

PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

IN

CLASSICAL ARABIC

VOLUME II

by

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

OTHER RESTRICTIONS RELATED TO PREPOSITIONALLY REALIZED ADJUNCTS

18.0 A Note

The adjuncts concerning us here are those regarded as non-transforms (cf. above chapters fifteen and seventeen) i.e. (1) Instantive time adjuncts; (2) Time frame adjuncts; (3) fii- Duration adjuncts; (4) ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts; (5) Instrument adjuncts; (b) Means adjuncts; (7) Manner adjuncts; (8) Beneficient adjuncts; (9) Purpose adjuncts; (10) Reason adjuncts; (11) Conditional adjuncts; (12) Concessive adjuncts; (13) Free place adjuncts.

18.1 The Realization of the Prepositional Elements of Free Place and Instantive Time Adjuncts

It is possible for more than one preposition to function as prepositional element of Free place adjuncts, and others as prepositional elements of Instantive time adjuncts. However, the realization of one of these prepositions depends respectively on the features and the realization of the nominal elements they govern (cf. below 20.2.3.4; 20.2.2.1.1). Accordingly, in the lexicon, the prepositions able to function as prepositional element of Free place adjuncts are assigned selectional features in terms of the NPs they govern, which, as will be indicated (cf. below 20.2.2.1.1), are realized by NPs other than maa- ?an- or ?anna- clauses, and those able to function as prepositional element of Instantive time adjuncts are marked with categorial features in terms of the realization of the NPs they govern.

For the necessity of assigning the prepositional elements of

Place and other adjuncts categorial features in terms of the realization of the NPs they govern, and for these features, see below 20.2.2.1.1 , and for the necessity of assigning the prepositional elements of Instantive time adjuncts selectional features in terms of the NPs they govern, and for these features, see below 20.2.3.3.1.

18.2 The Realization of the Prepositional Elements of Adjuncts

There is a dependency between the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of Adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.1) and the categories to which the latter belong. In the lexicon therefore, prepositions are assigned a feature spelling out the adjuncts in which they are able to function as prepositional element (cf. below 20.2.1). Consider, for instance, the PPs *bi9aSaaka* 'with your staff' in (1), which is an instrument adjunct, and *lakumu* 'for you' in (2), which is a beneficent adjunct.

- (1) *fa?awhaynaa ?ilaa muusaa ?ini Drib bi9aSaaka*
lbahr (26/63)

Then, We inspired *muusaa* (saying): Smite the sea
 with your staff

- (2) *wa huwa lladii ?anṣa? lakumu ssam9a wa l?abSaara*
wa l?af?idah (23/78)

And it is He who has created for you ears and eyes
 and hearts

The Prepositional element of the first PP is realized by *bi* 'with'. For it is the only preposition marked in the lexicon with the feature $[+ \text{positive instrument}]$ (cf. below p.636), which means the ability to function as prepositional element with a positive

instrumental meaning in a prepositionally realized instrument adjunct. The prepositional element of the second PP, on the other hand, is realized by la 'for'. For it is the only preposition assigned in the lexicon the feature [+ beneficent] (cf. below p.637) which means the ability to function as prepositional element in a beneficent adjunct.

18.3 Selectional Features Between the Prepositional and the Nominal Elements of Adjuncts

It is indicated above that the prepositional elements of Free place and Instantive time adjuncts are assigned selectional features in terms of the NPs they govern. To be added here are the following facts:

(i) The prepositions able to be assigned such features are those governing a NP that is not realized by ?an - maa - or ?anna- clause, i.e. those having the categorial feature $\left[+ - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{other than maa-/?an-/?anna} \\ \text{clause} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} \right]$, regardless of whether it is their sole categorial feature (cf. below p.655) or not (cf. below pp.655-7). Accordingly the prepositional element of Conditional adjuncts, 9alaa 'on condition', is not assigned a selectional feature in terms of the NPs it governs. For it governs a NP that is realized by ?an-clause i.e. has the categorial feature $\left[+ - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{?an clause} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} \right]$

(ii) Like Free place and Instantive time adjuncts, the following adjuncts are assigned selectional features in terms of the NPs they govern: Time frame adjuncts; fii- Duration adjuncts; ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts; Instrument adjuncts; Means adjuncts; Manner adjuncts; Beneficent adjuncts; Purpose adjuncts; Reason adjuncts; Concessive adjuncts. Consider, for instance, sentences (3) and (4).

(3) ?iβtarāa xaalidun sayyaaratan lizawgatih

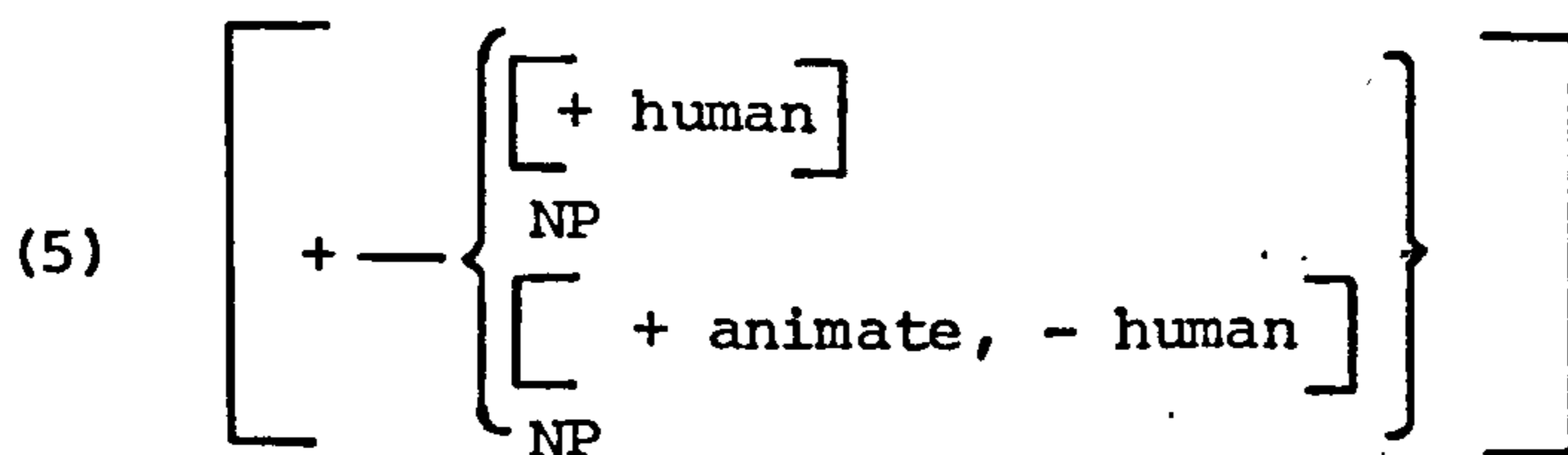
xaalid bought a car for his wife

(4) ?iβtarāa xaalidun sayyaaratan lisuuri ḥadiiqatihi

lxalfiyyah

xaalid bought a car for his back garden fence

The PP lizawgatih 'for his wife' in (3) is a beneficent adjunct, and does not violate the selectional restriction between the prepositional and the nominal element of this adjunct: there is no conflict between (5), which represents the selectional feature of the preposition li 'for', in its capacity as the prepositional element of Beneficent adjuncts, and (6), which is among the feature specification of zawgati(h) '(his) wife', the NP it governs.



(6)
$$\left[+ \text{human} \right]$$

The PP lisuuri ḥadiiqatihi lxalfiyyah 'for his back garden fence' in (4), on the other hand, cannot be analysed by analogy with the beneficent adjunct lizawgatih 'for his wife' in (3). For (7), which represents some of the feature specification of its nominal element suuri 'fence', is incompatible with the selectional feature of li 'for' in its capacity as the prepositional element of Beneficent adjunct (cf. above (5)).

(7)
$$\left[+ \text{concrete}, - \text{animate} \right]$$

It should be noted that there is no problem concerning the

selectional restrictions between the nominal and the prepositional elements of ?ilaa- Duration and Instantive time adjuncts. For there is no way of attributing some of the fact that the nominal elements of these adjuncts are marked with certain features to a restriction between them and the verbs with which they associate. The restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of ?ilaa- Duration and Instantive time adjuncts are in no way related to the verbs accompanied by them: any NP marked with the feature specification (8), e.g. niSfu llayl 'midnight' and ?assaa9atu lwaahidah 'one o'clock' can be the point of time up to which a state will remain, or an action or a happening will go on, i.e. can function as nominal element of ?ilaa- Duration adjuncts, or can be the point of time at which an action or a happening will take place, i.e. can function as nominal element of Instantive time adjuncts.

(8) [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual]

And any restrictions related to the verbs with which ?ila- Duration or Instantive time adjuncts associate will be regarded as a restriction between these verbs and the adjuncts as a whole, and stated on the prepositional elements of the latter (cf. below 20.2.2.2).

As for the remaining adjuncts there are problems. Here we will discuss that related to Beneficient adjuncts and below (cf. 18.3.2) those related to Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason, Concessive and Free place adjuncts.

18.3.1 Beneficient Adjunct

It is true that the beneficent elements of prepositionally

realized Beneficent adjuncts, i.e. the nominal elements, must have one of the feature specifications of (9).

$$(9) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{b. } [+ \text{ animate, } - \text{ human}] \end{array} \right.$$

But whether these elements will be marked with (9)a or (9)b as well as signify certain things depends on the predicate phrases with which the beneficent adjuncts associate, and in that respect the Beneficent adjunct is similar to Time frame, fii-Duration, Instrument, Means, Purpose, Reason, and Concessive adjuncts (cf. below 18.3.2).

To explain this consider (10 - 13):

(10) ?iʒtaraa maahirun kitaaban li?uxtihi/zawgatihi/
waalidihii/9ammih

maahir bought a book for his sister/his wife/
his father/his uncle

(11) ?iʒtaraa maahirun hubuuba man9i lhamli lizawgatih

maahir bought the pill (lit. the pill for the
prevention of pregnancy) for his wife

(12) ?iʒtaraa maahirun baalan likalbih

maahir bought 'Pal' for his dog

(13) ?iʒtaraa naa?ilun tibnan lihSaanih

naa?il bought hay for his horse

Based on our experience of the real world, the beneficent elements in (10 - 11) are examples of the NPs for the benefit of whom the

actions expressed by the predicate phrases ?ištaraa kitaaban 'bought a book' and ?ištaraa hubuuba man9i lhamli 'bought the pill' can be done, respectively: they are marked with the feature [+ human] and signify certain things, which qualify them as representatives of the NPs for the benefit of whom the actions in question can be done, respectively. On the basis of the same experience, on the other hand, the beneficent elements in (12 - 13) are examples of the NPs for the benefit of which the actions expressed by the predicate phrases: ?ištaraa baalan "bought 'Pal'" and, ?ištaraa tibnan 'bought hay' can be done, respectively: they are both marked with the feature specification [+ animate, - human] and signify particular things, which qualify them as representatives of the NPs for the benefit of which the actions expressed by the predicate phrases in question can be done, respectively.

To recapitulate: concerning the features of the NPs functioning as Beneficent element, as well as the possible predicate phrases with which they associate, there are two facts:

- (1) that the beneficent elements of prepositionally realized Beneficent adjuncts are marked with either the feature specification (9)a or (9)b.
- (2) what determines whether the beneficent element having the feature specification (9)a or (9)b as well as signifying particular things is the right one is the predicate phrase with which the Beneficent adjunct associates: there are predicate phrases which require the beneficent elements of the Beneficent adjuncts associating with them to denote certain things and be marked with (9)a not (9)b, and others which require the beneficent elements to

signify particular things and have the feature specification (9)b rather than (9)a.

In relation to the first fact, it will be dealt with as a linguistic restriction between the nominal and the prepositional element of Beneficient adjunct. As will be indicated below (cf. pp. 692-4), this restriction will be stated on the latter element. Therefore, in the lexicon the preposition *li* 'for' that has the feature $[+ \text{beneficient}]$, which means the ability to function as prepositional element of prepositionally realized Beneficient adjuncts, will be assigned selectional features in terms of the feature of the NPs it governs (cf. above (9)). As for the second fact, it is regarded as a non-linguistic constraint (cf. below 18.3.2). There are therefore no lexical entries, along the lines of those of verbs, for predicate phrases; and combinations such as *?aqaama masgidan liqitTatih* 'built a mosque for his cat' in (14) are pragmatically, not linguistically, ill-formed.

(14) *?aqaama rragulu masgidan liqitTatih*

The man built a mosque for his cat

The question arises: Why is it necessary to recognize two restrictions related to the nominal element of Beneficient adjunct: one between it and the preposition governing it, and another between it and the predicate phrase with which it associates? Why not do away with the former and widen the latter so as to account for the fact that the feature specification of the nominal element of Beneficient adjunct is not identical with those of the nominal elements of other adjuncts? For the answer to this question, see below 18.3.2.

It should be noted that the aforementioned restriction between the beneficiaries and the prepositional elements of Beneficent adjuncts as well as that between the beneficent elements and the predicate phrases are only applicable to the subclass of Beneficent adjuncts that are paraphraseable by *liSaaliḥ* 'in the interest of' or *limanfa9ah* 'for the benefit of' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 115).

As for the other subclass, which is paraphraseable by *binniyaabati 9an* 'on behalf of' (ibid., p. 115), there is as well a restriction between its beneficent and Prepositional element: the beneficent element must have the feature [+ human]; and, like its corresponding restriction related to the subclass paraphraseable by *liSaaliḥ* 'in the interest of' or *limanfa9ah* 'for the benefit of', this restriction will be stated on the prepositional element (cf. below pp. 692-4). Examples of this subclass of Beneficent adjunct are *limuḥammad* 'on behalf of muḥammad' in (15), and *lixaalid* 'on behalf of xaalid' in (16).

(15) ?iṣṭaraytu kitaaban limuḥammad

I bought a book on behalf of muḥammad

(16) ?iṣṭaraytu tibnan lixaalid

I bought hay on behalf of xaalid

As appears from (15), sometimes, the Beneficent adjunct whose beneficent element is marked with the feature [+ human] could be regarded as belonging to the subclass paraphraseable by '*liSaaliḥ*' or '*limanfa9ah*' or to that paraphraseable by '*binniyaabati 9an*': sentence (15) could be respectively paraphrased by (17) or (18), which are mine.

(17) ?iṣtaraytu kitaaban liSaalihi muhammad

I bought a book for the benefit of muhammad

(18) ?iṣtaraytu kitaaban binniyaabati 9an muhammad

I bought a book on behalf of muhammad

This case of ambiguity occurs if the beneficent element marked with the feature $[+ \text{human}]$ is one of those for the benefit of whom the action expressed by the predicate phrase can be done. If this is not the case, as in relation to the beneficent element 'xaalid' in (16), the beneficent element marked with the feature $[+ \text{human}]$ will be regarded as belonging only to the subclass paraphraseable by binniyaabati 9an 'on behalf of'.

In contradistinction to the beneficent element of the subclass of Beneficent adjunct that is paraphraseable by 'liSaalihi/limanfa9ah' on the other hand, there is no restriction between the beneficent element of the subclass of Beneficent adjunct that is paraphraseable by 'binniyaabati 9an' and the predicate phrase: combinations such as '?iṣtaray tibnan lixaalid' in (16) and 'bana ?iṣṭablan li9aliyy' in (19), which are ill-formed, if the Beneficent adjuncts are interpreted as limanfa9ati xaalid 'for the benefit of xaalid' and limanfa9ati 9aliyy 'for the benefit of 9aliyy', respectively, are well-formed if the adjuncts are interpreted as binniyaabati 9an xaalid and 9aliyy 'on behalf of xaalid and 9aliyy', respectively.

(19) bana ḥannaʔu ?iṣṭablan li9aliyy

The builder built a stable on behalf of 9aliyy

And any restriction related to the verbal elements of the Predicate phrases with which the Beneficent adjuncts paraphraseable by

'binniyaabati 9an' associate will be considered a restriction between these elements and the Beneficient adjuncts as a whole, and stated on the prepositional elements of the adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.2.2).

18.3.2 Time Frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason, Concessive and Free Place Adjuncts

As indicated above (18.3) and as will be explained below (20.2.3), there are co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of the following adjuncts: Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason, Concessive and Free place adjuncts. There are also other restrictions related to the nominal or some of the nominal elements of these adjuncts:

1. The restrictions between the nominal elements of Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts and the verbs associating with them. Consider for instance the following sentences.

(20) a. yabnii ?ahul haada lbaladi bilhigaarah

The people of this country build with stones

b. yabnii ?ahlu haada lbaladi bissuyuuf

The people of this country build with swords

(21) a. yu?aggi9u maahirun bilkalimaati lmuxliSah

maahir encourages with sincere words

b. yu?aggi9u maahirun bilhumq

maahir encourages with wrath

(22) a. ?anta tahkumu bayna nnaasi bil9adl

You judge between people justly

- b. ?anta taḥkumu bayna nnaasi bi9uduubah
You judge between people in an agreeable way
- (23) a. ?aSuumu li?iraahati ma9idatii
I fast to let my stomach rest
- b. ?aSuumu likay yaTuula §a9rii
I fast so that my hair becomes long
- (24) a. yaSuumu maahirun liziyaadati lhumuuDati fii ma9idatih
maahir fasts because of the increase in acidity in
his stomach
- b. yaSuumu maahirun lidawaraani l?arDi hawla §§ams
maahir fasts because of the earth's rotation round
the sun
- (25) a. yuḥibbuḥaa 9alaa ḥumqihaa
He loves her in spite of her wrath
- b. yuḥibbuḥaa 9alaa ḥusni 9i§ratiḥaa
He loves her in spite of her good companionship

To begin with, the PPs bilhigaarah 'with stones' in (20)a, bilkalimaati ImuxliSah 'with sincere words' in (21)a, bil9adl. 'justly' in (22)a, li?iraahati ma9idatii 'to let my stomach rest' in (23)a, liziyaadati lhumuuDati fii ma9idatih 'because of the increase in acidity in his stomach' in (24)a, and 9alaa ḥumqihaa 'in spite of her wrath' in (25)a function as Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts, respectively. And their nominal elements designate some of the instruments, means, manners, purposes, reasons and concessive elements of the verbs with which they associate, i.e. do not conflict with them. Hence they - the PPs - constitute with these verbs well-formed combinations.

Secondly, the PPs *bissuyuuf* 'with swords' in (20)a, *bilhumq* 'with wrath' in (21)b, *bi9uduubah* 'in an agreeable way' in (22)b, *likay yaTuula §a9rii* 'so that my hair becomes long' in (23)b, *lidawaraani l?arDi hawla §§ams* 'because of the earth's rotation round the sun' in (24)b, and *9alaa husni 9i§ratihaa* 'in spite of her good companionship' in (25)b are analogous with those of (20a - 25a), respectively. Their nominal elements however, are in conflict with the verbs with which they associate: they do not designate some of the instruments, means, manners, purposes, reasons and concessive elements of these verbs. Therefore, the PPs and the verbs constitute ill-formed combinations.

2. The second restriction related to the nominal elements of the adjuncts in question (cf. above p.497) is that between the nominal elements of Time frame, *fii*- Duration, Instrument, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts on the one hand, and the predicate phrases of the clauses embracing them on the other. Consider, for example, sentences (26 - 32).

- (26) a. *qara?a maahiruni ttaqriira da SSafahaati l9a§ri*
fii Sabaahi lgum9ati lmaaDii
 maahir read the ten-page report in the morning of
 last Friday
- b. *qara?a maahirun mi?atay books fii Sabaahi*
lgum9ati lmaaDii
 maahir read two hundred books in the morning of
 last Friday

- (27) a. *qara?a Saadiquni lgumlata fii daqiqah*
 Saadiq read the sentence in a minute

- b. qara?a Saadiquni lkitaaba fii daqiiqah
Saadiq read the book in a minute
- (28) a. ?awqafa rragulu TTifla bi?iSba9ih
The man stopped the child with his finger
- b. ?awqafa rragulu lgamala lgaamiha bi?iSba9ih
The man stopped the untameable camel with his finger
- (29) a. ?axaafa maahiruni TTifla bibtisaamah
maahir frightened the child by a smile
- b. ?axaafa maahiruni rragula \$ugaa9a bibtisaamah
maahir frightened the courageous man with a smile
- (30) a. ?i\$taraa maahirun 9imaaratan lilmusaahamati fii
halli ?azmati ssukkaan
maahir bought a building to participate in solving
the crisis of settlement
- b. ?i\$taraa maahirun \$ammaa9atan lilmusaahamati fii
halli ?a mati ssukkaan
maahir bought a clothes-hanger to participate in
solving the crisis of settlement
- (31) a. ?i\$taraa maahirun baytan gadiidan liSi9ari \$aqqatih
maahir bought a new house because of his flat being
small
- b. ?i\$taraa maahirun ribaaTa hidaa?in liSi9ari \$aqqatih
maahir bought a shoelace because of his flat being
small
- (32) a. taSaddaqa maahirun bigunayhin 9alaa fuqaraa?i
baladihii 9alaa ginaah

maahir donated a pound to the poor of his country
in spite of his richness

b. taṢaddaqa maahirun bixamsiina ʔalfa gunayhin 9alaa
fuqaraaʔi baladihii 9alaa ġinaah

maahir donated fifty thousand pounds to the poor of
his country in spite of his richness

The PPs fii Sabaahi lgum9ati lmaaDii 'in the morning of last Friday' in (26)a, fii daqiiqah 'in a minute' in (27)a, biʔiSba9ih 'with his finger' in (28)a, bibtisaamah 'by a smile' in (29)a lilmusaahamati fii halli ʔazmati ssukkaan 'to participate in solving the crisis of settlement' in (30)a, liSiġari ʃaqqatih 'because of his flat being small' in (31)a and 9alaa ġinaah 'in spite of his richness' in (32)a function as Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts, respectively. And their nominal elements are not in conflict with the predicate phrases of the clauses embracing them: they designate things with which these predicate phrases can co-occur. Accordingly, the combinations consisting of these predicates and PPs are well formed.

In sentences (26b - 32b), the same PPs have the same functions, or could be analysed in the same way, i.e. as Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjunct, respectively; yet their nominal elements are in contradiction with the predicate phrases of the clauses embracing them: they denote things with which these predicate phrases cannot associate. Consequently, they - the PPs and the predicate phrases - constitute ill-formed combinations.

3. The last restriction related to the adjuncts in question

(cf. above P.497) is that between: the nominal elements of Time-frame, fii- Duration, Reason, Concessive and Free place adjuncts, and the clauses containing them. Consider, for example sentences (33 - 37).

- (33) a. halla ttilmiidu l9abqariyyu mi?ata mas?alatin
riyaaDiiyyatin fi SSabaah
The ingenious pupil solved one hundred mathematical
problems in the morning
- b. halla ttilmiidu l9abiyyu mi?ata mas?alatin riyaa-
Diiyyatin fi SSabaah
The stupid pupil solved one hundred mathematical
problems in the morning
- (34) a. ?imtala?a lkuubu bilmaa?i fii daqiiqah
The cup became full with water in a minute
- b. ?imtala?a nnahru bilmaa?i fii daqiiqah
The river became full with water in a minute
- (35) a. zaada lgafaafu litawaqqufi suquuTi lmaTar
The dryness increased because of the cessation of
the rainfall.
- b. zaada Tuulu maahirin litawaqqufi nuzuuli lmaTar
maahir's height increased because of the cessation
of the rainfall
- (36) a. satastamirru ?aalaamuhuu 9alaa ka0rati l?adwiyati
llatii ?axadaha
His pains will continue in spite of the multitude
of the medicines he took

b. satastamirru lharaaratu 9alaa kaθrati l?adwiyati
llatii ?axadaha

The heat will continue in spite of the multitude of
the medicines he took

(37) a. taqaatala 9iḡruuna Taaliban .fii hugratin misaahatuhaa
θalaaθuuna mitran murabba9aa

Twenty students fought with one another in a thirty
square meter-room

b. taqaatala ?alfu Taalibin fii hugratin misaahatuhaa
θalaaθuuna mitran murabba9aa

A thousand students fought with one another in a
thirty square meter-room

The PPs fi SSabaahr 'in the morning' in (33)a, fii daqiiqah
'in a minute' in (34)a, litawaqqufi suquuti lmaTar 'because of the cessation
of the rainfall' in (35)a, 9alaa kaθrati l?adwiyati llatii
?axadaha 'in spite of the multitude of the medicines he took' in
(36)a, and fii hugratin misaahatuhaa θalaaθuuna mitran murabba9aa
'in a thirty square meter-room' in (37)a function as Time frame,
fii- Duration, Reason, Concessive and Free place adjuncts, respectively.
And their nominal elements are not in conflict with the clauses
embracing them. For they denote things with which these clauses
can co-occur. Consequently, they constitute with the clauses
containing them well-formed combinations.

In sentences (33b - 37b) the same PPs are analysed in the same
way. Their nominal elements however conflict with the clauses
embracing them: they designate things with which these clauses cannot
co-occur. Hence, the clauses and the PPs constitute ill-formed
combinations.

Like the ill-formedness of the predicate-beneficient adjunct combinations whose nominal and predicate elements conflict (cf. above 18.3.1), that of the combinations related to (20b - 37b) are regarded in the present work as being pragmatic rather than linguistic. This means firstly that like the combinations related to (20a - 37a), those having to do with (20b - 37b) are generated by the grammar; but while the former are both pragmatically and linguistically well-formed, the latter are linguistically but not pragmatically well-formed. Secondly, that the combinations related to (20b - 37b) are some of the ill-formed combinations involving the non-transformed adjuncts the grammar is bound to generate, even if the dependency between the prepositional elements of adjuncts and the categories to which the latter belong and all the following restrictions are satisfied: (For other ill-formed combinations, see above 15.1.6).

(i) The restrictions between main verbs and adjuncts (cf. above Chapters Fifteen and Seventeen); (ii) the restrictions between Instrument, Means, Beneficient and Purpose adjuncts, and the subjects of their clauses (cf. below 20.2.2.2.6; 20.2.2.2.8-9); (iii) the restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.3).

In relation to Beneficient adjuncts, the question is raised: Why is it necessary to recognize two restrictions related to the nominal elements of Beneficient adjuncts: (i) between them and the preposition governing them and (ii) between them and the predicate phrases of the clauses embracing them? Why not do away with the former and widen the latter so as to account for the fact that the feature specification of the nominal element of Beneficient adjunct is not identical with those of the nominal elements of other Adjuncts?

(cf. above 18.3.1). The answer to this question has not yet been given. For an identical question to it arises in relation to Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason, Concessive and Free place adjuncts: Why is it necessary to recognize two restrictions related to the nominal elements of these adjuncts: one between them and the prepositions governing them and another between them and the verbs, the predicate phrases or the clauses with which they associate? Why not abolish the former and widen the latter in such a way that accounts for the fact that the feature specifications of the nominal elements of these adjuncts are different? Before giving the answer to these questions, it should be noted that they imply recognizing as linguistic constraints those between the nominal elements of the aforementioned adjuncts, and the verbs, the predicate phrases or the clauses with which they associate.

The answer to the questions can be divided into two parts: one related to the necessity of recognizing a restriction between the nominal and the prepositional elements of the adjuncts in question, and another related to the basis of recognizing as pragmatic rather than linguistic the restriction between the same nominal elements and the verbs, the predicate phrases, or the clauses with which they co-occur.

As for the first part of the answer, it is necessary to recognize a restriction between the prepositional and the nominal elements of Beneficent, Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason, Concessive and Free Place adjuncts; otherwise the following fact will be left unaccounted for: that regardless of the verbs, the predicate phrases, or the clauses with which they co-occur, some of the PPs whose prepositional elements are able to

function as prepositional element of non-transformed adjuncts can be judged as being well-formed, and others as being ill-formed. Consider for example the PPs of (38 - 42).

- (38) a. limuntaSafi llayl
 Until midnight
 b. 9alaa muntaSafi llayl
 On midnight

- (39) a. fii saa9atayn
 In two hours
 b. fii 9aliyy
 In 9aliyy

- (40) a. 9ala l?arD
 On the ground
 b. 9ala l?amal
 On the hope

- (41) a. bil9aSaa
 With the staff
 b. bisaThi lmaktab
 With the desk surface

- (42) a. tahta \$agarah
 Under the tree
 b. tahta lgamaal
 Under beauty

The PPs of (38a - 42a) are well-formed adjuncts. For their prepositional elements are some of the prepositions able to function as prepositional elements of prepositionally realized adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.1) and their nominal elements are some of the NPs that

can be governed by these prepositions (cf. below 20.2.3). They are ?ilaa-Duration, fii- Duration, Free place, Instrument, and Free place adjunct, respectively. The PPs of (38b - 42b), on the other hand, are ill-formed adjuncts, for though their prepositional elements are some of the prepositions able to function as prepositional element of prepositionally realized adjuncts (cf. for example, Free place, fii- Duration, Concessive, Time frame, and Free place adjunct, respectively in (20.2.1)), their nominal elements are not some of the NPs able to function as nominal elements of adjuncts with these prepositions being their prepositional elements (cf. below 20.2.3).

In relation to Free Place adjuncts, there is however another reason for recognizing a restriction between its prepositional and nominal elements. As will be indicated below (20.2.3.4), the realization of their prepositional elements depends on the feature specifications of their nominal ones.

As for the second part of the answer of the aforementioned questions (cf. pp. 504-5), it is, on the other hand, as follows: the restrictions between the nominal elements of Beneficent, Time frame, fii- Duration, Instrument, Means, Manner, Purpose, Reason, Concessive and Free Place adjuncts, and the verbs, the predicate phrases or the clauses with which they associate ought to be considered to be non-linguistic, i.e. pragmatic for the following reasons:

1. To regard as being linguistic the aforementioned restrictions requires assigning either NPs features in terms of the verbs, the predicate phrases or the clauses with which they associate when

functioning as nominal elements of one of the aforementioned adjuncts, or vice versa. But to do this will be at the cost of generalization. Consider for instance (43 - 44).

- (43) a. *nagaħa maahirun ligiddih*
 maahir succeeded because of his working hard
- b. *nagaħa maahirun liġinaa waalidih*
 maahir succeeded because of his father's richness
- c. *nagaħa maahirun lidakaa?ih*
 maahir succeeded because of his intelligence
- (44) a. *nagaħa maahirun lidawaraani l?arDi ħawla §§ams*
 maahir succeeded because of the earth's rotation
 round the sun
- b. *nagaħa maahirun li?anna kulla waahidin qad wuhiba*
9aynayni wa ?uđunayn
 maahir succeeded for everyone has been giving two
 sights and two ears
- c. *nagaħa maahirun li?anna l?arDa tunbitu 00imaar*
 maahir succeeded because the earth makes fruits grow

The verb- PP combinations of (43) are well-formed for one and the same reason, that according to our knowledge of the real world, their nominal elements designate some of the causes of the happenings denoted by their verbal elements. The verb-PP combinations of (44) on the other hand are ill-formed for also one reason, that according to our knowledge of the real world, their nominal elements designate things which cannot be thought of as some of the causes of the happenings expressed by their verbal elements. If the restrictions between the nominal elements of the adjuncts in question (cf. above p. 497) and the verbs (the predicate phrases or the clauses) with which they

associate are considered to be linguistic, the aforementioned generalization will be lost. For like all the feature specifications, in their capacity as feature specifications of NPs, the feature specifications of the nominal elements of these adjuncts that are assigned in terms of the verbs, the predicate phrases or the clauses with which they associate or vice versa are designated so as not to be connected with one another. Hence, the verb-PP combinations of (44) on the one hand, and those of (43) on the other will be regarded as being ill- and well-formed on different basis, respectively: that the selectional features of their nominal elements are and are not in conflict with the features of their verbal ones or vice versa.

2. To regard as being linguistic the restrictions in question (cf. above p. 505) requires the recognition of clauses and predicate phrases as lexical items, which is counter-intuitive, for the number of clauses and predicate phrases is infinite.

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

THE 'ASPECTS' STAND ON VERB-PREPOSITION-NOUN COMBINATIONS

19.1 Summary and Understanding

In 'Aspects', the following dichotomy is recognized by Chomsky: VP complements vs. Verbal complements. The VP complements recognized by Chomsky and, therefore, regarded as not participating in verbal subcategorization (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 102) are Place and Time; and according to him, they are generated by rule (1).

(1) Predicate phrase → AUX VP (Place) (Time)

Examples of Place and Time are 'in England' in (2) and 'after dinner' in (3), respectively.

(2) John died in England (ibid., p. 103).

(3) John always runs after dinner (ibid., p. 103)

It appears from the examples given by Chomsky for Place and Time that they can be prepositionally realized, i.e. rewritten as PP as indicated by rules (4) and (5).

(4) Place → PP

(5) Time → PP

In a footnote (ibid., pp. 218-9, fn. 28), Chomsky indicates that 'Place adverbials (at least those which are VP complements) must sometimes, or perhaps always, be regarded as sentence transforms'. According to him, 'in England' in (6) 'derives from an underlying structure very much like the one that underlies' (7) (loc. cit.).

(6) I read the book in England (ibid., pp. 218-19, fn. 28)

- (7) I read the book while (I was) in England (ibid., pp. 218-19, fn. 28)

It should be noted however that this assumption is not incompatible with Chomsky's consideration of Place that is a VP complement to be generated by rule (1). 'In England' in the dependent clause 'while (I was) in England' in (7) is still generated by this rule as indicated by rules (8), which generate this clause.

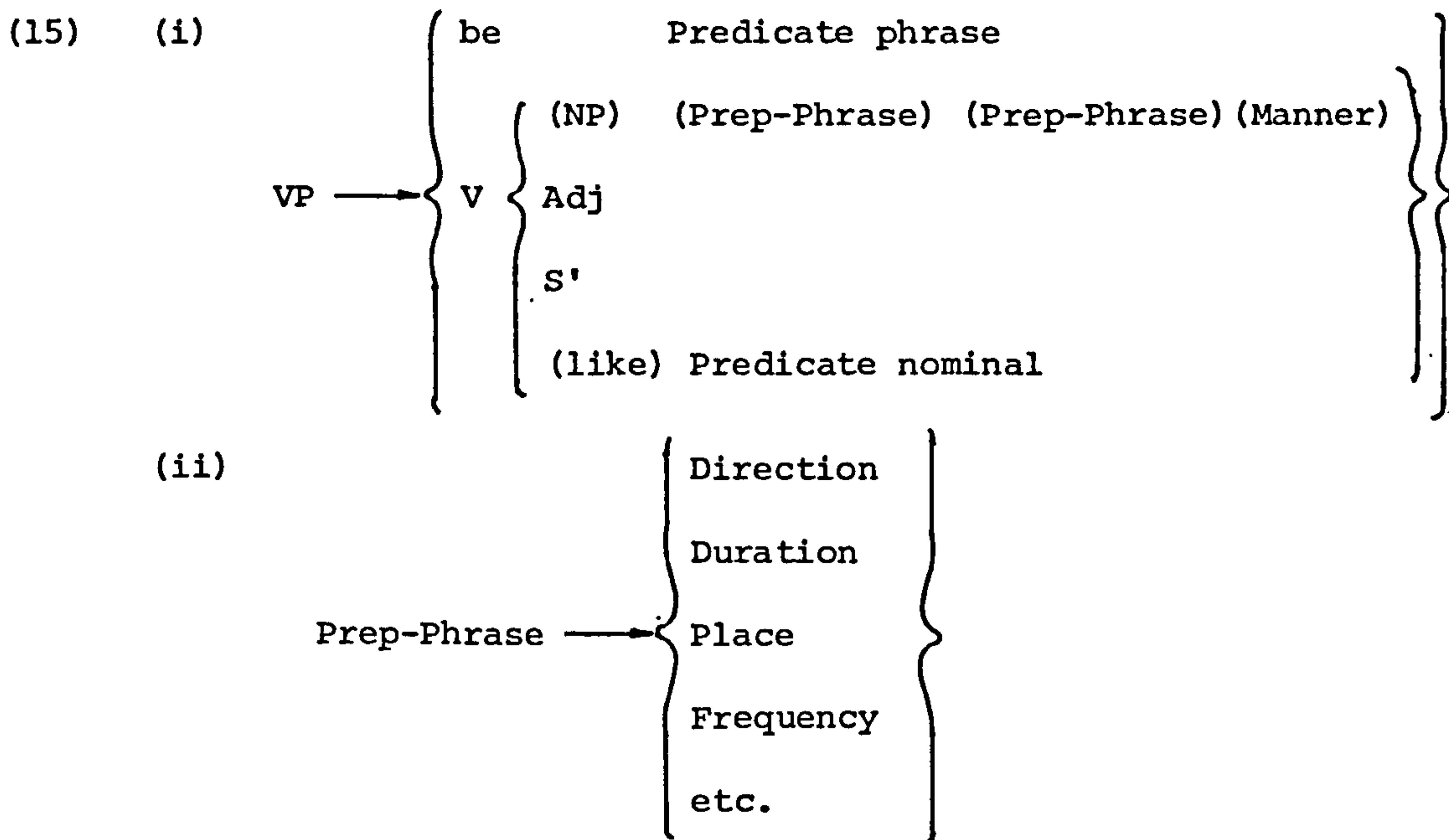
- (8) (i) Adverbial \longrightarrow Adverbial particle S
(ii) S \longrightarrow NP Predicate phrase
(iii) Predicate phrase \longrightarrow VP Place
(iv) VP \longrightarrow V
(v) Place \longrightarrow PP
(vi) PP \longrightarrow P NP

Among the verbal complements recognized by Chomsky in Aspects and, therefore, regarded as participating 'in verb subcategorization' (Chomsky, 1965: 103) are the following ones: 'into the room' in (9), 'for three hours' in (10), 'in England' in (11), 'from time to time' in (12), 'on the boat' in (13), and Manner, e.g. 'cleverly' in (14).

- (9) He dashed into the room (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 102)
(10) It lasted for three hours (ibid., p. 102)
(11) He remained in England (ibid., p. 102)
(12) He washes his car from time to time (cf. Quirk et al., p. 489)
(13) He decided on the boat (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 101)
(14) John laid his plans cleverly (ibid., p. 218)

According to Chomsky (ibid., p. 102), the PPs in (9 - 12) and the

like are generated by rule (15) (i), and rewritten as Direction, Duration, Place and Frequency by rule (15) (ii), respectively. As for the PP in (13) and the like, as well as Manner, they are generated, according to him, by rule (15) (i).



It should be noted firstly, as indicated above (cf. 510) that, like the adverbials that are generated by rule (15), which are verbal complements, those that are VP complements (cf. (1)) as well as Manner, which is a verbal complement (cf. above rule (15) (i)) can be prepositionally realized. Hence, they are to be rewritten as PP as indicated by rule (4) and (5), and (16), respectively.

(16) Manner → PP

This means that the order between the rules generating Manner and VP adverbials, i.e. rules (15) (i), and (1), respectively, and those generating their realization, i.e. rules (16), and (4 - 5), respectively, is regarded by Chomsky as being different from the order between the rule generating verbal adverbials, i.e. rules (15) (ii), and that generating their realization, i.e. (15) (i). While the former order is

adverbial-realization, the latter is realization-adverbials. See below (19.2.2), for whether Chomsky provides justification for this differentiation, and for which order is relevant to the grammar of adverbials and their realization. Secondly, Duration, and Place adjuncts exemplified by the PPs in (10) and (11), respectively, and regarded by Chomsky as being generated by rule (15) (ii), are bound adjuncts, i.e. adjuncts not able to occur outside the scope of VP pro-forms (cf. below 22.2). These adjuncts ought to be differentiated from their free counterparts, which are able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form (cf. below 22.2). Of these free adjuncts, Place (as well as Time) are regarded by Chomsky as being generated by rule (1), which is a possible way of generating such adjuncts. Below, Bound duration, and Bound place as well as Direction, which are verbal complements, will be referred to as Adverbial verbal complements, while Time, Free duration and Free place will be referred to as VP adjuncts. Verbal complements other than Direction, Bound duration, and Bound place, e.g. 'on the boat' in (13), will be referred to, on the other hand, as non-Adverbial verbal complements. In cases where they are prepositionally realized, Adverbial and non-Adverbial verbal complements will be referred to respectively as adverbial and non-adverbial POs.

Chomsky says nothing concerning whether the following categories are VP adjuncts or adverbial verbal complements:

- (a) Instrument adjuncts
- (b) Means adjuncts
- (c) Reason adjuncts
- (d) Comitative and Having adjuncts

- (e) Beneficent adjuncts
- (f) Conditional adjuncts
- (g) Concessive adjuncts
- (h) Purpose adjuncts
- (i) Subject and Object adjuncts
- (j) Free duration adjuncts

In fact, apart from Subject adjuncts⁽¹⁾, Chomsky does not mention these adjuncts at all. Relying, however, both on the fact that the only adjuncts regarded by Chomsky as VP adjuncts, i.e. as being generated by rule (1), are Place, and Time, and on the presence of the .abbreviated from 'etc.!' among the adjuncts considered by Chomsky to be Adverbial verbal complements i.e. to be generated by rule (15) (ii), whose input is generated by rule (15) (i), one might infer that he regards the aforementioned adjuncts (cf. p.513) as Adverbial verbal complements.

I have nevertheless come across two other views of Chomsky's opinion on the status of some of the adjuncts mentioned above regarding VP and verbal complementation. The two views are opposed to each other, but have in common the fact that they are considered by their proponents to be Chomsky's precise view on some of the adjuncts under discussion, but with no justification:

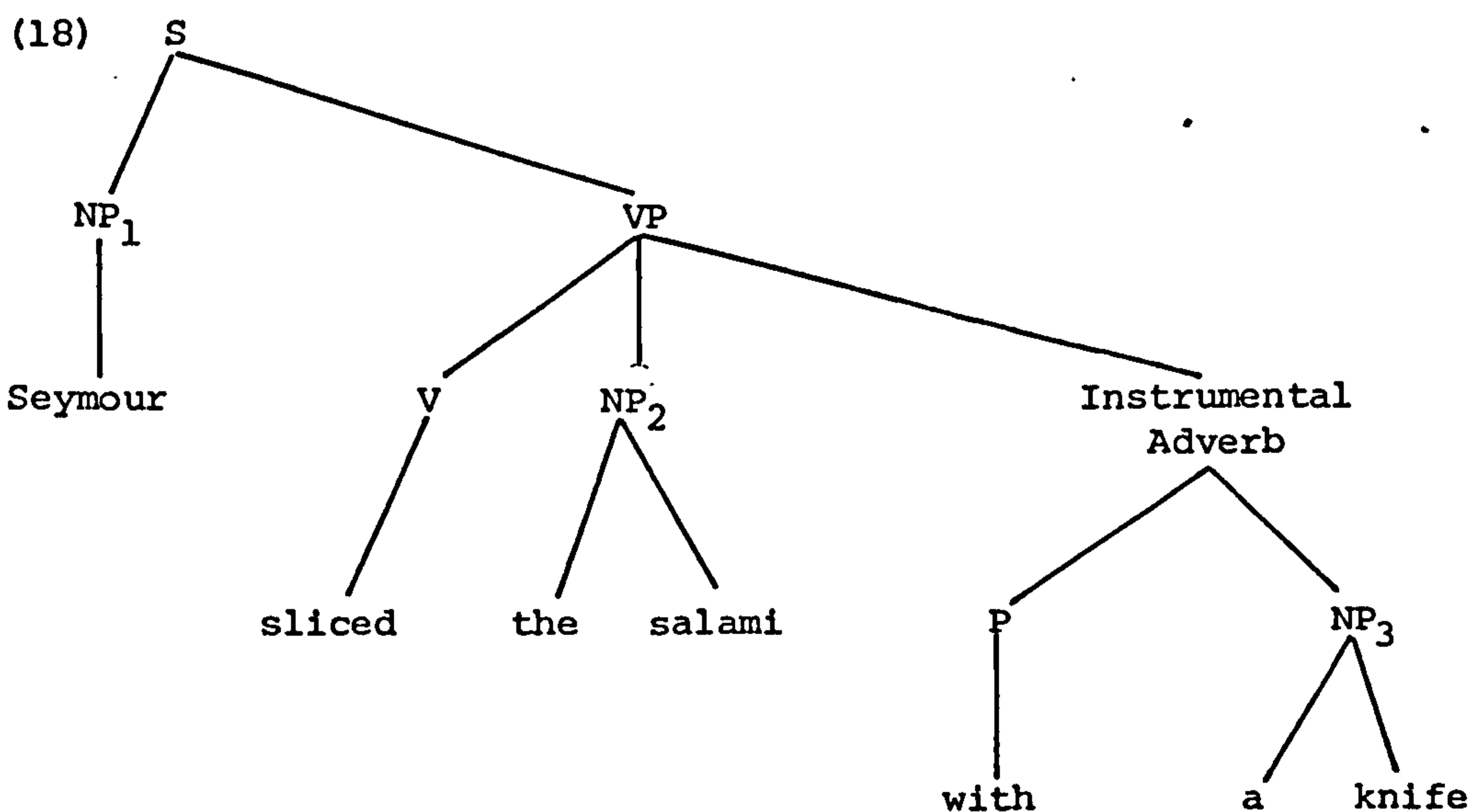
1. Geis holds it that Free duration adjuncts as well as Instrument (and Manner⁽²⁾) adjuncts are regarded in the 'Aspects' model of Transformational-Generative Grammar (henceforth the 'Aspects' model of TGG) as VP adjuncts (cf. Geis, pp. 47-8).
2. Lakoff and Ross⁽³⁾ on the other hand state that the following adjuncts are considered by Chomsky to be Adverbial verbal complements

(cf. Lakoff and John Robert Ross, pp. 7-8).

- (i) Free duration adjuncts
- (ii) Instrument adjuncts
- (iii) Means adjuncts
- (iv) Purpose adjuncts
- (v) Beneficient adjuncts, which they call 'For someone's sake' adjuncts
- (vi) Comitative adjuncts, which they call 'With-phrases'.

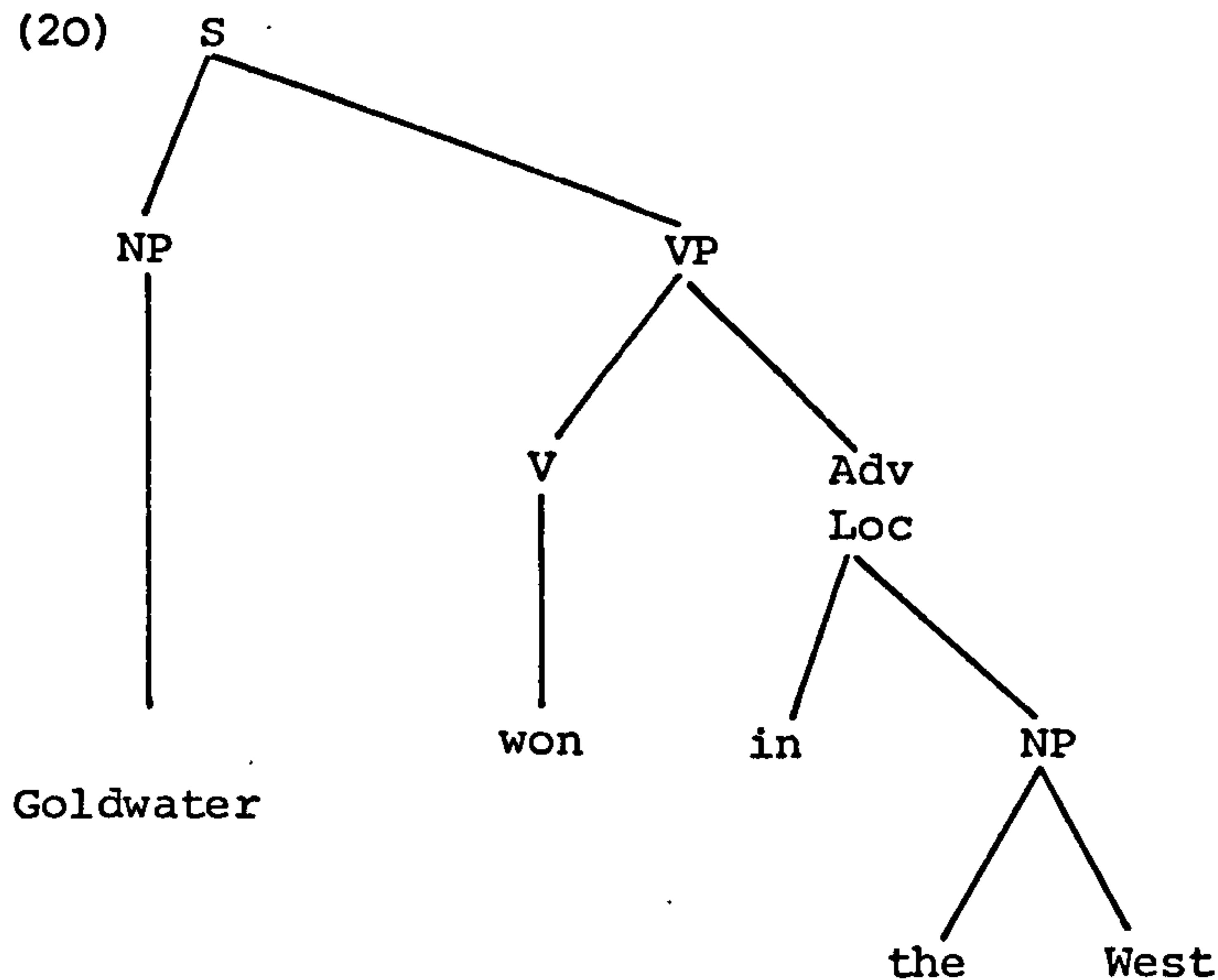
Also Lakoff analyses clauses with Instrument adjuncts according to the 'Aspects' model as if these adjuncts were considered by Chomsky to be Adverbial verbal complements (cf. Lakoff, 1968: 20-1). The deep structure of (17), which he assigns according to the 'Aspects' model, is (18), where the Instrument adjunct is directly dominated by VP, i.e. is considered an Adverbial verbal complement and, consequently, plays 'a role in verbal subcategorization' (Chomsky, 1965: 103).

- (17) Seymour sliced the salami with a knife (cf. Lakoff, 1968: 6)



It should be noted firstly that Lakoff also indicates that 'in most transformational studies' sentence (19) 'would be analysed essentially as in' (20) (Lakoff, 1970: 154).

(19) Goldwater won in the West (ibid., p. 154)



These studies do not of course include Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.

For Free place adjuncts such as 'in the West' in (19) is generated in Aspects by rule (1). Hence, they are sister constituents of VP not V. Nor does Lakoff mean that Aspects is one of these transformational studies. For, he (and Ross) notice Chomsky's recognition of two types of Place (adverbials): (i) those that are adverbial verbal complements, i.e. bound adjuncts, e.g. 'in England' in (21), and (ii) those that are VP adjuncts, i.e. free adjuncts, e.g. 'in England' in (22).

(21) John remained in England (cf. Lakoff and John Robert Ross, p. 3)

(22) John solved the problem in England (ibid., p. 3)

Furthermore, they admit that their 'do-so test' supports this distinction: 'the ungrammaticality of' (23) "shows that 'in England'"

in (21) 'is inside the verb phrase', i.e. is an adverbial verbal complement 'and the grammaticality of' (24) "shows that 'in England'" in (22) 'is outside of the verb phrase', i.e. is a VP adjunct (ibid., p. 7).

(23) *I remained in England and John did so in France
(ibid., p.7)

(24) John solved the problem in England and I did so in
France (ibid., p. 7)

Secondly (for first cf. above p.516), it appears from (18) that Lakoff takes it that the order of the rules generating the Instrumental adverbial and its realization in Aspects is adverbial-realization. As indicated above however (cf. pp.512-13), in Aspects, this order is pertinent to Manner, Free place and Time and their realization, while the opposite one, realization-adverbial, is made explicit by Chomsky as being designated for the following adverbial verbal complements and their realization: Direction, Duration, Place, Frequency and others, which are not specified by him.

Thirdly, there are two types of Duration adverbials: (i) those that are VP adjuncts, being able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form, e.g. 'for a month' in (25), and (ii) those that are adverbial verbal complements, being unable to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form, e.g. 'for three days' in (26).

(25) They fought the enemies for a month

(26) The fight lasted for three days

In Aspects (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 102), Chomsky regards Duration adverbials as verbal complements without specifying what kind of duration he means. However, relying on the fact that the example he gives for a Duration

adverbial is associating with 'to last', which is structurally sub-categorized for 'duration', I take it (cf. above p. 513) that Chomsky means by 'Duration', which is generated by rule (15)(ii), the adverbial which is not able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form. As for Duration adverbials that are able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form, I consider them to be among the adverbials whose status in relation to verbal and VP complementation is left in Aspects with no specification (cf. above pp. 512-13).

There are also two other views:

(i) Geis holds it that Chomsky's precise view on Duration adverbials that is presented in Aspects is as follows: duration adverbials that are not able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form, are adverbial verbal complements, required adverbials in her terminology (cf. Geis, p. 47; pp.237-40; p.252), while those that are able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form are VP adjuncts, ordinary adverbials in her terminology (ibid., p. 239).

(ii) Lakoff and Ross, on the other hand, consider Duration adverbials that are regarded by Chomsky as verbal complements to be those that are able to occur outside the scope of a VP pro-form (cf. Lakoff and John Robert Ross, p. 7). Hence, they consider the 'Aspects' analysis of Duration adverbials to be faulty. This can be inferred from 'for eight hours' and 'for only two hours' in (27), which are the examples they give for the durational adverbials Chomsky means in Aspects.

(27) John worked on the problem for eight hours, but I did
so for only two hours (ibid., p. 7)

19.2 Discussion

19.2.1 Criteria

It has been indicated above (cf. 19.1) that Chomsky recognizes

two types of adjuncts (= adverbials): (i) those that are VP adjuncts being of Place and Time, and (ii) those that are adverbial verbal complements of which Chomsky mentions only Direction, Duration, Place and Frequency, and writes after them the abbreviation 'etc', implying that there are others. Also, it has been indicated in (19.1: cf. above) that Chomsky says nothing concerning whether the following adjuncts are VP adjuncts or Adverbial verbal complements, which constitute a subclass of verbal complements: Instrument adjunct, Means adjunct, Reason adjunct, Comitative and Having adjunct, Beneficient adjunct, Conditional and Concessive adjuncts, Purpose adjunct, Subject and Object adjuncts and Free duration adjunct.

Regarding the views on Chomsky's opinion about the status of (some of) these adjuncts, I mentioned three views (i) Geis's view (cf. above p. 514), (ii) Lakoff and Ross' view (cf. above pp.514-15) and (iii) my own view (cf. above p. 514). Three questions arise here: (1) What are the criteria Chomsky sets up for differentiating between Adverbial verbal complements and VP adjuncts, and (2) is it possible to rely on them also for determining the status of the adverbials Chomsky does not mention as to VP and verbal complementation? (3) What is our view concerning the status of the following categories as to VP and verbal complementation: (i) both the adjuncts Chomsky mentions and those which he does not; (ii) the PPs regarded by Chomsky as being generated by (15) (i).

Chomsky relies on the following criteria for differentiating between prepositionally realized verbal complements, i.e. POs (cf. above p. 513) and prepositionally realized VP complements, which are equivalent to prepositionally realized VP adjuncts:

1. In contradistinction to prepositionally realized VP adjuncts, POs cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 101).
2. Unlike the nominal elements of prepositionally realized VP adjuncts,

those of prepositional objects may be subject to pseudopassivization (ibid., pp. 105-6). Thus the PP 'on the boat' in sentence (28) is a (non-adverbial) PO, when the sentence means 'John chose the boat', and a VP adjunct, when it means 'John made his decision while on the boat'. For while in the first interpretation the PP satisfies both criteria '1' and '2' (ibid., p.101, and pp. 105-6, respectively), in the second interpretation it satisfies neither (ibid., p.101; p. 106).

(28) John decided on the boat

Chomsky examines neither seriously nor thoroughly the applicability of criteria '1' and '2' to the following categories:

(i) non-adverbial POs.

(ii) Manner, Direction, Bound duration, Bound place and Frequency, which he regards as verbal complements.

(iii) Time and Free place, which are correctly regarded by him as VP complements.

Examining the criteria in this way however reveals the following facts:

(a) neither criterion '1' nor criterion '2' is applicable to prepositionally realized Manner (cf. Quirk et al., p. 460): (i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence (ibid., p. 465), e.g. 'with great enthusiasm' in (29), and (ii) their nominal elements cannot become the subject of a passive sentence as (30) indicates.

(29) With great enthusiasm he delivers his speeches

(30) *Great enthusiasm is talked with by him

(b) non-adverbial POs reactions to criteria '1' and '2' depend on the semantic roles assumed by their nominal elements:

(i) non-adverbial POs with their nominal elements being an External causer, e.g. 'from the government's handling of the economy in (31), react negatively to both criteria '1' and '2' (cf. Vestergaard, p. 182).

(31) Many problems will arise from the government's handling
of the economy

(ii) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role purpose, e.g. 'for meals' in (32), and 'for your country' in (33), react positively to criterion '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, and to criterion '2': their nominal elements may or may not become passive subjects as indicated by (34 - 35), respectively (cf. Vestergaard, p. 145).

(32) He emerges only for meals

(33) They fought for your country

(34) *Meals are emerged only for by him

(35) Your country is fought for by them

(iii) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role Equative, e.g. 'to what you have said before' in (36) react positively to '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, but negatively to '2': their nominal elements cannot become passive subjects as indicated by (37) (ibid., pp. 155-6).

(36) What you are saying now does not correspond to what you
have said before

(37) *What you have said before is not corresponded to by what
you are saying now

(iv) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role Objective, e.g. 'for the tickets' in (38), and 'on our cabbage'

in (39) react positively to criterion '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence and to criterion '2': their nominal elements may or may not become passive subjects as indicated by (40 - 41), respectively (cf. Vestergaard, p. 160).

(38) Fred paid for the tickets (ibid., p. 159)

(39) The hares were feeding on our cabbage (ibid., p. 159)

(40) The tickets were paid for by Fred

(41) *Our cabbage was being fed on by the hares

(v) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role Dative, e.g. 'from these tourists' in (42), and 'to the investor' in (43), react positively to criterion '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, and to criterion '2': their nominal elements may or may not become passive subjects as shown by (44 - 45), respectively (ibid., pp. 149 - 50).

(42) These children begged from these tourists

(43) The profit accrues to the investor (ibid., 148)

(44) These tourists were begged from by these children

(45) *The investor is accrued to by the profit

(vi) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role Phenomenon, e.g. 'on the timetable' in (46), and 'of it' in (47), react positively to criteria '1' and '2': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, and their nominal elements can always become passive subjects, respectively (cf. Vestergaard, pp. 165-6).

(46) We must agree on the timetable

(47) I will think of it

(vii) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role Agentive or Experiencer, e.g. 'with his friend' in (48), and

'to small children' in (49), respectively, react positively to criterion '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, but negatively to '2': their nominal elements cannot become passive subjects (cf. Vestergaard, pp.184-5; p. 188, respectively).

(48) He shakes hands with his friends

(49) Bright colours appeal to small children

(viii) non-adverbial POs whose nominal elements assume the semantic role Affected, e.g. 'on her' in (50), and 'against his prospects' in (51), react positively to criterion '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence and to criterion '2': their nominal elements may or may not become passive subjects as shown by (52 - 53), respectively (ibid., p. 191, and pp. 191-2, respectively).

(50) He is imposing on her these days

(51) Ill-health tells against his prospects (ibid., p. 191)

(52) She is being imposed on by him these days

(53) *His prospects are told against by ill-health (ibid., p. 191)

For Vestergaard's detailed discussion of non-adverbial POs reactions to passivization, and the conditions determining them, where relevant, see Vestergaard, table 7.1 and 8.1 in p. 127 and 180, respectively; and p. 149, pp. 155-6, p. 160, pp. 165-6, p. 182, p. 185, p. 188, and pp. 191-2).

(c) Only in 'a highly literary style' (Vestergaard, p. 140) prepositionally realized Direction can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'into the brilliant circle of white light' in (54).

(54) Into the brilliant circle of white light a weird creature would appear (ibid., p. 141)

As for their nominal elements, they may or may not become the subjects of passive sentences (*ibid.*, p. 141). Examples are respectively 'the safe' in (55) and 'the island' in (56).

(55) A clever thief must have broken into the safe

(56) He can swim to the island in ten minutes

For the conditions determining when the nominal element of a prepositionally realized Direction can become the subject of a passive sentence, see *ibid.*, p. 141.

(d) prepositionally realized Bound duration, e.g. 'for two hours' in (57), reacts positively to criterion '1': they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, but negatively to criterion '2': their nominal elements cannot become passive subjects, as indicated by (58).

(57) The meeting lasted for two hours

(58) *Two hours were lasted for (by the meeting)

(e) prepositionally realized Bound place adjuncts react negatively to criterion '1' but positively to criterion '2': (i) they can freely be preposed to the sentence (cf. Vestergaard, p. 131), e.g. 'under the table' in (59), and (ii) their nominal elements may or may not become the subject of a passive sentence as indicated by (60) and (61), respectively.

(59) Under the table the cat was sitting

(60) The wet grass was sat on by them

(61) *Egypt is lived in by camels

For the conditions determining when the nominal elements of Bound place adjuncts can be passivized, see Vestergaard, p. 131.

(f) of Frequency adjuncts only the following type is normally

preposed to the sentence: prepositionally realized Frequency adjunct that denotes usual occurrence (cf. Quirk et al., p. 491), e.g. 'for the most part' in (62).

- (62) For the most part, we play tennis on Sunday morning
(ibid., p. 490)

As for the nominal elements of prepositionally realized Frequency adjuncts, they cannot become the subjects of passive sentences as indicated by (63).

- (63) *Several occasions were spoken on here by him

(g) apart from 'Just' 'which is restricted to M2', i.e. to the position '(a) immediately before the verb, or (b) before the complement in intensive BE clauses' (Quirk et al., p. 484; p. 426), respectively), Time, which is regarded by Chomsky as a VP adjunct, can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'two months ago' in (64).

- (64) Two months ago, I met him in London

As for the nominal element of this adjunct, when it is realized by a PP, it cannot be passivized as indicated by (65).

- (65) *The first few years of their marriage were lived in
London for by them

(h) VP Place can optionally be preposed to the sentence (cf. Vestergaard, p. 100), e.g. 'in the garden' in (66).

- (66) In the garden he and his wife were reading

Concerning the nominal element of this adjunct, when it is prepositionally realized, it may or may not become the subject of a passive sentence, this is indicated by (67) and (68), respectively.

- (67) This bed had been crawled on by beetles

(68) *You were talked behind by them

It appears from what has been mentioned in 'a - h' that criteria '1' and '2' (cf. above pp.519-20) are unreliable for regarding the following categories as constituting a subclass of verbal complements, i.e. as POs: non-adverbial POs, and prepositionally realized Manner, Direction, Bound duration, Bound place and Frequency, which, according to Chomsky, are adverbial POs, i.e. prepositionally realized verbal complements with an adverbial function. For, firstly, they apply to them differently, as indicated above: criterion '1' is applicable to Bound duration, and inapplicable to Manner and Bound place; and though it is applicable to non-adverbial POs, Direction and Frequency, its applicability to the second category is confined to a non-literary style, or to a literary style that is not highly so, and does not hold in every case with respect to the first and the third category. Criterion '2', on the other hand, is applicable to Bound direction, and Bound place, but inapplicable to Manner, Frequency, and Bound duration; and its applicability to non-adverbial POs depends on the semantic roles of their nominal elements. Secondly, some of these categories behave in a similar way to those recognized by Chomsky as VP adjuncts. These are Manner, which behaves as Time, and Bound place, which behaves as free Place.

Relying on their reactions to criteria '1' and '2', the following
(4)
adjuncts except Beneficient also ought not to be regarded as verbal complements, which is contrary to what is thought to be Chomsky's view on their status in relation to verbal and VP complementation (cf. above p. 514): Instrument adjunct, Means adjunct, Reason adjunct, Comitative adjunct, Beneficient adjunct, Concessive adjunct, Purpose adjunct, Subject adjunct and Free duration adjunct. These reactions

can be summed up as follows:

(a) Instrument adjuncts react negatively to criterion '1' but positively to criterion '2', i.e. they behave in relation to the first and the second criterion as VP and verbal complements are believed by Chomsky to behave, as follows respectively: (i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'with his neighbours' key' in (69), and (ii) when realized prepositionally (cf. Quirk et al., p. 462) their nominal elements may or may not become the subject of a passive sentence, e.g., respectively, 'this knife' in (70), and 'my hand' in (71).

(69) With his neighbours' key, he opened his front door

(70) This knife was slaughtered with

(71) *My hand was hit with

(b) Means adjuncts react negatively to both criteria '1' and '2', i.e. they behave as VP complements are believed by Chomsky to behave:

(i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'by means of improved sales methods' in (72), and (ii) their nominal elements, when realized prepositionally (cf. Quirk et al., p. 462), are 'almost certainly never be passivized' (Vestergaard, p. 106).

(72) By means of improved sales methods, the firm has made considerable progress

(c) Reason adjuncts react negatively to both criteria '1' and '2', i.e. they have the characteristics VP complements are believed by Chomsky to have: (i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'because of his stupidity' in (73) and (ii) when they are realized prepositionally (cf. Quirk et al., p. 506), their nominal elements cannot become the subject of a passive sentence.

(73) Because of his stupidity, the teacher smacked him

(d) Comitative adjuncts react positively to criterion '1' but negatively to criterion '2' (cf. above pp. 519-20), i.e. they behave in relation to the first and the second criterion as verbal and VP complements are believed by Chomsky to behave, respectively: (i) they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence: according to Vestergaard, they can be preposed to the sentence only if their information values are 'quite high' (Vestergaard, p. 113), e.g. 'with his old friend Fred Schumacher' in (74).

(74) With his old friend Fred Schumacher, Joe was dining at
the Spread Eagle last night (ibid., p. 113)

(ii) their nominal elements cannot become the subject of a passive sentence; and according to Vestergaard (ibid., p. 114), any example showing that they can become so, as 'I' in (75) and 'he' in (76), are not genuine, and, therefore have to be analysed in a way that points out that they assume a different role, i.e. Objective/Afflicted.

(75) Do not let us go too far away, I have never been
eloped with before (ibid., p. 114)

(76) Do not call him insignificant, after all he has been
intrigued with by the Prime Minister himself (ibid.,
p. 114)

(e) Beneficient adjuncts react positively to both criteria '1' and '2', i.e. they have the characteristics verbal complements, are believed by Chomsky to have:

(i) they can be preposed to the sentence in two cases: (1) if the subject is an objective (cf. Vestergaard, p. 117), e.g. 'for most people' in (77), and (2) if the subject is not objective but the

Beneficient 'is balanced by a relatively heavy non-thematic part of the sentence' (loc. cit.), e.g. 'for his brother and him' in (78).

(77) For most people, leisure is increasing (ibid., p. 117)

(78) For his brother and him, the parents and the whole family were working very hard

(ii) their nominal elements may or may not become the subject of a passive sentence (cf. Vestergaard, p. 118), e.g. respectively, 'such people' in (79), and 'these people' in (80).

(79) We must die for such people

(80) He spoke on behave of these people

For a discussion of whether there are conditions determining when the nominal elements of Beneficient adjuncts may become the subject of a passive sentence, see Vestergaard, p. 118.

(f) Concessive adjuncts react negatively to both criteria '1' and '2' (cf. above pp.519-20), i.e. they behave as VP complements are believed by Chomsky to do:

(i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence (cf. Quirk et al., p. 743; p. 749), e.g. 'in spite of the rain' in (81).

(81) In spite of the rain, he opened his shop

(ii) when they are prepositionally realized as in (81) (cf. Vestergaard, p. 80), their nominal elements cannot become the subject of a passive sentence.

(g) Purpose adjuncts react negatively to criteria '1' and '2', i.e. they have the characteristics VP complements are believed by Chomsky to have: (i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'for the journey' in (82) and (ii) when they are prepositionally

realized as in (82) (cf. Quirk et al., p. 321; p. 758), their nominal elements cannot become passive subjects.

(82) For the journey, they bought a new car and a caravan.

(h) Subject adjuncts react negatively to criteria '1' and '2', i.e. they have the characteristics VP complements are believed by Chomsky to have: (i) they can optionally be preposed to the sentence, e.g. 'sadly' in (83) and 'with obvious reluctance' in (84), and (ii) when they are prepositionally realized as in (84) (cf. Quirk et al., p. 465), their nominal elements cannot become passive subjects.

(83) Sadly, they left their son in the hospital

(84) With obvious reluctance, they accept his invitation

(i) Free duration adjuncts react positively to '1', i.e. they behave as verbal complements in relation to the structural operation this criterion involves. According to Quirk (cf. Quirk et al., p. 488), they are normally positioned at end position (ibid., p. 426) except the following ones, which normally occupy the position immediately before the verb or the complement (ibid., p. 426) 'momentarily', 'permanently' and 'temporarily'. On the other hand, they react negatively to criterion '2', i.e. behave as VP complements in relation to the structural operation this criterion involves: their nominal elements, when they are prepositionally realized as in (85) (cf. Quirk et al., p. 487), cannot become passive subjects.

(85) They prayed for an hour

In the previous pages (cf. pp.520-9) is given the answer to question '1' and '2' (cf. above p. 519), which are related to the criteria used by Chomsky for recognizing prepositionally realized verbal complements (= POs) as a distinct category from prepositionally

realized VP complements. I have nevertheless hinted at the applicability of some of these criteria, i.e. criterion '1' (cf. above p. 519) to the non-prepositional realization of some of the adjuncts that are thought to be recognized by Chomsky as verbal complements (cf. above p. 530).). To recapitulate: I agreed with Chomsky that in verb-preposition-noun combinations, we have to differentiate between preposition-noun constructions (= PPs = P-Ns) that are closely associated with the verb, i.e. that are complements of the verb, and those that are not. But, I disagreed with him on the possibility of using criteria '1' and '2' (cf. above pp.519-20) for differentiating between these types of PPs; and I add here my disagreement with him on the distribution of the following categories among verbal and VP complements:

non-adverbial POs, and the following prepositionally realized adjuncts: Direction, Bound place, Bound duration, Instrument, Means, Frequency, Manner, Comitative, Having, Beneficient, Reason, Concessive, Conditional⁽⁵⁾, Purpose, Subject and Object adjuncts and Free Duration. This disagreement leads us to answering question '3' (cf. above p. 519), which is related to my view on the status of the aforementioned categories as to verbal and VP complementation. This question will be answered in relation to CA. Therefore, since in this language neither Frequency adjunct, nor Bound duration are prepositionally realized (e.g. marratan ?aw marratayn 'once or twice' in (86) and θalaaθa mi?atin siniin 'for three hundred years' in (87) respectively), the answer will be given neither in relation to Bound duration nor in relation to Frequency adjunct.

(86) ?a wa laa yarawna ?annahum yuftanuuna fii kulli 9aamin
marratan ?aw marratayn (9/126)

Do not they see that they are tested once or twice in
every year?

- (87) wa labiθuu fii kahfihim θalaaθa mi?atin siniin (18/25)
 And (it is said) they stayed in their cave for three
 hundred years

However, the implication of answering question '3' in relation to CA for the rules generating the aforementioned categories (cf. above p. 531) in this language is the same as the implication of answering it in relation to English for the rules generating the same categories in this language. For, the criteria according to which the status of these categories in CA as to verbal and VP complementation is determined, are applicable to those corresponding to them in English. For these criteria see (22.1.2), and for the rules generating some of them, which differ from those adopted by Chomsky, see 20.2.1.

The answer to question '3' can be summed up as follows: (i) non-adverbial POs as well as prepositionally realized Direction and Bound place are prepositional verbal complements, non-adverbial and adverbial POs respectively (cf. below 21.1-2); (ii) the Reason, and Beneficient adjunct, which are prepositionally realized, as well as the following prepositionally realized adjuncts: Manner, Instrument, Means, Conditional adjunct, Concessive adjunct, Purpose and Free duration are prepositional VP complements, i.e. prepositional VP adjuncts (cf. below Chapter Twenty); (iii) prepositionally realized Subject and Object adjuncts as well as Comitative and Having adjuncts, which are prepositionally realized, are transformed adjuncts (cf. above Chapter Sixteen).

19.2.2 Rules and Realization

Chomsky does not make explicit the fact that Adjuncts including those recognized by him (cf. above 19.1) may have more than one realization ⁽⁶⁾. As a result, the rules adopted by him for generating adjuncts prove to be inadequate. As indicated above (cf. p. 512), Chomsky suggested the following rules for generating respectively:

(i) Time and Free place, (ii) Manner, and (iii) Direction, Bound duration, Bound place and Frequency, as well as Instrument adjunct, Means adjunct, Comitative and Having adjuncts, Beneficient adjunct, Reason adjunct, Concessive and Conditional adjuncts, Purpose adjunct, Subject and Object adjuncts and Free Duration adjunct, which are thought to be regarded by him as belonging to the same category to which the first four ones belong i.e. to verbal complements (cf. above p. 514): Rule (88), Rule (89) and Rule (90) (cf. above (1) and (15)).

(88) Predicate phrase \longrightarrow Aux VP (Place) (Time)

(89) VP \longrightarrow V Manner

(90) (i) VP \longrightarrow Prep-Phrase

(ii) Prep-Phrase \longrightarrow { Direction
Duration
Place
Frequency
etc }

Taken as they are, these rules are inadequate. Firstly, rule (88), and rule (89) are not sufficient for generating Time and Free place, and Manner, respectively: they must be followed by other rules that generate their realization. Rule (88) must be followed by (91), which indicates that Time, and Free place can be prepositionally, adverbially, or clausally realized (cf. Quirk et al., p. 471; pp. 483-4; p. 744; p. 745), e.g. respectively 'after lunch' in (92)a, and 'in the market' in (92)b, 'early' in (93)a and 'upstairs' in (93)b, and 'after it stopped raining' in (94)a and 'where we had our lunch yesterday' in (94)b.

(91) { Time
Free Place } \longrightarrow { PP
Adverb
Subordinator S }

(92) a He left after lunch

b I met him in the market

(93) a He came early

b The children are playing upstairs

(94) a He left after it stopped raining

b I will meet you where we had our lunch yesterday

As for rule (89), it must be followed by rule (95), which indicates that Manner also can be adverbially, prepositionally, or clausally realized (ibid., pp. 459-60; p. 754) e.g. 'loudly' in (96), 'with much difficulty' in (97), and 'as his father does' in (98), respectively.

(95) Manner \rightarrow $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{as} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right\}$

(96) They were arguing loudly

(97) He can talk with much difficulty

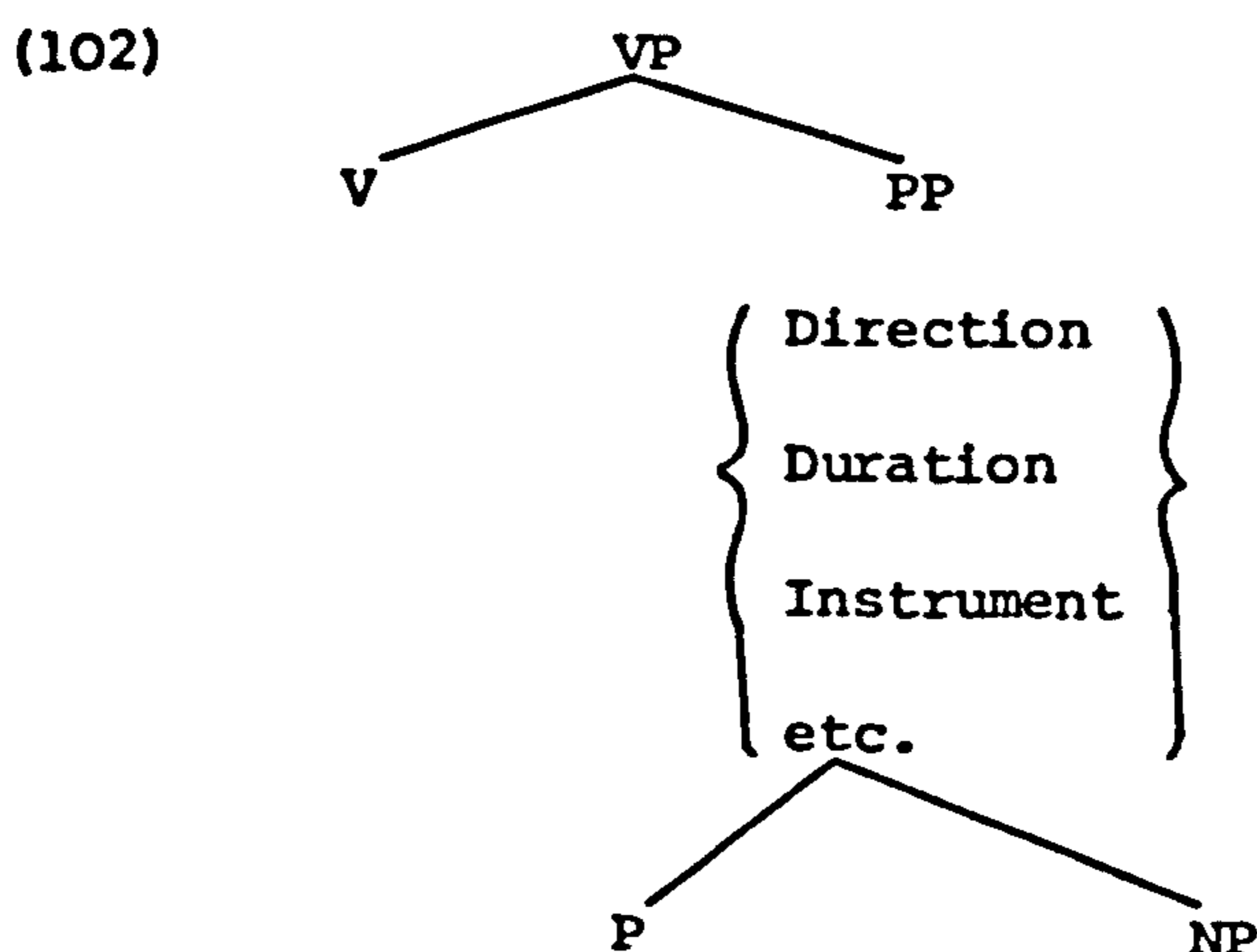
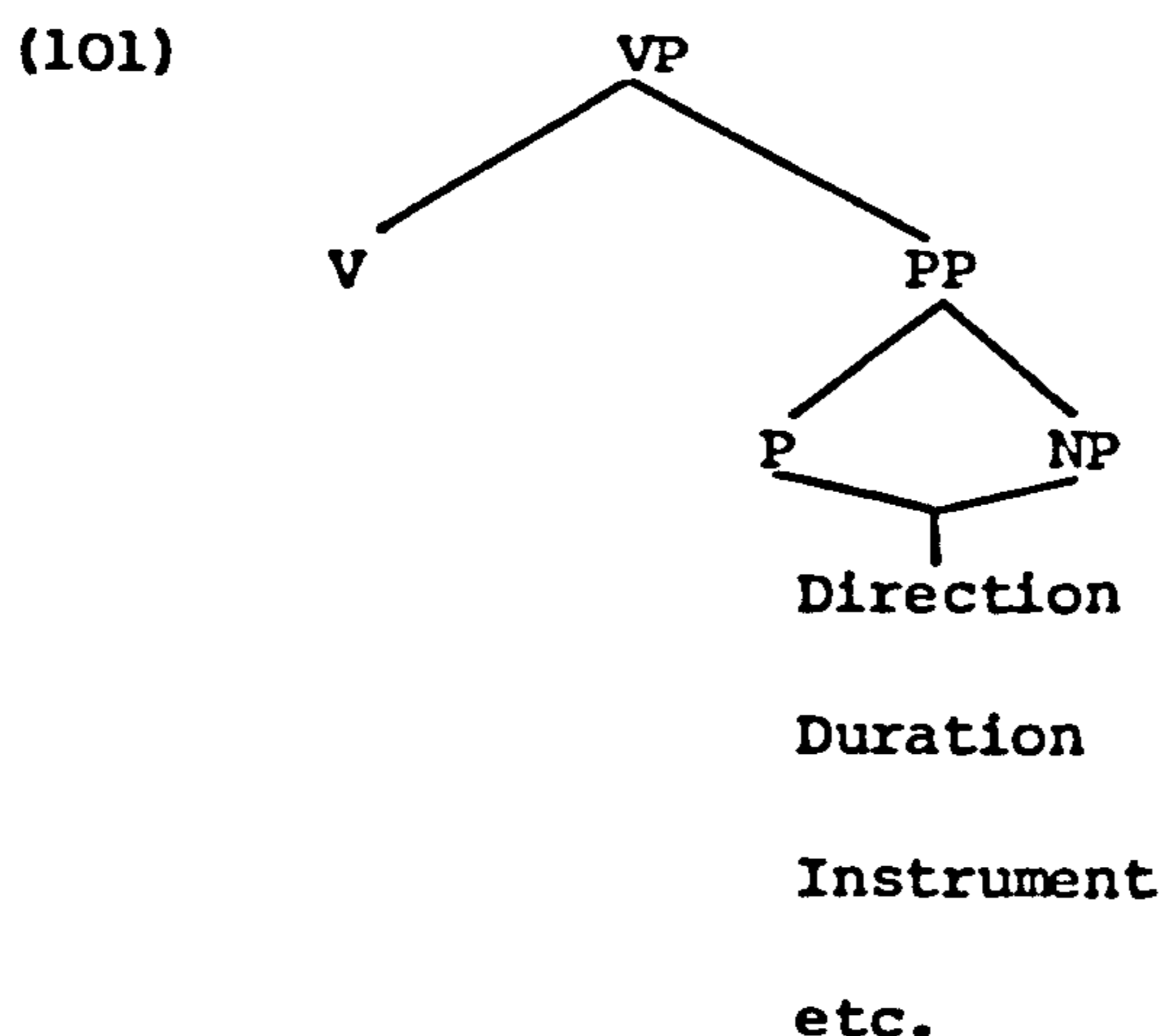
(98) He talks as his father does

Secondly, rule (90) suggests that all PPs that are introduced by (90) (i) can have an adverbial label such as Direction, Duration, Instrument, etc., which is untrue. We have noticed above (cf. p. 513) that there are POs that are adverbials and others that are not, e.g. 'to the station' in (99) and 'at him' in (100), respectively.

(99) He went to the station

(100) They laughed at him

Thirdly, the placement of rule (90) (ii) after rule (90) (i) (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 102) means that the phrase marker generated by the grammar will have uncommon or strange branches such as (101) or (102).



Fourthly, the rules of (90) are capable of generating the verbal complements in question that have prepositional but not other realization; examples are the Instrument adjunct 'with his new pen' in (103), the Bound place 'in a small hotel' in (104) and the Frequency adjunct 'from time to time' in (105), but not the Instrument adjunct 'microscopically' in (106), the Bound place 'where there are plenty of amusements' in (107) and the Frequency adjunct 'twice' in (108).

(103) He wrote it with his new pen

(104) They resided in a small hotel

(105) I meet him from time to time

(106) The specimen was examined microscopically

(107) They reside where there are plenty of amusements

(108) I met him twice

There are two other weaknesses concerning the rules adopted by Chomsky for generating verbal and VP complements:

The first one is related to the use of the following categories as category symbols, i.e. as inputs and outputs of phrase structure rules: Time, Place, Direction, Instrument, Frequency, etc. For the basis upon which this use of these categories is considered to be a weakness, and for an alternative of using them in this way, see (20.2.1). The second weakness is related to the distribution of the following categories to VP and verbal complements: Time, Free place, Manner and the PPs that are generated by rule (90) (1). I registered above (cf. p. 531) my disagreement with Chomsky concerning this distribution. Accordingly, the rules replacing Chomsky's rules for generating the aforementioned categories must be assigned so as to account for this disagreement, i.e. must be assigned in such a way that Time adjunct, Free place adjunct, Manner adjunct, Beneficient adjunct, Instrument adjunct, Means adjunct, Frequency adjunct, Reason adjunct, Concessive and Conditional adjuncts, Purpose adjunct, and Free duration adjunct will be sister constituents of VP not V, and the PPs that I call non-adverbal POs (cf. above p. 513) as well as Direction, Bound place, and Bound duration will be sister constituents of V not VP. For the designation of such rules with reference to prepositionally realized VP adjuncts in CA, see below 20.2.1.

19.2.3 Restrictions

19.2.3.1 Prepositional objects

Concerning POs, i.e. prepositionally realized verbal complements, there occur the following restrictions:

(a) the dependency between the prepositional element of PO other than Bound location and the verb associating with it. Some PVs require this element to be realized by a particular preposition. Examples

are tabayyana 'become clear' in (109), raga9a 'went back' in (110), ta9aawan(uu) 'help one another' in (111), xtalaf 'differ' in (112), and yufarriq(uu) 'make distinction' in (113), which require the prepositional elements of their verbal complements to be li 'to', ?ilaa 'to', 9alaa 'to', fii 'in' and bayna 'between', respectively.

(109) falammaa tabayyana lahuu ?annahuu 9aduwwun lillaahi tabarra?a minh (9/114)

But when it had become clear to him that he (his father) was an enemy to Allah he (?ibraahim) disowned him

(110) faraga9a muusaa ?ilaa gawmihi gaaDbaana ?asifaa (20/86)

Then muusaa went back to his folk, angry and sad

(111) wa ta9aawanuu 9ala lbirri wa ttaqwaa wa laa ta9aawanuu 9ala l?i0mi wa l9udwaan (5/2)

And help one another to righteousness and pious duty, but do not help one another to sin and transgression

(112) wa maa ?anzalnaa 9alayka lkitaaba ?illa litubayyina lahumu llaadi xtalafuu fiih (16/64)

And we have revealed the Scripture to you only that you may explain to them that wherein they differ

(113) ?inna llaadiina yakfuruuna billaahi wa rusulihii wa yuriiduuna ?an yufarriquu bayna llahi wa rusulih (4/150)

Surely, those who disbelieve in Allah and His messengers, and seek to make distinction between Allah and His messengers

Other PVs, on the other hand, can be associated with POs the prepositional elements of which can be realized by more than one preposition, e.g. marr 'pass', which co-occurs with a PO whose prepositional element is realized by 9alay 'by' as in (114)a, or 'bi' as in (114)b.

(114)a wa ?innakum latamurruuna 9alayhim muSbihiin (37/137)

And you verily pass by them in the morning

b wa ?idaa marruu bihim yata9aamazuun (83/30)

And wink one to another when they passed them

(b) the second type of restriction related to POs is that between their nominal elements and the verbs with which they associate. Apart from the verbs associating with Bound locations that are prepositionally realized, all verbs requiring prepositionally realized verbal complements select POs with nominal elements marked with syntactic features satisfying their selectional environments. Consider, for instance, the PV ta9aawan 'help one another' and the DOT-PV bayyan 'make clear'. Firstly, 'ta9aawan' selects a PO with a nominal element marked with the feature specification (115), e.g. ta9aawan(uu) 'help one another' in (116).

(115) [+ abstract]

(116) wa ta9aawanuu 9ala lbirri wa ttaqwaa wa laa ta9aawanuu 9ala l?i0mi wa l9udwaan (5/2)

And help one another to righteousness and pious duty, but do not help one another to sin, and transgression

Secondly, bayyan 'make clear' selects a PO with a nominal element having the feature specification (117), e.g. yubayyina 'makes clear' in (118).

(117) [+ human]

(118) wa maa kaana llaahu liyuDilla qawman ba9da ?id hadaahum hattaa yubayyina lahum maa yattaquun (9/115)

It is not Allah's (part) to send a folk astray after he has guided them until He makes clear to them what they should fear

As for the Bound location that is prepositionally realized, there

is a categorial restriction between its prepositional element and the verb associating with it, but the syntactic features of its nominal element impose no selectional restrictions on this verb.(cf.ρ.732). The realization of the prepositional element of this type of PO depends on the features of its nominal element. Consider for instance the PV qaam 'stand'. This verb requires a Bound location whether it is prepositionally or nominally realized, e.g. taqum 'stand' in (119) and yaquum 'stand' in (120), which co-occur with 9alaa qabrih 'on (a land next to) his grave' and maqaamahumaa 'in their places', respectively.

- (119) wa laa tuSallii 9alaa ?ahadin minhum maata ?abadan wa
laa taqum 9alaa qabrih (9/84)

And never pray for any of them who died nor stand on (a
land next to) his grave (i.e. by/at his grave)

- (120) fa?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθman fa?aaxaraani
yaquumaani maqaamahumaa (5/107)

But if it is (afterwards) ascertained that both of them
merit (the suspicion of) sin, let two others stand in
their places,

The realization of the prepositional element of the prepositionally realized Bound location associating with the PV qaam 'stand' depends on the features of the nominal element it - the prepositional element - governs. If the nominal element has the feature specification (121), the prepositional element governing it will be 9alaa 'on', e.g. qabrih 'his grave' in (119): it is governed by 9alaa 'on', for it has the feature specification (121).

- (121) [+ concrete - expressive of a three-dimensional object,
+ horizontal]

If on the other hand it is assigned the feature specification (122), the

prepositional element governing it will be realized by fii 'in', e.g. hi 'it' in (123): it is governed by fii 'in', for it refers back to a NP marked with (122), i.e. masgidan 'a mosque' (cf 9/107)

(122) [+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional object]

(123) laa taqum fiihi ?abadaa (9/108)

Never stand (to pray) in it (i.e. Mosque of mischief)

The question arises: Are the aforementioned restrictions accommodated within the 'Aspects' model of TGG? and if yes, how? Chomsky makes it explicit that verbs are subcategorized with respect to the PPs introduced by rule (124) (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 102, where (124) is numbered (52) (iii)).

(124)

VP →	}	be Predicate	}
	{	(NP) (Prep-Phrase) (Prep-Phrase) (Manner)	}
	{	Adj	}
	{	S'	}
	{	(like) Predicate-Nominal	}

As indicated above (p. 513), these PPs include what I call adverbial and non-adverbial POs as well as some of the prepositionally realized VP complements that are thought to be regarded by Chomsky as verbal complements. Here, I will confine myself to the first two categories, and leave the third one until (19.2.3.2.). He also indicates that since the choice of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized verbal complements 'is often narrowly or even uniquely constrained by the choice of' the verbs associating with them, it must be indicated in the lexical entries of these verbs that 'they take certain particles i.e. prepositions and not others' (ibid., p. 191). Chomsky gives as examples of such elements those with which 'decide' and 'argue' associate, i.e. on (N), and with (NP) about (NP), respectively.

The statement made in the sentence before the last is not very

specific. It indicates that the choice of some of the prepositionally realized verbal complements is demanded by the choice of the verbs associating with them, but without providing any characteristics of these verbal complements. According to the examples given by Chomsky, however, these verbal complements are non-adverbial POs.

I agree with Chomsky concerning the necessity of specifying the prepositional elements of non-adverbial POs in the lexical entries of the verbs associating with them, which include, among others, PVs, and add that this is the case also in relation to adverbial POs except prepositionally realized Bound place. As for the prepositional elements of the last category, to which the aforementioned statement cannot refer, they cannot be specified in the lexical entries of the verbs associating with them. For unlike the prepositional elements of other POs, their realization is constrained by the selectional features of their complements (cf below 21.2)

To recapitulate: the following points are indicated: (i) that Chomsky is aware of the restriction between the prepositional elements of non-adverbial POs and the verbs associating with them; (ii) that he assigns the lexical entries of the verbs associating with such POs in such a way that they will have their prepositional elements specified, (iii) that the verbs associating with adverbial POs other than Bound location represent a similar case to those associating with non-adverbial PO, and, therefore their lexical entries must be specified so as to determine the prepositions with which they co-occur.

The following points remain to be discussed: (i) how the 'Aspects' method of assigning the lexical entries of the verbs requiring POs other than Bound location will guarantee the generation of sentences whose main verbs co-occur with prepositions that are identical with those specified in their lexical entries; (ii) the 'Aspects' stand on the selectional restrictions between the verbs requiring POs and the nominal elements of

these objects; (iii) discussing a quotation taken from 'Aspects' that might suggest that it has a particular position on the occurrence restrictions between prepositions and their complements, as is the case with the PP functioning as Bound location, for instance.

Concerning the first point, Chomsky (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 191) suggests among other things, that adverbials (i.e. prepositionally realized verbal complements) will develop freely, i.e. the lexical insertion rules will replace both their prepositional and nominal elements freely not by selectional or strict subcategorization rules (ibid., p. 95). Then, depending, for instance, on the features of the subject and the exponence of the prepositional element of the prepositionally realized verbal complement, the lexical insertion rules will substitute for the dummy symbol dominated by $V - a \quad PV$ provided that its contextual features (which are assigned in terms of the subject it selects, and the PO it requires including the specification of its prepositional element) do not conflict with the context into which it is inserted.

In addition to indicating that verbs are strictly subcategorized in terms of the categorial environments into which they fit, Chomsky indicates they are also selectionally subcategorized in terms of the features of the subjects and the objects they require. Despite the fact that like the nominal objects of transitive verbs, the nominal elements of prepositionally realized objects constrain the choice of the verbs requiring them, he however does not indicate that these verbs are also selectionally subcategorized in terms of the features of the nominal elements of their POs. (Note that the POs here include all prepositionally realized objects except Bound location.) This means that according to the 'Aspects' model of TGG, the lexical entries of PVs, as an example of verbs requiring POs, will include (125) and (126), which guarantee respectively that they will

select the correct subject, and associate with PPs whose prepositional elements are identical with those specified in their lexical entries, but not (127).

(125) information specifying the features of their subjects

(126) information specifying that they co-occur with PPs whose prepositional elements are so and so

(127) information having to do with the features of the nominal elements of their POs

Consequently, the grammar will generate sentences such as (128 - 129) i.e. sentences with main verbs co-occurring with POs having nominal elements conflicting with their selectional features.

(128)* ta9aawanuu 9al yawmi l?ahad

Help one another to Sunday

(See above p. 538, and the feature specification (115)).

(129)* tabayyana lilhaa?iTl ?annahuu 9aniyy

It became clear to the wall that he was rich

(See above p. 538).

Finally, concerning the co-occurrence restrictions between prepositions and their complements, e.g. those between the prepositional and the nominal elements of Bound location, there occurs the following quotation 'Adverbial phrases consisting of Preposition-Determiner-Noun are in general restricted as to the choice of these elements, and these restrictions could be stated by local transformations to the effect that Preposition and Noun can be rewritten in certain restricted ways when dominated by such category symbols as Place Adverbial and Time Adverbial' (Chomsky, 1965: 215 fn. 18). In this quotation Chomsky acknowledges the class of PPs between the nominal and the prepositional elements of which there are co-occurrence restrictions.

A careful study of this quotation however points out that Chomsky is not sure of what this class constitutes. At the beginning of the quotation he refers to it by the phrase 'Adverbial phrases'. As is used by Chomsky in 'Aspects', this phrase does not always refer to the PPs between the prepositional and the nominal element of which there are co-occurrence restrictions: it refers to (i) non-adverbial POs (ibid., p. 191) and prepositionally realized Bound duration, the choice of the nominal elements of which constrains the choice of the verbs associating with them (ibid., p. 102); (ii) Free and Bound place, the realization of the prepositional elements of which depend on the features of their nominal elements (ibid., p. 102); (iii) other prepositionally realized VP complements, between the prepositional and the nominal elements of which there are selectional restrictions (ibid., p. 102, and see above 18.3).

Two points remain related to the aforementioned quotation:

(a) though Chomsky correctly acknowledges that the class of PPs in question includes Place and Time adverbials, he does not make explicit the fact that the former include both the Free and the Bound subclass; (b) Chomsky does not explain how the co-occurrence restrictions will be stated: is it, for example, to be stated on the nominal or the prepositional element with the result that either the former or the latter will be introduced into the phrase marker by a selectional rule, and the other optionally?

19.2.3.2 Prepositionally realized adjuncts

19.2.3.2.0 Transforms and non-transforms

In terms of the restrictions related to them, prepositionally realized Adjuncts were subclassified into:

(a) those that are transforms: they originate as Predicative adjuncts. Consequently, they are not in direct grammatical relations with the verbs

with which they seem to be in such relations, and the restrictions related to them fall outside the scope of the present work. These Adjuncts are (i) Place adjunct with temporal interpretation; (ii) Having adjuncts; (iii) Comitative adjuncts; (iv) Subject and Object adjuncts.

(b) those that are non-transforms: they do not originate as predicative adjuncts, but occur in direct, though loose, grammatical relations with the verbs with which they co-occur. These Adjuncts are (i) Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation; (ii) Manner adjuncts; (iii) Instrument adjuncts; (iv) Means adjuncts; (v) Beneficient adjuncts; (vi) Purpose adjuncts; (vii) Time adjuncts; (viii) Reason adjuncts; (ix) Conditional adjuncts; (x) Concessive adjuncts.

The purpose of this section is to show whether the 'Aspects' model of TGG accounts for the co-occurrence restrictions related to prepositionally realized Adjuncts, and if so, how.

19.2.3.2.1 Adjuncts regarded as being transforms

The following two facts are referred to above: (i) that Place adjuncts are explicitly regarded by Chomsky as being VP complements (cf. above 19.1); (ii) that Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts are thought to be regarded in the 'Aspect' as verbal complements (cf. above pp.513-14). In a footnote however Chomsky makes the following statements: (i) 'Place adverbial (at least those which are VP complements) must sometimes, or perhaps always, be regarded as Sentence transforms' (Chomsky, 1965: 219 fn. 28); (ii) there are adverbials 'that qualify the Verb' and others 'which might more properly be said to qualify the Subject' (ibid., p. 218 fn. 28).

Our main concern here is firstly to show whether the analysis of Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts as verbal complements will help account for the restrictions shown to be related to them

(cf. above 16.1 - 4); secondly and thirdly to evaluate Chomsky's analysis of Place adjuncts as Sentence transforms, and to discuss what Chomsky means by adverbials qualifying the subject: their relation to Subject adjuncts as used in this thesis, and to the Adjuncts regarded as being transforms.

19.2.3.2.1.1 Comitative, Having, and Subject and Object adjuncts

As indicated above (cf. pp. 513-14), Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts are thought to be regarded in 'Aspects' as verbal complements. Accordingly, their prepositional elements, and the features of their nominal elements will respectively constitute part of the categorial, and selectional features of the verbs with which they associate. For apart from the prepositionally realized verbal complement, Bound place, the prepositional elements and the features of the nominal elements of prepositionally realized verbal complements constitute part of the categorial and selectional features of the verbs associating with them.

Analysing in this way the Adjuncts in question is undoubtedly inadequate. For it is not in conformity with the restrictions related to these Adjuncts, nor is it compatible with the semantic interpretations of the sentences containing them, and, hence, with their paraphrase relationships with other sentences. To explain this, let us consider it in relation to the aforementioned Adjuncts.

A. Comitative adjuncts

(1) It is indicated above (cf. 16.1) that the selectional features of the subjects of Comitative clauses are the same as those of the nominal elements of the Comitative adjuncts they contain, and this suggests that there is a paraphrase relationship between (130), which is a comitative clause with a main verb being a verb of motion, and (131) or (132).

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

(And when) Taalut set out with the army

(131) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu wa lgunuudu ma9aa

(And when) Taaluut together with the army set out

(132) (falamma) Saahaba lgunuudu Taaluuta fii faSlih

(And when) the army accompanied Taaluut in his setting out

Both the facts related to the aforementioned selectional features, and to the paraphrase relationships between Comitative clauses and others, are accepted. The latter however is regarded as being lexical not transformational. Hence, it is not possible to rely on it for envisaging a common underlying representation between Comitative clauses and the clauses with which they occur in a paraphrase relationship, e.g. (130), and (131) or (132). That is, it is not possible to rely on it, for envisaging a common underlying structure on the basis of which we could determine the structural status of the Comitative adjuncts in Comitative clauses with main verbs being verbs of motion. Instead, the underlying syntactic structure of a Comitative clause such as (130) is (133).

(133) (falammaa) faSala Taaluutu wa huwa bilgunuud

(And when) Taaluut set out while he was with the army

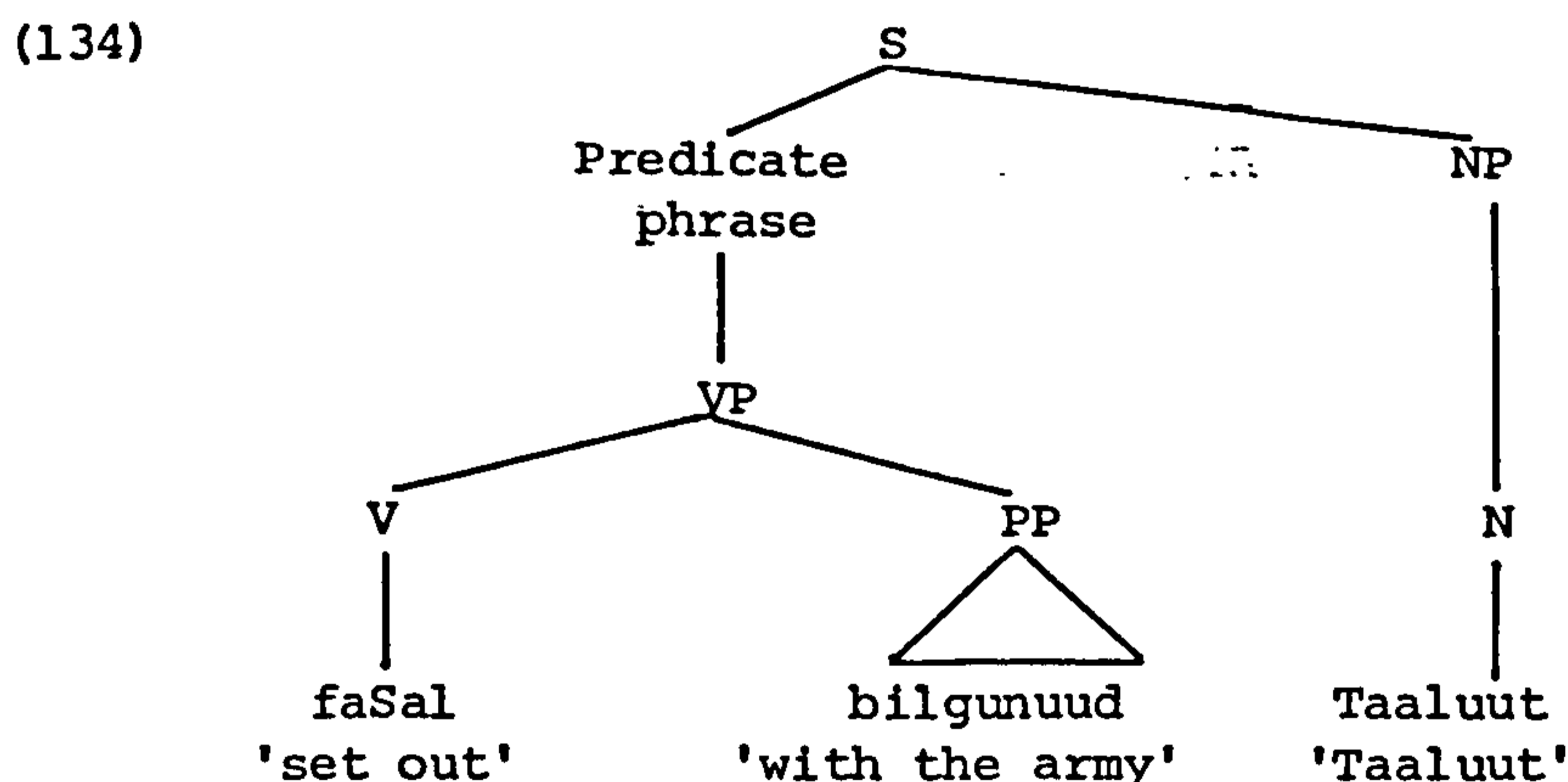
In (133) the Comitative *phrase* bilgunuud 'with the army' originates as Predicative adjunct, termed Predicative locative-comitative adjunct, and do occur all the elements necessary for accounting for:

(i) the implication of the identity of the selectional features of 'Taalut', the subject, and lgunuud 'the army', the nominal element of the Comitative adjunct: that, like the subject, the nominal element carried out the action identified by faSala 'set out', the main verb. For, for someone to carry out an action identified by a verb of motion while he occurred in a spatial relation of proximity with another means

that the latter also did the same.

(ii) that the subject carried out the action identified by the main verb while he was in a spatial relation of proximity with the nominal element: note the structural relation between *faSala Taalutu* 'Taalut set out', and *wa huwa bilgunuud* 'while he was with the army', and that between *bilgunuud* 'with the army' and *huwa* 'he', the pronoun referring back to 'Taalut'.

To say then that Comitative adjuncts function as verbal complement, as is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on these adjuncts, will leave unaccounted for the facts related to (i) and (ii). For according to the 'Aspects' model of TGG the underlying representation of (130) is (134), where none of the elements on the basis of which the facts related to (i) and (ii) are accounted for are structurally made explicit:

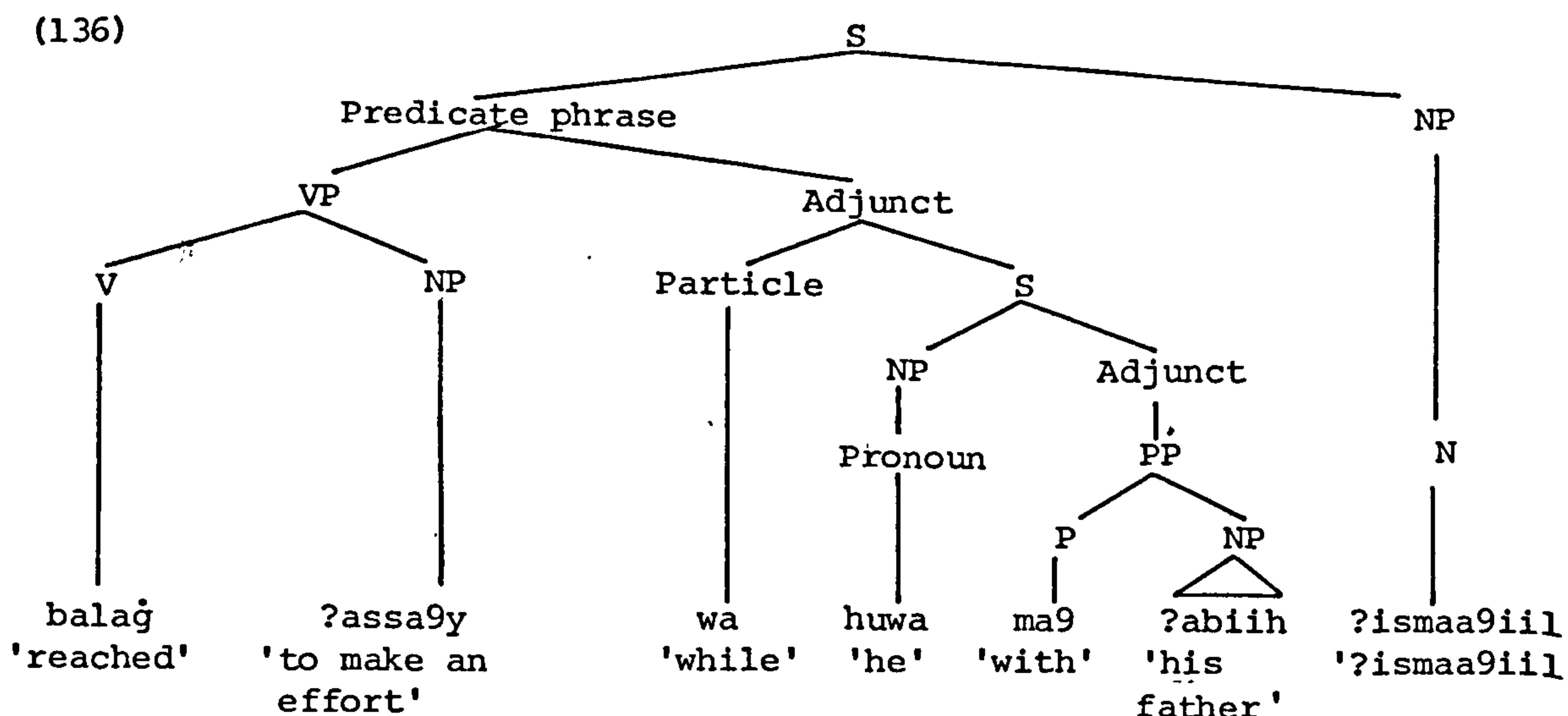


(2) As indicated above (16.1.2), the nominal elements of the Comitative clauses the main verbs of which are not verbs of motion may be interpreted as either (i) participating in/performing the actions or being in the states, denoted by the main verbs, or (ii) not, as the case may be.

To begin with consider the case where the nominal elements of the Comitative adjuncts are interpreted as (ii). On the basis that the subjects of the Comitative clauses in question carry out the actions or

occur in the states denoted by the main verbs while they occur in a spatial relation of proximity with the nominal elements of the Comitative adjuncts embraced by their clauses, these adjuncts are analysed similarly to those embraced by the Comitative clauses whose main verbs are verbs of motion, i.e. as Predicative locative-Comitative adjuncts 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, e.g. ma9a ?abiih 'with his father' in (135): it originates as Predicative (locative-comitative) adjunct, as indicated by (136).

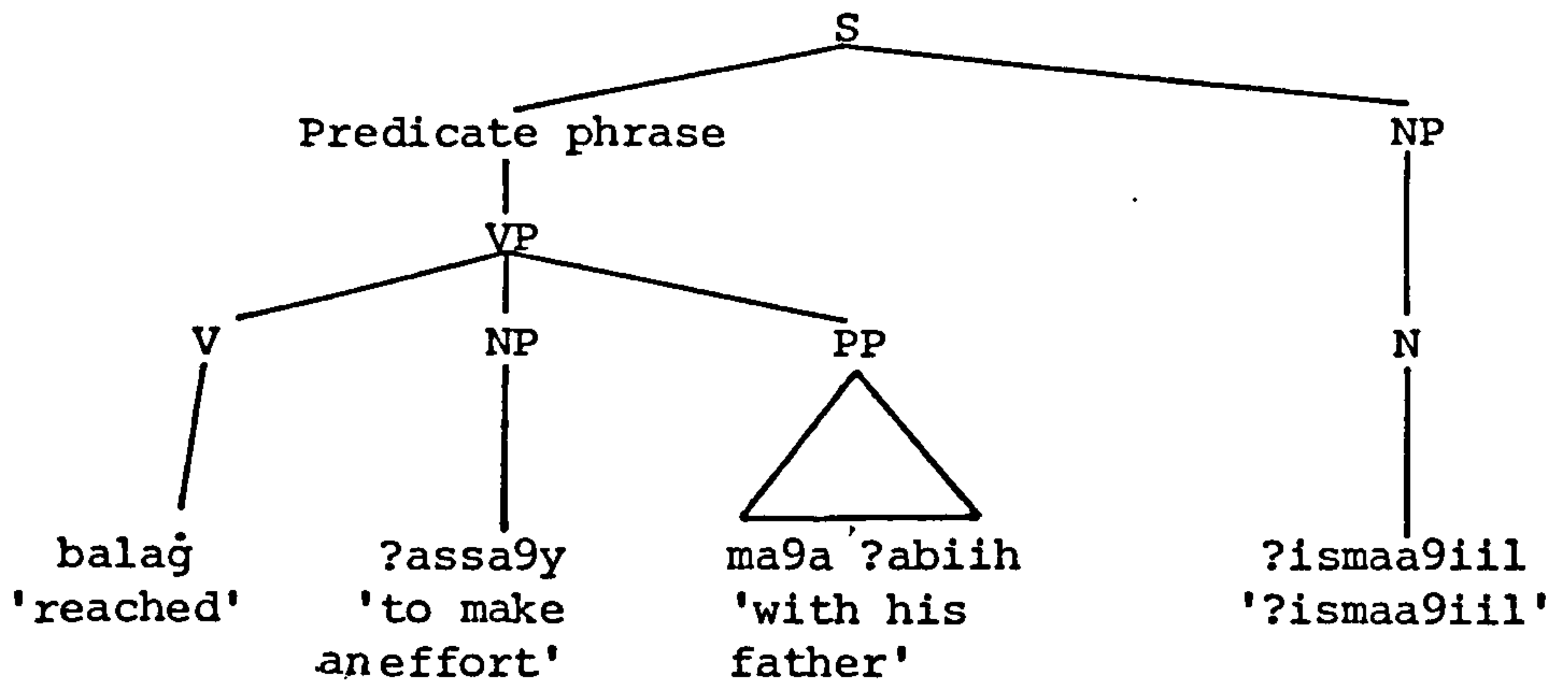
- (135) balaga ?ismaa9iilu ssa9ya ma9a ?abiih (cf. 37/102)
 ?ismaa9iil became old enough (while he was) with his father
 (lit. ?ismaa9iil reached (the age when one is able) to make
 an effort (to do thing) (while he was) with his father)



To say then that ma9a ?abiih 'with his father' in (135) functions as prepositionally realized verbal complement, as is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on Comitative adjuncts, will leave unaccounted for the aforementioned semantic aspect. For according to this stand, (135) has the underlying syntactic structure of (137), where ma9a ?abiih 'with his

father' functions as verbal complement and there occur none of the structural relations necessary for accounting for this aspect.

(137)



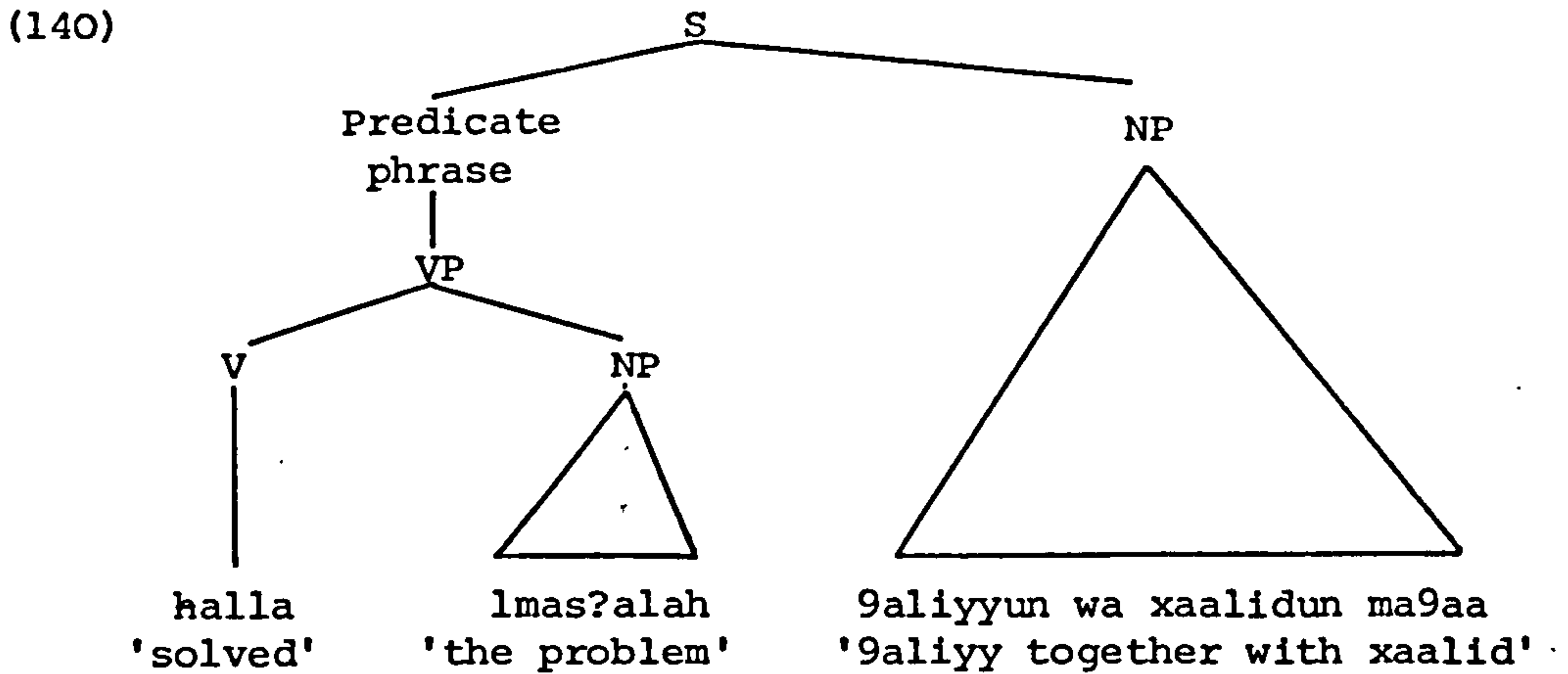
Consider secondly the case where the nominal elements of the Comitative adjuncts in the clause the main verbs of which are not verbs of motion are regarded as participating in the actions or the states denoted by the main verbs, e.g. *xaalid* 'xaalid' in (138) when it means that '9aliyy' and 'xaalid' co-operated with one another in solving the problem, not that the former solved the problem while he was with the latter.

(138) *halla 9aliyyuni lmas?alata ma9a xaalid**9aliyy solved the problem with xaalid*

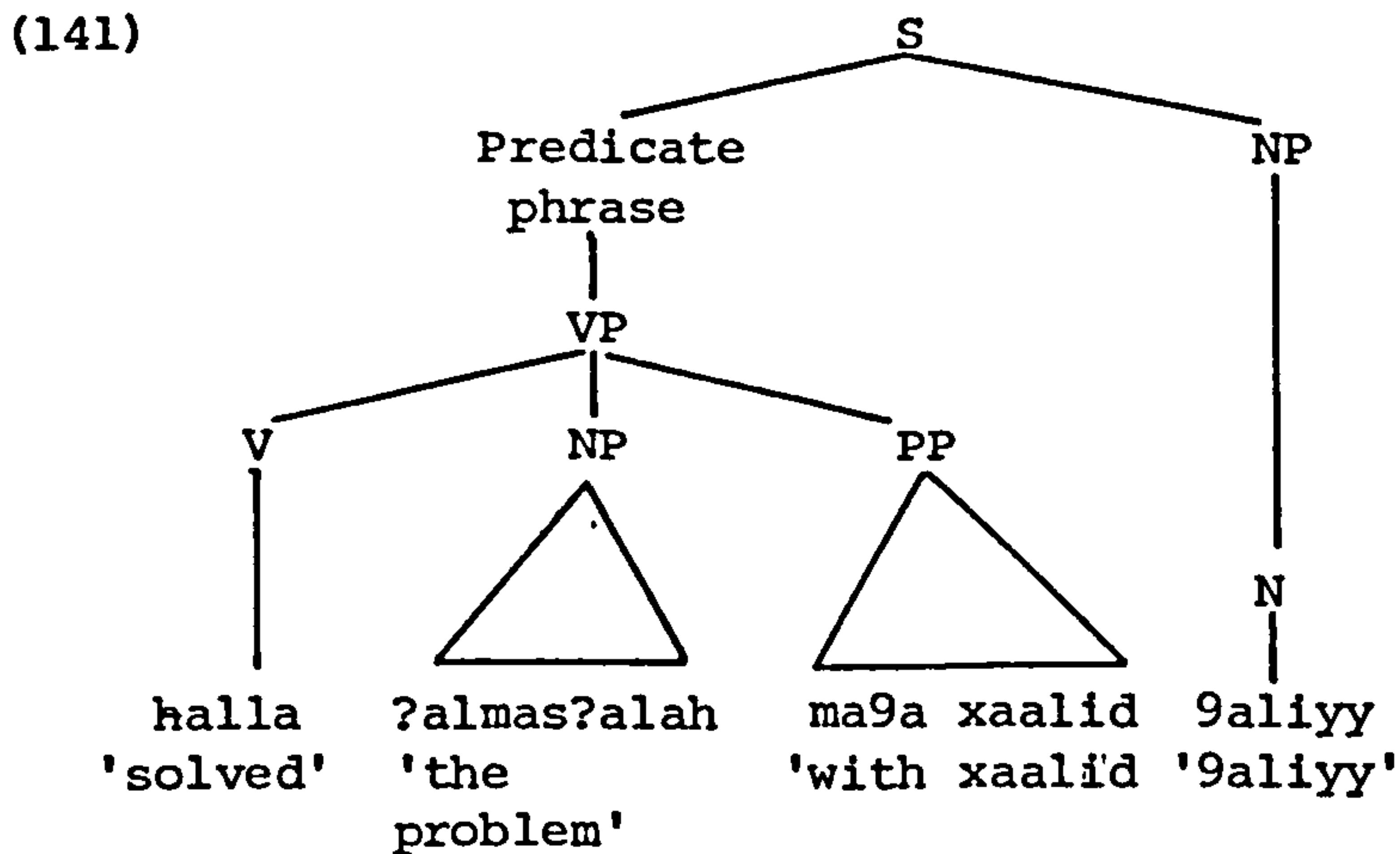
Sentence (138) with the interpretation in question is regarded as being in a paraphrase relationship with (139), where *ma9aa* 'together with' is a co-operative pronoun (cf. above 16.1.2).

(139) *halla 9aliyyun wa xaaliduni lmas?alata ma9aa**9aliyy together with xaalid solved the problem*

Accordingly, both (138) and (139) are considered to have the underlying syntactic structure (140), where 'ma9a xaalid' originates neither as Predicative nor as non-Predicative adjunct: it originates inside the NP realizing the subject, as *wa xaalidun ma9aa* 'together with xaalid' (cf. above 16.1.2).



Therefore, for (138) to have the underlying representation (141), i.e. for ma9a xaalid 'with xaalid' to be analysed as prepositionally realized verbal complement, as is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on Comitative adjuncts, is not in conformity with its semantic interpretation and hence is incompatible with its paraphrase relationship with (139).



Consider, finally (142-143), which are comitative clauses with main verbs not being verbs of :motion.

(142) kaanati lgibaalu tu?awwibu ma9a daawuud (cf. 34/10)

The mountains used to praise (Allah) with daawuud

(143) ?aslamat balqiisu ma9a sulaymaana lillaahi rabbi l9aalamin

(cf. 27/44).

balqiis surrendered with solaymaan to Allah, the Lord of the worlds

As for (142) it is indicated above (16.1.2), that it cannot mean (i) kaanati lgibaalu tu?awwibu wa hiya ma9a daawuud 'the mountains used to praise (Allah) while they were with daawuud'; nor does it mean (ii) kaana daawuudu yusaa9idu lgibaala fi tta?wiib 'daawuud used to help the mountains in praising (Allah)' or (iii) the mountains and daawuud used to co-operate in praising Allah, in the sense 9aliyy and xaalid co-operated in solving the problem in (138). Instead, it, as indicated above (16.1.2), means that the mountains used to participate with daawuud in praising (Allah). To reveal this meaning, ma9a daawuud 'with daawuud' was analysed as Frame adjunct with 'daawuud' analysed in the semantic level as an elliptical NP, i.e. as ta?wiibi daawuud 'daawuud's praise'. For the advantage of analysing ma9a daawuud 'with daawuud' in this way over analysing it as prepositionally realized verbal complement, see below 19.2.3.2.2.1.

When interpreted as not meaning ?aslamat balqiisu lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiina wa hiya ma9a sulaymaan 'balqiis surrendered to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, while she was with sulaymaan', (143), on the other hand, is indicated to have neither the meaning of (ii) nor that of (iii) (cf. above 16.1.2), but 'balqiis surrendered to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, as sulayman did', i.e. it has the same meaning as (144), which suggests that ma9a sulaymaana 'with sulaymaan' in (143) originates neither as Predicative nor as non-Predicative adjunct.

- (144) ?aslamat balqiisu lillaahi rabbi 19aalamiin kamaa ?aslama
 sulaymaan
 balqiis surrendered to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, as
 sulaymaan did

Accordingly, for ma9a sulaymaana 'with sulaymaan' to be analysed according to the 'Aspects' model of TGG, i.e. as prepositionally realized verbal

complement, is incompatible with the meaning of (143), and its paraphrase relationship.

B. Having adjuncts

Consider the following sentences:

(145) laa ?aštari lkitaaba ?illaa biġilaafin qawiyy
I never buy the book save with a stiff cover

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

The phrases biġilaafin qawiyy 'with a stiff cover' in (145), and bi?aθaaθ 'with furniture' in (146) are the types of phrases regarded by Vestergaard as Having adjuncts (cf. above 16.2), i.e. as adjuncts having a direct, though loose, relation with the main verbs. It is argued above however (16.2) for regarding the phrases in question as Predicative having adjuncts originating in circumstantial adverbial clauses introduced by waawu lhaal 'the waaw of circumstance', and having as their subjects pronouns referring back to the NPs possessing their nominal elements. If this analysis is applied to (145 - 146) they will have (147 - 148) as their underlying structures, respectively.

(147) laa ?aštari lkitaaba ?illaa wa huwa biġilaafin qawiyy
I never buy the book save when it is with a stiff cover

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

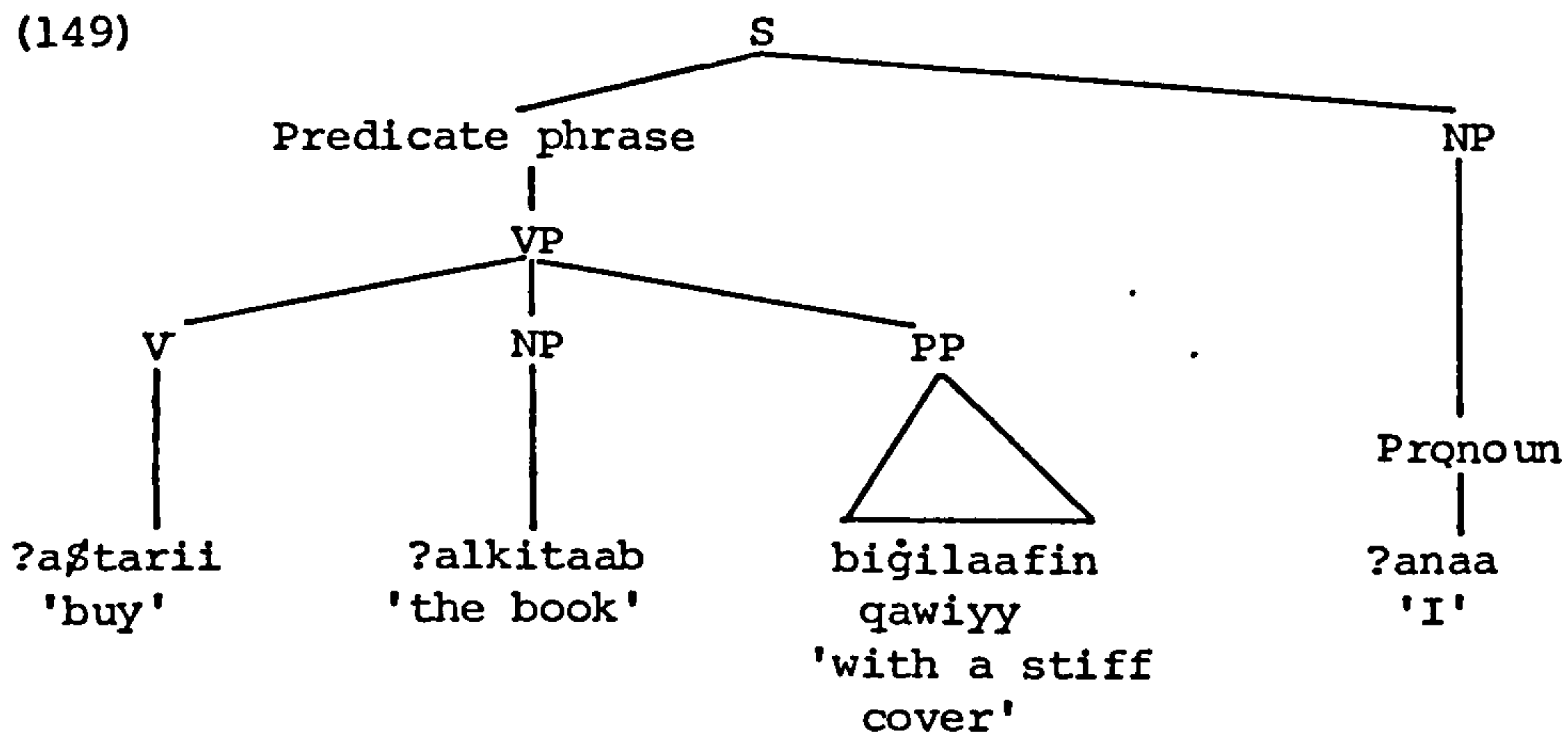
The basis of this analysis, as indicated above (16.2) is to provide us with grounds for stating the pragmatic co-occurrence restrictions between the nominal elements of so-called Having adjuncts and the NPs possessing them, and, hence, for judging whether the sentences containing them are pragmatically as well as linguistically well-formed

e.g. (145) or linguistically but not pragmatically well formed, e.g.

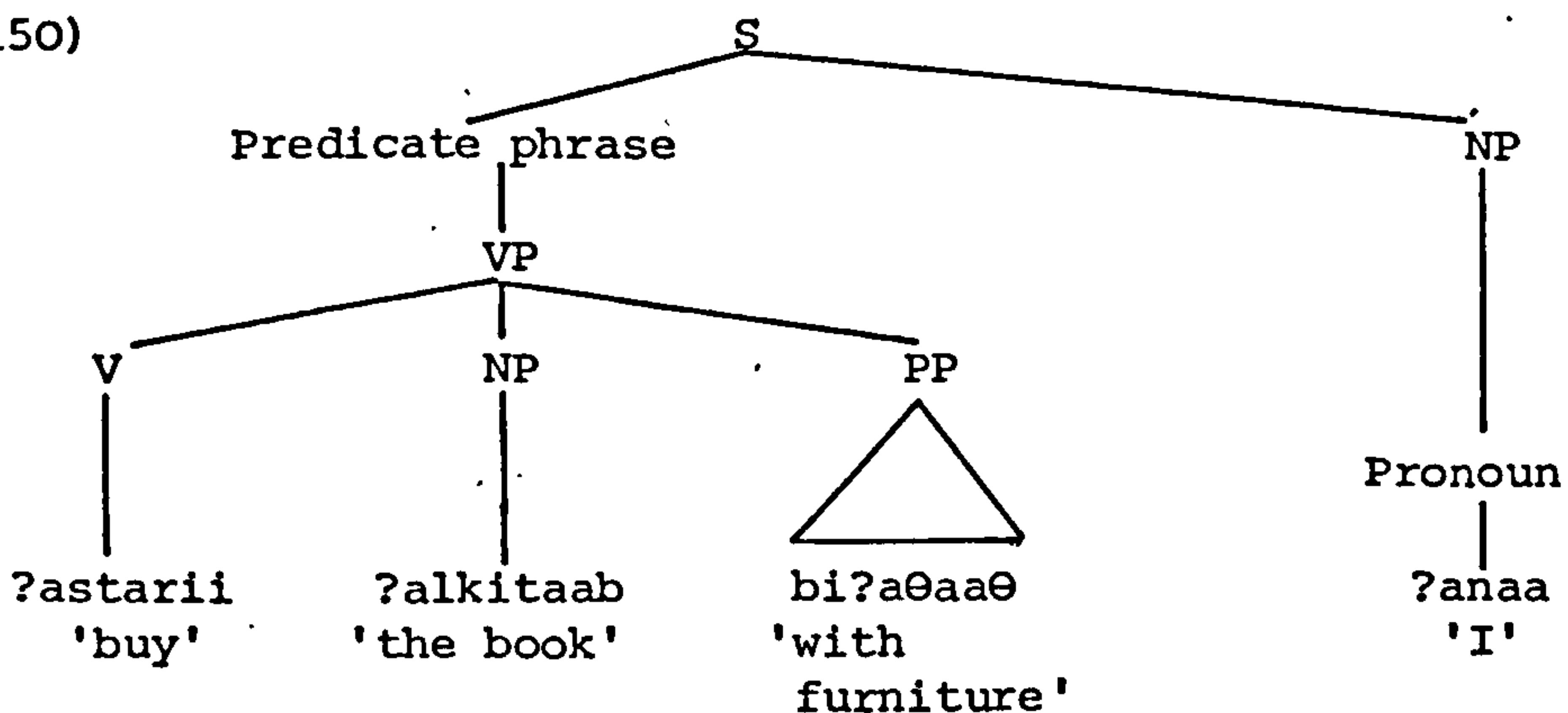
(146). According to this analysis, so-called Having adjuncts will occur in a subject-predicate relationship with the NPs possessing them, where the restriction between them can be stated, see (147 - 148), the underlying representations of (145-146), respectively.

To analyse biḡilaafin qawiyy 'with a stiff cover' in (145) and bi?aθaaθ 'with furniture' in (146) according to the 'Aspects' model of TGG, i.e. as positionally realized verbal complements, as in (149-150), respectively will therefore leave unaccounted for why the former is both pragmatically and linguistically well-formed, while the latter is only linguistically so.

(149)



(150)



C. Subject and Object adjuncts

On the following grounds it is indicated (cf. above 16.4).

that Subject and Object adjuncts originate as Predicative locative adjuncts in circumstantial clauses introduced by waawu lhaal 'the waaw of circumstance', and having as their subjects the subjects or the objects they characterise, respectively:

- (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 Subject and Object adjuncts, and the subjects and the objects they characterise, respectively are the same as those between Predicative abstract locative adjuncts and the subjects of their clauses .
- (c) that there are co-occurrence restrictions between the nominal and the prepositional elements of Subject and Object adjuncts similar to those between the nominal and the prepositional elements of Predicative abstract locative adjuncts.
- (d) that the meanings of the prepositional elements of Subject and Object adjuncts are identical to those of Predicative abstract locative adjuncts.

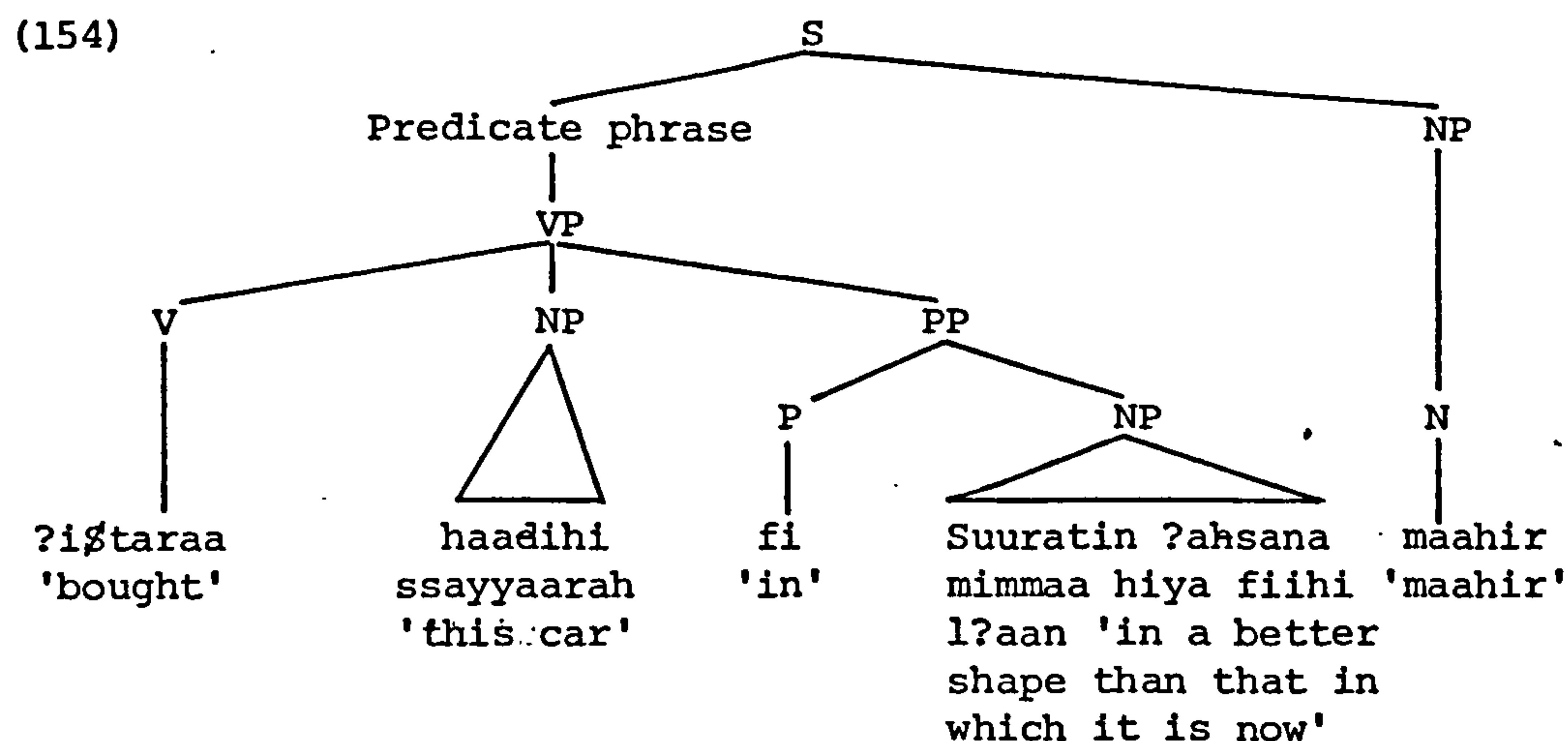
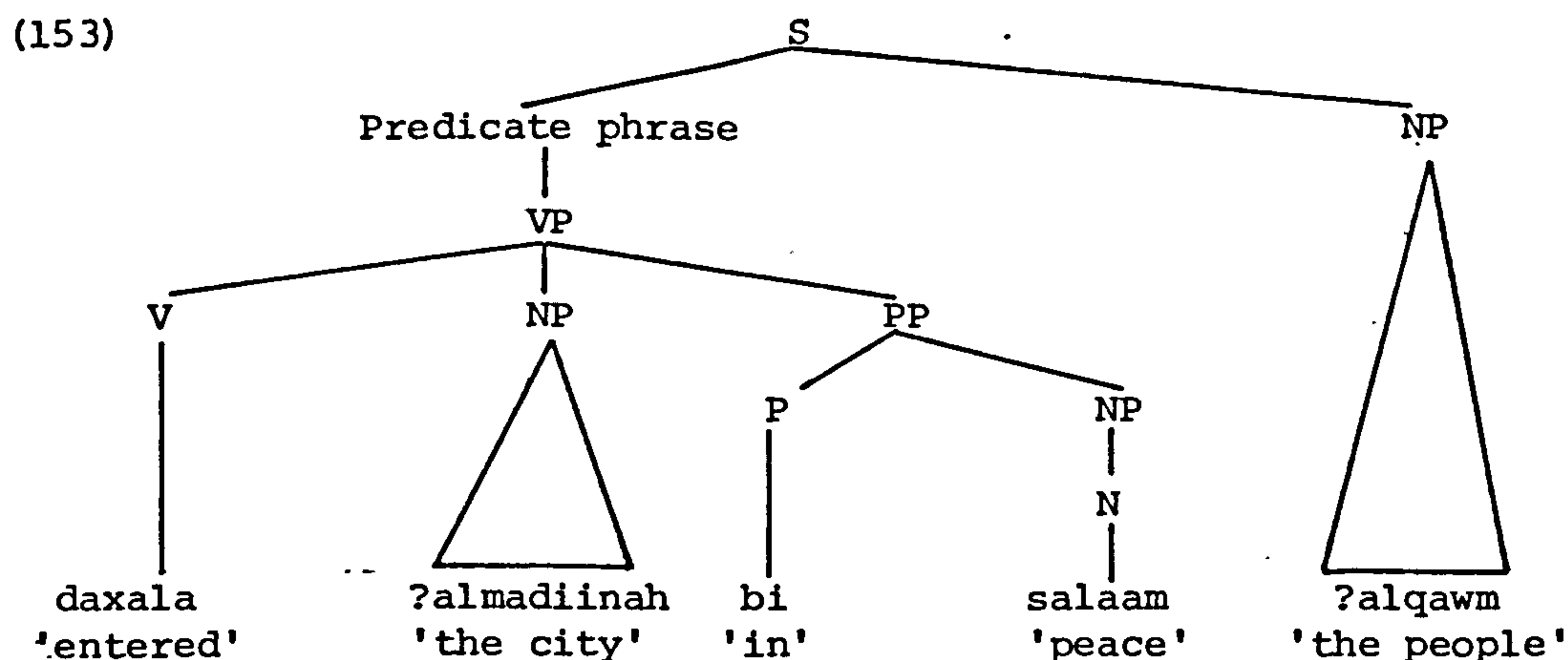
To analyse prepositionally realized Subject and Object adjuncts according to what is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on them, i.e. to analyse them as prepositionally realized verbal complements, will leave unaccounted for all the facts of (a-d). Consider (151-152), where bisalaam 'in peace' and fii Suuratin?ahsana mimmaa hiya fiihi l?aan 'in a better shape than that in which it is now', are subject and object adjuncts, respectively. (Note that (152) is formed according to the language I use in writing.)

(151) daxala lqawmu lmadiinata bisalaam

The people entered the city in peace

- (152) ?iṣṭaraa maahirun haadihi ssayyaarata fii Suuratin ?ahsana
 mimmaahiya fiihi l?aan
 maahir bought this car in a better shape than that in which
 it is now

According to what is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on Subject and
 Object adjuncts, (151-152) have (153-154) as their underlying representations
 respectively.



On the basis of (153-154) it will be possible to account for none of
 the facts of (a-d). For the Subject and the Object adjunct have no
 structural relation with ?alqawm 'the people' and haadihi ssayyaarah
 'this car', the subject and the object they characterise, respectively.

There is another reason for regarding as being undoubtedly inadequate what is thought to be the 'Aspects' analysis of Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts. This reason has to do with the way POs subcategorize the verbs requiring them in 'Aspects'. According to what is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts, the prepositional elements of the PPs regarded in the present work as having one of these functions on the one hand, and the features of their nominal elements, on the other, will constitute part of the categorial and the selectional features of the verbs with which they seem to associate, respectively (cf. below pp. 734-44). As is the case with determining the categorial and selectional features of other verbs, this will be done individually in relation to each verb, i.e. in such a way that the verbs with which the adjuncts in question seem to associate will not be related to one another. Consequently, there will be basis for justifying neither of the following facts:

(a) that the main verbs of the sentences embracing the adjuncts in question can be either [-stative] or [+stative]. Examples are respectively ?ištary 'bought' in (155)a and yaš9uru 'feels' in (155)b, daxala 'entered' in (156)a and yaš9uru 'feels' in (156)b, yunaaqiṣu 'discusses' in (157)a and yay?asu 'give up all hope' in (157)b, and tawalla 'took position of' in (158)a and yuhibbu 'like' in (158)b: they are accompanied by the following adjuncts, respectively: (i) the Comitative adjuncts ma9a faaDil 'with faaDil' and ma9ahaa 'with her'; (ii) the Having adjuncts bihadiyyah 'with a present' and bi9aqlin xaaln mina lmas?uuliyyah 'with a mind devoid of responsibility'; (iii) the Subject adjuncts 9alaa 9ilmin bihaa 'being thoroughly familiar with them' and fii šiddah 'in adversity'; (iv) the Object adjuncts fii fawDaa 'in chaos' and fii niZaam 'being in good order'.

(155)a ?ištarytu lkitaaba ma9a faaDil

I bought the book with faaDil

b yaḡ9uru maahirun ma9ahaa birraahah

maahir feels comfortable with her

(156)a daxala naa?iluni lbayta bihadiyyah

naa?il entered the house with a present

b yaḡ9uru lmar?u birraahati bi9aqlin xaaln mina lmas?uuliyyah

A man feels at ease with a mind devoid of responsibility

(157)a yunaaqiḡu naa?iluni lmasaa?ila 9alaa 9ilmin bihaa

naa?il discusses problems, being thoroughly familiar

with them

b laa yay?asu haa?ulaa?i l?aqwiyaa?u fii ḡiddah

These strong (people) do not give up all hope in adversity

(158)a tawalla lbilaada fii fawDaa

He took position of the country in chaos

b laa yuhibbu faaDiluni lbuyuuta fii niZaam

faaDil does not like houses being in good order

(b) the main verbs with which the adjuncts in question seem to associate can be accompanied by other adjuncts either in place of or in addition to them. Examples of these other adjuncts are Concessive, Conditional and Reason adjuncts. Consider (158)a, for example. tawalla 'took position of' can be accompanied, for instance, by the Conditional adjunct 9alaa ?an yu9Taa kulla ssuluṬaat 'provided he would be given all powers', either in place of the object adjunct fii fawDaa 'in chaos' as in (159), or in addition to it as in (160).

(159) tawalla lbilaada 9alaa ?an yu9Taa kulla ssuluṬaat

He took position of the country provided he would be given all powers

(160) tawalla lbilaada fii fawDaa 9alaa ?an yu9Taa kulla ssuluṬaat

He took position of the country in chaos provided he would be given all powers

Regarding as transforms Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts on the other hand (cf. above 16.1-2; 16.4) provides the basis of accounting for both fact (a) and (b).

Firstly, the main verbs of the sentences embracing Comitative, Having, Subject or Object adjuncts can be either stative or non-stative. For the circumstantial clauses, in which they - the adjuncts - originate, and which are in direct grammatical relations with the main verbs are able to associate with either Stative or non-Stative verbs, e.g. the circumstantial clauses wa huwa ba9iidun 9an ?ahlih 'while he is far away from his family' and 'wa ?awlaaduhuu niyaam' while his sons are asleep' in (161 - 162), respectively.

(161) laa ya9uru maahirun bissa9aadati wa huwa ba9iidun 9an ?ahlih
maahir does not feel happy while he is far away from his
family

(162) yudaakiru maahirun wa ?awlaaduhuu niyaam ..
maahir studies while his sons are asleep

Secondly, adjuncts other than Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts can co-occur with the main verbs with which these adjuncts seem to associate. For the circumstantial adjuncts in which Comitative, Having, Subject and Object adjuncts are considered to originate are not the only adjuncts able to co-occur with Stative and non-Stative verbs. Others are Reason, Conditional and Concessive adjuncts (cf. above 17.5-6).

19.2.3.2.1.2 Place adjuncts and Adjuncts qualifying the Subject

A. Place adjuncts

As indicated above (cf. 19.1), Chomsky recognizes two Place adverbials (= Place adjuncts):

(i) Place adverbials that are VP complements, e.g. 'at the office' in (163) and 'in England' in (164).

(163) He worked at the office (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 101)

(164) John died in England (ibid., p. 217, fn. 27)

(ii) Place adverbials that are verbal complements, e.g. 'in England' in (165).

(165) John stayed in England (ibid., p. 217, fn. 27).

In a footnote however Chomsky states that 'Place adverbials (at least those which are VP complements) must sometimes, or perhaps always, be regarded as Sentence transforms' (ibid., p. 219, fn. 28). He gives as an example of these adverbial 'in England' in (166).

(166) I read the book in England

According to him, (166) "derives from an underlying structure very much like the one that underlies 'I read the book while (I was) in England", (ibid., p. 219, fn. 28).

Nothing is wrong with Chomsky's analysis of sentence (166), and it is not in contradiction with the analysis, adopted in this thesis, of the Arabic equivalent (cf. above 16.3). There are however some remarks concerning Chomsky's statement about Place adverbials being Sentence transforms:

(a) Chomsky does not indicate whether or not his analysis of Place adverbials as Sentence transforms depends on them having a temporal interpretation. As indicated above however (cf. 16.3), analysing Place adjuncts as transforms is confined to those having a temporal interpretation.

(b) Chomsky does not justify his analysis of Place adjuncts as Sentence transforms: he refers to none of the bases of analysing in this thesis as Sentence transforms Place adjuncts with temporal interpretation (cf. above 19.1; 16.3).

(c) he refers neither to the function of the clause in which a Place adverbial such as 'in England' in (166) originates, nor to its implication for the class of the main verbs of the sentences embracing such adverbials. As indicated above (cf. 16.3), these main verbs can be either Stative or non-Stative, while those with which Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation associate can only be non-Stative.

B. Adverbials qualifying the Subject

In a footnote, Chomsky acknowledges 'the distinction between Adverbials that qualify the Verb and those which might more properly be said to qualify the Subject' (Chomsky, 1965: 218, fn. 28). He does not however term the latter class of Adverbials, nor does he analyse the examples he gives of the adverbials in question in a way that indicates where and how they originate, and how they are to be related to the subjects they qualify. According to Chomsky, 'with no great enthusiasm' in (167) is an example of the adverbials that might more probably be said to qualify the subject.

(167) John married Mary with no great enthusiasm (ibid., p.218,fn.28)

He nevertheless provides no underlying syntactic representation of (167) that indicates the aforementioned points: where and how 'with no great enthusiasm' originates, and how it is to be related to 'John', the subject. Instead, he gives (168) as a rough meaning of (167).

(168) John was not very enthusiastic about marrying Mary

According to the analysis of the Adjuncts regarded in this thesis as transforms, 'with no great enthusiasm' in (167) qualifies as a Having not a Subject adjunct. (169) is the underlying representation of (167), where 'with no great enthusiasm' is a Having predicative adjunct, and 'when he was with no great enthusiasm', the clause in which it originates is an adverbial clause in a direct grammatical relation with 'married',

the main verb of (167).

(169) John married Mary when he was with no great enthusiasm

It should be noted firstly that like a Having adjunct, a Subject adjunct originates in an adverbial clause, e.g. the Subject adjunct, 'in tremendous health' in (170): it originates in an adverbial clause, as indicated by (171).

(170) She met him in tremendous health

(171) She met him while she was in tremendous health

The two adjuncts however differ from each other in two things:

(i) whereas a Having adjunct originates as a Having predicative adjunct, (cf. above 16.2), a Subject adjunct originates as a Predicative abstract locative adjunct (cf. above 16.4).

(ii) while the subject of the adverbial clause in which a Subject adjunct originates needs to have the same referent as the subject of the sentence embracing it, that of the adverbial clause in which a Having adjunct originates does not (cf. above 16.2; 16.4).

Secondly, the phrase, 'adverbials qualifying the subject', which is understood from Chomsky's discussion of sentence (167), refers not only to Subject adjuncts as used in this thesis (cf. above 16.4) but also to the adverbials that are in some way related to the subject, for example, to express its location, e.g. some Place adjunct with temporal interpretation (cf. above 16.3), and some Comitative adjuncts (cf. above 16.1), or to express what it has, e.g. some Having adjuncts (cf. above 16.3). The bases of this interpretation are the following ones:

(1) 'with no great enthusiasm' in (167) originates as a Having predicative adjunct. That is, it expresses the quality John lacked during

the time he married Mary. This analysis is strengthened by that of the equivalent phrase 'with an umbrella' in (172).

(172) John came with an umbrella

like 'with no great enthusiasm' in (167), 'with an umbrella' in (172) originates as a Having predicative adjunct in an adverbial clause, as indicated by (173), the underlying structure of (172), and expresses what John had when he came.

(173) John came when he was with an umbrella

(ii) Place adverbials are among the adverbials that are regarded by Chomsky as being related to the subject (cf. above p. 562): the subjects of the clauses in which they originate (when regarded as Sentence transforms) might have the same referents as the subjects of the sentences embracing them; and needless to say that Place adjuncts are distinct from Subject adjuncts, as used in this thesis (cf. above 16.4).

Finally, after his discussion about the adverbials qualifying the subject, and referring to that 'Place adverbials' that are VP complements 'must sometimes, or perhaps always, be regarded as Sentence transforms', Chomsky makes the following statement, which is not surprising, taking into consideration the remarks I made regarding his analysis of adverbials (= Adjuncts) (cf. above 19.2.3.2.1): 'Adverbials are a rich and as yet relatively unexplored system, and therefore anything we say about them must be regarded as quite tentative' (Chomsky, 1965: 219, fn. 28).

19.2.3.2.2 Adjuncts regarded as non-transforms

19.2.3.2.2.0 Recapitulation and purpose

The Adjuncts regarded in this thesis as non-transforms include the following ones:

1. Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation.
2. Adjuncts expressing temporal relations, which embrace:

- (i) Instantive time adjuncts; (ii) Time frame adjuncts;
 (iii) Free duration adjuncts.
3. Manner adjuncts.
 4. Instrument adjuncts.
 5. Means adjuncts.
 6. Beneficient adjuncts.
 7. Purpose adjuncts.
 8. Reason adjuncts.
 9. Conditional adjuncts.
 10. Concessive adjuncts.

It is indicated above (cf. 19.1) that Chomsky explicitly regards as VP complements 'Time', and 'Place', which, as shown above (cf. 19.1) means 'Free' not 'Bound place', i.e. means Place adjuncts. Chomsky does not express what the Time category embraces, i.e. he does not subclassify it into subclasses similar to those of (2), for instance. In the present work however Free duration adjuncts are thought to be regarded in 'Aspects' as verbal complement. Therefore, of the subclasses of Adjuncts expressing temporal relations the subclass of Free duration adjuncts will be considered with types (3 - 10), which as well are thought to be analysed in 'Aspects' as verbal complements. As for the other two subclasses of Adjuncts expressing temporal relations, and Place adjunct with no temporal interpretation, they will be considered together.

The main purpose here is to discuss how the 'Aspects' model of TGG handles the restrictions related to Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation; Instantive time and Time frame adjuncts on the one hand, and to Free duration adjuncts, Manner adjuncts, Instrument adjuncts, Means adjuncts, Beneficient adjuncts, Purpose adjuncts, Reason adjuncts, Conditional adjuncts, and Concessive adjuncts, on the other.

19.2.3.2.2.1 Place and Time adjuncts

As indicated above (cf. 19.1), though Chomsky explicitly regards as VP complements Free place adjuncts, he sees that they 'must sometimes or perhaps always, be regarded as Sentence transforms' (Chomsky, 1965: 219, fn. 28). While discussing the restrictions related to Place adjuncts, however (cf. above 16.3), it is indicated that only their subclass that has a temporal interpretation is the one that is able to be analysed as a transform. According to the analysis proposed there, this subclass of adjuncts are predicative. Thus, the restrictions related to them fall outside the domain of the present work, which is concerned with only one type of adjuncts, non-Predicative adjuncts. As for the other subclass of Place adjuncts, which have no temporal interpretation, they are regarded as being non-Predicative, i.e. as adjuncts that have a direct, those loose, relation with the main verbs of the clauses embracing them. The restrictions related to them therefore fall within the domain of the present work.

The main concern here is to show how the 'Aspects' model of TGG handles the restrictions related to the following subclasses of Adjuncts expressing temporal interpretations: (i) Instantive time adjuncts; (ii) Time frame adjuncts, and to Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation when they are regarded as VP complements.

The following restrictions are related to the aforementioned Adjuncts:

- (a) the dependency between the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of Adjuncts and the semantic categorials to which the latter belong (cf. above 18.2).
- (b) the restrictions between Adjuncts and the main verbs with which they associate (cf. above 15.1 - 2; 16.3).
- (c) the selectional restrictions between the prepositional and the

nominal elements of Adjuncts (cf. above 18.1; 18.3).

(d) the categorial restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of Adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.2.1.1).

In 'Aspects', Chomsky recognizes the dependency between the realization of the prepositional elements of Place adjuncts, and the features of their nominal elements (cf. above 19.2.3.1). (Taking into consideration that Chomsky (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 218, fn. 28) uses the term 'Place adverbials' to refer to the two subclasses of Place adjuncts recognized in the present work, i.e. those with or without temporal interpretation (cf. above 16.3), his recognition of this type of dependency is to be taken as including the subclass of Place adjuncts concerning us here, i.e. the subclass having no temporal interpretation.) Chomsky nevertheless does not indicate how the 'Aspect' model of TGG is to handle the dependency in question: is it to handle it (i) by stating it on the preposition in terms of the features of the NP it governs whereby the former not the latter will be inserted into the phrase marker by a selectional rule or vice versa? or (ii) by stating it either on the prepositional or the nominal element in the way indicated, but introducing freely into the phrase marker either of the two elements, and leaving it for the semantic rules to take care of their co-occurrence restriction? Nor does he indicate how the 'Aspects' model reconciles the dependency of the realization of the prepositional elements of Place adjuncts on the features of their nominal elements with the dependency of the realization of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts on the semantic categories to which they belong. That is, he does not indicate how the 'Aspects' model brings to agreement the fact that the realization of the prepositional elements of Place adjuncts depends on the features of their nominal elements with the fact that the prepositions governing the nominal elements of Place adjuncts must be marked in the lexicon

with the feature [+ place], which expresses their ability to function as prepositional element in these adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.1). For how a TGG can bring to agreement the former with the latter fact, see below 20.2.1.

As for the rest of the aforementioned restrictions (cf. above pp.565-6) none of them are referred to in 'Aspects'. Therefore, a TGG such as that presented in 'Aspects' is bound to generate ill-formed sentences.

Consider firstly sentence (174).

(174)a *waqa9ati zzugaagatu 9ala ssaa9ati lwaahidati Sabaahaa

The bottle fell down on one o'clock a.m.

b *zaara maahirun Taahiran liSSabaah

maahir visited Taahir for the morning

The sentences of (174) are ungrammatical for the PPs 9ala ssaa9ati lwaahidati Sabaahaa 'on one o'clock a.m.' in (174)a, and liSSabaah 'for the morning' in (174)b, which are intended to be analysed as Instantive time adjunct and Time frame adjunct, respectively, violate restriction (a) (cf. above p. 565): their prepositional elements are not marked in the lexicon with the features [+ instantive time] and [+ time frame], which express their inability to function as prepositional element in an Instantive time and Time frame adjunct, respectively (cf. below 20.2.1).

The grammatical versions of the sentences of (174) are (175 - 176) respectively: the prepositional elements of their PPs, which are the equivalents of those of (174), are respectively marked with the features [+ instantive time] and [+ time frame].

(175) waqa9ati zzugaagatu fi ssaa9ati lwaahidati Sabaahaa

The bottle fell down at one o'clock a.m.

(176) zaara maahirun Taahiran fi SSabaah

maahir visited Taahir in the morning

Consider, secondly, sentence (177).

(177) a *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.

b yargu lmar?u ?an yakuuna milyuniiran fii landan

A man wants to be a millionaire in London

Sentence (177)a is ungrammatical, and so is sentence (177)b, when the PP fii landan 'in London' is analysed as Place adjunct with no temporal interpretation: they violate restriction (b) (cf. above p. 565). The Instantive time adjunct fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (177)a cannot co-occur with tatahassanu 'getting better'. For it - the latter - expresses a slowly developing situation, i.e. a situation that requires a stretch, not point, of time (cf. above p. 338). In (177)b, on the other hand, the PP fii landan 'in London' cannot co-occur with yargu 'wants' when it is analysed as Place adjunct with no temporal interpretation. For such Place adjuncts cannot associate with Stative verbs, i.e. with verbs such as yargu 'wants' in (177)b.

Consider, thirdly, sentence (178).

(178) *waSala maahirun ?ila lmadiinati fii naa?il
maahir arrived at the city at naa?il

Sentence (178) is ungrammatical. For the PP fii naa?il 'at naa?il', whose prepositional element marked with the feature [+ instantive time], violates restriction (c) (cf. above pp. 565-6). When marked with this feature, which means its ability to function as prepositional element in an Instantive time adjunct, fii 'at' governs a NP like ?alxaamisati masaa?aa 'five o'clock p.m.' not like maahir 'maahir', i.e. a NP assigned the feature specification (179) not that of (180), respectively.

(179) [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual]

(180) [+ human]

Consider, finally, sentence (181).

(181) *gaa?a maahirun fii ?an yaēhaba Taahir

maahir came in that Taahir went out

Sentence (181) is ungrammatical, for the PP fii ?an yaēhaba Taahir 'in that Taahir went out' violates restriction (d) (cf. above p. 566).

A fii 'in' such as that of (181), i.e. a 'fii' marked with the feature [+ time frame], which expresses its ability to function as prepositional element in Time frame adjuncts, governs a NP like \$itaa?i 19aami lmaaDii 'the winter of last year', not like ?an yaēhaba Taahir 'that Taahir went out', i.e. a NP marked with the feature specification (182) not that of (183), respectively.

(182) [other than maa-/?an-/?anna clause]

NP

(183) [?an clause]

NP

19.2.3.2.2.2 Other adjuncts

The adjuncts in question are: (1) Manner adjuncts; (2) Instrument adjuncts; (3) Means adjuncts; (4) Beneficient adjuncts; (5) Purpose adjuncts; (6) Reason adjuncts; (7) Conditional adjuncts; (8) Concessive adjuncts, and (9) Free duration adjuncts, which are subclassified into (a) fii-Duration adjuncts and (b) ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts.

It is indicated above that Chomsky explicitly regards Manner adjuncts as verbal complements (cf. 19.1) and that the rest of the aforementioned Adjuncts are thought to be regarded in 'Aspects' as verbal complements (cf. p. 514). This means that in relation to these

adjuncts, when prepositionally realized, verbs will have two sets of features: (i) strict subcategorization features specifying the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of the adjuncts accompanied by them; (ii) selectional features specified in terms of the nominal elements of the adjuncts with which they associate. That is, like the prepositional elements and the features of the nominal elements of non-adverbial POs, which are required by PVs, DOT-PVs, DOPVs and TOT-PVs, those of the aforementioned adjuncts will constitute part of the categorial; and selectional features of the verbs with which they associate, respectively. Since, however in contradistinction to the PPs realizing non-adverbial POs, those realizing the aforementioned adjuncts are always optional, the lexical entries of the verbs, with which these adjuncts associate ought to be assigned so as to indicate this optionality. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

(184)a qaTa9a maahiruni llaħma bissikkiin

maahir cut the meat with the knife

b Sabba naa?iluni lmaa?a fi lkuubi biyadihi lyusraa

naa?il poured the water in the cup with his left hand

(185)a ?a9raDa naa?ilun 9an maahirin lisuu?i yuluqih

naa?il turned away from maahir because of his ill-nature

b taraka naa?iluni lbayta liqadaaratih

naa?il left the house because of its dirtiness

c gahhaza lqawmu ?anfusahum bilkaθiiri mina lmu9iddaati

lixuTuurati rriklah

The people equipped themselves with a great many of

devices because of the seriousness of the journey

(186)a sayudaakiru naa?ilun ?ilaa/hattaa/liSSabaah

naa?il will study till the morning

b sayuSgii maahirun ?ilayka hattaa/?ilaa/limuntaSafi llayl

maahir will listen to you till midnight

c satunaZZifu huda lmanzila ?ilaa/hattaa/lilguruub

Huda will clean the house till sunset

(187) a lamaha naa?ilun maahiran fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa

naa?il spotted maahir at one o'clock a.m.

b fakkartu fii daalika fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

I thought about that at one o'clock p.m.

According to what is thought to be the 'Aspects' stand on the Adjuncts in question, the verbal elements of the following combinations will be assigned in the lexicon categorial and selectional features specifying their ability to co-occur with their PPs:

- (i) qaTa9a bissikkiin 'cut with the knife' (cf. above (184)a).
- (ii) Sabba biyadihi lyusraa 'poured with his left hand' (cf. above (184)b).
- (iii) ?a9raDa lisuu?i xuluqih 'turned away because of his ill-nature' (cf. above (185)a).
- (iv) taraka liqadaaratih 'left because of its dirtiness' (cf. above (185)b).
- (v) gahhaza lixuTuurati rrihlah 'equipped because of the seriousness of the journey' (cf. above (185)c).
- (vi) sayudaakiru ?ilaa/hattaa/liSSabaah 'will study till the morning' (cf. above (186)a).
- (vii) sayuSgii hattaa/?ilaa/limuntaSafi llayl 'will listen till midnight' (cf. above (186)b).
- (viii) satunaZZifu ?ilaa/hattaa/lilguruub 'will clean till sunset' (cf. above (186)c).
- (ix) lamaha fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa 'spotted at one o'clock a.m.' (cf. above (187)a).
- (x) fakkar fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'thought at one o'clock p.m.' (cf. above (187)b).

These features are indicated by (188-197), respectively, where are presented the other categorial features of the verbs in question, and where the round brackets stand for optionality and the features of the NPs irrelevant to the present discussion are left out:

- (188) qaTa9 'cut': [+ —[NP] ([bi 'with' [+ concrete,
NP [+ expressive of a
manipulated object]]])]
- (189) Subb 'pour': [+ —[NP] [PP] ([bi 'with' [+ concrete,
NP [+ expressive
of a manipulated
object]]])]
- (190) ?a9raD 'turn away': [+ —[PP] ([li 'because of' [+ abstract,
NP
+ reason/[+ reason] —]]])]
- (191) tarak 'leave': [+ — [NP] ([li 'because of'
NP [+ abstract, + reason/[+ reason] —]]])]
- (192) gahhaz 'equip': [+ — [NP] [PP] ([li 'because of'
NP [+ abstract, + reason/[+ reason] —]]])]
- (193) daakar 'study': [+ — ([?ilaa/hattaa/li 'till'
NP [+ time, -measure, + period]]])]
- (194) ?aSgaa 'listen': [+ — [PP] ([hattaa/?ilaa/li
NP 'till'
[+ time, -measure, -period, + punctual]]])]
- (195) naZZaf 'clean': [+ — [NP] ([?ilaa/hattaa/li
NP 'till'
[+ time, -measure, -period, + punctual]]])]
- (196) lamah 'spot': [+ — [NP] ([fii 'at',
NP [+ time, -measure, -period, + punctual]]])]
- (197) fakkar 'think': [+ — [PP] ([fii 'at'
NP [+ time, -measure, -period, + punctual]]])]

Also, according to the same model of TGG, i.e. the 'Aspects' model, verbs ought to be assigned other categorial and selectional features showing the number of the aforementioned Adjuncts (cf.p. 569) with which they can associate, as well as the combinations of the same adjuncts with which they can co-occur per clause. For the number of Adjuncts with which verbs are able to associate are not confined to one, and verbs can co-occur with more than one of them per clause. Consider, for instance, qaTa9a 'cut' in (184) a.

Instrument adjuncts are not the only adjuncts of the aforementioned ones, with which qaTa9 'cut' can co-occur: it can associate with Beneficent Purpose, Reason, Conditional, Concessive and fii-Duration adjuncts as indicated by (198 - 203), respectively.

- (198) qaTa9a maahiruni llaḥma linaaʔil
maahir cut the meat for naaʔil
- (199) qaTa9a maahiruni llaḥma liṣayyih
maahir cut the meat to grill it
- (200) qaTa9a maahiruni llaḥma limaraDi zawgatih
maahir cut the meat because of his wife's illness
- (201) qaTa9a maahiruni llaḥma 9alaa ʔan yaʔxuda ba9Dah
maahir cut the meat on condition that he would take part of it
- (202) qaTa9a naaʔiluni ṣṣagarata 9alaa ʔannahaa kaḥiiratu lfawaaʔid
maahir cut the tree deposite its many utilities
- (203) qaTa9a rragulu ṣṣagarata fii 9aṣri daqaaʔiq
The man cut the tree in ten minutes

Also, the verb qaTa9 'cut' can co-occur with more than one of these adjuncts per clause. For example, it can co-occur with Beneficent and fii-Duration adjuncts, Beneficent and Reason adjuncts, Conditional and fii-

Duration adjuncts, Instrument and Reason adjuncts, or Instrument, fii-Duration and Conditional adjuncts, as indicated by (204 - 208), respectively.

(204) qaTa9a rragulu §§agarata limaahirin fii 9a§ri daqaa?iq
The man cut the tree for maahir in ten minutes

(205) qaTa9a rragulu §§agarata limaahirin limaraDih
The man cut the tree for maahir because of his illness

(206) sayaqTa9u rragulu §§agarata fii 9a§ri daqaa?iqa 9alaa ?an
tu9Tiyahuu 9a§ra gunayhaat
The man will cut the tree in ten minutes provided you give
him ten pounds

(207) qaTa9a rragulu llaħma biqiT9atin miħa lħadiidi liDayaa9i
ssikkiin
The man cut the meat with a piece of iron because of the
knife being lost

(208) sayaqTa9u rragulu §§agarata bimin§aarin yađawiiyyin fii
saa9atin 9alaa ?an yu9Taa xamsa gunayhaat
The man will cut the tree with a manual saw in an hour
provided he will be given five pounds

Consequently, in the feature specification (188), other optional categorial and selectional features are needed to indicate the other adjuncts and the adjunct combinations with which qaTa9 'cut' can co-occur. This can be indicated by (209), where the second and the third optional feature represent Beneficient and Reason adjuncts, respectively.

(209) [+ — [NP] ([bi 'with' [+ concrete, + expressive of a
NP manipulated object]])
([li 'for' [+ human]]) ([li 'because of' [+ abstract,
NP
+ reason/ [+ reason] —]]) etc.]
P

Having indicated the way the 'Aspects' model of TGG handles the Adjuncts under discussion, what can be said about it is that it is invalid.

To begin with, it is not sound to regard as verbal complements the following prepositionally realized adjuncts: Manner adjuncts, Instrument adjuncts, Means adjuncts, Beneficient adjuncts, Purpose adjuncts, Reason adjuncts, Conditional adjuncts, Concessive adjuncts, and free Duration adjuncts. That is, it is not sound to regard the prepositional elements and the features of the nominal elements of these adjuncts as constituting part of the categorial, and selectional features of the verbs with which they associate, as is the case with the prepositional elements and the features of the nominal elements of non-adverbial POs, i.e. of verbal complements such as 9ammaa ra?aa 'from what he saw' in (210), billaah 'in Allah' in (211), lii 'to me' in (212) and fii ziyaarati miSr 'to visit Egypt' in (213).

- (210) ?a9raDa maahirun 9ammaa ra?aa
maahir turned away from what he saw
- (211) yu?minu xaalidun billaah
xaalid believes in Allah
- (212) ?ittaDaha lii ?annahuu muxliS
It appeared to me that he is sincere
- (213) yargabu maahir fii ziyaarati miSr
maahir wants to visit Egypt

For the PP assuming one of the functions related to the aforementioned adjuncts has different characteristics from that functioning as non-adverbial PO, a fact which justifies giving them different grammatical status, VP and Verbal complement, respectively (cf. below 22.1 - 2), i.e. considering the prepositional element and the features of the nominal element of the latter rather than the former PP as constituting part of the categorial,

and selectional features of the verbs associating with it, respectively.

Secondly, like the feature specifications of verbs in relation to the PPs regarded as verbal complements, their feature specifications in relation to the PPs assuming one of the functions related to the adjuncts in question (which are thought to be regarded in 'Aspects' as verbal complement) will be done individually, i.e. in such a way that they will not be related to one another. Therefore, leaving aside the validity of the 'Aspects' analysis of these adjuncts, to regard them as verbal complements will leave unaccounted for the following facts, which have to do with the restrictions related to them:

(a) the verbs with which the adjuncts in question associate can be grouped into classes , a fact which indicates that they - the Adjuncts - associate with verb classes rather than with individual, unrelated verbs. For example, (1) the verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts associate are grouped into (i) non-Static momentary verbs (cf. above 15.1.1), (ii) verbs marked with the feature [+ ingressive], (cf. 15.1.2), etc. (cf. above 15.1). (2) the verbs with which Duration adjuncts can co-occur are grouped into (i) verbs expressing a telic situation (cf. above p. 371); (ii) verbs marked with the feature [+ ingressive] (cf. above p. 372). (3) the verbs with which Manner adjuncts can associate are non-stative (cf. above 17.2). (4) the verbs with which Conditional and Concessive adjuncts can associate can be either stative or non-stative (cf. above 17.6). For the verb classes with which the rest of the adjuncts in question can co-occur see 15.2 ; 15.3 ; 17.1 ; 17.3 ; 17.4 ; 17.5.

(b) the number of the adjuncts in question with which a certain verb can co-occur per clause is not confined to one, which is accounted for in a grammar such as ours by that the verb belongs to verb classes with one of which one of the adjuncts can co-occur, or to a class with

which all the adjuncts can associate. Consider, for example, the adjuncts able to associate with qara? 'read'. Among the adjuncts able to co-occur with this verb are (i) Instantive time adjuncts, e.g. fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (214); (ii) fii-Duration adjuncts, e.g. fii yawmayn 'in two days' in (215); (iii) Manner adjuncts e.g. bisur9ah 'quickly' in (216); (iv) Reason adjuncts, e.g. li9ilmii bi?ahammiyyatih 'because of my awareness of its importance' in (217); (v) Concessive adjuncts, e.g. 9alaa kaθrati mas?uuliyyaatih 'despite the multitude of his responsibilities' in (218).

(214) sayaqra?u maahirun fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

maahir will read at one o'clock p.m.

(215) sayaqra?u maahiruni lkitaaba fii yawmayn

maahir will read the book in two days

(216) qara?a maahiruni lkitaaba bisur9ah

maahir read the book quickly

(217) qara?tu lkitaaba li9ilmii bi?ahammiyyatih

I read the book because of my awareness of its importance

(218) qara?a maahiruni lkitaaba 9alaa kaθrati mas?uuliyyaatih

maahir read the book despite the multitude of his
responsibilities

On the one hand, the Instative time adjunct fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (214) and the fii-Duration adjunct fii yawmayn 'in two days' in (215) co-occur with yaqra?u 'read', for in (214) it is a durative non-stative verb expressing an atelic situation and prefixed by sa 'will' (cf. above 15.1.5), and in (215) it is a verb expressing a telic situation (cf. above 15.2). The Manner adjunct bisur9ah 'quickly' in (216), the Reason adjunct li9ilmii bi?ahammiyyatih 'because of my awareness of its importance' in (217), and the Concessive adjunct

9alaa kaθrati mas?uuliyyaatih 'despite the multitude of his responsibilities' in (218) co-occur with the verb qara? 'read', on the other, for it belongs to one of the verb classes with which these adjuncts can associate, it is a non-stative verb.

(c) the features of the nominal elements of the PPs assuming one of the functions related to the adjuncts in question, i.e. functioning as Manner, Instrument, Means, Beneficient, Purpose, Reason, Conditional, Concessive or Free-Duration adjuncts, are identical. For example, the nominal elements of Instrument and Reason adjuncts are marked with the feature specifications [+ concrete, + expressive of a manipulated object] and [+ abstract, + reason/[+ reason] —] respectively (cf. below p.695; 20.2.32). For the features of the nominal elements of the rest of the adjuncts in question, see below 20.2.3.

(d) the prepositional elements of the PPs having one of the functions related to the adjuncts under discussion are realized by the same prepositions regardless of the specific verbs with which they associate. For example, the prepositional elements of the PPs functioning as Instrument and Conditional adjuncts are realized by 'bi' and '9alaa', respectively cf. below p.636; p. 638). For the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of the rest of the aforementioned adjuncts, see pp. 634-9.

Footnotes

1. Chomsky refers to Subject adjuncts in the context of distinguishing between 'Adverbials that qualify the Verb and those which might more properly be said to qualify the Subject' (Chomsky, 1965: 218, fn. 28). He gives 'cleverly' in (i)a and 'with no great enthusiasm' in (i)b as examples of the former and the latter category, respectively.

(i)a John laid his plans cleverly

b John married Mary with no great enthusiasm

According to Chomsky, sentence (i)b, "means roughly, 'John was not very enthusiastic about marrying Mary'".

2. Geis's assumption that Manner adjuncts are regarded in Aspects as VP complements contradicts Chomsky's explicit indication that they are verbal complements (cf. above 19.1 ; Chomsky, 1965: 102).

3. For an assumption similar to that of Lakoff and Ross, see Berkoff, pp. 24-5, where he states that Chomsky's assumption is that, 'apart from adverbials of place and time, all other prepositional phrases are dominated by VP', i.e. are verbal complements.

4. Like these adjuncts, the following ones are thought (as indicated above see pp. 513-14) to be regarded by Chomsky as verbal complements:

(i) Having adjuncts; (ii) Object adjuncts; (iii) Conditional adjuncts. Their reactions to criteria (1) and (2) are however incompatible with such an analysis. To begin with, these adjuncts react negatively to criterion (2), i.e. they behave in relation to this criterion as VP complements are believed by Chomsky to behave. Consider sentences (a - c).

(a) With her hair in a fashionable style, she entered the room

(b) No-one can talk to him in his wild mood

(c) I will stay at home in case of rain

The nominal elements of the underlined adjuncts in (a - c) (which function as Having, Object and Conditional adjunct, respectively) react negatively to criterion (2): they cannot become the subjects of passive sentences, as indicated by (d - f), respectively.

(d)* Her hair in a fashionable style was entered the room
with (by her)

(e)* His wild mood cannot be talked in to him (by anyone)

(f)* Rain will be stayed at home in case of (by me)

Secondly, both Conditional and Object adjuncts react negatively to criterion (1), as well, i.e. they behave in relation to this criterion as VP complements are believed by Chomsky to do: they can optionally be preposed to the sentence as in (g) and (h), respectively.

(g) In case of rain, I will stay at home

(h) In his wild mood, no-one can talk to him

On the other hand, Having adjuncts react positively to criterion (1), i.e. they behave in relation to this criterion as verbal complements are believed by Chomsky to behave: they cannot optionally be preposed to the sentence, their initial position depends on their weight relative to the postverbal part of the sentence (cf. Vestergaard, p. 109). If the postverbal part of the sentence is heavier than the Having adjunct, the latter occurs initially as in (i); otherwise it can occur either initially or finally as in (j) and (k), respectively.

(i) With a wide smile she entered the white hall in the pink
palace of her royal host

(j)(i) With a wide smile she entered the white hall

(ii) With her hair in a fashionable style, she entered the room

(k)(i) She entered the white hall with a wide smile

(ii) She entered the room with her hair in a fashionable style

5. For regarding as an adjunct, i.e. as an adverbial modifier, the construction 'on condition that + S', see Curme, II, pp. 83-4.

6. For that Adjuncts may assume the form of an adverb, a PP, a clause, or a conjunctive clause, see Curme, II, p. 71 where Adjuncts are termed by him 'adverbial modifiers'.

C H A P T E R T W E N T Y

INCORPORATING THE RESTRICTIONS RELATED TO V_1 -P-N
COMBINATIONS INTO TGG

20.0 A note

It should be noted that the combinations in question are characterized by the following facts: (i) their verbal element is a true intransitive verb or for instance a single transitive verb with an absolute use; (ii) their Preposition-Noun components function as adjuncts, i.e. that the combinations under discussion are those described as being superficially similar to those represented as V-P-N combinations and described as having the following characteristics (cf. 3.1): (i) their V elements is a PV; (ii) their P-N elements are POs.

Since, as indicated above however, (p. 307) the restrictions related to V_1 -P-N combinations are governed by the fact that their P-N elements are adjuncts, the analysis to be proposed here for incorporating these restrictions into TGG is to be taken as a valid account of the restrictions related to the adjuncts in other combinations with verbal elements, too, e.g. the combinations of (1 - 5), where the verbal elements are a single transitive verb, a PV, a DOT-PV, a DO PV, and TOT-PV, respectively.

- (1) daakar(uu) duruusahum tahta §§agarah
 (They) studied their lessons beneath the tree
- (2) 9asura 9alayhi (hallu lmas?alati) 9alaa maa ba9dala min guhd
 It was difficult for him (to solve the problem) despite the
 effort he made
- (3) ?alqay(aa)hu fi nnahri ba9da qatlih
 (They) threw him into the river after killing him
- (4) hakam(aa) baynahumaa fii saa9ah fiima . xtalafuu fiih
 (They) judged between them in an hour concerning wherein they
 differ

- (5) faDDal(uu) 9aliyyan 9alaa hudaa fi l?agri lisababin laa na9rifuh
 (They) favoured 9aliyy above hudaa in payment for a reason we
 do not know

Consequently, the examples in this section will not be confined to V_1 -P-N combinations.

20.1 The State of Theory after 'Aspects of the Theory of Syntax'

The purpose here is to discuss some of the post-'Aspects' TGG works on Adjuncts, particularly those prepositionally realized, and in direct, or seemingly direct grammatical relation with main verbs, to see whether they recognize the restrictions related to these adjuncts and if so how the model of TGG they represent accounts for them. Among these works are those of Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), Jackendoff (1972), Akmajian and Heny (1975), Stockwell (1977), Baker (1978) and Radford (1981).

20.1.1 Jacobs and Rosenbaum

Jacobs and Rosenbaum start their chapter about prepositions by asking the following questions:

(i) 'Are prepositions represented as constituents or as features of constituents in deep structures?' (cf. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, p.136).

(ii) 'Are there special preposition phrase nodes in surface structures ... or are so-called prepositional phrases actually noun phrases?' (loc. cit.).

Then, they confess that 'conclusive answers to questions of this sort cannot be given at present' (loc. cit.), and, hence, point out that 'the purpose of this chapter is to illustrate certain interesting facts about prepositions and, wherever possible, to suggest how these facts might be accounted for' (loc. cit.).

Their position in question (i) is regarded as being tentative, and it is as follows: prepositions 'originate as features in deep structures, in particular, as features of noun segments' (ibid., p. 138).

To begin with, since, they do not qualify the word 'prepositions' in this quotation I take it as if it subsumes all types of prepositions including those representing the P elements of V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations.

Secondly, their justification of this position is that it 'would certainly explain why there are prepositional constructions in which the choice of preposition seems to be dependent upon a noun' (loc. cit.). The prepositions they give as examples are 'on' in (6), 'at' in (7) and 'in' in (8), which represent the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized predicative time adjuncts.

(6) The tournament is on Monday (loc. cit.)

(7) The tournament is at noon (loc. cit.)

(8) The tournament is in May (loc. cit.)

Their argument goes as follows (ibid, p. 138): since the choice of any of these prepositions depends upon the noun it governs, as appears from the ungrammaticality of sentences (9) and (10), for instance, they ought to originate in the deep structure as features on the nouns they will govern in the surface structure.

(9) *The tournament is in Monday (loc. cit.)

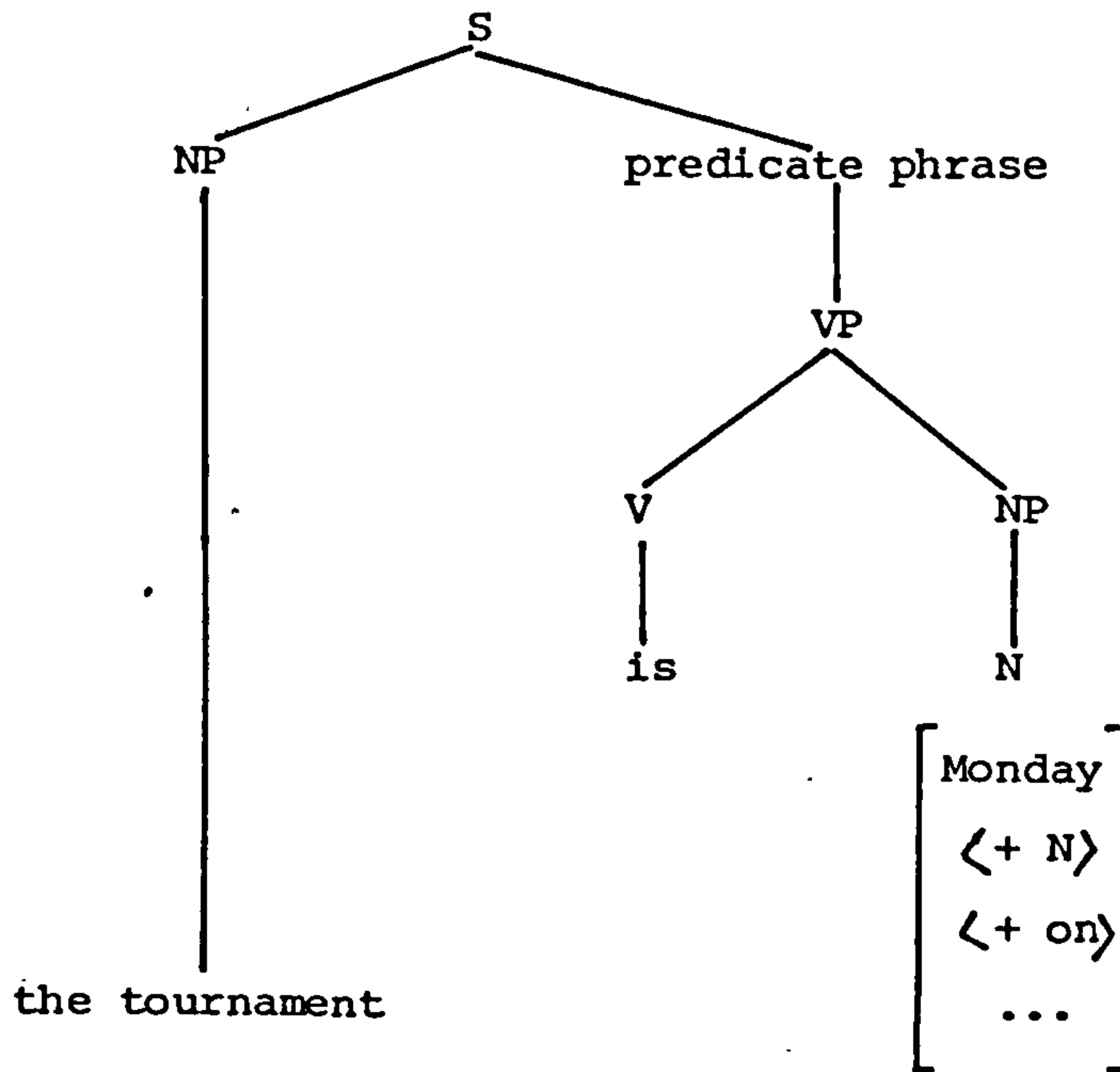
(10) *The tournament is at Monday (loc. cit.)

To clarify what this argument means, let us consider the feature of the noun segment from which the preposition will originate. According to Jacobs and Rosenbaum, this feature will be [+ X], where 'X' is a preposition (ibid., pp. 138-9). Thus, the features of the NPs governed by 'on', 'at' and 'in' in (6-8) will be [+ on], [+ at] and [+ in], respectively:

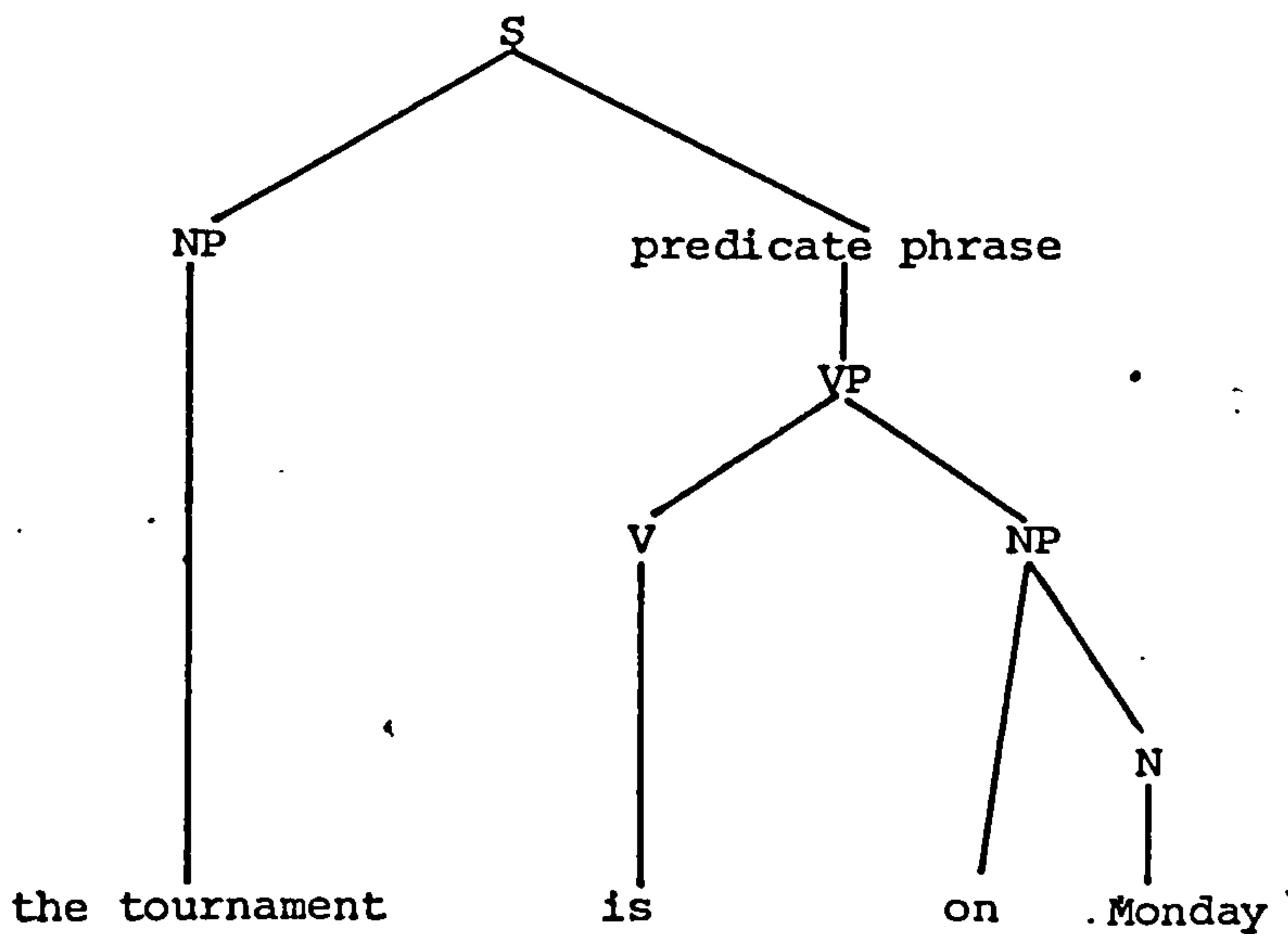
The purpose of the feature [+ X] is to guarantee that the preposition segment transformation (cf. below p. 588) will introduce into the deep structures of sentences (6-8) and the like only prepositions that do not conflict with this feature. Consider, for instance, sentence (6). According to the analysis proposed by Jacobs and Rosenbaum, this sentence will have

the underlying representation (11), where there is no preposition, and the noun segment representing 'Monday' is assigned a variable of the feature [+ x], i.e. [+ on]. This feature will trigger off the preposition segment transformation to introduce 'on', but not 'at' or 'in', into (11), for it is the preposition compatible with this feature, and, hence, yielding the structure (12).

(11)



(12)



It should be noted that the prepositions in (6-8) represent the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Predicative time adjuncts, but their analysis applies equally to the prepositional elements

of the following adjuncts: (i) Predicative place adjuncts; (ii) Time adjuncts; (iii) Place adjuncts; (iv) LPOs.

Jacobs and Rosenbaum also claim that the 'hypothesis that prepositions originate as features on noun segments does help to account for' the co-occurrence restriction (ibid., p. 138) between some prepositions and the verbs associating with them. According to the examples they gave, these prepositions are the prepositional elements of the P-N of V-P-N combinations, which function as PO (cf. 3.1). Consider, (13-14), which are theirs (ibid., p. 138).

(13) Rusk flew to Bombay

(14) Rusk approved of Bombay

According to them, 'to' in (13) and 'of' in (14) will originate in the deep structure as the features [+ to] and [+ of] on the noun segments representing 'Bombay', respectively. And since 'flew' in (13) and 'approved' in (14) will be assigned features in terms of the noun segments with which they associate, i.e. since 'flew' will be assigned

the feature

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} + \\ \text{---} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} + N \\ + to \\ \dots \\ \dots \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{ and 'approved'}$$

the feature

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} + \\ \text{---} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} + N \\ + of \\ \dots \\ \dots \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

the generation of (15) and (16) will be blocked.

(15) *Rusk approved to Bombay

(16) *Rusk flew of Bombay

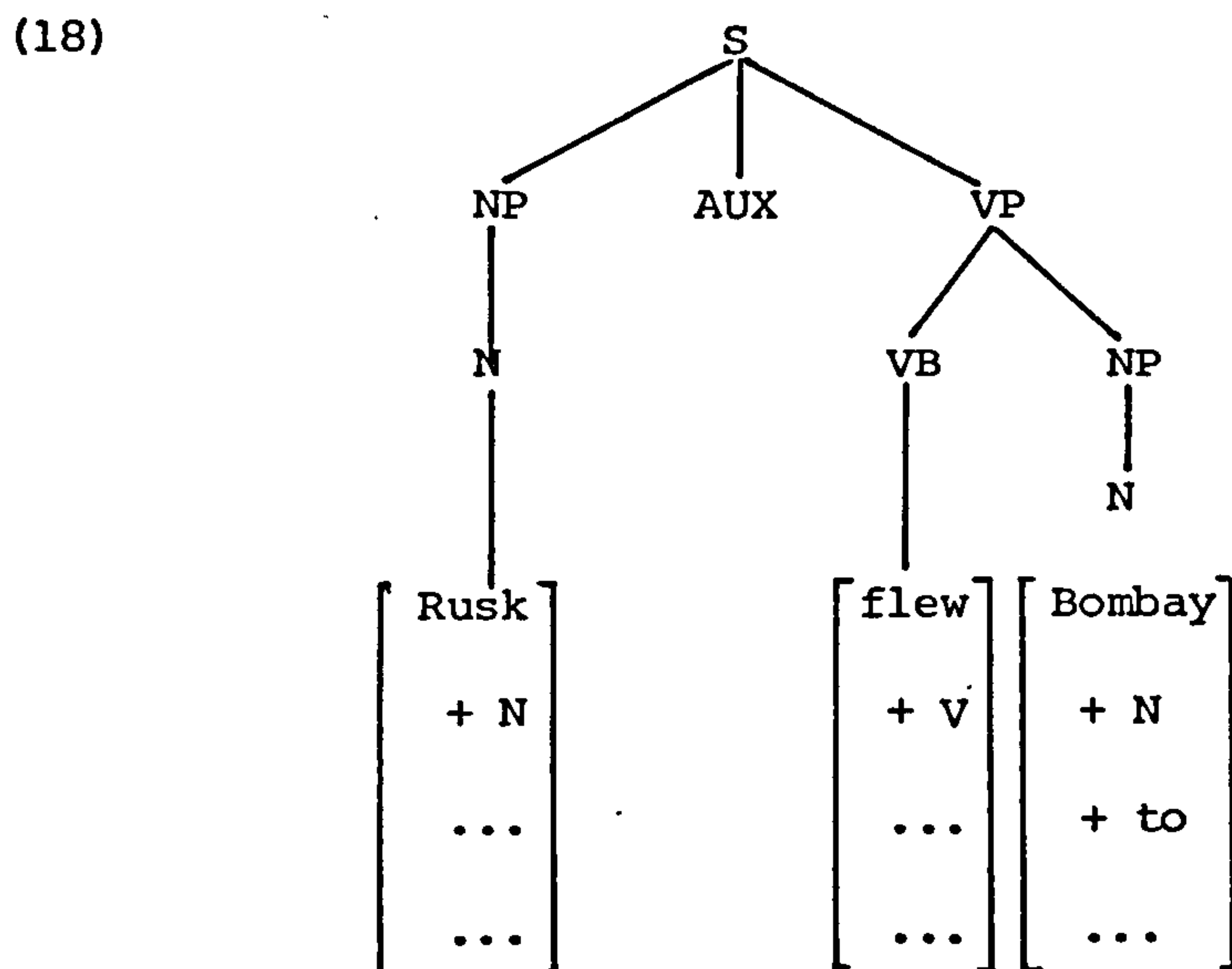
It should be noted that according to Jacobs and Rosenbaum's hypothesis that prepositions will originate in deep structures as features

on noun segments, the surface structure 'P NP' will originate in deep structure as a NP, i.e. prepositions will not be generated by phrase structure rules. This brings us to the answer of the second question asked by Jacobs and Rosenbaum (cf. above p.583).

The question arises: How then, is a preposition introduced into the structure of the sentence that includes the surface structure P NP? I referred above (cf. pp. 584-5) to Jacobs and Rosenbaum's answer to this question with reference to the P NP functioning as predicative time adjunct. Here, I will represent a complete version of their answer but in relation to the P NP functioning as PO. But, before doing so, it should be noted that the function of the structure 'P NP' has nothing to do with the way its P element is introduced into the structure of the sentence embracing it.

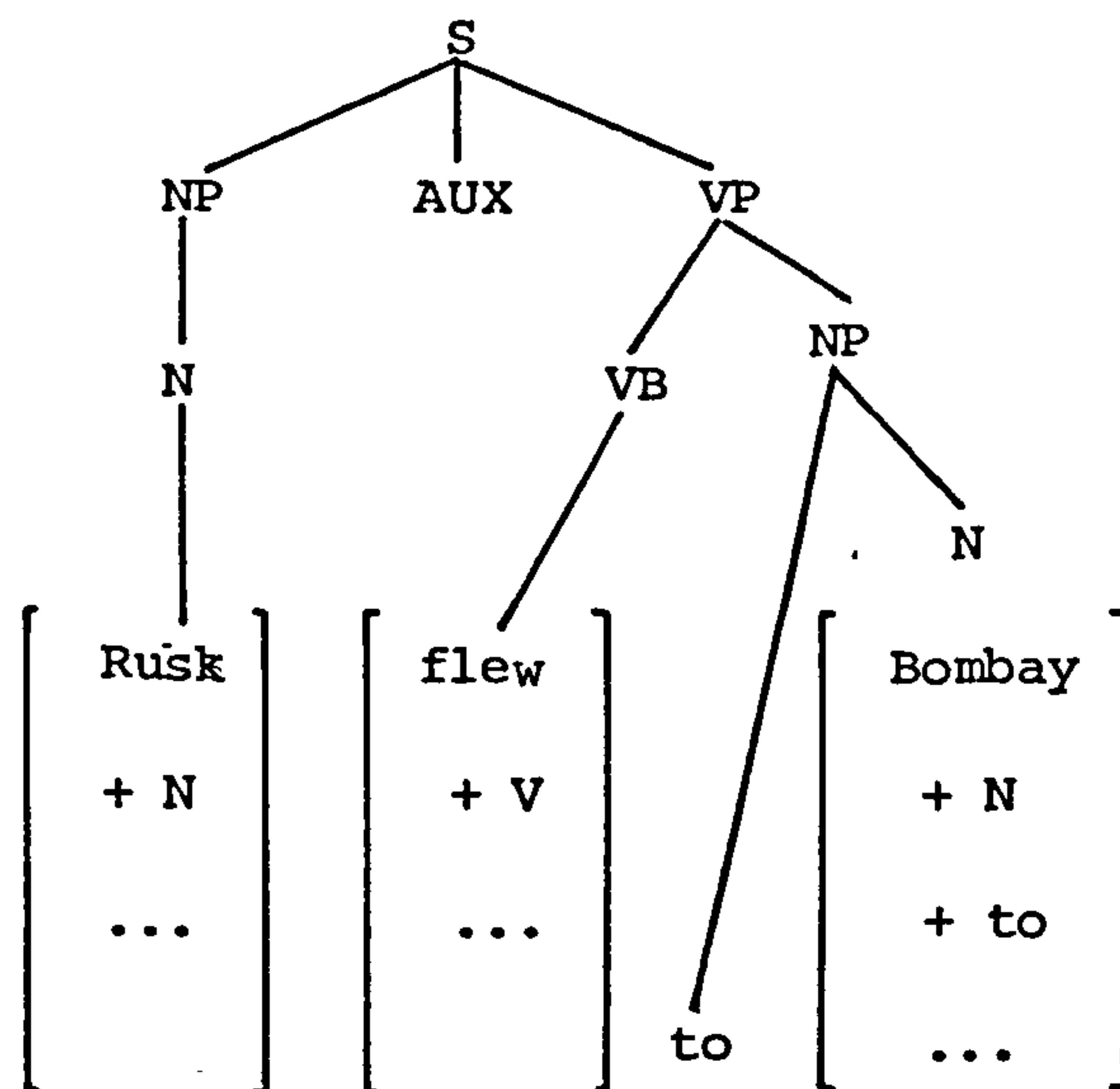
Consider, for instance, sentence (13). According to the grammar presented by Jacobs and Rosenbaum, this sentence will be generated by the rules of (17) (where VB stands for a verbal), (ibid. p. 52); and after the application of lexical insertion rules it will have the underlying structure (18), where the preposition 'to' has no node.

- (17) i. $S \longrightarrow NP \text{ Aux } VP$
 ii. $VP \longrightarrow VB \text{ NP}$



As for the preposition 'to', it will get into the structure (18) by a process similar to that introducing the particle element of the phrasal verb into the deep structure of the clause having it as its main verb (*ibid.*, p. 139), i.e. by a transformation. Jacobs and Rosenbaum did not name this transformation, but let us call it by analogy with their particle segment transformation (*ibid.*, p. 104) 'the preposition segment transformation'. This latter transformation is triggered off by the presence of the feature [+ X] (X = preposition) among those of a noun segment. In relation to our sentence, sentence (13), it will be triggered off by the presence of the feature [+ to] among those of the noun segment representing 'Bombay' in the deep structure (18), and, thereby, deriving (19).

(19)



20.1.1.1 Discussion

Jacobs and Rosenbaum's analysis of PPs has the following disadvantages:

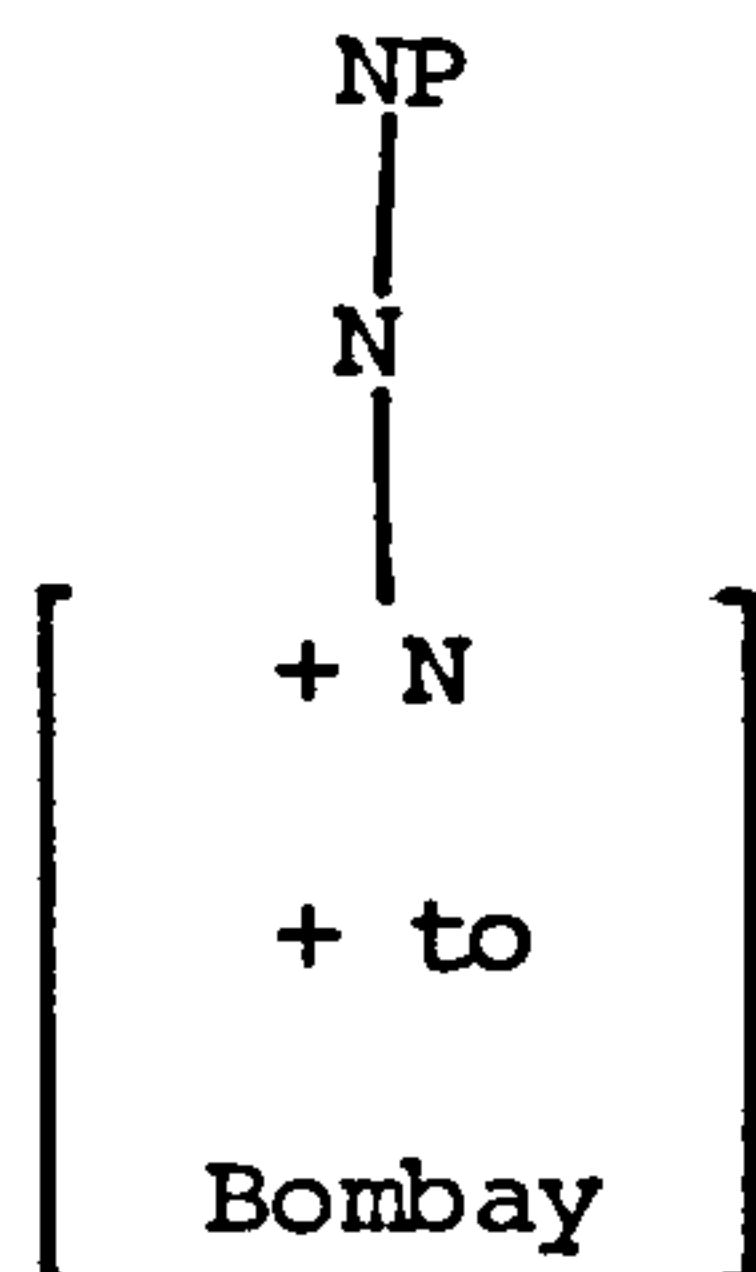
1. According to this analysis, PPs are regarded as NPs, they are generated without their prepositional elements, which is a clear deviation from the 'Aspects' model. But to regard as NP constituents PPs is, as noted by Jacobs and Rosenbaum themselves, (*ibid.*, 140), in contradiction with the cleft sentence test they laid down for establishing the NP constituent (*ibid.*, p. 40, fn. 3; p. 140). In contradistinction to the cleft sentence test, the PP 'of Bombay' in (14), for instance, cannot function as focal element, as

indicated by the ungrammaticality of (20).

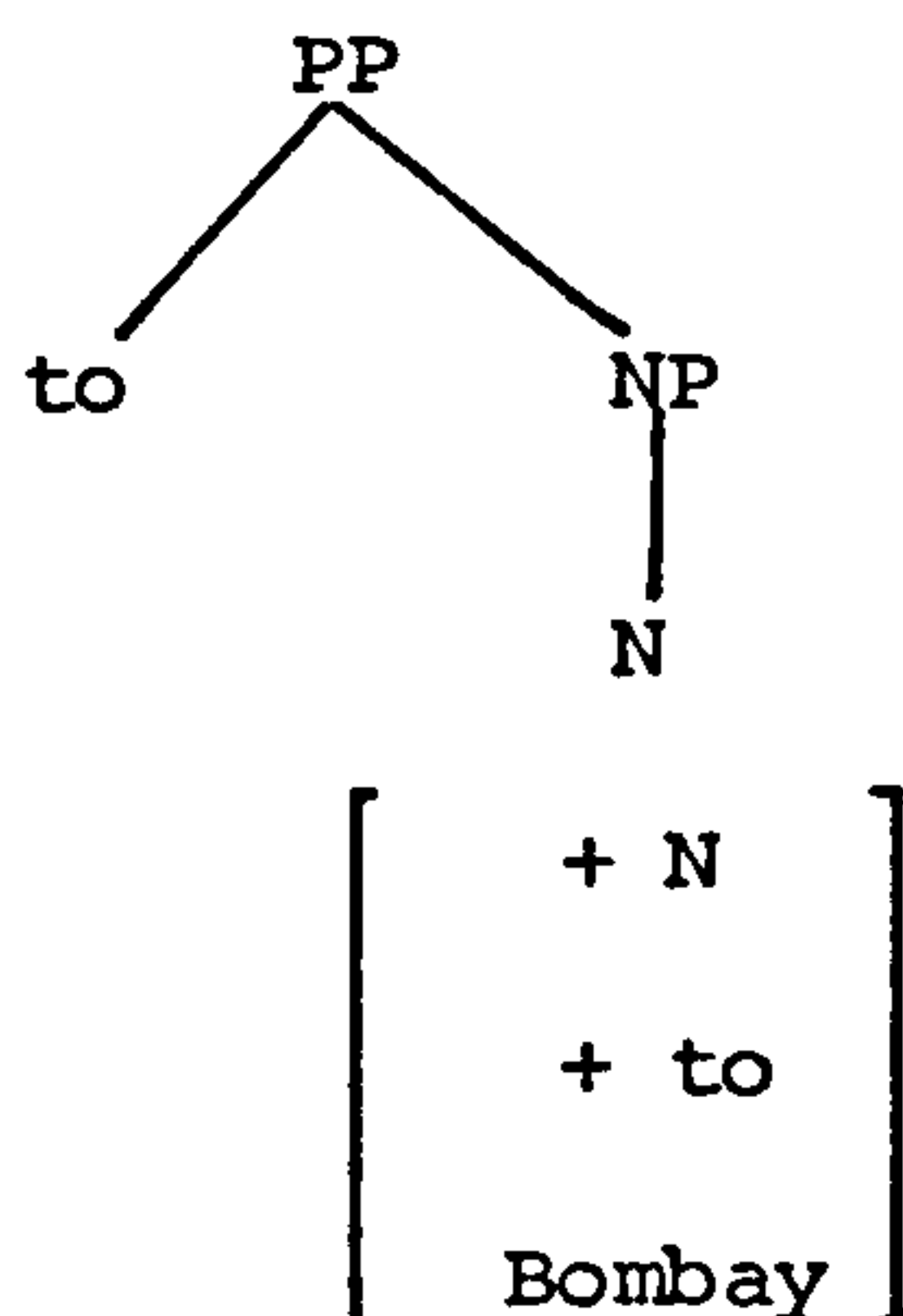
(20) *What Rusk approved was of Bombay

2. According to Jacobs and Rosenbaum, analysing PPs in the way they did provides the basis of explaining why 'there are prepositional constructions in which the choice of preposition seems to be dependent upon a noun' (ibid., p. 138). As will be indicated below however (20.2.3), this dependency can be accounted for in a grammar whose phrase structure rules generate PPs, and with no need for introducing into the grammar the transformation introducing prepositions into surface structure, which is described by Jacobs and Rosenbaum as being strange. According to them, 'at the present time, it simply is not known' (ibid., p. 140) how transformation can be used to introduce a non-terminal node, i.e. to turn a node like (21) into (22).

(21)



(22)



3. The third and the fourth disadvantage are related to assigning nouns features in terms of the prepositions able to govern them.

Firstly, assigning nouns features in these terms will result in nouns

having many optional features. To give just an example, consider the noun *maahir* 'maahir'. In a grammar such as that presented by Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 'maahir' ought to be assigned the features [+ *li* 'for/to'], [+ *qabl* 'before'], [+ *ba9d* 'after'], [+ *ma9* 'with'], [+ *9ala* 'on/for'], [+ *?ilaa* 'to'], [+ *9an* 'from'] and [+ *fii* 'to'], which accounts for its ability to be governed by the preposition *li* 'for', *li* 'to', *qabla* 'before', *ba9da* 'after', *ma9a* 'with', *9alaa* 'on', *9alaa* 'for', *?ilaa* 'to', *9an* 'from', and *fii* 'to', as in (24 - 30), respectively.

(23)a. *qaTa9tu lxaḡaba limaahir*

I cut the wood for maahir

b. *?ittaDaha limaahirin ?anna 9aliyyan munaafiq:*

It appeared to maahir that 9aliyy was a hypocrite

(24) *gi?tu qabla maahir*

I came before maahir

(25) *gi?tu ba9da maahir*

I came after maahir

(26) *Sallaa naa?ilun ma9a maahir*

naa?il prayed with maahir

(27)a. *waqa9a lhagaru 9alaa maahir*

The stone fell down on maahir

b. *yaS9ubu 9alaa maahirin ?an yaf9ala daalik*

It is difficult for maahir to do that

(28) *yuwaswisu ḡḡayTaanu ?ilaa maahirin kaḠiiraa*

The devil often whispers to maahir

(29) *?a9raDa naa?ilun 9an maahir*

naa?il turned away from maahir

(30) *zahida lqawmu fii maahir*

The people attached no value to maahir

Consider, secondly the PPs of (31-35).

(31) *waDa9tu lkitaaba 9ala SSunduug*

I put the book on the box

- (32) waDa9tu lkitaaba fi SSunduuq
I put the book inside the box
- (33) waDa9tu lkitaaba ?amaama SSunduuq
I put the book in front of the box
- (34) waDa9tu lkitaaba xalfa SSunduuq
I put the book behind the box
- (35) waDa9tu lkitaaba tahta SSunduuq
I put the book under the box

In a grammar such as that of Jacobs and Rosenbaum, SSunduuq 'the box' is assigned the features [+ 9alaa 'on'], [+ fii 'inside'], [+ ?amaam 'in front of'], [+ xalf 'behind'] and [+ taht 'under']. To do this, however, will leave unaccounted for the fact that all the NPs like SSunduuq 'the box' i.e. all the NPs characterized by the feature specification (36), are able to be governed by the prepositions of (31-35).

- (36) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{concrete, } + \text{expressive of a three dimensional object,} \\ + \text{front: back, } + \text{top: bottom} \end{array} \right]$

For though, in a grammar such as that of Jacobs and Rosenbaum, the features assigned to such NPs in terms of the prepositions able to govern them are identical, they, like all categorial features, are assigned in such a way that the NPs to which they are assigned are not related to one another: they are assigned to them each individually. In a grammar such as that of the present work, whose base rules generate prepositions such as those of (31-35), i.e. the prepositions functioning as prepositional element of LPOs (cf. below 21.1), this fact can be accounted for. In this grammar, prepositions able to function as prepositional element of LPOs, e.g. those of (31-35), are assigned in the lexicon selectional features in terms of the NPs they are able to govern (cf. below 21.1). On this ground accordingly, the aforementioned fact can be accounted for: NPs marked with the feature specification of (36) can be governed by the

prepositions of (31-35). For their feature specifications are compatible with the selectional features of these prepositions.

4. Aside from the aforementioned disadvantages, Jacobs and Rosenbaum's analysis of prepositionally realized Adjuncts has the following drawbacks:

(a) it does not account for the co-occurrence restrictions between the class of Adjuncts regarded as non-transforms and the verbs with which they associate (cf. above 17.0 below 20.2.2).

(b) it leaves unaccounted for the dependency between the realization of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts (i.e. those that are non-transforms) and the semantic categories of the latter (cf. above 18.2 below 20.2.1).

(c) it says nothing concerning the necessity of establishing two Adjunct classes: those that are transforms and those that are not.

20.1.2 Jackendoff

20.1.2.1 Summary and understanding

Jackendoff indicates that Adverbs and PPs with an adverbial function semantically identical with them share syntactic and semantic features (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 95). According to him, for example, (ibid., pp.94-5) there are semantic and syntactic similarities between the PP 'in my opinion' in (37), which functions as sentence adverb, and the sentence adverb 'truthfully' in (38).

(37) In my opinion, John has lost the race (ibid., p. 94)

(38) Truthfully, John lied to Bill (ibid., p. 56)

Therefore, aside from the fact that Adverbs will be generated as Adverbs, and PPs with an adverbial function semantically identical with them will be generated as PPs, Jackendoff's phrase structure rules for generating prepositionally and adverbially realized Adverbs are identical, and embrace Adverbs dominated by S and those dominated by VP.

Since the present work is concerned with the latter not the former

category, I will present and discuss only Jackendoff's rules that concern Adverbs regarded by Jackendoff as being dominated by VP. But before presenting these rules, it should be noted firstly that 'Adv', the abbreviated form of 'Adverbs' is used by Jackendoff here to refer to '-ly adverbs' not to all the possible realizations of Adverbs as a structural element (*ibid.*, pp. 47-107), i.e. it differs from 'Adjuncts', the word used in the present work to refer to PPs, Adverbs and clauses with an adverbial function. Secondly, as indicated above (p. 592), apart from the fact that the outputs of Jackendoff's rules for generating -ly adverbs are 'adverbs' and of those for generating PPs with an adverbial function semantically identical with them are PPs, the two rules are exactly alike. Therefore, the outputs of either of them are to be taken as a representation of a Superordinate category (say Adverbials/Adjuncts) embracing them as well as their counterparts.

Jackendoff sees that '-ly Adverbs' are generated in the base. According to him, however, these categories occur in different surface positions, and, therefore, the following questions arise: 'Which surface positions are generated in the base?, Which positions are transformationally derived? and What transformations are necessary? (Jackendoff 1972: 59). Jackendoff's answer to the first question in relation to VP adverbs is that the base generate them 'before the verb', 'finally' without pause 'and at various places in between', for these are the positions where, according to Jackendoff, VP adverbs should occur (*ibid.*, pp. 67-8; pp. 80-1).

It should be noted that the VP adverbs generated before the verb, and those generated finally are sometimes called by Jackendoff 'preverbal or AUX-position adverbs' (*ibid.*, p. 60, p. 66 and pp. 73-4), and 'postverbal Adverbs', respectively (*ibid.*, p. 66). Needless to say, on the basis that the rules generating VP adverbs, and the VP prepositional phrases that have an adverbial function semantically identical with these Adverbs are the same

(cf. above p.592), the PPs generated before the verb could be called 'preverbal or AUX-position PPs', and those generated finally 'postverbal PPs'.

20.1.2.1.1 Preverbal Adverbs and PPs dominated by VP

The rules of (39-40) are, according to Jackendoff, the base rules generating Preverbal Adverbs and the PPs having an adverbial functions semantically similar to them.

(39) VP \longrightarrow (Adv) - V- Complement (ibid., p.60; p.66; p. 74)

(40) VP \longrightarrow (PP) - V- Complement (ibid., pp. 94-5)

The Auxiliary position occupied by Adv in (39) is considered by Jackendoff to be a structural peculiarity of this category, which indicates the position it occupies rather than the node to which it is attached, i.e. is considered to be an ambiguity-creating position. For it can be occupied by S adverbs (cf. below, for instance, sentence (41)) and VP adverbs (cf. below, for example, sentence (43)) which are, according to him, characterized by attachment to S, and VP, respectively, (Jackendoff, 1972: 73-4).

'evidently' in (41), and 'of course', 'in my opinion' and 'in all probability' in (42) are Jackendoff's examples of adverbially and prepositionally realized S adverbs that occupy the Adv and the PP position in (39-40), respectively.

(41) John evidently ate the beans (ibid., p. 74)

(42) John has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{of course} \\ \text{in my opinion} \\ \text{in all probability} \end{array} \right\}$ lost the race (ibid., p. 94)

'completely' in (43), on the other hand, is his example of an adverbially realized VP adverb occupying the adv position in (39).

(43) John completely ate the beans (ibid., p. 75)

In contradistinction to 'completely' in (43), 'evidently' in (41) and 'in my opinion' in (42), for instance, cannot occur in yes-no questions, which is, according to Jackendoff (ibid., p. 84), an indication of the former

being a VP adverb, and of the latter being sentence adverbs. This difference between 'completely', on the one hand, and 'evidently' and 'in my opinion', on the other is indicated by (44), and (45-48), respectively.

(44) Did John completely eat the beans?

(45) *Did John evidently eat the beans?

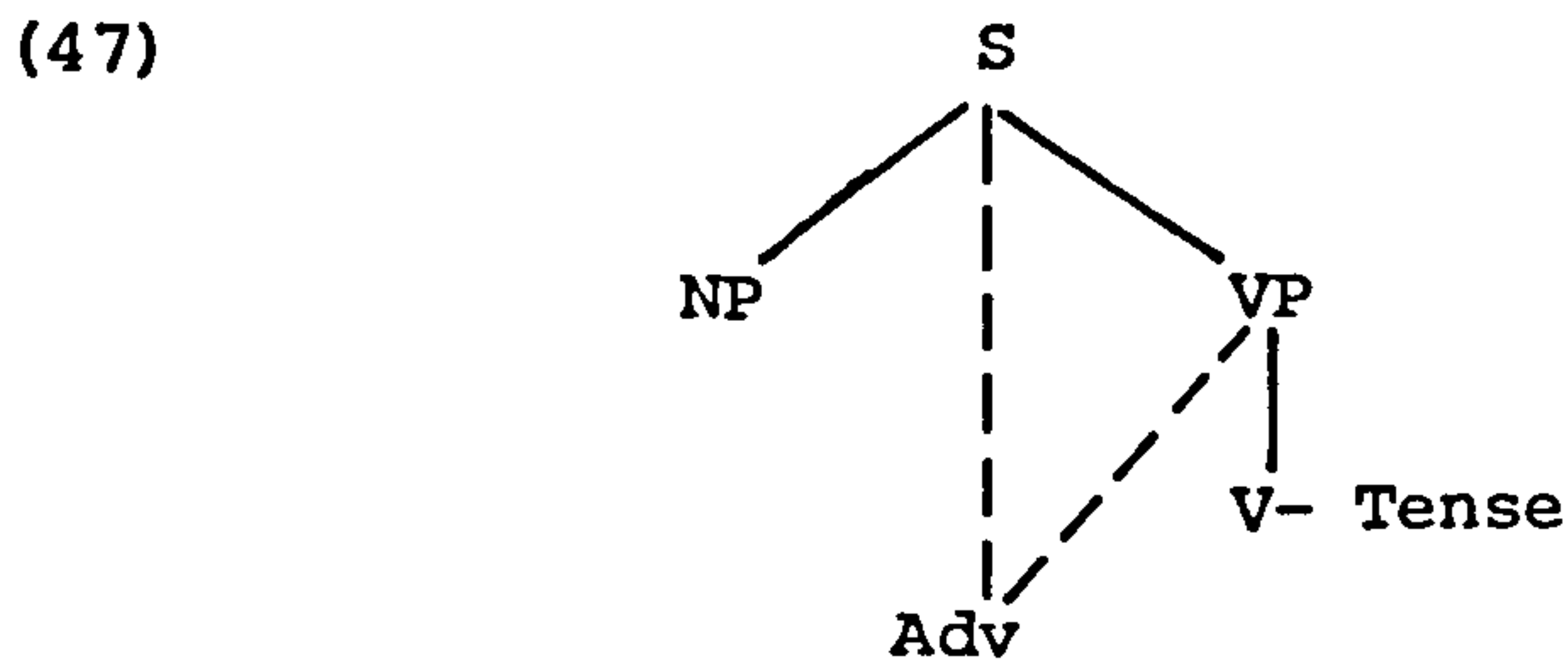
(46) *Has John in my opinion lost the race?

In the previous paragraphs (cf. above p. 594) occur the following expressions: (i) 'the position it - the adverb - occupies in the tree' (ibid., p. 73); (ii) 'the node to which it - the adverb - is attached' (ibid., p. 73). According to Jackendoff, the projection rules 'Pspeaker', 'Psubject', and 'Pmanner', are defined in terms of (ii) not (i) (ibid., p. 73). The rules 'Pspeaker', 'Psubject' apply to adverbs attached to S and 'Pmanner' to adverbs attached to VP (ibid., p. 73). The importance of these expressions lies in the fact that they have an implication for the node to which Aux-position adverbs and their prepositionally realized counterparts are attached in the underlying representation of the sentences embracing them. But before explaining these expressions and, hence, the implication related to them, let us discuss the following statement, which has to do with Aux-position adverbs, for it has the same implication. When the auxiliary contains more than just Tense, the positions in the tree occupied by Aux-position S adverbs are, according to Jackendoff, not identical with those occupied by Aux-position VP adverbs (ibid., p. 75). And since, as indicated by Jackendoff, the differences between these positions are independent of the auxiliary elements chosen, the principled factor on which they are based is syntactic not semantic (ibid., p. 76).

Jackendoff's account of the positions in the tree occupied by Aux-position adverbs, i.e. preverbal adverbs, can be summed up as follows:

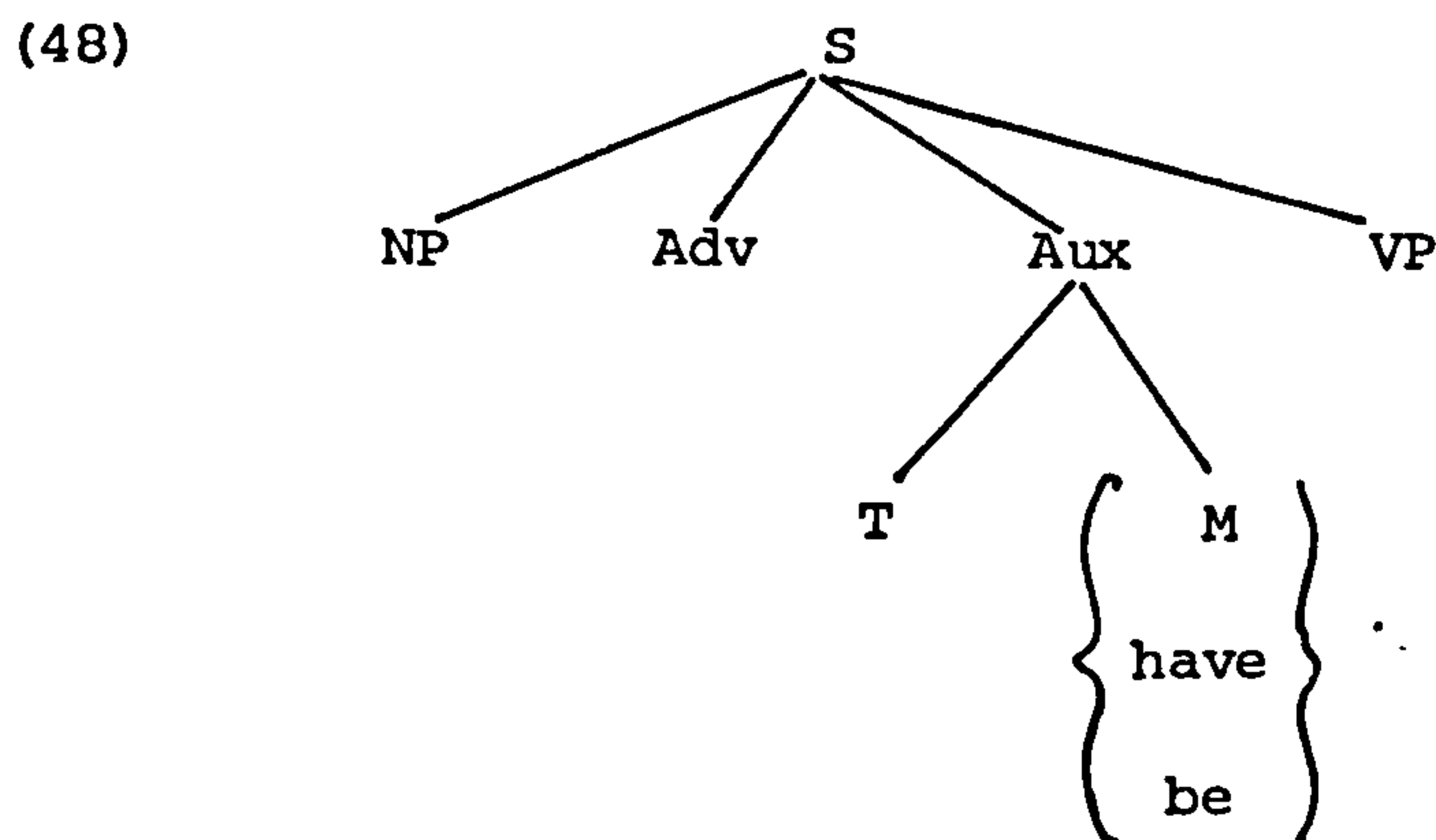
(a) if Tense is the only auxiliary element, which is then to be attached under the VP by 'the rule of Affix attachment', an Aux-position adverb

occurs before VP, and, therefore, yields ambiguity: it can be attached to either VP or S as indicated by (47) (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: pp. 78-9).

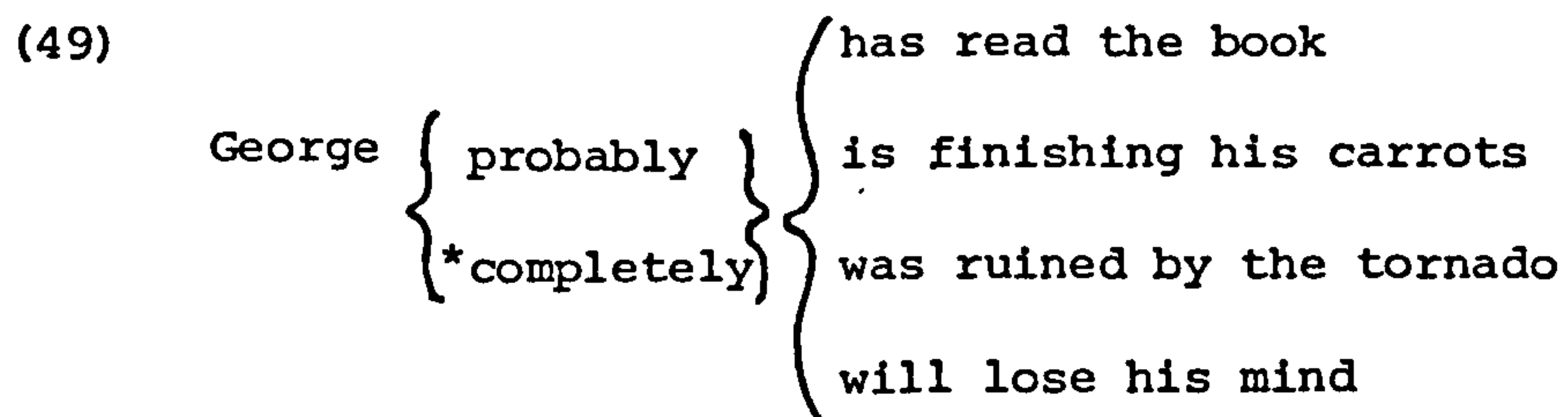


Example of S adverb, and VP adverb realization of 'Adv' in (47) are 'evidently' in (41) and 'completely' in (43), respectively.

(b) If the Auxiliary includes in addition to the Tense element, either 'M(odal)', 'have', or 'be', which are then to 'be dominated by Aux at the surface', a preverbal adverb i.e. an Aux-position adverb, can precede Aux, and, hence, must be attached to S as in (48) (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 79).



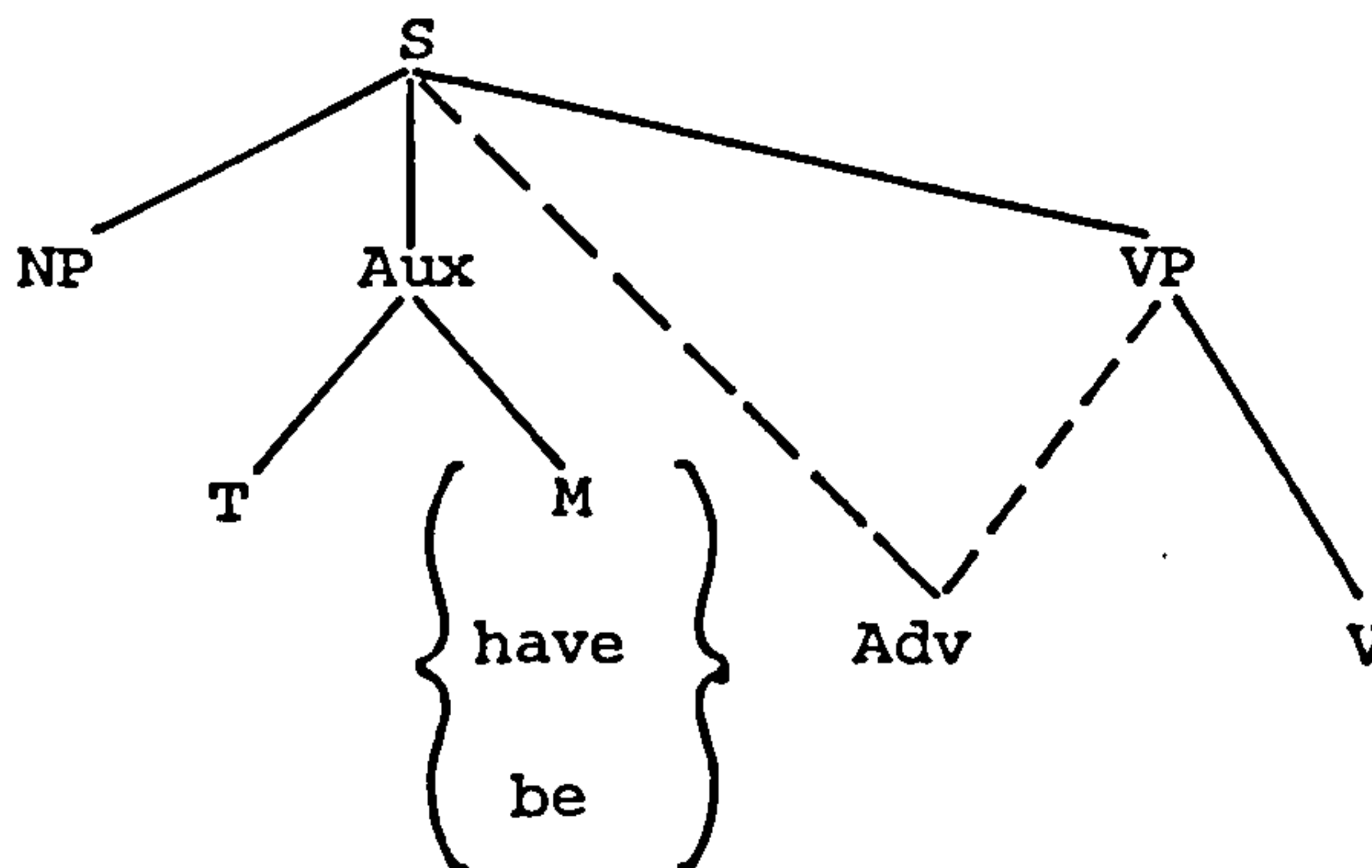
Therefore since the semantic interpretation of 'Adv' depends on the node to which it is attached (ibid., p. 73), an expected realization of 'Adv' in (48) is a S adverb rather than a VP adverb (ibid., pp. 73-4). e.g. respectively 'probably' and 'completely' in (49) (ibid., p. 75).



(c) If like (b), the auxiliary includes in addition to Tense either 'M', 'have', or 'be', a preverbal adverb can occur before the verb and after the

auxiliary, and, therefore, it can be attached either to VP or S as in (50) (ibid., p. 79).

(50)



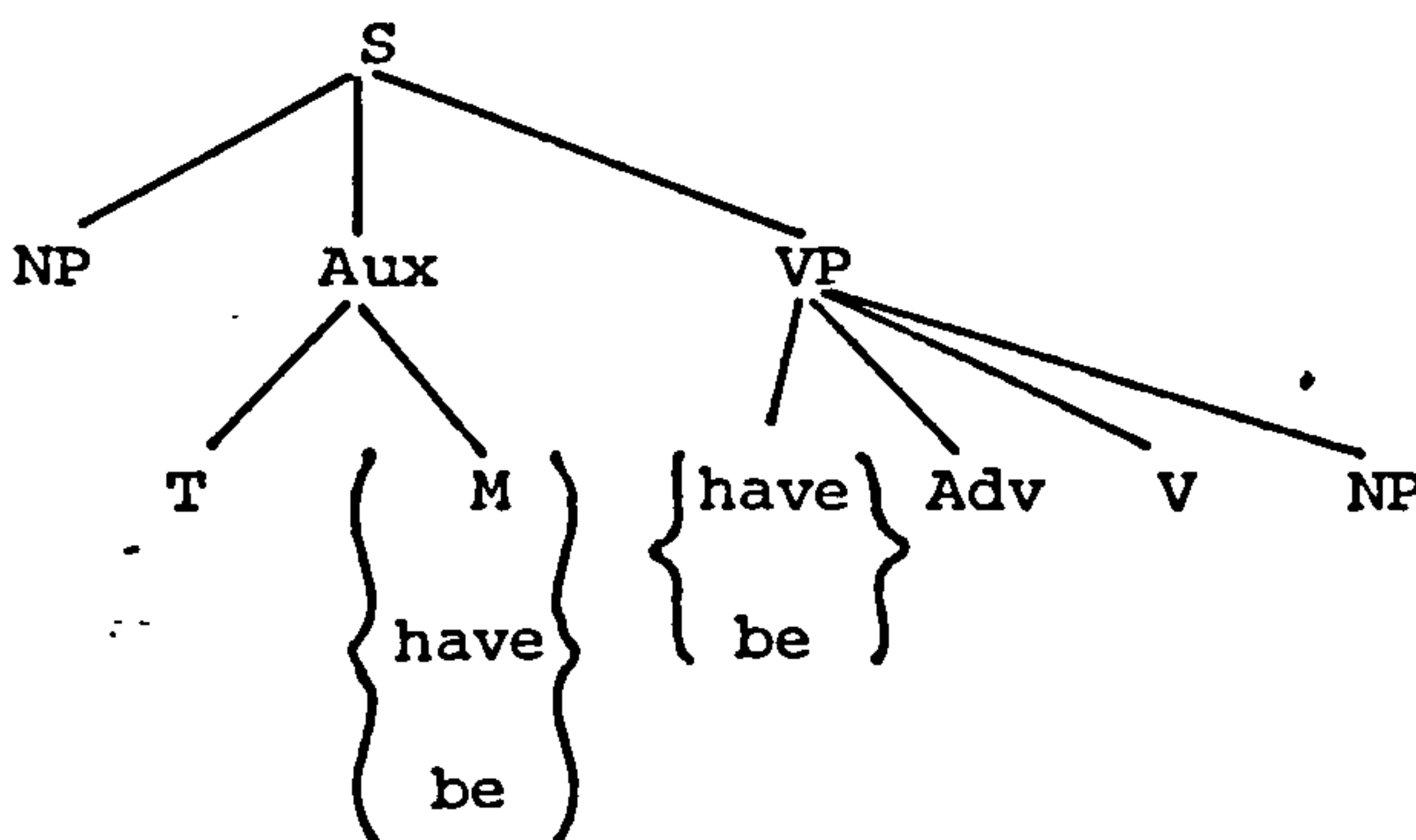
'probably' and 'completely' in (51) are therefore possible realizations of 'Adv' in (50) (ibid., p. 75).

(51)

George	{	has	{	read the book	
		is		probably	finishing his carrots
		was		completely	ruined by the tornado
		will			lose his mind

(d) If there are two auxiliary verbs, a preverbal adverb can occur after the second auxiliary and before the verb, and, hence it must be dominated by VP, since according to Jackendoff, the second auxiliary must also be attached to it, as in (52) (ibid., p. 80).

(52)



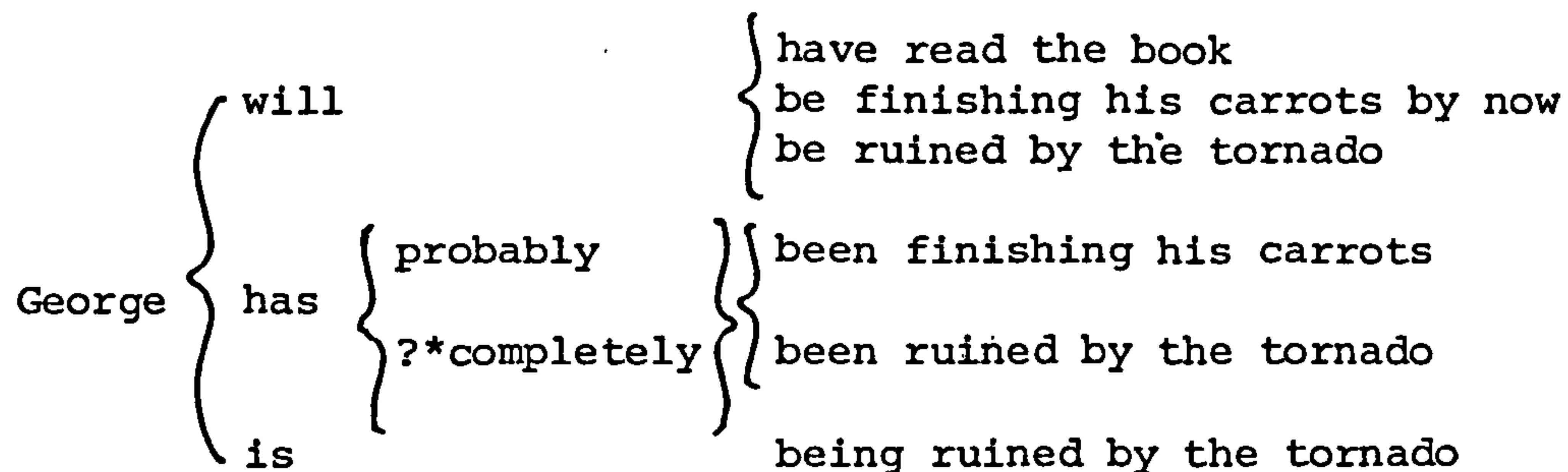
A possible realization of 'Adv' in (52) is therefore 'completely' rather than 'probably' as indicated by (53) (ibid., p. 76).

(53)

George	{	will have	{	read the book
		will be		finishing his carrots
		has been		ruined by the tornado
		is being		ruined by the tornado
		*probably	{	finishing his carrots
	completely	ruined by the tornado		

(e) The position in question is that between the two auxiliaries where, according to Jackendoff, 'the S adverb is highly preferred' (ibid., p. 80), as indicated by (54) (ibid., p. 75).

(54)



As indicated by Jackendoff, however, (ibid., p. 80) the structural considerations related to (a - d) might suggest that Adverbs in this position have an ambiguous reading, that of S adv or VP adv or, to put it differently, can be attached either to S or VP. To prevent this ambiguity, i.e. to prevent the attachment of adverbs such as 'probably' to the VP, Jackendoff suggests the following things:

(i) that the transportability convention, which is 'a means of moving adverbs about freely' must be restricted to adverbs dominated by S (ibid., p. 80, cf. also, p. 67). For adverbs such as 'carefully' and 'handsomely' in (55-56), which are adverbs strictly subcategorizing verbs and therefore occur under VP, 'cannot move to the front of the VP' (ibid., p. 80).

(55) John worded the letter carefully (ibid., p. 64)

(56) The job paid us handsomely (ibid., p. 64)

(ii) To extend the base rule (39) so as to generate adverbs 'only after the aspectual verbs' (ibid., p. 81). The form suggested by Jackendoff is (57)c (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 80-81).

(57)a. S → NP - Aux - VP

b. AUX → Tense - (Modal)

c. VP → (have-en) (be-ing) (Adv) - V - (NP)

Having explained Jackendoff's full account of the positions in the

tree Aux-position adverbs can occupy, let us discuss the aforementioned expressions and their implication for the node to which Aux-position adverbs are attached in the underlying representations of the sentences embracing them, i.e. the expressions: (i) the position the adverb occupies in the tree; (ii) the node to which the adverb is attached (cf. above p.595). It appears from these expressions that the adverb positions in the tree may not be identical with the nodes to which they are attached. Explained in relation to preverbal adverbs, i.e. Aux-position adverbs, this means that the positions of preverbal adverbs in the tree may not be identical with the nodes dominating them. According to the previous summary of Jackendoff's account of preverbal adverbs, their positions designate their locations in the tree in relation to the V, the auxiliary as a whole or to its elements. A preverbal adverb may occur in a position where it can be attached either to the S or the VP (cf. above (47); (50)), or only to the S (cf. above (48)) or to the VP (cf. above (52)).

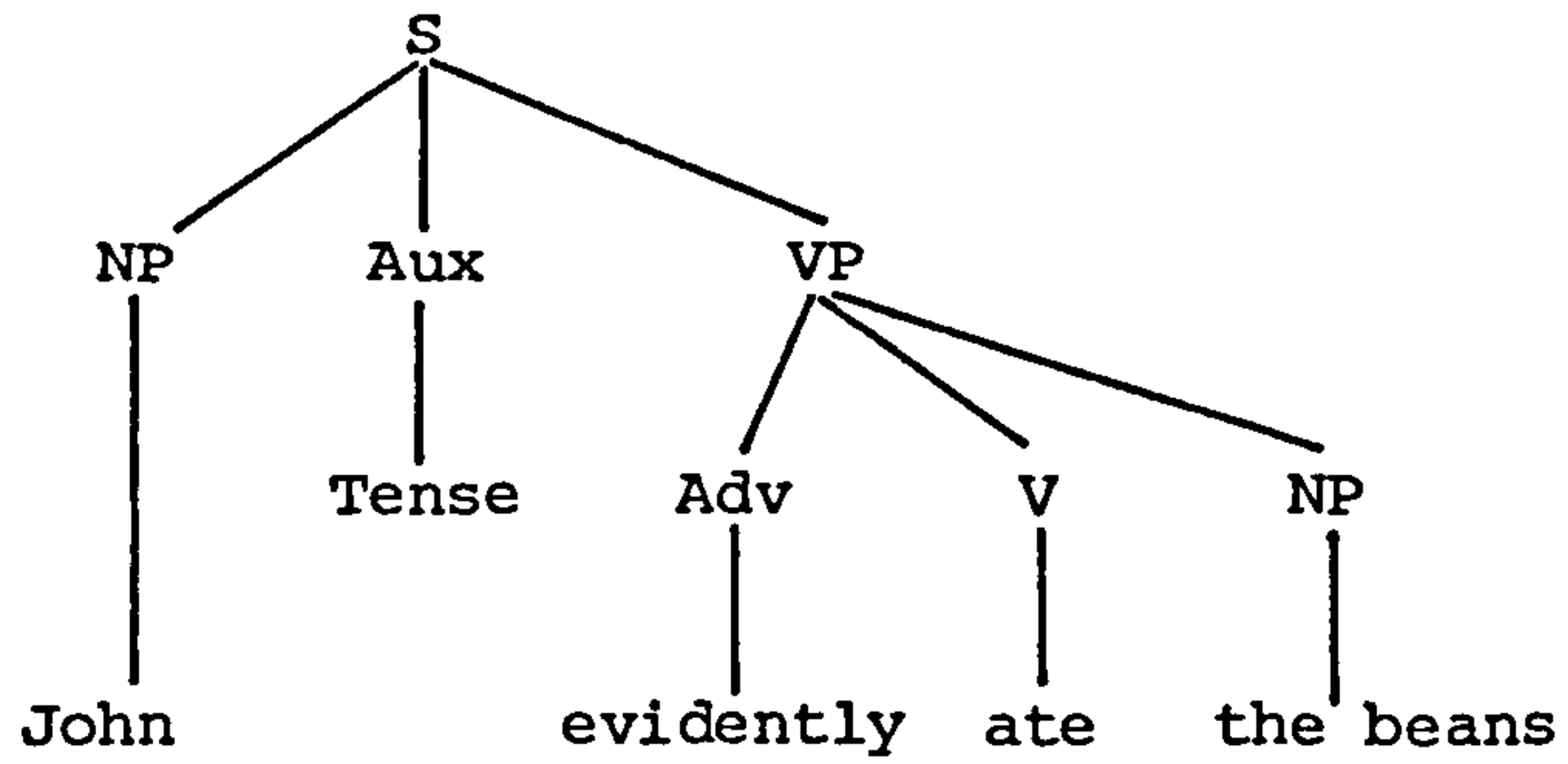
Jackendoff, however, does not explicate whether the domination of Adverbs by S or VP is a surface domination or a domination according to the base rule i.e. a deep structure domination. There are however strong indications that surface domination or domination according to the semantic interpretation ought to be the one Jackendoff has in mind:

(a) According to him, (57)c is the base rule generating preverbal adverbs regardless of whether they are to be semantically regarded as S adverbs, i.e. as Predicates (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 71), e.g. probably in (51), and 'certainly', which is analysed by Jackendoff as 'a predicate over an S' (ibid., p. 71), or as VP adverbs, i.e. adverbs that are joined by the appropriate projection rule, *P*manner, (ibid., p. 72) 'as an additional semantic marker on the semantic function denoted by the verb' (ibid., p. 72), e.g. 'completely' in (51) (cf. above p.595). According to the base rule (57)c, and to the two rules preceding it, (57)a-b, therefore the underlying

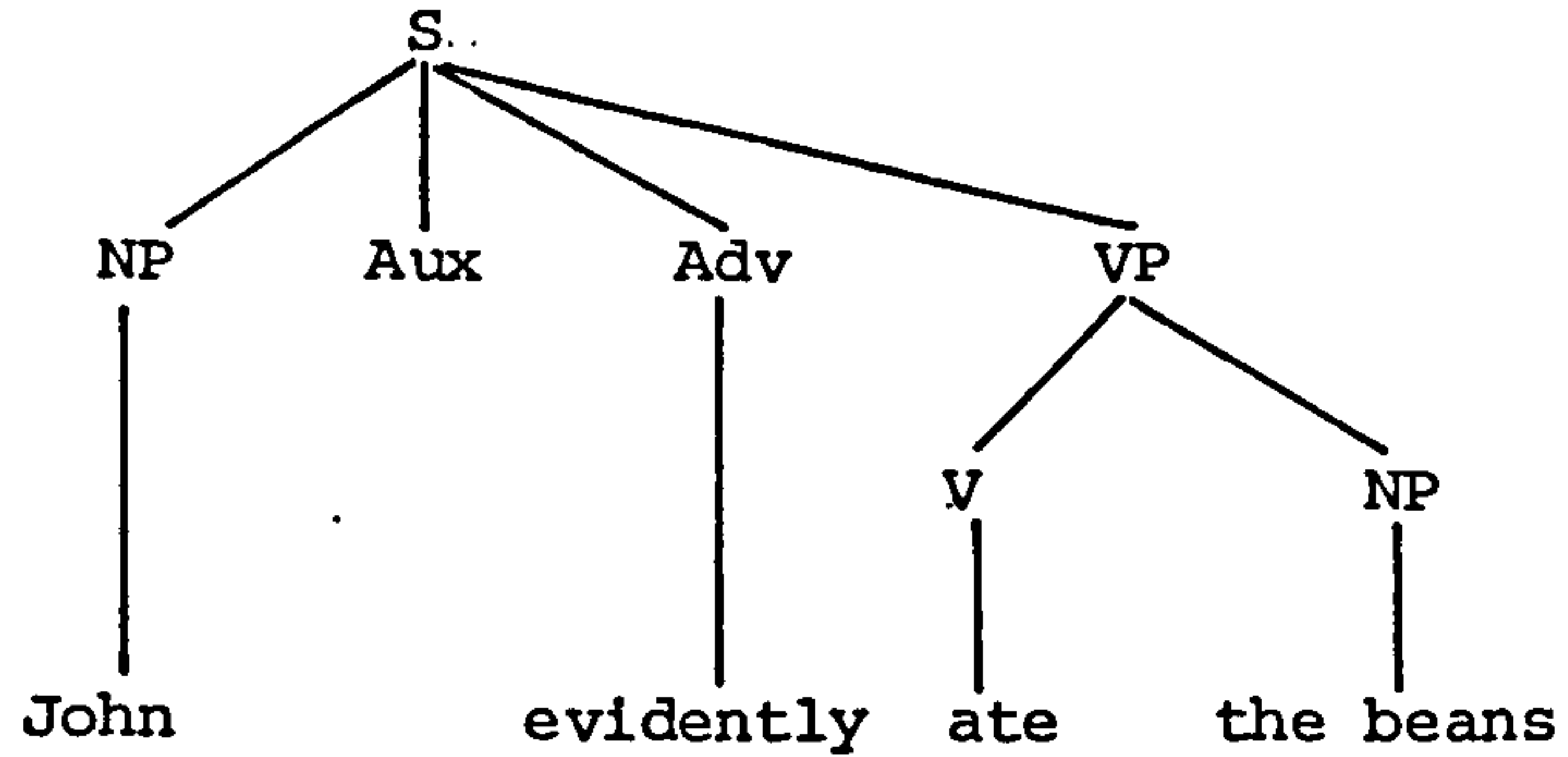
representations of (41) and (43) (repeated below as (58)a and (59)a), are respectively (58)b and (59)b not (58)c and (59)c, which could be based on (47).

(58)a. John evidently ate the beans

b.

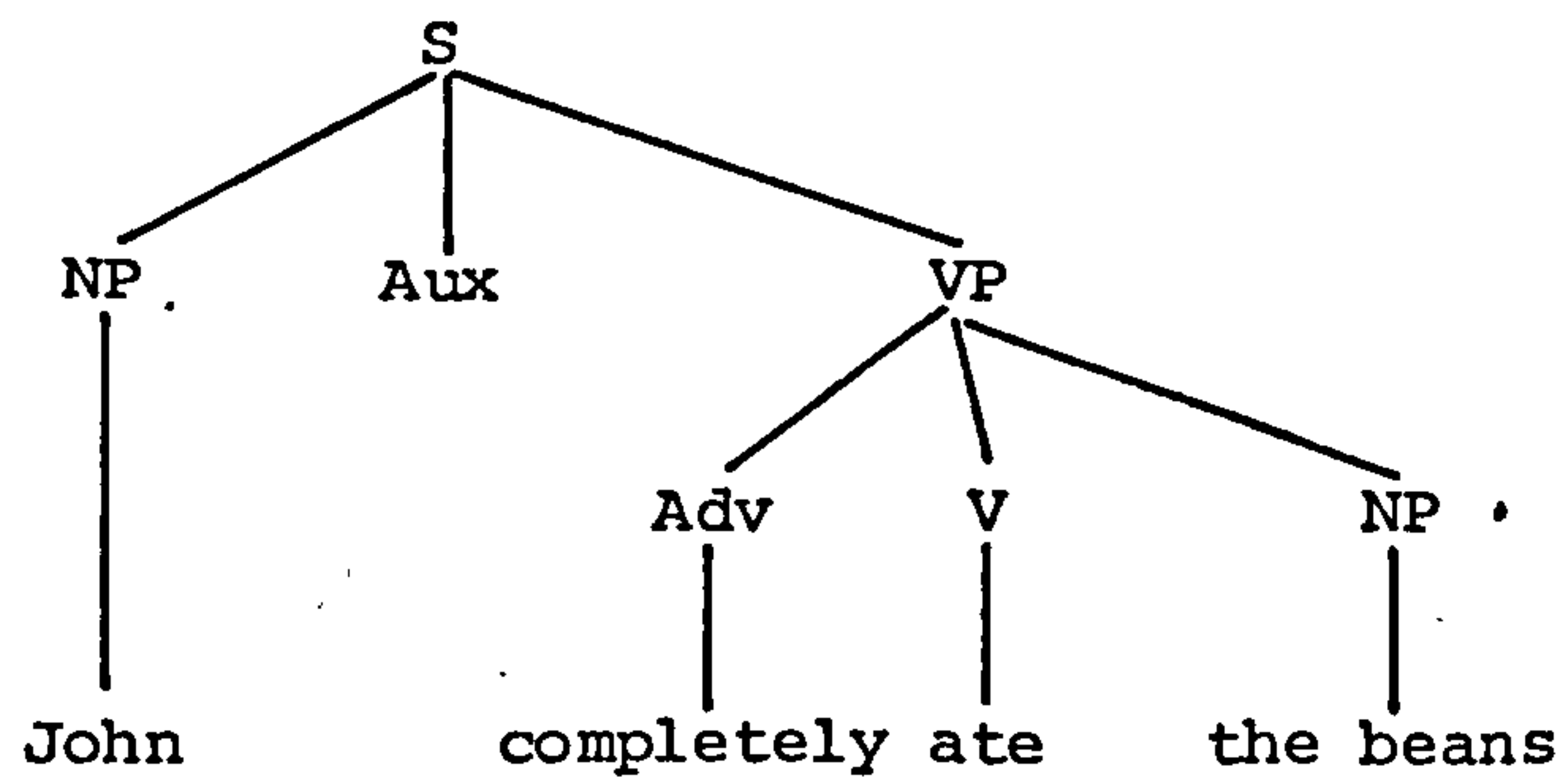


c.

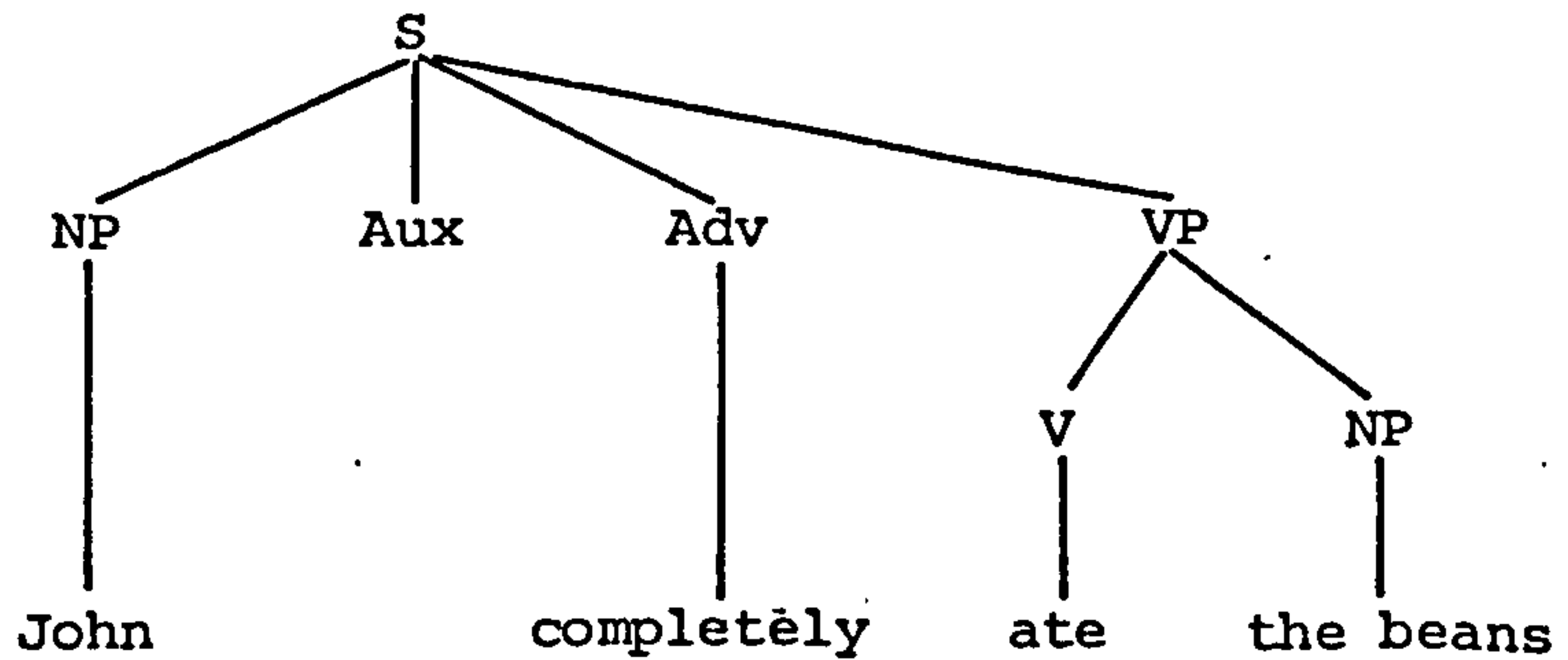


(59)a. John completely ate the beans

b.



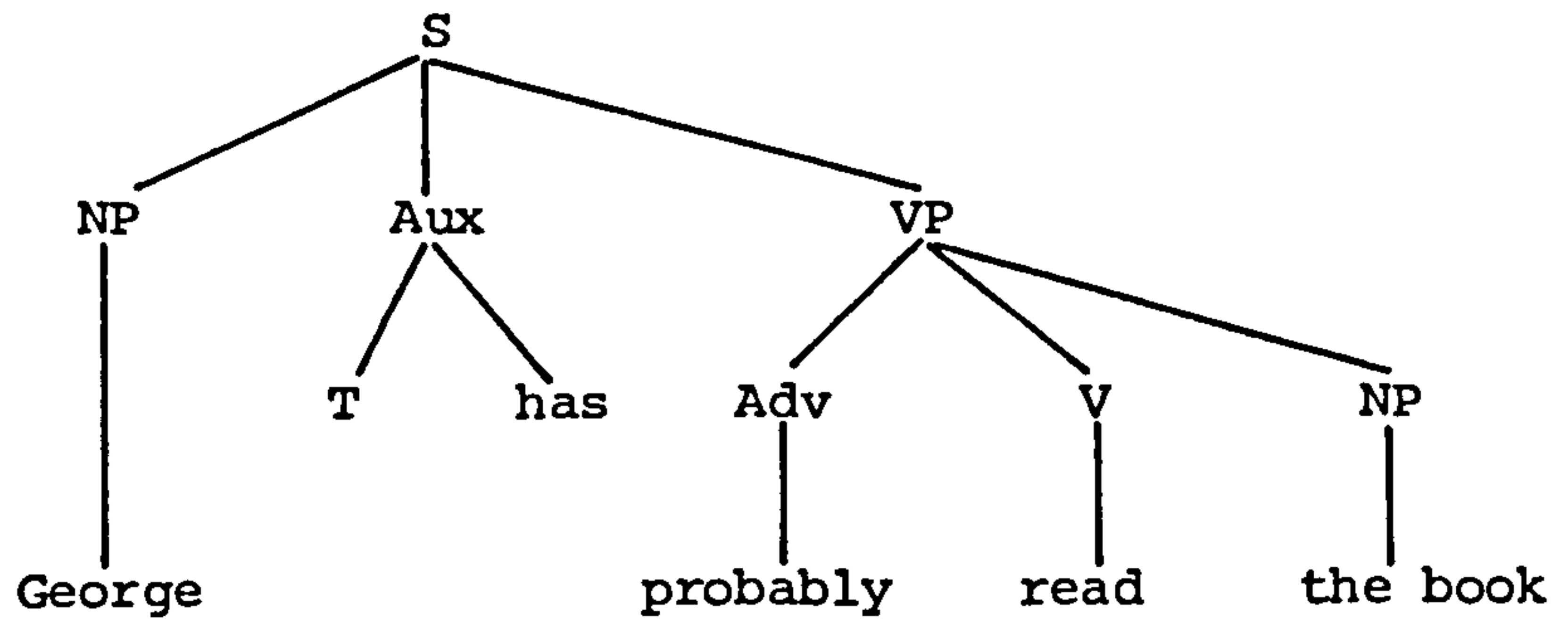
c.



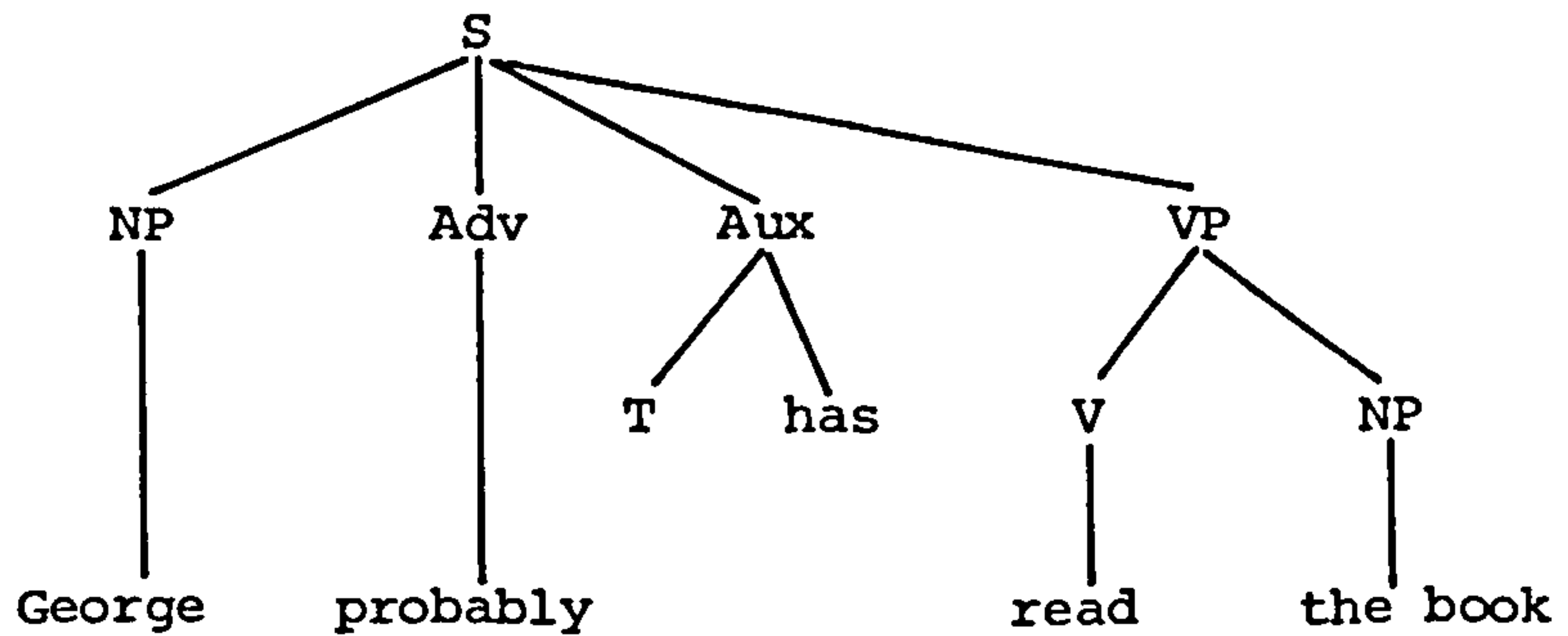
Similarly, the underlying representation of (60)a is (60)b not (60)c, which could be based on (48).

(60)a. George probably has read the book (cf. above (49))

b.



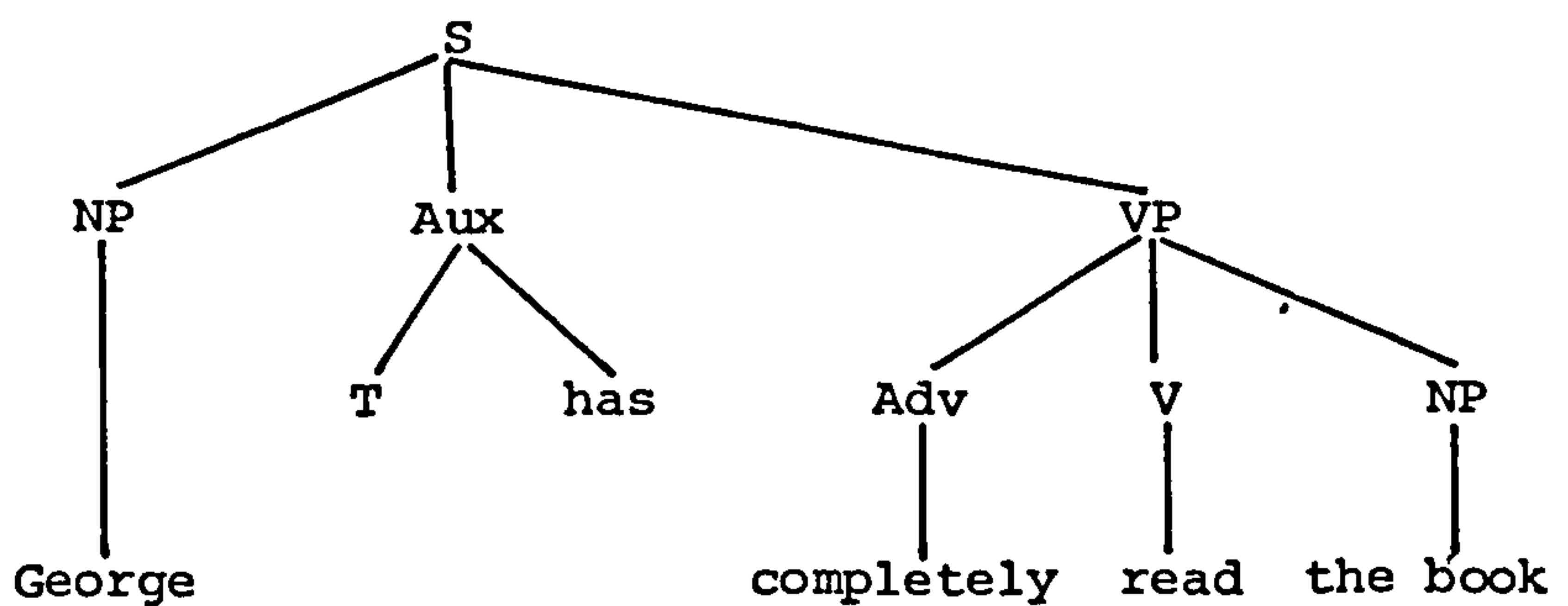
c.



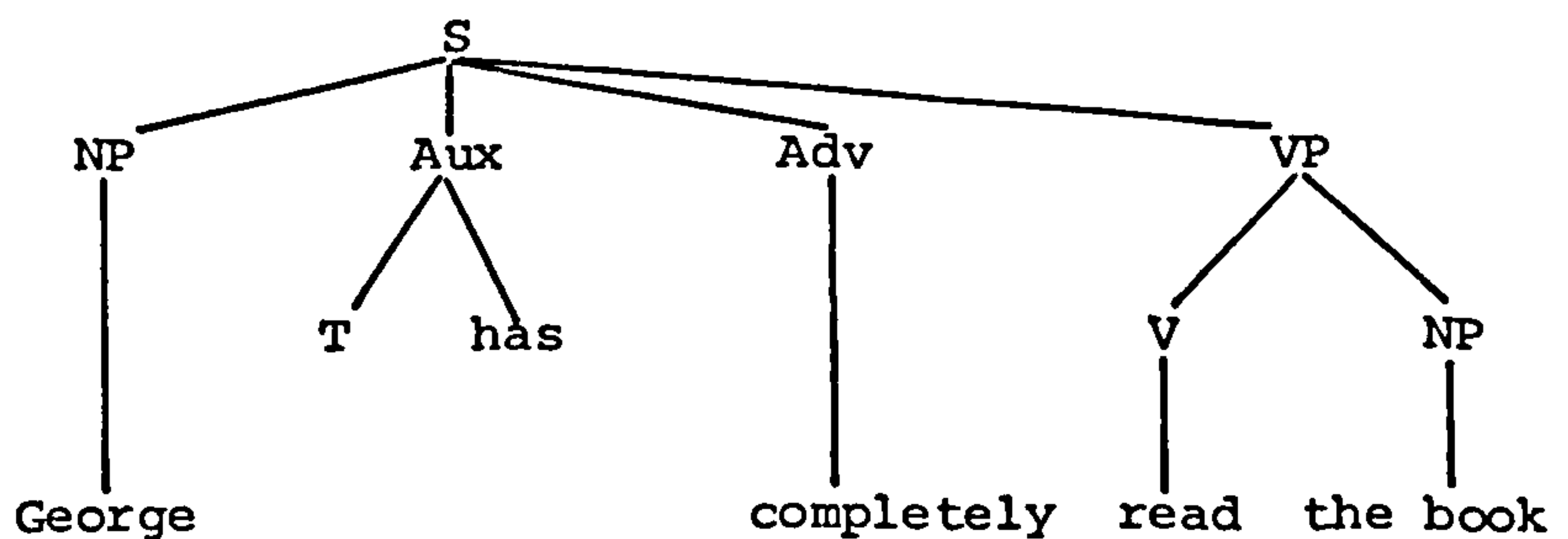
Also the underlying representations of (61)a and (62)a are respectively (61)b and (62)b, but not (61)c and (62)c, which could be based on (50), and of (63) is (64).

(61)a. George has completely read the book (cf. above sentence (51))

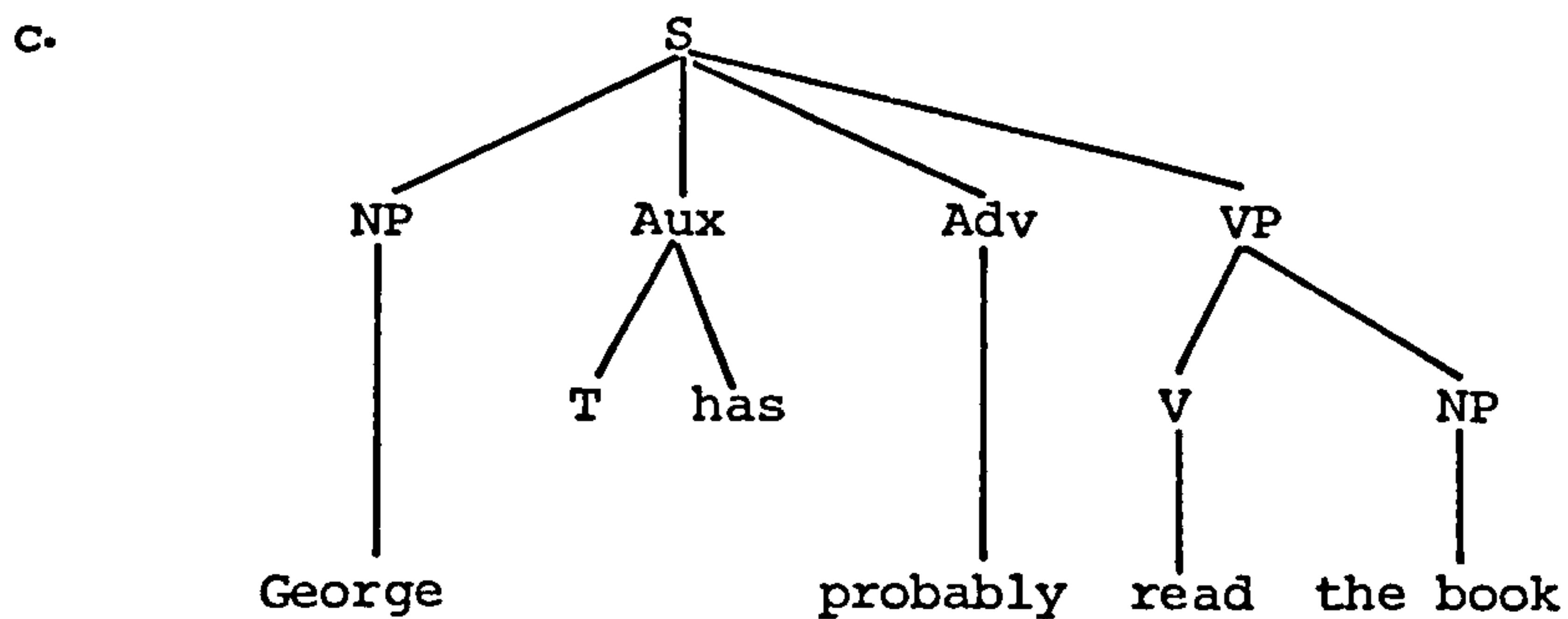
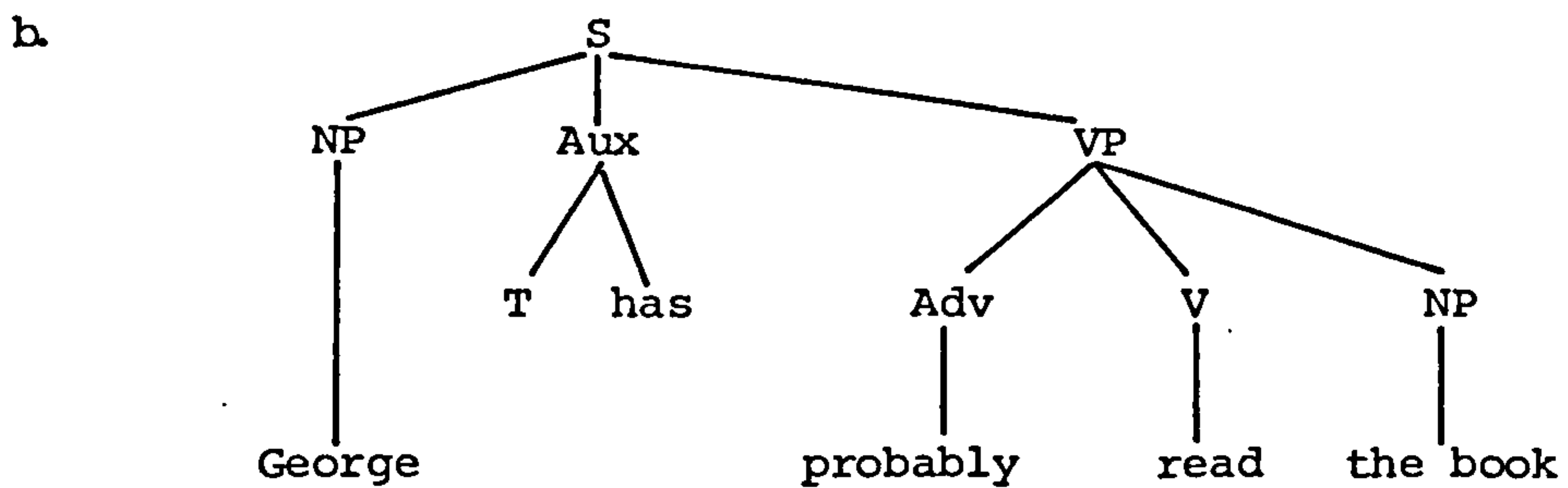
b.



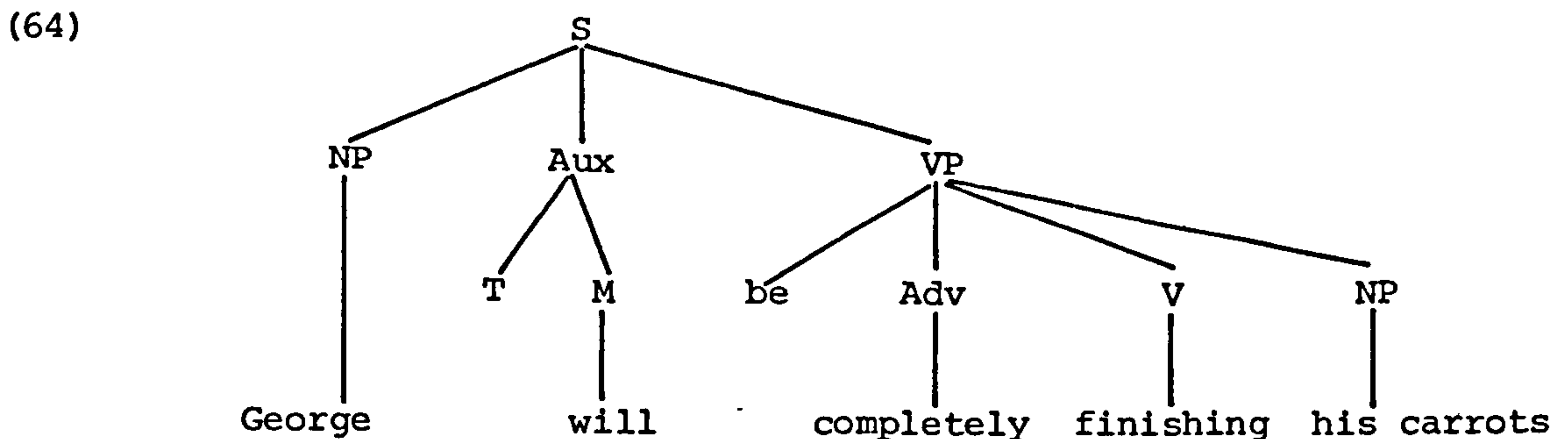
c.



(62) a. George has probably read the book (cf. above (51))



(63) George will be completely finishing his carrots (cf. above (53))



(b) The second evidence has to do with the difference between preverbal VP adverbs, and S adverbs in forms of their positions in the tree (see above p. 599, for the first piece of evidence).

According to Jackendoff, (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 80-1), preverbal adverbs occur where the base generate them, i.e. under VP. The possibilities are as follows:

(i) between the verb and the second auxiliary (cf. (64)), i.e. where the only possible attachment necessary for semantic interpretation is that to VP. Thus there will be correspondence between the nodes to which these adverbs are attached in the deep structure and those dominating them in

the Surface structure or according to semantic interpretation, (ii) between the Verb and the auxiliary (cf. (61)b, for instance) i.e. where there are two possible attachments: one to S and another to VP. According to Jackendoff, however, the adverbs are to be attached to VP, for there are no 'adverb movement rules within VP' (Jackendoff, 1972: 81), i.e. no adverb movement rules in relation to the adverbs that are semantically attached to VP. For S adverbs, which are some of the adverbs attached to it according to the base rule (57)c, can be moved by the rules of transportability, as indicated by Jackendoff (*ibid.*, p. 95), to where they can be attached to S (*ibid.*, p. 80).

Preverbal S adverbs on the other hand may or may not occur where the base rule (57)c generates them. According to Jackendoff (*ibid.*, p. 80), they may occur before the auxiliary or after the first auxiliary (cf. (49), and (51), respectively), which are different from the positions in which they are generated by the base rule (57)c. (Compare, for instance, (60)a with (60)b). Consequently, the nodes to which they are attached in their new positions are different from those dominating them according to the base rules generating them: they are surface nodes relevant to semantic interpretation (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 72).

Preverbal S adverbs may also occur between the first and the second auxiliary (*ibid.*, p. 80 (3.136)), i.e. where there are two possible attachments: one to S and another to VP. For semantic purposes, however, they are, as indicated by Jackendoff (*ibid.*, p. 73), to be attached to S, i.e. to a category symbol different from that to which they are attached according to the base rule (57)c.

Contrary to evidence (a) and (b), however, S adverbs, including those occupying Aux positions, are regarded by Jackendoff as being dominated in deep structure by S. For according to him, (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 95), in deep structure, PPs such as those of (65) (*ibid.*, p. 94), which function as

Sentence adverbs, occupy the same positions as S adverbs' (ibid., p. 95), i.e. are dominated by S, for the positions they occupy are, according to him (ibid., p. 80) constituent breaks under S.

- (65) a In my opinion, John has lost the race
 b John, in my opinion, has lost the race
 c John has, in my opinion, lost the race
 d John has lost the race, in my opinion

For him, therefore, the PPs of (66) (ibid., p. 94), which are respectively a time expression and locative preposed from VP (ibid., pp. 94-95), are different from those of (65): while in the deep structure, the former are dominated by the VP, and preposed from it by a preposing rule (ibid., p. 95), the latter are dominated by S (ibid., p. 95).

- (66) { At 6.00,
 In the garden } John will lose his wallet

20.1.2.1.2 Postverbal adverbs and PPs dominated by VP

Jackendoff argues in favour of generating Postverbal adverbs and Postverbal PPs with an adverbial function semantically identical with them by the base rules rather than by a postposing transformation, i.e. rather than by a transformation moving them into the VP from Aux position (Jackendoff, 1972: 64-6). According to him, these adverbs and PPs include the following ones:

- (1) those that are strictly subcategorizing verbs, e.g. 'carefully' in (67) and 'in a careful manner' in (68).

(67) John worded the letter carefully (ibid., p. 64)

(68) John worded the letter in a careful manner

For Jackendoff's indication that '-ly adverbs' with a manner interpretation can be prepositionally realized, see Jackendoff 1972:55 where he states that some adverbials 'in the VP require at least some uneliminable PP in the base rules'.

(ii) those that are not strictly subcategorizing the verbs. They may be sentence adverbs, which Jackendoff calls 'final positions [adverbs] with pause' (ibid., p. 73-4), e.g. 'evidently' in (69) and 'in my opinion' in (70), or VP adverbs, which he calls 'final positions [adverbs] without pause' (ibid., p. 74), e.g. 'completely' in (71).

(69) John ate the beans evidently (ibid., p. 74)

(70) John has lost the race, in my opinion (ibid., p. 94)

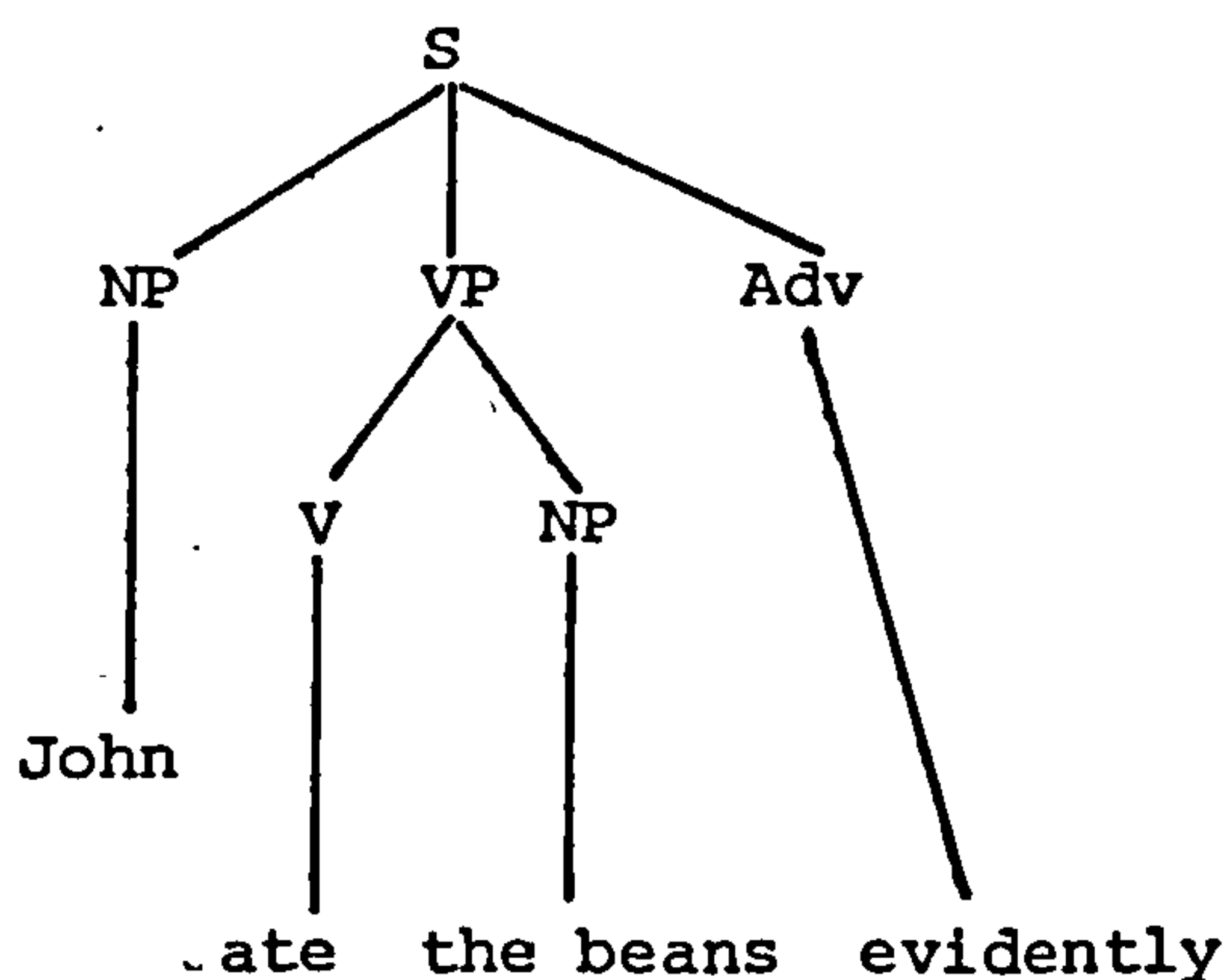
(71) John ate the beans completely (ibid., p. 74)

According to Jackendoff (ibid., p. 64; p. 66), the base rule generating the postverbal adverbs and prepositional phrases of (69 - 71) is (72).

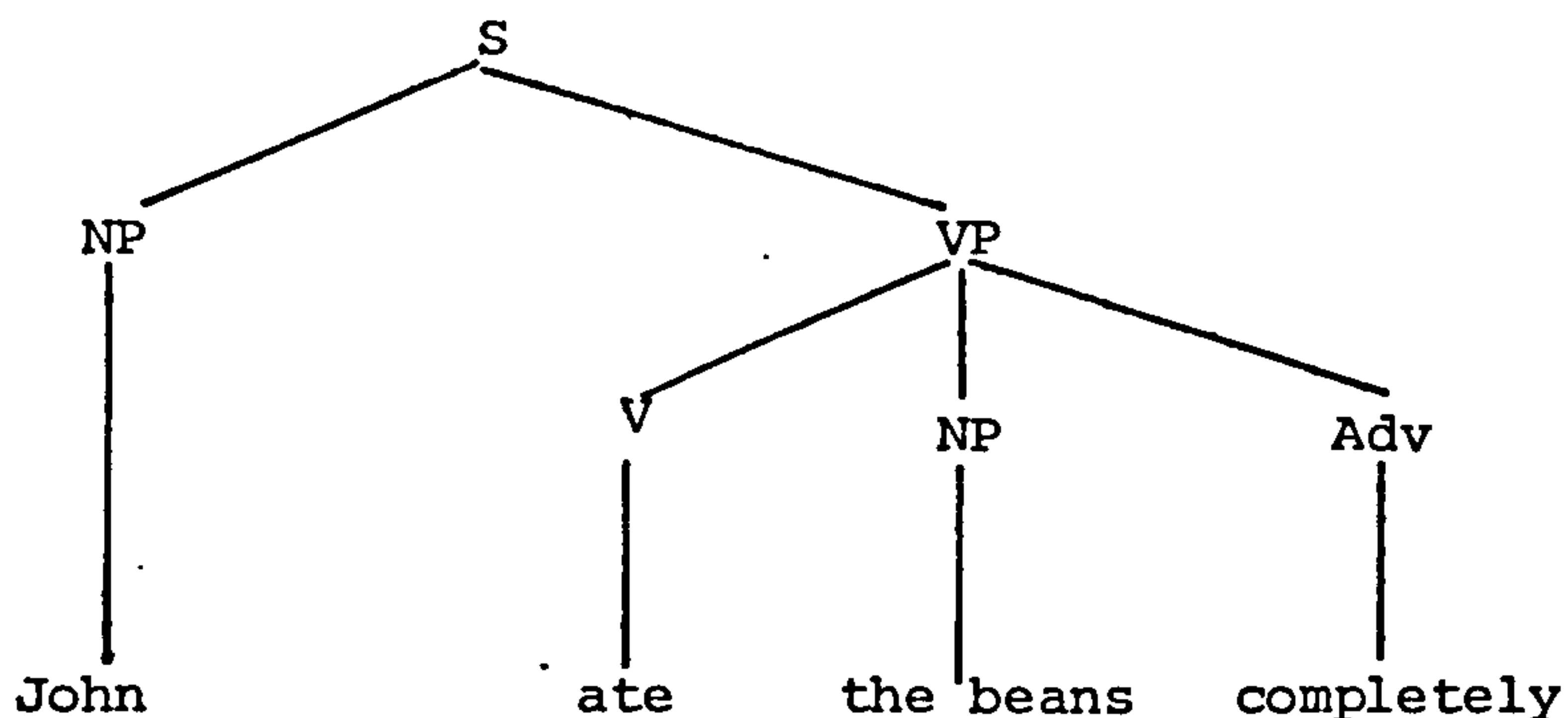
$$(72) \quad VP \longrightarrow V (NP) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$$

It should be noted firstly that like the semantic interpretations of preverbal adverbs and PPs, those of postverbal adverbs and PPs are regarded by Jackendoff as depending on the nodes to which they are attached rather than on their positions in the tree (ibid., p. 73). The semantic interpretations of 'evidently' in (69), and 'completely' in (71), for example, are therefore different. For while the former is dominated by S as in (73) (ibid., p. 74), the latter is dominated by VP as in (74) (ibid., p. 74).

(73)

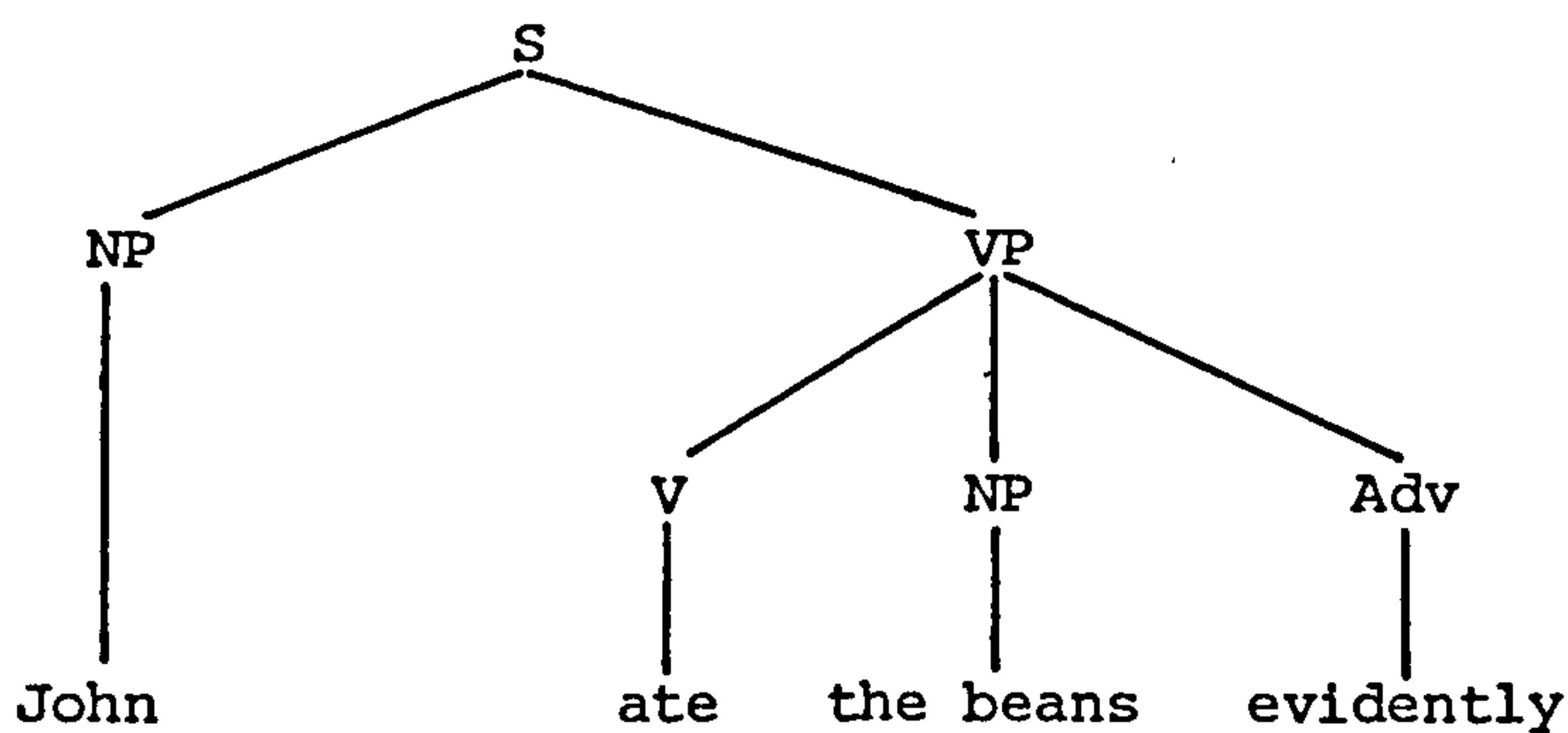


(74)



Secondly, like the nodes dominating Preverbal adverbs and PPs in deep structure (cf. above 20.12.1.1), those dominating postverbal adverbs and PPs may not be identical with the nodes dominating them in the surface structure or according to semantic interpretation. While, for instance, the node dominating 'completely' in (71) is VP in both deep and surface structure (or according to both the base rule (72) and semantic interpretation) (cf. above (74)), the node dominating 'evidently' in (69) is S in surface structure (or according to semantic interpretation) (cf. (73)), and VP in deep structure as in (75).

(75)



Thirdly, it is indicated above (pp.603-4), that Jackendoff's statement that 'in deep structure', unlike the PPs of (66) those of sentence (65) 'occupy the same positions as S adverbs' (Jackendoff, 1972: 95) means that these categories are dominated in deep structure by S, and, hence, contradicting the consequence of Jackendoff's regarding of preverbal S adverbs and PPs as being generated by (57)c. Similarly, the same statement contradicts the consequence of Jackendoff's regarding as being generated by (72) Adverbs and PPs such as 'evidently' in (69) and 'in my opinion' in (70).

20.1.2.2 Discussion

The advantages and disadvantages of Jackendoff's analysis of Adverbials are as follows:

1. As being used in the present work, Verbal and VP complements (including Time and Free Place, which are considered by Chomsky to be sister constituents of VP, cf. above 19.1), are regarded by Jackendoff as sister constituents of V (cf. 20.1.2.1.1 - 2). As indicated above such an analysis is invalid for more than one reason. For these reasons see above 19.2.3.2.

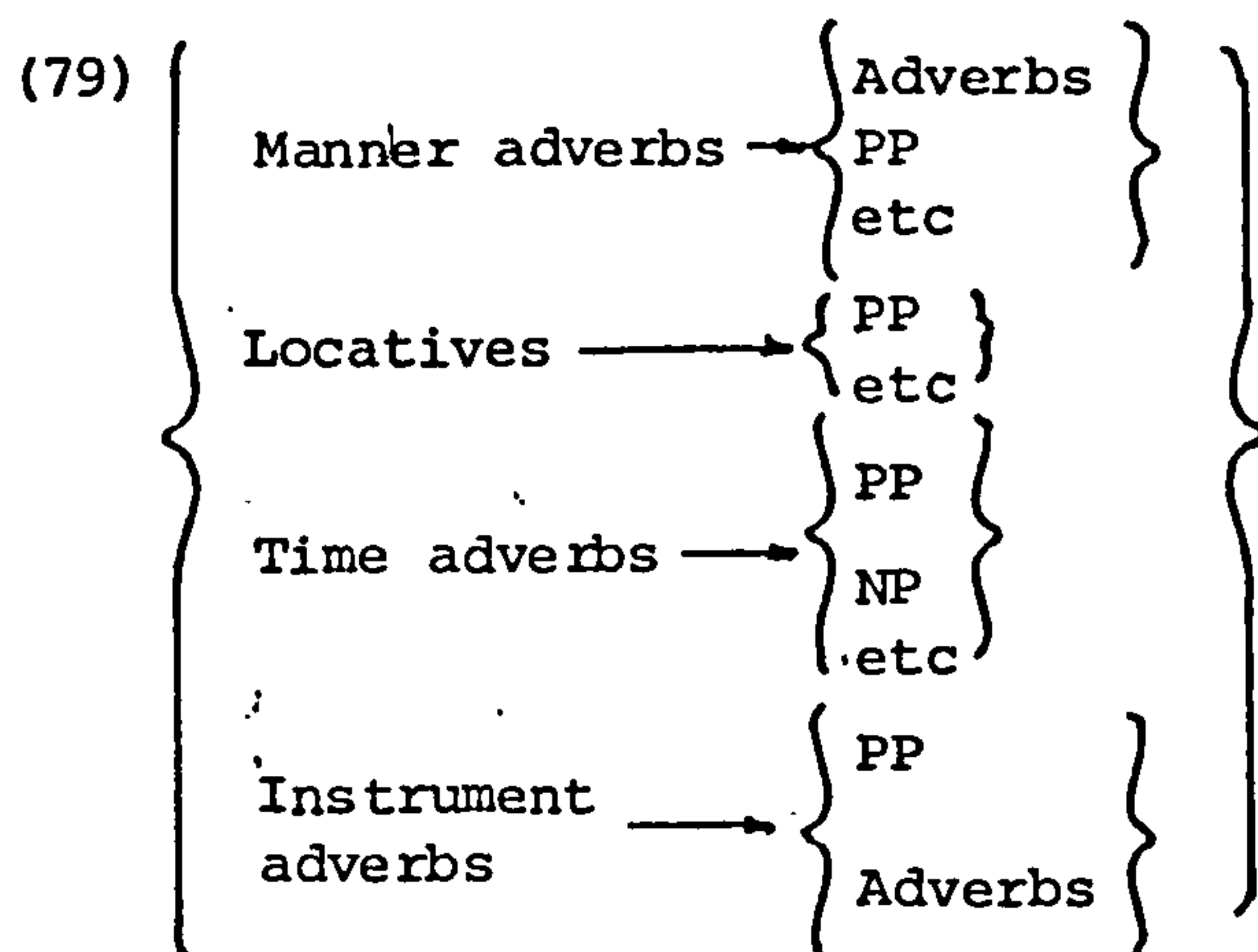
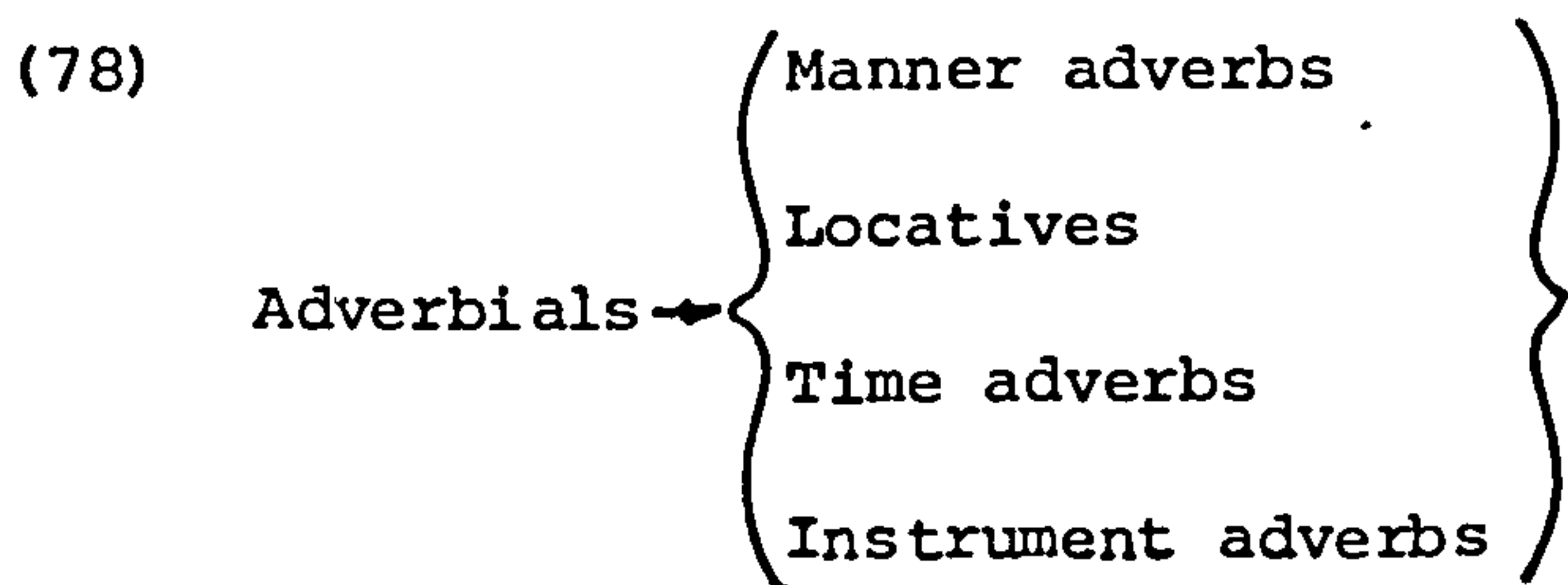
2. Though Jackendoff acknowledges that both Adverbs and PPs with an adverbial function are adverbials (cf. above 20.1.2.1), he generates them so as not to be recognized as two different realizations of the same function. As will be explained later, this can be done by regarding 'Adverbial', for instance, the input of the base rule generating Adv and PP with an adverbial function as in (77).

(76) Predicate phrase → Aux VP Adverbial

(77) Adverbial → $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$

3. Jackendoff's account of Adverbials is concentrated upon Adverbial realization: he says little about the prepositional realization (cf. below 20.2.2 - 3); and nothing about the divisions of Adverbials into those that are transforms and those that are not (cf. above Chapter Sixteen and 17.0).

4. Among Jackendoff's fundamental departures from 'Aspects of the Theory of Syntax' is his dispensing with the following categories, which refer to adverb subdivisions: 'manner adverbs, locatives, time adverbs, means adverbs, degree adverbs, and so forth' (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 46). See above 20.1.2.1 where his base rules for generating adverbs and prepositionally realized adverbs do not contain such categories. In a grammar such as Jackendoff's there are therefore no such rules as those of (78 - 79).



As will be indicated below (20.2.1), there is a proof that the phrase structure rules ought not to include rules such as (78-79), i.e. there is a proof showing the adequacy of a proposal such as that of Jackendoff that the phrase structure rules ought not to include categories referring to the Adverbial subclasses.

As will be explained below (20.2), a grammar doing away with rules such as (78-79) requires relying heavily on feature specifications. In relation to prepositionally realized Adjuncts (= Adverbials), for instance it requires the following types of features:

- (a) features having to do with the fact that there are dependencies between the semantic categories to which Adjuncts belong and the prepositions realizing their prepositional elements (cf. above 18.2).
- (b) features related to the selectional restrictions between the nominal and the prepositional elements of Adjuncts (cf. above 18.3).
- (c) features having to do with the fact that the realizations of the prepositional elements of Free place adjuncts depend on the features of their nominal elements (cf. above 18.1).
- (d) features related to the fact that there are co-occurrence

restrictions between prepositionally realized Adjuncts as such and the verbs with which they associate (cf. above Chapters Fifteen and Seventeen).

(e) features having to do with the fact that prepositions are strictly subcategorized in terms of their complements (cf. below 20.2.2.1.1; Radford, p.124; Jackendoff, 1973: 348).

Jackendoff acknowledges that in a grammar such as his, which does not contain rules such as (78 - 79), features have a special role to play. He, therefore, states that 'By using the full potential of the lexicon and the semantic component' he 'will try to bring order to a large segment of the adverbial system' (Jackendoff, 1972: 48). Of the aforementioned group of features, however, (cf. above p.608), Jackendoff recognizes only the following ones:

(i) features having to do with the semantic classes of Adverbials regardless of whether they are adverbially or prepositionally realized (ibid., p. 49; pp. 71-2; p.95). When explaining the use of these features however, he explains it in relation to adverbially realized Adverbials. For him, '-ly adverbs' 'will be marked in the lexicon as to which of the possible semantic structures they can enter into' (ibid., p. 71). 'Certainly' will be characterized as 'a predicate over S' (ibid., p. 71), 'happily' in (80), which is regarded by Jackendoff (ibid., p. 69) as a paraphrase of (81), will be characterized as 'a predicate over S and the argument SPEAKER' (ibid., p. 71), and 'eloquently' in (82), 'infrequently' in (83) and 'completely' in (84) 'will be semantic markers appropriate to modify functions' (ibid., p. 71), i.e. 'manner', frequency, degree/extent, respectively, which are joined by the appropriate projection rule, Pmanner, as additional semantic markers on the semantic functions denoted by the verbs (ibid., pp. 71-72).

(80) Happily, Frank is avoiding us (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 69)

(81) I am happy that Frank is avoiding us (ibid., p. 69)

(82) Dave speaks eloquently (ibid., p. 70)

(83) Bob walks his pet giraffe infrequently (ibid., p. 70)

(84) Ted ate his Wheaties completely (ibid., p. 70)

Therefore, in the lexicon 'eloquently', 'infrequently' and 'completely' in (82-84) will be, according to Jackendoff, marked with the semantic markers 'manner', 'infrequency', 'degree/extent', respectively. See p. 70 where he regards (3.104) - 3.106) as, the paraphrases of (3.107 - 3.109) (= here 82 - 84), respectively; see also p. 49 where he indicates that 'manner' in 'Adv manner' is 'a semantic marking'.

In addition, the semantic component will contain projection rules appropriate to the semantic structures of Adverbs as identified by the lexicon. For the semantic structure of 'certainly', for example, there will be the projection rule 'Pspeaker', which will embed 'the functional structure of the sentence as the single unspecified argument of the adverb' (Jackendoff, 1972; 71-2).

In relation to prepositionally realized adverbials, on the other hand, he indicates in general terms what he explains thoroughly in relation to those adverbially realized. For him, the distinction between prepositionally realized adverbials that are attached to S and those dominated by VP is similar to that between S and VP adverbs, i.e. is a purely semantic distinction that is 'based on the appropriateness of the meaning of the PP to the semantic structure into which the projection rule inserts it' (ibid., p. 95). This means that according to Jackendoff the base rules generating S and VP adverbials are, as indicated above (20.1.2.1) not different, and do not include categories such as, locative, time, etc.

Jackendoff however says nothing concerning the semantic structures of prepositionally realized adverbs, nor how it is possible for a non-lexical category such as PP to be assigned lexical markers in the lexicon. For how the semantic markers, manner, instrument, instantive time, means,

location, for instance (which are related to Manner, Instrument, Instantive time, Means and Free place adjuncts, respectively) will be represented in the lexicon, see below 20.2.1.

As a result of Jackendoff's general analysis of the semantic markers related to prepositionally realized adverbials, it is not known how he accounts for the dependency between the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts, and the semantic categories to which they belong - how he accounts, for instance, for the ungrammaticality of (85).

(85) *He killed him in the knife

(ii) The second group of features recognized by Jackendoff that are relevant to the analysis of Adjuncts are the prepositional categorial features. According to Jackendoff, Prepositions, like Verbs 'contain strict subcategorization features in their lexical entries' (Jackendoff, 1973: 348). Jackendoff gives (86 - 88) as examples of these features.

(86) [+ — (NP)]

(87) [+ — NP]

(88) [+ —]

According to him, (86) is the categorial feature of 'down', 'up', 'before', 'in' and 'out', (87) is the categorial feature of 'of', 'for' and 'toward', and (88) is the categorial feature of 'afterward' and 'beforehand' (ibid, p348).

Our concern here is not to discuss the validity of (86-88) as the categorial features of the words Jackendoff mentions, but to show the role such features play in determining whether a prepositionally realized adverbial is grammatical or not. Like the 'Aspects' model of TGG, the model Jackendoff proposes in his work 'Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar' contains lexical insertion rules (cf. Jackendoff, 1972: 377). As indicated by Jackendoff however (ibid., p. 377), his form of lexical insertion rules differs from Chomsky's in two things: (i) they are always

optional; (ii) they are constrained neither by strict subcategorization nor selectional features. For Jackendoff, the enforcement of these restrictions 'is a function of the semantic component' (ibid., p. 377; cf. also p. 182). Accordingly, while in Jackendoff's model of TGG both sentences (89 - 90) are semantically ill-formed, in 'Aspects' model, they are syntactically ill-formed.

(89) *He prayed in you sat down

(90) *He prayed in maahir

As will be indicated later (20.22.1.1), the form of lexical insertion rule adopted in the present work is that in which lexical insertion is constrained only by strict subcategorization features. Accordingly, in the present work the status of (89) is different from that of (90). (89) is syntactically ill-formed. For it is incompatible with the rules of the syntactic component: it contains the preposition 'in', whose categorial feature (86), does not allow it to be inserted before S. '(90)', on the other hand, is semantically but not syntactically ill-formed. For while (86), the categorial feature of 'in', is compatible with the category to which 'maahir' belongs: it is an NP, '(91)', which represents some of its selectional features, is incompatible with (92), the feature of 'maahir'.

(91) [+ — [+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional object]]
NP

(92) [+ human]

As a result of Jackendoff's non-recognition of the remaining features of (a - e) (above p. 608), all that he can say regarding sentences (93 - 95) is that they are semantically ill-formed, but without saying why.

(93) He cut the meat with the quality

(94) He studies on the park

(95) He likes him with a word

In a TGG such as the one proposed in the present work, which recognizes all

the features of (a - e), (cf. above pp.508-9); it is possible to explain why (93 - 95) are semantically ill-formed. (93 - 94) are semantically ill-formed, because the selectional features of 'with' and 'on' in relation to the NPs they are able to govern contradict the features of their complements: while these selectional features of 'with' and 'on' are respectively (96 - 97) (cf. below p.695;p.720), the features of their nominal complements, 'the quality' and 'the park', are (98 - 99), respectively.

- (96) [+ — [+ concrete, + expressive of a manipulated object]]
- (97) [+ — [^{NP} + concrete, - expressive of a three dimensional
[_{NP} object, + horizontal]]]
- (98) [- concrete]
- (99) [+ concrete, + expressive of a three dimensional object]]

'(95)' on the other hand, is semantically ill-formed, because the feature specification of 'likes', the main verb with which 'with a word' associates, contradicts the selectional features of 'with'. In (95) 'with' is marked with the feature [+ means], which expresses its ability to function as a prepositional element in a prepositionally realized means adjunct (cf. below 20.2.1). Such a 'with' is marked with a selectional feature indicating that it associates with a verb marked as [- stative] (cf. below 20.2.2.2.6), which is in contradiction with 'likes': it is a stative verb.

20.1.3 Other studies

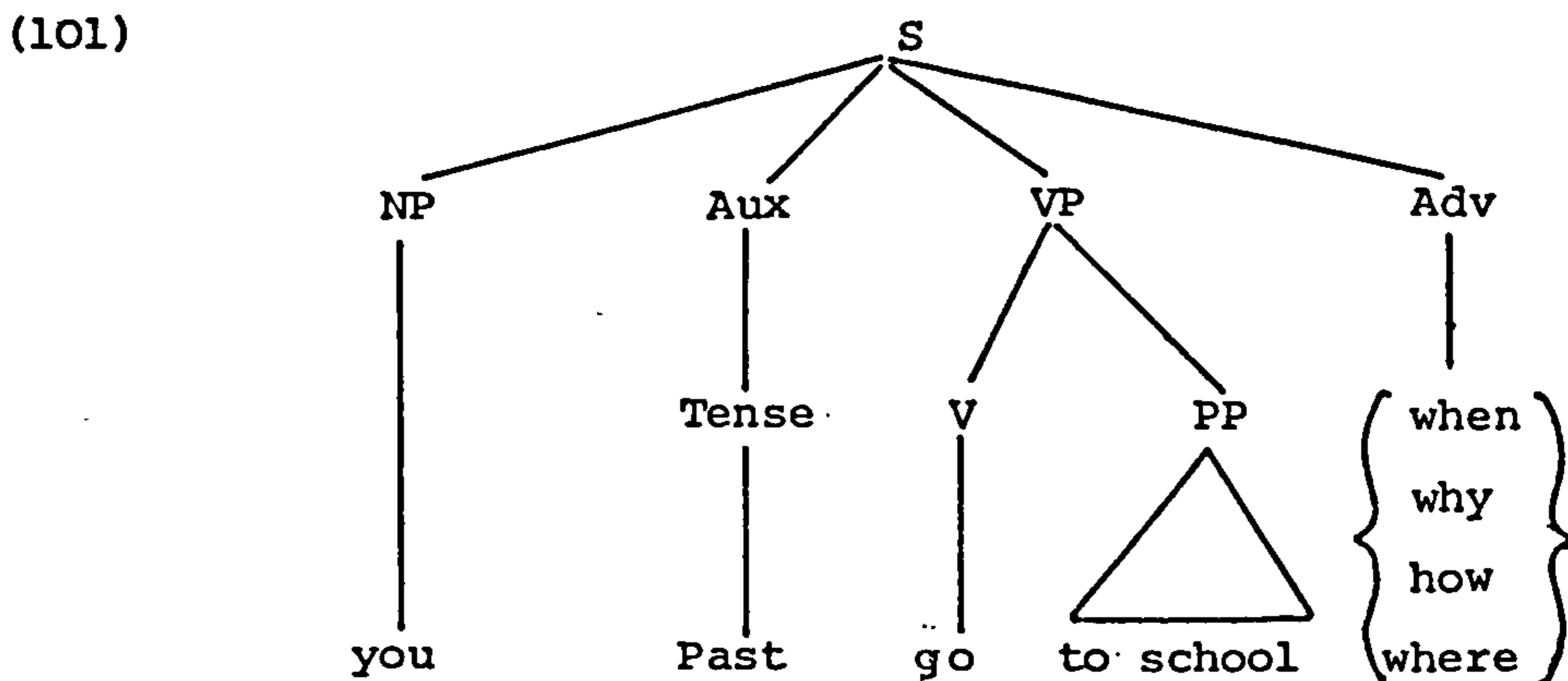
To be presented here are some other transformational studies about Adjuncts. These are the analysis carried out by Akmajian and Heny (1975), Stockwell (1977), Baker (1978), and Radford (1981).

20.1.3.1 Akmajian and Heny

Akmajian and Heny recognize the two groups of PPs that are recognized by Chomsky (cf. above 19.1), i.e. those that are sister constituents of

the Vs with which they co-occur, and, hence, constitute part of their categorial environments (cf. Akmajian and Frank W. Heny, pp. 50-60), and those that are sister constituents of VP, and, therefore, do not constitute part of the categorial frames subcategorizing Verbs (ibid., p. 375). They however say nothing concerning the basis upon which these two groups of PPs could be identified. Relying nevertheless on some of their underlying representations of the sentences embracing VP complements, we could infer that they regard as Adverbs (= Adverbials/Adjuncts) the following Adjuncts: Time adjuncts, Reason adjuncts, Means adjuncts, and Free place adjuncts. For them, 'when, why, how', and 'where' in sentence (100) are parallel to Adverbs such as 'yesterday, for some reason, by car' and 'in Cambridge', respectively, and are dominated by Adverbs as a sister constituent of VP, as in (101) (ibid., p. 375).

(100) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{When} \\ \text{Why} \\ \text{How} \\ \text{Where} \end{array} \right\} \text{ did you go to school?}$



Accordingly, Akmajian and Heny's base rules generating Time, Reason, Means, and Free place adjuncts are (102).

(102) a. $S \longrightarrow NP \text{ Aux } VP \text{ Adv}$

b. $Adv \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} PP \\ NP \end{array} \right\}$

Apart from these facts related to the aforementioned Adverbs, Akmajian and Heny say nothing regarding the other facts related to and necessary for the discussion of Adverbs. To begin with, though according to (102), Akmajian and Heny's base rules for generating Adverbs do not contain categories such as Means, Time, etc., they do not explain how in such a grammar the semantic differences between Adverbs are to be accounted for. For a proposal concerning these differences in relation to both adverbially and prepositionally realized Adjuncts, see above 20.1.2 and for another in relation to those repositionally realized, see below 20.2.1. Secondly, Akmajian and Heny's analysis of Adverbs are incomplete:

(a) they say nothing concerning the division of Adverbs into those that are transforms and those that are not (cf. above Chapter Sixteen and 17.0 respectively). In fact, they confuse between those two classes. As indicated above (p. 614), 'in Cambridge' in a sentence such as (103) is an adverb parallel to 'where' in (100).

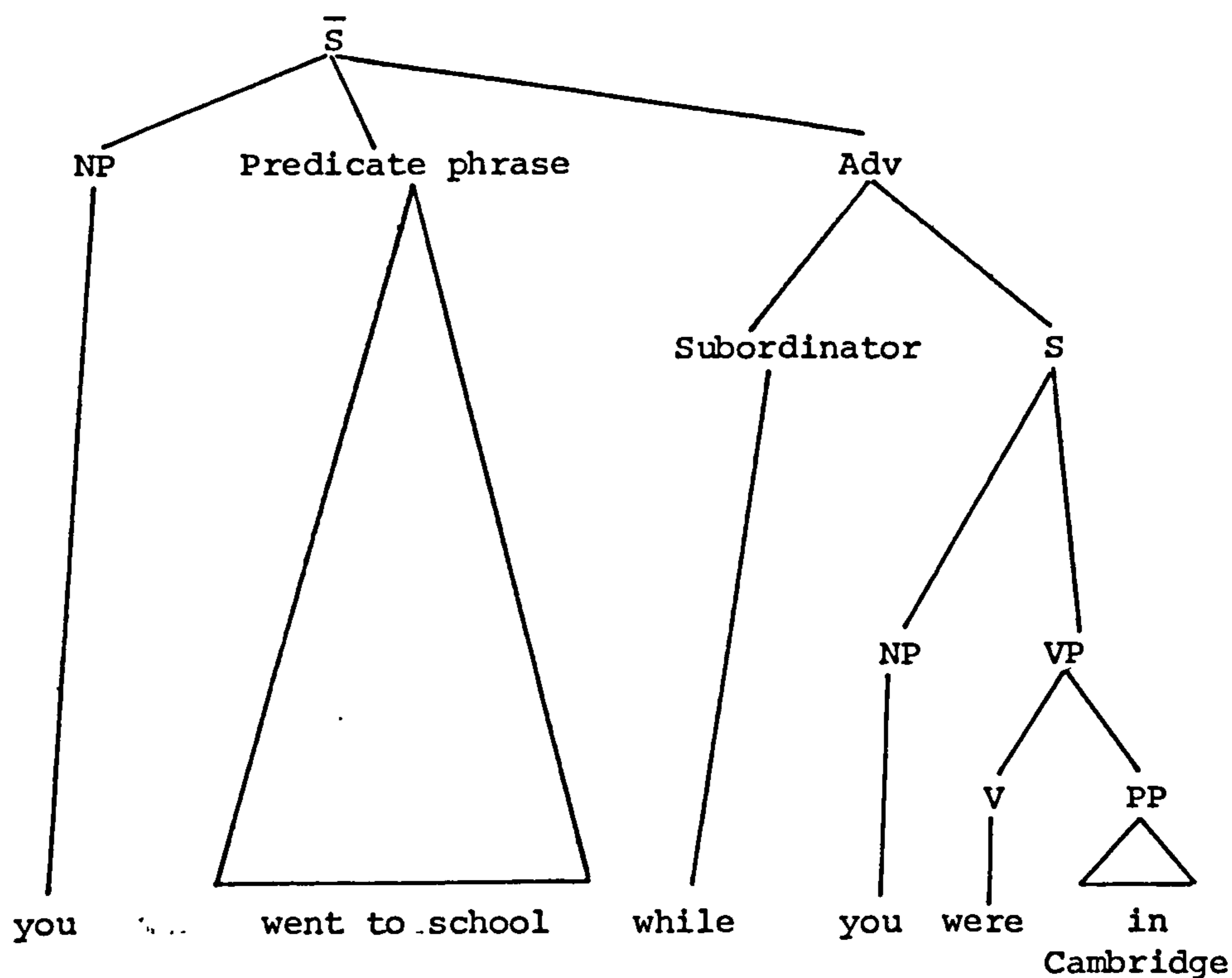
(103) You went to school in Cambridge

For me however, 'in Cambridge' in (103) is not a Place adjunct with no temporal interpretation (cf. above 16.3) as (101) suggests. For it cannot function as predicate of a sentence whose subject is the nominalization of the rest of the sentence embracing it: (104), which is related to (103), is ungrammatical.

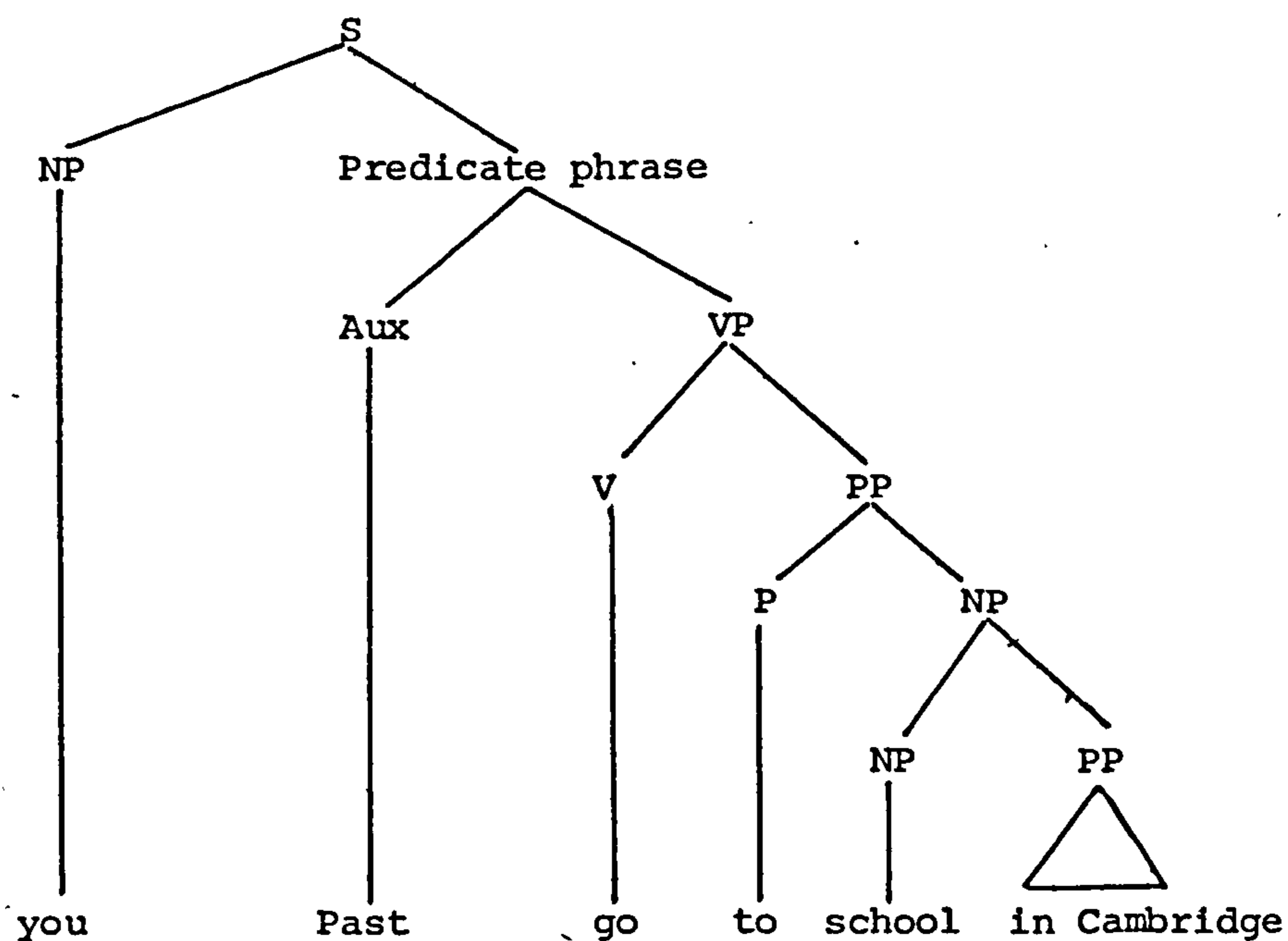
(104) *Your going to school was in Cambridge

'in Cambridge' can be analysed either as a Place adjunct with a temporal interpretation (cf. above 16.3), and, hence, (103) will have (105) as its underlying representation, or as a postmodifier of 'school', and, hence, the underlying syntactic structure of (103) will be (106).

(105)



(106)



(b) because they lay down no criteria for distinguishing between VP and Verbal complements, it is not possible to say whether they regard as Verbal or VP complements the following Adjuncts: Instrument, Manner, Free duration, Beneficent, Purpose, Conditional and Concessive adjuncts. For the basis of regarding these Adjuncts as VP complements, see below Chapter Twenty Two.

(c) they mention none of the linguistic restrictions related to Adjuncts (cf. above Chapters Fifteen, Seventeen and Eighteen). It is not possible therefore to say how in a grammar such as theirs sentences violating one or more of these restrictions will be marked as being ungrammatical. For how in a grammar such as the one proposed in the present work, such sentences will be so marked, see below 20.2.

20.1.3.2 Stockwell

Among the adverbs (= Adverbials/Adjuncts) discussed by Stockwell, the following ones concern us (1) Locative adverbs (= our Free place adjuncts, see above 16.3); (2) Temporal adverbs, which he subclassifies into: (i) Durative adverbs (= our nominally realized type, see above 15.3); (ii) Point time adverbs (= our Instantive time adjuncts and Time frame adjuncts, see above 15.1; 15.2); (3) Manner adverbs; (4) Instrument adverbs; (5) Accompaniment adverbs; (6) Cause adverbs (= our Reason adjuncts, see above 17.5).

The point upon which Stockwell concentrates in discussing the aforementioned Adverbs has to do with what he calls the tactical (i.e. structural) and the cognitive function of Adverbs. According to him, all the aforementioned Adverbs except Manner adverbs 'serve as verb modifier in their tactical function and could reasonably be argued to be much the same in their cognitive function' (Stockwell, p. 43). As for Manner adverbs, they 'bear only a tactical relationship to the verb'. 'Their cognitive relationship is to a larger domain: the verb AND its subject' (ibid., p. 43). For Stockwell, Locative, Temporal, Manner, Means, Instrumental, and Accompaniment adverbs are predications over Events or Actions (ibid., p. 46), while Cause adverbs are predications of Motivation (ibid., pp. 47- 8). According to him, for example, the following adverbs of (107a - 114a) have as their cognitive structure (107b- 114b), respectively: 'at home' (Locative), 'for twenty years' (Durative), 'yesterday' (Point time),

'beautifully' (Manner), 'with the help of his friends' (Means), 'with a blowtorch' (Instrument), 'with Mary', (Accompaniment), and 'because he was bored with golf' (Cause).

- (107) a. John works at home (cf. Stockwell, p. 46)
 b. It is at home that John works (ibid., p. 46)
- (108) a. Rip Van Winckle slept for twenty years (ibid., p. 46)
 b. Rip Van Winckle's sleeping lasted for twenty years (ibid., p. 46)
- (109) a. John fell down yesterday (ibid., p. 46)
 b. John's falling down happened yesterday (ibid., p. 46)
- (110) a. John plays beautifully (ibid., p. 46)
 b. John's playing is beautiful (ibid., p. 46)
- (111) a. He solved the problem with the help of his friends (ibid., p. 46)
 b. He made use of the help of his friends in solving the problem (cf. Stockwell, p. 46)
- (112) a. He opened the safe with a blowtorch (ibid., p. 46)
 b. He used a blowtorch to open the safe (ibid., p. 46)
- (113) a. He went to the movies with Mary (ibid., p. 46)
 b. { He accompanied Mary to the movies
 He and Mary accompanied each other in going } (ibid., p. 46)
 to the movies
- (114) a. John took up the cello because he was bored with golf (ibid., p. 48)
 b. The cause of John's action of taking up the cello was his boredom with golf (ibid., p. 48)

On the basis of their relation to the verb, which according to Stockwell represents their tactical function, the aforementioned adverbs are regarded by him, on the other hand, as sister constituents of VP, i.e. as VP rather

than Verbal complements, using the terminology of the present work.

According to Stockwell, the base rule generating Adv(erbs) is (115) (ibid, p.101)

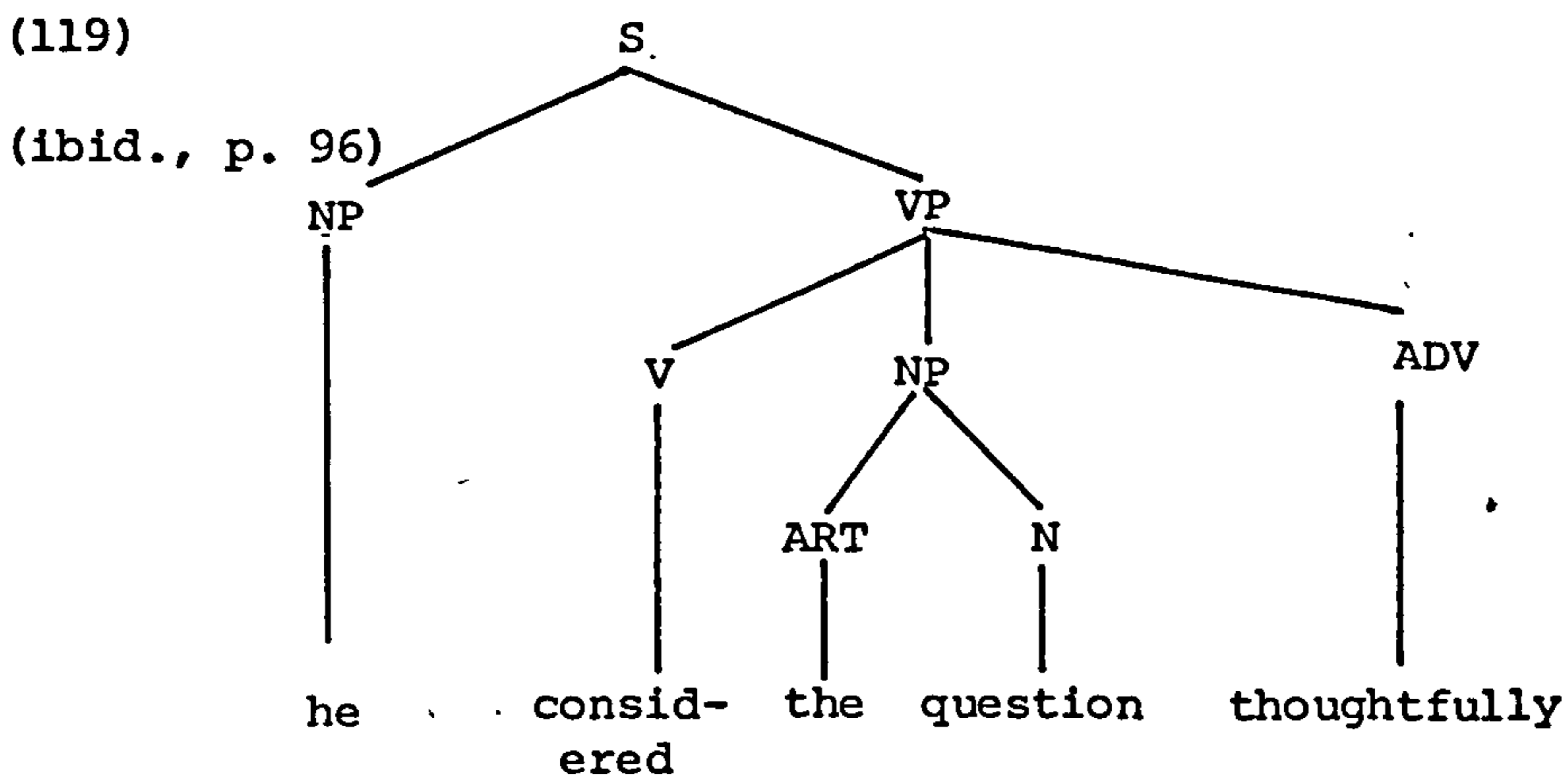
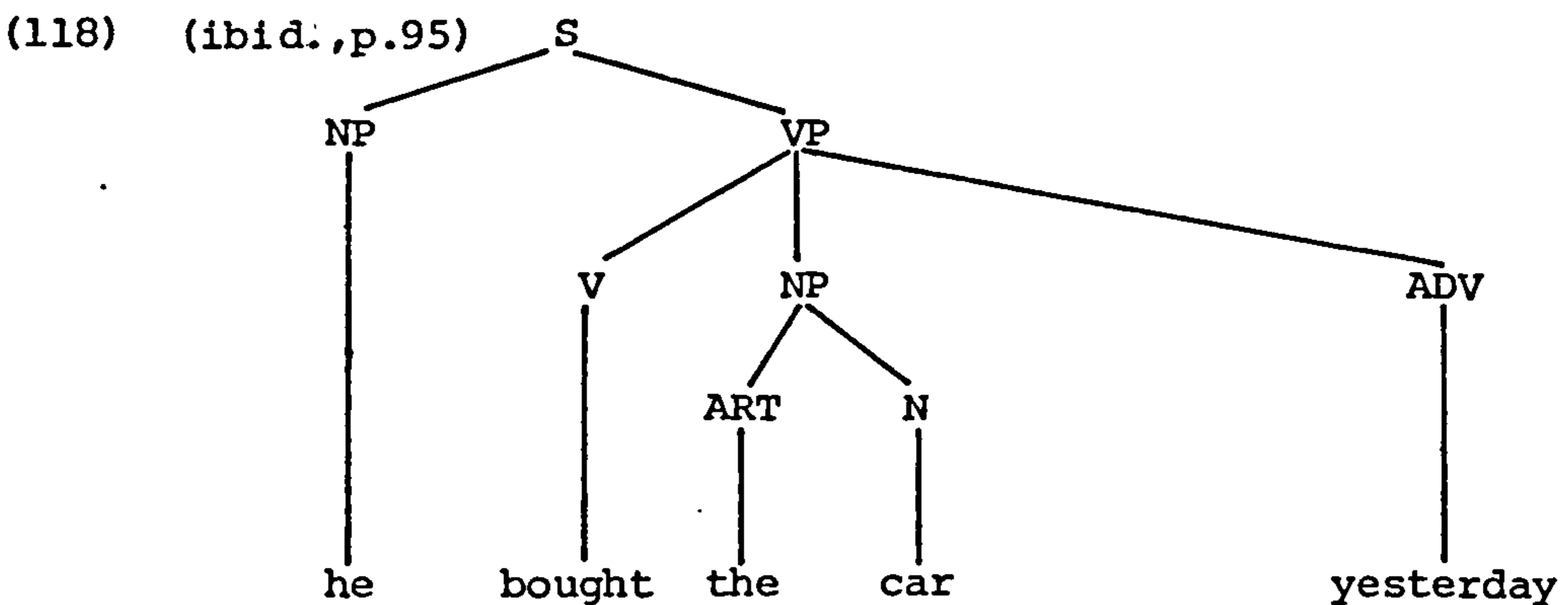
(115) $S \rightarrow NP VP (ADV)$

There are however some analyses contradicting (115):

(a) the underlying syntactic representations of (116 - 117) are, according to Stockwell, (118 - 119), respectively, which indicate that Point time and Manner adverbs are regarded by him as sister constituents of V rather than VP.

(116) He bought the car yesterday (cf. Stockwell, p. 95)

(117) He considered the question thoughtfully (ibid, p. 95)



(b) according to Stockwell 'the surface satellites around the verb include, NPs 'that refer to the participants in the event specified by the verb (agents, goals, objects, patients, instrument, and the like)' (ibid., p. 42). Stockwell does not explain whether the same NPs will be the deep satellites around the verb. In accordance with the practice in TGG, they

ought to be so. For NPs assuming participant rules rather than expressing circumstantial functions are those according to which verbs are subcategorized, i.e. are those representing verbal complements. Accordingly, in contrary to (115), Stockwell's base rule for generating ADV, a phrase such as 'with a short knife' in (120), whose nominal element assumes the semantic role instrument, will be dominated in the deep structure by V rather than by VP.

(120) He cut the meat with a short knife

Neither in relation to the cognitive function of the aforementioned adverbs nor in relation to their tactical function, Stockwell mentions the co-occurrence restrictions related to these adverbs (cf. above Chapters 15; 16; 17; 18). It is not possible to tell therefore how, in a grammar such as his, sentences violating one or more of these restrictions are to be marked as being ill-formed. Nor did he explain how in the same grammar, which generate Adverbs in the way indicated by (115), i.e. with no reference to the semantic categories of Adverbs, the semantic interpretation of Adverbs will be accounted for. As for the division of Adverbs into those that are transforms and those that are not, he says nothing apart from recognizing that Locatives have a temporal interpretation, i.e. apart from referring to the class of Adverbs called in the present work 'Place adjuncts with a temporal interpretation', and regarded as transforms (cf. above 16.3). For Stockwell, sentence (121) is ambiguous: it may mean (122), which expresses that 'at home' is a locative with a temporal interpretation, or (123), which expresses that it is a locative with a locative interpretation (cf. Stockwell, p. 44).

(121) John works at home

(122) John works while he is at home

(123) It is at home (not at the office) that John does his work

20.1.3.3 Baker

Baker differs from Jacobs and Rosenbaum (cf. above 20.1.1), Jackendoff

(cf. above 20.1.2), Akmajian and Heny (cf. above 20.1.3.1) and Stockwell (cf. above 20.1.3.2) in that he lays down the criteria according to which the status of a constituent as to VP and Verbal complementation can be determined. For him, a constituent will be regarded as a VP complement if it is able to occur outside the Do-So proform, and as a verbal complement when it cannot (cf. Baker, pp. 263-4). Applied to the Adjuncts discussed in Chapters Fifteen and Seventeen, this criterion indicates that they are, according to Baker, VP complements. Baker's base rules generating the prepositional realization of these Adjuncts is (124), where 'Prep P', which represents a prepositional realization of Adjuncts, is a sister constituent of the VP called by him the lowest or the minimal VP (cf. Baker, p. 264), i.e. the VP that is to be rewritten as V or V and its complement(s).

(124) a. $S \longrightarrow NP \text{ AUX } VP$

b. $VP \longrightarrow VP \text{ Prep P}$

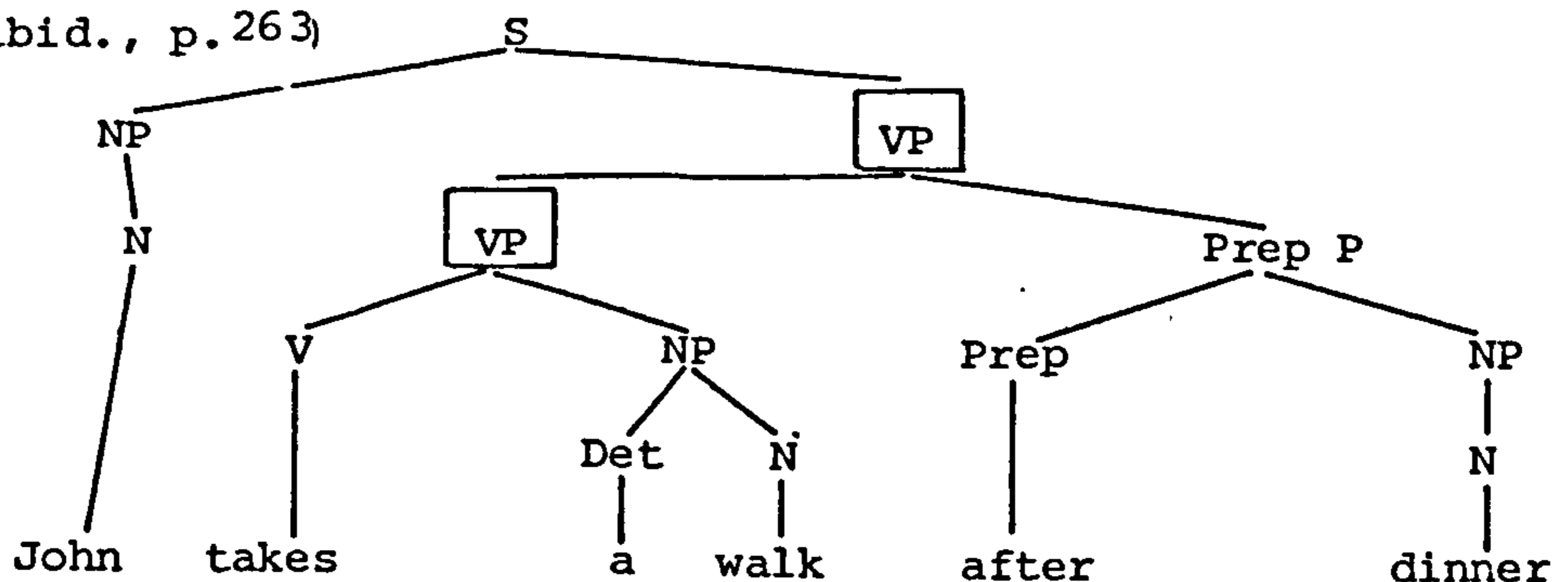
For Baker's justification of generating prepositionally realized Adjuncts by rule (124)b, rather than by (125), which is irrelevant to the status of Free adjuncts as to VP and Verbal complementation, see Baker, pp. 261-3).

(125) $S \longrightarrow NP \text{ AUX } VP \text{ prep P}$

An example of a prepositionally realized Adjunct is 'after dinner' in (126), which, according to Baker, has (127) as its underlying syntactic structure.

(126) John takes a walk after dinner

(127) (ibid., p.263)

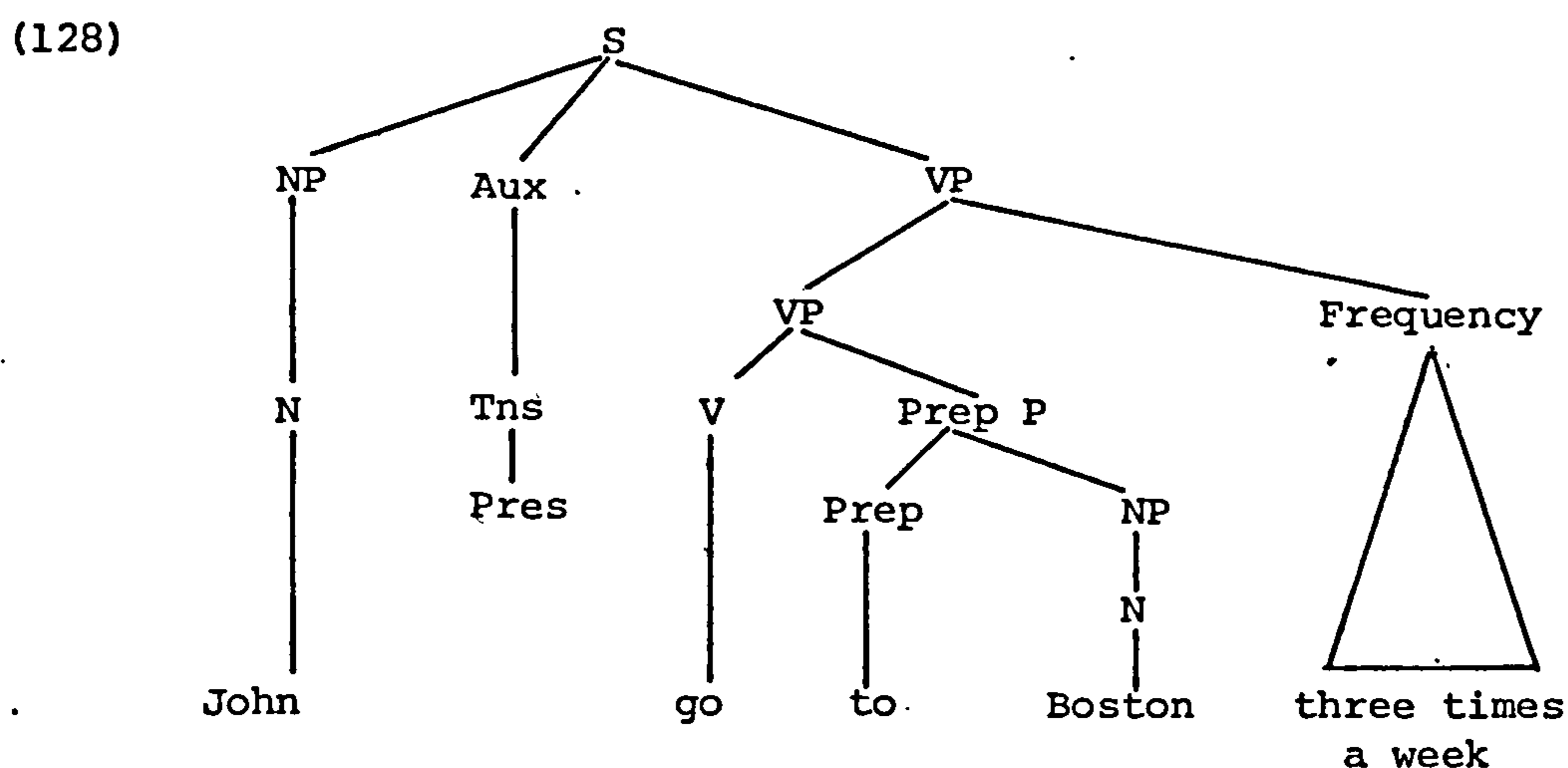


There are however some disadvantages in Baker's analysis of prepositionally realized Adjuncts:

(a) he does not indicate how in a grammar such as his, which regards PPs like 'after dinner' in (126) as not constituting part of the verb categorial environment, the co-occurrence restrictions between prepositionally realized Adjuncts and verbs will be accounted for. For a proposal concerning such a restriction, see below 20.2.2.

(b) though in his grammar prepositionally realized Adjuncts are generated without reference to their semantic status (cf. above (124)b), he does not explain how his grammar will account for the semantic interpretation of prepositionally realized Adjuncts. For how the semantic interpretation of such adjuncts will be accounted for in the grammar of the present work, which, too, makes no reference to their semantic status, see below 20.2.1.

(c) though Baker acknowledges that Adjuncts can be realized prepositionally and non-prepositionally (cf. Baker, p. 263; p. 275, respectively), he generates them in such a way that does not capture this fact: see rule (124)b, and (128), which is his underlying representation of (129) (ibid., p. 275).



(129) John goes to Boston three times a week

(d) he refers to none of the linguistic restrictions related to Adjuncts (cf. Chapters 15; 17; 18). Hence, it is not possible to tell how in a

grammar such as his sentences violating one or more of these restrictions will be marked as ungrammatical.

(e) Baker does not recognize the division of Adjuncts into those that are transforms and those that are not (cf. above Chapter Sixteen; 17.1).

20.1.3.4 Radford

The aim of the book in which Radford presents his view on Adverbials is described by him as to 'provide a clear, simple introduction to recent work in Syntax by Chomsky and his followers' (Radford, vii). Putting it in 'an obvious sense', he states that 'it is an introduction to works like his (i.e. Chomsky) 'Essays on Form and Interpretation' (1977), 'Filter and Control' (1977, with H. Lasnik), 'On Wh-Movement' (1977), 'Rules and Representations' (1980), 'On Binding' (1980), 'Markedness and Core Grammar' (1980), 'Pisa Lectures' (1980) and 'On the representation of form and function' (1980)' (ibid., vii). It is not surprising therefore that he regards as representing an early work in TG books such as 'An Introduction to the Principles of Transformational Syntax' (Akmajian and Heny, 1975) and 'Introduction to generative-transformational Syntax' (Baker, 1978) and considers it to be a waste of good ink to write another textbook such as the aforementioned ones 'that is years out of date before it is printed' (ibid., viii). Consequently, Radford's view on Adverbials is expected to represent the updated view on this category. What is it then? Unfortunately, Radford's view on Adverbials is neither comprehensive nor more advantageous than that of Akmajian and Heny, or Baker, or even that presented by Chomsky in 'Aspects'.

To begin with, in contradistinction to what is presented by Chomsky in 'Aspects' (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 218, fn. 28), and what is explained in the present work (cf. above 17.0), he says nothing as to the division of Adverbials (= Adjuncts) into those that are transforms and those that are not.

Secondly, adverbial of Manner and Time are regarded by him as verbal

complements. For him, the nodes dominating 'speak very slowly to that girl' and 'die tomorrow' are VP (cf. Radford, p. 38). For comparison between Radford's analysis of these two categories of Adverbials, and those of Chomsky in 'Aspects', Akmajian and Heny and Baker see above 19.1; 20.1.3.1; 20.1.3.3, respectively. See also above 19.2.3.2.2.2 for the disadvantages of regarding the Adverbial categories in question as verbal complements. As for the basis of considering them to be VP complements, see below 22.1-2.

Thirdly, Radford, unlike Baker (cf. above 20.1.3.3) lays down no criteria for distinguishing between Verbal and VP complements, which include POs, and prepositionally and non-prepositionally realized Adjuncts, respectively. Consequently, it is not possible to determine, on the basis of the grammar he proposes, whether the following Adjuncts, which are not regarded in the present work as transforms (cf. above 17.0), are verbal or VP complements: Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation (cf. above 16.3), Instrument and Means adjuncts (cf. above 17.1), Beneficent adjuncts (cf. above 17.3), Purpose adjuncts (cf. above 17.4), Reason adjuncts (cf. above 17.5), Conditional and Concessive adjuncts (cf. above 17.6). For the basis on which these adjuncts are considered to be VP complements in the present work, see below 22.1-2.

Fourthly, Radford's rule for generating Adverbials does not make use of the semantic categories to which they belong. For him, the base rule generating the adverbial of Manner 'very slowly' in (130) is (131), and the node to which the adverbial Free duration 'up to what age' in (132) is attached is PP_1 , as in (133).

(130) This boy will speak very slowly to that girl (cf. Radford, p.35)

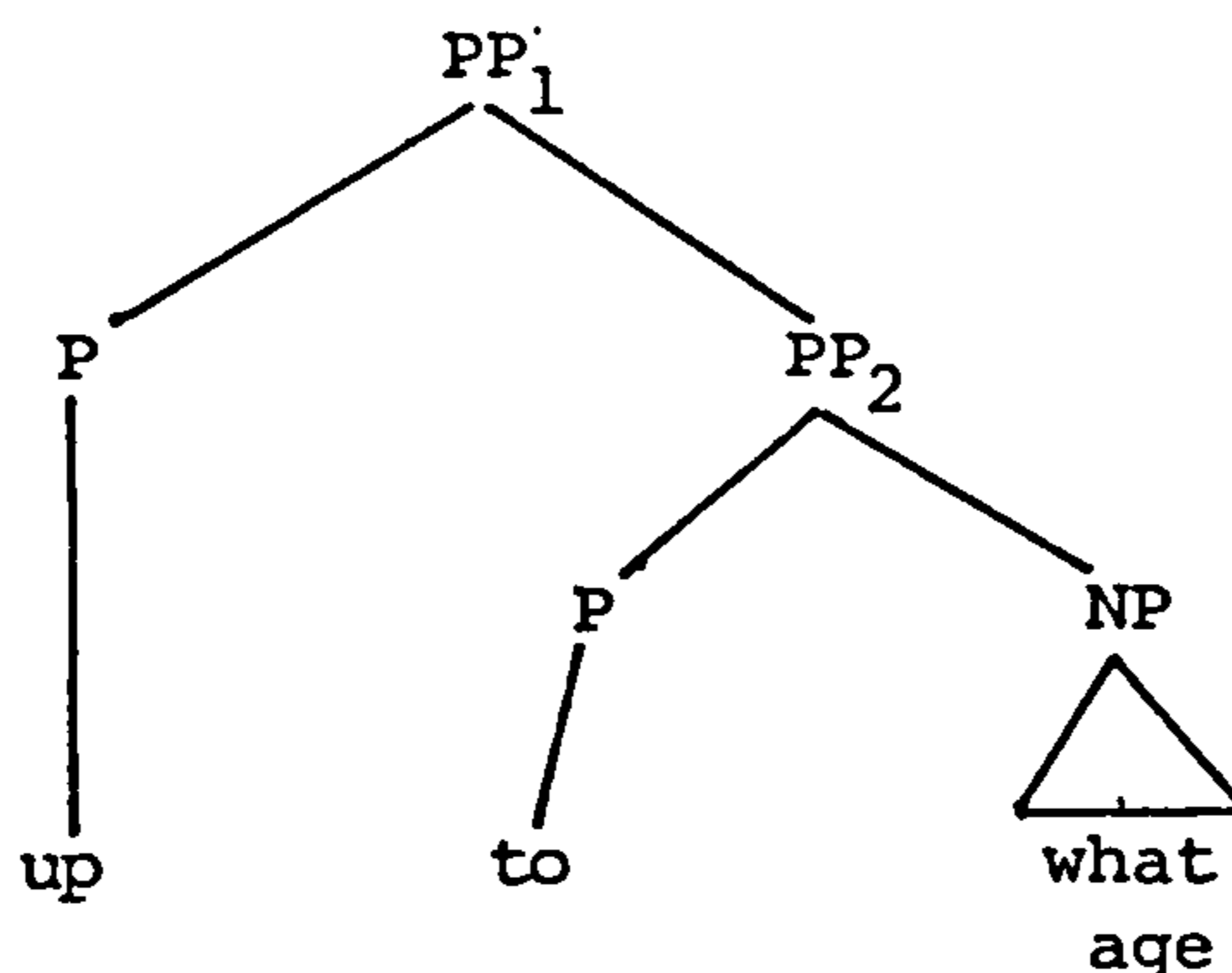
(131) VP \rightarrow V (ADVP) (ibid., p. 45)

(132) Up to what age can you study linguistics?

(ibid., p. 222)

(133)

(ibid, p.222)



Like Akmajian and Heny, Stockwell, and Baker (cf. above 20.1.3.1-3) he nevertheless does not explain how in a grammar such as his the semantic interpretation of Adverbials will be accounted for.

Fifthly, in contradistinction to the aforementioned linguists, Radford recognizes the necessity of the subcategorization of prepositions in terms of their complements (cf. Radford, p. 124). For him, for example, 'before' has the categorial feature (134).

$$(134) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + [\text{--- NP}] \\ + [\text{--- S}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Accordingly, in a grammar such as his, sentences such as (135) will be blocked. For 'in' occurs before the S 'your father leaves', which is in contradiction with its categorial feature (136) (ibid., p. 125; p. 155).

(135) I will meet you in your father leaves

(136) + [--- NP]

As for the other features of prepositions, which are related to the other restrictions having to do with prepositionally (and non-prepositionally) realized Adjuncts (cf. above p.608 and below 20.2.2-3), none of them are recognized by Radford. As is the case with the grammars proposed by Akmajian and Heny (cf. above 20.1.3.1), Stockwell (cf. above 20.1.3.2), and Baker (cf. above 20.1.3.3), it is not possible therefore to explain how in Radford's grammar sentences violating one or more than one of these restrictions will be marked as being ungrammatical.

20.2 A Proposed Analysis

20.2.1 Rules

It appears from what is said in Chapter Nineteen, and (20.1) that the following facts must be accounted for in the grammar of Adjuncts:

1. that Adjuncts, here used to refer to Free adjuncts that are not transforms (cf. above 17.0), are sister constituents of VP.
2. that Adjuncts can be prepositionally and non-prepositionally realized.
3. that Adjuncts are semantically different: there are those that express the manners in which the actions denoted by the verbs associating with them occur (Manner adjuncts), and those that indicate the times in which the actions expressed by the verbs accompanying them occur (Time adjuncts), etc.

In the grammar proposed in the present work, the first and the second fact will be accounted for by phrase structure rules: Adjuncts will be generated by (137), and their realizations by (138).

(137) Predicate phrase \rightarrow VP Adjunct

(138)

$$\text{Adjunct} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Particle } S \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$$

The first realization of (138) is nominal e.g. the Time frame adjunct yawma lqiyaamati 'on the Day of Resurrection' in (139), the second is clausal, e.g. the conditional adverbial clause ?in tanSuru llaaha 'if you help Allah' in (140), and the third is prepositional, e.g. the Instrument adjunct bilqalam 'by the pen' in (141).

(139) ?inna rabbaka yaqDii baynahum yawma lqiyaamati fiimaa kaanuu
fiihi yaxtalifuun (10/93)

Surely, your Lord will judge between them on the Day of
Resurrection concerning that wherein they used to differ

(140) yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu ?in tanSuru llaaha yanSurkum
wa yuθabbit ?aqdaamakum (47/7)

O you who believe! If you help Allah, He will help you and
will make your foothold firm

(141) ?allađii 9allama bilqalam (96/4)

Who teaches by the pen

It goes without saying that the last realization, i.e. the prepositional one, is what concerns us, and all the restrictions related to Adjuncts will be accounted for only in relation to it.

As for the third fact, i.e. the fact related to the semantic categories of Adjuncts (cf. above p.626), it will be accounted for by assigning to the prepositions able to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Adjuncts features having to do with the semantic classes of these adjuncts. But before indicating how this could be carried out, let us discuss the priority of such an analysis over the analysis that allows the phrase structure rules to make use of semantic categories such as 'instrument', 'time frame', 'fii-duration', 'manner', etc.

A grammar making use of categories such as the aforementioned ones, i.e. replacing the category 'Adjunct' in (137) by the categories: Instrument adjunct, Time frame adjunct, fii-Duration, and Manner adjunct, respectively and then rewriting each of them according to its realization, has the following disadvantages:

1. It results in feature duplication: in addition to referring to semantic markers such as 'instrument', 'time frame', 'fii-duration', and 'manner' in the phrase structure rules, it will refer to them in the lexicon. It must, for example, refer to them in the feature specification of prepositions, for instance, so that it will be possible to account for the (un)grammaticality of prepositionally realized Adjuncts that has to do with the dependency between the realization of their prepositional elements and the semantic categories to which they belong. Consider, for instance, sentence (142).

- (142) a. qatala lliSSu rragula bisikkiin
 The thief killed the man with a knife
- b. *qatala lliSSu rragula 9alaa sikkiin
 The thief killed the man on a knife

The combination qatala rragula 9alaa sikkiin 'killed the man on a knife' in (142)b is semantically anomalous, i.e. has no reading (cf. Katz, p. 301), if it is interpreted by analogy with the combination qatala rragula bisikkiin 'killed the man with a knife' in (142)a, i.e. if it is interpreted in such a way that sikkiin 'a knife' expresses the instrument by means of which the man was killed. For in contradistinction to the meaning expressed by bi 'with', the preposition of the latter combination, the meaning denoted by 9alaa 'on', its preposition, is incompatible with the interpretation suggested: while the former preposition expresses instrumentality, the latter denotes location. Accordingly, in the lexicon of a grammar such as the one in question (cf. above p.627), whose phrase structure rules make use of features such as 'manner', 'instrument', etc., the prepositions that are able to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Adjuncts must be assigned features having to do with the semantic categories of these adjuncts. For such a feature will be the basis of regarding as being semantically anomalous combinations such as qatala rragula 9alaa sikkiin 'killed the man on a knife' in (142)b, if it is interpreted analogously to such combinations as qatala rragula bisikkiin 'killed the man with a knife' in (142)a. The only way to do this is by assigning the prepositions in question features that are duplicates of the semantic markers of the adjuncts able to dominate them. For example, 'bi', which is a preposition able to be dominated by Instrument or Manner adjunct, for instance, and 9alaa, which is a preposition able to be dominated by Place adjunct, for example, will be assigned the following features, respectively.

- (143) [+ instrument]

(144) [+ manner]

(145) [+ place]

In a grammar such as the one proposed in the present work, this duplication does not occur. For as indicated above (cf. p.626) prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be generated by rule (138), i.e. will be dominated by the category 'Adjunct' unaccompanied by semantic markers such as 'instrument', 'manner', etc.

As for the semantic interpretation of these adjuncts as well as marking as being semantically anomalous the interpretation of combinations such as *qatala rragula 9alaa sikkiin* 'killed the man on a knife' in (142)b by analogy with *qatala rragula bisikkiin* 'killed the man with a knife' in (142)a, they will be taken care of in the semantic component. As will be indicated below (cf. 20.2.21; 692) the co-occurrence restrictions related to prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be stated on their prepositional elements. Prepositions able to function as prepositional element in such adjuncts will be assigned features having to do with these restrictions, including those expressing the semantic signification of prepositionally realized Adjuncts, i.e. features such as 'instrument', 'manner', 'instantive time', etc. Since the lexical insertion of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be based only on their categorial features (cf. below 20.2.2.1.1), the prepositionally realized Adjuncts as well as the structures involving them and generated by the syntactic component may or may not violate the other restrictions related to them. It will be therefore the job of the semantic component to identify both the Adjuncts and the structures involving them that violate the restrictions and those that do not. This job will be carried out by the projection rules. Consider, for instance, the structures *qatala rragula bisikkiin* 'killed the man with a knife' in (142)a and *qatala rragula 9alaa sikkiin* 'killed the man on a knife' in (142)b.

It should be noted that though there is a dependency between the

prepositions realizing the prepositional elements of Adjuncts and the semantic categories to which the adjuncts belong, the fact that a preposition cannot realize the prepositional element of a certain adjunct, i.e. that the adjunct in which it functions as prepositional element cannot have a particular signification, depends on the verb with which it associates. This means (i) that such a dependency bears on the grammaticality of verb-adjunct combinations rather than on the grammaticality of the combinations realizing prepositionally realized Adjuncts, i.e. preposition-noun combinations; (ii) the grammatical status of the structures in question (qatala rragula bisikkiin/9alaa sikkiin 'killed the man with a knife / on a knife') is the responsibility of the projection rules assigning a derived reading to the whole predicate phrase. The former structure will be assigned by the appropriate projection rule a derived reading in which sikkiin 'a knife' will be interpreted as the instrument by means of which the man was killed and, hence, identified as being grammatical. For the meaning of bi 'with' as a preposition expressing instrumentality can be amalgamated with that of qatala rragula 'killed the man' to yield a derived reading such as the one referred to. The latter structure on the other hand will be assigned by the projection rules no reading by analogy with the former one, i.e. will be regarded as being semantically anomalous, and, hence, ungrammatical, if it is interpreted in such a way that sikkiin 'a knife' is thought of as the instrument for killing the man. For 9alaa 'on' as a preposition expressing location cannot be amalgamated with the reading of qatala rragula 'killed the man' in the way indicated.

2. The second disadvantage of the grammar whose phrase structure rules make use of semantic markers such as 'instantive time', 'manner', 'reason', etc. is that it leaves unaccounted for the fact that a verb can be accompanied by one of several adjuncts. Consider, for instance, the following sentences: (146 - 151).

- (146) kataba maahirun xiTaban ?ilaa waalidatihii fi SSabaah
 maahir wrote a letter to his mother in the morning
- (147) kataba maahirun xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatihii fii saa9ah
 maahir wrote a letter to his mother in an hour
- (148) kataba maahirun xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatihii liDiigin 9a9ara bih
 maahir wrote a letter to his mother because he felt depressed
 (lit. because of a depression which he felt)
- (149) kataba maahirun xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatihii li?ixbaarihaa
bi?annahuu gad nagah
 maahir wrote a letter to his mother to tell her that he had
 succeeded
- (150) katba maahirun xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatihii biqalamihi lgadiid
 maahir wrote a letter to his mother with his new pen
- (151) kataba maahirun bisur9atin xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatih
 maahir wrote a letter quickly to his mother

In a grammar such as the one in question, the underlined prepositionally realized adjuncts in (146 - 151) are generated by different rules: they are generated by (152) - (157), respectively.

- (152)a. Predicate phrase → VP Time frame adjunct
 b. Time frame adjunct → PP
- (153)a. Predicate phrase → VP fii-Duration adjunct
 b. fii-Duration adjunct → PP
- (154)a. Predicate phrase → VP Reason adjunct
 b. Reason adjunct → PP
- (155)a. Predicate phrase → VP Purpose adjunct
 b. Purpose adjunct → PP
- (156)a. Predicate phrase → VP Instrument adjunct
 b. Instrument adjunct → PP
- (157)a. Predicate phrase → VP Manner adjunct
 b. Manner adjunct → PP

Accordingly, the fact that kataba 'wrote' in (158) can be accompanied by every one of these adjuncts will be left unaccounted for.

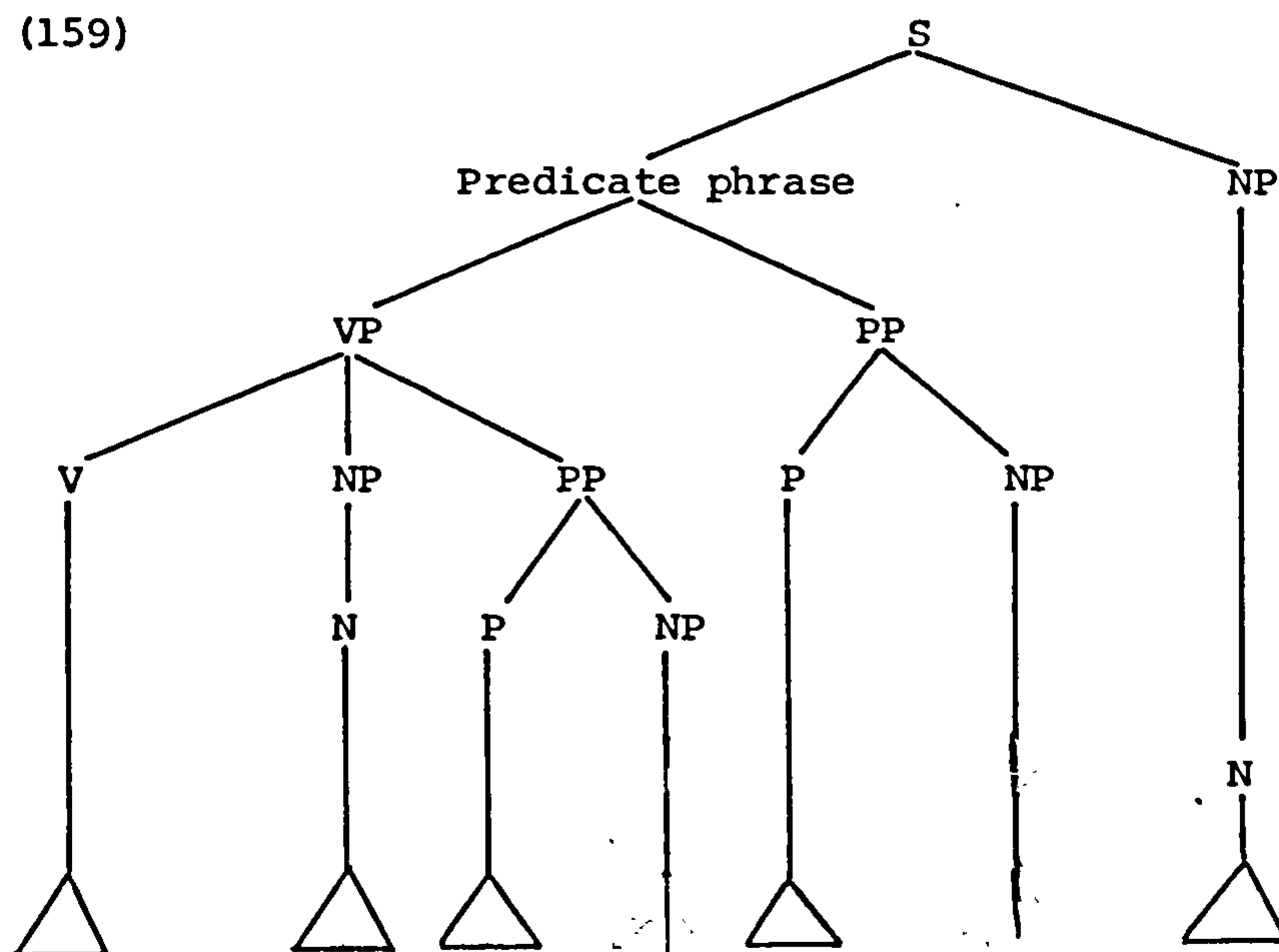
(158) kataba maahirun xiTaaban ?ilaa waalidatih
 maahir wrote a letter to his mother

For whether, in the grammar in question, the lexical insertion of prepositions will be based on all their features including those such as 'time frame', 'manner', etc., or only on their categorial features, the grammar must be equipped so as to allow only the prepositions whose features are compatible with the semantic category of the adjunct in question to realize its prepositional element, i.e. to allow, for instance, only the prepositions marked with the feature [+ fii-Duration] and [+ purpose], which are fii 'in', and li 'to'/for respectively, to realize the prepositional elements of fii-Duration adjunct and Purpose adjunct, respectively.

On the other hand, the aforementioned fact, that the verb can be accompanied by one of several adjuncts, can be accounted for in the grammar proposed in the present work, whose phrase structure rules do not make use of features such as 'manner', 'instantive time', etc. According to what is indicated above (p. 626), that prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be generated so as to be dominated by the category 'Adjunct' unaccompanied by features such as 'instrument', 'manner', etc., the adjuncts of sentences (146 - 151) will be generated by the same rule, i.e. by (137 - 138). Since as indicated above (p. 629) and as will be indicated below (20.2.2.1.1), the lexical insertion of prepositions is based only on their categorial features, the dummy symbol dominated by the second P in (159), which represents the prelexical underlying syntactic structure of sentences (146 - 151), could be replaced by any preposition able to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Adjuncts, i.e. by any preposition marked with a feature such as 'manner', 'instrument', etc, provided they all are able to govern NPs other than maa-, ?anna or ?an-clause, i.e. NPs

marked with the categorial feature [+ — [other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clause]]
NP
(cf. below 20.2.2.1.1).

(159)



And it will be the job of the projection rules to determine the grammatical status of the combinations involving the prepositions inserted. They will be marked as being semantically non-anomalous, and, hence, grammatical, if they do not contain features conflicting with those of the prepositions, e.g. the preposition-noun combinations: fi SSabaah 'in the morning', fii saa9ah 'in an hour', liDiiqin §a9ara bih 'because he felt depressed', li?ixbaarihaa bi?annahuu qad naghah 'to tell her that he had succeeded', biqalamihi lgadiid 'with his new pen' and bisur9atin 'quickly' in(146 - 151), respectively, and the verb-adjunct combinations: kataba fii SSabaah 'wrote in the morning', kataba fii saa9ah 'wrote in an hour', kataba liDiiqin §a9ara bih 'wrote because he felt depressed', kataba li?ixbaarihaa bi?annahuu qad naghah 'wrote to tell her that he had succeeded', kataba biqalamihi lgadiid 'wrote with his new pen' and kataba bisur9ah 'wrote quickly' in (146 - 151), respectively. For the grammaticality of the six first combinations, see below 20.2.3.3.2; 20.2.3.3.3; 20.2.3.2; 20.2.3.1.1. and of the second six, see below 20.2.2.2.3-4; 20.2.2.2.9; 20.2.2.2.6-7; 17.5.

If, on the other hand, the combinations involve features that are in conflict with those of the prepositions inserted, they will be marked by the projection rules as being semantically anomalous, and, therefore, ungrammatical, e.g. the combinations 9ala SSabaah 'on the morning' and ?ilaa Diiqin §a9ara bih 'till a depression which he felt', which are the results of the replacement of the dummy symbol dominated by the second P in (159) by 9alaa 'on' and ?ilaa 'till', respectively: the selectional features of '9alaa' and '?ilaa', which are marked with the features [+ place] and [+ ?ilaa-duration], respectively, are in conflict with those of their complements (cf. below 20.2.3.4; 20.2.3.3.4).

Having indicated the advantages of the grammar that does not make use of features such as 'manner', 'instrument', 'instantive time', etc. over that which makes use of such features, let us determine the prepositions features that have to do with the semantic categories of the adjuncts in which they are able to function as prepositional element. Among the features assigned to the prepositions able to function as prepositional element in one or more than one of the non-transformed Adjuncts are the following ones:

1. [+ instantive time], which is assigned to the following prepositions, and expresses their ability to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Instantive time adjuncts: fi 'at', in (160), min ba9di and ba9da 'after' in (161 - 162), respectively, and min qabli and qabla 'before' in (163 - 164), respectively.

(160) sa9ala TTiflu fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa

The child coughed at one o'clock a.m.

(161) 9umma qasat quluubukum min ba9di daalik (2/74)

Then (even) after that, your hearts were hardened

(162) wa laqad qaaluu kalimata lkufri wa kafaruu ba9da ?islaamihim(9/74)

Yet they did say the word of disbelief and disbelieve after their surrender

(163) wa ?in Tallaqtumuuhunna min qabli ?an tamassuuhunna wa qad
faraDtum lahunna fariiDatan faniSfu maa faraDtum (2/237)

If you divorce them before you have touched them and you have
appointed unto them a portion, then (pay the) half of that
which you appointed

(164) faSbir 9alaa maa yaquuluuna wa sabbih bihamdi rabbika qabla
Tuluu9i §§amsi wa qabla l9uruub (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

2. [+ time frame], which is assigned to the following prepositions, and
denotes their ability to function as prepositional element in Time frame
adjuncts bi 'by' in (165), and fi 'in' in (166).

(165) ?alladiina yunfiquuna ?amwalahum billayli wa nnahaar (2/274)
Those who spend their wealth by night and day

(166) wa qaalu laa tanfiruu fi lharr (9/81)
And they said: Do not go forth in the heat

3. [+ fii-duration], which is assigned to fii 'in' in (167), and expresses
its ability to function as prepositional element of fii-Duration adjuncts.

(167) ?inna rabbakumu llaahu llaadi xalaqa ssamaawaati wa l?arDa fii
sittati ?ayyaam (10/3)
Your Lord is surely Allah who created the heavens and the
earth in six days

4. [+ ?ilaa-duration], which marks the following prepositions and denotes
that they are able to function as prepositional element in ?ilaa-Duration
adjuncts: ?ilaa 'till' in (168), li 'unto' in (169) and hattaa 'for' in (170).

(168) wa ?id ta?aaddana rabbuka layab9a0anna 9alayhim ?ilaa yawmi
lqiyaamati man yasuumuhum suu?a l9daab (7/167)

And (remember) when your Lord proclaimed that He would raise
against them till the Day of Resurrection those who would lay
on them cruel torment.

(169) kullun yagrii li?agalin musammaa (13/2)

Each runs unto an appointed term

(170) Өумма badaa lahum min ba9di maa ra?awu' l?aayaati

layasgununnahuu hattaa hiin (12/35)

And it seemed good to them after they had seen the signs (of his innocence) to imprison him for a while

5. [+ positive instrument], which is assigned to bi 'with' in (171), and expresses its ability to function as prepositional element of an Instrument adjunct whose nominal element is a positive instrument.

(171) fawaylun lillaadiina yaktubuuna lkitaaba bi?aydiihim Өумма

yaquuluuna haadaa min 9indi llaah (2/79)

Therefore woe be unto those who write the Scripture with their hands and then say: This is from Allah

6. [+ negative instrument], which marks biḡayri 'without' in (172), and expresses its ability to function as prepositional element of an Instrument adjunct whose nominal element is a negative instrument.

(172) ?allaahu llaadii rafa9a ssamaawaati biḡayri 9amadin tarawnahaa (13/2)

Allah it is who raised up the heavens without visible supports

7. [+ means], which is assigned to bi 'with' in (173), and indicates its ability to function as prepositional element in Means adjuncts.

(173) huwa llaadii ?ayyadaka binaSrihi wa bilmu?miniin (8/62)

He it is Who supports you with His help and with the believers

8. [+ positive manner], which marks 'bi', the prepositional element of bil9adl 'justly' in (174), and denotes that it can function as prepositional element of a manner adjunct whose nominal element denotes a positive manner.

(174) wa ?idaa hakamtum bayna nnaasi ?an tahkumuu bil9adl (4/58)

And if you judge between mankind, you judge justly

9. [+ negative manner], which is assigned to biḡayri 'without' in (175), and indicates its ability to function as prepositional element of a manner

adjunct whose nominal element denotes a negative manner.

(175) wa llaahu yarzuqu man yaṣaaʔu biġayri hisaab (2/212)

Allah gives without stint to whom He will

10. [+ beneficent], which is assigned to li 'for' in (176), and expresses that it can function as prepositional element of Beneficent adjuncts.

(176) wa law basaṬa llaahu rrizqa liʔibaadihi labagaw fi lʔarḌ (42/27)

And if Allah were to enlarge the provision for His slaves, they would surely rebel in the earth

11. [+ purpose], which marks li 'for' in (177), and indicates its ability to function as prepositional element of Purpose adjuncts.

(177) limiṮli haada falyaʔmali lʔaamiluun (37/61)

For the like of this, then, let the workers work

12. [+ place], which is assigned to the following prepositions, and expresses their ability to function as prepositional element of Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation: ʔinda 'before' in (178), bi 'in' in (179), min waraaʔi 'from behind' in (180), tahta 'beneath' in (181), fii 'in' in (182), laday 'before' in (183), and ʔala 'on' in (184).

(178) ʔumma ʔinnakum yawma lqiyaamati ʔinda rabbikum taxṬaSimuun (39/31)

Then surely, on the Day of Resurrection, before your Lord you will dispute

(179) naadaahu rabbuhuu bilwaadi lmuqaddasi Tuwaa (79/16)

His Lord called him in the holy vale of Tuwaa

(180) wa ʔiḍaa saʔaltumuuhunna mataaʔan fasʔaluuhunna min waraaʔi higaab (33/53)

And when you ask of them anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain

(181) ʔid yubaayiʔuunaka tahta ṣṣagarah (48/18)

When they swore allegiance unto you beneath the tree

(182) tamattaʔuu fii daarikum ʔalaaṮata ʔayyaam (11/65)

Enjoy life in your dwelling-place three days

(183) laa taxtaSimuu ladayy (50/28)

Do not contend before Me

(184) sanuSallii 9ala lhaḡiiḡ

We will pray on the grass

13. [+ reason], which is assigned to the following prepositions, and expresses that they are able to function as prepositional element of Reason adjuncts:

li 'because of' in (185), min 'for', in (186), min ḡagli 'for' in (187), and bi 'for' in (188).

(185) ḡinnamaa yuḡwizu ḡahluhaa liḡiḡraafi ḡanfusi lwulaati 9ala lḡamḡ
(ḡibn ḡabii Taalib, IV, 523)

It is because of the souls of the rulers' strive to collect
(money) that its people become poor

(186) wa ḡidaa xalaw 9aDDuu 9alaykumu lḡanaamila mina lḡayZ (3/119)

But when they go apart they bite their finger tips at you,
for rage

(187) min ḡagli ḡaalika katabnaa 9alaa banii ḡisraaḡiila ḡannahuu
man qatala nafsani biḡayri nafsini ḡaw fasaadin fi lḡarDi
fakaḡannamaa qatala nnaasa gamii9aa (5/32)

For that cause We decreed for the children of Israel that whoever
kills a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption
in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind

(188) wa laakin la9anahumu llaahu bikufrihim (4/46)

But Allah has cursed them for their disbelief

14. [+ condition], which marks 9alaa 'on condition' in (189), and expresses its ability to function as prepositional element in Conditional adjuncts.

(189) fahal nag9alu laka xargan 9alaa ḡan tag9ala baynanaa wa
baynahum saddaa (18/94)

So may we pay you tribute on condition that you set a barrier
between us and them?

15. [+ concessive], which is assigned to 9alaa 'despite' in (190), and indicates that it can function as prepositional element in Concessive adjuncts.

- (190) qaala ?abaʒʒartumuunii 9alaa ?an massaniya lkibar (15/54)
 He said: Do you bring me good tidings (of son) despite that
 old age has overtaken me?

It appears from what has been said concerning features such as [+ instrument], [+ manner], etc. that the prepositional elements of the Adjuncts in question (cf. above p.634) might be assigned more than one of these features e.g. biḡayr 'without' in (172) and (175), li 'for' in (176) and (177), 'unto' in (169) and 'because of' in (185), and 9alaa 'on' in (184), 'on condition' in (189) and 'despite' in (190), to which the following features are assigned, respectively.

- (191) biḡayr: [+ negative instrument]/[+ negative manner]
 (192) li: [+ beneficent]/[+ purpose]/[+ ?ilaa-duration]/[+ reason]
 (193) 9alaa: [+ place]/[+ condition]/[+ concessive]

I will regard as a case of polysemy (cf. Bennett, p. 156) that of the aforementioned prepositions. That is, I will regard as one word with two senses 'biḡayr', for example, that has the feature [+ negative instrument] (cf. above (191)) and that which has the feature [+ negative manner] (cf. above (191)).

For the following reasons however, the dictionary will contain more than one lexical entry for a word such as 'biḡayr':

(a) the categorial features of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts may depend on their semantic classes, i.e. on features such as [+ place], [+ condition], etc. For example, the fact that 9alaa 'on condition' in 9ala ?an tag9ala baynanaa wa baynahum saddaa 'on condition that you set a barrier between us and them' (cf. above sentence (189)) and 9ala 'on' in 9ala lhaʒiiʒ 'on the grass' (cf. above (184)) have respectively the

categorial features of (194 - 195) is the result of the former functioning as prepositional element of a Conditional adjunct, i.e. having the feature [+ condition], and of the latter functioning as prepositional element of a Place adjunct, i.e. having the feature [+ place].

(194) [+ — [?an clause]]

(195) [+ — [other than maa-/?an-/?anna clause]]

(b) the selectional features of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts may depend as well on their semantic classes. That the selectional features of *li* 'for' in *li9ibaadihii* 'for His slaves' (cf. above (176)) and *li* 'because of' in *li?i9raafi ?anfusi lwulaati 9ala lgam9* 'because of the souls of the rulers' strive to collect (money)' (cf. above (185)) are different (cf. below: p. 696; 20.2.3.2) is the result of the former having the [+ beneficent], i.e. functioning as prepositional element in a Beneficent adjunct, and of the latter having the feature [+ reason], i.e. functioning as prepositional element in a Reason adjunct.

It should be noted that prepositions functioning as prepositional element in predicative adjuncts or POs may have the same phonological representations as those of the prepositions functioning as prepositional element of prepositionally realized Adjunct. Since the features of the former prepositions are different from those of the latter, however, prepositions functioning as prepositional element in predicative adjuncts or POs will be assigned separate lexical entries. Consequently, the number of lexical entries of prepositions with identical phonological representations will increase. For the lexical entries of the prepositions able to function as prepositional element of prepositionally realized Adjuncts, and of those resembling them phonologically but able to function as prepositional element of POs, see below 20.2.2.2 and 20.2.3; 21.1-2.

For the difference between lexical entries of the prepositions able to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Adjuncts,

and of those able to function as prepositional element of predicative adjuncts, compare for example (196), which is the feature of fi 'at' in (197), i.e. of 'fi' that belongs to the former class of prepositions, with (198), which represents the feature specifications of fi 'in' in (199) and fii 'in' in (200), respectively, i.e. of 'fii' that belongs to the latter class.

(196) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + P, + \text{place}, + [+ V, -\text{stative}] \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{other than maa-/?an-/?anna-} \\ \text{clause, + concrete, +} \\ \text{expressive of a three} \\ \text{dimensional object} \end{array} \right]$
NP

(197) ?uSallii fi lmasgid
I pray at the mosque

(198) (a) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + P \\ + \text{place} \\ + [+ \text{concrete}] \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{other than maa-/?an-/?anna-clause} \\ + \text{concrete} \\ + \text{expressive of a three-dimensional object} \end{array} \right]$
NP NP

(b) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + P \\ + \text{place} \\ + [+ \text{human}] \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{other than maa-/?an-/?anna-clause} \\ - \text{concrete} \\ + \text{interior/} \left[\begin{array}{l} + P \\ + \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{concrete, + expressive} \\ \text{of a three dimensional} \\ \text{object} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
NP NP

(199) ?alkitaabu fi ddurg
The book is in the drawer

(200) ?arragulu fii Dalaal
The man is in error

20.2.2 Co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and adjuncts

20.2.2.1 Foundation

There are two possibilities for stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and the following adjuncts, which are regarded as non-transforms and will be referred to by 'Adjuncts', and 'prepositionally realized Adjuncts' in case their realization is under consideration: Instantive time adjuncts, fii-Duration adjuncts, ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts, Instrument adjuncts, Means adjuncts, Manner adjuncts, Beneficient adjuncts, Purpose adjuncts, Reason adjuncts, Conditional adjuncts and Concessive adjuncts:

1. to state it on main verbs, which is unacceptable for the following reasons:
 - (a) the first reason has to do with the features involved in the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts. These features are grouped into the following categories:
 - (i) features that have to do with verbs as members of general classes rather than as individual lexical items. Examples are the feature specifications of (201 - 202), which have to do with some of the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1); and the feature specifications of (203 - 204), which are respectively related to the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs, and Instrument and Means adjuncts on the one-hand, and Manner adjuncts on the other (cf. above 17.1; 17.2).
 - (201) [- stative, + momentary]
 - (202) [- stative, + durative]
 - (203) [- stative, + expressive of an action]
 - (204) [- stative]
 - (ii) contextual features, i.e. features whose assignment to verbs depends on them being in certain environments. Such features as well are related to verbs in their capacity as members of general classes rather than as individual

lexical items. Examples are (205 - 207), which have to do with some of the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1).

(205) [+ ingressive]

(206) [+ telic]

(207) [- telic]

Stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts on the former category is in contradiction with group (i) and group (ii) of features. For contrary to what is implied by them, it means that the grammaticality of a verb-adjunct combination has nothing to do with the class of the former category. Like the verbal complement of a verb, the adjuncts associating with it will occur in its lexical entry in such a way that the fact that their association with it depends on it having certain features will be left unaccounted for. They - the adjuncts in question - will occur in the lexical entry of the verb as individual lexical items rather than as members of general classes of verbs.

(b) stating the co-occurrence restrictions in question on verbs requires either of the following two things, which is unacceptable: (i) that Adjuncts are sister constituents of V, which is unacceptable, for, as will be indicated (cf. below 22.1-2), they behave differently from verbal complements proper; (ii) that Adjuncts are sister constituents of VP but nevertheless, like verbal complements, constitute part of the linguistic environments in terms of which verbs are subcategorized, which is unacceptable too: it ignores the basis of regarding the phrases functioning as verbal complement as constituting part of the linguistic environments of verbs, and those having one of the Adjunct functions as not constituting such a part, i.e. that the former are in close construction with verbs, while the latter are not.

(c) the third and final reason for the unacceptability of stating the co-

occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts on the former category has to do with their lexical entries. Even if we leave aside the disadvantages related to reasons (a) and (b), stating the co-occurrence restrictions in the way indicated will complicate the lexicon (the lexical entries of verbs will require the use of many optional features), and result in feature duplication. It requires the introduction of features such as [+ — [+ manner]], [+ — [+ time frame]], etc., which means the ability of the verbs in question to associate with Manner and Time frame adjuncts, respectively. And since Adjuncts are optional and a verb can associate with more than one of them, and co-occur with a combination of them per clause, the lexical entries of verbs must be assigned so as to express this optionality and these two possibilities. To explain this consider, for instance, the following sentences:

- (208) ?ihtaraqa lbayt
The house burnt down
- (209) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu fi lwaahidati masaa?aa/lahZata ?an ġarabati
ššams
The house burnt down at one o'clock p.m./the moment the sun set
- (210) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu fi SSabaah
The house burnt down in the morning
- (211) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu fii saa9atayn
The house burnt down in two hours
- (212) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu min ?ihmaali Saahibih
The house burnt down because of the negligence on the part of
his owner
- (213) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu fi SSabaahi bisur9ah
The house burnt down quickly in the morning
- (214) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu fi SSabaahi fii saa9atayn
The house burnt down in the morning in two hours

(215) ?ihtaraqa lbaytu fi SSabaahi min ?ihmaali Saahibih

The house burnt down in the morning because of the negligence
on the part of his owner

In a grammar such as the one in question, i.e. that which states the
co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts on the former category,
the verb ?ihtaraqa 'burn down' will have (216) as its partial lexical entry.

- (216) {
- (a) [+ — [#]
- (b) [+ — { [[+ P
[+ instantive time] [NP]
[+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual]
NP }])
- (c) [+ — [[+ P
[+ time frame] [NP]]])
- (d) [+ — [[+ P
[+ fii-duration] [NP]]])
- (e) [+ — [[+ P
[+ reason] [NP]]])
- (f) [+ — ([[+ P
[+ time frame] [NP]]]) ([[+ P
[+ manner] [NP]]])]
- (g) [+ — ([[+ P
[+ time frame] [NP]]]) ([[+ P
[+ fii-duration] [NP]]])]
- (h) [+ — ([[+ P
[+ time frame] [NP]]]) ([[+ P
[+ reason] [NP]]])]
- }

This accounts for the association of '?ihtaraqa' with no adjuncts as in (208)

(cf. (216)a), and with the following adjuncts as in (209 - 215), respectively:

(i) the Instantive adjunct fi :lwaaahidati masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m./

lahZata ?an garabati \$\$\$ams 'the moment the sun set' (cf. (209) and (216)b.);

(ii) the Time frame adjunct fi SSabaah 'in the morning' (cf. (210) and (216)c);

(iii) the fii-Duration adjunct fii saa9atayn 'in two hours' (cf. (211) and (216)d); (iv) the Reason adjunct min ?ihmaali Saahibih 'because of the negligence on the part of his owner' (cf. (212) and (216)e); (v) the Time frame and the Manner adjunct fii SSabaahi 'in the morning' and bisur9ah 'quickly', respectively (cf. (213) and (216)f); (vi) the Time frame and the fii-Duration adjunct fi SSabaahi 'in the morning' and fii saa9atayn 'in two hours', respectively (cf. (214) and (216)g); (vii) the Time frame and the Reason adjunct fi SSabaahi 'in the morning' and min ?ihmaali Saahibih 'because of the negligence on the part of his owner' (cf. (215) and (216)h).

Needless to say, the complication of (216) is self-evident, and far too complex is a lexicon in which verbs, which are a far too large word class, will be assigned lexical entries with specifications such as those of (216), and others related to their other complements. As for the feature duplication, note, for instance, the feature [+ P, + time frame], which has three duplicates.

2. The second possibility of stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts is to state it on the latter category. Since we are interested in the prepositional realization of Adjuncts, we will examine this possibility only in relation to it.

The nominal elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are not suitable elements for stating the co-occurrence restrictions between Adjuncts and verbs. For the purpose of stating these restrictions is to indicate which prepositionally realized adjuncts associate with which verbs and this cannot be achieved by stating them on the nominal elements. All that can be done by this method of stating the co-occurrence restrictions is to assign nouns features in terms of the verbs with which they associate when functioning as nominal element of prepositionally realized Adjuncts. But in order to show that the nominal elements are to be governed by certain prepositions, as well, their features ought to include something relevant to this fact. This can be done either by (i) assigning the nominal elements

other categorial and selectional features in terms of the prepositions able to govern them or by (ii) regarding the prepositional elements of Adjuncts as constituting part of the categorial features of the verbs accompanying them. Consider, for instance (217 - 218).

(217) Daraba maahiruni SSabiyya bil9aSaa
maahir struck the boy with the stick

(218)a. [+ [+V, - stative, + expressive of action, + — [NP]] —]
b. [+ [+ P, + instrument] —]

(218)a-b are some of the feature specifications of 19aSaa 'the stick' in (217) that are assigned to it according to solution (i). (218)a expresses the class of verbs with which 19aSaa 'the stick' in (217) associates, while (218)b denotes the preposition that is able to govern it. Neither in (218)a nor in (218)b does anything occur related to the fact that Adjuncts such as bil9aSaa 'with the stick', i.e. Instrument adjuncts, co-occur with verbs of doing, i.e. with verbs such as Daraba 'struck' in (217). Even if (218)a is assigned in such a way that the feature '+ — [NP]' will appear to be irrelevant, it will still contain nothing concerning the aforementioned fact. In (219), which is the generalization of (218)a in the way indicated does not occur anything related to the fact that Instrument adjuncts co-occur with verbs of doing regardless of whether they are single transitive verb such as Daraba 'struck' in (217), absolutely used single transitive verbs such as yaDribu 'strikes' in (220), or DOF-PVs such as 9allaqa 'hung' in (221).

(219)
$$\left[+ \left[+ V, - \text{stative}, + \text{expressive of action}, \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ — [NP]} \\ + \text{ — [\#]} \\ + \text{ — [NP 9alaa NP]} \end{array} \right\} \right] \right]$$

(220) yaDribu mudarrisuhum bil9aSaa
Their teacher strikes with the stick

(221) 9allaqa maahiruni SSuurata 9ala lhaa?iTl bil9aSaa
maahir hung the picture on the wall by the stick

Consider on the other hand (222), which is part of the feature specification of 19aSaa 'the stick' in (217) that is assigned to it according to solution (ii) (cf. above p. 647).

$$(222) \left[+ \left[+ V, - \text{stative}, + \text{expressive of action}, + \text{--- [NP]} \left[\begin{array}{l} + P \\ + \text{instru-} \\ \text{ment} \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

It expresses the fact that the verbs with which 19aSaa 'the stick' associates belong to the class of single transitive verbs of doing that are accompanied by a preposition marked with the feature [+ instrument]. However, like (218), it - (222) - contains nothing indicating that Adjuncts such as bil9aSaa 'with the stick' in (217), i.e. Instrument adjuncts, co-occur with verbs of doing. And this is the case even if (222) is generalized along the line of generalizing (218)a.

If the nominal element of a prepositionally realized Adjunct is proved unsuitable for stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts, what is the case if the restrictions are stated on the prepositional element? In fact, the prepositional element is the only possible element on which the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and prepositionally realized Adjuncts could be stated and this is what is to be done in the present work. For stating the co-occurrence restrictions in this way has none of the disadvantages related to stating them either on the verbs or the nominal elements:

(a) in contradistinction to stating the co-occurrence restrictions on verbs, stating them on the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts accounts for the fact that the latter associate with verbs in their capacity as members of general classes rather than as individual lexical items, and, hence, provides us with a basis upon which the grammaticality of a verb-adjunct combination can be shown to be related to the former category's being a member of a certain class. For it will be done in terms of the

features of the verbs that indicate their general classes, i.e. in terms of features such as [+ V, - stative], [+ V, + ingressive], [+ V, + expressive of action], [+ V, - stative, + durative], etc. For examples of prepositional elements that are assigned features in terms of features such as the aforementioned ones, see below 20.2.2.2.

(b) it indicates that prepositionally realized Adjuncts are constrained by verbs, i.e. that verbs constitute their linguistic environments. Hence, it has no association with the following things, which are the unacceptable consequences of stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts on the former category: (i) that Adjuncts are sister constituents of V (cf. above p. 643); (ii) that Adjuncts are sister constituents of VP but nevertheless like verbal complements, constitute part of the linguistic environments in terms of which verbs are subcategorized (cf. above p.643).

(c) unlike stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and Adjuncts on the former category, stating them on the prepositional elements of the latter will not complicate the lexicon, require the use of optional features, or result in duplicate features (cf. above pp.642-6). To being with, unlike the number of verbs as a word class, the number of prepositions able to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Adjuncts is very limited (cf. above 20.2.1). Secondly, in contradistinction to the features assigned to verbs in terms of Adjuncts, those assigned to the prepositional elements of Adjuncts are obligatory. For they are assigned in terms of the features of the verbs, without which they cannot occur. Finally, since the prepositional element of each prepositionally realized adjunct will be assigned selectional features in terms of the features of the verb with which it associates, the fact that a certain verb can be accompanied by a combination of Adjuncts can be accounted for without resulting duplicate features such as those resulting from stating the restrictions on verbs (cf. above p.642): a verb can be accompanied by a

combination of prepositionally realized Adjuncts if the selectional features of the prepositional elements of the latter are compatible with its features.

(d) the fourth advantage of stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and prepositionally realized Adjuncts on the prepositional elements of the latter category has to do with the purpose of stating these restrictions. According to the grammar presented in this thesis, the prepositions able to function as prepositional element of prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be assigned features indicating the category of Adjuncts in which they have such a function, i.e. features such as [+ manner], [+ fii-duration], etc. (cf. above 20.2.1). In contradistinction to stating the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs and prepositionally realized Adjuncts on the nominal elements of the latter (cf. above p.646) stating them on their prepositional elements in terms of the features of verbs as members of general classes will therefore indicate which prepositionally realized Adjuncts associate with which class of verbs, i.e. achieve the purpose of stating the co-occurrence restrictions in question.

Two points remain to be discussed:

1. the first point is related to the selectional features assigned to the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts in terms of the features of the verbs with which they associate, to whether they participate in the formulation of the lexical insertion rules of the prepositions to which they are assigned. Since the prepositional elements of both prepositionally realized Adjuncts and LPOs will be assigned other selectional features in terms of the features of their complements (cf. below 20.2.3; 21.1 , respectively), the same question arises in relation to these selectional features, and, therefore, the answer will be given in (20.2.2.1.1) in relation to both types of selectional features.

2. the second point, which is to be discussed here, is related to the rules introducing the verb contextual features in terms of which some of the

selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are assigned. The point to be discussed is whether these rules operate at the semantic or the syntactic component. There are however other similar contextual features, i.e. features in terms of which other selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are assigned. Examples are the features [+agentive], which is assigned to certain subject NPs (cf. below p.688), and the feature [+interior], which marks certain NPs functioning as nominal elements of Place adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.3.4). Accordingly, the answer will not be confined to the first type of contextual features.

In the grammar of the present work there is a necessity of recognizing a type of lexical rules that, in certain environments, assign certain features to lexical items such as NPs and verbs. These features and the rules assigning them are contextual and feature-introducing rules, respectively. Examples of the latter are the Ingressive-introducing rule, the Agentive-introducing rule and the Inceptive-introducing rule, (briefly, the Ingressive, Agentive and Inceptive rules). Some of these rules are necessary to the application of certain syntactic rules, e.g. the Agentive rule (cf. below p.688), which is necessary to the application of certain lexical redundancy rules and transformations (cf. above 2.2), others are important for the semantic rules, e.g. the Ingressive rule, which is necessary to the projection rules assigning a semantic reading to some of the combinations consisting of verbs and prepositionally realized Instantive time adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.2.2.2) and others are necessary for the reading of some lexical items, e.g. the Inceptive rule, which is necessary to the lexical reading of the verb marked with the feature specification (223) when it is accompanied by an Instantive time adjunct (cf. below 20.2.2.2.2).

(223) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{stative} \\ - \text{ingressive in} \\ \quad ?\text{almaaDii} \\ \quad / \text{being prefixed} \\ \quad \text{by sa/sawf} \end{array} \right]$

As will be indicated below (cf. 20.2.2.1.1), to allow the selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts to participate in the formulation of their lexical insertion rules complicates the grammar. For it requires the interspersing of the feature-introducing rules between lexical insertion rules. In the grammar of the present work, wherein only the categorial features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are allowed to participate in the formulation of their lexical insertion rules (cf. below 20.2.2.1.1), such an interspersing is not required: lexical insertion rules are applied before the application of the feature-introducing rules. The question arises: Where do the latter rules then apply? Do they apply at the syntactic or the semantic component? Or do some of them apply in the former and others in the latter? The answer to this question is as follows. Feature-introducing rules such as the Agentive rule are applied at the syntactic component immediately after the application of lexical insertion rules. For, as indicated above (p.651), the features assigned by them are necessary to the application of some of the rules of this component. On the other hand, feature-introducing rules such as (i) the Ingressive rule and (ii) the Inceptive rule are applied in the semantic component before the application of projection rules. For the features assigned by rules such as (i) are some of the bases upon which projection rules will determine whether the constituents embracing the elements to which they are assigned have derived readings (cf. above p.651) i.e. are semantically non-anomalous,

and those assigned by rules such as (ii) constitute part of the lexical readings of the elements to which they are attributed (cf. above p.651).

20.2.2.1.1 Prepositions and lexical insertion

In the grammar presented in this thesis only the categorial features of prepositions are regarded as representing the linguistic frames into which they are inserted. That is, in the grammar of the present work, the lexical insertion rules of prepositions are formulated in terms of only the categorial features of prepositions.

The category symbol to which prepositional complements belong is NP. Prepositions nevertheless could not be marked with the categorial feature of (224).

(224) [+ — [NP]]

For they differ from one another as to the realization of the NPs they govern. Other categorial features are therefore required.

Here, only the categorial features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be specified. For those of the prepositional elements of POs, see below Chapter Twenty One.

As indicated above (pp.634-9), the following prepositions are those able to function as prepositional element in prepositionally realized Adjuncts:

1. 'fii' that is marked with the feature [+ instantive time] (cf. above p. 634).
2. 'min ba9d' and 'ba9d', which are marked with the feature [+ instantive time] (cf. above p. 634).
3. 'min qabl' and 'qabl', which are marked with the feature [+ instantive time] (cf. above p. 634).
4. 'bi' that is marked with the feature [+ time frame] (cf. above p.635).
5. 'fii' that is marked with the feature [+ time frame] (cf. above p.635).

6. 'fii' that is marked with the feature [+ fii-duration] (cf. above p.635).
7. '?ilaa', which is assigned the feature [+ ?ilaa-duration] (cf. above p.635).
8. 'li' that is marked with the feature [+ ?ilaa-duration] (cf. above p. 635).
9. 'hattaa?', which is assigned the feature [+ ?ilaa-duration] (cf. above p. 635).
10. 'bi' that is marked with the feature [+ positive instrument] (cf. above p. 636).
11. 'biḡayr' that is marked with the feature [+ negative instrument] (cf. above p. 636).
12. 'bi' that is marked with the feature [+ means] (cf. above p.636).
13. 'bi' that is assigned the feature [+ positive manner] (cf. above p. 636).
14. 'biḡayr' that has the feature [+ negative manner] (cf. above p.636).
15. 'li' that is marked with the feature [+ beneficent] (cf. above p.637).
16. 'li' that is assigned the feature [+ purpose] (cf. above p. 637).
17. '9ind', 'min waraa?', 'taht' and 'ladaa', which are marked with the feature [+ place] (cf. above p. 637).
18. 'bi', 'fii' and '9alaa' that are assigned the feature [+ place] (cf. above p. 637).
19. 'li' that has the feature [+ reason] (cf. above p. 638).
20. 'min', which is assigned the feature [+ reason] (cf. above p. 638).
21. 'min ?agl', which has the feature [+ reason] (cf. above p. 638).
22. 'bi' that is marked with the feature [+ reason] (cf. above p. 638).
23. '9alaa' that is assigned the feature [+ condition] (cf. above p. 638).
24. '9alaa' that has the feature [+ concessive] (cf. above p.639).

In terms of the realizations of the NPs governed by them the aforementioned prepositions are grouped into the following types:

(a) the prepositions whose complements can be realized by NPs other than an ?an-/?anna-/maa- clause. Hence, they are marked with the categorial feature (225).

(225) [+ — [other than maa-/?an-/?anna clause]]
NP

These prepositions are those of 1; 4; 5; 6 and 8-21. For examples of the complements of these prepositions, see above sentences (160), (165), (166), (167), (169), (170), (171), (172), (173), (174), (175), (176), (177), (178, 180 - 181, 183), (179, 182, 184), (185), (186), and (187).

(b) the prepositions whose complements can be realized by an ?an- or maa- clause or by NPs other than maa-/?an-/?anna clauses. They are therefore assigned the categorial feature of (226).

(226) [+ — { [?an-/maa- clause]
NP
[other than maa-/?an-/?anna clause]
NP }]

According to the data min ba9d 'after' is the only preposition assigned the categorial feature of (226). For an example of this preposition governing a NP other than a maa-/?an-/?anna- clause, see above sentence (161).

As for examples of its complements that are realized by an ?an- or maa- clause, they are respectively ?an nazaga §§ayTaanu baynii wa bayna ?ixwatii 'Stan had made strife between me and my brothers' in (227), and maa bayyannaahu linnaasi fi lkitaabi 'We had made it clear for the people in the Scripture' in (228).

(227) wa gaa?a bikum mina lbadwi min ba9di ?an nazaga §§ayTaanu
baynii wa bayna ?ixwatii (12/100)

And has brought you from the desert after Satan had made
strife between me and my brothers

- (228) ?inna lla?iina yaktumuuna maa ?anzalnaa mina lbayyinaati
wa lhudaa min ba9di maa bayyannaahu linnaasi fi lkitaabi
?ulaa?ika ya19anuhumu llaah (2/159)

Those who hide the proofs and the guidance which We revealed
after We had made it clear for the people in the Scripture:
such are accursed of Allah

(c) the prepositions whose complements are able to be realized by an
?an-clause or by a NP other than a maa-, ?an- or ?anna- clause. They
are therefore marked with the categorial feature (229).

- (229) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [?an\text{-}clause] \\ NP \\ [other\ than\ maa\text{-}/?an\text{-}/?anna\text{-} clause] \\ NP \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right]$

These prepositions are ba9d 'after', qabl/min qabl 'before', 9alaa
'despite' that is marked with the feature [+ concessive], and ?ilaa 'until'.
For the realization of the prepositional complements of 'ba9d', 'qabl'
and '?ilaa' by NPs other than maa-, ?an-, or ?anna- clauses, see above
sentences (162), (164) and (168), respectively, and for the realization
of the complements of '9alaa', and 'min qabl' by ?an- clause see above
sentences (190) and (163), respectively. As for the other realizations of
the complements of the aforementioned prepositions, they are the following
ones: ?an tuwalluu mudbiriin 'you have gone away and turned your backs' in
(230), ?an ?aadana lakum 'I give you leave' in (231), haadaa 'this' in
(232), Zulmihim 'their wrong' in (233), and ?an ta9uud 'you come
back' in (234).

- (230) wa tallaahi la?akiidanna ?aSnaamakum ba9da ?an tuwalluu
mudbiriin (21/57)

And, by Allah, I shall circumvent your idols after you
have gone away and turned your backs

- (231) qaala fir9awnu ?aamantum bihi qabla ?an ?aadana lakum (7/123)
fir9awn said: You believe in Him before I give you leave
- (232) maa kunta ta9lamuhaa ?anta wa laa qawmuka min qabli haadaa
(11/49)
You and your folk do not know it before this
- (233) ?inna rabbaka yaḡfiru linnaasi 9alaa Zulmihim (cf. 13/6)
Surely, your Lord forgives mankind despite their wrong
- (234) sa?udaakiru ?ilaa ?an ta9uud
I will study until you come back

(d) the preposition whose complement is able to be realized by an ?an- clause; thus, it is marked with the categorial feature (235).

- (235) [+ — [?an- clause]]
NP

According to the data, '9alaa' that is marked with the feature [+ conditional] (cf. above p.638) is the only preposition assigned the feature (235). For an example, see above (189).

(e) the preposition whose complement can be realized by either a maa- clause or a NP other than maa-, ?an-, or ?anna- clause; thus, it is assigned the categorial feature (236).

- (236) [+ — { [maa- clause]
NP
[other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clause]
NP }]

According to the data, 'bi' that is marked with the feature [+ reason] (cf. above p.638), is the only preposition assigned the feature (236). For the realization of the complement of 'bi' by a NP other than a maa-/?an-/?anna- clause, see above (188). As for the other realization, it is maa kuntum takfuruun 'for the fact that you disbelieved' in (237).

- (237) faḡuuqu l9adaaba bimaa kuntum takfuruun (3/106)
So, taste the punishment for the fact that you disbelieved

Since as indicated above (p.653), the lexical insertion rules of prepositions will be formulated in terms of only their categorial features, i.e. in terms of features such as (225-226; 229;235-6), prepositionally realized Adjuncts generated by the syntactic component will be only those whose prepositional elements have categorial features which are not in conflict with the realization of their nominal elements. Accordingly, sentences such as (238) are ungrammatical or, more precisely, are unsyntactic (cf. Radford, p. 10).

(238) *sa?axrugu ma9aka lyawma 9alaa ziyaaratii ġadaa

I will go out with you today on condition of visiting me
tomorrow

For it contains the PP 9alaa ziyaaratii ġadaa 'on condition of visiting me tomorrow', whose relation to ?axrugu '(I) go out' is analogous with the relation of the PP 9alaa ?an tazuuranii ġadaa 'on condition that you visit me tomorrow' to the same verb in (239).

(239) sa?axrugu ma9aka lyawma 9alaa ?an tazuuranii ġadaa

I will go out with you today on condition that you visit me
tomorrow

But while (235), which is the categorial feature of the prepositional elements of both PPs, is in conflict with the realization of the nominal element of the former PP, it is compatible with the realization of the nominal element of the latter.

As for whether the selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts conflict with the features of their nominal elements or the features of the verbs with which they associate, it is met at the semantic component. There, prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be marked by projection rules as nonanomalous, if the selectional features of their prepositional elements are not in contradiction with the features of their nominal elements; otherwise, they will be marked as anomalous.

The same thing happens in relation to the other combinations embracing prepositionally realized Adjuncts, i.e. verb-preposition-noun combinations: if the selectional features of the prepositional elements conflict with the features of the verbal elements, the combinations will be marked by projection rules as being anomalous; otherwise, they will be marked as nonanomalous.

But why is it chosen to formulate the lexical insertion rules of prepositions in terms of their categorial features rather than in terms of both their categorial and selectional features? The answer to this question is as follows:

1. the first reason has to do with the nominal elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts that are thought of as being elliptical. For examples, consider the following sentences.

(240) liyaġiiZa bihimu lkuffaar (48/29)

That He may enrage the disbelievers with them

(241) wa ?in yakaadu lladiina kafaruu layuzliqunaka bi?abSaarihim
lamma? sami9u ddiikr (68/51)

And surely, those who disbelieve would fain disconcert you
with their eyes when they hear the Reminder

(242) gaahada rrasuulu lkaafiriina bilqur?aani gihaadan kabiiraa
(cf. 25/52)

The messenger strove against the disbelievers with the Koran
with a great endeavour

(243) laa tanfiruu fi lharr (9/81)

Do not go forth in the heat

(244) ?inna lladiina yax?awna rabbahum bilġaybi lahum maġfiratun
wa ?agrun kabiir (67/12)

Surely, those who fear their Lord in secret, theirs will be
forgiveness and a great reward

- (245) yas?aluunaka 9ani lmahiiDi qul huwa ?adan fa9tazilu
nnisaa?a fi lmahiiD (2/222)

They question you concerning menstruation. Say it is an illness, so let women alone in their menstruation

- (246) wa hiina taDa9uuna 9iyaabakum mina ZZahhirah (24/58)

And when you lay aside your raiment for noon

The nominal elements of the following adjuncts ought to be analysed as elliptical NPs: the Means adjuncts bihimu 'with them' in (240), bi?abSaarihim 'with their eyes' in (241), and bilqur?aani 'with the Koran' in (242), the Time frame adjuncts fi lharr 'in the heat' in (243), bilgaybi 'in secret' in (244) and fi lmahiiD 'in their menstruation' in (245) and the Reason adjunct mina ZZahhirah 'for noon' in (246).

If the nominal elements of the aforementioned adjuncts are not analysed in the way indicated, the PPs in which they occur, which are indisputably well-formed, will be regarded as being ill-formed both in the grammar wherein selectional restrictions are conceived of as being semantic, e.g. the grammar presented by the present work, McCawley's (1968) and Jackendoff's (1972), and that in which they are perceived of as being syntactic, e.g. the grammar presented by Chomsky in 'Aspects'. For their features will be then incompatible with the selectional features of the prepositional elements governing them: (247-253), which are the feature specifications of the nominal elements in question, contradict the selectional features of the prepositions governing them. (For the latter features, see below 20.2.3.2; 20.2.3.3.2.)

- (247) himu: [+ human] (cf. sentence (240))
NP

- (248) ?abSaari: [+ concrete] (cf. sentence (241))
NP

- (249) lqur?aani: [+ concrete] (cf. above (242))
NP

- (250) lharr: [- concrete] (cf. above (243))
NP
- (251) lġaybi: [- concrete] (cf. above (244))
NP
- (252) lmahiid: [- concrete] (cf. above (245))
NP
- (253) ZZahhirah: [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual]
NP
(cf. above (246))

To avoid this unacceptable consequences, the nominal elements in question should be analysed in such a way that they could be assigned features compatible with those of the prepositions governing them: they are to be regarded as being incorporated within NPs whose heads are capable of being assigned such features, i.e. as elliptical NPs. Accordingly, they could be thought of as having the meanings indicated in (254 - 260).

- (254) himu 'them' = ?izdiyaadihim fi l9adadi wa lquwwah 'their increase in number and strength' (cf. above (240))
- (255) ?abSaarihim 'their eyes' = naZaraati l9adaawati fii ?abSaarihim 'the sights of hostility in their eyes' (cf. above (241))
- (256) lqur?aani 'the Koran' = baraahini/?aayaati lqur?aan 'the proofs/the verses of the Koran' (cf. above (242))
- (257) lharr 'the heat' = waqti lharri 'the time of heat' (cf. above (243))
- (258) lġaybi 'secret' = waqti lġayb 'the time of bieng away from' (cf. above (244))
- (259) lmahiid 'their menstruation' = waqti lmahiid 'the time of their menstruation' (cf. above (245))
- (260) ZZahhirah 'noon' = harri ZZahhirah 'the heat of noon' (cf. above (246))

How this analysis can be accommodated within the grammar wherein

selectional restrictions are conceived of as being semantic and that in which they are perceived of as being syntactic provides us with one of the criteria against which both grammar can be evaluated, and, hence, with one of the bases upon which a judgement can be made concerning the question of whether the selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be taken into account in formulating their lexical insertion rules. It is my own view that it is within a grammar such as the one presented in this thesis, which does not allow the selectional features of prepositions to participate in formulating their lexical insertion rules, that the analysis in question can be accommodated. For accommodating them within the grammar in which the lexical insertion rules of prepositions are assigned in terms of both their categorial and selectional features will create a vicious circle problem.

The nominal elements such as himu 'them' in (240) will be assigned features so as to be in agreement with the prepositions governing them. These features depend on these elements functioning as prepositional complement of these prepositions. Within the grammar formulating the lexical insertion rules of prepositions in terms of their categorial and selectional features such an analysis will therefore result in a vicious circle problem. For example, that himu 'them' in (240) means ?izdiyaadihim fi l9adadi wa lquwwah 'their increase in number and strength', i.e. is thought of as being incorporated in a NP whose head is marked with the feature (261) depends upon it being a complement of a preposition marked with the feature (262).

$$(261) \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{concrete} \\ + \text{ means}/[+ \text{ means}] \text{---} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} \text{---} \text{P}$$

$$(262) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{---} \text{NP} \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{concrete} \\ + \text{ means}/[+ \text{ means}] \text{---} \end{array} \right] \text{P} \end{array} \right]$$

Accordingly to say that bi(himu) with '(them)' in (240) is inserted by a lexical rule that is formulated in terms of its categorial and selectional features is a vicious circle: bi 'with' is inserted before himu 'them' because (263) and (262), which are its categorial and selectional feature, are compatible with (261), the feature specification of the NP into which 'himu' them is incorporated.

(263) [+ — [other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clause]]
NP

And himu 'them' is perceived of as being marked with (261), which includes the feature specifying the selectional feature of bi 'with', for it is governed by it.

In the grammar of the present work on the other hand, such a vicious circle does not occur. For in its capacity as a selectional feature of a prepositional element of a prepositionally realized adjunct (262) has nothing to do with the lexical insertion of bi(himu) 'with (them)' in (240).

As for marking as being non-anomalous PPs such as bihimu 'with them' in (240), i.e. those whose nominal elements are considered to be elliptical (cf. above sentences 240 - 246), it can be dealt with in two ways.

(a) the first way is that referred to by MacCawley (cf. MacCawley, pp. 130 - 33; p. 136), who also conceives of selectional restrictions as being semantic. For MacCawley, elliptical NPs could be thought of as derived lexical items, i.e. as lexical items that need 'not appear in the lexicon of' (ibid., p. 130) the language. For their 'presence in a language is predictable from other lexical items' (ibid., p. 131). For example, according to him, a NP such as himu 'them' in (240), which means ?izdiyaadihim fi l9adadi wa lquwwah 'their increase in number and strength' or manZarihim 'the sight of them', could be regarded as being derived from 'himu' referring to persons (ibid., p. 131).

The rules deriving elliptical NPs such as himu 'them' in (240), which

does not refer to persons, from that which refers to them must, of course, take into consideration the linguistic context in which the former occurs, i.e. the features of the preposition governing it. For it is this context which imposes on it a reading that is compatible with the selectional features of the preposition governing it. Accordingly, NPs such as the former 'himu' will be derived from the latter in such a way that its features will be compatible with those of the preposition governing it. The exact meanings of the elliptical nominal elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts may, however, depend on things other than the prepositions governing them. Examples are linguistic structures larger than the sentence, which are called by Halliday and Hasan 'the discourse structure' (cf. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, p. 10), and the context of situation. The rules deriving the elliptical nominal elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are therefore not always to be assigned so as to express their exact meanings: I know of no way of incorporating knowledge related to the discourse structure or the context of situation into a lexical rule such as that envisaged to derive elliptical nominal elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts. Consider, for instance, the nominal elements himu 'them' in (240), waladihaa 'her child' in (264), and lharr 'the heat' in (243), which respectively mean: 'their increase in number and strength' (cf. ?azzamaxšarii, III, 143), 'to give her child to his father to make him suffer by bringing him up' (cf. ?ibn kaθiir, I, 212), and 'the time of heat'.

(264) laa tuDaarra waalidatun biwaladihaa (2/233)

A mother should not cause suffering by her child

There are differences between the aforementioned nominal elements as to the bases upon which they are so interpreted. The bases of the first and the second nominal elements are respectively the discourse structure and the context of situation. Accordingly, if these elements are regarded as

derived lexical items, the lexical rules deriving them will not be able to indicate their exact meanings. For, as indicated above (p.664) it is not known how to incorporate into such rules knowledge related to the discourse structure, or the context of situation that helps determine the exact meanings of the nominal elements in question. All that such rules can indicate is that the nominal elements marked with (265) are turned into others marked with (261), when they are governed by a preposition marked with (262), as indicated by (266).

(265) [+ human]

(266) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + human \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - concrete \\ + means/ \\ \{ + means \} \\ P \end{array} \right] \left[+ P, + \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} - concrete \\ + means/ \\ \{ + means \} \\ P \end{array} \right] \text{---} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} NP \\ P \end{array} \right]$

As for the basis upon which the meaning of the last nominal element, lharr 'the heat' in (243), is determined, it is the fact that it is governed by a preposition marked with (267).

(267) $\left[+ \text{---} \left[+ time, - measure, + period \right] \right]$
NP

Such a basis could be incorporated into the rules deriving nominal elements such as lharr 'the heat' in (243), if they are thought of as derived lexical items, i.e. the rules deriving them could be assigned so as to express their exact meanings, as indicated by (268).

(268) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ - concrete \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + time \\ - measure \\ + period \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ - concrete \end{array} \right] \left[+ P, + \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} + time \\ - measure \\ + period \\ NP \end{array} \right] \text{---} \right]$

(b) the second way of marking as being non-anomalous prepositionally realized Adjuncts whose nominal elements are regarded as being elliptical (cf. above pp. 659 - 64) does not make use of assigning their nominal elements features in such a way that they will be compatible with

the prepositional elements. Instead, in the semantic component there will be semantic rules associated with the categories to which such Adjuncts belong. The purpose of these rules is to account for the fact that these adjuncts are semantically well-formed, though the features of their nominal elements seem to be in conflict with the selectional features of their prepositional ones. For example, there will be a semantic rule associating with prepositionally realized Means adjuncts that account for the semantic well-formedness of PPs such as bihimu 'with them' in (240), and biwaladihaa 'by her child' in (264), i.e. a rule that says that the nominal element of a prepositionally realized Means adjunct that is marked with the feature [+ human] will be regarded as being incorporated into a NP whose head features are compatible with the selectional features of the prepositional element. As for the exact NPs in which such a nominal element is incorporated, it will be provided by the context of situation, e.g. the NP incorporating waladihaa 'her child' in (264), the discourse structure, e.g. the NP incorporating himu 'them' in (240), or by the immediate linguistic environment, i.e. the selectional feature of the prepositional element, e.g. the NP incorporating lharr 'the heat' in (243).

The advantage of solution (b) (cf. above p. 665) is that it is able to accommodate prepositionally realized adjuncts such as bihimu 'with them' in (240), and biwaladihaa 'by her child' in (264), i.e. the adjuncts the exact meanings of whose nominal elements depend on the discourse structure and the context of situation, respectively. Its disadvantage on the other hand is that it neglects a formal rule such as (268), which both accounts for the semantic well-formedness of the Time frame adjunct fi lharr 'in the heat' in (243), and determines the exact meaning of its nominal element. In the grammar of the present work therefore the semantic well-formedness of PPs such as bihimu 'with them' in (240) and biwaladihaa 'by her child' in (264) will be accounted for according to solution (b),

On the other hand, the semantic well-formedness of a PP such as *fi lharr 'in the heat'* in (243) will be accounted for according to solution (a).

2. The second reason for choosing to formulate the lexical insertion rules of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts in terms of their categorial features rather than in terms of both their categorial and selectional features has to do with the grammar's simplicity. If the lexical insertion rules of these prepositional elements are formulated in terms of both their categorial and selectional features, the grammar will become complicated. For such an analysis will require the further ordering between lexical insertion rules, and the interspersing of the feature-introducing rules between them. It requires the further ordering between the lexical insertion rules of verbs and nouns on the one hand, and those of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts, on the other. The former must apply before the latter. For, as indicated above (cf. p.648) and as will be indicated below (p. 692), the selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are determined on the basis of both their nominal elements and the verbs with which they associate. It requires on the other hand the interspersing of the feature-introducing rules between lexical insertion rules for the following reason. As indicated above (p. 651) and as will be indicated below (20.2.2.2), some of the verb features in terms of which some of the selectional features of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts are determined are contextual i.e. features introduced by the feature-introducing rules, e.g. the features of (269) (cf. below 20.2.2.2.2).

(269) a. [+ ingressive]

b. [+ progressive]

c. [+ telic]

Accordingly, the feature-introducing rules associating with such features

(cf. below 20.2.2.2.2) must assign them to verbs before the insertion of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts, and after the insertion of verbs and all the elements necessary for formulating them, e.g. the auxiliary *kaan* 'be' (cf. below p. 674).

In the grammar of the presnet work on the other hand there will be need for neither the aforementioned further ordering between the lexical insertion rules of prepositions and those of verbs, nor for the interspersing of the feature-introducing rules between lexical insertion rules. For the lexical insertion rules of prepositions are formulated in terms of their categorial features (cf. above p. 653), and therefore they have to do with neither those inserting verbs nor with the verbs contextual features, i.e. they could apply before or after the lexical insertion rules of verbs and before or after assigning them - the verbs - their contextual features in terms of which some of the selectional features of the prepositional elements of Adjuncts are determined. Since, however, the lexical insertion rules of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are formulated in terms of the categorial features of their nominal elements, the further ordering between them - the lexical insertion rules - and those of the nominal elements are still required: the latter apply before the former.

3. The third reason for allowing only the categorial features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts to participate in formulating their lexical insertion rules has to do with combinations such as the following ones, which consist of durative non-stative verbs and Instantive time adjuncts: *sayudaakiru fi lwaahidati masaa?aa* 'will study at one o'clock p.m.' in (270), *sayuqaatilu fii muntaSafi llayl* 'will fight at midnight' in (271) *rakaDa fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa* 'ran at one o'clock a.m.' in (272), and *yugannii fi 00aaniyati masaa?aa* 'sings at

two o'clock p.m.' in (273).

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

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

(271) sayuqaatilu lgay9u l9aduwwa fi muntaSafi llayl

The army will fight the enemy at midnight

(272) rakaDa maahirun fi lwaahidati Sabaahaa

maahir ran at one o'clock a.m.

(273) yu9annii xaalidun fi 00aaniyati masaa?aa

xaalid sings at two o'clock p.m.

The point to be discussed is how to account for the well-formedness of the aforementioned combinations. In the grammar of the present work they can be accounted for on two bases: (i) that the selectional features of the prepositional elements of their Instantive time adjuncts are compatible with the features of their verbals elements (cf. below 20.22.2.2): (ii) that the contextual feature [+ inceptive], which is assigned to their verbal elements by a feature-introducing rule (cf. below p.676) and does not constitute one of the features in terms of which the selectional features of the prepositional elements of their Instantive time adjuncts are specified, is compatible with the fact that their verbal elements express the starting-points of the actions they denote.

The reason why the feature [+ inceptive] does not participate in specifying the selectional features of the prepositional elements of the Instantive time adjuncts of the combinations in question is that these adjuncts constitute part of the context in which the verbal elements of these combinations are assigned this feature. Accordingly, for the feature [+ inceptive] to participate in specifying the selectional features of these prepositional elements would create a vicious circle problem: the verbal elements of the combinations in question are assigned the feature [+ inceptive] for they occur in a linguistic context part of

which is an instantive time adjunct, and their Instantive time adjuncts associate with their verbal elements, for the selectional features of the prepositional elements of the former are compatible with the features of the latter, which include the feature [+ inceptive].

In the grammar that allows the selectional features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts to participate in their lexical insertion rules, the well-formedness of the combinations under discussion (cf. above p.669) must be accounted for, on the other hand, within the syntactic component. The lexical insertion rules of the prepositional elements of these combinations must be assigned so as to show that their Instantive time adjuncts are compatible with their verbal elements, i.e. that the selectional features of the prepositional elements of the former are compatible with the features of the latter. This can be done either with or without allowing the feature [+ inceptive] of the verbal elements to participate in specifying the lexical insertion rules of the prepositional elements. The first choice is compatible with the principle that with reference to the combinations consisting of verbs and prepositionally realized Adjuncts in the grammar in question, all the features of their verbal elements that have to do with their well-formedness must be allowed to participate in specifying the lexical insertion rules of the prepositional elements of their Adjuncts. As indicated above (p. 669), this choice is unacceptable: it creates the vicious circle problem referred to above.

The second choice, on the other hand, is incompatible with the principle referred to above. Therefore, though it avoids the creation of the vicious circle, for it does not allow the feature [+ inceptive], which is connected with it, to participate in formulating the lexical insertion of the prepositional elements, it does not in fact explain why the combinations in question (cf. above p. 669) are well-

formed. For as indicated above (p. 669), the well-formedness of these combinations depends on their verbal elements expressing the starting-points of the actions they denote, i.e. on them being perceived of as having the feature [+ inceptive], which is quite the opposite of the choice in question.

4. The fourth and final reason of allowing only the categorial features of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts to participate in their lexical insertion rules is connected with the preventing of the syntactic component from duplicating what is to be done in the semantic component by projection rules (cf. MacCawley, p. 135). In the syntactic component of the grammar that allows the selectional features of the prepositional elements to participate in their lexical insertion rules, these rules are the bases upon which the combinations consisting of verbs and prepositionally realized Adjuncts will be judged as to whether or not they violate the selectional restrictions: whereas those that conflict with the lexical insertion rules are regarded as violating the selectional restrictions, and, hence, as being ill-formed, those that do not are regarded as not violating them, and, therefore, as being well-formed. But this is exactly what is to be done by projection rules in the semantic component. If the combination consisting of a verb and a prepositionally realized adjunct does not violate the selectional restrictions, it will be assigned a reading by the projection rules, i.e. marked as being well-formed. If on the other hand, it violates the selectional restrictions, it will be assigned no reading, i.e. regarded as being ill-formed.

In the grammar of the present work on the other hand such a duplication does not occur. In this grammar, the lexical insertion rules of the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Adjuncts are formulated in terms of only the categorial features of these elements. Accordingly, the syntactic component has nothing to do with whether or not the combination

consisting of a verb and a prepositionally realized adjunct violates the selectional restrictions.

20.2.2.2 Stating the restrictions

It is indicated above that there is no co-occurrence restriction between verbs and Reason, Conditional and Concessive adjuncts. Accordingly, what concerns us here is to specify, in terms of the verb features, the selectional features of the prepositional elements of the remaining non-transformed adjuncts, i.e. Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation (cf. above 16.3), Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above 15.1), Time frame adjuncts (cf. above 15.2), fii-Duration adjuncts (cf. above 15.3), ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts (cf. above 15.3), Instrument adjuncts (cf. above 17.1), Means adjuncts (cf. above 17.1), Manner adjuncts (cf. above 17.2), Beneficient adjuncts (cf. above 17.3), and Purpose adjuncts (cf. above 17.4).

20.2.2.2.1 Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation

It is explained above (p. 637) that the prepositions 9ind 'before' bi 'in', min waraa? 'from behind', taht 'beneath', fii 'in', ladaa 'before' and 9alaa 'on' are marked with the feature [+ place], which expresses their ability to function as prepositional element of Place adjuncts with no temporal interpretation. These prepositions are marked also with the feature (274), which indicates the verbs with which they associate (cf. above 16.3).

$$(274) \left[+ \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{Stative} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

20.2.2.2.2 Instantive time adjuncts

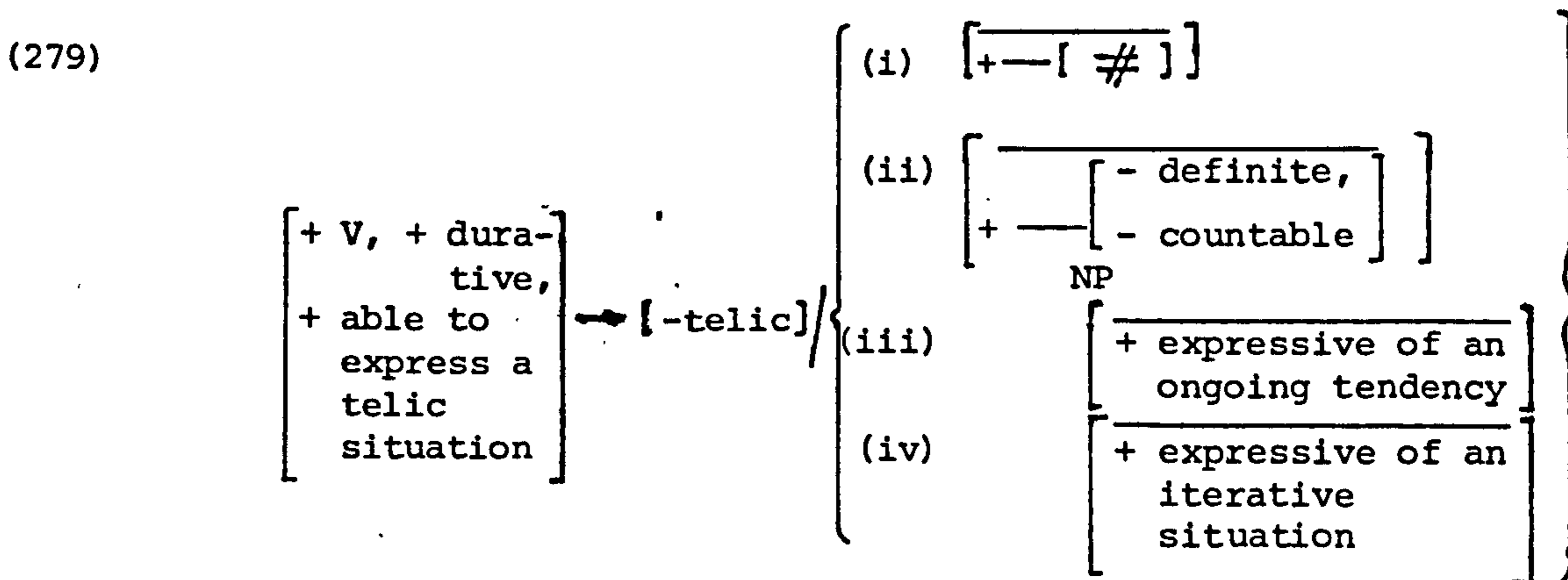
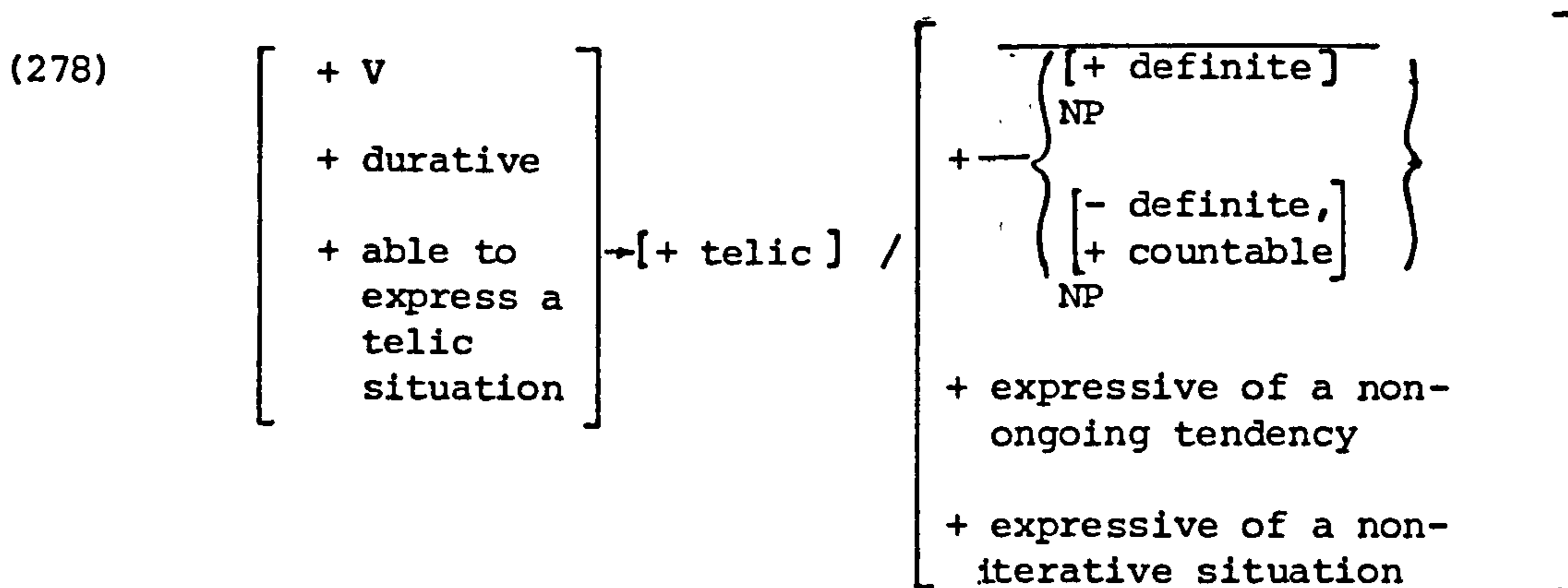
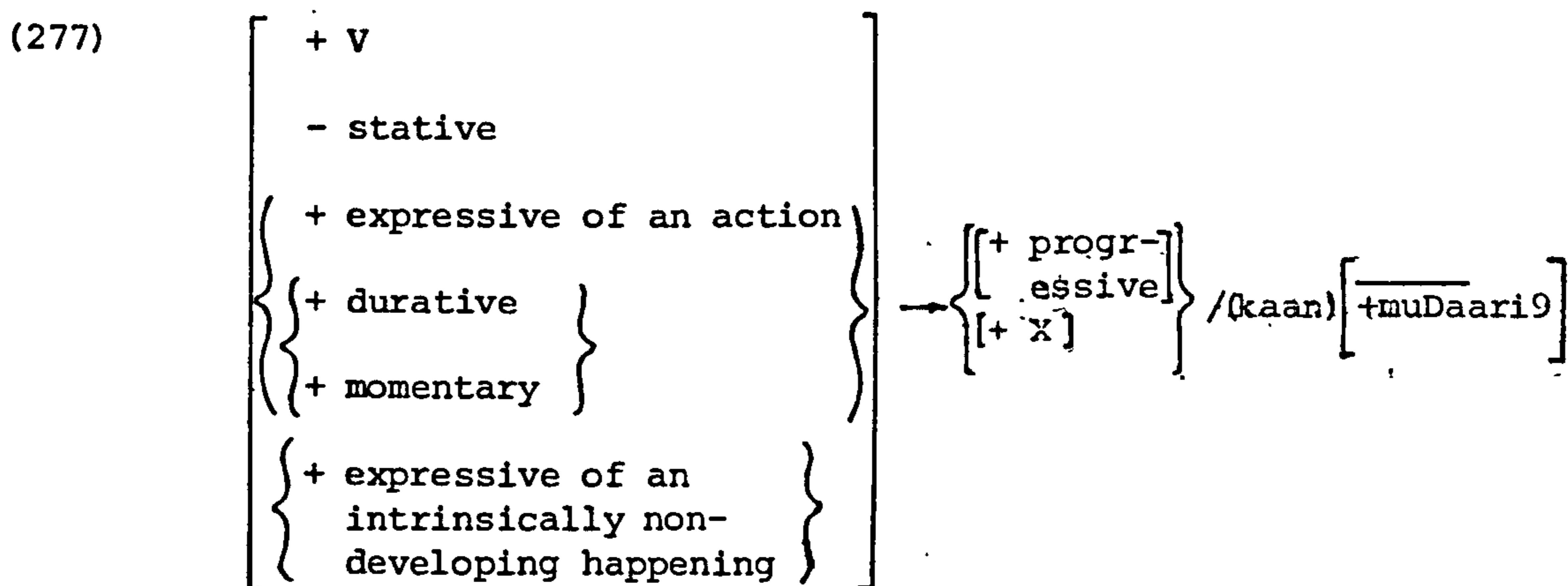
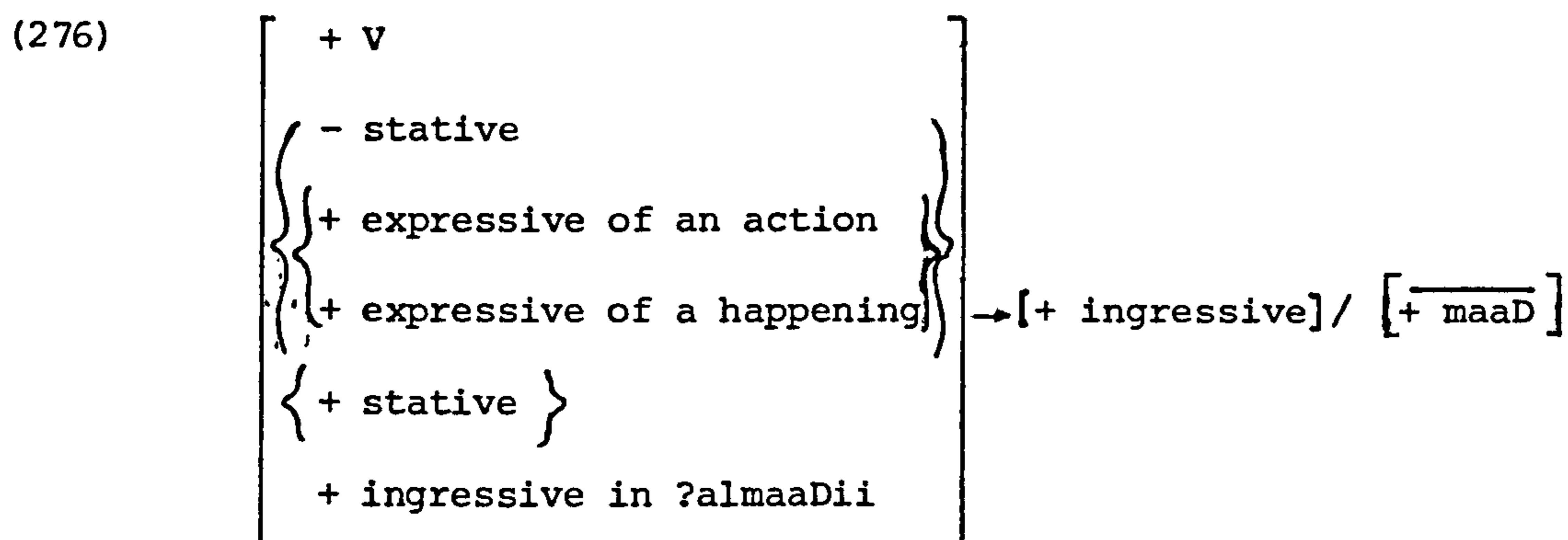
It is indicated above (p. 634) that the prepositions fii 'at', min ba9d/ba9d 'after' and min qabl/qabl 'before' are assigned the feature [+ instantive time], which expresses their ability to function as prepositional element of Instantive time adjuncts. These prepositions are

assigned also the features (275)a - i, which show the verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts can co-occur (cf. above 15.1).

- (275) {
- a. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ingressive} \\ + \text{ingressive in} \\ \text{?almaadii} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$
 - b. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V, + \text{progressive} \\ + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{expressive of an action} \\ + \text{expressive of an intrinsically} \\ \text{non-developing happening} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$
 - c. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{momentary} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$
 - d. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{expressive of an achievement} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$
 - e. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{bada?} \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{durative} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{---}$
 - f. $\left[+ \text{sa/sawfa} \left[+ V, - \text{stative}, + \text{durative}, + \text{telic} \right] \text{---} \right]$
 - g. $\left[+ \left[+ V, - \text{stative}, + \text{durative}, + \text{telic}, + \text{maad} \right] \text{---} \right]$
 - h. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \left[\begin{array}{l} + V, - \text{stative}, + \text{durative}, - \text{telic}, + \text{maad} \\ + \text{muDaari9} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{---}$
 - i. $\left[+ \left[+ V, + \text{stative} \right] \text{---} \right]$

It should be noted firstly that the aforementioned feature specifications involve the following contextual features: [+ ingressive] (cf. (275)a), [+ progressive] (cf. above (275)b), [+ telic] (cf. above (275) f-g), and [- telic] (cf. above (275) f and h). These features belong to the class that is necessary to the application of projection rules (cf. above p.651). Hence, as indicated above (p. 652), they are to be assigned to the appropriate verbs by features-introducing rules before the application of projection rules. The rules assigning them are

(276-279) (cf. above 15.1) and are called 'A' Ingressive rule, 'A' Progressive rule, Telic rule and Atelic rule, respectively.



Secondly, consider the feature specifications of (280 - 283).

(280)	sa/sawf	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{ stative} \\ + \text{ durative} \\ \pm \text{ telic} \end{array} \right]$	(281)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{ stative} \\ + \text{ durative} \\ \left. \begin{array}{l} + \text{ maad} \\ + \text{ muDaari9} \end{array} \right\} \\ - \text{ telic} \end{array} \right]$
(282)		$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{ stative} \\ + \text{ durative} \\ + \text{ telic} \\ + \text{ maad} \end{array} \right]$	(283)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{ stative} \end{array} \right]$

The lexical readings of some of the verbs in terms of which the feature specifications of (275) are specified are influenced by these verbs being accompanied by Instantive time adjuncts:

(i) the verbs marked with the feature specifications (280 - 281) (cf. above (275)f and h) express the starting-points of the actions they denote (cf. above 15.1.5).

(ii) the verbs assigned the feature specification (282) (cf. above (275)g) denote the attainment of the terminal points of the situations they express (cf. above 15.1.5).

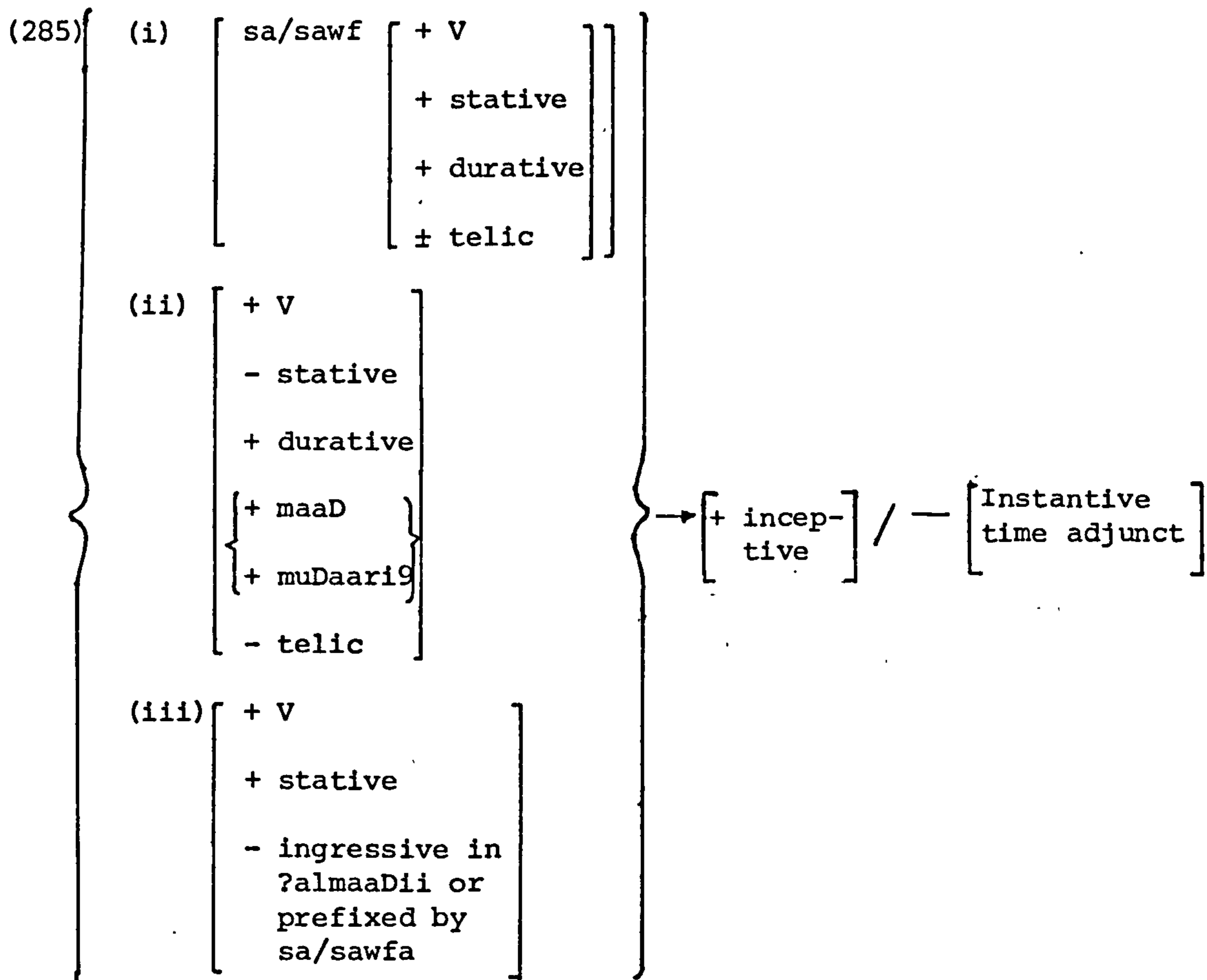
(iii) depending respectively on whether they are marked with the feature [\pm ingressive in ?almaaDii or being prefixed by sa/sawf], the verbs marked with the feature specification (283) (cf. above (275)i) express either entry into a state or the starting-points of the states they denote (cf. above 15.1.6).

Accordingly, feature-introducing rules must assign verbs such as those marked with one of (280 - 283) features that express the changes their

lexical readings have undergone. The verbs assigned the feature specification (280) or (281), or (283) provided they are assigned the feature [- ingressive in ?almaaDii or being prefixed by sa/sawf] will be marked with (284).

(284) [+ inceptive]

The rule assigning (284), which is called 'A' inceptive rule is (285).



On the other hand, the verbs marked with the feature specification (282), or (283) provided they have the feature [+ ingressive in ?almaaDii/being prefixed by sa/sawf] will respectively be assigned the features (286 - 287).

(286) [+ completive]

(287) [+ ingressive]

The rules assigning (286 - 287) are (288 - 289), and are called completive and 'B' ingressive rule, respectively.

(288) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ - \text{stative} \\ + \text{durative} \\ + \text{telic} \\ + \text{maaD} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{completive}] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Instantive} \\ \text{time adjunct} \end{array} \right]$

(289) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \text{stative} \\ + \text{ingressive in} \\ \text{?almaaDii/being} \\ \text{prefixed by} \\ \text{sa/sawfa} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{ingressive}] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Instantive} \\ \text{time adjunct} \end{array} \right]$

It should be noted that since rules (285; 288-289) are necessary to lexical readings, they apply at the semantic component before projection rules (cf. above p.652).

20.2.2.2.3 Time frame adjuncts

It is indicated above (cf. p.635) that the prepositions bi 'in/by' and fii 'in' are marked with the feature [+ time frame], which expresses that they are able to function as prepositional element of Time-frame adjuncts. These prepositions are also marked with the feature specifications of (290), which indicate the verbs with which they can co-occur (cf. above 15.2).

(290) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \text{stative} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{(b) } \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \text{momentary} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{(c) } \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \text{progressive} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{(d) } \left[\begin{array}{l} + v \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ingressive} \\ + \text{ingressive in ?almaaDii} \\ \text{or being prefixed by} \\ \text{sa/sawf} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$

- (e) $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ bad?} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ V} \\ - \text{ stative} \\ + \text{ durative} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \end{array} \right]$
- (f) $[+ \text{ sa/sawfa } [+ \text{ V, - stative, + durative, } \pm \text{ telic}] \text{---}]$
- (g) $[+ [+ \text{ V, - stative, + durative, + telic, + maad }] \text{---}]$
- (h) $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ V, - stative, + durative, - telic,} \\ + \text{ maad/+muDaari9} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \end{array} \right]$
- (i) $[+ [+ \text{ V, + expressive of an achievement }] \text{---}]$

It should be noted firstly that, like the feature specifications of (275), those of (290) involve the contextual features [+ progressive] (cf. above (290)c), [+ ingressive] (cf. above (290)d), [+ telic] (cf. above (290)f-g), and [- telic] (cf. above (290)f;h). The last three features are assigned to the appropriate verbs by rules (276; 278-279), respectively. As for the first one, it is assigned by (291), which is the 'B' progressive rule.

- (291) $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ V, - stative,} \\ + \text{ expressive of an} \\ \text{intrinsically} \\ \text{developing} \\ \text{happening} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ progr-} \\ \text{essive} \end{array} \right] / (\text{kaan}) \left[+ \text{ muDaari9} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{qalilan} \\ \text{qalila} \\ \text{type of} \\ \text{adjuncts} \end{array} \right]$

Secondly, consider the feature specifications of (292 - 294).

- (292) $[+ \text{ V, + stative}]$
- (293) $[\text{sa/sawfa } [+ \text{ V, - stative, + durative, } \pm \text{ telic}]]$
- (294) $[+ \text{ V, - stative, + durative, - telic, + maad/muDaari9}]$

The lexical readings of some of the verbs in terms of which the feature specifications of (290) are specified are influenced by these verbs being accompanied by Time frame adjuncts:

- (i) depending on whether they are marked with the feature [\pm ingressive in

?almaaDii/being prefixed by sa/sawf], the verbs marked with the feature specification (292) (cf. above (290)a) express either entry into a state or the starting-points of the states they denote.

(ii) the verbs marked with the feature specification (293) (cf. above (290)f), or (294) (cf. above (290)h) may express the starting -points of the actions they denote (cf. above pp. 365-8).

Verbs such as those marked with one of (292 - 294) will therefore be assigned features that express the changes their lexical readings have undergone:

(i) provided they are marked with the feature [+ ingressive in ?almaaDii/being prefixed by sa/sawfa], the verbs having the feature specification (292) will be assigned the feature (295) by (296), which is the 'C' ingressive rule.

(295) [+ ingressive]

(296) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+ V, + stative,} \\ \text{+ ingressive in ?almaaDii/} \\ \text{being prefixed by} \\ \text{sa/sawf} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \text{[+ingressive] / — [Time frame} \\ \text{adjunct}]$

(ii) when having the feature [- ingressive in ?almaaD/being prefixed by sa/sawf], the verbs marked with the feature specification (292) are assigned the feature (297) by (298), which is 'the B inceptive rule'.

(297) [+ inceptive]

(298) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+ V, + stative,} \\ \text{- ingressive in ?almaaDii} \\ \text{or being prefixed by} \\ \text{sa/sawf} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \text{[+ inceptive] / — [Time frame} \\ \text{adjunct}]$

(iii) the verbs marked with the feature specification (293) or (294) may be assigned (297) by (299), 'the 'C' inceptive rule'.

(299)	{	sa/sawfa	[+ V, - stative,]	} → ([+ inceptive]) / -	[Time]
				+ durative, † telic				frame	
				+ V, - stative,				adjunct	
				+ durative,					
				- telic, + maaD/					
				+ muDaari9					

It goes without saying that since the features (295) and (297) are necessary to lexical readings (cf. above p. 678), they are to be assigned before the application of projection rules (cf. above p. 652).

20.2.2.2.4 fii-Duration adjuncts

It is indicated above (cf. p. 635) that the preposition fii 'in' is marked with the feature [+ fii-duration], which expresses its ability to function as prepositional element of fii-Duration adjunct. This preposition is also marked with the feature specifications of (300), which indicate the verbs with which it can co-occur (cf. above 15.3).

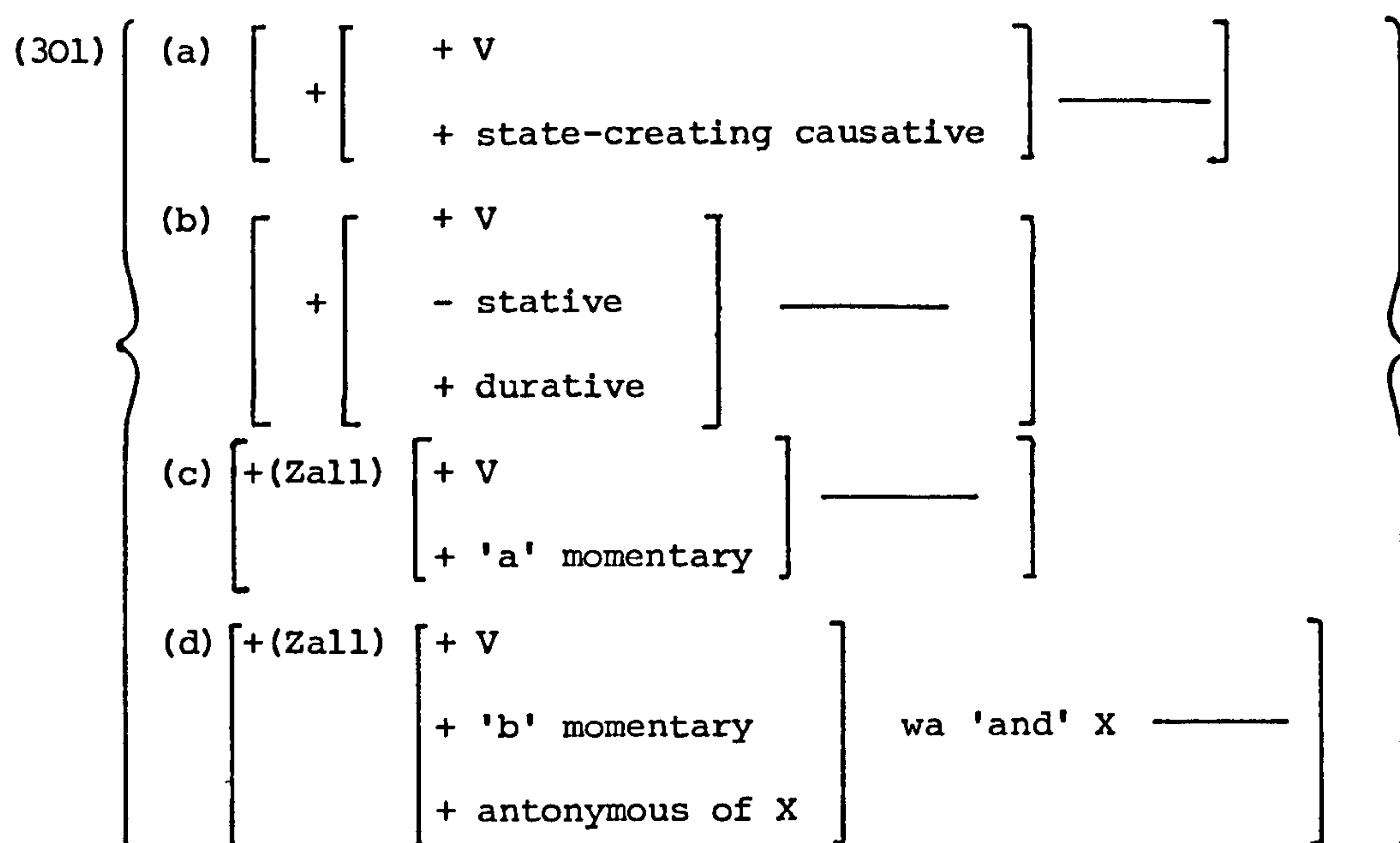
(300)	{	(a)	[+	[+ V]	—]
						+ telic			
		(b)	[+	[+ V]	—]
						+ ingressive			

For the feature-introducing rules assigning the contextual features [+ telic] in (300)a and [+ ingressive] in (300)b to the verbs with which fii-Duration adjuncts associate, see above (278) and (276), respectively.

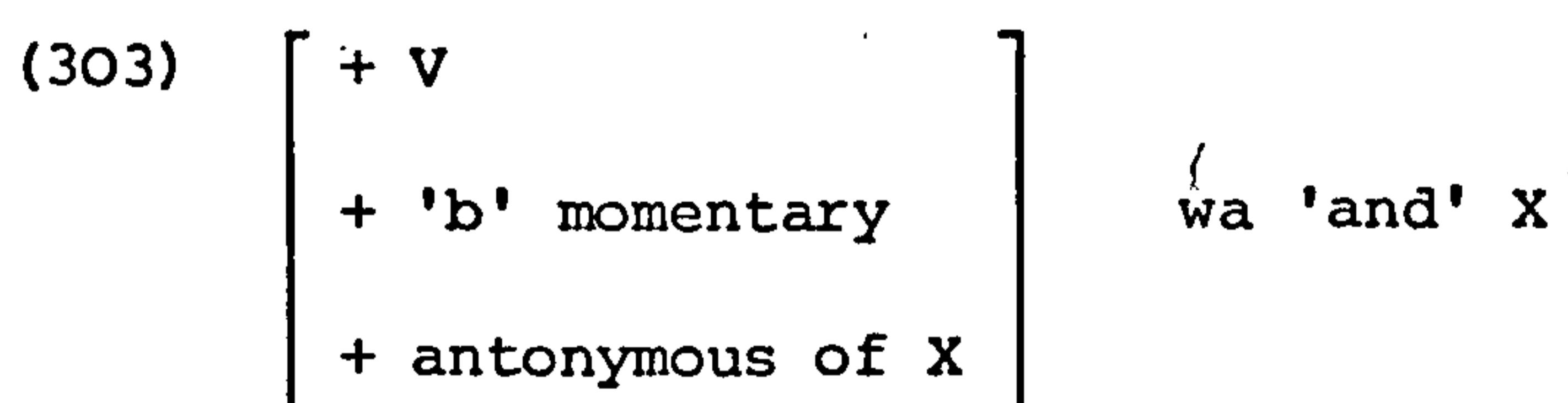
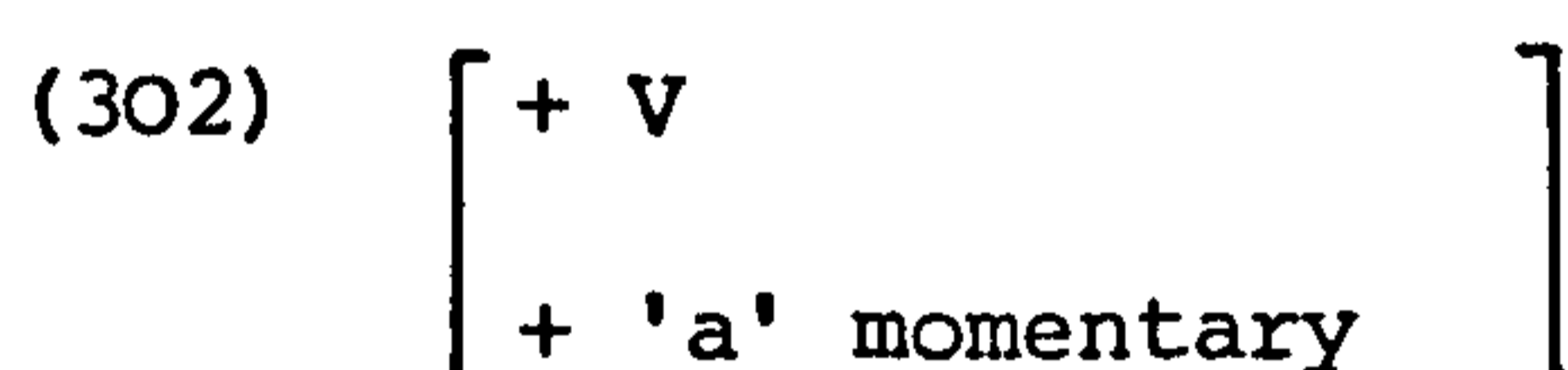
20.2.2.2.5 ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts

It is explained above (p. 635) that the prepositions ?ilaa 'till', li 'unto' and hattaa 'for' are marked with the feature [+ ?ilaa-duration], which expresses their ability to function as prepositional element of ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts. These prepositions are also assigned the features of (301), which indicate the verbs with which they are able to

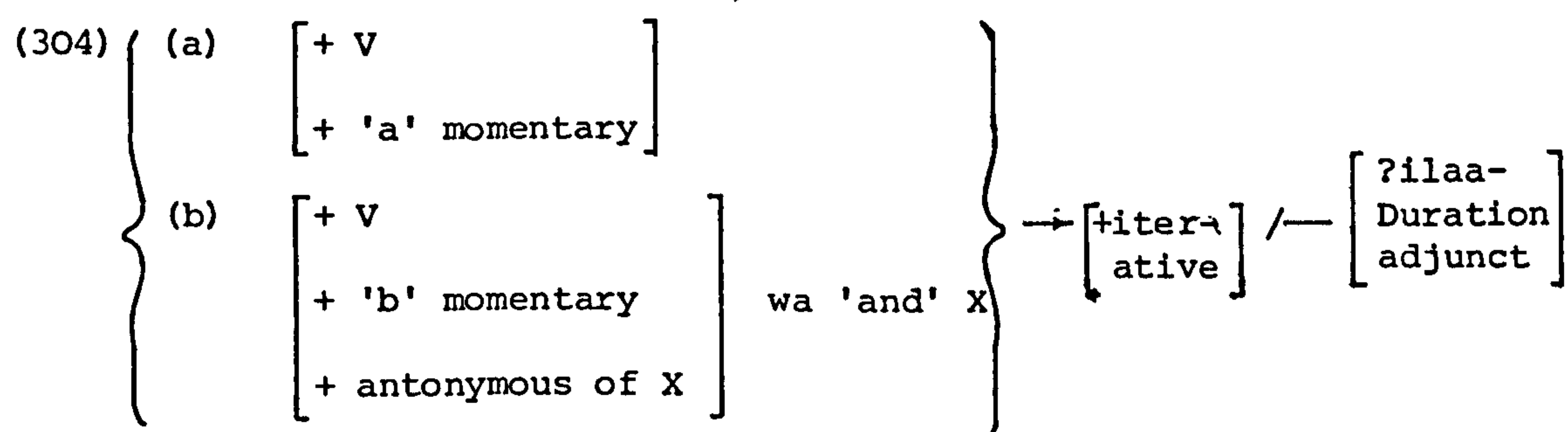
associate (cf. above 15.3).



It should be noted that the lexical readings of some of the verbs in terms of which the features of (301) are specified are influenced by these verbs being accompanied by ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts: the verbs marked with either (302) or (303) (cf. above (301)c-d, respectively) express an iterative rather than semelfactive situation (cf. above p. 376).



Accordingly, the iterative rule (304), which is a feature-introducing rule, will assign them and the like the feature [+iterative], which expresses the change their lexical readings have undergone.



Needless to say that (304) applies at the semantic component before projection rules. For the feature it assigns is necessary to lexical readings (cf. above p. 652).

20.2.2.2.6 Instrument and Means adjuncts

It is indicated above (17. 1) that. Instrument and Means adjuncts associate with the verbs of doing whose subjects are marked with the feature [+ animate]. In relation to the part of this statement that expresses that the subjects of the verbs of doing with which Instrument and Means adjuncts associate are marked with the feature [+ animate], a question is raised having to do with how to account for this part (cf. above pp.430-1): is it to account for it (i) by reliance on the co-occurrence restriction between Means and Instrument adjuncts, and verbs, and, hence, this restriction is to be stated so as to include the restriction between subjects, and Means and Instrument adjuncts, or (ii) by positing another restriction related to Means and Instrument adjuncts, i.e. that between them and subjects?

No answer has been given yet to this question, and my answer to it is that the fact that the subjects of the clauses embracing Instrument or Means adjuncts are marked with the feature [+ animate] ought to be accounted for according to solution (ii). For unlike solution (i), that of (ii) accommodates the fact that the combinations consisting of Instrument/ Means adjuncts, and verbs of doing with subjects marked with the feature [- animate] have a reading. To account for this fact according to solution (i) will prevent projection rules from assigning such combinations, a reading, i.e. will allow them to mark them as being semantically ill-formed. For their prepositional elements will be assigned a selectional feature that specifies that they associate with the verbs of doing whose subjects are marked with the feature [+ animate], as in (305), i.e. with a feature that

is in conflict with (306), the feature specification of their verbal elements.

$$(305) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V, - \text{stative} \\ + \text{expressive of an action} \\ + \left[\left[\left[\text{---} \right] X Y \right] Z \right] \left[+ \text{animate} \right] \\ \text{VP} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$$

$$(306) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V, - \text{stative,} \\ + \text{expressive of an action} \\ + \left[\left[\left[\text{---} \right] X Y \right] Z \right] \left[- \text{animate} \right] \\ \text{VP} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$$

On the other hand, to account for the same fact according to solution (ii), as will be done here (cf. below p. 684), will allow projection rules to assign a reading to the combinations in question (cf. above pp.682). For the features assigned to their prepositional elements in terms of their verbal elements will have no connection whatsoever with the subjects of the latter (cf. below (310)).

Having indicated this, let us try to state the co-occurrence restrictions between Instrument and Means adjuncts, and verbs on the one hand, and the subjects of the clauses embracing them, on the other. It is explained above (p. 636) that the preposition bi 'with', and biğayr 'without' are respectively marked with (307) or (308), and (309).

(307) 'bi': [+ positive instrument]

(308) 'bi': [+ means]

(309) 'biğayr': [+ negative instrument]

As indicated above (p. 636), (307) and (309) express the ability of bi 'with' and biğayr 'without' to function as prepositional element of Instrument adjuncts, while (308) indicates the ability of 'bi'-'with' to function as prepositional element of Means adjuncts. The prepositions are also marked with (310), which indicates the verbs with which they can

co-occur (cf. above 17.1), and (311), which identifies the subjects of the verbs with which they can associate (cf. above p.430).

$$(310) \left[+ \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{stative} \\ + \text{expressive of an action} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$(311) \left[+ \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{pred.} \\ \text{phrase} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{animate} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

20.2.2.2.7 Manner adjuncts

It is indicated above (p. 636) that the prepositions bi 'with' and bigayr 'without' are respectively marked with the feature [+ positive manner] and [+ negative manner], which express their ability to function as prepositional element of Manner adjuncts. These prepositions are also assigned the feature (312), which indicates the verbs with which they can associate (cf. above 17.2).

$$(312) \left[+ \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{stative} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

20.2.2.2.8 Beneficent adjuncts

It is explained above (p. 637) that the preposition li 'for'/'on behalf of' is marked with the feature [+ Beneficent], which expresses its ability to function as prepositional element of Beneficent adjuncts. This preposition is also assigned the feature specification (313), which indicates the verbs with which it co-occurs. (cf. above 17.3).

$$(313) \left[+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ (i) - \text{stative} \\ + \text{expressive of a position} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ (ii) - \text{stative} \\ + \text{expressive of an action} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

It is also expressed above (17.3.3) that when the verbs marked with (314) are accompanied by Beneficent adjuncts, or either by 'for the benefit of' or 'on behalf of' Beneficent adjuncts, their subjects must have the feature (315), or either the feature (316) or the feature specification (317).

(314) [+ V
 - stative
 + expressive of an action]

(315) [+ instrument]
 NP

(316) [+ agentive]
 NP

(317) [+ agentive, + human]
 NP

Accordingly, the prepositional element of Beneficent adjuncts must have certain features characterizing the subjects of the verbs of doing with which they co-occur. The question arises: How this can be done?

To begin with, it should be noted that the features of the prepositional elements of Beneficent adjuncts that have to do with the subjects of the clauses embracing them depend on them being accompanied by verbs of doing rather than by verbs of position, i.e. by verbs marked with (314) rather than with (318).

(318) [+ V
 - stative
 + expressive of a position]

The method of assigning them therefore ought to take into consideration this dependency and, hence, differing from that assigning the corresponding features of the prepositional elements of Instrument and Means adjuncts: by virtue of the fact that, unlike Beneficent adjuncts, the last two ones associate with one class of verbs (cf. above 17.1), the feature of

their prepositional elements that is related to the subjects of the clauses containing them (cf. above 17.3.3) has nothing to do with the verbs accompanying them.

Secondly, some of the features of the prepositional element of Beneficent adjuncts that have to do with the subjects of the clauses of doing embracing them depend on whether it - the prepositional element - means 'for the benefit of' or 'on behalf of' (cf. above 17.3.3 and below p.687). Accordingly, in addition to the feature [+ beneficent], which expresses the ability of the preposition to which it is assigned to function as prepositional element of Beneficent adjuncts (cf. above p. 637) the features (319) and (320) are required.

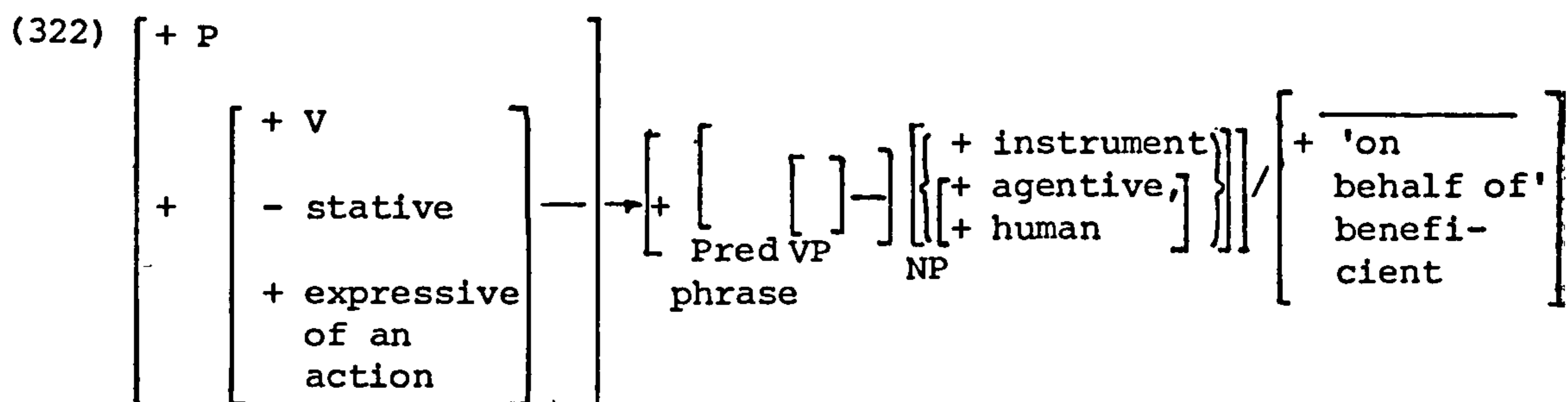
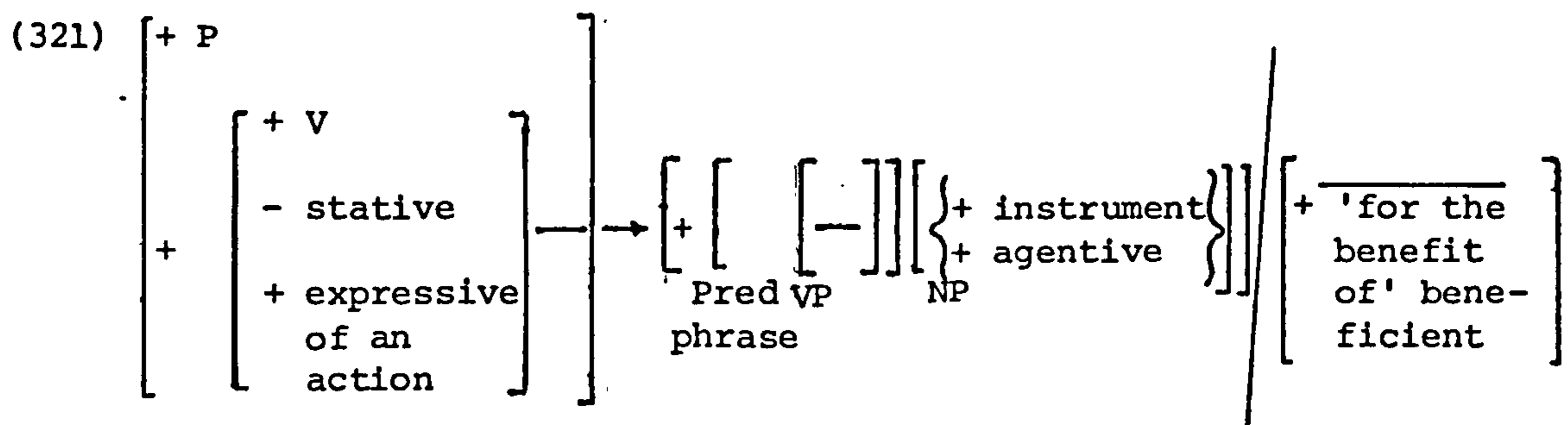
(319) [+ 'for the benefit of' beneficent]

(320) [+ 'on behalf of' beneficent]

These features indicate that the prepositions marked with them are the prepositional elements of 'for the benefit of' and 'on behalf of' Beneficent adjuncts, respectively.

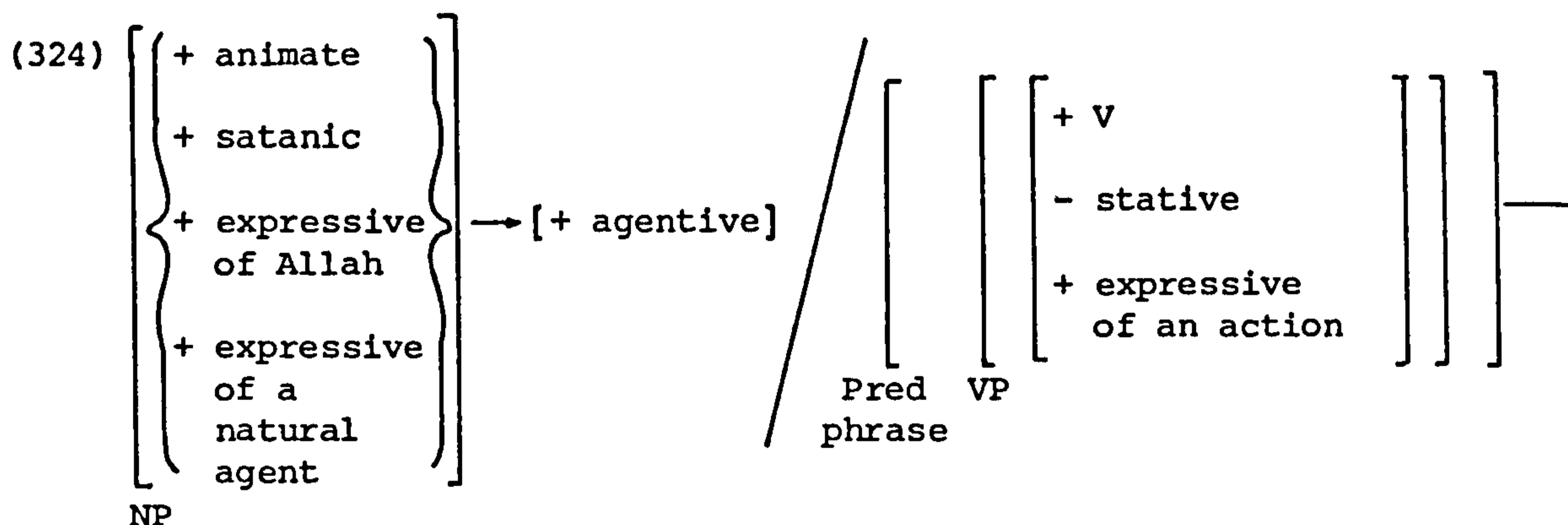
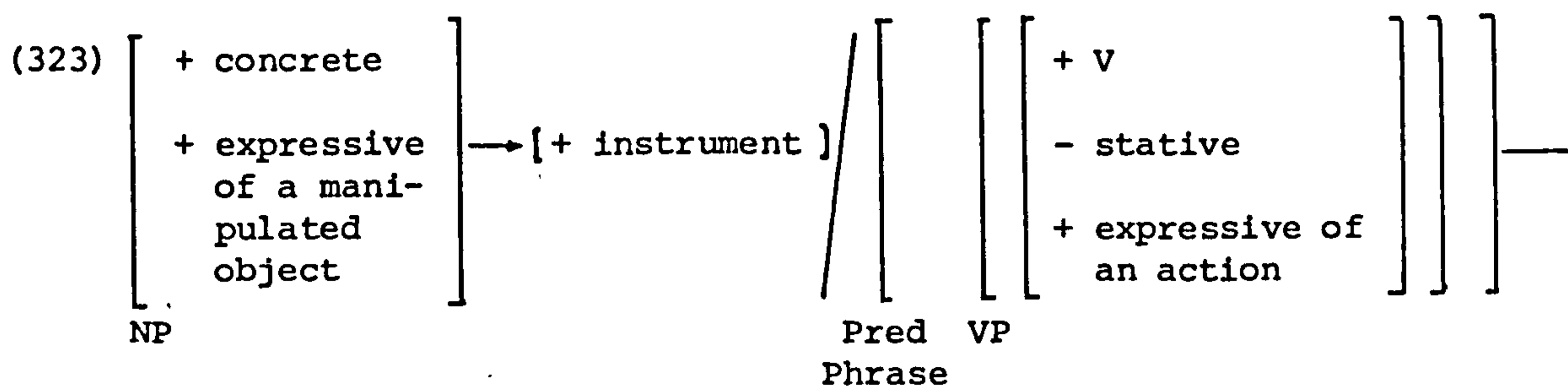
Thirdly, there are two features of the prepositional elements of Beneficent adjuncts that have to do with the subjects of the verbs of doing embracing them. The first expresses that the subjects of the verbs of doing with which 'for the benefit of' Beneficent adjuncts associate must be marked with (315) or (316) (cf. above 17.3.3). The second feature indicates on the other hand, that the subjects of the verbs of doing accompanied by 'on behalf of' Beneficent adjuncts must have either (315) or (317) (cf. above 17.3.3). Since, as indicated above p. 685, these features depend on the type of Beneficent adjuncts accompanied by Verbs of doing, i.e. whether they are 'for the benefit of' or 'on behalf of' Beneficent adjuncts, they, like any other contextual features (cf. above p. 651), are assigned by feature-introducing rules. The

first feature is assigned by (321) which could be named: the rule of 'for the benefit of 'li'', and the second by (322), which could be called: the rule of 'on behalf of 'li''.



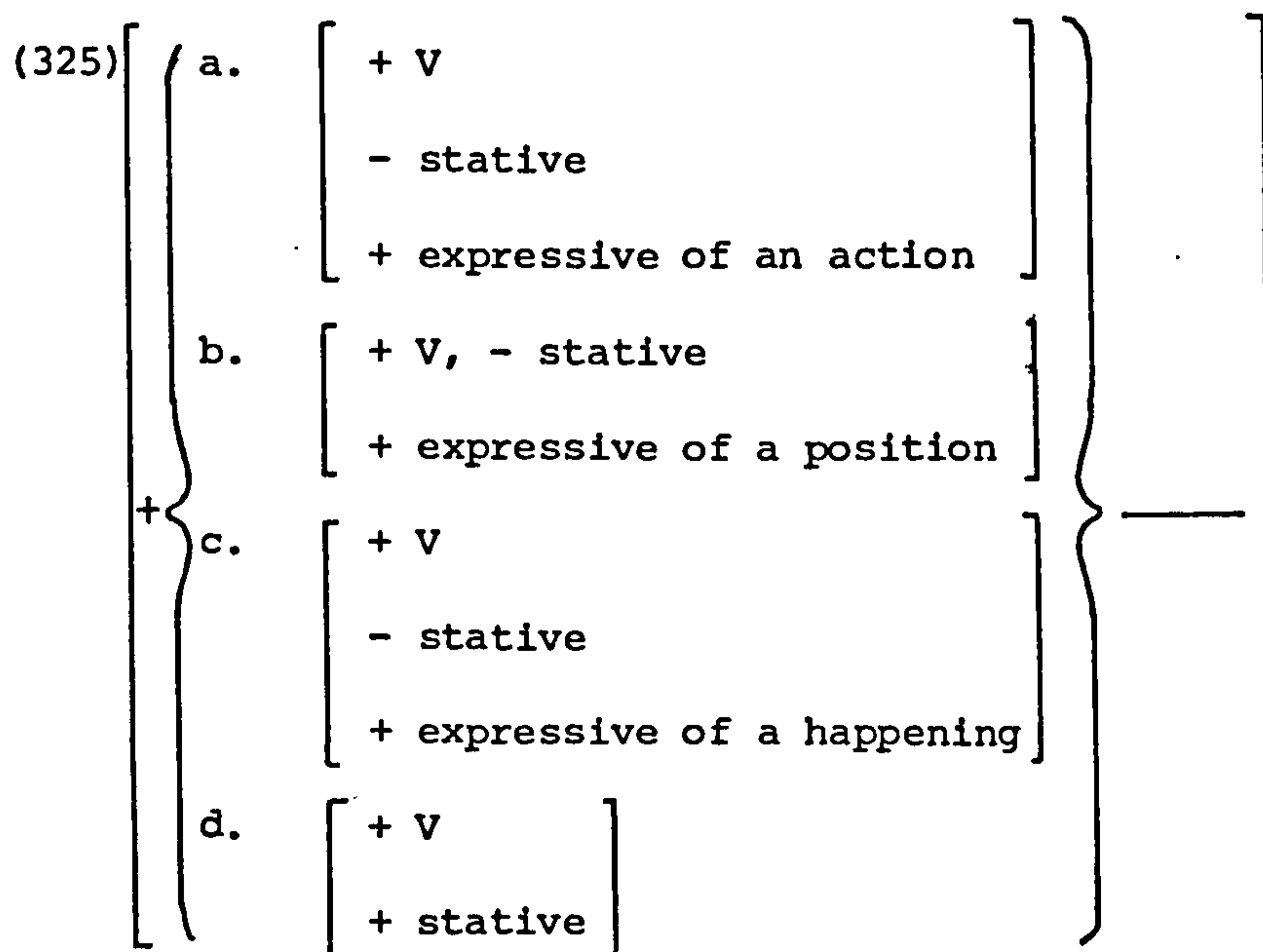
It should be noted firstly that the features assigned by (321) and (322) are necessary to the applications of projection rules: they have a role in determining whether or not the subject-predicate combinations embracing the prepositions to which they are assigned are semantically well-formed. Hence, the rules assigning them, apply at the semantic level before projection rules (cf. above p. 652).

Secondly, (321 - 322) contain the contextual feature [+ instrument] and [+ agentive]. These features belong to the class of contextual features that is necessary to the syntactic rules: transformational or lexical redundancy rules (cf. above 2.2). They are therefore to be assigned to the appropriate NPs at the syntactic component before the application of these rules i.e. after the lexical insertion (cf. above p.652). The feature-introducing rules assigning them are the Instrument and the Agentive rule (323) and (324), respectively. (cf. above 17.3.3).



20.2.2.2.9 Purpose adjuncts

It is indicated above that the preposition *li* 'for' is marked with the feature [+ purpose], which expresses that it can function as prepositional element in Purpose adjuncts. This preposition has also the feature specification (325), which indicates the verbs with which it can associate (cf. above



Like the subjects of the verbs accompanied by Instrument/Means adjuncts

on the one hand (cf. above 20.2.2.2.6), or Beneficient adjuncts on the other (cf. above 20.2.2.2.8), those of the verbs accompanied by Purpose adjuncts must have certain features: the subjects of the verbs having the feature specification (326), and (327) or (328), which are the verbs with which Purpose adjuncts can co-occur (cf. above (325)), must be marked with (329) and (330), respectively.

$$(326) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{stative} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{expressive of an action} \\ + \text{expressive of a position} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(327) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ - \text{stative} \\ + \text{expressive of a happening} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(328) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{stative} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(329) \left[+ \text{volitive} \right]$$

$$(330) \left[+ \text{human} \right]$$

Accordingly, like the prepositional elements of Instrument, Means and Beneficient adjuncts (cf. 20.2.2.2.6; 20.2.2.2.8), that of Purpose adjuncts is assigned selectional features in terms of the subjects of the verbs with which they associate. These features are two. The first expresses that the subjects of the verbs of doing/position with which Purpose adjuncts associate must be marked with (329). The second, on the other hand, indicates that the verbs of happening or the stative verbs with which Purpose adjuncts co-occur must have the feature (330). These features correspond to the features assigned by rules (321 - 322): like them, they depend on the class of verbs with which the adjuncts in question co-occur, i.e. on some of the selectional features of their prepositional elements, and are necessary to Projection rules and, hence, they also are assigned at the

other than maa-/?an-/?anna clauses) regardless of whether it is their sole categorial feature (cf. above 18.3) or not (cf above 20.2.2.1.1).

(333) [+ — [other than maa-/?an- ?anna clause]]
NP

Accordingly, the prepositional element of a prepositionally realized adjunct that is able to govern NPs realized by clausal NPs such as maa-/?an-/?anna- clauses, or otherwise (cf. above 20.2.2.1.1) will be assigned two sets of features: one associated with it when governing clausal NPs, and another with it governing other NPs. Both sets will of course contain other restrictions. The first and the second set will contain features related to the class of the adjunct in question (cf. above 18.2) and others specifying the restrictions between it - the adjunct - and the verbs with which it can associate. The second set on the other hand will contain a third type of feature, those specifying the selectional restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal element of the adjunct. Consider for instance the feature-specification of 9abl/min qabl 'before', which functions as a prepositional element in Instantive time adjuncts.

As indicated above, 'qabl/min qabl' has the categorial features of (334).

(334) [+ — { a. [?an- clause]
NP
b. [other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clause]
NP }]

Accordingly, it will be assigned two sets of features, one associated with it having (334)a and another having (334)b. The first set will contain other features: (i) the feature [+ instantive time], which expresses that qabl/min qabl 'before' functions as a prepositional element in Instantive time adjuncts (cf. above p. 634); (ii) features specifying the verbs with which Instantive time adjuncts co-occur. The second set on the other

hand will contain the features of (i - ii), as well as others specifying the NPs able to be governed by 'qabl/min qabl' (cf. below 20.2.3.3.1).

Apart from conditional adjuncts, whose prepositional elements govern only an ?an-clause, the prepositional elements of non-transformed adjuncts (cf. above 17.0) are qualified to be assigned selectional features in terms of their complements. For the purpose of discussion, they will be grouped into the following groups:

- (i) Instrument and Beneficient adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.3.1).
- (ii) Manner, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.3.2).
- (iii) the adjuncts expressing temporal relations, which are Instantive time, Time frame, and fii and ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.3.3).
- (iv) Free place adjuncts (cf. below 20.2.3.4).
- (c) it is necessary for the prepositional elements of non-transformed adjuncts to be assigned categorial features in terms of the realization of the NPs they govern (cf. above 20.2.2.1.1).

So far we have assigned to the prepositional elements of non-transformed adjuncts their categorial not selectional features. As appears from this recapitulation as well as from other discussions elsewhere (cf. above 20.2.2.1), the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of non-transformed adjuncts are to be stated on the former rather than the latter. So, the question needs to be answered before assigning to the prepositional elements of non-transformed adjuncts their selectional features is: Why is it chosen to state the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of non-transformed adjuncts on the former rather than the latter? The reasons of this choice are as follows:

- (i) As will be indicated below (20.2.3.1 - 4) the nominal elements of a non-transformed adjunct belong to classes, having to do with features

such as [+ concrete], [+ expressive of a manipulated object], [+ human], etc. This fact could be accounted for if the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of the non-transformed adjuncts are stated on the former elements: simply they could be assigned features in terms of the NPs they can govern, which is a way of saying that the NPs able to be governed by the prepositional elements of the non-transformed adjuncts are grouped into the classes so and so. If on the other hand the co-occurrence restrictions in question are stated on the nominal elements, the aforementioned fact will be left unaccounted for. For like all the feature specifications, in their capacity as NP features, the feature specifications of the nominal elements of non-transformed adjuncts that are assigned in terms of the prepositions governing them will be designated so as not to be connected with one another, i.e. in a way that does not explain why all the nominal elements of Instrument adjuncts, for example, are marked with (335).

(335) [+ concrete
+ expressive of a manipulated object]

(ii) In a grammar stating the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of non-transformed adjuncts on the latter elements, the lexicon is far larger than that in a grammar stating them on the former: the number of the NPs able to function as nominal elements in non-transformed adjuncts is much greater than that of the prepositions able to function as prepositional elements.

(iii) The grammar stating on the nominal elements of non-transformed adjuncts the co-occurrence restriction between them and the prepositional ones will contain a great number of optional features, i.e. of the features that are not operative in all the linguistic structures in which the items in question occur. In this grammar NPs will be assigned features in terms of the prepositions able to govern them when they function as nominal

elements of non-transformed adjuncts i.e. will be assigned features that are operative only in some of the linguistic structures in which they occur.

20.2.3.1 Instrument and Beneficient adjuncts

20.2.3.1.1 Instrument adjuncts

The NPs able to function as prepositional elements of Instrument adjuncts are those having the feature [+ concrete] and expressing one of the following things:

(i) materials (cf. Vestergaards, p. 102) e.g. maa?in waahid 'one water' in (336), and naxl 'date-palms' in (337).

(336) wa fi l?arDi qiTa9un mutagaawiraatun wa gannaatun min
?a9naabin wa zar9un wa naxiilun Sinwaanun wa ġayru Sinwaanin
yusqaa bimaa?in waahid (13/4)

And in the earth are neighbouring tracts, vineyards and
ploughed lands, and date-palms like and unlike, which are
watered with one water

(337) wahafafnaahumaa binaxl (18/32)

And We had surrendered both of them with date-palms

(ii) tools, e.g. minṣaarín yadawiyy 'a manual saw' in (338), lqalm 'the pen' in (339) and lqisTaasi lmustaqim 'a right balance' in (340), or machines, e.g. lkumbiyuutar 'the computer' in (341).

(338) qaTa9a rragulu ṣṣagarata biminṣaarín yadawiyy

The man cut the tree with a manual saw

(339) ?allaḏii 9allama bilqalam (96/4)

Who teaches by the pen

(340) wa zinuu bilqisTaasi lmustaqim (17/35)

And weigh with a right balance

(341) halalna lmuṣkilata bilkumbiyuutar

We solved the problem with the computer

(iii) body parts (cf. Vestergaards, p. 102), e.g. ?aydiihim 'their hands' in (342).

(342) fawaylun lilladiina yaktubuuna lkitaaba bi?aydiihim 0umma
yaquuluuna haadaa min 9indi llaahi liyaṣtaruu bihi 0amanan
qaliilaa (2/79)

Therefore woe be unto those who write the Scripture with their hands and then say: This is from Allah, that they may purchase a small gain therewith.

To incorporate the fact related to the prepositional elements of Instruments adjuncts into the grammar of the present work, categories (i - iii) will be regarded as members of one category, i.e. the category of manipulated objects in the widest sense. Hence, (343) will represent the selectional features of the prepositional elements of Instrument adjuncts (cf. above p. 636) that are assigned to them in terms of their complements.

(343) bi 'with/biḡayr 'without': $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \\ - \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ concrete} \\ + \text{ expressive of a} \\ \text{manipulated object} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$

20.2.3.1.2 Beneficent adjuncts

As indicated above (p. 637), 'li' is the prepositional element of both 'for the benefit of' and 'on behalf of' Beneficent adjuncts. However, while 'li' in the former subclass governs NPs marked with the feature [+ human] or [- human, + animate], e.g. sulaymaan 'sulaymaan' in (344) and hiSaanih 'his horse' in (345), respectively, 'li' in the latter governs NPs marked only with the first feature, e.g. bnatay ṣu9ayb 'ṣu9ayb's two daughters' in (346).

(344) kaana ba9Du ṣṣayaaTiini yaḡuuSu lisulaymaan (cf. 21/82)

Some of the evil ones used to dive (for pearls) for sulaymaan

(345) ?iṣṭaraa tibnan lihiSaanih

He bought hay for his horse

(346) saqaa muusaa libnatay ṣu9ayb (cf. 28/24)

muusaa watered for ṣu9ayb's two daughters (their folk)

Accordingly, as a prepositional element of 'for the benefit of' and 'on behalf of' Beneficient adjuncts, 'li' will respectively be marked with the feature specifications of (347) which express the NPs it is able to govern.

(347) a. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \\ + \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [- \text{ human,} + \text{ animate}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$

b. $[+ \text{---} [+ \text{ human}]]$
NP

20.2.3.2 Manner, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts

The nominal elements of the adjuncts in question are marked with the feature [- concrete]. Examples are the nominal elements of the following adjuncts:

(i) the Manner adjuncts biquwwah 'fast', biḡayri hisaab 'without stint', and bilhikmati 'with wisdom' in (348 - 350), respectively.

(348) xuḏuu maa ?aataynaakum biquwwah (2/93)

Hold fast by that which We have given you

(349) wa llaahu yarzuqu man yaṣaa?u biḡayri hisaab (2/212)

Allah gives without stint to whom He will

(350) ?uḏ9u ?ilaa sabiili rabbika bilhikmati wa lmaw9izati

lhasanah (16/125)

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

(ii) the Means adjuncts binaSrihi 'with His help' and bilmanni 'by reproach' in (351 - 352), respectively.

(351) huwa llaḏii ṭayyadaka binaSrihii wa bilmuṭminiin (8/62)
He it is Who supports you with His help and with the believers

(352) yaa ṭayyuha llaḏiina ṭaamanuu laa tubTiluu Sadaqaatikum
bilmanni wa lṭaḏaa (2/264)

O you who believe! Do not render vain your alms-giving by
reproach and injury

(iii) the Purpose adjuncts lilfawzi bilgannah 'to obtain the paradise' and
liṭirDaaṭi waalidih 'to please his father' in (353 - 354), respectively.

(353) yaḡmalu lmuṭminu ṭaḡmaalan Tayyibatan lilfawzi bilgannah
The believer does good deeds to obtain the paradise

(354) makaḡa xaalidun fi lbayti liṭirDaaṭi waalidih
xaalid stayed at home to please his father

(iv) the Reason adjuncts min xiifatih 'for awe of Him' in (355),
biZulmihim 'for their wickedness' in (356), liḏakaaṭihii 'because of his
intelligence' in (357), and min ṭagli ḏaalik 'therefore' in (358).

(355) yusabbihu rraḡdu bihamdihii wa lmalaaṭikatu min xiifatih (13/13)
The thunder hymns His praise and (and so do) the angels for
awe of Him

(356) faṭaxaḏathumu SSaaḡiqatu biZulmihim (4/153)
The storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness

(357) ṭixtaaruuhu zaḡiiman lihizbihim liḏakaaṭihii wa ṭixlaaSih
They chose him as a leader of their party because of his
intelligence and sincerity

(358) ...wakaana waaliduhuu ḡaniyyaa min ṭagli ḏaalika ṭaSḡaha
ḡumdata baladih (cf. 5/32)

... and his father was rich. Therefore, he became the
mayor of his town

It should be noted firstly that being a pronominal form, ḏaalika
'that' in (358) is not assigned in the lexicon the required feature

[- concrete]; but it is assigned such a feature in the semantic component by an indexing rule (cf. Radford, p. 366), which relates it to an abstract NP functioning as its antecedent. This NP is the NP understood from the clause preceding that embracing it - *daalika* - 'that' i.e. *kawnu waalidihii ġaniyyaa* 'that his father was rich'. Secondly, since the feature [- concrete] is necessary for the projection rules (it is necessary for the application of the projection rules assigning readings to the PPs functioning as adjunct) the indexing rule assigning it must apply before them.

(v) the Concessive adjunct *9alaa Zulmihim* 'despite their wrong' in (359).

(359): *yaġfiru rabbuka linnaasi 9alaa Zulmihim* (cf. 13/6)

Your Lord forgives mankind despite their wrong

Two problems are needed to be solved before assigning the prepositional elements of the adjuncts in question selectional features in terms of their complements:

1. The first problem has to do with the validity of the statement that the nominal elements of Manner, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts are marked with the feature [- concrete]. Some of the nominal elements of Means, Purpose and Reason adjuncts are marked with other features, which contradicts this statement. Examples are:

(i) the nominal elements of the Means adjuncts *biwaladihaa* 'by her child', *bihimu* 'with them', *bilqur'aani* 'with the Koran' and *bi?ahġaarin* 'by stones' in (360 - 363), respectively: the first two elements have the feature [+ human] and the second the feature [+ concrete]

(360) *laa tuDaarra waalidatun biwaladihaa* (2/233)

A mother should not cause suffering by her child

(361) *liyaġiiza bihimu lkuffaar* (48/29)

That he may enrage the disbelievers with them

(362) *gaahada rrasuulu lkaafiriina bilqur'aani gihaadan kabiiraa*
(cf. 25/52)

The messenger strove against the disbelievers with the Koran with a great endeavour

- (363) ?alaa tarawna ?anna llaaha subhaanahu xtabara l?awwaliina min ladun ?aadama ?ila l?aaxiriina min haada l9aalami bi?aahgaarin laa taDurru wa laa tanfa9 (?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 358)

Do not you see that Allah, be He glorified, tested those from ?adam to those of this time by stones (i.e. ?alka9bah) that are neither harmful nor avail?

(ii) the nominal elements of the Purpose adjuncts lillaah 'for Allah' and li?aadam 'for ?adam' in (364 - 365), respectively: the first element denotes 'Allah' and the second has the feature [+ human].

- (364) ?illa llaadiina taabuu wa ?aslahuu wa 9taSamuu billaahi wa ?axlasuu diinahum lillaah (4/146)

Save those who repent and amend and hold fast to Allah and make their religion pure for Allah

- (365) wa ?id qulnaa lilmalaa?ikati sguduu li?aadam (2/34)

And when We said unto the angels: Prostrate yourself for ?adam

(iii) the nominal element of the Reason adjunct mina ZZahhirah 'for noon' in (366): it is marked with the feature specification [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual].

- (366) wa hiina taDa9uuna 9iyaabakum min ZZahhirah (24/58)

And when you lay aside your raiment for noon

There is no conflict between the feature specifications of the aforementioned elements and the statement related to their adjuncts. Though they are not marked with the feature [- concrete], they are all perceived of in a way that is compatible with this statement: they are elliptical NPs with heads assigned the feature [- concrete] as indicated by following pairs:

- (i) waladihaa 'her child' (cf. above (360)) = ?i9Taa?i waladihaa liwaalidihii hattaa yata9aaddaba bitarbiyatih 'giving her child to his father to make him suffer by bringing him up'.
- (ii) himu 'them' (cf. above (361)) = ?izdiyaadihim fi l9adadi wa lquwwah 'their increase in number and strength'.
- (iii) lqur?aani 'the Koran' (cf. above (362)) = baraahiini/?aayaati lqur?aan 'the proofs/the verses of the Koran'.
- (iv) ?ahgaarin 'stones' (cf. above (363)) = su?aalihim ?an yaTuufuu bi?ahgaarin 'asking them to walk round stones'.
- (v) llaah 'Allah' (cf. above (364)) = ?irDaa?i llaah 'to please Allah'.
- (vi) ?aadam '?aadam' (cf. above (365)) = takriimi ?aadam 'to honour ?aadam'.
- (vii) ZZahhirah (cf. above (366)) = harri ZZahhirah 'the heat of noon'.

There remains a point related to the semantic well-formedness of the Means, Purpose, Reason adjuncts in sentences (360 - 363; 364 - 365; 366, respectively), whose nominal elements are not marked with the feature [- concrete]. The nominal elements of these adjuncts belong to the class of elliptical NPs whose exact meanings depend on the discourse structure or the context of situation (cf. above p.664), e.g. respectively himu 'them' in (361) and waladihaa 'her child' in (360) (cf. above p. 666). Accordingly, the semantic well-formedness of the adjuncts embracing them - the nominal elements - will not be accounted for by projection rules. For, as indicated above (p. 665), I know of no way of incorporating knowledge related to the discourse structure or the context of situation into a lexical rule that both accounts for their meanings and assigns the heads of the NPs perceived of as embracing them the feature [- concrete], which is necessary for the operation of the projection rules related to the adjuncts containing them. Instead, it - the semantic well-formedness in question - will be accounted for, as indicated above, (p. 666) by other semantic rules, i.e. those associating with Means, Purpose and

Reason adjuncts and expressing the following things, respectively:

(i) the nominal elements of Means adjuncts that are marked with the feature [+ human] or [+ concrete] (cf. above 360 - 361; 362 - 363, respectively) will be regarded as being incorporated in NPs marked with the feature [- concrete].

(ii) the nominal element of the Purpose adjunct that denotes 'Allah' (cf. above (364)) or is marked with the feature [+ human] (cf. above sentence (365)) will be considered an elliptical NP with the feature [- concrete].

(iii) the nominal element of a Reason adjunct that has the feature [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual] (cf. above (366)) will be conceived of as being incorporated into a NP assigned the feature [- concrete].

2. The second problem related to the feature specifications of the prepositional elements of Manner, Means, Purpose, Reason and Concessive adjuncts in terms of their complements is connected with whether all the abstract NPs are able to function as nominal elements of the aforementioned adjuncts, i.e. with whether they are able to express manners, means, purposes, reasons or concessive elements. In fact, there is strong evidence that not all the abstract NPs are able to do so. Hence, to assign the prepositional elements of the adjuncts in question a feature specifying that their complements have the feature [- concrete] will allow projection rules to mark as being semantically well-formed PPs that are not so, e.g. PPs with a prepositional element marked with the feature [+ manner], and an abstract nominal element designating no manner (cf. below p. 705). To explain this, let us discuss the adjuncts in question in this order: (i) Purpose; (ii) Reason, Means, Manners and Concessive adjuncts.

(a) Purpose adjuncts

It is indicated above (p. 637) that the nominal elements of Purpose adjuncts are marked with the feature [- concrete]; to be added here are the

following things:

(i) not all abstract NPs are able to function as nominal elements of Purpose adjuncts, e.g. ?arruuh 'the spirit', ?albu?s 'misery', gamaalu TTabii9ah 'the beauty of nature', ?addillah 'lowness', ?assa9aadah 'happiness', and ?albah9ah 'delight'.

(ii) the abstract NPs able to function as nominal elements of Purpose adjuncts are verbal nouns of verbs expressing actions or positions. Examples are the nominal elements of the Purpose adjuncts in (367 - 368), respectively.

(367)a li?irDaa?i waalidatii

To please my mother

b lilhuSuuli 9alaa 9amal

To get a job

c li?iraahati nafsii

To let myself rest

d lita9wiidi nafsihii 9ala SSabr

To accustom himself to patience

(368)a lilguluusi fi SSufuufi l?amaamiyyah

To set down in the front lines

b liliDDigaa9i qaliilaa

To lie down for a while

In fact the nominal elements of Purpose adjuncts such as those in (367 - 368) are respectively related to the clausal elements of the Purpose clauses of (369 - 370).

(369)a li?urDii waalidatii .

To please my mother

b li?ahSula 9ala 9amal

To get a job

c li?uriika nafsii

To let myself rest

d liyu9awwida nafsahuu 9ala SSabr

To accustom himself to patience

(370)a liyaglisa fi SSufuufi l?amaamiyyah

To set down in the front lines

b liyaDDagi9a 9aliilaa

To lie down for a while

Such a relation is accounted for by a lexical redundancy rule that relates the former elements to the latter ones in a way that expresses their syntactic structure.

(b) Reason, Means, Manner and Concessive adjuncts

In relation to Reason and Means adjuncts, abstract NPs are divided into:

(i) those that are able to realize their nominal elements, e.g. the nominal elements of the Reason adjuncts *mina lhaqqi llaḍii 9arafuuh* 'because of the truth they recognized', *biḍunuubihim* 'for their sins' and *mina ḍḍunyaa* 'because of this world', and the Means adjuncts *binaqSin mina ʕʕamaraat* 'with the dearth of fruits', *bi?iimaanihim* 'by their faith' and *bilfaqr* 'with poverty' in (371 - 372), respectively. ((371)c and (372)c are mine.)

(371)a *faaDat ?a9yunuhum mina ḍḍam9i mina lhaqqi llaḍii 9arafuuh*

(cf. 5/83)

Their eyes overflowed with tears because of the truth they recognized

b *fa?ahlaknaahum biḍunuubihim(6/6)*

Yet We destroyed them for their sins

c *makaθa fii manzilihiḍi mina ḍḍunyaa*

He stayed in his house because of this world

(372)a *?axada llaahu ?aala fir9awna binaqSin mina ʕʕamaraat (cf.7/130)*

Allah withered fir9awn's people with the dearth of fruits

b yahdiihim rabbuhum bi?iimaanihim (10/9)

Their Lord guides them by their faith

c haarabuuhum bilfaqr

They fought them with poverty

(ii) those that are not, e.g. the nominal elements of the PPs in (373 - 374): these PPs are semantically ill-formed if their nominal elements are conceived of as meanings 'because of' and 'by means of', respectively i.e. if they - the PPs - are analysed as Reason and Means adjuncts, respectively.

(373) mina rruuh 'because of the spirit'

(374) biddunyaa 'with this world', bilwahn 'by delusive imagination'
and birruuh 'by the spirit'

Abstract NPs able to realize the nominal elements of Reason and Means adjuncts are in turn subclassifiable into (i) those whose readings depend on the context of situation e.g. ddunyaa 'this world' in (371)c and lfaqr 'poverty' in (372)c, respectively; (ii) those whose readings do not, e.g. dunuubihim 'their sins' in (371)b and ?iimaanihim 'their faith' in (372)b, respectively.

In relation to the nominal elements of Manner and Concessive adjuncts, abstract NPs are also subclassifiable into (i) those that are able to realize these elements and (ii) those that are not. Examples of (i) are the nominal elements of the Manner adjuncts biwuDuuh 'clearly' in (375)a and bi?akaa? 'intelligently' in (375)b, and the nominal elements of the Concessive adjuncts 9ala ta9abih 'in spite of his fatigue' in (376)a and 9ala faqrih 'in spite of his poverty' in (376)b.

(375)a 9arahaalmas?alata biwuDuuh

He explained the problem clearly

b halla lmu?kilata bi?akaa?

He solved the problem intelligently

(376)a Zalla ya9malu 9alaa ta9abih

He continued to work in spite of his fatigue

b ?anfaqa mi?ata gunayhin 9alaa faqrih

He spent one hundred pounds in spite of his poverty

Examples of (ii) on the other hand are the nominal elements of the PPs in (377 - 378): these PPs are semantically ill-formed if their nominal elements are perceived of as meaning 'in the manner of' and 'in spite of', i.e. if they - the PPs - are analysed as Manner and Concessive adjuncts, respectively.

(377) bilginaa 'with richness', bilfaqr 'with poverty', and
bilistiraahah 'with rest'

(378) 9ala ddunyaa 'in spite of this world' and 9ala rruuh 'in
spite of the spirit'

To incorporate into a TGG the facts related to the classification of abstract NPs as to whether they are able to function as nominal elements of Reason, Means, Manner or Concessive adjuncts, two things are needed:

(i) to recognize the features differentiating between the abstract NPs that are able to function as nominal elements of the adjuncts in question, and those that are not. The features that I have in mind are [+ reason], [+ means], [+ manner] and [+ concessive]. But since they are only operative when the NPs to which they are assigned function as nominal elements of Reason, Means, Manner and Concessive adjuncts, respectively, they ought to be expressed in a way that indicates this. A possible one is $[+ X/[+ X]_{-}]_{P}$ where 'X' is a reason, means, manner or concessive element.

(ii) the second thing is related to Reason and Means adjuncts. These adjuncts will be associated with semantic rules other than projection rules that express that the readings of their nominal elements may depend on the context of situation. It should be noted that the same thing applies to any other similar cases related to the adjuncts whose nominal elements are abstract.

Having both proved the correctness of the statement that the nominal elements of Manner, Means, Reason, Purpose and Concessive adjuncts are marked with the feature [- concrete], and expressed its implication for whether all abstract NPs are able to function as nominal elements of these adjuncts, let us specify for their prepositional elements the selectional features that are expressed in terms of their nominal elements. As indicated above (pp.636-9), the prepositional elements of Manner, Means, Reason, Concessive and Purpose adjuncts are respectively: (i) bi 'with' and biḡayr 'without'; (ii) bi 'with/by'; (iii) min ḡagl 'for', min 'for', bi 'for' and li 'because of'; (iv) 9alaa 'in spite of'; (v) li 'for'. (379 - 383) are respectively the selectional features of the prepositions in (i - iv) that are assigned to them in terms of their complements.

$$(379) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ concrete} \\ + \text{ manner}/[+ \text{ manner}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{P} \end{array}$$

$$(380) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ concrete} \\ + \text{ means}/[+ \text{ means}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{P} \end{array}$$

$$(381) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ concrete} \\ + \text{ reason}/[+ \text{ reason}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{P} \end{array}$$

$$(382) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ concrete} \\ + \text{ concessive}/[+ \text{ concessive}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{P} \end{array}$$

$$(383) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ concrete} \\ + \text{ expressive of an action/a position} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \end{array}$$

One final point related to the feature specifications of the prepositional elements of Manner, Means, Reason and Concessive adjuncts: nothing is said concerning whether the complements of these elements ought

to be specified in relation to definiteness or qualification by means of PPs or clauses.

It seems to me that the specification of NPs in terms of definiteness and qualification are relevant to some of the prepositional elements in question. To begin with, specifying NPs in terms of definiteness and qualification are irrelevant to the prepositional elements of Manner, Means adjuncts and to min and min ?agl 'for' in their capacity as nominal elements in Reason adjuncts: they are able to govern (i) definite and (ii) indefinite NPs. Examples of (i) are the nominal elements of the Manner adjuncts bilhikmati 'with wisdom' in (350) and biḡayri lhamaasi llaḍii ?a9rifuhuu 9anh 'without the enthusiasm I know he has' in (384), the Means adjunct bilmanni 'by reproach' in (352) and the Reason adjuncts mina lhaqqi llaḍii 9arafuuh 'because of the truth they recognized' in (371) and min ?agli qaraari rra?iisi l?axiir 'because of the president's last decision' in (385).

(384) kaana yatahaddaθu biḡayri lhamaasi llaḍii ?a9rifuhuu 9anh

He was speaking without the enthusiasm I know he has

(385) ?istaqaala min ?agli qaraari rra?iisi l?axiir

He resigned because of the president's last decision

Examples of (ii) on the other hand are the nominal elements of the Manner adjunct biquwwah 'fast' in (348) and biḡayri hisaab 'without stint' in (349), the Means adjunct bibtisaamah 'with a smile' in (385), and the Reason adjuncts min 9amaa 'because of blindness' and min gahl 'for ignorance' in (387) and min ?agli kalimah 'because of a word' in (388).

(386) §agga9ahuu bibtisaamah

He encouraged him with a smile

(387) wallaahi maa tubaSSaru min 9amaa wa laa tu9allamu min gahl

(?ibn ?abii Taalib, II, 286)

By Allaah, you are not made to realize because of blindness,
nor are you taught for ignorance

(388) ?istaqaala min ?agli kalimah

He resigned because of a word

Secondly, in their capacity as prepositional elements of Reason adjuncts 'bi' and 'li' as well as 9alaa that is marked with the feature [+ concessive], seem to govern definite or qualified NPs: for me the PPs of (389) are semantically ill-formed if their prepositional elements are interpreted as meaning 'because of', 'for' and 'in spite of', i.e. if the first and the second one are analysed as Reason adjuncts and the third as a Concessive adjunct.

(389) bimahaarah 'because of a skill', liḡu9uur 'for a feeling'
and 9alaa 9ilm 'in spite of knowledge'

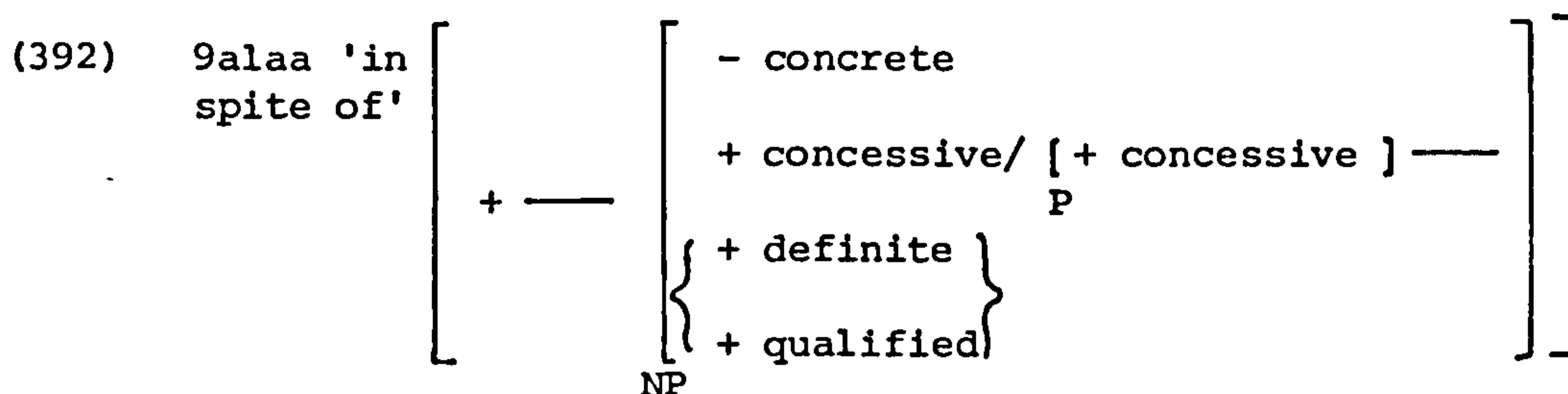
For their prepositional elements govern neither definite nor qualified nouns: the semantic well-formed combinations corresponding to the PPs in (389) are, for example, those of (390).

(390) bimahaaratin ?abdaahaa 'because of a skill he demonstrated,
liḡu9uurin biDDiiq 'for a feeling of being distressed' and
9alaa 9ilmihii bikaθrati mas?uuliyyaatihaa 'in spite of his
knowing of the multiplicity of its responsibilities'

According to what is revealed by (389 - 390), the feature specifications of (i) bi and 'li' and (ii) '9alaa' that are assigned to them in terms of their complements (cf. above (381) and (382) respectively) ought to be modified so as to express the characteristics of these complements as to definiteness and qualification. (391 - 392) are respectively the features so modified.

(391) bi, 'because
of and li
'for'

+	-	concrete	-
	+	reason/[+ reason]	-
		P	
		+ definite	
		+ qualified	
		NP	



It should be noted that, the features [+ definite] and [+ qualified] depend on the N being governed by the definite particle ?al'the', for instance, and functioning as a head in a NP with a qualifying element, respectively. Hence, they are contextual features, i.e. will be introduced by a feature - introducing rule. This rule will make use of the definite article and the qualifying element, and apply before the projection rules, for the features it introduces are necessary to them.

20.2.3.3 Adjuncts expressing temporal relations

20.2.3.3.1 Instantive time adjuncts

As indicated above (p. 634) qabl/min qabl 'before', ba9d/min ba9d 'after', and fii 'at', are the prepositions able to function as prepositional elements of Instantive time adjuncts. In terms of their complements, these prepositions are grouped into:

1. 'fi', which does not occur in the data: it governs a NP marked with (393), e.g. lwaahidati masaa?aa, 'one o'clock p.m.' in (394).

(393) [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual] ⁽¹⁾

(394) hadaθa daalika fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

This happened at one o'clock p.m.

Hence, it is marked with the feature specification of (395).

(395) [+ --- [+ time, - measure, - period, + punctual]]
NP

2. qabl/min qabl 'before', and ba9d/min ba9d 'after': according to the data they, or some of them, govern the following NPs:

(i) the NPs marked with (396), e.g. wi9aa?i ?axiih 'his brother's bag' in (397)a, hii 'it' in (397)b, which refers back to lkitaab 'the Scripture'

(cf. 29/47) and haa 'them' in (398), which refers back to qaryatin 'a village'.

(396) [+ concrete]

(397)a. fabada?a bi?aw9iyatihim qabla wi9aa?i ?axiih (12/76)

Then, he began (the search) with their bags before his
brother's bag

b. wa maa kunta tatluu min qablihi min kitaab (29/48)

And you were not a reader of any scripture before it

(398) wa kam qaSamnaa min qaryatin kaanat Zaalimatan wa ?an?aa?naa

ba9dahaa qawman ?aaxariin (21/11)

How many a village that were unjust have We shattered, and
raised up after them another folk

(ii) the NPs marked with (399) e.g. k 'you' in (400)a, hum 'them' in
(400)b, rrusul 'the messengers' in(401)a, ?ahlihaa 'its people' in (401)b
and kum 'you' in (401)c.

(399) [+ human]

(400)a. fas?ali lladiina yaqra?uuna lkitaaba min qablik (10/94)

Then question those who read the Scripture before you

b. lam yaTmi0hunn ?insun qablahum walaa gaann (55/74)

Whom neither men nor jinni will have touched before them

(401)a. li?allaa yakuunalinnaasi 9ala llaahi huggatun ba9da rrusul (4/165)

In order that mankind might have no argument against Allah
after the messengers

b. ?a wa lam yahdi lilladiina yari0uuna l?arDa min ba9ci?ahlihaa

?an law na?aa?u ?aSabnaahum bi0unuubihim (7/100)

Is it not an indication to those who inherit the land after
its people that, if We will, We can smite them for their sins?

c. ?in ya?aa? yu0hibkum wa yastaxlif min ba9dikum maa ya?aa? (6/133)

If He will, He can remove you and can cause what He will to
follow after you

(iii) the NPs marked with (402), e.g. lhasanah 'the good' in (403)a, Tuluu9i §§amsi 'the rising of the sun' in (403)a, Salaati lfagr 'the prayer of dawn' in (403)c, Darraa?a 'some misfortune' in (404)a, ?iimaanikum 'your belief' in (404)b, 9ahdihim 'their treaty' in (404)c and SSalaah 'the prayer' in (404)d.

(402) [- concrete]

(403)a. lima tasta9giluuna bissayyi?ati qabla lhasanah (27/46)

Why will you hasten on the evil before the good?

b. wa sabbih bihamdi rabbika qabla Tuluu9i §§amsi wa qabla l9uruub (50/39)

And hymn the praise of your Lord before the rising and the setting of the sun

c. yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu liyasta?dinkumu lladiinalam yablu9u lhuluma minkum min qabli Salaati lfagr (cf. 24/58)
O you who believe! Let those of you who have not come to puberty ask leave of you before the prayer of dawn

(404)a. wa la?in ?ada9naahu na9maa?a ba9da Darraa?a massath (11/10)

And if We cause him to taste grace after some misfortune that had befallen him

b. wadda ka9iirun min ?ahli lkitaabi law yarudduunakum min ba9di ?iimaanikum kuffaaraa (2/109)

Many of the people of the Scripture long to make you disbelievers after your belief

c. wa ?in naka9uu ?aymaanahum min ba9di 9ahdihim (9/12)

And if they break their pledges after their treaty

d. takbisuunahumaa min ba9di SSalaah (5/106)

You shall empanel them both after the prayer

(iv) the NPs marked with (405), e.g. yawmi . . . lqiyāamah 'the Day of Resurrection' in (406).

(405) [+ time, - measure, - period, - punctual]

(406) wa ?in min qaryatin ?illaa nahnu muhlikuuhaa qabla yawmi
lqiyaamah (17/58)

There is not a township but We shall destroy it before the
Day of Resurrection

(v) the NPs marked with (407), e.g. 9aamihim haadaa 'after this their
year' in (408)a and ?ummaah 'a long time' in (408)b.

(407) [+ time, + measure]

(408)a. falaa yaqrabu lmasgida lharaama ba9da 9aamihim haadaa (9/28)

So let them not come near the Inviolable Place of Worship
after this their year

b. wa qaala llaadii nagaa minhumaa wa ddakara ba9da ?ummaah (12/45)

And he of the two who was released, and (now) at length (lit.
after a long time) remembered, said

In contradistinction to fi 'at', qabl/min qabl 'before' and ba9d/min
ba9d 'after' could not be assigned features in terms of all the NPs they
are able to govern. For some of these NPs are perceived of as being
elliptical in a way that is incompatible with their features, as indicated
by the following pairs:

(i) (qabla) wi9aa?i ?axiih '(before) his brother's bag' (cf. above
(397)a) = (qabla) taftii?i wi9aa?i ?axiih '(before) the search of his
brother's bag'.

(ii) (min qabli)hii '(before) it' (cf. above (397)b) = (min qabli)
tilaawatihii '(before) being a reader of it'.

(iii) (ba9da)haa '(after) them' (cf. above (398)) = (ba9da) qaSmihaa
'(after) shattering them'.

(iv) (min qabli)k '(before) you' (cf. above (400)a) = (min qabli) ba9θik
'(before) sending you out (i.e. (before) choosing you as a prophet)'.

(v) (qabla)hum '(before) them' (cf. above (400)b) = (qabla) Tamθihim

'(before) their touch'.

(vi) (ba9da) rrusul '(after) the messengers' (cf. above (401)a) = (ba9da)

?irsaali rrusul '(after) sending the messengers'

(vii) (min ba9di) ?ahlihaa '(after) its people' (cf. above (401)b) = (min

ba9di) halaaki ?ahlihaa '(after) its people were annihilated'.

(viii) (min ba9di)kum '(after) you' (cf. above (401)c) = (min ba9di)

?idhaabikum '(after) removing you'.

(ix) (qabla) lhasanah '(before) the good' (cf. above (403)a) = (qabla)

listi9gaali bilhasanah '(before) hastening on the good'.

(x) (min qabli) Salaati lfagr '(before) the prayer of dawn' (cf. above

(403)c) = (min qabli) ?adaa?i Salaati lfagr '(before) performing the

prayer of dawn'.

(xi) (ba9da) Darraa?a '(after) some misfortune' (cf. above (404)a) =

(ba9da) ?idaaqatihii .:Darraa? '(after) making him taste some misfortune'.

(xii) (min ba9di) 9ahdihim '(after) their treaty' (cf. above (404)c) = (min

ba9di) ta?kiidi 9ahdihim '(after) confirming their treaty'.

(xiii) (min ba9di) SSalaah '(after) the prayer' (cf. above (404)d) = (min

ba9di) ?adaa?i SSalaah '(after) performing the prayer'.

The remaining NPs are (i) (qabla) Tuluu9i \$amsi '(before) the rising of the sun' in (403)b and (min ba9di) ?iimaanikum '(after) your belief' in (404)b, and (ii) (qabla) yawmi lqiyaamah '(before) the Day of Resurrection' in (406), (ba9da) qaamihim haadaa '(after) this their year' in (408)a and (ba9da) ?ummah '(after) a long time' in (408)b: they are not conceived of as being elliptical. For they denote somethings before/after which actions or happenings can be said to be done or occur, respectively: the former are verbal nouns and the latter are time words.

To accommodate into the grammar of the present work the facts related to the nominal complements of qabl/min qabl 'before' or ba9d/min ba9d 'after'.

I propose the following things:

(a) to assign these prepositions a selectional feature in terms of their complements that have either the feature (405) or (407). These features are:

(409) [+ — [+ time, - measure, - period, - punctual]]
NP

(410) [+ — [+ time, + measure]]
NP

And they are necessary for the projection rules related to the PPs having as their prepositional elements the prepositions to which they are assigned, and as their nominal elements NPs other than verbal nouns, or maa-/?an-/?anna- clauses: they are the bases upon which these PPs will be marked by the projection rules as being semantically well-/ill-formed.

(b) to relate the prepositional complements (of qabl/min qabl 'before' or ba9d/min ba9d 'after') that are realized by verbal nouns to their counterparts in the corresponding PPs whose prepositional and nominal elements are realized by the same prepositions and ?an-/maa- clauses. For example (qabla) Tuluu9i §§amsi '(before) the rising of the sun' in (403)b will be related to (qabla) ?an taTlu9a §§ams '(before) the sun rises'. This relation will be carried out in the syntactic component by a lexical rule that accounts for the specific realization of some of the nominal elements of 'qabl/min qabl' and 'ba9d/min ba9d' that are realized by NPs other than maa-, ?an- or ?anna- clauses. As indicated above 20.2.2.1.1 min ba9d 'after' on the one hand, and ba9d 'after' and qabl/min qabl 'before' on the other are assigned the categorial features (411 - 412), respectively.

(411) [+ — { [?an-/maa- clause]
NP }
[other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clause]
NP }]

(412) [+ — { [?an- clause]
NP }
[other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clause]
NP }]

The nominal complements of 'min ba9d/ba9d' and 'qabl/min qabl' that are realized by NPs other than maa-/?an-/?anna- clauses, could be verbal nouns e.g. Tuluu9i §§amsi 'the rising of the sun' in (403)b, or time words, e.g. yawmi lqiyaamah 'the Day of Resurrection' in (406). The proposed lexical rule will account for the former possibility while the projection rules, as indicated above (p. 714) will account for the latter one.

(c) to associate with Instantive time adjuncts the following rule: the nominal elements of Instantive times adjuncts that are realized by NPs having the feature specification (396), (399) or (402) are conceived of as elliptical NPs with heads being verbal nouns and determined either by (i) the linguistic context, e.g. the prepositional complements haa 'them' in (398) and hum 'them' in (400)b: the heads of the NPs into which these complements are incorporated are the verbal nouns of the verbs qaSam 'have shattered' in (398) and yaTmiθ 'have touched' in (400)b, respectively or (ii) the context of situation, e.g. the prepositional complements wi9aa?i ?axiih 'his brother's bag' in (397)a, rrusul 'the messengers' in (401)a, ?ahlihaa 'its people' in (401)b, and 9ahdihim 'their treaty' in (404)c.

20.2.3.3.2 Time frame adjuncts

As indicated above (p. 635), 'bi' and 'fi' are the prepositions able to function as prepositional elements in Time frame adjuncts; and according to the date the feature specifications of their complements are as follows:

1. 'fi' governs the NPs marked with (413), (414), (415) or (416).
 - (413) [+ time, - measure, - period, - punctual]
 - (414) [+ time, - measure, + period]
 - (415) [+ time, + measure, + definite]
 - (416) [+ time, + measure, + qualified]

Examples are respectively the nominal elements of the Time frame adjuncts *fii laylati lqadr* 'on the Night of Power' in (417), *fi llayli* 'in the night' in (418), *fi l?ayyaami lxaaliyah* 'in past days' in (419), and *fii yawmin 9aaSif* 'a stormy day' in (420).

(417) ?innaa ?anzalnaahu fii laylati lqadr (97/1)

We revealed it on the Night of Power

(418) wa lahuu maa sakana fi llayli wa nnahaar (6/13)

Unto Him belongs whatsoever rests in the night and the day

(419) kuluu wa §rabuu hani?an bimaa ?aslaftum fi l?ayyaami
lxaaliyah (69/24)

Eat and drink at ease for that which you sent on before
you in past days

(420) karamaadini §taddat bihi rriihu fii yawmin 9aaSif (14/18)

As ashes which the wind blows hard upon a stormy day

The feature specification of 'fii' as a prepositional element in Time frame adjuncts will include accordingly the selectional features of (421).

(421) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } [+ \text{ time, } - \text{ measure, } - \text{ period, } - \text{ punctual}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{b. } [+ \text{ time, } - \text{ measure, } + \text{ period}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{c. } [+ \text{ time, } + \text{ measure, } + \text{ definite/+ qualified}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$

2. 'bi' governs NPs marked with (414), and, hence, its feature specification will include the selectional feature of (421)b, e.g. the nominal elements of the Time frame adjuncts *bil9a§iyyi* 'in the early hours of night' in (422) and *billayli* 'by night' in (423).

(422) wa sabbih bil9a§iyyi wa l?ibkaar (3/41)

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

(423) ?allaadina yunfiquuna ?amwaalahum billayli wa nnahaar (2/274)

Those who spend their wealth by night and day

It should be noted that the data contain examples of Time frame adjuncts whose nominal elements are marked with none of the feature specifications of (413 - 416); those are the PPs that are analysed as Time frame adjuncts, though their nominal elements are marked with (424) e.g. *fi ssarraa?i* 'in ease' in (425).

(424) [+ abstract]

(425) ?allađiina yunfiquuna fi ssarraa?i wa DDarraa? (3/134)

Those who spend in ease and in adversity

To accommodate into the grammar of the present work PPs such as *fi ssarraa?i* 'in ease' in (425), we do not need to assign their prepositional elements a selectional feature other than those of (421). For their nominal elements are elliptical NPs with heads compatible with (421)b, i.e. marked with (414). For example, the nominal element of *fi ssarraa?i* 'in ease' means ?awqaati ssarraa?i 'the times of ease'. For a discussion of how this analysis could be made, see above 20.2.2.1.1).

20.2.3.3.3 fii-Duration adjuncts

The 'fi' marked with [+ fii-duration] is the preposition able to function as a nominal element in fii-Duration adjuncts (cf. above p. 635). It governs NPs marked with (426), and, hence, its feature specification will embrace the selectional feature of (427).

(426) [+ time, + measure, - definite]

(427) [+ — [+ time, + measure, - definite]]
NP

Accordingly, a PP such as *fi ššahri nafsih* 'in the same month' in (428) could not be analysed as a fii-Duration adjunct.

(428) hadaθa daalika fi ššahri nafsih

This happens in the same month

For its nominal element is marked with (429) rather than with (426), and hence it - the PP - is a time frame (cf. above 20.2.3.32) rather than a fii-duration adjunct.

(429) [+ time, + measure, + definite]

Examples of fii-Duration adjuncts, whose nominal elements are compatible with (427), are fii yawmayn 'in two days' in (430) and fii sittati ?ayyaam 'in 'six days' in (431).

(430) faqaDaahunna sab9a samaawaatin fii yawmayn (41/12)

Then He ordained them seven heavens in two days

(431) ?inna rabbakumu llaahu lladii xalaqa ssamaawaati wa l?arDa

fii sittati ?ayyaam (10/3)

Surely, your Lord is Allah Who created the heavens and the earth in six days

20.2.3.3.4 ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts

'?ila', 'hatta', and 'li' that is marked with [+ ?ilaa-duration] are the prepositions able to function as nominal elements in ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts (cf. above p. 635). They govern the following NPs:

(i) those marked with (432).

(432) [+ time, -- measure, - period, + punctual]

e.g. ssaa9ati lwaahidati masaa?aa 'one o'clock p.m.' in (433), hiin 'a time' in (434) and ?agalin musammaa 'an appointed term' in (435).

(433) sa?udaakiru ?ila ssaa9ati lwaahidati masaa?aa (cf. 2/282)

I will study until one o'clock p.m.

(434) layasgununnahuu hattaa hiin (12/35)

To imprison him for a time (lit. till a time)

(435) kullun yagrii li?agalin musammaa (13/2)

Each runs unto an appointed term

(ii) those marked with (436), e.g. yawmi lqiyaamati 'the Day of Resurrection' in (437).

(436) [+ time, - measure, - period, - punctual]

(437) layab9aθanna 9alayhim ?ilaa yawmi lqiyaamati man yasuumuhum

suu?a l9aadaab (7/167)

That He would raise against them till the Day of

Resurrection those who would lay on them a cruel torment

(iii) the NPs marked with (438), e.g. Sabaahi lyawmi ttaalii 'the morning of the following day' in (439).

(438) [+ time, - measure, + period, + definite]

(439) taqaatala lgayṣaani ?ilaa Sabaahi lyawmi ttaalii

The two armies fought till the morning of the following day

Their features specifications will accordingly include the selectional features of (440)a - c, respectively.

(440) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } [+ \text{ time, - measure, - period, + punctual}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{b. } [+ \text{ time, - measure, - period, - punctual}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{c. } [+ \text{ time, - measure, + period, + definite}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \\ + \text{---} \end{array} \right]$

20.2.3.4 Place adjuncts

The prepositions able to function as prepositional elements in Place adjuncts are the following ones, which have the categorial feature [+---[pther than maa-/?an-/?anna-clause]] (cf. above 20.2.2.1.1).

- (i) 9alaa 'on'; (ii) taht 'under'; (iii) (min) waraa? '(from) behind'; (iv) fii 'in'; (v) 9inda 'at'; (vi) lada(yy) 'in (My) presence'; (vii) bi 'in'.

In terms of the NPs they are able to govern, these prepositions are grouped into the following groups:

1. '9alaa', it governs the NPs marked with (441), (442) or (443) and, hence, its feature specification will include the selectional features of (444).

(441) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, - expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ + \text{ horizontal} \end{array} \right]$

(442) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ + \text{ top:bottom} \end{array} \right]$

(443) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, - expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ - \text{ horizontal} \end{array} \right]$

- (444) [+ — { a. [+ concrete, - expressive of a three-dimensional]
[object, + horizontal]
NP } b. [+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional]
[object, + top:bottom]
NP } c. [+ concrete, - expressive of a three-dimensional]
[object, - horizontal]
NP }]

Examples of place adjuncts, whose nominal elements are compatible with (444)a - c, are respectively (i) 9ala l?arD 'on the ground' in (445)a, 9alaa §aaTi?i nnahr 'on the river bank' in (445)b and 9alaa xa§abati lmasrah 'on the stage (lit. 'on the stage of the theatre') in (445)c; (ii) 9alaa maktabii/Sunduugin xa§abiyy 'on my desk/a wooden box' in (446); (iii) 9alaa suuri lmadiinah 'on the city wall' in (447).

(445)a. yuSallii 9ala l?arD

He prays on the ground

b. kunnaa natahaddaθu 9alaa §aaTi?i nnahr

We were talking on the river bank

c. ta§aagara lmumaθθilaani 9alaa xa§abati lmasrah

The two actors quarrelled with each other on the stage

(446) kataba xaaliduni lxiTaaba 9alaa maktabii/Sunduugin xa§abiyy

xaalid wrote the letter on my desk/a wooden box

(447) tabaara lmutaSaari9aani 9alaa suuri lmadiinah

The two wrestlers competed with each other on the city wall

It should be noted that when the NPs marked with (442) and (443) are governed by the preposition having the feature (444)b - c, respectively, the top exteriors of their referents become in focus.

2. 'taht': it governs the NPs marked with the feature (448), e.g. the nominal elements of the Place adjuncts tahta §§agarah 'beneath the tree' in

(449), and tahta saqfin waahid 'under one ceiling' in (450), respectively.

(448) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, } - \text{ expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ + \text{ horizontal} \end{array} \right]$

(449) laqad raDiya llaahu 9ani lmu?miniina ?id yubaayi9uunaka
tahta \$agarah (48/18)

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

(450) kunna na?kulu wa na\$rabu tahta saqfin waahid

We used to eat and drink under one ceiling

The feature specification of 'taht' will therefore embrace the
selectional feature of (451).

(451) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, } - \text{ expressive of a three- dimensional} \\ \text{object, } + \text{ horizontal} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
NP

3. 'min waraa?': it governs the NPs marked with either (452)a or (453)a;
examples are respectively the nominal elements of the Place adjuncts min
waraa?i gudur 'from behind walls' in (452)b and min waraa?i higaab 'from
behind a curtain' in (452)c on the one hand, and min waraa?i lhuguraati
'from behind the private apartments' in (453)b on the other.

(452)a $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, } - \text{ expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ - \text{ horizontal} \end{array} \right]$

b laa yuqaatiluunakum gamii9an ?illaa fii quran muhaSSanatin
?aw min waraa?i gudur (59/14)

They will not fight against you in a body save in fortified
villages or from behind walls

c fas?aluuhunna min waraa?i higaab (33/53)

Ask (it) of them from behind a curtain

(453)a $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, } + \text{ expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ + \text{ front: back} \end{array} \right]$

b ?inna llaadiina yunaaduunaka min waraa?i lhuguraati ?akθaruhum
laa ya9qiluun (49/4)

Surely, those who call you from behind the private apartments,
most of them have no sense

Accordingly, the feature specification of 'taht' will contain the
selectional features of (454).

(454)	[+	-	}	a.	[+ concrete, - expressive of a three-dimensional]	}]
							object, - horiztonal			
						NP				
					b.	[+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional]	}]
							object, +front: back			
						NP				

It should be noted that when the NPs marked with (453)a are
governed by the preposition marked with (454)b, the front:back exteriors of
their referents become into focus.

4. 'fi', it governs the following NPs:

(i) those having the feature specification (455)a, e.g. the nominal
elements of the place adjuncts fi lmihraab 'in the chamber', fii daarikum
'in your dwelling-place', fi lbilaad 'in the lands' and fii ?arDi llaah 'in
Allah's earth' in (455)b - e, respectively.

(455)a [+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional object]

b wa huwa qaa?imun yuSallii fi lmihraab (3/39)

As he stood praying in the chamber

c tamatta9uu fii daarikum θalaaθata ?ayyaam (11/65)

Enjoy life in your dwelling-place three days

d ?alladiina Taḡaw fi lbilaad (89/12)

Who transgressed beyond bounds in the lands

e faḡaruhaa ta?kul fii ?arDi llaah (7/73)

So let her feed in Allah's earth

It should be noted that the interiors of the referents of the NPs marked by

(455) a become into focus when governed by 'fii' in its capacity as a prepositional element of Place adjuncts.

(ii) the second type of the NPs able to be governed by 'fii' in its capacity as a prepositional element of Place adjuncts has to do with the NPs marked with (456).

- (456) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ concrete, } - \text{ expressive of a three-dimensional object,} \\ + \text{ horizontal} \end{array} \right]$

Some of the NPs marked with (456) are able to be governed by the 'fi' in question. Examples are those of the Place adjuncts, .fii taqriirihi l?axiir 'in his last report' "in '(457)' and fi SSafhati l?axiirati mina l?ahraam 'in the last page of ?al?ahraam' in (458).

(457) dakara daalika fii taqriirihi l?axiir

He mentioned that in his last report

(458) qara?tu daalika fi SSafhati l?axiirati mina

l?ahraam

I read that in the last page of ?al?ahraam

Others on the other hand are not, e.g. saThu lmaktab 'the desk surface' ξ aaTi?u nnahr 'the river bank' and xaḡabatu lmasrah 'the stage' (lit. 'the stage of the theatre'). So, to prevent the grammar from generating ungrammatical structures such as *fii saThi lmaktab 'in the desk surface' ... and *fii xaḡabati lmasrah 'in the stage' with 'fii' conceived of as a prepositional element in a Place adjunct, the first group of the NPs marked with (456) ought to be assigned with a feature that shows that they can be conceived of as having interiors. The feature I suggest is (459).

$$(459) \left[+ \text{ interior/} \left[+ \text{ P} \right. \right. \left. \left. \left[+ \text{ concrete, + expressive of a three-} \right. \right. \right. \left. \left. \left. \left[\text{dimensional object} \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[- \right]$$

NP

(iii) the final type of the NPs able to be governed by 'fii' has to do with the NPs marked with (460).

(460) [- concrete]

Like the NPs marked with (456), some of those marked with (460) are able to be governed by 'fii', and others are not. Examples are the nominal elements of the Place adjuncts *fii Zulumaati lbarri* 'in the darkness of the land' in (461) and *gawwin ?axawiyy* 'in a friendly atmosphere' in (462), and of the structures *fi lhaqiqah* 'in the truth', and *fii Sabr* 'in patience', respectively.

(461) ?am manyahdikum fii Zulumaati lbarri wa lbahr (27/63)

Is not He (best) Who guides you in the darkness of the land
and the sea?

(462) kunnaa natahadda?u fii gawwin ?axawiyy

We were talking in a friendly atmosphere

To prevent the grammar from generating ungrammatical structures such as the last two ones with 'fi' perceived of as a prepositional element of Place adjuncts, NPs such as the nominal elements of the Place adjuncts in (461 - 462) also will be assigned (459).

To account for the co-occurrence restrictions between 'fii' and its complements which are referred to in (i - iii), its feature specification will contain the selectional features of (463).

$$(463) \left[+ \text{ interior/} \left[+ \text{ P} \right. \right. \left. \left. \left[+ \text{ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional} \right. \right. \right. \left. \left. \left. \left[\text{object} \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[- \right]$$

NP

$$\left[+ \text{ interior/} \left[+ \text{ P} \right. \right. \left. \left. \left[+ \text{ concrete, + expressive of} \right. \right. \right. \left. \left. \left. \left[\text{a three-dimensional object} \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[- \right]$$

NP

5. '9ind': it governs the NPs marked with the feature [+ concrete].

Examples are lmasgidi lharaam 'the Inviolable Place of Worship' in (464); mataa9inaa 'our things' in (465) and ?arDi lmal9ab 'the playground' (lit. 'the ground of the place of playing') in (466).

- (464) wa laa tuqaatiluuhum 9inda lmasgidi lharaam (2/191)
And do not fight with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship
- (465) wa taraknaa yuusufa 9indamataa9inaa (12/17)
And left yuusuf by our things
- (466) tahaddaθuu 9inda ?arDi lmal9ab
They talked at the playground

Accordingly, its feature specification will contain the selectional feature of (467).

- (467) [+ — [+ concrete]]
NP

It should be noted that '9inda' governs also NPs marked with the feature [+ human], e.g. the nominal element of the Place adjunct 9inda rasuuli llaahi 'in the presence of the messenger of Allah' in (468).

- (468) ?inna llaāiina yaḡuDDuuna ?aSwaatahum 9inda rasuuli llaahi
?ulaa?ika llaāiina mtāhana 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
proven unto righteousness

Since, however, such NPs are conceived of as concrete objects when they are governed by '9inda', they do not bear upon its selectional feature, and are accounted for by a semantic rule associated with Place adjuncts and stating that they are perceived of in the way indicated when governed by '9ind'.

6. 'ladaa': according to the data when functioning as a prepositional element of a non-predicative Place adjunct, ladaa govern NPs expressing 'Allah', e.g. (laday)ya '(in' My (presence)' in (469) and (470).

(469) laa taxaf ?innii laa yaxaafu ladayya lmursaluun (27/10)

Do not fear. For the emissaries do not fear in My presence

(470) qaala laa taxtaSimuu ladayy (50/28)

He said: Do not contend in My presence

Accordingly, its feature specification will embrace the selectional feature of (471).

(471) [+ — [+ expressive of Allah]]
NP

7. 'bi': it governs the following NPs:

(i) those that are marked with (472), e.g. the nominal elements of the Place adjuncts bilwaadi lmuqaddasi Tuwaa 'in the holy vale, Tuwaa' in (473) and bibaTni makkah 'in the valley of makkah' in (474).

(472) [+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional object]

(473) ?id naadaahu rabbuhuu bilwaadi lmuqaddasi Tuwaa (79/16)

When his Lord called him in the holy vale, Tuwaa

(474) wa huwa lladii kaffa ?aydiyahum 9ankum wa ?aydiyakum 9anhum
bibaTni makkah (48/24)

And He it is Who has withheld men's hands from you, and has
withheld your hands from them in the valley of makkah

It should be noted that the interiors of the referents of the NPs marked with (472) become into focus when governed by 'bi' in its capacity as a prepositional element of Place adjuncts.

(ii) the NPs marked with (475), e.g. the nominal element of the Place adjunct bil9araa? 'in the bared (land)' in (476).

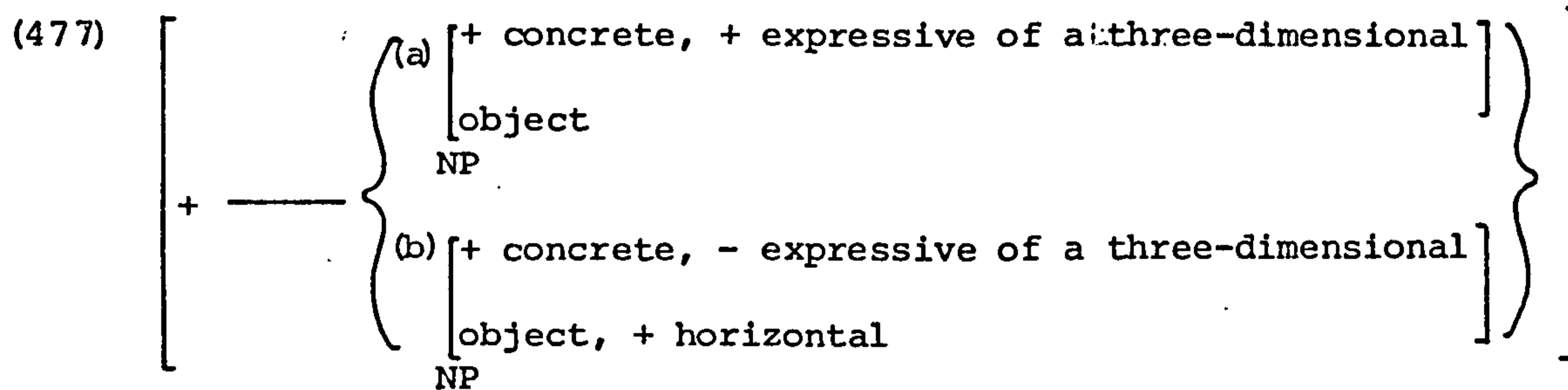
(475) [+ concrete, - expressive of a three-dimensional object,]
[+ horizontal]

(476) taqaatala lgayšaani bil9araa? (cf. 68/49)

The two armies fought one another in the bared (land)

The selectional features of (477) are therefore the features needed for

accounting for the co-occurrence restriction between 'bi' and its complements.



Footnotes

1. The NPs marked with (393) are some of the NPs relevant to the discussion of the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of the adjuncts expressing temporal relations. The others are (i - iii).

(i) [+ time, - measure, - period, - punctual]

(ii) [+ time, - measure, + period]

(iii) [+ time, + measure]

(i) Examples are respectively ?assa²gatu lwaahidah 'one o'clock', muntaSafu llayl 'midnight', etc.; (ii) yawmu lgumu9ah 'Friday', laylatu l9iid 'the eve of the feast', etc.; (iii) ?aSSayf 'the summer', ?annahaar 'the daytime', ?aSSabaah 'the morning', etc.; (iv) saa9ah 'an hour' sanah 'a year', etc.

These classes of time words are semantically defined by Daswani as follows:

(a) 'A + punctual noun refers to a point in time' (Daswani, p. 80).

(b) 'A - punctual noun refers to a composite time unit with its inception and conclusion clearly defined' (loc. cit.).

(c) 'A [- measure, + period] noun refers to a non-measurable period of time with its inception and conclusion defined' (loc. cit.).

(d) 'A + measure noun refers to a time period that has a clearly delimited point of conclusion' (loc. cit.).

They can also be structurally established as follows:

(1) Those marked with (393) (cf. above p. 709): they can function neither as Time frame adjunct nor as a prepositional element of this adjunct; also they cannot realize a duration adjunct denoting length of time: the NP, 'ssaa9ata lwaahidata masaa?aa 'at one o'clock p.m.' in (iv) is analysable only as an Instantive time adjunct.

(iv) taraka lmanzila ssaa9ata lwaahidata masaa?aa

He left the house at one o'clock p.m.

(2) Those marked with (i):

(a) they can function as Time frame adjunct or as prepositional elements of Time frame adjuncts, e.g. yawma/yawmi lgumu9ah 'on Friday/Friday', in (v) respectively. (For me however the former is more acceptable than the latter.)

(v) laa yudaakiru yawma/fii' yawmi lgumu9ah

He does not study on Friday

(b) they cannot function as duration adjuncts denoting length of time: yawma lgumu9ah 'on Friday' in (v) cannot be analysed by analogy with saa9atayn 'for two hours' in (vi).

(vi) daakartu saa9atayn

I studied for two hours

(3) Those marked with (ii):

(a) when they are definite, they can function as prepositional elements of Time frame adjuncts, e.g. SSabaah 'the morning' in (vii) but not as Time frame adjuncts or duration adjuncts expressing length of time: (viii) is ungrammatical and cannot be analysed analogously to yawma lgumu9ah 'on Friday' in (v) or saa9atayn 'for two hours' in (vi), respectively.

(vii) laa yudaakiru fi SSabaah

He does not study in the morning

(viii) *laa yudaakiru SSabaah

He does not study the morning

(b) when they are indefinite on the other hand, they can function as Time frame adjuncts, e.g. Sabaahaa 'in the morning' in (ix).

(ix) laa yudaakiru Sabaahaa

He does not study in the morning

(4) Those marked with (iii):

(a) when they are indefinite or qualified they can function as prepositional elements of fii-Duration adjuncts, e.g. sanah 'a year' in (x),

and fatratin ?aqall 'a shorter period' in (xi), respectively, but not as prepositional elements of Time frame adjuncts, as indicated by the semantic ill-formedness of (xii).

- (x) bana lbayta fii sanah
He built the house in a year
- (xi) sayaktubuhuu fii fatratin ?aqall
He will write it in a shorter period
- (xii) *yagrii fii yawm
He runs in a day

(b) also, provided they are indefinite or qualified, they can function as duration adjuncts expressing length of time; examples are respectively saa9ah 'for an hour' in (xiii)a, and fatratan qaSiirah 'for a short while' in (xiii)b.

- (xiii)a daakartu saa9ah
I studied for an hour
- (xiii)b ?intaZarahuu fatratan qaSiirah
He waited for him for a short while

C H A P T E R T W E N T Y O N E

INCORPORATING THE CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS RELATED TO
V-P-N COMBINATIONS INTO TGG

According to what is said regarding the co-occurrence restrictions related to V-P-N combinations, these combinations are divided into:

(a) those whose P-N functions as LPO. Examples are *sakan(tum) fii masaakini llađina Zalamuu ?anfusahum* 'dwelt in the dwellings of those who wronged themselves' in (1), and *yam§(uuna) 9ala l?arDi* 'walk upon the earth' in (2).

(1) *wa sakantum fii masaakini llađina Zalamuu ?anfusahum* (14/45)

And dwelt in the dwellings of those who wronged themselves

(2) *wa 9ibaadu rrahmaani llađina yam§uuna 9ala l?arDi hawnaa*
(25/63)

And the (faithful) slaves of the Beneficent are they who
walk upon the earth

(b) those whose P-N functions as either DPO or non-adverbial PO. Examples are respectively *?awa ?ila lkahf* 'fled for refuge to the Cave' in (3) and *bađa(t) 9ala l?uxra* 'does wrong to the other' in (4).

(3) *?iđ ?awa lfityatu ?ila lkahf* (18/10)

When the young men fled for refuge to the Cave

(4) *fa?in bađat ?ihdaahumaa 9ala l?uxraa faqaatilu llatii*
tabđii hattaatafii?a ?ilaa ?amri llaah (49/9)

And if one party of them does wrong to the other, fight
that which does wrong till it turns to the ordinance of
Allah

The co-occurrence restrictions connected with the former combinations are (i) those between their prepositional and verbal elements, which are

categorial and (ii) those between their prepositional and nominal elements, which are selectional, categorial. On the other hand, the co-occurrence restrictions connected with the latter combinations are (i) those between their verbal and prepositional elements, which are categorial, and (ii) those between their verbal and nominal elements, which are selectional.

In 'Aspects', as indicated above (19.2.3.1), Chomsky recognizes the categorial rather than the selectional restrictions related to the V-P-N combinations whose P-N does not function as LPO and proposes a method of incorporating them into his model of TGG. Chomsky acknowledges also the class of prepositionally realized verbal complements between the prepositional and the nominal elements of which there are co-occurrence restrictions. As indicated above however (19.2.3.1), he does not explain how these restrictions are to be stated, nor is he sure of what this class constitutes; and though he recognizes that it - the class in question - includes 'Place' he does not make explicit the fact that this category embraces both its Free and Bound subclasses.

In the post-'Aspects' transformational works, nothing has changed:

1. there is still no recognition of the selectional restrictions between the verbal and the nominal elements of the V-P-N combinations whose P-N does not function as LPO. See, for example, Akmajian and Heny, p. 61; Huddleston, pp. 152-4 and pp. 254-5; Stockwell, pp. 14-15, pp. 16-17 and pp. 23-4; Baker, pp. 56-7 and p. 264; Radford, p. 139.
2. there is only a hint that there is a difference in terms of co-occurrence restrictions between verbs requiring LPOs and those requiring other POs. This is made by Radford. For him (cf. Radford, p. 122), (5) and (6) are respectively the feature specifications of the DOT-PVs 'put' and 'introduce', which, like PVs such as *yam* 'walk' in (2) and *?awa* 'fled for refuge' in (3), require a LPO and a non-LPO, respectively.

(5) put: V, + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{--- NP - PP} \\ + \text{LOC} \end{array} \right]$

(6) introduce: V, [+ --- NP - (to - NP)]

He however indicates neither how nor where the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of the POs of verbs such as 'put' are to be stated.

For the transformationalists who take no account of the co-occurrence restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of the POs of verbs such as 'put', see (a) Akmajian and Heny p. 58, where they state that 'the lexical entry for put', which requires a LPO, 'will have' the features in (7), and pp. 59-60, where they express that (8 - 9) are respectively the elaborated and non-elaborated lexical entry for 'sell', which requires two non-LPOs.

(7) PUT
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + [\text{--- NP PP}] \end{array} \right]$

(8) SELL
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + [\text{--- NP (to NP) (for NP)}] \end{array} \right]$

(9) SELL
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + [\text{--- NP (PP) (PP)}] \end{array} \right]$

(b) Baker, p. 56, where he regards (10) and (11) as representing the lexical entries of 'put' and 'go', which require a LPO and a DPO, respectively.

(10) put $\langle V \rangle$, $\langle \text{--- NP Prep P} \rangle$

(11) go $\langle V \rangle$, $\langle \text{--- Prep P} \rangle$

3. there is a tendency⁽¹⁾ to state the lexical entries of the verbs regarded in the present work as having POs other than LPOs, e.g. ?awa

'fled for refuge' in (3) and baġa 'does wrong' in (4), in such a way that the prepositional elements of their POs are to be specified. Examples of such a specification are (6) and (8), which are assigned by Radford and Akmajian, respectively.

As indicated above, the co-occurrence restrictions related to the V-P-N combinations whose V, which is a PV, requires a LPO are different from those related to the V-P-N combinations whose V, which is also a PV, requires other POs. Accordingly, these two types of restrictions will be incorporated differently into the grammar as will be shown in 21.1 and 21.2.1, respectively.

It should be noted that the co-occurrence restrictions between verbs other than PVs and their LPOs, e.g. respectively yag9al 'should place' and fii ġayaabati lgubb 'into the depth of the pit' in (12), are the same as those between PVs and their LPOs, e.g. respectively taqa9a 'falling' and 9ala l?arD 'on the earth' in (13).

- (12) ?agma9a ?ixwatuhuu ?an yag9aluuhu fii ġayaabati
lgubb (cf. 12/15)

His brother were of one mind that they should place him
into the depth of the pit

- (13) wa yumsiku ssamaa?a ?an taqa9a 9ala l?arD (22/65)

And he holds back the heaven from falling on the earth.

Consequently, section (21.1) will deal with the way the grammar handles the co-occurrence restrictions related to LPOs and the verbs requiring them as such.

21.1 Verbs Requiring Locative Prepositional Objects

As indicated above (19.2.3.1) the realization of the prepositional elements of LPOs has nothing to do with the verbs with which they associate. Like their counterparts in prepositionally realized Free place adjuncts, the prepositional elements of LPOs are constrained by

the selectional and categorial features of their nominal elements. Indeed, the prepositional elements of LPOs as well as their categorial and selectional features are the same as the prepositional elements of prepositionally realized Free place adjuncts and their feature specifications (cf. above 20.2.3.4). Also, like the well-formedness of the PPs realizing Free place adjuncts that has to do with the selectional features of their prepositional elements, that of the PPs realizing LPOs will be dealt with on the semantic level: those the selectional features of whose prepositional elements are compatible with their nominal elements will be regarded as being semantically well-formed and those the selectional features of whose prepositional elements are not will be considered to be semantically ill-formed. Consider (14-17)

(14)a tanbutu fii hadiiqatihim ?azhaarun gamiilah

Beautiful flowers grow in their garden

b katabtu lxiTaaba fii hugrati nnawm

I wrote the letter in the bedroom

(15)a ?awqafahuu 9alaa xaṣabati lmasrah

He made it stand on the stage (lit. the theatre stage)

b taqaatala lliSSaani 9alaa haaffati nnahr

The two thieves fought each other on the brink of the river

(16)a *tanbutu 9alaa hadiiqatihim ?azhaarun gamiilah

Beautiful flowers grow on their garden

b *katabtu lxiTaaba 9alaa hugrati nnawm

I wrote the letter on the bedroom

(17)a *?awqafahuu fii xaṣabati lmasrah

He made it stand in the stage

b *taqaatala lliSSaani fii haaffati nnahr

The two thieves fought each other in the brink of the
river

(i) Like the Free place adjuncts *fii huqrati nnawm* 'in the bedroom' in (14)b and *9alaa haaffati nnahr* 'on the brink of the river' in (15)b, the LPOs *fii hadiiqatihim* 'in their garden' in (14)a and *9alaa xaṣabati lmasrah* 'on the stage' in (15)a are semantically well-formed. For the selectional features of their prepositional elements (cf. above 20.2.3.4) are compatible with the features of their nominal elements. On the other hand, like the PPs *9alaa huqrati nnawm* 'on the bedroom' in (16)b and *fii haaffati nnahr* 'in the brink of the river' in (17)b, which correspond to those of (14)b and (15)b, respectively, the PPs *9alaa hadiiqatihim* 'on their garden' in (16)a and *fii xaṣabati lmasrah* 'in the stage' in (17)a which are analogous with those of (14)a and (15)a, respectively, are semantically ill-formed. For the selectional features of their prepositional elements are in conflict with the features of their nominal elements.

(ii) The prepositional elements of the LPOs in (14)a and (15)a are the same as those of the Free place adjuncts in (14)b and (15)b, respectively.

As indicated above however, (pp 731-2), there are categorial restrictions between LPOs and the verbs requiring them; hence the categorial features of the latter must be specified so as to refer to such restrictions. To explain this, consider, for example, (18).

(18)* *waDa9tu lkitaaba ?ilaa 9aliyy*

I put the book to 9aliyy

In (18), the PP *?ilaa 9aliyy* 'to 9aliyy' is a perfectly well-formed Arabic structure. On the other hand, the combination *waDa9(tu) lkitaaba ?ilaa 9aliyy* '(I) put the book to 9aliyy' is ungrammatical or more precisely unsyntactic (cf. Radford, p. 10). For *?ilaa* 'to' is not one of the prepositions able to associate with verbs such as *waDa9* 'put', i.e. with verbs requiring LPOs: they associate with prepositions marked with the feature [+ place], e.g. *9alaa* 'on', *fii* 'into' or *tahta* 'under' as

in (19 - 21), respectively.

(19) waDa9tu lkitaaba 9ala lmaktab

I put the book on the desk

(20) waDa9tu lkitaaba fi ddurg

I put the book into the drawer

(21) waDa9tu lkitaaba tahta lmaktab

I put the book under the desk

Accordingly, the feature specifications of verbs such as waDa9 'to put' will be specified so as to indicate that they associate with POs whose prepositional elements are marked with the feature [+ locative], as in (22), the categorial feature of waDa9.

(22) [+ — [NP] [[+ place] [NP]]]

P

Verbs requiring LPOs may be PVs or may be otherwise; examples of the latter are the following ones, which are DOT-PVs:

(a) qaḍafa(huu fi ttaaboot) 'to throw (him into the Ark)' (cf. 20/39) and qaḍafa (\$ay?an 9alaa ?aaxar) 'to throw (something on another)' (cf. 21/18).

(b) ga9ala (guz?an 9alaa kulli gabal) 'to place (a part on each mountain)' (cf. 2/260) and ga9ala(huu fii ḡayaabati lgubb) 'to place (him in the depth of the pit)' (cf. 12/15).

(c) ḥamala(hum fi lfulki lmaḥnuun) 'to carry (them in the laden ship)' (cf. 36/41), ḥamala(huu 9alaa ḍaati ?alwaahin wa dusur) 'to carry (him upon a thing of planks and nails (i.e. a ship))' (cf. 54/13) and ḥamala(hum 9alaa ?ab9irah) 'to mount (them on camels)' (cf. 9/92).

Examples of PVs associating with LPOs are on the other hand the following ones:

(a) garaa (fi lbahr) 'to run (upon (lit. 'in') the sea)' (cf. 22/65) and garaa (min takti lginaan) 'to flow (underneath the gardens)' (cf. 2/25).

(b) nabata (fi l?arD) 'to grow (in the earth)' and nabata(9ala qimami lgibaal) 'to grow (on the peaks of mountains)' (2).

(c) galasa(9alaa kursiyy) 'to sit down (on a chair)' and galasa (fii hugratinDayyiqah) 'to sit (in a narrow room)'.

(d) waqa9a(9ala l?arD) 'to fall (on the earth)' (cf. 22/65) and waqa9a (fi nnahr) 'to fall (into the river)'.

(e) saara (fi l?arD) 'to travel (in the land)' (cf. 12/109) and saara(9alaa Tariiqin mu9abbad) 'to travel (on an improved road)'.

(f) qa9ada(bikulli SiraaT) 'to lurk (on (lit. 'in') every road)' (cf. 7/86) and qa9ada(9ala l?arD) 'to sit (on the ground)'.

(g) qaama(9ala lqabr) 'stand (by (lit. 'on') the grave)' (cf. 9/84) and qaama(fi lmasgid) 'to stand (to pray) (in the mosque)' (cf. 9/108).

(h) maṣaa(9ala l?arD) 'to walk (upon the earth)' (cf. 25/63) and maṣaa(fii maskanih) 'to walk (in one's dwelling-place)' (cf. 32/26).

21.2 Prepositional Verbs Requiring Non-locative Prepositional Objects

As indicated above there are two types of restrictions related to the V-P-N combinations whose V, which is a PV, requires a non-LPO. The first type has to do with the prepositional elements of the POs the PVs in question require. Each of these PVs require (a) certain preposition(s). To account for this fact, PVs requiring non-LPOs will be assigned categorial features in terms of the prepositional elements of the non-LPOs they require. For examples, see below 21.2.1.

The second type of restriction is related on the other hand to the nominal elements of non-LPOs. Some of the PVs associating with non-LPOs require the nominal elements of these objects to be both realized by non-clausal NPs and marked with (a) certain feature(s) (cf. below 21.2.1, p. 743) and others require them to be either similarly realized or by one or more of the following clauses: (i) ?anna-clauses;

(ii) maa-clauses; (iii) ?an-clauses (cf. p. 744).

Whereas the restrictions related to the realization of the nominal elements of non-LPOs are categorial, those related to their features are selectional; and like other categorial and selectional features, they are accounted for in the syntactic and the semantic component, respectively.

On the one hand therefore, the prepositional elements of non-LPOs as well as the realizations of their nominal elements will constitute part of the linguistic environments in terms of which the lexical insertion rules related to the PVs associating with them will be formulated. Accordingly, the grammar will be prevented from generating PV- non-LPO combinations whose verbal elements and the prepositions of whose object components or the realization of their nominal elements are in conflict. Examples of such combinations are Saddaqa 9ala lqur?aan 'believed in the Koran' in (23), ?intaqama ?ilayhim 'revenged them' in (24) and taġfuli fi bnihaa 'neglect her son' in (25) and yanZuru ?ilaa ?an ta9uud 'watch that you return' in (26):

- (23)* Saddaqa maahirun 9ala lqur?aan
(i.e. maahir believed in the Koran)
- (24)* ?intaqama l9ummaalu ?ilayhim
(i.e. The workers revenged them)
- (25)* lam taġfuli l?ummu fi bnihaa
(i.e. The mother did not neglect her son)
- (26)* sayanZuru ?ahmadu ?ilaa ?an ta9uud
?ahmad will watch that you return

The grammatical combinations corresponding to the ungrammatical ones in (23 - 26) are respectively Saddaqa bilqur?aan 'believed in the Koran', ?intaqama minhum 'revenged them', taġfuli 9ani bnihaa 'neglect her son' and yanZuru ?ilaa Tiflik 'watch your child'.

On the other hand, the syntactic component will generate the

PV- non-LPO combinations whose verbal elements and the nominal components of whose object elements are or are not compatible with one another.

Examples, are respectively *laa yahillu lilmuslimi* 'is unlawful for the Muslim' in (27) and *laa yahillu lilkursiyyi* 'is unlawful for the chair' in (28).

(27) *laa yahillu lilmuslimi ?an yaṣraba lẓamr*

It is unlawful for the Muslim to drink wine

(28)* *laa yahillu lilkursiyyi ?an yaṣraba lẓamr*

It is unlawful for the chair to drink wine

In the semantic component however, only the former combinations will be assigned readings, i.e. regarded as being semantically well-formed, too.

Two points remain to be discussed:

(a) the first one has to do with the basis upon which the selectional restrictions between the nominal elements of non-LPOs and the PVs requiring them are chosen to be accounted for in the semantic rather than the syntactic component. There are two bases:

(i) the first one is connected with preventing the syntactic component from duplicating what is to be done in the semantic component. Consider for example, the combinations *laa yahillu lilmuslimi* 'is unlawful for the Muslim' in (27) and *laa yahillu lilkursiyyi* 'is unlawful for the chair' in (28). In a grammar that accounts for the selectional restrictions on the syntactic level, combinations such as the aforementioned ones will be regarded twice as being well- and ill-formed, respectively. Firstly, on the syntactic level, they will be regarded as being well- and ill-formed on the basis that the features of their nominal elements are respectively compatible and in conflict with the lexical insertion rule of their verbal elements: part of the formulation of this rule indicates that the nominal elements of the POs

of these verbal elements are marked with the feature [+ human] rather than with the feature [+ concrete]. Secondly, on the semantic level, they will have the same judgement on the ground that the features of their nominal elements are respectively compatible with and contradict the projection rule related to the combinations embracing them: this rule indicates that the verbal elements of these combinations can be amalgamated with NPs such as *lmslimi* 'the Muslim' but not with NPs such as *lkursiyyi* 'the chair'.

(ii) the second basis has to do with the elliptical nominal elements of non-LPOs. Consider, for instance, (29-30).

(29) *yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu laa tatawallaw qawman ġaDiba
llaahu 9alayhim qađ ya?isuu mina l?aaxirah (60/13)*

O you who believe! Do not be friendly with a folk with whom Allah is wroth, (a folk) who have despaired of the Hereafter

(30) *?inna daalikum kaana yu?ei nnabiyya fayastahyii minkum
(33/53)*

Surely, that used to annoy the prophet, but he was shy of you

As will be indicated below (21.2.1.8), the nominal elements of the POs of the PVs *ya?isa min* 'to despair of' and *?istahyaa min* 'to be shy of' are marked with (31).

(31) [+ abstract]

Accordingly, the combinations involving them, *ya?is mina l?aaxirah* 'have despaired of the Hereafter' in (29) and *yastahyii minkum* '(he) was shy of you' in (30) (which are indisputably grammatical), ought to be regarded as being linguistically ill-formed: (32 - 33), which are respectively the feature specifications of their nominal elements, are incompatible with (31).

(32) [+ time, - measure, + period]

(33) [+ human]

To avoid this unacceptable consequence, the nominal elements in question ought to be analysed as elliptical NPs with heads compatible with the selectional features of the verbal elements of the combinations embracing them.

As indicated above (20.22.11), such an analysis could be accommodated within the grammar that considers selectional restrictions to be semantic rather than syntactic, i.e. within the grammar that accounts for selectional restrictions in the semantic rather than in the syntactic component. For in the grammar accounting for them in the syntactic rather than the semantic component, the nominal elements of non-LPOs constitute part of the linguistic environments in terms of which the lexical insertion rules of the PVs associating with them are formulated; and, hence, the NPs incorporating the nominal elements in question ought to be determined so that they can be assigned the feature compatible with the verbal elements accompanying them, which is formally unworkable for the following reason. Like the elliptical nominal elements of the PPs functioning as Free adjuncts (cf. above 20.22.11) those under discussion cannot be related to those incorporating them by a lexical rule. For their exact meanings depend on the context of situation, and I know of no way of incorporating knowledge related to the context of situation into a lexical rule that could be thought of as accounting for their relations to the NPs incorporating them. For example, depending on the context of situation the nominal elements of the PPs *mina l?aaxirah* 'of the Hereafter' in (29) and *minkum* 'of you' in (30) could be thought of as meaning *lhuSuuli 9alaa \$ay?in fi l?aaxirah* 'getting something in the Hereafter' (cf. *?azzamax\$arii*, III, 224) and *?ixraagikum* 'dismissing you' (*ibid.*, II, 547), respectively.

(b) the second point to be discussed is that related to the prepositional elements of non-LPOs. Unlike the prepositional elements of non-transformed adjuncts on the one hand, and LPOs on the other, these elements are constrained neither by the verbs associating with them nor by the features of their complements, respectively. Also, the prepositional elements of non-LPOs are divided into the following classes:

(i) those whose complements are realized by NPs other than *maa-/?an-/?anna* clauses; hence, they are assigned the categorial feature (34).

(34) [+ — [other than *maa-/?an-/?anna* clause]]

NP

According to the data, these prepositional elements are realized by '*?ilaa*'; '*9an*', '*fii*', '*li*' and '*min*' (cf. below 21.2.1.1., 21.2.1.5-8, respectively).

It should be noted however that the feature specifications of some of the PVs the prepositional elements of whose non-LPOs are realized by '*min*' show that they are able to associate also with other objects that are realized by *?an*-clauses, e.g. *sa?ima min* 'to tire of' (cf. below 21.2.1.8).

(ii) the prepositional element whose complement is realized by a non-singular NP or by a singular NP co-ordinated with other nouns; therefore, it has the feature specification of (35).

(35) $\left[+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } [- \text{ singular}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{(ii) } [+ \text{ singular}] \text{ wa 'and' } [\pm \text{ singular}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \right]$

According to the data, this prepositional element is realized by '*bayn*' (cf. below 21.2.1.3).

(iii) the prepositional element whose complement is realized by an *?an*/

?anna clause or by a NP other than maa-/?an-/?anna-clause; hence it is marked with (36).

$$(36) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) \quad [\text{?an-/?anna-clause}] \\ \text{NP} \\ (ii) \quad [\text{other than maa-/?an-/?anna-clause}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right]$$

(iv) the prepositional element whose complement is realized by a maa-/?an-/?anna-clause or by a NP other than a maa-/?an-/?anna-clause and thereby marked with (37).

$$(37) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) \quad [\text{maa-/?an-/?anna-clause}] \\ \text{NP} \\ (ii) \quad [\text{other than maa-/?an-/?anna-clause}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right]$$

According to the data, 'bi' and '9alaa' are the prepositional elements of the non-LPOs that are marked with (36 - 37), respectively (cf. respectively (i) 21.2.1.2; (ii) 21.2.1.4 and 5/107 and 17/88).

Associating with the prepositions able to realize the prepositional elements of non-LPOs there will be therefore lexical insertion rules that guarantee their insertion before NPs compatible with their categorial features.

As indicated above (p. 739), the prepositional elements of non-LPOs constitute part of the linguistic environments in terms of which the lexical insertion rules of the PVs associating with them are formulated. Accordingly, the lexical insertion rules associating with the prepositional elements of non-LPOs are to be applied before those associating with the PVs accompanying them.

21.2.1 Classification

According to the prepositions realizing the prepositional elements

of their non-LPOs, PVs are classifiable into the following classes:

(a) PVs associating with '?ilaa'; (b) PVs associating with 'bi';
 (c) PVs associating with 'bayn'; (d) PVs associating with '9alaa';
 (e) PVs associating with '9an'; (f) PVs associating with 'fii'; (g) PVs
 associating 'li'; (h) PVs associating with 'min'; (i) PVs associating
 with more than one of the aforementioned prepositions. In the following
 pages, we shall discuss classes (a - h) and refer to class (i) during the
 discussion.

21.2.1.1 PVs associating with '?ilaa'

Among the feature specification of the verbs realizing the PVs
 associating with '?ilaa' are the following ones:

(a) [+ — [?ilaa [+ place]] [+ human]]
 NP NP

An example is ?aawii 'go' in (38).

(38) sa?aawii ?ilaa gabalin ya9Simunii mina lmaa? (11/43)

I shall go to some mountain that will save me from the water

It should be noted that the second NP in (a) and its following
 counterparts stands for the subject.

(b) [+ — ([?ilaa [+ human]]) [+ human]]
 NP NP

An example is ?inqalaba ?ilaa 'to return to'. Examples of this PV with
 and without its PO are respectively yanqaliba 'return' in (39) and nqalab
 'returned back' in (40).

(39) bal Zanantum ?an lan yanqaliba rrasuulu wa lmu?minuuna
 ?ilaa ?ahlihim ?abadaa (48/12)

Nay, but you deemed that the messenger and the believers
 would never return to their own folk

(40) faḡulibuu hunaalika wa nqalabuu Saagiriin (7/119)

Thus, they were there defeated and returned back low

- (43) wa lammaa raga9a muusaa ?ilaa qawmihii gaDbaana ?asifaa
(7/150)

And when muusaa returned to his people, angry and grieved

- (44) la?in raga9naa ?ila lmadiinah (63/8)

Surely, if we return to ?almadiinah

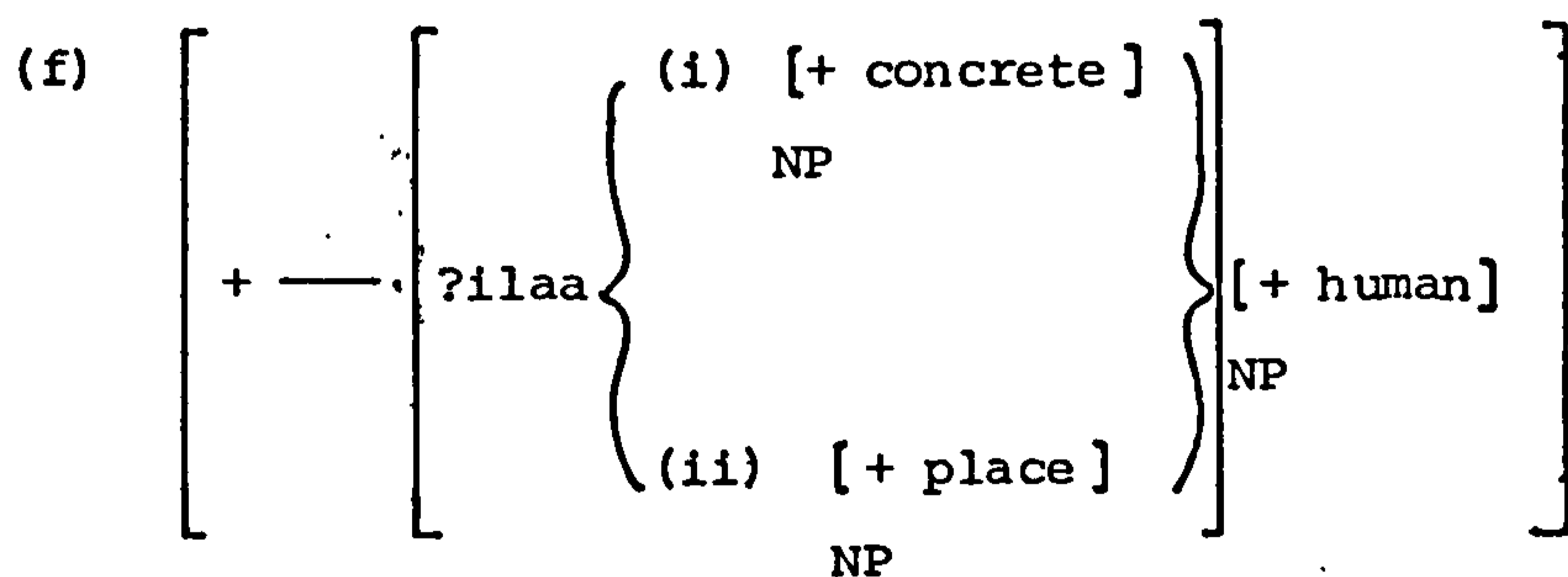
- (45) faga9alahum gudaadan ?illaa kabiiran lahum la9allahum
?ilayhi yargi9uun (21/58)

Then he reduced them to fragments, all save the chief of
them, that they might have recourse to it

It should be noted that the PO whose nominal element is marked
with (ii) is optional: raga9 'have returned' in (46) has no PO, which, if
realized, would be ?ilaa ?awTaanikum 'to your countries'.

- (46) faman lam yagid faSiyaamu 0alaa0ati ?ayyaamin fi lhaggi
wa sab9atin ?idaa raga9tum (2/196)

And whoever cannot find (such gifts), then a fast of
three days while on the pilgrimage, and of seven when you
have returned



Examples are respectively nTalaq 'set forth' in (47) and ?inTliq
'depart' in (48): maa 'that', the complement of ?ilaa 'to', refers to
'Hell'.

- (47) sayaquulu lmuxallafuuna ?ida nTalaqtum ?ilaa ma9aanima
lita?xu9uuhaa (48/15)

Those who were left behind will say, when you set forth
to booty to take it

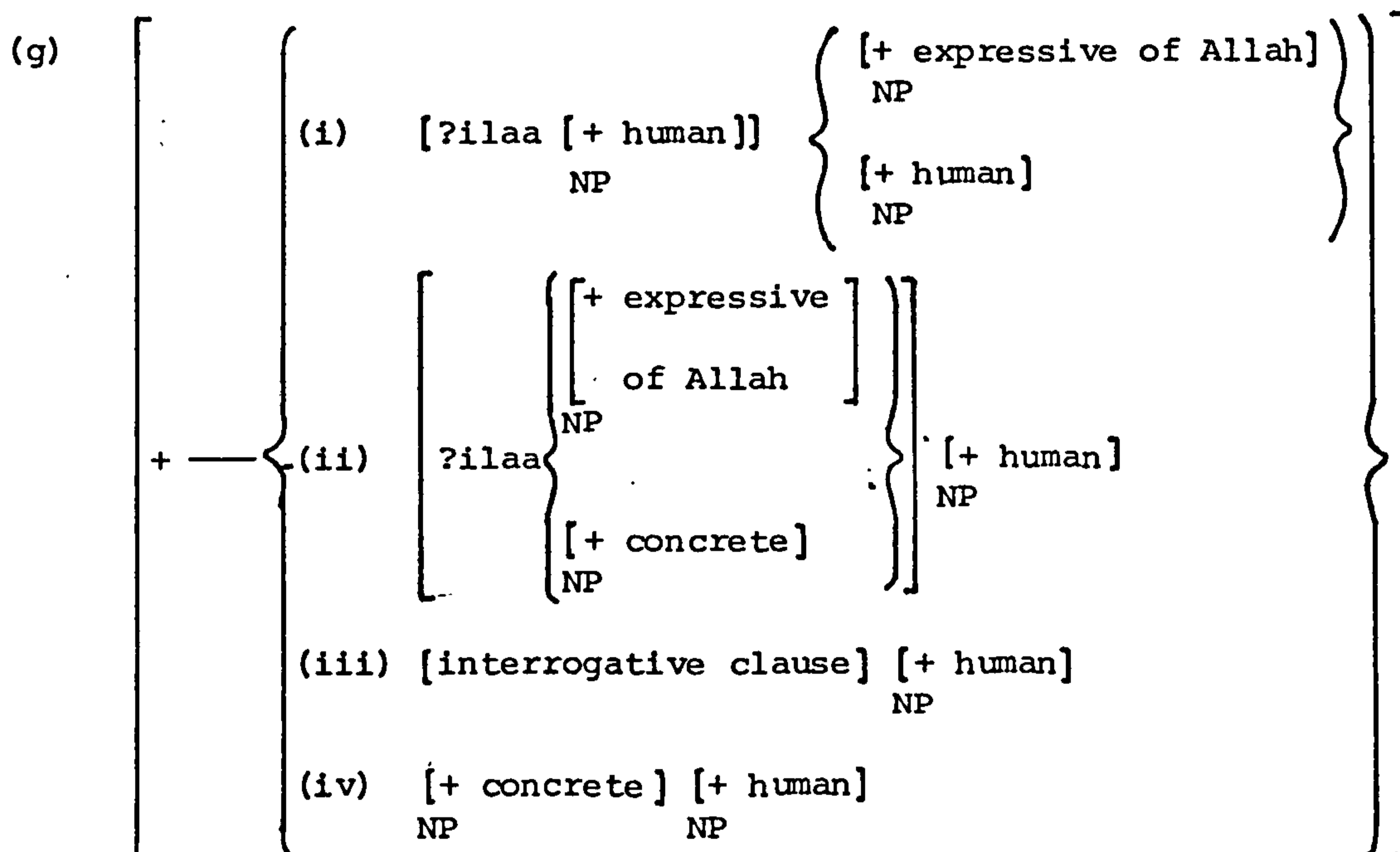
(48) ?inTaliqū ?ilaa maa kuntum bihi tukaaddibuun (77/29)

Depart to that which you used to deny

It should be noted that the PO whose nominal element is marked with (ii) is optional: nTalaq 'went off' in (49) has no PO, which, if realized, would be ?ilaa gannatihim 'to their garden'.

(49) fanTalaquu wa hum yataxaafatuun (68/23)

So, they went off, saying to one another in low tones



An example is naZar 'to look'. Examples of this verb marked with (i) are respectively yanZuru 'look' in (50) and yanZur 'watching' in (51), and with (ii) are respectively ?anZur 'look' in (52), and yanZuri 'look' in (53).

(50) wa laa yukallimuhumu llaahu wa laa yanZuru ?ilayhim

yawma lqiyaamah (3/77)

And Allah will neither speak to them nor look upon them
on the Day of Resurrection

(51) fa?idaa gaa?a lxawfu ra?aytahum yanZuruuna ?ilayka

taduuru ?a9yunuhum (33/19)

But when the fear comes, then you see them watching you
with rolling eyes

(52) qaala rabbii ?arinii ?anZur ?ilayk (7/143)

He said My Lord! Show me (Yourself) that I may look
upon you

(53) falyanZuri l?insaanu ?ilaa Ta9aamih (80/24)

Let man look at his food

For the clausal and the nominal objects of (iii) and (iv) see (a) (88/17),
(5/75), (37/102) and (22/15) and (b) (78/40), respectively.

It should be noted that the verbal complement of naZar 'to watch'
is optional, an example of this verb with no complement is tanZur 'are
looking' in (54): ?ilayh 'to him', i.e. the one who is dying, would be
its object, if it is realized.

(54) wa ?antum hiina?idin tanZuruun (56/84)

And you are at that moment looking

(h) [+ — [?ilaa [+ expressive of Allah]] [+ human]]
NP NP

An example is ?axbat 'were humble' in (55).

(55) wa ?axbatuu ?ilaa rabbihim (11/23)

And were humble before their Lord

Other examples are raġiba ?ilaa 'to supplicate to' (cf. 94/8) and
9agila ?ilaa 'to hasten to' (cf. 20/84).

(i) [+ — ([?ilaa [+ expressive of Allah]]) [+ human]]
NP NP

Examples are haada ?ilaa 'to turn to' (cf. 7/156), taaba ?ilaa 'to repent
to' (cf. 46/15), ?iTtala9a ?ilaa 'to look at' (cf. 28/38), ?istaqaama
?ilaa 'to take the straight path to' (cf. 41/6) and ?anaaba ?ilaa 'to
repent to' (cf. 31/15). Examples of the last PV with and without its
PO are ?anaaba 'repents' in (56) and ?anaab 'repented' in (57).

(56) wa ttabi9 sabiila man ?anaaba ?ilayy (31/15)

And follow the path of him who repents to me

(57) fastagfara rabbahuu wa xarra raaki9an wa ?anaab (38/24)

And he sought forgiveness of his Lord, and he bowed
himself and fell down prostrate and repented

For the examples of the other PVs without their POs, see respectively
5/44, 9/3, 37/55, and 11/112.

(j) [+ — [?ilaa [+ concrete]] [+ human]]
NP NP

An example is yuufiD 'were rushing' in (58).

(58) yawma yaxruguuna mina l?agdaaθi siraa9an ka?annahum ?ilaa
nuSubin yuufiDuum (70/43)

The day when they come forth from the graves in haste,
as if they were rushing to an idol

(k) [+ — { (i) [?ilaa [+ concrete]] [+ expressive of (a) hand(s)]
NP NP }
(ii) [?ilaa [+ human]] [+ human]
NP NP }]

waSala ?ilaa 'to arrive at/reach to' is a verb marked with (k).

Examples of this verb with the specifications of (i - ii) are
respectively taSilu 'reach' in (59) and yaSil 'come' in (60).

(59) falammaa ra?aa ?aydiyahum laa taSilu ?ilayhi
nakirahum (11/70)

And when he saw their hands do not reach to it, he
mistrusted them

(60) ?illa lladiina yaSiluuna ?ilaa qawmin baynakum wa baynahum
miiθaaq (4/90)

Except those who come to a people between whom and you
there is covenant, (seeking refuge)

An example is *yaghad* 'deny' in (64).

(64) *?a fabini9mati llaahi yaghaduun* (16/71)

Is it then the grace of Allah that they deny?

Other examples are *?ibta?asa bi* 'to grieve for' (cf. 12/69),

?i9tarafa bi 'to confess' (cf. 40/11), *?istamsaka bi* 'to adhere to'

(cf. 2/256; 31/22), *?adaa9a bi* 'to make known' (cf. 4/83), *?iqtadaa bi*

'to be guided by' (cf. 6/90), *9arraDa bi* 'to hint at' (cf. 2/235) and

?ataa bi 'to commit' (cf. 4/25).

(c) $\left[+ \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{bi [+ abstract]} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{concrete, + expressive of a three-} \\ \text{dimensional object} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \right]$

An example is *?a9raqa* 'shines' in (65).

(65) *wa ?a9raqati l?arDu binuuri rabbihaa* (39/69)

And the earth shines with the light of her Lord

(d) $\left[+ \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{(bi) [+ concrete]} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{human} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{(ii) } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{bi [+ abstract]} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{expressive of Allah} \\ + \text{human} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \right]$

An example is the PV *?awfaa bi* 'to perform'. Examples of this verb

with possibility (i) are *yuuf* 'pay' in (66) and *yuuf* 'perform' in

(67), and with possibility (ii) are *?awf* and *?uuf* 'fulfil' in (68).

(66) *wa lyuufuu nu9uurahum* (22/29)

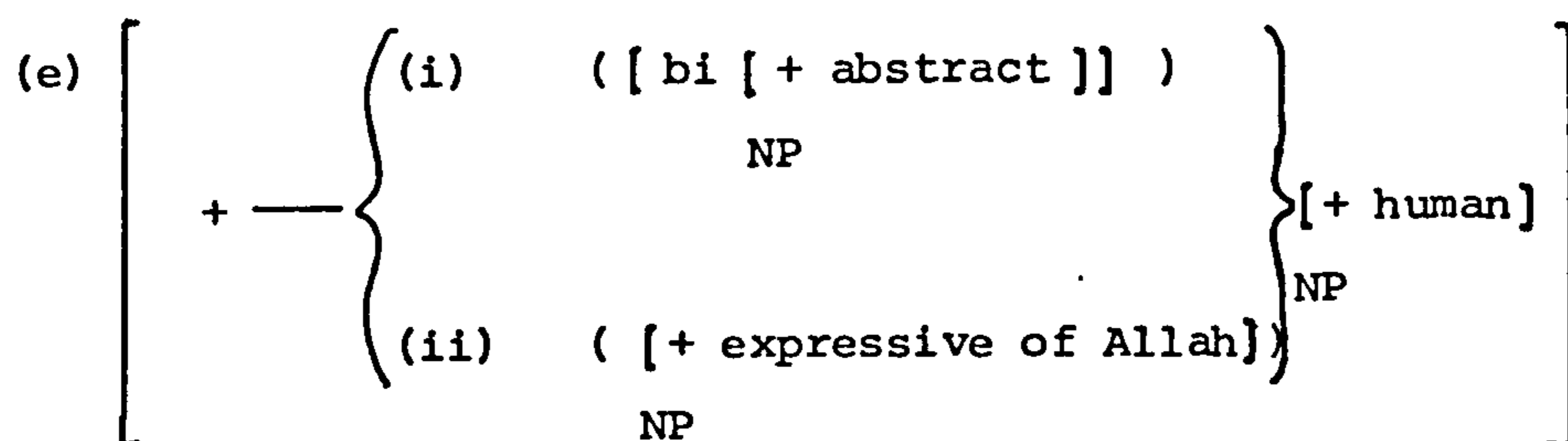
And pay their vows

(67) *yuufuuna binna9r* (76/7)

They perform the vow

(68) *wa ?awfuu bi9ahdii ?uufi bi9ahdikum* (2/40)

Fulfil My covenant, I fulfil yours



An example is *sabbah* 'to praise'. Examples of this verb with the complementation of (i - ii) are respectively *sabbih* 'hymn the praise' in (69) and *tusabbih* 'glorify' in (70), and with no complement at all is *sabbih* 'glorify' in (71).

(69) *wa sabbih bihamdi rabbika qabla Tuluu9i \$\$\$amsi wa qabla l9uruub (50/39)*

And hymn the praise of your Lord before the rising and before the setting of the sun

(70) *litu?minuu billaahi wa rasuulihii wa tu9azziruuhu wa tuwaqqiruuhu wa tusabbihuuhu bukratan wa ?aSiilaa (48/9)*

That you may believe in Allah and His messenger, and may assist Him and may revere Him, and may glorify Him at early dawn and at the close of day

(71) *fa?awhaa ?ilayhim ?an sabbikuu bukratan wa 9a\$iiyaa (19/11)*

And signified to them: Glorify (your Lord) at break of day and at fall of night

It should be noted that *sabbah* 'to praise' has two other complements: (i) a nominal complement realized by the word *?ism* 'a name' annexed to another denoting 'Allah', e.g. *sma rabbika* 'the name of your Lord' in (72).

(72) *sabbihi sma rabbika l?a9laa (87/1)*

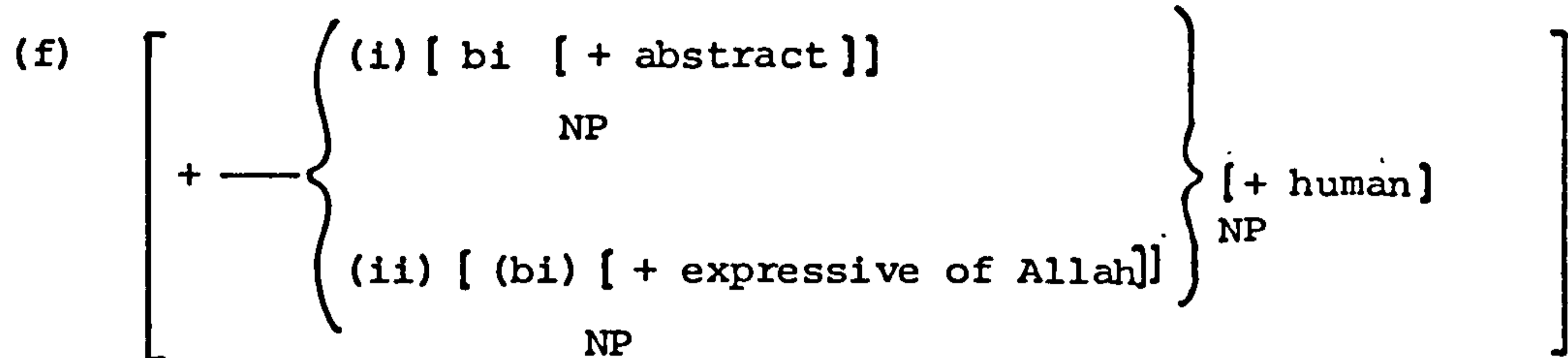
Praise the name of your Lord, the Most High

(ii) a PO whose prepositional element is 'bi' governing the same NP realizing the nominal complement of (i), e.g. *bismi rabbik* 'the name

of your Lord' in (73).

(73) fasabbih bismi rabbika lqaZiim (56/96)

Therefore, praise the name of your Lord, the Tremendous



An example is ?ista9aana bi 'to seek help from'. Examples with the complementation of (i) and those of (ii) are respectively ?ista9iin 'seek help' in (74), nasta9iin 'ask for help' in (75) and ?ista9iin 'call for help' in (76).

(74) ?ista9iinuu biSSabri wa SSalaah (2/153)

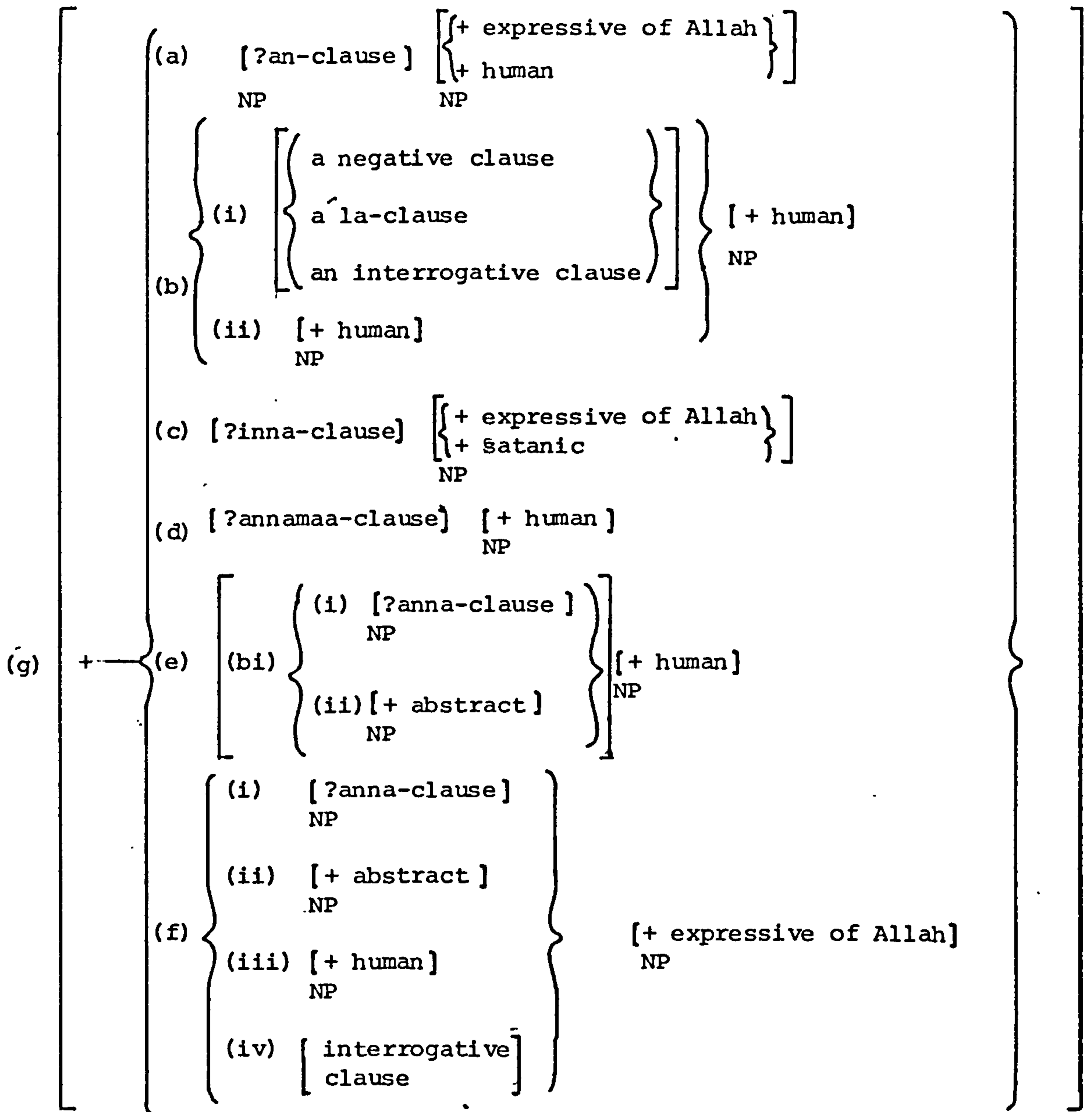
Seek help in steadfastness and prayer

(75) ?iyyaaka na9budu wa ?iyyaaka nasta9iin (1/5)

Only You we worship, and only You we ask for help

(76) ?ista9iinuu billaahi wa Sbiruu (7/128)

Call Allah for help and endure



9alim 'to know' is a verb marked with (g). Examples of this verb with the complementations of (e) (i) are ta9lam 'have (you) known' in (77) ya9lam '(he) know' in (78), and with the complementations of (e)(ii) are ?a9lamu '(I) have knowledge' in (79) and ya9lam 'knew' in (80).

(77) ?alam ta9lam ?anna llaaha ya9lamu maa fi ssamaa?i wa
l?arD (22/70)

Have you not known that Allah knows all that is in the
heaven and the earth?

(78) ?alam ya9lam bi?anna llaaha yaraa (96/14)

Does he not know that Allah sees?

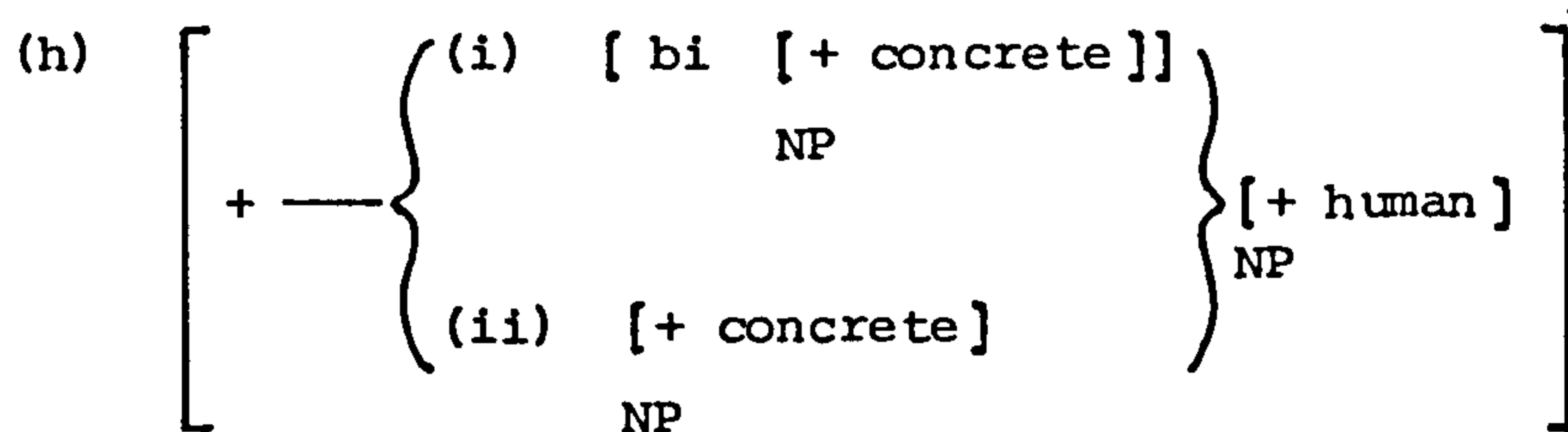
- (79) qul laa ?aquulu lakum 9indii xazaa?inu llaahi wa laa
?a9lamu lġayb (6/50)

Say: I do not say to you that I possess the treasures
of Allah, nor that I have knowledge of the Unseen

- (80) qaala yaa layta qawmii ya9lamuum bimaa ġafara lii
rabbii (36/26-7)

He said: I wish my people knew what my Lord has
pardoned me

For the other examples of '9alim' with the complementations of (a),
(b) (i), (b) (ii), (c), (d) and (f), see respectively 73/20 and 5/113;
21/65, 2/102 and 6/135; 9/43; 9/42 and 37/158; 5/49; 15/97, 2/33, 47/31
and 18/12.



An example is ?axað 'to seize'. Examples of this verb with the
complementations of (i - ii) are respectively ?axaða 'seized' in (81)
and ya?xuð 'take' in (82).

- (81) wa ?axaða bira?si ?axiih (7/150)

And he seized his brother by the head
(lit. seized the head of his brother)

- (82) liya?xuðuu ?aslihatahum (cf. 4/102)

Let them take their arms

- (i)
$$[+ \text{ --- } [\text{bi } [+ \text{ human}]] [+ \text{ abstract}]]$$

NP NP

An example is yahiiqu 'encloses' in (83).

- (83) wa laa yahiiqu lmakru ssayyi?u ?illaa bi?ahliah (35/43)

And the evil plot encloses but those who make it

?ahsana bi 'to do good to' can be realized by '?ilaa', e.g. ?ilay(k) 'to (you)' in (88).

(88) wa ?ahsin kamaa ?ahsana llaahu ?ilayk (28/77)

And do good (to others) as Allah has done good to you

Secondly, ?ahsana 'to do good' occurs in the data without its PO, but with a subject marked with [+ human], e.g. ?ahsin 'do good' in (89).

For other examples, see 2/195; 4/128.

(m) [+ — [bi [+ abstract]] [+ expressive of Allah]]
 NP NP

An example is ya9ya 'was wearied' in (89).

(89) ?a wa lam yaraw ?anna llaaha lladii xalaqa ssamaawaati
 wa l?arDa wa lam ya9ya bixalqihinna biqaadirin 9alaa ?an
 yuhyiya lmawtaa (46/33)

Have they not seen that Allah, Who created the heavens
 and the earth and was not wearied by their creation, is
 able to give life to the dead?

(n) [+ — [bi [+ concrete]] [+ human]]
 NP NP

Examples are da9aa bi 'to call for' (cf. 38/51) and msah(uu) 'rub' in (90).

(90) wa msahuu biru?uusikum (5/6)

And rub your heads

(o) [+ — [bi [+ human]] [+ human]]
 NP NP

Examples are daxala bi(mra?ah) 'to sleep with (a woman)' (cf. 4/23), and yast 'attack' in (91).

(91) yakaaduuna yastuuna billadina yatluuna 9alayhim
 ?aayaatinaa (22/72)

They almost attack those who recite Our revelations
 to them

(p) [+ — ([bi _{NP} [+ human]]) [+ human]]

An example is baTaṣa bi 'to fall on'. Examples of this verb with and without its PO are respectively yabTiṣa 'fall' in (92) and baTaṣ 'attack' in (93).

(92) falammaa ?an ?araada ?an yabTiṣa billadii huwa 9aduwwun
lahumaa (28/19)

And when he wanted to fall on him who was an enemy to them

(93) wa ?idaa baTaṣtum baTaṣtum gabbaariin (26/130)

And when you attack, you attack as tyrants

Another example is makara bi 'to deceive'. For examples of this verb with and without its PO, see 8/30 and 16/26, respectively.

(q)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) [bi [+ abstract]]} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{(ii) [?an-clause]} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} [+ human] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$$

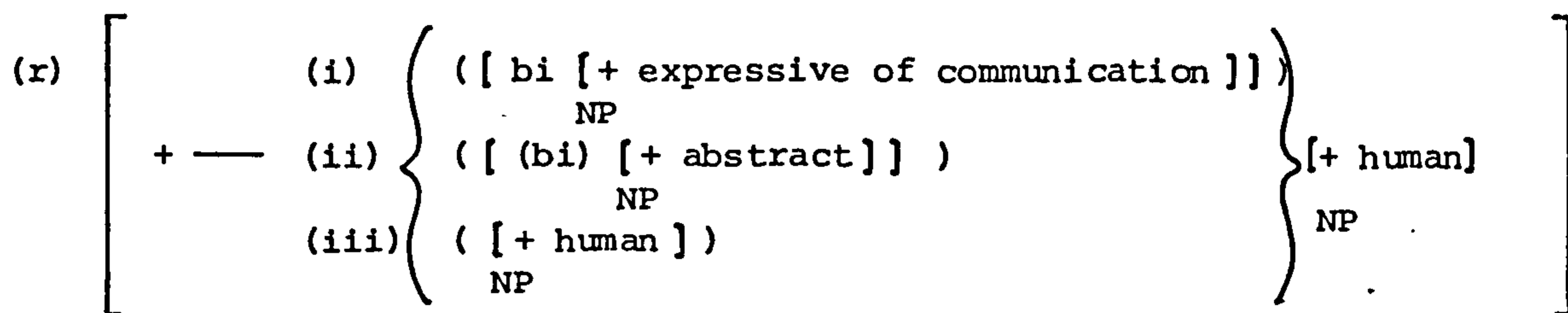
An example is hamma bi 'to be about to'. Examples of this PV with possibility (i) and (ii) are hamm 'were about to' in (94) and hamma 'were minded' in (95), respectively.

(94) ?alaa tuqaatiluuna qawman nakaṯuu ?aymaanahum wa hammuu
bi?ixraagi rrasuul (9/13)

Will you not fight a folk who broke their solemn pledges
and were about to drive out the messenger?

(95) ?uēkuruu ni9mata llaahi 9alaykum ?id hamma qawmun ?an
yabsuTuu ?ilaykum ?aydiyahum fakaffa ?aydiyahum 9ankum (5/11)

Remember Allah's favour to you when a people were minded to
stretch out their hands against you but He withheld their
hands from you.



An example is *Saddaqa bi* 'to believe in'. Examples of this verb with the prepositional complementations of (i) and (ii) are respectively *Saddaqa* 'believed' in (96) and *yuSaddiqu* 'believes' in (97), and with the nominal complementations of (ii) and (iii) and with no complementation at all are *Saddaq* 'have considered to be true' in (98), *Saddaqa* 'believed' in (99) and *Saddaqa* 'believes' in (100).

(96) *wa Saddaqaṭ bikaḷimaati rabbiḥaa* (66/12)

And she believed in the words of her Lord

(97) *yuSaddiqu ḷmu?minu bilḥusnaa* (cf. 92/6)

The believer believes in the good (faith)

(98) *qaḍ Saddaḡta rru?yaa* (37/105)

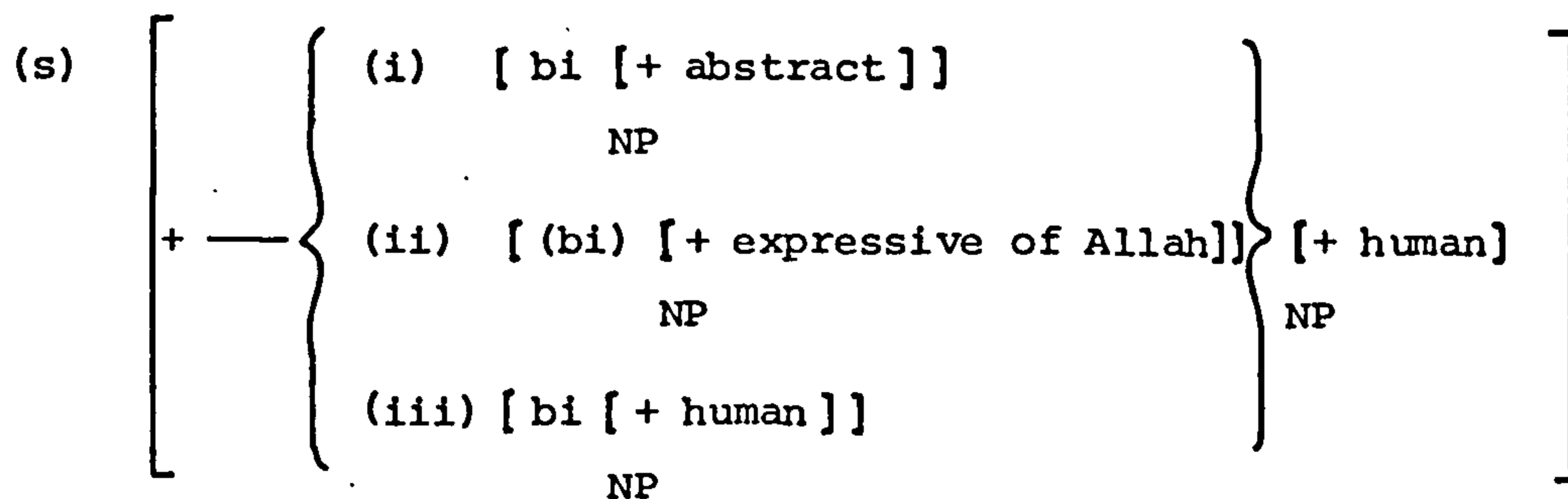
You have already considered the vision to be true (so you fulfilled it)

(99) *wa Saddaqa ḷmursaliin* (37/37)

And he believed those sent (before him)

(100) *falaḷa Saddaḡa wa ḷaa Sallaḷa* (75/31)

Therefore, he neither believes (in anything) nor prays.



An example is *kafar* 'to disbelieve'. Examples with possibilities (i - iii) are respectively *yakfur* 'denies' in (101), *kafar* 'disbelieved' in (102)a and *kafar* 'disbelieve' in (102)b, and *kafar* 'have rejected' in (103).

(101) wa man yakfur bil?iimaani faqad habiTa 9amaluh (5/5)

Whoever denies the faith, his work is vain

(102)a ?alaa ?inna 0amuuda kafaruu rabbahum (11/68)

Surely, 0amuuda disbelieved in their Lord

b ?ulaa?ika llaðiina kafaruu birabbihim (13/5)

Those are they who disbelieve in their Lord

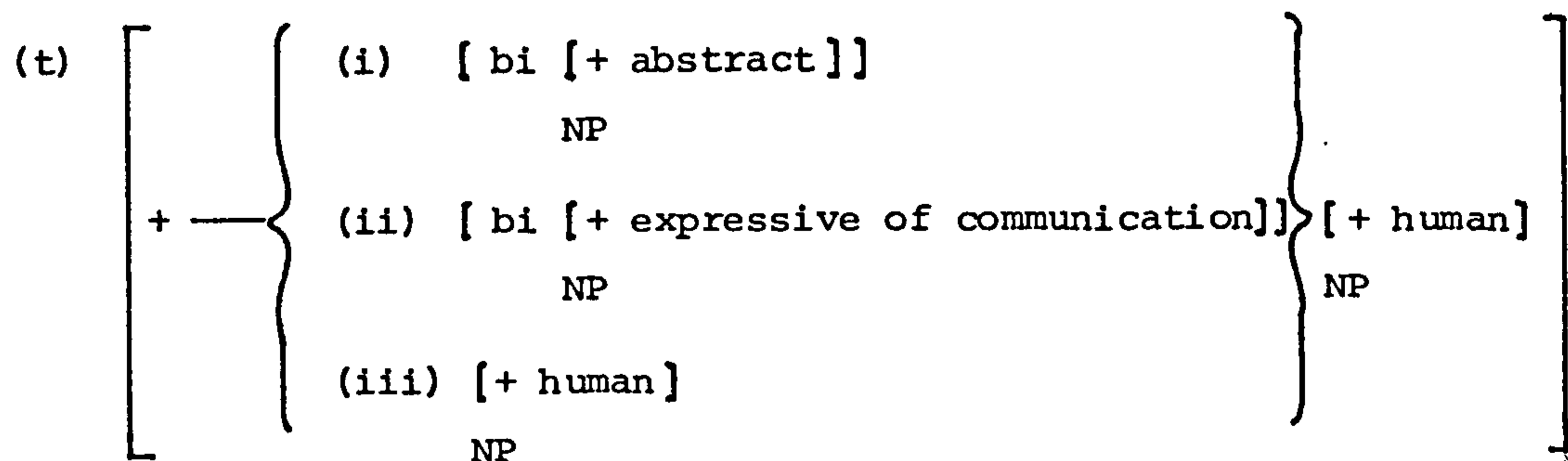
(103) kafarnaa bikum (60/4)

We have rejected you

It should be noted that the complement of kafar 'to disbelieve' is optional. An example of this verb with no complement is kafar 'disbelieved' in (104).

(104) wa laakini xtalafuu faminhum man ?aamana wa minhum man kafar (2/253)

But they differ, some of them believed and some disbelieved



An example is kađđab 'to deny'. Examples of this verb with possibilities (i - ii) are respectively kađđab 'deny' in (105) and kađđab 'deny' in (106).

(105) qad xasira llaðiina kađđabuu biliqaa?i llaah (6/31)

They indeed are losers who deny their meeting with Allah

(106) ?allaðiina kađđabuu bilkitaab (40/70)

Those who deny the Scripture

For an example with possibility (iii), see 15/80.

It should be noted that the complement of kađđab 'to deny' is

optional; an example of this verb with no complement is tukaddib 'deny' in (107).

(107) wa ?in tukaddibuu faqad kaaddaba ?umamun min qablikum
(29/18)

And if you deny, then nations have denied before you

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(ii) [+ expressive of angels]	NP														
(iii) [+ expressive of communication]	NP														
(iv) [+ human]	NP														
(v) [+ abstract]	NP														
] [+ human] NP														

An example is ?aaman bi 'to believe in'. Examples of this verb with possibilities (i - iv) on the one hand and (v) on the other are respectively yu?minu 'believes' in (108) and yu?min 'believe' in (109).

(108) yu?minu lmu?minu billaah/bimalaa?ikati llaah/bikutubi
llaah/birusuli llaah (cf. 2/285)

The believer believes in Allah/Allah's angels/Allah's
books/Allah's messengers

(109) la9allahum biliqaa?i rabbihim yu?minuun (6/154)

That they might believe in the meeting with their Lord

It should be noted firstly that the complement of ?aamana bi 'to believe in' is optional; an example of this verb with no complement is ?aamana 'believes' in (110).

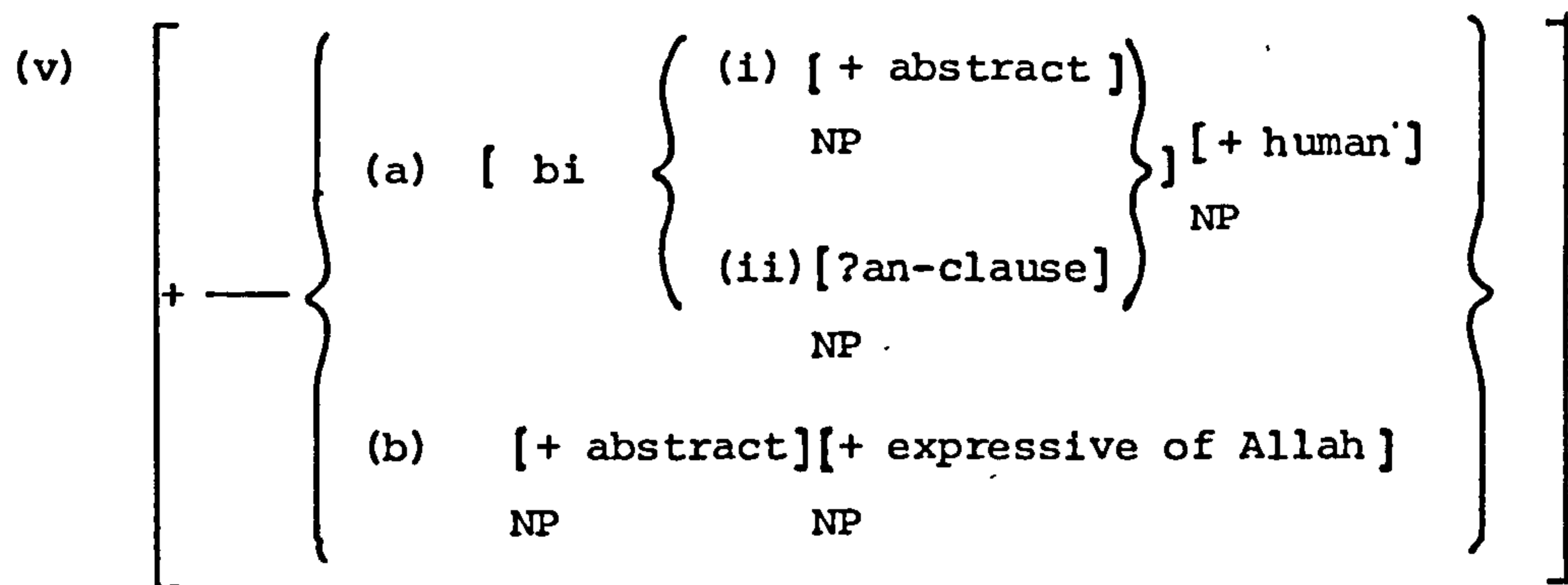
(110) wa ?innii la9affaarun liman taaba wa ?aamana wa 9amila
Saalihaa (20/82)

And verily, I am forgiving him who repents and believes
and does good

Secondly, when the nominal element of the PO is marked with [+ human], it could be governed by 'li', e.g. (la)hūu 'him' in (111).

(111) faʔaamana lahuu luuT (29/26)

And luuT believed him



An example is raDiya 'to be content'. Examples of this verb with the POs of (a) (i - ii) are respectively raDii 'were content' in (112) and raD 'were content' in (113).

(112) ʔinnakum raDiitum bilqu9uudi ʔawwala marrah (9/83)

Surely, you were content with sitting the first time

(113) raDuu biʔan yakuumuu ma9a lxawaalif (9/87)

They were content that they should be with those who remained behind

For an example with (b), see 27/19; 39/7.

It should be noted that the complement of raDiya 'to be content' is optional; an example of this verb with no complement is raD 'are content' in (114).

(114) faʔin ʔu9Tuu minhaa raDuu (9/58)

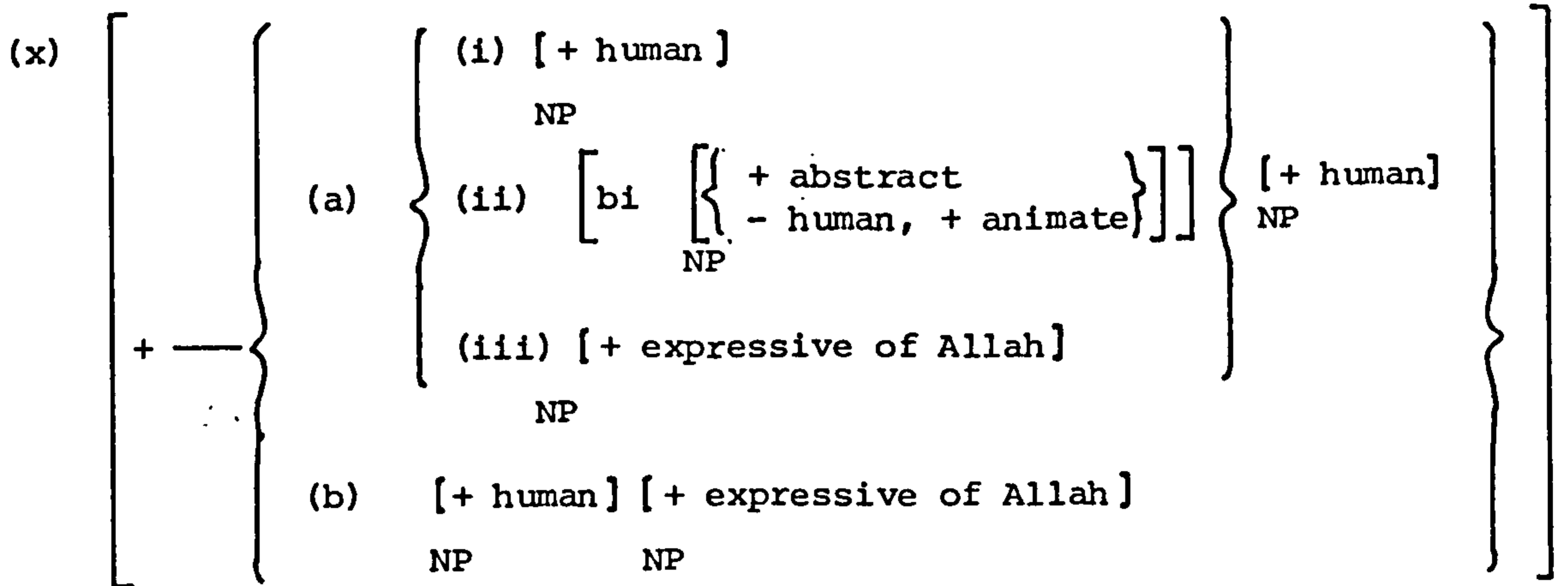
Therefore, if they are given thereof they are content

(w)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- [bi [- human, + expressive of sheep]} \quad \text{ [+ human]} \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$$

An example is yan9iqu 'bleats like a goat' in (115), the nominal element of whose PO bimaa 'to that which' refers to a goat-like animal.

(115) wa maθalu lladiina kafaruu kamaθali lladi yan9iqu bimaa
laa yasma9u ʔillaa du9aaʔan wa nidaaʔaa (2/171)

The likeness of those who disbelieve is as the likeness of him who bleats like a goat to that which hears nothing except a shout and cry



An example is Zalam 'to do wrong'. Examples of this verb with possibility (a) (ii) are respectively Zalam 'repelled' in (116) and Zalam 'denied' in (117). (For other examples with possibilities (a) (i), (a) (iii) and (b), see respectively 2/231; 2/57; 30/9.)

- (116) Θ umma ba9a Θ naa min ba9dihim muusaa bi?aayaatinaa ?ilaa fir9awna wa mala?ihii faZalamuu bihaa (7/103)

Then, after them, We sent muusaa with Our tokens to fir9awn and his chiefs, but they repelled them

- (117) wa ?aataynaa Θ amuuda nnaaqata mu β Siratan faZalamuu bihaa (17/59)

And We gave Θ amuud the she-camel, a clear token, but they denied it

It should be noted that the complement of Zalam 'to do wrong' is optional; an example of this verb with no complement is Zalam 'do wrong' in (118).

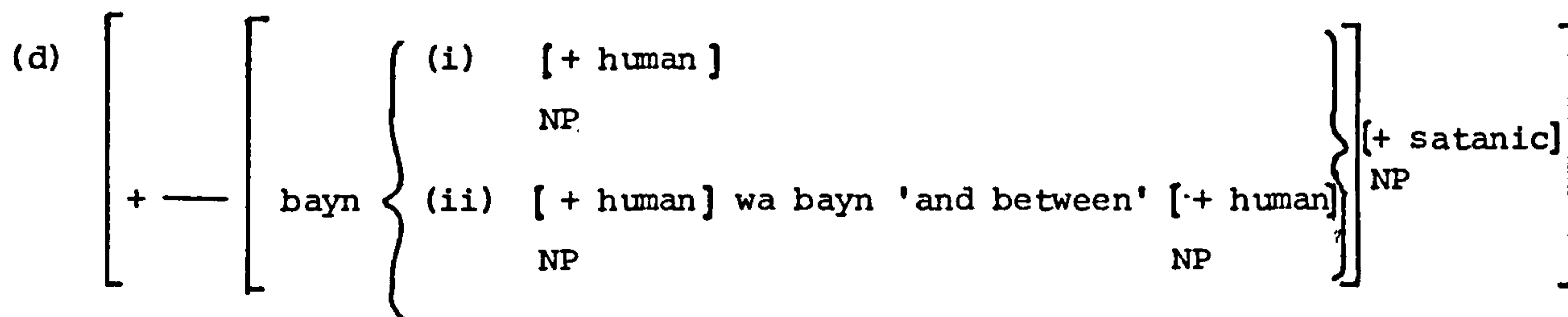
- (118) ?inna lla δ iina kafaruu wa Zalamuu lam yakuni llaahu liya δ fira lahum (4/168)

Verily, those who disbelieve and do wrong, Allah will never forgive them

You will not be able to deal equally between (your)
wives, however much you wish (to do so)

- (123) wa laa yagrimannakum šana?aanu qawmin 9alaa ?an laa
ta9diluu (5/8)

And let not hatred of any people seduce you that you do
not deal justly



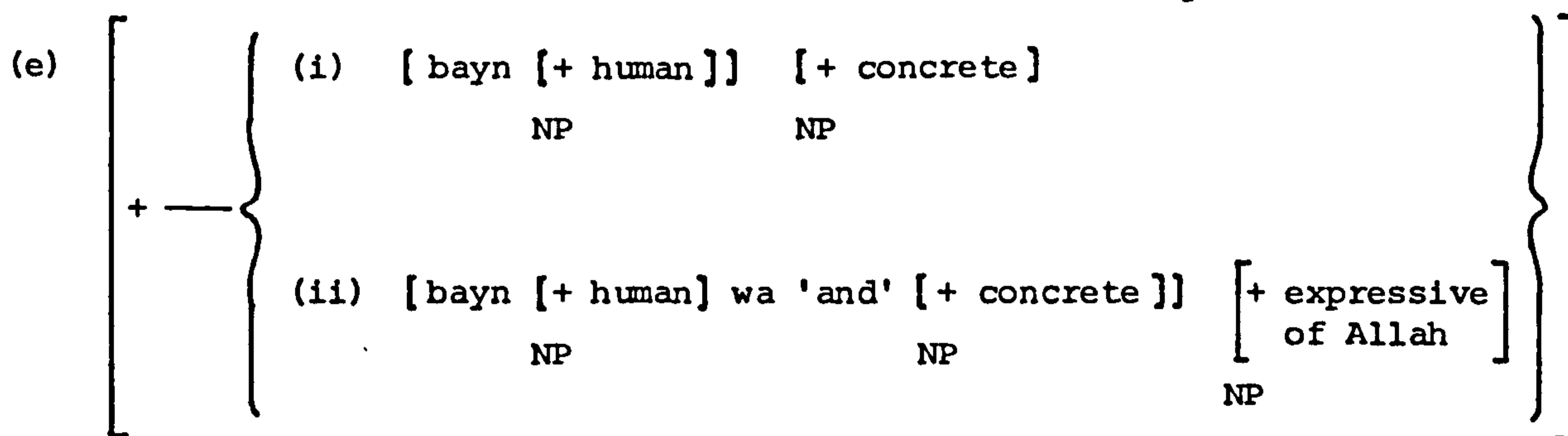
An example is naZaġa bayn 'to make strife between'. Examples of this verb with the POs of (i - ii) are respectively yanZaġu 'sows discord' in (124) and naZaġa 'had made strife' in (125).

- (124) ?inna ššayTaana yanZaġu baynahum (17/53)

The devil sows discord among them

- (125) min ba9di ?an naZaġa ššayTaanu baynii wa bayna ?ixwatii
(12/100)

After Satan had made strife between me and my brothers



An example is haala bayn 'to come in between'. Examples with the POs of (i - ii) are respectively haala 'came in' in (126) and yahuulu 'comes in' in (127).

- (126) wa haala baynahuma lmawgu fakaana mina lmuġraqiin (11/43)

And the wave came in between them, so he was among the
drowned

That you do not sorrow either for that which you missed or
for that which befell you

(132) ?id yaquulu liSaahibihii laa tahzan ?inna llaaha ma9anaa (9/40)

When he said to his comrade: Do not grieve: surely, Allah
is with us

(c)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{9alaa} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(ii) } [+ \text{ abstract}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \right] [+ \text{ human}] \right]$$

An example is ?asiya 9alaa 'to grieve for'. Examples of this verb with
the specifications of (i - ii) are ta?sa 'grieve' in (133) and ta?s
'grieve' in (134), respectively.

(133) falaa ta?sa 9ala lqawmi lkaafiriin (5/68)

Therefore, do not grieve for the disbelieving folk

(134) likaylaa ta?saw 9alaa maa faatakum (57/23)

That you do not grieve for that which has escaped you

(d)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{9alaa } [+ \text{ expressive of Allah}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[+ \text{ human}] \right] \right]$$

An example is tawakkal 'put your trust' in (135).

(135) fa?a9riD 9anhum wa tawakkal 9ala llaah (4/81)

So, turn away from them and put your trust in Allah

(e)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{9alaa} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ abstract}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \right\} [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{(ii) } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{9alaa } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[+ \text{ expressive of Allah}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

An example is qadira 9alaa 'to overpower'. Examples of this verb with the
POs of (i) and (ii) are respectively taqdir 'overpower' in (136) and

yaqdiru 'has control' in (137), and naqdira 'had power' in (138).

(136) ?illa llađina taabuu min qabli ?an taqdiruu 9alayhim (5/34)

Save those who repent before you overpower them

(137) Daraba llaahu maθalan 9abdan mamluukan laa yaqdiru

9alaa řay? (16/75)

Allah coins a similitude: a (mere) chattel slave, who
has control of nothing

(138) faZanna ?an lan naqdira 9alayh (21/87)

And deemed that We had no power over him

(f) [+ — { 9alaa [+ human] } [+ expressive of Allah]]
NP NP

An example is taaba 'turned (in mercy)' in (139).

(139) θumma taaba llaahu 9alayhim (5/71)

And afterwards Allah turned (in mercy) toward them

(g) [+ — [9alaa { (i) [+ place]
NP
(ii) [+ human]
NP }] [+ human]]

An example is marra 9alaa 'to pass by'; examples of this verb with the specifications of (i - ii) are respectively marra 'passing' in (140) and marra 'passed' in (141).

(140) ?aw kalladii marra 9alaa qaryatin wa hiya xaawiyatun

9alaa 9uruuřihaa (2/259)

Or the like of him who, passing by a township which had
fallen into utter ruin

(141) wa kullamaa marra 9alayhi mala?un min qawmihii saxiruu

minh (11/38)

And whenever chieftains of his people passed him, they
made mock of him.

It should be noted that the nominal element of (ii) may be governed by bi, e.g. him 'them' in (142).

(142) wa ?idaa marruu bihim yataḡaamazuun (83/30)

And when they passed them, they wink one to another

(h)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } [9alaa [+ human]] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) [+ satanic] \\ \text{NP} \\ (ii) [+ human] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \right]$$

An example is ?istahwada 9alaa 'to engross'. Examples with the specifications of (i - ii) are respectively ?istahwada 'has engrossed' in (143) and nastahwid 'overpower' in (144).

(143) ?istahwada 9alayhimu ššayTaan (58/19)

The devil has engrossed them

(144) qaaluu ?alam nastahwid 9alaykum (4/141)

They say: Did we not overpower you?

(i)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } [9alaa [+ human]] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [+ abstract] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$$

Examples are 9amiya 9alaa 'to be obscure to' (cf. 28/66), ba9uda 9alaa 'to seem far for' (cf. 9/42) and yakburu 9alaa 'appear intolerable' in (145).

(145) lam yakbur 9ala nnabiyyi ?i9raaDu lmušrikiin. (cf. 6/35)

The idolaters' aversion did not appear intolerable to the prophet

(j)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } [9alaa[human]] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) [+ concrete; + expressive of a three- \\ \text{dimensional object}] \\ \text{NP} \\ (ii) [+ expressive of (a) spirit(s)] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \right]$$

An example is Daaqa 9alaa 'to be straitened for'. Examples with the specifications of (i - ii) are Daaqa 'was straitened' in (146) and

with and without its PO are respectively *yuSirr* 'persist' in (160) and *?aSarr* 'persist' in (161).

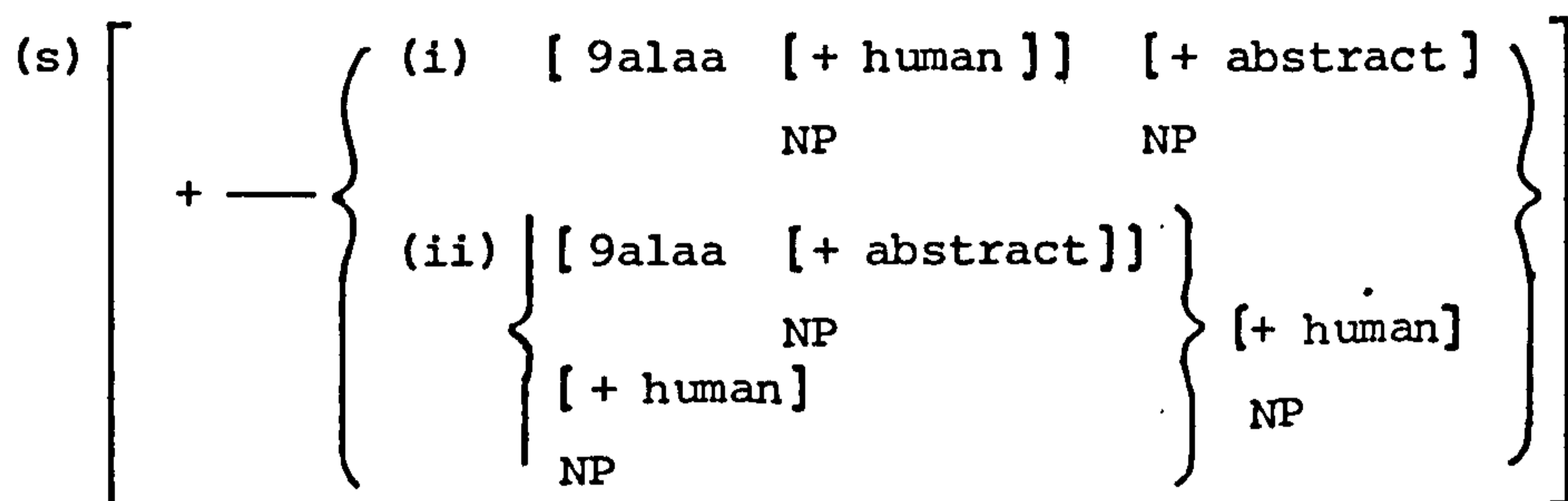
(160) *wa kaanuu yuSirruuna 9ala lhinθi 19aZiim* (56/46)

And used to persist in the awful sin

(161) *ga9aluu ?aSaabi9ahum fii ?aadaanihim wa staḡṣaw θiyaabahum*

wa ?aSarruu (71/7)

They thrust their finger in their ears and cover themselves with their garments and persist (in their refusal)



An example is *ḡalab* 'to conquer'. Examples of this verb with the POs of (i - ii) are respectively *ḡalaba* 'conquered' in (162) and *ḡalab* 'achieved supremacy' in (163).

(162) *qaaluu rabbanaa ḡalabat 9alaynaa ṣiqwatunaa* (23/106)

They will say: Our Lord! Our evil fortune conquered us

(163) *qaala llaḏiina ḡalabuu 9alaa ?amrihim lanattaxiḏanna*

9alayhim masgidaa (18/21)

Those who achieved supremacy over their affair said:

We verily shall build a place of worship over them

For an example of the nominal object of (ii) accompanied by the verbal element of '9alaba 9alaa', see 8/65.

It should be noted that the object of 'ḡalab' whose subject is marked with the feature [+ human] is optional: in (164), *yaḡlib* 'be victorious' has no complement.

(164) *wa hum min ba9di ḡalabihim sayaḡlibuun* (30/3)

And they after their defeat will be victorious

An example is 'Zahara 9alaa'. Example with the POs of (i - iii) are respectively yaZhar 'have the upper hand' in (170), yaZhar 'mount' in (171) and yaZhar 'know' in (172).

(170) kayfa wa ?in yaZharuu 9alaykum laa yarqubuu fiikum ?illan
wa laa dimmah (9/8)

How? when, if they have the upper hand of you, they regard
neither pact nor honour in respect of you

(171) laga9alnaa liman yakfuru birrahmaani libuyuutihim suqufan
min fiDDatin wa ma9aariga 9alayhaa yaZharuun (43/33)

We might well have appointed, for those who disbelieve
in the Beneficent roofs of silver for their houses and
stairs (of silver) whereby to mount

(172) yumkinu lilmuslimaati ?an yubdiina ziinatahunna lil?aTfaali
llaadiina lam yaZharuu 9ala 9awraatihinn (cf. 24/31)

It is possible for Muslim women to reveal their adornment
to the children who know nothing of women's genitals

For the nominal object of (ii) accompanied by the verbal element of 'Zahara 9alaa', see 18/97.

(w) [+ — [9alaa [+ human]] [+ expressive of lightning]]
NP NP

An example is ?aZlama 'darkens' in (173).

(173) ?idaa ?aZlama lbarqu 9alayhim qaamuu (cf. 2/20)

When the lightning darkens upon them they stand still

(x) [+ — [9alaa [+ human]] { (i) [+ expressive of Allah] }
NP { (ii) [+ human] }]
NP

An example is haafa 9alaa 'to deal unjustly with'. Example with the specifications of (i - ii) are respectively yaHiifa 'deal unjustly' in (174) and yaHiifa 'wrong' in (175).

(174) ?am yaxaafuuna ?an yahiifa llaahu 9alayhim (24/50)
Or do they fear lest Allah should deal unjustly with them

(175) yaxaafuuna ?an yahiifa 9alayhim rasuulu llaah (cf. 24/50)
They fear lest Allah's messenger should wrong them

(y) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } [+ \text{ abstract}] \text{ } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{(ii) } [9alaa \text{ } [+ \text{ human}]] \text{ } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right]$

An example ?istahaqq 'to merit'. An example of this verb with the PO of (ii) is stahaqqa 'are deserved' in (176).

(176) fa?in 9uθira 9alaa ?annahuma stahaqqaa ?iθman fa?aaxaraani
yaquumaani maqaamahumaa mina llaadiina stahaqqa 9alayhimu
l?awlayaan (5/107)

But then, if it is afterwards ascertained that both of them merit (the suspicion of) sin, let two others take their place of those who are deserved (to be regarded as) those nearly concerned

For an example of the verb in question with the nominal object of (i), see 5/107.

(z) $[+ \text{---} ([9alaa \text{ } [+ \text{ human}]] \text{ }) \text{ } [+ \text{ abstract}]]$
NP NP

An example is haqqa 9alaa 'to become imperative for'. Examples of this verb with and without its PO are haqqa 'has become imperative' in (177) and haqqa 'was indispensable' in (178), respectively.

(177) fariiqan hadaa wa fariiqan haqqa 9alayhimu DDalaalah (7/30)
Some has He led aright and others has become imperative
for them to go astray

(178) fahaqqa 9iqaab (38/14)
Therefore (My) doom was indispensable

- (a) [+ — ([9an [+ human]]) [+ human]]
 NP NP

An example is ?a9raDa 9an 'to turn away from'. Examples of this PV with and without its PO are ?a9riD 'avoid' in (184) and ?a9raD 'turn away' in (185), respectively.

- (184) ?ulaa?ika llaadiina ya9lamu llaahu maa fii quluubihim
 fa?a9riD 9anhum (4/63)

Those are they the secrets of whose hearts Allah knows.
 So avoid them

- (185) falammaa naggaakum ?ila lbarri ?a9raDtum (17/67)

But when He brings you safe to land, you turn away

Another example is tawallaa 9an 'to turn away from'. For examples of this verb with and without its PO, see 7/93 and 75/32, respectively.

- (b)i [+ — [9an [+ abstract]] [+ expressive of Allah]]
 NP NP
- ii [+ — [9an [+ abstract]] [+ human]]
 NP NP

Examples with the specifications of (b)i-ii are respectively natagaawazu 'overlook' in (186) and ya9ṣu 'is blind' in (187).

- (186) ?ulaa?ika llaadiina nataqabbalu 9anhum ?ahsana maa 9amiluu
 wa natagaawazu 9an sayyi?aatihim (46/16)

Those are they from whom We accept the best of what
 they do, and overlook their evil deeds

- (187) wa man ya9ṣu 9an dikri rrahmaani nuqayyiD lahuu
 ṣayTaanaa (43/36)

Whoever is blind to the remembrance of the Beneficent
 We assign to him a devil

- (c) [+ — [9an [+ human]] [+ human]]
 NP NP

An example is *yataxallaf* 'stay behind' in (188).

- (188) *maa kaana li?ahli lmadiinati wa man hawlahum mina
l?a9raabi ?an yataxallafuu 9an rasuuli llaah (9/120)*

It is not for the townsfolk of ?almadiinah and for those
around them of the Bedouins to stay behind the messenger
of Allah

- (d) [+ — [9an [+ expressive of Allah]] [+ concrete]]
NP NP

An example is *ya9zubu* 'escapes' in (189).

- (189) *wa maa ya9zubu 9an rabbika min miθqaali darratin fi l?arDi
wa laa fi ssamaa? (10/61)*

And not an atom's weight in the earth or in the sky
escapes your Lord

- (e) [+ — ([9an [+ abstract]]) [+ human]]
NP NP

An example is *9ataa 9an* 'to flout'. Examples of this PV with and
without its PO are respectively *9at* 'flouted' in (190) and *9at* 'are
scornful' in (191).

- (190) *fa9aqaru nnaaqata wa 9ataw 9an ?amri rabbihim (7/77)*

So they hamstrung the she-camel, and they flouted the
commandment of their Lord

- (191) *wa 9ataw 9utuwwan kabiiraa (25/21)*

And they are scornful with great pride

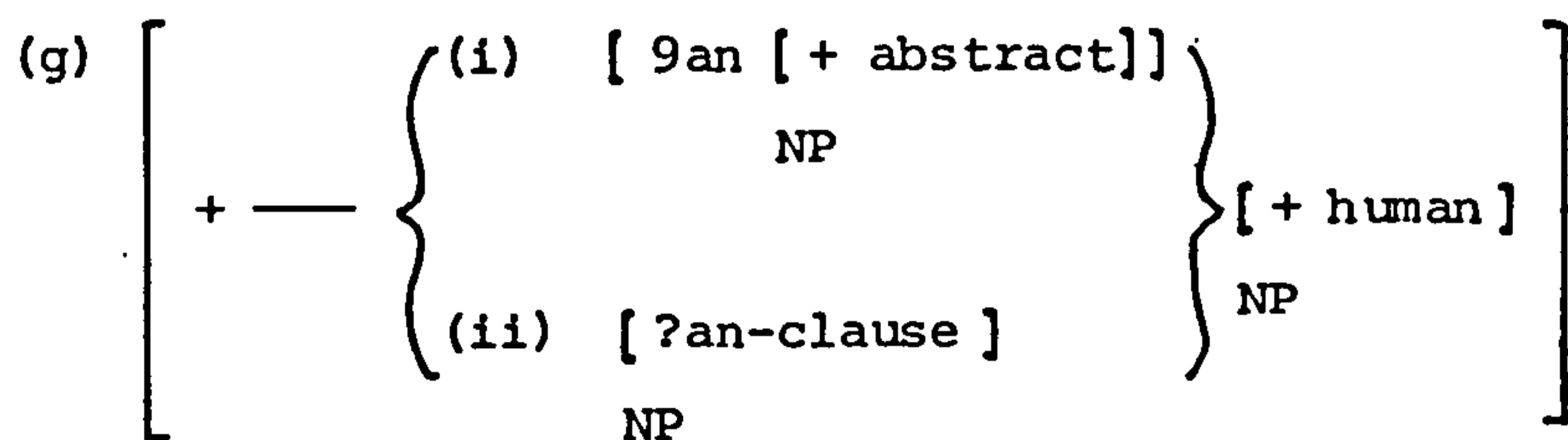
Another example is *Sadafa 9an* 'to turn away from'. For examples of
this PV with and without its PO, see 6/157 and 6/46, respectively.

- (f) [+ — [9an [+ abstract]] [+ satanic]]
NP NP

An example is *fasaqa* 'rebelled' in (192).

- (192) *fasagaduu ?illaa ?ibliisa kaana mina lginni fafasaqa
9an ?amri rabbih (18/50)*

So, they fell prostrate, all save ?ibliis. He was of
the jinn so he rebelled against his Lord's command



An example is raḡiba 9an 'to forsake'. Examples of the verbal element of this PV having the specifications (i - ii) are respectively yarḡabu 'forsakes' in (193) and tarḡab 'dislike' in (194).

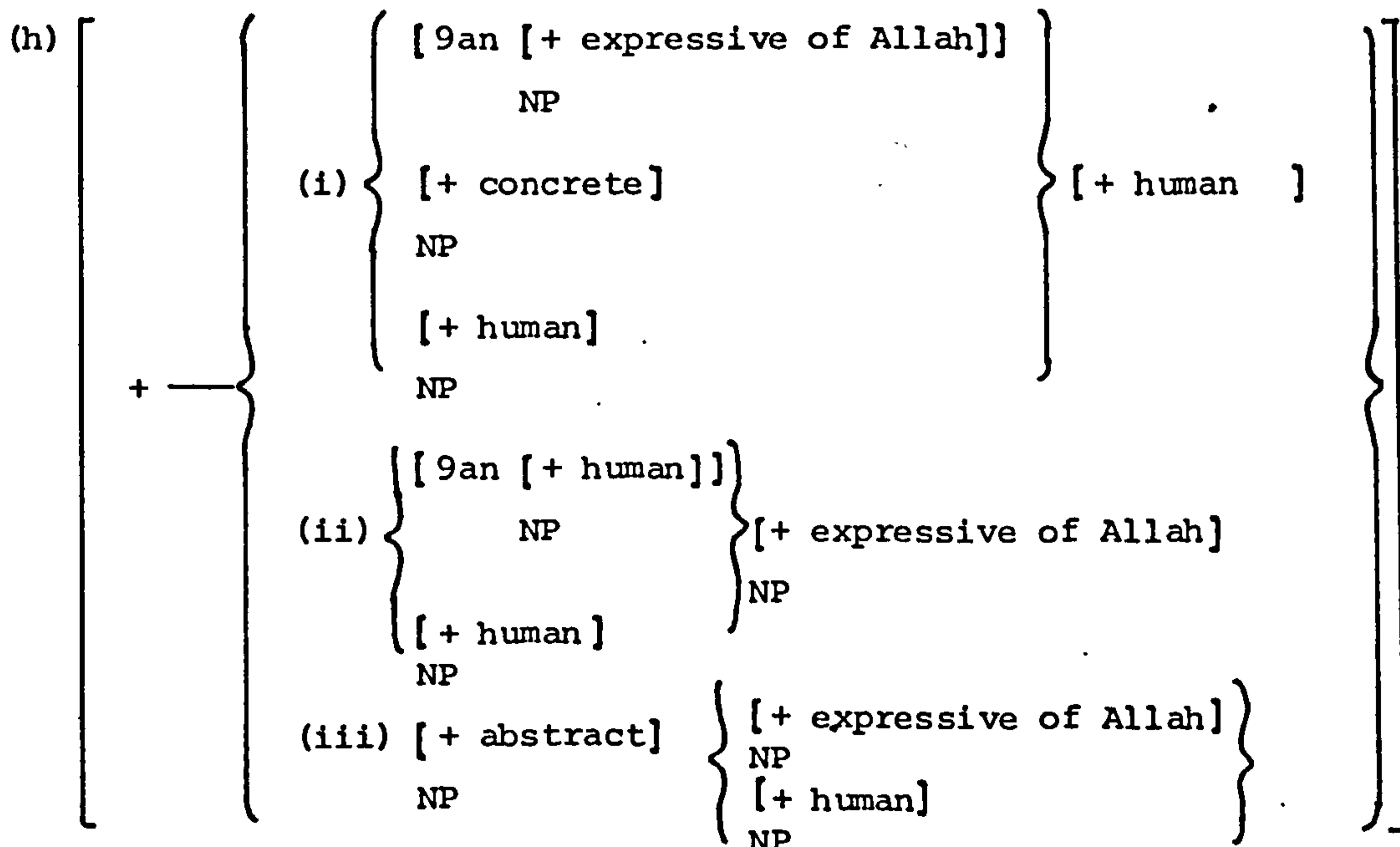
(193) wa man yarḡabu 9an millati ?ibraahiima ?illaa man safiha
nafsaḥ (2/130)

And who forsakes the religion of ?ibraahim save him who
befools himself?

(194) wa tarḡabuuna ?an tankihuuhunn (4/127)

And you dislike to marry them

Like the verbal element of 'raḡiba 9an', that of the PV ?istankafa 9an 'to scorn' is marked with (g). (For examples compatible with possibilities (i - ii), see 4/172.) According to the data however, only the verbal complement of the latter are optional (cf. 4/173).



An example is raDiya 'to be pleased'. Examples of this verb with the POs of (i - ii) are raD 'are pleased' in (195) and raDiya 'was pleased' in (196), respectively.

(195) raDiya llaahu 9anhum wa raDuu 9anh (5/119)

Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him

(196) laqad raDiya llaahu 9ani lmu?miniin (48/18)

Allah was well pleased with the believers

For examples of the verb in question accompanied by the nominal objects of (i), (ii) and (iii), see (a) 9/24 and 2/282, (b) 53/26 and (c) 39/7 and 9/59, respectively.

It should be noted that the objects of 'raDiya' is optional: tarDaa '(you) be pleased' in (197) has no object.

(197) wa 9agiltu ?ilayka rabbi litarDaa (20/84)

And I hastened to you, my Lord, that you might be pleased

(i) [+ — ([9an [+ human]]) [+ abstract]]
 NP NP

An example is habiTa 9an 'to be vain for'. Example of this PV with and without its PO are habiTa 'have been vain' in (198) and habiT² 'are vain' in (199), respectively.

(198) wa law ?a?rakuu lahabiTa 9anhum maa kaanuu ya9maluum (6/88)

And if they had set up (for worship) anything beside Him,

(all) that they did would have been vain for them

(199) fahabiTat ?a9maaluhum (18/105)

Therefore, their works are vain

(j) [+ — [9an [+ human]] [+ expressive of the earth]]
 NP NP

An example is ta?aqqaqu 'splits asunder' in (200).

(200) yawma ta?aqqaqu l?arDu 9anhum siraa9aa (50/44)

On the day when the earth splits asunder from them

hastening forth

- (f)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left(\left[\text{fii} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ expressive of} \\ \text{(a) soul(s)} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ human, + being a} \\ \text{pronoun referring} \\ \text{to NP}_1 \end{array} \right] \right] \right) \left[+ \text{ human} \right] \right] \text{ NP}_1$$

An example is ?istakbara fii 'to become proud in'. Examples of this PV with and without its PO are respectively stakbar 'became proud' in (209) and stakbar 'were scornful' in (210).

- (209) laqadi stakbaru fii ?anfusihiim wa 9ataw 9utuwwan kabiiraa
(25/21)

Assuredly, they became proud in their hearts (lit. souls)
and scornful with great pride

- (210) qaala lladiina stakbaru ?innaabilladii ?aamantum bihi
kaafiruun (7/76)

Those who were scornful said: Surely, we are disbelievers
in that which you believe

21.2.1.7 PVs associating with 'li'

Among the feature specifications of the verbs realizing the PVs associating with 'li' are the following ones:

- (a)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left[\text{li} \left[+ \text{ human} \right] \right] \left[+ \text{ human} \right] \right]$$

NP NP

Examples are laana li 'to be gentle with' (cf. 3/159) and Taaba la 'seem good' in (211).

- (211) fankihuu maa Taaba lakum mina nnisaa? (4/3)

Marry of the women who seem good to you

- (b)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left[\text{li} \left[+ \text{ human} \right] \right] \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \left[+ \text{ human} \right] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{(ii) } \left[\text{?an-clause with a pronominal} \right] \\ \left[\text{subject referring to NP}_1 \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \right]$$

An example is halla li 'to be lawful to'. Examples satisfying possibilities (i - ii) are respectively tahillu 'is lawful' in (212) and yahillu

'is lawful' in (213).

(212) fa?in Tallaqahaa falaa tahillu lahuu min ba9du hattaa
tankiha zawgan ġayrah (2/230)

And if he had divorced her, then she is not lawful to him
thereafter until she has wedded another husband

(213) wa laa yahillu lahunna ?an yaktumna maa xalaqa llaahu fii
?arhaamihinn (2/228)

And it is not lawful for them to hide that which Allah
has created in their wombs

(c)
$$\left[+ \text{ — } [\text{li} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{(ii) } [+ \text{ satanic}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}] [+ \text{ expressive of Allah}] \right] \text{NP}$$

An example compatible with both (i - ii) is nafaruġu 'dispose' in (214).

(214) sanafruġu lakum ?ayyuha 00aqaalaan (55/31)

We shall dispose of you, O you man and genie

(d)
$$\left[+ \text{ — } [\text{li} [+ \text{ abstract}]] [+ \text{ human}] \right] \text{NP} \quad \text{NP}$$

An example is ganah 'incline' in (215).

(215) wa ?in ganahuu lissalmi fagnah lahaa (8/61)

And if they incline to peace, incline to it

(e)
$$\left[+ \text{ — } [\text{li} [+ \text{ human}]] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{?an-clause with a subject both denoting} \\ \text{(a) heart(s) and annexed to a pronoun} \\ \text{referring to NP}_1 \end{array} \right] \right] \text{NP}$$

An example is ya?ni 'is about time' in (216).

(216) ?alam ya?ni lillaediina ?aamanuu ?an tax#a9a quluubuhum
liidikri llaah (57/16)

Is not it about time for those who believe that their
hearts submit to Allah's reminder?

(220) 9afa llaahu 9anka lima ?adinta lahum hattaayatabayyana
laka llađiina Sadaquu (9/43)

Allah forgive you! Why did you grant them leave before
those who told the truth appeared to you?

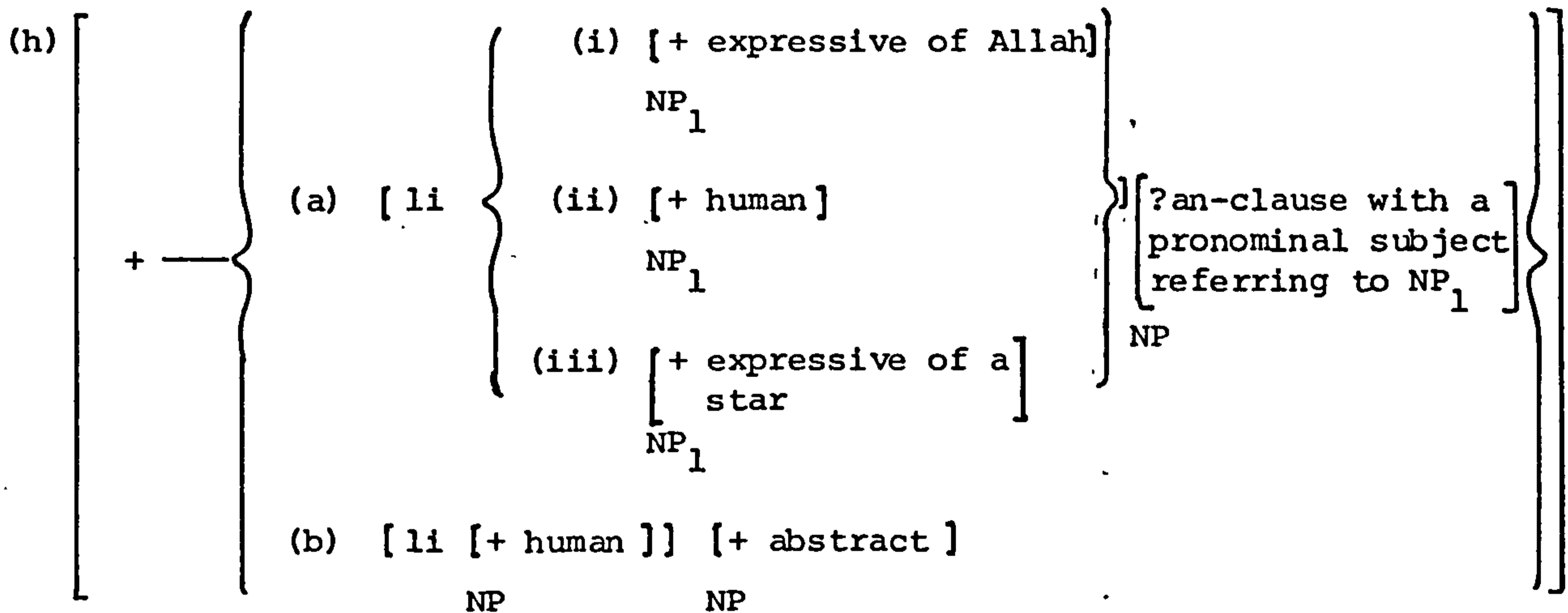
(221) wa tabayyana lakum kayfa fa9alnaa bihim (14/45)

And (has it not) become evident to you how We dealt with
them?

It should be noted that the PO of (a) (i) is optional: in (222) tabayyan
'had become manifest' has no object.

(222) yugaadiluunaka fi lhaqqi ba9damaa tabayyan (8/6)

Disputing with you of the truth after it had become
manifest (to them)



An example is ?inbaġaa li 'to be proper for'. Examples of this PV
that are compatible with (a - b) are (i) yanbaġii 'is proper' in (223),
yanbaġii 'behave' in (224) and yanbaġii 'behave' in (225) and (ii)
yanbaġii 'is right' in (226), respectively.

(223) wa maa yanbaġii lirrahmaani ?an yattaxiđa waladaa (19/92)

When it is not proper for the Beneficent to choose a son

(224) maa kaana yanbaġii lanaa ?an nattaxiđa min dunika min
?awliyyaa? (25/18)

It does not behave us to choose any protecting friends
beside you

(234) wa qul lilmu?minaati yaġDuDna min ?abSaarihinn (24/31)

And say to the believing women that they should lower
their eyes

(235) wa ġDuD min Sawtik (31/19)

And subdue your voice

(g)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) [+ expressive of Allah]} \\ \text{(ii) [+ human]} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

An example is saxira min 'to deride'. Examples of this PV with subject marked with (i) and with (ii) and with no PO object at all are respectively saxira 'derides' in (236), yasxar 'deride' in (237) and yasxar 'mock' in (238).

(236) saxira llaahu minhum (9/79)

Allah derides them

(237) yaa ?ayyuha llaġiina ?aamanuu la yasxar qawmun min qawm (49/11)

O you who believe. Let not a folk deride another

(238) bal 9agibta wa yasxaruun (37/12)

No, but you marvel while they mock

(h)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ --- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) [min [+ abstract]]} \\ \text{(ii) [?an-clause]} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[+ human]} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

Examples are sa?ima 'to tire' and 9agiba 'to wonder'. Examples of the former with the objects of (i - ii) are respectively yas?ami 'tire' in (239) and tas?am 'be averse' in (240). (For similar examples of the latter, see 11/73; 38/4, respectively.)

(239) laa yas?ami l?insaanu min du9aa?i lxayr (41/49)

Man does not tire of asking for good

- (240) wa laa tas?amuu ?an taktubuuhu Saġiiran ?aw kabiiraa
(2/282)

And be not averse to writing it down whether it be small
or great

It should be noted that the PO of sa?ima min 'to tire of' and
9agiba min 'to wonder at' are optional. For examples, see 41/38; 37/12
respectively.

- (i)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left[\text{min} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{(ii) } [+ \text{ concrete}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \right] [+ \text{ human}] \right]$$

An example is Dahika min 'to laugh at'. Examples with the POs of (i - ii)
are respectively taDhak 'laugh' in (241) and yaDhak 'laughed' in (242).

- (241) wa kuntum minhum taDhakuun (23/110)

And you used to laugh at them

- (242) falammaa ġaa?ahum bi?aayaatinaa ?idaa hum minhaa
yaDhakuun (43/47)

But when he brought them Our signs, behold! they laughed
at them

It should be noted that the PO of 'Dahika min' is optional:
yaDhak 'laugh' in (243) has no object.

- (243) falyaDhakuu qaliilaa (9/82)

Then, let them laugh a little

- (j)
$$\left[+ \text{ --- } \left[\text{min} \left[+ \text{ concrete} \right] \right] \left[+ \text{ expressive of (a) spring(s) } \right] \right]$$

NP NP

Examples are ?inbagasa min 'to gush out from' (cf. 7/160) and nfagara
'gushed out' in (244).

- (244) faqulna Drib bi9aSaaka lhagara fanfagarat minhu 9nataa
9a9rata 9aynaa (2/60).

We said: Smite with your staff the rock; (and) then there gushed out therefrom twelve springs

(k) [+ — [min [+ concrete]] [+ expressive of a river]]

An example is yatafaggaru 'gush' in (245).

(245) wa ?inna mina lhigaarati lamaa yatafaggaru minhu l?anhaar
(2/74)

And surely some rocks are those from which rivers gush

(l) [+ — ([min [+ abstract]]) [+ concrete]]
NP NP

An example is ?ibyaDDa min 'to be whitened with'. Example of this PV with and without its PO are respectively byaDDa 'were whitened' in (246) and tabyaDDu 'be whitened' in (247)

(246) wa byaDDat 9aynaahu mina lhuzn (12/84)

And his eyes were whitened with sorrow

(247) yawma tabyaDDu wuguuh (3/106)

On the day when (some) faces will be whitened

(m) [+ — [min [+ abstract]] [+ concrete]]
NP NP

An example is tazuulu 'are moved' in (248).

(248) tazuulu lgibaalu min makrihim (cf. 14/46)

The mountains are moved by their plot

(n) [+ — { (i) [?an-clause]
NP
(ii) [min [+ abstract]] } [+ expressive of Allah]
NP]

An example is ?istahyaa min 'to be shy of'. An example with the PO of (ii) is yastahyii 'is shy' in (249). (For an example of the clausal object of (i), see 2/26.)

(249) wa llaahu laa yastahyii mina lhaqq (33/53)

But Allah is not shy of the truth

'saTaa' and 'Zahar' can be realized by '9alaa' and 'bi', respectively (cf. ?alfayruuz?aabaadii, IV, 344; II, 85, respectively). Consequently (252) on the one hand, and (254) as well as the feature specification of 'saTaa' (cf. above (253)) on the other are to be modified to (255) and (256), respectively.

$$(255) \left[\begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ --- } [bi/?ilaa [+ human]] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) [+ expressive of Allah] \\ \text{NP} \\ (ii) [+ human] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right. \right]$$

$$(256) \left[\begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ --- } [9alaa/bi [+ human]] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} [+ human] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

2. The data contain PVs that though they are in conflict with the feature specifications assigned to them in (21.2.1.1-8) constitute with their POs well formed combinations. According to the means by which they can be made compatible with their features, these PVs are grouped into the following groups:

(a) PVs that are to be coupled with special semantic rules indicating that the nominal elements of their POs are to be conceived of as being elliptical when marked with the feature specification so and so, e.g. the PV ?istabṣara bi 'to rejoice at', for which the feature specification (a) in p.751 stands. It is coupled with a special semantic rule specifying that the nominal element of its PO is to be conceived of as being elliptical when marked with the feature [+ human], e.g. the nominal element of the PO billadiina lam yalhaquu bihim min xalfihim 'at those left behind, who have not yet joined them' in (257): it is conceived of as meaning kawni llaḍina lam yalhaquu bihim min xalfihim laa xawfun 9alayhim wa laahum yahzanuun 'that those left behind, who have not yet joined them, there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve', as is evident from the appositive relation between it and the NP '?allaa xawfun 9alayhim wa laa hum yahzanuun'.

- (257) wa yastabṣīruuna billādīna lam yalhaquu bihim min xalfihim
 ʔallaa xawfun 9alayhim wa laa hum yahzanuun (3/170)
 And rejoicing at those left behind, who have not yet
 joined them: that there shall no fear come upon them
 neither shall they grieve

For other PVs see (i) tafrah(uuna) bi '(who) exult in' in 27/36 and the feature specification (a) in p. 751 ; (ii) yaʔis(uu) min '(who) have despaired of' in 60/13 and the feature specification (c) in p. 790 yastahyii min '(he) was shy of' in 33/53 and the feature specification (n) in p. 793.

(b) PVs that are also to be associated with special rules specifying that the nominal elements of their POs are to be analysed as metaphors (i.e. to be interpreted by analogy with their counterparts that have literal rather than metaphorical meanings) when marked with (a) certain feature(s) and constitute with them acceptable metaphors (cf. Stockwell, p. 17). Examples are the PVs tawallaa 9an 'to turn away from' and ʔa9raDa 9an 'to avoid', which have the feature specification of (b)ii in p. 779. They are coupled with a semantic rule indicating that the nominal elements of their POs are to be thought of as metaphors when marked with [+ abstract] and constitute with them acceptable combinations. Examples of these nominal elements are dīkrīnaa 'Our remembrance' in (258) and dīkri rabbihi 'the remembrance of his Lord' in (259): they are metaphorically interpreted by analogy with their counterparts that have literal rather than metaphorical meanings, e.g. the nominal elements of the POs 9anhum 'form them' in (260) and 9an man 'him' in (258), respectively.

- (258) faʔa9riD 9an man tawallaa 9an dīkrīnaa (53/29)

Therefore avoid him who turns away from Our remembrance

- (259) wa man yu9riD 9an dīkri rabbihi yaslukhu 9adaabaan
 Sa9adaa (72/17)

And whoever turns away from the remembrance of his Lord,
He will thrust him into severe torment

(260) fatawallaa 9anhum (7/93)

So he turned away from them

3. The PVs for which the feature specifications in (21.2.1-8) stand include none of the following ones:

(a) the PVs whose subjects are conceived of as being elliptical or metaphors. Examples of the former are tanuu?u 'weigh heavily' in (261) and baka 'weep' in (262).

(261) tanuu?u lmafaatihu bil9uSbati ?uli lquwwah (cf. 28/76)

The keys weigh heavily upon a troop of powerful men

(262) famaa bakat 9alayhimu ssamaa?u wa l?arDu wa maa kaanuu
munZariin (44/29)

And the heavens and the earth did not weep over them, nor
were they reprieved

The subjects of these PVs, lmafaatihu 'the keys' in (261) and ssamaa?u 'the heaven' in (262) can be perceived of as hamlu lmafaatih 'the carrying of the keys' and ?ahlu ssamaa?i 'the people of the heaven' (cf. ?azzamax?arii, III, 109), respectively.

An example of the latter on the other hand is tamayyazu 'burst' in (263).

(263) takaadu gahannamu tamayyazu mina l?ayZ (cf. 67/8)

Hell would burst with anger

The subject of this verb, gahannamu 'Hell', is metaphorically interpreted by analogy with rragulu 'the man' in (264) (cf. ?alfayruuz?aabaadii, II, 200).

(264) tamayyaza rragulu ?ayZaa

The man burst with anger

For another example, see the PV yaSilu ?ila 'reach' in 6/136.

(b) the PVs the nominal elements of whose POs are conceived of as being

elliptical or metaphors. Examples of the former are ta9gal 'hasten' in (265) and (266); stakθar 'did much' in (267).

(265) falaa ta9gal 9alayhim (19/84)

So, do not hasten on their destruction (lit. on them)

(266) wa laa ta9gal bilqur?aani min qabli ?an yuqDaa ?ilayka
wahyuh (20/114)

And do not hasten on the Koran before its revelation has
been perfected to you

(267) yaa ma9?ara lginni qadi stakθartum mina l?ins (6/128)

O you assembly of the jinn! You did much of (leading)
mankind (astray)

The nominal elements of the POs of these PVs him 'them' in (265), lqur?aani 'the Koran' in (266) and l?ins 'mankind' in (267) can be perceived of as halaakihim 'their destruction' (cf. ?azzamax?arii, II, 291), qiraa?ati lqur?aan 'the recital of the Koran' (ibid., p. 315) and ?iDlaali l?ins 'leading mankind astray' (cf. ?ibn kaθiir, I, 618), respectively.

?irtadda 'deserted' in (268) is on the other hand an example of the PV the nominal element of whose PO, i.e. diinih 'his religion', is regarded as a metaphor: it is interpreted analogously to mawaaqi9inaa 'our positions' in (269).

(268) ?irtadda rragulu 9an diinih (cf. 2/217)

The man deserted his religion

(269) ?irtadda l9aduwwu 9an mawaaqi9inaa

The enemy went away from our positions

For another example, see the use of the PV sa9aa ?ilaa 'to haste to' in 62/9.

(c) the PVs whose feature specifications are accounted for by lexical redundancy rules relating them to other verbs. Examples are the underlined

PVs in (270)a - 274(a): they are lexically related to the underlined DOT-PVs in (270)b - (274)b, respectively.

(270) a taṣaqqaqu lʔarDu 9anhum (cf. 50/44)

The earth splits asunder from them

b yaṣuqqu llaahu lʔarDa 9anhum

Allah splits the earth asunder from them

(271) a tanaahaw/ʔintahaw 9an kaḏaa (cf. 5/79; 5/73, respectively)

They restrained one another from so and so

b nahaa ba9Duhum ba9Dan 9an kaḏaa

They restrained one another from so and so

(272) a tasaaʔaluu 9anh (cf. 74/40-1)

They asked one another concerning him

b saʔala ba9Duhum ba9Dan 9anh

They asked one another concerning him

(273) a taZaaharuu 9alayh (cf. 66/4)

They aided one another against him

b Zaahara ba9Duhum ba9Dan 9alayh

They aided one another against him

(274) a tagallaa li (cf. 7/143)

To reveal oneself to

b gallaa nafsahuu li

To reveal oneself to

(d) the PVs whose subjects are realized by NPs denoting parts of human bodies, or whose subjects or the nominal elements of whose POs are realized by NPs the heads of which both designate parts of the human body and are annexed to NPs marked with the feature [+ human]. Examples are taTmaʔinnu 'find rest' in (275), taSḡaa 'listen' in (276), zaḡa 'missed' in (277), fuzzi9a 'fear is banished' in (278), ta9du 'go past' in (279) and tatagaafaa 'forsake' in (280).

(275) ?alaa biḍikri llaahi taTma?innu lquluub (13/28)

Verily, in the remembrance of Allah hearts find rest

(276) taSḡaa ?ilaa zuxrufi lqawli ?af?idatu llaḍiina laa

yu?minuuna bil?aaxirah (cf. 6/113)

The hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter
incline to plausible conversation

(277) ?am zaagat 9anhumu l?abSaar (38/63)

Or have our eyes missed them?

(278) hattaa ?idaa fuzzi9a 9an quluubihim qaaluu maadaa

qaala rabbukum (34/23)

Until when fear is banished from their hearts they say:

What was it that your Lord said?

(279) wa laa ta9du 9aynaaka 9anhum (18/28)

And let not your eyes go past them

(280) tatagaafaa gunuubuhum 9ani lmaDaagi9 (32/16)

Their sides forsake (their) beds

It should be noted firstly that the subjects of the PVs taTma?innu 'find rest' in (275), taSḡaa 'incline' in (276) zaaga 'missed' in (277), ta9du 'go past' in (279) and tatagaafaa 'forsake' in (280) on the one hand, and the nominal element of the PO accompanied by the PV fuzzi9a 'fear is banished' in (278) on the other can be realized by NPs marked with the feature [+ human]. (For 'taSḡaa', 'zaaga', 'ta9du', 'tatagaafaa' and 'fuZZi9a' see ?alfayruuz?aabaadii, IV, 354, III, 111, IV, 362, IV, 314 and III, 65, respectively), and for 'taTma?innu', see 22/11.) Consequently, the feature specifications of these PVs and the like ought to be assigned so as to show all the possible realizations of their subjects and the nominal elements of their POs, respectively. For example, ?iTma?anna bi 'to find rest in' (cf. above (275)), fuzzi9a 9an 'fear is banished' (cf. above (278)) and 9adaa 9an 'to go past' (cf. above (279)) will have as their

feature specifications (281 - 283), respectively.

$$(281) \left[\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ + \text{ --- } [\text{bi } [+ \text{abstract}]] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ expressive of (a)} \\ \text{heart(s)} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{(ii) } [+ \text{ human}] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

$$(282) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } [9\text{an } [\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ expressive of} \\ \text{(a) heart(s)} \end{array} \right]] [+ \text{ human}]]] \\ \text{NP N} \quad \text{NP} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ expressive of} \\ \text{Allah} \\ + \text{ human} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$(283) \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ --- } [9\text{an } [+ \text{ human}]] [([+ \text{ expressive of eyes }]) [+ \text{ human}]]] \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{NP N} \quad \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$$

Secondly, there are PVs whose subjects or the nominal elements of whose POs are only realized by NPs whose heads both express parts of the human body and are annexed to NP marked with the feature [+ human], e.g. laana ?ilaa 'to soften to' (cf. above (61) and ?alfayruuz?aabaadii, IV, 271), kabura fii 'to be greater in' (cf. above (207)), and taq\$a9irru 'creeps' in (284) (cf. also ?alfayruuz?aabaadii, II, 121).

(284) taq\$a9irru mina lqur?aani guluudu llaadina yax\$awna
rabbahum (cf. 39/23)

The flesh of those who fear their Lord creeps at the Koran

4. More than one preposition is regarded as constituting part of the categorial features of a PV only when it is accompanied by them governing the same NPs, e.g. bi and fii 'to' in (285).

(285) yaTma9u rragulu bi/fii maali zawgatih (cf. ?alfayruuz-
?aabaadii, III, 62)

The man aspires to his wife's money

(For other examples, see above pp. 757-8; p. 763).

Consequently, neither min 'from' in (286) nor '9ala' in (287) for example is to be regarded as constituting part of the categorial feature of 'qaama' that accompanies the other: the NPs governed by either of them

are different from those governed by the other.

(286) qaama rragulu min maqaamih (cf. 27/39)

The man rose from his place

(287) qaama rragulu 9ala lmar?ah (cf. ?alfayruuz?aabaadi,
IV, 170)

The man provisioned the woman

5. Not all the well-formed linguistic combinations consisting of PVs and their subjects and non-LPOs are pragmatically well-formed. Consider (288 - 289):

(288) a ?arDaa biSSadaaqah (cf. 9/83)

I am content with friendship

b ?arDaa bil?idraak

I am content with awareness

(289) a haaqa bihimu lmakru ssayyi? (cf. 35/43)

The evil plot enclosed them

b haaqa bihimu ttaxayyul

Imagination enclosed them

Both (288) a and (289) a on the one hand, and (288) b and (289) b on the other are linguistically well-formed. For the PVs of (288) and (289) occur in linguistic environments compatible with their categorial and selectional features (cf. above (p. 751(a)) and (p. 756(i))), respectively. However, only (288) a and (289) a are pragmatically well-formed, too. For pragmatically speaking, ?arDaa '(I) am content' and haaqa 'enclosed' can be associated with SSadaaqah 'friendship' and lmakru ssayyi? 'the evil plot' rather than with l?idraak 'awareness' and ttaxayyul 'imagination', respectively.

Footnotes

1. See Huddleston pp. 239-40 where he proposes something else. To explain this proposal, consider the following examples, which are Huddleston's:

(i) Tim blamed the crash on Bill (ibid., p. 233)

(ii) Val benefited from the decision (loc. cit.)

According to the grammar presented in this thesis, 'blamed' and 'benefited' are verbs requiring non-LPOs. In sentences (i - ii), these objects are 'on Bill' and 'from the decision', respectively. For Huddleston, on the other hand, the prepositional elements of PPs such as 'on Bill' and 'from the decision' in (i - ii), respectively have no 'independent contribution to meaning' (ibid., p. 239) and are introduced into their structures by transformational rules rather than by the phrase structure rules. Accordingly the lexical entries of verbs such as 'benefited' in (ii), for instance, will be assigned so as to show that it is a two place verb, a verb that requires two NPs rather than a NP and a PP: the latter category is 'no longer a primitive term', 'a distinct category from NP' (ibid., p. 239).

2. See 80/27 for ?anbat 'to cause to grow', the causative of nabat 'to grow'.

C H A P T E R T W E N T Y T W O

CHARACTERISTICS OF POs: A CONCLUSION

It is indicated in 4.2 that in CA, V-P-N and V_1 -P-N combinations differ from one another in terms of the characteristics of their P-Ns rather than in terms of their constituency breaks: while both combinations break into V-/P-N and V_1 -/P-N, respectively, their P-N components function as PO and Free adjunct (i.e. non-transformed adjunct (cf. above 17.0)), respectively. As indicated above (4.2), the implication of this fact is that in contradistinction to a language such as English, what constitutes an Arabic PV in a V-P-N combination is V not V-P.

In Chapter Five to Thirteen, this fact was demonstrated. The same chapters however contain some of the grounds for recognizing the P-N functioning as PO and that functioning as Free adjunct, and, hence, the grammatical status of the verbs accompanying them. Other criteria are also included in (i) Chapters Fifteen to Eighteen, which are related to the co-occurrence restrictions having to do with positionally realized Adjuncts including those associating with V_1 s; (ii) 19.2.3.1, which is connected with the restrictions associated with POs; (iii) 21.1, and the introduction of 21.2, which have to do with the restrictions related to LPOs, including those accompanied by PVs, and non-LPOs with which PVs associate, respectively.

In this concluding chapter, a brief summary will be given of the characteristics of the POs associating with PVs⁽¹⁾ that differentiate them from their corresponding Free adjuncts (i.e. non-transformed adjuncts, which associate with V_1 s). But before doing so, it should be noted that POs including those accompanied by PVs are grouped into adverbial and non-

adverbial classes on the basis of their characteristics that are connected with interrogative, anaphoric and relative pro-forms.

A. Adverbial POs

The following characteristics are those of adverbial POs: (including those accompanied by PVs):

1. The interrogative pro-forms of adverbial POs are adverbial. Depending, however, on whether they - the adverbial POs - are LPOs, or DPOs accompanied by allative verbs (cf. Anderson, 1971: 119) on the one hand, or DPOs accompanied by ablative verbs (loc. cit.), on the other, their interrogative pro-forms are pure or hybrid, i.e. represented by an interrogative pro-form or by a preposition governing such a pro-form, respectively (cf. Vestergaard, p. 75 and 77). Consider, for example, sentences (1 - 3).

(1)a. ?ayna tanbutu haadihi l?aʒgaar (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, III, 469)

Where do these trees grow?

b. tanbutu haadihi l?aʒgaaru 9alaa qimami lgibaal

These trees grow on the peaks of the mountains

(2)a. ?ayna ɗahaba Ttalabah (cf. 81/26, and ?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 142)

Where did the students go to?

b. ɗahaba Ttalabatu ?ila lqaahirah

The students went to Cairo

(3)a. min ?ayna gi?t (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, IV, 631)

Where did you come from?

b. gi?tu mina lqaahirah

I came from Cairo

?ayna 'where' in (1)a, and ?ayna 'where to' in (2)a are respectively the pure adverbial interrogative pro-forms of the LPO 9alaa qimami lgibaal 'on the peaks of the mountains' in (1)b, and the DPO ?ila lqaahirah 'to

Cairo' in (2)b, which is accompanied by the allative verb *dahaba* 'went'. On the other hand, *min ?ayna* 'where from' in (3)a is the hybrid adverbial interrogative pro-form of the DPO *mina lqaahirah* 'from Cairo' in (3)b, which is accompanied by the ablative verb *gi?* 'came'.

2. The anaphoric pro-forms of adverbial POs are divided into two groups:

(a) nominal anaphoric pro-forms (cf. Vestergaard, p. 78), which consist of a preposition governing a pronoun referring to the nominal element of the adverbial PO, e.g. *fiihi* 'in it' in (4), *?ilayhaa* 'to it' in (5) and *minhu* 'from it' in (6), which are the nominal anaphoric pro-forms of the LPO *fii funduqi nniil* 'in the Nile hotel', and the DPOs *?ilaa ?urubbaa* 'to Europe' and *min maydaani lgumhuuriyyati* 'from the Republic square', respectively.

(4) *?askunu fii funduqi nniil 9agabaa ?innii ?askunu fiihi ?ayDaa*
I dwell in the Nile hotel. How strange! I live in it,
as well

(5) *taahabu 9aa?ilatuhum ?ilaa ?urubbaa marratayni fi l9aam*
fakam taahabu 9aa?ilatukum ?ilayhaa
Their family go to Europe twice a year. So, how frequently
does yours go there (lit. to it)?

(6) *sawfa nanTaliqum min maydaani lgumhuuriyyati fi lwaahidati*
masaa?aa ?ammaa ?antum fasatanTaliquna minhu fi 00aniyata
Sabaahaa
We shall set forth from the Republic square at one o'clock
p.m. As for you, you will set forth from it at two o'clock a.m.

(b) Adverbial anaphoric pro-forms, which depending on whether their antecedents are LPOs or DPOs associating with allative verbs on the one hand, or DPOs accompanied by ablative verbs on the other, they are respectively divided into two subclasses:

(i) pure adverbial pro-forms (cf. Vestergaard, p. 78), e.g. *hunaa* 'here' in (7)a, and *hunaaka* 'there' in (8)a, which are respectively the pro-forms of the LPO *fii haada lmakaani* 'in this place' in (7)b and the DPO *?ilaa daalika lmakaani* 'to that place' in (8)b, which is accompanied by the allative verb *dahab* 'went'.

(7)a. *tanbutu hunaa ?a\$gaaru zzaytuun* (cf. 5/24)

Olive trees grow here

b. *tanbutu fii haada lmakaani ?a\$gaaru zzaytuun*

Olive trees grow in this place

(8)a. *dahabtu hunaaka marratan waahidah*

I went there once

b. *dahabtu ?ilaa daalika lmakaani marratan waahidah*

I went to that place once

(ii) hybrid adverbial anaphoric pro-forms, which consist of a preposition governing a pure adverbial anaphoric pro-form, e.g. *min hunaa* 'from here' in (9)a; it is the pro-form of the DPO *min haada lmakaan* 'from this place' in (9)b, which is accompanied by the ablative verb *nanTaliqa* 'set forth'.

(9)a. *lan nanTaliqa min hunaa*

We will not set forth from here

b. *lan nanTaliqa min haada lmakaan*

We will not set forth from this place

3. Depending on whether they are LPOs or DPOs accompanied by allative verbs on the one hand, or DPOs accompanied by ablative verbs on the other, adverbial POs have pure and hybrid adverbial relative pro-forms (cf. Vestergaard, p. 139), respectively. Examples of the former are *hayθu* 'where' in (10)a, and *hayθu* 'where' in (11)a, which are respectively the pure adverbial relative pro-forms of the LPO *fi lmakaani llaadii tukibb* 'in the place you like' in (10)b and *?ila lmakaani llaadii tu?maruuna*

bilmuDiyyi ?ilayh 'to the place which you are commanded to go to', with which the allative verb (wa) mD(uu) '(but) go' in (11)b associates.

(10)a. ?uskun hayθu tuhibb (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 199)

Dwell where you like

b. ?uskun fi lmakaani llaḍii tuhibb

Dwell in the place you like

(11)a. wa mDuu hayθu tu?maruun (15/65)

But go where you are commanded

b. wa mDuu ?ila lmakaani llaḍii tu?maruuna bilmuDiyyi ?ilayh

But go to the place which you are commanded to go to

On the other hand, min hayθu 'from where' in (12)a is an example of the hybrid adverbial relative pro-form: it is the pro-form of mina lmakaani llaḍii ?axraguukum minh 'from the place which they drove you out from' in (12)b, which is a DPO accompanied by the ablative verb ?axrig 'derive out'.

(12)a. wa ?axriguuhum min hayθu ?axraguukum (2/191)

And derive them out from where they drove you out

b. wa ?axriguuhum mina lmakaani llaḍii ?axraguukum minh

And derive them out from the place which they drove you
out from

B. Non-adverbial POs

The characteristics of non-adverbial POs (including those accompanied by PVs) can be summed up as follows:

1. in contradistinction to adverbial POs, non-adverbial POs have none of the following pro-forms: (i) adverbial interrogative pro-forms;

(ii) adverbial anaphroci pro-forms; (iii) adverbial relative pro-forms (cf. above 9.2).

2. on the other hand, like their counterparts, non-adverbial POs have the following pro-forms:

(i) nominal interrogative pro-forms, e.g. bimaadaa 'by what' in (13), 9amma 'from what' in (14), mimma 'from what' in (15), and 9alaa man 'upon whom' in (16): they are the nominal interrogative pro-forms of bimaalihim 'by their wealth', 9ani l?ahibbah 'from their lovers', min maa?in daafiq 'from a gushing fluid' and 9alaa kulli ?affaakin ?aθiim 'upon every lying, sinful one' in (13-16), respectively.

(13) A: bimaada gtarra lqawm (cf. ?ibn ?abii Taalib, I, 142)

B: ?igtarruu bimaalihim

A: By what were the people deceived?

B: They were deceived by their wealth

(14) A: 9amma ntaqala lqawm (cf. ?ibn?abii Taalib, III, 469)

B: ?intaqaluu 9ani l?ahibbah (loc. cit.)

A: From what did the people go away?

B: They went away from their lovers

(15) A: mimma xuliqa l?insaan (cf. 86/5)

B: xuliqa min maa?in daafiq (86/6)

A: From what is man created?

B: He is created from a gushing fluid

(16) A: 9alaa man tanazzalu §§ayaaTiin (cf. 26/221)

B: tanazzalu 9alaa kulli ?affaakin ?aθiim (26/222)

A: Upon whom do the devils descend?

B: They descend upon every lying, sinful one

(ii) nominal anaphoric pro-forms, e.g. lahuu 'to him' in (17), and lahum 'for them' in (18): they are the nominal anaphoric pro-forms of the non-adverbial POs limaahirin 'to maahri' and li?aSdiqaa?ika 'for your friends' in (17-18), respectively.

(17) A: tabayyana limaahirin ?anna 9aliyyan Sadiiquh

B: mataa tabayyana lahuu haadaa

A: It appeared to maahir that 9aliyy was his friend

B: When did this appear to him?

(18) A: laa yanbaḡii li?aSdiqaa?ika ?an yuxaaliTuu maahiraa

B: maadaa ta9nii ?ata9nii ?annahum laa yanbaḡii lahum ?an
yattaxiduuhu Sadiqaa ?am maadaa

A: It is not right for your friends to associate with maahir

B: What do you mean? Do you mean that it is not right for them
to take him as a friend? or what?

22.1 Obligatoriness and optionality

The first characteristics of the POs with which PVs associate is related to obligatoriness and optionality. In their capacity as verbal complements, the POs in question are obligatory in the sense that they constitute part of the logical argument structure of the PVs associating with them (cf. Bresnan, p. 14)⁽²⁾, regardless of whether or not they are structurally obligatory, too⁽³⁾.

This characteristic is compatible with the fact that the linguistic contexts of PVs that are specified in terms of their POs are assigned to them as individual items rather than as members of general classes. And, as indicated by Lentzner⁽⁴⁾ (cf. Lentzner, pp. 159-61), any attempt to ignore this fact by attributing the realization of the prepositional element of the PO of a PV to the class to which the latter belongs is bound to be unsuccessful. There are, for example, PVs that though they belong to the same class govern different prepositions. Examples are the following groups of PVs of appearance (cf. above 10.1).

(i) Daaga 9alaa 'to be straitened for' (cf. 9/25) and 9azza 9alaa 'to be grievous to'⁽⁵⁾.

(ii) Taaba li 'to seem good to' (cf. 4/3) and halla li 'to be lawful to' (cf. 2/230).

On the other hand, the features of the verbs in terms of which the co-occurrence restrictions between them and the prepositionally realized

Free adjuncts associating with them are formulated represent the classes to which they - the verbs - belong (cf. above 20.22.2), a fact which is compatible with the Free adjuncts not being parts of the logical argument structure of these verbs (cf. Long, p. 128; Hudson, p. 246).

As indicated above (p. 810), the conceptual and structural obligatoriness may not coincide with each other. For example, there are PVs that are used both transitively, i.e. with their POs, and intransitively, i.e. without their POs (cf. above 21.2.1). The question arises then is: How to relate the transitive and intransitive uses of such verbs to one another?

Depending on whether the meanings of the PVs that are intransitively used will or will not account for their logical POs⁽⁶⁾, these PVs are classifiable into the following classes:

(a) those whose logical POs are recoverable from their meanings (cf. Huddleston, p. 226; Bartsch, p. 360), e.g. tanaagay 'whisper to one another' in (19), ?axTa? 'do an error' in (20), baTaḡ 'attack' in (21), baḡ 'transgress beyond all bounds' in (22), ?anaab 'repented' in (23) and kafar 'disbelieved' in (24).

(19) yaa ?ayyuha lladiina ?aamanuu ?idaa tanaagaytum falaa
tatanaagaw bil?iθmi wa l9udwaan (58/9)

O you who believe! When you whisper to one another whisper
not with crime and wrongdoing

(20) rabbanaa laa tu?aaxidnaa ?in nasiinaa ?aw ?axTa?naa (2/286)

Our Lord! Do not condemn us if we forget or do an error

(21) wa ?idaa baTaḡtum baTaḡtum gabbaariin (26/130)

And when you attack, you attack as tyrants

(22) wa law basaTa llaahu rrizqa li9ibaadihii labagaw fi

L?arD (42/27)

And if Allah were to enlarge the provisions for His slaves,
they would surely transgress beyond all bounds in the earth

(23) fastaġfara rabbahu wa xarra raaki9an wa ?anaab (38/24)

And he sought forgiveness of his Lord and he bowed himself
and fell down prostrate and repented

(24) wa laakini xtalafuu faminhum man ?aamana wa minhum man
kafar (2/253)

But they differ, some of them believed and some disbelieved

The meanings of the aforementioned verbs are as follows:

(i) the meanings of tanaagay 'whisper to one another' in (19) and ?axTa? 'do an error' in (20) are fa9ala nagwaa 'do a whisper' and fa9ala xaTa? 'do an error', respectively, i.e. they are expressible by the general verb fa9ala 'do' governing the NPs nagwaa 'a whisper' and xaTa? 'an error', which denote their verbal nouns, respectively. Note that the meaning of the verbal noun incorporates the logical object of its verb; in fact it is an expression of what is denoted by the VP embracing this verb. For example, the verbal noun '?attanaagii' (which is denoted by the word 'nagwaa' 'a whisper' in the phrase designating the meaning of 'tanaagay' in (19), cf. above) denotes the action expressed by the VP embracing its verb 'tanaagay'; it means ?attanaagii bi9ay?in maa 'whispering something (to each other)', where bi9ay?in maa 'something' is the logical object of 'tanaagay'.

(ii) the meanings of baTa9 'attack' in (21) and ba9 'transgress beyond all bounds' in (22) are expressible by a general verb governing their verbal nouns, which, as indicated above, incorporate their logical POs: the verbs mean ?ahda9a baT9aa 'make an attack' and ?ahda9a ba9yaa 'cause transgression', respectively.

(iii) finally, the meanings of ?anaab 'repented' in (23) and kafar 'disbelieved' in (24) incorporate explicitly their logical POs: they are

taaba ?ilaa rabbih 'turned to his Lord in repentance' and lam yu?min birabbih 'disbelieved in his Lord', respectively.

Consequently, the relationship between the aforementioned verbs and their transitive counterparts (cf. 58/9, 33/5, 28/19, 28/76, 31/15 and 13/5, respectively) are accounted for in the lexicon. In addition to assigning them a categorial feature that show that they have an optional PO, they will have two lexical readings: one, when used transitively, and it has nothing to do with their POs (later the projection rules will amalgamate their readings with those of their POs), and another, when used intransitively, and it explicitly or implicitly incorporates their POs.

This latter reading is not uncommon: the lexicon embraces lexical items whose readings incorporate other structural elements. For example, the lexical readings of the following verbs incorporate a Manner adjunct: tarannah (i.e. saara bitamaayulin kassakraan) 'to stagger'; tabaxtar (i.e. saara bitaraffuq) 'to amble'; ?indafa9 (i.e. saara bindifaa9) 'to dash', etc. (cf. Nilsen, pp. 79-80; see also p. 111, for examples incorporating other structural elements).

(b) The second type of the PVs that can be used intransitively incorporates those whose logical POs are recoverable from the linguistic context (cf. Huddleston, p. 228, Grimshaw, p. 393, fn. 11; Abu Ssaydeh, pp. 77-8), e.g. kaaddaba 'denied' in (25), tusrif 'be prodigal', in (26) tawallaa 'turns away' in (27) and tanZur 'were watching' in (28).

(25) wa laqad ?araynaahu ?aayaatinaa kullahaa fakaddaba wa
?abaa (20/56)

And We verily showed him all Our signs, but he denied and
refused

(26) wa kuluu wa şrabuu wa laa tusrifuu (7/31)

And eat and drink but do not be prodigal

- (27) man yuTi9i rrasuula faqad ?aTaa9a llaaha wa man tawallaa
famaa ?arsalnaaka 9alayhim hafiiZaa (4/80)

Whoever obeys the messenger obeys Allah, and whoever turns
away, We have not sent you as a guard over them

- (28) wa ?agraqnaa ?aala fir9awna wa ?antum hiina?idin tanZuruun (2/50)

And drowned the folk of fir9awn while you were watching

The logical POs of the aforementioned verbs are identified from the linguistic contexts preceding them; based on the following linguistic structures ?aayaatinaa 'Our signs' in (25), kuluu wa §rabuu 'eat and drink' in (26), yuTi9i rrasuula 'obeys the messenger' in (27) and ?agraqnaa ?aala fir9awna 'drowned the folk of fir9awn' in (28), they - the logical POs - can be thought of as (i) (kaaddaba) bihaa '(denied) them'; (ii) (laa tusrifuu) fi l?akli wa §§urb '(be prodigal) neither in eating nor in drinking'; (iii) (tawallaa) 9an Taa9atih '(turns away) from his obedience' and (iv) (tanZuruuna) ?ilaa maa yahduθu lahum '(you were watching) that which was happening to them', respectively.

(c) The last type of the PVs that can be used intransitively include those whose logical POs are recoverable from the context of situation (cf. Huddleston, pp. 228-9), e.g. ?aSarr 'persist' in (29) and tukaddib 'deny' in (30).

- (29) wa ?aSarruu wa stakbaru stikbaaraa (71/7)

And persist (in their refusal) and magnify themselves in pride

- (30) wa ?in tukaddibuu faqad kaaddaba ?umamun min qablikum (29/18)

And if you deny, then nations have denied before you

Depending on the contexts of situations related to sentences (29-30)

(cf. Lyons, 1968: 413-14), the logical POs of the aforementioned verbs can be perceived of as (?aSarruu) 9alaa rafDihim '(persist) in their refusal' and (tukaddibuu) nabiiyyii '(you deny) My prophet', respectively.

To relate the intransitive uses of the PVs of classes b-c to their

transitive counterparts, two proposals are suggested:

1. The first proposal is transformational (cf. Huddleston, pp. 227-8; Bresnan, p. 15; Abu-Ssaydeh, p. 76, and p. 78; Mittwoch, p. 113).

According to this proposal, the structures involving the intransitive uses of the PVs in question are generated by the categorial rules with their verbal elements accompanied by PPs as their sister-constituents. Later, these PPs, which function as PO, are deleted by a transformation termed the Unspecified Object Deletion transformation (cf. Huddleston, p.227).

It should be noted firstly that there are PVs whose POs cannot be deleted, e.g. ?istahwada 'has engrossed' in (31)a and ?ištamala 'contain' in (32)a: (31)b and (32)b, which do not include the POs of these PVs, are ungrammatical.

(31)a. ?istahwada 9alayhimu ššayTaan (58/19)

The devil has engrossed them

b* ?istahwada ššayTaan

The devil has engrossed

(32)a. ?ištamalat ?arhaamu l?unθayayni 9alaa dakarin wa ?unθaa

(cf. 6/144)

The wombs of the two females contain a male and a female

b*.?ištamalat ?arhaamu l?unθayayn

The wombs of the two females contain

Accordingly, though in the lexicon both PVs such as ?istahwada 'has engrossed' in (31)a and ?ištamala 'contain' in (32)a, and the PVs of classes b-c (cf. above pp.813-14) will be assigned a categorial feature indicating that they have an obligatory PP, only the latter PVs will have a rule feature showing that their unspecified objects are deletable.

Secondly, the proposal in question are explained by those who suggest it in relation to single transitive verbs with deletable nominal complements. In this explanation, the NP standing for the unspecified

object dominates either a dummy symbol (cf. Huddleston, p. 227; Abu-Ssaydeh, p. 76 and p. 78), or a lexical pro-form compatible with the sectional features of the verb associating with it. For example, the NP representing the unspecified object of 'ate' in (33) dominates 'something' (cf. Huddleston, p. 227, and Abu-Ssaydeh, p. 76).

(33) John ate

Needless to say these two analyses are applicable to the PVs of classes b-c when used intransitively. For example, the PP that represents the unspecified PO of yahzanu 'grieves' in (34) dominates a dummy symbol or 9alaa šay? 'at nothing'.

(34) laa yahzanu maahir
maahir grieves (at nothing)

Thirdly, surface structures with the NPs representing the unspecified objects dominating a dummy symbol or a lexical pro-form compatible with the selectional features of the verbs associating with them - the NPs - are ill- and well-formed, respectively. While explaining the transformational proposal however, Huddleston says nothing concerning the status of the Unspecified Object Deletion transformation, which bears on the grammaticality of the aforementioned surface structures. But it can be understood from what he says regarding the underlying structure embracing the unspecified object which is realized by a dummy symbol that the transformation in question is optional. According to him, this dummy symbol 'is later removed by the Unspecified Object Deletion transformation, and the grammar will contain a surface structure constraint blocking any derivation in which the final PM contains a Δ ' (Huddleston, p. 227).

In various studies (cf. Huddleston, pp. 228-9; Abu-Ssaydeh, pp. 76-7), the transformational proposal is proved to be disadvantageous. Arguments are given to justify this conclusion. Among them are the

following ones:

- (i) little or no syntactic support is given to the transformational solution (cf. Huddleston, p. 228, and Abu-Ssaydeh, p.76, respectively).
- (ii) the transformational proposal is unnecessarily complicated and is counter-intuitive (cf. Abu-Ssaydeh, pp. 76-7).

To these arguments I add the following ones:

(a) there are two purposes for postulating that the underlying representations of the clauses embracing transitive verbs (including PVs) with intransitive uses contain NPs or PPs representing the logical objects of these verbs:

(i) the first purpose is to show that though transitive verbs that are used without their objects are structurally intransitive, they are logically or inherently transitive (cf. Lyons, 1968: 361; Huddleston, p. 228; Bresnan, p. 15). As far as this purpose is concerned, the transformational proposal is successful: the underlying representation of the clause containing an intransitively used transitive verb embraces a category symbol standing for the logical object; and this is the case regardless of whether the category symbol dominates a dummy symbol or a lexical pro-form (cf. above p. 816).

(ii) the second purpose is to provide the basis upon which the intransitively used transitive verb/PV will be interpreted so as to be amalgamated with an appropriate object/PO, respectively. Obviously, the transformational proposal is successful in relation to this latter purpose only in case where the unspecified object is realized by a lexical pro-form rather than by a dummy symbol.

(b) the transformational proposal contains nothing related to how on the level of deep structure the grammar will have access to the linguistic discourse or the context of situation (depending on whether the unspecified object/PO is identifiable from the former or the latter, respectively), so

as to allow the unspecified object/PO to be realized by the appropriate lexical pro-form.

2. The second proposal for relating the intransitive uses of the PVs of classes b-c (cf. above pp813-14) to their transitive counterparts is lexical (cf. Bresnan, pp. 15-16; Abu-Ssaydeh, pp. 76-9). In this proposal, both the structures involving the PVs in question and those embracing their intransitive counterparts are generated by the base rules (cf. Huddleston, p. 227; Abu-Ssaydeh, p. 76 and p. 78); and the fact that, like the relation expressed by the PV, that expressed by its intransitive counterpart is logically a two place relation is accounted for by a lexical rather than by a transformational rule (cf. Bresnan, p. 15; Mittwoch, p. 113).

In their capacity as lexical specifications of members of the verb class, the lexical entries of the PVs in question will include, among others, the following things (cf. Bresnan, p. 15):

- (i) information about their syntactic (= categorial) contexts.
- (ii) information about their logical argument structure.
- (iii) a lexical mapping rule (cf. Mittwoch, p. 113), operating on their argument structure and showing how they are 'converted from a two-place relation to a one-place relation' (Bresnan, p. 15). Consider, for instance, (35), which is part of the lexical specification of the PV *hazina 9alaa* 'to grieve at'.

$$(35) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (a) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{ --- } [9alaa [NP]] \end{array} \right] \text{ hazina 9alaa y x} \\ (b) \left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{ --- } [\neq] \end{array} \right] \text{ hazina x } \equiv (3 \text{ 9alaa y}) \text{ hazina 9alaa y x} \end{array} \right. \left. \right\}$$

(35)a embraces (i) a syntactic information indicating that *hazina* 'to grieve' associate with a PP whose prepositional element is realized by

9alaa 'at', and (ii) an information specifying the logical argument structure of this PV. On the other hand, (35)b contains (i) a syntactic information showing that 'hazina' can be used intransitively without its PO, and (ii) a lexical mapping rule operating on the logical argument structure of this PV and showing the relation between its transitive and intransitive use.

One final point remains to be discussed: how to interpret the structure involving the intransitively used PV. As to this interpretation, there are two levels (cf. Grimshaw, p. 393): (i) a semantic level where the VP incorporating the PV in question will be given a reading in such a way that its verbal element will be amalgamated with no PO; (ii) a logical level where the predicate represented by the same PV will be given a reading so as to be amalgamated with its logical PO, and since the identification of this object is based either on the linguistic context or the context of situation (cf. above pp 817-18), the rules on this level must have access to either of them: without such access, it will be impossible to provide the unspecified PO⁽⁷⁾.

Needless to say the lexical proposal has none of the disadvantages associated with the transformational one: it is simpler, avoids the use of the dummy symbol, and explains how and where the grammar will have access to the elements identifying the unspecified object/PO.

22.2 Other Characteristics

1. The second characteristic of the PO of a PV is related to maa/maadaa fa9al 'do-what' and maa/maadaa hadaθ 'happen-what', which are a VP and a sentence pro-form, respectively (cf. above p.485 fn.3). In contradistinction to the PO in question, the prepositionally realized Free adjuncts are able to occur outside both of the aforementioned pro-forms or one of them. Consider, for example, the sentences of (36 - 37).

(36)a. ?aamana maahirun bitta9aawun
 maahir has believed in co-operation

b. ?a9raDa maahirun 9an naa?il
 maahir turned away from naa?il

(37)a. yaDribu 9aliyyun bil9aSaa
 9aliyy strikes with the stick

b. daakara maahirun fi lhadiiqah
 maahir studied in the garden

The Pos bitta9aawun 'in co-operation' in (36)a, and 9an naa?il 'from naa?il' in (36)b cannot occur outside the scope of the appropriate pro-forms. The pro-forms of the VP ?a9raDa 9an naa?il 'turned away from naa?il' in (36)b on the one hand, and of the sentences of (36) on the other are 'maa/maadaa fa9al', and 'maa/maadaa hadaθ', respectively. As for the VP of sentence (36)a, it has no pro-form. For its verbal constituent, ?aamana 'has believed', is a verb of happening not a verb of doing (cf. above 14.2.1). Having said that, the PO bitta9aawun 'in co-operation' in (36)a cannot occur outside the scope of 'maa/maadaa hadaθ' pro-form, nor can the PO 9an naa?il 'from naa?il' in (36)b occur outside the scope of 'maa/maadaa fa9al' or 'maa/maadaa hadaθ' pro-form as indicated by (38 - 39), respectively.

(38)a* maadaa hadaθa bitta9aawun

What happened in co-operation?

b* maa hadaθa bitta9aawuni ?iimaanu maahir

What happened with co-operation was that maahir believed

(39)a* maadaa fa9ala maahirun 9an naa?il

What did maahir do from naa?il?

b* maadaa hadaθa 9an naa?il

What happened from naa?il?

c* maa fa9ala maahirun 9an naa?ilini l?i9raaD

What maahir did from naa?il was turn away

d* maa hada0a 9an naa?il in ?i9raaDu maahir

What happened from naa?il was that maahir turned away

On the other hand, the Instrument adjunct bil9aSaa 'with the stick' in (37)a and the Place adjunct fi lhadiiqah 'in the garden' in (37)b can occur outside the scope of the appropriate pro-forms. The former adjunct can occur outside the scope of 'maa/maadaa fa9al' pro-form as in (40), while the latter outside the scope of 'maa/maadaa fa9al/hada0' pro-form, as in (41).

(40)a. maadaa yaf9alu 9aliyyun bil9aSaa

What does 9aliyy do with the stick?

b. maa yaf9alu 9aliyyun bil9aSa DDarb

What 9aliyy does with the stick is strike

(41)a. maadaa fa9ala maahirun fi lhadiiqah

What did maahir do in the garden?

b. maadaa hada0a fi lhadiiqah

What happened in the garden?

c. maa fa9ala maahirun fi lhadiiqati lmudaakarrah

What maahir did in the garden was study

d. maa hada0a fi lhadiiqati mudaakaratu maahir

What happened in the garden was maahir studied

Needless to say the fact that Instrument adjuncts can occur outside the scope of 'maa/maadaa fa9al' pro-form, while Place adjuncts can occur outside 'maa/maadaa fa9al/hada0' pro-form is due to the differences between the two adjuncts in terms of the verb classes with which they associate. Instrument adjuncts co-occur with verbs of doing (cf. above 17.1), which is a subclass of non-Static verbs (cf. above 14.2.1). Consequently, it can occur outside 'maa/maadaa fa9al' rather than 'hada0' pro-form.

For the verbal element of the former, 'fa9al', rather than the latter, 'hadaθ', is a pro-form of a verb of doing: 'maadaa fa9al' in association with bi 'to' questions a verb of doing such as Daraba 'struck' in (42)a, as in (42)b, while 'maadaa hadaθ' in association with li 'to' questions a VP whose verbal element is a verb of happening, e.g. waqa9a 9ala l?arD 'fell to the ground' in (43)a, which is questionable by maadaa hadaθa li 'what happened to', as in (43)b.

(42)a Daraba lmudarrisu ttilmiid

The teacher struck the pupil

b maadaa fa9ala lmudarrisu bittilmiid

What did the teacher do to the pupil?

(43)a waqa9a TTiflu 9ala l?arD

The child fell to the ground

b maadaa hadaθa liTTifl

What happened to the child?

Place adjuncts on the other hand associate with non-Static verbs, which include among others verbs of doing and happening (cf. above hence, they can occur outside the scope of either of the two pro-forms in question.

2. The third characteristic of the PO of a PV is connected with the passivization of the latter. As indicated above (pp.158-60) there are V-P-N and V₁-P-N combinations that can be passivized; hence, it is not possible to rely on the mere ability of a verb-preposition-noun combination to passivize for deciding whether its PP element is a PO or a Free adjunct.

The ability of a verb-preposition-noun combination to be passivized provides us with another basis for determining the status of its PP element. This basis is related to the factors determining this ability.

The factors determining the passivization of V-P-N combinations have to do with the classes of their verbal elements. According to the data

and what is found in 'nahg ?albalaagah' (cf. above pp. 159-60).

the following V-P-N combinations can be passivized:

- (a) the V-P-N combination whose V is a PV of cognition.
- (b) the V-P-N combination whose V is a PV of position.
- (c) the V-P-N combination whose V is a member of the 'bagaa 9alaa' class.
- (d) the V-P-N combination whose V is a member of the 'tawakkala 9alaa' class.
- (e) the V-P-N Combination whose V is a PV of communication.
- (f) the V-P-N combination whose V is an emotional PV.
- (g) the V-P-N combination whose V is a member of the 'fariha bi' class.
- (h) the V-P-N combination whose V is a PV of observation.
- (i) the V-P-N combination whose V is an ablative PV.

To the aforementioned combination I add the combination whose V is a PV of verbalization. For me (44), whose passive verb is a PV of verbalization, is grammatical.

(44) nuTiqa bikalimati haqqin faman qaalahaa

A word of truth has been uttered; so, who said it?

As for the V-P-N combinations that cannot be passivized, they are as follows:

(i) the V-P-N combination whose V is an allative PV, e.g. raga9a ?ila lmadiinah 'returned to the city' in (45).

(45) raga9a lqawmu ?ila lmadiinah

The people returned to the city

(ii) the V-P-N combination whose V is a PV of appearance, e.g. ?ittaDaha li9aliyyin 'appeared to 9aliyy' in (46).

(46) ?ittaDaha li9aliyyin ?anna maahiran muxliS

It appeared to 9aliyy that maahir was sincere

(iii) the V-P-N combination whose V is a member of the tasaa?ala bayna class, e.g. tasaa?ala baynahum 'asked one another' in (47).

- (47) tasaa?ala lqawmu baynahum
The people asked one another

For me, (45 - 47) cannot be turned into (48 - 50), respectively.

- (48)* rugi9a ?ila lmadiinah
The city was returned to

- (49)* ?uttuDiha li9aliyy
9aliyy was appeared to

- (50)* tusuu?ila baynahum
One another were asked

On the other hand, the factors determining the passivization of V_1 -P-N combinations are connected with the semantic classes of their P-N components. According to the data and to what is found in 'nahg ?albalaagah', the following combinations can be passivized (cf. above pp. 158-9):

- (a) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Beneficient adjunct.
- (b) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Manner adjunct.
- (c) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Reason adjunct.

To these combinations I add the following ones:

- (i) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N is a place adjunct, e.g. Sallaa fii haada lmakaan 'prayed in this place' in (51).

- (51) Sallaa maahirun fii haada lmakaan
maahir prayed in this place

- (ii) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N is an instrument adjunct, e.g. dabaha bihaadihi ssikkiin 'slaughtered with this knife' in (52).

- (52) dabaha maahirun bihaadihi ssikkiin
maahir slaughtered with this knife

- (iii) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Purpose adjunct, e.g. sayuqaatilu listirdaadi lhiSn 'will fight to return the fortress' in (53).

- (53) sayuqaatilu lgay?u listirdaadi lhiSn
The army will fight to return the fortress

For me, the unspecified subject - passive constructions of sentences (51 - 53) are perfectly grammatical.

There remain other V_1 -P-N combinations. These are as follows:

(i) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Means adjunct, e.g. *yuṣaggi9u bikalimatin* 'encourages with a word' and *yusii?u bi?uxraa* 'deprives of hope (others) with another' in (54).

(54) *yuṣaggi9u maahirun bikalimatin wa yusii?u bi?uxraa*
maahir encourages with a word and deprives of hope
(others) with another

(ii) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Instantive time adjunct, e.g. *sayuqaatilu fi lwaahidati masaa?aa* 'will fight at one o'clock p.m.' in (55).

(55) *sayuqaatilu lgayṣu fi lwaahidati masaa?aa*
The army will fight at one o'clock p.m.

(iii) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Time frame adjunct e.g. *sayuqaatilu fii SSabaah* 'will fight in the morning' in (56).

(56) *sayuqaatilu lgayṣu fi SSabaah*
The army will fight in the morning

(iv) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as ?ilaa-Duration adjunct, e.g. *sayudaakiru ?ila SSabaah* 'will study till the morning' in (57).

(57) *sayudaakiru maahirun ?ila SSabaah*
maahir will study till the morning

(v) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as fii-Duration adjunct, e.g. *sayalbasu fii xamsi daqaa?iq* 'will get dressed in five minutes' in (58).

(58) *sayalbasu maahirun fii xamsi daqaa?iq*
maahir will get dressed in five minutes

(vi) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Conditional adjunct, e.g. *sayuqaatilu 9alaa ?an yahda?a lgaww* 'will fight provided the weather calms down' in (59).

(59) sayuqaatilu lgayṣu 9alaa ?an yahda?a lgaww

The army will fight provided the weather calms down

(vii) the V_1 -P-N combination whose P-N functions as Concessive adjunct, e.g. sayuḡanni 9alaa ta?axxuri lwaqt 'will sing despite the time being late' in (60).

(60) sayuḡanni rragulu 9alaa ta?axxuri lwaqt

The man will sing despite the time being late

For me the unspecified subject-passive constructions of (54-60) are questionable.

3. The fourth characteristic of the PO of a PV is related to its ability as well as that of the Free adjunct to function as predicate in intensive clauses whose subjects are the nominalizations of the V- and the V_1 (with or without their subjects) with which they - the PO and the Free adjunct - associate, respectively.

There are differences between the POs in question and the Free adjuncts corresponding to them (i.e. the non-transformed adjuncts associating with V_1 s) as to the factors determining their ability to function as predicate in the aforementioned intensive clauses.

The factors determining the POs ability to have the function referred to above are related to the semantic classes of PVs. According to the data and to what is found in 'nahg ?albalaagah', PVs belonging to one of the following classes are those whose POs are able to assume the predicate function in question (cf. above 10.1.1).

- (a) allative PVs
- (b) the 'baḡaa 9alaa' class
- (c) emotional PVs
- (d) the 'tawakkala 9alaa' class

To these classes I add the following ones:

- (i) PVs of observation, e.g. ?unZur 'look' in (61).
 (61) ?unZur ?ilaa maa laa yuḡDibu llaah
 Look at that which does not enrage Allah
- (ii) PVs of cognition, e.g. na9lamu 'know' in (62).
 (62) na9lamu bimaā yufiid
 We know that which is beneficial
- (iii) PVs of communication, e.g. ?istami9 'listen' in (63).
 (63) ?istami9 ?ilaa kalimaati lhaqq
 Listen to the words of truth
- (iv) PVs of positions, e.g. ?uq9ud 'sit' in (64).
 (64) ?uq9uduu ma9a lqawmi SSaalihiin
 Sit with devout people
- (v) PVs of verbalization, e.g. takallam 'speak' in (65).
 (65) takallamuu biSSawaab
 Speak that which is right
- (vi) the 'fariha bi' class, e.g. yafrah 'rejoice' in (66).
 (66) yafrahuuna bintiSaari diinihim
 They rejoice at the victory of their religion
- (vii) ablative PVs, e.g. yafirr 'flee' in (67).
 (67) yafirruuna mina ssuu?
 They flee from the evil :

For me the intensive clauses of (68 - 74), which are respectively related to (61 - 67), are perfectly grammatical.

- (68) liyakun naZaruka ?ilaa maa laa yuḡDibu llaah
 Let your looking be only at that which does not enrage Allah
- (69) 9ilmunaa bimaā yufiid
 Our knowledge is only of that which is beneficial
- (70) liyakuni stimaa9uka ?ilaa kalimaati lhaqq
 Let your listening be only to the words of the truth

(71) liyakun qu9uudukum ma9a lqawmi SSaalihiin
 Let your sitting be only with devout people

(72) liyakun takallumukum biSSawaab
 Let your expression be only of that which is right

(73) farahum bintiSaari diinihim
 Their rejoicing is only at the victory of their religion

(74) firaarhum mina ssuu?
 Their fleeing is only from the evil

As for the classes of the PVs whose POs cannot function as predicate in the intensive clauses referred to above (cf. p. 826). they are:

(i) PVs of appearance, e.g. tabayyana 'became clear' in (75).

(75) tabayyana limaahirin ?anna 9aliyyan muxliS

It became clear to maahir that 9aliyy was sincere

(ii) the 'tasaa?ala bayna' class, e.g. tasaa?ala 'questioned one another' in (76).

(76) tasaa?ala lqawmu baynahum

The people questioned one another

For me the intensive clauses corresponding to that of (74), for instance, and related to (75 - 76) are ungrammatical.

On the other hand, the factors determining the Free adjuncts ability to function as predicate in the intensive clauses described above (p. 826) are connected with the semantic classes of these adjuncts. According to the data, the following adjuncts are able to have the function in question (cf. above 10.2.1).

(i) Beneficent adjuncts; (ii) Manner adjuncts.

To these adjuncts I add the following ones:

(a) Place adjuncts, e.g. 9inda lgaami9ah 'by the university' in (77)a.

(77)a. tagamma9uu 9inda lgaami9ah

Gather by the university

b. liyakun tagammu9ukum 9inda lgaami9ah

Let your gathering be by the university

(b) Instrument adjuncts, e.g. bisikkiinin hadiid 'with a sharp knife'
in (78)a.

(78)a. yaɓbahuuna bisikkiinin hadiid

They slaughter with a sharp knife

b. ɓabhuhum bisikkiinin hadiid

Their slaughter is by a sharp knife

(c) Means adjuncts, e.g. bilkalimati TTayyibah 'with the good word'
in (79)a.

(79)a. 9aawinuu bilkalimati TTayyibah

Help with the good word

b. litakun mu9aawanatukum bilkalimati TTayyibah

Let your help be with the good word

(d) Purpose adjuncts, e.g. linaSri DDa9iif 'to help the weak' in (80)a.

(80)a: yuqaatiluuna linaSri DDa9iif

They fight to help the weak

b. qitaaluhum linaSri DDa9iif

Their fight is for helping the weak

(e) Instantive time adjuncts, e.g. fi lwaahidati masaa?aa 'at one
o'clock p.m.' in (81)a.

(81)a: sayarhaluuna fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

They will depart at one o'clock p.m.

b. sayakuunu rahiiluhum fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

Their departure will be at one o'clock p.m.

(f) Time frame adjuncts, e.g. fi SSabaah 'in the morning' in (82)a.

(82)a. sayarhaluuna fi SSabaah

They will depart in the morning

b. sayakuunu rahiiluhum fi SSabaah

Their departure will be in the morning

(g) fii-Duration adjuncts, e.g. fii daqiiqah 'in a minute' in (83)a.

(83)a. ?ista9idduu fii daqiiqah

Get ready in a minute

b. liyakuni sti9daadukum fii daqiiqah

Let your readiness be in a minute

(h) ?ilaa-Duration adjuncts, e.g. ?ila SSabaah 'until the morning' in (84)a.

(84)a. ?uSmutuu ?ila SSabaah

Keep silent until the morning

b. liyakun Samtukum ?ila SSabaah

Let your silence be until the morning

(i) Reason adjuncts, e.g. likasalih 'because of his laziness' in (85)a.

(85)a. faʒala SSadiiqu likasalih

The friend failed because of his laziness

b. kaana faʒalu SSadiiqi likasalih

The friend's failure was because of his laziness

(j) Conditional adjuncts, e.g. 9alaa ?an tabqaa fi lgaami9ah 'on condition that she would stay in the university' in (86)a.

(86)a. tazawwagat 9alaa ?an tabqaa fi lgaami9ah

She got married on condition that she would stay in the university

b. kaana tazawwuguhaa 9alaa ?an tabqaa fii lgaami9ah

Her marriage was on condition that she would stay in the university

For me, the intensive clauses of (77)b - (86)b, which are respectively related to (77)a - (86)a, are perfectly grammatical.

There occurs another non-transformed adjunct. This is the concessive

adjunct, e.g. 9alaa ta?axxuri lwaqt 'despite the time being late' in (87).

(87) Salla rragulu 9alaa ta?axxuri lwaqt

The man prayed despite the time being late

For me, the Concessive adjunct cannot function as predicate in an intensive clause of the sort described above (p. 826): the grammaticality of the intensive clause of (88), which is related to (87), is highly questionable.

(88)? kaanat Salaatu rraguli 9alaa ta?axxuri lwaqt

The man's prayer was despite the time being late

4. The fifth characteristic of the PO of a PV is connected with its ability as well as that of the Free adjunct corresponding to it to function as predicate in intensive clauses whose subjects are realized by *daalik* (*daalikum*, etc) 'that' which refers to understood nominalizations of the verbs with which they - the PO and the Free adjunct - associate.

The restrictions on the PO and the Free adjunct ability to have the function in question are the same as the restrictions on their ability to function as PO and Free adjunct, respectively, in the other intensive clauses (cf. above pp.826-30). That is, we do expect all Free adjuncts except Concessive adjuncts and all POs except those accompanied by a PV of appearance or a member of the '*tasaa?ala bayna*' class to be able to function as predicate of the intensive clause in question. There is however another restriction related to POs. Only optional POs are able to assume the predicate function. For their having such a function depends on the ability of their PVs to occur in the preceding linguistic texts without them. Consequently, (89) is ungrammatical.

(89)* ?istahwada \$ayTaanu wa kaana daalika 9alayhim

The devil has engrossed, and this was them

For ?istahwada 'has engrossed' cannot be used without its PO, 9alayhim 'them'.

The data contain no examples of the intensive clauses in question other than those whose predicates are reason or beneficent adjuncts, and the subjects being demonstrative pronouns referring to understood nominalizations involving verbs other than V_1 s. Examples are the underlined intensive clauses of (90 - 91).

- (90) wa ?idaa naadaytum ?ila SSalaati ttaxaduuhaa huzuwan wa
la9iban daalika bi?annahum qawmun laa ya9qiluun (5/58)

And when you call to prayer, they take it (as something)
for a jest and sport. That is because they are a folk who
do not understand

- (91) wa man lam yastaTi9 minkum Tawlan ?an yankiha lmu?mīnaati
famin maa malakat ?aymaanukum min fatayaatikumu lmu?mīnaat ...
daalika liman xaḡiya l9anata minkum (4/25)

And whoever is not able to afford to marry free, believing
women let them marry from the believing slave girls whom
your right hands possess ... This is for him among you who
fears to commit sin

The predicate of the intensive clause of (90) is the reason adjunct
bi?annahum qawmun laa ya9qiluun 'because they are a folk who do not
understand', and the understood nominalization to which the subject
daalika 'that' refers is ?ittixaaduhumu SSalaata huzuwan wa la9ibaa ...,
'their taking the prayer (as something) for a jest and sport'. (For
other intensive clauses such as that of (90), which are numerous in the
Koran, see 2/275, 3/75, 3/112, 8/51, 7/146, 9/6, and 22/6.) On the other
hand, the predicate of the intensive clause of (91) is the beneficent
adjunct liman xaḡiya l9anata minkum 'for him among you who fears to commit
sin', and the understood nominalization to which the subject daalika
'this' refers is ?ibaahatu nikaahi l?imaa?i lmu?mīnaat 'the permission
of marrying the believing slave girls' (cf. ?aSSaabuunii, I, 270).

Other well-formed intensive clauses are possible to construct.
Of these are the underlined ones of (92 - 99), which are mine.

(92) takallmnaa wa kaana daalika fi ddawri ssaabi9

We spoke to one another, and this was at the seventh floor

(93) taqaabalnaa wa kaana daalika fi lwaahidati masaa?aa

We met and this was at one o'clock p.m.

(94) taqaatalaa wa kaana daalika bissakaakiin

They fought and this was with knives

(95) ?idaa wa9aZta falyakun daalika bilkalimati TTayyibah

If you make exhortation let this be with a good word

(96) taqahqarnaa laakin kaana daalika ?ilaa mawaqi9a yaS9ubu
ddifaa9u 9anhaa

We retreated but this was to positions that are difficult
to defend

(97) ?unZur laakin liyakun daalika ?ilaa maa laa yu9Dibu llaah

Look but let this be at that which does not enrage Allah

(98) ?ifrahuu laakin liyakun daalika bintiSaari ?awTaanikum

Rejoice, but let this be at the victory of your countries.

(99) ?ibTi9uu laakin liyakun daalika bi9aduwwikum

Attack with violence, but let this be against your enemy

The predicates of (92 - 95) function as Place, Instantive time, Instrument and Means adjunct, respectively. As for those of (96 - 99), they are respectively the POs of the allative PV taqahqar 'retreated', the PV of observation ?unZur 'look', and the PVs ?ifrah 'rejoice' and ?ibTi9 'attack with violence', which are members of the 'fariha bi' and 'ba9aa 9alaa' class, respectively.

5. The sixth characteristic of the PO of a PV is connected with the restrictions related to it and the PV it accompanies, i.e. has to do with the restrictions related to the V-P-N combination embracing it.

There are differences between the restrictions related to V-P-N combinations and those related to the combinations containing Free adjuncts and the verbs with which they associate, which include among others, V₁-P-N combinations (cf. above 20.0).

The restrictions associated with V-P-N combinations depend on whether their P-N components function as LPO or as non-LPO (cf above p.731). The restrictions connected with the former are the following ones:

- (a) the categorial restrictions between their prepositional and verbal elements (cf. above p.731).
- (b) the selectional and the categorial restrictions between their prepositional and nominal elements (cf. above pp. 731-2).

On the other hand, the restrictions associated with the latter combinations, i.e. those whose P-N components function as non-LPO, are as follows:

- (a) the categorial restrictions between their verbal and prepositional elements (cf. above p. 732).
- (b) the selectional restrictions between their verbal elements, and their nominal components that are realized by NPs other than maa/?an-/?anna- clauses (cf. above p. 732; p. 738).
- (c) the categorial restrictions between their prepositional and nominal elements (cf. above pp. 743-4).

As for the co-occurrence restrictions related to the combinations embracing both Free adjuncts and the verbs with which they associate, they are as follows:

- (a) the selectional restrictions between the prepositional elements of their Free adjuncts that have the feature of (100), and the NPs they govern (cf. above 18.3).

(100) [+ — [other than maa-?an-/?anna- clause]]
NP

(b) the categorial restrictions between the prepositional and the nominal elements of their Free adjuncts (cf. above 20.2.2.1.1).

(c) the dependencies between the realization of the prepositional elements of their Free adjuncts and the semantic classes to which the latter belong (cf. above 18.2).

(d) the selectional restrictions between the prepositional elements of their adjuncts and their verbal elements (cf. above 20.2.2.2).

6. The seventh and the last characteristic of the PO of a PV has to do with whether the verbal and/or the prepositional elements of V-P-N and V_1 -P-N combinations commute with other verbs and/or prepositions. Concerning this criterion the following things are indicated:

(i) there are cases where the P elements of both V-P-N and V_1 -P-N combinations may or may not commute with other prepositions (cf. above p. 280; p. 303), and, therefore it is not possible to rely on the commutability of the prepositional elements of Verb-Preposition-Noun combinations for showing whether they are V-P-N or V_1 -P-N combinations, i.e. for showing whether their Preposition-Noun components function as PO or adjunct, respectively (cf. above p. 280).

(ii) the commutability of the verbal and/or the prepositional elements of V-P-N combinations with no other verbs and/or prepositions does not indicate that V-P is a constituent and -N is another; and this was proven to be true when the commutability criterion was applied on a functional (i.e. case) basis (cf. above 13.3.3). To be added here that this is also the case when the criterion is applied on structural basis (as will be done below with reference to the commutability of the P elements of both V-P-N and V_1 -P-N combinations)

(cf. above 14.1; below): whether in this case the verbal and/or the prepositional elements of V-P-N combinations are commutable is connected with the co-occurrence restrictions related to these combinations rather than with their constituency break.

(iii) there is a difference between V-P-N and V_1 -P-N combinations as to the factors determining the commutability of their P elements (cf. above p. 280). Such a difference will therefore be used here for characterizing the P-N components of these combinations, i.e. for distinguishing between the PO of a PV and the P-N corresponding to it, which function as adjunct. But before doing so, it should be noted that a preposition is to be regarded as commutable with another only if the following conditions are satisfied:

(i) the resultant PP must have the same function as the original one. Thus, the commutability of the prepositional element of bilqalami lgadiid 'with the new pen' in (101) with 9an 'about' does not count.

(101) kataba maahirun bilqalami lgadiid
maahir wrote with the new pen

For the resultant PP, 9ani lqalami lgadiid 'about the new pen' functions as PO while the original one as Instrument adjunct.

(ii) the nominal element of the resultant PP must not be viewed differently from that of the original one. Consequently, the

commutability of the prepositional element of *fi lhugrah* 'in the room' in (102) with *?amaama* 'in front of' does not satisfy the condition in question.

(102) *galasa lqawmu fi lhugrah*

The people sat in the room

For while *lhugrah* 'the room' in the resultant PP, *?amaama lhugrah* 'in front of the room', is viewed with reference to its front: back opposition (cf. above p.722), that in the original PP, *fi lhugrah* 'in the room', is viewed with no such reference (cf. above pp. 722-3).

(iii) the resultant verb-preposition combination must not have a different meaning from the original combination. Accordingly, the commutability of '9an' with 'fii' in (103) does not satisfy the aforementioned condition.

(103) *raġiba maahirun fii ziyaarati 9aliyy*

maahir wanted to visit 9aliyy

For the meaning of the resultant verb-preposition combination, *raġiba 9an* 'disliked', is different from the original one, *raġiba fii* 'wanted to'.

Having said that, let us specify the factors determining the commutability of the prepositional element of a PO. These factors differ from those related to the commutability of the prepositional element of a Free adjunct. The former factors differ according to whether the PO is or is not locative.

Firstly, the factors determining the commutability of the prepositional element of a non-LPO have to do with the categorial features of the verb associating with it. Consider, for example, (104-105).

(104) *?ahsana rragulu ?ilaa maahir*

The man has done good to maahir

(105) ?a9raDa rragulu 9anhum

The man turned away from them

The prepositional element of the non-LPO ?ilaa maahir 'to maahir' is commutable with bi 'to'. For either of them is part of the categorial environment of ?ahsana 'has done good', which is assigned to it in terms of the PO it requires (cf. above pp.757-8). On the other hand, the prepositional element of the non-LPO 9anhum 'from them' is commutable with no other preposition. For 9an 'from' is the only possible realization of the prepositional element of the categorial feature of ?a9raDa 'turned away', which is assigned to it in terms of the PO it needs.

Secondly, the factors related to the commutability of the prepositional elements of LPOs have to do with their selectional features, which are assigned to them in terms of the features of their complements (cf. above p. 732). Consider (106-107).

(106) galasa rragulu fi lhugrah

The man sat in the room

(107) galasa . lmumaθθilaani 9alaa xaḡabati lmasrah

The two actors sat on the stage (lit. on the stage of the theatre)

The prepositional element of the LPO fi lhugrah 'in the room' in (106) is commutable with bi 'in'. For both of them have the feature of (108) (cf. above p. 722), which is compatible with lhugrah 'the room'.

(108) [+ — [+ concrete, + expressive of a three-dimensional object]]
NP

On the other hand, the prepositional element of the LPO 9alaa xaḡabati lmasrah 'on the stage' in (107) is commutable with no other preposition. For it has no counterpart with its selectional feature (cf. above 20.2.3.4).

As for the factors related to the commutability of the prepositional elements of Free adjuncts, they have to do with the feature specifications

of the prepositions in question. Consider, for example, (109-110).

(109) sa?udaakiru ?ila SSabaah

I will study till the morning

(110) yahkumu rragulu bil9adl

The man judges justly

The prepositional element of the ?ilaa-Duration adjunct ?ila SSabaah 'till the morning' in (109) is commutable with hatta 'till'. For both of them have the same feature specifications (cf. above 20.2.2.2.5; 20.2.3.3.4). On the other hand, the prepositional element of the Manner adjunct bil9adl 'justly' in (110) is commutable with no other prepositions. For it has no counterpart with its feature specifications (cf. above 20.2.2.2.7; 20.2.3.2).

Footnotes

1. It should be noted however that some of these characteristics (cf. below characteristics (1) and (2), for instance) characterize other PO (e.g. those accompanied by DOPVs), and, hence, distinguishing them from the prepositionally realized Free adjuncts associating with verbs superficially similar to those accompanying them (cf. above Chapter Three).
2. For other linguists' reliance on conceptual grounds for recognizing linguistic categories such as cases, verbal complements, and the arguments with which a verb associate, see (i) Fillmore, 1968a: 378 and 384, and 1977: 73 and 76; (ii) Vestergaard, p. 16; (iii) Long, p. 127 and p. 139; (iv) Lyons, 1968: 361.
3. For the use of the term 'obligatory elements' to refer to the elements that are structurally so, i.e. to the elements whose absence from the surface realization of the sentences in question will render them ungrammatical, see (i) Hudson, p. 237; (ii) Sanders, p. 7; (iii) Quirk et al., p. 349.
4. See also Grimshaw pp. 418-25, where she discusses the possibility of determining 'from independent properties of a predicate' (e.g. a verb) 'whether it does or does not occur with a particular complement type', and pp. 423-4, where she gives some instances of complement selection that are unpredictable.
5. See 9/128 for the use of an adjective deriving from '9azza 9alaa'.
6. As used here, the term 'Logical PO' refers to an argument expressible by a deep PO, i.e. by a PP that is immediately dominated by VP in the deep structure. A similar definition can be made of the term 'Logical

object': it is an argument expressible by a deep object, i.e. by a NP that is immediately dominated by VP in the deep structure (cf. Huddleston, p.229; Bresnan, p. 16).

7. For the interpretation of the unspecified verbal complement that is identified from the linguistic context, see Grimshaw, p. 393 and fn. 11, where she names the rule involved, it is the copying rule, which is to 'copy the representation of the controlling' or identifying linguistic structure 'into the complement position for' the verb in question (Grimshaw, p. 393; see also fn. 11).

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