Syntax and Semantics of Arabic ʔan

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1 author:

Abdullah S Al-Dobaian
King Saud University
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Introduction

Arab grammarians discussed two types of complementizer structures: null and optional complementizers. They have provided full descriptive details based on the obligatory versus the optional pronominalization of the complementizer *ʔan* in certain syntactic environments. More specifically, null *ʔan* had been assumed to occur in a result clause of negation or request verbs[1] after particles like *ħatta ʁaaʔiyyah* (i.e., expressing objective), *faaʔ ssababiyyah* (i.e., expressing reason or result), *waaw lmaʕiyyah* (i.e., expressing association), *laam ʤuħuud* (i.e., expressing negation). The null *ʔan* justifies the assignment of the accusative case to the following verb. On the other hand, optional *ʔan* occurs after coordinators like *waaw, faaʔ, θumma, ʔaw* [2]. According to the traditional Arab grammarians, the distinction between the two complementizer types heavily relies on the explicit or the implicit presence (null) of *ʔan*[3]. Meaning is then relegated to each structure: null *ʔan* is associated with either one of these meanings (negation, objective, association, reason); whereas, the optional C *ʔan* carries different coordination meanings depending on the kind of coordinator used. It is difficult to reconcile the syntactic and the semantic aspects of complementizer structure within the traditional Arabic grammar framework as the two sides are inconsistently related.

In this paper, I show that the traditional case analysis of optional and null *ʔan* is problematic. I argue that semantics determines the right syntactic complementizer structure. That is, the verb in CP (complementizer phrase) is specified with different mood features: [+irrealis] is associated with null C, while [+realis] verb is represented by

1. They are verbs involving command, prohibition, question, instigation, offer, wish, vocation.

2. See for details on optional and null *ʔan* (Hasan, 1986), among other sources.

3. The linguists of ilbaṣrah argue that null *ʔan* exists in an underlying structure to be able to assign an accusative case to the following verb, whereas in other syntactic context an optional *ʔan* is realized. However kuufiis assume that particles *ħatta, faaʔ ssababiyyah, waaw lmaʕiyyah, laam ʤuħuud* assign the accusative case to the verb not *ʔan*. See section 2 for some details.

optional C. Put differently, the lexical presence or absence of *ʔan* reduces to different mood specifications that map to two syntactic structures: null and optional CP.

In the first section, the data of Arabic CP is introduced. Then in section 2, I discuss the traditional Arab grammarians and their different views regarding the CP structure. I present a different analysis of the data in section 3. Finally, a conclusion summaries the main points of this paper.

The following is a list of the abbreviations used in this paper: ind=indicative, subj=subjunctive, jus=jussive, neg=negative, nom=nominative, acc=accusative, gen=genitive, 3=third person, 1=first person, 2=second person, s=singular, d=dual, p=plural, m=masculine, f=feminine.

1   The Data

The data presented here involves what is considered in standard Arabic grammar null and optional *ʔan*. In null *ʔan* structure, *ʔan* is never realized morphologically but it is assumed to exist underlingly in a result clause of negation or request verbs after particles like *ʔaw, ħatta ɣaaʔiyyah, faaʔ ssababiyyah, waaw lmaʕiyyah, laam ljuħuud* as illustrated in (1.1):

1.1   *Null C ʔan*

(1) maa   kaana   l-ħurru   li-yaqbal-a   l-ḍayyim-a[4].

neg   was   the free man   neg-accept-subj-3sm the injustice-acc

The free man was not to accept injustice.

(2) ʔaqraʔu   l-kitaab-a   ʔaw[5] ʔatʕab-u[6].

I read-ind-3s the book-acc (in order to, until that, except that) I feel tired-ind- 1sm

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4. This example is taken from (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 317).

[5] *ʔaw* can express three possible meanings as shown between parentheses in the English translation. These meanings are discussed in section 2.1.1.

6. This example is taken from (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 326).

I read the book until I feel tired.

(3) yusriʕu   l-qiṭaar-u   ḥatta yadxul-a   l-maḥaṭat-a[7].

rush-ind-3sm the train-nom   until enter-subj-3sm   the station-acc

The train rushes until it enters the station.

(4) iɣfir   hafawat-a   ṣ-ṣadiiq-i   fa-yaḥmadak-a[8].

forgive-juss-2sm mistake-acc   the friend-acc   then-he appreciate-subj-2sm

Forgive the friend's mistake; thus, he appreciates it.

(5) ʔala   tazuur-u l-mariiḍ-a wa-tuqaddim-a lahu hadiyyat-an.

why don't visit-ind-2sm the patient-acc and you give subj-2sm to him a gift-acc

Why don't you visit the patient and give him a gift.[9]

1.2   *Optional C ʔan*

ʔan can optionally (as marked by parentheses n the examples below) show up

after coordinators or after *laam ttaʕliil* (i.e. justification) as the following examples show[10]:

(6) taʕab-un wa-(ʔan) ʔuḥiṣil-a   rizqii xaxiir-un min raaḥat-in wa-ʔamudd-a yadi.

tiredness-nom and-(that)-get-subj-1sm my sustenance-gen better than relaxation-gen and-(that) extend-subj-1sm my hand-gen

It is better to exhaust oneself and get sustenance rather than relaxation and begging others.

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7. This example is taken from (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 335).

8. This example is taken from (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 366).

9 This example is taken from (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 378).

10. Thesr examples are taken from (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p.287-288).

(7)   ʔinna l-baħar-a fa-(ʔan)-ʔufakir-a fii ʕaʤaaʔibih-i ka-l-qamar-i
      fa-(ʔan)-ʔut̠liq-a xawaatr̠-i waraaʔa ʔasraarih-i.

      that the-sea-acc and-(that)-ponder-subj-1sm of its wonders-acc as the
      moon-gen and (that)- release-subj-1sm thoughts-acc after its secrets-gen

      The sea and thinking of its wonders is like the moon and pondering its
      secrets.

(8)   laa yarḏaa n-naabih-u bi-t-taqs̠iir-i ʔaw (ʔan) ya-tadaarak-a-hu

      neg please-ind-3sm the smart man by the failure-gen or (that) he rectify
      it- subj-

      A smart man is not pleased by failure and then rectifying it.

(9)   ʔinna z-zuruuʕ-a θumma (ʔan) ʔaʕtamid-a ʕala nafs-i fii
      riʕaayatiha lahiyya min xiir-i l-lwasaaʔil-i li-l-lɣina.

      that plantation-acc then (that) I rely-subj-1s on myself-gen in

      caring for it-gen is among the best means-gen of getting rich

      Plantation and taking care of it are among the best means of getting
      rich.

(10) Jaaʔa l-lwalad-u li-(ʔan)-yusallim-a ʕala ʔabiih.

      came-3sm the boy-nom to (that) greet-subj-3sm on his father-gen

      The boy came to greet his father.

2.   Traditional Analysis of Arabic Complementizer structure (ACS)

In the first section, I review the Arabic Kuufii and Bas̠rii theoretical analyses of
the ACS. I explain, in the second section, that the Bas̠rii and the Kuufiis' accounts of
ACS draw from an influential government or *iʕmaal* theory, which has played a major
role in the traditional Arabic grammar. Arab grammarians have devoted much of their
efforts and time examining and explaining how words get their case marking from
different governors or *ʕawaamil*. The third section discusses the drawbacks of *iʕmaal*
theory and the negative impact of this theory on Arabic grammar as indicated by the
works of Ibn Maḏaaʔ and D̠ayef (1982), Hamza (2004). Finally, I argue that a theory of

meaning that goes hand in hand with syntactic structure is needed to address the syntactic as well as semantic components of ACS. I examine one promising work that sheds light on the syntactic and the semantic structure of Arabic verbs which is that of Bahloul (2008).

2.1   *Kuufiis' and Basrii's analyses of ACS*

The technical details of the two schools vary somehow; nonetheless, the main thrust of these analyses is basically the same. Namely, in the case of null ACS, *ʔan* in the data in 1.1 above, is analyzed in terms of a governor or *ʕaamil*, whether it is *ʔan* or particles such as (*ħatta, faaʔ ssababiyyah, waaw lmaʕiyyah, laam ljuħuud*). Also, the two schools do not vary in the semantics of ACS; hence they associate each structure whether it is obligatory null or optional *ʔan* with specific semantics. As for the other *ʔan* structure, shown in the data in 1.2, the linguists of both schools agree to the optional nature of the complementizer *ʔan*. Let us now discuss the some details of each camp's analysis.

2.1.1   *Kuufiis' analysis of ACS*

The Kuufii linguists argue that particles such as (*ħatta, faaʔ ssababiyyah, waaw lmaʕiyyah, laam ljuħuud*), see the examples in 1.2 above, are *ʕwamil* because they govern the following verb and assign it accusative case. In fact, these particles were not the only case assigners for the verb but there were other sources within the kuufii linguistic tradition. To illustrate, let us consider first *laam ljuħuud* in (11):

(11)   maa   kaana   l-ħurru   li-yaqbal-a   l-dayyim-a.

        neg   was   the free man   neg-accept-subj-3sm the injustice-acc

        The free man was not to accept injustice.

The verb *liyaqabala* in (11) should be preceded by a negation particle such as *maa* and a *kawn* verb [11](Hasan, 1986, vol. 4: 318-319). According to kuufiis, *laam ljuħuud* (i.e. *li*) in

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11. *kawn* is *masdar* or the noun of the copular verb *kaana* and *yakuun*.

liyaqabala is for emphasis and *liyaqabala* is in the position of *xabar* or comment of *kawn* verb, which is assigned an accusative case (Assyuuttii, no date, p. 379).

Kuufiis argue that *laam ljuħuud* assigns the accusative case to the verb *yaqabala* in (11) and not (an underlying) *ʔan* because *laam ljuħuud* behaves syntactically just like *laam kay* (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002, p. 474 and 461):

(12)   Jiʔtuka   li-tukrimanii.

        I- came-3sm to-honor-subj-me

        I came to you to be honored.

li in (12) is called *laam kay* because *li* can be replaced by *kay*. According to kuufiiis, since *kay* assigns case to the verb, *li*, its replacement, may also assign case to the verb *tukrimanii* in (11). Kuufiis extend the same logic to *laam ljuħuud* (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002). That is, similar to *kay*, *li* assigns case to the verb (in 12). The reason for treating *laam ljuħuud*, in kuufiis' view point, as a case assigner is that it takes the place of *ʔan* (Assyuuttii, p.378). As a result, there is need for Kuufiis to assume an underlying or a pronominalized *ʔan* to account for the accusative case assignment for *tukrimanii* in (12). Moreover, it is legitimately grammatical to pronounce *ʔan*, for emphasis, after *li* as in *liʔan tukrimanii* (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002).

Kuufiis argue that another particle *ħatta* is a possible governor and can assign an accusative case to the verb (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002). Consider the following example:

(13)   yusriʕu l-qiṯaar-u   ħatta yadxul-a   l-maħaṯat-a.

        rush-ind-3sm the train-nom until enter-subj-3sm   the station-acc

        The train rushes until it enters the station.

For *ħatta* to be able to assign case to the verb, kuufiis assume that it must express future tense without the need of an underlying pronominalized *ʔan*. Some kuufiis however

indicate that *ʔan* can show up syntactically after *ħatta* (asSuuṯii, vol. 2:380). In kuufiis' view, *ħatta* replaces *ʔan* or *kay* by having their meaning and thus assumes their syntactic function of case assignment to the verb (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 350). So *ħatta* can be associated with *kay* meaning as represented in (14a); hence the verb is assigned accusative case and in that sense *ʔan* is not syntactically realized. Furthermore, *ħatta* can also pick up the meaning of *until ʔan* and in that sense *ʔan* is expressed syntactically and thus *ʔan* assigns case to the following verb in (14b) (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 350):

(14)   a. ʔaṭiʕ illaaha   ħatta yudixalaka   l-jannat-a.   (ħatta=kay)

    Obey-juss-2sm Allah-acc   in order to enter-subj-3sm paradise-acc

    Obey God in order to enter paradise.

    b. ʔuðkur illaaha   ħatta taṭluʕa ʃ-ʃams-u.   (ħatta=until ʔan)

    remember-juss-2sm Allah-acc until ʔan rise-subj-3sm the-sun-acc

    Remember Allah until the sun rises.

ħatta expresses goal and justification (as shown in (14). *ʔaw* can replace *ħatta* for marking exactly the same meanings discussed above . Furthermore, *ʔaw* may also represent a third meaning (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 326-327):

(15)   tahwii   ṭ-ṭaaʔirat-u   ʔaw taslam-a.

    fall-ind-3sm the plane-nom except ʔan it escape-subj-3sm

    The plane falls except that it is rescued.

ʔaw in (15) is used to signal the meaning of exception unless the plane is rescued it is definitely doomed. *KasaaʔYy*, a Kuufii linguist, assumes that *ʔaw* assigns accusative case to the verb (Assyuuttii, p. 385).

Finally there are other particles such as *faaʔ ssababiyyah* and *waaw lmaʕiyyah* that occur in result clause verbs involving command, prohibition, question, instigation, offer, wish and vocation (Hasan, 1986, vol.4, p. 365 and 376). These particles assign accusative case to the verb. *Abu ʕamir ljirmii* argues that *faaʔ ssababiyyah* and *waaw lmaʕiyyah* can govern the verb and thus assign case to it because they do not behave as coordinators and therefore do not govern nouns (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002, p. 442 and 445).

There are different opinions within the kuufiis's linguistic camp on the accusative case assignment to the verb. Some would view the particles as case assigners while others would argue that accusative case is assigned based on the asymmetry between the first and the second verb when using the particles *faaʔ ssababiyyah*, *waaw lmaʕiyyah*, and *ʔaw*. Let us consider the following examples:

(16)   a. iɣfir   hafawat-a   s̱-s̱adiiq-i   fa-yaħmadak-a.

forgive-juss-2sm mistake-acc the friend-acc then-he appreciate-subj-3sm

Forgive the friend's mistake; thus, he appreciates it.

b. ʔala   tazuur-u l-mariiḏ-a wa-tuqaddim-a lahu hadiyyat-an.

why don't visit-ind-2sm the patient-acc and you give subj-2sm to him a gift-acc

Why don't you visit the patient and give him a gift.

faaʔ ssababiyyah is used in (16a) and the first verb *iɣfir* is a command while the following verb, after *faaʔ ssababiyyah*, is an indicative. Based on the kuufiis's view, this difference in verb semantics requires the second verb to be assigned a different case marking from that of the first verb (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002, p. 445). The same reasoning applies to (16b). Namely, the first verb *tazuuru* involves instigation while the second verb following *wa* is an indicative. The asymmetry in the semantics of the two verbs requires the second verb to be assigned an accusative case to be distinguished from the first verb (Ibn lʔanbaari, 2002, p. 442).

2.1.2 *Baṣriis' analysis of ACS*

Baṣriis disagree with Kuufiis in the accusative case assignment to the verb in ACS. Baṣriis argue that an underlying *ʔan* is the case assigner not the particles as Kuufiis suggest. The argument that Baṣriis base their analysis upon is that the particles govern and assign case to nouns and cannot therefore govern and assign case to verbs because nouns and verbs have different case assigners that cannot work for both simultaneously. We can illustrate the Baṣriis's analysis and their response to Kuufii's argumentation for particles like *faaʔ ssababiyyah*, *ħatta*, and *laam ljuħuud*.

Starting with *faaʔ ssababiyyah*, Ibn lʔanbaari disagrees with kuufiis's view that *faaʔ ssababiyyah* is not a case assigner because it cannot co-occur with a coordination conjunction[12]:

(17)   *ʔitnii   wa faʔukrimaka.

come-to me-juss-2sm and then-dignify-you-2sm-subj

Come to me and then I will dignify you.

As mentioned above, Kuufiis assume that *faaʔ* governs the verb and thus assigns it case because it is not used as a coordinator in which it can govern nouns. As (17) shows, the coordinator *wa* and *faaʔ* cannot co-occur because only one occurs. Ibn lʔanbaari takes this as an evidence against treating *faaʔ* as a coordinator because if it is a coordinator and it governs nouns and assign them case this will lead to two coordinators to be used simultaneously making (17) grammatical, contrary to fact. Hence, Ibn lʔanbaari concludes that *faaʔ* cannot assign case to the verb because it cannot govern verbs and govern nouns by functioning as a coordinator. As a result, a pronominalized *ʔan* assign

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12. Ibn lʔanbaari is a Kuufii linguist. For more details, see *ʔalinṣaaf fii masaaʔil lxilaaf*, p. 447. Despite Ibn lʔanbaari's strong tendencies to Kuufii grammatical tradition, he defends the Baṣriis' views that *ʔan* and not particles assign accusative case to the verb. For more details, see (Ḍaif, 1986: p. 238).

case to the verb (Ibn lʔanbaari, p. 447). However, lJirmii, agreeing with Kuuffiis, believes that *faaʔ* is a case marker for the verb and that *ʔan* is not needed to be pronominailized[13]

As for *laam ljuħuud*, Baṣriis argue that a pronominalized *ʔan* is the case assigner for the following verb and not *laam ljuħuud* since *laam ljuħuud* governs nouns and assigns them genitive case; thus it cannot also assign case to verbs. Baṣriis also take issue with Kuufiis's assumption that it is grammatical to pronounce *ʔan* after *laam ljuħuud*. Ibn lʔanbaari attempts to refute Kuufiis' proposal by two pieces of evidence (Ibn lʔanbaari, p. 447 and 475): first, it is not possible to pronounce *ʔan* after *laam ljuħuud* because the overt complementizer turns the structure mistakenly into a noun:

(18)   maa   kaana   Zaid-un li-yadxul-a

    Neg   was   Zaid-nom   neg-enter-subj-3sm

    Zaid was not to enter.

 If *ʔan* is pronounced as *liʔan yadxula*, this structure would be treated as a noun when *li yadxula* is a verb and is equivalent to a verb phrase like 'sawafa yadxulu'. Secondly, *laam ljuħuud* suggests future tense and therefore replaces *ʔan*. In fact, *sawaf* or *sa-* that implies future tense is used equivalently instead of *ʔan* since both cannot co-occur (asSuuṭii, vol. 2, 378).

Finally, Baṣriis argue that the verb after *ħatta* is assigned accusative case by the underlying *ʔan* and not by *ħatta* as Kuufiis assume (Hasan, 1986, p. 350). The justification that Baṣriis provide is that *ħatta* is a governor assigning case to nouns and thus it cannot be also a case assigner to verbs. As a consequence, *ħatta* is only governed by *ʔan*. Ibn lʔanbaari refers to an example like "…*ħatta lmaṣiifi wa yaxluwa lqiʕdaanu*" where *ħatta*, in

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13. Even though lJirmii is a Baṣrii linguist, he shares Kuufiis' view that *faaʔ ssababiyyah*, *ʔaw*, and *waaw lmaʕiyyah* are case assigners to the following verb and that *ʔan* is not needed to be pronominalized for case assignment. For some brief details on *iJirmii's* linguistic work, see (Ḍaif, 1986, p. 111-115).

his view, cannot govern both the noun *lmaṣiif* and assigns it a genitive case and at the same time govern the verb *yaχluw* and assigns it an accusative case in one syntactic context. Therefore, Ibn lʔanbaari concludes that *ħatta* assigns the noun a genitive case while the verb is assigned an accusative case by the pronominalized *ʔan* (Ibn lʔanbaari, p. 479).

The Baṣriis' argument of case assignment based on the *ʕwamil* or governors distinctions between nouns and verbs as evidence for a pronominalized *ʔan* may not be maintained. To illustrate, Ibn lʔanbaari, for example, suggests that *kay* can assign accusative case to the verb without implying an underlying *ʔan* thus agreeing with Kuufiis provided that there is a preposition. However when there is no preposition used, *kay* is considered to be a governor for the following verb (Ibn lʔanbaari, p. 463):

(19)   a. JiʔTuka   li-kay tukrimanii.

        I- came-3sm for-in order to honor-subj-me

        I came to you in order to be honored.

        b. JiʔTuka   kay-tukrimanii.

        I- came-3sm in order to-honor-subj-me

        I came to you to be honored.

Kay in (19a) governs the verb *tukrim* and assigns case to it because it is not a genitive preposition governing nouns. On the other hand, *Kay* in (19b) may be replaced by *laam ljarr* 'preposition particle' producing *litukrimanii*. Since *kay* replaces *laam ljarr*, they function alike, namely, they govern nouns and assign genitive them case. The verb *tukrim* in (19b) is assigned accusative case by a pronominalized *ʔan*. Here Ibn lʔanbaari and Baṣriis contradict themselves because *kay* works as a governor for nouns and verbs simultaneously which is a violation of the principle they are trying to defend that there are specific governors or *ʕwamil* for nouns and verbs. Moreover, if we apply this

principle, we will find it difficult to explain the behaviors of particles like *maa*, *laa*, *ʔin* that work with nouns and verbs:

(20)   a. maa saafara il-walad-u.

        neg travel-past-3sm the-boy-nom

        The boy did not travel.

    b. maa Samiir-u muddarris-un.

        neg Samiir-nom teacher-nom

        Samiir is not a teacher.

As we observe in (20), *maa* is used to negate both nouns and verbs making the principle of different *ʕwamil* for nouns and verbs untenable which in turn makes the argument of a pronominalized *ʔan* insupportable.

2.3   *iʕmaal theory*

Alxaliil Ibn Aħmad established the rules of Arabic syntax on the foundations of *iʕmaal* theory and then other famous Arab linguists like Sibawaihi, the teacher of Baṣriis, and Kasaaʔii, the founder of Kuufii school, followed his lead (Shehri, 2006, p. 18). The Arab grammarians, regardless of their linguistic tradition, were busy examining and explaining the inflectional endings of words and how they got the case marking and from what *ʕamil*. Sometimes there was no overt case assigner and the Arab linguist had to resort to *taqdiir* 'reconstuction' and *ʔiḏmaar* 'suppression' in order to salvage *iʕmaal* theory (Versteegh, 1997).

In fact *iʕmaal* theory has a domineering effect in Arabic syntax. To illustrate, we can discuss some aspects of the important role that *iʕmaal* has played in Arabic linguistics.

First, *iʕmaal* theory has controlled the syntactic research. The disagreement among Arab traditional grammarians on different major syntactic issues were related to *iʕmaal* and what governor was responsible for the assignment of case to that word and why (Mustafa, 2004, p. 18). For example, there was a major disagreement among Arab grammarians regarding the case assigner of *lmubtadaʔ* 'the topic' and *ilxabar* 'the comment'. Kuufiis, for instance, assume that both of them assign case to the other. Baṣriis, on the other hand, suggest that *lmubtadaʔ* is assigned a nominative case from *ibtidaaʔ* , 'being used a topic'. They explained *ibtidaaʔ* as the lack of overt governors (Mustafa, 2004, p.19).

Second, the theory of *iʕmaal* was used to prove or disprove a syntactic fact. For instance, Arab grammarians differed concerning whether the definite article in *al* was only *l* or the *hamzat* and *l*. Sibawaihi thought that *l* was the definite article and that the *a* is a *hamazat waṣl* 'glottal soft catch'[14] while Alxaliil believed that *al* is one letter just as *qadd* and *ʔinna*. Sibawayhi proved his point by using an *iʕmaal* argument that *l* is one letter because a weak governor such as the preposition *bi* in *bi rrajuli* 'by the man' skips *al* to assign case to *rajul*. Had *al* been two letters, the weak governor *bi* would not have skipped it. Linguists in the end adopted Sibawayhi's view and rejected Alxaliil's (Mustafa, 2004, p. 30-31).

Third, Arab syntacticians classified grammar topics and the content of their publications according to *iʕmaal*. Thus it was no wonder that sections were assigned based on similar *ʕawamil*. For example, accusative particles like *lan, kay, ʔan* are discussed in the same section while jussive particles like *lam, lamma, lam ilʔ ar* are included together. This type of classification reflected the effect of case marking and disregarded the meaning effect like the different style types of negation, emphasis, and exception that were scattered in different chapters (Mustafa, 2004, p. 32-33).

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14. This is the translation of Abdelkader Fassi Fehri, 2009: 120.

Fourth, *iʕmaal* theory changed the Arabic style and altered the meaning of the sentence. Ibn Maḏaaʔ attacked this theory because, as he viewed it, it distorts the Arabic style. For example, in *ya ʕabd llaahi* 'O servant [acusative] of Allah', the vocative *ʕabd llaah* is considered by grammarians to be an object of a deleted underlying verb *ʔadʕuu* 'call' in order to explain the accusative case. Ibn Maḏaaʔ thinks that this is unnecessary and changes the meaning of the sentence from an illocutionary, i.e., vocative, to a propositional sentence (Ḍayf, 1986, p. 26-27).

2.4   *iʕmaal theory and ACS*

As we have explained above, ACS is analyzed in terms of *iʕmaal* theory whether it is *ʔan* or other *ʕawamil* such as *faaʔ ssababiyyah* and *waaw lmaʕiyyah* for example that assign accusative case to the following verb. Interestingly, Ibn Maḏaaʔ proposes that it is not the *ʕaamil* that assigns the case to the verb but rather the speaker himself through the different meanings that he intends to convey. Let us examine how he analyzes the verb after *faaʔ ssababiyyah* (Ḍaif, 1986, p. 34-35):

(21)   laa yaʃtum   ʕamru   Zaidan   fa-yuuʔðiya-hu.

neg insult-juss-3sm ʕamru-nom Zaid-acc then-hurt-he-subj-2sm-him

ʕamr does not insult Zaid; thus, Zaid does not hurt him.

Ibn Maḏaaʔ indicates that the verb after *fa* is assigned an accusative case to represent a meaning of causation by which the speaker intends to suggest that ʕamr's insult to Zaid causes Zaid's hurt. Such causative meaning is not conveyed by the nominative case of the verb because the nominative represents another different meaning or intension by the native speaker, which is the report that the insult hurts Zaid and the second verb is independent from the previous clause and it is *xabar* of a deleted topic producing *fahuwa yuuʔðiyahu* 'he hurts him'. Ibn Maḏaaʔ provides a similar analysis for *waaw lmaʕiyyah* below (Ḍaif, 1986, p. 126-127):

(22) laa taʔkul s-smak-a wa taʃrab-a l-laban-a.

neg eat-juss-2sm the fish-acc and drink-subj-2sm the butter milk-acc

Do not eat fish and drink butter milk.

The verb *taʃraba* is assigned accusative case to mark the associative meaning as represented by *wa*. The sentence suggests that fish eating and butter milk drinking should not be done together. However, if the verb gets the nominative case, the meaning is to prohibit fish eating and to require butter milk drinking. Finally, there is still another possible meaning which is to prohibit fish eating and butter milk drinking together or separately. Such meaning is expressed by means of assigning a jussive case to *taʃrab* (Ḍaif, 1986, p. 127).

Ibn Maḏaaʔ called for the elimination of *iʃmaal* theory because it complicated grammar and provided no explanatory adequacy. The case marking is a reflection of the speakers' meaning (Ḍaif, 1986, p. 75).

2.5 *Bahloul (2008)*

As we have seen, the traditional analysis of ACS has emphasized the central role of syntactic structure and its dominance over semantics as exemplified by *iʃmaal* theory. More specifically, the Kuufiis and Baṣriis have been involved in controversial debates regarding the governor or *ʃaamil* in ACS. As we explain in the third section, semantics has played a secondary role and it was relegated to the syntactic structure. The theory of meaning that goes hand in hand with syntactic structure is needed to address the syntactic as well as semantic components of ACS. Bahloul (2008) is an example of study that stresses the importance of a theory addressing both syntactic and semantic components of whatever structure that needs to be analyzed.

Bahloul provides a theory that examines the sentence structure. His proposal is based on the works of different linguistic schools like Fillmore (1986), Chomsky (1991, 1995), Culioli (1982, 1987, among other sources), and Adamczewski (1987, 1991, among other sources). He analyzes the sentence as a result of an enunciation process in which

the speaker initiates meaning through the manipulation of the syntactic arguments. The sentence is made up of two basic components: Modality and lexis. Lexis is the presentence level that includes the verb and its arguments. Words are then integrated together in an Inflection Phrase structure (IP) that hosts tense, agreement and aspectual and mood properties of the sentence. Modality involves modality categories such as tense, aspect, mood, negation, agreement, among other things. Modality is divided into four major components (Bahloul, 2008, p. 11, example 5):

(23) a. affirmative, negative, injunctive, and so on;

b. certain, probable, necessary, and so on;

c. appreciative: it is sad…, fortunately, and so on;

d. pragmatics: in particular, illocutionary mood, causative, and so on.

The meaning or the enunciation process involves the appropriation of lexis or the verb's arguments in order to achieve the major domains of modality in (23). To illustrate, in modality type *a* in (23), the speaker or the enunciator expresses a "propositional content (represented by the predicative relation) as valid: either true or false" (Bahloul (2008, p. 16). As for modality type *b*, the enunciator explains an epistemic predicative relation suggesting necessity, probability, obligation and so on. The speaker shows through modality type *c* an appreciative attitude towards the content of the predicative relation. Finally, the speaker expresses *denotic* activities involving wish, order, prohibition… This theory attempts to bridge the gap between semantics and syntax.

3.   ACS and Mood specifications

The traditional Arab grammarians' analysis has examined ASC in terms of *iʕmaal* theory that focused on the syntactic aspect of case marking with less consideration of the semantics of ASC. Therefore either a pronominalized *ʔan* or the particles like *ħatta* were governors and then meanings were extended to structure. For example, the obligatorily pronominalized *ʔan* was associated with the meanings of goal, association, reason and so on. On the other hand the optionally pronominalized *ʔan* was associated with mere coordination meanings. In this section, I support the view that verbs unlike nouns do not

need case or *iʕraab* but they are specified with mood inflections marking the speaker's view on the event of the verb (Fassi Fehri, 1990; Rahali, 2003).

In the first section, I discuss why there is confusion between case marking and mood inflections. The second part discusses the mood theory of ASC. The third part deals with null ACS. The optional ACS is considered at the fourth part.

3.1   *Case marking or mood inflections*

The Arab grammarians observe that the imperfect verb behaves as a noun in being inflected for case[15]. The imperfect verb can be assigned nominative, accusative, and jussive:

(24)   a.   ʔadxul-u.

enter (i)-ind[16]-1sm

b.   lan   tadxul-a.

neg   enter (you)-subj-2sm

c.   lam   yadxul.

neg   enter (he)-Juss-3sm

The imperfect can get another different case type which is the presence of *nuun* in the case of nominative (as in 25a) and the deletion of *nuun* in the cases of accusative and jussive (as in 25b):

(25)   a.   yadxul-aan,   yadxul-uun,   tadxul-iin

enter- ind-3dm,   enter-ind-3pm,   enter-ind-2sf

15. The Arab grammarians argue that the imperfect and nouns can be case marked because they share at least five similarities. I will not discuss these here but see Ibn lʔanbaari, p. 25-27) for details.

16. I assume that inflections on the verbs mark mood rather than case. This is consistent with modern research in Arabic (Fehri, 1990, 1993; Raħaali, 2005; Juħfah, 2003).

b.   lan/lam   yadxul-aa,   yadxul-uu,   tadxul-ii

neg   enter- subj/juss-3dm, enter- subj/juss-2sf

Rahali (2005) has reported two observations regarding the case marking of the imperfect: first, the suffixal case morphemes of the verb are not consistently uniform. For example, they can be vowel suffixes as in (24a, b). The case forms can also be null morphologically as in the jussive (in 24c). Alternatively, the case can be represented by the presence/lack of *nuun* as in (25). Thus the case forms of the imperfect are not consistently unified morphologically as the case in nouns for instance.

The second observation of Rahali is that case marking of the imperfect can apply without an overt *ʕaamil* or governor as the case of *faaʔ ssababiyyah* as in (26) (Raħaali, 2003, examples 14, 15, p. 83):

(26)   a.   ʔitnii   faʔukrimaka.

come-to me-juss-2sm and then-dignify-you- subj-2sm

Come to me and then I will dignify you.

b.   laa taḏrib   Zaidan   fa-yaḏribaka.

neg hit-juss-2sm   Zaid-acc then-hit-he-subj-2sm-him

Do not hit Zaid; thus, Zaid does not hit you.

The verbs *ʔukrim* and *yaḏrib* are assigned cases without a preceding governor. That's why the Arab grammarians has resorted to the underlying *ʔan* analysis/ proposal in order to explain the accusative case marking on the verb. Rahali argues that this proposal lacks evidence and is not satisfactory because *ʔan* does not show up morphologically. To add more problems to the underlying *ʔan* analysis, Rahali provides further examples (Raħaali, 2003, examples 20, 21, 22, p. 83):

(27)   a.   ʔin tadxul   ʔadxul.

If enter-juss-2sm enter-juss-1sm

b.   man   tuṣib   tumithu.

whoever shoot-juss-2sm   kill-juss-2sm

Whoever you shoot, you kill.

c.   mataa tarḥal   ʔarḥal.

whenever leave (you)-juss-2sm leave (I)-juss-2sm

Whenever you leave, I leave.

Rahali argues that if the verb takes case marking, then we would have to assume that *ʔin*, *man*, and *mataa* are case assigners, as traditional Arab grammarians assumed, but this would be problematic because *ʔin* in (27a) would have to assign jussive case twice. Furthermore, *man*, and *mataa* cannot be responsible for case assignment because *man* (27b) has been moved from the object position and there is no evidence that a moved object can function as a case assigner. Likewise, *mataa* in (27c) has been moved from an adverb position and adverbs are not governors.

For all of these reasons, Rahali argues that what looks like case marking on verbs is nothing other than mood morphemes that are attached to express the jussive or illocutionary meanings in line with what Bahloul (2008) argued. Rahali follows Fassi Fehri's view (Fehri, 1990, p. 81): that mood inflection on verbs are similar to case marking on nouns and that mood functions can be used to mark jussive, subjunctive, conditional, energetic.

3.2   *ACS Mood hypothesis*

In order to understand the syntactic as well as the semantic aspects of ACS, the following hypothesis is introduced:

(27)   Mood inflection is assigned to the verb in ACS to mark these different

interpetations:

> a. The speaker expresses illocutionary actions related to negation, wish, instigation, reason, goal, association, request that are not accomplished during the moment of speaking.
>
> b. The speaker expresses accomplished affirmative statements via complex coordinate noun structure (CCNS).

The hypothesis in (27a) accounts for null ACS and explains that accusative case is assigned to the verb in order to mark certain meanings associated with illocutionary mood. Such illocutionary actions are characterized with [-realis] feature which suggest that the action may not necessarily happen. On the other hand, optional ACS is accounted for by (27b). The speaker expresses statements syntactically by means of coordination. These statements are associated with [+realis] feature which indicates that they are likely to happen. Further details are provided below. As will be discussed below, the assignment of what seems to be accusative case is part and parcel of a mood integrative analysis that comprises future tense, (ir)realis property, (il)locutionary event.

3.3   *Null ACS*

In this section, I explain how null ACS or the obligatorily pronominalized *ʔan* structure is analyzed by the hypothesis in (27a). Namely, the analysis can account for the syntactic and semantic properties of the structure. First, I provide evidence that ACS is indeed a CP structure whose C is morphologically empty. Second, I provide support for the future tense of the null ACS. Third, I argue that this structure type is restricted to a large extent to illocutionary events. More importantly, I show that the ACS is characterized with [-realis] feature which does not only explain why illocutionary events are involved in null ASC but other event types as well.

3.3.1   *Evidence of null C*

Null ACS includes an empty complementizer and this can be proven by coordination test:

(28)   a.   ʔala   tazuurna   fa-nukrimak-a   ʔaw ʔan naqḏiyya   ħaajataka.

why don't you visit-ind-2sm   then-we honor-subj-2sm or that we

answer-subj-2pm need-2sm-acc.

Why don't you visit us; thus, we honor you or answer your need.

b.　　ħatta yakuuna Saziiz-an   min nifuusihum ʔaw ʔan yabiina Jamiian

wa huwa muxtaar-u[17].

until become-ind-3sm honored-acc of themselves-gen or that he

separate-subj-3sm them of his free will

Until he becomes honored or he separates them willingly.

Coordination can only be used to join structures of the same type, e.g. VP is

coordinated to VP and so on. In (28), the null ACS structure *fanukrimaka* is coordinated

to CP *ʔan naqḏiyya ħaajataka* indicating that *fanukrimaka* is a CP whose head C is empty.

The same applies to (28b) in which *yakuuna Saziizan* is a null CP that is joined to another

CP *ʔan yabiina Jamiian*. This is exactly similar to English in which a bare clause structure

can be coordinated with CP:

(29)　　We didn't know [**he had resigned**] or [**that he had been accused of

corruption**] (Radford, 2009, p.98)

Radford argues that coordination in (29) between the two clauses in bold is an empirical

evidence that *he had resigned* is a CP whose head is null. Now having established that C is

null only suggests that such structure is a CP, it does not however indicate that this (null)

C needs to assign accusative case to the following verb.

3.3.3　*Tense of ACS*

The first essential component of the null ACS analysis is that the particles used in

such structure have future specification as have been suggested by Arab grammarians.

For example, asSuuṭii observes that *laam ljuħuud* is an equivalent to *siin* in marking the

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17. This is a line in a poem praising Bani Shayban, a well-known Arabian tribe (Hasan, p. 350 (b)). The line

of poetry is حتى يكون عزيزاً من أنفسهم   أو أن يبين جميعاً وهو مختار

future and since *Ɂan* also marks the future only one of them is used (asSuuṯii, p. 378).

The Baṣriis, in fact, argue that a sentence like *maa kaana Zaidun liyadxula* in (18) above is reconstructed[18] as *maa kaana Zaidun muqadran Ɂan yadxula fii lmustaqbal* ' Zaid was not to enter in the future' (Ibn lɁanbaari, p. 475). In the previous example, *laam ljuħuud* is an equivalent to *Ɂan* in reference to the future; thus, one of them is used. Kuufiis indicate that particles mark the future tense and therefore they can be used instead of *Ɂan* as in the case of *ħatta* (Ibn lɁanbaari, p. 477).

In order to prove that null ACS has a future tense specification, let us examine the use of time adverbs in such structures:

(30)   a.   Ɂala tazuur-u l-mariiḏ-a wa-tuqaddim-a lahu hadiyyat-an

(ɣadan, *lɁaan).

why don't visit-ind-2sm the patient-acc and you give subj-2sm to him a gift-acc tomorrow, now

Why don't you visit the patient and give him a gift tomorrow, now.

b.   yusriʕu   l-qiṯaar-u ħatta yadxul-a l-maħaṯat-a (haaða l-masaaɁ, *lɁaan).

rush-ind-3sm the train-nom until enter-subj-3sm the station-acc this evening, now

The train rushes until it enters the station this evening, now.

c.   tahwii   ṯ-ṯaaɁirat-u   Ɂaw taslam-a (*haaðih llaħaðati, laaħiqan).

Fall-ind-3sm the plane-nom   except Ɂan it escape-subj-3sm this moment, in a while

The plane falls except that it is rescued this moment, in a while.

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18. Reconstruction here refers to taqdiir or تقدير in Arabic.

d.　　　layta t̲-t̲aalib-u　　yadrus-u　fa-yanJaħ-a fii l-imtiħaan-i (ɣadan, *lʔaan).

may　　the student-nom　study-ind-3sm　then-pass-subj-3sm in exam-gen

tomorrow, now

May the student study so that he passes the exam tomorrow, now.

As we can see, only time adverbs associated with the future are possible and not the adverbs indicating the present tense as indicated by the starred time adverbs. This reinforces the future aspect of the null ACS.

3.3.4　*Null ACS and Irrealis mood and illocutionary events*

I argue that null ACS is characterized by irrealis property that is most suitable for illocutionary event that distinguishes such structure type. First, I provide evidence for irrealis property and illustrate how it matters syntactically and semantically. Second, irrealis feature can explain illocutionary activities associated with null ACS. I explain the illocutionary nature of null ACS and provide evidence for it.

3.3.4.1 *Null ACS and Irrealis mood*

I assume that irrealis feature is one of the most important mood features of null ACS by which the speaker expresses that the event or the action represented by the verb is not accomplished during the moment of speaking[19]. Before getting into specific details, it is necessary however to define what is meant by irrealis mood. I believe it is crucial to distinguish the intension of the speaker from the accomplishability of action. For instance, suppose a speaker has the intension to make a request asking someone to give him/ her the salt. One of the ways s/he can express this request is by saying: "Please pass the salt"[20]. Even though the speaker made the intension according to the right language conventions (of making a request in English) and assuming that the hearer understood it, there is no guarantee, however, that the hearer accomplishes such act.

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61 The 'realis' and 'irrealis' mood distinction is discussed in details in Chung Sandra and Alan Timberlake. "Tense, Aspect and Mood". In Grammatical categories and the lexicon. T. Shopen (ed.), 1985, p. 241. Realis mood refer to actual actions unlike irrealis events which are not real. See also for more details, Keith, 2006.

62. Martin, Robert: The Meaning of Language. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, p. 92.

Therefore commands, requests, wishes are considered to be irrealis actions since they are unaccomplishable at the moment of speaking.

Having defined the irrealis mood, we are in a position to provide some evidence for such feature in null ACS structure. Evidence can be based on the semantics of the verb following the particles and the use of frequency adverbs. Starting with the first type of evidence, let us consider the following examples of the particle *ħatta*:

(31)   a.   fii ʃ-ʃahar-i l-qaadim-i yazuur-u baladana ʕulamaaʔ-u ʔaʤaanib-u ħatta yaṯaliʕ-uu ʕalaa ħaḍaaratina[21].

in month-gen next vist-ind-3sm country-3pm-acc scientists-nom foreign-3pm-nom until see-subj-3pm on civilization-3pm-gen

Next month some foreign scientists visit our country to see our civilization.

        b.   yusriʕu l-qiṯaar-u ħatta yadxul-a l-maħaṯat-a.

rush-ind-3sm the train-nom until enter-subj-3sm the station-acc

The train rushes until it enters the station.

ħatta has the meaning of goal or justification or exception. Namely, the goal or justification is to accomplish the following verb action and when this happens the event of the previous verb comes to an end[22]. Applying this to (31), the event of the verbs *seeing the civilization* and *entering the station* are unaccomplishable events during the moment of speaking. When the events become accomplished at some time in the future, they reach the goal and only then the previous events of *visiting the country* and *rushing the train* culminate. What is crucial is that the events of verbs after *ħatta* are irrealis or unaccomplished at the present moment and there is no guarantee they are going to be accomplishable at the future. Therefore, in order to mark irrealis mood, the suffixal inflection *-a* , *-uu* are assigned to the verb.

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63. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 344 example 2a.

64. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 335.

Interestingly, there are verbs, on the hand, that are have realis mood[23]:

(32)　　a.　　　yansaab-u　l-maaʔ-u　　bayna　l-zuruuʕ　ħatta　taʃrab-u.

flow-ind-3sm　the water-nom　through the plantation　so that drink-3sm-ind

Water flows through plantation so that it drinks.

　　　　b.　　　ʔandur　ʔilaa　l-faraaʕiin　yabnuun　qubuurahum　manħuutat-an fii

ṣṣaxr-i　ħatta　tastariiħ-u nufuusahum.

look-juss-2sm　at　the pharaoh-pm-gen　build-3pm　grave-pm-acc　carved-acc　in
stone-gen　　so that　relax-ind-3sf　soul-3pm-nom

Look at the pharaohs! They build their graves carved in the stones so that their souls relax.

Observing these examples closely, we notice that the verbs *taʃrabu* and *tastriiħu* are inflected with *-u* suffix (which is nominative case according to Arab traditional grammarian) unlike the case of the verbs after *ħatta* in (31). The reason is that the event of the verbs in (32) is accomplished at the moment of speaking. As a matter of fact, the drinking event in (32a) is done at the moment of speaking. This is called *real situation* in which the action is accomplished at the present time[24]. As for (32b), the *relaxing of pharaohs' souls* is an event that was done long time ago in the past but the event is reported as if it occurs and is done now. This is called *ħikaayat lħaal lmaadiyah* 'the tale of the past'[25]. Since the second verbs have realis mood unlike the irrealis mood of the second verbs in (31), they are assigned a different inflection-*u*

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65. anNaħaw alWafii, examples on p. 339, 341 respectively.

66. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 339.

67. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 341.

to mark such meaning. Finally, not only the mood specification among the verbs in (31) and (32) is different but also the meaning of *ħatta* changes. *ħatta* is used in (31) for signaling a goal[26] while in (32) it suggests that the event of the verb after *ħatta* is a result of the event before it[27].

Similar to *ħatta*, the verb following *ʔaw* can have different irrealis mood specifications[28]:

(33) a. ʔaqraʔ-u   l-kitaab-a ʔaw ʔatʕab-a.

read-ind-1sm the book-acc until I feel tired-subj- 1sm

I read the book until I feel tired.

b. ʔusaafir-u   yawama l-Jumʕat-i   ʔaw ʔastariiħ-u.

travel-ind-1sm Friday   until take rest-ind-3sm

I travel on Friday or I take a rest.

In (33a), the event of *reading a book* is taking place at the moment of speaking and the event of *feeling tiredness* is not accomplished. When the event of reading culminates at some time in the future, tiredness is then felt and the event is accomplished. Therefore, the irrealis mood of the verb *ʔatʕab* is marked by the suffix *-a*. As for (33b), the event of *taking rest* may not be likely to happen; nonetheless, the verb *ʔastariiħ* is not marked with an irrealis mood suffix but with an indicative mood suffix *-u*. So why is it the case? In order to understand what seems like a puzzle, we may examine the verb preceding *ʔaw*. The event of *traveling* may not be likely to happen; thus it is doubtful unlike the positive

68. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 335.

69. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 339.

70. anNaħaw alWafii, examples on p. 326, 331 respectively

existing of the event of *reading a book* in (33a)[29]. As a consequence of this difference, *ʔaw*

in (33b) functions as a mere coordinator; therefore, the verb *ʔastariiħ* has the same *-u* as

the verb before it[30]. Now suppose that the event of *traveling* will take place definitely,

then the semantic scenario changes and *ʔastariiħ* will need to be marked with a different

inflection, *-a*, as a result just like the situation in (33a). According to this semantic

reading, in which the event before *ʔaw* is happening while the event after it is not

happening, *ʔaw* has the same function as *ħatta* marking goal or justification[31]. We can

best analyze and understand these semantic readings if they are due to different mood

specifications and that inflectional suffixes are their morphological reflection on verbs.

Finally, the verb following *faaʔ ssababiyyah* has an irrealis mood feature. Let us

examine the sentence in (34)[32]:

(34)   man   yahun   fa-yaqbal-a   yashul   l-hawaan-u   ʕalayh-i.

whoever   becomes humilated-juss-3sm   then-accept-subj-3sm   become easy-juss-
3sm   humiliation-nom   on him-gen

Whoever is humiliated and then he accepts, humiliation becomes easy on him.

The Arab grammarians require *faaʔ* to be preceded by negation or request verbs so that

faaʔ has the meaning of goal and then the following verb is assigned accusative case

according to the Arab traditional grammarians[33]. However *faaʔ* in (34) is preceded by a

conditional particle which is not among the classical types of request verbs[34]. The verb

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71. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 331 and 326.

72. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 331.

73. anNaħaw alWafii, p.331 and 326.

74. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 372.

75. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 355-356.

76. See footnote (1) above on these verb types.

after *faaʔ* is nonetheless assigned an accusative case. To remedy this problem, there has been a suggestion that the event of the verb has not occurred, i.e. has not been accomplished, given that the event is hypothetical. Therefore based on Arab grammarians' view, the conditional shares with other command types the non-accomplishability of the event in the result clause[35]. This reinforces the evidence of irrealis mood nature of the verb following the particles in the null ACS structure. On another level, the irrealis mood of null ACS leads to a better understanding of its illocutionary nature which is associated with hypothetical or unreal events.

So far, I have discussed one piece of evidence for irrealis mood of the verb in null ACS structure. Another argument comes from the frequency adverbs:

(35)   a.   laa   taʔkul   s-smak-a   wa taʃrab-a   l-laban-a (*daaʔman).

neg   eat-juss-2sm the fish-acc and drink-subj-2sm the buttermilk-acc always

Do not eat fish and drink buttermilk always.

b.   maa   kaana l-ħurru   li-yaqbal-a   l-d̠ayyim-a (*ʔaħyanan).

neg   was   the free man   neg-accept-subj-3sm the injustice-acc sometimes

The free man was not to accept injustice sometimes.

c.   ʔala   tazuurna   fa-nukrimak-a (*ɣaaliban).

why don't you visit-ind-2sm-us   then-we honor-subj-2sm-you usually

Why don't you visit us; thus, we honor you usually.

The adverbs in (35) are inconsistent with the verbs following *waaw lmaʕiyyah*, *laam ljuħuud*, and *faaʔ ssababiyyah* because the verbs are not real (i.e. not accomplished) while the adverbs suggest the occurrence (i.e. accomplishment) of the event. Thus the adverbs cannot be used as indicated by the asterisks which provide further support to the irrealis mood of verbs in null ACS.

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77. anNaħaw alWafii, p. 372.

3.3.4.2 *Null ACS and illocutionary events*

I argue that in null ACS, the speaker wants some non-accomplished actions to be performed. Such illocutionary actions are represented by verbs occupying the result clause of negation, request, command, prohibition, wish, and instigation, condition. Evidence for illocutionary actions are drawn from the use of *hereby*.

To begin with, null ACS can be thought of as actions which the speaker state as order, prohibition…in order to be accomplish:

(36)   a.   laa   taʔkul   s-smak-a   wa   taʃrab-a   l-laban-a.

neg   eat-juss-2sm the fish-acc and drink-subj-2sm the buttermilk-acc

Do not eat fish and drink buttermilk.

b.   maa   kaana   l-ḥurru   li-yaqbal-a   l-ḏayyim-a.

neg   was   the free man   neg-accept-subj-3sm   the injustice-acc

The free man was not to accept injustice.

c.   ʔala   tazuurna   fa-nukrimak-a.

why don't   visit-ind-2sm-us   then-we honor-subj-2sm-you

Why don't you visit us; thus, we honor you.

(36a) states a prohibition on combining two events together simultaneously. As for (36b), the speaker indicates a negation while (36c) expresses instigation. These events are illocutionary since the speaker states them as tasks to be accomplished. One piece of evidence for the illocutionary nature of these verbs is the use of *hereby* 'bimuujib haaða' in the sentences in (36) and with other examples such of null ACS as in (30) above. As Austin[36] (1962) illustrate, *hereby* is a characteristic test for performative acts or illocutionary acts. These performatives can be viewed as tasks that need to be accomplished. The question becomes how to know that these performative verbs are not

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78. Austin, John: How to do things with words. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

accomplished already? The answer to this question has been discussed in the previous section. More specifically, I have argued that the events of the verbs following *li*, *fa*, *wa* in (36) in particular have unaccomplished events as evidenced by the use of the frequency adverbs in (35). Furthermore, I have given another type of evidence based on the semantics of the verb following the particles that these events have irrealis mood specification. So the irrealis mood is the basis of illocutionary acts and that is why the speaker wants them to be accomplished. As a matter of fact, Hasan suggests that the verb after *faaʔ ssababiyyah*, as has been discussed above in example (34), is preceded by a conditional which is not among the classic request or "illocutionary" types. Hasan points out to the non-accomplishability factor of the conditional which is shared by command, question, and other request types that are used in null ACS[37].

To conclude this section, null ACS involves illocutionary acts that have irrealis mood specification. The speaker expresses performative actions to be accomplished. The irrealis mood feature is crucial because it indicates that events in the null ACS are unaccomplished already and therefore the speaker expresses his intensions that they be done. The evidence for the irrealis mood nature comes from the semantics of the verb events and the use of frequency adverbs. Mood is realized as inflectional suffix attached to the verb.

3.4   *Optional ACS*

First, I argue that this structure, unlike null ACS, has a realis mood based on some pieces of evidence. As a result, optional ACS involves locutionary verbs as supported by the lack of use of *hereby* in contrast to null ACS. I also argue that this structure utilizes coordination to express an accomplished event structure.

To begin with, let us examine the following sentences:

(37)   a.   ʔinna l-fuuz-a   wa-(ʔan)-tanaal-a   taqdiir-a n-naas-i yasarr-an Sami.

that victory-acc   and (that) earn-subj-2sm appreciation-acc the people-gen

please-indic.3dm Sami-acc

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79. anNaḥaw alWafii, p. 373.

Victory and to earn people's appreciation please Sami.

b.   taʕab-un wa-(ʔan) ʔuħiṣil-a   rizqii xaxiir-un mina ð-ðull-i.

tiredness-nom and-(that) get-subj-1sm my sustenance-acc better than humiliation-gen

It is better to exhaust oneself and get sustenance than to be humiliated.

c.   ʔinna   l-baħar-a fa-(ʔan)-ʔufakir-a fii ʕaʝaaʔibih-i ka-l-qamar-i. fa-(ʔan)-ʔuṭliq-a xawaatṟ-i waraaʔa ʔasraarih-i.

that the-sea-acc and-(that)-ponder-subj-1sm of its wonders-acc as the moon-gen and (that)- release-subj-1sm thoughts-acc after its secrets-gen

The sea and thinking of its wonders is like the moon and pondering its secrets.

d.   yaqraʔ-u l-marʔ-u   t-taariix-a li-(ʔan)-yantafiʕ-a bihi.

read-ind-3sm man-nom the-history-acc in order to-(that)-benefit- subj-3sm from it.

Man reads history to benefit.

As we observe in these examples, *ʔan* is used between parentheses to suggest its optionality. In (37a), the event of the verb *nayla taqdiiri nnaasi* is coordinated to *fuuza* and they are both occurring because the end result of the whole sentence *pleasing of Sami* is achieved. Likewise, the event of *getting sustenance* is achieved as a result of the achieved exhaustion. In (37c), the event of *pondering on the sea* takes place as soon as one looks at the sea. It is expected that one's own feelings are stimulated by sea. Finally, the event of benefitting from history is an accomplished by-product of reading history. In order to reinforce the realis mood of the verbs in these examples, we may add an adjective like 'mutahiqiq' or 'lħaaṣil' or 'mutaʕayyn' and they all mean 'achieved' or 'accomplished'. The use of these adjectives would be impossible with irrealis mood feature:

(38)   a.   ʔinna l-fuuz-a wa-naylu-a   taqdiir-i n-naas-i lħaaṣil yasarr-an Sami.

    b.   taʕab-un wa-taħs̱iil-u   rizqii lmutahiqiq xaxiir-un mina ð-ðull-i.

    c.   yaqraʔ-u l-marʔ-u   t-taariix-a li-nafʕih-i lmutaʕayyn.

The coordinator *wa* joins two nouns: a lexical NP and a verb and complementizer *ʔan* turned into a noun. For instance, *fuuz* is joined to *ʔan* and a verb deriving *taʕab*. Because the event of *nayla taqdiiri nnaasi* is accomplished we are able to use *ħaas̱il* and the same logic applies to the other examples in (38). Another final evidence comes from the use of frequency adverbs:

(39)   a   yaqraʔ-u l-marʔ-u   t-taariix-a li-(ʔan)-yantafiʕ-a bihi ʔaħyaan-an.

    read-ind-3sm   man-nom the-history-acc in order to-(that)-benefit-subj-3sm from it sometimes-acc

    Man reads history to benefit from it sometimes.

    b.   muɣaamarat-un wa-(ʔan)-ʔasʕad-a   l- Jabal-a   marat-an   waaʔħidat-an aħab-u   ʔilayyaa min kul-i ʃay-iin.

    An adventure and (that) climb-subj-1sm a-mountain-acc   once-acc is preferable to me   than everything.

    An adventure and climbing a mountain are preferable to me than everything.

The use of the adverbs *ʔaħyaanan* and *maratan waaʔħidatan* illustrate that the events of the verbs following the *li* and *wa* are accomplished at least once.

    Building on the realis mood of the optional ACS as shown by the pieces of arguments above, I assume that such structure includes locutionary actions because they are accomplished as can be proven by the impossibility of using *hereby* 'bimuujib haaða'. This does not come as a surprise because optional ACS has actions that are accomplished unlike the case of null ACS that contains unaccomplished actions that the speaker wants to be done. A consequence of that optional ACS creates descriptive statements that are subject to truth conditions: it can be either true or false. This is what

Austin referred to as *constatives* as opposed to *performatives* involving the illocutionary actions of null ACS (Austin, 1962). Basically, these statements (i.e. optional ACS) are made up of a complex coordinate noun structure (CCNS) being formed from *ʔan* and the verb following coordinators *wa, faa, θumma, ʔaw* which are turned into a noun and then coordinated with a preceding noun. For example, *ʔan* and *ʔasʕada* in (39b) derives a noun *suʕuud* that is coordinated with *muɤaamaratun*. Thus coordination is crucial in forming CCNS in which the verb after the coordinator is joined to the meaning of previous noun (lʕlaaʔii, 1990: 207). Early Arab grammarians hinted to the idea that the assignment of case to the verb in optional ACS was to emphasize the meaning resulting from the coordination of the verb to the preceding noun (lʕlaaʔii, 1990: 220). This confirms the analysis defended here except that I view the inflectional morpheme as a reflection of mood and not case marking. The speaker marks the *constative* mood - using Austin's terminology- which is expressed syntactically via coordination, on the verb. The mood is assigned by means of adding the inflectional suffix *-a* to *ʔasʕad* in (39b).

4.   Conclusion

I have reviewed the Arabic Kuufii and Baṣrii theoretical analyses of the ACS. These different analyses have shown the influence of government or *iʕmaal* theory which has played a major role in the traditional Arabic grammar. More specifically, ACS has been analyzed syntactically in terms of how case is assigned to the verb and whether *ʔan* or particles are responsible. Despite the fact that the traditional analysis has provided very interesting and important discussion of ACS semantics, semantics of ACS, nonetheless, has relied on the syntax of case and has been relegated to the syntactic structure. Namely, null ACS has specific semantic aspects distinguishable from the semantics of the optional ACS. However, the relation between the null or optional *ʔan* and the semantics of ACS was arbitrary. The analysis that I argue for, however, is that semantics determines the right syntactic complementizer structure. That is, the verb in CP is specified with different mood features: [+irrealis] that maps morphologically to null C, while [+realis] verb is represented by optional C. In other words, mood inflection is assigned to the verb in ACS to mark these different functions:

a.   The speaker expresses illocutionary actions related to negation, wish, instigation, reason, goal, association, request that are not accomplished.

b.   The speaker expresses accomplished affirmative statements via complex coordinate noun structure (CCNS).

I provide different pieces of argument in support of the different mood functions.

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