

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES WITHIN THE
ARAB GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

by

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TO MY WIFE
AND MY CHILDREN HALA,
HOSSAM AND ASHRAF

1980
1981
1982

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this study ' conditional sentences within the Arab grammatical tradition' is probably one of the more difficult areas of Classical Arabic grammar since it has all the imperfections and shortcomings of Classical Arabic grammar.

The study involves a linguistic analysis; investigation, theorizing and evaluating the majority of the Arab grammarians' views on the topic concerned throughout thirteen centuries.

This work consists of five chapters. The first chapter is concerned with examining and evaluating several treatments (of conditional sentences) represented by three different linguistic approaches considered representative of important trends. The second chapter will be devoted to certain fundamental assumptions made by the grammarians concerning the category 'condition' as well as other relevant categories. The details of the syntactic analysis of each individual element of conditional sentences will be given, together with other relevant topics, in chapter three. Chapter four classifies and enumerates the most important semantic types and uses of Classical Arabic conditional constructions. It points out also the relevant syntactic features which determine the acceptability of various semantic types of conditional sentences. Chapter five will be confined to general remarks and conclusions.

Symbols

The following are the symbols used for representing the Arabic examples given throughout this study. Some of these symbols have been adjusted (mainly in writing the references) to correspond with those of British library catalogues:

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Alternative used in references</u>
<u>Consonants:</u>		
ا	ʾ	'
ب	b	
ت	t	
ث	θ	th
ج	j	
ح	ħ	h
خ	x	kh
د	d	
ذ	ð	dh
ر	r	
ز	z	
س	s	
ش	ʃ	sh
ص	S	S · s ·
ض	D	D · d ·
ط	T	T · t ·
ظ	Z	Z · z ·

Arabic

Symbol

Alternatives used
in references

ع
غ
ف
ق
ك
ل
م
ن
ه
و
ي

ɛ

'

ʁ

gh

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n

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w

y

vowels:

short:

ﺍ

a

ﺇ

i

ﻭ

u

long

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ii

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uu

ū

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CHAPTER ONE

Traditional and Modern

Linguistic Treatments of Conditionality

1.0 General

In the present chapter we are concerned primarily with examining several treatments (of conditional sentences) represented by three different linguistic approaches considered representative of important trends. These approaches are:

1. Traditional
2. Modern:
 - (a) Syntactic, and
 - (b) Semantic.

The purpose of this examination is to show some of the shortcomings of these approaches in dealing with conditional sentences. Illustrative examples, for practical reasons,⁽¹⁾ will be from English under the following three headings:

1. The wide variety of conditional constructions which exist in English.
2. The various constructions which resemble conditionals in that they contain the subordinate conjunction 'if', but which do not function as conditionals, and
3. The formal criteria upon which one can decide whether a sentence is conditional or not.

(1) Since almost all linguistic approaches to language-analysis use English language for testing their theoretical assumptions, it is most convenient to base discussion on English throughout this chapter.

Let us consider these in turn.

1.1 The wide variety of conditional constructions

1.1.1 Conditional 'if'

Two factors should be recognized at the outset. The first is that a sentence containing the element 'if', in other words an 'if-sentence', is the typical conditional sentence, and the second is that there are numerous other sentences which are equally capable of expressing the semantic category 'condition'. This having been said, two things should be emphasized:

- (1) there is no reason for assuming that the only type of sentence expressing condition is an 'if-sentence',
- (2) any definition of a conditional sentence, based on the occurrence of 'if', is vacuous.

Let me start first with the 'if-sentence'.

It seems that the view of 'if-sentences' as necessary exponents of 'condition' can be easily refuted negatively as well as positively. Negatively by means of those constructions which contain the subordinate conjunction 'if', but do not express the semantic category 'condition', or, to put it another way, by means of those sentences which have the general appearance of conditional sentences but not the conditional force, e.g.

"If I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor."⁽¹⁾

(1) Jespersen, (1940), p.134.

Positively, on the other hand, the assumption that the category 'condition' can only be expressed by the conjunction 'if', can be falsified by those constructions which, though without 'if', are regularly used in English to express the category 'condition', e.g.

"You would be a fool to refuse this offer"⁽¹⁾
(= if you refuse this offer, you would be a fool).

1.1.2 Non-'if' conditional sentences

Having stated that the relation between 'if'-sentences and conditional sentences is not a one-to-one relationship, I shall be concerned here with syntactic devices, other than an 'if'-clause, by which the semantic category 'condition' is expressed. The chief among these devices are the following:

(a) Relative clause, e.g.

"A nation which stopped working would be dead in a fortnight"⁽²⁾ (= if a nation stopped working, it would be dead in a fortnight).

(b) Infinitive phrase, e.g.

"You would be a fool to refuse this offer"⁽³⁾
(= if you refuse this offer, you would be a fool).

(1) Jespersen, (1940), p.366.

(2) Jespersen, (1931), p.116.

(3) Jespersen, (1940), p.366, (Cf. also Jespersen, (1931), pp.141-2 and pp.147-8.

- (c) The inversion of subject and verb without a conjunction, e.g.

Had he said that, he would have been wrong (= if he had said that, he would have been wrong). This construction "is mainly literary"⁽¹⁾ otherwise, there is no difference of meaning between uninverted and inverted forms with and without 'if'.

- (d) The imperative,⁽²⁾ e.g.

"Do not say that or you will get me into trouble"⁽³⁾
(=if you say that, you will get me into trouble).

- (e) Prepositional phrases,⁽⁴⁾ e.g.

Without this piece of bad luck, I would not have had that chance (= if I hadn't had this piece of bad luck, I wouldn't have had that chance).

- (f) Temporal conjunctions.

"Temporal conjunctions sometimes tend to lose their strictly temporal meaning. 'When' often indicates condition rather than time: When it rains, he doesn't go out."⁽⁵⁾

These, and indeed other, syntactic non-'if' conditional devices represent what can be termed 'implied', 'disguised', 'implicit', 'notional' or

(1) Zandvoort, (1962), pp.63, 219. (Cf. also Jespersen, (1931), p.131 and (1940), pp.373-77).

(2) Jespersen, (1940), p.373, and Stockwell et al. (1973), pp.428-31.

(3) Joos, (1964), p.33.

(4) Jespersen, (1940), pp.369-70.

(5) *ibid*, p.357; for more examples see p.366.

'pseudo' conditions. However, in every case substitution by an 'if'-clause is possible, and this is justification enough for the view of such clauses as the primary English means of expressing conditionality.

1.2 Non-conditional 'if'

Although it is true that 'if'-sentences are the most common exponent of the class of 'conditionals', it is nevertheless equally the case that not every 'if' marks a condition. Consider the following sentence:

If the offer was rejected, it was because people distrusted him.

This sentence is a non-conditional, in which an 'if'-clause states not a condition but a fact. Frank Behre in his article "Some criteria of non-conditional if",⁽¹⁾ points out that the important feature of a non-conditional 'if' is that it takes up something which has been stated or asserted in a previous passage of writing, "On the basis of this finding I venture the hypothesis: When an earlier statement is resumed in an 'if'-clause, a connexion of comparison (often contrast) or one of actual cause and effect between the two members of the sentence is normally predictable."⁽²⁾ Behre, furthermore, emphasizes that

(1) Behre, (1964), p.91

(2) *ibid*, p.91.

"In sentences where the passage to which the 'if'-clause refers is not quoted, it should be understood that such a passage has been established."⁽¹⁾ With regard to the question 'Does the structure of the sentence itself ever provide an indication of the non-conditional character of the 'if'-clause?', Behre recognizes the following six syntactic pieces of evidence by which a non-conditional 'if' can be identified:

- (1) The occurrence of an 'as'-clause within the 'if'-clause, e.g.

"If, as has been pointed out, Homer is both a channel for earlier habits of thought and the fountain-head of every persistent and important later ones, he must achieve one kind of variety."⁽²⁾

- (2) The occurrence of 'so' in the head-clause, e.g.

"If Fries's treatment of the whole sentence suffers from his neglect of the phonology, so do his discussions of word-classes of structure within the sentence."⁽³⁾

- (3) The occurrence of 'also' in the head-clause, e.g.

"If the conception has the merit of simplicity, it also has the disadvantage of vagueness."⁽⁴⁾

(1) *ibid*, p.91
(2) *ibid*, p.91
(3) *ibid*, p.92
(4) *ibid*, p.92

- (4) The occurrence of a comparative (affirmative or negative) clause in the head-clause, e.g.

"If this is true of Flaubert, it is true in a higher degree of Moliere than of Johnson." (1)

- (5) The occurrence of 'on the other hand' in the head-clause, e.g.

"If the comparison, therefore, rest very much on the surface, the differences in behaviour on the other hand are striking." (2)

- (6) The occurrence of the head-clause as a question, e.g.

"If so large a part of creation is really criticism, is not a large part of what is called 'critical writing' really creative?" (3)

1.3 Conditional versus non-conditional 'if'

It has been claimed that the appearance of the future modal 'will' or 'shall' (in the 'if'-clause) is one criterion and the reversibility or irreversibility of the two clauses of an 'if'-sentence is another criterion upon which a decision can be taken as to whether 'if'sentences are realizations of 'condition' or not.

(1) *ibid*, p.93, (Cf. Jespersen, (1940), p.380).
(2) Behre, (1964), p.93.
(3) *ibid*, p.93.

(a) Will

Jespersen, Palmer and Schachter propose that the actual or potential appearances of 'will' in an 'if'-clause (except with the meaning of 'determination', 'volition', 'persistence', or agreement) indicate that 'if' is a non-conditional, and the sentence, therefore, has no conditional force, "'Will' after 'if' always denotes volition: if any man will come after me, let him deny himself."⁽¹⁾ A particularly important point to be made here is that 'will' as a marker of futurity does not occur regularly (in the 'if'-clause of a conditional sentence) since the typical English device in such a construction is the use of the simple present tense, but this does not mean in any way that the occurrence of 'will' (as a marker of futurity) is unacceptable. However, contrary to what Jespersen, Palmer and Schachter claim, 'will' is not restricted (in 'if'-clauses) to the 'will of volition' or 'will of determination'. The future 'will' occurs in sentences such as:

If it will be of any help, I will come along.

In such a sentence, the assumption that 'will' after 'if' does not indicate futurity and therefore does not indicate conditionality but rather denotes 'volition' or 'determination' is very doubtful.

(1) Jespersen, (1940), p.377, (Cf. also p.106 and pp.147-8), and Schachter, (1971), p.76.

Attempting to escape from what seems an apparent contradiction, Palmer points out that the use of the simple present tense form (in the 'if'-clause of a conditional sentence) to indicate futurity (that is instead of 'will') is valid in cases "where the events in the 'if'-clause are previous to or contemporary with the events in the main clause."⁽¹⁾ Justifying this, he goes on to say that "this is ... the normal situation since conditionals indicate, in a loose sense, cause and effect, and effects do not precede their causes."⁽²⁾ There are, on the other hand, Palmer says, situations where "the condition of an event may be an event subsequent to it or seen as likely to be subsequent to it. Where we have this apparent reversal of time relations 'will' may be used in the conditional clause. An example is:

'if the play will be cancelled, let's not go.'

The suggestion is that we should not go if the play is going to be cancelled subsequent to our going. The cancellation is future to the going and 'will' is retained."⁽³⁾

(b) Reversibility

It has been suggested that in order to recognise 'if'-sentences as conditionals, the order of the two

(1) Palmer, (1974), p.148.

(2) *ibid*, p.148.

(3) *ibid*, p.148, (Cf. also p.149).

clauses should be reversible, that is to say, the 'if'-clause may either precede or follow the main clause. Accordingly, sentences such as:

(1) If it rains next week, we will plant the corn

(2) Sam will smoke pot, if he can get it cheap,

are conditional sentences since the two clauses of each are reversible without losing the force of a conditional sentence. On the other hand, sentences such as:

I am dashed if I know,

cannot be conditional since the other alternative (*If I know, I am dashed) is not acceptable.⁽¹⁾ As we can see, the criterion of reversibility of the two clauses of a conditional sentence is as unsatisfactory as the criterion of the occurrence of 'will' in the 'if'-clause. The two criteria are better regarded as ad hoc devices for testing an 'if'-sentence rather than criteria for distinguishing what is conditional from what is not.

1.4 Traditional versus Modern

It will be recalled that the purpose of including the treatment of conditional sentences in both 'traditional' and 'modern' English grammar, is to show

(1) Cf., Jarvis, (1970), p.18.

some of the shortcomings of the most recognizable linguistic approaches in dealing with the semantic category 'condition'. My investigation begins with the dichotomy of traditional and modern linguistic analysis. "Traditional grammars are deficient in that they leave unexpressed many of the basic regularities of the language with which they are concerned. This fact is particularly clear on the level of syntax, where no traditional or structuralist grammar goes beyond classification of particular examples."⁽¹⁾ This quotation leads directly to the heart of the principal difficulty which faces those who wish to review the treatment of conditional sentences made by the scholarly grammarians of the early part of the 20th century. Some of the most plentiful sources of detailed and well documented information as well as much insight on the subject are to be found in Sweet,⁽²⁾ Poutsma,⁽³⁾ Jespersen,⁽⁴⁾ Kruisinga,⁽⁵⁾ Kruisinga and Erade,⁽⁶⁾ and Curme,⁽⁷⁾ yet the fact is that "the essence of their work was the compilation of the extensive lists of minutiae, exceptions and quotations, which could be produced ... but are hard to summarise."⁽⁸⁾ This is

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- (1) Chomsky, (1965), p.5.
 - (2) Sweet (Part I, 1891; Part II, 1898).
 - (3) Poutsma (Part I, The Sentence, 1904).
 - (4) Jespersen (Part IV, 1931; Part V, 1940).
 - (5) Kruisinga (Part II, Vol., 3, 1932).
 - (6) Kruisinga and Erade (Vol., 1, Parts 1 and 2, 1953).
 - (7) Curme (Vol., III, 1931).
 - (8) Jarvis, (1970), p.115.

the principal difficulty referred to earlier. With regard to modern grammars, on the other hand, almost all recent grammars of English provide, usually under the heading of adverbial clauses, a very sketchy treatment of conditional sentences, references to which are frequently "less comprehensive and just as likely to be inaccurate as those in earlier works."⁽¹⁾ Sometimes, indeed, the treatment is far less perceptive than in many of the early works, as we shall see later in this chapter. The term 'modern' is to be understood here in its widest sense, that is, in contrast with 'traditional'. In other words, 'modern' is, on the one hand, intended to include studies based on similar grounds to those of traditional grammar (that is, on facts of surface structure), and, on the other hand, to cover treatments quite differently based and formulated to satisfy particular linguistic theories, for example, those based on concepts of competence and performance, deep and surface structure in syntax and/or semantics, or on paraphrase, or again on situational possibilities, and so on. Representatives of the former type of 'modern' study are: R.W. Zandvoort,⁽²⁾ Barbara M.H. Strang,⁽³⁾ Martin Joos,⁽⁴⁾ F.R. Palmer,⁽⁵⁾ and R. Quirk et al.⁽⁶⁾ Representatives of the second

(1) *ibid*, p.121.

(2) R.W. Zandvoort (1962, first published 1957).

(3) Barbara M.H. Strang (1968, first published 1962).

(4) Martin Joos, (1964).

(5) F.R. Palmer (1974, first published 1965).

(6) R. Quirk et al. (1974, first published 1972).

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type are: Jerrold J. Katz and Paul M. Postal (1964), R.P. Stockwell, P. Schachter, and B.H. Partee (1973), Pieter A.M. Seuren (1969), G.N. Leech (1969), Jerry L. Morgan (1969), G. Lakoff (1970), H.V. George (1965), Leslie A. Hill (1960), S.F. Whitaker (1970), J. Haiman (1974), F. Behre (1964), R.A. Jarvis (1970), J.C. Glendinning-Johnson (1975), E.C. Davies (1976), J.C. Schachter (1971), David Lightfoot (1972), M.L. Rivero (1972), L.R. Jackson (1976), Philip Joseph Tedeschi II (1976) and M. Isaacs (1971).

Having mentioned some of the most important traditional sources, as well as modern and contemporary works, the following sections will be concerned with exploring and examining in a little more detail (although far from exhaustively) the views of the above groups on the basic syntactic structures of conditional sentences.

1.5 Traditional approach

1.5.1 Early traditionalists

Conditional sentences are most commonly classified by the early traditionalists either (a) under 'Subordinations' or (b) under 'Mood' or 'The Imaginative use of tenses'. Poutsma is a representative of (a), Sweet of (b), and Jespersen belongs to a third category (c), which we will examine subsequently.

(a) Poutsma

Poutsma restricts to dealing with conditional sentences under 'subordination'. The emphasis of his description is on the connectives, the analysis of tense and mood being ignored. All 'if'-clauses are classified as adverb clauses, and only adverb clauses are recognized as expressing conditions.⁽¹⁾

(b) Sweet

Although Sweet singles out a section under the title 'condition',⁽²⁾ he basically deals with conditional sentences under the term 'mood', even saying that "The combination of should and would with the infinitive, (should see, would see), when used in the principal clause of conditional sentences ..., is called the conditional mood."⁽³⁾ Sweet regards conditional sentences as means of expressing thought-statements which he regards as one of the two divisions of statements (thought-statements and fact-statements), which he distinguishes under mood in English. He says "from the point of view of mood-distinctions, statements fall under two main divisions, according as they state something as a fact or only as a thought."⁽⁴⁾ All conditional sentences were regarded by Sweet as thought-

(1) Cf., Poutsma, Part I (secondhalf), 1929, pp.694-707.

(2) Sweet, (1898), pp.110-115.

(3) Sweet, (1891), p.108.

(4) *ibid.*, p.106. (Cf., also, p.107 § 298 and pp.108-9 § 301-2).

statements (thought mood): "all conditional sentences express thought-statements as opposed to fact-statements, for even a sentence of open condition does nothing more than leave the truth of the statement open without in any way confirming it."⁽¹⁾

(c) Jespersen

Jespersen deals with conditional sentences under various headings. In one place he describes them under "subordination",⁽²⁾ although he mentions elsewhere that conditional sentences can be expressed by "Co-ordination".⁽³⁾ In another place he discusses them in a section entitled "The Imaginative use of tenses."⁽⁴⁾ The tense appearing in the 'if'-clause of 'if he came, I would leave', he calls the 'preterite of imagination', and he refers to it as a preterite verb form which must not be understood as referring to a real past time.⁽⁵⁾ The tense used in 'if he had not married, he would have been happier', he calls the 'pluperfect', and states that it denotes some event in the past which is represented as not having taken place.⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) *ibid*, p.110.
(2) Jespersen, (1940), pp.366-7.
(3) *ibid*, p.365.
(4) Jespersen, (1931), Ch.IX, pp.116-128, 130-151, also in Jespersen, (1940), pp.377-387.
(5) Jespersen, (1931), p.114.
(6) *ibid*, pp.124-5.

Although these traditional treatments of conditional sentences explore many semantic aspects some of which may be considered doubtful,⁽¹⁾ they do not offer a formal analysis. Their emphasis is on semantic generalizations concerning the use of the verb form found in conditional sentences rather than on the conditional structure as a whole.

1.5.2 Late traditionalists

As has been already said, I use the term 'modern' to include works which, apart from giving considerable attention to the study of spoken language and emphasizing tense rather than mood as an indicator of hypotheticality or non-actuality in conditionals, lay stress on rules that are not really modern but in fact quite traditional. Zandvoort and Palmer will be given here as examples of such a type.

Zandvoort

Zandvoort's treatment of conditionals can be characterized as follows:

- (1) He deals with them only under subordinate adverbial clauses.
- (2) He lists forms which introduce clauses of condition, including "'if', 'supposing', 'suppose ...',

(1) Jespersen's semantic assumption about the pluperfect, for example, is not true of both parts of the exemplifying sentence.

'in case', 'as that', 'so long as'."(1)

(3) Some of those forms which he recognises as introducers of conditional clauses, he regards as markers for emphatic conditions: "emphatic condition is expressed by 'provided (that)' or 'on condition (that)'."(2)

(4) He recognises clauses of negative condition, introduced by 'if ... not' and 'unless', although he gives no explanation and leaves the reader to make his own deductions from two examples; "clauses of negative condition may be introduced by 'if ... not' or 'unless'; note the difference between the ... two examples.

I shall not go, if you do not come with me.

I shall not go, unless you come with me."(3)

Palmer

Palmer's treatment of conditional sentences occurs in two places in his book 'The English Verb': (1) Under the heading "Unreality",⁽⁴⁾ where he mentions that one of the three⁽⁵⁾ functions of tense in English is "to

(1) Zandvoort, (1962), p.218.

(2) *ibid*, p.218.

(3) *ibid*, p.218.

(4) Palmer, (1974), section 3.2.3., pp.47-9.

(5) They are said to be, first to mark a purely temporal relation of past and present time, secondly in the sequence of tenses that is mainly relevant to reported speech and thirdly to mark 'unreality', particularly in conditional clauses and wishes. (Cf., *ibid*, p.43).

mark unreality, particularly in conditional clauses",⁽¹⁾ and (2) under "Conditionals",⁽²⁾ where he emphasizes that "an analysis of conditional sentences deeply involves the modals"⁽³⁾ and adds "the key to understanding conditionals in English lies in understanding the function of first, tense and secondly, the modals."⁽⁴⁾ From Palmer's point of view the difference between the following pair of sentences:

(1) If John comes tomorrow, he will work in the garden,

(2) If John came tomorrow, he would work in the garden,

"is in reality: the second with its past forms is 'unreal' conditional, suggesting that the events envisaged are unlikely";⁽⁵⁾ past-tense, he says, "is always used in the 'if'-clause of 'unreal' conditions."⁽⁶⁾ With regard to the main clause (of 'unreal' conditionals) he states that "unreal conditionals must always contain a modal (past-tense)."⁽⁷⁾ Thus a regular association has been recognized between on the one hand 'if he came, he would find out' and 'unreal' conditionals, and; on the other hand, between 'if he comes, he will find out'

(1) Palmer, (1974), p.43.

(2) *ibid*, section 5.5, pp.139-150.

(3) *ibid*, p.139.

(4) *ibid*, p.140, (one would have thought that 'modality' might have been substituted for "the modals").

(5) *ibid*, p.140.

(6) *ibid*, p.47.

(7) *ibid*, p.140.

and 'real' conditionals. He states that unreal conditionals can be formed from real ones by "simply replacing present-tense forms by past-tense forms and past-tense forms by 'doubly past' forms." (1)

One final point is the relationship between the modal 'would' in the main clause of a conditional sentence and ambiguity of interpretation (that is the ambiguity between real past meaning and unreal contemporary meaning). (2) Palmer states, on the one hand, that with the obligatory occurrence of the modal 'would' (in the main clause of 'unreal' conditional sentences) ambiguity between real past meaning and unreal contemporary meaning is "rare" (3) and "unlikely ... and it would require a special context in which it was clear that we were talking about past-events" (4) (i.e. real past meaning rather than unreal contemporary meaning, to use Joos' phrases), Palmer, on the other hand, mentions that in spite of the occurrence of the modal 'would' (in the main clause of a conditional sentence) "ambiguity is possible", (5) therefore it is possible to interpret the sentence 'if John came, he would work in the garden'

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- (1) *ibid*, p.140. (This idea influences Schachter in her syntactic analysis of conditional sentences. See p. 22.)
- (2) (Cf. Joos, (1964), pp.121-6, and p.169, and pp.172-9).
- (3) Palmer, (1974), p.140.
- (4) *ibid*, p.141.
- (5) *ibid*, p.140.

"in terms of past time"⁽¹⁾ rather than in terms of 'unreality'. The importance of this point is that it reveals the inaccuracy of Palmer's dichotomy (i.e. real versus unreal conditionals) and the vagueness of his view about the relationship between unreality and past-tense.

Such late traditional (or early modern) works are frequently less comprehensive than much of what are termed 'early traditional' works.

16. Modern approaches

In the previous two sections I discussed representatives of the early traditionalists as well as later traditionalists or early modern writers. Here I discuss representatives of other types of modern treatment which claim to be more advanced and more accurate in describing language phenomena than the previous treatments. Among these are those studies mentioned on page 13 . Discussion will be limited to representatives of the following two types of language study; first the syntactic approach; the representative of this will be Jacquelyn Schachter; second, the approach which claims that the underlying structure for conditionals is the same as that for another group of structures with certain semantic similarities to conditionals: the representatives of this approach will be Lightfoot and Rivero.

(1) *ibid*, p.141.

1.6.1 The syntactic approach

Schachter

Jacquelyn Schachter attempts to explicate some traditional semantic categories of the conditional construction on the basis of the verb phrase structures in the main clause and the 'if'-clause, and uses Chomsky's 1957 and 1965 generative models for generating verb elements. The main features of her treatment are:

- (1) In conditional sentences, tenses are one step into the past. Accordingly, 'if he comes ...' is derived from 'if he will come ...' by means of a 'will'-deletion transformation.
- (2) The use of the semantic feature 'unreal' in the 'if'-clause to trigger the 'will'-deletion transformation.

Schachter's syntactic analysis of the 'if'-clause is inadequate. The inadequacy can be illustrated, firstly, by showing that it is misleading to posit an underlying future tense, and, secondly, by showing that there is no link between 'will'-deletion and the 'unreality' feature. Let us take these two points in turn:

- (1) 'Will'-deletion transformation

Schachter states that tenses, in the context of

conditional sentences, are one step further into the past, e.g. the simple present tense in 'if John comes ...' is derived from 'if John will come ...' by means of a 'will'-deletion transformation, "every conditional that indicates unreality, both the future simple conditionals and the imaginative conditionals has an underlying 'will' in the 'if'-clause".⁽¹⁾ It follows that the present verb form 'comes' in the following examples:⁽²⁾

(a) When he comes, I will leave

(b) Suppose he comes,

is derived from 'will come' and therefore, the occurrence of 'will' in these sentences is predictable. Unfortunately, this is not the case since the regular English device in these examples is the simple present tense. This feature of the simple present tense in non-conditional contexts holds for its conditional usage. In other words, the facts of the occurrence of the simple present tense in conditional sentences are consistent with those of its occurrence in non-conditional sentences. Consequently it is misleading to posit an underlying future tense.

(1) The link between 'unreality' and 'will'-deletion

One of the unsatisfactory aspects of Schachter's

(1) Schachter (1971), p.76, (Cf. also pp.77, 107).
(2) That is to say: in examples similar to Schachter's but in non-conditional contexts. See also Schachter, pp.107-111.

syntactic analysis is her use of the semantic feature 'unreal'. From Schachter's point of view the 'will'-deletion occurs only in the environment of 'unreal', "the 'will'-deletion transformation ... will be obligatory for all unreality conditionals."⁽¹⁾ This means that semantic unreality is conveyed by a marker which then triggers a transformation. Schachter, however, states that it is 'will' itself which is the marker of unreality, "we can call this 'will' the 'unreality' marker in conditional sentences."⁽²⁾ If this is the case, how does one distinguish this 'will' from other 'will's?⁽³⁾ Since lack of 'will' on the surface can be interpreted either as the result of 'will'-deletion or as the result of it never having been there in the first place, one can never know from the surface structure whether a sentence is unreal or not. Thus the generative mechanism used by Schachter is unclear; that is to say, 'will' appears in positions which are in no way linked to unreality, and in unreal environments the item does not always occur. In addition to these shortcomings, a number of Schachter's proposed syntactic restrictions on 'if'-clauses admit of counter-examples. Among these cases are:

(1) The future modal 'will', which, according to Schachter, does not occur in 'if'-clauses⁽⁴⁾ of what

(1) Schachter, (1971), pp.76-7.

(2) *ibid*, p.76.

(3) Such as 'I will come'.

(4) Schachter, (1971), p.54, also pp.71-2 and 76.

she calls the "future simple conditional".⁽¹⁾ However, contrary to her claim, "'will' is not restricted in 'if'-clauses to the so-called "'will' of determination" or "volitional 'will'".⁽²⁾ The future 'will' occurs in sentences such as:

- (a) "If the play will be cancelled, let's not go.
- (b) "If it will be of any help, I shall come along."⁽³⁾

(2) Schachter claims that the syntactic basis for the semantic contrast between what she terms "future simple" and "imaginative"⁽⁴⁾ conditionals is the occurrence of 'would' in the main clause,⁽⁵⁾ e.g.

- (a) If he comes, I will leave. (Future simple conditional).

- (b) (If he came, I would leave.)
(If he had come, I would have left.) (Imaginative conditionals).

The occurrence of 'would' as a syntactic basis for this assumed semantic contrast "appears to be in jeopardy when some sentences with 'would' in the main clause are nevertheless what she could call instances of simple conditionals."⁽⁶⁾ One of these troublesome examples would be:

(1) *ibid*, pp.62-3.
(2) Glendinning-Johnson, (1975), p.76.
(3) Palmer, (1974), p.148.
(4) Schachter, (1971), p.65.
(5) Cf. Schachter, (1971), pp.71-2 and 76.
(6) Glendinning-Johnson, (1975), p.77.

"If the market is rising, selling the stock would be a mistake."⁽¹⁾ Thus, Schachter's syntactic grounds for distinguishing between the two semantic categories ('future simple' and 'imaginative' conditionals) "is not so neatly drawn for all cases."⁽²⁾

(3) Another of her proposed syntactic restrictions is that 'would' never occurs in an 'if'-clause, except in a volitional sense.⁽³⁾ A counter-example to this is that: "If a table of random numbers would help John, one might have helped Sam ."⁽⁴⁾

(4) Schachter claims that in 'future simple' conditionals the 'performatives' are allowed only in the main clause.⁽⁵⁾ The following example, however, shows that performatives can occur in the 'if'-clause as well as in the main clause: "If I ask your forgiveness, I am also promising to set the past aside."⁽⁶⁾

1.6.2 The semantic approach

(a) Lightfoot.⁽⁷⁾

David Lightfoot concludes, on the basis of what he observes about 'if'-clauses and 'because'-clauses

(1) *ibid*, p.77.

(2) *ibid*, p.78.

(3) That is to say, in positions where 'would' is paraphrasable by 'will' and vice-versa, e.g.

if everyone (^{will}/_{would}) be brief, we (^{can}/_{could}) finish in time

By contrast, the future 'will' does not have this paraphrase.

(4) Glendinning-Johnson, (1975), p.84.

(5) Schachter, (1971), p.73.

(6) Glendinning-Johnson, (1975), p.75.

(7) David Lightfoot, (1972), pp.549-56.

in Greek and English, that the difference between these two types of clause is one of presupposition. As a result of his observations he assumes an abstract verb (ENTAIL) from which the 'if' and 'because' clauses are generated. In other words, the 'if' and 'because' structures are derived from the same source which would become an 'if'-clause if there were no presupposition and a 'because'-clause if there were presupposition. In short, Lightfoot assumes that 'if'-clauses are non-presuppositional, while 'because'-clauses are presuppositional.

Lightfoot's treatment of conditionals is considered to be unsatisfactory⁽¹⁾ for several reasons. These are: (1) that equating conditional structures with other structures merely on the basis of semantic similarity in particular areas is an obvious weakness in any linguistic analysis; (2) that it neglects unreality conditionals, e.g.

(1) If we tried to drive in this weather, we would kill ourselves.

(2) If you had said that before, I would have understood.

The 'because'-constructions corresponding to these two unreal conditionals are unacceptable. Consider the following:

(1) Cf., Linda Rosemary Jackson, (1976), pp.39-41.

- (1) ((a) if we tried to drive in this weather,
(we would ...
(*
((b) because we tried to drive in this weather,
(we would ...
- (2) ((a) if you had said that before, I would have
(understood.
(*
((b) because you had said that before, I would
(have ...

The fact that sentences (1a) and (2a) involve presupposition, but have no acceptable corresponding 'because'-constructions defeats the object of Lightfoot's analysis, since 'if'-clauses are supposed to be non-presuppositional, and 'because'-clauses presuppositional.

(b) Rivero⁽¹⁾

Maria Luisa Rivero studies conditional structure in Spanish and claims that 'si' (English 'if') belongs to a class of verb which George Lakoff might call 'world-creating' verbs.⁽²⁾ This class includes verbs like 'suppose' and 'imagine'. Consequently, she assumes that sentences embedded under 'si' have semantic effects on surrounding elements similar to sentences embedded under world-creating verbs, since they both introduce statements which are in some way hypothetical or involve imagination. On these grounds of similarity

(1) Maria Luisa Rivero, (1972) .

(2) Cf. George Lakoff, (1968), pp.1-8.

between 'si' (if) and world-creating verbs, Rivero claims that these two structures are underlyingly related. But it is not enough to rely only on areas where the semantic behaviour of 'si' and world-creating verbs is similar in order to assume a common underlying structure for both. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that in areas basically connected with more properly linguistic syntactic behaviour, these two items are far from the same. In Linda Rosemary Jackson's words "The weakest point in Rivero's analysis is that it fails to consider areas where 'si' or 'if' and world-creating verbs behave differently."⁽¹⁾ In her study 'conditional sentences', Jackson points out that "the examples of syntactic differences between conditionals and world-creating verb constructions are numerous."⁽²⁾ Some of these are:

(1) "World-creating verbs can only appear in initial position, whereas in 'si' (if) constructions the two clauses can be ordered freely in the surface string."⁽³⁾

Her examples concerning this are:

- ((a) I'll come, if he leaves.
- ((b) If he leaves, I'll come.

- ((a) Imagine he comes, I'll leave.
- ((b)??⁽⁴⁾ I'll leave, imagine he comes.

(1) Linda Rosemary Jackson, (1976), p.43.

(2) *ibid*, p.45.

(3) *ibid*, pp.43-4.

(4) Jackson uses two question marks, at the beginning of a sentence to indicate that the example is not acceptable or doubtfully so.

(2) "Si/if constructions allow sentences with a logical structure of the form 'if p is true then q (is true) ...', (whereas) world-creating verbs do not allow this."⁽¹⁾ The examples given are:

(a) If it is true that you are the Queen of England, I am Richard Nixon.

(b)??Imagine it is true that you are the Queen of England, I am Richard Nixon.

(3) "Imperatives are possible in 'if' constructions. (e.g. If you see Stephen, tell him I've got a book for him) whereas in world-creating verb constructions they are not (e.g. ?? Imagine you see Stephen, tell him I've got a book for him)."⁽²⁾

(4) "The first clause in world-creating verb constructions may stand alone (e.g. Imagine he comes), whereas the first clause in a conditional construction may not (e.g. ?? If he comes)."⁽³⁾

1.7 Conclusion

It has been shown that neither the traditional descriptive grammars nor the modern theories of grammar reviewed are adequate in their treatment of conditional sentences. In other words, both traditional syntax

(1) Linda Rosemary Jackson, (1976) ,p.44.

(2) *ibid*, p.45.

(3) *ibid*, p.45.

which generally recognizes conditional clauses as a particular type of subordinate clauses⁽¹⁾ and the so-called modern linguistic treatments have numerous problems resulting from neglect of one or other syntactic and/or semantic aspects of the phenomena in question. Another criticism levelled against those works is "the lack of attention paid to the independent motivation of arguments. In order to achieve descriptive simplicity disparate areas of grammar are brought together and treated as though basically similar."⁽²⁾

In the chapters which follow, the corresponding attention devoted to the syntax and semantics of Classical Arabic conditional sentences, will, it is hoped, avoid these shortcomings.

(1) Cf., Quirk et al., (1972), pp.270, 528 and 743-52.
(2) Jackson, (1976), p.48.

CHAPTER TWO

Preliminaries

2.0 General

The subject of this study is probably one of the more difficult areas of Classical Arabic grammar, since, on the one hand, it has all the imperfections and shortcomings of Classical Arabic grammar in the form of "unclear categories, heterogeneous criteria, fictions, conceptual formulations, and value judgments,"⁽¹⁾ and, on the other hand, it has been said that one of the features distinctively associated with Arabic as a member of the Semitic language family is the behaviour of conditional sentences.⁽²⁾

Conditional sentences or, as some prefer to call them, "the natural-language devices used in the expression of logical relationships"⁽³⁾, is one of those areas of Classical Arabic grammar which have been coloured with too much theorising of a logico-philosophical kind at the expense of consideration of the facts of language use.⁽⁴⁾

However, it is justifiable for theoretical and practical reasons to describe certain fundamental assumptions made by the grammarians, and to attempt to define some of the terms they used. But before I

(1) Halliday et al., (1964), p.157.

(2) Cf., Bergstraesser, (1929), p.134.

(3) Jarvis, (1970), p.1, (Cf. also Quirk et al., (1972), p.528).

(4) See: al-Zajjājī, (1959); Ibn al-Anbārī, (1913), and Ibn-Hifam, vol. I, pp.255-65.

go any further it seems essential to clarify what is intended by the term 'condition'.

2.1 Definition

Three different kinds of definition will be considered in this section. These are:

2.1.1 A formal definition

Theoretically, one of the most fashionable ways of defining a language phenomenon is to use formal criteria. But since conditional sentences are (as will be evident in Chapter 4) a primarily semantically related group, numerous problems arise when a rigid formal definition is attempted. Thus the definitions (of conditional sentences) which have been based on surface syntactic features alone are inadequate for identifying the semantic relation ('condition') between the two propositions of a conditional sentence.

2.1.2 A referential definition

A less desirable option of defining the concept in hand (conditional sentences) is that of using a referential definition, that is a definition in which one has to rely on knowledge of something which is not just potentially infinite but also can not be verified (the world). This type of definition, therefore, must be considered incapable of isolating

the matter concerned and describing it adequately. Furthermore, when a referential definition is used in the context of a linguistic study, in general, it appears to be something of a contradiction, that is to say we have, on the one hand, the fact that the demands of descriptive adequacy do not allow a free choice of definition - indeed, a truly accurate definition can only be given after a thorough investigation of the item(s) to be defined-, and on the other hand, the fact that definition is an important starting point of any linguistic analysis and thus should capture relevant facts about a structure which is to be the subject of an investigative study. This leads to the conclusion that neither formal nor referential definition is linguistically sufficient either theoretically or practically since linguistics has neither the theory necessary for the first, nor the adequate information for the second.

2.1.3 A semi-intuitive definition⁽¹⁾

By a semi-intuitive definition I mean a definition which makes use of reference to meaning and form in a non-systematic way like those definitions found in Classical Arabic grammar.

In this study I prefer to recognize a conditional sentence as an expression of an underlying semantic

(1) For more details about these types of definitions see: Jackson, (1976), pp.2-5.

relationship ('condition') in which two propositions are assumed by the speaker to be syntactically connected in some way such that one of these two propositions is ^{logically} antecedent ~~to~~, and implies, requires, or causes the other (the various modes of connection will be discussed in Chapter 4).

This definition allows us to identify a variety of different surface manifestations of the relation 'condition'. For example, it allows us to recognize the ellipsis⁽¹⁾ of either protasis ('if'-clause) or apodasis (the main clause), and it allows for realizations (of a conditional sentence) which are different from those of subordinate clauses introduced by 'if' or any of its equivalents. Perhaps the best example of such realizations, which I shall discuss later on in this chapter, is that provided by imperative sentences.

2.2 The Grammarians

I use the definite article "The" with the plural form 'Grammarians'⁽²⁾ not to include every individual grammarian, but to denote the majority of those known through thirteen centuries under this label. The main grammarians include:⁽³⁾

(1) See p.161.

(2) Subsequently presented in chronological order.

(3) The details of their works consulted are given in the bibliography.

- (1) Sibawayh (d. 177 A.H = 793 A.D.)
- (2) al-Mub^arrad (d. 285 A.H. = 898 A.D.)
- (3) Ibn-al-'Anbārī (d. 328 A.H. = 939 A.D.)
- (4) al-Zajjājī (d. 337 A.H. = 949 A.D.)
- (5) Ibn-Khālawayh (d. 370 A.H. = 980 A.D.)
- (6) Ibn-Jinnī (d. 392 A.H. = 1002 A.D.)
- (7) al-Harawī (d. 415 A.H. = 1024 A.D.)
- (8) al-Jurjānī (d. 471 A.H. = 1078 A.D.)
- (9) al-Zamakh^aṣarī (d. 538 A.H. = 1143 A.D.)
- (10) Ibn-al Khaṣṣab (d. 567 A.H. = 1171 A.D.)
- (11) Ibn-Madā' (d. 592 A.H. = 1195 A.D.)
- (12) Ibn-Ya'īj (d. 643 A.H. = 1245 A.D.)
- (13) Ibn-al-Hājib (d. 646 A.H. = 1248 A.D.)
- (14) Ibn-Mālik (d. 672 A.H. = 1273 A.D.)
- (15) al-Istrābādhi (d. 684 A.H. = 1253 A.D.)
- (16) 'Abū Hayyān (d. 745 A.H. = 1344 A.D.)
- (17) Ibn-Hiṣām (d. 761 A.H. = 1359 A.D.)
- (18) al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 A.H. = 1505 A.D.)
- (19) al-Kanḡharāwī (d. 1349 A.H. = 1930 A.D.)

The remarks of any individual grammarian that have any relevance to any aspect of conditional sentences will be singled out during the discussion.

2.3 The location of the treatment of conditional sentences in the Classical Arabic Model of grammar

2.3.0 The theory of Classical Arabic grammar

Two reasons that can be given to justify the inclusion here of a brief outline of the theory of Classical Arabic grammar are:

(1) the need to locate the theory of conditional sentences within the overall Classical Arabic model of grammar, and (2) the wish to throw some light on the relationships, within the system concerned, between our selected feature ('condition') and other relevant features with which the system was and still is concerned. In addition to these two reasons, it is said that "grammatical terminology is a function of grammatical theory, and that the former can only be fruitfully discussed with constant reference to the latter."⁽¹⁾ There is only one theory governing Classical Arabic grammar. This theory has been called 'NaZariyyatu lġaamil'⁽²⁾ (the theory of the operative). The 'operative', in Classical Arabic grammar, is divided into two main types, but since central to the theory of Classical Arabic grammar is 'ġal ġiġraab' ('Inflection',

(1) Zandvoort, (1961), p.283.

(2) Ibn-Madā', (1947), p.67.

'Parsing' or 'Case-endings'), that is, the change which actually occurs or potentially could occur at the end of a word due to its syntactic relation with other words, e.g. in the form of ḡaliyy- in:

Nominative case: jaaḡa ḡaliyyun (Ali came)

Accusative case: ḡinna ḡaliyyan jaaḡa (Indeed Ali came)

Genitive case: jiḡtu maḡa ḡaliyyin (I came with Ali),

it is probably important to give a general account of this category of 'ḡal-ḡiḡraab' before talking about the theory of 'ḡal-ḡaamil' (that is, the 'operative').

2.3.1 Cases: abstract and signalled.

The abstract

The abstract cases recognized by the grammarians are:

- (1) ḡarraḡu (Indicative (mood); Nominative (case)),
- (2) ḡannaSbu (Subjunctive (mood); Accusative (case)),
- (3) ḡal-jarru or ḡal-xafDu (Genitive case) and
- (4) ḡal-jazmu (Apocopate (mood) or Jussive).

The first two case-endings (that is, 'ḡarraḡu' (lit. lifting or raising) and 'ḡannaSbu' (lit. setting up or putting up) are shared by both the verb and

noun. Examples of the two, illustrated by jaww-, are:

ʕal-jawwu sayyifun (The weather is bad) and

ʕinna ljawwa sayyifun (Indeed, the weather is bad),

/u/ and /a/ at the end of the noun ʕaljaww ^(u)_(a) are the signs of 'ʕarraʕu' and 'ʕannaʕbu' respectively. Examples of comparable verbal variation, exemplified by yaktub-, are:

ʕal-waladu yaktubu (The boy writes or is writing)

and

ʕal-waladu lan yaktuba (The boy will not write),

where /u/ and /a/ terminate the verbal form yaktub ^(u)_(a)

(to write), marking 'ʕarraʕu' and 'ʕannaʕbu'

respectively. The other two abstract case-endings

(that is, 'ʕal-jarru' (lit. 'pulling' or 'drawing'))

and 'ʕal-jazmu' (lit. 'cutting off' or 'decision'))

are recognized as case-endings specialized for the

noun and verb respectively. An example of the former,

applied to Sadiiq-, is:

katabtu ʕilaa Sadiiqin (I wrote to a friend),

while the latter illustrated by ʕaktub, in lam ʕaktub

(I did not write).

The presence of /i/ at the end of the noun Sadiiqin and the absence of a vowel at the end of the verb form ʕaktub mark ʕal-jarru and ʕal-jazmu in the noun and verb respectively. It may be noted in passing that with the Noun, the grammarians include the Adjective since the border line between these

two classes is ill-defined morphologically and syntactically.

2.3.2 The markers or signs

The primary signs of the four abstract categories of ʕal-ʕiɣraab (ʕarraʕu, ʕannaʕbu, ʕal-jarru and ʕal-jazmu) are, as we have seen, /u/, /a/, /i/ and zero vowel (ʕassukuun) respectively. There occur, however, certain secondary markers⁽¹⁾ or surrogates for each one of the above markers. These are as follows:

(1) The surrogates for /u/ are the following suffixes:

(a) With the noun

The suffixes which occur in place of /u/ in certain grammatical circumstances are:

(i) the 'dual' suffix — aan e.g.

jaafa lmuḥammadaan (nominative, masculine dual) (The two Muhammads came),

(ii) the 'sound masculine plural' suffix — uun

e.g. jaafa lmuḥammaduun (nominative, masculine plural) (Three or more of those named Muhammad came), and

(iii) the 'defined' suffix — uu —, where /u/ is lengthened in the context of a following

(1) Both the primary and secondary signs are recognized as such by the grammarians.

noun or pronoun in the so-called
construct state,

—— uu + (noun)
(pronoun) e.g.

jaafa ʔabuu (nominative, masculine singular)

(ʔaliyyin) (Ali's father came).
+ ()
(ka) (Your father came).

(b) With the verb

The suffixes which occur in place of /u/ in
certain grammatical circumstances are:

(i) the 'dual' suffix — aan e.g.

ʔalwaladaan yaktubaan (indicative dual) ⁽¹⁾

(The two boys write or are writing),

(ii) the 'masculine plural' suffix — uun ⁽²⁾ e.g.

ʔalʔawlaad yaktubuun (indicative, masculine
plural)

(The boys write or are writing), and

(1) With regard to the feminine/masculine dichotomy,
the distinction depends on whether the prefix is
'ya—', or 'ta—', as in

(ʔalwaladaan yaktubaan (masculine) (The two boys
write/are writing)

(and ʔalbintaan taktubaan (feminine) (The two girls
write/are writing).

(2) I observe that, with a noun, '-uun' indicates what
the grammarians call the 'sound masculine plural',
whereas with a verb, '-uun' denotes either a 'sound
masculine plural' (e.g. ʔalmuḥammaduun yaktabuun
(Three or more of those named Muhammad write or are
writing)) or a 'broken masculine plural' (e.g.
ʔalʔawlaad yaktubuun (The boys write/are writing)).

- (iii) the 'feminine singular' suffix —iin⁽¹⁾ e.g.
ʕanti taktubiin (indicative, feminine singular)
(You (can) write, or, you are writing).

2. The substitutes for /a/ are the following:

(a) With the noun

In place of /a/ (the basic sign for 'ʕannaSbu'),
the following inflectional suffixes can occur (in
different syntactic environments):

- (i) the 'defined' suffix —aa—, where /a/ is
lengthened in the context of a following
noun or pronoun in the so-called construct
state,

—aa + (noun)
(pronoun) e.g.

raʕaytu ʕabaa (accusative, masculine singular)

(ʕaliyyin) (I saw Ali's father)
+ ()
(ka) (I saw your father) ,

- (ii) the 'dual' suffix —ayn e.g.

raʕaytu lwaladayn (accusative, masculine dual)
(I saw the two boys),

- (iii) the 'sound masculine plural' suffix —iin e.g.

raʕaytu lmuħammadiin (accusative, masculine

(1) The grammarians, it must be said, see these affixes
as discontinuous, i.e. 'ya—uun', 'ta—iin', with
'—uun' marking masculine and '—iin' feminine, as
well as 'y-', and 't-'.

plural)

(I saw more than two named Muhammad), and

(iv) the 'sound feminine plural' suffix —aati e.g.

rafaytu ssayyidaati (accusative, feminine plural)

(I saw the ladies).

(b) With the verb

With the verb, the substitute for /a/ is the deletion of the suffix '—n' that is preceded by one of the following possibilities:

(i) the 'dual' suffix —aa— e.g.

ʕalwaladaan lan yaktubaa-,⁽¹⁾ (subjunctive, 3rd person, masculine dual)

(The two boys will not write),

(ii) the 'masculine plural' suffix —uu— e.g.

ʕalʕawlaad lan yaktubuu-, (subjunctive, 3rd person, masculine plural)

(The boys will not write),

(iii) the 'feminine singular' suffix —ii— e.g.

lan taktubii-, (subjunctive, 2nd person, feminine singular)

(You will not write),

(1) The dash (-) here and in the following two examples indicates the elimination of the element '-n'.

(3) The substitutes for /i/ are:

(i) the 'dual' suffix —ayn e.g.

xiŋtu fi lħaDaaratayn (**genitive**, dual)

(I lived in the two civilizations),

(ii) the 'sound masculine plural suffix —iin e.g.

naZartu ŋila lmuŋaafiriin (genitive, masculine plural)

(I looked at the travellers),

(iii) the 'defined' suffix —ii—, where /i/ is

lengthened in the context of a following

noun or pronoun in the so-called construct

state,

—ii + (noun)
(pronoun) e.g.

ħahabtu ŋilaa ŋabii (genitive, masculine, singular)

(ħaliyyin) (I went to Ali's father)
+ ()
(ka) (I went to your father), and

(iv) the 'diptote' suffix —a e.g.

ħahabtu ŋilaa ŋahmada (genitive, masculine singular)

(I went to Ahmad).

(4) The substitute for ʕassukuun (zero vowel)

The substitute for ʕassukuun (i.e. the primary sign for ʕal-jazmu) is the deletion of the element '-n' which follows one of the possibilities below:

(i) the 'dual' suffix —aa—, as in
lam yaktubaa-,⁽¹⁾ (3rd person, masculine,
dual and in the jussive (mood))
((The two) did not write),

(ii) the 'masculine plural' suffix —uu—, as in
lam yaktubuu-, (3rd person, masculine,
plural and in the jussive (mood))
((They) did not write), and

(iii) the 'feminine singular' suffix —ii—, as in
lam taktubii-, (2nd person, singular, feminine
and in the jussive (mood))
(You (talking to a woman) did not write).

2.3.3 The types of ʕal-ʕaamil (the 'operative')

Returning to the theory of ʕal-ʕaamil, two main types of the operative of ʕal-ʕiḡraab are said to be:

(1) ʕal-ʕaamilu lmaḡnawii (the abstract operative)
which requires (a) the nominative case-ending (/u/ or
one of its surrogates) for the subject of the nominal
sentence, e.g.

(1) The mark (-) in this example and the following two indicates the elimination of '-n'. Notice the parallelism between (2b) and (4).

ʕal-jawwu sayyiʕun (The weather is bad) , with /u/ final in the subject ʕal-jawwu, and (b) the indicative mood marker in the non-past indicative, e.g. yaktubu ((He) writes).

(2) ʕal-ʕaamilu llaʕzi (the concrete operative) which is sub-divided into three types.

(1) Verbs

(2) Pseudo-Verbs

(3) Particles

Let us outline these in turn:

(1) Verbs

Verbs are divided into two types:

(a) mutaʕaddii ⁽¹⁾ (lit. aggressor) or mutajaawiz (lit. exceeding) or waaqiʕ (lit. falling) i.e. 'transitive'. such as kataba (to write) , and (b) laazim (lit. necessary) or qaasir (lit. incapable) or ʕayru waaqiʕ (lit. not falling) i.e. 'intransitive', such as xaraja (to go out) . Under the class 'Verb' the grammarians study the verbal sentence and refer inter alia to a list of what seem mostly to be different types of object complementation. These include:

(1) For the terms mutaʕaddii, mutajaawiz, or waaqiʕ, as well as laazim, qaasir, or ʕayru waaqiʕ, see the following:
Ibn Hisham, vol. 2, pp.519-27; al-Suyūti (1316) , vol. 2, p.76; Abu Hayyan (1328) , vol. 1, pp.298-372 and 417; 'Ali Ibn 'Uthman (1328) , p.11; al-Ashmuni (1358) , vol. 2, p.42; and 'Abd-al-Ghani (1970) , pp. 63-78.

- (a) ʕalmafʕuulu bih (direct object), e.g. ʕalkitaaba in qarafa lwaladu lkitaaba (The boy read the book);
- (b) ʕal-mafʕuulu lmuTlaq (unrestricted or cognate object, or, as it is loosely called by the grammarians, maSdar (infinitive or verbal noun)), e.g. rajjaa in ʕiḥaa rujjati lʕardu rajjaa (lit. When the earth shall be shaken (with) a shaking) (i.e. shaken violently);
- (c) ʕal mafʕuulu maḡah (concommitant object) (that is, the object with which or whom something is done concomitantly), e.g. ʕurakaafa in faʕajmiḡuu ʕamrakum wa ʕurakaafakum (Decide then with your companions upon your affair);
- (d) ʕal mafʕuulu fiih or ʕaZZarf (the vessel or adverbial object, that is, an adverb of time and place in or at which the verbal action is performed), e.g. ʕahrayn in taʕammal ʕahrayn fi xtiyaari lmudarris (Reflect two months upon the choice of a teacher), and maḡqida in huwa minnii maḡqida lʕizaar (He is as close to me as the place where my cummerbund is fastened);
- (e) ʕal ḡaal that is, the state or circumstance of:
- (i) The subject,
 - (ii) The object, or
 - (iii) Both subject and object. Examples respectively are:

- (i) *sujjadaa in wadxulu lbaaba sujjadaa*
(And enter the gate, prostrating
yourselves);
- (ii) *musrajaa in rakibtu lqisaana musrajaa*
(I rode the horse saddled); and
- (iii) *muqaddaratan and muqaddariinaa in wa*
finnaa sawfa tudrikuna lmanaayaa
muqaddaratan lanaa wa muqaddariinaa
(The fates will overtake us, they being
destined for us as we are destined for
them);
- (f) ḥattamiiz (the specification), e.g. *ḥuyuunaa*
in wa fajjarna lfarḍa ḥuyuunaa (And we made the
earth break forth with springs), and finally
- (g) ḥalḥistiḥnaaf (the exception), e.g. *qaliilan in*
fajaribuu minhu ḥillaa qaliilan minhum (And they
drank of it, save a few of them).

(2) Pseudo-Verbs⁽¹⁾

The pseudo-verbs or 'verbal adjectives' are
divided into:

- (a) ḥismu lfaaḡil (the active participle), e.g.

(1) The grammarians recognize the category 'pseudo-verb' on the grounds that its members behave syntactically like the class 'verb' and yet their occurrence with the verbal markers (such as *lam*, *lan*, the suffixes '-ta', '-nna' etc.) are not acceptable.

kaaZim and maziq⁽¹⁾ in walkaaZimiina lyaayZ (And those who restrain their wrath) and fataanii fannahum maziquna ġirDii (It has come to me (i.e. to my hearing) that they are defaming (lit. tearing to pieces) my character) respectively;

(b) faSSifatu lmuġabbahah (assimilated epithet, i.e. adjectives which resemble the participle),⁽²⁾ e.g. faġhasanu in jaafa lġhasanu wajhuh (He who is handsome of face came);

(1) Although faġil and four other forms (faġġaal, faġuul, faġiil and miġaal) are recognized on syntactic grounds as belonging to the active participle class, they are separated semantically within the class on the grounds that they are all hyperbolic or intensifying forms.

(2) Note that this type of verbal adjective is distinguished, by the grammarians, from the previous one (fismu lfaaġil) on semantic and syntactic grounds; semantically, fismu lfaaġil expresses progressive adjectives e.g. faakil (eating i.e. He is eating) as opposed to stative adjectives expressed by faSSifatu lmuġabbahah, e.g. Tawiilu lqaamah (tall, i.e. He is tall (lit. He is long of structure)). Syntactically, Ibn-Hisham summarizes the grammarians' arguments about the syntactic differences between these classes of verbal adjectives in respect of eleven points of different syntactic behaviour, the most important of which are:

1. fismu lfaaġil (active participle) can be derived both from 'transitive' and 'intransitive' verbs, e.g.

qatala (transitive; to kill) → qatilun (active participle: killer) and xaraja (intransitive; to leave) → xaarijun (active participle; leaver), whereas faSSifatu lmuġabbahah

(assimilated epithet) can only be derived from an intransitive verb, e.g. ḥasuna (intransitive; to be handsome) → ḥasanun (assimilated epithet; handsome).

2. The time reference of 'ḥisnu lfaḡil' can be past, present or future, the examples respectively are: (a) kaatibu ddarsi ḥams (= kataba ddarsa ḥams; ((He) wrote the lesson yesterday)), (b) kaatibuni ddarsa lḥaan (= yaktubu ddarsa lḥaan; ((He) is writing the lesson now)), and (c) kaatibuni ddarsa ḡadan (= sayaktubu ddarsa ḡadan; ((He) will write the lesson tomorrow)), whereas ḥaSSifatu lmuḡabbahah (assimilated epithet) expresses a timeless statement, e.g. huwa Tawiilu lqaamah (He is tall) (lit. He is long of structure).

3. The syntactic behaviour in terms of (in) transitivity of both a verb and an active participle of the same root is the same i.e., both are 'transitive' or 'intransitive'. For example, kataba (verb) and kaatibun (active participle) are transitive in the following two sentences:

(i) ḥalwaladu kataba ddarsa (The boy wrote the lesson).

(ii) ḥalwaladu kaatibuni ddarsa (The boy is writing the lesson).

Similarly, both xaraja (verb) and xaarijun (active participle) are intransitive in:

(i) ḥalwaladu xaraja mina lbayti (The boy departed (i.e., left) from the house).

(ii) ḥalwaladu xaarijun mina lbayti (The boy is leaving the house).

In contrast, the syntactic behaviour of ḥaSSifatu lmuḡabbahah may differ from that of a verb which shares with it the same root (i.e., the verb may be 'intransitive' while ḥaSSifatu lmuḡabbahah is 'transitive'), e.g.

* (i) Zaydun ḥasuna ('intransitive' verb) wajhah.

(ii) Zaydun ḥasanun ('(in)transitive' Sifatun muḡabbahah) wajhah.

(See: Ibn-Hishām, vol. 2, pp.458-60).

(c) ḡismu lmafḡuul (passive participle), e.g. maḡluum in ḡalmunaaqafatu maḡluumatun natiijatuhaa (lit. The discussion is known its result, i.e. the result of the discussion is known), and

(d) ḡismu ttafDiil (the noun of preference, i.e. the so-called 'relative' forms which correspond to the English comparative and superlative), e.g. ḡajwaḡu and ḡajfaa in ḡaalik ḡajwaḡu wa ḡajfaa li duhnihaa (This improves its crop and makes its oil clearer) (lit. is better as to yield and clearer as to oil).

3. Particles

The particles, according to the theory of ḡal-ḡaamil (the 'operative'), are divided into two types:

(a) particles which do not govern any form of ḡal-ḡiḡraab e.g. ḡa and hal in ḡa ḡaliyyun qaadam (Is Ali coming?) and hal qadima ḡaliyyun (Did Ali come?) respectively.

(b) particles which determine a given form of case-ending. This type is, in turn, sub-divided into three types:

(i) particles governing the sentence, in particular ḡinna and its so-called

'sisters', (1) which require a following accusative (case) .

(iii) particles governing the genitive case of the noun (ḥaruufu (or ṣadawaatu) ljarri (or ṣalxafDi) , e.g. min and ṣilaa in waqtu lḡilmi mina lmaḥdi ṣila llaḥdi (The time of learning (extends) from the cradle to the grave) ;

(iv) finally, and more importantly for the topic of this thesis, there are the particles which govern the verb. Here we find two types:

(a) those selecting the subjunctive mood (lan, kay, ṣiḥan, and ṣan) , and

(b) those requiring the jussive mood.

The last type is further sub-divided into:

(i) particles whose domain of governance is limited to one verb in jussive form; e.g.

(1) These are: (1) ṣinna (truly, certainly) , e.g. ṣinna lḥadaaḥata laa taduum (Certainly, youth does not last); (2) ṣanna (that) , e.g. ṣa ṣinnakum lataḥhaduuna ṣanna maḡa llaahi ṣaalihatan ṣuxraa (Do you testify that there are other gods than the (true) God?); (3) laakinna (but, yet) , e.g. laakinna lmunaafiḡiina laa yaḑḡahuun (But the hypocrites do not understand); (4) kaṣanna (as if, as though) , e.g. kaṣanna fii ṣuḥunayhi waḡraa (As if in his ears (was) hardness); (5) layta (would that) , e.g. yaa layta baynak. wa baynii buḡda lmaḑriḡayn (O that there were between you and me the distance of east from west!); (6) laḡalla (perhaps) , e.g. laḡalla llaaha faDDalakum ḡalaynaa (perhaps God may have given you some superiority over us)

lam (not), lammaa (not yet), li (the 'laam' of requirement or imperative 'laam'), and laa (negative imperative);

the examples are:

lam taktub ((You or She) did not write),

lammaa yahDur ((He) has not yet arrived),

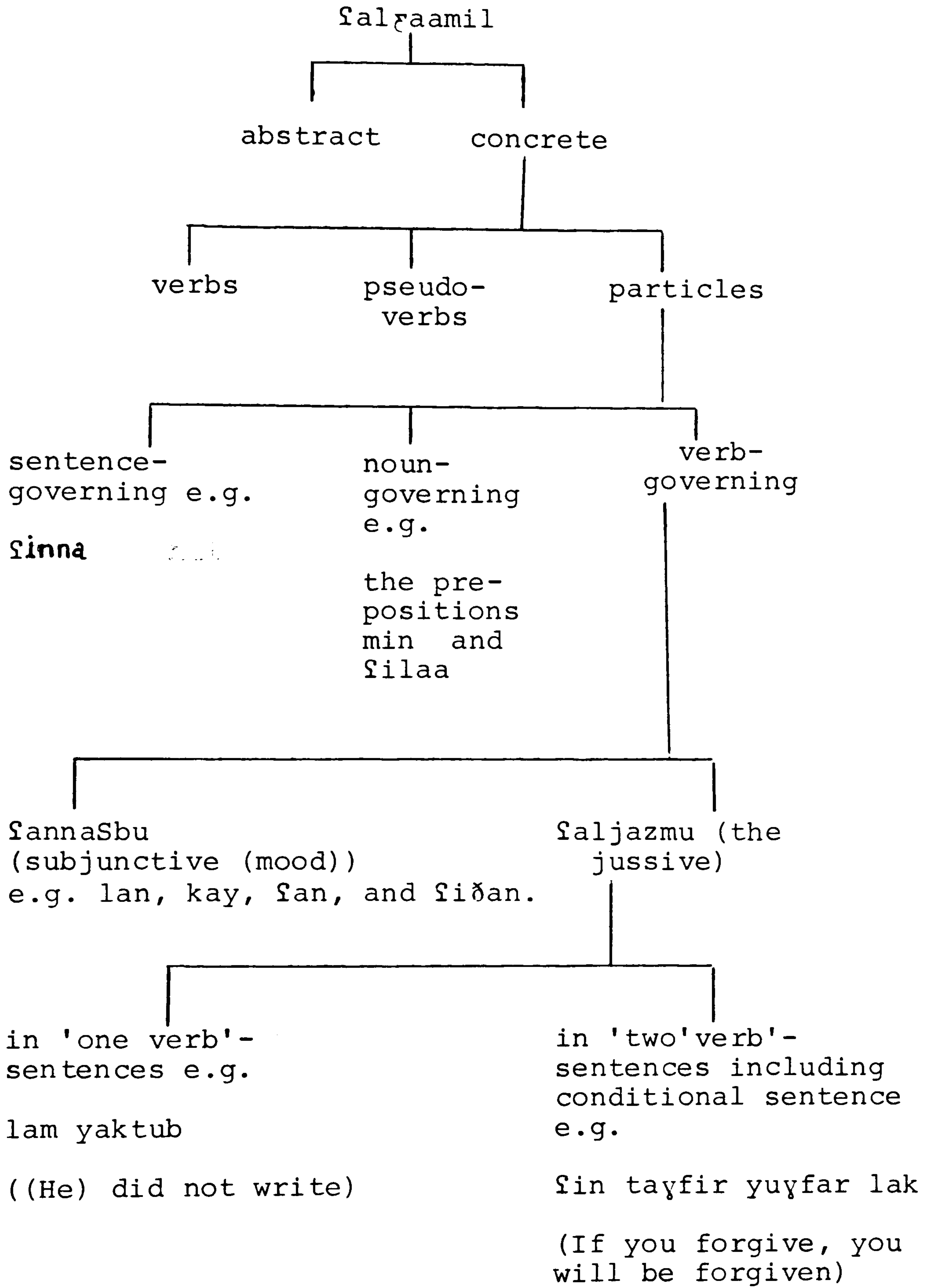
li taktub (Write), and

laa taktub (Do not write) respectively.

(ii) particles whose jussive domain embraces two verbs, and it is here that is located the treatment of conditional sentences within the theory of Classical Arabic grammar; e.g.

ʔin taDrib tuDrab (If you strike, you will be struck).

This section may be summarized in the form of a diagram as below. The nucleus of the theory of Classical Arabic grammar is ʔal-ʔaamil (the 'operative'), which appears as the topmost node of the diagram:



2.4 The relationship between conditional sentences and other types of sentence in Classical Arabic grammar

Relevant to the location of conditional sentences within the Classical Arabic model of grammar is the relationship between conditional sentences and other types of sentence. It has been recognized by some Arab grammarians⁽¹⁾ that the conditional sentence is a counterpart of both the nominal and the verbal sentences. This view was based on both syntactic and semantic criteria. But let us first consider briefly the grammarians' view on what they consider to be the two main types of sentence. They mostly divide the basic syntactic structures of the language into two types of sentence:

- (1) ʔaljumlatu lʔismiyyah (the nominal sentence), and
- (2) ʔaljumlatu lʔiḡliyyah (the verbal sentence).

The distinction between these two types of sentence is said to be based on the word-class which occupies first position in the sentence, that is to say, if we have a noun-substantive or one of its substitutes (that is, an adjective, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun or a relative pronoun) at the beginning of a sentence, then ipso facto we have a

(1) See for examples: Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 1, pp.88-89; al-Zamakhsharī (1948), vol. 2, p.103; Ibn Hisham, vol. 2, p.376 and al-Suyūṭī (1327), vol. 2, p.62.

nominal sentence, regardless of the type of predicate which follows the initial nominal element. In other words, every sentence which begins with the subject (substantive or pronoun) is called by the Arab grammarians 'jumlatun fismiyyah' (nominal sentence), whether the following predicate is an adjective, a preposition and the word it governs (i.e. a prepositional phrase), or a verb. The subject of a nominal sentence is called mubtadaʿ (inceptive or beginning), and its predicate is called xabar (enunciation or information).

To summarize, the following are said to be nominal sentences:

(1) mubtadaʿ (= substantive) + ((a) adjective)
()
((b) prepositional phrase) e.g.
()
((c) verb phrase)

(a) zaydun ʿaalim (Zaydun is learned)

(b) zaydun fi lbayt (Zaydun is in the house)

(c) zaydun yusaʿidu ʿusratah (Zaydun helps his family).

(2) mubtadaʿ (= adjective) + ((a) adjective)
()
((b) prepositional phrase) e.g.
()
((c) verb phrase)

(a) ʿalʿaalimu faqiir (The learned (man) is poor)

(b) ʿalʿaalimu fi lmaktabah (The learned (man) is in

the library).

- (c) $\text{\textcircled{a}al\textcircled{a}alimu yusaagidu \textcircled{a}ummatah}$ (The learned (man) helps his nation).

- (3) $\text{mubtada\textcircled{a}}$ (= personal pronoun) +

((a) noun (=substance)))
((b) adjective)
((c) prepositional)
phrase)
((d) verb phrase)

 e.

(a) huwa zayd (He is Zayd).

(b) $\text{huwa \textcircled{a}aalim}$ (He is a learned (man)).

(c) huwa fi lmaktabah (He is in the library).

(d) $\text{huwa yusaagidu lmu\textcircled{a}taajin}$ (He helps those who are in need).

- (4) $\text{mubtada\textcircled{a}}$ (= demonstrative + pronoun) +

((a) noun (=substance)))
((b) adjective)
((c) prepositional)
phrase)
((d) verb phrase)

 e.g.

(a) $\text{haa\textcircled{a}aa zayd}$ (This is Zayd).

(b) $\text{haa\textcircled{a}aa \textcircled{a}aalim}$ (This is a learned (man)).

(c) $\text{haa\textcircled{a}aa fii \textcircled{a}aakiratii}$ (This is in my memory).

(d) $\text{haa\textcircled{a}aa yu\textcircled{a}aDDiru l\textcircled{a}ummah}$ (This civilizes the nation).

On the other hand, a sentence of which the predicate is a verb preceding the subject, e.g. qaama zaydun (Zaydun stood up), or a sentence consisting of a verb form which includes both subject and predicate, e.g. qaama ((He) stood up) is called by the grammarians jumlatun fiḡliyyah (a verbal sentence). The subject of a verbal sentence is called faaḡil (agent), and its predicate fiḡl (action or verb).

The following remarks seem called for:

(1) Ṣalwaladu qaama (The boy stood up) and qaama lwaladu (The boy stood up) are two realizations of one structure in which Ṣalwaladu (the boy) is the subject and qaama (stood up) is the predicate, the only difference between these two realizations is the difference of emphasis or focus: qaama lwaladu is the 'unmarked' verbal sentence, and Ṣalwaladu qaama its 'marked' counterpart.

(2) Although the rule according to which, for example, Ṣalwaladu qaama is a nominal sentence was fairly generally accepted, nevertheless we find (a) that the Kuufah school regarded this rule as optional. In their view, Ṣalwaladu qaama (The boy stood up) and zaydun ḡadara (Zaydun arrived) are marked verbal sentences derived from the unmarked verbal sentences qaama lwaladu and ḡadara zaydun, ⁽¹⁾ (b) that it is preferable (even obligatory)

(1) See: Ibn Madā' (1948), p.103; Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, pp.379-80; and al-Kanḡharawī (1950), p.18.

for some) to contextualize the sentence zaydun qaama within a conjoined structure, i.e. qaḡada ḡamrun wa zaydun qaama (Amru sat down and Zaydun stood up), which is a verbal sentence in the earlier terms and thus not an infringement of the stated rule.⁽¹⁾

(3) The nominal sentence should in my own view be identified with so-called 'timeless' statements, which require the absence of a verb, e.g.

(a) ḡaljibaalu rimaalun (The mountains are sand);

(b) ḡalḡadiidu maḡdinun (Iron is a metal);

(c) zaydun ḡakarun (Zaydun is male); and

(d) laylaa ḡunḡaa (Layla is female).

On the other hand, a sentence with a verb either preceding or following the subject is a verbal sentence.

Let us now refer to those grammarians who regard ḡaljumlatu ḡḡarṡiyyah (the conditional sentence) as corresponding to both ḡaljumlatu lḡismiyyah (the nominal sentence) and ḡaljumlatu lḡiḡliyyah (the verbal sentence). According to these grammarians, nominal and verbal sentences differ syntactically and semantically from the conditional sentence in that:

(1) Both nominal and verbal sentences belong to a type of structure named ḡattarkiibu lḡisnaadii (that is, a structure in which ḡalmusnadu (the predicate: either

(1) See: Ibu Hishām, vol. 2, p.379.

xabar or fiḡl) semantically defines ṡalmusnadu ṡilayh (the subject: either mubtadaṡ or faaḡil): e.g.

(i) In the nominal sentence,

ṡalḡadiidu maḡdinun (Iron is a metal), maḡdinun (metal), which is xabar (the predicate), is semantically an attribute or a description of ṡalḡadiidu which is ṡalmusnadu ṡilayh (the subject).

(ii) In the verbal sentence, e.g.

katāba lwaladu or ṡalwaladu katāba (the boy wrote), katāba (wrote) which is syntactically musnad (predicate), is semantically an attribute or a description of ṡalwaladu which is ṡalmusnadu ṡilayh (the subject). Some grammarians⁽¹⁾ even use the term xabar (which is generally used for identifying the predicate of the nominal sentence) to designate the verb in the verbal sentence, and if we add to this the fact that all grammarians describe (from a semantic point of view) ṡalxabar (the predicate of the nominal sentence) as an attribute of ṡalmubtadaṡ (the subject of the nominal sentence), then the obvious conclusion is that both types of sentence belong to that abstract structure called ṡattarkiibu lṡisnaadii (the attributive structure or the subject/predicate structure).

ṡattarkiibu ṡṡarṡii (the conditional structure), on the other hand, belongs to a different type which

(1) See: Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 1, p.20.

consists of two clauses that are mutually interdependent rather than one standing in a relation of subordinate 'attribution' to the other. Thus, in e.g. *fin fanta fakramta llaſiima tamarradaa* (If you honour the ignoble (man), (then) he rebels), the apodasis (main clause) *tamarradaa* ((he) rebels) does not attribute anything to or describe the protasis ('if'-clause) *fin fanta fakramta llaſiima* (if you honour the ignoble (man)), but is rather a result of it.

(2) *fattarkiibu fjarTii* (the conditional structure) can be isolated from other structures (i.e. *fattarkiibu lfisnaadii*, the attributive structure in its two realizations of nominal and verbal sentences) on the basis of the fact that the verb forms in conditional sentences do not appear to relate to time in the same way as they do in non-conditional structures; e.g.

(i) *fin yazurnii ɣaliyyun fukrimh* (If Ali visits me, I (will) honour him).

(ii) *fin zaaranii ɣaliyyun fukrimh* (If Ali visits (lit. visited) me, I (will) (i.e. would) honour him).

These two sentences refer to future, and future time adverbs may be inserted in them: e.g. *yadan* (tomorrow) in:

(i) *fin yazurnii ɣaliyyun yadan fukrimh* (If Ali visits me tomorrow, I (will) honour him).

(ii) $\text{\textcircled{f}in}$ zaaranii $\text{\textcircled{g}aliyyun}$ $\text{\textcircled{y}adan}$ $\text{\textcircled{f}ukrimh}$ (If Ali visits (lit. visited) me tomorrow, I (will) (i.e. would) honour him).

They do not refer to the present or to past time; accordingly, the following are not acceptable:

$\text{\textcircled{f}in}$ yazurnii $\text{\textcircled{g}aliyyun}$ (* $\text{\textcircled{f}al\text{\textcircled{f}aan}$)
() $\text{\textcircled{f}ukrimh}$
(* $\text{\textcircled{f}ams}$)

(* at this moment)
(If Ali visits me () I (will) honour him)
(* yesterday)

$\text{\textcircled{f}in}$ zaaranii $\text{\textcircled{g}aliyyun}$ (* $\text{\textcircled{f}al\text{\textcircled{f}aan}$)
() $\text{\textcircled{f}ukrimh}$
(* $\text{\textcircled{f}ams}$)

(*at this moment)
(If Ali visits (lit. visited) me () I (will)
(* yesterday)

((lit.would(honour him)).

Two remarks should be made here:

Firstly, although yazurnii ((he) visits me) and zaaranii ((he) visits (lit. visited) me) in the above sentences refer to non-past time, the insertion of the future markers 'sa' or 'sawfa' (will) in the 'if'-clause is not acceptable, i.e.

(* sa) (yazurnii)
 $\text{\textcircled{f}in}$ () $\text{\textcircled{g}aliyyun}$ $\text{\textcircled{f}ukrimh}$
(*sawfa) (zaaranii)

(* If Ali will ...).

Secondly, in contrast with English the Classical Arabic conditional sentence *fin jaafa ḡaliyyun fukrimh* (If Ali comes (lit. came), I (will) (lit. would) honour him) can take, in its apodasis or main clause both (a) the future markers *sa* or *sawfa* (will), e.g.

fin jaafa ḡaliyyun fa⁽¹⁾

(sa)
()
(sawfa))

fukrimuh

(If Ali comes (lit. came), I will (would) honour him); and (b) the imperative, e.g.

fin jaafa ḡaliyyun fikrimh (If Ali comes (lit. came), honour him).

In addition to these characteristics which justify the distinction between nominal and verbal sentences, on the one hand, and conditional sentences, on the other, one should mention the fact that syntactic restrictions differ between the sentence types. Comparison between the linguistic elements that can function as predicate in *fattarkiibu lʿisnaadii* and those which may occur as main clause of a conditional sentence will illustrate the point. In particular, the (in)admissibility of connective *fa* is relevant.

(1) *fattarkiibu lʿisnaadii*:

Cf.

(a) *falkitaabu* (subject) *yilaafuhu naZiif*
(predicative.declarative) (The book, its cover is clean).

(1) See p. 167.

(b) $\text{\textcircled{S}alkitaabu}$ (subject) *fa (connective) $\text{\textcircled{y}ilaafuhu}$ $\text{\textcircled{naZiif}$ (predicative.declarative) (The book, its cover is clean).

(c) * $\text{\textcircled{S}alkitaabu}$ (subject) fa (connective) $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}iqra\text{ḥ}}$ (predicative.imperative) (The book, read it (i.e. read the book)).

(2) $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}attarkiibu}$ $\text{\textcircled{\text{ḥ}ar\text{Tii}}$:

Cf.

(a) $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}in}$ $\text{\textcircled{tazurnii}$ (protasis) fa (connective) $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}anta}$ $\text{\textcircled{Sadiiqii}$ (main clause or apodasis (declarative)) (If you visit me, (then) you are my friend).

(b) $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}in}$ $\text{\textcircled{nuudiita}$ ('if'-clause) fa (connective) $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}ajib}$ (main clause.imperative) (If you are called, then answer).

The criteria serving to differentiate sentence-types can be displayed as follows:

<u>Incidence of fa</u>	<u>Predicate type</u>	<u>Conditional type</u>
Declarative	X (* $\text{\textcircled{S}alkitaabu}$ fa $\text{\textcircled{y}ilaafuhu}$ $\text{\textcircled{naZiif}$)	✓ ($\text{\textcircled{\text{S}in}$ $\text{\textcircled{zurtanii}$ fa $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}anta}$ $\text{\textcircled{Sadiiqii}$)
Imperative	X (* $\text{\textcircled{S}alkitaabu}$ fa $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}iqra\text{ḥ}}$)	✓ ($\text{\textcircled{\text{S}in}$ $\text{\textcircled{nuudiita}$ fa $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}ajib}$)

In this diagram, the predicative part of what is termed $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}attarkiibu}$ $\text{\textcircled{\text{ḥ}isnaadii}$ or the subject/predicate

structure is not acceptable in the forms of :

- (a) a declarative sentence that is preceded by the connective 'fa' e.g. fa yilaafuhu naZiif in *ʕalkitaabu fa yilaafuhu naZiif (The book, its cover is clean) ;
- (b) a non-declarative sentence, e.g. (ʕi) qrafh in *ʕalkitaabu fa qrafh (The book, read it (i.e. read the book) .

These cases which are not acceptable in the sentence-type named ʕattarkiibu lʕisnaadii are nevertheless acceptable in the main clause of a conditional sentence. e.g. fa ʕanta Sadiiqii and fa ʕajib in

- (a) ʕin tazurnii fa ʕanta Sadiiqii (If you visit me, (then) you are my friend) , and
- (b) ʕin nuudiita fa ʕajib (If you are called, (then) answer) .

Finally, in this section, it is appropriate to mention that some grammarians ⁽¹⁾ whose opinion is that a noun preceded by a conditional particle ⁽²⁾ should be recognized as mubtadaʕ (subject of a nominal sentence) , hold the view that the conditional structure differs from that of the normal nominal sentence in that it does not require xabar (a predicate) . The

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.) , vol. 1, pp.101-3; Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p.581; and al-Kanharāwī (1950) . p.122.

(2) See p.81

significance of this is that it indicates that the recognition of two different types of structure (conditional versus non-conditional) is made on both sides of the argument between those grammarians who restrict conditional sentences to verbal structures and those who relate conditional sentences to nominal structures also. (1)

2.5 Types of Conditional Sentence

Two types of conditional sentence have been recognized by the grammarians:

(1) Particle-conditional sentences

These are conditional sentences introduced by different conditional particles. (2) e.g. *ʕin* in *ʕin tasʕaluuhu yujib* (If you (masculine plural) ask him, he will reply),

ʕiðaa in

ʕiðaa fakkarnaa fii haaðaa raʕaynaa ḥaqiiqatah
(If we think about this, we see the truth of it),

law in

law jaaʕa la ʕakramtuh (If he were to come (but he will not), I would honour him).

(1) See: al-^{bā}Istrāḥī (1306 A.H.,) vol. 2, p.234; Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p.583; and al-Kanḡharawī (1950), p.122.

(2) A full account of conditional particles and those which I consider should be included or excluded is given in Chapter 3.

(2) Non-particle conditional sentences

Classical Arabic is capable of expressing hypothetical propositions (i.e. the semantic category 'condition') without the aid of any conditional particles to introduce them. There are eight main sub-types⁽¹⁾ ((a) to (h) below) which such implicit hypotheticals may assume:

(a) ʕalʕamr (the imperative) which can be expressed in the following forms:

(i) the imperative verb form, e.g. ʕawfuu in ʕawfuu bi ʕahdii ʕuufi bi ʕahdikum⁽²⁾ (Be true to my covenant, (then) I will be true to yours, i.e. If you are true to me, I will be true to you);

(ii) 'Imperative laam', e.g. li in li yunfiq ʕuu saʕatin min saʕatih yayfiri llaahu ʕunuubah⁽³⁾ (Let the owner of abundance spend of his abundance, (then) God will forgive his sins);

(iii) ʕismu fiʕli lʕamr⁽⁴⁾ (i.e. the interjection whose function is imperatival), e.g. Sah in Sah ʕuʕsin ʕilayka (Hold your peace (and) I will treat you kindly);

(1) See: al-Zajjājī (1926), p.217; Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, pp.47-53; al-Kanharawī (1950), pp.119-20; and Sibawayh (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, pp.449-52.

(2) Quran, part 2, verse 40.

(3) Cf. Quran, part 65, verse 7.

(4) Cf. Sibawayh (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, p.452.

- (iv) ṢalmaṢdar (infinitive or verbal noun), e.g. sukuutan in sukuutan yanami nnaas (Hush, (and) the people will go to sleep);
- (b) Ṣannahy (prohibition or negative imperative), e.g. laa in laa taqtarib mina nnaari taslam (Do not go near the fire, (and then) you will be safe);
- (c) ṢadduḡaaṢ⁽¹⁾ (prayer, deprecation, invocation), e.g. Ṣallaahumma in Ṣallaahumma laa takilnaa Ṣilaa Ṣanfusiaa nazliq (O God, do not hand us over to ourselves, (lest) we will be too feeble (to endure the change));
- (d) ṢalḡarD (the polite request), e.g. Ṣalaa in Ṣalaa tadnuu tubṢir maa qad ḡaddaṢuuka (Will you not draw near, (and then) you see what they told you).
- (e) ṢattarḊiiD⁽²⁾ (the urgent request), e.g. hallaa in hallaa tadrusu taḡfaZ (Why do not you study, (and then) you learn by heart);

(1) Although ṢadduḡaaṢ has been recognized by the grammarians as a grammatical type of the non-particle conditional sentences, there is no grammatical difference between (c) i.e. ṢadduḡaaṢ and (b) i.e. Ṣannahy. ṢadduḡaaṢ, marked by the addition of e.g. Ṣallaahumma, is, in fact, a speech functional use of conditionality rather than a grammatical type.

(2) Again, in the case of (e) and (d), apart from the semantic difference of polite versus urgent request, there is no grammatical difference involved. Yet the grammarians recognized (e) as a separate grammatical type.

(f) Ṣalṣistifhaam (the interrogative), e.g. hal in hal lanaa min ṣurakaafa yaḥfaḡuu lanaa (Have we any intercessors, (and then) they will intercede for us);

(g) Ṣarrajaaṣ (the optative) e.g. laḡalla in laḡalla ltifaatan minka naḥwii mu^ayṣṣarun yamil bika min baḡdi lqasaawati li lyusr (perchance, (if) some consideration is accorded by you to me, (then) it will move you from hardness to mildness);

and finally

(h) Ṣattamannii⁽¹⁾ (the optative), e.g. layta in layta lii maalan ṣataṣaddaḡ minh (Would that I might have money, (and then) I will donate some (to those who need it most)).

Under (2) we are, concerned firstly at 2(a) with various types of command; secondly, we have the form of prohibition at (b) and functional variants thereof at (c), (d) and (e); thereafter, the interrogative form of (f) is noteworthy, and finally at (g) and (h), the two main types of the optative involving the particles laḡalla and layta appear.

The grammarians opine that these eight types of sentence, as they see them, can express 'condition' only when certain specific conditions (or restrictions) have been fulfilled to a maximum of three. All

(1) The difference between (g) and (h) is a matter of 'real' and 'unreal' condition respectively. See Chapter 4.

grammarians agree on two of these conditions; the third is a matter of dispute. Thus, all agree that the preceding clause must contain an imperative (affirmative or negative), or words equivalent in meaning to an imperative, or that otherwise it must express wish, hope, or question. e.g. *ƙadƙil in ƙadƙil yadaka fii jaybika taxruj bayDaafa min ƴayri suuf*⁽¹⁾ (Put your hand into your bosom, (then) it shall come forth white). The second point of full agreement is that the relation between the two clauses of a conditional sentence (of this type) must be a relationship of cause and effect, e.g. *ƙiftaƙ Sunbuura lmaaf yanhamir maaƙuh* (Turn the tap on, (then) its water will run out).

The final restriction, about which there is disagreement, is that the first structural component of the eight sentence types recognized should be substitutable without change in the cognitive content of the sentence by the particle *ƙin* + the non-past tense of the verb of the first clause. In addition to this substitution, as far as the prohibition type is concerned, the insertion of the negative *laa* (not) is required. However, no difference of meaning should be involved between the sentence with *laa* and that with *ƙin*. Thus, to take the sentence:

(1) Quran, part 27, verse 12.

laa tuSaafiḥi lmariiDa taslam (Do not shake hands with a sick person (masculine singular), (then) you will be safe), if we substitute ḥin for laa before the non-past form tuSaafiḥ (you shake hands with) and thereafter insert the negative particle laa (not) between the non-past form and ḥin, the meaning will remain the same. There is, therefore, no difference recognisable between:

- (i) laa tuSaafiḥi lmariiDa taslam, and
- (ii) ḥillaa (< ḥin laa) tuSaafiḥi lmariiDa taslam.

According to these conditions, the following sentences are said to be ungrammatical:

- (1) *laa (negative laa) yuḥḍanu lahum yaḡtaḍiruu (with the verb yaḡtaḍiruu in the jussive mood) (They will not be permitted (to speak), (and then) they (will) utter pleas (ask forgiveness)).
- (2) *hab līi min ladunka waliyyan yariḥnīi (with the verb yariḥ in the jussive mood) ((O God) give me an inheritor as from yourself, (then) he (i.e. who) inherit from me).
- (3) *laa taḡtarīb mina nnaari taḡtariq (Do not go near the fire or you will burn yourself).

The above examples are said to be unacceptable,⁽¹⁾

(1) Cf. Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, pp.50-1; and al-Kanḡharāwī (1950), p.120.

as not satisfying the grammarians' restrictions for the following reasons; in sentence (1), the initial clause (laa yufḥanu lahum) does not contain any of the aforementioned eight types of sentence (imperative, prohibition, etc. ...), it starts, instead, with the negative laa; in sentence (2) the relationship between the first clause hab lii (give me) and the second clause yariḥnii ((he) inherits from me) is not that of cause and effect (the second clause yariḥnii is, in fact, in (relative) adjectival relation to the object of the verb hab in the first clause, i.e. yariḥnii qualifies waliyyan (heir or inheritor); and finally, in sentence (3), although the first clause laa taqtarib mina nnaari (do not go near the fire) expresses a prohibition, the insertion of the compound article ṣillaa (< ṣin + negative laa) in place of the prohibitive laa is not possible without change of the cognitive content of the sentence. The meaning in sentence (3) with ṣillaa (if not) will be "If you do not go near the fire, (then) you will burn yourself", which is logically untenable since the cause of burning is not departing from the fire but approaching it.

Al-Kisā'ī⁽¹⁾ (d. 183 A.H. = 799 A.D.) represents the grammarians who opine that the last of the three restrictions is not valid, for it is violated by the

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306), vol. 2, pp.265-80; al-Ṣabbān (1358), vol. 3, pp.309-15 and al-Ḳanḡharawī (1950), p.120.

following examples in which the occurrence of *ʕillaa* in place of the prohibitive *laa* changes the meaning, though the verb (in the main clause) is in the jussive mood, which indicates that conditionality is involved. The examples which Al-Kisā'ī gives to justify his view are:

(1) *man ʕakala min haaḏihi ʕʕajarati laa yaqrab masjidanaa yuʕḏinaa bi raafihati ʕḏawm* (Whoever eats from this tree (i.e. the garlic plant) should not come near our mosque (i.e. any mosque) (for if he does) he will irritate us).

(2) *laa tamnun tastakḏir⁽¹⁾* (Do not remind others of your generosity, (for if you do) you (will) increase (your enemies)).

(3) *laa tuʕrif yuḤibka sahm* ((O prophet) do not look down from a conspicuous position (for if you do) an arrow may pierce you).

In these examples, we have the case in which the substitutability that is said to be required for this type of conditional sentence (a prohibitive non-particle conditional sentence) will result not only in changing the cognitive content of these sentences but also in producing an illogical proposition, although the Classical Arabic sentences produced are perfectly acceptable. The implication is that the necessity of

(1) Quran, part 74, verse 6.

substituting prohibitive *laa* by *fin* + negative *laa* + non-past tense, as a condition of acceptance among non-particle conditional sentences, is to be ruled out on the above counter-evidence.

Two remarks should be made:

(1) the grammarians who disagree with Al-Kisā'ī's view (mainly those of Al-BaṢrah school in general) ⁽¹⁾ analyze al-Kisā'ī's examples differently. They assume that the verbs yuṣḏinaa (irritate us) and tastakθir (to increase) in the second clause of (1) and (2) respectively do not constitute the apodasis of the first clause but syndetic explicative verbs for yaqrab (to come near) and tamnun (to remind proudly) respectively, though the grammarians opposed to Al-Kisā'ī's view can not interpret the last of the three examples (*laa tuḡrif yuṢibka sahm*) in the same way.

(2) The second remark is that this type of conditional sentence (i.e. non-particle conditional sentences) permits only one order, in which the conditioning clause (protasis) comes first and the conditioned clause (apodasis) second.

2.6 The syntactic functions of a conditional sentence

Several different grammatical functions have been

(1) See; al-Istrābādhi (1306), vol. 2, pp.265-80; al-Ṣabbān(1358), vol. 3, pp.309-15; and al-Ḳanḡharāwī (1950), p.120.

recognized by Arab grammarians for a particle-conditional sentence. These include:

(1) that of being Sifah (epithet: descriptive or qualificative sentence), e.g.

wa fīnnii ladaaḡin daḡwatan law daḡawtuhaa ḡalaa jabali rrayyaani lanqaDDa jaanibuh (And indeed, I am calling out in such a way that, if I had thus invoked the mountain of al-Rayyaan, it would surely have collapsed). The conditional sentence law daḡawtuhaa ḡalaa jabali rrayyaani lanqaDDa jaanibuh qualifies the noun daḡwatan (a call) which is the cognate object of the active participle daaḡin (calling).

(2) that of being jumlatu waSl (a conjunctive sentence) which include:

(a) that of being Silah (a relative clause), e.g. fīnnama lmuḡminuuna llaḏiina fīḏaa ḏukira llaahu wajilat quluubuhum⁽¹⁾ (Indeed, believers are those who, if God is mentioned, feel a tremor in their hearts). The conditional sentence fīḏaa ḏukira llaahu wajilat quluubuhum qualifies the noun falmuḡminuun (the believers); and

(b) that of being ḡaal (denotative of state or circumstance), e.g.

yaa fayyuha llaḏiina faamanuu, maalakum, fīḏaa qiila

(1) Quran, part 8, verse 2.

lakumu nfiruu fii sabiili llaahi ̸̸aaqaltum ̸ila
l̸arD⁽¹⁾ (O you who believe! what is the matter
with you, (that) when (= if) you are asked to go forth
in the cause of God, you cling heavily to the earth).
The conditional sentence ̸i̸aa qiila lakumu nfiruu fii
sabiili llaahi ̸̸aaqaltum ̸ila l̸arDi is describing
the state of the subject (that is the believers).

(3) that of being xabar (a predicate) of either

(a) ̸almubtada̸ (the inchoative element), e.g.

faddaaru ̸in tun̸ihim ̸annii fa ̸inna lahum wuddii
wa naSrii (For their abode, if it is remote from me,
surely they would have my affection and support), or

(b) the so-called ̸inna and its 'sisters', or kaana
and its 'sisters'; e.g.

̸inna:

fa ̸inna ̸iraaran ̸in yakun ̸ayra waaDi̸in fa
̸innii ̸u̸ibbu l̸awna ̸almankibi l̸amam (And indeed
(my son) ̸iraar if he is (a) difficult (person) to
comprehend, I for my part like the dark cloud (i.e.
I like mysterious things)). The conditional sentence
̸in yakun ̸ayra waaDi̸in fa ̸innii ̸u̸ibbu l̸awna
̸a l̸ankibi l̸amam is realized as xabar (a predicate)
of ̸inna + ̸iraaran (the subject of '̸inna'-
sentence).

(1) ibid, part 9, verse 38.

kaana:⁽¹⁾

kaana ṣaslaafunaa ṣin baalayuu balayuu (Our predecessors were (such that) if they exerted themselves to attain (an object), they attained (it)). The conditional sentence ṣin baalayuu balayuu is analysed as xabar (a predicate) of kaana + ṣaslaafunaa (the subject of 'kaana'-sentence).

(1) See for kaana and the so-called its 'sisters' the following: al-Istrābadhī (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.35 and 290; AbūḤayyān (1328 A.H.), vol. 5, p.109; al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, pp.251-52, vol. 2, pp.160, 166, 184 and 185, and vol. 3, p.6; Ibn Mālik (1968), pp.52-4; Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, pp.89-111; and al-Kanḡharāwī (1950), pp.132-36.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

The Syntax of Classical Arabic

Conditional Sentences

3.0 The components of a conditional sentence

Syntactically speaking, conditional sentences, as we have seen in the second chapter, are of two types:

(1) The particle-conditional type (that is sentences containing conditional particles). This type consists of three components:

- (a) *ʕadaatu ʕarT* (a conditional particle),
- (b) *jumlatu ʕarT* (a conditioning clause or protasis),
and
- (c) *jumlatu jawaabi ʕarT* (a conditioned clause or apodasis).

Thus,

<u>particle</u>	<u>conditioning clause</u>	<u>conditioned clause</u>
<i>ʕin</i>	<i>tunSifuunaa ʕaala marwaana</i>	<i>naqtarib minkum</i>
(If	you do us justice, (O) family of Merwan,	we will draw near to you).

(2) The non-particle conditional type (that is conditional sentences without conditional particles).

By definition, this type consists of two components:

- (a) *Talab* (request) (= conditioning clause or protasis),
and
- (b) *jawaabu Talab* (lit. an answer to a request)
(= conditioned clause or apodasis).

e.g.

<u>Talab</u>	<u>jawaabu Talab</u>
taḡaala maḡii	tara maa yasurruka
(Come with me (= if you come with me)	you will see what pleases you).

Since the syntactic restrictions and functions of the 'non-particle' conditional type have already been given in Chapter 2, I shall concentrate here on the syntactic analysis of the components of 'particle'-conditional sentences.

3.1.0 ṡalfadaah (the particle)

The term ṡadaah⁽¹⁾ (particle) is used rather vaguely in Classical Arabic grammar and based on no clear criteria, for it is intended to contrast with both the noun-class (that is, the class which, in the classification of Classical Arabic word-classes, includes pronoun, adjective, adverb, and even participles) and the verb-class. Yet it embraces items which are regarded elsewhere in the grammar as nouns; for example,

- (1) ṡismu lmawSuul (a relative pronoun), e.g.
man (... who ...) and maa (... which ...),

(1) For the ṡadaah or ḡarf See - Sībawayh (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, p.2; al-Zajjājī (1959), p.54; al-Suyūṡī (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.6-8; El-Saaran (1951), pp.1-14; al-Makhzūmī (1958), pp.310, 232-33; and Hassān (1973), pp.15-16.

- (2) *ʕismu listifhaam* (an interrogative pronoun),
e.g. *ʕayy* (which ?),
- (3) *Zarfu zzamaan* (an adverb of time), e.g.
ʕiḏaa (when), and
- (4) *Zarfu lmakaan* (an adverb of place), e.g.
ʕayna (where). (Examples and the criteria used
for identifying one function to the exclusion of others,
as well as the differences between apparently similar
or identical types will be given in detail later in
this chapter). Under the term *ʕadaah*, the grammarians
include a considerable number of different word-
classes although not necessarily conditional particles;
for example, the verbs *ḥaaʕaa*⁽¹⁾ (to be excepted),
xalaa⁽²⁾ (to be free from), *ḡadaa*⁽³⁾ (to go beyond),
and the negative copula *laysa*⁽⁴⁾ ((he) is not) have
been recognized as 'exceptive' particles. In addition
to this, we find that, in Classical Arabic grammar,
the term *ʕadaah* includes:

- (1) the following verbal clauses⁽⁵⁾: *maa ḥaaʕaa*
(except), *maa xalaa* (what is free from), *maa ḡadaa*
(what goes beyond), and *laa yakuun* (not to be).

(1) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.122.

(2) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.133-4.

(3) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.142.

(4) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.293-6.

(5) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.121-2, 133-4, 139-40, 142,
213-14, 293-4, 314 and vol. 2, p.563.

(2) the construction, wa laa siyyamaa⁽¹⁾ (above all, especially, particularly; lit. "and there is not the equal or like of -".), which consists of (a) laa, which the grammarians call laa nnaafiyatu li ljins (the laa that denies the whole genus) or laa ttabrifah (the laa that denies absolutely), (b) siyya (an equal), and (c) maa which is regarded as redundant.

These items and classes, and indeed others, have been recognized as ṣadawaat (specifically ṣadawaatu stiṯnaaf (exceptive particles)). By and large, ṣalṣadawaat (the particles), in Classical Arabic grammar, have been classified into four groups:⁽²⁾

(1) ṣadawaatu nnaql (the transformative particles) - that is, particles which transform a sentence, say, from being a positive statement, e.g.

jaafa ḡaliyyun (Ali came) to a negative one e.g. maa jaafa ḡaliyyun (Ali did not come).

(2) ṣadawaatu ttaṣkiid (the assertive or intensifying particles) - that is, particles which strengthen the cognitive content of a sentence e.g. ṣinna in

ṣinna ḡaliyyan qaadim (Indeed, Ali is coming).

(3) ṣadawaatu ttanbih (the premonitory particles) - that is, particles which orient an addressee in

(1) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.139-40, and pp.213-14.

(2) *al-Suyūṯī* (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.14-15.

relation to the speaker, e.g. haa as initial component of the demonstrative pronouns haaḏaa (this), haaḥulaaf (those), etc.

(4) ḥadawaatu rrabT (the connective particles) - that is, particles which conjoin words, clauses, or sentences, e.g.

(a) ḥadawaatu lḡaTf (the copulative particles), for instance wa in

(i) jaafa ḡaliyyun wa muḥammadun (Ali and Muhammad came), and

(ii) jaafa ḡaliyyun wa ḏahaba muḥammadun (Ali came and Muhammad went).

(b) ḥadawaatu ḥḥarT (the conditional particles), e.g. ḥin in

ḥin zurtanii ḥazurka (If you visit me, I will visit you).

In the next section, my concern shall be (1) to list those particles regarded by the grammarians as conditionals, together with examples of their use; and (2) to discuss the criteria used for classifying these particles.

3.1.1 The conditional particles

The following list contains 17 particles, some of which are not, however, really conditionals.⁽¹⁾

This number might be increased by adding the particle *maa* as a suffix to the first six particles (that is, *ʕin*, *ʕiḏaa*, *mataa*, *ʕayy*, *ʕayyaana* and *ʕayna*), and also by adding *laa* or *maa* after *law* to form the particles: *lawlaa* and *lawmaa* respectively. It could even be increased further (a) by adding the negative particles ⁽¹⁾, or (b) by what I call resuming-'fa' and 'wa'. ⁽²⁾

The 17 particles in question are as follows:

(1) ʕin (if), e.g.

ʕin ʕaḥadun mina lmuʕrikiina stajaaraka fa
ʕajirh ⁽³⁾

(If any one of the polytheists asks protection of you, (then) grant it to him).

(2) ʕiḏaa (if), e.g.

wa nnafsu raayibatun ʕiḏaa rayyabtahaa wa ʕiḏaa
turaddu ʕilaa qaliilin taqnaʕu ⁽⁴⁾

(The soul desires much, if you give it what it wishes, and if it is reduced to little, (then) it is content).

(3) mataa (when, whenever (= if)), e.g.

mataa taʕtihi taʕʕuu ʕilaa Dawʕi naarihi tajid
xayra naarin ʕindahaa xayru muuqidi ⁽⁵⁾

(When (= if) you come to him making for the

(1) For examples *ʕin* + *lam* and *ʕin* + *laa*.
(2) See pp. 198-9 and 211.
(3) Quran, part 9, verse 6.
(4) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.93.
(5) Ibn Ya'ish, vol. 7, p.45.

light of his fire, you will find the best of fires, beside which is the best of kindlers).

- (4) Ṣayy (whoever, whatever (= if)), e.g.

Ṣayyu mriṣin saawaa bi Ṣummin ḥaliilatan fa laa ḡaaḡa Ṣillaa fii Danan wa hawaani

(Whoever (= if any one) puts his wife on a level with his mother, may he live only in difficulties and humiliation).

- (5) Ṣayyaana⁽¹⁾ (when, whenever (= if)), e.g.

Ṣayyaana nuṢminka taṢman ḡayranaa

(When (= if) we grant you security, (then) you are secure from all others but us).

- (6) Ṣayna (where, wherever (= if)), e.g.

Ṣayna taḥḥab Ṣaḥḥab

(Wherever you go (= if you go anywhere), (then) I will go).

- (7) Ṣannaa⁽²⁾ (in whatever way, however (= if)), e.g.

xaliilayya Ṣannaa taṢtiyaaniya taṢtiyaa Ṣaxan ḡayra maa yurDiikumaa laa yuḥaawilu

(My two friends, however you come to me (= if you come to me in whatever way), (then) you will come to a brother who will never do anything but what pleases you).

- (8) ḥayṠumaa (whenever, wherever (= if)), e.g.

(1) al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.116.

(2) Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, p.45.

ḥayṯumaa tastaqim yuqaddir laka llaahu najaaḥan
fii yaabiri lṣazmaani⁽¹⁾

(Wherever (or whenever))= if) you pursue
a right course, (then) God will decree you success
in the time to come).

(9) Ṣiḥmaa (whenever (= if)), e.g.

wa ṣinnaka Ṣiḥmaa taṣti maa ṣanta ṣaamirun
bihi tulfi man Ṣiyyaahu taṣmuru ṣaatiyaa⁽²⁾

(And whenever (= if) you do what you order
(others to do), (then) you will find whoever you
ordered will do it).

(10) mahmaa (whatever (= if)), e.g.

mahmaa taṣtinaa bihi min ṣaayatin li taṣḥaranaa
bihaa fa maa naḥnu laka bi muṣminiin⁽³⁾

(Whatever be the instruments you bring to work
with your sorcery on us, we shall never
believe in you).

(11) man (who, whoever (= if anyone)), e.g.

man yaḡmal ḥaalika ḡudwaanān wa Zulman fa sawfa
nuṢliihi naaraa⁽⁴⁾

(Whoever (= if any one) does this maliciously
and wrongly, (then) we will burn him with
hell-fire).

(1) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.133; Cf. al-Istrābādhi
(1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.114.

(2) al-Ṣabbān (1358), vol. 4, p.11 and Ibn 'Aqīl
(1947), vol. 2, p.367.

(3) Quran, part 7, verse 132.

(4) ibid, part 4, verse 30.

- (12) maa (what, whatever (= if any)), e.g.
maa tuqaddimuu li fanfusikum min xayrin
tajiduuh⁽¹⁾
(Whatever (= if any) good you bring to your
souls, (then) you will find it).
- (13) law (if), e.g.
law kaana fiihimaa faalihatum filla llaahu la
fasadataa⁽²⁾
(If there had been in the two of them (i.e. in
heaven and earth) gods besides God, they would
surely have gone to ruin).
- (14) kullamaa (as often as, whenever (= if)), e.g.
kullamaa qultu mataa miigaadunaa Daḥikat hindu
wa qaalat baḡda yad⁽³⁾
(Whenever (= if) I said "When shall be our
tryst?", Hind would laugh and say "After
tomorrow"!).
- (15) kayfamaa⁽⁴⁾ (in whatever way (= if)), e.g.
kayfamaa tatawajjah tuSaadif xayraa
(In whatever way you set out (= if you set out,
in whatever way), (then) you will meet with
good fortune).
- (16) lammaa (when (= if)), e.g.
lammaa falqaw saḥaruu faḡyuna nnaas⁽⁵⁾

(1) *ibid*, part 2, verse 110.

(2) *ibid*, part 21, verse 22.

(3) *al-Istrābādhi* (1306, A.H.), vol. 2, pp.114,127 and 225.

(4) *al-Kanḡharāwī* (1950), p.109.

(5) *Quran*, part 7, verse 116.

(When (= if) they (the sorcerers) threw, they bewitched the eyes of the people).

- (17) ṣammaa⁽¹⁾ (as for, as regards), e.g.

ṣamma ssafiinatu fa kaanat li masaakiina
yaḡmaluuna fi lbaḥr⁽²⁾

(As for the ship, it belonged to poor men who worked on the sea).

Some of the above particles are optionally compounded with a suffix maa. These are:

- (1) ṣimmaa (< ṣin + maa) (if), e.g.

ṣimmaa tarayinna mina lbajari ṣaḥadan fa
quulii ṣinnii naḡartu li rraḥmaani Sawmaa⁽³⁾

(And if you see anyone of mankind, say "Verily I have vowed a fast to the God of mercy").

- (2) ṣiḡaamaa⁽⁴⁾ (= ṣiḡaa + maa) (if), e.g.

muluukun wa ṣixwaanun ṣiḡaamaa ṣataytuhum
ṣuḡakkamu fii ṣamwaalihim wa ṣuḡarrabu

(Kings and brothers, whenever (= if) I came to them, I would be given control of their wealth and advanced in favour).

- (3) mataamaa⁽⁵⁾ (= mataa + maa) (if), e.g.

(1) I do not myself recognize ṣammaa as a conditional particle; for details, see p.128.
(2) Quran, part 18, verse 79.
(3) ibid, part 19, verse 26.
(4) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.314, and al-Subkī (1317-1318), p.90.
(5) Ibu Hishām, vol. 1, p.314; and al-Harawī (1971), p.209.

mataamaa yaqul laa yakḥibi lqawla fiḡluhu

(Whenever (= if) he says (i.e. gives a promise)
(then) his behaviour will not belie his words).

(4) ḡayyūmaa⁽¹⁾ (= ḡayyu + maa) (if any one), e.g.

ḡayyūmaa rajulin saḡalaka fa ḡaḡTih

(Whoever (= if any one) asks you, (then)
give to him).

(5) ḡayyaanamaa⁽²⁾ (= ḡayyaana + maa (if at any time),

e.g.

ḡayyaanamaa taḡdil bihi rriḡhu tanzil

(Whenever (= if at any time) the wind turns it
aside, (then) it descends).

(6) ḡaynamaa⁽³⁾ (= ḡayna + maa) (if any where), e.g.

ḡalḡikmatu Daallatu lmuḡmin ḡaynamaa wajadahaa
ḡaxaḡahaa

(Wisdom is the lost property of the believer;
wherever he finds it (= if he finds it anywhere),
he (will) lay(s) hold of it).

I must point out here that, although it is not
my intention to examine, at this stage, the relevance
of these particles to the category 'condition', it
will be found that some of them even fail the
grammarians' test of a conditional sentence.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.314; and al-Subkī (1317-1318),
p.90.

(2) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.314; and al-Subkī (1317-1318),
p.90.

(3) al-Subkī (1317-1318), p.90.

(4) See for details, p.128.

3.1.2 Classification and criteria

The grammarians have used four subdivisions in their classification of conditional particles. These are:

(a) Ṣadawaatun ḡaamilah versus Ṣadawaatun yayru ḡaamilah (governing particles versus non-governing particles). This is a classification according to whether or not the particle has the power of governing the pair of verbs in both correlative clauses of conditional sentences. The grammarians have distinguished between two groups:

- (i) man (who, whoever), maa (what, whatever), mahmaa (whenever), Ṣayna (where, wherever), Ṣaynamaa (wherever), Ṣayyaana (when, whenever), Ṣayyaanamaa (whenever), Ṣannaana (whatever, however), Ṣin (if), Ṣimmaa (if), Ṣayy (whoever, whatever), Ṣayyumaa (whatever), ḡayṢumaa (wherever), and Ṣiḡmaa (wherever).

With these particles the two verbs in the protasis and apodasis are in the jussive mood (i.e. Ṣaljazmu), marked in strong verbs by the absence of a final vowel (sukuun) and in weak verbs by the substitution of a short vowel for the long final vowel of the indicative form (a process termed ḡaḡf (deletion) by the grammarians because of the loss of a final letter in the orthographic form of the word). Examples are:

The strong verb.

In the sentence

ſin tuḏaakir tanjaḥ (If you study, you will
succeed)

the two strong verbs tuḏaakiru (to study) and
tanjaḥu (to succeed) appear in the environment of
the preceding conditional particle (ſin) in the
'apocopated' or jussive forms tuḏaakir and tanjaḥ.

The weak verb

In the sentence

ſin yaḏḡu ſila ntixaabin ḡaammin ſalſaana
yarmi bi ḥukuumatihi ſila lbaḥr wa yasḡa
ſilaa ḥatfihi bi Zilfiḥ (If he calls for a
general election now, he will throw his
government into the sea and will bring about
his own destruction),

the verb forms which elsewhere appear as yaḏḡuu (to
call), yarmi (to throw) and yasḡaa (to move
quickly) become yaḏḡu, yarmi and yasḡa (i.e. with
vocalic shortening).

(ii) law (if), lawſanna (if that), ſiḏaa (if)
kullamaa (as often as, whenever), and lammaa
(when).

In the case of these particles, verbs are not associated
with a particular case-endings.

(b) The second dichotomy is ḥarf versus ḡayru ḥarf (particle versus non-particle). The first includes ṣin, law, and controversially among the grammarians ṣiḥmaa. The second class includes the rest of the 17 particles⁽¹⁾ which the grammarians recognized as conditional markers, regardless of the significant differences that exist between these numerous linguistic devices for expressing conditionality.

(c) The third dichotomy is that drawn between particles in terms of Zarf (adverb of time or place) and ḡayru Zarf (non-adverbs).⁽²⁾ According to this dichotomy ṣiḥaa or ṣiḥaamaa (when, whenever), ṣayna or ṣaynamaa (where, wherever), mataa or mataamaa (when, whenever), ṣayyaana or ṣayyaanamaa (where, wherever), ṣanna (in whatever way, however) and ḡayḡumaa (wherever) are adverbial, while ṣin, maa, mahmaa, kullamaa, kayfamaa, and law are non-adverbial.

(d) A final twofold distinction is made between, on the one hand, the class with which there is no implication about the contingencies characteristic of conditional sentences, which involve rather straightforward assertions, and, on the other hand, the class which has the value of expressing, for instance, unreality of impossibility. These two classes are

(1) See p.82.

(2) Cf. Ṣibawayh (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, pp.431-2.

named mumkin (possible) and mustaḥiil⁽¹⁾ (impossible) respectively. Particles that express the latter (e.g. law) are opposed to those expressing the possibility (e.g. fiḥaa).

The inadequacy of these four contrasts can easily be illustrated. The first dichotomy (that is, governing versus non-governing particles), for example, is confined to the type of conditional sentences which contain in their two clauses, non-past verb forms e.g. tuḥaakir (to study) and tanjaḥ (to succeed) in: fin tuḥaakir tanjaḥ (If you study, (then) you (will) succeed). It therefore ignores other types of conditional sentence, for example:

(1) those conditional sentences which contain past verb forms in both classes, e.g. jaafa (came) and ḥakrama (honoured) in:

fin jaafa ḥaliyyun ḥakramtuh (If Ali comes (lit. came), (then), I (will) honour (lit. honoured) him).

(2) those conditional sentences which contain past verb forms in their protasis and are variously nominal declarative sentences or verbal non-declarative sentences in their apodasis, e.g. jaafa (past verb form; came) and ḥuwa ḥaxii (a nominal declarative

(1) See: al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, p.230: Ibn Mālik (1968), p.93; and al-Subkī (1317-1318), pp.40-41 and pp.69-70.

sentence; he (is) my brother) in the sentence:

ʕin jaaʕa ɣaliyyun fa huwa ʕaxii (If Ali comes (lit. came), (then) he (will be) my brother).

Again, jaaʕa (past verb form; came) and ʕikrimh (a verbal non-declarative sentence; honour him) in the sentence:

ʕin jaaʕa ɣaliyyun fa krimh (If Ali comes (lit. came), (then) honour him).

In addition, this dichotomy completely neglects the semantic aspects expressed by different conditional particles such as definiteness/indefiniteness of time or place,⁽¹⁾ animateness/inanimateness of a subject,⁽²⁾ and fulfilment/non-fulfilment of a proposition.⁽³⁾

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the non-past verb form, preceded by those particles considered by the grammarians as 'governing', can optionally⁽⁴⁾ take

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.116; al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, p.230; al-Subkī, (1317 - 1318), p.90; and Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, p.45.

(2) See: al-Subkī (1317-1318), p.90.

(3) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.) vol.2, pp.108-9; Ibu-Mālik (1968), p.93; al-Qazwīnī (1317-1318), vol.1, pp.38-9; al-Taftāzānī (1317-1318), vol.1, pp.337-8 and 351; al-Subkī (1317-1318), pp.69-70; and al-Banānī (1297), vol. 1, p.339.

(4) See: Ibn al-Anbārī (1913), vol. 2, p.602; al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol.2, p.238; Ibn Hishām, vol.1, p.285 and vol.2, pp.553, 698; and Sībawayh (1316 A.H.), vol.1,

the indicative mood or the apocopate (otherwise, jussive) mood, e.g. *ƣaquumu* or *ƣaqum* ((I) stand (up)) in the sentence:

ƣin qaama ƣaliyyun ƣaquumu (or *ƣaqum*) (If Ali stand (up), (then) I (will) stand (up)).

The second dichotomy (that is, *ƣarf* versus *ƣayru ƣarf*), not only neglects the semantic features of conditional particles, but under the term *ƣayru ƣarf* (non-particle), it includes a hotch-potch of syntactically and/or semantically different items. Among other things, for instance, it embraces:

(1) different types of pronoun, e.g.

(a) interrogative pronouns,

(b) relative pronouns.

(2) different kinds of adverb, e.g.

(a) adverb of time,

(b) adverb of place.

Similar inadequacy on the basis of heterogeneity holds for the third dichotomy of *Zarf* versus *ƣayru Zarf*, which like the previous two dichotomies, is syntactically based. With regard to the semantically based dichotomy (that is, fulfilment versus nonfulfilment) its inadequacy lies, firstly, in the reliance it places on semantic features only, and secondly, on the haphazard and unsystematic use of these semantic features, and thirdly, on the

neglect of the syntactic aspects of conditional particles. Thus the four redivisions or contrasts give rise to different kinds of problem; first, that of over-generalization, by which many important uses of conditional particles are ignored; second, the problems that are caused by the use of exclusively notional criteria of definition; and, third, the problems of overlapping or cross-classification.

3.1.3 Conditional particles and the verb

Before addressing ourselves to the problems of and the arguments concerning the structural relationship between conditional particles and the verb from the Arab grammarians' points of view, it seems essential to outline some of the fundamental rules that the grammarians imposed on the language. They did not, it must be said, devise these rules in conformity with a clearly expressed general theory, or even a limited theory of conditional sentences; consequently, their rules occur in different and mostly unrelated areas of the grammar, so that a given grammarian may skirt the problem, without involving himself in proper and positive linguistic arguments or solutions. The rules in question are:⁽¹⁾

(1) See: Sībawayh (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 457-8; al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.389; Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, p.3; and Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p.581.

(1) that the conditional particles must be followed by an overt or covert verb (with the exception of the possible occurrence of a noun after the particle lawlaa);⁽¹⁾

(2) that in the protasis, a verb must follow the conditional particle without interruption, either overtly or covertly. Thus, in the sentence:

ʕin qaḡadtum ḡani llaʕiimi fa ʕantum jurakaaʕu
llaʕiimi fi lʕaaθaami (If (now) you neglect (to
punish) the wicked one, you will all be partners
of the wicked one in his crimes),

the grammarians assume that there is no possibility of interpolated elements between the particle 'ʕin' and the verb qaḡada. We shall see subsequently that the facts of the language do not justify this assumption;

(3) that in spite of the individual behaviour of the conditional particles, they have in common the fact that they are future markers⁽²⁾ (except in certain occurrences with the auxiliary kaana);⁽³⁾

(4) that the main semantic function of the nominal sentence is to state the durability and permanence of a proposition, while the main semantic function of the

(1) See p.126.

(2) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.231-2; and al-Harawī (1971), p.46.

(3) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.265; al-Taftāzāni (1317-1318), vol. 1, pp.342, 346-7; and al-'Uzzī, p.61.

verbal sentence is to state facts of change or the phasing of action in time as opposed to the concept of permanency;

(5) that in verbal sentences, the grammatical subject (agent) must always follow the verb⁽¹⁾ as in qaama lwaladu (qaama; verb (stood up), lwaladu; subject (the boy)) (The boy stood up). In sentences where the verb is preceded by a noun, e.g.

ʕin ʕaaqilun naSaḥaka stafadta (If a wise (man) advises you, you will benefit),

or a personal pronoun, e.g.

ʕin ʕanta ʕakramta llaʕiima tamarradaa (If you honour an ignoble (man), he rebels),

the noun or pronoun were not, in the grammarians' view, to be analysed grammatically as subject (agent) but as a form of strengthening either the overt formal subject e.g. '—ta' (you, second person singular) in the verb ʕakramta (of the second sentence above) or the covert formal subject whose person, number and gender are indicated by the inflection (i.e. the final '—a' in the verb naSaḥa which is understood to have a covert subject).⁽²⁾

(1) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p.589; and al-Kanḡharāwī (1950), p.18.

(2) Note that the suffixes -tu, -ta, -ti were interpreted as overt pronouns; whereas the inflections -a, -at were interpreted as signs indicating a covert 3rd person singular pronoun.

(6) that under the category of 'strengthening' or 'corroboration', the grammarians recognized two components:

(a) $\text{\textcircled{S}almu\text{\textcircled{S}akkid}$ (the corroborative), and

(b) $\text{\textcircled{S}almu\text{\textcircled{S}akkad}$ (the corroborated). The significance of this is that the structure consisting of corroborated + corroborative has only one possible and acceptable order, in which the corroborated must come first and corroborative second. In a conditional sentence such as

$\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}aa \text{\textcircled{S}anta lam tanfa\text{\textcircled{S}} fa Durr}$ (If you can not benefit, (then) harm),

the grammarians do not recognize the overt separate personal pronoun $\text{\textcircled{S}anta}$ as corroborative of the covert subject in the verb $\text{\textcircled{S}tanfa\text{\textcircled{S}}$ since this would violate the rule of sequence by which the corroborative must be preceded by the corroborated and not the other way round.

We thus have a situation in which the general grammatical rule states that the sequence [conditional particle + verb] is a necessary condition of this kind of conditional structure, in defiance or ignorance of the fact that a wholly acceptable structure is found in both prose and poetry in which a noun, in contrast with the stated rule, appears immediately after a conditional particle, so that the sequence [conditional particle +

noun] is just as grammatical as [conditional particle + verb].

Their regularized grammar was disproved by actual language use in which a noun (i.e. an NP in general) follows a conditional particle, as by such sentences as those containing:

(1) man, e.g.

man naḥnu nuḥminhu yabit wa huwa ḥaaminun

(Whoever we give protection to, (= if we give protection to someone then) he will pass his night without fear).

(2) ḥaynamaa, e.g.

ḥaynama rriḥu tumayyilhaa tamil

(Whenever (= if) the wind bends it, (there) it bends).

(3) mataa, e.g.

mataa waayilun yazurhum yuḥayyuuh

(Whenever (= if) an intruder visits them (unexpectedly), (then) they will greet him).

(4) lawlaa, e.g.

lawla lḡuyuunu llatii taraa ḥataytuka

(Had it not been for the watching eyes (= spies), I would have come).

(5) ḥiḥaa, e.g.

ḥiḥaa ḥanta ḥakramta lkariima malaktahu

(If you honour a noble (man), (then) you own him).

(6) *ʕin, e.g.*

*ʕin ʕanta lam yanfaḡka ʕilmuk fa ntaṣib laḡallaka
taḡdiika lquruunu lfawaafilu*

(If your knowledge does not help you, (then) affiliate yourself to your predecessors so their history might guide you).

In their interpretation of such cases, the Arab grammarians split into two groups:

(1) those taking the view that the NP following a conditional particle should be interpreted as *mubtaḡ*⁽¹⁾ (the subject of a nominal sentence), and

(2) those who held the opinion that the NP should be seen as *faaḡil*⁽²⁾ (agent or subject of a verbal sentence). Within the second group we can identify:

(a) the *Kuufah* school, whose grammarians regard the NP as the subject of a following verb,⁽³⁾ and

(b) the *BaṢrah* school or *ʕaljumhuur* (the majority of the Arab grammarians), who reject the *Kuufah* school's analysis and adopt instead the view that the NP should be regarded as the subject of a preceding covert verb.⁽⁴⁾

(1) See: *al-Istrābādhi* (1306 A.H.), vol. 1, pp.101-3; *Ibn Hishām*, vol. 2, p.581; and *al-Kanḡharāwī* (1950), p.122.

(2) *ibid*, the same references, volumes and pages.

(3) See: *Ibn Madā*['] (1948), p.103; *Ibn Hishām*, vol. 2, pp.379-380; and *al-Kanḡharāwī* (1950), p.18.

(4) See: *Ibn Hishām*, vol. 2, p.581; and *al-Kanḡharāwī* (1950), p.122.

It might be appropriate at this stage to discuss these views in order to show the contradiction within what is an artificially designed grammar, and to explain the causes of the grammarians' theoretical and practical failures as far as the conditional sentence is concerned. I wish to focus attention first on those grammarians who believed that an NP preceded by a conditional particle should be regarded syntactically as the agent (or, as they call it, *faaḡil*; the doer) of a following verb; thus for example, the NP *waayilun* (an intruder) in the sentence:

mataa waayilun yazurhum yuḡayyuuḡ

(Whenever (= if) an intruder visits them (unexpectedly),
(then) they will greet him)

is to be recognized as the *faaḡil* (the subject or agent) of the following overt verb *yazur* (visits). This analysis leads to obvious inconsistency with several rules stated elsewhere in the grammar, and also raises many problems which are not solved by the Classical Arabic grammar as it stands. Among these problems are the following:

(1) The stated necessity of close connection between a conditional particle and verb no longer holds in the case of [conditional particle + NP + VP], where the sequence [conditional particle + VP] is interrupted by an NP, e.g.

ḡin (particle; if) *Sadiiqun* (NP; a friend)

ḡistajaaraka (VP; asks protection of you) ...

(2) Numerous acceptable conditional sentences run counter to the assumption that an NP following a conditional particle should be read as the agent (doer) of a following verb. The following examples, for instance, of a structure

[conditional particle + NP + V + NP (agent)]

prove the point:

(a) $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ in $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ anta lam yanfaḡka ḡilmuka fa n $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ asib
laḡallaka tahdiika lquruunu l $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ awaafilu

(If your knowledge does not help you, (then) affiliate yourself to your predecessors, so that their history may guide you).

(b) $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ iḡa lmar $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ u lam yadnas mina llufmi ḡirDuhu fa
kullu ridaa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ in yartadiihi jamiilu

(When (= if) a man's honour is not defiled by baseness, (then) every cloak he cloaks himself in is splendid).

(c) wa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ in fityatun minhum $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aDallahumu lhawaa fa
hduuhum sawaa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ a ssabiil

(And if some of their youth are misled by heretical tendencies (or sects), (then) guide them to the straight path).

(d) wa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ in juyuuxuni stabadda bihim maa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ alifuuhu
fa taraffaquu bihim $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ilaa ḡiin

(And if old men are led to a dissipated life by what they are accustomed to, (then) treat them gently for the time being).

In these examples the verbs, *yanfaḡ* (to help), *yadnas* (to defile), *ṡaDalla* (misled) and *ṡistabadda* (dissipated) have as their agents, better 'subjects', *ḡilmu* (knowledge), *ḡirDu* (honour), *ṡalhawaa* (heretical tendencies) and *maa* (what ...) respectively. Consequently, the NPs *ṡanta* (you) in (a), *ṡalmarṡu* (lit. a person; one) in (b), *fityatun* (juveniles) in (c), and *ṡuyuuxun* (old men) in (d) should not be recognized as *faaḡil* (agent) of the verbs following the conditional particles (*ṡin*, *ṡiḡaa*, etc.) since the aforementioned verbs precede their formal agent. The question that remains concerns the appropriate linguistic analysis for NP¹ in the following formula:

$$\text{Conditional particle} + \text{NP}^1 = \begin{pmatrix} (& \text{N} &) \\ (& &) \\ (& &) \\ (& &) \\ (\text{pronoun}) & & \end{pmatrix} + \text{V} + \text{NP}^2 = \begin{pmatrix} (& \text{N} &) \\ (& &) \\ (& &) \\ (& &) \\ (& \emptyset &) \end{pmatrix} = (\text{pronoun}) \dots$$

Exx

1: (a) NP¹ (= N) + V + NP² (= N; agent) ... e.g.

ṡin (conditional particle) *fityatun* (NP¹ = N)
ṡaDalla (V) *ṡalhawaa* (NP² = N; agent) *sabiilahum*
fahduuhum sawaaṡa ssabiil (If young people are
 misled by heretical tendencies, (then) guide them
 to the straight path).

1: (b) NP¹ (= N) + V + NP² (= pronoun; agent) ... e.g.

Ɔin (conditional particle) Ɔuyuuxun (NP¹ = N)
Ɔistabadda (V) maa (NP² = pronoun; agent)
Ɔalifuuhu bihim fa taraffaquu bihim Ɔilaa Ɔiin
(If old men are led to a dissipated life by
what they are accustomed to, (then) treat them
gently).

1: (c) NP¹ (= N + adjective) + V + NP² (= ∅; agent) .. e.g.

Ɔiɗaa (conditional particle) Ɔalmaliku (NP¹ = N)
Ɔaljabbaaru (adjective) Saɗɗara (V) (past indicating
covert 3rd person singular subject) xaddahu (object)
maɗaynaa Ɔilayhi bi ssuyuufi nuqaatiluh
(If a tyrant king puts on a contemptuous mien, (then)
we will march on him, with swords).

2: (a) NP¹ (= pronoun) + V + NP² (= N; agent) ... e.g.

Ɔin (conditional particle) Ɔanta (NP¹ = pronoun)
lam yanfaɗka (negative particle + V + object)
ɗilmuka (NP² = N; agent) fa nɗasib laɗallaka
tahdiika lquruunu lɗawaaɗilu (If your knowledge
does not help you, (then) affiliate yourself to
your predecessors, so that their history may
guide you).

2: (b) NP¹ (= pronoun) + V + NP² (= pronoun; agent) .. e.g.

Ɔin (conditional particle) Ɔanta (NP¹ = pronoun)
Ɔakram (V) ta (NP² = pronoun; agent)⁽¹⁾ Ɔallaɗiima
tamarradaa (If you honour an ignoble (man), (then)
he rebels).

(1) See p. 96.

2: (c) NP¹ (= pronoun) + V + NP² (= ∅; agent) ... e.g.

man (conditional particle) nahnu (NP¹ = pronoun)
mufmin (V) hu (object) yabit wa huwa saaminun
(Whomever (= if) we give protection to, (then) he
will pass his night without fear).

Now, to return to the earlier question of the appropriate analysis of the NP¹ (that is, an NP occurring after a conditional particle), is it to be considered as corroborative in the sense of strengthening the agent? Although this may be acceptable in the case of examples at (2 : b) and (2 : c), in which the pronoun and the agent are co-referential, it is contrary to the rule stated elsewhere in the grammar that the corroborative must not precede the corroborated even with examples such as (2 : c) in which the agent is contained within the form of the verb. All this conduces to the view that the grammarians' assumption that a conditional particle develops its own kinds of syntactic connection with a verb is defective and greatly over-generalized. It is easily disproved and therefore unacceptable.

Let us turn now to the interpretation of the NP preceded by a conditional particle as mubtadaʿ (the subject of the nominal sentence). Judging the Classical Arab grammarians on their rules, not to mention the facts of the language, one cannot but conclude that

this interpretation is as disprovable, and incompatible with rules elsewhere in the grammar, as the previous claim.⁽¹⁾ To support this criticism one need mention only some of the problems which arise:

- (1) The interruption of the assumed normal sequence [conditional particle + verb].
- (2) The confusion of the semantic function of the assumed nominal sentence⁽²⁾ of which its subject is the NP¹ occurring after a conditional particle, with the semantic function of a required verbal sentence.⁽³⁾

Having stated that both sequences, [conditional particle + verb] and [conditional particle + noun] are structurally acceptable in Classical Arabic, it is pertinent to point out here that the occurrence of an NP after a conditional particle is both grammatical and acceptable in all Semitic languages.⁽⁴⁾ As far as Arabic is concerned, the relationship between a conditional particle and an accompanying noun or verb, has to be explained in terms of syntactico-semantic criteria of a distributional kind.⁽⁵⁾

3.1.4 Conditional particles and tense marking

This section is concerned with, first, a general

(1) See p.100.

(2) See p.95.

(3) See p.95.

(4) Bergstraesser (1929), p.134.

(5) See Chapter 4.

analysis of the category of tense in Classical Arabic grammar, and, second, a discussion of the opinions which the Arab grammarians hold concerning conditional particles as future markers. These two points will be dealt with under (1) time reference in general and (2) relevance to conditionality.

(1) Time reference in general

Classical Arabic has different though complementary ways by which time reference is made. These ways are:

(a) The tense form⁽¹⁾ in which the verb appears, e.g. faḡala (past) as in kataba (wrote) differs from yafḡalu (non-past) as in yaktubu (writes).

(b) The particle which accompanies the verb,⁽²⁾ for example among negative particles, lam (as in lam yaktub, ((He) did not write)) is, from a temporal standpoint, differently interpretable from lan (as in lan yaktuba, ((He) will not write)), and both from laa (as in laa yaktubu, ((He) is not writing/will not write)).

(c) The clause in which the verb occurs.⁽³⁾ Some of these clauses are:

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 1, p.5 and pp.11-12 and vol.2, pp.223-6; al-Zajjāji (1959), pp.52-3; Ibn Ya'īsi vol.7, p.3; al-Suyūti (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, p.9; al-Sāmarā'i (1966), pp.18-19; and al-Makhzūmi (1964), p.163.

(2) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol.2, pp.116, 225, 231-2; Ibn Mālik (1968), pp.4-6; al-Suyūti (1316 A.H.), vol.2, p.122; and al-'Uzzī, pp.61, 121.

(3) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.225-32; and Ibn Mālik (1968), pp.4-6.

(i) a relative clause, e.g. balaya in the sentence:

Ɔuuɟiya Ɔilayya haaɗa lqurɟaanu li Ɔunɗirakum
bihi wa man balaya⁽¹⁾ (This Quran has been
revealed to me (the prophet Muhammad) by inspiration,
that I may warn you and all whom it reaches).

(ii) an adjectival relative clause in which the verb
qualifies the preceding noun, e.g. yuɗkaru in the
sentence:

wa lawlaa dafɟu llaahi nnaasa baɟDahum bi baɟDin
lahuddimat Sawaamiɟu wa biyaɟun wa Salawaatun wa
masaajidu yuɗkaru fiiha smu llaahi kaθiiraa⁽²⁾
(Had God not checked one set of people by means of
another, there would surely have been pulled down
monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques in
which the name of God is commemorated in abundant
measure).

(iii) The occurrence of the verb in the 'alternative'
structure marked by Ɔam ('whether ... or ...'),⁽³⁾ e.g.
jaziɟa Ɔam Sabara in the sentence:

sawaafun ɟalaynaa Ɔa jaziɟnaa Ɔam Sabarnaa
(It is all the same to us, (whether) we bear
our torments impatiently or with patience).

(1) Quran, part 6, verse 19.

(2) *ibid*, part 22, verse 40; and part 2, verse 251.

(3) See: *al-Istrābādhi* (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.225;
and Ibn Malik (1968), p.6.

The verbs *balaya*, *yuḥkaru* and *jaziḡa* *ṡam Sabara*, which function respectively as part of a relative clause, an adjectival relative clause, or alternative clause, have been neutralized as far as the time reference of the tense form is concerned.

(d) The temporal adverbs with which the verb occurs. Consider, for example, the following two groups of sentences:

Group One:

(i) *ṡallaahu yaḥkumu baynahum yawma lqiyaamah*⁽¹⁾

(God will judge between them on the day of judgement).

(ii) *yawma lqiyaamati yuradduuna ṡilaa ṡaṡaddi lḡaḡaab*⁽²⁾

(On the day of judgment they shall be punished to the most grievous penalty).

Group Two:

(i) *ṡalyawma yaṡisa llaḡiina kafaruu min diinikum*⁽³⁾

(This day (or at this time), those who reject faith have given up all hope of your religion).

(ii) *ṡalṡaana ḡaṡḡaṡa lḡaḡqu*⁽⁴⁾

(Now is the truth manifest)

In group one, the verbs: *yaḥkumu* (judges) and *yuraddu* (be consigned) have future reference as a

(1) Quran, part 2, verse 113.

(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 85.

(3) *ibid*, part 5, verse 3; See also Ibn Manṡūr (1955-6), vol. 12, p.650.

(4) *ibid*, part 12, verse 51.

result of association with the future temporal adverb yawma lqiyamah (the Day of Judgement). In group two, the verbs: yafisa (gave up) and ḥaṣḥaṣa (became clear), which are elsewhere of past time reference, indicate present time by virtue of co-occurring with the present temporal adverbs ṣalyawma and ṣalṣaana (now, at this moment).

(e) Finally, and very importantly, the effect of the presuppositional context has to be considered. For example, the past form ṣawrada (brought to) in the sentence:

ṣawradahumu nnaara ((Pharaoh) will bring them (his people) into the fire)

indicates future time rather than past, notwithstanding the form of the verb, since the proposition concerns the Day of Judgement. Another example is the verb ḡallama (taught) in the sentence:

Ṣallama lṣinsaana maa lam yaḡlam ((God) teaches us new knowledge at every given moment (lit. God taught man that which he did not know)).

In such a sentence the past tense form has nothing to do with past time reference or indeed any other time reference; and is appropriately called 'timeless'. It is noteworthy that the past form ḡallama here maybe replaced by the non-past form yuḡallimu (teaches) without change of meaning. Such timeless sentences are

typical in the religious context, and are also found in proverbs, sayings, etc.

Although discussion of what the Arab grammarians have said ^oabout these means of the category of tense in Classical Arabic is beyond the focus of this study, an outline of the opinions which the Arab grammarians hold concerning conditional particles as future markers is pertinent.

(2) Relevance to conditionality

One of many confusions and contradictions that have accompanied the treatment of conditional sentences, and indeed the treatment of other types of sentence by Arab grammarians, is the relationship between conditional particles and the category of tense. A thorough examination of what has been said and too often taken for granted over the centuries shows that on this subject the grammarians fall into two groups:

(a) On the one hand, there are those who repeatedly emphasized that one of the most noticeable functions of conditional particles (in Classical Arabic) is to cause tense-shifting. The past form which expresses past time reference has, from this group's point of view, to be interpreted as referring to future time after a conditional particle.⁽¹⁾ This shifting from past to

(1) See: al-Istrābādihī (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.114, 231-33; al-Suyūtī (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, p.122; Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, p.3; Ibn Mālik (1968), p.5; al-Harawī (1971), p.46; and al-Subkī (1317-1318), pp.69-70 and 90.

non-past (specifically future) reference is held to derive from the influence of conditional particles. These grammarians, however, agree to exclude the particle law from the particles causing such shifting, simply because law causes shifting in the other direction,⁽¹⁾ that is, from non-past to past, as in

law $\text{\$antum}$ tamlikuuna xazaafina raḥmati rabbii $\text{\$iḏan}$
la $\text{\$amsaktum}$ xaḥyata l $\text{\$infaaq}$ ⁽²⁾ (If you had controlled
(lit. control) the treasures of the mercy of my Lord,
then you would have kept them back, for fear of
spending them). In such a sentence the present verb
form (tamliku; to control) is to be interpreted as a
past verb form (malaka).

(b) On the other hand, there are those holding the opinion that conditional particles relate to many semantic areas other than the temporal. For them, the presence of a conditional particle involves such varied features as doubt versus certainty, as for example, in the difference between the sentence.

$\text{\$in}$ jaafa (past) ḡaliyyun yaḏan $\text{\$uSaafiḥh}$ (non-past)
(If Ali comes (lit. came) tomorrow, I (will) shake
hands with him (but I do not think he will))

and the sentence $\text{\$iḏaa}$ yaḗabati (past) $\text{\$amsu}$ yaḏan
 $\text{\$azuuruka}$ (non-past) (If the sun sets (lit. sat)
tomorrow, I (will) visit you (and it certainly will)).

The proposition conveyed by the 'if'-clause is doubtful

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.232,387 and 389
(2) Quran, part 17, verse 100.

in the first sentence while it is certain in the second. It is noteworthy that, from those grammarians' point of view, substitutability between the particles $\text{\u0641}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0646}$ and $\text{\u0641}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0630}$ is not acceptable. Another semantic contrast which the presence of a conditional particle involves is that between the feature $\text{\u0630}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0642}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0644}$ (lit. one who has intelligence; 'human') and the feature $\text{\u064a}\text{\u064a}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0642}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0644}$ (lit. an entity without intelligence; 'non-human'). This is illustrated by the difference between the 'themes', in the following two sentences:

(i) man $\text{\u064a}\text{\u0648}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0642}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0644}$ $\text{\u064a}\text{\u0646}\text{\u062c}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0647}$ (Whoever (= if any one) studies, he will pass), and

(ii) maa $\text{\u062a}\text{\u0648}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0642}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0644}$ $\text{\u064a}\text{\u0641}\text{\u0647}\text{\u0645}\text{\u0647}$ $\text{\u0628}\text{\u064a}$ $\text{\u064a}\text{\u062f}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0643}\text{\u0627}$ $\text{\u0641}\text{\u064a}$ $\text{\u0646}\text{\u0646}\text{\u0627}\text{\u062c}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0647}$
(Whatever you study, it will help you to pass).

In the first case the 'theme' is $\text{\u0630}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0627}\text{\u0642}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0644}$ and in the second $\text{\u064a}\text{\u064a}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0642}\text{\u064a}\text{\u0644}$. Substitutability between man and maa is here unacceptable.⁽¹⁾ (These features and others will be specified and further exemplified in Chapter 4. Grammarians of this persuasion, apart from their uncertainty and a lack of detailed understanding of

(1) Concerning those grammarians and their views see the following:
Al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.108-9, 114, 225, and pp.231-32; Ibn Khālawayh (1941), p.216; Ibn Mālik (1968), p.93; al-Qazwīnī (1317-1318), pp.38-9; al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, p.293 and vol. 2, p.230; al-Taftāzānī (1317-1318), vol. 1, pp. 334-38, 351 and 355; al-Banānī (1297), vol. 1, p.339; al-'Uzzī, p.122; al-Subkī (1317-1318), pp.40-41, 69-70 and 90; and Bergstraesser (1929), p.135.

the linguistic functions properly attached to conditional particles, were certainly moving in the right direction.

Two points may be added briefly here, one is that sentences which refer to past time can be introduced by conditional particles, e.g.

Ɔin kaana qudda (if (it) was torn) in the sentence:
Ɔin kaana qamiisuhu qudda min qubulin fa Sadaqat wa huwa mina lkaađibiin⁽¹⁾ (If his shirt (i.e. Joseph's shirt) was torn from the front, (then) she (i.e. Zulayxaa) told the truth and he is a liar).

The second point is that a conditional particle can occur with a temporal adverb (Zarf) which refers to present time, e.g.

Ɔalyawm (today) in the sentence):

fa man lam yamut fi lyawmi laa Ɔakka Ɔannahu sa yađluquhu Ɔablu lmaniyati fi lyadi (Whoever (= if anyone) does not die today (at this moment, now), (then) the snare of death will certainly trap him tomorrow).

3.1.5 The functional multiplicity of conditional particles, and the criteria used for identifying conditionality among these functions

Whether the problem of identical forms is a matter of polysemy, that is one form with several functions, or

(1) Quran, part 12, verse 26.

homonymy, that is several forms each with its own function yet having the same shape, it remains true that a proper linguistic analysis should look for formal as well as semantic criteria in order to distinguish between these functions.

My interest in this section is to specify different functions for the forms which have as one of their functions that of indicating conditionality and to give an account of the criteria given by the Arab grammarians for distinguishing between different functions of the same form. The procedure will be to start with the form of a particle and to present its functions, each of which will be illustrated by an example, and to give an account of the criteria suggested by the grammarians for distinguishing each use of the form concerned from its other uses. Some of the forms will be treated as a group rather than as individual items, since they share the same general function(s), for example, the man-group embraces man, maa and fayy.

(A) The functional multiplicity of conditional particles

The discussion begins with those items which are functionally grouped, and then deals with the individual particles.

(1) man-group. This group includes, as has already been mentioned, man, maa and fayy. These items all

appear as pronouns in interrogative, relative, and conditional structures. The functions and exemplification of each member of this group are:

(a) man. It has been said⁽¹⁾ that man acts as:

(i) An interrogative pronoun, e.g.

man yarzuqukum mina ssamaafi wa l'ard?⁽²⁾

(Who gives you sustenance from heaven and earth?);

(ii) A relative pronoun (i.e. an adjectival relative pronoun, e.g.

wa minhum man yastami'u filayka⁽³⁾

(And there are some who pretend to listen to you); and

(iii) A conditional particle, e.g.

man ya'lam suusan yujza bih⁽⁴⁾

(Whoever (= if any one) works evil, (then) he will be requited accordingly).

(b) maa. maa is subject to parallel distribution.⁽⁵⁾

Examples are:

(i) maa - the interrogative pronoun, e.g.

wa si'aa qiila lahumu sjuduu li rrahmani

(1) See: al-Harawī (1971), pp.104-5; Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, pp.327-330.

(2) Quran, part 10, verse 31.

(3) ibid, part 6, verse 25.

(4) ibid, part 4, verse 123.

(5) See: Ibn Hisham, vol. 1, pp.296-300.

qaaluu wa ma rraḥmaan?⁽¹⁾

(When it is said to them, adore God,
they say, "And what is God?");

- (ii) maa - the relative pronoun (i.e. non-adjectival
relative pronoun), e.g.

Ḥinna llaaha laa yuḡayyiru maa bi ḡawmin
ḥatta yuḡayyiruu maa bi sanfusihim⁽²⁾

(Verily, never will God change what is
characteristic of a people until they
themselves change what is in their own
souls); and

- (iii) maa - the conditional particle, e.g.

wa maa tuḡaddimuu li sanfusikum min xayrin
tajiduuhu ḡinda llaah⁽³⁾

(And whatever good you bring to your souls,
(then) you shall find it with God).

(c) ḡayy. Again, ḡayy behaves similarly to man and
maa,⁽⁴⁾ as the following examples show:

- (i) ḡayy - the interrogative pronoun, e.g.

ḡayya ḡaayaati llaahi tunkiruun?⁽⁵⁾

(Which of the signs of God will you deny?);

- (ii) ḡayy - the relative pronoun, e.g.

Ḥumma la nanziganna min kulli ḡiḡatin

(1) Quran, part 25, verse 60.

(2) ibid, part 13, verse 11.

(3) ibid, part 2, verse 110.

(4) See: Ibn Hisham, vol. 1, pp.77-8.

(5) Quran, part 40, verse 81.

Ṣayyuhum Ṣafaddu ḡala rraḥmaani ḡitiyyaa⁽¹⁾

(Then we shall certainly drag out from every sect all those who were worst in obstinate rebellion against God); and

(iii) Ṣayy - the conditional particle, e.g.

Ṣayyu mriṣin saawaa bi Ṣummin ḡaliilatan fa

laa ḡaaḡa Ṣillaa fii Danan wa hawaani

(Whoever (= if anyone) has put his wife on a level with his mother, may he live only in difficulties and humiliation).

(2) Ṣayna-group. The Ṣayna-group embraces Ṣayna, Ṣayyaana, Ṣannaa and mataa, all of which occur in parallel in interrogative and conditional sentences.

Examples are:

(a) Ṣayna⁽²⁾ (where, wherever):

(i) The interrogative use, e.g.

Ṣayna lmafarru?⁽³⁾

(Where is the refuge?); and

(ii) The conditional use, e.g.

Ṣayna takun yudrikka lmawtu

(Wherever you are, death will find you out);

(b) Ṣayyaana (when, whenever). Examples for its two uses are:

(i) The interrogative use, e.g.

(1) *ibid*, part 19, verse 69.

(2) See: Ibn Ya'ish, vol. 7, p.45; al-Harawī (1971), p.209.

(3) Quran, part 75, verse 10.

yasʕalu ʕayyaana yawmu lqiyaamah⁽¹⁾

(He asks "When is the day of resurrection?");

and

(ii) The conditional use, e.g.

ʕayyaana nuʕminka taʕman yaʕranaa

(When we guarantee you security, your are/

will be secure from (all) others but us).

(c) ʕannaa (how, however). Its uses and examples are:

(i) The interrogative use, e.g.

ʕannaa yuhyii haaʕihi llaahu baʕda mawtihaa⁽²⁾

(How shall God bring it to life after its

death?); and

(ii) The conditional use, e.g.

xaliilayya ʕannaa taʕtiyaaniya taʕtiyaa

ʕaxan yaʕra maa yurDiikumaa laa yuʕaawilu

(My two friends, however you come to me,

you come to a brother who will never do

anything to displease you); and

(d) mataa (when, whenever):

(i) The interrogative use, e.g.

mataa naʕru llaah?⁽³⁾

(When will come the help of God?), and

(ii) The conditional use, e.g.

(1) *ibid*, part 75, verse 6.

(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 259.

(3) *ibid*, part 2, verse 214.

mataa taftihi taḡjuu šilaa Dawši naarihi
tajid xayra naarin ḡindahaa xayru muuḡidi⁽¹⁾
(When you come to him, making for the light
of his fire, (then) you will find the best
of fires, beside which is the best of
kindlers).

Individual items. Having mentioned those items that
are classifiable together on distributional grounds,
I turn to individual items each of which has more than
one function, but which is not classifiable with any
other. These individual items are:

(1) šin. A particle šin appears in the following
contexts:

(a) The negative šin⁽²⁾ (not), e.g.

šini lmaršu maytan bi nḡidaaši ḡayaatihi

(A man is not (to be counted) dead when
his life comes to an end);

(b) The conditional šin⁽³⁾ (if), e.g.

šin faḡalta ḡaalika halakta

(If you do this, (then) you will perish).

(2) šiḡaa.⁽⁴⁾ Four cases of šiḡaa are distinguished
as follows:

(1) See: Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 7, p.45.

(2) See: Ibn Jinnī (1956), vol. 3, pp.110-11; al-Istrābādhi
(1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.231; Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, pp.22-3;
al-Kanḡharāwī (1950), p.160; and Quran, part 4, verse
117 and part 26, verse 113.

(3) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.22.

(4) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.87-101.

(a) *Siḏaa Ṣalfujaafiyyah* (that is to say, *Siḏaa* indicating an unexpected or sudden event) e.g.

xarajtu fa Siḏaa ḡaliyyun bilbaab

(I went out, and suddenly Ali (was) at the door, i.e. I had no sooner gone out than Ali was at the door);

(b) The conditional *Siḏaa*, e.g.

Siḏa lmarṣu lam yadnas mina llufmi ḡirDuhu fa kullu ridaaṣin yartadiihi jamiilu⁽¹⁾

(If a man's honour is not sullied by meanness, every coat he wears is becoming to him);

(c) The purely temporal use of *Siḏaa*, e.g.

wa Ṣannahu xalaqa zzawjayni ḏḏakara wa lṢunḐaa min nuṢfatin Siḏaa tumnaa⁽²⁾

(That he (God) created, in pairs, male and female, from a seed when lodged (in its place); and

(d) The connective *Siḏaa*,⁽³⁾ e.g.

Ṣin tuṢibhum sayyifaṣatun bi maa qaddamat Ṣaydiihim Siḏaa hum yaḡnaṢuun⁽⁴⁾

(If evil befalls them for what their hands have previously wrought, (then) they despair).

(1) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.196.

(2) *Quran*, part 53, verse 45.

(3) See p.169.

(4) *Quran*, part 30, verse 36.

(3) law. The grammarians recognized the following different uses of law:⁽¹⁾

(a) The optative use, e.g.

yawaddu ṣaḥaduhum law yuḡammaru ṣalfa sanah⁽²⁾

(Each one of them wishes he could be given a life of a thousand years);

(b) The use of 'law' that expresses requirement either as

(i) a polite request, e.g.

law tanzilu ḡindanaa fa tuḡaddiḡanaa ḡan safarika

(Why do you not (please) stop with us and tell us about your journey?),

or

(ii) an urgent request, e.g.

law tatabarraḡu li haaḡa lmaḡfaa fa tanaala xayra ljaḡaaḡ

(Why do you not contribute to this hospital, so that you will have the best reward?);

(c) The use of law that expresses paucity, equivalent to 'even if only', e.g.

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.232, 387 and 389; Ibu Mālik (1968), p.5; al-Harawī (1971), p.276; Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, pp.255-75; al-'Uzzī, p.121; al-Maghribī (1317-1318), p.239; and al-Makhzūmī (1958), p.323.

(2) Quran, part 2, verse 96.

taṢaddaq wa law bi Zilfin muḥraq

(Give alms, even if it is only a burnt hoof); and

(d) The conditional use of law, e.g.

law kaana fiihimaa Ṣaaliḥatun Ṣilla llaahu la
fasadataa⁽¹⁾

(If there had been in them (heaven and earth) gods
other than God, (then) they would surely have gone
to ruin).

4. lawlaa. A twofold division was recognized for
this particle into:

(a) ḥarfu taḥḌiīḌ (a particle of urgent request). In
this use, lawlaa in combination with the following verb
can be replaced by the imperative, e.g.

lawlaa taṢtiinaa bi lmalaaṢikah⁽²⁾

(Why do you not bring the angels to us?)

(= ṢiṢtiinaa bi lmalaaṢikah)

(Bring the angels to us).

(b) The conditional use of lawlaa, as in,

lawlaa Ṣantum la kunnaa muṢminiin⁽³⁾

(Had it not been for you, we would surely have
been believers).

(1) *ibid*, part 21, verse 22.

(2) *ibid*, part 15, verse 7.

(3) *ibid*, part 34, verse 31.

(B) The criteria used for identifying conditionality

The criteria given by the grammarians to distinguish one particle function from another are as follows:

(1) The occurrence of a conditional particle after an interrogative one, for example, the interrogative particle 'kayfa' or 'ḡayna' as in the following sentences respectively:

(a) fa kayfa ḡiḡaa jiḡnaa min kulli ḡummatin bi
ḡahiid?⁽¹⁾

(How then if we brought from each people a witness?)

(b) ḡayna maa kuntum taḡudduuna min duuni llaah?⁽²⁾

(Where are the things you used to invoke besides God?)

The interrogative particles are said to override the potential conditionality of ḡiḡaa in sentence (a), and, the potential conditionality, negation, and interrogativity of maa in sentence (b).

(2) The occurrence of a conditional particle after a negative particle, e.g. laysa man in:

laysa man yaḡja minnaa

(He who cheats is not one of us).

In such a sentence, man (who) has nothing to do with conditionality or interrogativity because of the preceding laysa (is not).

(1) *ibid*, part 4, verse 41.

(2) *ibid*, part 7, verse 37.

(3) The occurrence or absence of particular case-endings⁽¹⁾ in verbs preceded by one of the forms in question. Comparison of the following two sets of examples will explain the point:

(a):

(i) wa minhum man yastamiḡu ṡilayka⁽²⁾

(Among them there are some who listen to you).

(ii) ṡayya Tullaabika tuḡibbu?

(Which of your students do you like?)

(iii) ṡin yattabiḡuuna ṡilla ZZanna⁽³⁾

(You follow nothing but conjecture).

(b):

(i) man yaḡmal suuṡan yujza bih⁽⁴⁾

(Whoever (= if anyone) works evil, he will be requited accordingly).

(ii) ṡayya kitaabin taḡraṡ tajid fiihi jadiidaa

(Whichever book you read, you will find in it a new thing).

(iii) ṡin yattabiḡuu ZZanna yatḡabuu

(If they follow conjecture, they will suffer).

Here we have, on the one hand, under (a), sentences in which the verbs have the inflectional suffix Dammah /u/ as in yastamiḡu (to listen) and tuḡibbu (to like) in examples (i) and (ii), or one of its substitutes,

(1) See: al-Harawī (1971), pp.104-5.

(2) Quran, part 47, verse 16.

(3) ibid, part 53, verse 23.

(4) ibid. part 4. verse 123.

e.g. '—n', in (iii) (i.e. tattabiḡuun, (to follow)), which eliminates any conditional interpretation of maa, fayy and fin. Under (b), on the other hand, the appearance of sukuun (zero-vowel) as in (i) yaḡmal (to do), and (ii) taqraḡ (to read) and tajid (to find) as well as the absence of the final '—n', from the verbs yattabiḡuun (to follow) and yatḡabuun (to suffer) in (iii), indicate that the particles man in (i), fayy in (ii) and fin in (iii) are to be analysed as conditional particles.

(4) The capability of introducing the non-verbal (nominal) sentence. By such a criterion we can distinguish between the following:

(a) The two functions of the form fin (that is, negation versus condition), since only the negative fin (not) is capable of introducing the nominal sentence, e.g.

(i) fin lmarḡu maytan bi nqiDaaḡi ḡayaatihi
(A man is not to be counted dead when his
life comes to an end).

(ii) fin lḡukmu ḡillaa li llaahi⁽¹⁾
(Judgement belongs to God alone).

(iii) fin ḡindakum min sulṬaanin bi haaḡaa⁽²⁾
(You have no warrant for this).

(1) *ibid*, part 6, verse 57.

(2) *ibid*, part 10, verse 68.

The non-verbal (nominal) sentences - that is, *ṣalmarṣu maytun* (A man is dead), *ṣalḥukmu li llaahi* (Judgement belongs to God), and *ḡindakum sulTaanun* (You have authority) - can not be introduced by the conditional particle *ṣin* (if).

(b) The two functions of *lawlaa* (that is, *ṣattaḥDiiD* (the urgent request) versus *ṣaḵḵarT* (condition)). Only conditional *lawlaa* can introduce the non-verbal (nominal) sentence, e.g.

(i) *lawlaa faDlu llaahi ḡalaykum maa zakaā minkum min ṣaḥadin ṣabadaa*⁽¹⁾

(Were it not for the grace and mercy of God bestowed upon you, not one of you would ever have been pure);

(ii) *lawlaa qawmuki ḥadiiṠuu ḡahdin bi kufrin la ṣassastu lbayta ḡalaa qawaagidi ṣibraahiim*
(Had not your people ceased recently to be in a state of infidelity, I would surely raise the house on the foundations of Abraham).

The nominal sentences - that is, *faDlu llaahi ḡalaykum*, and *qawmuki ḥadiiṠuu ḡahdin bi kufrin* - cannot occur with *lawlaa* which expresses *ṣattaḥDiiD* (urgent request).

(c) The two major functions of *ṣiḥaa* (that is, the *ṣiḥaa* of 'suddenness' versus conditional *ṣiḥaa*), since

(1) *ibid*, part 24, verse 21.

only the former applies to the nominal sentence, e.g.

Ɔasadun bi lbaab in the sentence,

xarajtu fa Ɔiḏaa Ɔasadun bi lbaab

(I went out, and lo! a lion (was) at the door).

The nominal sentence Ɔasadun bi lbaab cannot occur with conditional Ɔiḏaa.

(5) Substitutability by the imperative. This criterion also enables us to distinguish between the two functions of lawlaa, that is to say, between conditional lawlaa and the lawlaa of urgent request which is replaceable by the imperative form of the accompanying verb, e.g.

(i) lawlaa taḡuujiina yaa salmaa ḡalaa danifin
(O Salmaa, why do you not come back for your lover).

(ii) lawlaa taḡtiinaa bi lmalaafikah
(Why do you not bring the angels to us).

The combinations (lawlaa + taḡuujiina) and (lawlaa + taḡtiinaa) can be replaced by the imperative ḡuujii (come back), and Ɔiḡtiinaa (bring to us) respectively. This substitution, however, is not possible in the case of the conditional use of lawlaa, e.g.

lawlaa Ɔantum la kunnaa muḡminiin

(Had it not been for you, we would surely have been believers).

3.1.6 The excluded particles

Several occurrences of what are thought by the majority of Arab grammarians to be conditional particles for the syntactic and semantic reasons given below, have been excluded from this study. These particles are:

(I) Ṣammaa (as for, as regards).

(II) baynaa and baynamaa (while).

Let us consider them in turn:

(I) Ṣammaa (as for, as regards).

e.g. Ṣamma ssafiinatu fa kaanat li masaakiina
yaḡmaluuna fi lbaḥr⁽¹⁾

(As for the ship, it belonged to poor men
who worked on the sea).

Only later grammarians⁽²⁾ include Ṣammaa among conditional particles governing sequences of verbs in both clauses of the full conditional sentence. They recognized Ṣammaa as the equivalent or substitute of mahmaa (whatever) + 'conditioning clause'. For these scholars, the following two sentences are syntactically and semantically equivalent:⁽³⁾

(1) *ibid*, part 18, verse 79.

(2) As late as al-Harawī (d.415 A.H.=1024 A.D.) (1971, p.153); Ibn Hishām (d.761 A.H. = 1359 A.D.) (vol. 1, p.56); and al-Suyūṭī (d.911 A.H.=1505 A.D.) (1316 A.H., vol. 2, p.67).

(3) See: Ibn Ya'īsh, vol. 9, p.11; al-Suyūṭī (1327), vol.2, p.67; al-'Uzzī, p.60; al-Subkī (1317-1318) p.221; and Ibn Mālik (1968), p.245.

(i) $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ amma l $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ arbu fa damaarun $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ aqiiqiyyun
(As for war, it is true destruction).

(ii) mahmaa yakun min jay $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ in fa l $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ arbu damaarun
 $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ aqiiqiyyun
(Whatever we may say, war is true destruction).

I shall, however, exclude $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ammaa from the class of conditional particles for several reasons. These are:

(1) The structure of which $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ammaa is part and which consists of either:

(a) [nominal subject + nominal predicate] e.g.

$\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ammaa $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ aliyyun (subject) fa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ axuuka (predicate)
(As for Ali, (he) is your brother), or

(b) [subject + verb + object] e.g.

$\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ammaa $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ aliyyun (subject) fa yal $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ abu (verb)
 $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ alkurah (object)
(As for Ali, (he) plays football),

is a simple structure, whereas the structure involving mahmaa is complex and consists of two clauses (that is, protasis and apodasis), e.g.

mahmaa ta $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ tinaa bihi min $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aayatin (protasis)
fa maa na $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ nu laka bi mu $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ miniin⁽¹⁾ (apodasis)
(Whatever be the instruments you bring, we shall never believe in you).

Consequently, $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ammaa-structures belong to what we

(1) Quran, part 7, verse 132.

termed earlier $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{attarkiibu l\textcircled{f}isnaadii}^{(1)}$ (the attribute structure or the subject/predicate structure), whereas mahmaa-structure belongs to the counterpart structure of the conditional sentence.

(2) The assumption that $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$ is the substitute for the conditional particle mahmaa + 'conditioning clause', is not based on any attested linguistic evidence in support of these coined sentences which grammarians use to explain the substitutability of $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$ for mahmaa. After all, sentences of greatly different form that one may substitute one for the other on purely notional grounds are infinitely numerous in any given case, and the operation of substitution in such cases is uncontrollable.

(3) The behaviour of the connective particle fa which, though required in certain conditional sentences, is unacceptable in others, supports the view that $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$ is not a conditional particle. For fa is always obligatory with $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$, even in those cases where its absence is required from a conditional structure, as the following two examples show:

- (i) wa maa $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{anSafat } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{amma n\textcircled{f}isaafa fa bayyaDat}$
 $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ilayya wa } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa bi nnawaali fa Dannati}$

(1) See, p. 58.

(She did not act in a fair manner (i.e. towards me); as for women, she made me hate them, and as for the reward, she was mean (to me)).

(ii) $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{in } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{anSafat } \text{\textcircled{b}}\text{ayyaDat } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ilayya nnisaafa}$
wa $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{in } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{jaarat } \text{\textcircled{g}}\text{alayya Dannat bi nnawaali}$
(If she does justice (to me), (then) she will make me hate women, and if she is unfair (with me), (then) she will keep back the reward).

As can be seen, the past tense forms bayyaDa and Danna in the first sentence (i.e. with $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$) require the particle fa, which, on the other hand, cannot be used in example (ii).

If $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$ is not a conditional particle, as is suggested by the above evidence, what is it? An answer was given by some grammarians.⁽¹⁾ These denied the conditionality of $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa}$ and stated that one of its functions is $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{attafSiil}$ (the detailing of what hitherto is generalized), e.g.

wa maa $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{anSafat } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{amma nnisaafa fa bayyaDat}$
 $\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ilayya wa } \text{\textcircled{f}}\text{ammaa bi nnawaali fa Dannati}$

(1) See: Ibn-Jinnī (1954), vol. 1, p.120; Abū Ḥayyān (1328 A.H.), vol. 1, p.119; Ibn Mālik (1968), p.245; al-Ṣabbān (1358), vol. 4, p.44; al-Dusūqī, (1358), vol. 1, p.59; al-Subkī (1317-18), p.221; and al 'Uzzī, pp.59-60.

(She did not act in a fair manner (i.e. towards me); as for women, she made me hate them, and as for the reward, she was mean (to me)).

In this example, the *ṣammaa*-sentences specify what is stated in general terms by *wa maa ṣanṣafat* (She did not act in a fair manner). The other use that the same grammarians noticed for *ṣammaa* is *ṣattaṣkiid* (reinforcement), that is to say, that with *ṣammaa* the proposition or assertion is more emphatic than without it. However, the assumption that *ṣammaa* is a conditional particle lacks the necessary syntactic and semantic evidence, without which the argument is unacceptable.

(II) baynaa and baynamaa (while)

The grounds upon which these two particles are included⁽¹⁾ among conditional particles are:

(1) They require two sentences, e.g.

(a) baynaa naḥnu bi makaani kaḏaa ṣiḏaa zaydun qad
Talaḡa ḡalaynaa

(lit. While we were in such and such place,
when (suddenly) Zayd came upon us).

(b) baynama lḡusru ṣiḏ daarat mayaasiiru

(While there has been adversity, now (suddenly)
prosperity has come round).

(1) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.113-14.

(2) The second syntactic component of structures with baynaa and baynamaa requires the connective particle $\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ which connects the two clauses of a conditional sentence.⁽¹⁾ However, for my part, I take the view that these two particles are not recognizable as conditional at all for the following reasons:

(1) baynaa and baynamaa behave differently from those elements termed 'Adverbial conditional particles'⁽²⁾ and indeed from conditional particles in general,⁽³⁾ in that the prefixing of $\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ to the main clause, normal with these two particles,⁽⁴⁾ is not acceptable in conditional sentences. Cf., the following examples:

(a) $\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ in $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ kara $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ alika * $\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ batnaa $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ annahu
kaa $\text{\textcircled{S}}i\text{\textcircled{S}}$

(If he denies that '*when(suddenly)' we shall prove that he is lying).

(b) baynaa zaydun qaadimun $\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ ra $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aa $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ aliyyan
(literally: While Zayd was standing when (suddenly) he saw Ali).

(c) baynamaa na $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ nu bi makaani ka $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aa $\text{\textcircled{S}i\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ Tala $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ a
zaydun $\text{\textcircled{S}a\text{\textcircled{S}}}$ alaynaa
(literally: While we were in such and such place, when (suddenly) Zayd came upon us).

(1) See p.169.

(2) See p. 90.

(3) See: al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, p.17.

(4) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, pp.83-4.

In sentences (b) and (c) $\text{\textcircled{Si}}$ is required; on the other hand, the unacceptability of the sentence (a) is due to the prefixing of $\text{\textcircled{Si}}$ to the main clause. Without $\text{\textcircled{Si}}$, the sentence would be perfectly normal, i.e.

$\text{\textcircled{Si}}$ in $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ankara $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aalika $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ a $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ batnaa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ annahu kaa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ib
(If he denies that, (then) we shall prove that he is lying).

(2) One of the aspects of conditional sentence structure in Classical Arabic is that, in some cases,⁽¹⁾ $\text{\textcircled{J}}$ umlatu $\text{\textcircled{J}}$ awaabi $\text{\textcircled{J}}$ ar $\text{\textcircled{T}}$ (the main clause of a conditional sentence) is prefixed with either $\text{\textcircled{fa}}$ or $\text{\textcircled{Si}}$ aa but not with both, not even in poetry, which is well known for its structural peculiarities. On the other hand, the appearance of $\text{\textcircled{fa}}$ + $\text{\textcircled{Si}}$ aa before the second clause of the including sentence whose first clause is introduced by $\text{\textcircled{ba}}$ naa or $\text{\textcircled{ba}}$ namaa is quite normal both in prose and poetry, Cf. $\text{\textcircled{ba}}$ naa (or $\text{\textcircled{ba}}$ namaa) $\text{\textcircled{na}}$ tamatta $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ u $\text{\textcircled{bi}}$ $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ amsin $\text{\textcircled{mu}}$ f $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ iqatin $\text{\textcircled{fa}}$ $\text{\textcircled{Si}}$ aa $\text{\textcircled{la}}$ ma $\text{\textcircled{T}}$ aru $\text{\textcircled{ya}}$ nhamiru $\text{\textcircled{ya}}$ ziiraa. (literally: While we are enjoying a shining sun, when (suddenly) the rain pours down heavily).

(3) The two verbs that could occur in the two clauses of $\text{\textcircled{ba}}$ naa or $\text{\textcircled{ba}}$ namaa-sentence have the same time reference, that is to say, they indicate simultaneous

(1) See p. 167.

events irrespective of their forms, e.g. baynaa naḡiiḡu fii ḡusrin ḡiḡ daarat mayaasiir (literally: While we live in straitened circumstances when (suddenly) prosperity has come round) the states of affairs depicted by the two verbs naḡiiḡu ((we) live) and daara (came round/has come round) are simultaneous. In a conditional sentence, on the other hand, the time reference of the verb in the 'if'-clause is antecedent to that of the main clause regardless of its verbal form, e.g.

ḡin tuḡaakir najaḡta

(If (you) study, (then you will) succeed

(lit. succeeded)).

In such a sentence activity referred to by the verb in the 'if'-clause, tuḡaakir (to study; non-past form) takes place before the event indicated by the verb, in the main clause, najaḡa (succeeded; past form).

(4) Semantically speaking, the 'dependence' of apodasis (main clause) upon protasis ('if'-clause) on which we rely for regarding a sentence as conditional is not observable with baynaa or baynamaa; Cf.

(i) baynaa naḡnu bi lḡ^araaki maḡan ḡiḡ
ḡataa raakibun ḡalaa jamalih

(While we were at al-^aṢraak together,
there came a camel rider).

- (ii) baynamaa Ṣahluhaa bi Ṣahṣani ḥaalin
Ṣiḥ ramaahum ḡabiiduhum bi ṢTilaami
(While its inhabitants (that is, of
BaṢrah) were enjoying the fairest
circumstances, their slaves assailed
them with (sudden) destruction).

The second syntactic element (underlined) of these two sentences, though syntactically similar to the main clause of a conditional sentence, has no causative or consequential connection with the first.

In what remains of this section, I shall be concerned with structures in which a conditional particle is neutralised, and consequently these structures will not be considered in this thesis. These cases include:

- (1) The construction in which the particle is repeated between antonyms, e.g.

Ṣukrimuka Ṣin ṢaṢabta wa Ṣin ṢaxṬaṢta

(I will respect you whether you are right
or wrong).

- (2) The construction in which the particle introduces a parenthetical clause for several semantic purposes,

for instance, the wish to expand upon an implied generality mentioned in an earlier sentence. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

(a) man yujaamilnii ƙin Sadiqun wa ƙin gaduwwun
ƙujaamilh

(Whoever (= if anyone) acts courteously towards me, whether friend or foe, I will act courteously towards him).

(b) maa taƙraƙ ƙin jayyidan wa ƙin radiifan
tastafid minh

(Whatever (= if anything) you read, whether good or bad (kinds of writing), you will gain (something) out of it).

(c) mataa tazurnii ƙin yadan wa ƙin baƙda yadin
tusƙidnii

(Whenever you visit me (= if you visit me at any time), whether tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, you will bring happiness to me).

(d) haƙuma taqif ƙin samaama ljaamigati wa
ƙin samaama maktabi lbariidi ƙaqif

(Wherever you stand, either in front of the university or in front of the post-office, I will stand).

In these sentences, each of the conditional particles,

man, maa, mataa and hayθumaa, refers to different aspects of generality (i.e. to any person, thing, time, place etc....). These general features have been illustrated by lexical items associated antonymously or in other ways but in association with the discontinuous repetition of a conditional particle.

3.2.0 The two clauses of a conditional sentence

Having dealt with different syntactic aspects of the element 'particle' of the type termed 'particle-conditional sentences',⁽¹⁾ the rest of this chapter will focus upon various syntactic topics that concern the other two elements of this structural type.

These two elements are:

- (a) jumlatsu jjarT (the protasis or the 'if'-clause).
- (b) jumlatsu jawaabi jjarT (the apodasis or the main clause, lit. the answer to the condition).

The syntactic topics with which I will deal here are:

- (1) the syntactic restrictions on jumlatsu jjarT.
- (2) the syntactic restrictions on jumlatsu jawaabi jjarT.
- (3) the sequence of tenses.

(1) See p.65.

(4) conditional clauses and ellipsis.

(5) the connectives.

Let us consider each of them in turn:

3.2.1 The syntactic restrictions on jumlatu fjarT
(the 'if'-clause)

The syntactic restrictions given by the grammarians as applicable to jumlatu fjarT (the protasis or the 'if'-clause) of the particle-conditional type⁽¹⁾ are:

- (1) that it must be a verbal sentence
- (2) that a conditional particle must initiate the clause
- (3) that the verb is not likely to be:
 - (a) one of the non-derivative forms.
 - (b) one of the verbal forms which express request.
 - (c) prefixed by 'sa—', 'sawfa—', or 'qad—'.

Furthermore according to the grammarians, it is unlikely to be negated by fin, lan, or maa. These syntactic features will now be discussed in turn:

(1) The syntactic restrictions on the protasis of the non-particle conditional type have already been stated, see p.68.

(1) 'If'-clause and the verb

The assumption made by the grammarians that an 'if'-clause must be a verbal sentence⁽¹⁾ is confirmed by the facts of usage; within the 'if'-clause, only a verbal sentence can occur, with the verb either preceding or following the agent, e.g.

(a) $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ in (particle) $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ aakara (verb) $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ aliyyun (agent)
najaḥa

(If Ali studies, (then) he will succeed),

or

(b) $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ in (particle) $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ aliyyun (agent) $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ aakara (verb)
najaḥa.

These facts of usage, on the one hand, justify the grammarians' assumption but, on the other hand, do not accord with their definition of the verbal sentence, which, it will be recalled, is restricted to the 'verb + subject' order only. Thus the sequence

[conditional particle + noun + verb], normal in the Classical language, is presumably either a non-conditional or a nominal sentence, neither of which is sensible. Perhaps the best resolution of the

(1) Except with lawlaa, e.g. lawlaa (particle) $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ annaha mraḥatun ('if'-clause; nominal sentence consists of $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ anna + haa (pronoun, i.e. hiya (she) in the accusative form + $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ imraḥatun (noun, predicate) la qataltuhaa (main clause) (If she were not a woman, I would have killed her).

contradiction was that of Sībawayh⁽¹⁾ who stated that, if a sentence containing a verb comes after a conditional particle, then the degree of frequency of the order [conditional particle + verb + agent] is higher than that of the order [conditional particle + agent + verb]. Accordingly, *ʕin ʔaakara ʕaliyyun najaha* is more likely to occur than *ʕin ʕaliyyun ʔaakara najaha* (If Ali studies, (then) he will succeed). Nevertheless, both *ʕaliyyun ʔaakara* and *ʔaakara ʕaliyyun* are recognized by some grammarians as two realizations of one verbal sentence.⁽²⁾

(2) The order within the 'if'-clause

On the grounds that conditional particles should initiate the structure in which they occur, the grammarians assumed⁽³⁾ that a verbal sentence cannot partially or wholly precede the conditional particle. Consequently, the conditional sentence *ʕin tastagiri lkitaaba fa haafiz ʕalayh* (If you borrow the book, (then) take care of it) cannot be reconstituted in any of the following orders:

(a) **tastagiri lkitaaba ʕin fa haafiz ʕalayh*.

(1) See: Sībawayh (1916 A.H.), vol. 1, pp.456-8; and al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.104.

(2) See: al-Istrābādhi (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, p.104; Ibn Maḏāʕ (1948), p.103; and Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, pp. 379-80.

(3) See: al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 1, p.156.

(b) *ʕalkitaaba ʕin tastag̃ir fa ḥaafiZ ɣalayh.

It may be of interest to point out that, in fact, some grammarians opine that sentence (b) is grammatically acceptable.⁽¹⁾

(3) The restrictions on the verb within the 'if'-
clause

The grammarians provide us with a list of negative rather than positive features characterizing the verb within the 'if'-clause. The list includes the following:

(a) Morphologically defective verbs, i.e. verbs with non-derivative forms.⁽²⁾ That is to say, it is not possible for verbs such as ɣasaa (may or perhaps), niɣma (to be good) and biʕsa (to be bad) to occur within the 'if'-clause.

(b) verbal forms that express Talab (request) for example, the imperative verb ʕiSfaḥ (forgive) cannot occur within the 'if'-clause, e.g.

*ʕini Sfaḥ ɣani lmuʕiifi yaɣtanibi lʕisaaʕaḥ
(Forgive the offensive (person), (then)
he will renounce misdeeds).

(1) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p.386; and al-Kanḡharāwī (1950), pp.120-2.

(2) See: al-Suyūṭī (1316 A.H.), vol. 2, p.10.

(c) the verbal sentence within the 'if'-clause cannot be prefixed by anyone of the following:

- (i) sa—)
 - (ii) sawfa—)
-) future markers
- (iii) qad—, a particle variously expressing affirmation or uncertainty in accordance with the tense of the verb to which it is prefixed (i.e. past or non-past respectively),⁽¹⁾ and also variously interpretable according to the context.⁽²⁾
 - (iv) lan—)
 - (v) maa—)
 - (vi) fin—)
-) negative particles

Thus, the following are seen as impossible sentence-structures:

- (i) *a conditional particle + (sa)
()+ non-past
(sawfa)
+ the main clause.
- (ii) *a conditional particle + qad + (past)
()
(non-past)
+ the main clause.

(1) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, pp.171-5.

(2) For examples see Quran, part 2, verse 144, part 6, verse 33, and part 33, verse 18.

- (iii) *a conditional particle + lan + non-past
+ the main clause.
- (iv) *a conditional particle + the negative maa +
(past)
() + the main clause.
(non-past)
- (v) *a conditional particle + the negative sin +
non-past + the main clause.

3.2.2 The syntactic restrictions on jumlatu

jawaabi }jarT (the main clause)

It was stated earlier⁽¹⁾ that the non-particle conditional type has only one order, namely that in which the protasis precedes and the apodasis follows, e.g.

zurnii sukrimka (Visit me (and if you do)
I will honour you).

In such a sentence, the reverse order (that is, the order in which the apodasis comes first and the protasis follows) is unacceptable. This section will be concerned with the particle type of conditional sentences, focusing on two points:

- (1) the position of jawaabu }jarT (the main clause)

(1) See p. 73.

within a particle-conditional sentence; and

(2) the type of sentences which can serve as jawaabu jfarT.

Let us take each in turn:

(1) The place of jumlatu jawaabi jfarT within the 'if'-clause structure

Here we have, on the one hand, the view that jumlatu jawaabi jfarT (the main clause) cannot partially or wholly precede the 'if'-clause, that is to say, the 'if'-clause must come first and the main clause second. In other words, the order of the two clauses can only be the logical order. This view has been held by the majority of the Arab grammarians⁽¹⁾ particularly those of the BaSrah school. It reflects the general and doubtful claim that the major relationship between the meaning of the two clauses of 'particle'-conditional sentences is one of 'cause' and 'effect'. In addition to the fact that there are other relationships such as 'contrast', 'reason', etc,⁽²⁾ this type of generalization also calls for statistical justification.

We have, on the other hand, the view that the unmarked order of the two correlative clauses of a 'particle'-conditional sentence is the reverse of

(1) See; al-Kanġharāwī (1950), pp.121-2.
(2) See Chapter 4.

the logical structure of such a construction (i.e. jumlatu jawaabi fjarT (the main or result clause) first and jumlatu fjarT (the 'if'-clause) second). This view was held by the Kuufah school.⁽¹⁾

Linguistically speaking the Kuufah school's view is more apt to the description of Arabic usage than that of BaSrah. To explain this, consider the following:

(a) ʕanta fjujaʕu ʕin qulta lḥaqqā fii wajhi
ZZaalimi (You are (or will be) the bravest (of all),
if you tell the truth before the tyrant).

(b) naḥnu ʕulu lmaʕaaḫiri min qadiimin wa ʕin
jaḥadat maʕaaḫirana lliʕaamu (We are, by long
tradition, the people of brilliant exploits even
if (the) ignoble people deny our achievements).

(c) ʕiʕ waḥiidan ʕin kunta laa taqbalu lḥuḍra
(Live alone, if you do not accept the excuse).

In these examples, the nominal sentences ʕanta fjujaʕu (You are the bravest) and naḥnu ʕulu lmaʕaaḫiri min qadiimin (We are the people of achievement by long tradition), as well as the verbal sentence ʕiʕ waḥiidan (Live alone), have been recognized by the Kuufah school as jawaabu fjarT (the main clause).

(1) See: al-Kanḡharāwī (1950), pp.121-2.

The majority of the Arab grammarians particularly those of the BaSrah school, on the other hand, regard them not as main clauses initiating the structure for stylistic purposes, but as explanatory sentences to the obligatorily ellipted main clauses which, from their point of view, cannot take initial position. Consequently, the BaSrah school's syntactic analysis of the previous sentences are:

(a) ʕanta ʕʕujaʕu ʕin qulta lḥaqqa fii wajhi
ZZaalimi fa ʕanta ʕʕujaʕu (You are (or will be)
the bravest (of all) if you tell the truth before the
tyrant, you are (or will be) the bravest (of all)).

(b) naḥnu ʕulu lmaʕaaḥiri min qadiimin wa ʕin jaḥadat
maʕaaḥirana lliʕaamu fa naḥnu ʕulu lmaʕaaḥiri min
qadiimin (We are, by long tradition, the people of
brilliant exploits even if (the) ignoble people deny our
achievements, we are, by long tradition the people of
brilliant exploits).

(c) ʕiʕ waḥiidan ʕin kunta laa taqbalu lḡuḏra fa
ʕiʕ waḥiidan (Live alone, if you do not accept the
excuse, (then) live alone).

It must be said that as a result of realizing the contradiction between their rule about the position of jumlatu jawaabi ʕʕarT (the main clause) and the fact that in sentences as those given above jawaabu ʕʕarT never occurs in final position. (In other words, the

sentences in the final position explain sentences that never occur in the language), the BaSrah school and the majority of the Arab grammarians have been forced to adopt a naive, counter-intuitive and illogical analysis, which can be interpreted logically as follows; jawaabu fjarT, which occupies, for stylistic purposes, the initial position must occur finally yet it cannot occupy final position in the actual use of the sentences concerned, and is therefore obligatorily ellipted.

(2) The type of sentences that can serve as jawaabu fjarT

jawaabu fjarT may assume many forms. These are:

(a) that of a nominal sentence, e.g. kullii faḡyunun (I am all eyes) and kullii masaamiḡu (I am all ears) in the sentence,

fiḡaamaa badat laylaa fa kullii faḡyunun wa fin hiya naajatnii fa kullii masaamiḡu (Whenever (= if) Laylaa appears, (then) I will become all eyes and if she whispers into my ear, (then) I will become all ears).

(b) that of a verbal sentence, including the following sub-types:

(i) a verbal sentence with a non-derived verb
e.g. laysa laka waaqin (You will not have

a protector) in the sentence,

Ťin tuŤliq lisaanaka fii ťammi nnaasi fa
laysa laka waaqin min Ťalsinatihim (If
you indulge in defamatory remarks about
other people, (then) you will not have a
protector from their tongues).

(ii) a verbal sentence of positive command, e.g.

ŤittabiŤuunii (follow me) in the sentence,

Ťin kuntum tuŤibbuuna llaaha fa ttabiŤuunii⁽¹⁾

(If you (really) love God, (then) follow me
(that is, the prophet Muhammad)).

(iii) a verbal sentence of negative command, e.g.

laa taŤjub xaaliŤa nuŤhika (Do not hide
your sincere advice) in the sentence,

Ťin tustajar fa laa taŤjub xaaliŤa

nuŤhika (If you are asked to give advice,
(then) do not hide your sincere advice).

(iv) a verbal sentence that is preceded by one
of the following:

(a) sa—, e.g.

Ťin yatayaqqaŤi jjaŤbu li ŤuquuŤihi fa sa
yatawaqqaŤu TuŤyaanu lŤaakim (If a nation
wakes up, (then) the tyranny of the governor
will stop).

(1) Quran, part 3, verse 31.

(b) sawfa—, e.g.

ʕin tuhmil waajibaatika fa sawfa tuhmalu
huquuquka (If you ignore your responsibilities,
(then) your rights will be ignored).

(c) qad—, e.g.

ʕin yasriq fa qad saraqaa ʕaxun lahu min qabl⁽¹⁾
(If he steals, a brother of his has stolen
before him (that is, Joseph)).

(d) lan—, e.g.

maa yafʕaluu min xayrin fa lan yukfaruuh⁽²⁾
(However little good they do, (then) their
deed will not be denied).

(e) the negative ʕin—, e.g.

wa ʕiʕaa rafaaka llaʕiina kafaruu ʕin
yattaxiʕuunaka ʕillaa huzuwaa⁽³⁾ (If the
unbelievers see you, they treat you with
nothing but ridicule).

(f) the negative maa—, e.g.

man yuqaSSir fa maa yantaZiru husna ljazaaf
(Whoever (= if anyone) does incomplete (work)
should not expect a good result).

(1) ibid, part 12, verse 77.
(2) ibid, part 3, verse 115.
(3) ibid, part 21, verse 36.

3.2.3 The sequence of tenses

Concerning the question of sequence of tenses in Classical Arabic grammar with regard to the 'particle'-(1) type of conditional sentences, the grammarians show that any tense in jumlatu jjarT (the 'if'-clause or protasis) can be associated with any tense in jumlatu jawaabi jjarT (the main clause or apodasis). Accordingly, the following are acceptable⁽²⁾ (the tense of the 'if'-clause will be given first, followed by the tense of the main clause):

(1) ... past ... + ... past ... ,

e.g. katama (to keep a secret) and balaya (to attain) in (i) below, wajada (to find) and saxađa (to take) in (ii) below, fađala (to do) and halaka (to perish) in (iii) below, řakrama (to honour) and malaka (to own) in (iv) below, and řarsala (to send) and řatđaba (to cause trouble) in (v) below. The examples respectively are:

- (i) man katama sirrahu balaya řamrahu (He who
(= if one) keeps (has kept) his own secret,
(then) he will attain his object).

(1) The other (i.e., non-particle type of conditional sentences) is, as we have seen, restricted to specific forms of verbs and therefore excluded from the discussion.
(2) The examples are numerous for the reason that I have tried to cover as many conditional particles as possible. The order in which the examples are given has no significance.

- (ii) $\text{\textcircled{F}al\text{h}ikmatu\ Daallatu\ lmu\text{\textcircled{F}mini\ \text{\textcircled{F}aynamaa}$
wajadahaa \text{\textcircled{F}axa\text{d}ahaa (Wisdom is the lost
property of the believer; ^{re} ~~where~~ he finds
it (= if he finds it any where), (then) he
will take hold of it).
- (iii) $\text{\textcircled{F}in\ \text{\textcircled{f}a\text{g}alta\ \text{\textcircled{d}aalika\ \text{\textcircled{h}alakta}$ (If you do this,
(then) you will perish).
- (iv) $\text{\textcircled{F}i\text{d}aa\ \text{\textcircled{F}anta\ \text{\textcircled{f}akramta\ lkariima\ \text{\textcircled{m}alaktahu}$
(If you honour the noble (man), (then) you
own him (i.e., he will be at your service)),
and
- (v) $\text{\textcircled{m}ataa\ \text{\textcircled{f}arsalta\ Tarfaka\ raa\text{\textcircled{f}idan\ li\ qalbika}$
\text{\textcircled{f}at\text{g}abatka lmanaaZiru (Whenever (= if) you
let your eyes lead your heart, (then) what
you see will tire you (i.e., since beauty
is a relative quality, one's eyes will
always be attracted by new beauties)).

(2) ... non-past ... + ... non-past ... ,

e.g. $\text{\textcircled{y}aj\text{f}a\text{g}}$ (to put in a good word) and $\text{\textcircled{y}akun}$ (to
have) in (i) below, $\text{\textcircled{t}a\text{g}uuduu}$ (to return) and $\text{\textcircled{n}a\text{g}ud}$
(to return) in (ii) below, $\text{\textcircled{t}un\text{f}iquu}$ (to spend) and
 $\text{\textcircled{y}uwaffa}$ (to be repaid) in (iii) below, $\text{\textcircled{f}aDag}$ (to
put on) and $\text{\textcircled{t}a\text{g}rifuunii}$ (to recognize) in (iv) below
and $\text{\textcircled{t}astaqim}$ (to pursue a right course) and $\text{\textcircled{y}uqaddir}$
(to decree) in (v) below. The examples respectively
are:

- (i) man yaſfağ ſafaagatan haſanatan yakun
lahu naſiibun minhaa wa man yaſfağ ſafaagatan
ſayyiſatan yakun lahu kiſlun minhaa⁽¹⁾
(Whoever (= if one) recommends (for some-
body else) a good cause, (then) he will
become a partner therein, and whoever
recommends an evil cause, (then) he will
share in its burden).
- (ii) ſin tağuuuu nağud⁽²⁾ (If you return,
(then) we (shall) return).
- (iii) maa tunfiquu min ſayſin fii ſabiili llaahi
yuwaffa ſilaykum⁽³⁾ (Whatever (= if) you
ſpend in the cauſe of God, (then) you (will)
be repaid).
- (iv) mataa ſaDaği lğimaamata tağriſuunii⁽⁴⁾
(Whenever (= if) I put on the turban, (then)
you recognize me).
- (v) haſayſumaa tastaqim yuqaddir laka llaahu
najaahan fii yaabiri lſazmaani⁽⁵⁾ (Whenever
(= if) you purſue a right courſe, (then)
God (will) decree you ſucceſs in the time
to come).

(1) Quran, part 4, verſe 85.

(2) *ibid*, part 8, verſe 19.

(3) *ibid*, part 8, verſe 60.

(4) Ibn Hiſham, vol. 1, pp.160, 334 and vol. 2, p.626.

(5) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.133.

The grammarians held the view with regard to the non-past verb form in the main clause, that it may occur either in (1) the indicative mood,⁽¹⁾ e.g.

yudriku (to reach) in the sentence *ṣaynamaa takuunuu yudrikukumu lmawt*⁽²⁾ (Wherever you are, death will reach you), or

(2) the jussive mood as illustrated in the other examples given above. This view is also applicable to the non-past verb form in the next case.

(3) ... past ... + ... non-past ... ,

e.g. *ḡaada* (to return) and *yantaqimu* (to revenge) in (i) below, and *raṣaa* (to see) and *tamiilu* (to turn away from) in (ii) below. The examples respectively are:

- (i) *man ḡaada yantaqimu llaahu minh* (with the verb *yantaqimu* in the indicative mood) or *yantaqimi llaahu minh* (with the verb in the jussive mood) (Whoever (= if any one) repeats (i.e., the killing of birds or animals while on pilgrimage), (then) God will take revenge on him).

(1) See: *al-Istrābādhi* (1306 A.H.), vol. 2, pp.231, 238; *Ibn Hishām*, vol. 2, pp.385-6; and *al-Kanḡharāwī* (1950), pp.112 and 120.

(2) *Quran*, part 4, verse 78.

- (ii) Œin rafatnii tamiilu (also tamil) Œannii
kaŒallam yaku baynii wa baynahaa ŒaŒyaafu
(If she sees me, she turns away from me
as if there was nothing between us).

The indicative forms yantaqimu and tamiilu are as acceptable as their jussive counterparts yantaqim and tamil, both in poetry and in prose.⁽¹⁾

- (4) ... non-past ... + ... past ... ,

e.g. yaqum (to stand up) and yufira (to be forgiven) in (i) following, and yasmaŒuu (to hear) and Taaruu (to fly) in (ii) following. The examples respectively are:

- (i) man yaqum laylata lqadri Œiimaanana wa
Œtisaaban yufira lahu maa taqaddama min
Œanbih (Whoever (= if any one) performs
the liturgical rites through laylatu
lqadri,⁽²⁾ (then) his previous sins will
be forgiven).

- (ii) Œin yasmaŒuu riibatan Taaruu bihaa faraŒan⁽³⁾

(1) Cf., Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, pp. 553 and 698.

(2) (i.e., the night during which, according to one of the Quranic verses (part 97), the Quran was revealed, and which is celebrated between the 26th and 27th of Ramadan).

(3) See: Abū 'Ubaydah (1970), vol. 2, pp. 7, 74, 139 and 152.

(If they hear suspicion (or misgiving)
(about me), (then) they will be overjoyed).

Two remarks are to be made here:

one is that the grammarians claim that, statistically, these structures should be classified, with regard to language use, in the following order of frequency of occurrence:

- (a) ... non-past ... + ... non-past
- (b) ... past ... + ... past
- (c) ... past ... + ... non-past
- (d) ... non-past ... + ... past

They also claim that the structure (d) is restricted to poetic use only. al-Mubarrad disproves this claim, ⁽¹⁾ and we have seen that the examples given under (4) above prove the occurrence of this sequence in prose as well as in poetry. As for the former assumption, the grammarians did not provide the necessary analysis which justifies their claim. The second remark is that the grammarians are silent about the semantic differences between the sequences (a point with which we shall deal in Chapter 4).

In addition to these two remarks, there is one important point which concerns the specific use of the participle in the conditional 'if'-clause for

(1) See: al-Mubarrad (1965-1968), vol. 2, p.59.

the frequent expression of actions whose occurrence is to be expected with certainty. It has been recognized⁽¹⁾ that the structure

[conditional particle + the auxiliary verb kaana ([+past]) (([+non-pas

({ laa budda }) ([+ fismu faaḡil
 ({ }) ((({ })) + the participle ((({ })) (({ wa laa budda }) ([+ fismu mafḡuul

(active participle)])
)
) + the main clause], which
)
 (passive participle)])

is a regular type of Classical Arabic sentence structure, conveys the inescapability of the action concerned and its being beyond the rational decision of its perpetrators. Examples are:

(1) [conditional particle + kaana [+ past] + fismu faaḡil (active participle) + the main clause], e.g.
 fa qaala ḡumaru bnu lxaTTaab laa tabkuu ḡalaynaa

(1) See: al-Zamakhsharī (1948), vol. 2, p.125; al-Bayḏawī (1848), vol. 1, p.453; and Bravmann (1977), pp. 347-56.

man (conditional particle) kaana (past auxiliary verb) baakiyan (active participle) fa lyaxruj (the connective 'fa' and the main clause) (And Umar said: 'Do not weep over us (= over me)! Whoever cannot help weeping (= if anyone must weep), (then) he should leave (the house)).

(2) [conditional particle + kaana [+ past] + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu maf $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ uul (passive participle) + the main clause], e.g. qaala rajulun min qurayjin li rajulin min hawaazin $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ in (conditional particle) kuntu (the past auxiliary verb kaan) marbuuban (passive participle) fa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ inna rabban min qurayjin $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ a $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ habbu $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ilayya min rabbin min hawaazin (the connective 'fa' and the main clause) (A man from the tribe of Qurayj said to a man from the tribe of Hawaazin: 'If I must be dominated (i.e. if there exists with anyone an impulse which cannot be suppressed, to dominate me), (then) a lord from the tribe of Qurayj (that is, the speaker's tribe) is more desirable to me than a lord from the tribe of Hawaazin (that is, the tribe of the addressee)).

(3) [conditional particle + kaana [+ non-past] + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu faa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ il (active participle) + the main clause], e.g. man (conditional particle) yaku (non-past of the auxiliary verb kaana) saa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ilan (active participle) gan $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ a $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ nihi fa (connective) $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ inna $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ abaa nawfalin qad jayib (the main clause) (Whoever (= if anyone) cannot help asking concerning his affair (i.e. if it is unavoidable to ask), (then) (he shall receive the

unpleasant news that) Abū-Nawfal has perished).

(4) [conditional particle + kaana [+ non-past] + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu mafḡuul (passive participle) + the main clause], e.g. Ḥin (conditional particle) Ḥaku (non-past of the auxiliary verb kaana) maZluuman (passive participle) fa (connective) ḡabdun Zalamtahu (the main clause) (If my being punished (by you) cannot be helped (i.e., if I must be punished (by you) (it does not matter for,) it is a slave (of yours) whom you will have punished).

(5) [conditional particle + kaana [+ past] + laa budda + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu faaḡil (active participle) + the main clause], e.g. Ḥin (conditional particle) kuntum (the past auxiliary verb kaana) laa budda (a parenthetical phrase) faaḡiliin (active participle) fa ḡrabuu (the connective '**fa**' and the main clause) (If you cannot help doing it, so drink).

(6) [conditional particle + kaana [+ past] + wa laa budda + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu faaḡil (active participle) + the main clause], e.g. fa qaala TTufayliyyu Ḥin (conditional particle) kunta (the past auxiliary verb kaana) wa laa budda (a parenthetical phrase) faaḡilan (active participle) fa (connective) muri ssayyaafa Ḥan yaDriba baTnii bi ssayf (the main clause) (And the parasite said: If you cannot help doing it (that is, having me killed), (then) tell the executioner that he cut

off my belly with the sword).

(7) [conditional particle + kaana [+ past] + wa laa budda + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu maf $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ uul (passive participle) + the main clause], e.g. fin (conditional particle) kuntu (the past auxiliary verb kaana) wa laa budda (a parenthetical phrase) marbuuban (passive participle) fa (connective) finna rabban min qurayjin sahabbu silayya min rabbin min hawaazin (the main clause) (If I must be dominated, (then) a lord from Qurayj is more acceptable to me than a lord from Hawaazin).

(8) [conditional particle + kaana [+ non-past] + wa laa budda + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu faa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ il (active participle) + the main clause], e.g. fin (conditional particle) taku (non-past of the auxiliary verb kaana) wa laa budda (a parenthetical phrase) saariqan (active participle) fa ltasriq jamalaa (the connective 'fa' and the main clause) (If you must steal, (then) steal a camel (i.e., a valuable thing)).

(9) [conditional particle + kaana [+ non-past] + wa laa budda + $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ismu maf $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ uul (passive participle) + the main clause], e.g. fin (conditional particle) takun (non-past of the auxiliary kaana) wa laa budda (a parenthetical phrase) musayyanan (passive participle) fa (connective) laa tafxu $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ n nisaafaka wa Sibyaanaka ma $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aka (the main clause) (If you cannot help being

deported (by somebody), (then) do not take your wives and your little children with you).

I must point out here two things: one is that the parenthetical phrase *wa laa budda* (there is no escape) does not add any basically new concept to the structure [conditional particle + the auxiliary verb *kaana* + the participle ...] that is to say, it should be recognized that the phrase *wa laa budda* coincides with or stresses the basic concept expressed by the participle (i.e. the inescapability of the anticipated action). The other point is that the phrase *wa laa budda* instead of being inserted within the 'if'-clause (i.e. between the auxiliary verb *kaana* and the main verb of the 'if'-clause, which is expressed by a participle), could also be appended to this clause, e.g. *ſin kunta faaḡilan wa laa budda ...*. The possibility of such an end-position of the parenthetical idea, after a conditional clause to which it refers and whose content it emphasizes, is indicated by the use of the conjunction *wa* (and) which precedes *laa budda*.

3.2.4 Conditional clauses and ellipsis

It will be useful to quote here some of the general linguistic factors, stated by Quirk et al,⁽¹⁾ upon which our discussion of ellipsis will be based.

(1) Quirk et al, (1974), pp.536-50.

These factors are:

- (1) ellipsis is purely a surface phenomenon;
- (2) words are ellipted only if they are uniquely recoverable, i.e. there is no doubt as to what words are to be supplied, and it is possible to add the recovered words to the sentence;
- (3) what is uniquely recoverable depends on either linguistic context or situational context;
- (4) the motivation for ellipsis can be either or both (a) the avoidance of repetition, and (b) focusing on new information (that is to say by omitting items that have already occurred, attention can be focused on the new ones).

The following examples will be discussed in the light of these criteria which, it should be said, were already stated by the Arab grammarians. ⁽¹⁾

- (i) fa Talliqhaa fa lasta lahaa bi kuffin wa
 ṣillaa (< ṣin + laa) (tuTalliqhaa) ⁽²⁾ yaḡlu
 mafriqaka lḡusaamu ⁽³⁾ (And divorce her, for
 you are not a mate for her; and if you do
 not (divorce her) the sword will smite the
 crown of your head).

(1) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, pp.603-50 (particularly pp.603-12 and pp.646-50.
(2) The underlined elements are not present in the Arabic text.
(3) Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p.647.

- (ii) fa fin jaafa Saahibuhaa (ṣaxaḏahaa) wa fillaa (yajiṣ Saahibuhaa fa) ṣistamtig bihaa (And if its owner (that is the owner of an item of lost property) comes (he will take it) and if (its owner) does not (come) (then) you (the finder) take it away and enjoy it).
- (iii) wa llaahi fin jaaṣanii ḡaliyyun (ṣukrimhu) la ṣukrimannah (By God, if Ali comes to me, I will assuredly honour him).
- (iv) la fillam (< fin + lam) tantahuu (narjumkum) la narjumannakum (By God, if you do not desist, we will certainly stone you).

In these examples, one or more elements of the conditional sentence is ellipted. The expansion of these examples (that is adding the uniquely recoverable elements; the underlined elements)⁽¹⁾ is not a mere repetition of the elements as given earlier in the sentences, since morphological and syntactic changes are involved. However, it remains true that tuṬalliḡhaa (divorce her) - protasis - in (i), ṣaxaḏahaa ((will) take it, lit. took it) - apodasis - and yajiṣ (comes) - protasis - in (ii), and ṣukrimhu ((will) honour him) and narjumkum ((will) stone you) - apodasis - in (iii) and (iv) respectively, are uniquely recoverable and can be added to the sentence at the places indicated.

(1) Note that deletions do not necessarily correspond between Arabic example and English translation.

Three points are to be made here:

(1) Although the question 'What is the carrier of the feature 'condition' in a particle-conditional sentence?' has not yet been answered satisfactorily, it is linguistically justifiable to say that the presence of a conditional particle is the major evidence for the occurrence of the category. Therefore, the ellipting of this element is not possible.

(2) It has been maintained that the frequency of jumlatu jjarT (the protasis) being ellipted is much greater with the conditional particle fin than with other conditional particles.⁽¹⁾

(3) There are some constructions where there appears to be no reason to posit the ellipsis assumed by some grammarians.⁽²⁾ e.g.

faatiika fin taftinii (I (will) come to you if you come to me). In such a sentence, some grammarians assume that the underlined sentence is not the apodasis but sentence serving to explain the ellipted or suppressed apodasis. Thus this sentence should, from those grammarians' point of view, look like this:

(1) See: Hasan (1966), vol. 4, p. 339.

(2) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, pp. 632-3 and pp. 646-50.

faatiika (an explanatory sentence) fin (conditional particle) taftinii (protasis) faatiika (apodasis). This sentence, as it stands, apart from the fact that it is not grammatical, does not make sense.

3.2.5 The Connectives

The syntactic means by which the two correlative clauses of a conditional sentence are linked together are:

(1) ʔal-ʔiḡraab (inflections)

By 'ʔal-ʔiḡraab', I refer to the jussive form of the verbal imperfect (i.e. non-past) tense. The particles, which have the capability of governing the imperfect forms of a verb in the two correlative clauses, are associated with the category 'condition'. Examples are:

(i) fin tuSibhum sayyifaturun yaTTayyaruu bi muusaa wa man maḡah⁽¹⁾ (If they (i.e., Pharaoh's people) are overcome by calamity, (then) they ascribe it to evil omens connected with Moses and those with him).

(ii) man yaḡmal suuḡan yujza bih⁽²⁾ (Whoever (= if anyone) works evil, (then) he will

(1) Quran, part 7, verse 131.

(2) *ibid*, part 4, verse 123.

be requited accordingly).

- (iii) maa tuqaddimuu li fanfusikum min xayrin
tajiduuhu ġinda llaah⁽¹⁾ (Whatever (= if
anything) good you bring to your souls,
(then) you will find it with God).

In these examples the jussive mood in which the underlined verbs occur is due to the presence of the conditional particles *fin*, *man* and *maa* respectively, otherwise these verbs could have occurred in another inflection - i.e. the indicative mood:

- (i) ... tuSiibuhum ... yaTTayyaruun ...
(ii) ... yaġmalu ... yujzaa ...
(iii) ... tuqaddimuun .. tajiduunahu

(2) The use of the following particles

- (a) fa
(b) *fiġaa*
(c) a combination of fa + *fiġaa*
(d) *fiġan*
(e) la
(f) a combination of *fiġan* + la.

The use of these connectives will be considered in the order given:

(1) *ibid*, part 2, verse 110.

(a) fa. fa at the commencement of the apodasis is obligatory in some cases and optional in others. The obligatory cases are:

- (i) when the apodasis is a 'request' in the form of a complete nominal sentence, e.g. waylun lahu, in fin yaḡSi lwaladu ṣabawayhi fa waylun lahu (If a son disobeys his parents, (then) woe to him).
- (ii) when the apodasis is a nominal sentence introduced by a negative particle, e.g. maa laka ḥaZZun, in the sentence fin taḡSi waalidayka fa maa laka ḥaZZun (If you disobey your parents, (then) you will have no luck).
- (iii) when the apodasis is a nominal sentence introduced by finna, e.g. finna xusraanaka mubiin, in the sentence fin taḡSi waalidayka fa finna xusraanaka mubiin (If you disobey your parents, (then) surely your loss will be clear).
- (iv) when the perfect form, in the apodasis, is of past time reference, e.g. Sadaqat, in the sentence fin kaana qamiisuhu qudda min qubulin fa Sadaqat⁽¹⁾ (If his shirt (Joseph's shirt) is (has been) torn in front, (then)

(1) *ibid*, part 12, verse 26.

she (Zulayxa) has spoken the truth).

The optional cases, on the other hand, are:

- (i) when the perfect form, in the apodasis, conveys a promise or threat,⁽¹⁾ e.g.

kubbat wujuuhuhum fi nnaar, in the sentence

man jaaʿa bi ssayyifati fa kubbat wujuuhuhum
fi nnaar (If any do evil, their faces will be twirled into the fire).

- (ii) when the imperfect verb, in the apodasis, is preceded by the negative particles laa or lam e.g. laa yaxaafu baxsan, in the sentence

man yuʿmin bi rabbihi fa laa yaxaafu baxsan
wa laa rahaqaa⁽²⁾ (Whoever (= if anyone) believes in his lord, (then) he has no fear of any injustice).

- (iii) when the verb, in the apodasis, is in the indicative mood, e.g. tuḏakkiru, in the sentence

ʿin taDill ʿiḥdaahumaa fa tuḏakkiru ʿiḥdaahuma
lʿuxraa (with the verb taDill in the jussive

(1) Otherwise the occurrence of fa is unacceptable; Cf. ʿin qaama lmuʿaafiru qaama zamiiluh (If the traveller stands up, his companion will stand up). The sentence form, *ʿin qaama lmuʿaafiru *fa qaama zamiiluh, is inadmissible.

(2) Quran, part 72, verse 13.

mood and the verb tuḥakkiru in the indicative mood) (If any of them (the two women witnesses) errs, (then) the other can remind her).

(b) Ḥiḥaa. The so-called Ḥiḥa lfujaafiyyah⁽¹⁾ is regarded by the grammarians as a substitute for the connective fa; provided that (i) the sentence which Ḥiḥaa introduces is not a request and is not introduced by a negative particle or Ḥinna; (ii) that the conditional particles involved are either (a) Ḥin, e.g.

Ḥin (conditional particle) tuḤibhum sayyifatun bi maa qaddamat Ḥaydiihim (protasis) Ḥiḥaa (connective) hum yaqnaTuun (apodasis) (If some evil affects them (i.e. human beings) because of what their (own) hands have brought, (then) suddenly they are in despair!),
or

(b) Ḥiḥaa, e.g. Ḥiḥaa (conditional particle) daḡaakum daḡwatan mina lḤarDi (protasis) Ḥiḥaa (connective) Ḥantum taxrujuun (apodasis) (If (God) calls you (mankind) by a single call from the earth, (then) suddenly you (straightway) come forth). According to the grammarians' restrictions upon the use of Ḥiḥaa (that is, the use of Ḥiḥaa as a substitute for the connective fa), the following forms are unacceptable:

(1) One of the functions of Ḥiḥaa is to indicate that something unexpected has happened. It requires that the time reference of both the following and preceding clauses or statements should be the same.

(i)*	()	(waylun laka)
	(ſin)	((requisition))
	()	()
(ii)*	()	(maa laka ḥazzun)
	()	((negative))
	(ſiḏaa)	()
	()	()
(iii)*	()	(ſinna xusraanaka)
		(mubiin)

(c) fa + ſiḏaa. Although the grammarians are explicit about the ungrammaticality of joining fa and ſiḏaa to introduce the apodasis of a conditional sentence, the fact is that these elements do occur in association in this context, Cf.

ſiḏaa (conditional particle) futiḥat yaſjuuju wa maſjuuju wa hum min kulli ḥadabin yansiluun wa qtaraba lwaḡdu lḥaqqu fa ſiḏaa hiya jaaxiſatun ſabſaaru llaḏiina kafaruu⁽¹⁾ (If the Gog and Magog (people) are let through (their barrier) from every hill and the promise of fulfilment draws nearer, (then) suddenly the eyes of the unbelievers will stare fixedly in horror).

(d) ſiḏan. ſiḏan has been recognized as one of the devices that link the two clauses of a conditional sentence, provided that the associated conditional particle proper is law or ſin, e.g.

(1) Quran, part 21, verse 97.

(i) law xalada lkiraamu fiðan xaladnaa (If the noble (people) had lived, then we would have forever remained).

(ii) fin tunSif saxaaka fiðan taslam laka mawaddatuh (If you treat your brother fairly, then his friendship will be safe and sound).

The use of fiðan (then) is, however, optional in such sentences.

(e) la. The commonest device used to join the two clauses preceded by law (if) and lawlaa (if not) is the connective particle la.⁽¹⁾ In the case of law, la precedes

(1) the verbal sentence, which either

(a) contains a perfect (i.e. past) tense verbal form of past time reference, e.g.

law ɣalima llaahu fiihim xayran la ɣasmaɣahum wa law ɣasmaɣahum la tawallaw wa hum muɣriDuun⁽²⁾ (If God had found in them any good, (then) he would have made them listen: (as it is), if he had made them listen, (then) they would have turned back and abjured (their faith)), or

(b) a **similar** but negatived form, again of past

(1) It has been recognized by some grammarians that the occurrence of 'la' indicates a long delay in the fulfilment of the consequent while the absence of 'la' indicates, on the other hand, a short delay. [See: Hasan (1966), vol. 4, p.374].

(2) Quran, part 8, verse 23.

time reference, e.g.

wa law nuḡTa lxiyaara la ma⁽¹⁾ ftaraqnaa⁽²⁾ (And if we had been given the choice, (then) we would not have been separated).

Statistically, the frequency of case (a) is higher than (b).⁽³⁾

(2) the nominal sentence, e.g.

wa law ḡannahum ḡaamanuu wa ttaqaw la maṡuubatun min ḡindi llaahi xayr⁽⁴⁾ (If they had kept their faith and guarded themselves from evil, (then) they would have had from their lord far better reward).

(f) ḡiḡan + la. la may be optionally preceded by ḡiḡan, e.g.

law ḡantum tamlikuuna xazaafina raḡmati rabbii ḡiḡan la ḡamsaktum xaḡyata lḡinfaaq⁽⁵⁾ (If you had control of the treasures of the mercy of my lord, then you would keep them back for fear of spending them).

In the case of lawlaa, la may precede either:

(1) The only negative particle that can follow la is maa, simply to avoid the cacophony produced by the repetition of /l/ e.g.

(lam)

L + (lan).

(laa)

(2) Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.270.

(3) See: Hasan (1966), vol. 4, p.374.

(4) Quran; part 2, verse 103.

(5) ibid, part 17, verse 100.

(1) a positive verbal sentence, e.g.

lawlaa faDlu llaahi ḡalaykum wa raḡmatuhu la ttabaḡtumu
ʃʃayTaana ʃillaa qaliilaa⁽¹⁾ (Were it not for the
grace and mercy of God on you, (then) all but a few of
you would have fallen into the clutches of Satan); or

(2) a negative verbal sentence, e.g.

lawlaa faDlu llaahi ḡalaykum wa raḡmatuhu maa zaka
minkum min ʃaḡadin ʃabaḡaa⁽²⁾ (Were it not for the
grace and mercy of God on you, (then) not one of you
would ever have been pure).

(1) *ibid*, part 4, verse 83.

(2) *ibid*, part 24, verse 21.

CHAPTER FOUR

SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

4.0 General

A conditional sentence is a construction in which a protasis and an apodasis somehow determine or condition each other. In conditional sentences, conditional particles or as they ^{are} sometimes called "relational adverbials"⁽¹⁾ establish a relation between one event or circumstance and another event or circumstance. Since the syntactic connection between the antecedent and consequent of conditional sentences has been defined by almost all current linguistic theories as "a weak adjunct relationship at least at the surface level",⁽²⁾ it is reasonable to state that the connection between the two clauses of a conditional sentence is not a grammatical relation. Consequently, the relations between events or circumstances could be classified and characterized by the content of the relation alone. However, in this chapter, I shall try (a) to enumerate the most important semantic types and uses of Classical Arabic conditional constructions, and (b) to point out the relevant syntactic features which determine the acceptability of various semantic types of conditional sentences.

But before going into this I would like to discuss

(1) Bartsch (1976), p.101

(2) Tedeach II (1976), p.4.

language and its categories, on the other. The following fairly cursory treatment seems to suffice for present purposes.

(1) Indicative versus Subjunctive

'Indicative' and 'subjunctive' have been used to refer to "a 'fact-mood' and a 'thought-mood'"⁽¹⁾ respectively. The indicative, which is recognized as the unmarked⁽²⁾ mood, has the value of expressing fact-statements regardless of the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying. Similarly, with the indicative, there is no implication about the contingencies characteristic of conditional sentences, but we are concerned rather with the straightforward assertion or statement of facts. The subjunctive, on the other hand, has the value of expressing, for instance, unreality, impossibility or improbability, and "with regard to condition, the subjunctive is most often required if impossibility is implied."⁽³⁾ To quote Sweet, "there is in all languages a tendency to use the subjunctive - or whatever thought forms the language may possess to imply doubt or denial as

(1) Sweet (1891), part I, p.107.

(2) The general modern linguistic hypothesis of unmotivated choice is always suspicious. It is most unlikely that speakers will maintain a particular linguistic pattern without any motivation.

(3) Jespersen (1924), p.319.

opposed to certainty or affirmation. This is specially noticeable in conditional sentences."⁽¹⁾ The essential general characteristic of the so-called indicative and subjunctive conditional sentences can be illustrated by the following two sets of sentences:

Set (a) 'indicative':

- (i) If she is at the party now, she is having a good time.
- (ii) If she was at the party last night, she had a good time.
- (iii) If she is at the party tomorrow, she will have a good time.

Set (b) 'subjunctive':

- (i) If she were at the party now, she would be having a good time.
- (ii) If she had been at the party last night, she would have had a good time.
- (iii) If she were at the party tomorrow, she would have a good time.

In set (a) (i.e. the indicative), if time reference is either present or past (as in (i) and (ii) respectively), an indicative 'if'-clause tells us

(1) Sweet (1891), p.110.

that the speaker does not yet know whether the condition or postulated state of affairs came or has come to be a fact or not. If time reference is future, as in (iii), the speaker has no means of knowing now whether the condition will become a fact or not. So, in sentences of set (a), the speaker does not commit himself to either the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the postulated state of affairs. In other words, he leaves the two possibilities open. In set (b), (the subjunctive), on the other hand, when time reference is either present or past (b: (i) and (ii) respectively) the 'if'-clause expresses the opposite of reality (sometimes termed 'unfulfilled', the 'remote',⁽¹⁾ or 'irrealise',⁽²⁾ condition). When time reference is future (as in (b) (iii) a subjunctive 'if'-clause expresses improbability of fulfilment, in other words it tells us that the speaker thinks that it is improbable that condition will be fulfilled.

Indicative and subjunctive are said to be formally distinguished;⁽³⁾ however, we need not be surprised to find that the formal (i.e. syntactic)

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- (1) Joos (1964), pp.176-8 and pp.121-6 and also p.169.
(2) Zandvoort recognizes, with reference to conditional sentences, two types of subjunctive: one which he calls 'irrealise', is expressing unreality condition. The other (its counterpart) which he calls 'potential', is expressing possibility of fulfilment. Cf. Zandvoort (1957), p.88.
(3) Jarvis (1971), pp.19-21.

distinction between 'indicative' and 'subjunctive' is very slight and has little or no place as far as English is concerned.⁽¹⁾

(2) Semantic dichotomies

The following are various semantic interpretations of the assumed formal indicative/subjunctive dichotomy:

(a) Non-Counterfactual versus Counterfactual conditional

If it is the case that conditional 'if'-sentences are to be formally divided into the so-called two grammatical categories (indicative and subjunctive), it is equally valid to state that conditional 'if'-sentences fall into one of the two semantically-significant categories: non-counterfactual (i.e. [+ factual]) and counterfactual (i.e. [-factual]).

A non-counterfactual conditional sentence is said to indicate that "the speaker does not commit himself as to the realization or non-realization of the events specified in the antecedent."⁽²⁾ e.g. If I see John, I shall remind him.

There are, however, circumstances in which the

(1) See: Sweet (1891), p.107, Zandvoort (1957), p.88, Strang (1962), pp.152-3, Leech (1971), p.106 and Palmer (1974), p.48.
(2) Jarvis (1971), p.21.

features [+ factual] can be implied or even asserted.
Examples of the [+ factual] feature are:

- (i) If your family is proud, mine is worthy,
(the family is no doubt proud).
- (ii) "If Elizabeth was resolute for peace,
England was resolute for war."⁽¹⁾

Examples of the [- factual] feature are:

- (i) If this is so, I am a Dutchman.
(= it is not so, in my opinion).
- (ii) Do it if you dare.
(= you won't dare).

A counterfactual conditional sentence, on the other hand, is said to be uttered in the knowledge that its antecedent is false. e.g.

- (i) If I were you, I would not keep him
waiting any longer.
- (ii) If I had had enough money, I would have
paid at once.

The significant point to be clarified here is the relation between the previous dichotomy (i.e. indicative versus subjunctive) and this dichotomy (that is, non-counterfactual versus counterfactual).

(1) Onions (1971), p.70.

Ayers, who represents the extreme view on the issue, has pointed out in the philosophical literature of condition, that "to classify a conditional as counterfactual is not only a different thing, but quite a different kind of thing from saying that it is expressed in the subjunctive."⁽¹⁾ Ayers goes on to say that "the two properties are mutually independent and irrelevant, and different in kind. Thus it is not surprising that many contrary-to-fact conditionals are not expressed in the subjunctive mood and many conditionals which are expressed in this mood are not actually contrary-to-fact."⁽²⁾ From this, it seems clear that Ayers sees no relation between a conditional statement being contrary to fact and its being expressed in the subjunctive. The justification he offers for his view is that "An empirical statement cannot by itself give us reason for saying that it is true or that it is false, since the assertion that it is either is one which must be checked against the facts. Nor can we read off from the mood or from any other feature of an hypothetical statement whether or not the antecedent or the consequent is fulfilled, whether or not it is counterfactual. For this again has to be checked against the facts."⁽¹⁾

(1) Ayers (1965), pp.348-9.

(2) *ibid*, p.349.

(3) *ibid*, p.349.

(b) Open versus Rejected conditional sentences

A similar dichotomy to non-counterfactuals and counterfactuals is one proposed by Sweet: "Conditional sentences are of two kinds: (a) those which do not imply anything as to the fulfilment of the condition such as:

'if you are right, I am wrong',

where the speaker does not let us know whether he thinks the other one to be in the right or not;

(b) those which imply the rejection of the hypothesis, such as:

'if you were right, I should be wrong',

which may be expanded into:

'if you were right - which is not the case -
I should be wrong'.

We distinguish these two kinds of sentences as sentences of open condition and of rejected condition."⁽²⁾
The same division (i.e. open/rejected conditions) with more or less similar definitions have been given by other grammarians.⁽³⁾ The definitions given by

(1) *ibid*, p.349.

(2) Sweet (1891, part D, p.110.

(3) See: Poutsma (1929, part I, second half), p.694, Kruisinga (1932, part II, vol. 3), p.411, Kruisinga and Erades (1953, vol. I, part I), p. 120, and Zandvoort (1962), p.218.

these grammarians strongly suggest correspondence between this dichotomy (open/rejected) and the previous dichotomies (that is, non-counterfactual/counterfactual, on the one hand, and indicative/subjunctive on the other). 'Open' versus 'rejected' is characterized as follows:

(1) Clauses of open condition are exemplified only with examples termed 'indicative'. "Most languages use the indicative in sentences of open condition."⁽¹⁾

(2) A condition being 'open' and expressed in 'indicative' form does not imply that the condition will be fulfilled but merely shows that it is not rejected "A sentence of open condition does nothing more than leave the truth of the statement open without in anyway confirming it."⁽²⁾

(3) Rejected conditions express what "'is not', or 'is not likely' to be realized"⁽³⁾ or as Kruisinga and Erades put it, "clauses of rejected condition express a supposition contrary to what is known to the speaker as a fact, or uncertainty with regard to a possible future event."⁽⁴⁾ As we can see, (3) above indicates that what was previously termed a 'subjunctive'

(1) Sweet (1891), p.110.

(2) *ibid*, p.110.

(3) Zandvoort (1957), p.218.

(4) Kruisinga (1953), p.120.

condition is included under the term 'rejected' condition, though such an assumption is, at least, questionable as we shall see in (4).

(4) The relation open \longleftrightarrow indicative may be acceptable as interchangeable (as the sign indicates), the relation rejected \longleftrightarrow subjunctive, on the other hand, is insufficient and therefore questionable. This is due to the fact that the condition of being rejected is ambivalent, since 'rejected' means, according to Krusinga and Erades, either (a) contrary to what is known to the speaker as a fact, or (b) uncertainty. The implication of this is that "this is tantamount to saying that 'rejected' conditions are not, in fact, always rejected, but may possibly be 'open' (non-counterfactual), which either implies a contradiction or makes the term 'rejected' fairly meaningless."⁽¹⁾

Finally, the relation between open/rejected, on the one hand, and non-counterfactual/counterfactual, on the other, is certainly misleading and confusing, and this can be illustrated by examples which are not really counterfactuals yet are dealt with under rejected conditions.⁽²⁾

(1) Jarvis (1971), p.248.

(2) For examples, see Krusinga (1953), p.120.

(c) Real versus Unreal

The dichotomy real/unreal is employed by Palmer as, presumably, the equivalent of the non-counterfactual/counterfactual dichotomy. Palmer, however, does not define his terms directly but instead points out their distinctive features. In doing so, he suggests a regular relation between the past-tense forms and 'unreality' conditionals; past-tense, he says "is always used in the 'if'-clause of unreal conditions: if he came, he would find out."⁽¹⁾

He also suggests a regular relation between an expected tense/time relationship of the verb forms and 'real' conditionals "the real condition is: if he comes, he will find out."⁽²⁾

From Palmer's point of view the difference between the following pair of sentences:

(i) if John comes tomorrow, he will work in the garden.

(ii) if John came tomorrow, he would work in the garden.

"is in reality: the second with its past forms (came and would) is 'unreal' conditional, suggesting that the events envisaged are unlikely."⁽³⁾ Palmer also mentions the following:

(1) One of the three functions of tense-in English-is

(1) Palmer (1974), p.47.

(2) *ibid*, p.47.

(3) *ibid*, p.140.

"to mark 'unreality' particularly in conditional clauses." (1)

(2) 'Unreal' conditionals can be formed from the 'real' one by "simply replacing present-tense forms by past-tense forms and past-tense forms by doubly past forms." (2)

(3) Although a regular association between past-tense and unreality is recognized by Palmer, he mentions that conditional sentences such as:

if he came, he would work in the garden,
are ambiguous, since it is not clear whether the past-tense forms are a mark of past time or a mark of unreality: "unreal conditionals must always contain a modal (past-tense) in the main clause." (3) But Palmer also mentions that in spite of the occurrence of the modal in the main clause of a conditional sentence "ambiguity is possible." (4) These statements appear to represent a contradiction, and even his remark to the effect that ambiguity with the occurrence of the modal verb is "unlikely ... and it would require a special context in which it was clear that we were talking about past-tense," (5) does not justify his undefined and unclear term 'unreality' or its relation to past-tense.

(1) *ibid*, p.43.
(2) *ibid*, p.140.
(3) *ibid*, p.140.
(4) *ibid*, p.140.
(5) *ibid*, p.141.

It might be appropriate to mention here the attempt made by Schachter to explicate some traditional semantic categories of the conditional construction on the basis of the verb phrase structure in the main clause and the 'if'-clause since some of her terms are related to Palmer's 'real' and 'unreal'. She uses the following semantic categories for conditionals:

(1) reality conditionals

and (2) unreality conditions, subdividing the latter into two types:

(a) future simple conditionals

and (b) imaginative conditions. She sub-subdivides, in turn, the imaginative conditionals into:

(i) hypothetical conditionals

and (ii) counterfactual conditionals.⁽¹⁾

Schachter admits that she leaves much uncharted territory in the semantic category of 'unreality conditionals',⁽²⁾ she also admits that she does not have much to offer regarding what she calls 'future simple conditionals' "I do not have much to offer as far as the semantic analysis of simple conditionals is concerned."⁽³⁾ However, the three distinctions within

(1) Cf., Schachter (1971), p.66. For the definition of her terms, see pp. 62-5.

(2) Cf. *ibid*, pp.62-3.

(3) *ibid*, p.62.

her category 'unreality conditionals' (future simple, hypothetical, and counterfactual) are summed up by Glendinning-Johnson; they "mirror similar distinctions drawn by Nelson Goodman (Fact, Fiction and Forecast). "Non-fact" unreality conditionals describe what did not happen in this world, i.e. Schachter's counterfactual conditionals; fictional unreality conditionals describe what might happen in some other world, i.e. Schachter's hypothetical conditionals; and unreality conditionals which function as forecasts predict what will happen in this world, i.e. Schachter's future simple conditionals."⁽¹⁾

4.2.0 Types of conditional

In Classical Arabic there are many types of conditional sentences. They are used for many different purposes. These types are:

- (1) Instructional conditionals.
- (2) Concessive conditionals.
- (3) 'Relevance' conditionals.
- (4) Responsive conditionals.
- (5) Dialectical conditionals.
- (6) Counterfactual conditionals.

(1) Glendinning-Johnson (1976), p.64. See also the comparison Schachter herself draws between her terms and Goodman's terms, Schachter (1971), pp. 67-8.

- (7) Desiderative conditionals.
- (8) Resultative conditionals.
- (9) 'Implication' conditionals.

This syntacto-semantic classification is based not on the Arab grammarians' observation, but merely on my long and thorough examination of the data they used in their grammar books as well as the conditional sentences which exist in the Quran and in some of the well-known literature references. I shall consider the above types in the order given.

4.2.1 Instructional conditionals

An instructional or directional conditional structure is that in which the protasis states a possible event and the apodasis conveys directions as to what should or should not be done or wished to be done in the event the protasis obtains. It has the following semantic and syntactic features:

- (a) It involves an assumption about a probable occurrence value of the event selected for representation, e.g. the event of partners dealing with each other in a transaction and writing down their deals in a legal document as in the sentence:

Siḏaa tadaayantum bi daynin silaa fajalin musamman
fa ktubuuh wa lyaktub baynakum kaatibun bi
lḡadl⁽¹⁾ (When (= if) you deal with each other in

(1) Quran, part 2, verse 282.

transactions involving future obligations in a fixed period of time, reduce them to writing, and let a scribe write down faithfully as between the parties).

(b) It cannot be used as a form of argument, that is to say it does not involve a deductive conclusion in its apodasis.

(c) The tense form most commonly used in the 'if'-clause of this type is $\text{\textcircled{S}alfi\textcircled{S}l \text{\textcircled{S}almaaDii}$ (The past-tense form) e.g. balaya, nasiya and \text{\textcircled{S}axTafa in the following sentences:

(i) $\text{\textcircled{S}i\textcircled{S}aa \text{\textcircled{S}alaya \text{\textcircled{S}l\textcircled{S}aTfaalu \text{\textcircled{S}inkumu \text{\textcircled{S}huluma \text{\textcircled{S}a}$
 $\text{\textcircled{S}yasta\textcircled{S}i\textcircled{S}nuu^{(1)}$ (When (= if) the children
among you (not necessarily your own children)
come of age, let them ask for permission).

(ii) $\text{\textcircled{S}abbanaa \text{\textcircled{S}aa \text{\textcircled{S}u\textcircled{S}aaxi\textcircled{S}naa \text{\textcircled{S}in \text{\textcircled{S}asi\textcircled{S}naa \text{\textcircled{S}aw}$
 $\text{\textcircled{S}axTaf\textcircled{S}naa^{(2)}$ (Our Lord! do not condemn us
if we forget or fall into error).

(d) It is syntactically realised in constructions which have, as their apodasis, non-declarative sentences; mainly imperative and prohibitive forms. The functional uses of these syntactic forms are as follows:

(1) The imperative forms. The chief among the many

(1) *ibid*, part 24, verse 59.
(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 286.

functional uses of the imperative forms are:

(a) giving an order. e.g.⁽¹⁾

(i) man kaana yaniyyan fa lyastaḡfif wa man kaana faqiiran fa lyaḡkul bi lmaḡruuf⁽²⁾ (If the guardian (of the orphans) is well-off, let him claim no remuneration, and if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable).

(ii) wa ḡayḡumaa kuntum fa walluu wujuuhakum jaTraḡ⁽³⁾ (And wherever you are, turn your faces to its direction (i.e. to the direction of the sacred mosque)).

(iii) wa ḡaḡhiduu ḡiḡaa tabaayaḡtum⁽⁴⁾ (And take witnesses whenever (= if) you make a commercial contract).

The imperative forms liyastaḡfif and liyaḡkul in (i), walluu in (ii), and ḡaḡhiduu in (iii) state commands to be carried out in the case that the event in the protasis obtains.

(b) giving permission. e.g.

(i) ḡin kuntunna turidna lḡayaata ddunyaa wa

(1) The examples are intended to illustrate different conditional particles, and different word-order of the two clauses as well as various forms of the imperative.

(2) Quran, part 4, verse 6.

(3) ibid, part 2, verse 150.

(4) ibid, part 2, verse 282.

ziinatahaa fa taḡaalayna ṡumattiḡkunna wa
ṡusarriḡkunna saraaḡan jamiilaa⁽¹⁾ (If it
is that you (i.e. the wives of the prophet
Muhammad) desire the life of this world, and
its glitter, (then) come I will provide for
your enjoyment and set you free (i.e.
divorce you) in a handsome manner).

(ii) nisaafukum ḡarṡun lakum fa ṡtuu ḡarṡakum
ṡannaa ṡiṡtum⁽²⁾ (Your wives are as a tilth
to you; you may approach your tilth when or
how you will).

(iii) fa ṡiṡaa taṡaharna fa ṡtuuhunna min ḡayṡu
ṡamarakumu llaah⁽³⁾ (When (= if) they
(wives) have purified themselves (i.e. from
their monthly period), (then) you (i.e.
husbands) may approach them in any manner,
time, place ordained for by God).

Considering the internal state of the addressee
as indicated in the 'if'-clauses of (i) and (ii) by
the verbs *turidna* (to wish) and *ṡiṡtum* (to want or to
wish) respectively and in (iii) by the common and legal
knowledge that intercourse is not an obligatory act on
the part of the husband (or indeed a wife) at any
specific time, the speaker opens up options for the

(1) *ibid*, part 33, verse 28.
(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 223.
(3) *ibid*, part 2, verse 222.

addressee and thus transforms the performative force of the imperatives taḡaalayna, fiṣṭuu, and fiṣṭuuhunna in (i), (ii) and (iii) above respectively to the granting of permission.

(c) delivering a warning. e.g.

Ṣin kaana ṣaabaafukum wa ṣabnaafukum wa ṣixwaanukum wa ṣazwaajukum wa ḡajiiratukum wa ṣamwaaluni qṭaraftumuuhaa wa tijaaratun taxṣawna kasaadahaa wa masaakinu tarḌawnahaa ṣaḡabba ṣilaykum mina llaahi wa rasuulihi wa jihaadin fii sabiilihi fa tarabbaṢuu ḡattaa yaṣṭiya llaahu bi ṣamriḡ⁽¹⁾ (If it is the case that your fathers, sons, borthers, mates, kindred, wealth that you have gained, commerce in which you fear a decline or the dwellings in which you delight are dearer to you than God, his prophet and the striving in the cause of God, (then) wait the punishment of God).

(d) stating a challenge. e.g.

(i) Ṣin kuntum fii raybin min maa nazzalnaa ḡalaa ḡabdinaa fa Ṣṭuu bi suuratin min miṡliḡ⁽²⁾ (If you are in doubt as to what we have revealed from time to time to our servant (i.e. Muhammad), (then) produce a suurah (that is, a chapter) of its kind).

(ii) fa Ṣṭuu bi ṣaabaafinaa Ṣin kuntum Ṣaadiqiin⁽³⁾

(1) *ibid*, part 9, verse 24.
(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 23.
(3) *ibid*, part 44, verse 36.

(Then bring (back) our forefathers, if what you say is true! (i.e. if there is life after death)).

- (iii) ƆanbiƆuunii bi Ɔasmaafi haafulaafi Ɔin kuntum Saadiqiin⁽¹⁾ (Tell me the nature (lit. the names) of these (i.e. all things) if you were right).

Notice that the syntactic marker of this functional use of the imperative is the required use of *kaan* in the protasis.

- (e) giving advice. e.g.

(i) wa Ɔin Ɔanaa yawman Ɔayyabatnii Ɔayaabatii fa siiruu bi sayrii fi lƆaƆiirati wa lƆahli (And if I am driven out of this world, conduct the kindred affairs according to my way).

(ii) Ɔalaa nafs*hi* fa lyabki man Daaga Ɔumruhu wa laysa lahu fiihaa naSiibun wa laa sahmun⁽²⁾ ((Then) let him weep for himself, anyone, whose life is all wasted, he having neither part nor portion of the wine).

(2) The prohibitive form

The prohibitive form, like the imperative, has

(1) *ibid*, part 2, verse 31.

(2) Ibn-al-Farid (See: Arberry (1965), pp.132-3).

several functional uses. The paramount among these are:

(a) forbidding. e.g.

(i) Siḏaa Tallaqtumu nnisaaḥa fa balayna
ḥajalahunna fa laa taḡDuluuhunna ḥan yankihna
ḥazwaajahunna⁽¹⁾ (When (= if) you divorce
women and they fulfil the term of their
'ḡiddah' (i.e. the legally prescribed period
of waiting during which a woman may not
remarry after being widowed or divorced),
(then) do not prevent them from marrying
their (former) husbands).

(ii) Siḏaa tanaajaytum fa laa tatanaajaw bi
lḥiḥmi wa lḡudwaani wa maḡSiyati rrasuul⁽²⁾
(When (= if) you hold secret counsel, (then)
do not do it for iniquity and hostility and
disobedience to the prophet).

(b) request. e.g.

rabbanaa laa tuḥaaxiḏnaa ḥin nasiinaa ḥaw ḥaxṬafnaa⁽³⁾

(Our lord! do not condemn us if we forget or fall into
error).

(3) Optative forms. Optative forms include the
following:

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- (1) Quran, part 2, verse 232.
(2) ibid, part 58, verse 9.
(3) ibid, part 2, verse 286.

(a) ṢadduḡaaṢ (invocation), as the underlined clause in the sentence:

Ṣiḡaamaa mittu min ZamaṢin laa jaraa min baḡdiya nniilu⁽¹⁾ (If I die of thirst, may the Nile not flow after me).

(b) Ṣattamannii (wish), as the underlined clause in the sentence:

Ṣin tarani Ṣanaa Ṣaqalla minka maalan wa waladaa fa ḡasaa rabbii Ṣan yuṢtiyani xayran min jannatika wa yursila ḡalayhaa ḡusbaanan mina ssamaafi fa tuṢbiḡa Ṣaḡiidan zalaḡaa⁽²⁾ (If you see me less than you in wealth and sons, it may be that my lord will give me something better than your garden, and that he will send on your garden thunderbolts (by way of reckoning) from heaven, making it (nothing but) slippery sand!).

(c) ṢattaḡDiid (urgent request), as the underlined clause in the sentence:

lawmaa taṢtiinaa bi lmalaaṢikati Ṣin kunta mina ṢṢaadiqiin⁽³⁾ (Why do not you bring angels to us if you have the truth).

(4) Hortatory expressions

By hortatory expressions I mean those expressions

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- (1) Bahā'-al-Dīn Zuhayr, (see: Arberry (1965), pp.132-3), for more examples see: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (1952), vol. 3, p.290.
(2) Quran, part 18, verses 39 and 40.
(3) ibid, part 15, verse 7.

used to encourage the addressee to perform or continue the action selected in the 'if'-clause. e.g.

(i) $\text{\textcircled{S}in tubdu SSadaqaati fa ni\u00f0immaa hiya}^{(1)}$

(If you disclose (the acts of) charity,
(then) it is well).

(ii) $\text{\textcircled{S}an taSuumu xayrun lakum \textcircled{S}in kuntum}$

$\text{ta\u00f0lamuun}^{(2)}$ (It is better for you to
fast, if you only knew (what is good for
you)).

The expressions 'ni\u00f0immaa hiya' and 'san taSuumu xayrun lakum', in (i) and (ii) respectively are used functionally to encourage the addressee to perform the action in the 'if'-clause i.e. to seek publicity in charity (if the charity is for public purposes, that is) and to perform the fasting.

4.2.2 Concessive conditionals

Conditional sentences are also used concessively. Concessive conditional sentences express the contingent dependence of one circumstance upon another and the surprising nature of this dependence. e.g. $\text{wa yu\u00f0iruuna \u00f0alaa sanfusihiim wa law kaana bihiim xaSaasah,}^{(3)}$ ((They prefer (others) over themselves (i.e. they prefer others first), even though poverty is their own lot.

Conditional sentences of this type are marked

(1) *ibid*, part 2, verse 271.
(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 184.
(3) *ibid*, part 59, verse 9.

syntactically and semantically.

(1) On the syntactic side, concessive conditional sentences are marked by the required modification of the 'if'-clause by the conjunctions wa⁽¹⁾ or fa immediately preceding the conditional particles, mainly fin and law. These compound concessive conditional particles are as follows:

(a) wa + fin. e.g.

(i) wa laa tamliku lhasnaafu qalbiya kullahu
wa fin familathaa riggatun wa jabaabu⁽²⁾
(And the lovely woman does not own my
heart entirely, even though she is wrapped
around in tenderness and youth).

(ii) wa ġindiya minhaa nafwatun qabla nafſatii
maġii ſabadan tabqaa wa fin baliya lġazmu⁽³⁾
(And I was set a-whirl with it (i.e. the
wine), before ever I grew (to manhood),
and with me that rapture shall abide
forever, even though my bones may crumble).

(b) wa + law. e.g.

(i) Sabuurun wa law lam tabqa minnii baqiyyatun
qafuulun wa law ſanna ssuyuufa jawaabu⁽⁴⁾

(1) It is important to notice that the conjunction wa in this instance does not refer to any prior statement.

(2) Abu-Firas, (see: Arberry (1965), pp.92-3).

(3) Ibn-al-Farid, (see: Arberry (1965)), pp.130-1).

(4) Abu-Firas, (see: Arberry (1965), pp.92-3).

((I am) a long-suffering man, even if not so much as a last remnant of me remains; (and I am) bold to speak, even though the sword is the answer).

(ii) laa tajidu qawman yuṣminuuna bi llaahi wa lyawmi lfaaxiri yuwaadduuna man ḥaadda llaaha wa law kaanuu ṣaabaafahum ṣaw ṣabnaafahum law ṣixwaanahum ṣaw ḡajjiratahum⁽¹⁾ (You will not find any people who believe in God and the last day (i.e. the Day of Judgement), loving those who resist God and his prophet, even though they were their fathers or their sons or their brothers or their kindred).

(c) fa + ṣin. e.g.

fa ṣin lam yakun wuddun qadiimun naḡudduhu wa laa nasabun bayna rrijaali quraabu fa ṣaḡwaTu li lṣislaami ṣallaa yuḊiiḡanii⁽²⁾ (Even if there were not an ancient love for us to reckon, nor a close relationship between men, yet Islam is better guarded by his not wasting me).

Classical Arabic concessive conditional clauses tend to vary in their position, in the case of 'wa + law'-clause, as the examples in (ii) above show, the 'wa + law'-clause tends to assume final position.⁽³⁾

(1) Qurān, part 58, verse 22.

(2) Abu-Firas, (see: Arberry (1965), pp.96-7).

(3) Occasionally, for stylistic reasons, 'walaw'clause is parenthetically used. e.g. wa fii sakratin minhaa wa laa ḡumra saḡatin tara ddahra ḡabdan wa laka lḡukmu, (And in your intoxication there with, be it but for the life of an hour, yet you shall see Time's self become an obedient slave, yours being the command (of it)).

In the case of 'fa + ſin'-clause, the modified 'if'-clause can only be initially positioned. In the case of 'wa + ſin', on the other hand, the concessive conditional clause can be positioned either

(i) initially, e.g.

wa ſin Taala rruqaadu mina lbaraayaa fa ſinna rraaqidiina lahum mahabbu⁽¹⁾ (Even though the sleep of mortals shall be long, for the sleepers there must surely be an awakening),
or

(ii) finally, e.g.

laa yaſtuuna bi miθlihi wa ſin kaana bağDuhum li bağDin Zahiiraa⁽²⁾ (They (i.e. the whole of mankind and Jinns) could not produce the like of the Quran, even if they backed up each other);
or

(iii) parenthetically, e.g.

wa laa taraahum wa ſin jallat muSiibatuhum mağa lbukaati ġalaa man maata yabkuuna⁽³⁾
(You will not see them, even if their calamity is weighty, weeping among the weepers, over a deceased person).

(1) Abū-al-'Alā' (see: Arberry (1965), pp.112-13).

(2) Cf. Quran, part 17, verse 88.

(3) al-Nahshali (see: Muhibb al-Dīn (1951), p.207).

(2) On the semantic side, concessive conditional sentences are usually marked by an absence of conditional force; that is to say, in concessive conditional sentences the speaker is not really concerned with a direct relationship between the antecedent and the consequent but rather with expected entailments of the antecedent to the extent of intending to assert the exact opposite of an expected entailment: e.g.

laa yaʕmani ddahra ŕuu bayyin wa law malikan junuuduhu
Daaqa ɣanha ssahlu wa ljabalu⁽¹⁾ (A tyrant is not
safe from vicissitudes of fate, even if (he is) a King
for whose hosts the plain and the mountain have become
too small).

In a conditional construction, the validity of the main clause is restricted to the actual fulfilment of the action in the antecedent:

ʕin kaana ŕu lbayyi malikan yaʕmani ddahra (If a tyrant is a King, (then) he will be safe from vicissitudes of fate).

With concessive constructions, on the other hand, the antecedent does not limit the validity of the consequent but extends it even in the event of the fulfilment of the special conditions or situations stated by the antecedent.

(1) See: Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, p.268.

4.2.3 'Relevance' conditionals

A 'relevance' conditional type (sometimes called "telling conditional")⁽¹⁾ is that in which the only reason for linking the apodasis with the protasis is the speaker's knowledge or estimation that his addressee may need to know something that is relevant to what is presented in the protasis of a conditional sentence. Examples are:

- (i) wa man Talaba lfathā ljaliila fa ḡinnamaa mafaatiiḥuhu lbiiDu lxifaafu SSawaarimu⁽²⁾

(And whoever (= if anyone) seeks a great victory, (then) (it is relevant to know that) its keys are only the light, cutting white swords).

- (ii) ḡiḥaama ntaṣabnaa lam talidnii laḡiimatun⁽³⁾

(Whenever (= if at any time) we trace our lineage, (then it is relevant to know that) it will appear that an ignoble woman did not bear me).

The distinctive semantic feature of this type is that there is no connection between the occurrence value of the antecedent and the occurrence value of the consequent. The keys to a great victory being the light, cutting and white swords (in (i)) is a fact of life whether somebody seeks it or not as a means of

(1) Davies (1979), p.146.

(2) al-Mutanabbi, (see: Arberry (1965), pp.88-9).

(3) See: Ibn Hisham, vol. 2, p.26.

achieving his or her goal, and the speaker's mother not being an ignoble woman (in (ii)) is a personal and social fact irrespective of whether or not she is compared with other women).

From the structural point of view, 'relevance' conditional sentences allow only *ṣaljumalu lxabariyyah* (statements or declarative sentences) to occur as apodasis. *ṣaljumalu lxabariyyah* (the declarative sentences) which function as apodasis can be of many types. These types are as follows:

(1) jumlatun ṣismiyyatun muḥbatatun (a positive nominal sentence). e.g.

(i) *Ṣin tawallaytum fa ṣinnamaa ḡalaa rasuulina lbalaayu lmubiin*⁽¹⁾ (If you shun (the teaching of God), (then it is relevant to know that) the duty of our prophet (Muhammad) is to proclaim (the message) clearly and openly).

(ii) *Ṣin kaana li ṣḡaxSi buḡdun fa li lḡalaaṣiqi qurbu*⁽²⁾ (If the bodily form is far, (then it is relevant to know that) the likes of affliction are near).

(iii) *man kafara fa ṣinna llaaha ḡaniyyun ḡani*

(1) Quran, part 64, verse 12.

(2) al-Sharif al-Radi (see: Arberry (1965), pp.104-5).

lḡaalamiin⁽¹⁾ (If any denies faith, (then it is relevant to know that) God is in no need of any of his creatures).

The nominal declarative sentences:

ḡinnamaa ḡalaa rasuulina lbalaayu lmubiin, li lḡalaaḡiqi qurbu, and ḡinna llaaha ḡaniyyun ḡani lḡaalamiin (in (i), (ii) and (iii) respectively) are uttered as information relevant to what has been said in the 'if'-clauses. There is no connection between the occurrence value of the apodasis and that of the protasis. The only connection is that the main clause represents relevant information.

(2) jumlatun ḡismiyyatun manfiyyatun, (a negative nominal sentence), e.g.

(i) ḡin kaana sarrakumuu maa ḡaala ḡaasidunaa fa maa li jurḡin ḡiḡaa ḡarDaakumuu ḡalamu (If what has been said by our envier delights you, (then it is relevant to know that) no injury which pleases you will ever hurt me).

(ii) maa bi lmawti ḡaarun ḡala lfattaa ḡiḡaa lam tuSibhu fi lhayaati lmaḡaayiru⁽²⁾ (There need be no disgrace in being dead, if the infamies did not disgrace him in his life time).

(1) Quran, part 3, verse 97.

(2) Laylā al-'Akhyaliyyah (see: Al-Zajjājī (1963), pp. 77-8).

(3) jumlatun fiġliyyatun muθbatatun, (a positive verbal sentence). e.g.

(i) Ŗinna ġiraaran Ŗin yakun yaayra waaDiġin fa Ŗinnii Ŗuġibbu ljawna Ŗa lmankibi lġamam⁽¹⁾
(If indeed Iraar is an enigmatical person, (then it is relevant to know that) I like things which are difficult to comprehend (lit. I like a gigantic dark cloud)).

(ii) man yattabiġ xuTuwaati jJayTaan fa Ŗinnahu yaŖmuru bi lfahjaafi wa lmunkar⁽²⁾ (If anyone follows the footsteps of Satan, (then it is relevant to know that) Satan will, indeed, command what is shameful and wrong).

(4) jumlatun fiġliyyatun manfiyyatun, (a negative verbal sentence). e.g.

(i) Ŗin kuntum fii jakkin min diinii fa laa Ŗaġbudu llađiina taġbuduuna min duuni llaah⁽³⁾
(If you are in doubt as to my religion, (then it is relevant to know that) I do not worship what you worship other than God).

'Relevance' conditional sentences can be used to specify a relevant alternative possibility to what has been already given in the protasis, e.g.

(1) See: al-Qālī (1953), vol. 2, p.188.
(2) Quran, part 24, verse 21.
(3) ibid, part 10, verse 104.

- (i) wa staʃhiduu ʃahiidayni min rijaalikum fa ʃillam yakuunaa rajulayni fa rajulun wa mraʃataan min man tarDawna mina ʃʃuhadaaʃ⁽¹⁾
(And get two witnesses⁽²⁾ out of your own men and if there are not two men, (then) a man and two women such as you choose for witnesses (is an alternative solution)).
- (ii) wa ʃin kuntum ɣalaa safarin wa lam tajiduu kaatiban fa rihaanun maqbuuDah⁽³⁾ (And if you are on a journey and cannot find a scribe (to write down the details of your transactions which involve future obligation), (then) a pledge with possession (is an alternative solution)).
- (iii) ʃin ɣuθira ɣalaa ʃannahuma staḥaqqaa ʃiθman fa ʃaaxaraani yaquumaani maqaamahumaa⁽⁴⁾ (If it gets known that these two (i.e. the two witnesses of a bequest) were guilty of a sin, (then) two others standing in their places (is the alternative solution)).

(1) ibid, part 2, verse 282.

(2) The text out of which this verse has been taken is about transactions involving future obligations.

(3) Quran, part 2, verse 283.

(4) ibid, part 5, verse 107.

4.2.4 Responsive conditionals

Responsive conditional sentences are those in which the apodasis states a habitual response to the action selected in the protasis, e.g.

Siḥaa buḥḥira Ṣaḥaduhum bi lṣunṠaa Zalla wajhuhu
muswaddan wa huwa kaZiim⁽¹⁾ (When (= if) news is
brought to one of them (i.e. the pagan Arabs) of (the
birth of) a female (child), (then) his face darkens
and is filled with inward grief). In this sentence
the occurrence value of the apodasis (i.e. a pagan Arab
feeling shame and filled with inward grief) is the
habitual response to the occurrence value of the protasis
(i.e. a pagan Arab being told the news of having a
daughter).

Structurally speaking, it is noticeable that responsive conditional sentences require parallelism of tense-forms regardless of person, gender, number or voice, that is to say the protasis and the apodasis of this type of conditional sentences can only be either

(1) fiḡlun maaDin (a past-tense form) or

(2) fiḡlun muDaariḡun (a non-past tense form. lit. a verb that resembles the participle).

(1) Parallelism of past-tense forms can be illustrated by raṣaa/ṣinfaDDa, baraza/bayyata, ḥukira/wajila,

(1) *ibid*, part 16, verse 58.

tuliya/zaada, and funzila/nazara, in the following sentences respectively.

- (i) Siḏaa rafaw tijaaratan saw lahwan ḥinfaDDuu ḥilayhaa⁽¹⁾ (Whenever (= if at any time) they (i.e. the hypocrites) see some bargains or amusement, they disperse headlong to it).
- (ii) Siḏaa barazuu min ḡindika bayyata Taaḥifatun minhun ḡayra llaḥii taquul⁽²⁾ (Whenever (= if) they (i.e. the hypocrites) leave you (i.e. prophet Muhammad), (then) a section of them meditates all night on things very different from what they told you).
- (iii) Ḥinnama lmuḥminuuna llaḥiina Siḏaa ḥukira llaahu wajilat quluubuhun wa Siḏaa tuliyat ḡalayhim Ḥaayaatuhu zaadathun Ḥiimaanaa⁽³⁾ (Believers are those who if God is mentioned, (then) they feel a tremor in their hearts, and if they hear his Quranic verses rehearsed, (then) they find their faith strengthened).
- (iv) Siḏaamaa funzilāt suuratun nazara baḡDuhun Ḥilaa baḡDin hal yaraakun min Ḥaḥadin Ḥumma nSarafuu⁽⁴⁾ (Whenever (= if) a section of the Quran is revealed, (then) they (i.e. the unbelievers) look at each other (saying) does anyone see you? then they turn aside).

(1) ibid, part 62, verse 11.

(2) ibid, part 4, verse 81.

(3) ibid, part 8, verse 2.

(4) ibid, part 9, verse 127.

(2) Parallelism of non-past tense forms, on the other hand, can be exemplified by tamsas/tasuf, tuSib/yafrah, taḥmil/yalhaθ, tatruk/yalhaθ, yutlaa/yaxirr, and nansax/nafti, underlined in the following examples:

(i) Ṣin tamsaskum ḥasanatun tasuḥhum wa Ṣin tuSibkum sayyifatun yafraḥuu bihaa⁽¹⁾

(If a good thing befalls you (i.e. the believers), it grieves them (i.e. the unbelievers), and if a misfortune overtakes you, they rejoice at it).

(ii) maḠaluhu ka maḠali lkalbi Ṣin taḥmil ḡalayhi yalhaθ wa Ṣin tatrukhu yalhaθ⁽²⁾ (His

similitude (i.e. the similitude of those who reject the sign of God and follow their own vain desires) is like that of a dog: if you attack him, he lolls out his tongue or if you leave him alone, he lolls out his tongue).

(iii) Ṣiḡaa yutlaa ḡalayhim yaxirruuna li lṢaḡqaani sujjadaa⁽³⁾ (Whenever (= if at any time) it

(i.e. the Quran) is recited to them (i.e. the believers), they prostrate themselves).

(iv) maa nansax min Ṣaayatin Ṣaw nunsihaa nafti bi xayrin minhaa Ṣaw miḠlihaa⁽⁴⁾ (Whatever

(1) *ibid*, part 3, verse 120.

(2) *ibid*, part 7, verse 176.

(3) *ibid*, part 17, verse 107.

(4) *ibid*, part 2, verse 106.

(= if) we abrogate (from the Quranic verses) or cause to be forgotten, (then) we substitute something better or similar). This parallelism of tense forms is, optionally, supplemented by the use of the auxiliary verb *kaana* preceding the 'if'-clause of a responsive conditional sentence. Examples are:

- (i) *kaana fiḥaa ḥaDarati SSalaatu xaraja filaa jiḡaabi makkah⁽¹⁾* (Whenever (= if) the time of prayer comes, he (i.e. the prophet Muhammad) goes out to the mountain-roads of Mecca).
- (ii) *wa kuntu fiḥaa yamaztu qanaata qawmin kasartu kuḡuubahaa⁽²⁾* (And whenever (= if) I sound a tribe out, I break its resistance (lit. if I squeezed a spear of a tribe, I broke its knots)).
- (iii) *fa qaama fabuu laylaa filayhi bnu Zaalimin wa kaana fiḥaamaa yasluli ssayfa yaDrib⁽³⁾* (Then Abuu-Laylaa; the son of Zaalim, arose to help him, and he was wont, whenever (= if) he

(1) Cf., Wright (1896-1898), vol. 2, p.10.

(2) Ibn Hisham, vol. 1, p.66.

(2) al-Farazdaq (see: al-Farazdaq (1936), vol. 1, p.22). For more examples see: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (1952), vol. 1, p.245, and vol. 3, pp.304, 452.

drew the sword, to smite).

4.2.5 Dialectical conditionals

A dialectical conditional sentence is the regular form for various different although related conditional sentences. By dialectical conditional sentences I mean those sentences which are structurally presented in the form of a dialogue indicating (1) mere contrast and comparison, (2) antithesis with self-assertion, or (3) remark and answer. These types, apart from (a) being presented in a dialogue, (b) expressing different kinds of contrast and comparison, and (c) the regularity of introducing the conditional structure by what I call the resuming⁽¹⁾ -'fa' or 'wa' even with the reversed order of the conditional structure (i.e. even when the apodasis precedes the protasis),⁽²⁾ are syntactically distinguished. Let us take them in turn:

(1) Mere contrast and comparison

Examples are:

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- (1) By resuming I mean taking up something that has been stated in a previous discourse or passage of writing, e.g. fa ſin yaqtuluu bi lyadri ſawsan fa ſinnanii taraktu ſabaa syfyaana multazima rraḥli (And if they treacherously killed Aaws, I, indeed, left Abu-Sufyaan (dying) clinging on to his saddle).
- (2) For example: wa ſinnaa la qawmun maa nara lqatla subbatan ſiḏaamaa rafathu ḡaamirun wa saluulu. (And, indeed, we are people who do not regard killing (i.e. being killed in a war) as a disgrace (to any of us) when 'Amir and Saluul (two tribes) regard it so).

- (i) wa la ſin kabirtu la qad ɣamartu ka ſannanii
yuSnun tufayyiſuhu rriyaahu raTiibu⁽¹⁾ (And
if I am aged, I have lived like a fresh branch
moved by winds).
- (ii) ſin yuriiduu xiyaanataka fa qad xaanu llaaha
min qabl⁽²⁾ (If they(i.e. the prisoners of
war) have treacherous design against you
(i.e. prophet Muhammad), they have already
been in treason against God).

These sentences express contrast and comparison between present and past state; sentence (i) contrasts the present state (i.e. being old) with that of the past (i.e. past youth). Sentence (ii) also compares the present state (i.e. the intention of treason or disloyalty) with the past activities of those concerned.

Syntactically, this type of dialectical conditional sentence requires either (a) co-referentiality between the subject of the protasis and that of the apodasis, or (b) an obligatory occurrence of the protasis-subject's resumptive pronoun in the apodasis. The examples for the latter⁽³⁾ are:

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- (1) Labīd (see: Labīd (1962), p.362). Notice that /tu/ (first person singular) in both the protasis and the apodasis is the subject.
- (2) Quran, part 8, verse 71. Notice again that /uu/ (third person plural masculine) in both clauses is the subject.
- (3) The examples for the former have already been mentioned above.

- (i) $\text{\textcircled{f}in takuni l\text{\textcircled{f}ayyaamu \text{\textcircled{f}ah\text{\textcircled{s}anna marratan}$
 $\text{\textcircled{f}ilayya fa qad \text{\textcircled{g}aadat lahunna \text{\textcircled{\delta}unuubu}^{(1)}$
(If time (lit. the days) was, once, good to
me, (now) its misdeeds (lit. the misdeeds
of the days) come back to me).
- (ii) $\text{\textcircled{f}in yasriq fa qad saraq\text{\textcircled{a} \text{\textcircled{f}axun lahu min}$
 $\text{\textcircled{qabl}^{(2)}$ (If he (i.e. Benjamin) steals,
there was a brother of his who did steal
before (him)).

In these two sentences the resumptive pronoun, occurring in the apodasis referring to the subject of the protasis, occurs obligatorily in the apodasis which has a different grammatical subject form that of the protasis. In sentence (i) the underlined resumptive pronoun 'hunna' refers to the subject of the protasis (i.e. $\text{\textcircled{f}al\text{\textcircled{f}ayyaamu}$ (the days)), and similarly 'hu' refers to Benjamin in sentence (ii).

(2) Antithesis with self-assertion

In a dialectical conditional sentence a statement may be resumed in the protasis as contrasted to a self-assertion in the apodasis. e.g. $\text{\textcircled{fa \text{\textcircled{f}in ta\text{\textcircled{\delta}kuruu \text{\textcircled{h}usna}$
 $\text{\textcircled{l}furuuDi fa \text{\textcircled{f}innanaa \text{\textcircled{f}aba\text{\textcircled{f}naa bi \text{\textcircled{f}anwaah\text{\textcircled{i} lqurayTina}$
 $\text{\textcircled{ma\text{\textcircled{f}tamaa}^{(3)}$ (And if you mention your good fulfilment of
duties, we have taken revenge for the lamentation of

(1) Ka'b al-Ghanawī (See: Muhibb al-Dīn (1951), p.16).
(2) Quran, part 12, verse 77.
(3) Labīd, (see: Labīd) (1962), p.282).

the Qarit-women letting (other women) assemble for lamentation).

The syntactic markers which distinguish this type from other dialectical conditional types are the following:

(a) Dissimilarity of subjects, that is to say the subject of the apodasis differs from that of the protasis. e.g. /uu/ (the third person, plural masculine, in the nominative case) which is the subject of the protasis differs from the subject of the apodasis (i.e. /naa/ (first person, plural, in the nominative case)) in the following example:

fa šin tubyiDuunaa biyDatan fii Suduurikum fa šinnaa jadašnaa minkumu wa šaraynaa⁽¹⁾ (And if you cherish hatred towards us (hidden) in your hearts, we have (openly) mutilated you and exposed you to the sun for drying).

(b) The compulsory occurrence of the assertive form šinna preceding the apodasis. e.g.

fa šin yakun šahluuhaa ḡalluu ḡalaa qidatin fa šinna šahliya lšuulaa ḡalluu bi malḡuubi⁽²⁾ (And if her people settled in Qidah, indeed mine are those who settled in Malhub).

(1) See: al-Khatīb al-Tabrīzī (1296 A.H.), vol. 1, p.126.

(2) See: al-Dabbī (1885), vol. 4, p.7.

(3) Remark and answer

The third dialectical conditional type is the 'remark and answer'-type. e.g.

- (i) wa fiḏaa qiila lahum ṣaaminuu ka maa ṣaamana nnaasu qaaluu ṣanuṣminu ka maa ṣaamana ssufahaaṣ⁽¹⁾
(And if it is said to them (i.e. the unbelievers): believe as the others believe, they say: shall we believe as the fools believe?).
- (ii) wa fiḏaa qiila ṣinna waḡda llaahi ḥaqqun wa ssaagatu laa rayba fiihaa qultum maa nadrii ma ssaagah ṣin naZunnu ṣillaa Zannan wa maa naḥnu bi mustayqiniin⁽²⁾ (And if it is said that the promise of God is true, and that there is no doubt about the hour (i.e. the Day of Judgement), they say: we do not know what is the hour, we only think (of it) as mere assumption since we have no firm assurance).

This type is syntactically restricted in both the protasis and apodasis to a class of verbs which has to do with saying such as qaala and saḡala, regardless of the category of 'voice'. e.g.

qiila (passive past-tense verb form) and qaaluu (active past-tense verb form) in the following sentence:

(1) Quran, part 2, verse 13.
(2) ibid, part 45, verse 32.

wa ʿiḏaa qiila lahum laa tufsiduu fi lfarDi gaaluu
ʿinnamaa naḥnu muSliḥuun⁽¹⁾ (And if it is said to
them (i.e. the unbelievers) do not make mischief on
the earth, they say: we only want to make peace.

Similarly safala (active past-tense verb form)
and qul (imperative) in the sentence below:

fa ʿin safala lwaaḥuuna fii ma Saramtaḥaa fa qul nafsu
ḥurrin sulliyat fa tasallati⁽²⁾ (And if the slanderers
ask what causes you to leave her (i.e. the beloved
woman), say: it is a free man's response to a diverted
attention).

4.2.6 Counterfactual conditionals

Constructions of the form 'law + ^(non)past-tense form
(with past time reference) + a main clause declarative
sentence' are referred to, and rightly so, by the
grammarians as counterfactual conditional sentences.⁽³⁾
Counterfactual conditional sentences are semantically
and syntactically distinguished.

On the semantic side, a counterfactual conditional
sentence has the following features:

(1) It presupposes the negation of the proposition or
event presented in the protasis, and invites the

(1) *ibid*, part 2, verse 11.

(2) Kuthayyir 'Azzah (see: Farrūkh (1965), vol. 1, p.620).

(3) Ibn-Hisham, vol. 1, pp.255-60.

inference that such an event is false (i.e. not to have occurred). And this can, syntactically, be justified by the fact that a counterfactual conditional sentence can be followed, as indicated below, by either:

(a) an adversative clause, or

(b) an expression of negation.

(2) The relationship between its apodasis and protasis is either causal or pseudo-causal.⁽¹⁾

(3) It expresses the speaker's belief in a possible consequence of an event that did not take place. In other words, the event presented in the apodasis of such a type is a possible consequence as far as the occurrence value is concerned.

Syntactically, on the other side, counterfactual conditional sentences have the following markers:

(1) The acceptable occurrence of the past time adverb *ɣams* (yesterday) in their 'if'-clauses: e.g. *law jiftanii*

(1) By a causal relationship I mean a relationship in which the speaker/hearer believes that the protasis causes or will cause the apodasis, e.g. *law yuɣaaxiðu llaahu nnaasa bi Zulmihim* (protasis) *maa taraka ɣalayhaa min daabbah* (apodasis) (If God were to punish human beings for their wrong-doing, (then) he would not have left on the earth (lit. on it) a single living creature). A pseudo-causal relationship, on the other hand, is that in which the speaker (given a causal chain which has the apodasis as its result and the protasis as one of its elements), for one reason or another, focuses on one of its elements, e.g. *law faraakahum kaθiiran* (protasis) *la fajiltum* (apodasis) (If he (i.e. God) had shown them (i.e. the enemy) to you (Muhammad) as many, (then), you would surely have been discouraged).

disputed in (your) decision: but God saved (you)).

(ii) law yuḡaaxiḡu llaahu nnaasa bi Zulmihim maa taraka ḡalayhaa min daabbah wa laakin yuḡaxxiruhum ḡilaa ḡajalin musammaa⁽¹⁾ (If God were to punish human beings for their wrong-doing, (then) he would not have left on the earth (lit. on it) a single living creature: but he gives them respite for a stated term).

(iii) law ḡiḡnaa la ḡaataynaa kulla mafsin hudaahaa wa laakin ḡaḡqa lḡawlu minnii la ḡamlaḡanna jahannama mina lḡinnati wa nnaasi ḡajmaḡiin⁽²⁾ (If we (i.e. God) had so willed, (then) we could certainly have brought every soul its true guidance: but the word from me will come true, "I will fill hell with both jinns and human beings")

Examples for the expression of negation, on the other hand, can be illustrated by the following sentence:

law ḡaraada llaahu ḡan yattaxiḡ waladan la ḡtaḡaa min maa yaxluḡu maa yaḡaaḡ subḡaanahu huwa llaahu lwaahidu

(1) *ibid*, part 16, verse 61.

(2) *ibid*, part 32, verse 13.

lqahhaar⁽¹⁾ (Had God wished to take to himself a son, he could have chosen whom he pleased out of those he does create: but he is above such things, he is God, the one, the irresistible).

(3) The apodasis of this type of conditional sentence is always declarative since there is no reason why a speaker should want to give an order or make a promise counterfactually. Why promise, suggest etc. depending on a condition that is presupposed false? In a nutshell, counterfactual conditional sentences cannot have a non-declarative sentence as their apodasis.

4.2.7 Desiderative conditionals

Related to the previous type of conditional sentences (i.e. counterfactual conditional type) is the desiderative or exclamatory condition. Similarity between the two types consists in their use of the same form of conditional particle (that is, 'law') as well as their both expressing a condition whose actual realization is not likely to happen or is even impossible. However, the desiderative conditional type differs semantically and syntactically from other conditional types including the mere counterfactual conditional type. Semantically, desiderative conditionals only express

(1) *ibid*, part 39, verse 4.

desires which a speaker wishes had happened or would happen. On the other hand, desiderative conditionals are structurally distinguished by the following syntactic markers:

(1) One of the most important structural features that distinguish this type is the use of a non-verbal 'law'-clause introduced by the complementizer ƙanna e.g. ƙanna baynahaa wa baynahu ƙamadan baƙiidaa, and ƙanna lanaa karratan, in the two sentences below:

(i) tawaddu law ƙanna baynahaa wa baynahu ƙamadan baƙiidaa⁽¹⁾ (The soul will wish (on the Day of Judgement) if only there were a great distance between her (i.e. the soul) and her evil (that is, the evil she had done)).

(ii) wa qaala llađiina ttabaƙuu law ƙanna lanaa karratan fa natabarrafa minhum ka maa tabarrafu minnaa⁽²⁾ (And those who followed say: "if only we had one more chance, we would clear ourselves of them (i.e. those who are followed) as they have cleared themselves of us).

(2) Another syntactic marker is the acceptable insertion of the complementizer 'ƙanna' immediately after the desiderative-law. e.g.

law ɗaatu siwaarin laTamatnii⁽³⁾ (If only a bracelet-

(1) *ibid*, part 3, verse 30.

(2) *ibid*, part 2, verse 167.

(3) See: Ibn-Hisham, vol. 1, p.268.

wearing (i.e. a lady) had struck me!).

This sentence is as acceptable as the sentence:

law ʕanna ʕaata siwaarin laTamatnii!

(3) The third syntactic **marker** is the generally required occurrence of verbs that express or indicate wishing and the like such as ʕawaddu, ʕuhibbu, ʕatamannaa⁽¹⁾ etc. e.g.

(i) yawaddu ʕaḥaduhum law yuḡammaru ʕalfa sanah⁽²⁾
(Each one of them (i.e. the unbelievers) wishes if only he could be given a life of a thousand years).

(ii) wadda llaḏiina kafaruu law tayfuluuna ʕan
ʕasliḥatikum wa ʕamtigatikum fa yamiiluuna
ʕalaykum maylatan waahidah⁽³⁾ (The unbelievers
wish if you were negligent of your arms and
your baggage to assault you in a single rush).

(4) In addition to the above syntactic markers, this type can, structurally, be distinguished by the acceptable optional occurrence of the exclamatory expressions, some of which are:

(i) maa ʕaTyaba lḡayja! in the sentence:
maa ʕaTyaba lḡayja law ʕanna lfataa ḥajarun
tanbu lhawaadiθu ʕanhu wa huwa malmuumu⁽⁴⁾

(1) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.265.

(2) *Quran*, part 2, verse 96.

(3) *ibid*, part 4, verse 102.

(4) See: *Ibn-Hishām*, vol. 1, p.270, see also Hasan (1966), vol. 4, p.374.

(How nice would life be if a (lit. the) youth were like a stone, that calamities rebounded off while he was callous!)

(ii) kam tuḥsinu Sunḡan! in the sentence:

kam tuḥsinu Sunḡan law tawaqqafta ḡani ttadxiin
(How good it is if you could give up smoking!)

(iii) ḡaahi!, in the sentence:

ḡaahi law tudrikiina llaḡii ḡaquul (Ah, if only you realise what I say!)

(5) Furthermore, the apodasis of this type of conditional sentence is often suppressed,⁽¹⁾ e.g. the underlined and textually understood apodasis in the following sentences:

(i) law ḡanna ḡindanaa ḡikran mina lḡawwaliin
(la htadaynaa)⁽²⁾ (If only we had had before us a message from the ancestors (we would have been in a different situation)).

(ii) law ḡayruka qaalahaa ḡaa ḡabaa ḡubaydah (la taḡabbaltuhaa)⁽³⁾ (If only somebody else had said it O Abuu Ubaydah (I would have accepted it)).

(1) See: Ibn-Hishām, vol. 1, p.267.

(2) Quran, part 37, verse 168.

(3) See: Ibn-Hishām, vol. 1, p.268., and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (1952), vol. 3, p.192.

(iii) wa law taraa fiḏi ZZaalimuuna mawquufuuna
ḡinda rabbihim yarjiḡu baḡDuhum silaa
baḡDini lqawl (la rafayta samran ḡaZiimaa⁽¹⁾
(And if only you could see when the wrong-
doers will be made to stand before their
lord, throwing back the word (of blame) on one
another (then you would have seen a terrible
thing)).

(6) One final general syntactic feature of this type
is that 'law'-clause of the desiderative or exclamatory
conditional sentences can be substituted by a verbal-
noun derived from the verb-form which the 'law'-clause
contains e.g.

yawaddu lmujrimu law yaftadii min ḡaḏaabi yawmiḡiḏin bi
banihi wa Saahibatihii wa faxihi wa faSiilatihii llatii
tuḡwiih wa man fi lḡarDi jamiḡaa⁽²⁾ (The sinner's
desire will be, if only he could, to redeem himself from
the penalty of the Day of Judgement (sacrificing) his
children, his wife, his brother, his kindred who
sheltered him, and all that on earth).

In this sentence, law yaftadii (law + a non-past
verb form) can be substituted by the verbal noun
ḡiftidaaḡan.

(1) Quran, part 34, verse 31. Cf. Ibn al-Anbārī (1960),
p. 118.

(2) *ibid*, part 70, verse 11.

4.2.8 Resultative conditionals

A resultative conditional type is the one in which the apodasis indicates the consequence or the result of what has been presented in the protasis. This type is commonly used proverbially⁽¹⁾ and for that very reason the verb-forms represented in the two clauses of such a type are timeless, that is to say they designate (or predict) what will happen, what might happen, what would have happened and/or what did actually happen. The predictability implied here is based on previous experiences, religious assumptions (or proclamations), general social rules, and/or facts of life. Examples, respectively, are:

(1) Previous experience.

e.g. laanat qanaatuhu, taṣman ḡayranaa, lam tazal ḡaḡiraa, yuṣbiḡ min Daḡaayaahaa, and yazlaḡi, in sentences (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) below:

- (i) Ṣiḡaa qalla maalu lmarṣi laanat qanaatuhu wa haana ḡala lṣadnaa fa kayfa lṣabaḡidi⁽²⁾
(When (= if) the wealth of the man becomes small, (then) he gives in easily (lit. his spear-shaft softens) and becomes of little importance to the nearest kinsman not to mention the more distance ones).

(1) See: Ṣībawayḡ (1316 - 1317 A.H.), vol. 1, p.447.

(2) See: Ibn-Hiṣḡām, vol. 1, p.207.

(ii) Ṣayyaana nuṣminka taṣman yaayranaa wa ṣiḏaa lam tudriki lṣamna minnaa lam tazal ḥaḏiraa ⁽¹⁾
(Whenever (= if at any time) we grant you safety, (then) you will be safe from others than us; and if you do not obtain safety from us, (then) you will not cease to be afraid).

(iii) ruddu ssuyuufa ṣila lṣaymaadi wa ttaṣiduu man yuṣḡili lḥarba yuṢbiḥ min Daḥaayaahaa
(Put the swords into the scabbards and give long and thorough considerations (of the fact that) whoever (= if anyone) inflames the war, (then) he becomes one of its victims).

(iv) wa man laa yuqaddim rijlahu muṭmaṣinnatan fa yuḫbitahaa fii mustawa lṣarDi yazlaqi ⁽²⁾
(Whoever (= if anyone) does not make his step forwards carefully and put his foot on the safe ground, (then) he will slip (into dangers)).

(2) Religious assumptions

e.g. yudxilhu jannaatin/yudxilhu naaran, laa yalitkum min ṣaḡmaalikum ṣayṣaa, yuDilluuka ḡan sabiili llaah,
and takun fitnatun fi lṣarDi wa fasaadun kabiir, in

(1) See: Ibn-Hishām (1951), p.436.

(2) See: Sibawayh (1316 - 1317 A.H.), vol. 1, p.447.

the following sentences:

- (i) man yuTiḡi llaaha wa rasuulahu yudxilhu jannaatin tajrii min taḥtiha lfanhaaruu xaalidiina fiihaa ... wa man yaḡSi llaaha wa rasuulahu wa yataḡadda ḥuduudah yudxilhu naaran xaalidan fiihaa⁽¹⁾ (Whoever (= if anyone) obeys God and his prophet (i.e. Muhammad), will be admitted to gardens with rivers flowing beneath in which he rests forever. (On the other hand) whoever (= if anyone) disobeys God and his prophet and transgresses God's bounds (i.e. the restrictions which God has placed on man's freedom of action), (then) he will be admitted to a fire in which he remains forever).
- (ii) Sin tuTiigu llaaha wa rasuulahu laa yalitkum min ṣaḡmaalikum jayṣaa⁽²⁾ (If you obey God and his prophet, he (i.e. God) will not lessen any of your deeds).
- (iii) Sin tuTiḡ ṣakḫara man fi lfarDi yuDilluuka ḡan sabiili llaah⁽³⁾ (If you follow the common run of those on earth, (then) they will lead you away from the way of God).
- (iv) wa llaḏiina kafaruu baḡDuhum ṣawliyaafu baḡD

(1) Quran, part 4, verses 13-14.

(2) ibid, part 49, verse 14.

(3) ibid, part 6, verse 116.

Ƨillaā tafǧaluuhu takun fitnatun filƧarDi),
wa faƧaadun kabiir⁽¹⁾ (The unbelievers
protect one another, if you (i.e. the
believers) do not do this (i.e. protect
each other), (then) there will be tumult
and oppression on earth, and great mischief).

(3) General social rules

e.g. yuDarras bi Ƨanyaabin wa yuuTaƧ bi maysimi,
yustayna ǧanhu wa yuǧmami, ƧawƧaktumaa Ƨan tafarraǧaa,
and tulfi man Ƨiyyaahu tafmuru Ƨaatiyaa, in the
following sentences:

- (i) wa man lam yuSaaniǧ fii Ƨumuurin kaθiiratin
yuDarras bi Ƨanyaabin wa yuuTaƧ bi maysimi⁽²⁾
(Whoever (= if anyone) does not dissimulate
his true feeling about many matters, (then)
he will be bitten fiercely by the canine-
teeth and marked with a branding-iron).
- (ii) wa man yaku ǧaa faDlin wa yabxal bi faDlihi
ǧalaa qawmihi yustayna ǧanhu wa yuǧmami⁽³⁾
(Whoever (= if anyone) has more than he needs
and withholds it from his people, (then) he
will be regarded as useless and will be
scorned).

(1) *ibid*, part 8, verse 73.

(2) Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulmā (See: Farrūkh (1965), vol. 1, p.19

(3) Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulmā (See: Farrūkh (1965), vol. 1, p.19

(iii) Siḏaa ṣanta lam tatrūk ṣaxaaka wa zillatan
Siḏaa zallahaa ṣawjaktumaa ṣan tafarraḡaa
(If you do not forgive your brother for a
mistake which he does when he does it, (then)
you (i.e. you and he) are on the verge of
splitting up).

(iv) wa ṣinnaka Siḏmaa taṣti maa ṣanta ṣaamirun
bihi tulfi man ṣiyyaahu taṣmuru ṣaatiyaa⁽¹⁾
(And verily whenever (= if) you do what you
are enjoining, (then) you will find whomever
you command to do it to be doing it).

(4) General facts of life

e.g. ṣalfayta kulla tamiimatin laa tanfaḡu, yaḡib, tamil,
and ṣihtazzat wa rabat, in the following sentences:

(i) Siḏa lmaniyyatu ṣanḡabat ṣazfaarahaa ṣalfayta
kulla tamiimatin laa tanfaḡu⁽²⁾ (When (= if)
the time of death comes (lit. if death inserts
his fingernails), (then) you find that nothing
can save you (lit. all amulets are of no use
to you)).

(ii) man yaṭul ḡumrun bihi yaḡib⁽³⁾ (If any one
lives to a great age, (then) his hair (is

(1) See: Ibn 'Aqīl (1947), vol. 2, pp.290 and 367.

(2) See: Muhibb al-Dīn (1951), pp.114 and 123.

(3) See: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (1952), vol. 3, p.52.

bound to) turn white (lit. he will become white-haired)).

(iii) Sağdatun naabitatun fii haajirin řaynama rriřu tumayyilhaa tamil⁽¹⁾ (The beloved woman is like a reed growing in a place where water collects; wherever (= if) the wind sways it, it sways).

(iv) wa tara lřarDa haamidatan fa řiřaa řanzalnaa řalayha lmaařa htazzat wa rabat wa řanbatat min kulli zawjin bahiij⁽²⁾ (And you (i.e. mankind) see the earth barren and lifeless, but if we (i.e. God) pour down rain on it, it stirs (to life), swells and it puts forth every kind of beautiful growth in pairs).

The resultative conditional type requires no syntactic restriction apart from the fact that its apodasis must be a declarative sentence. This declarative apodasis may be used functionally to express (commonly in religious or social context) the following:

(a) a promise e.g. yuDaařifhu lakum wa yařfir lakum, in the sentence:

řin tuqriDu llaaha qarDan řasanana yuDaařifhu lakum wa yařfir lakum⁽³⁾ (If you loan to God a beautiful loan,

(1) See: Ibn Ya'ish, vol. 9, p.10.

(2) Quran, part 22, verse 5.

(3) ibid, part 64, verse 17.

(then) he will double it to you and will grant you forgiveness).

(b) a threat, e.g. *yaḡlu mafriqaka lḡusaam*, in the sentence:

ʕillaa tuTalliḡhaa yaḡlu mafriqaka lḡusaamu⁽¹⁾ (If you do not divorce her (the wife), (then) the sword will smite the crown of your head).

In addition, the explicit indication that what is being given in the apodasis is most likely the result, promised or otherwise, of what has been selected for presentation in the protasis, may be integrated within the structure of the conditional sentence, e.g. fa nnatijatu ʕan (the result is that), in the sentence: *ʕin tazḡami lbaḡra (fa nnatijatu ʕan) taḡraq* (If you compete with the sea, then (the result is or the most likely consequence is that) you will drown).

Anaphoric pro-forms may be additionally used. e.g. fa natijatu ḡaalika ʕan (the result of this is that), in the sentence:

wa ʕillaa tuTalliḡhaa (fa natijatu ḡaalika ʕan) yaḡlu mafriqaka lḡus aamu, (If you do not divorce her, (then) (the result of this is) the sword will smite the crown of your head).

(1) See: Ibn-Hishām, vol. 2, p.647.

Apart from the aforementioned syntactic requirement with respect to the apodasis, there is no other syntactic restriction regarding the verbal-form that can be presented in the two clauses of this type. Thus, the syntactic marker which distinguishes a resultative conditional type is that it can have in its two clauses all possible verbal-form combination. In other words, the two clauses can be, with regard to the verb-form, parallel or different. Accordingly, we can have not only a past-tense verb form in both clauses .e.g ʕijtamaga and balaya, in the sentence:

ʕarraʕyu qabla ʕajaaḡati ʕʕujḡaani huwa ʕawwalun wa
hiya lmaḡallu ʕʕaani fa ʕiḡaa huma jtamaḡaa li nafs
mirratin balayat min lḡalyaaʕi kulla makaani⁽¹⁾

(Judgement comes before the courage of the courageous;
the former is first, and the latter the second place;
so if they are combined in a haughty spirit, that spirit
reaches every place of elevation, or a non-past tense
verb form in both clauses e.g. yufḡil and yuSbiḡ, in
the sentence:

man yufḡili lḡarba yuSbiḡ min Daḡaayaahaa (If anyone
ignites the war, (then) he becomes one of its victims);
but we can also have a past-tense with a non-past tense
verb form:

(1) al-Mutanabbī (See: Arberry (1967), pp.82-3).

e.g. Taala/yaʃib, in the sentence

man Taala ɣumrun bihi yaʃib, (If one lives a long time, (then) his hair turns white);

or the reverse i.e. a non-past tense verb form with a past-tense verb form. e.g. yaTul/ʃaaba, in the sentence:

man yaTul ɣumrun bihi ʃaaba, (If one lives to a great age, (then) his hair turns white).

Furthermore, the apodasis can be a declarative nominal sentence. e.g. ɣalayhi li kulli ɣaynin daliilu, in the sentence:

ʃiḏaa yaamara lhawaa qalbu Sabbin fa ɣalayhi li kulli ɣaynin daliilu⁽¹⁾ (And if passion pervades the heart of a lover, (then) every eye has a proof pointing to him).

4.2.9 'Implication' conditionals

An 'implication' conditional type is the one in which the truth value of the apodasis follows from the truth value of the protasis. e.g.

ʃiḏaa ʃanta lam tuʃrik rafiiqaka fi llaḏii yakuunu qaliilan lam tuʃaarikhu fi lfaDli⁽²⁾ (If you do not let your companion share with you what is regarded as insignificant (i.e. little) (it follows that) you will not let him share with you the lot).

(1) al-Mutanabbī (See: Arberry (1967), pp.122-3).

(2) See: Muhibb al-Dīn (1951), p.71.

'Implication' conditional type like the resultative conditional type needs no syntactic restriction on the protasis or the apodasis except that the latter must be a declarative sentence. The apodasis of this type, however, can be either

(a) a nominal declarative sentence.

e.g. hiya ʃʃahaadatu lii, and huwa lbaxiilu, in the following two sentences:

(i) ʃiḏaa ʃatatka maḏammatii min naaqiSin
fa hiya ʃʃahaadatu lii bi ʃanniya kaamilu⁽¹⁾
(If the censure you receive about me comes from a despicable person, (it follows that) it (i.e. what he says about me) certainly is the evidence that I am a person of integrity).

(ii) ʃini mruʃun Dannat yadaahu ɣala mriʃin bi
nayli yadin min ʃayrihi fa huwa lbaxiilu⁽²⁾
(If a man keeps back the help of other people to reach a person (in need), (it follows that) he is certainly the (perfect) miser).

(b) a verbal declarative sentence either with the verb in the past-tense verb form or the non-past tense verb form. Examples for the former are: qadi nqaDaa baɣDuka, Sadaqat and kaḏabat, in the sentences below:

(1) al-Mutanabbī (See: al-Mutanabbī (1958), p.180).

(2) Cf., Muhibb al-Dīn (1951), p.147.

(i) $\text{fi} \text{bna} \text{ faadama} \text{ finnamaa} \text{ fanta} \text{ gadadun} \text{ fa} \text{ fi} \text{ða} \text{ ngaDaa}$
 $\text{yawmuka} \text{ fa} \text{ qadi} \text{ ngaDaa} \text{ ba} \text{gDuka}^{(1)}$ (O, son of Adam you
are only a number (i.e. you have only a number of years
to go by) and (for that very fact) if your present-day
goes (it follows that) a part of you goes).

(ii) $\text{fin} \text{ kaana} \text{ qamiis} \text{ uhu} \text{ qudda} \text{ min} \text{ qubulin} \text{ fa} \text{ Sadaqat}$
 $\text{wa} \text{ huwa} \text{ mina} \text{ lkaa} \text{ñibiin} \text{ wa} \text{ fin} \text{ kaana} \text{ qamiis} \text{ uhu} \text{ qudda}$
 $\text{min} \text{ duburin} \text{ fa} \text{ ka} \text{ñabat} \text{ wa} \text{ huwa} \text{ mina} \text{ Saadiqiin}^{(2)}$

(If his shirt, (i.e. Joseph's shirt) was torn from the
front, (it follows that) she was telling the truth and
he was the liar. But if his shirt was torn from the
back, (it follows that) she (i.e. Zulaixa) was the liar
and he was telling the truth). An example of the latter,
on the other hand, is tujaarikhu fi lfaDli, in the
sentence:

$\text{fi} \text{ða} \text{aa} \text{ fanta} \text{ lam} \text{ tu} \text{frik} \text{ rafiiqaka} \text{ fi} \text{ lla} \text{ñii} \text{ yakuunu}$
 $\text{qaliilan} \text{ lam} \text{ tu} \text{jaarikhu} \text{ fi} \text{ lfaDli}$ (If you do not let
your companion share with you a little (of what you
have got), (it follows that) you will not let him share
with you the lot).

(1) See: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (1952), vol. 3, p.186.

(2) Quran, part 12, verses 26-7.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 General

The following conclusions are intended to be fully understood only with reference to the relevant topics dealt with throughout this study. Thus, they should not be taken and judged in isolation.

5.1 Topic and organization

The Arab grammarians' views on a set of structures termed conditional sentences have been the focus of this study. Syntactically and semantically the topic and its relevant issues have been isolated, defined, analysed and evaluated.

Chapter One was concerned primarily with examining several treatments (of conditional sentences) represented by different linguistic approaches considered representative of important trends. The purpose of the examination was to establish the fact that both traditional syntax and the so-called modern linguistic treatments have numerous problems resulting from neglect of one or other syntactic and/or semantic aspects of the phenomena in question.

Chapter Two was devoted to certain fundamental assumptions made by the Arab grammarians including:

(a) the location of the treatment of conditional sentences within the only Classical Arabic grammatical theory, called NaZariyyatu lġaamil (The theory of the operative);

(b) the relationships, within the system concerned, between our selected feature (condition) and other relevant features with which the system was and still is concerned;

(c) identifying, on syntactic and semantic grounds, conditional structure as a counterpart of what are regarded by the vast majority of the Arab grammarians as the basic syntactic structures of the language (i.e. the nominal and the verbal sentences);

(d) establishing that Classical Arabic conditional sentences are of two types:

- (i) the particle-conditional type and
- (ii) the non-particle conditional type with its main sub-types, as well as examining in detail the assumed necessary restrictions in order for those sub-types to express 'condition'.

In Chapter Three are given the details of the syntactic analysis relevant to each individual element of a conditional sentence (that is, *ṣalṣadaah* (the particle), *jumlata ḥjarT* (the 'if'-clause or the protasis) and *jumlata jawaabi ḥjarT* (the main clause or the apodasis). The following Arab grammarians' assumptions have been examined and proved defective and over-generalized:

- (1) that a conditional particle develops its own kinds of syntactic connection with a verb;
- (2) that the major and basic function of a conditional particle is to cause tense-shifting;
- (3) that *ŝammaa*, *baynaa* and *baynamaa* are conditional particles;
- (4) that the sequence [... non-past ... + ... past ...] in a conditional sentence is restricted to poetic use only.

Chapter Three has also provided formal as well as semantic criteria for distinguishing between different functions of a form which has as one of its functions that of indicating conditionality. Concerning the sequence of tenses, the study has shown that any tense in the 'if'-clause can, according to the grammarians, be associated with any tense in the main clause; statistically speaking, the possible structures were unjustifiably classified, with regard to language use, in the following order of frequency of occurrence:

- (a) ... non-past ... + ... non-past ...
- (b) ... past ... + ... past ...
- (c) ... past ... + ... non-past ...
- (d) ... non-past ... + ... past ...

In addition to these sequences, attention has been given to the special use of the participle in the 'if'-clause for the frequent expression of actions whose occurrence is to be expected with certainty. Furthermore, Chapter Three has stated the criteria upon which the discussion of ellipsis (of one or more elements of a conditional sentence) was based. The closing topic of Chapter Three was the syntactic means by which the two correlative clauses of a conditional sentence are linked together.

Chapter Four was concerned with the following:

(1) Some of the dichotomies used in different linguistic studies with reference to the semantic analysis of conditional sentences. The reason for considering those dichotomies was to show some of their shortcomings, which took the form of contradiction in terms and/or lack of syntactic identification.

(2) Enumerating the most important semantic types and uses of Classical Arabic conditional constructions, as well as pointing out the relevant syntactic features which determine the acceptability of various semantic types of conditional sentences.

5.2 Remarks

Several linguistic factors emerge from this study,

allowing more general statements to be made about the nature of language, based on the evidence from conditional sentences.

The evidence from conditional sentences shows that an adequate grammar cannot limit itself to the sentence since some of what determines meaning must be in the surrounding context of a sentence. Thus, if valid statements concerning the semantic structure of language are to be made, linguists cannot confine their attention to sentences out of context.

It has been found necessary throughout this study that in order to discuss material from one category adequately, it has been necessary to discuss topics from another. Ipso facto, chapters (1), (2.3.0) to (2.3.3) and (4.1) turned out to be different in focus rather than in subject matter.

It has also been experienced that linguistic analyses based on division between syntax and semantics, apart from being virtually impossible, are inadequate and do not reflect the nature of language; therefore, the approach taken in this study (noticeably in Chapter Four) was that of relating structures to their language context.

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