

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

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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.

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Transcription

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).

Symbols employed	Arabic counterparts	Phonetic values of the symbols
ʔ	أ	a glottal stop
b	ب	a voiced bilabial stop
t	ت	a voiceless dental non-emphatic stop
θ	ث	a voiceless interdental fricative
g	ج	a voiced velar stop*
h	ح	a voiceless pharyngeal fricative
x	خ	a voiceless uvular fricative
d	د	a voiced dental non-emphatic stop
ð	ذ	a voiced interdental non-emphatic fricative
r	ر	a voiced alveolar roll
z	ز	a voiced alveolar non-emphatic fricative
s	س	a voiceless alveolar non-emphatic fricative

* The phonetic value given is according to my normal pronunciation; in prayer or Koranic recitation, the sound may be an affricate

Symbols employed	Arabic counterparts	Phonetic values of the symbols
ʃ	ش	a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
s	ص	a voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative
D	ض	a voiced dental emphatic stop
T	ط	a voiceless dental emphatic stop
Z	ظ	a voiced interdental emphatic fricative
ɣ	ع	a voiced pharyngeal fricative
ġ	غ	a voiced uvular fricative
f	ف	a voiceless labio-dental fricative
q	ق	a voiceless uvular stop
k	ك	a voiceless velar stop
l	ل	a voiced alveolar lateral
m	م	a voiced bilabial nasal
n	ن	a voiced alveolar nasal
h	ه	a glottal fricative
w	و	a voiced labio-velar semi-vowel
y	ي	a voiced palatal semi-vowel
u		a short close back rounded vowel
uu	و	a long close back rounded vowel
a		a short open vowel
aa	ا	a long open vowel
i		a short close front unrounded vowel
ii	ي	a long close front unrounded vowel

Abbreviations

Adj	Adjective
AdjP	Adjectival Phrase
Art	Definite article
CA	Classical Arabic
CEA	Colloquial Egyptian Arabic
DCDOPV	Derived Causative Double Object Prepositional Verb
DCDOT-PV	Derived Causative Double Object Transitive- Prepositional Verb
DCPV	Derived Causative Prepositional Verb
DCV	Derived Causative Verb
DOPV	Double Object Prepositional Verb
DOT-PV	Double Object Transitive-Prepositional Verb
DPO	Directional Prepositional Object
non-DPV	non-Derived Prepositional Verb
LPO	Locative Prepositional Object
N	Noun
-N	A nominal element of a prepositionally realized verbal complement/adjunct associating with a verb
$\bar{N}/\bar{N}/NP$	Noun Phrase
P	Preposition
P-	A prepositional element of a prepositionally realized verbal complement/adjunct associating with a verb
P-N	A prepositionally realized verbal complement/ adjunct associating with a verb
PO	Prepositional Object
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Pred Phrase	Predicate Phrase

PV	Prepositional Verb
\bar{S}/S	Sentence
TGG	Transformational Generative Grammar
TOT-PV	Triple Object Transitive-Prepositional verb
V	Verb
V-	Prepositional verb
V_1	A non-prepositional verb, i.e. a true intransitive or intransitively used verb
VN	Verbal Noun
VP	Verb Phrase
V-P-N	A Verb-Preposition-Noun combination with V as a prepositional verb and P-N as a prepositional object
V_1 -P-N	A Verb-Preposition-Noun combination with V_1 as a non-prepositional verb, i.e. as a true intransitive or intransitively used verb, and P-N as an adjunct

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 ?albalaagah', 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 ?arraDiy and muhammad 9abduh, 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 ?albalaagah' 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 ?albalaagah'. 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 daar ?al9ulum, 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 ?albalaa9ah', 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 ?albalaa9ah'.

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

P R E P O S I T I O N S

C H A P T E R O N E

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 Group Class Class Group Group Class

A 1 F A 1 2 F A 1
The concerts at the school are at the top

(ii) Group Class Group Group Class Class Class Group 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 Group Class Class Class Group Group Class

A 1 F A 1 2 3 F A 1
- - at - - - - - - -

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. Fries'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)	G	C	G	G	C	C	G	C
	A	1	F	A	1	2	A	1

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) V N /fi/ N subject V N 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 beeti 'house' in sentence (5).

(4) hayiddi lkitaab li 9alii

He will give the book to 9ali

(5) bahibbi ziyaarit beeti llaah

I like to visit Allah's house (= the mosque)

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 — N.

(ii) V N — N.

(iii) V — N N.

(iv) — 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) | ʔaxaḍa | 9aliyyuni | lkitaaba | min | xaalid | |
| | 9aliyy took the book from xaalid | | | | | |
| | V | N | N | N | N | |
| (7) | ʔa9Taa | 9aliyyun | xaalidan | kitaaba | nnaḥw | |
| | 9aliyy gave xaalid the grammar book | | | | | |
| | V | N | N | con-
junction | N | |
| (8) | Daraba | 9aliyyun | 9amran | wa | xaalidaa | |
| | 9aliyy has beaten 9amr and xaalid | | | | | |
| | V | N | N | active
participle | N | |
| (9) | qaabalat | su9aadu | 9aliyyan | haamilatani | lḥaqiibah | |
| | 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 | <u>fi</u> | lbayt | |
| | 9aliyy slept in the house | | | | |
| | V | N | N | N | |
| (11) | Daraba | 9aliyyuni | <u>bna</u> | lgiiraan | |
| | 9aliyy has beaten the neighbours' son | | | | |

con-
V N junction N

- (12) gaa?a 9aliyyun wa xaalid
9aliyy and xaalid came

V N Adjective N .

- (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.

V P N N

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

V N N N

- (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.

P N N

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

Particle of
modality N N

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

V N N

- (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 bigayri 9aSaa

I will beat him without a stick

First, in sentences (19, 21, 23 and 24) *bi* 'with', *?ilaa* 'for', *9ala* 'on' and *bigayri* 'without' express a relation between what they govern . . . *?aydiihim* 'their hands', *hiin* 'a while', *lkursiyy* '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 *?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) *biḡayri* '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 *nāmīr* 'a tiger' and *ʔarragulu* '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) *ʔi9taSamna 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) *kaḏḏhabuu biʔaayaatinaa (3/11)*

They denied our signs

(29) daalika natluuhu 9alayka mina l?aayaat (3/58)

This is what We rehearse unto you of the signs

(30) wa qad faSSala lakum maa hurrima 9alaykum ?illaa ma

DTurirtum ?ilayh (6/119)

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).

(31) wa taħmilu ?aθqaalakum ?ilaa baladin lam takuunuu

baaliġiihi ?illaa biṣiqqi l?anfus (16/7)

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).

(32) θumma ?inna rabbaka lilladiina 9amilu ssu?a bi

gahaalah (16/119)

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

(33) ?innii 9alaa bayyinatin min rabbii (6/57)

I am (relying) on clear proof from my Lord

(34) ?inna ?abaanaa lafii Dalaalin mubiin (12/8)

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.

(35) wa ?awhaynaa ?ilaa muusaa wa ?axiihi ?an tabawwa?aa

liqawmikumaa bimiSra buyuutaa (10/87)

We inspired muusaa and his brother with this message:

'Provide dwellings for your people in Egypt'

(36) fa?ida stawayta ?anta wa man ma9aka 9ala lfulk (23/28)

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

(37) fawagada fiihaa ragulayni yaqtatilaan (28/15)

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), ii '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 (rabbi) haqqa

lma9rifah 'fully aware (of my Lord)' and Daall 'aberrant', respectively.

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

(a) Adjunct, e.g. bi?aydiihim '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 'fiihaa' 'there' in (37), which function as Place adjunct (cf. below 16.3), 9alaa bayyinat in 'on clear proof' in (33) and fii Dalaalin mubiin 'in plain aberration' in (34), which function as Predicative adjunct (cf. Quirk et al, p. 473; p. 502; p. 682), biḡayri lhaqq 'wrongfully' in (38), kaxaḡyati llaah 'as they fear Allah' in (39) and biqabuulin ḡasan 'with full acceptance' in (40), which function as Manner adjunct (cf. below 17.2), and 9ala stiḡyaa? 'in timidity' in (41) and bigahaalah 'in ignorance' in (32), which function as Subject adjunct (cf. below 16.4).

(38) yabḡuuna fi l?arDi biḡayri lhaqq (10/23)

They rebel in the earth wrongfully

(39) ?idaa fariiqun minhum yaxḡawna nnaasa kaxaḡyati llaah
(4/77)

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

(40) fataqabbalahaa rabbuhaa biqabuulin ḡasan (3/37)

Her Lord accepted her with full acceptance

(41) fagaa?athu ?ihdaahumaa tamṣii 9ala stihyaa? (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 baaliḡiihi ?illaa biṣiqqi l?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 ta9aarafa 'recognized', ?i9taSam 'hold fast', kaddab 'denied', natl '(We) rehearse' and (ma) DTurir(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 qaḍ gi?tukum bi?aayatin min rabbikum (3/49)

I have come to you with a sign from your Lord

(43) qaaluu ?in yasriḡ faqaḍ saraqaa ?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 nađartu laka maa fii baTnii* (3/35)

I have dedicated unto you what is in my womb

(45) *?alam ya?tikum naba?u llađiina 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', *?ilaa* 'for' or 'to', *li* 'for', *9alaa* 'on', 'unto' or 'to', *bi* 'with' or 'in', *fii* 'in', *biğayri* '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, 63) 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 *ḡadaa* 'tomorrow' in (52).

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

(52) *sawfa ?uqaabiluka ḡadaa*
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 *?al* 'the' e.g. *?allaylah* '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 l?aSdiqaa?* 'an eve on which friends meet one another' and *laylatun min ?a9Zami llayaalii* '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) xuḍuu maa ʔaataynaakum biquwwah (2/93)

Hold firmly to what We have given you

(54) falammaḷ sami9at bimakrihinn ʔarsalat ʔilayhinn (12/31)

And when she heard of their malicious talk, she sent for them

(55) ʔalʔamru ʔilayk . (27/33)

It is for you to command

(56) ʕumma ʔiḍaa xawwalnaahu ni9matan minnaa qaala ʔinnamaa

ʔuutiituhuu 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) fastaḡaaʕahu llaḍii min ʕii9atihii 9ala llaḍii 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), ʔilay(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', (ʔilay)k '(for) you', naa 'Us' and ʕii9ati(hii) '(his own) religion', the constructions: bi quwwah 'firmly', bimakrihinn, 'of their malicious talk', ʔilayk 'for you', minnaa 'from "Us' and min ʕii9atihii '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 'biquwwah', 'bimakrihinn', etc. - cannot.

(58) a. ?alquwwah Daruuriyyah

Strength is necessary

b. ?almakru xaSlaturu 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. nahnu ?aSdiqaa?

We are friends

(nahnu '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. §ii9atuhuu qawiyyah

His followers are strong

(59) a. sawfa tantaSiru lquwwah

Force will win

b. sawfa yaDurruhuu makruh

His craftiness will harm him

c. hali ṣtarayta 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 tantaSinuṣii9atuh

His followers will win

(60) a. yaxṣa nnaasu lquwwah

People fear force

b. ?akrahu lmakr

I hate craftiness

c. ?uhibbuk

I like you

d. yuhibbuunanaa

They like us

e. ṣawfa yuḥaaribuuna ṣii9atah

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 ṣii9atih 'of his own religion' in (53 - 57) function as (Manner) adjunct, PO, Predicate, Postmodifer 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(ḡḡarr) '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), bigayri (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) tahaddaθtu ma9a rraguli llađii 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 llađiina yulhiduuna fii ?aayaatinaa laa
yaxfawna 9alaynaa (41/40)
Surely, those who distort our revelations are not hid
from Us

(65) wa min ?aayaatihii xalqu ssamaawaati wa l?arDi wa
maa baθθa 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 fiimaa ?afDtum
fiihi 9ađaabun 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.

(67) fanasuu hazZan mimmaa dukkiruu bih (5/14)

But they forgot a part of (the message) that was sent them

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

(68) 9afa llaahu 9anka lima ?adinta lahum (9/43)

Allah forgive you! Why did you grant them leave?

(69) limani lmulku lyawm (40/16)

Whose is the sovereignty this day?

(70) fabi?ayyi hidiiθin ba9dahuu yu?minuun (7/185)

In what fact after this will they believe?

(71) hattaḡmataa sataskut

Until when will you be silent?

(72) min ?ayna tu?tawn (?ib ?abii Taalib, II, 200)

How can you be dealt with?

(lit. Where are you handled from?)

(5) a maa clause, e.g. maa rahubat 'its spaciousness' in (73) maa ?aadaytumuunaa 'all the hurt you may cause us' in (74) and maa 9aSaw 'they rebelled' in (75).

(73) Daaqat 9alayhimu l?arDu bimaa rahubat (9/118)

The earth seemed constrained to them for all its spaciousness

(74) wa lanaSbiranna 9alaa maa ?aadaytumuunaa (14/12)

We shall certainly bear with patience all the hurt you may cause us

(75) daalika bimaa 9aSaw (5/78)

That was because they rebelled

(6) ?anna/?an clause, e.g. ?annaamuslimuun 'that we are Muslims, in' (76) ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθmaa 'that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin' in (77), ?an ya?tuu bimiθli haada lqur?aan 'to produce the like of this Koran' in (78) and ?an taquuma min maqaamik 'you rise from your place' in (79).

(76) ?iθhaduu bi?annaa muslimuun(3/64)

Bear witness that we are Muslims

(77) fa?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθmaa fa
?aaxaraani yaquumaani maqaamahumaa (5/107)

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

(78) qul la?ini gtama9ati l?insu wa lginnu 9alaa ?an ya?tuu
bimiθli 'haada lqur?aani laa ya?tuuna bimiθlih (17/88)

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 taquuma min maqaamik (27/39)

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

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

(80) yaalaytanii mittu qabla haadaa(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 ?afaDtuum 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 yuxrigakum 'to expel you' in (92), and haadaa 'this' in (93).

- (88) a. naZZafa maahiruni lhugrah
maahir cleaned the room
- b. ?iṣṭaraa maahirun baytan gamiilaa
maahir bought a beautiful house
- (89) a. faḍammarnaahum 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 lmaḥdi 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) ?atuḥibbiina haadaa
Do you like this?

(ii) subject of verbal sentences, e.g. 'rragul 'the man' and ragulun ǧaniyy 'a wealthy man' in (94a - b) ta 'you' and huu 'Him' in (95a - b), lladii 'He Who' in (96), maa ḍahaba llayaalii 'that nights pass' in (97), ?annaa ?anzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba 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 ǧaniyy
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 lladii ya9lamu ssirra fi ssamaawaati wa
l?arD (25/6)
Say: He Who knows the secret of the heavens and the
earth has revealed it
- (97) yasurru lmar?a maa dahaba llayaalii (cf. ?ibn hiSaam, Saah; 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 lmuuxliSuuna '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 lmuuxliSuuna qaliiluun
Sincere friends are few

- (101) wa tahsabuhum ?ayqaaZan 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 taSuumu 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 'shooter' from 'shoot'. And an example from Arabic is fahmu 'understanding' in the phrase fahmu 9aliyyini lkitaab '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 forms and, therefore, as not belonging to the lexicon as separate items, and others as basic lexical items with specific lexical entires? This question will be answered with respect to Prepositional verbs (PV henceforth). Consider the following sentences:

(105) wa law §i?naa lanadhabanna billadii ?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 l?akl (cf. 7/31; 3/147)

Do not be immoderate in eating

(108) tamatta9 bima9a ?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 (la)nadhhab '(We) (could) withdraw' and qa9ada bi 'made sit down' in (105 - 106), on the one hand, and (la) tusrif fi '(do not) be immoderate in' in (107), and tamatta9 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 ?a9raqa 'shines' in (109), where the external causer nuuri rabbihaa 'the light of her Lord' is the nominal element in the optional external causer phrase binuuri rabbihaa 'with the light of her Lord': sentence (110), with no PO, is grammatical.

(109) wa ?a9raqati l?arDu binuuri rabbihaa (36/69)

And the earth shines with the light of her Lord

(110) wa ?a9raqati 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-DPV). The bases upon which words such as nadhab '(We) withdraw' in (105) and qa9ada 'handicapped' in (106) are regarded as derived forms are the following ones:

(i) the productivity of the rule deriving them (cf. Chomsky, 1970: 187, Bauer, p.5)..

(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 causer, 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 transformational 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 ?a9Taaka llaah '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 $P NP_1 NP_2$, where the $P NP_1$ is a PO and the NP_1 assumes the semantic role experiencer (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 186-7, and Fillmore, 1977:67) and the NP_2 , 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), Siyaḡu lmubaalaḡah 'Intensifying forms' (cf. below pp.92-4), ?asmaa?u ttafDiil 'Comparatives' (cf. below pp. 94-7), ?asma?u lmaf9uuliin 'Passive participles' (cf. below pp.97-100), and ?al?af9aalu lmabniyyatu li|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 '?ilaa'. 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 ZZaalimiin (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 yuxayyalu ?ilayhi
min sihrihim ?annahaa tas9aa (20/66)

Then behold! their ropes and rods, by their magic,
appeared to him as though they ran

It governs sihrihim '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 9addaba
'chastised' in (118), from which the passive verb of (117) derives.

(118) 9addabanii maraDuh

His illness chastised me

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

(119) ?allaahu wa rasuluhuu ?ahabbu ?ilaa 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) yuḥibbu 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 prepositional (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 muḥiit . bi 'thoroughly acquainted with' in (122) the intensifying form qadiir 9alaa 'able to do' in (123), the exclamatory verb maa ?aT9ana(huu) . 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 9uθira 'is discovered' in (127).

(121) qul qitaalun fiihi kabiinn wa Saddun 9an sabiili llaahi
wa kufrun bihi wa lmasgidi lharaami wa ?ixraagu
?ahlihi 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 drive out its members

(122) ?inna llaaha bimaaya9maluuna muhiit (3/120)

For God is thoroughly acquainted with what they do

(123) wa llaahu 9alaa kulli say?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 kaθiirin 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 9uθira 9alaa?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθman fa?axaraani 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 9aθara 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 NP₂ to be phenomenon.

C H A P T E R T W O

PREPOSITIONS AND DERIVED FORMS

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: — NP₁ NP₂

(2) DCDO-TPV: — NP₁ NP₂ NP₃

(3) DCDOPV: — NP₁ NP₂ PP

where NP₁ is subject and NP₂ is the prepositional complement of 'bi', the preposition with which the derived causative verbs (DCV henceforth), associate, and PP and NP₃ function as they do when in construction with the non-causative verb occurring in the underlying representation of DCVs, e.g. *dahab(tu) bi* '(I) made leave' in (4), which corresponds with structure (1), *gaawaz(naa) bi* '(We) made cross' in (5), which corresponds with structure (2), and where the NP₃ *lbahr* 'the sea' functions as object, and *9adal(ta) bi* '(you) made deviate' in (6), which corresponds to structure (3) and where the PP *9ani lqaSd* 'from (their) intention' is a PO.'

(4) *dahabtu bizayd* (cf. *?ibn hiṣaam, maḡnii, I, 96-7; ?assuyuuTii, ham9, II, 20-1*)

I made zayd leave

(5) *wa gaawaznaa bibanii ?israa?iila lbahr* (7/138)

And We made the children of Israel cross the sea

(6) *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) ḍahaba zayd

zayd left

(11) gaawaza banuu ?israa?iila lbahr

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), 9aada 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), taaha bi 'make wander about' (ibid., I, 149), ?ataa 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 l9amaa (?ibn ?abii Taalib,
III, 478)

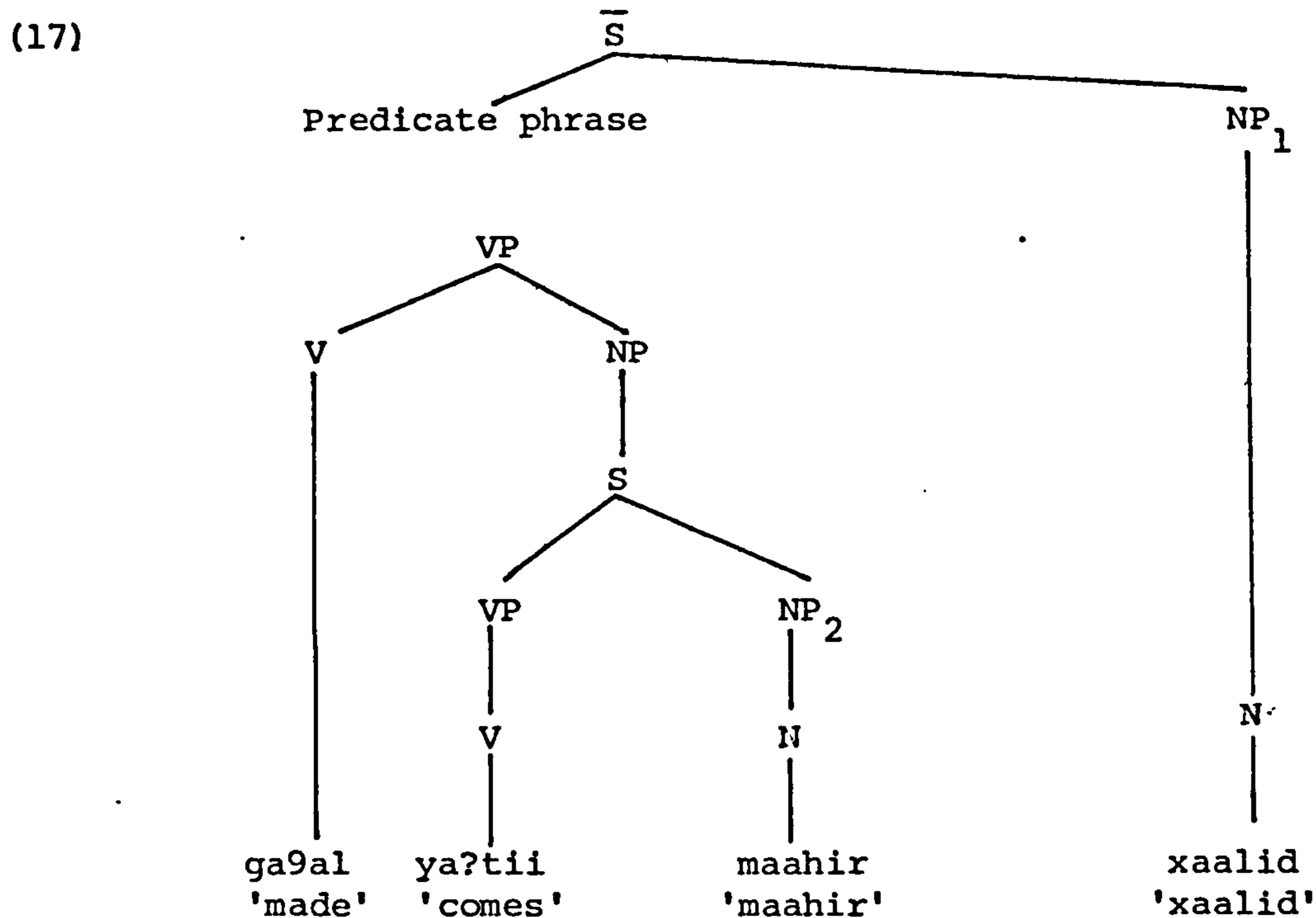
Life misguided them

(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).

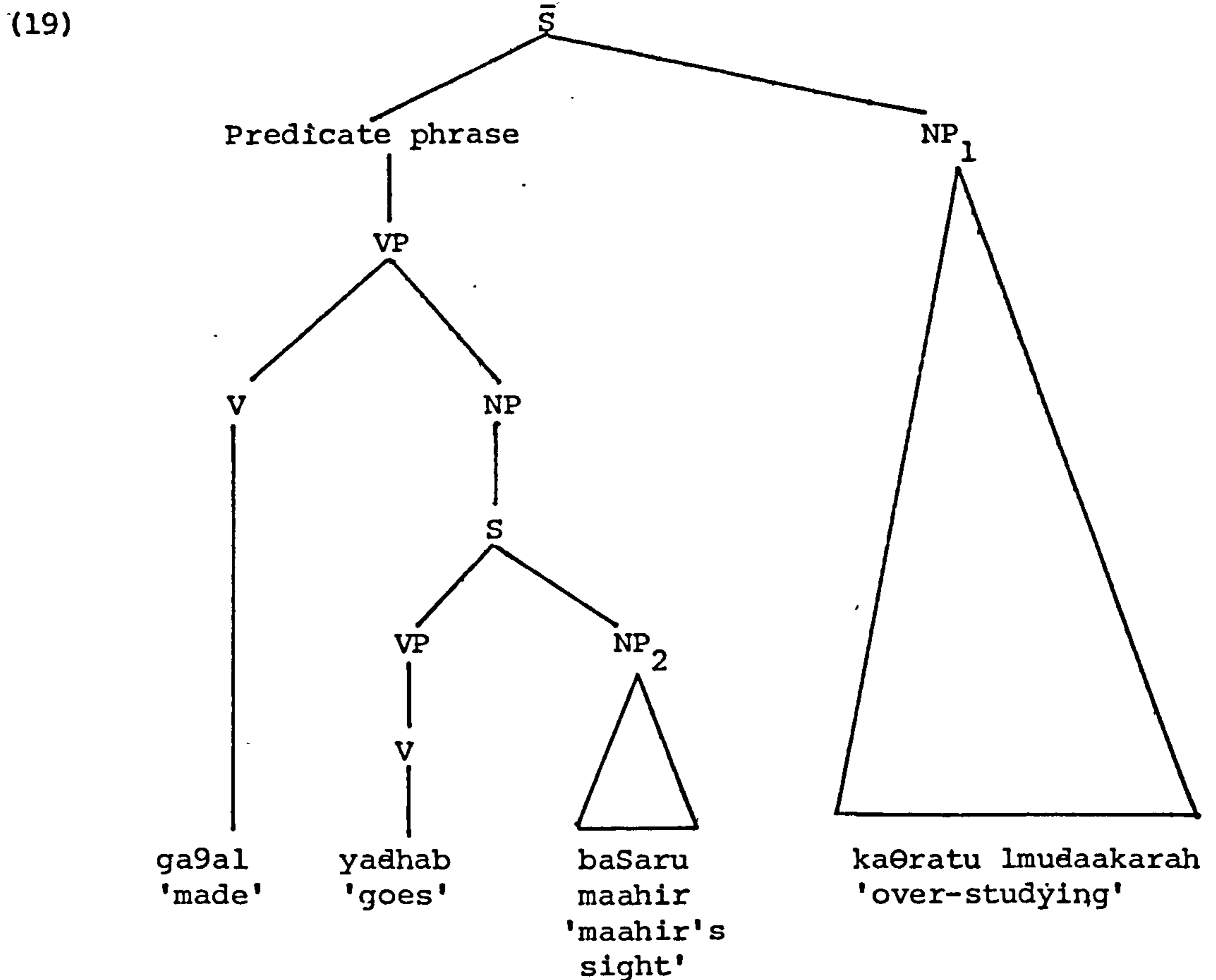
- (16) ?ataa xaalidun bimaahir
 xaalid made maahir come



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 kaθratu lmudaakarati 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.

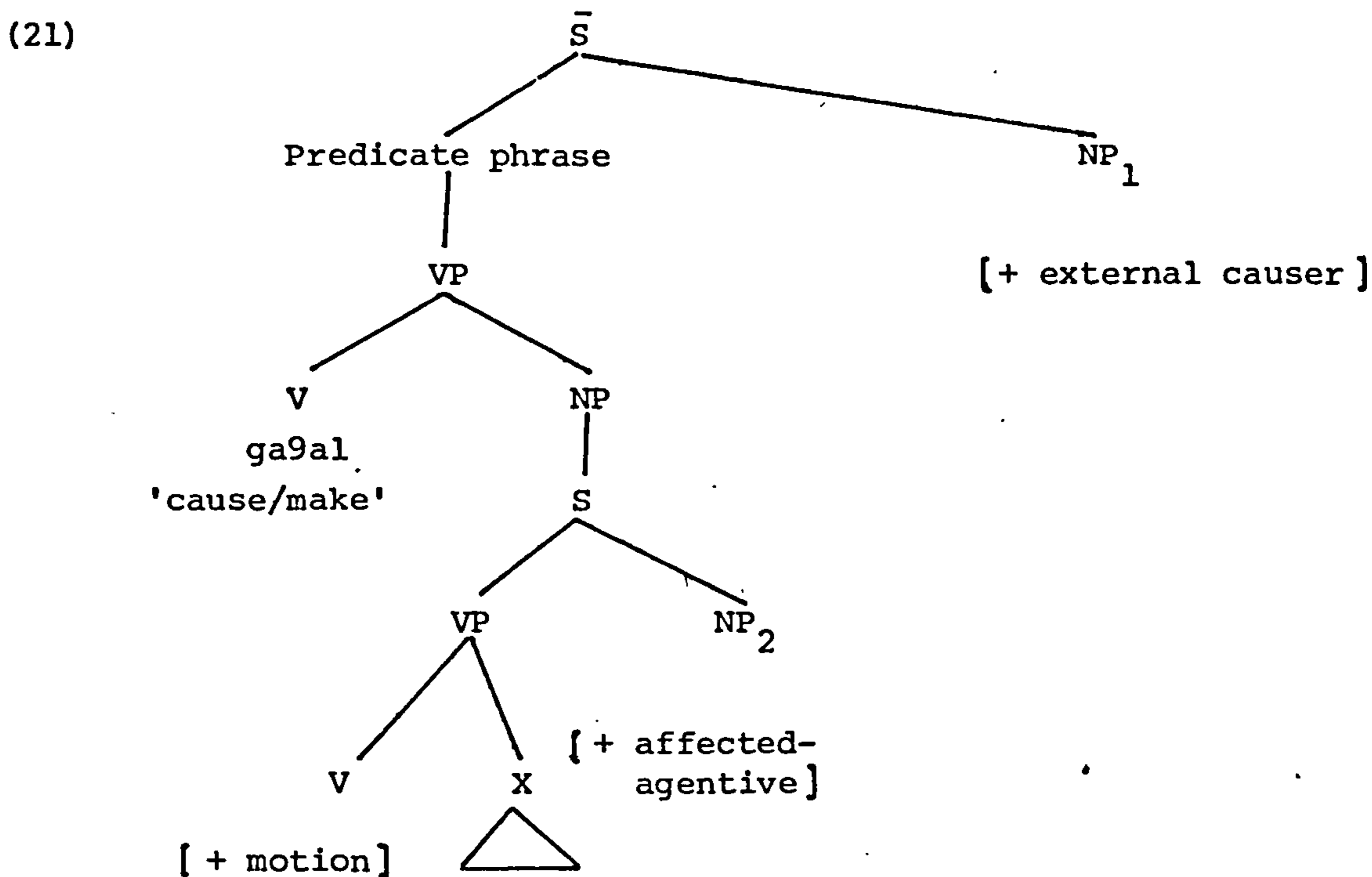
2.1.2.1 The transformational analysis

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.).

(20) ga9al 'cause/make' $\left[\begin{array}{l} V \\ + \text{ motion} \end{array} \right]$

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).



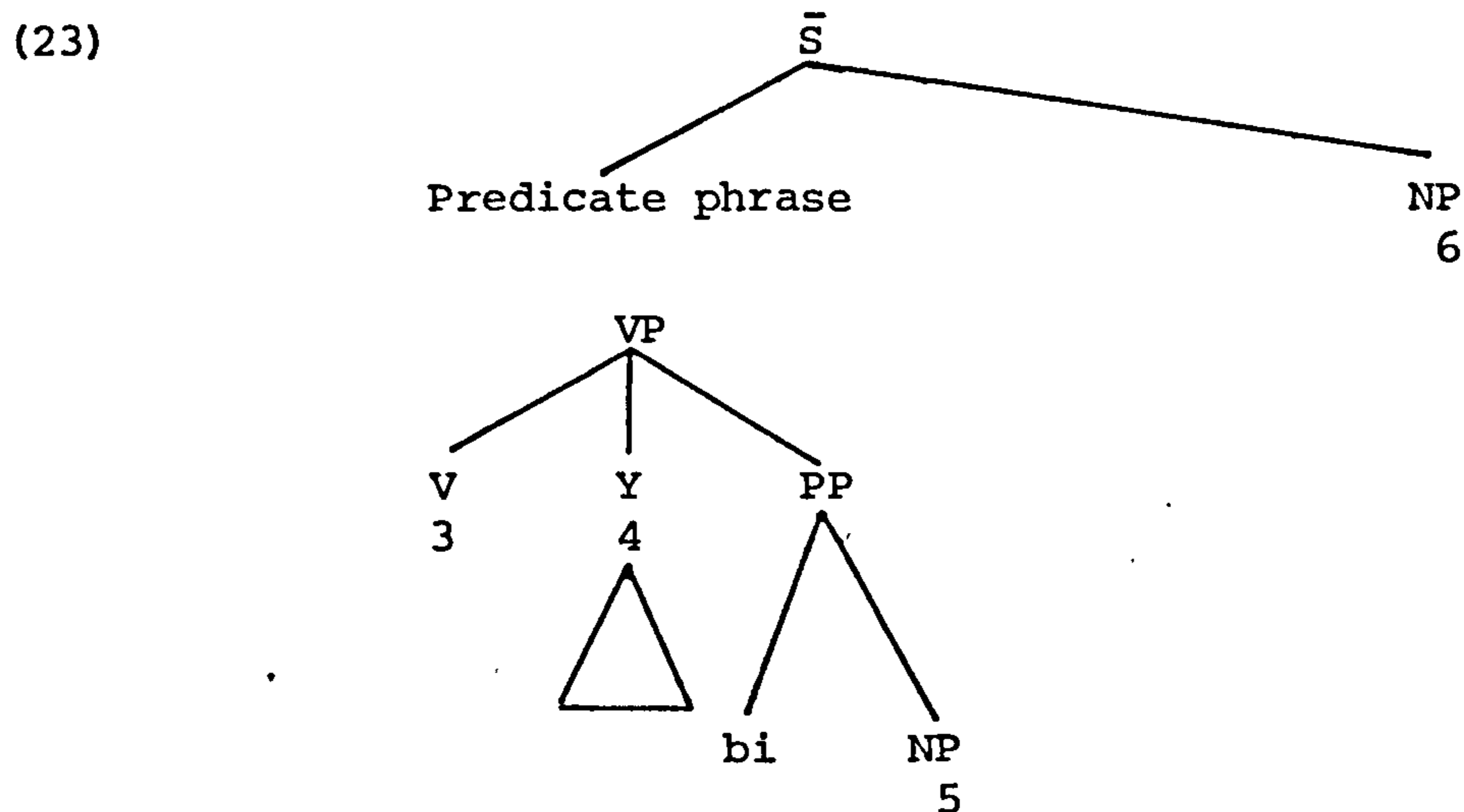
Where X is \emptyset , NP₃, or PP (cf. above 1 - 3, respectively) and are indicated (i) the number of participants a regular DCV has, and its dependency on the number of participants a non-causative verb of motion has; (ii) the predictable semantic roles of these participants; (iii) the feature [+ motion].

(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).

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
 (22) & x & [v] & [& [& [[v] [Y]] [NP_2]]] [NP_1] & z \\
 & & & NP & S & VP & & & & & \\
 & 1 & 2 & & & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & \Rightarrow \\
 & 1 & \emptyset & & & 3 & 4 & bi + 5 & 6 & 7 &
 \end{array}$$

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



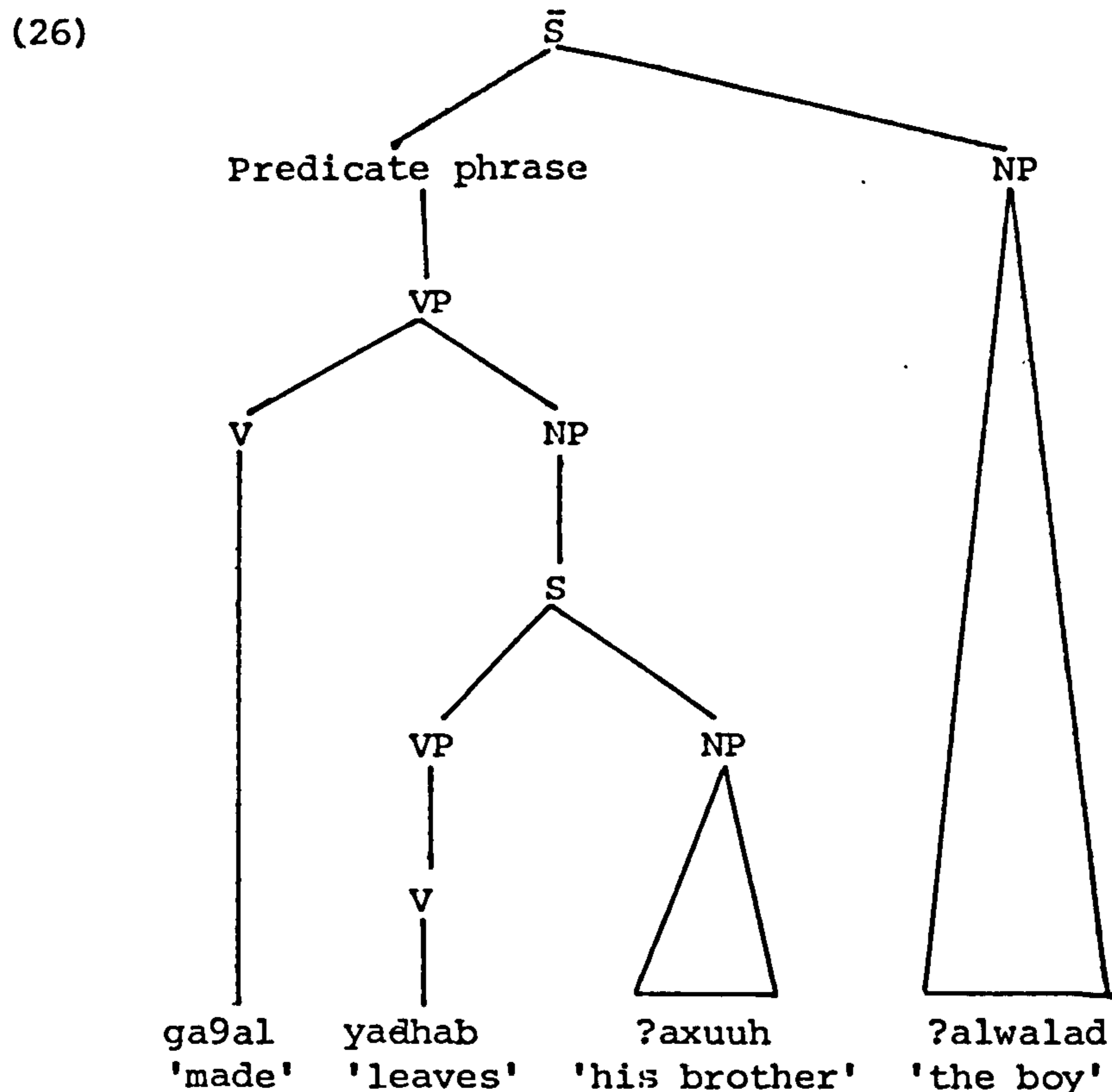
It should be noted that (22) is an optional transformation. For both (24) and (25) are grammatical and have as their underlying representation (26), which satisfies the structural analysis of (22).

(24) ḍahaba lwaladu bi?axiih

The boy made his brother leave

(25) ga9alalwaladu ?axaahu yaḍhab

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:

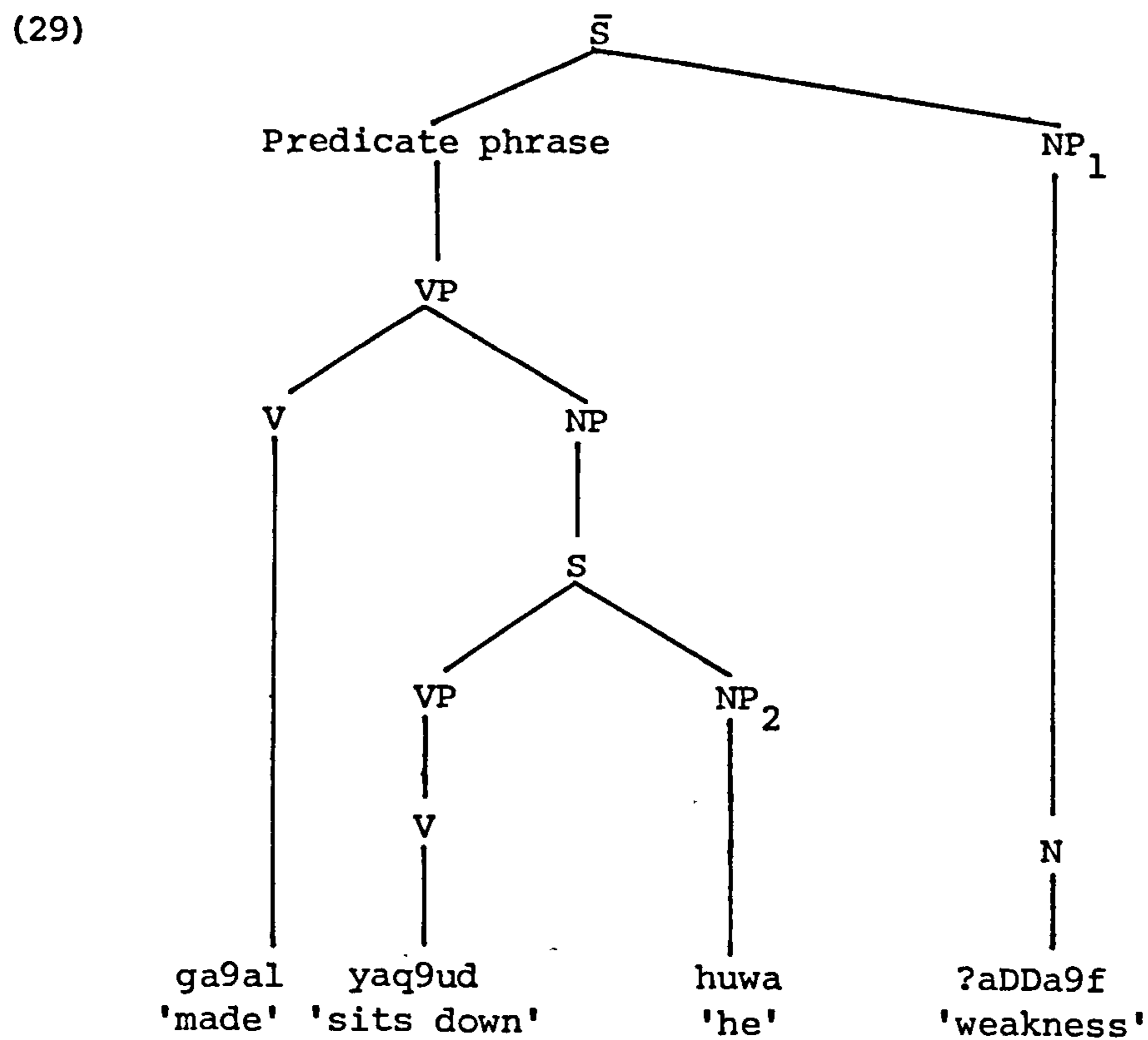
- (i) in the underlying representation of the irregular DCV, its non-causative form, which functions as the main verb of the embedded S it contains, will be marked with a feature having to do with the Causative transformation. (cf. above (22)). Such a feature is a rule feature, i.e. a feature indicating 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.

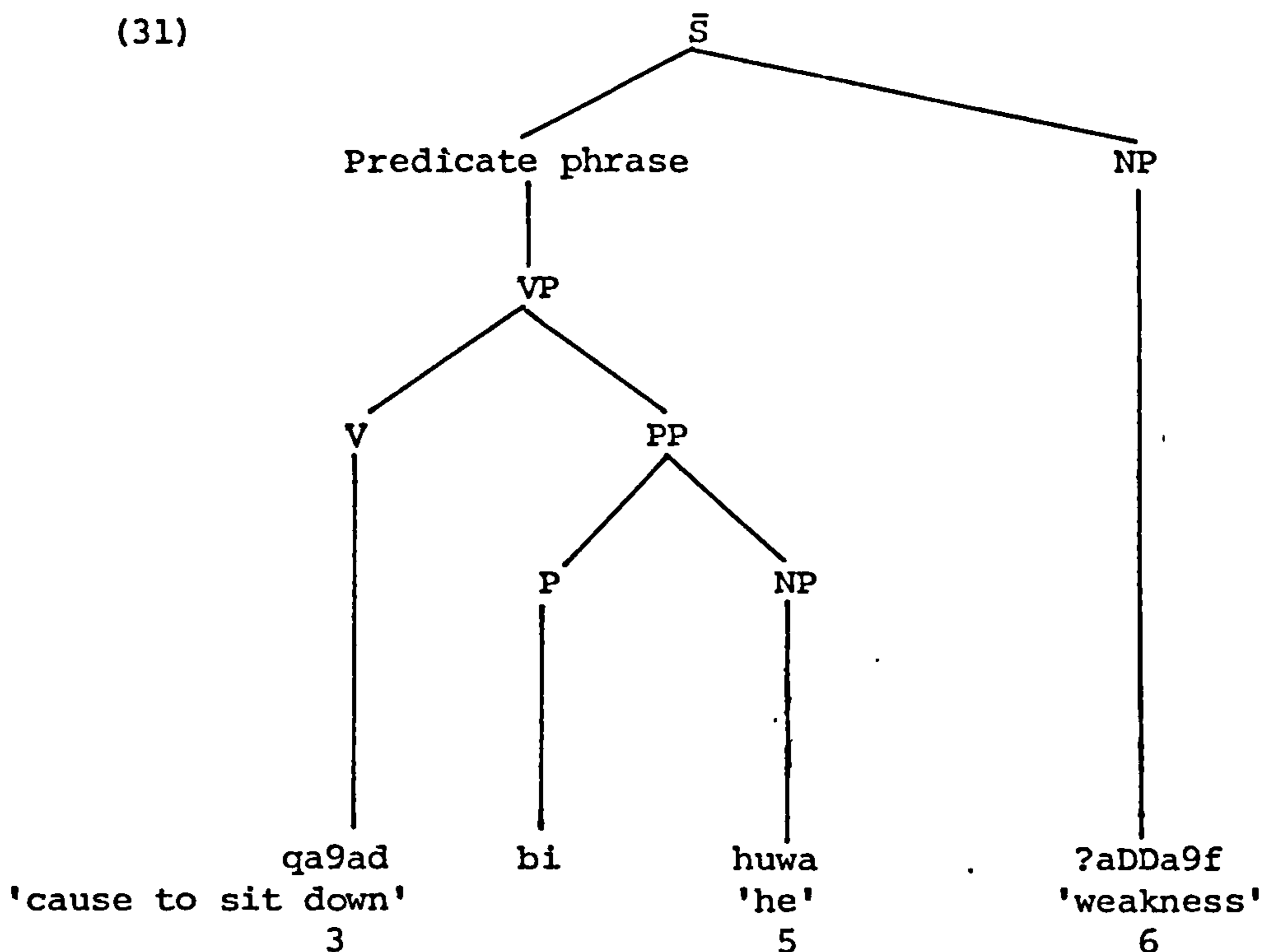
- (28) ga9ala 'make/cause $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ + \text{causative T} \end{array} \right]$



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 | ∅ | 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]]
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))

(34) ga9alta xaalidan yamDii ?ilaa manzilih

You made xaalid go to his house

(35) ga9alta maahiran yuḡannii

You made maahir sing

(36) ga9alta naa?ilan yaḡtanii

You made naa?il become rich

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 yuḡannii 'sing' in (35) and yaḡtanii '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

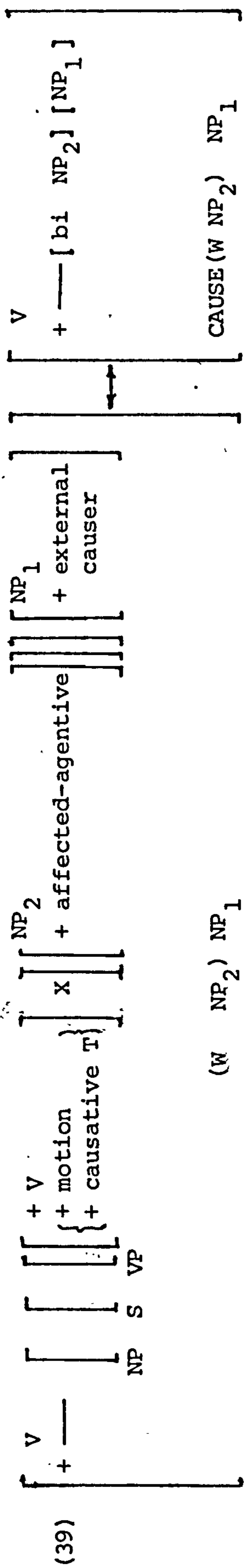
xaalid went to his house

(38) ?iḡtanaa 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.

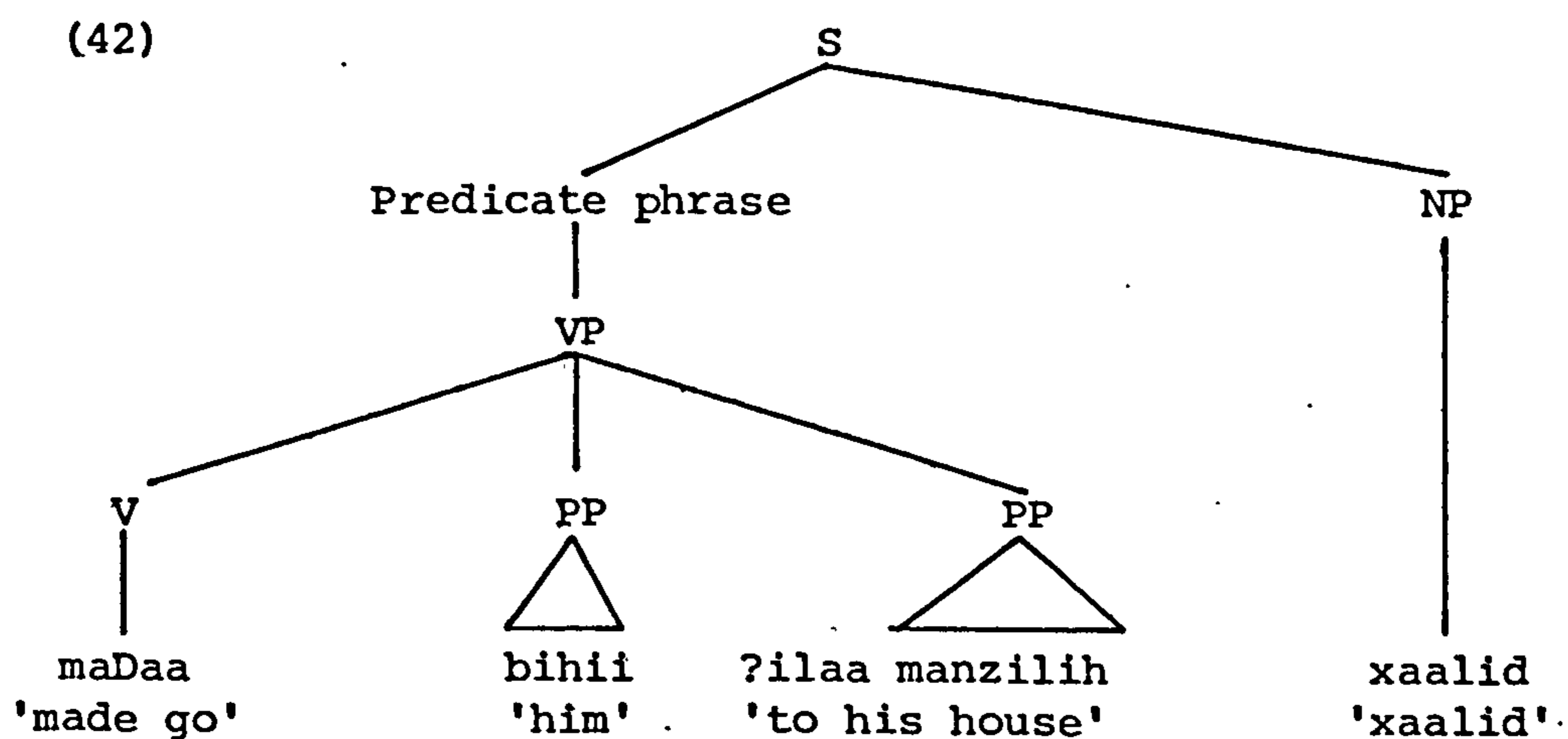
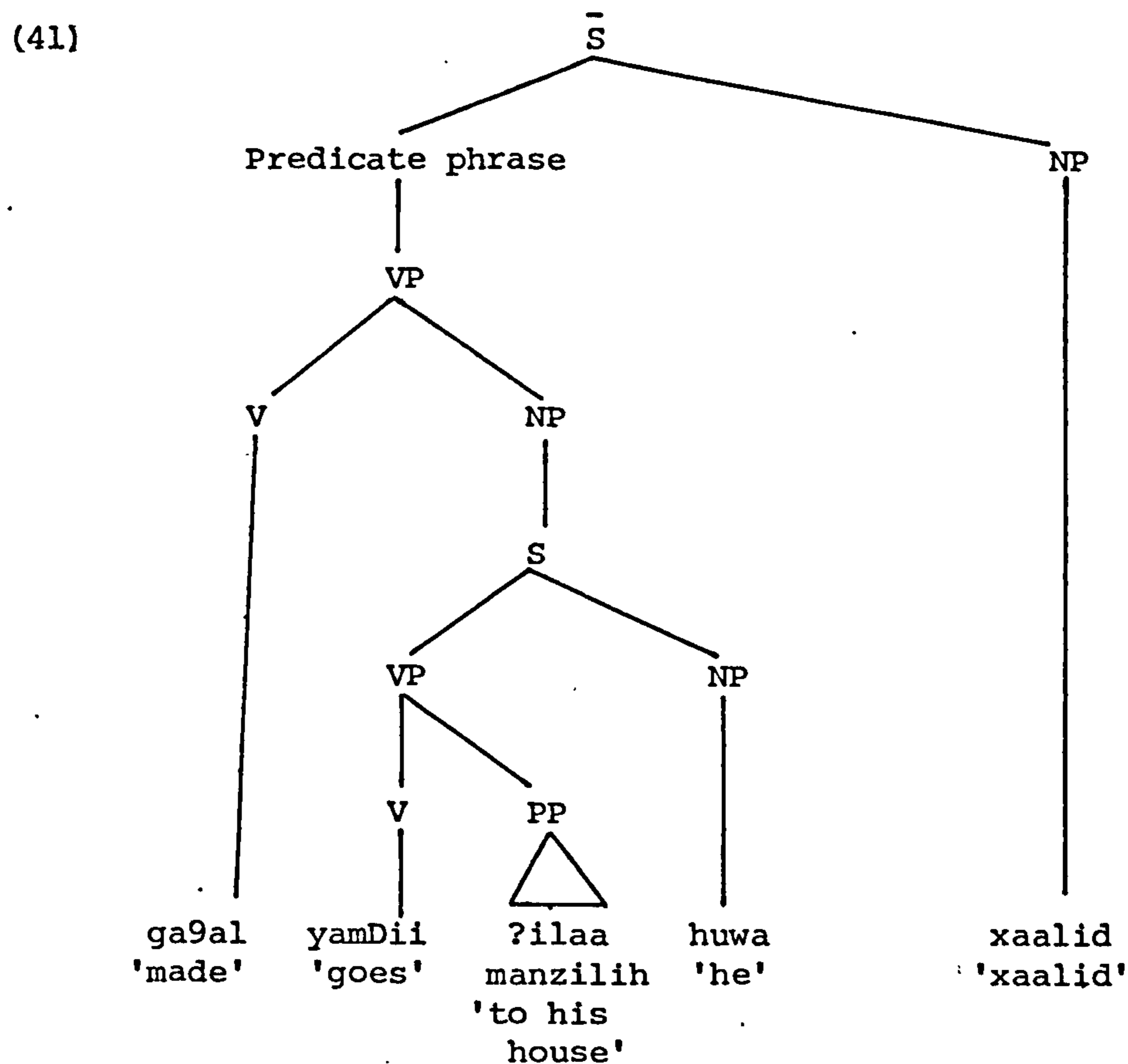
Having said that, (39) is the lexical rule accounting for the general facts related to the regular and irregular DCVs, i.e. for their meaning, their structural peculiarities and the semantic roles of their subject and the nominal element of their POs (cf. above 2.1.1).



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 bihi ?ilaa manzilih

xaalid made him go to his house



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).

(i) 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 DCDOVP maDaa bi 'made go' in (40).

(46) a. S → Predicate phrase NP

b. Predicate phrase → VP

c. VP → V PP PP

d. PP → P NP

(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 yaehab

xaalid made maahir go

(50) Sallaa xaalidun bimaahir

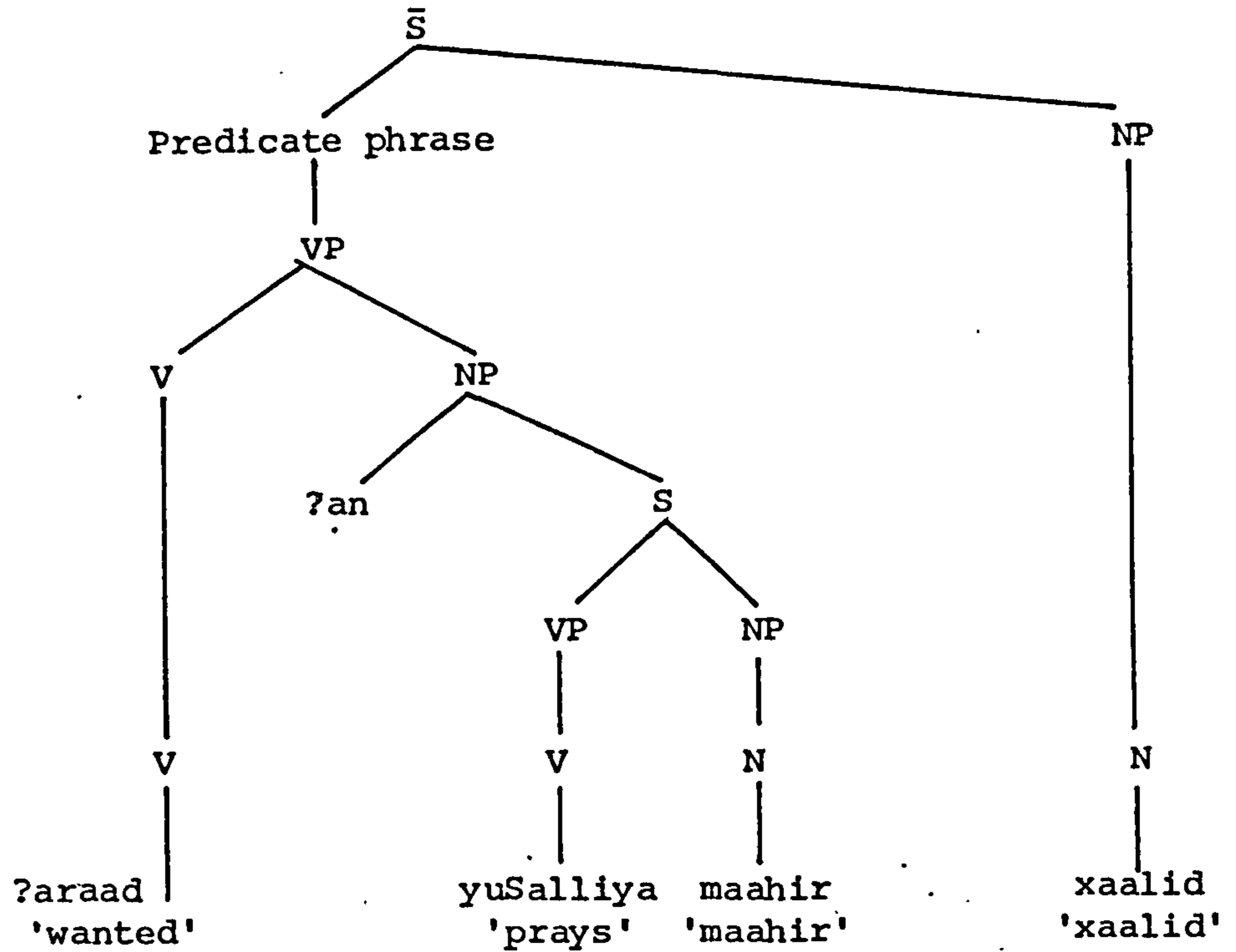
xaalid prayed with maahir

(51) ?araada xaalidun ?an yuSalliya maahir

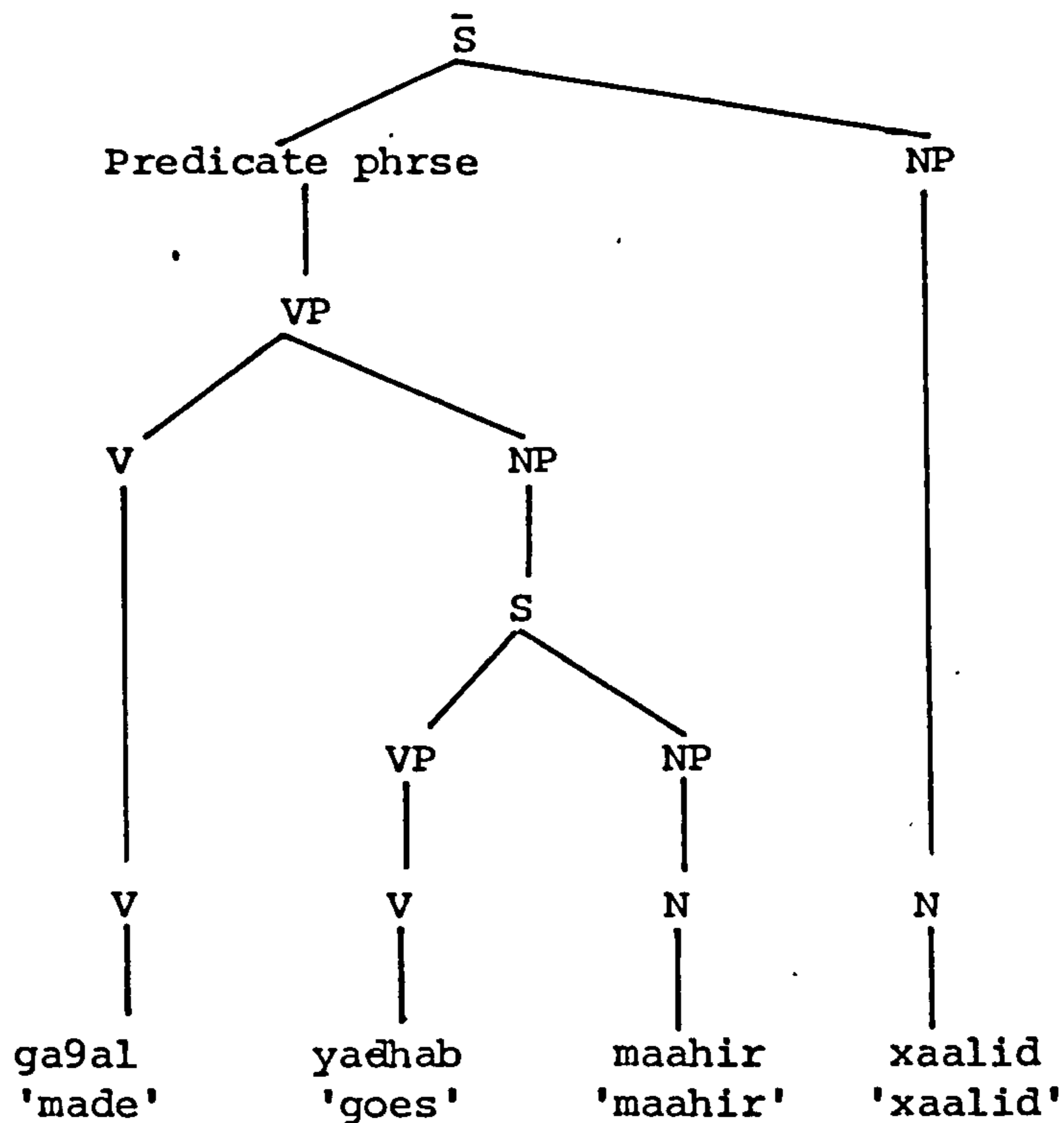
xaalid wanted maahir to pray

For (52), which represents the phrase structure properties of (51) is the same as (53), which represents the structure properties of (49).

(52)



(53)



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', baġaa '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 synonymy 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] [[[] ([[])]] []]]] []]]
 \bar{S} VP V NP S VP V NP₁ NP₂ NP₃

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.

(55) $x [[[] [[?an] [[[]] []]]] [] z] y$
 \bar{S} VP V NP S VP V NP₂ NP₃

Where NP₂ and NP₃ are/are not identical, and NP₂ is/is not animate agentive.

First, if NP₂ and NP₃ are not identical, and NP₂ 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 NP₂ VN

(56) can be exemplified by min ba9lihaa nu\$uuzaa 'her husband should treat (her) brutally' in (57), minkum gazaa?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 gazaa?an wa 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 NP₂ not governed by 'min', is ungrammatical.

(60) *taxaafu hudaa ba9lihaa nu\$uuzaa

hudaa fears lest her husband should treat (her) brutally

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

(61) $x [[[v] [[?an] [[[v]] [NP_2]]]] [NP_3] z] y$
 \bar{S} VP NP S VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 \implies

1 2 \emptyset min 5 4 6 7 8

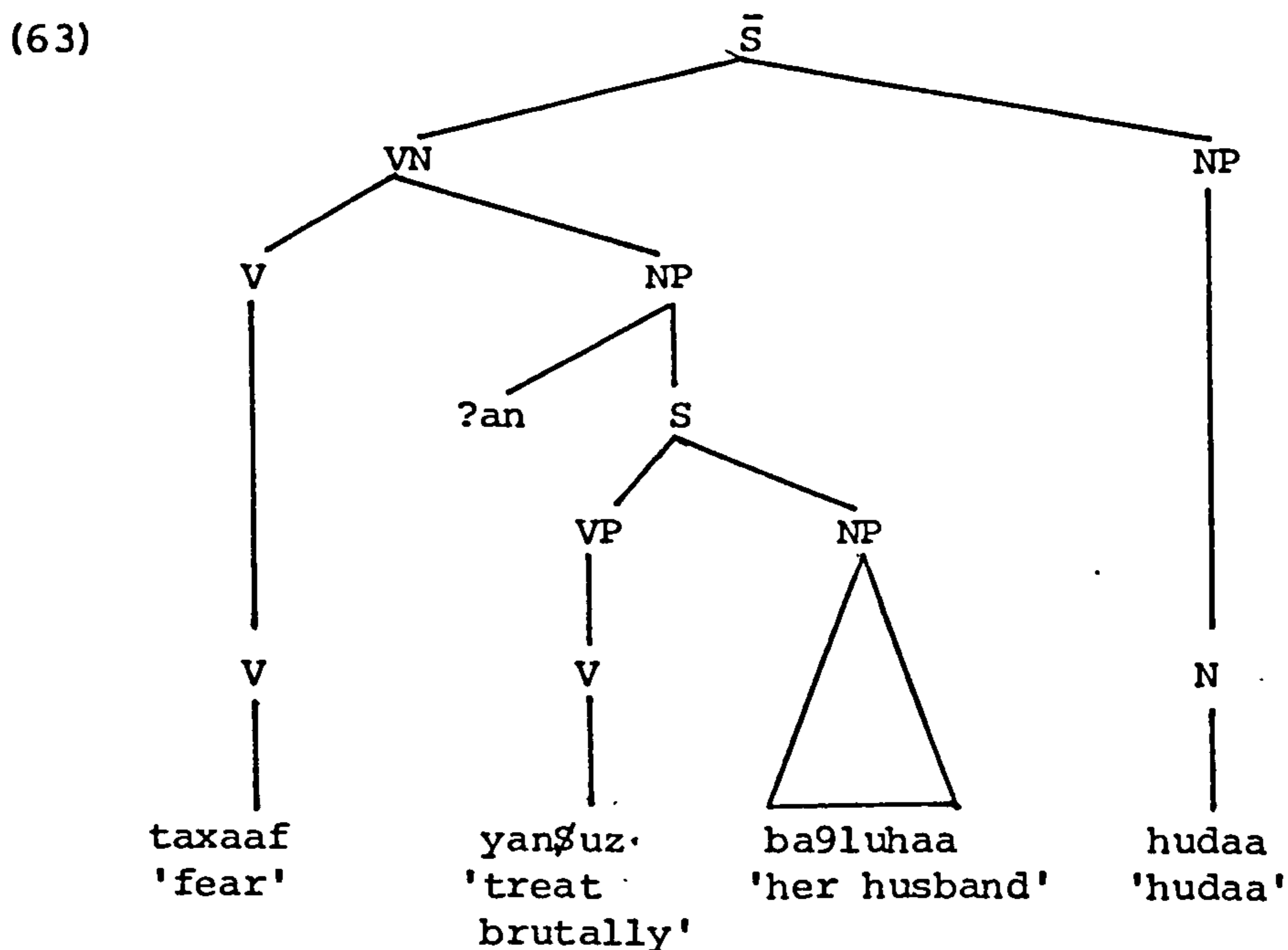
$\left[\begin{array}{l} VN \\ - \text{definite} \end{array} \right]$

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 hudaā ?an yanṣuza ba9luhaa

hudaā fears lest her husband should treat (her) brutally



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) $\begin{matrix} \text{VN} \\ \text{[definite]} \end{matrix} \text{NP}_2$

(64) can be exemplified by ṣuyuu9a lfaahiṣah 'that slander should spread' in (65), taḥaqquqa l9adaalah 'justice to come into effect' in (66), nbi9aaṠahum 'their being sent forth' in (67), taḥassuna Zuruufihim 'their

conditions to get better' in (68), mawtaḥaa 'she dies' in (69) and siyaadatak 'you become a chief' in (70).

- (65) yuḥibbuuna ṣuyuu9a lfaaḥiṣah
They love that slander should spread
- (66) ?uriidu taḥaqquqa l9adaalah
I want justice to come into effect
- (67) kariha llaahu nbi9aaḠahum (cf. 9/46)
Allaah was averse to their being sent forth
- (68) ?uḥibbu taḥassuna Zuruufihim
I want their conditions to get better
- (69) yarguu mawtaḥaa
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) *yuḥibbuuna mina lfaaḥiṣati ṣuyuu9aa
They love of slander that it should spread
- (72) *?uriidu mina l9adaalati taḥaqquqaa
I want of justice that it comes into effect
- (73) *kariha llaahu minḥumu nbi9aaḠaa
Allaah was averse to their being sent forth
- (74) *?uḥibbu min Zuruufihim taḥassunaa
I want from their conditions that they get better
- (75) *yarguu minḥaamawtaa
He hopes of her that she dies
- (76) *?arguu minka siyaadah
I hope of you that you become a chief

Like sentences (57-59), sentences (65-70) are derived by the nominalization transformation. But while NP₂ in the nominalization transformation deriving (57-59) must be animate and assume the semantic role agentive, in that deriving (65-70), it must not. *lfaahişah* 'slander' in (65) is abstract, attribuant, *l9adaalah* '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].

$$(77) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) \quad \quad \quad \text{VN} \quad \quad \text{li NP}_2 \\ (ii) \quad \text{li NP}_2 \quad \quad \quad \text{VN} \end{array} \right\}$$

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

(78) *yuhibbuunā şuyuu9an lilfaahişah*

They love slander to be spread

(79) *?uriidu lil9adaalati ttahāquq*

I want for justice to come into effect

(80) *kariha llaahu nbi9aa9an lahum*

Allah was averse to their being sent forth

(81) *?uhibbu tahassunan lizuruufihim*

I like their conditions to get better

(82) *yarguu laha lmawt*

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 NP₂s 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 NP₂ and NP₃ 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), *ʒukuuraa* '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

(86) liman ?araada ?an yaedakkara ?aw ?araada ʒukuuraa (25/62)

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) walaw-?araadu lxuruuga . la?a9adduu lahuu 9üddah (9/46)

If they had intended to come out, they would certainly have made some preparation therefor.

(89) maa kaanuu yastaTii9uuna ssam9 (11/20)

They were unable to hear

Accordingly, sentences (90-91), with the embedded S realized by 'min NP₂ VN', are ungrammatical.

(90) *?aradna minhunna tahaSSunaa ⁽³⁾

They want to be chaste

(91) *?astaTii9u 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, NP₂ 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 NP₂ is animate agentive is irrelevant to the rule: in sentences (85; 87), for instance, NP₂ is animate attribuant and animate agentive, respectively.

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

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
 (92) & X & [& [[V] & [[?an] & [[[V]] [NP_2]]]] & [NP_3] & z] & Y \\
 & & \bar{S} & VP & NP & S & VP & & \\
 & & 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & 5 & & 6 & 7 & 8 & \Rightarrow \\
 & & 1 & & 2 & & \emptyset & & 4 & \emptyset & & 6 & 7 & 8 & \\
 & & & & & & [(?al) VN] & & & & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

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) illustrates such an underlying representation.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
 (93) & X & [& [& [] [[?an] & [[[] []] []]]] & [] & z] & Y \\
 & & \bar{S} & VP & V & NP & S & VP & V & NP_1 & NP_2 & NP_3 & &
 \end{array}$$

where NP₂ and NP₃ are/are not identical.

First, if NP₂ and NP₃ are not identical, a possible surface realization of the embedded S is (94).

$$(94) \quad ?an \quad V \quad NP_1 \quad NP_2$$

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).

$$(95) \quad ?axaafu \quad ?an \quad ya?kulahu \quad ddi?b \quad (12/13)$$

I fear lest the wolf should devour him

(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 NP₂ 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 NP₂ li NP₁

[genitive]

?akla ddi?bi lah (cf. above(95))

(98) VN NP₂ NP₁

[genitive][accusative]

?akla ddi?bi ?iyyaah (cf. above (95))

(99) VN NP₁ min NP₂

[genitive]

?akla huu mina ddi?b (cf. above (95))

(100) VN NP₁ min NP₂

[accusative]

?aklan?iyyaahu mina ddi?b (cf. above (95))

(101) VN li NP₁ min NP₂

?aklan lahuu mina ddi?b (cf. above (95))

(102) min NP₂ VN NP₁

[genitive]

mina ddi?bi ?aklah (cf. above (95))

(103) min NP₂ VN NP₁

[accusative]

mina ddi?bi ?aklan ?iyyaah (cf. above (96))

(104) min NP₂ VN li NP₁⁽⁴⁾

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 ?anfusihiim* '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 yasta?i9uuna naSra ?anfusihiim* (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] Z] Y
 S VP NP S VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 ⇒

1 2 ∅ [VN 4(li)5 ∅ 7 8 9
 [-definite]

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 yaZharuuuwa 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 l9ibaad

But Allah never wishes to treat unjustly his servants

(114) *fama sTaa9uu ?an yaZharuuuwa ma staTaa9uu ?iyyaahu naqbaa

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 yaxuunuuk

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.

(116) x [[[] [[?an] [[[]] []]]] [] z] y
 S̄ VP V NP S VP V NP₂ NP₃

where NP₂ is animate, agentive, and NP₂ and NP₃ are not identical.

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

(ii) NP₁ in the following underlying representation.

(117) X [[[] [[?an] [[[] []] []]]] [] z] Y
 S̄ 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 gumal du9aa? '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) 9aliyyum 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.

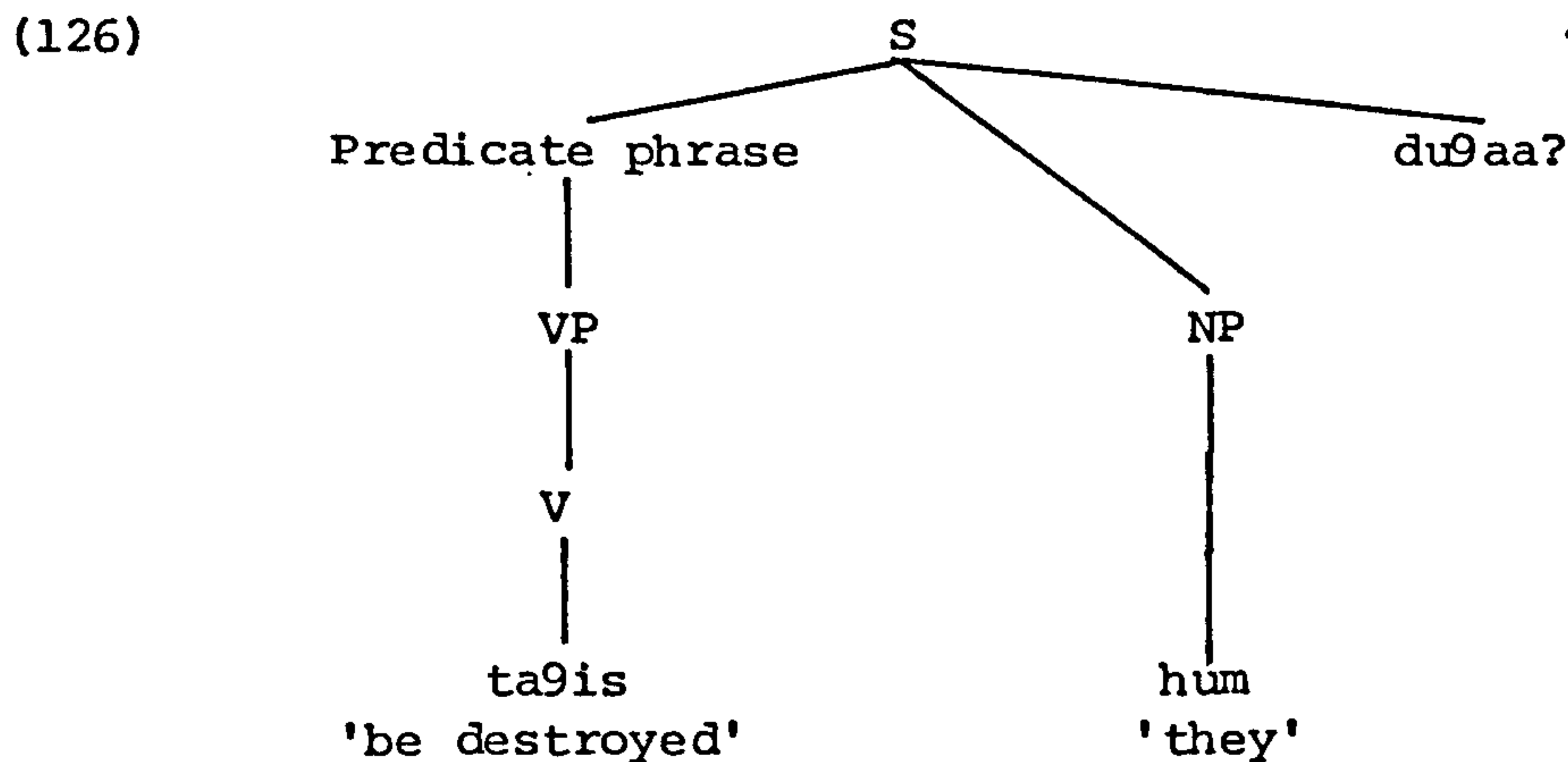
Accordingly, the point under discussion can be accounted for transformationally not by lexical redundancy rules. For, as indicated above (pp. 57 - 8), unlike transformations, lexical redundancy rules are structure-preserving, i.e. relate items that are inserted into structures generated by the phrase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

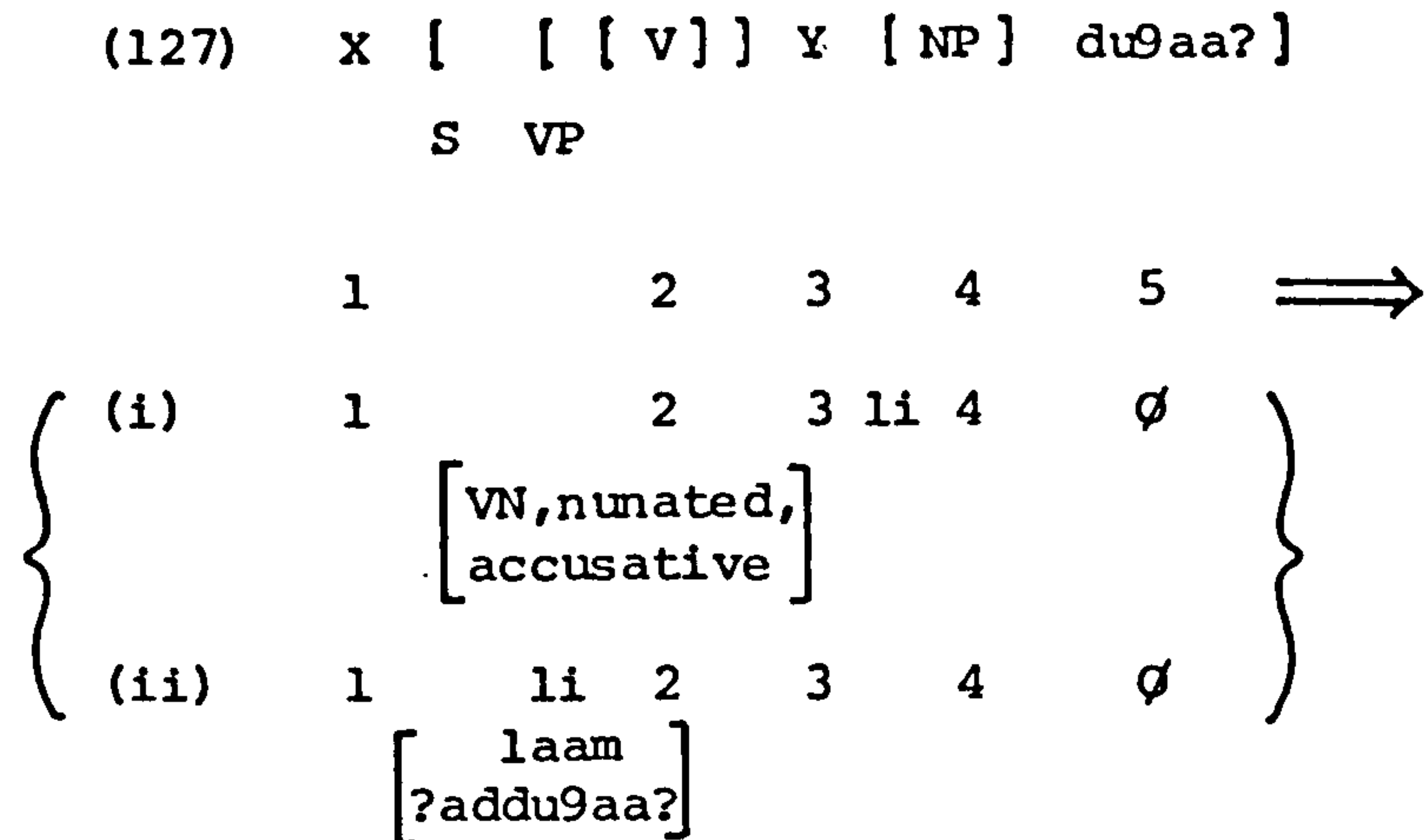
For the transformation accounting for structures such as (118-119), including their prepositional elements, consider, for instance, sentence (125).

(125) liyat9asuu

May they be destroyed

Sentence (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.





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 'wrongdoers' 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) tawfiiqii (?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 l9aziizi l9aliim (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 yuwaffiqunii ?illa llaah

It is Allah Who can make me successful

(132) maa yaSbiruka ?illa llaah

It is Allah Who can make you patient

(133) maa yunazzilu lkitaaba ?illa llaahu l9aziizu l9aliim

It is Allah, the Mighty, the Knower, Who reveals the Scripture

(i) The VNs tawfiiq 'making successful' in (128), Sabru 'making patient' in (129) and tanziilu 'the revelation' in (130) derive from the verbs yuwaffiqu 'can make successful' in (131), yaSbir 'can make patient' in (132) and yunazzilu '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 lkitaabi '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 'fii', for instance, is ungrammatical. Secondly, consider (134-135).

(134) 9aliyyun bilbayt

9aliyy is in the house

(135) 9aliyyun 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).

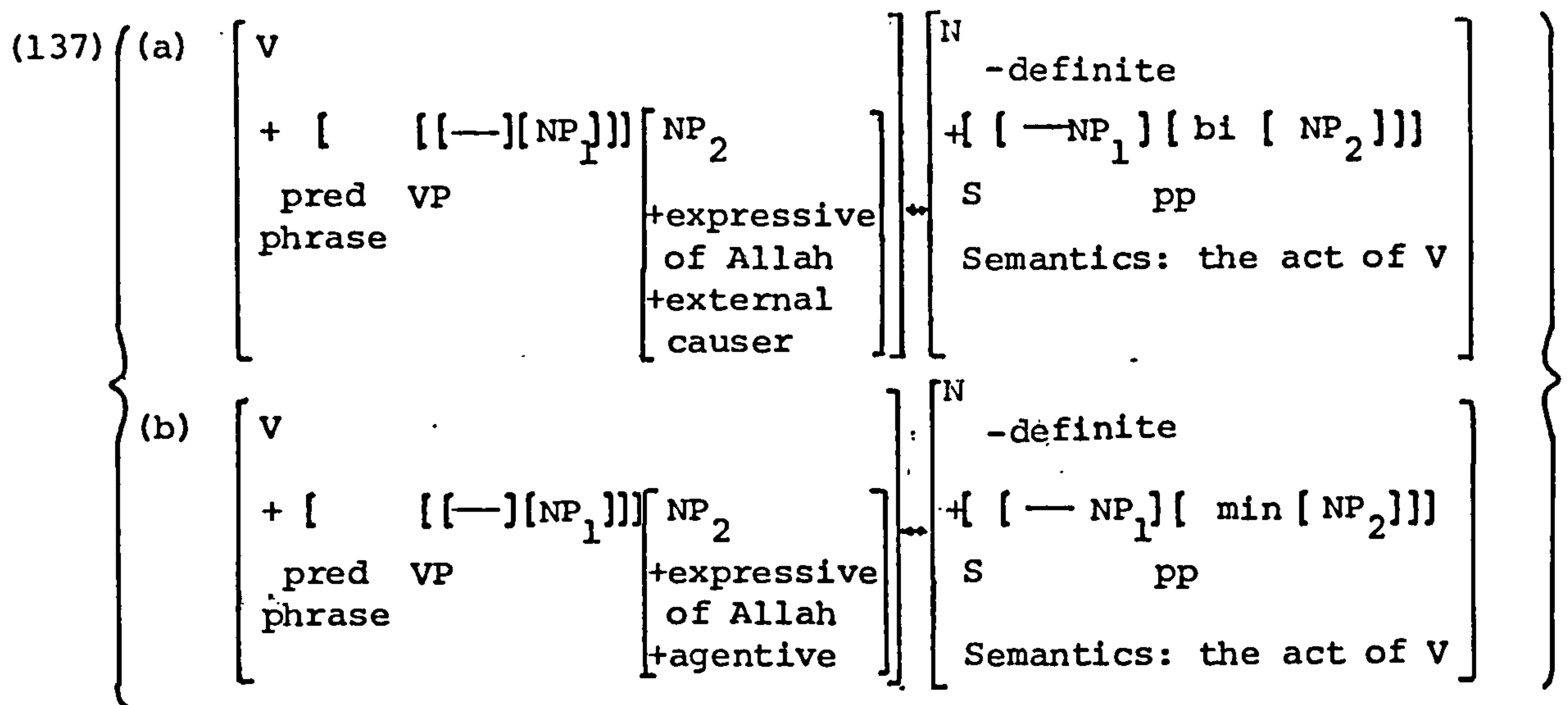
(136) (i) $S \rightarrow NP \quad PP$

(ii) $PP \rightarrow P \quad NP$

(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 NP₁. That is, I found no sentences such as (139-140)⁽⁶⁾.

(139) taḡgii9ii 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 baḡyukum 9alaa ?anfuṣikum (10/23)

O mankind! Your infringement is only upon yourself

(143) fa?inna maṣiirakum ?ila nnaar (14/30)

Verily, it is with the Fire that you will end

(144) mafza9uhum fi lmu9Dilaati ?ilaa ?anfuṣihim 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 nuṣuuzaa '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 nuṣuuzaa (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 'from 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) lilkitaab '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 lilkitaab
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) haadaaragulun 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).

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (154) \quad \bar{N} \longrightarrow \bar{N} \quad PP \\
 \bar{N} \longrightarrow N \\
 PP \longrightarrow P \quad \bar{N} \\
 \bar{N} \longrightarrow N \quad \bar{N} \\
 \bar{N} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ \text{Pronoun} \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

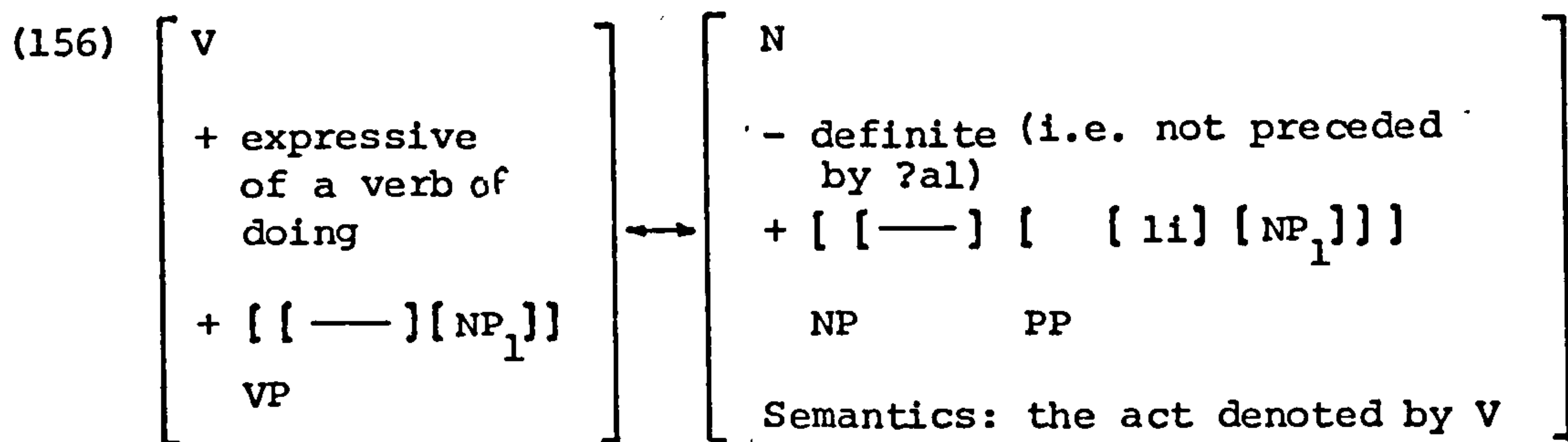
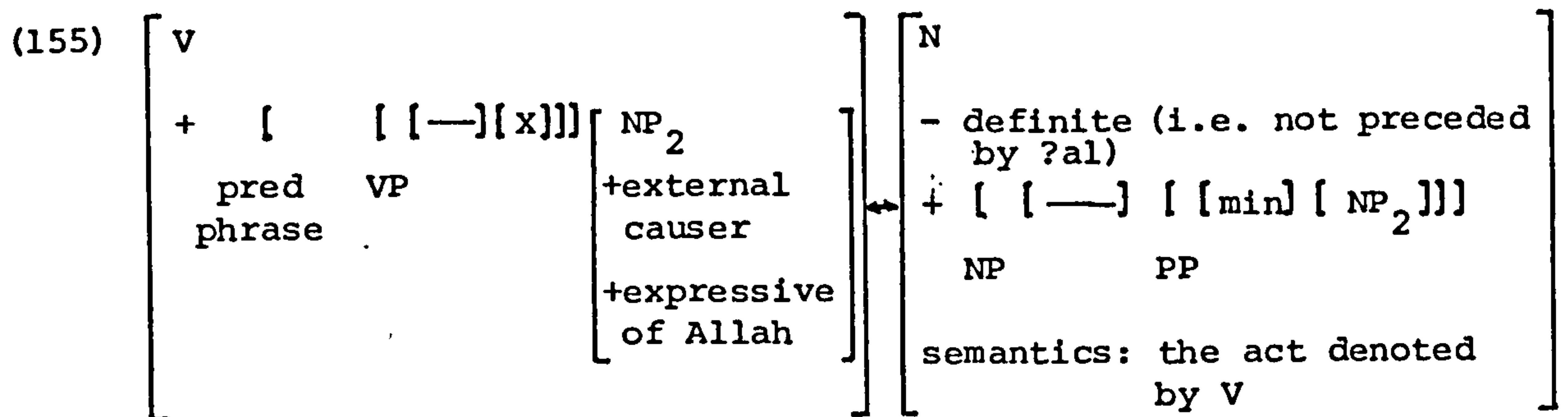
It should be noted that the NP lisunnati llaahi tabdiilaa 'change of Allah's way' (lit. of Allah's way change) in (147) is a result of the subsequent application of the Movement transformation to the structure generated by (154), i.e. tabdiilan lisunnati llaah 'change of Allah's way'.

(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

llaahi tabdiilaa 'change of Allah's way' in (147) and hudan lilmu?miniin 'a guidance for those who believe' in (149).



It should be noted firstly that the data contain no structure such as tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi l9aamiliin 'ignorance on your part of the workers' rights' in (157), which is perfectly grammatical.

(157) kaana haadaa tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi l9aamiliin

This was ignorance on your part of the workers' rights

The head of the phrase 'tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi l9aamiliin' is one of the VNs in question (cf. above p. 75), and is related to (158).

(158) tagaahalta huquuqa l9aamiliin

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 l9aamiliin '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 l9aamiliin 'the workers' rights', respectively.

The phrase structure rules generating the NP 'tagaahulan minka lihuquuqi 19aamiliin' in (157) are those of (159).

- (159) (a) $\bar{\bar{N}} \longrightarrow \bar{N} \quad PP \quad PP$
 (b) $\bar{N} \longrightarrow N$
 (c) $PP \longrightarrow P \quad \bar{N}$
 (d) $\bar{N} \longrightarrow \text{Pronoun}$
 (e) $PP \longrightarrow P \quad \bar{\bar{N}}$
 (f) $\bar{\bar{N}} \longrightarrow N \quad \bar{N}$
 (g) $\bar{N} \longrightarrow \text{Art} \quad N$

Secondly, consider (160).

(160) *daalika taxfifu rabbikum*

This is the alleviation of your Lord

The structure *taxfiifu 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) $\bar{\bar{N}} \longrightarrow N \quad \bar{\bar{N}}$
 (b) $\bar{\bar{N}} \longrightarrow N \quad \bar{N}$
 (c) $\bar{N} \longrightarrow \text{Pronoun}$

(ii) it functions as a predicate.

(iii) its first nominal element is a VN belonging to 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. *taxfiifu 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) $\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N}$ PP

(b) $\bar{N} \rightarrow N$ \bar{N}

(c) $\bar{N} \rightarrow N$

(d) PP \rightarrow P \bar{N}

(e) $\bar{N} \rightarrow$ Art 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) $\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N}$ PP
(b) $\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N}$ AdjP
(c) $\bar{N} \rightarrow$ Art N
(d) AdjP \rightarrow Art Adj
(e) PP \rightarrow P \bar{N}
(f) $\bar{N} \rightarrow$ 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). In this VP the verb qaddar '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 haadaahuwa taqdiiru lmawqifi nnihaa?iyy
Is this the ultimate evaluation of the situation?

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

Like the NP 'ttaqdiiru nnihaa?iyyu lilmawqif' in (165), the NPs taqdiiru lmawqifi nnihaa?iyy 'the ultimate evaluation of the situation in (168) and taqdiiru 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

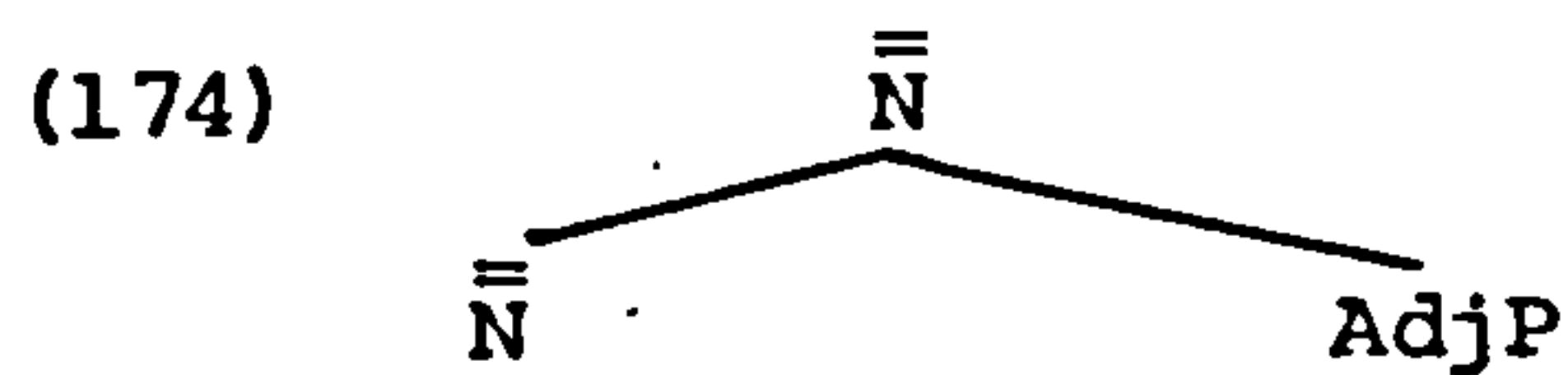
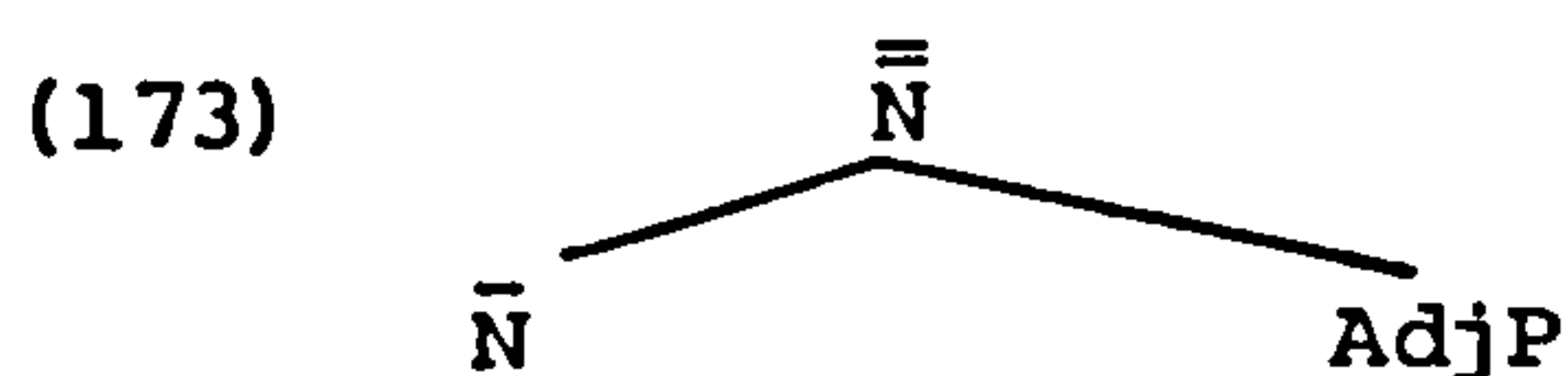
The ultimate evaluation of the situation

(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 \bar{N} as in (173), that of the adjectival element of the NP in (168) is *taqdiiru lmawqif* 'the evaluation of the situation', which is

dominated by \bar{N} as in (174).



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 VNs, 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' not 'li', e.g. bi 'of' in (177).

(177) wa ma 9ilmi bima kaanuu ya9maluun (26/112)

And what knowledge have I of what they may have been doing

(in the past)

The corresponding VP is 9alima ma 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

(181) haadihii qiSSatun muxiifatun likulli man yaqra?uhaa

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 sammaa9uuna lilkaḍibi '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 sammaa9uuna 'hearers', the comparative ?azkaa 'makes more virtuous', and the active and the passive participles raa9uuna 'shepherds' and mursalun 'is sent', respectively.

(182) hum sammaa9uuna lilkaḍibi ?akkaaluunalissuht (cf. 5/42)

They are hearers of falsehood, eaters of what is unlawful

(183) ḍaalikum ?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 Saalik 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) ?allaḍiina ?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), lilkaḍibi 'of falsehood' in (182) and limaa labiθuu 'the time that they had stayed' in (190).

(189) wa lammaa gaa?ahum kitaabun min 9indi llaahi muSaddiqun
limaa ma9ahum (2/89)

And when there comes unto them a Scripture from Allah,
confirming that in their possession

(190) θumma ba9aθnaahum lina9lama ?ayyu lhizbayni ?ahSaa limaa
labiθuu ?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 forms associating with them are derived. These objects are maa ma9ahum 'that in their possession' in (191), lkaḍib 'falsehood' in (192), and maa labiθuu 'the time that they had stayed' in (193), respectively.

(191) yuSaddiqu maa ma9ahum
Confirm that in their possession

(192) yasma9uuna lkadib

They hear falsehood

(193) yuhSii maa labi0uu

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 biZZaalimiin 'of wrongdoers' in (194) and bimaā kaanuu yaktumuun 'what they were hiding' in (195), respectively.

(194) wa llaahu 9aliimun biZZaalimiin (2/95)

And Allah is well aware of wrongdoers

(195) wa llaahu ?a9lamu bimaā kaanuu yaktumuun (5/61)

And Allah knows best what they were hiding

They correspond respectively to ZZaalimiin '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 ZZaalimiin

Allah knows wrongdoers

(197) ?allaahu ya9lamu maa kaanuu yaktumuun .

Allah knows what they were hiding

4. '?ilaa': 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).

(198) ?aabaa?u lmu?miniina wa ?abnaa?uhum laysuu ?ahabba ?ilayhim
mina llaahi wa rasuulih (cf. 9/24)

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.

(199) yuhibbu lmu?minuuna?aabaa?ahum wa ?abnaa?ahum

The believers love their fathers and sons

The aforementioned prepositions, 'min, li, bi and ?ilaa', are to be accounted for by lexical redundancy rules relating the structures involving the derived forms accompanying 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 $\longrightarrow \bar{\bar{N}}$

$\bar{\bar{N}} \longrightarrow \bar{N}$ AdjP

$\bar{N} \longrightarrow N$

AdjP \longrightarrow Adj PP

PP \longrightarrow P \bar{N}

$\bar{N} \longrightarrow$ Art N

(201) haaḍaa mudarrisun maahir

This is a clever teacher

(202) Predicate phrase $\rightarrow \bar{\bar{N}}$

$\bar{\bar{N}} \rightarrow \bar{N}$ AdjP

$\bar{N} \rightarrow N$

AdjP \rightarrow Adj

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 *raa9uuna li?amaanaatihim* 'shepherds of their pledge' in (184) and *faqiir* 'poor' in (204) are generated by (203) and (205), respectively.

(203) Predicate phrase \rightarrow AdjP

AdjP \rightarrow Adj PP

PP \rightarrow P \bar{N}

$\bar{N} \rightarrow$ N Pronoun

(204) huwa faqiir

He is poor

(205) Predicate phrase \rightarrow AdjP

AdjP \rightarrow 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

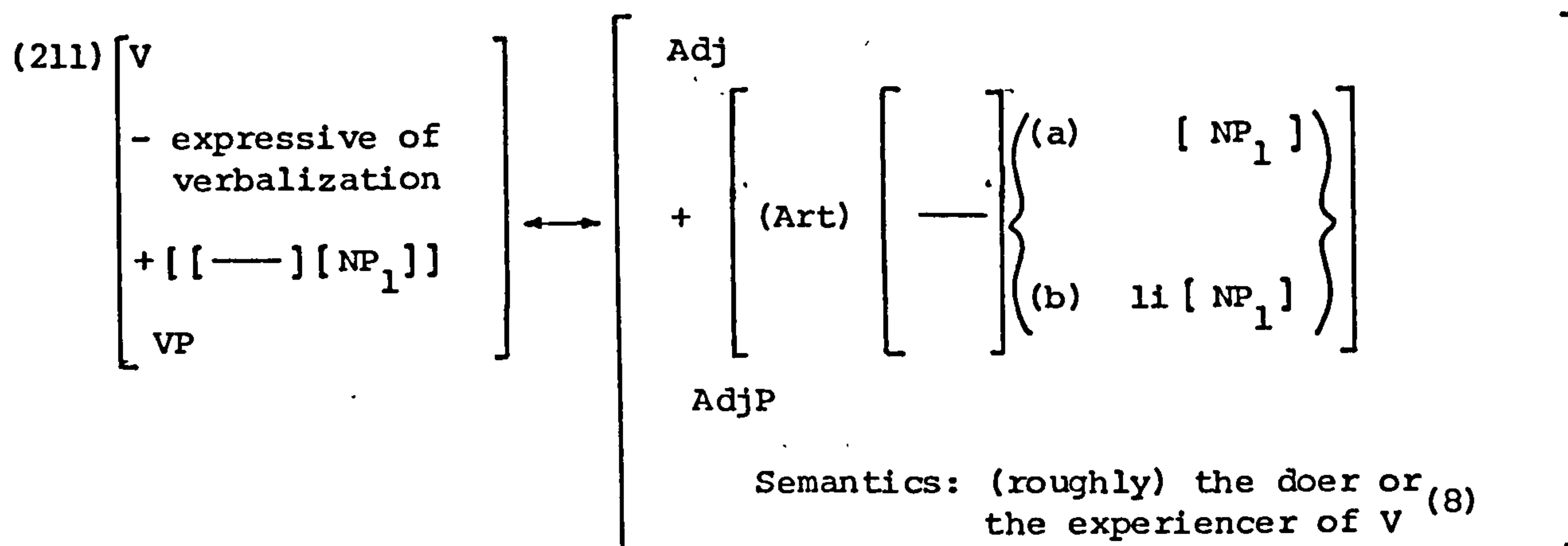
Do you realize what you are saying?

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 bima samit

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)

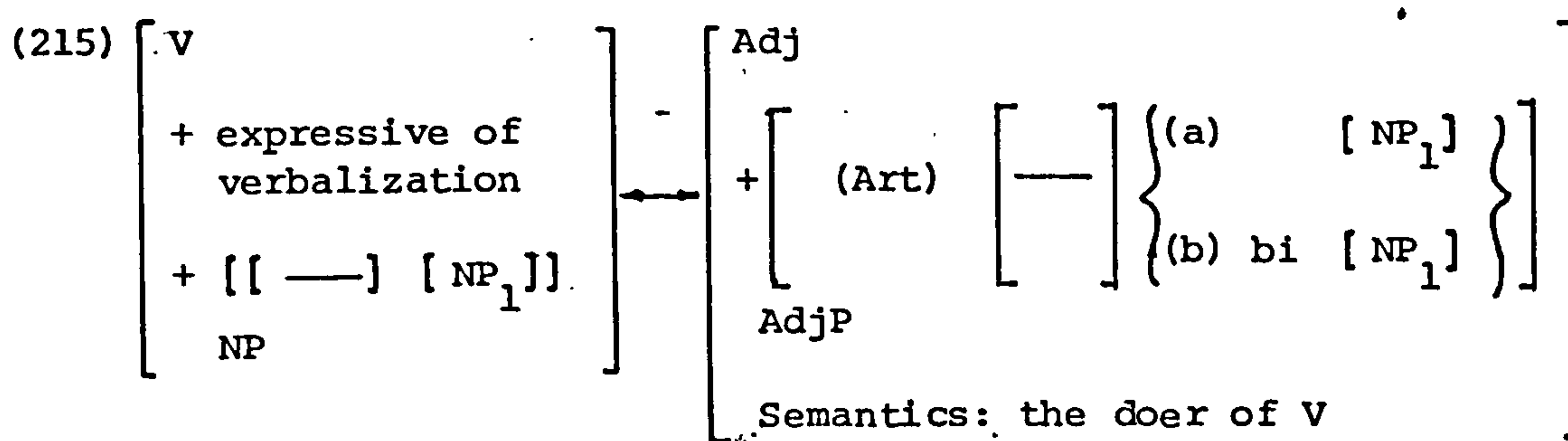
But you are not able to make those hear who are in the graves

(213) ?u9iddat lilmuttaqiina lla9iina yunfiquuna fi ssarraa?i wa
DDarraa?i wa 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 qaalahuu maahir 'say

what maahir said' in (218), which is mine, and lqaa?ilu bimaasami9t
'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 samia9t

Have you said what I heard?

(218) ?a qaa?ilun ?anta bimaas 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 sammaas9uuna 'hearers' in (182), too: they are derived from the verb of doing ?akal 'eat' and the verb of communication samia9 '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)

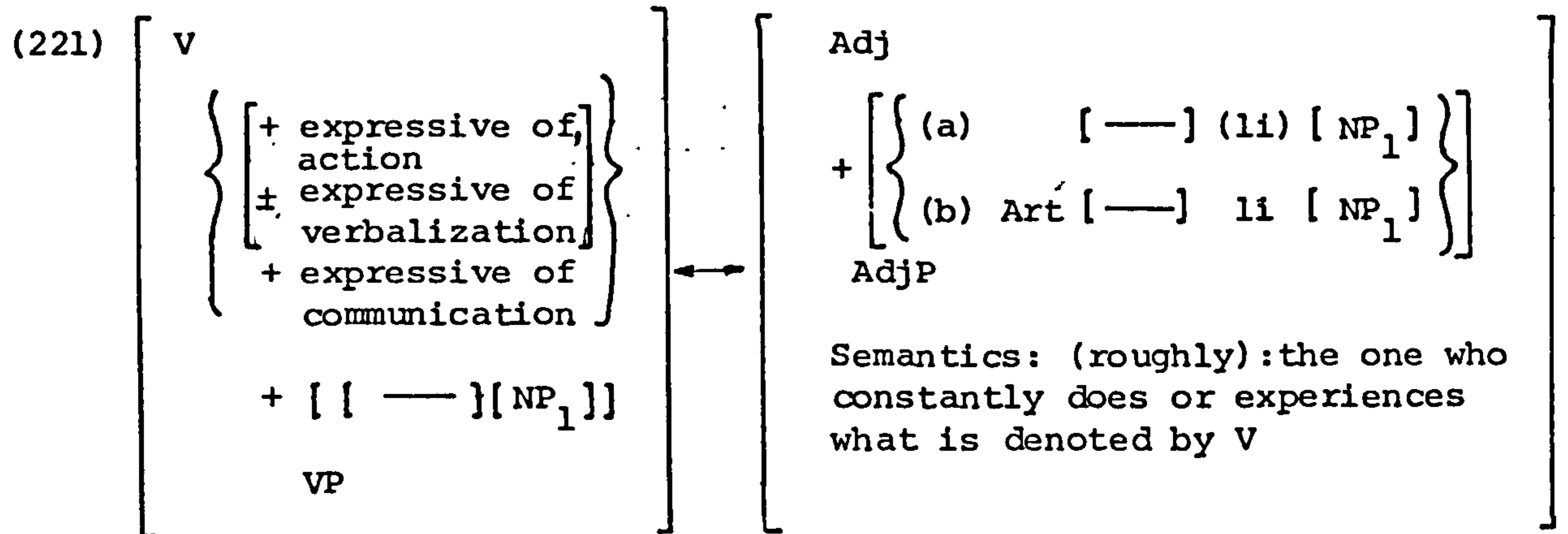
The messenger is merciful for the believers

qawwaalun/miqwaalun '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 qawwaalun/miqwaalun 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.



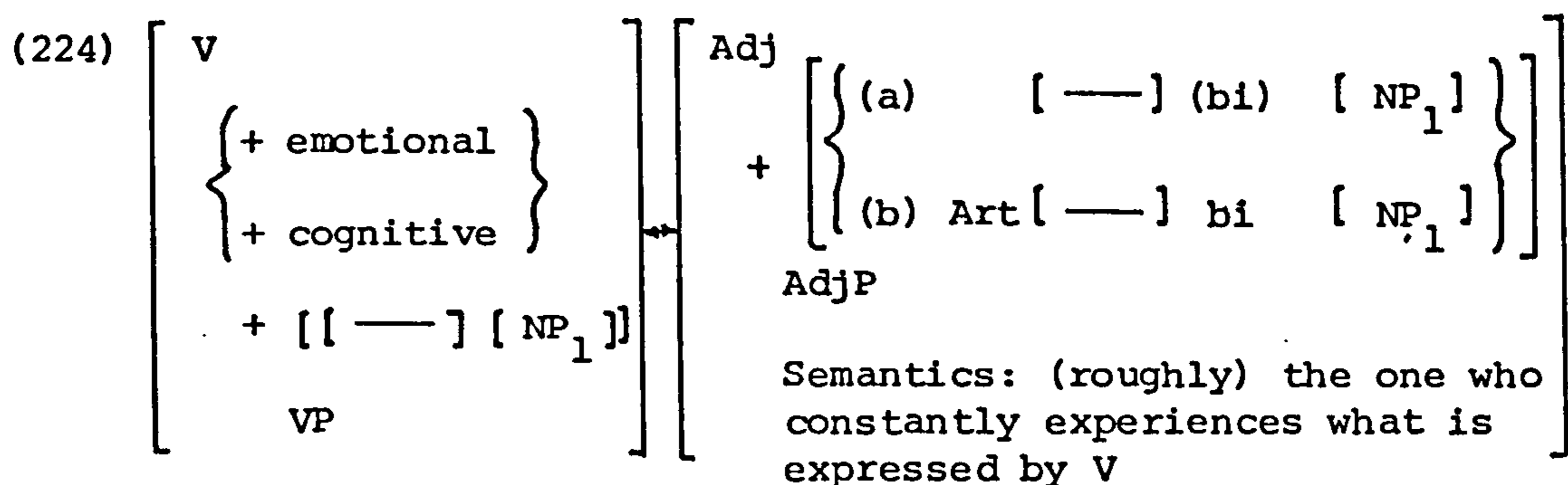
Examples of (a) *aresammaa9uuna lilkaḍib* 'hearers of falsehood' in (182) and *lasamii9u ddu9aa?* 'the Hearer of Prayer' in (223), and of (b) is *lqawwaalu likalimati lhaqq* 'the one who constantly says the word of truth' in (222), which is mine.

(222) *huwa lqawwaalu likalimati lhaqq*

He is the one who constantly says the word of truth

(223) *?inna rabbii lasamii9u ddu9aa?* (14/39)

Surely, My Lord is the Hearer of Prayer



Examples of (a) are *rahiimun bilmu?miniin* 'merciful for the believers' in (219) and *9allaamu lḡuyuub* 'the Knower of Things Hidden' in (225), and of (b) is *rrahiimu bilmu?miniin* 'the merciful for the believers' in (226).

(225) *wa ?anna llaaha 9allaamu lḡuyuub* (9/78)

And that Allah is the Knower of Things Hidden

(226) ?arrasuulu huwa rrahiimu bilmu?miniin

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 ?aaθaruhum 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) ?akθaru stihsaan 'regards as more appropriate' in (228) and ?akθaru 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) ?akθaru fahman 'understands more' in (230): it is derived from the cognitive verb fahim 'understand'.

(228) xaalidun ?akθaru stihsaan limaa yaquulu ?axuuh
xaalid regards as more appropriate what his brother says

(229) huwa ?akθaru hubban li?abiihi min ?ummih

He loves his father more than his mother

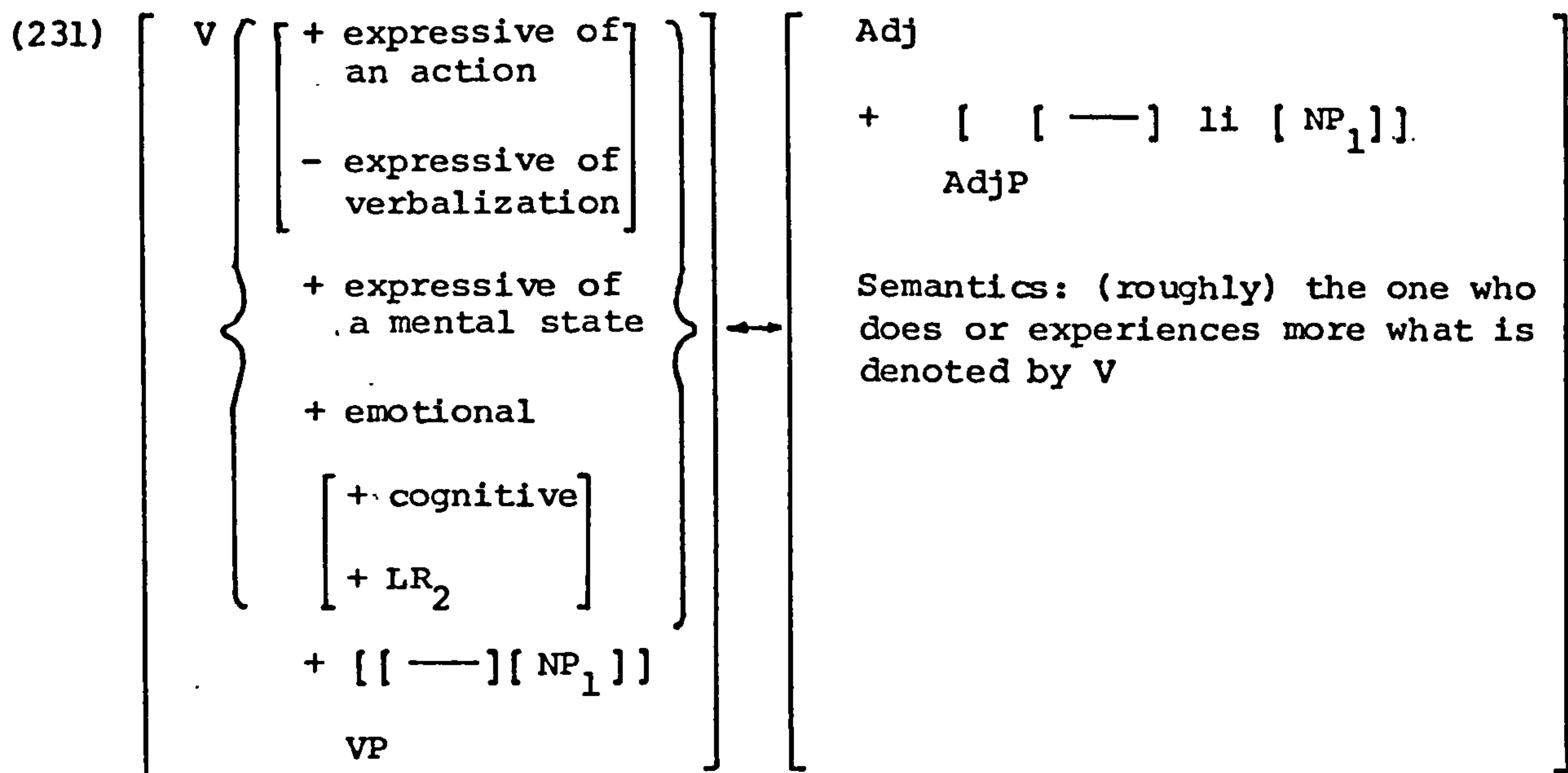
(230) huwa ?akθaru fahman limaa ?aquul

He understands more what I say

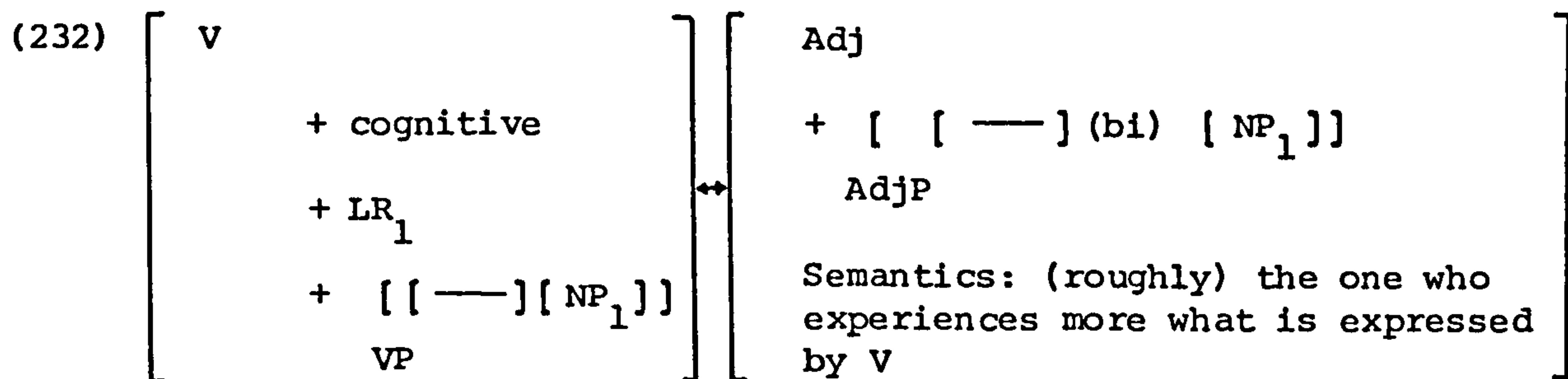
To accommodate into the grammar the fact related to comparative phrases such as that of (b) (i.e. that the comparatives of some cognitive verbs are accompanied by 'li' rather than 'bi' (cf. above 195) that governs a NP related to a deep object), verbs such as 9alim 'know', e.g. 9araf 'know' and wa9aa '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. ?ahabba (?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 9aṣiq '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



Examples with NP₁ 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) ?inna rabbaka huwa ?a9lamu 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 NP₁ are grammatical.

Third, (234), which is formulated in relation to the data (cf. above (227)).

(234)	V + expressive of verbalization + [[—] [NP ₁]] VP	↔	Adj + [[—] bi [NP ₁]] AdjP Semantics: (roughly) the one who does more what is expressed by V
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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).

(235)	V + emotional + LR ₃ + [[[—]]] [NP ₂] Pred VP phrase	↔	Adj + [[—] ?ilaa [NP ₂]] AdjP Semantics: (roughly) the one who experiences more what is expressed by V
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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. §§amsu '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 xaalid '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 DDuyyufu 'the

guests' in (240), respectively.

(236) ?ahraqati ššamsu guluudahum

The sun burnt their skins

(237) yus9idu 9aliyyan kalimaatu xaalid

xaalid's words please 9aliyy

(238) ?adraka xaalidun Su9uubata lmuškilah

xaalid realized the difficulty of the problem

(239) yakrahu 9aliyyuni lmasrah

9aliyy hates the theatre

(240) ?istahsana DDuyuufu 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 mursalum min rabbih 'Saalih is sent by his Lord' in (185).

(241) kaanat guluuduhum muhraqatan mina ššams

Their skins were burnt by the sun

(242) kaanat Su9uubatu lmuškilati mudrakatan min xaalid

The difficulty of the problem was realized by xaalid

(243) ?almasrahu makruuhum min 9aliyy

The theatre is hated by 9aliyy

(244) kaana ra?yu maahirin mustahsanana mina DDuyuuf

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 ?ahraqatha ššams

Their skins, the sun burnt them

(246) Su9uubatu lmu\$kilah ?adrakahaa xaalid

The difficulty of the problem, xaalid realized it

(247) ?almasrah yakrahuhuu 9aliyy

The theatre, 9aliyy hates it

(248) ra?yu maahir ?istahsanahu DDuyuuf

maahir's opinion, the guests regarded it as appropriate

(249) on the other hand is the comparable structure of (237) to the clause Saalihan mursalun min rabbih '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 gaa?at rusulunaa luuTaan) sii?a bihim (29/33)

(And when Our messengers came to luuT), 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)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} v \\ + [\quad [[\text{---}]]] \\ \text{pred VP} \\ \text{phrase} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} NP_2 \\ + \text{animate} \\ + \text{agentive} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Adj} \\ + [[\text{---}] \text{ min } [NP_2]] \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{Semantics: (roughly) the} \\ \text{sufferer of what is expressed} \\ \text{by } v \end{array} \right]$
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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 lammaa 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.

(257) ?uhriqat guluuduhum mina §§ams

Their skins were burnt by the sun

(258) ?ustuhsina ra?yu 9aliyyin mina DDuyuuf

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

(259) ?ahraqati §§amsu guluudahum

The sun burnt their skins

(260) ?istahsana DDuyuufu ra?ya 9aliyy

The guests regarded 9aliyy's opinion as appropriate

For §§ams 'the sun' in (257) is a natural agent and DDuyuufu '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).

(261) Duriba xaalidun min 9aliyy

xaalid was beaten by 9aliyy

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

(262) (a) S \longrightarrow Predicate phrase PP

(b) Predicate phrase \longrightarrow V NP

(263) (a) S \longrightarrow Predicate phrase NP

(b) Predicate phrase \longrightarrow V PP

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

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) [[[] [[?an] [[[] [P NP₁]]]]] []]
 \bar{S} VP V NP S VP V PP NP₂ 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 lfuqaraa?i mink
I want you to help the poor
- (ii) *?uriidu musaa9adatan ?alfuqaraa?a/lmusaa9adata lfuqaraa?a)mink
I want you to help the poor
- (iii) *?uriidu musaa9adatan/lmusaa9adata) lilfuqaraa?i mink
I want you to help the poor
- (iv) *?uriidu minka musaa9adatan ?alfuqaraa?a/lmusaa9adata lfuqaraa?)
I want you to help the poor
- (v) ?uriidu musaa9adataka lilfuqaraa?
I want you to help the poor
- (vi) ?uriidu musaa9adataka lfuqaraa?a
I want you to help the poor
- (vii) ?uriidu minka musaa9adata lfuqaraa?i
I want you to help the poor
- (viii) ?uriidu minka (lmusaa9adata/musaa9adatan lilfuqaraa?
I want you to help the poor

5. For me, sentence (111) is grammatical, if NP_2 and 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 NP_2 ?illaa NP_1

where V is the verb from which 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 bimaa ?anzaltu) muSaddiqan 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 ragulâ fi lbayt

There is no man in the house

(v) (qaabaltuhuu)gundiyyan fi lgayš

(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 limaa 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 qalahuu 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

P R E P O S I T I O N A L V E R B S

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), ?aSliḥr 'make peace' in (3), baḡaa 'oppressed' in (4), yu9riD 'turns' in (5), yuṣaari9 '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 ʔnatayni wa ?ahyaytana
ʔnatayni fa9tarafnaa biḡunuubinaa (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 lmu?miniina qtataluu fa
?aSliḥuu baynahumaa (49/9)

And if two parties of believers fall to fighting,
then make peace between them

- (4) ?inna qaaruuna kaana min qawmi muusaa fabaḡaa
ḡalayhim (28/76)

qaaruun was doubtless of the people of muusaa, but
he oppressed them

- (5) wa man yuḡriḡ ḡan ḡikri rabbiḡi yaslukhu ḡaḡaaban
Saḡadaa (72/17)

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

- (6) wa taraa kaḡiiran minhum yusaariḡuuna fi l?iḡmi wa
lḡudwaan (5/62)

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

- (7) ?alam ya?ni lillaḡiina ?aamanuu ?an taxḡaḡa quluubuhum
liḡikri llaah (57/16)

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

- (8) wa tlu ḡalayhim naba?a llaḡi ?aataynaahu ?aayaatinaa
fansalaxa minḡaa (7/175)

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 *yastahimmu fi SSabaah* 'has a bath in the morning' in (9), *daakara bayna §§agaratayni 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), *ya?uuSuuna lah* 'dived for him' in (15), *tam?ii 9ala sti?yaa?* 'walking shyly' in (16) and *gaadal(uu) bilbaaTil* 'argued falsely' in (17).

(9) *yastahimmu TTiflu fi SSabaah*

The child has a bath in the morning

(10) *daakara 9aliyyun bayna §§agaratayni TTawiilatayn*

9aliyy studied between the two long trees

(11) *wa stakbara huwa wa gunuuduhuu fi l?arDi bi?ayri*

lhaqq (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

(14) ?uqtuluu ?abnaa?a llaḏiina ?aamanuu ma9ah (40/25)

Slay the sons of those who believe with him

(15) wa mina ṣṣayaaTiini man yaḡuuSuuna . lah (21/82)

And of the evil ones were some who dived for him

(16) fagaa?athu ?ihdaahumaa tamṣii 9ala stiḥyaa? (28/25)

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

(17) wa hammat kullu ?ummatin birasuulihaa liya?xuḏuuhu

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 tugaadiḏu 'disputes' in (20).

(18) yuSalli 9aliyyuni l9aSr fi lmasgid

9aliyy prays afternoon prayer at the mosque

- (19) ?aamana rrasuulu bimaa ?unzila ?ilayhi min rabbih
(2/285)

The Messenger believes in that which has been revealed
to him from his Lord

- (20) qad sami9a llaahu qawla llatii tugaadiluka fii
zawgihaa (58/1)

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), tudiiir '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) wa ?innaka latad9uuhum ?ilaa SiraaTin mustaqiim (23/73)

But verily, you summon them to a right path

- (22) qul ?a ?unabbi?ukum bixayrin min daalikum (3/15)

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

- (23) ?illaa ?an takuuna tigaaratan haaDiratan tudiiiruunahaa
baynakum (2/282)

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

- (24) ?udkuruu ni9mata llaahi 9alaykum ?i9 gaa?atkum gunuudun
fa?arSalnaa 9alayhim riihan wa gunuudan lam tarawhaa
(33/9)

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) ?uđkuruu ni9mata llaahi 9alaykum ?iđ hamma qawmun ?an
yabsuTuu ?ilaykum ?aydiyahum fakaffa ?aydiyahum
9ankum (5/11)

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 ġayaabatí lgubbi yaltaqiThu 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
miña llađiina ?uutu lkitaaba min qablikum wa mina
llađiina ?a9rakuu ?aðan kaθiiraa (3/186)

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 9inda mataa9inaa (12/17)

O our father! We went racing with one another and
left yuusuf by our things

(30) wa lyaxḡa lladiina law tarakuu min xalfihim ḡurriyyatan
Diḡaafan xaafuu ḡalayhim (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 ḡaliyyuni lkitaaba fawqa/taḡta/?amaama/waraa?a
lkursiyy

ḡaliyy 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 yubaayiḡ
'swore allegiance', naSara 'has given victory', ?anḡa? 'raised up'
and yarzuqu 'gives' in the combinations: yubaayiḡ(uuna)ka taḡta
ḡḡagarah '(they) swore allegiance to you beneath the tree', naSarakumu
fii mawaaTina kaḡiirah 'has given you victory on many battle-fields',
?anḡa?(naa) baḡdahaa qawman ?aaxarin 'raised up after them another

folk' and yarzuqu man yaṣaaʔu biḡayri ḥisaab 'gives without stint whom He will' in (32 - 35), respectively.

(32) laqad raDiya llaahu 9ani lmuʔminiina ʔiḏ yubaayi9uunaka
tahta ṣṣagarah (48/18)

Allah was well pleased with the believers when they
swore allegiance to you beneath the tree

(33) laqad naSarakumu llaahu fii mawaaTina kaḠiirah (9/25)
Assuredly, Allah has given you victory on many
battle-fields

(34) wa kam qaSamnaa min qaryatin kaanat Zaalimatan wa
ʔanṣaʔnaa ba9dahaa qawman ʔaaxariin (21/11)
How many an unjust community have we utterly destroyed
and raised up after them another folk!

(35) wa llaahu yarzuqu man yaṣaaʔu biḡayri ḥisaab (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 biḥaḏar 'argued today cautiously', (ṣa)yadrusu
llyalata hattaḥmuntaSafi 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 biḥaḏar
9aliyy argued today cautiously

(37) sayadrusu maahiruni llyalata hattaḥ muntaSafi llayl
maahir will study tonight until midnight

- (38) ?innakum yawma lqiyaamati 9inda rabbikum taxtaSimuun
(39/31)

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 lladiina ?aamanuu laa tarfa9uu ?aSwaatakum
fawqa Sawti nnabiyyi wa laa tagharuu lahuu bilqawli
kagahri ba9Dikum 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 qawmihii mina lmihraab (19/11)

Then he came forth to his people from the sanctuary

- (42) maa kaan li?ahli lmadiinati wa man hawlahum mina
l?a9raabi ?an yataxallafuu 9an rasuuli llaahi wa laa
yargabuu bi?anfusihiim 9an nafsih (9/120)

It is not for the people of ?almadiinah and for those
around them of the Bedouin Arabs to stay behind the
messenger of Allah and prefer their lives to his live

(43) faxarra 9alayhimu ssaqfu min fawqihim (16/26)

And then the roof fell down upon them from above
them

(44) man kaana yaZuñnu ?an lan yanSurahu llaahu fi ddunyaa
wa l?aaxirati falyamdud bisababin ?ila ssamaa?i 0umma
lyaqTa9 falyanZur hal yudhibanna kayduhuu maa yaġiiz
(22/15)

Whoever is want to think that Allah will not give him
(muhammad) victory in the Wrold and the Hereafter, let
him stretch a rope to the roof (of his dwelling) and
let him hang himself. Then let him see whether his
strategy dispels that whereat he rages

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. yabġ 'rebel' in
(48), ġala 'became high' in (49), darasa⁽⁷⁾ 'studied' in (50) and
tahassana 'improved' in (51).

- (45) fadamdama 9alayhim rabbuhum biðanbihim (91/14)
So their Lord doomed them for their sin
- (46) man kafara billaahi min ba9di ?iimaanih (16/106)
Whoever disbelieves in Allah after his belief
- (47) yatawaaraa mina lqawmi min suu?i maa buşşira bih
(16/59)
He hides himself from the folk because of the bad
news he has had
- (48) falammaa ?angaahum ?idaa hum yabguuna fi l?arDi
biğayri lhaqq (10/23)
Yet when he has delivered them, behold! they rebel in the
earth wrongfully
- (49) ġalati l?as9aaru fii miSra ba9da ħarbi 1973
Prices became high in Egypt after 1973 war
- (50) darasa 9aliyyun biħamaasiñ fi llaylati lmaaDiyah
9aliyy eagerly studied last night
- (51) taħassanat Siħhatu TTifli biwuDuuhin ba9da ziyaarati
TTabiibi 00aaniyah
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 lqaa9idiina
?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. yahkumu '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 yawmalqiyaa^{ti} fiimaa kaanuu fiihi yaxtalifuun* (2/113)

But Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection concerning that wherein they differ

(57) *nahmu qasanna^{na} baynahum ma⁹iisa^{ta}hum fi lhayaati ddunyaa* (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. *ya⁹rahu* '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) *saya⁹rahu 9aliyyun laka daalika gadaa*

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 transitive verb *darasa* 'studied' in (50) and the PV *yabġ* 'rebel' in (48).
- (7) For this absolute use of *daras* 'study' see 6/105.

C H A P T E R F O U R

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. Jespersen, 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. Jespersen, 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, Jespersen, Quirk and Vestergaard regard as constituting a group of my V_1 -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 V_1P-N combinations to be $V_1-/p-N$ 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 (i) $V-/P-N$ 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. Jespersen holds that the constituency break in the V_1-P-N combinations is $V_1-/P-N$ (cf. Jespersen, 1927, III, 189), and in the $V-P-N$ combinations it might be $V-/P-N$ or $V-P/-N$ (ibid., p. 252 and Jespersen, 1969: 138). He, however, favours the latter constituency break (cf. Jespersen, 1969: 138; 1927, III, 185; 276-7).

Jespersen's equivalent analysis to $V-/P-N$ is $V p l$ (cf. Jespersen, 1969: 138) where V is a verb, p is a preposition, l is a primary and $p l$ 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 $V_1/P-N$, $P-N$, is regarded by Jespersen as being equal to an adverb (cf. Jespersen, 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. Jespersen, 1927, III, 272) or a preposition and its regimen (cf. Jespersen, 1969, 145-6). As for N in the constituency break $V-P/-N$, it is reckoned by Jespersen to be the object of the whole composite phrase consisting of V and P (cf. Jespersen, 1927, III, 252; 276) and symbolized by him W (cf. Jespersen, 1969: 138).

3. Quirk (cf. Quirk et al., pp. 811-18) considers the constituency break in the V_1 -P-N combinations to be V_1 -/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 V_1 -P-N combinations is V_1 -/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 V_1 -/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 Jespersen (cf. Jespersen, 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,

II, ii, 31-37).

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), Jespersen's (cf. Jespersen, 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. Jespersen, 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/discuss'.

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 Jespersen (cf. Jespersen, 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), Jespersen (cf. Jespersen, 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 V_1 -P-N combinations that can be passivized e.g. the V_1 -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)

V_1 -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

(cf. 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⁽³⁾ 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 Jespersen's (Jespersen, 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. Jespersen, 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 laugh 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 Experiencer 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 Jespersen's (cf. Jespersen, 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 (1) 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.,

p. 101; p. 115; p. 119). 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, Jespersen (cf. Jespersen, 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. 4.1.1.6) and 'Pronominalization' (cf. 4.1.1.7), 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-N, i.e. to intransitive verb and PP with an adverbial

function. As for the V-P-N and V_1 -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 V_1 -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 V_1 -P-N into V_1 -/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, V_1 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 V_1 -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 V_1 -/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 V_1 -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 V_1 -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.

CHAPTER FIVE

V- + V- AND V_1 + V_1 CO-ORDINATION

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 llaḍiina kafaruu wa kaddabuu biʔaayaatinaa
ʔulaaʔika ʔaṢhaabu lgaḥiim (5/10)

And they who reject and deny Our signs, such are
rightful owners of hell.

- (2) wa ʔannaka laa taZmaʔu fiihaa wa laa taDḥaa (20/119)
And you do not thirst therein nor are exposed to the
sun's heat

- (3) yuḥibbu 9umaru DDu9afaaʔa wa yuṣfiqū xaalidun 9ala
lfuqaraaʔ

9umar likes the weak and xaalid sympathizes with the
poor.

- (4) kaana 9aliyyun yudaakiru fi lhugrati wa kaan xaalidun
yugannii fi lhadiiqah

9aliyy was studying in the room and xaalid was
singing in the garden

- (5) ya9Tifu rragulaani 9ala lfugaraa?i wa yuhibbaani
DDu9afaa?

The two men feel compassion with the poor and like the
weak

- (6) yuSalli l?aSdiqaa?u fi lmasgidi laakin yatawaDDa?uuna
fii manaazilihim

The friends pray in the mosque but make wuDuu? in
their houses

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) kaaddabuu 'reject (and) deny' govern the P-N bi?aayaatinaa 'Our signs', and in (2) the co-ordinated units (laa) taZma?u (wa laa) taDhaa '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 V₁, as a separate linguistic unit. The co-ordinated units in (3) are yuḥibbu 9umaru DDu9afaa? '9umar likes the weak' and yuṣfiqū xaalidun 9ala lfuqaraa? 'xaalid sympathizes with the poor', in (4) are kaana 9aliyyun yuḍaakiru fi lḥuḡrati '9aliyy was studying in the room' and kaan xaalidun yuḡannii fi lḥadiiqah 'xaalid was singing in the garden', in (5) are ya9Tifu rragulaani 9ala lfuqaraa?i 'the two men feel compassion with the poor' and yuḥibbaani DDu9afaa? 'like the weak', and in (6) are yuSalli l?aSdiqaa?u fi lmasgidi 'the friends pray in the mosque' and yatawaDDa?uuna fii manaazilihim 'make wuDuu? 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 ?aqantumū 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 co-ordinating 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 yukallimahumu llaahu wa lan yanZura ?ilayhim 'Allah will neither speak to them nor look on them' in (8).

(8) lan yukallimahumu llaahu wa lan yanZura ?ilayhim (cf. 3/77)

Allah will neither speak to them nor look on them

The main verb in the co-ordinating clause, yukallimahumu llaahu '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 humu'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 co-ordinating 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. ?aamannaa bihii 'in Him we believe' and 9alayhi tawakkalnaa 'in Him we put our trust' in (9).

(9) qul huwa rrahmaanu ?aamannaa bihii wa 9alayhi tawakkalnaa

(67/29)

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) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NPsub-V-P - conjunction - single transitive verb - N} \\ \text{a} \\ \text{V-NPsub-P - conjunction-single transitive verb-N} \end{array} \right.$
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NPsub single transitive verb-conjunction-V-P-N} \\ \text{b} \\ \text{Single transitive verb-NPsub-conjunction-V-P-N} \end{array} \right.$

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 *?aamannaabihii* '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 single 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) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NPsub-V-P-conjunction-V-P-N} \\ \text{V-NPsub-P-conjunction-V-P-N} \end{array} \right.$

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 llaah 'from that which Allah has provided', and, therefore, they associate with the preposition min 'of'.

(12) kuluu wa §rabuu min rizqi llaah (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 lladiina kafaruu wa kaddabuu bi?aayaatinaa

?ulaa?ika ?aShaabu lga?hiim (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 lqur?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?aayaatinaa 'reject Our signs' in (13) are divided by kaddabuu '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 'bihaa' and 'bihaa': the P elements are the same and the N elements refer back to ?aayaati llaahi 'the revelations of Allah'.

(17) wa qad nazzala 9alaykum fi lkitaabi ?an ?idaa sami9tum.
?aayaati llaahi yukfaru bihaa wa yustahza?u bihaa falaa
taq9uduu ma9ahum (4/140)

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) wa qad nazzala 9alaykum fi lkitaabi ?an ?idaa sami9tum
 ?aayaati llaahi yukfaru wa yustahza?u bihaa falaa
 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 biba9Din wa nakfuru biba9D 'we believe in some and
 disbelieve in others' in (19).

(19) ?inna lla9iina yakfuruunabillaahi wa rusulihii wa
 yuriiduuna ?an yufarriquu bayna llaahi wa rusulihii
 wa yaquuluuna 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
 biba9Din 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 V₁ Co-ordination with Another V₁

V₁ co-ordinates with another V₁ 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 V₁s 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 V₁s, 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 V₁s in (fa)mnun ?aw ?amsik '(So) bestow or withhold' in (21): they precede the P-N they govern bigayri hisaab 'without being made answerable', which is a subject adjunct in relation to each of them.

(21) haadaa 9aTaa?unaa famnun ?aw ?amsik bigayri 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 V₁s

in laa taguu9a fiihaa wa laa ta9raa 'are not hungry therein nor are naked' in (22), taabuu min ba9di daalika wa ?aSlaḥuu 'afterwards repent and do right' in (23), and Salli lirabbika wa nḥar 'pray to your Lord and sacrifice' in (24).

(22) ?inna laka ?allaa taguu9a fiihaa wa laa ta9raa (20/118)

It is to you that you are not hungry therein nor are
naked

(23) ?illa lladiina taabuu min ba9di daalika wa ?aSlaḥuu
(3/89)

Save those who afterwards repent and do right

(24) faSalli lirabbika wa nḥar (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 V_1 s 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.

C H A P T E R S I X

PASSIVIZATION OF V-P-N AND V₁-P-N COMBINATIONS

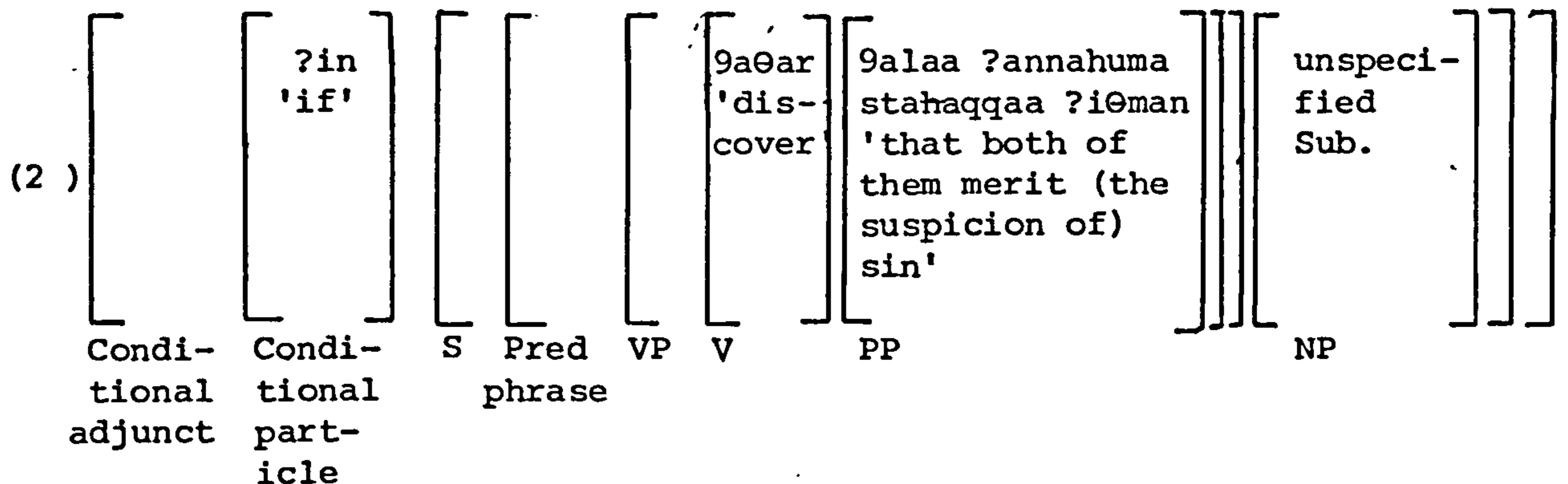
V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations are passivized during the process of passivizing the clause in which V- is a main verb and P-N is a PO, and that in which V₁ is a main verb and P-N is an adjunct, respectively. Consider, for instance, (1).

(1) fa?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθman

fa?aaxaraani 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

'(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?iðin 'that day'.

(3) ?u9tudiya yawma?iðin 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.L22.2), which refers back to it. Consider for instance, (4), (5), and (6).

(4) wa Zannuu ?annahum ?uħiiTa bihim (10/22)

And they deem that they are overwhelmed

(5) ?almuškilatū nuZira fiihaa

The problem, it was looked into

(6) wa 9lam ?annahū man kaana maTiiyyatuhu llayla

wa nnahaara fa?innahuu yusaaru bihi 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), ?almuṣkilatu '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 Zannuu ?an ?uhiiTa bihim

And they deem that they are overwhelmed

(8) nuZira fi lmuṣkilah

The problem was looked into

(9) wa 9lam ?annahuu man kaanat maTiiyyatuhu llayla wa

nnahaara yusar 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) *?almuṣkilatu 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) sayuġfaru 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 sayuġfaru 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 sayuġfaru 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) *sayuḡanna lizza?ir*

The visitor will be sung for

In (15), the P-N *lizzaa?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) *?azaa?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. 9uθira 'is discovered' in (17).

(17) fa?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahāqqaā ?iθman
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 baḡaa 9alaa class, e.g. ?uhiiTa 'was beset (with
destruction)' in (19).

(19) wa ?uhiiTa biθamarih (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)

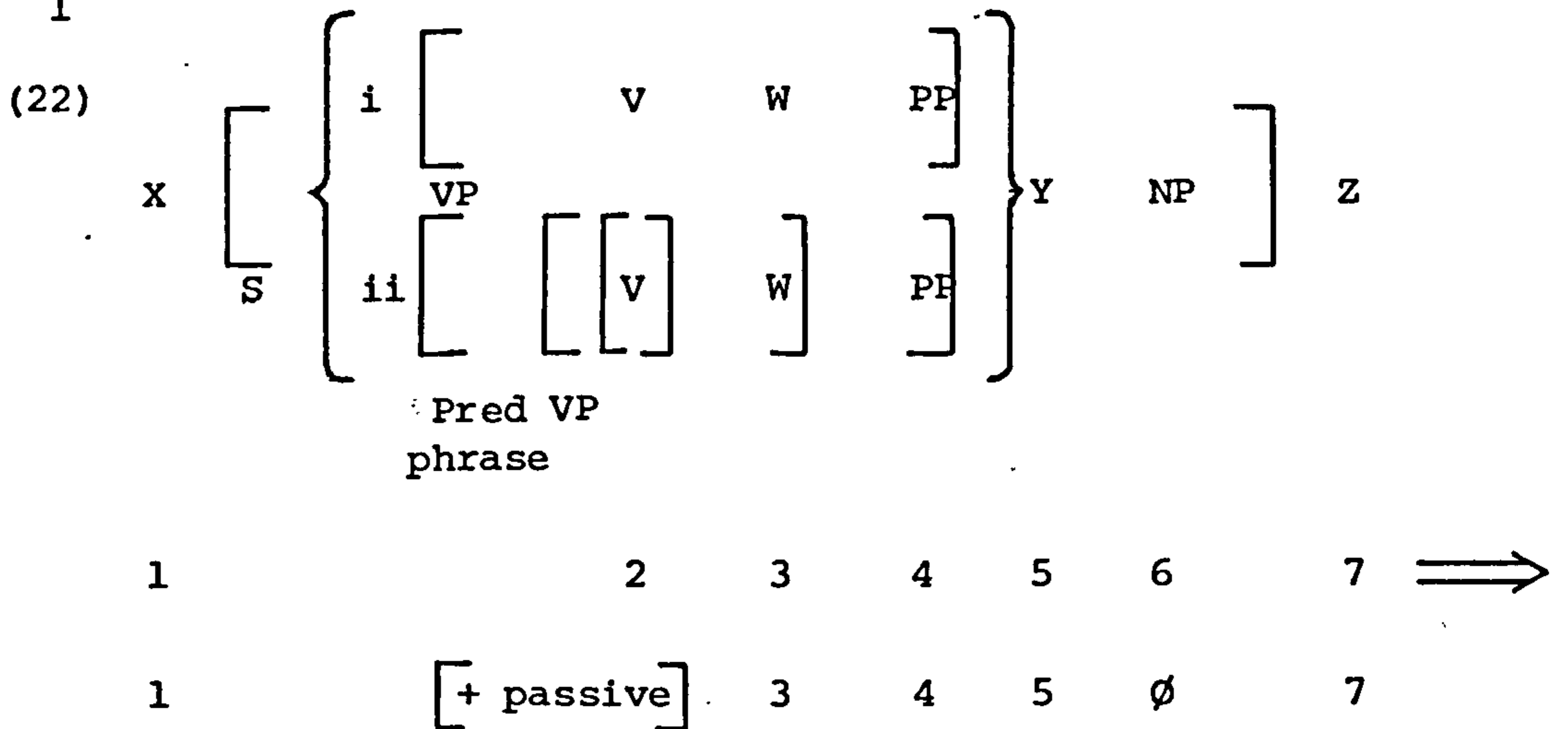
Messengers before you, indeed, were mocked

- (v) PVs of communication, e.g. stugiiba 'has been responded' in
(21).

(21) wa llaḡiina yuḡaagguna fi llaahi min ba9di ma stugiiba
lahuu ḡuḡatuhum daaḡiDatun 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.



where i2 is not an allative PV, a PV of observation, a PV of appearance, an emotional PV, a member of the fariha bi class, a member of the tasaa?ala bayna class, an ablative PV, or a PV of verbalization, ii4 is not an adjunct other than Beneficent or Manner adjunct, and 6 is not a specified subject (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 105) ⁽⁶⁾.

Footnotes

1. In nahg ?albalaaghah however, I found three other passive V₁-P-N combinations: (a) Dulla bii 'did go astray because of me' in (i); (b) yustawhaḡu 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 yustawhaḡu 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 ?albalaaghah, 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 manZuura '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 ?iḍ 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 ?albalaagah, 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 ?albalaagah, I found an example of a passive V-P-N combination the V of which belongs to the fariha bi class. This example is yustahaa minhu 'which can be found embarrassing' in (i).

- (i) [wa ḥdar kulla 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 ?albalaagah, 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) [ʔalhamdu lillaahi ǧayra] mustankafin 9an 9ibaadatih
 (ʔibn ʔabii Taalib, I, 96)
 [Praise be to Allah], worshipping Him [not] being
 refrained from

6. It should be noted that, if the passive V-P-N and V_1 -P-N combinations found in nahg ʔalbalaagah, (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 tasaaʔala bayna class or a PV of verbalization', and 'ii4 is not an adjunct other than Beneficient, Manner, Reason or Tibqan li adjunct, respectively.

C H A P T E R S E V E N

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 fiihaa '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 fiihaa tahyawna wa fiihaa tamuutuuna wa minhaa
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 fiihaa 'in it' in (1) and lillaahi 'to Allah' in (6), which are a place and a purpose adjunct, respectively.

- (3) daalikumu llaahu 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 V₁-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 'that' in (7), laakinna 'but' in (8), la9alla 'perhaps' in (9), ?inna 'verily' in (10), and fa?idaa 'and behold' in (11).

(7) ?axragnaa lahum daabbatan mina l?arDi tukallimuhum

?anna nnaasa kaanuu bi?aayaatinaa laa yuuginuum (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 lafii sakratihim ya9mahuun (15/72)

By your life verily, they move blindly in their
intoxication

(11) ?alladii ga9ala lakum mina s?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), bi?aalika '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, bihi 'with it' in (13), which is a means adjunct, and fihi (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 fiihi yuḡaaṠu nnaasu 'in which the people will have abundant water' in (14).

- (12) wa lawlaa ?an yakuuna nnaasu ?ummatan waahidatan
 laga9alnaa liman yakfur birraḥmaani 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
 bihii ya9diluun (7/159)

And of Moses' folk there is a community who lead with
 truth and establish justice with it

- (14) Ṡumma ya?tii min ba9di ḏaalika 9aamun fiihi yuḡaaṠu
 nnaasu wa fiihi ya9Siruun (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-/V₁ (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-/V₁ 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 yagma9uun 'amass' and yattaki?uun '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_1 ya9Siruun '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 $V-/V_1$ and can be occupied by the P-N associating with it is non-initial: it is the position immediately before $V-/V_1$. P-N occupies the position immediately before $V-/V_1$ either (i) because it is one of the possible positions the P-N of a V-P-N or a V_1 -P-N combination can occupy or (ii) in order for $V-/V_1$ 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) ?alladii ga9ala lakum mina §§agari l?axDari naaran
fi?idaa ?antum minhu tuuqiduun (36/80)

Who has appointed for you fire from the green tree,
and behold! you kindle from it

The V- tuuqiduun '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-tuuqiduun '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) ?alladii 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) *?alladii 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/V₁s associating with them so that they - the V-s/V₁s - 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 bima 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 l?arDi 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 laakinna 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 muṣriqiin 'at the sun rise', muslimuun 'have surrendered' and yuuzaa9uun '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 V₁ 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-/V₁, or of the initial position of a dependent clause or a clause co-ordinating with it, for reasons having to do with V-/V₁ 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/V₁s are grammatical.

C H A P T E R E I G H T

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 V₁-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 V₁-P-N combinations are V-/P-N and V₁-/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 tadhabu (cf. 81/26)

Where do you go?

(2) ?ila lmanzil

To the house

(3) ?ayna halla lqawm (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 469)

Where did the people settle down?

(4) miSr (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 view points: (1) Jacobs and Rosenbaum's and (2) Huddleston'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) NP \rightarrow 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 \rightarrow 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 \rightarrow wh some

(12) Det \rightarrow 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 → 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\$\$\$iruun (15/54)

Of what then can you bring (me) good tidings?

- (17) falyanZuri l?insaanu mimma xuliq (86/5)

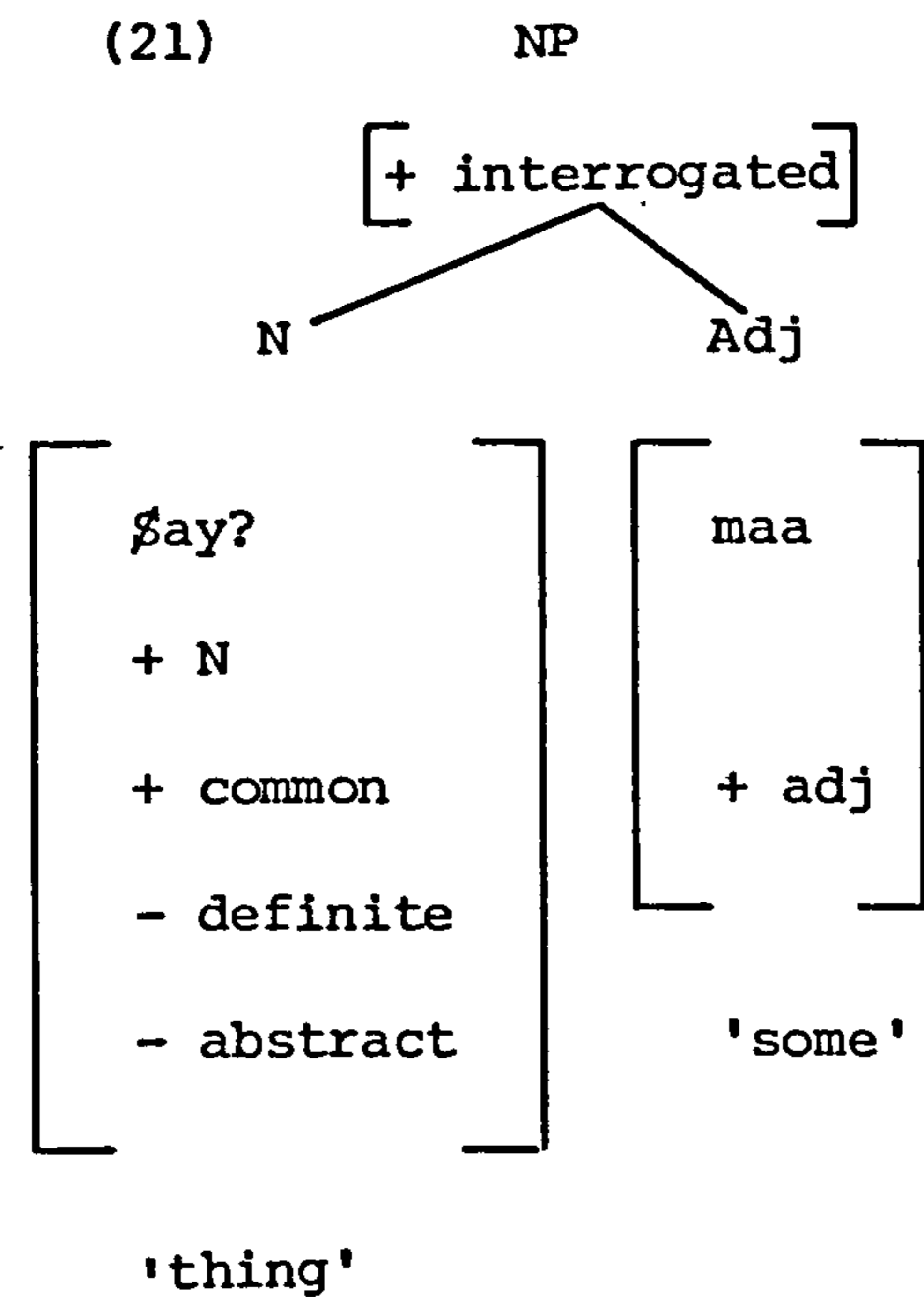
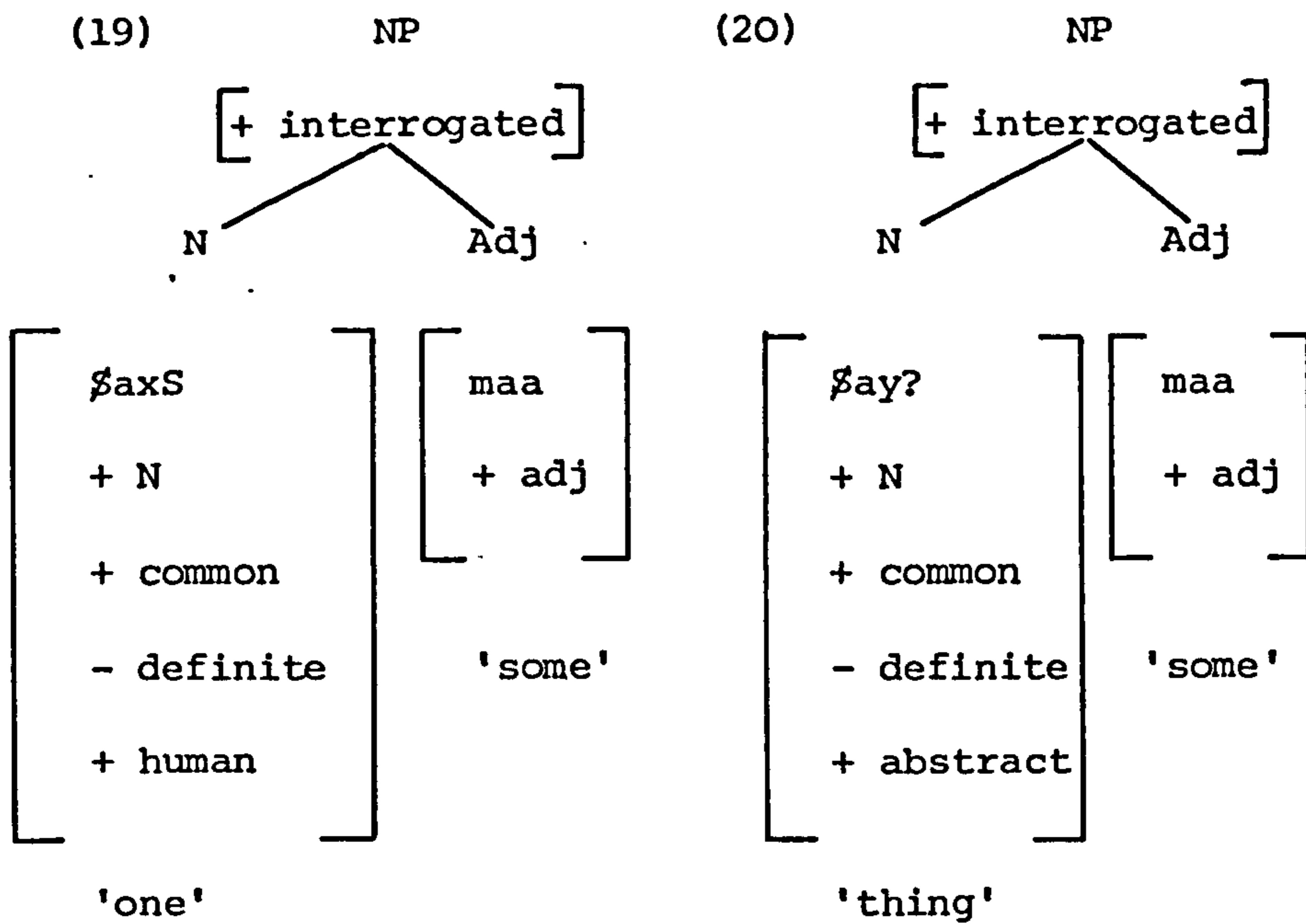
So let man consider from what he is created

- (18) wa qaaluu liguluudihim lima .\$ahidtum 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).

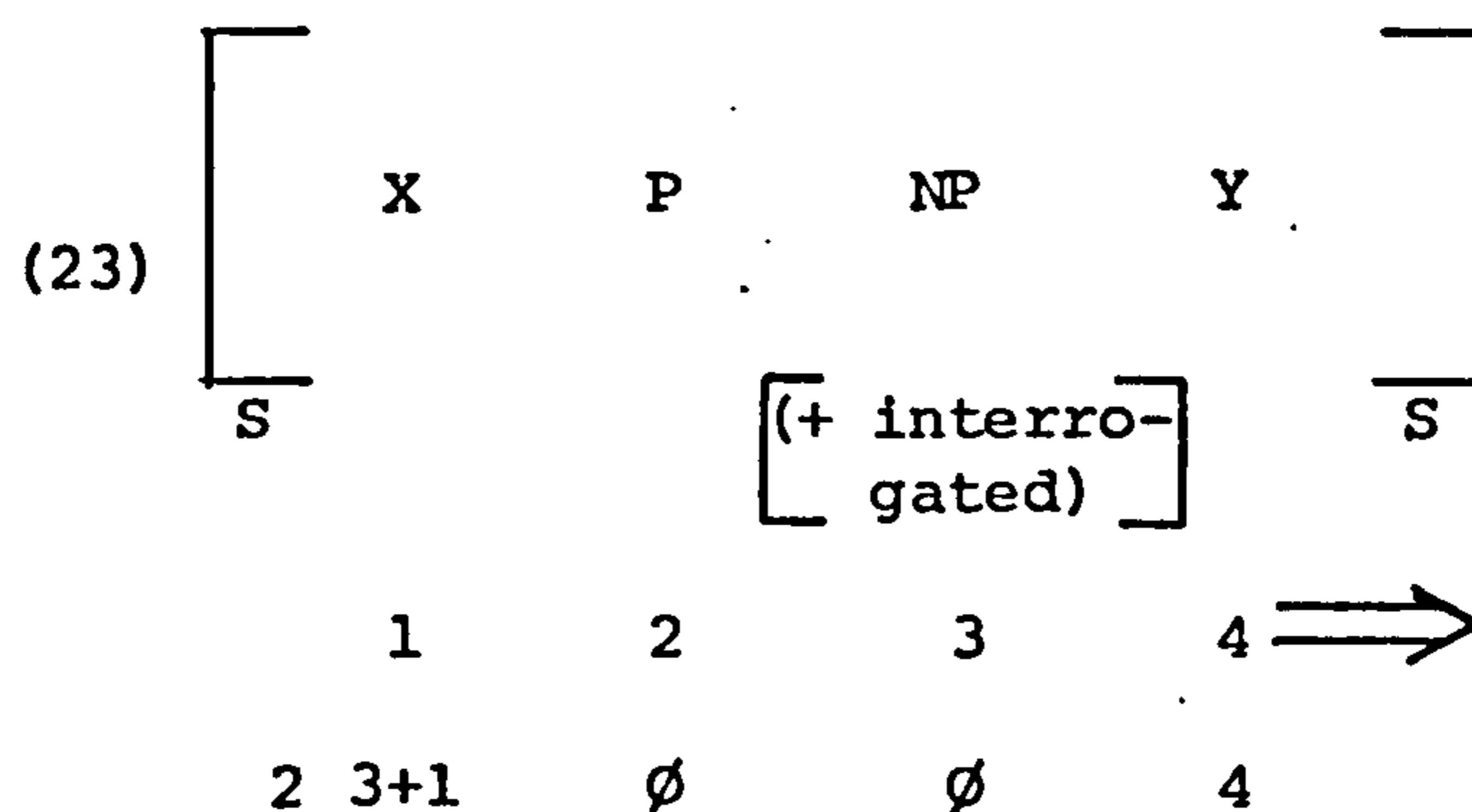


The P-Ns the Ns of which are realized by the nominal interrogatives in (14 - 18) are generated by the rules of (22).

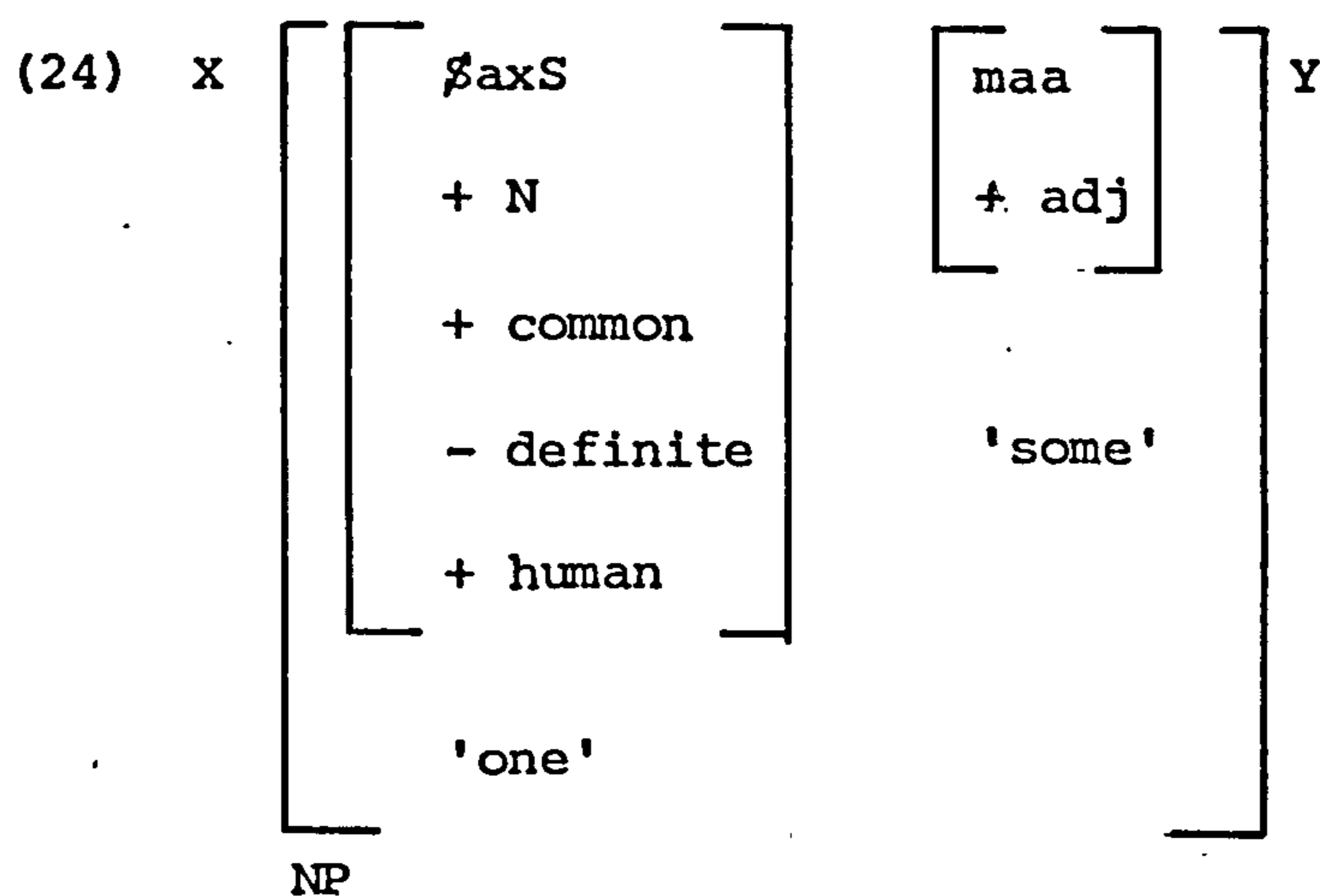
(22) i PP → P NP

ii NP → N Adj

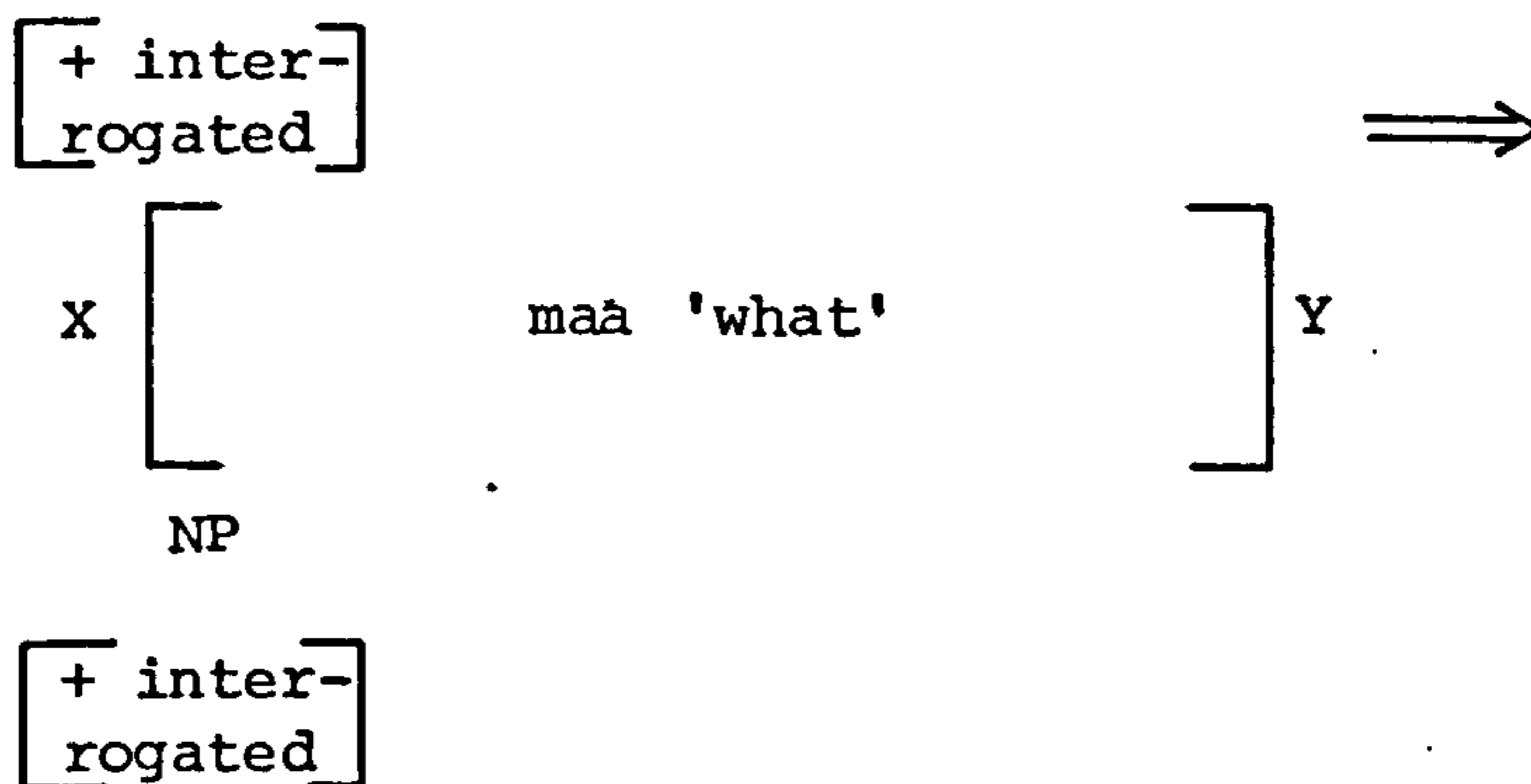
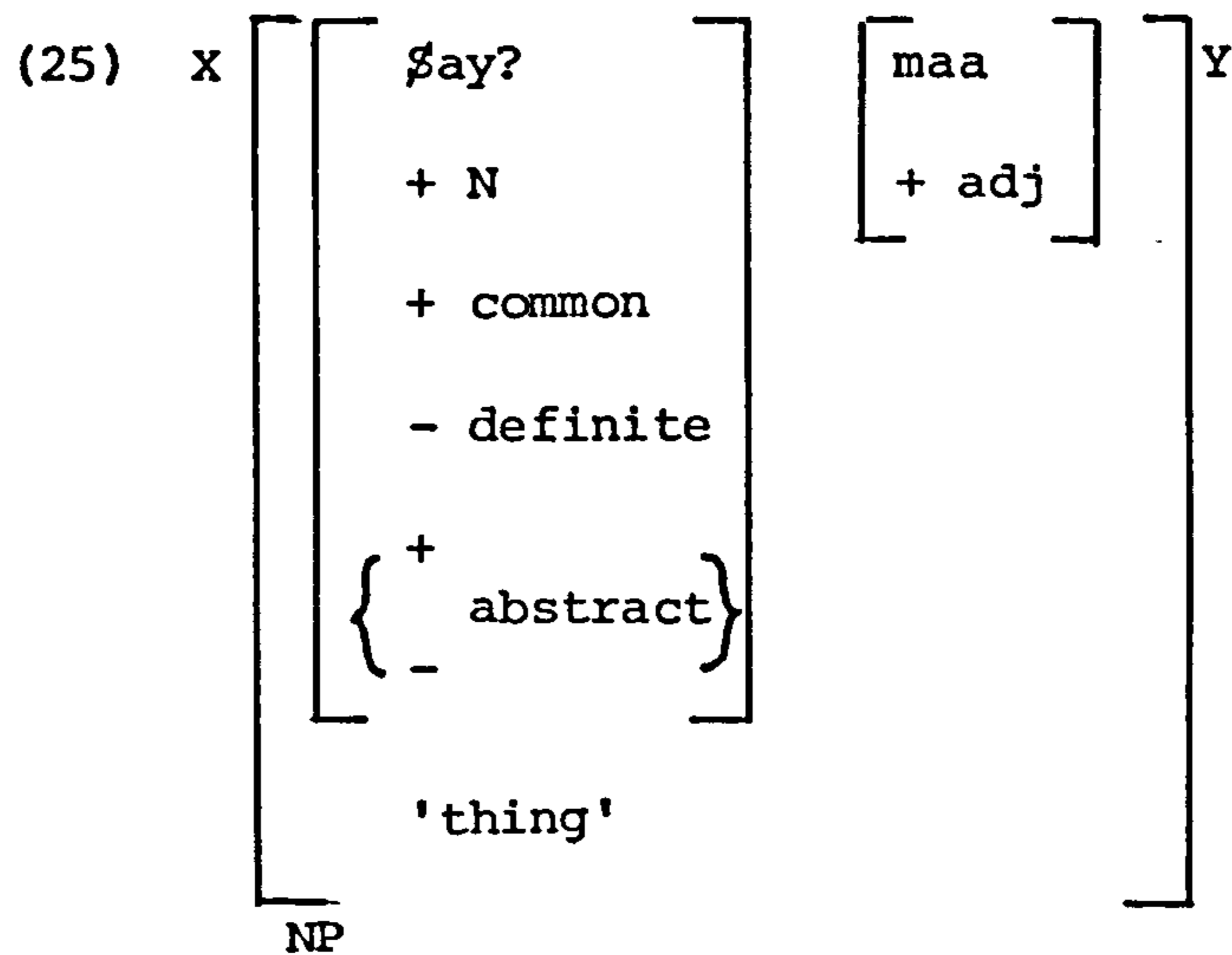
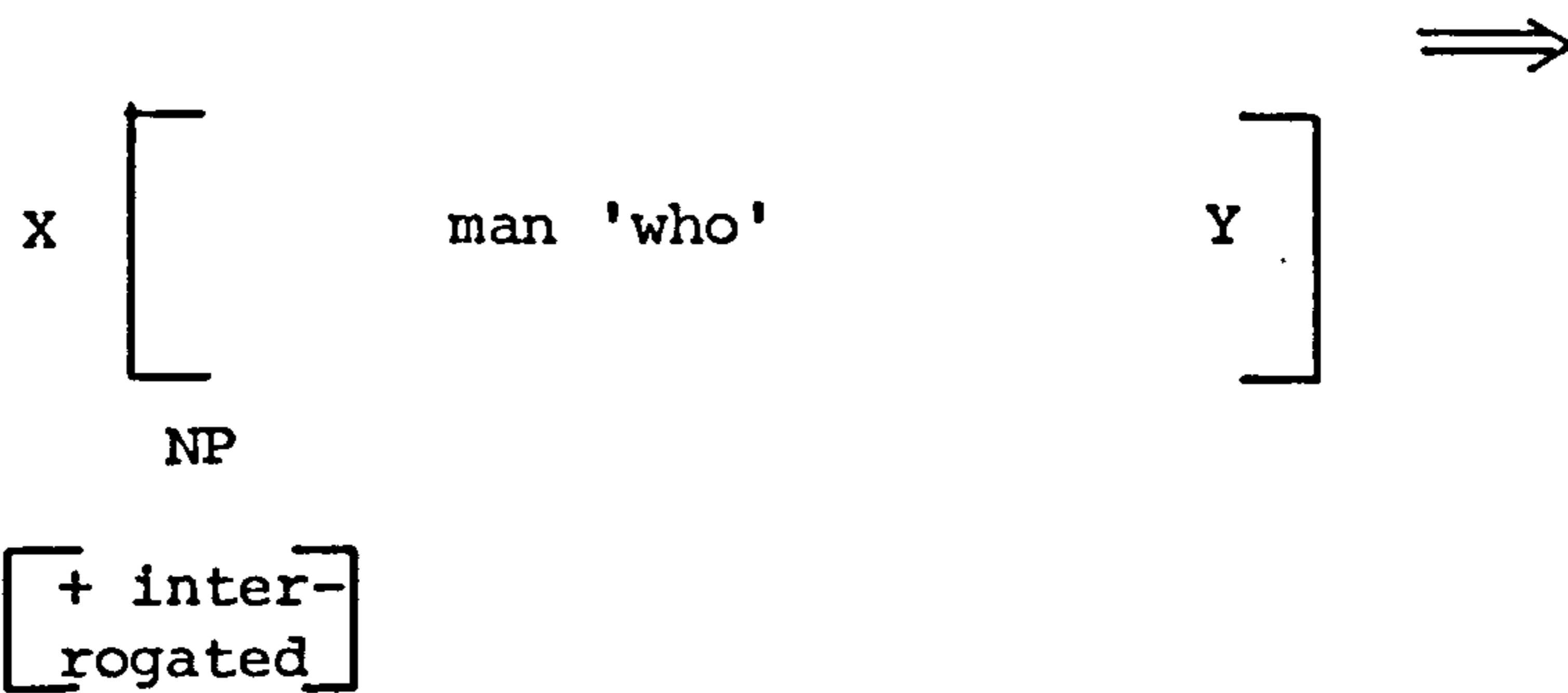
As for the rule shifting them to the initial positions of the man-clauses in which they are constituents, it is the man-question transformation, which is triggered off by the presence of the feature [+interrogated], under the NP-node dominating their nominal elements in the deep structures of these clauses. (23) is a possible formulation of this rule.



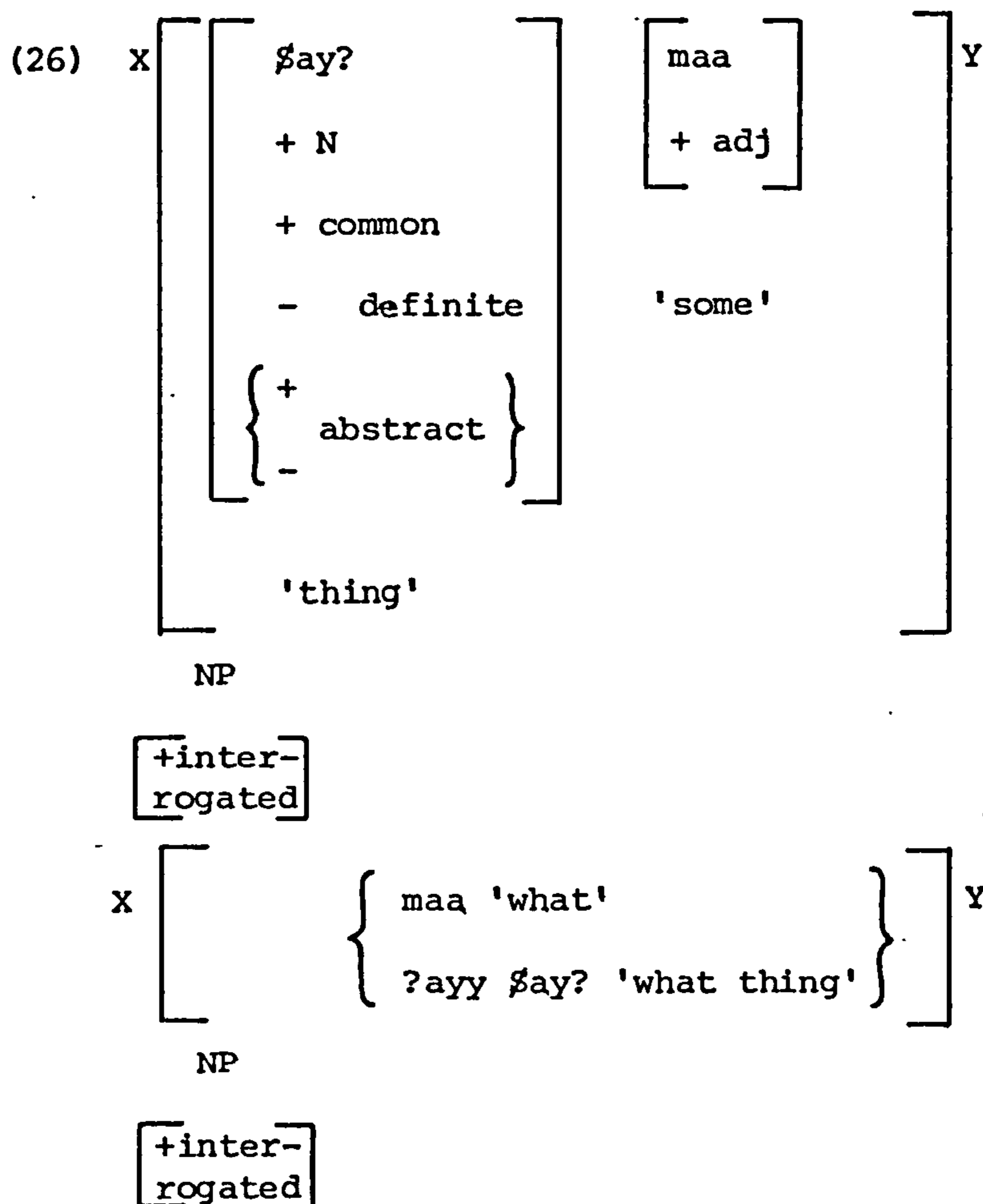
It should be noted firstly that later, the underlying forms of (19 - 21) will be realized as nominal interrogatives by the realization rules (cf. Fowler, pp. 81-2). These rules will operate on the surface structures containing them and resulting from the application of rule (23) and others on the deep 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'.



+ inter-
rogated



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 synonymy. 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 \\$ahidtum 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 tanazzalu \\$\\$ayaaTiin* '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 \\$ay?' in 'what thing' in (27) and '?ayyi hadiiθin' 'what' speech in (28), and the P-N functioning as

Place adjunct, e.g. ?ayyi ?arDin 'what land' in (29), Reason adjunct, e.g. ?ayyi danbin 'what crime' in (30), or as Duration adjunct, e.g. ?ayyi yawmin 'what day' in (31)⁽³⁾.

(27) min ?ayyi šay?in xalaqah (80/18)

From what thing did He create him?

(28) fabi?ayyi hadiiθin ba9dahuu yu?minuun (7/185)

In what speech after it (muhammad's speech) will they believe?

(29) wa maa tadrii nafsun maadaa taksibu ġadan wa maa tadrii nafsun bi?ayyi ?arDin tamuut (31/34)

No soul knows what it will earn tomorrow and no soul knows in what land it will die

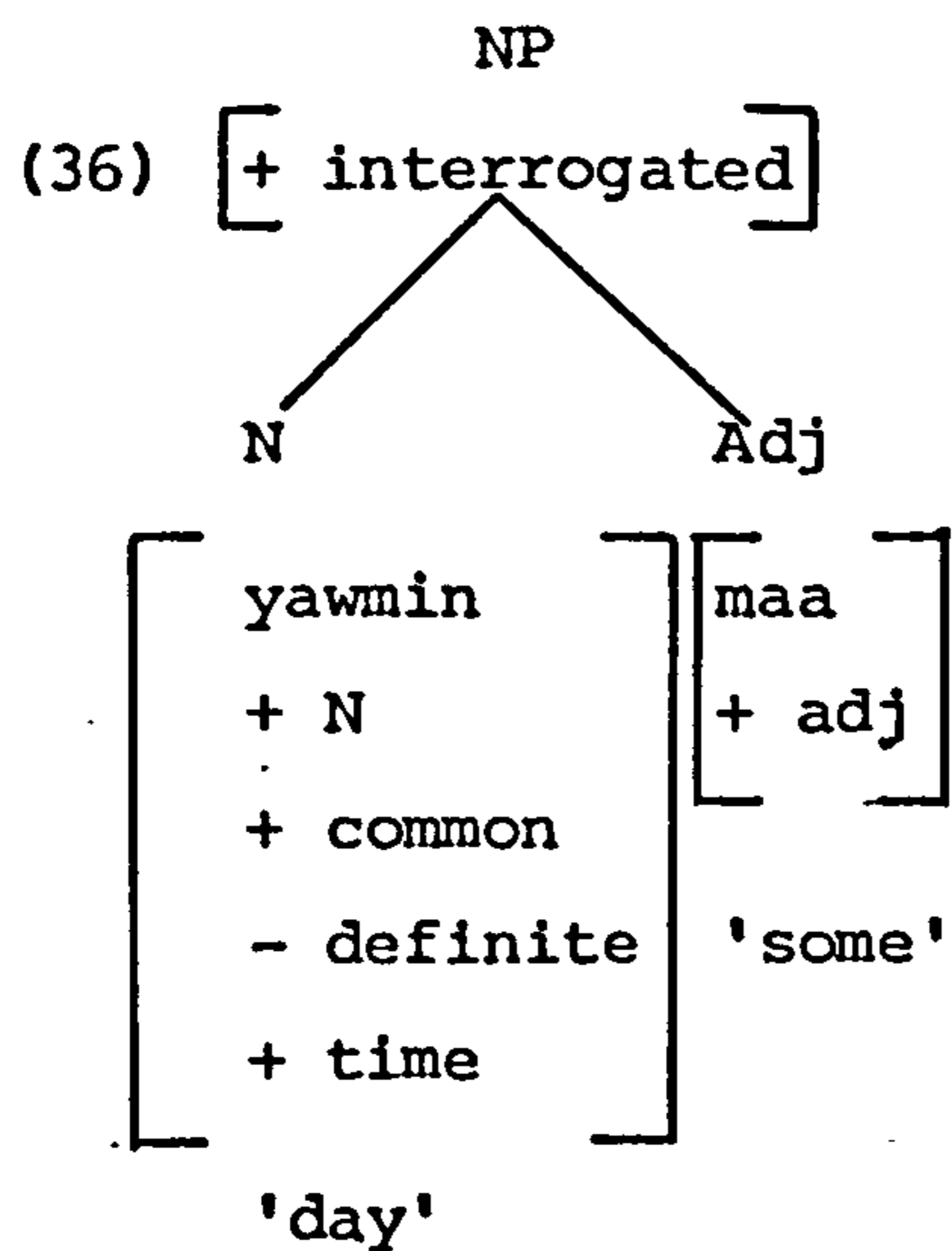
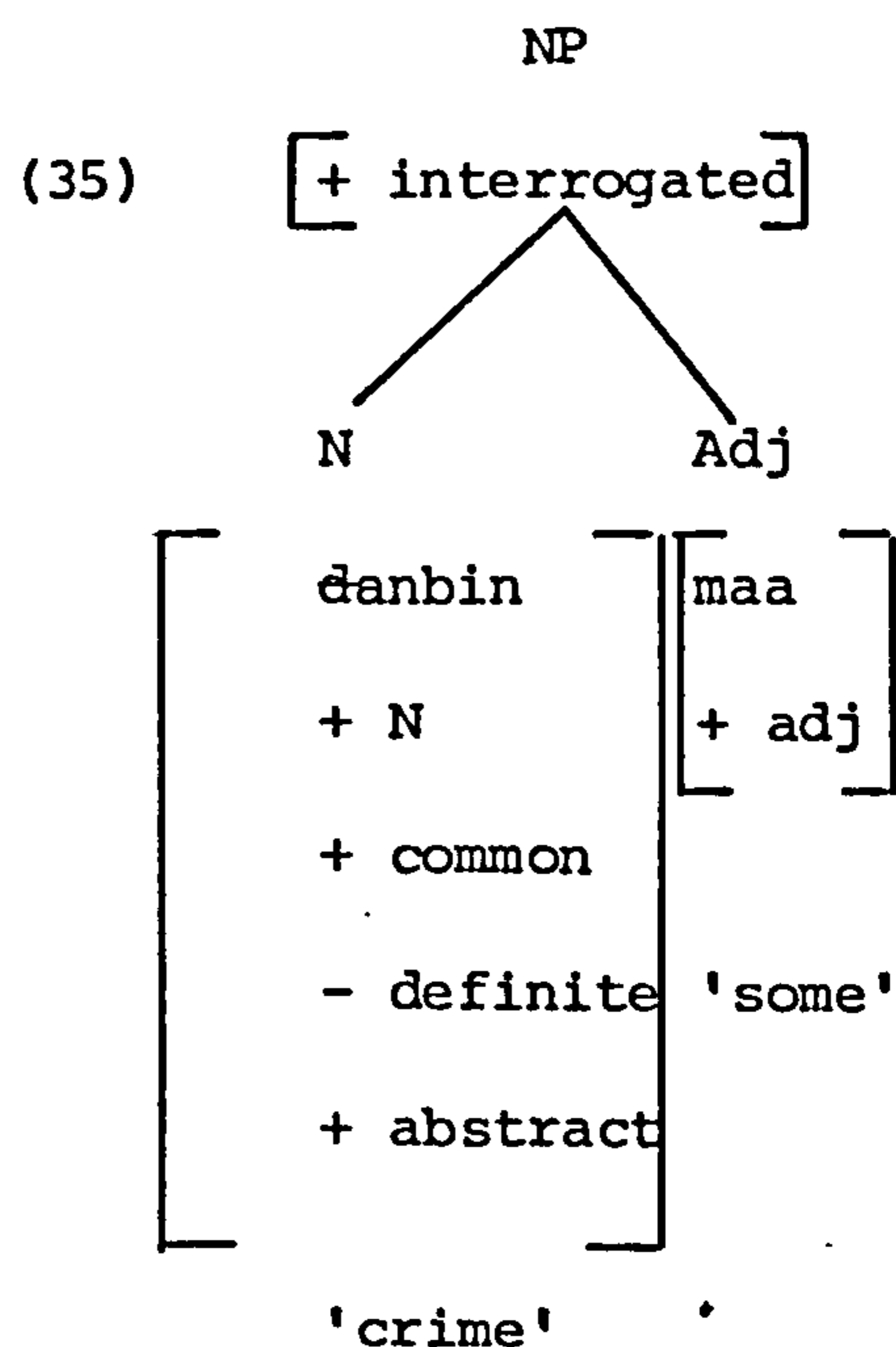
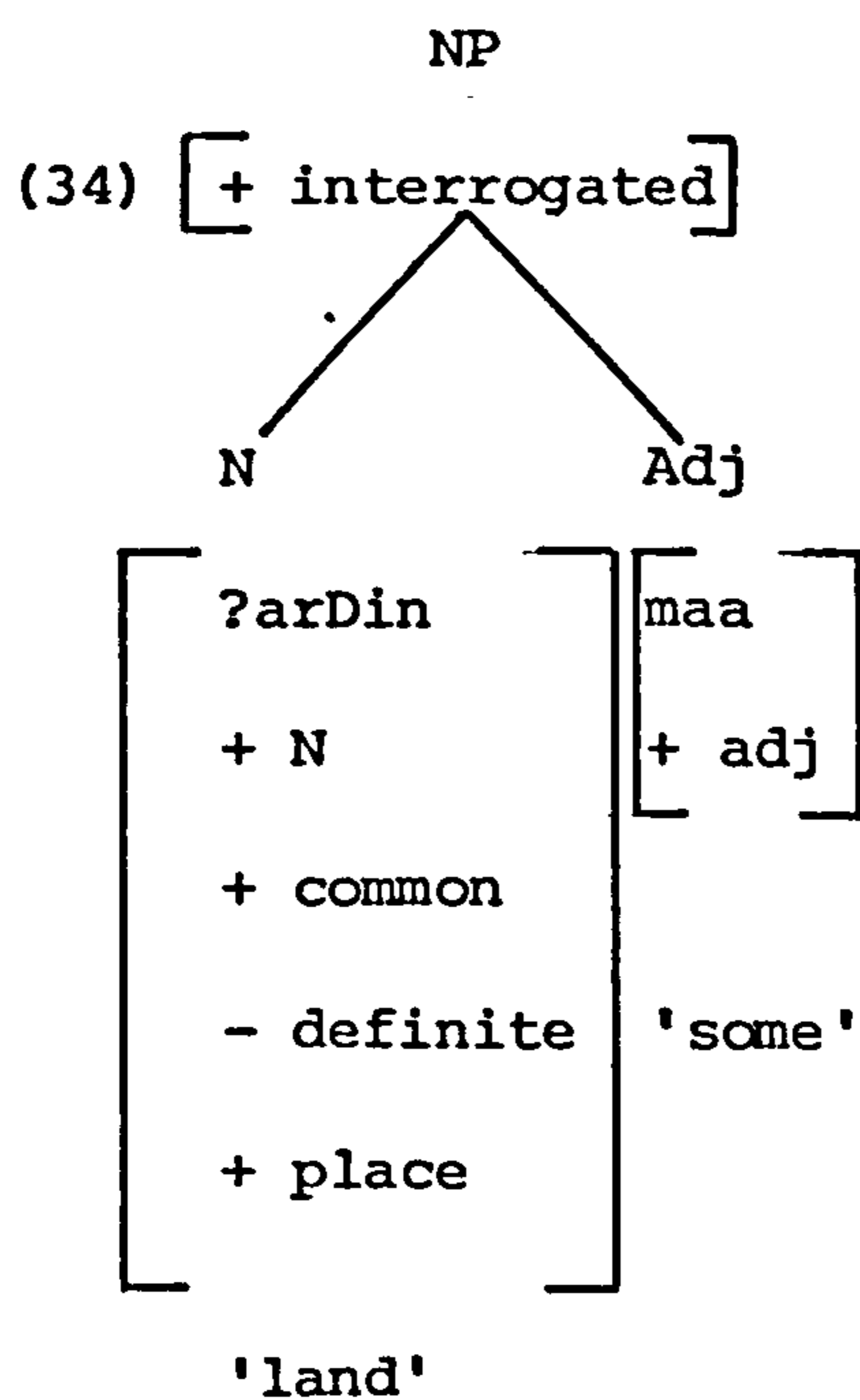
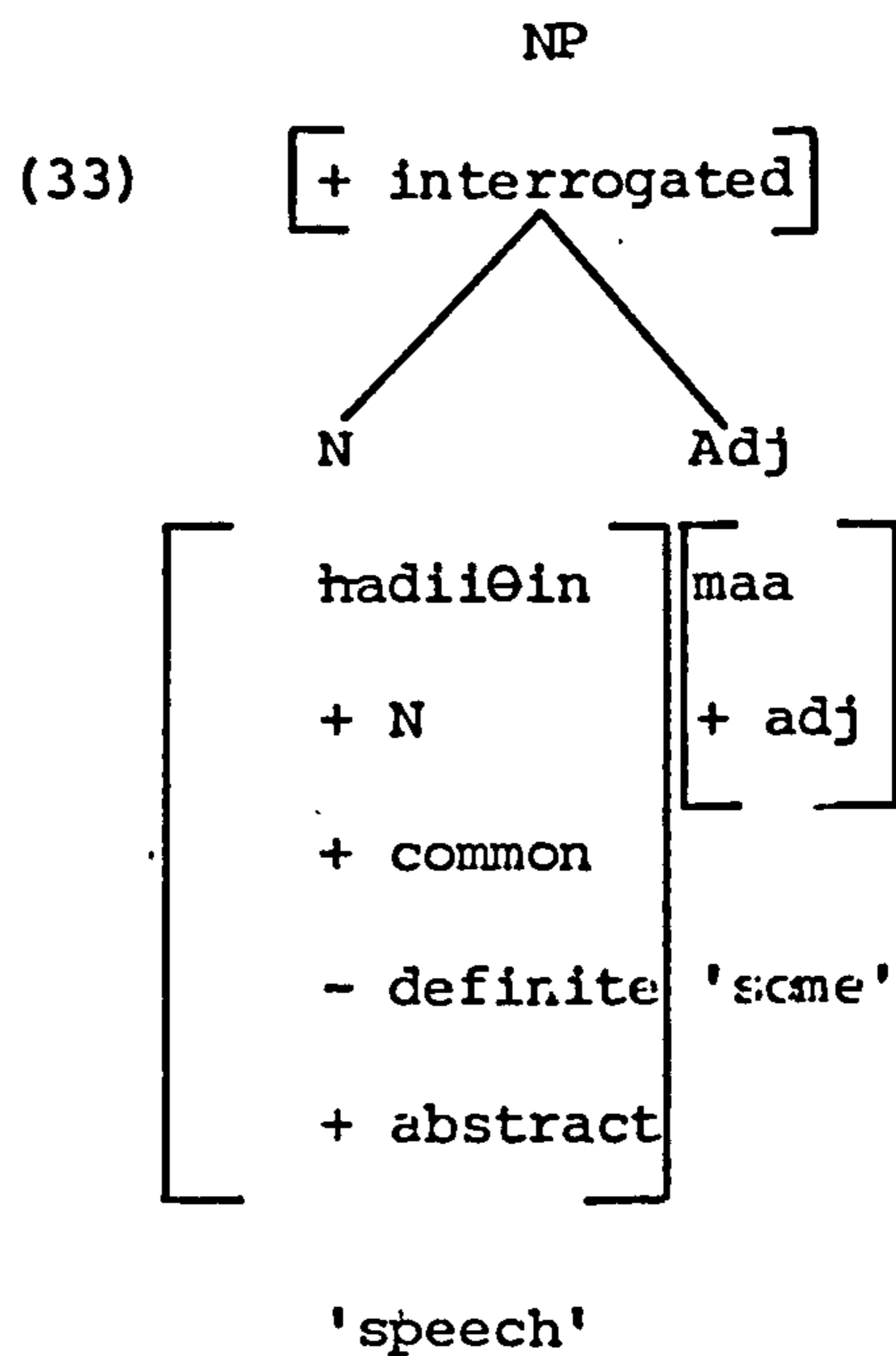
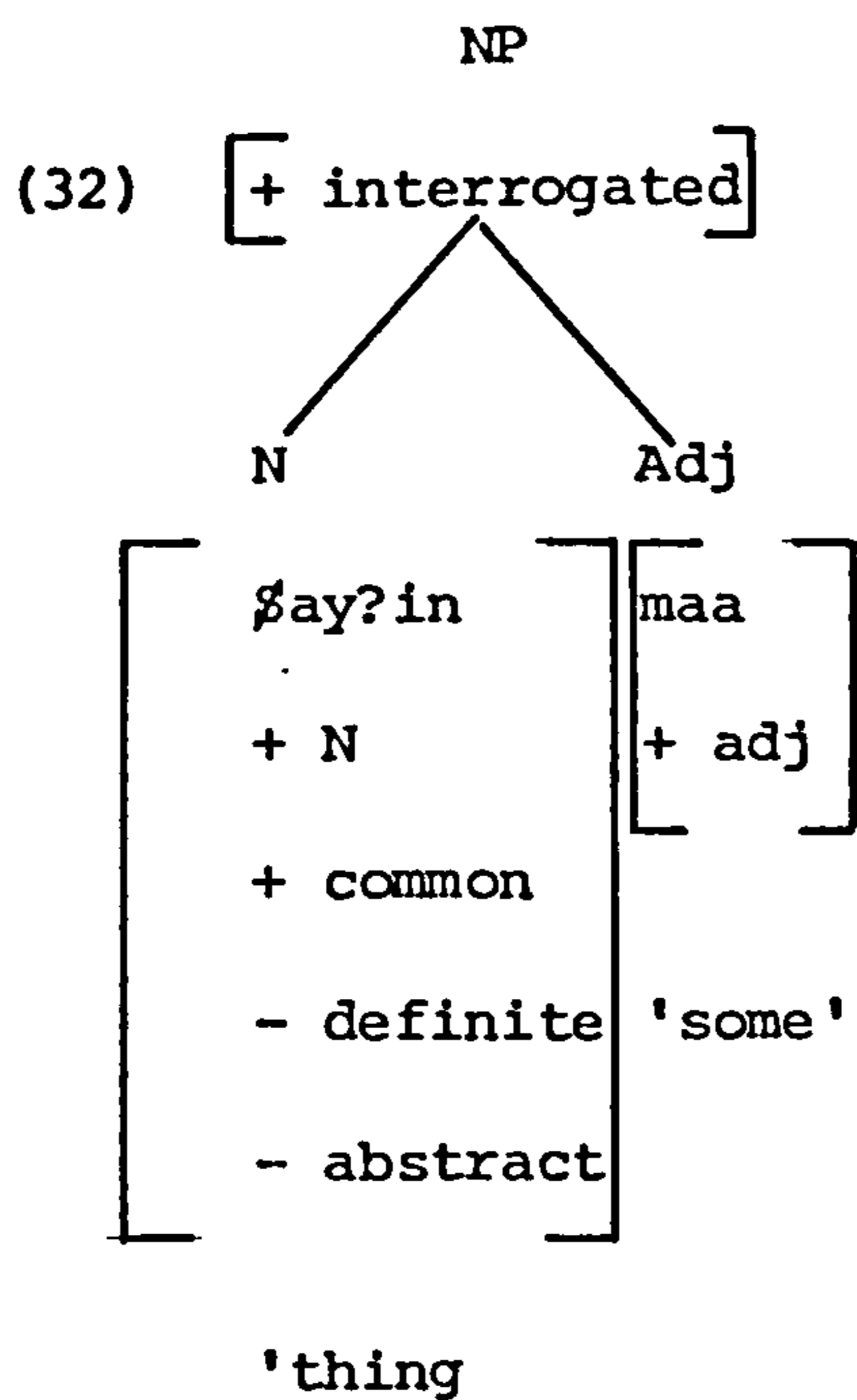
(30) wa ?ida lmaw?uudatu su?ilat bi?ayyi danbin qutilat (81/8-9)

And when the girl-child that was buried alive is asked for what crime she was killed

(31) li?ayyi yawmin ?uggilat (77/12)

Till what day is it (the gathering of the messengers) deferred?

The post-lexical underlying forms of the adjectival phrases ?ayyi šay?in 'what thing?' in (27), ?ayyi hadiiθin 'what speech?' in (28), ?ayyi ?arDin 'what land?' in (29), ?ayyi danbin 'what crime?' in (30), and ?ayyi yawmin '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 \rightarrow P NP
 ii NP \rightarrow 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 $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} + N \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{maa} \\ \text{'some'} \\ + \text{adj} \end{array} \right] \text{Y}$
- \Rightarrow
- X $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} ?ayy \\ \text{'what'} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + N \end{array} \right] \text{Y}$
- $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{inter-} \\ \text{rogated} \end{array} \right]$

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 9axSin maa

9aliyy relies on someone

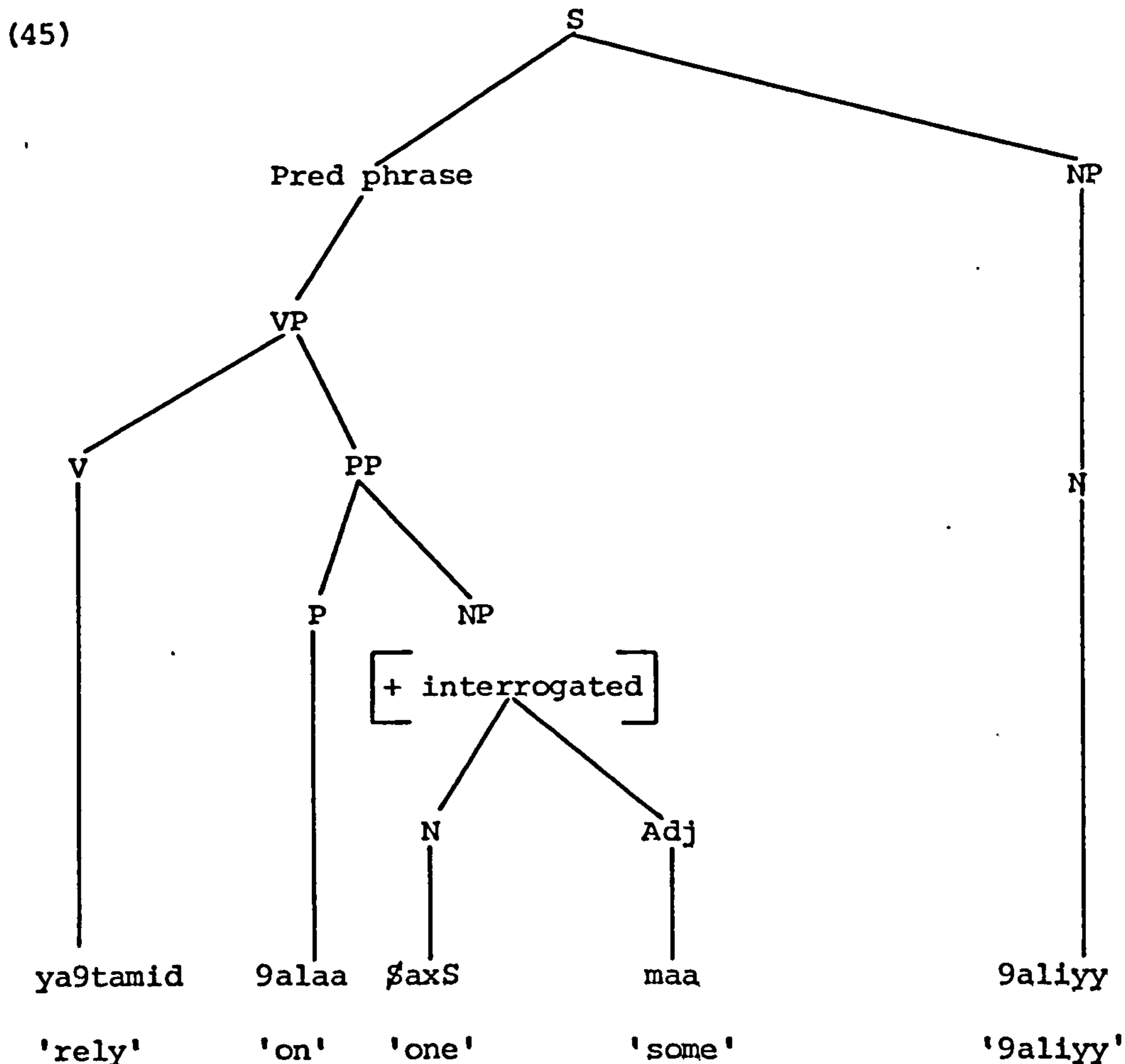
(43) gaa?a 9aliyyun li9ay?in maa

9aliyy has come for something

(44) yu?minu 9aliyyun bi9ay?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].



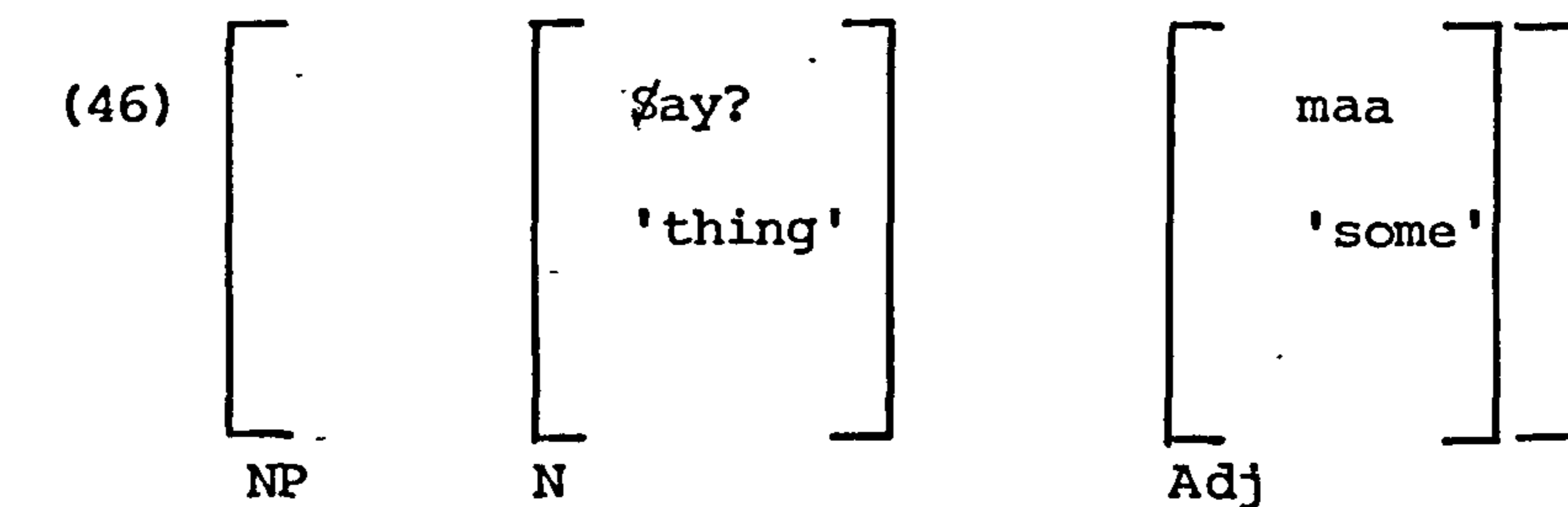
(b) The second reason, which is not mentioned by Huddleston, is that considering man-words to be derivatives will enable us to account for the synonymy between the members of the following pairs of positionally realized question phrases and the like, and, hence, between the clauses containing either the first or the second member:

(i) fiima 'in what?' : fii ?ayyi 9ay? 'in what thing?'

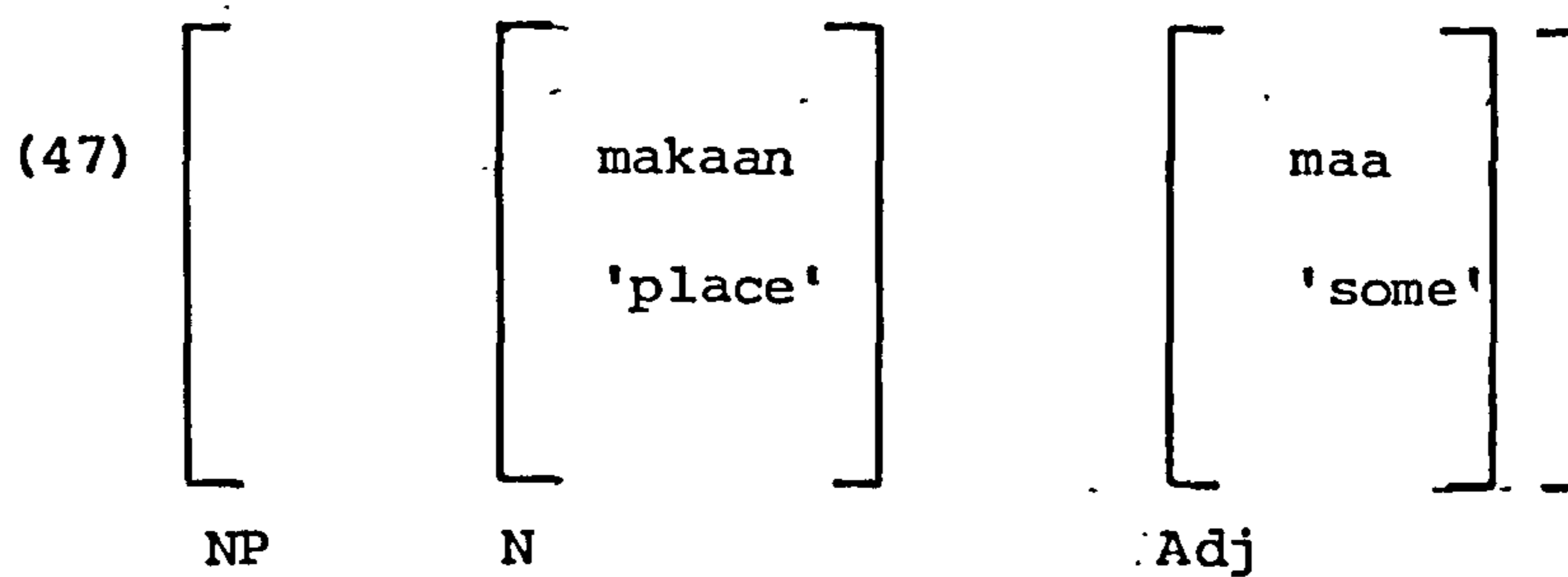
(ii) min ?ayna 'from where?' : min ?ayyi makaan 'from what place?'

According to this proposal, the underlying representations of the nominal elements of the first and the second members will be identical, and, therefore, the outputs of the realization rule operating on them will be either of them: the underlying representation

of the nominal elements of (i) is (46) and of (ii) is (47), and the outputs of therealization rule operating on them are ma 'what' or ?ayyi şay? 'what thing', or ?ayna 'where' or ?ayyi makaan 'what place', respectively.



+ inter-rogated



+ inter-rogated

Footnotes

1. I found in nahg ?albalaagah 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. maadaa 'what' is a nominal interrogative synonymous to maa 'what'. In nahg ?albalaagah, I found an example of it realizing the N of a P-N functioning as PO. This is maadaa 'what' in (i).

(i) bimaadaa taqtarruun (?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 142)

What makes you become overweening?

3. In nahg ?albalaagah, I found the adjectival interrogative phrase realizing the N of the P-N functioning as Commitative 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?

C H A P T E R N I N E

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 Jespersen's (Jespersen, 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, *HSH*, represents the comment (ibid., p. 814).

(2) i S \rightarrow NP + Pred

ii \rightarrow Pred

{	Copula +	VP
		Adj P
		NP
		Adv P
<i>HSH</i>		

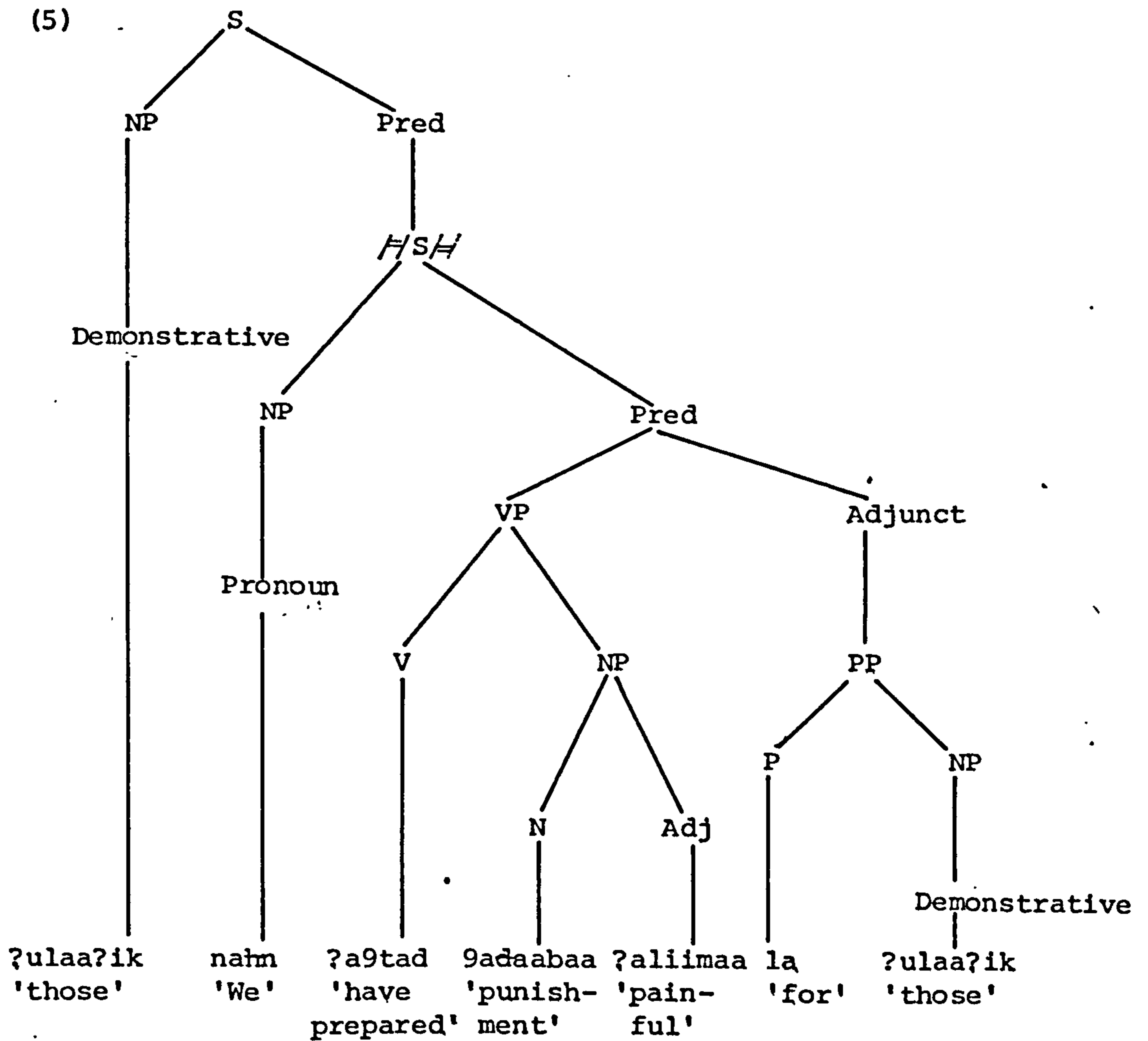
'Predicate \rightarrow *HSH*' is the portion of rule (2)ii that will be involved in generating topic-comment sentences. Consider, for instance, (3).

(3) ?ulaa?ika ?a9tadnaa lahum 9adaaban ?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 → NP Pred
 - ii NP → Demonstrative
 - iii Pred → HSH
 - iv HSH → NP Pred
 - v NP → Pronoun
 - vi Pred → VP Adjunct
 - vii VP → V NP
 - viii NP → N Adj
 - xi Adjunct → PP
 - x PP → P NP
 - xi NP → Demonstrative

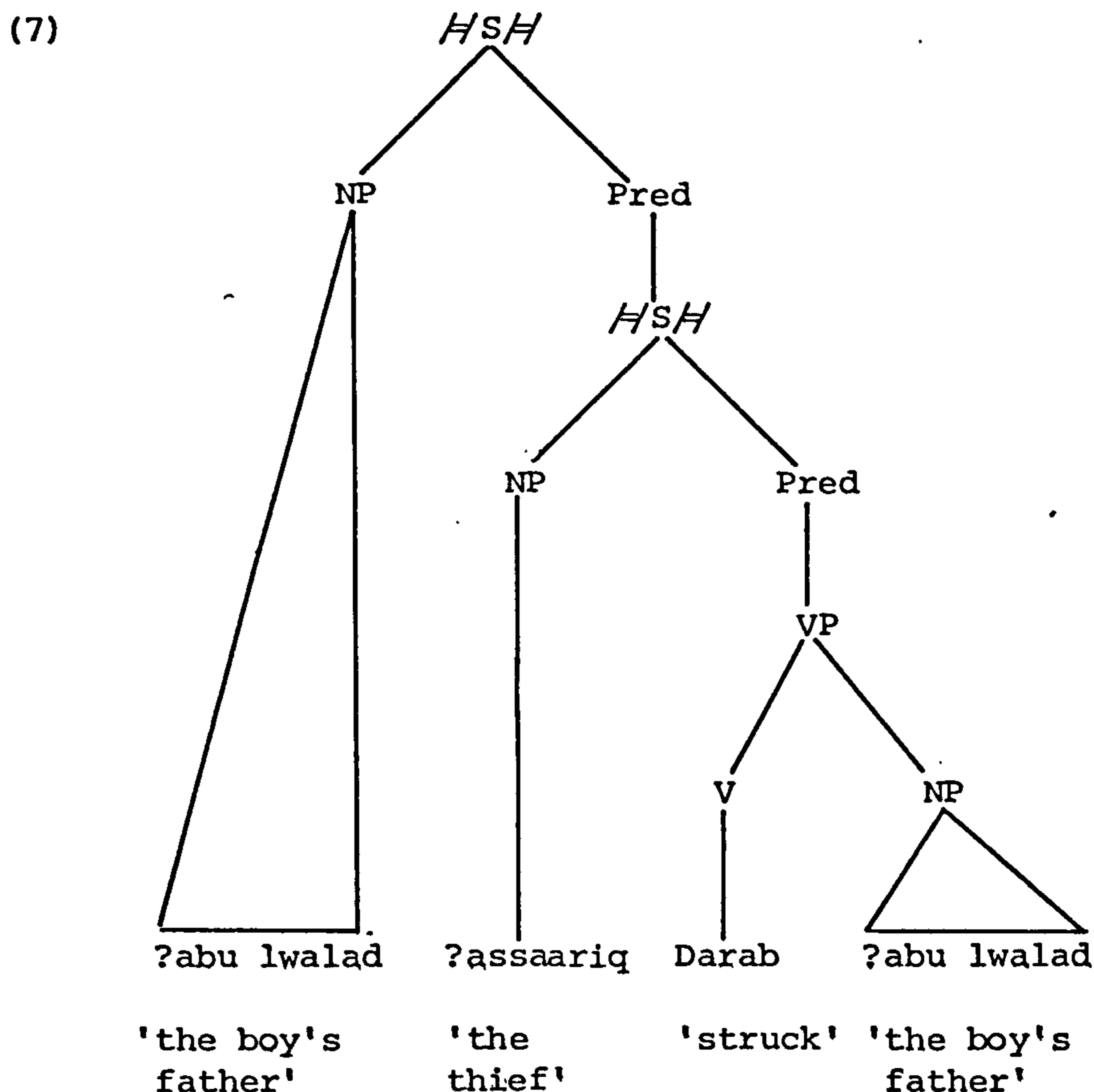


It should be noted firstly that according to this analysis of topic-comment sentences, *HSH* will include a NP that 'is a duplicate of the topic' (ibid., p. 815). In (5), this NP is *?ulaa?ik* 'those' in *HSH*. Secondly, Lewkowitz points out that when *HSH* is expanded, 'it could be assigned the structure 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 lliSS* 'his father, the thief struck him' in (6), which is Lewkowitz'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).



This implies that HSH might be rewritten as NP + Pred where Pred will be rewritten as VP not as HSH , e.g. the HSH ?a9tadnaa lahum 9adaaban ?aliimaa '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).

$$(8) \quad \begin{array}{cccccc} H & NP & H & X & + & NP & + & Y & H & H & \Rightarrow & 1, & \emptyset, & 3, & 4, & 5, & \emptyset \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & & 5 & 6 & & & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

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

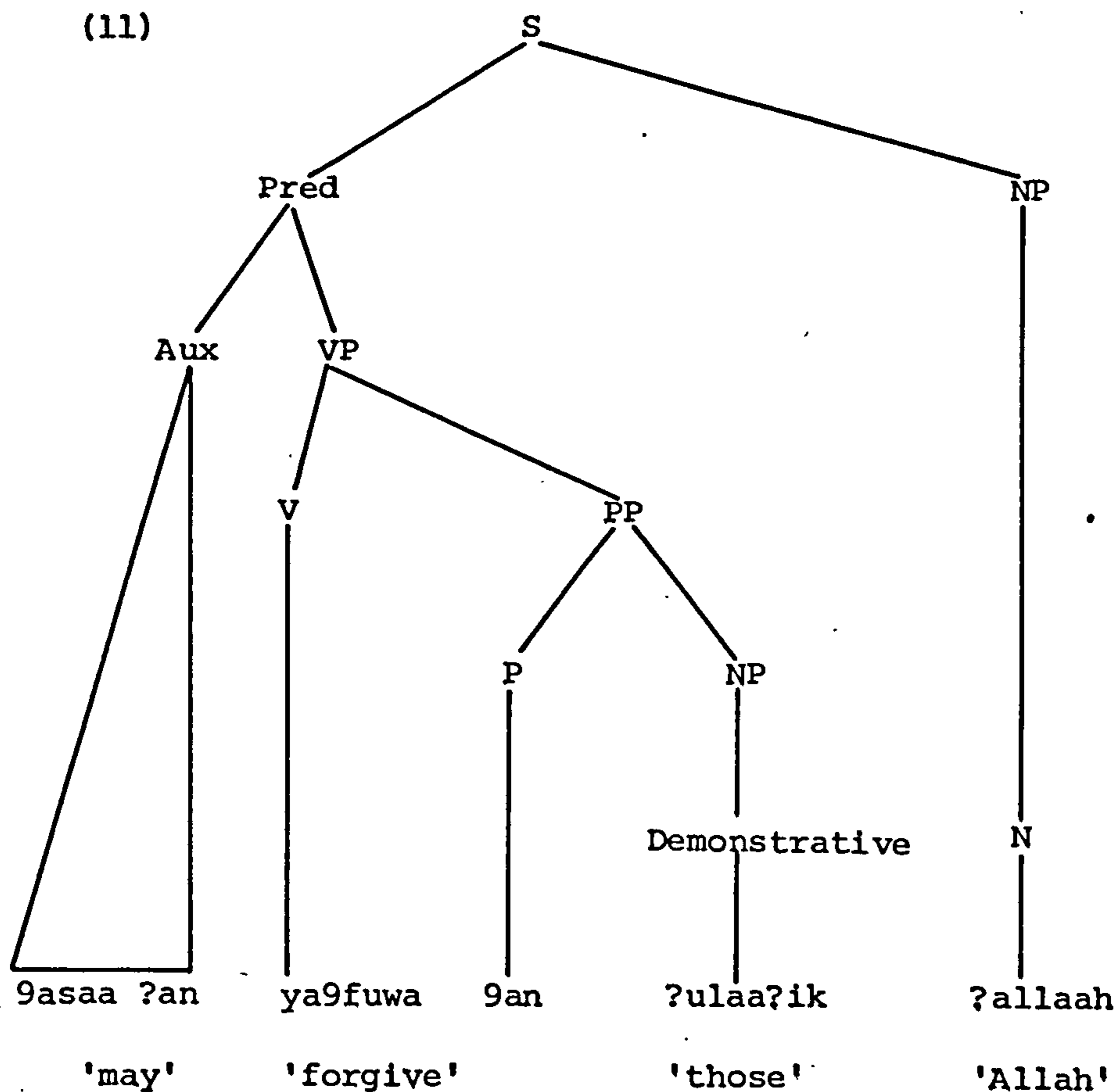
the same underlying structure as the non-topic-comment sentences corresponding to them (cf. Huddleston, p. 229). In this underlying structure, there will be no morpheme corresponding to the replacive pronoun in the surface structure, which refers back to the topic and occupies the same clause position 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) fa?ulaa?ika 9asa llaahu ?an ya9fuwa 9anhum (4/99)

Those, Allah may forgive them

(10) 9asa llaahu ?an ya9fuwa 9an ?ulaa?ik

Allah may forgive those



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 bihi la9allakum ta9qiluun (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?ika '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?ika 'those' in (15), which derives from the combination ?a9tad 9adaaban ?aliiman li?ulaa?ik 'have prepared for those a painful punishment'.

(14) daalika yuxawwifu llaahu bihi 9ibaadah (39/16)

That, Allah appals His servants with it

(15) ?ulaa?ika ?a9tadnaa lahum 9adaaban ?aliimaa (4/18)

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 V_1 -P-N combinations: ?allaahu 'Allah' in (16) derives from the N of the V_1 -P-N combination yuSallii lillaah 'pray for Allah', and ?alxidaa9u 'deception' in (17) derives from the N of the V_1 -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 *xaṣṣyati 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) *yaxṣaa ba9Du nnaasi nnaasa kaxaṣṣyati llaah*

Some people fear men as (their) fear of Allah

(19) *saʔuḍaakiru hatta SSabaah*

I will study until the morning

(20) *lam ʔuqaabilhu mundu SSayfi lmaaDii*

I have not met him since last summer

It should be noted firstly that *kaxaṣṣyati 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 *xaṣṣyati 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 SSabaahr '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 qawmihii fii ziinatih (28/79)

Then, went he forth before his people in his pomp

(23) ?ud9u ?ilaa sabiili rabbika bilhikmati wa lmaw9iZati
lhasanah (16/125)

Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and fair
exhortation

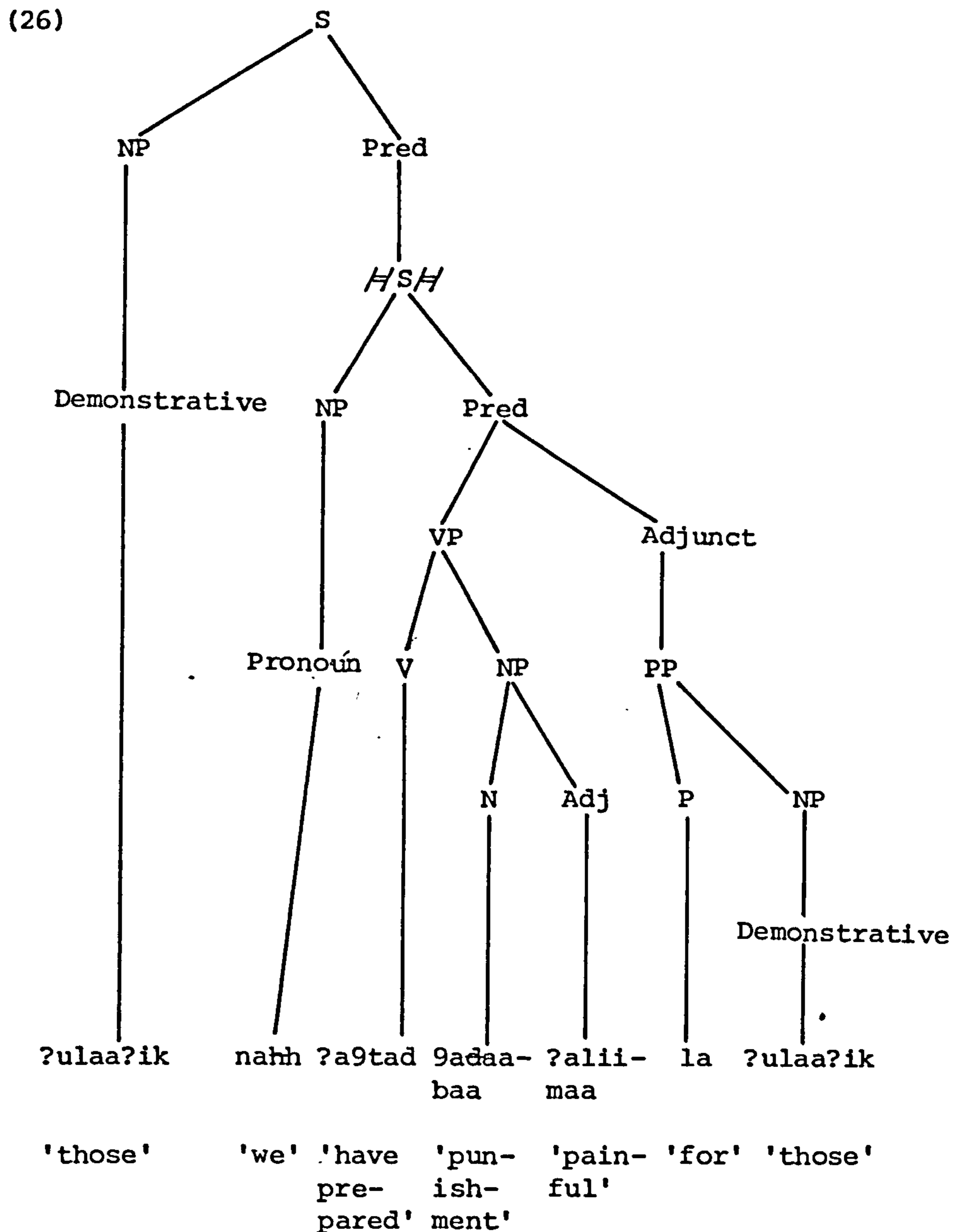
9.1.2.2.1.3 Recapitulation

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

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 9.1.1.1) 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.



(27) ?ulaa?ika ?a9taadnaa lahum 9adaaban ?aliimaa (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 HSH 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 HSH

(30) PP \rightarrow P NP

Therefore, it is not possible to say why the topic, its duplicate NP and, hence, the replacive pronoun are beneficent.

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 hayθu, e.g. hayθu 'where' in (31), the subordinator ?aynamaa, e.g. ?aynamaa 'wherever' in (32), the interrogative pronoun ?ayna, e.g. ?ayna 'where' in (33), and the adverbial anaphoric pro-form haa hunaa, e.g. haa hunaa 'here' in (34).

(31) ?allaahu ?a9lamu hayθu yag9alu risaalatah (6/124)

Allah knows best where to place His message

(32) Duribat 9alayhimu dāillatu ?aynamaa θuqifuu (3/112)

Submissiveness will be pitched over them (like a tent)
wherever they are found

(33) wa yawma yunaadihim fayaquulu ?ayna §urakaa?iya 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 §ay?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 hayθu 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 faθamma waghū llaah (2/115)

To whatever place you turn, there is Allah's
countenance

b. ?ilaa ?ayyi makaanin tuwalluu faθamma waghū llaah

To whatever place you turn, there is Allah's countenance

(37) a. fa?ayna tadhabuun (81/26)

Then, where do you go?

b. fa?ilaa ?ayyi makaanin tadhabuun

Then, to what place do you go?

(38) a.sa?aq9udu haa hunaa . . . (cf.5/24)

I will sit here

b.sa?aq9udu fii haada lmakaan

I will sit at this place

The P-Ns, ?ila lmakaani llaadi 'to the place which' in (35)b., ?ilaa ?ayyi makaanin 'to whatever place' in (36)b., and ?ilaa ?ayyi makaanin 'to what place' in (37)b. function as DPO and are replaceable by the adverbial relative pronoun 'hay0u' the subordinator '?aynamaa', and the interrogative '?ayna' as in (35a. - 37a.), respectively.

It should be noted however that when hay0u 'where' replaces the phrase ?ila lmakaani llaadi '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 llaadi 'which', must be deleted. For unlike the relative clause of the nominal relative pronoun, e.g. ?alladii, ?allatii 'who', etc., that of the adverbial relative pronoun hay0u 'where' does not contain '9aa?id', i.e. a pronoun referring back to the relative pronoun, which is here hay0u '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 ?abu lwalad '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).

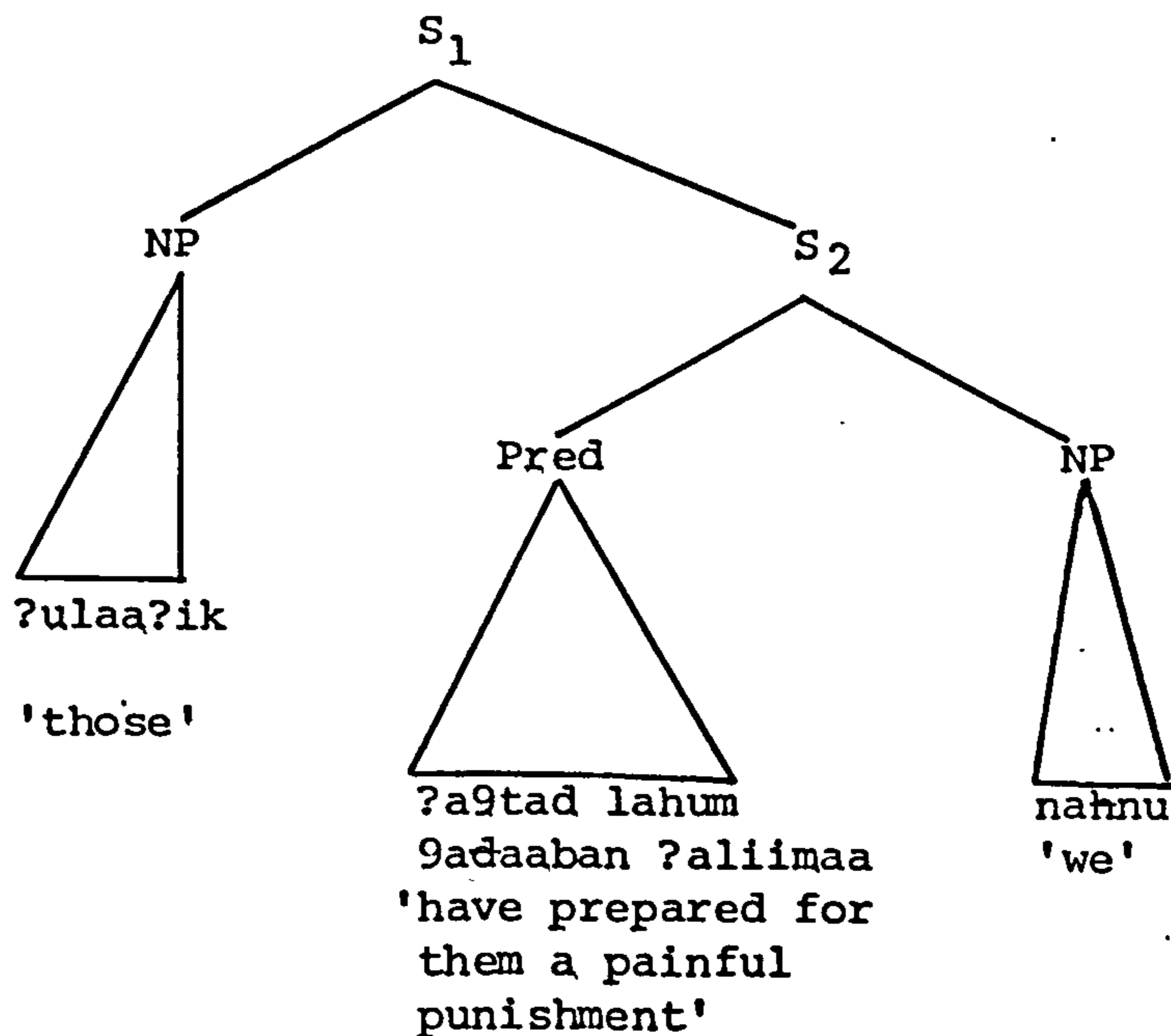
3. I followed Huddleston in specifying the structural change of (24) so as to show that term (4) 'is Chomsky-adjoined to the left of the whole sentence'' (Huddleston, p. 230) not sister-adjoined to the left of term 1. For he provides a satisfying argument, showing the advantage of the first specification 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):

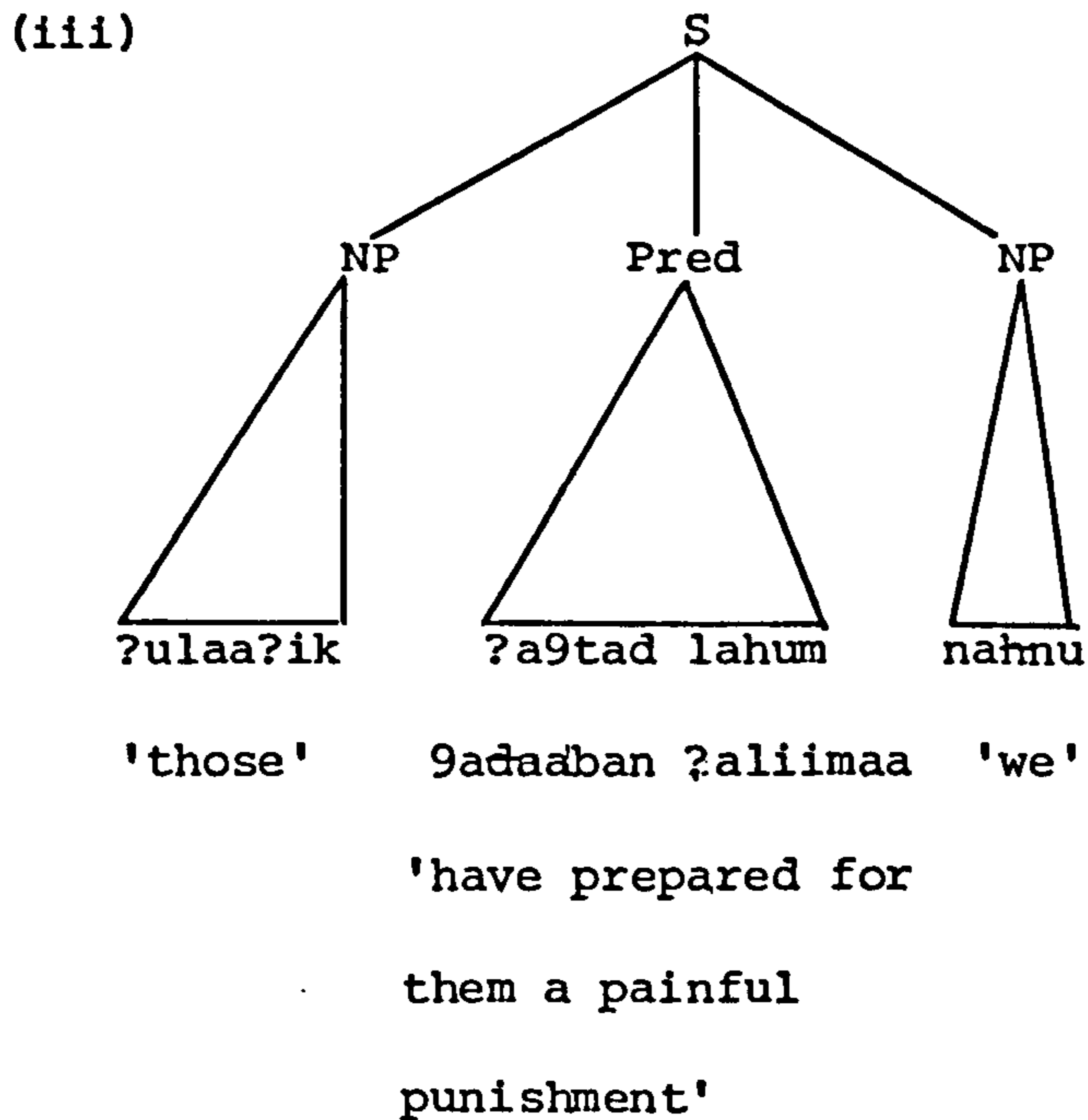
(i) ?ulaa?ika ?a9tadnaa lahum 9adaaban ?aliimaa (4/18)

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 lladi 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) $S \rightarrow \text{Pred NP}$

C H A P T E R T E N

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⁽¹⁾ 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 nagaaha 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: ?awaa ?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 'baḡaa 9alaa' class. The class represented by baḡaa 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 hadaḡali -N

What happened to -N?

(5) maadaafa9alaNP 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:

baḡaa 9alaa N 'to commit outrage upon N' (cf. 28/76), ?i9tadaa 9alaa N 'to attack N' (cf. 2/194), baTaḡa 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), ḡadda 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), ?iTtala9a 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), taṣaabaha 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: ṣahaaṭa bi N 'to compass the knowledge of N' (cf. 10/39), ṣiṭṭala9a 9alaa N 'to discover N' (cf. 5/13), 9alima bi N 'to know N' (cf. 36/26), tafaaqqaha 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: tasaaʔala 9aṇ N 'to ask one another concerning N' (cf. 74/40-1), ṣistama9a ṣilaa 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), ṣintaṣara 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: ṣasiya 9alaa N 'to sorrow for N', (cf. 7/93), hazina 9alaa N 'to sorrow for N' (cf. 3/153), sakana ṣilaa N 'to take rest in N' (cf. 7/189), Sabaa ṣilaa 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: takallama bi N 'to utter N' (cf. 24/16), naṭaaqa bi N 'to speak N' (cf. 23/62), ṣabbaha 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 fazi9a 'was afraid' in the V-P-N combination fazi9a 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) fazi9a 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), fazi9a 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: ?istab?ara 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 tawaaSa lqawmu bi SSalaah 'the people ordered one another to pray', and tasaa?ala⁽⁴⁾ 'asked' in tasaa?ala lqawmu 9an ?asbaabi faḡali 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.

(l) 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: zaḡa 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), ġalaa fii N 'to exaggerate in N' (cf. 4/171), ?aqsaTa fii N 'to act justly concerning N' (cf. 4/3), kađđaba 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 margi9ukum (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) lan targi9uu ?illaa ?ila llaah

It is to Allah that you will return

2. The 'baġaa 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, tabġ 'commit outrage' in (14), and the predicate is its PO, i.e. the P-N associating with it.

(13) (?innamaa) baġyukum 9alaa ?anfusiikum (10/23)

Your infringement is only upon yourself

(14) maa tabguuna ?illaa 9alaa ?anfusikum

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.

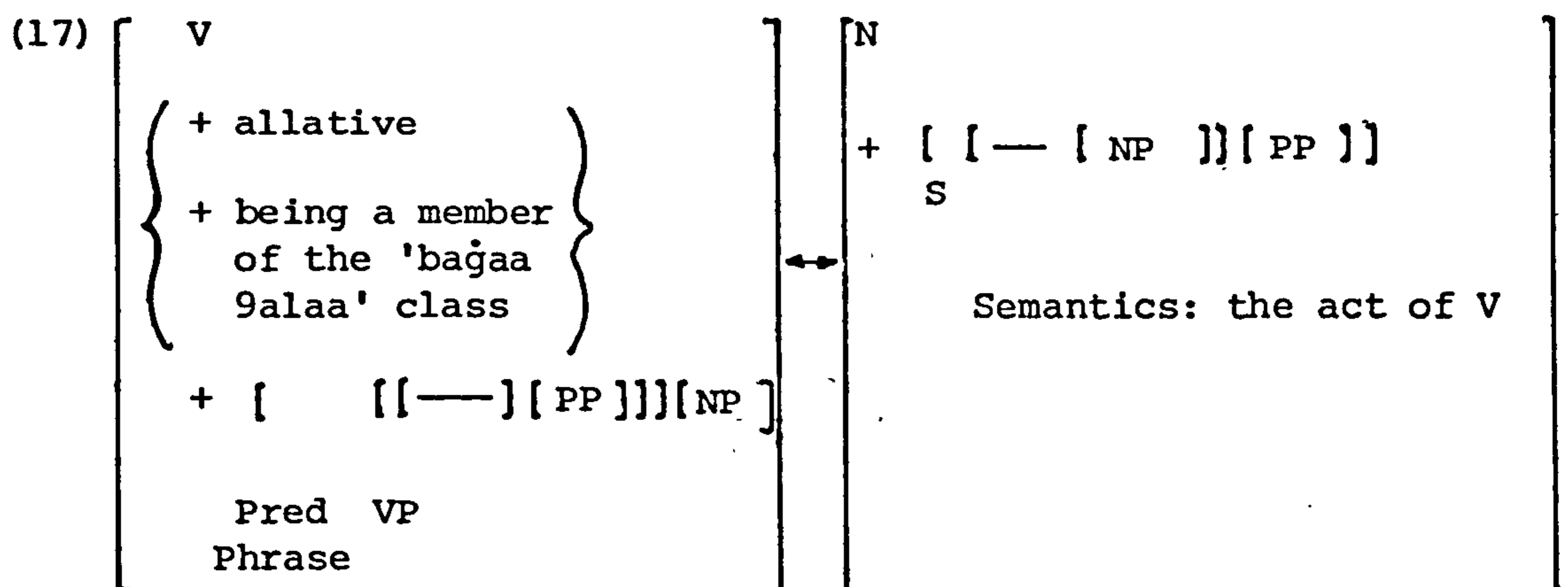
(15) (wa maa) tawfiiqii ?illaa billaah (11/88)

(And) making me successful is only by Allah

(16) maa yuwaffiqunii ?illa llaah

It is Allah Who can make me successful

A possible formulation of this rule is (17).



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 V₁

In the data the 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 adjuncts are declarative intensive clauses or intensive clauses having the signification of imperative extensive ones.

10.2.1 Declarative intensive clauses

Salaatii lillaahi rabbi l9aalamiin '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 V_1 s 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 l9aalamiin* (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 lquraa 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 V_1 *?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 l9aalamiin*

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 V_1 *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 lquraa*

In that manner, your Lord punishes communities

Like the correspondence between (13) and (14), that between the clauses '*Salaatii lillaahi rabbi l9aalamiin*' in (18) and (20) on the one

hand, and 'kaḏaalika ʔaxḏu rabbika' in (19) and (21) on the other hand is accounted for by lexical redundancy rules as follows, respectively.

$$(22) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ - \text{ stative} \\ + \text{ expressive of an action} \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\left[\text{---} \right] \right] \left[\text{NP}_2 \right] \\ \text{pred VP} \\ \text{phrase} \end{array} \right] + \text{agen} \\ \text{tive} \end{array} \right] \longleftrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ + \left[\left[\left[\text{---} \right] \left[\text{NP}_2 \right] \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{'for the bene-} \right] \left[\text{NP} \right] \\ \text{fit of'} \\ \text{Beneficent} \end{array} \right] \right] \\ \text{S} \quad \text{PP P} \\ \text{Semantics: the act of V} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(23) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ - \text{ stative} \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\left[\text{---} \right] \right] \left[\text{NP}_2 \right] \\ \text{pred VP} \\ \text{phrase} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \longleftrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ + \left[\left[\left[\text{---} \right] \left[\text{NP}_2 \right] \right] \left[\left[\text{+ manner} \right] \left[\text{NP} \right] \right] \right] \\ \text{S} \quad \text{PP P} \\ \text{Semantics: the act of V} \end{array} \right]$$

For the relevance of the features in the left hand side brackets of (22) and (23) to the co-occurrence restrictions related to Beneficent 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. kaḏaalika '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 V_1 s and the predicates being the P-Ns associating with these V_1 s and functioning as adjunct:

(24) ʔaTTalaagu marrataani fa?imsaakun bima9ruufin ʔaw
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 V_1 s yumsik 'retain' and yusarrih 'release' in (25), the predicates being the P-Ns bima9ruufin 'in fairness' and bi?ihsaan 'in kindness', which associate with them - the V_1 s -, respectively and function as Manner adjunct.

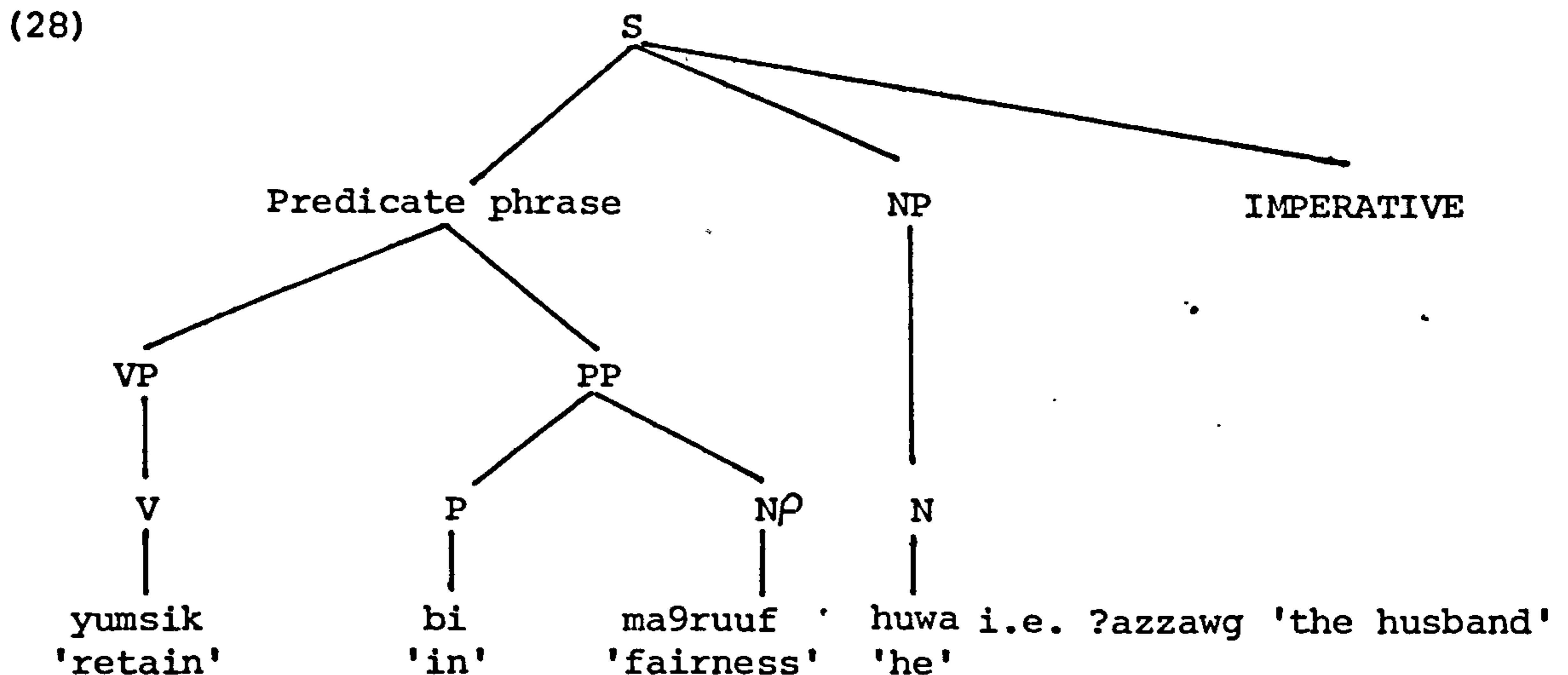
- (25) liyumsik bima9ruufin ?aw liyusarrih bi?ihsaan
 Let (the husband) either retain (the wife) in fairness or
 release (her) in kindness

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 lahum (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.



(29)

x	[[[[V]]	Y	[PP]]	[NP]	IMPERATIVE]
	S	Pred	VP				
		phrase					
1			2	3	4	5	6 ⇒
1			2	3	4	∅	∅

[VN, nunated, nomi-]
 .native
 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 taḥaaSaa 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 9alaa' class (cf. above classes (h) and (m), respectively). Consider sentences (i) (which is an imperative intensive clause) and (ii).

(i) wa [lyakun] ?asafuka 9alaa maa xallaft (?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 548)

And [let] your regret be only what you have left behind

(ii) wa ta9wiiluhum fi lmuhimmaati 9alaa ?aaraa?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?saf 9alaa maa xallaft

Regret what you have left behind

(iv) maa yu9awwiluuna fi lmuhimmaati ?illaa 9alaa ?aaraa?ihim

It is upon their opinions that they depend in important matters

6. Declarative intensive clauses such as (11) 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) mafza9uhum fi lmu9Dilaati ?ilaa ?anfusihihim (ibid., I, 151)

Their taking refuge in difficult circumstances is only to themselves

(iii) wa man maata fa ?ilayhi munqalabuh (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 ?illaa ?ilayk

It is to You that every soul will come

(v) maa yafza9uuna fi lmu9Dilaati ?illaa ?ilaa ?anfusihihim

It is to themselves that they resort in difficult circumstances

(vi) lan yanqaliba ?illaa ?ilayh

It is to Him that he will return

7. (i) and (ii) are other possible examples of a declarative intensive clause such as (13), and (iii - iv) are the clauses to which they are related, respectively.

(i) ?i9tidaa?unaa 9ala ZZaalimiin

It is oppressors that we attack

(ii) baTʒu 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) ?innamaayabTiʒu 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 \hookleftarrow the predicates - associate and function as adjuncts can function as 9alaa qadri kaḏaa '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 kaḏaa' adjunct.

(ii) ?innamaa yaSduqu rragulu 9alaa qadri muruu?atih

It is according to his sense of honour that a man speaks the truth

C H A P T E R E L E V E N

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 ?ism 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 ?ism 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) laqaḍ 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 V_1 , 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-/ V_1 . For more details, see below (11.1 and 11.2).

The signification of the aforementioned similarity between V-P and V_1 -P is that we cannot always rely upon V-P and V_1 -P undergoing the structural operation of divisibility to indicate the fact that, though P-N in V-P-N combinations and P-N in V_1 -P-N combinations are similar in that they represent constituents, they differ from each other as to their connection with V- and V_1 , respectively: while the former is in close construction with V-, the latter is in loose construction with V_1 .

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 yaziġ minhum 9an ?amrinaa nuđiqhu min 9adaabi ssa9iir (34/12)

And whoever of them deviated from Our command, We caused him to taste the punishment of flaming fire

- (6) wa man yartadid minkum 9an diinihi fayamut wahuwa kaafirun
fa?ulaa?ika habiTat ?a9maaluhum fi ddunyaa wa l?aaxirah (2/217)
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, yaziġ 'deviated' in (5) and yartadid 'turn back' in (6), from the P-Ns, 9an ?amrinaa 'from Our command' in (5) and 9an diinihi '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) kaċaalika haqqat kalimatu rabbika 9ala lladiina 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 lladiina 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:

- (a) (8) laqad raDiya llaahu 9ani lmu?miniina ?ið yubaayi9uunaka
tahta şşagarah (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 yakuunuu xayran minhum (49/11)
O you who believe! Let not a folk deride a folk who may
be better than them
- (10) kaððabat 0amuudu binnuður (54/23)
(The tribe of) 0amuud rejected the warners
- (11) ?in huwa ?illaa ðikrun wa qur?aanun mubiin liyundira man
kaana hayyan wa yahiqqa lqawlu 9ala lkaafiriin (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), binnuður 'the warners' in (10) and 9ala lkaafiriin 'against the disbelievers' in (11), are divided from the V-s, raDiya 'was pleased', yasxar 'deride', kaððabat 'rejected' and yahiqqa 'may be proved', by the subjects, llaahu 'Allah!', qawmun 'a folk', 0amuudu '0amuud' and lqawlu '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 ?ibraahim' occurs next to the V-, ðahaba 'departed' instead of being divided from it by the subject, rraw9u 'the fear'.

- (12) falammaaðahaba 9an ?ibraahiima rraw9u wa gaa?athu lbuşraa
yugaadilunaa fii qawmi luuT (11/74)

And when the fear departed from ?ibraahim 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 llađina ttubi9uu mina llađina 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 llađina ttaba9uu 'those who followed (them)', is divided from the V-, tabarra?a 'disown', by the subject, llađina ttubi9uu 'those who were followed'.

(d) (16) wa laqad na9lamu ?annaka yaDiiqu Sadruka bima 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, bima yaquuluun 'by what they say', is divided from the V-, yaDiiqu 'is oppressed', by the

subject, Sadruka 'your heart'.

- (e) (17) yawma tarawnahaa taḏhalu 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-, taḏhalu '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 ?aamanuuwa taTma?innu quluubuhum biḏikri 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, biḏikri 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 biḏuxaanin 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 co-ordinating 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* 'bakr'.

- (d) (24) *?alam ya?ni lilladiina ?aamanuu ?an tax\$a9a quluubuhum*
liðikri 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 ?albayaaniyyah* 'the explanatory min'. The P-N, *liðikri llaahi wa maa nazala mina lhaqq* 'to Allah's remembrance and to the truth which is revealed', is divided from the V-, *tax\$a9a* '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.

(25) laqad taaba llaahu 9ala nnabiyyi wa lmuhaagiriina wa l?anSaari
llaadiina ttaba9uuhu fii saa9ati l9usrati min ba9di maa kaada
yaziigu quluubu fariiqin minhun (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

Here, the subject, llaahu 'Allah', is a proper noun, and -N, nnabiyyi wa
lmuhaagiriina wa l?anSaari llaadiina ttaba9uuhu fii saa9ati l9usrati min ba9di
maa kaada yaziigu quluubu fariiqin minhun 'the prophet and ?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 llaadiina
ttaba9uuhu fi saa9ati l9usrati min ba9di maa kaada yaziigu quluubu fariiqin
minhun '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 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 lla?iina ?aataynaahumu lkitaaba wa lhukma wa
nubuwata 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 yu?aaqiqi rrasuula min ba9di maa tabayyana lahu lhudaa
wa yattabi9 gayra sabiili lmu?miniina nuwallihii maa tawallaa wa
nuSlihii gahannam (4/115)

Whoever opposes the messenger 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) and hu '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 ta?aabaha 'seemed alike', by the subjects llaahu 'Allah' and lخالق '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

- (30) ?am ga9aluu lillaahi §urakaa?a xalaquu kaxalqihii fata§aabaha
lخالقو 9alayhim quli llaahu xaaliqu kulli §ay? (13/16)

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 tarDaa 9anka lyahuudu wa la nnaSaaraa hattaatattabi9a
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-, tarDaa '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 §alabat 9alaynaa §iqwatunaa (23/106)

They will say: Our Lord! Our misfortune conquered us

- (34) wa kaadaba bihii qawmuka wa huwa lhaqq (6/66)

But your people have denied it, though it is the truth

Here, the -Ns, hii 'it' in (32), naa 'us' in (33) and hii 'it' in (34)
are pronouns, and the subjects quluubukum 'your hearts' in (32),

ḡiqwatunaa 'our misfortune' in (33) and qawmuka 'your people' in (34) are NPs the heads of which are annexed to pronouns. The P-Ns, bihi 'by it', 9alaynaa 'us' and bihi 'it' in (32 - 34) respectively, occupy the positions adjacent to the V-s, taTma?inna 'might be at rest', 9alabat 'conquered' and kaḡḡaba '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 llaahu ?illaa buḡraa 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 llaḡiina ḡaqqat 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-, ḡaqqat 'has been verified', and, therefore, it divides it from the subject.

(e) (37) wa ?iḡ yamkuru bika llaḡiina kafaruu liyuḡbituuk (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 llaḡiina 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.

- (f) (38) fasawfa ta9lamuuna man ya?tiihi 9aadaabun yuxziihi wa
yahillu 9alayhi 9aadaabun muqim (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 9aadaabun muqim
'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 litaSgaa ?ilayhi ?af?idatu llaadiina laa yu?minuuna
bil?aaxirah (6/113)

That the hearts of those who do not believe in the
Hereafter may incline to it

- (40) taq9a9irru minhu guluudu llaadiina yax9awna 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 llaadiina laa yu?minuuna bil?aaxirah 'the hearts
of those who do not believe in the Hereafter' in (39) and guluudu
llaadiina yax9awna 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 taSgaa 'may
incline' and taq9a9irru 'creeps'.

- (b) (41) qul 9asaa ?an yakuuna radifa lakum ba9Du llaadi
tasta9giluun (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 llađi
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 ġilmaanun lahum ka?annahum lu?lu?un
maknuun (52/24)

And there wait on themmensevants of their own, as if
they were hidden pearls

Here, the -N, him 'them', is a pronoun, and the subject, ġilmaanun lahum
ka?annahum lu?lu?un maknuun 'mensevants 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 tašbiḥ '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) famaā ?aġnaa 9anhum maa kaanuu yaksibuun (15/84)

And that which they used to do did not avail them

(44) yasta9gilu biha llađiina laa yu?minuuna bihaa (42/18)

Those who do not believe in it seek to hasten it

(45) wa haāqa bihim maa kaanuu bihi 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), llađiina 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, *?agna* 'avail', *yasta9gilu* 'seek to hasten' and *haaqa* 'surrounded'.

(e) (46) *fahaqqa 9alaynaa qawlu rabbinaa ?innaa ladaa?iquun* (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?iquun* '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 llaahalaa yaxfaa 9alayhi \$ay?un fi l?arDi wa laa .
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 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 miθqaalu 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, miθqaalu 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 fiihi
§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 fiihi §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 *lmuşrikiina* 'the idolaters' and *llađiina* 'they who' in (51 - 52), respectively.

(50) *?iqtaraba linnaasi hisaabuhum* (21/1)

Near to men comes their reckoning

(51) *kabura 9ala lmuşrikiina maa tad9uuhum ?ilayh* (42/13)

Hard for the idolaters is that to which you call them

(52) *wa laqadi stuhzi?a birusilin min qablika fahaaga billađiina 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 lmuşrikiina* 'for the idolaters' in (51) and *billađiina saxiruu minhum* 'they who derided them' in (52), occupy the positions adjacent to the V-ş *?iqtaraba* 'near comes', *kabura* 'hard is' and *ħaaqa* '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, ?an yataxallafuu 'to be absent', is light, the P-N, liman yu?minuuna bi9adaalati qaDiyyatinaa wa yahriSuuna 9alaa nagaahihaa 'for them who believe in the justice of our cause and strive for its success', is extremely heavy.

(53) laa yanbaġii liman yu?minuuna bi9adaalati qaDiyyatinaa wa yahriSuuna 9alaa nagaahihaa ?an yataxallafuu

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 "?an yataxallafuu", refers back to the -N, man, 'them who', and that the P-N occupies the position adjacent to the V- yanbaġii '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, fi lmasgidi 'in it' (lit. 'in the mosque'), occupies the position adjacent to the V_1 yuSallii 'pray'. For giiraanu 'neighbours', the head of the NP functioning as subject, is annexed to h 'the mosque' (lit. 'its'), which refers back to the -N, lmasgidi 'it' (lit. 'the mosque').

(54) yuSalli fi lmasgidi giiraanuh

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 ta9mal
Saalihan 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 Allaah 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:

1. 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 fastagfaru
llaaha wa stagfara 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 lmursaluun
(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 lmursaluun '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', stagfara '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, fiihaa 'in it' in (59) and bilbaaTil 'with falsehood'
in (60), are lighter than the subjects, maa Sana9uu 'what they did'
and llaadiina kafaruu 'the unbelievers', they are divided by them - the
subjects - from the V₁s, habiTa 'vain' in (59) and yugaadilu 'dispute'
in (60).

(59) ?ulaa?ika llaadiina laysa lahum fi l?aaxirati ?illa nnaaru
wa habiTa maa Sana9uu fiihaa (11/16)

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 llaadiina kafaruu bilbaaTil (18/56)

But the unbelievers dispute with falsehood

2. The second case in which P-N occupies the position adjacent to V_1 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 V_1 , tusabbihu 'do praise'.

- (b) (62) 0umma ya?tii min ba9di daalika 9aamun fiihi yu9aa0u 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 V_1 -, ya?tii 'will come', thereby dividing it from the subject, 9aamun fiihi yu9aa0u 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) yasgudu lillaahi man fi ssamaawaati wa man fi l?arDi wa
 §§amsu wa lqamaru wa nnuguumu wa lgibaalu wa §§agaru wa
 ddawaabbu wa kaθiirun 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 nnuguumu wa lgibaalu wa §§agaru wa ddawaabbu wa kaθiirun 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) θumma ya?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 V_1 , ya?tii 'will come'.

11.2.3 The divisibility of V_1 -P by the subject

V_1 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 V_1 xa#a9ati 'became quiet', is divided from the P-N, lirrahmaan 'for the Beneficent' by the subject.

(b) (66) fa?ulaa?ika llaadiina habiTat ?a9maaluhum fi ddunyaa wa l?aaxirah (2/217)

Those are they whose works will bear no fruit both in the World and the Hereafter

Here, the -N, ddunyaa wa l?aaxirah '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?aaxirah 'both in the World and the Hereafter', from the V_1 , habiTat 'will bear no fruit'.

2. If the subject has the same structural weight as P-N. This condition is satisfied in (67).

(67) fa?in kaana llaadi 9alayhi lhaqqu safiihan ?aw Da9iifan ?aw laa yastaTii9u ?an yumilla huwa falyumlil waliyyuhuu bil9adl (2/282)

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, l9adl 'fairness', is a definite common noun, and the subject, waliyyuhuu 'his guardian', is a NP the head of which is annexed to a pronoun. The V_1 yumlil '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 falyumlil waliyyuhuu bil9adl '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 V_1 , a nominal subject and an adjunct realized by P-N (cf. above (67)) is in loose construction with V_1 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 (V_1), 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 bimiθli ma 9tadaa 9alaykum (2/194)

And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you

- (70) wa ?in hakanta 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 bimiθli ma 9tadaa 9alaykum

And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you

- (72) *famani 9tadaa 9alaykum fa9tadaa bimiθli 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 ?asmaa? Zaahirah 'manifest nouns', are available. Examples are the underlined clauses in (73 - 74), and (75 - 77).

- (73) yaa ?ayyuha llađina ?aamanuu ?idaa tadaayantum biđaynin
 ?ilaa ?agalin musamman faktubuuhu 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) maθalu llađina kafaruu birabbihim ?a9maaluhum karamaadini
štaddat 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) θumma badaa lahum min ba9di maa ra?awu l?aayaati
 layasgununnahuu hattaahiin (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 lqawlu 9alayhim bimaā Zalamuu (27/85)

And the word will be fulfilled against them, because of their wrong-doing

- (77) fariha lmuḡallafuuna 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 štaddat '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, fariha '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 bima 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:

- (i) to be divided from the PO by the adjunct.

(ii) to be divided from the adjunct by the PO.

113.1 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 bifaakihatın kaθiiratin 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 faakihatın kaθiiratin 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, bifaakihatın kaθiiratin 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 dđikraa ma9a lqawmi ZZaalimiin (6/68)

Do not sit, after the remembrance, in the company of
wrong-doers

Here, dđikraa 'the remembrance', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as adjunct, is a definite common noun, and lqawmi 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 lqawmi ZZaalimiin 'in the company of wrong-doers', by the adjunct, ba9da dđikraa 'after the remembrance'.

(b) (80) wa ?aSlih lii fii dđurriyyatii (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, *?aSlih* '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 *l9umrati* '*?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 l?arDi llatii baaraknaa fiihaa lil9aalamiin (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 l9aalamiin '(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 lil9aalamiin '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 xaylik '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) ?allaadiina stagaabuu lillaahi wa rrasuuli min ba9di maa
 ?aSaabahumu lqarhu lillaadiina ?ahsanuu minhun wa ttaqaw
 ?agrun 9aziim (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, llaahi 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, lillaahi 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 ba9di maa ?aSaabahumu lqarhu, 'after the harm befell them'.

- (b) (87) famani 9tadaa 9alaykum fa9taduu 9alayhi bimi0li ma 9tadaa
 9alaykum (2/194)

And whoever attacks you, attack him in like manner as he
 attacked you

Here, hi 'him', which is the nominal element of the PP functioning as PO, is a pronoun
 and mi0li 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,
 bimi0li ma 9tadaa 9alaykum 'in like manner as he attacked you'.

- (c) (88) yatawaraa mina lqawmi min suu?i maa bu??ira 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 buŕŕira 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, *yatawaraa* 'hides himself', and, consequently, divides it from the adjunct, *min suu?i maa buŕŕira 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:

- (89) *yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?uutu lkitaaba ?aaminuu bima nazzalnaa muSaddiqan limaa ma9akummin qabli. ?an naTmisa wuguuhan fanaruddahaa 9alaa ?adbaarihaa ?aw nal9anahum kamaa la9annaa ?aShaaba ssabt (4/47)*

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 muSaddiqan 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 nal9anahum kamaa la9annaa ?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 co-ordinating 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, bima 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 wuguuhan fanaruddahaa 9alaa ?adbaarihaa ?aw nal9anahum 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⁽¹⁾ Poutsma, Jespersen, 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 V_1 -/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, 11, 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 Jespersion

On the basis that they form 'one notion' 'one semantic unit', Jespersen (cf. Jespersen, 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'.

Jespersion'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 Jespersen'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 Jespersen, 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).

(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.

(8) *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 Jespersen'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 synonymy 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. kaṣafa 9an 'bared' in (10), and yaZfaru 9alaa 'defeat' in (11).

(10) kaṣafati lfataatu 9an saaqayhaa (cf. 27/44)

The girl bared her legs

- (11) sawfa yaZfaru xaalidun 9alaa 9aliyyin(2)
 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) dà9aa bi (cf. 38/51) = Talaba 'call for'
 (iii) ?istahwada 9alaa (cf. 58/19) = malaka 'possess'
 (iv) ?awfaa bi (cf. 76/7) = ?angaza 'perform'
 (v) 9aθara 9alaa (cf. 5/107) = 9arafa 'know'
 (vi) gahada bi (cf. 11/59) = ?ankara 'deny'
 (vii) kaɗɗaba 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) laa taxfaa 9ala llaahi ɗunuubunaa (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 V_1 -P-N combinations, whose V_1 -P elements are almost always irreplaceable by one-word verbs⁽³⁾. 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 'ʔillaa' as in (15).

(15) lan yaZfara xaalidun bisuhuulatin ʔillaa 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 ʔistawlaa 9alaa 'possess' which is

replaceable by *malaka* 'possess', and *raġiba fii* 'like', which is replaceable by *?ahabba* 'like': the verbal element of the first combination is commutable with *?istahwaċa* 'possess', and the prepositional element of the second is commutable with '9an'. (Note that the V-P 'raġiba 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 9alaa* '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 lmu?minuuna 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 lladiina 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).

(21) qaama 9aliyyun biwaagibih
 9aliyy performed his duty

(22) ?addaa 9aliyyun waagibah
 9aliyy performed his duty

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 ?adbaarihim '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 waghiih 'fell back' in (25), which is replaceable by ?irtadda 'fell back'.

(23) yartaddu lgubanaa?u 9alaa ?adbaarihim

(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 9alaa 9aqibayh 'on his heels' cannot become focal when it occurs initially. Thus of the two translations of (26) only (a) is correct.

(26) 9alaa 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 naakaSa lgundiyyu 9alayhi 9aqibaah
It was his heels that the soldier turned on

(28) *9alaa ?ayyi 9aqibayni nakaSa lgundiyy
On what heels did the soldier turn?

(29) *9aqibaahu nakaSa lgundiyyu 9alayhima
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 ?anzala ssakiinata 9alaa 'sent down tranquility on' in (31), which is replaceable by ?askana 'tranquilize', qaḍafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into' in (32), which is replaceable by ?ar9aba 'terrified', and ?alqay(tu) mahabbatan minni 9alay '(I) cast love from me over' in (33), which is replaceable by ?ahbab(tu) '(I) loved'.

(31) ?anzala llaahu ssakiinata 9ala lmu?miniin (cf. 48/18)
Allah sent down tranquility on the believers

(32) qaḍafa llaahu rru9ba fii quluubi lkaafiriin (cf. 59/2)
Allah cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers

(33) ?alqaytu 9alayka mahabbatan minni (20/39)

I cast love over you from me

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 ?anzalaha llaahu 9ala lmu?miniin

Tranquility, Allah sent it down on the believers

b ?almu?minuuna ?anzala llaahu ssakiinata 9alayhim

The believers, Allah sent down tranquility on them

(35)a maa ?anzalahu llaahu 9ala lmu?miniina ssakiinah

What Allah sent down on the believers was tranquility.

b man ?anzala llaahu 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 llaadi ?anzalahu llaahu 9ala lmu?miniin

What did Allah send down on the believers?

(37) 9alaa man ?anzala llaahu 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 9ala lmu?miniin

It was tranquility that Allah sent down on the believers

(39) 9ala lmu?miniina ?anzala llaahu ssakiinah

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 qaḍafa rru9ba fii 'cast terror into'.

(40) ?ar9aba llaahu quluuba lkaafiriin

Allah terrified the hearts of the unbelievers

The synonymy between sentences such as (32) and (40) is accounted for on the level of semantics. Semantically the combination qaḍafa 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, llaahu '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 lbahr

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 lbahr '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

1. For other views, see Long, p. 133, Chomsky, 1965: 190, Live, p. 428, Bolinger, 1971: 6, Berkoff, pp. 40-1 and Lentzner, p. 158.

2. For the use of the causative form of Zafara 9alaa 'defeat' i.e. ?aZfara (fulaan) 9alaa 'cause (so and so) to defeat', see 48/24 .

3. I know only of one example of a V_1 -P combination that is replaceable by a single transitive verb, this is maṣaa ma9a 'walked with' in the comitative V_1 -P-N combination maṣaa ma9a ?ahmad 'walked with ?ahmad' in (i): it is replaceable by raafaqa 'accompanied', as in (ii).

(i) maṣaa 9aliyyun ma9a ?ahmad
9aliyy walked with ?ahmad

(ii) raafaqa 9aliyyun ?ahmad
9aliyy accompanied ?ahmad

C H A P T E R T H I R T E E N

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 V_1 s and the Ps of the V_1 -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 V_1 -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) maṣay(tu) ?ilaa quTrin ?aaxar

(I) started for another country

(4) (sa)yaḥhabu (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.

13.2 Berkoff

Berkoff refers to neither of the two commutability criteria. He nevertheless relies on a criterion corresponding to the commutability of P- with other Ps 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⁽¹⁾. '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 [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
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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)⁽²⁾ 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 formulizes as follows:

'V. 1. V-P-N \neq 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 \neq 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), corresponds 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

Sb-Vtr- & -V-P-N' (ibid., p.56)

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 PV. 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 'V. 3', 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) baġat ?ihda TTaa?ifatayni 9ala l?uxraa (cf. 49/9)

One of the two parties oppressed the other

(26) kabura 9alayka ?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. baġat ?ihda TTaa?ifatayni 9ala l?uxraa
 One of the two parties oppressed the other
- b. baġat ?ihda TTaa?ifatayni 9ala l?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:

baġat '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 *ṣaqqa* '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) baḡat 'oppressed' in (34)b, ?i9tadat 'attacked' haamat 'attacked' and tasallaṭat '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, *ṣaqqa* '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,
p. 191)

(ibid., 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

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

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'.

(46) [— + agentive, + objective]

(47) [— + phenomenon, + experiencer]

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,
p. 37)

(ibid., p. 157)

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 ?aSġay '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 Pvs, 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 biqalamin gadiid⁽⁴⁾

I write with a new pen

(54) sayaxrugu maahirun 9alaa ?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 zawgihaa⁽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]'.¹
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 *9alaa* 'on condition (that)'.²
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.

C H A P T E R F O U R T E E N

CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN VERBS AND PREPOSITIONALLY
REALIZED ADJUNCTS: AN INTRODUCTION

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(= 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/ V_1 -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-/ V_1 (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 V_1 -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 V_1 -P-N combinations) in Chapters Fifteen, Sixteen, Seventeen and Eighteen, and in 19.2.3). Since, however, the restrictions related to V_1 -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 lkitaaba 9ala l?arD 'placed the book on the floor' in (3) and waDa9a lkitaaba fi d?durg '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 lkitaabu fi nnahr/9ala l?arD
The book fell into the river/to the floor

(3) waDa9a 9aliyyuni lkitaaba 9ala l?arD
9aliyy placed the book on the floor

(4) waDa9a 9aliyyuni lkitaaba fi d?durg
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 lli '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 lli ?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 9aduwuh

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 tatrakah

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 *hadaθa* 'happened' is just a form deriving from *hadaθ* 'to happen'.

(10) *maa hadaθa* _____

 What happened was _____

3. They occur either (a) in answer to questions of type (11) and (12) (where fa9alā 'did' and hədaθ 'happened' are forms deriving from fa9al 'do' and hədaθ 'to happen' respectively) or (b) in answer to question of type (12) only. (Concerning (11), see Lyons, 1968: 325; Halliday, III, 198; Daneš, p. 57).

(11) maadaa fa9ala X

What did X do?

(12) maadaa hədaθ

What happened?

4. When they replace ?almuDaari9 form⁽¹⁾ in the combination kaana yaf9al 'was doing/used to do' (or the like), they may⁽²⁾ 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 ?almuDaari9 form in the structure kaana yaf9al 'was doing/used to do' (or the like), non-Static 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 ?almuDaari9 form in kaana yaf9al (or the like), e.g. taħagg 'dispute with one another' (cf. 40/47), baddala (šay?aa) 'change (something)' (cf. 50/29), ?iSTarax 'cry' (cf. 35/37), kallama(h) 'speak to (him)' (cf. 7/143), 9addaba(h) 'chastise (him)' (cf. 3/56), ?istanSara(h) 'ask (him) for assistance' (cf. 28/18), daxala (lmadiinah) 'enter (the city)' (cf. 28/15), 9araDa (9alayhi kaɗaa) 'show (him something)' (cf. 38/31), sabbaha (lillaah) 'glorify (Allah)' (cf. 59/1), qara?a

(kadaa 9alayh) 'recite (something to him)' (cf. 17/106), ?ixtaara(hum) 'choose (them)' (cf. 44/32), naSaħa (lahum) 'give (them) good advice' (cf. 7/79), ġaaSa (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 qaTi9ahumaa) 'water (for them their folk)' (cf. 28/24), ?akθara (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), ġaDDa (baSarah) 'lower (his gaze)' (cf. 24/31), ga9ala(haa) ħaSiidaa '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), ?anṣa?aa (lakumu 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), ?aSliħ (lii fii ċurriyyatii) 'be gracious (to me in the matter of my seed)' (cf. 46/15), ċakara (lqitaala fii tilka ssuurah) 'mention (war in this suurah)' (cf. 47/20), and ?anbata (hadaa?iqa ċaata bahġah) '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 ttaDarru9u lirabbih

What 9aliyy did was humble himself to his Lord

(15) maa hadaθa taDarru9u 9aliyyin 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 hadaθ - taDarra9a 9aliyyun lirabbih

What happened? - 9aliyy humbled himself to his Lord

(18) 9indamaa daxaltu higratahuu kaan yataDarra9u lirabbih

When I entered his room, he was humbling himself to his Lord

(b) The second category of non-Static 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) (gaDabun min rabbihim wa dillah) (terror from their Lord and humiliation) came (upon them)' (cf. 7/152), ?ištaddati (rrihu 9ala rramaad) '(the wind) blew hard (upon the ashes)' (cf. 14/18), saqaTa (fi lbi?r) 'fell (into the well)' (cf. 9/49), ?ihtaraqati (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 ?ihtaraqati '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 yaf9al' as it does in (22).

(19) ?ihtaraqati ddaar

The house burnt

(20) maa hadaθa htiraaqu ddaar

What happened was that the house burnt

(21) maadaa hadaθ - ?ihtaraqati ddaar

What happened? - The house burnt

(22) kaanati ddaaru tahtariq

The house was burning

(c) The third category of non-Static 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 '?almuDaari9' 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 ?aθθimaaru'tatadallaa mina ββagarah 'the fruits hang from the tree', they will be static 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', ?iŕtalqaa (9alaa qafaah) 'lie down (on one's back)', qaama (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 '?almuDaari9' form in the combination 'kaana yaf9il' as indicated by (28).

- (23) waqafa rragulu bayna ?abnaa?ih
The man stood still between his sons
- (24) maa fa9ala rragulu lwuquufu bayna ?abnaa?ih
What the man did was stand still between his sons
- (25) maa hadaθa wuquufu rraguli bayna ?abnaa?ih
What happened was that the man stood still between his sons
- (26) maadaa fa9ala rragul - waqafa bayna ?abnaa?ih
What did the man do? - He stood still between his sons
- (27) maadaa hadaθ - waqafa rragulu bayna ?abnaa?ih
What happened? - The man stood still between his sons
- (28) kaana rragulu yaqifu bayna ?abnaa?ih
The man was standing between his sons

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-Static 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, Daneš^V 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. (Daneš^V, 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:

yaḥzan(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 (?aḡyaa?a kaḡiirah) '(I) possess (many things)' (cf. 17/100), yuriidu (?an yaf9ala ḡay?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 ḡaalik) '(he) has patience (about that)' (cf. 18/68), taḡaabaha (9alayhim) 'be alike (to them)' (cf. 2/70), ya9lamu (maa nagrahu binnahaar) '(He) knows (that which we commit by day)' (cf. 6/60), yakfuru (billaah) '(he) disbelieves (in Allah)' (cf. 3/106), yu?minu (billaah) '(he) believes (in Allah)' (cf. 2/285), yastakiinu (lirabbih) '(he) is humble (to his Lord)' (cf. 23/76), yastaTii9u (l?ibSaar) '(he) is able (to see)' (cf. 11/20), yaḡtamilu (9alaa ḡay?) '(it) contains (something)' (cf. 6/143), yaqdiru (9alaa Sun9i ḡaalik) '(he) is able (to do that)' (cf. 48/21),

raDiya (bikaḍaa) '(he) was pleased (with so and so)' (cf. 33/51)
 yahillu (lahuu ?an) '(it) is lawful (for him to)' (cf. 2/230,
 and yaǧfulu (9an ?aṣyaa?a kaθiirah) '(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 l?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) maadaa fa9ala xaalid

What did xaalid do?

(31) ?istaḥaqqaa ?an yakuuna waziiraa

He deserved to be a minister

3. When they replace ?almuDaari9 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) hiina qaabaltuhuu kaana yaqdiru 9ala l?ibSaar

When I met him he was able to see

(33) hiina 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 yahduθ _____
 What happens is _____

(35) *maa yahduθu 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⁽³⁾, 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 hadaθa 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 yahduθ
 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-hadaθa 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-Static 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. taħmarraani '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 taħmarraani 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-static Verbs of position, which represent the third class of non-Static verbs (cf. above p. 314) do not express progressivity but rather a habitual, or an unchanging situation, e.g.yaglisu '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'.

C H A P T E R F I F T E E N

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).

(ii) 'those denoting duration from some preceding point of time' (loc. cit.), e.g. 'since he was a child' in (6).

(5) I am staying for about a month (loc. cit.)

(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 Ramject 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⁽¹⁾. Examples of (i) are lahZata lǧuruub⁽²⁾ 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 ššamsi 'before the rising of the sun' in (33).

(30) kaanati lʔamTaaru tatasaaqaTu lahZata.lǧuruub

The rain was falling down at sunset

(31) waSala xaalidun ʔilaa baytihii fi lwaahidah

xaalid arrived to his house at one o'clock

(32) ʔumma 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

Tuluu9i ššamsi wa qabla lǧuruub (50/39)

Therefore (O muhammad) 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', ʔaqaama 'make stand up', xaraga 'go out', ʔaxraga 'make go out', raga9 'return', ʔarga9a 'make return',

?abraḡ/baraq 'emit bolts of lightning', saḡal 'cough', naqqara (ḡalaa) 'rap (on)', hazza (ra?saḡ) 'nod (one's head)', etc.

Instantive time adjuncts associating with such verbs are fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (34) and fi lḡuruub 'at sunset' in (35).

(34) saḡala fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

He coughed at one o'clock p.m.

(35) Darabtu ḡalaa baabi baytika fi lḡaruub

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), tabalwara(tu) 'crystalized' in (37), and tafahḡam(tu) '(I) have come to understand' in (38).

(36) gaawara muḡammadun ḡaliyyaa

muḡammad became the neighbour of ḡaliyy

(37) ṡabalwarati lfikrah

The idea crystalized

(38) tafahḡamtu 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 paraphraseable 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. ta9arraaf 'try to know'/'uncover', ta9adda9a (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) ?i9tada9tu 9alayhim ba9da daalik
 I became hard/harsh towards them after that

(41) tafahhamtu lmas?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), 9aaddab '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 [+ 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 ?almuDaari9 form (cf. above p. 321 fn 1), e.g. yaftaddu 'shows himself harsh' in (42), yanhaazu 'takes sides' in (43), and ?atafahhamu '(I) try to understand' in (44).

(42) yaftaddu haada lmu9allimu 9alaa talaamiidih

This teacher shows himself harsh to his pupils

(43) yanhaazu 9aliyyun ?ilaynaa

9aliyy takes sides in favour of us

(44) ?atafahhamu ma9aakila nnaas

I try to understand people's problems

However, when Instantive time adjuncts co-occur with verbs such as yaftaddu 'shows himself harsh' in (42), yanhaazu 'takes sides' in (43) and ?atafahhamu '(I) 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 '(I) try to understand' expresses the starting-point of the action it denotes.

- (45) yaṣṭaddu haada lmuḡallimu ḡalaa talaamiidihii
lahZata ?an yaraa tahaawunan minhum

This teacher becomes harsh towards his pupils the
moment he sees negligence on their part

- (46) yanḡaazu ?ilaynaa fi llaḡZati llatii yaṣṡuru fiihaa
biDDaḡf

He sides/becomes sided with us the moment he feels
weakness

- (47) ?atafahhamu maṣaakila nnaasi fi ttaasiḡati 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 yaṣṭaddu 'becomes harsh' in (45) and yanḡaazu '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 (47) 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 yaṣṭaddu 'becomes harsh' in (45) and yanḡaazu '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 ?almaaDii form: (kaanat) tatabalwaru (qaliilan qaliilaa) '(was) getting crystalized (gradually), (kaana lmawqifu) yata?azzamu (yawman ba9da yawm) '(the situation was) getting critical (day after day)', (kaana qalbuhuu) yatahaggaru (qaliilan qaliilaa) '(his heart was) getting petrified (gradually)', (kaana lmaa?u) yataḡayyaru (daqiiqatan ba9da daqiiqah) '(the water was) getting changed (minute after minute)', (kaanati rriihu) taḡtaddu (qaliilan qaliilaa) '(the wind was) getting strong (gradually)', and (kaanati lfikratu) tattaDiḡu (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 llaḡZati llatii daxalta fiihaa 'the moment you came in' in (49), laḡZata ?an ra?a bnaḡuu mayyitaa 'the moment he saw his son dead' in (50), min ba9di daalik 'after that' in (51), and qablahum 'before them' in (52).

(48) tabalwarati lxiTTatu fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

The plan crystalized at one o'clock p.m.

(49) ?ittaDaḡati lfikratu fi llaḡZati llatii daxalta fiihaa

The idea became clear the moment you came in

- (50) tahaggara qalbuuu lahZata ?an ra?a bnahuu mayyitaa
His heart petrified the moment he saw his son dead
- (51) Өumma qasat quluubukum min ba9di Өaalik (2/74)
Then, (even) after that your hearts became hardened
- (52) wa laqad Dalla qablahum ?akӨaru l?awwaliin (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 9aӨaabun Өadiid) '(a severe punishment) came upon (them)', tahaddama/?inhadama (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 (l?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 $\boxed{+ \text{ ingressive in ?almaaDii}}$ 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', taӨaabah 'be alike', 9alim 'know', yaqdir/?istaTaa9 'be able', hall 'be lawful', ?abjaD 'detest', raÖib 'wish', ?ihraag '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 haadaa 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 l?amTaaru tasquTu bi9azaarah

The rain was falling down heavily

(59) kaana lmaa?u yatadaffaqu mina l9ayni 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 l?ahwaalu liqtiSaadiyyatu tasuu?u qaliilan

qaliilaa

And the economic circumstances were getting worse gradually

(61) wa kaanat Sihhatuhuu 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⁽⁴⁾, 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 xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatii fi lwaahidati
Sabaahaa

I was writing a letter to my mother at one o'clock a.m.

(63) kaanati l?amTaaru tasquTu biġazaaratin qabla lġuruub

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. bada?a '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', fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.', fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa 'at one o'clock a.m.', qabla lguruub 'before the setting of the sun/sunset', fi 00aaniiyati Sabaahaa 'at two o'clock a.m.'. and lahzata ?an 9udtu '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 limtihaamufi 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 lguruub

He will finish the speech before the setting of the sun/sunset

(69) sanaSilu ?ila lmadiinati fi 00aaniiyati 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: balaḡ 'arrive at', lamaḥr 'glance at', ?awSal/?ablaḡ 'make arrive at', faqaḍ '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 ?almuDaari9 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 00aaminati Sabaahaa

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⁽⁶⁾: 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.

(75) kam ta?azzama lmawqif

For how long did the situation get critical?

(76) *kam (mina lwaqti) lamahtah

For how long did you glance at him?

15.1.5 Association with durative non-statives

The fifth type of verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts can associate has to do with 'Durative non-stative verbs'. We have already mentioned a case where Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur with such verbs. This is the case where Durative non-stative 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-stative 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 llaahZati llaatii tarakathu fiihaa ?ummuh 'the moment his mother left him' in (78), and qabla lguruub 'before sunset' in (79).

(77) bada?tu ?uhaddi?uhuu biqiSSati l?amsi fi lwaahidati
masaa?aa

I started talking to him of yesterday's story at one
o'clock p.m.

(78) bada?a xaalidun yu9allimu TTifla ssibaahata fi llaahZati
llatii tarakathu fiihaa ?ummuh
xaalid started teaching the child swimming the moment
his mother left him

(79) bada?at Sihmatu TTifli tatahassanu qabla lguruub

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 *stahammāt* 'have taken a bath' in (80), *ʔixtaara* 'chose' in (81), *ʔakala* 'ate' in (82), *kataba* 'wrote' in (83), *ḍaakara* 'studied' in (84), *ʔa9adda* 'prepared' in (85), *ḡanna* 'sang' in (86), *naZZafa* 'cleaned' in (87), and *wazza9a* 'distributed' in (88).

(80) *9indamaa ta9uudu satakuunu qadi stahammāt*

By the time you return she will have taken a bath

(81) *ʔixtaara 9aliyyun maa yuriid*

9aliyy chose what he wants

(82) *ʔakla 9aliyyun Ta9aama lḡadaa?*

9aliyy ate the dinner

(83) *kataba 9aliyyuni lxiTaab*

9aliyy wrote the letter

(84) *ḍaakara 9aliyyun darsa lqawaa9id*

9aliyy studied the grammar lesson

(85) *ʔa9adda xaalidun maa nuriid*

xaalid prepared what we want

(86) *ḡanna xaalidun ʔuḡniyah*

xaalid sang a song

(87) *naZZafat huda lḡugrah*

huda cleaned the room

(88) *wazza9a 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 lgayŕu l9aduwwa fi muntaSafi llayl

The army will fight the enemy at midnight

(92) rakaDa 9aliyy

9aliyy ran

(93) daarati llu9batu saa9ah

The roundabout (lit. 'toy') rotated an hour

Before explaining the collocability of Instantive time adjuncts with Durative non-stative verbs 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) $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aribuu $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aayan niSfa saa9ah
They drank tea for half an hour
- (96) sa?aqra?u haađihi l?aayata saa9atayn
I will read this verse for two hours
- (97) ġanna haadihi l?uđniyata 0alaa0a saa9aat
He sang this song three hours
- (98) *?akala Ta9aama lġadaa?i saa9ah
He ate the dinner for an hour
- (99) *?aġraq dđubba 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 0alaa0a saa9aat 'three hours' on the other, associate with verbs expressing an atelic situation, i.e. with garaa 'ran' and $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ arib 'drank', and with verbs denoting an iterative telic situation, i.e. with ?aqra?u 'read', and ġanna '(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 ?akala '(he) ate' and ?aġraq '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 ya?kulu Ta9aama lḡadaa?
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) ḡaakara muḡammad
muḡammad studied

(103) ḡaakara muḡammadun darsa lḡawaa9id
muḡammad studied the grammar lesson

(104) yaḡra?u lmuḡlimu lḡur?aan
The Muslim reads the Koran

(105) ḡara?a lmuḡlimu lḡur?aan
The Muslim read the Koran

(106) sayaZallu yuḡanni l?uḡniyah
He will continue to sing the song

(107) ḡanna l?uḡniyah
He sang the song

(108) ḡannaa ?uḡniyah
He sang a song

(109) §aribuu §§aay

They drank the tea

(110) §aribuu §aayaa

They drank tea

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), *ḡanna* 'sang' in (107), *ḡannaa* '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), *yuganni* '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, *yuganni* '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 paraphraseable 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 paraphraseable by *?aSbahati lfikratu mutabalwirah* 'the idea has become crystalized', *daakara muhammadun* 'muhammad studied' in (103) is not paraphraseable by *Saara muhammadun mudaakiraa* '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 lfikratu saa9ah

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 00aaniyati masaa?aa 'at two o'clock p.m.', and qabla l9uruub 'before sunset'.

(114) sayudaakiru 9aliyyun darsa lqawaa9idi fi lwaahidati
masaa?aa

9aliyy will study the grammar lesson at one o'clock p.m.

(115) sayu9iddu xaalidun maa nuriidu fi 00aaniyati masaa?aa

xaalid will prepare what we want at two o'clock p.m.

(116) satunaZZifu huda lhuqrata qabla lguruub
huda will clean the room before sunset

(b) when they occur in ?almaaDii form (cf. above p.322 fn. 3)
e.g. ?ittaxada '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) ?ittaxada 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 lxiTaaba' 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 yarkuDu 'run' in (121), with
which the following Instantive time adjuncts associate, respectively:
fii muntaSafi llayl 'at midnight', and fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one
o'clock p.m.'

(120) sayuqaatilu lgayŕu l9aduwwa fii muntaSafi llayl
The army will fight the enemy at midnight

(121) sayarkuD_u 9aliyyun fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

9aliyy will run at one o'clock p.m.

(b) when they occur in ?almuDaari9 form (cf. above p. 321, fn.1), e.g. yarkuD_u 'runs' in (122), yuḡannii 'sings' in (123), and tudaakiru 'studies' in (124).

(122) yarkuD_u 9aliyyun fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

9aliyy runs at one o'clock p.m.

(123) yuḡannii xaalidun ?uḡniyatah_u fi 00aaniyati masaa?aa

xaalid sings his song at two o'clock p.m.

(124) tudaakiru huda_a ba9da 19aḡaa?

huda_a 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 yuḡannii 'sings' denotes xaalid's ongoing tendency to sing, and if it is replaced by ḡanna_a 'sang', as in (125), the situation will be rendered telic.

(125) ḡanna_a xaalidun ?uḡniyatah_u fi 00aaniyati masaa?aa

xaalid sang his song at two o'clock p.m.

(c) when they (i.e. Durative non-stative verbs that express an atelic situation) occur in ?almaadii form (cf. above p.322 fn. 3) e.g. qaatala 'fought' in (126), rakaDa 'ran' in (127), and ḡanna_a 'sang' in (128), with which the following Instantive time adjuncts associate, respectively: fii muntaSafi llayl 'at midnight', fi lwaahidati

Sabaahaa 'at one o'clock a.m.', and fi 00aaniiyati masaa?aa 'at two o'clock p.m.'

(126) qaatala lgayŕu l9aduwwa fii muntaSafi llayl

The army fought the enemy at midnight

(127) rakaDa 9aliyyun fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa

9aliyy ran at one o'clock a.m.

(128) 9annaaxaalidun fi 00aaniiyati 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 ?almuDaari9 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 instantive 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 muşkilataka fi lmasaa?
 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.

tafahhama '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 hadaθ

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', taṣaabah '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 ?abiih fi lwaahidati masaa?aa
9aliyy becomes in need of his father at one o'clock p.m.

(134) tataṣaabahu l?umuuru 9alaa xaalid in lahZata ?an yaḡDab
Things become alike to xaalid the moment he becomes angry

(135) ya9lamu 9aliyyun maa yufrihuhuu fi 00aaniyati masaa?aa
9aliyy knows what pleases him at two o'clock p.m.

(136) yanquṢu waznu hudaa fi lwaahidati Sabaahan laakin
yaziidu fi 00aaniyati 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 muxiifatan fi 00aaniyati
Sabaahaa
hudaa hears frightful screams at two o'clock a.m.

(138) yaraa xaalidun ?aṣbaahan 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
 lxaʒabi llatii tusaawiihaa haqman fi llaħZati llatii
 ta9uudu fiihaa

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 Sabaahaa '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 bil9aṣiyyi wa lʔibkaar 'in the early hours of night and morning' in (142) and billayli 'in the night' in (143).

(140) ʔinnaa ʔanzalnaahu fii laylati lqadr (97/1)

Surely, We sent it (i.e. the Koran) down (to the nearest heaven) on the night of power

(141) ʔallaahu yatawaffa lʔanfusa hiina mawtihaa 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

(142) wa sabbih bil9aṣiyyi wa lʔibkaar (3/41)

And praise (Him) in the early hours of night and morning

(143) qul man yaklaʔukum billayli wa nnahaari mina

rrahmaan (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 ʔanzal '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 yaklaʔu '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 xaalidum 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 tataṣaabahu '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) tataṣaabahu l?umuuru 9alaa xaalidin fi lmasaa?

Things become alike to xaalid in the evening

(146) tasma9u hudaa Saraxaatin muxiifatan 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 ššitaa? '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 lxašabi 9an wazni qiT9ati lhadiidi
llatii tusaawiihaa hagam fi ššitaa?
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?idā llađi 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 l?anfusa hiina mawtihaa 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 lfatrati min hukmihii* 'in that period of his government' in (152), and *fii tilka l?ayyaami* 'in these days' in (153).

(152) *kaanati l?ahwaalu liqtiSaadiyyatu tasuu?u fii tilka
lfatrati min hukmihii 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
l?ayyaami 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 ssaabiq* '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

(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. yaštaddu 9alaa talaamiidihii fi SSabaah
He becomes harsh towards his pupils in the morning

b. ?ištadda 9alaa talaamiidihii fi SSabaah
He became harsh towards his pupils in the morning

(157) a. tatawarramu qadamaahu fi \$šitaa?
His feet become swollen in winter

b. tawarramat qadamaahu fi \$šitaa?
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 l9aami
lmaaDii
9aliyy became in need of maahir in the summer of
last year

fi SSabaah 'in the morning' in (156) a., fi \$šitaa? 'in winter' in (157)a. and fi SSayf 'in summer' in (158)a. associate respectively with yaštaddu '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 \$\$\$itaa? 'in the winter' in (157)b., and fi Sayfi l9aami lmaaDii 'in the summer of last year' in (158)b., on the other hand, associate respectively with ?i\$taadda 'became harsh', tawarrama(t) 'became swollen', and ?ihtaaga '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?aaxirah 'in the Hereafter' in (159), fi ddunyaa (wa l?aaxirah) 'in the World (and the Hereafter)' in (160), fiihi 'when' in (161), and fi llayli (wa nnahaar) 'in the night (and the day)' in (162).

(159) bali ddaaraka 9ilmuhum fi l?aaxirah (27/66)

Nay, their knowledge will become a fact in the
Hereafter

(160) fa?ulaa?ika habiTat ?a9maaluhum fi ddunyaa wa l?aaxirah
(2/217)

Such are they whose work will become futile in the
World and the Hereafter

(161) ?innamaa yu?axxiruhum liyawmin ta\$xaSu fiihi l?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 Sihhatuhuu tatahassanu fii Sabaahi daalika
lyawm

His health started improving on that day morning

(164) bada?naa natahaddaOu hawla 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 bil9a§iyyi SSaafinaatu lgiyaad
(38/31)

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.

(170) sayabni l9ummaalu lqaSra fi SSabaatr

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 ?almuDaari9 or ?almaadii form, or are prefixed by sa/sawf 'shall/will'. Examples of Time frame adjuncts

associating with such verbs are *fii saa9ati l9usrah* 'in the hour of hardship' in (171), *yawma lqiyaamah* 'on the Day of Resurrection' in (172), *fi ssarraa?i (wa DDarraa?)* 'in ease and in adversity' in (173), *fi SSabaahi* 'in the morning' and *fi lmasaa?* 'in the evening' in (174), *fi lmasaa?* 'in the evening' in (175), and *fi SSabaahr* 'in the morning' in (176).

(171) ?alladiina ttaba9uuhu fii saa9ati l9usrah (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) daakara 9aliyyun fi lhadiiqati fi SSabaahi wa fii higratihii 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 SSabaahr

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 ?almaadDii 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 saa9ah 'an hour', niSfa saa9ah 'half an hour', etc. (cf. below p. 369) Sentences (175) and (176), for instance, could be expanded by saa9atayn '(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 15.1.4), 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 limtihaanu lhaqiiqiyyu 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. θ alaa θ ata ?ayyaam 'three days' in (180), sab9a layaal 'for seven nights' in (181) and ?arba9iina sanah 'for forty years' in (182).

(180) $\text{tamatta9uu fii daarikum } \theta$ alaa θ ata ?ayyaam (11/65)
Enjoy life in your dwelling three days

(181) $\text{wa ?ammaa 9aadun fa?uhlikuu biriihin SarSari}$
 $\text{9aatiyah saxxarahaa 9alayhim sab9a layaal}$ (69/6-7)
And as for 9aad, they were destroyed by a fierce
roaring wind. Which He imposed on them for seven
nights

(182) $\text{qaala fa?innahaa muharramatun 9alayhim ?arba9iina}$
 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 $\text{fii sittati ?ayyaam}$ 'in six days' in (183), and $\text{fii } \text{?ahr}$ 'in a month' in (184).

(183) $\text{?inna rabbakumu llaahu lla'ii xalaqa ssamaawaati wa}$
 $\text{l?arDa fii sittati ?ayyaam}$ (10/3)
Surely, your Lord is Allah Who created the heavens
and the earth in six days

(184) $\text{?ixDarrati lhadiiqatu fii } \text{?ahr}$
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 yub9a0uun 'till the day when they are raised' in (186).

(185) sayudaakiru maahirun ?ilaa muntaSafi llayl
maahir will study until midnight

(186) fa?anZirni ?ilaa yawmi yub9a0uun (15/36)
Repr|@ve 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 lmadiinatu 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

(189) *kaanuu laa yazaaluuna yataṣaagaruuna ?ila SSabaah
 They were still arguing with one another till the
 morning

(190) *sa?akuunu qad 9addaltu qiT9ata lxaṣabi haadihi
 ?ilaa yawmi lgum9ati lqaadim
 I shall have straightened this piece of wood until
 next Friday

In sentences (187) and (189) the prepositional phrases fii 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 yataṣaagaruuna 'arguing with one another'. In (188) and (190), on the other hand, the corresponding PPs fii 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, fii- 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) qul ?a ?innakum latakfuruuna billadii xalaqa l?arDa
 fii yawmayn (41/9)

Say: Do you disbelieve verily in Him who created the
 earth in two days?

(192) faqaDaahunna sab9a samaawaatin fii 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. ?inkaʒafa 'was disclosed' in (195), tatabalwaru 'crystalize'
 in (196) and yahmarru 'turn red' in (197).

(195) ?inkaʒafa ssirrufii lahZah
 The secret was disclosed in a moment

(196) satatabalwaru lxiTTatu fii ?ayyaam
 The plan will crystalize in days

(197) sayahmarru ssaa?ilu fii daqaa?iq
 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), ?aḡray 'stirred up' in
 (199), and yasgun 'to imprison' in (200).

(198) yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu ?idaa tadaayan̄tum
 bidaynin ?ilaa ?agalin musammaḡ faktubuuh (2/282)
 O you who believe! When you borrow money
 from one another until a fixed priod of time, record
 it in writing

(199) fa?aḡraynaa baynahumu lḡadaawata wa lbaḡDaa?a ?ilaa
 yawmi lqiyaamah (5/14)
 We have stirred up enmity and hatred among them till
 the Day of Resurrection

(200) ʕumma badaa lahum min ba9di maa raʔawu lʔaayaati
 layasgununnahuu hattaa hiin (12/35)

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. matta9 'gave comfort' in (201), yumatti9 'cause to enjoy' in
 (202), taʔaagara 'argued with one another' in (203), tuʔlimu 'cause
 pain to' in (204), and tarta9iʕu 'shiver' in (205), with which the
 following examples of ʔilaa- Duration adjuncts associate, respectively:
 ʔilaa hiin 'for a while', ʔilaa ʔagalin musammaa 'until a time
 appointed', hatta SSabaah 'till the morning', hatta lmasaaʔ 'until
 the evening', and ʔilaa Sabaahi lʕad 'till tomorrow morning'.

(201) wa matta9naahum ʔilaa hiin (10/98)

And gave them comfort for a while

(202) yumatti9kum mataa9an hasanan ʔilaa ʔagalin
 musammaa (11/3)

He will cause you to enjoy a fair estate until a
 time appointed

(203) taʔaagara lqawmu hatta SSabaah

The people argued with one another till the morning

(204) satuʔlimuhuu yaduhuu hatta lmasaaʔ

His hand will cause pain to him until the evening

(205) satarta9iʕu yaduhuu ʔilaa Sabaahi lʕad

His hand will shiver till tomorrow morning

3. The third type of verbs with which ʔilaa- 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 yazaal 'be still', e.g. ba9aθ/?arsal 'send', Daraba (9ala lbaab) 'knock (on the door)', baraq/?abraaq '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 yazaal' 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 ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts can be summed up as follows:

(i) Like other verbs, momentary verbs that are in construction with the auxiliary kaana laa yazaal 'be still' cannot be accompanied by ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts: sentences (206 - 207), with ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts associating with members of the verb class in question, are ungrammatical.

(206) *kaana laa yazaalu yas9ulu hatta SSabaah

He was still coughing till the morning

(207) *kaana laa yazaalu yadxulu wa yaxrugu ?ilaa

muntaSafi 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 muntaSafi llayl 'till midnight' in (209), hatta SSabaahr 'till the morning' in (210), and hatta lguruub 'until sunset' in (211).

(208) wa ?iē ta?addana rabbuka layab9aθanna 9alayhim ?ilaa
yawmi lqiyaamati man yasuumuhum suu?a l9adaab (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) sayuTabbiluuna hattaa muntaSafi llayl

They will drum till midnight

(210) sayaZallu yas9ulu hatta SSabaahr

He will continue to cough till the morning

(211) sayaZallu yuTabbilu hatta lguruub

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 lguruub' 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 taʔazzama 'get critical' in (75), and those such as lamaḥ '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.

C H A P T E R S I X T E E N

RESTRICTIONS RELATED TO THE ADJUNCTS REGARDED AS TRANSFORMS

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), bimaā 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 kaθiirun 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 lillaahirabbi l9aalamiin
(cf. 27/44)
And she surrendered with sulaymaan to Allah,
the Lord of the Worlds
- (8) yaa gibaalu ?awwibii ma9ah (34/10)
O you mountains praise (Allah) with him
- (9) laakini rrasuulu wa llaθiina ?aamanuu ma9ahuu
gaahadu bi?amwaalihim wa ?anfusihiim (9/88)
But the messenger and those who believe with him
strive with their wealth and their lives
- (10) saya?ti lmuθillu bimaa θalla 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 *rkab ma9anaa* 'ride with us' in (1), and (3), (5), (10) and (11), for instance, occur in a paraphrase relationship with (13 - 17) respectively.

(13) ?irkab ?anta wa naħm

Let you and us ride

(14) qaatala ribbiyyuuna kaθiirun 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 lmuğillu wa maa ġalla 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 *biqalbin salim* 'with a whole heart' in (18), and *biSiħaafin 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⁽¹⁾ as the subjects of their clauses, the clauses embracing them cannot occur in a paraphrase relationship with the clauses described above (p. 381).

(18) saya?tii ba9Du nnaasi llaaha biqalbin saliim (cf. 26/89)
Some men will come to Allah with a whole heart

(19) sayatuufu lqilmaanu 9alayhim biSihaafin min dahabin
wa ?akwaab (cf. 43/71)

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).

(20) saa9ada ribbiyyiina kaθiiran ?anbiyaa?uhum fi lqitaal
The prophets of a number of devoted men helped them
to fight

(21) (falammaa) Saahaba lgunuudu Taaluuta fii faSlih
(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 lladiina ?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⁽²⁾

(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 faSli '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 'Taalutu' 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. Taalut) setting out' is a time-frame adjunct, during which the army's accompaniment of Taalut 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 Taalut 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 Taalutu 'Taalut' 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.

Meys, p. 179; cf. also Vestergaard, p. 111, and Fillmore, 1968b: 81-3).

(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 underlying 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 ?anzalna 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 faSala '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 hallala tarkiiba Siigati lmabniyyi llimaghuuli
l?ingiliiziyati. ma9a ginifer

(41) giniferusaa9adat buula fii takliili tarkiibi
Siigati lmabniyyi lilmaghuuli l?ingiliiziyah
Jennifer helped Paul to analyze the English passive
construction

(42) buulu wa giniferu hallalaa tarkiiba Siigati lmabniyyi
lilmaghuuli l?ingiliiziyah
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 ginifer '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⁽³⁾, 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) (falammaa) balaga ?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) (falammaa) balaga ?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 ?ismaa9iil'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 ?abiih '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 (i) (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.

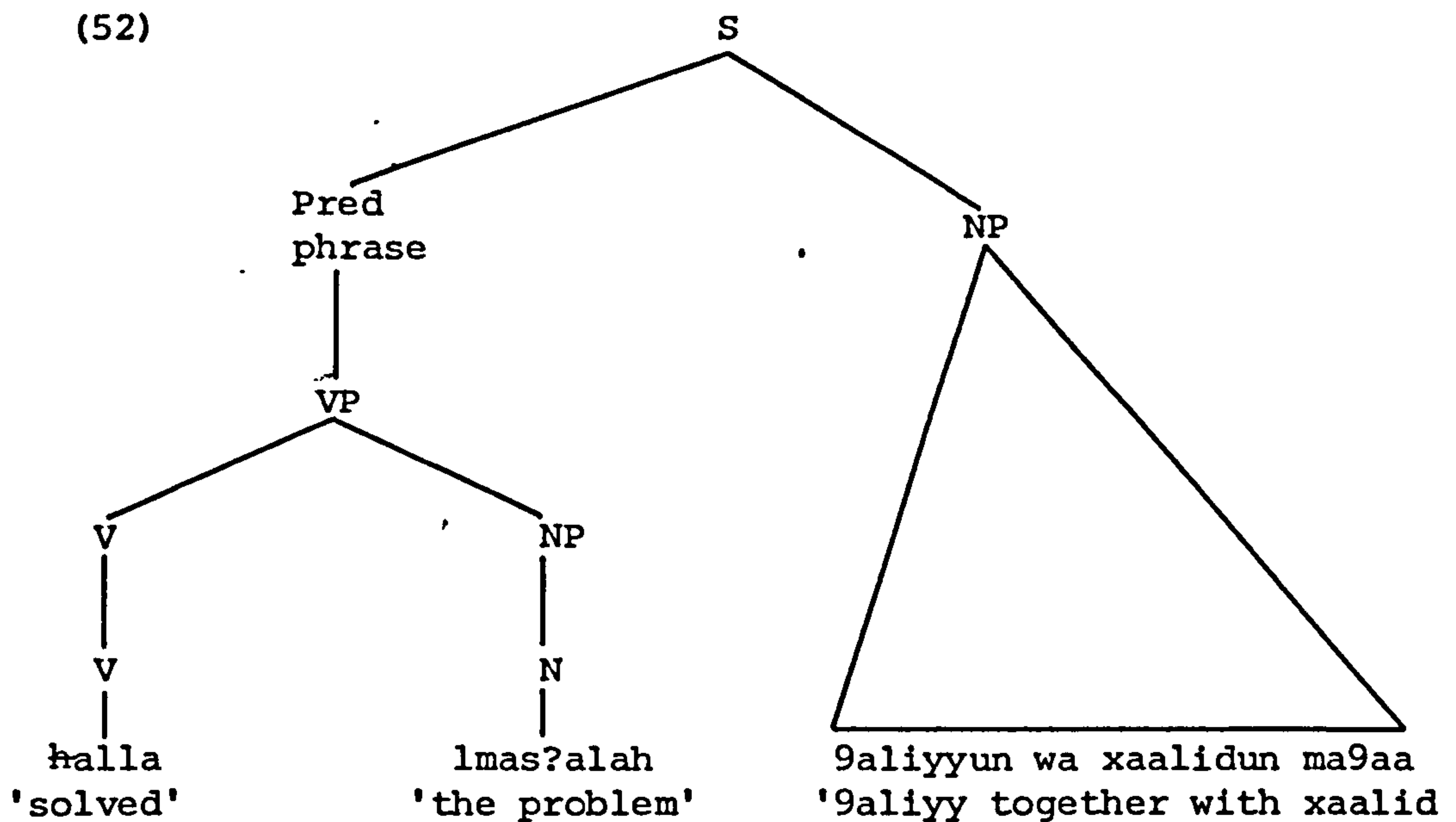
- (50) *saa9ada 9aliyyun xaalidan fii halli lmas?alah*
9aliyy assisted xaalid in solving the problem

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.



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) *?aslamat balqiisu ma9a sulaymaana 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 ?aslamat balqiisu wa hiya ma9a sulaymaana lillaahi rabbi l9aalamiin '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 tu?awwibu 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 fi tta?wiib 'daawuud used to help the mountains in praising (Allah)', nor does (54) mean kaana sulaymaan yusaa9idu balqiisa fii ?islaamihaa lillaahi rabbi l9aalamiin '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 co-operate in praising (Allah) in the sense 9aliyy and xaalid in (45) co-operated in solving the problem, nor does (54) mean that balqiis and sulaymaan co-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 ta?wiibi 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' ahabin

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 dahabin 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 dahab* '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

adjunct? (cf. above p. 391).

(59) falammaa faSala Taaluutu bilgunuud (2/249)

And when Taaluut set out with the army

The answer is No, for the following reason. Sentence (55) and (56) mean respectively *saya?tii ba9Du nnaasi llaaha wa lahun qalbun salim* 'Some people will come to Allah while they have whole hearts', and *sayaTuufu lgilmaanu 9alayhim wa ma9ahum Sihaafun min dahabin wa ?akwaab* 'The servants will walk around them while they have with them trays of gold and goblets'. That is, both *biqalbin salim* 'with whole hearts' in (55) and *biSihaafin min dahabin 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 salim* 'with whole hearts' in (55) and *biSihaafin min dahabin 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 salim* 'with whole hearts' in (55), and *biSihaafin min dahabin wa ?akwaab* 'with trays of gold and goblets' in (56) originate according to this analysis.

(60) (saya?tii ba9Du nnaasi llaaha) wa huwa biqalbin salim
(Some people will come to Allah) while they are
with whole hearts

(61) (sayaTuufu lgilmaanu 9alayhim) wa hum biSihaafin min
dahabin 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 co-occurrence restrictions between their nominal elements and these NPs. Consider, for example (68 - 69), which are the underlying representations of (66 - 67), respectively.

(66) laa ?aʒtari lkitaaba ?illaa biḡilaafin muqawwaa
I never buy the book save with a stiff cover

(67) laa ?aʒtari lkitaaba ?illaa bi?aθaaθ
I never buy the book save with furniture

(68) laa ?aʒtari lkitaaba ?illaa wa huwa biḡilaafin
muqawwaa
I never buy the book save when it is with a stiff
cover

(69) laa ?aʒtari lkitaaba ?illaa wa huwa bi?aθaaθ
I never buy the book save when it is with furniture

Both wa huwa biḡilaafin muqawwaa 'when it is with a stiff cover' in (68), and wa huwa bi?aθaaθ '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	→	Particle	S
	S	→	NP	PP
	PP	→	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).

$$\begin{array}{r}
 (71) \quad \text{SA: } X \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{NP} \right] \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\triangle \right] \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{NP} \right] \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{NP} \right] \\ \left[\text{NP} \right] \end{array} \right] Y \\
 \text{SC: } 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \implies \\
 \quad \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{P} \\ + \text{---}[\text{other} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{than maa-/?any} \\ \text{?anna- clause}] \\ \text{bi} \end{array} \right] 4 \quad 5
 \end{array}$$

However, only *wa huwa biḡilaafin muḡawwaa* '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 *wa huwa biḡilaafin muḡawwaa* 'when it is with a stiff cover' in (68) not *wa huwa bi?aθaaθ* '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), lqilmaanu '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 lmadinati bizaadin kaaf (cf.
ʔibn ʔabii Taalib, II, 210)

The people moved away from the city with enough
supply

- (73) Za9ana lqawmu 9ani lmadinati wa hum bizaadin kaaf
The people moved away from the city when they were
with enough supply

- (74) wa maa ʔarsalnaa min rasuulin ʔillaa bilisaani qawmih
(14/4)

And We never sent a messenger save with the language
of his folk

- (75) ʔinnaa ʔanzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba linnaasi bilhaqq
(39/41)

Surely, We have revealed to you (muhammad) the
Scripture for mankind with truth

- (76) wa maa ʔarsalnaa min rasuulin ʔillaa wa huwa bilisaani
qawmih

And We never sent a messenger save when he was with the
language of his folk

- (77) ?innaa ?anzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba linnaasi wa huwa
 bilhaqq
 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 biSihaafin min dahabin 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) ?ið naadaahu rabbuhuu bilwaadi lmuqaddasi Tuwaa (79/16)

When his Lord called him in the holy vale of Tuwaa

(81) wa laqad Darabnaa linnaasi fii haada lqur?aani min
kulli ma0al (39/27)

And verily We have coined for mankind in this Koran
all kinds of similitudes

(82) fa?idaa ?unzilat suratun muhkamatun wa dukira fiiha
lqitaal (47/20)

But when a decisive suurah is revealed and war is
mentioned therein

(83) wa laqad Sarrafnaa linnaasi fii haada lqur?aani min
kulli ma0al (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 (yuqaatil)uu(n) 'they (fight)' and the object (naadaa)hu '(called) him', respectively. The Place adjuncts fii haada lqur?aani 'in this Koran' in (81), fiiha '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 9alaa suuqih 'upon its stalk' in (84) and 9ala \$agarah 'on the tree' in (85) can express only one locative relation.

(84) kazar9in ?axraga \$aT?ahuu fa?aazarahuu fasta9laZa
fastawaa 9alaa 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 sayyaarathii l9uSfuura 9ala \$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 baynamaa '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) (?abSara xaalidun fii sayyaaratihii 19uSfuura) baynamaa
 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 baynamaa 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 baynamaa '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 hadiiqatih* 'in his garden' in (87), which belongs to the same class to which *9ala şşagarah* 'on the tree' in (85) does, can occur in answer to the question indicated by (88).

(87) *tatahaddaθu su9aadu ma9a xaalidin fii hadiiqatih*
su9aad speaks to xaalid in his garden

(88) *mataa tatahaddaθu 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).

- (89) fii landan ya9rifu lmar?u ?a\$yaa?a ka0iirah
In London, a man knows many things
- (90) fii tilka lhugrah tasma9u hudaa ?aSwaatan muxiifah
In that room, hudaa hears frightful noises
- (91) fii haaða lbayt tata\$aabahu l?umuuru 9alaa xaalid
In this house, things become alike to xaalid
- (92) tahtaagu ?ilayka fi lqaahirah
She needs you in Cairo
- (93) fii landan yargu lmar?u ?an yakuuna milyuniiraa
In London, a man hopes to be a millionaire

The Place adjuncts fii landan 'in London' in (89), fii tilka lhugrah 'in that room' in (90), fii haaða lbayt 'in this house' in (91), fi lqaahirah 'in Cairo' in (92), and fii landan '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 haaða 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), tata\$aabahu '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-Static not Static main verbs. Examples of the latter category of Place adjuncts are tahta ššagarah 'beneath the tree' in (94), 9inda rabbihim 'before their Lord' in (95), fiihaa 'in it' in (96), and fi lbayt 'in the house' in (97), which co-occur with the following non-stative verbs, respectively: baaya9a 'swore allegiance to', yaxtaSimu 'dispute', yatahaaggu 'wrangle', and yuhaddiθu 'talk'.

(94) baaya9a lmu?minuuna nnabiyya tahta ššagarah (cf. 48/18)

The believers swore allegiance to the prophet beneath
the tree

(95) sayaxtaSimu nnaasu yawma lqiyaamati 9inda rabbihim (cf. 39/31)

On the Day of Resurrection people will dispute before
their Lord

(96) sayatahaaggu?ahlu nnaari fiihaa (cf. 40/47)

The people of the Fire will wrangle in it

(97) sayuhaddiθuka xaalidun 9an haada 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 static 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
 §§agarah

The believers' swearing allegiance to the prophet
 was beneath the tree

(99) sayakuunu taħdiiθu xaalidin laka 9an haada l?amri fi
 lbayt

xaalid's talking to you about this matter will be
 in the house..

(100) *ta§aabuhu l?umuuri 9alaa xaalidin fii haada lbayt
 Things being alike to xaalid is in this house

(101) *ragaa?u lmar?i ?an yakuuna milyuniiran fi landan
 A man's hoping to be a millionaire is in London

I have come across the following veiw, 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-Static verbs whose case frames do not include agentives, as indicated by (102 - 103).

(102) tagamma9a ?amaama baytihii ba9Du lqaaðuuraat
Some rubbish accumulated in front of his house

(103) fi rrabii9i lmaaDii namat fii hadiiqatihii ba9Du
l?azhaari l?ariibah

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:

(i) '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 lmaħdi '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), ba9ayri 9ilm 'in ignorance' in (119) and 9alaa waghihaa 'in the right manner' in (120), which are object adjuncts.

- (113) qul haadihii sabiilii ?ad9uu ?ila llaahi 9alaa
baSiirah (12/108)
Say: This is my way: I call on Allah on sure knowledge
- (114) ?ayumsikuhuu 9alaa huunin ?am yadussuhuu fi tturaab
(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 lmahdi wa kahlaa (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 taqallubihim fama 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?minaatun
lam ta9lamuuhum ?an taTa?uuhum fatuSiibekum minhum
ma9arratun bi9ayri 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

(120) ?ataw biṣṣahaadati 9alaa waghihaa (cf. 5/108)

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 (?aaminin)

(Enter them) while you are in peace (and security)

(122) (?aw ya?xudāhum) 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.411-2), 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 00awratu 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.

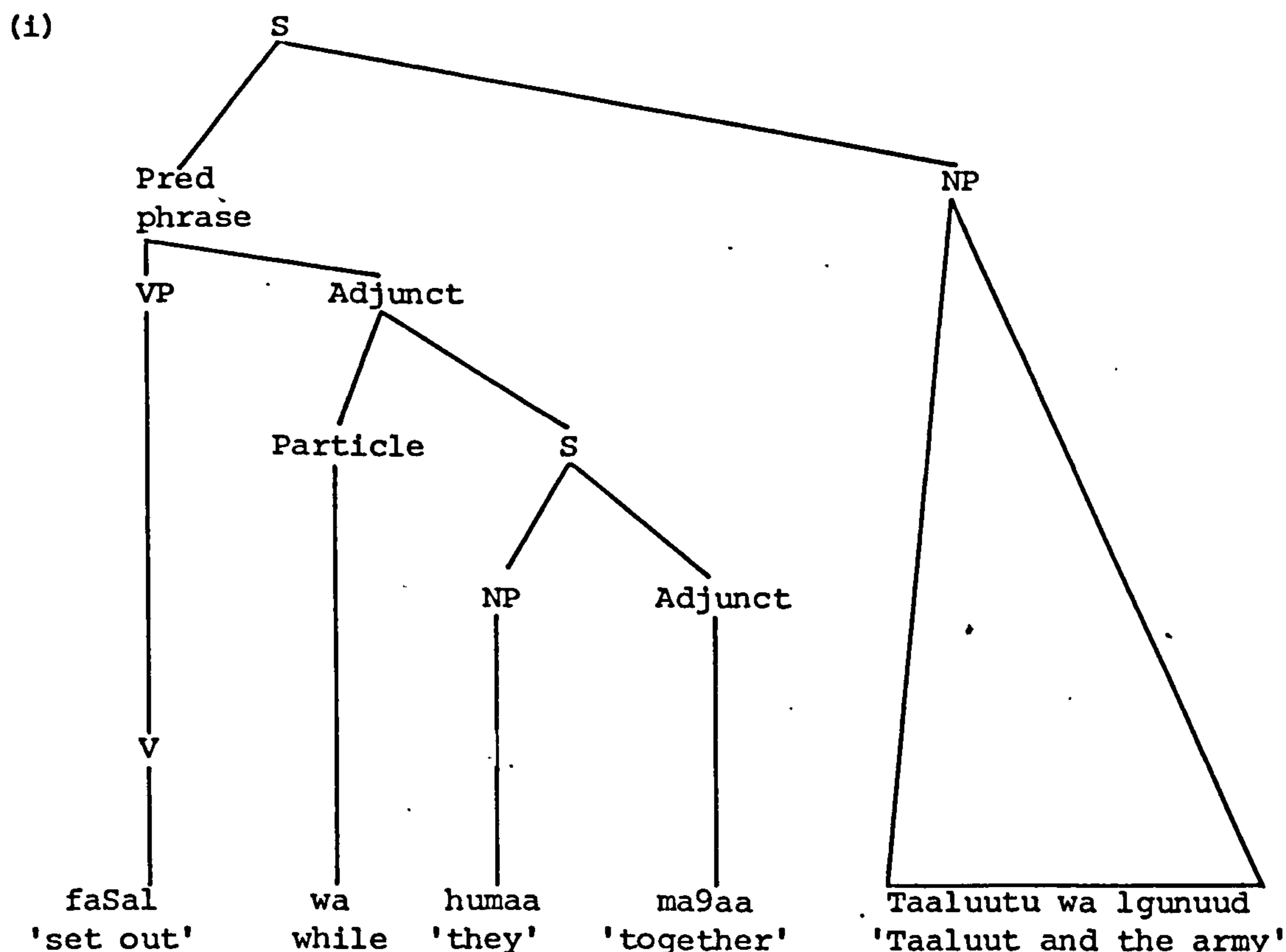
(127) ?a00awratu fii tamaasuk

The revolution is in solidity

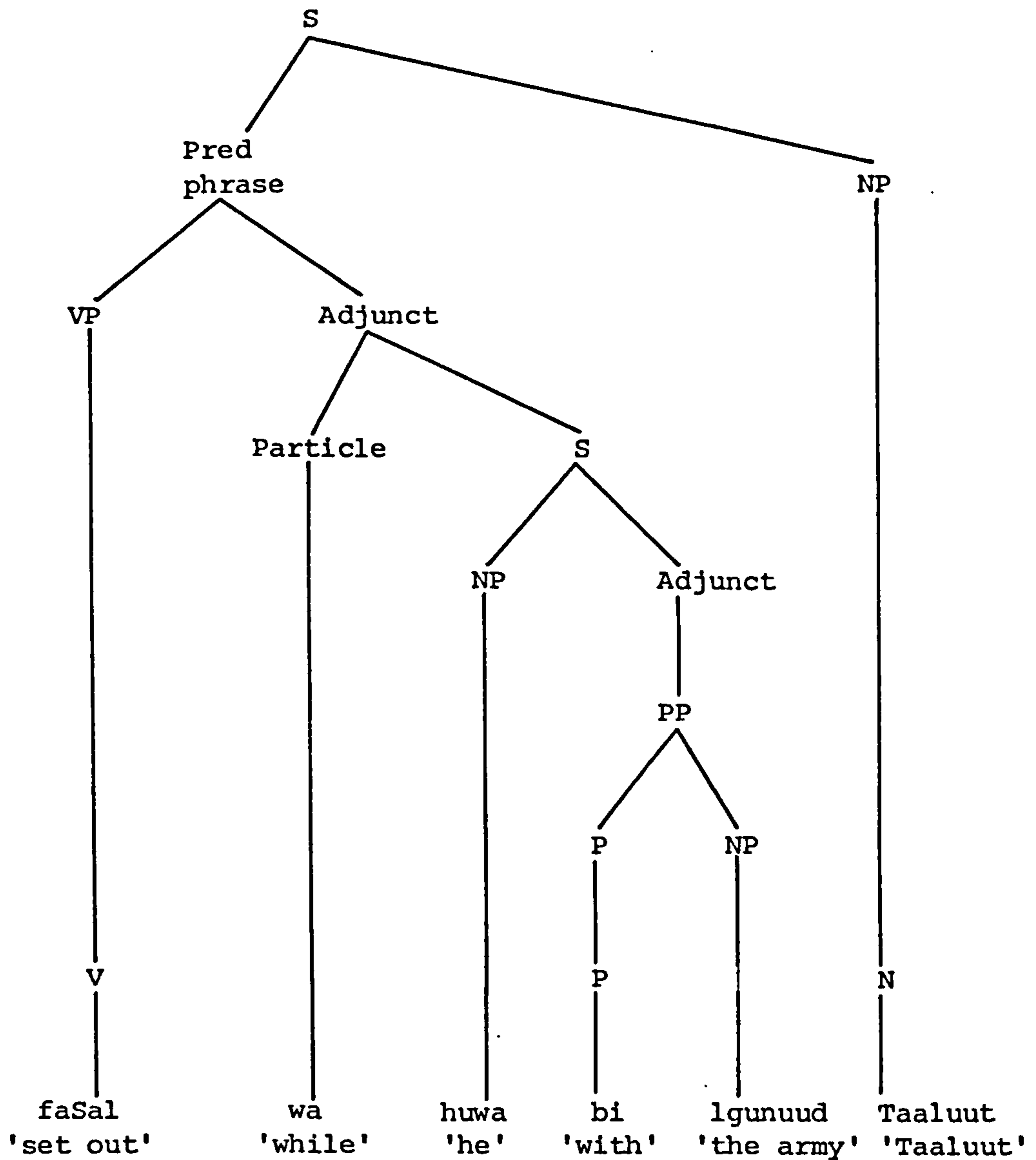
As a result of considering Subject and Object adjuncts to originate in the way indicated above (p. 420), they are, like any other Predicative adjuncts, constrained by the subjects of the clauses in which they originate, not by the main verbs of the sentences containing them. Hence, they lie outside the 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).



(ii)



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 su9aada '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).

C H A P T E R S E V E N T E E N

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. *bisiħriħ* 'by his magic' in (1), and *bi9aSaaka* 'with your staff' in (2), respectively.

- (1) *yuriidu ?an yuxrigakum min ?arDikum bisihriħ* (26/35)
Who wants to derive you out of your land by his magic
- (2) *fa?awhaynaa ?ilaa muusaa ?ani Drib bi9aSaaka lbaħr*
(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-Static verbs (cf. above 14.2.1), e.g. *yuxriga(kum)* 'derive (you)' in (1) and *ṣarrid* 'frighten away' in (3), with which the Means adjuncts *bisihrih* 'by his magic', and *bihim* 'with them', associate, respectively, and *Drib* 'smite' in (2) and *ʔurkuD* 'strike' in (4), with which the Instrument adjuncts *bi9aSaaka* 'with your staff' and *biriglik* 'with your foot' associate, respectively.

- (3) *faʔimmaa taṠqafannahum fi lharbi faṣarrid 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) *ʔurkuD biriglik* (38/42)

Strike (the ground) with your foot

The other two sub-classes of non-Static 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. *ʔaṣraqati* 'shines' in (5).

- (5) *wa ʔaṣraqati lʔarDu 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 hadaθa binuuri rabbi l?arDi ?i\$raaquhaa
 What happens with the light of the earth Lord is
 that it shines

(7) yaquuluuna 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)?a\$raqati l?arDu bi nuuri rabbihaa
 'shines' 'the earth' with the light of her Lord

		External causer	
V	Subject	P	NP
1	2	3	4

(10) (wa)ga9la 4 2 1
 '(and) makes' subject object object complement

(11) (wa)ga9ala nuuru rabbi l?arDi l?arDa tuṣriq
 (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 ...

		Instrument			
		┌───────────┐			
V	Subject	P	NP	Object	
1	2	3	4	5	

(13) yu?ayyidu ka llaahu bi naSrih
 'supports' 'you' 'Allah' 'with' 'his help'

			Means		
			┌──────────┐		
V	Object	Subject	P	NP	
1	2	3	4	5	

(14) yu?ayyiduka llaahu binaSrih (cf. 8/62)
 Allah supports you with his help

(15) tag9alu hum ?afwaahuhum yaquuluuna maa laysa ...
 'makes' 'them' 'their mouths' 'say' 'that which is not ...

	2	4	1	5	
			┌──────────┐		
	Object	Subject	Object	Complement	

(16)	yag9alu	naSru llaahi	llaaha	yu?ayyidu	ka
	'makes'	'Allah's help'	'Allah'	'support'	'you'
	5	3	1	2	
	Subject	Object	Object Complement		

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 9addaba '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 a 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 bissawT '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 biSSadaqah '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-Static 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 [Static 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 Static verbs. For (i) 'fakkar', which is the equivalent of 'think', is a non-static 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 gadan ?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 bima 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) ?aamara bima 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), bigayri hisaab 'without stint' in (26), bilhikmah 'with wisdom', in (27), bilbaaTil 'falsely' in (28) and bil9adl 'justly' in (29), which co-occur with the following non-stative verbs, respectively: xuḍ(uu) 'hold', yarzuqu 'gives', ?uḍ9u 'call', gaadal(uu) 'argued', and yumlil 'dictate'.

- (25) xuḍuu maa ?aataynaakum biquwwah (2/93)
Hold firmly to what we have given you

- (26) wa llaahu yarzuqu man yaṣaaʔu biġayri ḥisaab (2/212)
And Allah gives without stint to whom He will
- (27) ʔud9u ʔilaa sabiili rabbika bilḥikmah (16/125)
Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom
- (28) wa gaadalu bilbaaTil (40/5)
And argued falsely
- (29) falyumlil waliyyuhuu bil9adl (2/282)
Then, let his guardian dictate justly

It should be noted that though Manner adjuncts co-occur with non-Static verbs, they differ from one another as to the actual non-Static 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-Static verbs and the Manner elements, i.e. the nominal elements, of the positionally 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-Static 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-Static 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', biḥaraarah 'enthusiastically'
and biwuDuuh 'with clarity'
- (31) bimaraarah 'bitterly', biḥaraarah 'passionately',
and biġazaarah '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) [+control, + change]

(33) [- control, + change]

(34) [+ control, - 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 cooccur 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-Static 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 biḡabaa?
to cry in a stupid manner
- (36) *yadrusu biwuDuuh̄
to study in clarity
- (37) *?imtaḥana bixuḡuu9
to examine in a submissive manner
- (38) *yuSallii bil9adl
to pray justly
- (39) *yaktubu biwaḡḡiyyah
to write fiercely

For by virtue of being able to associate with the verb groups, (40 - 44), respectively, the Manner adjuncts biḡabaa? 'in a stupid manner', biwuDuuh̄ 'in clarity', bixuḡuu9 'in a submissive manner', bil9adl 'justly', and biwaḡḡiyyah 'fiercely' in (35 - 39) ought to be able to co-occur with the verbs yabkii 'to cry', yadrusu 'to study', ?imtaḥana '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) yaḥkum '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 ʕumma tawallaaʔila ZZill (28/24)
So he watered (their folk) for them. Then, he turned
aside into the shade
- (47) wa mina ššayaaTiini man yaḡuuSuuna lah (21/82)
And of the evil ones some who dive (for pearls) for
him
- (48) yaquuluuna rabbanaa ʔatmim lanaa nuuranaa wa ḡfir
lanaa ʔinnaka 9alaa kulli šayʔin 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 šrah lii Sadrii (20/25)
My Lord: Relieve for me my heart

- (50) wa huwa lladii ?anṣa?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 ?amrinaa raṣadaa (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 tuSa99ir xaddaka linnaas (31/18)

Do not turn your cheek in scorn for men

- (53) kallaa sanaktubu maa yaquulu wa namuddu lahuu min
l9adaabi 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) ?a9Taa naa?iluni lkitaaba limaahir
naa?il 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 paraphraseable 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 paraphraseable 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) saʔaʕtarii lizawgatika ba9Da lʔazhaari binniyaabati 9ank

I will buy some flowers for your wife on your behalf

(65) ?iṣṭaraa līi ba9Da lkutub

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 predication 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).

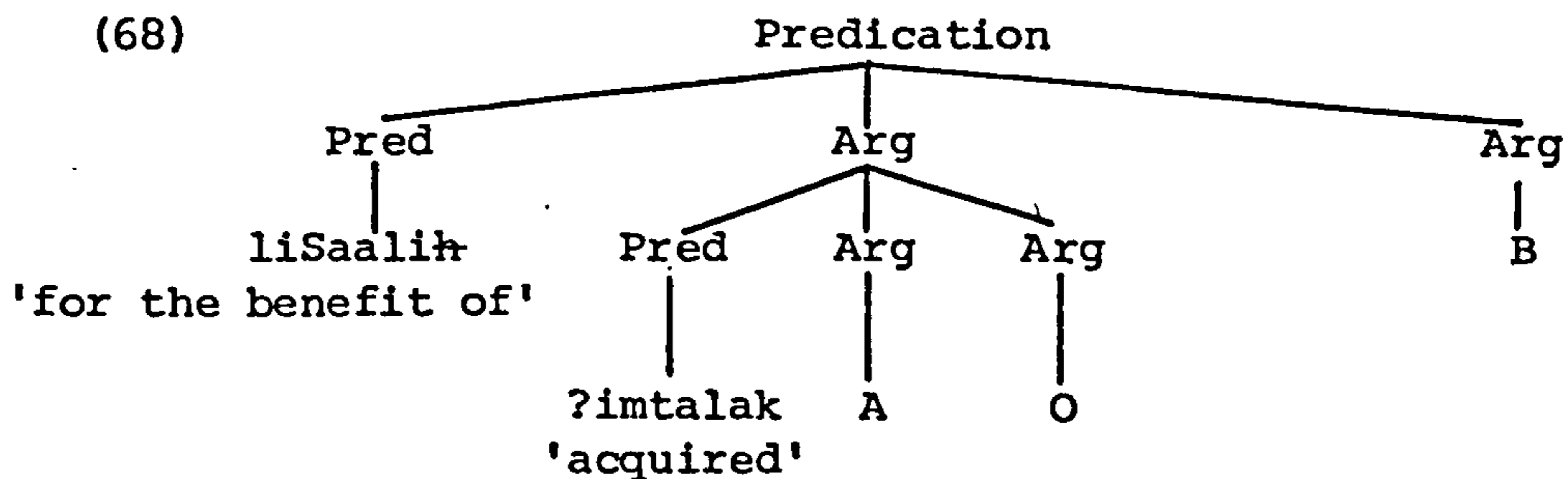
(66) ?iṣṭaraytu lilbinti kitaabaa (ibid., p. 259)

I bought the girl a book

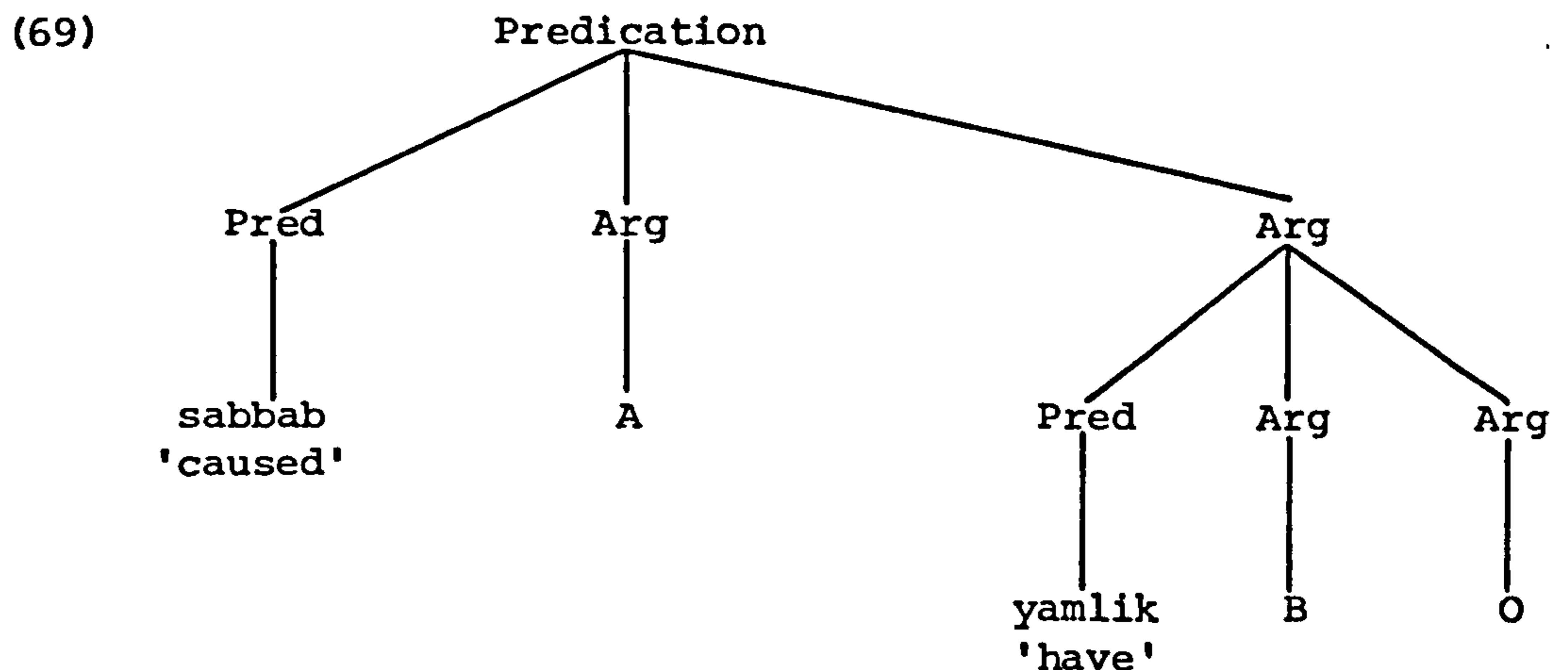
(67) ?a9Ṭaytu lkitaaba lilbint (ibid., p. 257)

I gave the book to the girl

For Lentzner, the semantic underlying representation of (66) is (68), while that of (67) is (69).



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.)



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 prediate- 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) ʔa9Taytu lbinta 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. lbintí '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 hada0a 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 B(enefactive) 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-Static 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', *9aaddaba(huu maahir)*, '(maahir) chastised (him)' and *saga (rragulu lqatii9)* '(the man) watered (the folk)', and (b) *tadallaa (maahirun mina §§agarah)* (maahir) 'hung (from the

tree)', waqafa (maahirun 9ala lkursiyy) '(maahir) stood up (on the chair)', and qa9ada 'sat down', but not 9aaddaba(huu Tama9uh) '(his greed) chastised (him)', yaqifu (ttim0aalu 9alaaqaa9idatin 9ariiDah)' (the statue) stands (on a wide base)', and ?inqaTa9a (lhabl) '(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. Beneficiaries like those in (75 - 76), i.e. Beneficiaries in clauses with no Agentive, 'are quite rare' (ibid., p. 116).

Leaving aside Beneficiary 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-Static 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 Beneficent and Agentive. This will be done in the light of the examples of Beneficent 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, Beneficent adjuncts co-occur with the verbs of doing the subjects of which denote 'Allah', e.g. the Beneficent 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⁽¹⁾, which could be assigned the feature [+ satanic], e.g. the Beneficent adjunct *lisulaymaan* 'for sulaymaan' in (81); (ii) a NP marked with the feature [+ human], e.g. the Beneficent 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 Beneficent adjunct *lahum* 'for them' in (84).

- (77) *yaquuluuna rabbanaa ?atmim' lanaa nuuranaa wa ġfir
lanaa ?innaka 9alaa kulli řay?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
- (78) *rabbi řrah lii Sadrii (20/25)*
My Lord! Relieve for me my heart
- (79) *wa huwa lladii ?anřa?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

(80) wa hayyi? lanaa min ?amrinaaraṣadaa (18/10)

And shape for us right conduct in our plight

(81) kaanati ṣṣayaaTiinu taḡuuSu lisulaymaan (cf. 21/82)

The evil ones used to dive for sulayman

(82) fasaqaa lahumaa ḡumma tawallaa ?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 yaxTafu ?abSaarahum kullamaa

?aDaa?a lahum maṣaw 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-Static 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 munaaqasatun wuddiyyatun bayna lladiina

tatazaayadu ?awqaatu lfaraa?i lahum taqriibani
 l9ummaali wa lladiina tatanaaqaSu 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 lli haada lmiqaSS
 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 occur with verbs such as tatazaayadu 'is increasing' and tatanaaqaSu '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 ?awqaatu lfaraaġi lahum 'for whom leisure' in (85) can be regarded as being in a paraphrase relationship with ?awqaatu faraagihim 'their leisure'. According to this analysis of the first and the second lahum 'for 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 binnisbati lii '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) binnisbati lii lan ?aðhab
For me, I will not come

According to this analysis, (75) rather than (88) is the English equivalent of (85).

Secondly, the PP linaa?il 'on naa?il's behalf' in (86) associates with galasa '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 Beneficient 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 Beneficent 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 Beneficent 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 Beneficent adjunct, e.g. binniyaabati 9an 'on behalf of' in (90).

(90) galasa maahirun baynanaa binniyaabati 9an kaamil
maahir sat 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 Beneficent 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' Beneficent adjunct. On the other hand, while formulating the co-occurrence restrictions between main verbs and 'for the benefit of' type of Beneficent 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' Beneficent 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 lmaakinatu* '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 lmiqaSS* '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 Beneficent 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 *lii* 'for me' analysed as 'on behalf of' Beneficent 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' Beneficent 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' Beneficent 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' Beneficent 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-Static verbs of position (cf. above 14.2.1). Also, according to the data and what is revealed by discussing (85 - 87), 'on behalf of' Beneficent adjuncts co-occur with (a) non-Static 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 gayšinaa mina llaah
The helping of our army by Allah
- (93) Darbu ttilmiiḍi mina lmudarris
The hitting of the pupil by the teacher
- (94) taDliilu nnaasi mina ššayaaTiin
The misleading of people by evil ones
- (95) ?ihraaquhum mina ššams
The burning of them by the sun
- (96) naSara llaahu gayšanaa
Allah helped our army
- (97) Daraba lmudarrisu ttilmiiḍ
The teacher hit the pupil
- (98) tuDallilu ššayaaTiinu nnaas
Evil ones mislead people

- (99) ?ahraqathumu ššams
The sun burned them
- (100) qaSSu ӨӨawbi bilmiquaSS
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 ӨӨawbi bihaadihi lmaakiinah
The sewing of the garment by/with this machine
- (103) qaSSa lmiqaSSu ӨӨawb
The scissors cut the garment
- (104) halla lkumbiyuuteru lmas?alah
The computer solved the problem
- (105) xaaTat haađihi lmaakiinatu ӨӨawb
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 lmiqaSSu 'the scissors' in (103), lkumbiyuuteru 'the computer' in (104), and haađihi 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 lqawiyah 'my strong hand' in (107) and miyaahu bi?rii 'my well water' in (108) respectively.

- (106) Daraba lmudarrisu ttilmiida bil9aSaa
The teacher hit the pupil with the stick
- (107) taDribuhuu yadi lqawiyah
My strong hand hits him
- (108) tasqii mazra9atahoo miyaahu bi?rii
My well water waters his farm

The aforementioned recapitulation of the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Beneficent adjuncts (cf. above p.457) needs to be reformulated accordingly as follows. 'for the benefit of' Beneficent adjuncts co-occur with (a) non-Static 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' Beneficent adjuncts on the other hand, co-occur with (a) non-Static 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 $[+ \text{human}]$ (cf. above pp.457-9). It should be noted that this

reformulation of the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Beneficent adjuncts does not affect our analysis of (87b - c, when the adjuncts they contain are regarded as 'on behalf of' Beneficent 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 Beneficent 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. limiθli haadaa 'for the like of this' in (109), linafsih 'for his own soul' in (110), lillaahi 'for Allah's sake' in (111), lillaah 'for Allah' in (112), littaqwaa 'for piety' in (113), linnaasi 'for mankind' in (114), li?aadam 'for Adam' in (115) and liddifaa9i 9an ?anfusihiim 'for self-defence' in (116).

(109) limiθli haadaa falya9mali 19aamiluun (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 taquumuu
lillaahi ma?naa wa furaadaa ?umma 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 diinahun lillaah (4/146)
Save those who repent and amend and hold fast to Allah
and make their religion pure for Allah
- (113) ?inna lladiina ya?uDDuuna ?aSwaatahum 9inda rasuuli
llaahi ?ulaa?ika lladiina mtahana llaahu quluubahum
littaqwaa (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 ?anzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba linnaasi bilhaqq
(39/41)
Surely, We have revealed unto you (muhammad) the
Scripture for mankind with truth
- (115) wa ?id qulnaa lilmalaa?ikati sguduu li?aadam (2/34)
And when We said unto the angels: Prostrate yourselves
for Adam

- (116) tasallaḥa ʔaḥlu baḷaḍihii liddifaa9i 9an ʔanfusihiḥ
 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), ʔaxlaS 'make pure' in (112) and tasallaḥa 'armed themselves' in (116), with which the following Purpose adjuncts associate, respectively: limiḙli haadaa 'for the like of this', lillaahi 'for Allah's sake', lillaah 'for Allah' and liddifaa9i 9an ʔanfusihiḥ

'for self-defence'. An example of the second probability, on the other hand, is qatala 'killed' in (117), with which the Purpose adjunct li?irDaa?inaa 'to please us' cannot associate, as indicated by the semantic anomaly of (118).

(117) qatala lliSSu rragula 9an ġayri maa qaSd

The thief killed the man accidentally

(118) *qatala lliSSu rragula 9an ġayri maa 9aSdinli?irDaa?inaa

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 lkumbiyuuteru lmas?alah

The computer solved the problem

(120) ?ahraqathumu §§ams

The sun burned them

(121) *halla lkumbiyuuteru lmas?alata li?irDaa?inaa

The computer solved the problem to please us

(122) *?ahraqathumu §§amsu lita9diibinaa

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 19aamiluun 'the workers' in (109), (taquum)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), taquum '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 kaθiiran mina lluḡaati litashiili ta9aamulika
ma9a 9umalaa?ik

Know many languages to facilitate your trade with
your agents

(124) ?iḡtani li?irDaa?i zawgatik

Become rich to please your wife

(125) naama maahirun 9ala l?arDi liḡaddi 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 ?axlaS 'make pure' in (112) with which the Purpose adjuncts limiθli haadaa '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 liḡaddi 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 ?iġtani '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?irDaa?i 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?aadam '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 kaθiiran mina lluġaati litashiili
ta9aamulihii ma9a9umalaa?ih
xaalid knows many languages to facilitate his trade
with his agents

(127) ?iġtanaa Sadiiquhuu li?irDaa?i 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.

$$(128) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ N} \\ + \text{ human} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{ volitive}] / \left[\left[\text{ V } \right] \text{ X } \right] \text{ Y } \left[\text{ --- } \right]$$

VP

1 2 3

where 1 is a verb of doing, a verb of position, and 3 does not contain a '9an gayri maa qaSd' adjunct (cf. above p. 464).

$$(129) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ N} \\ + \text{ human} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{ volitive}] / \left[\left[\text{ V } \right] \text{ X } \right] \text{ Y } \left[\text{ --- } \right]$$

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 'from' 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 kaθrati liTmi?naan (ibid, p. 144)
Our nerves have grown feeble from an excess of
tranquility

- (133) xasirtu ra?sii min kaθrati hubbii 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)

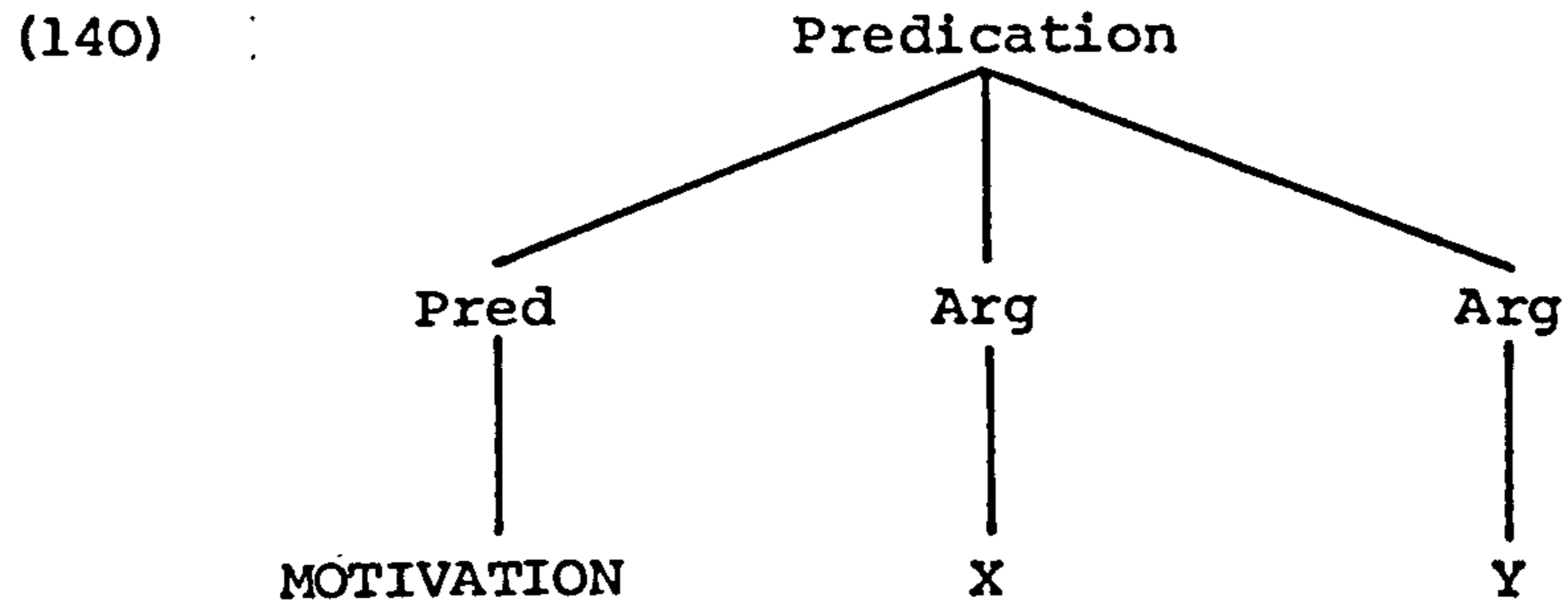
- (137) The curtain fluttered in the breeze (ibid, p. 181)

- (138) He staggered under the weight (ibid., p. 181)

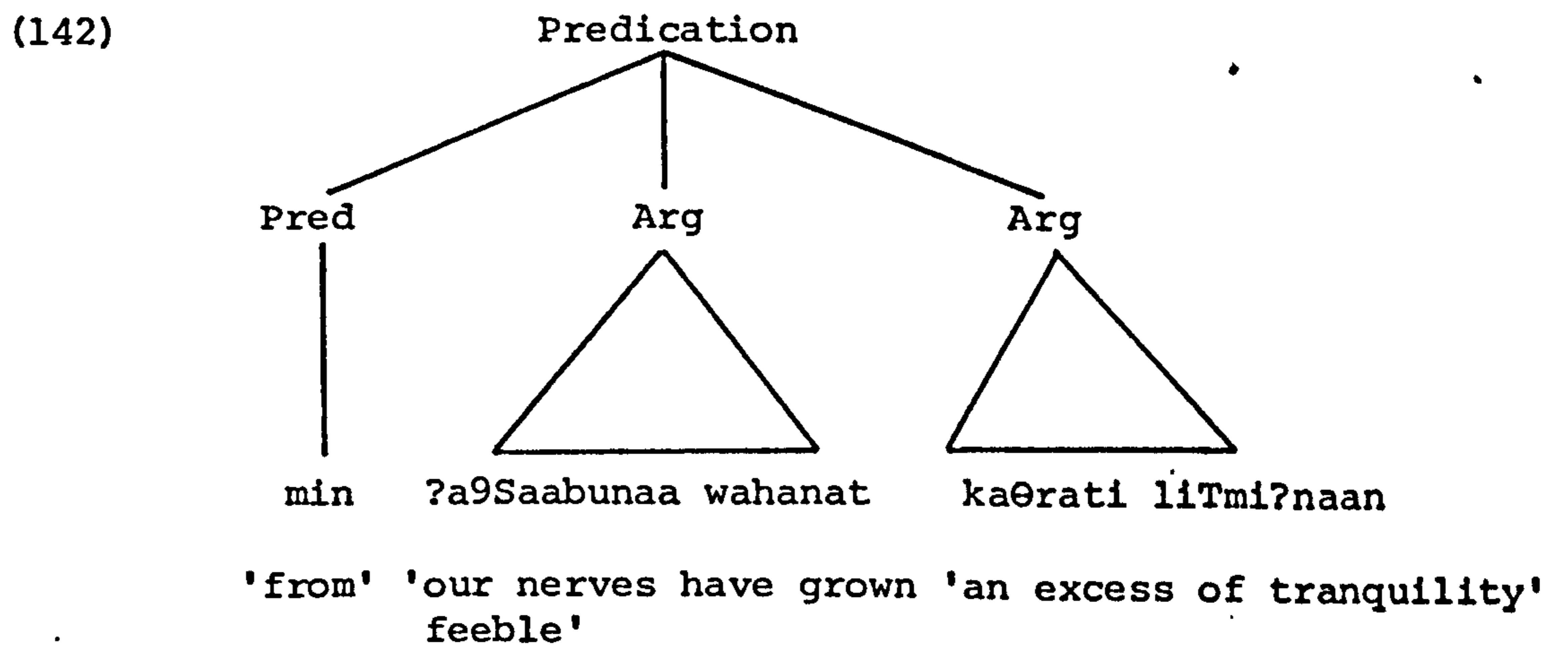
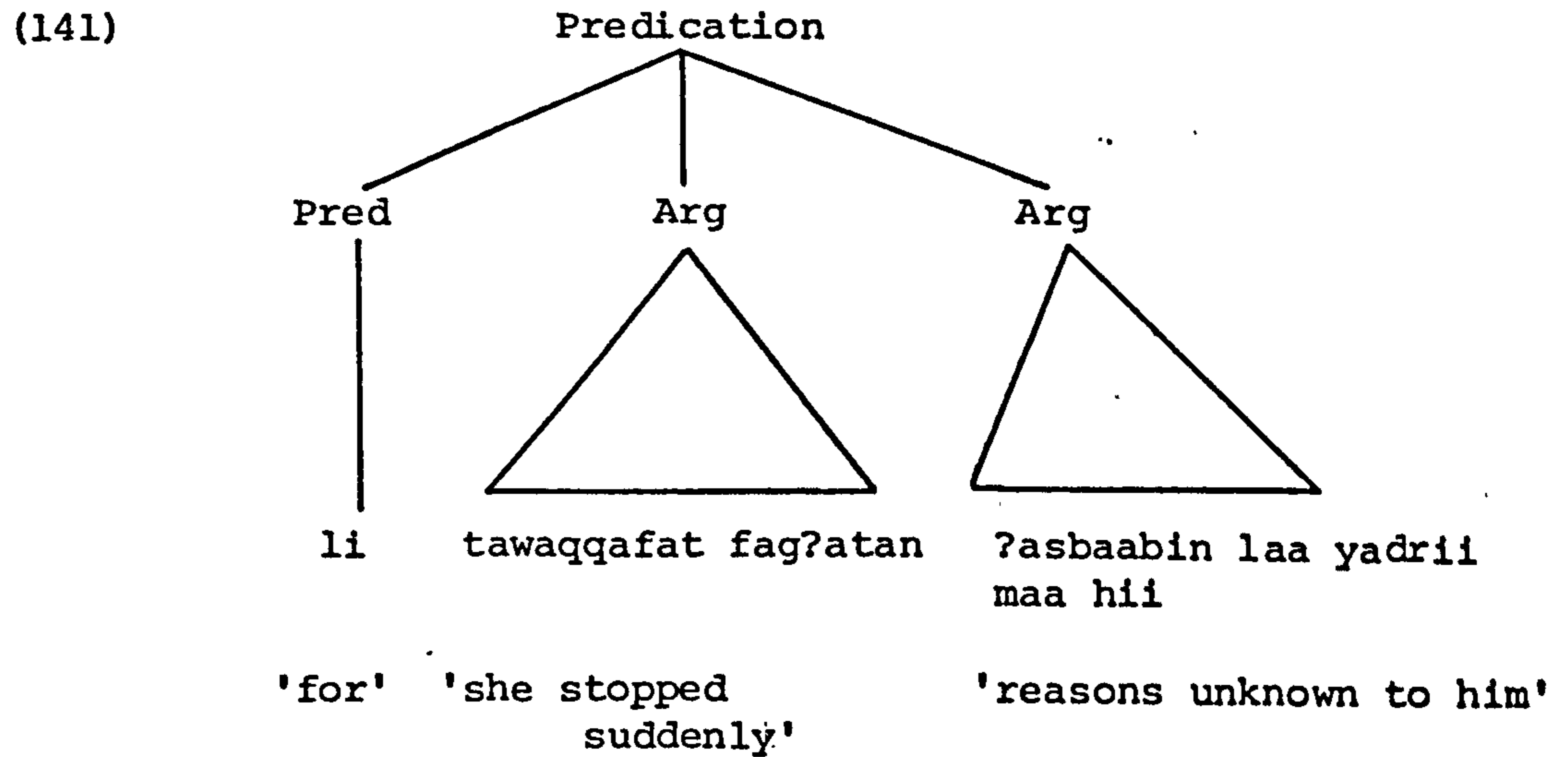
(139) He died of tuberculosis (ibid., p. 182)

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.



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 propform, 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 rain',
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), bima
?aslaftum fi l?ayyaami 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), bima nasiitum liqaa?
yawmikum haadaa 'for you forget the meeting of this your day' in (151),
and bima qaddamat ?aydihihim 'because of that which their own hands have
sent before (them)' in (152).

- (147) min ?agli daalika katabnaa 9alaa banii ?israa?iila
?annahuu man qatala mafsan bigayri nafsin ?aw fasaadin fi
l?arDi faka?annamaa qatala nnaasa gamii9aa (5/32)
For that cause We decreed for the children of Israel
that whoever kills a human being for other than man-
slaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as
if he had killed all mankind

- (148) kuluu wa ?rabuu hani?an bima ?aslaftum fi l?ayyaami
lxaaliyah (69/24)
Eat and drink at ease for that which you sent on before
you in past days

- (149) wa tammam 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?axadathumu SSaa9iqatu biZulmihim (4/153)

The storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness

(151) faduquu bima nasitum 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 bima qaddamat ?aydihim (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, bima 9indahum mina l9ilm 'in the knowledge they (themselves) possess' in (153)a, bima 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. falamma gaa?athum rusuluhum bilbayyinaati farihuu bima
9indahum mina l9ilm (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 bima
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)

b. laqad gi?tum ḡayʔan ʔidḡaa takaadu ssamaawaatu

yatafaTTarna minhu wa tanḡaqqu lʔarDu wa taxirru lgibaalu
haddaa (19/89-90)

Assuredly, you utter a disastrous thing. Whereby almost
the heavens are torn, and the earth is split asunder and
the mountains fall in ruins

(155) a. famaah wahanuu limaa ʔaSaabahum (3/146)

They did not weaken by that which befell them

b. ʔaḡḡaqqiyyu mani nxada9a lihawaah (ʔibn ʔabii Taalib, I, 146)

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 haḡaḡ 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 yaquuluun '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
qaddamat ʔaydihihim '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 'maadaa hadaθ' pro-form, as indicated by (156 - 157), and (158 - 159), respectively.

(156) a. ?ibyaDDat 9aynaahu mina lhuzn -

*maa hadaθa mina lhuzni byiDaaDu 9aynayh

His eyes were whitened with the sorrow -

What happened with the sorrow was that his eyes were
whitened

b. *maa hadaθa mina lhuzn - ?ibyaDDat 9aynaah

What happened with the sorrow? - His eyes were

whitened

(157) a. yaDiiqu 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 SSaa9iqatu biZulmihim - maa hadaθa

biZulmihimu ?axdu SSaa9iqati 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 hadaθa biZulmihim - ?axadathumu SSaa9iqah

What happened for their wickedness? -

The storm of lightning seized them

(159) a. ?aSaabathum muSiibatun bimaa qaddamat ?aydiihim -

maa hadaθa 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 hadaθa bima qaddamat ?aydihim - ?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.

(160)	ga9al	NP	NP	$\left. \begin{array}{l} V \\ \text{Active participle} \end{array} \right\}$
	'make/ cause'			
		Subject	Object	object complement

where the first NP is the nominal element of the PP in question, the second NP is the subject of the clause containing it, 'V' is ?almuDaari9 form of the main verb of the clause, and, finally, 'Active participle' is that deriving from the 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.

(161) ga9ala Zulmuhumu SSaa9iqata ta?xuđuhum

Their wickedness caused the storm of lightning to seize them

(162) ga9ala Subruhum kalimata rabbika lhusnaa tatimmu 9alayhim

Their endurance caused the fair word of your Lord to be fulfilled for them

(163) Dahiktu mimmaa qaala xaalid (cf. 27/19)

I laughed at what xaalid said

(164) ga9ala lhuznu 9aynayhi mubyaDDatayn

The sorrow made his eyes be whitened

(165) ga9alanii ?aDhaku maa qaalahuu xaalid

What xaalid said made me laugh

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 ġaniyyatun miDyaafah* 'for they are a big, rich and hospitable family' in (166), *lihubbihii littafaaSiil* 'because he likes details' in (167) and *ligiddik* 'for your seriousness' in (168).

(166) *yatakawwanu baytuhum min 9aṣri ħuguraati nawmin li?annahum
?usratun kabiiratun ġaniyyatun miDyaafah*

Their house consists of ten bedrooms, for they are a big,
rich and hospitable family

(167) *taṣmalu taqaariiruhuu 9adadan kabiiran mina SSafahaati
lihubbihii littafaaSiil*

His reports include a great number of pages because he
likes details

(168) *tastahiqqu haaḍihi lhadiyyata ligiddik*

You deserve this present for your seriousness

Examples of Reason adjuncts associating with non-Static verbs on the other hand are *min ?agli daalika* 'for that cause' in (147), *biSabrihim* 'because of their endurance' in (149), and *liṣu9uurii 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 liṣu9uurii 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 ?abaṣṣartumuunii 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 9alaa ?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), bimaah 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 l?arDu bimaah rahubat (9/118)

The earth seemed constrained on them despite the fact that it is spacious

(176) sa?aglisu 9alaa suu?i maa taquul

I will sit down in spite of the evil of what you are saying

Examples of Conditional and Concessive adjuncts associating with Stative verbs on the other hand are respectively 9alaa ?an ta?gurani 0amaaniya higag 'on condition that you hire yourself to me for eight years' in (177), 9alaa ?allaa taqtarr 'provided you do not become overweening' in (178) and 9alaa ?llaa 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 yaadhab ?ila lmadrasah 'despite the fact that he did not go to school' in (181).

(177) qaala ?innii ?uriidu ?an ?unkihaka ?ihda bnatayya

haatayni 9alaa ?an ta?gurani 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 taqtarr

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 lka0iira mina l?aayaa?i 9alaa ?annahuu saafara

?ilaa bilaadin 9adiidah

He does not know lots of things despite the fact that he travelled to numerous countries

(181) yaqdiru ?an yaktuba wa yaqra?a 9alaa ?annahuu lam yaahab
?ila lmadrasah

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 kaθrati hubbii 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 hadaθ' 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 hadaθ

What happened?

(iii) The man died

(iv) maata rragul

The man died

'do-what', on the other hand, and its Arabic equivalent 'maa/maadaa fa9al' 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?

(vi) maadaa kaana yaf9alu maahir

What was maahir doing?

(vii) He was reading a story

(viii) kaan yaqra?u qiSSah

He ' was reading a story