PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

IN

CLASSICAL ARABIC

VOLUME I

by

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Abstract

The thesis consists of two parts. The first one is connected with the establishment of Preposition as a word class, and with that class of Prepositions whose association with the governing word is accounted for in a transformational generative grammar (TGG) either by a lexical redundancy rule or by a transformation, e.g. the prepositions associating with the active and the passive participles deriving from transitive verbs. The second part on the other hand is interested in Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations: it tries to differentiate between those whose verbal elements are in close construction with the Preposition-Noun Components, i.e. are prepositional verbs (PV), and those whose verbal elements are not, i.e. are non-PVs: true intransitive or intransitively used transitive verbs.

To make an accurate comparison between these two classes of Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations the discussion is confined to the clauses embracing them and nothing but the subjects of their verbal elements. However, the structural peculiarities of the Preposition-Noun components of the Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations embraced by other clauses are discussed as long as they are identical with those of the Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations in the former clauses.

The thesis is that setting up an Arabic PV has nothing to do with the constituency break of the Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations: both classes of these combinations break into Verb/Preposition-Noun components; and in this respect Arabic Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations are different from their English counterparts.

A number of criteria including the co-occurrence restrictions related to the two classes of Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations are used
to justify this thesis. With reference to the last criterion an attempt is made to incorporate into a TGG the co-occurrence restrictions associated with Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations. Part of this attempt is connected with the Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations whose verbal elements are non-PVs, and the other with the Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations whose verbal elements are PVs.

In relation to both the first and the second part of this attempt an introductory evaluative examination is made of some previous transformational works on Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations and the restrictions related to them.

The thesis ends with a chapter about the characteristics of the prepositional object of PV, i.e. of the Preposition-Noun component with which PV associates. Such characteristics are proved to be the appropriate bases for recognizing PV and differentiating it from its counterpart, i.e. the verbal element of the Verb-Preposition-Noun combination whose P-N component functions as Adjunct.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, my wife and my children: Amira, Amal and Yahya.
Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt to my supervisor, Mr David Barber. My deepest thanks go to him. His constructive criticism and wise guidance, concern and understanding, constant advice and encouragement helped me finish this thesis and overcome the many problems that faced me.

Particular thanks go to Professor Mitchell, who helped me in the early years of my study, and to Mr O'Donnell whose lectures on transformational-generative grammar were of much help to me.

I am grateful to my friends Dr A.Y. Abdalla and Dr A.S. El-Deeb: their help in drawing the tree diagrams, the labelled bracketings and the rules was invaluable; my appreciation goes to Mrs V.E. Grant, thanks for her elegant and careful typing.

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M.S.I. Fiteih
Leeds, 1983
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The phonetic symbols, together with the Arabic orthographic equivalents and phonetic values, are given below. The Arabic examples in the thesis are represented in a broad phonetic transcription as they would be read aloud; that is to say, assimilation and 'pausal' forms are given in the appropriate contexts, with the exception of certain particles or prepositions which are represented in unassimilated forms (e.g. min + rabbih 'from + his Lord' and man + lam (yagid) 'he who + does not (find)' are written 'min rabbih' and 'man lam (yagid)' rather than 'mir rabbih' and 'mal lam (yagid)', respectively).

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<td>b</td>
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<td>خ</td>
<td>a voiceless uvular fricative</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>د</td>
<td>a voiced dental non-emphatic stop</td>
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* The phonetic value given is according to my normal pronunciation; in prayer or Koranic recitation, the sound may be an affricate
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols employed</th>
<th>Arabic counterparts</th>
<th>Phonetic values of the symbols</th>
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<tr>
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## Abbreviations

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<td>CEA</td>
<td>Colloquial Egyptian Arabic</td>
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<td>DCDOPV</td>
<td>Derived Causative Double Object Prepositional Verb</td>
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<td>DCDOT-PV</td>
<td>Derived Causative Double Object Transitive-Prepositional Verb</td>
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<td>DCPV</td>
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<td>non-Derived Prepositional Verb</td>
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<td>A prepositional element of a prepositionally realized verbal complement/adjunct associating with a verb</td>
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<td>TOT-PV</td>
<td>Triple Object Transitive-Prepositional verb</td>
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<td>V-</td>
<td>Prepositional verb</td>
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<td>V₁</td>
<td>A non-prepositional verb, i.e. a true intransitive or intransitively used verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>Verbal Noun</td>
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<td>Verb Phrase</td>
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<td>V-P-N</td>
<td>A Verb-Preposition-Noun combination with V as a prepositional verb and P-N as a prepositional object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₁-P-N</td>
<td>A Verb-Preposition-Noun combination with V₁ as a non-prepositional verb, i.e. as a true intransitive or intransitively used verb, and P-N as an adjunct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data and Approach

1. The data used in this thesis are drawn from the Koran. Another representative text of CA is consulted, however. This is 'nahg ?albalaaghah', Vols., I-IV, which contains the speeches delivered by the Fourth orthodox caliph 9aliyy ?ibn ?abii Taalib, and is compiled and explained by ?a$$ariif ?abu lhasan muhammad ?arraDiyy and muhammad 9abdul, respectively.

Examples from the latter text of CA are used either to reinforce those taken from the former one or to show certain linguistic phenomena for which there are no examples in the Koran.

Koranic examples are referred to by two numbers separated by a slash; the first and the second one refer to the Koranic chapters and verses, respectively. Examples from 'nahg ?albalaaghah' on the other hand are identified by a sequence consisting of '?ibn ?abii Taalib, the volume, and the page.

In addition to the aforementioned types of examples, the thesis will contain the following ones:

(a) a few examples made use of by some ancient Arab grammarians.
(b) examples that I construct (with reference to the appropriate linguistic phenomena) according to Koranic examples or others from 'nahg ?albalaaghah'. These examples are identified by the presence of the abbreviation 'cf' before the reference to those according to which they are constructed.
(c) examples which I construct according to the rules of CA.
(d) examples which I construct too, but in this case I am not sure whether they follow certain rules of CA or not. These examples are distinguished from the previous ones by being accompanied by expressions such as 'which are mine', or by stating that the status of their
grammaticality/acceptability represents my own point of view.

The examples of (d) represent my written form of Arabic, which is influenced by my cultural background. (I memorized the Koran in childhood, had my primary and secondary education in ?al?azhar, graduated in the faculty of da?ar ?al9uluum, which gives a degree in the Arabic language and Islamic studies, and taught some aspects of Arabic grammar for nearly nine years.)

One final point: unless it is explicitly used in relation to both Koranic examples and others from 'nahg ?albaalaa?ah', the phrase 'the data' is used in the thesis to refer to the Koran: in the first case it designates both the Koran and 'nahg ?albaalaa?ah'.

2. Approach

The grammar presented in this thesis is formulated within the framework of TGG. The model chosen is that of Extended Standard Theory (cf. Bach, p. 222; Huddleston, p. 21 and pp. 250-60) with the additional components explained below and proven to be essential elements of a TGG in the present work and/or in other transformational studies.

(a) Phrase structure rules

The phrase structure rules make no use of features such as duration, manner, purpose, etc., which are related to the semantic classes of Adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.1).

(b) Preposition features

Like verbs, prepositions are assigned categorial and selectional features in terms of their appropriate categorial and selectional environments, respectively (20.2.3; 20.2.2.1; 20.2.2.1.1; 21.2).
(c) **Lexical insertion**

The lexical insertion rules are formulated only in terms of the categorial features of the lexical items with which they are associated (cf. below, 20.1.2.2; 20.2.2.1.1). This means that, unlike selectional restrictions, categorial ones are regarded as syntactic, i.e. accounted for in the syntactic component (cf. below 21.2). (The former restrictions which are semantic, are accounted for in the semantic component.)

As a result of assigning lexical items categorial features in terms of their categorial environments, some of the various applications of the lexical insertion rules are carried out in order (cf. below, 20.2.2.1.1; 21.2).

(d) **Contextual features**

Certain lexical items, e.g. verbs and nouns, are assigned features in some of the environments in which they occur (cf. below, 20.2.2.1). These features are termed in the present work 'contextual features, and are to be distinguished from categorial and selectional features (which are sometimes referred to in some other transformational works (cf. Chomsky, 1971: 185) as being contextual): the latter features are assigned to lexical items such as verbs in terms of their appropriate categorial and selectional environments, respectively.

The rules introducing contextual features are termed in the thesis 'feature-introducing rules' (cf. below, 20.2.2.1). Depending on whether the features they introduce are necessary for some syntactic or semantic rules, these rules apply in the syntactic and the semantic component, respectively (cf. 20.2.2.1.). Needless to say the feature introducing rules assigning the former type of contextual features apply after lexical insertion rules. As for those introducing the latter
type, they apply before the projection rules. For the features they introduce are relevant either to lexical or derived readings.

(e) **Lexical redundancy rules**

Among the lexical rules are those accounting for the systemic semantico-syntactic relations between certain lexical items, e.g. verbs and the verbal nouns deriving from them (cf. below, 2.2.1.3-4). These rules are termed 'lexical redundancy rules' (cf. 2.1.2.3; 20.2.3.2; 21.2.2).

(f) **Ill-formedness**

Among ill-formed combinations are the following ones:

(i) linguistically ill-formed combinations, which are in conflict with selection and/or categorial restrictions (cf. below, 18.3.1; 18.3.2; 20.1.2.2).

(ii) pragmatically ill-formed combinations, which are compatible with both selectional and categorial restrictions, but contradict our knowledge about the real world (cf. below, 15.1.6; 18.3.1; 18.3.2; 21.2.2).

(g) **Ellipsis and Metaphors**

Both elliptically and metaphorically intended NPs are accounted for on the semantic level (cf. 20.2.2.1.1; 20.2.3.2; 21.2.2).

(h) **Realization rules**

Among the rules operating on surface structures are those converting deep structure strings into surface structure ones, i.e. converting strings generated by the phrase structure rules into those which are not (cf. below, 8.2).
PART ONE

PREPOSITIONS
CHAPTER ONE

THE DEFINITION OF THE PREPOSITION

1.1 Previous Definitions

The purpose of this section is to examine the adequacy of some of the previous definitions of the preposition. Despite the fact that these definitions, except for Abdel Malik's (cf. Abdel-Malik, p.10), are definitions of the English preposition, an examination of them is appropriate here, because they provide some of the possible ways of defining prepositions in Classical Arabic (CA henceforth).

The English preposition has been defined by linguists in one or other of the following terms:

(1) in terms of the significant structural positions it occupies (cf. Fries, pp. 95-6);

(2) in terms of its indicating a relation between its complement and another word or entity (cf. Curme, II, 87; Quirk and Sidney Greenbaum, p.141);

(3) in terms of its forming with the noun it precedes a group substitutable for adverb words like 'quickly' (cf. Robins, p.218).

1.1.1 Defining the preposition in terms of the significant positions it occupies

In terms of its significant position in the structural patterns of English, the word is classified by Fries (cf. Fries, pp. 74-6) into four classes and fifteen groups, among which the preposition is a member. In these terms, Fries (cf. Fries, pp. 95-6) defines
prepositions as the words that can stand in the various significant (ibid, pp. 73-4) positions occupied by the word 'at' in the following sentence frames without a change of the structural meaning (ibid, p. 74).

(i) Group Class Group Class Group Class Group Class Group Class
    A 1 F A 1 2 F A 1
    The concerts at the school are at the top

(ii) Group Class Group Class Group Class Group Class Group Class
    A 1 F A 1 2 3 F A 1
    The dress at the end is dirty at the bottom

(iii) Group Class Group Class Group Class Group Class Group Class
    A 1 F A 1 2 3 F A 1

Fries (ibid, p.96) cites the words 'by, for, from, in, of, on, to, with, over, up, across', and 'after' as possible substitutes for the first 'at' in the sentence frames and, therefore, they are regarded by him as belonging to the same class to which 'at' belongs, i.e. to the preposition class, which he terms Group F.

Certainly, 'at' in the sentence frames occurs in a structurally significant position, i.e. a position which determines its definition, and words such as 'by', 'for', 'from', etc. are possible substitutes for it without a change of the structural significance of the position it occupies. Frieß's definition of the preposition is, nevertheless, inadequate for the following reason. His definition of the preposition is not a definition in terms of the position it occupies before actual words; otherwise words such as 'for', 'of' and 'across', for example, would not be regarded as prepositions for they can replace neither the first nor the second 'at' in the second sentence frame: they can occur neither before 'the end' nor
'the bottom'. Instead, it is definition in terms of the significant structural position the preposition occupies in a generalized sentence frame of the sort indicated by the third sentence frame. In defining a word class in terms of the positions occupied by its members before actual words, it is not a necessary requirement to take into consideration the special structural characteristics of these members. For it is their mere occurrence before the actual words in question which indicates that they belong to a particular word class. After establishing such a word class, we start finding out its special structural features that make its members recognizably different from the members of other classes, which occur in different positions (cf. Fries, p. 79).

On the other hand, in defining a word class in terms of the significant structural positions occupied by its members as Fries does with respect to his classes and groups, including the preposition, it is a necessary requirement to determine what a structurally significant position is, first generally and second with respect to the class to be defined in these terms. For it is on the basis of occupying the same significant structural positions, which determines their functions, that the members of this class are to be regarded as constituting a word class. Unfortunately, nothing of this sort occurs with respect to this definition of Fries's. He does not indicate why the various positions occupied by 'at' in the aforementioned sentence frames are structurally significant; nor does he indicate the function of 'at' and why replacing it by 'for', 'from', 'to', 'on', etc. does not change the structural meaning. As a result, it is not possible to answer the following questions relying on his definition of the preposition:
(a) Why does a word such as 'at' in sentence (1), which occupies a different position from those indicated in the aforementioned sentence frames, belong to the same class to which 'at' in sentence (2) (Fries's second sentence) belongs?

(1) At ten o'clock p.m. I will do it

(2) The dress at the end is dirty at the bottom

(b) Why is 'reading' in sentence (3) not a preposition, though, like the second 'at' in sentence frame (1), it follows a member of Fries's Class 2, i.e. 'was', and precedes a noun phrase consisting of a member of Group A, i.e. 'a' and another of Class 1, i.e. 'book'?

(3) GC GC GC GC GC A1 F A1 2 A1

The man in the garden was reading a book

Among linguists that define the preposition in terms of its position is Zaki N. Abdel-Malik. According to him (cf. Abdel-Malik p. 70), 'A preposition in CEA (Colloquial Egyptian Arabic) is a word that can replace /fi/ in the first or in both of the following frames (where V represents a verb)'

(a) VN /fi/ N subject VN in N.

(b) V /fi/ N subject V in N.

This definition is not exclusive; it allows members of another class, generally regarded as nouns, to replace /fi/. In the first frame, for instance, /fi/ could be replaced by a preposition like li 'to' in sentence (4) or by a noun like betti 'house' in sentence (5).
According to Abdel-Malik's criteria for recognizing the noun, beeti 'house' in (5) is a noun. First, it shows inflectional contrast between definite and indefinite, e.g. beet 'a house' and ?albeet 'the house' (cf. Abdel-Malik, p. 39). Secondly, it can be preceded by one of the forms that he calls 'noun determiners', for their presence indicates the presence of a noun (ibid, p. 57). 'beeti' can be preceded by one of the noun determiners that Abdel-Malik calls 'affirmative distributors' (ibid., p. 61), 'question words' (ibid, p. 63) or 'intensifiers' (ibid, p. 59). Examples are kull 'every', ?anh 'which' and nafs 'the same' in the following phrases: kulli beet 'every house', ?anh beet 'which house' and nafsi lbeet 'the same house', respectively.

A definition of the preposition in CA in terms of the position it occupies in the generalized sentence frame will prove just as inadequate as Fries's and Abdel-Malik's definitions. The following frames are some of the possible sentence frames in CA into which a preposition can fit.

(i) \( V \, N \, N \, \rightarrow \, N \).

(ii) \( V \, N \, \rightarrow \, N \).

(iii) \( V \, \rightarrow \, N \, N \).

(iv) \( \rightarrow \, N \, N \).

Members of other word classes, nevertheless, can fit into these
frames, a fact which proves their inadequacy for recognizing the
preposition in CA. First, in addition to a preposition, the blank
position in frame (i) can be occupied by a noun, a conjunction, or
an active participle e.g. min 'from', kitaaba 'book', wa 'and'
haamilatani 'carrying' in sentences (6 - 9), respectively.

V  N  N  P  N
(6) ?axad'a 9aliyyuni lkitaaba min xaalid
9aliyy took the book from xaalid

V  N  N  N  N
(7) ?a9Taa 9aliyyun xaalidan kitaaba nnahw
9aliyy gave xaalid the grammar book

V  N  N  con-junction
(8) Daraba 9aliyyun 9amran wa xaalidaa
9aliyy has beaten 9amr and xaalid

V  N  N  active participle
(9) qaabalat su9aadu 9aliyyan haamilatani lhaqiibah
su9aad met 9aliyy (while she was) carrying the
suitcase

Secondly, the blank position in frame (ii) can be occupied by a
preposition, a noun, a conjunction or an adjective, e.g. the
underlined words in (10 - 13), respectively.

V  N  P  N
(10) naama 9aliyyun fi lbayt
9aliyy slept in the house

V  N  N  N
(11) Daraba 9aliyyuni bna lgiiraan
9aliyy has beaten the neighbours' son
(12) gaa?a 9aliyyun wa xaalid
9aliyy and xaalid came

(13) gaa?a DDayfu mubtasima lwagh
The guest came with a smile on his face

Thirdly, the blank position in frame (iii) can be occupied by a preposition or a noun, e.g. li 'to' and xaalidan in (14 - 15), respectively.

(14) hab li 9aliyyin kitaabaa
Give a book to 9aliyy

(15) ?a9Taa 9aliyyun xaalidan kitaabaa
9aliyy gave xaalid a book

Finally, a preposition, a particle of modality or a verb can occupy the blank position in frame (iv) e.g. the underlined words in sentences (16 - 18), respectively.

(16) fi lbayti ragul
There is a man in the house

(17) ?inna 9aliyyan Sadiiq
Surely, 9aliyy is a friend

(18) Daraba 9aliyyun xaalidaa
9aliyy has beaten xaalid
It appears from examining Fries's and Abdel-Malik's definition of the preposition as well as some of the possible sentence frames in CA into which a preposition can fit that it is not workable to define the preposition in English, CEA and CA in terms of the positions it occupies. In fact, this is due to the fact that members of other word classes, as indicated above, occupy the same positions a preposition occupies. It is not, therefore, the mere occurrence of prepositions in certain positions in the sentence frames which makes them constitute a class, but their occurrence to designate certain functions. And it is on the basis of these functions that the preposition in a language such as CA (as well as English and CEA) should be recognized.

1.1.2 Defining prepositions in terms of their relational meanings

On the basis of its indicating a relational meaning, Curme (cf. Curme, II, 87) defines the preposition as follows 'A preposition is a word that indicates a relation between the noun, or pronoun it governs and another word, which may be a verb, an adjective, or another noun or pronoun'. Quirk and Sidney Greenbaum (cf. Quirk and Sidney Greenbaum, p. 141) define the preposition on the same basis, as follows: 'in the most general terms, a preposition expresses a relation between two entities, one being that represented by the prepositional complement'.

Is it really possible for the preposition class to be established on the basis of meanings? Though this question will be answered with respect to prepositions in CA, a comparable answer would be given if the above question were asked with reference to English prepositions.
As a matter of fact, in CA there are a number of words that, in most of their uses, express a specific relation between the noun phrases they govern and other entities such as noun, verbs or adjectives, e.g. the underlined words in sentences (19 - 24).

(19) falamasuuhu bi?’aydiihim (6/7)
   So that they could touch it with their hands

(20) ?arragulu kannamir
   The man is like a tiger

(21) matta9naahum ?ilaa hiin (10/98)
   And we made them enjoy (their life) for a while

(22) daalika yawmun magmuu9un lahu nnaas (11/103)
   That is a day for which mankind will be gathered

(23) galastu 9ala lkurssiyy
   I sat down on the chair

(24) sawfa ?aDribuhuu bi?’ayyri 9aSaa
   I will beat him without a stick

First, in sentences (19, 21, 23 and 24) bi 'with', ?ilaa 'for', 9ala 'on' and bi?’ayyri 'without' express a relation between what they govern. bi?’aydiihim 'their hands', hiin 'a while', lkurssiyy 'the chair' and 9aSaa 'a stick', and the verbs lamas(uuhu) (they could) touch (it), matta9(naahum) '(We) made (them) enjoy', galas(tu) '(I) sat down' and ?aDribu(huu '(I) beat (him)', respectively. In (19) bi 'with' indicates that its complement bi?’aydiihim 'their hands' is the instrument with which the action of touching was performed, in (21) ?ilaa 'for' indicates the period for which the enjoyment occurred, in (23) 9ala 'on' points out
the place where the sitting took place, and in (24) biğayri 'without' denotes that the stick is not the instrument with which the beating will be done. Secondly, in (20) ka 'like' indicates a relation between the noun it governs nnamir 'a tiger' and ?arragulu 'the man'. It shows that the former is what the latter resembles. Finally, in (22) la 'for' expresses a relation between the pronoun it governs hu 'which' and the passive participle magmuu9un 'gathered'. It indicates that it -'hu'- is the purpose for which mankind will be gathered.

In some of their uses, on the other hand, these words and the like may express one of the following:

(a) no relational meanings at all, e.g. the underlined words in sentences (25 - 28).

(25) wa laa mubaddila likalimaati llaah (6/34)

There is none that can alter the words of Allah

(26) ta9aarafa lqawmu baynahum (cf. 10/45)

The people recognized one another

(27) ?19taSamna billaah (cf. 4/146)

We hold fast to Allah

(b) relational meanings that are distinctly vague, for the semantic relations between what they - words such as bi, ka, etc. - govern and the other entities with which they connect it are themselves vague, e.g. the underlined words in (28 - 30).

(28) kaɗɗabuu biʔaayaatinna (3/11)

They denied our signs
This is what We rehearse unto you of the signs

When he has explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you except what you were obliged to (eat)

'bi' in (28) might be said to express that the noun it governs, 'aayaatinaa 'our signs', is what is denied.

Secondly, 9alay 'unto' in (29) might be said to indicate that the pronoun it governs, i.e. ka 'you' is an interlocutor.

Finally, it might be said that the meaning indicated by ?ilay 'to' in (30) bears a resemblance to the local meaning 'destination' indicated by ?ilaa 'to' in (31).

And they carry your heavy loads to a land that you could not (otherwise) reach except with souls in distress

(c) relational meanings which in themselves are not significant (cf. below p. 12) e.g. the underlined words in (32 - 34).

But verily, your Lord is to those who do wrong in ignorance.

I am (relying) on clear proof from my Lord
Really, our father is in plain aberration

It might be said that bi 'in', 9alaa 'on' and fii 'in' in sentences (32 - 34) express abstract location and, therefore, they bear a resemblance to bi 'in', 9ala 'on' and fii 'in' in sentences (35 - 37), which express concrete location, respectively.

We inspired muusaa and his brother with this message: 'Provide dwellings for your people in Egypt'

And when you and those with you sit down on board the ship

And he found there (lit. in it) the men fighting

But while the concrete location expressed by 'bi', '9ala', and 'fii'in (35 - 37) is significant in itself, the abstract location expressed by 'bi', '9alaa' and 'fii'in (32 - 34) is not. In fact the significance of this abstract location derives from the role it plays in the phrases bigahaalah 'in ignorance', 9alaa bayyinatin 'on clear proof' and fii Dalaalin (mubiin) 'in (plain) aberration in (32 - 34).

It is through this abstract location that these phrases express the state of (li)lladiina '(to) those who' in (32), il 'I' in (33) and ?abaanaa 'our father' in (34) (cf. Lentzner, pp. 116-18). The phrases 'bigahaalah', '9alaa bayyinatin' (min rabbi) and 'fii Dalaal' are accordingly 'equivalent to and replaceable by the base adjectives gaahiliin 'not knowing', 9aarifun (rabbii) taqqa
lma9rifah 'fully aware (of my Lord)' and Daaal 'aberrant', respectively.

In all their uses, nevertheless, words such as bi 'with' or 'in', ka 'like', ?ilaa 'for' or 'to', li 'for', 9ala 'on', 'unto' or 'to', etc. have the same syntactic property. They constitute with what they govern phrases functioning as

(a) Adjunct, e.g. bi?aydihiim 'with their hands' in (19), which functions as Instrument adjunct (cf. below 17.1), ?ilaa hiin 'for a while' in (21), which functions as ?ilaa-Duration adjunct (cf. below 15.3), lahu 'for which' in (22), which functions as Purpose adjunct (cf. below 17.4), bimiSra 'in Egypt' in (35) and 'fiilaa' 'there' in (37), which function as Place adjunct (cf. below 16.3), 9ala bayyinatin 'on clear proof' in (33) and fiil Dalaalin mubiin 'in plain aberration' in (34), which function as Predicative adjunct (cf. Quirk et al, p. 473; p. 502; p. 682), bi4ayri lhaqq 'wrongfully' in (38), kaxa$yati llaah 'as they fear Allah' in (39) and bigabuulin hasan 'with full acceptance' in (40), which function as Manner adjunct (cf. below 17.2), and 9ala stihyaa? 'in timidity' in (41) and bigahaalah 'in ignorance' in (32), which function as Subject adjunct (cf. below 16.4).

(38) yabfuuna fi l?arDi bi4ayri lhaqq (10/23)

They rebel in the earth wrongfully

(39) ?idaa fariiqun minhum yaxjawna nnaasa kaxa$yati llaah (4/77)

Behold! a section of them fear men as they fear Allah

(40) fatagabbalahaa rabbuhaa bigabuulin hasan (3/37)

Her Lord accepted her with full acceptance
(41) fagaa?athu ?ihdaahumaa tam§ii 9ala stihiyaa? (28/25)
Afterwards one of them (i.e. the two women) came (back) 
to him walking in timidity

(b) Locative prepositional object (LPO henceforth) e.g. 9ala
lkursiyy 'on the chair' in (23) and 9alalfulk 'on board the ship'
in (36).

(c) Directional prepositional object (DPO henceforth) e.g. ?ilaa
baladin lam takuunuu baali§iihi ?ilaa bi§iqqi 1?anfus 'to a land
that you could not (otherwise) reach except with souls in distress'
in (31).

(d) non-adverbial prepositional object (non-adverbial PO
henceforth), of (i) a verb, as baynahum 'one another' in (26),
billaah 'to Allah' in (27), bi?aayaatinaa 'Our signs' in (28),
9alayka 'unto you' in (29), ?ilayh 'what (you were obliged) to' in
(30), which are the non-adverbial POs of ta9aaraiaa 'recognized',
?i9taSam 'hold fast', kaddab 'denied', natl ' (We) rehearse' and
(ma) DTUrin(tum) '(what you) were obliged', respectively, or (ii)
of an adjective, as likalimaati llaah 'the words of Allah in (25)
which is the prepositional object of the active participle mubaddila
'alter'.

(e) postmodifier, e.g. min rabbikum 'from your Lord' in (42) and
lahuu 'of his' in (43).

(42) ?annii qad gi?tukum bi?aayatin min rabbikum (3/49)
I have come to you with a sign from your Lord

(43) qaaluuu ?in yasriq faqad saraqa ?axun lahuu min gabl
(12/77)
They said if he steals, there was a brother of his who
did steal before
or (f) Silah 'conjunctive of a relative pronoun', e.g. fii baTnii in my womb' in (44) and min qablikum 'before you' in (45).

(44) ?innii na?artu laka maa fii baTnii (3/35)
I have dedicated unto you what is in my womb

(45) ?alam ya?tikum naba?u lla?iina min qablikum (14/9)
Has not the history of those before you reached you?

According to what has been said so far concerning the meaning of words such as ka 'like', ?ila? 'for' or 'to', li 'for', ?ala? 'on', 'unto' or 'to', bi 'with' or 'in', fii 'in', bi?ayri 'without', etc. these words cannot be regarded as constituting a word class, i.e. the preposition class, on the basis of the meanings they express. For, as indicated above (p. 10) in some of their uses some of them do not express any meaning at all. And, consequently, to recognize the preposition class on the basis of their meanings means that these words will be regarded as prepositions when they express relational meanings and as members of another class when they do not, which is not acceptable. For it ignores the fact indicated above (pp. 13 - 14) that in both cases these words have the same syntactic characteristic: they constitute with what they govern phrases able to have certain syntactic functions. It might be said that these words can be regarded as prepositions on the basis of their relational meanings when they express such meanings, and on the basis of their syntactic characteristics when they do not. But to say this amounts to regarding the words under discussion as constituting a word class, i.e. the preposition class, on the basis of their syntactic behaviour rather than the meanings they express. Accordingly, and because of the fact that these words
also sometimes express meanings which are distinctly vague and mostly not known to the native speaker, I am in favour of establishing their class, i.e. the preposition class, on the basis of their structural properties, as will be indicated later (cf. 1.2).

1.1.3 Defining the preposition in terms of its forming with the noun it precedes a group substitutable for an adverb word

Robins (cf. Robins, p.218) has defined the English preposition in these terms as follows: Prepositions are invariable words that 'precede nouns to form groups substitutable for adverbs words like quickly, then, often, etc.; thus he came with speed, he came quickly; we will discuss it at supper, we will discuss it then; he comes from London, he comes often'.

In a fairly similar way, Palmer (cf. Palmer, 1971, p.3) defines the preposition in English as the word that 'functions with a noun, or rather a noun phrase as in 'to John', 'on the table', with the resulting sequence of words functioning like an adverb of time or place'.

Here we are met with a definition of a preposition that is based on its syntactic behaviour, i.e. forming with the following noun phrase a group functioning as adverb. Both Robins' and Palmer's definition of the English preposition are, nevertheless not sufficient. They allow a determiner such as 'every' in 'every day' to be regarded as a preposition. For it forms with the noun it precedes (here 'day') a group or a sequence of words substitutable for an adverb word as 'often' or functioning as adverb of time. Consider sentence (46).

(46) He comes every day
'Every day' functions as adverb of time and is substitutable for the adverb word 'often' in sentence (47).

(47) He comes often.

The non-exclusiveness of the definitions under discussion results from the fact that neither Palmer nor Robins mentions the type of constructions (or group) the preposition forms with the following noun phrase. Nevertheless, what differentiates the preposition from a word such as 'every' is that while the preposition constitutes with the noun phrase it precedes an exocentric construction, i.e. a construction that is not syntactically equivalent or approaching equivalence to one or more of its components (cf. Robins, p. 225; Bloomfield, p. 194; Hockett, p. 185) 'every' forms with the noun following it an endocentric construction i.e. a construction which is 'syntactically equivalent or approaching equivalence to one or more of its component(s)' (Robins, p. 225, cf. Bloomfield, p. 194; Hockett, p. 184).

The prepositional construction 'from London', for instance, is syntactically equivalent to neither of its components: it has a function different from either of them. The phrase 'every day', on the other hand, has some of the syntactic functions its component 'day' has. Both of them can function as time adjunct as in (48), as object as in (49) or as subject as in (50).

(48) a. I meet him every day
    b. We travelled day and night

(49) a. He enjoyed every day of his holidays
    b. We have lost the day

(50) a. Every day was full of excitement
    b. The day is ours
It should be noted that a definition of the preposition in CA in the same way Palmer or Robins defines the English preposition will also not be exclusive. Consider the word laylata 'the eve' in the phrase laylata 19iid 'the eve of the feast'. It constitutes with the word 19iid 'the feast' a phrase functioning as adverb of time as in (51) and substitutable for a word functioning as adverb of time as ǧadaa 'tomorrow' in (52).

(51) sawfa ?uqaabiluka laylata 19iid
I will meet you on the feast eve

(52) sawfa ?uqaabiluka ǧadaa
I will meet you tomorrow

laylata 'the eve', however, is a noun for the following reasons:

(i) it can be preceded by the definite particle ʔal 'the', e.g. ʔallaylah 'the eve',

(ii) it can be postmodified by an adjective, a clause or a phrase, e.g. laylatun 9aZiimah 'a great eve', laylatun yataqaabalu fiiha 1ʔaSdiqaa? 'an eve on wich friends meet one another' and laylatun min ʔa9Zami 1llyaalii 'one of the greatest eves', respectively,

(iii) it can be used as an amplified element in annexion structure, e.g. laylata 19iid 'the feast eve',

(iv) it can be nunated, e.g. laylatun 'an eve'.

1.2 A Proposed Definition of the Preposition in CA

Prepositions in CA are words that form with the noun phrases (or other linguistic entities) they govern exocentric constructions functioning as adjunct, PO, predicate, postmodifier or as conjunctive
of a relative pronoun, e.g. the underlined words in sentences (53 - 57).

(53) xuduu maa ?aataynaakum biquwwah (2/93)
    Hold firmly to what We have given you

(54) falammalsam19at bimakrihinn ?arsalat ?ilayhinn (12/31)
    And when she heard of their malicious talk, she sent
    for them

(55) ?al?amru ?ilayk (27/33)
    It is for you to command

(56) ?umma ?idaa xawwalnaahu ni9matan minnaa qaala ?innamaa
    ?uutiituhuu 9alaa 9ilm (39/49)
    And afterwards when we have granted him a boon from Us,
    he said: Only by force of knowledge I obtained it

(57) fasta9aa@ahu lladii min ?ii9atihii 9ala lladii min
    9aduwwih (28/15)
    And he who was of his own religion asked him for help
    against him who was of his enemies

To begin with, the underlined words 'bi' in (53), bi 'of' in (54),
?ilay(k) 'for (you)' in (55), min 'from' in (56) and min 'of' in
(57) form with what they govern, i.e. quwwah 'strength', makri(hinn)
'(their) malicious talk', (?ilay)k '(for) you', naa 'Us' and ?ii9ati
(hii) '(his own) religion', the constructions: bi quwwah 'firmly',
bimakrihinn 'of their malicious talk', ?ilayk 'for you', minnaa
'from 'Us' and min ?ii9atihii 'of his own religion', respectively.
These constructions are exocentric, for they are syntactically
equivalent neither to their first components nor to their second.
While their first components form with the noun phrases
they precede exocentric constructions, they - the exocentric constructions - do not. And while their second components, by virtue of being noun phrases can function as subject of a nominal sentence as in (58), as subject of a verbal sentence as in (59), or as object as in (60), they - the exocentric constructions 'bīquwwah', 'bīmakrihinn', etc. - cannot.

(58) a. ?alquwwah Daruuriyyah
Strength is necessary
b. ?almakru xaSlatun damiimah
Craftiness is a blameworthy trait
c. ?anta Sadiiq
You are a friend
(?anta 'You' is the nominative case of the second person singular of the detached pronoun, while (?ilay)k '(for) You' in (55) is the genitive (and accusative) case of its affixed counterpart).
d. nahmu ?aSdiqaa?
We are friends
(nahmu 'we' is the nominative case of the first person plural of the detached pronoun, while (min) naa '(from) Us' in (56) is the genitive (accusative and nominative) case of its affixed counterpart).
e. ſii9atuhuu qawiyyah
His followers are strong

(59) a. sawfa tantaSiru lquwwah
Force will win
b. sawfa yaDurruhuu makruh
His craftiness will harm him
c. hali ġtarayta lkitaab
   Have you bought the book?
   (ta 'you' is the nominative case of the second
   person singular of the affixed pronoun, while
   (?ilay)k '(for) you' in (55) is its genitive (and
   accusative) case.

d. zurnaa 9aliyyaa
   We visited 9aliyy

e. sawfa tantaSiru$ii9atuh
   His followers will win

(60) a. yaxża nnaasu lquwwah
   People fear force

b. ?akrahu lmakr
   I hate craftiness

c. ?uhibbuk
   I like you

d. yuhibbuunanaa
   They like us

c. sawfa yuḥaaribuuna $ii9atuh
   They will fight his followers

Secondly, the exocentric constructions: bi quwwah 'firmly', bi
makrihinn 'of their malicious talk', ?ilayk 'for you', minnaa
'from Us' and min $i19atih 'of his own religion' in (53 - 57)
function as (Manner) adjunct, PO, Predicate, Postmodifier and
Conjunctive of a relative pronoun, respectively.

Among the members of the preposition class, as defined here,
are the following words: mina (lmasgidi l?aqsaa) 'from (the
Inviolable place of worship)' (cf. 17/1), ?ilaa (qawmih) 'to (his
folk)' (cf. 20/86), hattaa (hiin) 'for (a while)' (cf. 23/25), la
(hunn) 'for (them)' (cf. 2/228), fii (?arhaamihinn) 'in (their
wombs)' (cf. 2/228), 9alay(him) 'to (them)' (cf. 13/16), bi($$arr)
'with (evil)' (cf. 21/35), lada (lbaab) 'at (the door)' (cf. 12/25),
9an (dikri rabbih) 'from (the remembrance of his Lord) (cf. 72/17),
9inda (mataa9inaa) 'by (our things)' (cf. 12/17), bayna (lmar?i wa
zawgih)'between (man and wife)' (cf. 2/102), tahta (?aqdaaminaa)
under (our feet)' (cf. 41/29), fawqa(hum) 'above (them)' (cf. 4/154),
qabla (haadaa) 'before (this)' (cf. 19/23), min qabli (?an ya?tiya
?ahadakumu lmawt) 'before (death comes unto one of you)' (cf. 63/10),
ba9da (daalik) 'after (this)' (cf. 5/12), min ba9di(kum) 'after
(you)' (cf. 6/133), ?amaama(h) 'in (the time) in front of (him)'
(cf. 75/5), waraa?a (Zuhuurikum) behind (your backs)' (cf. 6/94),
bighayri (hisaab) 'without (stint)' (cf. 3/37), min ?agli (daalik)
'for (that)' (cf. 5/32), tilqaa?a (madyan) 'toward (madyan)' (cf.
28/22), xilaala(kum) 'among (you)' (cf. 9/47), and qibala(k)
'toward (you)' (cf. 70/36).

1.3 The Prepositional Complement

The exocentric constructions the preposition forms with
what it governs will be termed 'prepositional phrases' (PP henceforth),
and the word, the phrase or the clause the preposition governs will
be termed 'prepositional complement'. This complement can be one of
the following:

(1) a member of the noun class, e.g. lbayt 'the house' in (61) or
a construction whose head (cf. Hockett, p. 184) is a member of the
noun class, e.g. baytin gamiil 'a beautiful house' in (62) and
rraguli lladii zurtuhuu ?ams 'the man whom I visited yesterday' in
(63).
(61) xaraga 9aliyyun mina lbayt
9aliyy came out of the house

(62) yaskunu fii baytin gamiil
He lives in a beautiful house

(63) tahadda&tu ma9a xraguli lladii zurtuhuu ?ams
I talked to the man whom I visited yesterday

(2) a pronoun, e.g. naa 'Us' in (64) and himaa 'them' in (65).

(64) ?inna llad-iina yulhiduuna fii ?aayaatinaa laa
yaxfawna 9alaynna (41/40)
Surely, those who distort our revelations are not hid
from Us

(65) wa min ?aayaatihii xalqu ssamaawaati wa l?arDi wa
maa ba@qa fiihimaa min daabbah (42/29)
And among His signs is the creation of the heavens
and the earth and the living creatures that he has
scattered through them

(3) a nominal relative clause, e.g. maa ?afDtum fiihi 'that
whereof you murmured' in (66) and maa dukkiruu bih 'that was sent
them' in (67)

(66) walawlaa faDlu llaahi 9alaykum wa rahmatuhuu fi
ddunyaa wa l?aaxirati lamassakum fiimaaw ?afDtum
fihi 9a@bun 9aZiim (24/14)
Had it not been for the grace of Allah and his mercy
unto you in the world and the Hereafter, an awful
doom would have overtaken you for that whereof you
murmured.
But they forgot a part of (the message) that was sent them.

The interrogative particle, maa 'what', man 'who', ?ayyu (kitaab) 'what (book)', mataa 'when' and ?ayn 'where', e.g. (li)ma 'why' in (68), (li)manî 'whose' in (69), ?ayyi 'what' in (70), mataa 'when' in (71), and ?ayna 'where' in (72).

Allah forgive you! Why did you grant them leave?

Whose is the sovereignty this day?

In what fact after this will they believe?

Until when will you be silent?

How can you be dealt with?

The earth seemed constrained to them for all its spaciousness

We shall certainly bear with patience all the hurt you may cause us.
(75) daalika bima 9aSaw (5/78)

That was because they rebelled

(6) ?anna/?an clause, e.g. ?annaamuslimuun 'that we are Muslims, in' (76) ?annahuma staqaqqaa ?i?maa 'that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin' in (77), ?an ya?tuu bimii?li haada 1qur?aani 'to produce the like of this Koran' in (78) and ?an taquma min maqaamik 'you rise from your place' in (79).

(76) ?i$haduu :bi?annaa muslimuun (3/64)

Bear witness that we are Muslims


But then if it is afterwards ascertained that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin, let two others take their place


Say: Truly, if mankind and the Jinn assembled to produce the like of this Koran, they could not produce the like thereof

(79) ?anaa ?aatiika bihii qabla ?an taquma min maqaamik (27/39)

I will bring it to you before you rise from your place

(7) a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. haada 'this' in (80)

(80) yaalaytanii mittu qabla haadaq (19/23)

Oh, would that I had died before this

There are two other points:

(a) that Prepositions differ as to the realization of their nominal
complements. For this fact and its implication for the categorial features of Prepositions, see below 20.2.2.1.1 and 21.2.

(b) the second point is related to the category Noun phrase (NP henceforth). In the grammar of the present work, Nouns, Structures with nouns as their heads, Pronouns except replacive ones, which refer back to the topic (cf. below p. 210 fn. 4), Relative clauses, ma- and ?an-/?anna Clauses and Demonstratives are regarded as NPs. For example, the phrase structure rules generating the nominal elements of mina lbayt 'of the house' in (61), fii baytin gamiil 'in a beautiful house' in (62), 9alaynaa 'from Us' in (64), fiimaa ?afaDum fiihi'for that whereof you murmured' in (66), 9alaa maa ?aadaytumuunaa 'all the hurt you may cause us' in (74), bi?annaa muslimuun 'that we are Muslims' in (76) and qabla haadaa 'before this' in (80) are (81 - 87) respectively.

(81) NP ——> Art N
(82) NP ——> N Adjective
(83) NP ——> Pronoun
(84) NP ——> Relative pronoun S
(85) NP ——> Particle S
(86) NP ——> Particle S
(87) NP ——> Demonstrative

The basis of this decision is that the aforementioned categories and constructions have common structural peculiarities. They can function, for example, as (i) prepositional complement; for examples, see above, sentences (61 - 80); (ii) object, e.g. lhugrah 'the room' and baytan gamiilaa 'a beautiful house' in (88a - b), hum 'them' and ?iyyaah "Him" in (89a - b), man 'one who' in (90), maa 9anittum 'to hamper you' in (91), ?an yuuxrigakum 'to expel you' in (92), and haadaa 'this' in (93).
(88) a. naZZafa maahiruni lhugrah
    maahir cleaned the room

    b. ?i?taraa maahirun baytan gamiilaa
    maahir bought a beautiful house

(89) a. fadammarnaahum tadmiiraa (25/36)
    Then, We destroyed them, a complete destruction

    b. laa ta9buduu ?illaa ?iyyaah (17/23)
    That you worship none save Him

(90) kayfa nukallimu man kaana fi Imahdi Sabiyya (19/29)
    How can we talk to one who is in the cradle, a young man?

(91) wadduu maa 9anittum (3/118)
    They love to hamper you

(92) yuriidu ?an yuxrigakum min ?arDikum (7/110)
    Who wants to expel you from your land

(93) ?atuhibbiina haadaa
    Do you like this?

(ii) subject of verbal sentences, e.g. rragul 'the man' and
    ragulun ?aniyy 'a wealthy man' in (94a - b) ta 'you' and huu 'Him' in
    (95a - b), lladii 'He Who' in (96), maa d?haba llayaalii 'that nights pass' in (97), ?annaa ?anzalna 9alayka l kitaaba yutlaa 9alayhim 'that We have sent down unto you the Scripture which is read unto them' in (98) and haada (TTiflu) 'this (child)' in (99).

(94) a. gaa?a rragul
    The man came

    b. gaa?a ragulun ?aniyy
    A wealthy man came
(95) a. qad gaa?atka ?aayaatii fakaddabta bihaa (39/59)
My revelations came unto you but you deny them
b. wa maa ya9lamu gunuuda rabbika ?illaa huu (74/31)
None know the hosts of your Lord save Him

(96) qul ?anzalahu 1ladii ya9lamu ssirra fi ssamaawaati wa 1?arD (25/6)
Say: He Who knows the secret of the heavens and the earth has revealed it

(97) yasurru lmar?a maa dahi?ba llayaali?i (cf. ?ibn hi?am, ?arih, p.34)
It makes man happy that nights pass

(98) ?a wa lam yakfihim ?annaa ?anzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba yutlaa 9alayhim (29/51)
Is it not enough for them that We have sent down unto you the Scripture which is read unto them?

(99) lam yagi? haada TTiflu ?ams
This child did not come yesterday

Also, all the categories and the constructions in question (cf. above, p. 26) except maa- clauses can function as subject of nominal sentences, e.g. ?arragulu 'the man' and ?al?aSdiqaa?u lmuxliSuuna 'sincere friends' in (100a - b), hum 'they' in (101), maa (bayna ?aydiinaa) '(all) that (is before us)' in (102), ?an taSuumu 'that you fast' in (103), and haadaani 'these' in (104).

(100) a. ?arragulu qawiyy
The man is strong
b. ?al?aSdiqaa?u lmuxliSuuna qaliiluun
Sincere friends are few
(101) wa tahlabahum ?ayqaan wa hum ruquud (18/18)
And you would have deemed them waking, though they were asleep

(102) lahuu maa bayna ?aydiinaa wa maa xalfanaa wa maa bayna daalik (19/64)
Unto Him belong all that is before us, and all that is behind us, and all that is between these two

(103) wa ?an taSuumuu xayrun lakum (2/184)
And that you fast is better for you

(104) haadaani xasmaani xtasamuu fii rabbihim (22/19)
These are two opponents who contend concerning their Lord

As for replacive pronouns and the interrogative particles (cf. above p. 26; p. 24, respectively), there is strong evidence that they are derived forms: they originate as NPs, from which they are derived by a transformation and a realization rule, respectively. For the basis of so analysing these categories, see below pp. 202-3 and 8.2 respectively.

1.4 Derived vs. Non-derived Forms and Prepositions

In the language there are forms that are best regarded as not being members of the basic vocabulary items in the lexicon (cf. Bauer, p. 9). Examples from the English are 'criticizing' in the phrase 'John's criticizing the book' (cf. Chomsky, 1970: 187) and 'shooter' (cf. Bauer, p. 6). 'Criticizing' derives from 'criticized' in the sentence 'John criticized the book'. And an example from Arabic is fahmu 'understanding' in the phrase fahmu 9aliyyini likitaab '9aliyy's understanding the
book'. 'fahmu' derives from the verb fahima 'understood' in the sentence fahima 9aliyyuni lkitaab 9aliyy understood the book'. On the other hand, there are forms which are best regarded as members of the basic vocabulary items in the lexicon, e.g. 'inspector' in the phrase 'a police inspector' (cf. Bauer, p. 8) which, unlike 'inspector' in 'a ticket inspector' (Loc. cit) is not derived from 'inspect' by the general agentive rule. For whereas a 'ticket inspector' inspect tickets, 'a police inspector' does not inspect police.

The question arises what are the bases on which certain forms are to be regarded as derived froms and, therefore, as not belonging to the lexicon as separate items, and others as basic lexical items with specific lexical entries? This question will be answered with respect to Prepositional verbs (PV henceforth). Consider the following sentences:

(105) wa law $i?naa lanadhabanna billa?i ?awhaynaa $ilayk (17/86)

And if We willed, We could withdraw that which We have revealed to you (lit. We could make that which We have revealed to you go away)

(106) qa9ada bihi DDa9f (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 579)

Weakness handicapped him
(lit. Weakness made him sit down)

(107) laa tusrif fi 1?akl (cf. 7/31; 3/147)

Do not be immoderate in eating

(108) tamatta9 bimaa ?a9Taaka ?llaahu ?ayyuha SSadiiq (cf. 39/8)

Enjoy, my friend, what Allah has given you.
According to the criteria to be discussed in (22.1 - 2),
I shall treat as PVs both (1a)nādhab 'We (could) withdraw'
and qaḍada bi 'made sit down' in (105 - 106), on the one hand, and
(1a) tusrif fi '(do not) be immoderate in' in (107), and tamattaḍ bi 'enjoy'
in (108) on the other; these verbs nevertheless differ as to whether
or not they are derived forms. The first group are derived forms
and I term them Derived causative prepositional verbs (henceforth
DCPV) i.e. a PV which is derived by a general rule and whose
external causer is an obligatory participant: it functions as
subject. With respect to this latter characteristic the DCPV differs
from a non-derived PV such as aṣraqa 'shines' in (109), where
the external causer rūrī raḇbiḥa 'the light of her Lord' is the
nominal element in the optional external causer phrase raḇbiḥa
rabbihā 'with the light of her Lord': sentence (110), with no PO,
is grammatical.

(109) wa aṣraqa l?arDu binuuri raḇbiḥa (36/69)
And the earth shines with the light of her Lord

(110) wa aṣraqa l?arD
And the earth shines

The second group, on the other hand, are not derived forms, and
I term them non-Derived prepositional verbs (henceforth non-DCPV).
The bases upon which words such as nādhab '(We) withdraw' in (105)
and qaḍada 'handicapped' in (106) are regarded as derived forms are
the following ones:

(i) the productivity of the rule deriving them (cf. Chomsky,

(ii) the fact that their meaning is predictable (cf. Chomsky,
1970: 187); it can always be represented by the structure ga9ala v 'make do', where v is a verb of motion.

(iii) the fact that their syntactic behaviour and the semantic roles of the participants they require are predictable: (cf. Anderson, 1977, 362): they enter into the structure — NP₁ bi NP₂ where NP₁ is subject with the semantic role external causeý, and bi NP₂ is a PO, and NP₂ is a prepositional complement assuming the semantic role affected-agentive (cf. Vestergaard, p. 34). Accordingly, if these words are listed in the lexicon as separate items with specific lexical entries, the following facts will be left unaccounted for:

(i) that it was possible for the native speaker of CA to create new causative prepositional verbs having the meaning 'make do' where 'do' is a proform of a verb of motion.

(ii) that the meaning of a verb such as qa9ada 'made sit down (= handicapped)' in (106), the number and the semantic roles of the participants associating with it, and its syntactic behaviour are all predictable.

On the other hand, words such as (laa) tusrif fi '(do not) be immoderate in' in (107) and tamatta9 bi 'enjoy' in (108), 'which I have termed non-DPVs, will enter in the lexicon as separate lexical items with specific lexical entries. For none of the aforementioned facts apply to them. First, as far as they are PVs, there is no underlying form from which they can be derived by transforamational rules (cf. below 2.1.2.1), nor is there any word to which they can be related by a lexical rule (cf. below 2.1.2.2). Secondly, by virtue of the fact that the syntactic environment of a DCPV such as qa9ada 'made sit down' in (106) is predictable (cf.
above pp. 31 - 2 ; below 2.1.1), the presence in the deep structure of its prepositional elements 'bi' is predictable, too. On the other hand, the presence in the deep structure of the prepositional element of a non-adverbial PO such as bimaa ?a?Taaka allaah 'what Allah has given you' in (108) cannot be accounted for on the basis of the fact that it - the prepositional element - constitutes part of the categorial environment of the non-DPV associating with it, i.e. of tamatta9 'enjoy': as will be explained it is introduced into the phrase marker by a lexical insertion rule that has nothing to do with the verb associating with it (cf. below 21.2). Accordingly any points of similarity between a group of non-DPVs in their structures, the number of the participants they have and their roles will not be due to rules deriving or relating them to other words, but rather to other things, such as the fact that they are members of the same class of verbs (1), e.g. the mental state verbs (2) (cf. Fillmore, 1977:67) tabayyana li 'become clear to me' (cf. 9/113) kabura 9alaa 'appear difficult for' (cf. 10/71) badaa li 'appear to' (cf. 13/35), haana 9alaa 'became easy for' (cf. 19/9), etc. Such verbs enter into the structure P NP₁ NP₂, where the PNP₁ is a PO and the NP₁ assumes the semantic role experiencer (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 186-7, and Fillmore, 1977:67) and the NP₂, which functions as subject,
represents what is experienced. (3)

Among the words to be regarded as being derived in CA are the following ones: DCPVs, Derived causative double object prepositional verbs (DCDOPV henceforth) and Derived causative double object transitive-prepositional verbs (DCDOT-PV henceforth) (cf. below 2.1.1) and ?almaSaadir 'verbal nouns' (cf. below 2.2.1), ?asmaa?u lfaa9iliin 'Active participles' (cf. below pp.89-92), Siya9u lmu9ala9ah 'Intensifying forms' (cf. below pp.92-4), ?asmaa?u ttafa9iil 'Comparatives' (cf. below pp. 94-7), ?asmaa?u lmaf9uuliin 'Passive participles' (cf. below pp.97-100), and ?al?af9aalu lmabniyyatu l?maghuul 'Passive verbs' (cf. below 2.2.2.2). The syntactic environments of the aforementioned forms are predictable in virtue of being derived (cf. above pp. 29-32). Since these environments depend on the verbs to which these forms are related by either lexical or transformational rules (cf. below Chapter Two), we expect each of them to have different environments. What concerns us of these environments are those embracing or able to embrace PPs with nominal elements corresponding to the subjects and/or the nominal (i.e. the non-prepositional) objects of the verbs to which the derived forms are related. The prepositional elements of these PPs can only be one of the following prepositions: 'li', 'min', 'bi' and '?ila9a'. As will be indicated below (2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2), 'li' is the preposition able to govern the NPs or some of the NPs corresponding to the nominal objects and the subjects of the verbs to which the
the derived forms are related, respectively. Examples are: (i) the prepositional element of the PP li?aSdiqaa?ih 'his friends', with which the active participle muhibbun 'likes' in (111) associates

(111) maahirun muhibbun li?aSdiqaa?ih
maahir likes his friends

It governs ?aSdiqaa?ih 'his friend', which corresponds to the object of yuhibbu 'likes' in (112), to which the active participle in (111) is related.

(112) yuhibbu maahirun ?aSdiqaa?ah
maahir likes his friends

(ii) the prepositional element of the PP lilqawmi ZZaalimiin 'wrongdoers', with which the verbal noun (VN henceforth) bu9dan 'may be far away' in (113) associates

(113) fabu9dan lilqawmi ZZaalimlin(23/41)
May wrongdoers be far away

Its complement, lqawmi ZZaalimiin 'wrongdoers', corresponds to the subject of ba9uda 'may be far away' in (114), to which the VN in (113) is related.

(114) ba9uda lqawmu ZZaalimuun
May wrongdoers be far away

'min', 'bi' and ?ilaa' on the other hand are able to govern NPs corresponding to the subjects of the verbs to which the derived forms are related; they differ however as to the semantic roles of their complements (cf. below 2.2.1.3.-4 and 2.2.2). Examples are: (i) the prepositional element of the PP min sihrihim 'by their magic', which is accompanied by the passive verb yuxayyalu 'appeared' in (115).
(115) fa?idaa hibaaluhum wa 9iSiyyuhum yuxayyalyu ?ilayhi min sihirhim ?annahaa tas9aa (20/66)
Then behold! their ropes and rods, by their magic, appeared to him as though they ran
It governs sihirhim 'their magic', which is related to the subject of yuxayyil 'made appear' in (116), from which the passive verb in (115) derives.

(116) fa?idaa hibaaluhum wa 9iSiyyuhum yuxayyilu sihruhum ?ilayhi ?annahaa tas9aa
Then behold! their ropes and rods, their magic made them appear to him as though they ran

(ii) the prepositional element of the PP bimaraDih 'by his illness', which is accompanied by the passive verb 9uddib 'was chastised' in (117).

(117) 9uddibtu bimaraDih
I was chastised by his illness
Its complement, maraDih 'his illness', corresponds to the subject of 9addsaba 'chastised' in (118), from which the passive verb of (117) derives.

(118) 9addsabanii maraDuh
His illness chastised me

(iii) the prepositional element of the PP ?ilaal maahirin 'to maahir', with which the comparative ?ahabbu 'dearer' in (119) associates

(119) ?allaahu wa rasuuluhuu ?ahabbu ?ilaal maahirin min nafsih
Allah and his messenger are dearer to Maahir than himself
It governs maahirin 'maahir', which corresponds to the subject of yuhibbu 'loves' in (120), to which the comparative of (119) is related.
(120) yuhibbu maahiruni llaaha wa rasuulah
maahir loves Allah and his messenger

Concerning the aforementioned derived forms (cf. above p. 34), there will be one chapter (cf. below Chapter Two). The purpose of this chapter is to account for the prepositions constituting part of the predictable environment of the derived forms, to show whether they originate in deep structure, i.e. generated by phrase structure rules and, hence, not accounted for by transformational rules, or are introduced into a structure related to it by transformational rules i.e. not generated by phrase structure rules.

It should be noted that part of the predictable environments of the derived forms related to PVs are PPs corresponding to their POs. Given the fact that both the prepositonal (and the nominal) elements of these POs are generated by phrase structure rules (cf. below 21:1 - 2), the prepositional elements of the PPs corresponding to them also originate in deep structure, though accounted for by the lexical rules relating the derived forms associating with them to the appropriate PVs. Examples of the derived forms related to PVs are the VN Saddun 9an 'to prevent access to' in (121), the active participle muhiiT bi 'thoroughly acquainted with' in (122), the intensifying form qadiir 9alaa 'able to do' in (123), the exclamatory verb maa ?aT9ana(fiuu)- fii 'how violently (he) speaks evil of' in (124), the comparative ?aghadu bi 'denies more' in (125), the passive participle mamluulin min 'tired of' in (126), and, finally, the passive verb 9u9ira 'is discovered' in (127).

(121) qul qitaalun fiihi kabiinn uuSaddun 9an sabiili llaahi
wa kufrun bihii wa lmasgidi lharaami wa ?ixraagu
?ahliihi minhu ?akbar (2/217)
Say: fighting therein is a grave (offence). But graver is it in the sight of God to prevent access to the path of Allah, to prevent access to the Sacred Mosque, and to derive out its members

(122) ?inna llaaha bimaa ya9maluuna muhiiT (3/120)
For God is thoroughly acquainted with what they do

(123) wa llaahu 9alaa kulli $ay?in qadiir (2/284)
Allah is able to do all things

(124) maa ?aT9anahuu fii diinik
How violently he speaks evil of your religion

(125) huwa ?aghadu bi?aayaati llaahi mink
He denies Allah's signs more than you

(126) qaliilun taduumu 9alayhi?argaa min ka9iirin mamluulin minh (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 617)
Little work that you can continue to do is more beneficial than much work that (one) may become tired of

(127) fa?in 9u9ira 9alaa?annahuma stahaggaa ?i9man fa?a9araani yaquumaani maqaamahumaa (5/107)
But then, if it is afterwards discovered that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin, let two others take their place

The aforementioned derived forms are related to the PVs: Sadda 9an 'hinder from', ?ahaaTa bi 'be thoroughly acquainted with', qadira 9alaa 'have control of', Ta9ana fii 'speak evil of', gahada bi 'deny', malla min 'become tired of' and 9a9ara 9alaa 'discover', respectively. As a consequence, they associate with the same prepositions that are the prepositional elements of these PVs.
Footnotes

1. For what this fact suggests as to the appropriate structure of the lexicon in generative grammar and, consequently, as to what needs to be registered in the lexical entries for each individual lexical item, and what needs not to be registered, since it is a general fact about a whole class of verbs, see Fillmore, 1968a: 387; 389, 392; and Fillmore, 1970: 124; 128-30).

2. Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, p. 186) calls these verbs psychological verbs.

3. Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, p. 186) considers the semantic role of the NP$_2$ to be phenomenon.
2.1 Derived Causative Prepositional Verbs and Other Similar Categories

2.1.1 General facts

The following facts are the general ones related to DCPVs and other similar categories, e.g. DCDO-TPVs and DCDOPVs:

(a) they enter into the following surface structures, respectively.

(1) DCPV: \[ NP_1 \ NP_2 \]
(2) DCDO-TPV: \[ NP_1 \ NP_2 \ NP_3 \]
(3) DCDOPV: \[ NP_1 \ NP_2 \ PP \]

where \( NP_1 \) is subject and \( NP_2 \) is the prepositional complement of 'bi', the preposition with which the derived causative verbs (DCV henceforth), associate, and PP and \( NP_3 \) function as they do when in construction with the non-causative verb occurring in the underlying representation of DCVs, e.g. \( \text{dahab(tu) bi }'(I) \text{ made leave}' \) in (4), which corresponds with structure (1), \( \text{gaawaz(naa) bi }'(We) \text{ made cross}' \) in (5), which corresponds with structure (2), and where the \( NP_3 \) lbahr 'the sea' functions as object, and \( \text{9adal(ta) bi }'(you) \text{ made deviate}' \) in (6), which corresponds to structure (3) and where the PP 9ani lqaSd 'from (their) intention' is a PO.

(4) \( \text{dahabtu bizayd (cf. ?ibn hi$aam, maqmi, I, 96-7; ?assuyuuTii, ham9, II, 20-1)'} \)

I made zayd leave

(5) \( \text{wa gaawaznaa bibanii ?israa?iila lbahr (7/138)} \)

And We made the children of Israel cross the sea

(6) \( \text{9adalta bihim 9ani lqaSd (?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 485)} \)

You misguided them

(lit. You made them deviate from (their) intention)
It should be noted that it is the structural behaviours of the non-causative verbs occurring in the underlying representations of DCVs, which determine the structures into which they enter, i.e. determine whether they will have, in addition to the NP₁ and NP₂, another constituent and whether this constituent will be prepositionally or nominally realized. DCVs require one more participant than those required by the non-causative verbs occurring in their underlying representations. This participant assumes the semantic role external causer and functions as subject. Hence, the DCVs in (4 - 6) enter into the structures indicated above for the non-causative verbs of motion occurring in their underlying representations enter into the surface structures (7), (8) and (9), which are exemplified by (10 - 12), respectively.

(7) — NP
(8) — NP NP
(9) — NP PP
(10) dähaba zayd
      zayd left
(11) gaawaza banuu ?israa?iila 1bahr
      The children of Israel crossed the sea
(12) 9adaluu 9ani lqaSd
      They became erroneous
      (lit. They deviated from (their) intention)

It should be noted also that the semantic roles of the participants with which DCVs associate are as follows: the NP₁ as indicated is external causer, the NP₂ is the one to whom something has to be done and as a result has done something: it is affected-agentive (cf. Vestergaard, p. 34), and the roles of the other participants are the same as their roles when the non-causative verbs associate with them, e.g. sentence (5) where the NP₁ naa 'We' is the external causer (cf. Vestergaard, p. 180), and the NP₂ banii
?israa?iila 'the children of Israel' is the affected-agentive, and lbahr 'the sea' is objective (cf. Fillmore, 1968b: 25). On the other hand, the non-causative use of gaawaz(naa) bi '(We) made cross', which occurs in the underlying representation of (5), requires two participants one as agentive functioning as subject and another as objective functioning as object, e.g. sentence (11), where banuu ?israa?iila 'the children of Israel' is the agentive and lbahr 'the sea' is the objective.

(b) The second fact related to DCVs is that apart from qa9ada bi 'handicapped' in (13) and dafa9(tu) bi '(I) made push' in (14), all the examples I have collected for DCVs have the feature [+ motion], and their verbal elements are used as non-causative verbs of motion.

(13) qa9ada bihi DDa9f (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 579)
    Weakness handicapped him
    (lit. Weakness made him sit down)

(14) dafa9tu nnaasa ba9Dahum biba9D (cf. siibawayh, I, 76)
    I made the people push one another

These examples are: xaTaa bi 'make advance' (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 466), gaawaza bi 'make cross' (7/138; cf. also, ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 471) salaka bi 'make follow' (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 478), 9adala bi 'make deviate' (ibid., p. 485), samaa bi 'raise' (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 536), ?adda bi 'make deviate' (ibid., I, 136), dahaba bi 'make go' (ibid., p. 146; cf. also 17/86, 24/43 and 43/41), wiTi?a bi 'make walk' (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 413), taahaa bi 'make wander about' (ibid., I, 149), ?ataaa bi 'make come/bring' (27/7; cf. also 35/16, 12/50 and 60; and 67/30), gaa?a bi 'make come/bring' (21/55; 2/87), daxala bi 'make enter' cf. Siibawayh, II, 304), xaraga bi 'make go out' (ibid., p. 304), and daara bi 'make move in a circle' (cf. ?assuyuuTii, ?almuzhir, I, 227-8).

Because of the fact that the majority of the DCVs have the feature [+ motion] I regard only those having such a feature as constituting their
regular class. As a consequence, the underlying form from which they derive must have this feature specified. As to qa9ada bi 'made sit down' in (13) and dafa9(tu) bi '(I) made push' in (14), which do not have the feature [+ motion], they are, as far as my data are concerned, exceptions, irregular, and are to be assigned a rule feature in terms of the rule deriving the regular DCVs, which indicates that it applies to them, as well. It is however irrelevant what kind of motion characterizes the non-causative verb of motion occurring in the underlying representation of DCVs. It might be literally intended as in the underlying representation of the DCVs in (4 - 5), or metaphorically intended as in the underlying representations of the DCVs in (6) and (15).

(15) salakat bihimu ddunyaa Tariiqa 19amaa (?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 478)

Life misguided them

(lit. Life made them follow the way of blindness)

Accordingly, in the underlying representation of DCVs, there will be no indication of whether the feature [+ motion] is metaphorically or literally intended.

It is on the other hand relevant, both to the rule deriving the regular DCVs and to that deriving the irregular ones, to indicate the semantic roles of the NP₁ and the NP₂. By virtue of the presence of the verb ga9al 'make' in the underlying representations of DCVs, these NPs will be assigned the appropriate roles by feature-introducing rules (cf. above xxiii; below 20.2.2.1): NPs functioning as subject of ga9al 'make' assume the semantic role external causer and those functioning as subject of the embedded S it governs assume the semantic role affected + that assigned to them according to their relation to the verbs of their clauses. Consider, for instance, (17), which is the underlying representation of (16).
First, feature-introducing rules will assign the NP₂ the role or the relational feature agentive (cf. below p.688). Second, they will assign the NP₁ and the NP₂ the roles external causer and affected respectively. As a consequence, the NP₂ will have the role affected-agentive.

It should be noted finally that the agentivity of the role assumed by the NP₂ in the structure into which DCVs enter could be literally or metaphorically (cf. Fillmore, 1970: 123; 127) intended. Examples are respectively 'maahir' in (17) and baSaru maahir 'maahir's sight' in (19), which is the underlying structure of (18).

(18) dahabat kaEratu lmuDakarati bibaSari maahir  
Over-studying blinded maahir

(lit. Over-studying made maahir's sight go away)
2.1.2 Analysis

DCVs are some of the forms concerning which two analyses may be suggested: a transformational analysis and a lexical one.

2.1.2.1 The transformational analysis

Like all transformational analysis, that of DCVs requires the recognition of an underlying representation upon which the appropriate transformational rule will operate.

The most important factor in determining the underlying form of a verb is whether it provides all the information the rule operating on it requires to account for the general facts about the structural, and maybe the semantic, characteristics of the form it - the rule - derives. In relation to regular DCVs, (20) is the underlying form that provides all the information the rule operating on it requires to account for the facts related to them (cf. above 2.1.1.).
In this underlying form ga9al 'cause/make' is one of 'the minimally specified causative verbs' (Anderson, 1969: 102; cf. Anderson also, 1971:69), and it is the main verb of the superordinate clause in the underlying representation of the sentence containing the underlying form of the regular DCV (cf. below (21)). V, on the other hand, is the main verb in the subordinate clause in the same underlying representation, and there is a verb-object relation between this clause and ga9al (cf. below (21)). And a full underlying representation of the sentence containing the underlying form of the regular DCV is (21).

(21) 

Where X is Ø, NP₃, or PP (cf. above 1 - 3, respectively) and are indicated (i) the number of participants a regular DCV has, and its dependency on the number of participants a non-causative verb of motion has; (ii) the predictable semantic roles of these participants; (iii) the feature [+ motion].

(22) is the rule transforming the phrase marker (21) into the
derived phrase marker. (23), where the regular DCV 'V bi' is indicated, and it could be termed the Causative transformation (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 189; Lyons, 1968: 381–2).

(22) \[ X \{ V \} \{ [ [ V ] [ Y ] ] [ N P \_2 ] ] [ N P \_1 ] \} Z \]
\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{NP} & \text{S} & \text{VP} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\varnothing & 3 & 4 & \text{bi} + 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]

where 3 is [+ motion], 5 is [+ affected-agentive] and 6 is [+ external causer].

(23)

It should be noted that (22) is an optional transformation. For both (24) and (25) are grammatical and have as their underlying representation (26), which satisfies the structural analysis of (22).

(24) dahaba lwaladu bi?axiib

The boy made his brother leave

(25) ga9alalwaladu ?axaahu ya\d hab

The boy made his brother leave
As for the underlying forms of the irregular DCVs (cf. above pp. 42-3) and the rule deriving them, they are the same as those of the regular ones (cf. above (20-21); (22); respectively), except for the following things:

(i) in the underlying representation of the irregular DCV, its non-causative form, which functions as the main verb of the embedded S it contains, will be marked with a feature having to do with the Causative transformation (cf. above (22)). Such a feature is a rule feature, i.e. a feature indicating that the item to which it is assigned may undergo the rule in relation to which it is specified. This feature could be referred to as [+ causative T(ransformation)].

(ii) the first part of the condition embraced by the causative transformation deriving the irregular DCV will be therefore 'where 3 is [+ causative T]' rather than 'where 3 is [+ motion]' as in (22).

Consider for instance sentence (13) (repeated below as (27)).
(27) qa9ada bihi DDa9f

Weakness handicapped him
(lit. Weakness made him sit down)

The underlying form of qa9ada bi 'handicapped', and that of (27) are (28) and (29), respectively.

(28) ga9ala 'make/cause ... .... [V ] [+ causative T ]

(29)

And (30) is the Causative transformation deriving (31) from (29).

(30) X [ V ] [ [ [ [ V ] [ Y ] ] [ NP2 ]] [ NP1 ] ] Z

NP S VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 Ø 3 4 bi 5 6 7

where 3 is [+ causative T], 5 is [+ affected-agentive] and 6 is [+ external causer]
2.1.2.2 The lexical analysis

In the lexical analysis of Derived forms, which accounts for the general or predictable facts related to them, the rule playing the role of the transformation in the equivalent transformational analysis is a lexical redundancy rule ("a lexical rule" henceforth) (cf. Wasow, 1977: 328). Such a rule relates a derived lexical item to a non-derived one. The latter must be such that a systematic reference to it in the lexical analysis accounts for all the general facts related to the former (cf. Anderson, 1977: 362). In relation to DCVs such a non-derived lexical item is ga9al 'make' that has the feature specification (32).

(32)  + — [ S ] [ NP ]

Examples are (fa)g9al 'so make' in (33), ga9al 'made' in (34-36).

(33)  fag9al ?af?idatan min nnaasi tahwii ?ilayhim (14/37)
So, make some hearts of men yearn toward them
(lit. So, make some hearts of men hurry to them (with desire))
It should be noted firstly that the main verb of the embedded S realizing the object of ga9al 'make' may be marked with the feature [+ motion] or otherwise, e.g. respectively tahwii 'yearn' in (33) and yamDii 'go' in (34), and yuğannii 'sing' in (35) and yağațanii 'become rich' in (36). Secondly, as indicated above, the semantic role of the subject of 'ga9al' is external causer and that of the subject of the embedded S is affected + the role assigned to it when it occurs, in a non-embedded clause, in a subject-verb relation with the main verb of the clause embracing it. Consider, for instance, sentences (37 - 38).

(37) maDaa xaalidun ?ilaa manzilih
    xaalid went to his house

(38) ?iğațanaa naa?il
    naa?il became rich

Sentences (37 - 38) are the equivalent non-embedded clauses of the embedded ones in the underlying representations of (34) and (36), respectively. The semantic roles of xaalidun 'xaalid' in (37) and naa?il 'naa?il' in (38) are agentive and attribuant, respectively. Hence, their roles in the embedded clauses in the underlying structures of (34) and (36) are respectively affected-agentive and affected-attribuant.

Having said that, (39) is the lexical rule accounting for the general facts related to the regular and irregular DCVs, i.e. for their meaning, their structural peculiarities and the semantic roles of their subject and the nominal element of their P0s (cf. above 2.1.1).
(39) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\vphantom{V}
\end{array}
\]
It goes without saying that since the right part of the rule (39) represents the structural peculiarities of DCVs, it - the rule - affects the underlying representations of the sentences embracing them. For example, while (41) is the underlying representation of (40) according to the transformational analysis, (42) is its underlying representation according to the lexical one.

(40) maDaa xaalidun bihii ?ilaan manzilih

xaalid made him go to his house

(41) S

Predicate phrase

VP

v NP

S

VP NP

v PP

gagal 'made' yamDii 'goes' ?ilaan manzilih 'he' huwa 'to his house' xaalid 'xaalid'

(42) S

Predicate phrase

VP

V PP PP

maDaa 'made go' bihii 'him' ?ilaan manzilih 'to his house' xaalid 'xaalid'
2.1.2.3 Criteria

Wasow proposes five criteria for distinguishing between lexical rules and transformations, and, hence between linguistic phenomena that ought to be analysed in terms of lexical rules and those that ought to be analysed transformationally (cf. Wasow, pp. 329-31). Only the following ones concern us:

1. Whereas lexical rules are structure-preserving, i.e. relate items that are 'inserted into structures generated by the phrase structure rules' (Wasow, p. 328), transformations need not be: they 'may deform base-generated structures' (ibid., p. 328), i.e. 'result in structures not generable by means of the rules of the base' (Wasow, p. 329).

2. In contradistinction to transformations, lexical rules may relate items of different grammatical categories (ibid., p. 329), e.g. Active or Passive participles, Comparatives or Exclamatory verbs to Verbs.

3. The third criterion consists of two parts:

   (a) whereas lexical rules must be local in the sense that they involve only NPs that have grammatical relations to the items in question (cf. Wasow, p. 331), transformations need not be. In other words, whereas transformations can 'possibly involve reference to elements outside of the immediate clause in which the item is inserted' (Anderson, 1977: p. 363), lexical rules cannot.

   (b) whereas transformations are defined in terms of structural relations or properties of phrase markers (cf. Wasow, p. 330; p. 331), lexical rules involve specific reference to grammatical relations such as subject, direct or indirect object (cf. Wasow, p. 330; Anderson, 1977: p. 363).

According to the aforementioned criteria the rule (39) is not a proper lexical rule, and, hence, the lexical analysis of DCVs is invalid: while the rule satisfies criteria (1) and (2) as indicated below by (i) and (ii), respectively, it does not satisfy the 'a' of (3), as indicated by (iii).
(i) a DCV is inserted into a structure generable by phrase structure rules. For example, the structure into which the DCPV 'qa9ada bi' in (43) is inserted is generable by phrase structure rules: it is generated by (44), which generates also the structure into which a non-DPV such as yu?minu bi 'believes' in (45) is inserted.

(43) qa9ada bihi DDa9f
Weakness handicapped him

(44) a. S—Predicate phrase NP
b. Predicate phrase—VP
c. VP—V PP
d. PP—P NP

(45) yu?minu maahirun billah
maahir believes in Allah

(ii) the rule (39) relates a verb to another: it relates maDaa bi 'made go' in (40) to ga9al 'made' in (41).

(iii) the rule makes reference to an item that occurs outside of the immediate clause into which the items in question are inserted: it makes reference to the subject of the embedded S functioning as object of ga9al.

The same criteria also show that the transformational rules (22) and (30) are not proper ones. For they satisfy criteria (1) and (2) as indicated below by (i) and (ii), respectively, but do not satisfy the 'b' of (3) as indicated by (iii).

(1) a structure such as (40), which is generated by (22), is generable by phrase structure rules: it is generated by (46), which generates also (47), whose main verb is the equivalent non-derived form of the DCDOPV maDaa bi 'made go' in (40).

(46) a. S—Predicate phrase NP
b. Predicate phrase—VP
c. VP—V PP PP
(47) xarra 9alayhimu ssaqfu min fawqihim (cf. 16/26)

The roof fell down upon them from above them

(ii) the rules - (22) and (30) - change no grammatical categories though they create a new node, which is possible (cf. Anderson, 1977: p.363). For example, see (23), where the PP is the new node.

(iii) the rules are assigned in terms of grammatical relations not in terms of phrase structure relations: reference to rules such as external causer, etc. is a reference to grammatical relations not to pure relations in terms of phrase markers with unnecessary specification of the semantic roles of the NPs they involve; otherwise just as (48) is in a transformational relation with (49), so there will be a transformational relation between (50) and (51).

(48) dahaba xaalidun bimaahir
    xaalid made maahir go
(49) ga9ala xaalidun maahiran yadhab
    xaalid made maahir go
(50) Sallaaxaalidun bimaahir
    xaalid prayed with maahir
(51) ?araada xaalidun ?an yuSalliya maahir
    xaalid wanted maahir to pray

For (52), which represents the phrase structure properties of (51) is the same as (53), which represents the structure properties of (49).
Accordingly, some of the aforementioned criteria for distinguishing between lexical rules and transformations (cf. above p. 54) must be relaxed. I am in favour of keeping intact the first criterion and the first part of the third one, but changing the second criterion and the second part of the third one, so as to make it possible for a transformation
to change node labels and be defined in terms of grammatical relations (cf. Wasow, p. 356, fn. 2). This change has two consequences: (i) that in the grammar of the present work, unlike the transformations, the lexical rules (i.e. the lexical redundancy rules) are identical with Wasow's; (ii) that there will be cases where both a transformational and a lexical analysis can be provided. In such a case, the latter will be given a priority over the former.

2.2 Other Derived Forms

2.2.1 Verbal nouns

The structure of the phrases or the clauses embracing VNs might involve prepositions governing the NPs associating with them and corresponding to the subjects and or the objects of the verbs from which they derive. Among these phrases and clauses are the following ones:

(a) the phrases whose heads are VNs functioning as objects and replaceable by ?an-clauses (cf. below 2.2.1.1).

(b) the invocation clauses consisting of VNs and the NPs associating with them (cf. below 2.2.1.2).

(c) the clauses whose subjects are VNs, and predicates are PPs with complements being the subjects of the verbs from which the VNs derive (cf. below 2.2.1.3).

(d) the phrases whose heads are VNs functioning as predicates, or both as objects and replaceable by no clausal realization, e.g. ?an-clauses (cf. below 2.2.1.4).

2.2.1.1 Verbal nouns functioning as object and replaceable by an ?an-clause

These are the VNs realizing the deep objects of verbs such as xaaf 'fear', ?ahabb 'like', karih 'hate', ?araad 'want', malak 'be able', ?istaTaa9 'can', ragaa 'hope', bağaa 'seek', etc., i.e. of verbs the deep objects of which can be realized by ?an-clauses or by VNs. (Let us call
them 'kariha class'.) Accordingly, sentences with VN realization will
be synonymous with corresponding sentences with ?an-clause realization.

Such a synonymity will be accounted for transformationally. For
contrary to the characteristics of the lexical redundancy rules (cf.
above pp. 57-8), the structures involving the VNs depend on elements
outside the clauses to which they are related (cf. below 2.2.1.1.1-2).

My main concern here is to discuss whether it is possible for the
NPs associating with the VNs in question and functioning as deep subject
or object to be governed by prepositions. To do so calls for a
discussion of some of the possible underlying representations of the
clauses whose main verbs are of the 'kariha class' (henceforth kariha
clauses) as well as their surface realizations.

To begin with, among the possible underlying representations (1)
of kariha clauses (54) is what concerns us.

(54) [ [ ??an] [ [ [ [ ] ] ] ] ]

For it is the underlying representation in which either NP₁ or NP₂ can be
governed by a preposition, when the embedded S is nominalised. Secondly,
it is possible for the embedded S to be realized by a VN. With respect
to such a realization, the underlying representation of kariha clauses
must be divided into (i) that in which the VP in the embedded S has
an object and (ii) that in which the VP has no object. Then, in each
division, it must be indicated whether NP₂ and NP₃ are identical; and
only with respect to the underlying representation in which the VP has
no object and NP₂ and NP₃ are not identical, NP₂ must be specified as to
whether it is animate agentive.

2.2.1.1.1 The underlying representation in which the VP in the embedded
S has no object

(55) points out such an underlying representation.
Where NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ are/are not identical, and NP$_2$ is/is not animate agentive.

First, if NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ are not identical, and NP$_2$ is animate and assumes the semantic role agentive, (56) is a possible surface realization of the embedded S, where VN is [-definite], i.e. not preceded by ?al 'the'.

(56) min NP$_2$ VN

(56) can be examplied by min ba9lihaa nu$uuzaa 'her husband should treat (her) brutally' in (57), minkum gazaan?an 'you to reward (us)' in (58), and min qawmin xiyaanah 'a group may betray (you)' in (59).

(57) taxaafu hudaa min ba9lihaa nu$uuzaa (cf. 4/128)
hudaa fears lest her husband should treat (her) brutally

(58) laa nuriidu minkum gazaan?anwa laa $ukuuraa (76/9)
We want you neither to reward nor to thank (us)

(59) wa ?immaa taxaafanna min qawmin xiyaanah (8/58)
And if you fear lest a group may betray (you)

The preposition 'min' in (57-59) is obligatory: sentence (60), for instance, with the NP$_2$ not governed by 'min', is ungrammatical.

(60) *taxaafu hudaa ba9lihaa nu$uuzaa

And it is assigned by an optional transformation, which might be termed the nominalization transformation. A possible formulation of this rule is (61).

(61) x [ ][ ][ ] ) [ ?an ][ ][ v ][ NP$_2$ ][ ] ][ NP$_3$ ][ ] z ] y

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
1 & 2 & \emptyset & \text{min} & 5 & 4 & 6 & 7 & 8
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VN} \\
\text{[-definite]}
\end{array}
\]
Where 5 is animate and assumes the semantic role agentive, and 5 and 6 are not identical.

It should be noted that the sentences with verbal noun realization are synonymous with the corresponding sentences with ?an clause realization. Sentence (57), for instance, is synonymous with sentence (62): both have the underlying representation indicated by (63).

(62) taxaafu hudaan ?an yanguza ba9luhaa

hudaan fears lest her husband should treat (her) brutally

(63)

Such an analysis applies also to the sentences the main verbs of which belong to 'kariha class' and which have underlying representations different from the one sentence (57), for instance, has.

Second, if NP₂ and NP₃ are not identical, and NP₂ is not animate, or is not agentive, or is neither of these, (64) is a possible surface realization of the embedded S.

(64) [VN [definite] NP₂]

(64) can be exemplified by?uwwu9a lfaahi%ah 'that slander should spread' in (65), tahqquqa 19adaalah 'justice to come into effect' in (66), nbi9aa%ahum 'their being sent forth' in (67), tahassuna Zuruufi%im 'their
conditions to get better' in (68), mawtahaa 'she dies' in (69) and siyaadatak 'you become a chief' in (70).

(65) yuhibbuuna $uyuu9a lfaahisah
They love that slander should spread

(66) ?uriidu tahaqquqa 19adaalah
I want justice to come into effect

(67) kariha llaahu nbi9aa@ahum (cf. 9/46)
Allaah was averse to their being sent forth

(68) ?uhibbu tahassuna Zuruufihim
I want their conditions to get better

(69) yarguu mawtahaa
He hopes she dies

(70) ?arguu siyaadatak
I hope you become a chief

On the other hand, (56) is not a possible realization in such cases. Accordingly, sentences (71-76) with the embedded S's realized by 'min NP2 VN', are ungrammatical.

(71) *yuhibbuuna mina lfaahisati $uyuu9aa
They love of slander that it should spread

(72) *?uriidu mina 19adaalati tahaaqquqa
I want of justice that it comes into effect

(73) *kariha llaahu minhumu nbi9aa@aa
Allaah was averse to their being sent forth

(74) *?uhibbu min Zuruufihim tahassunaa
I want from their conditions that they get better

(75) *yarguu minha@awtaa
He hopes of her that she dies

(76) *?arguu minkasiyaadah
I hope of you that you become a chief
Like sentences (57-59), sentences (65-70) are derived by the nominalization transformation. But while $N^2$ in the nominalization transformation deriving (57-59) must be animate and assume the semantic role agentive, in that deriving (65-70), it must not. Ifaahisah 'slander' in (65) is abstract, attribuant, 19adaalah 'justice' in (66) is objective hum 'their', in (67) is affected-agentive, Zuruufihim 'their conditions' in (68) is abstract, attribuant, haa 'she' in (69) is dative (= affected) and k 'you' in (70) is animate, attribuant.

Note

I found no embedded $S$'s such as those in (65-70) realized by the following surface structures, where 'li' in (i) is optional and in (ii) is obligatory, and VN is [$+$ definite].

\[(77) \begin{cases} (i) & VN \ li \ NP_2 \\ (ii) & li \ NP_2 \ VN \end{cases}\]

That is, I found no sentences such as (78 - 83).

(78) yuhib-suuyuuqan lilfaahisah
They love slander to be spread

(79) ?uriidu lil9adaalati ttahaqquq
I want for justice to come into effect

(80) kariha 1laahu nbi9aaqan lahum
Allah was averse to their being sent forth

(81) ?uhibbu tahassunan 1izuruufihim
I like their conditions to get better

(82) yarguu lhaa lmaawt
He hopes she dies

(83) ?argu ssiyaadata lak
I hope you become a chief

Sentences (82-83) might however be regarded as being grammatical in CA. For their $NP_2$'s are animate and assume the semantic role dative
and attribuant, respectively, and the preposition li is reported to govern
the NP that is animate, functioning as deep subject, assuming the semantic
role dative or attribuant and associating with a VN in surface structure
(cf. below 2.2.1.2) (2).

Finally, if NP_2 and NP_3 in (55) are identical, (84) is the
possible surface realization of the embedded S.

(84) (?al) VN

(84) can be exemplified by tahaSSunaa 'to be chaste' in (85), ŋukuuraa
'to show (his) gratitude' in (86), firaaraa 'to run away' in (87), lxuruuga
'to come out' in (88), and ssam9 'to hear' in (89).

(85) ?in ?aradna tahaSSunaa (24/33)
If they want to be chaste

For him who wants to remember or wants to show (his)
gratitude

(87) ?in yuriiduuna ?illaa firaaraa (33/13)
They intend nothing but to run away

(88) wa?aradu lxuruuga ?a?adduu lahuu 9iddah (9/46)
If they had intended to come out, they would certainly have
made some preparation therefor.

(89) maa kaanuu yastaTi9uuna ssam9 (11/20)
They were unable to hear

Accordingly, sentences (90-91), with the embedded S realized by 'min NP_2
VN', are ungrammatical.

(90) *?aradna minhunna tahaSSunaa (3)
They want to be chaste

(91) *yastaTi9u minni ssam9
I am able to hear
Like the VNs in (57-59) and (65-70), the VNs in (85-89) are derived by the nominalization transformation. However, while in the structural analysis of the nominalization transformation deriving the VNs in the first group of sentences, NP$_2$ must be specified as to whether or not it is animate agentive, in the structural analysis of the nominalization transformation deriving the VNs in (85-89), it need not be; whether or not NP$_2$ is animate agentive is irrelevant to the rule: in sentences (85; 87), for instance, NP$_2$ is animate attribuant and animate agentive, respectively.

A possible formulation of the nominalization transformation deriving the VNs in (85-89) is (92).

\[(92)\ X[\ [\ V] [\ ? an][ \ [ V][\ NP_2]]][\ NP_3] Y \]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
S & VP & NP & S & VP \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8
\end{array} \]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & \emptyset & 4 & \emptyset & 6 & 7 & 8
\end{array} \]

\[([?al] VN)\]

where 5 and 6 are identical.

2.2.1.1.2 The underlying representation in which the VP in the embedded S has an object

\[(93)\ X[\ [\ [ [\ ? an][ \ [ V][\ ]][\ ]][\ ]][\ ]][\ ] Y \]

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
S & VP & V & NP & S & VP & V & NP_1 & NP_2 & NP_3
\end{array} \]

where NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ are not identical.

First, if NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ are not identical, a possible surface realization of the embedded S is (94).

\[(94)\ \ ? an \ V \ NP_1 \ NP_2 \]

Examples are ?an ya?kulahu ddi?b 'lest the wolf should devour him' in (95) and ?an yubaddila diinakum 'lest he should alter your religion' in (96).

\[(95)\ \ ? axaaafu \ ? an \ ya?kulahu \ ddi?b \ (12/13) \]

I fear lest the wolf should devour him
66

(96) ?axaafu ?an yubaddila diinakum (40/26)
I fear lest he should alter your religion

Note
I found no embedded S's in sentences such as (95-96) realized by one of the following surface structures where the NP$_2$ governed by 'min' is animate agentive, li is the preposition governing an NP functioning as deep object (cf. below 109), and VN is [- definite].

(97) VN  NP$_2$ li NP$_1$
[genitive]
?akla ddi?bi lah (cf. above (95))

(98) VN  NP$_2$  NP$_1$
[genitive][accusative]
?akla ddi?bi ?iyyaah (cf. above (95))

(99) VN  NP$_1$ min NP$_2$
[genitive]
?akla huu mina ddi?b (cf. above (95))

(100) VN  NP$_1$ min NP$_2$
[accusative]
?akla?iyyaahu mina ddi?b (cf. above (95))

(101) VN  li NP$_1$ min NP$_2$
?aklan lahuu mina ddi?b (cf. above (95))

(102) min NP$_2$ VN  NP$_1$
[genitive]
mina ddi?bi ?aklah (cf. above (95))

(103) min NP$_2$ VN  NP$_1$
[accusative]
mina ddi?bi ?aklan ?iyyaah (cf. above (96))

(104) min NP$_2$ VN  li NP$_1$
mina ddi?bi ?aklan lah (cf. above (95))
Second, if NP₂ and NP₃ are identical, (105-106) are the possible surface realizations, where VN is [- definite].

(105) VN NP₁
(106) VN li NP₁

(105) can be exemplified by xiyaanatak 'to betray you' in (107), naSra ?anfusihim 'to help themselves in (108), and (106) can be exemplified by Zulman lil9ibaad 'to treat unjustly his servants' in (109).

(107) wa ?in yuriiduu xiyaanatak (8/71)
And if they want to betray you

(108) laa yastdrii9uuna naSra ?anfusihim (21/43)
They are unable to help themselves

(109) wa ma llaahu yuriidu Zulman lil9ibaad (40/31)
But Allah never wishes to treat unjustly his servants

The preposition 'li' in (109) is optional and it is also assigned by the nominalization transformation; a possible formulation of this rule is (110).

(110) X [[[V] [ [?an] [ [V][NP₁]][NP₂]][NP₃]]][NP₃] Z Y
S VP NP S VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1 2 Ø [VN 4[li]5 Ø 7 8 9]

where 6 and 7 are identical.

Even if they are animate agentive, the NP₂s in the nominalized embedded S's in sentences such as (107-109) cannot be governed by min. Accordingly, sentence (111), where NP₂ and NP₃ are identical, is ungrammatical (5).

(111) *wa ma llaahu yuriidu minhu Zulman lil9ibaad
But Allah never wishes to treat unjustly his servants
Note

(a) Because of the application of the optional movement transformation (cf. Bach, p. 210) to the structure naqbaa lahuu 'pierce it', which is derived by the nominalization transformation, lahuu 'it' in sentence (112) precedes naqbaa 'pierce'.

(112) fama sTaa9uu ?an yaZharuuwa ma staTaa9uu lahuu naqbaa (18/97)
Thus, they were unable to scale it, nor could they pierce it

(b) Whereas 'li' in (109) is optional and sentence (113), with no 'li', is grammatical, 'li' in (112) is obligatory: sentence (114), with no 'li', is ungrammatical.

(113) wa ma llaahu yuriidu Zulma 19ibaad
But Allah never wishes to treat unjustly his servants

(114) *fama sTaa9uu ?an yaZharuuwa ma staTaa9uu ?iyyaahinaqbaa
Thus, they were unable to scale it, nor could they pierce it

(c) It goes without saying that the sentences with the embedded S's realized by (105-106) are synonymous with their corresponding sentences with the embedded S's realized by ?an-clauses. For example, (107) is synonymous with (115).

(115) wa ?in yuriiduu ?an yaxuumuuk
And if they want to betray you

To recapitulate, among the NPs functioning as deep object or subject and associating with VNs realizing the deep objects of verbs belonging to 'kariha class', the following NPs can be governed by a preposition:

(i) NP₂ in the following underlying representation.

The governing preposition is 'min' (cf. above (57-59)); and it is obligatory.

(ii) NP₁ in the following underlying representation.

(117) X [ [ [ ] [ ? an ] [ [ ] ] [ ] ] ] Y
     S VP V NP S VP V NP₁ NP₂ NP₃

where NP₂ and NP₃ are identical.

The governing preposition is 'li' (cf. above (109)); and it is optional.

2.2.1.2 Verbal nouns constituting with the NPs associating with them 'invocation sentences'

Examples of such VNs are ta9san 'may be destroyed' in (118), and bu9dan 'may be far away' in (119).

(118) ta9san lahum (cf. 47/8)
     May they be destroyed

(119) fabu9dan lilqawmi ZZaalimiin (23/41)
     May wrongdoers be far away

The point to be discussed in relation to structures such as (118-119) is how to account for 'li', their prepositional elements, and for why it is not acceptable to replace it by other prepositions.

In contradistinction to (120-123), for example, which are generated by (124), structures such as (118-119) are not base-generated.

(120) 9aliyyun fi lbayt
     9aliyy is in the house

(121) ?alkitaabu 9ala lmaktab
     The book is on the desk

(122) ?alhadiyyatu limaahir
     The present is for maahir

(123) fi lmaktabati Sadiiq
     There is a friend in the library

(124) (i) S → NP PP
      (ii) PP → P NP
For to regard them as being generated by the phrase structure rules will complicate the rules assigning the subject NPs of clauses such as (120-123) their case-endings and change their nature: in contradistinction to such subject NPs, which occur in the nominative case, the VNs ta9san 'may be destroyed' in (118) and bu9dan 'may be far away' in (119), which correspond to them if (118-119) are treated as base-generated structures, occur in the accusative case.

Accordingly, the point under discussion can be accounted for transformationally not by lexical redundancy rules. For, as indicated above (pp. 57 - 8), unlike transformations, lexical redundancy rules are structure-preserving, i.e. relate items that are inserted into structures generated by the phrase structure rules.

For the transformation accounting for structures such as (118-119), including their prepositional elements, consider, for instance, sentence (125).

(125) liyat9asuu

May they be destroyed

Sentences (125) is synonymous with (118): they both derive from (126); and (127) is the obligatory transformation deriving them and thereby accounting for the presence and the realization of the prepositional element of the latter.

(126)
(127) \[ (x \rightarrow [ [v] ] y [np] \ du9aa?) \]

where with respect to (i), 4 is neither animate, agentive nor animate, external causer.

It should be noted that hum 'they' in (118) and lqawmi ZZaalimiin 'wrong-doers' in (119), which represent (4) in (127), are affected and attribuant, respectively.

2.2.1.3 Clauses with VNs as their subjects

The clauses in question are those whose subjects are VNs, and predicates are PPs with complements being the subjects of the verbs from which the VNs derive. Examples of such clauses are (128-130).

(128) (wa maa) tawfiqii (?illaa) billaah (11/88)
(And) making me successful is only by Allah

(129) (wa maa) Sabruka (?illaa) billaah (16/127)
(And) making you patient is only by Allah

(130) tanziilu lkitaabi mina llaahi 19aziizi 19aliim (40/2)
The revelation of the Scripture is only from Allah, the Mighty, the Knower

Sentences (128-130) are related to (131-133), respectively:

(131) maa yuwaqqiunii ?illa 1laah
It is Allah Who can make me successful

(132) maa yaSbiruka ?illa 1laah
It is Allah Who can make you patient
It is Allah, the Mighty, the Knower, Who reveals the Scripture

(i) The VNs tawfīq 'making successful' in (128), Sabrū 'making patient' in (129) and tanzīlū 'the revelation' in (130) derive from the verbs yuwaffiqū 'can make successful' in (131), yasbir 'can make patient' in (132) and yunazzilū 'reveals' in (133), respectively.

(ii) The prepositional complements llaah 'Allah' in (128), llaah 'Allah' in (129), and llaahi 'Allah' in (130), correspond to the deep subjects llaah 'Allah' in (131), llaah 'Allah' in (132) and llaahu 'Allah' in (133), respectively.

(iii) The second elements of the constructs functioning as subjects in (128), (129) and (130), i.e. ii 'me', ka 'you' and lkitaabī 'the Scripture', respectively, correspond to the deep objects of (131-133), i.e. to (n)ii 'me', ka 'you' and lkitaaba 'the Scripture', respectively.

It should be noted firstly that it is not permissible for the prepositional elements in (128-130) to be replaced by other prepositions: sentence (128) for example, with 'bi' replaced by 'fiī', for instance, is ungrammatical. Secondly, consider (134-135).

(134) 9aliyyum bilbayt

9aliyy is in the house

(135) 9aliyyum min miSr

9aliyy is from Egypt

In contradistinction to the prepositional elements of the PPs in (134) and (135), those of the PPs in (128-129), and (130) are derived lexical items; hence, their realization of the prepositional elements of the predicate phrases of the clauses embracing them could not be accounted for in the same way as the realization of the prepositional elements of the predicates in (134) and (135), respectively, i.e. by a lexical insertion rule that is formulated in terms of their selectional features, which are assigned
in terms of their complements and the subjects of their clauses. For
to do so will leave unaccounted for two things: (i) why their complements
correspond to the deep subjects of the verbs from which the VN accompanying
them derive; (ii) why the second elements of the subjects of the clauses
embracing them - the prepositional elements of the PPs in (128-130) -
correspond to the deep objects of the verbs from which the VNs derive.

The lexical redundancy rules are the rules to account for the three
facts related to structures such as (128-130):

(i) that the nominal elements of the PPs functioning as their predicates
  correspond to the deep subjects of the verbs from which the VNs associating
  with them - the nominal elements - derive.
(ii) that the second elements of the constructs functioning as their
  subjects correspond to the deep objects of the verbs from which the first
  elements, i.e. the VNs, derive.
(iii) that the prepositional elements of the PPs functioning as their
  predicates can be one of two, either 'bi' or 'min'.

For the structures in question are compatible with the characteristics
of the lexical redundancy rules, referred to above (pp.57-8):

(a) like (134-135), they are base-generated structures; they as well as
  the former are generated by (136).

(136) (i) \[ S \rightarrow NP \hspace{0.5em} PP \]
    (ii) \[ PP \rightarrow P \hspace{0.5em} NP \]

(b) the two items that are to be related to one another by the lexical
  redundancy rule, i.e. the VNs in (128-130) and the verbs of (131-133),
  belong to different grammatical categories.

(c) to account for facts (i-iii) requires no reference to elements outside
  of the immediate clauses in which the related items are inserted.

(137) is the lexical redundancy rule that accounts for facts (i-iii)
It should be noted that the data contain no sentences having the following surface structure:

(138) VN NP₂  li NP₁

where NP₂ corresponds to the deep subject of the verb from which VN derives, and NP₁ to its deep object and hence governed by the preposition 'li', which governs NPs having this function and associating with VNs (cf. above 2.2.1), and 'li' is accounted for by a lexical redundancy rule that relates VN to the verb from which it derives in such a way that accounts for its co-occurrence restriction, i.e. its association with NP₂ and NP₁. That is, I found no sentences such as (139-140)⁶.

(139) tagglii9ii lak

My encouragement is only to you

(140) mu9aawanatii lak

My help is only to you

There are however many sentences having the following structure:

(141) X VN Y NP₂ P NP

where VN is deriving from PV, and NP₂ and P NP correspond to the deep subject and PO of the latter, and finally P is accounted for by a lexical redundancy rule relating VN to the PV from which it derives and
accounting for its co-occurrence restriction, i.e. its association with NP₂ and P NP. Examples of sentences having the surface structure indicated by (141) are (142-145).

(142) yaa ?ayyuha nnaasu ?innamaa baṭyukum 9alaa ?anfušikum (10/23)
O mankind! Your infringement is only upon yourself

(143) fa?inna. maSiirakum ?ila nnaar (14/30)
Verily, it is with the Fire that you will end

(144) mafzaguhum fi lmu9Dilaati ?ilaa ?anfušihim wa ta9wiiluhum
fi lmuhimmaati 9alaa ?aaraa?ihim (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 151)
Their taking refuge in difficult circumstances is only to themselves, and their reliance in important matters is only on their opinions

2.2.1.4 Verbal nouns as predicates or as objects irreplaceable by an ?an-clause

The VNs in question are those functioning as heads of non-transformed NPs that contain all the NPs embraced by the clause and corresponding to the subjects and/or the objects of the verbs from which they - the VNs - derive. Hence, they contain VNs neither such as that of the NP min ba9lihaa nu$uuzaa 'that her husband might treat her brutally' in (145) nor such as that of the NP tawfiiqii 'making me successful' in (146).

(145) wa ?ini mra?atun xaafat min ba9lihaa nu$uuzaa (4/128)
And if a woman fears that her husband might treat her brutally

(146) wa maa tawfiiqii ?illaa billaah (11/88)
And making me successful is only by Allah

For the former NP is transformed, and the latter does not contain all the NPs embraced by the clause and corresponding to those required by the verb waffaq 'make successful', from which the VN derives: whereas the NP tawfiiqii 'making me successful' embraces the object of this verb, the PP billaah 'by Allah' embraces its subject.
The VNs under discussion may function as objects irreplaceable by an 'an-clause, e.g. tabdiilaa 'change' in (147), or as predicates, e.g. taxfiifun 'an alleviation' in (148), and hudan 'a guidance' in (149).

(147) wa lan tagida lisunnati llaahi tabdiilaa (33/62)
You will find no change of Allah's way (of dealing)

(148) daalika taxfiifun min rabbikum (2/178)
This is an alleviation from your Lord

(149) ?alqur?aanu hudan wa rahmatun lilmu?miniin (cf. 10/57)
The Koran is a guidance and a mercy for those who believe

The point to be discussed is how to account for the following things, which are related to VNs such as those of (147-149):

(a) that the nominal elements of the PPs lisunnati llaahi 'Allah's way' in (147), and lilmu?miniin 'for those who believe' in (149) on the one hand, and min rabbikum 'form your Lord' in (148) on the other correspond, respectively to the objects and the subject of the verbs from which the VNs associating with them derive.

(b) that the prepositional elements of the same PPs are irreplaceable by other prepositions.

(c) that structures such as taxfiifun mina lbayt 'alleviation from the house' in (150) and hudan (wa rahmatun) lil kitaab 'a guidance (and a mercy) for the book' in (151) are ungrammatical.

(150) *daalika taxfiifun mina lbayt
This is an alleviation from the house

(151) *?alqur?aanu hudan wa rahmatun lil kitaab
The Koran is a guidance and a mercy for the book

According to the criteria distinguishing between lexical redundancy rules and transformations as well as to the priority given to the former over the latter (cf. above pp.57-8), the former are the appropriate rules
for accounting for facts (a-c), for the following reasons:

(i) the phrases incorporating the VNs in question are generated by the phrase structure rules. Consider, for instance, (152-153):

(152) haadaaragulan min qaryatii
This is a man from my village

(153) haadihii hadiyyatun liwaalidatii
This is a present for my mother

Like the NPs ragulun min qaryatii 'a man from my village' in (152), and hadiyyatun liwaalidatii 'a present for my mother' in (153), the NPs taxfiifun min rabbikum 'an alleviation from your Lord' in (148), and lisunnati llaahi tabdiilaa 'change of Allah's way' in (147) are generated by the rules of (154).

(154) \[\begin{align*}
\tilde{N} & \rightarrow \tilde{N} \ PP \\
\tilde{N} & \rightarrow N \\
PP & \rightarrow P \ \tilde{N} \\
\tilde{N} & \rightarrow N \ \tilde{N} \\
\tilde{N} & \rightarrow \{\tilde{N} \text{ Pronoun}\}
\end{align*}\]

It should be noted that the NP lisunnati llaahi tabdiilaa 'change of Allah's way' (lit. of Allah's way change) in (147) is a result of the subsequent application of the Movement transformation to the structure generated by (154), i.e. tabdiilan lisunnati llaah 'change of Allah's way'.

(ii) the VNs as well as the verbs to which they will be related belong to different grammatical categories: nouns and verbs, respectively.

(iii) to account for facts (a-c) requires no reference to elements outside of the immediate clauses embracing the items to be related.

(155-156) are the lexical redundancy rules accounting respectively for the syntactic structure of NPs such as taxfiifun min rabbikum 'an alleviation from your Lord' in (148) on the one hand, and lisunnati
It should be noted firstly that the data contain no structure such as tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi 19aamiliin 'ignorance on your part of the workers' rights' in (157), which is perfectly grammatical.

(157) kaana haadaa tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi 19aamiliin
This was ignorance on your part of the workers' rights

The head of the phrase 'tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi 19aamiliin' is one of the VNs in question (cf. above p. 75), and is related to (158).

(158) tagaahalta huquuqa 19aamiliin
You ignored the workers' rights

In (158), the verb tagaahal 'ignored', to which the VN in (157) is related, is a verb of doing, and the subject ta 'you', which is animate, agentive, and the object, huquuqa 19aamiliin 'the workers' rights, correspond to the nominal elements of the PPs with which the VN tagaahulan 'ignorance' in (157) associates, i.e. (min)ka '(on) your (part)' and huquuqi 19aamiliin 'the workers' rights', respectively.
The phrase structure rules generating the NP 'tagaahulan minka lihuquqi 19aamiliin' in (157) are those of (159).

(159) (a) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \overline{N} \) PP PP
(b) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow N \)
(c) PP \( \rightarrow P \) \( \overline{N} \)
(d) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \) Pronoun
(e) PP \( \rightarrow P \) \( \overline{N} \)
(f) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow N \) \( \overline{N} \)
(g) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow Art \) N

Secondly, consider (160).

(160) daalika taxfifu rabbikum

This is the alleviation of your Lord

The structure taxfifu rabbikum 'the alleviation of your Lord' in (160) is similar to taxfiifun min rabbikum 'an alleviation from your Lord' in (148) in the following respects:

(i) it is generated by the phrase structure rules; the rules generating it are those of (161).

(161) (a) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow N \) \( \overline{N} \)
(b) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow N \) \( \overline{N} \)
(c) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \) Pronoun

(ii) it functions as a predicate.

(iii) its first nominal element is a VN belonging the class of the VN in question (cf. above p. 75), and accompanied by a NP that corresponds to the subject of the verb from which it derives.

(iv) the structure involving the VN in (160), i.e. taxfiifun rabbikum 'the alleviation of your Lord', is accounted for by a lexical redundancy rule that relates it to the corresponding structure involving the verb from which the VN derives. The two structures however differ from each other in the following: while the VN taxfiifun 'an alleviation'...
in the first structure (cf. (148)) is accompanied by the NP
(corresponding to the subject of the verb from which it derives)
governed by 'min', the VN taxfiifu 'the alleviation' in the second
structure (cf. (160)) is annexed to the NP corresponding to the subject
of the verb from which it derives. Such a difference will be taken care
of by the lexical redundancy rule relating the structures in question
to the verbs from which their VNs derive.

Thirdly, consider (162-164).

(162) ?a haadaa huwa tafsiiru maahirin lilmu$kilah
Is this maahir's explanation of the problem?

(163) fassara maahiruni lmu$kilah
maahir explained the problem

(164) (a) $N \rightarrow \bar{N} \quad \text{PP}
(b) $N \rightarrow N \quad \bar{N}
(c) \bar{N} \rightarrow N
(d) \text{PP} \rightarrow P \quad \bar{N}
(e) \bar{N} \rightarrow \text{Art} \quad N

The NP tafsiiru maahirin lilmu$kilah 'maahir's explanation of the
problem' in (162) has a head that is a VN belonging to the class of the
VNs in question (cf. above p. 75), and is perfectly grammatical, though
it does not occur in the data. This NP is generated by (164), and
corresponds to (163), where fassara 'explained', the verb from which the
VN tafsiiru 'explanation' in (162) is derived, is a verb of doing, and
maahiruni 'maahir', the animate agentive, corresponds to the amplifying
element in the annexion structure (cf. Beeston, pp. 45-6) tafsiiru
maahirin 'maahir's explanation', and the object lmu$kilah 'the problem'
to the nominal element of the PP lilmu$kilah 'of the problem' in (162).
Fourthly, consider (165-167).

(165) hal haadaa huwa ttaqdiiru nnihaa'iyyu lilmawqif
Is this the ultimate evaluation of the situation?

(166) hal qaddartumu lmawqif
Have you evaluated the situation?

(167) (a) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \overline{N} \) PP
(b) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \overline{N} \) AdjP
(c) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \text{Art} \ N \)
(d) AdjP \( \rightarrow \text{Art} \ Adj \)
(e) PP \( \rightarrow P \overline{N} \)
(f) \( \overline{N} \rightarrow \text{Art} \ N \)

The NP ttaqdiiru nnihaa'iyyu lilmawqif 'the ultimate evaluation of the situation' in (165) has as its head a VN that is a member of the class of the VNs in question (cf. above p. 75); and though it is not embraced by the data it is a grammatical structure generated by (167), and related by a lexical redundancy rule to the VP qaddar lmawqif 'have evaluated the situation (cf. above 166). If this VP the verb qa8dar- 'have evaluated', which is the verb from which the VN ttaqdiiru 'the evaluation' in (165) is derived, is a verb of doing, and the object lmawqif 'the situation' corresponds to the nominal element of the PP lilmawqif 'of the situation' in (165).

Consider fifthly (168-169):

(168) hal haadaa huwa ttaqdiiru lmawqifi nnihaa'iyy
Is this the ultimate evaluation of the situation?

(169) hal haadaa huwa ttaqdiiru lmawqif
Is this the evaluation of the situation?

Like the NP 'ttaqdiiru nnihaa'iyyu lilmawqif' in (165), the NPs ttaqdiiru lmawqifi nnihaa'iyy 'the ultimate evaluation of the situation in (168) and ttaqdiiru lmawqif 'the evaluation of the situation'
in (169) are related to the VP - qaddara - lmawqif 'evaluate the situation' (cf. above 166). There are however differences between the first NP on the one hand, and the second and the third ones on the other: (i) in contradistinction to the VN of the first NP, which is qualified but not annexed to another NP, the VN of the second NP (cf. above (168) is an amplified element in a qualified annexion structure whose amplifying element is the NP corresponding to the object of the VP to which the NP embracing it - the VN - is related by a lexical redundancy rule. The VN of the third NP on the other hand (cf. above (169) is not qualified but is annexed to the object of the VP to which the NP is related by a lexical redundancy rule. (ii) while the NP corresponding to the object of the VP to which the first NP (cf. above (165) is related must be governed by 'li' as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (170), the corresponding NPs in the second and the third NP (cf. above (168-169), respectively) must not, as the ungrammaticality of (171-172) indicates, respectively.

(170) *attaqdiiru nnihaa?iyyu lmawqif
The ultimate evaluation of the situation

(171) *taqdiiru lilmawqifi nnihaa?iyy
The ultimate evaluation of the situation

(172) *taqdiiru lilmawqif
The evaluation of the situation

Accordingly, it is relevant to the lexical redundancy rule accounting for the syntactic structures of the NPs in question in sentences (165) and (168) to make reference to their adjectival elements as well as to the sister constituents of these: while the sister constituent of the adjectival element of the NP in (165) is ttaqdiiru 'the evaluation', which is dominated by N as in (173), that of the adjectival element of the NP in (168) is taqdiiru lmawqif 'the evaluation of the situation', which is
Sixthly, according to (155) sentences such as (175) are ungrammatical.

(175) *?a9uddu daalika mawtan min maahir

I consider that a death to maahir

For in the NP mawtan min maahir 'a death to maahir', which corresponds to maata maahir 'maahir died', 'min' governs an animate NP corresponding to a deep subject assuming the semantic role dative not external causer.

The grammatical version of (175) is (176).

(176) ?a9uddu daalika mawtan limaahir

I consider that a death to maahir

For as indicated above (2.2.1.2), 'li' is the preposition able to govern NPs such as 'maahir' in (175), i.e. NPs that are animate dative, associate with VN's, and correspond to a deep subject.

Seventhly, the VN deriving from the verb 9alim 'to know' represents a particular case when it is used as a VN element in the NPs in question (cf. above p. 75 ). The preposition governing the NP associating with it, and corresponding to the NP functioning as deep object of the corresponding VP is 'bi' pot 'li', e.g. bi 'of'in (177).

(177) wa maa 9ilmii bimaa kaanuu ya9maluun (26/12)

And what knowledge have I of what they may have been doing (in the past)

The corresponding VP is 9alima maa kaanuu ya9maluun 'to know what they may have been doing (in the past)'.
2.2.2 **Active and Passive participles, Intensifying forms, Comparatives and Passive verbs**

The point to be discussed is how to account for the prepositions associating with the following categories and governing the deep subjects or the deep objects of the verbs from which they are derived:

(i) Active participles; (ii) Passive participles; (iii) Intensifying forms; (iv) Comparatives; (v) Passive verbs. In terms of whether they are to be accounted for by transformations or lexical redundancy rules, these categories are grouped into (a) Active and Passive participles, Comparatives and Intensifying forms; (b) Passive verbs.

2.2.2.1 **Active and Passive participles, Comparatives and Intensifying forms**

Of the structures involving the derived forms in question only the following ones concern us:

(7) (a) the NP qualified by one of them, e.g. ragulun hallaalun lilmu9Dilaat 'a man able to solve problems' in (178), ragulun ?a9rafu biwaagibih 'a man who is best aware of his duty' in (179), ragulun muttahamun min kulli nnaas 'a man who is suspected by everybody' in (180), and qiSSatun muxiifatun likulli man yaqra?uhaa 'a story frightening to everyone who reads it' in (181): their adjectival elements are respectively the intensifying form hallaalun 'able to solve', the comparative ?a9rafu 'best aware', and the passive and the active participles muttahamun 'suspected' and muxiifatun 'frightening', respectively.

(178) haadaa ragulun hallaalun lilmu9Dilaat
     This is a man able to solve problems

(179) haadaa ragulun ?a9rafu biwaagibih
     This is a man who is best aware of his duty

(180) haadaa ragulun muttahamun min kulli nnaas
     This is a man who is suspected by everybody
This is a story frightening to everyone who reads it

(b) the adjectival phrase whose adjectival element is one of the derived forms in question. Examples are samma9uuna lilkadibi 'hearers of falsehood' in (182), ?azkaa lakum 'makes you more virtuous' in (183), raa9uuna li?amaanaatihim 'shepherds of their pledge' in (184) and mursalun min rabbih 'is sent by his Lord' in (185): their adjectival elements are respectively the intensifying form samma9uuna 'hearers', the comparative ?azkaa 'makes more virtuous', and the active and the passive participles raa9uuna 'shepherds' and mursalun 'is sent', respectively.

(182) hum samma9uuna lilkadibi ?akkaaluurahissult (cf. 5/42)
They are hearers of falsehood, eaters of what is unlawful

(183) daalikum ?azkaa lakum wa ?aThar (2/232)
That makes you more virtuous and cleaner

(184) hum raa9uuna li?amaanaatihim (cf. 23/8)
They are shepherds of their pledge

(185) ?ata9lamuuna ?anna Saalihan mursalun min rabbih (7/75)
Do you know that Saalih is sent by his Lord?

'min', 'li', 'bi' and ?ilaa' are the prepositions associating with the derived forms in question and governing NPs corresponding either to the deep subjects or the deep objects of the verbs from which they are derived.

1. 'min': it governs a NP associating with a passive participle and corresponding to the deep subject of the verb from which it - the passive participle - is derived; examples are the nominal elements of the PPs min rabbih 'by his Lord' in (185), and min rabbik 'by your Lord' in (186).

(186) ?alladiina ?aataynaahumu lkitaaba ya9lamuuna ?annahuu munazzalun min rabbik (6/114)
Those unto whom We gave the Scripture know that it is revealed by your Lord
They correspond to the subject of the clauses corresponding to those incorporating the passive participles associating with them. These clauses are (187-188), respectively.

(187) ?arsala Saalihan rabbuh
Saalih's Lord sent him

(188) hazzalahuu rabbuk
Your Lord revealed it

2. 'li': it governs a NP associating with an active participle, an intensifying form or a comparative, and corresponding to the object of the verbs from which they are derived. Examples are respectively the nominal elements of the PPs limaa ma9ahum 'that in their possession' in (189), lilkadibi 'of falsehood' in (182) and limaa labi0uu 'the time that they had stayed' in (190).

(189) wa lammaa gaa?ahum kitaabun min 9indi illaahi muSaddiqun
limaa ma9ahum (2/89)
And when there comes unto them a Scripture from Allah, confirming that in their possession

(190) Gumma ba9a?naahum lina9lama ?ayyu lhizbayni ?ahSaa limaa
labi0uu ?amadaa (18/12)
And afterwards We raised them up that We might know which of the two parties would best calculate the time that they had stayed

They correspond to the objects of the verbs from which the derived froms associating with them are derived. These objects are maa ma9ahum 'that in their possession' in (191), lilkadib 'falsehood' in (192), and maa labi0uu 'the time that they had stayed' in (193), respectively.

(191) yuSaddiqu maa ma9ahum
Confirm that in their possession
They hear falsehood

Calculate the time that they had stayed

3. 'bi': it governs a NP associating with an intensifying form or a comparative and corresponding to the object of the verbs from which they are derived; examples are the nominal elements of the PPs biZZaalimīn 'of wrongdoers' in (194) and bimaa kaanuu yaktumuun 'what they were hiding' in (195), respectively.

(194) wa 1laahu 9aliimun biZZaalimīn (2/95)
And Allah is well aware of wrongdoers

(195) wa 1laahu ?a9lamu bimaa kaanuu yaktumuun (5/61)
And Allah knows best what they were hiding

They correspond respectively to ZZaalimīn 'wrongdoers' in (196) and maa kaanuu yaktumuun 'what they were hiding' in (197), the objects of the verbs from which the derived forms in (194-195) are derived, respectively.

(196) ?allaahu ya9lamu ZZaalimīn
Allah knows wrongdoers

(197) ?allaahu ya9lamu maa kaanuu yaktumuun.
Allah knows what they were hiding

4. '?ila': it governs a NP associating with a comparative and corresponding to the subject of the verb from which it - the comparative - is derived; an example is the nominal element of ?ilayhim 'to them' in (198).

The believers' fathers and sons are not dearer to them than Allah and His messenger

It corresponds to the subject of (199), which is related to (198), the clause incorporating the comparative associating with it.
The believers love their fathers and sons

The aforementioned prepositions, 'min, li, bi and ?ilaal', are to be accounted for by lexical redundancy rules relating the structures involving the derived forms accompany them to those involving the verbs from which they are derived. Such an analysis accords with the criteria differentiating between transformations and lexical redundancy rules as well as with the priority given to the latter over the former (cf. above pp. 57-8).

(i) the items to be related belong to different grammatical categories, adjective and verbs.

(ii) to account for the prepositions associating with the derived forms requires no reference to elements outside of the immediate clauses embracing them.

(iii) the structures involving the derived forms are generated by the phrase structure rules. Consider first the NP qualified by one of the derived forms in question (cf. above p. 84). Like the NPs whose adjectival elements are not accompanied by PPs whose nominal elements correspond to either the deep subjects or the deep objects of the verbs from which they - the adjectival elements - are derived, those whose adjectival elements are so accompanied are generated by the phrase structure rules. For example, the NP ragulun hallaalun lilmu9Dilaat 'a man able to solve problems' in (178) and mudarrisun maahir 'a clever teacher' in (201) are generated by (200) and (202), respectively.

(200) Predicate phrase \[ \rightarrow \bar{N} \]

\[ \bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N} \quad \text{AdjP} \]

\[ \bar{N} \rightarrow N \]

\[ \text{AdjP} \rightarrow \text{Adj} \quad \text{PP} \]

\[ \text{PP} \rightarrow P \quad \bar{N} \]

\[ \bar{N} \rightarrow \text{Art} \quad N \]
This is a clever teacher.

Consider second the adjectival phrases whose adjectival elements are examples of the derived forms in question (cf. above p. 84). Like the adjectival phrases whose adjectival elements are not accompanied by PPs with prepositional complements related to the deep subjects or objects of the verbs from which they — the adjectival elements — are derived, those whose adjectival elements are so accompanied are generated by the phrase structure rules. For example, the adjectival phrases ra9uuna li?amaanaatihim 'shepherds of their pledge' in (184) and faqiir 'poor' in (204) are generated by (203) and (205), respectively.

(203) Predicate phrase —— AdjP

AdjP —— Adj PP
PP —— P N
N —— N Pronoun

(204) huwa faqiir
He is poor

(205) Predicate phrase —— AdjP

AdjP —— Adj

Let us then try to formulate the lexical redundancy rules accounting for the prepositions associating with the derived forms under discussion.

1. **Active participles**

According to the data, the active participles associating with the preposition 'li' that governs a NP corresponding to a deep object are derived from verbs of doing. Examples are muSaddiqun 'confirming' in
(189) and 9aabiduun 'worship' in (206): they are derived from Saddaqa 'confirm' and 9abada 'worship', respectively.

(206) wa nahnu lahuu 9aabiduun (2/138)
And We worship him

All active participles however, except those deriving from verbs of verbalization, which are verbs of doing, are able to be accompanied by 'li' that governs NPs related to the deep objects of the verbs from which they are derived. Consider, for example, (207-209).

(207) huwa muhibbun li?aSdiqaa?ih
He loves his friends

(208) ?a mustahsinun ?anta limaa yaquul
Do you regard as appropriate what he is saying?

(209) ?a mudrikun ?anta limaa taquul
Do you realize what you are saying?

The active participles muhibbun 'loves' in (207), mustahsinun 'regard as appropriate' in (208), and mudrikun 'realize' in (209) are derived from the following stative verbs, respectively: the emotional verb ?ahabb 'love', the mental state verb ?istahsan 'regard as appropriate' and the cognitive verb ?adrak 'realize'; yet they are accompanied by the preposition 'li' that governs NPs related to the deep objects of the verbs from which they are derived. As for the active participle of a verb of verbalization, it can be accompanied by bi governing a NP corresponding to the deep object of the verb from which it is derived, e.g. lqaa?ilu 'the one who said' in (210), which is mine.

(210) huwa lqaa?ilu bimaa sami9t
He is the one who said what I heard

Formulated in relation to both the examples in the data and (207-209) on the one hand, and to (210) on the other, (211) and (215) are respectively the lexical rules accounting for the 'li' and 'bi' association with the active participles in question.
Examples of (a) are musmi9in man fi lqubuur 'able to make those hear who are in the graves' in (212) and lkaazimiina l9ayZa 'those who control their wrath' in (213), and of (b) are raa9uuna li?amaanaatihim 'shepherds of their pledge' in (184) and ssaa?ila lah 'the one who questioned him' in (214).

(212) wa maa ?anta bimusmi9in man fi lqubuur (35/22)
But you are not able to make those hear who are in the graves

(213) ?u9iddat lilmuttaqiina 1la?iina yunfiquna fi ssarraaiwa lkaazimiina l9ayZa (3/133-4)
Prepared for those who ward off (evil). Those who spend in ease and in adversity, those who control their wrath

(214) ?a kunta ssaa?ila lah
Were you the one who questioned him

Examples of (a) are lqaa?ilu daalik 'the one who said that' and qaa?ilun maa sami9t 'have said what I heard' in (216-217) respectively, and of (b) are qaa?ilun bimaa qaala?i mu? maahir 'say
what maahir said' in (218), which is mine, and lqaa?ilu bimaa sami9t
'the one who said what I heard' in (210).

(216)  ?a ?anta lqaa?ilu daalik
Are you the one who said that?

(217)  ?a qaa?ilun ?anta maa sami9t
Have you said what I heard?

(218)  ?a qaa?ilun ?anta bimaa qaalahuu maahir
Do you say what maahir said?

2. **Intensifying forms**

As indicated above (pp.86-7), 'li' and 'bi' are the prepositions associating with Intensifying forms and governing NPs corresponding to deep objects. According to the data the intensifying forms associating with the former preposition are derived from verbs of doing and verbs of communication. Examples are respectively ?akkaaluuna 'eaters' in (182) and sammaa9uuna 'hearers' in (182), too: they are derived from the verb of doing ?aka 'eat' and the verb of communication sam19 'hear', respectively. The intensifying forms associating with the latter preposition on the other hand are derived from cognitive and emotional verbs. Examples are 9aliimun 'well aware' in (194), and rahiimun 'merciful' in (219): they are derived from the cognitive and the emotional verbs 9alim 'know' and rahim 'be merciful', respectively.

(219)  ?arrasuulu rahiimun bilmu?miniin (cf. 9/128)
The messenger is merciful for the believers

qawaalun/miqaalun 'constantly says'in (220), which is mine, is however another example of an intensifying form that is able to be accompanied by 'li', though it is not derived from a verb of doing or a verb of communication: it is derived from qaal 'say', which is a verb of verbalization.

(220)  huwa qawaalun/miqaalun lilhaqq
He constantly says the truth
According to the examples in the data as well as to (220, 222) and (226), (221) and (224) are the lexical rules accounting respectively for the association of the preposition 'li' and 'bi' with the intensifying forms.

(221) \[
V \\
\{ + \text{expressive of action} \}
\{ + \text{expressive of verbalization} \}
\{ + \text{expressive of communication} \}
+ [ [ \_ ] \text{[NP\textsubscript{1}]} ]
\]

\[
\text{Adj} \\
\{ (a) [ \_ ] (li) \text{[NP\textsubscript{1}]} \}
\{ (b) \text{Art[} \_ ] \text{li } \text{[NP\textsubscript{1}]} \}
\]

Semantics: (roughly) the one who constantly does or experiences what is denoted by V

Examples of (a) are sammaa\textsubscript{a}una lilkadib 'hearers of falsehood' in (182) and lasamii\textsubscript{u} ddu9aa? 'the Hearer of Prayer' in (223), and of (b) is lqawwaalu likalimati lhaqq 'the one who constantly says the word of truth' in (222), which is mine.

(222) huwa lqawwaalu likalimati lhaqq

He is the one who constantly says the word of truth

(223) ?inna rabbii lasamii\textsubscript{u} ddu9aa? (14/39)

Surely, My Lord is the Hearer of Prayer

(224) \[
V \\
\{ + \text{emotional} \}
\{ + \text{cognitive} \}
+ [ [ \_ ] \text{[NP\textsubscript{1}]} ]
\]

\[
\text{Adj} \\
\{ (a) [ \_ ] (bi) \text{[NP\textsubscript{1}]} \}
\{ (b) \text{Art[} \_ ] \text{bi } \text{[NP\textsubscript{1}]} \}
\]

Semantics: (roughly) the one who constantly experiences what is expressed by V

Examples of (a) are rahiimun bilmu?miniin 'merciful for the believers' in (219) and 9allaamu l\textsubscript{g}yuub 'the Know of Things Hidden' in (225), and of (b) is rrahiimu bilmu?miniin 'the merciful for the believers' in (226).

(225) wa ?anna llaaha 9allaamu l\textsubscript{g}yuub (9/78)

And that Allah is the Know of Things Hidden
Only the messenger is the merciful for the believers

3. Comparatives

It is indicated above (pp. 86-7) that comparatives associate with (a) 'li' or 'bi' or (b) ?ilaa that govern NPs relating respectively to the deep objects and subjects of the verbs from which they are derived.

According to the data, the classes of the verbs from which the comparatives associating with 'li' and 'bi' are derived are (i) verbs of doing, and (ii) cognitive verbs and verbs of verbalization, respectively. An example of (i) is ?ahSaa' calculate', which is the verb from which the comparative ?ahSaa 'best calculate in (190) is derived. Examples of (ii) on the other hand are 9alim 'know' and qaal 'say', which are the verbs from which the comparative ?a9lamu 'knows best' in (195) and ?aqwala 'more able to say' in (227) are derived, respectively.

(227) liyakun ?aaqaruhum 9indaka ?aqwalahum bimurri lhaqqi lak (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 515)
Let those who are more able to say the bitter truth to you be those who are in your view more deserving (to be your assistants)

There are however other comparatives that are able to be accompanied by 'li' that govern NPs relating to the objects of the verbs from which they are derived. Of these are (a) ?ak0aru stihsaanan 'regards as more appropriate' in (228) and ?ak0aru hubban 'loves more' in (229): they are derived from the mental state verb ?istahsan 'regard as appropriate' and the emotional verb ?ahabb 'love', and (b) ?ak0aru fahman 'understands more' in (230): it is derived from the cognitive verb fahim 'understand'.

(228) xaalidun ?ak0aru stihsaanan limaa yaquulu ?axuuh
xaalid regards as more appropriate what his brother says
(229) huwa ?akəaru hubban li?abihi min ?ummih
He loves his father more than his mother

(230) huwa ?akəaru fahuman li?aa ?aqul
He understands more what I say

To accommodate into the grammar the fact related to comparative phrases such as that of (b) (i.e. that the comparatives of some cognitive verbs are accompanied by 'li' rather than 'bi' (cf. above 195) that governs a NP related to a deep object), verbs such as 9alim 'know', e.g. 9araf 'know' and wa9aa 'know' on the one hand, and fahim 'understand', e.g. ?adrak 'realize' and ?istaw9ab 'comprehend' on the other, will be marked with different rule features having to do with the lexical rules relating them to their comparatives that are accompanied by 'bi' and 'li', respectively. Such features could be termed [+ LR₁] and [+ LR₂], respectively.

The comparatives associating with '?ilaa' on the other hand are derived from emotional verbs; e.g. ?ahabb (?ilay) 'dearer (to)' in (198); it is derived from the emotional verb ?ahabb 'love'. The comparative of the verb ?ahabb 'love' is the only one found in the data accompanied by '?ilaa'; and since there are emotional verbs whose comparatives cannot be accompanied by '?ilaa' governing a NP relating to a deep subject, e.g. karih 'hate' and 9aqiq 'love passionately', verbs such as ?ahabb 'love' will be assigned a feature rule having to do with the lexical rule relating them to their comparatives that are accompanied by such a preposition. This feature could be called [+ LR₃].

The lexical redundancy rules accounting for the association of the prepositions in question with Comparatives are as follows:

First, (231), which is formulated in relation to the examples in the data (cf. above (183) (190)) and those of (228-230), and according to what is said regarding the behaviour of the comparatives of cognitive verbs.
Second, (232), which is assigned in relation to the examples in the data (cf. (195), 6/117. and 28/85), and according to what is said regarding the behaviour of the comparatives of cognitive verbs (cf. above pp. 94-5)

(232) \[ V \begin{bmatrix} + \text{cognitive} \\ + \text{LR}_1 \\ + \{ [ ] [ NP_1 ] \} \end{bmatrix} \]

Semantics: (roughly) the one who experiences more what is expressed by V

Examples with NP\_1 governed and not governed by 'bi' are respectively: a9lamu bimaa kaanuu yaktumuun 'knows best what they were hiding' in (195) and man yaDillu 9an sabiilih 'knows best who errs from His way' in (233).

(233) \(\text{inna rabbaka huwa } a9lamu \text{ manyaDillu 9an sabiilih } (6/117)\)

Surely, only your Lord knows best who errs from His way

In the language I use however only the phrases with 'bi' governing NP\_1 are grammatical.

Third, (234), which is formulated in relation to the data (cf. above (227)).
Fourth, (235), which is formulated in relation to the data (cf. above (198)) and according to what is said in relation to the syntactic behaviour of the comparatives of emotional verbs (cf. above pp. 94-5).

4. **Passive participles**

As indicated above (p. 85), 'min' is the preposition associating with Passive participles and governing a NP corresponding to the deep subject of the verbs from which they - the passive participles - are derived. According to the data, this NP is animate and assumes the semantic role agentive, and, hence, the passive participle associating with it is derived from a verb of doing (cf. below 14.2.1). Does this mean that such a NP is the only one able to be both accompanied by a passive participle and governed by 'min'? To explain this consider (i) the other deep subjects of verbs of doing, e.g. ǧǧamsu 'the sun' in (236), which is a natural agent (cf. p. 459); (ii) the deep subject assuming the semantic role external causer which too is a subject of a verb of doing, e.g. kalimaatu xaaliid 'xaalid's words' in (237); (iii) the deep subjects of other verbs such as cognitive, emotional and mental state verbs, e.g. xaalidun 'xaalid' in (238), 9aliyyuni '9aliyy' in (239) and DDuyuufu 'the
guests' in (240), respectively.

(236) ?ahraqati 媾samsu guluudahum
The sun burnt their skins

(237) yus9idu 9aliyyan kalimaatu xaalid
xaalid's words please 9aliyy

(238) ?adraka xaalidun Su9uubata lmu$kilah
xaalid realized the difficulty of the problem

(239) yakrahu 9aliyyuni 1masraah
9aliyy hates the theatre

(240) ?istahsana 9Duyuufu ra?ya maahir
The guests regarded as appropriate maahir's opinion

(241-244) are respectively the comparable structures of (236) and (238-240) to a clause such as Saalihan mursalun min rabbih 'Saalih is sent by his Lord' in (185).

(241) kaanat guluuduhum mahraqatan mina 媾sams
Their skins were burnt by the sun

(242) kaanat Su9uubatu lmu$kilati mudrakatan min xaalid
The difficulty of the problem was realized by xaalid

(243) ?almasrahu makruuhun min 9aliyy
The theatre is hated by 9aliyy

(244) kàana ra?yu maahirin mustahsanan mina 9Duyuuf maahir's opinion was regarded as appropriate by the guests

The data contain no examples justifying the association of passive participles such as those of (241-244) with the PPs they contain; furthermore, it seems to me that nominal structures such as (241-244) are unacceptable: the acceptable ones are (245-247).

(245) guluuduhum ?ahraqathaggams
Their skins, the sun burnt them
(246) Suq̣ubatu lmūskiḥah ?adrakāhah xaalid
The difficulty of the problem, xaalid realized it

(247) ?almasrah yakrahuhuu 9aliyy
The theatre, 9aliyy hates it

(248) raʔyu maahir ?istahsanahu DDuyuuf
maahir's opinion, the guests regarded it as appropriate

(249) on the other hand is the compatible structure of (237) to
the clause Saalihan mursalun min rabbīh 'Saalih is sent by his Lord'
in (185).

(249) 9aliyyun mus9adun bikalimaati xaalid
9aliyy is pleased by xaalid's words

The data contain examples justifying the association of the passive
participle of (249) with the PP it embraces. 'bi' is one of the
prepositions associating with passive verbs and governing a NP related
to the deep subject of their active counterparts. According to the data,
this NP assumes the semantic role external causer, e.g. him 'them' in (250).

(250) (wa lammaa gaaʔat rusulunaa luwaʔTaan) siiʔa bihím (29/33)
(And when Our messengers came to luwT), he was troubled by them

A nominal structure such as (249) is however less acceptable than
(251), which is its counterpart with a passive verb, and (252), which is
its counterpart with a PV the nominal element of whose PO both assumes the
semantic role external causer and corresponds to the nominal element of
the PP with which the passive participle it - (249) - embraces associates.

(251) 9aliyy yus9adu bikalimaati xaalid
9aliyy, he is pleased by xaalid's words

(252) 9aliyy yas9adu bikalimaati xaalid
9aliyy, he is pleased with xaalid's words

Accordingly, the lexical redundancy role accounting for the
prepositional element of the PPs associating with the passive participles
in question will be formulated in relation to the data as follows:

\[
(253) \begin{bmatrix}
V \\
+ [ [ \ldots ] ] \\
\text{pred VP phrase} \\
\text{NP}_2 \\
+ \text{animate} \\
+ \text{agentive} \\
\text{AdjP} \\
+ [ [ \ldots ] \text{min} [ \text{NP}_2 ] ] \\
\text{Adj}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Semantics: (roughly) the sufferer of what is expressed by \( V \)

2.2.2.2 Passive verbs

'bi' and 'min' are the prepositions associating with passive verbs and governing NPs related to the deep subjects of the active verbs from which they - the passive verbs - are derived. Examples are respectively the prepositional elements of the PPs bihim 'by them' in (250) and min ?axiihi 'by his brother' in (254).

(254) (faman) 9ufiya lahuu min ?axiihi \$ay? (2/178)

(And for him) who is forgiven somewhat by his brother

Their complements correspond to the deep subjects of (255-256), which are the corresponding active clauses to (250) and (254), respectively.

(255) (wa laammaa gaa?at rusulunaa luuTan) saa?uuh

(And when Our messengers came to luuT), they troubled him

(256) (faman) 9afaa lahuu ?axuuhu \$ay?aa

(And for him) who his brother forgives him somewhat

According to the data, the nominal element governed by 'bi' assumes the semantic role external causer, e.g. him 'them' in (250), and that by 'min' is animate, agentive, e.g. ?axiihi 'his brother' in (254). (For other examples see 6/106, 3/84, 52/35 and 39/55.) Does this mean that the passive forms of the verbs whose deep subjects are neither animate, agentive, nor external causer cannot be accompanied by PPs with nominal elements relating to the deep subjects of their active counterparts? The answer to this question seems to be Yes. For me, sentences (257-258) are rather unacceptable, and their acceptable versions are (259-260), respectively.
Their skins were burnt by the sun

9aliyy's opinion was regarded as appropriate by the guests

The sun burnt their skins

The guests regarded 9aliyy's opinion as appropriate

For the sun in (257) is a natural agent and the guests' is experiencer.

Accordingly, the rule accounting for the prepositions associating with the passive verbs and governing the deep subjects of their active counterparts will be formulated in relation to the data.

In contradistinction to the rules accounting for the PPs associating with the other derived forms (cf. above 2.2.2.1), this rule is transformational. For structures such as (250) and (254) are not generated by the phrase structure rules; and to regard them as being so generated is counter-intuitive. Consider, for example, (261).

There are two possible sets of phrase structure rules for generating (261): the first is (262) and the second is (263).

Both (262) and (263) are counter-intuitive. According to (262), the deep subject of (261) will be min 9aliyy 'by 9aliyy', i.e. a PP, which occurs nowhere else, and to (263), xaalidun 'xaalid' will be the deep subject
rather than the deep object.

Having said that, (264-265), which are optional, are the transformations accounting respectively for 'min' and 'bi' that associate with passive verbs and govern NPs corresponding to the deep subjects of their active counterparts.

\[
(264) \quad [\quad [\quad [V][NP] X] Y] \quad [\quad NP \quad ] \quad Z \\
\quad S \quad Pred \quad VP \\
\quad phrase \\
\quad [\quad + \quad animate \quad ] \\
\quad [\quad + \quad agentive \quad ] \\
\quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \rightarrow \\
\quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad min \quad + \quad 5 \quad 6 \\
\left[ \text{passive} \right]
\]

\[
(265) \quad [\quad [\quad [V][NP] . X] Y] \quad [\quad NP \quad ] \quad Z \\
\quad S \quad Pred \quad VP \\
\quad phrase \\
\quad [\quad + \quad external \quad causer \quad ] \\
\quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \rightarrow \\
\quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad bi \quad + \quad 5 \quad 6 \\
\left[ \text{passive} \right]
\]
Footnotes

1. An underlying representation such as (i) does not concern us. For, firstly, NP₁, which corresponds to NP₁ in (54), is already governed by 'P'; secondly, as far as the data are concerned, there is no sentence having an underlying representation such as (i), where NP₂ is governed by a preposition that is assigned by a transformation, i.e. there is no sentence such as (ii).

(i) \[ S \ V P \ V \ NP \quad S \ V P \ V \quad PP \quad NP₂ \quad NP₃ \]

(ii) \[ ?uhibbu \ minka \ ttafkiirafii \ daalik \]

I want you to think about that.

2. For me, however, all the sentences of (78-83) are grammatical. For apart from NP₂ in a clause the main verb of which is xaaf 'to fear', NP₂ in an embedded S that has no object, and which is neither animate agentive nor identical with NP₃, can be governed by the preposition 'li', when it associates with the VN in surface structure. The preposition governing NP₂ in a clause the main verb of which is xaaf 'to fear' is an exception; it is '9alaa' e.g. 9alay(hi) 'for (him)' in (i - ii).

(i) \[ ?axaafu \ 9alayhi \ lfaqr \]

I fear for him poverty

(ii) \[ ?axaafu \ 9alayhi \ lmawt \]

I fear for him death

3. If na and hunna 'they' are not identical, (90) will be grammatical, and translate 'they want to be protected against them'.

4. For me clauses with the embedded S's realized by (99-101; 103) are unacceptable, e.g. (i-iv), respectively, and clauses with the embedded S's realized by (97-98; 102; 104) are acceptable, e.g. (v-viii).
(i) *?uriidu musaa9adata 1fuqaraa?i mink
   I want you to help the poor
(ii) *?uriidu musaa9adatan ?alfuqaraa?a/1musaa9adata 1fuqaraa?a\(\) mink
   I want you to help the poor
(iii) *?uriidu musaa9adatan(1musaa9adata) lilfuqaraa?i mink
   I want you to help the poor
(iv) *?uriidu minka musaa9adatan ?alfuqaraa?a/1musaa9adata 1fuqaraa?a
   I want you to help the poor
(v) *?uriidu musaa9adataka lilfuqaraa?
   I want you to help the poor
(vi) *?uriidu musaa9adataka 1fuqaraa?a
   I want you to help the poor
(vii) *?uriidu minka''musaa9adata 1fuqaraa?i
   I want you to help the poor
(viii) *?uriidu minka (imusaa9adata\(\)musaa9adatan lilfuqaraa?
   I want you to help the poor

5. For me, sentence (111) is grammatical, if \(\text{NP}_2\) and \(\text{NP}_3\) are not identical (cf. above Footnote 4, sentence (viii)).

6. For me sentences such as (139-140) are grammatical and correspond to the sentences having the following surface structure, for example.

   (i) Negative particle \(V\) \(\text{NP}_2\) ?illaa \(\text{NP}_1\)
where \(V\) is the verb from which \(\text{VN}\) in (138) derives.

7. The structures left out are:

   (a) those in which the derived forms function as subjects of laa-clauses, e.g. (i) and (ii).

   (i) laa mubaddila likalimaati llaah (6/34)
   There is none to alter the words of Allah

   (ii) [ ?allaahu] baSiirun ?id laa manzuura ?ilayhi min xalqih (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 19)
[Allah] is acutely aware when He is seen by none of those He has created

(b) those in which the derived forms function as Object adjunct, e.g. (iii).

(iii) (wa ?aaminuu bimaat ?anzaltu) muSaddiigan limaama9akum (2/41)

(And believe in that which I have revealed, confirming that which you possess already)

The reason of leaving out such structures is that to account for the fact that their derived forms are accompanied by prepositions governing NPs corresponding to the deep objects or subjects of the verbs from which they are derived requires a comprehensive study of the phrase structure rules of so-called nominal sentences. To say anything regarding the derivation of clauses such as (i-ii), and (iii) requires (a) discussing the phrase structure rules of similar structures but with no derived forms, e.g. (iv-v), respectively.

(iv) laa ragul2L fi lbayt

There is no man in the house

(v) (qaabaltuhuu) gundiyyan fi lgayl

(I met him) (when he was) a soldier in the army

(b) answering the question of whether the clauses (i-ii), and (iii) are to be generated in the same way as (iv) and (v), respectively.

Two things are certain, however:

(i) both in structures such as (i-ii) and (iii), and in the other two structures (cf. above pp. 84-5), the prepositions governing the NPs associating with the derived forms are accounted for according to the same basis. For example, 'li' in (i) governs kalimaati llaah 'the words of Allah', for it both associates with an active participle and governs a NP corresponding to the object of the VP corresponding to

(i) i.e. to kalimaati llaal 'the words of Allah' in baddala kalimaati llaah 'to alter the words of Allah'. For the same principle in relation to the 'li' associating with an active participle in the other two structures, see above pp.89-92
(ii) while 'li' and 'min' in structures such as (i-ii) are obligatory
(the clauses corresponding to them but with no prepositions are
ungrammatical), 'li' in the phrase muSaddiqan lima ma9akum 'confirming
that which you possess already' in (iii) is optional: muSaddiqan maa
ma9akum 'confirming that which you possess already', which is its
corresponding phrase with no 'li', is grammatical.

8. I use the term 'the doer' to refer to the active participle of
the verb marked with the feature [+ expressive of an action], and the
term 'the experiencer', in the widest rather than the narrowest sense,
to refer to the active participles of the verb marked with the feature
[+ stative].

It should be noted that when used in its narrowest sense (cf.
Vestergaard, pp. 186-7) 'the experiencer' refers to the subject of a verb
of appearance, e.g. maahirun 'maahir' in (i), or the nominal element of
the PO of a verb of appearance (cf. below pp. 213-14), e.g. 'ii 'me' in (ii).

(i) ?istahsana maahirun maa qaalahuu 9aliyy
   maahir regarded as appropriate what 9aliyy said

(ii) tabayyana lii ?annahuu Sadiiq
   It became clear to me that he was a friend
PART TWO

PREPOSITIONAL VERBS
CHAPTER THREE

VERBS REQUIRING PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS

In terms of whether they require only one PO or more than one PO, or (a) prepositional(s) and (b) nominal object(s), verbs requiring POs can be classified into: (i) verbs requiring one PO; (ii) verbs requiring a nominal and a PO; (iii) verbs requiring two POs; (iv) verbs requiring a nominal object and two POs or a PO and two nominal ones.

3.1 Verbs Requiring One Prepositional Object

Examples of such verbs are taSilu 'reached' in (1), (fa)9taraf "(now) confess" in (2), ?aSlii? 'make peace' in (3), bâpaa "oppressed" in (4), yu9riD 'turns' in (5), yu?saari9 'vying' in (6), ya?ni 'the time ripe' in (7) and (fa)nsalaxa (but)'got detached' in (8).

(1) . falammaara?aa ?aydiyahum laa taSilu ?ilayhi nakirahum (11/70)
And when he saw their hands reached not to it, he mistrusted them

(2) qaaluu rabbanaa ?amattana ?enatayni wa ?ahyaytana ?enatayni fa9tarafnaa bii?nuubinaa (40/11)
They say: Our Lord! Twice have You made us die, and twice have You made us live, now we confess our sins

(3) wa ?in Taa?ifataani mina lm?miniina qtataluu fa ?aSlihuu baynahumaa (49/9)
And if two parties of believers fall to fighting,
then make peace between them

(4) And this is doubtless of the people of muusaa, but
he oppressed them

(5) And whoever turns away from the remembrance of his
Lord, He will cause him to undergo a severe penalty

(6) And you see many of them vying one with another in
sin and transgression

(7) Is not the time ripe for the hearts of those who
believe to submit to Allah's reminder?

(8) Relate to them the story of him to whom we sent our
signs, but he got detached from it

Verbs such as taSilu 'reached' in (1), i.e. verbs requiring
one object that is prepositionally realized are PVs, and they and
the PPs they require will be referred to as V-P-N combinations
where V-is PV, and P-N is the PP it requires as its PO and P-
and-N are the preposition and the nominal element of this PP, respectively.
There occur combinations which are superficially similar to V-P-N combinations. These are the verb-preposition-noun combinations in which the verb is not a PV, and the preposition and the noun constitute a PP with which the verb is not in close construction, i.e. a PP functioning as adjunct, e.g. the verb-preposition-noun combinations yasta-hin=ufi SSabaa'h 'has a bath in the morning' in (9), daakara bayna  giậnagaratayni TTawiilatayn 'studied between the two long trees' in (10), (wa)stakbara fi l?arDi 'And) were haughty in the land' in (11), saqaa lahumaa 'watered for them' in (12), yuSallii fi lmihraab 'praying in the sanctuary' in (13), ?aamanuu ma9ah 'believe with him' in (14), ya9uuSuuna lah 'dived for him' in (15), tam$ii 9ala stihyaa? 'walking shyly' in (16) and gaadal(uu) bilbaaTil 'argued falsely' in (17).

(9) yasta-himmu TTiflu fi SSabaa'h

The child has a bath in the morning

(10) daakara 9aliyyun bayna 9i9agaratayni TTawiilatayn

9aliyy studied between the two long trees

(11) wa stakbara huwa wa gunuuduhuu fi l?arDi biuyayri

1haqq (28/39)

And he and his hosts were haughty in the land without right

(12) fa$aqaa lahumaa (28/24)

Then he watered (their folk) for them

(13) fanaadathu lmalaa?ikatu wa huwa qaa?imun yuSallii

fi lmihraab (3/39)

And the angels called unto him as he stood praying in the sanctuary
Slay the sons of those who believe with him

(15) wa mina 59ayaaTiini man ya9uuSuuna . lah (21/82)
And of the evil ones were some who dived for him

Then there came to him one of the two women walking
shyly

(17) wa hammat kullu ?ummatin 9irasuulihaa liya?xudduuhu
wa gaadaluu bilbaaTil (40/5)
And every people plotted against their -prophet to
seize him and argued falsely

Verb-preposition-noun combinations such as those in (9 - 17)
will be referred to as $V_1$-P-N combination where P- and N represent
a preposition and a noun phrase, respectively, and constitute
a PP loosely associated with $V_1$ , i.e. a PP functioning as
adjunct, and $V_1$ represents either (i) a truly or inherently
intransitive verb, (1) e.g. yastahimmu 'has a bath' in (9)
and (wa)stakbara '(and) were-haughty'-in (11) or (ii) an
absolute (2) use of a transitive verb, i.e. of a verb able to have a
complement, e.g. yuSallii 'praying' in (13), which is the absolute
use of the single transitive verb yuSallii 'prays' in (18), ?aaman(uu)
'believe' in (14), which is the absolute use of the PV ?aamana
'believes' in (19) and gaadal(uu) 'argued' in (17), which is the
absolute use of the double object transitive-PV tugaadilu 'disputes'
in (20).

(18) yuSalli 9aliyyuni 19aSr fi 1masgid
9aliyy prays afternoon prayer at the mosque
(19)  The Messenger believes in that which has been revealed to him from his Lord

(20)  Allah has heard the saying of her that disputes with you (Muhammad) concerning her husband

3.2 Verbs Requiring a Nominal and a Prepositional Object

Examples of such verbs are tad9 'summon' in (21), ?unabbi?u 'inform' in (22), tudiir 'carry out' in (23), ?arsal 'sent' in (24), kaffa 'withheld' in (25), ?alq 'fling' in (26), Tawwa9a'made permissible' in (27), tasma9 'hear' in (28), tarak 'left' in (29) and (30) and taraka 'left' in (31).

(21)  But verily, you summon them to a right path

(22)  Say: Shall I inform you of something better than that?

(23)  Save only in the case when it is a transaction which you carry out on the spot among yourselves

(24)  Remember the grace of Allah on you when there came to
you hosts and we sent against them a great wind and
hosts you could not see

(25) ?udkuruu ni9mata llaahi 9alaykum ?id haamma qawmun ?an
Remember Allah's favour to you, when certain men were
minded to stretch out their hands against you but He
withheld their hands from you

(26) qaala qaa?ilun minhum laa taqtuluu yuusuf wa ?alquuhu
fii 9ayaabati 1gubbi yaltaqiqu Thu ba9Du ssayyaarah ?in
kuntum faa9iliin (12/10)
One among them said: Do not kill yuusuf but, if you
must be doing, fling him into the depth of the well,
some caravan will pick him up

(27) faTawwa9at lahuu nafsuhuu qatla ?axiih (5/30)
But the soul of (the other) made it permissible for him
to kill his brother

(28) latublawunna fii ?amwaalikum wa ?anfusikum wa latasma9unna
mi?a 1ladiina ?uutu 1kitaaba min qablikum wa mina
Assuredly, you will be tried in your property and in
your persons, and you will hear much wrong from those
who were given the Scripture before you and from the
idolaters

(29) yaa ?abaanaa ?innaa dahabnaa nastabiq wa taraknaa
yuusufa ?inda mata9inaa (12/17)
O our father! We went racing with one another and
left yuusuf by our things
(30) wa iyax a 1ladina la taraku min xalfiim durriyyatan
Di9aafan xaafuu 9alayhim (4/9)
And let those fear (in their behaviour toward orphans)
who if they left behind them weak offspring would be
afraid for them.

(31) taraka 9aliyyuni 1 kitaaba fawqa/tahta/?amaama/waraa?a
1kursiy
9aliyy left the book on /under/in front of/behind the
chair

Following Vestergaard (3) (cf. Vestergaard, p. 2) I term the verbs
requiring a nominal as well as a prepositional object 'double
object transitive-prepositional verbs' (DOT-PV henceforth). The
combination consisting of such verbs and the nominal and the
prepositional objects they require will be referred to as the
combinations whose verbal element is a DOT-PV.

Superficially similar structures to these combinations are
available and might be referred to as the combinations whose verbal
element is not a DOT-PV, i.e. whose verbal element represents, for
instance, (i) a single transitive verb accompanied by a nominal
object and a prepositionally realized adjunct, or (ii) a transitive
verb employed absolutely and accompanied by a nominally and a
prepositionally realized adjuncts. Examples of (i) are yubaayi9
'swore allegiance', naSara 'has given victory', ?an9a? 'raised up'
and yarzuqu 'gives' in the combinations: yubaayi9(uuna)ka tahta
aggarah '(they) swore allegiance to you beneath the tree', naSarakumu
fii mawaatina ka9irah 'has given you victory on many battle-fields',
?an9a?(naa) ba9dahaa qawman ?aaxarin 'raised up after them another
folk' and yarzuqu man ya$aa?u biğayri hisaab 'gives without stint whom He will' in (32 - 35), respectively.

(32) ٰلاَقَدْ رَأَيْنَكَ اللَّهُ ٌعَنَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ؟يَا يُبَايِعُكُمْ ٌتَأْتِيٌّا تَأْنِيِّا (48/18)
        Allah was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you beneath the tree

(33) ٰلاَقَدْ نَسَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ فِي مَعالِمِهِ ٌكَأْيُرُ (9/25)
        Assuredly, Allah has given you victory on many battle-fields

(34) ٰوَكَمْ قَاَسَمَنَاكِنَّ مَنْ قَرْيَتِكُنَّ ؟أَنْسَاهُمَا بَعْدَهُمَا ؟أَخَارِيَّ (21/11)
        How many an unjust community have we utterly destroyed and raised up after them another folk!

(35) ٰوَلَلَّهِ يَرْزُقُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ هُدْيِهِ (2/212)
        And Allah gives without stint whom He will

Examples of (ii), on the other hand, are: gaadala (4) 'argued', yadrusu (5) 'study' and taxtaSim 'will dispute' in the combinations: gaadala lyawma bi-ha-dar 'argued today cautiously', (sa)yadrusu llaylata hattaa muntaSafi llayl 'will study tonight until midnight' and yawma lqiyaamati 9inda rabbikum taxtaSim(uun) 'on the Day of Resurrection, before your Lord (you) will dispute', in (36 - 38), respectively.

(36) gaadala 9aliyyuni lyawma bi-ha-dar
        9aliyy argued today cautiously

(37) sayadrusu maahiruni llaylata hattaa muntaSafi llayl
        maahir will study tonight until midnight
Verily, on the Day of Resurrection, before your Lord you will dispute

3.3 Verbs Requiring Two Prepositional Objects

Examples of such verbs are yahkumu 'will judge' in (39), taghar 'speak aloud' in (40), xaraga 'came forth' in (41), yargab 'prefer' in (42) xarra 'fell down' in (43) and yamdud 'stretch' in (44).

(39) allaahu yahkumu baynahum - fiimaa kaanuu fiihi yaxtalifuun (cf.- 2/113)

Allah will judge between them concerning that wherein they differ

(40) yaa?ayyuha lladin?i ?aamanuu laa tarfa9uu ?aSwaatakum fawqa Sawti nnabiyyi wa laa tagharuu lahuu bilqawli kagahri ba9. Dikum liba9D (49/2)

O you who believe! Do not raise your voice above the voice of the prophet nor speak aloud to him as you do to one another

(41) faxaraga 9alaa qawmihi mina lmihraab (19/11)

Then he came forth to his people from the sanctuary

(42) maa kaan li?ahli lmadiniati wa man ?awlahum mina l?arabi ?an yataxallafuu 9an rasuuli llaahi wa laa yargabuu bi?anfusihim 9an nafsiih (9/120)

It is not for the people of ?almadiniyah and for those around them of the Bedouin Arabs to stay behind the messenger of Allah and prefer their lives to his live
Verbs requiring two POs such as those in (39 - 44) are 'double object prepositional verbs (DOPV henceforth), and the combinations they constitute with the two POs they require will be referred to as the combinations whose verbal element is a DOPV.

Superficially similar constructions to these combinations are also available and could be referred to as the combinations whose verbal element is not a DOPV, i.e. whose verbal element represents either (i) a PV, and consequently, one of the two PPs associating with it will be the PO it requires and the other a PP with an adverbial function, e.g. damdama 'doomed' in (45) kafara 'disbelieves' in (46) and yatawaaraa 'hides himself' in (47) or (ii) an intransitive verb (6), and, hence, the two PPs will have an adverbial function e.g. yabī 'rebel' in (48), gāla 'become high' in (49), darasa (7) 'studied' in (50) and tahassana 'improved' in (51).
So their Lord doomed them for their sin

Whoever disbelieves in Allah after his belief

He hides himself from the folk because of the bad news he has had

Yet when he has delivered them, behold! they rebel in the earth wrongfully

Prices became high in Egypt after 1973 war

9aliyy eagerly studied last night

The child's health clearly improved after the doctor's second visit

3.4 Verbs Requiring Either a Nominal Object and Two Prepositional Ones or a Prepositional Object and Two Nominal Ones

Examples of the sub-class requiring a nominal object and two POs are faDdala 'has favoured' in (52) and STafay 'have granted' in (53) and of the sub-class requiring a PO and two nominal ones are faDdala 'has bestowed' in (54) and taqaTTa9 'have broken' in (55).
(52) wa llaahu faDDala ba9Dakum 9alaa ba9Din fi rrizq

(16/71)
And Allah has favoured some of you above others in provision

(53) qaala yaa muusaa ?inni STafaytuka 9ala nnaasi birisaalaatii

(7/144)
He said: O muusaa! I have granted you my messages in preference to (other) men

(54) wa faDDala llaahu lmugaahidiina 9ala 1qaa9idiina ?agran 9aZiimaa (4/95)
But Allah has bestowed on those who strive a great reward above those who sit (at home)

(55) fataqaTTa9uu ?amrahum baynahum zuburaa (23/53)
But they have broken their religion among them into sects

Verbs such as faDDala 'has favoured' in (52), for instance, are triple object transitive-prepositional verbs (TOT-PV henceforth), and the combinations they constitute with their objects might be referred to as the combinations whose verbal element is a TOT-PV.

Superficially similar combinations to these combinations are available and could be referred to as the combinations whose verbal element is not a TOT-PV. What the verbal element of these latter combinations represents depends on whether it is accompanied by (i) a NP and two PPs or by (ii) two NPs and one PP. In (i) it might represent, for instance, a DOPV, thus the PPs will be its POs and the NP a nominally realised adjunct, e.g. ya-hkumu 'judge' in (56), or a DOT-PV and, consequently, the NP will be its nominal object.
and one of the two PPs its PO and the other a prepositionally realized adjunct, e.g. qasam 'have apportioned' in (57).

(56) fallaahu yahkumu baynahum yawmalqiyaamati fiimaa kaanuu fiihi yaxtalifuun (2/113)
But Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection concerning that wherein they differ

(57) nahnu qasamnaa baynahum ma9i9atahum fi lhayaati d8unya (43/32)
We have apportioned among them their livelihood in the life of the World

In (ii), on the other hand, It- the non-TOT-PV- could be, for instance, (1) a double object transitive verb and, therefore, the NPs will be its required nominal objects and the PP a prepositionally realized adjunct, e.g. gazaa 'award' in (58) or (2) a single transitive verb and, consequently, one of the NPs will be the nominal object it requires and the other as well as the PP a nominally and prepositionally realized adjunct, respectively, e.g. yaďrahu 'explain' in (59).

(58) wa gazaahum bimaa Sabaruu gannatan wa hariiraa (76/12)
And for all that they endured, he will award them a garden and (garments of) silk

(59) sayaďrahu 9aliyyun laka daalika ġadaa
9aliyy will explain that for you tomorrow

The main purpose of the following chapters is to discuss the validity of the assumption that what represents PV is both V- and P- in V-P-N combinations, i.e. to discuss whether the
difference between V-P-N and $V_1$-P-N combinations is (1) a difference in terms of constituency break or (2) a difference in terms of the function P-N assumes. According to (1) the constituency break of V-P-N combinations could be thought of as being V-P/-N, where V-P is a single constituent, a PV and -N is its object and of $V_1$-P-N combinations as $V_1$/-P-N, where $V_1$ is not a PV but an intransitive verb and P-N is an adjunct. According to (2), on the other hand, the constituency break of both combinations are alike: they are V-/P-N and $V_1$-/P-N. Both combinations, however differ as to the function of P-N. While P-N in V-P-N combinations is a PO and, therefore, what represents PV is only V-, in $V_1$-P-N combinations, it functions as adjunct and consequently $V_1$ is not a PV. Occasionally, however, differences will be referred to between the combinations whose verbal element is a DOT-PV, a DOPV or a TOT-PV and those superficially corresponding to them.
Footnotes

(1) For truly or inherently intransitive verbs, see Long, p. 134 and Fillmore, 1968a: 378.

(2) For transitive verbs that are employed absolutely, see Lyons, 1968: 360-1; for more clarification, see below 22.1.

(3) Other terms are (i) 'prepositional verbs with two complements' which is Berkoff's (cf. Berkoff, p. 2). The disadvantage of this term is that it does not differentiate between verbs having two complements both of which are prepositionally realized and others with two complements one of which is prepositionally realized and the other is not, i.e. it does not differentiate between DOPVs (cf. above 3.3) such as 'speak about something to somebody', hakama bayna $axSayni fii $ay?in maa 'judge between two persons concerning something', etc. and DOT-PVs (cf. above 3.2)

    e.g. 'remind somebody of something', $anba?a $axSan maa bi $ay?in maa 'inform somebody of something', etc.; (ii) 'ditransitive verbs', which is Quirk's (cf. Quirk et al., pp. 843-5; Berkoff, p. 1). The disadvantage of this term is that it does not differentiate between DOT-PVs (cf. above 3.2) and double object transitive verbs such as 'buy somebody something', $a9Taa $axSan maa $ay?an maa 'give somebody something', saqaa $axSan maa $ay?an maa 'give somebody something to drink', etc.

(4) For this absolute employment of gaadal 'argue' in gaadala $axSan maa fii $ay?in maa 'argue with somebody about something' see 18/56.

(5) For this absolute use of daraSa 'study' in daraSa $ay?an maa 'study something', see 6/105.
(6) I use this term to refer to (i) pure transitive verbs, e.g. gala 'became high' in (49), and tahassana 'improved' in (51) and (ii) verbs that are able to have complements but employed absolutely (cf. above footnote 2). e.g. the single transtive verb darasa 'studied' in (50) and the PV yabj 'rebel' in (48).

(7) For this absolute use of daras 'study' see 6/105.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE VALIDITY OF RECOGNIZING AS PREPOSITIONAL VERB THE FIRST TWO COMPONENTS OF VERB-PREPOSITION-NOUN COMBINATIONS

4.1 With Respect to English

Consider the following sentences:

(1) He breakfasted in his friend's room (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 32)
(2) He drinks between meals (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 230)
(3) He called after lunch (cf. Quirk et al., p.811).
(4) (The program) has 'been running for years (cf. Vestergaard, p. 76)
(5) He imposed on everybody (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 32)
(6) These laws my readers are bound to believe in (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 277)
(7) They call on the man (cf. Quirk, et al., p. 816)
(8) I have thought of several improvements (cf. Vestergaard, p.29)

Poutsma, Jesperson, Quirk and Vestergaard regard as constituting a group of my V₁-P-N combinations, the combinations 'breakfasted in his friend's room' in (1), 'drinks between meals' in (2), 'called after lunch' in (3) and 'has been running for years' in (4), and as constituting a group of my V-P-N combinations, the combinations 'imposed on everybody' in (5), 'believe in these laws' in (6), 'call on the man' in (7) and 'thought of several improvements' in (8). These linguists, however, differ from one another as to the basis of grouping these combinations; and in terms of constituency break, their views can be summed up as follows:
1. Poutsma (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 32) considers the constituency break of the V₁P-N combinations to be V₁-/P-N and regards P-N as an adverbial adjunct (ibid, p. 29; pp. 31-7). With respect to the constituency break in the V-P-N combinations, on the other hand, he states that there are two possibilities (1) V-/P-N or V-P/-N (ibid, p.28; pp. 33-4), where both P-N and N are reckoned by him to function as PO. Yet, he favours the first possibility (ibid, p. 28).

2. Jesperson holds that the constituency break in the V₁-P-N combinations is V₁-/P-N (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 189), and in the V-P-N combinations it might be V-/P-N or V-P/-N (ibid., p. 252 and Jesperson, 1969: 138). He, however, favours the latter constituency break (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138; 1927, III, 185; 276-7).

Jesperson's equivalent analysis to V-/P-N is V p 1 (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138) where V is a verb, p is a preposition, 1 is a primary and p1 is a prepositional phrase or group (ibid., p. 10; p. 22), and to V-P/-N is WO (ibid., p.138) where W, which is the symbol of V-P, is a composite or complex verbal expression (1) (ibid., p. 6; p. 138) and O is object (ibid., p.6).

In the constituency break V₁/P-N, P-N, is regarded by Jesperson as being equal to an adverb (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 189). But in the constituency break V-/P-N, P-N is not considered by him to be equal to an adverb. It is either a preposition and its object (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 272) or a preposition and its regimen (cf. Jesperson, 1969, 145-6). As for N in the constituency break V-P/-N, it is reckoned by Jesperson to be the object of the whole composite phrase consisting of V and P (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 252; 276) and symbolized by him W (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138).
3. Quirk (cf. Quirk et al., pp. 811-18) considers the constituency break in the V₁-P-N combinations to be V₁-/P-N where P-N is a PP functioning as adjunct (ibid., p. 460; p. 471; p. 482). As for the constituency break in the V-P-N combinations, Quirk (ibid., pp. 818-19), indicates that it could be (i) V-/P-N or (ii) V-P/-N. In analysis (i), V is regarded by Quirk as a non-PV and P-N as an adverbial adjunct, and in analysis (ii) V-P is reckoned by him to be a PV and N to be a PO. According to Quirk, 'The two analyses can be regarded as different, but equally valid and complementary ways of looking at the same structure' (ibid., p. 819).

4. Vestergaard makes it explicit that whereas the constituency break in the V₁-P-N combinations is V₁-/P-N (cf. Vestergaard, p. 46; pp. 49-50; p. 60) the constituency break in the V-P-N combinations is V-P/-N (ibid., p. 46; pp. 50-1; 55-9; 60-2. According to Vestergaard, in V₁-/P-N, V is not a PV (ibid., p. 46) and P-N is a free adjunct (ibid., p. 16; pp. 30-3), and in V-P/-N, V-P is a PV (ibid., p. 46) and N is an object (ibid., p. 47). P-N in V-P/-N is nevertheless almost always classified by Vestergaard as a bound adjunct (ibid., pp. 33-42).

Both Jesperson (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138, and 1927, III, 276-77; 312-13) and Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, 1977: 46-59) set up a number of criteria to confirm that V and P in the V-P-N combinations in (5-8) and the like constitute a complex phrasal expression and a PV, respectively. Quirk also (cf. Quirk et al., pp. 812-14) establishes a group of criteria to show that one of the two possible ways of determining the status of the same V-Ps is to regard them as constituting a single constituent, a PV. As for Poutsma, finally, he sets up a number of criteria to show the close union of the verbal and the prepositional elements in V-P-N combinations (cf. Poutsma,
The criteria relied upon by one or more of the aforementioned scholars are the subject matter of 4.1.1.

4.1.1 Criteria

4.1.1.1 Replaceability by a single transitive verb

In V-P-N combinations, V-P is often replaceable by a single transitive verb. This criterion is Poutsma's (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 115), Jesperson's (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138-39) Quirk's (cf. Quirk, et al., p. 812) and Vestergaard's (cf. Vestergaard, p. 1). Examples are the V-Ps in the following V-P-N combinations: 'to laugh at somebody' (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 115-16), 'to think of something' (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138), 'to call on somebody', (cf. Quirk, et al., p. 816) and 'to speak of something' (cf. Vestergaard, p.1). They are respectively replaceable by 'to ridicule', 'to consider', 'to visit', and 'to mention/discover'.

4.1.1.2 Non-commutability

The verbal and the prepositional element in the V-P-N combination are not replaceable by other corresponding elements (cf. Vestergaard, p. 57), or the verbal and/or the prepositional element are replaceable by a limited number of them (cf. Vestergaard, p. 142; 147, and Poutsma, II, ii, 35-6). Examples are the V-Ps in the following V-P-N combinations: 'to look after something' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 162), 'to join in the discussion' (ibid., p. 162), 'to come across an interesting specimen' (ibid., p. 162) and 'to escape into a place' (cf. ibid., p. 142). In the first combination, neither 'look' nor 'after' is commutable with other Vs and Ps, respectively, and in the second combination, only 'join' is commutable:
it is commutable with 'participate/share', etc., and in the third combination, only 'access' is commutable: it is commutable with 'by'. As for the fourth combination, finally, both 'escape' and 'into' are commutable with 'emerge' and 'from', respectively.

4.1.1.3 Co-ordinations

V-P is able to co-ordinate with a single transitive verb or vice versa. Examples are the V-Ps 'sympathize with' in (9) and 'hastened after' in (10): they co-ordinate with the single transitive verb 'appreciate' and 'overtook', respectively, and 'broken into' in (11) and 'strives after' in (12): they are co-ordinated with by the single transitive verb 'reached' and 'desires' respectively.

(9) I must have a woman that can sympathize with and appreciate me (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34)

(10) He hastened after and overtook her (ibid., II, ii, 34)

(11) the scouts had reached and broken into the fortress before sunset (cf. Vestergaard, p. 142)

(12) He desires and strives after academic recognition (ibid., p. 146)

This criterion is made use of by Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 56-7), Poutsma (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 33) and Jesperson (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 272-73; 277). Vestergaard, however, is the only one who imposes on the criterion the following condition: that the N in the V-P-N combination must have the same function (i.e. case) in relation to the single transitive verb as to the V-P. Thus, according to him, the reaction of the V-P combination 'land on' in (13) to the criterion of co-ordination is negative. For the function of the N 'the moon' in relation to 'land on' is different
from it in relation to the single transitive verb 'explore':
whereas 'the moon' is locative in relation to 'land on', it is
phenomenon in relation to 'explore' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 56).

(13) The crew were to land on and explore the moon
(ibid, p. 56)

Vestergaard has noticed the non-inclusive nature of the
criterion of co-ordination. There occur V-P-N combinations the V-Ps
of which cannot co-ordinate with single transitive verbs. Consider,
for instance, Affected V-P-N combinations, i.e. the combinations
the N of which is Affected (ibid, p. 90). The majority of Pvs that
function as V-P in Affected V-P-N combinations are reported by
Vestergaard (ibid., p. 192) to be positive to the criterion of
Co-ordination, e.g. the PV 'impinge on', which co-ordinates with the
single transitive verb 'ruin' in (14).

(14) The tax is likely to impinge on and perhaps ruin
several small firms (ibid., p. 192)

The PV 'happen to', which also functions as V-P in an affected
V-P-N combination, is on the other hand regarded by Vestergaard as a
combination 'that definitely does not enter into coordinations'
(ibid., p. 192). (For examples such as 'happen to' see Vestergaard,
p. 156).

Vestergaard has recognized also that there are classes of
V-P-N combinations the V-Ps of which are logically excluded from
entering into co-ordinations with single transitive verbs. For
examples, V-P in External causer combinations, i.e. in the combinations
the Ns of which assume the semantic role external causer, cannot
co-ordinate with single transitive verbs. For 'since EC (i.e. external causer) elements can occur either as subjects or as prepositional complements, but not as non-prepositional objects, the identity-of-function condition is never met, and strictly speaking the criterion is therefore inapplicable' (ibid., p. 182). (For combinations such as external causer combinations, see Dative Combinations in Vestergaard, p. 151).

4.1.1.4 Passivization

N in V-P-N combinations is capable of becoming the subject of the passive versions of V-P-N combinations, i.e. is capable of becoming the subject of the passive version of the sentence the main verb of which is V-P. For examples, the nominal elements in the V-P-N combinations: 'laughed at my indiscretions', 'fighting over the bone' and 'ask for more details' are the subjects of (18 - 20), which are the passive versions of (15 - 17), respectively.

(15) He laughed at my indiscretion (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34)

(16) Three dogs were fighting over the bone

(17) The police might ask for more details

(18) My indiscretion was laughed at by him (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34)

(19) The bone was being fought over by three dogs

(cf. Vestergaard, p. 160)

(20) More details might be asked for by the police

(Quirk et al., p. 814)

This criterion is made use of by Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 53–4), Quirk (cf. Quirk et al., p. 813), Jesperson (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 276) and Poutsma (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 33). For other
linguists who discuss and evaluate, or rely on this criterion, see Bolinger, 1971: 7 and Palmer, 1974: 232-34 on the one hand, and Chomsky, 1965: 105, on the other.

This criterion is also noticed to be neither inclusive nor exclusive (cf. Vestergaard, p. 54, and see also: Bolinger, 1971: 7 and Palmer, 1974: 233-34). There occur V-P-N combinations the nominal elements of which cannot become the subjects of the passive versions of the sentences the main verbs of which are their V-Ps, i.e. cannot be passivized, e.g. the V-P-N combination 'accrued from the investment' in (21). Thus, (22), which is the passive version of (21), is ungrammatical.

(21) A large profit accrued from the investment
(22)* The investment was accrued from by a large profit
(cf. Vestergaard, p. 141)

There are also V₁-P-N combinations that can be passivized e.g. the V₁-P-N combination 'painted with water colour' in (23): its nominal element is the subject of (24), which is the passive version of (23).

(23) Many people have painted with water colour for centuries
(24) Water colour has been painted with for centuries by many people (ibid., p.106)

V₁-P-N combinations such as 'painted with water colour' in (23) are regarded by Vestergaard as constituting 'one reason why the passive transformation is unable to serve as the sole criterion for prepositional verb' (ibid., p. 100). For him, on the other hand,
V-P-N combinations such as 'accrued from the investment' in (21) do not mean that the test of a passive transformation does not 'help to establish what is a prepositional verb as opposed to a verb + preposition' (ibid., p. 54). For the restrictions on passivizing these combinations 'are subject to certain regularities' (loc. cit., see also Palmer, 1974: 234 and Quirk et al., pp. 804 - 805). (For these regularities see Vestergaard, p. 141; p. 149; p. 191).

4.1.1.5 Indivisibility

V-P cannot be divided by other words, e.g. the V-Ps in the following V-P-N combinations: 'to flinch from this task', 'to come across an interesting specimen' and 'to take to something'. Thus, sentences (25 - 27), with these V-Ps being divided, are unacceptable.

(25)* John flinched suddenly from this task
(c.f. Vestergaard, p. 143)

(26)* I came accidentally across an interesting specimen
(ibid., p. 163)

(27)* He took like a duck to water to his new job.(ibid., p. 169)

This criterion is relied upon by Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, p. 59) for establishing the cohesive class of PV and by Poutsma (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34) for indicating the union of the verbal and prepositional elements of PVs. But it is only Vestergaard who imposes on the criterion the following condition: that the word dividing the V-P combination must 'not be an intensifier or a pre-
modifier of P' (Vestergaard, p. 59). An example of a V-P-N combination the V-P of which, like the more tightly fused combination, can be separated by only intensifiers, is 'to look like N'. In (28), 'look like' is separated by the intensifier 'more'.

(28) (The corpse) was ensconced in a coffin so large and lush that it looked more like an enormous birthday cake (ibid., p. 157).

(For combination such as 'to look like N', see Vestergaard, p. 169).

Vestergaard notices that the Indivisibility of V-P criterion is 'extremely selective' (Vestergaard, p. 59). It is not surprising therefore that, in addition to many members of other V-P-N combinations, the following V-P-N combinations are registered by him as being negative to the criterion: (i) Bound location combinations (ibid., p. 134), (ii) Path combinations (ibid., p. 137), (iii) Direction combinations except 'to fling from' (ibid., p. 143), (iv) Dative combinations (ibid., pp. 153-54), (v) External causer combinations (ibid., p. 183) and (vi) Agentive combinations except 'to join with' (ibid., p. 186).

4.1.1.6 Nominalization

The clause the VP of which is a V-P-N combination cannot be transformed into an intensive clause with the nominalization of V-as subject and P-N as predicate. This criterion is Vestergaard's (cf. Vestergaard, p. 55). Examples are (29) and (30), the verbal phrase of which are the V-P-N combinations: 'rose above a murmur', and 'looked at the blackboard': they cannot be transformed into intensive clauses such as those indicated here, as pointed out by the ungrammaticality of (31) and (32) respectively.
(29) Turner's (voice) barely rose above a murmur (ibid., p. 56)

(30) He looked at the blackboard (ibid., p. 167)

(31)* The rise of Turner's voice was above a murmur (ibid., p. 56)

(32)* His look was at the blackboard (ibid., p. 167)

There occur however clauses the VPs of which are V-P-N combinations but can be transformed into intensive clauses of the sort indicated above (p.132), e.g. clauses with the following V-P-N combinations as VPs: 'to land on N' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 133), 'to riot against N' (ibid., p. 146), 'to quarrel with N' (ibid., p. 150), 'to smell of N' and 'to fight over N' (ibid., p. 161), 'to collapse under N' (ibid., p. 182), and 'to fight with N' (ibid., p. 185).

The negative reactions of these combinations and the like are attributed by Vestergaard to one or more of the following factors:

(i) that they are less cohesive (ibid., p. 133; p. 141; p. 156; p. 161), (ii) that the semantic load of their P elements is high (ibid., p. 137; p. 142). Also, with respect to 'Dative combinations', Vestergaard recognizes that their negative reactions to the criterion under discussion 'are characterised by the presence (in deep structure) of a (nonprepositional) (2) Obj/Phen element' (ibid., p. 150), e.g. the dative combination 'to quarrel with N': (33), of which it is a VP, can be transformed into another with the nominalization of 'quarrel' as subject and P-N as predicate, e.g. (34).

(33) He quarrelled (about this) with John (ibid., p. 150)

(34) His quarrel (about this) was with John

According to Vestergaard, the diagnostic value of this criterion,
which in my view ought to be considered by Vestergaard the diagnostic value of the Pronominalization criterion (cf. below 4.1.1.7), as well, for they are similar, is 'that the V-P of a prepositional verb must be too tightly fused for V to behave as a separate constituent under nominalisation' (ibid., p. 55). I disagree with Vestergaard on this view, which implies that the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to 'Nominalization' means that V-P is a single constituent, a highly cohesive PV. For it could equally be said that the diagnostic value of 'Nominalization' is that V- and P-N must be too tightly fused for V- to behave as a separate constituent under nominalization. And, consequently, the positive reaction to the criterion will mean that P-N is a bound adjunct, which is another way of saying that V-P is not a non-PV, i.e. a verb followed by a preposition constituting with-N a PP functioning as adjunct, but a PV followed by a preposition constituting with-N a PP functioning as PO, a verbal complement. As for the negative reactions of a V-P-N combination to the Nominalization criterion on the other hand, it doubtless means that V- and P-N are two separate constituents.

4.1.1.7 Pronominalization

The clause the VP of which is a V-P-N combination cannot be transformed into an intensive clause with the pro-form of the nominalization of V- as subject and P-N as predicate. This criterion is also Vestergaard's (cf. Vestergaard, p. 56). Examples are (35) and (36) the VPs of which are the V-P-N combinations 'have concentrated on the replacement of the type metal plates', and 'strove after academic recognition'; they cannot be transformed
into intensive clauses such as those pointed out here, and, hence, (37 - 38) are ungrammatical.

(35) Recent developments have concentrated on the replacement of type metal plates (ibid., p. 56)

(36) He strove after academic recognition (ibid., p. 146)

(37)* If recent developments have concentrated, it is on the replacement of type metal plates (ibid., p. 56)

(38)* When he strove, it was after academic recognition (ibid., p. 146)

Like 'Nominalization', the criterion of Pronominalization is regarded by Vestergaard as not being inclusive. Clauses with the following V-P-N combinations, for example, are capable of being transformed into intensive clauses of the sort pointed out above (p.134): 'to disappear through N' (ibid., p. 137), 'to disappear in the direction of N' (ibid., p. 142), 'to turn for N' (ibid., p. 146), 'to talk to N' (ibid., p. 150), 'to rise above N' (ibid., p. 156), 'to look at N' (ibid., p. 167), 'to die of N' (ibid., p. 182) and 'to compete with N' (ibid., p. 185). Vestergaard, however, recognizes that the Nominalization criterion is 'more restrictive' (ibid., p. 132) than the Pronominalization criterion, i.e. fewer combinations are acceptable in the nominalization construction than in the pronominalisation construction' (ibid., p. 132-3).

The factors to which Vestergaard attributes the acceptability of the aforementioned combinations in the pronominalization construction are the same as the factors to which he attributes the acceptability of some V-P-N combinations in the nominalization
construction (cf. above p. 133).

4.1.1.8 Adjectivization

V-P-N combination is capable of being transformed into an attributive construction with the premodifying element being the passive participle of V-P and the premodified element being N. This criterion is Jesperson's (Jesperson, 1927, III, 315), Poutsma's (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34) and Vestergaard's (cf. Vestergaard, p. 58). Examples are the following V-P-N combinations: 'not to think of N' (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 315), 'to long for N' (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34) and 'to pay for N' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 161); they are transformable into 'the unthought of N', 'a longed for N' and 'a paid for N', respectively.

The criterion is considered by both Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, p. 146) and Poutsma (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34) to be restrictive; only a few individual combinations pass (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 34; Vestergaard, p. 133; p. 142; p. 151; p. 161). Consequently, V-P-N combinations reacting positively to this criterion are regarded by them as being highly cohesive. Examples of V-P-N combinations reacting negatively to 'Adjectivization' are: 'to contribute to N' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 151), 'to account for N' and 'to laughed at N' (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, p. 34).

Only Vestergaard, however, accounts for the positive or the negative reactions of V-P-N combinations to the criterion under discussion. According to him, 'since positive reaction' to 'Adjectivization' 'presupposes positive reaction to passivization' (Vestergaard, p. 183), the V-P-N combinations that react negatively to passivization react negatively to adjectivization, as well, e.g.
Equative V-P-N combinations (ibid., p. 156), External causer combinations (ibid., p. 183), Agentive combinations (ibid., p. 186), and Experienter combinations (ibid., p. 189). Secondly, the V-P-N combinations the V elements of which are semantically less specific are more acceptable in the attributive construction than those the V elements of which are not (ibid., p. 168). Accordingly, the attributive construction deriving from 'to comment on N', 'to look at N' or 'to talk about N' (ibid., pp. 167-8) is more acceptable than that deriving from 'to write on N', 'to gaze at N' or 'to bleat about N' (ibid., p. 168) respectively.

4.1.1.9 **Compound gerund**

V-P are capable of being 'joined to form a compound gerund' (Poutsma, II, ii, 34). This criterion is Poutsma's (loc. cit.). Examples are the V-Ps 'to account for (N)' and 'to talk to (N)', from which the underlined compound gerunds in (39 - 40) derive.

(39) That needs no **accounting for** (loc. cit.)

(40) He gave him a good **talking to**

This criterion is also regarded by Poutsma, as being restrictive and, therefore, the V-Ps passing it are considered by him to be highly cohesive (loc. cit.).

4.1.1.10 **Postverbal position**

In V-P-N combinations, P is able to occur postverbally without any restriction. This criterion is Jesperson's (cf. Jesperson, 1977, III, 189, and 1969: 139) and Vestergaard's. Only the latter however mentions the structures in which P can occur postverbally, i.e. stay with V after shifting N to preverbal positions. These structures are (i) the relative clause the antecedent of which is N (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 49-50), e.g. 'the people he was fighting with'
(ibid., p. 186) and the specimens (that) 'I have come across'
(ibid., p. 163); (ii) the pseudo-cleft construction the topic of
which is -N and the identified element is 'what' (ibid., p. 50), e.g.
(41 - 42).

(41) What he was talking about was weapons testing (ibid.,
p. 50)

(42) What he shot at was our windows (ibid., p. 160)

(iii) the adjectival Wh- interrogative clause the topic of which is
-N (ibid., p. 50), e.g. (43 - 44).

(43) What places did you go through? (ibid., p. 138)

(44) What kind of society are we moving in the direction of?
(ibid., p. 144)

(iv) an interrogative clause with an interrogative pronoun eliciting
-N (ibid., p. 50), e.g. (45 - 46).

(45) Who does the group consist of? (ibid., p. 158)

(46) What are they rioting against? (ibid., p. 147)

It should be noted that some of the prepositional elements of $V_1-P-N$
combinations are acceptable in end position. According to Vestergaard,
however, and in contradistinction to the prepositional elements of $V-P-N$
combinations, the postverbal position of these elements is essentially
governed by the following principles: (i) the relative cohesion of
the combination under discussion (cf. Vestergaard, p. 101; pp. 106 -
7; p. 111), e.g. of a highly cohesive $V_1-P-N$ combination is 'to
hide behind N' (ibid., p. 101) and of a relatively incohesive
combination is 'to analyse by means of N' (ibid., p. 107); (ii) that
the P element is phonetically and/or semantically light (ibid.,
An example of a phonetically and semantically light P-is 'in' in 'to teach in a school' (ibid., p. 103) and of a phonetically and semantically heavy P-is 'to the left of' in '(the shooting) began to the left of the platform' (ibid., p. 101); (iii) non-occurrence of intervening free phrases between V- and P- (ibid., p. 114). Thus, while the postverbal position of 'with' in (47) is unacceptable, for the intervening phrase is free, in (48) it is acceptable, for the intervening phrase is bound.

(47)* The manuscripts that he emerged after 30 seconds with
(Vestergaard, p. 114)

(48) The manuscripts that he emerged from his study
with (loc. cit.)

In addition, Jesperson (cf. Jesperson, 1927, III, 189) recognizes a principle having to do with the exponence of the P-element. According to him, when functioning as P in \( V_1^P-N \) combinations the following prepositions 'are always placed before a relative pronoun' (loc. cit.): 'beyond', 'besides', 'as to', 'opposite', 'outside', 'round', 'except', 'during', 'considering' and 'concerning'.

4.1.2 Conclusion

Apart from 'Non-Commutability' (cf. 4.1.1.2) 'Nominalization' (cf. 4.1.6) and 'Pronominalization' (cf. 4.1.7), the criteria in (4.1.1) point out that English \( V-P-N \) and \( V_1^P-N \) combinations can be differentiated from one another in terms of constituency break. While \( V-P-N \) combinations break up into \( V-P/-N \), i.e. to PV and object, \( V_1^P-N \) combinations break up into \( V_1^P/-P-N \), i.e. to intransitive verb and PP with an adverbial
function. As for the V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations that react negatively and positively to one or more of the criteria in (4.1.1), respectively, they can be accounted for and accommodated within this framework; both the negative and the positive reactions are essentially governed by general principles (cf. above p. 128, pp. 130-1; p. 133; pp. 138-9).

This framework on the other hand is completely irrelevant to V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations in CA. For as will be indicated below (4.2) all the available criteria point to the fact that the constituency breaks of both combinations are alike: V-P-N combinations break up into V-/P-N and V₁-P-N into V₁-/P-N. The two combinations however differ from one another as to the analysis of their elements; whereas V- and P-N are a PV and a PP functioning as PO, V₁ and P-N are an intransitive verb and a PP with an adverbial function.

4.2 With Respect to Classical Arabic

V-P-N combinations in CA differ from V₁-P-N combinations not in terms of constituency break but in terms of the characteristics of their P-Ns. The constituency breaks of both combinations are similar: they break up into V-/P-N and V₁-/P-N, respectively. Their P-Ns however have different structural peculiarities. In Arabic V-P-N combinations therefore, what represents PV is V- (cf. above, pp. 119-20) not V-P, and how to recognize it is through the recognition of the unique structural characteristics of the P-N it requires. (For convenience nevertheless sometimes V-P will be used for referring to PV.) These characteristics as well as those of the P-N in V₁-P-N combinations, i.e. the P-N functioning as
adjunct, constitute the subject-matter of the last chapter of this part.

The reason for considering the difference between V-P-N and $V_1$-P-N combinations a difference having to do with the P-N function rather than with constituency break lies in their ability to undergo the following structural operations, which points to two things: (i) that P-N in both V-P-N and $V_1$-P-N combinations is a constituent; (ii) that the approach to analysing V-P-N combinations in CA is basically different from that to analysing English V-P-N combinations (cf. above 4.1):

1. $V - + V-$ and $V_1 + V_1$ co-ordination (cf. below Chapter Five).
2. Passivization of V-P-N and $V_1$-P-N combinations (cf. below Chapter Six).
3. P-N occupation of a position preceding V-/V$_1$ (cf. below Chapter Seven).
4. The realization of -N by an interrogative pronoun (cf. below Chapter Eight).
5. Topicalization of -N, and Replaceability of P-N by a single word (cf. below Chapter Nine).
6. Nominalization of V-/V$_1$ (cf. below Chapter Ten).
7. Divisibility of V-P and $V_1$-P (cf. below Chapter Eleven).

The fact that there are also cases where the P-N of only some $V_1$ and V-P-N combinations undergoes certain structural operations that point to its being a constituent, e.g. the replaceability of such a P-N by an adverbial anaphoric pro-form such as hunaak 'there', etc. (cf. below pp. 805-8) does not weaken the assumption that P-N in both
V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations is a constituent. For establishing it as a constituent is based on their ability to undergo other structural operations, i.e. those of (1 - 7), as indicated above (p. 141). There are also cases where V-P-N combinations undergo certain structural operations that are believed by some linguists dealing with English V-P-N combinations (cf. below 12.1; 13.3) to indicate that V-P is a single constituent. These operations are (i) replaceability of V-P by a single transitive verb and (ii) non-commutability of V- and P- with other verbs and prepositions. In Chapter Twelve and 13.3 I will present and evaluate those linguists' views on the first and the second operation respectively, and give my opinion about the implication of both operations for the status of V-P.
Footnotes

(1) See Jespersen, 1927, III, 276, where W is termed also 'composite verbal phrase'.

(2) In the light of the fact that what occurs between the round brackets in (33) is a PP, the adjective 'nonprepositional' ought to be replaced by 'prepositional'.

(3) In the original text 'less' occurs in place of 'more'. But in the light of Vestergaard's re-wording of the phrase 'less restrictive', and of (i) and (ii), which are the examples given by him as an illustration, 'more' ought to replace 'less', as above.

(i)* Their stay was in the basement (cf. Vestergaard, p. 132)
(ii) If they are to stay, it can only be in the basement (loc. cit.).

In his review article on Vestergaard's book 'Prepositional Phrases and Prepositional Verbs', Jacobsen regards the phrase 'less restrictive' as 'confusing in the context' (Jacobsen, p. 77) but without suggesting any correction.
5.0 Co-ordinated Clauses and Main Verbs

V- co-ordination with another V- must be distinguished from the co-ordination of the entire clause in which V- is a main verb with another clause in which the main verb is V-, as well, or with another clause in which the main verb is a single transitive verb or vice versa. Also, $V_1$ co-ordination with another must be distinguished from the co-ordination of the entire clause in which $V_1$ is a main verb with another clause in which the main verb is $V_1$, too. In the data, there is no co-ordination of clauses in which the main verbs are $V_1$s with clauses in which the main verbs are single transitive verbs or vice versa.

Consider the following sentences.

(1) wa 1la2iina kafaruw waa kaddabuu bi7ayaatinaa ?uLaawi7i7a AShaabul lgahiim (5/10)
And they who reject and deny Our signs, such are rightful owners of hell.

(2) wa Aannaka laa taZma7u fiihaa wa laa taDhaa (20/119)
And you do not thirst therein nor are exposed to the sun's heat

(3) yuhibbu 9umaru DDu9afaa7a wa yu7fi7u xaalidun 9ala 1fuqaraa?
9umar likes the weak and xaalid sympathizes with the poor.
In (1 - 2), there are grounds for discussing both the constituency break of V-P-N combinations and the P-N associating with $V_1$ being a constituent. For the co-ordinated units in each sentence govern one P-N, and, therefore, there is justification for considering each of them as well as the P-N they govern to be a separate constituent. In (1), the co-ordinated units kafaruu (wa) kaddabuu 'reject (and) deny' govern the P-N bi?aayaatinnaa 'Our signs', and in (2) the co-ordinated units (laa) taZma?u (wa laa) taDh?aa 'do (not) 'thirst (nor) are exposed to the sun's heat' govern the P-N fiihaa 'therein'. In (3 - 6), on the other hand, there is ground for considering neither the constituency break of V-P-N combinations nor the status of the P-N of the $V_1$-P-N combinations in relation to constituency analysis. For the co-ordinated units in each sentence are clauses, which are larger than the V- or $V_1$ they contain, and, therefore, there is justification for regarding each of them - the co-ordinated units -
not the $V_-$ or $V_1$, as a separate linguistic unit. The co-ordinated units in (3) are yuhibbu 9umaru DDu9afa? '9umar likes the weak' and yu$fiqu xaalidun 9ala lfuqaraa? 'xaalid sympathizes with the poor', in (4) are kaana 9aliyyun yudaakiru fi lhugrati '9aliyy was studying in the room' and kaan xaalidun yu$annii fi lhadiiqah 'xaalid was singing in the garden', in (5) are ya9Tifu rragulaani 9ala lfuqaraa?i 'the two men feel compassion with the poor' and yuhibbaani DDu9afa? 'like the weak', and in (6) are yuSalli 1?asdiqa?u fi lmasgidi 'the friends pray in the mosque' and yatawaDDa?uuna fii manaazilihim 'make wu$uu? in their houses'.

There are however cases in which the co-ordinated clauses might be regarded as providing ground for discussing the constituency break in $V$-$P$-$N$ combinations:

1. The case in which the main verb in the co-ordinating clause is a $V$- and in the clause co-ordinated with it is a single transitive verb, and in which the object of the single transitive verb and the $N$ of the $P$-$N$ governed by the $V$- are identical, e.g. ?aamantum birusulii wa 9azzartumuuhum 'believe in My messengers and honour them' in (7).

(7) la?in ?aqamtumu SSalaata wa ?aataytumu zzakaata wa ?aamantum birusulii wa 9azzartumuuhum (5/12)'

If you establish worship and pay the poor-due and believe in My messengers and honour them

The main verb in the co-ordinating clause, ?aamantum birusulii 'believe in My messengers', is the $V$- ?aaman 'believe' and in the clause co-ordinated with it, 9azzartumuuhum 'honour them', is the single transitive 9azzar 'honour', and rusulii 'My messengers', the $N$ of the $P$-$N$ governed by the $V$-, and hum 'them', the object
of the single transitive verb, are co-referential.

2. The case in which the main verb in the coordinating clause is a single transitive verb and in the clause co-ordinated with it is a V-, and in which the object of the single transitive verb and the N of the P-N governed by the V- are co-referential, e.g. lan yukallimahumul laahu wa lan yanzura ?ilayhim 'Allah will neither speak to them nor look on them' in (8).

(8) Ian yukallimahumul laahu wa Ian yanzura ?ilayhim (cf. 3/77)

Allah will neither speak to them nor look on them

The main verb in the coordinating clause, yukallimahumul laahu 'Allah speak to them', is the single transitive verb yukallima 'speak' and in the clause co-ordinated with it, yanzura ?ilayhim 'look on them', is the V- yanzura 'look', and humul 'them', the object of yukallima 'speak', and him 'them', the N element of the P-N governed by yanzura 'look', are co-referential.

3. The case in which both the main verbs in the coordinating clause and in the clause co-ordinated with it are expressed by V-s, and in which the nominal not the prepositional elements these V-s govern are identical e.g. ?aamannaah bihii 'in Him we believe' and 9alayhi tawakkalnaah 'in Him we put our trust' in (9).

(9) qul huwa rrahmaanu ?aamannaah bihii wa 9alayhi tawakkalnaah

Say: He is the Beneficent. In Him we believe and in Him we put our trust

The main verbs in the co-ordinated clauses are the V-s ?aamn 'believe' and tawakkal 'put our trust', the nominal elements of the P-Ns they govern are hii 'Him' and hi 'Him' which are co-referential, and the
prepositional elements are bi 'in' and 9alay 'in'.

On the ground that the N of the P-N governed by the V- in the first conjoin (cf. Quirk et al., p. 560), and the object of the single transitive verb in the second conjoin, or vice versa, are co-referential (cf. (7) and (8), respectively), it might be said that the V and the P element of V-P-N combinations represent a single constituent equivalent to the single transitive verb. This assumption is invalid. For unlike English, structures such as (10) a - b, which are the corollaries of regarding V-P as representing PV, do not exist in CA, or are ungrammatical.

(10) \{ NP_{sub} - V-P - conjunction - single transitive verb - N \\
\begin{align*}
 a & : V-NP_{sub} - P - conjunction - single transitive verb - N \\
 b & : NP_{sub} \text{ single transitive verb} - conjunction - V-P-N \\
 & : Single transitive verb - NP_{sub} - conjunction - V-P-N
\end{align*}

where V, P, N are elements of V-P-N combination, and N is the object of both V-P and single transitive verb.

A similar assumption can be made in relation to the co-ordinated clauses ?aamannaahii 'in him we believe' and 9alayhi tawakkalnaa 'in Him we put our trust' in (9). On the ground that the N elements of the P-Ns governed by the V-s in the first and the second conjoin are co-referential, the V-P of V-P-N combinations might be considered a singel constituent, a PV, the object of which is N. This assumption also is invalid. For structures such as those in (11), which are the corollaries of considering V-P to be the realization of the PV, are ungrammatical in CA.

(11) \{ NP_{sub} - V-P - conjunction - V-P-N \\
\begin{align*}
 a & : V-NP_{sub} - P - conjunction - V-P-N
\end{align*}

here V, P, and N are elements of V-P-N combination and N is governed by both the first and the second V-P.

In fact, that the co-ordinations in (7 - 9), which are both grammatical and equivalent to those in (10 - 11), are co-ordinations of clauses, is a result of the ungrammaticality of the co-ordinations in (10 - 11), which are co-ordinations of main verbs.

5.1 V-co-ordination with Another V-

V- is to be regarded as co-ordinating with another V- if both of them govern the same P-N. This happens only when both V-s associate with the same prepositions, e.g. the co-ordinated V-s in kuluu wa $rabuu ‘eat and drink’ in (12): they both govern the P-N min rizqi 1laah ‘from that which Allah has provided’, and, therefore, they associate with the preposition min ‘of’.

(12) kuluu wa $rabuu min rizqi 1laah (2/60)
Eat and drink from that which Allah has provided

There are two ways for co-ordinating V-s:

1. To co-ordinate them in such a way that both of them will precede the P-N they govern, e.g. the V-s in kafaruu wa kaddabuu ‘reject and deny' in (13), which precede the P-N they govern, bi?aayaatinaa ‘Our signs’

(13) wa llaadiina kafaruu wa kaddabuu bi?aayaatinaa
?ulaa?ika ?aShaabu igahim (5/10)
And they who reject and deny Our signs, such are rightful owners of hell

2. To co-ordinate them in such a manner that one of them will
precede the P-N they govern and the other will follow it, e.g. the V-s in Salluu 9alayhi wa sallimuu (tasliimaa) 'ask blessing on him and salute him with a worthy salutation' in (14), fastami9uu lahuu wa ?anSituu 'give ear to it and listen' in (15) and liyakfuruu bimaa ?aataynaahum wa liyatamatta9uu 'let them disbelieve in that which We have given them and enjoy (it)' in (16).

(14) yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu Salluu 9alayhi wa sallimuu (tasliimaa) (33/56)
O you who believe! Ask blessing on him and salute him with a worthy salutation

(15) ?idaa quri?a 1qur?aanu fastami9uu lahuu wa ?anSituu (cf. 7/204)
When the Koran is recited, give ear to it and listen

(16) liyakfuruu bimaa ?aataynaahum wa liyatamatta9uu (29/66)
Let them disbelieve in that which We have given them and enjoy (it)

Both way (1) and (2) indicate that the constituency break of V-P-N combinations is V-/P-N not V-P/-N. According to way (1), the verbal and the P-N element of a V-P-N combination can be divided by the V- that is co-ordinated with its verbal element: for example, the verbal and the P-N element of the V-P-N combination kafaruu bi?aatayninaa 'reject Our signs' in (13) are divided by kad 'deny', which is co-ordinated with kafaruu 'reject'. Also, the verb co-ordinated with the verbal element of a V-P-N combination stands alone without a preposition, though it is a PV that associates with the same preposition with which it - the verbal element - associates e.g.
kaddab 'deny' in (13). And according to way (2), the V- that is co-ordinated with the verbal element of the V-P-N combination and associates with the same preposition as the verbal element stands alone without a preposition, which indicates that the verbal element of a V-P-N combination is one constituent and the P-N is another, e.g. ?anSituu 'listen' in (15).

As for the classes of the co-ordinated V-s, they are identical. in (13 - 14; 16), the co-ordinated V-s in kafaruu wa kaddabuu 'reject and deny', Salluu wa sallimuu 'ask blessing and salute' and liyakfuruu wa liyatamatta9uu 'let them disbelieve and enjoy', belong to the tawakkala 9alaa class (cf. below pp.216-7), and in (15) the co-ordinated V-s in fastami9uu wa ?anSituu 'give ear and listen' are PVs of communication (cf. below, p. 214). For examples of co-ordinated Vs that belong to other PV classes, see 3/146; 4/172.

It should be noted that both the co-ordinated V-s may govern separate but identical P-Ns, e.g. the V-s in yukfaru wa yustahza?u rejected and derided in (17): they govern the separate but identical P-Ns 'biihaa' and 'biihaa': the P elements are the same and the N elements refer back to ?aayaati Ilaahi 'the revelations of Allah'.

And He has already revealed unto you in the Scripture that, when you hear the revelations of Allah rejected and derided, you should not sit with them.

However, while the co-ordinated elements in (13 - 16), are V-s, those in (17) are clauses. The version of (17) which has co-ordinated
elements that are V-s is (18).

(18) \( \text{wa qad nazzala 9alaykum fi lkitaabi ?an ?idaa sami9tum} \)
\( \text{?aayaati 1laahi yukfaru wa yustahza?u bihaa falaal} \)
\( \text{taq9uduu ma9ahum} \)

And He has already revealed unto you in the Scripture that, when you hear the revelations of Allah rejected and derided, you should not sit with them.

Structures such as yukfaru bihaa wa yustahza?u bihaa 'rejected and derided' in (17), i.e. structures which have co-ordinated units that are clauses not V-s, are obligatory, if 'ba9D is annexed to the nominal elements of the P-Ns governed by the V-s in the co-ordinated clauses, even when these nominal elements are co-referential; e.g. nu?minu biba9D in wa nakfuru biba9D 'we believe in some and disbelieve in others' in (19).

(19) \( \text{?inna 1laadiina yakfuruunabillaahi wa rusulihii wa} \)
\( \text{yuriiduuna ?an yufarriquu bayna 1laahi wa rusulihii} \)
\( \text{wa yaquluuna nu?minu biba9Din wa nakfuru biba9D} \)
(4/150)

Surely, those who disbelieve in Allah and His messengers, and seek to make distinction between Allah and His messengers, and say: We believe in some and disbelieve in others.

The underlying representation of the co-ordinated clauses nu?minu biba9D in wa nakfuru biba9D 'we believe in some and disbelieve in others' is nu?minu biba9Di rrusuli wa nakfuru biba9Di rrusul 'we believe in some of the messengers and disbelieve in some of the messengers', where rrusuli 'the messengers' and rrusul 'the
messengers', the heads of the (P-)Ns, are co-referential and function as second element of constructs the first element of which is the partitive quantifier ba9D 'some'.

5.2 \[V_1\] Co-ordination with Another \[V_1\]

\[V_1\] co-ordinates with another \[V_1\] if both of them govern the same P-N. This occurs only when the P-N they govern has the same relation to each of them, e.g. the \[V_1\]s in tafarraquu wa xtalafuu 'separated and disputed' in (20): they govern the P-N min ba9di maa gaa?ahumu lbayyinaat 'after the clear proofs had come to them', which is a time adjunct in relation to each of them.

(20) wa laa takuunuu kalladiina tafarraquu wa xtalafuu
min ba9di maa gaa?ahumu lbayyinaat (3/105)
Do not be as those who separated and disputed after the clear proofs had come to them

There are two ways for co-ordinating \[V_1\]s, similar to those for co-ordinating V-s (cf. above pp. 149-50):

1. To co-ordinate them in such a way that both of them will precede the P-N they govern, e.g. the \[V_1\]s in (fa)mnun ?aw ?amsik '(So) bestow or withhold' in (21): they precede the P-N they govern biğayri hisaab 'without being made answerable', which is a subject adjunct in relation to each of them.

(21) haadaa 9aTaa?unaa famnun ?aw ?amsik biğayri hisaab
(38/39)
This is our gift, so bestow or withhold, without being made answerable

2. To co-ordinate them in such a manner that one of them will precede the P-N they govern and the other will follow it, e.g. the \[V_1\]s
in laa taguu9a fiihaa wa laa ta9raa 'are not hungry therein nor are naked' in (22), taabuu min ba9di daalika wa ?aSlahuu 'afterwards repent and do right' in (23), and Salli lirabbika wa nhar 'pray to your Lord and sacrifice' in (24).

(22) \( \text{?inna laka ?allaa taguu9a fiihaa wa laa ta9raa} \) (20/118)

It is to you that you are not hungry therein nor are naked

(23) \( \text{?illa ladiina taabuu min ba9di daalika wa ?aSlahuu} \) (3/89)

Save those who afterwards repent and do right

(24) \( \text{faSalli lirabbika wa nhar} \) (108/2)

So, pray to your Lord and sacrifice

The functions of the P-Ns fiihaa 'therein' in (22), min ba9di daalika 'afterwards' in (23), and lirabbika 'to your Lord' in (24) in relation to the VIs governing them, are a place adjunct, a time adjunct, and a purpose adjunct, respectively.

Both way (1) and (2) point out that the constituency break of \( V_1-P-N \) combinations is \( V_1-/P-N \). According to way (1), the P-N of the \( V_1-P-N \) combination can be divided from the \( V_1 \) by the \( V_1 \) that is co-ordinated with it (cf. sentence (21)). And according to way (2), the \( V_1 \) that is co-ordinated with the \( V_1 \) of a \( V_1-P-N \) combination stands alone without a P-N, though the P-N of the \( V_1-P-N \) combination has the same function in relation to it as in relation to its \( V_1 \) (cf. sentences (22 - 24)). This indicates that the \( V_1 \) of \( V_1-P-N \) combinations is one constituent and the P-N is another.
CHAPTER SIX

PASSIVIZATION OF V-P-N AND V₁-P-N COMBINATIONS

V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations are passivized during the process of passivizing the clause in which V- is a main verb and P-N is a PO, and that in which V₁ is a main verb and P-N is an adjunct, respectively. Consider, for instance, (1).

(1) fa?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθman

But then, if it is afterwards discovered that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin, let two others take their place.

'(2)' is the underlying representation of the clause (fa)?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθman 'but then', if it is afterwards discovered that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin' in (1), and the V-P-N combination, which it contains, is passivized during the process of deriving it from this underlying representation.

The fact that V-P-N combinations can be passivized does not itself tell whether the constituency break of these combinations is V-/P-N or V-P/-N and, hence does not tell whether the subject
of the passive clause of which V- is a main verb, which is a surface subject, is P-N or -N, respectively. If however, the following facts are taken into consideration, it becomes evident that the first rather than the second break is the correct one, and, therefore, that the subject of the passive clause of which V- is a main verb is P-N not -N:

(i) While, like the active form of V- (cf. below 11.1.2-3) its passive form can be divided from P-, P- cannot be divided from -N. In (3), for instance, ?u9tudiya 'was attacked', which is the passive form of the V- ?i9tadaa 'attack' is divided from the P- 9alay(hi) '(he)' by the time adjunct yawma?idin 'that day'.

(3) ?u9tudiya yawma?idin 9alayhi wa 9alaa ?usratih
   (cf. 89/23)

   He and his family was attacked that day

(ii) When the N of the passive V-P-N combination is topicalized, P- governs a replacive pronoun (cf. below 9.1.2.2), which refers back to it. Consider for instance, (4), (5), and (6).

(4) wa Zannuu ?annahum ?uhiita bihim (10/22)
    And they deem that they are overwhelmed

(5) ?almu$kilatu nuZira fiihaa
    The problem, it was looked into

(6) wa 9lam ?annahuu man kaana maTiyyatuhi llayla
    wa nnahaara fa?innahuu yusaaru bihii wa ?in kaan
    waaqifaa (?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 478)
    And know that whoever's riding animal is the night and the day, he surely is being caused to walk,
though he is standing still

The P elements of the passive V-P-N combinations: ?uhiiTa bihim 'they are overwhelmed' in (4); nuZira fiihaa 'it was looked into' in (5); yusaaru bihii 'he is being caused to walk' in (6), govern the pronouns replacing the -Ns (?anna)hum '(that) they' in (4), ?almu$kilatu 'the problem' in (5), and (?inna)huu 'he (surely)' in (6), which function as topic; the non-thematic constructions of (4 - 6) are (7 - 9), respectively.

(7) wa Zannuun ?an ?uhiiTa bihim
    And they deem that they are overwhelmed

(8) nuZira fi lmu$kilah
    The problem was looked into

(9) wa 9lam ?annahuun man kaanat maTiyyatuhu Ilayla wa
    nnaaara yusaar bihii bikulli ta?kiidin wa ?in kaana
    waaqifaa
    And know that whoever's riding animal is the night
    and the day, he surely is being caused to walk,
    though he is standing still

In CA, therefore, a passive clause such as (10), i.e. with the P-standing without a complement, is ungrammatical.

(10) *?almu$kilatu nuZira fii
    The problem, it was looked into

In English, on the other hand, it is the rule for the P of a passive V-P-N combination to stand alone without a complement, e.g. the P-s 'at' in (11) and 'upon' in (12).

(11) the question was looked at thoroughly
(12) He can always be relied upon for help

Almost all the passive combinations in the data are V-P-N combinations. The only examples (1) I found of passive $V_1$-P-N combinations are: (a) sayuğfaru lanaa 'forgiveness will be done for us' in (13), (b) quDiya bilhaqq 'is rightly judged' in (14), where lanaa 'for us' and bilhaqq 'rightly' derive from a Beneficient and a Manner adjunct, respectively.

(13) wa yaquuluuna sayuğfaru lanaa (7/169)
And say: forgiveness will be done for us

(14) fa?idaa gaa?a ?amru llaahi quDiya bilhaqq (40/78)
But when Allah's commandment comes (the cause) is rightly judged

It should be noted that as was said with reference to the passive V-P-N combinations, what tells us whether the P-N of the passive $V_1$-P-N combinations in (13 - 14) is a constituent, and, therefore, whether it rather than the N is the surface subject, is not the fact that the combinations containing it have undergone the structural operation of passivization but the reaction of its N to topicalization as well as the possibility of dividing it - the P-N- from the passive $V_1$'s. The data however do not contain examples of passive $V_1$-P-N combinations the $V_1$ of which is so divided, nor do they contain a topic-comment structure the topic of which derives from the N of a $V_1$-P-N combination the P-N of which functions as Manner adjunct (cf. below 9.1.2.2.1.2). Therefore, it is possible to use only topicalization in order to show that the P-N of a passive $V_1$-P-N combination such as sayuğfaru lanaa 'forgiveness will be done for us' in (13), i.e. of a passive $V_1$-P-N combination with a P-N
that derives from a Beneficient adjunct, is the subject of the clause in which the $V_1$ is a main verb. Consider, for example, (15), which is equivalent to the passive clause sayuḡfaru lanaa 'forgiveness will be done for us' in (13).

(15) sayuḡannaa lizza?ir  
The visitor will be sung for

In (15), the P-N lizza?ir 'the visitor', which derives from a P-N functioning as Beneficient adjunct, is the surface subject. For its P governs a replacive pronoun, when its N is topicalized as in (16).

(16) ?azza?iru sayuḡannaalah  
The visitor, he will be sung for

The V elements of the passive V-P-N combinations in the data do not represent all the PV classes (cf. below 10.1). No V-P-N combinations the V of which belongs to one of the following classes are found passivized: (i) ablative PVs; (ii) PVs of observation\(^{(2)}\); (iii) PVs of appearance; (iv) emotional PVs\(^{(3)}\); (v) the fariha bi class\(^{(4)}\); (vi) the tasaa?ala bayna class; (vii) ablative PVs\(^{(5)}\); (viii) PVs of verbalization. The V elements of the passive V-P-N combinations in the data are members of the following classes of PV:
(i) PVs of cognition, e.g. 9u9ira 'is discovered' in (17).

(17) fa? in 9u9ira 9alaa ?annahuma staháqqaa ?iøman
fa?aaxaraani yaquumaani maqaamahuma (5/107)
But then if it is afterwards discovered that both of
them merit (the suspicion of) sin, let two others take
their place.

(ii) PVs of position, e.g. Tubi9a 'are sealed' in (18)

(18) wa Tubi9a 9alaa quluubihim (9/87)
And their hearts are sealed.

(iii) The bağaa 9alaa class, e.g. ?uhiiTa 'was beset (with
destruction)' in (19).

(19) wa ?uhiiTa biøamarih (18/42)
And his fruit was beset (with destruction).

(iv) the tawakkala 9alaa class, e.g. stuhzi?a 'were mocked' in
(20).

(20) wa laqadi stuhzi?a birusilin min qablik (21/41)
Messengers before you, indeed, were mocked.

(v) PVs of communication, e.g. stugiiba 'has been responded' in
(21).

(21) wa 1laøiina yuhaagguna fi 1laahi min ba9di ma stugiiba
lahuu huggatuhum daahiDatun 9inda rabbihim (42/16)
And those who argue concerning Allah after He has been
responded to, their argument has no weight with their
Lord.
The passive transformation of clauses with unspecified deep subjects is the rule deriving the passive clauses in which the main verbs are V- or V₁. '(22)′ is its formulation with relation to the passive V₁-P-N and V-P-N combinations in the data.

\[(22) \quad x \left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{i} [ \begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\text{W} \quad \text{W} \quad \text{PP}
\end{array} ] \\
\text{Y} \quad \text{NP} \\
\end{array} \right] Z
\]

where i2 is not an allative PV, a PV of observation, a PV of appearance, an emotional PV, a member of the farīha bi class, a member of the tasaa?ala bayna class, an ablative PV, or a PV of verbalization, i4 is not an adjunct other than Beneficient or Manner adjunct, and 6 is not a specified subject (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 105)⁶.
1. In nahg ?albalaqgah however, I found three other passive V-P-N combinations: (a) Dulla bii 'did go astray because of me' in (i); (b) yustawhaşu li9aZiimi haqqin 9uTTila 'will be overwhelmed by astonishment, for the suspension of a great duty' in (ii); 9umila bilhawaa 'will be done according to one's desire' in (iii).

(i) laa Dalaltu wa laa Dulla bii (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 594)
Neither I went astray nor did (people) go astray because of me

(ii) falaa yustawhaşu li9aZiimi haqqin 9uTTila wa laa li9aZiimi baaTilin fu9il (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 405)
And then, (nobody) will be overwhelmed by astonishment, for the suspension of a great duty or for committing an oppressive crime

(iii) fa9umila bilhawaa (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 405)
And (things) will be done according to one's desire

The P-Ns of combination (a) and (b), bii 'because of me' and li9aZiimi haqqin 9uTTila 'for the suspension of a great duty', derive from Reason adjuncts, and of combination (c), bilhawaa 'according to one's desire', derives from a Tibqan li adjunct.

2. In nahg ?albalaqgah, I found an example of a non-adjectival passive participle of a PV of observation, which both translates English passive verbs, and is equivalent to Arabic passive verbs. This is man2uura 'be seen' in (i), which is both equivalent to the Arabic passive verb yunZaru ?ilay 'be seen' in la yunZaru ?ilayhi min xalqih 'He cannot be seen by His creatures', and translates an
English passive verb as in (i).

(i) allaahu baSiirun ?id laa manzuura ?ilayhi min xalqih
    (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 19)

Allah is acutely aware (of every thing) while He
cannot be seen by His creatures

3. In nahg ?albalaa4ah, there is more than one example of passivized
V-P-N combinations the V of which belongs to the class of emotional
PVs. Of these examples are: (a) yuftaqaru ?ilaykum 'who are needed'
in (i), and yustaraaha min faagir 'is relieved-of-a profligate' in
(ii).

(i) maa ?antum] zawaafiru 9izzin yuftaqaru ?ilaykum
    (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 85)
    [Your are not] the bases of might, who are needed

(ii) wa [hattaa] yustaraaha min faagir (?ibn ?abii Taalib,
    I, 93)
    And [until] one is relieved of a profligate

4. In nahg ?albalaa4ah, I found an example of a passive V-P-N
combination the V of which belongs to the fariha bi class. This
element is yustahaa minhu 'which can be found embarrassing' in (i).

(i) wa hdar kullal 9amalin] yustahaa minhu fi 19alaaniyah
    (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 551)
    [And beware of every activity] which can be found
    embarrassing in public

5. In nahg ?albalaa4ah, there is an example of a non-adjectival
passive participle of an ablative PV (cf. above fn 2). This example
is mustankafin (9an 9ibaadatih) 'worshipping Him) being refrained
(from) in (i).

(i) \( \text{alhamdu lillaahi \( \hat{g} \)ayra} \) mustankafin 9an 9ibaadatih

(\*ibn \*abii Taalib, I, 96)

\[ \text{Praise be to Allah}, \text{worshipping Him [not] being} \]
\[ \text{refrained from} \]

6. It should be noted that, if the passive V-P-N and \( V_1 \)-P-N combinations found in nahg \( \hat{t} \)albalaa\( \hat{g} \)ah, (cf. above fns 1-5) are also taken into account, the first and the second condition imposed on (22) will be modified so as to be 'i2 is not an allative PV, a PV of appearance, a member of the tasaa\( \hat{a} \)la bayna class or a PV of verbalization', and 'i14 is not an adjunct other than Beneficient, Manner, Reason or T\=ibqan li adjunct, respectively.
CHAPTER SEVEN

P-N OCCUPATION OF A POSITION PRECEDING V-/V₁

The P-Ns of both V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations can occupy positions that precede V- and V₁. This indicates that each of them is a constituent and, hence, that the constituency breaks of V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations are alike: they are V-/P-N and V₁-/P-N. Examples are fiihāa 'in it' in (1), which precedes the V₁ tahyawna 'live', and 9alayka 'in You' in (2), which precedes the V- tawakkal 'put our trust'.

(1) qaala fiihāa tahyawna wa fiihāa tamuutuuna wa minhāa tuxraguun (7/25)
    He said: In it shall you live, and in it shall you die, and from it shall you be taken out

(2) rabbanaa 9alayka tawakkalnaa wa ?ilayka ?anabnaa wa ?ilayka lmaSiir (60/4)
    Our Lord! In You we put our trust and to You we turn repentant and to You is the journeying.

The positions that precede V-/V₁ and can be occupied by P-N are the following ones:

(a) the initial position of the clause. Examples of the P-Ns occupying this position are: ?ilayhi 'to Him' in (3), bidaalika 'at that' in (4), and ?ilayhi 'to Him' in (5), which are POs, and fiihāa 'in it' in (1) and lillaahi 'to Allah' in (6), which are a place and a purpose adjunct, respectively.

(3) daalikumu 1laahu rabbii 9alayhi tawakkaltu wa ?ilayhi ?uniib (42/10)
Such is Allah my Lord, in Him I put my trust and to Him I turn in repentance.

(4) fabidaalika falyafrahuu (10/58)
And at that let them rejoice.

(5) fa?ilayhi tag?aruun (16/53)
To Him you cry for help.

(6) wa lillaahi yasgudu maa fi ssamaawaati wa maa fi l?arDi min daabbatin wa lmalaa?ikah (16/49)
And to Allah make prostration whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth of living creatures, and the angels.

It should be noted firstly that the P-N of a V-P-N or a V_1-P-N combination can occupy the initial position of the clause only if the clause does not start with a word that must occur initially. Accordingly, in (7 - 11), the P-Ns bi?aayaatinaa 'of Our signs', bi?aayaati llaahi 'the revelations of Allah', biliqaa?i rabbikum 'of the meeting with your Lord', fii sakratihim 'in their intoxication', and minhu 'from it', cannot occupy the initial positions of the clauses in which they occur. For these clauses begin with the following words, which must occur initially: ?anna 'thâlat' in (7), laakinna 'but' in (8), la9alla 'perhaps' in (9), ?inna 'verily' in (10), and fa?i?aa 'and behold' in (11).

(7) ?axragnaa lahum daabbatan mina l?arDi tukallimuhum ?anna nnaasa kaanuu bi?aayaatinaa laa yuqinuu (27/82)
We shall bring forth for them a beast of the earth to speak to them for that people were not certain of Our signs.
(8) wa laakinna ZZaalimiina bi?aayaati llaahi yaghaduun
(6/33)
But evil-doers flout the revelations of Allah

(9) la9allakum biliqaa?i rabbikum tuuqinuun (13/2)
That perhaps you may be certain of the meeting with your Lord

(10) la9amruka ?innahum lafi?i sakratihim ya9mahuun (15/72)
By your life verily, they move blindly in their intoxication

(11) alladii ga9ala lakum mina $agari l?axDari naaran
fa?idaa ?antum minhu tuuqiduun (36/80)
Who has appointed for you fire from the green tree, and behold! you kindle from it

Secondly, when the P-Ns occupy the initial positions of the clauses in which they are POs or adjuncts, they become the focal elements of these clauses, provided that they - the clauses - are independent, e.g. the P-Ns 9alayhi 'in Him' in (3), bidaalika 'at that' in (4), ?ilayhi 'to Him' in (5), and lillaahi 'to Allah' in (6). If, on the other hand, the clauses are dependent, or co-ordinated with dependent clauses, e.g. adjectival clauses and the clauses co-ordinated with them, the P-Ns occupying their initial position do not become focal elements, e.g. the P-Ns 9alayhaa 'whereby' in (12), which is a PO, bihii 'with it' in (13), which is a means adjunct, and fiiihi (ya9Siruun) 'in which (they will press)' in (14), which is a time adjunct: the clause the initial position of which is occupied by the first P-N is adjectival, and those the initial positions of which are occupied by the second and the third
P-N are co-ordinated with the adjectival clauses yahduuna bilhaqqi 'who lead with truth' in (13) and fiihī yuğaaθu nnaasu 'in which the people will have abundant water' in (14).

(12) wa lawlaa ?an yakuuna nnaasu ?ummatan waaḥidatan laga9alnaa liman yakhfur birrahmaani libuyuutihim suqufan min fiDDatin wa ma9aariga 9alayhaa yazharuun

(43/33)
And were not that people might become of one (evil) way (of life), We would well appoint for those who disbelieve in the Beneficent roof of silver for their houses and stairs (of silver) whereby to mount

(13) wa min qawmi muusaa ?ummatun yahduunabilhaqqi wa bihī ya9diluun (7/159)
And of Moses' folk there is a community who lead with truth and establish justice with it

(14) Gumma ya?tii min ba9di daalika 9aamun fihi yuğaaθu nnaasu wa fihi yasiruun (12/49)
Then, after that, will come a year in which the people will have abundant water, and in which they will press (wine and oil)

As in the case of P-N's occupation of the position occurring immediately before V-μ (cf. below p.169), the reason for P-N's occupation of the initial position of the adjectival clause or the clause co-ordinated with it, might have to do with V-μ rhyming with, for instance, a preceding word or both a preceding and a following word. For examples, the P-N 9alayhaa 'whereby' in (12) occupies the initial position of the clause so that the V- yazharuun
'to mount', with which verse (33) ends, rhymes with yagma9uuun 'amass' and yattal0uun 'recline', which terminate verse (32) and (34). And the P-N fiihi 'in which' in (14) occupies the initial position of the clause so that the V ya9Siruuun 'they will press', which terminates verse (49), rhymes with yuhSinuun 'have stored', with which verse (48) ends. (It should be noted that in the Koran most of the words rhyming with one another terminate verses.)

(b) The second position that precedes V-/V1 and can be occupied by the P-N associating with it is non-initial: it is the position immediately before V-/V1. P-N occupies the position immediately before V-/V1 either (i) because it is one of the possible positions the P-N of a V-P-N or a V1-P-N combination can occupy or (ii) in order for V-/V1 to rhyme with a preceding and/or a following word. An example of a P-N that occupies the position immediately before V- because it is one of the possible positions it can occupy, is minhu 'from it' in (15).

(15) ?alla1ii ga9ala lakum mina g9agari l?axDar1i naaran fi?idaa ?antum minhu tuuqiduuun (36/80)
Who has appointed for you fire from the green tree,
and behold! you kindle from it.

The V- tuuqiduuun 'kindle', which is the word with which verse (80) ends, rhymes with neither 9aliim 'informed', nor with ?al9aliim 'the Omniscient', which are the words terminating verses (79) and (81). The alternative of the position occupied by minhu 'from it' in (15) is that following the V-tuuqiduuun 'kindle', but not the initial position of the clause, for it is occupied by fa?idaa 'and behold', which must occur initially (cf. above p. 166). Thus while
(16) is a grammatical version of (15), (17) is not.

(16) *; alldii ga9ala lakum mina $agari l(axDari naaran fa?idaa ?antum tuuqiduuna minh
Who has appointed for you fire from the green tree, and behold! you kindle from it

(17) *; alldii ga9ala lakum mina $agari l(axDari naaran minhu fi?idaa ?antum tuuqiduun

The following P-Ns, on the other hand, are examples of the textual P-Ns that occupy the positions immediately before the V-s/V₁'s associating with them so that they - the V-s/V₁'s - rhyme with the words terminating the verses preceding and/or following those terminated by them: fiihi 'concerning which' in (18), fii sakratihim 'in their intoxication' in (19), bi?aayaatinaa 'of Our signs' in (20), bi?aayaati llaahi 'the revelations of Allah' in (21) and min ba9dihii 'after it' in (22).

(18) qaaluu bal gi?naaka bimaa kaanuu fiihi yamtaruun
(15/63)
They said: No, we bring you that concerning which they used to dispute

(19) la9amruka ?innahum lafii sakratihim ya9mahuun (15/72)
By your life verily, they move blindly in their intoxication.

(20) ?axragnaa lahum daabbatan mina 1(axD ) tukallimuhum ?anna nnaasa kaanuu bi?aayaatinaa laa yuuqinuun
(27/82)
We shall bring forth for them a beast of the earth to speak to them for that people were not certain of Our signs
(21) wa laakinnna ZZaalimiina bi?aayaati llaahi yaghaduun

(6/33)
But evil-doers flout the revelations of Allah

(22) laZalluu min ba9dihii yakfuruun (30/51)
They verily would continue to be ungrateful after it

In (18 - 21), the V-s yamtaruun 'dispute', ya9mahuun 'move blindly', yuuqinuun 'certain' and yaghaduun 'flout' rhyme respectively with munkaruun 'unknown' and laSaadiquun 'truth-tellers', faa9iliin 'doing' and mu$riqiin 'at the sun rise', muslimuun 'have surrendered' and yuuza9uuun 'be set in array', and ta9qiluun 'have sense' and ?almursaliin 'the messengers', which terminate the verses preceding and following those terminated by them. And in (22), the V_1 yakfuruun 'to be ungrateful' rhymes with mudbiriin 'have turned', which terminates the verse following that terminated by it.

It should be noted that P-N's occupation of the position immediately before V-/V_1, or of the initial position of a dependent clause or a clause coordinating with it, for reasons having to do with V-/V_1 rhyming with other words, is optional. Therefore, the versions of (18 - 22) and of (12 - 14) with the P-Ns being adjacent to the V-s/V_1's are grammatical.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE REALIZATION OF -N BY AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 Findings

When -N is realized by an interrogative pronoun both it and P- must be shifted to the initial position of the clause in which they occur. In relation to V-P-N and Vl-P-N combinations, for instance this fact indicates that P- and -N are a constituent and, hence, that the constituency break of V-P-N and Vl-P-N combinations are V-/P-N and Vl-/P-N.

8.1.2 man-Interrogative clauses

The interrogative clause in which the interrogative pronoun can be -N is the man-clause, which is equivalent to WH- clauses in English, and is a counterpart of the na9am/laa question. The man-clause and the na9am/laa question differ from each other in that the latter expects a na9am/laa reply, while the former expects 'a reply supplying an item of information' (Quirk and Sidney Greenbaum, p. 192). In our case, in which the interrogative pronoun is -N, i.e. a prepositional complement in a P-N functioning as PO or as adjunct, this item is a NP that is selected from 'the range of entities covered by' the indefinite expression in the underlying representation of the man-phrase (Huddleston, p. 140; cf. below 8.13.2) i.e. the phrase containing a man-word, or the man-word itself, e.g. man 'who', maa 'what'. In the case in which the question word is not -N, on the other hand, e.g. ?ayna 'where' in (1) and (3), the items of information, which are selected here
according to the phrases containing the indefinite expressions in the underlying forms of the man-phrases, could be, for instance, a P-N or a NP: a possible reply of (1) is (2), where the item of information is a P-N, and of (3) is (4), where the item of information is a NP.

(1) ?ayna tādhabu (cf. 81/26)
Where do you go?

(2) ?ila lmanzil
To the house

(3) ?ayna halla lgawn (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 469)
Where did the people settle down?

(4) mīṣr (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 469)
Egypt

8.1.3 The underlying representation of interrogative pronouns: previous analysis

Discussion of both the rule shifting P- and the interrogative pronoun it governs to the initial position of the clause and the rules generating them (cf. below 8.2), involves consideration of the underlying representations of interrogative pronouns. Concerning these representations, there are two viewpoints: (1) Jacobs and Rosenbaum's and (2) Buddlestone's.

8.1.3.1 Jacobs and Rosenbaum

Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968) hold that the nominal interrogatives 'what', 'when', etc. are lexical items, not derivatives. They belong to a subclass of the pronoun, termed by them 'interrogative pronouns'; and 'like all other pronouns' they 'originate in terms of features on
noun segments in deep structure' (Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, p. 153).

The feature proposed by them for distinguishing interrogative from personal pronouns is the feature [+WH]: while both in their lexical entries and in deep structures 'interrogative pronouns possess the feature [+WH], all others possess the feature [-WH]' (ibid, 153). The interrogative pronouns themselves are of course assigned features that distinguish them from one another. According to Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 'who' and 'whom' are assigned the feature [+ human], which differentiates them from 'when', 'where' and 'what', for instance, and 'when' and 'where' are assigned the feature [+ time] and [+ place], respectively, which differentiate them from one another and from other interrogative pronouns (ibid., p. 154). The adjectival interrogative, e.g. 'which' in (5), which is Jacobs and Rosenbaum' (ibid., p. 157) also is regarded by them as a lexical item, which is marked, among others, with the feature [+WH].

(5) Which book did you read?

However, unlike the complex symbol of the nominal interrogative, which is introduced into the deep structure independently, neither by a selectional rule nor by a transformation, that of the adjectival interrogative, 'which' in (5) and the like, is introduced, according to Jacobs and Rosenbaum, by a transformation, named by them 'the article transformation' (ibid., p. 157). The job of this transformation is to introduce into the deep structure 'an article segment with the feature (+WH)', which is to "be spelled in the lexicon as either 'which' and 'what'" (ibid., pp. 157-8). The article transformation operates on the complex symbols of the ordinary nouns that are the topics of the adjectival wh- interrogative clauses and
marked with the feature [+WH] in the deep structures of these clauses.

Jacobs and Rosenbaum say nothing concerning whether the lexical entries of these ordinary nouns will themselves include the feature [+WH]. For me, however, they must include this feature so that the lexical insertion rule will be able to replace the complex symbol of the ordinary noun marked with the feature [+WH] in the deep structure by a lexical entry of a noun able to function as topic of an adjectival wh-interrogative clause.

According to this viewpoint of Jacobs and Rosenbaum, both the nominal and adjectival interrogative will be generated by the same rule, that of (6).

\[(6) \quad \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{N}\]

In the pre-lexical phrase marker, however, only the N-node that dominates a complex symbol for which a nominal interrogative cannot be substituted, e.g. the N-node dominating the complex symbol for which 'book' in (5) can be substituted, will have as a counterpart an article-node with the feature [+WH], as indicated above.

8.1.3.2 Huddleston

Huddleston sees that both the nominal and adjectival interrogative are derivatives: according to him, they derive from underlying phrases that contain "a morpheme symbolized 'wh'" (Huddleston, p.137; cf. also p. 139 and pp. 143-4). For example, 'who', 'what', 'what train', and 'when' derive from the underlying phrases 'wh some body/one', 'wh some thing', 'wh some train', and 'at wh some time' (ibid., p. 138). Huddleston's justification of these underlying forms is that their presence in the underlying representations of wh-clauses will
greatly simplify and account for the systematic relations between these clauses and their declarative presuppositions (ibid., p. 138). For example, (7) stands in a presupposition relation to (8); and (9), which is the underlying representation of (7), incorporates the underlying representation of (8): it is everything in (9) except the 'wh' morpheme and the 'Q-' element (ibid., p. 138).

(7) Who has taken my umbrella? (ibid., p. 136)
(8) Someone has taken my umbrella? (ibid., p. 137)
(9) Q wh some one pres have en take my umbrella (ibid., p. 140)

According to Huddleston, 'some', 'no', 'any' in 'something', 'nothing', and 'anything', for instance, as well as 'wh some' in the underlying forms of both the adjectival and nominal interrogative, are determiners. Therefore, 'some one', which is the underlying form of 'someone' in (8), and 'wh some one' in (9), which is the underlying form of 'who' in (7), for instance, will be generated by the same rule, that of (10).

(10) NP → Det N

But 'Det' will be re-written as 'wh some' according to (11), when (10) is generating 'wh some one', and as 'some' according to (12), when (10) is generating 'some one'.

(11) Det → wh some
(12) Det → some

Still a third rule is needed so that the pronunciation of 'someone' in (8), and the like, as a single word is accounted for. This rule will have to do with the incorporation of "determiner and noun into a single compound word when the noun is 'thing' 'one', etc." (ibid., p. 139).
Some of the underlying forms of wh-words that are proposed by Huddleston contain certain prepositions, e.g. 'for wh some reason' and 'at wh some time', which are the underlying forms suggested by him for 'why' and 'when' (ibid., p. 138). Huddleston says nothing concerning the introduction of these prepositions into the deep structure. For rules (10 - 12) are the only rules suggested by him for generating the underlying forms of wh-words including those containing prepositions. I therefore suggest the involvement of rule (13), which already exists in the grammar, in generating the underlying forms of wh-words which contain underlying prepositions; some of these underlying forms, of course, do not contain prepositions (cf. above 8.1.3). This rule applies before (10 - 12).

(13) \[ PP \rightarrow P \ NP \]

In any case, rule (13) must be made use of, when the wh-word functions as prepositional complement not as direct object, or as subject or as adjunct (cf. below 8.2), i.e. when it is to be governed by a P in the surface structure.

8.2 The Underlying Representation of Interrogative Pronouns Realizing -N: a Proposed Analysis

Concerning the Arabic interrogative pronouns realizing the nominal elements of the P-Ns functioning as PO or as adjunct, or being elements of the NPs realizing them, I will follow Huddleston's viewpoint of regarding them as derivations, for reasons to be mentioned below (cf. 8.2.3). However, as will be seen (cf. below 8.2.1-2), the underlying representations of man-words or the NPs containing them, and, hence, the rules generating the P-Ns the Ns
of which are realized by them or contain them, differ from their counterparts in English.

The interrogative pronouns found in the data realizing -Ns or representing elements of the NPs realizing them are nominal and adjectival respectively (1).

8.2.1 Nominal Interrogatives

The nominal interrogatives found in the data realizing -N are man 'who', and maa 'what' (2). 'man' is found realizing only the N of the P-N functioning as PO, e.g. man 'whom' in (14), while maa is found realizing the N of both the P-N functioning as PO, e.g. ma 'what' in (15 - 17), and the P-N functioning as Reason adjunct, e.g. (li)ma 'why' in (18).

(14) hal ?unabbi?ukum 9alaa man tanazzalu $ayaaTiin
     (26/221)
     Shall I inform you upon whom the devils descend?

(15) 9amma yatasaa?aluun (78/1)
     Concerning what do they question one another?

(16) fabima tuba$iriun (15/54)
     Of what then can you bring (me) good tidings?

(17) falyanZuri 1?insaanu mimma xuliq (86/5)
     So let man consider from what he is created

(18) wa qaaluu liguuluudihim lima $ahidtu$ 9alaynaa (41/21)
     And they will say to their skins: Why did you testify against us?

The post-lexical underlying representations of man 'whom' in (14) is (19), and of ma 'what' in (15 - 16) and (li)ma 'why' in (18) is
(20), and of ma 'what' in (17) is (21).

(19) \[ NP \quad \text{[+ interrogated]} \]
     \[ N \quad \text{Adj} \]
     \[ \text{'one'} \]

(20) \[ NP \quad \text{[+ interrogated]} \]
     \[ N \quad \text{Adj} \]
     \[ \text{'thing'} \]

(21) \[ NP \quad \text{[+ interrogated]} \]
     \[ N \quad \text{Adj} \]
     \[ \text{'thing'} \]

The P-Ns the Ns of which are realized by the nominal interrogatives in (14 - 18) are generated by the rules of (22).

(22) i \[ PP \rightarrow P \quad NP \]
    ii \[ NP \rightarrow N \quad Adj \]
As for the rule shifting them to the initial positions of the man-clauses in which they are constituents, it is the man-question transformation, which is triggered off by the presence of the feature [+ interrogated], under the NP-node dominating their nominal elements in the deep structures of these clauses. (23) is a possible formulation of this rule.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(23) \\
\begin{array}{cccc}
X & P & \text{NP} & Y \\
S & (+ \text{interrogated}) & S \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
2 & 3+1 & \emptyset & \emptyset & 4
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

It should be noted firstly that later, the underlying forms of (19 - 21) will be realized as nominal interrogatives by the realization rules (cf. Fowler, pp. 81-2). These rules will operate on the surface structures containing them and resulting from the application of rule (23) and others on the deep structures of the man-clauses embracing them: rule (24) will realize (19) as man 'who', while rule (25) will realize (20 - 21) as maa 'what'.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(24) \\
X \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{gaxS} \\
+ \text{N} \\
+ \text{common} \\
- \text{definite} \\
+ \text{human}
\end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c}
\text{maa} \\
+ \text{adj}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\text{Y} \\
\text{NP}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbf{+ interrogated}}
\end{array}
\]
However, the underlying representations of (20 - 21) might be realized as ?ayy /ay? 'what, thing?' as well. For the question phrases 9amma 'concerning what?' in (15), bima 'of what?' in (16), mimma 'from what?' in (17), and lima 'why' in (18) are synonymous with 9an ?ayyi /ay? in 'concerning what thing', bi?ayyi /ay? in 'of what thing', min ?ayyi /ay? in 'from what thing', and li?ayyi /ay? in 'for what thing', respectively. Accordingly, rule (25) ought to be modified so as to account for this synonymity. A possible modification of it is (26).
Secondly, the man-question transformation (cf. (23)) applies both to direct man-questions, e.g. (15 - 16) and lima 9ahidtum 9alaynaa 'why did you testify against us?' in (18), and to indirect ones (cf. Quirk et al., p. 398; Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, p. 181), e.g. 9alaa man taniazzalu 9ayaaTiin 'upon whom the devils descend' in (14) and mimma xuliq 'from what he is created' in (17).

8.2.2 Adjectival interrogative

The adjectival interrogative is ?ayy in the phrase ?ayy + N 'what + N'. The adjectival interrogative phrase, i.e. the phrase containing ?ayy 'what', is found in the data realizing the N of both the P-N functioning as PO, e.g. ?ayyi 9ayi in 'what thing' in (27) and ?ayyi hadii?in 'what' speech in (28), and the P-N functioning as
Place adjunct, e.g. ʔayyi ʔadiDin 'what land' in (29), Reason adjunct, e.g. ʔayyi ʔaDibin 'what crime' in (30), or as Duration adjunct, e.g. ʔayyi ʔawmin 'what day' in (31). 

(27) min ʔayyi ʔaDin in xalaqah (80/18)
From what thing did He create him?

(28) fabiʔayyi ḫaDiikin baʔdahuu yuʔmiInun (7/185)
In what speech after it (Muhammad's speech) will they believe?

(29) wa maa tadrii nafsIn maʔaDaa takDibu ʔadDIn wama maa tadrii nafsIn biʔayyi ʔaDin tamuut (31/34)
No soul knows what it will earn tomorrow and no soul knows in what land it will die

(30) wa ṭiDaa lmawʔuDatu suʔiDatan biʔayyi ʔanbiIn qutiDlat (81/8-9)
And when the girl-child that was buried alive is asked for what crime she was killed

(31) ʔiʔayyi ʔawmin ʔuggiDlat (77/12)
Till what day is it (the gathering of the messengers) deferred?

The post-lexical underlying forms of the adjectival phrases ʔayyi ʔaDin 'what thing?' in (27), ʔayyi ḫaDiikin 'what speech?' in (28), ʔayyi ʔaDin 'what land?' in (29), ʔayyi ʔaDibin 'what crime?' in (30), and ʔayyi ʔawmin 'what day?' in (31) are (32 - 36), respectively.
Like the P-Ns the Ns of which are realized by the nominal interrogatives in (14 - 18), those the Ns of which are realized by the adjectival interrogative phrases in (27 - 31) and have the underlying representations of (32 - 36) are generated by the rules of (22), (repeated here as (37)) and shifted to the initial positions of the clauses containing them by the man-question transformation (cf. above (23)).

(37) i. PP → P NP
    ii. NP → N adj

Later in the surface structure component, a realization rule will realize the interrogated NPs in (32 - 36) as ?ayy + N 'what + N'. A possible formulation of this rule is (38).

(38) X [ + N ] [ maa ] [ 'some' ] [ + adj ]
     [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
     NP

+ interrogated

X [ ?ayy ] [ + N ]
   [ 'what' ] [ ]
   NP

+ interrogated

8.2.3 Justification

The reasons why I have followed Huddleston's point of view of regarding man-words (cf. above 8.1.3.2) as derivatives are as follows:
(a) The first reason, which is mentioned by Huddleston (cf. above pp. 175-6) is that regarding man-words as derivatives will simplify and account for the fact that each man-question stands in a presupposition relation with a declarative sentence. For example, (39-41) stand in presupposition relations with (42-44), respectively.

(39) 9alaa man ya9tamidu 9aliyy
On whom does 9aliyy rely?

(40) lima gaa?a 9aliyy
Why has 9aliyy come?

(41) bima yu?minu 9aliyy
In what does 9aliyy believe?

(42) ya9tamidu 9aliyyun 9alaa $axSin maa
9aliyy relies on someone

(43) gaa?a 9aliyyun li$ay?in maa
9aliyy has come for something

(44) yu?minu 9aliyyun bi$ay?in maa
9aliyy believes in something

According to this proposal the underlying structures of man-questions will include those of their presuppositions. For example, (45), which is the underlying structure of (39), includes the underlying structure of (42), which is the presupposition of (39): it is everything in (45) except the feature [+ interrogated].
(b) The second reason, which is not mentioned by Huddleston, is that considering man-words to be derivatives will enable us to account for the synonymity between the members of the following pairs of prepositionally realized question phrases and the like, and, hence, between the clauses containing either the first or the second member:

(i) "fiima 'in what?' : fii ?ayyi $ay? 'in what thing?'.

(ii) "min ?ayna 'from where?' : min ?ayyi makaan 'from what place?'"
of the nominal elements of (i) is (46) and of (ii) is (47), and the outputs of the realization rule operating on them are ma 'what' or ?ayyi ³ay? 'what thing', or ?ayna 'where' or ?ayyi makaan 'what place', respectively.

(46)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{Adj}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{³ay?} \\
\text{'thing'} \\
\text{maa} \\
\text{'some'}
\end{array}
\]

\[+ \text{interrogated}\]

(47)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{Adj}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{makaan} \\
\text{'place'} \\
\text{maa} \\
\text{'some'}
\end{array}
\]

\[+ \text{interrogated}\]
Footnotes

1. I found in nahg ?albalaaqah also examples of adverbial interrogatives realizing -N. Of these examples is ?ayna 'where' in (i).

   (i) min ?ayna tu?tawn (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 200)
   Where can you be attacked from?

2. maaðaa 'what' is a nominal interrogative synonymous to maa 'what'. In nahg ?albalaaqah, I found an example of it realizing the N of a P-N functioning as PO. This is maaðaa 'what' in (i).

   (i) bimaadaa ta9tarruun (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 142)
   What makes you become overweening?

3. In nahg ?albalaaqah, I found the adjectival interrogative phrase realizing the N of the P-N functioning as Comitative adjunct, too, e.g. ?ayyi ?imaamin 'what leader' in (i).

   (i) ma9a ?ayyi ?imaamin ba9dii tuqaatiluun (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 76).
   With what leader will you fight after me?
CHAPTER NINE

TOPICALIZATION OF -N AND REPLACEABILITY OF P-N BY A SINGLE WORD

9.1 Topicalization of -N

9.1.1 Introduction

9.1.1.1 Findings

When -N is topicalized, it is both shifted to the initial position of the clause and replaced by a pronoun referring back to it. In fact as will be explained later (cf. 9.1.2.2.2), this pronoun, which is known as the replacive pronoun, is a result of the pronominalization of a duplicate NP of -N that replaces it after being topicalized. A topic-comment structure with the topic deriving from -N and with no pronoun replacing it is therefore ungrammatical. This indicates that P- cannot stand alone without a -N to govern and that both of them represent a constituent, and, therefore, that the constituency break of V-P-N combinations, the P of which is found topicalized in the data (cf. below 9.1.2.1.1), is V-/P-N not V-P/-N.

It should be noted that in English the P of the V-P-N combination the N of which is topicalized can stand alone, which is another sign of the constituency break of V-P-N combinations in this language being V-P/-N, and which is a trace of the deep structure relation in which the topic stands with another category, e.g. 'with' in (1), which is Jesperson's (Jesperson, 1927, III, 277).

(1) You she will see and speak with
9.1.1.2 Topic-comment sentences

The topic-comment sentence is considered by a number of linguists to be transformationally derived. These linguists are Chomsky (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 220-1 fn 32), Anshen and Peter A. Schreiber, who applied their analysis to topic-comment sentences in Modern written Arabic (cf. Anshen and Peter A Schreiber, pp. 794-5), Bach (cf. Bach, p. 212; p. 224), and Huddleston (cf. Huddleston, pp. 229-30).

Lewkowicz, on the other hand, represents a different method for analyzing the topic-comment sentence, which she terms 'EMBEDDED-COMMENT method' (cf. Lewkowicz, p. 813). According to this view, a topic-comment sentence will be generated by the phrase structure rules. The phrase structure rules suggested by Lewkowicz for spelling out the basic topic-comment structure and regarded by her as being 'probably the first two rules of the grammar' (ibid., pp. 814-15) are the following ones, where the NP generated by rule (2)i represents either the topic or the subject\(^1\) and the embedded S, \(\mathcal{SH}\), represents the comment (ibid., p. 814).

\[
(2) \quad i \quad S \rightarrow NP + Pred
\]

\[\quad ii \rightarrow Pred \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Copula + } \left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\text{Adj P} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Adv P}
\end{array} \right] \\
\mathcal{SH}
\end{array} \right\}
\]

'Predicate \(\rightarrow \mathcal{SH}\)' is the portion of rule (2)ii that will be involved in generating topic-comment sentences. Consider, for instance, (3).

\[
(3) \quad ?ulaa?ika ?a9ta\d{n}a lahu\m 9a\d{a}aban ?aliimaa (4/18)
\]
Those, We have prepared for them a painful punishment.

The rules generating (3) are those of (4), and, therefore, (5) is its underlying structure.

(4) i  \( S \rightarrow NP \ Pred \)

ii  \( NP \rightarrow \text{Demonstrative} \)

iii  \( Pred \rightarrow HS/H \)

iv  \( HS/H \rightarrow NP \ Pred \)

v  \( NP \rightarrow \text{Pronoun} \)

vi  \( Pred \rightarrow VP \ Adjunct \)

vii  \( VP \rightarrow V \ NP \)

viii  \( NP \rightarrow N \ Adj \)

ix  \( Adjunct \rightarrow PP \)

x  \( PP \rightarrow P \ NP \)

xi  \( NP \rightarrow \text{Demonstrative} \)

(5) S

NP

Pred

\( HS/H \)

Demonstrative

NP

Pred

VP

Adjunct

Pronoun

V

NP

PP

N

Adj

NP

Demonstrative

?ulaa?ik 'those'

nahm 'We'

?a9tad 'have'

9adaabaa 'punish-

?alii?aa 'pain-

la 'for'

?ulaa?ik 'prepared'

ment'

ful'

'those'
It should be noted firstly that according to this analysis of topic-comment sentences, \( HSH \) will include a NP that 'is a duplicate of the topic' (ibid., p. 815). In (5), this NP is 'ulaa?ik 'those' in \( HSH \). Secondly, Lewkowicz points out that when \( HSH \) is expanded, 'it could be assigned the structure NP + \( HSH \)' (ibid., p. 815), or, to put it in a more precise way, it could be rewritten as NP + Pred, where 'Pred' is to be re-written as \( HSH \), e.g. the \( HSH \) ?abuuhu Darabahu lIIS 'his father, the thief struck him' in (6), which is Lewkowicz's (ibid., p. 813).

(6) ?alwaladu?abuuhu Darabahu ssaariq

The boy, his father, the thief struck him

The underlying representation of the \( HSH \) ?abuuhu Darabahu ssaariq is (7).

(7)
This implies that \( HSH \) might be rewritten as \( NP + Pred \) where
\( Pred \) will be rewritten as \( VP \) not as \( HSH \), e.g. the \( HSH \) ?a9tadnā
lahum 9aḍaaban ?alīmāa 'We have prepared for them a painful
punishment' in (3), which is represented in (5).

Lewkowicz introduced two transformations to complete the
derivation of the topic-comment sentence: (i) the 'obligatory topic-
comment transformation, which applies not to the embedded \( HSH \) but
to the whole sentence' (ibid., p. 815). The job of this transformation
is to 'delete the internal boundary symbols flanking the embedded \( HSH \)'
(loc. cit.), and its formulation is (8), which is considered by
Lewkowicz to be approximate (ibid., p. 815).

\[
(8) \quad HNP \ X + NP + YHHT \Rightarrow 1, \ 0, \ 3, \ 4, \ 5, \ 0
\]
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6
\]
where 4 is non-distinct from 1.

(ii) the general pronoun rule, which is obligatory, too. The job
of this rule is to convert into a pronoun the NP in the embedded
\( HSH \) that duplicates the topic (ibid., p. 814; p. 818).

9.1.2 The topic-comment sentences the topics of which derive from \(-N\)

For reason to be mentioned below (9.1.2.3), in discussing
the topic-comment sentences the topics of which derive from \(-N\), which
concern us here, I will follow the view of the first group of linguists
(cf. above 9.1.1.2), i.e. the view that regards topic-comment
sentences as being transformationally derived.

9.1.2.1 Underlying structure

The topic-comment sentences the topics of which derive from the
nominal elements of the P-Ns functioning as PO or as adjunct will have
the same underlying structure as the non-topic-comment sentences corresponding to them (cf. Huddleston, p. 229). In this underlying structure, there will be no morpheme corresponding to the replacive pronoun in the surface structure, which refers back to the topic and occupies the same clause position that the morpheme realized as topic occupies in the deep structure. For example, (9), which is a topic-comment sentence, has the same underlying representation as (10), which is its corresponding non-topic-comment structure: both sentences have the underlying representation indicated by (11)\(^2\).

(9)  
Those, Allah may forgive them

(10) 9asa llaahu ?an ya9fuwa 9an ?ulaa?ik
Allah may forgive those

(11)

\[
S \\
\text{Pred} \\
\text{Aux} \quad \text{VP} \\
\quad \text{V} \quad \text{PP} \\
\quad \quad \quad \text{P} \quad \text{NP} \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{Demonstrative} \quad \text{N} \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{9asaa} \quad \text{?an} \quad \text{ya9fuwa} \quad \text{9an} \quad \text{?ulaa?ik} \quad \text{?allaah} \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{'may'} \quad \text{'forgive'} \quad \text{'those'} \quad \text{'Allah'}
\]
In (11), there is no morpheme corresponding to the replacive pronoun hum 'them' in (9), which refers back to the topic ?ulaa?ika 'those', and the morpheme ?ulaa?ik 'those', which is realized as topic in (9), occupies the same clause position occupied by the replacive pronoun hum 'them': each of them is a prepositional complement in a P-N functioning as PO.

9.1.2.2 Topicalization and nominalization transformation

The rules mapping (11) to the derived structure of (9) are the topicalization and the nominalization transformation, which apply in this order. The latter transformation is obligatory, while the former is optional. For both the topic-comment sentence and the non-topic-comment one that corresponds to it, e.g. (9) and (10) respectively, are grammatical.

9.1.2.2.1 Restriction

The applicability of the topicalization transformation is not without any restriction (cf. Lewkowicz, p. 8110; fn 4). The restrictions concerning us here are of course those having to do with the topicalization of -N.

9.1.2.2.1.1 The topicalization of the N of the P-N functioning as PO

The N of the P-N functioning as PO can be topicalized with no restriction other than the general ones, e.g. that the NP to be topicalized must be [+ definite] (cf. Lewkowicz, p. 810). Examples of the topics deriving from the Ns of the P-Ns functioning as PO are ?ulaa?ika 'those' in (9), haa?ulaa?i 'those' in (12), and daalikum 'that' in (13).

(12) ?a haa?ulaa?i manna llaahu 9alayhim min bayninaa (6/53)

Those, has Allah favoured them among us?
(13) daalikum waSSaakum bihii la9allakum ta9giluun (6/151)

That, He gave you an order for it, so that you may discern

It is with no importance whether the N to be topicalized is that of V-P-N combinations, e.g. ?ulaa?iika 'those' in (9), which derives from the N of the V-P-N combination ya9fuwa 9an ?ulaa?ik 'forgive those', or that of other combinations, e.g. daalikum 'that' in (13), which derives from the N of the combination waSSaakum bidaalikum 'gave you an order for that', whose verbal element is a DOT-PV (cf. above 3.2).

9.1.2.2.1.2 The topicalization of the N of the P-N functioning as adjunct

There is no restriction other than the general ones (cf. above p. 196) on the topicalization of the N of the P-N functioning as Means or Beneficient adjunct. I found in the data topics deriving from the N of the combinations corresponding to those with a DOT-PV as verbal elements (cf. above 3.2). In some of these combinations the P-N functions as Means adjunct, e.g. daalika 'that' in (14), which derives from the N of the combination yuxawwifu 9ibaadahuu bidaalik 'appals His servants with that', and in others as Beneficient adjunct, e.g. ?ulaa?iika 'those' in (15), which derives from the combination ?a9tad 9adaaban ?aliiman li?ulaa?ik 'have prepared for those a painful punishment'.

(14) daalika yuxawwifu 1laahu bihii 9ibaadah (39/16)

That, Allah appals His servants with it


Those, We have prepared for them a painful punishment.

It should be noted that, regardless of the fact that the topicalized Ns of the P-Ns functioning as Means or Beneficient adjunct that are reported in the data belong to combinations other than V₁-P-N
combinations, I hold it that there is no restriction on the topicalization of the N of all the P-Ns functioning as Means or Beneficient adjunct. For in my view, what is of importance, with respect to these P-Ns, is whether they are means or beneficient adjuncts, not the combinations to which their N belongs. Therefore the topic-comment sentences of (16 - 17) are grammatical though their topics, ?allaahu 'Allah' and ?alxidaa9u 'deception', derive from the Ns of P-Ns functioning as Beneficient and Means adjunct respectively, and occurring in V₁-P-N combinations: ?allaahu 'Allah' in (16) derives from the N of the V₁-P-N combination yuSallii lillaah 'pray for Allah', and ?alxidaa9u 'deception' in (17) derives from the N of the V₁-P-N combination yantaSiru bilxidaa9 'gain a victory with deception'.

(16) ?allaahu yuSallii lahuu 9ibaaduh
   Allah, His servants pray for Him

(17) ?alxidaa9u yantaSiru bihi DDa9iif
   Deception, the weak gain a victory with it

Concerning the P-Ns functioning as adjunct other than Means and Beneficient adjunct, on the other hand, it is not possible to say whether or not their N elements can be topicalized. For though the data do not contain any topic-comment sentences the topics of which derive from the N elements of the P-Ns functioning as adjunct other than Means and Beneficient adjunct, they belong only to one of the representative texts of CA. There is however one thing about which I have no doubt, and which provides us with some of the unique restrictions on the topicalization of the N of the P-N functioning as adjunct (or may be the NP functioning as prepositional complement generally). The N elements of the P-Ns that function as adjunct and
have P elements realized by prepositions that cannot govern pronouns, cannot be topicalized. Examples of such N elements, are xa$yati llaah '(their) fear of Allah', SSabaah 'the morning', and SSayfi lmaaDii 'last summer' in (18 - 20). Each of them is governed by a preposition that is able to govern only nouns: the first is governed by ka 'as', the second by hatta 'until' and the third by mundu 'since'.

(18) yaxzaa ba9Du nnaasi nnaasa kaxa$yati llaah

Some people fear men as (their) fear of Allah

(19) sa?udaakiru hatta SSabaah

I will study until the morning

(20) lam ?uqaabilhu mundu SSayfi lmaaDii

I have not met him since last summer

It should be noted firstly that kaxa$yati llaah 'as (their) fear of Allah' in (18) functions as adjunct of comparison, while hatta SSabaah 'until the morning' in (19) and mundu SSayfi lmaaDii 'since last summer' in (20) function as Duration adjunct.

Secondly, N elements such as xa$yati llaah '(their) fear of Allah' in (18) do not include the N elements of the P-Ns functioning as Means or Beneficient adjunct. For they are governed by prepositions that are able to govern both nouns and pronouns: these prepositions are respectively bi 'with' and li'for' (cf. below p.683, p. 684 respectively). Also, as will be indicated below (cf.21.2.1 ), they do not include the N elements of the P-Ns functioning as PO, for none of these elements are governed by mud/mund- 'since', hatta 'till', or ka 'as', which are the prepositions that are not able to govern pronouns.
The reason why the N elements of P-Ns such as those in (18 - 20) cannot be topicalized is obvious. Since the topicalized -N is replaced by a duplicate NP, which is to be pronominalized later by the pronominalization transformation (cf. below 9.1.2.2.2), the topicalization of the N elements of these P-Ns is bound to result in ungrammatical sentences. For example, the topicalization of SSabaah 'the morning' in (19) results in (21), which is ungrammatical, for in it, hattaa 'until' governs a pronoun not a noun.

(21) *?aSSabaahu sa?udaakiru hattaah
The morning, I will study until it

I nevertheless will not refer to this restriction while formulating the topicalization transformation (cf. below 9.1.2.2.2. For to consider it a condition on this transformation will mean that -N elements other than the N of the P-N functioning as Means or Beneficient adjunct can be topicalized, which, as indicated above (p. 198), requires consulting representative texts of CA other than that constituting the data. These N elements are the Ns that are both governed by prepositions able to govern nouns and pronouns, (i.e. by prepositions other than ka 'as', hattaa 'until' and mud/mund 'since' (cf. above p.199), and function as prepositional complement in P-Ns functioning as adjunct other than Means and Beneficient adjunct, e.g. ziinatih 'his pomp' in (22), which is governed by fii 'in' and is a prepositional complement in a P-N functioning as Subject adjunct, and lhikmati 'wisdom' in (23), which is governed by bi 'with' and functions as prepositional complement in a P-N that is a manner adjunct.

(22) faxaraga 9alaa qawmihi fii ziinatih (28/79)
Then, went he forth before his people in his pomp
Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation

9.1.2.2.1.3 Recapitulation

To recapitulate, three things have been indicated with reference to the restrictions on the -N to be topicalized:

1. Some of these restrictions are general, i.e. have nothing to do with the function of the NP to be topicalized, e.g. the restriction related to the NP being [+ definite] (cf. above p. 196) and others are unique, i.e. have to do with the function of the NP to be topicalized, e.g. the restriction related to the NP functioning as prepositional complement not being governed by a preposition that cannot govern a pronoun (cf. above p. 199).

2. It cannot be properly stated without consulting representative texts of CA other than the Koran that the N of the P-N functioning as adjunct other than Means and Beneficient adjunct and having its P realized by one of the prepositions that can govern pronouns, can be topicalized.

3. The unique restriction referred to in (1) cannot be placed on the topicalization of the N of the P-N functioning as PO, Means adjunct or Beneficient adjunct, which are found topicalized in the data. For they are governed by prepositions that are able to govern both nouns and pronouns. This means that apart from the restriction having to do with the definiteness of the NP to be topicalized, there is no restriction on the topicalization of the N elements of the P-Ns functioning as PO, or as Means or Beneficient adjunct. I will therefore
formulate the topicalization transformation with respect to only the topic-comment sentences the topics of which derive from the N elements of the P-Ns functioning as PO, or as Means or Beneficient adjunct.

9.1.2.2.2 Formulation

(24) is a possible formulation of the topicalization transformation.

\[
(24) \begin{array}{c}
X \\
PP \quad [P] \quad [NP] \quad Y
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
1 & \quad 2 & \quad 3 & \quad 4 & \quad 5 \quad \\
+ \text{ definite}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

\[
4 \not\Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}
1 & \quad 2 & \quad 3 & \quad \text{NP identical to} & \quad 5 \\
\text{NP identical to 4}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

where 2, when it is adjunct, is a means or a beneficial adjunct (3).

Subsequently, the nominalization transformation (cf. Anshen and Peter A. Schreiber, p. 794; Lewkowicz, p. 814; p. 818) will apply to the structural change of (24) to convert the NP identical to 4, which represents the topic, to a pronoun referring back to it. (25) is the formulation of this transformation.

\[
(25) \begin{array}{c}
X \\
NP \quad Y \quad NP \quad Z
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
1 & \quad 2 & \quad 3 & \quad 4 & \quad 5 \quad \\
\text{NP identical to 4}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
1 & \quad 2 & \quad 3 & \quad \text{NP identical to 4} & \quad 5
\end{bmatrix}
\]

where 4 = 2

9.1.2.3 Justification

What is the justification of considering the topic-comment
sentence to be transformationally derived rather than be generated by the categorial rules? The importance of this question lies in that the structural operation of topicalization, which is used here (cf. above 9.1.1) for showing that the constituency break of V-P-N combinations is V-/P-N, depends on this consideration. The answer can be summed up as follows: it is only when the topic-comment sentences are regarded as being transformationally derived that it will be possible to account for the fact that the semantic role of the replacive pronoun and the topic are identical (4). For according to this view, the topic is a basic notion of surface not deep structure (5) (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 221), it is the left-most NP in surface structure that is dominated by S; and it is derived from a NP with a fundamental notion in deep structure (like object, prepositional complement, etc.) by the topicalization transformation (cf. above (24)), which replaces it by a duplicate NP to be pronominalized subsequently by the pronominalization transformation. This means that both the replacive pronoun and the topic originate from NPs that occupy the same structural position, have the same structural notion and hence identical semantic rules. It is not possible, on the other hand, to justify the identity of the semantic rules of the topic and the replacive pronoun on the ground of regarding the topic-comment sentence as being generated by the phrase structure rules as claimed and advocated by Lewkowicz (cf. above 9.1.1.2 and Lewkowicz, pp. 816-18). For according to this view, both the topic and its duplicate NP, which is the NP from which the replacive pronoun originates, are generated by the categorial rules, and, therefore, they stand in basic relation of deep structure with other categories. But, since the categorial rules generating them are not identical, and, hence, the relations in which they stand
with other categories are distinct, it is not possible to show why their semantic rules are identical. Consider for instance, (26), which is the underlying representation of (27), according to Lewkowicz's analysis.

(26)

\[
S \xrightarrow{NP} Pred
\]

Demonstrative \(\xrightarrow{NP} Pred\)

\[
H_{/SH/}
\]

\[
Pronoun \xrightarrow{V} NP \xrightarrow{PP}
\]

\[
P_{/Adj/} \xrightarrow{P} NP
\]

\[
Demonstrative
\]


'those' 'we' 'have' 'pun-' 'pain-' 'for' 'those' 'pre-

ished' 'ful'

pared' 'ment'

(27) ?ulaa?ika ?a9tadnaa lahum 9adaaban aliiimaa (4/18)

Those, We have prepared for them a painful punishment

While, in (26), the topic (the first ?ulaa?ik 'those') stands in the basic topic-comment relation of deep structure with 'Pred', for it is
generated by (28) in which Pred is expanded as $\mathcal{H}S\mathcal{H}$ by (29), its
duplicate NP (the second ?ulaa?ik 'those') stands in the fundamental
preposition - NP relation of deep structure, for it is generated by
(30).

(28) $S \rightarrow NP \ Pred$
(29) $Pred \rightarrow \mathcal{H}S\mathcal{H}$
(30) $PP \rightarrow P \ NP$

Therefore, it is not possible to say why the topic, its duplicate NP
and, hence, the replacive pronoun are beneficient.

9.2 Replaceability of P-N by a Single Word

Like some of the P-Ns functioning as adjunct, e.g. the P-N
functioning as Manner, Place, or Instrument adjunct, the P-N functioning
as LPO or DPO can be replaced by a single word. The implication of this
for the P-N of a V-P-N combination that functions as LPO or DPO is that
its P and N element represent a constituent, and, hence the constituency
break of the V-P-N combination embracing it is V-/P-N.

The single words concerning us here are the adverbial relative
pronoun ?ayn?u, e.g. ?ayn?u 'where' in (31), the subordinator ?ayn?amaa,
e.g. ?ayn?amaa 'wherever' in (32), the interrogative pronoun ?ayn?, e.g.
?ayn? 'where' in (33), and the adverbial anaphoric pro-form haa hunaa,
e.g. haa hunaa 'here' in (34).

Allah knows best where to place His message

Submissiveness will be pitched over them (like a tent)
wherever they are found
(33) wa yawma yunaadiihim fayaquulu ?ayna 3uraka2iyaa lladiina kuntum taz9umuun (28/74)
And the day when He shall call to them and say: Where are My 'partners', as you thought them

(34) law kaana lanaa mina l?amri 3ay?un maa qutilnaa haa hunaa (3/154)
Had we had any part in the cause, we should not have been killed here

To show the ability of the P-N of the V-P-N combination that functions as LPO or DPO to be replaced by one or more of the afore-mentioned single words, let us consider the following sentences, of which the b's are mine:

(35) a. wa mDuu ?hay?u tu?maruun (15/65)
But go where you are commanded

b. wa mDuu ?ila lmakaani lladii tu?maruuna bilmuDiyyi ?ilayh
But go to the place which you are commanded to go to

(36) a. fa?aynamaa tuwalluu fa?amma waghu llaah (2/115)
To whatever place you turn, there is Allah's countenance

b. ?ilaa ?ayyi makaanin tuwalluu fa?amma waghu llaah
To whatever place you turn, there is Allah's countenance

(37) a. fa?ayna tadhabuuun (81/26)
Then, where do you go?

b. fa?ilaa ?ayyi makaanin tadhabuuun
Then, to what place do you go?
The P-Ns, ?ila lmakaani llaðiï 'to the place which' in (35)b., ?ila ayyi makaanin 'to whatever place' in (36)b., and ?ila ayyi makaanin 'to what place' in (37)b. function as DPO and are replaceable by the adverbial relative pronoun 'hay9u' the subordinator '?aynamaa', and the interrogative '?ayna' as in (35a. - 37a.), respectively.

It should be noted however that when hay9u 'where' replaces the phrase ?ila lmakaani llaðiï 'to the place which' in (35)b, the phrase bilmuDiyyi ?ilayh 'to go to', which contains a pronoun referring back to the nominal relative pronoun llaðiï 'which', must be deleted. For unlike the relative clause of the nominal relative pronoun, e.g. ?alladiï, ?allatii 'who', etc., that of the adverbial relative pronoun hay9u 'where' does not contain '9aa?id', i.e. a pronoun referring back to the relative pronoun, which is here hay9u 'where'.

In (38)b., on the other hand, the P-N fii haada lmakaan 'at this place' functions as LPO and is replaceable by the adverbial anaphoric pro-form haa hunaa 'here' as in (38)a.
Footnotes

1. Lewkowicz does not say when the NP introduced by rule (2)i is to be topic and when it is to be subject, i.e. she defines neither the topic nor the subject. However, defining these two notions on the basis of rule (2)i - ii is possible. The topic, like the subject, is a basic notion of deep structure, and it is the left-most NP that is dominated by S or \( HSH \), i.e. embedded S, that dominates \( HSH \), e.g. the first ?ulaa?ik 'those' in (5), and the first ?abulwalad 'the boy's father' in (7), respectively. The subject, on the other hand, is the left-most NP that is dominated by S or \( HSH \) that does not dominate \( HSH \), e.g. nahn 'We' in (5).

2. The result of considering the underlying structures of sentences such as (9 - 10) to be identical is that they will be equivalent. This equivalence however is a semantic equivalence in terms of only 'basic semantic relations like entailment, consistency, etc.' (Huddleston, p. 250) not in terms of use. For as a result of (9) undergoing the topicalization transformation, it is used in a context which is different from that in which (10) is used. This means that their overall semantic interpretations are not identical. Such a semantic difference, which results from differences in surface structure analysis between (9 - 10) (cf. below fn 3), is accounted for by the semantic rules that take 'account of surface constituent structure' (ibid., p. 251): topic-comment sentences are among those that prove it to be too tight a condition that the semantic rules operate only on deep structure, and, therefore, their surface structures are allowed to be an input to the semantic component (ibid., p, 250; Chomsky, 1965: pp. 224-5 fn 9).
3. I followed Huddleston in specifying the structural change of (24) so as to show that term (4) 'is Chomsky-adjoined to the left of the whole sentence' (Huddleston, p. 230) not sister-adjoined to the left of term 1. For he provides a satisfying argument, showing the advantage of the first specification over the second. Only according to the first specification, the surface structure of topic-comment sentences will match 'the phonological phrasing of these sentences (ibid., p. 230), i.e. regarding their topics and their comments as surface subject and predicate, respectively. Consider, for instance, sentence (i):

Those, We have prepared for them a painful punishment

While according to the first specification, the surface structure of (i) will be (ii), with two ICs corresponding to the phonological phrasing according to the second specification, it will be (iii), with three ICs, which do not match the phonological phrasing of ?ulaa?ika 'those' as surface subject and ?a9tadnaa lahum 9adaaban ?aliimaa 'We have prepared for them a painful punishment' as predicate.

(ii)
4. This characteristic of the replacive pronoun is its exclusive property: it differentiates it from the personal pronoun, which neither has a topic as its antecedent, nor is obliged to have the same semantic role as its antecedent. Consider, for instance, sentences (i - iii):

(i) xaalidun Darabahuu 9aliyy
    xaalid, 9aliyy hit him

(ii) gaa?a rragululladi 9tadaynaa 9alayhi bil?ams
    The man whom we attacked yesterday came

(iii) Daraba xaaliduni rragula llacli 9tadaynaa 9alayhi bil?ams
    xaalid hit the man whom we attacked yesterday

In (i), huu 'him' is a replacive pronoun, and, therefore, it has the same semantic role as the topic xaalidun 'xaalid': both of them are affected. In (ii - iii), on the other hand, hi 'whom' is a personal pronoun. rragul 'the man', which is its antecedent in (ii - iii), functions as subject and object, respectively; but
while in (ii) it is affected and its antecedent is agentive, in (iii) it and the antecedent are affected.

5. In this the topic differs from the subject. A subject is a basic notion of deep not surface structure (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 221) and is generated by the categorial rule of (i). Therefore, it is the right-most NP in deep structure, which is dominated by $S$.

(i) $S \rightarrow $ Pred NP
CHAPTER TEN

NOMINALIZATION OF V-/V₁

Here we are concerned with the ability of the nominalization of V-/V₁ (with or without the subject of either of them) to function as subject of an intensive clause whose predicate is the P-N associating with this V-/V₁, respectively. Among these intensive clauses are the following ones:

1. a declarative intensive clause, e.g. (1) and (2).
   (1) tawakkulii 9ala llaah
       My reliance is only upon Allah
   (2) gihaaduhuu linaSri ?ummatih
       His fight is only to help his nation

2. an intensive clause having the signification of an imperative extensive clause, e.g. fa9amalun bi?amaanatin wa hirSun 9ala lwaqt 'work with honesty and be mindful of time' in (3): it is synonymous with the imperative extensive clause fa9mal bi?amaanatin wa hriS 9ala lwaqt 'work with honesty and be mindful of time'.
   (3) ?idaa ?aradta nnagaaha fa9amalun bi?amaanatin wa hirSun 9ala lwaqt
       If you want success, work with honesty and be mindful of time

10.1 Nominalization of V-

It is only intensive clauses of type '1' that are found in the data of the intensive clauses the subjects of which are nominalizations of V-s and the predicates of which are the P-Ns associating with them. Before discussing these examples, let us classify V-, i.e. PV, into the following semantic and semantico-syntactic classes, which are relevant to discussing V- undergoing the structural operation of nominalization and others (cf. above Chapter Six, and below 22.2).
(a) Allative PVs, which are the Pvs of motion that associate with the locational phrase expressing the goal of the movement they denote, e.g. V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: ?awāa ?ilaa N 'to seek refuge at N' (cf. 18/10), ?intalaqa ?ilaa N 'to hurry to N' (cf. 77/29), 9aada li N 'to return to N', (cf. 6/28), irtadda ?ilaa N 'to return to N', laga?a/ ?iltaga?a ?ilaa N 'to flee to N', etc.

(b) The 'bağaa 9alaa' class. The class represented by bağaa 9alaa 'to commit outrage' includes the V-s in the V-P-N combinations the N of which assumes the semantic role affected i.e. can occur at -N in (4) and (5).

(4) maadaa hadaGali -N
What happened to -N?

(5) maadaafa9alalNP bi -N
What did NP do to -N?

Note that 'NP' in (5) represents the subject of the clause containing the V-P-N combination under discussion. Examples of PVs belonging to this class are the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations:

bağaa 9alaa N 'to commit outrage upon N' (cf. 28/76), ?ï9tadaa 9alaa N 'to attack N' (cf. 2/194), baTa$a bi N 'to attack with violence 'N' (cf. 28/19), hamala 9alaa N 'to attack N' (cf. 7/176), damdama 9alaa N 'to doom N' (cf. 9/14), 9adda 9alaa N 'to harden N' (cf. 10/88), Tamasa 9alaa N 'to destroy N' (cf. 36/66), qaDaa 9alaa N 'to do away with N' (cf. 43/77) etc. (c) PVs of observation, e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations:
nazara ?ilaa N 'to look at N' (cf. 9/127), ?ïTTala9a 9alaa N 'to observe N closely' (cf. 18/18), ranaa ?ilaa N 'to gaze at N', haddaqa fi N 'to stare at N', etc.

(d) Mental state PVs or PVs of appearance, e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: tabayyana li N 'to become clear to N', (cf. 9/113), Daaqa 9alaa N 'to seem constrained to N' (cf. 9/118), xafiya 9alaa N 'to be hidden from N' (cf. 40/16), Taala 9alaa N 'to be prolonged for N' (cf. 57/16),
Taaba li N 'to seem good to N' (cf. 4/3), taṣlaabaha 9alaa N 'to seem alike to N' (cf. 13/16), etc.

(e) PVs of cognition, e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: 
?ahaafa bi N 'to compass the knowledge of N' (cf. 10/39), ?ittala9a 9alaa N 'to discover N' (cf. 5/13), 9alima bi N 'to know N' (cf. 36/26), tafaqqaha fii N 'to gain sound knowledge in N' (cf. 9/122) etc.

(f) PVs of communication e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: 
tasala9a 9an N 'to ask one another concerning N' (cf. 74/40-1), ?istama9a ?ilaa N 'to listen to N' (cf. 6/25), tanaagaa bi N 'to converse intimately to one another concerning N', (cf. 58/9), etc. (2)

(g) PVs of position (cf. Vestergaard, p. 38), e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: sakana fii N 'to dwell in N' (cf. 14/45), qaama 9alaa N 'to stand by N' (cf. 9/84), qaama fii N 'to stand in N' (cf. 9/108), ?intaqara fii N 'to disperse in N' (cf. 62/10), qa9ada ma9a N 'to sit in the company of N' (cf. 6/68), haama fii N 'to stray in N' (cf. 26/225), qa9ada bi N 'to lurk on N' (cf. 7/86) etc.

(h) Emotional PVs (cf. Vestergaard, p. 37; p. 164; p. 189), e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: ?asiya 9alaa N 'to sorrow for N', (cf. 7/93), hazina 9alaa N 'to sorrow for N' (cf. 3/153), sakana ?ilaa N 'to take rest in N' (cf. 7/189), Sabaa ?ilaa N 'to be inclined to N', (cf. 12/33), etc.

(i) PVs of verbalization (cf. Vestergaard, p. 41; p. 134), e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: takallaama bi N 'to utter N' (cf. 24/16), naTaqa bi N 'to speak N' (cf. 23/62), sabbaha bi N 'to hymn the praise of N' (cf. 32/15), etc.

(j) The 'fariha bi' class. The class represented by fariha bi 'to rejoice at' includes the PVs that are able to function as V in the V-P-N combinations the Ns of which assume the semantic role external causer, i.e. are able to occur, for instance, in (6), where 'sub' is the subject of the clause
of which V- is a main verb, and 'adj' is an adjective deriving from V-.

(6) ga9ala-N sub V-/adj
-N made sub V-/adj

An example of such verbs is faz19a 'was afraid' in the V-P-N combination faz19a mina ddi?b 'was afraid of the wolf' in (7). For the N ddi?b 'the wolf' is able to occur at -N in (6) as indicated by (8).

(7) faz19a rragulu mina ddi?b
The man was afraid of the wolf
(8) ga9ala ddi?bu rragula yafza9/fazi9aa
The wolf frightened the man

Also, there occur transitive verbs equivalent to those belonging to 'fariha bi' class; and the clauses of which the main verbs are these transitive verbs are synonymous with those the main verbs of which are members of 'fariha bi' class. For example, (9) is synonymous with (7).

(9) ?afza9a ddi?bu rragul
The wolf frightened the man

It should be noted, however, that there are syntactic differences between (7) and (9). Whereas both of their main verbs have the case frame indicated by (10), they differ from one another in terms of the structural elements realizing the participants they require: while the external causer and the affected participant associating with the main verb in (7), faz19a min 'was afraid of', function as the nominal element of a PO and subject, respectively, those associating with the main verb in (9), ?afza9a 'frightened', function as subject and object, respectively.

(10) [ —— + external causer, + affected]

Other verbs belonging to the fariha bi class are the V-s of the following V-P-N combinations: ?istaβara bi N 'to rejoice at N' (cf. 3/171), raDiya bi N 'to be content with N' (cf. 9/38), sa?ima min N 'to be tired of N' (cf. 41/49), fariha bi N 'to rejoice at N' (cf. 27/36), etc.
(k) the 'tasaa?ala bayna' class. What I mean by this class is a group of reciprocal PVs the subjects of the clauses of which they are main verbs are identical with the nominal elements of the POs they require, e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: tasaa?ala(lqawmu) baynahum '(the people) questioned one another' (cf. 18/19), ta9aarafa (lqawmu) baynahum, '(the people) recognized one another' (cf. 10/45), etc. Other reciprocal PVs are mentioned under the appropriate label of the classes of PVs. For example, tawaaSa (3) 'order' in tawaaSala(lqawmu bi SSalaah 'the people ordered one another to pray', and tasaa?ala (4) 'asked' in tasaa?ala lqawmu 9an ?asbaabi fa$ali qaadatihim 'the people asked one another concerning the reasons of their leaders' failure' are members of the classes of PVs of verbalization (cf. above p.214) and of communication (cf. above p.214), respectively.

(1) Ablative PVs, which are the PVs of motion that co-occur with the locational phrase expressing the source of the movement they signify, e.g. the V-s in the following V-P-N combinations: zaaga 9an N 'to deviate from N' (cf. 34/12), Dalla 9an N 'to stray from N' (cf. 16/125), farra min N 'to flee from N' (cf. 74/51), talahhaa 9an N 'to be distracted from N' (cf. 80/10), na?aa 9an N 'to keep oneself away from N' (cf. 6/26), nagaa min N 'to escape from N' (cf. 28/25), tanaahaa 9an N 'to restrain one another from N' (cf. 5/79), ?intahaa 9an N 'to desist from N' (cf. 5/73), ?istaxfaa min N 'to hide from N' (cf. 11/5), tawaaraa min N 'to hide oneself from N' (cf. 16/59), etc.

(m) The 'tawakkala 9alaa' class. This class includes the rest of PVs, i.e. the PVs that are members of none of the aforementioned classes. In terms of Case Grammar, the PVs belonging to this class could be defined as those requiring POs the nominal elements of which, i.e. -N, assume the semantic role objective (cf. Fillmore, 1968b: 25) e.g. the V-s in the V-P-N combinations: ?i9taSama bi N 'to hold fast to N' (cf. 4/146), ?axTa?a bi N 'to make a mistake in N' (cf. 33/5), darasa fii N 'to learn
in N' (cf. 68/37), 9agila bi N 'to hasten with N' (cf. 20/114), ta9aawana
9alaa N 'to help one another in N' (cf. 5/2), ǧalaa fii N 'to exaggerate
in N' (cf. 4/171), ?aqsata fii N 'to act justly concerning N' (cf. 4/3),
kaďaba bi N 'to deny N' (cf. 29/68), kafara bi N 'to disbelieve in N'
(cf. 18/37), ?istamsaka bi N 'to grasp N' (cf. 2/256), ?anfaqa 9alaa N
'to support N' (cf. 65/6), tawakka? a 9alaa N 'to lean on N' (cf. 20/18),
tawakkala 9alaa N 'to trust in N' (cf. 9/129).

10.1.1 Declarative intensive clauses

The V-s whose nominalizations are the heads of the subjects of
the declarative intensive clauses I have found in the data belong only to
the following classes of PVs (5):

1. Allative PVs (cf. above Class (a)). (11) is an example (6) of a
declarative intensive clause the head of the subject of which is the
nominalization of a member of the class of allative PVs, the predicate
being the P-N associating with it and functioning as PO.

(11) ?ila llaahi marg19ukum (11/4)

Only to Allah will be your return

The head of the subject of (11) is the nominalization of the allative PV
targi9 'return' in (12), the predicate being the P-N associating with
it and functioning as PO.

(12) jan targi9uu ?illa ?illa llaah

It is to Allah that you will return

2. The 'baďaa 9alaa' class (cf. above class (b)). (13) is an example (7)
of a declarative intensive clause of which the head of the subject is
the nominalization of a member of this class, tabi9 'commit outrage' in
(14), and the predicate is its PO, i.e. the P-N associating with it.

(13) (?innamaa) baďyukum 9alaa ?ahnusikum (10/23)

Your infringement is only upon yourself
It is upon yourself that you commit outrage

Like the correspondence between clauses such as (15) and (16) (cf. above 2.2.1.3), that between the declarative intensive clauses in question and the clauses embracing the V-s whose nominalizations are the heads of their subjects is accounted for by a lexical redundancy rule.

(15) (wa maa) tawfiqii ?illaa billaah (11/88)
(And) making me successful is only by Allah

(16) maa yuwaffiqlunii ?illa llaah
It is Allah Who can make me successful

A possible formulation of this rule is (17).

(17) \[
\begin{align*}
V & \quad N \\
\{ \text{allative} \} & \quad [ \text{NP } ] [ \text{PP } ] \\
\{ \text{being a member} \} & \quad [ \text{PP } ] [ \text{NP } ] \\
\{ \text{9alaa' class} \} & \\
\text{Pred VP} & \\
\text{Phrase} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Semantics: the act of V

It should be noted that the second PP in (17) may be shifted to initial position by a subsequent application of the movement transformation to the structure embracing it. This operation accounts for clauses such as (11), i.e. clauses with the PP occurring initially.

10.2 Nominalization of \( V_1 \)

In the data the intensive clauses of which the heads of the subjects are the nominalizations of \( V_1 \)-s and the predicates are the P-Ns associating with them and functioning as adjuncts are declarative intensive clauses or intensive clauses having the signification of imperative extensive ones.
10.2.1 Declarative intensive clauses

Salaatii lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiin 'my worship is only for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds' (cf. (18)), and kadaalika ?axdu rabbika 'thus is your Lord's punishment' in (19) are examples from the data of declarative intensive clauses of which the heads of the subjects are the nominalizations of V₁s and the predicates are the P-Ns associating with them and functioning as adjunct.

(18) qul ?inna Salaatii wa nusukii wa mahyaaya wa mamaatii lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiin (6/162)
Say: Truly, my worship and my sacrifice and my living and dying are only for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds

(19) wa kadaalika ?axdu rabbika ?idaa ?axada 1quraa wa hiya Zaalimah (11/102)
And thus is your Lord's punishment when he punishes communities while they are doing wrong

The head of the subject of the first clause is the nominalization of the V₁ ?uSallii 'I pray' in (20), and the predicate is the P-N lillaahi 'for Allah', which associates with it and functions as Beneficient adjunct.

(20) ?innamaa ?uSallii lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiin
I pray only for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds

As for the head of the subject and the predicate of the second clause, they are respectively the nominalization of the V₁ ya?xudu 'punishes' in (21), and kadaalika 'thus', which is the anaphoric proform of the Manner adjunct bitilka TTariiqah 'in that manner', which associates with 'ya?xudu' (8).

(21) bitilka TTariiqah ya?xudu rabbuka 1quraa
In that manner, your Lord punishes communities

Like the correspondence between (13) and (14), that between the clauses 'Salaatii lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiin' in (18) and (20) on the one
hand, and 'kadaalika ?axdu rabbika' in (19) and (21) on the other hand is accounted for by lexical redundancy rules as follows, respectively.

(22) \[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
- \text{stative} \\
+ \text{expressive of an action} \\
+ [\text{pred VP} + \text{agentive}] \\
N \\
+ [\text{NP}_2] \\
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{Semantics: the act of } V \\
\end{array}
\]

For the relevance of the features in the left hand side brackets of (22) and (23) to the co-occurrence restrictions related to Beneficient and Manner adjuncts and having to do with the verbs with which they associate, see below 17.3.3; 17.2, respectively.

It should be noted that the PP constituent in (23) may occupy the initial position of the clause as a result of a subsequent application of the movement transformation, e.g. kadaalika 'thus' in (19).

10.2.2 Intensive clauses having the signification of imperative extensive clauses

The underlined clauses in (24) are the only intensive clauses I found with the signification of imperative extensive clauses, and with the subjects being the nominalizations of V₁s and the predicates being the P-Ns associating with these V₁s and functioning as adjunct:

(24) \[\text{?aTTalaagw marrataani fa?imsaakun bima9ruufin } \text{?aw tasriihun bi?ihsaan} \] (2/229)

A divorce is only permissible twice and then (let the husband) either retain (the woman) in fairness or release (her) in kindness
The subjects of these clauses are respectively the nominalizations of the V₁'s yumsik 'retain' and yusarrīh 'release' in (25), the predicates being the P-Ns bima9ruufin 'in fairness' and biʔihsaan 'in kindness', which associate with them - the V₁'s -, respectively and function as Manner adjunct.

(25)  liyumsik bima9ruufin ?aw liyusarrīh biʔihsaan
Let (the husband) either retain (the wife) in fairness or release (her) in kindness

The underlined clauses in (24) are synonymous with those of (25) respectively; and like the synonymity between clauses such as (26) and (27) (cf. above 2.2.1.2), this synonymity is transformational rather than lexical (cf. Nilsen, p. 141).

(26)  ta9san lahüm (cf. 47/8)
May they be destroyed

(27)  liyat9asuu
May they be destroyed

For example, the first clauses in (24) and (25) have (28) as their underlying representation, and (29) is the obligatory transformation deriving the former.

(28)

(29)  x [ ] [ ] [ [ V ] ] y [ [ PP ] ] [ [ NP ] ] 6

[PN, nunated, nomi-]

where 4 is a manner adjunct
Footnotes

1. A clause is intensive if it has no verb, e.g. (i) or a copulative verb such as kaan 'to be', e.g. (ii) and (iii); otherwise, it is extensive.

(i) 9aliyyun ?amiin

9aliyy is honest

(ii) kaana 9aliyyun fii manzilinaa

9aliyy was in our house

(iii) liyakun 9aliyyun Sadiiqak

Let 9aliyy be your friend

2. Vestergaard recognizes the classes of verbs of observation, of appearance, of cognition and of communication, and gives them the general term 'Psychological Verbs' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 40; p. 148; p. 186).

3. For the V-P-N combination tawaaSaa bi N 'to order one another to do something', see (cf. 51/53).

4. For the V-P-N combination tasaa?ala 9an N 'to ask one another concerning N', see (cf. 74/40-1).

5. I have consulted 'nahg ?albalaagah', which is a representative text of CA other than 'the Koran', and found that the members of two other classes accept nominalization. These are (a) emotional PVs and (b) the 'tawakkala 9ala' class (cf. above classes (h) and (m), respectively). Consider sentences (i) (which is an imperative intensive clause) and (ii).

(i) wa [lyakun] ?asafuka 9ala maa xallaft (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 548)

And [let] your regret be only what you have left behind

(ii) wa ta9wiiluhum fi 1muhimmaati 9ala 9aaaraa?ihim (ibid, I, 151)

And their reliance in important matters is only on their opinions

The heads of the subjects of (i) and (ii) are respectively the nominalizations of the emotional PV ?i?saf 'regret' in (iii), and yu9awwil 'depend', which is
a member of the 'tawakkala 9alaa' class, in (iv), the predicates being the P-Ns associating with them, and functioning as PO.

(iii) ?i?sa9 9alaa maa xallaft

Regret what you have left behind


It is upon their opinions that they depend in important matters

6. Declarative intensive clauses such as (i1) but taken from a representative text other than the Koran, our data, are (i - ii) and the underlined clause in (iii).

(i) ?ilayka maSiiru kulli nasamah (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 202)

Only to you will be the return of every soul

(ii) mafza9u?um fi lmuDaati ?ilaa ?a?nufihi?m (ibid., I, 151)

Their taking refuge in difficult circumstances is only to themselves

(iii) wa man maatta fa ?ilayhi mungalabuh (ibid., I, 202)

And whoever dies, only to Him will be his return

The heads of the subjects of (i - ii) and the underlined clause in (iii) are respectively the nominalizations of the V-s taSiira 'come' in (iv), yafza9 'resort' in (v) and yanqaliba 'return' in (vi), the predicates being the P-Ns associating with them and functioning as PO.

(iv) lan taSiira kullu nasamatin ?i?l9a9 ?ilayk

It is to You that every soul will come


It is to themselves that they resort in difficult circumstances

(vi) lan ya?nqaliba ?i?l9a9 ?ilayh

It is to Him that he will return

7. (i) and (ii) are other possible examples of a declarative intensive clause such as (i3), and (iii - iv) are the clauses to which they are related, respectively.
(i) ?i9tidaa?unaa 9ala ZZaalimiin
   It is oppressors that we attack

(ii) baT$u lgabbaariina bil?umami DDa9iifah
   It is weak nations that tyrants attack with violence

(iii) ?innamaa na9tadii 9ala ZZaalimiin
   It is oppressors that we attack

(iv) ?innamaayabTi$u lgabbaaruuna bil?umami DDa9iifah
   It is weak nations that tyrants attack with violence

8. I have consulted 'nahg ?albalaagah' and found that the predicates
   of the declarative intensive clauses the subjects of which are the
   nominalization of the $V_1$s with which they - the predicates - associate and func-
   tion as adjuncts can function as '9alaa qadri kadaa 'according to so and so'
   adjunct. Consider (i):

   (i) Sidquhuu [i.e. ?arragul] 9alaa qadri muruu?atih (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 568)
   His [i.e. a man's] speaking of the truth is only according to his
   sense of honour

   The head of the subject of (i) is the nominalization of the $V_1$ 'yaSduqu
   'speaks the truth' in (ii), the predicate being the P-N 9alaa qadri
   muruu?atih 'according to his sense of honour', which associates with
   'yaSduqu' and functions as 9alaa qadri kadaa' adjunct.

   (ii) ?innamaa yaSduqu rragulu 9alaa qadri muruu?atih
   It is according to his sense of honour that a man speaks the truth
CHAPTER ELEVEN

DIVISIBILITY OF V-P AND V_1-P

11.0.1 The structural elements and linguistic structures dividing V-P and V_1-P

The term 'structural elements' here refers to the subject, the predicate phrase, the verb phrase, the main verb and the adjunct, and 'linguistic structures' refers to those structures that form part of the structures realizing one of the structural elements. However, the structural elements and the linguistic structures that concern us are the subject and the adjunct, and the structures standing for parts of those realizing them, respectively.

The clause with which we are concerned in (11.1) is that which divides into a main verb realized by V-, a subject realized by ʔism Zaahir 'a manifest noun' and an object realized by a P-N, and in (11.2) is that which divides into a main verb realized by V_1, a subject realized by ʔism Zaahir 'a manifest noun' and an adjunct realized by a P-N. The reason of confining ourselves to such clauses is that they are sufficient to indicate the ability of P-N to be divided from V-/V_1 by the subject or to occur next to it: as a result of the fact that the subject is realized by a manifest noun, which is highly mobile, there occurs a strong possibility of showing the ability of the subject or the P-N to occupy the position adjacent to V-/V_1 and thereby divide it from the other element. On the other hand, in cases where the subject is realized by a connected pronoun, which cannot be divided from the V- (or the V_1), there is no possibility of relying on the relative position of the P-N to the subject for showing the ability of either of them to occur next to V- (or V_1) or be divided from it by the other element. For as far as the occurrence after V-/V_1 is concerned, the only position the P-N can occupy is that next to the V (or the V_1) and the subject connected
to it. In (1), for example the P-Ns lii 'to Me' and bii 'in Me' occupy
the positions adjacent to the V-s and the subjects connected to them,
falyastagiibuu 'let them respond' and lyu?minuu 'believe'.

(1) falyastagiibuu lii wa lyu?minuu bii (2/186)
Let them respond to Me and believe in Me

If, however, the subject realized by a connected pronoun co-ordinates
with another NP the V- and the subject connected with it can be divided
from the P-N by this NP. In (2), for example, the V- and the subject
connected with it, stawayta 'you embarked', is divided from the P-N, 9ala
lfulk 'on the Ark' by the phrase, ?anta wa man ma9aka 'you and those with
you', which consists of man ma9aka 'those with you', which is co-ordinated
with the subject ta 'you', and ?anta 'you', which must occur when a manifest
NP, e.g. man ma9aka 'those with you' in (2) is co-ordinated with a subject
realized by a connected pronoun such as ta 'you' in (2).

(2) fa?ida stawayta ?anta wa man ma9aka 9ala lfulk (23/28)
And when you embarked on the Ark, you and those with you

Also, in the clause the subject of which is realized by a zero morpheme
such as the subject of (3), the P-N occurs next to the V-/V₁, if it occurs
after it: (3) the P-N 9alayhim 'over them' occupies the position adjacent
to the V- tahzan 'grieve'.

(3) wa laa tahzan 9alayhim (15/88)
And do not grieve over them

And it is only when the subject realized by a zero morpheme co-ordinates with
a manifest NP that the divisibility of the P-N from the V-/V₁ can be
considered in the clause the subject of which is so realized. In (4), for
example, the V-, hazina 'grieved', is divided from the P-N, 9alaa maa
Sana9aa 'over what they did', by huwa wa Sadiiquhuu 'he and his friend',
which consists of the NP, Sadiiquhuu 'his friend', which is co-ordinated
with the subject, and the pronoun huwa 'he', which must occur when a
subject realized by a masculine zero morpheme, e.g. that of (4), co-ordinates with a manifest NP, e.g. Sadiiquhuu 'his friend' in (4).

(4) laqad hazina huwa wa Sadiiquhuu 9alaa maa Sana9aa

He and his friend grieved over what they did

The clause with which we will concern ourselves in (11.3), on the other hand, is that consisting of a main verb realized by PV, a subject realized by a zero morpheme or by a connected pronoun, an object and an adjunct realized by PP. For, in addition to the fact that it helps to indicate that P-N in V-P-N combination represents a constituent, it helps point out that it is in close construction with V-.

11.0.1.1 The structural elements and linguistic structures that divide V-P

In the clause consisting of a main verb realized by V-, a subject realized by ism Zaahir 'a manifest noun' and an object realized by P-N, V- is found to be divided from P- and hence from P-N by one of the following:

(a) the subject (cf. below 11.1.3).
(b) the first part of the NP functioning as subject that is in apposition to the other (cf. below 11.1.2).

It should be noted that as a result of the P-N being divided from V- by a linguistic structure such as that belonging to (b), it - the P-N - splits the NP functioning as subject.

(c) the PP qualifying the subject that is realized by a word that must occupy the initial position of the clause (cf. below 11.1.1).

It is the subject, however, which frequently divides V- from P (cf. below 11.1.1 - 3).

In the clause consisting of a main verb realized by PV, a subject realized by a zero morpheme or by a connected pronoun, an object and an adjunct realized by PP on the other hand, the PP functioning as object is divided from the PV or the PV and the subject connected with it by the
PP functioning as adjunct (cf. below 11.3.1).

11.0.1.2 The structural elements and linguistic structures dividing \( V_1 \)-P

In the clause consisting of a main verb realized by \( V_1 \), a subject realized by a manifest noun and an adjunct realized by P-N, \( V_1 \) is found to be divided from P-N by one of the following:

(a) the subject (cf. below 11.2.3).

(b) the PP qualifying the subject that is realized by a word that must precede \( V_1 \) (cf. below 11.2.1).

11.0.2 Divisibility of V-P and \( V_1 \)-P: implication and causes

As indicated above (cf. 11.0.1.1-2), in the clause consisting of a V/V\(_1\), a subject realized by a manifest noun, and a P-N functioning as PO/adjunct respectively, the verbal and the prepositional elements in V-P/V\(_1\)-P can be divided from one another. The implication of V-P undergoing this structural operation is that like those of \( V_1 \)-P, the verbal and the prepositional element of V-P do not represent a constituent.

It should be noted that mostly the causes of the divisibility of V-P, and of P-N being adjacent to V- are the same as the causes of the divisibility of \( V_1 \)-P, and of P-N occurring next to \( V_1 \): whether the P-N functioning as PO/adjunct is to occur next to V-/V\(_1\), respectively, or be divided from it by the subject depends mostly (cf. below pp. 244-5) on the structural weight of both the P-N and the subject (cf. below 11.1.1-4 and 11.2.1-3).

Theoretically speaking, the subject and the P-N might be of the same or of different weight: they might be light, heavy or extremely heavy, or one of them might be light while the other is heavy or extremely heavy. Furthermore, when they are considered to be light, heavy or extremely heavy, one of them might still be regarded as less light or heavy than the other.

The combinations in the data however are the following ones:

(i) the subject is lighter than the P-N (cf. below pp.230-4; p. 250)
(ii) the P-N is lighter than the subject (cf. below pp.236-40; pp.246-7).
(iii) the P-N is light and the subject is heavy (cf. below pp.240-2; p. 248).
(iv) the P-N is light and the subject is extremely heavy (cf. below p.243; p.249).
(v) the subject is light and the P-N is heavy (cf. below pp.234-5).
(vi) the subject is light and the P-N is extremely heavy (cf. below pp.235-6).
(vii) the subject has the same structural weight as the P-N (cf. below pp.250-1).

As indicated in (i-vii), combinations (i-iv) occur both in the clause in which the main verb is V- and that in which the main verb is V₁, and those of (v-vi) on the one hand and that of (vii) on the other occur in the former and the latter clause, respectively. In general, we may say of the P-N and the subject that whichever is the lighter will occur next to V-/V₁. For more details, see below (11.1 and 11.2).

The signification of the aforementioned similarity between V-P and V₁-P is that we cannot always rely upon V-P and V₁-P undergoing the structural operation of divisibility to indicate the fact that, though P-N in V-P-N combinations and P-N in V₁-P-N combinations are similar in that they represent constituents, they differ from each other as to their connection with V- and V₁, respectively: while the former is in close construction with V-, the latter is in loose construction with V₁.

11.1 Divisibility of V-P

With respect to its ability to occupy the positions adjacent to V- or be divided from it, P-N in V-P-N combinations has the following possibilities:

(i) to be divided from V- by a PP qualifying the subject
(ii) to be divided from V- by part of the subject
(iii) to be divided from V- by the subject
(iv) to occupy the position adjacent to V-

11.1.1 The divisibility of V-P by a PP qualifying the subject

When the subject is both qualified by a PP and realized by a word that must occupy the initial position of the clause, the phrase qualifying it divides V- from P-N. Consider, for instance, (5 - 6).

(5) wa man yaziḥ minhum 9an ?amrinaa nudīghu min 9aḍaabi ssaqir (34/12)
And whoever of them deviated from Our command, We caused him to taste the punishment of flaming fire
And if any of you turn back from their faith and die in unbelief, these, their works will bear no fruit both in the World and the Hereafter.

In (5 - 6), the subjects are qualified by the PPs minhum 'of them' and minkum 'of you' and realized by the conditional particle man 'whoever' in (5) and 'any' in (6), which occupy the initial positions of the clauses, and the phrases qualifying them divide the V-s, yazi génév 'deviated' in (5) and yartadid 'turn back' in (6), from the P-Ns, 9an ?amr?in 'from Our command' in (5) and 9an diinihii 'from their faith' in (6).

11.1.2 The divisibility of V-P by part of the subject

When the subject is realized by a NP one part of which is in apposition to the other, P-N can be divided from V- by the first appositive and, hence, it - the P-N - splits the subject. Consider sentence (7):

(7) kadaalika haqqat kalimatu rabbika 9ala ladiina fasaquu ?annahum laa yu?minuun (10/33)

Thus is the Word of your Lord proved true against those who do wrong: that they will not believe.

In (7), the P-N, 9ala ladiina fasaquu 'against those who do wrong', splits the subject, kalimatu rabbika ?annahum laa yu?minuun 'the Word of your Lord that they will not believe', and is divided from the V-, haqqat 'proved true', by kalimatu rabbika 'the Word of your Lord', which is in apposition to ?annahum laa yu?minuun 'that they will not believe'.

11.1.3 The divisibility of V-P by the subject

P-N is divided from V- by the subject in the following cases:

1. When the subject is lighter than P-N. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:
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(a) (8) laqad raDiya llaahu 9ani lmu?miniina ?id yubaayi9uunaka
tahta $$agarah (48/18)
Allah was well pleased with the believers when they swore
allegiance to you beneath the tree

(9) yaa?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu laa yasxar qawmun min qawmin
9asaa ?an yakuunu xayran minhum (49/11)
O you who believe! Let not a folk deride a folk who may
be better than them

(10) kaddabat @amuudu binnudur (54/23)
(The tribe of) @amuud rejected the warners

(11) ?in huwa ?illaa dikrun wa qur?aanun mubiin liyundira man
kaana hayyan wa yahiqqa 1qawlu 9ala 1kaafiriin (36/69-70)
This is only a reminder and a Koran making (things) clear
to warn whoever lives and that the word may be proved against
the disbelievers

Here, -N and the subject are proper nouns, definite or indefinite common
nouns, i.e. one-word phrases. The P-Ns, 9ani lmu?miniina 'with the
believers' in (8), min qawmin 'a folk' in (9), binnudur 'the warners' in
(10) and 9ala 1kaafiriin 'against the disbelievers' in (11), are divided
from the V-s, raDiya 'was pleased', yasxar 'deride', kaddabat 'rejected'
and yahiqqa 'may be proved', by the subjects, llaahu 'Allah', qawmun 'a
folk', @amuudu 'amuud' and 1qawlu 'the word'.

I have however found an example where -N and the subject are a
proper and a definite common noun, respectively, but the P-N occupies the
position adjacent to the V- rather than being separated from it by the
subject. This example is (12), where the P-N, 9an ?ibraahiima 'from
?ibraahiim' occurs next to the V-, dahaba 'departed' instead of being
divided from it by the subject, rraw9u 'the fear'.

(12) falammaadahaba 9an ?ibraahiima rraw9u wa gaa?athu lbugraa
yugaadilunaa fii qawmi luum (11/74)
And when the fear departed from Ibraaheem and the glad news reached him, he argued with Us concerning the folk of Luut

(b) (13) wa gaa?a ragulun min ?aqSa lmadiinati yas9aa (28/20)

And a man came from the farthest part of the city running

Here, the subject is an indefinite common noun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is the amplified element of a construct the amplifying element of which is a definite noun. The P-N, min ?aqSa lmadiinati 'from the farthest part of the city', is divided from the V-, gaa?a 'came', by the subject, ragulun 'a man'.

It is however possible for the P-N 'min ?aqSa lmadiinati' in (13) to occupy the position adjacent to the V-, as indicated by (14).

(14) wa gaa?a min ?aqSa lmadiinati ragulun yas9aa (36/20)

And there came from the farthest part of the city a man running

(c) (15) ?id tabarra?a lladiina ttubi9uu mina lladiina ttaba9uu (2/166)

When those who were followed disown those who followed (them)

Here both -N and the subject are realized by NPs the heads of which are relative pronouns with light relative clauses, i.e. with relative clauses consisting in this instance of main verbs and subjects realized by connected pronouns. The P-N, mina lladiina ttaba9uu 'those who followed (them)', is divided from the V-, tabarra?a 'disown', by the subject, lladiina ttubi9uu 'those who were followed'.

(d) (16) wa laqad na9lamu ?annaka yaDiiqu Sadruka bimaa ya9uuluun

(15/97)

We do indeed know that your heart is oppressed by what they say

Here, the subject is realized by a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is a relative pronoun with a light relative clause (cf. above (c)). The P-N, bimaa yaquluun 'by what they say', is divided from the V-, yaDiiqu 'is oppressed', by the
subject, Sadruka 'your heart'.

(e) (17) yawma tarawnahaa taudhalu kullu murDi9atin 9ammaa?arDa9at (22/2)

On the day when you see it, every nursing mother will forget what she is nursing.

Here, the subject is realized by a NP to the head of which, which is an indefinite common noun, a quantifier is annexed, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is a relative pronoun with a light relative clause, i.e. with a clause consisting in this instance of a main verb, a subject realized by a zero morpheme and an object realized by a connected pronoun, which is deletable in the surface structure. The P-N, 9ammaa?arDa9at 'what she is nursing', is divided from the V-, taudhalu 'will forget', by the subject, kullu murDi9atin 'every nursing mother'.

It should be noted that the relative clause in the P-N, '9ammaa arDa9at', could be realized with the object as follows: (9ammaa) ?arDa9ath 'what she is nursing'.

(f) (18) ?alladiina ?aamanuwa taTma?innu quluubuhum bidikri llaah (13/28)

Who have believed and whose hearts are at rest by the remembrance of Allah.

Here, -N is realized by a NP whose head is annexed to a proper noun, and the subject is realized by a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun. The P-N, bidikri llaah 'by the remembrance of Allah', is divided from the V-, taTma?innu 'are at rest', by the subject, quluubuhum 'whose hearts'.

(g) (19) fartaqib yawma ta?ti ssamaa?u biduxaanin mubiin (44/10)

But watch you for the day when the sky will produce visible smoke.

Here, the subject is a definite common noun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is an indefinite common noun qualified by a one-word adjective, i.e. in this instance by an active participle with neither a
subject nor a complement. The P-N, biduxaanin mubiin 'visible smoke', is divided from the V-, ta?ti 'will produce', by the subject, ssamaa?u 'the sky'.

(h) (20) falya?ti mustami9uhum bisulTaanin mubiin (52/38)

Then let their listener produce a manifest proof

Here, the subject is realized by a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is an indefinite common noun qualified by a one-word adjective (cf. above (g)). The P-N, bisulTaanin mubiin 'a manifest proof', is divided from the V-, ya?ti 'produce', by the subject, mustami9uhum 'their listener'.

2. The second case of dividing P-N from V- by the subject is that in which the subject is light, while P-N is heavy. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (21) fasawfa ya?ti llaahu biqawmin yuhibbuhum wa yuhibbuunah

(5/54)

Allah will bring a people whom He loves and who love Him

Here, the subject is a proper noun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is an indefinite common noun qualified by a verbal clause consisting of a main verb, a zero subject and an object realized by a connected pronoun, and coordinating with a verbal clause consisting of a main verb, and a subject and an object realized by connected pronouns. The P-N, biqawmin yuhibbuhum wa yuhibbuunah 'a people whom He loves and who love Him', is divided from the V-, ya?ti 'bring', by the subject llaahu 'Allah'.

(b) (22) yu?minu'rrasuulu bimaa ?unzila ?ilayhi min rabbih

The messenger believes in that which has been revealed to him by his Lord

Here, the subject is a definite common noun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is a relative pronoun with a heavy relative clause, i.e. with
a clause consisting in this instance of a main verb in the passive form, a subject realized by a zero morpheme, a PO and an agentive phrase, i.e. a Min phrase' (cf. above 2.2.2.2). The P-N, bimaa ?unzila ?ilayhi min rabbih 'in that which has been revealed to him by his Lord', is divided from the V-, yu?minu 'believes', by the subject, rrasuulu 'the messenger'.

(c) (23) ?illaa min ba9di ?an yastami9a bakrun ?ilaa man yuhibbu wa yarDaa
(cf. 53/26)
Save after bakr listens to whom he 'likes' and accepts
Here, the subject is a proper noun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is a relative pronoun with a heavy relative clause, i.e. with a clause consisting in this instance of a main verb and a zero subject, and co-ordinating with a similar clause. The P-N, ?ilaa man yuhibbu wa yarDaa 'to whom he likes' and accepts', is divided from the V-, yastami9a 'listens' by the subject, bakrun 'bakra'.

(d) (24) ?alam ya?ni lilladiina ?aamanuu ?an taxsa9a quluubuhum
lidikri llaahi wa maa nazala mina lhaqq (57/16)
Is not the time ripe for the hearts of those who believe to submit to Allah's remembrance and to the truth which is revealed?
Here, the subject is realized by a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun, and -N is realized by a NP the head of which is both annexed to a proper noun and co-ordinates with a relative pronoun having a light relative clause (cf. above p. 233) and explained by min ?albayaaaniyyah 'the explanatory min'. The P-N, lidikri llaahi wa maa nazala mina lhaqq 'to Allah's remembrance and to the truth which is revealed', is divided from the V-, taxsa9a 'submit', by the subject, quluubuhum 'the hearts' of those.

3. The third case of dividing P-N from V- by the subject is that in which the subject is light and P-N is extremely heavy. This condition is satisfied in the following case, for instance.
Allah has turned in mercy to the prophet, and to 'almuhaagiriin and 'al' anSaar who followed him in the hour of hardship, after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved aside.

Here, the subject, llaahu 'Allah', is a proper noun, and -N, nnabiyyi wa lmuhaagiriina wa l?anSaari lldiina ttaba9uuhu fii saa9ati 19usrati min ba9di maa kaada yaziigu quluubu fariiqin minhum (9/117)

Allah has turned in mercy to the prophet, and to 'almuhaagiriin and 'al' anSaar who followed him in the hour of hardship, after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved aside, is realized by a NP whose head, which is a definite common noun, co-ordinates with two others qualified by a relative pronoun whose clause consists of a main verb, a pronominal subject and object, and two prepositionally realized adjuncts the nominal element of the first of which is realized by a NP whose head is annexed to a definite common noun and that of the second is realized by a maa-clause which consists of an auxiliary, a main verb, a subject realized by a NP whose head is annexed to a common noun qualified by a PP whose nominal element is a pronoun. The P-N, 9ala nnabiyyi wa lmuhaagiriina wa l?anSaari lldiina ttaba9uuhu fi saa9ati 19usrati min ba9di maa kaada yaziigu quluubu fariiqin minhum 'to the prophet, and to 'almuhaagiriin and 'alSaar who followed him in the hour of hardship, after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved aside', is divided from the V- taaba 'has turned in mercy', by the subject llaahu 'Allah'.

11.1.4 P-N Occupation of the Position Adjacent to V-

P-N occupies the position adjacent to V- in the following cases:

1. If P-N is lighter than the subject. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:
(a) (26) falammaaganna 9alayhi llaylu ra?aa kawkabaa (6/77)
When the night covered him over, he saw a star

(27) ?ulaa?ika lladina ?aataynaahumu l kitaaba wa lhukma wa
nnubuwata fa?in yakfur bihaa haa?ulaa?i faqad wakkalnaa
bihaa qawman laysuu bihaa 'bikaafiriin (6/89)
Those are they to whom We gave the Scripture and command
and prophethood. But if these disbelieve in it, then indeed
We shall entrust it to a people who will not disbelieve in it

(28) wa man yuwaqiqi rrasuula min ba?di maa tabayyana lahu lhudaa
wa yattabi9 gayra sabiili lmu?miniina nuwallihii maa tawallaa wa
nuSlihii gahannaham (4/115)
Whoever opposes themessenger after the guidance (of Allah)
has become clear to him, and follows other than the believers'
way, We appoint for him that to which he himself has turned
and expose him to hell

Here, the -Ns hi 'him' in (26), haa 'it' in (27)andhu'him' in (28), are
pronouns, and the subjects, llaylu 'the night' in (26), haa?ulaa?i 'these'
in (27), and lhudaa 'the guidance' in (28), are one-word phrases, in this
instance a demonstrative and definite common nouns. The P-Ns, 9alayhi 'him',
bihaa 'in it', and lahu 'to him' in (26-28), respectively occupy the
positions adjacent to the V-s, ganna 'covered over', yakfur 'disbelieve',
and tabayyana 'has become clear', thereby dividing them from the subjects.

There occur however examples where the -Ns and the subjects are
pronouns and one-word phrases, respectively, but instead of occupying
the positions adjacent to the V-s, the P-Ns are divided from them by the
subjects. Among these examples are (29-30), where the P-Ns 9alayhim
'with them' and 9alayhim 'to them', are divided from the V-s, saxiTa 'will
be wroth' and taSaabaha 'seemed alike', by the subjects llaahu 'Allah'
and lxa?alu 'the creation'.

(29) labi?sa maa qaddamat lahum ?anfusuhum ?an saxiTa llaahu 9alayhim (5/80)
Surely, ill for them is that which they have sent on before them: that Allah will be wroth with them.

Or do they assign to Allah partners who created the like of His creation so that the creation (which they made and His creation) seemed alike to them? Say: Allah is the creator of all things.

(b) (31) wa lan tarDa9 9anka lyahuudu wa la nnaSaaraa hattaatattab19a millatahum (2/120)
Neither the Jews nor the Christians will be pleased with you till you follow their creed.

Here -N is a pronoun, and the subject is realized by a NP the head of which is a one-word phrase co-ordinating with another. The P-N, 9anka 'with you' occupies the position adjacent to the V-, tarDa9 'be pleased' thereby dividing it from the subject lyahuudu wa la nnaSaaraa 'neither the Jews nor the Christians'.

(c) (32) wa maa ga9alahu llaahu ?illaa bu?raa wa litaTma?inna bihii quluubukum (8/10)
Allah made it only as a message of good tidings and that your hearts might be at rest by it.

(33) qaaluu rabbanaa jalaat 9alaynaa ?iqwatuna? (23/106)
They will say: Our Lord! Our misfortune conquered us.

(34) wa kaddaba bihii qawmuuka wa huwa lhaagq (6/66)
But your people have denied it, though it is the truth.

Here, the -Ns, hii 'it' in (32), nna 'us' in (33) and hii 'it' in (34) are pronouns, and the subjects quluubukum 'your hearts' in (32),
$iqwatunaa 'our misfortune' in (33) and qawmuka 'your people' in (34)
are NPs the heads of which are annexed to pronouns. The P-Ns, bihii 'by
it', 9alaynaa 'us' and bihii 'it' in (32 - 34) respectively, occupy the
positions adjacent to the V-s, taTma?inna 'might be at rest', 9alabat
'conquered' and kaedaba 'have denied', thereby dividing them from the
subjects.

The P-N, however, may be divided from the V- by the subject. In
(35), for instance, the P-N, bih 'by it', is divided from the V-,
taTma?inna 'might be at rest', by the subject quluubukum 'your hearts'.

(35) wa maa ga9alahu Ilaahu ? illaa bu?raa lakum wa litaTma?inna
quluubukum bih (3/126)
Allah made it only as a message of good cheer for you and
that your hearts might be at rest by it

(d) (36) ?inna lladiina haqqat 9alayhim kalimatu rabbika laa yu?minuun
(10/96)
Those against whom the word of your Lord has been verified
will not believe

Here, the -N him 'whom', is a pronoun and the subject, kalimatu rabbika
'the word of your Lord', is realized by a NP whose head is annexed to a
noun annexed to a pronoun. The P-N, 9alayhim 'against whom', occupies the
position adjacent to the V-, haqqa 'has been verified', and, therefore, it divides it from the subject.

(e) (37) wa ?id yamkuru bika lladiina kafaruu liyu9bituuk (8/30)
And (remember) when those who disbelieve plot against you
to wound you fatally

Here, the -N, ka 'you', is a pronoun, and the subject lladiina kafaruu
'those who disbelieve', is realized by a NP whose head is a relative
pronoun with a light relative clause (cf. above p. 232). The P-N, bika
'against you', occupies the position adjacent to the V-, yamkuru 'plot',
thereby dividing it from the subject.

(38) fasawfa ta9lamuuna man ya?tihi 9adaabun yuxzihi wa
yahillu 9alayhi 9adaabun muqiim (11/39)
And you shall know to whom a punishment that will humiliate
him comes and upon whom a lasting chastisement will fall

Here, the -N, hi 'whom' is a pronoun, and the subject 9adaabun muqiim
'a lasting chastisement', is realized by a NP whose head is qualified by
a one-word adjective (cf. above pp.233-4 ). The P-N, 9alayhi 'upon whom',
occupies the position adjacent to the V-, yahillu 'will fall', and,
therefore it divides it from the subject.

2. The second case in which P-N occupies the position adjacent to V-
is that where P-N is light, and the subject is heavy. This condition is
satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (39) wa litaSɡaa ?ilayhi ?af?idatu lladiina laa yu?minuuna
    bil?aaxirah (6/113)
That the hearts of those who do not believe in the
Hereafter may incline to it

(40) taqɡa9irru minhu guluudu lladiina yaxɡawna rabbahum (39/23)
At which the flesh of those who fear their Lord creeps

Here, the -Ns, hi 'it' in (39) and hu 'which' in (40), are pronouns, and
the subjects, ?af?idatu lladiina laa yu?minuuna bil?aaxirah 'the hearts
of those who do not believe in the Hereafter' in (39) and guluudu
lladiina yaxɡawna rabbahum 'the flesh of those who fear their Lord' in
(40), are realized by NPs whose heads are annexed to relative pronouns
with relative verbal clauses. The P-Ns ?ilayhi 'to it' in (39) and minhu
'at which' in (40), occupy the positions adjacent to the V-s taSɡaa 'may
incline' and taqɡa9irru 'creeps'.

(b) (41) quI 9asaa ?an yakuuna radifa lakum ba9Du lladii
    tasta9giluuun (27/72)
Say: It may be that part of that which you would hasten on is close behind you.

Here, the -N, *kum* 'you', is a pronoun, and the subject, *ba9Du lladii tasta9giluun* 'part of that which you would hasten on', is realized by a NP whose head is a relative pronoun with a light relative clause (cf. above p. 232), and to which a quantifier is annexed. The P-N, *lakum 'behind you', occupies the position adjacent to the V-, *radifa 'is close'.

(c) (42) *wa yaTuufu 9alayhim *gilmaanun lahum ka?annahum lu?lu?un maknuun* (52/24)

And there wait on them menservants of their own, as if they were hidden pearls.

Here, the -N, *him 'them', is a pronoun, and the subject, *gilmaanun lahum ka?annahum lu?lu?un maknuun 'menservants of their own, as if they were hidden pearls', is a NP whose head is qualified both by a PP whose prepositional complement is a pronoun and by a nominal clause consisting of *?adaatu ta%biih 'a particle of comparison', a pronominal subject, and a predicate realized by a NP whose head is qualified by a one-word adjective, i.e. in this instance, by a passive participle associating with no other NPs. The P-N, *9alayhim 'on them', occupies the position adjacent to the V-, *yaTuufu 'wait'.

(d) (43) *famaa ?a9naa 9anhum maa kaanuu yaksibuun* (15/84)

And that which they used to do did not avail them.

(44) *yasta9gilu biha lladiina laa yu?minuuna bihaa* (42/18)

Those who do not believe in it seek to hasten it.

(45) *wa haqa bihim maa kaanuu bihii yastahzi?uun* (11/8)

And that which they used to mock surrounded them.

Here, the -Ns, *hum 'them' in (43), ha 'it' in (44) and *him 'them' in (45), are pronouns, and the subjects, *maa kaanuu yaksibuun 'that which they used to do' in (43), *lladiina laa yu?minuuna bihaa 'those who do not
believe in it' in (44) and maa kaanuu bihii yastahzi?uun 'that which they used to mock' in (45), are NPs whose heads are relative pronouns followed by a heavy relative clause consisting in these examples of (i) an auxiliary, a pronominal subject and a main verb, (ii) a negative particle, a main verb, a pronominal subject and a PO whose nominal element is a pronoun and (iii) an auxiliary, a pronominal subject, a PO whose nominal element is a pronoun and a main verb, respectively. The P-N, 9anhum 'them' in (43), biha 'it' in (44) and bihim 'them' in (45), occupy the positions adjacent to the V-s, ?a?naa 'avail', yasta?gilu 'seek to hasten' and haaqa 'surrounded'.

(e) (46) fahaqqa 9alaynaa qawlu rabbinaa ?innaa ladaa?i?uun (37/31)
So (now) Our Lord's word has been proved against us: that we shall indeed have to taste (the punishment of our sins)

Here, the -N, naa 'us' is a pronoun, and the subject, qawlu rabbinaa ?innaa ladaa?i?uun 'Our Lord's word that we shall indeed have to taste', is a NP whose head is a verbal noun annexed to its subject, which is realized by a common noun annexed to a pronoun, and having a nominal clause object consisting of '?inna', a pronominal subject, and a predicate realized by an active participle. The P-N, 9alaynaa 'against us', occupies the position adjacent to the V- haqqa 'has been proved'.

(f) (47) ?inna 1laahalaa yaxfaa 9alayhi $ay?un fi l?arDi wa 1aa l?arDi wa 1aa fi ssamaa? (3/5)
Verily, Allah, nothing in the earth or in the heaven is hidden from Him

Here, the -N, hi 'Him', is a pronoun, and the subject, $ay?un fi l?arDi wa l?arDi wa laa fi ssamaa? 'nothing in the earth or in the heaven', is a NP whose head is qualified by a PP with a nominal element being a definite common noun and co-ordinating with a similar PP. The P-N, 9alayhi 'from Him', occupies the position adjacent to the V-, yaxfaa 'is hidden'. 
3. The third case in which P-N occupies the position adjacent to V- is that where P-N is light and the subject is extremely heavy. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (48) laa ya9zubu 9anhu mi9qalu darratin fi l?arDi wa laa fi ssamaa?i wa laa ?aSgaru min daalika wa laa ?akbaru ?illaa fii kitaabin mubiin (34/3)

And not an atom's weight in the earth or in the heaven escapes Him, nor what is less than that or greater but in a clear book

Here, the -N, hu 'Him', is a pronoun, and the subject, mi9qalu darratin fi l?arDi wa laa fi ssamaa?i wa laa ?aSgaru min daalika wa laa ?akbaru 'an atom's weight in the earth or in the heaven, nor what is less than that or greater', is a NP the head of which co-ordinates with two other nouns and is annexed to a common noun qualified by a PP co-ordinating with another. The P-N, 9anhu 'Him' occupies the position adjacent to the V-, ya9zubu 'escapes'.

(b) (49) yaxrugu min buTuunihaa ?araabun muxtalifun ?alwaanuhuu fihi ?ifaa?un linnaas (16/69)

There comes from their bellies a drink of varying colours wherein is healing for mankind

Here, the -N, buTuunihaa 'their bellies', is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun, and the subject, ?araabun muxtalifun ?alwaanuhuu fihi ?ifaa?un linnaas 'a drink of varying colours wherein is healing for mankind', is a NP whose head is qualified both by an active participle with its subject and by a nominal sentence consisting of a predicate realized by a PP whose nominal element is a pronoun, and a subject realized by a NP whose head is qualified by a PP whose nominal element is a definite common noun. The P-N, min buTuunihaa 'from their bellies', occupies the position adjacent to the V-, yaxrugu 'comes'.
4. The fourth case in which P-N occupies the position adjacent to V- is the case in which the subject (i) is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun referring back to -N, e.g. hisaabuhum 'their reckoning' in (50): hisaabu 'reckoning', the head, is annexed to hum 'their', which refers back to the -N, nnaasi 'men' or (ii) has to do with clauses that contain pronouns referring back to -N, e.g. the subject realized by a NP whose head is a relative pronoun with a relative clause embracing a pronoun referring back to -N, e.g. maa tad9uuhum ?ilayh 'that to which you call them' in (51) and maa kaanuu bihii yastahzi?uun 'that at which they had scoffed' in (52): the relative clauses 'tad9uuhum ?ilayh' and 'kaanuu bihii yastahzi?uun' embrace the pronouns hum 'them' and (kaan)uu 'they (had)', which refer back to lmu$rikiina 'the idolaters' and lladiina 'they who' in (51 - 52), respectively.

(50) ?iqtaraba linnaasi hisaabuhum (21/1)

Near to men comes their reckoning

(51) kabura 9ala lmu$rikiina maa tad9uuhum ?ilayh (42/13)

Hard for the idolaters is that to which you call them

(52) wa laqadi stuhzi?a birusilin min qablika fahaaqaa billadiina saxiruu minhum maa kaanuu bihii yastahzi?uun (6/10)

Truly, messengers before you were derided, but they who derided them were surrounded by that at which they had scoffed.

The P-Ns, linnaasi 'to men' in (50), 9ala lmu$rikiina 'for the idolaters' in (51) and billadiina saxiruu minhum 'they who derided them' in (52), occupy the positions adjacent to the V-s ?iqtaraba 'near comes', kabura 'hard is' and fahaaqaa 'were surrounded'.

It should be noted that the structural weight of the P-N in relation to that of the subject is irrelevant to case (4). In (50), the P-N and the subject have the same weight: they are light, in (51) while
the P-N is light, the subject is heavy, in (52) the P-N and the subject have the same weight, too: they are heavy, and in (53) while the subject, \( \text{yan yataxallafuu} \) 'to be absent', is light, the P-N, \( \text{liman yu?minuuna bi9adaalati qaDiyyatinaa} \) \( \text{wa yahriSuuna 9alaa nagaahihaa} \) 'for them who believe in the justice of our cause and strive for its success', is extremely heavy.

\begin{equation}
(53) \text{laa yanbagii liman yu?minuuna bi9adaalati qaDiyyatinaa wa yahriSuuna 9alaa nagaahihaa ?an yataxallafuu}
\end{equation}

It is not proper for them who believe in the justice of our cause and strive for its success to be absent.

It goes without saying that the pronoun 'uu', which is embraced by the subject "\( \text{yan yataxallafuu} \)", refers back to the \(-N\), man, 'them who', and that the P-N occupies the position adjacent to the V- \( \text{yanbagii 'is proper'}. \)

One final point: I found no clauses consisting of a main verb realized by \( V_1 \), a subject realized by a manifest noun, and an adjunct realized by P-N in which the P-N occurs next to \( V_1 \), because the subject is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun that refers back to the subject or embraces a pronoun that does so (cf. above p. 244). Such clauses however can be constructed, and (54) is an example, where the P-N, \( \text{fi lmasgidi 'in it'} \) (lit. 'in the mosque'), occupies the position adjacent to the \( V_1 \) \( \text{yuSallii 'pray'} \). For \( \text{giiraanu 'neighbours'} \), the head of the NP functioning as subject, is annexed to \( \text{h 'the mosque'} \) (lit. 'its'), which refers back to the \(-N\), \( \text{lmasgidi 'it'} \) (lit. 'the mosque').

\begin{equation}
(54) \text{yuSalli fi lmasgidi giiraanuh}
\end{equation}

The neighbours of the mosque pray in it.

11.2 **Divisibility of** \( V_1-P \)

In relation to its ability to occur next to \( V_1 \) or be divided from it by the subject or a PP qualifying the subject, P-N has the following cases:
(i) to be divided from $V_1$ by a PP qualifying the subject.
(ii) to occupy the position adjacent to $V_1$.
(iii) to be divided from $V_1$ by the subject.

11.2.1 The divisibility of $V_1$ - P by a PP qualifying the subject

When the subject is both qualified by a PP and realized by a word that must occupy the initial position of the clause, the phrase qualifying it divides $V_1$ from P-N. Consider sentence (55).

(55) wa man yaqnut minkunna lillaahi wa rasuulihii wa taqmal Saalihi nu?tihaa ?agrahaa marratayn (33/31)
And whoever of you keeps silent for Allah and His messenger and does right, We shall give her reward twice

In (55), the subject is qualified by the PP minkunna 'of you', and realized by the conditional particle man 'whoever', which occupies the initial position of the clause, and the phrase qualifying it divides the $V_1$ yaqnut 'keep silent' from the P-N, lillaahi wa rasuulihii 'for Allah and His messenger'.

11.2.2 P-N occupation of the position adjacent to $V_1$

P-N occupies the position adjacent to $V_1$ in the following cases:

When P-N is lighter than the subject. This condition is satisfied in the following case, for instance.

(56) ma lmasiihu bnu maryama ?illaa rasuulun qad xalat min qablihi rrusul (5/75)
The Messiah, son of Mary, was no other than a messenger, before whom messengers had passed away

(57) wa law ?annahum ?id Zalamuu ?anfusahum gaa?uuka fastaqfaru llaaha wa staqfara lahumu rrasuulu lawagadu llaaha tawwaaban rahiimaa (4/64)
And if, when they had wronged themselves, they had come to
you and asked forgiveness of Allah and the messenger had asked forgiveness for them they would have found Allah forgiving, merciful.

(58) yaa muusaa laa taxaf ?innii laa yaxaafu ladayya lmursaluum

(27/10)

O Moses! do not fear; truly, the messengers do not fear in My presence

Here, the -Ns, hi 'whom' in (56), humu'them'in (57) and ya 'My presence' in (58), are pronouns, and the subjects, rrusul 'messengers' in (56), rrasuulu 'the messenger' in (57) and lmursaluum 'the messengers' in (58), are one-word phrases: they are definite common nouns. The P-Ns, min qablihi 'before whom' in (56), lahumu 'for them' in (57) and ladayya 'in My presence' in (58), occupy the positions adjacent to the V₁s xalat 'had passed away', staṭfara 'had asked forgiveness' and yaxaafu 'fear', respectively.

However, there occur cases where P-Ns are lighter than the subjects, but, nevertheless, they are divided from V₁s by the subjects. Though the P-Ns, fiīhaa 'in it' in (59) and bilbaaTil 'with falsehood' in (60), are lighter than the subjects, maa Sana9uu 'what they did' and lladiina kafaruu 'the unbelievers', they are divided by them - the subjects - from the V₁s, habiTa 'vain' in (59) and yugaadilu 'dispute' in (60).


These are they for whom is nothing in the Hereafter save the Fire, and vain in it is what they did (in the World)

(60) wa yugaadilu lladiina kafaruu bilbaaTil (18/56)

But the unbelievers dispute with falsehood
2. The second case in which P-N occupies the position adjacent to V₁ is that where P-N is light, while the subject is heavy. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (61) tusabbihu lahu ssamaawaatu ssab9u wa l?arDu wa man fiihinn

(17/44)

The seven heavens and the earth and all that is therein do praise for Him

Here, the -N, hu 'Him', is a pronoun, and the subject, ssamaawaatu ssab9u wa l?arDu wa man fiihinn 'the seven heavens and the earth and all that is therein', is a NP whose head is qualified by a one-word adjective and co-ordinates with both a definite common noun and a relative pronoun whose relative clause is a PP whose nominal element is a pronoun. The P-N, lahu 'for Him', occupies the position adjacent to the V₁, tusabbihu 'do praise'.

(b) (62) G?amma ya?tii min ba9di daalika 9aamun fiihi yu?aa9u nnaasu wa fiihi ya9Siruun (12/49)

Then after that will come a year when the people will have abundant water, and when they will press (wine and oil)

Here, the -N, daalika 'that', is a demonstrative, and the subject is a NP whose head is qualified by a verbal clause consisting of a time adjunct realized by a PP with a nominal element being a pronoun, a main verb and a nominal subject, and co-ordinating with another verbal clause consisting of a time adjunct realized by a PP with a nominal element being a pronoun, a main verb and a subject realized by a connected pronoun. The P-N, min ba9di daalika 'after that', occupies the position adjacent to the V₁-, ya?tii 'will come', thereby dividing it from the subject, 9aamun fiihi yu?aa9u nnaasu wa fiihi ya9Siruun 'a year when the people will have abundant water, and when they will press (wine and oil)'.
3. The third case in which P-N occupies the position adjacent to $V_1$ is that in which P-N is light while the subject is extremely heavy. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (63) yasgudulillaahi mana fi ssamaawaati wa man fi l?arDi wa 
%amsu wa lqamaru wa nnugumu wa lgibaalu wa %agaru wa 
ddawaabbu wa ka?iirun mina nnaas (cf. 22/18)

To Allah pray adoration whoever is in the heavens and
whoever is in the earth and the sun, the moon, the stars,
the mountains, the trees, the animals and many people

Here, the -N, lillaahi'Allah' is a proper noun and the subject, man fi ssamaawaati 
wa man fi l?arDi wa %amsu wa lqamaru wa nnugumu wa lgibaalu wa %agaru 
wa ddawaabbu wa ka?iirun mina nnaas 'whoever is in the heavens and
whoever is in the earth, and the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains,
the trees, the animals and many people', is a NP the head of which is a 
relative pronoun whose relative clause is a PP with a nominal element
being a definite common noun, co-ordinating both with another relative
pronoun with a similar relative clause, and with seven other nouns. The
P-N, 'lillaahi'to Allah, occupies the position adjacent to the $V_1$ yasgudu
'pray adoration'.

(b) (64) s?umma y?tii min ba9di daalika sab9un ?idaadun ya?kulna 
maa qaddamtum lahunna ?illaa qaliilan mimmaa tuhSinuun (12/48)

Then after that will come seven hard (years) which will devour
all that you have prepared for them, save a little, of what you
have stored

Here, the -N, daalika 'that', is a demonstrative, and the subject, sab9un 
?idaadun ya?kulna maa qaddamtum lahunna ?illaa qaliilan mimmaa tuhSinuun
'seven hard (years) which will devour all that you have prepared for them,
save a little, of what you have stored', is a NP the head of which is qualified
by a one-word adjective as well as by a verbal clause consisting of (i) a
main verb, (ii) a subject realized by a connected pronoun, (iii) an object realized by a relative pronoun with a relative verbal clause, the relative pronoun explained by a prepositional complement realized by a relative pronoun with a relative verbal clause, and (iv) an ?illaa phrase 'except' phrase. The P-N, min ba9di daalika 'after that', occupies the position adjacent to the V₁, ya?tii 'will come'.

11.2.3 The divisibility of V₁-P by the subject

V₁ is divided from P- and hence from P-N by the subject in the following cases:

1. If the subject is lighter than P-N. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for instance:

(a) (65) wa xa‰a9ati l?aswaatu lirrahmaan (20/108)
And voices became quiet for the Beneficent
Here, both the -N, rrahmaan 'the Beneficent', and the subject, l?aswaatu 'voices', are definite common nouns. The V₁ xa‰a9ati 'became quiet', is divided from the P-N, lirrahmaan 'for the Beneficent' by the subject.

(b) (66) fa?ulaa?ika lladiina habiTat ?a9maaluhum fi ddunyaa wa l?aaaxirah (2/217)
Those are they whose works will bear no fruit both in the World and the Hereafter
Here, the -N, ddunyaa wa l?aaaxirah 'the World and the Hereafter', is a NP the head of which is a definite common noun co-ordinating with another and the subject ?a9maaluhum 'whose works', is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun. The subject divides the P-N, fi ddunyaa wa l?aaaxirah 'both in the World and the Hereafter', from the V₁, habiTat 'will bear no fruit'.

2. If the subject has the same structural weight as P-N. This condition is satisfied in (67).

But if he who owes the debt is incompetent, or weak, or unable himself to dictate, then let his guardian dictate in fairness.

Here, the -N, 19adl 'fairness', is a definite common noun, and the subject, waliyyuhu 'his guardian', is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun. The V1 yumilil 'dictate', is divided from the P-N, bil9adl 'in fairness', by the subject.

I found no examples of the clauses consisting of a main verb realized by V-, a nominal subject and an object realized by P-N in which the subject and the P-N have the same weight. Such clauses however can be constructed and (68) is one of them.

(68) ya?minu billaahi ?axuuh

His brother believes in Allah.

We notice here that in contradistinction to the P-N in a clause such as falyumilil waliyyuhu bila9adl 'then let his guardian dictate in fairness' (cf. above (67)), the P-N, billaahi 'inAllah' in (68), occupies the position adjacent to the V-. The implication of this difference between the two types of clause is that while the P-N in the clause consisting of a main verb realized by V1, a nominal subject and an adjunct realized by P-N (cf. above (67)) is in loose construction with V1 that in the clause consisting of a main verb realized by V-, a nominal subject and an object realized by P-N is in close construction with V- (cf. above (68)).

11.3 The Positions of the PPs functioning as Adjunct and as PO in Relation to PV

The positions referred to here are those occurring after PV. As for the positions preceding PV (V1), see above Chapter Seven. Also, the clause with which we are concerned here is that consisting of (i) a main verb realized by PV, (ii) a subject realized by a connected pronoun or by a zero morpheme, (iii) a PO and (iv) an adjunct realized by PP.
Examples are the underlined clause in (69), where the subject is realized by a connected pronoun, and in (70), where it is realized by a zero morpheme.

(69) fa mani 9tadaa 9alaykum fa9taduu 9alayhi bimi9li ma 9tadaa 9alaykum (2/194)
And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you

(70) wa ?in hakamta fahkum baynahum bilqisT (5/42).
And if you judge, judge between them with equity

Before discussing the PO in relation to its ability to occur next to the PV/PV and the subject suffixed to it, or be divided from it by the adjunct; the following points ought to be noted:

(a) Neither the PO nor the adjunct can take up the position occupied by the subject realized by a connected pronoun. For either occupation will result in ungrammatical sentences such as (71), which results from the PO's occupation of the subject position in the underlined clause in (69), and (72), which results from the adjunct's occupation of the subject position in (69), too.

(71) *famani 9tadaa 9alaykum fa9tadaa 9alayhi ?antum bimi9li ma 9tadaa 9alaykum
And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you

(72) *famani 9tadaa 9alaykum fa9tadaa bimi9li ma 9tadaa 9alaykum 9alayhi ?antum
And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you

(b) Clauses such as those underlined in (69 - 70), but with the subjects realized by ?a€™maa? Zaahirah 'manifest nouns', are available. Examples are the underlined clauses in (73 - 74), and (75 - 77).
(73) yaa?ayyuha llaadiina ?aamanuu ?idaa tadaayantum bidaynin
?ilaa ?agalin musamman faktubuu?u wa lyaktub baynakum
kaatibun bil9adl (2/282)
O you who believe! when you contract a debt for a fixed
term, record it in writing, and let a scribe do that between
you in fairness

(74) maGalu llaeliina kafaruu birabbihim ?a9maaluhum karamaadini
$taddat bihi rriihu fii yawmin 9aaSif (14/18)
Those who disbelieve in their Lord, the likeness of their
works is as ashes which the wind blows hard on a stormy day

(75) Qumma badaa lahum min ba9di maa ra?awu 1?aayaati
layasgununnahuu hattaa?hiin (12/35)
And it seemed good to them after they had seen the signs
(of yuusuf's innocence) to imprison him for a time

(76) wa waqa9a 1qawlu 9alayhim bimaa Zalamuu (27/85)
And the word will be fulfilled against them, because of
their wrong-doing

(77) fariha lmuxallafuuna bimaq9adihim xilaafa rasuuli llaah (9/81)
Those who were left behind rejoiced at their sitting behind
the messenger of Allah

Whether the POs in clauses such as those underlined in (73 - 74), and'
those of (75 - 77) occupy the positions adjacent to the PVs, depends
among other things (cf. above pp.244-5) on their structural weight in
relation to those of both the subjects and the adjuncts. For example, the
POs, baynakum 'between you' in (73), and hi 'which' in (74), occupy the
positions adjacent to the PVs, yaktub 'do that', and $taddat 'blows
hard'. For they - the POs - are lighter than both the subjects, kaatibun
'a scribe' in (73) and rriihu 'the wind' in (74), and the adjuncts, bil9adl
'in fairness' in (73) and fii yawmin 9aaSif 'on a stormy day' in (74). Also,
the PO, lahum 'to them' in (75), occupies the position adjacent to the
PV, badaa 'seemed good', for while it is light, both the adjunct min
ba9di maa ra?awu l?aayaati 'after they had seen the signs' and the
subject, layasgununnahuu hattaa hiin 'to imprison him for a time', are
heavy. On the other hand, the PO, bimaq9adihim 'at their sitting' in
(77) is divided from the PV, 'fari? ia--! rejoiced' by the subject, lmuxallfuuna
'those-who were left behind'. For it is less light than the subject and
lighter than the adjunct xilaafa rasuuli llaah 'behind the messenger of
Allah'.

In (76), however, though the PO, 9alayhim 'against them', is
lighter than the subject, lqawlu 'the word' and the adjunct bimaa Zalamuu
'because of their wrong-doing', it is divided from the PV, waqa9a 'will
be fulfilled', by the subject.

As for the position the PO can occupy in the clause the subject
of which is realized by a zero morpheme or a connected pronoun (cf.
above p. 251), it depends, on the other hand, on its structural weight
in relation to that of the adjunct (cf. below 11.3.1-2).

It should be noted that the phrase 'occupying the position adjacent
to the PV' and the like will be used below in the sense of occurring
next to the PV/the PV and the subject suffixed to it, depending on how
the subject is realized, by a zero morpheme or by a connected pronoun,
respectively. One final point: I found no clause such as those underlined
in (73 - 74) and those of (75 - 77) in which the PO is divided from the
PV by both the subject and the adjunct.

In relation to its ability to be divided from the PO by the adjunct
or from the adjunct by the PO, the PV in the clause under discussion,
i.e. in the clause whose subject is a connected pronoun or realized by a
zero morpheme (cf. above p. 251) has the following possibilities:

(1) to be divided from the PO by the adjunct.
The Divisibility of the PV from the PO by the Adjunct

The PV can be divided from the PO by the adjunct in the following cases:

1. When the adjunct is light and the PO is heavy. This condition is satisfied in (78), for example.

(78) yad9uuna fiihaa bifaakihatin ka9iiratin wa $araab (38/51)

In which they will call for plentiful fruit and a drink.

Here, haa 'which', which represents the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a pronoun, and faakihatin ka9iiratin wa $araab 'plentiful fruit and a drink', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a NP whose head is an indefinite noun co-ordinating with another and qualified by a one-word adjective. The PV, yad9uuna 'call', is divided from the PO, bifaakihatin ka9iiratin wa $araab 'for plentiful fruit and a drink', by the adjunct, fiihaa 'in which'.

2. When the adjunct is lighter than the PO. This condition is fulfilled in the following cases, for example:

(a) (79) laa taq9ud ba9da $idakraa ma9a 1qawmi ZZaalimiin (6/68)

Do not sit, after the remembrance, in the company of wrong-doers.

Here, $idakraa 'the remembrance', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a definite common noun, and 1qawmi ZZaalimiin 'the company of wrong-doers', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a NP whose head, which is a definite common noun, is qualified by a one-word adjective. The PV, taq9ud 'sit', is divided from the PO, ma9a 1qawmi ZZaalimiin 'in the company of wrong-doers', by the adjunct, ba9da $idakraa 'after the remembrance'.

(b) (80) wa ?aSlih lii fii $urriyyatii (46/15)

And make my children devout for me.
Here, ii 'me', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a
pronoun, and durriyyatii 'my children', which is the nominal element of the PP
functioning as PO, is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun.
The Pv, qaSlilh 'make devout', is divided from the PO, fii durriyyatii
'my children', by the adjunct, lii 'for me'.

11.3.2 The Divisibility of the PV from the adjunct by the PO

The PO occupies the position adjacent to the PV, thereby dividing
it from the adjunct in the following cases:

1. When the PO is as light as the adjunct. This condition is
satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (81) faman tamatta9a bil9umrati ?ila lhaggi fama staysar min
lhady (2/196)
And whoever contents himself with ?al9umrah to ?alhagg
(he must) give such gifts as can be had with ease

Here, both 19umrati '?al9umrah' and lhaggi ?alhagg, which are the nominal elements
of the PPs functioning as PO and adjunct, respectively, are definite
common nouns. The PO, bil9umrati 'with ?al9umrah' occupies the position
adjacent to the PV, tamatta9a 'contents himself' and, therefore, it divides
it from the adjunct, ?ila lhaggi 'to ?alhagg'.

(b) (82) faxaraga 9alaa qawmihii fii ziinatih (28/79)
Then, went he forth before his people in his pomp

Here, both qawmihii 'his people' and ziinatih 'his pomp', which are the nominal elements
of the PPs functioning as PO and adjunct, respectively, are NPs the
Heads of which are annexed to pronouns. The PO, 9alaa qawmihii 'before
his people', occupies the position adjacent to the PV, xaraga 'went forth'
and, consequently, it divides it from the adjunct fii ziinatih 'in his
pomp'. The fact that, in (81 - 82), the POs have priority over the
adjuncts in occupying the positions adjacent to the PVs indicates once
more (cf. above pp.250-1) that the former rather than the latter are in
close construction with them.
2. When the PO is lighter than the adjunct. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:

(a) (83) ?ila 1?arDi llatii baaraknaa fiihaa lil9aalamIiin (21/71)

To the land which we have blessed for (all) people

Here, haa, 'which', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a pronoun, and lil9aalamIiin 'for (all) people', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a definite common noun. The PO, fiihaa 'which', occupies the position adjacent to the PV, baarak 'have blessed', and, therefore, it divides it from the adjunct lil9aalamIiin 'for (all) people'.

(b) (84) fabada?a bi?aw9iyatihim qabla wi9aa?i ?axiih (12/76)

Then he began (the search) with their bags before his brother's bag

Here, ?aw9iyatihim 'their bags', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun, and wi9aa?i ?axiih 'his brother's bag', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a NP the head of which is annexed to a common noun annexed to a pronoun. The PO, bi?aw9iyatihim 'with their bags', occurs next to the PV, bada?a 'began', and, therefore, it divides it from the adjunct, qabla wi9aa?i ?axiih 'before his brother's bag'.

(c) (85) ?aglib 9alayhim bixaylik

Make an attack upon them with your cavalry

Here, him 'them', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a pronoun and bixaylik 'your cavalry', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun. The PO, 9alayhim 'upon them', occupies the position adjacent to the PV, ?aglib 'make an attack', and, consequently, it divides it from the adjunct, bixaylik 'with your cavalry'.

3. The third case in which the PO occupies the position adjacent to the PV is that in which the adjunct is heavy while the PO is light. This condition is satisfied in the following cases, for example:
(a) (86) \( \text{\`alladiina stagaabuu lillaahi wa rrasuuli min ba\digamma di maa} \)
\( \text{\`aSaabahumu lqarhu lillaadiina \`ahsanuu minhum wa ttaqaw} \)
\( \text{\`agrun 9\'aziim (3/172)} \)
As for those who paid attention to (the call of) Allah and the messenger after the harm befell them, for such of them as do right and ward off (evil), there is great reward

Here, \( \text{\`illaahi wa rrasuuli 'Allah and the messenger', which is the nominal element of the PP: functioning as PO, is a NP the head of which is a proper noun co-ordinating with a definite common noun, and maa \`aSaabahumu lqarhu 'the harm befell them', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct is a maa-clause consisting of a main verb, an object realized by a connected pronoun and a nominal subject. The PO, \text{\`illaahi wa rrasuuli 'to (the call of) Allah and the messenger', occupies the position adjacent to the PV stagaabuu 'paid attention', and, consequently, it divides it from the adjunct; min ba\digamma di maa \`aSaabahumu lqarhu, 'after the harm befell them'}. \)

(b) (87) \( \text{\`aman 9tadaa 9alaykum fa9taduu 9alayhi bimi\'oli ma 9tadaa 9alaykum (2/194)} \)
And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you

Here, \( \text{\`him', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO is a pronoun and bimi\'oli ma 9tadaa 9alaykum 'like manner as he attacked you', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct is a NP the head of which is annexed to a maa-clause consisting of a main verb, a zero subject and a PO whose nominal element is a pronoun. The PO, 9alayhi 'him', occurs next to the PV, 9taduu 'attack', and, therefore, it divides it from the adjunct, bimi\'oli ma 9tadaa 9alaykum 'in like manner as he attacked you'}. \)

(c) (88) \( \text{yatawaaraa mina lqawmi min suu?i maa bussira bih (16/59)} \)
He hides himself from the folk because of the evil of that which has been announced to him
Here, lqawmi 'the folk', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a definite common noun, and suu?i maa bu$?ira bih 'the evil of that which has been announced to him', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a NP whose head is annexed to a relative pronoun whose relative clause consists of a main verb, a subject realized by a zero morpheme and a PO whose nominal element is a pronoun. The PO, mina lqawmi 'from the folk', occupies the position adjacent to the PV, yatawaaraa 'hides himself', and, consequently, divides it from the adjunct, min suu?i maa bu$?ira bih 'because of the evil of that which has been announced to him'.

4. The fourth case in which the PO occupies the position adjacent to the PV is that in which the PO is heavy while the adjunct is extremely so. This condition is satisfied in (89), for instance:


O you to whom the Scripture has been given! Believe in what We have revealed confirming that which you possess, before We destroy countenances so as to be turned round or curse them as We cursed the Sabbath-breakers

Here, firstly, maa nazzalnaa musSaddiqan limaa ma9akum 'what We have revealed confirming that which you possess,' which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a NP whose head is a relative pronoun whose relative clause consists of a main verb, a subject realized by a connected pronoun and a participial phrase whose head functions as Object adjunct and has a PO whose nominal element is a relative pronoun with a relative clause being a PP. Secondly, ?an naTmisa wuguuhan fanaruddahaa 9alaa ?adbaarihaa ?aw na19anahum kamaa la9anna aShaaba ssabt 'We destroy countenances so as
to be turned round or curse them as We cursed the Sabbath-breakers', which is
the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a NP realized by
an 'an-clause consisting of a main verb, a subject realized by a zero
morpheme and a nominal object, and coordinating with two verbal clauses
the first of which consists of a main verb, a subject realized by a zero
morpheme, an object realized by a connected pronoun and a PO, and the
second of a main verb, a subject realized by a zero morpheme, an object
realized by a connected pronoun and a manner adjunct realized by a PP the
nominal element of which is a maa-clause. The PO, bimaa nazzalnaa
muSaddiqan limaa ma9akum 'in what We have revealed confirming that which
you possess', occupies the position adjacent to the PV, ?aaminuu 'believe',
and, therefore, it divides it from the adjunct, min qabli ?an naTmisa wuguwan
fanaruddahaa 9alaa ?adaarihaa ?aw na9anahum kamaa la9annaa ?aShaaba ssabt
'before We destroy countenances so as to be turned round or curse them as
We cursed the Sabbath-breakers'.
CHAPTER TWELVE

REPLACEABILITY BY A SINGLE TRANSITIVE VERB

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the implication of the following facts for the syntactic status of the combinations referred to as being replaceable by single transitive verbs:

(a) the V-P of some V-P-N combinations is replaceable by a single transitive verb (cf. below 12.2.1).

(b) some V-P-N combinations can be replaced by single transitive verbs (cf. below 12.2.2.1).

(c) some combinations whose verbal elements are DOT-PVs (cf. above 3.2 ) are replaceable by single transitive verbs (cf. below 12.2.2.2).

12.1 Previous Studies

The criterion of the replaceability of V-P (or another combination with a verbal element) by a single transitive verb that is synonymous with it is criticized, mentioned or made use of by a number of linguists and grammarians. I however will discuss the views of only Poutsma, Jesperson, Quirk and Vestergaard.

12.1.1 Poutsma

Poutsma (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 28) is in favour of the opinion that there is no difference in terms of constituency break between V-P-N combinations e.g. 'spoke to him' in (1) and 'imposed on him' in (2), and V₁-P-N combinations e.g. 'slept in this bed' in (3) and 'arrived after his brother' in (4).

(1) I spoke to him (ibid., p. 116)

(2) He imposed on him (ibid., p. 115)
(3) He has slept in this bed (ibid., p. 35)

(4) He arrived after his brother (ibid., p. 28)

According to him, the constituency breaks in the two combinations are alike: they are V-/P-N and V₁-/P-N, respectively.

Poutsma however sees that there is some justification for considering the constituency break in the first group of combinations to be V-P/-N and in the second group to be V-₁/P-N: the preposition, i.e. the P- in the first group is according to him 'intimately connected with the governing verb' (ibid., p. 33) (i.e. V-) 'so as to form a kind of unit with it' (Poutsma, I, il', 257). And this 'becomes apparent from the combination', i.e. V-P 'being often practically equivalent to a transitive verb either in English itself or in some one of the cognate languages' (Poutsma, II, ii, 115; see also p. 33); "Thus .... 'to impose (up)on' = 'to deceive'; 'to laugh at' = 'to deride'; 'to speak to' = 'to address'; ... 'to aim at' = 'viser'; to listen to = 'écouter' ..." (ibid., pp. 115-16).

12.1.2 Jesperson

On the basis that they form 'one notion' 'one semantic unit', Jesperson (cf. Jesperson, 1969: 138-9) considers the following combinations composite/complex verbal phrases/expressions (see above p. 124): 'look at', 'think of', 'walk with', 'be afraid of' 'laugh at', 'speak of', 'get rid of', 'shake hands with', 'make much of' and 'find fault with'. According to him, 'look at' is equivalent to 'consider', 'walk with' to 'accompany', 'be afraid of' to 'fear', 'laugh at' to 'mock' or 'deride', 'speak of' to 'mention', 'get rid of' to 'discard', 'shake hands with' to 'greet', 'make much of' to 'esteem' and finally 'find fault with' to 'criticize' or 'rebuke'.

Jesperson's complex verbal phrases include the following combinations:
(a) combinations regarded by Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, p. 3) as a verb + a preposition constituting with the noun it governs a PP functioning as Free adjunct, e.g. 'walk with (some one)'. According to Vestergaard (cf. pp. 46-59), 'walk' is a one-word verb and 'with' is a preposition constituting with 'someone' a PP functioning as Comitative adjunct, which is one of his concrete free adjuncts (ibid., pp. 32-3).

(b) combinations regarded by Vestergaard as PVs, which are in turn subclassifiable into: (i) combinations that contain no other multi-word verbs e.g. 'look at', 'think of', 'laugh at' and 'speak of'; (ii) combinations of which other multi-word verbs are constituents, e.g. 'get rid of', 'shake hands with', 'make much of' and 'find fault with'. According to Vestergaard (ibid., p. 3), combinations such as Jesperson's 'get rid' 'shake hands', 'make much' and 'find fault', and his 'give offence (to some people)' (ibid., p. 3) are multi-word verbs of the type consisting of verb + object. Unlike Jesperson, Vestergaard's criterion for recognizing such multi-word verbs is syntactic not semantic. Their nominal components 'may not be the focus of a pseudo-cleft construction' (Vestergaard, p.3).

For example, the noun 'offence' in 'give offence' in (5) cannot be the focus of a pseudo-cleft construction; therefore (6), with it being the focus of such a construction is, ungrammatical.

(5) These words may give offence (ibid., p. 3)

(6) *What these words may give is offence (loc. cit.)

It should be noted that on the same syntactic basis Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 3-4) recognizes another type of multi-word verbs which may function as V in V-P-N combinations (ibid., p. 3). This is the multi-word verb consisting of V + PP, e.g. 'fallen in love' which functions as V in the V-P-N combination 'fallen in love with Susan' in (7).
John has fallen in love with Susan (ibid., p. 3)

The nominal element 'love' cannot be the focus of a pseudo-cleft construction: (8), with it as the focus of such a construction, is ungrammatical.

What John has fallen in with Susan is love

It goes without saying that the combination 'fallen in love with' in (7) could be regarded as a member of Jesperson's complex verbal phrases. For it forms a semantic unit: it is replaceable by 'loved'.

12.1.3 Quirk

Quirk does not use the criterion of replaceability of V-P by a single transitive verb to establish the PV. Instead, he (cf. Quirk et al., p. 812) uses it to show the semantic unity in the PV, which he considers one of the criteria for recognizing this verbal category.

According to him, the preposition in PVs forms with the verb a semantic unit and this unity "can often be manifested by substitution with a single word verb, for example, 'visit' for 'call on' ..., 'see' for 'look at'" (ibid., p. 812).

12.1.4 Vestergaard

Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 46-59) does not include the criterion of the replaceability of V-P by a single transitive verb among his structural criteria for recognizing PVs; nor does he use this criterion, which he calls 'the synonymity test' (ibid., p. 63, fn. 8) in recognizing his other multi-word verbs, which are symbolized by him V + object/PP, e.g. respectively 'give offence' and 'come to an understanding' (ibid., pp. 3-4).

Vestergaard's refusal to rely on this criterion for recognizing PVs is based on the following grounds (ibid., p. 63, fn. 8):
(i) the criterion is difficult to control because of its non-exclusive nature.

(ii) the synonymity test 'may very well be a relation between two items' (loc. cit.) rather than two classes of items.

Vestergaard nevertheless refers to this criterion as a 'frequently invoked' (ibid., p. 1) one, and uses it to show 'the differences in the relationship between the verb' 'speak' 'and the prepositional phrases' (loc. cit.) 'in this sense' and 'of infinite specific heats' in (9).

(9) It is always in this sense that we speak of infinite specific heats (cf. Vestergaard, p. 1).

According to him (ibid., p.1), 'discuss'/'mention' are substitutable for 'speak of' in (9) while nothing is substitutable for 'speak in'. This leads him to the observation that the relation between 'speak of' and 'infinite heats' is parallel to that between a transitive verb and its object, whereas the relation between 'speak' and 'in this sense' is the relation normally described as verb-adjunct' (ibid., p.1). In other words, this leads him to the observation that whereas 'of' constitutes with 'speak' a single constituent, a PV, 'in' constitutes with 'this sense' another, i.e. a PP.

12.2 Applicability to Arabic

12.2.1 V-P replaceability by a single transitive verb

In CA some of the V-P elements of V-P-N combinations are replaceable by one-word verbs, e.g. kašafa 9an 'bared' in (10), and yazfaru 9alaa 'defeat' in (11).

(10) kašafati 1fataatu 9an saaqayhaa (cf. 27/44)
The girl bared her legs
(11) sawfa yaZfaru xaalidun 9alaa 9aliyyin

xaalid will defeat 9aliyy

Other V-Ps with their equivalents, one-word verbs, are the following ones:

(i) ganna 9alaa (cf. 6/76) = satara 'veil'
(ii) de9aa bi (cf. 38/51) = Talaba 'call for'
(iii) ?istahwada 9alaa (cf. 58/19) = malaka 'possess'
(iv) 9afwa bi (cf. 76/7) = ?angaza 'perform'
(v) 9aGara 9alaa (cf. 5/107) = 9arafa 'know'
(vi) gahada bi (cf. 11/59) = ?ankara 'deny'
(vii) kaddaba bi (cf. 25/11) = ?ankara 'deny'
(viii) qaama bi (cf. 70/33) = fa9ala/?addaa 'do'.

The question arises: Does the replaceability of these V-Ps by one-word verbs, which manifests their semantic unity, justify regarding as a single constituent on the level of syntax the V-P of V-P-N combinations i.e. regarding the constituency break of these combinations as V-P/-N? The answer is No, for the following reasons:

1. all the structural operations referred to in Chapters Five to Eleven indicate that the prepositional elements of these V-Ps as well as those of their counterparts, which are not replaceable by one-word verbs, e.g. taxfaa 9alaa 'hidden from' in (12), belong to the nominal elements of the combinations embracing them: they cannot be separated from them, constitute with them constituents with their unique syntactic behaviours, and always require something to govern.

(12) 1aa taxfaa 9ala 1laahi dunuubunaa (cf. 40/16)

Our sins are not hidden from Allah

And in this, they - the prepositional elements of V-P-N combinations - do not differ from those of V1-P-N combinations, whose V1-P elements are almost always irreplaceable by one-word verbs. To illustrate
this, consider, for instance, the P-N 9alaa 9aliyyin '9aliyy' in (11):

(a) it can precede the V- as in (13), and (14) where the -N 9aliyyin '9aliyy' is elicited by the interrogative pronoun man 'whom', which is governed by the P-'9alaa'.

(13) 9alaa 9aliyyin sawfa yaZfaru xaalid,  
It is 9aliyy that xaalid will defeat

(14) 9alaa man sawfa yaZfaru xaalid,  
Whom will xaalid defeat

(b) whereas the P-N 9alaa 9aliyyin '9aliyy' cannot be divided by any word, the V-P yaZfaru 9alaa 'defeat' can be divided by, for instance, a subject as in (11), or by a subject, an adjunct, and the particle '?illaa' as in (15).

(15) lan yaZfara xaalidun bisuhuulatin ?illaa 9alaa 9aliyy  
It is 9aliyy that xaalid will easily defeat

(c) when the -N 9aliyyin '9aliyy' is moved away from the combination embracing it, for it will function as topic as in (16) or as focal element in a pseudo-cleft construction as in (17), the P- '9alaa' must govern its resumptive pronoun.

(16) 9aliyyun sawfa yaZfaru xaalidun 9alayh  
9aliyy, xaalid will defeat him

(17) man sawfa yaZfaru xaalidun 9alayhi 9aliyy  
The one xaalid will defeat is 9aliyy

2. the verbal or the prepositional elements of some of the V-Ps that are replaceable by one-word verbs are commutable with other Vs and Ps; respectively, a fact which indicates clearly that these elements have independent syntactic status, i.e. do not constitute single constituents, e.g. the V-Ps ?istawlaa 9alaa 'possess' which is
replaceable by malaka 'possess', and rağiba fii 'like', which is replaceable by ʔahabba 'like': the verbal element of the first combination is commutable with ʔistahwađa 'possess', and the prepositional element of the second is commutable with '9an'. (Note that the V-P 'rağiba 9an', which results from this latter commutation means 'dislike'.

3. The criterion of the replaceability of V-P by a one-word verb is not inclusive (cf. Berkoff, p. 40, and Bolinger, 1971: 6). There are many V-Ps that are not replaceable by one-word verbs; yet, like the prepositional elements of the V-Ps replaceable by single transitive verbs, their prepositional elements constitute with the -Ns they govern PPs functioning as PO, e.g. yatawakkalu 9ala 'put (their) trust in' in (18), tagallaa li 'revealed (His) glory to' in (19), and (laa) tarkan(uu) ?ila '(do not) incline toward' in (20).

(18) yatawakkalu lmuʔiminuuna 9ala llaah (cf. 5/11)
Believers put (their) trust in Allah

(19) falammaa tagallaa rabbuhuu lilgabal (7/143)
And when his Lord revealed (His) glory to the mount

(20) wa laa tarkanuu ?ila 1ladiina Zalamuu (11/113)
And do not incline toward those who do wrong

If the replaceability of V-P by a single transitive verb does not mean that it is a single constituent, what does it then mean? It means that V-P forms one notion, has the same signification the single transitive has, i.e. that it and the single transitive verb replacing it are synonymous. Thus, the sentences whose main verbs are PVs are synonymous with those whose main verbs are able to replace them and the P-s they govern. For example, sentence (21) is synonymous with (22).
For the V-P qaama bi 'performed' in (21) is replaceable by ?addaa 'performed' in (22).

12.2.2 Other combinations replaceable by single transitive verbs

In addition to the V-P combinations replaceable by one-word verbs there are other combinations replaceable by the same type of verbs. The verbal and the prepositional elements of these latter combinations might be those of the V-P-N combinations or others. On the ground of whether they are both idiomatic and syntactically deficient these combinations can be grouped into (i) idiomatic combinations and (ii) metaphorical combinations.

12.2.2.1 Idiomatic combinations

Among these combinations is the combination V-P-N, where N is an annexion structure whose amplified and amplifying elements are respectively a body part and a pronoun referring back to a NP denoting the person to whom the body part belongs. Examples are the combinations yartaddu 9alaa ?adaaraihim 'run away' in (23), which is replaceable by yudbiru 'run away', nakaSa 9alaa 9aqibayhi 'ran away' in (24), which is replaceable by ?adbara 'ran away' and ?inqalaba 9alaa waghih 'fell back' in (25), which is replaceable by ?irtadda 'fell back'.

(23) yartaddu lgubanaa?u 9alaa ?adaaraihim

(cf. 5/21)

Cowards run away

(lit. Cowards turn on their backs)
(24) nakaSa lgundiyyu 9alaa 9aqibayh (cf. 8/48)
The soldier ran away
(lit. The soldier turned on his heels)

(25) ?inqalaba lmunaafiqu 9alaa waghih (cf. 22/11)
The dissembler fell back
(lit. The dissembler turned himself on his face)

V-P-N combinations such as those in (23 - 25) are both idiomatic and structurally deficient. Their idiomaticity is proved by the fact that their meanings are not deducible from the meanings of their parts and the grammatical relations among them (cf. Kooij, p. 122 and Bolinger, 1976: 9). As for their syntactic deficiency, it is indicated by the fact that their -N and P-N components lack the structural peculiarities their counterparts in non-idiomatic combinations have. Consider, for instance, the P-N 9ala 9aqibayh 'on his heels', and its -N element 9aqibayh 'his heels' in (24):

(i) unlike the P-N of a non-idiomatic V-P-N combination, the P-N 9ala 9aqibayh 'on his heels' cannot become focal when it occurs initially. Thus of the two translations of (26) only (a) is correct.

(26) 9ala 9aqibayhi nakaSa lgundiyyu
   a The soldier ran away
   (lit. The soldier turned on his heels)
   b It was on his heels that the soldier turned

(ii) in contradistinction to the N of a non-idiomatic V-P-N combination, the -N 9aqibayh 'his heels' cannot function as focal element in a pseudo-cleft construction, as the topic of an adjectival interrogative clause, or as topic; nor can it be elicited by an interrogative pronoun. Thus, (27 - 30) are ungrammatical, respectively.
(27) *maa nakaSa lgundiyyu 9alayhi 9aqibaah
It was his heels that the soldier turned on.

(28) *galaa ?ayyi 9aqibayni nakaSa lgundiyy
On what heels did the soldier turn?

(29) *9aqibaahu nakaSa lgundiyyu 9alayhimaa
His heels, the soldier turned on them.

(30) *9alaama nakaSa lgundiyy
On what did the soldier turn?

12.2.2.2 Metaphorical combinations

Among the metaphorical combinations replaceable by one-word verbs is the following one: DOT-PV + O + P, where O is a verbal or deverbal noun and P is a locational or directional preposition constituting with the NP it governs a PP functioning as LPO and DPO, respectively. This combination has a corresponding literal one not replaceable by a one-word verb. The only difference between the literal and the metaphorical combination is that whereas the O of the latter is abstract, as indicated above, that of the former is concrete. Examples of the metaphorical combinations are ?anza la ssakiinata 9alaa 'sent down tranquility on' in (31), which is replaceable by ?askana 'tranquilize', qadafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into' in (32), which is replaceable by ?a9aba 'terrified', and ?alqay(tu) mahabbata n ini hii 9alay '(I) cast love from me over' in (33), which is replaceable by ?ahbab(tu) '(I) loved'.

(31) ?anza la llaahu ssakiinata 9ala lmu?mini hii (cf. 48/18)
Allah sent down tranquility on the believers

(32) qada fa llaahu rru9ba fii quluubi lkaafii hii (cf. 59/2)
Allah cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers
Despite the fact that the metaphorical combinations in (31 - 33) are replaceable by one-word verbs, as indicated, their O components as well as the PPs consisting of their P components and the NPs they govern are syntactically analogous with their counterparts in the literal combinations, i.e. they are not structurally deficient, and do not constitute a single syntactic unit. Consider, for example, the metaphorical combination ?anzala ssakiinata 9alaa 'sent down tranquility on' in (31):

(i) the O component ssakiinata 'tranquility' and the prepositional complement of the prepositional component, i.e. lmu?miniin 'the believers', can function both as topic, and as focal element in a pseudo-cleft construction as in (34)a-b - (35)a-b, respectively.

(34)a ?assakiinatu ?anzalahu 9alaahu lmu?miniin
Tranquility, Allah sent it down on the believers
b ?almu?minuuna ?anzala 9alaahu ssakiinata 9alayhim
The believers, Allah sent down tranquility on them

(35)a maa ?anzalahu 9alaahu lmu?miniina ssakiinah
What Allah sent down on the believers was tranquility.
b man ?anzala 9alaahu ssakiinata 9alayhimu lmu?minuun
The ones Allah sent down tranquility on were the believers

(ii) both the O component and the prepositional complement can be elicited by an interrogative pro-form as in (36 - 37), respectively.

(36) ma lladii ?anzalahu 9alaahu lmu?miniin
What did Allah send down on the believers?

(37) 9alaah man ?anzala 9alaahu ssakiinah
On whom did Allah send down tranquility?
(iii) when the prepositional complement is elicited by an interrogative pro-form as in (37), the P component must govern the pro-form eliciting it, as in (37), too. This means that the P components in the metaphorical combinations are prepositions proper.

(iv) when they occur initially, both the O component and the PP consisting of the P component and the NP it governs can become focus as in (38 - 39), respectively.

(38) assakiinata anzala llaahu lmu?miniin
It was tranquility that Allah sent down on the believers

(39) ullaalu miniina anzala llaahu saakiinah
It was on the believers that Allah sent down tranquility

There is a further support for regarding as not constituting single constituents metaphorical combinations such as those of (31 - 33). This support has to do with the fact that the clause whose main verb is the DOT-PV component of one of these combinations is synonymous with that whose main verb is the one-word verb replacing the combination. For example (32), is synonymous with (40), whose main verb ?ar9aba 'terrified' is replacing its metaphorical combination qadafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into'.

(40) ?ar9aba ullaalu quluuba lkaafiriin
Allah terrified the hearts of the unbelievers

The synonymity between sentences such as (32) and (40) is accounted for on the level of semantics. Semantically the combination qadafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into' in (32) is a stereotype (cf. Bolinger, 1971: xii-xiii; p.121), i.e. has the signification of a single word, which is here ?ar9aba 'terrified': both of them mean 'cause somebody to be terrified'. As a result, ullaalu 'Allah and quluubi lkaafiriin 'the hearts of the unbelievers' in (32) assume the semantic roles they
assume in (40): they are external causer, and affected, respectively.

But that the combination qadafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into' is semantically stereotyped is based on the grammatical relations among their components, i.e. on the object-verb relation between rru9ba 'terror' and qadafa 'cast' and the PO-verb relation between fii quluubi lkaafiriin 'into the hearts of the unbelievers' and qadafa 'cast'.

It follows that though a metaphorical combination such as qadafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into' in (32) is semantically stereotyped, it does not constitute a single syntactic unit: its structural description is analogous with that of its literal combination qadafa lhagara fii 'cast the stone into' in (41).

(41) qadafa TTiflu lhagara fi lba'hr

The child cast the stone into the sea

Like qadafa 'cast' in (41), qadafa 'cast' in (32) is a DOT-PV, and like lhagara 'the stone' and fi lba'hr 'into the sea' in (41), their counterparts in (32), i.e. rru9ba 'terror' and fi quluubi lkaafiriin 'into the hearts of the unbelievers', function as object and PO, respectively.
Footnotes


2. For the use of the causative form of Zafara 9alaa 'defeat' i.e. ?aZfara (fulaanun) 9alaa 'cause (so and so) to defeat', see 48/24.

3. I know only of one example of a V₁-P combination that is replaceable by a single transitive verb, this is mašaa ma9a 'walked with' in the comitative V₁-P-N combination mašaa ma9a ?ahmad 'walked with ?ahmad' in (i): it is replaceable by raafaqaa 'accompanied', as in (ii).

(i) mašaa 9aliyyun ma9a ?ahmad
9aliyy walked with ?ahmad

(ii) raafaqaa 9aliyyun ?ahmad
9aliyy accompanied ?ahmad
Chapter Thirteen

The Commutability of Verbal and Prepositional Elements in Verb-Preposition-Noun Combinations: Some Previous Treatments

13.1 Poutsma

It is indicated (cf. above p. 124) that Poutsma is in favour of considering the constituency break in V-P-N combinations, the P-N of which functions as PO to be the same as the constituency break in V₁-P-N combinations, the P-N of which functions as adverbial adjunct.

According to Poutsma the following features are the features characterizing the P-N functioning as PO and distinguishing it from that functioning as adverbial object:

(i) the first feature, which is considered by him to be the 'most important of them' (Poutsma, II, ii, 31) is that it - the P-N functioning as PO - is 'a necessary complement of the verb' (loc. cit.).

(ii) the meaning of its P element is distinctly vague: it conveys 'little or none of the relations of place, time, cause, purpose, agency, instrumentality, etc., someone of which is always distinctly discernible in the preposition of adverbial adjunct' (ibid., p. 32).

(iii) its P element is 'intimately connected with, the governing verb 'so as to 'form a kind of unit with it' (ibid., p. 35).

Poutsma, however, discusses the possibility of regarding as a feature of the P-N functioning as PO the fact that its P element is either incommutable or commutable with a strictly limited number of Ps (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, pp. 35-6). For example, whereas the P element 'of' in 'to despair of (success)' (ibid., p. 35) and 'with' in 'tally with (fact)' (ibid., p. 36) are incommutable, the P element
'in' in 'to abound in (conveniences)' (loc. cit.) is commutable with 'with' in 'to abound with (discomforts)' (loc. cit.). According to Poutsma, this feature cannot be regarded as 'a test whereby to tell a prepositional object' (loc. cit.) for it is not confined to the prepositions in the P-Ns functioning as PO: 'In many cases the preposition in an adverbial adjunct is with equal strictness suggested by the verb with which it stands; thus in to arrive at (a town), to start for (a country), to repair to (one's home)' (loc. cit.).

Notes

(a) The commutability Poutsma indicated in the preceding paragraph is that which results in a P-N having the same function as the original one (ibid., p. 36). An example is, the commutability of 'in' in 'to abound in (conveniences)' with 'with' in 'to abound with (discomforts)': both the original P-N 'in conveniences' and the resultant one 'with discomforts' function as PO, as appears from the fact that they have all the features a PO has (cf. above p. 276). An example of the commutability which Poutsma excludes, on the other hand, is the commutability of 'on' in 'to speak on a subject' with 'with' in 'to speak with enthusiasm' (ibid., p. 36). While the resultant P-N 'with enthusiasm' is an adverbial adjunct: it is neither a 'necessary complement of the verb' 'speak' nor intimately connected with it so as to 'form a kind of unit' with it (cf. above p. 276 ), the original one 'on a subject' is a PO: it has all the features PO has (cf. above p. 276 ).

(b) The second note is that the pattern on which Poutsma operates the commutability test is V-P not V-P-N as appears from his consideration of 'with' in 'to speak with enthusiasm' as being commutable with 'on' in 'to speak on a subject'.
13.1.1 Discussion

It was indicated in (13.1) that Poutsma uses the criterion of P-commutability with other Ps to see whether it is possible to regard as a feature of the P-N functioning as PO the fact that its P element is either incommutable with other Ps or commutable with a strictly limited number of them. Poutsma's conclusion was that this fact cannot be considered among the features of the P-N functioning as PO. For it is not confined to the prepositions in the P-Ns functioning as PO: 'In many cases the preposition in an adverbial adjunct is with equal strictness suggested by the verb with which it stands' (Poutsma, II, ii, 36).

Behind this conclusion lies Poutsma's claim that just as there is co-occurrence restriction between the Vs and the Ps of V-P-N combinations, so, in many cases there is co-occurrence restriction between the V₁s and the Ps of the V₁-P-N combinations. As for the first part of this claim, it will be proved to be correct (cf. below 21.1 - 2). Concerning, on the other hand, the second part of the claim i.e. that in many cases there is a co-occurrence restriction between the Vs and the Ps of V₁-P-N combinations, Poutsma did not determine what these cases are. However, according to the examples he gives for such cases, they include the P-Ns, i.e. the PPs, that are regarded by him as occupying an intermediate position (ibid., p. 35) between the PPs functioning as PO and those functioning as adverbial adjunct. His examples, as indicated before, (p.277) are: 'to arrive at a town', 'to start for a country' and 'to repair to one's home' (ibid., p. 36).

It should be noted that in a grammar such as Vestergaard's
the phrases 'at a town', 'for a country' and 'to one's home' are bound adjuncts, verbal complements, (cf. Vestergaard, p. 16). For they occur in V-P-N combinations: sentence (1), for instance, which contains the V-P-N combination 'arrived at a [big] town, entails neither 'something happened at a [big] town' nor 'they did something at a big town' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 46).

(1) They arrived at a [big] town

Also, in a grammar such as mine, the P-Ns: ?ilaa madiinatin kabiirah 'at a big town', ?ilaa quTrin ?aaxar 'for another country' and ?ilaa manzilinaa 'to our home' in the V-P-N combinations (2 - 4), which are equivalent to Poutsma's, are POs the prepositional elements of which represent part of the categorial environments of the verbs associating with them (cf. below 21.2).

(2) waSal(tu) ?ilaa madiinatin kabiirah
(I) arrived at a big town

(3) ma$ay(tu) ?ilaa quTrin ?aaxar
(I) started for another country

(4) (sa)yadhabu (l?ixwatu) ?ilaa manzilinaa
(The brothers will) go to our home

I therefore agree with Poutsma that there is a co-occurrence restriction between the prepositions of the PPs he gives as examples of adverbial adjuncts and the verb with which they stand.

Consequently, in a grammar such as Poutsma's, it is not possible to rely on the criterion of P-commutability with other Ps for differentiating between the PPs- i.e. the P-Ns, functioning as PO and those functioning as adverbial adjunct. For according to
this grammar, there is a restriction on the number of the prepositions able to function as prepositional element in certain adverbial adjuncts (cf. above 13.1) similar to that on the number of the prepositions able to function as prepositional element in the PPs, i.e., the P-Ns, functioning as PO: the restriction on both cases is suggested by the verbs with which the prepositions stand (cf. Poutsma, II, ii, 36).

The question arises then: in the grammar presented in this thesis, which regards Poutsma's boundary cases of PPs as POs, is it possible to rely on the criterion of P-commutability with other Ps for differentiating between V-P-N combinations and $V_1$-P-N combinations? To answer this question, it is necessary to know whether there is a restriction on the number of prepositions able to function as prepositional element in the P-Ns functioning as adverbial adjunct, and if there is, what sort of restriction the restriction is: is it similar to or different from that having to do with the P elements of the P-Ns functioning as PO? As to the availability of cases where the P- is or is not commutable with other Ps, there is no difference between the P-Ns functioning as PO and those functioning as adjunct. The P-s in both of these types of P-Ns can or cannot be commutable with other Ps (cf. below 13.3.3; 22.2). It is not possible therefore to rely on whether P- is commutable with other Ps for distinguishing between V-P-N and $V_1$-P-N combinations. Concerning the factors determining whether in these combinations the P- is commutable with other Ps, there is however a difference between the P-Ns functioning as PO and those functioning as adjunct (cf. below pp.835-8) and on the basis of such a difference it is possible to distinguish between the two types of P-Ns.
Berkoff refers to neither of the two commutability criteria. He nevertheless relies on a criterion corresponding to the commutability of $P-$ with other $P$s for subclassifying the two main categories of prepositional verbs he recognizes:

(a) prepositional verbs with two complements the first of which is a NP and the second is a PP (cf. Berkoff, p. 83), e.g. 'suspect NP of', 'bore NP with' (ibid., p. 105), 'attribute NP to', 'devote NP to' (ibid., p. 115) 'entrust somebody with', 'entrust something to' (ibid., p. 119), etc.

(b) prepositional verbs with one complement, which is a PP, e.g. 'laugh at', 'long for', 'marvel at', 'dispose of', 'retire from', 'approve of' (ibid., pp. 83 - 4), etc.

According to Berkoff, on the basis of whether their verbal elements have 'obligatory co-occurrence with' (ibid., p. 115) the PPs consisting of their prepositional elements and the NPs they govern, these two categories of prepositional verbs can be subdivided into:

(i) prepositional verbs that have obligatory co-occurrence with the prepositional phrases with which they associate. Examples from prepositional verbs with two complements are 'attribute NP to', 'devote NP to', etc., and examples from prepositional verbs with one complement are 'long for', 'dispose of', etc.

Berkoff regards prepositional verbs such as these as 'fixed lexical units' (ibid., p. 114), and terms those belonging to the category of prepositional verbs with two complements 'discontinuous verbs' (ibid., p. 115) while considering those belonging to the
category of PVs with one complement to be combinations 'like fixed single lexical verbs' (ibid., p. 84).

It goes without saying that to regard as being obligatory the prepositional phrases consisting of the prepositional elements in type (i) of PVs and the NPs they govern means that these prepositional elements are incommutable with other prepositions.

(ii) prepositional verbs that have optional co-occurrence with the prepositional phrases with which they associate. Examples from PVs with two complements are 'suspect NP of' and 'bore NP with', etc. and examples from PVs with one complement are 'laugh at', retire from, etc.

I also see that the two commutability criteria have nothing to do with the way Berkoff recognizes the prepositional verb with two complements, which is his main concern in his thesis. According to him, this category of prepositional verbs can provisionally be defined as follows: It is a transitive verb 'followed by a noun phrase complement which in turn is followed by a second complement (a Prepositional Phrase) which need not be an adverbial of Time, Location or Direction' (ibid, p. 106). Consider, for instance, the following examples:

(5) They suspected Mary of the theft (ibid., 105).

(6) They suspected Mary for a long time (loc. cit.).

(7) They suspected Mary from the very beginning (loc. cit.).

(8) They discussed the problem for three hours.

According to this definition 'suspected' is a prepositional verb with two complements. For it is a transitive verb followed by a NP
complement which is followed by a PP complement which need not have one of the adverbial functions Berkoff mentions: in (5), it is not one of these adverbials, and in (6), it is an adverbial of time, and in (7), it is an adverbial of direction. 'discussed' on the other hand, is not a prepositional verb with two complements. For though it is a transitive verb followed by a NP complement followed by a PP (cf. (8)), the PP following it need be one of the adverbials Berkoff mentions or, in my view, one of others such as adverbial of manner, etc.

In fact, Berkoff here is using a sort of commutation different from the commutations related to the two commutability criteria used by Vestergaard, for instance, (cf. below 13.3). It is the commutability of the PP in the structure (9) with other PPs.

(9) V NP PP

Where PP is one of the three adverbials Berkoff mentions, say, an adverbial of time.

If the PP is commutable with only an adverbial of direction, or location, V, according to Berkoff, is not a prepositional verb with two complement. If, on the other hand, the PP is commutable with an adverbial of direction or location, or with a PP having none of these adverbial functions, V, according to Berkoff, is a prepositional verb with two complements.

13.3 Vestergaard

13.3.1 Formulation and condition

The two commutability criteria are among Vestergaard's V-P criteria, which, according to him, are related to the unitary status of V-P (cf. Vestergaard p.46), and assigned to "illustrate the
observation that in a prepositional verb 'The preposition is intimately connected with the verb so as to form a kind of unit with it'" (Vestergaard, p. 55). These criteria for V-P are one of the two subclasses of Vestergaard's structural criteria (ibid., p. 46), which he designs for recognizing the V-P that is a PV. The other subclass is his criteria for (P-)N, which are related 'to the adverbial/nominal status of (P-)N'.

Vestergaard, however, acknowledges that in some cases the distinction between the two subclasses of structural criteria 'is bound to be arbitrary' (ibid., p. 46), e.g. 'N. 16', which is one of his (P-)N criteria and has to do with the passivisation of the V-P-N cluster; i.e. the Verb-Preposition-Noun Combination, which includes both V-P-N and V$_1$-P-N combinations: 'it tells us both that N behaves as an object noun and that V-P behaves as a single transitive verb' (ibid., pp. 46-7). Therefore, it 'could be listed in either group' (ibid., p. 46).

The criterion of non-commutability of P or V with other Ps or Vs are given by Vestergaard number 'V. 4' and 'V.5', respectively, where V means one of the V-P criteria, and formulated as follows:

'V. 4. P not commutable with other P's' (Vestergaard, p. 57).

'V. 5. V not commutable with other V's' (loc. cit.).

The structural pattern on which Vestergaard operates his V. 4-5 and the condition he imposes on their applicability is as follows: 'the functional pattern of the resultant Sb-V-P-N $\underline{\text{must}}$ be identical with the original' (ibid., p. 57), i.e. the semantic roles of Sb and N in both the original and the resultant structure
must be the same. Thus, the commutability of 'the V and P of 'he looked after the children' (ibid., p. 58) with the V and P of 'he gazed/ran/arrived after the children' and 'he looked at/for/to/between the children' (loc. cit.), respectively, is, according to Vestergaard, not the commutability under discussion, i.e. not the commutability showing that the V-P combinations in question are highly cohesive PVs. For the functional pattern of the resultant Sb-V-P-N is not identical with that of the original Sb-V-P-N. Take, for instance, the resultant Sb-V-P-N structure 'he looked at the children' and 'he arrived after the children' where 'at' is commutable with 'after' and 'arrived' is commutable with 'looked' in the original Sb-V-P-N structure. Whereas, according to Vestergaard 'the N, 'the children', of the original Sb-V-P-N is objective (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 161-2), the N, 'the children', of the resultant structure is path (ibid., p. 134) and time (ibid., p. 72), respectively.

Vestergaard gives the following example as a typical one 'of a cluster failing to satisfy V. 4 - 5' (ibid., p. 58):

(10) two dogs were
    fighting
    eating
    sleeping
    barking

    in
    behind
    near
    outside
    the gateway

For like the N, 'the gateway' and the Sb, 'two dogs' in the original Sb-V-P-N 'two dogs were fighting in the gateway', the N, 'the gateway' and the Sb 'two dogs' in, for instance, the resultant Sb-V-P-N 'two dogs were eating near the gateway' are a free location (ibid., p. 95) and agentive (ibid., p. 37), respectively.

Examples of V-P combinations that are, on the other hand,
positive to both of the commutability criteria or to one of them are as follows:

(i) the objective V-P combination 'resulted in' in (11), which is positive to both V. 4 and V. 5 (ibid., p. 162): neither 'result' nor 'in' is commutable.

(11) The discussion resulted in an uproar (ibid., p. 162)

(ii) the objective V-P combination 'joined in' in (12), which is positive to (V. 4) but not to (V. 5): 'joined' is commutable with 'participated'/ 'shared'/'succeeded', etc. (cf. Vestergaard, p. 162).

(12) He joined in the discussion

(iii) the objective V-P combination 'came across' in (13), which is positive to (V. 5) but negative to (V. 4): 'across' is commutable with 'by' (ibid., p. 162).

(13) He came across an interesting specimen (ibid., p. 162).

13.3.2 Purpose and discussion

As is expected from the positive reaction to the members of, the V-P criteria, the positive reactions of a V-P to the two commutability criteria or to one of them mean, according to Vestergaard, that 'The preposition (i.e. P.) is intimately connected with the verb (i.e. V.) so as to form a kind of unit with it' (Vestergaard, p. 55; cf. also p. 46). Vestergaard, however, makes three statements about the two commutability criteria, each of which needs to be examined:

1. "I know of one locational cluster where P is incommutable, namely 'arrive at N' (recall that 'arrive in N' is free rather than bound locational ...., and thus does not meet the condition on the criterion (i.e. V. 4). The V element of this cluster is of course
commutable, 'land at N'. There also seems to be no more than one cluster satisfying V. 5 (incommutability of V), viz. 'belong to N': here, on the other hand, P is commutable: 'belong in N'. The two clusters 'arrive at N' and 'belong to N' thus seem to be the only bound locational clusters in which the cohesion between V and P is close enough for them to be included in the class of 'prepositional verbs'" (ibid., p. 133).

It appears from the underlined part of this quotation that Vestergaard makes it a necessary condition for a V-P to be a PV that it reacts positively to at least one of the commutability criteria. This, however, contradicts explicitly his consideration of a very great number of V-P combinations to be PVs though they react negatively to the two commutability criteria, i.e. though their V and P are commutable with other Vs and Ps. Examples are: 'remained in' and 'stay in' in the bound locational clusters 'remained in Germany' and 'stayed in the basement' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 132 and p. 133, respectively), and 'speak about' and 'ring for' in the phenomenon clusters 'speak about something' and 'ring for something' (ibid., p. 168). Consider, for instance, the V-P combination 'remained in' in sentence (14).

(14) A skeleton force remained in Germany (ibid., p. 125)

'remained in' is regarded by Vestergaard as a PV for (i) The N governed by its prepositional element is a true participant (ibid., p. 29): the sentence in which it - the V-P combination 'remained in' - is the main verb entails neither that 'a skeleton force did something in Germany' (ibid., p. 125) nor that 'something happened in Germany' (loc. cit.; cf. also p. 46). (ii) the P-N combination 'in Germany',
which consists of the prepositional element of the V-P 'remained in' and the noun it governs, and functions as bound location, cannot occur outside the scope of a 'happen what pro-form', unless a representative of it such as 'there' is repeated in the identifying element (ibid., p. 132). Thus, (15), with 'in Germany' occurring outside the scope of the 'happen what pro-form' without a representative of it being repeated in the identifying element, is ungrammatical.

(15) *What happened in Germany was that a skeleton force remained

The verbal and the nominal element of 'remained in' are however commutable with other Vs and Ps.

2. The second statement Vestergaard makes about the commutability criteria is as follows: 'Of the criteria used in this study, the two commutability criteria provide the only test for the claim that V-P make up a semantic unit' (ibid., p. 57). This is true, for the semantic significance of a component depends on its ability to be commuted with another or others. For example, what substantiates the individuality of the components of each phrasal verb in the contrastive substitutions (16) (cf. Quirk, et al., p. 812) is that they are replaceable by others.

(16) bring } in
   take } out

If, therefore, both V and P are not commutable with others, they will be regarded as forming a semantic unit, e.g. the V-P combinations 'look after', 'makes for' and 'resulted in' in the following objective clusters: '(will you) look after the house', '(the sentimentality) makes for a cloying book' and '(the discussion) resulted in an uproar' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 162).
3. The third and the final statement Vestergaard makes about the commutability criteria is that 'It turns out that the intuitions about the V-P cohesion referred to in the preceding paragraphs stem from the reactions to these criteria' (Vestergaard, p. 157), i.e. the commutability criteria. To know what Vestergaard means by this statement we need to know what are the intuitions about the V-P cohesion Vestergaard referred to in the preceding paragraphs. The intuitions Vestergaard was referring to are those indicated by the positive reactions to his (V. 1 - 2), criteria, which he formulates as follows:

'V. 1. V-P-N ≠ nom V-be + Tns - P-N' (ibid., p. 55), e.g. (17).

(17) a. Turner's voice barely rose above a murmur
   b. *The rise of Turner's voice was barely above
       a murmur (ibid., p. 56)

This criterion means that for V-P to be a PV, the intensive clause the subject of which is the nominalization of V and the complement is P-N must be ungrammatical.

'V. 2. Sb-V-P-N ≠ pro [(Sb-)V] - be + Tns - P-N' (ibid., p. 56), e.g. (18).

(18) a. He set about a task
   b. *If he set, it was about a task (ibid., p. 161).

This criterion can be read as follows: for VP to be a PV the intensive clause the subject of which is the pro-form substituting for (Sb- i.e. the subject and) V, and the predicate is P-N, must be ungrammatical. On the basis of their reactions to (V. 1 - 2) Vestergaard subdivided the equative V-P combinations into:

(i) those that are positive to both (V. 1 - 2), and they are
regarded by him as being more cohesive, e.g. 'differ from, consist in/of, amount to, and correspond to' (ibid., p. 156).

(ii) Those that react negatively to (V. 2) but positively to (V. 1), e.g. 'rise above', 'develop into', 'stand as' and 'change into' (ibid., p. 156). This type is considered by Vestergaard to be less cohesive.

Vestergaard's third statement can then be paraphrased as follows: It turns out that the intuitions about the cohesion of V-P combinations such as those in type (i) and (ii), i.e. that the fact that those in (i) react positively to (V. 1 - 2) and those in (ii) are negative to (V. 2) but positive to (V. 1), stem from their reactions to the two commutability criteria.

Vestergaard, however, does not explain how the reactions of the V-P combinations mentioned in type (i) and (ii) stem from their reactions to the commutability criteria. Relying nevertheless on what he says regarding the reactions of these V-P combinations to the commutability criteria, I see that the cohesion of the V-P combinations mentioned in (i) and (ii) which depends, as indicated, on their reactions to (V. 1 - 2), correspond only partially to their reactions to the two commutability criteria. Firstly, the V-P combinations 'differ from and consist in/of', which are regarded as being highly cohesive because of their positive reactions to (V. 1 - 2), react positively to the two commutability criteria as well (ibid., p. 157): their V and P elements are incommutable with other Vs and Ps. Their counterparts 'amount to' and 'correspond to' however react positively to V. 4: their P elements are incommutable with other Ps, but negatively to V. 5: their V elements are commutable
with other Vs (ibid., p. 157). Secondly, the V-P combination 'stand as', which is regarded by Vestergaard as being less cohesive because it reacts negatively to (v. 2) but positively to (V. 1), reacts negatively also to one of the two commutability criteria, i.e. (V. 5) but positively to the other, i.e. (V. 4); yet its counterparts 'develop/change into', react negatively to the two commutability criteria (ibid., p. 157).

This partial correspondence between the reactions of V-P-N combinations to the two commutability criteria and their reactions to (V. 1 - 2) (cf. above pp. 289-90) indicates the general nature of Vestergaard's third statement. In fact, according to what he says regarding the reactions of V-P-N combinations to these criteria, there is only correspondence between the positive reactions of V-P combinations to both of the commutability criteria, and their overall positive reactions to the following criteria, which Vestergaard regards as having to do with the V-P being a cohesive PV (ibid., p. 50; p. 55):

'V. 1 (cf. above p. 289).

'V. 2 (cf. above p. 289).

'N. 7. b. S-P-N = Nrel-S-P' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 49).

where 'Nrel' means 'relative pronoun with N as an antecedent', and 'S' sentence minus the P-N under investigation, and with the V of the V-P-N in question as a main verb (cf. Vestergaard, list of symbols and abbreviation), e.g. (19).

(19) a. We comment on the aspects of efficiency in these chapters

b. The aspects of efficiency that we comment on in these chapters (ibid., p. 49)
This criterion indicates that for a V-P to be a highly cohesive PV, N 'alone must be replaceable by a relative pronoun' (ibid., p. 49; cf. also, p. 50), and P must occupy the post-verbal position.

V. 3. Sb-V-P-N = Sb-V-P- &-Vtr-N

where Sb is subject (cf. Vestergaard, list of symbols and abbreviation) e.g. (20)

(20) a. The deep structure representation corresponds to but does not equal what goes on in the speaker's mind (ibid., p. 156)

b. He interviewed and chose between two candidates (ibid., p. 162)

This criterion indicates that for a V-P to be a highly cohesive PV, it 'must be able to coordinate with a transitive verb so that they share an object N which has the same function [i.e. case] in relation to both' (ibid., p. 56).

V. 6. Sb-(Adv-)V-P-N = Det-(Adv-)V + en-P-N' (ibid., p. 58), e.g. (21)

(21) a. The problem has been looked at by several scholars

b. A frequently looked at problem (ibid., p.167)

This criterion indicates that for a V-P to be a highly cohesive PV, it must be able to be adjectivised (ibid., p. 58).

V. 7 V-P-N ≠ V-X-P-N' (ibid., p. 59), e.g. (22)

(22) a. He went for me furiously

b. *He went furiously for me (ibid., p. 59).
This criterion indicates that for a V-P to be a highly cohesive PV, it must not allow divisibility by anything other than 'an intensifier or a premodifier of P' (ibid., p. 59).

'N. 8 S-P-N = what-S-P-be + Tns - N' (ibid., p. 50) e.g. (23).

(23) a. He shot at our windows
b. What he shot at was our windows (cf. Vestergaard, p. 160)

This criterion indicates that for a V-P to be a highly cohesive PV, 'N alone must be able to be the topic of a pseudocleft construction with the pronoun 'what' as the identified element' (Vestergaard, p. 50).

'N. 10.b. S-P-N = wh-Aux + Tns-S-P (ibid., p. 50), e.g. (24).

(24) a. He is escaping from a life sentence
b. What is he escaping from? (ibid., p. 139)

This criterion points out that for a V-P to be a highly cohesive PV, N must be able to 'be elicited by an interrogative pronoun' (ibid., p. 50) with P in end position.

Consider for instance, the objective V-P combinations: 'set about' and 'fight over' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 162). Whereas 'set about' reacts positively to the two commutability criteria (ibid., p. 162), 'fight over' reacts negatively to them (ibid., p. 162). Therefore, the number of the positive reactions of 'set about' to the aforementioned criteria (cf. above pp. 291-2) is higher than the number of the positive reactions of 'fight over' to the same criteria: 'set about' react positively to (V. 1-2) (ibid., p. 161), (V. 3) (ibid., p. 162), (V. 7) (ibid., p. 163), (N. 7b) (ibid., p. 163), (N. 8) (ibid., p. 160), and (N. 10.b) (ibid., p. 164), but negatively only to (V. 6) (ibid., p. 161). 'fight over', on the
other hand, reacts positively to (V. 3) (ibid., p. 162), (N. 7.b) (ibid., p. 163), and (N. 8) (ibid., p. 160), but negatively to (V. 1 - 2) (ibid., p. 161), (V. 6) (ibid., p. 162) and (V. 7) (ibid., p. 162). Also though 'fight over' reacts positively to (N. 10.b), i.e. its P element remains in the post-verbal position in the interrogative clause, it, unlike 'set about', reacts positively to (N. 10.a.), too (cf. Vestergaard, p. 50; pp. 163-4), i.e. its P element is shifted to the initial position in the interrogative clause, as well, a reaction which has nothing to do with V-P cohesion.

In Arabic, there is of course cases of V-P-N combinations the V-Ps of which react positively or negatively to the two commutability criteria or to one of them. And this is the case whether the commutability criteria are applied according to Vestergaard's way or to the way presented in (pp. 835-6).

It is not possible however to look for a similar correlation between the reaction of the V-P combination to the two commutability criteria and its reaction to other criteria having to do with the V-P behaving structurally as a single constituent i.e. as a single transitive verb. For there are no such criteria: in Arabic, as indicated in (4.2), the constituency break in V-P-N combinations is similar to that in V_1-P-N combinations: they are V-/P-N and V_1-/P-N, respectively. Thus these classes of combinations are to be distinguished from one another not on the basis of whether the P-N is a single constituent but on the basis of whether it is a PO or not (cf. below Chapter Twenty Two).
13.3.3 Further discussion

It was indicated in (p. 288) that Vestergaard considers that the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination in English to the two commutability criteria or to one of them indicates that the P is intimately connected with the V so as to form a kind of unit with it, a cohesive FV. Also, it was pointed out in (p. 291) that the V-Ps of the V-P-N combinations reacting positively to the two commutability criteria react positively to almost all the criteria regarded by Vestergaard as being concerned with the degree of V-P cohesion (cf. above pp. 291-3).

The last statement was ascertained (cf. above pp. 291-4), but this does not amount to saying that the positive reaction of the V-P to the two commutability criteria is an indication of it being a single constituent, a cohesive VP. In fact, for the following reasons, I do not agree with Vestergaard in regarding the two commutability criteria as related to the V-P being a single constituent:

1. In contradistinction to the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to a criterion such as the co-ordination of the V-P with a single transitive verb or vice versa (Vestergaard's 'IV. 31, cf. Vestergaard, p. 56) or to the criterion concerned with the N's ability to function as subject in a passive construction (Vestergaard's 'N. 16'; ibid., pp. 53-4), for instance, the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to the two commutability criteria or to one of them does not result in new structures showing the behaviour of the V-P as a single constituent. What in fact the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to (V. 4) alone (i.e. non-commutability of P with other Ps) means is that the P is the only
preposition able to associate with the V or any other verbs with which it is commutable, and what the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to only (V. 5) (i.e. non-commutability of V with other Vs) indicates is that the V is the only verb able to occur with the P or any other prepositions with which it is commutable. And, finally, what the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to both (V. 4 - 5) points out is that the V is the only verb able to govern the P and the P is the only preposition able to associate with the V.

Let us formulate this (i.e. the general explanation of what the negative or the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to the two commutability criteria or to one of them means) in terms of the way Vestergaard applies these criteria. As indicated before (13.3.1) Vestergaard applies the two commutability criteria on the structure 'Sb-V-P-N' and imposes on this application the following condition: 'the functional pattern of the resultant Sb-V-P-N is identical with the original' (ibid., p. 57). He also applies these criteria only to the Sb-V-P-N structure in which the N is a marginal participant (ibid., pp. 38 - 42), e.g. location, path, purpose, dative, interlocutor, equative, phenomenon or objective, or a central participant (ibid., pp. 36 - 7), e.g. external causer, agentive, experiencer or affected: he does not apply them to the Sb-V-P-N structure in which the N is, for instance, an abstract circumstantial (ibid., pp. 30 - 32), e.g. time, frequency, duration, reason, epithet, manner or measurement. I will therefore explain what the negative and positive reaction to the commutability criteria or to one of them means only in relation to the Sb-V-P-N structures in which the Ns are participants. Secondly, I will stick to the system of participants recognized by Vestergaard for
two reasons: (i) the formulation of what the reaction of a V-P-N combination to the two commutability criteria or to one of them implies is a formulation according to the way Vestergaard applies them. (ii) changing the system to which the participant roles assumed by the Sb's and the N's belong will not affect the implication noticed below (cf. a - d) of the positive or the negative reaction of the Sb-V-P-N structure to the two commutability criteria or to one of them: it might bring about only different results. For example, the V or the P which is not commutable with other Vs or Ps in a participant system, might be commutable with other Vs or Ps in another.

Consider then the Arabic and English V-P-N combinations in (25 - 33), the Ns of which are participants.

(25) bağıat ?ihda TTaa?iifatayni 9ala l?uxraa (cf. 49/9)
One of the two parties oppressed the other

(26) kabura 9elayka ?i9raaDuhum (cf. 6/35)
Their spurning was intolerable to you

(27) The idea occurred to me (cf. Vestergaard, p. 188)

(28) We came across an interesting specimen (ibid., p. 163)

(29) Ill-health tells against his prospects (ibid., p. 191)

(30) We set about our task (ibid., p. 162)

(31) Seafood does not agree with him (ibid., p. 188)

(32) ?istama9tu ?ilaa 9aliyy
I listened to 9aliyy

(33) The group changed into a national movement (ibid., p. 157)

The structural and functional patterns of sentences (25 - 33) as well as the reaction of the V-P-N combinations they contain to the
commutability criteria and its implication can be summed up as follows:

a. the structural and functional patterns of (25 - 27) (which are repeated below as (34)a - (36)a, respectively) are (34)b - (36)b, respectively.

(34)  
a. bağat ?ihda TTaa?ifatayni 9ala 1?uxraa  
One of the two parties oppressed the other  
b. bağat ?ihda TTaa?ifatayni 9ala 1?uxraa  
'oppre- 'one 'the two  'the other'  ssed' of' parties'  
V Sb P N  
agentive affected

(35)  
a. kabura 9alayka ?i9raaDuhum  
Their spurning was intolerable to you  
b. kabura 9alay ka ?i9raaDuhum  
'was 'to' 'you' 'their spurning' intolerable'  
V P N Sb  
experiencer phenomenon

(36)  
a. The idea occurred to me  
b. The idea occurred to me  
Sb V P N  
phenomenon experiencer

Whereas the Ps in (34b - 36b) are incommutable with other prepositions, the Vs are commutable with other verbs:

bağat 'oppressed' in (34b) is commutable with ?i9tadat 'attacked' (cf. 2/194), hagamat 'attacked' and tasallaTat(3) 'over-
powered', kabura 'was intolerable' in (35b) is commutable with $aqqa 'was unbearable' and haana 'was of little importance', and, finally, 'occurred' in (36b) is commutable with 'appealed' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 189).

The commutability of the Ps '9ala', '9alay' and 'to' in (34b-36b) with no other prepositions does not mean that the V-Ps are single constituents, cohesive PVs. It means rather that '9ala ', '9alay' and 'to' are the only prepositions able to govern the prepositionally realized participant associating with the original Vs and the verbs able to replace them:

(i) ba'at 'oppressed' in (34)b, ?i9tadat 'attacked' hagamat 'attacked' and tasallatTat 'overpowered' occur in (37) and have the affected participant accompanying them prepositionally realized and governed only by 9alaa.

(37) \[---- + agentive, + affected\]

(ii) kabura 'was intolerable' in (35)b, $aqqa 'was unbearable' and haana 'was of little importance' occur in (38) and have the experiencer participant with which they associate prepositionally realized and governed only by 9alaa 'to' or 'for'.

(38) \[---- + experiencer, + phenomenon\]

(iii) 'occurred' in (36)b and 'appealed' occur in (39) and have their experiencer participant prepositionally realized and governed only by 'to'.

(39) \[---- + phenomenon, + experiencer\]

b. The structural and functional patterns of (28 - 29) (repeated below as (40)a and (41)a, respectively) are (40)b and (41)b, respectively.
(40) a. We came across an interesting specimen
   b. We came across an interesting specimen

   Sb       V       P       N
   experiencer    objective

(41) a. Ill-health tells against his prospects
   b. Ill-health tells against his prospects

   Sb       V       P       N
   objective       affected

   (cf. Vestergaard, (ibid., p. 191)
   p. 191)

While the Vs in (40)b - (41)b are incommutable with other Vs, the Ps are commutable with other prepositions (ibid., p. 162 and pp. 192 - 3, respectively): 'across' in (40)b is commutable with 'by', and 'against' in (41)b is commutable with 'on'. Such a reaction to the two commutability criteria does not mean that 'came across/by' or 'tell against/on' is a single constituent, a cohesive PV but rather that (i) 'came' is the only verb that both occurs in (42) and has the objective participant with which it associates prepositionally realized and governed by either 'across' or 'by', and (ii) 'tell' is the only verb that both occurs in (43) and has the affected participant with which it associates prepositionally realized and governed by either 'against' or 'on'.

(42) [—— + experiencer, + objective]

(43) [—— + objective, + affected]

c. The structural and functional patterns of (30 - 31) (repeated below as (44)a and (45)a, respectively) are (44)b - (45)b respectively.
(44) a. We set about our task
   b. We set about our task
   \[\text{Sb V P N}\]
   agentive objective
   (cf. Vestergaard, p. 162)

(45) a. Seafood does not agree with him
   b. Seafood does not agree with him
   \[\text{Sb V P N}\]
   phenomenon experiencer
   (ibid., p. 186) (ibid., p. 186; p. 188)

Neither the Vs. nor the Ps in (44)b - (45)b are commutable with other verbs or prepositions, respectively. This, however, does not mean that the V-Ps 'set about' in (44)b., and 'agree with' in (45)b are single constituents, cohesive PVs. It rather means (i) that 'set' is the only verb that both occurs in (46) and has the objective participant with which it co-occurs prepositionally realized and governed only by 'about', and (ii) that 'agree' is the only verb that both occurs in (47) and has the experiencer participant with which it associates prepositionally realized and governed only by 'with'.

\[
\begin{align*}
(46) & [\text{--- + agentive, + objective}] \\
(47) & [\text{--- + phenomenon, + experiencer}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

d. Finally, the structural and functional patterns of (32 - 33) (repeated below as (48)a and (49)a respectively) are (48)b - (49)b, respectively.

(48) a. ?istama9tu ?ilaa 9aliyy
    I listened to 9aliyy
b. ?istama9 tu ?ilaa 9aliyy

'listened' 'I' 'to' '9aliyy'

V    Sb    P    N

agentive interlocutor

(49) a. The group changed into a national movement

b. The group changed into a national movement

Sb    V    P    N

affected equative

(cf. Vestergaard, (ibid., p. 157) p. 37)

Both the V-s and the Ps in (48)b - (49)b are commutable with other verbs and prepositions, respectively: in (48)b ?istama9 'listened' is commutable with ?aSjay 'listen', and ?ilaa 'to' is commutable with li 'to'; and in (49)b 'changed' is commutable with 'developed' and 'expanded' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 157), and 'into' is commutable with 'to/towards' (loc. cit.). Such a reaction has nothing to do with the V-Ps being or not being single constituents. It rather tells that both the original verbs and the verbs replacing them occur in an identical case frame and have one of the participants with which they co-occur prepositionally realized and governed by one of a group of prepositions.

2. The second reason for not agreeing with Vestergaard on regarding the two commutability criteria as related to the V-P being a single constituent is as follows. According to Vestergaard, (cf. Vestergaard, p. 73; table 5.1 in p. 73 and table 6.1 in p. 94 where the two commutability criteria are left out), it is out of the question to consider the V-Ps in the following V-P-N combinations (whose P-Ns are
not POs) to be Vs, i.e. to be single constituents behaving 'as single transitive verbs' (ibid., p. 47).

(i) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is a time adjunct.
(ii) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is a duration adjunct.
(iii) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is a frequency adjunct
(iv) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is a reason adjunct
(v) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is an epithet adjunct
(vi) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is a manner adjunct
(vii) the V-P-N combinations the P-N of which is a measure adjunct

There are nevertheless examples of such V-P-N combinations where the P is incommutable with other Ps; thus the V-P ought to be considered a single constituent. These are the English and Arabic V-P-N combinations in (50 - 56).

(50) He appeared on the appointed day (cf. Vestergaard, p. 72)
(51) He derives on rare occasions (ibid., p. 78)
(52) He danced with the whip (ibid., p. 93)
(53) ?aktubu bigalamin gadiid(4)
  I write with a new pen
(54) sayaxrugu maahirun 9alaq ?an taShabah(5)
  maahir will go out provided you accompany him
(55) yattagiru rragulu bi?amaanah(6)
  The man trades honestly
(56) haagarat su9aadu ma9a zawyihaa(7)
  su9aad emigrated with her husband
The question arises therefore, if, as pointed out by Vestergaard, the commutability of the P with no other prepositions means that the V-P is a single constituent, why does not it mean the same with reference to V-P-N (i.e. verb-preposition-noun) combinations such as those in (50 - 56)? Vestergaard does not even raise such a question. The implication of the incommutability of the Ps of the V-P-N combinations in (50 - 56) with other Ps is however clear: it is that the (in)commutability of P with other Ps has to do with things other than the V-P being a single constituent. For no-one assumes that the V-P of any of the V-P-N combinations in (50 - 56) is a single constituent. In fact V-P-N combinations (i.e. verb-preposition-noun combinations) such as those in (50 - 56) raise another question, which Vestergaard also does not broach. This question is: What are the factors of determining whether or not the P is commutable with other Ps? The answer of this question is part of the subject matter of Chapter Twenty Two.
Footnotes

1. In the grammar of the present work, both 'for a long time' in (6) and 'from the very beginning' in (7) are duration adjuncts (cf. below 15.3).

2. See also Chomsky, 1965: 190, where he gives the following contrastive substitutions: I brought the book (in, out, up, down) to show that the particles 'in', 'out', etc. are 'fairly free "Adverbial" element[s].'

3. For sallaT 'make overpower', see 4/90.

4. See 26/63, for the realization of the P of the P-N functioning as Instrument adjunct by bi 'with'.

5. See 28/27, for the realization of the P of the P-N functioning as Conditional adjunct by galaa 'on condition (that)'.

6. For the realization of the P of the P-N functioning as Manner adjunct by 'bi', see 16/125.

7. For ma9a 'with' realizing the P of the P-N functioning as Comitative adjunct, see 34/10.
14.1 Abstract Concerning the Restrictions Related to Verb-Preposition-Noun Combinations

The following points are indicated in Chapter Thirteen:

1. That neither the negative nor the positive reaction of a verb-preposition-noun combination to one or both of the two Commutability criteria indicates that the verbal and the prepositional elements of this combination represent a single constituent (cf. 13.3.3).

2. That the factors determining the commutability of the prepositional elements of $V_1$-P-N combinations, i.e. the verb-preposition-noun combinations the P-N of which functions as adjunct, differ from those determining the commutability of the prepositional elements of V-P-N combinations, i.e. the verb-preposition-noun combinations the P-N of which functions as PO; and, therefore, it is possible to rely on this difference for distinguishing between the two types of P-Ns and, hence, between $V_1$-P-N and V-P-N combinations (cf. above 13.1.1).

In (13.3.3) I have discussed in detail the implications and the significance of the negative and the positive reaction of a V-P-N combination to one or both of the commutability criteria, when they are applied following Vestergaard's method, i.e. on the structure: $Sb (=\text{subject})$-$V$-P-N provided that 'the functional pattern of the resultant $Sb$-$V$-P-N is identical with the original' (Vestergaard, p. 57), i.e. provided the semantic roles of the
resultant Sb and N are identical with the original ones.

Neither in this section however nor in anywhere else did I say anything concerning the implication or the significance of the positive and the negative reaction of a V-P-N/V₁-P-N combination to the two commutability criteria or to one of them, when they apply on a structural pattern, i.e. on a pattern indicating the function of the P-N and including the subject of V-/V₁ (cf. below 22.2 ). Nor did I say anything concerning the factors determining the commutability of the verbal and the prepositional elements of verb-preposition-noun combinations (= both V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations), when the two commutability criteria are applied on a structural pattern.

As will be indicated, (cf. below pp. 835-8), these factors are related to the co-occurrence restrictions and dependencies having to do with verb-preposition-noun combinations. I will therefore try to account for the co-occurrence restrictions related to verb-preposition-noun combination (i.e. V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations) in Chapters Fifteen, Sixteen, Seventeen and Eighteen, and in 19.2.3). Since, however, the restrictions related to V₁-P-N combinations depend for example on the function of the P-N, i.e. on whether the P-N is a manner adjunct, an instrument adjunct or ... etc., the aforementioned Chapters and Section 19.2.3.2 will include also examples of other combinations with a prepositionally realized adjunct, e.g. the combination yulaa9ibu ?abnaa?ahuu fi lhadiiqah 'plays with his sons in the garden' in (1), whose verbal element is not a DOT-PV (cf. above 3.2).

(1) yulaa9ibu xaalidun ?abnaa?ahuu fi lhadiiqah
xaalid plays with his sons in the garden

Moreover the restriction between the nominal and the prepositional element of some V-P-N combinations, i.e. those whose P-N functions as LPO, e.g. waqa9a fi nnahr/9ala l?arD 'fell into the river/to the floor' in (2), is the same as that between the P- and the -N element of other combinations whose P-N has the same function, e.g. waDa9a l kitaaba 9ala l?arD 'placed the book on the floor' in (3) and waDa9a l kitaaba fi ddurg 'put the book in the drawer' in (4); Section (21.2) will therefore include examples of combinations other than V-P-N ones.

(2) waqa9a l kitaabu fi nnahr/9ala l?arD
The book fell into the river/to the floor

(3) waDa9a 9aliyyuni l kitaaba 9ala l?arD
9aliyy placed the book on the floor

(4) waDa9a 9aliyyuni l kitaaba fi ddurg
9aliyy put the book in the drawer

As for the restrictions related to the V-P-N combinations whose P-N functions as a non-adverbial PO, they have nothing to do with the restrictions related to other combinations with a P-N functioning as non-adverbial PO. For example, the restrictions related to the V-P-N combination badaa llii 'appeared to me' in (5) have nothing to do with those related to the combination Sa99aba lmas?alata 9alaa Sadiiqih 'made the problem hard for his friend' in (6), whose verbal element is a DOT-PV.

(5) badaa llii ?annahuu Sadiiq
It appeared to me that he was a friend
(6) Sa99aba xaaliduni lmas?alata 9alaa Sadiiqih
xaalid made the problem hard for his friend

Even in a case such as that presented by the V-P-N combinations badaa lii 'appeared to me' in (5) and ?ittaDaha lixaalidin 'became clear to xaalid' in (7), where the verbs in both combinations are constrained by identical features and categories (: both may have a sentential or non-sentential subject, and require a non-adverbial PO with 'li' as a prepositional element, and a nominal element having the same features), the restrictions related to the former combination have nothing to do with those related to the latter one.

(7) ?ittaDaha lixaalidin ?anna rragula 9aduwwuh
It became clear to xaalid that the man was his enemy

For this similarity is not explainable in general terms: there are verbs which, though verbs of appearance (cf. above 10.1 ), like badaa 'appeared' in (5) and ?ittaDaha 'became clear' in (7), are constrained differently, e.g. ya9izzu 'is hard' in (8): it requires a non-adverbial PO with 9alaa 'for' not li 'to' as a prepositional element.

(8) ya9izzu 9alayhaa ?an tatrukah
It is hard for her to leave him

Therefore, with reference to accommodating the restriction related to combinations with non-adverbial PO, I will confine myself to V-P-N combinations.

In Chapters Twenty and Twenty One, I will try to show how a Transformational-Generative Grammar can account for the restrictions related to verb-preposition-noun combinations.

The last point in this abstract is related to the structural
pattern on which the two Commutability criteria will apply and to
the signification and the implication of the positive and the
negative reactions of verb-preposition-noun combinations to these
criteria or to one of them. This point will be referred to in
Chapter Twenty Two, while indicating that $V_1$-P-N and V-P-N
combinations differ from one another as to the factors determining
the commutability of their verbal and prepositional elements, and
that this difference can be used for distinguishing between their
P-N and their verbal elements.

14.2 Stative and Non-Stative Verbs

Frequent reference to the Stative and non-Stative classes of
verbs, as well as to the sub-classes of the latter will be made
almost throughout the remaining chapters. Therefore, it is both
profitable and necessary to define both Stative and non-Stative verbs
as well as the sub-classes of the latter.

14.2.1 Non-Stative verbs

Non-Stative verbs have the following characteristics:

1. The nominalizations of the verb phrases of which they
are main verbs may be able to occur at the blank position in (9),
where fa9ala 'did' is just a form deriving from fa9al 'do'.

   (9) maa fa9ala X ________

   What X did was ________

2. The nominalizations of the clauses of which they are main
verbs are able to occur at the blank position in (10), where $hada9a$
'hapened' is just a form deriving from $hada9$ 'to happen'.

   (10) maa $hada9a ________

   What happened was ________
3. They occur either (a) in answer to questions of type (11) and
(12) (where fa\textit{gala}'did' and had\textit{a}'happened' are forms deriving from
fa\textit{gala} 'do' and had\textit{a}'to happen' respectively) or (b) in answer to
question of type (12) only. (Concerning (11), see Lyons, 1968: 325;
Halliday, III, 198; Danes, p. 57).

(11) ma\textit{adaa fa\textit{gala} X
What did X do?

(12) ma\textit{adaa had\textit{a}
What happened?

4. When they replace ?al\textit{muDaar19 form in the combination
ka\textit{ana yaf\textit{gala} 'was doing/used to do' (or the like), they may
express progressivity (cf. Lyons, 1968: 325; Nilsen, p. 132,
Vestergaard, pp. 16-17 and Comrie, pp. 35-6).

On the basis of whether they have the characteristics of
(1 - 3) or some of them, and whether or not they may express
progressivity when they replace ?al\textit{muDaar19 form in the structure
ka\textit{ana yaf\textit{gala} 'was doing/used to do' (or the like), non-\textit{Stative}
verbs are grouped into the following categories:

(a) Verbs of doing, which have the characteristics of (1 - 2),
and (3a), and may express progressivity when they replace ?al\textit{muDaar19
form in ka\textit{ana yaf\textit{gala} (or the like), e.g. t\textit{ahaagg 'dispute with one
another' (cf. 40/47), baddala (\textit{gay}aa) 'change (something)'
(cf. 50/29), ?\textit{ISTara\textit{a} 'cry' (cf. 35/37), k\textit{allama(h) 'speak to (him)'
(cf. 7/143), 9add\textit{aba(h) 'chastise (him) (cf. 3/56), ?\textit{istanSara(h)
'ask (him) for assistance' (cf. 28/18), d\textit{axala (\textit{lmadiinah)'enter
(the city)' (cf. 28/15), 9\textit{araDa (\textit{galayhi k\textit{adaa) 'show (him something)'
(cf. 38/31), s\textit{abbaha (\textit{lillaah) 'glorify (Allah)' (cf. 59/1), q\textit{araa
(kadaa 9alayh) 'recite (something to him)' (cf. 17/106), ?ixtara(hum) 'choose (them)' (cf. 44/32), naSaha (lahum) 'give (them) good advice' (cf. 7/79), gaaSa (lah) 'dive (for him)' (cf. 21/82), gaahada (bimaalih) 'strive (with his wealth)' (cf. 8/72), taDarra9a (lirabbih) 'humble himself (to his Lord)' (23/76), saqaa (lahumaa qaTii9ahumaa) 'water (for them their folk)' (cf. 28/24), ?akGara (lfasaada fi l?arD) 'multiply (inequity in the earth)' (cf. 89/12), 9ammarakumu (lqumra lmadiid) 'grant (you long life)' (cf. 35/37), ?axxara(hum) 'give (them) a respite' (cf. 14/42), gaDDa (baSarah) 'lower (his gaze)' (cf. 24/31), ga9ala(haa) haSiidaa 'make (it) as reaped corn' (cf. 10/24), taqabbala(haa) 'accept (her)' (cf. 3/37), ?arsala(hum ma9anaa) 'send (them with us)' (cf. 20/47), naggaa(h) 'save (him)' (cf. 10/94), ?anGara (lakxznu ssam9) 'create (for you ears)' (cf. 23/78), kataba (llaahu 9alaa nafsihi rrahmah) '(Allah) prescribes (for himself mercy)' (cf. 6/12), ?atamma (lanaa nuuranaa) 'perfect (our light for us)' (cf. 66/8), ?axlaSa (diinahuu lillaah) 'make (his religion) pure (for Allah)' (cf. 4/146), rafa9a (dikrah) 'exalt (his fame)' (cf. 94/4), ?aSlih (lii fiu duriyyatii) 'be gracious (to me in the matter of my seed)' (cf. 46/15), dakara (lqitaala fii tilka ssuurah) 'mention (war in this suurah)' (cf. 47/20), and ?anbata (hadaa?iga daata bahgah) 'cause (joyous orchards) to spring forth' (cf. 27/60).

In sentence (13), for example, the verb taDarra9a 'humbled himself' satisfies conditions (1 - 3a) as indicated by (14 - 17), respectively, and may express progressivity when it replaces ?almuDaari9 form in the structure 'kaana yatafa99al', as it does in (18).

(13) taDarra9a 9aliyyun lirabbih
9aliyy humbled himself to his Lord

(14) maa fa9ala 9aliyyuni ttaDarra9u lirabbih
What 9aliyy did was humble himself to his Lord

(15) maa hada9a taDarra9u 9aliyyun lirabbih
What happened was that 9aliyy humbled himself to his Lord

(16) maadaa fa9ala 9aliyy - taDarra9a lirabbih
What did 9aliyy do? - He humbled himself to his Lord

(17) maadaa hada9 - taDarra9a 9aliyyun lirabbih
What happened? - 9aliyy humbled himself to his Lord

(18) 9indamaa daxaltu mugratahuhu kaan yataDarra9u lirabbih
When I entered his room, he was humbling himself to his Lord

(b) The second category of non-Stative verbs are 'Verbs of happening', which have characteristic (2) and (3b), and may express progressivity when they replace ?almuDaari9 form in the combination kaana yaf9al 'used to do/was doing' (or the like), e.g. naala(hum) (?aDabun min rabbihim wa 9illa) (terror from their Lord and humiliation) came (upon them)' (cf. 7/152), ?i$taddati (rrihi 9ala rramaad) '(the wind) blew hard (upon the ashes)' (cf. 14/18), saqata (fi lbi?r) 'fell (into the well)' (cf. 9/49), ?ihtarqa9at (ddaar) '(the house) burnt' (cf. 2/266), and ?imtala?a (min zzuwwaar) 'was filled (with the visitors)' (cf. 50/30). In sentence (19), for example, the verb ?ihtarqa9at 'burnt' has characteristic (2) and (3b), as indicated by (20 - 21), respectively, and may express progressivity when it replaces ?almuDaari9 form in the combination 'kaan yaf9a9il' as it does in (22).
(19) ihtaraqati ddaar
The house burnt

(20) maa hadaθa htiraqu ddaar
What happened was that the house burnt

(21) maadaa θadaθ - ihtaraqati ddaar
What happened? - The house burnt

(22) kaanati ddaaru tahtariq
The house was burning

(c) The third category of non-Stative verbs are Verbs of position, which have characteristics (1), (2) and (3a) (cf. above pp. 310-11) but do not express progressivity when they replace ?almuDaar19l form in the combination kaana yaf9al'was doing/used to do' (or the like) (cf. above P. 311, and fn. 2). Examples are the following ones, provided they have a subject marked with the feature [+ animate]. For if they have a subject marked with the opposite feature, [- animate], as tatadallaa 'hang' does in ?aqqimaanìtatadallaa mina $$agarah 'the fruits hang from the tree', they will be stative verbs (cf. Dik, p. 103): waqaf 'stand still' (see 6/27 for the causative use of waqaf), tadallaa (min) 'hang down' (from) (cf. 53/8), galas 'sit down' ?IDTaga9 'lie on one's side', ?istalqaa (9alaa qafaah) 'lie down (on one's back)', qama (9alaa) 'stand (on)' (cf 9/84), and tarabba9 'sit down cross-legged'.

In sentence (23), for example, the verb waqafa 'stood still' has characteristics (1 - 3a) as indicated by (24 - 27), respectively, but it does not express progressivity when it represents ?almuDaar19l form in the combination 'kaana yaf9al' as indicated by (28).
For Dik's observation that the simple proposition identified by a simple sentence whose main verb is identical with our Verbs of doing, our Verbs of happening or our Verbs of position designates respectively 'Activity' (a controlled changing situation), 'Process' (an uncontrolled changing situation) or 'Position' (a controlled unchanging situation), see Dik, p. 100; p. 101.

As being used here, the class of non-Stative verbs include the following types as they are identified by different authors:

(a) The verbs of events that are recognized, and described by Chafe as denoting 'an action and a process' (Nilsen, P. 36), e.g. 'dried' in 'Michael dried the wood'.

(b) The verbs of process that are recognized and described by Chafe as denoting 'a change of a state' (loc. cit.), e.g. 'dried'
in 'the wood dried'.

(c) The verbs recognized, and described by Menzel as being capable of functioning as main verbs of clauses expressing events, e.g. 'eat'; 'break (something)'. For the definition of an event, see Menzel, p. 45 and Comrie, p. 51.

(d) The verbs recognized, and described by Menzel as being able to function as main verb of predicate phrases expressing an action, e.g. 'eat, erupt and break (something). For the definition of an action, see Menzel, p. 50.

(e) The verbs recognized and described by Menzel as expressing a process, e.g. 'fill', 'write', 'decline', 'examine' and 'find'. For the definition of a process, see Menzel, p. 57 and Comrie, p. 51.

(f) The verbs of action that are recognized, and described by Lyons, Danes and Chafe as having the following characteristics, respectively:

(i) The ability to occur in answer to a question like 'what did she do?', and in the progressive form, e.g. 'dance' (cf. Lyons, 1968: 325).

(ii) The ability to be questioned by a question such as 'what does X do?', e.g. 'write', 'repair', 'kill', etc. (Danes, p. 57).

(iii) The ability to have an agent subject, e.g. run (cf. Nilsen, p. 36).

(g) The active verbs referred to by Nilsen as being separated from Stative verbs by most semanticists on a number of syntactic grounds. Among these grounds their ability to "become cleft sentences" e.g. 'What he did was persuade me to come!' (Nilsen,
p. 131), and to "be made progressive, e.g. 'He is persuading me to
come'" (ibid., p. 132). Note that Nilsen does not make it explicit
that the pro-form in the identified element of the cleft
sentence, i.e. in the subject element, can be either 'do' or
'happen'.

(h) The activity verbs that are mentioned by Vestergaard, and
described by him as being characterized by their ability to take
'free locational phrases' and 'manner adverbials' and 'to occur
in the progressive aspect', e.g. 'cook, run, ask, weep, talk, etc.'
(Vestergaard, pp. 16-17).

14.2.2 Stative verbs

Examples of Stative verbs are the following ones:

yahzan(uuna 9alaa maa faatahum) '(they) sorrow (for that which
they missed)' (cf. 3/153), yarguu (liqaa?a rabbih) '(he) hopes (for
the meeting with his Lord)' (cf. 18/110), ?amliku (?a$yaa?a
ka$iiarah) '(I) possess (many things)' (cf. 17/100), yuriidu (?an
yaf9ala $ay?aa) '(he) wants (to do something)' (cf. 5/17),
yastahiqqu (?an yakuuna waziiraa) (he) deserves (to be minister)'
(cf. 5/107), yaxfaa (9alayh) 'be hidden (from him)' (cf. 3/5),
yasbiru (9alaa daalik) '(he) has patience (about that)' (cf. 18/68);
ta$aabaha (9alayhim) 'be alike (to them)' (cf. 2/70), ya9lamu
(maa nagrahu binnahaar) '(He) knows (that which we commit by day)'
(cf. 6/60), yafkuru (billaah) '(he) disbelieves (in Allah)' (cf.
3/106), yu?minu (billaah) '(he) believes (in Allah)' (cf. 2/285)
yastakenu (lirabbi?) '(he) is humble (to his Lord)' (cf. 23/76),
yasta?11u (1?ibSaar) '(he) is able (to see)' (cf. 11/20),
yastamilu (9alaa $ay?) '(it) contains (something)' (cf. 6/143),
yagdiru (9alaa Sun9i daalik) '(he) is able (to do that)' (cf. 48/21),
raDiya (bikaďaa) '(he) was pleased (with so and so)' (cf. 33/51)
yahillu (lahuu ?an) '(it) is lawful (for him to)' (cf. 2/230, and yağafulu (9an ?aďyaa? a kādīrāh) '(he) is negligent (of many things)' (cf. 4/102).

As for their characteristics, they are as follows:

1. The nominalizations of the verb phrases of which they are main verbs are not able to occur at the blank position in (9) as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (29).

   (29) *maa fa9ala xaaliduni stiTaa9atu 1?ibSaar
       What xaalid did was able to see

2. They cannot occur in answer to a question such as (11); thus (31) is not a possible answer to (31).

   (30) maadāaa fa9ala xaalid
       What did xaalid do?

   (31) ?istāmūqa ?an yakuuna waziiraa
       He deserved to be a minister

3. When they replace ?almuDaarī9 form in the combinations kaana yaf9al 'was doing/used to do' (or the like), they do not express progressivity, e.g. yaqdiru 'able' in (32), and ya9lamu 'aware' in (33).

   (32) ḥiina qaabaltuhuu kaana yaqdiru 9ala 1?ibSaar
       When I met him he was able to see

   (33) ḥiina qaabaltuhuu kaana ya9lamu maa ḥadaθ
       When I met him, he was aware of what happened

4. When they occur in ?almuDaari9 form (cf. below fn. 1) the nominalizations of the sentences in which they function as main verb cannot occur at the blank position of (34) (which is the
counterpart of (10)), as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (35).

(34) maa yahdu迦
What happens is

(35) *maa yahdu迦 ragaa?u 9aliyyin ?an yazuura miSr
What happens is that 9aliyy wants to visit Egypt

If, on the other hand, they occur in ?almaaDii form(1), the nominalizations of the sentences in which they function as main verb can occur at the blank position of (10) (which is the counterpart of (34)), as indicated by the grammaticality of (36).

(36) maa ḥadaa迦 ragaa?u 9aliyyin ?an yazuura miSr
What happened was that 9aliyy wanted to visit Egypt

5. When they occur in ?almuDaari9 form, the sentences in which they function as main verb are not a possible reply to (37), which is the counterpart of (12). Thus, (38), is not a possible reply to (37).

(37) maadaa yahdu迦
What happens:

(38) yarguu 9aliyyun ?an yazuura miSr
9aliyy wants to visit Egypt

If, on the other hand, they occur in ?almaaDii form, the sentences in which they function as main verb are a possible reply to (12) (which is the counterpart of (37)), therefore (39) is a possible reply to (12).

(39) ragaa 9aliyyun ?an yazuura miSr
9aliyy wanted to visit Egypt

It should be noted that both the grammaticality of sentences
such as (36) and the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (35) indicate that Stative verbs occurring in ?almaaDii form are in some sense Verbs of happening: the only pro-form related to them or to their clauses is the maa-hadaqa pro-form 'the happen-what pro-form' (cf. above pp. 318-19 and below p. 485; pp. 821-2). Such a shift in the verb class supports Quirk's statement that it is "more accurate to speak of ('dynamic' and) 'stative' uses of verbs" rather than (of 'dynamic' and) 'stative' verbs (Quirk et al. pp. 94-5). For other cases where it is more accurate to speak of verb uses rather than of verb classes, see below 15.1.6; 17.4.
Footnotes

1. What I mean by ?almuDaari9 form is the form that can be prefixed or suffixed by sa/sawfa 'shall', and ?aDDamiir ?almuttaSil 'the connected pronoun', aan 'you/they', uun 'you/they', iin 'you' or na 'you/they', respectively.

2. I said 'may' for two reasons: (1) when they replace ?almuDaari9 form in the combination kaana yaf9al 'was doing/used to do', the following subclasses of non-Stative verbs may express a habit rather than a progressive meaning: 'Verbs of doing' (cf. above p.311) and Verbs of happening (cf. above p. 313). For the situations they express (a) are perceived of as being habitual rather than progressive, e.g. yamtali?u 'become full' in (i) and yaDribu 'beat' in (ii), or (b) can be perceived of as being only habitual, e.g. tahmarraani 'turn red' in (iii) and yaqa9 'fall down' in (iv).

(i) kaana lhawDu yamtali?u bilmiyaah
The pool used to become full with water

(ii) kaana yaDribuh
He used to beat him

(iii) kaanat 9aynaahu tahmarraani 9indamaa kaana yudaxxin
His eyes used to turn red when he used to smoke

(iv) kaana laa yaqa9
He used not to fall down

(2) When they replace the same form as that indicated above, non-stative Verbs of position, which represent the third class of non-Stative verbs (cf. above p. 314) do not express progressivity but rather a habitual, or an unchanging situation, e.g. yaqlisu 'sit/was
sitting' in (v).

(v) kaana yaglisu 9alaa kursiyyin mudahhab

He used to sit/was sitting on a gilded chair

3. What I mean by ?almaaDii form is the form that can be suffixed by ?aDDamiir ?almuttaSil tu 'I', naa 'we', ta/ti/tumaa/tum/tunn 'you', or aa/uu/na 'they'. 
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN MAIN VERBS AND ADJUNCTS EXPRESSING TEMPORAL RELATIONS

15.0.1 Classification

In relation to the adjuncts expressing temporal relations, I have come across two different views: (i) the view which, on a semantic basis, conceives of all the adjuncts denoting temporal relations as constituting a large class of adjuncts subclassifiable into smaller subclasses either on semantic or both semantic and syntactic bases; (ii) the view that does not conceive of the adjuncts expressing temporal relations as constituting a large class of adjuncts, but perceives of each of them as representing an adjunct class of its own. The first view is held by Quirk et al. (1972) and Schimizzi (1971), while the second is held by Vestergaard (1977) and Geis (1970).

15.0.1.1. Quirk

On both semantic and syntactic bases, Quirk subclassifies the class of Time adjuncts he recognizes into four subclasses, of which only the following ones concern us:

(a) Time when adjuncts, which he describes as being capable of serving 'as a response to a when question' (Quirk et al., p. 483), and divides into (i) 'those denoting a point of time' (loc. cit.), e.g. 'now', 'in 1970', 'tomorrow' 'at eight o'clock' in (1 - 3).

(1) I am now living in Baltimore (ibid., p. 484).

(2) I was awarded my Bachelor of Arts degree in 1970 (loc. cit).

(3) The meeting starts tomorrow at eight o'clock (loc. cit.).
(ii) 'those denoting a point of time but also implying the point from which that time is measured' (Quirk, et al., p. 483), e.g. 'before the strike' in (4).

(4) I left the factory before the strike (loc. cit.)

(b) Time duration adjuncts, which he divides into two categories:

(i) 'those denoting length of time' (ibid., p. 486), e.g. for about a month' in (5).

(5) I am staying for about a month (loc. cit.)

(ii) 'those denoting duration from some preceding point of time' (loc. cit.), e.g. 'since he was a child' in (6).

(6) He has been collecting stamps since he was a child

If we relate the aforementioned classes of time adjuncts to 'Instantive time adverbials', 'Frame adverbials' and 'Durative adverbials' recognized by Geis (cf. below 15.0.1.4), we find the following facts:

(i) both 'Instantive time and Frame adverbials' qualify as 'Time when adjuncts. For like the latter adjuncts, they can occur as a response to a when question.

For ascertaining this fact, see Instantive time and Frame adverbials in (15.0.1.4)

(ii) the examples given by Geis for durative adverbials (cf. sentences 28 - 29) belong to group (i) of duration adjuncts recognized by Quirk.

15.0.1.2 Schimizzi

Schimizzi subclassifies temporal relations into the following types:
1. 'Time when', which, according to him, expresses 'the moment of action' (Schimizzi, p. 105), e.g. 'at 4.30' in (7).

(7) He died at 4.30

2. 'Time during which', which he describe as representing either 'occurrence or completion of an action during the course of a certain time' or 'occurrence or recurrence of an action or the existence of a state throughout the entire course of a certain time segment' (ibid., pp. 106-7), e.g. 'at a point during the thirties', and 'throughout these years' in (8-9), respectively.

(8) At a point during the thirties the Norwegian So wrote a sketch with a paradoxical name (loc. cit.)

(9) Throughout these years such an attitude toward these people was common

3. 'Time before which', which, according to Schimizzi, expresses 'the occurrence or completion of an action, or the existence of a state, before a certain moment of time' (ibid., pp. 109-10), e.g. 'before midday' in (10)

(10) He returned before midday

4. 'Time up to the bounds of which', which is described by Schimizzi as indicating 'the occurrence of an action or the existence of a state into the bounds of certain time segments' (Schimizzi, p. 112), e.g. 'to this day' in (11)

(11) To this day I remember the burning touch of the actors

5. 'Time since which', which is defined by Schimizzi as indicating 'that something has taken place or has been in existence since the passing of a certain moment or point in time' (ibid., p. 113), e.g.
'since infancy' in (12)

(12) I have not slept so soundly since infancy (ibid., p. 113)

15.0.1.3 Vestergaard

Among the abstract group of free adjuncts recognized by Vestergaard (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 72-3) are the following ones, which express temporal relations:

1. 'Time' (ibid., pp. 74-6), e.g. 'on that day', 'during/in that winter', 'at 3.30', and 'after Easter' in (13 - 16), respectively.

(13) He returned on that day

(14) Several babies died during/in that winter

(15) They are expecting me at 3.30 (ibid., p. 75)

(16) He came after Easter

2. 'Duration' (ibid., pp. 76-8), which is subclassified by Vestergaard into the following types:

(a) a locational type, e.g. 'for years' in (17)

(17) The programme has been running for years (ibid., p.76) According to Vestergaard, 'this type has an instrumental subtype denoting time spent in doing something' (ibid., p.76), e.g. 'in six months' in (18)

(18) They built the house in six months

(b) a directional type, which denotes 'duration from some specified point in time onwards, or from the present moment until some point in the future' (ibid., p. 76), e.g. 'since Friday' and 'until five o'clock' in (19 - 20), respectively.
(19) I have not met him since Friday

(20) I shall wait for you until five o'clock

15.0.1.4 Geis

Of the adjuncts expressing temporal relations, Geis recognizes the following ones:

1. 'Instantive time adverbials' (cf. Geis, pp. 38 - 40), e.g. 'after midnight' and 'at midnight' in (21 - 22), respectively.

   (21) Spiro finished writing his speech after midnight (ibid., p. 39)

   (22) Spiro was working on his speech at midnight (ibid., p. 39)

2. 'Frame adverbials' (ibid., p. 43), e.g. 'in 1960', 'while he was in Lompok', 'in 1970', 'while he was on the third floor of the library', and 'during her illness' in (23 - 27), respectively.

   (23) John died in 1960 (ibid., p. 43)

   (24) Roger Ramjact captured Noodles Romanoff while he was in Lompok (ibid., p. 42)

   (25) John was quite overweight in 1970

   (26) John read the 1967 Congressional Record while he was on the third floor of the library (ibid., p. 43)

   (27) He came to visit her during her illness

According to Geis, Frame adverbials may refer to 'some period of time' or 'to a point in time' (ibid., p. 43), e.g. respectively, 'in 1970' in (25) and 'while he was on the third floor of the library' in (26), and 'in 1960' in (23), 'while he was in Lompok' in (24) and 'during her illness' in (27).
3. 'Durative adverbials' (ibid., pp. 46-7), e.g. 'for three years' in (28), and 'for many years' in (29)

(28) Freddy worked there for three years (ibid., p. 46)

(29) Lucy had platinum blond hair for many years (loc. cit.)

15.0.2 Discussion

To begin with, it should be noted that temporal relations in CA can be classified according to any of the ways indicated in (15.0.1.1 - 15.0.1.4): to each class mentioned there is an equivalent one in this language. Secondly, the question presents itself here is: Is it possible to account for the co-occurrence restrictions between adjuncts expressing temporal relations and main verbs within either the framework of conceiving of them as constituting a large semantic class, or that of perceiving of each of them as representing an adjunct class in its own? The answer to these questions are 'Yes'. However, I am in favour of the second framework, and I will handle within it the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and the following adjuncts in CA which express a temporal relation: Instantive time, Time frame, and Time duration adjuncts.

The basis of preferring the second to the first framework can be summed up as follows. To account for the co-occurrence restrictions between the adjuncts expressing a temporal relation, and main verbs within the first framework requires, in addition to other features, two features related to the adjunct classes: one related to the general class containing them, and another to the specific class of each of them. To account for this grammatical aspect within the second framework, on the other hand, requires, in addition to other features, only one feature related to the adjunct classes, i.e. the feature
specifying the unique class of each of them. If, on the one hand, the co-occurrence restrictions between Instantive, Frame and Duration adjuncts, and the main verbs with which they associate are accounted for within the first framework (cf. above p. 328), the following features will be required: (i) [ + temporal], which is related to the large semantic class embracing them and (ii) the features related to the specific classes to which these adjuncts belong, i.e. the features [+ instantive], [+ frame] and [+duration], respectively. The first feature is required for differentiating between the adjuncts expressing a temporal relation and those expressing causal or spatial relation, for instance, and the last three ones are required for differentiating between the subclasses of the adjuncts expressing a temporal relation. If, on the other hand, the co-occurrence restrictions between the same adjuncts, and the main verbs with which they associate are accounted for within the second framework (cf. above p. 328), the following features, which are related to the classes to which these adjuncts belong, respectively, will be required: [+ instantive time], [+ time frame] and [+time duration]. These features are required for differentiating between the adjuncts expressing a specific temporal relation on the one hand, and between them and those expressing a causal or spatial relation, for instance, i.e. required for the same purpose for which both the feature [+ temporal], and [+ instantive], [+ frame] or [+ duration] are required within the first framework (cf. above p. 328).

On semantic, or semantico-syntactic bases, the following adjuncts, which express temporal relations, can be established in CA: (i) Instantive time adjunct, (ii) Time frame adjuncts and (iii) Time duration adjuncts.

15.1 Instantive time adjuncts

By Instantive time adjuncts I mean the adjuncts that express the
moment the action or the happening occurs. This moment may be (i) explicitly indicated by a time-point word or (ii) implicitly by referring to that the action or the happening occurs before or after a certain moment of time, which implies that it occurs at a moment before or after this moment of time. Examples of (i) are lahZata I9uruub [lit. 'at the moment of the setting (of the sun), i.e. 'at sunset' in (30) and fi lwaahidah 'at one o'clock' in (31), and examples of (ii) are min ba9di daalik 'after that' in (32) and qabla Tuluu9i $9amsi 'before the rising of the sun' in (33).

(30) kaanati 1?amTaaru tatasaagaTu lahZata.I9uruub
The rain was falling down at sunset

(31) waSala xaalidun ?ilaa baytihii fi lwaahidah
xaalid arrived to his house at one o'clock

(32) Guma qasat quluubukum min ba9di daalik (2/74)
Then, (even) after that, your hearts were hardened

(33) faSbir 9alaa maa yaquuluuna wa sabbih bihamdi rabbika qabla
Therefore (O Muhammed) bear with what they say, and hymn the praise of your Lord before the rising and the setting of the sun

As determined here, Instantive time adjuncts are identical with Geis's (instantive time adverbials (cf. above 15.0.1.4), Quirk's time when adjuncts (cf. above 15.0.1.1). They include also the following types of temporal relations recognized by Schimizzi: (i) time when (cf. above p.325) and (ii) time before which (cf. above p.325).

Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur with the verbs denoting, or can be thought of as denoting, a meaning that is semantically compatible with what they express, as will be indicated in (15.1.1 - 15.1.6).

15.1.1 Association with non-stative momentary verbs

Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur with non-stative Momentary verbs (3) e.g. qaama 'stand up', ?aqaama 'make stand up', xaraga 'go out', ?axraga 'make go out', raga9 'return', ?arga9a 'make return',
Instantive time adjuncts associating with such verbs are fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (34) and fi l'guruub 'at sunset' in (35).

(34) sa9ala fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
He coughed at one o'clock p.m.

(35) Darabtu 9alaa baabi baytika fi l'guruub
I knocked on your house door at sunset

15.1.2 Association with verbs with an ingressive meaning

Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur with verbs with an ingressive (or inchoative) meaning, i.e. verbs referring to entry into a state (cf. Comrie, pp. 19-20; Lyons, 1977, II, 713, and Al-Saffar, fn 1, p. 416). Examples of these verbs are gaawara 'became the neighbour of' in (36), tabalwarati 1fikrah 'crystalized' in (37), and tafahham(tu) '(I) have come to understand' in (38).

(36) gaawara muhammadun 9aliyyaa
muhammad became the neighbour of 9aliyy

(37) tabalwarati 1fikrah
The idea crystalized

(38) tafahhamtu lmas?alah
I have come to understand the problem

The common characteristic of the verbs having an ingressive meaning is that the combinations they constitute with their subjects are paraphraseable by those consisting of their subjects and the verb Saar 'become' + their active participles, adjectivals deriving from
their roots, or nouns having the same root as theirs. In sentences
(36 - 38), for example, the combinations: gaawara muhaammadun
'muhammad became the neighbour of', tabalwarati lfikrah 'the idea
crystalized' and tafahhamtu 'I have come to understand' are para-
phraseable by Saara muhammadun gaaraa 'muhammad became the neighbour
of', Saarati lfikratu mutabalwirah 'the idea crystalized'; and Sirtu
faahimaa 'I have come to understand'.

The feature [ + ingressive] is a secondary feature that is
assigned to some stative and non-stative verbs in certain conditions.
Thus, verbs with an ingressive feature are grouped into the following
groups:

(a) the following verbs of doing, and the like, provided they
occur, for instance, in ?almaaDii form (cf. above p. 322 fn 3), e.g.
ta9arraf 'try to know'/ 'uncover', ta$addada(9alaa) 'show oneself harsh
(towards)' ?inhaaz 'take sides', tazawwag 'marry', etc.

Examples of Instantive time adjuncts associating with some of
these verbs are fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (39),
ba9da daalik 'after that' in (40), and lahZata ?an xaragt 'the moment
you went out' in (41).

(39) tazawwaga xaalidun fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
    xaalid get married at one'clock p.m.

(40) ?i$tadadtu 9alayhim ba9da daalik
    I became hard/harsh towards them after that

(41) tafahhamtu Imas?alata lahZata ?an xaragt
    I came to understand the problem the moment you went out

It should be noted firstly that the majority of Verbs of doing
do not express an ingressive meaning when they occur in ?almaaDii
form; examples of such verbs are: tahaagg 'dispute with one another' (cf. 40/47), iSTarax 'cry' (cf. 35/37), 9addab 'chastise' (cf. 3/56), gaahad 'strive' (cf. 9/88), etc. Therefore, verbs of doing such as tafahham 'try to understand', i.e. verbs of doing that are able to express an ingressive meaning (cf. above p. 332 and sentences (39 -41)), ought to be marked with a feature that distinguishes them from the other group of Verbs of doing. The feature I suggest is \[ \text{ingressive in ?almaaDii} \]. This feature will prove necessary for accounting for the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Instantive time adjuncts.

Secondly, the verbs of doing that are able to express an ingressive meaning when they occur in ?almaaDii form, do not express it when they occur in ?almuDaar19 form (cf. above p. 321 fn 1 ), e.g. ya$taddu 'shows himself harsh' in (42), yanhaazu 'takes sides' in (43), and ?atafahhamu 'try to understand' in (44).

(42) ya$taddu haad-a lmu9allimu 9alaa talaamiidih
     This teacher shows himself harsh to his pupils

(43) yanhaazu 9aliyyun ?ilaynaa
     9aliyy takes sides in favour of us

(44) ?atafahhamu ma$aakila nnaas
     I try to understand people's problems

However, when Instantive time adjuncts co-occur with verbs such as ya$taddu 'shows himself harsh' in (42), yanhaazu 'takes sides' in (43) and ?atafahhamu 'try to understand' in (44), they may be conceived of as having an ingressive meaning as indicated by (45 - 46), or may not as indicated by (47), whose main verb ?atafahhamu 'try to understand' expresses the starting-point of the action it denotes.
(45) ya$taddu haada lmugallimu 9alaa talaamiidihii
lahZata ?an yaraa tahaawunan minhum
This teacher becomes harsh towards his pupils the
moment he sees negligence on their part

(46) yanhaazu ?ilaynnaa fi llahZati llatii ya$9uru fiïhaa
biDDa9f
He sides/becomes sided with us the moment he feels
weakness

(47) ?atafahhamu ma$aka9ila nnaasi fi ttaasi9ati masaa?aa
At nine o'clock, I try to understand people's
problems

It must be borne in mind however that there are differences
between the bases of the grammaticality of Instantive time adjuncts
association with main verbs such as those of (39 - 41), and those
of (45 - 47). Instantive time adjuncts associate with main verbs
like those of (39 - 41), for they - the main verbs - have an ingressive
meaning, but associate with verbs like ya$taddu 'becomes harsh' in
(45) and yanhaazu 'sides' or 'becomes sided' in (46), for they are
marked with the feature $+ ingressive in ?almaaDii$ (cf. above pp.332-3)
and with a verb such as ?atafahhamu '(I) try to understand' in (41)
for it is either marked with the feature $+ ingressive in ?almaaDii$
or a durative non-stative verb indicating an atelic situation
(cf. below pp.343-4).

A final point concerning sentences (45 - 47): that ya$taddu
'becomes harsh' in (45) and yanhaazu 'sides' in (46) express an
ingressive meaning, and ?atafahhamu '(I) try to understand' in (47)
expresses the starting-point of the action it denotes is due to them
being accompanied by Instantive time adjunct. Thus in order for the
semantic rules to assign the correct readings to these verbs, the first two of them ought to be assigned the feature `[+ ingressive]` when they are accompanied by Instantive time adjuncts, and the last one the feature `[+ inceptive]` when it is accompanied by the same class of adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.2.2.2).

(b) the second group of the verbs that can have an ingressive meaning are the following verbs of happening and the like provided they occur for instance, in ?almaadil form: (kaanat) tatabalwaru (qaliilan qaliilaa) 'was getting crystalized (gradually), (kaana lmawqifu) yata?azzamu (yawman ba9da yawn) 'the situation was getting critical (day after day)', (kaana qalbuhuu) yatahaggaru (qaliilan qaliilaa) 'his heart was getting petrified (gradually)', (kaana lmaa?u) yataqayyaru (daqiiqatan ba9da daqiiqah) 'the water was getting changed (minute after minute)', (kaanati rriihu) ta$taddu (qaliilan qaliilaa) 'the wind was getting strong (gradually)', and (kaanati lfikratu) tattaDihu (qaliilan qaliilaa) 'the idea was getting clear (gradually)'.

Examples of Instantive time adjuncts associating with Verbs of happening expressing an ingressive meaning are fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (48), fi llahZati llatii daxalta fiihaa 'the moment you came in' in (49), lahZata ?an ra?a bnahuu mayyitaa 'the moment he saw his son dead' in (50), min ba9di daalik 'after that' in (51), and qablahaum 'before them' in (52).

(48) tabalwarati lxaTTatu fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
The plan crystalized at one o'clock p.m.

(49) ?ittaDahati lfikratu fi llahZati llatii daxalta fiihaa
The idea became clear the moment you came in
(50) tahaggara qalbuhuu lahzata ?an ra?a bnahuu mayyitaa
   His heart petrified the moment he saw his son dead

(51) Summa qasat quluubukum min ba9di daalik (2/74)
   Then, (even) after that your hearts became hardened

(52) wa laaqad Dalla qablahum ?ak?aru l?awaliin (37/71)
   And verily, most of the ancient people went astray before them

It should be noted that there are verbs of happening that do not express an ingressive meaning when they occur in ?almaaDii form, e.g. naala(hum 9adaabun $adiid) '(a severe punishment) came upon (them)', tahaddama/?inhaada (lmanzil) '(the house) fell/broke down', tadaffaqa (lmaa?u min lbi?ri lgadiid) '(the water) gushed (from the new well)', ?infagara (lmaa?) '(the water) burst out', ?ihtaraqa (lmanzil) '(the house) burnt', tazalzalati (?arD) '(the earth) quaked', saqata (fi lbi?r) '(he) fell (into the well)', etc. Therefore, like the verbs of doing referred to above (pp.332-3), the verbs of happening that are able to express an ingressive meaning are to be marked with the feature $ + ingressive in ?almaaDii so that they can be distinguished from their counterparts that are not able to do so.

(c) the third group of the verbs able to have an ingressive meaning and therefore Instantive time adjuncts can associate with them are the following stative verbs and the like provided they occur, for instance, in ?almaaDii form, e.g. malak 'possess', ?istahaqq 'deserve', ta$aabah 'be alike', 9alim 'know', yaqdir/?istaTaa9 'be able', hall 'be lawful', ?ab?aD 'detest', raqib 'wish', ?ihtaag 'be in/have need of', ?a9waz 'be in want of', gaawar 'be the neighbour of', etc. (For the possibility of Instantive time adjuncts to co-occur with stative verbs occurring in ?almuDaari9 form, see below 15.1.6)
A textual example of Instantive time adjuncts associating with stative verbs with an ingressive meaning is qabla mawtih 'before his death' in (53); other examples, which are not textual, are fi lwaahidah 'at one o'clock' in (54) and ba9da lfuTuur 'after breakfast' in (55).

(53) wa ?in min ?ahli lkitaabi ?illaa layu?minanna bihi qabla mawtih (4/159)
There is not one of the people of the Scripture but will believe in him before his death

(54) halla lanaa haadda fi lwaahidah
This became lawful for us at one o'clock

(55) ?ihtagtu ?ilayhi ba9da lfuTuur
I became in need of him after breakfast

It should be noted that there are stative verbs that are not able to express an ingressive meaning, e.g. ?araada 'want', ragaa 'hope for', sami9 'hear', etc. Therefore, like the verbs of doing and happening that are able to express an ingressive meaning (cf. above p. 336), the stative verbs that are able to do the same ought to be marked with the feature [+ ingressive in ?almaaDii] so that they can be distinguished from their counterparts that are not able to have an ingressive meaning.

15.1.3 Association with progressives

The third type of verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts can associate are related to those expressing a progressive meaning. These verbs belong to one of the following categories:

(a) the verbs of doing marked with either the feature [- durative] e.g. yaDribu 'knocking' in (56), or [+ durative], e.g. ?aktubu
'writing' in (57).

(56) kaana yaDribu 9alaa baabi baytih

He was knocking on his door

(57) kuntu ?aktubu xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatii

I was writing a letter to my mother

(b) the verbs of happening that are able to express a progressive meaning without having to have associated with them an adjunct such as sanatan ba9da sanah 'year after year', yawman ba9da yawm 'day after day', qaliilan qaliilan 'gradually', etc., e.g. tasquTu 'falling down' in (58), and yatadaffaqu 'was gushing' in (59).

(58) kaanati 1?amTaaru tasquTu bi4azaarah

The rain was falling down heavily

(59) kaanalmaa? uyatadaffaqu mina 19ayni lgadiidah

The water was gushing from the new spring

(c) the verbs of happening that can express a progressive meaning only when they have associated with them one of the adjuncts indicated in (b), i.e. an adjunct that shows that they express a slowly developing situation, i.e. a situation that requires a stretch, not a point, of time, e.g. tasuu?u 'getting worse' in (60), and tatahassanu 'getting better' in (61).

(60) wa kaanati 1?ahwaalu liqtiSaadiyyatu tasuu?u qaliilan qaliilaa

And the economic circumstances were getting worse gradually

(61) wa kaanat Sihmatuhuu tatahassanu saa9atan ba9da saa9ah

And his health was getting better hour after hour

As for the collocability of Instantive time adjuncts with verbs
with a progressive meaning, it is as follows. Instantive time adjuncts co-occur with category (a) and (b) but not with (c), as indicated by the grammaticality of (62 - 63), and the ungrammaticality of (64).

(62) kuntu ?aktubu xitalaab ?ilaa waalidatii fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa
I was writing a letter to my mother at one o'clock a.m.

(63) kaanati ?amTaaru taasqatu bijazaaratin qabla jguurub
The rain was falling down heavily before the setting of the sun.

(64) *wa kaanat Sihhatuhuu tatahassanu saa9atan ba9da saa9atin fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
And his health was getting better hour after hour at one o'clock p.m.

The reason why Instantive time adjuncts cannot associate with category (c) of progressive verbs is obvious: the slowly developed situation indicated by this class of verbs requires a stretch not a point of time, which is semantically incompatible with Instantive time adjuncts.

15.1.4 Association with achievement-denoting verbs

The fourth type of verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts associate are 'Achievement-denoting verbs (cf. Al-Saffar, p. 442; Lyons, 1977, II, 712; Comrie, p. 43 and p. 47; Vendler, pp. 102-3), e.g. badaa 'started' in (65), yabda?u 'start' in (66), yantahi 'come to an end' in (67), yunhi 'finish' in (68), naSilu 'arrive' in (69), and wagada 'found' in (70), with which the following Instantive time adjuncts associate, respectively: qabla wi9aa?i ?axiih 'before his
brother's bag', at one o'clock p.m.', at one o'clock a.m.', 'before the setting of the sun/sunset', at two o'clock a.m.', and the moment I returned'.

(65) fabada?a bi?aw9iyatihim qabla wi9aa?i ?axiih (12/76)
Then, he (Joseph) started (the search) with their bags before his brother's bag.

(66) sayabda?u limtihaani fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
The examination will start at one o'clock p.m.

(67) sayantahi lliqaa?u fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa
The meeting will come to an end at one o'clock a.m.

(68) sayunhi lxuTbata qabla 1ýuruub
He will finish the speech before the setting of the sun/sunset.

(69) sanaSilu ?ila lmadiinati fi 0?aaniyati Sabaahaa
We will arrive at the city at two o'clock a.m.

(70) wagadat xaatamahaa lahZata ?an 9udtu
She found her ring the moment I returned.

Other Achievement-denoting verbs are: bala4 'arrive at', lamair 'glance at', ?awSal/? abla4 'make arrive at', faqad 'lose', etc.

It should be noted that though Achievement-denoting verbs express a punctual event, they differ from so-called 'Momentary verbs', which may express a punctual situation, too (5) (cf. below 15.3)

In contradistinction to Momentary verbs, Achievement-denoting verbs have the following characteristics:

(a) they cannot express progressivity when they replace ?almuDaar19 form in the combination kaana yaf9al 'used to do/was doing' (or the
like). Thus, while (71), with a momentary verb as a main verb, is ambiguous, (72), with the main verb being an achievement, is not.

(71) kunnaa naduqqu 9alaa baabi baytihii fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

a. We were knocking on his house door at one o'clock p.m.
b. We used to knock on his house door at one o'clock p.m.

(72) kunnaa naSilu ?ila lmadiinati fi 09aaminati Sabaaahaa
We used to arrive at the city at eight o'clock a.m.

(b) they can have associated with them neither an '?ilaa-Duration adjunct' (cf. below p. 370) nor a nominally realized duration adjunct (cf. below p. 369; Al-Saffar, p. 442; Lyons, 1977, II, 712, and Vendler, pp. 102-3), as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (73 - 74), respectively.

(73) *waSaluu ?ila lmadiinati ?ila SSabaah
They arrived at the city until the morning

(74) *lamahahuu xamsa saa9aat
He glanced at him five hours

It should be noted also that though like Achievement-denoting verbs, those with an ingressive meaning express a punctual situation in some sense (they express entry into a state (cf. above p. 331)) they cannot be confused with them: the former lack the latter characteristic indicated above (pp.331-2) and, in contradistinction to Achievement-denoting verbs, verbs with an ingressive meaning can function as main verb of a sentence introduced by the question kam 'mina lwaqt) 'for how long?'. Thus, while (75) is grammatical for the main verb is a verb with an ingressive meaning, (76) is not, for its main verb is an achievement-denoting verb.
kam ta’azzama lmaqwif
For how long did the situation get critical?

*kam (mina lwaqti) lamahthah
For how long did you glance at him?

15.1.5 Association with durative non-statics

The fifth type of verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts can associate has to do with 'Durative non-static verbs'. We have already mentioned a case where Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur with such verbs. This is the case where Durative non-static verbs express progressivity (cf. above 15.1.3). There remain to be discussed other cases. In order to discuss these other cases, we have to differentiate between Durative non-static verbs that are in construction with the auxiliary bada? 'start', and those that are not.

As for the former group, Instantive time adjuncts can associate with them. Examples are fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (77), fi llahzati llatii tarakathu fiiaha ?ummuh 'the moment his mother left him' in (78), and qabla iguruub 'before sunset' in (79).

I started talking to him of yesterday's story at one o'clock p.m.

(78) bada?a xaalidun yu9allimu TTifla ssibaahata fi llahZati llatii tarakathu fiiaha ?ummuh xaalid started teaching the child swimming the moment his mother left him

(79) bada?at Sihhatu TTifli tatahassanu qabla iguruub
The child's health started getting better before sunset.

It should be noted that the Instantive time adjuncts of (77 - 79) associate in fact with the combinations consisting of the auxiliary bada? and the durative non-stative verbs rather than with the verbs or the auxiliary alone: 'fi lwaahidati masaa?aa' in (77), for instance, does not express the time when the action of talking, or starting occurred, but when the beginning of the action of talking took place. Therefore, sentences (77 - 79) provide us with a case where the co-occurrence restriction between the adjunct and the main verb is best thought of as being between it and the combination of which the main verb is just an element (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 102; 216 fn 23). In other words, (77 - 79) provide us with a case where the auxiliary element of the predicate phrase plays a role in determining the collocability of an adjunct with a main verb.

Explaining the collocability of Instantive time adjuncts with the second group of Durative non-stative verbs, i.e. with Durative non-stative verbs that are not in construction with the auxiliary bada? 'start' (cf. above p. 342) requires, on the other hand, differentiating between two subclasses of such verbs:

(a) those that express a telic situation, i.e. a situation that has a terminal point, "a 'climax', which has to be reached if the action is to be what it is claimed to be" (Vendler, p. 100; cf. also p. 102, and Lyons, 1977, II, 711-12, where he and the former call the verbs expressing such a situation 'accomplishments' and 'accomplishment terms', respectively, and Comrie, pp. 44-5 where he calls the situations expressed by Vendler's accomplishment terms 'telic situations').

(b) those that express an atelic situation, i.e. a situation that has no set terminal point, or involves a process that does not lead up 'to
a well defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue' (Comrie, p. 45; cf. also Lyons, 1977, II, 711-12, and Vendler pp. 100 -102).

Examples of verbs expressing a telic situation are sta֨hammat 'have taken a bath' in (80), ?ixтара 'chose' in (81), ?акала 'ate' in (82), katabа 'wrote' in (83), daакара 'studied' in (84), ?а9адда 'prepared' in (85), ѣаnnаа 'sang' in (86), nazzаfa 'cleaned' in (87), and wazza9а 'distributed' in (88).

(80) 9indamaа та9uudu satakuunu qadi stahаммат
By the time you return she will have taken a bath

(81) ?ixтара 9алиyyn maa yuriид
9алиyy chose what he wants

(82) ?акла 9алиyyn Ta9aama 1гадаа?
9алиyy ate the dinner

(83) katabа 9алиyyni lxiTaаб
9алиyy wrote the letter

(84) daакара 9алиyyn darsа lqawaa9ид
9алиyy studied the grammar lesson

(85) ?а9адда xaалиdun maa nurийд
xaалиd prepared what we want

(86) ѣаnnаа xaалиdun ?uґniyah
xaалиd sang a song

(87) nazzаfat hуда lhugrah
hудаа cleaned the room

(88) wazza9а lmu9allimu lkutub
The teacher distributed the books
Examples of verbs expressing an atelic situation, on the other hand, are ?akala 'ate' in (89), daakara 'studied' in (90), yuqaatilu 'fight' in (91), rakaDa 'ran' in (92) and daara 'rotated' in (93).

(89) ?akala TTiflu
The child ate

(90) daakara 9aliyy
9aliyy studied

(91) sayuqaatilu lgay$u 19aliyy fi muntaSafi llayl
The army will fight the enemy at midnight

(92) rakaDa 9aliyy
9aliyy ran

(93) daarati Ilu9batu saa9ah
The roundabout (lit. 'toy') rotated an hour

Before explaining the collocability of Instantive time adjuncts with Durative non-stative berbs that are not in construction with the auxiliary bada? 'start' regardless of whether they express a telic or an atelic situation, the following points related to the verbs expressing a telic situation need to be clarified:

(a) the first point is related to the features that distinguish between them and the verbs expressing an atelic situation. In contradistinction to verbs expressing an atelic situation, those denoting a telic one have the following characteristic: Duration adjuncts denoting length of time such as xamsa saa9aat '(for) five hours' cannot associate with them unless the telic situation they express is iterative. Consider for instance sentences (94 - 99).

(94) garaa xaalidun saa9ah
xaalid ran an hour
(95) ₲$arib uu ₲$aayan niSfa saa9ah

They drank tea for half an hour

(96) saʔaqraʔu haadíhi lʔaayata saa9atayn

I will read this verse for two hours

(97) Ǝjanaa haadíhi lʔůniyata .getElementsBy saa9aat

He sang this song three hours

(98) *ʔakala Ta9aama lʔadaaʔi saa9ah

He ate the dinner for an hour

(99) *ʔaŋraqu ddubba niSfa saa9ah

They drowned the bear for half an hour

Sentences (94 - 97) are grammatical. For the duration adjuncts
saa9ah 'an hour' and niSfa saa9ah 'for half an hour' on the one hand,
and saa9atayn 'for two hours' and ElementsByTagName saa9aat 'three hours' on
the other, associate with verbs expressing an atelic situation, i.e.
with garaa 'ran' and ₲$arib 'drank', and with verbs denoting an
iterative telic situation, i.e. with ?aqraʔu 'read', and Ǝjanaa '(he)
sang', respectively. Sentences (98 - 99), on the other hand, are
ungrammatical. For the duration adjunct saa9ah 'for an hour' and
niSfa saa9ah 'for half an hour' co-occur with verbs expressing a telic
but not iterative situation, i.e. with ʔakala '(he) ate' and ʔaŋraq
drowned, respectively.

(b) the second point related to verbs expressing a telic situation
has to do with the differences and similarities between them and
Achievement-denoting verbs (cf. above 15.1.4 ). It is understood
from what has been indicated above that Duration adjuncts denoting
length of time can associate with neither Achievement denoting verbs
nor with verbs expressing a telic situation. Both types of verbs
however differ from each other in relation to their ability to express progressivity. It was indicated above that Achievement-denoting verbs do not express a progressive situation. Verbs expressing a telic situation, on the other hand, can express progressivity as indicated by sentences (100 - 101).

(100) Kaanat tunazzifu lhugrah
       She was cleaning the room

(101) kaan yaq’kulu Ta9aama Ijadaa?
       He was eating the dinner

(c) the third point having to do with verbs expressing a telic situation is related to whether it is possible to call them telic verbs as verbs expressing achievement could be called Achievement verbs. To answer this question consider the following sentences:

(102) daakara muhammad
       muhammad studied

(103) daakara muhammadun darsa lqawa9id
       muhammad studied the grammar lesson

(104) yaqra?u lmuslimu lqur?aan
       The Muslim reads the Koran

(105) qara?a lmuslimu lqur?aan
       The Muslim read the Koran

(106) sayaZallu yu4janni 1u4niyah
       He will continue to sing the song

(107) 4anna 1u4niyah
       He sang the song

(108) 4annaa ?u4niyah
       He sang a song
Sentences (102 - 110) show that 'telicity' ought to be thought of as a situational rather than a verb feature. For they indicate that whether a Durative non-stative verb expresses a telic situation has to do with factors that are not related to its internal structure. Among those factors are those exhibited by sentences (102 - 110), which are as follows:

(i) that the verb is used transitively not intransitively in its absolute sense;

(ii) that the verb does not refer to an ongoing tendency for somebody to do something, or for a happening to occur;

(iii) that the verb does not express iterativity;

(iv) that the object must be countable, if it is indefinite.

Thus, while daakara 'studied' in (103), qara'a 'read' in (105), gaanna 'sang' in (107), gaanna 'sang' in (108), and arib 'drank' in (109) express a telic situation for they satisfy the aforementioned conditions, daakara 'studied' in (102), yaqra'u 'reads' in (104), yuğanni: 'to sing' in (106), and arib 'drank' in (110) express an atelic situation, for they do not satisfy the aforementioned conditions: daakara 'studied' in (102) is used intransitively, yaqra'u 'reads' in (104) expresses the Muslim's ongoing tendency to read the Koran, yuğanni 'to sing' in (106) expresses an iterative situation, and finally arib 'drank' in (110) has an object that is both indefinite and uncountable.
(d) the last point related to verbs expressing a telic situation has to do with verbs such as tabalwara(ti) 'has crystalized' in (111).

(111) tabalwarati lfikrah

The idea has crystalized

Verbs such as tabalwara(ti) 'has crystalized' in (111) and halla 'became lawful' in (112) have an ingressive meaning.

(112) halla lanaa daalik

That became lawful for us

There is however a difference between 'tabalwara(ti)' and 'halla': while the former has a terminal point, and, therefore, it expresses a telic situation, the latter does not, and hence it expresses an atelic situation. Verbs such as tabalwara(ti) 'has crystalized' in (111) will therefore be referred to as the tabalwar subclass of either (i) verbs with an ingressive meaning, which differ from their counterparts in that they express a telic situation as well; or (ii) verbs expressing a telic situation, which differ in the two following things from their counterparts, i.e. those expressing a telic situation but not both a telic situation and an ingressive meaning (e.g. daakara 'studied' in (103)):

(i) unlike verbs expressing only a telic situation, those belonging to 'tabalwar subclass' constitute with their subjects combinations paraphrasable by those consisting of their subjects and the verb Saar 'become' + their active participles (cf. above pp.331-2): while tabalwara(ti) lfikrah 'the idea has crystalized'in (111) is paraphrasable by ?aSbahi LFikratu mutabalwirah 'the idea has become crystalized', daakara muhammadun 'muhammad studied' in (103) is not paraphrasable by Saara muhammadun mu-daakiraa 'muhammad has become studying'.

(ii) in contradistinction to verbs expressing a telic situation, but not both a telic situation and an ingressive meaning (cf. above p. 349) verbs belonging to 'tabalwar subclass' can unconditionally associate with 'duration adjuncts' expressing length of time, as indicated by (113).

(113) tabalwarati ifikratu saagah

The idea crystalized (i.e. became clear) for an hour

Having both indicated the difference between verbs expressing a telic situation and those expressing an atelic one, and showed the difference between the former and other verb categories with which they can get confused (cf. above pp. 345-9) let us go back to the collocability of Instantive time adjuncts with Durative non-stative verbs that are not in construction with the auxiliary bada'a 'start' (cf. above p. 342), regardless of whether they express a telic or an atelic situation. This collocability can be summed up as follows. Instantive time adjuncts can associate with Durative non-stative verbs that express a telic situation in two cases:

(a) when they are preceded by the particle sa/sawf 'shall/will', e.g. yudaakiru 'study' in (114), yu9iddu 'prepare' in (115), and tunazzifu 'clean' in (116), with which the following Instantive time adjuncts associate, respectively: fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.', fi ooaaniyati masaa?aa 'at two o'clock p.m.', and qabla lguuruub 'before suisie'.

(114) sayu9daakiru 9aliyyun darsa lgawa9aa9idi fi lwaahidati

masaa?aa

9aliyy will study the grammar lesson at one o'clock p.m.

(115) sayu9iddu xaalidun maa nuriidu fi ooaaniyati masaa?aa
xaalid will prepare what we want at two o'clock p.m.

(116) satunaa2Zifu huda lmugrata qabla lghuruub

huda will clean the room before sunset

(b) when they occur in ?almaaDii form (cf. above p.322 fn. 3)

e.g. ?ittaxad? 'took' in (117), ?ixtaara 'chose' in (118), and kataba 'wrote' in (119), with which the following Instantive time adjuncts associate, respectively: fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.', lahZata ?an daxalat su9aad 'the moment su9aad came in' and fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.'

(117) ?ittaxad? xaalidun qaraaran bixusuusi daalika fi

lwaahidati masaa?aa

xaalid took a decision concerning that at one o'clock p.m.

(118) ?ixtaara 9aliyyun maa yuriidu lahZata ?an daxalat su9aad

9aliyy chose what he wanted the moment su9aad came in

(119) katabati lxiTa&ba' fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

She wrote the letter at one o'clock p.m.

As for Durative non-stative verbs that express an atelic situation, Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur with them in a number of cases, among which are the following ones:

(a) when they are prefixed by the particle sa/sawf 'shall/will', e.g. yuqaatilu 'fight' in (120), and yarkuDulruun 'run' in (121), with which the following Instantive time adjuncts associate, respectively: fi muntaSafi llayl 'at midnight', and fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.'

(120) sayuqaatilu lgay?u l9aduuwa fii muntaSafi llayl

The army will fight the enemy at midnight
sayarkuDu 9aliyyun fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
9aliyy will run at one o'clock p.m.

when they occur in ?almuDaari9 form (cf. above p. 321, fn.1),
e.g. yarkuDu 'runs' in (122), yuğannii 'sings' in (123), and
tudaakiru 'studies' in (124).

yarkuDu 9aliyyun fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
9aliyy runs at one o'clock p.m.

yuğannii xaalidun ?uğniyatahuu fi Qaaniyati masaa?aa
xaalid sings his song at two o'clock p.m.

tudaakiru hudaaxa9da 19a$aa?
hudaa studies after supper

The question arises: Why do not Durative non-stative verbs
expressing a telic situation (cf. above p. 343) have a similar case
to that exemplified by their counterparts, expressing an atelic situation
in (122 - 124)? The answer is that verbs occurring in ?almuDaari9
form express an ongoing tendency 'that can go on indefinitely'
(Comrie, p. 45, and cf. above p. 348), which is an atelic not telic
situation. In sentence (123), for example, the verb yuğannii 'sings'
denotes xaalid's ongoing tendency to sing, and if it is replaced by
ğannaax 'sang', as in (125), the situation will be rendered telic.

yuğannia xaalidun ?uğniyatahuu fi Qaaniyati masaa?aa
xaalid sang his song at two o'clock p.m.

when they (i.e. Durative non-stative verbs that express an
aticic situation) occur in ?almaaDii form (cf. above p.322 fn. 3)
e.g. qaatala 'fought' in (126), rakada 'ran' in (127), and ğannaax
'sang' in (128), with which the following Instantive time adjuncts
associate, respectively: fi funtaSa$i llayl 'at midnight', fi lwaahidati
Sabaa'haa 'at one o'clock a.m.', and fi 9aaniyati masaa?aa 'at two o'clock p.m.'

(126) qaatala lgaySu l9aduwwa fii muntaSafi llayl
The army fought the enemy at midnight

(127) rakaDa 9aliyyun fi lwaahidati Sabaa'haa
9aliyy ran at one o'clock a.m.

(128) 9annaaxaalidun fi 9aaniyati masaa?aa
xaalid sang at two o'clock p.m.

It should be noted that Durative non-stative verbs that both express a telic or atelic situation and are prefixed by the particle sa/sawf 'will/shall' as well as Durative non-stative verbs that express an atelic situation and occur in ?almaaDii or ?almaDaa19 form, express the starting-points of the actions they denote, when Instantive time adjuncts associate with them. Thus, in order for them to have their correct lexical readings, the verbal elements of the combinations consisting of one of these Durative non-stative verbs and an Instantive time adjunct, which seem to be semantically improbable combinations, ought to be assigned the feature [+ inceptive] when they have an Instantive time adjunct associated with them (cf. below 20.2.2.2.2).

As for the Durative non-stative verbs that express a telic situation and occur in ?almaaDii form (cf. above p.322), their semantic readings are as well affected by Instantive time adjuncts association with them: they express the attainment of the terminal points of the situations they express, which is a concept semantically conceivable of as being capable of occurring at an instantaneous period of time (cf. Comrie, p. 46). Accordingly in order for them to have their correct lexical readings such Durative verbs ought to be assigned the feature [+ completive](7), when
accompanied by an Instantive time adjunct.

15.1.6 Association with stative verbs

The last category with which Instantive time adjuncts associate are related to stative verbs. We have indicated above that certain verbs including stative verbs are assigned the feature [+ ingressive] when they occur in certain forms (cf. above 15.1.2), and that Instantive time adjuncts can associate with the verbs so marked. It should be noted here that an Instantive time adjunct associates with a verb marked with the feature [+ ingressive] has nothing to do with whether its counterpart, which does not express entry into a state, is a stative verb, a verb of doing or a verb of happening. In fact verbs marked with the feature [+ ingressive] are in a sense verbs of happening. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

(129) a. sayatafahhamu xaalidun muškilataka fi Imasaa?
    xaalid will try to understand your problem in the evening

b. tafahhama xaaliduni lmas?alata lahZata ?an xaragt xaalid came to understand the problem the moment you went out

(130) a. yamliku 9aliyyun baytan fi lqaahirah
    9aliyy is the owner of a house in Cairo

b. malaka 9aliyyun baytan fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
    9aliyy became the owner of a house at one o'clock

While yatafahhamu 'try to understand' in (129)a., which is a verb of doing not marked with the feature [+ ingressive], can occur in answer either to a question comparable to (131) or to (132), which is a characteristic of Verbs of doing (cf. above 14.2.1), its counterpart.
"came to understand" in (129)b., which is marked with the feature [+ ingressive], can occur only in answer to question (132), which is a characteristic of Verbs of happening (cf. above 14.2.1)

(131) maadaa fa9ala X

What did X do?

(132) maadaa hada9

what happened?

On the other hand, whereas yamliku 'is the owner of' in (130)a., which is a stative verb not marked with the feature [+ ingressive], can occur in answer neither to a question comparable to (131) nor to (132) (which is a characteristic of Stative verbs (cf. above 14.2.2)), its counterpart malaka 'became the owner of' in (130)b., which is marked with the feature [+ ingressive], can occur only in answer to question (132), which, as indicated above, is a characteristic of Verbs of happening.

Having indicated this, let us discuss the collocability of Instantive time adjuncts with the stative verbs that do not express entry into a state. To do this requires distinguishing between two groups of such stative verbs: (i) those that are able to express entry into a state when they are prefixed by sa/sawf 'shall/will', or occur in ?almaadii form (cf. above p.322 fn.3) e.g.?ihtaag 'be in need', malak 'be the owner of', ?ahabb 'like', 9alim 'know, naqaS 'be less', xafiya 'be hidden', ta$aaabah 'be alike', ?istakaan 'be humble', qadar 'be able', ?aaman 'believe', kafar 'disbelieve', raDiya 'be pleased', etc. (ii) those that are not able to express entry into a state when they occur in ?almaadii form or are prefixed by the particle sa/sawf 'shall/will', e.g. sami9 'hear', ra?aa 'see', ragaa 'want', ?aamul 'hope', etc.

Instantive time adjuncts can associate with the stative verbs
belonging either to group (i) or (ii), as indicated by sentences (133 - 136), and (137 - 138), respectively.

(133) yahtaagu 9aliyyun ?ilaa ?abihi fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
9aliyy becomes in need of his father at one o'clock p.m.

(134) tata$aabahu l?umuuru 9alaa xaalidin lahZata ?an ya$Dab
Things become alike to xaalid the moment he becomes angry

(135) ya9lamu 9aliyyun maa yufrihuhuu fi 9aaniyati masaa?aa
9aliyy knows what pleases him at two o'clock p.m.

(136) yanquwu haznu hudaa fi lwaahidati Sabaahan laakin
yaziidu fi 9aaniyati masaa?aa
hudaa's weight becomes less at one o'clock a.m. but it increases at two o'clock p.m.

(137) tasma9u hadaa Saraxaatin mxiifatan fi 9aaniyati Sabaahaa
hudaa hears frightful screams at two o'clock a.m.

(138) yaraa xaalidun ?a$baahan fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa
xaalid sees ghosts at one o'clock a.m.

There is however a difference between stative verbs belonging to group (i) and those belonging to group (ii) as to their interpretations when they are accompanied by Instantive time adjuncts: while the former express entry into a state, the latter express the start of a state (cf. Comrie, p. 50). Therefore, in order for the stative verbs under discussion to have their appropriate lexical readings, those belonging to group (i), which are marked with the feature [+ ingressive in ?almaadii or being prefixed by sa/sawf], ought to be assigned the feature [+ ingressive] when they accompany Instantive time adjuncts, and those belonging to group (ii), which are marked with the feature
[-ingressive in ?almaaDii or being prefixed by sa/sawf] ought to be assigned the feature [+ inceptive] when they are accompanied by Instantive time adjuncts.

It should be noted however that there are bound to be ill-formed stative verb-instantive time adjunct combinations such as that of (139).

(139) yanquSu waznu qiT9ati lhadiidi 9anwazni qiT9ati lxa%abi llatii tusaawiihaa hagman fi llahZati llatii ta9uudu fiihhaa

The weight of the piece of iron becomes less than that of the piece of wood that is equal to it in size the moment you return.

This need not bother us. For they are pragmatically not linguistically ill-formed (cf. Radford, p. 8; p. 10): the decision that sentence (136) is both pragmatically and linguistically well-formed, while (139) is linguistically well-formed but pragmatically ill-formed rests on the fact that our experience of the situation expressed by yanquSu 'becomes less' in the former but not in the latter sentence tells us that it is a situation that may differ from time to time, and, hence, it makes sense to locate it in a particular time such as fi lwaahidati Sabanhaa 'at one o'clock a.m.'

15.2 Time Frame Adjuncts

Time frame adjuncts express the occurrence of an action or a happening or the existence of a state within a period of time (cf. Geis, p. 142 and Schimizzi, pp. 106-7). Depending on the main verbs with which they associate, Time frame adjuncts might 'refer to points in time' or spans in time (Geis, p. 43), e.g. respectively
fii laylati lqadr 'on the night of power' in (140) and fii manaamihaa 'in its sleep' in (141), and bil9asiyyi wa l?ibkaar 'in the early hours of night and morning' in (142) and billayli 'in the night' in (143).

(140) ?innaa ?anzalnaahu fii laylati lqadr (97/1)
Surely, We sent it (i.e. the Koran) down (to the nearest heaven) on the night of power

(141) ?allaahu yatawaffa l?anfusa hiina mawtihaa wa llati
lam tamut fii manaamihaa (39/42)
Allah receives (men's) souls at the time of their death, and that (soul) which does not die in its sleep

(142) wa sabbih bil9asiyyi wa l?ibkaar (3/41)
And praise (Him) in the early hours of night and morning

(143) qul man yakla?ukum billayli wa nnahaari mina m?rahmaan (21/42)
Say: Who guards you in the night and in the day from the Beneficent?

The Time frame adjuncts in (140 - 141) refer to points in time, for the verbs ?anzal 'sent down' and yatawaffa 'receives', with which they co-occur, respectively, are momentary verbs. Those in (142 - 143), on the other, denote spans in time, for the verbs sabbih 'praise' and yakla?u 'guards', with which they associate, respectively, are marked with the feature [durative].

Time frame adjuncts resemble Instantive time adjuncts in terms of their ability to become a reply to some question words. For
example, both of them can occur as an answer to mataa 'when'.

Also, they resemble one another in terms of some of their association with main verbs. To explain this last similarity, and the co-occurrence restrictions between Time frame adjuncts and main verbs, let us discuss the former association with the latter.

Time frame adjuncts co-occurrence with main verbs can be summed up as follows (8):

1. Like Instantive time adjuncts, Time frame adjuncts can co-occur with either (a) the Stative verbs expressing an ingressive meaning, e.g. fi SSayf 'in summer' in (144): it co-occurs with 9arafa 'knew', which is a stative verb expressing an ingressive meaning.

   (144) 9arafa xaalidun daalika fi SSayf
   xaalid knew that in summer

   or (b) the Stative verbs that do not express an ingressive meaning regardless of whether or not they are able to express such a meaning (cf. above 15.1.6), e.g. respectively fi lmasaa? 'in the evening' in (145) and fi llayl 'at night' in (146): the former associates with tata$aabahu 'become alike', which is a stative verb able to express an ingressive meaning when it occurs in ?almaaDii form or prefixed by sa/sawf 'shall/will' (cf. above 15.1.6), and the latter associates with tasma9u 'hears', which is a stative verb not able to express an ingressive meaning (cf. above 15.1.6).

   (145) tata$aabahu l?umuruu 9alaa xaalidin fi lmasaa?
   Things become alike to xaalid in the evening

   (146) tasma9u hudaa Saraxaatin muxtifatan fi llayl
   hudaa hears frightful screams at night

As is the case with Instantive time adjuncts in association with Stative verbs, there are however bound to be ill-formed combinations consisting of Stative verbs and Time frame adjuncts, e.g. taqdiru (9ala lhamli) fi SSabaah 'is able (to become pregnant)
in the morning' in (147) and yanquSu fi $6itaa? 'becomes less in winter' in (148).

(147) taqdiru lmar?atu la rragulu 9ala lhamli fi SSabaah
The woman not the man is able to become pregnant in
the morning

(148) yanquSu waznu qiT9ati lxa$abi 9an wazni qiT9ati lhadiidi
llatii tusaawiibaa h-agman fi $6itaa?
The weight of the piece of wood becomes less than that
of the piece of iron that is equal to it in size in
winter

Such combinations will be regarded as being pragmatically not
linguistically ill-formed (cf. above p. 357).

2. Like Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1.1), Time frame
adjuncts can co-occur with Momentary verbs. Examples of the latter
category of adjuncts associating with Momentary verbs are bil?amsi
'the day before' in (149), fii daalika lyawm 'on that day' in (150),
and fii manaamihaa 'in its sleep' in (151).

(149) fa?ida lladi stanSarahuu bil?amsi yastaSrixuh (28/18)
When behold; he who had asked him for assistance the
day before cried out to him for help

(150) Safa9ahuu waaliduhuu 9alaa waghihii fii daalika lyawm
His father slapped him on his face on that day

(151) ?allaahu yatawaffa 1?anfusa hiina mawtiibaa wa llatii
lam tamut fii manaamihaa (39/42)
Allah receives (men's) souls at the time of their
death, and that (soul) which does not die in its
sleep
3. The third category of verbs with which Time frame adjuncts can associate has to do with verbs expressing progressivity. In contradistinction to Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1.3) Time frame adjuncts can co-occur with the verbs that have a progressive meaning referring to an intrinsically developing happening (cf. above p. 338). Examples of time frame adjuncts associating with such verbs are fii tilka 1fatrati min hukmiidh 'in that period of his government' in (152), and fii tilka 1ayyaami 'in these days' in (153).

(152) kaanati 1?ahwaalu liqtiSaadiyyatu tasuu?u fii tilka 1fatrati min hukmiidh biTariiqatin lam ya9hadhaa ?ahadun min qabl
The economic situation was getting worse in that period of his government in a manner with which nobody was acquainted before

(153) laakinna Sihhatahuu kaanat tatahassanu fii tilka 1ayyaami qaliilan qaliilaa
But his health was getting gradually better in these days

Like Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1.3), Time frame adjuncts can co-occur also with verbs with progressive meaning not referring to an intrinsically developing happening (cf. above p. 338). Examples of Time frame adjuncts associating with such verbs are fii Sabaahi daalika lyawm 'on that day morning' in (154) and fii masaa?i'.lyawmi ssaaabiq 'on the evening of the preceding day' in (155).

(154) kuntu ?aktubu xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatii fii Sabaahi daalika lyawm
I was writing a letter to my mother on that day morning
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(155) kaanati lmadiinatu tahtariqu fii masaa'i lyawmi ssaabiq
The city was burning on the evening of the preceding day

4. Like Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1.2 ), Time frame adjuncts can co-occur with verbs expressing an ingressive meaning or able to express an ingressive meaning, i.e. with verbs marked with the feature [+ ingressive] or the feature [+ ingressive in ?almaaDii or being prefixed by sa/sawf ] (cf. above p. 334 ; p. 354 ; p. 356 ). Consider sentences (156 – 158).

(156) a. yaOtaddu 9alAa talaamiidihii fi SSaabah
He becomes harsh towards his pupils in the morning
b. ?iOtadda 9alaa talaamiidihii fi SSaabah
He became harsh towards his pupils in the morning

(157) a. tatawarramu qadamaahu fi $$itaa?
His feet become swollen in winter
b. tawarramat qadamaahu fi $$itaa?
His feet became swollen in the winter

(158) a. yahtaagu xaalidun ?ilaa 9aliyyin fi SSayf
xaalid becomes in need of 9aliyy in summer
b. ?ihtaaga 9aliyyun ?ilaa maahirin fii Sayfi 19aami lmaaDii
9aliyy became in need of maahir in the summer of last year

fi SSaabah 'in the morning' in (156) a., fi $$itaa? 'in winter' in (157)a. and fi SSayf 'in summer' in (158)a. associate respectively with ya$taddu 'becomes harsh', tatawarramu 'become swollen', and
yahtaagu (?ilaa) 'becomes in need (of)', which are able to express an ingressive meaning, i.e. have the feature [+ ingressive in ?almaaDii or being prefixed by sa/sawf]. The Time frame adjuncts fi SSabaah 'in the morning' in (156)b., fi $gitaat 'in the winter' in (157)b., and fi Sayfi 19aami lmaaDii 'in the summer of last year' in (158)b., on the other hand, associate respectively with ?istadda 'became harsh', tawarrama(t) 'became swollen', and ?intaaga 'became in need', which express an ingressive meaning, i.e. have the feature [+ ingressive].

Contextual examples of Time frame adjuncts associating with the verb category in question are fi l?aaixirah 'in the Hereafter' in (159), fi ddunyaa (wa l?aaixirah) 'in the World (and the Hereafter)' in (160), fihi 'when' in (161), and fi llayli (wa nnahaar) 'in the night (and the day)' in (162).

(159) bali ddaarakah 9ilmuhum fi l?aaixirah (27/66)
Nay, their knowledge will become a fact in the Hereafter

(160) fa?ulaa?ika habiTat ?a9maaluhum fi ddunyaa wa l?aaixirah (2/217)
Such are they whose work will become futile in the World and the Hereafter

(161) ?innamaa yu?aaixiruhum liyawmin ta$xasU fihi 1?abSaar (14/42)
He but gives them a respite till a day when eyes will stare (in terror)

(162) wa lahuu maa sakana fi llayli wa nnahaar (6/13)
To Him belongs whatever becomes still in the night and the day
5. The fifth category of verbs with which Time frame adjuncts can associate has to do with Durative non-stative verbs.

There are similarities and differences between Time frame adjuncts and Instantive time adjuncts as to their association with the verb category in question. To begin with like Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above p. 342), Time frame adjuncts can associate with Durative non-stative verbs that are in construction with the auxiliary bada? 'start'. Examples of Time frame adjuncts associating with such verbs are fii Sabaahi daalika lyawm 'on that day morning' in (163), and fi SSabaah 'in the morning' in (164).

(163) bada?at Si?hatuhuu tatahassanu fii Sabaahi daalika lyawm
His health started improving on that day morning

(164) bada?naa natahadda?u ?awla daalika lmawDuu9i fi SSabaah
We started talking about that topic in the morning

Secondly, like Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above pp. 350-1), Time frame adjuncts can associate with Durative non-stative verbs that are not in construction with bada? 'start', express a telic situation (cf. above p. 343), and are prefixed by sa/sawf or occur in ?almaaDii form; examples of Time frame adjuncts associating with such verbs are fi SSabaah 'in the morning' in (165), fii masaa?i daalika lyawm 'in the evening of that day' in (166), and bil9a?iyyi 'in the evening' in (167).

(165) sayudaakiru 9aliyyun darsa lqawaa9idi fi SSabaah
9aliyy will study the grammar lesson in the morning
(166) daakara 9aliyyun darsa lqawaa9idi fii masaa?i daalika lyawm

9aliyy studied the grammar lesson in the evening of that day

(167) ?id 9uriDa 9alayhi bil9aliyyi SSaafinaatu lgiyaad

When there were shown to him in the evening lightfooted coursers

Time frame adjuncts, however, differ from Instantive time adjuncts as to the interpretation of the category of verbs in question when associating with them. To explain this, consider the following sentences, the PPs of which function as Instantive time adjuncts, and resemble those of (165 - 166), respectively in terms of the category of verbs with which they associate.

(168) sayudaakiru 9aliyyun darsa lqawaa9idi fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

9aliyy will study the grammar lesson at one o'clock p.m.

(169) daakara 9aliyyun darsa lqawaa9idi fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

9aliyy studied the grammar lesson at one o'clock p.m.

To begin with, verbs such as (sa)yudaakiru '(will) study' in (165), with which a Time frame adjunct associates, may mean either (i) that the actions they denote will start, e.g. (sa)yudaakiru '(will) study' in (165) and (sa)yabni '(will) build' in (170), or (ii) that the same actions will be accomplished (e.g. (sa)yudaakiru '(will) study' in (165) or completed (e.g. (sa)yabni '(will) build' in (170)) within the periods identified by the nominal elements of the Time frame adjuncts associating with them.
The workers will build the palace in the morning.

However, whether these verbs are able to express the first or the second alternative of (ii) depends on a non-linguistic information having to do with their objects, i.e. with whether they can be accomplished within the periods identified by the nominal elements of the Time frame adjuncts associating with their verbs, e.g. respectively darsa lqawaa9idi 'the grammar lesson', the object of (sa)yudaakiru '(will) study' in (165) and lqaSra 'the palace', the object of (sa)yabni '(will) build' in (170). On the other hand, verbs such as (sa)yudaakiru '(will) study' in (168), with which an Instantive time adjunct associates, express only meaning (i): for example '(sa)yudaakiru' in (168) denotes the starting-point of the action of studying. Secondly, whereas daakara 'studied' in (166), with which a Time frame adjunct associates, means 'accomplished the action of studying' without referring to or singling out the final stage of it, that of (169), with which an Instantive time adjunct associates, means 'completed the action of studying'. That this difference is real is indicated by the fact that only (166) can be expanded by a duration phrase such as fii niSfi saa9ah 'in half an hour', which indicates the time spent in accomplishing the action of studying the grammar lesson in the evening of that day (cf. below p. 369).

The final point related to Time frame adjuncts association with Durative non-stative verbs is that, like Instantive time adjuncts, they can co-occur with Durative non-stative verbs that are not in construction with bada? 'start', express an atelic situation (cf. above pp. 343-4), and occur in ?almuDaarir or ?almaaDii form, or are prefixed by sa/sawf 'shall/will'. Examples of Time frame adjuncts
associating with such verbs are fi saa9ati 19usrah 'in the hour of hardship' in (171), yawma lqiyaamah 'on the Day of Resurrection' in (172), fi ssarraa?i (w. DDarraa?) 'in ease and in adversity' in (173), fi SSabaah 'in the morning' and fi lmasaa? 'in the evening' in (174), fi lmasaa? 'in the evening' in (175), and fi SSabaah 'in the morning' in (176).

(171) ?alladiina ttaba9uuhu fii saa9ati 19usrah (9/117)
Who followed him in the hour of hardship

(172) ?inna rabbaka yaqDii baynahum yawma lqiyaamah (10/93)
Surely, your Lord will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection

(173) ?alladiina yunfiquuna fi ssarraa?i wa DDarraa? (3/134)
Those who spent (of that which Allah has given them) in ease and in adversity

(174) ṭaakara 9aliyyun fi lhadiiqati fi SSabaah wa fii ẖugratihii fi lmasaa?
9aliyy studied in the garden in the morning and in his room in the evening

(175) sayudaakiru 9aliyyun fi lmasaa?
9aliyy will study in the evening

(176) yudaakiru 9aliyyun fi SSabaah
9aliyy studies in the morning

The interpretation of the category of verbs in question when accompanied by an Instantive time adjunct differs however from their interpretation when accompanied by a Time frame adjunct. Those accompanied by an Instantive time adjunct express, as indicated above (cf. p. 353), the starting-points of the actions they denote regardless
of whether they occur in ?almaadii or ?almuDaari9 form, or are prefixed by sa/sawf. Therefore, as mentioned above (cf. p. 353), they are to be assigned the feature [+ inceptive] when they are accompanied by an Instantive time adjunct. Those accompanied by a Time frame adjunct, on the other hand, express the starting-points of the actions they denote, or indicate that they are done for some time. Hence, the sentence in question could be expanded by a nominally realized adjunct such as sa9ah 'an hour', niSfa sa9ah 'half an hour', etc. (cf. below p. 369) Sentences (175) and (176), for instance, could be expanded by sa9atayn '(for) two hours'.

6. The sixth and final category of verbs with which Time frame adjuncts can associate has to do with Achievement-denoting verbs. Like Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above §5.1.4), Time frame adjuncts can co-occur with Achievement-denoting verbs. Examples of the latter associating with the verb category in question are 'fii masaa?i lyawmi nafsih 'on the evening of the same day' in (177), fi SSabaahr 'in the morning' in (178), and masaa?aa 'in the evening' in (179).

(177) bada?a lmitihaunu lhaqiqiyu fii masaa?i lyawmi nafsih
      The real test started on the evening of the same day

(178) sanaSilu ?ila lmadiinati fi SSabaahr
      We will arrive at the city in the morning

(179) sayantahi lliqaa?u masaa?aa
      The meeting will come to an end in the evening

15.3 Duration Adjuncts

On both a semantic and syntactic basis Duration adjuncts are subclassified into the following subclasses:
(i) Those expressing extension over a period of time (cf. Vestergaard, p. 76; Quirk et al., p. 486), e.g. Galaaga'ta 'ayyaam 'three days' in (180), sab9a layaal 'for seven nights' in (181) and ?arba9iina sanah 'for forty years' in (182).

(180) tamatta9uu fii daarikum Galaaga'ta 'ayyaam (11/65)

Enjoy life in your dwelling three days

(181) wa ?ammaa 9aadun fa?uhlikuu biriihin Sarsarin 9aatiyah saxxarahaa 9alayhim sab9a layaal (69/6-7)

And as for 9aad, they were destroyed by a fierce roaring wind. Which He imposed on them for seven nights

(182) qaala fa?innahaa muharramatun 9alayhim ?arba9iina sanah (5/26)

He said: For this the land will surely be forbidden them for forty years.

(ii) Those denoting 'time spent in doing something' (Vestergaard, p. 76), or the time at the end of which a happening takes place. Such duration adjuncts will be called fii- Duration adjuncts, e.g. respectively fii sittati 'ayyaam 'in six days' in (183), and fii $ahr 'in a month' in (184).

(183) ?inna rabbakumu llaahu lladii xalaqa ssamaawaati wa l?arDa fii sittati 'ayyaam (10/3)

Surely, your Lord is Allah Who created the heavens and the earth in six days

(184) ?ixDarrati lhadiiqatu fii $ahr

The garden became green in a month
(iii) Those expressing the continuity of what is denoted by the verbs with which they associate until some point in the future (cf. Vestergaard, p. 76). Such duration adjuncts will be called ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts, e.g. ?ilaa muntaSafi llayl 'until midnight' in (185) and ?ilaa yawmi yub9a@uun 'till the day when they are raised' in (186).

(185) sayuclaakiru maahirun ?ilaa muntaSafi llayl

maahir will study until midnight

(186) fa?anzirnii ?ilaa yawmi yub9a@uun (15/36)

Reprëve me till the day when they are raised

Co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and subclass 'i' do not concern us. For they are not prepositionally realized. As for the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and the other two subclasses, which are prepositionally realized, they can be summed up as follows:

To begin with, Duration adjuncts belonging to subclass (ii) or to subclass (iii) cannot co-occur with verbs expressing progressivity or having a future perfect meaning (cf. Comrie, p. 53). Thus, the verbs with which they associate must be assigned either the feature [-progressive] or the feature [-future perfect], and sentences (187-190), for example, are ungrammatical.

(187) *kaanati lmadinatu laa tazaalu tahtariqu fii saa9ah

The city was still burning in an hour

(188) *sayakuunu ssaa?ilu qadi hmarra fii saa9atayn

The liquid will have turned red in two hours
In sentences (187) and (189) the prepositional phrases fīi saa9ah 'in an hour', and ?ila SSabaah 'till the morning', which belong to subclass (ii) and (iii) of Duration adjuncts, respectively, co-occur with main verbs expressing progressivity, i.e. with tahtariqu 'burning' and yata%aagaruuna 'arguing with one another'. In (188) and (190), on the other hand, the corresponding PPs fīi saa9atayn 'in two hours' and ?ilaa yawmi lgum9ati lqaadim 'until next Friday' co-occur with main verbs expressing a future perfect meaning, i.e. with hmarra 'have turned red', and 9addal 'have straightened'.

Secondly, fīi- Duration adjuncts co-occur with the following verbs:

1. Verbs expressing a telic situation (cf. above - p. 343), e.g. xalaqa 'created' in (191), qaDaa 'ordained' in (192), buniya 'was built' in (193) and qara?a 'read' in (194).

(191) quI ?a ?innakum latakf uruuna billadii xalaqa l?arDa fīi yawmayn (41/9)
Say: Do you disbelieve verily in Him who created the earth in two days?

(192) faqaDaahunna sab9a samaawaatin fīi yawmayn (41/12)
Then He ordained them seven heavens in two days
(193) buniya manziluhum fii sanah
Their house was built in a year

(194) qara?a xaaliduni lqiSSata fii yawm
xaalid read the story in a day

2. Verbs expressing an ingressive meaning (cf. above p. 331), e.g. ?inka?afa 'was disclosed' in (195), tatabalwaru 'crystallize' in (196) and yahmarru 'turn red' in (197).

(195) ?inka?afa ssirru fii lahZah
The secret was disclosed in a moment

(196) satatabalwaru lxiTTatu fii ?ayyaam
The plan will crystallize in days

(197) sayahmarru ssaa? ilu fii daqaa?i?q
The liquid will turn red in minutes

Thirdly, ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts (cf. above p. 370) co-occur with the following types of verbs:

1. Verbs marked with the feature [+ state-creating causative], e.g. tadaayan 'borrow from one another' in (198), ?agray 'stirred up' in (199), and yasgun 'to imprison' in (200).

(198) yaa ?ayyuha 1ladiina ?aamanuu ?idaa tadaayahtum
bidaynin ?ilaa ?agalin musamman faqtubuu (2/282)
O you who believe! When you borrow money from one another until a fixed period of time, record it in writing

(199) fa?agraynaa baynahumu l9adaawata wa lba?Daa?a ?ilaa yawmi lqiyaamah (5/14)
We have stirred up enmity and hatred among them till the Day of Resurrection
Then it seemed good to them after they had seen the
signs (of his innocence) to imprison him for a time

2. Verbs marked with the features [-stative] and [+durative],
e.g. mattā9 'gave comfort' in (201), yumatti9 'cause to enjoy' in
(202), taqqaagara 'argued with one another' in (203), tu?limu 'cause
pain to' in (204), and tarta9i$u 'shiver' in (205), with which the
following examples of ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts associate, respectively:

(201) wa matta9naahum ?ilaa hūn (10/98)
And gave them comfort for a while

(202) yumatti9šū mata9an ḥasanān ?ilaa ?agalin
musammaa (11/3)
He will cause you to enjoy a fair estate until a
time appointed

(203) taqqaagara 1qawmu ḥatta SSabaahr
The people argued with one another till the morning

(204) su?limuḥuu yaduhuu ḥutta lmasaa?
His hand will cause pain to him until the evening

(205) satarta9i$u yaduhuu ?ilaa Sabaahī 1ǧad
His hand will shiver till tomorrow morning

3. The third type of verbs with which ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts
can associate are related to Momentary verbs. To explain the
collocability of the former with the latter, let us subclassify Momentary verbs into the following subclasses:

(a) Momentary verbs that can occur in construction with the auxiliary Zall 'continue/keep (on)' or kaana laa yaazaal 'be still', e.g. ba9aθ/?arsal 'send', Daraba (9ala 1baab) 'knock (on the door)', baraq/?abraq 'emit bolts of lightning', Saffaq 'clap one's hands', Tabbal 'drum', sa9al 'cough', etc.

(b) Momentary verbs that cannot occur in construction with the auxiliary 'Zall' or 'kaana laa yaazaal' unless they and their antonyms are co-ordinated with one another, e.g. xarag 'go out', qa9ad 'sit down', qaam 'stand up', etc.

Having subclassified Momentary verbs, their collocability with ?ila- Duration adjuncts can be summed up as follows:

(i) Like other verbs, momentary verbs that are in construction with the auxiliary kaana laa yaazaal 'be still' cannot be accompanied by ?ila- Duration adjuncts: sentences (206 - 207), with ?ila- Duration adjuncts associating with members of the verb class in question, are ungrammatical.

(206) *kaana laa yaazaalu yas9ulu hatta SSabaah

He was still coughing till the morning

(207) *kaana laa yaazaalu yadxulu wa yaxrugu ?ilaamuntaSafi llayl

He was still coming in and going out until midnight

(ii) ?ila- Duration adjuncts can co-occur with class 'a' of Momentary verbs, regardless of whether they are in construction with the auxiliary Zall 'continue/keep (on)'; examples of the
former associating with the latter are ?ilaa yawmi lqiyaamati 'till the Day of Resurrection' in (208), hatta mutnasafi llayl 'till midnight' in (209), hatta SSabaah 'till the morning' in (210), and hatta l?uruub 'until sunset' in (211).

(208) wa ?id ta?addana rabbuka layab9a?anna 9alayhim ?ilaa yawmi lqiyaamati man yasuumuhum suu?a 19adaab (7/167)
And (remember) when your Lord proclaimed that He would send against them till the Day of Resurrection those who would lay on them a cruel torment

(209) sayuTabbiluuma hatta mutnasafi llayl
They will drum till midnight

(210) sayaZallu yas9ulu hatta SSabaah
He will continue to cough till the morning

(211) sayaZallu yuTabbilu hatta l?uruub
He will keep on drumming until sunset

(iii) Regardless of whether they are in construction with the auxiliary Zall 'continue/keep (on)', and provided they are co-ordinated with their antonyms, class 'b' of Momentary verbs can be accompanied by ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts; examples of ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts associating with members of the verb class in question are ?ilaa ?an yat9ab 'until he becomes tired' in (212), and ?ilaa ?an ta9uud 'until you return' in (213).

(212) sayaZallu yadxulu wa yaxrugu ?ilaa ?an yat9ab
He will keep on coming in and going out until he becomes tired

(213) sayaquumu wa yaq9udu ?ilaa ?an ta9uud
He will stand up and sit down until you return
It should be noted that when they occur in construction with the auxiliary Zall 'continue/keep (on)' or kaana laa yazaal 'be still', or are accompanied by ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts, both class 'a' and 'b' Momentary verbs express an iterative rather than semelfactive situation (cf. Comrie, p. 42).
Footnotes

1. For the justification of regarding as an Instantive time adjunct a combination such as 'before/after the strike' in 'he left the factory before/after the strike', see Geis, p. 150; p. 152.

2. It should be noted that 'lahZata lğuruub' is a nominal not a prepositional realization of Instantive time adjuncts; and though the non-prepositional realization of Adjunct does not concern us at all, they can be relied upon for explaining the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and prepositionally realized adjuncts. For the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and adjuncts have nothing to do with whether the latter category are prepositionally or non-prepositionally realized.

3. See Lyons, 1977, I, 483, where he regards Momentary verbs as a subclass of the verbs expressing a dynamic situation, and terms the situations they express 'events', and p. 712, where he disagrees with Vendler as to regarding as a subclass of process-denoting verbs verbs such as 'remember', 'forget', 'die', 'arrive', etc., which denote situations described by the latter as 'achievements'. For Lyons, 'achievements' are 'events', and therefore verbs denoting them are momentary verbs. See also above pp. 340-1 for the difference between 'Momentary verbs' as used in this thesis and 'Achievements'.

4. According to Geis, Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur 'with progressives' but not with 'non-progressive continuing activity verbs' (cf. Geis, pp. 38-9, respectively). She nevertheless does not indicate whether or not the progressive verbs she means include those of category (c) above (cf. p. 338), i.e. those such as
'was getting worse' in (i), 'was getting rich' in (ii), 'was getting weaker' in (iii), and 'is getting fatter' in (iv).

(i) The situation was getting worse day after day
(ii) He was getting rich in these days
(iii) He was getting weaker each day went by
(iv) He is getting fatter gradually

The examples she gives of progressives with which Instantive time adjuncts associate can be classified as 'Verbs of doing'. Among these examples is 'was working' in (v).

(v) Spiro was working on his speech at midnight
    (cf. Geis, p. 39)

5. See Comrie, p. 42, fn. 1 where he indicates that there are punctual (= momentary) situations rather than momentary verbs; 'though for convenience' he retains "the traditional practice of using the term 'punctual verb' for a verb referring to a punctual situation". See also p. 43 where he regards our Achievement-denoting verbs as 'punctual verbs', and p. 47, fn. 2 where he adds that they express a punctual situation 'in the strictest sense of the term'.

6. See Vendler, p. 112 where he regards as Achievement-denoting verbs both verbs such as ta'azzama 'get critical' in (75), and those such as lamah 'glance' in (76), but describes the former as 'achievements' that initiate states and the latter as 'achievements' that start activities.

7. See Geis pp. 38-9, where she indicates that 'Instantive time adverbials (= adjuncts) cannot co-occur with non-progressive
Durative non-stative verbs. Therefore for her, (i), which is hers, is unacceptable.

(i) Fred read his book at five o'clock

See also p. 142, where she iterates the same idea but adds that a sentence such as (i) can be considered to be "acceptable only if interpreted to mean" that Fred finished reading his book then.

According to our analysis, however, (cf. above p. 351), the combination 'read his book at five o'clock' is grammatical, and hence (i) is grammatical, too. For 'read' expresses an attained telic situation, which, as indicated above (p. 353), is capable of occurring at a point of time.

8. See Geis p. 44 where she assumes that 'frame adverbials of time can co-occur with all types of main verbs', and p. 145 where she expresses the same idea in the following clause 'frame prepositions exhibit no verb-verb restrictions'. To understand what this last clause exactly means, note that Geis regards as verbs the prepositional elements of Free Place and Time adjuncts (cf. Geis, p. 17; p. 35), and states the restrictions between main verbs and these adjuncts, which she calls 'verb-verb restrictions' (ibid., p. 49), on their prepositional elements. Therefore, if Frame prepositions, which are the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of Frame adverbials of time, exhibit no verb-verb restrictions, this means that there is no restriction between main verbs and Frame adverbials of time, i.e. that the latter can co-occur with all types of main verbs, as made clear in the first quotation, i.e. the quotation from p. 44.
16.0 **Abstract**

The adjuncts regarded as transforms include the following ones:

(i) Comitative adjuncts
(ii) Having adjuncts
(iii) Place adjuncts with temporal interpretation
(iv) Subject and Object adjuncts

The main concern of this chapter is to show that, unlike Instrument adjuncts, Means adjuncts, Manner adjuncts, Beneficient adjuncts, Purpose adjuncts, Reason adjuncts, Conditional adjuncts, Concessive adjuncts, Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation, and Adjuncts expressing temporal relations, the aforementioned ones have no direct grammatical relations with the main verbs of the clauses embracing them. Hence, they do not occur in verb-adjunct relationships with them. Almost all of the adjuncts regarded as transforms originate as Predicative adjuncts, and, therefore, the restrictions related to them occur outside the scope of the present work, which is concerned with only one type of adjunct, i.e. non-Predicative adjuncts.

16.1 **Comitative Adjuncts**

Here, we are concerned with the prepositional phrases the nominal elements of which can be thought of as expressing accompaniment. These PPs concern us only when they seem to be in direct grammatical relations with main verbs. Our main purpose is to find out whether
they are predicative or non-predicative adjuncts, i.e. to see whether they have direct grammatical relations to the main verbs or to something else.

The PPs under discussion represent a problem: they do not yield easily to analysis. Concerning the clauses embracing them, which, for convenience, will be called Comitative clauses, they are assumed to have the following characteristics:

(a) they allow paraphrase relationships with other clauses that are identical to them except that their subjects are phrases of co-ordination consisting of the Comitative NPs - the nominal elements of the PPs in question - and the subjects of the clauses in which they occur (cf. Vestergaard, p. 33, Fillmore, 1968b: 82, and Meys, p. 178). Since, however, the NP to which the NP functioning as Comitative element is related by a relation of accompaniment can be something other than the subject, the word '(and) the subjects' in the above statement and what follows it ought to be replaced by '(and) the NPs they accompany'. Examples of Comitative phrases are ma9anaa 'with us' in (1), ma9ak 'with you' in (2), ma9a ?anbiyaa?ihim 'with their prophets' in (3), ma9ahu 'with him' in (4), bilgunuud 'with the army' in (5), ma9a muhammad 'with muhammad' in (6), ma9a sulaymaana 'with sulaymaan' in (7), ma9ah 'with him' in (8), ma9ahuu with him' in (9), bimaa galla 'with his deceit' in (10), bi?aayaatinaa 'with Our signs' in (11), and ma9ahumu 'with them' in (12).

(1) yaa bunayya rkab ma9anaa (11/42)
O my son come and ride with us

(2) falyuSalluu ma9ak (4/102)
And let them worship with you
(3) qaatala ribbiyyuuna kaśliirun ma9a ?anbiyaa?ihim
(cf. 3/146)
A number of devoted men fought with their prophets

(4) wa daxala ma9ahu ssigna fatayaan (12/36)
And two young men went to prison with him

(5) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu bilgunuud (2/249)
(And when) Taaluut set out with the army

(6) satantaZiru su9aadu ma9a muhammad
su9aad will wait with muhammad

(7) wa ?aslamat ma9a sulaymaana lillahirabbi l9aalamiin
(cf. 27/44)
And she surrendered with sulaymaan to Allah,
the Lord of the Worlds

(8) yaa gibalu ?awwibii ma9ah (34/10)
O you mountains praise (Allah) with him

(9) laakini rrasuulu wa lladiina ?aamanuu ma9ahuu
gaahaduu bi?amwaalihim wa ?anfusihim (9/88)
But the messenger and those who believe with him
strive with their wealth and their lives

(10) saya?i lmuOiillu bima sa galla yawma lqiyaamah (cf.3/161)
Whoever deceives will come with his deceit on the Day
of Resurrection

(11) wa laqad ?arsalnaa muusaa bi?aayaatinaa (14/5)
We verily sent muusaa with Our signs

(12) laqad ?arsalnaa rusulanaa bilbayyinaati wa ?anzalnaa
ma9ahumu lkitaaba wa lmiizaan (57/25)
We verily sent Our messengers (i.e. the angels) with clear proofs, and sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance.

According to the linguists who hold that the NP functioning as comitative has characteristic 'a' (cf. above p. 381), the clauses rkb msn 'ride with us' in (1), and (3), (5), (10) and (11), for instance, occur in a paraphrase relationship with (13 - 17) respectively.

(13) ?irkb ?anta wa nahn
Let you and us ride

(14) qaatala ribbiyyuuna ka0iirun wa ?anbiyaa?uhum
A number of devoted men and their prophets fought

(15) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu wa lgunuud
(And when) Taaluut and the army set out

(16) saya?ti lmu?illu wa maa ?alla yawma lqiyaamah
Whoever deceives will come and his deceit on the Day of Resurrection

(17) wa laqad ?arsalnaa muusaa wa ?aayaatinaa
We verily sent muusaa and Our signs

According also to the same linguists, the nominal elements of the PPs b?qalbin saliim 'with a whole heart' in (18), and b?Sihaafin min dahabin'with trays of gold' in (19), which might be thought of as expressing accompaniment (cf. Schimizzi, pp. 125-6) do not function as comitative. For because of the fact that they do not have the same selectional features as the subjects of their clauses, the clauses embracing them cannot occur in a paraphrase relationship with the clauses described above (p. 381).
Some men will come to Allah with a whole heart

The servants will walk around them with trays of gold and goblets

See Vestergaard, p. 107, for arguments for regarding as having adjuncts the PP biqalbin saliim 'with a whole heart' in (18), and the like.

(b) the second characteristic of Comitative clauses is the following one: According to Walmsley and Vestergaard (cf. Meys, pp. 178-9, and Vestergaard, p. 33, respectively), Comitative clauses are able to occur in a paraphrase relationship with other clauses the subjects of which, together with the main verbs, are respectively the comitative NPs and verbs such as Saahab 'accompany' and saa9ad 'help', i.e. verbs expressing lexically the Comitative function. For example, according to these linguists, (3) and (5) stand in a paraphrase relationship with (20 and (21).

The prophets of a number of devoted men helped them to fight

(And when) the army accompanied Taaluut in his setting out

It should be noted that the linguists who believe in this paraphrase relationship between sentences such as (3) and (5) and sentences such as (20) and (21), respectively paraphrase the English
sentence equivalent to (3) in such a way that the paraphrase will include the English phrase corresponding to a phrase like fi lqitaal 'to fight' in (20). On the other hand, they give the paraphrase of the English sentence corresponding to (5) in such a way that it does not include the English phrase equivalent to a phrase such as fii faSlih 'in his setting out' in (21). According to these linguists (cf. Meys, pp. 178-81; Vestergaard, p. 33), sentences (24 - 25) are the paraphrases of sentences (22 - 23), respectively.

(22) Paul analyzed the English passive construction with Jennifer (cf. Meys, p. 178)
(23) Harry went to the station with Jim (ibid, p. 180)
(24) Jennifer helped Paul to analyze the English passive construction (ibid., p. 178)
(25) Jim accompanied Harry to the station (ibid, p. 180)

However, while (24) includes the phrase 'to analyze', which is the equivalent of fi lqitaal 'to fight' in (20), (25) does not embrace the equivalent of fii faSlih 'in his setting out' in (21).

For me, however, for (25) to be regarded as the paraphrase of (23), it ought to include a phrase like fii faSlih 'in his setting out' in (21), i.e. to be something like (26).

(26) Jim accompanied Harry in his going to the station

Two questions arise: (i) What are the basis and the justification of regarding Comitative clauses as standing in a paraphrase relationship with the kind of clauses described above (p. 381; p. 384)?; (ii) What is the implication of so regarding these clauses for their underlying representation, and, hence, for whether the Comitative
phrases they include are predicative or non-predicative adjuncts?

To answer these questions let us group Comitative clauses into:

(i) those whose main verbs are verbs of motion, which involve spatial relations, and in which the Comitative phrases have Saahab 'accompany' as their lexical proform expressing accompaniment;

(ii) those whose main verbs are not verbs of motion, and in which the Comitative phrases have saa9ad 'help' and the like as their lexical proform expressing the Comitative function (cf. Meys, p. 179).

Examples of the former group are (4), (5), (10), (11) and (12), and of the latter are that in (1), (2), (3), (6), (7), (8) and the clause Iladiina ?aamanuu ma9ahuu 'those who believe with him' in (9).

16.1.1 Comitative clauses with main verbs being verbs of motion

I do not accept that the clause whose verb is identical to that of the Comitative clause in question, and the subject is a phrase of co-ordination consisting of the Comitative NP embraced by the Comitative clause and the NP it accompanies, is the proper paraphrase of the Comitative clause whose main verb is a verb of motion. To explain this, consider the following sentences.

(27) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu bilgunuud (2/249)
(And when) Taaluut set out with the army

(28) wa laqad ?arsalnaa rusulanaa bilbayyinaati wa ?anzalnaa ma9ahumu lkitaaba wa lmiizaan (57/25)
We verily sent Our messengers (i.e. the angels) with clear proofs and sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance.

I do not accept that (29) and (30) are the proper paraphrases of (27)
and the clause wa anzalnaa ma9ahumu lkitaaba wa lmiizaan 'and sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance' in (28), respectively.

(29) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu wa lgunuud
   (And when) Taaluut and the army set out

(30) wa anzalnaahum wa lkitaaba wa lmiizaan
   And sent them down and the Scripture and the Balance

For in addition to meaning that Taaluut and the army set out together, and the messengers and the book (and the Balance) were sent down together, which are exactly what is meant by (27) and (28), respectively, (29) and (30) might also mean that Taaluut and the army set out, and the messengers and the book (and the Balance) were sent down, respectively, not at the same time but one after the other. I therefore regard (31) and (32) as the proper paraphrases of (27), and the clause wa anzalnaa ma9ahumu lkitaaba wa lmiizaan 'And sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance' in (28), respectively: in contradistinction to (29) and (30) they express in an unambiguous way the meanings denoted by (27) and the clause in question in (28).

(31) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu wa lgunuudu ma9aa
    (And when) Taaluut and the army set out together

(32) wa anzalnaahum ma9an wa lkitaaba wa lmiizaan
    And sent the Scripture and the Balance down together
    with them

Having arrived at this conclusion concerning the paraphrases of (27) and the clause wa anzalnaa ma9ahumu lkitaabawa lmiizaan 'and sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance' in (28), the question to be asked is: What are the underlying representations of
(27) and the clause in question in (28), which both account for their paraphrase relationship with (31) and (32), respectively, and show us whether or not the comitative phrases they contain are genuine adjuncts, i.e. occur in the deep structures as PPs with adverbial function as they do on the surface? But, before answering this question, let us discuss the validity of the other type of paraphrase relationship involving clauses such as (27) and the clause under discussion in (28) (cf. above p. 387), e.g. the paraphrase relationship between (27) and (33).

(33) (falammaa) Saahaba lgunuudu Taaluuta fii faSlih
     (And when) the army accompanied Taaluut in his setting out

For the underlying representation of a clause such as (27) ought to account for the two types of paraphrase relationship involving it: that between it and (31) on the one hand, and (33), on the other.

(33) is a valid paraphrase of (27). For they have the same truth value (cf. Nilsen, p. 140): the former expresses all the following components of meaning, which are expressed by the latter:

(a) that Taaluut set out
(b) that Taaluut was accompanied by 'the army' in his setting out
(c) that like Taaluut, 'the army' set out

There are however differences between (33) and (27) as to the ways of expressing these components.

(i) While component 'a' is expressed in (27) by Taaluut's being in a subject relationship with the verb faSala set out, it is expressed in (33) by h 'his', which is the pronoun referring back to Taaluut, being the second element of the construct faSlih 'his
setting out' whose first element faSlih 'setting out', is the
verbal noun of faSala 'set out' in (27), and occurs in a verbal
noun - subject relation with h 'his'.

(ii) In (27) component 'b' is expressed by lgunuud 'the army' being
the nominal element of bi 'with', i.e. of a preposition that links
it with 'Taaluutu' in a spatial relation of proximity (cf. Lentzner, p.
215) during the latter's setting out. In (33), on the other hand,
it - component 'b' is expressed by both the fact that lgunuudu 'the
army' is in a subject-verb relationship with Saahaba 'accompanied',
which expresses lexically accompaniment, and the fact that fii
faSlih 'in his (i.e. Taaluut) setting out' is a time-frame adjunct,
during which the army's accompaniment of Taaluut took place.

(iii) Both (33) and (27) express 'c' component implicitly but
differently. Since (33) expresses that the action of the army's
accompaniment of Taaluut occurs during the time of the latter's
setting out, it implies that the army set out, as well. And since
bi 'with' in (27) links lgunuud 'the army' with Taaluutu 'Taaluut'
in a spatial relation of proximity during the latter's setting out
it - (27) - also implies that the army set out, too.

Let us go back to the question related to the underlying
representations of clauses such as (27), and wa ?anzalnaa ma9ahumu
lkitaaba wa lmiizaan 'and sent down with them the Scripture and the
Balance' in (28) (cf. above pp.387-8). It is indicated above
that the underlying representation of such clauses ought to account
for all the paraphrase relationships involving them. For example,
the underlying representation of (27) ought to account for its
paraphrase relationship with (31) and (33). (34) is the underlying
representation hinted at by Meys for sentences such as (27) (cf.

(34) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu wa faSala lgunuud

(And when) Taaluut set out and the army set out

It - (34) - shows that sentence (27) and the like can be described as 'being transformationally derived from a conjunction of two deep-structure sentences' (Meys, p. 179) that are identical except for that one of them includes the accompanying NP, and the other the NP it accompanies. This underlying representation is however unacceptable. For it does not show explicitly and decisively that both the army and Taaluut's setting out occurred at the same time.

To recapitulate: we have shown so far that though sentence (27) occurs in a paraphrase relationship with both sentence (31) and (33), it is not possible to account for this relationship by postulating that they originate from (34). Therefore, it is not possible to rely on this analysis for assuming that because it originates in the deep structure (34) as subject, the Comitative phrase bilgunuud 'with the army' in (27) is not a genuine adjunct.

The question arises: Is there any other underlying syntactic representation on the basis of which we could both account for the paraphrase relationship between (27), and (31) and (33), and show how the Comitative phrase bilgunuud 'with the army' originates? To the best of my knowledge, the answer is No, and, therefore, the paraphrase relationship between (27) on the one hand, and (31) and (33) on the other ought to be regarded as being lexical not transformational (cf. Nilsen, p. 141), i.e. as resulting from the use of different but synonymous words, not from grammatical changes in the
sentences in question. The different but lexically synonymous
words from the use of which the paraphrase relationship between
sentence (27), and (31) and (33) results are the Comitative bi 'with',
the Co-operative pronoun ma9aa 'together' (cf. Nilsen, p. 152), and
Saahaba 'accompanied', respectively.

Having indicated that the paraphrase relationships between
(27) on the one hand, and (31) and (33) on the other are lexical not
transformational, and, therefore allowing ourselves to postulate an
underlying syntactic representation of sentences such as (27) that
has nothing to do with the underlying representation of sentences
like (31) and (33), my view, concerning the status of Comitative
clauses with main verbs being verbs of motion is as follows. The
Comitative phrases embraced by the Comitative clauses in question
originate as Predicative locative-comitative adjuncts in circumstantial
clauses introduced by the waaw of circumstance, and having as their
subjects pronouns referring back to the NPs accompanied by the
nominal elements of the Comitative phrases. Therefore, the under-
lying syntactic representations of (27) and the clause wa ?anzalnaa
ma9ahumu lkitaaba wa lmiizaan 'and sent down with them the Scripture
and the Balance' in (28) are (35) and (36), respectively.

(35) (falammaa) fasala taaluutu wa huwa bilgunuud
    (And when) Taaluut set out while he was with the army

(36) wa ?anzalnaa lkitaaba wa lmiizaana wa humaa ma9ahum
    And sent down the Scripture and the Balance while they
    were with them

According to (35) and (36), the Comitative phrases bilgunuud
'with the army' in (27), and ma9ahum 'with them' in the clause wa
?anzalnaa ma9ahumu lkitaaba wa lmiizaan 'and sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance' in (28) have direct grammatical relation not with the main verb faSa4a 'set out' and ?anzal 'sent down', respectively, but with the subjects of the clauses in which they originate: huwa 'he' and humaa 'they'. Hence, the restrictions related to them do not concern us: they are subject-predicative adjunct restrictions rather than main verb-adjunct restrictions. Also, on the basis of (35), for example, which is the underlying syntactic representation of (27), we could account for the components of meanings related to the latter and which were behind the assumption that there might be a syntactic paraphrase relationship between it and sentences (31) and (33), i.e. for the components of 'b' and 'c' (cf. above p. 388 ). That Taaluut set out while he was located in terms of a spatial relation of proximity to 'the army', as indicated by (35) implies that the army accompanied him in his setting out (cf. component 'b' in p. 388 ). And that Taaluut was in a spatial relation of proximity with 'the army' while he set out implies that the army set out, too (cf. component 'c' in p. 388 ).

16.1.2 Comitative clauses with main verbs not verbs of motion

Like the Comitative clauses the main verbs of which are verbs of motion, those whose main verbs are not are assumed to occur in a paraphrase relationship with the two types of clauses described above (p.381; 384 ). According to Walmsley (cf. Meys, p. 178; cf. also, Vestergaard, p. 33, for the same assumption), sentence (37) is in a paraphrase relationship with (38) and (39).

(37) Paul analyzed the English passive construction with Jennifer
(38) Jennifer helped Paul to analyze the English passive construction

(39) Paul and Jennifer analyzed the English passive construction

If we apply Walmsley's analysis of (37) to (40), which is its Arabic translation, (40) could be regarded too as being in a paraphrase relationship with (41) and (42).

(40) buulu ƙallala tarkiiba Siiğati ƙmabniyyi ƙlimaghuuli ƙiŋiliiziyyatɓa ma9a ƙinifer

(41) ƙinifeerusaa9adat buula fii tahliili tarkiibi Siiğati ƙmabniyyi ƙlimaghuuli ƙiŋiliiziyyah
Jennifer helped Paul to analyze the English passive construction

(42) buulu wa ƙiniferu ƙallalaa tarkiiba Siiğati ƙmabniyyi ƙlimaghuuli ƙiŋiliiziyyah
Paul and Jennifer analyzed the English passive construction

It goes without saying that to say that (37) and (40) are in a paraphrase relationship with (38) and (39), and (41) and (42), respectively means that 'with Jennifer' in (37), and ma9a ƙinifer 'with Jennifer' in (40) are not genuine adjuncts. For they originate in the deep structure not as a PP with adverbial function. Hence, we could say that the restrictions related to them do not concern us, for they are not main verb-adjunct restrictions. But to arrive at this conclusion requires proving the validity of the paraphrase relationship assumed to be between a Comitative clause such as (40), i.e. between a Comitative clause whose main verb is not a verb of
motion, and clauses such as (41) and (42).

Before analyzing the Comitative clause under discussion, it should be noted that the nominal elements of the Comitative phrases they contain may be interpreted, for example, as either (i) participating in/performing the action, or being in the state, denoted by the main verb, or (ii) not, as the case may be. Let us start with analysing these clauses when the nominal elements of their Comitative phrases are interpreted as in (ii). Consider sentence (43).

(43) (falammee)balaq ?ismaa9iilu ssa9ya ma9a ?abiih (cf. 37/102)
(And when) ?ismaa9iil reached (the age when one is able) to make an effort (to do things) (while he was) with his father, i.e. (And when) ?ismaa9iil became old enough (while he was) with his father

This sentence is ambiguous: it may mean, among other things, that ?ismaa9iil became old enough while he was with his father. The underlying representation revealing this meaning is (44).

(44) (falammee) balaq ?ismaa9iilu ssa9ya wa huwa ma9a ?abiih
(And when) ?ismaa9iil became old enough while he was with his father

It appears from (44) that, in contradiction to what is assumed by Walmsley (cf. above p. 392), the Comitative clauses the main verbs of which are not verbs of motion may not get involved in the paraphrase relations he indicates. For due to the fact that the meanings implied by the Comitative clauses whose main verbs are verbs of
motion are different from those implied by the Comitative clauses whose main verbs are not, for they have semantically different main verbs, we cannot infer from (44), the underlying form of (43), that ?ismaa9i1il's father became old enough. For someone to become in a particular state while he was with another in a spatial relation of proximity does not mean that the latter became in the same state. Therefore, ma9a ?abi1ih 'with his father' in (43), which is a comitative clause with a main verb not being a verb of motion, will be analysed in a similar way to bilgunuud 'with the army' in (27), which is a Comitative clause with a main verb being a verb of motion. That is, it will be regarded, as indicated by (44), as a Predicative locative-comitative adjunct originating in a circumstantial clause introduced by the waaw of circumstance, and having as its subject a pronoun referring back to the NP denoting an entity which occurs in a spatial relation of proximity with the entity denoted by the nominal element of the Comitative phrase.

As for analysing the Comitative clauses the main verbs of which are not verbs of motion when the nominal elements of the Comitative phrases they contain are interpreted as in (1) (cf. above p. 394) consider (45) when it does not mean halla 9aliyyuni lmas?alata wa huwa ma9a xaalid '9aliyy solved the problem while he was with xaalid'.

(45) halla 9aliyyuni lmas?alata ma9a xaalid
9aliyy solved the problem with xaalid

It was indicated above (p. 392) that according to Walmsley, (45) is synonymous with (46).
(46) saa9ada xaalidun 9aliyyan fii halli lmas?alah
xaalid helped 9aliyy to solve the problem

It is implied in this analysis of (45) that though 9aliyy and xaalid are regarded as Agentive, for both of them did some analysis, the former rather than the latter is the chief analyser. Walmsley's underlying representation of sentences such as (45) does not however account for the difference between 9aliyy's and xaalid's participation in solving the problem. According to him, (45) is derived transformationally from a conjunction of the deep structures of the following sentences.

(47) halla 9aliyyuni lmas?alah
9aliyy solved the problem

(48) halla xaaliduni lmas?alah
xaalid solved the problem

Furthermore, Walmsley does not provide us with a formulation of the transformation by means of which (45) and (46) could be derived from the underlying representation he posits for the former. For me, however, sentence (45) is not in a paraphrase relation with (46). It - (45) - just indicates that 9aliyy and xaalid co-operated with one another in solving the problem without showing whether the former or the latter was the chief analyser. Therefore, it is in a paraphrase relation with (49), where ma9aa 'together' is a co-operative pronoun (cf. Nilsen, p. 152) not a predicative locative-comitative adjunct (cf. below fn. 2).

(49) halla 9aliyyun wa xaaliduni lmas?alata ma9aa
9aliyy together with xaalid solved the problem

And as for expressing that 9aliyy and xaalid co-operated with each
other in solving the problem but the former or the latter was the chief analyser, we use verbs such as saa9ad/9aawan 'help/assist' as in (46) and (50), respectively.

(50) saa9ada 9aliyyun xaalidan fii halli lmas?alah

9aliyy assisted xaalid in solving the problem

Also, because of the fact that sentence (45) indicates that 9aliyy and xaalid co-operated with each other in solving the problem, contrary to what is assumed by Walmsley (cf. above, p. 392, and Meys, p. 178), it does not always enter into a paraphrase relation with (51). For (51) may mean that 9aliyy and xaalid co-operated in solving the problem, as (45) does, or that 9aliyy and xaalid solved the problem independently (4).

(51) halla 9aliyyun wa xaaliduni lmas?alah

9aliyy and xaalid solved the problem

So far we have indicated that, in contradistinction to what is assumed by Walmsley (cf. above p. 392), sentence (45) is synonymous with (49), but with neither (46) nor (51) when it means that 9aliyy and xaalid solved the problem independently. That is, we have discussed the problem related to the validity of considering sentences such as (45) to enter into the two types of paraphrase relationship assumed by Walmsley (cf. above p. 392). But we have not yet discussed that related to the status of the Comitative phrase it contains as to whether it is a predicative or non-predicative adjunct (cf. above p. 380). To do so, consider (52), which I assume to be the underlying representation of a sentence such as (45) that accounts for both its semantic interpretation as well as for the fact that the nominal element of the Comitative phrase it contains
has the same selectional features as its subject.

(52)

According to (52) the Comitative phrase ma9a xaalid 'with xaalid' in (45) is neither a predicative nor non-predicative adjunct, and, therefore, the restrictions related to it do not concern us, for they are not main verb-adjunct restrictions. It originates inside the NP realizing the subject of the clause as wa xaalidun ma9aa 'together with xaalid', where 'xaalidun' its nominal element, co-ordinates with '9aliyyun', and ma9aa 'together with', which indicates what is indicated by ma9a 'with' in the surface structure of (45), is a co-operative pronoun.

Let us now consider the following sentences which provide us with a third problem related to the Comitative clauses in question, i.e. those whose main verbs are not verbs of motion. For the first and the second problem see sentences (43) and (45), respectively.

(53) kaanati lgibaalu tu?awwibu ma9a daawuud (cf. 34/10)
The mountains used to praise (Allah) with daawuud

(54) taslamat balqiisu ma9a sulaymaam lillaahi rabbi
19aalamiin (cf. 27/44)
balqiis surrendered with sulaymaan to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds

To begin with, it should be noted that, leaving aside the context of situation, (54) might mean ḥaslamat balqiisu wa hiya ma9a sulaymaana lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiiin 'balqiis surrendered to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, while she was with sulaymaan'. However, we are not going to analyse the sentence with this interpretation, for its analysis then is similar to that of (43). As for (53), on the other hand, it cannot mean kaanati lgibaalu tuowmentb wa hiya ma9a daawuud 'the mountains used to praise (Allah) while they were with daawuud'. For the mountains cannot be located in relation to a human being. Secondly, neither (53) means kaana daawuudu yusaa9idu lgibaala fitawwiiib 'daawuud used to help the mountains in praising (Allah)', nor does (54) mean kaana sulaymaanu yusaa9idu balqiisa fii ?islaamihaa lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiiin 'sulaymaan used to help balqiis to surrender to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds'. That is, neither (53) nor (54) is interpretable in the way Walmsley interprets (45) as meaning (46). Thirdly, neither (53) means that the mountains and daawuud used to operate in praising (Allah) in the sense 9aliyy and xaalid in (45) operated in solving the problem, nor does (54) mean that balqiis and sulaymaan operated in surrendering to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, in the same sense.

What do (53) and (54) mean then? As for (53), it means that the mountains used to participate with daawuud in praising (Allah), i.e. to praise (Allah) while daawuud was praising him. To reveal this meaning, the Comitative phrase ma9a daawuud 'with daawuud' ought to be analysed as Time frame adjunct with 'daawuud' analysed in the semantic level as an elliptical NP, i.e. as twiibi daawuud
'daawuud's praise'. And the fact that (53) implies that daawuud also used to praise (Allah) can be accounted for on the basis of the relation between presupposition and predication (cf. Bartsch, pp. 181-2). Accordingly there will be main verb-adjunct restrictions between ma9a daawuud 'with daawuud' and the verb tu?awwibu 'praise' similar to those between a main verb and Time frame adjunct. (54), on the other hand, does not mean even what is meant by (53). For balqiis surrendered to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds after sulaymaan's surrender to him. Instead, it means that she followed him in surrendering to Allah, that she surrendered to him as he did, i.e. ma9a sulaymaana 'with sulaymaan' means kamaa ?aslama sulaymaan 'as sulaymaan did'. Consequently, ma9a sulaymaana 'with sulaymaan' in (54) originates neither as Predicative nor as non-Predicative adjunct, and, hence the restrictions related to it do not concern us.

16.2 Having Adjuncts

Consider sentences (55 - 56).

(55) saya?tii ba9Du nnaasi llaaha -biqalbin salim
(cf. 26/89)
Some men will come to Allah with whole hearts

(56) sayaTuufu lgilmaanu 9alayhim biSihaafin min'-dahabin wa ?akwaab (cf. 43/71)
The servants will walk around them with trays of gold and goblets

It is indicated above (p. 381) that some linguists assume it to be a characteristic of a Comitative adjunct that the clause containing it allows a paraphrase relationship with another clause that is identical to it except that its subject is a phrase of co-ordination.
consisting of the Comitative element and the subject of the clause in which it occurs. As a result, Vestergaard, who is one of these linguists (cf. above p. 381), would analyse the phrases biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55), and biSihaafin min dahabin wa ?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56) as Having rather than Comitative adjuncts (cf. Vestergaard, p. 107). For because of the fact that their nominal elements do not satisfy the selectional restrictions of the main verbs of their clauses, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (57) and (58), respectively, they - the nominal elements - cannot be co-ordinated with the subjects of these clauses.

(57) *saya?ti llaaha qalbun saliim
A whole heart will come to Allah

(58) *sataTuufu Sihaafun min d-ahabin wa ?akwaabun 9alayhim
Trays of gold and goblets will walk around them

Though it is possible on a metaphorical basis to argue that (57) and (58) could be regarded as being grammatical, and, hence, showing, the invalidity of Vestergaard's analysing the PPs in question in (55) and (56) as Having rather than Comitative adjuncts, I would like to look at these PPs in a way which does not give rise to such an argument. Unbounded by the principle related to selectional restriction (cf. above p. 383), for we do not accept that the Comitative clause with a main verb being a verb of motion occurs in a paraphrase relationship with the clause described above (cf. p. 381), is it possible for the PPs biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55) and biSihaafin min dahabin 'with trays of gold' in (56), whose main verbs are also verbs of motion, to be analysed in the same way as bilgunuud 'with the army' in (59), which is a comitative clause with a main verb being a verb of motion, i.e. as Predicative locative-comitative
The answer is No, for the following reason. Sentence (55) and (56) mean respectively saya?tii ba9Du nnaasi llaaha wa lahun qalbun saliim 'Some people will come to Allah while they have whole hearts', and sayaTuufu l9ilmaanu 9alayhim wa ma9ahum Sihaafun min dakahabin wa ?akwaab 'The servants will walk around them while they have with them trays of gold and goblets'. That is, both biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55) and biSihaafin min dakahabin wa ?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56) express possession though the latter expresses it only in the most transitory sense (cf. Lentzner, p. 240), and the former expresses it only in the sense of having a merit or a certain characteristic. And to say that biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55) and biSihaafin min dakahabin wa ?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56) originate as Predicative locative-comitative adjunct is not a valid basis for expressing this meaning even though by reference to the relation between presupposition and predication (cf. above pp. 388-9). Consider (60 - 61), which are respectively the clauses in which biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55), and biSihaafin min dakahabin wa ?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56) originate according to this analysis.

(60) (saya?tii ba9Du nnaasi llaaha) wa huwa biqalbin saliim (Some people will come to Allah) while they are with whole hearts

(61) (sayaTuufu l9ilmaanu 9alayhim) wa hum biSihaafin min dakahabin wa ?akwaab
(The servants will walk around them) while they are with trays of gold and goblets

According to the analysis in question, bi 'with' in (60) and (61) will have the signification of the locative ma9 'with', and, therefore, it will link both the subject of the clause in which it originates, and its complement in a spatial relation of proximity. But, to say that somebody occurs in a spatial relation of proximity with something does not mean that he has it. For example, to say that huwa 'they' in (60) occurs in a spatial relation of proximity with qalbin saliim 'whole hearts' does not mean that the former possesses the latter. Nor does it to say that hum 'they' in (61) occurs in a spatial relation of proximity with Sihaafin min dahabin wa ?akwaab 'trays of gold and goblets' mean that the former possesses the latter.

Another disadvantage related to analysing as Predicative locative-comitative adjunct PPs such as biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55) and biSihaafin min dahabin wa ?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56), as indicated, for example, by (60) and (61), respectively, is as follows. Analysing them in the way indicated will always render ill-formed the clauses in which they originate, e.g. (60) and (61), respectively, and, hence, the sentences containing them. For like ma9a 'with' in (62) and (63), which are ill-formed, too, bi 'with' in (60) and (61), for instance, will respectively relate huwa 'they' and hum 'they' to qalbin saliim 'whole hearts', and Sihaafin min dahabin wa ?akwaab 'trays of gold and goblets' in terms of an abstract and a concrete spatial relation of proximity, which is unacceptable. For 'people are not usually located in terms of small objects such as', 'whole hearts' and 'trays
of gold and goblets' (Lentzner, p. 215).

(62)  hum ma9a quluubin saliimah
They are with whole hearts

(63)  hum ma9a Sihaafin min dahabin wa ?akwaab
They are with trays of gold and goblets

Therefore, in contradistinction to (62) and (63), (64) and (65) are well-formed. For the location is reversed: small things are related to human beings in terms of spatial relation of proximity implying possession.

(64)  ma9ahum quluubun saliimah
With them are whole hearts

(65)  ma9ahum Sihaafun min dahabin wa?akwaab
With them are trays of gold and goblets

In spite of the invalidity of analysing as Predicative locative-comitative adjuncts the PPs biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55) and biSihaafin min dahabin wa?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56), I will stick to analysing them as originating as Predicative adjuncts in clauses like those of (60 - 61), i.e. in circumstantial adverbial clauses introduced by waaw ?alhaal 'the waaw of circumstance', and having as their subjects pronouns referring back to the NPs possessing the nominal elements of the PPs in question. These predicative adjuncts however will be regarded as expressing possessive, not spatial relation of proximity between their nominal elements and the subjects of their clauses, and could be termed 'Predicative having adjuncts'. The basis of this analysis is that it will allow the PPs in question to occur in a construction with the NPs (i.e. the pronouns referring
back to the NPs) possessing their nominal elements, and, hence, providing us with a ground for stating the cooccurrence restrictions between their nominal elements and these NPs. Consider, for example (68 - 69), which are the underlying representations of (66 - 67), respectively.

(66) laa ?a$qari $kitaaba ?illaa bi$ilhaafin muqawwa$ 
I never buy the book save with a stiff cover

(67) laa ?a$qari $kitaaba ?illaa bi$a$aa$a 
I never buy the book save with furniture

(68) laa ?a$qari $kitaaba?illaa$wa huwa bi$ilhaafin muqawwa$ 
I never buy the book save when it is with a stiff cover

(69) laa ?a$qari $kitaaba ?illaa wa huwa bi$a$aa$a 
I never buy the book save when it is with furniture

Both wa huwa bi$ilhaafin muqawwa$ 'when it is with a stiff cover' in (68), and wa huwa bi$a$aa$a 'when it is with furniture' in (69) are linguistically well-formed clauses (cf. Radford, pp. 7-8; pp. 10-11; pp. 26-7). Firstly, both of them are generated by (70).

(70) Adjunct $\rightarrow$ Particle S 
S $\rightarrow$ NP PP 
PP $\rightarrow$ P NP

Secondly, their subjects as well as the nominal elements of their PPs are inserted independently. For the restrictions between them is a pragmatic not linguistic one (cf. Radford, p. 10), i.e. a restriction which is based on our knowledge about the real world,
that the book may have a stiff cover not furniture. Finally, their prepositional elements are inserted by a lexical insertion rule stated on them in terms of the subjects as well as the nominal elements. Such a rule can be formulated as (71) (cf. Bach, p. 109).

(71) \[ S \overset{\alpha}{\longrightarrow} \begin{array}{c} \text{SA:} \\ \text{SC:} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \triangle \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{Y} \end{array} \]

However, only \( \text{wa huwa bi}\text{igliilaafin muqawwaa} \) 'when it is with a stiff cover' in (68) is pragmatically well-formed, too. For Predicative having adjunct expresses a possessive relation between its nominal element and the subject of the clause in which it occurs: it indicates that the latter possesses the former, and such an expression is pragmatically acceptable in relation to \( \text{wa huwa bi}\text{igliilaafin muqawwaa} \) 'when it is with a stiff cover' in (68) not \( \text{wa huwa bi}\text{?a?aa}\text{?} \) 'when it is with furniture' in (69): pragmatically, the book can have a stiff cover not furniture.

It appears from what has been said in relation to the circumstantial clauses of (68 - 69) that for a native speaker to perceive of sentence (66) as being both linguistically and pragmatically well-formed, and of (67) as being only linguistically well-formed, he must be aware of their objects being linked with their PPs, and this is what is made explicit by (68) and (69), the underlying representations of these sentences, respectively, i.e.
by analysing the PPs in question as Predicative having adjuncts.

It should be noted that the NP related to the nominal element of Predicative having adjunct by a possessive relation might be, as noticed, a subject or an object (or others), e.g. respectively ba9Du nnaasi 'some men' in (55), lgilmaanu 'the servants' in (56) and lqawmu 'the people' in (72), which has (73) as its underlying representation, and lkitaaba 'the book' in (66), rasuulin 'a messenger' in (74) and lkitaaba 'the Scripture' in (75), which have (76 - 77) as their underlying representations, respectively.

(72) Za9ana lqawmu 9ani lmadiinati bizaadin kaaf (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, II, 210)
The people moved away from the city with enough supply

(73) Za9ana lqawmu 9ani lmadiinati wa hum bizaadin kaaf
The people moved away from the city when they were with enough supply

(74) wa maa ?arsalnaa min rasuulin ?illaa bilisaani qawmih
(14/4)
And We never sent a messenger save with the language of his folk

(75) ?innaa ?anzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba linnaasi bilhaqq
(39/41)
Surely, We have revealed to you (muhammad) the Scripture for mankind with truth

(76) wa maa ?arsalnaa min rasuulin ?illaa wa huwa bilisaani qawmih
And We never sent a messenger save when he was with the language of his folk
Surely, We have revealed to you (Muhammad) the Scripture for mankind when it was with truth.

It goes without saying that analysing, in the way indicated above (p. 404), the PPs biqalbin saliim 'with whole hearts' in (55), and bisihhaafin min dhababin wa ?akwaab 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56), and the like, means that they have direct grammatical relations with huwa 'they' and hum 'they', the subjects of the clauses in which they originate, rather than with ya?tii 'come' and yaTuufu 'walk', the main-verbs with which the circumstantial adverbial clauses in which they originate have a direct grammatical relation. Hence, firstly, the restrictions related to them do not concern us in this thesis, which is concerned with the restrictions related to one type of adjuncts, those with direct grammatical relations with main verbs. Secondly, the main-verbs with which they seem to be in a direct grammatical relation, e.g. (sa)ya?tii '(will) come' in (55), are those with which Circumstantial adverbial clauses can co-occur, Stative and non-Stative verbs.

16.3 Place Adjuncts

The locative relation expressed by Free place adjuncts may be (i) a relation between thing-individuals, one of which is their nominal element, and the other is one of the individuals in the clauses containing them (cf. Bartsch, p. 124; Geis, p. 42; Vestergaard, p. 99) or (ii) a relation between their nominal elements, and the actions or the happenings denoted by the main verbs of the clauses embracing them (cf. Bartsch, p. 124; Geis, p. 42). Consider, for instance, sentences (78 – 83).
(78) wahuwa lladii kaffa ?aydiyahum 9ankum wa ?aydiyakum 9anhum bibaTni makkah (48/24)
And He it is who has withheld their hands from you and your hands from them in the valley of makkah

(79) laa yuqaatiluunakum gamii9an ?illaa fii quran muhaSSanah (59/14)
They will not fight against you in a body save in fortified villages

(80) ?iie naadaahu rabbhuu bilwaadi lmuqaddasi Tuwaa (79/16)
When his Lord called him in the holy vale of Tuwaa

(81) wa laqad Darabnnaa linnaasi fii haaeda lqur?aani min kulli maGal (39/27)
And verily We have coined for mankind in this Koran all kinds of similitudes

(82) fa?idaa ?unzilat suuratun muhkamatun wa dukira fiiha lqitaal (47/20)
But when a decisive suurah is revealed and war is mentioned therein

(83) wa laqad Sarrafnnaa linnaasi fii haaeda lqur?aani min kulli maGal (17/89)
And verily We have displayed for mankind in this Koran all kinds of similitudes

The Place adjuncts bibaTni makkah 'in the valley of makkah' in (78), fii quran muhaSSanah 'in fortified villages' in (79) and bilwaadi lmuqaddasi Tuwaa 'in the holy vale of Tuwaa' in (80) express a locative relation between thing-individuals: they denote a locative relation between their nominal elements, and the prepositional
complement (9an)kum '(from) you', the subject (yuqaaatif)uu(n) 'they (fight)' and the object (naadaa)hu '(called) him', respectively.

The Place adjuncts fii haada lqur?aani 'in this Koran' in (81), fii haada lqur?aaani 'therein' in (82) and fii haada lqur?aani 'in this Koran' in (83) express, on the other hand, a locative relation between their nominal elements, and the actions expressed by the main verbs Darab 'have coined', dukira 'is mentioned' and Sarraf 'have displayed', respectively.

A Place adjunct may or may not be ambiguous as to the locative relation it expresses. Each of the Place adjuncts in (78 - 80) may be also analysed as expressing a locative relation between their nominal elements and the actions denoted by the main verbs in the sentences embracing them; and like those in (81 - 83), the Place adjuncts 9alu suuqih 'upon its stalk' in (84) and 9alu $$agarah 'on the tree' in (85) can express only one locative relation.

(84) kazar9in ?axraga $$ahuu fa?aaazarahuu fastawaa 9alu suuqih (48/29)
Like a seed that sends forth its shoot, then strengthens it, then it becomes thick, and rises firm upon its stalk

(85) ?abSara xaalidun fii sayyaaahrithii 19usfuura 9alu $$agarah xaalid, in his car, saw the sparrow on the tree

But, while, as indicated above, those in (81 - 83) express a relation between their nominal elements, and the actions expressed by the main verbs, those in (84 - 85) express a locative relation between
thing-individuals: 9alaa suuqih 'upon its stalk' in (84) expresses a locative relation between its nominal element and the zero subject of (fa)stawaa '(and) rises firm', and 9ala $agarah 'on the tree' in (85) denotes the same relation, but between its nominal element and the object 19uSfuura 'the sparrow'.

In contradistinction to Place adjuncts that express a locative relation between their nominal elements and the actions, or the happenings denoted by the main verbs of the clauses embracing them, those expressing a locative relation between thing-individuals exhibit no grammatical relation between them and the main verbs. They originate as Predicative locative adjuncts in clauses introduced by the subordinator baynamas 'while', and having as their subjects the individuals to which the nominal elements of the Place adjuncts are related by a locative relation. For example, 9ala $agarah 'on the tree' in (85) originates in the clause indicated by (86).

\[(86) \text{(?abSara xaalidun fii sayyaaratih 19uSfuura) baynamas kaana 9ala $agarah} \]
\[(xaalid, in his car, saw the sparrow) while it was on the tree\]

In (86) 9ala $agarah 'on the tree' is a predicative locative adjunct and the subject is a zero morpheme, and the whole clause baynamas kaana 9ala $agarah 'while it was on the tree' is a dependent clause functioning as Time-frame adjunct (cf. above 15.2 and Geis, pp. 42-3).

The fact that the clause in which Place adjuncts such as 9ala $agarah 'on the tree' in (85) originate is introduced by the time subordinator baynamas 'while' explains why such adjuncts, in contra-
distinction to those like fiiha 'therein' in (82), express a temporal relation between them and the main verbs of the sentences in which they occur. fii hadiiqatihi 'in his garden' in (87), which belongs to the same class to which 9ala #agarah 'on the tree' in (85) does, can occur in answer to the question indicated by (88).

(87) tatahaddaøu su9aadu ma9a xaalidin fii hadiiqatihi
    su9aad speaks to xaalid in his garden

(88) mataa tatahaddaøu su9aadu ma9a xaalid
    When does su9aad speak to xaalid?

For convenience, this class of Place adjuncts will be called 'Place adjuncts with a temporal interpretation' (cf. Geis, pp. 41-2, and Vestergaard, pp. 105-6, where he calls the clauses in which they originate 'reduced temporal clauses'), while those such as fii haada lqur?aani 'in this Koran' in (81) will be termed 'Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation'.

As a result of the fact that Place adjuncts with a temporal interpretation originate in the way indicated above (p. 411), they are like other Predicative adjuncts, constrained by the subjects of the clauses in which they occur rather than by the main verbs of the sentences containing these clauses. They, therefore, do not concern us in this thesis, which has nothing to do with Predicative adjuncts; and the main verbs of the sentences embracing them are those with which Time-frame adjuncts co-occur, they may be stative or non-stative. In the data, however, the main verbs of such sentences are non-stative. See, for instance, the main verbs of sentences (78 – 80). Sentences with Stative main verbs could however be constructed. Examples are (89 – 93).
In London, a man knows many things.

In that room, hudaa hears frightful noises.

In this house, things become alike to xaalid.

She needs you in Cairo.

In London, a man hopes to be a millionaire.

The Place adjuncts 'in London' in (89), 'in that room' in (90), 'in this house' in (91), 'in Cairo' in (92), and 'in London' in (93) originate in the following clauses, respectively: baynamaa yakuunu fii landan 'while he is in London', baynamaa takuunu fii tilka lhugrah 'while she is in that room', baynamaa yakuunu fii haada lbayt 'while he is in this house', baynamaa takuunu fi lqaahirah 'while she is in Cairo', and baynamaa yakuunu fii landan 'while he is in London'. These clauses function as Time-frame adjunct and associate with the stative verbs: ya9rifu 'knows' in (89), tasma9u 'hears' in (90), tata9aabahu 'become alike' in (91), tahtaagu '(she) needs' in (92) and yargu 'hopes' in (93), respectively.

It is indicated above (cf. p. 411) that Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation belong to the same clauses to which the main verbs with which they seem to associate belong, and that they do not express a temporal relation. The point to be discussed now in relation to this type of Place adjuncts has to do with the
co-occurrence restriction between them and these main verbs. In contradistinction to Place adjuncts with temporal interpretation, those with no temporal interpretation can co-occur with non-Stative not Stative main verbs. Examples of the latter category of Place adjuncts are \text{tahta agarah 'beneath the tree'} in (94), \text{9inda rabbihim 'before their Lord'} in (95), \text{fihaa 'in it'} in (96), and \text{fi lbayt 'in the house'} in (97), which co-occur with the following non-stative verbs, respectively: \text{baaya9a 'swore allegiance to'}, \text{yaxtasimu 'dispute'}, \text{yatahaaggu 'wrangle'}, and \text{yuhaaddiou 'talk'}.

(94) \text{baaya9a lmu?minuuna nnaabiyya tahta agarah (cf. 48/18)}  
The believers swore allegiance to the prophet beneath the tree

(95) \text{sayaxtasimu nnaasu yawma liqiyaamati 9inda rabbihim (cf. 39/31)}  
On the Day of Resurrection people will dispute before their Lord

(96) \text{sayatahaaggu ?ahlu nnaari fihaa (cf. 40/47)}  
The people of the Fire will wrangle in it

(97) \text{sayuhaaddiouka xaalidun 9an haa?a l?amri fi lbayt}  
xaalid will talk to you about this matter in the house

Accordingly, because of the fact that the main verbs of sentences (89 - 93) are stative these sentences will be rendered ungrammatical if the Place adjuncts they contain are analysed as expressing a locative relation between their nominal elements and the main verbs. The failure of the Place adjuncts in (89 - 93) to be analysed as expressing a locative relation between their nominal elements and the main verbs, and, hence, ascertaining that Place adjuncts with no
temporal interpretation cannot co-occur with Stative verbs can be proved as follows. In contradistinction to Place adjuncts with temporal interpretation, those without one can function as Predicative place adjunct in the clauses having as their subjects the nominalizations of the rest of the sentences embracing them. Thus, while (98 - 99), which are based on (94; 97), respectively, are grammatical, (100 - 101), which are based on (91; 93), respectively, are not.

(98) kaanat mubaaya9atu lmu?miniina linnabiyyi tahta

The believers' swearing allegiance to the prophet was beneath the tree

(99) sayakuunu ta-hdiu xaalidin laka 9an haada 1?amri fi lbayt

xaalid's talking to you about this matter will be in the house...

(100) *ta$aabuhu 1?umuuri 9alaa xaalidin fii haada lbayt

Things being alike to xaalid is in this house

(101) *ragaa?u lmar?i 9an yakuuna milyuniiran fi landan

A man's hoping to be a millionaire is in London

I have come across the following veiws, which seem to be in contradiction with our view on the main verbs with which Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation can co-occur.

1. Without recognizing the two categories of Place adjuncts indicated above (p. 412 ), Fillmore (1968b: 26, fn.34) states that Outer L(ocative), as opposed to Inside L, which correspond to Free and Bound place adjuncts used in this thesis, respectively (cf. below 19.1 ), is constrained by main verbs. Verbs allowing it are,
according to him, 'those which take agents' (loc. cit.). And though he sees that this restriction has 'more to do with dependency relations between cases than with dependencies directly connected with the verb' (loc. cit.), this does not change the fact that, according to this view, Outer L will co-occur with only those verbs that have agents. This view of Fillmore is invalid. For Free place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation can co-occur with non-Stative verbs whose case frames do not include agentives, as indicated by (102 - 103).

(102) tagamma9a ?amaama baytihii ba9Du lqaaduuraat  
    Some rubbish accumulated in front of his house

(103) fi rrabii9i lmaaDii namat fii hadiiqatihii ba9Du  
    l?azhaari l?gariibah  
    Last Spring some strange flowers grew in his garden

See Vestergaard, p. 96, where he refutes Fillmore's claim on a different ground.

2. As a result of not recognizing the two categories of Place adjuncts referred to above (p. 412), Quirk states that Position (i.e. Place) adjunct 'can be used with all verbs, including stative verbs' (Quirk, et al., p. 472). The examples he gives of 'Position adjuncts associating with stative verbs are 'in London' in (104), 'here' in (105) and 'locally' in (106) (ibid., p. 473).

(104) I heard about it in London

(105) I have the key here

(106) The ground seems very soft locally

These examples however do not contradict what is indicated above,
i.e. that Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation cannot co-occur with Stative verbs (cf. above p. 414). For in (104) 'heard' is a non-stative not a stative verb: it is a verb of happening (cf. above 14.2.1), and 'in London' could be analysed as a Place adjunct with a temporal interpretation as indicated by (107); in (105) 'here' expresses "the place of 'the key'", not "of the speaker's having the key" as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (108); and, finally, 'locally' in (106) seems to be a sentential rather than a Position adverb, i.e. an adverb that is related to the whole sentence 'the ground seems very soft' rather than to the verb 'seems'.

(107) I heard about it while I was in London

(108) *My having the key is here

3. Finally, though Vestergaard recognizes Place adjuncts with and without temporal interpretation (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 99-100), he fails to capture the differences between them in terms of co-occurrence restriction. According to him, 'stative verbs of inert perception and cognition' do 'not normally collocate with locational phrases in the present, but may do so in the past tense,' (Vestergaard, p. 17). Thus, while for him, (109) is grammatical, (110) is not.

(109) Peter knew Greek in London

(110) *Peter knows Greek in London

There are two mistakes regarding this view:

(1) 'knew' in (109) is a non-stative not a stative verb, as indicated by (111), and, hence, 'in London' can associate with it to express where the happening of Peter's knowing Greek took place.

(111) What happened in London was that Peter knew Greek
For the relationship between 'knew' and the stative verb 'to know', see above pp. 319-20.

(ii) Sentence (110) is ungrammatical only if 'in London' is meant to express the location of Peter's knowing Greek, i.e. if 'in London' is analysed as a Place adjunct with no temporal interpretation. But it is grammatical, if the same PP is meant to express the location of Peter while knowing Greek, i.e. if 'in London' is analysed as a Place adjunct with a temporal interpretation. The same thing applies to (112), which Vestergaard, mistakenly, considers to be grammatical if 'appeals' has a non-stative meaning, i.e. means 'makes earnest request to' but ungrammatical if it has a stative one, i.e. means 'arouses favourable emotions in' (ibid., p. 17).

(112) Mr Heath appeals to M. Pompidou in Paris (ibid., p. 17).

If 'in Paris' is given a temporal interpretation (i.e. 'whenever he is in Paris'), then the sentence is grammatical even when 'appeals' has a stative meaning.

16.4 Subject and Object Adjuncts

Subject and Object adjuncts characterize respectively the subjects and the objects during the occurrence of the actions or the states described by the main verbs of the sentences containing them. Examples are 9alaa baSiirah 'on sure knowledge' in (113), 9alaa huunin 'in contempt' in (114), fii ziinatih 'in his pomp' in (115), fi lmahdi 'in childhood' in (116) and bisalaamin 'in peace' in (117) which are subject adjuncts, fii taqalubihim 'in their going to and fro' and 9alaa taxawwuf 'in fear' in (118), ba3ayar 9ilm 'in ignorance' in (119) and 9alaa waghIhhaa 'in the right manner' in (120), which are object adjuncts.
(113) qul haadihii sabiillii ?ad9uu ?ila llaahi 9alaa
basiirah (12/108)
Say: This is my way: I call on Allah on sure knowledge

(114) ?ayumsikuhuu 9alaa huunin ?am yadussu9uu fi tturaaab
(16/59)
Shall he keep it in contempt, or bury it beneath the dust?

(115) faxaraga 9alaa qawmihii fii ziinatih (28/79)
Then went he forth before his people in his pomp

(116) yukallimu nnaasa fi lmahi9 wa kahla9 (3/46)
He shall speak to the people in childhood and in maturity

(117) ?udxuluuhaa bisalaamin ?aaminiin (15/46)
Enter them in peace and security

(118) ?aw ya?xudahum fii tagallubihim famaa hum bimu9giziin
?aw ya?xudahum 9alaa taxawwuf (16/46-7)
Or that He will not seize them in their going to and fro so that there be no escape for them. Or that He will not seize them in (lit. 'on') fear

(119) wa lawlaa rigaalun mu?minuuna wa nisaa?un mu?minatun
1am ta9lamuuhum ?an ta?uu9um fa9uSiibekum minhum
ma9arratun bi5ayri 9ilm (48/25)
And if it had not been for believing men and believing women, whom you do not know - lest you should tread them under foot, and thus on their account guilt befall you in ignorance
They brought forward the evidence in the right manner.

Subject and Object adjuncts originate as Predicative locative adjuncts in circumstantial clauses introduced by waaw ?alhaal 'the waaw of circumstance' (cf. Wright, II, 332-3), and having as their subjects the subjects or the objects they characterize, respectively (cf. Bartsch, pp. 141-2, pp. 144-5 and p. 147; Quirk et al., p. 328; pp. 467-8 and p. 752; Greenbaum, p. 171). For example, bisalaamin 'in peace' in (117) and fii taqallubihim 'in their going to and fro' in (118) originate in the circumstantial clauses (121 - 122), respectively.

(121) (?udxuluuhaa) wa ?antum bisalaamin (?aaminiin)
(Enter them) while you are in peace (and security)

(122) (?aw ya?xudahum) wa hum fii taqallubihim
(Or that He will not seize them) while they are in their going to and fro

There are however two differences between Subject and Object adjuncts, and Place adjuncts with temporal interpretation, which originate in the same circumstantial clauses (cf. above p. 411). (i) while the latter denote a concrete locative relation between their nominal elements and the NPs that are spatially located to them, the former express an abstract one; (ii) while Place adjuncts with temporal interpretation occur in answer to mataa 'when' (cf. above pp.411H2), Subject and Object adjuncts occur in answer to either kayf 'how' or mataa 'when'.

Considering Subject and Object adjuncts to originate in the way indicated above helps us account for the following facts:
(a) that there are co-occurrence restrictions between Subject and Object adjuncts, and the subjects and the objects of the sentences containing them, respectively.

(b) that the co-occurrence restrictions between their nominal and prepositional elements are the same as those between the nominal and the prepositional elements of Predicative-abstract locative adjuncts: the factors determining the choice of the prepositional elements of the former are the same as those determining the choice of the prepositional elements of the latter. Compare, for instance, 9alaa baSiirah 'on sure knowledge' in (123), bisalaam 'in peace' in (124) and fi lmahd 'in his childhood' in (125) with those in (113), (117) and (116), respectively.

(123) huwa 9alaa baSiirah
He is on sure knowledge

(124) ?antum bisalaam
You are in peace

(125) huwa fi lmahd
He is in his childhood

(c) that the meanings of the prepositional elements of Subject and Object adjuncts are identical with those of Predicative-abstract locative adjuncts. Compare, for example, the meanings of the prepositional elements of the predicative-abstract locative adjuncts in (123 - 125) with those of the subject adjuncts in (113), (117) and (116), respectively.

(d) that the co-occurrence restrictions between Subject and Object adjuncts and the subjects and the objects they characterize respectively are the same as those between Predicative-abstract
locative adjuncts and the subjects of their clauses: the subjects and the objects characterized by Subject and Object adjuncts, respectively, as well as the subjects of the clauses whose predicates are predicative-abstract locative adjuncts are marked with either [+ concrete] or [- concrete]. See, for example, (113) and (118) where the subject adjunct 9alaa baSiirah 'on sure knowledge' and the object adjunct fii taqallubihim 'in their going to and fro' characterize NPs marked with the feature [+ concrete], and (120) and (126) where the object adjunct 9alaa waghihaa 'in the right manner' and the subject adjunct fii tamaasuk 'in solidity' characterize NPs marked with the feature [- concrete].

(126) satantaSiru @Gawratu fii tamaasuk
The revolution will be victorious in solidity

See also (123) and (127) where the predicative-abstract locative adjuncts 9alaa baSiirah 'on sure knowledge' and fii tamaasuk 'in solidity' co-occur with subjects marked with the features [+ concrete] and [- concrete], respectively.

(127) ?a@Gawratu fii tamaasuk
The revolution is in solidity

As a result of considering Subject and Object adjuncts to originate in the way indicated above (p. 420), they are, like any other Predicative adjuncts, constrained by the subjects of the clauses in which they originate, not by the main verbs of the sentences containing them. Hence, they lie outside the domain of the present study, which has nothing to do with Predicative adjuncts, and the main verbs of the sentences containing them will be those with which Circumstantial adverbial clauses can co-occur, Stative and non-Stative verbs.
Footnotes

1. It should be noted that the phrase 'selectional features' is being loosely used to mean the features of the NPs in terms of which verbs are selectionally subclassified.

2. Note that the paraphrase relations between (31) and (27) and (32) and the clause in question in (28) are lexical not transformational (cf. pp. 390 - 1). For the underlying representation of the first member of each pair is not identical with the second. For example, while the underlying representation of (31) is (i), where ma9aa 'together' is a predicative locative-comitative adjunct, that of (27) is (ii).

(i)

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S
   |
   Pred phrase
   |
   VP
   |
   Adjunct
   |
   Particle S
   |
   NP
   |
   Adjunct
   |
   V
   |
   fasal
   |
   wa
   |
   humaa
   |
   ma9aa
   |
   Taaluutu wa Igunuud
   |
   'set out'
   |
   while 'they' 'together'
   |
   'Taaluut and the army'
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3. I said 'for example', for the NP that can be thought of as being in a spatial relation of proximity with the prepositional complement of ma9 'with' may not occur in a subject-verb relation with the main verb, e.g. the object su9aad 'su9aad' in (i), which can be perceived of as being in a spatial relation of proximity with ?axiihaa 'her brother', the prepositional complement of ma9a 'with', as indicated by (ii), the underlying syntactic structure of (i).
(i) Daraba su9aada ma9a ?axiihaa  
He struck su9aad with her brother

(ii) Daraba su9aada wa hiya ma9a ?axiihaa  
He struck su9aad while she was with her brother

4. It should be noted that in case of (51) being interpreted as having the same meaning as (45), it will be in a transformational rather than a lexical paraphrase relation with it, i.e. it will have the same underlying representation as that indicated by (52), the underlying structure of (45).
CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTION BETWEEN MAIN VERBS
AND OTHER ADJUNCTS

17.0 A Note

What concerns us here are the remaining adjuncts that are not regarded as transforms. They are Instrument adjuncts, Means adjuncts, Manner adjuncts, Beneficient adjuncts, Purpose adjuncts, Reason adjuncts, Conditional adjuncts and Concessive adjuncts.

For the other adjuncts that are regarded as transforms, and those that are not, see Chapters Sixteen and Fifteen, respectively.

17.1 Means and Instrument Adjuncts

I use both the term Means and Instrument adjunct to refer to the adjuncts whose nominal elements are causally involved in the actions identified by the verbs with which they associate though under the control of the primary sources of these actions, i.e. the deep subjects of the clauses in which they - Instrument and Means adjunct - occur (cf. Fillmore, 1968b: 24, Vestergaard, p. 102), e.g. bisihrih 'by his magic' in (1), and bi9aSaaka 'with your staff'. in (2), respectively.

(1) yuriudu ?an yuxrigakum min ?arDikum bisihrih (26/35)
Who wants to derive you out of your land by his magic

(2) fa?awhaynaa ?ilaa muusaa ?ani Drib bi9aSaaka lbahr
(26/63)
Then We inspired muusaa, saying: Smite the sea with your staff
As for the main verbs associating with Means and Instrument adjunct, they are always verbs of doing, which constitute a sub-class of non-Stative verbs (cf. above 14.2.1), e.g. yuxriga(kum) 'derive (you)' in (1) and ḡarrid 'frighten away' in (3), with which the Means adjuncts bisilh-rih 'by his magic', and bihim 'with them', associate, respectively, and Drib 'smite' in (2) and ṭurkuD 'strike' in (4), with which the Instrument adjuncts b19aSaaka 'with your staff' and biriglik 'with your foot' associate, respectively.

(3) fa?immaa taqafannahum fi lharbi ḡarrid bihim man xalfahum (8/57)
And if you meet them in war (and gain a victory over them), frighten away with them those who are behind them

(4) ṭurkuD biriglik (38/42)
Strike (the ground) with your foot

The other two sub-classes of non-Stative verbs, i.e. Verbs of happening (cf. above p.313 ) and Verbs of position (cf. above p.314) can associate with neither Means nor Instrument adjunct. However, verbs belonging to the former subclass might associate with a PP functioning as external causer, which is a verbal complement, i.e. with a PP whose nominal element is causally involved in the happening identified by these verbs, e.g. ṣraqati 'shines' in (5),

(5) wa ṣraqati l?arDu binuuri rabbihaa (39/69)
And the earth shines with the light of her Lord

This nonetheless does not violate the aforementioned fact in relation to verbs of happening, i.e. that they associate neither with Means
nor with Instrument adjuncts. For though, like the nominal elements of Means and Instrument adjunct, the nominal element of the external causer phrase, e.g. nuuri rabbihaa 'the light of her Lord' in (5), is causally involved in what the verb associating with it identifies, External causer phrases differ from Means and Instrument adjuncts in the following aspects:

(a) In contradistinction to Means and Instrument adjuncts, External causer phrases cannot occur outside the scope of the 'appropriate' pro-form. Thus, while (5) cannot be transformed into (6), (7), with bi?afwaahihim 'with their mouths' functioning as Instrument adjunct, can be transformed into (8).

(6) *maa ḥadaqa binuuri rabbi 1?arDu ?iṣraaquhaa
What happens with the light of the earth Lord is that it shines

(7) yaquluuna bi?afwaahihim maa laysa fii quluubihim (3/167)
They utter with their mouths that which is not in their hearts

(8) maa yaf9aluunahuu bi?afwaahihim qawlu maa laysa fii quluubihim
What they do with their mouths is say. that which is not in their hearts

(b) '(9)', which is the structure of (5) is capable of being transformed into (10) as indicated by (11).

(9) (wa)?aṣraqati 1?arDu bi nuuri rabbihaa
'shines' 'the earth' with the light of her Lord
(10) (wa)ga9la 4 2 1
'(and) makes' subject object object complement

(11) (wa)ga9ala nuuru rabbi l?arDi l?arDa tu?riq
(And) the light of the earth Lord makes the earth shine

On the other hand (12) and (13), which represent the structures of (7) and (14), respectively are not capable of being transformed into the structures (15) and (16), respectively, which correspond to (10).

(12) yaquul uuna bi ?afwaahihim maa laysa ....
'utter' 'they' 'with' 'their mouths' 'that which is not ...

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(13) yu?ayyidu . ka 1laahu bi naSrih
'supports' 'you' 'Allah' 'with' 'his help'

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<th>Means</th>
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(14) yu?ayyiduka 1laahu binaSrih (cf. 8/62)
Allah supports you with his help

(15) tag9alu hum ?afwaahuhum yaquulu?na maa laysa ...
'makes' 'them' 'their mouths' 'say' 'that which is not ...

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Three points remain to be discussed:

(a) It is stated by Lakoff (cf. Lakoff, 1968: 14-15, and cf. also Fillmore, 1970: 123 and 127; Vestergaard, p. 27; Schlesinger, p. 309) that the subject of the clause containing an instrument adjunct must have the feature [+ animate]. Lakoff's examples for supporting his statement are sentences (17) and (18): while (17) is acceptable for 'John', its subject, is [+ animate], (18) is not, for 'the explosion', its subject, is not.

(17) John killed Harry with dynamite

(18) *The explosion killed Harry with dynamite

Lakoff's statement is valid, and it covers also the clauses with Means adjuncts: sentence (19) is grammatical, for zawguhaa 'her husband', its subject, is [+ animate], while sentence (20) is not, for its subject, sukuutu zawgihaa 'her husband's silence', is not.

(19) 9addabahaa zawguhaa bihagrihaa

Her husband chastised her by leaving her

(20) *9addabahaa sukuutu zawgihaa bihagrihaa

Her husband's silence chastised her by leaving her

The implication of sentences (17 - 20) is that the verbs of doing that are able to associate with Means and Instrument adjuncts associate with them only when they have as subjects NPs marked with the feature [+ animate]. Both 'killed' and 9addabahaa 'chastised'
can have their subjects marked with either the feature [+ animate], e.g. 'John' in (17) and zawguhaa 'her husband' in (19), respectively, or the feature [- animate], e.g. 'the explosion' in (18) and sukuutu zawgihaa 'her husband's silence' in (20), respectively; and, therefore, what makes (18) and (20) ungrammatical is their having the phrases 'with dynamite' and bihagrihaa 'by leaving her', which are interpreted by an analogy with 'with dynamite' and bihagrihaa 'by leaving her' in (17) and (19), respectively. Omitting 'with dynamite' from (18) and bihagrihaa 'by leaving her' in (20) will render them grammatical.

The question arises: How can sentences such as (18) and (20) be marked as being ungrammatical, or, precisely, as being semantically ill-formed? Is it to be done by reliance on the co-occurrence restriction between Means and Instrument adjunct, and the main verb, and, therefore this restriction is to be stated so as to include the restriction referred to above between the subject, and Means and Instrument adjunct? Or is it to be done by positing another restriction related to Means and Instrument adjunct, i.e. that between them and the subject? For the answer to this question and the like, see below 20.2.2.2.6; 20.2.2.2.8-9.

(b) The verbs of doing able to to associate with Means and Instrument adjunct differ from one another as to the specific Means and Instrument adjunct with which they associate. Explained in relation to prepositionally realized Means or Instrument adjuncts, this means that the nominal elements of these adjuncts, which designate means or instruments respectively, impose a restriction on the verbs associating with them (cf. below p.497, and see also p.504), for whether this restriction is pragmatic or
linguistic). Consider, for instance, fataha 'to open', and Tahhar 'to purify'. Among the Instrument adjuncts with which the former verb associates is bilmiftaah 'with the key', but not bissawr 'with the whip', which is among the Instrument adjuncts with which Darab 'to strike' can associate. And among the Means adjuncts with which the latter verb associates are biSSalaah 'with prayer', bilibtilaa? 'with tribulation', and biSSadagah 'with charitable gift', but not bilmann 'with reproach', which is among the Means adjuncts with which ?abTal 'to render vain' can associate.

(c) Despite the fact that Means and Instrument adjuncts are recognized on the same semantic basis (cf. above p. 426), and have identical syntactic characteristics I am in favour of recognizing them as two separate classes. For there are cases where the elements causally involved in the actions expressed by the verbs associating with them are perceived of as designating instruments, and others where they are perceived of as expressing means. For these two cases see below 20.2.3.1.1; 20.2.3.2.

17.2 Manner Adjuncts

Manner adjuncts co-occur with only non-Stative verbs (cf. Quirk, et al., p. 463, Dik, p. 103; Bartsch, pp. 8-9; p. 11 and pp. 149-51, and Chomsky, 1965: 103). Geis, however, indicates that they 'occur with very few [Stative verbs], perhaps believe, think, etc.' (Geis, p. 46). As far as Arabic is concerned, however, these two verbs do not prove that Manner adverbials co-occur with Stative verbs. For (i) 'fakkar', which is the equivalent of 'think', is a non-stative verb, and, therefore, it is possible for Manner adjunct to co-occur with it as in (21).
(21) kaana xaalidun yufakkiru bi9umqin fiimaa sawfa
yaquuluhuu ġadan ?amaama lqaadii
xaalid was thinking deeply of what he is going to say
tomorrow in front of the judge

(ii) 'aaman', which is the equivalent of 'believe', is capable
of being accompanied by a manner adjunct only when it is non-stative
e.g. ?aamana 'believed' in (22).

(22) ?aamana bimaa qultu
He believed in what I said

It is non-stative for it has an ingressive meaning (cf. above p. 354)
and hence it can be accompanied by a Manner adjunct as in (23).

(23) ?aamam bimaa qultu biSuuratin lam ?akun ?atawaqqa9uhaa
He believed in what I said in a manner that I did not
anticipate

Accordingly, yu?minu 'believes' in (24) is not able to be accompanied
by a Manner adjunct. For it expresses a stative meaning.

(24) yu?minu billaah
He believes in Allah

Examples of manner adjuncts are biquwwah 'firmly' in (25),
biğiayri hisaab 'without stint' in (26), bilhikmah 'with wisdom',
in (27), bilbbaatil 'falsely' in (28) and bil9adl 'justly' in (29),
which co-occur with the following non-Stative verbs, respectively:
xud(uu) 'hold, yarzuqu 'gives', ?ud9u 'call', gaadal(uu) 'argued',
and yumlil 'dictate'.

(25) xud(uu) maa ?aataynaakum biquwwah (2/93)
Hold firmly to what we have given you
It should be noted that though Manner adjuncts co-occur with non-Stative verbs, they differ from one another as to the actual non-Stative verbs with which they co-occur; and as will be indicated (cf. below 18.3.2), this points out that there is a co-occurrence restriction between non-Stative verbs and the Manner elements, i.e. the nominal elements, of the prepositionally realized Manner adjuncts associating with them. (For whether this restriction is pragmatic or linguistic, see below p.504). The classes of Manner elements classified according to the specific non-Stative verbs with which they can co-occur may nevertheless overlap: there are Manner elements which are able to co-occur with more than one non-Stative verb. An example of such overlapping is the Manner adjuncts of (30 - 31), which associate with takallam 'speak' and bakaa 'cry', respectively.

(30) bimaraarah 'bitterly', biharaarah 'enthusiastically' and biwuDuu$h 'with clarity'

(31) bimaraarah 'bitterly', biharaarah 'passionately', and biğa$araarah 'copiously'.

Dik also acknowledges the aforementioned fact: he recognizes
that 'not all specific Manner adverbials can occur in all the combinations in which Manner adverbials can occur in general' (Dik, p. 103). However, instead of explaining this restriction in terms of the specific non-Stative verbs with which a specific Manner adjunct co-occurs, he explains it in terms of the features these verbs have. According to him, the feature specifications of the non-Stative verbs, with which Manner adverbs co-occur are:

(32) \[ +\text{control}, + \text{change} \]
(33) \[ -\text{control}, + \text{change} \]
(34) \[ +\text{control}, - \text{change} \]

(32) is assigned to the non-Stative verbs designating Activity, e.g. 'answer', 'climb', 'move' (something), etc., (33) is assigned to the non-Stative verbs expressing Process, e.g. 'tick', '(the machine) worked', '(John's arm) moved', etc., and (34) is assigned to the non-Stative verbs expressing Position, e.g. 'lie', 'sit', '(John) hangs' 'from trees)', etc.

On the basis of these feature specifications, Dik classifies Manner adjuncts into the following classes (ibid., p. 103).

(i) Manner adjuncts that co-occur with verbs having the feature specification (32), (33) or (34), e.g. 'peacefully'.

(ii) Manner adjuncts that co-occur with the verbs having the feature specification (32) or (34), e.g. 'recklessly'.

(iii) Manner adjuncts that co-occur with the verbs having the feature specification (32) or (33), e.g. 'rhythmically'.

(iv) Manner adjuncts that associate with the verbs having the feature specification (32), e.g. 'energetically'.

Dik's account of the fact that Manner adjuncts differ from
one another as to the non-Stative verbs with which they co-occur might seem to be attractive, for it accounts for the aforementioned overlapping of the Manner elements classes (cf. above p. 434), i.e. for the fact that some of the Manner adjuncts associating with a specific verb might co-occur with another or other verbs. This account is nevertheless invalid for the following reason. It does not prevent the following unacceptable combinations from being generated.

(35) *yabkii biigailaa?
    to cry in a stupid manner

(36) *yadrusu biwuDuutu
    to study in clarity

(37) *?imtahana bixu?u9u9
    to examine in a submissive manner

(38) *yuSallii bil9adl
    to pray justly

(39) *yaktubu biwah?iyyah
    to write fiercely

For by virtue of being able to associate with the verb groups, (40 - 44), respectively, the Manner adjuncts biigailaa? 'in a stupid manner', biwuDuutu 'in clarity', bixu?u9u9 'in a submissive manner', bil9adl 'justly', and biwah?iyyah 'fiercely' in (35 - 39) ought to be able to co-occur with the verbs yabkii 'to cry', yadrusu 'to study', ?imtahana 'to examine', yuSallii 'to pray', and yaktubu 'to write', in (35 - 39) respectively. For like the verbs of (40 - 44), these latter verbs are assigned the feature specification (45).

(40) yarsum 'draw', and ya9mal 'work'
(41) yaktub 'write', and yatakallam 'speak'
(42) ya9bud 'worship', and yuSallii 'pray'
(43) yahkum 'judge', and yaqDii 'judge'
(44) yuqaatil 'fight', and yahgum 'attack'
(45) [control, + change]

17.3 Beneficient Adjuncts

17.3.1 A definition

A prepositionally realized Beneficient adjunct can be semantically defined as the adjunct whose nominal element benefits from what is denoted by the main verb of the clause embracing it, or from an entity participating in it, e.g. respectively lahumaa 'for them' in (46), lah 'for him' in (47), lanaa 'for us' in (48) and lii 'for me' in (49), and lakumu 'for you' in (50) and lanaa 'for us' in (51).

(46) fasaqaa lahumaa Gumma tawallaa?ila ZZill (28/24)
   So he watered (their folk) for them. Then, he turned aside into the shade

(47) wa mina $ayaaTiini man ya4uuSuuna lah (21/82)
   And of the evil ones some who dive (for pearls) for him

(48) yaquuluuna rabbanaa ?atmim lanaa nuuranaa wa ġfir lanaa ?innaka 9alaa kulli $ay?in qadiir (66/8)
   They will say: Our Lord! Perfect our light for us, and forgive us. You surely are able to do all things

(49) rabbi $rah lii Sadrii (20/25)
   My Lord: Relieve for me my heart
(50) wa huwa lladii ?anqa'a lakumu ssam9a wa l?abSaara wa l?af?idah (23/78)
And He it is Who has created for you ears and eyes and hearts

(51) wa hayyi? lanaa min ?amriinaa ra?adaa (18/10)
And shape for us right conduct in our plight

Consider, then, the PPs linnaas 'for men' in (52), lahuu 'for him' in (53) and liZzaalimiina 'for disbelievers' in (54), which resemble the Beneficient adjuncts in (46 - 51) in some respects and differ from them in another.

(52) wa laa tunSa99ir xaddaka linnaas (31/18)
Do not turn your cheek in scorn for men

(53) kallaa sanaktubu maa yaquulu wa namuddu lahuu min 19adaabi maddaa (19/79)
Nay, but We shall record that which he says and prolong for him a span of torment

(54) ?innaa ?a9tadnaa liZzaalimiina naaran ?ahaaTa bihim suraadiquhaa (18/29)
Surely, We have prepared for disbelievers a fire whose tent encloses them

Like the Beneficial adjuncts in (46 - 51), the PPs in question in (52 - 54) are free adjuncts: they, for instance, can occur outside the scope of the verb phrase pro-forms maadaa fa9al— 'What did he do---?' and maa fa9ala— 'What he did was---', and in answer to the question liman 'for whom?'. In contradistinction to the nominal elements of the former phrases, however, those of the latter can be thought of as benefiting neither from the actions denoted by the
main verbs of the clauses embracing them nor from entities participating in them. They are nevertheless will be regarded as Beneficient adjuncts, for the lack of an accepted neutral term appropriate to them, and for their similarities to the PPs functioning as Beneficient adjuncts in (46 - 51) in every aspect but one.

17.3.2 Other views

I have come across the following views on Beneficient (adjunct); those of Halliday, of Vestergaard, and of Lentzner.

17.3.2.1 Halliday

Halliday states that on a semantic basis, a participant role of beneficiary could be recognized 'in the sense of that which benefits from the process expressed in the clause' (Halliday, I, 53). Later he made two other statements, which both suggest that this definition of the semantic role of beneficiary is imprecise, and imply that his precise definition of it runs as follows 'A beneficiary is a participant role that benefits from an object participating in the process expressed in the clause': (i) in English a beneficiary 'requires a participating entity to benefit from' (ibid., I, 57). He calls this entity 'benefit', and it, according to him, must be objectified (loc. cit.); (ii) "the feature 'benefactive' in the clause 'specifies the recipient or beneficiary of the process (or, as we have seen, of an 'object' participating in the process)" (Halliday, I, 58).

According to Halliday, the participant role of 'beneficiary' can be realized in more than a clause element (ibid., p. 53). What concerns us however is its realization in the clause element 'Adjunct'. To begin with, the nominal element of a phrase such as lah 'for him'
in (47) cannot be regarded in a grammar such as that of Halliday as assuming the semantic role 'beneficiary'. For the clause in which it occurs does not include a benefit. Hence, the PP in which it occurs cannot be considered a Beneficient adjunct, if the adjunct whose nominal element assumes the participant role of beneficiary is regarded in the same grammar as a Beneficient adjunct. Secondly, the nominal element of a PP such as lakumu 'for you' in (50), on the other hand, assumes, according to Halliday's grammar, the beneficiary role, and, hence, the PP in which it occurs is a beneficient adjunct. For it satisfies Halliday's precise definition of beneficiary (cf. above p. 439 ). Halliday's example of a beneficiary that is realized in the clause element 'Adjunct' is 'for John' in (55), which is equivalent to lakumu 'for you' in (50).

(55) Pour a cup of coffee for John (cf. Halliday, I, 53)

Halliday, however, provides other examples which according to the grammar presented in this thesis cannot be regarded as Adjuncts at all. Consider, for instance, sentence (56).

(56) He gave the book to John (ibid., p. 53)

For Halliday, 'to John' in (56) is an adjunct in which 'John' assumes the participant role of beneficiary. According to the grammar presented in the present work, on the other hand, 'to John' in (56) is a PO not an adjunct. For it, for example, cannot occur outside the scope of the verb phrase pro-form (cf. below 22.2 ), as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (57).

(57) *What he did to John was give the book

In fact, 'to John' in (56) is just a prepositional realization of the verbal complement 'John' in (58), which is related to it by a lexical
redundancy rule relating the two forms of 'give' (i.e. 'give (something to somebody)', and 'give (somebody something)') with which they associate, respectively.

(58) He gave John the book

It goes without saying that the same analysis applies to limaahir 'to maahir' in (59), which is the Arabic equivalent of 'to John' in (56).

(59) ʔaɣTaʔa ʔaʔiluni lkiṭaaba limaahir

naʔiʔil gave the book to maahir

17.3.2.2 Vestergaard

The second view on Beneficient adjunct is that of Vestergaard. According to him, Beneficient is a free adjunct whose nominal element, the Beneficient, 'benefits from the process' (Vestergaard, p. 33), e.g. 'for me' in (60), on behalf of the nominal element of which the process of buying is done (ibid., p. 33).

(60) Will you buy some flowers for my wife for me (ibid., p. 33)

Another example is 'for me' in (61) when the sentence means that the buying of the books was done on behalf of the referent of 'me' (ibid., p. 33).

(61) He bought some books for me (ibid., p. 33)

Vestergaard does not therefore regard as Beneficient adjuncts the PPs 'for my wife' in (60), and 'for me' in (61) when it means 'he bought some books for me' not on behalf of me. For their nominal elements 'benefit from a particular participant in the process ('the flowers' in the former example 'the books' in the latter)'


not from the process itself (Vestergaard, p. 33). Instead, he regards them as bound adjuncts, and states that their nominal elements assume the participant role of dative, which is, as he indicates, equivalent to Halliday's beneficiary (ibid., p. 39, and p. 43 fn 21, cf also above 17.3.2.1).

For me, however, like the PPs 'for me' in (60) and 'for me' in (61) when it has the first interpretation, 'for my wife' in (60) and 'for me' in (61) when it has the second interpretation are free adjuncts. For they occur outside the scope of the verb phrase pro-form as indicated by the grammaticality of (62 - 63), respectively.

(62) What I will do for your wife (on your behalf) is buy some flowers
(63) What he did for me (on your behalf) was buy some books

And I will regard them as Beneficient adjuncts. For they satisfy the semantic definition indicated above (p. 437). But while 'for me' in (60) and 'for me' in (61) when it means 'on behalf of me' belong to the subclass paraphrasable by 'on behalf of NP', 'for my wife' in (60), and 'for me' in (61) when it does not mean 'on behalf of me' belong to the subclass paraphrasable by 'for the benefit of NP'.

The same analysis applies to lizawgatika 'for your wife' in (64), (which is mine), and lii 'for me' in (65), which are the Arabic equivalents of 'for my wife' in (60), and 'for me' in (61), when it means 'he bought some books for me to benefit from', respectively.

(64) saʔatarii lizawgatika baʔDa lʔazhaari binniyaabati 9ank
I will buy some flowers for your wife on your behalf

\[(65) \ ?i\mathring{s}taraa l\imath{ii} ba\mathring{9}Da l\text{kutub}\]

He bought for me some books

For the Arabic subclasses of Beneficient adjuncts equivalent to the English ones, see below 18.3.1.

17.3.2.3 Lentzner

The third and the final view on Beneficient adjuncts is that of Lentzner, whose work on 'Semantic and Syntactic aspects of Arabic Prepositions' is done within the framework of Generative Semantics. According to Lentzner, a Beneficiary is an argument for the benefit of whom the action of the prediction is done (cf. Lentzner, p. 266; p. 273; p. 274; p. 276), and it may or may not occur outside the nuclear predicate-argument structure (ibid., p. 266), e.g. respectively lilbinti 'the girl' in (66) and lilbint 'to the girl' in (67).

\[(66) \ ?i\mathring{s}taraytu lilbinti kitaaba\ (ibid., p. 259)\]

I bought the girl a book

\[(67) \ ?a9Taytu lkitaaba lilbint (ibid., p. 257)\]

I gave the book to the girl

For Lentzner, the semantic underlying representation of (66) is (68), while that of (67) is (69).

\[(68) \text{Pred} \text{Arg} \text{Arg} \text{B}
\text{liSaalih} \text{Pred} \text{Arg} \text{Arg} \text{O}
\text{\'for the benefit of\'} \text{?imtalak} \text{A} \text{O}
\text{\'acquired\'}\]
where liSaalih 'for the benefit of' is the semantic structure of li 'for', and 'A(gent)', 'O(bject)' and 'B(eneficiary)' are the semantic roles of tu 'I', kitaabaa 'a book' and lbinti 'the girl', respectively (ibid., p. 265-6). (It should be noted that 'liSaalih' and 'imtalak' would be represented in Lentzner's form of the semantic representation of (66) by 'for the benefit of' and 'acquired', respectively.)

(69) Predication

\[ \text{Pred} \rightarrow \text{Arg} \rightarrow \text{Arg} \]

\[ \text{sabbab} '\text{caused'} \rightarrow \text{A} \rightarrow \text{Pred} \rightarrow \text{Arg} \rightarrow \text{Arg} \]

\[ \text{yamlik} '\text{have'} \rightarrow \text{B} \rightarrow \text{O} \]

where sabbab 'caused' is the semantic structure of the three-place lexical verb ?a9Tay 'gave', and 'A', 'B' and 'O' are the semantic roles of tu 'I', lbint 'the girl' and lkitaaba 'the book', respectively (cf. Lentzner, p. 264). (It should be noted that 'sabbab' and 'yamlik' would be represented in Lentzner's semantic representation of (67) by 'caused' and 'have', respectively.)

Lentzer calls PPs such as lilbinti 'the girl' in (66) and lilbint 'to the girl' in (67) 'for- and to- dative expressions', respectively (ibid., pp. 257-9); and, as indicated by (69), he regards the prepositional element of the 'to- dative expression' lilbint 'to the girl' in (67) 'as a surface structure marker of a predicate- nuclear Beneficiary' (Lentzner, p. 266). For its presence in the surface structure depends on the Beneficiary argument not
occupying the surface slot directly following the verb, as indicated by both (67) and (70).

(70) ?a9Taytu 1binta lkitaab
I gave the girl the book

The underlying semantic representation (68) indicates on the other hand that the prepositional element of 'for dative expression' is regarded by Lentzner as an independent predicate that must appear in the surface structure and links a predication with its nominal element (cf. Lentzner, p. 274; p. 276).

Two points appear from what has been said regarding Lentzner's view on the argument he calls 'the Beneficiary':

1. that his Beneficiary argument includes those regarded by Halliday and Vestergaard as 'Beneficiary' and 'Dative' respectively (cf. above 17.3.2.1-2), e.g. lbint 'the girl' in (67), as well as those regarded by the latter as Beneficient (cf. above 17.3.2.2), e.g. lbinti 'the girl' in (66).

2. that only Lentzner's 'for- dative expressions' correspond to Beneficient adjuncts as defined in this thesis: like them, they are not in close construction with main verbs. But while this is indicated within his framework by regarding the prepositional element of a 'for- dative expression', li 'for', as an independent predicate in the way shown by (68), it is indicated in the present work by analysing Beneficient adjuncts as Free adjuncts, i.e. as VP rather than verbal complements (cf. below Chapter Twenty Two). Confused however, by both the fact that, like the 'li' of a 'for- dative expression', that of limaahir 'to maahir' in (71) cannot be deleted and the fact that, like the former expression the latter is optional,
Lentzner regards the latter as a 'for- dative expression'.

(71) bayyana naa?iluni lmas?alat limaahir
naa?il made the problem clear to maahir

According to the grammar presented in this thesis on the other hand, limaahir 'to maahir' in (71) is not outside the nuclear predicate-argument structure as Lentzner's analysis of it suggests. Or, using the terminology of the present work, it is in close construction with bayyana 'made clear', a verbal rather than a VP complement, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (72 - 73) (cf. below 22.2).

(72) *maa fa9ala naa?ilun limaahirin tabyiinu lmas?alah
What naa?il did to maahir was make the problem clear

(73) *maa hadaga limaahirin tabyiinu naa?ilini lmas?alah
What happened to maahir was that naa?il made the problem clear

17.3.3 Restrictions

Having defined Beneficient adjuncts and explained their relation to those recognized by Vestergaard, as well as to the participant role of Beneficiary and the Beneficiary argument acknowledged by Halliday and Lentzner, respectively, let us discuss the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and Beneficient adjuncts.

Though Fillmore calls 'Benefactive) a case, he treats its selectional properties in a way that suggests that it, like his Outer L(ocative), (cf. above p.415), may be regarded either as a constituent of M(odality) rather than of P(roposition), or as not highly involved in the selection of the verb, i.e., using the terminology of the present work, as a VP rather than a verbal
complement. For him, both 'B modification' and 'Outer L' are 'involved in the selection of verbs in the sense that some verbs do not accept' them (Fillmore, 1968b: 26, fn 34). This appears, in relation to the former category, from the ungrammaticality of (74).

(74) *He is tall for you (ibid., p. 26 fn 34)

He nevertheless states that the restriction related to 'B' and 'Outer L' 'may have more to do with dependency relations between cases than with dependencies directly connected with the verb' (ibid., p. 26 fn 34): the verbs allowing 'B modification' (and 'Outer L') 'are precisely those which take agents' (loc. cit.). For criticism of this view of Fillmore in relation to 'Outer L', see above pp. 415-16.

Translating this dependency relation according to the framework within which main verb-adjunct restrictions are accounted for in the present work (cf. below 20.2.2), it can be said that 'B modification', which is equivalent to our Beneficient adjuncts (cf. above p.437), co-occurs with the (a) verbs of doing whose subjects are marked with the feature [+ animate] and (b) non-Stative verbs of position, whose subjects have the feature [+ animate]. For these are the two verb classes the subjects of which assume the semantic role 'Agentive' as defined by Fillmore: for him, 'Agentive' is 'the case of typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb' (Fillmore, 1968b: 24). Examples of these verb classes are respectively (a) tahaagga(lqawm) '(the people) disputed with one another', 9addaba(huu maahir), '(maahir) chastised (him)' and saqa (rragulu lqati11) '(the man) watered (the folk)', and (b) tadallaa (maahirun mina 8agarah) (maahir) 'hung (from the
tree)', waqaafa (maahirun 9ala 1kursiyy) '(maahir) stood up (on the chair)', and qa9ada 'sat down', but not 'gaddaba(huu Tama9uh) '(his greed) chastised (him)', yaqifu (ttim9aluu 9alaqa9idatin 9ariiDa9)'(the statue) stands (on a wide base)', and ?inqaTa9a (lhab1) '(the rope) broke': the first verb is a verb of doing; the subject of which is not marked with the feature [+ animate], and the second verb is a stative verb of position, and the last verb is neither a verb of doing nor a non-stative verb of position: it is a verb of happening.

Vestergaard disagrees with Fillmore as to the latter's claim that there is a dependency between Agentive and B modification, i.e. that the presence of the latter category depends on the presence of the former. For examples such as the first and the second 'for whom' in (75) and 'for him' in (76) are, according to him, beneficiaries, though the clauses in which they occur are with no Agentive (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 115-16).

(75) ... there is no discussion of the rift between those for whom leisure is increasing - roughly "the workers" - and those for whom it is decreasing - the "managers", the professionals (ibid., p. 115)

(76) Nothing would go right for him (ibid., p. 116)

Vestergaard however admits that 'the empirical basis for Fillmore's claim about a dependency between Ben and Agt is much stronger than for the corresponding claim about Free Location' (ibid., p. 116), for two reasons, of which only the following one concerns us. Beneficients like those in (75 - 76), i.e. Beneficients in clauses with no Agentive, 'are quite rare' (ibid., p. 116).

Leaving aside Beneficent phrases like those in (75 - 76), which
are regarded by Vestergaard as being quite rare, and could be
analysed differently (cf. below pp. 452-3), we could say that like
Fillmore, Vestergaard sees that there is a dependency between
Beneficient and Agentive. The result of explaining this, however,
in terms of the framework within which main verb-adjunct restrictions
are accounted for in this thesis (cf. below 20.2.2) is not the same
as the result of explaining Fillmore's view on the dependency
relation between Beneficient and Agentive. For Vestergaard's
Agentive is different from Fillmore's. The former accepts Cruse's
definition of Agentive, which is determined both notionally and in
terms of the logical concept of necessary entailment (cf. Cruse,
p. 14; p. 15; p. 21, and Vestergaard, p. 37). For Cruse, an Agentive
is a NP feature that when it occurs in a clause, the clause both
entails that this NP did something, and refers 'to an action
performed by an object which is regarded as using its own energy in
carrying out the action' (Cruse, p. 21). If we know this as well as
that the objects performing the actions in Agentive clause include,
as indicated by Cruse, living things, certain types of machine,
e.g. 'computors', and natural agents such as 'wind' and 'fire'
(ibid., p. 21), the following thing could be inferred: for Vestergaard
to admit that apart from the rare cases of Beneficient phrase like
those of (75 - 76), the presence of a Beneficient in a clause depends
on this clause having an Agentive, means, in terms of the present
work, that Beneficient adjuncts co-occur with non-Stative verbs of
position, whose subjects are marked with the feature [+ animate]
(cf. above P. 314) and the verbs of doing the subjects of which are
living things, computer-like machines or wind-like objects.
17.3.3.1 Discussion

Let us now examine the explanations made in terms of the present study of both Fillmore's and Vestergaard's view on the dependency between Beneficient and Agentive. This will be done in the light of the examples of Beneficient adjuncts in the data. What these examples reveal lends support to the explanation of Vestergaard's rather than of Fillmore's view on the dependency in question. According to the data, Beneficient adjuncts co-occur with the verbs of doing the subjects of which denote 'Allah', e.g. the Beneficient adjuncts lanna 'for us', lii 'for me', lakumu 'for you' and lanaa 'for us' in (77 – 80), respectively (For other examples, see 19/79; 18/29; 24/55), or are (i) a NP denoting a devil, which could be assigned the feature $[+\text{ satanic}]$, e.g. the Beneficient adjunct lisulaymaan 'for sulaymaan' in (81); (ii) a NP marked with the feature $[+\text{ human}]$, e.g. the Beneficient adjuncts lahumaa 'for them' and linnaas 'for men' in (82 – 83), respectively (For other examples, see 29/6; 35/18); (iii) a NP that denotes a natural agent, a wind-like object, e.g. the Beneficient adjunct lahum 'for them' in (84).

(77) yaquluuna rabbanaa 7atmim lanaa nuuranaa wa 7fir lanaa ?innaka 9alaa kulli 7ayin qadiir (66/8)
They will say: Our Lord! Perfect our light for us, and forgive us. You surely are able to do all things

(78) rabbi 7rah lii Sadrii (20/25)
My Lord! Relieve for me my heart

And He it is Who has created for you ears and eyes and hearts

(80) wa hayyi? lanaa min ?amrina_rajadaa (18/10)
And shape for us right conduct in our plight

(81) kaanati $Sayaatiinu ta_uguSu lisulaymaan (cf. 21/82)
The evil ones used to dive for sulayman

(82) fasaqaa lahuma_ Qumma tawalla_ ?ila ZZill (28/24)
So he watered (their folk) for them. Then, he turned aside into the shade

(83) wa laa tuSa99ir xaddaka linnaas (31/18)
Do not turn your cheek in scorn for men

(84) yakaadu lbarqu yaTafu ?abSaarahum kullamaa
?aDaa?a lahun ma$aw fiih (2/20)
The lightning almost snatches away their sight from them. As often as it flashes forth for them they walk therein

Does this mean that Beneficient adjuncts cannot co-occur with the other classes of verbs referred to above? That is, does it mean that they cannot co-occur with (i) non-Stative verbs of position (cf. above p. 447), (ii) the verbs the subjects of which are not agentive (cf. above p. 447) or (iii) the verbs of doing the subjects of which are computer-like machines (cf. above p. 449). Or does it not mean this, and, hence, imply the absence from the data of the Beneficient adjuncts associating with such classes of verbs is a matter of gap? Consider the following sentences, which are mine.

(85) laa tuugadu munaqasatun wuddiyyatun bayna 1ladiina
tatazaayadu ?awqaatu lfaraaqi lahum taqriibani
19umaali wa llaadiina tatanaqaSu lahum ?a9ni
lmudiiriina wa lmuhtarifiin
There is no discussion of the rift between those for
whom leisure is increasing - roughly the workers, and
those for whom it is decreasing - the managers, the
professionals

(86) galasa maahirun baynanaa linaa?il
maahir sat down between us on naa?il's behalf

(87) a. Halla lkumbiyuuteru lmas?alata lanaa
    The computer solved the problem for us
b. taxiiTu lahaa haadihi lmaakiinatu maa turiid
    This machine sews for her what she wants
    c. maa ?albasu yaquSSuhuu lii haada lmigaSS
    What I wear these scissors cut it for me

To begin with, the first and the second lahum 'for them' in
(85) are respectively the Arabic equivalents of the first and the
second 'for whom' in (75). In fact, (85) is the translation of
(75), according to Vestergaard's understanding of the two 'for whom'
phrases. For me, however the two lahum 'for them' phrases in (85)
do not function as Beneficient adjunct, and, therefore, they cannot
be used as a proof that Beneficient adjuncts can co-occur with verbs
such as tatazaayadu 'is increasing' and tatanaqaSu 'is decreasing'
i.e. with verbs of happening, the subjects of which are not agentive
(cf. above 14.2.1). They might be regarded as constituting part of
the NPs functioning as subject of the clauses in which they occur,
which is not possible in relation to Beneficient phrases proper
(cf. above, for example, those of sentences (77 - 84)); and this is apparent from that لفارة مهنة lor whom leisure' in (85) can be regarded as being in a paraphrase relationship with لفارة مهنة lor their leisure'. According to this analysis of the first and the second لفارة lor whom' in (85), the English translation of this sentence could be (88) rather than (75).

(88) There is no discussion of the rift between those whose leisure is increasing - roughly the workers, and those whose leisure is decreasing - the managers, the professionals

Alternatively, they might be regarded as having the signification of the phrase بنيسبي ل، 'in relation to', which is a sentential rather than a VP adjunct: in contradistinction to the latter, it can occur outside the scope of negation as indicated by (89). (For the possibility of analysing the two 'for whom' phrases in (75) in the same way, see the twelfth and fifteenth meaning of 'for' in 'Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English'.)

(89) بنيسبي ل، لان راحب

For me, I will not come

According to this analysis, (75) rather than (88) is the English equivalent of (85).

Secondly, the PP لناايل 'on ناايل's behalf' in (86) associates with بالاس 'sat down', which is an example of the verbs the subjects of which are agentive in terms of both Fillmore's and Cruse's analysis (cf. above 17.3.3): it is a non-Sative verb of position, which requires a subject marked with the feature [+ animate] (cf. above 14.2.1). And it might be thought of as Beneficial adjunct 'for the benefit
of 'on behalf of' its nominal element the action of sitting down was done. For 'li' can be the realization of the prepositional element of 'for the benefit of' as well as 'on behalf of' type of Beneficient adjuncts, e.g. respectively, li(sulaymaan) 'for (sulaymaan)' in (81) and la(humaa) 'for (them)' in (82). I find however (86) to be more acceptable when 'li' denotes the meaning 'on behalf of' than when it expresses the meaning 'for the benefit of'. For sitting down (or doing similar actions to it) on behalf of someone is semantically more acceptable than doing so for his benefit. I nevertheless will regard as being grammatical the association of both types of Beneficient adjuncts with verbs such as galas 'sit down'.

It should be noted that in the Arabic I use in writing as well as in that used by a great number of people with different cultural backgrounds from mine, binniyaabati 9an 'on behalf of' is the preposition most frequently functioning as prepositional element of an 'on behalf of' type of Beneficient adjunct, e.g. binniyaabati 9an on behalf of' in (90).

(90) galasa maahirun baynanaa binniyaabati 9an kaamil
     maahir sit down between us on behalf of kaamil

Thirdly, sentences (87)a - c are both linguistically and pragmatically well-formed when the PPs lanaa 'for us', lahaa 'for her' and lii 'for me' are analysed as Beneficient adjunct indicating that the actions denoted by the main verbs of their clauses are done for the benefit of their nominal elements. When they are analysed on the other hand as expressing that the actions are done on behalf of their nominal elements, only (87)a will remain well-formed. The question arises: Is the ill-formedness of (87)b - c in this latter
case linguistic or pragmatic? (cf. Radford, pp. 7 - 12). Before answering this question, it should be noted that the same question arises when a Beneficient adjunct such as lahum 'for them' in (91), i.e. a Beneficient adjunct associating with a verb of doing having as its subject a NP denoting a natural agent, is analysed as an 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct but not as a 'for the benefit of' Beneficient adjunct.

(91) ?aDaa?a lbarqu lahum (cf. 2/20)

The lightning flashed forth for them

For like (87)b - c, (91) is both linguistically and pragmatically well-formed when lahum 'for them' is analysed as a 'for the benefit of' Beneficient adjunct, but it is ill-formed when it is analysed as an 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct.

Coming back to the aforementioned question (cf. above p.451) my contention is that sentence (91) is linguistically or, more precisely, semantically not syntactically ill-formed, when lahum 'for them' is analysed as indicating that the action of flashing forth was done on behalf of its nominal element. For its ill-formedness is a result of the association of lahum 'for them' with a verb of doing the subject of which is a natural agent (i.e. ?aDaa?a 'flashed forth'), an information which is linguistic in the sense that it could be formulated in linguistic terms. While formulating the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and 'on behalf of' type of Beneficient adjuncts, the selectional features of the prepositional elements of the latter category, on which the restrictions will be stated (cf. below 20.2.2.2.8), could be assigned so as not to contain a feature showing that it could co-occur with a verb of doing with a subject being a natural agent, and, hence
allowing semantic rules to mark as being semantically anomalous sentences such as (91) with lahum 'for them' analysed as 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct. On the other hand, while formulating the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and 'for the benefit of' type of Beneficient adjuncts, the selectional features of the prepositional element of the latter category could be assigned in such a way as to embrace the aforementioned feature, and, thereby allowing semantic rules to mark as being semantically well-formed (cf. Radford, p. 10) sentences such as (91) with lahum 'for them' being analysed as 'for the benefit of' Beneficient adjunct.

The situation in relation to sentences (87)b – c is different. Like the main verb of (87)a, those of (87)b – c are verbs of doing (cf. above 14.2.1); and like the semantic role of the subject of (87)a, that of the subjects of (87)b – c is agentive in Cruse's terms (cf. above p. 449). However, while lkumbiyuteru 'the computer'; the subject of (87)a, and also haadihi lmaakiinatu 'this machine', the subject of (87)b, could be assigned one of Cruse's three categories of Agentive (they are machines, or, precisely, members of the machines that can be thought of as using their own energies in carrying the actions they perform), haada lmiqaass 'these scissors', the subject of (87)c, could not: it is not a living thing, one of 'certain types of machine', or a natural agent (cf. Cruse, p. 21). I would like therefore to extend Cruse's second category, 'certain types of machine' to include scissors-like tools, and call it 'certain types of machine and tool', or, may be, 'machines and tools'. Thus, the Beneficient adjunct of (87)c co-occurs with the same class of verbs with which those of (87)a – b do, i.e. with the verbs of doing the subjects of which are either machines or tools. If then (87)b – c with lahaa
'for her' and 'for me' analysed as 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct, are regarded as (91) with lahum 'for them' similarly analysed, i.e. are regarded as being semantically ill-formed, sentence (87)a with lanaa 'for us' analysed as 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct will be marked by the semantic rules as being semantically anomalous, which is unacceptable. For (87)a with this analysis of lanaa 'for us' is indisputably semantically well formed. I therefore will regard (87)b - c, when having the interpretation in question, as being pragmatically but not linguistically ill-formed, i.e. as being ill-formed on the basis of our knowledge of the real world not on the basis of our knowledge of the grammar of the language in question: one can think of a computer but not of a sewing machine or scissors as doing something on his behalf. As a result, the contextual feature of the prepositional element of 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct will be assigned so as to include a feature indicating that it can co-occur with the verbs of doing the subjects of which are machines or tools.

To recapitulate: according to both the data and what is revealed by discussing sentences (85 - 87), 'for the benefit of' Beneficient adjuncts can co-occur with: (a) the verbs of doing the subjects of which denote 'Allah', or are (i) a NP denoting a devil, a human being, a natural agent, a machine or a tool, i.e. a NP assuming the semantic role of Agentive as determined by Cruse as well as a NP denoting a tool (cf. above p.456 ); (b) non-Stative verbs of position (cf. above 14.2.1 ). Also, according to the data and what is revealed by discussing (85 - 87), 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjuncts co-occur with (a) non-Stative verbs of position (cf. above 14.2.1 ); (b) the verbs of doing the subjects of which
are human beings, machines or tools (cf. above p.456).

17.3.3.1.1 Agentive and instrument

On the following ground however I am in favour of re-defining Agentive so as to narrow the domain of the NPs assuming it. In cases where the verb of doing whose subject is agentive in Cruse's terms, or a NP denoting 'Allah', or a tool is nominalized, its subject can be governed by min 'by' or bi 'with/by', depending on its nature. It - the subject - is governed by (i) min 'by', if it denotes Allah, a human being, a devil, or a natural agent, as indicated by (92 - 95), which are related to (96 - 99), respectively, and by (ii) bi 'with/by', if it denotes a tool, or a computer-like machine, as indicated by (100) and (101 - 102), which are related to (103, and 104 - 105), respectively.

(92) naSru gay$inaa mina $laah
The helping of our army by Allah

(93) Darbu ttilmiidi mina lmudarris
The hitting of the pupil by the teacher

(94) taDliilu nnaasi mina $$ayaaTiin
The misleading of people by evil ones

(95) ?i$hraaqhum mina $$ams
The burning of them by the sun

(96) naSara llaahu gay$anaa
Allah helped our army

(97) Daraba lmudarrisu ttilmiid
The teacher hit the pupil

(98) tuDallilu $$ayaaTiinu nnaas
Evil ones mislead people
(99) ?ahraqathumu ?ams
The sun burned them

(100) qaSSu Əawbi bilmiqaSS
The cutting of the garment by/with the scissors

(101) hallu lmas?alati bilkumbiyuuter
The solving of the problem by/with the computer

(102) xiyaaTatu Əawbi bihaadihi lmaakiinah
The sewing of the garment by/with this machine

(103) qaSSa 1miqaSSu Əawb
The scissors cut the garment

(104) halla 1kumbiyuuteru lmas?alah
The computer solved the problem

(105) xaaTat haadihi lmaakiinatu Əawb
This machine sewed the garment

For me, NPs assuming the semantic role 'Agentive' are those both regarded as using their energy in carrying out the actions with which they associate, and denoting 'Allah', devils or natural agents, or marked with the feature [+ animate]. As for the NPs like 1miqaSSu 'the scissors' in (103), 1kumbiyuuteru 'the computer' in (104), and haadihi lmaakiinatu 'this machine' in (105) (which though they could be thought of as using their own energy in carrying out the actions denoted by the verbs with which they associate, neither denote one of the things mentioned in the previous sentence, nor are marked with the feature [+ animate]), they assume the semantic role 'Instrument'. Thus, the 'Instrument' definition referred to above (17.1), need be modified as follows: 'Instrument' is a semantic role assumed by (i) a NP that is causally involved in the action
identified by the verb with which it associates though under the control of the primary source of this action, i.e. of the deep subject of the clause in which it occurs, e.g. 19aSaa 'the stick' in (106), or (ii) a NP which is both thought of as using its own energy in carrying out the action denoted by the verb with which it associates, and denotes manipulated objects, which include machines, tools, body parts and material (cf. 20.2.3.1.1), e.g. lkumbiyuutaru 'the computer' in (104), lmiqaSSu 'the scissors' in (103), yadi lqawiyyah 'my strong hand' in (107) and miyaahu bi?rii 'my well water' in (108) respectively.

(106) Daraba lmudarrisu ytilmiida bila9aSaa
The teacher hit the pupil with the stick

(107) taDribuhuu yadi lqawiyyah
My strong hand hits him

(108) tasqii mazra9atahuu miyaahu bi?rii
My well water waters his farm

The aforementioned recapitulation of the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Beneficient adjuncts (cf. above p.457) needs to be reformulated accordingly as follows. 'for the benefit of' Beneficient adjuncts co-occur with (a) non-Stative verbs of position, whose subjects assume the semantic role 'Agentive' (cf. above p.457) (b) the verbs of doing the subjects of which assume the semantic role of either 'Agentive' or 'Instrument' (cf. above p.457) 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjuncts on the other hand, co-occur with (a) non-Stative verbs of position (cf. above p.457); (b) the verbs of doing the subjects of which assume the semantic role Instrument, or both assume the semantic role 'Agentive' and are marked with the feature [+ human] (cf. above p.457-9). It should be noted that this
reformulation of the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Beneficient adjuncts does not affect our analysis of (87b - c, when the adjuncts they contain are regarded as 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjunct, i.e. as being linguistically well formed but pragmatically illformed (cf. above p. 457). For it does not alter the basis upon which these sentences are so analysed: that the subjects of (87)b - c belong to the same category to which the subject of (87)a does (and, hence, like the latter sentence, they are regarded as being linguistically well formed) is not altered by the reformulation in question. Just as the subject of (87)a, and those of (87)b - c belong to the machine and tool category within the first framework accounting for the dependency between verbs and Beneficient adjuncts (cf. above pp. 456-7 ), so the subject of (87)a, and those of (87)b - c belong to the category of manipulated objects (cf. below 20.2.3.1.1) within the second framework accounting for the same dependency (cf. above p. 460).

17.4 Purpose Adjuncts

A prepositionally realized Purpose adjunct is an adjunct the nominal element of which expresses the purpose of the action denoted by the verb with which it associates, or, in other words, describes the intention toward which this action is directed (cf. Lentzner, p. 132), e.g. limi\th\thaa\d\aa 'for the like of this' in (109), linafs\i\hi 'for his own soul' in (110), lilla\\hihi 'for Allah's sake' in (111), lilla\\hi 'for Allah' in (112), littaq\wa\aa 'for piety' in (113), linna\\si 'for mankind' in (114), li?a\\adam 'for Adam' in (115) and liddif\fa\\hi 9an ?an\\f\usi\hihi 'for self-defence' in (116).

(109) limi\th\thaa\d\aa faly\\wa\mal\i 19aam\i\lu\un (37/61)

For the like of this, then, let the workers work
(110) mani htadaa fa?innamaa yahtadii linafsih (17/15)
Whoever goes right, it is only for his own soul that
he goes right

(111) qul ?innamaa ?a9iZukum biwaahidatin ?an taquumu
lillaahi ma6nnaa wa furaadaa 6umma tatafakkaruu maa
biSaahibikum min ginnah (34/46)
Say (unto them O muhammad): I exhort unto you one thing
only: that you awake, for Allah's sake, by twos and
singly, and reflect: there is no madness in your
comrade

(112) ?illa lladiina taabuu wa ?aSlahuu wa 9taSamuu billaahi
wa ?axlaSuu diinahum lillaah (4/146)
Save those who repent and amend and hold fast to Allah
and make their religion pure for Allah

(113) ?inna lladiina ya4uDDuuna ?aSwaatahum 9inda rasuuli
llaahi ?ulaa7ika lladiina mtahana llaahu quluubahum
liittaqwaa (49/3)
Surely, they who subdue their voices in the presence
of the messenger of Allah, those are they whose
hearts Allah has tested for piety

(114) ?innaa ?anzalnnaa 9alayka lkitaaba linnaasi bilhaqq
(39/41)
Surely, We have revealed unto you (muhammad) the
Scripture for mankind with truth

(115) wa ?id qulnaa lilmalaa7ikati sguduu li7aadam (2/34)
And when We said unto the angels: Prostrate yourselves
for Adam
(116) "tasallaha ?ahlubalqadihii liddifaa9i 9an ?anfusihim

His countrymen armed themselves for self-defence

It is indicated by Vestergaard that Purpose (a term he uses to refer to Purpose adjunct) 'may occur with virtually any verb with a volitional subject' (Vestergaard, p. 144; cf also, p. 176, fn. 20). Immediately after this, Vestergaard mentions what indicates that he equates 'Volitivity' with 'Agentivity'. For him, 'Purpose' cannot be regarded as 'Objective'. For 'this would have the unpleasant consequence that the verbs in question', i.e. the verbs with volitional subjects, 'would have to be lexically specified for the case frame \[ - (O) + A(+X) \] ' (ibid, p. 144) where \(O\) stands for Objective, the case of the nominal element of Purpose, \(A\) for Agentive, the case of the volitional subject of the verb with which Purpose co-occurs, and \(X\) is a case variable. Reformulating Vestergaard's view on the dependency between Purpose and verbs will be accordingly as follows: 'Purpose occurs with virtually any verb with an Agentive subject', which is not a precise statement. For, as indicated above (p. 449) Vestergaard follows Cruse's definition of Agentive, and not all the verbs whose subjects are considered by the latter to assume the semantic role Agentive are capable of being associated with by Purpose adjuncts: the verbs the subjects of which both assume the semantic role Agentive, and denote living things may or may not be accompanied by Purpose adjuncts. Examples of the first probability are ya9mali 'work' in (109), taquum 'awake' in (111), ?axlaS 'make pure' in (112) and tasallaha 'armed themselves' in (116), with which the following Purpose adjuncts associate, respectively: limi6li haadaa 'for the like of this', lillaahi 'for Allah's sake', lillaah 'for Allah' and liddifaa9i 9an ?anfusihim.
'for self-defence'. An example of the second probability, on the other hand, is qatala 'killed' in (117), with which the Purpose adjunct liʔirDaaʔinaa 'to please us' cannot associate, as indicated by the semantic anomaly of (118).

(117) qatala lliSSu rragula 9an ʕayri maa qaSd
The thief killed the man accidentally

(118) *qatala lliSSu rragula 9an ʕayri maa 9aSdniʔirDaaʔinaa
The thief killed the man accidentally to please us

The verb whose subjects both assume the semantic role Agentive, and either belong to certain machines, e.g. halla 'solved' in (119), or denote a natural agent, e.g. ?ahraqa 'burned' in (120), on the other hand, cannot associate with Purpose adjuncts, as indicated by the semantic anomaly of (121 - 122).

(119) halla ləkumbiyuuteru lmasʔalah
The computer solved the problem

(120) ?ahraqathumu ʔams
The sun burned them

(121) *halla ləkumbiyuuteru lmasʔalahata liʔirDaaʔinaa
The computer solved the problem to please us

(122) *?ahraqathumu ʔamsu litaʔdiibinaa
The sun burned them to chastise us

So far we have not explained the dependency between verbs and Purpose adjuncts, i.e. we have not determined the verbs with which Purpose adjuncts can co-occur. To do this requires introducing into the discussion another feature having to do with some of the subjects of the verbs with which Purpose adjuncts co-occur i.e. the subjects marked with the feature [+ human]. This is the 'Volitive'
feature. What is meant by the 'Volitive' feature or 'Volitivity' is the feature whose presence among the features of the NP functioning as subject means that he willingly carries out the action denoted by the verb with which it stands in a subject-verb relation (cf. Cruse, p. 18). Examples of NPs having this feature are 19amiluun 'the workers' in (109), (tagium) uu 'you (awake)' in (111), and ?ahlu baladihi 'his countrymen' in (116).

For recognising volitional subjects, Cruse sets up three tests. The first of these tests is irrelevant to the problem in question, i.e. to determining the verbs with which Purpose adjuncts can associate. For it has to do with the ability of the verbs whose subjects are volitional to be modified by Purpose phrases, which include our 'Purpose adjuncts', of course (cf. Cruse, p. 18), and, hence, to rely on it for recognizing the verbs with which Purpose adjuncts can associate will create a vicious circle: Purpose adjuncts can associate with the verbs whose subjects are volitional, and the verbs whose subjects are volitional are those with which Purpose adjuncts can associate. As for the second and third tests, which are relevant to the problem in question, they are connected with the ability of the verbs whose subjects are volitional to have an imperative form, or to be modified by bihirS 'carefully' (ibid., p. 19). Examples of the verbs to which the latter tests apply, and, therefore, the subjects standing with them in a subject-verb relation are volitional, are ya9mali 'work' in (109), tagium 'awake' in (111), ?axlaS 'make pure' in (112), and tasallaha 'armed themselves' in (116).

Having both defined 'Volitivity' as a feature of some of the NPs functioning as subject, and indicated how it can be recognized
the following statement, concerning the verbs with which Purpose adjuncts can co-occur, can be made: according to the examples of Purpose adjuncts in the data (see, for instance, those in (109-115) as well as to sentences (123-125) and to what is revealed by sentences (117-118), Purpose adjuncts co-occur with:

(a) the verbs whose subjects are marked with the feature [+ volitive], which implies but is not implied by the feature [+ agentive].

(123) ?i9rif ka9iiran mina lluğaati litashiili ta9aamulika ma9a 9umalaa?i
Know many languages to facilitate your trade with your agents

(124) ?i9tani li?irDaa?i zawgatik
Become rich to please your wife

(125) naama maahirun 9ala l?arDi li$addi Zahrih
maahir slept on the ground to stretch his back

These verbs can be (i) verbs of doing, e.g. ya9mali 'work' in (109), and ?axIaS 'make pure' in (112) with which the Purpose adjuncts limi9li haa?aa 'for the like of this' and lillah 'for Allah' associate, respectively, (ii) verbs of position, e.g. naama 'slept' in (125), with which the Purpose adjunct li$addi Zahrih 'to stretch his back' co-occurs, (iii) stative or (iv) verbs of happening, which are to be interpreted then as Verbs of doing in the sense that they can occur outside the scope of 'maa fa9ala' pro-form 'do-what' pro-form. For 'Willing is a kind of doing, whether what is willed is a state, process', i.e. a happening 'or action' (Cruse, p. 18).

Examples of the last two categories of verbs are respectively ?i9rif
'know' in (123) and ?iğtani 'become rich' in (124), which are accompanied by the Purpose adjuncts litashiili ta9aamulika ma9a 9umalaa?ik 'to facilitate your trade with your agents' and li?irDa9i zawgatik 'to please your wife', respectively.

(b) the verbs whose subjects denote 'Allah' or 'angels', e.g. respectively ?anzal 'have revealed' in (114) and sgud 'prostrate yourselves' in (115), with which the following Purpose adjuncts associate respectively: linnaasi 'for mankind' and li?aadum 'for Adam'.

There remains however a problem related to the co-occurrence restriction between verbs and Purpose adjuncts. This problem is that raised by sentences like (126 - 127).

(126) ya9rifu xaalidun ka9iiran mina llugaardi litashiili ta9aamulihii ma9a9umalaa?ih
xaalid knows many languages to facilitate his trade with his agents

(127) ?iğtanaa Sadiiquhuu li?irDa9i zawgatih
His friend became rich to please his wife

Like the purpose adjuncts of (109), (112), (123 - 125), those of (126 - 127) co-occur with verbs whose subjects are volitional, and like the verbs of (123 - 124), those of (126 - 127) are to be regarded as Verbs of doing in the sense indicated above (p. 466). For like them, they denote a willed state and happening, respectively. In contradistinction to the subjects of (109), (112), and (123 - 125), however, the subjects of (126 - 127) could not be assigned the feature [+ volitive] independently of the Purpose adjuncts associating with the verbs with which they stand in a subject-verb relation. In
relation to the subjects of sentences such as (109), (112) and (125) on the one hand, and (123-124) on the other, they could be assigned a volitive feature by a rule such as (128-129), which could be named the 'a' and 'b' volitive rule, respectively.

\[(128)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ N \\
\rightarrow [+ \text{volitive}] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} V \ X \end{array} \right] Y \ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \vdash \end{array} \right] \\
+ \text{human}
\end{array}
\]

VP

1 2 3

where 1 is a verb of doing, a verb of position, and 3 does not contain a '9an ġayri maa qaṣd' adjunct (cf. above p. 464).

\[(129)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ N \\
\rightarrow [+ \text{volitive}] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} V \ X \end{array} \right] Y \ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \vdash \end{array} \right] \\
+ \text{human}
\end{array}
\]

VP

1 2 3

where 1 is imperative and either [+ stative] or [+ expressive of a happening ]

As for the subjects of (126-127), they cannot be assigned this feature by a similar rule to those of (128-129), i.e. independently of the Purpose adjuncts associating with the verbs with which they stand in a subject-verb relation. For that the subjects of (126-127) are volitional is a result of the verbs with which they stand in a subject-verb relation being accompanied by Purpose adjuncts. And to do this not independently of this accompaniment will create a vicious circle: the Purpose adjunct litashiili ta9aamulihii ma9a
9umalaa?ih 'to facilitate his trade with his agents' in (126), for instance, associates with ya9rifu 'knows', for it is a verb standing in a subject-verb relation with a volitional subject, and ya9rifu 'knows' is a verb having a volitional subject, for it is accompanied by the Purpose adjunct litashiili ta9aamulihii ma9a 9umalaa?ih 'to facilitate his trade with his agents'.

How can then (126 - 127) be accommodated within our analysis of the co-occurrence restriction between verbs and Purpose adjuncts? I have no answer to this question that will keep intact part 'a' of the aforementioned statement concerning this dependency (cf above p.466) i.e. that which attributes the grammaticality of verb-purpose adjunct combinations such as those of (126 - 127) to that the Purpose adjuncts associate with verbs having volitional subjects. I will therefore modify this part so as to account for the grammaticality of verb-purpose adjunct combinations such as (i) those of (126 - 127), and (ii) those of (109), (112), (123 - 125), respectively: Purpose adjuncts co-occur with (i) the stative verbs or the verbs of happening whose subjects are marked with the feature [+ human], and (ii) the verbs of doing or position whose subjects are volitional.

17.5 Reason Adjuncts

In the data she was analysing, which are a representative of Modern written Arabic, Lentzner recognized two prepositions expressing Motivation. These are the 'li' and the 'min' she calls Motivational 'li' and 'min', respectively, e.g. li 'for' in (130 - 131) and min 'form' and 'by' in (132 - 133), respectively.

(130) tawaqqafat fag?atan li?asbaabin laa yadrii maa hii
(cf. Lentzner, p. 132).
She stopped suddenly for reasons unknown to him

(131) wa li?asbaabin maa tamtani9u ?israa?iilu 9an ta?kiidi haada lxabar (ibid., p. 133)
And for some reasons, Israel refrains from affirming this news

(132) ?a9Saabunaa wahanat min ka?rati liTmi?naan (ibid, p. 144)
Our nerves have grown feeble from an excess of tranquility

(133) xasirtu rasii min ka?rati hubbi lak (ibid., p. 145)
I lost my head by loving you so much (2)

In English as well, Vestergaard recognized two PPs comparable to Lentzner's 'li' and 'min' Motivational phrases. The former are called by Vestergaard Reason adjuncts (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 80 - 82) and the latter External causer phrases (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 180 - 81). Examples are respectively 'because of the rain' in (134) and 'for the lack of it' in (135), and 'with enthusiasm' in (136), 'in the breeze' in (137), 'under the weight' in (138) and 'of tuberculosis' in (139).

(134) He stayed at home because of the rain (cf. Vestergaard, p. 80)

(135) The necessary faculties are more likely to be perverted by too much culture than to wither for the lack of it (ibid., p. 82)

(136) He trembled with enthusiasm (ibid., p. 181)

(137) The curtain fluttered in the breeze (ibid, p. 181)

(138) He staggered under the weight (ibid., p. 181)
(139) He died of tuberculosis (ibid., p. 182)

There are however differences between Lentzner's analysis of her Motivational PPs and Vestergaard's of Reason and External causer phrases. For the former, both the 'li' and the 'min' elements of Motivational PPs are independent predicates, and the nominal elements they govern are external not internal to the semantic structure of the main verbs of the clauses containing them (cf. Lentzner, pp. 274-5). And the purpose of these independent prepositional predicates, which originate in the semantic representation as MOTIVATION, is to annex to the actions described in the main clauses of the sentences the reasons behind them, which are expressed by the nominal elements they govern in the surface (cf. Lentzner, p. 132). Put in both the terminology of the present work, and Vestergaard's, Lentzner's analysis of Motivational PPs means that they are free not bound adjuncts, VP not verbal complements. (Note, as indicated above (p. 443), that the framework within which Lentzner analyses 'Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Arabic Prepositions' is a generative semantic one.)

The general semantic structure of a sentence with a Motivational PP is accordingly envisaged by Lentzner as something like (140), where 'MOTIVATION' is the semantic element realized by a Motivational P, X is the action described by the main clause of the sentence in question, and Y, which is realized by the nominal element of a Motivational PP, is the reason behind X (cf. Lentzner, p. 132).
Applied to (130) and (132), for example, this general semantic representation will result in the semantic representations (141) and (142), respectively.

(141) Predication

Prediction

Pred | Arg | Arg
---|---|---
li | tawqqafat fag?atan | ?asbaabin laa yadrii maa hii

'for' 'she stopped suddenly'

(142) Predication

Predication

Pred | Arg | Arg
---|---|---
min | ?a9Saabunaa wahanat | kaqrati liTmi?naan

'from' 'our nerves have grown 'an excess of tranquility' feeble'

For Vestergaard on the other hand, the grammatical status of the
English PP comparable to Lentzner's 'li Motivational phrase' is not identical with the status of that comparable to her 'min Motivational phrase'. But before explaining this, it should be noted that what concerns us here of the four subfunctions regarded by Vestergaard as being subsumed by Reason (adjuncts) is that named by him 'Positive realized reason' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 80), e.g. 'because of the rain' in (134). For the rest of the subfunctions, see below 17.6.

Coming back to Vestergaard's view on the status of Reason adjuncts and External causer phrases, it is noticed that he, without indicating how and why, regards Reason (adjuncts) and External causer (phrases) as being 'merely names for distinct realizations of the same hyperfunction' (ibid., p. 80): for him, Reason is a free adjunct (ibid., p. 72) and External causer is a bound adjunct (ibid., p. 179). This analysis is based by Vestergaard on the fact that in contradistinction to Reason adjunct, External causer phrase cannot occur outside the scope of the predicate pro-form, nor does the sentence containing it entail another consisting of 'something happen' + the PP realizing it. Consider, for instance, the External causer phrase 'with enthusiasm' in (136), and the reason adjunct 'because of the rain' in (134). According to Vestergaard, 'with enthusiasm' in (136) is not able to occur outside the scope of a predicate pro-form (3), and, therefore (143) is ungrammatical, nor does (136), which embraces the External causer phrase 'with enthusiasm', entail (144).

(143) *What happened with enthusiasm was that he trembled
(144) Something happened with enthusiasm

The reason adjunct 'because of the rain' in (134), on the other hand, can occur, according to Vestergaard, outside the scope of a predicate proform, and, hence, (145) is grammatical.
(145) What happened because of the rain was that he stayed at home.

Also, (134), which contains the Reason adjunct 'because of the min', entails (146).

(146) Something happened because of the rain.

In CA, there are PPs corresponding to Lentzner's 'li Motivational phrases' and others to her 'min Motivational phrases'. Examples of the former are min ?agli daalika 'for that cause' in (147), bimaa ?aslaftum fi l?ayaami lxaaliyah 'for that which you sent on before you in past days' in (148), biSabrihim 'because of their endurance' in (149), bizulmihim 'for their wickedness' in (150), bimaa nasitut liqaa?a yawmikum haadaa 'for you forget the meeting of this your day' in (151), and bimaa qaddamat ?aydiihim 'because of that which their own hands have sent before (them)' in (152).

For that cause We decreed for the children of Israel that whoever kills a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind.

(148) kuluu wa ?rabuu hanii?an bimaa ?aslaftum fi l?ayaami lxaaliyah (69/24)
Eat and drink at ease for that which you sent on before you in past days.

(149) wa tammat kalimatu rabbika lhusnaa 9alayhim biSabrihim (cf. 7/137)
And the fair word of your Lord was fulfilled for them because of their endurance

(150) fa?axadathumun SSaa9iqatu bizzulmihiim (4/153)
The storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness

(151) faduuquu bimaa nasiitum liqaa?a yawmikum haadaa (32/14)
So test (the evil of your deeds). For you forget the meeting of this your day

(152) ?aSaabathum musiibatun bimaa qaddamat ?aydihiim (cf. 28/47)
Disaster afflicted them because of that which their own hands have sent before (them)

Examples of the CA PPs comparable to Lentzner's 'min Motivational phrases' are, on the other hand, bimaa 9indahum mina 19ilm 'in the knowledge they (themselves) possess' in (153)a, bimaa yaquuluun 'by what they say' in (153)b, mina lhuzn 'with the sorrow (that he was suppressing)' in (154)a, minhu 'whereby' in (154)b, limaa ?aSaabahum 'by that which befell them' in (155)a, and lihawaah 'by his desire' in (155)b.

(153)a. falammaaga?athum rusuluhum bilbayyinaati farihuu bimaa 9indahum mina 19ilm (40/83)
And when their messengers brought them clear proofs, they exulted in the knowledge they (themselves) possess

b. wa laqad na9lamu ?annaka yaDiiqu Sadruka bimaa yaquuluun (15/97)
We do indeed know that your bosom is oppressed by what they say

(154)a. wa byaDDat 9aynaahu mina lhuzn (12/84)
And his eyes were whitened with the sorrow (that he was suppressing)
Assuredly, you utter a disastrous thing. Whereby almost the heavens are torn, and the earth is split asunder and the mountains fall in ruins.

They did not weakened by that which befell them.

The unhappy is he who was deceived by his desire.

Like their English counterparts (cf. above p. 470 ), both Lentzner's li Motivational PPs and those corresponding to them in CA, and her min Motivational PPs as well as their CA equivalents are free and bound adjuncts, respectively. For though the nominal elements of both the former and the latter indicate the causes of what is denoted by the main verbs of the clauses in which they occur, only the former can occur outside the scope of the 'maa hadā9 pro-form' ('happen-what pro-form') which is a characteristic of Free not Bound adjuncts (cf. below 22.2 ). Consider, for instance 'mina lhuzn 'with the sorrow' in (154)a and bimaa yaquluun 'by what they say' in (153)b, which are prepositionally realized bound adjuncts with nominal elements expressing the causes of what is denoted by the main verbs of the clauses embracing them, and biZulmihim 'for their wickedness' in (150) and bimaa gaddamat ?aydīhiIm 'because of that which their own hands have sent before (them)' in (152), which are prepositionally realized free adjuncts with nominal elements also expressing the causes of that which the main verbs of the clauses containing them denote, i.e. functioning as Reason adjunct. In contradistinction to the PPs functioning as bound adjunct,
those functioning as Reason adjunct can occur outside the scope of the 'maadā haddaθ' pro-form, as indicated by (156 - 157), and (158 - 159), respectively.

(156)a. *iyyaDDat 9aynaahu mina 1huzn -
*maa haddaθa mina lhuzni byiDaaDu 9aynayh
His eyes were whitened with the sorrow -
What happened with the sorrow was that his eyes were whitened

b. *maa haddaθa mina lhuzn - ?iyyaDDat 9aynaah
What happened with the sorrow? - His eyes were whitened

(157)a. yaaDiiqu Sadruka bimaa yaquuluun -
*maa yahduθu bimaa yaquuluuna Diiqu Sadrik
Your bosom is oppressed by what they say -
What happens by what they say is that your bosom is oppressed

(158)a. fa?axadathumu SSa9iqatu biZulmihim - maa haddaθa biZulmihimu ?axdu SSa9iqati lahum
The storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness -
What happened for their wickedness was that the storm of lightning seized them

b. maa haddaθa biZulmihim - ?axadathumu SSa9iqah
What happened for their wickedness? -
The storm of lightning seized them

(159)a. ?aSaabathum muSiibatun bimaa qaddamat ?aydiihim -
maa haddaθa bimaa qaddamat ?aydiihimu ?iSaabatu
muSiibatin lahum
Disaster afflicted them because of that which their own hands have sent before (them) -

What happened because of that which their own hands have sent before (them) was that disaster afflicted them

b maa hadaqa bimaa qaddamat ?aydiihim - ?aSaabathum muSiibah

What happened because of that which their own hands have sent before (them)? -

Disaster afflicted them

It is indicated above (p. 470) that Vestergaard regards the nominal elements of Reason Adjuncts and External causer phrases, Reason and External causer, respectively, as being 'merely names for distinct realizations of the same hyper-function' (Vestergaard, p. 80), and that he does so without indicating how and why, i.e. without indicating the hyper-function he has in mind and the basis of recognizing it. For me, however both Reason and External causer can be regarded as being subsumed by the hyper-function 'Cause': they both express the causes of what is denoted by the main verbs of their clauses. But whereas External causer is one of the entities in the event denoted by the verb associating with it (cf. Fillmore, 1977: 72), part of the necessary context (cf. Vestergaard, p. 16), and, hence, it is realized in a bound phrase, in an External causer phrase, Reason is not, and, therefore, realized in a Free adjunct, in a Reason adjunct. A result of the hyperfunction 'Cause' subsuming the reason and the cause element of prepositionally realized Reason adjuncts and External causer phrases, respectively is that the clauses in which they occur are paraphraseable by those having the analysis of (160), which has a causative main verb.
For example, (150) and (149), in which biZulmihim 'for their wickedness' and biSabrihim 'because of their endurance' are reason adjuncts, are paraphraseable by (161 - 162), respectively, and (154)a and (163), in which mina lhuzn 'with the sorrow' and mimmaa qaala xaalid 'at what xaalid said' are external causer phrases, are paraphraseable by (164) and (165), respectively.

Having identified Reason adjuncts through explaining the things
in which they resemble and differ from external causer phrases, their collocability with the main verbs of the clauses in which they occur can be summed up as follows. There is no co-occurrence restriction between Reason adjuncts and verbs. That is, Reason adjuncts can co-occur with virtually any verbs, Stative or non-Stative. And any ill-formed combinations they constitute with verbs will be due to violating the co-occurrence restrictions between their nominal elements and these verbs, i.e. to the fact that their nominal elements denote reasons for which the actions, or the happenings or the states expressed by these verbs cannot be done, or occur, respectively. Since, as will be indicated (cf. below 18.3.2), the restrictions between verbs and the nominal elements of Reason adjuncts are non-linguistic, the ill-formedness of the combinations they constitute is pragmatic not linguistic. Examples of Reason adjuncts associating with Stative verbs are li? annahum ?usratun kabiiratun ?aniyyatun miDyaafah 'for they are a big, rich and hospitable family' in (166), lihubbihi littafaasiil 'because he likes details' in (167) and ligiddik 'for your seriousness' in (168).

(166) yatakawwanu baytuhum min 9a$ri huguraati nawmin li? annahum
?usratun kabiiratun ?aniyyatun miDyaafah
Their house consists of ten bedrooms, for they are a big;
rich and hospitable family

(167) ta$malu taqaariiruhuu 9adadan kabiiran mina SSaafaati
lihubbihi littafaasiil
His reports include a great number of pages because he
likes details

(168) tastahiqqu haadihi lhadiyyata ligiddik
You deserve this present for your seriousness
Examples of Reason adjuncts associating with non-Stative verbs on the other hand are min ?agli daalika 'for that cause' in (147), biSabrihim 'because of their endurance' in (149), and li$u9uurii bitta9ab 'because of my feeling tired' in (169): the first PP associates with the verb of doing katab 'decreed', the second with the verb of happening tamma(t) 'was fulfilled' and the third with the verb of position galas 'sat down'.

(169) galastu li$u9uurii bitta9ab
I sat down because of my feeling tired

17.6 Conditional and Concessive Adjuncts

The conditional and concessive adjuncts under discussion are those prepositionally realized. The former express that the states, the happenings or the actions denoted by the verbs of the clauses containing them depend on what is denoted by their nominal elements (cf. Quirk, et al., p. 745; Nilsen, p. 65). The latter, on the other hand, designate the surprising nature of what is denoted by the main verbs in view of what is expressed by their nominal elements (cf. Quirk et al., p. 674; p. 745), e.g. respectively 9alaa ?an tag9ala baynanaa wa baynahum saddaa 'on condition that you set a barrier between us and them' in (170), and 9alaa ?an massaniya lkibar 'despite the fact that old age has overtaken me' in (171).

(170) fahal nag9alu laka xargan 9alaa ?an tag9ala baynanaa wa baynahum saddaa (18/94)
So may we pay you tribute on condition that you set a barrier between us and them

(171) qaala ?aba$$artumuunii 9alaa ?an massaniya lkibar (15/54)
He said: Do you bring me good tidings (of a son) despite the fact that old age has overtaken me
Like Reason adjuncts (cf. above p.480), both Conditional and Concessive adjuncts can co-occur with virtually any verbs, Stative or non-Stative; and the ill-formed combinations they may constitute with these verbs will be due to violation of non-linguistic restriction between their nominal elements and them (cf. below 18.3.2). Hence, the combinations will be pragmatically not linguistically ill-formed.

Examples of Condition and Concessive adjuncts associating with non-Stative verbs are respectively "alaa ?an tag9ala baynanaa wa baynahum saddaa 'on condition that you set a barrier between us and them' in (170), 9alaa ?an nattahid 'provided that we are united' in (172) and 9alaa ?an taskut 'provided you become silent' in (173), and 9alaa hubbihii 'despite loving it' in (174), bimaa rahubat 'despite the fact that it is spacious' in (175) and 9alaa suu?i maa taquul 'in spite of the evil of what you are saying' in (176): the first member of each group associates with a verb of doing, the second with a verb of happening and the third with a verb of position.

(172) sayatahaqqaqu nnaSru 9alaa ?an nattahid
Victory will become a fact provided that we are united

(173) sa?aglisu 9alaa ?an taskut
I will sit down provided you become silent

(174) wa yuT9imuuna TTa9aama 9alaa hubbihii miskiinan wa yatiiman wa ?asiiraa (76/8)
And they feed with food, despite loving it, the needy wretch, the orphan and the prisoner

(175) Daaqat 9alayhimu 1?arDu bimaa rahubat (9/118)
The earth seemed constrained on them despite the fact that it is spacious
Examples of Conditional and Concessive adjuncts associating with Stative verbs on the other hand are respectively 9alaa ?an ta?guranii 0amaaniya higag 'on condition that you hire yourself to me for eight years' in (177), 9alaa ?allaa ta§tarr 'provided you do not become overweening' in (178) and 9alaa ?ilaa tay?as 'provided you do not give up all hope' in (179), and 9alaa ?annahuu saafara ?ilaa bilaadin 9adiidah 'despite the fact that he travelled to numerous countries' in (180) and 9alaa ?annahuu lam yaðhab ?ila lmadrasah 'despite the fact that he did not go to school' in (181).

haatayni 9alaa ?an ta?guranii 0amaaniya higag (28/27)
He said: Surely I want to marry you to one of these two daughters of mine on condition that you hire yourself to me for eight years.

(178) .tastahiqqu.?an tukaafa?a 9alaa ?allaa ta§tarr
'You deserve to be rewarded provided you do not become overweening .

(179) yumkinu ?an tata9allamahuu 9alaa ?allaa tay?as
It is possible that you learn it provided you do not give up all hope.

(180) laa ya9rifu lkaØiira mina 1?aØyaa?i 9alaa ?annahuu saafara ?ilaa bilaadin 9adiidah
He does not know lots of things despite the fact that he travelled to numerous countries.
Despite the fact that he did not go to school, he is able to write and read.

In his analysis of Reason adjuncts, Vestergaard regards the English phrases equivalent to the Conditional and Concessive adjuncts in question as a subfunction of Reason adjuncts (cf. Vestergaard, p. 80). For him, the nominal element of the phrase corresponding to Conditional adjunct is a positive hypothetical reason, e.g. 'in case of' rain' in (182), and that of the phrase equivalent to Concessive adjunct is either a negative realized, or a negative hypothetical reason depending on whether the main verb is a simple past tense, or is preceded by 'will' or the like, e.g. respectively 'the rain' in (183) and 'the weather' in (184).

(182) He will stay at home in case of rain (cf. Vestergaard, p. 80)

(183) He went out in spite of the rain (loc. cit.)

(184) He will go out regardless of the weather (loc. cit.)

Taking into consideration the aforementioned similarity between Reason adjuncts, and Conditional and Concessive adjuncts, Vestergaard's analysis of the English phrases equivalent to Conditional and Concessive adjuncts seems neither surprising nor groundless.
Footnotes

1. Or indeed an angle, though no example occurs in the data.

2. Lentzner's translation of the PP 'min ka'roti hubbi lak.', which is incompatible with the fact that its nominal element is an external causer not a reason, is 'because I love you so much'.

3. It should be noted that the term 'Predicate pro-form' and 'VP pro-form' are used by Vestergaard to refer to both a 'happen-what' and 'do-what' pro-form (cf. Vestergaard, p. 54; p. 180). For me, however, 'happen-what' and its Arabic equivalent 'maa/maadaa hadaE)' are 'sentence pro-forms', or, you may call it, 'happening pro-forms'. For the reply of their interrogative versions, for instance, is a clause. For example, (iii) and (iv) are respectively a possible reply of (i) and of (ii).

   (i) What happened?
   (ii) maadaa hadaE
        What happened?
   (iii) The man died
   (iv) maata rragul
        The man died

'do-what', on the other hand, and its Arabic equivalent 'maa/maadaa faqal' are VP pro-forms. For the reply of their interrogative versions, for instance, is a VP. For example, 'reading a story' in (vii), and yaqra?u qissah 'reading a story' in (viii) are possible replies of (v) and (vi), respectively.

   (v) What was maahir doing?
What was maahir doing?

He was reading a story

He was reading a story