fāris cited above. This is the case of Ibn Ḥarūf (d. 609/1212), who uses the expression *rafʿ al-ištirāk* 'to remove the equivocity' in connection with *naʿt* (*Šarḥ* 1, 300):¹⁴ "The adjective serves to particularize the indefinite expression and to remove the supposed equivocity concerning the definite qualified expression" (*wa-fā'idat al-naʿt taḥṣiṣ al-nakira wa-rafʿ al-ištirāk al-mutawahham fi l-manʿūt al-maʿrifā*). In a similar context, Ibn ʿUṣfūr (d. 669/1271) uses the expression *ʿizālat ištirāk* (*Šarḥ* 1, 142): "According to the grammarians, the adjective designates a noun or what equals a noun that follows what precedes it in order to particularize an indefinite expression or to dispel the possible equivocity of a definite expression" (*al-naʿt ʿinda al-naḥwiyyīn ʿibāra ʿan ism ʿaw mā huwa fi taqdīr ism yatbaʿu mā qablahu li-taḥṣiṣ nakira ʿaw li-ʿizālat ištirāk ʿarīd fi maʿrifā*).¹⁵

The transition is found in the writings of ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī al-Sayyid al-Šarīf (d. 816/1413), in which the same identification of the phenomenon is present, but with a different term. He writes (*Taʿrīfāt* 73): "Clarification denotes the fact of removing the ellipsis that happens in definite expressions" (*al-tawdīḥ ʿibāra ʿan rafʿ al-ʿiḍmār al-ḥāsil fi l-maʿārif*).

3.2.2 *Tawdīḥ*

After Ibn Fāris, *taḥlīs* apparently disappears in favor of *tawdīḥ* 'clarification'.¹⁶ Its first occurrence is in ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078). Dealing with qualifying praise, in particular praise reserved for Allāh, he writes (*Dalāʾil* 44), following Ibn Jinnī: "To qualification belongs that qualification which contains neither particularization nor clarification" (*wa-ʿanna min al-ṣifa ṣifa lā yakūnu fihā taḥṣiṣ wa-lā tawdīḥ*). We indeed identify here a pair formed of *taḥṣiṣ* on the one hand and of *tawdīḥ* on the other instead of *taḥlīs*. The author is even more precise about the adjective in his *Šarḥ al-Jumal* (*Šarḥ* 276, see also *Muqtaṣid* 11, 175):

14 'Polysemy' in linguistics (see Larcher 2011:307, n. 4), is what in logic is called 'equivocity'.

15 In Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *taḥlīs* does not appear with the technical sense identified elsewhere, as evidenced by the following passage where it has the general meaning of 'specification', but not the technical one as connected to *taḥṣiṣ* and *taʿrīf/tankūr*: "and it is the specification of the future" (*wa-huwa al-taḥlīs li-l-istiqbāl*, *Šarḥ* 11, 74).

16 This term is cited twice by Gätje (1970:235, 239), who translates it similarly as "Verdeutlichung oder Explikation", i.e. 'clarification' or 'explication'.

Know then that, with respect to indefinite expressions, the adjective conveys particularization and, with respect to definite expressions, clarification. The explanation for this is that when you say *marartu bi-rajulin ʔawīlin* ‘I passed by a tall man’, you reduce the generality of the noun, applying it to only some of [its] species rather than to its entirety as you do not include in it any man who is not tall. This is what is meant by particularization, and it only occurs with the indefinite expression [...]. Clarification, on the other hand, occurs in definite expressions. When you say, for instance, *jāʔanī zaydun al-ʔawīlu* ‘the tall Zayd came to me’, you only need the qualification when there are two men, each one of them called Zayd, and you want to make clear to the interlocutor that you are referring to the taller one of the two. This is elimination of ambiguity and clarification, rather than particularization, since particularization, as we have mentioned, means to single out one part from a genus. A proper name is a noun referring to a thing in itself; it does not signify the genus, which would make it possible to imagine its particularization (*tumma iʔlam ʔanna l-ʔifa tufīdu fī l-nakira al-ʔaḥṣīṣ wa-fī l-maʔrifa al-tawḍīḥ tafṣīr hādā ʔannaka ʔidā qulta marartu bi-rajulin ʔawīlin kunta qad naqaṣta min ʔumūm al-ism fa-jaʔaltahu yaqaʔu ʔalā baʔd al-jins dūna kullihī min ḥaytu lā tudḥīlu man lā yakūnu ʔawīlan min al-rijāl fihī fa-hādā huwa l-murād bi-l-ʔaḥṣīṣ wa-lā yakūnu ʔillā fī l-nakira [...] wa-l-tawḍīḥ fī l-maʔrifa fa-huwa ʔannaka ʔidā qulta jāʔanī zaydun al-ʔawīlu fa-ʔinnaka ʔinnamā ʔaḥṭāju ʔilā l-ʔifa ʔidā kāna hunāka rajulāni kull wāḥid minhūmā yusammā zaydan fa-ʔanta turīdu ʔan tubayyina li-l-muḥāṭab ʔannaka ʔanayta minhūmā alladī huwa ʔawīl fa-kāna dālīka ʔizāla li-l-labs wa-tawḍīḥan wa-lā yakūnu ʔaḥ-ṣīṣan li-ʔanna l-ʔaḥṣīṣ kamā dakarnā huwa ʔan naḥuṣṣa min al-jins baʔdahu wa-l-ʔalam yakūnu sman li-ʔay ʔbi-ʔaynihī wa-lā yadullu ʔalā jins ḥattā yata-sawwara fihī l-ʔaḥṣīṣ).*

In doing so, al-Jurjānī is the first to be clear about the distinction to be made between *ʔaḥṣīṣ* and *tawḍīḥ*. We find the same two notions being used by al-Zamaḥṣārī (*Mufaṣṣal* 148), who writes about the adjective: “It is said that it [the qualification] is used for particularization within the indefinite expressions and for clarification within the definite ones” (*wa-yuqālu ʔinnahā li-l-ʔaḥṣīṣ fī l-nakirāt wa-li-l-tawḍīḥ fī l-maʔarīf*).¹⁷ The same distribution is found in Ibn

17 Incidentally, one may note that al-Zamaḥṣārī (*Mufaṣṣal* 158) uses the same lexical root in Form II, in the shape of a conjugated verb, when he talks about the explanatory apposition: *wa-wurūd al-ʔānī min ʔajl ʔan yuwaḍḍiha ʔamrahu*.

Yaʿīš' (d. 643/1245) commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* (*Šarḥ* II, 233), again about the adjective: "The fact is that it [the qualification] is used for particularization at the level of indefinite expressions and for clarification at the level of definite expressions, as we have mentioned" (*ʿinnahā li-l-taḥṣīṣ fi l-nakirāt wa-li-l-tawḍīḥ fi l-maʿārif ʿalā mā ḍakarnāhu*). Likewise, Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 646/1249) in his *ʿImlāʿ ʿalā l-Kāfiya* (the autocommentary he made of his *Kāfiya*, which in its turn is an epitome extracted from al-Zamaḥṣārī's *Mufaṣṣal*), uses the same pair of terms with respect to the adjective (*ʿImlāʿ* 48a/3; *Kāfiya* 129): "His words 'it conveys particularization or clarification' [mean that] particularization concerns indefinite expressions and that clarification concerns definite expressions" (*qawluhu wa-fāʿidatuhu taḥṣīṣ ʿaw tawḍīḥ fa-l-taḥṣīṣ fi l-nakirāt wa-l-tawḍīḥ fi l-maʿārif*). Finally, to conclude with the family of treatises related to the *Mufaṣṣal*, Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʿAstarābādī (d. 686/1287 or more likely 688/1289) states (*Šarḥ* III, 314):

The meaning of 'particularization' in their [i.e., the Arab grammarians'] terminology is to restrict the equivocity that occurs at the level of indefinite expressions. Thus, when you say *jāʿanī rajulun ṣāliḥun* 'a pious man came to me', according to the imposition of language the word *rajul* is applicable to all individuals of this species, and by saying *ṣāliḥ* 'pious', you reduce the possible equivocity. According to them [the grammarians], the meaning of 'clarification' is to remove the possible equivocity occurring in definite expressions, regardless of whether or not they are proper names, as in *zaydun al-ʿālimu* 'Zayd the scholar' or *al-rajulu l-fāḍilu* 'the virtuous man' (*maʿnā taḥṣīṣ fi ṣṭilāḥihim taqlīl al-ištirāk al-ḥāṣil fi l-nakirāt wa-ḍālīka ʿanna rajul fi qawlīka jāʿanī rajulun ṣāliḥun kāna bi-waḍʿ al-waḍīʿ muḥtamalan li-kull fard min ʿafrād hādā l-nawʿ fa-lammā qulta ṣāliḥ qalalta li-ištirāk wa-l-iḥtimāl wa-maʿnā l-tawḍīḥ ʿindahum raḍʿ al-ištirāk al-ḥāṣil fi l-maʿārif ʿalāman kānat ʿaw lā naḥwa zaydun al-ʿālimu wa-l-rajulu l-fāḍilu*).

In another family of Arabic grammatical treatises, that of the *ʿAlfiyya*, the term *tawḍīḥ* is used in the same way by Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī (d. 761/1360), who writes about the adjective (*Sabil* 416):

It conveys particularization, description, praise, blame, pity, or corroboration. The adjective conveys either particularization of an indefinite expression, as in *marartu bi-rajulin kātibin* 'I passed by a writing man', or clarification of a definite one, as in *marartu bi-zaydin al-ḥayyātī* 'I passed by Zayd the tailor' (*wa-fāʿidatuhu taḥṣīṣ ʿaw tawḍīḥ ʿaw madḥ ʿaw ḍamm*

*ʿaw tarahḥum ʿaw tawkīd. fāʿidat al-naʿt ʿimmā taḥṣīṣ nakira ka-qawlika marartu bi-rajulin kātibin ʿaw tawḍīḥ maʿrifa ka-qawlika marartu bi-zaydin al-ḥayyāti ʿaw madḥ ...)*¹⁸

Finally, two features of the complementary term *taḥṣīṣ* may be noted here. Firstly, *tawḍīḥ* can be replaced by *ʿīdāḥ*, a term derived from the same consonantal root, but derived from Form IV, which is found especially in Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī (*Sabīl* 435). He states about the explanatory apposition that “of every noun we can say that it is an explanatory apposition conveying elucidation or particularization” (*kull ism ṣaḥḥ al-ḥukm ʿalayhi bi-ʿannahu ʿatf bayān muḥid li-l-ʿīdāḥ ʿaw li-l-taḥṣīṣ*). Likewise, Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 769/1367) writes (*Šarḥ* II, 57 f.): “The explanatory apposition is the frozen apposition that looks like a qualification in elucidating the element to which it is apposed [...], since it is a clarifier” (*wa-ʿatf al-bayān huwa l-tābiʿ al-jāmid al-mušbih li-l-ṣifa fi ʿīdāḥ matbūʿihi [...] li-ʿannahu muwadḍiḥ*).¹⁹

Secondly, we should note two significant exceptions. The first is represented by Ibn al-ʿAnbārī (d. 577/1181), who writes in *bāb al-waṣf* (*ʿAsrār* 155):

If someone asks ‘what is the purpose of qualification?’, he is told that it is particularization and distinction. Thus, if it is a definite expression, the purpose of qualification is particularization, because of the inherent equivocality. Don’t you see that there are many people called ‘Zayd’, or something similar, so that when we say *jāʿanī zaydun* ‘Zayd came to me’, it is not known which one of them we mean? Thus, when we say *zaydun al-ʿāqilu* ‘Zayd the intelligent’ or *al-ʿālimu* ‘the learned’ or *al-ʿadibu* ‘the educated’, or something similar, we single him out from among the others. Now, if the noun is an indefinite expression, the purpose of qualification is distinction. Don’t you see that when you say *jāʿanī rajulun* ‘a man came to me’, it is not known which man is meant, and that when you

18 Here is the translation in French by Goguyer (1887:323 f.): “Il sert à particulariser, décrire, louer, blâmer, apitoyer, corroborer. Le qualificatif sert à particulariser un nom indéterminé, ex. *marartu bi-rajulin kātibin*, décrire l’objet d’un nom déterminé, ex. *marartu bi-zaydin al-ḥayyāti*”. I do not choose to translate *tawḍīḥ* by ‘to describe’, as Goguyer does, since ‘to clarify’ is more appropriate, nor to translate *nakira* and *maʿrifa* by ‘indeterminate’ and ‘determinate’ (see above, p. 254 and n. 8).

19 Besides, this is what we read in a contemporary dictionary of grammatical terms about the explanatory apposition (Badīʿ Yaʿqūb and ʿĀṣī 1987:11, 868): “the explanatory apposition serves to clarify the term to which it is attached if it is a definite expression” (*yufidu ʿatf al-bayān ʿīdāḥ matbūʿihi ʿin kāna l-matbūʿ maʿrifa*).

say *rajulun 'āqilun* 'an intelligent man', you distinguish him from those who do not possess this qualification, and that it is not a matter of particularizing him, because by distinguishing we mean a specific entity, which was not intended here? (*'in qāla qā'il mā al-ġaraḍ fī l-waṣf qīla al-taḥṣīṣ wa-l-tafḍīl fa-'in kāna ma'rifa kāna l-ġaraḍ min al-waṣf al-taḥṣīṣ li-'anna l-iṣtirāk yaqa'u fihā 'a-lā tarā 'anna l-musammīn bi-zayd wa-naḥwihi kaṭīr fa-'idā qāla jā'anī zaydun lā yu'lamu 'ayyuhum yurīdu fa-'idā qāla zaydun al-'āqilu 'aw al-'ālimu 'aw al-'adību wa-mā 'ašbaha ḍālika fa-qad ḥaṣṣahu min ġayrihi wa-'in kāna l-ism nakira kāna l-ġaraḍ min al-waṣf al-tafḍīl 'a-lā tarā 'annaka 'idā qulta jā'anī rajulun lam yu'lam 'ayy rajul huwa fa-'idā qulta rajulun 'āqilun fa-qad faḍḍaltahu 'alā man laysa lahu hādā l-waṣf wa-lam taḥṣṣahu li-'annā na'nī bi-l-tafḍīl ṣay'an bi-'aynihi wa-lam nuridhu hāhunā*)

This is indeed a remarkable exception to the extent that it implies a reversal compared to all other grammarians, since *taḥṣīṣ* designates here what the others call *taḥlīs*, or later *tawḍīḥ* (and even *'idāḥ*) and since *tafḍīl*, a term never met in other grammarians in the technical sense that concerns us, refers precisely to what others call *taḥṣīṣ*.

The second is to be found in Ibn Mālik. Indeed, whereas *tawḍīḥ* is found in Ibn Hišām al-'Anṣārī, as we have seen, when he is commenting Ibn Mālik, the latter explicitly proposes another pair of terms, in which *taḥṣīṣ* is opposed to *tawkiḍ*. Thus, he writes (*Šarḥ* II, 489):

The qualification is generally used to particularize what it follows as in *uhjuranna zaydan al-baḍī* 'get away from Zayd the obscene!' and it can convey [...] the confirmation of what precedes (*wa-l-na't ġāliban li-taḥṣīṣ alladī yatluḥu ka-hjuranna zaydan l-baḍī wa-qad yufīdu [...] tawkiḍ mā taqaddama*).

Here, the particularity is not only the appearance of a new term. The terms appear in fact to be reversed, compared to *taḥṣīṣ-tawḍīḥ* as it is found elsewhere, in particular in his commentator Ibn Hišām al-'Anṣārī. This is confirmed by what Ibn Mālik writes in the commentary on his *Kāfiya al-Šāfiya*, since in connection with the adjective, *taḥṣīṣ* is used within the framework of definition, whereas *tawkiḍ* is used within the framework of indefiniteness (*Šarḥ* I, 520): "Particularization is like *al-šī'rā al-'abūr* 'Canis Minor'²⁰ [...] and simple confir-

20 Name of the constellation, see Kazimirski (1860:11, 154).

mation is like *lā tattaḥīdū ʿilāhayni ṭnayni* “Take not for worship two gods, two!” (*al-taḥṣīṣ ka-l-šīrā al-ʿabūr* [...] *wa-mujarrad al-tawḳid naḥwa lā tattaḥīdū ʿilāhayni ṭnayni*),²¹

On the basis of all of these sources, except for the special cases of Ibn al-ʿAnbārī and Ibn Mālik, which however concern only the terminological level, the following technical definition may be given of *taḥlīs*, and later of *tawḍīḥ*: *taḥlīs* means to specify a definite term by another one, itself definite, within the framework of a qualification in the broad sense, that is to say an attributive adjective (*al-rajul al-ṭawīl*), including a relative sentence (*al-rajul alladī yaktubu risāla*), or an explanatory apposition (*ʿaqsama bi-l-Lāhi ʿabū ḥafsin ʿumarin*). We note the asymmetry between this definition and that of *taḥṣīṣ* (see above), since annexation is not mentioned in the definition of *taḥlīs*.

3.3 Taʿrīf

Among the authors using *taḥṣīṣ*, the complementary term to it within the special framework of annexation, is not *taḥlīs* nor *tawḍīḥ*, as we have seen within the framework of (broad) qualification, rather, it is *taʿrīf*. Thus, Ibn Jinnī writes (*Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* II, 267): “It has been said that the purpose of annexation is only to define or to particularize” (*qīla li-ʿanna l-ǧaraḍ fi l-ʿidāfa ʿinnamā huwa l-taʿrīf wa-l-taḥṣīṣ*). Here, the pair of terms consists of *taʿrīf* and *taḥṣīṣ* and, therefore, in annexation *taʿrīf* seems to be to *taḥṣīṣ* what *taḥlīs* is to *taḥṣīṣ* in qualification. Accordingly, *taʿrīf* is in a situation of structural homology with *taḥlīs*. Ibn Jinnī says elsewhere (*Sirr* II, 37) that “annexation imparts definition and particularization” (*al-ʿidāfa tuksibu l-taʿrīf wa-l-taḥṣīṣ*).

Ibn Mālik uses the same pair of terms, but is clearer about the identity of the terms involved from the point of view of definiteness (*Sarḥ* I, 408):

All of this belongs to those things whose annexation is semantic, real, and pure, since it has the effect of defining the first term in an annexation, if the second term is a definite expression, and of particularizing the first term, if the second is an indefinite one (*fa-hādā kulluhu mim mā ʿidāfatuhu maʿnawīyya wa-ḥaqīqīyya wa-maḥḍa li-ʿannah muʿattira fi l-mudāf taʿrīfan ʿin kāna l-tānī maʿrifa wa-taḥṣīṣan ʿin kāna l-tānī nakira*).

He is followed in this by Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī (*Sabīl* 377 f.):

21 Q. 16/51. Here, *tawḳid* applies to a definite expression (*ʿilāhayn*), qualified by an element itself indefinite (*ṭnayn*), where the other grammarians use *taḥlīs-tawḍīḥ*.

It is called semantic annexation because it defines or particularizes [...]. It is definition if the second term of annexation is a definite expression, as in *ġulāmu zaydin* 'Zayd's servant', and it is particularization if it is an indefinite one, as in *ġulāmu mra'atin* 'a woman's servant' [...]. It [i.e. the *ʾiḍāfa lafziyya* 'formal annexation'] conveys neither definition nor particularization (*tusammā ma'nawīyya li-'annahā li-l-ta'rīf 'aw al-taḥṣīš [...]* *wa-huwa al-ta'rīf 'in kāna l-muḍāf 'ilayhi ma'rifa naḥwa ġulāmu zaydin wa-l-taḥṣīš 'in kāna l-muḍāf 'ilayhi nakira ka-ġulāmu mra'atin [...]* *wa-lā tufīdu ta'rīfan wa-lā taḥṣīšan*)

Likewise, Ibn 'Aqīl (*Šarḥ* I, 368f.) states:

Pure [annexation] is what is not like this. It conveys the first term of the annexation with particularization if the second term of the annexation is an indefinite expression, as in *hādā ġulāmu mra'atin* 'this is a woman's servant', and [it conveys] definition if the second term of annexation is a definite expression, as in *hādā ġulāmu zaydin* 'this is Zayd's servant'. Thus, it [the first class, i.e. pure annexation] conveys particularization or definition (*wa-l-maḥḍa [al-'iḍāfa] mā laysat ka-dālika wa-tufīdu l-ism al-'awwal taḥṣīšan 'in kāna l-muḍāf 'ilayhi nakira naḥwa hādā ġulāmu mra'atin wa-ta'rīfan 'in kāna l-muḍāf 'ilayhi ma'rifa naḥwa hādā ġulāmu zaydin [...]* *fa-yufīdu taḥṣīšan 'aw ta'rīfan*)

The same view on annexation is found in al-Zamaḥṣarī (*Mufaṣṣal* 119).

Annexation of a noun to a noun is of two types, semantic and formal. Semantic annexation conveys definition, as in *dāru 'amrin* 'Amr's house', and [it conveys] particularization, as in *ġulāmu rajulin* 'a man's servant' (*'iḍāfat al-ism li-sm 'alā ḍarbayn ma'nawīyya wa-lafziyya fa-l-ma'nawīyya mā 'afāda ta'rīfan ka-qawlika dāru 'amrin 'aw taḥṣīšan ka-qawlika ġulāmu rajulin*)

Ibn Ya'īš (*Šarḥ* II, 126) says the same about annexation, and so do Ibn al-Ḥājjib (*Kāfiya* 122) and Raḍī l-Dīn al-'Astarābādī (*Šarḥ* I, 202; II, 238f.). Finally, we find the same view in later authors like al-Jārburdī (d. 746/1346), who states (*Muġnī* 35):

Semantic annexation conveys definition of the first term of the annexation when it is annexed to a definite expression, like *ġulāmu zaydin* 'Zayd's servant', and particularization of it when it is annexed to an indefinite

expression, like *ġulāmu rajulin* ‘a man’s servant’ (*wa-l-ʿidāfa al-maʿna-wiyya tufīdu taʿrif al-muḍāf ʿidā ʿuḍīfa ʿilā l-maʿrifā naḥwa ġulāmu zaydin wa-taḥṣīṣahu ʿidā ʿuḍīfa ʿilā l-nakira naḥwa ġulāmu rajulin*).

Likewise, al-Sayyid al-Šarīf (*Taʿrifāt* 32) defines annexation as follows: “annexation is joining two nouns in such a way that it conveys definition or particularization” (*al-ʿidāfa hiya imtizāj ismayn ʿalā wajh yufīdu taʿrifan ʿaw taḥṣīṣan*).

Thus, it appears that within the framework of annexation, the terminological pair is indeed *taʿrif/taḥṣīṣ*, of which the former corresponds to the annexation of a definite term to an indefinite one (*ġulāmu l-rajuli*), and the latter to the annexation of an indefinite term to an indefinite one (*ġulāmu rajulin*). Accordingly, in annexation *taʿrif* is to *taḥṣīṣ* what *tahlīs* is to *taḥṣīṣ* in qualification. Moreover, the term *taḥṣīṣ*, used for both annexation and (broad) qualification in the indefinite framework, the terms *tahlīs-tawḍīḥ-ʿidāḥ* used exclusively for (broad) qualification in the definite framework, and the term *taʿrif* used exclusively for annexation, appear to be as many forms of ‘determination’, the last mentioned case conveying definition and determination at the same time. At this point, no single term seems therefore to express the concept of determination exclusively; rather, this concept is distributed between *taḥṣīṣ*, on the one hand, and *tahlīs-tawḍīḥ* (and, more marginally, *ʿidāḥ*), on the other.

4 *Takmīl*, or Completion as ‘Determination’

There remains a final term to be studied in relation to the categories of definition and indefiniteness (*taʿrif/tankīr*). Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī is apparently the first to subsume explicitly under the term of *takmīl* ‘completion’²² the processes of *tawḍīḥ* and *taḥṣīṣ*, since he writes (*ʿAwdāḥ* III, 223):

The coordinated appositive and the permutative are excluded, by the restriction of completion. [...] What is meant by ‘what completes’ is what clarifies a definite expression, such as *jāʿa zaydun al-tājiru* ‘Zayd the merchant came’ or *al-tājiru ʿabūhu* ‘whose father is the merchant’, and what particularizes an indefinite expression, such as *jāʿanī rajulun tājirun* ‘a merchant man came to me’ or *tājirun ʿabūhu* ‘whose father

22 The term *mukammil* is also found in Ibn al-Dahhān (d. 569/1174), *Ġurra* II, 854, in connection with *ʿatf al-bayān*.

is a merchant' (*fa-ḥaraja bi-qayd al-takmil al-nasaq wa-l-badal [...] wa-l-murād bi-l-mukammil al-muwaḍḍiḥ li-l-ma'rifa ka-jā'a zaydun al-tājiru 'aw al-tājiru 'abūhu wa-l-muḥaṣṣiṣ li-l-nakira ka-jā'anī rajulun tājirun 'aw tājirun 'abūhu*)

It thus appears that *takmil* represents indeed the generic term and hyperonym of both processes of *tawḍīḥ* and *taḥṣiṣ*. It seems that the first appearance of *takmil* (in the technical sense as well as absolutely) is found in Ibn Mālik. It appears in connection with the adjective (*na't*), on the one hand, and with the explanatory apposition (*'atf al-bayān*), on the other: "except that the adjective leads to this completion because it indicates a meaning in the qualified element [...]; the qualification is then what completes the term it follows, and the completed item is what is followed [by the adjective]" (*'illā 'anna l-na't yuwaṣṣilu 'ilā dālaka l-takmil bi-dalālatihi 'alā ma'nān fi l-man'ūt [...] fa-l-na't al-mukammil matbū'ahu [...] wa-l-mukammal matbū'uhu*, *Šarḥ* 1, 516) and "the explanatory apposition is an appositive term which follows the course of the qualification in terms of completion of the element it follows" (*'atf al-bayān tābi' yajri majrā l-na't fi takmil matbū'ihī*, *Šarḥ* 1, 532).

The term *takmil* seems to be used only by these two authors, but it is an interesting term because it encompasses *taḥṣiṣ* and *tawḍīḥ*. This applies, however, only to the framework of (broad) qualification, not to that of annexation. This prompts us to distinguish, under *taḥṣiṣ*, that which is opposed and complementary to *tahlīṣ-tawḍīḥ-īdāḥ* (= *taḥṣiṣ₁*), from that which is opposed and complementary to *ta'rīf* (= *taḥṣiṣ₂*).

5 Conclusion

As I have noted elsewhere, though less precisely (Sartori 2018), *taḥṣiṣ* is an intersection to *tankīr* and *ta'rīf*. As a matter of fact, if the process of *taḥṣiṣ* applies indeed to an indefinite noun, it does not fall under indefiniteness.²³ However, it does not belong to the domain of definition (*ta'rīf*) either, since for the latter it constitutes the complementary term. The question arises whether this makes it an equivalent of 'determination' (whether almost or partial determination, as

23 As may be seen, among other authors, in Ibn Jinnī (*Ḥaṣā'is* 11, 447): "and also, the fact is that nunation indicates indefiniteness and that annexation is instituted for particularization, so how can you combine them despite what we have remarked about them?" (*wa-'ayḍan fa-'inna l-tanwīn dalīl al-tankīr wa-l-'idāfa mawḍū'a li-l-taḥṣiṣ fa-kayfa laka bi-jtimā'ihimā ma'a mā dakarnā min ḥālihimā*).

proposed by Reckendorf or Wright) or a weak definition (according to Carter). It seems that this question should be answered in the negative. Rather, it ought to be reaffirmed that the couple *ta'rif/tankir* is indeed that of definition/indefiniteness. Under this pair, while no term seems to exist in the Arabic grammatical metalanguage to signify 'indetermination', the second member of the pair, 'determination', seems to correspond to many Arabic terms. It is *taḥṣīs* 'particularization' within the framework of indefiniteness, and *taḥlīs-tawdīḥ* (and even, but more marginally, *īdāḥ*) 'specification', 'clarification' within that of definition, but also *ta'rif* 'definition' for the particular case of annexation within the definite framework. Only one author, Ibn Hišām al-'Anṣārī, assigns a special status to *taḥlīs-tawdīḥ-īdāḥ* and to *taḥṣīs*₁ (outside the framework of annexation), bringing together these terms under the label of *takmīl* 'completion'.

As for *ta'rif* understood as definition, within the framework of annexation it is complementary to *taḥṣīs*₂. It then applies to an indefinite term within the annexation construct, which is transferred by it from indefiniteness to definition.²⁴ Therefore, Arab grammarians felt that something else than the mere opposition *tankir/ta'rif* was at work. Obviously without using terms equivalent to our pair 'indetermination/determination', they came close to 'determination' through *taḥṣīs* 'particularization', *taḥlīs* 'specification', *tawdīḥ-īdāḥ* 'clarification-elucidation' and *takmīl* 'completion'. In the absence of any other, *takmīl* seems to be best able to evoke a generic form of 'determination', understood as a predicative determination.²⁵ This is represented in Figure 1.

This is opposed to Kouloughli's (2001:40) reading, for whom specification (particularization-*taḥṣīs*) is not determination, and for whom *kalb* in expressions like *kalbu zaydin* 'Zayd's dog' is definite and indeterminate, while in expressions like *kalbu ṣaydin* 'a hunting dog' it is indefinite and indeterminate. We should rather consider them both determinate, accepting that *taḥṣīs* within the domain of annexation is indeed a determination. The schema proposed by Kouloughli would therefore be replaced by the one in Figure 2.

24 Note that an indefinite expression can be determinate (*a tall man*, where *man* is determinate by *a* (quantification) and *tall* (qualification)) or indeterminate (*man*), while a definite expression is necessarily determinate (*the man*).

25 See Morais Barbosa (1998).

	<i>tankīr</i>			<i>taʿrīf</i>
			↗	<i>al-rajul</i>
	<i>rajul</i>	→ <i>taʿrīf</i>	↘	<i>rajul al-</i> <i>madīna</i>
annexation	<i>rajul</i>	→ <i>taḥṣīṣ₂</i> → <i>rajul</i> <i>madīna</i>		
qualification	<i>rajul</i>	→ <i>taḥṣīṣ₁</i> → <i>rajul ṭawīl</i>	<i>al-rajul</i>	→ <i>taḥlīs-</i> <i>tawḍīḥ</i> <i>ʿidāḥ</i> → <i>al-rajul al-</i> <i>ṭawīl</i>
explanatory	<i>rajul</i>	→ → <i>rajul tājir</i>	<i>zayd</i>	→ → <i>zayd al-tājir</i>
apposition				
		<i>takmīl</i>		

FIGURE 1 *tankīr* ‘indefiniteness’; *taʿrīf* ‘definition’; *taḥṣīṣ* ‘particularization’; *taḥlīs* ‘specification’; *tawḍīḥ* ‘clarification’; *ʿidāḥ* ‘elucidation’; *takmīl* ‘completion’

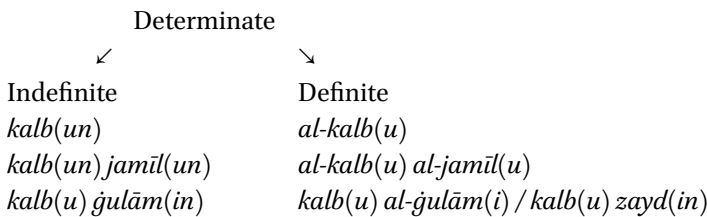


FIGURE 2 Schema of ‘determination’

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