The Arabic Language :
Arab recongnition and international prespective

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It is graceful to remember with gratitude the glorious works of Arab scholars and their undeniable services to modern civilization; indeed, they had scored a great success in several fields of knowledge.

It is even wonderful when an Arab turns his eyes to his own language and, through it, finds that the Arab nation is the only nation in the world, amongst which a linguistic miracle had been revealed, consisting of a masterly structured, creatively eloquent, solidly founded and sustainable discourse, namely the Holy Quran; a manifestation, of the greatness of the language itself and of its aptitude to such extraordinary apparitioins.

But what about the Arabs themselves? Did they take advantage of their heritage in the course of time? Are the Arabs of today still sustaining their language? Does the promotion of their language stand up to it in the most appropriate manner?

The introduction of the Arabic language into the United Nations in 1973, was indeed a significant event. What benefits does the Arabic language gain from such a status?

(*)   The opinions expressed in this paper are purely personal.

٦١ – من أسرار اللغة – للدكتور إبراهيم أنيس – الطبعة الخامسة – نشر مكتبة الأنجلو المصريّة – القاهرة ١٩٧٥

٦٢ – المنجد في اللغة والأعلام – الطبعة الثانية والعشرون – نشر دار المشرق – بيروت ١٩٨٦

٦٣ – النحو العربيّ : نقد وبناء – للدكتور إبراهيم السامرّائيّ – نشر دار الصادق – بيروت ١٩٦٨

٦٤ – نحو عربيّة ميسّرة – للدكتور أنيس فريحة – نشر دار الثقافة – بيروت ١٩٥٥

٦٥ – النحو الواضح – لعلي الجارم ، وأحمد أمين – ٦ أجزاء – نشر دار المعارف – القاهرة ١٩٥٣ – ١٩٧٥

٦٦ – النحو الوافي – لعبّاس حسن – أربعة أجزاء – نشر دار المعارف – القاهرة ١٩٧٥

٦٧ – نشأة النحو وتاريخ أشهر النحاة – للشيخ محمّد الطنطاويّ – نشر دار المعارف – القاهرة ١٩٧٣

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٥٠ ــ اللغة العربيّة في إطارها الاجتماعيّ ــ لمصطفى لطفي ــ نشر معهد الإنماء العربيّ ــ بيروت ١٩٧٦ .

٥١ ــ اللغة العربيّة : معناها ومبناها ــ للدكتور تمّام حسّان ــ نشر الهيئة المصريّة العامّة للكتاب ــ القاهرة ١٩٧٣

٥٢ ــ محيط المحيط : قاموس مطوّل للغة العربيّة ــ للمعلّم بطرس البستانيّ ــ نشر مكتبة لبنان ــ بيروت ١٩٧٧

٥٣ ــ المدارس النحويّة ــ للدكتور شوقي ضيف ــ نشر دار المعارف ــ القاهرة ١٩٦٨

٥٤ ــ مستويات العربيّة المعاصرة ــ للدكتور السعيد محمّد بدوي ــ نشر دار المعارف ــ القاهرة ١٩٧٣

٥٥ ــ مصادر الشعر الجاهليّ وقيمتها التاريخيّة ــ للدكتور ناصر الدين الأسد ــ الطبعة الخامسة ــ نشر دار المعارف ــ القاهرة ١٩٧٨

٥٦ ــ معجم الأدباء ــ لأبي عبد الله ياقوت بن عبد الله الحمويّ ــ ٢٠ جزءًا ــ دار المشرق ــ بيروت (بدون تاريخ)

٥٧ ــ معجم قواعد اللغة العربيّة في جداول ولوحات ــ للعقيد الركن أنطوان الدحداح ــ نشر مكتبة لبنان ــ بيروت ١٩٨٧

٥٨ ــ المعجم الوسيط ــ لإبراهيم مصطفى ، وأحمد حسن الزيّات ، وحامد عبد القادر ، ومحمّد النجّار ــ جزءان ــ نشر مجمع اللغة العربيّة ــ القاهرة (بدون تاريخ)

٥٩ ــ مغني اللبيب عن كتب الأعاريب ــ لجمال الدين ابن هشام الأنصاريّ ــ تحقيق الدكتور مازن المبارك ، ومحمّد علي حمد الله ، وسعيد الأفغانيّ ــ الطبعة الثالثة ــ نشر دار الفكر ــ بيروت ١٩٧٢

٦٠ ــ المفصّل في علم العربيّة ــ للإمام أبي القاسم محمود بن عمر الزمخشريّ ــ الطبعة الثانية ــ نشر دار الجيل ــ بيروت (بدون تاريخ)

٣٩- العربيّة: دراسات في اللغة واللهجات والأساليب ـ ليوهان فك ـ ترجمة الدكتور رمضان عبد التوّاب ـ نشر مكتبة الخانجي ـ القاهرة ١٩٨٠

٤٠- فصول في فقه العربيّة ـ للدكتور رمضان عبد التوّاب ـ نشر دار المسلم للطباعة والنشر ـ القاهرة ١٩٧٩

٤١- فقه اللغة ـ للدكتور علي عبد الواحد وافي ـ الطبعة السابعة ـ نشر دار نهضة مصر للطبع والنشر ـ القاهرة ١٩٧٢

٤٢- فقه اللغة وخصائص العربيّة ـ لمحمّد مبارك ـ نشر دار الفكر ـ بيروت ١٩٧٥

٤٣- في أصول اللغة والنحو ـ للدكتور فؤاد حنّا ترزي ـ نشر مكتبة لبنان ـ بيروت ١٩٦٩

٤٤- في أصول النحو ـ لسعيد الأفغانيّ ـ الطبعة الثالثة ـ نشر دار الفكر ـ دمشق ١٩٦٤

٤٥- في اللغة العربيّة وبعض مشكلاتها ـ لأنيس فريحة ـ نشر دار النهار للنشر ـ بيروت ١٩٥٨

٤٦- في اللغة ودراستها ـ للدكتور محمّد عيد ـ نشر عالم الكتب ـ القاهرة ١٩٧٤

٤٧- في اللهجات العربيّة ـ للدكتور إبراهيم أنيس ـ الطبعة الخامسة ـ نشر مكتبة الأنجلو المصريّة ـ القاهرة ١٩٧٣

٤٨- الكتاب: كتاب سيبويه ـ لأبي بشر عمرو بن عثمان بن قنبر ـ تحقيق عبد السلام هارون

الجزء الأوّل ـ نشر دار القلم ـ القاهرة ١٩٦٦

الجزء الثاني ـ نشر دار الكاتب العربيّ للطباعة والنشر ـ القاهرة ١٩٦٨

٤٩- اللغة بين القوميّة والعالميّة ـ للدكتور إبراهيم أنيس ـ نشر دار المعارف ـ القاهرة (بدون تاريخ)

٢٨- أصول النحو العربيّ في نظر النحاة ورأي ابن مضاء وضوء علم اللغة الحديث ـ للدكتور محمدعيد ـ نشر عالم الكتب ـ القاهرة ١٩٧٣

٢٩- الإيضاح في علل النحو ـ لأبي القاسم الزجاجيّ ـ تحقيق الدكتور مازن المبارك ـ نشر دار النفائس ـ بيروت ١٩٧٣

٣٠- تجديد النحو العربيّ ـ للدكتور عفيف دمشقيّة ـ نشر معهد الإنماء العربيّ ـ بيروت ١٩٧٦

٣١- ترتيب القاموس المحيط على طريقة المصباح المنير وأساس البلاغة ـ للظاهر أحمد الزاوي ـ أربعة أجزاء ـ نشر الدار العربيّة للكتاب ـ بيروت ١٩٨٠

٣٢- تعليم اللغة العربيّة لغير العرب ـ للدكتور أحمد شلبي ـ نشر مكتبة النهضة المصريّة ـ القاهرة ١٩٨٠

٣٣- الخصائص ـ لأبي الفتح عثمان بن جنّي ـ تحقيق محمد علي النجّار ـ ثلاثة أجزاء ـ الطبعة الثانية ـ نشر دار الهدى للطباعة والنشر ـ بيروت (بدون تاريخ)

٣٤- دراسات في فقه اللغة ـ للدكتور صبحي الصالح ـ الطبعة السابعة ـ نشر دار العلم للملايين ـ بيروت ١٩٧٨

٣٥- ديوان إبراهيم: أعمال شاعر فلسطين إبراهيم طوقان ـ للدكتور إحسان عباس ـ نشر دار القدس ـ بيروت ١٩٧٥

٣٦- شرح ابن عقيل ـ لبهاء الدين عبد الله بن عقيل ـ جزءان ـ نشر دار الفكر ـ القاهرة ١٩٧٤

٣٧- شرح تحفة الخليل في العروض والقافية ـ لعبد الحميد الراضي ـ الطبعة الثانية ـ نشر مؤسسة الرسالة ـ بغداد ١٩٧٥

٣٨- عبد القاهر الجرجاني وجهوده في البلاغة العربيّة ـ للدكتور أحمد أحمد بدوي ـ نشر مكتبة مصر ـ القاهرة (بدون تاريخ)

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Chapter X

       1. See item 15 in Chapter II; also see Chapter III.

       2. See the note at the end of Chapter X.
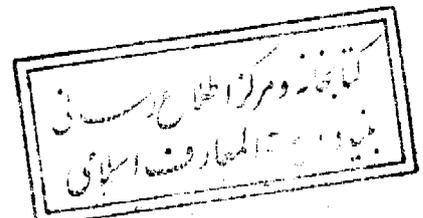
Chapter XI

       1. See, for example, B65 and B66.

       2. See pp. 198 - 211.

       3. See B61, pp. 212-274.

       4. See B39, pp. 8 - 10; also see B1, pp. 240 - 241.

       5. See B11.

       6. See B61, p. 267.

       7. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 358 - 368.

       8. See B61, pp. 251, 252.

       9. See B61, p. 198.

     10. See B61, p. 199.

     11. See B61, p. 210.

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Chapter V

1. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 129 - 178.

2. See Appendix I.

3. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 198 - 200.

Chapter VI

1. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 45 - 53.

2. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 30, 31.

3. See B26, Vol. II, p. 33.

4. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 72 - 76.

5. Nominal expressions with identical function may differ in regard to temporal denotation; this is true of the italicized expressions in the following sentences:

'axbarani T-Tabiibu bi-*kawnihaa mariiDatan.*	'The doctor told me that she was sick.'
'axbarani T-Tabiibu bi-*maraDihaa.*	'The doctor told me of her sickness.'
'axbarani T-Tabiibu bi-*'annahaa mariiDatun.*	'The doctor told me she is sick.'

In the first sentence, the italicized expression denotes state but not current aspect; in the second sentence, the italicized expression denotes neither state nor current aspect; in the third sentence, the italicized expression denotes state as well as current aspect (thus transferring the listener to the moment when the doctor made his statement, or attributing to a past event the speaker's knowledge of a present fact).

Chapter VII

1. See B52.

Chapter IX

1. The expressions *ruwaydan* 'Take it easy!' and *ruwayda zaydin* 'Treat Zaid gently!' are structurally comparable to *wuquufan* 'Stand up!' and *ra9yan li-zaydin* 'May God protect Zaid!': here *ruwayda* is a *declinable* verbal noun, and for this reason it cannot be included in the class of *indeclinable* forms which Arab grammarians call *'asmaa'u l-'af9aali.* See B26, Vol. II, p. 78; also see B65, Vol. I, pp. 49, 78.

And lo! despite it all, a jackass
> Places the second member of the construct phrase,
> as well as the direct object of the verb,
> in the nominative case.

Be not surprised if I should, one day, let out a cry
> And fall dead among the desks.

O you who wish to commit suicide, I have found the means:
> Decidedly, a teacher cannot live long!

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. For the definition of *'i9raab*, see item 2 of Chapter II.

2. See B28, pp. 131 - 262.

3. See B30, p. 161.

4. See B6, pp. 49 - 60.

5. See B28, pp. 152, 153, 156.

6. See B60.

Chapter II

1. See B26, Vol. I, pp. 104, 105; also see B57, pp 70 - 110.

2. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 111, 112, 178-192.

3. See B66, Vol. I, pp. 76 - 79, 300 - 302, 313 - 315; B57, pp. 64 - 66; and B26, Vol. I, pp. 54-57, 100, 101, 252, 253, 264 - 278.

4. See B66, Vol. II, p. 272; also see B24.

5. See B19, Vol. II, p. 643.

6. See B23.

7. See B19, Vol. II, pp. 725 - 731, 749, 750.

8. See B19, Vol. II, pp. 808, 809.

Chapter IV

1. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 4, 23; also see the definition of *qad* in B31.

2. See B19, Vol. II, pp. 690, 719, 809 - 823.

3. See B19, Vol. II, pp. 745, 746.

4. See B26, Vol. II, pp. 345 - 347.

5. See B19, Vol. II, pp. 816-819.

APPENDIX II

A TEACHER'S VIEW OF *'i9raab*

The following poem was composed by 'ibraahiim Tuuqaan (1904 - 1941 A.D.). At the time he wrote the poem in 1933, Tuuqaan was teaching the Arabic language at ar-ras^hiidiyya(t) School in Jerusalem. Reference is made in the first and the third lines to the famous poet 'aHmad s^hawqii (1868 - 1932 A.D.) who was known throughout the Arab World as the "Prince of Poets". In the eleventh line, reference is made to siibawayhi (c. 140 - 180 A.H.), the father of Arabic grammar.

Says s^hawqii (and little did he know what cross I bear):
    "Rise to your feet to show respect for teachers!"

Sit down for Heaven's sake! Can one be revered
    Who is the bosom friend of the young generation?

The Prince almost drives me mad when he says:
    "A teacher almost ranks with the prophets!"

Had s^hawqii experienced teaching [even] for one hour,
    He would have spent his life as an idle vagabond.

Sufficient for a teacher are the misery and the depression
    Of seeing notebooks early in the morning and late in the afternoon—

Hundreds of them! Were they all to be corrected,
    Blindness would find its way to the [teacher's] eyes!

And were correcting them to serve any useful purpose,
    I swear I would have not spared my eyes!

But [the fact is that] I correct a grammatical mistake,
    For example, citing the Quran as an authority,

Quoting as proof the gems of its verses,
    Or [quoting] the Hadith in minute detail;

I delve into ancient poetry, selecting
    Whatever is not ambiguous and not vulgar;

I almost resurrect from the dead siibawayhi
    And his colleagues who lived during the early centuries [of Islam];

The Cardinal Numerals 13-19

	Numeral	*Counted Noun*
Ref. Num.	Plural	Singular
Gender*	M	F
	F	M
Case	N. A.	Applicable

The Cardinal Tens above 19, Hundreds,
Thousands, Millions, Billions,
and Trillions

	Numeral	*Counted Noun*
Ref. Num.	Plural	Singular
Gender	Fixed	Variable
Case	Variable	Fixed

The Cardinal Numeral 11

	Numeral	Counted Noun
Ref. Num.	Plural	Singular
Gender	M F	M F
Case	N. A.	Applicable

The Cardinal Numeral 12

	Numeral	Counted Noun
Ref. Num.	Plural	Singular
Gender	M F	M F
*Case**	Variable	Fixed

APPENDIX I

CONTRASTS BETWEEN

CARDINAL NUMERAL AND COUNTED NOUN

In the following tables, an asterisk indicates that the contrasts are displayed by the unit and the counted noun. The abbreviation *Ref. Num.* stands for "referential number" and pertains to meaning rather than form. The abbreviation *N. A.* stands for "not applicable".

The Cardinal Numerals 3-10

	Numeral	Counted Noun
Ref. Num.	Plural	Plural
Gender	M	F
	F	M
Case	Variable	Fixed

2. As proposed by 'aniis, the theory of anaptyxis provides no explanation for nunation.

3. As 'aniis himself admits,[8] the ancient Arab grammarians identified certain positions where anaptyctic vowels occur; in addition, they provided accurate rules which determine the anaptycic vowel for each environment. One must therefore conclude that they drew a distinction between anaptyxis and *'i9raab* on the basis of obvious linguistic facts.

4. According to 'aniis, pairs such as *mudarrisuuna: mudarrisiina* did not co-occur in the same dialect; he makes the same claim for pairs like *rajulaani: rajulayni*. The ancient Arab grammarians, on the other hand, claimed that such pairs *did* co-occur in the same dialect, and the Quran confirms their claim. Did the ancient Arab grammarians dare to change even the Quran?

What could have driven 'aniis, a linguist of impeccable credentials, to a theory beset with so many pitfalls? Perhaps a clue is provided by the following passages:

> "The second century after the Hegira had hardly ended when *'i9raab* became a mighty fortress, too strong even for the prowess of masterful writers, public speakers, and poets of the Arabic language."[9]

> "[The rules of *'i9raab*] eventually became extremely complicated, to the extent that a life span is not sufficient to learn or completely master those rules."[10]

> "Today, many among us are frustrated by this matter of *'i9raab*: having encountered great difficulty in grasping its cause and motivation, they rebel against *'i9raab* and advocate its overthrow."[11]

Difficulty such as 'aniis describes in the above statements is not typical of human languages. While 'aniis concludes that *'i9raab* is a fabrication, the present writer concludes that the ancient Arab grammarians produced a defective analysis of an authentic linguistic phenomenon. This study is offered as an attempt to remedy the defects.

One need only reflect on the linguistic situation in pre-Islamic Arabia to realize that 'aniis is far from convincing when he argues that '*i9raab* originated with the ancient Arab grammarians. Prior to Islam, the Arabian Peninsula witnessed a diglossic situation where Standard Arabic was used mainly for poetry while the colloquial dialects were used for common, everyday purposes.[4] Arabic meters favor free word order; it is possible, therefore, that '*i9raab* developed as a necessary device to provide non-syntactic markers for grammatical functions. Since Standard Arabic was a native language neither before nor after the appearance of Islam, it is hardly surprising that transfer from the colloquial dialects produced certain mistakes in the rendition of some Quranic utterances, that even the educated Arabs of early Islam violated the rules of '*i9raab*, and that the contemporary Arabic dialects (which probably descended from the colloquial dialects of Pre-Islamic Arabia[5]) are devoid of '*i9raab*.

In Semitic languages which were used for common, everyday purposes as well as poetry, the need for free word order was overpowered by the tendency to simplify the system; thus no morphological device like '*i9raab* developed in those languages to mark grammatical function.

The statement that omitting '*i9raab* causes no ambiguity is more true of prose than it is of poetry; such a statement is irrelevant to the present discussion if it is poetry that gave rise to '*i9raab*.

Finally, the statement that certain mistakes were committed in describing '*i9raab* may be viewed as a reflection on the ancient Arab grammarians, on the linguistic science of their time, or on both; it cannot prove, however, that the linguistic corpus was devoid of '*i9raab*.

To suggest that anaptyxis was mistaken for '*i9raab* raises some rather serious problems:

1. As proposed by 'aniis, the theory of anaptyxis would render unmetrical many lines of pre-Islamic poetry which are perfectly metrical in the context of '*i9raab*. To escape this dilemma, 'aniis faults the rules which al-xaliilu bnu 'aHmada l-faraahiidiyyu (c. 101-175 A.H.) formulated for Arabic prosody: in violation of those rules, 'aniis considers the string U- - - - - U-U U-U- a variant of U- - U- - - U- - U- - -,[6] thus claiming that a hemistich-medial foot can undergo a deletion transformation. The rules formulated by al-xaliil depict a system which painstakingly safeguards the distinct identity of each meter;[7] on the other hand, the hemistich-medial deletion 'aniis wishes to admit can change one meter to another (for example, U- - U- - - U- - U- - - →U- - U- - U- - 'U- -). Modern Linguistics science has emphasized the role of contrast to the extent that no elaborate discussion of that role is necessary at this point; but to state this fact is to assert that al-xaliil is probably right, 'aniis is probably wrong, and '*i9raab* is probably an authentic phenomenon.

In the same book,[3] 'aniis states his conviction that *'i9raab* represents a misinterpretation committed by the Arab grammarians during the first two centuries of Islam and passed on to subsequent generations. Five arguments are offered in support of his position:

1. Certain reciters of early Islamic times rendered many utterances of the Quran without *'i9raab*.

2. The contemporary colloquial dialects of Arabic are devoid of *'i9raab*; the same is true of Semitic languages other than Arabic.

3. Even the educated Arabs of early Islamic times violated the rules of *'i9raab*. A native speaker's intuition tends to preclude such violation.

4. Omitting *'i9raab* from an utterance causes no ambiguity.

5. As formulated by the ancient Arab grammarians, the rules of *'i9raab* display no small measure of contradiction and confusion.

According to 'aniis, anaptyxis was employed by Standard Arabic in pre-Islamic times to avoid the occurrence of non-lingual clusters (i.e., clusters consisting of more than two consonants) across word boundaries. In this context, anaptyxis is defined as appending a short vowel to the first of two words whose juxtaposition would otherwise produce a non-lingual cluster. The anaptyctic vowel, 'aniis asserts, was determined by articulatory convenience:

1. To facilitate vowel harmony, the sequence *qaalat* + *xruj* yielded *qaalatu xruj* while the sequence *qaalat* + *Drib* yielded *qaalati Drib*.

2. Pharyngeal and pharyngealized (emphatic) consonants tended to select the vowel /a/; other consonants tended to select the "homorganic" short vowel (*hum* + *l-mu9allimuuna* —► *humu l-mu9allimuuna*).

With this in mind, 'aniis assumes that the ancient Arab grammarians mistook anaptyxis for *'i9raab*, and that once the rules of *'i9raab* were formulated all exceptions to those rules were regularized.

How does 'aniis explain contrasts which oppose /uu/ to /ii/ and /aa/ to /ay/ (e.g., *mudarrisuuna: mudarrisiina* and *rajulaani: rajulayni*)? He claims that one member of the pair was used by certain tribes while the other member was used by the rest of the tribes; he further claims that, failing to discern this fact or anxious to uphold at all costs the rules which they formulated for *'i9raab*, the ancient Arab grammarians assigned one member to the nominative case and the other member to the oblique case.

When it occurs as part of a name, *almunaada lmuDaafu* is nevertheless marked by *naSb*; this probably results from analogy with construct structures not used as names.

To summarize, certain vocative structures appear, at first glance, to violate the rules of *'i9raab*; a closer examination reveals conformity rather than anomaly: typically lacking the feature [+ Exclamatory], they are not subject to *naSb*.

Note: Elevation concerns the so-called *annakiratu l-maqSuudatu*: in *ma smuka yaa 'ustaad^hu?* 'What is your name, professor?', *ijlis yaa g^hulaamu* 'Sit down, lad!', *id^hhab yaa rajulu* 'Go, man!', etc., the forms after *yaa* assume the status of titles; they are "elevated" from the role of common nouns to the role of proper nouns.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The theory of *'i9raab* being taught to students of Standard Arabic all over the Middle East is that which was formulated by the ancient Arab grammarians.[1] Contemporary Arabs find the study of *'i9raab* a nightmarish endeavor: even the specialists among them violate the rules of *'i9raab* with dismaying frequency whenever they speak, read, or write Standard Arabic. Grammatical rules are no more than a statement of the native's linguistic competence. A theory of *'i9raab* which even the determined contemporary Arab fails to master cannot be a valid representation of the ancient Arab's intuition; this study proposes the rules of Chapter III as a substitute.

In the twentieth century, a number of Arabists have advanced the claim that no inflectional markers were used to designate grammatical function in pre-Islamic times. Perhaps the most eloquent proponent of this claim is 'ibraahiim 'aniis.

In his book *min 'asraari l-lug^hati*[2] 'aniis shows that, during Islamic times, *'i9raab* became the most important characteristic of Standard Arabic. Mastering the rules of *'i9raab* was considered a supreme skill worthy of the utmost veneration, and deviation from those rules characterized speech as "vulgar;" indeed, educated Arabs viewed *'i9raab* as a sacred feature of the language, and equated the violation of its rules with sin. Little wonder, then, that the grammarians of the time enjoyed a high degree of respect and wielded a great deal of influence within the literary community.

In this light, it is hardly surprising that with some cardinals the counted noun rejects *jarr*: what appears at first glance to constitute arbitrary inconsistency proves to be a means of differentiating two sets of numerals. Seeing that *jarr* is disfavored in this context, *naSb* is the only form of *'i9raab* available to counted nouns which follow the cardinals 11-99 and the cardinal tens above 19.[1]

(c) *jarr* is rejected after the interrogative numerical pronoun *kam* to differentiate pairs like the following:

kam nabiyyan qataluu? 'How many prophets did they kill?'

kam nabiyyin qataluu. 'Many a prophet they killed.'

It is hardly surprising to find *jarr* in the second sentence since the underlying string (*kam* + *min* + *nabiyy* + *qataluu*) contains a preposition.

4. The general rules are not without force even in the context of exceptions: for example, the first noun rejects *naSb* in *maa jaa'a 'illaa Hasanun 'illaa samiiran* 'None came except for Hasan and Samir', but the second does not.

In the context of exceptions, vocation warrants a few comments. In sentences such as *yaa muHammadu* 'O Mohammad!', *yaa haad^ha rrajulu* 'You over there! (addressing a man)', *'ayyuha rrajulu* 'O man!', and *yaa rajulu* 'O man!', *naSb* is rejected to differentiate two types of *almunaadaa*: the simple, and the exclamatory; only the latter is marked by *naSb*.

Most commonly, the vocative particle is followed by a name, a demonstrative pronoun, or a title. These three structures are viewed as the "natural" way to identify the person or thing addressed and, therefore, the framework for simple vocation; in contrast, other structures are viewed as the framework for exclamatory vocation. To be sure, the first set of structures may occur with exclamatory denotation, but such occurrence represents the exception rather than the rule.

The names and the demonstrative pronouns are defined by selection, while the titles are defined by elevation.[2] The demonstrative pronouns involved are *haad^haa* (with various forms to denote number and gender) and *-haa*: the former may be preceded by *yaa* (in which case it is optionally followed by an appositive) or *'ayyu-* (in which case it is obligatorily followed by an appositive); the latter is preceded by *'ayyu-* (and obligatorily followed by an appositive). Here are some examples: *yaa muHammadu* 'O Mohammad!', *yaa haad^haa* 'You over there! (addressing a male)', *yaa haad^ha rrajulu* 'You over there! (addressing a man)', *'ayyuhaad^ha rrajulu* 'You over there! (addressing a man)', *'ayyuha rrajulu* 'O man!', *yaa rajulu* 'O man!'.

The structures denoting exclamatory vocation are *annakiratu g^hayru lmaqSuudati* (e.g., *yaa g^haafilan wa-lmawtu yaTlubuhu* 'O thou that art heedless, whilst Death is seeking thee!' said by a preacher), *almuDaaf* (e.g., *yaa 'aSdiqaa'anaa* 'Our friends!'), and *as^h-s^habiihu bi-lmuDaafi* (e.g., *yaa muHibban lil-9ilmi* 'You who love knowledge!').

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Numerals other than 1 and 2 are divisible into two sets: those which frequently occur as the first term of a construct phrase, and those which rarely enter into construct with a following form. The first set comprises the numerals 3 - 10, hundred, thousand, million, billion, and trillion; the second set comprises the numerals 11 - 19 and the tens above 19. The dichotomy stems from two rules which transcend the numeral system and pervade Standard Arabic as a whole: the first term of a construct is typically a simple word (as opposed to a compound word or a phrase), and a nunated form does not function as the first term of a construct.

Of the following examples, group (a) and group (b) are common while group (c) is relatively rare; group (c) is usually avoided in favor of group (d).

(a) xamsatu kutubin   'five books'

    'alfu rajulin   'a thousand men'

    milyuunu diinaarin   'a million dinars'

    bilyuunu junayhin miSriyyin   'a billion Egyptian pounds'

    tirilyuunu duulaarin   'a trillion dollars'

(b) kaana xaamisahum.   'He was the fifth of them.'

    kaana saabi9a ramaDaana.   'It was the seventh of Ramadan.'

    huwa xaamisu xamsatin.   'He is the fifth of five.'

(c) xamsata 9as^{h}ara samiirin   'Samir's fifteen'

    kaana xaamisa 9as^{h}arahum.   'He was the fifteenth of them.'

    huwa xaamisa 9as^{h}ara   'He is the fifteenth

    xamsata 9as^{h}ara.   of fifteen.'

(d) al-xamsata 9as^{h}ara llatii   'The fifteen which belong

    li-samiirin   to samiir'

    kaana l-xaamisa 9as^{h}ara   'He was the fifteenth

    minhum.   of them.'

    huwa l-xaamisa 9as^{h}ara   'He is the fifteenth

    min xamsata 9as^{h}ara.   of fifteen.'

In regard to form, the tens above 19 are similar to the sound masculine plural. Resembling nunation, the final -na of those numerals does not occur in the middle of a construct phrase; yet, viewed as part of the stem, the same termination resists deletion (construct phrases such as xamsuuhum 'their fifty' are rare).

CHAPTER X

EXCEPTIONS

The rules presented in this study are not without exception; for example:

(a) *maa jaa'a 'illaa samiirun* 'None came except for Samir' is used rather than **maa jaa'a 'illaa samiiran*.

(b) *xamsata 9ashara kitaaban* 'fifteen books' is used rather than **xamsata 9ashara kitaabin*.

   9ishruuna rajulan 'twenty men' is used rather than **9ishruuna rajulin*.

(c) *kam rajulan?* 'how many men?' is used rather than **kam rajulin?*

However, the following points must be noted:

1. The exceptions generated by the present study are fewer than those generated by other studies. The genitive is a case in point. Ancient Arab grammarians state that the second member of a construct phrase is governed by an implied preposition in some instances and by the first member of the phrase in other instances. If the first kind of government is considered the rule, the second must be considered anomalous, and a sizable set of forms must therefore be relegated to the heap of arbitrary exceptions; the present study, on the other hand, classifies those forms (together with prepositions) as noun determiners.

2. The exceptions are insignificant compared to the overwhelming regularity which characterizes the system.

3. The present study utilizes the principles of modern linguistics. In the light of those principles, it is usually easy to account for the anomalous nature of the exceptions; for example:

   (a) *naSb* is rejected in *maa jaa'a 'illaa samiirun* because the noun occupies a slot which is normally occupied by the agent.

   (b) After the cardinals of 11-19 and those of the tens above 19, counted nouns reject *jarr* to facilitate differentiation.

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Coordinating, appositive, and attributive constructions constitute the "endo-centric" constructions of Standard Arabic; thus the foregoing statements can be reduced to a simple rule: Provided they are declinable (*mu9rab*), the immediate constituents of an endocentric construction are typically identical in regard to the state of '*i9raab*.

4. The following examples illustrate the effect of Rule 3 on minor sentences which employ certain indeclinable forms (the so-called '*asmaa'u l-'af9aali*); notice that the italicized expressions are deletable.

(a) 'aamiina.   'Amen!'

     'ilayya.   'Come to me!'

     s^hattaana *Sanii9ukum*   'How different your deed
     wa-Sanii9ii.   and mine are!'

     hayhaati *maTlabuka*.   'How impossible your quest is!'

(b) *haaka* mat^halan.   'Here's an example!'

     9alayka fariidan.   'Seize Farid!'

In set (a), the conditions for the application of Rule 3 are not met; consequently, *naSb* is not employed. In set (b), *naSb* is displayed by the second word in accordance with the stipulations of Rule 3.

The *indeclinable* form *ruwayda* belongs to the second set;[1] thus in the following example, Rule 3 places the second word in the accusative:

     ruwayda zaydan.   'Treat Zaid gently!'

The governed form can be pinpointed further in regard to position within the second component; this task, however, has been accomplished with satisfactory precision by traditional grammar, and refinement (though desirable) is beyond the scope of this study.

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Rule 1: Function of Each Component

Throughout the present study, we have used diagrams to represent specification; in those diagrams, the first component *usually* functions as the specifier and the second *usually* functions as the head.

Rule 2: Component Where the Governed Form Is Located

The governed form belongs to the second component.

Rule 3: Determining The Governed Form

Given an expression which fills the role of second component, the governed form is a *mu9rab* which (a) constitutes the entire expression or (b) functions as the first nuclear, non-deletable constituent of the expression.

Notes:

1. Strictly speaking, a transitive verb has one specifier, a di-transitive verb has two, and a tri-transitive verb has three; thus Rule 3 applies to each of the objects. Again, a conditional sentence has two heads, and for this reason Rule 3 applies to the protasis as well as the apodosis.

2. Repetition of a governed form in *istig^haat^a(t)*, *taHd^hiir*, and *'ig^hraa'* ('call for help', 'warning', and 'urging' respectively) constitutes a second domain of the required *'i9raab*; e.g., *an-najdata n-najdata* 'Help! Help!', *al-kalba l-kalba* 'Beware of the dog!', *aS-Sabra S-Sabra* 'Patience! Patience!'

3. A *mu9rab* conjoined to the governed form constitutes a second domain of the required *'i9raab*; the same is true of a nomen which stands in apposition to the governed form and of a nomen which modifies the governed form. It must be remembered that, typically, such conjoining, apposition, and modification result from combining two sentences. For example, *qaabaltu Taaliban wa-'ustaad^han* 'I met a student and a teacher' is derived from two sentences whose objects denote different referents: *qaabaltu Taaliban* 'I met a student', and *qaabaltu 'ustaad^han* 'I met a teacher'; *'aHtarimu 'axii nabiilan* 'I respect my brother Nabil' is derived from two sentences with a reversible order and co-referential objects: *'aHtarimu 'axii* 'I respect my brother' and *'aHtarimu nabiilan* 'I respect Nabil'; *'a9rifu r-rajula T-Tawiila* 'I know the tall man' can be derived from two sentences with a fixed order and co-referential objects: *'a9rifu r-rajula* 'I know the man', and *'a9rifu T-Tawiila* 'I know the tall one'.

3. sayatazawwaju 'ajnabiyyatan.   'He will marry a foreign woman.'

    sayafqidu waD^{h}iifatahu fi   'He will lose his job at
    ssifaarati.   the embassy.'

    'in yatazawwaj 'ajnabiyyatan   'If he marries a foreign woman,
    yafqid waD^{h}iifatahu   he will lose his job
    fi ssifaarati.   at the embassy.'

The first sentence expresses a fact; the same is true of the second sentence. The third sentence, however, expresses a dependency which restricts the probability of occurrence.

4. raja9a saamii.   'Sami returned.'

    'akala saamii.   'Sami ate.'

    'akala saamii laHman.   'Sami ate meat.'

In each of the above sentences, the first form is a verb. Subclassification is facilitated by noting the obligatory absence, potential occurrence, or actual presence of a direct object.

An interesting contrast emerges from comparing the second and the third sentences: the former implies that something was eaten by Sami, but it does not exclude any type of food; the latter, on the other hand, excludes all but one type of food. Thus the occurrence of an object in the third sentence restricts the verb.

Furthermore, it has been shown that the number and the types of objects frequently determine the general meaning of verbs.

CHAPTER IX

THE DOMAIN OF 'i9raab

In Chapter II, it was stated that specification is defined by two components: the specifier, and the head. In Chapter III, it was stated that specification is a governing set of functions requiring 'i9raab. The word which displays the required 'i9raab is viewed as the "governed" item.

The following rules identify the governed item.

Although a discrete form, the affirmative *la-* (*laamu l-ibtidaa'i*) does not govern *'i9raab* since it embodies no nuclear features. Unlike *'inna*, the affirmative *la-* is not diagnostic of one particular head: it can qualify the subject, the predicate, or the entire sentence.[1]

Lack of a specifier and lack of nuclear features cannot be properly viewed as dissociative factors: by definition, no specification exists in the absence of a specifier which embodies at least one nuclear feature. Thus avoiding excessive redundancy emerges as the only motivation for dissociating *'i9raab* from specification.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MEANING OF "SPECIFICATION"

In this study, "specified" is opposed to "general"; it may be equated with "restricted", "limited", "determined", or "specialized". Consider the following:

1. raja9a samiirun.   'Samir returned.'

    raja9a samiirun g^{h}aaDiban.   'Samir returned angry.'

In the first sentence, the predicative construction is general in the sense that *Manner* is not specified; in the second sentence, however, a specific manner is stipulated, thus restricting the predicative construction.

2. muHammadun 'ustaad^{h}un.   'Mohammad is a professor.'

    kaana muHammadun 'ustaad^{h}an.   'Mohammad was a professor.'

    Saara muHammadun 'ustaad^{h}an.   'Mohammad became a professor.'

The first sentence states an equational proposition which holds true for the present; there is no indication, however, that the proposition was untrue in the past, nor is there any indication that the proposition will be untrue in the future. In other words, the first sentence affirms the present as temporal domain, but it denies neither the past nor the future. In contrast, the second sentence denies the present as well as the future, and the third sentence denies the past.

Again, compare the following sentences:

    almariiDu Hayyun.   'The patient is alive.'

    laa-zaala lmariiDu Hayyan.   'The patient is still alive.'

The first sentence neither affirms nor denies the future as temporal domain; the second sentence, on the other hand, represents the future as a doubtful domain (to say the least).

Contrasts such as the above show that *kaana* and its sisters restrict equation.

In both sentences, *kaana* provides a temporal context for an aspectual feature; such specification is marked by *naSb* in the first sentence but not in the second. Significantly, *kaana* is an auxiliary in the second sentence but not in the first.

An auxiliary verb always specifies aspect. In a sequence of two verbs, the first may be an auxiliary or a catenative. Auxiliaries are identifiable by certain structual criteria; for example, they differ from modals (or verbal "qualifiers") in at least two respects: An auxiliary and the main verb must have the same subject, and the two verbs are never separated by a nominalizer; on the other hand, a modal and the following verb may have different subjects, and the two verbs are always separated by a nominalizer. Designated in this manner, the use of auxiliaries as specifiers is not marked by *naSb*.

In the remainder of this chapter, we shall explicate a rule which was implied in item 7 of Chapter II: utterances employ *jazm, jarr,* and *naSb* only when the definition of specification is fully satisfied. Lack of a specifier and lack of nuclear features will be used as examples to illustrate this rule.

In the absence of a specifier, utterances never employ *jazm, jarr,* or *naSb*; for this reason we find pairs of sentences where only one term of a given contrast is associated with governmental *'i9raab*--the term embodied in a specifier. Examples of such pairs are given below.

1. in yadʰhab samiirun
    tadʰhab su9aadu.

    'If Samir goes,
    so will Su'ad.'

    sayadʰhabu samiirun
    wa-satadʰhabu su9aadu.

    'Samir will go,
    and so will Su'ad.'

2. 'inna jaysʰanaa
    qawiyyun.

    'Our army is definitely
    strong.'

    jaysʰunaa qawiyyun.

    'Our army is strong.'

3. 'aDʰunnu 'anna 9aliyyan gʰaaDibun.
    9aliyyun gʰaaDibun.

    'I think that Ali is angry.'
    'Ali is angry.'

4. layta jaysʰanaa qawiyyun.
    jaysʰunaa qawiyyun.

    'I wish our army were strong.'
    'Our army is strong.'

In example 1, both sentences express distance from actuality (the first sentence expresses remoteness, and the second expresses proximity). In example 2, both sentences express degree of commitment to truth (the first sentence expresses a qualified fact, and the second expresses a categorical fact); the same is true in example 3. In example 4, both sentences highlight the object of commitment (the first expresses commitment to falsity, and the second expresses commitment to truth).

In any given example, both sentences contribute to the contrast, but only the first sentence associates *'i9raab* with specification; significantly, only the first sentence in each example contains a specifier.

Note: It is relevant at this point to compare two contexts where *sa-* and *sawfa* are excluded: the first follows *qad/rubbamaa* 'may, might' and the second follows *'an* 'that'. In the first context, the verb expresses aspect; the exclusion of *sa-* and *sawfa* marks modality. In the second context, the verb *can* be equated with the corresponding verbal noun, not merely in structural usage but also in meaning. In other words, the clause which follows *'an* is readily interpretable as expressing a proposition or simply naming an event; what must be emphasized here is that temporal reference is irrelevant to the second interpretation. Thus after *'an* aspect is not an obligatory feature of the verb; the exclusion of *sa-* and *sawfa* is a result of such neutralization rather than a marker of modality. The following are examples:

qad/rubbama 'akuunu muSaaban bi-haad^ha l-maraDi (l-'aana).	'I might be infected with this disease (now).'
qad/rubbama 'uSaabu bi-haad^ha l-maraDi (fi l-mustaqbali).	'I may contract this disease (in the future).'
'uHibbu 'an 'aqra'a s^h-s^hi9ra (= 'uHibbu qiraa'ata s^h-s^hi9ri).	'I like to read poetry (= I like reading poetry).'
'an tuHibba xayrun min 'an tubg^hiDa (= al-Hubbu xayrun mina l-bug^hDi).	'To love is better than to hate. (= Love is better than hatred).'

3. Nominalizers are associated with three phenomena:

(a) Determination of a syntactic structure: The expression which follows *'an* is a verbal sentence; that which follows *'anna* is a nominal sentence.

(b) Determination of a syntactic slot: The string consisting of a nominalizer and the following sentence occupies a nominal slot.

(c) Determination of modality: With *'an* the sentence expresses a frequently-qualified possibility; with *'anna* it expresses a frequently-qualified fact.

Word order is employed to mark the first two phenomena; consequently, only the last is marked by *naSb*.

4. Word order satisfies and marks the stipulation that *'inna* and its sisters must introduce a nominal (rather than a verbal) sentence; for this reason, *naSb* does not mark the stipulation in question.

5. specification is dissociated from *'i9raab* when the specifier is an auxiliary verb. Compare the following sentences:

kaana samiirun mariiDan.	'Samir was sick.'
kaana samiirun yadurusu.	'Samir was studying.

2. The expectative mood denotes a performative role in which the speaker hopes for or fears the occurrence of an event. The particle *la9alla* designates the expectative mood in sentences like the following:

la9alla lmariiDa yush^{h}faa. 'Perhaps the patient will recover (= I hope the patient recovers).'

la9alla lmariiDa yamuutu. 'Perhaps the patient will die (= I am afraid the patient might die).'

CHAPTER VII

DISSOCIATING SPECIFICATION

FROM *'i9raab*

The relationship between head and specifier serves as the primary marker of specification; other formal devices which the head employs to designate specification will be called "secondary markers". Occurrence of a secondary marker together with the primary marker constitutes redundancy; thus associating *'i9raab* with specification constitutes redundancy.

To avoid excessive redundancy, specification is marked by *jazm*, *jarr*, or *naSb* only in the absence of other secondary markers; in other words, *'i9raab* is dissociated from specification to avoid excessive redundancy. The following examples illustrate this principle:

1. As a specifier of modality, *qad* may denote certainty or doubt: certainty is denoted when the following verb is a perfect form, and doubt is denoted when the following verb is an imperfect form. Thus modality is determined as much by the head of specification as by the specifier. In this sense, the verbal form marks the head; furthermore, the head is marked for doubt by the inadmissibility of *sa-* and *sawfa*. Consequently, the sentence does not employ *naSb* to mark modality.

2. When *rubbama* 'may, might' is used to specify modality, the string which underlies the sentence frequently contains the formative *Modal Perfect* (e.g., *rubbama d^{h}ahabtu yawman maa* 'I may go some day'). Potential occurrence of that formative marks the head for modality; in addition, the head is marked for modality by the inadmissibility of *sa-* and *sawfa*. Consequently, the sentence does not employ *naSb* to mark modality.

Specification of modality

Compare the following sentences:

jays^{h}unaa qawiyyun.   'Our army is strong.'

'inna jays^{h}anaa qawiyyun.   'Our army is definitely strong.'

9alla/la9alla jays^{h}ana qawiyyun.   'Perhaps our army is strong.'

layta jays^{h}anaa qawiyyun.   'I wish our army were strong.'

The first sentence denotes a fact, the second affirms the fact, the third denotes a possibility, and the fourth denotes a contra-fact. Thus *'inna* and its sisters specify modality.

The following diagrams represent the profiles for *'inna*, the particle of absolute negation (*laa*), *9alla/la9alla*, and *layta*:

['inna   ]
[+ Factive   ]   S
[+ Qualified   ]

[laa   ]
[+ Factive   ]   S
[+ Qualified   ]

[9alla/la9alla   ]
                                S
[+ Non-factive   ]

[layta   ]
                                S
[+ Contra-factive]

Notes:

1. The forms *'anna* 'that', *laakinna* 'but', and *ka'anna* 'as if, as though' are not sisters of *'inna* : the first is a nominalizer, the second consists of *laakin* plus *'inna*, and the third consists of *ka-* plus *'anna*.

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kaana

[+ X]

Dʰalla, baqiya

[+ X   ]
[+ Durative   ]

maa daama

[+ Vacuous   ]
[+ Durative   ]

The following forms combined, in the perfect or imperfect, with a negative particle: *infakka, fati'a, bariHa,* and *zaala*

[+ Vacuous   ]
[+ Retentive   ]

'aSbaHa, 'aDHaa, 'amsaa, raaHa, gʰadaa, baata, 'asfara, Saara, 9aada, raja9a, and *'aaDa*

[+ X   ]
[+ Conversional   ]

'ays (in *laysa*)

[+ Vacuous]

Note: laysa is a verbal form derived from the string *laa* + *'ays* (where the first constituent is a negative particle and the second is a variant of *kawn*). Thus the following derivation is proposed for *laysa 9aliyyun tilmiidʰan* 'Ali is not a student'; notice that the verb *yantafii* 'to be false' is proposed as a Deep-Structure constituent.

     yantafii + kawn + 9aliyy + tilmiidʰ ⟶

     laysa + 9aliyy + tilmiidʰ ⟶ laysa

     9aliyyun tilmiidʰan

Sentences (i) and (ii) are similar in that both denote past time; they differ in that sentence (ii), unlike sentence (i), expresses the progressive sense of sentence (a). It is somewhat harder to determine whether (iii) resembles (i) or (ii). The answer becomes clear when we try to embed (i), (ii), and (iii) in the matrix *9indamaa zurtu l-'usrata,* .... 'When I visited the family, ...': (ii) and (iii) fit into the matrix, but (i) does not. We therefore conclude that (iii) resembles (ii) rather than (i).

The foregoing discussion leads to four conclusions: (a) that equation is an aspectual feature which signifies a state; (b) that equation is always associated with a "temporal context"; (c) that in the equational kernel, current aspect constitutes the temporal context; (d) that *kaana* and its sisters specify equation by denoting deviation from the temporal context of the kernel.

Since it presupposes the two constituent nomens, equation is inseparable from the sentence as a whole; it is in this sense that we regard equation as a sentential feature.

The following diagrams illustrate the use of *kaana* in equational sentences. The first diagram states that a non-current temporal context is assigned to the equational sentence. In the second diagram, the feature [+ Vacuous] indicates that the equational sentence is devoid of current aspect and that equation is associated with the temporal context of the matrix sentence.[5]

[kaana   ]

[+ Perfect   ]   Equational Sentence

[kawn   ]

[+ Vacuous   ]   Equational Sentence

The introducers of equational sentences are listed below, together with the pertinent profiles. The symbol X stands for *Habitual, Future, Perfect,* or *Vacuous;* the specifier assumes a different form for each of these features: the imperfect form for [+ Habitual], the imperfect form usually preceded by *sa-/sawfa* for [+ Future], the perfect form for [+ Perfect], and the verbal noun for [+ Vacuous]; in addition, the specifier may assume the imperative form for [+ Habitual] or [+ Future]. The feature [+ Durative] expresses continuation until a point other than the present time, the feature [+ Retentive] expresses continuation until and during the present time, and the feature [+ Conversional] expresses change to a given state.

The introducers being discussed comprise two groups: of these, one group specifies equation and the other specifies modality.

Specification of equation

We shall define an equational sentence as a construction whose nuclear constituents in Surface-Structure are two nomens of which one functions as subject and the other functions as predicate. Typically, such a sentence expresses "equation"; i.e., it identifies the referent of a given nomen with the referent of another nomen, or attributes to the referent of a given nomen the description denoted by another nomen. Thus equation is the counterpart of progressive aspect: the latter combines with a verbal denotation to signify an on-going event; the former relates two *nomens* to signify a state. Here are some examples of equational sentences:

9aliyyun tilmiid^{h}un.	'Ali is a student.'
9aliyyun Tawiilun.	'Ali is tall.'
9aliyyun mariiDun.	'Ali is sick.'
9aliyyun naa'imun.	'Ali is asleep.'

Characterized by expressing current aspect, the above examples illustrate the "equational kernel". Current aspect is always associated with an on-going event or a state, but the reverse is not true: an on-going event or a state can be associated with the past or the future. The forms commonly known as "kaana and its sisters" denote deviation from the current aspect of the equational kernel (compare *ya9malu fi l-maSna9i* 'He is working in the factory', *kaana ya9malu fi l-maSna9i* 'He was working in the factory', and *sa-yakuunu ya9malu fi l-maSna9i* 'He will be working in the factory'; also compare *huwa Taalibun* 'He is a student', *kaana Taaliban* 'He was a student', and *sa-yakuunu Taaliban* 'He will be a student'). In spite of such deviation, the sentence continues to express an on-going event or a state; consider the following contrasts:

(i) darasa 9umaru T-Tibba.
'Omar studied medicine.'

(a) yadrusu 9umaru T-Tibba.
'Omar is studying medicine.'

(ii) kaana 9umaru yadrusu T-Tibba. 'Omar was studying medicine.'

(b) 9umaru tilmiid^{h}un.
'Omar is a student.'

(iii) kaana 9umaru tilmiid^{h}an.
'Omar was a student.'

hanii'an laka.	'Congratulations!'
'ahlan wa-*sahlan*.	'Hello!'
an-naara n-naara.	'Fire! Fire!'
'iyyaaka wa-*'aSdiqaa'a* s-suu'i.	'Beware of bad friends!'
al-jidda l-jidda.	'Diligence, diligence!'
an-najdata n-najdata.	'Help! Help!'
yaa *'aSdiqaa'a*naa.	'Our friends!'
waa *9abda* l-muTTalibaah.	'Alas, Abd-al-Muttalib!'
maa 'ajmala *l-warda*.	'How beautiful the roses are!'
ruwayda *fariidan*.	'Treat Farid gently!'
haaka *l-kitaaba*.	'Here's the book! Take it!'

Notes:

1. The structure which employs *ni9ma* 'to be good' and *bi'sa* 'to be bad' is a major sentence-type since it results from predication (e.g., *muHammadun ni9ma rrajulu* 'Mohammad is an excellent man' = *muHammadun na9ima rrajulu*); for this reason, it does not employ the *naSb* required by the third type of specification.

2. Some linguists consider exclamatory minor sentences the product of deleting certain elements from major sentence-types; accordingly, *'ahlan wa-sahlan* 'Welcome!' would be equivalent to *ji'ta 'ahlan wa-nazalta sahlan* 'You are come to a friendly people and a place of ease'. The present writer finds this analysis objectionable since the presumably elliptical sentence and the postulated source string are not synonymous: *ji'ta 'ahlan wa-nazalta sahlan*, for example, is constative; *'ahlan wa-sahlan*, on the other hand, is performative.

E. *The Use of Function Forms to Introduce Nominal Sentences*

Equation and modality are two features which pertain to sentences. The former pertains to "equational sentences" where the subject and the predicate express a relationship of equivalence or identity; the latter denotes the speaker's commitment to the proposition. The following are examples:

Equation: 'abii 'ustaad^hun. 'My father is a professor.'

Modality:

[+ Factive]:	yarji9u 9aliyyun haad^ha lmasaa'a. 'Ali will return this evening.'
[+ Non-factive]:	'arjuu 'an *yarji9a 9aliyyun haad^ha lmasaa'a*.'I hope Ali will return this evening.'
[+ Contra-factive]:	law d^hahaba la-d^hahabtu ma9ahu. 'Had he gone, I would have gone with him.'
[+ Qualified]:	'innahu muxliSun. 'He is definitely sincere.'

(i) Consider, for example, the underlying strings *riTl + min + al9inab* 'a pound of grapes', *kayla(t) + min + alqamH* 'a kilah of wheat', *mitr + min + alHariir* 'a meter of silk', and *faddaan + min + al'arD* 'a feddan of land'. Because it is recoverable (i.e., because the context renders it redundant), the preposition may be deleted, and the Surface-Structure expressions will therefore be: *riTlu 9inabin, kaylatu qamHin, mitru Hariirin,* and *faddaanu 'arDin.*

(ii) Consider, on the other hand, the underlying strings *riTl + wuzin + min + al9inab* 'a pound in weight of grapes', *kayla(t) + kiilat + min + alqamH* 'a kilah in measure of wheat', *mitr + qiis + min + alHariir* 'a meter in length of silk', and *faddan + musiH + min + al'arD* 'a feddan in area of land'. Here the prepositional phrase is an adjunct; thus, together with *'i9raab,* deletion of the redundant constituents would yield *riTlun 9inaban, kaylatun qamHan, mitrun Hariiran,* and *faddaanun 'arDan:*

riTl + wuzin + min + al9inab → riTlun wuzina 9inaban → riTlun 9inaban
etc.

D. *Specification of Minor Sentences*

A "major" sentence-type is defined as a pattern constituted by predication; all other sentence-types are "minor". Within the framework of this general definition, various sub-types of minor sentences have distinct, well-defined structures.

Minor sentences comprise a relatively small set. In regard to communicative role, they are performative utterances which express command, wish, reproach, praise, salutation, vocation, lamentation, warning, urging, call for help, admiration, and the like.[4] In such sentences, the common element associated with *naSb* is the modal feature [+ Exclamatory].

Some minor sentences contain a characteristic function form; for example, sentences denoting vocation typically begin with a vocative particle. A close examination reveals that [+ Exclamatory] is denoted by the entire sentence structure rather than the function form alone; in other words, the structure of a minor sentence plays the role of specifier.

[Minor Sentence-type   ]   S

[+ Exclamatory   ]

The following are examples of exclamatory minor sentences; the accusative forms are italicized. Notice that the accusative form is frequently a verbal noun.

Sabran.	'Have patience!'
ra9yan laka.	'God keep you!'
sam9an wa-*Taa9atan.*	'To hear is to obey!'
*makaana*ka.	'Stay where you are!'
*wayHa*ka.	'Woe unto you!'
subHaana llaahi.	'Praise be to God!'

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Adjuncts include: expressions which specify manner (*almaf9uulu lmuTlaqu* and *ismu lhay'ati*); expressions which specify frequency (*ismu lmarrati*); expressions which specify association or concomitance (*waawu lmuSaaHabati* plus *almaf9uulu ma9ahu*, as in *sirtu wa-samiiran* 'I walked along with Samir'); expressions which answer the question *In what respect?* (*tamyiizu ttabyiini*, as in *allaahu jaliilun qadran* 'God is great in stature' and *izdaadat su9aadu Husnan* 'Su'ad has become more beautiful'); expressions which specify time; expressions which specify place or local extension; expressions which specify state or circumstance (*al-Haal*); expressions which specify quantity or measurement (*tamyiizu lwazni wa-lkayli wa-lmiqyaasi wa-lmisaaHati*, as in *riTlun 9inaban* 'a pound of grapes', *kaylatun qamHan* 'a kilah of wheat', *mitrun Hariiran* 'a meter of silk', *faddaanun 'arDan* 'a feddan of land'); expressions which specify motive (*al-maf9uulu li-'ajlihi*); expressions which specify exception (*l-istitʰnaa'*).

Only when they consist of a *mufrad* or a phrase introduced by a declinable adverbial functor do adjuncts display the morphological markers which designate specification. This state of affairs ensues from two rules:

(a) If it receives a morphological marker to designate specification on a given level, a form cannot receive a different morphological marker to designate specification on a higher level. Consider, for example, the sentence *raja9a fariidun fi lmasaa'i* 'Farid returned in the evening': Type II specification operates in the prepositional phrase while Type III specification operates on a higher level (namely, the sentence level); since the last word is morphologically marked for Type II, it cannot be morphologically marked for Type III.

(b) Specification does not entail '*i9raab* if the specifier and the head are dominated by different S-nodes. Thus adjunction does not entail *naSb* if the adjunct consists of a sentence.

It is pertinent at this point to make the following comments on the derivation of *tamyiiz*:

(a) The string underlying *tamyiizu ttabyiini* contains a preposition. Consider, for example, the underlying string *allaah + jaliil + fii + alqadr* 'God is great in stature'. Because it is recoverable (i.e., because the context renders it redundant), the preposition may be deleted. If *fii + alqadr* is viewed as modifier of *jaliil*, the deletion (together with '*i9raab*) yields *allaahu jaliilu lqadri*; if, on the other hand, *fii + alqadr* is viewed as an adjunct modifying the preceding clause, deletion (together with '*i9raab*) yields *allaahu jaliilun qadran*.

(b) The string underlying *tamyiizu lwazni wa-lkayli wa-lmiqyaasi wa-lmisaaHati* contains a preposition:

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(e) Since it is synonymous with the preposition *'ilaa*,[3] *'aw* must be derived from the string *'ilaa* + *'an* (*la'astashilanna SSa9ba 'aw 'udrika lumunaa* 'I will deem everything difficult easy until I attain my wishes' = ...*'ilaa 'an 'udrika lmunaa*).

(f) *laamu ljuHuudi* must be derived from a string which contains the preposition *li-* and the particle *'an* since we find the equivalence demonstrated by the following example: *maa kaana llaahu liyarudda 9ibaadahu* 'God is not one to turn away his servants' = *maa kaana lillaahi 'an yarudda 9ibaadahu*. Thus we may assume that *laamu ljuHuudi* results from the following transformation:

ma - kaana li+N - 'an - imperfect Verb→maa kaana - N - li+imperfect Verb

The structural changes cited in the above paragraphs follow from a general transformation:

$$\text{X - Prep}_1 + \text{'an + imperfect Verb - Y} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{X - Conj + imperfect Verb - Y} \\ \text{X - Prep}_1 + \text{VN - Y} \end{array} \right\}$$

where (a) the preposition and the conjunction are synonymous

(b) the verb and the verbal noun share the same root

2. *'anna* is the only conjunction which governs the accusative: *laakinna* 'but' = *laakin* + *'inna, ka'anna* 'as if, as though' = *ka-* + *'anna*, and *li'anna* 'because' = *li-* + *'anna*.

3. The potential mood indicates a performative role in which an embedded proposition is viewed as a possibility. The particle *'an* designates the potential mood in sentences like *'uHibbu 'an 'azuura miSra* 'I would like to visit Egypt'.

C. *The Use of Adjuncts*

A sentence may be specified by an adjunct (compare *sayusaafiru 9aliyyun* 'Ali will go abroad' and *sayusaafiru 9aliyyun Talaban lil9ilmi* 'Ali will go abroad for the purpose of obtaining an education'). When specified by an adjunct, a sentence is said to be "adjunctive".

S   [Modifier   ]

      [+ Adjunctive   ]

$$\left[\begin{array}{l}\text{['an} \\ \text{[+ Non-factive}\end{array}\quad\right] \quad S$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l}\text{['anna} \\ \text{[+ Factive}\end{array}\quad\right] \quad S$$

Notes:

1. *'an* is the only particle which governs the subjunctive: *lan* 'will not' = *laa* + *'an*, and *'id^{h}an* 'in that case' = *'id^h* + *'an; laamu tta9liili* (translatable by 'in order that'), *Hattaa , kay, likay* (all translatable by 'in order that'), *faa'u ssababiyyatu* (translatable by 'so that'), *waawu lma9iyyati* (translatable by 'whilst'), *'aw* 'until', and *laamu ljuHuudi* (which denotes denial) are Surface-Structure realizations of the underlying string *Prep* + *'an*.

(a) Two facts support the assumption that *laamu tta9liili* is derived from the string *li+'an* (where the first constituent is a preposition):

(i) The string *'an* + *imperfect verb* is usually replaceable by a verbal noun.

(ii) The string *li+imperfect verb* is interchangeable with the string *li+VN*.

We may therefore postulate the following transformation:

$$\text{li+'an - imperfect Verb} \longrightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{li+imperfect Verb} \\ \text{li+VN}\end{array}\right\}$$

where the verb and the verbal noun share the same root

(b) Since synonymous constructions are identical in Deep Structure, we must assume that *Hattaa, kay,* and *likay* (all synonymous with *laamu tta9liili*) are derived from the string *li+'an* (where the first constituent is a preposition).

(c) Since it is synonymous with the preposition *Hattaa*,[2] *faa'u ssababiyyatu* must be derived from the string *li+'an* (where the first constituent is a preposition).

(d) Since it is synonymous with the preposition *ma9a, waawu lma9iyyati* must be derived from the string *ma9a* + *'an* (*laa tanha 9an xuluqin wa-ta'tiya mit^{h}lahu* 'Do not restrain others from any habit whilst you yourself practice one like it' = ...*ma9a 'an ta'tiya mit^{h}lahu*).

(b) Verbs which signify 'to fill', 'to give', 'to deprive', 'to forbid', 'to ask', 'to entreat', and the like.

(c) Verbs which signify 'to make', 'to appoint', 'to call', 'to name', and the like.

2.   Verb $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Object}_1 + \text{Object}_2 \\ \quad + \text{Ditransitive b} \end{bmatrix}$

where the string *Object$_1$ + Object$_2$* is derived from a sentence

To this subclass belong Measures other than IV of *'af9aalu lquluubi* 'verbs of the heart' (i.e., verbs which signify a mental event).

Tritransitive verbs

Verb $\begin{bmatrix} \text{I. O.} + \text{Object}_1 + \text{Object}_2 \\ \quad + \text{Tritransitive} \end{bmatrix}$

where the string *Object$_1$ + Object$_2$* is derived from a sentence

To this subclass belong all Measure IV verbs of *'af9aalu lquluubi*.

Note: The construction known as *ixtiSaaS* 'particularization' results from deleting the verb *'a9nii* 'I mean' or *'axuSS* 'I specify; thus *naHnu lmiSriyyiina....* 'we the Egyptians....' is equivalent to *naHnu, 'axuSSu lmiSriyyiina, ...* 'we, specifically the Egyptians, ...'

B. *The Use of Nominalizers*

The particles *'an* and *'anna* are the only conjunctions which govern *naSb*. Both particles are followed by a sentence which functions as a noun; in addition, both particles specify modality: *'an* designates the following sentence as a frequently-qualified possibility, and *'anna* designates the following sentence as a frequently-qualified statement of fact.

The particle *'an* is frequntly preceded by a term (*'a9idu* 'I promise', *'anSaHu* 'I advise', *'asmaHu* 'I allow', *'anwii* 'I intend', *'uriidu* 'I want', *Daruuriyyun* 'it is necessary', *yajibu* 'must', etc.) which expresses the type of commitment to neutrality (promise, advice, permission, intention, desire, necessity, obligation, etc.). Similarly, *'anna* is frequently preceded by a term (*'a9rifu* 'I know', *'ajzimu* 'I am certain', *'aD^{h}unnu* 'I think', *'uqaddiru* 'I guess', *'araa* 'I see', *'as^{h}9uru* 'I feel', etc.) which expresses the type of commitment to truth (epistemic, sensory, etc.) and which may also express the intensity of commitment to truth.

CHAPTER VI

TYPE III SPECIFICATION

(naSb)

The major contexts for Type III specification are listed and discussed below. In some of these contexts, the specifier denotes modality. It will be recalled that in Type I specification modality is synonymous with distance; in contrast, Type III specification never designates distance. Thus in conditional contexts, the features [+ Factive], [+ Non-factive], and [+ Contra-factive] belong to the distance category because the protasis sets up actuality as a point of reference; in Type III specification, on the other hand, actuality is not set up as a point of reference, and for that reason the same features highlight the object of commitment rather than distance. Again, the features [+ Exclamatory] and [+ Qualified], which mark sentences for Type III specification, indicate intensity of commitment rather than distance.

A. *The Use of Objects*

As the following table shows, the number of objects and the type of each object determine the verbal subclass,[1] thus depicting the verb as one member of a distinct set.

Transitive verbs

$$\text{Verb} \begin{bmatrix} \text{D. O.} & \\ + \text{Transitive} & \end{bmatrix}$$

Ditransitive verbs

$$\text{1. Verb} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Object}_1 + \text{Object}_2 & \\ + \text{Ditransitive a} & \end{bmatrix}$$

where the string *Object₁ + Object₂* is not derived from a sentence, and where, in most instances, one of the two objects is derived from a prepositional phrase

To this subclass belong:

(a) All causitive verbs of Measures II and IV whose source (Measure I) forms are transitive.

(e) Cardinal and ordinal numerals which precede the counted noun.

Notice that the cardinal numerals in question employ a complicated system of contrasts to show that the following word is a noun rather than an adjective: while an adjective *agrees* with the modified noun in three categories (number, gender, and case), a counted noun *contrasts* with the numeral in at least two of these categories.[2] The ordinals of 1 - 10 (in expressions like *'awwalu baytin* 'the first house', *xaamisu s*^{h}*ajaratin* 'the fifth tree', etc.) contrast with the counted noun in gender and case.

Thus each of the numerals under discussion is followed by a fully defined tagmeme: the genitive marker designates the slot as nominal, while lack of agreement designates the filler as a noun. The duplicity involved is hardly superfluous since one-to-one correspondence does not always hold between form and function (for example, nouns are not the only forms with nominal function).

Some construct phrases imply a Class II determiner; e.g., *rajulu suu'in* 'a bad man' is equivalent to *rajulun d*^{h}*uu suu'in*.

3. Class III comprises content forms which occur as the first term of inanimate explicative constructs. The constructs in question are those which satisfy three requirements:

(a) The second term must be a proper noun with inanimate reference.

(b) The first term must occur in Deep Structure as the head of an attributive construction where the modifier is an equational clause.

(c) The Deep-Structure modifier must consist of the first term functioning as subject and the second term functioning as predicate.

An example of inanimate explicative constructs is the phrase *madiinatu lqaahirati* 'the city of Cairo' (= *almadiinatu llatii hiya lqaahiratu*). Other examples are given below (in each, the first word is the determiner):

nahru nniili	'The River Nile'
jabalu lmuqaTTami	'al-Muqattam Mountain'
jumhuuriyyatu miSra	'the Republic of Egypt'
'imaaratu lkuwayti	'the Emirate of Kuwait'
kalimatu kaana	'the word *kaana*'
s^{h}ahru ramaDaana	'the month of Ramadan'

Class III determiners are a distinct group not only because they are content forms but also because they require the following noun to be proper, non-human, and semantically appositional.

Note: Many construct phrases contain no determiner; such phrases are the Surface-Structure realization of Deep-Structure strings which contain a prepositional phrase (the second term of the Surface-Structure construct is the object of a preposition in the underlying string); for example, *kitaabu samiirin* 'Samir's book' is equivalent to *alkitaabu llad*^{h}*ii li-samiirin* 'the book which belongs to Samir'.[3]

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CHAPTER V

TYPE II SPECIFICATION

(jarr)

The second type of specification employs a "noun determiner" to define a given syntactic slot. Noun determiners are forms which stipulate that a following slot must be nominal (such stipulation implies that the following expression is *typically* a noun).

[Noun Determiner]

[+ Nominal   ]   Syntactic Slot

Noun determiners fall into three classes:

1. Class I comprises the forms commonly known as "prepositions". To this class belong the forms *bi-, fii, Hattaa, 'ilaa, ka-, ladaa, ladun, li-, ma9a, min, mud^h, mund^hu, taa'u l-qasami, waawu l-qasami, 9alaa* and *9an*; to the same class also belong the exceptive forms *Haas^haa, xalaa,* and *9adaa.*[1] The most frequent of noun determiners, these forms make up a distinct group on account of two peculiarities: they are (invariable) particles, and they restrict the prepositional phrase which they introduce in regard to function. The comments below concentrate on the second peculiarity.

A preposition and its object constitute a sequence which, *by virtue of being a prepositional phrase,* is excluded from certain syntactic slots; this becomes clear when one observes that the object of a preposition is typically a noun and yet, by itself, a noun may occur where a prepositional phrase may not occur. On the other hand, certain slots (e.g., *Time* and *Place*) are more commonly associated with prepositional phrases than they are with nouns. Thus the preposition may be considered a "relater" which identifies the prepositional phrase with certain slots while tending to dissociate it from other slots.

2. Class II comprises certain declinable functors which enter into construct with a following noun. To this class belong:

(a) The adverbial functors mentioned in Chapter II (item 3a).

(b) The quantifiers *'aHad* 'one, a certain one'; *ba9D* 'some, a certain one'; *jamii9, kaaffa(t), saa'ir, 9aamma(t)* 'all'; *kilaa* 'both'; *kull* 'all, each'; *miqdaar, qadr* 'measuring, numbering, amounting to'; *naHw, zuhaa'* 'about'; and *rubba* 'many a'.

(c) The following forms which pertain to identity: *'aaxir* 'last'; *'ahl, d^huu, SaaHib, 'uluu* 'of (such and such description)'; *'ayy* 'any'; *'ayy* 'which?'; *d^haat, nafs* 'same'; *g^hayr, siwaa* 'other than'; and *mit^hl* 'like'.

(d) The elative form *'aF9aL.*

[Particle₁   ]

[+ Remote   ]   S

Notes:

1. Sometimes *'anna* occurs immediately after *law*; the protasis then is an elliptical string which lacks the expression *kaana SaHiiHan*. the following is an example:

law *'anna* l'arDa murabba9atun..... =   law kaana SaHiiHan *'anna*
                                                l'arDa murabba9atun.....
                                                'Were it true that the
                                                earth is square.....'

Notice that, although the conditional sentence as a whole commits the current speaker to the falsity of two propositions, the sentence *al'arDu murabba9atun* commits a different speaker to the truth of its proposition. It would be perfectly acceptable to expand the protasis by adding *kamaa za9ama* 'as he claimed'.

2. If the temporal constituent is realized as zero, a contra-factive clause denotes past time while a non-factive clause denotes future time. Thus *law najaHa la-kaafa'tuhu* is translatable by 'Had he passed (the test), I would have rewarded him'; on the other hand, *'in najaHa kaafa'tuhu* is translatable by 'If he passes (the test), I will reward him'.

3. It was pointed out above that, in conditional sentences, the perfect form of the verb is used to mark non-factivity and contra-factivity. Such usage is not hard to understand since the marker and the marked feature are associated with the idea of remoteness: the perfect form usually expresses remoteness from the moment of speaking; non-factivity and contra-factivity express remoteness from actuality.[5]

4. The following conditional conjunctions govern *jazm*: *'in* 'if'; *'ayy, man* 'who, whoever'; *'ayyuman* 'whosoever'; *mahman* 'whosoever'; *maa* 'what'; *'ayyumaa* 'whatsoever'; *mahmaa* 'whatever'; *'ayna* 'where'; *'aynamaa* 'wherever'; *Hayᵗʰu* 'where'; *Hayᵗʰumaa* 'wherever'; *'ayyaana, 'ayyaanamaa* 'whenever'; *'idʰmaa* 'whenever'; *kullamaa* 'as often as'; *mataa* 'when'; *mataamaa* 'whenever'; *'annaa, kayfa, kayfamaa* 'however (in whatever way)'. Though rarely, the conjunction *'idʰaa* 'if' also governs *jazm*.

5. A sentence such as *'in tadrus tanjaH* 'If you study, you will pass' can undergo an optional transformation which deletes the conjunction *'in* and places the first verb in the imperative form; the output is thus *udrus tanjaH* 'Study and you will pass'.

The dependency inherent in conditional sentences establishes actuality as a point of reference: in effect, the protasis sets up actuality as a condition. Thus conditional sentences contrast with statements in regard to modality: while the latter are factive and therefore proximate to actuality, the former are either non-factive or contra-factive and therefore remote from actuality. In the following paragraphs, the markers of remoteness are listed and explained.

1. Obligatory markers

(a) Remoteness is marked, in both correlative clauses of a conditional sentence, by the formative *Modal Perfect*. If the temporal constituent is realized as zero, the formative in question combines with the verb to produce a perfect form; otherwise, that formative is realized as a perfect form of *kaana*. Most commonly, the temporal constituents involved are *Perfect, Future, Habitual,* and *Current*. In simple conditional sentences, the temporal constituent *Future* is optionally realized as zero. In hypothetical conditional sentences, the temporal constituent *Perfect* is optionally realized as zero.

(b) In the apodosis of a simple conditional sentence, *fa-* often occurs in place of *kaana*.[4]

(c) In both correlative clauses of a simple conditional sentence, *jazm* may occur in place of *Modal Perfect + Future*. The use of *jazm* with *'id^{h}aa* is rare; otherwise, it is very common.

2. Optional marker

In the apodosis of a hypothetical conditional sentence, *la-* may co-occur with *Modal Perfect*.

The use of *fa-* and *jazm* to designate non-factive but not contra-factive propositions indicates that remoteness comprises two distinct degrees: *intermediate* and *far* (the first being identified with the non-factive and the latter being identified with the contra-factive). The distinction between *intermediate* and *far* is also marked by the use of *la-* and by selection of conjunctions. Thus the specification which employs *jazm* in conditional contexts may be represented as follows (where *Particle₁* stands for any conditional conjunction other than *law*, and where the degree of remoteness is intermediate):

Imperative utterances like *udxul* 'Enter!' are derived by deleting *li+tV-* from the underlying second-person imperfect verb form. Such deletion differs from imperative particles in regard to distance: while deletion admits of only one feature (proximity), particles admit of two features (proximity and remoteness).

[li+tV+Stem →Stem   ]
                                              S
[+ Proximate   ]

[Imperative particle:]
                                              S (with a second-person agent)
[+ Proximate   ]

[Imperative particle:]
                                              S (with a first-person
                                              or a third-person agent)
[+ Remote   ]

The particle *li-* is rarely used to signal proximity; on the other hand, the particle *laa* is rarely used to signal remoteness.

C. *Conditional Sentences*

Hypothetical conditionals express contra-factivity; simple conditionals, on the other hand, express non-factivity. Compare, for example, the following pair:

law d^{h}ahaba 'ilaa miSra la-   'Had he gone to Egypt, I would
d^{h}ahabtu ma9ahu.   have gone with him.'

'in d^{h}ahaba 'ilaa miSra d^{h}ahabtu   'If he goes to Egypt, I will go
ma9ahu.   with him.'

The first sentence implies that neither agent went to Egypt--that the condition and the result are both hypothetical suppositions; the second sentence, on the other hand, implies that both agents *may* go to Egypt.

2. The particle *lam* 'did not' denotes the features [+ Past], [+ Remote], and [+ Negative]; e.g., *yarji9u* means 'he returns', while *lam yarji9* means 'he did not return'. The feature [+ Remote] relates the event to the moment of speaking.

[lam   ]
                               S
[+ Remote]

It is noteworthy that *jazm*, a formal designation of mood, marks the temporal features specified by *lammaa* and *lam*. Formal designations of tense and aspect, on the other hand, are sometimes involved in marking mood (the formative *Perfect*, for example, often marks the conditional). These observations underscore a principle which other authors have already explored: that tense and aspect are not always sharply distinct from mood.[2] The distinction is especially blurred when aspect and modality are both defined in terms of distance from a point of reference.

The modal contrasts involved in opposing fact, possibility, and contra-fact may be viewed in terms of distance from actuality (fact would then be co-locational with actuality, while possibility and contra-fact would be relatively remote from actuality). In like manner, the contrast between *lammaa* and *lam* is statable in terms of distance from the moment of speaking; thus the contrast in question may be assigned to mood.

B. *Imperative Expressions*

Imperative constructions impose, or propose, some course of action or pattern of behavior, and indicate that it should be carried out.[3] In most instances, the obligation to carry out the course of action or pattern of behavior is imposed on the addressee; in some instances, however, the obligation is imposed on a first-person or a third-person agent. The following are examples:

(a)   udxul.   'Enter!'
           li-tadxul.   'Enter!'
           laa tadxul.   'Do not enter!'

(b)   li-nadxul.   ·   'Let us enter!'
           li-yadxul.   'Let him enter!'
           laa yadxul 'aHadun minhum. 'Let none of them enter!'

If the addressee is viewed as the point of reference, the first set may be designated as [+ Proximate] and the second may be designated as [+ Remote].

CHAPTER IV

TYPE I SPECIFICATION

(jazm)

The specifiers used in this context are known collectively as *jawaazim*; they embrace the negative particles *lammaa* and *lam*, the imperative particles *laa* and *li-*, the deletion of *li+tV-* involved in forming second-person imperative forms, as well as twenty-one conditional conjunctions. The head is a sentence which contains an imperfect verb.

Type I specification designates distance. In all instances, the specifier denotes a combination of features; since only distance is marked by *jazm*, no other feature will be included in the profile.

A. *The Negative Particles lammaa and lam*

1. The particle *lammaa* expresses negation; in regard to temporal denotation, it resembles the English present perfect. Thus the time of negation covers the past and the moment of speaking but not the future; indeed, it is implied that the event, negated up to the moment of speaking, will take place in the future: *lammaa yarji9* means 'he has not returned yet (but he will)'. In short, *lammaa* denotes the features [+ Factive], [+ Past], [+ Proximate], and [+ Negative]; such, in modern terms, is the meaning of the rule laid down by the ancient Arab Grammarians: *lam yaf9al* is the negation of *fa9ala*, but *lammaa yaf9al* is the negation of *qad fa9ala*.[1]

The feature [+ Proximate] relates the event to the moment of speaking: as mentioned above, *lammaa* covers the moment of speaking; besides, the implied prediction amounts to a *current* fact (namely, that the speaker expects the event to take place).

[lammaa	]	
[+ Proximate	]	S

The specification expressed by this example can be stated thus: The string contains a specifier (the particle *lam*) which stipulates that the sentence expresses relative remoteness (from the moment of speaking).

15. Specification comprises three types:

(a) Type I employs certain particles, called *jawaazim*, as specifiers. The head is a sentence, and the specifier denotes distance (i.e., remoteness or proximity).

(b) Type II employs "noun determiners" as specifiers. The head is a syntactic slot which the specifier designates as nominal.

(c) Type III embraces all other instances of specification. The head is usually a sentence; the specifiers form a small, well-defined set which (if necessary) can be learned as items.

CHAPTER III

THE RULES OF '*i9raab*

PROPOSED BY THIS STUDY

The first type of specification is marked by *jazm*, the second type is marked by *jarr*, and the third type is marked by *naSb*. Where no specification is involved, a *mu9rab* assumes the state of *raf9*. To simplify the discussion, we shall refer to specification as a "governing" set of functions; the remaining functions will be called "non-governing", to underscore our conviction that *raf9* is a matter of "default". We shall use the term "governmental '*i9raab*" to denote *jazm, jarr,* and *naSb*; in contrast, we shall use the term "non-governmental '*i9raab*" to denote *raf9*.

As a marker, the state of *raf9* plays a unique role in Standard Arabic: it designates the presence of a function but not the identity of that function; the other three states, on the other hand, mark the presence as well as the identity of the function.

The rest of this study will further clarify and illustrate the statements of Chapter II and Chapter III.

Sadiiqii 9abqariyyun.	'My friend is a genius.'
'aDʰunnu 'anna Sadiiqii 9abqariyyun.	'I think my friend is a genius.'
'a9taqidu 'anna Sadiiqii 9abqariyyun.	'I believe my friend is a genius.'
'a9ṛifu 'anna Sadiiqii 9abqariyyun.	'I know my friend is a genius.'
'ajzimu 'anna Sadiiqii 9abqariyyun.	'I am certain that my friend is a genius.'

The qualifier of a possibility expresses the type of commitment. In the first example below, commitment to neutrality is desiderative; in the second, deontic; and in the third, permissive. In each example, the qualifier is italicized.

'uriidu 'an 'adʰhaba.	'I want to go.'
yajibu 'an 'adʰhaba.	'I must go.'
laka 'an tadʰhaba.	'You may go.'

13. When consisting of a function form, the specifier is viewed as a "lexical marker"; for example, *'inna* is a lexical marker which attributes certainty to the proposition. A "governing" lexical marker is one which requires *'i9raab*.

14. In diagram form, specification may be represented as follows (where brackets enclose the profile, X stands for the head, and Y stands for the specifier; the symbols + *a* and + *b* represent the determined features embodied in the specifier, assigned to the head, and associated with *'i9raab*):

```
[Y        ]                          [Y     ]
[   + a   ]    X      or   X         [   +a]
[   + b   ]                          [   +b]
```

The following is an example:

```
[lam          ]
                        S
[   + Remote ]
```

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The degree of commitment may be expressed in terms of intensity rather than distance; such is the case in the following pairs:

[+ Colorless]: al-Hadiiqatu jamiilatun. 'The garden is beautiful.'
[+ Exclamatory]: maa 'ajmala l-Hadiiqata. 'How beautiful the garden is!'

[+ Categorical]: al-jiddu faDiilatun. 'Diligence is a virtue.'
[+ Qualified]: 'inna l-jidda faDiilatun. 'Diligence is definitely a virtue.'

Modality often indicates the *type* of commitment; for example, the qualifier *'a9rifu* expresses epistemic commitment to truth in *'a9rifu 'anna samiiran mariiDun* 'I know that Samir is sick', and the qualifier *'uriidu* expresses desiderative commitment to neutrality in *'uriidu 'an 'arji9a* 'I want to return'.

Modality, then, comprises three varieties: the first highlights the object of commitment, the second highlights the degree of commitment, and the third highlights the type of commitment; of these, the second comprises two sub-varieties: one expressed in terms of distance, and another expressed in terms of intensity.

12. A "categorical" proposition does not include a qualifier; a "qualified" proposition does.[8] In this context, qualification is defined as the explicit expression of the speaker's commitment to truth or to neutrality.

The qualifier of a fact may express the intensity of commitment, the type of commitment, or both. Of the following examples, the first expresses categorical fact and the rest express qualified fact. In the second example, the qualifier expresses intensity (but not type) of commitment to truth; in the third, the qualifier expresses type (but not intensity) of commitment to truth. In each example, the qualifier is italicized.

al-maraDu yuD9ifu jasadii. 'The disease is weakening my body.'

'inna lmaraDa yuD9ifu jasadii. 'The disease is definitely weakening my body.'

'as^h9uru 'anna l-maraDa yuD9ifu jasadii. 'I feel that the disease is weakening my body.'

Of the following examples, the first expresses categorical fact and the rest express qualified fact. Notice that each qualifier expresses epistemic commitment to truth as well as the intensity of such commitment. In each example, the qualifier is italicized.

The specifier (*layta*) designates the head as a wish; thus a performative purpose is indicated for the head. Simultaneously, the specifier designates the head as contra-factive; thus a constative purpose is indicated for the head. The binary role is also evident in hypothetical conditionals (where both propositions are contra-factive):

law darasa la-najaHa.   'Had he studied, he would have passed the test.'

The following sentence has a binary communicative role:

'alammaa ta9lamuu   'Are you as yet uncertain
minna l-yaqiina?   about us?'

As a question, the sentence is performative; but the implied fact ('You will be certain about us') is constative.

When both are assigned to the same Standard Arabic utterance, the performative purpose dominates the constative. Condition, for example, may be non-factive or contra-factive (compare '*id^haa* with *law*); thus condition is a higher-level feature in comparison with non-factivity and contra-factivity. In Standard Arabic, therefore, communicative roles can be restricted to two, the constative and the performative, with the understanding that the binary role is a sub-type of the performative.

(d) The speaker's commitment (or subscription) to the illocutionary force, the communicative role, or some other feature of the proposition. Included here are: (i) the designation of propositions as fact, possibility, or contra-fact; (ii) the designation of propositions as colorless or exclamatory; (iii) the designation of distance (from actuality, the addressee, or the moment of speaking); and (iv) the expression of propositions in categorical or qualified terms.

We shall employ the term "modality" in referring to the speaker's commitment; thus, as used here, modality is a sub-category of mood.

11. The terms "factive", "non-factive", and "contra-factive" may indicate the *object* of commitment without indicating a gradation in the *degree* of commitment: truth, neutrality, and falsity can draw commitment in equal measure. If, on the other hand, actuality is viewed as a point of reference, factivity may be considered proximate while non-factivity and contra-factivity may be considered relatively remote. For example, the dependency inherent in conditional sentences establishes actuality as a point of reference: in effect, the protasis sets up actuality as a condition. Thus conditional sentences contrast with statements in regard to modality: while the latter are factive and therefore proximate to actuality, the former are either non-factive or contra-factive and therefore remote from actuality. Distance is one way of expressing the degree of commitment.

9. Lyons draws a distinction between a sentence and an utterance, associating the former with structure and the latter with use:

> ".....in the first place.....the same sentence may be uttered to perform various speech-acts. Another reason is the related fact that the utterance or the context-of-utterance may contain non-linguistic information which contradicts the information that is linguistically encoded in the utterance-signal. For example, the meaning of a sentence like 'John is a brave man' is not affected by its being uttered ironically."[5]

This study draws no such distinction between sentences and utterances; instead, an utterance is used with its traditional definition as a stretch of speech which begins with silence and ends with silence.[6]

10. In this study, the term "mood" denotes the speaker's perception of what he is saying; specifically, the following four distinctions, controversial as they are, pertain to mood.[7] Notice that we view the four distinctions as separate components although they are certainly connected.

(a) The illocutionary act; i.e., the act performed by the speaker in saying something. Making a statement, issuing a command, and asking a question are examples of illocutionary acts.

(b) The illocutionary force; i.e., the status of an utterance as a statement, a command, a question, etc.

(c) The communicative role; i.e., the use of utterances for *constative* or *performative* purposes. Purely constative utterances are statements; their role is descriptive, and they can be characterized as true or false. In contrast, purely performative utterances have no truth-value; their role is to *do* something rather than to say that something is or is not the case. Thus "I work eight hours a day" is constative, while "I pronounce you husband and wife" is performative. Sentences which follow *'an* are performative since their role is to name an event (e.g., *'uHibbu 'an 'aqra'a s^h-s^hi9ra* 'I like to read poetry' = *'uHibbu qiraa'ata s^h-s^hi9ri* 'I like reading poetry'); on the other hand, sentences which follow *'anna* are constative since their role is to define the truth value of a proposition (e.g., *'a9rifu 'anna l-karama faDiilatun* 'I know that generousity is a virtue').

In some instances, the utterance has a *binary* communicative role: on the one hand, it performs an act which cannot be characterized as true or false; on the other hand, it states a proposition which can be characterized as true or false. The following sentence is a case in point:

layta 9aliyyan g^{h}aniyyun.   'I wish Ali were rich.'

| (c) | laa 'a9taqidu 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u min miSra g^hadan.* | 'I do not think that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.' |
| (d) | taD^hunnu su9aadu 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u g^hadan,* laakinnahaa muxTi'atun. | 'Su'ad thinks that Kamal will return tomorrow, but she is wrong.' |

Notice that in Group 1 the italicized sentences are affirmative while in Group 2 the italicized sentences are negative; thus commitment may be to the truth of an affirmative proposition or to the truth of a negative proposition.

In Group 3, commitment to the truth of the embedded proposition is secondary. Sentence 3a states that, at some point in the past, the current speaker did not know that the embedded proposition is true and implies that, since then, he has been told that the proposition in question is true. Sentences 3b, 3c, and 3d negate primary commitment, but affirm secondary commitment, to the truth of the embedded proposition.

A sentence expresses a *possibility* if it is non-factive; i.e., if it commits the speaker neither to the truth nor to the falsity of the proposition. The embedded sentence in *'arju 'an yarji9a kamaalun min miSra g^hadan* 'I hope Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow' expresses a possibility since it neither asserts nor denies that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow. Again, the deontic term is followed by a possibility (rather than a fact) in the following sentence since the speaker is stating an obligation, which may or may not be carried out, rather than expressing commitment to truth or falsity: *yajibu/laa-budda 'an yarji9a kamaalun min miSra g^hadan* 'Kamal must return from Egypt tomorrow'. The following paraphrase may further clarify the definition: a sentence expresses a possibility if it indicates primary or secondary commitment to a neutral position. In *yuriidu 9aliyyun 'an yazuura miSra* 'Ali wants to visit Egypt', the embedded sentence expresses a possibility; notice that the desire associated with that possibility constitutes secondary rather than primary commitment.

A sentence expresses a *contra-fact* if it commits the speaker exclusively to the falsity of the proposition; the exclusion in this context rules out secondary as well as primary commitment to the truth of the proposition. Thus *law darasa kamaalun la-najaHa fii l-imtiHaani* 'Had Kamal studied, he would have passed the test' is contra-factive since it states that Kamal did not study and did not pass the test.

A fact is designated as [+ Factive], a possibility is designated as [+ Non-factive], and a contra-fact is designated as [+ Contra-factive]. The terms *factivity*, *non-factivity*, and *contra-factivity* refer to the features [+ Factive], [+ Non-factive], and [+ Contra-factive] respectively.

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Sometimes a feature, though embodied in the specifier, is not associated with *'i9raab*. Such features will be excluded from the profile since *'i9raab* is the subject of this study.

8. At this point we need to define the following terms: "fact", "possibility", and "contra-fact".

A sentence expresses a *fact* if it commits the speaker to the truth of the proposition. The commitment is "primary" if it is attributable to the current speaker, and "secondary" if it is attributable to some other speaker. In the following examples, the italicized sentences are factive:

Group 1

sa-yarji9u kamaalun min miSra g^hadan.	'Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
'u'akkidu laka 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u min miSra g^hadan.*	'I assure you that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
'a9rifu 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u min miSra g^hadan.*	'I know that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
'a9taqidu 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u min miSra g^hadan.*	I think that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'

Group 2

lan yarji9a kamaalun min miSra g^hadan.	'Kamal will not return from Egypt tomorrow.'
'a9rifu 'anna *kamaalan lan yarji9a min miSra g^hadan.*	'I know that Kamal will not return from Egypt tomorrow.'
'a9taqidu 'anna *kamaalan lan yarji9a min miSra g^hadan.*	'I believe that Kamal will not return from Egypt tomorrow.'

Group 3

(a)	lam 'akun 'a9rifu 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u min miSra g^hadan.*	'I did not know that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'
(b)	laa 'uSaddiqu 'anna *kamaalan sa-yarji9u min miSra g^hadan.*	'I do not believe [the assumption] that Kamal will return from Egypt tomorrow.'

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The profile consists of (a) a single grammatical feature, or (b) a combination of grammatical features. Such features are always nuclear; peripheral features have no place in the profile.

A nuclear feature is diagnostic: it is necessary and sufficient for identifying the head; thus tense is a nuclear feature since without it an entity cannot be classified as a verb or a sequence containing a verb, and since only a verb or a sequence containing a verb possesses tense. Features other than nuclear ones will be called "peripheral": thus negation is a peripheral feature since it can apply to various constituents of the sentence; for the same reason, interrogation is a peripheral feature.

With respect to verbs, the only feature involved is *transitivity*. With respect to sentences, the features involved are, *modality* (the contrasts being *factive*, *non-factive*, *contra-factive*; *colorless*, *exclamatory*; *remote*, *intermediate*, *proximate*; *categorical*, *qualified*), *tense*, *aspect*, and *adjunction*. With respect to slots, the only feature involved is *function* (specifically, the nominal).

The determined features are usually embodied in a word or a longer expression which modifies the head and which we shall call the "specifier". Thus in the sentence *'inna lqaaDiya mutaHayyizun* 'The judge is definitely partial', the specifier is *'inna* (notice that the specifier denotes certainty and modifies the head). Again, in *raja9a samiirun wa-huwa yabkii* 'Samir returned weeping', the specifier is *wa-huwa yabkii*.

In a handful of instances (which will be covered later), sentence structure plays the role of specifier.

It is thus clear that:

(a) Specification is defined by two obligatory components: the profile, and the head.

(b) The profile is defined by the obligatory presence of a specifier which embodies at least one (nuclear) feature.

(c) The head is defined by obligatory restriction to three entities: the verb, the sentence, and the syntactic slot.

(d) Specification is a particular realization of the universal function known as the adverbial.

(e) *'i9raab* is no more than a morphological device for marking specification.

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State	Domain	Suffix of ʾi9raab	Examples
naSb (Cont.)	Other adverbial functors	-a	qabl-a ba9d-a waraaʾ-a
	Imperfect verbs with -aa, -uu, or -ii	zero	yaktubaa, yaktubuu, taktubii
	Other imperfect verbs	-a	yadrus-a, yata9allam-a, yasta9mil-a
raf9	Dual nomens	-aa	kitaab-aa-ni
	Sound masculine plural nomens	-uu	mu9allim-uu-na, muraasil-uu-na, musaa9id-uu-na
	The 5 nomens	-uu	ʾab-uu-ka
	Other nomens	-u	al-kitaab-u
	Imperfect verbs with -aa	-ni	yaktubaa-ni, yata9allamaa-ni
	Imperfect verbs with -uu or -ii	-na	yaktubuu-na, yadrusuu-na, taktubii-na
	Other imperfect verbs	-u	yaktub-u, yadrus-u, yatakallam-u

7. Specification is a major set of functions marked by ʾi9raab; it is defined as the determination of a profile which pertains to a verb, a sentence, or a syntactic slot. The verb, sentence, or syntactic slot will be called the "head".

State	Domain	Suffix of 'i9raab	Examples
jazm	Imperfect verbs	zero	yaktub, yaktubaa, yaktubuu, taktubii
jarr	Dual nomens	-ay	kitaab-ay-ni
	Diptotes	-a	qawaa9id-a
	Sound masculine plural nomens	-ii	mu9allim-ii-na, mudarris-ii-na, mufakkir-ii-na
	The 5 nomens	-ii	'ab-ii-ka
	Other nomens	-i	al-kitaab-i
	The adverbial functor $d^h ii$ (rare[4])	-ii	d^h-ii
	Other adverbial functors	-i	qabl-i ba9d-i taHt-i
naSb	Dual nomens	-ay	kitaab-ay-ni
	Sound masculine plural nomens	-ii	mu9allim-ii-na, mufakkir-ii-na, mudarrib-ii-na
	Sound feminine plural nomens	-i	al-mu9allimaat-i, at-Taa'iraat-i, as-sayyaaraat-i
	The 5 nomens	-aa	'ab-aa-ka
	Other nomens	-a	al-kitaab-a
	The adverbial functor $d^h aa$	-aa	d^h-aa

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CHAPTER II

DEFINITIONS

1. The term *nomen* (*ism*) denotes a part of speech which can function as a noun. Nomens comprise two classes of content forms as well as certain classes of function forms: the content forms are nouns and adjectives; of the function forms, the most common are substitutes, numerals, and quantifiers.[1]

2. The term *'i9raab* denotes the use of suffixes to designate grammatical function. Orientalists associate the contrasts involved with case and mood.

3. Arabic stems are divisible into two groups: those which are subject to *'i9raab*, and those which are not; the former are known to Arab Grammarians as *al-mu9rab* 'the declinable', and the latter are known as *al-mabniyy* 'the indeclinable'. The following constitute *al-mu9rab*:

    (a) Certain adverbial functors, when used in construct with a following form; of these the most common are: *'amaam, bayn, duun, fawq, Hawl, Hiyaal, 'izaa', naHw, qibal, quddaam, taHt, waraa', waSt, xalf, 'at^hnaa', ba9d, d^haa* (e.g., *d^haa SabaaHin* 'one morning'), *d^haat* (e.g., *d^haata yawmin* 'one day'), *qabl, qubayl,* and *9ind.*[2]

    (b) Imperfect verbs, when attached neither to the energetic suffix nor to the third-person feminine plural suffix.

    (c) All but a handful of nomens. The exceptions are almost restricted to mixed compounds (*al-murakkabu l-mazjiyyu*) and most of the pronominal forms.[3] In mixed compounds, the first constituent is usually indeclinable; in some, both constituents are indeclinable.

4. The term *mufrad* denotes (a) a nomen or (b) an attributive phrase with a nomen as head.

5. The term *naSb* denotes the occurrence of a form with an accusative or a subjunctive marker; the term *raf9* denotes the occurrence of a form with a nominative or an indicative marker; the term *jarr* denotes the occurrence of a form with a genitive marker; and the term *jazm* denotes the occurrence of a form with a jussive marker.

6. The suffixes of *'i9raab* are listed and illustrated below. Needless to say, the domain is restricted to *al-mu9rab*.

2. The ancient Arab grammarians failed to satisfy the requirement of adequacy since they achieved only partial success in identifying the governors. They looked for lexical concomitants of '*i9raab*. In some instances such concomitants were identified and considered the motivation when a closer investigation would have shown them to be (redundant) markers which designate the presence of certain features. In other instances, no lexical concomitants were found and the ancient grammarians therefore looked for parts of speech or grammatical functions; unfortunately, no effort was made to relate '*i9raab* to features such as modality, tense, aspect, and adjunction.

3. The ancient Arab grammarians failed to satisfy the requirement of simplicity:

(a) Only partial success was achieved in stating the domain of *raf9*. Given the fact that '*i9raab* in Standard Arabic comrpises four states (*jazm, jarr, naSb,* and *raf9*), it behooves the linguist to explore the possibility that three of those states are motivated by certain grammatical features, and that the fourth state is motivated by the *absence* of those features. In studying verbs, the ancient Arab grammarians scored some success in exploring this possibility: they stipulated that a verb assumes the state of *raf9* if there is no motivation for *jazm* or *naSb*; at the cost of reducing simplicity (and, for that matter, generality), the motivation they postulated consisted of lexical elements rather than grammatical features. In studying nomens, on the other hand, they achieved no success in exploring the possibility under discussion; consequently, the rules are excessively numerous.

(b) The rules are largely unrelated and frustratingly encumbered with exceptions.[6]

In his famous book *ar-raddu 9ala n-nuHaati*, ibnu maDaa'i l-qurTubiyyu (513 - 592 A. H.) expressed frustration with his predecessors' motivation theory: in his view, the speaker's will is the only governor of '*i9raab*, and none but explicit structural elements can play a role in such government (the role in question being merely to indicate the speaker's intention). As seen from the above discussion, the present author is even less satisfied with the theory.

The present study represents an attempt to remedy the defects. In the interest of reaching as many readers as possible, technical terms are deliberately minimized, and technical discussion (when inevitable) is deliberately simplified. All the same, it must be emphasized that the present study is not addressed to beginners: it is only practical to presuppose that the reader is thoroughly familiar with the structure of Standard Arabic as formulated by ancient and modern scholars. One would be unreasonable, for example, to insist that certain already well-established lists and definitions must be repeated before new insights can be presented (those lists and definitions pertain, for example, to the parts of speech and the various sentence types).

Of the references cited, Wright's *Grammar* proved to be the most helpful not only in providing the raw grammatical information but also in supplying examples. Lyons' work was very helpful in the process of defining the relevant semantic concepts.

Evaluation

A grammatical analysis should be evaluated by three criteria:[4]

1. *Adequacy*: The rules must account for the data.

2. *Generality*: The rules must be related to a general theory of human language. Conformity with this requirement promotes "explanatory power": the rules are deemed "natural", "logical", and "plausible"; the learner finds those rules easy to grasp and easy to remember.

3. *Simplicity*: Of two grammatical theories, the simpler one postulates less rules, imposes less diversity on those rules, and generates less exceptions.

As formulated by the ancient Arab grammarians, the theory of '*i9raab* leaves much to be desired:

1. The ancient Arab grammarians achieved little, if any, success in regard to generality and explanatory power:

(a) They failed to postulate motivation which can apply to verbs and nomens alike, with the result that the same state of '*i9raab* is presumed to designate unrelated features; using the same marker to designate unrelated features is hardly a universal characteristic of human language. In addition, they failed to show why certain particles govern '*i9raab* while others do not, why a governing set of particles comprises certain forms but not others, and why different sets of particles govern different states of '*i9raab*; in such matters, human language is systematic rather than arbitrary.

(b) Some of the explanations they proposed are far-fetched, and others are circular; the following are examples:[5]

(i) The objects of verbs are typically marked by -*a* while the agents are typically marked by -*u*; this results from two premises: -*a* is easier to pronounce than -*u*, and nomens function as objects of verbs more often than they function as agents. The easier marker is assigned to the more common function.

(ii) Diptotes are less common than triptotes, and verbs are less common than nomens; it follows that diptotes are analogous to verbs and that, like verbs, they reject -*i* as well as nunation.

(iii) The third-person feminine plural suffix -*na* has a final vowel since the stem ends in a consonant and since a cluster of two consonants is barred in non-pausal word-final position. The stem of *katab-na* 'they (feminine) wrote', on the other hand, has no final vowel in order to avoid a non-lingual sequence of four open syllables. Thus the final vowel of -*na* is both cause and effect.

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(l) Four verbs—two of praise and two of blame—which govern a definite nomen in the nominative: *ni9ma* 'to be good', *Habbad^haa* 'to be pleasing', *bi'sa* 'to be bad', *saa'a* 'to be displeasing'.

(m) Seven verbs of the heart which govern two objects in the accusative: *9alima* 'to know'; *ra'aa* 'to see, think, know'; *wajada* 'to find, perceive'; *D^hanna* 'to think, believe'; *Hasiba* 'to think, reckon, suppose'; *xaala* 'to think, imagine'; *za9ama* 'to think, deem, claim'.

2. The seven open-list classes are: the verb, the active participle, the passive participle, the adjective resembling a participle (*aS-Sifatu l-mus^habbahatu*), the verbal noun, the *muDaaf*, and the disambiguated noun (*al-mumayyaz*).

3. The two "concepts" are:

(a) the Subject function; it governs the filler of the Subject slot as well as that of the Predicate slot.

(b) The absence of subjunctive and jussive governors; such absence governs the indicative.

The Principle of Implication

A governor may be explicit or implicit; this fact led the ancient Arab grammarians to lay down a principle which they called *at-ta'wiil* 'implication' and which bears striking resemblance to the modern grammarian's Deep Structure. In this context, the following distinctions were drawn (the terms *actual* and *theoretical* are used in opposition to each other):

1. *Deletion (al-Had^hf)* is the omission of a constituent from an actual string to produce another actual string. In the following examples, the governor is deleted from each response:

Question: man qaabalta? 'Whom did you meet?'
Response: 9aliyyan. 'Ali.'

Question: 'ilaa man katabta? 'Whom did you write to?'
Response: 9aliyyin. 'Ali.'

2. *Postulation (l-istitaar)* is the absence of an element from an actual string while present in a theoretical, underlying string. Postulation was restricted to: (a) the assumption that a pronominal agent is implied in sentences like *9aliyyun raja9a* 'Ali returned' and *nanaamu mubakkiran* 'We sleep early'; (b) the assumption that, if not actually expressed, *'an* is implied before subjunctive verbs.

3. *Equivalence* is the interchangeability of two expressions in the context of an actual utterance. Thus a sequence consisting of *'an* and the imperfect verb was deemed equivalent to the corresponding verbal noun; again, a sentence was deemed syntactically equivalent to a single word when it functions as a predicate, an object of *D^hanna* 'to think or believe', a *Haal*, or an adjective. Thus the *'i9raab* required by certain slots may be associated with an implied form rather than the actual filler.

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(a) Seventeen particles which govern the genitive: *min* 'from'; *'ilaa* 'to'; *fii* 'in, into'; *li-* 'to, for'; *rubba* 'many a'; *9alaa* 'over, on, above'; *9an* 'about, away from'; *ka-* 'like, as'; *mud^h* 'since'; *mund^hu* 'since'; *Hattaa* 'till, up to'; the oath particles *wa-*, *ta-*, and *bi-* 'by'; the exceptive particles *Haas^haa, xalaa, 9adaa* 'except, besides'.

(b) Six particles which govern the subject in the accusative while governing the predicate in the nominative: *'inna* 'that, indeed'; *'anna* 'that'; *ka'anna* 'as though', *laakinna* 'but'; *layta* 'would that'; *la9alla* 'perhaps'.

(c) Two negative particles which govern the subject in the nominative while governing the predicate in the accusative: *laa, maa*.

(d) Seven particles which govern the accusative: *wa-* 'whilst'; *'illaa* 'except'; the vocative particles *yaa, 'ay, hayaa, 'ayaa,* and *'a-*.

(e) Four particles which govern the subjunctive: *'an* 'that', *lan* 'will not', *kay* 'in order to', *'id^han* 'in that case'.

(f) Five particles which govern the jussive: *'in* 'if', *lam* 'did not', *lammaa* 'has not yet', the imperative *li-* 'let', the prohibitive *laa* 'do not'.

(g) Nine nomens ('*asmaa'*) which govern the jussive in conditional sentences: *man* 'whoever'; *'ayy* 'whichever'; *maa* 'what'; *mataa* 'when'; *mahmaa* 'whatever'; *'aynamaa*, *'annaa, Hayt^humaa* 'wherever'; *'id^hmaa* 'whenever'.

(h) Four nomens which govern the accusative: the morpheme for the numeral 10 when combined with the morphemes for the numerals 2 - 9; *kam* 'how many?'; *ka'ayyin* 'many a, how many a'; *kad^haa* 'so and so much, so and so many'.

(i) Nine forms, known as *'asmaa'u l-'af9aali,* of which six govern the accusative and three govern the nominative. The first set consists of: *ruwayda* 'slowly, gently'; *balha* 'let alone'; *Hayyahala* 'come quickly'; *haa-, 9alay-, duuna-* (with a seond-person pronoun appended to each) 'take, seize'. The second set consists of *hayhaati* 'how far...!', *s^hattaana* 'how different...!', *sur9aana* 'how quickly...!'.

(j) Thirteen incomplete verbs which govern the subject in the nominative while governing the predicate in the accusative: *kaana* 'to be'; *Saara* 'to become'; *'aSbaHa* 'to be or do in the morning'; *'amsaa* 'to be or do in the evening'; *'aDHaa* 'to be or do in the forenoon'; *D^halla* 'to be or do during the whole day'; *baata* 'to be or do during the whole night'; *maa zaala, maa bariHa, maa fati'a, ma nfakka* 'still'; *maa daama* 'as long as'; *laysa* 'not'.

(k) Four verbs which govern a single nomen in the nominative: *9asaa* 'may'; *kaada, karaba, 'aws^haka* 'to be about to (do something)'.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE ANCIENT GRAMMARIANS' THEORY

To account for 'i9raab,[1] the ancient Arab grammarians developed an elaborate theory known as at-ta9liil 'motivation'; the theory in question is summarized below,[2] and the summary is followed by a brief evaluation.

Types of Motivation

The ancient Arab grammarians defined three types of motivation which they called "causes" of 'i9raab:

1. al-9ilalu t-ta9liimiyyatu 'pedagogical causes': Also called 9awaamil 'governors',[3] these "causes" are defined as structural elements which accompany 'i9raab. Thus 'inna "causes" the occurrence of the subject in the accusative and the predicate in the nominative; in other words, 'inna "governs" the subject in the accusative and the predicate in the nominative.

2. al-9ilalu l-qiyaasiyyatu 'analogical causes': The ancient Arab grammarians appealed to analogy in order to explain certain aspects of 'i9raab. They discerned, for example, a similarity between 'inna and its sisters, on the one hand, and transitive verbs on the other; to this alleged similarity they attributed the fact that 'inna and its sisters govern the accusative. Because they seek to explain a fact which is itself a cause, al-9ilalu l-qiyaasiyyatu are sometimes called 9ilalu l-9ilali 'causes of causes'.

3. al-9ilalu l-jadaliyyatu 'argumentative or philosophical causes': These embrace "causes" which answer questions such as the following:

In what respect do 'inna and its sisters resemble verbs?
Do 'inna and its sisters resemble perfect verbs or imperfect ones?
If 'inna and its sisters resemble verbs, why must their subject resemble a *transposed* object?

Like those of the second type, al-9ilalu l-jadaliyyatu are sometimes called 9ilalu l-9ilali 'causes of causes'.

In his book al-9awaamilu l-mi'atu, 9abdu l-qaahiri l-jurjaaniyyu (c. 377 - 471 A.H.) states that the "governors" consist of ninety-one lexical items, seven open-list classes, and two "concepts":

1. The lexical items fall into thirteen groups:

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=	equal sign, indicating equivalence
[ ]	brackets, enclosing features
/ /	slanting lines indicating phonemes
+	plus sign, indicating presence of the feature named immediately after it; e.g., [+ Remote]
S	standing for a sentence
V	standing for a vowel
N	standing for a noun
VN	standing for a verbal noun
D.O.	standing for a direct object
I.O.	standing for an indirect object
Prep	standing for a preposition
Conj	standing for a conjunction

4. In a string which states the abstract structure of an utterance, the symbol + is used to separate consecutive constituents; e.g., *N* + *Verb* + *N*. Some strings employ + as well as - , the former indicating relatively close association; e.g., *Verb* - *D.O.* - *li+I.O.*

5. The works listed in the *Bibliography* are numbered consecutively. Cross-references in the footnotes employ a code which combines one of those numbers with the letter *B* (for *Bibliography*); *B3*, for example, refers to item 3 in the *Bibliography*.

This study is dedicated to the author's wife Hasmik, his two daughters Linda and Deana, and the memory of his sister Linda.

PREFACE

The symbols employed in this study are listed below.

1. To transcribe Arabic utterances other than names and titles, the following symbols are used; to some extent, the transcription was dictated by typesetting restrictions rather than preference.

(a) Consonant symbols (in the order of the Arabic alphabet): ' *b* *t* *t*^{h} *j* *H* *x* *d* *d*^{h} *r* *z* *s* *s*^{h} *S* *D* *T* *D*^{h} *9* *g*^{h} *f* *q* *k* *l* *m* *n* *h* *w* *y*. A droppable glottal stop is not represented in the transcription.

(b) Short vowel symbols: *i* *a* *u*

(c) Long vowel symbols: *ii* *aa* *uu*

(d) Morphophonemic symbol: *-(t)*, representing a macrosegment-final zero or /h/ which alternates with a macrosegment-medial /t/ (and which is represented in Arabic script by *at-taa'u l-marbuuTatu*)

2. Arabic names and titles are written as follows:

(a) The Arabic writing system is employed in the *Bibliography*.

(b) The conventional English spelling is employed in glosses.

(c) The transcription defined in the foregoing item is employed elsewhere.

3. In addition to those of item 1, the following symbols are used:

* asterisk, identifying non-lingual utterances

_ hyphen, occurring at the boundary between stems and certain affixes

→ arrow, indicating a structural transformation

' ' single quotes, enclosing English glosses

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